

PARODY IN JUVENAL

PARODY IN JUVENAL  
AND ITS RELATION  
TO  
THE ROMAN SATIRICAL  
TRADITION

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS: Present concepts of parody and ancient concepts of *parodia* are discussed and defined (Chapters 1-2). The use of parody by Lucilius, Horace and Persius is discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 respectively, and trends in parody, as well as the possible influence of the earlier satirists on the later satirists, are outlined. In Chapters 6-8 Juvenal's use of parody is scrutinised at length, and possible influences upon his treatment of parody are enumerated. In the concluding chapter (9) Juvenal's debt to and areas of superiority over his predecessors are summed up.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The title of this thesis, "Parody in Juvenal", might easily have been, "Παρωδία in Juvenal". But both titles are equally misleading. The word 'parody' is derived directly from the Greek word παρωδία, but does not retain all the meanings of the original. Parody implies that there should be a recognisable original, and that either criticism, or humour, or both be entailed in the work which effects the parody. Παρωδία is a much more general term and can cover almost any literary imitation; to attempt to discuss Juvenal's employment of all the classifications of this technique would be a mammoth task. "Humorous Use of Verse Imitation in Juvenal" is an alternative, but even this could be misleading, since it is my intention to omit certain imitations which are humorous, but humorous for reasons other than those which I shall define. Faced with these alternatives I have decided to keep the word 'parody' in my title, but to define certain methods of imitation which, although by present standards are not considered to be parodic, were encompassed in ancient times by the word παρωδία. Other methods of imitation also included under the latter heading have, however, been omitted. What I shall and shall not consider to be parodic is discussed in my

first chapter.

When one tries to discover and determine parodies, one should be fully aware of the traps into which one might fall. Writing at the beginning of the second century A.D., Juvenal had the whole of 'classical' and most of the 'Silver Age' literature (as we know it today) to draw upon. Included in this literature were all the works which have since been lost. This is a fact which many scholars are likely to forget. It is with the utmost caution, then, that we should say that in line A Juvenal is obviously parodying author B's line C. It may be that author E's line has certain marked similarities with a line of Juvenal, but that Juvenal himself was parodying another line from author D, whose work has subsequently been lost. Of course there are the scholiasts to help us in these cases, but Juvenal was not popular for almost 200 years after his death and commentaries on his work did not appear until later. Although works, now lost, were still available to the scholiasts, it must not be assumed that they had read them all or that, if they had, they would recognize parodies of them. Nor has Juvenal left us any commentary on his work saying what he is trying to do with his verse. There again his work was written to be recited or read aloud. We can be fairly certain that he would not indulge in obscure parodies just for the sake of them, if none of his readers could spot them. The whole point of a parody is that its source should be recognized. We should therefore expect that most of his parodies would be

aimed at the "classics" of his own day (Homer, Vergil), and modern or contemporaneous works (e.g. Statius, Silius Italicus), which would be most easily recognized by his readers.

The other trap which is set for the unwary scholar is for him to realize that literature has been lost, but then to assume that Juvenal had read all of the literature which remains today. Thus one can feel fairly safe when attributing parodies of Vergil, and Ovid's Metamorphoses<sup>1</sup> to Juvenal, since he shows that he had obviously read those works, but one must be more careful when discussing (say) a possible parody of Valerius Flaccus.

When dealing with Greek authors (usually Homer), one must also be careful to decide whether the satirist is parodying the work, style or phraseology of the original Greek author, or attacking the style of a poor Latin translator. This is more important when dealing with a satirist such as Lucilius, whose work remains only in fragments, rather than one like Persius who tells us (Sat., 1.4-5) that his argument is not with Homer, but with Attius Labeo's wretched translation of the Iliad.

I have also placed emphasis on the style in which a satirist wrote. This is important not only because it is then easier to discern when he deviates from his accustomed style in order to parody, but because ever since the time of the Scipionic Circle (at

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<sup>1</sup>I include under the heading of 'epic' Ovid's Metamorphoses and Vergil's Georgics and Eclogues. I realize that neither of these works can strictly be called 'epic poems', but they exemplify in many ways the characteristics of epic poetry, and many of Juvenal's parodies can be traced directly to them.

least for the next three centuries) controversy raged over which style was better for an orator to employ, the Attic or the Asiatic. Poetry too was not excluded from this controversy, especially as rhetoric crept more and more into poetry. Satire, in spite of its lowly origins, or rather because of them, found itself embroiled in the argument.<sup>2</sup> Because the Roman ear was so attuned to pick out the various traits of the two styles, it must have been easier for them to realize that a satirist had changed his style for some purpose or other. That is why for so many of Juvenal's parodies it is a useless task to look for one specific source; he often parodies a manner of saying a certain thing.

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lucilius, Bk.30. Horace, Satires, 1.4; 1.10; 2.1. Persius, Satires, 1 and 5.



## II. PARODY - A DEFINITION

The etymology of the word *παρωδή* is easily discernible; the *-ωδή* part being an Attic contraction of the word *αἰδή* - a song, although the word is later used to describe material which was not written to be sung; and the prefix *παρά* with its two separate functions of:-

- a) nearness, proximity and derivation
- b) contrast, difference, opposition and comparison.

H. Koller argues that the *παρά*- part of the word should be interpreted as meaning "against, in contrast with" the *ᾠδή*;<sup>1</sup> whereas the Oxford English Dictionary gives the derivation of parody as coming from *παρά* meaning "along, by the side of". Probably both the senses of *παρά* are present in the word *παρωδία*, as F.J. Lelièvre suggests in his basic definition of parody as "something sung - or composed - conformably to an original but with a difference".<sup>2</sup>

The earliest example of the word *παρωδία* comes from Aristotle's Poetics, where it is used to describe the mock epic of Hegemon of Thasos.<sup>3</sup> *Παρωδή* is a rare word and appears comparatively late, occurring first in Quintilian<sup>4</sup>, and therefore already in ex-

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<sup>1</sup>H. Koller, "Die Parodie", Glotta, 35 (1956), 17-36.

<sup>2</sup>F.J. Lelièvre, "The Basis of Ancient Parody", C&R, n.s.1 (1954), 66-84.

<sup>3</sup>Ar., Poetics, 2.3. (1448a. 12-13): Ἡγήμων δὲ ὁ Θάσιος <ὁ> τὰς παρωδίας ποιήσας πρῶτος  
<sup>4</sup>Inst. Orat., 9.2.35. Παρωδή, quod nomen ductum a canticis ad aliorum similitudinem modulatis abusive etiam in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur.

istence before this time. From the four passages in which the word occurs<sup>5</sup> there is no indication that it is employed as anything other than an alternative for *παρωδία*. Probably it appeared before *παρωδία* but was later superseded by it. The verb *παρωδέω* appears much more frequently but only in the scholiasts and late grammarians, and in Lucian, who uses it at least three times.<sup>6</sup>

F.W.Householder<sup>7</sup> discusses the passage in Aristotle and the many references in Athenaeus to *παρωδία* and concludes that in its earliest attested sense *παρωδία* "was a narrative poem of moderate length, in epic metre, using epic vocabulary, and treating a light, satirical, or mock-heroic subject".<sup>8</sup> He goes on to suggest that there is no evidence that *παρωδία* ever applied to other metres except the hexameter, or to prose, or imitations of anything except Homer.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Athenaeus, 2.54e; Olympiodorus in Alcibiades I, 113c; Athenaeus, 14.638b; Quintilian, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Lucian, Apol., 10; Charon, 14; Zeus Tragoedos, 14.

<sup>7</sup>F.W.Householder, Jr., "ΠΑΡΩΔΙΑ", CP, 39 (1944), 1-9.

<sup>8</sup>Householder, op. cit., p. 3. Cf. Athenaeus, 1.5a-6; 2.64c; 3.73d; 9.406e-407b; 14.656e; 15.698a-699a.

<sup>9</sup>Perhaps both Koller and Householder go too far in describing *παρωδία* as a genre. It may be intended by Aristotle to indicate a method of treatment, as the phrase *κατὰ παρωδίαν* was to be employed later by the grammarians. Hesychius defines *παρωδοῦντες* as *παρὰ-τραγωδοῦντες*; perhaps these two originally described the same method of adapting material, and the choice of the word employed depended upon the genre from which the material was taken, although the treatment of the material involved would in each case remain the same.

Athenaeus<sup>10</sup> states that mock-epic parody formed one of the classes for competition at dramatic festivals. From this Koller argues that *παρωδία* marks a movement of separation between literature and *ἡ μουσική*.<sup>11</sup> Aristotle says that Hegemon of Thasos was the first to write *παρωδία* and it is known that Hegemon was a writer of what is nowadays called "Mock Epic" or "Burlesque".<sup>12</sup> Thus the Batrachomyomachia may be the earliest example of *παρωδία* still extant.<sup>13</sup>

But can we be sure that the *-ωδή* part of the word did originally refer to epic, and not to lyric odes? Etymologically *παρωδία* can be derived from either. If Aristotle was the first to coin the word, then there can be little doubt that he derives *παρωδία* from epic, since in the passage where the word occurs it is to epic

<sup>10</sup> Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, 15.699a.

<sup>11</sup> Koller, op. cit., p.19ff.

<sup>12</sup> For concise definitions of Mock Epic and Travesty see A Dictionary of Literary Terms, eds. Barnet, Berman, and Burto. Its definitions of mock epic and travesty are as follows:-

Travesty (or Low Burlesque): takes a lofty theme and treats it in trivial terms.

Mock Epic or Mock Heroic (High Burlesque): the reverse of travesty for it treats a trivial theme in lofty style. It is a narrative poem which despite its name doesn't mock epic, but mocks low or trivial activities by treating them in the elevated style of epic. A comic effect results from the disparity between the low subject and the lofty style.

The Battle of the Frogs and Mice is then given as an example of travesty!!

Cf. also Dwight McDonald's definition of travesty: "It puts high classical characters into prosaic situations, with a corresponding stepping down of the language". (Parodies, ed. D. McDonald p. 557).

<sup>13</sup> As a humorous composition, however, the Batrachomyomachia is undistinguished, the humour being derived from a) the incongruity of the language and theme, b) names and patronymics. E.g. names of mice lines 27-29: *Ψιχάρπας ... Τρωξάρτας ... Λεχομούλη, Θυγατήρ Πτεροτρύκτου*

that he is referring. But as it is not known that the word is Aristotle's own coining, and since it is possible that he applied the word to a type of poetry from which it did not originate, the question must remain open.<sup>14</sup>

Lelièvre claims that the principal difficulty in discussing parody lies in the definition and classification of the terms *παρωδία*, etc., since they are employed by ancient writers to cover a variety of meanings and are often used very loosely.<sup>15</sup> A Dictionary of Literary Terms<sup>16</sup> defines parody as "a literary composition that imitates the style of another work. It amuses us, but need not make us devalue the original". Such a definition is too concise to be of much value in a work such as this, although it makes a better attempt than most of the modern English dictionaries. E.g. The Universal English Dictionary defines parody as:-

1. Deliberately ludicrous burlesque of an author's style and mannerisms.
2. Incompetent attempt to imitate or reproduce another's

c) the strange arms adopted by the combatants. E.g. The mice wear helmets made from peanut shells; the frogs have cabbage-leaves for shields. d) the scenes set on Mt. Olympus. E.g. Athena refuses to help either side because the mice have gnawed through the warp she had been spinning, and the frogs have kept her awake with their incessant croaking at night, when she had a head-ache.

Another such work was the Margites in which the epic hero was replaced by a simpleton and sciolist who

*πολλὰ ἤπιστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἤπισατο πάντα.*

<sup>14</sup>The scholiasts use the terms *παρωδία* and *παρωδείω* indiscriminately for the inclusion in comedy of any quotation, altered or unaltered, from epic, tragic, or lyric poetry. Both Householder and Lelièvre think that epic was the starting-point for *παρωδία*. Koller believes that it originated in the musical festivals, and that both epic and lyric may be included in the *παρωδία* part of the word.

<sup>15</sup>Lelièvre, op. cit., p.66.

<sup>16</sup>v. supra, n. 11.

work or style; a travesty. 3. vb. To imitate in such a manner as to secure a ludicrous effect. The Oxford English Dictionary gives a much better definition:- "A composition in prose or verse in which the characteristic turns of thought and phrase in an author or class of authors are imitated in such a way as to make them appear ridiculous, especially by applying them to ludicrously inappropriate subjects; an imitation of a work more or less closely modelled on the original but so turned out as to produce a ridiculous effect". But even this is inadequate for the definitions of classical parody.<sup>17</sup>

Faced with such dictionary definitions as the above, and finding that the definition given in Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon was inadequate, F.W. Householder proposed his own ideal dictionary definition of all passages in which *παρωδία* and cognate words occur.<sup>18</sup> *Παρωδία* and related words appear most often in the works of the scholiasts (who often employ *παρω τῶ* instead of *παρωδία*, etc.), where they are applied to passages from tragedy, and tragic, epic, or lyric lines inserted into comedy in the following four ways: a) substantially unchanged; b) with substitution of one or more words; c) in a paraphrased form; d) so much altered that

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<sup>17</sup> But to be fair to the modern dictionaries the Byzantine dictionary, the Suda is no better at explaining *παρωδία* as οὕτω λέγεται ὅταν ἐκ τραγῳδίας μετενεχθῆ ὁ λόγος εἰς κωμῳδίας - which is almost the same definition as the scholiast on Aristophanes, Acharnians, line 8 gives.

<sup>18</sup> Householder, op. cit. I reproduce the salient points of Householder's article omitting details which are not important for this thesis.

the passage becomes little more than an imitation of the grammar and rhythm of the original.<sup>19</sup> Householder also deals with *παρωδία* in rhetoric,<sup>20</sup> and quotes Hermogenes who states that there are two ways of introducing verse into prose: a) by direct quotation; b) *κατὰ παρωδίας*.<sup>21</sup> Householder finally gives his dictionary definition as follows:-<sup>22</sup>

*παρωδέω* : I imitate, borrow or paraphrase the words, style or thought of another passage, work or author. The purpose may be satirical or humorous (so often in 1, rarely in 2), but the word itself does not imply humour.

Specifically (the grammatical use):-

1(a) Quote, paraphrase or imitate serious verse in comedy, lampoon, or satire.

(b) Quote verse (in prose, verse or conversation) with metrical alteration of one or more words.

2 (the rhetorical use)

(a) Quote verse in prose with partial prose paraphrase or with prose alterations to suit the new context.

(b) More generally: adapt, borrow or plagiarize an idea or phrase from prose or verse.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.5.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp.6-8.

<sup>21</sup> Hermogenes, Meth. 30 *κατὰ παρωδίας*. He refers to the device of quoting part of a verse and then continuing with a prose paraphrase or adding one's own ending to the quotation. Often no humour is intended.

<sup>22</sup> Householder, op. cit., p.9.

Παρωδί' and παρωδία' are then defined according to the various methods indicated under παρωδέω.

Householder<sup>23</sup> had earlier defined use 2(b) above at greater length as "verse quotation with partial paraphrase, loosely paraphrased quotation or reminiscence from prose or verse". While not denying that free adaptation and reminiscence were classified by the scholiasts under the heading of παρωδία', whereas nowadays they would not be considered to be 'parodies' but merely 'reminiscences' or even 'plagiarisms', I shall not classify such passages as 'parody' in this thesis until I have investigated the function of the passage in the context as a whole, and the style of the borrowed material in relation to its new author's style. For example Lucilius, frag., 4 (Marx):<sup>24</sup>

Consilium summis hominum de rebus habebant

Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 9. 227:

Consilium summis regni de rebus habebant

Servius commenting on the passage in Vergil, says that he took the line from Lucilius with only one word changed. Marx, however, thinks that both Lucilius and Vergil are copying a line of Ennius. If Marx is correct, then the Lucilian line may well be a parody of Ennius;<sup>25</sup> if not, we should take this as an example of Vergilian

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>24</sup> When referring to Lucilius the number of the fragment quoted is that of Marx, C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae, first ed. 1904.

<sup>25</sup> For Lucilius' many parodies of Ennius v. infra pp. 28-33.

borrowing from, not parody of Lucilius, because the line in Aeneid 9 is written in good epic style, is used to describe a council of the Trojans, and is inserted into a perfectly natural piece of narrative. Perhaps a word is necessary here on borrowing and imitation in ancient literature.

G.C.Fiske has made a more than adequate study of the classical theory of imitation in his work, 'Lucilius and Horace',<sup>26</sup> in which he classifies imitation under five headings; a) parody; b) free translation; c) contamination; d) modernisation; e) the use of proverbs and literary commonplaces.<sup>27</sup> Fiske sketches a history of parody in Greek and Latin literature,<sup>28</sup> but does not consider it necessary to give a definition. By 'free translation' Fiske means the translation of a work from Greek into Latin, without slavish, verbatim copying but rather communicating the sense and gist of the original in good, idiomatic Latin.<sup>29</sup> 'Contamination' is the fusion of incidents and words taken from two different sources (but not necessarily referring to the same subject).<sup>30</sup> E.g. Persius, Satires, 1.90:

Verum nec nocte paratum  
plorabit qui me volet incurvasse querela,

<sup>26</sup> G.C.Fiske, Lucilius and Horace. For imitation v. pp. 25-63.

<sup>27</sup> Fiske, op. cit., p.47.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., pp.47-49.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., pp.49-50.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.50.



where he claims that it is what a man says, and not the way he says it that counts. He has 'contaminated' Lucilius, 590 (M):

Ego ubi quem ex praecordiis  
ecfero versum,

where Lucilius is speaking about saying what he himself really feels; and Horace, Ars Poetica, 102-3:

si vis me flere, dolendum est  
primum ipsi tibi,

where Horace is saying that the language and gestures of poetry should suit the situation they are describing.

'Modernization' is the reworking of a theme or work, previously dealt with and brought up to date for the present author's contemporaries. As such Horace's Satires are sometimes viewed in relation to Lucilius'.<sup>31</sup> The 'literary commonplace' needs little explanation - maxims, apophthegms, anecdotes, proverbs and the like were considered by the ancients to be common property.<sup>32</sup> Such methods of imitation as the above fall roughly into Householder's category 2(b) as being described as *παρωδία*, but I shall not class them as parodies.

To return to 'parody proper'. Lelièvre states that parody is characterized by distortion and contrast of matter and manner.<sup>33</sup> He defines three techniques that the parodist may

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp.50-51.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p.51.

<sup>33</sup>Lelièvre, op. cit., p.66.

employ:-

1) The reproduction of a passage large or small from an author, changed in part so that it is made to apply to a humbler subject or is used in less serious circumstances than the original author intended.<sup>34</sup> E.g. Telephus' words before the Greek leaders in Euripides' Telephus (frag. 701 [Nauck1]):

μή μοι φθονήσῃτ' ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνων ἄκροι  
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκα ἐν ἑσθλοῖσιν λέγειν

are spoken with appropriate alteration by Dicaeopolis to the audience in Aristophanes' Acharnians; lines 496-8:

μή μοι φθονήσῃτ' ἄνδρες οἱ θεώμενοι  
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν ἔπειτ' ἐν Ἀθηναίοις λέγειν  
μέλλω...

2) The reproduction of the original passage's general style and thought, exaggerating its characteristics to greater or lesser degrees but not necessarily being based on one particular passage; (the less exaggeration, the more subtle the parody).<sup>35</sup> E.g. Aristophanes, Frogs, 1331-1364 parodies Euripides' construction of his monodies and is based on lines 1309-1502 of Euripides' Orestes.

3) The reproduction of a passage verbatim or altered solely for metrical reasons,<sup>36</sup> but applied to a situation or

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-68.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

theme not intended by the original author to achieve a comic contrast. The result is *παρῳδία* but the basic processes of imitation and alteration (as defined by Householder) are not involved; its inclusion under parody perhaps involves a departure from Householder's definition. But we find in Lucian, Charon, 14:

νήσω ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ· βασιλεὺς δέ τις εὐχεται εἶναι.

Charon composes a 'Homeric' verse out of Od., 1.50 and 1.180 (or 5.450), and Hermes replies εὖ γε παρῳδεῖς.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from these three methods there is also, of course, the practice of employing a passage of general tragic diction, parodying no one author, but just using the lofty language and devices of tragedy and referring them to trivial themes. This is known as paratragedy.

Both Householder and Lelièvre were primarily concerned with discussing *παρῳδία* as it commonly occurs in Greek comedy. In Roman satire I shall only consider a passage to be a parody if it stands out from, and is different from the satirist's accustomed style (and hence easily recognizable as such), or if he juxtaposes two passages of contrasting style, and/or if it performs one of the following functions:-

- 1) Gives an example of an author's style and/or general

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<sup>37</sup>The line refers to Polycrates. The first half of the line is used in the Odyssey to refer to Ogygia, and by Lucian to refer to Samos. In the second half of the line the original εὐχομαι is altered to εὐχεται.

idiosyncracies, but often exaggerates his stylistic tendencies, the purpose being to ridicule the author or the school to which he belongs, and to serve as a weapon of literary criticism.

ii) The first half of a line is written in imitation of epic or tragic style (sometimes a parody or even a direct quotation from a particular author's work) with the second half of the line providing a shock ending; i.e. The first half of the line creates an atmosphere which is destroyed by the second half. Often this may be achieved by ending the line with a non-epic or vulgar word, or interspersing non-epic language into the otherwise normal passage. This is usually referred to as *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. Cicero calls it "expectationibus decipiendis" (De Oratore, 2.289). No criticism of the author parodied is intended and the sole purpose of the parody is humour or wit.

iii) A whole passage is written in lofty style, which contrasts with the satirist's own style, as a preface or epilogue to, or description of a low-life scene or trivial activity. Again no criticism of the author parodied or his style is intended, only the humour which arises from the incongruity of the situation. Cicero refers to this method of parody as "augendi causa" (De Oratore, 2.267). The starting-point of this type of parody is, of course, the mock epic or high burlesque. Connected both with this type of parody and the previous type

(ii), is the use of parody, by which a famous person or one in high position or regard is cut down to size by being described in lofty language, but at the same time ridiculed because of the insignificance, stupidity or vulgarity of the action which the lofty language describes. Non-epic language may be used at the end of the parody to explode the situation. Cicero refers to this as "minuendi causa" (De Oratore, 2.267).

iv) A whole line of another author is quoted but it is applied to a different and incongruous situation; again this is on mock epic lines, but one must closely examine the motives for the quotation to decide whether it is acting as a parody or merely as a quotation.

In defining parody I have deliberately stressed the functions and motives of the parodic passage so that the line can be drawn between parody and the various methods of borrowing and imitation employed by all Roman writers. The above four categories of parody-function are not supposed to be air-tight compartments, and it is possible (as I shall show) for a single parody to perform one or more of these functions. Apart from one function shading off into another there will be cases for obvious subdivision within categories. These I shall discuss as I come to them.

Before examining Juvenal's use of parody, I intend to look at the epic and tragic parodies as employed by his three predecessors, Lucilius, Horace and Persius. I have purposely

kept to the satirists who wrote in hexameters,<sup>38</sup> and I have not included in the survey the Menippean satirists. Juvenal drew greatly on these three previous satirists and it will be of use to have in perspective their employment of parody when we turn to Juvenal. Not only will it be useful for estimating his debt to these authors, but it will enable us to see Juvenal's superiority over his predecessors in this field.

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<sup>38</sup> Lucilius' satires are not, of course, all written in hexameters. But after what seems to be a period of experimentation with septenarii and senarii he decided on the hexameter as the metre for Roman satire.

### III. LUCILIUS' USE OF PARODY

Before discussing Lucilius' parodies, we must first distinguish the style in which he is accustomed to write. Only then can we decide when he changes that style, even if only for one line, and determine his purpose in so doing. Since so little of Lucilius' poetry remains (less than 1400 lines and half-lines out of 30 books), in order to attain some indication of the style in which he wrote, it will be safest to turn to the opinion of the ancient critics who had his whole work before them. According to all accounts Lucilius wrote in the plain (or Attic) style, as opposed to the more flowery (or Asiatic) style.<sup>1</sup> The five main rules of the sermo tenuis were:-  
a) Ἐλληνισμός or Latinitas: i.e. "Correctness and purity of conversational idioms employed in accordance with the tenets of technical grammatical theory in the language of colloquial art, but not of the streets".<sup>2</sup> The words employed in the plain style had to be pure, that is, not only pure Latin, but words

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<sup>1</sup>The tenets for writing in the different styles are laid down in various rhetorical treatises. The ancients, however saw no difference in the rhetorical schools as followed by orators and poets. Cicero points out that there is great similarity between orators and poets in all forms of ornamentation, including rhythm (Orator, 201-202). 'Longinus' did not think it necessary to distinguish between poets and orators when discussing how one could achieve 'sublimity' in one's work, and cites indiscriminately from Sophocles, Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes (Περὶ Ὑψους, 9; 14; 23.).

