wird und kaum verdecken kann, wie sehr das Unterkapitel die ohnehin eher repetitiven Schlussbemerkungen lediglich quantitativ auffüllt – offenbar um ein auch vom Umfang her relevantes Schlusskapitel überhaupt erst zu konstituieren. Den Band erschließt neben einem Index Locorum auch ein detaillierter „General Index" (289-305), der bei der Suche nach thematischen Schwerpunkten auch deshalb keine Wünsche offen lässt, weil er keine Scheu vor Dopplungen zeigt. So darf ein durchweg positives Fazit gezogen werden: Zwar ist L.s Monographie als Einführung oder Überblickstudie zum Werk des Nepos deshalb kaum geeignet, weil zum einen keine Vollständigkeit angestrebt wird und die präsentierten Diskussionen und Formulierungen von Forschungsthesen zum anderen auch recht voraussetzungsreich sind, sodass etwa Studienanfängern mit grundlegenderen und weniger innovativen Ansätzen eher gedient sein dürfte, doch erfüllt die Arbeit ihren Zweck, die Nepos-Forschung durch differenzierende Betrachtungen und inspirative Schwerpunktsetzungen zu bereichern und an der gegenwärtigen Neuausrichtung und Neubewertung entscheidend zu partizipieren, in hohem Maße.

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Stephanie McCarter, *Horace: Epodes, Odes, and Carmen saeculare*, Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture 60, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020, xii+581 pp., $39.45, ISBN 978-0-8061-6487-8.

Teaching Roman texts to Latin-less students mostly works—until I try to teach Horace. Horace remains one of the most important Roman writers we have (as would agree, I assume, anyone bothering to read a review of a new translation of the *Epodes* and *Odes*), and yet, in translation, he also remains one of the least accessible. Translating lyric is tough by any measure, but, stripped of their Latin, the love elegies of Catullus, Ovid, even Propertius all come off better than Horace—famously slippery even in Latin, never mind in translation. My solution has always been to become *desultor versionis*, leaping from translator to translator, often offering more than one version of the same poem. While I will continue to supplement, Stephanie McCarter's new translation (hereafter "M.") of the *Epodes* and *Odes* would make an excellent foundation for a course in Horace in translation. Perhaps the strongest feature of this book is its clearly defined audience and goals. M. is not writing to impress colleagues, or to secure her status as a poet. She writes to elevate student appreciation of Horace's poetry. Especially today, McCarter's translations and notes promise to bring Horace back under discussion in courses in translation.

The Latin text, based on Wickham-Garrod's 1901 OCT, faces the translation. Substantial but not overwhelming footnotes lie directly under the English, which

have the great advantage of being right there—no flipping to the back of the book—but also means the poems that might be displayed on one page are divided across two (a slightly smaller font or spreading the footnotes over both pages might have been visually more appealing and made it easier to give more poems their own page).[1] The notes also refer readers to selected further reading, citations for which are found in the exclusively English bibliography, further testifying to M.'s faithfulness to her non-specialized audience. When she includes other languages, she translates into English.[2]

The book begins with concise introductions to Horace's life (5 pages) and the historical context (7 pages) which convey essential information while cautioning against reductionist readings. The same concision without sacrificing context important to understanding the poems continues in the discussion of the *Epodes* (5 pages) and then the *Odes* (10 pages). Useful, especially to students coming to Horace from, say, Catullus, is the distinction "Although Horatian lyric is not love poetry per se, it has a significant erotic dimension" (25). Short, contextualizing treatments of major themes of the *Odes* provide excellent summaries of things readers should bear in mind when reading Horace. M. suggests nine themes: the ethical life; morality and religion; friendship and patronage; wine and the symposium; erotics and gender; death and the passage of time; rural versus urban life; Romans and "Barbarians"; poetry and aesthetics. The section devoted to the ethical life further subdivides into *carpe diem*, the golden mean, decorum, and the contented life. Each section of the introduction includes a footnote with select general readings for that topic. The introduction closes with a note on the current translation, and maps of "Horace's Italy" (with an insert expanding the area around Rome) and "The Roman Empire in the Age of Augustus" (with an insert of Greece and the Aegean) help situate the poems—and the places they name. McCarter is particularly good at framing gender dynamics; of the *Epodes* she writes, "The poems, moreover, present us with a series of themes implicitly embroiled with the larger societal upheaval, from the narrator's own loss of masculine virility to the dangerous sexual voracity of hags and witches and the upstart ambitions of social climbers" (14).[3]

The note on translation highlights the difficulties of translating Horace. Especially apt is the decision to "make sure each word is translated, since each is meaningful, and [to attempt] to add nothing extraneous to the text, not wanting to detract from the stylistic economy at the heart of these poems" (31). M. has translated the poems into iambics, the verse "most at home in the English language…because I wanted the poems to sound *like poetry*" (31)—and they do.

