A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal
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The startup phase of this project (2013–2015) is supported by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

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A COMMENTARY ON THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

Edward Courtney

Berkeley, California
To Brenda,
Richard and Adam,
who allowed me
to write this book
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**PUBLISHER’S NOTE (2013)**

This edition was prepared by careful correction of OCR of the 1980 edition. The opportunity has been taken to correct various minor typographical errors and inconsistencies of format, but the style and format of the original have essentially been retained. Addenda that appeared on p. 623 of the original have been incorporated into the relevant notes, where they are enclosed in square brackets. A few further addenda (in brackets, and dated 2013) have been supplied by the author.

The pagination of the 1980 edition is indicated in the text with a vertical bar and numbers between square brackets, thus [[154], placed before the first word of that page. When the original page ended in a hyphenated word, the dividing mark has been positioned after the whole word. Cross-references within the book and page references in the index have been adjusted to the current pagination.

California Classical Studies gratefully acknowledges the initial scanning and correction work performed by Daniel Esses and Joel Street. Secondary correction was carried out by Donald Mastronarde, and final proofreading by Paul Psinos and by the author.

**AUTHOR’S PREFACE (2013)**

My critical text of Juvenal was published by Edizioni dell’Ateneo at Rome in 1984. It would be impracticable to try to bring this commentary up to date and correct its errors, so it reappears much as it was 30 years ago, since it still seems to be of use. Apart from minor adjustments the only changes have been the correction of such misprints and false references as have come to light, and two additions: a note on 7.231 and, in the introduction, reference on p. 45 to recent discussions of Valla’s Probus. I am very grateful to Professor Mastronarde and California Classical Studies for thinking to republish it in this form, and for the accuracy of the final proofs.

**PREFACE (1980)**

A preface may usefully serve the purpose of explaining the objects set for himself by an author and the way in which his book should be used. At the wish of my publishers this commentary is not accompanied by a text; it is based on the Oxford Classical Text by W. V. Clausen, which is on the whole the text with which I should agree more often than any other, and all textual discussions assume consultation of the evidence as presented by him. I have noted the places where my own judgment differs from his; I had contemplated listing such places at the be-
ginning of each satire, but decided that this would not be appropriate for details of punctuation, and that the length of Six would make this pointless in that poem at least. My main regret at the absence of a text is that the reader cannot see the poet’s words punctuated and paragraphed as I would wish, since, as the notes point out, these modern typographical devices often greatly clarify the train of thought, which has been much misunderstood and unjustly criticised because of defective presentation; but I could not reasonably refuse to accept this sacrifice to economy.

The author of a commentary such as this has in my view three prime duties. First, he must explain the poet’s words where they need explanation; secondly, he must illustrate them, where required, with parallel passages which will confirm the explanations offered, show the influence exerted on the poet by his predecessors, demonstrate his favourite turns of thought and expression, and indicate how far he is employing thoughts generally current in the ancient world and how far striking out in an original direction; thirdly, he must give the reader the opportunity to pursue farther the points raised by providing references to modern works of scholarship.

With regard to the first of these duties, it should be said that I could not possibly peruse all the editions of Juvenal ever published, most of which clearly contain little of individual value; but with this exception I have read virtually all the literature about Juvenal on which I could lay hands (some of course remained inaccessible), recorded all the matter which I considered to be of value, and rescued from oblivion some items which seem to me to merit this. On the other hand I have in most cases resolutely suppressed mention of views which in my judgment are clearly mistaken and of no interest; it should however generally be assumed that I am aware of them, and I have given references to further discussions where in my view an element of doubt about the interpretation remains.

The second duty poses the difficulty of deciding how much illustrative matter to include (it must be remembered that the student of Juvenal has Mayor’s vast stores to draw upon, though not in Two, Six or Nine, where I have been fairly generous), and how to adduce it, for full quotation of all parallels is obviously economically impossible. My principle has been to quote passages which show direct verbal influence on Juvenal or which in their precise wording are essential for the understanding of his text; where it is a question of a general similarity of thought it usually seemed sufficient to give references which may be checked by those who wish to follow up the question. Of course this line of distinction wavers and leaves a considerable grey area, in which I can only say that I have exercised the best of my judgment. In principle I have attempted to include all that I consider of prime relevance, which has obviously meant repeating much of Mayor’s material; but at the same time I hope that I have helped the reader to see more clearly than his edition permits by discarding superfluities. It will be understood that many things which need to be placed on record to serve the needs of those studying individual
passages in detail do not need to figure prominently in the ordinary course of reading Juvenal. It should also be noted that sometimes it is important that parallels should be parallel, and that in such cases I am at fault if I have not drawn attention to significant differences; but at other times when this is unimportant I have economised on space by silence.

The third duty also presents problems of scale. One may hesitate whether to give a list of primary sources or a reference to a modern work where they are satisfactorily collected; I have preferred the latter course when the list would be over-long or where the question involved would be best studied in a wider context than a note could attempt. One may also wonder how much secondary material to adduce. I have been generous because I am conscious that I have the fortune to work in a city well provided with books, but that many of those who use this commentary may not have access to some sources of information; many of the references given by me must therefore be considered to be alternatives to each other, and it is not to be supposed that all need to be consulted in all cases to give a full picture. On the other hand the sources referred to often take slightly different views of the question, and some are more valuable for collections of material than for interpretation of it; but I have tried not to refer to anything positively misleading without warning.

From all this two points about this commentary will be apparent. First, I have tried to serve the needs of all those who read or refer to Juvenal for any purpose whatsoever; this seems the right place to remind students of history, antiquities, etc., that not every word written by Juvenal is intended to be taken literally. This is not a purely literary commentary, though of course I have noted a good deal that is relevant to the evaluation and criticism of Juvenal as a writer; but I cannot enter in any detail into questions of general literary theory about the nature of satire, on which it will be apparent that I take a rather less subtle view than is currently fashionable (though I believe that the trend of studies on English satire is now in the same direction). There are two areas in which I have refrained from extended discussions, that of grammar, idiom and Silver Latin style, and that covering the physical objects employed in the life of the ancient world; though here too I have tried to help the enquirer who seeks more detail. Secondly, this is not a book intended for beginners; undergraduates should not try to master it all, though I hope that they will be able to consult it with profit, as I hope that all classes of users will be able to pick out severally what corresponds to their individual needs. For a total understanding of Juvenal all that I have noted seems relevant to me.

I am conscious that some minor inconsistencies in mode of citation, etc., remain, but I hope that none of these will cause any ambiguity. A commentary is not a work of literature in its own right, and in this one elegance is sacrificed to concentration. Juvenal’s exceptionally wide range of subject-matter ensures that no commentator can be an expert at first-hand over all of it, and specialists in
every field are invited to correct any of my misapprehensions. This long commentary would have been even longer if I had tried to note the sources of its materials: I have of course contributed some original matter, part of it due to the progress of knowledge and the discovery of new texts since the publication of the last commentary on Juvenal. For the rest, the only practical course seemed to be to limit acknowledgements to particularly striking ideas or to large-scale borrowings and discussions. Those who find their interpretations or illustrative matter adopted in silence will, I hope, be satisfied by the emphatic declaration that by far the greater proportion of my commentary is not original, and by an invitation to scholars in general to treat my commentary as I have treated the contributions of others. However I must make particular acknowledgement to Duff among previous commentators; the reader will note that I often quote directly from him, as I do not to any extent from any other commentator, because I could in no way improve on his formulations.

I have been greatly assisted by the generosity of friends in advising me. Most commentators on Juvenal find themselves enmeshed in the technical details of the Roman army and Roman law; in these areas Mr M. W. Hassall, Professor J. J. Wilkes and Professor J. A. C. Thomas have been kind enough to check my work, a service performed on the Egyptological side by Professor J. R. Harris and Dr D. M. Dixon. A first typescript of the whole work was read by Dr M. Coffey, and substantial portions by Professor W. S. Maguinness; at a later stage between them Professors W. J. N. Rudd and R. G. M. Nisbet read the whole commentary. Many of their suggestions are now anonymously incorporated in the commentary, and so are some opinions to which they would not assent. It will be observed that the emphasis of a few notes differs slightly from that to be found in the school-edition of One, Three and Ten produced by Professor Rudd and myself in 1977; this is due to the different purpose of that work.

15 December 1978

[[xii] Postscript

My best thanks are due to my colleagues Mr B. Gredley, Mrs A. C. Griffiths and Miss W. M. Beard for their generous and vigilant help in correction of the proofs; and, now that his task is nearly over, to Mr N. J. Dyson of the Athlone Press, who has nursed this project for many years.

A typographical difficulty has come to light too late for alteration. The reader is asked to look attentively for marks of long quantity over italic i, which could not be printed as distinctively as I wished.

17 October 1979
Our biographical information about the Roman poets is derived from one or more of three sources: (1) what they say in their own writings (2) the biographical tradition (3) references in documents (such as inscriptions) and other writers. In the case of Juvenal we gain little information from (1), because his satires are largely devoted to tirades against subjects external to the writer, and (except Seven and Twelve; see p. 7) have little of the autobiographical element prominent in (for example) Horace, for which their declamatory nature makes them unsuitable. However, from allusions in the poems we do at least gain a chronological framework for their composition; for detailed corroboration of the datings derived in what follows from individual passages in each case the notes should be consulted.

Juvenal’s manuscripts divide his poems into five books, and ancient sources who quote him employ the same book-division. Book 1 embraces Satires 1–5. The reference to the prosecution of Marius Priscus in 1.49–50 gives a terminus post quem of A.D. 100 for that poem. 2.102 probably alludes to the Histories of Tacitus, which would give a terminus post quem of (at earliest) c. A.D. 107. 4.1 shows that that poem is later than 1; 2, 3 and 5 are probably earlier (see on 1.86).

Book 2. 6.407 sqq. give a terminus post quem of A.D. 116, and suggest that the events referred to are recent.

Book 3 (7–9). The Caesar of 7.1 is almost certainly Hadrian, who succeeded Trajan in 117, arrived in Rome in 118, and left it for a long provincial tour in 121.

Book 4 (10–12) shows no clear references. The episodes of Sejanus and Silius in 10 almost certainly draw on the Annals of Tacitus, but the date of publication of that work or the relevant portions of it cannot be established firmly enough to help.

Book 5 (13–16). The consul Fonteius of 13.16–17 is generally taken to be that of A.D. 67, on the grounds that he is named before his colleague in the Fasti and that year-dating by one | consul (cf. 15.27, etc.; there and elsewhere a suffect consul) postulates this seniority. But in the first place it is questionable if this postulate of seniority is justified (see Astbury AJP 98, 1977, 393). Secondly, the consul of 67 is only recorded by his cognomen Capito; his nomen is inferred from an
identification (plausible, it must be admitted) with the legate of Germany in 68. Thirdly, another contender, the consul Fonteius Capito of 59, is named first by as many sources as those which put him second. Fourthly, there is also the consul C. Fonteius (evidently Fonteius Agrippa) of 58 (CIL 4 p. 397; consul suff. in second place). In any case the passage only gives a terminus post quem, not an absolute dating; this terminus, usually taken to be A.D. 127, may alternatively be A.D. 118–19. 14.196 gives a terminus post quem of 123, 15.27 of 127; 14.99 gives a terminus ante quem of 132. The whole book therefore may be dated about A.D. 130.

When he wrote 1.25 Juvenal was no longer a iuvenis, i.e. if we understand this strictly he was aged over 45; when he wrote 11.201–3 he was an old man. It is therefore clear that all of his surviving work is the product of his middle and old age. The chronological succession of Books 2–5 would invite us to place the publication of Book 1 around A.D. 112, and we may put his birth about A.D. 60.

It will be noted that whereas Horace’s praenomen and cognomen are both mentioned in his satires (2.1.18, 2.6.37; his nomen in the Odes and Epistles), and Lucilius’ praenomen in fr. 1035 and his nomen often, Juvenal’s nomen Iunius and his praenomen Decimus are only known from mss. subscriptions and biographies (and the praenomen not too securely; it is omitted by nearly all sources in the text of the biography, and nowhere appears in the subscriptions of P or R, though an eighth-century catalogue (Ullman Scriptorium 8, 1954, 31) records a subscription Divi (= D. Iuni) Iuvenalis). He never mentions any of his names.

Other inferences drawn from the poems will be discussed later.

(3) The other reliable source of information about Juvenal which we have is the evidence of his older contemporary and friend, Martial, who addresses him in three epigrams. 7.24 and 91 belong to A.D. 92, and speak of Juvenal as a close friend to whom a Saturnalia present is sent; he was evidently living on intimate terms with Martial, and consequently in Rome. He is addressed as facundus, which may refer either to oratory or poetry. 12.18 belongs to A.D. 101–2:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dum tu forsitan inquietus erras} & \quad 1 \\
\text{clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura} & \\
\text{aut collem dominae teris Dianae;} & \\
\text{dum per limina te potentiorum} & \\
\text{sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque} & \quad 5 \\
\text{maior Caelius et minor fatigant …} & 
\end{align*}
\]

(*collis Dianae* is the Aventine; see on Juv. 3.85). Here Juvenal is represented as likely to frequent the humbler parts of the city and haunt the houses of the great in the superior districts as a poor client. He expresses his dislike of the Subura at 3.5, and his frequent mentions of the miseries of clients may fairly be taken to imply some degree of personal involvement (see on 1.101, 3.152, 9.48–9). Nisard pointed out that all three poems to Juvenal contain a dirty joke (though at 12.18.22 if *tu* means ‘one’ he need not be directly linked with the joke), and that Juvenal’s own
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poetry might give an impression of a nasty attitude to sex (see on 6.70 and 422); but lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba ought to deter us from stressing this in the case of either poet. At 4.106 Juvenal deplores dissipation in the life of a satirist, and at 11.170 sqq. excludes it from his own life (though allowance must be made for his literary pose in this poem).

The other important piece of evidence in this category is an inscription from Aquinum (CIL 10.5382), first recorded in 1772, last recorded from autopsy in 1808, and lost by 1846. This has often been uncritically presented, but recently has been carefully reviewed by S. Monti (Rendiconti dell’ Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli 40, 1965, 79–110). Some lines at the beginning were illegible, then followed (the infra-linear dots do not pretend to epigraphical precision, but indicate letters about which the reports show substantial disagreement):

\[\text{ČERERI SAČRVM} \]
\[\text{IV[NIVS IVVENALIS} \]
\[\text{T[R][B] COH DELMATARVM} \]
\[\text{II QVINQ. FLAMEN} \]
\[\text{DIVI VESPASIANI} \]
\[\text{VOVIT DEDICAVITQVE} \]
\[\text{SVA PEC.} \]

[4] The reading of the first line, in view of the divergence of the copies, is highly uncertain, and what is given above may be no more than a guess based on Juvenal’s known links with Aquinum and his mention of a cult of Ceres there (3.319–22), which however he associates not with his own but with another local family. This line was clearly so difficult to decipher that it cannot be used as evidence. In the second line the praenomen of the dedicator had been knocked off; as pointed out above, even that of the poet himself is hardly well-established. The restoration of the third and fourth lines is also subject to doubt; Monti suggests that we should read CO. II DELMATARVM, Mommsen had proposed COH. I DELMATARVM, and E. Flores (Letteratura Latina e Società (1973) 71 = Annali della Facolta di Lettere, Napoli 10, 1962–3, 74) prefers

\[\text{COH. DELMATARVM II} \]
\[\text{QVINQ. FLAMEN} \]

(in which case QVINQ. means duovir quinquennalis). Whatever the exact restoration, the meaning will be ‘tribune of a cohort (or of the first cohort or of the second cohort) of Dalmatians, duovir quinquennalis, flamen of the deified Vespasian’. It would be usual for the number of the cohort to be given, but e.g. CIL 11.6009 presents praef. coh. Hispanorum equitatae. If TRIB. is correct (and although the evidence for it is not above doubt, there is no evidence at all to favour...
the alternative restoration PRAEF.), this will be a cohort of 1000 men, a *cohors miliaria*, under a *tribunus militum* (see the note on the structure of the Roman army appended to this section, p. 8).

The *duoviri* in towns like Aquinum were the leading municipal officials; the *quinquennales*, whose office was a special distinction, were the *duoviri* of every fifth year and had duties like those of the censors at Rome, involving the compilation of lists of the local town counsellors (*decuriones*) and citizens (*RE duoviri* 1825, Langhammer 148 and 196). The mention of a flaminate of the deified Vespasian (Scott 45), an office ordinarily held for a year (F. Geiger *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus* (1913) 45–6, D. Ladage *Städtische Priester- und Kultämter* (1971) 80–5), gives a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 79–80. We may compare the career of L. Minicius Exoratus (*CIL 5.5239 = ILS 6727*), who was *flamen* of Titus, *trib. mil.* and *duovir*, evidently at Comum.

What sort of man was the dedicator at Aquinum? Evidently | [5] fairly affluent, since both the duovirate (*Callistratus Dig. 50.4.14.3; RE duoviri* 1814 and 1817, Langhammer 44, 105, 180–1, Garnsey *Historia* 20, 1971, 323) and the flaminate (*DS flamen* 1186, Ladage 117–20 and 63–4) would involve considerable expense (see in general Duncan-Jones 82, Garnsey *JRS* 61, 1971, 116, *SG* 2.10 and 82 = 2.12 and 102, 2.250 = 3.23–4). On the evidence of the inscription considered on its own we should be inclined to class him as one of those who, like Columella, held the military tribunate (which would involve equestrian rank, and carried a status equal to that of a legionary tribune) without any intention of completing the *militia equestris*, and then retired to municipalities with enhanced prestige (Birley 138–9, Syme *HSCP* 73, 1969, 208). This does not at all fit what we know about Juvenal, and in my opinion we do best to suppose that the inscription refers to some relative of his; probably one of a younger generation, since military cohorts of Dalmatians were evidently first raised in the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius (*RE co- hors* 280–4, J. Wilkes *Dalmatia* (1969) 473; for the persistence of the cults of Titus and Vespasian to this date cf. Geiger 31). There does not seem to be any reason to doubt the genuineness of the inscription, though local patriotism bred forged inscriptions of e.g. Vergil and Propertius. What we can infer from its discovery at Aquinum and Juvenal’s known links with that town is that this was his place of origin.

(2) Juvenal lived too late to be included by Suetonius in his lives of the poets. His scholiast, dating from the second half of the fourth century, makes these biographical statements:

- on 1.1; that he attacked the times of Domitian because actors had more power at court than good men; that he was exiled by Domitian *ad civitatem ultimam Aegypti Ho<a>s<im>*>, where he wrote *hos libros*, and that the immediate cause of his exile was that he spoke the verse 7.90.

- on 4.37; that because of the uncomplimentary reference in these lines to Domi-
tian’s baldness, he was relegated *sub specie honoris ad cohortis curam* to Hoasa, where he died.

on 7.92; that he was sent into exile because of this verse.

on 15.27; *de se dicit Iuvenalis quia in Aegypto militem tenuit*.

The interpolated texts of Juvenal (but not P or any of its congers) provide a number of biographies of Juvenal, almost all palpably worthless. The only one which prima facie merits any credence, and which seems to have served as a basis for the others, is that printed by Wessner p. 1 and Clausen p. 179; the unreliable Valla attributes it to his Probus. In translation this runs as follows:

‘(D.) Junius Juvenalis, the son or adopted son (this is not established) of a rich freedman, was a declaimer until about middle age, more as a hobby than because he was preparing himself for a career as a professional declaimer or barrister. Then he composed a satire of a few verses, quite wittily, against the pantomime dancer Paris and his librettist, who was vain because of trivial six-month military appointments, and proceeded to devote himself to this style of writing. Yet for a long time he did not venture to entrust anything even to quite a small audience. Subsequently he gave readings a few times to packed audiences with such success that he inserted into his later writings his first composition also [then 7.90–2 are quoted]. At that time there was an actor who was a court favourite, and many of his fans were being promoted daily. Therefore Juvenal came under suspicion of making indirect attacks on the times, and, although in his eighties, he was removed from Rome by a military appointment and sent to take command of a cohort on its way to the remotest part of Egypt. This kind of punishment was decided upon so that it might match his trivial and humorous offence. However within a very short time he died because of vexation and disgust.’

Sidonius Apollinaris *Carm. 9.271*, dated to A.D. 461–2, states that he will not imitate Ovid

*nec qui consimili deinde casu*

*ad vulgi tenuem strepensis auram*

*irati fuit histrionis exul.*

This certainly refers to Juvenal, an author familiar to Sidonius, and equally certainly derives from the remarks of the scholiast (we cannot assume that the *vita* had by then been compiled).

John Malalas (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* 31 ed. Dindorf (1831) 10 pp. 262–3) says that Domitian was in love with the dancer of the green faction, Paris, and was reviled in respect of him by the Senate and Juvenal. He exiled Juvenal to the Libyan Pentapolis, and settled Paris with much wealth in Antioch, where he died. From this derives the account in the Suda article on Juvenal.

The fantastic elements in these accounts and their contradictions in detail are obvious; but all have a certain common kernel, which in its most plausible form is
this: that Juvenal was exiled by Domitian, that the place of his exile was the larger of the great Oases in the Libyan desert, el-Kharga, and that the cause of his exile was an attack on an actor in the words of 7.90–2. If we think of 7.90–2 as they now occur in our texts of Juvenal, these statements are mutually incompatible, since 7 was published long after the death of Domitian; but what the scholiast on 1.1 says is that he spoke (dixit) 7.90, for which he was exiled to Egypt, where he wrote his satires. We would infer that the scholiast believed that the three lines were introduced by Juvenal into the context in which they now stand from a juvenile composition, and this seems to be recognised by the biographer. But the biographer has involved himself in confusion by introducing Paris into the story from the context in Juvenal; it is noticeable that what we must regard as the earliest form of the story (the scholiast and Sidonius) has only one actor, and it is clear that the story grew and was elaborated with successive re-tellings. Nevertheless some have modified the biographer’s version and supposed that ten years or so after the death of Paris in A.D. 83 Juvenal thought that he could with impunity attack a fallen favourite, but that Domitian still resented the attack and exiled him. If he was exiled by Domitian, in view of the evidence of Martial this must have taken place after A.D. 92; but there are grave grounds for doubting the whole story.

(1) If Juvenal did attack an actor, who was he? Surely he would have been named if anything concrete had been known about him.

(2) It passes belief that at the end of Domitian’s reign Juvenal would have been so foolish as to make a direct attack on a court favourite, or Domitian so indulgent as merely to banish him. In the biographer’s version the attack becomes indirect (quasi tempora figurate notasset; cf. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 4.1.2 si quid ... satiricus figuratum (condidit) and Quintil. 9.2.67–9); but Domitian executed the historian Hermogenes of Tarsus propter quasdam in historia figuram (Suet. 10). The biographer makes the story a neat tit for tat; Juvenal has criticised Paris for bestowing the honor militiae (7.88) and alleged praefectos Pelopea facit, now he himself per honorem militiae ... urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis (improving on the ad cohortis curam of the scholiast on 4.37). The biographer complacently draws attention to the point (id supplicii genus ... par esset), but we cannot but feel that this is the humour of a pedant (who has taken not only Paris but also the honor militiae from the context beside 7.90–2) rather than the behaviour of Domitian at the end of his reign, capable though he had shown himself of a macabre practical joke (see Introduction to Four).

(3) Ulpian, who died in A.D. 228, remarks (Dig. 48.22.7.5) est quoddam genus quasi in insulam relegationis in provincia Aegypto in Oasis relegare, but the context makes it plain that this does not refer to banishment from Rome to Oasis, but to a punishment available to the prefect within Egypt. The known instances of this punishment are examined by J. Schwartz, Mél. A. Piganiol (1960) 3.1481 (cf. RE Oasis 1682.20), who concludes that it would be an anachronism in Juvenal’s time,
and belongs to the scholiast’s own day.

(4) 7.88–92 are not entirely relevant in the immediate context, which deals with the poverty of writers. But non dant proceres is relevant, and 90–2 are closely linked with 94–5 (93 being probably spurious). It is possible that Juvenal could successfully have integrated lines from an earlier poem, but it is not a supposition which in this case one would welcome.

If the story is to be rejected, how did it arise? Probably simply from Juvenal’s phrase quantum ipse notavi (15.45), which the scholiast could have misunderstood to mean ‘as I have myself observed’ (taking quantum in a sense current in his own day) and to imply that Juvenal had actually been in Egypt, in a satire followed by one about the military life (treated however in a manner which makes it unlikely that the author had been a soldier) in an incomplete state, suggesting that the writer had died before completing it.

Since the statements of the biographer about Juvenal’s exile arouse scepticism as to the extent of his knowledge, we will regard with equal scepticism the other statements which he makes about the poet’s life. The assertion that he was the son or adopted son of a rich freedman is not plausible in view of his |[9] scorn for freedmen and the fact that he probably belonged to a family held in respect locally; it may be due to the transference of a biographical detail from the life of another satirist, Horace, who was libertinus patre natus (such things are well established in ancient biography; Horace’s own biography has been affected by that of Bion). The statement that he was a declaimer until middle age is probably merely an inference from the combination of 1.15–17 and 25; it may however through accident have hit the target, since Martial’s facundus is more likely to refer to oratory than poetry in view of the absence of good evidence that Juvenal wrote any poetry under Domitian (bad evidence to that effect has just been rejected). The detail of the biographer that at first he did not recite is probably an unsophisticated inference from 1.1–6 and 15–21, a passage which certainly discourages the belief that Juvenal had previously written anything. The final remark angore et taedio perit is probably drawn from 7.34.

We are left with the conclusion that, because his writings were evidently not popular with his contemporaries and long remained out of fashion, nothing was known about his life when he again came into fashion, and resort was made to inference and fabrication. What we know for sure about him consists solely of the evidence of Martial and the few remarks in his own writings. The combination suggests that while in A.D. 101 he was a poor client in Rome, with a place where he could stay in Aquinum, by about twenty years later he had a house at Rome (11.171, 190) which appears to have been a family inheritance (12.87–9), and perhaps a small farm at Tibur (11.65 sqq.) from which he drew his servants (11.151 sqq.); it would be over-sceptical to attribute these statements wholly to literary convention, though that certainly plays its part (see on 11.64; on the other hand one
should not derive any inferences from insisting on a personal application of *mihi* at 16.37, or from 3.223 sqq., which need not be specifically addressed to Juvenal). This lends some colour to the suggestion that the change of tone perceptible in Book 4 and to a lesser extent in 5 (analysed in the next chapter) and the emphasis on *tranquillitas* in Ten (see the introduction there) may be at any rate partly due to an amelioration in his personal circumstances; certainly these books as a whole are less bitter and place less emphasis on poverty and *clientship*. This however must not be regarded as established fact; Juvenal's work should be considered in purely literary terms rather than pressed as a source of biographical information, and, as will be pointed out, towards the end of his production he makes something of a return to his earlier manner.

[Addendum, originally on p. 623: The life of Juvenal has now been discussed by Syme CP 74, 1979, 1; but nothing new and substantial emerges.]

*Note: The Structure of the Roman Army and Paramilitary Forces*

The study of Juvenal's life and the interpretation of a number of passages in his writings require a certain knowledge of the structure of the Roman army in his day. It seems convenient to gather together here the relevant points; my account is of course very incomplete.

(1) The auxiliaries, supplying cavalry and light-armed troops. The cavalry was divided into *alae* usually about 500 strong, though some units had about 1000 men; each *ala* was commanded by a *praefectus* and divided into *turmae*. The light-armed troops were divided into *cohortes* usually about 500 strong commanded by *praefecti* (junior to a *praefectus alae*), but in some cases about 1000 strong commanded by *tribuni militum*. These cohorts were sometimes part-mounted; the infantry was divided into centuries, the cavalry into *turmae*. The ascending order of seniority among the officers was *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus militum*, *praefectus alae*.

(2) The legions, each of which was divided into 10 cohorts, and each of those into 6 centuries of about 80 men, except that the first cohort was twice the size of the others and had only five larger centuries. The centurions of this cohort were the *primi ordinis*, and the highest-ranking of all was the *primus pilus*; there were two men of this rank, one of whom held a command and the other acted as a staff officer. The legion was commanded by a *legatus legionis* (a senator of praetorian rank) supported by a *tribunus laticlavius* (a senator designate; cf. on 1.106) and 5 *tribuni angusticlavii* (equestrians).

(3) The praetorian guard, consisting of 10 cohorts each 500 strong and divided into centuries. The guard was commanded by 2 equestrian *praefecti*, who had beneath them *tribuni* and *centuriones*. Cf. on 16.20.

(4) The *cohortes urbaneae*, 3 cohorts commanded by *tribuni* and the *praefectus urbi*. 
(5) The vigiles, 7 cohorts commanded by tribunes, each of 1,000 men and each divided into 7 centuries. The whole force was under the praefectus vigilum.

The above account assumes that the organisation of the legion described by Vegetius, in which the legionary cohorts each consisted of 550 men divided into 5 centuries, is not to be attributed to the times of Hadrian.

**Juvenal and His Satires**

The Romans regarded Lucilius, who in Juvenal’s time was recovering popularity (on 1.20; Tacitus and Martial adduced on 6.454), as the founder of formal verse satire, and in his programmatic first poem Juvenal clearly looks back to him as a model (19–20, 151–4, 165–8). It is therefore worth considering what features the two have in common. Obviously the most important is the tone of aggression against named individuals, which is what Juvenal emphasises in that poem; but of course whereas Lucilius attacked living contemporaries of rank and position, Juvenal did not, and instead employed names as exempla in the rhetorical style to give concrete embodiment to the vices which he wished to attack (see introduction to One). Second is the character of their diction; Lucilius freely introduced Greek words and phrases, such as those used by Juvenal at 5.121, 9.37, 11.27, and was criticised for this by Horace, who demonstratively sets the example of avoidance at Serm. 1.9.78. In this respect Juvenal, who desired to give his satire a more varied and highly-coloured stylistic character than Horace sought, in order to raise the emotional temperature above Horatian equability, returns to Lucilian practice; Greek words are often used by him to convey contempt (see p. 35). Finally there is their method of composition. Horace has this to say of Lucilius:

(1.4.11) *cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles*

and (1.10.50) *saepè ferentem / plura quidem tollenda relinquendis.* The verbosity visible in his longest surviving fragment (1326 sqq.), even when we allow for deliberate intent, fully justifies Horace; the same quality can often be noted in Juvenal too (see p. 37). We cannot tell whether Lucilius’ garrulity made him stray into digressions such as we often find in Juvenal, but it is noticeable that he wrote a number of satires which filled a whole book (1, 2, 3, 16), as Juvenal did with satire Six, Book 2. 

Juvenal also mentions Horace as one of his models (1.51), but without giving great prominence to him. Just as Horace chose to stress the autobiographical element in Lucilius (2.1.31–4) because that was the type of satire which he himself wanted to write (*sequor hunc l.c.*), so Juvenal chooses to stress the aggressive side of Horace’s writing for the same reason, though this is not what we now regard as the outstanding feature of his work (or what Persius regarded as such, 1.116–18); if we might select a motto for each of them, in one case it would be *ridentem dicere verum,* in the other *facit indignatio versum.* Horace freely attacks contemporaries, at any rate in Book I, but they are nearly all people of no status or significance (N.
Rudd *The Satires of Horace* (1966) 133–8; the most prominent are Tillius, Fausta and Sallustius); Juvenal’s procedure in the great majority of cases is to use the names of the dead as *exempla*, as indicated above. The early satires of Juvenal show very little that is Horatian and much that is un-Horatian in character, but the change in tone and technique in much of his later work (discussed below) brings it a little closer to Horace. The dialogue in Nine with the elaborate politeness of the poet’s interlocutions veiling their irony reminds us of Horace 2.4; Eleven possesses something of the mellowness of an Horatian epistle (*Epist.* 1.5 is analysed in relation to Juvenal in the introduction, and one might more generally think of the tone of *Sermones* 2.2 and 6), though it appears to have a sting for the addressee absent in Horace; the compositional technique of Fourteen recalls Horace (see introduction there).

Juvenal occasionally imitates Persius in detail, but never mentions him and has little in common with him.

In his programmatic poem Juvenal makes a bow to the traditional medley character of satire (81–6), but immediately cancels it by focussing on *vitia*; before that he has represented himself as driven by *ira* and *indignatio* (45, 79) to attack these *vitia*. In illustrating the subject-matter of satire he lays stress on the misuse of money in two converse aspects, meanness and extravagance. Two assails homosexuality and effeminacy, with incidental but important stress on hypocrisy. Three attacks life in the capital city for its discomforts and dangers and for the difficulty of making a living there. Four is concerned with the [[13]] corruption of Domitian’s court, with special reference to gluttony. Five depicts the miseries of a client’s life and the indignities to which he has to submit when invited to a meal. Here ends Book 1, which has considerable thematic unity. Six is a blunderbuss assault on women and the unhappiness caused to men by marriage. Seven portrays the poverty of men devoted to culture, a poverty only relieved by a faint hope of imperial patronage. Eight alleges that right from the beginnings of Rome the nobility has failed to maintain an association between *nobilitas* and *virtus*, and that the latter has shown itself in men of humble origins. It will be seen that these poems are concerned with denouncing vast areas of contemporary life at Rome, the *iniqua Urbs* (1.30); the city of Rome is intolerable to live in, it has just endured the rule of a savage tyrant, the nobility is corrupt, many men are becoming effeminate, women are insufferable, humble clients and men of the arts live in poverty, money reigns supreme.

But with the Ninth poem a change in technique begins to become apparent. The poet himself speaks only a little over a third of the poem, and the rest is put in the mouth of a bisexual gigolo who complains of the miseries of his lot (the part played by Umbricius in Three is not comparable with this). The poet does not attack him overtly, though irony is clearly perceptible, and in fact in what he
says makes critical mention of only five named individuals (though he probably named others in a gap after 134), all incidental (Naevolus adds Virro, 35). It is worth while contrasting Two, where, even if we discount Hispo and Hister in the speech of Laronia (see also the names in 49), we have Laronia herself, Peribomius, Sextus, Varillus, Creticus, Gracchus, Lyde, Zalaces and his tribune, the adulteresses of 68–9, and the historical exempla from the recent past (see pp. 30–1) of Otho and the pair Domitian and Julia, as well as many historical exempla from the remote past (like Fabricius 9.142) used to point to the degeneracy of the present.

Ten, which begins a new book, marks the change by a programmatic statement at the beginning. The motive for writing is no longer anger, but irony based on cynical laughter; the goal of life is tranquillitas. The poem opens with reference to the whole world (omnibus in terris), not just Rome, and its exempla also embrace all the world (cf. 138), most of them coming from [14] the distant past. The subject is ‘The Right and Wrong Objects of Prayer’, again not a denunciatory topic, though it is treated in a declamatory manner and structured round a series of exempla; one may compare 8.146–268. It will however be observed that Juvenal is not here angry at his exempla; the only people actually attacked are Cossus (202), the disreputable characters of 220–6 and the adulteresses of 319–22. One will note also that in this poem Juvenal not only criticises what is wrong but explicitly, though much more briefly, advises what is right. The same applies to Eleven, which criticises luxury and extravagance and praises simplicity in life-style. Juvenal’s earlier poems had conveyed few positive admonitions like this; the nearest approach comes with some advice given to Ponticus in Eight. It is noticeable that in the smaller (about a quarter of the poem) ‘negative’ portion of Eleven (1–55) six people are named in uncomplimentary fashion, in the ‘positive’ portion only one (Trypherus 137).

A stylistic comparison between the latter portion of this poem (56–208, 153 lines) and Five (173 lines), the subject matter of which is very roughly comparable, will illustrate the more relaxed manner of writing shown in a number of the later satires; I shall concentrate on those features which I shall emphasise when I come to discuss Juvenal’s style. Eleven then has one rhetorical question (182), eight cases of anaphora (in 190–2 the presence of exue makes this into synonymia as well as anaphora), one of subnexitio or regressio (63), one of occupatio (162), one of periphrasis (61–2), four of antithesis (56–7, 108–9, 120, 201–3), one pun (195), and one sententia functioning as an epiphonema (208). Five has eleven cases of anaphora (I include 166–8 iam, though this is not striking), nine rhetorical questions (of which those in 8–11, 62–3, 127–30 are combined in groups of two or more, and that in 157 shows also chiastic anaphora and irony), one case of occupatio (156), two exclamations (24 and 67), one paradox (10), one case of redditio (14–15), six of irony, frequent sermocinatio, two cases of epanalepsis (112–13, 133–4), two of epiphora (135 and 147–8, the former with polyptoton), four of hyperbole and
seven of periphrasis (two coming together at 45–6, though the former might be classed as antonomasia), three instances of what may be called either synecdoche or antonomasia (59, 138–9, 149), three sententiae (66, 140, [15] 130–1), and continual antithesis (that at 113 being also an isocolon).

Eleven, like Nine, is addressed to a ‘friend’ to whom Juvenal remains polite but whom he evidently regards with some irony; the same is true of two characters introduced in Twelve, Catullus and Corvinus. This satire ends with an attack on legacy-hunting, and, though the treatment shows more irony than denunciation, that inevitably involves naming names; in the first part of the poem we have only the fat Hispulla and the bibulous wife of Fuscus. Thirteen also shows an addressee treated in friendly but ironical fashion; Calvinus is consoled for being defrauded of a sum of money, but the consolation is framed in a way which makes it plain that his dolor (grief and resentment) is disproportionate to its cause and rooted in meanness. The poem however turns serious half-way through, with the positive message that men should not make desire for revenge a motive for action (it seems fair to call this a positive message, though my formulation contains the word ‘not’). Fourteen covers two themes, parental influence and avarice. In the case of both positive precepts are given: parents should take great care to set an example (38–85), a modest competence is enough (316–31); but, though 256 is still Democritean, the bulk of the poem is a return to Juvenal’s earlier manner of aggression against a clearly identified section of society (parents) and a vice. Yet the discussion remains in general terms; apart from historical exempla only Rutilus, Larga and Caetronius and his son are attacked, none of them in the ‘positive’ parts. Two at any rate of these, Rutilus and Larga, illustrate the difficulty of discussing Juvenal’s use of names; from what he says it would be hard to asseverate that they had historical existence, and they may simply be fictitious exempla, names made up to give some particularity to a vice. From lack of information we often cannot fruitfully discuss this problem.

Fifteen also has something in common with Juvenal’s earlier manner; it attacks a community (not however a section of Roman society) for its barbarism and shows horror at the way in which men can violate their nature, which is superior to that of the animals and akin to the divine. In view of the subject and setting of the poem it is readily comprehensible that the discussion does not involve any attacks on named Romans (the only [16] contemporary named is in a consular dating, 27); the pessimism embraces the whole human race. The fragmentary nature of Sixteen makes it impossible to pass a final judgment, but again it does seem to approach his earlier manner in that it is an attack on a clearly identified section of Roman society, soldiers, illustrated with reference to named Romans. However it retains the irony characteristic of his later work in that it criticises military life under the guise of praising it.

