

UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED

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ALLUSIVE TECHNIQUE AND INFLUENCE OF DIFFERENT GENRES ON JUVENAL'S *SATIRES*

Summary of PhD Thesis

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THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

In my thesis, the literary parallels and allusions are examined in Juvenal's *Satires*, as well as the effects of different genres on his works are studied in detail. In his *Satires*, intertextuality is more important than ever before in the literary tradition of the Roman verse satire; and moreover, in certain satires we can discover the mixture of satire and other genres. According to my hypothesis, the *corpus* of certain genres is used by Juvenal for a purpose which is easy to define. In the interpretation of a few of the satires, my analysis with regard to the genres can provide new results, and moreover, the much-debated structure of one Juvenalian poem can also be understood better. Besides the parallels, allusions and other types of effects, those passages are also analysed where Juvenal reflects on certain genres or literary works, since these *loci* can give new light on the Juvenalian usage of the texts of different Roman genres, poets and literary works.

The examination of this topic is not without antecedents. Besides a few short summaries,¹ detailed analyses were published on the effects of the literary traditions of a single genre or author. For instance, the relationship between Juvenal's *Satires* and Martial's *Epigrams* was examined in detail by Wilson and Colton. The "*Exploitation of the Epic Realm*" was published by Curtis, while Juvenal's usage of the Grand Style was studied by Scott and the elegiac effects on *Satire 6* by Nardo.² However, a full and detailed analysis has not been made into this topic yet.

The purpose of this thesis is to present how Juvenal used the Roman literary tradition and what new possibilities can these parallels, allusions and effects provide us in terms of interpretation. For my arguments, I use the results of previous works that examined the parallels, but mostly without interpretation. Since most of the parallels and allusions have already been collected in these works, I do not give a list of them, and I present only those *loci* which I interpret in a new or different way, and those ones which are necessary for my arguments.

¹ Pl. G. HIGHET: Juvenal's Bookcase. *AJPh* 72 (1951) 369–394; G. B. TOWNEND: The Literary Substrata to Juvenal's Satires. *JRS* 63 (1973) 148–160.

² H. L. WILSON: The Literary Influence of Martial upon Juvenal. *AJPh* 19 (1898) 193–209; R. E. COLTON: *Juvenal's use of Martial's epigrams: a study of literary influence*. Amsterdam 1991; S. CURTIS: *The Exploitation of the Epic Realm by Roman Satirists*. Glasgow 2002; I. G. SCOTT: *The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal*. Northampton 1927; D. NARDO: *La sesta satira di Giovenale e la tradizione erotico-elegiaca Latina*. Padova 1973.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

After wording the purpose of the thesis and a short overview of the *Satires*, in the introductory chapter I briefly deal with the *persona* theory that has played an important role in the research on Juvenal since the middle of the last century. Its most important elements are the following: 1) excluding the biographical aspects from the interpretation; 2) doubt in the narrator's credibility; 3) separation of the poet and the narrator, supposing that their morals and their attitude towards the depicted subjects are different. Although it has undeniably brought progress in the interpretation of Juvenal's works, the *persona* theory is problematic in several aspects that I present on the basis of its critics.

In the second chapter, I deal with the bucolic and elegiac effects on Juvenal's *Satires*. Besides textual allusions, further connections can be detected in the usage of these genres' typical subjects and motifs that normally are not included in invective satires. Bucolic poetry and elegy can be dealt with together, since according to my hypothesis, the basic functions of their allusions and parallels are the same: to draw contrast between the *Satires*' Rome and the idealised world of these genres. Besides a passage of Calpurnius Siculus, the bucolic allusions are primarily from Vergil's *Eclogues*, while in the case of elegy mainly the influences of Ovid and Propertius are relevant.

The third chapter focuses on the parallels with the texts of a single author, Martial, whose epigrams are in connection with Juvenal's *Satires* in many aspects. In the first part of the chapter, I give a brief overview of the research on this topic. The views of the scholars dealing with this theme are very diverse: e.g. Friedländer considered most of the parallels as "accidental" and "natural", while Mason treats Juvenal as a "Martial set to a slightly different tune." In the latter part of this chapter, I present the types of parallels between the two authors.

