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# Gaius Lucilius: his life and work.

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

THESIS

GAIUS LUCILIUS: HIS LIFE AND WORK

submitted by

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GAIUS LUCILIUS: HIS LIFE AND WORK

By John Hallock Woodhull

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II. The work of Lucilius as a satirist;

(a) Sources

(b) Temper and attitude toward the work

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III. Selected Fragments: with translation and commentary.

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## LUCILIUS: HIS LIFE AND WORK

### I. Life of Lucilius.

1. Our knowledge of the life of the great poet Gaius Lucilius is meagre. Among the poets of the Republic whose works have reached us only in fragments, Lucilius is second in importance to Ennius alone - and we know less even of the father of Roman Satire than we do of the doughty schoolmaster.

2. The dates of the birth and death of Lucilius have given rise to much controversy. The evidence on this much-discussed point is as follows: Hieronymus, Chron. ad ann. Abr. 1915 - "C. Lucilius Sattararum scriptor Neapoli moritur ac publico funere effertur anno aetatis XLVI". This clearly means that the poet died in the year 102/101 B.C. Granting the accuracy of Jerome, Lucilius was born in the year 148/147 - and in the Chronica ad Eusebium we find under this year the statement "Lucilius poeta nascitur."

3. But Velleius Paterculus II.9 - "Celebre et Lucilii nomen fuit, qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello eques militaverat, " - i.e., that Lucilius served as eques under the younger Scipio in the Numantine War - 134/133 B.C. The service in Spain seems to be confirmed by a line in one of Lucilius' Satires:

"Publiu' Pavu' mihi ( ) quaestor Hibera

in terra fuit, lucifugus, nebulo, id genu' sane".

4. Were Jerome's dates correct, Lucilius born in 148/147 served in Spain as Cavalryman in 134/133 at the age of thirteen or fourteen years. Moritz Haupt and Lucian Mueller - and after them, Marx, - think that Jerome confused the consuls of 148 with those of 180 - who as it happens bore the same names; i.e., 148 B.C. - Spurius Postumius Albinus and L. Calpurnius Piso; 180 B.C. - A. Postumius Albinus and C. Calpurnius Piso. But 180 is almost as difficult as

148 - for in 133 Lucilius would have been forty seven years of age - not too old for a high officer, but much too old for active service in the cavalry corps. Mommsen has shown (Roem. Staatsr. I.508,III. 242 ) that such service invariably terminated at the age of 46.

5. Horace, Sat. II.1.30 says,

"Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim  
credebat libris, neque si male cesserat, usquam  
decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit, ut omnis  
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
vita senis."

If Lucilius had died at the age of 46, this would have to be understood as used with reference to the age in which he lived which was already ancient in Horace' eyes. But this is forced and improbable; a careful study of Horace will hardly bring forth another example of such a use of the word "senex".

6. See further Horace II. 1.73 seq.

"nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec  
decoqueretur holus, soliti."

On this the scuoliast Cruquius remarks:" Scipio Africanus et Laelius feruntur tam fuisse familiares et amici Lucilio, ut quodam tempore Laelium circum lectos triclinii fugienti Lucilius superveniens eum obtorta mappa quasi feriturus sequeretur." The traditional childlike intimacy between the two - Lucilius and Africanus - is attested by Crassus in Cicero, de Oratore II. 6.22. Note the force of discincti in Horace II.1.73 above. Not only had the toga been laid aside, but the girdle was removed from the loins. Such freedom of association could hardly be if Jerome's date were correct, for Lucilius would have been but twenty when Scipio died.

7. Horace also mentions that Lucilius celebrated in his writings the

the justice and valor of Scipio;

"Attamen et iustum poterat et scribere fortem

Scipiadem ut sapiens Lucilius - ;" H. S.II.1.16.

and the parallel there suggested between the relation of Lucilius to the great soldier and statesman of his age, and of Horace to Augustus, would be inappropriate unless the praises there spoken of had been bestowed on Scipio in his lifetime.

8. Fragments from one book of the Satires appear to be parts of a letter written by Lucilius to congratulate his friend on the capture of Numantia;

"Percrepa pugnam Popili, facta Corneli cane."

Luc. XXVI, frag.XLVII (Mueller)

This contrasts the defeat of M.Popilius Laenas in 133 B.C. with the subsequent successes of Scipio.

9. That Mueller is right in asserting that Lucilius could not possibly have been intimate with the greatest man of his age, introduced a new form of literature, composed several books of satires, and taken part in the Numantine war before he was nineteen,- all this does not mean we must throw back the date of his birth to 180 - thirty two years.

10. Munro suggests-and the suggestion meets the approval of Sellar and Conrad Cichorius - that Jerome in copying the words of Suetonius referring to the death and funeral of Lucilius substituted "anno aetatis XLVI for LXIV or LXVI, and then adapted the year of birth to the annus Abrahae which would correspond to this false reading.

11. With this reading of LXVI, everything runs smoothly. Lucilius was born in 168 B.C. At the time of his campaign under Africanus Junior at Numantia, he was thirty three years old; when Scipio died and his reputation as a poet was established, he was thirty six years old; that is the earlier books - XXVI - XXIX, XXX, were published before the death of Scipio in 129 B.C.



18. In Rome the poet lived in the house built by the state for the hos- tage-son of Antiochus the Great ; Asconius , In Pisonem p.13. "Domus Antiochi regis filio obsidi publice aedificata postea dicitur Lucilii poeta fuisse."

19. Among the eminent friend<sup>n</sup>ships of Lucilius was that with the famous philosopher Clitomachus. Clitomachus was at Rome about 149 B.C. and dedicated a book to Lucilius. On the evidence of his friendship for Lucilius see Cicero, Acad. II. 32. 102.

20. Another evidence of the standing of Lucilius ~~is~~ in Roman society has already been mentioned in another connection - namely the intimacy of the terms on which Lucilius lived with the two greatest Romans of his day - Scipio and Laelius.

21. That Lucilius was a very witty man is attested by Cicero, de Oratore II.6.25, "Nam ut C.Lucilius homo doctus et perurbanus dicere solebat - neque se ab indoctissimis neque doctissimis legi velle quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse quam ipse." For as Gaius Lucilius that learned and very witty man was wont to say - he didn't wish his readers to be either very ignorant or very learned, for those who were too uneducated would fail to understand his work at all, and those who were too well learned might perhaps get more out of it than he did him- self.

22. At some time in his life, Lucilius journeyed from Rome to Capua and on to the Straits of Sicily. This trip furnished him with the material for his third satire. Horace' imitation is well known (S.I.5.) and Porphyrio on this passage is our authority in the first instance.

23. Verses 254, 255 of Lucilius , book VI. seem to indicate that Lucilius also visited Sardinia.

" e Siculo Lucilium Sardiniensem  
terram- "

24. Cicero, de Oratore II.284 tells us of a lawsuit before the senate

where Lucilius was accused of pasturing his flocks on the public domain.

" Appii maioris illius qui in senatu quom ageretur de agris publicis et de lege Thoria et premeretur Lucilius ab iis, qui a pecore eius depasci agros publicos dicerent, "Non est " inquit, "Lucilii pecus illud, erratis" defendere Lucilium videbatur- "ego liberum puto esse, qua libet pascitur."

25. After the publication of book I. of his satires, the law of M.Junius Pennus, tribune 126 B.C. which banished from Rome all the peregrini, drove Lucilius from Rome for a time; for he was never a Roman citizen; and so he was free from the distractions of public life.

26. We can then picture Lucilius as a Knight of good birth, living in easy circumstances, with a town house, lands, slaves, mistresses, consecrating to letters his great talents. ( Frag. XXII 2.I. Mueller.

"servo' neque infidus domino neque inutili' quoiquam,  
Lucili columella, hic situ' Metrophanes."

Cf. .Donatus ad Ter. Phorm. II.1.57.-

" bene custos, salve;:columen vero familiae: an culmen columna?  
unde columella apud veteres dicti servi maiores domi Lucil.XXII"

Cf. Martialis XI.90. 1.

