PERSIUS' DEBT TO HORACE.

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by

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In the comparison of the Satires of Persius with those of Horace it will be found that there are many similar passages. Some of these passages are alike in thought, while others contain the same group of words, but the meaning of the whole is different. The passages from Persius which show a slight resemblance in form even where the thought is different, as well as those in which the thought is the same, are regarded by some writers as imitations of Horace.

Werther in his dissertation "De Persio Horatii Imitatore" first collects examples in which he finds similar wording and thought, next he gives those passages in which the same words are joined in the same way by both poets, then he adds those in which Persius joined not the same words as Horace, but similar words, and finally he takes up the passages in which the same words are used in corresponding parts of a verse; at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end. He also states that Persius gave Horatian names to the men whose faults he blamed.
In the following discussion I have made frequent use of Werther's "De Persio Horatii Imitatore", of Connington's "Persius with translation and commentary", and of "Auli Persii Flacci Satirarum liber cum scholiis antiquis" by Otto Jahn. I have considered only those passages of Persius as imitations of Horace in which the words and thoughts or the thoughts were alike.

Lucilius and Horace are the best representatives who preceded Persius in the department of satire, and it is generally conceded that Persius is a close imitator of the latter. It is very natural that Persius with a taste for satire should read and study the writings of his predecessors carefully. He is said to have determined to write satire upon reading the tenth book of Lucilius. Lucilius' writings are very incomplete, so that it is hard to see in how far Persius imitated him, while Horace's writings are complete and are generally studied. If Lucilius' writings were more complete we should probably find many resemblances between his and Persius' writings, since the ancient commentators make more reference to Lucilius than to Horace. Horace, too, may have often imitated Lucilius, and he and Persius may have thus been influenced in subject matter.
and in vocabulary by the same writer.

Besides a close knowledge of his predecessors in satire, Persius must also have been familiar with many of the previous writers in all departments of literature. The commentators compare many passages of Persius with passages in Vergil, Terence, Lucretius, Ennius, and in other writers, thus showing that he had a knowledge of the literature before his time, and was influenced by more than one of the earlier writers.

Persius was one of the first writers to attack with spirit and insight the court literature, which through its example corrupted the public taste. He belonged to the nobility, and could therefore attack the corruption of his time more freely than Horace, the son of a freedman, could that of the Augustan court.

Persius was a student rather than a man of action and knew little of real life, but followed, as many men of his time did, the teachings of the Stoics, drawing from philosophy rather than from his own experiences in life, and trying to give these teachings a poetical expression in his satires. Horace who inclined to the Epicurean Philosophy gives many personal touches and de-
scriptions in his writings. Persius' satires are declamations about Stoic principles and teachings rather than pictures of his times, such as the satires of Horace are.

In comparing the satires of Persius with those of Horace, I have taken them up under three heads: (1) Proper Names, (2) Comparisons that have been made but do not stand, and (3) Proverbs.

In regard to the proper names of Persius, some think that Persius was such a servile imitator of Horace that he took even his proper names from Horace's writings. The names Persius uses do seem to be taken from books, as Connington says, rather than from life, yet they are not all taken from Horace, but show, just as the proverbs do, that Persius was familiar with and drew upon much of the earlier literature.

The name Staius in sat. II, 19 the scholia, if they are to be trusted, identify with Staienus, who was one of the judges in the trial of Oppianicus (Cic. pro 26,55; 24,65. Cluent), showing that the scholiasts looked to older sources for the names Persius used, expecting him to have taken them from other writers than Horace.

Again the name Craterus in sat. III, 65 Persius does not necessarily take from Horace sat. II, 3,161,
because **Craterus** was a well known physician in earlier times, and mentioned by Cicero in *epp. ad Att. XII, 13, 1; 14, 4*. So when Persius wanted to use a name for his physician, he naturally took a well known name.

In Persius 3, 118: *non sanus iuret Orestes*. Orestes is used as a name for a madman. Cicero used the same name in the same way in *Pison. 20, 47: Ego te --- non tragico illo Orestes--- dementiorem putem?* and in Tusc. 3, 5, 11. Plautus uses it in the *Captivi 562: E* t quidem *Alcumeus atque Orestes et Lucurgus postea Una opera mihi sunt sodales qua iste.*

cf. Horace sat. II, 3, 137:

*Quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes.*

*Baucis* in sat. IV, 21 is the name of a Greek woman, and is known especially from a fable in Ovid's *Met. VIII, 630*. It is most probable that Persius took the name from Ovid.

The name **Cerdo** in sat. IV, 51 is a name given to the lowest class of workmen, and here refers to one of the rabble. We are referred to an inscription which Spon. publishes *misc. p. 221 eschched. Barb. Cerdones were generally said to be ignoble, men from the plebs, as in Juvenal IV, 53, VIII, 183 and *(Tert. de. pall. 5.)*

*Bathyllus* in V, 123 was a comic dancer in the time
of Augustus and is an instance of Persius' habit of taking names from earlier times than his own.

The name **Bestius** in VI, 37 which Horace used in Ep. I, 15, 37 and which Lucilius also used (Weichert poett. Latt. rell. p. 420) seems to be a name taken to designate a person who finds fault with the Greek philosophers and their teachings.

The name **Labo** in I, 4 Connington says is an allusion to Attius Labo as the author of a translation of the Iliad, of which the scholia have preserved one line: "Crudum manduces Priamum Priamique pisinnos," (Il. 4, 35) as if he had said, "Lest Labo's interest with Polydamas and the Trojan ladies should get them to prefer him to me". The story perhaps only rests on a statement by Fulgentius, but the internal evidence is very strong, and it is much more probable than the supposition that **Labo** is merely used as a Horation synonym for a madman. Hor. sat. I, 3, 82 as Jahn is inclined to believe. Prolegomena pp. 72, 73.

