THE USE OF THE FABLE
IN ROMAN SATIRE

by

Martha McKenzie Reid, A. B.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the

GRADUATE SCHOOL

of the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1913
It is the purpose of this paper to collect, discuss, and as far as possible to trace to their origin the fables which are used in Latin Satire.

The term Satire has been used throughout the discussion to designate those writings which may strictly be classed as poetical satire, excluding such writers as Varro, Petronius, and the author of the Ἀποκλοκόντωσις, also Tacitus, whose annals, though satirical in tone, may more fittingly be classed under another form of literary composition.

Just where to begin to search for the earliest use of the fable in connection with Latin satire is difficult to determine, by reason of the fact that the derivation of the term saturae has become of recent years a much mooted question.*

*Livy (Bk. VII, 2) traces the development of Roman Satire back to the early Italian drama which had its origin in pious chants and prayers to the gods. These were followed by the Fescennine verses, which gradually developed into a rude sort of dialogue in which the actors assailed and ridiculed their audience and each other. In 364 B.C., during the ravages of a pestilence, in order to propitiate the gods, the senate called in a troop of actors from Etruria, and from them the Romans learned their art and put upon the stage rude exhibitions which from their miscellaneous character took the name of Saturae.

Livius Andronicus was the first to give up these Saturae and to introduce a plot after the Greek type. The ancient Saturae, thus driven off the stage, developed into Satire, which
Whatever we may accept as the origin of the term, the style of writing which it came to designate was regarded by the Romans as distinctly their own. Quintilian's "Satura quidem tota nostra est" Bk. I. 1, 93 and Horace's "Groecis intacti carminis" Bk. I. Sat. X, 66 indicate a Roman's pride in a form of literature which he believed originated with himself. It is also true that the tone is sufficiently familiar to permit the introduction of fables for illustration as freely as in conversation.

has always continued to bear the marks of its early miscellaneous and dramatic character. The question as to the truthfulness of this account of Livy has given rise to much discussion by later classical scholars, among them:

Jahn; Hermes II, p. 225
Kiesling; Horace II, Introduction pp. IX, X
Leo; Hermes XXIV p. 67 ff.
Leo; Hermes XXXIX p. 63.
Cl. Ph. VI, p. 334, ff.

While not agreeing as to the origin of Roman Satire, the above writers do unite in refusing to accept the account of Livy as based upon genuine data either of history or tradition. An attempt to answer their objections has been made recently by the following scholars:
Taking into consideration the limitations before referred to, this paper will confine itself to a discussion of Ennius, Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal with reference to their use of the fable. I have used the term fable in a limited sense, referring strictly to the beast fable, not including myths or folk tales as Bulfinch and other writers on mythological subjects have done. The Encyclopedia Britannica distinguishes myth from fable in that the former

Knapp, A. J. P. XXXIII, p. 125
Ingersoll: Cl. Ph. VII, p. 59
Webb: Cl. Ph. VII, p. 177

The latter go back to the dramatic origin of Roman satire, arguing that those who reject this source have involved themselves in difficulties which they have been unable to solve by any facts thus far adduced.

In the last number of Classical Philology (April, 1913, p. 172) B. T. Ullman of the University of Pittsburg, discusses the meaning of the word Satura, tracing its use back to an independent noun meaning 'filling', from which all other meanings seem to be derived. His conclusion is that as a literary term it did not lose its early meaning of medley and take on the meaning of satire until the time of Horace and that its application to a single poem began after the time of Persius, perhaps in Juvenal's day. He promises a discussion of the so-called dramatic satire based on Livy VII 2 at a later date.
grows and is not made, is the spontaneous and uncon-
scious product of primitive fancy as it plays around
some phenomenon of nature or historical fact. Samuel
Johnson in his life of John Gay (p. XXI) says, "A
fable or an apologue seems to be in its genuine state
a narrative in which beings irrational and sometimes
inanimate are for the purpose of moral instruction feigned
to act and speak with human interests and passions."
And Phaedrus in his introduction to his collection of
fables (ed. Mueller, pp. 1, ff.) writes:

"Aesopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.
Duplex libelli dos est: quod risum movet
Et quod prudenti vitam consilio monet.
Calumniari si quis autem voluerit,
Quod arbores loquantur, non tantum ferae,
Fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis."

Avianus in his introduction to his collection of fables
35, ff.):
"Huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noueris, qui responsa delphici Apollinis monitus ridicula orsus est, ut sequenda firmaret. uerum has pro exemplo fabulas et Socrates diuinis operibus indidit et poemati suo Flaccus aptauit, quod in se sub iocorum communium specie uitae argumenta contineant. quas Graecis iambis Babrius repetens in duo uolumina coartauit. Phaedrus etiam partem aliquam quinque in libellos resoluit. de his ergo ad quadraginta et duas in unum redactas fabulas dedi, quas rudi latinitate compositas elegis sum explicare conatus. habes ergo opus, quo animum oblectes, ingenium exerces, sollicitudinem leues totumque uiuendi ordinem catus agnoscas. loqui uero arbores, feras cum hominibus gemere, uerbis certare uolucres, animalia ridere fecimus, ut pro singulorum necessitatibus uel ab ipsis inanimis sententia proferatur."

The purpose then of the writer of fables seems to be two-fold: first, to arouse interest; and second, to convey instruction.

The structure of the fable includes: first, the story itself; second, the maintenance of the individual characteristics of the personages introduced; and third, the deduction of the moral.

The Greeks had four expressions for fable: aliqua, corresponding to the Latin exemplum and including the allegory, from which the beast fable, the riddle, and a certain kind of proverb developed.
With special significance as a beast fable \( \alpha \nu \rho \sigma \) was first used by Hesiod (Works and Days, 202-211). From this application grammarians later used \( \alpha \nu \rho \sigma \) as the terminus technicus for the fable, "indicating a story which veils an admonition or reproof by the means of a fiction of some event which has occurred among beasts." (K. O. Mueller, History of Literature of Ancient Greece, Vol. I, p. 191).