"carmina nulla probas molli' quae limite currunt,  
sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt  
et tibi Maeonio quoque carmine maius habetur  
Lucili - "

As to the matter of mistresses, see Varro, de Lingua Latina VI.69., Porphyrio in Horat. Carm. I.XXII.10. " Sic et liber Lucilii XVI. Collyra inscribitur eo quod de Collyra amica scriptus sit, Etiam nos sic plerumque loquimur.") Lucilius was apparently unmarried.

27. Lucilius died at Naples. What he was doing there we do not know. One says that he had visited Lipari and Sicily to see the effects of the recent earthquake. Another argues that the enemies made by his satires had driven him from Rome We know he was involved in lawsuits. Perhaps

to him as to Vergil Naples seemed more attractive than Rome. It would not be surprising that he went there, especially if he were exiled.

28. Rome was certainly far less attractive in the days of the Republic than under Augustus or the later Emperors who lavished the magnificence of the world on it- or than it is to-day. On the other hand, Naples can hardly have gained anything i-n charm since the second century before Christ, but to-day as for centuries poetic spirits hold the magic Bay enshrined in their hearts. See Keats, Lamartine and many others.

29. At any rate Jerome tells us he was buried at Naples with signal honors.

This is all so far as I have been enabled to observe that has been gleaned of the details of this great poet's life as the result of the indefatigable labors of many learned men.

II. The Work of Lucilius as a Satirist.

"Ludus ac Sermones."

(a) Sources.

30. Poetical satire, as a branch of cultivated literature, arose out of the social and political/circumstances, and the moral and literary conditions of Roman life in the last half of the second century before Christ.

31. The tone by which that form of poetry has been characterized, in ancient and modern times, is derived from the genius and temper of a remarkable man belonging to that era, and from the spirit in which he regarded the world.

32. However, Satire had had a long development before it finally took permanent shape in the hands of Gaius Lucilius. This development we must trace in outline in order that we may perceive clearly what Lucilius accomplished ; whence he took what he took, and what was the product of his own original genius.

33. The word satura means a medley. Varro, quoted by Diomedes (3 p486 Keil ) says, "Satura est uva passa et polenta et nuclei pini ex mulso consparsi", and Festus (p 314 ), " Satura et cibi genus ex variis rebus conditum est et lex multis aliis legibus confecta. Itaque in sanctione legum adscribitur: neve per saturam abrogato aut derogatio." Juvenal speaks of "nostri ferrago libelli." Teuffel says, "Most probably the term satura passed from a ritualistic use - lanx saturato the legislative sphere - imperium per saturam dare, aliquid in saturam ferre, (C.I.L.) and thence was transferred to the literary sphere."

34. The Saturae of early Rome are to be classed with the Fescennine songs, the mimi, and the Atellani.

35. In the Saturae the dramatic element seems to have prevailed from the beginning. Livy VII.2.4. " qui histriones non sicut ante Fescennino versu similem, in composutum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas , descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant. " See also sections 7, 8,11, of this chapter Lucretius on Satire says: "haec animos ollis mulcebant atque iuuabant cum satiate cibi: nam tum sunt carmina cordi ." V.1390.

Cf. also Persius I.31, 51, 52. Probably there was a simple scene without plot. Afterwards a musical accompaniment was added.

36. Livy tells us that Livius Andronicus was the first artist to abandon saturae -"argumento fabulam severe ausus est "(Livy VII. 2.8) and introduce a regular play taken from the Greek.

37. All this harmonizes with the statements of Horace , "Graecis intacti carminis" and Quintilian, "Satura quidem tota nostra est" -that Satura was distinctively and originally Italian.

38 We have mentioned Livius Andronicus as a writer of Saturae. The comedies of Naevius in which he assailed even leading statesmen with inconsiderate candor were sometimes called Saturae.

39. Ennius published Saturae - a collection of miscellaneous poems in various metres. Por. S.I.10.47.- "Ennius quattuor libros saturarum reliquit." Gellius 4.7.3. "Ennii versum ex libro qui Scipio inscribitur- Bk III of Saturae (Teuffel). Parts of this work are found in the Sota, Epicharmus, Euhemerus, and the Epigrams. (For the Sota see Varro L.L. V.62 etc. Sotades was a well known Corinthian figure treated especially in the late Greek Romances. Some notice of him and his daughters will be found in Becker's work on Greek life "Charisius"<sup>cles</sup> The Epicharmus was a philosophic treatise.)

40..Gellius (N.A.2.29 ) tells us that Ennius worked the fable of the tufted lark and its young with great skill and grace into a satura - and quotes two lines from the end:

"Hoc erit tibi argumentum semper in promptu situm:

ne quid expectes amicos, quod tu agere possis."

41. Pacuvius' satires are lost. No doubt their awkward pomposities- e.g. repandirostrum, incurvicervicum, flexanima, tardigrada;-obscure intricacies, and ornamental flourishes merited the sneers of Lucilius.

( J.Wight Duff, "Lit. Hist of Rome" p. 225.) Porphyrio Hor.S.I.10.46 "cum Terentius Varro Narbonensis item Ennius.....et Pacuvius huic generi versificationis non suffecissent,"

42. Ennius, then, is the precursor of Lucilius in style. Lucilius himself says -1039 - "Cuius vultu ac facie ludo ac sermonibus nostris virginis hoc pretium atque hunc reddebamus honorem".

43. We have considered the dramatic satire as the gambols of the satiric goats;i.e., rustics clothed in the skins of goats. The characteristics of this play were jest and merriment; the form was dialogue dance and song. We can get some idea of it in the passage inserted in Hor. Sat. I.5.51. - the contest between Sarmentus and Messius - and the tale of the law suit between Rupilius Rex and Persius (Hor.Sat. I.7.) When the satire is presented to the reader instead of to the spectator, the merry character and the dialogue form remain common to both.

44. These would seem to be the fundamentals of literary satire. This spirit and the dialogue form we can point out in the fragments of Ennius' satires above mentioned.

45. Ennius represented a contest between life and death. In book III. Ennius defended himself in conversation against an attack on his works. A dialogue forms the basis of the sixth book. The point is that the whole impresses the reader as chat.

46. In Horace , the element of dialogue is discernible. Lucilius turned the "μελοδον " to "σπουδομελοδον ". There were poems by Timon, "σάτυροι " to which were ascribed the same characteristics that we have ascribed to literary satire. Wachsmuth, "Sillographi" 2.p,25

defines "saturai" as "carmina σκωπτικα", colloquentium personarum vicibus distincta,"

47. Horace, Ep.II.2.60, mentions the "chats" of Bion. Crates too and especially Menippus of Godara furnished models for the Roman poet.

48. While, therefore, as Schanz says, Quintilian's claim (X.1.93) "satira tota nostra est" can not be upheld, yet the discerning critic of the Roman temper and its fruits must concede that Satire was peculiarly adapted to the Roman turn of mind and could in a special sense be properly regarded by Romans as their own. (vid. Heinze, "De Horatio Bionis Imitatore", Bonn 1889.)

(b) Temper and Attitude of Lucilius towards his Work.

49. We have seen that, up to the time of Lucilius, Satire lacked the peculiar characteristics we instinctively associate with the term. We shall see that it was in the hands of our author that satire was moulded into its final form. Livius, Ennius, and the rest had superimposed Hellenism on the Roman and established Greek literature in Italy.

50. When Greek adaptations palled, it was Lucilius who stepped into the breach with his farrago of satiric comment on contemporary life. Thus a new, but very Roman turn was given to satire by Lucilius.

51. His satire was tangible; it went straight home. To Lucilius it is the comic side of Greek hair-splitting and the parade of superficial knowledge that afford amusement.

52. Ennius had expressed the feelings of the generation that had conquered Carthage, and could be content with wedding Greek forms to the national record.