Many scholars and critics speak as if the literary production of Juvenal fell
into two clearly defined halves, a denunciatory declamatory period and one of tranquillity and meditation. The truth is more complex than that, and shows not a sharp divide, but gradual transitions towards and again away from a calmer approach. It is correct to say that 1–8 are, broadly speaking, homogeneous and in total form a depressing picture of Roman life and society. Eight however shows the beginnings of an interest in providing positive admonition, and Nine embodies a cooler, less vehement form of writing; it introduces a series of poems in which the emphasis is on private morality, not on society (whereas in Two, the theme of which is in some ways comparable, the link with Roman society is very plain), and shows little attempt (only in 130–3) to generalise its theme into an attack on a sizeable and clearly identified section of the community. Ten ends with positive advice in the field of personal ethics of strongly Stoic colouring, as it began with commendation of Democritus; though Juvenal disclaims any technical knowledge of philosophy (13.121), Books 4 and 5 show a tendency to appeal to philosophers (Solon 10.274; 13.184; 14.319; 15.106, where in fact his knowledge is defective, and 172, with which one may contrast the purely humorous reference at 3.229; 15.142 sqq. is also of markedly Stoic character), whereas in Two and at 3.116 he attacks hypocrite philosophers. Ten also begins with a general proposition advanced for the sake of argument (in rhetorical terms a thesis), and so do Thirteen and Fourteen; in essence the beginning of Eleven is similar, though it is couched in the concrete form of exempla. Fifteen and Sixteen open with rhetorical questions, as did Eight.

Juvenal himself is more prominent personally in Eleven and Twelve, which in their chatty tone carry out the promise of a more relaxed style made in Ten, than he is anywhere else (cf. p. 8), and Eleven begins a series of three poems tied to specific occasions and related to addressees who are treated in an ironical manner (the occasions being an accepted invitation to dinner, an escape from shipwreck, a case of fraud); Eight looks forward to this form, in that it had an addressee, Ponticus, a hint of criticism of him (111–13 and 131–4), and probably an occasion (his appointment as a provincial governor). Fourteen, Fifteen and Sixteen continue to have addressees, but they are no longer integral to the subjects of the poems, even in Fifteen, which does have a specific occasion but one unconnected with the addressee; Fourteen and Sixteen do not have occasions. Most of these poems name the addressees in the first line (a feature which in a number of Roman poems is designed to convey a compliment, in the style of a modern dedication), but mention of them is deferred in Eleven and Thirteen, which start from striking openings.

One must assume that the addressees of 14–16 were real people known to Juvenal, since it would be pointless to invent an addressee of whom no use is made in the poem. Ponticus too was doubtless a real person, since otherwise the digression on provincial government would be unmotivated; this is also suggested by 8.87. What about Persicus, Corvinus and Calvinus? There is reason to suppose that
Persicus was invented (see the introduction to Eleven), and one must suspect the same of Corvinus; both have names which seem suspiciously appropriate to the circumstances in which they find themselves. Calvinus however seems to have enough individual identity (17) to justify acceptance of his reality.

Incidentally it will have been noticed that Juvenal seems to have made an effort to link successive poems, and even successive books, by formal devices. Thirteen, the first poem of Book 5, has a clear resemblance formally to Eleven and Twelve; in addition to points already mentioned, all of them fall into two halves. Poem Six (i.e. Book 2) is in form, like Five (the last poem of Book 1), a λόγος ἀπροτρεπτικός or dissuasio (their addressees being respectively Trebius and Postumus), and something of this form persists in 7.24 sqq. to Telesinus. A thematic connection which might be noted is that the corrupting influence of the Urbs insisted on in 2.162 sqq. leads on to Three. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: I should have remarked on the similarity of the positions of Domitian in Four and Virro in Five in relation to their courtiers and clients.]

What are the relative parts of the individual, the Roman community and the human race in these later poems? Nine and Ten are almost exclusively concerned with the individual, though Ten places him in the setting of the whole world. In Eleven the individual is related to the Roman tradition (77–119) and the present state of Roman society (120–9, 171–8 and indirectly throughout 136–61). In Twelve the first part concerns the individual, the second (on legacy-hunting) society. Thirteen repeatedly insists on the commonness of such offences as fraud and worse at Rome, but also points out (159 sqq.) that such depravity is ingrained in the human race, though Juvenal regards it as a bizarre departure from essential human nature. The avarice and other faults due to parental example affect the Roman community as well as the individual (14.41–3, 70–2, 100, 140–88). The latter part of Fifteen develops one element of Thirteen with reference to the whole human race.

In conclusion it may be added that a broad distinction between the style of the earlier and the later satires can be exemplified in various features. As has been pointed out, in the later poems fewer of the exempla come from the recent past, and there are more illustrations from Greek mythology and history and Roman republican history; Book 4 contains no allusion to any concrete incident which could provide a dating (see p. 1). The sentences tend to become longer and more involved (see p. 36); conversely ellipse becomes less common. All these are features which fit in with a more meditative approach.

**Juvenal’s View of Society and Morals**

No attempt can be made here to provide a general literary theory of satire, but it may nevertheless be helpful to select a few quotations from modern critical works
which will facilitate placing Juvenal’s writing in a wider context. We may begin with some remarks by Hobbes (J. E. Spingarn *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (1908) 2.54–5), who isolates three regions of poetry (court, city and country), three sorts (heroic, scommatic, pastoral), and two modes of representation (narrative and dramatic); satire is classified as scommatic narrative dealing with the city. The significance of the tie with the city is underlined by A. Kernan *The Cankered Muse* (1959) 7–8 ‘The scene of satire is always’ (a rash word) ‘disorderly and crowded, packed to the very point of bursting (with people) … The scene is equally choked with things … The immediate effect is one of disorderly profusion. The sheer dirty weight … of people and their vulgar possessions threatens to overwhelm the world in … the streets of Juvenal’s Rome … It is no accident that most satire is set in the city, particularly in the metropolis with a polyglot people.’ The significance of the city setting of Juvenal’s satire is further discussed in the introduction to Three, but it must be remarked that many of Kernan’s generalisations are based on a partial survey of the evidence, and the validity of this one is much greater for Juvenal’s earlier than for his later poems. It may however be accepted that it is in the city that the satirist generally finds the material which he wishes to attack, and there can be no doubt about the historical reality of Juvenal’s picture of the actual *Urbs*, with its fires, traffic, towering apartment-blocks, and of many features of Roman life, the humiliations of clients, the arrogance of the nouveaux riches, the nobles and women fighting in the amphitheatre; all these are amply attested by other sources.

But if vices are to be attacked they must be demonstrated to be vices, i.e. there must be some implicit or explicit basis of values; and if vices can be recognised, so too necessarily can virtues. ‘Somewhere in his dense knots of ugly flesh the satiric author usually inserts a hint of an ideal which is either threatened with destruction or is already dead … Juvenal manages to refer in a variety of ways to the sturdy independence and moral vigour of the old Romans of the republic’ (Kernan 10–11). It is natural that if vice is associated with the imperial city, virtue should be linked with the republican country; ‘the satirist’s moral code, which is too traditional and too straightforward to be called a philosophy, suits his rural background … Metaphysics, elaborate ethics … these are beyond the satirist. He views life in social terms’ (the importance of this remark will become apparent in the following discussion) ‘and exhorts his audience to return to the ways of their fathers, to live with fortitude, reason, chastity, honor, justice, simplicity, the virtues which make for the good life and the good society’ (Kernan 18). One should not overemphasise, in opposition to this remark, the slightly increased reference to philosophy in Juvenal’s later satires (see p. 13).}

We may pass from this to a point made by Northrop Frye *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) 223–4 ‘Satire’s moral norms are relatively clear, and it assumes standards against which the grotesque and absurd are measured … The comic struggle of
two societies, one normal and the other absurd, is reflected in its double focus of morality and fantasy … Two things then are essential to satire; one is wit or humor founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd, the other is an object of attack … To attack anything, writer and audience must agree on its undesirability, which means that the content of a great deal of satire founded on national hatreds, snobbery, prejudice and personal pique goes out of date very quickly’ (this last remark provides the justification for the detailed analysis of Roman attitudes which will be made presently). This relationship between the satirist, his audience and standards assumed is a crucial point developed by Kernan 21–2 ‘The satirist sees the world as a battlefield between a definite, clearly understood good, which he represents, and an equally clear-cut evil. No ambiguities, no doubts about himself, no sense of mystery trouble him, and he retains always his monolithic certainty … If the attack on vice is to be effective, the character who delivers it must appear the moral opposite of the world he condemns; he must be fervent, he must be horrified at what he sees, and he must be able to distinguish between vice and virtue without any philosophical shillyshallying about “what is right and what is wrong?”.’ The implication here is that we must expect a certain simplification not only in the satirist’s projection of his opinions, but also in his picture of the objective world; ‘the most obvious tension results from the satirist’s categorical contention that he is showing us the world and men as they actually are … Writers of epic, love poetry or pastoral are, the satirist assures us, merely writing fiction. Only the satirist truly has for his subject quicquid agunt homines … But in no art form is the complexity of human existence so obviously scanted’ (note this word) ‘as in satire. The satirist is out to persuade us that vice is both ugly and rampant, and in order to do so he deliberately distorts, excludes and slants … The satirist is caught between the conflicting necessities of the claim to truth and the need to make vice appear as ugly and dangerous as possible’ (Kernan 23). [21]

The threads of this argument are drawn together by Mack Yale Review 41, 1951, 84 ‘The formal satiric poem … contains always two layers. There is a thesis layer attacking vice and folly, elaborated with every kind of rhetorical device, and, much briefer,’ (this is well illustrated in Ten) ‘an antithesis layer illustrating or implying a philosophy of rational control, usually embodied in some more or less ideal norm like the Stoic vir bonus, the good plain man. The contours of a formal verse satire, in other words, are not established entirely or even principally by a poet’s rancorous sensibility; they are part of a fiction … The bipartite structure just mentioned apparently exists to reflect a more general fictive situation, the warfare of good and evil … viewed from the angle of social solidarity … and … carried on in a context that asserts the primacy of moral decision … Satire asserts the validity and necessity of norms, systematic values and meanings that are contained by recognizable codes … For the satirist especially, the establishment of an authoritative ethos is imperative … He must be accepted by his audience as
a fundamentally virtuous and tolerant man, who challenges the doings of other men not whenever he happens to feel vindictive, but whenever they deserve it. On this account the satirist’s apologia for his satire is one of the stock subjects; the audience must be assured that its censor is a man of good will, who has been, as it were, forced into action. *Difficile est saturam non scribere.* But projection of himself in this way by the satirist carries some drawbacks; ‘the necessary straightforwardness of his attacks on vice always opens the satirist to accusations of being proud. As the satirist passes a succession of absolute moral judgments on his fellow men, he inevitably becomes an egoistic monster bursting with his own righteousness and completely devoid of any sympathy for his victims or doubts about his own moral status’ (Kernan 26).

This background of general literary theory may illuminate the problem of evaluating the writings of Juvenal in a moral light. We must not, in my view, doubt that fundamentally the historical Juvenal held the view of the world expounded in his satires, but we must make allowances for certain artistic demands which influence the presentation; compare Mack 88 ‘we may call [the satiric] speaker Pope if we wish, but only if we remember that he always reveals himself as a character in a drama, not as a man confiding in us’. The first of these demands is a simplification of the material in the interests of art, which after all generally depends on selection. Secondly we have to bear steadily in mind a pervasive element in satire, humour, in Juvenal’s case mostly of a rather grim type, which both makes him carry some attacks intended to be fundamentally serious far beyond the point at which they cease, when soberly interpreted, to be convincing and appropriate, and provokes him to poke fun at people and institutions of which his approval seems implicit in the train of his argument (cf. p. 24). Only excessive and one-sided emphasis on this privilege of a satirist could claim that he held no beliefs at all, and that everything he propounds comes from the mouth of a mask divorced from the historical Juvenal and created for purely literary purposes. Actual irony, which depends on temporary adoption of an outlook of which one disapproves (see p. 33), is of course usually easily recognised and causes no difficulty.

It will follow from all this that if one wishes to evaluate Juvenal as a moralist, first of all the actual kernel of what he intends as moral truth has to be extracted from the simplification, humour and exaggeration of his presentation. Next his sincerity has to be considered: did he really believe what he was saying? I believe that basically he did, though not all his beliefs and their corollaries have been analysed by him into a logically coherent creed; the views which he expresses show remarkable consistency over all his writing and, as will be demonstrated in a moment, are fully appropriate to a Roman in Juvenal’s historical situation. Thirdly, it will be necessary to make an estimate of the profundity and value of Juvenal’s moral ideas; an attempt will be made to do this at the end of this section.

In Juvenal’s day a number of philosophical creeds deduced precepts of moral-
ity from their views of the workings of the universe; a Stoic would not commit murder because in his view all men were related to each other and the deity by the divinae particula aurae in the soul, and an Epicurean would not because remorse for the crime would disturb his ἀταραξία. What about Juvenal, who proclaims his indifference to philosophy (13.120–3; though see p. 13)? The material of his satire is announced as vitia (1.87, 149), which he proposes to attack; the word of course fundamentally means ‘flaws’ rather than ‘vices’, and it will be seen that, consistently with this, in Juvenal it conveys not so much a moral judgment as the notion of variation from a norm. What specific features, in his view, mark out behaviour as vitiosum? Clearly everything that he enumerates between 1.87 and 149 will be vitia. The central theme of this passage is the deification of money, which has two converse aspects, meanness and extravagance. Why are these wrong? In some cases at least because they produce callousness in our relations to other people (93, 121–2, 132–4). And why is that wrong? Because it upsets the social order (109–11); Rome is iniqua, unjust in rewarding and honouring criminals (30; cf. 24–9, 129–31). Status in Roman society was based on wealth and census, and Juvenal sees society arranged in a hierarchy in which each rank has rights and duties; a slave has a right to expect warm clothing from his owner (note the prefix in reddere 93, implying the giving of what is due), a poor client has a right to expect his patron to invite him to a meal, a rich man has a duty neither to be mean nor to indulge in that ‘conspicuous consumption’ which the Romans called luxuria, a freedman or a foreigner has a duty not to push himself ahead of his social betters (‘social mobility’ is not a concept which Juvenal would have regarded with much favour), the magistrates of the Roman people have a duty not to demean their office (cf. 3.128, 8.148). The whole of society therefore is held together by officium, doing one’s appointed tasks (opificium; see Gelzer 66, Hellegouarch’s 152). This covers such duties as the attendance of a client on a patron (3.126, 5.13, 10.45), the patron’s legal services to a client (7.107; but of course in Juvenal’s day this had generally become a purely financial transaction, see ad loc.), and social obligations such as attendance at a wedding (2.132–4, 6.203). The neglect of officium produces such results as attempts to cheat (1.97–8, 123–6) and the spectacle of the gens toga-ta forgetting the dignity of that characteristic garment (1.96).

Juvenal’s moral judgments are thus based not on any coherent and rationalised philosophy, but on the code of behaviour which the Romans had built up for themselves and which may best be studied in the Third Book of Cicero’s De Officiis, in which the author cuts himself off from any Greek source and embarks on independent discussion. A brief examination of the origin and nature of this code will be helpful in providing a background to Juvenal’s thought.

The Roman historical tradition kept alive the memory of a time when the Roman territory consisted of a small farming community with a tiny urban centre, surrounded by more powerful and civilised communities against which it had
to struggle for survival. The primitive life of those days left permanent traces in the Latin language; to be washed then was to be elegant (lautus), bark (liber) was a writing-material, commerce consisted of weighing out (impendere, expendere; cf. on 1.40), time was not measured scientifically but related to the events of the day (9.107, 10.339) and the year (9.69, 10.250, 14.254). In due course Rome came to dominate the surrounding communities, and when the Romans sought an explanation for this fact they found one in the attachment of their ancestors to the soil and their indifference to external trade and commerce; the physical exertion involved in the former produced military virtues absent from communities with an easier life, but eventually undermined by luxury imports. Here are a few quotations out of many to illustrate the theme. Posidonius (fr. 266 Kidd–Edelstein) ap. Athen. 6.274 associates the qualities of the early Romans with ἡ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκησις. Cicero Pro Rosc. Am. 39 declares that country life is maxime disiuncta a cupiditate et cum OFFICIO coniuncta; ibid. 75 in urbe luxuries creatur, ex luxurie existat avaritia necesse est, ex avaritia erumpat audacia, inde omnia scelera ac maleficia gignuntur. Polybius 9.10.1–6 deplores the transfer of the booty of Syracuse in 211 B.C. to Rome as an abandonment of the simple life free of superfluities. Similar attitudes are expressed by Juvenal. The old agricultural ideal of Rome is praised directly or by implication in 2.72–4 and 127; 3.67; 6.287 sqq.; 11.78 sqq. and 98 (in this poem it is noteworthy that he shows awareness that the values of the past are not necessarily applicable to the present; see the introduction); 14.71 (here, quite the opposite, the exaltation of the utilis agris looks anachronistic), 161 sqq., 179 sqq.; dislike of imports and foreign influences is expressed or implied at 11.100, 117 (contrasted with 124–6), 147–8, 159 (see the note there); 14.89, 187; 6.287, where the introduction of peregrini mores is ascribed to wealth.

Two results of this way of thinking ought to be noted. First, ||25| with regard to the city of Rome itself, it produced a love-hatred relationship in some authors; pride in the actual grandeur of the capital, which Juvenal nowhere expresses, had to contend against consciousness of the remoteness of the life lived in it from the rural ideal. Juvenal unflatteringly contrasts Rome with the simple life of little country towns (3.165 sqq., 190 sqq., 223 sqq.), but though he had at least a pied-à-terre in one such little town, Aquinum, he deliberately makes the reader aware that when Umbricius leaves Rome he himself stays behind in the metropolis which provides the material for his satire. Second, the rose-coloured spectacles through which the past was viewed ruined historical perspective. We meet little acknowledgement of the fact that the change in Rome’s role necessarily changed the nature of the community and the city; Roman writers, convinced that moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque, often seem to wish to put the clock back without surrendering the time gained. Juvenal shows little understanding of economic and social facts, and sees things in the over-simplified moral values of times now obsolete (though, as already indicated, Eleven constitutes an exception here); the
contrast between virtuous past and degenerate present is frequent in him. Sometimes we catch a certain hollowness; for example, Seneca De Ben. 1.10.1 and Ep. 97.1 expresses the opinion that human life always remains essentially the same, but who declaims more often on degeneracy from the past than Seneca? Likewise Juvenal lauds the religiosity of the old days (6.342 sqq.), but he himself often pokes fun at it (as in the preceding lines). He is not hostile to the traditional modest ceremonies (9.137, 12.87, 16.39), but the intellectual scepticism of his own day (cf. 2.152–3) conflicts with his emotional ideal; unlike Polybius (6.56.6) he did not see how religion was integral to early Roman society.

A corollary to this second consequence is that each generation of writers, in order to shame their contemporaries, tended to put the beginning of ‘corruption’ later, and thus produced anachronisms which made the life-style of early Rome seem to last far later than in fact it did, as if it really could be reconciled with an imperial role. See how Juvenal regards the time of Julius Caesar as one of piety (6.343–5), and imagines that a family could live abundantly (saturabat 14.166) on an allotment below subsistence level, whereas Polybius 31.25.3–7 and 26.9 [126] and Scipio ap. Macrob. Sat. 3.14.6–7 (fr. 30 ORF), not to mention the attacks on degeneracy to be found in the fragments of the speeches of the elder Cato, depict a society already corrupt.

Paupertas Romana (6.295) in the first days of Rome was remembered also as having tended to level out social distinctions; a Curius grew and boiled his own vegetables (11.78). Accordingly Roman writers can look back to a time when the links between different ranks in society were not material or mercenary but based on moral obligations (officium; cf. Cic. De Off. 2.52–3), the chief manifestation of which is the relationship between patron and client (cf. L. R. Taylor Party Politics in the Age of Caesar (1949) 41–3); the meaning attached to this can best be seen in a Greek writer, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 2.9–10). The greatness of a man, in the Roman view, is measured not by his wealth but by the number of those who look to him for protection (cf. Cic. l.c. 65–70); the house of a clarus homo must be spacious to admit a crowd of men of all sorts, and it is discreditable if it is not filled by such a crowd (ibid. 1.138). Even at the end of antiquity Lydus De Magistr. 1.20 (referring to Juv. 5.110) says πάσης δὲ τιμῆς πρώτην ἐλογίζοντο οἱ τῆς Ῥώμης εὐπατρίδαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χαρισμάτων εὐφημίαν, καὶ ὅσῳ πλείους εἶχον τοὺς οἰκειουμένους αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτοι μείζονα τὴν εὐδοξίαν παρὰ τοὺς ἐλάττονας, <ἐχόντα> ἐλογίζοντο. In return the clients afforded the patron such services as testifying to his grandeur by escorting him on his public appearances (cf. Cic. Pro Murena 68–71, Q. Cicero (?) Comm. Pet. 34–8).

Juvenal’s claim is that the concept of officium is now dead; the longi agminis officia escorting a praetor consists of mere hirelings (10.44–6), the relationship is debased to a commercial one (5.13). In the old days the relationship between patron and client would be a personal bond of amicitia (cf. Gelzer 66, Thes. ami-
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cus 1907.77); and, apart from a few very common words such as puer, pars, domus, longus, magnus, the most frequently occurring word in Juvenal is amicus (39 times). But on the majority of its occurrences in him the word is ironical, a suitable final stab to end a paragraph (1.146, 5.113 (cf. 108) and 173) or a refrain of complaint (3.87, 101, 107, 112, 116, 121; all ending the line). The modici amici of generous Roman noblemen of |\[27\] former days (5.108) have now become vile amici (5.146). What the nobles do now (\textit{nunc} 1.95) is misguided; the way of the \textit{avi} (ibid.) was much better; and Rome should return to \textit{mos maiorum}. Patrons now think that their obligations are satisfied by giving out a dole (\textit{sportula}) at a standard rate in their \textit{meritoria salutatio} (Sen. \textit{Dial.} 10.14.3); thereafter they are \textit{dives tibi, pauper amicus} (5.113), the \textit{dives avarus} (7.30; cf. 90) whose characteristic is \textit{luxuriae sordes} (1.140). \textit{Luxuria} (6.293; \textit{luxus} 299) by breaking down the old \textit{paupertas Romana} and replacing it with \textit{divitiae molles} (300) has created a gulf of bitterness between rich and poor; see how \textit{paupertas}, formerly an ideal, is now resented (3.126 sqq.). Traditional \textit{liberalitas} also has gone (14.235 sqq.); even sex is determined by cash (9.38 sqq.). Different standards are applied to rich and poor (11.176–8); Caesar’s own table is \textit{iniqua} (5.3).

Money also breaks up the traditional framework of society in that \textit{fortuna mutat genus}, and upstarts, often freedmen, with the former rise above those who possess only the latter, 1.24–5 (cf. 10.225–6, if genuine), 37, 102; 3.34–40, 72, 81 sqq., 131–3, 155–9 (188–9); 7.14 (conversely others dissipate their property and sink from one order to another, cf. 1.106, 11.42); though Juvenal represents Umbricius as resenting it (3.155), this is inherent in the organisation of Roman society (cf. p. 18) and is necessary for \textit{processus} (1.39). These upstarts are often, like luxury wares, foreign imports (3.83); thus Juvenal unites class and racial prejudice. His xenophobia is striking but not indiscriminate. He respects the manly Spaniards, one of whom, Martial, was his friend, and Gauls (8.116), and says nothing against the Africans (ibid. 117–20). These were races which contributed people but not cultural influences to Rome, and on the contrary were themselves being Romanised (7.147–9 and 214, 15.111). He reserves his venom for the Eastern provinces (the East-West contrast, unflattering to the former, is prominent at 15.93 sqq.), which had lively individual cultures and refused to submerge these in Roman culture, indeed tried, in Juvenal’s view, to submerge the Romans in themselves. Such are the Jews (3.13–14, 6.542–7, 14.96–106) with their superstitions; they cast out Egeria and the Camenae from their grove and make Romans despise their own laws in favour of the Jewish Law (14.100–1). Such also are the Egyptians (6.522–41; 15 passim), |\[28\] some of whom, like Tiberius Julius Alexander (1.129–30; perhaps also Crispinus, if he was \textit{praefectus praetorio}, though see on 4.32), defile characteristically Roman offices. Such above all are the \textit{Graeculi} (3.78), a term which, as a result of the conquests of Alexander, covered most of the inhabitants of the Near East, and is contrasted with the \textit{Achaei} at 3.61 (cf. Cic. \textit{Pro Flacco} 64–6). Juvenal feels
no animus against the distinguished figures of classical Greece (though he accuses Herodotus of exaggeration 10.174), to whom he refers with honour on a number of occasions (e.g. 10.49; Roman culture is even nostrae Athenae 15.110), but rather against those who in his own day were making Rome itself ‘Greek’ and destroying the traditional Roman values (3.58–125, 6.185–99, 11.100; cf. 8.225–6).

Thus Juvenal’s outlook is based on the picture which he, and other Romans, had formed of the early days of the state; but his attachment to the past is sentimental and moral, tied to a view of social organisation, not political. Though his remarks about Julius Caesar (10.108–9) and Augustus (2.28 and 8.241–3; cf. 5.3–4) are unfriendly, and he seems to imply a good opinion of Caesar’s murderers, whose tradition is represented as carried on by the Stoic opposition to the emperors, at 5.36–7, yet he makes no criticism, even indirect, of the imperial system. One will however note his use of Roma libera at 8.244 to mean ‘republican’ (cf. Tac. Ann. 1.4.2, 1.33.2, 2.82.2, 15.52.3; Wirzubski 160), and the respect for the senate expressed at 11.29. 10.77–81 is double-edged; on the one hand he seems to imply that the imperial system has deprived the plebs, on the other he criticises republican bribery.

The moral view taken by Juvenal of early Roman history is conditioned by the moral code built up for themselves by the Romans. This code was a creation of the aristocracy which with a few intermittent defeats manipulated what we call the Roman republic. This aristocracy was perpetually divided within itself by factional struggle, but it could generally be relied upon to keep up a united front against pressure from the plebs, with the exception of those rogue aristocrats who deserted to the other side and made themselves into populares. The moral code of the aristocrats laid down not only guide-lines for their relations with their peers, but also an ethos of behaviour which would serve to overawe the plebs; thus Cicero’s De Officiis discusses not only fides but also the proper dignified gait (1.131), not only ethics but etiquette (Brunt PBSR 43, 1975, 16 n. 46 relates this to Stoic emphasis on decorum). The very word chosen to summarise the code, gravitas (6.178; cf. Cic. De Off. 1.103) denotes not a feeling inherent in the mind, but the quality of ‘weight’, either that which keeps one firm, stable and serious (contrasted with levitas Graecorum) or that which enables one to impose his authority on others. See what falls under virtus at 14.109 sqq.; not any ethical quality, but the traditional Roman sternness and frugalitas. At 8.146 sqq. what is criticised in the nobility is abandonment of dignitas. Generally speaking, though Thirteen is an exception, Juvenal is more interested in the external horrors of behaviour than in the internal moral horrors of the mind.

Because of the nature of this code we begin to understand how some moral values which to us seem topsy-turvy can be expressed or implied by Juvenal; the problems presented by such passages are not to be smothered with generalities, such as that Juvenal is a writer of little variety of tone and liable to ‘use the force of a steam-hammer to crack a nut’ (Duff), whereas Horace asks us to discriminate
between one type of fault and another. Noteworthy passages of this kind are 2.143, where Gracchus’ appearance as a gladiator is counted worse than his homosexual marriage (if Juvenal had in mind the inhumanity of the gladiatorial games, this might not seem to present-day moral judgment an unjustified opinion; but that is not what he had in mind), and 8.220, where Nero’s acting and composition of poetry comes as a climax after his murders of his relatives; also 1.55–62, where the man who prostitutes his wife is put on a level with the young spendthrift who drives himself, and 3.30–57. One observes that those castigated at 2 and 8 l.c. are representatives of old and noble families, a Domitius (and an emperor) and a Sempronius (note proceres 2.121, clarus genere atque opibus vir 129; also maiorum 1.60). It is very obvious that Juvenal reserves his particular venom for the upper classes, the Troiugenae (1.100, 8.56 and 181–2, 11.95); in spite of a hint of sympathy for their trials (which he attributes to their spinelessness at 4.153, though that passage shows respect for them) at 1.34, he feels that they, who should be the guardians of the moral code (cf. 8.20), have abandoned it and transgressed it, degenerating from their ancestors (maiores 8.146; 6.323 virtus natalibus [30] aequa; present-day Rome is ridiculous before the past 2.159) and starting off the corruption which spreads through society (cf. the a fortiori form of expression at 2.65, 8.198, 6.617). For the class of women envisaged in Six see p. 222; he voices objections to high society ladies contracting liaisons with lower-class men and breaching not only class but convention by participating in fencing and athletics.

The people’s reaction to all this is in some cases indifference (8.189), but they are still capable of being shocked (2.67 populo mirante at one with the aristocratic name Creticus) because they expect better. People still loved a Lord in the days of Tiberius (Tac. Ann. 3.23.1), and the working-class Tory is not a modern invention; see how the military tribune Subrius Flavus in accusing Nero shows exactly the same scale of moral values as Juvenal (Tac. Ann. 15.67.2), odisse coepi postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et histrio et incendiarius extitisti (this topic is further discussed in the introduction to Eight). When Juvenal in these passages attacks the misdemeanours of the nobility as if they were crimes, what he continually stresses is their public nature; 8.151 (though at least Lateranus restrains himself while still in office), 194, 205–6, fama 6.90, 2.135–6 (publicity soon to be). Similar stress is laid on publicity by Suet. Nero 22.2, SHA Commodus 12.12. It must of course be remembered that in Juvenal’s day the old nobility was for the most part either defunct or reduced to obscurity; of the noble families named in Eight, a large proportion of the old nobility, this is true of virtually all after the reign of Nero (cf. on 6.266; the list of Dio Cass. 61.17.4–5, referring to A.D. 59, is almost equally anachronistic).

Juvenal’s normal method of argumentation then is not that of sustained rational analysis; what he does is to express and appeal to an attitude of mind rooted in certain prejudices. We have no reason to doubt that he held these prejudices him-
self (occasionally, as we have seen, he shows flickers of a deeper understanding, but his strong emotional involvement and even a certain capacity for self-deception enable him to suppress these); this is not how our ancestors did things, native Romans ought not to be outstripped by immigrants (why? Because that would alter the character of society. But perhaps the alteration would be an improvement; such a notion is never even conceived [31] by Juvenal). It is clear that the present measures up very poorly to the past in his eyes, and he envisages little possibility of change for the better (cf. 1.148). The degeneration of the present is often emphasised by the use of parody, which represents the present in the grand terms of antiquity, or by diminutives stressing its puny quality, or by anti-climax; see e.g. the Vergilian parodies at 2.99–100, 5.45 and 138, 15.65–71 (note pusillos). The dominance of the past over him (cf. on 8.198) is symptomatised by the way in which he describes a reprehensible act at 14.50, dignum censoris ira, though there were no longer any censors. It is a minor but significant point that he ignores the return to fashion of the beard, which to him is a symbol of pristine virtue (on 4.103). He holds that the satirist himself should be a moral person (4.106), but he strikes one as a character with little capacity for self-examination (4.90–1 come ill from one who declined to attack the living) and little human sympathy or understanding for those who fall short of their own standards (though admittedly he attacks individuals less in themselves than as exempla of vices; see introduction to One). On the other hand he does have genuine humanitarian feelings (see introduction to Fifteen) and shows a degree (see on 11.152) of kindliness to slaves (14.16), provided that they are not upstart slaves (as 3.131, 5.60–75). He represents himself as a serious moralist and critic of society, not to be diverted by such topics as literary theory which interest other satirists. Although every now and then he undercuts his criticisms by a glint of humour directed against those who incorporate the virtues which he is preaching (see on 3.12, 14.41, 15.173; note the mockery of a Roman institution at 10.34 sqq., and of the normal forms of devotion at 10.354–5, where it is rather inopportune), that is not to be taken to invalidate his central message (cf. Seven introduction). He has plenty of the humour which stings, but little of that which simply raises a laugh for light relief. He assumes his own rectitude to give an objective depiction of vices; contrast how Horace Serm. 1.3.19–20 admits his own faults (though with an ἀπροσδόκητον joke, minora for maiora). Juvenal is interested only in the world external to himself, and as a preacher openly tells the reader what to think (see such prejudicial epithets as demens 15.1, or the value-judgments conveyed by monstrum 4.2 and the scurrilous 1.131). Again we may [32] contrast how Horace develops away from direct preaching at the reader, and lets his own faults as well as those of others emerge in self-deprecation which allows us to laugh at him sometimes; one of his favourite techniques for achieving these ends is the use of the personal dialogue form, which as we have seen has a very limited application in Juvenal.
Granted that Juvenal regards himself as a serious moralist, and granted that he sincerely believes in the remedies implicitly prescribed in his work, we must now enquire whether he has impartially analysed the symptoms of the disease. It has often been remarked that the almost unrelieved gloom of the picture of Roman society presented by him contrasts oddly with the impression given by his contemporary, the younger Pliny. The question arises, did Pliny live in artificial isolation from the facts of life, or is Juvenal presenting a false picture? For though he takes his exempla from the dead, the vices incorporated in them and attacked by him are clearly represented as still prevalent while he is writing (see introduction to One). If Juvenal’s picture is in any degree false, another question arises: is the falsity conscious or not? One answer which could be given to these questions is that Juvenal was so obsessed by the reign of Domitian that he could not admit any amelioration under Trajan and Hadrian (see the anachronistic delator in 1.33). Alternatively we may suppose that Juvenal just as much as Pliny lived in a confined world; perhaps he just did not know many praiseworthy people. Or again perhaps he was capable of consciously twisting things and putting them in the blackest possible light in order to reinforce the essential point of his message. Can he be convicted of such misrepresentation? And if so, how?

There are three criteria which can be applied. Is he contradicted by other evidence (in which case we have to be sure that he knew the facts)? Is he contradicted by himself? Does he put things in such a way as to betray awareness of the weakness of his case? Examples of all three can be found in his work, though the following discussion must not be taken to imply that all Juvenal’s misrepresentations are deliberate.

Among the gallery of abominable women in Six one category consists of the litigious (242–5). But in Two a woman called Laronia, fed up with the hypocritical denunciation of female [33] immorality by homosexuals masquerading as philosophers and moralists, defends her sex; and Juvenal describes her (64) as vera ac manifesta canentem and asks quid enim falsi Laronia?, giving explicit approval to her words. Part of her defence (51–2) consists in a denial that women engage in litigation; this is flatly contradictory of 6.242–3. Which, if either, is correct? The answer is that it could happen (Val. Max. 8.3 lists women who pleaded in the courts), but was very rare. So 2.51–2 are in practice true, though not theoretically; 6.242–3 are theoretically but not practically true. This gives us an insight into Juvenal’s technique of denunciation; what he is doing, at any rate sometimes, is portraying the exception as the rule (cf. on 7.213), as at 10.180 he applies the word solitus to an action which Xerxes performed only once. This may be seen explicitly with the athletic women of 2.53, who follow the litigious in Six also (246 sqq.); but in Two he specifically says that they are paucae, whereas in Six he presents them as notorious (though the contradiction is not formally perfect, since he does not say that they are numerous). Note the form which he uses at 6.247 (cf. 252), that
of the rhetorical question *quis nescit? quis non vidit?* This admirably suits his purpose here. A flat declaration ‘everybody has seen’ invites contradiction; a question hurries along his audience, whips up excitement at the expense of calm reflection, makes individuals feel that they must not mark themselves off from the mass by contradiction.

The passage about litigious women in Six shows another remarkable feature; its brevity, which, I suggest, is due to the fact that Juvenal knew that he was being unfair. A similar case is found in Seven, concerned with the hard life of writers and professional men, poets (62 lines), historians (7), lawyers (45), *rhetores* (65), *grammatici* (29). The disparity of the brevity of the discussion of historians (98–104) leaps to the eye; what is the reason for it? The reason is that it is not true, and Juvenal knows it. Historians were not usually poor men; they were generally aristocratic, retired politicians and the like, not poor men in need of patronage (Livy is the most striking exception to this). Why then does Juvenal include them at all? Because he feels that he has to mention somebody to represent prose-writers, and history was at this time the most prominent branch of prose.

Another passage of this poem shows consciousness of a weakness in the argument. When Juvenal is discussing the poverty of *rhetores*, inevitable mention is made of the most famous *rhetor* of the time, Quintilian. The trouble is that Quintilian was a rich man, and Juvenal has to answer this objection which could be raised against his argument. The only answer he can give is feeble (see on 186). Yet another passage of the same poem illustrates how Juvenal uses stylistic devices, particularly that of the rhetorical question remarked above in 6.247, to cover weakness in the argument. At 215 Palaemon is adduced as an instance of poverty in a *grammaticus* due to underpayment: *quis gremio Celadi doctique Palaemonis adfert / quantum grammaticus meruit labor?* Palaemon was indeed poor, but the reason for his poverty was luxury (Suet. *Gramm.* 23); he had in fact a large income.

This last case introduces the question of distortion of historical fact. Here we have to make some allowance for mere mistakes and minor inaccuracies (see on 3.116, 7.198, 8.146). But Four has a firm historical basis, and in it we see how first the younger Acilius is probably introduced anachronistically to allow an attack on Domitian’s cruelty (see on 94), and secondly is excused (*misero 99*) for fighting in the arena under the plea of compulsion; yet at 8.195 sqq. Juvenal discounts even compulsion as an excuse for noblemen appearing on the stage. Here he wants to whiten Acilius because he wishes to blacken Domitian; there his sole object is to blacken degenerate noblemen. Thus we see that at least some of the views which Juvenal expresses are not to be taken as eternal verities, but are intended to arouse particular emotional reactions in the reader in their individual contexts.

Another of the participants in the Cabinet meeting, Crispinus, is mentioned in One with a prejudicial distortion. Juvenal describes him as *verna Canopi* (26), but Martial tells us that in fact he came from Memphis (7.99); Juvenal has altered this
because Canopus was a by-word for depravity (6.84, 15.46). We note also possible cases of deliberate misrepresentation at 4.28–31, 32–3 and 77, and the attack on the spinelessness of the nobility (4.153–4) blurs the facts of Domitian’s death.

