

a verse; 2) a compositional interpretation, according to which *ordo* means the narration order in a poem.²

Let us consider each interpretation.

An understanding of *ordo* as a sequence of lines goes as far back as the Roman grammars: in Pseudo-Acron's commentary, *ordo* is accompanied by the word *versuum* and denotes the strophic structure of Alcaeus' poems. However, the author of the comment incorrectly understands the passage as a whole and writes that Horace borrowed the strophic pattern from Alcaeus. The same error reappears in medieval scholia accompanied by the reading *ordine versuum*.³ Richard Bentley had the same understanding of the word *ordine*, and Adolf Kiessling followed him in his edition.⁴

Passages from Quintilian and Cicero are evidence for the usage of *ordo* with reference to metrics.⁵ However, in both cases it is clear the order of which thing is meant, while there is no such a dependent word in the passage concerned; moreover, the *ordo* itself hardly had the meaning 'a strophic construction' or 'a metre'.

In accordance with the second interpretation, *ordo* means the distribution of content inside a poem, or, in other words, its composition. R. Mayer⁶ and Eduard Fraenkel,⁷ R. Heinze⁸ and the Oxford Latin Dictionary⁹ follow this point of view. In support, they cite a passage from Pseudo-Longinus which speaks of inconsequent statement of contents by Archilochus (*De subl.* 33, 5):

τί δέ; Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῇ Ἡριγόνῃ (διὰ πάντων γὰρ ἀνώμητον τὸ ποιημάτων) Ἀρχιλόχου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνοικονόμητα παρασύροντος, κάκεινης τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου πνεύματος ἦν ὑπὸ νόμον τάξαι δύσκολον, ἄρα δὴ μείζων ποιητής;

² G. Liberman (G. Liberman [ed.], *Alcée* [Paris 1999] I p. xlvi) contends that *ordo* refers to the order of pieces within a book. Nevertheless, giving praise to Alcaeus as a compiler of a collection definitely conflicts with the context of *Epist.* I, 19, 26–31, where the form of verses is compared to the content.

³ *Scholia in Horatium λφψ codicum Parisinorum Latinorum 7972, 7974, 7971*, ed. H. J. Botschuyver (Amstelodami 1935) 391.

⁴ A. Kiessling (ed.), *Quintus Horatius Flaccus. III. Briefe* (Berlin 1889) ad loc.

⁵ Quint. *Inst.* 9, 4, 46: *Nam primum numeri spatio temporum constant, metra etiam ordine, ideoque alterum esse quantitatis videtur, alterum qualitatis; Cic. Orat.* 227: *sed ordo pedum facit ut id quod pronuntiatur aut orationis aut poematis simile videatur.*

⁶ *Ordo* = 'arrangement': R. Mayer (ed.), *Horace. Epistles. Book 1* (Cambridge 1994) 265.

⁷ E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 341.

⁸ Heinze correlates *ordo* with the Greek οἰκονομία: R. Heinze, "Die Lyrischen Verse des Horaz", in: E. Burck (hrsg.), *Vom Geist des Römertums* (Darmstadt 1960) 248.

Well, is it possible that Eratosthenes in the *Erigone* (which is in every respect an impeccable short poem) is indeed greater as a poet than Archilochus who picks up a lot of inappropriate things, and <greater> than Archilochus who throws his divine inspiration, which one hardly may express according to the law?

They also compare the passage under discussion to *Ars* 41, where *ordo* really means 'order' or 'sequence of text', which is quite regular for texts that deal with literary or rhetorical problems. However, *ordo* is there accompanied by the epithet *lucidus* within a context of reasoning about composition (verses 1–44).

In general, this point of view seems to be preferable, as one should attribute Alcaeus' distinction to content, not form, including metrics. Nevertheless, it is not clear how the order, i. e. the sequence of the text, and the absence of invectives in Alcaeus' poetry are connected. Thus, the problem of interpreting the word *ordine* remains unsolved in the case of both mentioned interpretations.

It seems appropriate to pose a possible solution for the question: *ordo* does not necessarily have to stand for a meaning specific to a text that deals with literary problems, e. g. 'sequence of text'. If we accept a general meaning for the word, 'a class' or 'a status', such characterization of Alcaeus would also refer to the content of his poetry. It seems to us that the word *dispar* corresponds well with such a meaning.

This interpretation can be supported by the ancient tradition according to which Archilochus was a mere mercenary, while Alcaeus was thought of as a man involved in polis administration. For example, an educated Roman was likely to keep in mind the story about Archilochus as a boy sent to sell a cow and meeting the Muses on a country road. In one of the fragments (*Archil.* Fr. 295 West), Archilochus is described as a slave woman's son who went to the island of Thassos because of poverty. By contrast, they represented Alcaeus as far from being the worst person in Lesbos, which he mentions in his poetry so often, that he was even accused of it (*Alcaeus*, test. 24–25 Campbell *Greek Lyric* I, 230). Quintilian summarizes the prevalent opinion of the poet (*Inst.* 10, 1, 63):

Alcaeus in parte operis aureo plectro merito donatur,¹⁰ qua tyrannos insectatus multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo quoque brevis et

⁹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *ordo* 5a.

magnificus et diligens et plerumque oratori similis, sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior.

One may worthily present a golden plectrum to Alcaeus for those parts of his heritage in which he persecutes tyrants and where at the same time he does a lot for morals; in his speech he is short, grand, and exact, he looks like an orator in many respects though he jokes and goes down to the level of erotics, nevertheless he succeeds better in serious subjects.

Thus, Horace's flow of thought appears to be as follows: Alcaeus' higher social status made his poems superior to those of Archilochus, the accuser of Lycambes and Neobule.

The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* shows that *ordo* may refer not only to the Roman classes, but also has a more general meaning, 'a state' and 'status'; and this demonstrates the possibility of an absolute usage of the word as well.¹¹

To summarize, we may come up with the following translation:

... and Sappho who is manly <only> because of her foot, admixes the muse of Archilochus to her own. So does Alcaeus, but given that he differs from him both in content (*rebus*) and class (*ordine*), and he does not seek a farther-in-law whose good name he may stain with his black poems, nor does he tie a rope around the neck of his betrothed spouse with a dishonorable verse.

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В статье предлагается понимание существительного *ordo* (Hor. *Epist.* 1, 19, 29) как 'сословие', 'положение в обществе': таким образом, различие содержания в стихах Архилоха и Алкея Гораций объясняет именно их различным социальным статусом.

¹⁰ It is worth saying that Horace played an important role in forming of such opinion. Quintilian's statement (*Alcaeus aureo plectro donatur*) refers to Hor. *Carm.* 2, 13, 26–8.

¹¹ *ThLL* IX, 2, col. 964, s. v. *ordo* II B: de ipso gradu, cum respectu census, dignitatis, honoris.