<sup>2</sup>G.C.Fiske, Lucilius and Horace, p.127.

in their literal, and not metaphorical sense.<sup>3</sup> In the employment of metaphors, the writer of the 'plain style' should use only the most common ones, and those which had arisen because of the deficiencies of the Latin language.<sup>4</sup>

b) κατασκευή - Embellishment or ornamentation; a negative quality, concerned with avoidance of flowery metaphors and other forms of ornamentation,<sup>5</sup> and connected with an avoidance of verbosity.

c) συντομία - Brevity; closely connected with rule (b). This is achieved by the use of the file, which guards against prolixity.<sup>6</sup>

d) σαφήνεια - Clarity of diction.<sup>7</sup>

e) τὸ πρέπον - Appropriateness.

Thus Lucilius is a model of gracilitas;<sup>8</sup> Petronius

<sup>3</sup> Cicero, Orator, 79: sermo purus erit et Latinus.

<sup>4</sup> Orator, 81.

<sup>5</sup> Orator, 84. Cf. Lucilius, 181-3 (M), where he characterizes the ὁμοιοτέλευτον of Isocrates as petty and childish.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Horace, Satire, 1.10.8-9:  
Est brevitae opus ut currat sententia neu se  
inpediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures.

<sup>7</sup> Horace criticises Lucilius on this point accusing him of being 'muddy'. Hor., Sat., 1.4.11:

Cum flueret lutulentus, est quod tollere velles.  
Cf. also Hor., Sat., 1.10.50-51. Thus Lucilius is verbose and offends against the third rule of the plain style.

<sup>8</sup> Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, 6.14.6.



describes his work by the word humilitas;<sup>9</sup> both words refer to the plain style. Quintilian refers to him as urbanus,<sup>10</sup> and Cicero calls him politus (meaning that Lucilius took time over the revision of his work), eruditus (a man of great scholastic knowledge), and elegans<sup>11</sup> (he chose his words and phrases carefully). All these points are stressed in the rules of the plain style. Finally, Horace refers to him as emunctae naris<sup>12</sup> (literally 'a blown nose'); i.e. keen or acute, a phrase which is also used by Quintilian to refer to the plain style.<sup>13</sup>

Horace's criticisms of Lucilius<sup>14</sup> are concerned mainly with his long-windedness, his muddiness (the fact that quantity militates against quality), and his introduction of Greek words into his work. Lucilius' invective can be blamed for the first two criticisms. Invective belongs more to the grand style, with its lack of restraint, absence of subtle humour, and boldness of diction. The plain style and invective are incompatible as Cicero says of the plain style "nihil iratum habet, nihil invidum, nihil atrox".<sup>15</sup> For the many Greek and foreign words - "In his diction Lucilius was quite unlike Terence, the 'puri

<sup>9</sup>Petronius, Satyricon, 4.

<sup>10</sup>Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, 10.1.94.

<sup>11</sup>Cicero, Brutus, 133 and 285.

<sup>12</sup>Horace, Sat., 1.4.16.

<sup>13</sup>Quintilian, Inst. Orat., 12.10.17.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Satires, 1.4; 1.10; 2.1.

<sup>15</sup>Orator, 64.

sermonis amator', for Gallic words, Etruscan words, . . . words from the Italian dialects are found in his pages".<sup>16</sup> But one should always bear in mind the 'low' origins of satire.

From this cursory survey it can be seen that Lucilius, whatever his short-comings, was an exponent of the plain style. Therefore it is highly probable that any passage in epic or tragic style which occurs in his fragments will be of a parodic nature. It is thus now necessary to discuss the elements which comprise the genus grande, or grand style, and which characterize epic and tragic diction.

The aim of the grand style is to arouse people's emotions "ad permovendos et convertendos animos";<sup>17</sup> it is described as vehemens, copiosus, gravis, ornatus, acer, ardens.<sup>18</sup> It is free to use all forms of ornamentation (lumina), however exaggerated or contrived; "in idem genus orationis . . . verborum cadunt lumina omnia".<sup>19</sup> "Longinus" defines five genuine sources of sublimity in literature:<sup>20</sup>

1) τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἀδρεμήβολον— the power to form great conceptions.

<sup>16</sup>Fiske, op. cit., p.116.

<sup>17</sup>Orator, 20.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 20; 97; 99. It can be seen that invective must fall under the heading of the grand style.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 95.

<sup>20</sup>Περὶ ὕψους, 8. ΠΡΩΤΕ . . . ΤΗΓΧΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ Εἰσιν αἱ τῆς ὕψι γορίας γονιμώταται.

- ii) τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος - the ability to inspire vehement passion.
- iii) τὰ σχήματα νοήσεως καὶ λέξεως - the proper construction of figures of thought and speech.
- iv) ἡ γενναία φράσις - noble diction, which comprises ὀνομάτων ἐκλογή καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ πεποιημένη λέξις (choice of phraseology, use of metaphor and poetic ornamentation).
- v) ἡ ἐν ἄξιωματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις - the overall effect of dignity and elevation.

Thus the grand style breaks all the rules of the plain style. It must be impassioned, ornate, verbose, employing as many tropes and as much ornamentation as possible, without sounding ludicrous, directing itself at the ear and not at the mind.

#### Lucilian Parodies of Homer

With so few fragments extant and most of the reconstructions based on very tenuous lines it would be very presumptuous to state categorically that such and such is the function of a parodic passage. I shall merely draw the conclusions that seem to me to be the most logical from the evidence.<sup>21</sup>

Lucilius, 4-54 (M) is a parody of a concilium deorum of the type that occurs in Homer and also in Ennius,<sup>22</sup> who derived

<sup>21</sup> I mainly keep to the reconstructions of the satires as given by Marx, especially since these are generally accepted if not in detail, at least in outline.

<sup>22</sup> Ennius, Annales, 1 and 7. Other parodies of councils of the Olympic gods are found in the Apocolocyntosis and in Lucian.

the idea from Homer. Many of these fragments are written in epic style and the satire itself probably derives from the similar treatment of Olympian councils in the mock-epic poems. Thus Apollo, who has objected to the epithet pulcher because of its derived sense of exoletus<sup>23</sup> refers to Zeus' mistresses, Leda and Dia; 24-25 (M):

ut contendere possem

Thestiados Ladae atque Ixionies alochoeo

The epic tone is reproduced in the grandiose patronymic, and is aided by a Homeric parody in the second half of the line with a direct transliteration of Iliad, 14.317:

οὐδ' ὅπως ἤρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο

But perhaps Lucilius is attacking a contemporary translator of Homer or a tragedian, who merely transliterated the words from Homer.

Many Homeric parodies occur in fragments 540-8 (M):

540 num censes calliplocamon callisphyron ullam

542 conpernem aut varam fuisse Amphitryonis acoetin

543 Alcmenam, atque alias, <He>lenam ipsam denique

545 <κού>ρην eupatereiam aliquam rem insignem habuisse

547 magna ossa lacertique

548 adparent homini

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<sup>23</sup>Probably a hit at the famous family of the 'pretty' Claudii.

With frag. 538 (M) being a conversation with Penelope about Odysseus, it would seem that the lines come from a satire, which had for its plot a travesty of part of the Odyssey.<sup>24</sup> Lucilius in the true tradition of travesty is deriding Homeric heroines, or again the authors who may have used these transliterated epithets, and is employing Homeric parodies interspersed with coarse language (e.g. inguina, 541; mammis, 541; yaram, 542; conpernes, 542.) to effect a ludicrous contrast. 'Calliplocamon' and 'callisphyron' are transliterations from Homer; cf. Iliad, 14.319: οὐδ' ὅτε περ Δανάης καλλισφύρου Ἀκρισιῶνης and Iliad, 14.326:

οὐδ' ὅτε Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης

For fragment 542-3, cf. Odyssey, 11.226:

τὴν δὲ μέτ' Ἀλκμήνην ἴδον, Ἀμφιτρώωνος ἀκοίτιν

For "κούρην eupatereiam", cf. Il., 6.292; Od., 22.227; and especially Od., 11.235:

ἔνθ' ἦτοι πρώτην Τυρῶ ἴδον εὐπατέρειαν

Warmington<sup>25</sup> suggests that Τυρῶ may thus be the correct reading for the MSS' ριν .

Frag. 547-8 suggest Od., 18.68-69:

στήθεά τε στιβαροί τε βραχίονες.  
φάνεν δὲ οἱ εὐρεές ὦμοι

<sup>24</sup>Fiske thinks that the satire was comprised of a conversation between Tiresias and Odysseus and as such formed the model for Horace, Satires, 2.5.

<sup>25</sup>E.H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin, Vol. III, p.179.

In the Odyssey the lines referred to Odysseus as he stripped for the fight with Irus. Lucilius' words seem to be a literal translation of the lines in the Odyssey. The context is not known and Lucilius may be describing the boxing-match between Odysseus and Irus, but considering the general tone of the previous fragments perhaps Odysseus or some other person is stripping for a less 'honourable' task and the lines from the Odyssey would then become a parody of function (iv).<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps in the same vein as the above is frag. 991 (M):

euplocamo digitis, discerniculum capillo

which Warmington<sup>27</sup> includes in a satire which he entitles 'A Lonely Wife and her Temptations'. Such an archaic word as euplocamon may have been used ironically.

With so much of the early Latin writings lost it is very difficult to decide whether a 'Homeric' parody in Lucilius is parodying the words of Homer or an epic poet who has translated some of the original Greek and incorporated it into his poem. I therefore beg the question of authorship of the next two examples and just state the possibilities. Frag. 208-9 (M):

dic quam cogat vis ire minutim

per commisuras rimarum noctis nigrore

Noctis nigrore seems to be either a translation or a paraphrase of

<sup>26</sup>v. supra p.17.

<sup>27</sup>Warmington, op. cit., p.354-5.

νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ<sup>28</sup> which occurs in Iliad, 11.173 and 15.324, in both cases at the end of the line. Pacuvius<sup>29</sup> uses the phrase in a passage where he describes the night getting blacker and blacker. The phrase is pompous and in Lucilius it may afford a climax to a mocking (?) question.

Fragment 1244 (M):

ore salem expiravit amarum

is a translation of Od., 5.322-3: στόματος δ' ἔξεπτύσειν  
ἀλμην / πικρῆν.

but as its position in Lucilius' work is unknown I will not presume to state its function (nor am I decided that it is in fact a parody). I am, however, convinced that the following is not a parody; frag. 462-3 (M):

non paucis malle ac sapientibus esse probatum  
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν

Fragment 463 is a direct quotation from Odyssey, 11.491 where it is said to Odysseus by the shade of Achilles, who vows that he would rather be a thrall on earth than a king in Hades. In Lucilius neither the words nor the sense is changed, and the quot-

<sup>28</sup> Homer always uses the words to refer to the period before dawn and just after sunset. Eustathius, 1018.21 says that ἀμολγῶς was an old Achaean word for ἀκμή and makes the phrase mean the dead of night. In Euripides, frag. 781 (Nauck):  
εὐκ ἀμολγῶν ἐξομορφέτε, εἰ ποῦ τίς ἐστιν αἵματος χάριτι πρῶν.  
ἀμολγῶς standing on its own, if the reading is correct, seems to mean a clot of blood.

<sup>29</sup> Pacuvius, frag. 412 (Ribbeck). When referring to Pacuvius and Accius the number of the fragment I give will always be that of Ribbeck's edition. Marx, in accordance with the time-honoured German practice, thinks that Pacuvius took the phrase from one of Ennius' works, which is now lost.

ation merely helps to back up the speaker's opinion. I quote this to show that one should not leap to the conclusion that a satirist is parodying when he introduces a line or lines into his work which can be traced back to another author.

Finally, fragment 231-2(M):

<nil> ut discrepet ac τὸν δὲ ἐξήρπασεν Ἀπόλλων  
fiat

If this fragment is correctly placed in the satire dealing with Scipio's meeting with a bore and refers to Scipio's escape, then the Greek words, taken directly from Iliad, 20.443, where they refer to Apollo's whisking somebody away from the battle-field and immediate death, are delightfully incongruous when describing Scipio's salvation,<sup>30</sup> and therefore parodic.

#### Lucilian Parodies of Ennius

The best place to begin with Ennius is probably the same place as I began with Homer - the concilium deorum, frags. 4-54. Fragment 4 has been dealt with already;<sup>31</sup> the diction is mock-epic, as has been seen. Thus frags. 27-27 (M):

vel<lem> concilio vestrum, quod dicitis olim  
caelicolae <hic habitum, vellem> adfuissemus priore  
concilio

and frag. 10 (M), "et mercedimerae legiones", include the epic

<sup>30</sup>For further discussion of this passage v. infra p.62.

<sup>31</sup>V. supra pp. 23-24.



words caelicolae and mercedimerae. Caelicolae is paralleled in Ennius, Annales, 491 (V):<sup>32</sup>

Optima caelicolum, Saturnia, magna dearum

Mercedimerus is a translation of μισοδαρνος,<sup>33</sup> since to mock at the soldiers of his day, who had lost all their epic love of glory and fought only for pay, 'il satirico latino ha voluto creare un composto di tipo epico'.<sup>34</sup>

The only other fragment parodying Ennius and helping to give the epic flavour to the concilium is frag. 18 (M):

haec ubi dicta, dedit pausam ore loquendi

which is a very verbose way of saying 'he stopped speaking', but no doubt quite common in early Latin epic poetry; pausam dedit occurs in Ennius;<sup>35</sup> cf. also Accius, frag. 290 (R):

nobis datur bona pausa loquendi

Marx comments on Lucilius' line "Ennianam totam esse hanc locutionem veri simile est".<sup>36</sup>

Hieronymus commenting on Michaeam, 2.7 says of Ennius, "Poeta sublimis non Homerus alter ut Lucilius de Ennio suspicatur

<sup>32</sup>The numbers for the fragments of Ennius are those of Vahlen's third edition.

<sup>33</sup>It cannot be proved that the word μισοδαρνος existed at this time, although Plato and Sophocles both use the word μισοδαρνεω.

<sup>34</sup>Italo Mariotti, Studi Luciliani, p.47. Warmington, op. cit., p.7 thinks that the word legiones may refer to clients.

<sup>35</sup>Ennius, Scipio, frag. 10 (V).

<sup>36</sup>Marx, C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae, Vol. II, p.11.

sed primus Homerus apud Latinos". Lucilius is certainly critical of the 'second Homer'; frag. 444(M):

Idem epulo cibus atque epulae Jovis omnipotentis  
recalls the lines of Ennius, Ann., 457-8 (V):

Iuppiter hic risit, tempestatesque serenae  
riserunt omnes risu Iovis omnipotentis

where Ennius has expanded<sup>37</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 5.426:

ὡς φάτο, μείδησεν πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

Marx<sup>38</sup> thinks that Lucilius is parodying Ennius by referring not to the plush banquets of Jupiter on the Capitol, but to the meagre dishes called epulae Iovis which dated back to early times. Perhaps this is so, but I feel that he is also employing polysyllabics ending in -entis placed at the end of the line to heighten the language in contrast with the rest of the sentence.

He also parodies both the fondness of epic and tragic poets for such stylistic tricks and the affected words they coined for this purpose. Thus frag. 276-7 (M):

huncin ego unquam Hyacintho hominum, cortinipotentis  
deliciis, contendi

where the ludicrous word cortinipotentis (tripodipotent)<sup>39</sup> is a good parody of such lines as Ennius, Ann., 180-1 (V):

stolidum genus Aeacidarum

<sup>37</sup>According to Servius (auctus) ad loc. Vergil, Aen. 1. 254-6.

<sup>38</sup>Marx, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 165.

<sup>39</sup>Warmington's apt translation.

bellipotentis sunt magis quam sapientipotentis  
or Naevius, Bellum Punicum, 25:

dein pollens sagittis inclutus arquitenens  
. . . Apollo

or Accius, frag., 127 (R):

Minervae domum armipotenti abeuntes Danaï dicant

Lucilius also criticised Ennius for overbold metaphors.

Servius ad loc. Vergil, Aeneid, 11.602 says, "'Horret ager', terribilis est. Est autem versus Ennianus, vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per inrisionem debuisse eum dicere 'horret et alget' [1190 (M)]"  
Probably the passage in Lucilius' mind was Ennius, Scipio, frag. 6:

sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret

These are the only parodies I can find in Lucilius where Ennius' style is definitely criticised. However Ausonius<sup>40</sup> says, "Villa Lucani - mox potieris - aca (for Lucaniaca); Lucili vates sic imitator eris". In the extant fragments of Lucilius no such illegitimate examples of tmesis remain; only ones such as conque tubernalem; deque dicata<sup>41</sup>. Ennius, however, was noted for his more remarkable tmeses (e.g. saxo cere - comminuit - brum)<sup>42</sup>, and if Ausonius is right in accusing Lucilius of doing the same thing, then these were probably introduced to parody Ennius.

In his 29th book Lucilius seems to be discussing tragedy

<sup>40</sup> Ausonius, Epistles, 5.36.

<sup>41</sup> Lucilius, frag., 997 (M).

<sup>42</sup> Ennius, Annales, 609 (V).

as the following fragments indicate, 870-4 (M):

nec ventorum flamina

flando suda <iter> secudent

late pendens saxa spargens tabo, sanie et sanguine  
atro

dissociatque omnia ac nefantia

Warmington<sup>43</sup> would also include in this satire fragment 939 (M):

serena caeli numine et salsi fretus

Marx<sup>44</sup> agrees that the line has an Ennian flavour since he often refers to aequora salsa or mare salsum.<sup>45</sup> Cicero<sup>46</sup> quotes frags. 872-3 (M) and attributes them to Ennius' Thyestes. Moreover frag. 870-1 may refer to Thyestes' curse<sup>47</sup> "Ut naufragio pereat Atreus". The complete passage in Lucilius was probably a burlesque of Ennius' Thyestes, especially as in the same book Pacuvius' Chryses appears to receive similar treatment.<sup>48</sup>

Lucilius started his separate set of 21 books with the line, 1 (M):<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Warmington, op. cit., pp.284-5.

<sup>44</sup> Marx, op. cit., vol. II, pp.307-8.

<sup>45</sup> Ennius, Tragedies, 367 (V) aequora salsa; Ann., 453 (V), Trag., 145 (V) mare salsum.

<sup>46</sup> Cicero, Tusc. Disp., 1.44.107.

<sup>47</sup> Ennius, Trag., 309 (V).

<sup>48</sup> V. infra p. 38.

<sup>49</sup> Varro, Lingua Latina, 5.17.

Aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere tempus

which is a lofty beginning, perhaps parodying the beginning of an epic poem. Genitabilis is an old form of genitalis: cf. Ennius, Ann., 115-6 (V):

Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevum  
degit

But there are no grounds for taking this as a parody of Ennius in particular. Marx thinks a few more passages may be parodies of Ennius,<sup>50</sup> but they are not important enough to warrant a full discussion, nor is it certain that they are Ennian parodies.

#### Lucilian Parodies of Accius and Pacuvius<sup>51</sup>

Horace says, "Nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?"<sup>52</sup> to which Porphyrio adds, "Facit autem haec Lucilius cum alias, tum vel maxime in tertio libro." Perhaps Lucilius would have agreed with Henry Fielding that "The greatest perfection of the language of a tragedy is that it is not to be understood."<sup>53</sup>

Let us now examine his parodies of their styles. Frag. 140-1 (M) probably plays a dual rôle:

<sup>50</sup>The fragments are 1075 (M) and 970 (M) where the respective phrases endo muco (-ἐν μύχῳ), and multis indu locis strike Marx as being Ennian; frag. 1000 (M); and 1124 (M), cf. Ennius, Ann., 496 (V).

<sup>51</sup>I treat both Accius and Pacuvius together because often it is impossible to decide which of the two Lucilius is parodying and they afford examples of the tragic style which Lucilius satirizes in general.

<sup>52</sup>Horace, Satires, 1.10.53.

<sup>53</sup>Foreword to Tom Thumb the Great.

Tantalus qui poenas, ob facta nefantia, poenas  
pendit

It may parody the tragedian's fondness for repetition;<sup>54</sup> it may also be mock-heroic<sup>55</sup> describing the tortures Lucilius endured while waiting for the appearance of a faithless girl.<sup>56</sup>

A hit at Pacuvius' exaggeratedly artificial compounds is preserved in frag. 212 (M):

lascivire pecus nasi<sup>57</sup> rostrique repandum

which describes dolphins; cf. Pacuvius, 408 (R):

Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus

Quintilian notes how harsh Pacuvius' compounds are.<sup>58</sup>

But most of Lucilius' critical parodies of Pacuvius occur in Book 26; frag. 597-608 (M):

squalitate summa ac scabie, summa in aerumna, obrutam  
neque inimicis invidiosam, neque amico exoptabilem.

hic cruciatur fame

600 frigore, inluvie, inbalnitie, inperfunditie, incuria.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also Aristophanes' parody of Euripides' repetitions in Frogs, 1353-55:

ἔμοι δ' ἄχε' ἄχεα κατέλιπε  
δάκρυα δάκρυα τ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων  
ἔβαλον ἔβαλον ἅ τλάμων

<sup>55</sup> As suggested by Fiske, op. cit., pp.310-11.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Horace, Satires, 1.5.82-85.

<sup>57</sup> I quote Venator's emendation of the MSS nisi nostrique, accepted by Marx. Onions conjectures Nerei which is accepted by Warmington.

<sup>58</sup> Quintilian, Inst. Orat., 1.5.67.

suspendatne se an in gladium incumbat, ne caelum bibat  
 quam fastidiosum ac vescum vivere  
 si miserantur se ipsi, vide ne illorum causa superior  
 † e loco conlocavit

605 rauco contionem sonitu et curvis cogant cornibus.  
 solus etiam vim de classe prohibuit Vulcaniam.  
 domum itionis<sup>59</sup> cupidi imperium regis paene inminuimus  
 — nunc ignobilitas his mirum ac monstrificabile.

The twelve fragments all contain parodies of Pacuvius' style and seem to refer either to his Antiope or The Judgement of the Arms. The subject of the satire is unknown; maybe it was another burlesque, although the number of critical parodies makes this unlikely; Warmington<sup>60</sup> gives the satire the vague title of 'Literary Controversay' and he also includes in it fragment 587 (M):

nisi portenta anguisque volucris ac pinnatos scribere  
 which is a reference to Medea's air-borne chariot.<sup>61</sup> Cf. Pacuvius, frag., 397 (R):

angues ingentes alites iuncti iugo

The line is from Pacuvius' Medus, no other references to or parodies of which are extant in these fragments. However Warmington's suggestion that it introduces the topic of how a trag-

<sup>59</sup>So Marx; but Warmington reads domutionis.

<sup>60</sup>Warmington, op. cit., p.233.

<sup>61</sup>Cicero also mentions Pacuvius' famous winged chariot drawn by snakes, in De Re Publica, 3.9.14.

edy should be written, is a compelling one.

Fragment 597-8 seems to mock the bombastic language of Pacuvius' Antiope; that the Antiope is being parodied seems certain because of Persius, Satires, 1.77.<sup>62</sup> The ending of fragment 597 looks like a direct parody of Pacuvius 356 (R):

qua te adplicasti tam serumnis obruta

In fragments 599-600 two of Pacuvius' stylistic points are parodied. His fondness for accumulating words with the use of asyndeton is shown by a list of six words; cf. Pacuvius 333-6 (R), "Armentum stridor/ flictus navium/ strepitus fremitus clamor tonitruum et rudentum sibilus;"<sup>63</sup> and the comic compounds inbalnitie and inperfunditie mock the realism and pathos of his drama.<sup>64</sup> The tragic atmosphere is retained in fragment 601 with the grandiose phrase for breathing ne caelum bibat.<sup>65</sup> But in fragments 603-4 the rhetorical device of commiseratio appears to be attacked.<sup>66</sup> Fragment 605 is a tragic line (N.B. the alliteration) but its

<sup>62</sup>v. infra pp. 77-78.

