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QUINTILIAN'S INFLUENCE ON JUVENAL'S *SATIRE 1*

Summary: The question of the relationship 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. In his *Institutes* Quintilian declares concerning the satire that in his age there are satirists who will be famous in the future. However, research is very careful about the question whether Quintilian referred to Juvenal with these words. On the basis of the biographical data, it cannot even be proven with certainty that Juvenal had 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 *Satire 1*, by highlighting textual and thematic parallels, as well as common motifs, in order to unfold the relation between *Satire 1*, the *Institutes*, and the *Minor Declamations* attributed to Quintilian.

Key words: *Institutes of Oratory*, Juvenal, *Minor Declamations*, Quintilian, Satire, Silver Age

The question of the relationship between Juvenal and Quintilian is still unanswered: the reconstruction of their possible biographical and literary connections is very uncertain. In this paper, I examine whether it is possible to discover the influence of Quintilian on Juvenal's *Satire 1*. In view of the earlier research on this topic, we cannot even say with certainty that Juvenal had known the works of Quintilian. In his article on the relationship of the two authors, Anderson, for example, states that "I see no reason to doubt that Juvenal had read Quintilian's *Institute*, but we must admit that nothing compels us to accept this as a fact."¹

The *Life of Juvenal* does not mention Quintilian; its author only states that Juvenal spent a significant part of his life declaiming.² Their personal acquaintance is

¹ ANDERSON, W. S.: Juvenal and Quintilian. *YCIS* 17 (1961) 21.

² *ad mediam fere aetatem declamavit*. This piece of information is important because it provides a reason to suppose a possible personal relationship between them.

not confirmed by any ancient source, and the views of modern research are not univocal either. At the end of the 19th century Friedländer mentions Quintilian as Juvenal's teacher,³ and a few years later Kappelmacher comes to the same conclusion: the satirist was probably Quintilian's student, but we cannot be sure about that.⁴ Anderson concludes his lengthy analysis with the opinion that this can neither be proven nor refuted.⁵ More recently, Adamik has expressed his view about the problem; in the preface of the Hungarian Quintilian-translation he names Juvenal as one of the orator's students, but he also mentions that this is a problematic question.⁶

In the *Institutes* Quintilian declares concerning the satire that in his age there are satirists who will be famous in the future.⁷ Research is very careful about the question whether Quintilian referred to Juvenal with the word *clari*. Certain commentaries do not even mention this topic.⁸ Highet says in his study on the life of Juvenal that "Juvenal is mentioned by none of his contemporaries except Martial"⁹ and in the corresponding note he adds that "It has been held ... that Quintilian refers to him without naming him in 10. 1. 94, which is barely possible."¹⁰ The source of the latter view is Naguiewski.¹¹

The hypothesis does not contradict the chronology. As Clarke's well-based argument points out, Quintilian wrote the *Institutes* between the years 93/94 and 96.¹² Though Juvenal published his Book I after the year 100,¹³ according to the biographical tradition he had started writing earlier. The author of the *Life of Juvenal* says that first he only wrote for himself for a time, and only then did he have great public success. Later he included his first mock poem in his *Satire* 7.¹⁴ The author of the *Suda*

³ D. Junii Juvenalis *Saturarum Libri V*. Ed. L. FRIEDLÄNDER. Leipzig 1895, I 16.

⁴ KAPPELMACHER, A.: *Studia Juvenaliana*. Wien 1903, 159–199. *non vidi*. The opinion of KAPPELMACHER can be found in the biographical part of ANDERSON's paper: ANDERSON (n. 1) 4–21.

⁵ The conclusion can be found on pages 20–21 of the aforementioned paper.

⁶ ADAMIK, T.: Bevezetés [Introduction]. In Quintilianus, *Szónoklattan*. Ed. ADAMIK T. Pozsony 2009. 20–23.

⁷ Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 94: *sunt clari hodieque et qui olim nominabuntur*.

⁸ For example, the edition of BUTLER (*The Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian. Ed. H. E. BUTLER. Cambridge, Mass. 1920), or the most recent full Hungarian translation (Quintilianus, *Szónoklattan*. Ed. ADAMIK T. Pozsony 2009). FRIEZE only says, "It is not known what contemporary poets Quintilian has in mind." (The tenth and twelfth books of the *Institutions* of Quintilian. Ed. H. S. FRIEZE. New York 1865, 130.)

