

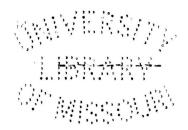
THE USE OF THE FABLE

IN ROMAN SATIRE

bу



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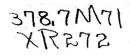
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It is the purpose of this paper to collect, discuss, and as far as possible to trace to their origin the fables which are used in Latin Satire.

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 Aποκολοκύντωσι, 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.*

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

⁽Bk. VII, 2) traces the development of Roman Satire back to the early Italian drama which had its origin in pious chants These were followed by the Fescennine and prayers to the gods. verses, which gradually developed into a rude sort of dialogue in which the actors assailed and ridiculed their audience and 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.

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. X. 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.

Hendrickson; A. J. P. XV p. 1, ff.

A. J. P. XIX, p. 285, ff.

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:

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 Brittannica 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 unconscious product of primitive fancy as it plays around some phehomenon 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 siquis autem voluerit,

Quod arbores loquantur, non tantum ferae,

Fictis iocari nos meminerit fabulis."

Avianus in his introduction to his collection of fables writes to Theodosius (P. L. M. ed. Baehrens Vol. V, pp. 35, ff.):

"Huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noueris, qui responso 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 habes ergo opus, quo animum oblectes, ingenium exerconatus. ceas. sollicitudinem leues totumque uiuendi ordinem cautus 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: alros, 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 alros was first used by Hesiod (Works and Days, 202-211). From this application grammarians later used alros 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).

Wasps (1251). In Homer it was used like $\lambda \circ \gamma \circ \gamma$, a story, without distinction of true or false. After Findar it assumes the same sense as the Latin fabula and connotes fiction in distinction from $\lambda \circ \gamma \circ \zeta$, the historic tale. In alwo, the fabulous element, in $\lambda \circ \gamma \circ \zeta$ the rational element is emphasized. $\lambda \circ \gamma \circ \zeta$ in this sense is found first in Herodotus (1. 141). $\lambda \pi \circ \lambda \circ \gamma \circ \zeta$ 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 indiepensable; 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, rrimitive culture, Vol.I. p. 411).

seems an impossible task. The claim of Hindustan is strong, and here we find two groups; the Pancha Tantra, or Fables of the Brahman Vishmu 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 Pahlavi 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 Babrius" (Paris, 1890)
assigns these fables, forthe 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.

(Chambers Encyclopedia: <u>Beast-fable</u> - Vol. I, p. 821 Harper's Classical Dictionary: <u>Novels and Romances</u>, 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 Buddist 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. Aphthoius, 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 pabrius 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 Relique Ed. Vahlen II de Libris Enniansis 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 involucres 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 adulescentem vocat et 'videsne' inquit 'haec ematuruisse et manus iam postulare? idcirco die crastini, ubi primum diluculabit. fac amicos eas et roges. veniant operamque mutuam dent et messim hanc nobis adiuvent'. Haec ubi ille dixit. et discessit. Atque ubi redit cassita. pulli tremibundi, trepiduli circumstrepere orareque matrem, ut iam statim properet inque alium locum sese asportet: 'nam dominus' inquiunt 'misit, qui amicos roget. uti luce oriente veniant et metant'. Mater iubet eos otioso animo esse: 'si enim dominus' inquit 'messim ad amicos reicit. crastino seges non metetur neque necessum est, hodie uti vos auferam.' 'Die' inquit 'postero mater in pabulum volat. Dominus, quos rogaverat, opperitur. Sol fervit. et fit nihil; it dies, et amici nulli eunt. ille rursum ad filium 'amici isti magnam partem' inquit 'cessatores sunt. Quin potius imus et cognatos adfines (amicos) que nostros oramus, ut assint cras tempori ad

metendum? Itidem hoc pulli pavefacti matri nuntiant. Mater hortatur, ut tum quoque sine metu ac sine cura sint, cognatos adfinesque nullos ferme tam esse obsequibiles ait. ut ad laborem capessendum hihil cunctentur et statim dicto oboediant: '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 'amici cum propinquis. Afferes primo luci falces duas: unam egomet mihi et tutibi 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 (88) gives the following version:

Κορνθαλλός ήν τις έν χλόη νεοσσεύων, ό τῷ χαραθριῷ πρὸς τὸν ὅρθρον ἀντάθων, καὶ παϊθας εἶχε ληίου κόμη θρέψας λο φῶντας ἤθη καὶ πτεροῖσιν ἀκμαίους. ὁ θὲ τῆς ἀρούρης θεσπότης ἐποπτεύων

As Babrius 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 creek version the father lark plays the leading role and from his lips fall the wise decisions upon which the moral is based. The $\mu \bar{\nu} \theta$ contains much the same thought as that of Ennius, to attend to one sown 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 dactyllic hexameter has been made by nibbeck (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 præedam" 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 vorsus 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 $\mu \, \bar{\nu} \, \theta \, \sigma_{\bar{\nu}}$ 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 retrorsum.'
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):