[1] Changes to the text on p. x; the publisher's decision to visually match English and Latin lines creates some distracting extra spacing in several poems: Epode 13; *Odes* 1.4; 1.18; 1.35; 2.11; 2.13; 3.3; 3.4; 3.5; 3.12; 4.4; 4.10.

[2] E.g., a note on *Odes* 1.9 cites Sappho in Greek, followed by Christopher Pelling's translation.

[3] Cf. *Epodes* 12, whose first note elaborates "Horace's failure to achieve virility in this most masculine of genres potentially blunts the force of his iambic bite."

M. retains the adonic closing to each Sapphic stanza and prints Latin scanned and English examples of Alcaics and Sapphics, Horace's predominant meters.[4]

For non-Latinists, a footnote detailing the meaning of *macra*, *brevia*, and *ancipitia* would have been helpful. I'm not sure the general reader would understand "x – ˘ – x || – ˘ – x – ˘ x" as the first line to an iambic couplet (17). Since the notes diligently report the meter of each poem, it might have been useful to have examples of how lesser used meters work as well (perhaps in an appendix). She does just that at *Odes* 1.11 "A nice metrical feature of the poem is the preponderance of choriambs (— ˘˘—), dum-diddy-diddy-dum (cf. the English phrase "over the hill"), with three present in each line of Latin." She then points out some of the choriambs added to each line. She writes skillfully about meter—more would have been a bonus.

M. omits pithy titles for the poems, instead introducing each in the first note, which also cites her debts to earlier commentaries.[5] She adapts her style well to her audience (students) and the subject at hand (direct for history, more nuanced for literary discussions).

Introductory notes point out difficulties of interpretation without being themselves interpretive, thus encouraging readers to consider carefully and decide what *their own* sense is (e.g., *Epodes* 2: "The question of the poem's tone remains disputed"; *Odes* 1.34: "This poem has often been read as…"; *Odes* 1.22: "Scholars disagree about the tone of the poem, although most concur it contains a dose of humor"). Where M. does make definitive statements, they are both generically warranted and offer a correction to earlier assumptions. The introductory note for *Epodes* 8, for example, identifies the poem as an "invective against an unnamed woman who seems to have accused Horace of sexual impotence;" she does not assume, as does, e.g., Mankin, that the woman *is in fact* old ("Women who are old, ugly, or both are targets of verbal abuse (*aischrologia*) in a wide variety of Greek and Latin literature"[6]).

Literary terms appear in bold type in the footnotes (often in the introductory note), giving readers a sense of the sub-genre of the poem (e.g., *Odes* 1.2 is a *propempticon*; 1.6 a *recusatio* that allows an *encomium*) and marking occurrences of rhetorical features (e.g., hyperbaton, chiasmus, persona). Clear, concise explanations of these terms appear in the Glossary of Rhetorical and Literary

[4] Alfred Lord Tennyson ("Milton, Alcaics") and John Tranter ("Writing in the Manner of Sappho"), respectively.

[5] *Epodes*: D. Mankin, *Horace: Epodes*, Cambridge 1995; L. Watson, *A Commentary on Horace's Epodes*, Oxford: 2003; *Odes*: R. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I*, Oxford 1970; R. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II*, Oxford 1978; R. Nisbet, N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book III*, Oxford 2004; D. Garrison, *Horace: Epodes and Odes*, Norman 1991; D. West, *Horace Odes I: Carpe Diem*, Oxford 1995; D. West, *Horace Odes II: Vatis Amici*, Oxford 1998; D. West, *Horace Odes III: Dulce Periculum*, Oxford 2002; R. Mayer, Horace: *Odes, Book I*, Cambridge 2021; S. Harrison, *Horace: Odes, Book II*, Cambridge 2017; R. Thomas, *Horace: Odes Book IV and Carmen Saeculare*, Cambridge 2011.

