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## III Discussion of the Evidence

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varied first fruits constituted an offering to the gods among the early inhabitants (of Italy) and from its fulness and abundance was called *satura* \* \* \* ; or from a kind of stuffing which, filled with many ingredients, Varro says was called *satura*. The following, however, has been set forth in the second book of the Plautine Questions, 'Satura consists of raisins and pearl barley and pine kernels moistened with honey-wine. In addition to these ingredients some give also the seeds of the Punic (red?) apple.' Others, however, think it is named from the law, *satura*, which includes many laws in a single enactment at the same time, because of course in the poetry, *satura*, many poems are included at the same time."

### III. DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE.

#### LIVY 7, 2.

In this chapter, after indicating the circumstances which induced the magistrates in their perplexity to obtain performers from Etruria, Livy describes the several stages in the development of the native drama.

*The first stage* is noted in the performances of the dancers from Etruria who in not ungraceful fashion executed the dances of their native country, without words and without gesticulations, to the music of the flute (4).

*The second stage* indicates the effect which the performance of the foreigners had upon the Roman youth who began to imitate the Etruscans in a kind of rude dialogue (*inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus*) accompanied by dancing and suitable gestures of the music of the flute. This is really the first stage of purely Roman development where we find the Etruscan and Roman elements harmonized (5). The Roman youth used the Fescennine verses, as is attested by the author in his description of the next stage of development (*non sicut antea Fescennino versu similem, etc.*).

*The third stage* is pointed out when the Roman youth yield the performance of this crude improvisation to professional actors (*histriones*) who further develop and improve this by a variety of melodies, accompanied by the music of the *tibia* and appropriate gestures (*impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motque congruenti peragebant*) 6, 7.

*The fourth stage* is seen in the introduction of Livius Andronicus of a drama with a plot (*ab saturis ausus est primus argumento serere*). Livius gave unity to the *saturae* which before were disconnected and loosely related. He also added other improvements (8-10). At this point the native drama reaches the artistic stage in its development.

*The fifth stage* gives us a fully developed drama with an after-play.

When the legitimate drama was held to definite limitations by the requirements of art, the Roman youth re-introduced the old Fescennines<sup>9</sup> as after-plays (*exodia*) and did not allow them to fall into the hands of professional actors (11, 12).

The Fescennine verses, according to this account in Livy, constitute the germ and imperfect outline of the native Italian drama. These Fescennines, in the estimation of the Roman poets and historians, had their origin in Italy among the early settlers of that country in connection with religious festivals in honor of those divinities who were supposed to control the productivity of the vine and cereal crops. From the same sources, also, we learn that they were used in wedding celebrations. They received their name either from the fact that they were imported from Fescennium,<sup>10</sup> a town in Etruria, or from the word *fascinium*, because they were chanted at harvest and marriage festivals to promote fertility. Philologists, however, find many difficulties in the way of the latter derivation.

To resume, then, what Livy calls *Saturae* is a dramatic genus produced by the fusion of Roman and Etruscan elements. They (*saturae*) are the old Fescennines chanted in connection with dancing, music and appropriate gesture. These *saturae* are next replaced by regular comedies performed by professionals whose superior technique caused the amateurs to abandon all hope of entering into rivalry with the professionals. The *saturae*, up to this stage purely Italian and containing only Roman and Etruscan elements, are lacking in organic connection. In the hands of Livius Andronicus, a Greek slave from Tarentum, they assume the form of legitimate drama with a well defined plot.

Though the *saturae*, through the work of the paid performers and through subsequent efforts of Andronicus, merged into the artistic drama, yet the Fescennines, one of their elements were later revived by the amateurs as after-plays (*exodia*) to the regular drama and, lastly, were fused with the *Fabulae Atellanae*.

Our author's review, then, taken as a whole, furnishes us a double series of dramatic development which runs as follows: Fescennines, *Saturae*, comedies and Fescennines, *exodia*, *Fabulae Atellanae*.

HORACE, EPISTLES II, 1, 139-156.

The account in Horace describes what occurred among the country folk in early Italy. Livy's narrative, obviously, deals with the performances of city youth. Horace in this passage indicates three stages in early dramatic development.

<sup>9</sup> See Hendrickson, *Satura and the Old Comedy*, A. J. P. XV (1894), 9.

<sup>10</sup> Festus in Paulus, 85: Fescenni versus, qui canebantur in nuptiis, ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, sive ideo dicti quia fascinium putabantur arcere.

*The first stage* (145-147) met with unqualified approval as long as it refrained from personal abuse. This stage consisted of rude improvisations in Fescennine verse, rendered extemporaneously and in dialogue form, in connection with the old harvest festivals.