There are two names which seem to be taken from Horace: **Nerius** in Pers. II, 14 taken from Horace sat. II, 3, 69. The name **Nerius** is used as a name for a usurer and is a fictitious one.
The name Natta III, 31, taken from Horace sat. I, 6, 124 is probably fictitious, although Horace is supposed by some to be satirizing a Natta, a member of the noble Pinarian family for his mean conduct.

Pedius in I, 85 is a name used in much the same sense as the same name in Horace sat. I, 10, 28. It is hard to decide whether it is taken from that or not, as a certain Pedius Blaesius, whom the Cyrenians accused of repetundarum was condemned and removed from the Senate by Nero, cf. Tac. Ann. XIV, 18: Hist. I, 77, two years before the death of Persius. As it is not known when Persius wrote the satire, it can hardly be decided whether he refers to this man, or has just taken the name from Horace.

Persius used the name Herod in sat. V, 180, and it is said to be taken from Horace ep. II, 2, 184; but I do not see why Persius should have had to imitate Horace in using the name Herod. The Scholiast says: "Herodes apud Judaeos regnavit temporibus Augusti imperatoris in partibus Syriae. Herodis ergo diem natalem Herodiani observant, ut etiam sabbathi, qui die lucernas accensas et violis coronatas in fenestris ponunt."

The name Licinus found in Pers. II, 36 is said to be taken from Horace A. P. 301. Juvenal used the name in
sat. I, 109 and XIV, 306; Martial in VIII, 3, 6; Suetonius Aug. c.67 and Dion Cassius 54, 21. The Scholiast of Persius says he was "tonsorem et libertum Augusti Caesars". Licinus was a Gaul by birth, who was taken prisoner in war and became a slave of Julius Caesar, whose confidence he gained so much as to be made his dispensator or steward. Caesar gave him his freedom, perhaps in his testament, as he is called by some writers the freedman of Augustus, who we know carried into execution the will of his uncle.

Licinus was governor of his native country, Gaul, and obtained great wealth while holding the position. His fortune was so great that his name was used proverbially to indicate a man of great wealth and was coupled with the name of Crassus. There was a splendid marble tomb of Licinus on the Via Salaria, at the second milestone from the city with the following inscription:

"Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet: at Cato parvo:
Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse deos?"

Smith in his Dictionary of Biography says that the barber (tonsor) Licinus spoken of by Horace A. P. 301 must have been a different person from the preceding; and that the scholiast has therefore made a mistake in referring to the epigram quoted above. Whether this is true or not it
does not seem reasonable that Persius was imitating Horace in using a name that had seemingly come into proverbial use to designate a certain type.

It does not seem to me that Persius in I, 114, "secuit Lucilius urbem, te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.

was imitating Horace sat. II, 1, 68: Metello famosisque Lugo cooperto versibus, because Persius evidently read Lucilius carefully and knew whom Lucilius satirized.

Neither is there any reason for considering Publius Persius V, 74 an imitation of Hor. II, 5, 32: Quinte puta aut Publi, because Publius was a very common name at Rome and besides Persius used it with quisque, showing that he had reference to no particular Publius.

The name Numa used by Persius in II, 59 need not be an imitation of Hor. Ep. II, 1, 86 for the name Numa was often used. Cicero used it in N. D. III, 17, 43. parad. I, 2, 11; rep. VI, 2, 11. Juv. VI, 343; III, 12, 138; VIII, 156. Plin. H. N. XXXV, 12, 46.

Persius has also been accused of copying Hor. sat. II, 3, 44: insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex autumat, when he uses the name Chrysippus sat. VI, 80, but Persius could surely use the name Chrysippus, that of a stoic philosopher, especially since he was a stoic himself, without taking the name from Horace.
In the second part, the comparisons that have been made but do not stand, I shall discuss some of the examples given by Werther in the article above mentioned. In some cases it seems very probable that Persius imitates Horace, as for example: Persius satire I, 29:

Ten cirratorum centum dictata fuisse pro nihilo pendes?

may be taken from Horace Sat. I, 10, 74:

An tua demens vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?

and Persius sat. IV, 50: Nequiquam populo bibulas donaveris aures seems to be taken from Horace Ep. I, 16, 19: sed vereor, ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas. However many examples are given by Werther# in which there seems to be no special connection between the two writers as the following examples will show.

#Though Werther seems to imply that Horace’s influence on Persius is shown in all of the passages he quotes, this view is modified by his final statement just at the end of his comparison of the similar passages in the two writers: "Quamquam facile concedendum est, Persium in sententias et in verba nonnullorum locorum, quos attuli, incidere potuisse, etiamsi Horatius ante eius aetatem satiras non scripsisset, et quamquam puto, eum non raro cum illo consentire, non consilio aut studio imitandi permotum, sed quasi casu quodam ductum, tamen eos locos ab imitatione segregandos esse non putavi. Nam ea ipsa Horatiana, quae Persio non quaerenti occurrerunt, optime docent, quantam operam is in Hor. carminibus legendis posuerit. Qua de causa ii quoque Persii versus non sunt negligendi, in quibus, quamquam ex eorum sententiis appareat, illum nulam imitationis rationem habuisse, tamen Hor. lectionis vestigia et indicia insunt."
In the Prologue line 6 Persius calls himself *semipaganus*. While this has the same thought as Horace satire I, 4, 39; *Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetas excerptam numero*, it does not seem to me that Persius imitated Horace. The expression is rather an expression of modesty. Persius says that he is only a *semipaganus* bringing his verses to the poets' company.

I think his modesty is further shown in line 2 of Satire I: *Quis legat haec? Nemo.* It seems natural that his friend should ask who would read his writings and that Persius should modestly answer: *Nemo hercule. Vel. duo, vel nemo.* Horace complains in Sat. I, 4, 22 of finding no readers, he says: *cum mea nemo scripta legat*, but Persius did not imitate that.