The point just made that the validity of Juvenal’s statements may be limited to their immediate context can be further illustrated from Fifteen, which opens with an attack on the Egyptians for their superstition, including their worship of and consequent abstention from certain plants and vegetables. Juvenal then describes an act of cannibalism due to Egyptian religious fanaticism, and finally broadens the theme to an attack on man’s inhumanity to man, expressing his horror that such things can happen in modern times. Pythagoras would abhor them; as a proof of his asceticism is mentioned the fact that he even abstained from some vegetables (like the Egyptians, for religious reasons). So what indicated superstition among the Egyptians is in the very same poem adduced as a proof of the sanctity of Pythagoras. Juvenal is not concerned to evaluate such abstinence; it is simply a topic which can be turned to whatever use is momentarily convenient.

Finally it may be noted that Juvenal’s account of the receipt of the sportula by the nobles seems to involve suppressio veri in order to heighten the indignation (see on 1.96).

The rhetorician can ‘prove’ whatever he likes by framing his argument and taking examples (cf. p. 31) to suit the theme of the moment. No doubt in utramque partem disputare is good training in the rhetorical school, but we are entitled to demand that a denunciatory satirist should show moral consistency and not τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. Of course many of Juvenal’s moral judgments do still retain their validity, though it does not seem to me that he ever attains the profundity of e.g. Pers. 3.38; but, as Garrod remarked (in the preface to the Oxford Book of Latin Verse), he is no Isaiah, nor should his work be regarded as an accurate portrait of his times. His satires deserve to be read not as the product of a great and good intellect, but as the trenchant expression of a forceful and sometimes wrongheaded or muddled personality (his declamation sometimes leads him into inconsistency; see on 10.79 and 305, 14.57 and p. 63) and a masterly writer. The understanding of such a personality may be assisted by some words written about a quite different subject by J. Leclercq The Love of Learning and the Desire for God (1961) 137 (of course not everything applies exactly to Juvenal). ‘Another outcome of the medieval monks’ classical formation is what might be called literary exaggeration. It accounts for much in the ancients’ works and is quite in keeping since these men are, so to speak, “learned primitives”. As primitives—and the word in this context has no pejorative connotation—they think one thing at a time, experience one feeling at a time, but they think and feel intensely … Men of God like St Bernard … can, within a few days, express in their letters completely different feelings … Each time they are really expressing what they feel about a particular matter. They can do so without contradicting them-
selves, without their general attitude toward the particular correspondent having changed … Even the most refined and best trained in the control of their instincts retain to some degree this simplicity which lends their inner attitudes a quality that is direct and absolute: on every occasion their soul expresses itself whole and undivided … In some cases, as for instance St Bernard’s invectives in his sermons and treatises against the luxury of prelates, a comparison between them and more precise statements found in the same Bernard’s epistles warrants the conclusion that the violence and universality of his reproaches do not correspond to the actual situation. What they do betray is nothing more than burning zeal for Church reform which devours Bernard … The holiest are the ones who exaggerate the most because their zeal is the most ardent … Literary exaggerations or powerful images illustrate the facts presented and fiction serves to express an idea that is true. The ancients knew how to discover, under these picturesque and more or less fictitious details, the idea that really matters … Exaggerating is not, in such cases, lying; it is using hyperbole to make what one wants to say more unmistakable.’

**JUVENAL’S STYLE**

The pervasive influence of rhetoric and the schools of declamation on Silver Latin literature is a commonplace, and nowhere is it more pronounced than in the writings of Juvenal. It is significant that the first lines of his first poem consist of four rhetorical questions, the first with an ellipse and the last two connected by an anaphora; one notes too how 1.22–30 are dominated by anaphora and 30–78 and 87–95 by rhetorical questions and anaphora, all this in a passage stressing ira and indignatio. In Juvenal’s day poets were described by the same epithets as orators: *facundus* (7.35), *disertus* (7.31). A training in rhetoric could be regarded as a preparation for writing poetry (1.15; this retains its significance even if Juvenal himself is \[37\] being ironical about the notion). At 15.110 the idea of philosophy slips into that of culture in general, and that into rhetoric (111–12).

Some of the implications of the term ‘rhetoric’ deserve a brief analysis. In essence it means the art of persuading an audience by means of certain formal techniques; the orator keeps some distance between his audience and himself and makes a one-sided impact on it. In these respects, and in the maintenance of artistic formality, oratory is clearly distinguished from *sermo*, conversation. ‘Literary satire is closely related to both [judicial rhetoric and demonstrative orations devoted to censure and condemnation]. The satirist, like the orator, is entering a protest in public, addressing an audience with a view to changing its attitudes and disturbing its complacency. In satires with a strong framework of logic and argument, or in which the author offers an apologia for his muse and career, elements of judicial oratory, especially techniques of proof and refutation, may be relevant. Besides *vituperatio*, the attack on wicked and unworthy individuals, satire will
also adopt loftier rhetorical ends: dissuasion from vice and folly, and praise of those whose example deserves to be followed’ (P. Dixon Rhetoric (1971) 53–4). The reservation must be entered that this lays too much stress on the link with judicial oratory, in which the element of docere is prominent; in the case of Juvenal at any rate we must think more of movere, the side of the orator’s art particularly associated with the genus grande (the third element of oratory is delectatio, which is certainly present in Juvenal but is better not considered from the rhetorical angle).

The rhetorical manner must have come instinctively to Juvenal because of the historical circumstances of his time and his own education (1.15–17), but, as the above quotation indicates, it also brings certain advantages for the type of poetry which he wished to write. For example, anaphora hammers home an emphasised word where a copulative conjunction would not. Rhetorical questions imply and exploit agreement between speaker and audience, and involve the listeners, from whom in theory if not in fact an answer is demanded, in a way in which plain statements do not. This is especially clear when the questions are introduced by an (7 times) or anne (5 times; Juvenal never uses this word otherwise), which being in origin particles that introduce alternatives imply a dramatic ellipse ‘<can I be mistaken>, or … ?’

The influence of rhetoric may appear in three areas: subject-matter, composition and expression (inventio, dispositio, elocutio). Some satires can be classified in rhetorical terms (Five and Six are dissuasiones, λόγοι ἀπροτρεπτικοί), but none can be treated in its entirety as a mere declamation on a fixed theme (Eight may be the nearest approach, though perhaps Six, the rhetorical analogies of which are little known, should be taken into account), and Juvenal shows contempt for some of the stock themes at 7.168–70 (cf. 1.15–17). But within the complete satires certain features present clear analogies to recognised rhetorical techniques of inventio.

Rhetoricians had classified the means of proving a point into inartificialia (documents, witnesses etc.) and artificialia, covering signa (e.g. blood as a sign of murder), exempla (of which more in a moment) and argumenta. The last of these embraces ratiocinatio (logical drawing of inferences in syllogistic form) and loci (definitions of the nature and properties of people and things and the meaning of words), which may be widened into loci communes when not tied to the circumstances of a particular case; in fact these loci communes are less often used for proof than for amplificatio, and are associated with the genus grande. It is not hard to recognise in Juvenal the locus de saeculo, the corruption of the times, which can embrace denunciations of women and what the Romans called luxuria, as well as praise of the maiores, or the locus de divitiis, which covers attacks on wealth and greed, as well as praise of paupertas. These of course are themes which could be relied upon to produce a strong emotional response in an audience of a conservative cast of mind, as most Romans tended to be. The rhetoricians found such subjects a fertile field because of the way in which the Romans in general regarded their
historical tradition (see pp. 18 sqq.), and the emphasis which rhetoricians laid on them redoubled the influence of this mode of thought.

When Juvenal wishes to prove a point, he sometimes uses argumenta (e.g. a fortiori 1.117 sqq., 2.65 (q.v.), 4.28, 6.617, 8.198, 13.199 sqq.; or dilemma, for which see Lausberg pp. 216–17 and Ad Herenn. 2.38, 4.52, Cic. De Inv. 1.83, at 6.200 sqq.), but much more often bases his proof on exempla (for [39] which see Lausberg 227 sqq., Volkmann 233 sqq.). Ten for example (a poem much influenced by Valerius Maximus’ manual of exempla) is structured in such a way that the various ideals are set up (114–17, 133–42, 168–70, 173–8, 188–9; 289–92; also 23–5) and are then refuted by a sed or tamen introducing Juvenal’s consideration of the other side of these exempla or his contrary exempla. Eight also largely revolves around exempla (184; the term also at 14.322), some of them historical classics, others from the recent past (rather like the exempla which Horace’s father used, Serm. 1.4.106; the term covers both types, ibid. 2.3.103). The method may be studied in 14.1–37; Juvenal begins with a general proposition (1–3), then illustrates this by exempla (a) 4–5 (b) 6–14 (c) 15–24 (d) 25–30, after which the original general statement is resumed (31–7) and now taken as established, so that conclusions can be drawn from it (igitur 38). The structure of 14.70–106 is similar. Compare Sen. Contr. 1.8.10, where Blandus puts forward the general proposition militia tibi supervacua est, then the tractatio, followed by hic exempla. The use of such exempla is fully discussed by Quintil. 5.11, cf. 12.2.29–30 quantum Graeci praeceptis valent, tantum Romani… exemplis and 12.4 (see Austin’s notes), where he again remarks that exempla are a way of giving praecepta (cf. Sen. Dial. 6.2.1). Martial 6.19 ridicules the use of this high-flown technique in a speech on a humble subject. Martial’s own use of exempla is discussed by Nordh Eranos 52, 1954, from whom I add two quotations: (p. 229) ‘so, as fixed patterns, the principal characters of the high national tradition were organised into an easily manageable collection of symbols. How well this suits the satirical poet, who, seeking the typical and the broadly human, needs some absolute points to which he can place his personages in relation, characterizing them by similarity, dissimilarity and contrast! In Juvenal this is very conspicuous’ (a point illustrated from 14.237–9). ‘The unexpected contrast, dispassionately confronting two psychological spheres opposite to each other, qualifies the amor divitiarum in a most impressive way’; (p. 237) Martial adds unsympathetic epithets to his exempla, but ‘it is significative that in Juvenal, who seems to take his characters in earnest, these attributes are practically lacking. The only examples… are 5.57 Tulli… pugnacis and 11.50 durumque Catonem’ (cf. Litchfield HSCP 25, 1914, 67). [40]

The use of these exempla by a satiric poet, then, is much the same as the use of mythology in other genres; it provides a vivid and concrete code embodied in figures whose familiar associations leap readily to the mind. In rhetoric these figures will mostly be the heroes and villains of history (and this chimes in with Juvenal’s
general tendency to direct his gaze towards the past), but satirists can also use characters who are contemporary or belong to the recent past (cf. Juv. 8.184 and Hor. Serm. 2.3.103, 1.4.106 adduced above; in rhetoric Cic. Part. Or. 96). Juvenal of course feels that the former type is debarred to him (1.150–71; see the introduction); of the latter his gallery seems to be mainly stocked from the vivid and varied times of Nero. He is so steeped in the past that he does not hesitate to speak of the dead as if they were still alive (3.99 and 238, 7.80 and 186, 8.146 sqq., 10.224?, 13.157, 14.306; other examples below in the discussion of apostrophe).

The weakness of the device is that the orator cannot always get his exempla to fit his case (and Juvenal admits this in one instance at 7.189); and one cannot but feel that some of the force of Seven and Ten (see introductions) is impaired by defects in the exempla selected. Rhetoricians in fact did not scruple to improve on history (on 6.265, 8.246, 15.114). The other difficulty is that it is usually possible to consider the exempla chosen in different lights, or to produce equally valid exempla to ‘prove’ the exact opposite (as remarked above in the case of Ten); the employer of such exempla is in the position of an orator arguing one side of a case and ignoring the contrary evidence. In general of course orators cannot afford to do this; they have to anticipate (occupare) the arguments of the other side (cf. 7.156), and in order to knock them down they often introduce these in the form of a subiectio (Lausberg p. 381; cf. Hendrickson CP 23, 1928, 102–7), in many cases signalled by the characteristic at (enim). Juvenal also adopts this form in a number of cases (1.150, 8.163, cf. 5.156, 11.162; 6.634; 7.188; 6.161, 13.174; with sed 2.70, 6.136, 7.105, 10.324; with at only 13.180). The interlocutor is often a striking formal characteristic of satire (Pers. 1.44), but in general Juvenal puts forward his point of view with a conviction that makes few concessions to any opposition. His satires, quite unlike the easy informal sermo of Horace, have little of the ebb and flow of an argument [[41] conducted in dialogue, and, apart from a minor stretch at 16.17 sqq. and a passage with a particular point (1.150 sqq.; see the introduction), this form appears only in Nine; it should however be noted how at 14.153–4 the miser argues with the poet and in 210–55 the poet argues with him, at 224–5 anticipating an objection by him. ‘Richard Lanham … observes that the primary assumption of rhetorical form “is that all arguments are or can be polar opposites … and it does violence to any issue that falls into the ‘both-and’ rather than the ‘either-or’ category. It can offer a form for argument, that is, but not for compromise” (Handlist of Rhetorical Terms p. 113)’ (P. Dixon o.c. 69–70). [Addendum, originally on p. 623: On exempla see Sage Historia 28, 1979, 206.]

Secondly, composition. Juvenal’s satires differ very widely from each other in respect of arrangement, but some are set out in a way which resembles that of a speech; in particular Five, Eight, Ten, and, so far as we can judge, Sixteen (see the introductions). Juvenal sometimes indicates in the first person the path of his argument (3.58–9 properabo fateri, though Juvenal is not formally the speaker;
10.273 festino ... et ... transeo; 15.27 nos ... referemus; 16.7 tractemus primum, 35 nunc ... notemus) or does so with nunc (4.11 sed nunc de ...) combined with an imperative (3.268 respice nunc, 7.36 accipe nunc, 10.269 aspice nunc, 11.64 nunc audi; cf. the hortative subjunctive in 16.35 quoted above). In these places Juvenal is openly presenting arguments to the reader; nothing could be more unlike the way in which Horace imperceptibly glides from one topic to another.

It has often been remarked that the way in which literature was recited in imperial Rome encouraged concentration on small-scale effects, so that the architectural economy of the proportion between the parts and the whole suffers in Silver Latin literature; parts may be developed into digressions (deverticulum 15.72, q.v.) out of scale with their intrinsic importance and relevance. This certainly happens to a considerable extent in Juvenal; see for instance 2.102–9 and 143–8; 12.102–10, not justified by its artistic purpose; 14.241–3, 5.137–46; 15.65–71, again not justified by artistic purpose, and 84–7. He is liable to introduce incidental points not relevant to the main stream of his argument (1.129–31, 4.11–15, 7.88 sqq., 9.48–9), and he has allowed himself by superimposed layers of elaboration to obscure the structure which he had once intended for Six. I shall often have to remark that it would be advisable to mark parentheses where current texts do not. It must however be remembered that such digressions may have a successful artistic role, as in Thirteen. One must also note that sometimes the declamation goes just too far and culminates in an unreal point (see on 10.271, 307).

Conversely it is rare to find such disproportionately short developments as 6.242–5 and 7.98–104 (which show a bad conscience about the validity of the argument) or 6.136–41 (perhaps due to textual mutilation).

Finally, and most important, the expression. Attention has already been drawn to those modes of speech which excite and exploit the emotions of the audience, e.g. rhetorical questions (Quintil. 9.2.6–16; often answered with nempe) and figures of speech depending on repetition of words, such as anaphora. Here are a few more illustrations. Eight begins with 15 lines of rhetorical questions (cf. 3.81 sqq.); rhetorical questions and anaphora are combined at 1.77–8, 2.127–8, 5.129–30, 10.278–9; anaphora is accumulated 3.197–9, 7.229 sqq. Other figures depending on repetition of words are anadiplosis or reduplicatio (6.34–5, 7.213–14, 8.159–60; 2.135–6, 5.112–13, 6.166–7 and 279–80, 8.147–8, all with the last word of a line and the first word of the next); geminatio or epanalepsis (5.133, 9.67–8, 10.365–6, 12.48, 6.393–5); and redditio (9.82, where 81 also adapts a rhetorical figure, 3.208–9, 5.14–15; at 3.166–7, 6.212–13 and 457–8 redditio is combined with anaphora). At 6.569–71 we see polyptoton (cf. 7.152–3), at 6.15–16 reduplicatio combined with anaphora, at 2.53 epiphora (the repetition of paucae at the end of successive clauses; cf. 6.483–4 et caedit), at 15.160 sqq. polyptoton with rhetorical questions.

The other figure of speech which should be noted is ellipse, which clearly gives an aura of the spoken rather than the written word (as at 6.O.27 in lively conver-
sation). Juvenal uses this to impart liveliness (e.g. 3.140; in rhetorical questions 1.1, 6.193, 3.93, cf. 1.87–9 and 30–1, 5.8–10, 7.199 where it is combined with anaphora or near-anaphora, 4.23–5 where it is combined with apostrophe and polyptoton, 6.641–2 where it is combined with apostrophe and geminatio; linked with an exclamation 12.24, as punctuated by me; in painting vivid scenes 2.119, 3.213–14 and 250, 5.25).

Of the figures of thought rhetorical questions have already been mentioned. With them may be linked exclamations, in which the speaker’s emotion (usually in Juvenal’s case indignation) seems to overflow (e.g. 5.133–4, 6.317–19, 10.157–9), and apostrophe (Quintil. 9.2.38, 9.3.24–6). This latter is a highly emotional device which gives life to the inanimate (2.37 lex Iulia, 5.136 o nummi) and brings us into the actual presence of and contact with men (e.g. 2.66 and 77, 7.98, 14.267, probably 10.294), even the dead (6.167, 7.219, 8.39 and 56, 8.231 and doubtless Crispinus 4.24; compare how Cicero addresses Clodius, Lucullus and Crassus in Paradoxes 5–7, this being a work which attempts to clothe philosophical disputation in oratorical form, and see above on exempla). Of course it must be remembered that, particularly in Silver Latin poetry, this figure may be used merely for metrical convenience, as at 6.466, 7.205, 10.125. A special type of apostrophe is the ironical permissio, i (nunc) et (see on 10.166). Irony itself (Quintil. 9.2.44 sqq.) relies on concessio (exemplified by esto at 8.164 and in the woman’s words at 6.222), the adoption of the opponent’s scale of values in order to criticise them by the mockery involved in reductio ad absurdum. ‘Irony, which means literally dissimulation, is the systematic use of double meaning. It also assumes a double audience, one that is deceived by the surface meaning of the words, and another that catches the hidden sense and laughs with the deceiver at the expense of the deceived. This usually involves a persona (literally, a mask), or fictional character assumed by the satirist’ (M. Hodgart Satire (1969) 130). In Juvenal it becomes more frequent in the Democritean Book 4 and the partly Democritean 5 (see for example 12.121–7 and the ironical exclamation at 15.10). Some Juvenalian cases are labelled by en (on 2.72), sane, nimirum, scilicet. With irony we may link paradox and oxymoron (e.g. 1.57 and 140, 4.102, 5.59, 8.94 and 107 and 187, 11.3, 14.120 and see on 4.116). Hyperbole confronts the audience with an exaggeration which they know to be such, but the impression of size prevents them from calculating the exact amount of truth involved (this has become familiar in modern times as ‘the technique of the big lie’); instances in Juvenal are 3.311, 14.28 and 276 (see also on 10.80).

A special word is due to the place of antithesis. This is a highly cerebral figure, and comes as a timely reminder that those arguing a case cannot rely solely on exciting the emotions of their hearers, but also have to clarify the issues. In Juvenal, in conformity with general Latin idiom, antithesis is frequently reinforced by asyndeton (e.g. 6.94–102); I shall often have to point out the necessity of punctuating with a colon in order to bring out the relationship of statements to each other.
As for the notorious *sententiae* (8.125, where Juvenal shows awareness that they are not always plausible, and 14.205), with their brilliant and often paradoxical concision these are meant to carry overwhelming conviction; and Juvenal is indeed conspicuous for the number of aphorisms which he has bestowed on posterity. It is noticeable that, unlike Horace, he prefers to convey pithy wisdom in *sententiae* rather than in proverbial expressions.

Finally a few miscellaneous features can be linked with the rhetorical manner: the introduction, often abrupt, of many snatches of vivid conversation in direct speech (*sermocinatio*; see on 3.187, 6.O.27), the *praeteritio* with *transeo* 6.602, 10.273, the closing of paragraphs with a resounding *epiphonema* (2.170, 6.626, 10.187; cf. Quintil. 8.5.11).

It will have been noticed that some of the features discussed above are specifically linked with the *genus grande*, and when we pass from the influence of rhetoric on Juvenal’s style to consideration of its general nature and impact, elevation is in fact its most remarkable characteristic. One technique used by him with striking frequency to impart *ornatus* (Quintil. 8.6.60) is that of substituting an allusive periphrasis for a proper name; this brings his style into relationship with those genres in which *doctrina* is at home (which do not usually include satire). These periphrases sometimes do not seem to have any special function closely related to the context; e.g. *generum Cereris* 10.112 (= *Plutonem*) merely adds a general touch of grim humour, and similarly 16.6 (archness), 5.45, 12.4. But usually the flowery nature of this feature has a point: e.g. 7.25 (with a metonymy on top of the periphrasis) addressed to a poet, and likewise 7.64; 8.253 an equal in office and greater in social standing, but yet an inferior general; 6.661 the husband like Mithridates may harden himself against poison, but will in the end be overcome by the sword used by his own kin (but *ter* here is purely literary |45| embellishment); 11.61 an allusive epic periphrasis in the humorous epic context (but again 63, which Heinrich wished to delete, is a purely literary floscule), and similarly 13.43, and 79–80 (cf. also on 4.98). Likewise with periphrases by relative clauses: 3.118 a foreigner from an outlandish city; 3.138–9 and 8.264–5 glorious deeds with a contrast in the context; 15.5–6 the glories of Thebes contrasted with the statue of an ape.

Juvenal’s choice of diction, like his handling of metre, shows a wide range, matched to the wide range of effects which he wishes to obtain; see for instance the juxtaposition of the grand *induperator* and the lowly *glutio* (with which one may compare the onomatopoeiac *grunnio* 15.22) at 4.28–9, with the undignified *ructo* 31. His vocabulary however seems to become rather less rich as his work progresses, to judge by the decrease in the percentage of hapax legomena (Dubrocard *Ann. Fac. des Lettres, Nice*, 1970, 131).

It is natural that in dealing with *vitia* he has to introduce a number of sordid words, and not just neutrally sordid, but chosen to convey repulsion, e.g. *effundaret offas* at 2.33 following the neutral *vulvam* 32 (also at 6.129); one may note
how he dwells on the repulsive at 10.191–5, 15.54–8. It is however noticeable that he does not use the grossest sexual terms such as futuere, cunnus, mentula which we meet in Martial and even in Horace’s Sermones; his grander and less earthy style prefers to use either neutral anatomical terms such as coitus (10.204), inguen (passim; 6.370 shows the anatomical use), testiculi (11.115; anatomical 6.372), or euphemisms (e.g. facere 7.240, omnia 6.0.2, ludo 6.0.1 and 7.239), often based either on metaphor (2.10 fossa, 9.45–6 fodere, 6.311 equito, 6.373b follis and cicer, 10.223 exsorbeo) or on synecdoche (3.134 palpito, 6.37 latus and anhelio, 3.112 resupino, 9.26 and 10.224 inclino, 9.34 and 10.205 nervus, 1.39 vesica, 9.59 lumbi). The euphemisms of 6.0.6 are noteworthy, though not yet fully explained. Instead of masturbari we find praeputia ducere 6.238, instead of paedicare in a brutal question of gross obscenity meant as a sharp shock he writes agere intra viscera penem 9.43; though the Romans in a formal context did find penis offensive (cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 9.22.2 and the comments of Fronto p. 146–7 on Sall. Cat. 14.2), it can be a purely neutral anatomical term (6.337 the male as opposed to the female in a witty sneer). Almost the only essentially gross [[46] physical word used by Juvenal is podex (2.12; hirnea at 6.326, q.v., is not such), though even that is employed by the physician Cassius Felix quoted on 2.13. Likewise for the bodily functions he usually employs neutral words (with the exception of meiere 1.131).

Apart from this the vulgar element in his diction is not pronounced. He has the childish papas 6.633 and a few animal names more at home in the farmyard (iumentum 4.5, q.v.; scrofa 12.73 and 6.177; caballus 3.118, 10.60, 11.195, all times evidently for literary effect). In a few cases slightly undignified words are used for special effect (5.23, 14.43, 15.66). Abundant use is made of diminutives (see index s.v.) with the wide range of effects that this suffix permits, sometimes because the diminutive was becoming established as the usual form (8.5 auricula), sometimes for metrical convenience (3.95 palliolum, 10.334 flammeolum), sometimes genuinely to indicate size, but usually to imply affection (6.105 Sergiolus) or contempt (7.4 balneolum). It will be noted that Juvenal also makes considerable use of diminutive adjectives (see on 6.425), which are rare in poetry. One must also count as alien to formal diction, which only permits a few stylistically elevated imports suitable for giving an exotic air to their context, his use of humdrum Greek words (even with a Greek inflection 5.121), nearly always used contemptuously (e.g. 3.67–8; 11.27 is a Greek phrase quoted with respect, a unique exception); Juvenal regarded such Grecisms as a vulgar importation (3.63). At 14.196 in Lucilian style he employs a barbarian word.

His satires then are on the whole decidedly less colloquial than those of Horace (and this is only partly because he represents fewer conversations). On the other hand the elevated element in his diction is pronounced; e.g. primores 15.40, proceres 4.73 and elsewhere, terga fugae praestare 15.75 instead of praebere or dare, tempestas 4.140, 6.26, 7.2, perhibent 4.17, Scipiades 2.154, the humorously dignified
mariscae in place of the vulgar figus 2.13. Such grandness often ironically through parody sets off the failings which he is attacking. He has some noteworthy grand morphological archaisms (see on 4.29). More striking however is the general level of elevation maintained in a passage like 10.133–67, with the emotional o in 157 and 159 and induperator in 138 to sneer at pretension, a level abased only occasionally (Subura 156, cliens 161); or take 10.346–66, with the irony in 354–5. This is not sermones repentes per humum, but satire written in the grand style, the γένος παθητικόν, which paints in striking colours, plays on the emotions, inflates (and often punctures) its subject-matter.

The sentence-construction shows the same wide range of effects. See how Umbricius, who presents himself as a tragic figure, starts off in a prologue of remarkable stylistic elevation with a long sentence 3.21–8, and then sums it up in the following two-word sentence cedamus patria, which drops in solemn, resolute tones from his mouth. When required, Juvenal writes such brief, even elliptical sentences as 1.87–9; on the other hand we meet constructions of such length and syntactical complexity as 1.30–9 (which is preceded by a sentence of 8½ lines), 52–61 and 109–16 (the last shows how such sentences are suited to express abstract thought and logical analysis).

But such sentences are not typical, and indeed it would be hard to produce anything comparable from the rest of Book 1; clearly these three instances are tailored to the expository nature of the first poem. Satire 6 (Book 2) begins with a τηλαυγὲς πρόσωπον, a 10-line sentence, though not syntactically complex; one may compare the 7½-line sentence already alluded to with which Umbricius begins (3.21–8). In this the main clause is postponed until 24 to build up the dramatic effect; Umbricius, to avoid anti-climax, does not commence with his announcement of intention, but with his reasons. This sentence, like 6.1–10, is distinguished by cumulation with anaphora; a succession of co-ordinate units is suitable for expression of emotions and the movement of thought from one unit to another.

Books 2 and 3 occasionally show other cases of long and/or complex sentences, but it is noticeable that the number of such rises in the more meditative Books 4 and 5. It is here that we encounter the longest sentence in Juvenal (15.147–58, structured round a series of syntactically parallel infinitives); here too we meet long sentences of the more intellectual type, generally avoided in the earlier books, in which the writer leads up to the main clause by a series of subordinate clauses, an order which, by producing suspense and climax, emphasises the unity of a wide-ranging thought. Examples are 13.135–42, 14.235–43 (where of course it might be argued that quarum 238 introduces an independent thought-unit). If the complex sentences to which I have referred be perused, it will be remarked how seldom the connections within them are of the copulative type, and what a strong preference Juvenal has for the more rhetorical methods of connection by
anaphora and asyndeton.

The final characteristic of Juvenal’s writing which deserves attention is his frequent verbosity, which in the sphere of diction corresponds to his digressions in the sphere of composition. Of course it is quite common to convey one’s full meaning by a succession of co-ordinate units, each, like a layer of paint, adding something to the meaning; this is the characteristic method of Vergil (see for instance Aen. 2.212–19, 3.1–8), and nobody would think of criticising similar examples in Juvenal, e.g. 3.26–8, 49–54 (where a statement is made, then its converse, then, in adversative asyndeton, the original statement again in the form of a *sententia* with a concrete *exemplum*), 13.240–4 (a slightly compressed general statement, a figurative but concrete and vivid paraphrase, then an explicit epexegetic), 14.47–9 (which comes to a climax). But sometimes Juvenal should certainly have cut down. One noteworthy case in which he goes on for too long is at 8.124 *et iaculum et galeam* (see ad loc.), with which one may compare the unnecessarily long lists at 2.24–8 and 145–6, 9.22–4, 10.133–6 and 220–6 (perhaps interpolation is partly responsible here). 5.63 repeats 62, and 68–9 and 93–6 are verbose and repetitive (97–8 too, which are concerned with *captatio*, are not directly relevant here). At 2.104–7 the repetition adds little, even if there is interpolation; the same may be said of 6.557–64. 9.46–7, 13.189–90, 15.47–8 are verbose in expression, and the accumulation of detail at 14.127–33 is wearisome. Even where abundance has a literary point, as at 12.62–7, it cannot always be said to succeed. Sometimes we find Juvenal turning a thought round and round until finally as a climax he formulates it in a *sententia*; 8.121–4 (signalled as such by himself), 164–7 (Quintil. 2.4.31 *quidam sententiarum gratia verbo* *sisimos locos aces* *sunt, cum ex locis debeat nasci* *sententia*; this one arises from the *locus de indulgentia*), 7.139–45 and 194–201, 13.127–34.

**Juvenal’s Metre**

This section is not intended to provide a complete repository of facts about the metrical practice of Juvenal, but simply to pick out some facets of particular significance for the general character of his versification, and to illustrate this by comparison with Vergil, Horace’s *Satires*, Persius, and contemporary epic (Statius and Silius). In round figures Juvenal has 3600 hexameters, Horace *Satires* 2100, Persius 650, Vergil 12850, Silius 12300, Statius 14250. It should be remembered that metrical statistics given in brief form can seldom be exact; they may be distorted by (as in Juvenal) the presence of spurious verses and doubts whether a monosyllable is independent or part of a word-group, whether elision of *neque* should really count as such, what exactly constitutes an acceptable caesura, the quantity of *-o* in elision, etc.

The central fact about the verse technique of Juvenal is that it is very different
from that used by Horace in his *Satires*. In keeping with the character of his work, Horace evolved an informal, conversational type of line in which the words seem to slip into a loose, artless rhythm, ignoring the refined metrical canons of formal verse. Juvenal’s satire however is not conversational, but declamatory; as the thought seeks to rouse an emotional response in the reader, so too the metre has a grander, more sweeping character than in Horace. In this way the general nature of Juvenal’s verse is really more influenced by Vergil; but it differs from Vergil and comes closer to contemporary epic in eschewing certain licences employed from time to time by Vergil, such as hypermetric lines (one in Horace (1.4.96), none in Persius, Silius or Statius) and synizesis (see on 3.76 and 13.225). On the other hand Juvenal has a much wider range of effects than Silius and Statius.

1. **SPONDAIC LINES**

Horace has none such in his *Satires* (1.3.131 is not such; there is one at AP 467), Persius only 1.95 in parody, but Juvenal makes much use of this feature of elevated poetry, which was rare even in the epic of his day; Statius (7 cases) and Silius (6) limit its use to proper names and Greek words. Juvenal has 34 (counting 15.18 but not 6.156) such lines, the highest proportion in any Latin poet except Catullus and the author of the *Ciris*. With two exceptions (3.273, 5.38) Juvenal keeps these endings within strict limits; they are preceded by a dactyl in the fourth foot, and they consist of a trisyllable (preceded by a monosyllable, which is a rare rhythm in previous writers, or (twice, 6.246 and 14.239) a quadrissyllable), or a quadrissyllable. Sometimes they are intended to give deliberate elevation (2.145, 5.38, 10.151), but more often it is clear that Juvenal saw in them an effective means of heightening his sarcasm. Thus the line may end with a proper name or a Greek word, but, contrary to epic usage, a b Hathetically undignified one (3.120, a contumacious Greek; 4.53; 6.71, 80, 246, 462; 11.138; 14.329, reinforcing 326 with the notion of immense riches) or one dignified enough in itself but gaining sarcasm from the context (1.52, enhanced by the massive ending of 53; 6.296, 620 the grand empress and the humble mushroom; 8.208 a tragic context soon to be lightened by humour; 15.18) or it may end with everyday Latin words which incongruously contrast with the grandeur of the *σπονδειάζων* (4.87 a conversational nothing; 6.429 a disgusting context; 11.68 and 71 in close proximity, 133 humble domestic appliances, in contrast to 138 the exotic bird; 12.117 and 121 slave-girls and a will contrasted with the Trojan war). It is possible to detect special effects in most of the remaining cases; 3.17 artificiality; 3.273 menace; 10.88 again menace, followed by a line of heavy spondees; 10.332 the abrupt snuffing out of Silius. But in a few instances it is hard to see a special point (9.111, 13.191, 14.115 (with a pronouncedly dactylic rhythm in the rest of the line) and 165, 15.36); it looks as if Juvenal in his later work came to use this feature with a little more laxity.
2. HIATUS

This is another Vergilian feature not employed by Horace or Persius; apart from exclamations, it is also absent from Statius (for Theb. 8.36, 10.441, Silv. 5.5.74 are corrupt); Silius has it with Greek words 14.515. Juvenal has nine cases at the penthemimeral caesura (of which 3.70, 10.281, 11.151, 12.110, || 13.65, 14.49 seem to contribute to a literary effect, whereas 6.274 and 468, 15.126 do not), three (all with sense-pause) at the hepthemimeral, and one other case (12.36) with a heavy sense pause.

3. LINE-ENDINGS

Monosyllabic. Juvenal allows himself such endings as 1.31 ut teneat se, 2.115 tempus erat iam, 1.108 possideo plus, 10.140 famae sitis est quam, which upset the normal concurrence of metrical beat and word-accent at the end of the line. He has about 130 such cases (I do not count instances like 2.65 sed quid, which do not upset the pattern), much the same proportion as Horace, whereas Persius has 6 and Vergil about 45. Silius has two cases (13.862 modelled on Vergil; 16.614), Statius four (Theb. 4.87, 11.490 and modelled on Vergil 1.625, 5.140). Here too in many cases artistic effect is perceptible, e.g. 6.339 the little mouse (a traditional instance; Verg. Georg. 1.181, Hor. AP 139), 1.159 the despised mob, 3.203 the frivolis of Cordus, 3.305 the sudden slitting of the throat, 5.8 a scrap of mat, 6.649 a precipice, 7.99 q.v., 9.146 a modest wish, 10.85 headlong haste, 10.308 q.v.

Polysyllabic. 87 cases (counting 13.65), of which 45 are proper names or Greek words (not counting 7.98 historiarum, 123 pragmaticorum) and one (7.218) is a word of six syllables. Horace Satires has 43 such cases, much the same proportion as Juvenal, Persius 8, Vergil 74 (of which all but 7 are proper names or Greek words). All cases in Statius are likewise proper names or Greek words; apart from these categories, Silius has instances at 15.171, 728 and a word-group 14.601; 1.203 (modelled on Vergil’s use of a quadrisyllabic adjective with -que at Aen. 5.588), 4.160 (modelled on Aen. 11.614), and (with Ennian and Vergilian associations) 1.152, 2.484. In Juvenal the grandeur is often both apparent (10.138 induperator, 13.42 caelicularum) and comic or ironical (3.182 ambitiosa / paupertate, 8.175 fabros sandapilarum, 6.338 the huge penis followed in the next line by the little mouse, 10.182 Ennosigaeum, 15.4 cercopithecii).

Others. 3.135 scorti placet haeres, 7.160 cuius mihi sexta. There are 16 such cases in Vergil, 69 in Horace’s Satires, 11 (counting 2.55) in Persius, none in Silius (1.71 is corrupt) or Statius.
4. ELISION

The following works are arranged in an ascending scale of quantity (according to proportion) of elision: Ovid *Metamorphoses*, Vergil *Bucolics*, Juvenal, Statius, Silius, Horace *Satires*, Persius, Vergil *Aeneid*. Juvenal never has more than three elisions in a line (see on 11.161), which happens 12 times; 5 in Vergil’s *Bucolics* (counting 7.14), 38 in Statius (and 2 with four elisions, *Theb.* 5.693, *Ach.* 2.80), 62 in Silius (and 2 with four elisions, 9.245, 11.63), 28 in Horace *Satires* (and 2 with four elisions, 1.3.20, 2.3.86), 5 in Persius, 54 in Vergil’s *Aeneid* (and 1 with four elisions, 9.595).

Juvenal does not allow cretic elisions, but there are two cases of dactylic words ending in *mediae* elided, *quantul(um)* 6.151, *plurim(um)* 14.73. There are 10 such cases in Horace’s *Satires* (and 2 of elided cretics, *tantuli* 1.1.59, *anulo* even in the fifth foot 2.7.53; *occupo* 1.9.6 is probably a dactyl), 2 in Persius (1.6, 2.61); 15 in Vergil (who never allows cretic elision if we discount words ending in an *o* which may be short), 3 in Silius (two of them modelled on Vergil; J. Soubiran *L’Élision dans l’Hexamètre Latine* (1966) 231), none in Statius (not *Theb.* 11.429). For elision of iambic words see on 6.237.

Juvenal never elides within the sixth foot (nor does Persius); Vergil has two cases (*Aen.* 9.57, 440), Silius one (9.35, modelled on Vergil), Statius none (though see *Theb.* 11.429), Horace *Satires* six. All his elisions within the fifth foot are of a short vowel or *media*; the epic poets, with a few exceptions (long *Aen.* 12.26 and perhaps *Georg.* 1.63 *ergo age*, which is formulaic; *mediae* 6 times in Vergil and *Theb.* 1.41) only allow elision of a short. On the other hand Horace *Satires* has 13 cases of elision of a long, and Persius 3.

5. CAESURAE

The multiplicity of various combinations of caesurae and quasi-caesurae makes it difficult to use this criterion in a discussion like this. My notes on 6.450, 10.229 and 358, 11.106, 14.108 comment on some noteworthy caesurae.