⁹ HIGHET, G.: The Life of Juvenal. *TAPhA* 68 (1937) 488.

¹⁰ HIGHET (n. 9) n. 47.

¹¹ NAGUIEWSKI, D.: *De vita Iuvenalis observationes*. Riga 1883, 36–37. In his opinion, Quintilian did not name Juvenal in order to avoid Domitian's anger.

¹² CLARKE, M. L.: Quintilian: A Biographical Sketch. *G&R Second Series* 14 (1967) 33.

¹³ This can be claimed on the grounds of his reference to the exile of Marius Priscus: *exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis / iratis, at tu victrix, provincia, ploras*. (Juv. 1. 49–50)

¹⁴ *deinde paucorum versuum satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque eius semenstribus militiolis tumentem genus scripturae industrie excoluit; et tamen diu ne modico quidem auditorio quicquam committere ausus est. mox magna frequentia tantoque successu bis ac ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis: quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos / et Bareas, tu nobilium magna atria curas? / praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.*

also talks about this topic.¹⁵ Because of the word *facunde* in Martial 7. 91, Highet persuasively argues that Juvenal certainly wrote literary works in 91/92.¹⁶ The works that Juvenal wrote in this time could well be the early mock poetry, probably satiric poetry, which is mentioned in the biographical tradition. Thus we can suppose that Juvenal had already been an active satirist when Quintilian wrote his *Institutes*, and the orator, who was very familiar with literature, had known his works. This hypothesis is supported by their aforementioned possible personal relationship, too. There are further facts that render it more likely that by using the word *clari* Quintilian might also have referred to Juvenal. On the one hand, we do not know any other contemporary satirist; on the other hand, he certainly had in his mind author(s) who wrote verse satires, since Quintilian definitely separates the verse and the Menippean satire.¹⁷ There are two possible causes why Quintilian does not mention Juvenal by name. In this early period of Juvenal's poetic career, it could not be surely judged whether his poetry would reach the same quality as Lucilius', Horace's, and Persius', whom Quintilian names in the examined section of his work. Furthermore, as he declared earlier, he highlighted only the best authors.¹⁸ But there is another possible reason expressed by, among others, Naguiewski: the conflict between Domitian and Juvenal in the biographical tradition.¹⁹ It is also worth noting that Quintilian omits the name Martial from the *Institutes*, who was by then already renowned and whom research accepts as the orator's student.²⁰ Thus nothing compels us to reject the possibility that Quintilian had known Juvenal. In my opinion, the arguments rather suggest that Quintilian refers to him as one of the *clari*.

Juvenal mentions Quintilian in two of his *Satires*,²¹ but not in a voice of respect.²² The analysis of these *loci* does not yield evidence concerning the question of the two authors' relationship, since neither the fact that Juvenal mentions the orator several times means that he had known him, nor does his critical approach rule out its possibility. Summarizing these arguments, from this point of view we cannot confirm that Juvenal had known Quintilian, thus on the grounds of the biographical data it

¹⁵ Suid. iota 428: (Ἰουβενάλιος) ποιήτης Ῥωμαῖος. οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ Δομετιανὸς ἐφίλει τὸν ὄρχηστὴν τοῦ πρασίνου μέρους, τὸν λεγόμενον Πάριν, περὶ οὗ καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ Ἰουβενάλιου τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ὅστις βασιλεὺς ἐξώρισε τὸν Ἰουβενάλιον ἐν Πενταπόλει ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην, τὸν δὲ ὄρχηστὴν πλουτίσας ἐπεμψεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ· ὃς κτίσας οἶκον καὶ λουτρὸν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ.

¹⁶ HIGHET (n. 9) 489. Martial uses this adjective in connection with Juvenal, and as HIGHET says, "the person to whom it is applied has a good style and is engaged in some kind of literary work."

¹⁷ Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 95: *Alterum illud etiam prius saturae genus, sed non sola carminum varietate mixtum condidit Terentius Varro, vir Romanorum eruditissimus.*

¹⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 10. 1. 45: *Paucos (sunt enim eminentissimi) excerpere in animo est.*

¹⁹ Cf. n. 11.

²⁰ ADAMIK (n. 6) 20.

