

1932

## Dramatic Elements in the Satires of Horace and Juvenal.

Robert Crawford McClelland  
*College of William and Mary*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Classical Literature and Philology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

McClelland, Robert Crawford, "Dramatic Elements in the Satires of Horace and Juvenal." (1932).  
*Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1593092140.  
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/m2-vrs0-cc87>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@wm.edu](mailto:scholarworks@wm.edu).

DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN THE SATIRES  
OF  
HORACE AND JUVENAL

by

Robert C. McClelland

Page 2  
Same as  
cover page

DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN THE SATIRES  
OF  
HORACE AND JUVENAL

by

Robert C. McClelland

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
OF  
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY  
for the degree  
MASTER OF ARTS  
1932

TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

	<b>Page</b>
Bibliography .....	5
Introduction .....	7
Chapter I: The Origin and Nature of Satire .....	8
Chapter II: Subjects and Topics Common to Satire and Drama .....	14
Chapter III: Stylistic Qualities Common to Satire and Drama .....	21
Chapter IV: The Persistence in Modern Satire of Qualities Characteristic of Roman Satire..	32
Conclusion .....	36

## Bibliography

- Bergk, Theodore, Aristophanes (Plays), Vol. I, Leipsic, 1857.
- Cannan, Gilbert, Satire (Art and Craft of Letters Series), London.
- Clark, B.H., European Theories of the Drama, New York, 1925.
- Dimsdale, M.S., History of Latin Literature, New York, 1915.
- Dryden, John, Works, (Cambridge Edition), Boston, 1909.
- Duff, J.W., A Literary History of Rome, London, 1909.
- Evans, Lewis, and Gifford, William, The Satires of Juvenal, Persius and Sulpicius (tr.), London, 1857.
- Flickinger, Roy C., The Greek Theatre and Its Drama, Chicago, 1918.
- Frere, J.H., Hickey, W.G., Mitchell, T., Cumberland, R., The Frogs and Three Other Plays by Aristophanes (tr.), New York, 1927.
- Garnett, Richard, Satire (art.), Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14, 1929, Vol. xx, pp. 5-6.
- Jevons, F.B., History of Greek Literature, New York, 1886.
- Johnson, Samuel, Works (Ed. T. Tegg), London, 1824.
- Jonson, Ben, Works (Ed. W. Gifford), London, 1806.
- Ker, W.P., Essays of Dryden, Vol. II, London, 1926.
- Neilson, W.A., Chief Elizabethan Dramatists, Boston, 1911.
- Nixon, Paul, Plautus (tr.), Vols. I, III, (Loeb Classical Library), New York, 1924.
- Plessis, Frederic, La Poesie Latine, Paris, 1909.
- Sellar, W.Y., Roman Poets of the Republic, Vol. I, London, 1905.

Smart, C., Works of Horace (tr.), New York.

Smith, C.L., Greenough, J.B., Works of Horace (Complete), New York,  
1903, 1915.

Swift, Jonathan, Works (Ed. T. Sheridan), London, 1803.

Taine, H.A., English Literature (tr. H. Von Laum), Edinburgh, 1871.

Wilson, H.L., Satires of Juvenal, Boston, 1910.

## DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN THE SATIRES OF HORACE AND JUVENAL

---

**Introduction**

---

As the only department of their literature which the Romans claimed as entirely their own, the Latin Satire is of especial interest. This study of it is undertaken in accordance with the theory that it had its origin in the rude drama of the early Italians, and with the fact that in form and content it has much in common with the dramatic literature of later days. An analysis of the satire will be made, with respect to its origin, form, content, and literary style; after which will be shown the presence in the drama of similar or identical elements. The study of the **Satire** will be confined exclusively to those of Horace and Juvenal; that of the drama, to the comedies of Plautus and Aristophanes. The specific purpose of this monograph is to set forth those components which these two groups hold in common, as a means of demonstrating more conclusively that the satire and drama are essentially similar forms of literature.



## DRAMATIC ELEMENTS IN THE SATIRES OF HORACE AND JUVENAL

## Chapter I

The Origin and Nature of **Satire**

The exact nature of the term satire, as applied to the Roman literary field of that name, is a moot question. However, the most satisfactory derivation of the word regards it as equivalent to the satura lanx, a dish filled with offerings of the various first fruits of the harvest which were presented at the worship of Terra, Vesta, Silvanus, and other deities of agriculture. Diomedes gives the derivation, "satura a lance quae referta variis multisque primitiis in sacris apud priscos dis inferebatur, et a copia ac saturitate rei satura vocabatur".<sup>1</sup> The word, therefore implied a medley, and was transferred from a dish of miscellaneous contents to a festival performance composed of a mixture of various elements. These festivals, it appears, were the occasion of much merry-making and jesting, which were reflected in the character of the performances attending them.<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Cannan says:<sup>3</sup> "The word satire is from satura, a mixture, and