In the fourth chapter, the effects of certain prose works are presented. My analysis in this chapter mainly deals with three authors: 1) Cicero presented as a statesman as well as an author; 2) Tacitus, who recorded the history of the 1st century AD, an era which is often presented in the *Satires*; 3) Quintilian, who is considered as Juvenal's teacher by certain scholars, and whose *Institutes* is undoubtedly used by the satirist. I also deal with the parallels with the texts of *The Minor Declamations* attributed to Quintilian.

The fifth chapter prepares the examination of epic parallels by presenting passages where Juvenal reflects on certain myths or mythological figures mainly having identifiable literary sources. This is necessary due to an important aspect of Juvenal's poetic principles:

in his programmatic poem he rejects above all to write in any genre that has a mythological subject. The rejection of writing epic is caused by this too: although he uses the literary tradition of the epic and imitates its grand style and certain features, he chooses the genre of satire since he aims to directly depict the Roman reality.³ In the fifth chapter, I present the motif of the rejection of mythological topics, its literary precedents, the Juvenalian concept of the relation between myth and reality, and the mythological elements appearing in his poems in spite of the rejection of mythological poetry, in particular the myth of ages that appear in three Juvenalian satires of three different books presented in a different way each time. The chapter is closed by the interpretation of a much-debated locus in *Satire 13* that can be considered as a complex mythological reference according to my hypothesis.

In chapter six, I deal with the relation of the *Satires* and the genre of epic, which is much closer and diverse than the connection with any other genre; and moreover, we can even talk about the actual mixture of genres, since in certain Juvenalian poems the effect of epic poetry is much more than simple parallels and allusions. In his paper dealing with this topic, Winkler emphasizes that “Juvenal brings together epic and satire even more closely than they had been before”,⁴ while Bramble talks about a “new conception of genre” and “Juvenal’s revolution”.⁵ We can definitely agree with these opinions: the role of the epic poetry had never been as important in the genre of satire as in Juvenal’s works, while he rejects to write an epic poem. In spite of this refusal and satirizing the Muse of epic poetry,⁶ this connection has a crucial influence on his poetry, in particular on his early poems. In the beginning of the chapter, I deal with Juvenal’s poetic program including the use of epic elements; then I present the Juvenalian use of a specially transformed variant of the epic style. After the textual parallels, I present the problematics of *Satire 4* and *12*, which both have much-debated structures as well as very strong connections to epic; and furthermore, in the case of the latter, these connections are crucial for answering certain questions about the poem’s structure.

In chapter seven, I give a detailed analysis of the poem that is the most important concerning my topic. In *Satire 3*, the influence of epic, bucolic poetry and Martial’s

³ The word “reality” here of course does not mean the result of the objective depiction of reality, but what is depicted as reality in Juvenal’s *Satires*.

⁴ M. M. WINKLER: *The Function of Epic in Juvenal’s Satires*. In: *Studies in Latin literature and Roman history V*. Ed. C. Deroux. Bruxelles 1989, 427.

⁵ J. C. BRAMBLE: *Persius and the programmatic satire: a study in form and imagery*. Cambridge 1974, 172–173.

⁶ Juv. 4, 34–36: *incipe, Calliope. licet et considerare: non est / cantandum, res vera agitur. narrate, puellae / Pierides, prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.*

epigrams is equally strong, playing a crucial role in the interpretation of the poem and making it possible to give a more detailed analysis of the poem's *interlocutor* than before, whose 300-line-long monologue is the longest continuous speech of a satiric *interlocutor*. It is not an overstatement to say that the speech of Umbricius gives the most detailed picture of Juvenal's decaying Rome, not singling out certain aspects of the moral and social decadence, but displaying all crimes and dangers of the city together. Moreover, it is not only his speech that is worth examining but also his figure, since he is the most complex character of the *Satires*, and therefore more, partly different, partly contradictory interpretations of him has come to light so far. In the chapter, I present my own interpretation of the poem and his character by elaborating on the relation between the satiric narrator and the *interlocutor*, the most important motifs and features of his speech, the possibility of his connection with a historical figure named Umbricius, and the potential literary sources of his monologue and his character.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the results of the single analyses, some general conclusions can be made about the literary influences on Juvenal's *Satires*.

