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VII

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THE MEDIEVAL HORACE AND HIS LYRICS

Anyone who has worked with a medieval Horace will remember the special feeling of opening such a manuscript for the first time, to look at the large, often beautifully ornamented initial M, for "Maecenas", with which the text begins, and to marvel, once again, at the vagaries of textual transmission. A scholar who has experienced this feeling will be a sympathetic reader of Reginald of Canterbury's praise of Horace's lyric poetry from c. 1100. Quite suitably, Reginald wrote his poem in sapphics, and he addressed it to a friend, the monk Osbern, whom he wanted to study and imitate Horace. The fourth stanza reads: "Horace's book is at your disposal: the ode standing first to be read is 'Maecenas', the second to be read is 'Enough already upon the earth'":

> *Te penes Flacci liber est Horati:*
> *prima 'Maecenas' stat ibi legenda,*
> *'Iam satis terris' legitur secunda*
> *carminis oda*[1].

[1] Ed. by J. HAMMER, "A Monastic Panegyrist of Horace", in *Philological*

This is certainly not lofty poetry, and one may claim that Reginald, rather naïvely, only points out the obvious to his friend. However, he also manages to convey a typical medieval situation of a man reading: Osbern would not own a Horace himself, but a manuscript is available in the library. Now Osbern starts picking out the incipits at the beginning of the *Odes*.

Reginald's poem is a testimony to the keen interest in Horace's lyric metres in the late eleventh century. The Horace Reginald evokes is the man who "presides over all the lyric poets that Rome and the whole world has produced", as he phrases it (*qui magistratum tenet inter omnes / Roma quos misit lyricos poetas, / totus et orbis*); but Reginald does not try to go behind this stereotype and characterize Horace's personality further. Is it possible that Reginald, or the Middle Ages in general, had no ideas at all about Horace the man? I should like to quote a passage from L.P. Wilkinson's *Horace and his Lyric Poetry* [2] which sums up current opinions and prejudices among classicists about Horace in the Middle Ages — and I hasten to declare my admiration in general for this well-written and spirited book. Wilkinson says: "<Horace> was valued only as 'poeta ethicus', and to Dante, who put him third after Homer and Virgil in Limbo, he is still 'Orazio satiro'. Like all other personalities of antiquity he was little more than *magni nominis umbra*; his life and personality were not known, nor was he read as a whole". Wilkinson's statement is interesting, because it is neither entirely false nor entirely true. It is true that the Middle Ages regarded Horace chiefly as a moralist, and that his

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Quarterly 11 (1932), 306. The translation of Horace in this paper mostly follow those of C.E. BENNETT and H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH in the Loeb Classical Library (1914/1926, and later reprints). I am grateful to Dr. Stephen Harrison for correcting my English.

[2] Cambridge [2]1968, p. 160 ([1]1945).

hexameter poetry was more widely-read than his lyrics. But as Reginald of Canterbury's poem indicates, Horace's lyrical production was never without its ardent admirers, and it existed in almost as many manuscripts as the rest. As to knowledge of Horace's life and personality, it is also true that medieval notions may seem schematic and shadow-like to a modern classical scholar, but their very existence proves that medieval students of Horace took up the challenge it must have been to understand Horace's mercurial personality in medieval Christian terms. In the present paper I hope to add some depth to our picture of how the Middle Ages understood Horace.

Recent scholarship

The main difficulty for a proper assessment of Horace's place in medieval literary culture is the fact that so much relevant material remains unexplored and unedited. Therefore, those attempts that have been made to write comprehensive studies on Horace in the Middle Ages have not quite been convincing. The latest book, a dissertation by Maria-Barbara Quint, is no exception[3]. However, she has interesting observations, an original chapter on "Horaz im Spiegel der Sentenzen" about the dissemination of Horace's most proverbial and gnomic lines, and her bibliography is useful.

Several more specialized studies exist. Max Manitius's hundred-year-old survey of Horatian allusions and quotations in medieval Latin literature is still valuable[4], and so is Eduard Stemplinger's collection of testimonies about Horace in the

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[3] *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Horaz-Rezeption*, Frankfurt am Main 1988 (Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 39).

[4] *Analekten zur Geschichte des Horaz im Mittelalter* (*bis 1300*), Göttingen 1893.

Middle Ages and the Renaissance[5]. Birger Munk Olsen's catalogue, published in the 1980s, of the manuscript tradition of Latin classics before 1200 has broken completely fresh ground[6]. His section in volume I on manuscripts of Horace and commentaries on Horace makes it possible, for the first time, to quantify Horace's importance, particularly in comparison with other classics, and he includes a study of medieval libraries and library catalogues in volume III. Munk Olsen himself has interpreted the data assembled in his catalogue, most recently in the book *I classici nel canone scolastico altomedievale* [7], which, together with Günter Glauche's now classic *Schullektüre im Mittelalter* [8], gives a comprehensive picture of Horace's place in the arts course of the medieval schools. Klaus Siewert's edition of Old High German glosses on Horace gives another interesting insight into the study of Horace in the schools[9]. It is a common feature of Glauche, Munk Olsen, and Siewert's books that their chronological limit is c. 1200. Consequently the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are in many ways still unexplored.

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[5] *Horaz im Urteil der Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig 1921 (Das Erbe der Alten, 5).

[6] *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, vols. I-III, Paris 1982-89.

[7] Spoleto 1991 (Quaderni di cultura mediolatina, 1).

[8] *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, München 1970 (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5).

[9] *Die althochdeutsche Horazglossierung*, Göttingen 1986 (Studien zum Althochdeutschen, 8).

The purpose of poetry

One or two quotations may give an impression of the medieval literary universe in which our investigations take place, and simultaneously point to Horace's specific position in it. The first is taken from Domenicus Gundissalinus's *De divisione philosophiae* from c. 1150, a classification of the sciences in the broad medieval sense of the word. Gundissalinus combines Latin and the newly-discovered Arabic sources in a classification in which the old system of the seven liberal arts is no longer the main factor. He makes poetry (for instance) into an independent art, parallel to rhetoric, whereas in the old system poetry would normally be classified as a subdivision of grammar. However, Gundissalinus's discussion of poetry is itself very traditional. He describes every art according to a standard list of ten things to be considered, among others *finis*, the aim or purpose of the art[10]. The medieval understanding of the function of poetry was deeply influenced by Horace's *Art of Poetry,* often in a somewhat heavy-handed interpretation.

Gundissalinus's definition of the purpose of poetry reads thus: "The purpose of poetry is either to amuse with playful matters or to instruct with serious matters, in accordance with the quotation 'Poets aim either to benefit or to amuse. He has won every vote who has blended profit and pleasure'", *Finis eius* [sc. artis poetice] *est aut ludicris delectare aut seriis edificare, iuxta illud* [Hor. *A.P.* 333.343]: *Aut prodesse uolunt, aut delectare poete. Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci* [11]. Gundissalinus juxtaposes two famous lines from

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[10] Cp. A.J. MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages*, London 1984, p. 31.

[11] Ed.L. BAUR, *Dominicus Gundissalinus, De divisione philosophiae,* Münster 1903 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, IV: 2-3), p. 56.

Horace, and introduces them with his own re-phrasing of the first line, inspired by its sequel in Horace. In the sequel Horace points out the third possibility, namely to combine pleasure and profit, *iucunda* and *idonea.* In Gundissalinus's interpretation they become *ludicra* and *seria,* 'playful' and 'serious' matters. The antithesis *ludicra-seria* is in itself Horatian, but by choosing the word *edificare* as a synonym for *prodesse,* Gundissalinus has given the definition a distinctive moral twist.

The general tenor of Gundissalinus's definition of the purpose of poetry is typical for the Middle Ages, only chosen in this context for its explicit Horatian connotations. When I say poetry, I actually mean secular poetry. It is obvious that religious Christian poetry must include the salvation of the soul among its direct aims. Also when applied to secular poetry, both sides of the antithesis *prodesse-delectare* were open to interpretation. Moralising was for instance sometimes absent. An example is given by a twelfth-century commentary explaining exactly the Horatian lines in question.

The commentator says: "The POETS themselves AIM EITHER TO BENEFIT alone, such as Horace in the *Art of Poetry,* OR TO AMUSE alone, such as Terence, or both, such as Vergil in his *Georgics*", *AUT PRODESSE UOLUNT tantum ipsi POETE, ut Horatius in Poetria, AUT DELECTARE tantum, ut Terentius, aut utrumque, ut Uirgilius in Georgicis* [12]. Here *prodesse* clearly means the benefit of instruction in general, as the two examples of didactic poetry show: Horace's only purpose in the *Art of Poetry* is according to this view to teach the art of writing, whereas Vergil's

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[12] "Materia" commentary to Hor. *A.P.* 333, ed. K. FRIIS-JENSEN, "The Ars Poetica in Twelfth-Century France. The Horace of Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and John of Garland", in *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin (Université de Copenhague)* 60 (1990), 319-88.

Georgics, in a more subtle way, may both instruct prospective farmers or gardeners and amuse its readers in general.

But most often in the Middle Ages, *prodesse* implied moral instruction. Again it should perhaps be pointed out that the ethics or morality in question is a practical one common to all mankind at all times, not a theological morality with specific Christian values. The acceptance of the idea that a Christian may find moral instruction in the pagan classics in fact quite clearly presupposes a practical morality of this kind. One of the popular textbooks for younger pupils was the *Fables* of Avianus. In a twelfth-century *accessus* to Avianus we read: "<Avianus's> intention is to amuse us in the fables and to benefit <us> in the correction of our morals", *intentio eius est delectare nos in fabulis et prodesse in correctione morum*[13]. Here the moral implications of *prodesse* are made explicit with the addition of a standard concept, the *correctio morum.*

The pleasure part of the antithesis is probably less complex[14]. The commentary on Horace's *Art of Poetry* claimed that Terence's only purpose in his comedies was to amuse. Since Terence had a very prominent place in the medieval school curriculum, the statement must either imply an acceptance of pleasure as a respectable purpose of literature, or constitute a harsh criticism of Terence. That, contrary to popular views, pleasure was in fact an acceptable aim of literature in the Middle Ages, in theory as well as practice, has been shown recently by Glending Olson[15]. However, it is rare to see pleasure pointed out as the sole purpose of literature. More often pleasure is a partial purpose, such as in the definition of

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[13] Accessus Aviani, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Accessus ad auctores, Bernard d'Utrecht, Conrad d'Hirsau,* Leiden 1970, p. 22.