The most widespread expression for fable among the Greeks is \( \mu \nu \theta \alpha \). Its meaning is shown for the first time in Aeschylus' Myrmaidones, (frg. 129, p. 274, ed. Dindorf):

\[
\text{\textquoteleft} \text{\textquoteleft} \omega \theta' \epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \mu \nu \theta \omega \nu \tau \omega \nu \lambda \nu \beta \nu \sigma \tau \kappa \omega \nu \kappa \lambda \epsilon \omega \sigma \text{\textquoteright}\text{\textquoteright}
\]

\[
\pi \lambda \eta \gamma \epsilon \nu \tau , \alpha \tau \rho \alpha \kappa \tau \omega \tau \xi \kappa \omega \tau \omega \nu \\epsilon \iota \sigma \iota
\]

The word also included fairy-tales as in Aristophanes' Wasps (1251). In Homer it was used like \( \lambda \nu \rho \nu \sigma \), a story, without distinction of true or false. After Pindar it assumes the same sense as the Latin fabula and connotes fiction in distinction from \( \lambda \nu \rho \nu \sigma \), the historic tale. In \( \alpha \nu \rho \sigma \) the fabulous element, in \( \lambda \nu \rho \nu \sigma \) the rational element is emphasized. \( \lambda \nu \rho \nu \sigma \) in this sense is found first in Herodotus (1. 141).

\( \hat{\phi} \nu \lambda \nu \rho \nu \sigma \) is the Greek word which was commonly used by the Romans to denote fable. (Cicero de Oratore 2, 66)

From the usage of the ancients it is possible to draw no sharp distinction between any of these conceptions. Fairy tale, fable, parable, and allegory were not originally given separate
names by the Greeks, but literature of this kind, itself always changing, had changing names.

History of the Fable. The fable goes back to the remotest antiquity. Its origin is to be found in man's impulse to express his thoughts in images and it is strictly parallel to the use of the metaphor in language. It is the most widely diffused, if not the most primitive, form of literature. With the fable as we know it the moral is indissoluble; it was not so with its progenitor, the primitive beast fable. But "from a story invented to account for some peculiarity of the animal world to the moral apologue the transition was easy and was probably accomplished by the savages themselves." (E. B. Tyler, Primitive culture, Vol. I, p. 411).

To determine definitely the birthplace of the fable seems an impossible task. The claim of Hindustan is strong, and here we find two groups: the Pancha Tantra, or fables of the Brahman Vishnu Sarman, probably dating from the second century before Christ, translated from the Sanskrit into almost every language and adopted by modern fabulists; and the Kililah and Dimma, or fables of Bidpai, which passed from India to Western Europe through the Fahlavi or ancient Persian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, and is known in its modern form as the Hitopadesa. In the advanced civilization of ancient Egypt the beast fable held an important place, and it may here have made its first appearance.*

* Levêque, "Les Fables Eropiques de Sabrius" (Paris, 1890) assigns these fables, for the most part, to Egyptian and Oriental
Its popularity was due to the respect of the ancient Egyptians for the unerring instinct of animals. The story of the Lion and the Mouse in finished form is said to have been found in a papyrus dating from 1200 to 1166 B.C.

Harper's Classical Dictionary: Novels and Romances, p. 1106)

The claim of Greece as the birthplace of the fable rests upon the somewhat doubtful existence of a Phrygian slave named Aesop, who perhaps lived in the sixth century before Christ and who has been commonly regarded as the originator of this type of literature. He is mentioned by Herodotus (II, 134). Aristophanes four times refers to his tales (Wasps 566, 1251, 1437 ff.; Birds 652 ff.). Fables, though possibly never written down, are ascribed to him by Xenophon, Aristotle, and Plutarch. Plato (Phaedo, 60 C, 61 B) represents Socrates as beguiling his last days by versifying such fables as he remembers, and as accepting Aesop as a moral teacher.

After summing up the claims of each of these various countries as the birthplace of the fable, the most sensible conclusion seems to be that it did not owe its origin to one sources as does also T. W. Rhys Davids in the introduction to his translation of the Buddhist Birth Stories (Vol. I, p. 3).
country or to one age, but, as has already been suggested, is simply the outgrowth of man's natural tendency to express himself in images and hence has reflected in its various forms the life of the countries in which it had birth.

The most trustworthy version of the so-called Aesop's Fables is that of Babrius, who rendered them into Greek choriambic verse.* These were long known only in fragments, but were recovered in a manuscript found in a monastery on Mount Athos about the middle of the last century and now preserved in the British Museum. An inferior version in Latin iambics was made by Phaedrus, a slave of Thracian origin of the time of Augustus. Aphthonius, A. D. 460, in Greek prose, and Avianus, fourth century A. D., in Latin elegiacs, form the links between classical and mediaeval times.

* The date of Babrius as well as the extent of his contributions to fable literature is still a matter of considerable dispute. Some place him as early as 250 B.C., others in 235 A.D., others make him a contemporary of Augustus. In his edition of Babrius, prolegomena, p. XXVIII, Crusius places him in the time of the empire. By some who reject the existence of an Aesop, it is claimed that Babrius is the author of these fables.
The earliest use of the fable in Roman satire dates back to the beginning of the second century before Christ. When Ennius wishes to emphasize the fact, "Ne quid expectes amicos quod tute agere possies," he used the fable of the Lark and her Young. The story as Ennius told it has been preserved by Gellius (Bk. II, 29).* Babrius gives it in somewhat different form (88 p. 77) it appears again in the collection of Avianus (21, p. 52) in the fourth century and continues to be one of the most popular of this type of fables. To bridge the space between the supposed date of a supposed Aesop and the time of Ennius is as yet impossible.