A good many passages in Persius are considered as imitations of Horace, in which there are only a few words alike in the two passages and the meaning of the whole is entirely different. The majority of such cases can hardly be considered as imitations. Such passages are the following: Sat. I, 12:

*Quid faciam? sed sum petulantis splene cachinno,*

Connington supposes to be an imitation of Horace Sat. II, 1, 4: *Quid faciam, praescribe. 'Quiescas'. Ne faciam, inquis, omnino versus? 'Aio'. Peream male, si non optimum erat; verum nequeo dormire.*
Both Persius and Horace ask their friends what they shall do. Persius appeals to his temperament as Mr. Connington says and to his taste, and Horace also appeals to his temperament, in that he is unable to sleep if he does not write. But it does not seem to me that we can consider a pair of words as common in conversation as quid faciam as an imitation. Quid faciam is common in both Plautus and Terence. It is found in the following lines in Terence:

Cedo igitur, quid faciam. Dave? And. 383.

Quid igitur faciam? Eun I.

Quid faciam? Eun. 849; Heaut. 469, 585, 924; Phorm 534.

Quid igitur faciam miser? Eun. 966.


Quid nunc faciam, Syre? Heaut. 994.

Ut neque quid me faciam. Adelp. 611.

Nunc quid faciam. Adelp. 625.

Quid faciam amplius? Adelp. 732.

Quid faciam. Adelp. 789.

Quid faciam misera? Heo. 340.

The word ohe in line 23 is compared with ohe in Horace sat. II, 5, 96. This too seems to me to be a common term used to show that one has heard enough. Martial uses it in IV, 89, 1. Ohe, iam satis est, ohe, libelle.
In line 20 of Satire I Persius uses *ingentis Titos* and in line 31 *Romulidae saturni*, which are like Horace A. P. 342: *celei praetereunt austera poemata Ramnes*.

except that *ingentis* refers to the physical size of these sons of old Rome to show the monstrousness of the effeminacy to which they are surrendering themselves.

*Prandia regum* in satire I, 67 is another instance of two words being considered as an imitation. "It is said to be from Horace sat. II 2, 45: *epulis regum*, but Persius could surely speak of the banquets of Kings without imitating Horace.

I, 61 *vos, o patricius sanguis* is supposed to be taken from Horace A. P. 292: *Vos, o Pompilius sanguis*. There is no likeness in the passages, and Persius could not have written poems that lived and were read as his are said to have been read, if he had been such a servile imitator that he copied Horace's grouping of words.

Pers. I, 70, *nec ponere lucum artifices* does not seem to me to have the same thought as Horace A. P. 16:

"*cum lucus et ara Dianae et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius descriptur arcus*."

and I don't see why he should copy such a common word as *lucus* from Horace.
Again Pers. II, 5:
At bona pars procerum tacita libabit acerra
is supposed to be taken from Horace Sat. I, 1, 61:
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso. The
thought is not the same. Persius uses bona pars
procerum, and Horace bona pars hominum, but Persius
could surely use bona pars without imitating Horace.
Terence combines bona and pars in the Eun. 123:
nam hic quoque bonam magnumque partem.

Persius II, 27: triste iaces lucis evitandumque
bidental is the same expression as Horace A. P. 471:
triste bidental moverit incestus but it is not neces-
sarily an imitation, because a bidental was often men-
tioned in earlier literature. It was a place that had
been struck by lightning, and was enclosed with a wall
and consecrated by a sacrifice of sheep.

Pers. III, 40:
"et magis auratis pendens laqueariibus ensis
purpureas subter cervices terruit,'imus,
imus praecipites' quam si sibi dicat et intus
palleat infelix, quod proxima nesciat uxor?"
cf. Hor. Carm. III, 1, 17:
"Destructus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem."
The two passages are similar only in the suspended sword, the thought is otherwise different.

Pers. IV, 45: Ut mavis, da verba et decipe nervos,

Of. Hor. sat. I, 4,19:
"At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras
usque laborantis, dum ferrum molliat ignis,
ut mavis, imitare."

Persius and Horace both use ut mavis in the passages just quoted, yet the thought is not enough alike to call Persius' an imitation.

Neither does Persius IV, 47: viso si palles, improve, mummo seem like an imitation of Hor. Sat. II, 3, 78: quisquis ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore.
The thought in palles improve mummo is the same as in argenti pallet amore, but the balance of the passages are not enough alike to justify Persius' being called an imitation of Horace's passage. In Persius the paleness is chronic, in Horace it is sudden.

While Persius V, 64: petite hinc puerique senesque finem animo certum has the same meaning as Hor. Ep. I, 2, 56: certum voto pete finem, the meaning of the passages in which these expressions are found is not alike.

Persius V, 153: vive memor leti, just as the preceding passage, is like Horace Sat. II, 6, 97: vive memor.
quam sis aevi brevis, but the meaning of the passages in which the expressions are found is different.


Pers. VI, 43: o bone num ignoras is not an imitation of Hor. sat. II, 6, 51: "o bone, nam te scire, deos quoniam proprius contingis, oportet, numquid de Dacis audisti?"

and Pers. VI, 62: sum tibi Mercurius is not an imitation of Hor. sat. II, 3, 68: an magis excors reiecta praëda, quam praesens Mercurius fert? because the meaning of the passages is not enough alike.

Besides the foregoing smaller groups of words that were supposed to be imitations of Horace, there are a number of longer passages that have without justice been called imitations—for instance—Pers. I, 30-31: Ecce inter pocula quaerunt Romulidae saturi, quid dia poemata narrant is not taken from Hor. Ep. II, 1, 109: pueri patresque severi fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant. In Persius the Roman are sitting at the feast and asking what the divine poems tell, while Horace is merely speaking of the usual custom of the Romans of re-
citing their poems after a meal.