[14] For *delectare* cp. MINNIS 1984 (note 10 above), p. 241 n. 77.

[15] In *Literature as Recreation in the Later Middle Ages,* Ithaca & London 1982.

Avianus's intention in his poems. Avianus amuses his readers by the sheer ingenuity of his fictitious stories, the *fabulae* of the definition, but he also manages to correct his readers morally by the ethical message of the poems. This concept of a double message in secular poetry also plays an important part in the medieval interpretation of Horace's poems.

The medieval Horace

However, the fact that Horace is a recognized authority in the art of poetry-writing does not necessarily bring us closer to the way medieval readers understood the personality behind the authority. Was Horace really only "the mere shadow of a mighty name", as Wilkinson claims both for him and for the other ancients ? The case of Vergil alone seems to refute Wilkinson's generalization. The ancient lives of Vergil were well-known in the Middle Ages, often copied and just as often rewritten, as Werner Suerbaum has shown[16]. Moreover, in certain periods Vergil attained the status of a cult figure, a philosopher whose wisdom was universal and who had managed to incorporate all of it in his poems, to be read by those who knew how to find it. Vergil the magician was a further elaboration of this idea. Wilkinson would probably claim that such medieval notions actually prove his point — and he is of course quite right, if we stick to a strictly modern standard of historical understanding. But if we want to investigate an ancient writer's medieval *fortuna* or *Nachleben,* all these ideas are important.

The medieval Horace was not as colourful a figure as his friend Vergil. He has not attained Vergil's status of universal

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[16] "Von der Vita Vergiliana über die Accessus Vergiliani zum Zauberer Virgilius. Probleme - Perspektiven - Analysen", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 31, 2, Berlin & New York 1981, pp. 1156-1262.

philosopher, and he figures in few anecdotes. But perhaps Horace is also somewhere to be found. If we take the medieval schematizations seriously, we may, paradoxically, find Horace's individuality in the eyes of his medieval readers behind the system, or integrated in it.

Our most important source for an understanding of the medieval Horace is the commentaries that were written in large numbers on Horace's poems. Only a few have been edited so far, and we do not even know how typical they are. I have begun myself to take a look at eleventh- and twelfth-century commentaries, and some of the texts I am going to discuss are extracts from as yet unpublished commentaries. I sometimes quote from prefaces to commentaries which I have not transcribed in full, a practice which of course is risky and not in general to be recommended! For the sake of understanding I will also generalize as far as possible, but one must always be aware that new discoveries may modify or even overthrow conventional wisdom.

Extant medieval copies of the ancient lives of Horace and medieval rewritings of them are fairly numerous, as for instance a glance in Birger Munk Olsen's catalogue will show, since many manuscripts of Horace contain at least one such life. However, the medieval lives I have read do not add significant details, factual or fictional, to the information contained in the ancient lives. The medieval repetition of the stock features of Horace's life does not really disclose what kind of impression the ancient lives made on a medieval reader. In my experience the texts most eloquent about how Horace's personality was understood are the prefaces to the single groups of poems, the so-called *accessus*. Now and then these prefaces incorporate a full-scale life of Horace, but most frequently they restrict themselves to features of Horace's life which are relevant to the group of poems they introduce. A particularly interesting specimen is found in what may have been the standard twelfth-

century French commentary on Horace's *Satires,* which I shall call the "Sciendum" commentary. The theory about Horace's life and works which this *accessus* presents, reminds us of some of the facts and fictions about Vergil's life and works. The first part of the *accessus* reads:

"It should be known that Horace did not observe such great variety in his works without reason. For he took into consideration the various ages and the various circumstances of human life, and that is why he gave such great variety to his oeuvre. For first he composed his lyrics, and in them, speaking to the young, as it were, he took as subject-matter love affairs and quarrels, banquets and drinking parties. This is what he tells himself in the *Art of Poetry*: "To the lyre the Muse granted tales", etc. Next he wrote his *Epodes,* and in them composed invectives against men of a more advanced and more shameful age. After that he wrote the *Carmen Saeculare,* and in that taught the more sensible to pray to the gods. He next wrote his book about the *Art of Poetry,* and in that instructed men of his own profession to write correctly. After that he added his book of *Satires,* in which he reproved those who had fallen a prey to various kinds of vices. Finally he finished his oeuvre with the *Epistles,* and in them, following the method of a good farmer, he sowed the virtues where he had rooted out the vices"[17].

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[17] "Sciendum" comm. to Hor. *S.*, accessus: *Sciendum est Horatium non sine ratione tantam operum suorum diuersitatem obseruasse. Siquidem diuersas etates et diuersos humane uite status considerauit. Ideoque tantam operi suo uarietatem adhibuit. Primitus enim lirica composuit, et ibi quasi adolescentibus loquens amores et iurgia, commessationes et potationes materiam habuit. Sicut ipse in Poetria ait* [Hor. *A.P.* 83]: *"Musa dedit fidibus" et cetera. Deinde Epodon condidit, et ibi in homines fortioris et turpioris etatis inuectiua composuit. Postea Seculare Carmen scripsit ibique prudentiores ad precandum deos edocuit. Deinde de arte poetica librum scripsit ibique sue professionis homines ad recte scribendum instruxit. Postea librum Sermonum addidit, ubi*

We notice several interesting features in this *accessus*. For one thing the commentator believes that Horace composed his works in the order in which we find them in the manuscripts. This assumption is partly an analogy drawn from Vergil's oeuvre, partly a misinterpretation of the information which Horace himself gives. We know that the sequence of Horace's poems show some variation, particularly in older manuscripts[18], but by the twelfth century a canon had been more or less established.

The idea of a chronological sequence mirrored in the manuscripts is probably old. Pseudo-Acro, for instance, says at the beginning of Book I of the *Epistles:* "<The books of *Epistles*> are the last books of <Horace's> oeuvre, but because the scribes have made a mistake, they occupy the position of the *Satires* in many manuscripts", *hii* [sc. epistolarum libri] *ultimi sunt sui operis libri, licet scriptorum uitio in multis codicibus locum sermonum occupauerint.* A similar note is found in a (probably Carolingian) re-writing of Pseudo-Acro transmitted in a number of tenth-century manuscripts which actually show the sequence *Epistles-Satires*[19].

It is also interesting to note that, in the commentator's opinion, Horace carefully wrote his works to suit an ideal concept of the development of a human being. Horace's first poems, the *Odes,* were written for young people and dealt with

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diuersis generibus <uitiorum> irretitos reprehendit. Ad ultimum opus <suum> in Epistolis terminauit ibique ad modum boni agricole uitiis extirpatis uirtutes superseminauit (B=Bern, Burgerbibliothek 266, s. xii/xiii, fol. 23rA, corrected with the help of P=Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5137, s. xii/xiii, fol. 22rA; *Sicut ipse - et cetera* B, om. P; *irretitos* P, *ereticos* B).

[18] See for instance G. PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo,* Firenze ^{2}1971 (^{1}1952), pp. 376 f.

[19] Ed. by H. BOTSCHUYVER, *Scholia in Horatium,* vol. I, Amsterdam 1935, p. 340, 5 f.

the interests of the young, love, quarrelling, and entertainment, whereas his last work, the *Epistles,* aimed at teaching virtue to those who, as a result of the rooting out of vices, were finally mature enough to understand moral philosophy. This model also implies that Horace himself went through the stages of human life while simultaneously writing about them. Horace is therefore the embodiment of an average human being, and at the same time a wise man who has grasped the secrets of human life. The variety or *diversitas* of Horace's works, which the commentator points out as a key word, is in no way fortuitous, but part of a pattern, the variety of human life itself. Interestingly, *varietas* is in fact the key word of the lyrical genre, as we shall see soon, so it seems that, also on this point, Horace's life has been organized after the pattern of his work!

The "Sciendum" commentary to the *Satires* just quoted is the earliest text in which I have seen this life-and-works model so fully and so explicitly developed: the commentary is probably from the middle of the twelfth century. However, several passages in earlier or contemporary Horatian criticism indicate that it was already at that time a commonplace. An earlier example is a marginal gloss in a French manuscript from c. 1100 edited by Botschuyver [20]. The gloss gives essentially the same theory, developed on the basis of the order of the three key groups, the *Odes,* the *Satires,* and the *Epistles.* The theory is proposed in an *accessus* to the *Epistles,* and that is probably no coincidence, because Horace's *first epistle* of the first book, together with the *second epistle* of Book Two, has in general played an important role in the medieval understanding of Horace. Horace proclaims in those two poems that he is too old to write lyrics, but will dedicate his verse instead to philosophical subjects, and that besides, lyric poetry is only for the young.

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[20] *Scholia in Horatium*, vol. IV, Amsterdam 1942, pp. 317 f.

Such passages may well have been the nucleus of the whole medieval theory of Horatian chronology[21].

An *accessus* to the *Epistles* preserved in two fifteenth-century Italian manuscripts, and edited by Colette Jeudy, gives the theory in a somewhat modified form: "Horace, the author of this work, composed four books in accordance with the four ages, namely boyhood, youth, manhood, and old age. For he instructs boys by rebuke in the *Odes,* where he treats lyric themes. In the *Epodes* he censures young men by instructing them. In the *Satires* he forcefully criticizes mature men. In the *Epistles,* however, he cautiously rebukes old men's faults, introducing Maecenas as a man of virtuous character, and he then rebukes him in order to be able to rebuke others more freely. For Maecenas had asked Horace to use the same style in the *Epistles* which he had used in his lyrics. But Horace objects to this and excuses himself, declaring that he wishes to aim at a true moral edification"[22].