These stories were handed down in various ways, chiefly by oral tradition, but they belong to a type of literature which passes naturally and easily from father to son, and the repeated references to such tales in Greek literature of this period is evidence that they were current among the Greeks even though we have no collection earlier than that of Babrius.

A comparison of the Latin and Greek versions of the fable in question brings out several differences. The Latin

---

* In the Ennianae Poesis Reliquae Ed. Vahlen II de Libris Ennianisi p. CCXII, Vahlen claims that he has been the first to discover that Gellius has taken the story of the Lark and her Young, not from Aesop, but directly from the satires of Ennius; that before his discovery no one, after it, every one, assigned this fable to the fragments of Ennius.
text reads as follows:

"Avicula" inquit 'est parva, nomen est cassita.
Habitat nidulaturque in segetibus, id ferme temporis,
ut appetat messis pullis iam iam plumantibus. Ea
 cassita in sementes forte congesserat tempestiviores;
propterea frumentis flavescentibus pulli etiam tunc
involuces erant. Dum igitur ipsa iret cibum pullis
quaesitum, monet eos, ut, si quid ibi rei novae fieret
dicereturve, animadverterent idque uti sibi, ubi redisset,
nuntiarent. Dominus postea segetum illarum filium
adulescentam vocat et 'videsne' inquit 'haec ematuru-
isse et manus iam postulare? idcirco die crastini, ubi
primum diluculabit, fac amicos eas et roges, veniant
operamque mutuam dent et messim hanc nobis adiuvent'.
Hae ubi ille dixit, et discessit. Atque ubi redit
cassita, pulli tremibundi, trepiduli circumstrepere
orareque matrem, ut iam statim properet inque alium locum
esse asportet: 'nam dominus' inquiant 'misit, qui amicos
roget, uti luce oriente veniant et metant'. Mater iubet
eos otioso animo esse: 'si enim dominus' inquit 'messim
ad amicos reicet, crastino seges non metetur neque necessum
est, hodie uti vos auferam.' 'Die' inquint 'postero mater
in pabulum volat. Dominus, quos rogaverat, opperitur. Sol
fervit, et fit nihil; it dies, et amici nulli eunt. Tum
ille rursus ad filium 'amici isti magnam partem' inquit
'cessatores sunt. Quin potius imus et cognatos adfines
(amicos) que nostros oramus, ut assint cras temporis ad
metendum? Itidem hoc pulli pavesfacti matri nuntiant. 
Mater hortatur, ut tum quoque sine metu ac sine cura sint, 
cognatos adfinesque nullos ferme tam esse obsequibles 
sit, ut ad laborem capessendum nihil cunctetur et 
statim dicto oboediens: 'vos modo' inquit 'advertite, si 
modo quid denuo dicetur.' Alia luce orta avis in pastum 
profecta est. Cognati et adfines operam, quam dare 
rogati sunt, supersederunt. Ad postremum igitur dominus 
filio 'valeant' inquit 'amicis cum propinquis. Afferes 
primo luci falces duas; unam egomet mihi et tutibì capies 
alteram et frumentum nosmetipsi manibus nostris cras 
metemus.' Id ubi ex pullis dixisse dominum mater audivit, 
'tempus' inquit 'est cedendi et abeundi; fiet nunc dubio 
procul quod futurum dixit. In ipso enim iam vertitur 
cuia res est, non in alio, unde petitur.' Atque ita cassita 
nidum migravit, seges a domino demessa est.'-----------

Hoc erit tibi argumentum semper in promptu 
situm:

Ne quid expectes amicos, quod tute agere 
possies."

Babrius (68) gives the following version:

"Κορίνθιος ἦν τὸς ἐν χλόῃ νεοσειύων,
ό τῷ χαρασμένῳ πρὸς τὸν ὀρθρὸν αἴνταιθων,
καὶ παῖδας εἰκε ληίου κόμηθες ἐςις ὕπαθαι 
λοφὼν ἥθη καὶ πτεροῖ σε ἀκμαίος.
ό δὲ τῆς ἀρούρης δεσπότης ἐποπτεύων

As Fabrius tells it, the story is shorter, deals artistic less with details and is not so/ as the Latin version.

The setting is the same except that in the Greek version the father lark plays the leading role and from his lips fall the wise decisions upon which the moral is based. The \( \mu \nu \theta \alpha \) contains much the same thought as that of \( \pi \nu \mu \) - to attend to one's own affairs as far as possible and not to rely upon the assistance of a friend. An interesting, though not altogether successful, attempt to throw this fable into dactylic hexameter has been made by Ribbeck (Rh. M. X, p. 290).
This seems to be the only use of the fable in Ennius' satires.

From the fragments which remain, it is not possible to determine to what extent Lucilius made use of the fable. There seem to be traces of one in Bk. IV, v. 168:

"Longior hic quam grus, grue tota cum volat olim."

The line is preserved by Nonius as follows:

"Longior hic quam grues, grege concita cum volat olim" but there is so little apparent connection between the quotation and its setting that it seems impossible to determine whether or not the poet had a fable in mind.

There are a number of fables in which the crane plays a leading role, but in this case the lines are so fragmentary that the point of the story seems to be lost.

In Bk. VIII, v. 286:

"esuriente leonis exore exculpere praedam" a reference to some beast fable is suggested, but here again the connection is so obscure that the meaning remains doubtful and no method of determining upon any particular story has presented itself. Marx suggests that the quotation is a proverb and cites similar expressions:

Martial v. 1, 64, 27.

"rabido nec perditus ore

Fumantem nasum vivi temptaveris ursi."

Otto, Die Sprichworter der Romer (p. 189)

"Deprandi item leoni si obdas oreas."