While Persius sat. I, 42: *et cedro digna locutus linquere nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus?* is like Hor. A. P. 332: *speramus carmina fingi posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?* and Hor. Ep. II, 1, 269: *defarar in vicum vendentem tus et odores,* still is it an imitation? Jahn states that there was a custom among the ancients of anointing the books of notable poems with cedar oil, because it made them lasting and kept them safe from worms. Connington says that the passage in Persius was perhaps imitated from Vergil Aen. 6, 662: *Phoebodigna locuti.* Jahn quotes several writers both before and after Persius' time: Vitruvius II, 9; Ovid Trist. I, 1, 7; III, 1, 13; Martial III, 2, 7; Lucian adv. indoct. 16. Persius probably used the expression because it was common.

Pers. I, 90: *'verum nec nocte paratum plorabit, qui me volet incuvasse querella'* is not an imitation of Hor. A. P. 102: *si vis me flere, dolendum est primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent, Telephe vel Peleu.* Persius is speaking of people who get up pitiful songs to arouse sympathy, and to get money, while Horace says that the human countenance laughs with those who laugh.
and weeps with those who weep, and if you wished him to weep, you must have some grief yourself. It is true the Persius says a man must have a real grief, that is, that he will not be bowed down by a grief that is prepared overnight, still the passages are not similar enough for Persius'to be called an imitation.

Pers. I, 116: Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit need not be an imitation of Hor. sat. I, 1, 24: quamquam ridentem dicere verum quid vetat, for Persius could find it out from reading Horace's works.

I can see no resemblance between Persius I, 123: Audaci quicumque adflate Cratino iratum Eupolidem prae-grandi cum sene palles and Horace sat. I, 4, 1: Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae atque alii, quorum comoedia priscœ virorum est, except in the proper names Eupolis and Cratinus and that is surely not an imitation when each speaks of the old Greek poets.

Persius II, 3, non tu prece poscis emaci quae nisi seductis nequeas commitere divis has been compared with Hor. Carm. III, 29, 58:

Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere et votis pacisci.
Prece posce emaci to demand with a higgling prayer and votis pacisci to agree with vows have about the same
meaning, but Persius brings in the idea of confiding to the gods in a corner which Horace does not.

The thought of Persius II, 11: "o si sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria dextro Hercule!" is similar to that in Horace sat. II, 6, 10: "o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstrat, ut illi, thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico Hercule!"

especially the reference to Hercules, but Persius did not imitate Horace because the Romans ascribed sudden acquisitions of gain to both Hercules and Mercury, with this distinction according to Casaubon ad Pers. II, 11, that when anything was found in the forum, or in the streets of the city, it was attributed to Mercury, and if elsewhere, to Hercules.


It was in accordance with the reverence of the gods that he should bathe in the Tiber. Macrobi. sat. I, 3;
Juv. VI, 522; Cic. p. Cael. 14, 34; Ovid Am. III, 7, 82; Serv. ad. Verg. Aen. VIII, 69; Prop. IV, 9, (III, 10), 13

all give instances of bathing in the Tiber in order to wash off any pollution.

Again Persius II, 29:

"aut quidnam est qua tu mercede decorum emeris auriculas? pulmone et lactibus unctis?"

need not be an imitation of Hor. Carm. III, 23 because he mentions the customary way of appeasing the gods.

Persius II, 39: *aut ego nutriti non mando vota* is different from Hor. Ep. I, 4, 8: *quid voebeat dulci nutritula maius alumno,* in that Persius says he will not entrust his vows to a nurse while Horace is speaking of the good wishes the nurse has for her ward.

While Persius II, 46: "da fortunare Penatis da pecus et gregibus fetum! quo pessime, pacto,"

is a prayer much like Horace's prayer in Sat. II, 6, 14: "pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis!"

yet it seems natural that Persius should have Macrinus pray for *pecus et gregibus fetum,* without imitating Horace. The *quo, pessime, pacto* is again a natural expression for Persius to use here and he need not be imitating Horace sat. II, 7, 22: *quo pacto, pessime.*
Persius II, 59: *aurum vasa Numae Saturniaque inpulit aera*. These *vasa Numae* were called *capeudines* and *simpvua* Cic. Parad. I, 2: "Quid? Numae Pompillii minusne gratas dis immortalibus capeudines ac fictiles urnulas fuisse quam filicatas aliorum pateras arbitramur?" Juv. 6, 343: "Simpvuvium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum Et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas." The Scholia followed by Casaubon and Jahn, explain the *Saturnia---aera* of the use of brass coin, which was supposed to be connected with the early reign of Saturn in Italy. So it does not seem that Persius imitated Horace in this passage. Jahn compares Pers. II, 61: *o curvae in terris animae et, caelestium inanis*! with Hor. sat. II, 2, 79: *Affigit humo divinae particular aurae*. but the language rather suggests such passages as Ovid Met. I, 84: *Pronaque cum spectant animalia cetera terram* which the old commentators compare.

While Persius III, 6: *patula pecus omne sub ulmo est* has the same meaning as Horace Carm. III, 29, 21: *Iam pastor umbrae cum grege lanquido Rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi*, still it seems to me that Persius could describe a noon-time scene without imitating Horace, just as in line 7: *ocius adsit huc aliguis? Nemon?* he could describe the impatience of the late riser without copying.
from Horace sat. II,7,34: 'Nemone oleum feret ocius Ecquis audit'.

Persius III,44:
"Saepe oculos, memini, tangebam parvus olivo, grandia si nollem mortituri verba Catonis discere: non sano multum laudanda magistro" is like Hor. Ep.II,1,69:
"Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo Orbilium dictare;" in that both speak of their boyhood speechlearning, yet Persius could surely speak of his boyhood pranks without imitating Horace.

Persius sat. IV,1: Barbatum haec crede magistrum dicere has the same thought as Horace Sat. II,3,161: Craterum dixisse putato in that Craterus was a philosopher, and barbatum magistrum means a philosopher. It is not necessarily an imitation because the beard was the mark of the Stoic philosopher.