53. Lucilius breathes forth the new fire of the Gracchan age. Social and political discontent always beget criticism of private and public life, Learned in Greek thought and not averse to the introduction of Greek

tags,

54. Lucilius drew his materials not from Greek literature but from the luxury and venality of the nobles in the Roman capitol.

55. Lucilius lived behind the scenes; he saw the corruption prevalent in high circles; he saw also the true greatness of those who, like Scipio, stood aloof from it; and he handed down to imperishable infamy each most signal instance of vice - somewhat after the manner Horace relates his father taught him.

56. The satire itself as well as the genius of Lucilius favored discursive writing.

57. In the earliest book, (XXVI), Lucilius enlarged on his poetry in general, and carried on, as Horace did afterward with Trebatius, (S.II.1) a dialogue with a friend concerning his readers, his inward impulse towards writing, and his inclination to write satire, and satire alone.

58. The satires of Lucilius were very varied in substance. Politics were in the foreground. "Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim." (Hor. S.II.1.69) The poet (Lucilius) is fond of comparing the great times when the Roman people, though at times conquered in battle, were never conquered in war (frag. 26, 53,) and when they chased Hannibal, the sly old wolf, out of Italy (frag 29, 2-5,) with the present when the nation is subdued by a Viriathus. (26, 55,)

59. Historians and school teachers have ever presented this phenomenon to the world. To Livy, the Golden Age was the Second Century B.C; to Tacitus, it was the Republic; to the writers of the Silver Age, the Augustan; to those of the Brass, those of the Silver. The greatest of English Historians, Edward Gibbon, found the maximum achievements of man - the acme of civilization in the age of the Antonines.

The nature of man seems to be psychologically such that the past naturally assumes a golden hue; and a little reflection makes all of us "laudatores temporis acti."

60. The satires of Lucilius contained many humorous descriptions of the delights of the banquet table and the wine cup; ridicule combined with serious reflections; eulogies of Scipio; learned literary criticism; derision of the philosophers; personal attacks; love stories; travelling adventures.

61. The words applied by Horace to Lucilius -

"Garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,"

characterize the style and the whole mode of composition.

62. Lucilius in turn uses dialogue, puts his discourse in the mouth of some eminent Roman such as Laelius- who dilates on the luxury of the table - addresses his reader directly, employs the epistolary form, illustrates by fables and parodies, relates incidents of his own personal experience, assails vice by direct denunciation as well as living example, and poses as dictator on questions of grammar, orthography, or literary criticism.

63. The fragments fall into XXX books. 1377 lines are extant - as given in Marx' edition.

64. Book XXVI was probably the first in order of composition. It contains allusions to the Spanish wars and the exploits of Cornelius; and pungent bits of criticism of the old Roman writers. Books XXVII- XXX inveigh against matrimony which had been encouraged by Metellus Macedonicus when Censor in 131 B.C. (Metellus Macedonicus; consul 143, censor 131, died 115. Political adversary of Africanus minor. Vid. Cic. Brutus 81.) When Metellus made Lupus princeps senatus there was another object of invective - another source of merriment to Scipio and Laelius. (Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.

" laeso doluere Metello

famosisque Lupo, cooperto versibus. " Hor. S.II.1.67.)

65. Book I. written c. 128 B.C. after the death of Carneades and of Lupus (vid. frag. 1.) supposes an assembly of the gods to be seated in

judgment on Lupus. His downfall is decreed. (Serv. Aen. 10.104.) There is a prolonged debate among the immortals as to how the Roman state may longer be preserved. The book is dedicated to Aelius Stilo, the grammarian.

66. A satire of the second book treats of the lawsuit of Q. Mucius Scaevola, and T. Albucius. The latter accused the former of extortion in Asia. Book III. contained the record of the author's journey from Rome to the Sicilian Straits imitated by Horace.

67. Book IV. included the discourse of Laelius against gluttony. Probably here was mentioned that sturgeon that brought fame to Gallonius -

"Haud ita pridem

Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa

infamis ."

Hor. S. II. 2. 46.

The scholiast tells us that Persius modeled his third satire on this book.

68. Book V. contained a letter to a neglectful friend.

Book IX. consisted of a dissertation on questions of grammar, orthography, and criticism. It was book X. that inspired Persius to write satire and to imitate the opening lines.

69. Book XVI was named Collyra by the grammarians in honor of the poet's mistress who was much celebrated in this book. (Porph. in Hor. Car. I: 22. 10.)

70. The two main sources of interest in the writings of Lucilius are found; 1, in the close personal relation he establishes with his readers; 2, in the censorious criticism of men, morals, politics, and literature.

These two marked characteristics we will trace more in detail in our discussion of the influence of Lucilius on later writers; for they are the original elements in Lucilian Satire.

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(c) INFLUENCE OF LUCILIUS ON LATER WRITERS.

71. The XXV books of Lucilius considered in the order of their composition are written in the following metres:

Books XXVI-XXIX are in trochaic and iambic septenarii.

Book XXX is in dactylic hexameters

Books I-XXI are in hexameters

Books XXII- XXV are in elegiacs.

72. The poet, then, tried trochaics, iambs, and hexameters in order. He found hexameters most to his liking; and all the later satirists followed this tradition, - especially Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.

73. Varro, de Lingua Latina V.17, cites an edition of the first XXI books. The quotations of Nonius are based on two editions one of which does not contain the earlier books XXVI-XXX which were probably published separately.

74. We owe to Horace a precious store of pointed aphorisms and shrewd comments on life which establish a personal relation between him and his reader and possess a permanent value for the world. No attempt to reproduce their effect in Latin or in any other language has met with even a moderate measure of success.

Horace's work falls under two heads - the reproduction for Latin readers of the poetry of Hellas, Callimachus, Euphorion, and the Alexandrines; and the polishing of the great but comparatively rude satire of his predecessor Lucilius. With the first division we are not now concerned. The second indicates to us the primary reason for our intense interest in Lucilius and his work - the justification

satisfactory and complete of the present paper.

75. Mr. R.Y.Tyrrell in his excellent "Lectures on Latin Poetry" presents an interesting comparison. He says, "Horace found in the Satires of Lucilius not only a rough hewn commentary on life and manners, but even literary criticism, and easy-going descriptions of every day events which only required some polishing to make them thoroughly acceptable to the court of Augustus and the salon of Maecenas. In fact Horace seems to have done for Lucilius very much what Pope did for the coarse tales of Chaucer, ----- Pope wove out of the strong homespun of Chaucer and the frigid classicality of the eighteenth century a kind of showy stuff that suited well the

"Teacup times of hood and hoop  
And when the patch was worn."

76. If any one doubts the effeminacy of the Golden Age Latin Literature as compared with virile Lucilius and Lucretius, or that original fount of lyricism, Catullus, think of that strange, bestocked and beshawled person, a hypochondriac who threw a fit if he heard an owl hoot, the Emperor Augustus. And every line of the literature of the Golden Age leaves no shadow of a doubt of the dominating influence of that personality.

77. Let us consider a few of the very many parallelisms between Horace and Lucilius. Horace seems to have been one with Lucilius in his view of life as well as in his writings. It may be said that the attitude of Lucilius and Horace is the only one a satirist could take; but it will be remembered that Lucilius was the first real satirist, and that largely because Horace and the rest elected to definitely establish satire in the lines we now call natural to it. It is not that Horace and Lucilius could not have shown a different

temper in satire, but that the point of view they did adopt has determined our idea of what that point of view should be.

"Mihi quidem non persuadetur publicis mutem meos  
publicanu' vero ut Asiae fiam scriptuarius  
pro Lucilio, id ego nolo, et uno hoc non mutō omnia."

this Lucilius, and now Horace -

"Nec

otia divitias Arabum liberrima mutō." Ep. I.7.36.

78. Lucilius will have no public position - nor does he care for the business of tax-gatherers in the rich province of Asia; while Horace will not exchange his leisure for all the wealth of Arabia.