²¹ Juv. 6. 73–75: *solvitur his magno comoedi fibula, sunt quae / Chrysogonum cantare vetent, Hispulla tragoedo / gaudet: an expectas ut Quintilianus ametur?* Juv. 6. 279–280: *sed iacet in servi complexibus aut equitis. dic, / dic aliquem sodes hic, Quintiliane, colorem.* 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?'*

²² For the interpretation of these *loci* cf. ANDERSON (n. 1) 5–12 and ADAMIK (n. 6) 21–23.

cannot be proven either that he had read the orator's works. To render this hypothesis probable, we need to find textual references in the *Satires*.

We shall examine a *locus* in *Satire I* where the poet presents the illnesses of the Roman society which inspired him to write satires. After rejecting mythological topics once more (52–54),²³ he continues to discuss the problems of Rome, and starts the following one with the words *cum leno accipiat moechi bona* (55). The interpretation of these words (by various scholars) is not completely univocal, but *leno* is the husband here according to the *communis opinio*, and Juvenal presents the *lenocinium*.²⁴

The first words of declamation 247 of the *Minor Declamations* attributed to Quintilian²⁵ show a definite parallel with Juvenal's words: *Mariti bona uxor accipiat*. The purpose of this allusion could be the demonstration of the utmost decay of Juvenal's Rome. The background of Quintilian's declamation is a rape and its consequences. The situation is clear: there is a victim and a perpetrator. However, in Juvenal's situation the victim is also guilty, and the perpetrator is a victim, too, since the husband knowing about the disgrace of his wife acquires the *moechi bona*. Thus he becomes involved in the crime of the *lenocinium*.²⁶ In his *Satires* Juvenal declares his age to be the worst of all several times. With this allusion he demonstrates the difference between the crimes described by Quintilian and himself: in his world, where the victim is also guilty, sins are more sinful, too.

The expression *bona accipere* of the supposed allusion only appears once in Roman literature before Quintilian, but in a rather different context, in *The Jugurthine War* of Sallust, where the word *bona* has an abstract meaning.²⁷ Apart from Sallust and declamation 247, the expression can be found in declamation 276, too.²⁸ The expression *capienti ius* also appears in the *Minor Declamations*, in declamation 264

²³ In these lines we can observe a possible reference to Martial, since in both of his epigrams contrasting the poetry on mythology and on real life (4. 49; 10. 4), he mentions Icarus (*aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas; exutusve puer pinnis labentibus*), and Juvenal also refers to him in line 54: *et mare percussus puero*. There is only one more common figure in these two epigrams: Thyestes mentioned by his name in both poems, while the poet names Icarus only a *puer* – as Juvenal does. If this is actually a subtle reference to Martial, our supposition that he alludes to another contemporary becomes more plausible.

²⁴ See for example the two most recent full commentaries on Juvenal: COURTNEY, E.: *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. London 1980. 97–98; Juvenal: *The Satires*. Ed. J. FERGUSON. New York 1979, 116.

²⁵ The authorship of these *declamations* is disputed. WINTERBOTTOM, the editor of the most renowned edition of the *Minor Declamations*, states that it cannot be decided with certainty. *The Minor Declamations* Ascribed to Quintilian. Ed. M. WINTERBOTTOM. Berlin 1984, xii–xv.

²⁶ Dig. 48. 5. 2. 2: *lenocinii quidem crimen lege Iulia de adulteris praescriptum est, cum sit in eum maritum poena statuta, qui de adulterio uxoris suae quid ceperit, item in eum, qui in adulterio deprehensam retinuerit*.

²⁷ Sal. Jug. 102. 8: *atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset: profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpressus es[ses]*.