Prose works are mainly serving as inspiration and source for the poet; and moreover, the historiographical tradition is crucial for the reader as well for the understanding of certain passages of the *Satires*. Although the influence of at least one lost work can also be supposed, the most important historical source is Tacitus, whose *Histories* and *Annals* are both undoubtedly used by Juvenal, who also refers to the historian without naming him: in *Satire 2*, where the poet criticizes him because of the shortcomings of his depiction of Otho.

The thematic and textual parallels between the *Satires* and Quintilian's *Institutes*, as well as the metaphors commonly used by the two authors prove that Juvenal knew and used the orator's work. The third prose writer, Cicero, who plays a role in my analysis, is a special case: primarily he is not an author whose works are alluded to but a recognized figure of the Roman history. However, Juvenal still reflects on his poetry, and from this aspect neither the respected Cicero can escape the satirical mocking. In this manner, Cicero's depiction is as bifarious as that of Quintilian, who is mentioned in *Satires 6* and *7* because of his wealth (and according to certain interpretations, also because of his second marriage). Similarly to the historical works and Cicero's writings used by Juvenal, the orator's work does not play a central role in any passage of the *Satires*, and we can find only sporadic textual parallels with these texts. Therefore, it can be concluded that prose works are less important than the literary tradition of the poetic genres examined in my thesis from the aspect of intertextuality.

The bucolic elements and the elegiac parallels appearing in the *Satires* can both present the contrast between the idealized world of these poetic genres and the behaviours and human relationships depicted by Juvenal as the Roman reality. However, he also employs intertextual contrasts to display more complex subjects. For example, the bucolic frame of *Satire 3* emphasizes the decay, the unbearableness, the "un-Romanness" of the city. The *interlocutor* is presented as a contemporary Meliboeus who is forced to leave his home, saying farewell to it in a peculiar *locus amoenus* that is already contaminated by civilization. On this occasion, the poet presents this contrast with a complex parallel, while in other cases only a simple allusion is enough for this effect: e.g. the words *esse aliquos manes* in *Satire 2*, which can be originated from an elegy of Propertius, oppose the traditional Roman religion with the fading religious life of the contemporary society. In

short, Juvenal does not make a parody of these poetic texts, as he does with certain epic texts, but he alludes to them while describing Rome's decadence to make a contrast between the contemporary city and the idealized world of these genres.

Although at least one allusion to Catullus can also be detected in Juvenal's works, regarding the parallels with epigrams, we can detect primarily the influence of one author, Martial. The literary connections between Juvenal and the epigrammatist are very close, since they present the same city and the same society. And above all, the same topics, motifs and names can be read in their works. However, the similarities can mainly be detected in the subjects of their works and not in their styles, since the moral content is much stronger in the *Satires*, the wit gives place to indignation, while certain scenes and episodes told by Martial on their own are put in a wider context by Juvenal. For instance, the story of the rich man who made a big fortune of his house's burning down is told by Martial without context, while in *Satire 3* it becomes a single element of the description of the Roman social injustice. The influence of Martial's works is very diverse, but we should emphasize one common feature: in most cases we can either talk about lexical or thematic-motivic parallels, but not about both of them, since the former typically appear in different context or with different moral content, while the latter are presented with totally rewritten phrasing. Martial's influence is most prominent in *Satire 3*. According to my argument, the *interlocutor* of this poem is in a much closer relation to Martial than it has been supposed before, and the epigrammatist can be rightly seen as one of the most important inspirations of this poem.