[6] D. Mankin, *Horace: Epodes*, 152.

Terms at the end of the volume. I was delighted to see the pivot as a literary term (*Odes* 1.7), defined in the glossary as "The middle line or stanza of an ode, which often constitutes an important turning point."

Occasionally, formatting marks untranslatable rhetorical features (*Odes* 3.1.21-2):

> …Untroubled sleep does not
> hold in contempt the humble homes of *rustic*
> *men* nor the riverbank suffused with shade
> nor the valley driven to and fro by Zephyrs.

The underlining and italicizing marks the interlocking word order, helpfully printed in the Latin as:

> … somnus *agrestium*
> lenis *virorum* non humilis domos
> fastidit umbrosamque ripam,
> non Zephyris agitate Tempe.

Hyperbaton gets similar illustration in *Epodes* 10.3-4 and *Odes* 1.1.28.

The notes contain helpful information without overloading the reader (remarkable restraint for any translator). The note on *corrigere* (*Odes* 1.24.20), for example, points to Quintilius Varus' appearance as editor at *AP* 438,[7] adding perhaps "a bit of good-natured humor into the poem"—information that gives the reader more to think about. Occasionally notes mark difficult text: *Odes* 3.4 has a good note on *nutricis extra limen Apuliae*, including some suggested emendations. *Odes* 1.12 obelizes *quia* but without explanation of what an obelus is or why it's there. *Odes* 1.32.1 includes a good note on *poscimur* (which she adopts) vs. *poscimus*.

McCarter is, to my knowledge, the first woman to translate all of Horace's *Odes* into English. Her approaches to, and reading of, the *Odes* is, of course, colored by her gender, just as gender influenced the approach and reading of generation upon generation of male translators. Some readers will balk. This reader was delighted. M. does an excellent job of reframing some of the *Odes*, mindful of women (however fictitious) in the poems. I anticipate some pushback, and I don't always agree with her choices. But she is judicious and sensitive to the material. The introductory remarks to *Odes* 1.23, for example—a poem I personally found triggering before I had ever heard the word—provides useful corrective: Chloe's "fears are, according to the male speaker, groundless." M. notes the tendency to compare women to animals, often in an unflattering way (cf. *Epodes* 8 and *Odes*

[7] The text has line 338; the book has, however, few typographical errors.

1.25, on which poem she notes restrainedly "Mares were thought to be particularly susceptible to erotic madness, as described by Vergil in *Georgics* 3.").

M. might seem to over-translate *virgine rapta* of *Odes* 2.4.8 with "raped and abducted," but the context seems to warrant the translation: "What Horace and Xanthias call love would very likely be rape from Phyllis's perspective, a fact that comes through clearly in Horace's mythological parallels. One must recall that Roman male slaveholders had exclusive sexual access to their slaves, both male and female." This simple, factual note offers a correction to other readings. West, for example calls it a "cheerful love poem,"[8] and N-H refer to "upper-class Roman banter."[9] M.'s translation drives home the cultural realities of gender and power. The translations encouraged me to rethink some of Horace's words, e.g., "A freedwoman no single man/ can sate, named Phryne, makes me stew." for *me libertina, nec uno / contenta, Phryne macerat* (*Epode* 14.15-16). "No single man can sate" is both good, and, well, stronger than I had it in my own head.

M. does not shy away from Horace's imagery: "rip to shreds" brings in the force or violence inherent in the word *scindat* (*Odes* 1.17.27), and is stronger than West, Clancy ("tear"), Ferry ("tearing"), and Lombardo ("ripping").[10] In *Odes* 1.9.23-4 *pignusque dereptum lacertis / aut digito male pertinaci* becomes "and a memento ripped off of her arm/ or from her finger, fruitlessly resisting." These choices underscore the violence inherent in the scene, opening the possibility of unwanted aggression. "Fruitlessly" seems a bit of a lexical stretch, and some will object it matches poorly with the hidden girl's giggles (but! just because you are giggling doesn't mean you want to return home without your jewelry; but! would Horace get that 'in the weeds' of human conflicting emotion? but! …). Ferry omits the whole stanza.[11] Lombardo's "a bracelet is snatched/ from an arm / and a ring teased/ from a barely resisting finger" and West's "and for the token snatched from her arm/ or feebly resisting finger" both turn the scene into a lovers' game.[12] M. makes it more complicated, and that complexity will inspire some needed and engaged discussion about Horace's lyric.