*The second stage* is reached when the Fescennine license developed into scathing abuse and directed its attacks upon highly respectable families (148-153).

*The third stage* is seen when by reason of legal enactment inflicting heavy penalty, the method of speaking becomes again pleasing and agreeable.

The account in Horace may be viewed as a partial parallel to that in Livy. They both indicate the beginning of the drama in the Fescennine verses. Their opening standpoint, however, is different. Horace gives us a picture of the Fescennines amid the country scenes of Italy, their original home. Livy informs us of how these same verses were recited by youth in the city. Livy traces them through a double series of development; of this Horace makes no mention, unless, as is suggested by D'Alton,<sup>11</sup> "*hodieque manent vestigia ruris*" refers to this.

*The third stage*, as described in Horace, may be roughly compared to the new comedy in the development of the Greek dramatic literature (*ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti*). Similarly, we may compare the second stage in Horace's description to the old Athenian comedy (*iam saevus apertam in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas ire domos impune minax*) whose distinguishing characteristic was personal abuse.

VERGIL, GEORGICS, 2, 380-389.

The account in Vergil describes how the early Italian colonists in order to promote the fertility of the vine engaged in festal celebrations in honor of Bacchus. On such occasions, the participants wore masks and acted in character (a purely dramatic element), employing rude satiric dialogues in *ex tempore* verse. The reference here is clearly to the Fescennines, which later became one of the purely Roman elements in the dramatic *satira* development. This account, as well as the one found in Tibullus 2, 1, 55 (*Agricola . . . Minio suffusus . . . rubento primus inexperta duxit ab arte chorus*), who traces the origin of song and dance to rustic festivals, may give evidence of Greek influence, but it is reasonable to assume that such accounts would scarcely have been written by either Vergil or Tibullus without some tradition as a basis of support.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS II, 4, 4.

The account in Valerius Maximus follows with so little, if any, varia-

<sup>11</sup> D'Alton, J. F., *Horace and His Age*, London, 1917, 259.

tion the survey of Livy that those who have examined the ancient evidence for support of the Italian origin of the drama are practically unanimous in regarding the description of Valerius Maximus as an exact reproduction of the one found in Livy or that they both followed the same authority.<sup>12</sup>

We find here the same circumstances which caused the Roman magistrates to seek divine aid as a relief from the raging epidemic by introducing foreign dancers, the same stage of development which reach their climax—the artistic drama—through Greek influence exerted by Andronicus, as well as the same attachment of the *exodia* to the Fabulae Atellanæ and the granting of special privileges to the actors of the Atellanes.

#### DIOMEDES (485 K).

Any considerable investigation of the native Italian drama will beyond question reveal the fact that the derivation of the word *Satura* and its various uses in the several stages of its history must have an important bearing upon the solution of the vexed question of the origin of the Roman satire.

Diomedes, the accepted ancient source, suggests four etymologies for the *Satura*: (1) from *σάτυροι*, because in this form of literary expression wanton things are said without restraint, as is the case in the Satyr-plays, (2) from a dish which among early inhabitants of Italy was filled with a variety of fruits for purposes of sacrifice, (3) from a kind of stuffing, made up of varied ingredients, which according to Varro was called *Satura*, (4) from a kind of law which embraces several provisions.

These derivations, as offered by Diomedes, have formed the subject of prolonged and learned discussion. For a considerable period the derivation from *lanx satura* had wide acceptance among students of Latin satire; many still adhere to this traditional meaning.

In most of the European and American editions of the satires of Roman classical writers, as Horace, Juvenal and Persius, the editors have generally followed the second suggestion of Diomedes and have regarded *Satura* in its use to designate a distinct type of literary expression as derived from the analogy of *lanx satura* (a dish filled with different fruits); the literary use, it has been explained, takes its origin from the religious application of the word. The word in its literary use is the feminine singular nominative of the adjective *satur*, meaning *full*, *sated* and, doubtless modifies some noun understood, most likely *fabula*. *Satura* as a literary

<sup>12</sup> Mischaout, G., *Sur les Treteaux latins*, Paris, 1912, 56; also Ullman, B. L., *The Present Status of the Satura Question*, *Studies in Philology*, XVII, 4 (October, 1920), 395; Leo, in *Hermes* XXIV, 76, says: "denn Valerius Maximus paraphrasirt Livius."

term was first used to designate a collection of miscellaneous poems such as those written by Ennius and Pacuvius. In Horace's time the term was applied to a collection of *satirical* poems. In Juvenal's time it was used to designate a *single* poem of satirical nature.