The only unmistakable fragment of a fable which I
have found in Lucilius is that of the Fox and the Lion (Bk. XXX, v. 980 ff.). The lines in their setting are as follows:

"leonem aegrotum ac lassum.
tristem, et corruptum scabie, et porriginis plenum
inluvies scabies oculos huic deque petigo
conscendere.
deducta tunc voce leo: 'cur tu opsa venire
non vis huc?
Sed tamen hoc dicas quid sit, si noenu molestum est
quid sibi vult, quare fit, ut intro versus et ad te
spectent atque ferant vestigia se omnia prorsus."

Whilst in this instance there can be no doubt as to the story
which was in Lucilius' mind, the application can only be
guessed at and the θυμ must remain doubtful.

Horace refers to the same fable (Epp. I 1 70-75):

"Quod si me populus Romanus roget, cur
Non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
Nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit:
Olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam: 'quia me vestigia terrent,
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorum.'

is used as a warning against heaping up riches, a passion
Horace thinks, rarely cured. In Epode II the miser, Alphius,
serves to illustrate the same belief of the poet shown
from another viewpoint.

In Plato's _Alcibiades_ 123A, there is a brief reference to the same tale, where in comparing the wealth of the Athenians and of the Lacedaemonians he explains the greater wealth of the latter by the assertion "as in the fable of Aesop the fox said to the lion, 'The prints of the feet of those going in are distinct enough, but who ever saw the trace of money going out of Lacedaemon?"

We have the fable as given in Themistius quoted by Marx (Lucilii Carmina, Ed. Fr. Marx, vol. II, p. 319):

```

Λέων ἐπ' ἀγρην οὐκέτι σθένων βαίνειν πολλῷ γὰρ ἦς τῷ χρόνῳ, γεγηρακέν
κόσλης ἐσώ σφαλνῆς οἰκίτις νοῦσῳ καίμνων ἐβεβλητ' οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀσθμαίνων,
φωνὴν βαρεῖαν προσποιητὰ λεπτύνων
θηρῶν σ' ἐπ' αὐλὰς ἠλθὲν ἄγγελος φήμη,
καὶ πάντες ἤλογον ἡς λέοντος ἀρρώστον,
ἐπισκοπήσων σ' εἰς ἐκατόσως εἰσήλ
τοῦτον ἐφεξῆς λαμβαίνων ἄμορφητως
κατήσθειν, γῆρας δὲ λιπαρὸν ηὐρῆκεν.
οὐφὴ σ' ἀλωπη ξύπνοσε, καὶ πόρρω
σταθείσαν βασιλεῖ, πῶς ἐκεῖσ; μ' ἐπηρωτα.
```
In my study of Horace I have included both satires and epistles because of their nearness in point of style, although the latter are for the most part shorter and more personal in tone and have a more distinctly ethical purpose. Horace has made use of the largest number of fables to be found in Roman satire. This may be due to several causes. The fable adapted itself easily and naturally to Horace's good-natured style of fault-finding. It was in accordance with the nature of the man who never talked from the platform or with the assumption of superior virtue that under the veil
of some familiar story which would appeal to his audience, he should teach them the serious lessons which are the keynote of his didactic writings. In the third place, Horace frankly acknowledges Archilochus and Lucilius as his masters and models, and both of these writers made use of the fable. See Lucilius as above quoted and Archilochus, Anthologia Lyrica (Ed. Bergk, 81, p. 12). In his satires and epistles, Horace has used eleven fables – seven by way of allusion, four complete. Although the story is nowhere given in full, Horace three times alludes to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin.

In S. I, 6, 22, he argues that even if the people did prefer a high-born gentleman to an obscure worthy man (which they do not do), they would be justified in so doing, since the man of low birth had no right to get out of his place – "quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem." 

In S. II, 1, 64, he uses the expression "Detrahere et pellem", referring to Lucilius' fashion of tearing away all masks which serve to conceal real conditions.

In Epp. I, 16, 45, there is a similar suggestion of veiling baseness "pelle decoræ." The same story is told by Lucian Pisc 32 (Fowler's Trans. I, p. 2 20). In this case we find the Cymeans awed by the ass's bray until a stranger explained to them the truth. It is interesting to note that this is one of the stories given in the Buddha Birth Book upon which is based the argument that Hindustan is the birthplace
of fables. The Eastern version is as follows (Buddhist Birth Stories, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, Vol. I, Introduction, p. V): "The Ass in the Lion's Skin. Once upon a time while Brahma-datta was reigning in Benares, the future Buddha was born one of a peasant family; when he grew up, he gained his living by tilling the ground. At that time a hawker used to go from place to place, trafficking in goods carried by an ass. Now at each place he came to, when he took the pack down from the ass's back, he used to clothe him in a lion's skin, and turn him loose in the rice and barley fields. And when the watchmen in the fields saw the ass they dared not go near him, taking him for a lion.

So one day the hawker stopped in a village; and whilst he was getting his own breakfast cooked, he dressed the ass in a lion's skin and turned him loose in a barley field. The watchmen in the field dared not go up to him; but going home, they published the news. Then all the villagers came out with weapons in their hands; and blowing chanks, and beating drums, they went near the field and shouted. Terrified with the fear of death, the ass uttered a cry - the cry of an ass! And when he knew him then to be an ass, the future Buddha pronounced the First Satzna:

"This is not a lion's roaring,
Nor a tiger's, nor a panther's;
Dressed in a lion's skin,
'Tis a wretched ass that roars!"

But when the villagers knew the creature to be an ass, they beat him till his bones broke; and, carrying off the lion's
skin, went away. Then the hawker came; and seeing the ass fallen in so bad a plight, pronounced the Second Stanza:

"Long might the ass,
Clad in a lion’s skin,
Have fed on barley green.

But he brayed!
And that moment he came to ruin."