ωσπερ τον λέοντα, δν ἐποίησεν Αἴσωπος, ἀρρωστοῦντα ἐντῷ σπηλαίω ἡ κερδω ἐρεσχελεῖ,
εἰσιόντων τὰ ἴσχνη Θεικννσα τῶν ξώων,
εξιούτων δὲ οὐ.

and Babrius has given the story in full (103, p. 93)

Λέων ἐπ' ἄγρην οὐκέτι σθένων βαίνειν
πολλῷ γὰρ ἤση τῷ χρόνῳ, γε γη ρά κει
κοί λης ἔσω σπήλνγγος οξά τις νούσω
κάμνων ἐβέβλητ' οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀσθμαίνων,
φωνὴν βαρειαν προσποιητα λεπτύνων
θηρῶν σ' ἐπ' ἀνλὰς ἦλθεν ἄγγελος φήμη,
καὶ πάντες ἤλγονν ὡς λέοντος ἀρρώστον,
ἐτισκοπήσων σ' εἶς ἔκαστος εἰσήει.
τούτονς ἐφεξῆς λαμβάνων ἀμοχθήτως
κατήσθειν, γῆρας θὲ λιπαρον ηὐρή κει.
σοφὴ σ' ἀλωπηξ ὑπενοησε, καὶ πόρρω
σταθεισα, βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἔχεις, μέπηρώτα.

κάκεῖνος εἶπε , χαῖρε, φιλτάτη ξώων.

Τί β' οὐ προσέρχη, μακρόθεν βέ με σκέπτη;

βεῦρο, γλυκεῖα, καί με ποικίλοις μύθοις

παρηγόρησον ἐγγὺς ὄντα τῆς μοίρης.

"Φά ξοιο" φησίν, ἤν β' ἄπειμι, συγγνώ ση.

πολλῶν γὰρ ἴχνη θηρίων με κωλύει

ὧν ἐξιόντων οὐκ ἔχεις ὅ μοι βειξεις"

[μακάροις όστις οὐ προλαμβάνει πταίσας άλλ' αὐτὸς άλλων συμφοραϊς επαιθεύθη.

ΟΫτως τινῶν οἱ κίνδυνοι διβαχή εἶναι ὁ φείλει Τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας]

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 goodnatured 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 quiessems."

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 decora." 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 Satnza:

"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)

"Κόραξ βεβηχως στόματι τυρὸν είστη κει.

Τυροῦ β'άλωπης ιχενῶσα κερθώ η

μύθω τον όρνιν ήπατησε τοιοντω,

κόρας, καλαί σοι πτέργες, όξε η γληνη,

θεητός ανχήν στερνον αίετοῦ φαίνεις,

όνυς ι πάντων θηρίων κατισχύεις.

ό τοῖος όρνις κωφός έσσα κού κρωξεις."

κόρας ε' επαίνω καρβίην έχαννώθη,

στόματος θε τυρὸν εκβαλων έκεκραγει.

τον ή σοφή λαβοῦσα κερτόμω γλώσση

Πονκ ήσθ' ἀφωνος είπεν ,, ὰλλὰ φωνήεις.

Ε΄χεις, κόραξ, ἄπαντα, νοῦς θέ σοι λείπει ...

Ε΄Ο μῦθος βιβάσκει μηβαμῶς ἄνθρωπον ἐπαίνοις

Ε΄ξαπατασθαι ξημίαι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν κὰι ἀταμίαι εἰώθασι γίγνεοθαι

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 Bodisat had come to life as a tree-god dwelling in a certain grove of Jambu trees. Now a crow was sitting there one day 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

Belauding 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

Furtivis nudata coloribus."

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

"Ne gloriari libeat alienis bonis

Suoque 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:

Τρίς ποτ' ουρανοτο πορφυρή κηρυξ πτη νοίσι κάλλους εἶπεν ἐν θεωνοϊκους άρωνα κετοθαί πάσι δ'εὐθὺς ηκούσθη, και πάντα θείων έσχεν ίμερος δώρων. έτα se πέτρης αίγι βυσβάτου κρήνη, θερινόν (τί) θ' ύδωρ και διαν γες είσ τήκει πάντων τ'επ'αντό φύλον ήλθεν όρνίθων πρόσωπα δ'αύτων εξέλουε και κνήμας ETELE Tapoous, EXTÉRIGE ràs xaitas. λλθεν δ' έκεινην και κολοιδς είς κρήνην γέρων, κορώνης υἰός, ἄλλος, έξ ἄλλον πτερον καθύγρων έντος αρμόσας ώμων μόνος τὰ πάντων ποικίλως έκοσμήθη και προς θεούς πίξεν αίετου κρείσσων. Ó Zeis 8' Edápper, Kai Hapeixe The vikny Ei un xelisar airòr as Abnuain ήλες ξεν έλκνσασα το πτερον πρώτη ό θ' είπεν αὐτη. ,, μή με συκοφαντήσης" τον δ' άρα τρυγών εσπάραττε και κίχλη και κίσσα και κορνθαλλός ούν τάφοις παίζων, χω νηπίων έφεθρος όρνεων ίρηξ. Τά Τ' άλλ' όμοίως. και κολοιός έγνώσθη.

