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## THE *INSTITUTES OF ORATORY* AS INSPIRATION AND SOURCE FOR JUVENAL

*The question of the relation between Juvenal and Quintilian is still unanswered: the reconstruction of their possible biographical and literary connections is very uncertain. The Life of Juvenal does not mention Quintilian; its author only states that Juvenal spent a significant part of his life declaiming. Their personal acquaintance is not confirmed by any ancient source, and the views of modern research are not univocal either; however, most scholars leave the question undecided. On the grounds of the biographical data, it cannot even be proven with certainty that Juvenal known Quintilian, thus we have to find evidence in the texts of the two authors. In this paper, I examine the possible influence of Quintilian on Juvenal's Satires, highlight textual and thematic parallels as well as common motifs in order to unfold the relation between the two authors.*

**Key words:** *Institutes of Oratory*, Juvenal, Quintilian, satire

Is it possible to detect any biographical connection between Juvenal and Quintilian? Did Juvenal use the text of the *Institutes of Oratory*? These basic questions regarding the relation between the two authors are still unsolved. The reconstruction of a possible personal acquaintance is very problematic, because, among other reasons, this is not confirmed by any ancient source. The views of modern research are not univocal; however, most scholars leave the question undecided.<sup>1</sup> Concerning the other question, there are also many uncertainties.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> FRIEDLAENDER (1895: 16) mentions Quintilian as Juvenal's teacher, and a few years later KAPPELMACHER (1903: 159–199) comes to the same conclusion: the satirist probably was Quintilian's student, but we cannot be sure about that. ANDERSON (1961: 20–21) concludes his lengthy analysis with the opinion that it can neither be proven nor refuted. More recently, ADAMIK (2009: 20–23) has expressed his view about the problem; the scholar in the preface of the Hungarian translation of Quintilian names Juvenal one of the orator's students, but he also mentions that this is a problematic question.

<sup>2</sup> For example ANDERSON (1961: 21): *I see no reason to doubt that Juvenal had read*

At the beginning of my research on this topic,<sup>3</sup> I examined again the biographical connection between the two authors, a possible reference to Juvenal in Quintilian,<sup>4</sup> and the *loci* of *Satire 1* that have thematic or textual connection with the *Institutes* or *The Minor Declamations* attributed to<sup>5</sup> Quintilian.<sup>6</sup> This analysis brought me to the conclusion that we have good reasons to suppose that Juvenal knew and used the work(s) of Quintilian. In order to find more evidence, I have searched for other passages in the *Institutes of Oratory* that Juvenal could have use as a source or inspiration.

In spite of the different genres and thematics, the two authors have the same topics at times. In the *praefatio* of Book 1 of the *Institutes*, the orator states that it is one of the problems of his age that the meaning of the title *sapientiae professores* had changed. As he writes, they do not try to acquire the name “philosopher” with virtues and achievements, and they cover their bad morals with their face and strictness.<sup>7</sup> In the first section of *Satire 2*, Juvenal attacks philosophers who preach about morality and at the same time commit the “crime” that is the main topic of this satire, i.e. they have homosexual relationships.<sup>8</sup> Comparing the two passages, the Juvenalian *locus* seems to be a longer exposition of Quintilian’s thoughts,<sup>9</sup>

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*Quintilian’s Institute, but we must admit that nothing compels us to accept this as a fact.*

- 3 GELLÉRFI (2013). The examined passages of *Satire 1* are also discussed in this paper.
- 4 In Book 10, Quintilian ends the discussion of satire in this way: *sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur* (QUINT. *Inst.* 10. 1. 94). HIGHET (1937: 488), among others, rejects the idea that Quintilian here had Juvenal in his mind. However, in my opinion, the arguments rather suggest that Quintilian refers to him as one of the *clari*.
- 5 JUV. 1. 55: *cum leno accipiat moechi bona*; QUINT. *Decl.* 247: *Mariti bona uxor accipiat*. For this passage, see the paper cited above.
- 6 The authorship of these declamations is disputed. WINTERBOTTOM (1984: XII–XV), the editor of the most renowned edition of *The Minor Declamations*, states that it cannot be decided with certainty.
- 7 QUINT. *Inst.* 1. pr. 15: *nostris vero temporibus sub hoc nomine maxima in plerisque vitia latuerunt. Non enim virtute ac studiis ut haberentur philosophi laborabant, sed vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a ceteris habitum pessimis moribus praetendebant.*
- 8 JUV. 2. 1–21: *Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale / Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent / qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt. [...] frontis nulla fides; quis enim non vicus abundat / tristibus obscenis? castigas turpia, cum sis / inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos? [...] sed peiores, qui talia verbis / Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti / clunem agitant.* For this passage, see HIGHET (1949: 254–270), especially pages 262–263.
- 9 In her commentary on Juvenal, BRAUND (1996: 121–22) cites Quintilian’s words about the contrast between the appearance of philosophers and reality. COURTNEY