<sup>63</sup>Cf. also Pacuvius, 20a; 37; 91-92; 348; 369 (N.B. the negatively prefixed words; a Euripideanism?); incert. 192.

<sup>64</sup>Inluyies appears to have been a favourite word with Pacuvius. Cf. frags. 9; 20a; incert. 192.

<sup>65</sup>The allusion could be either to Antiope, or Ajax in The Judgement of the Arms.

<sup>66</sup>So Marx, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 224-5; he is followed by Fiske, op. cit., p. 110, and idem, "Lucilius and Persius", TAPA, 40 (1909), p. 128.



purpose in the satire is obscure; it looks as though it may be a direct quotation, as also may be frag. 606, which probably comes from The Judgement of the Arms and refers to Ajax's exploits while Achilles was sulking in his tent. The tragic flavour comes out in ym. . . Vulcaniam.<sup>67</sup> The word domutio occurs elsewhere in Pacuvius 173 (R):

Nam solus Danais hic domutionem<sup>68</sup> dedit

and in Accius 173 (R):

morari nec me ab domutione arcere tuo obsceno omine<sup>69</sup>

The section is ended with a parody of Pacuvius' coined words.

Monstrificabile (frag. 608) parodies such Pacuvian words as luctificabilis (20 [R]), and perhaps also such Accian words as horrificabilis (for horrificus or horrifidus; frag. 421 [R]).

Lucilius repeats the parody in frag. 654 (M):

ego enim contemnificus fieri et fastidire Agamemnonis

Cf. also Ennius, Trag., 96 (V), regifice.

Pacuvius again appears to suffer a paratragedy on his Chryses; Lucilius, frag. 653-7 (M):

653 di monuerint meliora, amentiam averruncassint tuam  
655 depugnabunt pro te ipsi et morienter ac se ultro eff-  
(erent  
nec minimo<sup>70</sup> est <nec> prosperatur pax quod Cassandram  
( <Locrus >

<sup>67</sup>Cf. Horace, Satires, 1.5.73-74; and v. infra p.57.

<sup>68</sup>Other MSS read domum itionem.

<sup>69</sup>Cf. also Auctor Incertus, 26 (R):  
Iam domutionem reges Atridae parant

<sup>70</sup>Alternative reading: Minervae.

## signo deripuit

In frag. 653 Lucilius quotes Pacuvius, Chryses, 112 (R), but omits the atque between meliora and amentiam. Marx suggests that frag. 653 is spoken by an interlocutor who tries to persuade Lucilius not to write satire, and who speaks in Pacuvian style.<sup>71</sup> Lucilius then answers him (frag. 654) in the same style. If Marx is correct then frag. 655-7 is spoken either by Lucilius or his opponent in the same manner.

Fragment 875-6 (M) is thought by Marx and Warmington to belong to the same satire in which Ennius' Thyestes was parodied.<sup>72</sup> Lucilius claims that Pacuvius' prologues were contorted; 875 (M):

verum tristis contorto aliquo ex Pacuviano exordio

Probably the Chryses was then parodied (but maybe only criticized); it is certainly referred to in frag. 876(M):

primum Chrysi cum negat signatam <natam> reddere

where the repetition of the syllables natam may be criticized.<sup>73</sup>

There is a lot of uncertainty about the context of frag. 1107-8 (M):

ante foras autem et triclini limina quidam

perditus Tiresia tussi grandaevus gembat

Marx places it among the fragments of uncertain origin, while War-

<sup>71</sup> Marx, op. cit., vol. II, p.239. Fiske, "Lucilius and Persius", TAPA, 40 (1909), p.131 supports his view.

<sup>72</sup> v. supra p.32.

<sup>73</sup> But this is only a reconstructed reading and may be wrong. Therefore one should not attach too much importance to it. Although cf. Cicero's infamous line:

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!

mington attributes it to Book 5, and a satire concerned with eating. The tragic words grandaevitas and grandaevus were probably used by poets especially to describe Tiresias and grandaevus Tiresias may have become a cliché. Thus Accius 245 (R):

quia neque vetustas neque mors neque grandaevitas  
where the line is spoken by Tiresias.<sup>74</sup> I also believe that the Romans may have used the name 'Tiresias' to refer to a person who was very old, just as we refer to such a person as 'Methuselah' and the Greeks used the name 'Iapetus'.<sup>75</sup> With such a grandiloquent name referred to a decrepit consumptive the contrast of the parody is obvious. With this we come to the end of Lucilius' direct parodies of passages which can still be traced. There still remain, however, several passages of a general tragic nature. E.g. frag. 718 (M):

viginti an triginta domi vel centum cibicidas alas  
Cibicida is a hapax legomenon and it may be coined as a take-off of such words as parricida and homicida on the model of σιτόκοπος.<sup>76</sup> Grecisms are also found in Lucilius' work. There occurs in fragment 311 (M), which is corrupt, the word omnicolor; words beginning with omni- are usually derived from Greek words

<sup>74</sup>Cf. Accius 67-68 (R) grandaevitas used of Phegeus; and Pacuvius 162 (R), where the same word is used of Peleus.

<sup>75</sup>For Iapetus, cf. Aristophanes, Clouds, 998-9:  
μηδ' ἀντιπεῖν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν, μηδὲ Ἰαπετὸν παλέδοντα  
μησικακῆσαι τὴν ἡλικίαν  
For the similar use of the name Tithonus, cf. Arist., Acharnians, 688; Callimachus, Iambi, 249.

<sup>76</sup>V. Mariotti, op. cit., p.48.

beginning in  $\pi\alpha\nu$ -; those ending in color are rare and poetic deriving from  $-\chi\rho\omicron\omicron\varsigma$  or  $-\chi\rho\omega\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . Omnicolor is only found elsewhere in Prudentius<sup>77</sup>, so in this passage it may well be parodic.<sup>78</sup>

Fiske<sup>79</sup> discussing the ending of Horace's line,<sup>80</sup> "sententia dia Catonis" thinks that it is a recollection of Lucilius 1316 (M), "Valeri sententia dia". Possibly Lucilius is using the grand phrase to contrast the epic dignity of the original (Ennius as always is cited as the possible original author), with the vulgar opinion of Valerius. If the latter is Valerius Valentinus, a contemporary of Lucilius, who boasted in his satires of having seduced a free-born girl, then this would give more point to the irony of the parody.

In his 'Voyage to Sicily', Lucilius describes his arrival at the border of Setia; frag. 112-3 (M):

illud opus durum, ut Setinum accessimus finem  
aigilipes<sup>81</sup> montes, Aetnae omnes, asperi Athones

Lucilius is joking because the foothills in this area are not

<sup>77</sup> Prudentius, Peri Steph., 12.39.

<sup>78</sup> Vide Mariotti, op. cit., p.48.

<sup>79</sup> Fiske, Lucilius and Horace, p.257.

<sup>80</sup> Horace, Satires, 1.2.32.

<sup>81</sup> Warmington accepts the alternative MS reading of  $\chi\iota\gamma\iota\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\iota$  - the word comes from Homer.

very high at all. The bombastic expressions in frag. 113 supplement his wild exaggerations.

From the same satire comes fragment 119 (M):

non peperit, verum postica parte profudit

which is an insult cast at one buffoon by another. It is an extremely coarse allusion, a parody on the heroic pedigrees of epic poetry.<sup>82</sup>

The 'Voyage to Sicily' in Book 3 begins with an address to a friend who was unable to accompany Lucilius; it is in mock grand style; frag. 97-98 (M):

Tu partem laudis caperes, tu gaudia mecum  
partisses

possibly a grand introduction to a trivial topic.<sup>83</sup> A mock-tragic line occurs later on in the satire; frag. 129 (M):

cernuus extemplo plantas convestit honestas

It is impossible to tell the author who is parodied here (if indeed the victim is one particular author) although it may be Accius, since Porphyrio says he was parodied in Book 3.<sup>84</sup> The author parodied in the following fragments is also difficult to identify;

<sup>82</sup> It is worthwhile to compare this passage with the relevant passage in Horace's 'Journey to Brundisium' (Sat., 1.5.51-56) where he deals with the genealogies of the two fools (also by means of epic parody). As far as I know no comment has yet been made on the 'p' alliteration in frag. 119. Does it refer to the sound of crepitation, which would fit in nicely with the general tone of the conversation?

<sup>83</sup> V. infra Hor., Sat., 1.5 where he employs this technique.

<sup>84</sup> V. supra p.33.

they may simply be paratragic. There is no need to quote them in full. Frag. 507 (M) sonipes is paralleled in Accius 602 (R) quadripedantum sonipedum and is the usual 'grand' word for horse; frag. 996 (M) mare . . . magnum which may have a heroic ring to it, is worth comparing with Ennius, Annales, 445 (V) and Livius Andronicus frag. 33 (R); frag. 1123 (M) magnam pugnativimus pugnam<sup>85</sup> is thought by Marx, along with the other two examples to parody Ennius. Fragment 965 (M):

quoia nam vox ex te resonans meo gradu remoram facit  
is obviously a tragic parody with its contorted phraseology, and Mariotti claims that frag. 1065 (M) is also paratragic.<sup>86</sup>

Only two more fragments need detain us longer; frag. 663:

qui sex menses vitam ducunt, Orco spondet septimum.

This should be compared with Caecilius, fragment 70 (R):

mihi sex menses satis sunt vitae; septimum Orco spon-  
(deo.

An obvious reminiscence but is it necessarily a parody? Unfortunately with the context unknown it is impossible to decide. The sentiment was a common one in his time, according to Cicero<sup>87</sup> who quotes this line, so perhaps it was already by Lucilius' time and as such I shall not regard it as a parody.<sup>88</sup> Again I regard fragment 1301 (M) stat sentibus fundus as only a reminiscence of

<sup>85</sup>I would hazard that this line is spoken by someone with his tongue in his cheek.

<sup>86</sup>Mariotti, op. cit., p.50.

<sup>87</sup>Cicero, De Finibus, 2.7.11.

<sup>88</sup>Although the ancients would have done so.

Caecilius, fragment 216 (R), ager autem stet sentibus. The words and construction are perfectly normal and there is no reason to look for ulterior motives on Lucilius' part.

What conclusions can be drawn about Lucilius' parodies? That he used them to criticize the writings of Ennius, Pacuvius and Accius is beyond doubt. However, a word of qualification is necessary. Although I have classed most of his parodies in the category of 'literary criticism', I feel sure that some of them probably had ancillary functions to perform as well. One should not fall into the trap, when dealing with fragments of one or two lines, of concluding that because line A of Lucilius parodies a stylistic quirk exemplified in line B of another author, this is its sole purpose. I therefore think that a lot of the 'literary criticism' parodies were used like frag. 140-1 (M), for example, where tragedians' love of repetition is parodied and the 'noble' line describing the tortures of Tantalus is referred to the frustrations of Lucilius.<sup>89</sup>

Lucilius also employs parody for the other three functions which I defined. These are harder to discover because of the fragmentary nature of his work, but can usually be spotted in his parodic treatment of Homer.

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<sup>89</sup>In his reconstruction of the fragment Fiske may, of course, be wrong. But it serves to show the type of dual function to which I am referring.

#### IV. HORACE'S PARODY OF EPIC AND TRAGEDY

What has been said about the plain style in Lucilius can be applied without reservations to Horace. He keeps to the rules of the sermo tenuis as laid down by Cicero<sup>1</sup> and only transgresses them for special reasons. He states the manner in which satire should be written in one of his 'manifesto' satires, 1.10.9-15:

est brevitae opus, ut currat sententia, neu se  
impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures;  
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,  
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,  
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque  
extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri  
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res

The first two lines are a reference to the brevity ( $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$ ) of the plain style and the second sentence (lines 11-14) also refers to the necessary inclusion in one's work of  $\tau\omicron$   $\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ , while the final two lines profess the superiority of 'Horatian' irony over 'Lucilian' invective, which by its very nature belonged to the grand style. But Horace also says "sermone opus est. . . modo rhetoris, atque poetae". What exactly does Horace mean by rhetor and poeta, and that one should employ the

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<sup>1</sup>Cicero, Orator, 76-85.



style of both of them in one's satire? A rhetor can employ two styles, the plain and the grand;<sup>2</sup> so to which is Horace referring? Since Horace himself is writing in the plain style, I think that any reference to a rhetor, unqualified as this is, would immediately bring into his readers' minds the stylistic devices and tricks which were employed by the orators who practised the grand style. Poeta probably refers back to Sat., 1.4.39ff. where Ennius is given as an example of poeta. In this case it would mean an epic or tragic poet who employs more grandiose language than it is usual to find in a satirist. I interpret the sentence as a whole to refer to Horace's interspersing of his plain style with passages of epic or tragic diction. They are deliberately introduced to lighten the triste et acre of his satires and to produce humour.

Let us now consider the purpose of these passages within the framework of Horace's satires as a whole. Parody is little employed by him in his satires to perform the function of literary criticism; one notable exception, however, is the use made of parody to attack Furius Bibaculus; Sat., 1.10.36-37:

turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque  
defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo.

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<sup>2</sup>There is also the middle style (genus medium) described by Cicero, Orator, 91-96 as having elements in common with the other two styles; it is less vigorous: sedate placideque labitur (Orat., 92); lacks the emotion of the grand style, but can employ ornamentation (Orat., 95-96), which breaks the rule of the plain style concerning κατὰ σκευήν.

and again in Sat., 2.5.39-41:

seu rubra Canicula findet  
infantes status, seu pingui tentus omaso  
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes

To deal with the second passage first; it is known from Quintilian<sup>3</sup> that Furius' original line ran:

Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes

where the verb conspuere (to spew out over) is hardly in place in an epic passage such as this, especially since Furius has presumably used Jupiter as a personification of the sky, whereas the use of the proper name conjures up the unseemly image of the deity vomiting up the snow, very much as Cronos vomited up his children. To parody such a grotesque line Horace merely substitutes 'Furius' for 'Iuppiter'. Perhaps here we also have a 'double take'; apart from the comic substitution could "Furius . . . conspuet" have the secondary meaning of "Furius spews out such trash as 'hibernas cana, etc.'"<sup>4</sup> One cannot tell whether 'seu rubra . . . status' is

<sup>3</sup> Quintilian, Inst. Orat., 8.6.13.

<sup>4</sup> 'Pingui tentus omaso' has always puzzled commentators on Horace. Palmer says, "Horace . . . adding a description of Furius himself as being pingui tentus omaso - 'distended with fat tripe' - a very unpoetical dish, but probably a usual one with Furius." Page (Q. Horati Flacci Opera, p.467) says, "Tripe was a cheap dish . . . probably Furius, an unsuccessful poet, could afford no better and, being a greedy man, stuffed himself with it".

I feel that neither of these opinions carries any real conviction. Palmer's says nothing more than one could have gathered from the text, while Page's explanation looks like a desperation measure. I offer the following explanation: The words should be taken closely with the following line. Pinguis means 'fat' or 'rich', an obvious word to apply to tripe; Furius has gorged himself on this

a direct quotation from Furius or a parody of one of his lines. Palmer convinced that the line is a quotation, claims that, "A more ranting line was never penned,"<sup>5</sup> and I think that Furius did write the words 'rubra. . . status', although this may be a paraphrase for metrical reasons.

So Tiresias<sup>6</sup> in his advice to Odysseus says, "Persevere in the heat of summer and in the depth of winter", but in mock grand style with a savage parody on Furius. So we can see why Horace refers to Furius as turgidus (bombastic) Alpinus (a nickname coined (by Horace?) from his famous line). Besides his epic poem on Caesar's Gallic Wars he had written an Aethiopsis in which Memnon was killed by Achilles. Thus iugulat puns on its double meaning: Furius 'has Memnon killed' in his epic, and, Furius 'murders' Memnon because of his bad poetry.<sup>7</sup> In line 37 the reference to 'defingit luteum Rheni caput' is unknown; probably Furius described the Rhene caput (source or mouth?) as luteum, a word out of place in epic and this is what is parodied by Horace.

In dealing with Horace's other non-critical parodies I shall dis-

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(tentus) and as a result he vomits up over the wintery Alps - hoary snow! Thus the phrase describing Furius should leave no doubt in our minds as to the meaning Horace thinks conspuere must have and emphasises how out of place it is in epic poetry.

<sup>5</sup>Palmer, Horace - Satires, pp:333-4.

<sup>6</sup>V. infra p.66-Tor full treatment of this satire.

<sup>7</sup>Since iugulat is used as a pun may this not reinforce my opinion that conspuet is also employed with a play on its meaning?

cuss them in the order in which they appear in Horace's satires so that their function in relation to the satire as a whole may be easier to discern. First, Sat., 1.1.4-6:

'O fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis  
miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore.  
contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris

Gravis annis could refer to a soldier being borne down with age since a soldier did not have to retire until he was 60; but this has troubled the commentators. Jahn contrived the explanation that it means 'non annos vitae sed annos militiae'. Palmer rejects this, rightly, but his explanation - "gravis annis does not mean that a man is weighed down by years, but that he goes heavily, has lost his nimbleness owing to years, is getting stiff. A man becomes stiff before the age at which a Roman soldier got his discharge". - is not much better. I do not believe that Horace is referring to a man 'getting stiff'; he is dealing with men who always desire something that they do not possess, but then do not want it as soon as it is in their possession. Horace here perhaps is being sarcastic; gravis annis is a good epic phrase for 'burdened down with years; cf. Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannos, 17 εἰ δὲ οὖν γῆρας βρεπείσ (not strictly parallel, since γῆρας specifically means 'old age'), and Vergil, Aeneid, 9.246, "Hic annis gravis atque animi maturus Aletes". Line 5 also adds to the picture of the broken-down old man.

I think that the mock-epic tone is also set by the ex-

clamation 'O fortunati. . . '8 and am I reading too much into the Latin to say that iactantibus Austris also adds to the epic picture?<sup>9</sup>

Satire, 1.1.28-30 gives a good example of Horace's juxtaposing lofty and low speech:

ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,  
perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne  
audaces mare qui currunt,

The first line is written in worthy bucolic style, while the rest of the passage contrasts with this to bring the reader back to earth; there again line 36 adds an epic flavour to the description of the ant's life, which may serve to add a little humour to the passage.

There are many reminiscences of Lucretius in this first satire but I do not think that any of them can be classed as parodies of him.<sup>10</sup> Cetera de genere hoc occurs eight times in Lucretius and Horace may be drawing his readers attention to this favourite half-line of Lucretius, especially as he continues line 13 "adeo sunt multa,<sup>11</sup> loquacem / delassare valent Fabium".

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cicero, "O fortunatam natam me consule Romam", and Vergil, Eclogue, 1.47, "O fortunate senex!"

<sup>9</sup> Especially since ventis could have been substituted for Austris. The particularizing of places, winds, etc. is a Hellenistic tendency introduced by the Alexandrians.

<sup>10</sup> Because there are so many Campbell thinks the satire is one of Horace's earliest, and the reminiscences are 'distinct signs of immaturity'.

<sup>11</sup> The simple meaning is 'they are so many'. Could it poss-

Horace describes the life of Ummidius, a typical miser, and his death; lines 99-100:

at hunc liberta securi

divisit medium fortissima Tyndaridarum

It is reasonable to assume that Horace is recounting a story, perhaps contemporary or even taken from a well-known passage in Lucilius, of how a freedwoman killed her miserly master. It has been suggested that the name of the freedwoman was Clytemnestra or Tyndaris<sup>12</sup>; but is it not much more likely that in order to contrast with the sordidness of the characters, a miser and a freedwoman, Horace breaks into epic language - "the bravest of the Tyndarids split him in two" - and likens it to the famous murder at Argos, thus mocking the squalid scene? Line 100 adds mock-epic diction to the scene, ending as it does with a grandiose five-syllable patronymic.<sup>13</sup>

Satire, 1.2 opens with the imposing lines:

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae,  
mendici, mimae, balatrones

Hexameters consisting of only three words are rare in ancient lit-

ibly be extended to imply 'Lucretius uses them so much that they would tire out that chatterbox Fabius'? For other reminiscences, cf. Hor., Sat., 1.1.25-26 and Lucret., 1.936-8; 1.1.106 and 2.380; 1.1.118-9 and Lucret., 3.938-9, 959-60.

<sup>12</sup> Vide Palmer, op. cit., pp.126-7.

<sup>13</sup> The use of parody for contrasting character and action by means of famous names from epic or tragedy is used on a wider scale by Juvenal.

erature as a whole,<sup>14</sup> and tend to give an impression of slowness, weight or general pomposity. In Horace the line is reinforced with a further list of people and by the use of asyndeton. Such an impressive, solemn opening contrasts with the vulgar words which Horace employs for this effect, and introduces the reader to the fact that the worthless and fickle singer Tigellius has died. The contrast between diction and situation and the full force of the parody are thus made obvious.

The incongruity of language and theme is shown more clearly in Horace's next parody; lines 31-32:

quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, 'macte  
virtute esto,' inquit sententia dia Catonis

the last line of which echoes Lucilius 1316 (M) 'Valeri sententia dia' and strengthens Fiske's hypothesis that it has an ironical force in Lucilius referring to Valerius Valentinus;<sup>15</sup> perhaps Horace borrows a phrase from Lucilius and the parody which accompanies it. Dia is an archaism and macte virtute is a somewhat formalistic phrase for praising military prowess.<sup>16</sup> There again the realistic, conservative Cato is the satirical antithesis of an

<sup>14</sup>cf. Sophocles, Oed. Tyr., 3:

Iliad, 15. 678: ἰκτῆροισι κλάδοισιν ἔξεστέρμενοι  
καλλήτων βλήτροισι, δουκασεϊκοσίηνχθ  
which conveys to the listener the heavy weight of the spear.  
and Lucret., 3.907: insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque

<sup>15</sup>Marx, op. cit., vol. II, p.421 has a theory worth mentioning that sententia dia is taken by both Lucilius and Horace as a lofty phrase applied to a vulgar subject.

<sup>16</sup>Is this also a parody on the various military meta-

epic figure and his remark and the next lines are anything but dia. Lines 37-38:

audire est operae pretium procedere recte  
qui moechis non vultis

should be compared with Ennius<sup>17</sup>, Annales, 465-6 (V):

audire est operae pretium procedere recte  
qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis

Porphyrio remarks on the line, "Urbane abutitur Ennianis versibus". These lines introduce the main part of the satire,<sup>18</sup> the importance of which is emphasized by the Ennian parody. It is an echo of an old introductory formula.<sup>19</sup> Horace has referred Ennius' line to a very low topic - the essence of humorous parody. In the parody, while his readers would expect Horace to continue the quotation of Ennius verbatim or by a paraphrase, he twists the quotation to refer to adulterers and couples the impersonal verb procedere to the dative moechis but returns to the original quotation with the word vultis.

Another quotation from Ennius occurs in Satire, 1.4.60-61:

non, ut si solvas, 'postquam Discordia taetra

phors applied to the battles of love, again here applied to a more sordid context?

<sup>17</sup> Does the fact that Ennius is parodied immediately after the sententia dia lend support to Marx' theory that this phrase is also taken from Ennius?

<sup>18</sup> Fraenkel, Horace, p.77.

<sup>19</sup> For examples see Fraenkel, op.cit., pp.81-82.



Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit'

taken from Ennius, Annales, 266-7 (V). Porphyrio commenting on Horace says, "Est sensus: si dissolvas versus vel meos vel Lucillii, non inuenies eadem membra quae sunt in Ennianis versibus, qui magno scilicet spiritu et verbis altioribus compositi sunt, velut hi sunt 'postquam eqs.'" But this time it is not a parody - the passage is a direct quotation; no words or parts of words have been altered, nor is the quotation referring to anything other than the subject to which it was originally intended to refer. It is just cited as a typical example of Ennius' poetry and no criticism of it is implied. Such passages as this should always be borne in mind to prevent us from jumping to conclusions and calling them parodies.

