

In Horace's famous ode *Integer vitae* the speaker, represented as Horace himself, says that he must have lived a pure life, since, while singing of Lalage on his Sabine farm, a monstrous wolf fled from him although he was unarmed. Wherever in the world he may end up, he concludes, he will love Lalage: *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo*, | *dulce loquentem* (23-4). As commentators note, these lines echo Sappho fr. 31.3-5, ἄδῦ φωνείαα . . . καὶ γελαίαα ἰμέροεν, as well as Catullus 51; all three poems are in Sapphics. The echo hints that Horace found inspiration for his poem in Sappho, and perhaps a word like "Lalage" too, no doubt in an erotic context. Such a context, albeit not one with the name "Lalage", may appear in the new poem of Sappho about the love of Tithonus and Eos, where I have proposed that the damaged line 10 be supplemented ἔρωι λαλάγειαν (*TLS*, 23 Dec. 2005, 19-20). But Horace has applied the name "Lalage" to a figure that stands for his poetry itself, which he would not give up even were he exiled to the ends of the earth.

G. Burzacchini has suggested (*QUCC* 22 (1976) 39-58) that Horace's opening words *integer vitae scelerisque purus* allude to Alcaeus fr. 130b Voigt, whose poem began similarly, if we follow Gallavotti's reading, with the words ἄγνός τοις βίότοις παῖς, 'wholly pure in my life' (cf. G.O. Hutchinson, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Oxford 2001, 34). Horace's ode has many points of contact with Alcaeus' poem, which is about his exile from Mytilene. Horace's central episode, his supposed encounter with the wolf at the Sabine farm, would have been possible in reality: in February 1956 wolves killed and ate a postman at a nearby village (E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, Oxford 1957, 186). But there is a wolf in Alcaeus' poem, where the poet complains of "dwelling in wolf-infested thickets in exile from the war". The reading and sense of Alcaeus' term λυκαί(χ)μίαια is contested, but the collocation *silva lupus* shows that Horace read λυκαίμια and took it to mean "wolf-infested thickets"; thus the relation between lived experience and poetic reference is more complex than had appeared.

Horace begins this ode with Alcaeus, exile, a Sabine forest and a wolf; he ends with Sappho, Lalage, love and poetry. This makes an elegant transition between the two sources of his "Aeolian song". The new papyrus of Sappho makes this expression of his poetic program much clearer than it had been.