subjected to his own purposes. The “greatest crimes” (*maxima vitia*) and worst morals (*pessimis moribus*) in the *Institutes* become concrete in Juvenal: lust (*Bacchanalia vivunt*), effemination (*obsceis*) and homosexuality (*clunem agitant*). The philosophers of the age are covering their immorality (*pessimis moribus praetendebant; Curios simulant*) with their face (*vultum praetendebant; frontis nulla fides*). The pretended strictness has great importance in both authors, as, according to Quintilian, in addition to facial expressions and extraordinary appearance, the *tristitia* conceals bad morals, and Juvenal also emphasizes this several times: *aliquid de moribus audent, tristibus obsceis, castigas turpia, talia verbis Herculis invadunt*. This thematic-motivic parallel between the opening of *Satire 2* and Book 1 of the *Institutes* shows Quintilian’s influence, as the cited *locus* of the orator could have inspired the figures of the immoral philosophers.

One of the most important lines of *Satire 1* and Juvenal’s œuvre shows definite thematic parallel with one thought in Quintilian’s Book 6. In line 79, the poet interrupts the exhibition of the sicknesses of the city and Roman society with an *ars poetica* statement: *si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*. This sentence calls a *locus* of Quintilian’s Book 6 to mind, where he illustrates the effect of emotions on individuals with the observation that their emotions make mourners and angry people eloquent, even if they are uneducated.<sup>10</sup> Juvenal considers indignation, another emotion, to be the “writer” of his poems. Uneducatedness corresponds here to the lack of talent, while eloquence does to poetry, of course. The supposition that the source of this idea is the *Institutes* is mainly supported by the previous sentence of the *Institutes*, where concerning the imitation of emotions, besides *ira* and *luctus*, *indignatio* is mentioned as well, thus Juvenal seems to complete Quintilian’s words.<sup>11</sup>

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(1980: 120) also mentions the resemblance to Quintilian (and to the epigrams of Martial as well), but he states that “in these authors such attacks are probably due to some extent to Flavian hostility to philosophers and Domitian’s expulsion of them”.

<sup>10</sup> QUINT. *Inst.* 6. 2. 26: *Quid enim aliud est causae ut lugentes utique in recenti dolore disertissime quaedam exclamare videantur, et ira nonnumquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat, quam quod illis inest vis mentis et veritas ipsa morum?* This parallel and those highlighted in the next paragraphs are mentioned by COURTNEY (1980), but he explains none of them in detail and does not suggest the possibility of Quintilian’s direct influence.

<sup>11</sup> The phraseology of this passage – as that of some other Juvenalian *loci* – also invokes *The Minor Declamations*, since *indignatio* as the subject of the verb *facere*, aside from a Livian sentence where it appears with the idiom *immemorem facere* (LIV. 41, 4), occurs only in the 345th declamation: *Ante igitur hae versabantur in animo huius cogitationes, ante istud quod tu effecisse pecuniam putas fecerat res publica, fecerat indignatio, fecerat ingenita virtus* (QUINT. *Decl.* 345. 15).