Horace's famous 'Journey to Brundisium' (Satire 1.5) contains more epic parodies than any other single satire. Since, as we have seen,<sup>20</sup> Lucilius' 'Voyage to Sicily' also contained a large number of parodies, it is possible that Horace adapts certain parodies from Lucilius, or introduces a greater number into his work because they were more numerous in Lucilius'.<sup>21</sup> Horace starts with lines 9-10:

iam nox inducere terris

umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat

where he produces a flourish in the hackneyed manner of epic

<sup>20</sup> V. supra pp. 40-41.

<sup>21</sup> For Horace's imitation of Lucilius as a whole in this satire see Fiske, Lucilius and Horace, pp. 306-316.

which ushers in the decidedly non-epic, low scene of the barges and the terrible night spent on board the barge with the mosquitoes, frogs and singing barges. The epic introduction provides a good contrast to the wretched situation. For the sort of passage parodied, cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, 11.309:

Nox caelum sparserat astris

or Vergil, Aeneid, 2.9-10:

et iam nox humida caelo

praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos

but especially Seneca's satirical treatment of the topic in Apocolocyntosis, 2:

Iam Phoebus breviora via contraxerat ortum  
 lucis, et obscuri crescebant tempora somni,  
 iamque suum victrix augebant Cynthia regnum  
 et deformis hiemps gratos carpebat honores  
 divitis autumnus, iussoque senescere Baccho  
 carpebat raras serus vindemitor uvas.

Puto magis intellegi, si dixero: mensis erat October, dies III  
 Idus Octobris.<sup>22</sup>

Horace next breaks into epic diction to describe the spring of Feronia and the town of Anxur; lines 24-26:

ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha  
 milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus  
 impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.

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<sup>22</sup>For another satirical treatment of the same subject cf. Culex, 42-44.

Horace 'waxes lyrical' with the personal address to the spring and the highly poetic word lymp~~h~~a for the more usual aqua: which is followed by a line of ordinary narrative and then the imposing description of Anxur. I think the position of these lines in the context of the satire is important. Line 24 comes just after Horace has spent his night aboard the barge on the stagnant marshes, and so now that he has got away from them and found fresh, running water his language heightens along with his relief. Moreover he meets his old friend Maecenas, and so to show his joy his language again becomes grander.

Lucilius in describing the contest between the two buffoons had put into the mouth of one of them a mock-epic parody of the other's birth.<sup>23</sup> Horace devotes five lines of mock-epic verse to the combatants; lines 51-56:

nunc mihi paucis

Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,  
 Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque  
 contulerit litus Messi clarum genus Osci;  
 Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti  
 ad pugnam venere

Horace intersperses lofty poetry and conversational Latin. E.g. quo patre natus and velim memores<sup>24</sup> respectively. For the epic invoc-

<sup>23</sup>v. supra p. 41.

<sup>24</sup>Velim memores may not, however, be colloquial; see Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 111, note 1.

ation to the Muses; cf. Iliad, 1.1:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

and Odyssey, 1.1:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ

or Vergil, Aeneid, 1.6:

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso

Moreover the passage opens on a parodic note with the nunc mihi which Horace repeats in Satires, 2.3.224 nunc age which is the usual start to an invocation to the Muses; Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 7.37:

Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora

For the epic device of giving a person's genealogy (quo patre natus uterque) compare the meeting of Diomedes and Glaucus in Iliad 6 (cf. also Od., 8.550-5; 9.252ff.; 10.325).

After the atmosphere has been built up by the epic language the time is then ripe to puncture the image, which Horace does with a beautiful piece of bathos - line 54 "Messi clarum genus - Osci" - the famous race of - Osci! The Oscans were always regarded by the Romans as being soft and effeminate. Hardly suitable for epic heroes then! Sarmentius' pedigree is not much better - he is a manumitted slave whose former mistress is still alive. Lucilius 117-122 (M) seems to have described the contest in terms of a gladiatorial combat; Horace parodies an epic combat.

After the contest is over, they travel to Beneventum on the next day; lines 71-76:

ubi sedulus hospes

paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni:

nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam  
 Vulcano summum/properabat lambere tectum.  
 Convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis  
 tum rapere, atque omnis restinguere velle videres.

Fraenkel notes that in lines 71-72, "He sets off the very plain subject-matter by employing an order of words, that if not downright artificial, is at any rate *recherche*."<sup>25</sup> Vulcano has an epic ring to it and is a grandiose word for ignis, and by the employment of this noun there is an implied connection between the blazing kitchen and Vulcan's smithy. The host is referred to as sedulus meaning 'diligent' or 'industrious'.<sup>26</sup> Immediately afterwards, however, Horace makes a disparaging remark about the meal - macro. . . turdos (skinny thrushes), and the host's carelessness helps to cause the blaze. It would therefore seem in view of what follows that sedulus is a sarcastic remark. Now we have already seen that Horace uses sarcasm when about to employ parodic language.<sup>27</sup> I think the parody is constructed on these lines: a sarcastic reference is followed by contorted diction, then an epic tone, given by means of a high-flown word applied to a trivial theme or occurrence and finally the whole scene of confusion (lines 75-76) is described while the poet addresses his audience.

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<sup>25</sup>Fraenkel, op. cit., p.111.

<sup>26</sup>I do not think that it has here its pejorative sense of 'officiousness' or 'obtrusiveness'.

<sup>27</sup>Sat., 1.1.4, gravis annis; v. supra p.48.

For the epic in the last two lines, cf. Vergil, Aen., 4.401 & 409-10:

401     migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis  
 409                             totumque videres  
 410     misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor.<sup>28</sup>

On the final stage of his journey Horace was not impressed by the holy miracles of Gnatia and says, lines 99-102:

                           credat Iudaeus Apella  
 non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum  
 nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id  
 tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.

Line 100 is a direct paraphrase of Lucretius, 5.82:

           nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom

and lines 101-2 recall Lucretius, 2.1154-5.:

           haud ut opinor enim mortalia saecula superne  
 aurea de caelo demisit funis in arva.

Should we consider these lines to be parody or reminiscence? One can only tell by the manner in which they are said; line 100 would be considered by the ancients to be a quotation, altered for metrical reasons, but a quotation nevertheless, just like Sat., 1. 4.60-61, where no parody was intended.<sup>29</sup> Naturally if Horace disbelieves Lucretius or is speaking tongue-in-cheek then it may well be considered as a parody. But Horace's usual stand-point is that

<sup>28</sup> Admittedly lines 409-10 are addressed to Dido, but by the poet himself.

<sup>29</sup> V. supra pp. 52-53.

of an Epicurean and the laugh is being had at Apella's expense; I personally do not feel that these lines are parodic but rather paraphrases of Epicurean doctrine as set down by Lucretius.

In Satire, 1.6 the glory of the Valerian house is borne out in the epic style of lines 12-13:

contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde superbus  
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit,

but after such a glowing reference comes the punch-line, 13-14:

unius assis  
non unquam pretio pluris licuisse.

So the parody is employed here augendi causa to attack Laevinus and to contrast the grand family with the latest miserable failure.

A similar contrast appears in lines 58-59 where Horace is describing himself:

non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum  
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo.

The sentence begins in grand style - the tmesis circum...vectari is an element of the exalted style<sup>30</sup> as is the pompous epithet Satureiano meaning 'Tarentine', but then the grandeur is offset by the coupling of the lofty adjective with the colloquial caballo<sup>31</sup> and the simplicity of the following line (60), 'sed quod eram

<sup>30</sup>v. supra p.31 for Lucilius' use of tmesis for parody.

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Persius, Prologue, 1; Juvenal, Sat., 3.118. V. inf. pp.75 and 104-5.

narro.'

Satire, 1.7 is concerned with the law-suit between Persius and Rupilius Rex, and culminates in an atrocious pun on the latter's name. In leading up to their contest Horace digresses about great epic combats, lines 10-18, and after describing the wrath of the two great epic heroes, Hector and Achilles,<sup>32</sup> and mentioning Glaucus and Diomedes<sup>33</sup>, he ends with the rousing mock-epic lines (20-21):

in ius

acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque

The humour derived from these lines is in the true vein of the mock-heroic as exemplified in the Batrachomyomachia.

Horace also raises another smile by describing Persius' torrent of abuse in a typical epic description of a mountain stream; lines 26-27:

ruebat

flumen ut hibernum fertur quo rara securis<sup>34</sup>

Another mock-heroic passage occurs in Satire, 1.8.23-45 where the two witches', Canidia and Sagana, rituals are described; lines 28-29 distinctly recall Odyssey, 11.34ff. with the two witches replacing Odysseus:

<sup>32</sup> Lines 11-15 contain lofty language reminiscent of Iliad, 22.261-7.

<sup>33</sup> Lines 15-18 mention the events of Iliad, 6.119ff.

<sup>34</sup> A similar sort of parody is provided in Sat., 1.10. 62-63 to describe Cassius' writings.



cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde  
manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas

Cf. Odyssey, 11.35-37:

τὰ δὲ μῆλα λαβῶν ἀπεδειροτόμησά  
ἐς βόθρον, ῥέε δ' αἶμα κελαινεφές· αἶ δ' ὄγερντο  
ψυχὰι

Horace also repeats the epic stylistic trick of addressing his audience, lines 34-35:

serpentes atque videres  
infernās errare canes, Lunamque rubentem,

In his meeting with the bore Horace gives a magnificent parody of the awe-inspiring language of ancient prophecies: Sat., 1.9.31-34:

hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis  
nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;  
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,  
si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adolevit aetas.

Note that the first line is written completely in dactyls and that the number of dactyls in the passage far outweighs the number of spondees. Hosticus...ensis would be a lofty archaism even to contemporary readers and there is the usual archaizing tmesis - quando consumet cumque and this time it has a touch of oracular mystery about it. Vitet comes as a traditional culmination of this kind of prophecy.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Cf. Pindar, Pythians, 4.75; Herodotus, 7.148.3; Arist., Equites, 1039, 1080-1; Horace, Sat., 1.4.35, 'hunc tu, Romane, caveto.'

Horace ends his satire (line 78), 'sic me servavit Apollo', which is a direct translation of Iliad, 20.443 and Lucilius 231 (M)<sup>36</sup>, where it is quoted in the original Greek. Horace has thus adapted one of Lucilius' parodies and alludes to the meaning of the phrase in the Iliad with the words (lines 77-78) 'clamor utrimque: undique concursus' which are applicable both to a battle-scene and to the forum.

A tongue-in-cheek parody is afforded us in Sat., 1.10.32-33:

vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,  
post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera

Horace, in telling us how he was convinced that he should write in the pure style and received a dream from Quirinus to that effect, parodies the sort of dream passages that occur in epic poems,<sup>37</sup> and by the heightening of the language a certain dignity is bestowed on Father Quirinus.

In Satire, 2.1 Horace again embarks on a defence of his writing satire, this time with the lawyer Trebatius as his adversary. Trebatius urges him to write an epic about the exploits of Augustus. Horace demurs with the words, lines 12-15:

cupidum, pater optime, vires  
deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis

<sup>36</sup>Y. supra p. 28.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 4.556-570.

agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspidē Gallos  
aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi.

He breaks into an epic description of battle to describe the sort of work he himself cannot possibly do, thereby providing a touch of ironic humour.<sup>38</sup>

Later on to give examples of quot homines, tot sententiae Horace refers to Castor and Pollux in suitable epic style, lines 26-27:

Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem  
pugnis

but with a comic reference to the twins' birth, ovo eodem.<sup>39</sup> The passage itself is a reminiscence of Iliad, 3.237:

Κάστορα δ' ἰππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἄγαθόν Πολυδεύκα

A similar parody to the one which occurs in Sat., 1.10.

32-33 appears in lines 57-60:

57                            seu me tranquilla senectus  
58        exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis  
60        quisquis erit vitae scribam color

where Horace professes that he must write satire whatever the consequences and the preceding language heightens accordingly. I think again that Horace's mood is tongue-in-cheek although the lofty language could be introduced for serious motives. It is really im-

<sup>38</sup>Cf. Odes, 1.6.13-16 where he does the same thing; perhaps he alludes to actual poems of his contemporaries.

<sup>39</sup>Horace may even be referring to some bombastic treatment of this theme.

possible to decide which interpretation is right.

In Satire, 2.1.72:

virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli

Horace employs the epic device of naming a person by reference to his outstanding quality. It is the only example of this stylistic trick in Horace, and here contrasts the greatness of the two men with their unassuming lives. Probably Horace's intentions and motives are serious.

In Sat., 2.2.39-40 a glutton talks about a mullet:

"porrectum magno magnum spectare catino

vellem", ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus.

and he is mocked by the epic phraseology he uses as well as the reference to the Harpies. Cf. also Iliad, 16.776 κείτο μέγας μέγ-  
αλωστί where the words refer to the body of a dead soldier.

Horace yearns to be back in the 'good old days' and breaks into high-flown diction, lines 92-93:

hos utinam inter

heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!

where the language employed lends colour to Horace's plea.

Satire 2.3 is a satirical parody of a Stoic diatribe on the paradox πῶς ἀφρων μαινεταί designed to show the types of human folly created by the passions and to ridicule the exaggerated manner of the Stoic street preacher in attacking these passions. It is a parody in the Beerbohm mold. Horace shows the Stoic defining his terms (41ff.) and as the Stoic method of proof is empiric a large number of examples of madness are cited. Stoic mannerisms

are also shown up;<sup>40</sup> sharp rhetorical questions answered by the speaker himself;<sup>41</sup> pseudo-dialogue represented by the use of inquam (276) and interrupting interjections (117, 160); the use of the straw man. As we should expect in such a diatribe epic diction creeps in sometimes for the sake of parody; thus a wily debtor is likened to Proteus, line 71:

effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus

and the next line (72):

cum rapiet in ius malis ridentem alienis

recalls Homer, Odyssey, 20.347:

οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶνν ἄλλοτρίοισιν

The meaning, however, in the two passages is different. Horace means 'he will laugh at your expense'; whereas Homer's expression means 'to laugh on the other side of one's face' as the English idiom is.

Lines 187-207 contain a Stoic 'interview' with Agamemnon on the topic of the madness of Ajax, and naturally epic words occur; lines 190-1:

Maxime regum,

di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia

are taken from Iliad, 1.18-19:

ὄμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν . . .  
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὐ δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκεῖσθαι

<sup>40</sup>I do not think that one should try to make too much out of this since satire, deriving as it did from such street diatribes, itself inherited many of the mannerisms.

<sup>41</sup>E.g. lines 65, 89, 97, 157-60, 162, 200, 295.

It seems that after the Stoics have been satirized it is the turn of the Epicureans (Sat., 2.4), where many Lucretian philosophical terms occur; e.g. natura (7, 21, 45, 64); praecepta (2, 11, 95); ratio (36); ingenium (47). The victim of the satire is Catus, who has just heard some new culinary tips and is rushing home to write them down before he forgets them. Horace persuades Catus to impart some of his new knowledge to him whereupon Catus replies in mock-epic style; line 11:

ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor

where the word canam is used of oracular utterances,<sup>42</sup> and false grandeur is given to the line augendi causa. As if Horace wishes to ensure that his readers do not miss the fact that the Epicureans are being parodied, the satire ends with the lines (93-95):

at mihi cura

non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos

atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.

which is an ironical parody of Lucretius, 1.927-8:

iuvat integros accedere fontis

atque haurire

endorsed by the Lucretian technical term praecepta.

Satire, 2.5 is a travesty of the scene in Odyssey, 11.90-149 where Odysseus learns from Tiresias how he is to get home. Menippus had written similar satires to this, on one of which this

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Horace, Sat., 1.9.30 where the word cecinit is used of the oracle given to Horace, and Juvenal, Sat., 2.64 'vera ac manifesta canentem'. Of course it can just mean 'to sing or recite' - e.g. Vergil, Aen., 1.1 'arma virumque cano'.

may be based.<sup>43</sup> In such a satire we would expect to find epic diction and we do. Tiresias calls Odysseus dolosus (line 3) which is a translation of πολύτροπος or a kindred word; the phrase 'si quis casus puerum egerit Orco' (49) is taken from the Homeric Ἄϊδος προΐαφαι, and lines 18-21:

utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae  
me gessi certans semper melioribus. "Ergo  
pauper eris?" Fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo  
et quondam maiora tuli.

are translations of Iliad, 21.486 " ἢ κρείσσοισιν ἴφι μάχεσθαι";  
and Odyssey, 20.17-18:

στήθος δὲ πλήξας, κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ  
τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης

Horace also burlesques oracular utterances again with a beautiful piece of bathos; line 59:

O Laërtiade, quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non.

and the prophecy continues (62-65):

Tempore, quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto  
demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique  
magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano  
filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum.

The first part (tempore. . . erit) is serious enough and the grand style is employed to eulogize Augustus, but then it is contrasted with the two worthless figures who follow, with their sarcastic and

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<sup>43</sup>Cf. also Lucian's dialogues. Odysseus plays the part of the χρηματιστικός ἀνήρ of the Stoic diatribes.

mocking epithets.

Horace opens the main part of Satire, 2.6 after the introduction with the mock-epic lines (20-23):

Matutine pater, seu 'Iane' libentius audis,  
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores  
instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto  
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis.

The grandiose apostrophe is contrasted with the trivial and boring task that Janus brings to Horace and the line thus finishes on a note of bathos. Two lines later Horace parodies epic language again (25-26):

sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem  
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.

The employment of the hackneyed phraseology mocks Horace's own misery, situated as it is in the middle of his ordinary style and interrupting it by its different language, and its verbose way of saying 'whatever the weather and season'.

The story of the town mouse and the country mouse is treated in mock-epic style very much as is the Batrachomyomachia. It starts off in a parodic vein; lines 79-81:

olim  
rusticus urbanem murem mus paupere fertur  
accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum

The juxtaposition of different cases of the same word is very common in epic and tragedy and the chiasmus of noun and adjective



is also very common in Vergil.<sup>44</sup> In line 95 there occurs the phrase quo, bone, circa which is the only extant example of tmesis of quocirca and this may be introduced for a parodic effect, such as Lucilius achieved with his tmeses. In keeping with the general tone of the story is the epic half-line which occurs at the end of the town mouse's speech (97), 'haec ubi dicta'. So later on there is another parody of the epic method of describing the night-time; lines 100-1:

iamque tenebat

nox medium caeli spatium

Right at the end of the satire when the two mice hear the barking of the dogs, they scamper off (113-4):

currere per totam pavidī conclave, magisque  
exanimēs trepidare

These lines can bear comparison with Vergil, Aeneid, 4 where Anna rushes off to see her sister after she has heard that she has stabbed herself; line 672:

audit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu

Satire 2.8 affords the last example of Horace's parody of epic and tragedy that I shall deal with. Line 34:

'nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti.'

Moriemur inulti is an epic phrase; cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 2.670:

nunquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Aeneid, 1.209, 'spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem'; and Aeneid, 10.734, 'obvius adversoque occurit seque viro vir'. Cf. also Aeschylus, Choephoroi, 677, 'ἀγνῶς ἵπὸς ἄστυν'.

and Vergil, Aeneid, 4. 659-60; 'moriemur inultae / sed moriamur' In Horace the words are put into the mouth of a fellow at a banquet and are said as a joke.

From so few examples of parody out of so many lines can any trends or tendencies in Horace's employment of parody be detected? Satire, 2.5 is a travesty which breaks into epic speech more often than is usual in such a work. Certain parts of satires are composed as mock-epic poems; e.g. Sat., 2.6.79-117 (the fable of the town and country mouse) and Sat., 1.8.25-50 (the witches burlesque Odyssey, 11.24ff.). Parodies of actual lines written by previous authors are very rare in Horace, confined to Furius Bibaculus (1.10.36-37; 2.5.39-41), Ennius (1.2.37-38),<sup>45</sup> and Lucretius (1.5.101; 2.4.93-95). Moreover there are parodies which may have been suggested by, if not actually taken from Lucilius (1.2.31-32; most of the parodies in 1.5; 1.9.73; 2.4.94-95). Most of the other parodies contrast their grandiose language with that of Horace's usual style; e.g. 1.5.9-10; 1.7.26-27; 2.6. 25-26; 2.6. 100-1.

When all these instances are accounted for, we are left with a few parodies with which Horace may have dealt with in an original way. These are: the use of an epic or tragic name to describe some trivial act or worthless person (1.1.99-100; 1.5.73-74). A punning epithet or phrase is used to introduce the parody and provide the reason or excuse for it (1.1.13; 1.10.36; 2.5.41). Fin-

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<sup>45</sup>Satire, 1.4.60-61 is, however, a direct quotation from Ennius.

ally, related to this type of parody there is Horace's use of heavy irony or sarcasm, which is shown to be such by the parody which follows (1.1.4; 1.5.71).

## V. PERSIUS' USE OF PARODY

With Persius Roman satire, written in hexameters, begins to veer away from the sermo tenuis and the musa pedestris which Horace had established as the proper style for the genre. Yet the movement is only slight; most of the tenets of the plain style are still religiously observed. Thus, in keeping with the earlier trend of Roman satire, there is a remarkable avoidance of Greek words (the rule of Latinitas): all the examples of Greek words come from places where the person who uses such language is being attacked.<sup>1</sup> For example the Greek word ἄντιθετον occurs in Satire, 1.86 where Persius is being attacked for introducing rhetoric into his defence and the jury is attacked for applauding him because of it. Ἄντιθετον may have been more common among rhetoricians than its Latin counterpart, but the criticism still stands. Moreover Persius tells us that he dislikes those who dabble in Greek (nugare solitos graece)<sup>2</sup>.

Persius is a strict adherent to the rule of εὐνομία<sup>3</sup>. In

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<sup>1</sup>Except for line 8 of the prologue where the parrot says Chaere (Χαίρει). This may be a conscious echo of Lucilius 91-94 (M) where the hellomaniac, Albucius, is so addressed. But perhaps this is to read too much into Persius. Χαίρει would be an easy word for a parrot to imitate, and as such would be one of the first words a parrot would be taught. Persius, therefore, may only be using this word because it was said so often by these birds. Χαίρει may also have been used by some people at Rome as a normal form of salutation.

<sup>2</sup>Satire, 1.70.

<sup>3</sup>I do not discuss Persius' adherence to the rules of σεφήςεια

Satire 1, his programme satire, he shows us what he dislikes in Latin poetry, and his main attack falls upon the ornate style and the effeminate, lax morality which is for Persius so closely connected with it.<sup>4</sup> He dislikes the airy grandeur of epic and totally rejects verbiage which aims at the senses and not at the mind (as is borne out in the anecdote about redivus in the law-court).<sup>5</sup> Thus in his style Persius reacts against such poetry and oratory, and the implied immorality which attends it. Abandoning bombast and artificial rhetoric, he deliberately set out to write in a style which would shock the lovers of the ornate style. Persius' style therefore complements his moral attitude in that it is harsh and direct.

In Satire, 5.14-16 Persius seems to sum up his style:

verba togae sequeris iunctura callidus acri,  
ore teres modico, pallentis radere mores  
doctus et ingenuo culpam defigere ludo.

He maintains that he must follow the plain style (verba togae sequeris), but also be dexterous in his employment of pointed juxta-

and τὸ ἡπειρόν. He tends to transgress the first rule necessarily by his fondness for compression, especially when he has borrowed an example or echoes a well-known passage from Lucilius or Horace, his treatment of which is often elliptical. For full examples of Persius' indebtedness to these two authors see G.C.Fiske, 'Lucilius and Persius', TAPA, 40 (1909), pp.121-150; and idem, 'Lucilius, the Ars Poetica of Horace, and Persius', HSCP, 24 (1913), pp.1-36. The second rule is adhered to.

<sup>4</sup>V. infra pp.78-81 where this is discussed at length.