Against the Roman derivation, we have the first suggestion of Diomedes which relates the word in its literary sense to the Greek term *σάτυροι*, used to designate the Greek Satyr drama. In this suggestion he was followed by Keller<sup>13</sup> and others. This led to the spelling *satyra*, and finally *satira*. The Greek derivation of the word at this date meets with little, if any, acceptance.<sup>14</sup> Against the use of *satura* in a literary sense before Horace, Hendrickson<sup>15</sup> claims that the word does not occur in extant Latin literature prior to the second book of Horace's *Satires* (between 40 and 30 B. C.). Other expressions are used by earlier authors and especially by Horace in the first book of *satires* where the context calls for the word *Satura*. He points out that this is not due to chance but that the word had not yet come into use as a literary term. Diomedes' third suggestion has received special consideration through the study of Professor Ullman<sup>16</sup> who maintains with strong plausibility that according to its use in the evidence from Diomedes *Satura* was used as a noun and that no word can be understood with it. This is evidenced by its use as an appositive in the expressions *satura carmine* and *lege satura*, found in the third and fourth suggestions of the passage from our principal source for the use of the word. It is clear that *satura* cannot agree with *carmine* and it must, therefore, be used as a noun in apposition with it, while in the phrase *lege satura*, which balances *satura carmine*, it has the same construction. Diomedes also says in his third alternative (*sive a quodam genere farciminis*) that the term *satura* is taken from a kind of stuffing and names Varro as his authority and gives the ingredients for the *farcimen* from Varro's *Plautine Questions*. Ullman regards this as the best authenticated suggestion. That *farcimen* does not here mean sausage, as it was formerly interpreted, is clear from a glance at the recipe. The earliest use of the word is by Plautus, and in its culinary sense of stuffing. With this meaning of stuffing, containing several ingredients, it is reasonable to assume that it was used in a collective sense and was originally a neuter plural form of the adjective *satur*. The shift in meaning from "stuffed things" to "stuffing" is easy and inevitable.

The derivation from the law (*lex satura*) finds for its support only the final suggestion of Diomedes and the following statement from Festus in his *Épitome of Verritius*: "*Satura et cibi genus et lex multis aliis con-*

<sup>13</sup> *Philologus* 45 (1886), 391.

<sup>14</sup> Ullman, *Studies in Philology* XVII (1920), 380.

<sup>15</sup> *Classical Philology* VI, 129-143.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 379-381.

ferat, itaque in sanctione legum adscribitur, neve per saturam abrogato aut derogato."

#### IV. PROSPECTUS OF THEORIES.

Since 1867 the long accepted tradition, claiming that the satire is indigenous to Italian soil, has been both ruthlessly attacked and strongly supported. In spite of the voluminous mass of literature which has been produced by those who have made and continued the assault upon the tradition, as well as by those who have essayed to defend it, the present writer will attempt under this division of the subject to present the substance of the main theories that have been advanced by those European and American scholars who have taken a leading part in the criticism of the Roman claim.

Discussing the account of the development of the Roman drama as set forth in Livy VII, 2, O. Jahn in *Hermes* II (1867), 225-226, in an article entitled *Satura* declares that it cannot be doubted that this condensed survey, which Livy gives concerning the gradual development of the drama among the Romans, is not authenticated history, resting upon personal investigation, but the résumé of the combinations of a philologist.<sup>17</sup> He further says (225) that, if, in the sketch of the drama, everything is worked out step by step, it is to be attributed to the method employed in the philological combination rather than to a complete and unquestioned statement of the actual facts. He regrets that Livy does not mention his authority (Gewährsmann), but is irresistibly led to think of Varro's *De Originibus Scenicis*. He claims that the philological origin of this review is revealed by the aetiological character of the presentation on account of (1) the *canticum* (9-10), (2) the privileged position of the actors of the Atellane farces. He regards the phenomena as two astounding uses established in still later time (Zwei noch in späterer Zeit festgehaltene, auffallende Gebrauche).

Throughout this brief discussion he subjects the entire survey to critical historical scrutiny to show that it is purely a series of combinations by some philologist. His main objections to the genuineness of Livy's account then are, (1) it is too clean-cut to be the reflex of fact, (2) the aetiological character of the sketch. In this connection he sounds the note of parallelism to the Greek Satyr-drama which was later taken up and extended by many of his followers. He makes a sharp distinction between the unregulated performance (*freies spiel*) of the native youth and the artistic

<sup>17</sup> Das die gedrängte Uebersicht, welche Livius über die allmähliche Ausbildung des Dramas bei den Römern giebt, keine auf eigener Forschung Veruhende urkundliche Geschichte sei, sondern das Resume der Combinationen eines Grammatikers, ist gewiss nicht zu bezweifeln (225).