79. Lucilius speaks of escaping from the storms of life into a quiet haven of repose -

"Quadque te in tranquillum ex saevis transfeas tempestatibus"-  
a sentiment repeatedly echoed in Horace.

Lucilius advises each man to be content with his lot in the world-

"Nam si quod satis est homini, id satis esse potisset  
hoc sat erat; nam cum hoc non est, qui credimus porro  
divitias ullas animum mi explere potisse." -

to secure freedom from the ravages of jealous envy the green-eyed monster.

80. "Nulli me invidere; non strabonem fieri saepius

deliciis me istorum "- to consider the superiority of plain  
living to luxury -

"O lapathe, ut iactare nec es sati cognitu qui sis-  
quod sumptum atque epulas victu praeponis honesto"-

all constituting the essence of Horatian philosophy.

81. Lucilius was the first Roman to take the public into his confidence, to gain their ear by displaying frankly and unreservedly his most personal thoughts and feelings. His works place us on the same footing of familiar intimacy that is so desirable in contemplating a personality of

marked character and intelligence that the letters of Cicero , and the chats of Horace, achieve in so notable a degree.

82. WE have few fragments of the poet's continuous style. The passage on virtue exemplifies the serious moral spirit with which ancient satire was animated. The most ardent Lucilian enthusiast would hardly claim great originality of thought or rhetorical grace of expression for this passage; but it shows the typical Roman view expressed by Ennius before him and so often reiterated in the pages of later Roman literature, i.e. that common sense and a just estimate of life were the first essentials of virtue; that to be a good hater as well as a staunch friend- that to be a lover of country, family , and friends was to display the primary motives of right action.

"Virtus, Albine est pretium persolvere verum,  
 Queis in versamur, queis vivimus rebus, potesse;  
 Virtus est hominis, scire id quod quaeque habeat res.  
 Virtus scire homini rectum , utile, quid sit honestum;  
 Quae bona, quae mala item, quid inutile, turpe, inhonestum;  
 Virtus quaerendae rei finem scire modumque:  
 Virtus divitiis pretium persolvere posse:  
 Virtus id dare quod re ipsa debetur honori:  
 Hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque honorum,  
 Hos magni facere, his bene velle, his vivere amicum;  
 Commoda praeterca patriae sibi prima putare,  
 Deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra."

83. Virtue, Albinus, lies in the faculty of estimating truly those affairs of life which create our environment. It is virtue in a man to grasp the real significance of each incident in his life; it is virtue to have a clear mental grasp of what is right, the course that is expedient for him, the road that he can tread with honor; Likewise is it virtue to distinguish clearly the good from the bad, to foresee what is

inexpedient, base, or dishonorable. It is virtue to know due limit and measure in acquiring wealth; it is virtue to assign a proper valuation to riches; it is virtue to pay the homage really due to honor; it is virtue to be the implacable foe of bad men and vile customs, and on the other hand to be the bulwark of just men and righteous principles. It is virtue to magnify those who do well, to support them loyally, to cherish a lifelong friendship for them. Finally it is of true worth to do our utmost for our country's weal; next, filial piety toward our relatives demands our consideration; third and last, we must look out for ourselves."

84. It is no doubt true that the foregoing passages show essentially those characteristics that all satire must show in order to enjoy any vogue at Rome. It is none the less true that the pioneer writers had much to do with expressing and establishing this trend.

85. The reader will find in the third book of Lucilius - a translation of which may be found in part four of this thesis - some of the longer passages in Horace that show clearly his indebtedness to Lucilius; and that indebtedness will be the occasion of some comment. The greater part of book three owes its interest to the unquestioned use of it made by Horace in his famous account of his journey to Brundisium.

It is worth noting as we pass that Cornelius Balbus wrote a praetexta- "lucrimosa" (Cic. Epist. X. 32. 3. 5.) which seems to have had for its model Lucilius III, and the Iliad IX.

There was also an Iter by Caesar, probably modeled on Lucilius- (Schanz, Roemische Litt. VIII. I. II. p. 126.

Under Persius we shall alude to the non-extant Hodoeporicon liber mentioned by Probus.

86. Horace' familiar satire I. 9. which relates the episode of the bore encountered on the Via Sacra is a case in point. It is an amazing fact that we owe the longest Lucilian fragment on this point to the zeal of

Nonius to illustrate "manducari" as a deponent, and "comest" for "comedit".

"Adsequitur neque opinantem, in caput insilit, ipsum  
commanducatur totum complexus comestque." IV. 42.

This may be translated:

"Surprising his victim, in closest embrace  
He enfolds him, and browses all over his face."

87. The words that begin the satire- ibat forte - are found together among the quotations preserved for us by Nonius. Likewise the conclusion "sic me servavit Apollo," no doubt had its origin in the Lucilian  
" τὸν ὁξείρπασεν Ἀπόλλων ".

88 The influence of Lucilius on the Ars Poetica is not only to be seen in the evident similarity in formal argument, but also in the appearance of verbal imitation and adaptation. Norden's investigation, "Die Composition und die Litteraturgattung der Horazischen Epistula ad Pisones" Hermes XL pp 481-528, states fully and conclusively the influence of Lucilius on the Ars Poetica, especially the closing lines, 425 seq. Cichorius in his Untersuchungen zu Lucilius ppl09-127 has reconstructed a satire from Lucilius, book XXVI, in the eisagogic form addressed to a young historian, Julius Congus - a satire which was the prototype of much of the Ars Poetica.

89. Norden's points are in brief:

An εἰσαγωγή is a manual of the laws governing an art or science arranged according to a carefully formulated rhetorical scheme under the two topics ars and artifex. In the Ars Poetica, vv.1-294 are de arte poetica; vv. 295- 476 are de poeta. This is the scheme followed by Vitruvius de Architectura , and Quintilian Institutiones Oratoriae, the Pseudo- Galen, Pseudo-Soranus ad filium on Medicine etc.

The arithmetic lesson, Ars Poetica 326 seq. is a humorous extract from such an "εἰσαγωγή εἰς ἀριθμητικὴν " This parenetic ~~statement~~

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element is in fact very prominent in the Ars Poetica - likewise in Lucilius XXVI. A number of examples may be cited.

90. Teaching by personal example is a common practice in this form of writing. Note the frequent use of ego in Horace and Lucilius.

91. The eisagogue insisted on training by study rather than an overconfident dependence on natural gifts; "quare hoc colere est satius quam illa, studium omne hic consumere . (Lucilius 627. Cf. 612.)

92. This insistence on studium recurs repeatedly in the Ars Poetica - vide vv. 240-243, 268-269, 291-295, 385-390, 409-415, 453;

e.g.

"Ego nec studium sine divite vena	409
nec rude quid prosit video in genium	410
Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,	412
Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,	413
abstinuit Venere et vino; qui Pythiam cantat	414
tibicen , didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.	415.

93. Study also implies a critical teacher.

" a me auxiliatus sies " Lucilius 944 - where the poet promised help to some literary aspirant.

An admirably sane and detailed discussion with full citations in support of this thesis may be found in Dr. George Converse Fiske's paper, " Lucilius, the Ars Poetica of Horace, and Persius ", Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXIV (1913).

94. We will here mention only a few suggestive points;

Lucilius 587 and Horace A.P. 1-13 discuss the fact that unity and congruity are essential.

Lucilius 649, 650 and Horace A.P. 48 seq., ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων - with reference to the coinage of new expressions, e.g. "innocuous desuetude." Lucilius 597, 599, 601, 602, 605 - and Horace A.P. 99-113, discuss the differentiation of style.

Lucilius 611, 664, 953, 957 and Horace A.P. 419 seq., discuss the place of the sincere friend and critic.

Also compare

Lucilius	588	and	Horace A.P.	11-13
"	608	"	"	"
"	609	"	"	"
"	954	"	"	"
"	1282	"	"	"

These are , says Dr. Fiske, and we agree with his conclusion, direct imitations.