While Persius IV,28: Quandoque iugum pertusa ad compita figit has the same meaning as Horace Ep. I,1,5: Veianius armis Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro in the hanging up of the tools, yet it was a custom to hang up the tools during the holidays as a symbol of the suspension of labor. Ovid.F.1,665: Rusticus emeritum palo suspendat aratrum, and Vergil Aen. I,248 Armaque fixit Troia, both have instances of this custom.
Persius IV, 28-30:
"qui, quandoque iugum pertusa ad compita figt,
seriolae veterem metuens deradere limum
ingemit."
is similar to Horace Sat. II, 3, 143:
"qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,"
but it is stronger, just as Persius IV, 30-32:
"tunicatum cum sale mordens
cepe et ferratam pueris plaudentibus ollam
pannosam faecem morientis sorbet aceti?"
is stronger than Horace Sat. II, 3, 115-117:
"si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
mille cadis, nihil est, ter centium milibus acre
potet acetum."

Persius V, 4: Vulnera seu Parthi ducentis ab inguine
ferum is supposed to be an imitation of Horace sat. II,
1, 15: aut labentis equo describit volnera Parthi. The
thought of the wounded Parthian is the same but Persius
says that poets want one hundred voices, one hundred
mouths and one hundred tongues whether the play be for a
tragedian or a wounded Parthian, while Horace mentions
the subjects which he would treat if his powers were not
inadequate to the demands of epic poetry.

While Persius V, 8, 'Si quibus aut Prognes, aut
si quibus olla Thyestae fervebit' is supposed to be an imitation of Horace A. P. 186:

"Ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet
aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
aut in avem Procone vertatur,"

it is not necessarily so, for the stories of Tereus and Thyestes were common subjects of tragedy in Rome as well as in Athens and when Horace mentions the feast of Thyestes in A. P. 91 and 186 he mentions it as a stock tragic subject.

Persius V, 62: At te nocturnis iuvat inpallescere chartis does not seem to be an imitation of Hor. sat. II, 1, 28: me pedibus delectat claudere verba Lucili ritu because the meaning is not enough alike.

While Persius V, 66: "Quid? quasi magnum nempe diem donas? Sed cum lux altera venit, iam cras hesternum consumpsimus: ecce alius cras egerit hos annos et semper paulum erit ultra," is similar to Hor. Ep. I, 2, 41:

"Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam, rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis; at ille labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum," in that the one puts off the deed forever and the other the hour of living rightly, yet it is not alike otherwise.
Just so in Pers. V, 79: "Marco spondente recusas credere tu nummos? Marco sub iudice palles?"
the words spondente and sub iudice are like Horace Ep. I, 16, 42: "quo multae magnaeeque secantur iudice lites, quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur,"yet the meaning of the passages is different.

Persius V, 88: Vindicta postquam mensa praetore recessi has the same meaning as Hor. Sat. II, 7, 76: quem ter vindicta quaterque imposita haud unquam misera formidine privat? but is not necessarily an imitation, because slaves were manumitted with the rod.

Pers. V, 144: "calido sub pectore mascula bilis intimuit, quod non extinxerit urna cicutaee," is like Horace Ep. II, 2, 53: "sed quod non desit habentem quae poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutae,"in that the cicutaee is used as a remedy in both passages. It can not be said to be an imitation because it was customary to use poisonous plants as remedies.

Although Persius V, 152: cinis et manes et fabula fies has somewhat the same meaning that Horace Carm. IV, 7, 16: pulvis et umbra sumus has, yet it is not an imitation. The saying is a common one, and the rest of the passage is not enough alike to be called an imitation.
In sat. v. 191: Et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur Persius sets a value of a clipped as-piece on a Greek as Horace set a value of an as on Laevinus in sat. I, 6, 12: "contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis non unquam pretio pluris liquisse notante," but the but the value of an as was so small that it was used proverbially to denote a very small sum. Cato used it ap. Sen. Ep. 94: quod non opus est, asse, carum est. cf. Plin. Ep. I, 15: ad assem impendium reddere.

Cat. 5, 3: Rumores omnes unius aestimemus assis.

Cat. 42, 13: Non assis facis?

The same is true of Persius VI, 41: At tu, meus heres quisquis eris, paulum a turba seductio audi, and Hor. sat. I, 4, 25: Quemvis media elige turba.

It will be seen from the foregoing that while Persius was influenced by Horace in some instances, it is by no means necessary to consider every similar passage an imitation. In many cases where it has been thought that Persius was imitating Horace an examination of the expression will show that it had become proverbial before Persius' time, and it would of course be unjust to explain Persius' use of such a word or words as an imitation of any certain writer.

In the consideration of the proverbs I have made
frequent use of "Die Sprichwoerter und sprichwoertlichen Redensarten der Roemer." by Otto.

The expressions are divided into four classes:

(1) those which were first used by some earlier writer than Horace, and which are not found in Horace; (2) those which were first used by some earlier writer than Horace and which Horace also uses; (3) those which were first used by Horace; and (4) those which seem to have been first used by Persius.

In the first class, those expressions which were first used by some other writer than Horace and which Horace does not use, we find the following:

*Pers. I, 27: Scire tuum nihil est, nisi to scire hoc sciat alter?* This passage according to the scholiast is taken from Lucilius: "ut me scire volo dici, mihi conscius sum, ne damnnum faciam. Nescit, nisi alios id scire scierit." Apul. uses an expression of about the same meaning in *Met. 5, 10: "nec sunt enim beati, quorum divitias nemo novit."

Another proverb in this class is *Pers. I, 107: "Sed quid opus teneras mordaci radere vero auriculas, "about which the scholiast says: "veritas habet morsum et odium creat."

Terence in the Andria 68 has: *Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, which Otto says is quoted by Cicero de. amic.

Auson. sept. sap. 8, 3(20,191 Sch). Veritas odium parit.

Pers. II, 41: Poscis opem nervis corporque fidele senectae is also in this class. Terence uses the expression in the Phormio 575: Senectus ipse est morbus, which is quoted by the scholiast of Juvenal 10, 219. Senec. ep. 108, 28: "sed ait Vergiliam semper una ponere morbos et senectutem. Non mehercules immerito: senectus enim insanabilis morbus est." Cicero also has a similar expression in de senectute 11, 35: "pugnandum tamquam contra morborum vim, sic contra senectutem."