And even while he was yet speaking, the ass died on the spot!

The greed of legacy-hunters is held up to ridicule by the allusion to the story of the Fox and the raven; S. II, 5, 55 ff.:

"Plerumque recoctus
Scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem", the "corvum hiantem" being the will-hunter, whom the fox, in this case the scribe, is clever enough to deceive.

In Epp. I, 17, 50-51, Horace seems to refer to the same fable:

"Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
Plus dapis, et rixae multo minus invidiaeque"

to show that like Sir Crow, many people would be better off if they were less anxious to attract attention to themselves and their possessions. The same story is told by Babrius (77)

"Kórařες ἄδημης στόματα τυρόν εἰστῇ ἑκεῖ. Τυρόν τε ἄλωπης ἐκανώσα κερδῷν, μυλὼν τον ὀρνιν ἐπὶ τῆς τοιούτῳ, κόραρε, καλαί σοι πτερόν, ὅ ἐν γλήνῃ, ἔθετος αἰχμήν, στερον οἰετοῦ φαινές, ὅνυξιν τάντων θηρίων κατισχυές, ὅ τοῖς ὀρνιν κωφός ἐσομεν κοῦ κρύῳς." Kórařες ἐταίνῳ καρδίνῳ ἐκανῷ θῇ, στόματος δὲ τυρόν ἐκβαλὼν ἐκεκραγεί.
This fable is also found in the Birth-book and is told in its oriental setting as follows (Buddhist Birth Stories Translated by T. W. Rhys David, Introduction, Vol. 1, p. XII):

"Long, long ago, when Brahma-datta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisat had come to life as a tree-god dwelling in a certain grove of Jambu trees. Now a crow was sitting there on the branch of a Jambu tree eating the Jambu fruits, when a jackal, coming by, looked up and saw him. "Ha!" thought he, "I'll flatter that fellow and get some of those Jambus to eat". And thereupon he uttered this verse in his praise:

"Who may this be, whose rich and pleasant notes
Proclaim him best of all the singing-birds?
Warbling so sweetly on the Jambu branch,
Where like a peacock he sits firm and grand!"

Then the crow to pay him back his compliments replied in this second verse:

"'Tis a well-bred young gentleman, who understands
To speak of gentlemen in terms polite!
Good Sir! whose shape and glossy coat reveal
The tiger's off-spring, eat of these, I pray!"

And so saying, he shook the branch of the Jambu tree till he
made the fruit to fall.

But when the god who dwelt in that tree saw the two of them, now they had done flattering one another, eating the Jambus together, he uttered a third verse:

"Too long, forsooth, I've borne the sight of these poor chatterers of lies - The refuse eater and the offal eater selauding each other!"

And making himself visible in awful shape, he frightened them away from the place!

The fable of the Crow and the Birds is used by Horace to emphasize the criticism made in the preceding lines against Celsus Albinovanus, who apparently had a habit of dressing up other men's ideas and using them as his own. Epp. II, 3, 18 ff:

"Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivas nudata coloribus."

I. 3

Practically the same story is told by Phaedrus of the Jackdaw and the Peacock and with a similar, though more general, moral.

"Ne gloriar libeat alienis bonis
Suque potius habitu vitam degere."

Babrius (72) gives the story with the same moral, although it is told somewhat more in detail than in Phaedrus and with a few points of difference:
Ἰρίς ποτ' οὐρανοῖο πορφυρὴ κηρυκτή ἐπέπεπτεν ἐν θεῶν νοίκων ἀράνα κεῖοθαν πᾶσι δ' εὖ θύσῃς ἱκουόθην, καὶ πάντα θεών ἐσχεν ἰμερος ἀνάμων ἐγέρετε πέτρης αὖρις συνβατόν κηρύκτην, διερισσι ἦθος καὶ διαμεῖς εἰστήκει πάντων τ' εὐπαιτὸν φύλου ἠδέν ὀρνίθων πρόσωπα δ' αὐτῶν ἔξελονε καὶ κνῆμας ἔσειες τάρσοις, εκτένιζε τὰς καίτας. ἠλθεν δ' ἐκείνην καὶ κολοιός εἰς κηρύκτην νέρων, κορώνης νιός, ἄλλο δ' ἐξ ἀλλον πτερόν καθύφρων ἐντόσι αρμόσας ὅμων μόνος τὰ πάντων παλικίλως ἐκοπασμήθη καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς ἠδέν αἰετοῦ κρείσσων. ὁ Ζεὺς δ' εδάμβη, καὶ παρεἶχε τὴν νικήν εἰ μὴ χελίδων αὐτῶν ἡς Ἀθηναίη ἠλέσθεν ἐλκύσασα τὸ πτερόν πρῶτη ὦ δ' ἐπέπεπτεν αὐτῷ. "μὴ με συνοφαντήσῃς" τὸν δ' ἄρα τρυγῶν ἐσπάραττε καὶ κίλη καὶ κίσσα καὶ κορυσθάλλος οὐν τάφους παῖσων, χω ρηπίων ἐφεσθος ὀρνέων ἰρηκ. τα τ' ἄλλ' ὀμοίως, καὶ κολοῖς ἐρώτωσθην. Ἡ παί, σε αὐτῶν κόσμων ὀικεῖον κόσμει. Τοῖν χεῖραν ἑρέως όρα ἐμπρετήσών στέρησθην. ὅτι οἱ νόθοι καὶ ἐπικλαστοὶ αὐτοῖς περιδέντες κόσμων ἀλλοτρίῳ τε κάλλει σεμενομένου, εὐ τοτε τοῦ τοιούτου γυμνωθεῖν, γέλως λοιπὸν τοῖς πρὶν ἀγνωσθέν ὀρῶνται.
In Epp. I, 1, 70-75 reference is made to the fable of the Fox and the Sick Lion, previously discussed under Lucilius, S. II, 3, 185-186

"Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu, Astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem?"
leaves one in doubt as to whether Horace had in mind some specific fable or was merely using the stock epithets of the fox and the lion.