<sup>5</sup>Satire, 1.83-91.

positions (iunctura callidus acri). In Sat., 1.125 Persius says that he is writing for the discriminating reader who likes aliquid decoctius ('something a little more boiled down'); i.e. something digestible with the bombast boiled down to size.<sup>6</sup> "As a creator of clever iuncturae (i.e. the juxtaposition of two words in an original and striking way), he has no rival except Horace."<sup>7</sup> His words are chosen very carefully and, as Anderson claims, there is not a wasted word anywhere in his satires.<sup>8</sup> Persius' verbs carry a special force and his adjectives have nothing superfluous about them like so many of the adjectives of the writers of the Alexandrian school, but quite often serve a metaphorical purpose.

It is in his metaphorical use of iuncturae that Persius deviates from the plain style and breaks the rule of κατεκκευη. The first of these new iuncturae to appear is turbida Roma - dim-witted Rome (Sat., 1.5), and it is followed (line 7) by the mixed metaphor castiges trutina - you must straighten out the crooked scales. From such vividness there then comes the shock juxtaposition, which may occasionally border on a parody of the type in which

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<sup>6</sup>The idea may be derived from Aristophanes' Frogs, where Euripides says of Aeschylus' bombast in the tragic art; lines 939-41: ἀλλ' ὡς παρέλαβον τὴν τέχνην, ἄρρα σοῦ τὸ πρῶτον εὐθύς / οἰοῦσάν ὑπὸ κομίσσῃ ματιῶν καὶ ῥημάτων ἐκχέουσαν / ἰσχυρὰ μὲν πρῶτιστον αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀφείλεν.  
 R.G.M. Nisbet, "Persius", in J.P. Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire, p.61.

<sup>8</sup>W.S. Anderson, in "Introduction" to The Satires of Persius, trans. W.S. Merwin, p.37.

high-flown language is employed to create an atmosphere which is then deflated by the use of simple language or the introduction of a trite situation or worthless person. But in Persius the process is shortened to two words only; e.g. Sat., 4.2 sorbitio... dira - 'a fell gulp', to describe Socrates' swallowing of the hemlock. Sorbitio, a colloquial word, is surprisingly coupled with the higher-flown dira. From this there naturally comes the 'send-up' of epic diction; e.g. Sat., 5.8 olla Thyestae - 'Thyestes' cookpot', where the incongruity is incisively shown. Falling into this category also is the first line of the Prologue:

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino

where the font of poetic inspiration, the spring of Hippocrene, is described as the 'nag's fountain'.<sup>9</sup> While it may be straining the definition of parody too much to count such iuncturae as parodies per se, nevertheless they do contain the elements of parody and may be considered to be the tools of parody.

Appended to Probus' Life of Persius are a number of lines in which it is stated that Persius first decided to write satire when he was reading Book X of Lucilius. It is interesting to note why the "life" says that it was while reading Book X, and not some other book of Lucilius, that Persius decided to write satire. In his tenth book Lucilius took a look at the state of contemporary literature in Rome; so too in Satire 1 does Persius.<sup>10</sup> The satire

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<sup>9</sup>Cf. Horace, Sat., 1.6.59 Satureiano...caballo; and Juvenal, 3.118 Gorgonei caballi.

<sup>10</sup>It is irrelevant that Satire 1 was probably not the first

opens with the line:

O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!

which, according to the scholiast, is a quotation from Lucilius' first book. But Marmorale,<sup>11</sup> among others, believes that the copyist confused Lucilius with Lucretius and says, "Ma che è certo imitato da Lucrezio" citing Lucretius, 2. 14:

O miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca!

The phrase in rebus inane appears several times in Lucretius I<sup>12</sup> and it may be to this alone that the scholiast is referring. If the scholiast did refer to Lucretius, then we can regard this opening line of Persius as a serious parody of Lucretius.

In Sat., 1.5-6 there is a reference to Hector's speech in Iliad 22:

ne mihi Polydamas et Troades Labeonem  
praetulerint?

Cf. Il., 22.100; 105:

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει  
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἔλσεκιπέπλους

The language in Persius is condensed but the sense is clear and the

to be written and therefore the statement (or more likely the guess) of Probus' appendix is erroneous; but whoever wrote the appendix thought that Satire 1 had been written first, and that there was a definite link between it and Lucilius, Book X. G.C.Fiske, in 'Lucilius and Persius' believes that the Lucilian tone is very pervasive in Satire 1, and that the satire owes much to Lucilius.

<sup>11</sup> E.V.Marmorale, Persio, p.176, n.1.

<sup>12</sup> Lucretius, 1.330, 382, 511, 569, 655, 660, 742, 843; and only elsewhere in 5.365.



irony heavy. Attius Labeo had recently completed his wretched translation of the Iliad, in which Polydamas always offered good advice. The Trojan Women judged the Arms of Achilles, but in Persius their names are given to contemporary Roman citizens who are very poor critics in praising Attius' Iliad. It is an example of the device which we first saw in Horace,<sup>13</sup> of epic names given to degraded characters. But this time it is more biting because the upper classes liked to consider themselves as being descended from the Trojans; hence the greater irony in Troades.<sup>14</sup> Used also in the same ironical way is the epic word Romulidae (line 31).

Literary criticism is the purpose of the remaining parodies in this satire; lines 76-78:

Est nunc Brisaei quem venosus liber Acci  
sunt quos Pacuviusque et verrucosa moretur  
Antiope, aerumnis cor luctificabile fulta

Persius appears to have a desire to fall in line with Lucilius and Horace in their contempt for people who liked old poetry simply because it was old. Persius' attack on the two tragedians is based directly on Lucilius 597-8 (M), which parodies Pacuvius' Antiope, 356 (R), 'quae te adplicasti tamen aerumnis obruta'. Line 78 parodies the language of ancient tragedy; the word aerumna was obsolete by the time of Quintilian.<sup>15</sup> Luctificabile is another

<sup>13</sup>Horace, Sat., 1.1.100; v. supra p. 50.

<sup>14</sup>Cf. Juvenal, 1.100; 8.181; 11.95 for the use of Troigeneae.

<sup>15</sup>Quintilian, Inst. Orat., 8.3.23.

archaism and this 'Pacuvian' compound may have been suggested by the Lucilian monstrificabile (608 [M]). It would thus seem very likely that the parody as a whole is one which has been borrowed or imitated from Lucilius.<sup>16</sup>

Earlier in the satire Persius had attacked a typical Alexandrian after-dinner recitation session (13-21), using language which likened it to sexual intercourse between homosexuals. In line 34 he attacks typical Alexandrian heroines, such as 'Phyllis and Hypsipyle and other heroines over whom poets have snivelled,' and he refers back to them at the very end of the satire (134), 'Calliroen do'. But he reserves his strength (and his parodies) for his assault on the Alexandrians in lines 93-106.

Persius makes his interlocutor give some examples of Alexandrian polish and elegance; lines 93-95:

claudere sic versum didicit 'Berecyntius Attis'  
 et 'qui caeruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin'  
 sic 'costam longo subduximus Appenino'.

I believe that Persius himself invented these lines, or is closely parodying a lost work, rather than quoting it, although opinions on this matter are bound to be subjective.<sup>17</sup> These lines (and 99-

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Fiske, op. cit., pp.127-8; 147-8; and Marmorale, op. cit., p.129. Lucilius' monstrificabile may reappear in Horace, A.P., 95-97:

et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri  
 Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque  
 proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba.

<sup>17</sup>Fiske, "Lucilius, The Ars Poetica of Horace, and Persius", p.24 believes that Persius is quoting; Scivoletto, N., A.Persi Flacci Saturae, p.24 thinks that Persius 'abbia composto questi versi nello stile dei poeti del tempo per parodiarli'.

102) are an attack on 'la poesia molle e alessandrinescante del tempo'.<sup>18</sup> For Berecyntius Attis, cf. Ovid, Met., 11.106, Berecyntius heros which, Scivoletto thinks, aims to show the juxtaposition of two Greek words which could have an erotic sense to make trepidare Titos.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps this is so, but the phrase is certainly a learned allusion which the Alexandrians revelled in. In line 94 not only the Greek phrases, but the expression itself is meant to be ridiculed. The expression and the rhythm are both held up for scorn in line 95; the image is absurd and Appennino provides both a fifth foot spondee and a polysyllabic to end the line in true Alexandrian fashion.

I am undecided, whether to take Arma virum in line 96 as a particularly apt exclamation from Persius, as Merwin and Conington translate it,<sup>20</sup> with the following sentence as a description of what the interlocutor has just quoted, or see it as a description of the Aeneid by the interlocutor, as Scivoletto and Clausen punctuate.<sup>21</sup> Arma virum is an excellently irate exclamation from Persius to show his disgust for his opponent's previous quotations; but there again the interlocutor has just said that the modern poets have added grace and smoothness to the unpolished Roman

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<sup>18</sup> Scivoletto, op.cit., p.24.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.25.

<sup>20</sup> The Satires of Persius, trans. W.S.Merwin, p.60; Persius, trans. J.Conington, p.24.

<sup>21</sup> W.V.Clausen, Persi et Juvenalis Saturae, p.7; G.C.Fiske, op. cit., p.25 also takes this view.

verse; line 92:

sed numeris decor est et iunctura addita crudis

So what is more natural after his quotation than for the interlocutor to make a reference to previous epic? Persius includes lines 93-95 in his comments (103-6), by referring to Attis.

The interlocutor then quotes some more lines that should be "tenerum et laxa cervice legendum"; lines 99-102:

torva Mimalloneis inplerunt cornua bombis  
et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassaris et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis  
euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat echo.

These four lines must either be a direct quotation or a parody.<sup>22</sup> Personally I am inclined to think that all four lines are Persius' own parodic compositions, representing what he considers to be effeminate poetry. Line 99 seems to be imitated from Catullus, 64.263:

multis raucisonos efflabant cornua bombos<sup>23</sup>

Parodied also in these lines are the rhyming verse endings, bom-bis. . . corymbis, and the rhyming future participles ablatura. . . futura. For adsonat echo compare Ovid, Met., 3.507 plangentibus adsonat Echo. Mimallonis occurs in Ovid, Ars Amat., 1.541. It may

<sup>22</sup>Marmorale, op. cit., pp.189-215 has compared these lines of Persius with Nero's extant verses and considers them to be a direct quotation from him. But with so few fragments of Nero's poetry extant it is surely impossible to distinguish between genuine Neronian poetry and a clever parody of it, if this is what these lines are.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. also Catullus, 64.20-30.

well be that Catullus or Ovid, and not Nero, is the victim of these parodies, especially since Persius attacks the subjects of Ovid's Heroides and his final words in the satire are Calliroen do.

In Satire 3 the centurion mocks at philosophers in general and says (lines 83-84) that he does not want to bother with such rubbish as:

gigni

de nihilo nihilum, in nihilum nil posse reverti

which parodies the substance of Lucretius, 1.150; 1.248:

150 nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus unquam

248 haud igitur redit ad nilum res ulla

The centurion's words make the sentiments sound more ludicrous by the constant repetition of parts of the word nihil.

There also occur in the satire two rather grandiloquent lines, but I would hesitate to call them parodies, because of Persius' loftier style and bold employment of language. The lines are 87; which describes the young men laughing at the centurion's attack on philosophy:

ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos

As Lucretius has just been parodied, is it just coincidence that he has the lines, 1.919; 2.976:

1.919 risu tremulo concussa cachinnant

2.976 scilicet et risu tremulo concussa cachinnant

and line 99, which describes the foul breath that comes from the

glutton's mouth:

gutture sulphureas lente exhalante mephites

Cf, Vergil, Aeneid, 7.84:

fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim

Mephites according to Servius is a foul stench which arises from sulphurous water, which in Persius is very appropriate to his subject.

Persius opens his fifth satire with the lines (1-4):

Vatibus hic mos est, centum sibi poscere voces,  
centum ora et linguas optare in carmina centum,  
fabula seu maesta ponatur hianda tragoedo,  
vulnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine ferrum.

The first two lines parody such pleas as Iliad, 2.489:

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν

or Vergil, Georgics, 2.43; Aen., 6.625:

(non) mihi si linguae sint centum oraque centum

Line 4 is written in epic style to show what sort of work needs a hundred voices, but it is also imitated from Horace.<sup>24</sup>

In the opening six lines of Satire 6 Persius' language is grander than usual:

Admovit iam bruma foco te, Basse, Sabino?  
Iamne lyra et tetrico vivunt tibi pectine chordae?  
Mire opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum  
atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Latinae,

<sup>24</sup>Horace, Satire, 2.1.15; v. supra pp.62-63.

mox iuvenes agitare iocos et pollice honesto  
 egregius lusisse senex. Mihi nunc Ligus ora<sup>25</sup>

The poem is addressed to Persius' great friend, Caesius Bassus, the lyric poet. It would therefore seem to be more than accidental that the first, fifth and sixth lines all have a caesura after the trochee in the third foot. Such a metrical pattern is found in the flowery poets of the Silver Age whom Persius disliked; the mannerism is alien to Persius' normal style.

Finally Persius' last identifiable parody; lines 76-77:

omne latus mundi, ne sit praestantior alter  
 Cappadocas rigida pinguis plausisse catasta

is a parody of Vergil, Aeneid, 6.164-5:

Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter  
 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu

where the moral decline between the two ages is borne out by the non praestantior alter; one summoning men to battle, the other selling off slaves for a fat profit.

It can be seen from these few examples that Persius was not very interested in the employment of parody. When he does use it, it is usually for literary criticism. Persius' main contribution to the satirical development of parody lies in his use of vivid and contrasting iuncturae.

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<sup>25</sup>For the lofty diction: tetrico cf. Livy, 1.18 'tetrica ac tristis disciplina Sabinorum'; primordia vocum is from Lucretius, 4.531; For numerus. . . intendisse cf. Vergil, Aen., 9.776.

## VI. JUVENAL'S PARODY OF SPECIFIC AUTHORS

Although Juvenal follows the Roman satirical tradition in defending the writing of satire against the writing of other genres, and attacking inferior writers of epic, but not epic itself (epic, although the loftiest of poetry, is divorced from reality, whereas satire deals with everyday affairs and that is the reason why the satirist prefers it);<sup>1</sup> and although he gives the traditional apology that he himself is incapable of writing grand poetry,<sup>2</sup> Juvenal does not discuss the best style for satire, nor does he have a satire directly concerned with literary criticism.<sup>3</sup> The only clues he gives us as to the style in which he will write are Sat., 1.19-20:

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<sup>1</sup>Satire, 1.1.80; especially line 30, 'difficile est hanc saturam non scribere'. Cf. also Lucilius 30; Horace, Sat., 1.4; 1.10; 2.1; Persius, Satires, 1 and 5.

<sup>2</sup>Juvenal, 1.79-80:  
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum  
qualemcumque potest, quales ego vel Cluuienus.  
Cf. Horace, Sat., 2.1.12-15; Persius, Prologue.

It is interesting to note that Horace says he is incapable of writing epic poetry, but at the same time breaking into epic diction to say it; Juvenal gives a list of epic themes and titles which bore him, and then professes that he will follow the same course as Lucilius, whom he describes by an epic periphrasis as the 'magnus. . . Auruncae. . . alumnus' (Sat., 1.20).

<sup>3</sup>For such discussions in earlier satirists see the references listed in note 1 above.



Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo  
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus;

and Sat., 1.79, 'facit indignatio versum'. Lucilius was noted in ancient times for his biting invective and personal attack; cf. Persius, Sat., 1.114-5:

secuit Lucilius urbem,

te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.

Juvenal explains why he cannot indulge in personal attack,<sup>4</sup> but when we reach the end of his programme satire we are left in no doubt about his intention to write invective and the indignatio which causes him to do so. He chooses Lucilius as his model in preference to Horace.<sup>5</sup>

By his choice of invective Juvenal has necessarily strayed from the sermo tenuis and the Musa pedestris. Coupled with his invective is his constant employment of rhetorical tropes which help to make his poetry more high-flown.<sup>6</sup> Most common among these is the rhetorical question,<sup>7</sup> which gives the impression of a spon-

<sup>4</sup>Satire, 1.147-71.

<sup>5</sup>Horace is alluded to once in the first satire; line 51:

Haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?

Juvenal's later satires (esp. Satire 12) are written more in an Horatian vein when Juvenal decided to change his tone (or persona according to W.S.Anderson, Anger in Juvenal and Seneca). There is a marked difference in outlook between Satires, 1-6 and 10-16.

<sup>6</sup>For an exhaustive survey of Juvenal's use of rhetoric see J.De Decker, Juvenalis Declamans, Ghent, 1912. I merely touch on Juvenal's use of the more common rhetorical tropes.

<sup>7</sup>Ἰεσοῖς καὶ ἀνεπιδοῖς as 'Longinus',<sup>18</sup> calls them. He considers them to be a method of attaining sublimity.

taneous outburst of emotion and these usually occur in the middle of a passage of Juvenal's invective.<sup>8</sup> Juvenal also extensively uses anaphora and asyndeton, considered by 'Longinus' to pertain to the grand style,<sup>9</sup> apostrophe,<sup>10</sup> hyperbole,<sup>11</sup> amplifications,<sup>12</sup> and periphrasis.<sup>13</sup> All this is a far cry from the sermo repens per humum.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the rhetoric which permeates his work, it is impossible to say that Juvenal writes in any one style. He writes in several. A.Serafini went as far as to say that Juvenal is one of Rome's greatest "poeti campagnoli",<sup>15</sup> for which he was justly

<sup>8</sup>For a complete list of all Juvenal's rhetorical questions see De Decker, op. cit., pp.180-6.

<sup>9</sup>Περί Ὑψους, 20-21. See De Decker, op.cit., pp.189-97.

<sup>10</sup>Περί Ὑψους, 16 εἰς ὑπερβάλλον ὕψος καὶ πάθος. De Decker, op.cit., pp.173-7.

<sup>11</sup>De Decker, op. cit., pp.143-4.

<sup>12</sup>Περί Ὑψους, 23. Amplifications (πολύπρωτα) consist of ἀθροισμοί (accumulations), μεταβολαί (variations), and κλίμακες (climaxes).

<sup>13</sup>Periphrasis is very common in epic poetry. In oratory according to Quintilian, Inst. Orat., 8.6.60 periphrasis has two main functions: i) to skirt round a generally obscene topic. ii) to ornament a passage. It is unlikely that Juvenal ever uses it under the first heading; the difficulty is to determine whether his periphrases are serious or parodic.

<sup>14</sup>A.Serafini, Studio sulla Satira di Giovenale, p.299, "quella di Giovenale è effettivamente una grandis et ornata vox, come Cicerone dice dei poeti elevati [Orator, 68]; egli possiede cioè quell' ὑψηλολογία che distingue le anime dal soffio possente, vibrante di passione".

<sup>15</sup>Serafini, op. cit., p.147.

criticized by M.Coffey.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless Juvenal does manage to rise to great heights in his pastoral descriptions; e.g. Sat., 11.77-99 (although even here Juvenal cannot resist the temptation to hit at his contemporaries; cf. lines 93-95:

nemo inter curas et seria duxit habendum  
 qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,  
 clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum.)

or Sat., 3.17-20:

in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas  
 dissimiles veris. Quanto praesentius esset  
 numen aquis, viridi si margine cluderet undas  
 herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum

In describing the grove of Egeria which has been spoilt by artificiality, he recalls Ovid's description of the spring of Gargaphia, which was sacred to Diana;<sup>17</sup> in recalling this description he makes the contrast more poignant.<sup>18</sup>

or Satire 6.1-6 where the idyllic picture of the Golden Age is meant to contrast with the world as it is in Juvenal's day.<sup>19</sup>

Not only is Juvenal capable of writing serious bucolic

<sup>16</sup>M.Coffey, "Juvenal 1941-1961", Lustrum, 8 (1962), p.164.

<sup>17</sup>Ovid, Metamorphoses, 3.155-62.

<sup>18</sup>G.Highet, "Juvenal's Bookcase", AJP, 72 (1951), pp. 377-8.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Lucretius, 5.595, 970-2; N.B. the chiasmus: frigida parvas. . . spelunca domos; and the homoeoteleuton: ignem-que Laremque. For more pastoral passages in Juvenal, intended to be taken seriously see Sat., 14.179-88 (cf. Lucret., 5.1415ff.); 8.98-104; 12.83-92; 15.131-74.

poetry when he has a mind to, but he also breaks into lofty language when he feels that it will help him make his point better. Usually these passages can be traced as reminiscences of earlier epic poets; e.g. Sat., 10.265-6 describing the fate of Priam:

omnia vidit

eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.

is probably a reminiscence of Vergil, Aeneid, 2.554-7:

hic exitus illum

sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem

Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum

regnatorum Asiae

Satire, 11.78-79, 82 (mentioned above) is also an imitation of Ovid, Met., 8.646-8:

78 Curius parvo quae legerat horto

79 ipse focus brevibus ponebat holuscula

82 sicci terga suis rara pendentia crate

Cf. Met., 8.646-8:

quodque suus coniunx riguo collegerat horto

truncat holus foliis, furca levat illi bicorni

sordida terga suis, nigro pendentia tigno.<sup>20</sup>

Here there is no parody intended, and the borrowing from Vergil is nothing more than what Vergil himself did with material from

<sup>20</sup>The replacement of sordida by sicci and the compound collegerat for the simple legerat show that Juvenal is consciously imitating Ovid. For the serious imitations of epic by Juvenal see I.G.Scott, The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal, pp.91-106.

Ennius. Juvenal, despite his protestation that he is only writing satire because he cannot stop himself, seems to delight in surprising his readers with his changes of style, and shocking them with his parodies and obscenities. H.A.Mason summed up Juvenal well as "a supreme manipulator of the Latin language".<sup>21</sup>

Because Juvenal breaks into epic diction and imitates or reminisces upon epic writers for serious purposes, we must be careful in deciding whether Juvenal is parodying in a specific passage or not. Special attention must be paid to the general context of the passage under consideration and that is why I intend to lay emphasis on the purpose and function of the parody, besides tracing the passage parodied (if any) or stylistic trait. My method of dealing with Juvenal's parodies will be that which I set out in my definition of parody, except that I shall start with parodies of actual passages which can still be traced, where the purpose of the parody seems to be to show Juvenal's cleverness and wit in adapting the original line.<sup>22</sup> Many of his parodies of actual lines are employed to perform other functions as well. These I shall discuss in the relevant chapters.

The first direct parody of a specific epic line appears in Satire, 1.25 and is later repeated in Satire, 10.226:

quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat

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<sup>21</sup>H.A.Mason, "Is Juvenal a Classic?" in J.P.Sullivan, ed., Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire, p.176.

<sup>22</sup>Many of Lucian's parodies are employed for this same purpose.

which is a parody of Vergil, Eclogues, 1.28:

candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat

where it is spoken by one old man to another, as a round-about way of saying 'as I grew older'. Juvenal employs it as a humorous line to refer to a member of the nouveaux-riches, switching the emphasis from the passage of time to the barber.

Lines 81-84 of Satire 1 parody Ovid's description of Deucalion's flood:

ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor  
 navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit  
 paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa  
 et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrrha puellas.

The four lines comprise a parody of Ovid, Met., 1.365-402; e.g. line 83 parodies Met., 400-2:

saxa (quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste vetustas?)  
 ponere duritiem coepere suumque rigorem,  
 molliri que mora, mollitaque ducere formam.

Cf. also line 82 with Met., 1.367-8:

Placuit caeleste precari  
 numen, et auxilium per sacras quaerere sortes.<sup>23</sup>

That it is a parody can be seen by the half-humorous navigio montem ascendit and the semi-obscene final line (84).

Satire, 1.155-7:

pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa,

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<sup>23</sup>Cf. also Sat., 1.81 and Met., 1.261; Sat., 1.82 and Met., 1.318-9.

qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,  
et latum media sulcum deducis harena.

parodies Vergil, Georgic, 1.114:

collectum humorem bibula deducit harena,

so that a phrase which was originally intended to refer to the process of digging a trench for irrigation, is now referred to the furrow made by dragging the satirist's dead body across the arena.

In the space of 20 lines in Satire 3 Juvenal indulges in no less than three parodies to enliven and add humour to his description of the hustle and bustle of Rome. The clients hurrying to their patron's house are described in line 250 as:

centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina

which parodies Vergil's comments in Eclogue, 2.64-65:

florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella,

te Corydon, o Alexi: trahit sua quemque voluptas.