Pers. in II, 58: sitque illis aurea barba was probably thinking of a chryselephantine statue, as Petronius was in 58: non deridebis licet barbam auream habess. Plautus uses a similar expression in Bacch. 640: Hunc hominem decet auro expendi, huic decet statuam statui ex auro, and Vergil in eel. 7, 36, aureus esto.

Another proverb of this class is Pers. III, 65: Et quid opus Crateró magnae promittere montis? concerning which the Scholiast says: "in proverbio est: montes aureos". Terence uses in Phormio 68: modo non montis auri
pollicens, and Hieron. adv. Ruf. 3, 39 (col. 565 Vall.):
cum montes aureos pollicitus fueris.

Concerning Pers. 3, 83: *signi de nihilo nihilum* the
Scholia refer to Lucretius I, 150, 205. 2,287. Boeth.
Consol. phil. 5, 1 has a similar expression: *nihil ex
nihilo existere vera sententia est.*

The proverb used by Persius in 5, 76 *non tresis agas*
is found in a number of the plays of Plautus, in Poen. 463
non homo trioboli and in line 381 of the same play: *non ego
homo trioboli sum.* In Rud. 1354: *Non ego illic hodie
debeo triobolum,* and line 1330: *non potest trobolum hinc
abesse,* and in Bacch. 260 and Poen. 868.

Persius III, 96: *ne sis mihi tutor.* *Iam pridem
hunc sepeli: tu restas?* is a proverbial expression used
by Plautus in Aulul. 430: *nisi tu mihi es tutor,* and in
Vidul. fr. v. 129 Winter: *Quid tu istuc curas? an mihi
tutor additu's?* and Isidor in orig. 10, 5, 264: "Tutor
qui pupillum tuetur h. e. intuetur. De quo in consuet-
udine vulgari dicitur: Quid me mones? Et tutorem et
paedagogum olim obrui."

This first class shows that Persius used some pro-
verbs that Horace did not use. Knowing that he used
such proverbs makes it seem more likely that he was using
proverbial expressions and not imitating Horace when he
used proverbs that Horace also used.
The second class, in which I have placed those expressions which were first used by some other writer than Horace, and also used by Horace, contains the following:

Pars. I,11: cum sapinus patruos. Although we find patruae verbera linguae in Horace Odes 3,12,3; and adde iratum patrum in Hor. Sat. II, 2,96, yet patruus was used proverbially before Horace's time by Cicero p.Cael.11,25: fuit in hac causa pertristis quidam censor, patruus. Manil. also uses it in 5,454: Tutorisve supercilium patruive rigorem. Otto Jahn says "e comoedia videtur in proverbium fere abiisse."

Pars. I,28: At pulchrum est digito monstrari. The scholiast says: "Hic requiritur historia Demosthenis, qui cum transiret et a mercennario tabernariae digito monstraretur, fertur laetatus esse, quod ab ignobilibus sciretur." (Diog. Laert. 6,34). The expression is also found in Horace Odes 4,3,22: Quod monstror digito praetereuntium and in Cicero Tusc. 5,36,103; Pliny ep.9,23, 4; and Martial 6,82,3 and 9,97,3: quod turba semper in omni monstramut digito; and Tacitus or.7: quos ---- hic populus transeuntes nomine vocat et digito demonstrat.

Again Persius I,59: Auriculas imitari mobilis albas and I,121: Auriculas asini quis non habet? imply that the stupidity of an ass was proverbial. A similar thought is in Horace ep.1,13,8: Asinaeque paternum cognomen vertas in risum. But cf. Plautus, Pseud. 136: Neque
ego homines magis asinos numquam vidi; by Terence in Adelphoe 935 asine! Heautontim. 877 asinus and in the Eunuchus 598 te asinum tantum! by Cicero in ad. Att. 4, 5, 3: scio --- me asinum germanum fuisse and de orat. 2, 66, 267: si quintum pareret mater eius, asinum fuisse parituram. Of the later writers Martial uses it in 12, 36, 13: Nulla est gloria praeterire asello, and Apul. met. 4, 5: tamdiu mortuo, immo vero lapideo asino servientes, and 10, 13: nec enim tam stultus eram tamque vero asinus. Pers. I, 103: si testiculi venaulla paterni viveret in nobis? has the same thought as Cicero ad Qu. fr. 2, 9(11), 3: virum te putabo and ad Att. 10, 7, 2: si vir esse volet, and Horace Epod. 15, 12: si quid in Flacco virist. Ovid also uses the same thought in fast. 6, 594: Si vir es, i, dictas exige dotis opes! and Martial 2, 69, 8: si vir es ecce, nega and 6, 14, 4: virum putabo; and Apul. met. 2, 17 si vir es.

Another proverb of this second class is Pers. I, 107: sed quid opus teneras mordacis radere vero auriculas? which although found in Horace Sat. II, 5, 32: gaudent praenomine molles auriculae is also in Cicero ad. qu. fr. 2, 15, 4: (me) fore oricula infima scito molliorem, and 3, 4, 2: Ad inimicitias res venisset --- auriculam fortasse mordicus abstulisset; in Catullus 25, 2: Kollior ---
imula oricilla; and in Amm. Marcell. 19, 12, 5: ima, quod aient, auricula mollior.

Concerning Pers. II, 1: Hunc, Macrine, diem numeram meliore lapillo, the scholiast says: "quem diem laetitiae albo calculo more Cretensium indicat assignandum, quod Cretenses definientes vitam ex laetitia constare, dies laetos albo lapillo et tristes nigro indicabant, postea computo facto lapillorum videbant, quantos dies laetos in anno viderint et eos se vixisse testificabantur." The same custom is mentioned of the Scythian Phylarch in Zenob. 6, 13, and of the Thracians in Plin. n. h. 7, 131: "more Thraciae gentis, quae calculos colore distinctos pro experimento cuisque diei in urnam condit ac supremo die separatos dinumerat atque ita de quoque pronuntiat."