With the Romans, as with ourselves, the fox was always "cunning" and the lion "noble" (Cic. de Off. 1, 13,41).
"fames quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur." Hence the expression may be accounted for without reference to any fable.

In the Caxton edition of Aesop's Fables, there is one called the Fox and the Lion which may have been familiar to Horace. It at least seems applicable in this case.

A fox and a lion entered into partnership. The former was to spy out the prey, the latter to seize it. The fox soon tired of this arrangement and attempting to seize the lion's share for himself, fell a prey to the huntsmen and hounds.

So Aulus, Horace thinks, in attempting to win for himself the same honors as the great Agrippa, will only bring about his own destruction.
In Epp. II, 3, 139:

"Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus" there is an evident reference to the well known fable of the Mountain and the Mouse used here to enforce the precept just laid down — that in poetic composition the plan of the work should be modest in its beginning, rising in interest to the end. Prophryrio quotes the proverb upon which this and the fable which Phaedrus (IV, 23) doubtless has imitated, are based: "ὢς ἱνεῦς ὁ ὕπος εἰτα μῦν ἀ〈π›εκτεκενυ."

Athenaeus (XIV, 6) is quoted a little differently: "ὢς ἱνεῦς ὁ ὕπος, ἐνευς στ <φ> ὁ <π>εκτεκενυ μῦν". In S. II, 1, 75, there may possibly be an allusion to the fable of the serpent and the rile, although it seems quite reasonable to explain the language without assuming any such thought on the part of the poet. Admitting himself in rank and genius far below Lucilius, Horace asserts that even Envy herself must admit that he has lived familiarly with men of eminence and that even where she thinks to find him tenderest, if she'll but strike her fangs, she'll find a "cuticle of steel."

"tamen me

Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque

Invidia, et, fragili quaerens illidere dentem

Offendet solido."

The fable is told in Phaedrus (IV, 8) which I quote entire, as it is one of the less familiar fables.
There are four fables given entire in Horace - two in the satires and two in the epistles. Bk. II S. III, has a double edge, directed on the one hand against the stoic doctrine, "omnem stultum insanum esse", and on the other hand in a general way attacking the leading vices and follies of human nature - ambition, avarice, extravagance, lust, and superstition.

In verses 314-322, Damissipus, with whom the dialogue takes place, uses the story of the Frog and the Calf, to show Horace that like the frog in the fable, he too, is mad, being puffed up over his intimacy with Maecenas. The lines are:

"Absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis,
Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens
Belua cognatos eliserit. illa rogare:
Quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna finesset?
'Maior' Dimidio? 'Num tanto?''Cum magis atque
Se magis inflaret, 'Non si te ruperis' inquit,
'Par eris'. Haec a te non multum abludit imago."
Martial (X, 79) alludes to the same fable:

"Grandis ut exiguam bos ranam ruperat olim
Sic, puto, Torquatus rumpet Utacilium"

and Phaedrus has given it (I, 24), under the title Rana Rupta et Bos, and with a moral similar to that of the satire just cited. The lines are as follows:

"Inops, potentem dum vult imitari, perit.
In prato quondam rana conspexit bovem
Et tacta invidia tantae magnitudinis
Hugosam inflavit pellem: tum natos suos
Interrogavit, an bove esset latior.
Ille negarunt. Rursus intendit cutem
Maiore nisu et simili quaesivit modo,
Quis maior esset. Illi dixerunt bovem.
Novissime indignata dum vult validius
Inflare sese, rupto iacuit corpore."

In the seventh epistle of the first book (Epp. I, 7), an interesting side of the friendship between Horace and Maecenas is disclosed and a phase of the latter's disposition brought out which, although it might perhaps have been inferred from the line "Cur me querelis ex animas tuis?" (Ode II, 17, 1), Horace has the good taste not to dwell upon. On this occasion, Horace has gone into the country for a change of air and climate, and Maecenas seems to have objected to his continued absence from the city. We can only guess at the character of Maecenas' objections from Horace's reply, in which he shows that he is confident that Maecenas' generosity to him was not
intended to involve the sacrifice of his independence; if such a danger threatened, he preferred to forego everything that Maecenas had given him rather than give up his liberty, and he illustrates his position by the fable of the Little Mouse and the weasel (Epp. I, 7, 29 ff.):

"Forte per angustam tenuis nitedula rimam
Repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra;
Cui mustela procul: 'Si vis' ait, 'effugere istinc
macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti'.
And he sums up his argument with the conclusion:
"Hac ego si compellor imagine cuncta resigno".

The same thought which has been emphasized in the preceding fable is brought out again in the story of the horse and the stag (Epp. I, 10, 34 ff):

"Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
Inploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
Sed postquam victo ridens discessit ab hoste,
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
Libertate caret, dominum vehit improbus atque
Serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti."

Aristotle in his Rhet. B. 20 (1393b) refers to the same story, and Phaedrus under the title "Equus et Aper (IV, 4) has used a similar one to teach the lesson:
"Impune potius laedi quam dedi alteri".
Probably the most graceful and, from, a literary standpoint, the most artistic use of the fable in Horace's Satires is the story of the City Mouse and the Country Mouse, which ends the sixth satire of the second book (Bk. II, 6, 79):

Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
Asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
Solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
Aridum et ore ferens acinum semeseaque lardi
Frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc 'Quid te iuvat' inquit,
'amice,
Praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
Carpe viam, mihi crede, comes, terrestria quando
Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ullast
Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga; quo, bone, circa,
Dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,
Vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis.' Haec ubi dicta
Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
Ambo Propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
Moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat
Nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
In locuplate domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
Multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
Quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
Ergo ubi prupurea porrectum in veste locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
Continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
Rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
Exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta molossis
Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus: 'Haud mihi vita
Est opus hac' ait et 'valeas: me silva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.'