6. LENGTHENINGS AND SHORTENINGS

*Lengthenings due to the metrical beat.* These are common enough in Vergil; there are 6 cases in Horace and 1 in Persius, all with third person singular verbal-endings (cf. *CR* 18, 1968, 23b); Statius observes the same limitation (4 cases counting *Theb.* 12.396; 1.561 is doubtful), and Juvenal’s one instance is of the same type (6.340). Since Silius goes out of his way to avoid such lengthening by morphological innovation at 3.405, it should probably not be accepted at 9.545.

*Lengthening before two consonants or a double consonant.* 8.107 *occultā spolia*; not found in Vergil or Horace or Persius, once in Statius (*Theb.* 6.553), thrice in Silius (9.575, 12.209, 17.546).
Short before two consonants or a double consonant. Once in Vergil \(\textit{Aen.} 11.308\), 8 times in Horace \textit{Satires}, not found in Persius or Silius or Statius (but see \textit{Theb.} 7.733), in Juvenal only 5.45 \textit{ponerĕ zelotypo} (\textit{q.v.; z} is not on quite the same plane as \textit{quiă scilicet} and the like). Special cases like 15.114 are here excluded.

7. PAUSES IN UNUSUAL PLACES

Satiric poets, particularly Horace, in order to give an air of greater informality are willing to break up the movement of the line usual in epic by placing abrupt pauses near the beginning and end of the line. In the following discussion it must be remembered that it is not always clear what exactly would constitute a pause to a Roman; the best discussion of this topic is by N.-O. Nilsson \textit{Metrische Stildifferenzen in den Satiren des Horaz} (1952) 122 sqq.

After the first syllable 12 times in Horace, twice in Juvenal (7.56, 13.173). The one clear case in the \textit{Aeneid} is 1.327 (cf. also 1.250, 685; 2.54; 4.381); Persius has 2–4 instances.

After the first trochee 11 times in Juvenal, 14–17 in Horace (Nilsson 128 seems to me over-generous here), 6–8 times in the \textit{Aeneid} (cf. Norden’s edition of Book 6, p. 389), 2 in Persius.

After the first syllable of the fifth foot 20 times in Horace, twice in enumerations (1.4.39, 1.2.98); 5 times in Juvenal (3.119, 10.41, 11.47 and 195, 15.106); 2 in Persius; not in Vergil.

Before the last syllable of the line 8 times In Horace. (Nilsson 134; [54] but I should not count 2.8.37, and 2.5.103 is rather doubtful. I agree with Nilsson in excluding 2.7.51), 5 times in Juvenal (5.129, 6.279, 13.35, 15.40, 16.24), once in Persius, never in Vergil.

In this respect therefore Juvenal comes between Vergil and Horace; it is noticeable that his usage is freer in Books 4 and 5.

8. ENJAMBEMENT

This too is a way in which satiric poets break up the epic movement of the line; it is however a difficult subject because the term is so elastic. Of the categories discussed by Nilsson 142 sqq. I shall here list only a few which depend on the character of the final word of the line,

Prepositions before their cases. Apart from \textit{adusque} (twice in Horace), Vergil and Horace only allow dissyllabic prepositions (4 Vergil, 10 Horace), which tend to maintain a certain independence from their nouns (cf. Horace 1.6.58–9); one should however note Horace 2.3.117 \textit{unde/octoginta}, 1.2.62 \textit{inter/est}. Juvenal has \textit{inter} twice; \textit{ultra}, \textit{contra}, \textit{erga}, \textit{usque} (10.1) once each; and 6 monosyllabic prepositions (\textit{de} 5.33, 14.114; \textit{pro} 8.255, 14.306; \textit{in} 6.58 and \textit{inque} 10.244). In this respect therefore he is more daring than Horace. Persius has nothing like this.

Relative pronouns and the like. Of the relative pronoun so placed there are 8
cases in Vergil, 15 in Horace, 2 in Persius, 34 in Juvenal (again a significantly higher proportion than Horace). Of other such words there are 17 cases in Vergil, 14 in Horace, 2 in Persius, 22 in Juvenal; I here count quam (including postquam, priusquam, tamquam, and also tam), quantus, unde, quisquis, qualis, siquis and nequis.

Co-ordinating conjunctions. atque 2 cases in Vergil, 4 in Juvenal, 29 in Horace; et never in Vergil, 12 times in Horace, 6 in Juvenal (who thus in this respect stands far behind Horace). Others (aut, nec, vel, sed, nam(que) 2 Vergil (both of nam-que), 6 Horace, 13 Juvenal (including two cases of nec meaning ‘not even’ and one of vel meaning ‘even’). Persius has nothing like this.

Subordinating conjunctions. si never in Vergil, 18 times in Horace (emending 1.3.10 to si and counting uelut si, ac si, ut si) plus one case each of seu and ni, twice in Persius plus one case each of ⌜⌜55⌟⌟ sive and si non, 6 times in Juvenal plus one case each of sive and etsi. Others (quod, cum, an, dum, ut and sicut, neve, quando, quamvis, quamquam, donec) 13 times Vergil, 21 Horace, 19 Juvenal, 1 Persius.

It is noticeable that each book of Juvenal shows a slight increase on its predecessor in the proportion of such enjambements, from 23 in Book 1 to 33 in the shorter Book 5.

TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS

Since this commentary is based on the Oxford Classical Text by W. V. Clausen and does not itself contain a text, it is only necessary here to give such a brief outline of the state of the text of Juvenal as will enable the reader to follow discussion in those places where I differ from Clausen’s judgment. So I shall briefly summarise the views expressed in BICS 14, 1967, 38 sqq., but in general refrain from giving the corroborative evidence.

The central fact about the text of Juvenal is that it is preserved in many manuscripts, which fall roughly into three classes: (1) those which often enough corrupt the poet’s words but seldom make deliberate alterations to them (2) those which make many deliberate alterations, but nevertheless often enough are correct where the first class is corrupt (3) those which hover in the middle. The chief representatives of (1) are:

P no.125 in the library of the medical school at Montpellier, a manuscript written at Lorsch towards the end of the ninth century.

Arov. Five leaves of a tenth-century manuscript, containing in very tattered condition parts of 2.148–7.172, with pagination identical to that of P and showing a text very closely related to P’s.

Sang. A ninth-century florilegium written and preserved at St. Gall and containing 280 verses of Juvenal.
R  Parisinus Latinus 8072 of the tenth century, containing 1.1–2.66, 3.32–6.437.
This shows a trace of derivation from a source with the same pagination as
PArov., but has incorporated a few readings from class (2).
S  The lemmata of the scholia preserved in PArov. and Sang. (which provides a
complete text in a separate section of the manuscript). [56]
Mico of St. Riquier, who compiled a florilegium to illustrate points of prosody
around A.D. 825; he quotes 32 lines of Juvenal.
The main representatives of class (3) are:
V  Vindobonensis 107, of the end of the ninth century, which contains 1.1–2.59,
2.107–5.96.
Aurel. The traces of ink left on the wooden binding of Orleans ms. 295 by two
leaves from a manuscript of Juvenal, written at Fleury in the mid ninth cen-
tury, once glued to it. The text covers 2.32–89 and 3.35–93, and it was copied
from a manuscript with the same pagination as PArov. (BICS 47–8).
A  Monacensis 408 of the eleventh century, which basically belongs to class (2),
but from 9.68 onwards agrees with P in a large number of rare readings. It
seems to be related to Mico’s source.
Nearly all other manuscripts of Juvenal belong to class (2) and are collectively
designated as Φ. In these the text was progressively corrupted and interpolated
as the centuries passed, and this interpolation can be seen beginning at a very
early date. Some of the comments of the scholiast (Σ; to be distinguished from
the lemmata S) presuppose a text of this interpolated type, and these scholia were
composed in the second half of the fourth century (their subsequent transfer to
texts of class (1) type means that S and Σ sometimes clash). From roughly the same
date the quotations of Servius and the imitations of Claudian also show some such
readings to have been present in their texts. About a century later the same is true
of the quotations of Priscian and the text offered by two fragments:
Bob. A palimpsest from Bobbio, now Vat. Lat. 5750, containing 14.324–15.43,
with scholia resembling but not identical to Σ.
Ant. A vellum leaf from Antinoe containing 7.149–98; this has notes in Greek
and Latin unrelated to Σ.
Of the other Φ-manuscripts the most noteworthy are:
F  Parisinus 8071, written towards the end of the ninth century and containing
3.317–9.39, 10.1–16.60. Related to this are LZ, which are not important, and
O  a Canonici manuscript (class. Lat. 41) in the Bodleian Library, written at
Monte Cassino about A.D. 1100. The [57] text of P seems to have exerted some
influence on this manuscript, which is noteworthy for the preservation in the
Sixth satire of 34 lines (after 365) of which only 5 in truncated form survive in
all other manuscripts (and in O itself too), displaced to follow 345; it also pre-
serves two lines after 6.373. As well as the basic exemplar from which he cop-
ied the main body of his text, the scribe of O evidently had available another
old manuscript and incorporated these lines from it. Related to O is Vat. Lat. 3286, of the eleventh century, also written at Monte Cassino; but their kinship breaks off about the middle of Six.

U Vat. Urb. 661, written early in the eleventh century. To this is related, from the middle of Seven to the end of Thirteen, G, Parisinus 7900, of the tenth century (from 1.1 to about 6.473 and in Fourteen–Sixteen this manuscript offers a text of little value; in the latter part of Six and the beginning of Seven it is closely related to P). Other relations are Vat. Reginensis 2029 of about A.D. 1000, Vat. Lat. 3286 from the middle of Six to 10.366 (where the old portion of the manuscript breaks off), and to some extent the still imperfectly known Valenciennes ms. 410 of the eleventh century.

T Trinity College Cambridge O IV 10 of the tenth century, to which is related Vat. Palatinus 1701, of the end of the ninth century and probably, like P, written at Lorsch. These preserve little of independent value, but are noteworthy for some striking agreements with P; these readings however are suspected of being derived from P itself.

K Laurentianus 34.42 of the eleventh century, noteworthy for preserving the Nicaeus subscription (Clausen x n. 2) which records study of Juvenal in the school of Servius; this subscription was also added in L by the hand which wrote a slightly superior version of the later and almost worthless scholia preserved in many Φ-manuscripts.

H Par. 9345 of the eleventh century; not of great value.

Two leaves of a manuscript of the sixth century containing parts of 14.250–319 and preserved in Milan (Ambr.) do not provide sufficient evidence to be classified. In his edition of 1486 G. Valla quoted from a commentary by a Probus as far as 8.198; nothing is known of this Probus or the source from which Valla knew him (for another possible trace of his commentary see Highet 307 n. 25).

Two main problems in practice face the editor of Juvenal. The first is when to prefer Φ over P and its congeners; this involves deciding that an attractive Φ-reading is genuine tradition, not an interpolation, and that P etc. are corrupt or (occasionally) interpolated. In this commentary, where Clausen, in my opinion correctly, follows P etc., I do not usually remark on the Φ-readings, but when Φ is to be preferred I usually justify the preference unless the reason for it is obvious. The second problem is that, since a number of lines (at least 40 in my judgment) presented by all or nearly all manuscripts, even the P-class, are clearly not by Juvenal, an attempt must be made to identify spurious matter; I have tried to present a synoptic view of this problem in BICS 22, 1975, 147. A third problem sometimes raised is whether the state of the text reveals revision by the poet and/or conflation of two versions; in my opinion this problem is imaginary, and all difficulties to which a solution has been sought on these lines can be comfortably solved by other means (often by the assumption of that interpolation which we
know to have extensively affected the text; but see on 7.139).

Where I discuss textual problems I assume consultation of the evidence as presented in Clausen’s apparatus, which I do not repeat but sometimes, where necessary, supplement.

[Addendum 2013: Valla seems to have taken his ‘Probus’ from a ninth-century Brescia manuscript; see Jocelyn CQ² 35 (1985) 468 n. 179 and references there given.]
Note on Coinage and Time, etc.

For convenience some practical information which the reader of Juvenal needs to bear in mind is here given briefly. For measures of capacity see on 5.32, 6.426, 12.44; for the system of fractions on 1.40.

The Roman currency is 1600 quadrantes (1.121, 6.447, 7.8) = 400 asses (5.144, 10.116, 11.145, 14.301) = 100 sestertii (nummus means this 7.139, 11.19) = 25 silver denarii = 1 aureus (7.122). Quadrantes and asses are copper or bronze, sestertes brass. Sestertium (1.92, 2.117, 4.16, 7.186, 9.41, 13.71) indicates a sum of 1,000 sesterces.

The duodecimal system of fractions which was general at Rome applied to the day also. When the Romans use hora followed by an ordinal number, e.g. hora tertia, they almost always mean the end of the hour so numbered. The following chart gives the times in modern fashion from Marquardt 257.

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<thead>
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<th>Hour</th>
<th>Midsummer</th>
<th>Midwinter</th>
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</table>
Apart from listing the principal editions of Juvenal, this bibliography is not intended to provide systematic coverage of any field, but simply to save space by listing books and articles which have to be referred to repeatedly, so that in the commentary references can be given in abbreviated form. In the case of books and articles listed in the bibliography, supralinear numbers refer to the code of the bibliography; in the case of others, to editions; in the case of periodicals, to series. My abbreviations for periodicals are either those of _L’Année Philologique_ or more explicit; I mention only _ALL = Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie_, _JAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum_, _ZPE = Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik_, _ZRG = Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte_, _Röm. Abteilung_. With a few clearly marked exceptions, all references are by pages. Where a discussion extends over several pages, usually reference is only made to the first.

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PRINCIPAL BOOKS ON JUVENAL AND ROMAN SATIRE


WORKS ON ANCIENT LITERATURE


HANDBOOKS AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

DE  *Dizionario Epigrafico di Antichità Romane*, E. de Ruggiero and others, 1895–.
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E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica* 1, 1942; 2, 1933.
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**TEXTS AND EDITIONS USED**

*Anth(ologia) Lat(ina)* ed. A. Riese, 1894–1906.
AP  *Anthologia Palatina*.
CMG  *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*.

Fragments of the Greek Comic poets, when quoted from collections, are usually given a reference first to the edition of Meineke, then of Kock, then of Edmonds (whose numeration generally follows Kock).
Festus is quoted according to O. Müller’s pagination, Fronto according to that of van den Hout.


IG  *Inscriptiones Graecae*.


Lucilius is quoted according to the numeration of F. Marx.


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SHA  *Scriptor(es) Historiae Augustae*.

O. Schneider, index to J. Sillig’s edition of Pliny *NH*, 1857.


Stobaeus is quoted according to the edition of C. Wachsmuth–O. Hense, 1884–1912. [166]


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*Thes. onom. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, onomasticon (C–D).

PIR  *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, von Rohden and Dessau (1897–8), ed. 2 by E. Groag–A. Stein, 1933–.


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T. Mommsen¹, *Römisches Staatsrecht*³, 1887–8.  
RSV *Römische Staatsverwaltung*³, J. Marquardt and others, 1881–5.  
[70]  
SG *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, L. Friedlaender, ed. 9–10 (1921–2) by G.
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THE FORUM AREA OF ROME
EGYPT AT THE TIME OF JUVENAL
Satire One

This satire forms an introduction to the whole book, and Juvenal clearly had a collection largely prepared when he wrote it (see on 86), though the Fourth satire was evidently added after the composition of the First (see the introduction there). The reference to the condemnation of Marius Priscus (the only post-Domitianic event at Rome referred to by Juvenal) gives a terminus post quem of A.D. 100, but in fact the poem probably belongs to a date much nearer that of Book 2, A.D. 116–17 (cf. p. 1).

Juvenal begins (1–20) by explaining why he proposes to write poetry; the reason, ironical of course, is that everyone else bores him by writing and reciting. It will be noted that, though 18 mentions only writing, 1–6 and the reference to Juvenal’s own training in public speaking in 17–18 seem to imply that he too intends to give recitations (cf. 3.322); but I would suggest that, as so often, Juvenal has by association brought in a strictly irrelevant point. The basis of his argument would be that everyone else writes, so he himself might as well do the same, since he is as good, or as bad, as the rest. This however fails to provide a positive motive for Juvenal personally; to obtain this, he suggests that his own writing will be retaliation for the torments of boredom inflicted on him (ego 1, mihi 3, mihi 7) by reciting poets.

He then announces his explanation why he chooses to write satire in particular (19–21). These other poets wrote in elevated genres, elegy, tragedy and epic (comedy also, 3; Juvenal seems to have classed it with higher poetry, a point challenged by Horace Serm. 1.4.45 sqq.); Juvenal rejects trite mythology for something more in contact with ordinary human life, as others had rejected it for historical epic or didactic (see on 7). One is reminded of the review of contemporary literature in Hor. Serm. 1.10 (cf. on 79), which ends with the declaration that satire was the only field left free for Horace himself; for Persius, see below. Juvenal also explicitly places his satirical writing in the tradition of Lucilius, and the last paragraph (147 sqq.) [[78] makes plain exactly what side of Lucilius he had in mind, namely

[77]
his aggressiveness, going as far as attacks on named living individuals. Though Juvenal makes a bow in the direction of Horace (51) and represents him as aggressive, Horace’s generally relaxed and largely autobiographical style of writing could have little relevance to Juvenal’s own work. It is however noticeable that he associates both Horace and Lucilius (20) with the little country towns of their birth; perhaps the Aquini alumnus felt this as a bond of sympathy. He does not mention Persius either here or elsewhere, though he knew and imitated him and in fact did so in this very poem (see below and on 143). Persius’ lack of personal attacks would make mention of him inappropriate in this context.

The explanation which Juvenal gives for writing satire (22–80) is that *ira* (45), *indignatio* (79) make it impossible not to do so (39) when one sees the sort of people who prosper at Rome nowadays, at the expense of decent honest citizens (37, 74). As a topic for a writer, this puts mythological epic (resuming 1–13) in the shade (52–4); the result may not be inspired or grand (79–80, where of course the anticlimax shows the modesty to be mock-modesty, and 86; cf. on 15), but it comes from the heart. The structure of this section deserves close analysis. Juvenal seeks to prove his point, enunciated in 73–6, by a cumulation of *exempla*, which are divided into groups, most of them beginning with a rhetorical question, and interspersed with Juvenal’s own comments. The groups are these: two instances of the reversal of the role of the sexes (22–3), one anonymous of ½ line and one named of 1½ lines, linked with two (24–9) of the reversal of the social order, one anonymous of 2 lines and one named of 4 lines. Then two (32–6) of those who misapply the law, one named of 1½ lines and one anonymous of 3½ lines (assuming 37–41 to be misplaced and counting 42–4 as Juvenal’s comment). Next two anonymous cases, each of ½ line, of those who reduce others to poverty by extortion, with a two-line illustration of Marius (46–50); two (55–62) anonymous instances, of 3 and 5 lines, of those who seek wealth and promotion by corrupt means (and the 5 lines 37–41, with two named instances, probably belong here); two anonymous criminals (63–72), of 5 and 4 lines; and finally three anonymous upsetters of family relationships (77–8), each of ½ line. There is clearly a pattern here, though not a rigid one; and equally clearly this pattern is improved by the removal of 37–41 from their present position, which seems necessary on quite different grounds.

So Juvenal has told us that he is going to write satire, and why; what then is satire, and what is its subject-matter (*materia* 151)? It covers all aspects of human life since the Flood (81–6), and no epoch has ever offered a richer crop of vice (see on 87) than the present, a statement which Juvenal documents by a number of illustrations (87–146) dominated by money in its two converse aspects, meanness and extravagance, and the corruption which it brings. First avaritia is mentioned generally (88); then dicing, which involves both faults (92–3); then *aedificatio* (94), i.e. extravagance; then gluttony, which again involves both faults, dining lavishly (extravagance) on one’s own (meanness). Juvenal dwells on this last instance to
the end of this section (146) because in so many ways it is a clinching illustration of his theme. It results in a corruption of the friendly (146; there is a punch in the very last word of the section, cf. p. 21) relationship between patron and client which was in so many ways fundamental to Roman society. Formerly, it is implied, meals were modest (with no extravagance) and shared by patron with client (meanness was absent). Nowadays the sociable (see on 135) relationship produced by dining together is eliminated in favour of a commercialised payment in money, and meanness even makes the clients identify themselves at a roll-call. But the patron is not alone in his meanness; even the aristocrats of Rome come to collect their dole, and so too do rich freedmen. The precedence granted to this latter class is an eloquent testimony to the informal apotheosis of divitiae at Rome, which may soon be expected to become formalised (nondum 114; actually this implication clashes with Juvenal’s assertion in 147 sqq. that Rome has already reached the peak of depravity; for a similar clash see on 14.57). What then can be expected of poor clients, who depend entirely on the sportula? Meanness (admittedly venial because enforced) makes them scramble for the dole (96) and they adopt every means to get as much as possible (120–6). In the hope of securing an invitation to dinner they are willing to submit to servile and tiring attendance on their patron throughout the day (as Hirst realised, a new paragraph should not be started at 127; see, on 135), but [[80] their ‘meanness’ is frustrated by that of the patron, who fails to invite them and dines on his own on the most extravagant food (his tables too 137–8 unite extravagance and meanness). The theme of the whole section is now enunciated explicitly at the close; it is luxuriae sordes (140), i.e. extravagance and meanness simultaneously. The combination is deadly (142–6). Having thus documented his statement that the corruption of the present age is the greatest there ever has been (87), Juvenal resumes it by stating that it is the greatest there ever will be (147–9); note vitiorum 87, vitium 149.

The analysis of this section, which has been much criticised for poor composition, shows that it is in fact most carefully laid out in the form of thought which visualised in one way can be called chiasmus (see on 135) and in another ring-com-
But now a difficulty (150); an interlocutor reminds Juvenal that the days of Lucilian-style attacks on contemporaries are over. What then, says Juvenal, is crime to go scot-free (159–60)? Yes, says his interlocutor; the epic themes which you rejected in 52–4 and 1–21 are innocuous (Horace too had been advised to abandon satire for historical epic, Serm. 2.1.10–23 because cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit, with which Juv. 165–8 should be compared, and had rejected the advice), but Lucilian satire causes nothing but trouble. Well then, says Juvenal, I shall solve that problem by attacking only the dead. [81] This concluding statement of intent (170–1) is brief and receives no elaboration, but it needs some. Obviously Juvenal cannot mean that he is going to satirise Rome as it used to be, in view of his emphatic declarations of the corruption of the present (87, 147–9; cf. the contrast between nunc and avus 95). Now the first of these declarations is preceded (81–6) by the statement that Juvenal’s material is everything that men have been doing since the Flood. Put these two statements together, and it will be apparent that the present differs from the past in quantity, but not in quality. Therefore we are to gather that when we read an attack on (say) Tigellinus, mutato nomine de te fabula narratur. ‘Juvenal announces his intention of using those who lay buried … as examples in attacking the vices of his own time’ (Stephenson CR 1 4, 1890, 229); the point of which perhaps becomes clearer if we replace ‘examples’ with ‘exempla’. The intent of Juvenal’s statement is to make it plain to the reader that this satirist who has proclaimed himself a follower of Lucilius yet differs from him in one respect in which he follows the practice of Horace. We need not doubt that some of the people given unflattering mention by Juvenal were still alive when he wrote, but they were either men who had fallen from power or were of no significance; similarly Horace (N. Rudd, Satires of Horace (1966) 133–8 = CQ 2 10, 1960, 162–4). We can readily comprehend that this was a sensible course for both, but Juvenal gives a reason which goes far beyond this; he makes his interlocutor declare that the outcome of attacks on the powerful will be a gruesome execution. This statement has generally been taken almost literally, but this is absurd; it is due merely (1) to a natural exaggeration on the part of the interlocutor in his attempt to deter Juvenal from causing offence (2) to the fact that Juvenal, being forced to choose a Neronian exemplum (see on 155), thinks of a punishment particularly associated with the times of that cruel and arbitrary emperor. It remains true that he is saying that a powerful man at Rome when offended could find means of making his resentment felt (cf. 9.97–100), and that this is his reason for not following the practice of Lucilius; of course this too is a criticism of his own times. We need not necessarily suppose that bitter experience had made him overcautious (see Introduction on his life); see
what happened to Fabricius Veiento in his youth (Tac. Ann. 14.50). Yet there is undeniably a certain element of living in the past in this poem; as one of the repellent figures of contemporary Rome Juvenal mentions a delator still pursuing his trade (32–6), whereas Trajan had firmly suppressed and exiled those of this profession (Pliny Pan. 34–5, 42, which seems to have been published in a revised version in A.D. 103). We must infer that the grim past had so ingrained itself in Juvenal’s mind that to some extent he failed to recognise contemporary realities.

As in a number of other genres at Rome, so in satire it was customary to preface a collection of poems with a programmatic poem. Lucilius evidently did this in the first book which he published, numbered XXVI in the standard collected edition; fr. 587 from this book scoffs at the traditional epic subjects. He was followed by Horace (Serm. 2.1) and Persius. These and this poem of Juvenal are studied in relation to each other by Shero Univ. Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature 15 (Classical Series II), 1922, 148; Kenney PCPS 8, 1962, 34; Griffith Hermes 98, 1970, 56. The poem of Horace shows some resemblances (see above and on 77), and in particular raises the question of personal attacks (siquis / opprobriis dignum latraverit 84–5); Horace is warned ut sis / vitalis metuo et maiorum nequis amicus / frigore te feriat (60–2). His answer is that, like Lucilius, he has powerful protectors (Juvenal cannot say this), and he finally evades the problem with a joking pun. The bulk of Persius’ poem is an attack on the contemporary literary scene; everyone now writes and recites airy-fairy stuff (vapid epics like the Iliad of Attius 50, which reminds us of the Theseid of Cordus; elegies 51, cf. Juv. 4; neoteric-style epyllia). In view of Persius’ evident intention to be different his interlocutor warns him quid opus teneras mordaci radere versu / auriculas? (this is Horace’s tristi laedere versu 21). The maiores may freeze him out (this is after Horace). ‘Am I then to pretend that all is well?’ replies Persius. Lucilius whipped the city (see on 154), Horace benignly castigated faults; me muttire nefas? I insist on communicating my perception of what is wrong, but only to the select few (another Horatian attitude). It will be apparent that Persius has a great deal in common with Juvenal, though his point is more general and not tied down to personal criticism, which Persius avoids in his satires.

Thus all three protest that they cannot help writing satire, though they all give different reasons (innate impulse, Horace 24–60; the absurdities of contemporary Rome, Persius 8–12 and 120–3), they turn away from other kinds of writing (especially epic) and appeal to Lucilius. Griffith notes the emergence of a pattern:

(1) The poet makes a proclamation (Juv. 147–50, Horace 60).
(2) The interlocutor warns him (Juv. 150–7, Horace 60–2, Persius 107–10).
(3) The poet counters with a question (Juv. 158–9, Horace 62–8, Persius 114–19; this is where Horace and Persius appeal to Lucilius, who in Juvenal appears in the interlocutor’s warnings).
(4) Another warning (Juv. 160–70, Horace 80–3, Persius 119 *nusquam*, given to the interlocutor).

(5) An evasive retort by the poet (Juv. 170–1, Horace 83–5, Persius 120 sqq.).

One striking common feature is the employment of an interlocutor by all of them (and Persius draws attention to this, 44). Obviously the poet himself must pose as the fearless unmasker of vice; how then can he make the necessary reservations without seeming to withdraw in cowardly fashion? This problem is solved by introducing the interlocutor to enjoin caution. Here the common denominator of the poems is touched. The characteristic of classical, as opposed to ‘romantic’, writers is that they are eager to place themselves in a tradition, to present themselves in the line of descent from the πρῶτος εὑρετής of their genre. To the satirist this gave the awkward inheritance of Lucilian aggressiveness which was no longer historically possible for them; and each of them writes a programmatic poem to get round the problem in his own way.

1 EGO Sc. *ero* or *sim*; the ellipse indicates indignation, cf. p. 33.


REPONAM Repay a debt (hence Pliny l.c. *creditor* of one who attends recitations by others in the hope of getting them to attend his own), without an expressed object as here Cic. *Ad Att.* 13.12.3. Here ‘retali ate’ (cf. on 21); Juvenal is thinking of Horace’s *ultor* (see previous note; the interpretation of Fraenkel 348 is unacceptable).

2 R Au Ci Because of continual recitation; Mart. 8.3.15. [[84]]


CORDI (which is also the reading of the σ-family of Servian mss. in the preface to *Aen.* 1, though this family seems to be of little authority) is a Roman cognomen. On the name here and at 3.203, 208 cf. Griffith *CR* 1, 1951, 138; we should not however in any case identify the two men, since though that man has literary tastes he is not necessarily a writer, and he is a sympathetic character whereas this is not. Griffith points out that Cordus is corrupted to Codrus at Lucan 8.715 (and also of the same person at *De Viris Ill.* 77.9), Dion. Hal. *AR* 5.25.4, and that two occurrences of Codrus on inscriptions probably refer to slaves or freedmen. The corruption here was due to recollection of the reading of nearly all mss. in 3 ll.cc., the Athenian (cf. *Theseide*) hero Codrus, and Vergil’s use of the name for a (bucolic) poet *Buc.* 7.22 and 26 (5.11).

3 IMPUNE Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.105 (and note ibid. 91 *hic elegos*) and *ultor* l.c. on 1.

RECI TA V ERIT This and *consumpserit* are probably future perfect indicative
in view of the context of similar indignant questions at Verg. Aen. 2.581, 4.591 (cf. 9.785 with *impune*); but it would make little difference if they were perfect subjunctives (cf. Woodcock p. 131). Cf. on 158–9.

Recitations, though occasionally held long before, were made a regular part of literary life at Rome by Asinius Pollio (Sen. *Contr.* 4 pr. 2; Dalzell *Hermath.* 86, 1955, 20); Juvenal is said (probably falsely, but cf. 3.322) to have given them himself (*vita*), and he also mentions Statius (7.83). Cf. 3.9 with Mayor’s note, 7.39 sqq. Their proper purpose was to elicit criticism, but they also served the object of reviews, publicity (7.39–40), and often in fact turned into a kind of preliminary publication. Attendance at them was a not always pleasurable social obligation. See *RE* *recitatio*, *SG* 3.38 = 2.225, Teuffel–Kroll 2 p. 7, Carcopino 196. The satirists make plain their distaste for recitation (Hor. 1.4.23 and 73, Pers. 1 passim; though according to his biographer Persius recited).

**TOGATAS** Comedies with Italian settings, like the tragic *praetextae*, in contrast to *palliatae*. Pliny *Ep.* 6.21 mentions recitation of a comedy (cf. E. Rohde *Der Griechische Roman*¹ (1914) 327 n. 1). A *togata* by Afranius was still produced under Nero (Suet. 11), though this literary form was virtually extinct.

4 **ELEGOS** The flowering of Roman elegiac poetry belongs to Augustan times, but it was still written (by Nerva (Mart. 8.70.7), Arruntius Stella, and probably Lygdamus) and recited (Pers. 1.51, Pliny *Ep.* 6.15, 5.17.2). |[85]

**DIEM CONSUMPSERIT** Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 1.13.4, 6.17.3; *RE* *recitatio* 443.55.

**INGENS** *Ep.* 95.2 *recitator historiam ingentem attulit*.

5–6 **TELEPHUS, ORESTES** Tragic heroes, both written about by Euripides; the names are also titles, cf. Catull. 35.13 and Juv. 7.73, 92. For recitation of tragedies cf. *RE* l.c. 441, O. Zwierlein *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas* (1966) 157–61; the last dramatist to have his works performed was Pomponius Secundus, under Claudius.

**SUMMI … LIBRI** ‘when the margin at the end of the roll is filled up’; normally a margin would be left between the last column and the umbilicus. Cf. Mart. 4.89.4 *summa (= ultima)* schida, Ovid *Met.* 9.564–5.

**SCRIPTUS ET IN TERGO** It is opisthograph, which would be exceptional; the *Hercules Oetaeus* is a surviving lengthy tragedy. For opisthograph authors’ mss. cf. Pliny *Ep.* 3.5.17, Mart. 8.62 (and *Revelation* 5.1); there was a *charta Claudia* (Pliny *NH* 13.79) suitable for this format; cf. Marquardt 815.

**7 sqq.** Juvenal recalls the remarks made by Vergil in the prologue to *Georgics* 3 (after Chorilus of Samos fr. 1 Kinkel; cf. also the prologue to the *Aetna* and Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.85) on the triteness of conventional τόποι, and those of Horace *AP* 15 sqq. on *purpurei panni* (cf. Pers. 1.70 *ponere lucum artifices*). It has often been thought that the allusion to the grove of Mars (taken to be that in Colchis, rather than that in which Cadmus killed the serpent) and the contemptuous reference to Jason’s ‘theft’ of the Golden Fleece are a hit at the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus; this is neither particularly likely (especially as Valerius does not give an ἔκφρασις of the
grove) nor particularly unlikely.

NOTA ... SUA Cf. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. 1.1.45 (Herod. 8.35.3 is partly similar); *Aetna* 16 *non cessit cuiquam melius sua tempora nosse* (than the Golden Age repeatedly described by poets).

AEOLIIS ... VULCANI Cf. 13.45 *Liparaea*, referring to Hiera (Thermessa); there are seven *Aeoliae insulae*, of which Lipara is the chief and Strongyle was regarded as the home of Aeolus (*RE Aiolie* 1033). Val. Fl. 1.580 has *stat RUPES horrenda fretis* (Hiera) ... *nec scopulos aut ANTRA minor iuxta altera tellus* (Strongyle) / *cernitur; illam Acamans habitat nudusque Pyramon,* / *has nimbi ventique domos et naufraga servat* / *tempestas*; but Verg. Aen. 8.416 sqq. is also very similar.

QUID AGANT VENTI A commonplace of epic descriptions (cf. 12.23), not to be tied down to Val. Fl. 1.608 sqq. The winds come naturally after their king Aeolus (as in Val. Fl. after the passage quoted in the previous note).

AEACUS Cf. 10.257; Jason is contemptuously left unnamed, his exploit is reduced by a diminutive *pelliculae*, and he is depicted as a | [86] commonplace of epic descriptions (cf. 12.23), not to be tied down to Val. Fl. 1.608 sqq. The winds come naturally after their king Aeolus (as in Val. Fl. after the passage quoted in the previous note).

12 FRONTO A rich patron who lends his house and gardens for recitations (cf. 7.39 sqq.). Mart. 1.55 is addressed to a *Fronto togae decus*, perhaps Ti. Catius Caesius Fronto, cos. A.D. 96 (Sherwin-White *Pliny Ep.* p. 170), praised by Pliny as an orator. Σ, who glosses *in Horatiana domo*, had in mind the famous M. Cornelius Fronto, which of course is chronologically impossible (cf. Fronto p. 19 *Horatius Flaccus* ... *mihi propter Maecenatem et Maecenaticanos hortos meos non alienus*); nor can an ancestor of his be intended, as he was a native of Cirta in Numidia. Von Premerstein *Hermes* 43, 1908, 325 refers to remains of a villa at Labicum, where a Herm has the inscription ἄλσος μὲν Μούσαις ἱερὸν λέγε τοῦτ’ ἀνακεῖσθαι / τὰς βύβλους δείξας τὰς παρὰ ταῖς πλατάνοις (IG 14.1011), and identifies Fronto with (*CIL* 5.2386) *Fronto Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germanici dispesator Lent-(*l)ianus*, who, he argues, bequeathed the estate in question to Claudius.

PLATANI ... MARMORA Plane trees (to give shade with their broad leaves), and statues (9.104) in a peristyle (*columnae*); whereas *horti* (see previous note) would suggest a park (cf. 7.79). For the plane trees cf. Pliny *NH* 12.6–12, 17.90; the *platanon* of Mart. 12.50 and that with statues ibid. 3.19; Pliny *Ep.* 1.3.1. MARMORA might also indicate marble-covered walls and pavements (cf. 3.20 and 215); but it is much more vivid to think of tormented statues, perhaps of Muses and poets, especially as CONVOLSA and RUPTA are technical medical terms for strained limbs, often coupled by Pliny *NH* (e.g. 20.36, 22.79, 28.140; see further Schneider s.vv.).
CLAMANT ‘echo’; Sil. It. 14.365. This is a satirical version of the way in which nature echoes the poet’s song at e.g. Verg. Buc. 6.10–11.

13 SEMPER ET ASSIDUO Pers. 4.18.

RUPTAE They are so worn out by the vehemence of the readers that they shatter; cf. Verg. Georg. 3.328, where Servius quotes this line, and Copia 27; Donatus vit. Verg. 18.77 (Vergil is speaking) tu loquacitate ... muros rumpis (walls collapse because of shouting, Plut. περὶ ἀοργησίας 461d).

ASSIDUO LECTORE When a person is treated as an instrument, not acting through conscious intention, he may take the instrumental rather than the agent construction; 3.306 and doubtless 1.54, 6.130 [[13.87 is ablative absolute; see also on 9.150, 10.155]]; 6.29 is not fully personal, 3.91 is an irrational creature. But this is a harsh instance since, though the result of the reader’s action is unintended, he is neither inert nor a mere instrument used by others; cf. Manil. 2.77 aequo digesta parente. It is sometimes argued that the main emphasis goes to the abstract quality conveyed by the adjective, as if it were assiduitate lectoris, but this will only explain a minority of instances. Cases like this, with an adjective, can still be related to the circumstantial (or ‘absolute’) ablative, but it nevertheless must be admitted that the construction ultimately cuts itself off from its roots. See KS 1.378; Hor. Epist. 1.1.94 (Witton G & R^2 3, 1956, 71 puts this in a class of ‘menial servants’), Odes 1.6.2 (this could be ablative absolute, but was otherwise understood by Sil. It. 13.499, who is fond of the construction; P. Verres De Tib. Silii Italici Punicis ... Quaestiones (1888) 31–2); Stat. Th. 3.521 auditus Iasone according to the mss.

14 EXPECTES This may be the jussive subjunctive of the indefinite second person; cf. 3.276, 7.9 (in a prohibition 3.302, 4.22). Cf. KS 1.186.

SUMMO MINIMOQUE 6.349, 11.36.

15 ET NOS I have attended the teaching of the grammaticus (who based much of his instruction on poetry) and (ET NOS) of the rhetor (cf. 7.150–243), i.e. I have been through the standard educational curriculum. Note that the nature of this makes Juvenal refer to rhetoric as a preparation for writing poetry; it is not his primary intention to say this explicitly, but it is a revealing statement which does much to illuminate the nature of Silver poetry (cf. Theon Rhet. Gr. 2.70.24 Spengel). Irony might be intended, as if these vates thought that rhetoric on its own without the other qualities known by Juvenal to be necessary would suffice to produce poetry; but it is hard to see this in the passage.

ERGO Cf. 14.119; ‘well then’. We may perhaps catch a hint of the same mock modesty as in 80; when even minimi poetae do this, why shouldn’t I too?