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[21] Even accessus that do not use the full model seem to know it, and perhaps polemize against it, e.g. the accessus to the *Odes* in the Oxford commentary: *In libro... carminum et hortatur et dehortatur iuuenes, et si quid interponitur de senibus, fit gratia iuuenum... In libro sermonum intendit hortari et dehortari tam iuuenes quam senes,* ed. K. FRIIS-JENSEN, "Horatius liricus et ethicus. Two twelfth-century school texts on Horace's poems", in *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin (Université de Copenhague)* 57 (1988), pp. 111 f.

[22] Accessus ad Hor. *E.*: *Auctor istius operis Horatius quattuor composuit libros iuxta quattuor etates, scilicet pueritiam, iuuentutem, uirilitatem et senectutem. In Odis enim increpando instruit pueros, ubi tractat lirica. In Epodo iuuenes instruendo arguit. In Sermonibus uituperat uiriles. In Epistulis uero reprehendit caute uitia senum, introducendo Mecenatem hominem morigeratum, et eum reprehendit, ut alios liberius reprehendat. Rogauerat enim Mecenas Horatium, ut eodem stilo uteretur in Epistulis quo usus est in liricis. Horatius autem hoc contradicens se excusat, dicendo quod uult intendere ad ueram morum edificationem,* ed. C. JEUDY, "Accessus aux œuvres d'Horace", in *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 1 (1971), 211.

The explicit references to the order in which Horace wrote his works that we saw in the twelfth-century *accessus* have been left out here. But it seems that they are taken for granted. Instead we find a hardening of the idealized sequence of Horace's works. The commentator has adopted a four-stage canon of ages, instead of the earlier more flexible model. There is every reason to believe that the commentator was inspired in his choice of the four-age canon by a famous passage in the *Ars Poetica.* Here Horace tells us how important it is to characterize persons in fiction according to their age, and his examples reflect a four-age concept, showing the characteristic behaviour of the child, the young man, the mature man, and the old man. The Horatian commentary-tradition systematized this passage into a doctrine of decorum, the appropriate characterization of persons. In my opinion this is another instance of the tendency to interpret Horace's oeuvre in the light of established literary concepts.

As a last example of the medieval willingness to stress the unity between Horace's life and his works I should like to quote from a twelfth-century commentary to the *Epistles,* one which I call the "Proposuerat" commentary. I begin with the end, an interpretation of the last lines of II 2, those in which Horace tells himself: "If you do not know how to live aright, make room for those who do: you have played enough,... it is time to take leave". The lines have been interpreted variously by modern scholars. Some claim that Horace speaks about the banquet of life itself, which one should leave when one cannot enjoy its pleasures any more[23]. This interpretation was originally proposed in late antiquity by Porphyrio. Other scholars, including

[23] Latest N. RUDD (ed. comm.), *Horace Epistles Book II and Epistle to the Pisones,* Cambridge 1989, ad loc.

Kiessling-Heinze and C.O. Brink[24], understand the lines as describing the choice between philosophy and the playful activities of youth, not least poetry-writing.

The "Proposuerat" commentary on the *Epistles,* which in several manuscripts is paired with the "Sciendum" commentary on the *Satires* quoted earlier, offers two different interpretations of these lines[25]. One understands the leave-taking in general moral terms, as an abandoning of vices. The other interpretation is far more specific, applying a biographical model which would no doubt satisfy Professor Brink: "When Horace was about to finish his book — for this was his last work — he addressed himself and said: YOU HAVE PLAYED ENOUGH, such as in the *Odes* (for there he treated playful matters and love affairs), YOU HAVE EATEN AND DRUNK ENOUGH (for in the same work he wrote of banquets and drinking parties), and for that reason IT IS TIME FOR YOU TO TAKE LEAVE, that is to stop writing, LEST, WHEN YOU HAVE DRUNK, that is, when you are keen on playful matters, the young men mock you, since playful matters are more appropriate for them than for old men"[26].

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[24] *Horace on Poetry*, vol. III, Cambridge 1982, ad loc.

[25] Pseudo-Acro and one of the printed medieval commentaries (BOTSCHUYVER IV 1942 [note 20 above]) ignore the problem altogether, whereas the Carolingian rewriting of Pseudo-Acro follows Porphyrio (BOTSCHUYVER I 1935 [note 19 above]).

[26] "Proposuerat" comm. Hor. *E.* II 2, 214: *Horatius finiturus librum suum - hoc enim fuit ultimum eius opus — se ipsum alloquitur dicens: LUSISTI SATIS, ut in Odis (ibi enim de ludicris et amoribus tractauit), EDISTI SATIS ATQUE BIBISTI (nam ibidem <de> commessationibus et potationibus egit), et ideo TIBI ABIRE TEMPUS EST, id est scripturam intermittere, NE te POTUM, id est ludicris intentum, derideant iuuenes quibus conueniunt magis ludicra quam senibus* (B=Bern, Burgerbibliothek 266, f. 70rA, s. xii/xiii, with variants from L=Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 8241, s. xii/xiii, f. 64rA: *ibi enim de — tractauit* om. L; *ATQUE BIBISTI* B, om. L; *ibidem* B, *ibi de* L; *et ideo* B, *nunc* L; *senibus* B, *tibi* L).

This interpretation again stresses the close connection between life and work in Horace, and between age and literary genre. The commentator is sure that this epistle is Horace's last work, because it stands at the end of the book. Horace himself is also conscious of being at the end of his career, and says farewell to poetry-writing (*scripturam intermittere*), probably in general and for ever. Horace looks back to the works of his youth, his *Odes* or *ludicra.* He is also conscious of the impossibility of taking up lyrics again, since this genre is only appropriate for a young writer. This view is in perfect harmony with the doctrine of appropriate characterization. The writer should characterize a young man with the features typical of his age, play, love and feasting. But the writer Horace, who is the embodiment of his own doctrines, claims that it is only when a writer is young that it is appropriate for him to sing of playful matters and love. The decorum of poetics has become the decorum of life. Here we see the commentator taking up a theme that is certainly Horatian in origin, but not necessarily generally valid for Horace.

However, the beginning of the commentary contains some evidence that the commentator was in fact a follower of the full life-and-works theory delineated in the sister commentary on the *Satires.* Like that commentary, the *accessus* to the *Epistles* describes the close relationship between the *Satires* and the *Epistles* with a simile from farming: in the *Satires,* Horace had rooted out the vices, in the *Epistles* he sows the virtues on the ground thus prepared. Some lines later the commentator introduces the first epistle, saying, among other things: "<Horace> writes this first letter to Maecenas, and excuses himself with the words that he ought not to write any further lyric poems, offering a valid reason... The reason is that since he has changed in age, he accordingly ought to change his temperament for the better. And in this way he censures those who,

although they have changed their age, have not changed their mind for the better"[27].

The chronological sequence *Odes-Satires-Epistles* is taken for granted, and the inevitable change of age also carries with it an obligation to change one's mind, here expressed in exclusively moral terms. However, it follows from this concept of human development that there is in fact a time in life when it is appropriate to read lyrics, and to compose lyrics, namely in youth. This point is important to note[28].

The medieval idea of Vergil the universal sage offers the most obvious parallel to and contrast with the picture that has now formed of his friend Horace. It is well-known that medieval readers of Vergil invested the chronological sequence in Vergil's oeuvre with deep significance[29]. On the social level, the sequence denotes the progression from lowly shepherds via farmers to heroic warriors. Traditionally, the canon of Vergil's works also has a stylistic significance, because they embody the

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[27] "Proposuerat" comm. Hor. *E.* I 1, 1: *Hanc... primam epistolam scribit ad Mecenatem, excusans se quod amplius lirica non debeat scribere, pretendens competentem rationem... Hec autem est ratio, quia scilicet mutauit etatem, debet igitur mutare animum in melius. Et per hoc reprehendit illos qui cum mutauerint etatem, non mutant in melius mentem* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek 266, f. 50vA, s. xii/xiii).

[28] A related theme which Peter Dronke calls "the 'times of life' topos", with youth as the time for love and old age as the time for spiritual cares, is known from late-twelfth-century lyrics (see P. DRONKE, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II", in *Mediaeval Studies* 38 [1976], 185-235, particularly 204-11 & 220); carried to its logical conclusion, this topos may suggest "a heady and subversive message: that the values of flesh and spirit are relative, that each is 'natural' in its context" (ibid. p. 206).

[29] Cp. for example F. QUADLBAUER, *Die antike Theorie der genera dicendi im lateinischen Mittelalter,* Wien 1962 (Österreichische Akademie der Wiss., Philos.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 241:2), pp. 10 f. & index s.v. Ordo-temporum-Theorie; SUERBAUM 1981 (note 16 above), p. 1226.

three levels of style, the low, the middle, and the grand. In addition, Fulgentius's interpretation from late antiquity of the *Aeneid* as a mirror of the stages of human life[30] was well known and widely accepted in the Middle Ages. The medieval Horace whom we have now encountered is a contrast. I have at least once seen Horace called *Flaccus philosophus,* but if he is a sage, his wisdom is of quite another kind from Vergil's. The chronological sequence of his works mirrors the stages of human life and its ethical development. However, Horace does not place himself above this development; he undergoes it himself in full conscience of its significance. The Middle Ages were consequently quite familiar with our modern picture of Horace as the most human and appealing of ancient poets. But they had arrived at the concept through a more speculative process, a circumstance which they on the other hand may have felt guaranteed its legitimate status!