---

1. Keil, Gramm. Lat., vol. I, 1857, p.485; quoted, Duff, J.W., A Literary History of Rome, p.81, n.5

2. Cf. Duff, op.cit., pp.81-2

3. Satire, pp.23-4, (Art and Craft of Letters series).

until Lucilius adopted it into the written language of Rome it was applied only to the miscellaneous entertainments of strolling players who were the abstract and brief chroniclers of the time, and were no doubt, as their descendants have always been, licensed to amuse with clumsy jests and jibes at prominent men, unpopular institutions, and open scandals". This same theory is accepted by Minturno in his Ars Poetica, who remarks that young men, under the influence of wine and rich foods, used to jest among themselves, speak of the defects of the earlier Republican politicians, and rehearse the current scandals of the day.<sup>1</sup>

Livy records<sup>2</sup> that in the consulship of Sulpicius and Stolo (389 B.C.), on the occasion of religious ceremonies intended to avert a plague, the Romans imported Etrurian performers who danced to the accompaniment of flute music. To their performances, he continues, which were without acting or speaking, the Roman youth added verses of a humorous character, the resulting medley (saturas impletas modis) continuing to be represented even after the introduction of the drama proper. The performance, however, was possessed of no plot, and was characterized by good-humored hilarity rather than scurrilous abuse.

---

1. Quoted, Clark, B.H., European Theories of the Drama, p. 59.  
2. Book VII, ii.

The *satura* was driven from the stage by the influence of the Greek drama; but Livy says that Livius Andronicus developed it from a rude, miscellaneous production to a more finished play: "a saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere"<sup>1</sup>. If this is true, no doubt the new composition preserved in great measure the older tradition, the newer work being perfected through contact with the New Comedy of Posidippus, Diphilus, and Menander. However, Dimsdale attributes the preservation of the older form to Ennius,<sup>2</sup> and declares that he initiated a fresh branch of literature, which retained the miscellaneous character (even to a mixture of meters), conversational tone, and plotless dialogue of the original satura. These, he remarks, were much like the later literary satire.

Many authors prefer to trace the word satire to the Greek silli and satyr performances.<sup>3</sup> These originated in the worship of Dionysus, Ceres, and the pastoral Apollo, and were very similar to those we have noticed in connection with the early Italian ceremonies. Silenus and his band were imitated by young men in rustic dances, rude songs, and ribald jesting; all of which were, however, less scurrilous and unrestrained than their Italian counterparts, if we are to assume that such counterparts

---

1. l.c.

2. History of Latin Literature, p.23

3. Cf. Ker, Essays of Dryden, vol. II, pp.51-4

existed. This rude fun and merry-making of the Bacchic festivals reached a literary status by the evolution of the drama; which allied the satiric spirit with exalted poetry, the union being consummated in Aristophanes. This spirit may have been transmitted to the early Roman writers; but to admit this does not account for the form and style of the Roman Satire, which was more akin to the early satura already considered. Dryden accepts the theory already propounded concerning the origin of the Satire as a literary field, and recognizes the influence of the Greek satyr drama in its development; remarking that Ennius probably imitated the fine raillery of the Greeks rather than the coarseness of the older Roman forms.<sup>1</sup>

Assuming, then, a dramatic origin for the Satire, or even if not this, recognizing the influence of the comedy in its development, we may expect to find many characteristics of the drama in the satires of Lucilius, Persius, Horace, and Juvenal. Plessis asserts that the satire differs from the plays of the theatre in its absence of intrigue and 'argumentum', but approaches them in its use of the dialogue; and that it resembles a scene, short, simple, artless, and somewhat improvised.<sup>2</sup> Someone, he states later,<sup>3</sup> desired to raise the satura above the level of the rabble, and

---

1. Ker, op. cit., p. 61.

2. La Poesie Latine, p. 206.

3. Op. cit., p. 317.

wrote a poem containing its elements to meet the scholarly tastes, with the result that in Ennius we find popular philosophy, little tales and apologues, familiar dialogue, and bold pleasantry. "La satire", he continues, "est surtout dramatique; elle tient de la comédie, et met en scène, d'une manière vivante, anecdotes et personnages; à la comédie, elle prend ses vulgarités et ses négligences"; and further remarks that "D'ailleurs, au fond, il (Horace) devait plus aux anciens comiques qu'à Lucilius; on a pu dire que ses satires sont en quelque sort une continuation de la Palliata..... Cependant, quelque soit le cadre, les satires d'Horace sont toujours petites comédies".

As a definition of the satire, we may adopt the following characterization:<sup>2</sup> "Satire, in its literary aspect, may be defined as the expression in adequate terms of the sense of amusement or disgust excited by the ridiculous or, unseemly, provided that humor is a distinctly recognizable element, and that the utterance ~~is~~ invested with literary form". Yet, we must not always think of the Latin satire as being characterized by humor or invective, for frequently we find in it the relating of mere personal experience and observation, as, for, instance, in the

-----

1. op. cit., p.318

2. Garnett, Richard, art., Satire.

fifth satire of Horace, which deals entirely with his trip to Brundisium, although his observations are cast in a 'satirical' vein. It should be noted that Horace frequently refers to his works of this type as sermones, merely 'conversations', as well as by the title of 'satires'.