Babrius (108) has given us the same facts, but without the
charm of detail which characterizes Horace's story:

Μνων ο μεν τις βιων έχων ἀρούραιον,
οδ'εν ταμείους πλον σύγος φωλεύων,
ἐθερμοὶ κοινῶν τοῦ βιων γραφίων.
οδ'οικώσιτος πρότερος ἄλθε φεινύσων
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρούρυς ἄρτε χλωρὸν ἀνθούνοις
τρώγμεν. ὁ ἀραιός καὶ διαβρόχος σιτιῶν
ρίζας μελαινὴ συμπεφυρμένας βαίλων
"μύρμηκος" εἶπε ἐκ τοῦ βιων ταλαίπωρον.
ἐν πυθμέον γιὰς κρίμα πληττὸ αιματοκτόνων ἐμοὶ ἵπτυσκεὶ πολλὰ καὶ περισσεύειν·
τὰ κέρασ κατοίκων ἐς τῆς Ἀμαλθείας.
ξεμοὶ οὐνέλθοις, ὡς θέλεις ἀσωτεύον,
παρεῖς ὁρύσσειν ἀσφαλῆς τὸν Ἰωρίν.
ἀπέπε μοὶ τῶν ἐπιπόνων πείσας
ἐς ὅρικόν ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ τοῖχον ἀν Θρώπον.
ἔσείσεν ὅιτι, ὅτι μὲν ἀλφάτων πληθὺν,
ποὺ ὅπερίποι ἦν σωμός ἄν πιθοῦ κυκὼν
οτάμνοι τὴς μέλιτος σοφρακοῦ τῆς φοινικῶν.
ὁ ἤι ὡς ἐπέρθη τῶς καὶ παρὼμῆθι
καίτυρον ἤπει ἐκ κανισκέου σύρων,
ἀνέωξε τὴν θύρην της ὁ ἐτοπεῖσας
στεινής ἐφευρεθεὶς ἐς μυχὸν τρώγλησις,
ἀς ἀλα τρίζων τὸν τὰ πρὸσκειον θλίθων.
μιχρὸν ὅι ἐπισχῶν, ἔτι ἐσώθεν ἐκνυῃς
ψανεῖν ἐμελεῖν ἰο-χάδος Καμέσραῖης·
ἐτερος ὅι ἐπῆθεν ἀλλοτε τραγῳδιῶν
οὐ ὅι ἐκφυγὸν ἐκρύβουντο, μὰς ὁ ἀρουρίτης
τοιαῦτα θεωρών ἐπεὶ ἡμῖν ἱαρὲ καὶ πλοῦτες,
καὶ τοῖς περίοις αὐτῶς ἐντρύφα ἔθινοις,
ἐχὼν τὰ πολλὰ ταύτα μεστὰ κυνάνων
ἐρώ ὅι ἐπηθήσαν υἱὶ ἀφεξομαι βάλον,
ὅτι ἡν τὰ κρίμα μὴ φοβούμενος τρώωμ."
The word "olim", with which Horace introduces the fable, arouses exactly the same feeling of mystery and expectation which the "once upon a time" of a modern fairy tale carries with it. The characteristics of the two mice are clearly brought out, and their relations to one another, "veterem vetus hospes amicum"; the anxiety of the rusticus that even though("asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum solveret hospitiis animum;" the failure of the simple food to satisfy the epicure from the city and the invitation of the urbanus to share with him his city home and its luxuries; the ready acceptance on the part of the rusticus; the description of the city house, rubeo ubi coco tincta super lectos conderet vestis eburnos, the easy life of luxury and the catastrophe of the slamming door followed by the narrow escape from the hounds, then the quick change of mind on the part of the country mouse. 'Haud mihi vita est opus hac' ait et 'valeas; me silva cavusque tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo' - all this is brought out with a vividness and charm which even Horace has rarely excelled, and yet nowhere does he lose sight of the purpose of the story. It is the old theme met with constantly in the odes repeated again, combining a cry against the worries and disturbances of the city with praise of the delights of country life and an expression of thanks to his friend, Maecenas, whose generosity has made this ideal life possible for the poet.

This completes the list of fables which I have
found in Horace's Satires. It seems fitting and natural

found in Horace's Satires. It seems fitting and natural
to leave the poet singing the praises of the country life
which he loved so well and illustrating his viewpoint by
a story so simple in detail and so plain in its application
that its appeal is no less forceful to twentieth century readers
than it was to those of the poet's own age.

Very slight use is made of the fable by Persius.
No entire fable is used, and the allusions are so veiled and
follow so closely the language of Horace, that it is difficult
to decide whether it is the story itself or the language used
by the older poet in referring to it, which has chiefly
influenced the mind of Persius.

In S. I, 115 the expression

'secuit Lucilius urbem
te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis' calls to
mind the story of the Serpent and the rile. The reference
is intended as a compliment to Lucilius for the way in which,
regardless of consequences, he fastened upon Lupus and Mucius,
who were enemies of the poet's patron, Scipio.

Horace uses similar language and, as has been
before suggested, may have had in mind the same fable when
in S. II, 1, 75 he compares himself to Lucilius:

"tamen me
Cum magis vixisse invita fatebatur usque
Invidia et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
offendet solido

In S. iv, 14, where he urges men to cease attempting
to disguise themselves under a goodly skin, but rather to show their real selves:

"quin tu igitur, summa nequiquam pelle decorus,
ante diem blando caudam iactare popello
desinis, Anticyras melior sorbere meracas!"