Although the influence of the epic on the *Satires* is stronger than that of any other genre, he rejects to be an epic poet in his programmatic poem. The main cause of this refusal is the typical subject of epic poems that does not fit into his poetic program, i.e. the direct depiction of the Roman reality, since the historical epic is a flattering and consequently mendacious genre according to him (cf. *Satire 4*), while the subject of the mythological epic is even less suitable for his purposes. His poetic program defines his attitude towards mythology as well. Although his works contain mythological elements, he often presents these figures or myths in a "demythised" way, e.g. Jason is named as a thief and a merchant, while Amphion does not only beg for his children's survival but also for his wife's death – in the former case this effect is achieved by the phraseology, while in the latter by the behaviour of the depicted figure. The display of mythological figures can basically serve either of the following purposes: 1) the figure stands in a contrast to the attacked contemporaries, emphasizing the despicability of the targets of the satires; 2)

together with its context, the mythological reference gives an additional meaning for the passage.

Complex mythological episodes are characteristically not included in the satires, aside from the Myth of Ages being alluded to in more poems of Juvenal, and in two satires it is presented by a longer passage. The emphatic role of this myth is caused by the fact that it is more appropriate to make a contrast between the past and the present than any other mythologeme, and to make this contrast is not only the primary function of the exploitation of the mythological literary tradition but one of the central motifs of the Juvenalian *Satires* as well. This opposition – as it can be observed in more aspects – is not only drawn between positive and negative characters, deeds or behaviours but sometimes also between guilt and guilt. As of the poet's verdict, the present is worse than the past, just as reality is worse than literature in this regard as well, since he emphasizes repeatedly that literature (primarily the tragedy) could never describe as serious crimes as the crimes committed by his contemporaries. His choice of the satire is justified by this, since it is the only genre that seems appropriate for him to depict the Rome of his age.

Juvenal's refusal of being an epic poet is motivated by the sins and ills of Rome. As we can read out from more of his poems, the genre itself is appreciated by the poet, but it is not that kind of poetry which his age needs. He presents epic as a genre the time of which is already gone: the social esteem of epic is a thing of the past, the audience is bored of the low-quality poems of the contemporary poets, and even if a good poet is found (like Statius in Juvenal's poems), it is impossible for him to keep his integrity, since he also has to get in the company of flatterers. However, since the genre itself is highly regarded by Juvenal, he does not give up the usage of either the epic tradition or the grand style; and moreover, he even demonstrates in his programmatic poem that he is capable of writing in this style and manner. But the style can never remain the true epic grand style, and therefore Juvenal always breaks it with an interjection, with an element of "demythising" or simply with an inappropriate expression.

The latter can be observed several times in *Satire 12* that is maybe the most debated work of Juvenal. Among others, the poem was named as his worst satire, one of the strangest works in the whole Roman literature, and a bad joke as well.⁷ According to the critics of this satire, one of the main problems is the poem's structure. However, according

⁷ E. COURTNEY: *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. London 1980; U. KNOCH: *Die römische Satire*. Göttingen 1982, 92; W. C. HELMBOLD: Juvenal's Twelfth Satire. *CPh* 51 (1956) 15–16.

to my analysis, it can be explained by taking the genre's main characteristics into consideration. The first and the third of the four basic structural units present the location and the circumstances of the honest thanksgiving sacrifice of the narrator, which are presented by using elements and motifs that are typical of bucolic poetry. These passages stand in a sharp contrast with the other two structural units of the poem describing a merchant risking his life for the profit, and the legacy-hunters despising the traditional values of friendship. In these two passages, epic elements take the place of the ones connected to bucolics. The poem's structure is defined by opposites: 1) the one between the sacrifices of the narrator and the legacy-hunters, since the former is honest, while the latter is performed in the hope of gain; 2) the one between the *Satires'* Roman reality represented with epic elements and the setting of the honest thanksgiving sacrifice by the narrator.