95. We have not by any means exhausted the list of illustrations that might be given in support of the statement that Horace drew with the utmost freedom on the father of Roman Satire. But our space forbids that we point out further reminiscences that the studious reader may easily find for himself with the help of the notes in any good edition of Horace. Neither can we attempt to discuss as a whole Horace' criticism of Lucilius - a criticism to which he recurs again and again in the Sermones and Epistulae.

96.. We will now turn for a few words concerning the influence of Lucilius on Persius. A comparative study of the three satirists, Lucilius Horace and Persius, establishes the view that it was the ideal of Persius to combine the invective - τὸ σφ. δρόν , of Lucilius with the grace- ἡ χάρις , of Horace.

97. Persius drew much in his small volume from Lucilius. Like Horace, Persius composed a hodoeporicon librum unum; (vita Persii p 59, 20, ed. Buecheleri) and in this book he related in the manner of Lucilius and of Horace some traveling experiences of a journey made in company with Paetus Thraseas.

98. Persius' Epilogue in scazon iambics(choliambics) was regarded by

Conington as actually an imitation of Lucilius, as one of the speakers in Petronius' satire 64 says, apropos of the education of youth, "Sed ne me putes improbasse schedium Lucilianae humilitatis, quod sentio et ipse carmine effingam," and then gives twenty two verses, the first eight of which are scazons, the rest hexameters. See also section 4 of Festus, p.334, 13; Paulus 335. 3. and Apuleius, de Deo Socratis ad init.

99. Hardly a single parallel from Lucilius is quoted by the scholia on any part of Persius; but when we consider that the aggregate of their citations from Horace, though much larger, is utterly inadequate to express the obligations which are obvious to the eye of the ~~of the~~ modern scholar, we cannot take their omissions as even presumptive proof that what is not apparent does not exist.

100. We have noted the Prologue (or Epilogue - scholars are far from agreed as to which it really is ) to the satires, and the supposition on the authority of the obscure passage from Petronius that it had its prototype in Lucilius. It is also a plausible conjecture that the first line of the first satire is taken bodily from the old poet. So the scholiast affirms. There is abundant reason, also, for believing that the imitation extended further; and on the detailed reasons for that conviction, I shall quote Dr. George Converse Fiske's able paper read before the American Philological Association in 1909.

101. It is a striking fact that a curious fragment of Lucilius, the longest of all that have come down to us, containing a simple recital of the various constituents of virtue, resembles the enumeration of the elements of morality made by Persius on more than one occasion.

102. As Dr. Conington remarks - there is an admitted contrast between Persius and Lucilius - the one a man of the world reeling off two hundred verses an hour- the other a young philosopher, a student who wrote seldom and slowly - but our point is, that Persius attempted to wear the

toga of his predecessor, not that it fitted him.

103. The life of Persius by Probus says, " Sed mox ut a schola magistrisque devertit lecto Lucili libro decimo vehementer saturas componere studuit etc."

104. Of passages we compare the following:

" Ne (illum ego) in arce bovem descripsi magnifice," Luc.388 referring to the boastful *ἐπιδείξεις* of some Greek orator- and

" Crimina rasis

librat in antithetis, doctas posuisse figuras

laudatur. "

Persius I.85-87.

105. Then Marx and Cichorius have reconstructed Lucilius XXVI as the model of Horace Sat. II.1, - the Trebatius dialogue. Every scholarly student of Persius - Gildersleeve, Conington, Uémethy have indicated the indisputable parallels between Hor. Sat. II. 1. and Persius I.

106. Compare:

"Nisi portenta anguisque volucris ac pinnatos scribitis-  
Lucilius 587, a polemic against the grand style of <sup>a</sup>tragedy with probable special reprobation of Pacuvius - with Horace, A.P. 11-12;

" Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;  
sed non ut placidia coeant immitia, non ut  
serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni."

and also

"Evadat saltem aliquid quod conatus sum" , Lucilius 632

with

"Non ego cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit,  
quando haec rara avis est, si forte quid aptius exit,  
laudari mentuam." Persius I.45 seq.

Nonius p. 293.3. glosses evadere by exire making the paraphrase obvious; while aliquid -- aliqua is paraphrased siquid - - - siquid.  
Lucilius 608 satirizes Pacuvius - "monstrificabilis " is his word.

Persius says "luctificabilis".

107. Persius also uses two words not found in Latin literature save in Lucilius - vegrandis, (Lucilius 631) and suberies (Lucilius 1302), and Persius uses both of these in one line - 97.

" Ut ramale vetus vegrandi subere coctum?"

108. There are fourteen passages adduced by Marx as quoted by Persius from Lucilius: -

- Lucilius 953
- 588
- 587
- 632
- 597
- 608
- 603
- 590
- 608
- 610
- 665
- 651
- 653
- 654

Some of these we have treated already; a detailed treatment can be found in the Marx edition of Lucilius.

109. Besides these, there is

"Ut me scire volo, dum mimi conscius, summum  
ne damnum faciam, scire hoc se nescit " Luc. 1344, 1345.

"Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?"  
Persius 27.

See on this the scholiast on Persius. Also

"Aetatum istuc tibi laturam et bellum, si hoc bellum putas."  
Lucilius 805.

"Bellum hoc. Hoc bellum? An Romule ceves, "  
Persius 37.

and there are many more.

110. The third satire of Persius was believed by the scholiast to be derived from Lucilius, book IV. Fiske, "Lucilius and Persius", page 135, points out in it , moreover, three imitations from other books of Lucilius Dr. Fiske cites a long list of words common to Lucilius and Persius, but

not found in Horace, and rare elsewhere in Latin. Gildersleeve says, "Introduction to Persius XXIII", " Persius has enriched his vocabulary from Lucilius' store of drastic words."

111. For further light on the complicated but fascinating question of the amount and evidence of Persius' undoubted indebtedness to Lucilius, see:

"Persius Problems, " Wiener Studien, XXXI, 128-135,  
233-243,  
"Persius and Lucilius" " " XXXI, 244-249,  
by Emil Gaar.

112. Passages from Lucilius have been imitated by Lucretius, Catullus, and even Vergil. Vergil's "rex ipse Phanaeus" is said by Servius to be imitated from the *χίος τε δυνάτης* of Lucilius.

Many other imitations are pointed out by Servius and Macrobius.

113..Lucilius' description of a miser -

"Cui neque iumentumst nec seruus nec comes ullus:  
bulgam, et quidquid habet nummorum, secum habet ipse,  
cum bulga cenat, dormit, lavit. Omnia in una  
sunt homini bulga: bulga haec devincta lacerto est."

Nonius page 78.5.

Lucilius 243-246.

"He has neither beast nor slave nor attendant; his purse and all the money that he has, he carries upon him. His purse it is that he dines with, sleeps with, bathes with. In that purse center all his hopes. This purse is fastened to his arm" This description seems to have suggested the beginning of Catullus' lampoon

"Furei cui neque seruus est neque arca - "

114. The writers who have mentioned or made use of the work of Lucilius fall into three classes; orators and poets, grammarians, and scholiasts. From the first class, Cicero frequently in his rhetorical and philosophical writings, and in his letters, mentions Lucilius; and nowhere fails to praise this writer who scathingly attacked the nobles, and scorned the popular favor.

115. Asinius and other orators were commended by Quintilian for studying Lucilius. "Nam praecipue quidem apud Ciceronem. frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam et ceteros, qui sunt proximi, videmus Enni, Acci, Pacuvi, Lucili, Terenti, Caecili, et aliorum inseri versus summa non eruditionis modo gratia, sed etiam iucunditatis, cum poeticis voluptatibus a forensi asperitate respirent." Quint. I.8.11.

Vergil (Mac.VI.1.35,43; Serv.Aen. X.164) used Lucilian diction. Persius, Martial, Petronius - all mention Lucilius frequently. Martial XI.90 to be sure mentions as an object of laughter a man who preferred to read Lucilius rather than the current masters. Among the inscriptions at Pompeii were found fragments of Lucilius.