Τοισιν έτερων γαρ εμπρέπων στερηθήση.

Οτι οι νόθον και επιπλαστον αυτοίς περιθέντες κόσμον αλλοτρίω τε κάλλει σεμνυνόμενοι, εί ποτε του τοιούτον γυμνωθεϊων, γέλως λοιπον τοις πριν άγνοονσιν ορωνται

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).

"frews 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 \mathcal{L} . 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:

Athenaeus (XIV, 6) is quoted a little differently:

"ப்பட்டை ம்றம், Zev, க்றம்களை இட்கும் நடைகள் மிர்ம் பிரும் In S. II, 1, 75, there may possibly be an allusion to the fable of the serpent and the File, 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.

"Mordaciorem qui improbo dente adpetit,"

Hoc argumento se describi sentiat

In officinam fabri venit vipera.

Haec cum temperat, siqua res esset cibo,

Limam momordit. Illa contra contumax;

Quid me, inquit, stulta, dente captas laedere,

Omne adsuevi ferrum quae conrodere?"

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 Otacilium"

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
Rugosam 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 inprobus 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):

"olim

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 semesaque 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

29

Moenia nocturni subrepere. Iamque tenebat Nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque In locuplete 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 Examimes 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:

Μυων ο μέν τις βίον έχων αρουρατον, ό δ' έν ταμείους πλουσίοιση φωλεύων, έθεντο κοινου του βίου προς αγγήλους. όδ' οἰκόσιτος πρότερος πλθε βειπνήσων έπὶ τῆς ἀρούρης ἄρτι χλωρου ἀνθούσης Τρώγων. δ' ἀραιὰς καὶ διαβρόχους σίτου ρίδας με λαίνη συμπερυρμένας βώλω μύρμηκος" εἶπε "ξῆς βίον ταλαιπώρου

έν πυθμέσιν γπε κρίμνα λεπτά βιβρώσκων εμοί θ' ύπαρχει πολλά και περισσεύει. το κέρας κατοικώ προς σε της 'Αμαλθείης. εί μοι συνέλθοις, ώς θέλεις άσωτεύση, παρείς ορύσσειν άσφάλας την χώρην" απηγε τον μῦν τον γεηπόνον πείσας είς οἶκον ελθεῖν ὑπό τε τοῖχον ἀνθρώπον. έδειξε δ'αντώ, που μεν αλφίτων πλήθη, ποῦ δ' οσπρίων ἦν σωρος ἢ πίθοι σύκων στάμνοι τε μέλιτος σώρακοί τε φοινίκων. ό θ' ώς έτερφθη πασι και παρωρμήθη Maitupor Ayer ER KARLOKLON oupwr, avéw le The Dupper res. 68'à ToThenoas oterns épeure deilos és muxor payans, άσημα Τρίξων τόν τι προξενον θλίβων. μικρον δ' επισχών, ελτ' εσωθεν εκκυ γας Yaverr Emedder ioxádos Kamerpains. έτερος δ' επηλθεν άλλοτι προαιρησων or s'éréor Exprouto, mus s'aporpitns TOLANTA SELTINON "ETTE " Xaipe Kai Thoutel, Kai Tois περισσοίς αντός εντρύφα δείπνοις, έχων τὰ πολλά ταῦτα μεστά κινθύνων Erà de nitres over a de forar parlor, νφ' ήν τὰ κρίμνα μη φοβούμενος τρώγω,"

Ταντα ρητέον τω εν προσχηματα φιλίας κα καϊς συμβονλίαις άπάγειν ήμας βονλομένω δωπς άταράχον και κινθύνοις καθυποβάλλαι χάριν ρεον σων ήθονων]"

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 cocco 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. 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 to leave the poet singing the praises of the country life which he loved so well and illustrating his view-point 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 irself 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

Cumimagis 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 nonappearance 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 Toung, Ennius' Satires, Vahlen, p. 207.

To trace the fable to any predecessor of Ennius'
of the uncertainty
satires is impossible by reason 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

Bk. VIII. 286

"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.

"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, 1, 77

Those given entire:

1. The Frog and the Calf.

S. II, 3,314 ff.

2. The Little Mouse and the Weasel.

Epp. I, 7, 79 ff.

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

Combining with this v. 117, the image of a Fox phaying a Lion's part.

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 of 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.

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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.

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