The *scortum Lyde* (*Odes* 2.11.21-2) becomes, in English, a "whore" in marked contrast to Ferry's "beautiful"; Lombardo translates "for her coy services" while West does not translate *scortum*.[13] Terms for sex workers are difficult to render in English.[14] Nisbet and Hubbard note "*scortum* is arrestingly unpoetical and anti-

[8] D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 30.

[9] R. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, *Odes Book II*, 68.

[10] D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 83; J. Clancy, *The Odes and Epodes of Horace*, Chicago 1960, 48; D. Ferry, *The Odes of Horace*, New York 1997, 51; S. Lombardo, *Horace Odes and Carmen Saeculare*, Indianapolis 2018, 35.

[11] D. Ferry, *The Odes*, 29.

[12] S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 21; D. West, *Horace Odes I*, 83.

[13] S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 83; D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 78; D. Ferry, *The Odes*, 129.

[14] J.N. Adams, "Words for prostitute in Latin", *RhM* 126, 1983, 321-58. S. Witzke, "Harlots, tarts, and hussies?: a problem of terminology for sex labor in Roman comedy", *Helios* 42, 2015, 7-27.

Romantic."[15] I like the shock value, but the associations of "whore" in English would not include expectations of lyre playing.[16] M. gives us a good note on *devium* but nothing on *scortum*; a note here might have pointed out the dissonance between Lyde's rank on the sex worker scale and Horace's word choice.

The translations are judicious, as well, in keeping "Horace's rhetorical effects, such as enjambment, anaphora, and repetition, intact wherever feasible" (30). In *Odes* 1.8.2-3, where the delayed *perdere* gives punch to *Sybarin cur properes amando / perdere*, M. preserves the point with "why do you rush to wreck Sybaris / by loving him?" At 1.33.1-2 *Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor / immitis Glycerae* matches "Albius, do not grieve too much, recalling / harsh Glycera," as does *insignem tenui fronte Lycorida* "Beautiful with her slender brow, Lycoris." The translation at *Odes* 1.31.2-3 imitates the word order of *quid orat de patera novum / fundens liquorem* with "what entreat while from the bowl/ he pours new liquid?" while *in celeres iambos / misit furentem* (*Odes* 1.16.24-5) "sent me raging forth into/ impulsive invectives" nicely picks up (if transferred) the alliteration of "*fervor…furentem*" in the original.

The choice of iambics throughout does not come without casualties. There are lines where the iambic meter creates a clunky relative clause. In *Odes* 2.20.5-6, for example, "The offspring of parents who were poor" translates *pauperum /sanguis parentum*, instead of a smoother adjective (cf. Clancy "child of impoverished parents" and West-Lombardo "blood of poor parents"[17]). Meter also gets in the way in *Odes* 2.16.11: *laqueata tecta* becomes "ceilings with coffers" (Clancy "paneled ceilings"; West and Lombardo "coffered ceilings").[18] The meter (although choriambs this time) may have also inspired the unfortunate choice of "knowing is sin" for *scire nefas* at *Odes* 1.11.1 and *Odes* 1.37.5, neither with an explanatory note, while *fas* at *Odes* 2.19.9 and 13 is "lawful." "Wrong" (Lombardo) sheds the Judeo-Christian associations, but a survey of translators demonstrates the difficulty of the simple phrase.[19]

Of course, one of the first things Horatians do is look to see how a translator handled some of their favorite bits, especially the 'word mosaics' so difficult to do in English. I offer two here for illustration; Lombardo follows for comparison, whose translations "are designed to give an impression of the rhythmic movement and architectonic structure of each ode" and whose approach aims at "staying close to the original's various line lengths and to the contours of its clauses and

[15] R. Nisbet, M. Hubbard, *Odes Book II*, 177.

[16] My thanks to Richard Tarrant for a lively conversation about the parameters of *scortum* in this poem and *male* in *Odes* 1.17.

[17] J. Clancy, 103; D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 143; S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 99.

[18] J. Clancy, 95; D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 111; S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 91.