In view, therefore, of its origin and of the dramatic influence predominant in it, we shall find the satire concerned with political conditions, the customs and manners of the time, questions of education and philosophy, and with any other questions and events which the writer cared to discuss. We must expect, however, to find the critical element predominant.

- 
1. sermones: Epis., II, i, 250; II, ii, 60;  
 II, iii, 95.  
saturae: Sat., II, i, 1; II, vi, 17.

## Chapter II

## Subjects and Topics Common to Satire and Drama

One of the most striking similarities of the satire and drama is the constant recurrence of identical subjects and topics. Of these, the most prominent are discussions of social and political conditions. Thus, we find slaves and their condition frequently mentioned. The usual punishment for misconduct of a serious nature, and very often for minor infractions, was death on the cross. Horace mentions the latter to characterize anyone as insanior inter sanos, if he would put a slave to death for a negligible fault, Sat. I, iii, 80-3:

Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus  
semesos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius  
in cruce suffigat.

Likewise, Juvenal pictures one as being executed merely to please a tyrannous wife, Sat. vi, 219-22:

'Pone crucem servo', 'Meruit quo crimine servus  
supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi;  
nulla umquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est'.  
'O demens, ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto:

Similar punishments are cited by Plautus, Aulularia, 52-9; 406-414; Miles Gloriosus, 371, 859. Slaves in the comedies refer to such punishments as a form of address, or as a stock joke: Plautus, Captivi, 563; Mostellaria, 55-7; Amphitryon, 285; Asinaria, 697.<sup>1</sup>

-----  
1. Cf. also Horace, Sat. II, vii, 22, where the poet addresses Davus the slave as furcifer.

Horace attacks the miserly spirit, Sat.I,i, 41-79, urging here, as elsewhere, the Epicurean doctrine of the mediocritas aurea. Satire viii of Book II is devoted entirely to a ludicrous description of a dinner given by the ostentatious Nasidienus, illustrating the opposite extreme of miserliness. In the drama, the penurious character is best represented by Euclio, in the Aulularia, who is, in many ways, a composite of Horace's conception. Thus, in ll. 94-7, Euclio tells his slave-woman not to let the fire burn longer than is necessary, and not to lend any borrowing neighbor either water, knife, pestle, or mortar. His suspiciousness of anyone who addresses him civilly is expressed, ll. 184-5; Pythodocus says Euclio is as dry as a pumice stone, "pumex non aeque est aridus atque hic est senex", l.297. He puts a bag over his mouth at night, lest he lose any breath, ll.302-3; he hates to throw away even waste-water, l. 308; he would not lend his hunger, and preserves the parings of his nails, ll.310-13. He hides his pot of gold in the shrine of the goddess Faith, l. 617, thus adding sacrilege to penuriousness.

Juvenal was especially angered by his fellow-citizens who made wholesale adoption of foreign manners and customs, his attitude being described in Sat. iii, 58-125, where he discusses the inroads of the Greeks and the spreading of the viciousness characteristic of them. He remarks (ibid. 62-5):



iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes  
 et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas  
 obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum  
 vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.

He calls Rome a Greek city (ibid. l. 61), and complains that the Greeks replace the long-established Roman clients (ibid. ll. 122-5).

Greek tendencies are parodied by Plautus in the Mostellaria; e.g. ll. 15-49. The conflict between the old and new order of life forms the central theme of the Trinummus; and Aristophanes refers to the same condition in Athenian society, Aves, 1280-7.

Legacy-hunting and adulation of the rich is frequently assailed in the satire. In his third satire, ll. 86-91, Juvenal mentions it as one of the vices of the Greeks who have recently become so numerous in Rome. He mentions the same practices in Sat. i, 37-9; and in Sat. xii, 93-127. Typical of the class of unscrupulous seekers of social advancement is the famous bore of Horace, in Sat. ix of Book I. Parasites are mentioned by Horace, Sat. II, viii, 22; by Juvenal, Sat. i, 139.

The methods of the obsequious fortune-hunter are recounted by Euclio in the Aulularia, ll. 114-17.

omnes videntur scire et me benignius  
 omnes salutant quam salutabant prius;  
 adeunt, consistunt, copulantur dexteras,  
 rogant me ut valeam, quid agam, quid rerum geram.

They are described again in the Miles Gloriosus, ll. 708-14.

The parasite is mentioned in the Persa, l.83; and another of the same class recurs in the character of Peniculus in the Menaechmi. One of their number is described in the Captivi, ll. 74-90.

Women are severely lampooned in many passages, the most famous diatribe directed against them being found in the sixth satire of Juvenal. He scores the unscrupulousness of some of their number in Sat. ii, 58-63. Horace has a ludicrous reference to them in Sat. I,ii, 86-110, and 130-4.

Plautus pictures the nagging wife in the Menaechmi, ll. 115-20. Eunomia in the Aulularia, l. 139, declares it is not possible to choose the 'best woman', "alia alia peior, frater est". Feminine extravagance is mentioned in the Aulularia, ll. 167-69; and the duties of a model wife in the Amphitryon, ll. 839-42.