²⁸ Quint. Decl. 276. 7: *Itaque huic non tantum in hoc labor est, ut bona raptoris accipiat, sed in illo maior aliquanto, ut vobis approbet quid optatura fuerit si viveret*. Quint. Decl. 276. 11: *Et certe nulli tolerabile aut aequum videri potest (ut) in gravissima iniuria, qua virginitatem perdidit, qua florem aetatis amisit, qua prima illa gratia apud maritum futura praerepta est, neque mortem optaverit neque bona accipiat*.

dealing with women's inheritance rights,²⁹ and Juvenal uses it in the same context: *si capiendi ius nullum uxori* (55–56). The *lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus* is the background of this declamation, and as some interpretations suggest, also of the Juvenalian *locus*.³⁰ This expression also appears only once more before Juvenal, in Frontinus' *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, in a different context as well.³¹ Thus Juvenal's words are in connection with several declamations in more aspects.³²

We can observe a thematic connection between this *locus* and declamation 325 dealing with the *lenocinium*, and although the two situations are not exactly the same, the main topic is. In the interpretation of the clause (*si capiendi ius nullum uxori*) we should consider some Roman laws. Ferguson states³³ that Juvenal refers to Domitian here, who deprived ill-famed women of the use of litters.³⁴ Friedländer mentions in his commentary that Juvenal possibly refers to the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *lex Papia Poppaea*.³⁵ The aforementioned *lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus* is a third alternative, and declamation 264 cited earlier deals with the abuse of this law. The choice between these alternatives seems impossible, but it is important to notice that on the thematic level, there is also a possible connection between the Juvenalian passage and the *Minor Declamations*.

The results of this analysis must be treated carefully because of the uncertainties about the *Minor Declamations*. As the authorship of these declamations is still unknown, the connection between Juvenal and Quintilian, on the grounds of parallels between the *Satires* and the *Minor Declamations* must remain a hypothesis. There are no textual allusions between *Satire I* and the *Institutes*, the only work that can certainly be attributed to Quintilian, so the relation between the two works can be unfolded through examining their phraseology and the thematic parallels.

Regarding their use of language, I have examined all expressions of *Satire I*, and searched for their parallels in the *Institutes* and the *Minor Declamations*. The outcome of the analysis is almost the same: 15 expressions of *Satire I* occur in the *Insti-*

²⁹ Quint. *Decl.* 246. 6: *At enim ius illa quidem habuit capiendi; sed ea quae postea scripta est non habuit.*

³⁰ CAMERON, A.: Notes on Juvenal. *CR* 40 (1926) 62–63. COURTNEY (n. 24) 98 and FERGUSON (n. 24) 116 mentions the law, too.

³¹ Fron. *Aq.* 129. 5: *et qui clam quid eorum ita fecerit, id omne sarcire, reficere, restituere, aedificare, ponere et celere demolire damnas esto sine dolo malo; (e)aque omnia ita ut coercenda multa dicenda sunt, quicumque curator aquarum est, erit, si curator aquarum nemo erit, tum is praetor qui inter cives et peregrinos ius dicet, multa[m], pignoribus cogito, exercito, eique curator aut, si curator non erit, tum ei praetori eo nomine cogendi, pignoris capiendi ius potestasque esto.*

³² The words *leno* and *moechus* never appear in one sentence, neither *moechus* and *accipere* (or *capere*), nor *leno* and *bona* as a noun in this meaning. Juvenal is the first to use the expression *moechi bona*, while *leno accipit* (or *capit*) appears only in the *Poenulus* (179; 723) and *Pseudolus* (1121–1122) of Plautus. The word *uxori* never appears together with *capiendi* or *ius*, while *ius nullum* – among many other works – can be found in three of the *Minor Declamations* (261. 4; 294. 1; 318. 4).

³³ FERGUSON (n. 24) 116.

³⁴ Suet. *Dom.* 8. 3: *probrosis feminis lecticae usum ademit iusque capiendi legata hereditatesque.* Besides the aforementioned *loci*, this is the only occasion where the expression *capiendi ius* appears in the classical texts.

³⁵ FRIEDLÄNDER (n. 3) 141–142. From the modern commentators COURTNEY (n. 24) 98 also mentions that.

tutes and 14 in the *Minor Declamations*. If we exclude parallels which have significantly different grammatical structures, or must be regarded as different due to any other reason, the proportion remains nearly the same: 12 and 13.³⁶ On this basis, the language of *Satire 1* is as close to the *Institutes* as to the *Minor Declamations*, but we should also note that the cause of these similarities could be that these expressions are the idioms of contemporary Latin. Therefore we must find thematic parallels to strengthen the hypothesis.