As we can see in the case of *Satire 12*, epic influence never disappears from Juvenal's poetry, but it is the most dominant in his *Book 1*. Although in his programmatic poem Juvenal rules out the possibility of writing an epic, he includes the usage of the genre's literary tradition and its grand style in his poetic program. From this aspect, *Satire 4* is the most important Juvenalian satire, since it contains a complex mock-epic that on the one hand presents the vileness of Domitian and his counsellor, while on the other hand renders the historical epic as flattering poetry (and thus the target of his invective) by the words *res vera agitur* in his unusual invocation of the Muse.

Similarly to *Satire 12*, *Satire 4* was also often criticized because of its structure; and moreover, certain scholars consider it as two fragments patched together, while others detect only a loose connection between its two parts: the first passage on the crimes of Crispinus and the mock-epic on the giant turbot brought to Domitian.⁸ According to my analysis, the poem's correct interpretation can be achieved only by detecting the connections between the two units. The structure of the poem is based on the parallel between Crispinus and Domitian that has three major connecting points: 1) the common motif of the big fish; 2) the parallels of their lives and habits; 3) the division of their "crimes" into *scelera* and *nugae*. In the mock-epic that follows the first 27 lines presenting Crispinus, we can barely read anything directly about Domitian; however, on the grounds of the description of his counsellors, the picture about him and his realm is already complete when in the closing lines Juvenal finally presents a real (and the greatest) crime

⁸ Cf. W. S. ANDERSON: Studies in Book I of Juvenal. In: *Essays on Roman Satire*. Princeton 1982, 232–234.

of Domitian, i.e. the genocide attempted against the Roman nobility. His character is presented by displaying his 11 counsellors, and one of them, Crispinus, takes a leading role in the first structural unit of the poem. We can get to know him from these first 27 lines, the poem's introduction describes the people surrounding the Emperor in detail. However, in the council scene (72–118), Crispinus is not highlighted in any way, he is not more important than the other ten; he is only one of the contemptible figures around the Emperor, i.e. the introduction describing one's crimes could have been about any of them. His presence in the council is crucial for interpreting *Satire 4* as a single, whole and original poem, since the satire's introduction focusing on him is motivated by his second appearance in the mock-epic.

Regarding the influence of the literary tradition, *Satire 3* is the most complex poem of Juvenal, and its long monologue is told by Umbricius, the most complex figure of his oeuvre. According to my interpretation, the *interlocutor's* figure is inspired partly by Martial and partly by Umbricius Melior, an imperial *haruspex* of the 1st century AD. The "old friend" who says farewell in the poem becomes the essence of Rome, representing the city that is based on the traditional Roman values but sunk into a state of moral decadence. Or, from another point of view, Umbricius gives the most complete picture of Rome, presenting some faults with his words and some with his character flaws – in the style of a satirist, with themes of Martial's *Epigrams*, bearing the name and the mask of an imperial *haruspex*.

In *Satire 3*, different literary voices are mixed together to make perfect harmony. In a contaminated *locus amoenus*, Umbricius employs a satirical manner of speech to explain the reasons that make him flee as a new Aeneas from his city conquered by the Greek – a city that recalls the way it was represented by Martial in multiple aspects. Thus, examining the effects of the literary traditions of different genres, *Satire 3* can be considered as a miniature of Juvenal's whole oeuvre: epic has the most important influence, bucolic elements represent the contrast between the decaying city and the innocent countryside, and the effects of the texts of other genres can also be detected. From the aspect of the poems' themes, Martial's *Epigrams* are the closest to Juvenal's *Satires*, and therefore the epigrammatist has a key role in the monologue of Umbricius as well as in the whole collection of *Satires*.

This complex system of influences produces a satire that is fused together with epic and carries the effects of the tradition of other genres, which can be regarded as one of the most important features of Juvenal's poetry. Like his satiric antecedents, the last

representative of the Roman verse satire brings reform to the genre again. On the one hand, he returns to the Lucilian invective, leaving the Horatian way, but on the other hand, with his continuous intertextual play, with the more diverse usage of the literary tradition than ever before in his genre, he establishes a new type of satiric poetry. Thus, we can rightly talk about Juvenal's revolution that first and foremost means that he includes a wider spectrum of Roman literary tradition in his poetry than ever before. His *Satires*' "farrago" (i.e. mixed fodder) does not only consist of different themes, voices and motifs, but also of the texts and the literary tradition of certain prose works, elegy, the bucolic poetry, Martial's epigrams, and above all, that of the epic poetry as well.