I should like to mention a French poet who was with certainty influenced by this Horatian life-and-works model, Marbod of Rennes. Marbod was a member of the secular clergy, for many years head of the cathedral school at Angers, and appointed bishop of Rennes in 1096. He wrote poems all his life, but the work which interests us in this connection is his mature masterpiece, a collection of ten philosophical and satiric hexameter poems called the *Liber Decem Capitulorum.* The first poem of this cycle is a dedicatory letter to a fellow bishop, and its theme is precisely the parallelism between a poet's age and his choice of poetic genre. According to Marbod, *ludicra* and *iocosa* suit the young poet, *seria* the older man. For that reason Marbod himself has decided to abandon the frivolous and flashy

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[30] J.W. JONES & E.F. JONES (eds.), *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid of Vergil Commonly Attributed to Bernardus Silvestris,* Lincoln [Nebraska] & London 1977, p. xii.

poetry of his youth, and devote himself to moral themes. Marbod's principal model for this first poem is Horace, as will already have become clear. But there is no doubt in my mind that the entire sequence of poems has been conceived as a Horatian collection of hexameter poems, in a suitable Christian re-interpretation[31].

Horatius liricus

Horace the poet of human development is a concept which has particular importance when we scrutinize the widely differing medieval attitudes to the *Odes,* or rather the pronounced medieval ambivalence towards the *Odes.* It is one thing to know that the young Horace wrote his lyrics for young Romans about the passions of the young, but quite another thing to accept that the *Odes* should be taught to medieval schoolboys for the same reason! Nevertheless this is exactly what happened, to a certain extent. In the following I shall discuss some extracts from the commentary tradition which may illuminate the reasons for this. Very little has been written on medieval attitudes to Horace's *Odes,* whereas our knowledge is much better of how the *Art of Poetry,* the *Satires,* and the *Epistles* were read. Udo

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[31] There is an excellent recent critical edition, with commentary, of Marbod's cycle, by R. LEOTTA: *Marbodi Liber decem capitulorum,* Roma 1984, in which parallels to Horace have been carefully noted. However, Leotta does not subscribe to the theory of E. Galletier ("L'imitation et les souvenirs d'Horace chez Marbode, évêque de Rennes", in *Mélanges bretons et celtiques offerts à J. Loth,* Rennes & Paris 1927, pp. 79-91) that Horace is Marbod's main model, but follows W. BULST ("Studien zu Marbods Carmina varia und Liber decem capitulorum", *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Fachgruppe IV,* N.F. 2, 1939, pp. 173-241, esp. 213-15) in his rejection of Galletier. The case could be stated in a much more radical form than Galletier did, and with better arguments.

Kindermann's monograph on "The theory of Satire in the Latin Middle Ages" has contributed to that state of affairs[32].

One of the few recent publications on the Horatian commentary tradition is an article by Bernhard Bischoff, "Living with the Satirists"[33]. Even if Persius and the *satirist* Horace is his main subject, Bischoff also discusses one or two commentaries on the *Odes* in this very stimulating paper. Among his conclusions is that a number of late-eleventh- and early-twelfth-century commentaries on Horace and Persius represents a common trend or mode of interpretation. Their most characteristic common feature is that they often modernize their interpretation by making references to the Christian and medieval world, both to its ideas and its reality. Bischoff's observation is interesting, because other commentators on Horace are very consciously impersonal and out of their own time, writing as if they were still living in a pagan society. A typical aspect of the modernizing commentaries is robust moralizing, and there is reason to believe that they were primarily intended for instruction on a rather elementary level in schools.

However, both types of commentaries define the lyrical genre in more or less similar terms. Their main point of departure is Horace's own definition in the *Ars Poetica* (lines 83 ff.), which we have already encountered once. As a representative of the more impersonal commentaries I should like to quote a passage in a twelfth-century *accessus* to the *Odes* transmitted

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[32] U. KINDERMANN, *Satyra. Die Theorie der Satire im Mittellateinischen. Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte,* Nürnberg 1978 (Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, 58); for the *Art of Poetry* see for instance K. FRIIS-JENSEN 1990 (note 12 above).

[33] *Mittellateinische Studien,* vol. III, Stuttgart 1981, pp. 260-70 (originally published in 1971).

in a Vatican manuscript — its author quotes his authority perhaps even more conscientiously than usual:

"Horace's subject matter in this work is the subject matter common to all lyrics, namely praise of the gods, young men and women, banquets and drinking parties, love-affairs and quarrels, and the like, in accordance with Horace's words: "To the lyre the Muse granted tales of gods and children of gods, of the victor in boxing, of the horse first in the race, of the loves of young men, and of freedom over wine". Horace's intention is partly to praise, partly to criticize... To criticize means to tell humorously about somebody's ill doings or sayings, and that is what <Horace> does in the *Odes*... But the objective of this work is pleasure, in accordance with Horace's saying: "Poets aim either to benefit, or to amuse, or to utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life". For in no other writing is the pleasure greater than in lyric poetry"[34].

We should note two points of this definition. For one thing, it mentions hymns or praise of the gods as a typical theme for a lyric poem, a statement which is often found in *accessus* to the *Odes*. Horace himself included several hymns among his *Odes*, as medieval readers of course noticed. Christian hymns were also regularly composed in lyrical metres in the Middle

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[34] Vatican commentary to Hor. *C.*: *Materia... Horatii in hoc opere est illa communis materia omnium liricorum, laudes scilicet deorum, iuuenes et uirgines, commessationes et potationes, amores et iurgia et his similia iuxta illud Horatii* [*A.P.* 83 sqq.] *"Musa dedi<t> fidibus diuos puerosque deorum Et pugilem uictorem et equum in certamine primum Et iuuenum curas et libera uina referre". Intentio eius est partim laudare partim uituperare... Uituperare... est male facta uel dicta alicuius iocose narrare, quod facit in Odis. ... Finis uero huius operis est delectatio, iuxta illud Horatii* [*A.P.* 333 sq.] *"Aut prodesse uolunt aut delectare poete Aut iocunda simul et idonea dicere uitę". In nullis enim scriptis maior delectatio est quam in liricis*, ed. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 92.

Ages. The influence from Prudentius above all is important in this context. But in my opinion no particular need was felt to distinguish sharply between Prudentius and Horace's lyrics, since Prudentius's only novelty had been to christianize one of the sub-genres of the lyrical tradition.

The other interesting feature of the Vatican commentary is the importance it gives to pleasure as an aspect of lyric poetry. In its *accessus* pleasure is made the sole 'objective' of the lyrical genre. This may relate to the circumstance that, as far as I know, the Vatican commentary belongs to the more impersonal or timeless, and less christianizing, of the two types mentioned. But the daring is mitigated by a little trick on the part of the commentator: he has split up the traditional rubric *intentio* of the *accessus* into two, *intentio* and *finis,* which is not so common. His *intentio* then proclaims the moral aspect of the *Odes,* his *finis* the pleasurable aspect.

A representative of the more modernizing commentaries on Horace is found in an English twelfth-century manuscript now in Magdalen College, Oxford. However, the modernizing trend does not mark its definition of the lyrical genre to any great extent. It defines the lyric genre in more or less the same terms as the Vatican commentary, but it is more specific about what pleasure means, at the same time stressing the moral aspect:

"Horace's subject matter in the lyrics is praise of gods and human beings, and young men's love-affairs and all other pleasures, such as entertainments <and> parties. This will be clear when he says later on in his *Art of Poetry:* "To the lyre the Muse granted <tales>", etc. But what his intention is will appear from the historical events... [*Horace had joined Brutus in Thessaly, but he returned to Rome after the defeat and obtained the patronage of Maecenas, Pollio, and Augustus Cesar*] And when the said princes saw that Horace was idle, they asked him to describe their deeds in lyric song. For they knew that he was the only brilliant practitioner of this craft among the Latins. On

their request Horace therefore began to write lyric poetry, and in that he intended to please the said princes and the other Romans, both by the novelty of his poetry and by <its> pleasantness of speech, even if he also sometimes rebuked vices and praised virtues. But the reason for Horace's intention is to win the favour of the Roman princes through such pleasantries, and at the same time enrich the speech of the Latins, who had no part in this craft, by such magisterial examples"[35].

For the Oxford commentator the pleasure of Horace's *Odes* lies both in their subject matter and in their form. Among the pleasant themes of the *Odes* are love and entertainment, whereas the wording leaves it more uncertain whether praise of gods and men also belongs in this category. The pleasant form of the lyric poem has two sides, as it seems, the pleasantness of the poetic idiom itself, *iocunditas sermonis,* but also the novelty of the lyrical genre in Horace's Rome, *novitas carminis.* The pleasantness of the lyric form will be discussed later in connection with the key word *varietas,* variety.

The Oxford commentator extends the encomiastic aspect of the lyric genre which we found in the Vatican commentary so that it also covers praise of human beings. The commentator is

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[35] Oxford comm., acces. Hor. *C.*: *Materia Horatii in lirico carmine sunt laudes deorum et hominum, et iuuenum amores et quelibet alię delectationes, utpote ioculationes, conuiuationes; quod quidem patebit ubi dicet in Poetria* [*A.P.* 83] *"Musa dedit fidibus" et cetera. Quę uero sit eius intentio, ex rei hystoria patebit... Cumque predicti principes Horatium uiderent otiari, rogauerunt eum ut actus suos lirico carmine describeret. In hac enim scientia sciebant eum apud Latinos solum choruschare. Rogatu itaque istorum Horatius liricum carmen incepit scribere, intenditque in eo principes predictos ceterosque Romanos et nouitate carminis et iocunditate sermonis delectare, uitia tamen quandoque reprimendo et uirtutes attollendo. Causa uero intentionis eius est, ut per huiusmodi delectationes Romanorum principum possit assequi gratiam, Latinorumque qui huius sciencię expertes erant per huiusmodi preceptiones ditare eloquentiam,* ed. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 112.

naturally here in accordance with Horace's own practice, which the commentator knows and makes quite explicit. The unsentimental picture he gives of Horace's relationship with his patrons and public almost amounts to an analysis of literary patronage in general, valid not only for ancient Rome, but also for a twelfth-century feudal society.

According to the Oxford commentator, Horace's intention in the *Odes* is both pleasure and benefit. On the one hand he attempts to please his patrons, on the other to give benefit by instructing his audience. Horace aims at inspiring his contemporaries with the literary excellence of his poems, but moral edification is also in his mind, at least intermittently.