The popular trend of writing and education is a fruitful source of material in both Horace and Juvenal. The latter assails the inferior literati in his first satire, ll. 1-13, when he states his reasons for writing satire.

Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam  
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?  
inpune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,  
hic elegos? inpune diem consumpserit ingens  
Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri  
scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?

\*\*\*\*\*

Frontonis platani Convulsaque marmora clamant  
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.  
expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.

Lack of appreciation for good writers is the theme of his seventh satire; beginning with poetry, he proceeds through the writers of history, law, oratory, rhetoric, and grammar. Horace

ridicules the Stoics and their revolutionary doctrines, in Sat. I, iii, 133-42; where he says that he can enjoy life in his own way and be happier than they, "even though they are kings", as they claim. He refers to the verbosity of one of their number in Sat. I, i, 120-1.

Contemporary drama is satirized by Aristophanes in his attack upon Euripides in the Nubes, ll. 1366-7; and again in his derision of the same author in the Thesmophoriazousae, which play is devoted to the trial of the tragedian before the women of Athens. The new learning of the Sophists is ridiculed throughout the Nubes: their dogmatizing, metaphysical calculations, and love of paradoxes, ll. 319-22; the thinking school of Socrates, ll. 694-793; their quibbling and ability to make the lesser reason the greater, ll. 889-1104.

Juvenal's bitterest invective was directed against the viciousness of the political regime of his day, and against the immorality and obsequiousness of the court. His fourth satire is an uncompromising arraignment of Domitian and his courtiers, precipitated, so Juvenal says, by the presentation to the emperor of a large turbot. The resulting council, hastily summoned by the emperor to consider ways and means of disposing of the delicacy, is ridiculed with grim humor. Rome at that time, says the critic, was enslaved by another Nero, l. 38; Domitian was keenly subject to

flattery, ll. 69-71. Rome at the time was ruled by one no better than a country bailiff, l. 77. The emperor is styled a 'tyrant', l. 86; he was well versed in the profligacy of Nero, ll. 136-39; he had removed a great number of worthy men from the city through systematic murder, ll. 150-2.<sup>1</sup> The same author refers frequently to the viciousness of informers; e.g. Sat. i, 33-6; iv, 46-8; iv, 109-10.

Many allusions to informers are found in the comedies of Aristophanes, a highly entertaining treatment being presented in the Acharnians, ll. 910-958, where the poet describes the treatment of the informer Nicharchus in the market of Dicaeopolis. The Athenian propensity for lawsuits is satirized in the Vespae, ll. 85-135; Nubes, 206-16. In fact, the Vespae is devoted entirely to a derision of Athenian juries and judicial procedure. The basis of the Lysistrata is a criticism of the continuous warfare between Athens and Sparta. Such outspoken censure as this we have just considered must have been characteristic of even the earliest Roman comedy, for it is a matter of record that the dramatist Naevius was imprisoned for lampooning in his plays Metellus and his family, who were prominent political figures of the time.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Cf. Persius, Satire iv, for a derisive attack on the statesmanship of the emperor Nero.
  2. Cf. Sellar, W.Y., Roman Poets of the Republic, p. 54.

Thus, we see that there is indeed a striking similarity of subjects and topics found in the satires and plays. Those cited by no means exhaust the number to be found; but the few presented serve to bring to our attention the fact that the satire is essentially dramatic- if not in origin, then at least in the influences which strongly affected its development.

## Chapter III

## Stylistic Qualities Common to Satire and Drama

We have already noted the statement that the 'satires of Horace are essentially dramatic'.<sup>1</sup> and we may well extend the remark to include those of Juvenal. One of the most essential components of the drama is the dialogue; in fact, without this device the drama would be mere narration or exposition. Bearing in mind, then, the theory that the **satire** had its origin in rude dialogue, we are not surprised to find that Horace has given us seven satires which are entirely, or almost entirely, composed in dialogue form; and Juvenal has bequeathed us at least one of the same type. These we shall now consider, as the first step in the study of stylistic qualities common to satire and drama.

With the exception of a few lines devoted to the stage setting and directions, Horace's well-known account of his encounter with the bore (Sat. I, ix) is presented entirely in the dialogue form, giving us the details of his conversation with both the bore and his friend, Aristius **Fuscus**. The first satire of the second book is cast in the same mold. In it Horace relates the details of his consultation with the lawyer Trebatius, in regard to the course he should pursue in his writing, in view of recent criticism. Others of like structure (all found in Book II) are numbers iii, iv, v,

---

1. Page 12

vii, and viii. Juvenal's third satire, with the exception of the first twenty lines, which are again devoted to the setting, assume the form of a speech by the author's friend Umbricius to Juvenal himself (ll. 21-322).