SUBDUXIMUS = subtraximus 8.77, 11.142. Juvenal is thinking of Horace’s ex-
timuit magistrum at AP 415 in a similar context of artistic preparation. Here the boy snatches away his hand as the cane descends. ||[88]
16 CONSIDIUM DEDIMUS The same phrase in this context Sen. Suas. 6.11, Quintil. 3.8.30 and 46. C. D. SULLAE UT … is a favourite theme of suasoriae, Quintil. 3.8.53; Sulla is urged to resign as dictator.

PRIVATUS In the republican sense ‘without any official position’ in a repub-
lican context; elsewhere (even at 41) Juvenal uses the word in its imperial sense ‘subject’ or ‘belonging to a subject’ (4.66, 6.114, 12.107), contrasted with the emperor and his household (RE princeps 2059.11; ANRW 2.1.17).

ALTUM DORMIRET Cf. Lucan 7.28, 5.505–6, Stat. Th. 1.147; ‘uneasy lies the head …’
17 TOT For the number of amateur poets cf. SG 3.26 and 67 = 2.214 and 252; Persius quoted in the introduction.
18 VATIBUS This word (cf. 7.53, 89, 93; 6.436) has an ironical implication ab-
sent from poeta 14; cf. the juxtaposition of the two at Pers. prol. 3 and 7 and his ironical use of vates at 5.1. This word in early Latin is applied only to soothsayers (cf. 6.584, 11.114); it seems to have been Varro who linked it with poets (he empha-
ises its religious associations ap. Isidore 8.7.3, cf. ibid. 7.12.15 and De L. L. 7.36). The Augustan poets found it very suitable to convey their higher claims than had been usual at Rome for the status of poetry, its first occurrence in this way being at Verg. Buc. 9.34 (cf. 7.28), where the innovation is softened by the nearby oc-
currence of poeta 32 and the Theocritean original (7.37–41) has ἄοιδὸς ἄριστος. Thereafter a notion of divine inspiration and dignity attached to the word (cf. Tac. Dial. 9 egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum uatem; ibid. 12.3 again linked with poetae), which lends itself to satiric deflation. See M. Runs in Festschr. P. Kretschmer (Vienna 1926) 202; Dahlmann Philol. 97, 1948, 337 = Kl. Schr. 35; Bickel Rh. Mus. 94, 1951, 257; Brink on Hor. AP 400; J. K. New-
man The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry (1967).

OCCURRAS For the indefinite second person subjunctive in a subordinate clause cf. 3.7 and 310.

PERITURAE ‘that is sure to be wasted’ because some other poet will scribble
on it; passive of perdo, cf. on 4.56. Cf. Mart. 2.1.4 brevior quod mihi charta perit, 6.64.23, 13.1.3, 10.4.7.

DECURRERE A word used of equestrian exercises (d. campo ends the line at Stat. Th. 7.415; metaphorical as here Colum. 10.226), like the ἄρματοδρομίαι on the Campus Martius (Strabo 5.3.8.236, Blümner1 330). Both campus (Prop. 2.10.2, Tac. Dial. 39, where see Gudeman, Cic. Top. 45 and Reid on Ac. Pr. 2.112, Quintil. 5.14.31, 12.9.2) and equi (‘chariot’, like ἵπποι; cf. Thes. s.v. 737.33 and often ||[89] Ovid,
e.g. AA 1.39–40) are common metaphors in literary contexts; see further Riedner 55, E. Norden Kl. Schr. 9 and Die Ant. Kunstprosa(1909) 1.33 n. 3, Schmid–Stählin 1.1.10 n. 3, G. Luck The Latin Love Elegy(1969) 136–9, W. Wimmel Kallimachos in Rom (Hermes Einzelschr. 16, 1960) 105 on the legacy of Callim. fr. 1.27. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: Wiseman Liverpool Class. Monthly 4, 1979, 132 links these ἁρματοδρομίαι with Juv. 1.60.]

20 MAGNUS AURUNCAE ALUMNUS i.e. Lucilius (154, 165), a native of Suessa Aurunca, as we are informed by Σ and Auson. Epist. 15.9 (p. 246 Prete).
To Martial also (12.94.7) Lucilius is the pattern of a satirist; he was popular at this time (Tac. Dial. 23.2, Quintil. 10.1.93), but of course Juvenal has special reasons for making him prominent in this poem, since he means to give his own writing an aggressive slant. He is portrayed as an epic hero (it is not likely that Juvenal is alluding to the well-known fact that Lucilius was an eques), driving a chariot and described in an epic periphrasis, as in 165 he is fighting against vice in a battle with epic fury (ardens infrenuit).

SI VACAT AC PLACIDI Ovid Fasti 2.17–18 ergo ades et placido paulum mea munera voltu / respice, pacando siquid ab hoste vacat (v.l. vacas). PLACIDI puts the reader in the position of a dedicatee (Ovid l.c. and ibid. 1.17), SI VACAT in the position of one invited to listen to a recitation (Hor. Epist. 2.2.95, Pliny Ep. 3.18.4); this is Juvenal’s ultio (cf. 1–4). Note that after the vague expectes and occurras he now becomes the rhetorician talking to a precise audience (admittitis).

RATIONEM My account of myself.

22 Ulpian Dig. 50.16.128 spadonum generalis appellatio est, quo nomine tam hi qui natura spadones sunt, item thlibiae thlasiae, sed et si quod aliud genus spadonum est continetur (though this juristic definition is not carefully observed in literary sources; RE spadon and suppl. 3.449.43, Dalle 121, Maass Rh. Mus. 74, 1925, 439). Marriage with castrate eunuchs was forbidden, but not with spadones, since they might be congenitally so (Kaser1 314, Hopfner1 396, Ulpian Dig. 23.3.39.1, SG10 1.280 (not in Eng. transl.), Dalle 261).

MEVIA dresses as an Amazon (nuda mamma cf. Verg. Aen. 1.492 and the bare-breasted huntresses of Artemis, Callim. Hymn 3.312–13) and participates in a venatio in the amphitheatre; cf. Mart. Spect. 6b, Dio Cass. 66.25.1 of the games of Titus in A.D. 80 (these women however were of low rank, whereas Mevia must be of some standing to be named thus by Juvenal). Women also appeared in the arena under Nero (Tac. Ann. 15.32, Dio 61.17.3). Cf. 6.246 sqq. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: For the exhibition of female gladiators at Ostia cf. Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Zevi, Mém. Ec. Fr. Rome 88, 1976, 612 and 617.]

TUSCUM There were many boars in the thick woods of Etruria, Stat. Silv. 4.6.10, Mart. 7.27.1 and 12.14.9, CEL 865 = CIL 14.3911.3; and this may well be where Pliny hunted, Ep. 1.6.1, 9.10.1. For the ornamental epithet cf. 8.15. [90]

VENABULA Probably not poetic plural; it was common to carry two spears
24–5 25 recurs at 10.226, as 10.365 = 14.315 and 13.137 = 16.41. In spite of the evidence for the omission of the couplet (which is not really impressive in quality), it is much more appropriate here than 10.225–6 are in their context, and its omission would upset the pattern analysed in the introduction.

PACRIOS is simply equivalent to nobles; on 4.102.

PROVOCET Sen. Ep. 120.19; cf. Juv. 6.376.

UNUS Probably Cinnamus, a barber dominae munere factus eques Mart. 7.64. If so it will be noted that by the end of A.D. 92, when this book of Martial was published, Cinnamus was in exile. The problem which Juvenal does not raise until 151 sqq. affects all the earlier part of the poem too, and before he enunciates his solution (170–1) he applies it.

GRAVIS SONABAT i.e. graviter; cf. Verg. Aen. 3.70 lenis crepitans with Williams’ note, Sil. It. 2.545 and 17.42–3, and perhaps Prop. 4.8.49 rauci sonuerunt ... postes, Stat. Th. 9.348; HS 172, KS 1.237. The beard rasped as it was clipped. The line is a parody of Verg. Buc. 1.28 candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat. Juvenal is no longer a iuvenis, and therefore no longer has his beard; so he is presumably older than 45, having shaved off his beard about the age of 40 (on 4.103).

26 PARS 8.44.

NILIAEAE For Juvenal’s dislike of Egyptians cf. 130–1, sat. 15 passim and p. 21.

VERNA ‘native’, a metaphor from home-born slaves. This was apparently a humorous slang usage (5.105, 9.10 q.v., Starr CP 37, 1942, 315), but has its sting applied to the low-born Crispinus (cf. 4.24 and 32).

CANOPI He was probably in fact a native of Memphis (Mart. 7.99.2), but the associations of Canopus (on 15.46) suit Juvenal’s purpose better.

27 CRISPINUS See 4.1–34 and 108–9. The name is held back until he has been thoroughly discredited.

TYRIAS On his fondness for purple dress cf. 4.31 and Mart. 8.48. Various emperors restricted by law the wearing of purple (RE 2012 and DS 778a s.v. purpura; SG 2.175 = 2.318; Marquardt 513–14; M. Reinhold History of Purple as a Status Symbol (1970) 55 n. 1), but fashion defeated law (cf. 7.134, 12.38–9); the old-fashioned Roman abhors it 14.188. Naturally Tyrian-dyed fabric was expensive. Lucian Nigrin. 21 describes the rich of Rome τὰς πορφυρίδας | τοὺς δακτύλους (δακτυλίους marcilius) προτείνοντες καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους (δακτυλίους Marcilius) προτείνοντες, and Martial mentions a branded slave turned knight cuius et hinc lucet sardonychata manus, / quaeque Tyron totiens epotavere lacernae (2.29.2–3).

REVOCANTE ‘hitching up’, cf. Serv. Aen. 7.612 lacinia a tergo revocata and (less precisely) Claudian In Rufin. 2.79. He does this probably not because he is unused to wearing rich garments, but (as with the waving of the ring) to attract attention (cf. Theophr. Char. 21 (μικροφιλοτημία). 8 ἀναβαλλόμενος (note the tense
according to the mss.) θοίματιον), with the particular point that the colour of Tyrian purple varied according to the light; Pliny NH 9.135 nigricans aspectu idem-que suspectu refulgens, ibid. 21.45, Sen NQ 1.5.12 purpuram Tyriam, quo melior est saturiorque, eo altius oportet teneas ut fulgorem suum teneat† (intendat Garrod), Macrobr. Sat. 2.4.14. Likewise the dandies at Amm. Marc. 14.6.9 (expectant) crebris agitationibus … ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant (see the whole passage).

LACERNAS See on 9.28; of purple RE s.v. 329.4 and Mart. 8.10.1, of gold Juv. 10.212; cf. Blümner1 215.

VENTILET to show it off; Apul. Met. 2.26 and Martial and Lucian quoted above. With this and SUDANTIBUS Juvenal is recalling Mart. 12.18.5 (see p. 2) addressed to him.

AESTIVUM per luxuriam enim anulos aestivos et hiemalis invenerat Σ et sim. Probus; a whim of this Egyptian dandy (cf. the winter and summer dinner-service at Athen. 6.230d and Prop. 4.8.37). This is the simplest and most pointed explanation; if even the summer ring is heavy, how much heavier must the winter one be? Gercke (Göttingen Gel. Anzeiger 1896.975), Duff and Gnilka (JAC 8–9, 1965–6, 177) take the adjective to be like matutino … amomo 4.108, nocturnae … amicae 3.12 (cf. also 6.118 and 523, 12.92, 14.131 etc.; KS 1.235, HS 161 §95b, Housman on Manil. 1.226); the meaning will then be that the heavy ring in summer makes his fingers sweat (which Roman gravitas should ignore; cf. 2.70–1) and he waves it in the air, but this is far less forceful. Crispinus seems to have been liable to perspiration (4.108).

AURUM Not the plain gold equestrian ring (7.89), since this one has a jewel (29), like a sealing-ring (68).

VENTILAE saevas urbis 3.8; Rome is unjust in rewarding and honouring the wicked (cf. 73–6). For PATIENS … INIQUAE cf. 5.3.

FERREUS 7.150; quis tam ferreus Cic. 2 Verr. 5.121, Lael. 87. Cf. the indignation of Palladas AP 11.340.

VENIAT From now on Juvenal speaks as if he were standing at the | [92] street-corner (63–4) watching the procession of corrupt passers-by; though this is not maintained in 55–7 and hardly in 58–62 (which might be used as an argument against placing 37–41 in that area).

MATHONIS A bucca 11.34; a bankrupt causidicus (see on 7.106) 7.129; also referred to by Mart. 10.46 and in other epigrams. For his lectica cf. 64 and 158–9; but it turns out to be poor support for Juvenal’s claim that the corrupt are unfairly rewarded, since in fact it is only empty show and its expense will bring him to bankruptcy (7 l.c.), like the recens sella at Mart. 2.57.6. For the name Mat(h)o see

33 IPSO i.e. *ipso solo* (cf. 136), as αὐτὸς often means μόνος. Some litters were large enough for two normal-sized people (*RE lectica* 1076.21, 1079.14; Blümner 1446), but Matho is grossly fat.

DELATOR None of the identifications proposed for this character can be right, and Juvenal probably had no specific person in mind, but simply thought in general terms of those who practised *delatio* under Domitian (cf. 35–6 and introduction).

MAGNI AMICI ‘important friend’ (cf. 4.20 and 74, 3.57, 5.14, 6.313). Cf. 3.116; Tac. *Hist.* 1.2 *quibus derat inimicus per amicos oppressi* and the narrative of Firmius Catus and Scribonius Libo *Ann.* 2.27–32.

34 ET connects *delator* and *rapturus*, as if it were *qui detulit et rapiet*; see index s.v.

QUOD SUPEREST DE NOBILITATE go together, cf. 3.259; Pliny *Pan.* 69.5 *si quid usquam stirpis antiquae, si quid residuae claritatis*.

COMESA Cf. 4.151–4 and 97; the *delatores* are like beasts feeding on carrion. Mayor is led into a misinterpretation by comparing 138, a different use of the word.

35 BAEBIUS MASSA and METTIUS CARUS (coupled as here Tac. *Agr.* 45.1) were notorious informers under Domitian; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.50.2, Mart. 12.25.5 (this book was published under Trajan, but Carus is named simply as the type of a *delator*), Ogilvie–Richmond on Tac. *Agr.* l.c., Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 7.33.4 and 1.5.3. The most famous victim of Carus was Herennius Senecio. Σ’s statements about their condemnation as a result of prosecution by Heliodorus seem untrustworthy.

PALPAT The metaphor is again that of soothing a carnivorous animal.

LATINUS A famous mime-actor (*archimimus* Marius Maximus in Σ on 4.53) often mentioned by Martial (cf. *RE* s.v. no. 3 and Juv. 6.44); for the name cf. on 8.197 (it became an inherited name, cf. on 6.63; *CIL* 14.2408 Aelius Latinus). Thymele (cf. 6.66, 8.197) was his female lead (Mart. 1.4.5); her name is derived from θυμέλη (*SG* [93] 4.260, not in ed. 10), for which cf. *RE* s.v. 702, Wissowa 464, *SG* 2.178 (not in Eng. transl.), Zucchelli (on 6.71) 55 (and for the ἱερὰ σύνοδος θυμελική at Rome cf. *RE* 5 A 2517). Suet. *Dom.* 15.3 mentions an occasion when Latinus reported the day’s news at dinner to Domitian, and Marius Maximus (quoted by Σ l.c. in a context dealing with delation) mentioned him as one of the *potentes apud Domitianum*. The evidence that he was a *delator* is therefore sparse, and we should bear in mind Heinrich’s proposal to alter *et* to *ut*. Carus will then be compared to Thymele in a mime, who, playing the part of an adulterous wife, is sent with a present by the apprehensive (6.44) adulterer, played by Latinus, to soothe the jealous husband’s suspicions.

SUMMISSA Of a confidential mission (Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1.105, 3.69); there is no need
to see an obscene meaning in the word.

37 SUMMOVEANT A word chosen for its ambiguity; it is the technical term for the clearing of the way for a magistrate by the lictors, and therefore means ‘push out of the way’ (cf. 3.124, Hor. Serm. 1.9.47), carrying on the picture of the street (cf. 63–4 and on 32); but it is also the technical legal term for ousting from a legacy ([Quintil.] Decl. 374 and jurists; VIR 5.710).

NOCTIBUS Nocturnal amours, as often (Lewis and Short I B 3, OLD 3c), cf. Apol. Apol. 97, [Quintil.] Decl. 2.7 noctium merita.

EVEHIT Hor. Odes 1.1.6. Phrases like in caelum evehere, which are very common, are used with implications of both glory (cf. 10.137) and happiness (Nisbet on Cic. De Dom. 75).

39 VIA with the genitive regularly means ‘the road to’.

PROCESSUS ‘advancement’, as often, and similarly procedere; cf. producere 6.609, provehere 16.57.

VESICA Contemptuously for vulva; cf. the confusion of urine and semen at Hor. Serm. 2.7.52, Pers. 6.73 with Henderson 50, RAC Genitalien 20–1 (but not Pliny NH 8.168; see the apparatus there). The retention of this phrase to the end intensifies its destructive effect.

BEATAE 67, 6.204; 14.210 shows how this meaning arose.

VETULAE This was how Otho prospered (Suet. 2.2); cf. also Lucian Rhet. Praec. 24. Martial’s Fabianus cannot algentes arrigere ad vetulas (4.5.6), cf. 11.87-3.

40 UNCIOLAM … DEUNCEM A hereditas was divided into 12 unciae (Justinian Inst. 2.14.5; the diminutive here adds a notion of contempt, a paltry twelfth), of which Proculeius gets one but Gillo (a cognomen of the Fulvii) eleven. The Romans used almost exclusively this duodecimal system of fractions, based on the fact that the as had originally been a pound; cf. Auson. Ecl. 7 De Ratione Librae, Hor. AP ||94 326–30, Colum. 5.1.8–12 (of land-measurement), RE Arithmetica 1114, Bonner 181, M. Voigt Sitzb. Sächs. Akad. zu Leipzig 56, 1904, 107.

41 Cf. Mart. 1.58.5–6; MENSURAM 9.34.

AD Cf. 6.358; QUISQUE should strictly be uterque (on 8.196).

PARTES appears to be governed mainly by the verbal notion implicit in heres, since the sense must be ‘each inheriting a share proportionate to the size of his penis’; but it is doubtless influenced by the common adverbial accusatives maximum partem etc. (KS 1.305–6).

42 I have argued in BICS 13, 1966, 38 that 42–4 are to be linked with 33–6, and that 37–41 have strayed from their place. The difficulties are three:

(1) MERCES SANGUINIS at 14.164 refers to literal blood, and though identical phrases can be used in different senses (cf. on 12.13–14, Housman on Manil. 2.617, Fordyce on Aen. 7.509, Madvig on Cic. De Fin. 2.64, Bömer on Ovid Met. 9.164 and 177), yet sanguinis poses a problem here. Metaphors comparing voracious lovers to bloodsucking leeches are not relevant; exsanguis applied to the washed-out
looks of the dissipated (Cic. Pro Sest. 16; cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 1.10.27–33) is also an inadequate defence. *Sanguis* sometimes means generally ‘energy’, but nowhere quite like this. Ancient medical and philosophical sources often reveal the belief that semen is a kind of blood, e.g. Lucr. 4.1036 (adduced by Prof. Bowersock) *vestem-que cruentent* of wet dreams (one should not press Petron. 139.4, where Chrysis says to Encolpius *nunquam finies hunc ignem nisi sanguine extinxeris*). But if the text is sound the reference is probably to the particular manifestation mentioned by Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9.18.9 (after repeated intercourse) τὴν δὲ προέσιν αὐτῷ τοῦ σπέρματος εἶναι κατὰ στράγγα, τελευτῶν δὲ εἰς αἷμα ἀγαγεῖν (reproduced by Athen. 1.18c); for Casanova’s experiences of this nature see his Autobiography vol. 4 ch. 4, vol. 7 ch. 10. However the following difficulties are graver.

(2) PALLEAT could well apply to *pallor* caused by loss of *sanguis* (cf. *exsanguis* adduced above), and is in fact often applied to the vicious (2.50, Mart. 1.77, Sen. *Dial.* 10.2.4 etc.), but the similes make it plain that here the pallor of apprehension is meant (cf. 13.223). If I am right that 42 originally followed 36 the sense will be that biting *delatores* have to fear that they may be finally bitten themselves (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.74.2).

(3) Who is the subject of *accipiat* and *palleat*? Gillo presumably, but that is harsh after the intervening *quisque*. One can hardly take a subject *quisque* out of a passing remark which is not an integral part of the preceding sentence but a mere epexegetis. [95]

I conclude that 37–41 have strayed from their original place because the scribe’s eye, instead of the *cum* of 37, caught one of the other occurrences of the word at the beginning of the line in this paragraph. They may originally have stood before the *cum* of 55 or 58; see introduction for the pattern of this paragraph. 40–1 will then form a parenthesis.


44 From the sublime (note that this is the only double simile in Juvenal) to the ridiculous. The altar to Rome and Augustus was set up by Drusus in 12 B.C. as the meeting-place of the *commune* of Gaul (Dio Cass. 54.32.1; *CIL* 13 p. 248), and as part of his θέαι (Dio 59.22.1) Caligula held a contest in Greek and Latin oratory there (Suet. 20), in which the vanquished had to fear among other punishments a ducking in the Rhone or a whipping. For Gallic rhetoric see on 15.111, 7.148 and 214.

45 SICCUM ‘fevered’.

IECUR The seat of bile; cf. 6.648, *viscera* 13.15 (where note *ardens*), *praecordia* 13.181. This association of the liver with anger and other emotions is common in Roman writers but rare among Greek, who generally link it with the vital functions (but sometimes with desire); cf. however λευκηπατίας Com. *Adesp.* 1072 K ‘lily-livered’. See Jastrow in *Studies Presented to C. H. Toy* (1912) 152; Onians 84–9;
Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.13.4; H.-L. Hagen *Die Physiologische und Psychologische Bedeutung der Leber* (1961) 41 and 44.

46 PREMAT The subjunctive seems necessary (see the apparatus).

GREGIBUS COMITUM Cf. 7.142, Mart. 2.57.5, Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.18.1, Lucian *Nigrin.* 13; i.e. *clientum* cf. 119, 3.284, 7.44 and 142, 6.353.

HIC … HIC Hardly the adverbs, since then we should expect *hinc … hinc*, but the pronouns ‘one … another’. The meaning is *hic qui spoliavit … hic qui damnatus est.*

SPOLIATOR PUPILLI Cf. 8.79, 10.222, 15.135; the same phrase Sen. *De Ben.* 4.27.5.


47 ET Housman thought *at* more lively, but it would seem to require either another verb, as at 3.246, or the interpretation of *hic* as the adverb.

HIC ‘refers not to Marius, who being in exile cannot be seen in the streets of Rome, but to some other criminal; then the instance of Marius follows to show what a farce even banishment is’ Duff. ||96|

48 ENIM explains *INANI*; the condemnation is meaningless because *infamia* on its own does not bring restitution (cf. 8.94, 14.153).


49 MARIUS PRISCUS was governor of Africa (cf. 8.120) in A.D. 97–8, and on his return was prosecuted and condemned first for extortion and then for *saevitia*; his condemnation on the latter charge early in A.D. 100 (which gives a *terminus post quem* for the dating of this satire) involved *relegatio* (Pliny *Ep.* 6.29.9) from Rome and Italy. See Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 2.11–12 passim, Garnsey 113 n. 4, Bleicken 163. EXUL therefore is intended in a general sense, not in the technical sense of *exilium* contrasted with *relegatio*. *Relegatio* would not necessarily involve confiscation of property (RSV 2.287, Brunt l.c. 202); cf. Suet. *Iul.* 42 *integris patri- moniiis exulabant.* Marius however, having been condemned for extortion, would have had to make restitution (Brunt 204), and he also had to repay to the *aerarium* a sum paid to him for corrupt judgment. Why then, unless Juvenal is simply stirring up *indignatio* without regard to the facts, is Marius so affluent and the province in such despair? Perhaps because he was not prosecuted by the whole province but by *una civitas publice* (evidently Lepcis) *multique privati* (Pliny *Ep.* 3.9.4), and therefore would have kept his gains from the rest; moreover extortion doubtless could not be proved in some cases. For the luxurious life lived by some exiles cf. Pliny *Ep.* 4.11.13 with Sherwin-White, Tac. *Ann.* 13.43, Dio Cass. 56.27.2;
EXUL then is emphatic and contrasts with the man in the streets of Rome 47–8; condemnation is inadequate, even exile is a farce.

AB OCTAVA BIBIT A well-behaved Roman would not commence the day’s drinking until the cena began at the usual hour, the ninth (RE cena 1895.42, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 70, Marquardt 298–9, Blümner1 385); diurnae potationes are condemned Apul. Met. 8.1.

FRUITUR DIS IRATIS A paradox, reversing the usual dis iratis (natus) (cf. 10.129); Sen. Herc. Fur. 33 (Junio of Hercules) superat et crescit malis / iraque nostra fruitur, Mart. 8.30.3 aspicis ut teneat flammas poenaque fruat.

50 VICTRIX i.e. quamquam vicisti; nominative and part of the predicate, not vocative. Vincere causam is a common forensic phrase, but here the victory is a Pyrrhic one.

PLORAS Cf. 13.134.

51 VENUSINA i.e. Horatian (Serm. 2.1.34–5).

LUCERNA Horace said that he started writing before day-break, Ep. 2.1.112–13 (vigil). Late (or early) hours were typical of writers, 7.27; Mart. 8.3.17–20 in a very similar context. Lucubrare and λύχνος (Plut. Demosth. 8.2, Praec. Reip. Ger. 6.1.802e) have similar associations. But Juvenal surely also suggests casting light in murky corners.

52 AGITEM in a double sense (1) ‘attack’, which suits what precedes (2) ‘deal with’, which applies to what follows.

MAGIS i.e. potius; 8.222 and commonly.

HERACLEAS, DIOMEDEAS For the form cf. Odyssea; generalising plurals. The same contrast between mythological epic and poetry in contact with life is made by Mart. 4.49 (though there tragedy may be envisaged) mentioning Icarus, and 10.4, also mentioning Icarus; cf. Pers. 5.17. It is unusual to have punctuation before such a spondaic ending; cf. 10.151. 50–2 show striking epic rhythms and diction until fabrum pricks the bubble.

MUGITUM LABYRINTHI In a Theseis (2); cf. Sen. Phaedr. 1171 Cresius / Daedalea vasto claustra mugitu replens / taurus biformis.

PUERO Icarus, MARE the Icarian sea, FABRUM VOLANTEM (3.25 and 80) Daedalus. PUERO is instrumental ablative (on 13), not dative of agent. Ovid Met. 8.159 Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis; but it is hardly dignified to refer to him outright as a faber, and to describe him as a ‘flying smith’ is plainly comical (cf. 10–11 for similar deflation of the grand heroes of mythology), meant to ridicule epic.

55 LENO The conniving husband; Ulpian Dig. 48.5.2.2 lenocinii quidem crimen lege Iulia de adulteris praescriptum est cum sit in eum maritum poena statuta qui de adulterio uxoris suae quid cepirit and ibid. 30 (29).3–4. A similar prosecution in the schools for lenocinum [Quintil.] Decl. 325; Ulysses is advised by Tiresias to
take this course with Penelope, Hor. Serm. 2.5.75 sqq.; further instances in Herter 75 nn. 95–6, Marquardt 78 (add CGL 6.739b s.v. ninnarus); cf. on 57.

ACCIPIAT … CAPIENDI Ulpian Dig. 50.16.71 capere, cum effectu accipitur; accipere, etsi quis non sic acceptit ut habeat; i.e. capere is used of legal heirs (cf. 9.88), accipere of the provisional possession of a heres fiduciarius who accepts a legacy as a fideicommissum to be passed on to someone else. But Juvenal hardly has this legal nicety in mind; the idea is not that the husband passes on the whole legacy to his wife (though this is the situation at Quintil. l.c. in previous note), but that he takes it and shares it with her. Here we have an instance of the common Greek and Latin idiom whereby a compound verb is resumed by the uncompounded form; cf. on 14.326, HS 790, Watkins HSCP 71, 1967, 115, Renahan CP 72, 1977, 243. See also the next note but one.

SI sit (PR) could be right as a paratactic jussive subjunctive used [98] in a hypothetical sense, but was probably generated via V’s sic (dittography); cf. BICS 14, 1967, 46.

SI … UXORI This could arise in several ways; e.g. under the provisions of the leges Iulia et Papia Poppaea if the husband had children by a previous marriage and the wife had none (on 9.87), or because of the lex Voconia of 169 B.C. (see on this RE s.v. 12.2418, Crook PCPS 19, 1973, 43, Mommsen Ges. Schr. 3.192, Kaser 684 and 756), according to which no citizen of an estate of 100,000 sestercies or more could make a woman his heir. Gellius 20.1.23 regards this law as obsolete, and the remarks of Gaius 2.274 may well be a fossil from an older text-book (cf. on 132), but Pliny Pan. 42.1 speaks of it as still operative. Note [Quintil.] Decl. 264 (entitled Fraus legis Voconiae) p. 79.12 ius illa quidem habuit capiendi.

56 SPECTARE LACUNAR He pretends to be deep in thought, cf. Lucian Dial. Mer. 3.3; Quintil. 11.3.160 intueri lacunaria (an unbecoming posture for an orator).

57 non omnibus dormio became a proverb from Lucilius’ story about a conniving husband nicknamed Pararhenchon (ap. Fest. 173 M; cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 7.24.1 and conjecturally Ad Att. 13.49.2; fr. 1223 Marx). A similar story was told about Gabba (5.4) and Maecenas’ liberties with his wife (Plut. Amat. 16.759f); cf. also Herter l.c. on 55 and Juv. 6.140. Lucr. 3.1048 vigilans stertis.

58 One who as a boy spent all his money in racing along the via Flaminia now hopes for an official position. CARET is past in sense, as if it were perdidit, and PERVOLAT is the common idiom of the present after dum (causal, explaining caret; on 6.176) in a past sense. He hopes for a praefectura cohortis sociorum (cf. 10.94), the first step in the militia equestris (7.88; Birley 133–53, Dobson in Domaszewski xxxiv; H. Mattingly The Roman Imperial Civil Service (1910) 64 sqq.), which was the preliminary to a career in the administrative civil service, with its lucrative and important posts of procurator; thereby he will repair his fortunes, squandered on the passion (in Juvenal’s eyes a vice) which he shares with Lateranum (8.147; cf. SG 2.24–5 = 2.29). ἱπποτροφία because of its expensiveness (11.195)
is reserved for the gilded youth. Juvenal evidently implies that this man who hopes for an equestrian career no longer possesses the equestrian census; this would suggest a criticism of laxity in the observance of the census rules, which would be an instance of the *iniquitas* (30) of Rome.

CURAM For the expression *curator cohortis* cf. Domaszewski 108.

DONARE of squandering Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.32.

DUM ... FLAMINIAM His ‘flight’ is in quick dactyls.

FLAMINIAM Sc. *viam*, a common ellipse. This road went north to Ariminum; Lateranus too uses a main road 8.146. [98]


62 IPSE underlines the degradation, cf. 8.148.

LACERNATAE Either he has put his cloak around her to protect her from the dust, or (which seems more pointed) this ‘fast woman’ has dressed as a man (like Dorkion in Asclepiades *AP* 12.161 = Gow–Page *HE* 904). Petron. 69 *lacernatus cum flagello mulionum fata egit*.

SE IACTARET AMICAE Livy 39.43.3 *iacontem sesse scorto*; Ovid *Her.* 12.175.

63 LIBET Though this is no longer possible (152).

MEDIO QUADRIVIO Where one can see both streets that cross each other.

CERAS Wax tablets (14.29 and 191 etc.), used for taking rough notes (Marquardt 801, Blümner¹ 468).

64 IAM SEXTA He is already carried in a *lectica* (or perhaps rather a large *sella*; cf. Mart. 4.51) *hexaphoros*, and will in all probability soon be carried in an *octaphoros* or *octophoros*; Blümner¹ 447, Marquardt 149, *RE lectica* 1065 and 1067.

SEXTA CERVICE i.e. *sex cervicibus* (HS 213, B. Löfstedt *Eranos* 56, 1958, 207). Cf. 6.351 *vehitur cervice* (‘shoulder’).

PATENS The opposite of *clausus* 124, 3.242, 4.21; cf. Sen. *Rem. Fort.* 16.7, Mart. 4.64.19, *RE* l.c. 1092.48, Blümner¹ 446.

CATHEDRA The seat in the litter; *RE* 1063, Blümner¹ 445.

66 MULTUM REFERENS DE M. ‘recalling much of (DE partitive; 1.137, 3.123, 10.28, 15.92, 14.323) Maecenas’, who became a by-word for luxury and effeminacy (12.38–9 etc.).

SUPINO Mart. 2.6.13 *deliae supiniores* etc.; but it also suggests sprawling in a litter (Lucan 9.588 *nulla vehitur cervice supinus*; Pliny *NH* 16.174 *supinarum in delicias cathedrarum*).

67 SIGNATOR FALSI The nominal form of *signare falsum* (Paulus *Dig.* 48.10.16.1–2, Ulpian ibid. 9.3 = *Coll. Legum Rom. et Mos.* 8.7.1, Mommsen² 671); cf. 8.142, Sall. *Cat.* 16.2. ‘When called in to attest a friend’s will by his signature, he has inserted a forged document in his own favour and signed it with his seal … *Falsum … must … mean here “a forged document”* ’ Duff. Cic. *Pro Clu.* 41 describes
such a fraudulent act.

LAUTUM ATQUE BEATUM Cf. Mart. 9.75.6. and on 39.

EXIGUIS TABULIS Cf. 12.125 breviter; he would only need to say Titius heres esto or Titium heredem esse iubeo, Gaius 2.117; cf. Kaser 687, RE Testament 1003. TABULIS see on 4.19. [100]

FECEERIT Subjunctive either because the relative is causal or because of attraction after feratur.

GEMMA Cf. 13.138, Ovid Ex Ponto 2.9.69–70; UDA so that the wax would not stick to it (Ovid Am. 2.15.16, Trist. 5.4.5–6, Met. 9.568).

69 OCCURRIT In the quadrivium; cf. 6.655.

MATRONA POTENS Hor. AP 116, Cic. Pro Cael. 62.

MOLLE The wine of Cales is κοῦφος Athen. 1.27a.

70 RUBETA This is probably the correct reading; it is unnatural in the extreme not to take VIRO as dative after PORRECTURA. The object of MISCEIT will now be Calenum, and SITIENTE will mean 'causing thirst' (cf. on 6.382 and 631. 7.206, 13.27 and 229; Griffith 379 adduces Ovid AA 2.231 sitiens Canicula, Calp. Sic. 5.49 sitientes aestus), though this is not elsewhere mentioned as a symptom of this type of poison. For the ancient belief that toads are poisonous cf. 6.659 (but hardly 3.44), Pliny NH 11.280, Aelian NA 17.12 etc.; RE Frosch 116–17, Keller 2.306; they have in fact venomous glands, but the poison would not be lethal to humans. PORRECTURA 5.67, 6.632 etc.

71 MELIOR LUCUSTA A superior (14.212) Lucusta, Nero’s poisoner; there may be an allusion to the fact that she took pupils (Suet. Nero 33).

72 PER FAMAM ET POPULUM Duff correctly explains this to mean ‘in the face of scandal and before the eyes of the people’, a zeugma. Per populum refers to the funeral procession on its way to the cemetery outside the walls, passing through the forum. One should not postulate a hendiadys for per famam populi (cf. 10.284).

NIGROS Ovid Met. 1.444, 2.198; pocula nigra Prop. 2.27.10, cf. Juv. 6.631. Dio Cass. 61.7.4 describes how the corpse of Britannicus was πελιδνός as it was carried through the forum (cf. per populum); he was a victim of Lucusta.

EFFERRE 6.175, 14.220 etc.

73 Sen. Oed. 879 nunc aliquid aude sceleribus dignum tuis.
ESSE ALIQUID Thes. aliquis 1614.49 and similarly εἶναι τι; 3.230 is different.

PROBITAS Sall. Iug. 14.4 parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est; Laus Pisonis 121 probitas cum paupertate iacebit; Pliny Ep. 2.20.12 in ea civitate in qua iam pridem non minora praemia, immo maiora, nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent (characteristically milder than Juvenal).

LAUDATUR Cf. 7.31, Lucan 8.485 dat poenas laudata fides. To see an implication of rejection in the word destroys the force of ET ALGET.

ET Simply ‘and’, cf. 2.3 and 20, 7.35; to translate ‘and yet’ (cf. on 93) ruins the irony.

ALGET Mart. 6.50
cum coleret puros pauper Telesinus amicos
errabat GELIDA sordidus in togula.
obscenos ex quo coepit curare cinaedos
ARGENTUM, MENSAS, PRAEDIA solus emit.

This passage also illustrates the relationship between 73–4, with probitas and criminibus in adversative asyndeton (so a colon would be best at the end of 74).

DEBENT The subject is left vague.


HORTOS Parks; 7.79, 10.16 and 34.6.488.

PRAETORIA Mansions, palaces; 10.161, Blümner1 77, Mommsen Hermes 35, 1900, 437 = Ges. Schr. 6.128.

MENSAS 137, 11.117 sqq.; those made of citrus wood were particularly expensive (Pliny NH 13.91 etc.), but some were also made of precious metal and jewelled (SG 2.203 = 2.351, Marquardt 723, Blümner1 124). They are coupled with silver as objects of luxury also Sen. Dial. 12.11.6, Mart. l.c. on 74 and 11.70.8.

ARGENTUM VETUS Silver plate, cf. 8.104, 12.43–7, 6.355, 7.133; the work of old masters was highly valued (SG 2.202–3 = 2.350, 206–10 = 354–60 with app. 49, vol. 4.278 = app. 24, 4.301; Marquardt 680, Blümner1 407).

ET Epexegetic, cf. on 3.48, 9.57, 11.49, KS 2.25; what follows refers to one particular silver cup with a goat embossed in high relief (cf. RE emblema). This should not be called ‘hendiadys’, cf. Kroll1 260. Mart. 8.51 describes a silver cup on which stat caper with a Cupid riding on it; Ovid Met. 5.80 altis / exstantem signis … cratera, 12.235 signis extantibus asper / ANTIQUUS crater. Athen. 5.199e mentions drinking vessels with a ζῷον περιφανές, evidently on the brim. Griffith G & R2 20, 1973, 79 takes the reference to be to a handle in the form of a goat.