Maybe the most important line of Juvenal is the line 79 of *Satire 1*: *si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*. This sentence calls a *locus* of Quintilian's Book 6 to mind, where he states that their emotions make mourners and angry people eloquent.³⁷ Juvenal seems to complete Quintilian's words, since in the previous sentence of the *Institutes*, beside *ira* and *luctus*, *indignatio* is mentioned as well. The expression *facit indignatio* also evokes the *Minor Declamations*, since *indignatio* as the subject of the verb *facere* occurs only in declamation 345,³⁸ apart from a Livian sentence where it appears with the idiom *immemorem facere*.³⁹

In lines 19–20 of *Satire 1*, charioting on a *campus* becomes the metaphor of poetry.⁴⁰ Quintilian in Book 5 of the *Institutes* uses this metaphor as well: he says that the elocution must proceed on *campi*, and not on narrow ways.⁴¹ The rhetorician thus warns the reader to avoid the monotonous and too conventional speech. If we compare this admonition with the first section of *Satire 1*, which is closed by the passage with the *campus* metaphor, we can draw a parallel between them. Juvenal in these lines rejects making use of the conventional topics of mythological literature, and then he mentions one of the traditional themes of the *suasoriae*.⁴² Contrarily he declares that 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.⁴³

³⁶ The distribution of these parallels in the *Institutes* is also worth examining. Book 7 contains six expressions, as many as the other eleven books. It is difficult to tell if there is any reason for this. However, this amount seems too high to be considered coincidental.

³⁷ 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 the metaphors highlighted in the next paragraphs are mentioned by COURTNEY (n. 24) 88, 102 and 115, but he explains none of them in detail.

³⁸ Quint. *Decl.* 345. 15: *Ante igitur hae versabantur in animo huius cogitationes, ante istud quod tu effecisse pecuniam putas fecerat res publica, fecerat indignatio, fecerat ingenita virtus.*

³⁹ Liv. 41. 4: *Ad octo milia Histrorum sunt caesa, captus nemo, quia ira et indignatio immemores praedae fecit.*

⁴⁰ Juv. 1. 19–20: *Cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo / per quem magnus equos Aurunca flexit alumnus...*

⁴¹ Quint. *Inst.* 5. 14. 31: *Feratur ergo non semitis sed campis...*

⁴² Juvenal refers to his rhetoric training in lines 15–17: *et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos / consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum / dormiret*. This is the situation, as mentioned by COURTNEY (n. 24) 88 and the translation of Quintilian edited by ADAMIK (n. 6) 261, that Quintilian brings up as an example of the historical *suasoriae* in 3. 8. 53: *Neque ignoro plerumque exercitationis gratia poni et poeticas et historicas, ut Priami verba apud Achillem aut Sullae dictaturam deponentis in contione.*

⁴³ The *campus* as a metaphor of literature or rhetoric appears in the works of Propertius (2. 10. 2) and Tacitus (*Dialogus de oratoribus* 39. 2), too, but we cannot detect any closer connection with these *loci*.

After discussing Rome's sins and ills that had prompted him to write satires, in the first lines of the closing of *Satire 1*, Juvenal uses a metaphor borrowed from shipping: to spread out the sails.⁴⁴ Quintilian in his Book 6 uses this metaphor as well, while talking about the end of a speech.⁴⁵ 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 started in line 22 and is introduced by the words: *si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam* (21). The question of lines 19–20 – i.e. why he writes in the genre of satire – is answered in detail in the last 130 lines, so Juvenal had won the favour of his judges, the *rationem admittentes*, thus the metaphoric spreading of sails happens the very moment Quintilian suggests it.

As emphasized earlier, because of the uncertainties concerning the *Minor Declamations* it is hardly possible to say anything with full confidence. However, it is indisputable that there are conspicuous thematic and linguistic parallels between *Satire 1* and both of the works attributed to Quintilian. The same analysis of all the Juvenalian *Satires* can give an answer to the question whether Juvenal had known Quintilian and his work or works. In addition, if he had known him, it is also worth examining how much he used these texts. Moreover, by means of these analyses we may also come closer to revealing the truth concerning the authorship of *Minor Declamations*. The results of this paper are only a small part of the complete analysis, however, they already allow for a more definite answer to these so far undecided questions: the *possible* becomes *probable*, and the *probable* becomes *more probable*.

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⁴⁴ Juv. 1. 149–150: *utere velis, / totos pande sinus...*

⁴⁵ 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.*