Closely related to the use of pure dialogue in the Satire, is the employment of quotations and imaginary conversations. This device is illustrated by the following lines from Horace's first satire of Book I (ll. 61-7), in which we have the fancied replies of two misers, uttered in response to remonstrances concerning their penuriousness:

At bona pars hominum, decepta cupidine falso,  
'Nil satis est', inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis'.  
Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse, libenter  
quatenus id facit; ut quidam memoratur Athenis  
sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces  
sic solitus: 'Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo  
ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca'.

In Juvenal (i, 125-6), is recorded the imaginary reply of the client seeking a sportula when called upon to produce his wife, who is ostensibly within the litter:

'Galla mea est', inquit, 'citius dimitte! Moraris?  
profer, Galla, caput. noli vexare, quiescet'.

Other especially good examples are found in the following references: Horace, Sat. I, i, 4-19; 43; 51-6; I,ii, 17-19; 31-6; 54-7; 105-8; I,v, 56-60; I,vi, 38-44; I,vii, 33-5. Instances in Juvenal are: Sat.i, 101-9; 150-7; ii, 21-8; 37-63; vi, 136-42, 146-8, 161, 347, 416-7, 638-42; ix, 124-29; x, 67-88.

The device as used in the comedy is found in the following passages or verses: Aristophanes, Nub., 60-80, 1138-9; Vespes, 22-3; Plautus, Mil.Glor., 178-9, 687-98, 714, 754-5; Amph., 1064-66; Asinaria, 751-807; Bacch., 83-4; 443-5, 734-6, 739-47; Captivi, 786.

Another very striking similarity between the satire and the drama is their common employment of references to the gods and mythological characters. Thus, Horace begins a warning to a miser by the story of Tantalus (Sat.I,i,68); and the wife who killed her miserly husband is compared to the 'bravest of Tyndareus' line' (Clytemnestra); while long before Helen was a woman the cause of a destructive war (Sat.I,iii, 107). Horace uses like names and characters elsewhere to illustrate some point in his argument: e.g. Lynceus, Sat.I,ii,90-1; Ilia and Egeria, ii, 126; Diomede and Glaucus, vii, 16-7; In Book II of the Satires, occur the following instances: Minerva, ii,3; Proteus, iii, 71; Orestes, iii, 137; Electra, iii, 140; Ajax and Achilles, iii, 193; Menelaus, iii, 198. Citations from Juvenal follow; Mars and Vulcan, Sat. i,8; Hercules, Diomede, the labyrinth of King Minos, and Icarus, i, 52-4; Deucalion,i, 81; Arachne and Penelope, ii,56; Daedalus, iii, 25; Tisiphone, vi, 29; Ceres, vi,50; Jupiter and Mars, vi,59; Venus,vii,25; Apollo and the Muses, vii, 57. In Satire xv of the same author occur these references; Memnon, 1.5;



Diana, 8; Ulysses, 14; Alcinous, 15; Charybdeus, 17; the Cyclops, 18; Circe, 21; Turnus, Ajax, Tydides, Aeneas, 65-7.

Similar uses of these characters are to be found in nearly every page of the comedies of Plautus and Aristophanes. Thus, in the Aulularia of the former author (l. 554), we find voracious cooks in the home of Euclio compared to Geryon, a giant with three heads and bodies; and Argos, once by Juno set to guard Io, could not keep watch over them (ibid. 555-6). In the Bersae (ll. 1-5), Toxilus says that a lover without money undertakes a task harder than the labors of Hercules; and that **rather than** wrestle with Love, he would wrestle with the lion, the Hydra, the Stag, the Aetolian Boar, the **Stymphalian** Birds, or Antaeus (ibid.). Later he says he has been transfixed by Cupid's shafts (l. 25). Instances of like nature occur in the following references in Aristophanes: Nubes, Cecrops, 301; the Amazons, 315; Parnassus, 603; Memnon and Sarpedon, 622; Chronus, 929; Heracles, 1050; Nestor, 1057; Peleus, 1063; Dionysus, 91; Demeter, 121; Apollo, 372, 595; Electra, 534; Athena, 1265. Other references from the same author follow: Heracles, Aves, 93; Poseidon, ibid., 287; Cerberus, Ranae, 111; Theseus, ibid., 142.

Next among stylistic qualities may be considered the apostrophe. The essence of this device is a sudden change in the progress of a speech or narrative to address another character or opponent. In this category belong the rhetorical question, the

interjection, and the oath. Hence, it follows that such use indicates or expresses anger, surprise, or other deep emotion. It is one of the most common and effective devices in both satire and drama, comprising addresses to opponents, the gods, abstractions, and the audience itself. An example of the rhetorical question is found in Juvenal, Sat. iv, 14-5:

Quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni  
crimine persona est?

and in Horace, Sat. I, i, 63-4:

Quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter  
quatenus id facit;

The exclamatory use is found in Horace, Sat. I, ii, 17-8: 'Maxime', quis non/ 'Iuppiter!' exclamat, simul atque audivit? and the mingled oath and exhortation, Sat. II, i, 42-3: O pater et rex/Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum; while the true exhortation appears in Sat. II, iii, 288, where the Jewish mother is made to call upon the Roman father of the gods rather than her own: 'Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores'. In Sat. iv, 34-6, Juvenal invokes aid while he endeavors to picture the court of Domitian:

Incipe, Calliope; licet et considerare, non est  
cantandum, res vera agitur: narrate, puellae  
Pierides. Prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.