Juvenal resumes his main theme after the indignant and ironical outburst of 73–6, which might be suitably enclosed in a parenthesis. This is abrupt and attempts have been made to soften it by transposition, but the passage has clear links as it stands. 69–72 are linked |102 to what precedes by the notion of meeting (occurririt) in the crossroads; the punishments of 73 are suitably introduced by the mention of forgery and poisoning, esse aliquid by lautom atque beatum
and *potens*; and the reaction on other people emphasised in 77–8 ( quem patitur dormire?) leads up to the poet’s reaction in 79–80. The only possibility worth considering is that there may be a gap after 76.

**NURUS CORRUPTOR AVARAE** She allows herself to be seduced by her father-in-law not for love but for money; CORRUPTOR could apply either to bribery (6.541) or to seduction (4.8, 6.233, 10.304). Cf. Sen. *Contr. 8.3 infamis in nurum* (also Fortunatusianus 1.6, *RLM* p. 85.24); Catull. 67.

**SPONSÆ TURPEÆ** Women who betrayed their fiancés even before marriage.

**PRAETEXTATUS** Still wearing the *toga praetexta*, not yet the *virilis* (cf. *bullatus* 14.5 and on 14.4), i.e. sixteen at most, cf. 10.308 (2.170, 11.155); such was Caligula (Suet. 24).

79 Quintil. 6.2.26 *quid est causae ut ... ira nonnunquam indoctis quoque eloquentiam faciat?*

**NATURA NEGAT** As it perhaps did to Lucilius, Hor. *Serm. 1.10.57–8*. The implication must be that with *natura* one writes better satire than with just *indignatio*; and, since the modesty is clearly mock-modesty (see introduction), Juvenal must intend to convey that he has both.

**QUALEMCUMQUE** Not perhaps of high quality (Catull. 1.9, Hor. *Serm. 1.10.88*); cf. Couissin *Latomus* 11, 1952, 287.

**CLUVIENIUS** Clearly some poetaster (with a rare name; *CIL* 5.5139, 6.15863), who plays the same part as Crispinus at the end of Hor. *Serm. 1.1*. *Cluviens* was conjectured by Schneidewin at *mart. 7.90.3*.

81–4 Having just ironically depreciated his verses, Juvenal now shows that he can write in the grand style after all (Hor. *Serm. 2.1.13–15* is rather similar) and deliberately misleads the reader as if, contrary to expectation, he were going to write epic (52–4).

**EX QUO** depends on AGUNT 85; ‘whatever men have been doing’ (for the present tense cf. HS 305, KS 1.117) ‘since ...’

**DEUCALION** So at 15.30 Pyrrha is the beginning of history (cf. Lucian *Rhet. Praec*. 20); the corruption of morals began then; Prop. 2.32.53–4, cf. Juv. 84.

**NIMBIS OVID** *Met. 1.261*, 269.

82 **NAVICIO MONTEM ASCENDIT** An oxymoron; the mountain was Parnassus in Ovid’s version, who speaks of Deucalion’s *parva ratis* 319 (Juvenal implies a bigger ship to make it more absurd) and his request for *sortes* 368, 381; this word was originally applied to oracles by lot (6.583) and then to any oracle. [[103]

**MOLLIA** Proleptic; the rocks grew soft and warm. This is from Ovid 400 *saxa ... ponere duritiem coepere suumque rigorem / mollirique mora mollitaque ducere formam*. 81–3 have been in fine epic style and rhythm, in spite of the ironical paradox in 82; then with 84 there is a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous, as if Pyrrha were a bawd.

85–6 Cf. 6.189
DISCURSU S as often is applied to the aimless activity of ardaliones, cf. *Thes.* s.v. 1369.59 and *discursare* Sen. *Dial.* 10.14.3, SG 1.211 = 1.246; so διαδρομή in Plutarch (see Wytenbach’s lexicon).

FARRAGO Mixed fodder given to cattle (White 215), with the same mock modesty as in 80. Juvenal probably wishes to hint at the grammarians’ derivation of *satura* either from a platter of mingled first-fruits called *satura* (with reference to which Diomedes GLK 1.485 mentions *COPIA* (cf. 87) *ac saturitate rei*) or from a kind of sausage of varied content by that name (*farcimen* Diomedes, perhaps Varro’s word; Juvenal will have associated this phonetically with *farrago*, which in fact comes from *far*). See C. A. van Rooy *Studies in Classical Satire* ch. 1 (1965), Coffey 12–16.

LIBELLI i.e. the collection filling Book 1, for which this poem (though written before the Fourth; see introduction there) was composed as a preface. A depreciatory (cf. 80) diminutive, cf. Pers.1.120.

87 ET In an indignant question (*Thes.* s.v. 890.68, HS 480, KS 2.6); 6.342 is not quite similar. It is typical of Juvenal that after expressing an intention (not seriously meant by him) to cover the whole range of human life, in the tradition of *satura* indicated by its etymology, he proceeds to concentrate on the *vitia* (cf. 149; *vitiorum copia* Sen. *Dial.* 10.12.8).

88 PATUIT SINUS The personified *avaritia* holds the folds of the toga wide open to receive her gains; cf. *sinum expandere* (Sen. *Ep.*74.6) or *laxare* (ibid. 119.1), *stipes* ... *sinu recepere patulo* (Apul. *Met.* 8.28). Money was regularly carried in the *sinus* (*gremium* 7.215, 14.327). MAIOR is predicative, ‘opened more widely’.

ALEA 8.10, 11.176, 14.4; theoretically this was illegal (Blümner 415, SG 1.218 = 1.256, Balsdon 154, RAC *Gesellschaftsspiele* 861, Väterlein 7, Marquardt 848, *RE* *lusoria tabula* 1910); but Carcopino 250 suggests that *horrenti* implies that Juvenal is thinking about the Saturnalia in winter, when the prohibition was relaxed.

HOS ANIMOS ‘<produced> such passion’; the identical ellipse (but with *hos animos* indicating pride) Lucan 8.541–3, Sen. *Tro.* 339. See index *ellipse*; the dactyls of 88.9 also convey excitement.

LOCULI 10.46, 11.38 (13.139); a small casket, contrasted with *arca* (see Blümner 130 for both), which in 11.26 is itself contrasted with *sacculus* (cf. Mart. 5.39.7 *loculosque sacculumque*). For the *arca* see on 13.74.

COMITANTIBUS Cf. *comites* 7.107; they are personified. Perhaps Juvenal thinks of them as *milites gregarii*, leading up to 91–2.

90 CASUM The fortunes of the gambling table (*τάβλης τύχας* Agathias *AP* 9.482.27), with a backward glance at the prime sense of the word in reference to the fall of the dice. Cf. *Anth. Lat.* 193.6.

TABULAE Sc. *aleatoriae*, the gaming-board; Austin *G & R* 4, 1935, 76; Blümner 412 n. 11, 414 n. 1, 415 and other refs. on 88.

POSITA indicates both that it is set down beside the gamblers, which goes well
with *comitantibus*, and also that it is staked (in which case too it would be put down).

### 91 PROELIA

Cf. *arma* 14.5 (there the dice; here the *arma* are coins) and elsewhere, *Anth. Lat.* 193.7–10.

### DISPENSATOR

Cf. *RE* and *DE* s.v. Marquardt 155, Blümner¹ 283, Crook¹ 187; cf. 7.219 and *CIL* 2.1198, 9.5177 *dispensator arcae*. Here the steward acts as the squire in battle.

### SIMPLEXNE FUROR

This may mean that it is *furor duplex* (but 14.284 *non unus furor* is not quite the same), first to lose the money, second to neglect the slave; or that it is not just madness and nothing else, i.e. it is more than madness.

**ET** 'and yet', cf. 7.35 and 124, 13.91; HS 481, KS 2.27. Slaves had a right to decent clothing (on 9.68), hence *red-dere*, give as their due.

### HORRENTI

Pers. 1.54 *comitem horridulum*.

### 94 QUIS (sc. *avus*) … VILLAS

On *aedificatio* see 10.225; 14.86–95, 140–1, 275; SG 2.193 = 2.340.

AVUS A man of the old days; *Thes.* s.v. 1611.77.

FERCULA … CENAVIT Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.34 *c. patinas*, Pers. 5.9 *olla … cenanda*. This is an inordinate number (Philo *Vit. Contempl.* 6.54); Augustus gave three courses (cf. Mart. 11.31.5–6, SHA 8.12.3) or at most six (Suet. 74), Trimalchio four (excluding *promulsis*, *mensae secundae* and *matteae*; see Friedlaender’s index to Petronius s.v. Gänge). Cf. Cato ap. Serv. *Aen.* 1.726 *et in atrio* (i.e. not *SECRETO*) *et duobus ferculis epulabantur antiqui* (a passage used also in Servius' note on 637). For *SECRETO* cf. 135–41; Val. Max, 2.5.5 *maximis viris prandere et cenare in propatulo verecundiae non erat*; Wistrand *Eranos* 68, 1970, 213.

NUNC is contrasted with AVUS, as PARVA with SEPTEM and LIMINE PRIMO with (QUIS) SECRETO. In the old days no-one dined lavishly on his own; now patrons do just that, and, not admitting their clients to their house and meal, merely distribute a paltry dole outside the door.

SPORTULA ‘dole’, literally ‘little basket’. Originally one of the [[105]] things which clients might expect from the patron in return for their attendance was an occasional invitation to dinner (132 sqq., 5.12 sqq.). When clients became too numerous for this to be practicable, it became usual instead to distribute food to be carried away in little baskets (*sportulae*); Pliny *Ep.* 2.14.4 *in media basilica tam palam sportulae quam in triclinio dantur* seems to allude to this, cf. Mart. 13.123 and Epictet. 4.10.21. Subsequently (first referred to by Columella and Seneca) it was found more convenient to distribute money instead (so in all Juvenal’s allusions; see on 3.249), usually 25 *asses* = *centum quadrantes* (120–1), and this distribution retained the name *sportula* (cf. the retention of the name πέλανος when the sacrificial cake had been commuted into money, Herzog *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 10, 1907, 205 sqq.); the terminology seems to have fossilised also, since SEDET suggests a real little basket, not the distribution of money. Domitian (Suet.
7) in public entertainments abolished the distribution of money and restored that of proper entertainment (recta cena; cf. Mart. 8.50); private patrons followed this lead for a while (so the allusions in Mart. Book 3, of A.D. 87–8), but money distributions soon returned.

The main sources on the sportula are Juvenal and Martial, whose last references to it are in Book 10; the second edition of that book was in A.D. 98, so there was probably a considerable time-gap before the appearance of this book of Juvenal. This may account for two discrepancies between them: (1) Martial refers to distribution in the evening, which would suit the original connection with the cena, Juvenal in the morning; or instead of supposing a change of custom we may infer that they refer to different people, Juvenal to those who only saw their patron at the morning salutatio, Martial to the anteambulones who attended him throughout the day until evening. (2) Juvenal (cf. 3.128) represents nobles, magistrates, well-to-do freedmen and women as receiving the dole, Martial does not (10.75.11 does not mean this); and Juvenal’s statements seem too direct to be dismissed as satiric exaggeration. It is clear from both poets that it was quite regular for one prominent man, presumably attended by his own clients, to attend the salutatio of another; probably it became customary for such to accept the dole as a mere formality, possibly passing it on to his own servants or clients. We should then have to suppose that Juvenal suppresses this to heighten the indignatio.

See in general SG 1.195 = 1.225 and 4.77 (not in ed. 10), Balsdon1 22, Marquardt 207 sqq. (211); RE clientes 53, salutatio 2066, sportula; Carcopino 174.

LIMINE PRIMO Cf. 100, 132; 3.124. [106]

TURBAE TOGATAE Mart. 6.48.1; the formal toga (cf. 119) had to be worn at the salutatio (3.127, 7.142), though otherwise it had to a large extent dropped out of use (3.172); cf. SG 1.197 = 1.228, Marquardt 259 and 553, Blümner1 213, Carcopino 175. Juvenal suggests the degradation of the national dress of the Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

RAPIENDA Sen. Ép. 84.12 speaks of the tumultuosa rixa of the salutatio.

97 TAMEN quamquam parva est.

ILLE The dispensator presumably; even satiric exaggeration could hardly put the patronus himself in this position. He speaks in 101 and 126. Mart. 13.123 implies the keeping of a list of clients. For the use of ILLE cf. on 10.179.

SUPPOSITUS Cf. 6.602.

99 AGNITUS and not until then (cf. 6.579); the concentration of expression is typical of Silver Latin. Cf. Pliny NH 29.19 alienis oculis agnoscimus.

101 TROIUGENAS 8.181, 11.95, cf. 8.56; in all cases ironically referring to the old families which claimed to have come with Aeneas. The word is found in an apocryphal (Latte 255) prophecy in Livy 25.12.5, then Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil.

VEXANT ‘infest’ cf. 7.130.
ET IPSI illi LK and some others, probably rightly.

NOBISCUM Juvenal identifies himself with the ordinary clients (cf. 159 and Mart. 10.10.3); but it would be rash to infer that he himself in historical fact was such. It is a bid to involve the reader, like te 37.

102 PRIOR Cf. 3.130; ADSUM = adveni.

NATUS AD EUHPRATEN Cf. 3.62–6 and 83; as far away as possible (8.51).

MOLLES (on 2.47) …. FENESTRAE Holes pierced for the ear-rings generally worn in the Orient; Tertull. De Pall. 4.2 aurem foratu effeminatus. The term fenestrae for this is of course a joke, and the freedman himself would not have used the word MOLLES (cf. 10.87–8).

ARGUERINT Potential, in sense no different from ārgūānt; cf. 2.24, 15.21, HS 333, KS 1.176, index verbs.


106 QUADRINGenta Sc. sestertia; 400,000 sesterces. This is probably capital which he has amassed, not yearly income, because (1) if it were yearly income it would naturally be quadriringena (cf. 5.132, 11.19, Nepos 3.3.1, Suet. Vesp. 18), even though not necessarily so, cf. Nepos 2.10.3 quinquaginta talenta quotannis (ibid. 7.9.3 there is [107] better authority for distributive numbers), (2) this is the amount of the equestrian census (14.326, 5.132; Mommsen1, 3.499, Stein 21 sqq., esp. 30 n. 2, Nicolet 57, Wiseman Historia 19, 1970, 71 sqq.), which is aptly contrasted with the following allusion to senatorial status; on both counts cf. 2.117, and for freedmen equites on 7.15. On the other hand if he is speaking of capital his claim to excel the wealth of Pallas and Licinus is yet more absurdly exaggerated (see on 109).

QUID CONFERT 8.94; 10.265, 302.

PURPURA MAIOR The broad stripe (latus clavus) of purple down the front of the tunic of a senator, implicitly contrasted with the angustus clavus of the equeites; cf. Stat. Silv. 3.2.124 with reference to a tribunus militum laticlavius and see RE clavus (2), Blümner 1 209, Marquardt 545.

107–9 A paratactic sentence; whereas C. is poor, I am rich.

CORVINUS This probably alludes to M. Valerius Messala C., cos. A.D. 58, whose circumstances were so reduced that Nero gave him a yearly pension (Tac. Ann. 13.34). When this pension terminated the family probably lost senatorial rank; no later members of it held any magistracy.

LAURENTI Where Pliny kept multi greges ovium (Ep. 2.17.3; see Sherwin-White and Sirago 229).

CUSTODIT CONDUCTAS A locator leases the sheep to Corvinus, who looks after them and shares the profit; cf. CIL 9.2438 = FIRA 1 no. 61 p. 327 conductores gregum ovioricorum with Sirago 147; Ulpian Dig. 19.2.9.4–5 grex (of goats) quem quis conduxerat; … quis vitulos pascedos … conduxit with Hartmann Mnem.2 44, 1916, 216 (arguing unnecessarily for conductus here with U, cf. 8.43 and Calp.
PALLANTE Pallas was a freedman of Claudius or his mother, and became rich as a rationibus under his reign (cf. Suet. 28, Dio Cass. 62.14.3); he amassed 300,000,000 sesterces (Tac. Ann. 12.53). See Oost AJP 79, 1958, 128. Juvenal shows up the claims of this freedman, who in spite of his alleged wealth is still keen to get a trivial centum quadrantes.

LICINIS People like Licinus (PIR² I 381; SG 1.38 = 1.40), a rich freedman (14.306, Pers. 2.36, Sen. Ep. 119.9, 120.19) who started off as dispensator of Julius Caesar and was emancipated by Augustus executing Caesar's will; he accumulated his wealth as procurator of Gaul 16–15 B.C. (Dio Cass. 54.21). For the combination of the general plural (on 2.3) with the precise Pallante see 10.108, 11.91; Amm. Marc. 28.1.39 Numae Pompillii similes et Catonem.

POSSIDEO Owen CR¹ 11, 1897, 399 thinks that the freedman with ||108 this word means only his holding of real estate, but 12.129 is against this (there is definition from the context at 3.141, 10.225, 14.159).

nec cedit honori or honore Verg. Aen. 3.484. SACRO (contrasted with sanctae divitiae 112) i.e. sacrosancto, the tribunate; HONORI i.e. the honoured official (Thes.. s.v. 2931.4), cf. 117, 3.178 and potestas 10.100. The tribunate no longer had any real power (cf. Tac. Ann. 13.28) but was still respected (Pliny Ep. 1.23.1–2 cui loco cedere omperet); Juvenal exaggerates this to denigrate the upstart.

NUPER So rapid has his rise been; cf. 3.83.

PEDIBUS ALBIS White with chalk (creta) or gypsum; when slaves were put up for sale on the catasta this distinguished imported slaves from verna, Pliny NH 35.199; cf. Westermann 98b = RE suppl. 6.1008, Blümner¹ 279, Marquardt 172, O'Connor TAPA 35, 1904, lxxiv.

QUI For the position of this cf. on 12.14, and for the tense of VENERAT on 9.96.

112 A similar complaint in Menander fr. 614. There was a recognised dea Pecunia at Rome; Augustine CD 4.21 and 24 (Pecunia dicta est dea quae dat pecuniam, non omnino pecunia dea ipsa putata est), 7.3 (cur obscurata est dea Pecunia?); Arnob. 4.9. All this is Varronian; R. Agahd M. T. Varronis Ant. Rer. Div. Libr. I, XIV–XVI 182–4. (XIV fr. 91 and 98). She did not however possess a temple (Sen. Dial. 1.5.2 does not mean this), but was only one of the indigitamenta.

FUNESTA PECUNIA The phrase has a different implication at Cic. Phil. 2.93; obscena Juv. 6.298.

HABITAT The second person apostrophe offered by Φ is less obvious (cf. 6.466) but could be due to nullAS or maiestAS.


Arnobius 4.1 lists Pax, Concordia, Victoria, Virtus; Augustine 4.21 Victoria
and Virtus, 4.24 Virtus, Concordia, Victoria; 7.3 Virtus; 4.20 Fides (XIV fr. 96–7 Agahd) with Virtus (fr. 94). All these had temples and/or altars (Varro regularly noted this), though they were, says Juvenal, less worshipped than money. R’s firma must be interpolated; Fama (Postgate) does not appear in these lists and had no cult.

116 CONCORDIA had several temples at Rome (the chief one being at the edge of the forum just at the bottom of the Capitol; Platner–Ashby 138, Nash 1 pp. 292–4). Σ explains thus: saturece ‘salutato nido’ non ‘templo’ and ciconia, quae contra templum Concordiae ex collusione (consilio codd.) rostri sonitum facit, and similarly Probus. The meaning will then be that a stork or storks had a nest in the roof of one of the temples of Concord (like the raven’s nest in the temple of Castor, Pliny NH 10.121–3), and that when passers-by hailed the temple, which Juvenal sarcastically calls a nest (implying either that it was smothered by nests or that it no longer served any other function and had fallen into neglect and disrepair; CIL 6.89 = ILS 3781 refers to repair of the temple of Concord, but seems to belong to a later date), the bird(s) replied by clattering the bill (Ovid Met. 6.97 crepitante ciconia rostro; Solinus 40.25 aves istas ferunt linguas non habere, verum sonum quod crepitant oris potius quam vocis esse). Concordia quae crepitat will then be an instance of the idiom discussed on 9.24, since it is not the goddess but the temple which is envisaged as ‘clattering’ (of course in prosaic fact the storks do it, cf. 3.16). If this explanation is wrong, we have no means of interpreting the line.

SALUTATO Vitruv. 4.5.2 aedificia deorum ita constituantur uti praetereunt possint respicere et in conspectu salutationes facere; Plaut. Bacch. 172, Ovid Trist. 1.3.34; cf. on 6.307, Appel 66 salutare deos, Santa Consoli Riv. Fil. 39, 1911, 416.

117 sqq. An a fortiori argument; cf. 2.65–6, Mart. 10.10.1–4 and 11–12. SED resumes after the digression 112–16; cf. on 15.38. SUMMUS HONOR Cf. on 110; the consul. RATIONIBUS Accounts; here income, at 6.511 expenditure. COMITES Clients cf. 46.

HINC e sportula, cf. Mart. 3.30.1–3.

HINC TOGA, CALCEUS HINC Chiasmus. For TOGA cf. on 96; CALCEI also had to be worn as part of Roman formal dress, like the toga (RE s.v. 1340.28 and 1344.65, Blümner1 224, Marquardt 589; cf. 3.149).

FUMUS i.e. firewood cf. 134. The ordinary fuel for heating at Rome was charcoal, which hardly smokes (Bagnani Phoenix 8, 1954, 23); but apparently firewood was sometimes at any rate used for cooking (cf. Hor. Serm. 1.5.80, Pliny NH 19.58, Dio Chrys. 7.105, Vitruv. 5.9.8, Apul. Met. 2.1), and, there being no chimneys (on 8.8), the rooms of the poor would be smoke-filled (Sen. Ep. 64.1, Epictet. 4.10.27). There was a special lignum acapnon (RE Heizung 2649.62 sqq.; Mart. 13.15).

DOMI Their wants at home, contrasted with the clothes to be worn foris.

120 DENSISSIMA LECTICA Cf. 13.215, 14.144.
CENTUM QUADRANTES The sum often mentioned by Martial as the standard amount of the sportula; cf. on 95.

LANGUIDA Cf. 3.233. She has to go in a litter because of her infirmity; whence we infer that the cost of hiring one (6.351 and on 9.143) was less than centum quadrantes.

CIRCUMDUCITUR They go the rounds of several salutationes; cf. 5.21 and περιέρχομαι Galen. Meth. Med. 1.1 (vol. 10.2 K).

123 PETIT ABSENTI uxori sportulam. NOTA may mean that the trick is familiar to the trickster himself, or that though it is well-known to others he gets away with it because of his skill (shown in asking his wife to pop out her head).

CLASAM See on 3.242; the SELLA (sedan-chair) is less luxurious than a LECTICA (litter) 120.

125–6 The most lively arrangement of this dialogue is to suppose that Galla ... caput is spoken by the husband, noli ... quiescet by the dispensator (97). The success of the trick rounds off the scene.

QUIESCET 'she'll be resting', 'we'll find that she is resting', 'she’s probably resting'; cf. HS 310–11, KS 1.142–3, Nutting Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil. 8, 1924–8, 205. See on 3.238–41, 9.45, 13.184, index verbs.

127 DISTINGUITUR Pliny Ep. 3.1.1; ORDINE RERUM Cf. Suet. Vesp. 21, Galen 10.2–3 K (Meth. Med. 1.1) and De Bonis Malisque Sucis 2.2 (CMG 5.4.2.394), and Martial’s account 4.8.

FORUM Legal business began at or before the third hour, cf. Mart. 4.8.2 exercet raucos tertia causidicos. The forum of Augustus had a statue of Apollo (Pliny NH 7.183), who has heard so many cases that he is as skilled as any barrister (cf. Mart. 2.64.8 and the statue of Lycus at Athens, Aristoph. Wasps 389 with MacDowell). In the porticoes on either side of the temple of Mars Ultor Augustus (Suet. 31.5) set up statues (TRIUMPHALES sc. statuae; cf. 8.143–4) of all the great Roman generals in triumphal robes, to which were added those who earned the honour under the later emperors (for Vespasian’s additions cf. RSV 2.592 n. 12); cf. Sage Historia 28, 1979, 192.

TITULOS The honorific inscriptions on the base of the statue (5.110, 8.69, Suet. Dom. 15.2); many of those from the triumphales survive (CIL i² pp. 186 sqq.; Inscr. Italiae 13.3).

130 Juvenal almost certainly means Tiberius Julius Alexander, a Jew by birth who became an apostate and eventually prefect of Egypt A.D. 66–70 (Turner JRS 44, 1954, 54 thinks that he was also praefectus praetorio). Presumably he gained the honour of a triumphal statue in recognition of his part in the Jewish campaigns of Titus in A.D. 70 (Joseph. BJ 5.1.6 = 45, 6.4.3 = 237; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Inscr. Gr. et Lat. de la Syrie 7 (1970) 4011), though it would really have been a reward for his early and vigorous support of Vespasian’s bid for the throne. See on him V. Burr Tiberius Julius Alexander ||111 (1955); Bastianini ZPE 17, 1975, 274; V. A. Tche-
rikover and A. Fuks *Corpus Pap. Iud.* 2 (1960) p. 188; Rey-Coquais *JRS* 68, 1978, 71. ARABARCHES is now regarded as identical with Alabarches and meaning a high customs official (J. Lesquier *L’Armée Rom. d’Égypte* (1918) 421–7, Burr 87 n. 4, Turner l.c., *Corp. Pap. Iud.* 1.49 n. 4, Sevenster 70). Alexander’s father had held this post, and so perhaps had he himself (Turner 59), but he had of course attained much higher distinction. Juvenal disparages him and, in his hatred of everything Egyptian, gives even this word a scornful flavour, leaving the reader to choose between the contempt attaching to *portitores* (on 3.31) and the feeling that a ‘Mogul’ (similarly applied ironically by Cicero to Pompey, *Ad Att.* 2.17.3; cf. Palladas *AP* 11.383.4) may be a great man in his own little fishpond, but should not win any respect at Rome. The disparagement is also imparted by NESCIOQUIS and AEGYPTIUS (cf. on 15.126 and Tac. *Hist.* 1.11 *Aegyptium … regebat tum Tiberius Alexander, eiusdem nationis*); he pushes himself at Rome like the foreigner of 102.  

131 NON TANTUM MEIERE *sed etiam cacare*; this elliptical use of *non tantum* is quite common in Silver Latin, and conveys euphemism as here at Ovid *Am.* 1.4.63, 2.5.59. This was a danger to which statues were exposed; 6.309, Petron. 71.8, *CIL* 3.1966, Sittl 100, Fehling 34, *RAC Genitalien* 21, Lebek *ZPE* 22, 1976, 288.

FAS EST Whereas with an emperor’s statue this would be treason (SHA 13.5.7).

132 Juvenal suddenly passes from the law-courts to the dinner-hour, though 127 suggested an intention to go through the events of the whole day in systematic order; even if we assume that the whole day is spent in court, the bath at least has been omitted (and clients attended their patron there) and the absence of *vespere* makes the transition abrupt. It has been claimed that 6.474 sqq. show a similar negligence, but I deny this (see pp. 221–2). A. Hartmann *De Inventione Iuvenalis* (1908) 26 took 126–31 to describe the day’s occupations not of the poor clients but of the *nobles* of Rome; first they attend the levée of some rich old woman (cf. 3.128–30), then proceed to their legal business (as praetors or tribunes 101) beside the triumphal statues of their ancestors (cf. 8.143–4) now defiled by an upstart. Then he took 132 to refer to the departure of the clients, not in the evening but after the *salutatio* in the morning. But this defence fails for two reasons: (1) if *forum ... triumphales* refers to the activities of *nobles*, the irony of *pulchro* is ruined, (2) all the expressions of 132 sqq. (especially *lassi* and *longissima*) are much more suitable to the evening, I conclude that Housman was right to postulate a gap after 131.

VESTIBULIS The *vestibulum* (7.126) of a Roman house was outside ||[112] the front door, and this is where the clients would wait in the morning and after the day’s attendance (Sen. *Dial.* 6.10.1, Gell. 16.5.9 etc.); cf. Blümner1 13 n. 7, Marquardt 224 sqq., *RE Römisches Haus* 983, Paoli 59, Wistrand *Eranos* 68, 1970, 196. Shortly after this *vestibula* disappeared from houses (Gell. l.c.); the mention of them by Paulus *Dig.* 10.3.19.1 is presumably a legal fossil (cf. on 55).

VETERES CLIENTES Those who have long been clients, cf. 5.13 and 64; so 3.1, 6.0.30, 7.170, 9.16.
VOTA 5.18; CENAE SPES 5.166.

LONGISSIMA Stat. Th. 1.322 spes anxia mentem / extrahit et longo consumit gaudia voto; 11.671.

134 CAULIS Vegetables were the staple food of the lower classes at Rome; cf. 3.293, 5.87, 11.78–80, Lucian Saturnal. 21, Marquardt 298, Blümner1 160.

IGNIS Cf. 6.3 and on 1.120.

EMENDUS They must use their centum quadrantes to pay for the food which they had hoped to have provided free in the patron’s house. Even married men (cf. 122) normally did the shopping, Carcopino 185; it is not apparent what their families would have eaten if the patron had invited them.

135 Juvenal now returns to the point of secreto 95, taken up by TANTUM IPSE 136, UNA 138, SIBI 140. Hirst 66–7 = AJP 45, 1924, 277–8 points out the chiastic order of secreta cenavit (A), sportula (B), primo limine (C) 95–6 and vestibulis (C), caulis emendus (B), tantum ipse iacebit (A) 132–6. For chiasmus see my remarks Hermathena 118, 1974, 18.

The patron is accused of μονοσιτία or μονοφαγία, a severe reproach (cf. 13.46) among the sociable Greeks and Romans with their ΣΥΜπόσια, CONvivia (141; cf. on 5.161); cf. Cic. Cato 45, Ad Fam. 9.24.3, Plut. Lucull. 41 and Quaest. Symp. 7 pr.

SILVARUM e.g. boars (141).

VORABIT Not just edet.

REX Cf. 5 passim, 7–45 (8.161). This use is as old as the early writers of comedy, who here innovated on their Greek originals (E. Fraenkel Plautinisches im Plautus (1922) 191 sqq. Elementi Plautini (1960) 182 sqq.; Harsh CP 31, 1936, 62; Classen Historia 14, 1965, 392; Shipp Antichthon 11, 1977, 7).

VACUIS TORIS Cf. 5.17; IACEBIT 8.173 (5.169).

137–8 These lines are best punctuated as an explanatory parenthesis. The patrons (a remarkable and harsh change to the plural; see index variation) only use one out of (for DE cf. on 66) the many fine tables that they possess; cf. 75, 11.122 and the context (esp. on 117), Plut. Lycurg. 10.1 (where he is thinking of present-day habits) [113] and the context with mention of hot baths etc. Seneca is said (Dio Cass. 61.10.3; the doubts of Blümner1 125 n. 4 seem to be unjustified) to have owned 500 tables; Martial 7.48 mentions 200, 9.23.5 100. With LATIS cf. the dimensions in Pliny NH 13.92–3; with PULCHRIS Cic. 2 Verr. 4.37 maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citream. They were called orbes because horizontal sections of the tree were used; these displaced the square table which had been usual. Cf. Blümner1 124–5, Marquardt 307 and 723.

ANTIQUIS cf. 76, Pliny NH 13.92, Sen. Dial. 9.1.7; i.e. from the Ciceronian (cf. on 15.109) and Augustan ages, when this passion started (Pliny l.c. 102).

COMEDUNT PATRIMONIA Cic. Pro Sest. 111 etc., Mart. quoted on 140; similarly κατεσθίειν.

139 PARASITUS i.e. cliens; but irony mingles with sympathy at his way of life,
hence the contemptuous Greek-term (cf. 14.46).

140 LUXURIAE SORDES An oxymoron. Pliny Ep. 2.6.7 luxuria et sordium novam societatem.

GULA Mart. 5.70.5 o quanta est gula centiens comesse! A boar is served up for only one at Mart. 7.59, cf. Juv. 5.116.

141 APROS, ANIMAL A generic singular in apposition, cf. Livy 5.47.3, Ovid Met. 15.20, KS 1.21 and Friedlaender’s note.

NATUM A common use even of inanimate things; Sen. Ep. 84.4 animal huic rei genitum.


TU can mean ‘one’ (on 2.61), and the plural subitae mortes 144 postulates this; but here Juvenal also intends the reader to recognise with a shock that the criticisms apply to him.

DEPONIS AMICTUS In the apodyterium.

143 ‘The natural and ordinary time for bathing was just before the cena, but the gluttons of this time had discovered that digestion was temporarily promoted by the unhealthy practice of bathing in very hot water immediately after the meal’ Duff; cf. Celsus 2.17.2, Galen 7.702–3 K, Plut. De San. Tuend. 11.128b, Marquardt 290, Blümneri 435. A resulting apoplexy is vividly described by Persius 3.98 sqq., a passage (beginning TURGDUS hic epulis atque albo ventre and introducing nemesis with HINC 103) which Juvenal has in mind; cf. also Cic. Ad Fam. 9.18.3–4 plurès iam pavones confeci quam tu pullos columbinos … sitius est hic cruditate (mori) quam istic fame (the point of this is that peacocks were regarded as indigestible; Galen De Alim. Fac. 3.18.3 = CMG 5.4.2 p. 356; Oribasius Coll. Med. 3.18.5 and Synopsis ad Eust. 4.17.3 = 1.80.16 and 5.134.1 Raeder) and Lucr. 6.799–801.

CRUDUS … PORTANS So Rasi Berl. Phil. Woch. 24, 1904, 766. I 114 have supported this reading BICS 13, 1966, 38 (cf. Owen. CRII 11, 1897, 400). If we read crudus … portas it is excessively awkward to construe deponis et portas rather than turgidus et crudus; against crudum … portas is the fact that outside technical medical writers crudus applied to food means only ‘raw’ (cf. 15.83), and ‘undigested’ is conveyed by imperfectus 3.233. For the reading advocated cf. crudis (‘sufferers from indigestion’) 6.203, Persius’ albo ventre, Hor. Epist. 1.6.61 crudi tumidique lavemur. On the other hand it must be admitted that ‘undigested peacock’ would be better than ‘peacock’ in this context.

PAVONEM This was introduced as a delicacy in Ciceronian times (cf. above); see RE Pfau 1417, SG 2.165 = 2.308, Blümneri 179, André 134–5.

144 If INTESTATA has its normal sense ‘intestate’ (3.274) it makes nonsense of the line. Juvenal can mean either that the gluttons are cut off in their prime and never reach old age, or that they die before they have made their will, but not that they reach old age without making their will. On these lines it would be necessary to interpret the verse to mean hinc subitae mortes intestatorum semen
(so Friedlaender), cf. Ovid AA 2.27.1 *spes mortis et orba senectus*; but linguistically this is only just tolerable and fails to explain why these old men have not made their wills. Housman CR 1, 1899, 432 = Coll. Papers 489 therefore understands *TESTATA* to mean *adeo invisitata ut teste careat*, but it is very unlikely that Juvenal would have used the word in this sense (the adverb *intestato* is employed much less harshly by Pompon. fr. 113). It must therefore be corrupt, and the least implausible solution, though it is rather weak, is *intemptata* (which scribes would have spelt *intentata*), Corelli CR 1, 1905, 305; cf. *rara senectus* Mart. 6.29.7.

145 IT ‘However 144 is interpreted and however 145 sq. are punctuated, *et* is no proper link between the general statements in 144 and the statements about one individual in 145 sq.’ Housman xix. Monosyllabic forms of this verb are often avoided; in conformity with the general tendency for short words to be replaced by longer, they are supplanted by forms of *vado* (cf. 2.131) and *ambulo*, as may be seen in the conjugation of French *aller* (see Löfstedt 2.38–41, Wackernagel KL Schr. 1.182). Elsewhere Juvenal uses only the challenging *i nunc* and *i* similarly on its own 10.166 (q.v.). However it is often enough first word of the line (Ingvarsson *Eranos* 47, 1949, 165, who says that Juvenal does not use this).

FABULA CENAS Cf. 11.1–5; fabula is the ordinary term for gossip, cf. Suet. Dom. 15 *idque ei cenanti a mimo Latino … inter ceteras diei fabulas referetur*. [115]

DUCITUR FUNUS 10.240.

IRATIS PLAUDENDUM … AMICIS Whereas normally a funeral would be *plangendum*, here the ‘friends’ (an ironical concluding ἀπροσδόκητον, cf. 5.173 and p. 21) are disgruntled because they recollect his mean treatment of them while still alive, 132–41 (see Housman l.c. on 144).


148 FACIENT CUPIENTQUE A paradoxical climax, unappreciated by the prosaically-minded scribes who inverted the order; even their desires can’t go beyond ours.

149 IN PRAECIPITI Above a sheer descent (Sen. Ep. 23.6 *in praecipiti voluptas <stat>, ad dolorem vergit nisi modum tenuit*). Housman CR 1, 1903, 466 = Coll. Papers 613 interprets this to mean ‘has come to a halt at the cliff’s edge’, i.e. has gone as far as nature allows. Kidd CQ 2, 1964, 103 (and before him to similar effect Copley AJP 62, 1941, 221) punctuates *minores. omne … stetit*; utere and interprets ‘every vice has now taken up a position in danger’, i.e. because society is now as vicious as it can be, vice is particularly vulnerable and exposed to attack (cf. Gell. 9.15.5), so I shall attack it.

UTERE … PANDE Juvenal exhorts himself to use all the resources of the grand style. The nautical metaphor is common of writers (Bramble 166–8, Riedner 57, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 1.4); e.g. Pliny Ep. 8.4.5, Libanius *Ep.* 106 πέτασον τὰ ἱστία τῆς νεώς, Quintil. 6.1.52 (cf. Bonnell’s lexicon s.v. *velum*), Cic. *Or.* 75. Cf. Pliny Ep. 6.33.10 *dedimus vela indignationi.*
DICAS This is the preferable reading; as opposed to four subjunctives, forsitant has the indicative in Juvenal only at 14.295–6, and forsant at 12.125, the future indicative being inevitable in both cases, and the indefinite second person would in any case favour the subjunctive (cf. forsitant quispiam dixerit). 150–7 is an occupatio; cf. 8.163 and p. 31.

151 Ovid Trist. 2.335–6, Ex Ponto 2.5.26, Am. 3.1.25 materia premis ingenium.

152 ANIMO FLAGRANTE Cf. 165; SIMPLICITAS παρρησία.

153–4 Juvenal makes his interlocutor speak from the mouth of Lucilius (165). The quoted words are epexegetic of ILLA; the question mark should be placed not after simplicitas, but thus: ... an non?” (Griffith3 381, who compares 9.38–9). We cannot tell whether Juvenal is using an actual passage from Lucilius; if so, he has made some change, since Lucilius could only scan audeò.