Juvenal later parodies these two lines again to describe schoolmasters being beaten by their students; Sat., 7.213:

sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus

The description of the pine-tree being brought through the streets of Rome; lines 254-6:

longe coruscat

serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum

plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur

parodies one of Vergil's nature similes; Aeneid, 2.626-9:

ac veluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum

cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant  
 eruere agricolae certatim; illa usque minatur  
 et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat.

The trio is completed with lines 265-7:

iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret  
 porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum  
 infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

which is a probable parody of Vergil's description of this part  
 of the Underworld in Aen., 6.325-30.<sup>24</sup>

A very humorous parody occurs in Satire, 5.133-4, where  
 Juvenal is discussing the snobbish and miserly ways of the rich  
 patron, Virro. If you have no money, then he snubs you; but should  
 you suddenly acquire enough to enable you to be enrolled in the  
 equestrian order, then:

quantus

ex nihilo, quantus fieres Virronis amicus!

This a parody of the famous dictum of Lucretius, 1.150 that:

nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus unquam.

The joke takes its bite from the refutation of the original dic-  
 tum that 'nothing grows out of nothing', but Juvenal also puns on  
 the sense of a person growing from nothing, that is, being a no-

<sup>24</sup>Juvenal doubtless had this passage in mind since tae-  
trum. . . porthmea seems to be suggested by Aen., 6.298-9:  
 portitor has horrendas aquas et flumina servat  
 terribili squalore Charon.  
 and caenosi gurgitis by Aen., 6.296:  
 turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurges.



body , to become the great friend of Virro. It is just possible that Juvenal adapted this parody from Persius, where the centurion ridicules philosophy;<sup>25</sup> but one should not try to make too much out of this since from his general imitations and borrowings Juvenal seems to have had a good knowledge of Lucretius' work.<sup>26</sup>

Juvenal coins a new phrase, 'the marital halter', in Sat.,

6.43:           stulta maritali iam porrigit ora capistro

which is parodied from Vergil, Georgic, 3.188:

                  inque vicem det mollibus ora capistris

where it refers to foals, which have just been taken away from their mothers. Juvenal uses the epic device of periphrasis to refer to Galba in 6.559:

                  magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni

which is also a parody of Lucan, De Bello Civili, 9.190:

                  "civilis obit", inquit, "multum maioribus impar"

said by Cato of the dead Pompey. Magnus referring to Galba is, of course, sarcastic and the irony in the comment is obvious, especially if it is known that the line is a parody of Lucan. But Juvenal is being more subtle than that. As Lucan was referring to the death of Pompey the Great, there is in the parody the pun on "magnus civis obit" and "Magnus, civis obit" which could not be distinguished in the Latin (especially if the verse were recited), and the audience would not know that the line referred to Galba

<sup>25</sup>Persius, Sat., 3.83-84; and v. supra p.81.

<sup>26</sup>G.Highet , "Juvenal's Bookcase", AJP, 72 (1951), p.392.

until the end was reached and the phrase formidatus Othoni occurred.

In Satire 7, where Juvenal is lamenting the fate of the poverty-stricken poet and the inability to write great poetry if one is concerned with the emptiness of one's stomach, he takes time off to parody Vergil's themes and topics; lines 66-71:

magnae mentis opus nec de Iodice paranda  
 attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum  
 aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.  
 Nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset  
 hospitium, caederent omnes a crinibus hydri  
 surda nihil generet grave bucina,

The passage contains parodic references to Aeneid, 1.155-6 where Neptune calmed a storm:

prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto  
 flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo

and the description of the Fury, Allecto, in Aeneid, 7.328-9:

tot sese vertit in ora  
 tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris

and in Aeneid, 7.445-6:

talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras  
 at iuveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus.

and of her voice, Aeneid, 7.519-20:

tum vero ad vocem celeres, qua bucina signum  
 dira dedit.

The purpose of the parody in Satire, 8.120:

cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros

is to pun on the Vergilian phrase discinctos Afros (Aen., 8.724) which meant 'the loose-robed Africans'; whereas Juvenal has distorted it to refer to Marius' governorship of Africa, during which he 'fleeced' the Africans (discinxerit).

Another humorous parody of Vergil occurs in Sat., 8.192-3:

Quanti sua funera vendant

quid refert? Vendunt nullo cogente Nerone

which discusses the activities of the degenerate nobility and is a direct parody of Aeneid, 12.423-4:

iamque secuta manum nulla cogente sagitta

excidit

One of Juvenal's most brilliantly funny and witty parodies, is also one of his least discussed because the humour lies in its obscenity. In Odyssey, 16.294 Odysseus tells Telemachus of the danger of having naked steel laying about one's house because:

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα δίδηρος

Juvenal lets his homosexual friend tell him of the troubles of his profession, and parodies the line in the Odyssey merely by changing the last word, so that as he sees it (Sat., 9.37):

αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα κίραιδος

As often in Juvenal's parodies the humour also lies in the slightly changed meaning of a word; in this instance, ἐφέλκεται.

A man's prayer to Jupiter for long life; Sat., 10.188:

Da spatium vitae, multos, da, Iuppiter, annos

parodies Aeneas' prayer to Apollo; Aeneid, 3.85:

Da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis

To mock at the disadvantages of old age, Juvenal likens an old man who has to be spoon-fed, to a young swallow; Satire, 10.230-2:

ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum  
suetus hiat tantum ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem  
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna.

While ridiculing the helpless state of the old man, Juvenal also parodies the Homeric simile in Iliad, 9.323-4 by referring it to a different context:

ὡς δ' ὄρνις ἀπὸ τῆς νεοσσῶσι προφέρῃσιν  
μάστακ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δὲ ἔρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ

The description of the death of Priam (Sat., 10.268):

et ruit ante aram summi Iovis ut vetulus bos

is almost certainly parodied from Vergil's famous monosyllabic ending in Aeneid, 5.481:

sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos

where the single syllable ending in both cases gives the impression of the ox falling to the ground.<sup>27</sup>

In Satire 13 Juvenal in several places parodies famous scenes from epic. The wronged man's prayer to Jupiter (lines 112-9):

tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis  
vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: 'audis  
Iuppiter, haec nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem  
debueris vel marmoreus vel aeneus? Aut cur

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<sup>27</sup> That Juvenal is thinking of Vergil's description of Priam's death in Aeneid 2, is shown by the fact that lines 265-6 are reminiscences of Aeneid, 2.554-7.

in carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta  
 ponimus et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci  
 omenta? Ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est  
 effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli'.

parodies Iarbas' prayer to Jupiter in Aeneid, 4.206ff:<sup>28</sup>

"Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis  
 gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,  
 aspicias haec? An te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,  
 nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes  
 terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?

. . . nos munera templis

quippe tuis ferimus, famamque fovemus inanem".

Lines 167-70 mock at the Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes,  
 in which Juvenal does not believe:

ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram  
 Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,  
 mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis  
 unguinibus a saeva fertur grue.

The battle is described in epic language, with the periphrasis  
 for cranes (Thracum volucres), and parodies the description in  
Iliad, 3.3-6:

ἴστε περ κλαυγῆ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό  
 χί τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον κἀ ἀθέσφατον ἄμβρον  
 κλαυγῆι τὰ γέ πέτονται ἐπ' Ἰλκεκτοῖο ῥοάων

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<sup>28</sup>Lines 112-3 also refer to Iliad, 5.785-6, 859-61.

ἄνδρασι Πυγμαλίοισι φόβον κἄι κῆρα φέρουσαι

The description of a guilty man being afraid of dreams and 'signs from the gods'; Sat., 13.221-2:

tua sacra et maior imago

humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri

and Sat., 13.224:

exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli

parodies several lines from the Aeneid:

Aen., 2.773

nota maior imago

Aen., 6.567

castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri

Aen., 4.160-1

interea magno misceri murmure caelum

incipit.

In fact the whole passage in Juvenal is composed somewhat along the lines of a cento.

Satire, 14.35:

et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan

is a direct parody of Ovid, Met., 1.82-83:

quam satus Iapeto mixtam fluvialibus undis

finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta deorum,

since Juvenal has cut away the epic verbiage and circumlocutions on purpose, in calling Prometheus, 'Titan', instead of 'satus Iapeto' and in using the simple word luto for the ponderous phrase [tellus] quam. . . mixtam fluvialibus undis.

The final parody which I shall discuss under this heading affords a good example of Juvenal's wit in choosing and adapting his parodies and affords a good conclusion to this chapter. Sat.,

14.215-6:

parcendum est teneris, nondum implevere medullas  
maturae mala nequitiae

parodies Vergil, Georgics, 2.362-3:

ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas  
parcendum teneris, et dum se laetus ad auras.

The phrase parcendum teneris is transferred from young vines to young boys with heavy irony; the temporal clause beginning with dum is retained and Juvenal retains the same scansion in line 215 as in Georgic, 3.363.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>The following passages are ones which have been suggested by various authorities to be parodies, but which I consider to be reminiscences or imitations: Sat., 1.116 and Ovid, Met., 6.97; 5.142-3 and Vergil, Aen., 12.474-5; 10.196-7 and Ovid, Amores, 2.10.7; 14.187-8 and Vergil, Aen., 5.82-83; 14.213-4 and Ovid, Met., 15.855-6.

## VII. JUVENAL'S PARODY OF EPIC COMMONPLACES, STOCK THEMES, ETC.

Juvenal employs many stock themes and commonplaces from epic in his satires, mostly descriptions of nature and the seasons.<sup>1</sup> Many of these he uses sincerely to add dignity and grandeur to his poetry, but very often he parodies them. Therefore one must always be on one's guard in discerning his parodies of this type, and avoiding falling into the trap of ascribing every lofty description of nature, battles, the time of the year, etc., to parody. I only list and discuss such descriptions that I believe to be parodic.

A good starting-point is Juvenal's own description of the jaded epic themes which bore him so much; Sat., 1.7-12:

nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus  
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum  
Vulcani; quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras  
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum  
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,  
Frontonis platani convolsaque marmora clamant.

The epic themes are all described with the proper epic periphrasis, but Juvenal shows his dislike of them by the choice of that periphrasis. Thus having started with quite natural ones such as "Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum Vulcani", he proceeds to

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<sup>1</sup>This type of parody was a favourite with Horace.



refer to the Golden Fleece by a mocking diminutive as furtivae aurum pelliculae<sup>2</sup> and he shows his 'contemptuous indifference'<sup>3</sup> by calling Jason alius..etc.<sup>4</sup>

Juvenal returns to the epic themes with the same disparaging language in Sat., 1.52-54:

Haec ego non agitem? Sed quid magis? Heracleas  
aut Diomedas aut mugitum labyrinthi  
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volentem.

He keeps up the epic style by the use of synecdoche (mugitum labyrinthi) and periphrasis for Icarus' fall (mare percussum puero) but then brings down the description with the non-epic word faber (παρὰ προσδοκίαν).<sup>5</sup>

Juvenal's imaginary advisor urges him not to attack people by name, and closes his speech with the lofty military metaphor; Sat., 1.168-70:

inde ira et lacrimae. Tecum prius ergo voluta  
haec animo ante turbas: galeatum sero duelli  
paenitet.

<sup>2</sup> Juvenal may also be playing on the meaning of aurum = money - to give a materialistic motive for the old epic voyage.

<sup>3</sup> W.S. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal", YCS, 17 (1961), p.36.

<sup>4</sup> All the themes referred to in these lines occur in Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica. It is possible that alius could be referring not to Jason but to Valerius Flaccus himself.

<sup>5</sup> According to E. Thomas, Ovidian Echoes in Juvenal, p.511, who thinks that Juvenal had the description of Ovid, Met., 8 in mind. I am not too sure that faber is a non-epic word since Ovid uses the adjective in his Metamorphoses; e.g. Met., 8.159:  
Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis

Not only does he use the archaic duellum for bellum, but he also employs the common epic phrase secum volutare: e.g. Vergil, Aen., 4.533, "secumque ita corde volutat"; or Aen., 6.157-8, "caecosque volutat / eventus animo secum"; or Aen., 6.185:

atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat

Line 168 also probably recalls Lucan, 1.173, "inde irae faciles".

Satire, 2.25:

quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo

parodies the common epic description of a storm or sudden upheaval of the world; cf. Vergil, Aen., 5.790-1:

maria omnia caelo

miscuit Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis

and Lucretius, 3.842:

non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo<sup>6</sup>

Thus the woman who is caught in flagrante delicto by her husband screams out defiantly in mock-epic; Sat., 6.283-4:

clames licet et mare caelo

confundas, homo sum.

An epic invocation to Jupiter (Sat., 2.126-7):

O pater urbis

unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus?

is parodied by Juvenal to make a sarcastic comment on the amount of homosexuality in Latin bucolic poetry.

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<sup>6</sup>Cf. also Valerius Flaccus, 1.586-7, "soliti miscere pol-  
umque / infelix fretum".

Juvenal parodies the common epic account of the Underworld, (such as that given by Vergil in Aeneid 6), and its very existence in Satire, 2.149-57:

Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna  
 150 et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras  
 atque una transire vadum tot milia cumba  
 nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.  
 Sed tu vera puta: Curius quid sentit et ambo  
 Scipiadae, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli,  
 155 quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus,  
 tot bellorum animae, quotiens hinc talis ad illos  
 umbra venit?

Cf. lines 150-1 with Vergil, Aen., 6.302-3:

ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat  
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba

Juvenal, although avowing that he does not believe in them, proceeds to give a good epic description of the dead heroes in Hades. For the epic periphrasis in line 155 cf. Lucan, 2.46:

Tempora Cannarum fuimus Trebiaeque iuventus!<sup>7</sup>

Juvenal pulls out all the stops of epic language in describing the Greeks' ability to pour out gross flattery; Sat., 3.88-91 et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat

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<sup>7</sup>Juvenal's first line (149), 'esse aliquos manes' parodies Propertius, 4.7.1, 'sunt aliquid Manes', where he describes how Cynthia's ghost visited him at night. The parody is particularly pointed since Juvenal goes on to say "nec pueri credunt". D.R.Shackleton-Bailey, "Echoes of Propertius", Eng. Series 4, 5 (1952), p.320 gives six imitations of Propertius in Juvenal but inexplicably misses this one!

Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,  
 miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec  
 ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito?

To contrast the skinny neck of some weakling with the strong neck of Hercules, Juvenal juxtaposes the usual word for neck, collum, with the poetic word cervicibus, and in describing the wrestling match with Antaeus he uses the epic word tellure instead of the more usual terra. He finishes his mocking description by comparing the singer's voice to that of a cockerel, which is depicted by a mock-epic circumlocution (line 91).

Epic periphrasis is again ridiculed in Satire, 3.116-8:

Stoicus occidit Bareae delator amicum  
 discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa,  
 ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.

The scene is again set by the epic language in the first line; this time the atmosphere is created by chiasmus: Stoicus . . . Bareae delator amicum; and then the epic description of Tarsus is kept up until the last word of line 118, caballi, which brings down the whole tone of the passage, making it end in bathos. Thomas<sup>8</sup> thinks that line 118 directly parodies Ovid, Fasti, 3.450:

Gorgonei colla videbis equi

especially since Ovid continues (lines 453-4);

Huic supra nubes et subter sidera lapso

caelum pro terra, pro pede pinna fuit.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup>E. Thomas, op. cit., p. 511.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. also Epistulae ex Ponto, 4.8.80, 'ungula Gorgonei'.

The parody may have been suggested by Horace's and Persius' similar treatment of the word caballus.<sup>10</sup>

A further example of this type of parody is provided in Sat., 3.312-4, where the ideal Rome is being described:

felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas  
saecula quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis  
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.

which ends with the unexpected and humorous phrase uno contentam carcere.<sup>11</sup> Line 314 may also provide a parody of Cicero's line:

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!

The same rhyming of -am sounds exists in both lines.

Satire, 4.34-154 may well be a parody of one of Domitian's councils of war as described in Statius' Bellum Germanicum.<sup>12</sup> It starts with a travesty of the usual epic invocation to the Muses; lines 34-36:

Incipe, Calliope. Licet et considerare: non est  
cantandum, res vera agitur. Narrate, puellae  
Pierides, prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.

It is not based on any one line or particular passage of epic, but a good example of the usual invocation is Vergil, Aen., 9.

<sup>10</sup>See Persius, Prologue, 1; Horace, Sat., 1.6.59; and v. supra pp. 59 and 75.

<sup>11</sup>E. de Saint-Denis, "L'Humour de Juvénal", IL, 4 (1952), p.12.

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion of this satire in greater detail v. infra pp. 131-4.

525: Vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti<sup>13</sup>

Horace also parodies the epic invocation to the Muses, when about to introduce the contest between the scurrae.<sup>14</sup> Juvenal improves on Horace by telling the Muses to sit down and talk naturally, whereas epic poets always tell them to stand up and sing,<sup>15</sup> and the last phrase prosit. . . puellas further mocks and adds bathos to the scene.

Juvenal then starts his descriptive narrative of how during Domitian's reign a fisherman caught a huge turbot (lines 37-44):

Cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem  
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,  
incidit Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi  
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,  
implevitque sinus; neque enim minor haeserat illis  
quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem  
solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti  
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.

Many epic devices are used in these eight lines to give an air of mock grandeur to the scene. Domitian is twice in two lines named by periphrasis; the first time naturally, ultimus Flavius, but the second time insultingly, calvo Neroni. The turbot is des-

<sup>13</sup>For other such epic invocations cf. Vergil, Eclogues, 8. 63, 10.70-72; Silius Italicus, Punica, 3.222, 12.390; Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica, 1.1-2, 3.1.

<sup>14</sup>Horace, Sat., 1.5.51-54; v. supra pp.55-56.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 9.525-8; Statius, Thebaid, 4.34-38.

cribed by the epic device of naming a man by his outstanding characteristic<sup>16</sup> as Hadriaci spatium admirabile rhombi, suggested perhaps by Ovid, Halieutica, 125:

Hadriaco mirandus litore rhombus

The temple of Venus is suitably described in lofty language, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon. The phrase implevit sinus used by Juvenal to describe the turbot filling out the fisherman's net is probably a conscious parody of Vergil, Aen., 10.819-20 where it is used in a completely different context - that of the death of Lausus:

implevit sinum sanguis, tum vita per auras

concessit maesta ad manes

The passage is completed with a typically erudite epic comparison (which becomes almost a digression) between the turbot, which the fisherman caught and those which swim in the Black Sea (40-2).

The season of the year is described in mock-epic language; lines 56-59:

Iam letifero cedente pruinis

autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris,

stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem

servabat

The long-winded method of saying "Autumn was ending" or "Winter was just approaching" is parodied by the inclusion of the humorous clause in the middle of the sentence which tells the reader

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<sup>16</sup>E.g. The Homeric μένος Ἀκiviότατο.

that patients were hoping for a quartan (i.e. a fever which recurs every fourth day), presumably as an improvement on the tertian that they are suffering from.

Duff suggests that the phrase stomachum laxare (Sat., 4.67) is a vulgar parody of the common epic phrase animum laxare,<sup>17</sup> which is quite probable considering the general tone of the satire.

The unhappy client breaks into epic diction in his description of the weather and season to heighten his misery; Sat., 5.22-23:

sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore quo se  
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.

which may be a parody of Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, 7.456-7:

etenim matura ruebant

sidera et extremo se flexerat axe Bootes.

But G.Highet has a very sensible comment to make on this passage. Referring to an essay by C.Hosius, De Imitatione Scriptorum Romanorum Imprimis Lucani (Greifswald, 1907), he points out that, "it is natural. . . that Bootes should appear at the end of a hexameter line, and equally natural that it should then be preceded by a third declension ablative singular (axe Bootes, Val. Flac., 7.457) or a neuter plural (plaustra Bootae, Lucan, 2.722; serraca Bootae, Juv., 5.23)."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>J.D.Duff, ed., Fourteen Satires of Juvenal, p.180.

<sup>18</sup>G.Highet, "Juvenal's Bookcase", AJP, 72 (1951), p.385.



Again to satirize the unhappy client Juvenal goes into an epic description of the weather to make his plight more pitiable; Sat., 5.77-79:

per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri  
Esquillas, fremeret saeva cum grandine verrus  
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo.

and later for the same purpose in lines 100-1:

nam dum se continet Auster  
dum sedet et siccet madidas in carcere pinnae,

an image which is taken from Ovid, Met., 1.264:

madidis Notus evolat alis

and Met., 11.431-2:

qui carcere fortes  
contineat ventos, et, cum velit, aequora placet

Satire 6 starts off in true epic vein with a description of the Golden Age but after six lines Juvenal has to break off to denounce Cynthia and Lesbia, and proceeds to parody descriptions of the Golden Age (lines 7-13):

haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius  
turbavit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos,  
sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis  
et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.  
Quippe aliter tunc orbe novo caeloque recenti  
vivebant homines, qui rupto robore nati  
compositive luto nullos habuere parentes.

Line 8 provides a good example of epic periphrasis, here to refer

to Lesbia, Catullus' mistress, and specifically to Catullus' third poem. Serafini remarks that the word ocellus occurs three times in Juvenal and is always ironical; "nella prima (i.e. Sat., 6.8) serve a volgere in parodia un celebre luogo catulliano".<sup>19</sup> The idyllic scene is further demolished in line 10 by the very non-epic image of the woman who is often 'more unkempt herself than her acorn-belching husband'. For the next three lines Juvenal returns to serious description imitating in line 11 Lucretius, 5.907, "tellure nova caeloque recenti"; and in line 12 Vergil, Aeneid, 8.315:

gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata

keeping the onomatopoeic sound of the oak cracking in the recurrent 'r' sound.<sup>20</sup>

E. de Saint-Denis sees the first thirteen lines of Satire 6 as a retractatio of the Golden Age theme.<sup>21</sup> However, I think Juvenal is showing his readers how clever he can be; the first six lines are written in true epic style, reminiscent of Lucretius 5; then come four lines in which he parodies the idea of the Golden Age and uses improper language, and finally he returns to the lofty style with traceable imitations of Ovid and Vergil.

<sup>19</sup>A. Serafini, op. cit., p.266. The other two occurrences of ocellus are both in Satire 6 - lines 109 and 578.

<sup>20</sup>Lines 11-13 are also reminiscent of Ovid, Met., 1.82-85, and Lucretius, 5.925ff.

<sup>21</sup>E. de Saint-Denis, op. cit., p.12.

A similar type of parody occurs in lines 172-7. Attacking women's pride Juvenal alludes to the fate of Amphion and his children because of Niobe's boasting, in true epic style but deflates the picture in his final epic (or rather mock-epic) comparison between Niobe and the white sow after whom Alba Longa was named, and who had 30 piglets; Sat., 6.177:

atque eadem scrofa Niobe fecundior alba<sup>22</sup>

The comparison itself is hardly in keeping with epic and the vulgar word scrofa completes the deflation.

The epic phrase for 'to be impatient of delay', which is always used in epic to refer to a battle which is about to commence; e.g. Lucan, 6.424:

impatiensque morae venturisque omnibus aeger.

and Silius Italicus, Punica, 8.4; "impatiensque morae fremit", is parodied by Juvenal, when he refers to the adulterer hiding in secret, and we are left in no doubt as to why he is impatient when Juvenal completes the line; Sat., 6.238:

impatiensque morae silet et praeputia ducit

The grandiose epithet for Priam, Laomedontiades, is also employed in a sordidly inappropriate context (Sat., 6.326); and the epic device of apostrophising people by their prominent parts is also parodied by referring it to something sordid in Sat., 7.150, "O ferrea pectora Vetti" - "Oh iron bowels of Vettius!"; and downright obscene in Satire, 9.34:

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<sup>22</sup>Referring to Vergil, Aeneid, 8.42-48.

nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi.

In describing the ugliness of old age, Juvenal likens the wrinkles an old man acquires to those of a female baboon, but in the middle of his description he inserts an incongruous, lofty bucolic note; Sat., 10.193-5:

pendentesque genas et tales aspice rugas  
 quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thambraca saltus,  
 in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.