In Sat. vi, 167-8, he addresses Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi;

---

1. For a full discussion of the various phases of the use of the apostrophe, cf. Wagener, A.P., (art.) Stylistic Qualities of the Apostrophe to Nature as a Dramatic Device, Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. lxii, 1931.

Apollo and Diana, ibid., 172-3; prospective orators, vii, 150; writers of history, ibid., 98-9. Jupiter is addressed by Horace in Sat. II, i, 42-3, and in II, iii, 288. Horace's addresses to his patron, Maecenas, and addresses to the audience made by both him and Juvenal will be treated under the topic of 'stage-setting'.

Appropriate citations of the use of the apostrophe in the drama are numerous. Euclio invokes the aid of Apollo, in the Aulularia, 393: Apollo, quaeso, subveni mi atque iuva; and a prayer of thanks is offered to Jupiter, Persae, 251-6:

Iovi opulento, incluto  
Ope gnato, supremo, valido, viripotenti  
opes, spes bonas, copias commodanti  
lubens vitulorque merito  
quia meo amico amiciter hanc commoditatis copiam  
danunt, argenti mutui ut ei egenti opem adferam.

Such examples are more common in Aristophanes, the following being notable instances: Zeus is addressed in the Nubes, 2, 153; Vespes, 323; Aves, 223; Socrates hales the Clouds, Nubes, 269. Strepsia-des begs the forgiveness of Mercury, Nubes, 1478-80; an apostrophe to Apollo, Diana, Minerva, and Bacchus, is expressed, ibid. 595-606; and to Pallas, ibid., 1265.

The use of diminutives is a characteristic frequently encountered<sup>1</sup> in the Satire, and more often still in the comedy. This is no doubt due to the close relation of these two departments of literature to the sermo cotidianus. As substantives, they are used to express a real diminutive force, pity or contempt, or to present a comic or satiric effect. This is the most common employment of them encountered. The following examples are found in Juvenal's Satires:

-----  
1. Cf. Wilson, H.L., Satires of Juvenal, Int. p. xxxii-xxxiii.

igniculum, iii, 102; agello, vi, 57; Graeculus, iii, 78; nutricula, vii, 148. The following examples of similar nature are drawn from Plautus: filiolum, Capt., 876; lectulus, Persae, 759; servulum, Capt., 880; labella, Asinaria, 678; scutulam, Mil. Glor., 1178; palliolum, ibid., 1179; adulescentulum, Capt., 874.

In both satire and drama, local characters are made the objects of discussion, usually for illustrating some particular point in the discourse. In Book I of the Satires, Horace speaks of Fabius, the talkative one, i, 14; Ummidius, the miser, i, 95; Maenius and Nomentanus, local spendthrifts, i, 101-2; music girls, quacks, beggars, low players, ii, 1-2; Tigellius, known for his love of luxury and prodigality, ii, 3; Fufidius, a well-known usurer, ii, 12; Crispinus, a poetaster, iv, 14; Sulcius and Caprius, local informers, iv, 70; Sarmentus and Messius, scurrilous entertainers whom Horace met on his way to Brundisium, v, 52. The following are a few characters of local repute mentioned by Juvenal: verbose readers, Sat. i, 1-6; informers, i, 33, 61; Julia, a dissolute woman, ii, 32; Greek grammarians, geometers, and painters, iii, 74-8; Crispinus, an obsequious flatterer, iv, 1; Montanus, another servile courtier, iv, 131.

Examples of the employment of similar characters in the comedy follow. Plautus speaks of the 'Polyplusii', a well-known monied family, Capt., 277; hired cooks and music girls, Aul., 292; of panders, Mercator, 47; of local adulterers, Mil. Glor., 802. In the Ranae of Aristophanes, are found these examples; Molon, a

wrestler of local repute, l. 55; Sophocles and Euripides, contemporary dramatists, 76; Iophon, the son of Sophocles, 78; Agathon and Xenocles, other dramatists of the time, 83, 86. In the Nubes are mentioned the following: star-gazers, 194-5; Sophists, fortune-hunters, bombastical bards, trainers of choruses, and idlers, 331-4; Simon a notorious thief, 351; and Cleisthenes, an effeminate young man, 355.

The stage setting of the Satires is essentially dramatic. The author addresses either his reader in abrupt fashion, or some particular person by name, and then states his theme. In addition to this theme, we are often given a direct statement of the time and place of action. Thus, Horace addresses the first satire of the first book to Maecenas, and states the theme of the discourse in the first three verses:

Quo fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem  
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa  
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?