In order to elucidate what a medieval commentator could mean by pleasure in connection with the formal aspect of the *Odes*, I should like to quote the corresponding passages in the commentary on the *Odes* mentioned by Bischoff. It is preserved in a manuscript from the first half of the twelfth century now in St Gall, but it may have been composed earlier, probably at the end of the eleventh century, and possibly in the Liège region[36]. The ink has unfortunately paled much on the relevant page, but the text should be fairly sure:

"The ancient authors call this book lyrics, the book of songs, or odes. <The name> lyrics is derived, as Isidore tells, from *lirin,* that is from variety. For in this book the metre is varied, and the subject matter is varied, too. As to the metre, it is for instance asclepiadic in one ode, sapphic in the next — and in this way Horace employs nineteen different metres in his work. But the subject is varied, because it does not deal with one or two persons, such as Lucan does, but in one ode <it deals> with one and in the next with another. This book is named the book of *carmina,* of songs, not because the name is

[36] Cp. SIEWERT 1986 (note 9 above), p. 216.

appropriate only for this book, since every poem that is composed in a pleasant manner may be called by this name — for we call all kinds of singing which please the listeners *carmina.* But nevertheless, because the pleasure of themes and metres is found to a higher degree in this book, it lays claim to the name as its own"[37].

Here it appears that pleasure is a common feature of all songs: a song which is composed in a pleasant manner will please the listener! This is perhaps not very surprising, not least because pleasure has always been regarded as an important aspect of music, as for instance Boethius stresses[38]. But the commentator also points to the specific pleasure to be found in Horace's songs, namely the pleasure connected with *positiones* and *metra.* The standard epithet of Horace's metres is that they are varied, and this is also the expression used here. I am more doubtful about the word *positiones,* which has so many different meanings. However, since the St Gall commentator mentions, in one breath, *varium metrum et varia materia* as characteristics of Horace's *Odes,* it should be fairly safe to understand *positiones* as a synonym of *materia,* subject matter. I suspect that there is a very strong link between the concept of pleasure and the

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[37] St Gall comm. Hor. *C.*, accessus: *Appellant... auctores hunc librum lyrica, librum carminum, odas. Lyrica ut dicit Ysidorus apo ty lirin, id est a uarietate. Est enim in hoc libro uarium metrum et uaria materia, metrum ut cum una oda est asclepiadeum, in sequenti est saphicum — et sic decem et nouem uariis metris utitur Horatius in hoc opere. Materia uero diuersa est, quia non ut Lucanus de una uel duabus personis agit, sed in una oda de una et in sequenti de alia. Liber uero carminum nuncupatur hic liber, non quod nomen sibi soli conueniat, cum omne poema delectabiliter factum hoc nomine uocari possit (carmina enim uocamus quaslibet cantiones auditores delectantes); sed tamen, quia delectatio positionum et metrorum in hoc libro magis inuenitur, quas<i> proprium sibi hoc uendicat* (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 868, s. xii 1/2, pag. 13).

[38] See below.

concept of variety, and one which every medieval student would probably find self-evident! I am naturally thinking of the maxim *varietas delectat*, which is well-known in antiquity and in the Middle Ages[39]. But no exegetical text I have seen so far makes an explicit coupling between *varietas* and *delectatio*.

The concept of *varietas* is perhaps the most frequently mentioned feature of Horace's lyric poetry. The starting point seems to be the weird etymology for the word *lyricus* offered by Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* III 22, 8 & VIII 7, 4)[40]. Several commentators repeat this etymology, among them again the St Gall commentator, who even mentions its provenance, as we saw. We need not go into detail about how the etymology came into existence, only note that the common link between poetry and the Greek verb λῆρεῖν, 'to be foolish' or 'delirious', must be the idea of the *furor poeticus*. In any case the etymology became a commonplace. Since the derivation from the instrument *lyra* was also known in the Middle Ages, it is perhaps of interest to see how the two etymologies were harmonized. I quote the widely-read Hugutio of Pisa, who says, in his *Magnae Derivationes* from the end of the twelfth century:

"Lirin in Greek means diversity or variety in Latin. Hence the lyre is a kind of instrument for singing, as if named from variety, because it makes various sounds. And hence the adjective lyric, belonging to the lyre, or sweet and delightful. For that reason Horace's songs are called lyrics, since they were recited to the accompaniment of the lyre. Or the adjective lyric

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[39] See A. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, p. 361 n° 1848, cp. H. WALTHER, *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi* I-VI, Göttingen 1963-69, n^{os} 13098, 21721a, 32905a.

[40] Cp. J. FONTAINE, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, Paris 1959, pp. 434 f., who also lists earlier occurrences of the etymology.

is derived from lirin, that is diverse or various. And hence Horace's songs are called lyrics from the variety of the songs contained in them"[41].

Considering the strange departure-point in the Isidoran etymology, Hugutio manages quite well to find his way, not least because his method allows alternative explanations. The connection between the instrument 'lyre' and the adjective 'lyric' comes out, and so does the classical idea that lyrical poetry should be sung to the strains of the lyre. In fact, medieval students of Horace took this idea so seriously that they actually composed music to some of the *Odes*[42]. Another point is that the alternative interpretation of *lyricus* as *dulcis et suavis* may be associated with the concept of *delectatio.*

I have already mentioned that, apart from the coupling between *deleclatio* and *varietas,* it would be natural to see music or song as another aspect of the *delectatio* connected with lyrical poetry. Boethius for instance speaks about *cantilenae dulcis delectatio* and *musicae delectatio,* "the pleasure of sweet song" and "the pleasure of music"[43]. The point of departure would undoubtedly again be etymology. We have already seen in the St Gall commentary that the word *carmen* was associated with song. As to the word *oda,* medieval scholars also had their own

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[41] *Lirin grece, latine dicitur diuersitas uel uarietas. Inde hec lira est quoddam instrumentum canendi quasi a uarietate uocatum, quia diuersos sonos efficit. Et hinc liricus -a -um, ad liram pertinens, uel dulcis et suauis. Unde carmina Oratii dicuntur lirica, quia cum lira decantabantur. Uel a lirin liricus -a -um, id est diuersus uel uarius. Et hinc carmina Oratii dicuntur lirica a uarietate carminum, que in eis continentur* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15462, s. xiii, fol. 80rA).

[42] See for instance S. CORBIN, "Comment on chantait les classiques latins au Moyen-Age", pp. 107-13, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicales offerts à Paul-Marie Masson,* vol. I, Paris 1955.

[43] Boeth. *Mus.* I 1, pp. 180 & 186 Friedlein.

ideas. I again quote Hugutio, who sums up everything so conveniently:

"Ode in Greek means praise in Latin, and also song, and end, and way. Hence one of Horace's books is intitled the *Book of Odes,* that is of songs or of praises, because his aim in this work is to praise, and every single poem in it is fit to be sung. For that reason every single poem is also <called> ode, in the meaning praise or song"[44].

In this definition, Hugutio again stresses the singable qualities of Horace's *Odes,* just as he did in the definition of the word lyric. It should not astonish us that ode means 'song', whereas perhaps the translation 'praise', *laus*, is more surprising. Most likely this translation originates in a confusion with another word for song, *hymnus*, which is normally translated *laus,* 'praise'[45]. However, in Greek ᾠδή often means a song of praise, so that the translation 'praise' cannot be called a complete miss. We saw earlier that the Vatican and the Oxford commentators on the *Odes* listed praise as a theme of lyric poetry, but there it was done on the basis of Horace's own definition of the lyric genre in his *Art of Poetry.* The medieval 'etymology' *oda-laus,* which is found in many other texts besides Hugutio, now offers another explanation for the fact that praise of the gods, or of God, is recognized as a standard subject matter for lyrical poetry.

We may now claim that we have reached an overall view of what *delectatio* implied for Horace's *Odes,* namely: the

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[44] Hugutio of Pisa, *Magnae Derivationes: Oda -e grece, latine dicitur laus, et oda cantus, et oda finis, et oda uia. Hinc quidam liber Oratii intitulatur liber odarum, id est cantuum uel laudum, quia ibi laudare intendit et quelibet eius distinctio est cantabilis. Unde et quelibet eius distinctio oda, quasi laus uel cantus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15462, s. xiii, fol. 99vA).

[45] See *ThLL*, s.v. hymnus, pp. 3143-5 *passim.*

pleasant nature of some of the themes themselves; the pleasure connected with a variety of metres and a variety of themes; and finally the pleasure of music in general, since the *Odes* were considered to be songs composed for performance.

The next question is what the reading of Horace's *Odes* could contribute to the other purpose of secular poetry, the benefit aspect of the antithesis *prodesse-delectare.* The Vatican commentary stressed the pleasurable aspect of the *Odes* almost to the exclusion of any benefit. However, most commentators of the *Odes* try to balance between the two. As to what good the reading of the *Odes* may do, the answer is always that it contributes to the moral edification of the readers. This is a claim which commentators will make for almost any kind of secular poetry, with Horace's own *Ars Poetica* as one of the very few exceptions, as we have already seen. The ultimate reason for doing so was no doubt to justify the reading of non-Christian, and therefore potentially dangerous, texts. To quote Philippe Delhaye, a scholar who has written a series of interesting articles on the connection between ethics and the reading of pagan authors in the twelfth-century school curriculum: "Pour apaiser leur conscience et se justifier du reproche d'abandonner l'évangile, les humanistes du XII^{e} siècle donnent à l'aspect moral des textes étudiés une importance bien plus grande que les anciens"[46].

In the formulaic language of the medieval *accessus* to school authors, the relevant rubric, apart from those of intention and usefulness, is the one formed as a question, namely "to which branch of learning does the work belong", *cui parti philosophiae supponitur* ? The standard answer for the works of the pagan authors is that they belong to moral philosophy or

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[46] "'Grammatica' et 'Ethica' au XII^{e} siècle", in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 25 (1958), 71.

ethics, *ethicae supponuntur*. So some of the *accessus* to the *Odes* actually proclaim, without any further deliberation[47]. However, the Oxford commentary discusses the question in unusual detail. There we read: "If we consider this book written for the sake of giving pleasure, it cannot belong to any branch of true philosophy... But if we consider that it also sometimes rebukes vices, praises virtues, and instructs us, as it were, in moral behaviour, we may, with the help of learning, classify it as belonging to moral philosophy"[48].