Does Juvenal do this to show the falseness of the idyllic bucolic poetry, or merely to show off his cleverness at composing poetry? The description of the wrinkles is probably adapted from Ovid, Met., 15.231-2:

fluidos pendere lacertos

flet quoque, ut in speculum rugas adspexit aniles

Juvenal is definitely mocking the epic use of hyperbole when he says that in old age one will be assailed by a myriad of diseases; Satire, 10.219-226:

morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,  
 promptius expediam quot amaverit Oppia moechos,  
 quot Themison aegros autumnno occiderit uno,  
 quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus  
 pupillos; quot longa viros exorbeat uno  
 Maura die, quot discipulos inclinet Namillus;  
 percurram citius quot villas possideat nunc  
 quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.

The passage is a comic exaggeration of such passages as Vergil,

Georgics, 2.103-8:<sup>23</sup>

sed neque quam multae species nec nomina quae sint  
 est numerus: neque enim numero comprehendere refert;  
 quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem  
 discere quam multae Zephyro turbentur harenae,  
 aut ubi navigiis violentior incidit Eurus  
 nosse quot Ionii veniant ad litora fluctus.

In pointing out the uselessness of praying for good looks, Juvenal breaks into epic language to describe the lucky youth who is beautiful. That is before he is castrated! Sat., 10.301-3:

tribuat natura benigna  
 larga manu (quid enim puero conferre potest plus  
 custode et cura natura potentior omni?)

Juvenal employs the epic phrase larga manu; cf. Vergil, Aen., 10.619-20; "et tua larga / saepe manu"; and also the rhetorical question in parentheses; cf. Vergil, Aen., 4.296, "(quis fallere potest amantem?)".

In Satire 11 Juvenal invites a friend to come and eat a humble meal with him, and uses parody to give mock grandeur to it. Thus lines 65-67:

de Tiburtino venit pinguissimus agro  
 haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae  
 necdum ausus virgas humilis mordere salicti

Juvenal introduces the items of food at the banquet as though they

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<sup>23</sup>Cf. also Ovid, Tristia, 4.1.55-60; Epist., ex Ponto, 2.7.25-30.

were epic heroes.<sup>24</sup>

In the first section of Satire, 12 (lines 1-92) Juvenal sets out expressly to parody epic commonplaces, especially shipwrecks and storms at sea, which every 'good epic' must have.<sup>25</sup> The poem starts with Juvenal offering sacrifices to the gods for his friend's safe return. Lines 5-9 describing the victim for sacrifice:

sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostica funem  
 Tarpeio serrata Iovi frontemque coruscat,  
 quippe ferox vitulus templis maturus et arae  
 spargendusque mero, quem iam pudet ubera matris  
 ducere, qui vexat nascenti robora cornu.

are written in lofty style with the last line reminiscent of such lines as Vergil, Georgics, 3.232-3:

et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit  
 arboris obnixus trunco

and Vergil, Aeneid, 12.104-5:

terrificos ciet atque irasci in cornua temptat  
 arboris obnixus trunco

The image seems to be a very common one in ancient literature.

Juvenal then embarks upon his mock epic description of the storm at sea; lines 18-24:

<sup>24</sup>Cf. Vergil, Aen., 9.176ff.; Apollonius Rhodius, 1.23ff.; and the epic catalogue in Iliad 2.

<sup>25</sup>E.g. Odyssey, 5.293-4; Aeneid, 1.85ff.; Lucan, 5.64ff. Valerius Flaccus, 1.574ff.; Ovid, Met., 478-565.

densae caelum abscondere tenebrae  
 nube una subitusque antennis inpulit ignis,  
 cum se quisque illo percussum crederet et mox  
 attonitus nullum conferri posse putaret  
 naufragium velis ardentibus. Omnia fiunt  
 talia, tam graviter, si quando poetica surgit  
 tempestas.

He includes all the stock themes: lines 18-19 describe the darkness which envelops everything. Cf. Odyssey, 5.293-4:

ὄν δὲ νεφέεσι κάλυψεν

γῆιν ὅμοῦ καὶ πάντων ἄρῳρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ

or Lucan, 5.627-9:

Non caeli nox illa fuit; latet obsitus aer  
 infernae pallore domus nimbisque gravatus  
 deprimitur, fluctusque in nubibus accipit imbrem.

or Vergil, Aeneid, 1.88-89:

eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque  
 Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.

For the lightning rending the clouds in lines 19-20; cf. Aen., 1.

90-91: intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether  
 praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem

or Valerius Flaccus, 1.616-7:

vasto pariter ruit igneus aether  
 cum tonitru piceoque premit nox omnia caelo

But in the middle of his description Juvenal shoots it all down with his comment that it was just like a storm in a poem, and

emphasizes the fact with the enjambement of tempestat, which prompted Serafini to say, "la descrizione della tempesta, condotta secondo i modelli omerico e virgiliano, è scopertamente caricaturale".<sup>26</sup>

To prevent his ship from sinking Catullus has to jettison his cargo; lines 38-47:

vestem

purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,  
 atque alias quarum generosi graminis ipsum  
 infecit natura pecus, sed et egregius fons  
 viribus occultis et Baeticus adiuvat aer.  
 Ille nec argentum dubitabat mittere, lances  
 Parthenio factas, urnae cratera capacem  
 et dignum sitiante Pholo vel coniuge Fusci;  
 adde et bascaudas et mille escaria, multum  
 caelati, biberat quo callidus emptor Olynthi.

In true epic style Juvenal goes into minute detail in describing what Catullus had to throw overboard, using comparisons: vestem. . . aptam (38-39), dignum sitiante Pholo (45); circumlocutions: quarum. . . pecus (40-41); callidus emptor Olynthi (47) for Philip II of Macedon. But he cannot stay serious and adds ironical or tongue-in-cheek comments: sed et. . . aer (41-2) and bathos in coniuge Fusci (45).

But eventually the storm abated in epic fashion; lines

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<sup>26</sup>A. Serafini, op. cit., p. 281.



62-67: sed postquam iacuit planum mare, tempora postquam  
 prospera vectoris fatumque valentius euro  
 et pelago, postquam Parcae meliora benigna  
 pensa manu ducunt hilares et staminis albi  
 lanificae, modica nec multum fortior aura  
 ventus adest.

Cf. Odyssey, 5.390-2:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἦμαρ εὐπλόκαμος τέλει Ἥως  
 κἄτι τότε ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπώσατο, ἥδ' ἔπειτα  
 ἔπλετο νηνεμίη.

or cf. Vergil, Aeneid, 1.142-54:

citius tumida aequora placat  
 collectas fugat nubes solemque reducit. . .  
 sic cunctis pelagi cecidit fragor.

The sailors take their battered craft to within sight of land;

lines 70-74:

tunc gratus Iulo  
 atque novercali sedes praelata Lavino  
 conspicitur sublimis apex, cui candida nomen  
 scrofa dedit, laetis Phrygibus mirabile sumen  
 et numquam visis triginta clara mamillis.

The Mons Albinus is named in a mock-epic circumlocution into which Juvenal injects many vulgar words to make the description ridiculous. E.g. novercali. . . Lavino (71), scrofa (73), sumen (73); the stupid jingle at the end of lines 72 and 73 nomen. . . sumen: and the final bathos of line 74.

Lines 73-74 are an obvious parody of Vergil, Aen., 8.82-83:

candida per silvam cum fetu concolore albo  
 procubuit viridique in litore conspicitur sus.<sup>27</sup>

In between these lengthy parodies Juvenal keeps the epic style up with various devices, especially that of naming an object by its outstanding characteristic; e.g. lines 32-33; "nullam prudentia cani / rectoris ferret opem"; line 60; "ventre lagonae"; line 90, "tura dabo atque omnis violae iactabo colores".

Even after the shipwreck episode is over Juvenal still keeps up the mock-epic language occasionally in the last 40 lines.

E.g. to refer to elephants (lines 103-5):

nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis  
 belua concipitur, sed furva gente petita  
 arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro

Juvenal then lets himself get carried away, referring to the elephants' deeds by the appropriate language, such as the periphrasis for Pyrrhus - regique Molosso (line 108), and finishing with the mock-epic description of elephants in war; line 110:

partem aliquam belli, et euntem in proelia turrem

which parodies such descriptions as Vergil, Aen., 10.427, "pars ingens belli"; and Aen., 10.737:

pars belli haud temnenda, viri, iacet altus Orodes

where Vergil was not, of course, referring to elephants.

In Satire 13 Juvenal embarks on a lengthy parody of the Golden Age lasting over 20 lines. We have seen that he has already touched upon the subject, but this is his pièce de résistance.

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<sup>27</sup>Juvenal has already parodied this passage once in Satire, 6.177. V.supra p. 111.

The parody lasts from lines 38-59; I quote it to line 52:

Quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam  
 sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem  
 40 Saturnus fugiens, tunc cum virguncula Iuno  
 et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris;  
 nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum  
 nec puer Iliacus formosa nec Herculis uxor  
 ad cyathos et iam siccato nectare tergens  
 45 bracchia Volcanus Liparaea nigra taberna;  
 prandebat sibi quisque deus nec turba deorum  
 talis ut est hodie, contenta sidera paucis  
 numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori  
 pondere; nondum imi sortitus triste profundi  
 50 imperium Sicula torvos cum coniuge Pluton,  
 nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut volturis atri  
 poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.

Lines 38-40 parody Vergil, Aen., 8.318-9:

Primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo,  
 arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis

which is then brought down to earth with the phrase sumeret agrestem falcem: (Is this a hit at Vergil's *Georgica*?).

Line 43 parodies Ovid, Tristia, 2.405-6:

huc Herculis uxor

huc accedat Hylas Iliadesque puer.

and lines 44-45 parody Iliad, 18.414:

ἐπόγγυ δ' ἄμφι πρόσωπα καὶ ἄμφω χεῖρ' ἀπομόγγυ

But the whole parody hinges on the incongruity of the language and thought. The language is heightened by archaisms such as caelicolarum (42); formonsa (43); torvos (50); quom (54);<sup>28</sup> senectae (59); only to be brought down by colloquialisms and non-epic turns of phrase: virguncula (40), a mocking diminutive;<sup>29</sup> privatus (41); turba deorum. . . ut est hodie (46-47); minori pondere (48-49). Lofty periphrasis and allusions: puer Iliacus (43); formonsa. . . Herculis uxor (43); nondum. . . Pluton (49-50); nec rota. . . nec saxum. . . volturis (51). Contrast through bathos and ridiculous images: siccato. . . taberna (44-45); contenta. . . pondere (47-49); infernis. . . umbrae (52); licet ipse. . . glandis acervos (56-57).

In Satire 13. 78-83:

per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat  
 et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,  
 per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae  
 perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem,  
 addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,  
 quidquid habent telorum armentaria caeli.

the false oath sworn by all the different arms of the gods is written in good epic style with periphrasis for Apollo (Cirrhaei . . . vates) and Artemis (venatricis. . . puellae), with the last

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<sup>28</sup>So W.S.Anderson, "Juvenal and Quintilian", YCS, 17(1961), pp.62-63, following Knoche's emendation.

<sup>29</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p.61.

line bringing the oath down to earth. The parody helps to show the enormity of the lie; the better the oath, the bigger the lie. Probably the passage parodies Lucan, 7.145-50, where he describes the gods arming for battle:

non aliter Phlegra rabidos tollente Gigantas  
 Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis;  
 et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis,  
 spiculaque extenso Paeon Pythone recoxit,  
 Pallas Gorgoneas diffudit in aegida crines,  
 Pallenaea Iovi mutavit fulmina Cyclops.

Juvenal breaks into epic diction to describe how long the praefectus urbis would have to stay on duty to judge just a fraction of the crimes committed; Sat., 13.158:

usque a lucifero donec lux occidat

His description of sunset; Sat., 14.279-80:

sed longe Calpe relictâ

audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem

parodies such descriptions of the phenomenon as Silius Italicus, Punica, 1.209-10:

atque ubi fessus equos Titan immersit anhelos

flammiferum condunt fumanti gurgite currum

and Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, 2.38-39:

cum palmas Tethys grandaeva sinusque

sustulit et rupto sonuit sacer aequore Titan.

I have considered in this chapter parodies which Juvenal employs just to laugh at epic conventions, or to shock his read-

ers by a sudden change of style or vulgarity, or to show his versatility as a poet. I shall now proceed to discuss the remainder of his parodies, which in most cases have more than one function to perform.

## VIII. JUVENAL'S USE OF PARODY 'AUGENDI ET MINUENDI CAUSA'

One of Juvenal's favourite methods of parodying is to apply a famous line, altered or unaltered, to a completely incongruous subject; thereby amusing his reader who will recognize the context of the original quotation, and see the incongruity, but also satirizing a worthless character by addressing him in a mock dignified tone (augendi causa) or applying it to a person of high self-esteem to cut him down to size (minuendi causa). Nearly all of Juvenal's most famous parodies come under this heading.

In Satire, 1.42-44:

et sic

palleat ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem  
aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.

the lines are referring to profligates and legacy-hunters, and line 43 parodies Vergil, Aeneid, 2.379-80:

improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem  
pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit.<sup>1</sup>

Thus some mock solemnity is given to the profligates, only to be taken away by the second simile of an orator about to speak

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<sup>1</sup>Vergil derived the simile from Iliad, 3.33-35:

ὡς δ' ὅτε τις τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορος ἀπέστη  
οὐρέος ἐν βήσσηι, ὑπὸ τε τρομος ἔλλαβε γυῖα  
ἄψ' δ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὡχρὸς τε μιν εἶλε παρείας

at one of Caligula's rhetorical contests at Lyons, where humiliating punishments awaited the losers. The dignity of the first simile is hardly maintained by the second. The legacy-hunters are therefore blown up only to be let down with an even bigger bump.

In Satire, 1.99-101:

iubet a praecone vocari  
 ipsos Troiugenas, nam vexant limen et ipsi  
 nobiscum

Juvenal uses the lofty epithet, Troiugenae, to refer to the Roman aristocracy, who loved to trace their descent from Troy. The word occurs twice in Vergil,<sup>2</sup> who did much to popularize the legend. Juvenal employs it to contrast the nobility of the name with the worthlessness of the people who possess it. Cf. also Sat., 8.

181-2: at vos, Troiugenaë, vobis ignoscitis, et quae  
 turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.

and Satire, 11.95:

qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,  
 clarum Troiugenis factura et nobile fulcrum.<sup>3</sup>

The lofty word vates<sup>4</sup> is put to the same use when Juvenal employs it to refer to the worthless poets of his day; Sat., 1.17-18:

<sup>2</sup>Aeneid, 8.117; 12.626.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. also the similar use of Teucrorum proles (Sat., 8.56).

<sup>4</sup>"The oldest name for a poet; but it fell into contempt and was discarded for poeta until restored to honour by Vergil" - LS.



stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique  
vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.

In Satire 2 where Juvenal is concerned with homosexuals he uses parody to contrast their morals and state of life with the noble and proper way of living. The first example of this, although not taken from epic, is still worth quoting. The hairy, tough-looking homosexuals promittunt atrocem animum (line 12), which is probably taken from Horace, Carmina, 2.1.23-24:

Et cuncta terrarum subacta

praeter atrocem animum Catonis.

But their promise of a manly soul is unfulfilled as Juvenal continues (lines 12-13):

sed podice levi

caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae

The pathic's delight in spinning and weaving and other woman's work is described in mock-heroic language; Sat., 2.55-56:

vos tenui praegnantem stamine fusum

Penelope melius, levius torquetis Arachne

which may be a parody of Ovid, Met., 6.22:

sive levi teretem versabat pollice fusum<sup>5</sup>

Juvenal attacks the effeminates who turn up to plead attired in pretty gowns, by comparing them with the true old Romans of Cincinnatus' day in the appropriate epic style. Probably accounts of the 'good old days' are also supposed to be parodied; Sat., 2.

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<sup>5</sup>Juvenal may have had in mind Catullus, 64.311-9.

72-74 :       en habitum quo te leges ac iura ferentem  
                  vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud  
                  montanum positus audiret vulgus aratris.

The lines also parody Ovid, Fasti, 1.207:

          iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro.

Still referring to the same topic Juvenal asks Creticus if he thinks such action is dignified;(lines 77-78):

          acer et indomitus libertatisque magister,  
          Cretice, perluces.

The first line is thus completely 'shot down' by the word perluces, showing the irony of the situation. With line 77 cf. Lucan, 1.146:

          acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira vocasset

But the best-known parody in this satire occurs in lines

99-100:       ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,  
                  Actoris Aurunci spolium,

which is a double parody of Vergil, Aeneid, 3.286:

          aere cavo clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis,

and Actoris Aurunci spolium is taken directly from Aeneid, 12.94.

I.G.Scott thinks that Juvenal is using a familiar epic phrase in a ridiculous context just to make it appear ludicrous.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps, but Juvenal is usually more subtle than this. Lelièvre<sup>7</sup>, while

<sup>6</sup>I.G.Scott, op. cit., p.54.

<sup>7</sup>F.J.Lelièvre, "Parody in Juvenal and T.S.Eliot", CP, 53 (1958), pp.22-26.

agreeing that a comic effect is achieved by the serious nature of the original passage and the new circumstances to which it is applied, believes that Juvenal breaks new ground with this type of parody. "Parody is employed by incorporation in his work of a phrase from high poetry, which he may alter to suit the context, but in such a way that the original can still be detected (sometimes the alteration is *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* and adds total effect to the parody). In all cases the passage is not intended to be comic or grotesque, but is intended to provide an unspoken comment on the contrast in moral values between the two worlds which Juvenal has juxtaposed, that of literature or legend and that of real life, contemporary or recent, as he portrays it."<sup>8</sup> While agreeing with Lelièvre that certain of Juvenal's parodies do fulfil this function, I do not think he is justified in claiming that Juvenal breaks new ground in this type of parody.

When Horace describes the freedwoman who murdered her miserly master as fortissima Tyndaridarum,<sup>9</sup> he is providing a similar contrast in moral values. Horace does not employ a direct parody of a specific line to produce his effect, but breaks into epic language instead; so Lelièvre's definition may still stand. It may be, however, that Horace inspired Juvenal to write this type of parody.

In Satire, 3.66 an epic-style apostrophe occurs:

<sup>8</sup> Lelièvre, op. cit., p.22.

<sup>9</sup> Horace, Sat., 1.1.99-100; v. supra p.50; cf. also Persius, Sat., 6.75-76; v. supra p.83.

ite, quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!

but it is referring to a sordid topic and people whom Juvenal despises, and at the same time includes the non-epic word lupa. The line recalls Ovid, Met., 14.654:

Ille etiam picta redimitus tempora mitra.

A few lines further on Juvenal launches into an epic circumlocution for the Viminal Hill; line 71:

Esquillas dictumque petunt a vimine collem

in order to contrast its lofty name with the faex Achaei which is at present pouring into it. Again the line may have been suggested by Ovid's description of the Quirinal; Fasti, 2.511:

templa deo fiunt: collis quoque dictus ab illo est.

The poor man, whose house is burning, is likened to Aeneas caught in the blazing Troy; Sat., 3.198-9:

iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert

Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant,

by the one word Ucalegon. The passage is a *ἑμπρὸς προσδοκίαν* parody of Vergil, Aeneid, 2.311-2, "iam proximus ardet / Ucalegon". Lelièvre thinks that this too is a parody for moral contrast.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that while parodying Vergil, Juvenal uses alliteration in the 't' sounds in line 199 to suggest the fire crackling.<sup>11</sup> Such onomatopoeic effects are one of Vergil's favourite means of injecting life into his poetry.

<sup>10</sup> Lelièvre, op. cit., p.23.

<sup>11</sup> G.B.A.Fletcher, "Alliteration in Juvenal", DUJ, N.S. 5 (1944), p.59.

Under the same heading falls the parody in Sat., 3.279-

80:           dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum  
              Peliadae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus

which parodies Iliad, 24.10-11:

ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ κλεοῦρᾶς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε  
ὑπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἠρηγνῆς

So the bully who cannot sleep at night because he has not beaten up anybody is likened to Achilles mourning his dead friend, Patroclus. The contrast is obvious and, so that we shall not miss it, specific reference is made by Juvenal to Achilles (lugentis amicum Peliadae).

I have already commented that Satire 4.34-154 may be a mock epic parodying Statius' Bellum Germanicum.<sup>12</sup> The Renaissance scholar, Valla, commenting on line 94, quotes four lines, which come, so he says, from Statius' Bellum Germanicum: "Acilius Glabrionis filius consul sub Domitiano fuit Papinii Statii carmine de bello Germanico quod Domitianus egit probatus  
lumina: Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi  
et Fabius Veiento (potentem signat utrumque  
purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos)  
et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae."

For once Valla does not give the source of his material but, presuming that they are not a complete fabrication, he must have taken the lines from earlier scholia, which are now lost. Statius

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<sup>12</sup> V. supra p.105.

gives the names and then a brief description of the character of each person; so in lines 110-3 does Juvenal:

Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,  
 et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis  
 Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa,  
 et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo.

The names of the same people appear in the fragment of Statius and in Juvenal, but they are all given mocking descriptions in epic style. Thus there is chiasmus to describe Veiento and Catullus; Fuscus' epithet marmorea meditatus proelia villa is a parody of Vergil, Aen., 10.455, "meditantem in proelia taurum". Montanus is referred to by his outstanding characteristic; line 107:

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus

Only Crispus is treated sympathetically, but still with mock-epic phraseology; line 81; "venit et Crispi iucunda senectus", named by his outstanding characteristic, which was outstanding amidst the other company. These words for Crispus and his mite ingenium (lines 82-83) seem to be imitations of Statius' Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi. Nestorei may well refer both to Crispus' age and to his wise counsel, to which Juvenal attests in lines 89-93.<sup>13</sup> Juvenal finally finishes his description of Crispus with the words (lines 92-93):

sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit

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<sup>13</sup>In the fragment of Statius could lumina be referring to the eyes of the blind Catullus?

solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.

The armis referred to in line 93 which keep Crispus alive, are his ability to keep his thoughts to himself and give the advice he knows Domitian wants to hear. The line parodies Lucan, 10.55-56:

obside quo pacis Pellaea tutus in aulis  
Caesar erat.

The parody begins as we have seen,<sup>14</sup> with a mock-epic invocation to the Muses and then the description of the capture of the turbot. Apart from the parodied epic descriptions of the seasons, etc., the satire abounds with mock-epic phrases and epic periphrases: the sea-shore is alive with informers - plena et litora multo delatore (47-48); the fisherman is cumbae linique magister (45); Domitian is pontifici summo (46); the emperor's official's are algae inquisitores (48-49); the fish is fugitivum ... (piscem) / depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris (50-51).<sup>15</sup>

The fisherman approaches Domitian's Alban villa; lines 60-62:

utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat  
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem  
obstitit intranti minatrix turba parumper.

The epic descriptive scene gives grandeur to the ridiculous events and is a parody augendi causa. The fact that the fish is let in while the senators are excluded is emphasized by the chiasmus in line 64:

<sup>14</sup>v. supra pp.104-5.

<sup>15</sup>which is intentionally ridiculous.

exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres.

Still the mockery is kept up by the fisherman's entrance into Domitian's presence; line 65, "Itur ad Atriden". The fisherman says that the fish wanted to be caught, at which Domitian began to preen himself, because he liked to be praised as dis aequa potestas (71). Is this a parody of the official manner in which Domitian demanded to be addressed as Dominus et Deus?<sup>16</sup>

Then comes the dramatic point in the satire, in true epic style (line 72):

sed derat pisci patinae mensura.

So Domitian's counsellors are summoned; lines 74-75:

in quorum facie miserae magnaеque sedebat  
pallor amicitiae

an oxymoron, probably adapted from Ovid, Met., 2.775, "Pallor in ore sedebat". Then follows the description of Domitian's counsellors as they arrive.<sup>17</sup> Having arrived they discuss how best to cook the fish. Montanus' view, expressed in excellently lofty language, wins the day; lines 130-5:

'Quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?' 'Absit ab illo  
dedecus hoc' Montanus ait, 'testa alta paretur  
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.  
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.

<sup>16</sup>Suetonius, Domitian, 13.