The same practice is followed in the first six verses of the sixth satire of Book I. The following satires of the same author are addressed directly to the reader, though not in specific words, the theme in each case being stated within the first seven lines: Book I, ii, iii, iv, v, vii, viii, ix, x; Book II, ii, vi. Six satires of the second book are cast in the form of a dialogue between two opponents:

-----

1. In this satire, the real theme is not arrived at until the fourteenth line.

numbers i, iii, iv, v, vii, viii. In four of his satires, Horace, in addition to giving the speakers and the theme, states also the exact time or place of action. Thus, in Sat. I, v, the occasion is given as the beginning of a journey (l.1); the characters are Horace and Heliodorus (ll. 1-2); and we find them at Aricia and Forum Appi (ll. 1,3). The setting is quoted in full (ll. 1-4):

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma  
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,  
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,  
differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.

In the ninth work of the first book, the scene is in the Via Sacra (l. 1); and the characters are Horace himself (l.1) and an acquaintance of the author, usually termed 'the bore' (l. 3). Their conversation then begins and continues without interruption throughout the satire, excepting a few passages which serve to give a setting for the narrative (equivalent to stage directions). The first six lines are quoted:

Ibam forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,  
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:  
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,  
arreptaque manu, 'Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'  
'suaviter, ut nunc est', inquam, 'et cupio  
omnia quae vis'.  
Cum adsectaretur, 'Numquid vis?' occupo....

In the third satire of the second book, the time is specifically stated as that of the Saturnalian holiday (ll.4-5):  
At ipsis / Šaturnalibus huc fugisti; and likewise in the seventh of the same book (ll. 4-5): Age, libertate Decembri, / quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra. In

Juvenal's third satire, the scene is in the valley of Egeria (l. 17-18): *in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas / dissimiles veris*; the author's opponent in the discourse is his friend Umbricius (l. 21): *Hic tunc Umbricius...inquit*; and the occasion is that of Umbricius' removal from Rome (l. 1), *Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici*, and while the truck is being loaded with Umbricius' household effects (l. 10), *sed dum tota domus raeda componitur una*.

That these methods of providing a setting for the satire have exact counterparts in the drama, may be seen from examining a few of the comedies of Plautus. In the Amphitryon, the prologue (ll. 1-52) is addressed to the audience by the god Mercury, who introduces himself (l. 19), states the scene of the play (l. 96), names the characters, and outlines the plot (ll. 96-152). The prologue of the Asinaria is much less complete (ll. 1-15), merely stating the name of the play (l. 12), its origin (ll. 10-11), and the name of the author of the Latin version (l. 11). In the prologue of the Aulularia (ll. 1-39), the speaker introduces himself as Euclio's household god (l. 2), and gives the characters and setting (ll. 3-39), but does not describe the plot in detail. In that of the Captivi (ll. 1-68), the characters on the stage at the rising of the curtain are identified, and the audience is acquainted with the situation. The name of the play and the

situation of the Mercator are spoken directly to the audience by Charinus, one of the actors, whose speech (ll. 1-110) replaces the usual prologue. The prologue is missing in the Miles Gloriosus, the first act beginning somewhat abruptly, and serving to introduce the Warrior (ll. 1-78). However, the entire plot is outlined at the opening of the second act (ll. 79-155)<sup>1</sup>. Aristophanes provides no prologues, but, in general, the first act of each play serves to acquaint the audience with the place, characters, and situation.

We have now considered the main stylistic qualities of the Satire, and have determined the presence of their exact counterparts in the comedy. Such a study serves to indicate still further that these two departments of literature had a common origin.

---

1. For a discussion of the probable original form of Plautus' prologues, cf. the appendix of Fowler's (H.N.) Menaechmi, New York, 1929.



## Chapter IV

The Persistence in Modern Satire of Qualities Characteristic  
of Roman Satirists

An examination of the satiric writings of Pope, Dryden, Swift, and other modern satirists, shows an interesting survival of many of the qualities which we have seen to be characteristic of the Roman Satire. We have noted that Horace and Juvenal, in their works in this field, were concerned mainly with contemporary morals, manners, and politics. Similar subjects and a like treatment of them persist in the writers mentioned above, often in direct imitation of classical models.

As a statement of the purpose of satire, we find Ben Jonson making the following declaration, which might well have been contained in a prologue of Juvenal:

With an armed and resolved hand,  
I'll strip the ragged follies of the time  
Naked as at their birth, .....  
..... and with a whip of steel,  
Print wounding lashes in their iron ribs.

Hall, too, had much the same conception of the province of the satirist:

The satire should be like the porcupine,  
That shoots sharp quills out in every line,  
And wounds the blushing cheek and fiery eye,  
Of him that hears and readeth guiltily.

- 
1. Every Man Out of His humor, Int., ll. 16-21; cf. Juvenal, i, 45-80; iii, 21-57.
  2. Quoted, Walker, Hugh, English Satire and Satirists, New York, 1925, p. 74.

We shall see that these theories were carried out by their fellow writers as well.

Neglect for scholarship, a topic discussed at length in Juvenal's seventh satire, appears in Samuel Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes, ll. 157-64:

Deign on the passing world to turn thine eyes,  
And pause awhile from letters to be wise;  
There mark what ill the scholar's life assails,  
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail.  
See nations, slowly wise and meanly just,  
To buried merit raise the tardy bust.  
If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,  
Hear Lydiat's life, and Galileo's end.