The Oxford commentator here exposes the conflict between pleasure and moral benefit and concisely catches the medieval ambivalence towards Horace's *Odes*. The commentator himself accepts the traditional view that it is possible to extract a moral lesson from a Horatian ode. Moreover, he actually follows up this decision by pointing out the moral lesson which every individual ode offers the reader. Consequently, all introductions to the single odes are structured in the same way. They first give the necessary information about the addressee of the ode, or the background in general, then explain Horace's purpose in his poem. And finally the commentator sums up what we can learn from it. This section is normally introduced by a characteristic phrase, such as: "In this ode Horace intends to give us the following moral lesson", "Here all those may be warned who do so and so", "We too are being taught, that etc.", *In hac... oda talem moralitatem dare nobis intendit quod,* etc. (I 2), *Possunt hic notari omnes qui,* etc. (I 20), *Docemur et nos quia,* etc. (I

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[47] For example Vat. Reg. lat. 1780, s. xii/xiii, fol. 52v, ed. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 147.

[48] Oxford comm. Hor. *C.*, accessus: *Si consulimus quod causa delectandi liber iste factus fuit, nulli recte philosophie parti debet supponi... Si uero consulimus quod etiam quandoque uitia reprimit, uirtutes attollit, quodammodo de moribus nos instruit, et, mediante scientia, morali philosophię potest supponi,* ed. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 112.

26). The moral instruction we are given is usually of a very prosaic kind and always explained in simple words, so that any schoolboy would understand it. I should like to quote an example which illustrates the christianizing trend in the Oxford commentary. The text selected here introduces the *sixth ode* of Book Two, in which Horace longs for the quiet of Tibur or Tarentum:

"Horace has come to despise this world with all its pleasures and in future wishes to subject himself to the monastic rule. For being already weary of those worldly affairs, he meditates in advance on the end of his life and is longing to find a suitable locality to spend his old age. He invites his friend Septimius to do the same. We too are being taught to work towards a good end, and to seek out for ourselves a solitary place, suitable for a moral life; and any friends we have we must invite to do the same"[49].

There is every reason to believe that the commentator is conscious of the anachronism of his interpretation. But he also knows that the wisest of the ancients pursued the same ideals of a moral life as the Christians later did. Why not press this knowledge, and 'translate' Horace's thoughts directly into contemporary idiom ? Such modernizing probably serves both a didactic and an apologetic purpose: it engages the attention of the students, but it also contributes to justifying the reading of pagan authors. The Oxford commentator is not alone in some-

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[49] Oxford comm. Hor. *C.* II 6: *Horatius hoc mundo contempto cum omni eius oblectatione monachali regule uult ulterius deseruire. Iam enim fatigatus pro istis mundanis de exitu uitę suę precogitat, locum senectuti suę congruum inuenire exoptat. Amicum suum Septimium ad idem faciendum inuitat. Docemur et nos ut ad bonum exitum habendum laboremus, locumque solitarium et ad bene uiuendum congruum nobis perquiramus; et si quos amicos habemus, ad idem faciendum inuitare debemus,* ed. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 123.

times making a monk of Horace and his friends, but normally the term *monachus* is qualified by a *quasi,* "like a monk"[50].

However, now and then Horace allows himself to stand in a rather dubious light according to Christian moral terms. The Oxford commentator escapes the difficulty simply by making Horace into a warning for others. He says for instance: "Through this depraved Horace all those are warned who do so and so", or "Through Horace acting in this way those are warned who do so and so"[51]. It is then left to the reader to decide whether Horace exposes himself purposely, in order to teach others a lesson. Professor Bischoff actually found evidence to show that the St Gall commentator believed that Horace in such cases deliberately assumed a fictitious *persona*[52].

We may smile at the energy spent by some of the commentators at making Horace acceptable to pious Christians. But it is a fact that in the whole medieval period a deep resentment against the classical tradition lay just beneath the surface in certain parts of the ecclesiastical establishment. Against this background it may almost be seen as an act of defiance when commentators dare proclaim openly that the purpose of the *Odes* is instruction and edification of the young[53].

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[50] Cp. FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 (note 21 above), p. 89, and for christianization in general BISCHOFF 1981 (note 33 above), p. 266.

[51] Oxford comm. Hor. *C.* I 19: *Per Horatium sic degenerem notantur quamplurimi qui,* etc., and *C.* I 25 *Per Horatium sic facientem notantur illi qui,* etc.

[52] BISCHOFF 1981 (note 33 above), p. 267, cp. the Vatican commentator to *C.* II 6 (FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 [note 21 above], p. 101) *ut eum inde facilius retrahat* [sc. Horatius], *crimina illius in se ipsum transformat.*

[53] Besides the texts already quoted cp. for instance St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 868, s. xii 1/2, pag. 13 *Est... intentio et utilitas ut iuuenes, quos Horatius in primo suo opere instruere intendit, doceantur;* Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 1780, s. xii/xiii, fol. 52v (FRIIS-JENSEN 1988 [note 21 above], p. 147) *Materia* [sc. libri odarum]: *Iuuenilis moralitas. Intentio... pubica*

We are now in a position to return to Wilkinson's statement that Horace was not "read as a whole", meaning that the *Odes* were neglected. Already on the basis of the few exegetical texts I have quoted, a different picture emerges. Medieval readers considered Horace's *Odes* an important part of his oeuvre. Moreover, they were ready to appreciate the *Odes* in all their diversity, and even saw *varietas* as one of the fundamental characteristics of the genre. According to medieval definitions, sacred hymns were just as suitable for lyric verse as eulogies of princes, love poems, and drinking songs. It is also a recurring view that lyric poems were meant to be sung. These medieval notions should be kept in mind whenever one discusses the other side to the Horatian tradition in the Middle Ages, the many poems written by readers of Horace who wanted to imbue their own creations with a Horatian spirit.

Horace and medieval lyrics

In Christian poetry the inspiration from Horace manifests itself mainly in the choice of metres. Prudentius and Boethius were the first Christian poets who undertook a grand-scale imitation of Horace's lyrics. Later medieval writers of Christian poetry in lyric form assimilated the poetic idiom and the metrical variety of Prudentius and Boethius, even when they had a first-hand knowledge of Horace and clearly also wanted to emulate him. Jupiter's daughter, the Muse of lyric poetry, had become a Christian, as the eleventh-century poet Hermann of Reichenau tells us. According to Hermann she could nevertheless still sing of both *ludicra* and *seria,* playful and serious subjects[54]. However, for a Christian lyric poet there is an

ut nos informet iuuenili moralitate.

[54] See for instance M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lat. Literatur des Mittel-*

understandable tendency to become the less Horatian in spirit the more seriously Christian a subject he chooses.

The twelfth-century Bavarian monk Metellus of Tegernsee is an interesting example of a poet who systematically reinterpreted the classics in Christian terms. He wrote the life and passion of St Quirinus, the patron saint of his monastery, in a series of lyric poems in different metres. He proclaims that they are "composed in different metres after the fashion of Flaccus Horatius's *Odes*"[55]. A closer look at them shows that he in fact first imitates all Horace's metres systematically, and then goes on to imitate and combine the metrical innovations of Prudentius and Boethius. Metellus's imitation of Horace also includes systematic verbal borrowing. However, his final text is completely un-Horatian and overwhelmingly Christian in spirit.

The Italian poet Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno in the second half of the eleventh century, is exceptional in his successful fusion of Christianity with a true Horatian spirit. Among his lyric poems are an ode occasioned by the consecration of a new basilica in Montecassino, and a eulogy for the prince of Salerno, two sub-genres of whose possible Horatian connotations the Middle Ages were fully aware. Alphanus's personal and occasional poems bear a strong Horatian stamp, but when he writes Christian hymns in lyric stanzas, the direct classical influence is also unmistakable.

As an example of Alphanus's style I should like to quote the last stanza of a sapphic poem in twenty stanzas to his friend

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alters, vol. II, München 1923 (Handbuch der Altertums-Wissenschaft, IX:2), pp. 768 f.

[55] *Incipiunt odę Quirinalium Metelli in laudibus beati Quirini martyris ad instar Flacci Oratii diuerso metri genere editę*, p. 172 in the ed. by P.C. JACOBSEN, *Die Quirinalien des Metellus von Tegernsee,* Leiden & Köln 1965 (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 1). In the preface Jacobsen also discusses Metellus's imitation of Horace.

William, monk and teacher. The poem denounces worldly glory and riches and praises monastic poverty, in an imaginative poetic language full of wit and striking effects. One effect is to insert an eight-stanza-long animal fable in order to illustrate the theme. Alphanus's inspiration for doing so is naturally Horace's fable of the country mouse and the city mouse in *S.* II 6. Alphanus ends the poem on a personal note with a distinctly Horatian colouring: "I need no purse full of coins, no kingly dignity nor kingly dishes, as long as there is bread and a jar of good Calenian wine on the table":

Non mihi marsupia plena nummis,
Non honor desunt epulaeque regum,
Dum Ceres detur simul et Caleno
Plena diota.[56]

The phrasing shows one or two Horatian features, certainly, but most revealing is perhaps the gentle Horatian self-irony. Alphanus himself had taken monastic vows in his youth, and he is without doubt quite sincere in his praise of frugality. But even if bread and wine are appropriate symbols of monastic frugality, the very choice of the word for wine, *Calenum,* qualifies Alphanus's sternness, since Calenian wine was well-known for its excellence. In such situations there is only a small step from Alphanus the monastic Horatian poet to his contemporary, Horace the monk, invented by christianizing commentators.

I have chosen Alphanus as an example of a medieval poet who wrote in quantitative lyric metres, but many others could be mentioned, also writers of secular poetry. We have already met another lyric poet who was contemporary with Alphanus,

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[56] *PL* 147 p. 1261; for *diota* cp. Hor. *C.* I 9, 8, for *Caleno* e.g. Hor. *C.* I 20, 9 and I 31, 9.