<sup>17</sup>For further mock-epic epithets cf. lines 105 and 108; and the mock-epic title fraterculus gigantis (98).



argillam atque rotam citius properate, sed ex hoc  
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'

And so the council is dismissed; lines 145-8:

quos Albanam dux magnus arcem  
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,  
tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sygambris  
dicturus.

Juvenal's last remarks on the council, 'Albanam. . . arcem' is a lofty phrase for Domitian's Alban villa, and dux magnus is probably a sarcastic allusion to Domitian's title of magnus dux in Statius, Silvae, 3.1.62. The fact that the satire ends on this martial note and with a reference to the two powerful German tribes, the Chatti and the Sygambri, coupled with the fragment in Valla, which purports to be from Statius' Bellum Germanicum, convinces me that this satire was written as a parody of one of Domitian's council-meetings in that poem. Be that as it may, it does not alter the fact that the epic language and parodies in Satire 4 are meant to belittle the whole scene in general and mock at Domitian and his ministers in particular.

Before we leave Satire 4 there is still one more parody to be dealt with, which concerns Crispinus who is attacked before the main part of the satire; lines 28-33:

qualis tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus

induperatorem, cum tot sestertia, partem  
 exiguam et modice sumptae de margine cenae,  
 purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,  
 iam princeps equitum, magnus qui voce solebat  
 vendere municipis fracta de merce siluros?

Vulgar words are contrasted with archaisms (gluttisse 28. . . induperator 29 ); and with lofty words - purpureus. . . ructarit scurra Palati (31). Line 32 also sets the scene delightfully for the bathos in line 33.

The parodies in the fifth satire are very similar to those in the fourth satire. Juvenal represents a friend of his as a client of a rich but mean patron, Virro, who delights in inviting his clients to his banquets only to serve them with wretched food while he and his friends eat the best food available.

In Satire, 5.33-39:

cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de  
 Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus  
 delevit multa veteris fuligine testae  
 quale coronati Thrasea Helvidius bibebant  
 Brutorum et Cassi natalibus, ipse capaces  
 Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo  
 Virro tenet phialas.

lines 33-37 parody the epic device of describing an object by recounting its history and associations,<sup>18</sup> and add mock grandeur

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<sup>18</sup>Cf. Vergil, Aen., 1.648-56; Odyssey, 4.125ff.

to Virro's feast and contrast it with the client's plight, as do the mythical names in lines 37-39. The jasper which Virro has on his cup is mocked by a lofty comparison; lines 43-45:

gemmas ad pocula transfert  
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat  
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.

which is a humorous reference to Aeneas and despectus Iarbas (Aen., 4.56); cf. Aen., 2.261-2:

atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva  
ensis erat

Trebius' cup is also described by a lofty periphrasis; lines 46-47:

tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem  
siccabis calicem

and so the difference between the two men's cups is emphasized.

Virro's slave is described by an epic comparison; lines 56-59

flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus  
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci  
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum  
frivola,

to contrast with Trebius' slave, also described by a comparison; lines 59-60:

quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem  
respice.

The slave who has cost so much cannot mix a drink for a poor man; lines 61-62:

sed forma, sed aetas  
digna supercilio

which is probably a parody of Ovid, Met., 3.455-6; "nec forma, nec aetas / est mea".

The client's rotten oil is described by a grand circumlocution; lines 88-89:

illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod  
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,

which is then deflated by the next two lines (90-91):

propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,  
quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris

Juvenal employs the same type of parody (augendi causa) to describe Cretan amphorae in Satire, 14.271 as municipes Iovis . . . lagonas.

Again Virro's food is praised by epic comparison; lines 115-6:

et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri  
spumat aper

this time by the Homeric epithet *ἄριστος Μελιάγρος* .

The poor client who dares to utter a word out of place is dragged from the room like Cacus being dragged from his cave by Hercules; lines 125-7:

duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus  
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris unquam  
hiscere.

which is taken, perhaps, from Vergil, Aen., 8.264-5; "pedibus informe cadaver / protrahitur".

But if you should come into a fortune you will be Virro's friend, and the apostrophe to money (lines 136-7) parodies such

apostrophes in epic and tragedy:

O nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,  
vos estis frater!

But if you yourself want to become a great man and not just a great man's friend, then (lines 138-9):

nullus tibi parvolus aula  
luserit Aeneas

which is a brilliant parody<sup>19</sup> of Vergil, Aen., 4.328-9:

si quis mini parvolus aula  
luderet Aeneas.

and which may also contrast the heroic longing for a son and the modern legacy-hunter's cold calculations.<sup>20</sup>

Lines 146-155 afford a good example of how Juvenal contrasts the situation at the banquet, and how he employs epic language to do it:

vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,  
boletus domino, sed qualis Claudius edit  
ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit  
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit  
150 poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,  
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,  
credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:

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<sup>19</sup>"One of the most successful in the whole history of literature" - I.G.Scott, op. cit., p.82.

<sup>20</sup>Lelievre, op. cit., p.23.

tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit  
 qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli  
 155 discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella

Thus Virro's food is made out to be more grand than it is by epic comparisons. His mushrooms are compared to those Claudius used to eat (147-8) to contrast with the toadstools the client gets (146); Virro's apples are compared to those grown by the Phaeacians (151)<sup>21</sup> or the Apples of the Hesperides (152)<sup>22</sup> to contrast with the scabie mali of the client (his apple is also described by an epic device) (153), which is only fit for an ape to eat (also described by a lengthy periphrasis lasting two lines (154-5)).<sup>23</sup>

In Satire 6 the description of the female gladiator; line 248:  
 quem cavat adsiduis rudibus scutoque lacessit  
 is possibly parodied from Vergil, Aen., 7.165:

spicula contorquent, cursuque ictuque lacessunt.

A high-born lady has sacrificed to Janus to discover if Pollio will win the prize for lyre-playing in the Agon Capitolinus; lines 393-4:

<sup>21</sup>Cf. Odyssey, 7.114-8:

ἔνθα δὲ δένδρεα μακρὰ πέφυκει τηλεθώωνται  
 ὄχραι καὶ ροιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι  
 σικκῆ τε γλυκῆραι καὶ ἑλαίαι τηλεθώουσαι  
 τῶν οὐποτε κάρπος ἀπολλυται, οὐδ' ἀτρεΐπει  
 χεΐματος, οὐδὲ θέρως ἔπετῆτος

<sup>22</sup>Duff, op. cit., p.209 thinks that the phrase Sororibus Afris may indicate some ridicule.

<sup>23</sup>Other parodies of this type occur in lines 31 and 50.

Dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic antiquissime divom,  
respondes his, Iane pater?

Juvenal addresses Janus himself with a correct parodic apostrophe, complete with archaism to contrast the reverence due to the god with the irreverence paid to him by this woman.

One of Juvenal's wittiest parodies consists of only two words, grande sonat (Sat., 6.517), an epic phrase always applied to gods or heroes about to make a speech, except that Juvenal applies it to a speech made by a eunuch.

In Sat., 6.533 Juvenal attacks the Egyptians:

qui grege linigero circumdatus et grege calvo  
with the mocking epic epithet linigerus which also occurs in Ovid, Met., 1.747:

Nunc dea linigera colitur celeberrima turba

Juvenal is doubtless parodying at the same time the Egyptians and Ovid, who is very fond of describing sheep as lanigerae greges, (Met., 3.585; 6.395; 7.540). So Juvenal has conflated the two and called the grex linigera instead of lanigera, and referred it back to the Egyptians.

Juvenal brings himself up abruptly in Satire 6 with the words; (lines 634-7):

Fingimus haec altum satura sumente cothurnum  
scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum  
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu,  
montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino?

which deliberately parody Vergil's comment in Eclogues, 8.10:

sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno?

In Sat., 6.648-50 Juvenal compares a woman's wrath to a falling rock:

rabie iecur incendente feruntur  
praecipites ut saxa iugis abrupta, quibus mons  
subtrahitur clivoque latus pendente recedit

which is parodied from the account of Turnus' onset in Vergil, Aen., 12.684-7:

ac veluti montis saxum de vertice praecipit  
cum ruit, avolsum vento, seu turbidus imber  
proluit, aut annis solvit sublapsa vetustas  
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu.

In Satire 7 Juvenal enters upon a mock-epic periphrasis for poets and laughs at their methods of getting inspiration; lines 18-19:

nectit quicumque canoris  
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit

and later in a humorous context he uses mockingly lofty epithets for Apollo and Dionysus, "dominis Cirrae Nysaeque" (64); and anonomasia to describe Vulcan, which is again written as a lofty way of saying 'the fire'; line 25:

componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito.

Another of Juvenal's famous parodies occurs in Sat., 7. 115-7:

consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Ajax  
dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco  
iudice.

which parodies Ovid, Met., 13.1-2:



Consedere duces, et, vulgi stante corona,  
surgit ad hos clipei dominus septemplicis Ajax

So the underfed lawyer's speech in a dispute over a slave's freedom is likened to Ajax's speech in the 'Dispute of the Arms' (augendi causa). To make the comparison even more ridiculous Juvenal adds bathos by calling the judge bubulcus, a vernacular rather than epic word.<sup>24</sup>

In Satire 9 Juvenal's homosexual friend tells him of the troubles of his way of life. Juvenal allows him to satirize himself, which he does sometimes through parody. He has to find money to pay his rent and feed his slave-boy; lines 64-65:

sed appellat puer unicus ut Polyphemi

lata acies per quam sollers evasit Ulixes

So to show what a task he has before him he uses an epic comparison between his slave and Polyphemus' eye, which is intended to be humorous. "What am I to do?" he continues; line 69:

"Durate et expectate cicadas?"

satirizing himself by parodying Vergil, Aen., 1.207:

durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis

Juvenal mocks Maevolus in lines 102-3:

O Corydon, Corydon, secretum divitis ullum  
esse putas?

<sup>24</sup>W.S. Anderson, "Juvenal and Quintilian", p.60. The 'Dispute of the Arms' was a stock subject for declamation in schools; the same reference occurs in Sat., 10.84-85:

quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Ajax  
ut male defensus.

where Ajax stands for Tiberius, after the discovery of Sejanus' plot.

which is a parody of Vergil, Eclogues, 2.69:

A, Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit!

by comparing his sordid affair with the pathetic Virro, with the idyllic setting for homosexual love in the pastoral poems. There again he may be criticising such things in pastoral poetry.<sup>25</sup>

Naevolus, while accepting Juvenal's advice, breaks into lofty verse which although not entirely mocking (perhaps even sympathetic) is nevertheless incongruous;<sup>26</sup> lines 126-9:

festinat enim decurrere velox

flosculos angustae miseraeque brevissima vitae

portio; dum bibimus, dum sarta unguenta puellas

poscimus, obrepat non intellecta senectus.

To give an air of mock grandeur (augendi causa) to the tyrants' deaths, Pluto is parodically named by antonomasia; Sat., 10.112-

3: ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci  
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

The same mock grandeur is given to the general; Sat., 10.137-9:

Ad hoc se

Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator

erexit.

by the employment of the archaic word for imperator; the solemn-

<sup>25</sup>H.A.Mason, op. cit., p.104; see also Sat., 126-7 and v. supra p.102.

<sup>26</sup>Naevolus does the same thing at the very end of the satire with his pathetic little plea for fortune to hear him this time; lines 148-50: nam cum pro me Fortuna vocatur  
adfexit ceras illa de nave petitas  
quae Siculos cantus effugit remige surdo

ity of the long polysyllabic at the end of the line is shown up by the three monosyllables which end the previous line. All this comes after the general's aims have been sarcastically enumerated in the preceding 5 lines (133-7).

Hannibal, Alexander the Great, and the Persian Wars all have their fame; therefore parody must be employed to deflate them (minuendi causa).<sup>27</sup> So for Hannibal; Sat., 10.157-8:

O qualis facies et quali digna tabella  
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!

Following an epic-type speech by Hannibal (lines 154-5), the style is maintained by the epic periphrasis for an elephant, Gaetula. . . belua, but then comes the bathos at the end of the line - luscum.

In lines 168-9:

Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis  
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi

Pellaeo iuveni is a periphrasis for Alexander the Great; line 168 parodies Lucan, 5.356:

exarmare datur, quibus hic non sufficit orbis

and line 169 parodies Lucan, 6.63:

aestuat angusta rabies civilis harena

After declaiming the Persian Wars in heroic style (lines 173-7) Juvenal descends to bathos with line 178:

prandente et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis

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<sup>27</sup>So too Demosthenes is ridiculed by epic periphrases in lines 126-32.

which parodies Ovid, Met., 1.264; "madidis Notus evolat alis". The parody is strengthened, claims Thomas, if Sostratus can be identified as an historic personage; he thinks it might refer to Sosistratus, referred to in Aristotle as one who overdid epic gestures during a recital.<sup>28</sup>

Oratory is also debunked in lines 122-6:

'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam!  
 Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic  
 omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo  
 quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,  
 voveris a prima quae proxima.

Line 123 recalls Cicero's words in Philippic, 2.118, "contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos". Lelièvre believes that Juvenal is parodying Cicero's repetition of the syllables -natam natam. . . nam in his phrase si sic omnia dixisset (123-4).<sup>29</sup>

But Juvenal is capable of doing this himself; cf. Sat., 12.59:

quattuor aut septem, si sit latissima, taedae.

Juvenal gives Cicero's Philippics a lofty apostrophe because he prefers his poetry.

In Satire 11 Juvenal lays on a frugal meal for a friend in which he enters into contorted phraseology and periphrases to describe simple eggs and hens; lines 70-71:

<sup>28</sup>E.Thomas, op. cit., p.512.

<sup>29</sup>F.J.Lelièvre, "Juvenal: 2 Possible Examples of Word Play", CP, 53 (1958), p.242.

grandia praeterea tortoque calentia faeno  
ova adsunt ipsis cum matribus

The simple dinner is then contrasted with the grand one, which is also described in mock-epic language; lines 123-7:

grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu  
dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes  
et Mauri celeres et Mauro obscurior Indus,  
et quos deposuit Nabataeo belua saltu  
iam nimios capitique graves.

The grandeur is given by the exotic names, especially Nabataeo meaning 'the East'; cf. Lucan, 4.63 Nabataeis flatibus. There are no elephants nor forests in Nabataea, which adds to the irony.

People who squander their inheritance are satirized in Sat., 11.42-43:

talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit  
anulus.

which is a parody of Ovid's description of the disappearance of Lucifer at dawn; Met., 2.115:

Lucifer, et caeli statione novissimus exit

or Met., 11.296:

qui vocat Auroram caeloque novissimus exit.

In Satire, 12.126-7 the slaughter of Iphigeneia is recounted in epic terms by use of synecdoche to refer to the girl, in order to contrast her with the sycophants:

ergo vides quam

grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis

The phrase operae pretium first occurs in Ennius but it is too general a phrase to prove that Juvenal knew Ennius; the parody is of a different type from Persius, Sat., 6.9.<sup>30</sup>

In Satire, 15.5-6 a grand description of Egyptian Thebes is given in mock-epic language;

dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae  
atque vetus Thebe centum iacet portis

to contrast with Juvenal's contempt for the Egyptians who worshipped (line 4):

effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci.

The battle between the rival Egyptian villages is told as if it were an epic fight, to contrast with the wretched people taking part in it; lines 63-68:

saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis  
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditione  
tela, nec hunc lapidem, qualis et Turnus et Ajax,  
vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam  
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae  
illis dissimules, et nostro tempore natae.

The passage thus shows how men have fallen from greatness. Juvenal has in mind such passages as Iliad, 5.296-308; cf. lines 302-5:

Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ δὲ χερμαδίων λάβε χειρὶ  
 οἶσι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι. ὃ δὲ μιν πέε ἰάλλε καὶ οἶος

<sup>30</sup>v. supra p.78.

τῶι βάλειν Αἰνείαο κατ' ἰσχύον, ἔνθα τε ἤγχοσ<sup>31</sup>

Line 68 is a paraphrase of Iliad, 1.272-3:

οὐ τις  
τῶν οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσὶν ἐπιχθονίοι

Cf. Turnus' achievements in Aeneid, 12.896-900:

saxum circumpicit ingens,  
saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat  
limes agro positum ut discerneret arvis.  
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent  
qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus

So Juvenal continues; lines 69-71:

nam genus hoc vivo decrescebat Homero  
terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos  
ergo deus, quicumque aspexit, ridet et odit.

But Juvenal then returns to the epic description; lines 72-76:

postquam  
subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum  
audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis.  
terga fugae celeri praestant instantibus Ombis  
qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentura palmae

with such phrases as subsidiis aucti, infestis. . . sagittis,  
and the lofty description in line 76.

I.G.Scott<sup>32</sup> compares the battle with Aeneid 7 where the

<sup>31</sup>Cf. also Iliad, 7.264-5; 12.380-3; 14.123.

<sup>32</sup>I.G.Scott, op. cit., p.88.

Trojans fight the Latins; as in Vergil's account the fighting is disorganized at first, then it becomes more serious as the combatants become more aroused. The Latins rush to battle with such weapons as they can lay hands on, (Aen, 7.505ff.), but later on a proper battle ensues (line 523, "non iam certamine agresti"). Juvenal's account is basically the same - the tribes at first fight with fists (15.53-54); then they grab rocks (62-64); then one side gets swords (73).

Although the Egyptians commit an act of cannibalism, at least they do not cook their victim, thereby desecrating the fire; lines 84-87:

Hic gaudere libet quod non violaverit ignem,  
quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus,  
donavit terris; elemento gratulor, et te  
exultare reor.

With heavy sarcasm Juvenal describes fire with a mock-epic style recapitulation of its history. With line 86 compare Ovid, Met., 10.305-7: gentibus Ismariis et nostro gratulor orbi,

gratulor huic terrae, quod abest regionibus illis  
quae tantum genuere nefas.

Satire 16 starts with a lofty epithet to refer to Juno in epic fashion to present a humorous picture; lines 5-6:

quam si nos commendet epistula Marti  
et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena

Finally Juvenal mocks at the soldier by describing him in epic periphrasis and his apparel in mock-epic terms; line 48:

ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit.



## IX. CONCLUSION

It can be seen from this survey that Juvenal employs over twice as many parodies as Lucilius, Horace and Persius combined. Being the last of the line of great Latin satirists, what has he done to one of the tools of satire - parody? Juvenal never mentions Persius, yet it seems that he must have read him;<sup>1</sup> he alludes to both Horace<sup>2</sup> and Lucilius<sup>3</sup>, and says that he intends to follow the latter. We can therefore safely assume that Juvenal had read all of his famous predecessors.

I sub-divided the section on Lucilius' parody into three parts, one for each of the authors he parodied. With so little of Lucilius' poetry extant it was the only method of dealing with his parodies. It might therefore have seemed that Lucilius employed parody only to criticize the authors whose works were parodied. I feel sure that this is wrong. Juvenal says that he is going to follow in the footsteps of Lucilius. Lucilius was renowned for his invective; Juvenal's early poetry (i.e. Satires 1-6) and parts of his later work are noted for their invective. Lucilius' fragments contain an exceedingly high percentage of parodies;<sup>4</sup> Juven-

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Juvenal, 1.132-46 and Persius, 3.88-106.

<sup>2</sup>Satire, 1.51.

<sup>3</sup>Satire, 1.19-20.

<sup>4</sup>That so many obviously parodic fragments remain may be misleading. In many cases they were quoted by grammarians because of their unusual language.

al's parodies far outnumber Horace's and Persius'. Is this just coincidence? I think not. Were Juvenal's Satires to exist only in fragments, and under the same situation which conditioned the survival of Lucilius' work, we might well find such lines of Juvenal surviving as "iam frivola transfert / Ucalegon",<sup>5</sup> or "nullus tibi parvolus aula / luserit Aeneas".<sup>6</sup> Would we then suggest that Juvenal was criticizing Vergil for his use of metonymy in saying Ucalegon instead of the 'house of Ucalegon', or that Juvenal was satirising Vergil's fondness for enjambement? If we did this we would be a long way from appreciating the wit and humour of Juvenal. Might not the same be said of Lucilius? Had I classified Juvenal's parodies under the headings of "Parodies of Vergil", "Parodies of Ovid", etc., and then considered them all to be literary criticisms of those authors, I should have been a long way from the truth. Lucilius parodied Ennius, Accius, and Pacuvius. Juvenal parodied Vergil and Lucan, Ovid and Statius. They both parodied Homer. If Lucilius was critical of Ennius, then is not Juvenal critical of Vergil? Especially his hits at homosexuality in Vergil's Eclogues;<sup>7</sup> and he may be hitting at the falseness of bucolic poetry.<sup>8</sup> If Lucilius did criticize through parody the poetry of Pacuvius, then we also have good evidence that Juvenal

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<sup>5</sup>Satire, 3.198-9.

<sup>6</sup>Satire, 5.138-9.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Sat., 2.126-7; 9.102-3.

<sup>8</sup>Satire, 10.193-5.

criticized Statius' poetry through parody,<sup>9</sup> but Juvenal can still say of Statius:

curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae  
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem  
promisitque diem.<sup>10</sup>

Juvenal also parodies common epic descriptions of the night, the seasons, etc., but they also serve other purposes mocking various persons or situations, or providing amusement by their very incongruity. But between Lucilius and Juvenal stand Horace and Persius. What was their effect on Juvenal?

It is interesting to note that Juvenal refers to Lucilius by a circumlocution, calling him 'the great nursling of Aurunca driving his steeds'. Horace in one passage also alludes to Lucilius as 'riding about his estate on his Saturian nag'.<sup>11</sup> Juvenal was doubtless imitating Horace by alluding to the same person doing the same thing, but with different epithets. The passage in Horace is also one of the rare occasions where he breaks into lofty language, with an epic circumlocution for Lucilius, only to bring it down with a vulgar word, in this case, caballo.

Persius uses the same word to refer scathingly to the spring of Hippocrene as the nag's spring,<sup>12</sup> and Juvenal uses it

<sup>9</sup>Satire, 4.34-154.

<sup>10</sup>Satire, 7.82-84.

<sup>11</sup>Juvenal, Sat., 1.20. Horace, Sat., 1.6.58-59.

<sup>12</sup>Persius, Prologue, 1, "fonte. . . caballino".

to refer to Pegasus.<sup>13</sup> In this small way there can be seen the link which connects them all. Horace and Persius were both aware of the humour which could be aroused by debunking famous people or things by the use of vulgar language, especially after the poetry had been heightened by epic diction. But the instances of this type of parody in the two satirists are rare; in Juvenal it is one of his most common methods of parody.

Persius influenced Juvenal in another way and helped him to achieve these parodies. This was by means of his iuncturae of the type which combine and contrast two words of completely different tone; e.g. sorbitio dira.<sup>14</sup> Juvenal expanded this device so that long, lofty epic words, phrases and periphrases are continually combined with low, vulgar or obscene words; e.g. Sat., 13.38-59.

Horace uses the name of an epic or tragic hero to apply to a contemporary who has done a paltry thing; e.g. Sat., 1.1. 99-100); Persius uses the phrase Polydamas et Troiades to refer to present-day Romans with extremely poor literary taste (Sat., 1.4). Juvenal does this sort of thing so often that Lelièvre<sup>15</sup> claims that he "breaks new ground with his parody"; "his innovation is characteristic"; he has made "an addition to the satir-

<sup>13</sup>Sat., 3.118.

<sup>14</sup>Sat., 4.2.

<sup>15</sup>F.J.Lelièvre, "Parody in Juvenal and T.S.Eliot", CP, 53 (1958), p.22.

ical technique". Juvenal has done none of these things; what he has done is to take over an embryonic form of parody, but one which was already in existence, and to mould it, through his own genius, into the means of providing some of the most memorable parodies,

In the other methods of parody Juvenal follows his predecessors, but he is never slavish. His parodies are always alive; he injects something of his own spirit into all of them. We should not forget the debt he owed (in parody as well as in other matters) to Horace and Persius, nor should we underestimate his debt to Lucilius (but rather employ Juvenal to assist our attempts to judge the meagre fragments of Lucilius). But Juvenal received the methods of parody, revitalized them and gave parody a prominent place in his satire, and can rank with the best of the parodists, because of his wit, his humour, and his obvious ability (though disclaimed) to write good poetry.

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