Catallus 68, 148: Quem lapide illa diem candidiore notat 107, 6: o lucem candidiore nota! uses the same thought as does Horace in odes I, 36, 10: Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota; Martial in 8, 45, 2. 10, 38, 2. 11, 36, 1. 9, 52, 4: Felix utraque lux diesque nobis signandi melioribus lapillis and Plin. ep. 6, 11, 3: diem ---- laetum notandumque mihi candidissimo calculo; and Symmach. ep. 1, 96(90): albo calculo veterum more signabo.

The practically proverbial use of Orestes in sat. 3, 118 to denote a madman has been noted above p. 5.

Concerning Pers. 4, 24: Sed praecedenti spectatur mantica
tergo! the scholiast states "Aesopus apologistorum scriptor dicebat, unumquemque hominem duas manticas ferre vitis plenas, et in ea, quae ante pectus est, aliena vitia, in ea vero, quae a tergo est, nostra. Eoque evenit, ut aliena potius delicta quam propria videamus" (quoted by Hieron, ep. 102, 2).


Pers. 4, 27: hunc dis iratis genioque sinistro. The thought of the angry gods and unfavorable genius is found in Plaut. Mil. Glor. 314: Quis magis deis inimicis natus quam tu atque iratis? and in Most. 563: natus dis inimicis omnibus; in Phaedr. fab. 4, 20, 15: Dis est iratis natus, qui est similis tibi; Senec. Apoc. 11: Videte corpus eius dis iratis natum; Curt. 6, 10, 32: Quid enim me procreabas infeliciem adversantibus dis? and in Juvenal 10, 129: Dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro. Horace uses the expression jestingly in sat. II, 3, 7: immertiusque laborat iratis natus paries dis atque poetis; Sat. II, 7, 14: Vertumine, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis; and sat. I, 5, 97: Gnatia lymphis iratis exstructa.

Pers. 5, 7: Grande locuturi nebulae Helicone legunto.

About the same thought is expressed in Plautus Poen. 274:
Cuius ero hercle nebulae cyatho septem noctes non eman
and in Horace a. p. 230: dum vitat humum, nubes et inania
captet; in Gell. 8, 10 lemm.: remotarum autem quaestionum
nebulas et formidines.

The proverb in Pers. 5, 52: Mille hominum species et
rerum discolor usus; velle suum cuique est, is a common one.
It is found in Terence Phormio 454:

Quot homines, tot sententiae; suos cuique mos.


Hor. Sat. II, 1, 27: Quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
milia.

Ovid art. am. 1, 759: Pectoribus mores tot sunt, quot in
orbe figurae.

Ambros. de. virgin. 2, 5, 33: et quoniam quot homines, tot
sententiae.

Ennod. p. 4, 1, Vog.: quot hominum genera, tot sententiarum
varietates.

The scholiast tells us that Persius 5, 92: dum veteres
avias tibi de pulmone revello means aniles fabulas. Cicero
uses the expression in de. nat. deor. 3, 5, 12: nec fabellas
aniles proferas. Horace in Sat. II, 6, 77: garrit anilis ex
re fabellas; Apul. in Apol. 25: per nescio quas anilis
fabulas; Min. Fel. in Oct. 11, 2: aniles fabulas adstruunt;
and Lactant. in inst. 5, 1, 26: ad aniles fabulas.

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The last proverb of the second class is a well known one about *flying time*. Pers. uses it in sat. 5, 153:

*fugit hora*; Cicero in Tusc. 1, 31, 76: *volat enim aetas*. 
Vergil in the Georgics 3, 284: *Sed fugit interea. fugit irreparabile tempus*, and in the Aen. 10, 467: *breve et irreparabile tempus*. Horace uses it in Carm. 2, 18, 15:

*Truditur dies die and in epod.17, 25: Urget diem nox et dies noctem*; Seneca in ep. 24, 26: *Diem nox premit, dies noctem* and in ep. 123, 10: *Fluunt dies et irreparabilis vita decurrit*; Ovid also uses the expression several times in art. am. 3, 65: *cito pede labitur aetas*; in am. 1, 8, 49; and in fast. 6, 772: *fugunt --- dies*; Colum. in 10, 159:

*tacito nam tempora pressu diffugiant* and in 11, 1, 29:

*Praeterlabentis vero temporis fuga, quam sit irreparabilis, quis dubitet?* and Auson. Epigr. 13, 4(12, 4Sch.): *Nec revocare potes, qui periere dies.*

The expressions in the preceding class had become proverbial before Horace's time, so why should Persius be said to be imitating Horace more than Terence or Catullus or any of the earlier writers who had used the expression under discussion.

In the third class, which contains the expressions that seem to have been first used by Horace, we find the following:

Pers. I, 40: *Rides, ait, et nimis uncis naribus indulges* and in I, 118: *Callidus excusso populum sus-*
pendere naso. Horace uses the same expression in sat. I, 6, 5: \textit{Naso suspendis adunco}; sat. II, 8, 64: \textit{suspendens omnia naso}, and in ep. I, 19, 45: \textit{Ad haec ego naribus uti formido} and seems to be the earliest writer using it. Martial also uses it in I, 3, 6; and Phaedr. 4, 7, 1.

Pers. I, 65: \textit{per leve severos ecfundat iunctura unguis} about which the scholiast says: "Quod autem dicit unguis, tractum est a marmorariis, qui quotiens volunt bene co- aptatam iuncturam marmoris approbare, ungue experiuntur, si ualla inaequalitas ipsam levitatem offendit," is another proverb that seems to have originated with Horace, who uses it in sat. I, 5, 32: \textit{Fonteius, ad unguem factus homo} and in a. p. 294: "carmen reprehendite quod non multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem."