Reginald of Canterbury. Reginald was born and educated in France, but spent his active life as a writer in England. Metellus of Tegernsee, on the other hand, was a German. Precisely Italy, Germany, and (not least) France were the central regions for the interest in Horace in the Middle Ages. Chronologically speaking, the interest in Horace probably peaked in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In general, Horace's hexameter poetry continued to keep its position near the top of the classical canon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, even if first of all Ovid had become a dangerous rival. This is the period of Dante's "Orazio satiro". In contrast, interest in Horace's lyric oeuvre seems to have diminished[57]. A statement by Hugo of Trimberg may be symptomatic of its time, the late thirteenth century. In his long enumeration of classical and medieval school authors Hugo claims that Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* were *minus usuales,* "less common" or perhaps even "less useful", whereas he gives full attention to the *Art of Poetry, Satires,* and *Epistles.* However, in a recent study of the tradition of Latin prosody and metrics in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Jürgen Leonhardt observes that the theoretical interest in quantitative lyric metres seems to live on in late-medieval Italy, even when it has disappeared in France and Germany[58]. When in future the commentaries to Horace's *Odes* from this period have also been investigated, we will know whether Humanist interest in Horace's *Odes* was in fact a revival or not.

In the production of Latin verse from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, the new rhythmical technique became

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[57] See for instance STEMPLINGER 1921 (note 5 above), pp. 50 f.

[58] J. LEONHARDT, *Dimensio syllabarum. Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance,* Göttingen 1989 (Hypomnemata, 92), p. 124.

increasingly popular, and in the end gained the upper hand in certain genres such as satire and lyric poetry. Inspiration from the classical tradition remained important, but our opportunities to trace dependence from particular authors diminish with the disappearance of metrical model patterns. It is rare to see Horace's *Odes* drawn into the discussion as possible models for the new rhythmical poetry, even when thematic similarities are pronounced. We need not be surprised at that, since generations of scholars have been convinced that Horace's *Odes* were very seldom read in the High Middle Ages. Now a different picture is taking form, and the profile of a medieval lyrical poet Horace is emerging from the commentaries. It seems to me that this new lyric Horace has a potential influence on our assessment of the development of rhythmical lyric poetry. The key concepts of the medieval lyric Horace were a variety of metres, a variety of themes, including all the generally-accepted themes of the lyrical tradition, and last, but not least, melodiousness or singability, since it was generally believed that Horace's *Odes* were meant to be sung. All these features of the Horatian ode are also characteristic of the medieval rhythmical lyrics. The important thing is not whether modern scholars are able to feel any affinity between Horace and these poems, but whether they may have appeared Horatian in the eyes of a medieval poet. Time will show whether it is possible to accord Horace status as an important model for medieval lyrics in general. However, I shall give an example of a medieval lyric poet who in my opinion is a likely candidate as a Horatian.

Scholars have recognised Horace's importance in general for Archbishop Rainald of Dassel's and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's court poet, known as the Archpoet[59]. The ten

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[59] The most important recent contributions discussing the Archpoet's use of Horace are: K. LANGOSCH (ed. transl.), *Hymnen und Vagantenlieder*, Darmstadt

extant poems which can with certainty be ascribed to the Archpoet, were all written in the early 1160s, but they probably only constitute a fragment of his production. Two poems are written in rhymed hexameters, the rest in rhythmical metres. I should like to take a quick glance at numbers IV and IX, the two most Horatian poems in the collection, both written in the "Vagantenstrophe".

Poem IV is addressed to Archbishop Rainald in the form of a *recusatio,* a refusal to write an epic about the Emperor's conquests. The Archpoet's poem is most likely an answer to an actual request, but the form he chooses cannot avoid raising associations with illustrious models in Roman poetry, not least Horace[60]. P.G. Walsh observed the parallel and put it as follows in his introduction to an anthology of medieval lyrics, without (by the way) including the poem in it: "Rainald... had put pressure on the Archpoet to commemorate in epic verses the Italian campaigns of the emperor. But the Archpoet preferred the less exacting role of a Horace, and in imitation of that model he pleaded that he could not write beyond his powers"[61]. The poem abounds in quotations from and allusions to Horace, as carefully noted by for instance Karl Langosch and Watenphul-Krefeld. However, they do not take the logical next step, which is to consider the entire poem a conscious recreation of a

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1954, *passim*; H. WATENPHUL — H.KREFELD (eds.), *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta,* Heidelberg 1958, *passim*; O. ZWIERLEIN, "Antike Motive beim Archipoeta und im 'Ligurinus'", in *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1972), 102-24; QUINT 1988 (note 3 above), pp. 38-40.

[60] Cp. for example E. FRAENKEL, *Horace*, Oxford 1957, pp. 219 ff., and G. WILLIAMS, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry*, Oxford 1968, pp. 46 f.

[61] The quotation is from: P.G. WALSH (ed.), *Thirty poems from the Carmina Burana*, University of Reading 1976, p. 3. Poem IV is not transmitted among the *Carmina Burana.*

Horatian ode, such as Walsh did, quite *en passant,* but in my opinion with good reason.

Poem IX is the famous imperial hymn to Barbarossa, *Salve mundi domine, Cesar noster ave!* The Archpoet has written, not the epic Rainald wanted, but a long, majestic hymn, which nevertheless manages to include a lot of topical detail about military campaigns. Frederick's political programme of *renovatio imperii* also obtains full coverage, and the parallel between Frederick and Augustus is constantly present, explicitly and implicitly. Again Horace has been brought into the picture, particularly in connection with verbal echoes from the *first* epistle of Book Two, addressed to Augustus. Scholars have not hesitated to conclude that the Archpoet wanted us to see the parallel between Frederick and Horace's Augustus. But there must be more to it than than. The poet and his poem also figure conspicuously in the poetic universe of this hymn, and moreover introduced in a way that reminds us of Horace. I therefore find it natural to go a step further than other scholars have yet done, and assume that the Archpoet identified himself, too, with an ancient Roman, namely Horace. I would even suggest that it was Horace the lyric poet whom the Archpoet saw as his great example.

The relations between the Archpoet, his principal patron Rainald, and Frederick are not unlike those between Horace, Maecenas, and Augustus. Would this parallelism also occur to a twelfth-century German? I believe that we can answer in the affirmative. Frederick himself and his counsellor Rainald deliberately presented their new Holy Roman Empire as a renewal of ancient Rome, and the Archpoet pictures Frederick as a second Augustus. Moreover, it is not unusual in the Horatian commentary tradition to find Maecenas described as Augustus's chancellor, *cancellarius,* and that is exactly what

Rainald was to Frederick[62]. In order to make my point I should like to quote some stanzas:

[...]/ omnes ergo Cesari sumus debitores,
qui pro nostra requie sustinet labores.
Dent fruges agricole, pisces piscatores,
auceps uolatilia, feras uenatores:
nos poete pauperes, opum contemptores,
scribendo Cesareos canimus honores.
Filius ecclesie fidem sequor sanam,
contempno gentilium falsitatem uanam;
unde iam non inuoco Febum uel Dianam
nec a Musis postulo linguam Tullianam.
Christi sensus imbuat mentem christianam,
ut de christo domini digna laude canam,
qui potenter sustinens sarcinam mundanam
releuat in pristinum gradum rem Romanam[63].

I find it quite likely that Caesar Frederick who undertakes such hardships for us should be identified with the Augustus of Horace's *Epistles* II 1, he who "carries the weight of so many

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[62] Cp. H.J. BOTSCHUYVER IV 1942 (note 20 above), p. 319 (ad *E.* I 1, 1): *Maecenatem Octauiani imperatoris cancellarium,* and BISCHOFF 1981 (note 33 above), p. 268.

[63] Archipoeta IX 5, 3 ff.: "We are... all indebted to Cesar, who undertakes <such> hardships for the sake of our peace. — Farmers can donate fruits of the earth, fishermen their fish, fowlers their wildfowl, hunters their game: we poets, penniless but contemners of riches, sing Caesar's praise in our poems. — As a son of the Church I am a follower of the sound faith, and despise the pagans' empty falsehoods; for that reason I now do *not* invoke Phoebus or Diana, nor ask the Muses for a Ciceronian tongue. — May the mind of Christ fill my Christian soul, so that I can sing of the Lord's Anointed in worthy praise, he who powerfully carries the burden of this world, and is raising the Roman Empire to its former status".

great charges, guarding our Italian state with arms"[64]. But the poet who presents his emperor with a poem in place of tribute, just as farmers, fishermen, fowlers, and hunters give their products, is to me a very Horatian figure, too. Otto Zwierlein makes the poet's gesture into an Ovidian interpretation of the classical topos "in place of gold and silver the poet donates his poems"[65]. A topos, yes, but why Ovidian, since for instance Horace also uses the topos in his *Odes,* as Zwierlein himself mentions. But first of all the very concrete and suggestive juxtaposition of farmers and hunters with poets seems to me particularly Horatian in spirit. Exactly such professions are set up as contrasts for Horace the lyric poet in the very *first ode.*

The following two stanzas are presented as a justification of the Archpoet's assuming the role of an ancient poet. Again certain features point to Horace. The deities which the Archpoet is determined *not* to invoke are the central deities of the *Carmen Saeculare,* Apollo and Diana. The Apollo of that ode is the one particularly implored to preserve, in the future, the Roman Empire, *res Romana* — the very phrase used by the Archpoet. Apollo is of course also a god with particularly close relations to both Augustus and Horace. But the Archpoet is a Christian, so that his prayer for inspiration is directed to Christ instead[66]. With a verbal trick the Archpoet nevertheless manages to deify his Augustus, in a manner worthy of Horace and the other Augustan poets. Frederick is called *christus Domini,* the Lord's

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[64] Hor. *E.* II 1, 1 f.: *Cum tot sustineas* [sc. Caesar] *et tanta negotia solus, / res Italas armis tuteris*, etc., cp. ZWIERLEIN 1972 (note 59 above), p. 103.