116. Quintilian testifies that there were some in his day and age who preferred old Lucilius not only to Horace, but to all Latin poets. These Quintilian mildly reproves; while conceding signal honors to Lucilius. "Satura quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent. Multum eo est tersior ac purus magis Horatius et, si non labor eius amore, praecipuus." Persius I.123 says likewise; "Audaci quicumque adflate Cratino Euratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles, aspice et haec." Lucilium intellegi debere adnotat Heinrichius.

117. Quintilian, it will be remembered taught fervently that the epic poets and satirists were the two primary studies for the prospective orator. He saw no good in love poetry or modern novels!

118. While Quintilian is mild in his chiding of those who prefer Lucilius not only to all other satirists but even to all Roman poets, Tacitus bitterly reproaches such. "Neminem nominabo, genus hominem significasse contentus: sed nobis utique versantur ante oculos illi, qui Lucilium pro Horatio et Lucretium pro Vergilio legunt, quibus eloquentia Aufidi Bassi aut Servili Noniani ex comparatione Sisennae aut Varronis sordet." Dialogus 23.

Compare Martial XI. 90, where he parodies Lucilius XXII. 580.

119. Apuleius and Fronto mention Lucilius in such a way as to leave no doubt that they had read his work.

120. To Lactantius we owe the best Lucilian fragments- those of books I, XV, and XXVI-XXIX.

121. Neither Jerome nor Ausonius had copies of Lucilius in their possession.

122. It is to the grammarians that we owe most of our fragments. M. Terentius Varro in his libri DE LINGUA LATINA was the first. Following him were Velius Longus, and Terentius Scaurus, Martianus Capella, and Verrius Flaccus; Charisius, (Caper), Priscianus, and Valerius Probus also quoted Lucilius.

123. The principal scholiasts who mention Lucilius' work are Jerome, Ausonius, Isidorus, Porphyrio, Gellius, Caesellius Vindex, and Nonius. From Nonius, the greater part of the extant fragments come.

124. At an early date, commentaries on Lucilius were written, as by Laelius Archelaus and Vettius Philocemus. Under the latter, the grammarian and poet Valerius Cato, who later himself undertook the emendation of the satires of Lucilius, heard the interpretation (Suet. Gr. 2; Hor. Sat. I. 10) of the spurious verses prefixed. (Marx Rh. Mus. 41. 553.)

In the time of Cicero, Curtius Nicia wrote on Lucilius. (Suet. Gr. 14). In the Augustan age, he was evidently read. The critic Valerius Probus, of the time of Nero, got out a critical edition with notes.

"Probus qui illas (notas) in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucilio apposuit ut Homero Aristarchus." Aen. Parisii p. 137, Reiffersch.

At the time of Hadrian, when the old writers were much studied, the satires of Lucilius were extensively treated.

125. The first excellent modern edition was by Franz Dousa, Leyden 1597. Mueller, Leipzig 1872, published the first authoritative edition.

Fracken, Buecheler, Marx, and Stowasser have worked over the text of

Lucilius. Baehrens' ed, Berlin 1873, has a supplement by Harder "Index Luciliana", Berlin 1873. Baehrens published another edition in 1886. He was a disciple of Mueller.

The arrangement of Marx-1904- is the latest, and the standard arrangement. His commentary-1906- and that of Cichorius-1913- have been largely used in this paper.

It has been understood that Professor Lindsay of Oxford has long had in mind an edition of Lucilius arranged in accordance with somewhat different principles and along somewhat different lines from any of the German editions. So far it has not been our good fortune to study it.

126. It is perhaps fitting that in closing this part of our paper we add a few notes on the learning of Lucilius and the esteem for him displayed by the ancients. All agree in yielding Lucilius great praise for eruditio and urbanitas; nor was sal wanting.

127. The fragments show he knew well Homer and Archilochus, Menander and the Old Comedy, the writings of the schools of philosophy, both Stoic and Epicurean, Academic and Peripatetic.

128. Of Latin authors, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, Plautus, Caecilius, Terence are quoted.

129. Nowhere is there a better statement of the mission and achievement of Lucilius than in the closing lines of the first satire of the greatest satirist of all time - Juvenal.

"Securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem  
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles  
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus;  
ense velut stricto quoties Lucilius ardens  
infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est  
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.  
Inde irae et lacrimae. Tecum prius ergo voluta

haec anime ante tubas; galeatum sero duelli  
poenitet."

"-You need not fear to set Aeneas and the Bold Rutulian (Turnus) fighting; none will take offence at the Smiting of Achilles or the Search for the long-lost Hylas who followed the fate of his pitcher. But so often as hot Lucilius has drawn his sword and set his teeth, a flush rises out the hearer's face - his soul is frozen under accusation whilst the clammy sweat of unspoken sin lies on his heart. Hence comes the "weeping and gnashing" of teeth. Think of it with yourself before you sound the battlenote. When the helmet has been donned, it is too late to repent."

Man is like a horse-radish-- the more it is grated, the more it bites. The satirist is sadder than the jester for the same reason the ourang-outang is more melancholy than the monkey - because he is nobler. Satire has a peculiar place- a peculiar appeal; and among the most far-reaching in his influence is Gaius Lucilius.

III.

Selected Fragments with Commentary and Translation.

Lucilius , Bk. III.

131. The third book of Lucilius contained the account of his journey to Capua and the Straits. It remains only in fragments from Probus, Nonius, Gellius, Festus, Falsus Asconius, Porphyrio, Paulus, Servius, Parisinus, Priscianus, Charisius, and Varro.

132. Porphyrio ad Horatium S.I.5.1. says, "Lucilio hac satura aemulatur Horatius iter suum a Roma Brundisium usque describens, quod ille in tertio libro fecit, primo a Roma Capuam, usque et inde fretum Siciliense."

133. "viamque  
degrumabis uti castris mensor facit olim." Marx 99-100

Nonius 634 s.v. gruma or groma, a surveyor's pole, cites Ennius and Lucilius lib.III.

"You will see to it that the road is measured off exactly. " There was a point in every camp near the praetorium called γρῶμα at which converged four lines that divided the camp into four equal portions.

134. "et saepe quod ante  
optasti, freta Messanae, Regina videbis  
moenia, tum Liparas, Phacelinse templa Dianae. "

-"And you shall see, what often e're now you have longed to see, the Straits of Messina, the walls of Rhegium- and Lipari , too, and the temple of Diana Phalecitis.

This fragment from Probus in bucolica Vergilis

is accompanied by the comment that the citation was taken from the third book of Lucilius' satires. It establishes the object of the journey.

135. "Symmacus praeterea iam tum depostus bubulcus  
expirans, animam, pulmonibus aeger, agebat." Marx 105-6

Nonius 279. 17. -" Besides, the herdsman Symmachus - life  
despaired of - was heaving with wheezing lungs his last expiring  
breath."

This according to Cichorius is given by Lucilius as the real  
reason for his journey; i.e., one of his herdsmen is sick, so  
it becomes necessary for Lucilius to visit his possessions to  
order them.

136. "bis quina octogena videbis  
commoda , tunc Capua quinquaginta atque trecenta."

Nonius 266.26 commodum Marx 107- 108.  
Nonius interprets *commoda* as *integra tota*. No doubt the numbers  
are the distance to Capua and from Capua to the Straits. The  
readings have been variously altered to harmonize the numbers  
with actual geography.

137. "Praeterea omne iter est hoc labosum atque lutosum".

Nonius 489. 11. Marx 109.  
-ab eo quod est labos labosum facit, non laboriosum- Lucilius  
Satyrarum lib.III.

Labosum was an archaism. Horace, who always shuns archaisms,  
reads

Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum  
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.

"Besides the roads were troublesome- very muddy."

"- made worse than ever by the recent rains."

Compare also Horace Ep. I. 13.10.

"Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas-"

a sufficiently strong though an emended expression.

138; "Verum haec ludus ibi susque omnia deque fuerunt  
susque ea deque fuere, inquam, omnia, ludus iocusque,  
illud opus durum, ut Setinam accessimus finem,  
αἰγίλιπτοι montes, Aetnae omnes, asperi Athones"

Mart 110-113.

Gellius XVI. 9.1. on "susque deque" says "in poematis quoque in  
epistulis veterum scriptum est plurifariam ( susque deque fero  
sive susque deque sum sive susque deque habeo ) significat au-  
tem susque deque ferre animo aequo esse, ut quod accidit non mag-  
ni pendere, - Laberius- M. Varro- Lucilius in tertio."

Cf. Cic. Att. 14. 6. 1. "de Octavio susque deque".

Susque deque, is, literally, both up and down; that is as much up  
as down; hence, about on a level. Compare the Greek ἀβιάφοι  
αἰγίλιπτοι -aiyis "storm" see Homer II. 9. 15; or perhaps as the  
scholiast says "a cliff so high that even goats forsake it."  
If from αἰγίβOTOS, it would mean "eagerly sought by goats"/ See  
Martialis XIII. 99.

"This going was all on a level - mere sport - all on a level,  
mere play, a joke; but that was rough work, climbing up to Setina;  
those are stormy hills, each one an Aetna, a rough and rugged Athbs."  
Setia was on a mountain ridge rising from the pomptine marshes.  
Martial XIII. 112. calls Setia, "pendula".

"Pendula Pomptinos quae spectat Setia campos."

In the first expedition of the Persians against Greece, the  
ships of the invading fleet were driven ashore and wrecked on Mt.

Athos. The mountain had an unsavory reputation among seamen.

The fragments thus far considered do not find any direct parallels in the Odes of Horace.

139. "et spatium curando corpore honestum sumemus." Marx 115.  
Nonius, 396.12.

"sumere" etiam significat "eligere"

"and we will take decent time to refresh our bodies."

Cf. "in cute curando" Hor. E.1.2.29. and

"pelliculam curare iube-" Hor. S.II.5.38.

140.

/ Novitlanus (Cichorius)

"bronus Bovillanus, dente adverso eminulo hic est,

rhinoceros velut Aethiopus -----

Marx 117-118.

Nonius 25.27 "bronci sunt producto ore et dentibus et prominentibus.

Lucilius satyrarum lib.III. - bronchus----- rhinoceros."

Some quarrel or semi-humorous exchange of scurrilities, like that between Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrhius, is here clearly indicated by Lucilius. Sarmentus compared his adversary to a wild horse-

"prior Sarmentus, Equi te esse feri similem dico-", probably the fabled unicorn -Pliny, N.H. 8.21., see also Aelian Hist. An.3.41; our scurra describes his opponent more violently as a

"buck-toothed Bovillan with projecting tusk,-  
an Aethiop rhinoceros."

Horace makes Sarmentus continue "O tua cornu ni foret exsecto frons, inquit, quod faceres, cum sic mutibus minitaris?" which is explained

by Cruquius as a reference to the campanum morbum, an excrescent , warty growth on the temple, which , when cut out, left, an ugly scar.

141. "Non peperit, verum postica parte profudit" Marx 119.

Noniu 217.14.

- "einen Gladiatorenkampf parodierendes Fechten zweier scurrae gegeneinander handeln, -- -- darauf ankam, dem Gegner von seinen auf dem Helme befestigten Federn moeglichst viele zu entreiszen. Lucilius hatte, worin ihm Horaz gefolgt ist, die beiden Kampfer in komischer Nachahmung des Epos nach Namen und Aussehen eingefuehrt und ihre lustigen , derben Schmachungen gegeneinander wiedergegeben."

Cichorius- Unterzuschungen page 253.

142. "ille alter abundans

cum septem incolumis pinnis redit ac recipit se." Marx 121-2.

Donatus -ad Terent . Phorm. 1.3.11., "amore abundans",

"abundare dicitur qui successu prospero adfluit." Also Scholium Juvenalis ad 3.188, pinnirapi -quia pinnas in galeis habebant ut Lucilius in III.

"the other successful returns in safety with seven feathers - gets off scott free."

Rhinoceros-

Mart.I.4.6. "Nasum rhinocerotis habent."

Hor. S.I.6.5. "Ut plerique solent naso suspendis adunco ignotos."

Hor. S.II.8.64. "Balatro suspendens omnia naso".

Persius S.1.41. "Uncis naribus",

143. Both Horace and Lucilius concluded this battle of wits by placing in the mouth of Cicirrhius and his prototype an allusion to the meagre and puny figure of his adversary - said Horace-

"Gracili tam tamque pusillo." S.I.5.69.

42  
Lucilius was more vigorous;

"Vix vivo homini ac monogrammo." Marx II.59.

This is happily rendered by Mr. Tyrrell,

"A dead-alive sketch of anatomy."

Non. 37.11.- homines macia pertenues ac decolores dicti sunt;  
tractum a pictura, quae prius quam coloribus corporatur umbra  
fingitur.

144. "Mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat." Marx 1207.

Por. ad Hor S.1.6.106. "mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret  
atque eques armos" mantica pera est, sed hoc  
ex Luciliano illo sumptum est.

"The saddle bags are too heavy for the overburdened ass's  
ribs!"

Horace has "lumbos" for "costas", "ulceret" for "premeret",  
"onere" for "gravitate".

Cichorius makes this line 110.

145. "lectum  
perminxi inposuique pudendam pellibus labem"

Marx reads this fragment 1248 "perminxi lectum , inposui pede  
pellibus labes." Cichorius holds that Mueller was "sehr richtig"  
to place this line with line 140.

Por. ad Hor. S.I.6.22.- hoc scilicet in de sumptum est, quod vete-  
res in pellibus dormirent, cuius rei et Lucilius testis est.

Compare "vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem"

• Hor. S.I.6.22. and,

"Cum est Lucilius ausus  
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,  
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora  
cederet, introrsum turpis,---" Hor. S.II.1.62-64.

and

"Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota  
introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora."

Hor. Ep. I.16.44-45.

Professor Kirkland's note here is very pertinent.

" Horace probably has in mind the fable of the ape (Lucian Philopseud.5.) or ass ( Lucian, Fugitiv.13 ) clothed in the lion's skin; this same fable was probably used by Lucilius."

It appears from Lucilius and Porphyrius that the fact that the ancients used the skins of animals as bedclothes is the moving item in their minds.

146. Perhaps the most striking coincidence- if such indeed it may be called- is the inclusion of gritty bread in the itinerary by both Lucilius and Horace. Horace says,

"Nam Canusi lapidosus (aquae non ditior urna ) "

Lucilius,

"Durum molle voras fragmenta interfici panis."

147. Then

"ubi sedulus hospes

paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni."

Hor. S.I.5.71.

Lucilius,

"macrosque palumbes" Marx 453.

Non.219. 4- palumbes -masculino

"scraggy wood pigeons"-

and in both Horace and Lucilius there is a town whose name is not to be expressed in hexameter verse.

(Sat. 1.5.87- quod versu dicere non est.)

148. Porphyrius ad Hor . I.5.87.

"Mansuri oppidulo, quod verso dicere non est,  
siquis perfacile est."

Equum Tuticum significat, cuius nomen hexametro versu compleri non potest. Hoc autem sub exemplo Lucilii posuit, nam ille in sexto saturarum-

" servorumst festus dies hic,  
quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis "

Marx 228-229, (VI.37-38)

There is objection to Porphyry's statement that the place was Tuticus- an Oscan town - on the ground that it was too far from Canusium, the next stopping place. But as Lucilius had refrained from writing a name for metrical reasons, this procedure became a kind of metrical joke.

Compare also Mart.9.12., and Ovid , Ex Ponto, 4.12.7.