In *Satire 3*, the disappointed Umbricius gives the reasons for leaving Rome, and in the second part of his monologue, he discusses the dangers threatening the inhabitants of the city. The speech culminates in the exhibition of perils of the evening and the night. Umbricius depicts assailants as potential sources of danger with a concrete situation: on the way home, someone is held up by an unknown man on the street, and then he's is insulted and beaten.<sup>12</sup> The concrete situation becomes general, by means of using plural verbs (*feriunt, faciunt*) instead of singulars (*stat, iubet, cogat, exclamat*). The scene takes an absurd turn here: the angry assailants take the beaten man to court (*vadimonia irati faciunt*). A *locus* in Book 6 of the *Institutes* offers a possible explanation for this:<sup>13</sup> someone threatened to hit his opponent in the face and then prosecute him for having too hard a head.<sup>14</sup> This passage in Quintilian is not only a possible explanation, but also a possible source of the Juvenalian scene. This is suggested by the fact that Quintilian illustrates the rude and overbearing speech with the sentence that is the possible source of an event following a series of rude and overbearing insults.<sup>15</sup>

Juvenal mentions Quintilian by name in three different *loci*, but two of them<sup>16</sup> do not give any evidence of a possible connection.<sup>17</sup> However, con-

<sup>12</sup> JUV. 3. 290–299: *stat contra starique iubet. parere necesse est; / nam quid agas, cum te furiosus. cogat et idem / fortior? 'unde venis' exclamat, 'cuius aceto, / cuius conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum / sutor et elixi verecis labra comedit? / nil mihi respondes? aut dic aut accipe calcem. / ede ubi consistas: in qua te quaero proseucha? / dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas, / tantumdem est: feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde / irati faciunt.*

<sup>13</sup> DUNBABIN (1945: 11–12) quotes Quintilian and says that if the Juvenalian *locus* is not corrupt, “one is left to suppose that what Juvenal meant, but failed to make clear, was that the assailants behaved like the impudent fellow in Quintilian.” BRAUND (1996: 225) also cites the *Institutes*, as well as COURTNEY (1980: 192), but they do not state anything on a possible Juvenalian re-interpretation.

<sup>14</sup> QUINT. *Inst.* 6. 3. 83: *humiliori libere adversus se loquenti 'colaphum' inquit 'tibi ducam, et formulam scribes quod caput durum habeas'.*

<sup>15</sup> The phraseology of the Juvenalian *locus* is unique, most of the expressions do not have identifiable literary source. The only exceptions are the *vadimonium facere* that occurs in Plautus and the *temptare dicere* that has four earlier occurrences: two in Seneca the Elder (SEN. *Con.* 9. 4. 17; SEN. *Suas.* 6, 9) and two in the *Institutes*, one of them in the chapter preceding the discussed passage – Quint. *Inst.* 6. 2. 29: *temptabo etiam de hoc dicere* (the other is 7. 1. 60).

<sup>16</sup> JUV. 6. 73–75: *solvitur his magno comoedi fibula, sunt quae / Chrysogonum cantare vetent, Hispulla tragoedo / gaudet: an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur?* JUV. 7. 186–189: *hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano, / ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris / constabit patri quam filius. 'unde igitur tot / Quintilianus habet saltus?'.*

<sup>17</sup> For the interpretation of these *loci*, see ANDERSON (1961: 5–12) and ADAMIK (2009: 21–23).

cerning a passage of *Satire 6*, we can suppose that Juvenal refers to the *Institutes*. Exhibiting the different aspects of women's immorality, at one point, he depicts an adulterous wife lying in the embrace of knights and slaves. This is followed by a colloquial sentence with the vocative *Quintiliane: dic, dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem* (6. 279–280). The interpretation of the passage is equivocal: the sentence is either Juvenal's invocation of Quintilian,<sup>18</sup> or the request of the woman caught in the act of adultery.<sup>19</sup> In my opinion, it would not suit Juvenal's poetic stance in this satire to call upon the orator to find a *color* to the woman. In contrast, the desperate search for an excuse makes the woman's guilt even worse, which perfectly corresponds with the whole satire. In his *Institutes*, Quintilian discusses *color* twice. In Book 3, he says that if someone wants to persuade a good man to commit an infamous deed, he has to give *color* to the infamy i.e. to cover its dishonesty.<sup>20</sup> In Book 4, the author separates two types of fictitious narratives: the orator should either use an external evidence (for example, witnesses) or his own talent, and when it is used for concealment, the name *color* is used. This passage perfectly suits the Juvenalian situation, as the woman because of the lack of exculpatory evidence needs the talent of the orator. Therefore, she asks Quintilian, the renowned author of the *Institutes*, because in his work she could find what she required: the fictitious narration. However, Quintilian does not help: *haeremus. dic ipsa* (6. 281). The woman cannot say any *color*, since, as Quintilian wrote, she would need the orator's talent to do so, thus she starts defending herself in a different way: she bases her brief speech on *talio*. In this way, Juvenal recalls a *locus* of the *Institutes* that describes a concrete rhetorical device, making his reference clear by the vocative *Quintiliane*.