List of own publications

I. Articles dealing with Juvenal's *Satires*

a) In English

1. Quintilian's Influence on Juvenal's Satire 1. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 52 (2012) 165–171.
2. The Use of Statues to Represent Moral Decay in Juvenal's Satires. *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen* 48 (2012) 117–124.
3. Scholarly Polemic: Bartolomeo Fonzio's Forgotten Commentary on Juvenal. In: *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*. Brill Intersections 29. Leiden 2013. 111–123.
4. The Institutes of Oratory as Inspiration and Source for Juvenal. *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 18 (2013) 85–93.
5. On the Sources of Juvenal's Satire 3. In: *Sapiens ubique civis*. Budapest 2015. 107–119.

b) In Hungarian

1. Iuvenalis kilencedik korszaka. *Antik Tanulmányok* 54 (2010) 271–282.
2. A morális válság ábrázolása szobrok szerepeltetésével Iuvenalis szatíráiban. In: *Irodalom és képzőművészet a római császárkorban*. Agatha XXVI. Debrecen 2012. 75–84.
3. Iuvenalis és Propertius: A kontrasztteremtés egy eszköze a Szatírákban. *Corollarium* 1 (2013) 60–68.
4. Quintiliani verba Iuvenalis accipiat? In: *Szöveg és hagyomány*. Piliscsaba 2013. 83–94.
5. Sulcum deducit harena – Iuvenalis 1. szatírája zárlatának értelmezéséről. *Corollarium* 2 (2014) 36–42.
6. Iuvenalis 3. szatírája és az interlocutor Umbricius irodalmi forrásai. *Antik Tanulmányok* 58 (2015) 37–67.

c) Text with introduction

1. Bartolomeo della Fonte: Annotationes in Iuvenalem. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*. (under publication)

II. Papers presented on Juvenal's *Satires*

a) In international conferences

1. *Bona, campus, vela – Juvenal and Quintilian*. Laetae Segetes III, Brno, 2012.
2. *Bartolomeo Fonzio's Annotationes in Iuvenalem*. 15th Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, Münster, 2012.
3. *Who is Umbricius? – On the Sources of Juvenal's Satire 3*. Sapiens Ubique Civis, Szeged, 2013.

b) Papers presented in Hungarian

1. *A szobor mint a morális válság ábrázolásának eszköze Iuvenalis satírjaiban.* Irodalom és képzőművészet a korai császárkorban, Debrecen 2011.
2. *Della Fonte Iuvenalishoz írott megjegyzései.* Hungaria Latina Magyarországi Neolatin Egyesület 2012. évi konferenciája, Budapest, 2012.
3. *Lehetséges quintilianusi hatások Iuvenalis első satírjában.* X. Magyar Ókortudományi Konferencia, Piliscsaba, 2012.
4. *Epikus satírák.* XI. Magyar Ókortudományi Konferencia, Budapest, 2014.

III. Other articles dealing with classics

a) In English

1. Troy, Italy, and the Underworld. *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 17 (2012) 51–61.

b) In Hungarian

1. Adnotationes ad Pharsaliam. In: *Corollarium. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum XIII.* Szeged 2011. 55–59.
2. A pridianum-típusú dokumentumok mikro- és makrostruktúrájáról. *Aetas* 27/4 (2012) 22–30.
3. A Pharsalia Trója-jelenetének forrásairól és értelmezéséről. *Antik Tanulmányok* 57 (2013) 125–135.

IV. Papers presented on other classical topics

a) International conferences

1. *Caesar in Troy.* Literary Crossroads, Brno, 2010.
2. *Information management through elementary data clusters: New observations on pridianum-type Roman statistical documents.* IC-ININFO 2011, Kos, 2011.