Of the later writers Auson. uses it in id. 16, 3(30,3Sch.): \textit{totum se explorat ad unguem}; Macrobi. sat. I, 16, 38: \textit{ad unguem, ut aiunt, emendatum ordinem non probaret}. Ennod. uses it a number of times in p. 8, 23: \textit{Vog. ad unguem polita conversatio}; p. 9, 15 quem evadere ad unguem ducta vita non meruit; p. 17, 18: \textit{ad unguem politi sermonis splendor}; and in p. 21, 3: p. 114, 39. and p. 171, 11. Ter. Maur. uses it in 344 (p. 336K) \textit{polivit usque finem ad unguis extimum}.

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Another proverb of this class which Persius uses in I, 133: Si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellat, and in II, 28: Idcirco stolidam praebet tibi vellere barbam Juppiter?is found in Horace sat. I, 3, 133: vellunt tibi barbam lascivi pueri and in Martial 10, 90, 9; noli barbam vellere mortuo leoni.

Persius in III, 60: Est aliquid quo tendis, et in quod derigis arcum? uses an expression that is thought to have originated with Horace a. p. 350; Nec semper feriet quod-cumque minabitur arcus. Otto says that it is not certain whether this has proverbial foundation or not. But Woelfflin(Krieg und Frieden in Sprichw. d. Romer p. 209) thinks that the expression became popular, as could perhaps be concluded from Persius III, 60.

In Sat. 4, 12 Persius uses a proverb rectum discernis ubi inter curva subit which Horace used in ep. II, 2, 44: Scilicet ut vellem curvo discernere rectum and which Anthol. also used in lat. 2n. 789, 6R.: curvo discernere rectum --- permitte.

Another proverb of this class is Pers. 4, 14: Quin tu igitur, summa nequiquam pelle decorus, ante diem blando caudam iactare popello desinis? which Horace used in sat. II, 1, 64: Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora cederet introrsum turpis and ep. I, 14, 45: Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decorae, Otto thinks that the well
known fable of the donkey that put on the lion's skin is the basis of this proverb.

Pers. 4, 16: Anticyras melior sorbere meraces!

Anticyra was noted because Hellebore, a plant that was used as a remedy for madness, grew there. Horace uses it several times in sat. II, 3, 166: Naviget Anticyram; in sat. II, 3, 83: Nescio an Anticyra, ratio illis destinet omnem, and in a.p. 300: tribus Anticyris caput insanabile. Ovid also uses it in ex Pont. 4, 3, 52: bibe --- quicquid et in tota nascitur Anticyra; and Juvenal in 13, 97: si non eget Anticyra; and Auson. ep. 4, 69: nisi cor purgeris aceto Anticyramve bipes.


The seemingly proverbial expression found in Pers. Sat. 4, 42: Caedimus inque vicem praebemus orura sagittis, is also used by Horace in ep. 2, 2, 97: Caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem.

Concerning Pers. Sat. 4, 46: Egregium cum me vicinia dicat, non credam? the scholiast notes: "Vetus est praecceptum, ne aliis de se quisquam plus quam sibi credat." It
has much the same meaning as Horace ep. I, 16, 19: Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas. Senec. uses a similar expression in ep. 80, 10: intus te ipse considera; nunc qualis sis, aliis credis.

The proverb in Persius 5, 108: illa prius creta, mox haec carbone notasti? seems to have been originated by Horace in sat. II, 3, 246: Sani ut creta an carbone notati?

Pers. 5, 111: Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum seems also to have originated with Horace ep. I, 16, 63: qui liberior sit avarus, in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem.


Pers. 6, 13: Angulus ille vicini nostro quia pinguior is much like Horace sat. I, 1, 110: Quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber, about which Porphyrio writes: "Proverbialis est autem sensus, quo etiam Ovidius usus est". Ovid uses it in art. am. 1, 349: Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris, vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.
and Juven. 14, 142: *Maiorque videter et melior vicina seres*
and Horace in ep. I, 2, 57: *Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opinis.*

Concerning Pers. 6, 25: *Mesce tenus propria vive,*

In the fourth and last class, which contains those expressions, which seem to have been first used proverbially by Persius we find the following:

Pers. sat. I, 47: *Neque enim mihi cornea fibra est.* This is imitated by Apoll. Sidon. ep. 8, 11, 20: *Corneasque fibras mollit.* Petronius used it in 134: *nisi illud tam rigidum reddidero quam cornu.*

Pers. 4, 26: *Dives erat Curibus quantum non milvus errat* is according to the proverb: "Quantum milvi volant" which the scholiast quotes. Petronius 37: *Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet,* qua *milvi volant* uses *milvi volant* to show the extent of the fields as Persius does and as Juvenal also does in 9, 54: *tot praedia servas Apula,* *tot milvos intra tua pascua lassos* about which the Scholiast says: "Vult ostendere magnitudinem possessionum poeta, quam latae sint agris, quoniam nec milvi transvolare eas possunt", and
Tertull. adv. Marc. 3, 24: *volant velut qui sunt milvi, ut nubes volant.*

Both of the preceding expressions as well as those which follow seem to have originated as proverbs with Persius as there is no record of any previous writer having used them proverbially.

Pers. I, 10: *nucibus facimus quaecumque reliquis* means since we quit our childish plays.


Pers. 3, 30: *ego te intus et in cute novi* is quoted by Hieron. ep. 58, 7 and adv. Ruf. 2, 16. It means I know you thoroughly.

The above discussion of the proper names, of the passages, which have been considered similar, and of the proverbs, shows that Persius was not the close imitator of Horace he has sometimes been called. This is further shown by the fact that Persius in many cases was undoubtedly influenced by other writers than Horace. We may then think of Persius as an educated man who had probably read with especial interest the satirists who had preceded him, and by whom he was, without doubt, often consciously or unconsciously influenced, but he was evidently a man
of too much intellect to have been the servile imitator of Horace that some critics have made him.
This thesis is never to leave this room.
Neither is it to be checked out overnight.