We have to examine two similar *loci* of *Satire 1*: Juvenal puts Quintilian's theory into practice borrowing metaphors from the *Institutes*, which confirm the relationship. In the last lines of the introduction of this programmatic poem, charioting on a *campus* becomes the metaphor of poetry.<sup>21</sup> In Book 5 of the *Institutes*, Quintilian uses this metaphor as well: he

<sup>18</sup> For instance, in the first and to date only Hungarian edition of Juvenal: MURAKÖZY (1964: 142–143).

<sup>19</sup> See FERGUSON (1979: 196) or the Loeb edition: RAMSAY (1928: 104–105).

<sup>20</sup> QUINT. *Inst.* 3. 8. 44: *Interim si quis bono inhonesta suadebit, meminerit non suadere tamquam inhonesta, ut quidam declamatores Sextum Pompeium ad piraticam propter hoc ipsum, quod turpis et crudelis sit, inpellunt, sed dandus illis deformibus color.*

<sup>21</sup> JUV. 1. 19–20: *Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo / per quem magnus equos Aurunca flexit alumnus...*

says that elocution must proceed on *campi*, and not on narrow roads.<sup>22</sup> The rhetorician warns the reader to avoid the monotonous and too conventional speech in this way. If we compare this admonition with the first section of *Satire I*, which is closed by the passage with the *campus* metaphor, we can draw a parallel between them.<sup>23</sup> First of all, Juvenal rejects writing in conventional genres; besides elegy and comedy, he mentions two mythological tragedies and an epic,<sup>24</sup> and he also enumerates typical topics: the grove of Mars, the cave of Vulcan, the winds, the judgements of Aeacus, the Golden Fleece, and the centaur Monychus.<sup>25</sup> After that, in lines preceding the *campus* metaphor, he mentions one of the traditional themes of *suasoriae*, Sulla's resignation.<sup>26</sup> Rejecting all of that, he formulates his *ars poetica*: he wants to go driving over the plain where Lucilius drove his chariot, so he rejects the traditional mythological themes and the old rhetoric practice, because he chooses a genre which is appropriate for describing the reality instead of fictional topics. This genre is the satire.

In the following more than one hundred lines, Juvenal seems to answer his own question, that is, why he wants to follow Lucilius. After finishing his elaborated poetic speech on Rome's sins and ills that prompted him to write satires, in the first lines of the closing of *Satire I*, he uses a metaphor borrowed from shipping: to spread out the sails.<sup>27</sup> In his Book 6, Quintilian

<sup>22</sup> QUINT. *Inst.* 5. 14. 30–31: *Locuples et speciosa <et imperiosa> vult esse eloquentia: quorum nihil consequetur si conclusionibus certis et crebris et in unam prope formam cadentibus concisa et contemptum ex humilitate et odium ex quadam servitute et ex copia satietatem et ex similitudine fastidium tulerit. Feratur ergo non semitis sed campis...*

<sup>23</sup> The *campus* as a metaphor of literature or rhetoric appears in the works of Propertius (2. 10. 2) and Tacitus (39. 2) too, but we cannot detect any closer connection with these *loci*.

<sup>24</sup> JUV. 1. 1–6: *Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam / vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi? / inpune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas, / hic elegos? inpune diem consumpsit ingens / Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri / scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?*

<sup>25</sup> JUV. 1. 7–11.

<sup>26</sup> Juvenal refers to his rhetoric training in line 15–17: *et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos / consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum / dormiret*. This is the situation, as it is mentioned by COURTNEY (1980: 88) and the translation of Quintilian edited by ADAMIK (2009: 261), which Quintilian brings up as an example of historical *suasoriae* in *Inst.* 3. 8. 53: *Neque ignoro plerumque exercitationis gratia poni et poeticas et historicas, ut Priami verba apud Achillem aut Sullae dictaturam deponentis in contione*.