Persius evidently has reference either to the fable of the Ass in the Lion's skin or to Horace's language in alluding to the same story (S. II, 1, 64)

"Quid cum est Lucilius ausus

------------------------
detrahere et pellem.

S. V. 116, 117 seems to contain a reference to the same story:

116 pelliculam veterem retines, et fronte politus

117 astutam vapido servas in pectore vulpem.

If the first of these lines (116) is suggested by Horace (S. I, 6, 22):

"quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem".

the second (117) is evidently a parallel of S. II, 3, 186:

"astuta ingenuum volpes imitata leonem",

thus combining the image of the ass in the Lion's skin with that of a fox dressed like a lion, and conveying the thought that although you retain your old skin and your brow is smooth, you still have a cunning fox locked up in your bosom.

In the expression "rodere casses" (S. V, 170) there is a suggestion of the fable of the Lion and the Mouse, but the reference is so vague that it seems not worth while to
consider it here.

The character of the times and the moral earnestness of his tones are sufficient to account for the non-appearance of fable in the satires of Juvenal. In him we have the ideal of a satirist, pure and simple. His satire has none of the conversational element of Horace and his earnestness excludes all play. It is easy to believe his own statement that in his case "Indignatio facit versus" and this being true, it is easy to understand why no fable appears in his satires.

To summarize, then, the results of this investigation:

The use of the fable goes back to the earliest recognized form of Roman Satire and was used by Ennius in the collection which he called Saturae, - a name indicative of the miscellaneous character of his writings.

The Lark and Her Young, Ennius' Satires, Vahlen, p. 207.

To trace the fable to any predecessor of Ennius' satires is impossible by reason of the uncertainty of the derivation of the term satire, the impossibility of determining of what literary form Ennius' satire is the outgrowth.

In the fragments of Lucilius, who gave to satire its modern idea of personal invective, there are two possible references to beast fables and there remain sufficient fragments of a third to identify it as the story of the Fox and the Sick Lion (XXX, 980, ff.).
Bk. IV, 168

"Longior hic quom grus, grue tota cum volat olim" seems to refer to some story in which the crane plays the leading role, and there are a number of such in the collections of fables, as: The Frogs who asked for a King, The Fox and the Crane, etc.; but there seems no way of deciding which of these, if any, was in the poet's mind.

Bk. VIII, 286

"Esuriente leoni exore exculpere praedam" is too fragmentary to give any clue either as to its connection or as to the moral to be conveyed.

Horace has used eleven fables. Those given in part or by way of allusion:

1. The Ass in the Lion's Skin.
   S. I, 6, 22
   S. II, 1, 62
   Epp. I, 16, 45

2. The Fox and the Raven.
   S. II, 5, 55 ff.
   Epp. I, 17, 50-51

3. The Crow and the Birds.
   Epp. II, 3, 18 ff.

4. The Fox and the Sick Lion.
   Epp. I, 1, 70-75

5. The Fox and the Lion.
   S. II, 3, 182-186

6. The Mountain and the Mouse.
   Epp. II, 3, 139
7. The Serpent and the File.
  S. II, I, 77
Those given entire:
  1. The Frog and the Calf.
    S. II, 3, 314 ff.
  2. The Little Mouse and the Weasel.
  3. The Horse and the Stag.
    Epp. I, 10, 34 ff.
  4. The City Mouse and the Country Mouse.
    S. II, 6, 79 ff.

References to fables in Persius, although somewhat vague, have been found as follows:
  1. The Serpent and the File.
    S. I, 115
  2. The Ass in the Lion's Skin.
    S. IV, 14
    S. V, 116
  3. The Lion and the Mouse.
    S. V, 170

I have found no fables in the Satires of Juvenal.

The investigation has also revealed the fact that fables were in general use among the Greek writers. Hesiod, Archilochus, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle, all, either used or referred to the beast fable.
The extensive use of similar stories among the oriental nations has given rise to the belief that the East is the birth-place of the beast fable, but the reasons adduced thus far have not furnished sufficient proof to justify the assumption that the orient, or any other particular place, is the originator of this type of literature, but merely go to show the universality of the story telling instinct.
Bibliography.

Satire

Ennius Ed. Vahlen. Leipsic, 1903.
Horace Ed. Mueller. Leipsic, 1890.
Persius Ed. Hermann, Leipsic, 1881.
Juvenal Ed. Hermann, Leipsic, 1890.

Fables

Avianus. Poetae Latini Minores:
   Ed. Baehrens, Leipsic, 1863.
Babrius. Fabulae Aesopiæ:
   Ed. Schneidewin, Leipsic, 1880.
Barlaam and Josaphat:
Buddhist Birth Stories:
Fables of Bidpai:
Phaedrus: Fabulae Aesopiæ, Mueller, Leipsic, 1890.
The Book of Fables:
   Ed. Horace E. Scudder, Boston, 1882.
Three Hundred and Fifty Aesop's Fables:
   Ed. Caxton, Chicago, and New York, 1887.

Other Latin and Greek Authors:

Aeschylus, Ed. Dindorfii, Oxonii, 1851.
Aristophones, Ed. Dindorfii, Oxonii, 1836.
Gellius, Ed. Hertz, Leipsic, 1891.
Herodotus, Ed. Dietsch-Kallenberg, Leipsic, 1891.
Hesiod rec. Flach, Leipsic, 1899.
Plato, Ed. Hermann, Leipsic, 1887.
Porphyrio, Ed. Holder, Leipsic, 1894.
Quintilian, Ed. Bonnell, Leipsic, 1891.

General.

Periodicals.

Encyclopaedias.

Histories of Latin and Greek Literature.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the abstract of article on the Fable in Horace by Professor Herbert T. Archibald in Transactions and Proceedings of American Philological Association Vol. 41. Professor Archibald's collection of references was very helpful in tracing these fables, although our investigations do not agree either as to the number of fables used by Horace or as to their application.