154 Pers. 1.114 secuit Lucilius Urbem, / te, Lupe, te, Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis. Book I of Lucilius attacked Lupus (whom Juvenal cannot name in this context, since he was probably dead when Lucilius [116] wrote that book), II described the trial of Q. Mucius Scaevola Augur, cos. 117 B.C. and son-in-law of Laelius. However Cic. De Or. 1.72 speaks of Lucilius as no more than subiratus at him. Yet it is hardly necessary to assume either that Persius and Juvenal, neither of whom can be supposed to have been ignorant of Lucilius, made a mistake, or that Lucilius somewhere attacked P. Mucius Scaevola cos. 133 B.C., an opponent of Lucilius’ friend Scipio Aemilianus.

DICTIS as often means ‘jests, sarcasms’.

155 PONE ‘describe, portray’, cf. Pers. 1.70; a metaphor from painting and sculpture. This is a paratactic condition.

Ofonius TIGILLINUS or Tigellinus was a favourite of Nero who became praefectus praetorio in A.D. 62, and in that capacity will have been responsible for punishing the Christians for arson in 64 (see below). The interlocutor means ‘if you pillory a prominent man, you will be punished’, but a problem is caused by naming a specific exemplum, because then the person ought to be someone alive at the moment if he is to inflict punishment. This however would run into the very difficulty which Juvenal is trying to avoid. Therefore with his mind already running on the solution of 170–1 he names a prominent villain from the past. Cf. on 24–5.

LUcebIS was corrupted to lucebit because the subject was taken to be Tigillinus.

TAEDA Lucr. 3.1017; Tac. Ann. 15.44.4 of the Christians (the text is doubtful in detail) ut ... flammandi atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis uerentur (a penalty for arson). Cf. on 8.235 (vestis ex carta facta pice inlita Σ there); Juvenal will be burnt alive.

156 They are bound upright and immobile to the stake.

GUTTURRE as against pectore ‘is ... superior palaeographically, as the less common word, and superior in sense, because to fasten a victim by the throat involves
less trouble, consumes less material, and causes more discomfort, than to fasten
him by the chest’ Housman xix. Sen. Ep. 14.5 uncum et adactum per medium homi-

cum qui per os emerget stipitem seems to favour gutture but is probably not part
of the torture by the tunica molesta, and Pliny Pan. 34.3 certainly does not refer
to it. Pectore is probably due to a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. 7.457 or i.44; cf. the
variants at Ovid Met. 6.236.

SULCUM (cf. 7.48) traced in the sand as the victim’s body is pulled away by
the hook; cf. Lycophron 268 λευρᾶς βοώτης γατομόν δι’ αὐλακος of the furrow
left in the sand by the dragging of Hector’s body. Grammatically it is perfectly
possible to understand quae from qua as the subject of deducit (cf. 15.170, HS 565);
then one will understand that the melted pitch flowing down makes a furrow in
the sand. But this does not suit LATUM. Clausen HSCP 80, 1976, [[117] 181–3 thinks
(possibly rightly) that the phrasing of Verg. Aen. 2.694–8 was sticking in Juvenal’s
mind, and argues that ‘ranged in a long row … the blazing victims would seem …
to make a broad furrow of light’. But ‘make’ here is evasive, as DEDUCERE must
refer to the actual act of tracing a furrow, and TAEDA hovers uncomfortably be-
tween a singular and a plural notion. Housman must be right in supposing a line
lost after 156 with a subject like cadaver.

Suet. Cal. 27 Atellanae poetam … media amphitheatr harena igni cremavit. On
the uncus probably mentioned in the lost line cf. 10.66, 13.245; Pliny Pan. 33.3 unco
et ignibus; Sen. Dial. 5.3.6 circumdati defossis (I cannot see that this word is of any
assistance in interpreting SULCUM) corporibus ignes et cadavera quoque trahens
uncus; Philostr. Apollon. 8.15.

158 DEDIT cf. on 13.186.

ACONITĂ 6.639, 8.219, 10.25; cf. RE ἄκόνιτον and Kaufman CP 27, 1932, 162.

VEHATUR (3.239) … DESPLICAT Either deliberative subjunctives or future
indicatives (see the apparatus) would suitably convey the indignation; cf. on 3–4.

PENSILIBUS PLUMIS Cf. Marquardt 724 and 737, Blümner1 116 and 446, RE
plumae; the down cushions (6.88, 10.362) in a litter seemingly suspended high in
the air as one looks up from beneath; both cushions (SG 2.142–3 = 2.281) and litter
are a luxury, cf. 32, 64 and on 6.353. For pensilis cf. 7.46 and Sen. Ep. 80.8 quos
supra capita hominum supraque turbam delicatos lectica suspendit; it may alter-
natively mean ‘piled deep’ (molles according to Servius Aen. 8.666), but despiciat
favours the other explanation.

160 DIGITO COMPESCE LABELLUM [Quintil.] Decl. 18.3 cludat ora, com-
pescat aditus. Cf. Sittl 213 n. 4, 54 n. 7, Thes. 5.11124.38.

161 If you say ‘this is the man’ (i.e. about whom we were talking), it is taken for
granted that the remarks made about him have been unfavourable. Of course to a
man with a clear conscience it is flattering to know that people have been talking
about him; hic est in this context Ovid Am. 3.1.20, Pers. 1.28, Mart. 5.13.3.

VERBUM ‘a single remark’; Lewis and Short s.v. II A.
162 The interlocutor advises what Juvenal has rejected 52 sqq., to write an Ae- 
neid or Achilleis or Argonautica (or Hylas could come into a Heraclea, cf. 52).

COMMITTAS The word is applied to pitting gladiators against each other (cf. 
6.436). The writer is spoken of as doing what he describes being done; cf. on 7.151 
and Kassel Rh. Mus. 109, 1966, 9, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 2.1.18, Cairns CQ² 
21, 1971, 207 n. 1, ||118| Shackleton Bailey on Cic. Ad Att. 9.2A.3, Gronovius Diatribe 
Stat. ch. 22 and e.g. Plaut. Cas. 66, Pliny NH 21.13.

RUTULUM 7.68; FEROCEM Aen. 12.19.

HYLAS raptus Hylas Mart. 10.4.3 (see on 52).

PERCUSSUS ACHILLES i.e. percussio Achillis; see index 
nouns.

SECUTUS Into the pool; a humorous expression (cf. 10.58).

164 English idiom would preface this line with ‘but’.

ENSE (a generally poetic word not used elsewhere by Juvenal) ... STRICTO 
Cf. Hor. Serm. 2.1.39 sqq.; one may guess that Lucilius himself used the image. It 
suits his portrayal as an epic hero (cf. on 20), like Mezentius ardens, Aen. 10.689, 

AUDITOR As if Lucilius were raging aloud.

FRIGIDA MENS EST Lucr. 3.299 (of timid deer).

SUDANT sc. cui; cf. 13.220: PRAECORDIA cf. 14.35; for the penalties of con-
science cf. on 13.192 sqq.

168 hinc illae lacrimae Ter. Andr. 126, which became proverbial; Cic. Pro Cael. 
61, Hor. Epist. 1.19.41 (cf. on 1).

IRA ‘The singular ira, not the plural irae, is the just and proper counterpart to 
the plural lacrimae, which is of another nature’ Housman xix.

Lucil. 1017 (Book 30) nonne ante in corde volutas? Griffith (see introduction) 64 
sqq. puts this in a context of dialogue in which Lucilius defends his abusiveness.

169 ANTE TUBAS Verg. Aen. 11.424, Sil. 9.52, Stat. Th. 6.147. The metaphor of 
ense 165 is carried on; cf. 14.243, 15.52. For ANTE see on 15.99.

GALEATUM See on 8.238.

DUELLI One of Juvenal’s striking archaisms (on 4.29). Apart from archaic 
writers it is found in Horace, who evidently tried to popularise it, once in Ovid 

170–1 For the difficulties involved in mention of contemporaries in other 
genres cf. Cic. Ad Att. 12.2.2, Tac. Ann. 4.33.4, Pliny Ep. 5.8.12, C. A. Behr Aelius 
Aristides and the Sacred Tales (1968) 95 n. 5.

FLAMINIA For this road and its tombs cf. on 61 and CIL 6.2120, RE suppl. 
13.1549, Ashby and Fell JRS 11, 1921, 134 sqq.; the Via Latina (cf. 5.55) branched 
off from the great south road, the Via Appia (T. Ashby The Roman Campagna² 
(1970) 153). Cf. Blümner 1 505, Marquardt 361–3 (where one reference should be 
corrected to Varro De L. L. 6.49), SG 3.309 = 3.326. Burial within the city of Rome 
was normally forbidden, and burial by the side of main roads (cf. 8.147) was very
common, the reason being that, as Roman religion afforded little solid hope of a satisfying after-life, compensation was sought in the survival of memory and reputation, and this could be ensured by placing an inscribed tomb where passers-by could read the inscription; hence epitaphs often address them (Lattimore 229–47). See Cumont’s 53; the Via Appia is still noteworthy for the tombs by its side. Σ explains viae in quibus nobiles sepeliebantur, but quite humble people were buried there too; Juvenal simply means the dead in general, as contrasted with the living (in fact he often speaks of the dead as if they were still alive, e.g. 8.39, 13.157). On those attacked by Juvenal see SG 4.318 (not in ed. 10); some of those attacked by Horace too were dead (Rudd CQ2 10, 1960, 164–6 = Satires of Horace 138). So the rule to Juvenal is de mortuis nil nisi malum (Otto mortuus 3 with Nachträge 42, 189)! For mention of (but not attacks on) contemporaries see on 13.98.
Satire Two

The general theme of this satire is homosexuality and effeminacy, but the train of thought is not organised on a systematic and logical plan. The poem begins as if its main subject were to be hypocrisy, and the first paragraph (1–35) is directed against philosophers who preach morality and live a life of immorality and homosexual dissipation; this paragraph is marked off as a unit by the technique of ring-composition (see index s.v.), with fictos Scauros and castigata (34–5) recalling Curios simulant (3) and castigas (9). The philosophers in question are Stoics (65; cf. on 5–7 and 20); the members of this sect, professing austere doctrines (though Sen. Ep. 123.15 shows how some attempted to justify dissipation), were all the more open to criticism when they failed to live up to them. Attacks like those of Juvenal are not uncommon. There are several in Quintilian (1 pr. 15; 12.3.12, where see Austin’s notes) and Martial (1.24, 9.27, 9.47; incidentally 7.58.9 habet tristis quoque turba cinaedos; others are referred to in the notes; for a predecessor in epigram see Lucilius AP 11.155 with Brecht 18) which in their vocabulary resemble Juvenal, though in these authors such attacks are probably due to some extent to Flavian hostility to philosophers and Domitian’s expulsion of them (see Austin xiv sqq.; Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 3.11.2 and appendix iv pp. 763 sqq.). Lucian often expresses similar views (R. Helm Lukian und Menipp (1906) 40; J. Bompaire Lucien Écrivain (1958) 486–7), and from an earlier period Lactantius Inst. Div. 3.15.8 sqq. quotes Cic. Tusc. 2.11–12 (videre licet multos (philosophos) libidinum servos; cf. on 5), Nepos fr. 39 Marshall = Cic. Ep. vol. 3 p. 153 Watt, Seneca Exhort. fr. 18 Haase. Compare also SG 3.239 = 3.265; the Historia Augusta quoted on 96; and the bronze vase mentioned by Helm 42 n. 2 which ‘shows us austere philosophers engaged on their researches; on the cover we see the same philosophers pursuing the homosexual tastes ascribed in Lucian to the sage who had taken her lover from Drose’ (A. D. Nock Conversion (1933) 295). But the best parallel is the attack on Stoic morals in Athenaeus 13.563d–565f; this begins by quoting Hermias who attacks Stoics as λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες … ἀλίσκεσθε / ἑναντία πράσσοντες οἷς
These Stoics castigated both homosexual (19) and heterosexual (37) immorality, and in the second paragraph (36–63) a woman called Laronia in opposition to one of them defends her own sex as compared with men. Women, she says, at least do not indulge in lesbianism (which is alluded to by Juvenal only at 6.311); it is because men are bound to each other by homosexual attachments that they do not attack the male sex, but concentrate their fire on women.

The Stoics are routed; but, says Juvenal, bad as they are, nobles who do not even *Curios simulant* or *fingunt Scauros* are worse, such nobles as Creticus, who is shameless enough to wear transparent clothing (this corresponding to the perfumes of the Stoic at 41). Creticus too is perhaps a Stoiciser (77), if not actually a Stoic, and he too is initially presented as a hypocrite, for in spite of his disgraceful dress he prosecutes adulteresses in moral speeches. But the theme of hypocrisy now fades out (for similar modulations of the train of thought see the introductions to Fourteen and Six), and Juvenal turns to one of his favourite targets, the degeneracy of the Roman aristocracy (*proceres* 121); after the Greek names and emphasis on philosophy of 4–20 the poem had been brought round to Roman history and society. The aristocracy is here represented by two figures, Creticus and Gracchus. The transparent toga of Creticus (who is dealt with as far as 116) provides the transition from the preceding, but is not attacked so much for its own sake as because Juvenal sees in it the first sign that he will end up as a sexual invert involved in the orgies of effeminate men (this resumes the theme of 54–7), who really ought to be turned physically into women (115–16). This is more or less what has happened to Gracchus (117–48), who was the ‘bride’ in a homosexual marriage (this corresponds to 58–61). But his activities as a gladiator (143–8) were even more abominable (*vicit* 143; just as the second stage of Creticus’ moral decline will be *foedius* 82). Present-day moral attitudes would probably assent to this opinion (though their assent would be based on [122] the inhumanity of gladiatorial contests, which is not what Juvenal emphasises; see below), but it is surprising in the mouth of a Roman, and the gladiatorial section has no clear function in a poem concerned with sexual immorality. Housman (CR 18, 1904, 395 = Coll. Papers 619) found one by laying all the emphasis on the word *tunicati* (143), and claiming that *retiarii* who wore a tunic were regarded as immoral. That theory however is mistaken (see on 8.207), and its application here only suits 143; in 144–8 the contrast is clearly between the noble descent of Gracchus and his gladiatorial activities, without any reference to sexual morality. We must therefore accept that Juvenal, after mentioning the immorality of Gracchus, could not refrain from commenting also on his degeneracy from his noble lineage, about which he felt strongly (8.199–210, cf. ibid. 140 and p. 23), even though that is not relevant to his main theme. Juvenal does not shrink from digressions (cf. on 9.48–9), and there is another one at 102–9, though that is more relevant to the subject. Moreover he has a highly
individual scale of moral values (see p. 22); to him the worst of all sins are those against the traditional Roman gravitas (8.220–30 and introduction there), and he dislikes the gladiatorial activity more than what precedes because it happens in public (8.203, 205–6; cf. ibid. 149–51 and p. 23), whereas such ‘marriages’ do not yet take place palam (136; this line shows how far we now are from the initial idea of hypocrisy, with which disapproval of shamelessness could be reconciled, but not of openness).

The last paragraph dismisses such people as a disgrace to their ancestors and contrasts the corruption of Rome with Rome’s subjects, who at present are free from corruption but show signs of beginning to be infected.

There is nothing to indicate the date of composition except nuper in 29 and modo in 160. Such words are too elastic in meaning to be of any help (e.g. at 8.120 about 20 years is meant); in any case nuper is merely contrasted with the republican villains of 24–8. If 102 refers to the Histories of Tacitus, that would give an approximate terminus post quem (see p. 1).

1–2 On the geographical conception behind these lines see J. O. Thomson History of Ancient Geography (1948) 251–3; RE Okeanos 2339–40. Juvenal, like most of his contemporaries, envisaged the οἰκουμένη as surrounded by Oceanus (11.113, 14.283, 10.149); the glacialis O. is a combination of the Arctic Ocean and the Baltic Sea, Scandinavia being regarded as an island (glacialis pontus Lucan 1.18 according to the best authority; mare congelatum Varro RR 1.2.4, cf. Pliny NH 4.94). Mention is sometimes made of a Sarmaticus Oceanus (see RE s.v.). The Sauromatae (15.125), who lived round the Sea of Azov, were in reality a more remote (and therefore more romantic) tribe than the Sarmatae, whose confederacy now stretched from the Danube to the Caucasus and had absorbed the Sauromatae (RE I A 2542; M. Rostovzeff Iranians and Greeks (1922) 113). The Sarmatae are the tribe which prose authors (e.g. Tacitus) normally have occasion to mention; but to Juvenal (who has Sarmata 3.79) as to other poets choice between the two is dictated by metrical convenience (though Riese Rh. Mus. 36, 1881, 213–14 thinks otherwise). Hence outside the nom. sing. Sarmata is replaced by forms of Sauromates.

Cf. Catalepton 9.54 Oceani finibus ulterius; Juv. 15.172.

3 CURIOS M’. Curius Dentatus (153, 11.78), censor 272 B.C., is a frequent type of old Roman virtus. The plural Curii is common in a generalising sense ‘people like C.’ (so in similar contexts to this Mart. 1.24.3, 7.58.7, 9.27.6; cf. HS 19, KS 1.72), but here is necessary to match the plural subject (cf. 8.4 and on 35). The construction, after Hor. Epist. 1.19.13 simulet Catonem, is discussed by Löfstedt 1.246, HS 751, KS 1.93, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.35.22, Austin on Quintil. 12.2.7; cf. 6.O.1–2 and the spurious 6.614c.

BACCHANALIA VIVUNT For the internal accusative (12.128 is different) cf. C. F. W. Müller Syntax des Nominativs und Accusativs (1908) 20, Min. Fel. 38.6
non eloquimur magna sed vivimus. The reputation of the Bacchanalia at Rome was fixed by the events of 186 B.C., recounted by Livy 39.

4 INDOCTI Cf. 13.181 and the title of Lucian’s work πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ἐωνημένον (see on 92), the subject of which is also an effeminate pervert (chs. 23 and 25).

PLENA OMNIA This and μεστὰ πάντα seem to be basically colloquial phrases (Hofmann p. 90).

GYPSO CHRYSPIPPI Cf. Apollineo gypsum Prudent. Apoth. 458. On the use of gypsum for busts see RE (2095) and DS (1715a) s.v., Blümner2 145–6, Lauffer p. 237 on Edict. Diocl. 7.30. Busts of philosophers would be placed around the houses and gardens of these men who wished to represent themselves as philosophers; cf. Lucian Nigrin. 2, Marquardt 615, SG 2.266–7 = 3.43 (where Mart. 9.47.2 is probably rightly interpreted; in his edition Friedlaender refers it to pictures in books). Two of the four mentioned here are Stoics (cf. 65), who [124] have several busts each; Pittacus, one of the proverbial Seven Sages, is somewhat incongruous, but cf. Thales at 13.184. A terra-cotta statuette of Pittacus has been found at Pompeii (G. M. A. Richter Portraits of the Greeks 1 (1965) 89).

5 PERFECTUS So Cato is perfect(issim)us Stoicus Cic. Parad. 2, Brut. 118; cf. Tusc. 2.12 (on which see introduction) quosdam perfectos philosophos turpiter vivevere.

6 SIMILEM This, ὅμοιος and ἐοικώς are often applied to portraits; cf. on 7.

7 ARCHETYPOS Originals (not copies), which were more highly valued by Roman collectors (cf. e.g. Mart. 12.69 tabulae). Applied to portrait busts it will suggest direct portraits of the subjects; cf. Anth. Plan. 151.1 (anon.) ἄρχέτυπον Διδοῦς (translated Dido assimulata (cf. on 6) in Epigr. Bob. 45), IG 14.1188 (Kai-bel Epigr. 1084; on a Herm of Homer found at Rome) Ὀμηρὸν ... ὁρᾷς τοῦτον, δαιδαλον ἄρχέτυπον.

PLUTEUM A wall-bracket (RE s.v. 985, Blümner1 113–14, Anth. Lat. 158.4). Oddly enough it is glossed γυψοπλασία (cf. CGL 7.99b), a word absent from lSJ though recorded by Stephanus–Dindorf and the lexicon of Sophocles; in RE it is interpreted of wall-shelves in a sculptor’s studio. This word is the subject of servare; cf. 3.206.

8 The deinde which would answer to PRIMUM 4 is omitted. The primum member of a division is often developed at such length that methodical partition is abandoned and the second member is introduced by autem, vero or the like, or even absent entirely (cf. 5.12; KS 2.588), though this rarely happens within such a short space as here; cf. 44. See Munro on Lucr. 1.161.

FRONTIS In similar contexts Mart. 1.24.4, Quintil. 12.3.12. It is the site of pudor (8.189, 13.242), but generally applies to external appearances as opposed to reality, and hence is connected with hypocrisy (14.56).

FIDES Cf. 6.O.21.

OBSCENIS A noun, cf. 6.O.2, 6.513, Livy 33.28.5 (where obsceni viri = molles viri §2). For the combination with another adjective cf. index adjectives and KS 1.225; 111 shows a dependent genitive.

10 SOCRATICOS … CINAEDOS οἱ Σωκρατικοί in a similar context [Lucian] Amores 23. The contemporaries of Socrates insist on his chastity (cf. Guthrie 3.390 sqq. = Socrates (1971) 70 sqq.), but later gossip fastened on his undoubted fondness for young men, and jocular references to this in Plato and Xenophon, to represent him as a [||125] paederast (cf. Zeller 2.1.69 n. 2), particularly with reference to Alcibiades (Diog. Laert. 2.23, Nepos Alc. 2.2, [Lucian] Amores 54), but also Phaedrus (Sen. Dial. 7.27.5); Lucian several times portrays him in this light.

FOSSA Thes. s.v. 1213.16 and see Goldberger Glotta 18, 1929, 57; cf. fodere 9.45, fossor Auson. Epigr. 77 Prete 7.

11 Depilatories were often applied to the arms (Mart. 2.29.6, 2.62.1, 3.63.6); for hairiness (SAETAE are bristles) as a sign of feigned manliness cf. Mart. 2.36.5–6, 6.56.

12 ATROCEM ANIMUM Like that of the Stoic Cato (cf. 40) in Horace Odes 2.1.24.

PODICE LEVI He is λισπόπυγος (cf. Aristoph. Knights 1368, Henderson 220); cf. 8.16 and 115, Mart. 2.62.4, 6.56.4, 9.27.3, Pers. 4.35–40 (where see Jahn), Athen. 13.565f (on which see introduction) ἐρωμένους... ἐξουρουμένους ... τὸν ὄρρον, Clement Alex. Paed. 3.3.20.2, and on the other side Catull. 33.7–8, Alcaeus AP 12.30 = Gow–Page HE 44.

13 CAEDUNTUR … MARISCAE The ordinary medical terms would be secantur ficus; Juvenal has chosen a more brutal word for surgery, and a more highly-coloured one for piles (mariscae are a large type of fig). For ficus in such contexts cf. Thes. s.v. 654.6; Rosenbaum 122 and 411; Buchheit Rh. Mus. 103, 1960, 227–9; Citroni on Mart. 1.65. It is common in scoptic (Martial, Priapea) and medical (Cass. Fel. 74 aliud medicamentum (h)edicon, sycotice appellatum, ... ad podicis inversiones) writers; similarly σῦκον and its derivatives in epigram and medical writers. This is probably the meaning of συκόπρωκτος (Hesychius s.v. συκιδαφόρος).

14 Cf. the philosophers at Pers. 3.81–2 (who however are Epicureans).

15 ἐν χρῷ κείρεσθαι is characteristic of the Stoics; see Jahn on Pers. 3.54.

VERIUS 'more fairly, frankly'; vere agere is contrasted with dissimulare Cic. De Or. 2.351, cf. Gell. 10.22.1 vere ingenueque, 17.10.4

16 PERIBOMIUΣ nomen archigalli cinaedi qui publice impudicitiam perpessus (professus Valla) est Σ; (but archigalli cannot be right; see on 6.512 sqq.). In IG 12 (3) 1126 οἱ περιβώμιοι appear to be a cult society. Juvenal probably did not have a historical person in mind, but chose the name for the associations indicated by the scholiast.
FATIS IMPUTO Homosexuality, like everything else, was often thought to be determined by the stars (RAC Effeminatus 642); see e.g. Firm. Mat. Astr. 7.15 and 25, Manil. 4.518–19, 5.140–56. Similarly the point of MORBUM is that this word removes culpability; cf. 50, 9.49, Sen. Ep. 83.20 (impudicus morbum profitetur), Thes. s.v. 1481.54 [1126] (add Manil. 5.140), Rosenbaum 152. Likewise morbosus (Catull. 57.6, Priapea 46.2), νόσος (Callim. AP 12.150.6 τάν φιλόπαιδα νόσον; Dio Chrys. 4.106 αί γυναικείαι νόσοι). [Aristotle] Probl. 4.26 gives a physical cause for perversion, and Cael. Aurel. Chron. 4.9 regards it as a mental illness, which links up with FUROR 18 (cf. παιδομανία).

17 VULTU INCESSUQUE Cf. RAC Effeminatus 629, 635. Physiognomists professed to be able to recognize perverts; cf. Clem. Alex. Paed. 3.3.15.2 (for this passage see also on 8.114) ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ μετωποσκόπος ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος αὐτοῦ καταμαντεύεται μοιχοῦς τε καὶ ἀνδρογύνους, ἀμφοτέραι ἀφροδίτην τηρημένους, μισότριχας, ἀτρίχας ... διά τούτου γούν πλήρεις αἱ πόλεις πιττοῦντων, παρατιλλόντων τοὺς θηλυδρίας τούτους. The pseudo-Aristotelian Physiognomica 21 (Foerster Scriptores Phys. p. 34) lists κιναίδου σημεῖα (including βαδίσεις), and in 70 (p. 82) says οἱ ἐγκλινόμενοι (ἐντριβόμενοι codd.) εἰς τὰ δεξιά ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι κιναίδου (cf. Foerster’s index under κιναίδος etc.). Likewise Dio Chrys. 33.52 links βλέμμα, σχῆμα, περίπατος and Zeno himself (fr. 174 Pearson, 246 Arnim) spoke of σχηματισμοί καὶ κινήσεις μηδὲν ἐνδιδοῦσαι τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐλπίδος. This is quoted by Clement, who has much to say on the subject; it is he who quotes (cf. the context at Paed. 3.11.69.2) the typical description of inverts from comedy:

τὸ δ’ ὅλον οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν οὐδὲ κατακεκλασμένως πλάγιον ποήσας τὸν τράχηλον περιπατέιν, ὡσπερ ἐτέρους ὀρῶ κιναίδους ἐνθάδε πολλοὺς ἐν ἀπετεί καὶ πεπιττοκοπημένους.


18 HORUM Juvenal generalises to a class; cf. 6.110, 13.223, 14.116, index variation and on 6.95.

SIMPLICITAS Cf. Mart. 6.7.6; ‘openness’.

MISERABILIS Galen De Usu Partium 11.14 (2.156.6 Helmreich) νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ ... πιπτοῦνταί τε καὶ κομοῦνται ... τούτους μὲν οὖν ἐλεεῖσθαι προσήκει.

20 HERCULIS He was regarded by the Stoics (cf. 10.361) as one of their ideals, and is contrasted by Cleomedes Meteor. 2.1.92 with cinaedi and Epicurus; cf. Zeller 3.17.276 n. 4 and 343; E. V. Arnold Roman Stoicism (1911) 295–6; G. K. Galinsky The Herakles Theme (1972) 106, 147, 167.
The pot should be whiter than the kettle, a common thought, e.g. Hor. Serm. 2.7.40 sqq. The question mark at the end of this line would be better replaced by a comma, so that 21–2 form one sentence. SEXTUS is probably not to be identified, though cf. RE no. 3.

CEVENTEM i.e. clunem agitantem (Petron. 23.3 spatallocinaedi … clune agili); the use and history of the word are discussed by Mussehl Hermes 54, 1919, 387 and E. Fraenkel Kl. Beiträge (1964) 2.45.

23–4 These two lines are related by adversative asyndeton, and accordingly a semicolon or colon should be placed at the end of 23 (so Leo).

LORIPEDEM 10.308, Plaut. Poen. 510, Petron. 45.11; ἰμαντόπους, one with weak misshapen legs.

AETHIOPEM ALBUS The same contrast Varro De L. L. 8.38 and 41, 9.42. Aethiops (Thes. s.v. 1156.30; cf. 6.599, 8.33, Pliny NH 32.141) and Maurus are the ordinary Latin for ‘negro’; cf. G. H. Beardsley The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilisation (1929) 116, Snowden 4 and 11.

TULERIT The perfect subjunctive (cf. 6.651) in such questions is used with identical meaning to the present (cf. MISCEAT and ferat 1.139, 6.166, 7.147); cf. 7.140, 8.30, 10.321. See Handford p. 97, F. Thomas Recherches sur le Subjonctif Latin (1938) 109, Woodcock p. 90, index verbs.


26 VERRI 8.106; CLODIUS 6.335–45; CATILINA CETHEGUM 8.231, 10.287.

28 TABULAM On which the proscribed were listed.

DISCIPULI TRES The second triumvirate, who also used a tabula (Mart. 5.69.2, Sen. Suas. 6.3 etc.). Pompey was called τὸν Σύλλα μαθητήν (Plut. Sertorius 18), cf. Lucan 1.326.

29 Domitian, whose hypocrisy in sexual matters is remarked by Dio Cass. 67.12.1 in general and by Pliny Ep. 4.11.6 on this particular case, seduced his niece Julia (Dio 67.3, RE suppl. 6.135) and caused her death by abortion (Suet. 22; note that neither the plural OFFAS nor TOT ABORTIVIS implies repeated abortion) about A.D. 89 (Gsell 240, Friedlaender Martial intr. p. 57, Mooney on Suet. Tit. 4.2). Such an alliance between uncle and niece was regarded as incestuous by the Romans, even though Claudius had legalised it in order to marry Agrippina (Kaser 316, Corbett 48, Balsdon 175, RE matrimonium 2266), and hence would have been a fit subject for a tragic plot (cf. Livy 1.46.3 tragici sceleris exemplum of patricide). At about the time of Julia’s death Domitian, consistently with his revival of the censorship (121 and on 4.12), began to enforce Augustus’ Lex Iulia de Adulteriis (cf. 37 and Corbett 133); Martial ref. to this in Book 6, published in A.D. 90, and Friedlaender also thinks it referred to in 5.75 (Gsell 84).

NUPER See the introduction.

31 OMNIBUS Many people were rightly or wrongly put in danger (a case in Stat. Silv. 5.2.99 sqq.).
VENERI MARTIQUE Both of them divinities associated with the very origins of Rome through Aeneas and Romulus, but caught in adultery on a famous occasion recounted in *Odyssey* 8 (cf. Juv. 10.313).


33 EFFUNDERET is used of abortion Manil. 2.239; ἐκβάλλω and its derivatives are similarly applied. OFFAS is a brutal word.

34 IURE AC MERITO For the pleonasm cf. 14.31.

VLTIMA As Housman explains, this looked very like VITIA (one is corrupted to the other in some mss. at Lucan 4.147) and was therefore easily omitted through haplography; *omnia*, which is unsuitable in sense, was then interpolated to fill out the metre, and from P made its way into O (cf. *BICS* 14, 1967, 50 n. 17). This is one of the rare cases of interpolation in the more honest branch of the tradition (cf. on 9.119).

VITIA ULTIMA (Quintil. 2.2.15) in effect means *vitiosissimi homines*, who are embodied *vitia* (Mart. 11.92.2 *non vitiosus homo es*, Zoile, *sed vitium*), such as Varillus; cf. Sall. *Cat*. 14.1 *omnia flagitiorum atque facinorum catervas*, HS 746, KS 1.81.

35 SCAUROS M. Aemilius Scaurus was censor in 109 B.C. and was revered e.g. by Cicero as one of the champions of the *nobiles*, though suspected of venality. Whatever the point of the plural at 11.91 (q.v.), here Juvenal is probably simply thinking of a family associated with republican virtue (cf. 6.604); see on 3.

FICTOS Domitian’s censorship was hypocritical, whereas that of Scaurus was real.

REMORDENT Hor. *Epode* 6.4 *quid me remorsurum petis*?

36 A Laronia is mentioned by Martial 2.32.5, but does not seem to be identical with Juvenal’s. It is generally thought that she was an adulteress who had offended against the *Lex Iulia* (30 and 37), and that she personifies the *vitia ultima* which *remordent*, as illis = fictos Scauros. If Juvenal meant that, we should expect a particle in 36 to make it plain, and it is unlikely that he would regard mere adultery as one of the *vitia ultima*.

37 *quae*rit ubi nunc sit lex Iulia et simul dormire eam significat. eadem brevitate Ovidius *her.* 4.150 *heu, ubi nunc fastus altaque verba iacent?* non ut quo loco iacent quae*rat* sed ut iacere significet nec usquam appare*re*’ Housman, who introduced this punctuation | | | (more details in his note). Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5.8 *ubi lex Caecilia et Didia?*, Appian *Pun.* 112 κοιμάσθων οἱ νόμοι τήμερον; Plut. *Ages.* 30.6, Fronto p. 69.3.


39 MORIBUS sc. *mals*. The word, neutral in itself, takes its colour from the context; cf. Cicero’s *o tempora! o mores!*

HABEAT PUDOREM 6.357.

40 TERTIUS CATO Only the first Cato was censor (11.90), but both were pat-
terns of morality; Mart. 9.27.14 Catoniana lingua in a context like this concerned with hypocrisy in sexual matters. The expression is compared with sapientum octavus (Hor. Serm. 2.3.296, where Acron quotes Juvenal) and the like by O. Weineich Studien zu Martial (1928) 18, B. Sprenger Zahlenmotive in der Epigrammatik (1962) 169–70, Vollmer on Stat. Silv. 1.2.7.

E CAELO CECIDIT Cf. 11.27 (of the advice of a god); Otto caelum 8 and Nachträże 53, 70, 97, 142, 264 (add Calp. Sic. 4.137), Headlam–Knox on Herodas 1.9. The verb is humorous; delapsus est would be straightforward.

HIRSUTO In similar contexts Mart. 7.58.8, 9.47.2.

OPOBALSAMA See RE s.v.; for its use by men cf. Mart. 14.59 (balsama on a bellus homo id. 3.63.4). Stoics like Seneca naturally disapproved of the use of perfumes by men (RE Salben 1855.26); in particular they were often associated with sexual inversion (cf. Scipio ap. Gell. 6.12.5 = fr. 17 ORF and RAC Effeminatus 634). For SPIRANT cf. 7.208 and Mart. 11.8.1 spirant opobalsama; for the word-order see on 11.85 and 12.13–14.

COLLO Perfumes for the neck Aristoph. Knights 490–2 and Antiphanes Thoricii fr. 106 (2.53 K, 2.209 E, 3.56 M).

DOMINUM TABERNAE ‘shop-owner’ Mart. 1.117.14.

LEGES AC IURARIA Cf. 72. OMNES 44 follows as if only leges had preceded; this is due to Scantinia sc. lex.

VEXANTUR disturbed from their sleep (37), cf. 1.126.

SCANTINIA de Venere nefanda; not Iulia (37). In fact Domitian enforced this law too (Suet. 8.3, where see Mooney); see on it RE suppl. 7.411 (but there are no solid grounds for calling it Scatinia).

PRIMUM See on 8.

The divergence between hi, qui, nam strongly suggests that all of these are interpolated, and therefore I follow Herwerden 397 in reading FACIUNT PEIORA (see BICS 14, 1967, 47); cf. 6.134, 14.57, Dracont. De Laude Dei 2.331 faciunt peiora nocentes. Juvenal postpones nam only at 11.21.


IUNCTAEQUE UMBONE PHALANGES For the military formation |[130]| behind this metaphor cf. Lucan 7.493, Kromayer–Veith 135; RE συνασπισμός, Wheeler Chiron 9, 1979, 310.

MOLLES 165, 8.15, 9.38.

CONCORDIA pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis Catull. 57.

ERIT ‘will be found to be’; cf. on 1.126.

MARTIAL thought otherwise (7.67, 9.40); see Citroni’s edition of Book 1 p. 281.

EXEMPLUM DETESTABILE Livy 26.48.11.

TEDIA A well-attested name; PIR1 T 36–8, ILS 7918, 4284 = CIL 6.10293 and 3 suppl. 7280. Medius (see the apparatus) seems to appear only in Ann. Epigr. 1959
no. 93 in the genitive *Medi* (though it has sometimes also been detected on *ILS* 4702 = *CIL* 13.2895); it might represent the rare Maedius (Schulze *LEG* 185), but is clearly a corruption under the psychological influence of *media* (acc. neut. plur.) *lambere*, cf. Mart. 2.61.2, 3.81.2, 7.67.15, 11.61.5; Catull. 80.6.

**LAMBIT** cf. 9.5.

FLORA A courtesan name, *RE* s.v. 2749.35.

CATULLA 10.323, Mart. 8.53 (where however the choice of name may have been influenced by the fact that the poem is based on Catullus).

**50** HISPO Juvenal may have chosen this name as recalling the *hispida membra* of 11; cf. on 3.251. On the name and its bearers see Syme *JRS* 39, 1949, 14–15 = Syme3 72 and 143 and add C. Baebius Hispo (*Ann. Epigr.* 1966 no. 101); cf. Hispulla 6.74, 12.11. Hippo, as read by PRS, is not a Roman cognomen.

**SUBIT** Cf. *Priapea* 33.2.

MORBO UTROQUE Cf. on 16. The meaning is not as in Clement quoted on 17, but that he is both *paedicator* and *pathicus*; cf. Housman *CR* 1 17, 1903, 393 n. 1 = *Coll. Papers* 608 *Between φιλοπαιδία and φιλογυνία the Romans saw no incongruity, but they did see incongruity between τὸ πάσχειν and τὸ δρᾶν*. Other homosexuals both active and passive in Lucilius *AP* 11.216, Lucian *Adv. Indoct.* (cf. on 4) 25 and 23.

**51–2** This is contradicted by 6.242–5 (and Val. Max. 8.3 lists women who pleaded in the courts; cf. Plut. *Comp. Lycurg. et Num.* 3.6); cf. pp. 25–6. PAUCAE 53 is not necessarily contradictory of 6.246 sqq., though he does not there imply that athletic women (cf. also 6.421) are few; in Six he portrays exceptions as the rule.


**AUT** Cf. on 9.74; FORA on 13.135. [[131]]

**COLÝPHIA** This is the spelling of almost all mss., including PSR, and should be retained, though in Greek it is κωλύφιον (André *Rev. Phil.* 3 40, 1966, 48). On the word, which denotes an athlete’s diet (evidently prime cuts of meat), see Heraeus 85; Mart. 7.67.12 mentions a woman who eats 16 *coloephia*.