[19] S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 23; D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 51: "the gods do not wish it to be known;" D. Ferry, 33: "it's better not to know;" G. Lee, *Horace Odes and Carmen Saeculare*, Leeds 1998, 19: "knowing's taboo;" J. Clancy, 37: "the forbidden question."

sentences while conveying as accurately as [he] can Horace's sense and tone."[20] *Odes* 4.7.9-12:

> frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas,
> interitura simul
> pomifer Autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
> bruma recurrit iners

M. translates, keeping word order as much as English will allow:

> Cold softens with the Zephyrs, spring is crushed by summer,
> certain to die itself as soon as
> fruit-bringing autumn has poured forth its crops, and shortly
> the idle winter hastens back.

Here is Lombardo:

> Winter softens in the westerlies, summer tramples spring,
> itself doomed to perish
> when appled autumn arrives and pours out its harvest, and soon
> the lifeless ground frost returns.[21]

Apart from the (perhaps metrically necessary) "idle," M. gives a solid translation (and one that will facilitate this instructor's compulsive desire to show students how the Latin works); her version honors syntax and word order (again, to the extent possible) and is faithful to the Latin without being unpleasantly literal. The choice her translation and that of Lombardo (or really, anyone) will be rooted in personal taste.

The same comments apply to *Odes* 2.10.12-16:

> sperat infestis, metuit secundis
> alteram sortem bene praeparatum
> pectus. informis hiemes reducit
> Iuppiter, idem

M:

> The well-adapted heart in bad times hopes
> its lot will change; in good times this is what
> it fears. Jupiter brings about the grisly
> winters; he likewise

[20] S. Lombardo, *Horace*, xvi.
[21] S. Lombardo, *Horace*, 189.

Lombardo:

> A mind well prepared hopes for a change
> during adversity and anticipates one
> during good times. Jupiter ushers in
> horrible winters,

M. is similar here to West at 13-15.[22] Few instructors will be able to resist pointing out the compression of the original; while Lombardo's rendition could be called more poetic, M.'s translation is good and does, as far as English will allow, what she sets out to do. M.'s notes here make the difference: they include an explanation of *aurea mediocritas* (line 5) and its source in popular and philosophical thought and the *callida iunctura* of the wording, the difficulties of translating *rectius* (line 1), and the appropriateness of the putative addressee, Lucius Lucinius Murena (line 3). Lombardo's end notes reference (as fitting for his goals) only Murena.

This handsome volume is, in short, a welcome addition not only to available translations in English of Horace's lyric genres but promises as well to re-engage students with the work of one of Rome's most important poets.

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Johannes Zenk, *Die Anfänge Roms erzählen, Zur literarischen Technik in der ersten Pentade von Livius' ab urbe condita*, Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft. Beihefte N.F. 12, Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2021, viii+356 pp., 109,95 €, ISBN 978-3-11-075803-0.

Das im Folgenden zu rezensierende Buch von Johannes Zenk, eine Studie zu Titus Livius, basiert auf einer 2018 von der Universität Bamberg angenommenen Dissertation. Zenk reiht sich damit in eine noch verhältnismäßig junge Strömung der Liviusforschung ein, die das Textcorpus des antiken Historikers mit den Werkzeugen der modernen Narratologie untersucht, ein Trend, der, von der angelsächsischen Sphäre ausgehend, mit Dennis Pausch mittlerweile auch einen prominenten deutschsprachigen Vertreter gefunden hat.[1] Zenk widmet sich den ersten fünf Büchern des livianischen Geschichtswerks. Eine solche Beschränkung

[22] D. West, *Horace Odes II*, 67: "The well-prepared heart hopes in adversity / for a change in fortune, and it fears it in prosperity." For good measure here is J. Clancy, 85: "Hopeful in the bad times, fearful in the good times, / that is the man who has readied his heart for the turn of the dice."

[1] Als bekannte Titel dieser Richtung lassen sich aufführen: G.B. Miles, *Livy. Reconstructing Early Rome*, Ithaca-London 1995; M. Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome*, Ann Arbor 1997; A. Feldherr, *Spectacle and Society in Livy's History*, Berkeley 1998; und der oben erwähnte D. Pausch, *Livius und der Leser. Narrative Strukturen in ab urbe condita*, München 2011.