149. "Surely," says Mr. Tyrrell, "Horace took in hand the narrative of Lucilius, and , in describing a similar journey made by himself, introduced into it whatever incidents he found amusing in the old poem, toning down roughness and archaism of expression, pruning redundancy, and omitting the coarsest details."

150. Some fragments not directly traceable in Horace' famous account of the journey to Brundisium will be brought together here with those that as we have seen had their counterparts in Horace because of their own inherent interest.

151. "inde Dicarchitum populos delumque minorem."

Marx 123.

This <sup>is</sup> a high-sounding line that might well be a parody of some of Ennius' "sesquipedalia verba". Paulus 122,- minorem Delum Puteolos esse dixerunt quod Delos aliquando maximum emporium fuerit

totius orbis terrarum cui successit postea Puteolanum, quod municipium Graecum antea Διχαερχία vocitatum est.

Paulus 72 also says Dicaearchia vocabatur quae nunc Puteoli, quod ea civitas quandam iustissime regebatur. Vid. Plin.III.5.9; Stat. Sylv.II.2.96,110; Sil.Ital.VIII.534; XIII.385.

152 "Hinc media remis Palinurum pervenio nox." Marx 127.

Servius ad Aen. X.244 - crastina lux; "alii more antiquo lux pro luce accipiunt. " So nox here for Nocte.

"Hence at midnight rowing I reach Palinurus--"

153. XVI (Mueller) "Bruttate bilingui."

Por.ad Horat. I.10.30.- "Canusini more bilinguis."

154. "Caupona hic tamen una Syra -" Marx 128.

Priscianus - an inn kept be a woman - "the Syrian" - compare Davus, "the Dacian, Geta, "th-e Goth". "Obvius assiduo

Syrophoenix udus amomo currit Idumeae Syrophoenix incola portae" Juvenal VIII. 159.

155. "Ostrea nulla fuit, non purpura, nulla peloris." Marx 132.

Here they had evidently happened on an inn where there was not a single oyster, nor a shell fish, not even a miserable peloris -

Hor. S.II.4.32 -"Muria Baiano melior Lucrina peloris-" and

Mart. VI.11.5.- "Tu Lucrina voras; me pascit aquosa Peloris."

156. "asparagi nulli." Marx 133.

There wasn't even any asparagus at that inn-

157. "Nam mel regionibus illis

incrustatu calix, rutai caulis habetur " Marx 134-135.

Por. ad H. S.I.3.56.

"sincerum cupimus vas incrustare"

says, incrustari vas dicitur cum aliquo vitioso succo illinitur atque inquinatur.

" our senses are turned topsy-turvy, our solid reason overwhelmed by the wine-flagons." At the other inn there was no wine. This time there was some- though probably of the worse sort.

166. "exhalas tam acidos ex pectore ructus," Marx 136.

Non. 164. 30. "ructus a ructando dictus" Plautus- Lucilius.

"expelling sour belchings from your breast." Evidently they did get something here.

167. "e somno pueros cum mane expergitus clamo." Marx 144.

Diom.372- expergitus dicitur qui satiatus somno sponte evigilat.

" Waking from sleep, at dawn, I call the boys -" waiters and hostlers and bellboys, all. This is probably not the morning after the preceding, however.

168. "cernuos extemplo plantas convestit honestas." Marx 129.

Non.20. 33. Cernuos dicitur proprie inclinatus, quas quod terram cernat.

169. There are added here a few fragments that seem as a whole to furnish in a compact group a resumé of the satirical vein of Lucilius.

Book I. 22.- - - that, like an angry cur, speaks plainer than a man.

Book II. 25. - - - - him that wanders through inhospitable wastes there accompanies the greater satisfaction of things conceived in his mind -

Book III.1. ----- at which that wise Laelius used to rail; addressing the epicures of our order - " OH thou glutton, Publius Gallonius! a miserable man thou art! " he says. "Thou hast never in thy life supped well, though all thou hast thou squanderest on that lobster and gigantic sturgeon!

Book V.2. For if what really is enough for man could have satisfied him, this had been enough. Since this is not so, how can we believe that any riches would have satisfied him?

Book XVIII.2.----- a fool never has enough, though he have everything.

Book XX.1. These bugbears, Lamiae, which the Fauni and Numas set up at these he trembles, and sets all down as true - - - - Just as little children believe that all the statues of brass are alive and human beings, just so these men believe all these fables are true, and think there is a heart inside these brazen statues.

Book XXVI.1. Men, by their own act, bring upon themselves this trouble and annoyance; they marry wives, and bring up children, by which they cause these troubles to come to pass.

Book XXIX.53. - - - - while they are extricating others, they get into the mud themselves.

Book VI.1. -----he has neither beast nor slave, nor any attendant. His bag - all the money he has, carries he with him. With his bag he sups, sleeps with it, bathes with it; the man's whole hope centers in his bag alone. All the rest of his existence is bound up in this bag.

For even in those districts - the lowest and meanest, the most barren and wretched - there will be a cup reeking with rue and sea onion to drink. This inn had nothing to drink!

For "vinum rutatum" see Pliny N.H.XIX.45.

158. "crebrae ut scintillae, in stricturis quod genus olim ferventi ferro "

Nonius "like the thick-flying sparks as the mass of glowing iron -" - stricturae dicuntur proprie scintillae quae de ferro ferventi eunt.

159. "Succussatoris, taetri tardique caballi." Marx 163.

Non.16.27. Succussare est susum frequenta excutere-

"a sorry wretched jade that shakes the rider all to pieces-" caballus - cf. cantherius. Vid. Persius Prol.1.1.

160. "porro homines nequam, malus ut quartarius cippus collisere omnes -" Marx 1255-1256.

Festus 258. Quartarios appellabant antiqui muliones mercenarios, quod quartam partem queastus capiebant - the mule-drivers were so called because they received a fourth part of the hire. Cippi were tombstones set by the roadside, or stone set to mark the boundaries of land. Hor.I.8.12

Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum

hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur."

Vid. Juv. I.171. and Pers. I.37.

"moreover the scoundrel, like a rascally mule-driver, knocked against all the tombstones along the roadside -" Not infrequently, we can imagine, the careless mule-drivers worried thus their passengers in the crowded narrow Appia - for it was only twelve feet in width, and the ponderous tombstones pressed close on either hand.

161. It is passing strange that the Romans ever expressed the wish that the earth should press lightly on the bones of their friends- whom they honored with ponderous gravestones and pillars; while they prayed that the earth would be heavy on their enemies, to whom they refused to accord such honors!

"Oh mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant." Verg. Ecl. X. 33.

Persius I. 37 - "does not a tombstone press with lighter weight upon his bones?" - i. e., on the poet snuffling a stale love-ditty, lisping from his dainty palate of Phyllis - than a real poet. S. T. T. L. ( sit tibi terre levis ) was commonly engraved on the most ponderous pillars!

162. "terra abit in nimbos imbremque -" Marx 1308.

Varro, De Lingua Latina V. 24.

This is one of the few vivid touches that shows a trace of susceptibility to the beauty and the sublimity of nature.

163. "Huc catapeiraten puer deorsum dedit, unctum  
plumbi pauxillum raudus linique mataxam." Marx 1192-1193.

Isid. Etym. 19.4.

Herodotus 2.5. "sounding line."

The raudus ( lump of metal ) is greased in order that it may bring up when it is raised, shells, sand, or the like, to show the nature of the bottom. Mataxa ( metaxa ) is properly "raw silk". Here used for a cord.

164. "Malas tollimus nos ---- adque utimus rictu " Marx 137.

"We raise our jaws - and indulge in one grand grin ."

Non. 455. 32. " rictum " ferarum dici volunt, cum Titinius auctor sit etiam hominis dici debere - item Pomponius - Lucilius.

165 "vertitur oenophoris fundus, sententia nobis" Marx 140.

Sententias - sensibilitas, Lucretius and Lucilius.

IV. Bibliography.

IV. Bibliography.

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