<sup>27</sup> JUV. 1. 149–150: *utere velis, / totos pande sinus...*

uses this metaphor as well, while talking about the end of a speech.<sup>28</sup> He says that after an orator has won the favour of the judges, he can spread out his sails leaving dangerous waters. That is exactly what Juvenal does, since he “spreads out his sails” in the closing of his speech that is introduced by the aforementioned question and the next line: *si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam* (21). The question – i.e. why he writes in the genre of satire – is answered in detail by the preceding 130-lines-long *declamatio*, so Juvenal won the favour of his judges, the *rationem admittentes*, thus the metaphoric spreading of sails happens in the very moment when Quintilian suggests it.

Finally, we should examine a passage of Juvenal’s late poetry. In *Satire 14*, he depicts a father talking about the gain of profit, who ends his monologue with a *sententia*: *unde habeas quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere* (207). In the following two disputed lines,<sup>29</sup> the poet says that little girls learn that before the alphabet, and crawling boys learn that also from their dry nurses.<sup>30</sup> This passage is connected with the introduction of the *Institutes*’ Book 1 by their subject as well as by their phraseology. Here, Quintilian complains that the morality of children is already corrupted by their parents from the moment of their birth, and they become too ambitious: they desire luxuries even before their first words (1. 2. 6). The latter shows a definite parallel with Juvenal’s line 209: *hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae*. Quintilian expresses this also with a question in the same paragraph: *quid non adultus concupiscet, qui in purpuris repit?* Beyond their content, the verb *reperere* also connects the two *loci*, since besides a line in the *Thebaid* of Statius,<sup>31</sup> this verb is applied to a crawling child only in these two passages.<sup>32</sup> Not much earlier, Quintilian discusses the role of

<sup>28</sup> QUINT. *Inst.* 6. 1. 52: *Nam et, si bene diximus reliqua, possidebimus iam iudicum animos, et e confragosis atque asperis evecti tota pandere possumus vela, et, cum sit maxima pars epilogi amplificatio, verbis atque sententiis uti licet magnificis et ornatis.*

<sup>29</sup> Following Jahn’s opinion, CLAUSEN (1966: 162), among others, disputes the originality of these lines in the Oxford edition. However, I agree with FERGUSON (1979: 311) stating that “It is true that we are concentrating on parental influence, but even in mature old age J is not afraid of diversion, and in any case the influence of nurses is not to be totally dissociated from that of parents. These are strong lines, not those of a hack gloss-writer.”

<sup>30</sup> Juv. 14. 208–209: *hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae, / hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae.*

<sup>31</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 9. 427: *ad hunc certe repit Tirynthius amnem...* However, because of the mythological topic, this passage is different from the other two about real Roman children, and the same can be said of the two passages in the *Achilleid* containing the frequentative *reptare*: Stat. *Ach.* 1. 477; 2. 96.

<sup>32</sup> The Oxford Latin Dictionary cites Quintilian and Statius for the use of this word to

nurses. In the first chapter of Book 1, he emphasizes the role of *nutrices* in teaching (1. 1. 16) and in the moral development of children (1. 1. 4). The source of this Juvenalian *locus* is definitely Quintilian's Book 1, which is worthy of note because we can detect the orator's influence not only in the early poetry of Juvenal but also in his last Book of *The Satires*.

In summary, Juvenal used the *Institutes of Oratory* in various ways in *The Satires*: he has parallel thoughts and topics with Quintilian; he borrows metaphors from his work; refers to specific passages; and some of these connections are also supported by textual evidence. It is also worthy of note that Quintilian's passages are not randomly used by Juvenal in the *Institutes*: out of the seven *loci*, two can be found in the introduction of Book 1 of the *Institutes*, and three in Book 6, and all three of the latter are used by Juvenal in Book 1. In conclusion, we do not have any reason to doubt that the satirist knew Quintilian's work and used it consciously for his poetry. The *Institutes of Oratory* was unequivocally one of the literary works that Juvenal utilized as a source and inspiration for *The Satires*.

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describe a crawling child, while COURTNEY (1980: 580) in connection with Juvenal's words mentions the same *loci*.

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