Contemporary writers are derided frequently in the pages of Pope; e.g. he says one of his fellow literary men that he

Dropped the dull slumber of the Latin store,  
Spoiled his own language and acquired no more;  
All classic learning lost on classic ground,  
And last turned air, the echo of a sound. 1

Elsewhere he treats of the trivialities of the critics of the day:

The mighty scholiast whose unwearied pains  
Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains;  
Turn what they will to verse, their toil is vain:  
Critics like me shall make it prose again. 2

Swift says of Shadwell, who seems to have presented an especially apt target for that writer's shafts:

But Shadwell's genuine night admits no ray,  
His rising fogs prevail upon the day. 3

---

1. Dunciad, iv, 319-22.  
2. ibid, 211-14

3. MacFlecknoe, ll. 19-22

Comparable to these remarks are those of Byron concerning Wordsworth, who, he says, only 'sometimes wakes'<sup>1</sup>; and his declaration that 'poets are such liars', that they assume all colors, 'like the hands of dyers'<sup>2</sup>.

Another common theme reminiscent of the classical satire is that of the profligacy and subserviency of the court.<sup>3</sup> Pope aimed his bitterest remarks at the prevailing tendencies in the English court of his day, these lines being typical of his tirades against the courtiers found there:

Silent and soft as saints removed to heaven,  
All ties dissolved and every sin forgiven,  
These may some gentle ministerial wing  
Receive and place forever near a king.

\*\*\*\*\*

No cheek is known to blush, no heart to throb,  
Save when they lose a pension or a job. 4

Nor did he hesitate to criticize the king himself in like fashion:

May you, may Cam and Isis preach it long,  
The right divine of kings to govern wrong. 5

And in another passage he exclaims:

Awake, my St. John! Leave all meaner things  
To low ambition and the pride of kings. 6

The quality of English statesmanship during Dryden's time may be inferred from the speech he ascribes to the king of

---

1. Don Juan, iii, 98.

2. Ibid., 87.

3. Cf. especially, Juvenal, iv, 69-154.

4. Dialogue I, Ep. to Sat., 93-6; 103-4.

5. Dunciad, iv, 187-8

6. Essay on Man, I, 1-2

the Brobdingnagians,<sup>1</sup> in which he tells Gulliver that he has clearly proved that 'ignorance, idleness, and vice, are the proper ingredients for qualifying a legislator'; and that the laws are best interpreted by those whose interest lies in evading **them**. And during the same discussion the king remarks that the history of Gulliver's country during the preceding century was only 'a heap of conspiracies, rebellions, murders, ~~massaeres~~, revolutions, banishments; the very worst effects that avarice, faction, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, cruelty, rage, madness, hatred, envy, lust, malice, and ambition, could produce! With the characters of Domitian's court as portrayed in Juvenal's fourth satire (ll.1-10; 109-135), we may profitably compare that of Zimri in Dryden's Absalom and Achitophel;<sup>2</sup> and with Juvenal's contempt for many prevailing religious tendencies,<sup>3</sup> his ridicule of the clergy in the Religio Laici.<sup>4</sup> Juvenal's manner is imitated again by Pope in his second Moral Essay, which is modeled after the Roman author's sixth satire.<sup>5</sup>

These few citations will serve to indicate the close relationship between the satires of the Romans and those of modern days. The persistence of identical themes is an interesting phenomenon.

---

1. Works of Swift, Ed. T. Sheridan, Vol. ix, p.147  
 2. Op. cit., p.146  
 3. ll. 544-62  
 4. e.g. ii, 110-14  
 5. e.g. ll. 376-84

## Conclusion

The foregoing study has dealt with various phases of the Latin Satire, as found in the works of Horace and Juvenal in that field. The theory was adopted that this field of literature was of dramatic **origin**, and the opinions of various authorities have been **noted** which tend to support that view. Next, an analysis of the **Satire** was made with respect to the subjects and topics treated therein, and the presence of identical or similar ones in the drama was determined. This analysis was followed by a study of the main stylistic qualities which are common to the literary fields under consideration. To these discussions was appended a chapter, the aim of which has been to indicate the presence and persistence in the writings of modern satirists of themes similar to those of early satire and comedy.

We may conclude, then, that there is a striking similarity of form and content between the Satires of Horace and Juvenal and the comedy as presented by Plautus and Aristophanes. As a result of our study, we may with more assurance declare that the satires of the two writers considered are essentially dramatic in origin, form, and content.

## LIFE

--

Robert Crawford McClelland was born at Uniontown, Pa., May 11, 1901. His preliminary education was received at German Township High School, at McClellandtown, Pa. He then attended West Virginia University, from which he received the degree of B.A. in 1930, with a major in the Classics and a minor in French. He began his graduate work at the College of William and Mary in 1930, his subjects being the Classics and English.

He wishes to express his gratitude to Professor A.P. Wagener, at whose suggestion this investigation was undertaken, and whose many acts of kindness and assistance made its completion possible.