[65] ZWIERLEIN 1972 (note 59 above), pp. 115-117.

[66] For the topos of inspiration in medieval poetry see P. KLOPSCH, *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des lateinischen Mittelalters,* Darmstadt 1980, pp. 21-30, with further references.

Anointed, and made to carry the burden of the world itself, as Christ did.

I have given one or two examples of rhythmical poems which in my opinion are indebted to Horace's *Odes*. The question is now whether such theories of intertextuality actually improve our understanding of the medieval lyric poets, even if they are valid. I believe so. The Archpoet and his contemporaries consciously fused pagan and Christian, ancient and modern, and without knowledge of this interplay, layers of meaning simply disappear. But I should like to repeat that the Horace to compare with medieval poets is not our Horace, but their Horace. He lies buried in the medieval commentaries, and only his outline has started to become visible.

DISCUSSION

M. Ludwig: Die Revision der allgemeinen Vorstellung, das Mittelalter habe sich nur für den 'Orazio satiro' interessiert, ist ausserordentlich wichtig und folgenreich. Da in der Renaissance die *varietas* zu den Charakteristika der *Oden* des Horaz zählt, worüber ich auch in meinem Beitrag etwas sagen werde, interessiert mich speziell, wie lange der Hinweis auf die Etymologie Isidors und seine Verbindung von *lyra* und *varietas* in den Horazkommentaren nachweisbar ist. In den gedruckten Kommentaren der Renaissance ist sie mir bisher nicht aufgefallen.

M. Friis-Jensen: I do not remember having seen the Isidoran etymology in late medieval or Renaissance commentaries on Horace, but I have not yet made a systematic study of them. However, I should not be surprised if the etymology survived for some time in the encyclopedic tradition. The widely-read Papias, for instance, which I have only consulted in the 1485 edition printed in Venice, alludes to it, without actually quoting the Greek (*s.v. lyra*): *Lyra dicta a varietate vocum quod diversos sonos efficiat. ... Lyrici poetae dicti a varietate carminum.* It is of course a question how closely the text of the 1485 edition resembles Papias's eleventh-century original — humanist revision may already have been at work.

M. Fuhrmann: Der Versuch einiger Horaz-Kommentatoren, die Lebensalter und die Werke des Horaz zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen, erinnert an die *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos moralis* des Fulgentius, einer im Mittelalter sehr ver-

breiteten Schrift, worin die vergilische *Aeneis* als Allegorie der menschlichen Lebensalter gedeutet wird.

Ich frage mich, ob die zitierten Verse des Archipoeta Reminiszenzen an Horaz enthalten. Die Strophe *Filius ecclesie* etc. variiert einen den christlichen Dichtern seit der Spätantike geläufigen Topos: *Negant Camenis nec patent Apollini / dicata Christo pectora*, heisst es bei Paulinus von Nola (*Carm.* 10, 21-22; nach E.R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, im Kapitel "Die Musen" — dort weiter Zeugnisse).

M. Friis-Jensen: I am glad you agree with me that the medieval Vergil must be the model for the concept of Horace which I have outlined. I actually mentioned Fulgentius by name in my paper, but his interpretation of the *Aeneid* was well-known in the twelfth century, as for instance the commentary on the *Aeneid* ascribed to Bernardus Silvestris shows.

M. Harrison: It is certain that the Archpoet imitates Horace in his poem *Archicancellarie, vir discretae mentis*. There are many close echoes of Horace in detail (*e.g.* 4, 9 *quae semel emittitur nescit vox reverti*: Horace, *E.* I 18, 71: *et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum*, *A.P.* 390: *nescit vox missa reverti*), and the roles of Horace/Archpoet, Rainauld/Maecenas and Barbarossa/ Augustus are clear. In this poem the Archpoet clearly makes use of the *recusatio*-form in Horace, and in particular of *E.* I 7 and C. I 6. It is also worth noting that the Archpoet repeats the playing of the role of Horace from the court of Charlemagne, just as Barbarossa modelled himself on that emperor as well as Augustus.

M. Friis-Jensen: The lines I quoted cannot *prove* that the Archpoet was an enthusiastic reader of Horace. But scholars such as Watenphul, Krefeld, Langosch, and Zwierlein have pointed out so many substantial verbal borrowings from Horace in poems IV, IX, and elsewhere, that Horace's status as a very important literary model for the Archpoet cannot be doubted. I did not feel any need to restate that part of the case, and Mr. Harrison has just pointed out some of the

most important parallels. The chief interest for me lies in the possibility that the Archpoet himself consciously imitated Horace the lyric poet in his poems IV and IX, in the contemporary idiom of rhythmical verse. As soon as Horace's importance for the Archpoet has been accepted, I find it very tempting to go further and interpret (for instance) the quoted stanzas in terms of imitation and emulation of Horace on a higher level than just verbal borrowing, and I am glad to see that Mr. Harrison accepts the idea.

Mr. Fuhrmann is quite right in pointing out that the choice of Christ instead of a pagan deity as a source of inspiration is a literary topos. However, to classify a motif in a poem as a topos is not an exhaustive way of interpreting it, but just a beginning. A well-educated twelfth-century poet like the Archpoet was very much aware of the literary connotations of topoi, and that is why I venture further in my interpretation. But I readily admit that the interpretation of topoi is one of the most difficult questions of medieval literature.

Mme Thill: Nous connaissons surtout l'*Horatius ethicus* du Moyen Age, et vous nous avez révélé un *Horatius lyricus*. L'image que l'on se fait à cette époque du lyrisme horatien remonte à la définition qu'Horace a donnée dans l'*Art poétique* (83): *Musa dedit fidibus...* Celle-ci s'applique mieux au lyrisme grec (pindarique, lesbien, anacréontique) qu'au sien. Il n'y est pas question des odes civiles ni des odes personnelles. On constate, dans les textes médiévaux (notamment le n° 10 de votre liste, = p. 294 n. 34), que le lyrisme politique d'Horace est absent. Au XVII^{e} siècle, au contraire, c'est l'une des formes qui a été le plus imitée par les poètes à qui on a décerné le titre d'"Horace".

M. Fuhrmann: In der Tat fällt auf, wie sehr die politische — und auch die biographische — Dimension der horazischen Lyrik zurückgedrängt ist: sie fehlt fast vollig. Horaz wird mit Hilfe von allgemeinen, zeitlosen Kategorien umschrieben; auch der Oxforder Kommentar, der zunächst Miene macht, sich auf biographische und historische Gegebenheiten einzulassen, kehrt alsbald zu abstrakten Begriffen wie *delectare, vitia, virtutes* zurück. Man darf hierin wohl einen Anwen-

dungsfall einer im Mittelalter verbreiteten Rezeptionsbarriere erblicken; z.B. haben auch die mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Aeneas-Epen den historisch-politischen Bereich gänzlich unterdrückt.

M. Friis-Jensen: I agree with both Mme Thill and Mr. Fuhrmann that it is rare to find medieval quantitative poetry that is close to, and inspired by, Horace's political or civic odes in subject matter. It would be even more difficult to find examples of this genre where the ethical dimension is left out, since the Middle Ages tended to understand literature in ethical terms — and so did Horace, for that matter, although to a lesser degree. However, if we accept that also rhythmical lyric poetry may have had Horace's lyrics as model, then the field widens perceptibly. I have argued that the Archpoet's imperial hymn may have been written as a Horatian political ode: a closer look at other twelfth-century political poetry in rhythmical verse, including political satire, might give similar results. In the genre of personal lyric poetry of a Horatian stamp which both Mme Thill and Mr. Fuhrmann mentioned, even more examples come to mind, for instance some of Gautier de Châtillon's lyrics. But again it would be the medieval Horace that is relevant, and he clearly has a strong moral facet.

M. Schrijvers: Dans les témoignages que vous avez réunis, il est question, plus d'une fois, de l'intention du poète qui consiste à *laudare* et à *vituperare*. Cette intention, disons rhétorique, et aussi l'emploi de ces deux verbes, me rappellent le commentaire fait par Donat sur l'*Enéide* de Virgile. Le genre du commentaire me paraît un des plus conventionnels, à partir de l'Antiquité tardive et jusqu'à la Renaissance. Quelle est la place des commentaires d'Horace que vous avez cités dans cette tradition?

J'ai été frappé par l'application du schéma des phases de la vie sur l'œuvre d'Horace. Tout de même, l'insertion des *Epodes* dans ce schéma semble avoir causé des problèmes à vos commentateurs (cf. le témoignage 5, = p. 283 n. 17, où la catégorie *homines fortioris et turpioris aetatis* n'est pas conforme au schéma présenté par Horace lui-même dans l'*A.P.*; cf. le témoignage 7, = p. 286 n. 22, où la division *in odis... pueros; in epodo iuvenes* est étrange). Quelles ont été les

réactions médiévales à propos des *Epodes*, recueil qui contient des poèmes peu conformes aux idées morales et pédagogiques de l'époque?

M. Friis-Jensen: The influence from rhetoric is noticeable in the entire Horatian commentary tradition, but not surprisingly it is strongest in the commentaries on the *Ars poetica*. In general, your characterization of the commentary tradition as conventional or conservative is quite to the point. However, the ancient commentaries on Horace, Porphyrio and Pseudo-Acro, were too narrow in their scope to satisfy readers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that is probably why those centuries saw the beginning of a new and fuller commentary tradition. The new commentaries naturally built on first of all Pseudo-Acro, but for instance Servius and the encyclopedic tradition were also quarried for relevant material, and independent observations found their way in, too.

Normally the *Epodes* of Horace are treated as an extension of the *Odes*, and similarly the *Carmen saeculare*. The reason for that is probably mostly practical, but the very common etymology *epodos id est super odas* (Oxford commentator), or the like, may also have played a role. The commentators are normaly very blunt in their discussion of sex, and when necessary their handling of the *Epodes* conforms to that principle, of course accompanied by suitable warnings. But I have seen one commentary that simply left out some of the most outspoken (*Ep.* 8 and 12 are missing in the St Gall commentary).