**54** VOS is contrasted with NOS 51. Aristoph. *Birds* 831 depicts Cleisthenes as spinning; Ctesias reported this of Sardanapallus (*FGH* III C vol. 1 no. 688 p. 444 Jacoby; cf. also Cleomedes *De Motu Circulare* 2.1 p. 166.25 Ziegler, Plut. *De Alex. Fort.* 1.2.326f) and Clearchus (ap. Athen. 12.516b; fr. 43a Wehrli *Schule des Aristoteles* 3) of Midas; Omphale was also said to have submitted Hercules to this. Probably Laronia is thinking of these rather than any actual cases at Rome.

TRAHITIS The operation of carding the wool (Blümner2 1.109, Marquardt 503).

**CALATHIS** See Blümner l.c. 131 for these work-baskets.

**55** PRAEGNATEM Cf. *gravidos* [Verg.] *Ciris* 446.
56 PENÉLOPE who is often referred to in the Odyssey as ἠλάκατα στρωφώσα.

LEVİUS LEVI POLİCİE Ovid Met. 6.22 of Arachne’s spinning.

57 As in all slave-societies, so at Rome slave-women were often made the mistresses of their owners (Marquardt 66, Balsdon 215 and 230, Kroll 2.40, Westermann 74b and 118b; cf. Sen. Contr. 6.3 and the anciliarius of Sen. De Ben. 1.9.4, Mart. 12.58.1; also Musonius Rufus p. 66.2 Hense); presumably the pressum qua-sillis scortum of Sulpicia ([Tib.] 3.16.3) was such. Naturally many wives objected and took every chance to punish their paelices; the CODEX is a block of wood corresponding to a ball and chain (Plaut. Poen. 1153, Prop. 4.7.44, preceded by mention of extra wool to spin as another punishment). But the point of the line is obscure; the wording does not suggest, as the context demands, delicate work, and seems rather to lessen than to emphasise the effeminacy of the men. Moreover with STAMEN as the antecedent of QUALE, 57 would more naturally precede 56. Perhaps a line has been lost after 56 which said that the men produce fine work, not rough spinning like that of the paelex. There is nothing at all in favour of Housman’s idea that there is a reference to Antiope.


Pacuvius Hister (12.111 sqq.) was a captator, the puella (cf. 6.258 and O.32, 9.74) the young wife whose complaisance he bought; the word does not in itself imply that she remained a virgin. For limitations on inheritance by women see on 1.55; even gifts between husband and wife (VIVUS alludes to the legal phrase donatio inter [132] vivos; Ulpian Dig. 5.2.25 pr., Marcian ibid. 39.6.27) were limited by the strict letter of the law (Dig. 24.1; Kaser 331, Corbett 114, RE donatio 1538, H. J. Roby Roman Private Law (1902) 1.159, F. Schulz Classical Roman Law (1950) 120–1).

60 MAGNO TERTIA LECTO cf. the situations at Sen. Contr. 2.1.35, Apul. Met. 9.27.

61 TU is addressed to any puella; cf. 153, 3.200 (and cf. on 289), 8.38, 9.50, 14.48 (6.312).

CYLINDROS Pearls of this shape (Pliny NH 37.78 and 113 etc.); Thes. s.v. 1586.63, Blümner 262 and 2.3.283, Marquardt 702–3, DS s.v. 1696b.

62 tum quoque sic lata est sententia tristis Ovid Met. 15.43.

63 CENSURA Generally; there is no allusion to Domitian’s censorship.

CORVIS … COLUMBIS Cf. Otto corvus 2 and Nachträge 266; columbae are chaste (Pliny NH 10.104, Thes. s.v. 1732.20, Thompson 241, Enk on Prop. 2.15.27, Citroni on Mart. 1.109.2), whereas corvi, which prey on columbae (Varro RR 3.7.6), were thought to have sexual intercourse by the mouth (Thompson 160; corvī … fellator Mart. 14.74; Pliny NH 10.32 from Aristotle Gen. An. 3.6.756b).

64 CANENTEM She is inspired like a prophetess, hence VERA; cf. 8.125–6.

65 STOICIDAE A humorous formation which avoids Stōici (cf. on 154) and with its grandeur amusingly contrasts with FUGERUNT TREPIDI. For the patronymic cf. Ἐπικουρείων παῖδες Sext. Emp. Adv. Math. 6.19, παῖδες σοφῶν Dio

65 sqq. An argument *a fortiori*, cf. 1.117–20, 6.617, 8.198; in all cases corruption begins at the top. This form of argument was taught in the rhetorical schools, *Ad Herenn. 4.18.25–6*.

66 MULTICIA Fine cloth generally used only by women (11.188); cf. Blümner1 253 and 2 142, Wild *Philol. 111, 1967, 151* (who ignores the implication of transparency in 78) and for the word *Thes.* and Walde–Hofmann s.v., Leumann *KL. Schr.* 21. Beside the comic fragment quoted on 17 Clement appears to quote another (37 M, 338 K and E), which should perhaps be restored thus with Edmonds, *διαφανέσιν δὲ χαλασίσι περιπεπεμμένοι*.

67 CRETICE Cf. 8.38; there of a descendant of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, who celebrated his triumph over Crete in 62 B.C. Probus takes the reference to be the same here, but if the women mentioned are correctly dated in Domitian’s time that cannot be right, since the Caecilii Metelli had long been extinct. Σ refers it to a Lulius Creticus *qui sub Caesaribus illustris causas est*; and since men of this *[133]* name are known (*CIL. 6.32409 = ILS 4924, 10.3948, 12.5872*) he may well on this occasion have known what he was talking about. Mart. 7.90.4 also mentions a Creticus. Similar names in Juvenal are Bithynicus (15.1), Ponticus (8.1), Allobrogicus (8.13), Gaetulicus (8.26), Asturicus (3.212), of which the third and fourth, and probably also the second, perhaps the fifth, likewise commemorate victories; cf. Münzer 355 n. 1, Mommsen *Röm. Forschungen* 12 (1864) 52–4, Reichmuth 53.

PERORES This may mean that Creticus has the place of honour among the prosecutors, speaking last (cf. *Cic. Brut. 190, Orat. 1.30; Suet. De Gramm. 30*), cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.30.1, 3.17.3; but sometimes the verb seems to be rather vaguely used (Quintil. 11.1.61, Suet. *Cal. 53.1, Pliny NH 29.9*) of emotional declamation such as might be expected in perorations.

68–70 These are adulteresses, who when condemned would leave off the *stola* and wear the toga like *meretrices* (Mart. 10.52, scholiasts on Hor. *Serm. 1.2.63*; the point of Mart. 2.39 and 6.64.4 is ambiguous; cf. Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 4.134). Creticus is probably acting as prosecutor under Domitian’s revival of the *Lex Iulia*, and these are some of the *probrosae feminae* of Suet. 8.3 (cf. *Dio Cass. 67.12.1*).

PROCULAS 3.203.

POLLITTAS Names ending in -itta are pet-names (*SG 4.88* not in ed. 10); Schulze *LEG* 77; Lattes *ALL* 8, 1893, 496; Doer 212–13; Hasselrot, *Studia Neophil.* 16, 1943–4, 89), cf. Gallittra 12.99 and 113; these are derived from Polla (cf. *AP 7.334–5*) and Galla.

FABULLA The diminutive of Fabia (Schulze *LEG* 461). She is mentioned also by Martial 4.9 and 12.93 (cf. too 1.64.3 and 4.81) with the same variant as here.

CARFINIA A perfectly well-attested name (*Thes. onom. s.v.*, Schulze *LEG* 353). Ulpian *Dig. 3.1.1.5* mentions Carfania (v.l. *Cafarnia*) *improbissima femina*, apparently alluded to also by Val. *Max. 8.3.2* as Cafrania (see *Thes. onom. s.v.*; the ms.
of Julius Paris had Cafrinia before correction); but her improbitas consisted in impudence, not immorality.

70 IULIUS ARDET Mart. 10.62.7 fervens Iulius; Pliny NH 11.78 vestes bombycinae are worn even by men levitatem propter aestival. AESTUO 3.102.

INSANIA Cf. 14.287; the insane rip their clothes.

72 EN Sarcastic as often (6.531, 9.50); for the accusative cf. KS 1.273.

HABITUM The multicia, a sign of degeneracy from traditional gravitas.

FERENTEM ‘talking about’. [[134]

73 Soon after their victories (cf. 162) and before their wounds had healed the Romans of old came to the forum; the implication is of a continuous series of wars and victories, they were never at peace for long.

74 iura dabat populis posito modo praetor aratro Ovid Fasti 1.207 (cf. Blümner1 537); the idea there has more point as indicating the humility of the supreme magistrate.

MONTANUM Of the seven hills of Rome (cf. 8.239 and the festival of the Septimontium celebrated by the montani, Latte 112); but it also suggests toughness and rusticity, cf. 6.5, 8.245, 11.89, Caesar BC 1.57.3, Cic. De Leg. Agr. 2.95 (where however the reading is uncertain), Livy 9.13.7 (and similarly ὄρειος).

75–6 IUDICIS, TESTEM Contrasted with the actual prosecutor.

77 ACER ET INDOMITUS An ironical quotation from Lucan 1.146, where it is applied to Caesar. LIBERTATIS presumably means παρρησίας in particular, but we should perhaps infer that Creticus is a Stoic (66); cf. Wirzubski 146.

PERLUCES He wears vestes perlucidae, through which his silhouette can be seen; cf. 66 and Pan. Lat. 2.33.4 (p. 108.26 Mynors) illos tenero perlucentes amictu et vix leve carbasum vitando sole tolerantes.

78 LABEM IN PLURES Cf. the carmen arvale (CIL 13.2, 6.2104) neve lue rue sins incurrere in pleoris; Varro ap. Non. p. 168 saepe unus puer petulans atque impurus inquinat gregem puerorum (following a comparison with sheep).

SCABIE ET PORRIGINE Otto scabies 1 (add Grattius 410 sqq.); cf. Lucil. 982 corruptum scabie et porriginis plenum (of the old lion), and Juv. 8.34.

81 Σ quotes a proverb uva uvaam videndo varia fit (Otto uva) corresponding to βότρυς πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται. LIVOREM refers to the colour of ripening grapes Hor. Odes 2.5.10, Prop. 4.2.13. But Juvenal appears to be giving the proverb a new application; the Greek form refers to envious emulation (which is not in point here), and this apparently suggested to Juvenal the word livor, which often indicates envy. Yet it is desirable for grapes to ripen, and the line may be spurious (cf. BICS 22, 1975, 158).

DUCIT Cf. Verg. Buc. 9.49.

82 A similar prophecy with QUANDOQUE 5.171.

83 Cf. Quintil. 7.2.33 neminem non aliquando coeptisse peccare, Sen. Ag. 153 extrema primo nemo temptavit loco. Cases like these passages of Juvenal (cf. also
10.7 and 306–7) and Seneca show very clearly how the gnomic perfect arose, cf. Wackernagel 1.179, HS 318, KS 1.132. Compare also [Quintil.] Decl. 1.6 (p. 8.5 Lehner) *nemo inde coepit quo incredibile est pervenisse.* [135]

83 sqq. Presumably Juvenal actually did know of some secret society which carried out such a parody (*more sinistro* 87) of the rites of the Bona Dea (better printed thus in 86–7, cf. 6.314). We are reminded of the alleged parody of the Eleusinian mysteries by Alcibiades, and the κακοδαιμονισταί (Lysias ap. Athen. 12.551e). In 6.O.21–2 Juvenal speaks of domestic *cinaedi* who use mascara (cf. 93) and wear hair-nets (cf. 96), but otherwise no light is shed on this passage. Transvestism was for obvious social reasons a rare perversion in the ancient city-state; cf. Athen. 13.607f, Quintil. 5.9.14, Dio Chrys. 4.105 (Sen. Ep. 122.7 is not a reference; cf. 47.7).

84 DOMI They are a secret society.

REDIMICULA See *RE s.v.*; the term has more than one application (to the references in *RE* add Isid. *Or.* 19.33.5; for the various glosses see *CGL* 7.190), but here doubtless means the bands hanging from the *mitra* (cf. on 6.516), ordinarily worn only by women; for the wearing of female head-gear by sexual inverters see *RAC Effeminatus* 631.

85 POSUERE For the variation of tense cf. on 14.227–8.

MONILIA *RE s.v.* 123, Blümner1 263; see *RAC* ibid. (Quintil. 11.1.3 *monilibus ... deormentur viri*). TOTO suggests a kind of choker. Omphale makes Hercules wear *monilia collo* Ovid *Her.* 9.57; Pygmalion decked out his statue with *longa monilia collo* and *redimicula*, *Met.* 10.264–5.

86 ABDOMINE i.e. *sumine*; Pliny *NH* 11.211 *antiqui abdomen vocabant* (sc. *sumen*) *priusquam calleret, incientes occidere non ausi*. A sow (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.23) was sacrificed to the Bona Dea, and a *crater* of wine also had a part in the rites (Wissowa 217, Latte 228–9, T. P. Wiseman *Cinna the Poet* (1974) 131); hence the accusation of drunkenness 6.315–19, 9.117.

87–9 Normally no man would be admitted; Juvenal probably has in mind Prop. 4.9.69.

*ite profani* (which Juvenal cuttingly alters to the feminine) was regularly proclaimed before ceremonies (RSV 175 n. 5, Appel 83); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.258. Cf. on 6.329 and 14.45.

90 GEMIT Of musical instruments 7.71.

TIBICINA Normally even the instrumentalist (*psalteria* 6.337) at the festival of the Bona Dea had to be female; for the *tibia* in her cult cf. 6.314.

CORNU Wind instruments were sometimes made of horn (DS *tibia* 302 n. 23; Blümner2 2.394), but the reference, as at 6.315, is probably to the double Phrygian oboe (‘flute’ is a misleading translation) which had one straight pipe and one curved like a horn; DS l.c. 312b; *RE Aulos* 2420.52. Howard *HSCP* 4, 1893, 35, Fleischhauer [1136] 76–87 (e.g. Hor. *Odes* 1.18.14 *Berecyntio cornu*, Ovid *Met.* 11.16
Cotyto or Cotys was a Thracian goddess of the orgiastic type whose cult was briefly received in a few places in Greece. The name Baptae for her worshipers, derived doubtless from a ritual bath (cf. Scheftelowitz Arch. Rel.-Wiss. 17, 1914, 364; Borzsak Acta Antiqua 1, 1951–2, 203), is otherwise known only from the title of a comedy by Eupolis (we cannot tell whether it was an actual cult title, which seems more probable, or invented by the poet to fit his plot), and, as Σ suggests, that is probably how Juvenal knew it. Σ’s note is this: ‘Baptae’ titulus libri quo impudici describuntur ab Eupolide, qui inducit viros ad imitationem feminarum saltantes (calcantes codd.). [Lassare] (a misplaced lemma). ‘Baptae’ autem molles; quo titulo Eupolis comoediam scripsit, ob quam ab Alcibiade, quem praecipue perstrinxerat, necatus est. Valla has this: (Probus …) ‘Baptae’ comoedia, inquit, fuit in qua Eupolis inducit viros Athenienses ad imitationem feminarum saltanteslassare psalttriam Cotyton (this last word should perhaps be a lemma; Srebny Eos 33, 1930–1, 513). Cotytos apud Athenienses psaltria, quam effeminati colunt noctu illam adeuntes. It is always hard to be sure how accurately Valla reports Probus, but unlike Σ they do specifically put the cult of Cotyto and the scene of the play at Athens. It is known that Eupolis referred to the cult of the goddess at Corinth, and it has been denied (e.g. by Srebny Mél. Cumont (Brussels 1936) 1.424) that she was worshipped at Athens or that the play was set there. Juvenal however (dismissed by Wilamowitz Glaube der Hellenen (1931) 2.174 n. 1 as ein wenig gebildeter römischer Dichter) with Cecropiam does seem to support Probus–Valla, and it is easier to imagine Alcibiades in a play set at Athens, where Bendis was certainly worshipped; it is naturally possible that Juvenal had not direct knowledge of Eupolis or that his memory failed him, but we have no automatic right to assume that we know better than he did. The fragments of the play are in Meineke 2.447 (cf. 1.119), Kock 1.273, Edmonds 1.330 (cf. Schmid–Stählin 1.4.123); fr. 77 K and E is on a male player of the tympany and lyre who dances lasciviously. It has been supposed that the cult was observed by women and that Alcibiades was concerned in a transvestite parody of it, as later of the Eleusinian mysteries, but it is much more likely that Nilsson 1.835 is right in seeing the transvestism as an integral part of the cult, as it is of many others (cf. also Wiesner Die Thraker (1963) 125–6). Cf. Synesius Ep. 44 (Migne Patrologia Gr. 66 col. 1372) ἀποφαίνου τὸν ἄνδρα ἡμίγυνον αὐτόχρημα θιασώτην τῆς Κότυος; Lucian Adv. Ind. 27 says that the ‘Baptae’ should make the ignorant pervert (cf. on 4) blush with conscience. The cult had phallic associations (cf. on 95); Synesius Calvit. Encom. [[137] 21.85b–c a man careful about his hair (cf. 96) shows that he is a θιασώτης τῆς Κότυος and τή Χώμ θεό (i.e. Cotyto) και τοῖς ἱθυφάλλοις ὑφύλακεν; Catalepton 13.19 non me vocabis pulchra per Cotytia / ad feriatos fascinos / nec deinde te movere lumbos †in ratulam† / prensis videbo altaribus.

COTYTO The correct spelling, as read by Weidner and according to Achaintre
by Par. 3110. Cotyton has the best manuscript authority, but the termination is wrong (Goold HSCP 69, 1965, 13 and Neue–Wagener 1.481).

LASSARE fastidio foedissimarum libidinum (C. A. Lobeck Aglaophamus (1829) 1012 p. 9); the other interpretations suggested by Meineke FCG 1.120 n. 67 are feeble.

TAEDA The rites were nocturnal; for the use of torches in mystery cults (cf. SECRETA) see on 15.141–2.

93–7 All this is strongly reminiscent of the priests of the Dea Syria at Apul. Met. 8.27.

93–4 Long eyebrows were regarded as beautiful, Ovid AA 3.201, Claudian 10 (Epithal. Nupt. Honor.) 268 quam iuncti leviter sese discriminate confert / umbra supercilii, Dares 13 Briseidam ... supercilii iunctis, Gow on Theocr. 8.72.

FULIGINE Thes. s.v. 1523.58, Blümner1 437, RAC Auge 959; Pliny NH 28.163 and 168, Pollux 5.102 τὰς ὀφρῦς μελαίνει, Antiphilus AP 11.66.2 = Gow–Page GP 1096 ἄμβλεφάρους ὡτις ἐπανθρακίας (according to Meineke’s emendation); ἀσβόλη Clem. Alex. Paed. 3.2.7.3. Cf. 6.0.21, though that refers to the following cosmetic operation.

TACTUM The more difficult and much better attested reading (cf. BICS 14, 1967, 46); cf. Persius 3.44 oculos ... tangebam ... olivo, Prop. 4.3.60 voluit tangi parca lucerna mero, Cato Agr. 90 id ... oleo tangito, Pliny NH 28.44 aqua oculos tangat, Apicius 8.7.8, 8.8.7; see also Thes. contingo 714.57, attingo 1146.74, and Lucan 2.536.

ACU Not the type for sewing, but that for arranging the hair (6.497); Blümner1 262, RE Nadel 1550, 1554, DS acus 63, C. Barini Ornatus Muliebris (1958) 31.

94–5 This describes the application of a black line round the eyelids within the eyelashes; normally this would be done only by women and orientals (called ὑποχρίειν Xen. Cyrop. 8.1.41, 8.8.20), and in men it is a sign of effeminacy (RAC Effeminatus 634). Many references to it will be found in Blümner1 437, Thes. and LSJ II s.v. calliblepharon; LSJ s.vv. ύπόγραμμα II, ύπογραφή II, ύπογράφω V (τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὰ βλέφαρα; add Lucian De Merc. Cond. 33, Philo De Spec. Leg. 3.7.37, Chariton 1.4.9 of effeminate men); Clem. Alex. Paed. 2.1.0.104.1 ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῆς ... καὶ παραφυκισμῶν. The usual material was called stimmi or stibium (and various related [138] forms), i.e. antimony; see LSJ s.vv. στίμμι, στιμμίζω, στιμμίσμα. Pliny NH 33.102 (cf. 29.115) mentions its use in calliblephara, saying that it was also called platyophthalmus and that it dilates the eyes (but K. C. Bailey The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on Chemical Subjects (1929) ad loc. says that in fact its action would be to darken and contract the eyelids; with Pliny cf. Dioscorides 5.99). See also Pliny 11.154 palpebrae ... mulieribus ... infectae cotidiano; tanta est decoris aductatio ut tinguantur oculi quoque (which does not really support tinctum here; nor does the very similar Varro Sat. Men. 370); Ovid AA 3.203 (after the eyebrows, cf. on 93–4) oculos tenui signare favilla. Ecclesiastical writers find this a congenial subject for denunciation; e.g. [Cypr.] Laps. Susannae 30 nigro pulvere
lineamenta oculorum pingere; Tertull. De Cultu Fem. 1.2.1 illum ipsum nigrum pul-
verem quo oculorum exordia producuntur (but note that this verb does not apply
to the same operation as in Juvenal); 2.5.2 oculos fuliginem porrigunt (v.l. collinunt,
colligunt), for which see on 6.O.21.

TREMENTIS The eyelids flutter as they are held up for application of the pig-
ment inside the lashes; 7.241 is different.

95 VITREO ... PRIAPO Ablative of instrument, as 6.304, 10.25–6, 12.47 and
often. Vessels were often made in obscene shapes (RE Phallos 1742–3; G. R. Scott
Phallic Worship (1950) pl. 20 and 24; M. Grant Erotic Art in Pompeii (1975) 130–1;
Dover 133; F. Oelmann Materialien zur röm-germ. Keramik, I, Die Keramik des
Kastells Niederbieber (1914) 55 and fig. 34), particularly of Priapus (H. Roux and
M. L. Barrée Herculanum und Pompeii 8 (1862) 180). Σ produces the word drilloptae,
from δρῖλος = verpus. The special point of these vessels is that by drinking through
the phallus the appearance of fellatio would be presented; but it must be remem-
bered that many extant specimens are of apotropaic feeding-bottles for children.

96 RETICULUM See RE s.v. and 6.O.22; naturally this belongs to women. For
its wear by sexual invertors see RAC Effeminatus 631, Brandenburg 132.

AURATUM As often (Blümner1 263 n. 3). Verg. Aen. 4.138 crines nodantur in
aurum according to Servius refers to a retiolum; see also Balsdon2 255. Cf. SHA
17.11.7 specie philosophi, qui improba quaedam pati se dicerent, qui maritos se ha-
bere iactarent (cf. 117 sqq.).

INGENTIBUS τὸ κομᾶν is characteristic of the effeminate (RAC Effeminatus
632). Perhaps Juvenal conceives him as imitating the tall hair-styles of women
mentioned 6.502 sqq.

97 SCUTULATA On this type of material see Blümner2 1.167, Marquardt 531,
Lauffer p. 268 on Edict. Diocl. 20.11, von Lorentz Röm. Mitteil. 52, 1937, 208, Wild
CQ1 14, 1964, 263–6 (who does not mention the comparison with a spider’s web at
Pliny NH 11.81). ||[139] Wild thinks that Juvenal refers to ‘a check or tartan pattern
composed of different shades of blue’.

GALBINA Mart. 1.96.9 mentions a man who wears dark clothes but has galb-
inos mores, which makes the poet think him a vir mollis; ibid. 3.82.5 a dandy wears
galbina at table. It is clear that normally only women would wear them, like Fortunata (Petron. 67.4). Cf. croceis 6.O.22.

RASA The toga rasa was a summer garment (Mart. 2.85.4) introduced under
Augustus (Pliny NH 8.195).

98 ET (cf. index s.v. and 14.219) connects indutus and iurante. An oath by the
genius of men addressed, to which the Iuno of a woman corresponds, was com-
mon (Bömer 1073–6 = 4 (1963) 217–20); hence the interjection eiuno, like ecastor
(Charis. p. 258,3 Barwick) ; cf. Wissowa 177.

99 SPECUUM Men made little use of mirrors; RE κάτοπτρον 32, RAC Effe-
minatus 629, Scipio l.c. on 41, Sen. NQ 1.17.10 quicquid mundus muliebris voca-
tur, sarcinae viriles sint, omnes dico, etiam militares (of mirrors).

99–100 Otho is implicitly contrasted with Vergilian heroes (Aen. 12.94 hastam, Actoris A.s.; 3.286 clipeum, magni gestamen Abantis); he is as proud of his mirror as if it were a trophy of war. Juvenal does not mean that the mirror of ille is identical with that of Otho; see on 5.44.

PATHICI OTHONIS Suet. 2.2, Mart. 6.32.2 mollis (cf. on 47); for his effeminacy cf. Suet. 12.

102 NOVIS Whereas antiqui annales would tell of virtus. For NOVIS … RECENTI cf. 6.11 and often, and see on 15.33 (recens being the opposite of vetus).

ANNALIBUS, HISTORIA This is often taken as a reference to Tacitus; he should have mentioned (cf. lugendus 8.266) Otho’s mirror, but did not (Syme 776; but constantia (cf. 105) at Hist. 2.47.3 is irrelevant). In Hist. 1.88.3 Tacitus does record the instruments of luxury brought by some of Otho’s army. In that case ANNALIBUS will of course refer to the literary form of the Historiae, not to the Annales (which may not in fact have been so entitled; see Goodyear’s edition vol. 1.85–7). In 106 Tacitus was composing the books of the Histories concerning Titus, and perhaps some of his work was published in 107 (Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 7.20; Wellesley’s edition of Histories 3 pp. 5–6). Juvenal probably did have Tacitus in mind here, since the only other person he could have intended is Pompeius Planta (Σ here and Pliny Ep. 9.1); though RES MEMORANDA need be no more than a stock rhetorical turn, as at Pliny NH 37.20. For another possible reference to Tacitus see on 159–61. Professor Nisbet would prefer to translate ‘while the annals (which at the time recorded this) are still new and the story is fresh’.

104–7 The literary form of these lines is unsatisfactory. It is all but impossible to take constantia (‘consistency’) ἀπὸ κοινοῦ and it is harsh for the first clause to have no noun to correspond to it when the whole passage is composed with careful antithetical symmetry. Again, the anaphora of summi with two different nouns (cf. 10.191–2) ought to imply a contrast between these nouns, so that in 104–5 Otho should be acting in his capacity as dux, in 106–7 as civis; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.29.3 (of Pompey) dux bello peritissimus, civis in toga … modestissimus; 2.99.1 civium post unum … eminentissimus, ducum maximus (Tiberius). In fact there seems no good reason why the emperor should here be called civis, though in itself this is possible (Prop. 3.11.55, Pliny Pan. 2.3, Suet. Cal. 49.1 with various implications; cf. the spurious line 6.559). Thirdly the verb adfectare ought to refer to usurpation, but at the first battle of Bedriacum (which is the campaign referred to by Tacitus adduced on 102) Otho was the man in possession and Vitellius the usurper. I have therefore come to accept Nisbet’s (234) deletion of summi … campis as the only way to cure all the difficulties.

104 SUMMI DUCIS 10.147; here ironical, cf. on 4.145. But the phrase can mean
also simply ‘the emperor’, Mart. 1.70.6, 6.91.1.

105 CURARE CUTES A Horatian phrase (Epist. 1.2.29, 1.4.15; cf. Serm. 2.5.38 pelliculam curare, Pers. 4.18), but by him used metaphorically.

106 BEBRIACI CAMPIS The form of this name in Bebr- is found in [Juvenal], his scholiasts, and Priscian GLK 2.69.22 (who is probably thinking of this passage). Celtic cognates are quoted by Herr Rev. Phil. 11, 1893, 208, but the forms in Bedr- and Betr- found in other authors are probably more correct. The proper Celtic form would have -ācum (Schulze LEG 11 sqq., esp. 15), but [Juvenal] has been influenced by Latin adjectives in -ācus (cf. Mattiācus Mart. 14.27.2). Bebriacum is a noun, but place-names are often turned into adjectives without adjectival suffixes (6.544, Mart. 9.42.1 campis… Myrinis with the note of Heraeus, HS 427, KS 1.233, Wackernagel 2.59, Schulze LEG 535, and contrast Tac. Hist. 2.70 Bedriacensibus campis). The adjectival form Bebriacus is presented not only by PS but also by the scholiasts on 99 and 106 (in the singular), and Priscian refers to the word as an adjective. Yet on the whole Bebriaci deserves preference as more liable to corruption.

SPOLIUM solium is favoured by the common combination of affectare | with nouns such as regnum, and could easily have been corrupted because of 100; but it is not really supported by the passage of Claudian adduced by Clausen (quis solio campum praeponere suavit avito? where it refers to a weaver’s stool), affectare is also combined with words like opes (Livy 24.22.11, 37.53.5), and it is doubtful whether a ‘throne’ of Rome would be spoken of before the establishment of the court ceremonial of the later despotism (Alföldi 243 = Röm. Mitt. 50, 1935, 125).


108 Semiramis, the semi-mythical Assyrian queen, was famed both as lover and warrior.

ORBE ‘region’ as often; cf. axis 8.116 and Housman on Manil. 4.677.

109 MAESTA would presumably refer to the time after her defeat, but one would not expect her to use cosmetics then. Perhaps we should read saeva, which is confused with maesta at Stat. Th. 1.592 and could have been corrupted via vaesa; at 7.60 there are special reasons for the variant.

110 Any table is sacred; 6.O.4, RE mensa 947.57 and add Plut. Quaest. Symp. 7.4.7.704b, Quaest. Rom. 64, Arnob. 2.67 (for oaths by the table see Festus 124). But here the reference is probably to the table on which the offering of 86 would be placed; cf. Macrobr. Sat. 3.11.3–8 with the commentary of von Jan, RE l.c. 946.37 (where Festus 157 is quoted without warning in a much supplemented form); hence τραπεζόω and its derivatives.

111 As Housman points out, whether turpis is taken as genitive or nominative singular, an absurd combination is produced, respectively Cybeles et libertas et senex and libertas Cybeles et loquendi. Cybele est (so the respectable Vat. 3286) is bad in sense, for Cybele is not present; turpi (F. P. Nash in his edition of 1892)
gives a clumsy, overloaded phrase. It is best to follow Housman in taking *turpis* as substantival (cf. on 9) and nominative plural; this termination (see Neue-Wagener 2.60) was obsolete in Juvenal’s day and is not elsewhere convincingly supported by his mss. (though P twice offers it; at 11.3 AH read *omnes*), but here has the advantage of avoiding homoeoteleuton, which when both syllables receive the metrical beat Juvenal avoids except with noun and adjective in agreement or co-ordinate words (otherwise I have noticed only 6.573 *cuiús manibús*, 9.40 *ét cevét*, 14.176 *qui fierí*). Note that at 6.0.3 (which may be compared for the sense of *turpis*) O spells *omnis turpes similique cinaedis*. If this defence fails to satisfy, we might read [142] *typanumst* (cf. 6.515, 8.176, though there Juvenal uses the form *tympanum*).


LIBERTAS Not like the *libertas* of Creticus (77).

112 FANATICUS See on 4.123; here of a priest of Cybele, as Livy 37.9.9, 38.19.4, Prudent. *Perist.* 10.1062; for ANTISTES cf. *CIL* 8.23400–1 and *CEL* 111.26. This is one of the *turpis Cybeles*, who, effeminate themselves (though not actually eunuch Galli; cf. 115–16 and contrast the *ingens semivir* of 6.513), gladly participated in this parody of the rites of the Bona Dea.


CONDUCENDUS Cf. 15.112 (6.558).

115 TAMEN relates to the following relative clause (cf. 8.272, Ovid *Fasti* 3.553), which in effect is concessive.

115–16 CULTRIS ABRUMPERE They usually employed a sharp stone or potsherd (6.514) for castration, but mention is also made of knives (*culter* Mart. 9.2.14; Cumont 225 n. 39, Graillot 296, RAC *Gallos* 1004, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 4.237 and add *novacula* Prudent. *Perist.* 10.1081, σάγαρις Philippus *AP* 6.94.5 = Gow–Page *GP* 2724); the reason for the divergence in practice is not clear. *Abrumpere* is a less obvious word than *absci(n)dere*, presented in Claudian’s imitation of this passage, and is chosen for its implication of brutal hacking; cf. *vena revulsa* Prudent. l.c. 1074.

TEMPUS ERAT Mart. 4.33.2 etc.; cf. on 3.163 and Ronconi *Athen.* 21, 1943, 11.

117 GRACCHUS is again attacked in 8.199–210. He was one of the Salii (125–6 and on 8.207–8), and oddly enough the badly copied and evidently fragmentary inscription *CIL* 6.1515 mentions a Ti. Sempronius Graccus (sic) who was a Salius Collinus (cf. on 126); but he cannot be identical with Juvenal’s Gracchus as he was of Augustan date (*RE* Sempronius 1427 no. 58). The ‘marriage’ is like those of Nero with Sporus and Pythagoras (Suet. *Nero* 28, Tac. *Ann.* 15.37.4, Dio Cass. 62.28.2–3
and 63.13.1–2; in the last passage it is remarked that the usual prayer for children was included, cf. 137). Mart. 12.42 is very similar to Juvenal (cf. also 1.24), and see too SHA quoted on 96.

QUADRINGENTA DEDIT ... SESTERTIA DOTEM The 'bride' gives (cf. 6.137, q.v.) 'her' husband enough to make him an eques (1.106, ||[143] 14.326); the dowry is also mentioned Mart. 12.42.5 and in the accounts of Nero.

118 i.e. sive tubicini, cf. 8.26; non tuba recteri, non aeris cornua flexi Ovid Met. 1.98 and the trumpet at Veget. 3.5 contrasted with aes curvum ibid. 2.7 (see on 14.199). The trumpeter probably performed in the ceremonies of the Salii (Wissowa 557) or of the amphitheatre (143, 3.34, 10.214).

119 TABULAE nuptiales cf. 9.75–6, 6.200; SIGNATAE sealed by witnesses 10.336 (see Tacitus quoted there on all the following). Cf. RE tabulae nuptiales, Marquardt 48, Blümner1 355. Papyrus specimens are printed in FIRA 3 no. 17 and discussed by H. A. Sanders TAPA 69, 1938, 104 and Michigan Papyri 7 (1947) no. 434 and 444; Wenger Arch. Pap.-Forsch. 15, 1953, 140.

FELICITER auspex dicitur paranimphus qui interest nuptiis eo quod ... primus 'feliciter' dicat Schol. bern. lucan 2.371.

INGENS Though Augustus had tried to limit expense at the marriage breakfast (Gell. 2.24.14; cf. SG 1.235 = 1.277).

120 CENA i.e. cenantes, cf. on. 5.82; on the wedding-feast cf. 6.202, Blümner1 357, Marquardt 52–3.

SEDET Guests reclined at a Roman meal, but they sat while waiting for it to begin (Blümner1 397).

GREMIO Apul. Met. 6.24 accumbebat ... maritus, Psychen gremio suo complexus.

IACUIT Under the Republic 'she' would have sat; SG 1.248 = 1.292, Blümner1 364 and 386, Marquardt 300–1. For the line ending cf. Ovid Her. 13.139 nova nupta marito. Note the perfect following sedet; many examples are collected by Friedlaender on 1.157.

121 PROCERES See on 4.73. The occurrence of O here and in 126 indicates strong emotion.

CENSORE An allusion to Domitian (see on 30, and also on 14.50).

HARUSPICE To suggest a procuratio for such a monstrum (122, 143); cf. 13.62 and Aurel. Vict. Caes. 5.5 (Nero) lecto ex omnibus prodigiosis.

122 HORRERES Sc. magis from maiora. Monstrous births are a common form of portent, cf. Wülker 16.

124 SEGMENTA 'flounces' cf. 6.89, Marquardt 548, Blümner1 255 and 2 1.212.

LONGOS HABITUS The stola and instita (Blümner1 351 n. 3).

FLAMMEA The wedding-veil, orange in colour, cf. 6.225, 10.334 (q.v.), Blümner1 351–2, Marquardt 45, Wilson 141–2; particular mention is also made of it in the accounts of Nero and in Mart. 12.42.3 (cf. on 117). There is a strong contrast
between the dress of a bride and that of a Salii.

125 ARCANO … LORO Mart. 6.21.9 in a different sense. The shields were carefully stored away (condere, cf. Thes. ancile 27.22) except during the March festivals and that on 19 October; they were probably kept in the Regia, though there is some doubt about this (Wissowa 144, 556; RE Salii 1880; K. Gross Die Unterpfänder der röm. Herrschaft (1935) 108–9).

126 SUDAVIT saltus saliaris as an exercise Sen. Ep. 15.4; here the word is deliberately undignified.

CLIPEI Ancilus Ancile is usually a noun, but arma ancilia is found (Thes. 2.27.27).

126–8 There were two colleges of Salii, the Palatine which worshipped Mars (cf. 128) and the Colline (cf. on 117) which apparently worshipped Quirinus (Latte 113 n. 3, Wissowa 154 and 555, Gerschel Rev. Hist. Rel. 138, 1950, 145), here as usual (3.67, 8.259, 11.105) identified with the deified Romulus, pater urbis. The Romans are Romulidae (Lucr. 4.683, Verg. Aen. 6.638, Pers. 1.31); compare the famous lines of Ennius

{o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum,
	tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras.}

For the conception in general see Alföldi Mus. Helv. 11, 1954, 134, Heubner on Tac. Hist. 4.58.6, Weinstock 200 sqq. and add e.g. Verg. Aen. 8.134 Dardanus, Iliaceae primus pater urbis; cf. on 8.244 and Housman on Manil. 4.718.

Pastoribus 3.67, 8.275; cf. 74 above.

NEPOTES The Romulidae were grandsons of Mars, but probably no specific relationship is intended; cf. Hor. Odes 1.2.35.

Urtica 11.168; similarly κνίδη produces κνίδωσις. The touch (TETIGIT) of the nettle stings. At Petron. 138 Encolpius is whipped with nettles to restore his virility.

129 Traditur in matrimonium.

Galeam Quassas Lucian Dial. Deor. 20.10 as a threat; Mars being helmeted, this corresponds to the usual caput quassare, a sign of anger (Sittl 82 n. 10; more in Thes. caput 390.34, though not all instances there quoted indicate anger).

NeC See on 3.102.

Terram Cuspide Pulsas In Greece to smite the ground with one’s staff is a sign of strong emotion (Aesch. Ag. 202; Plut. Solon 29.7, Phocion 33.10, De Def. Orac. 7.413a); the god of war naturally uses his spear instead. Cuspis properly means the sharp metal tip of a spear, then by synecdoche the whole spear, even when (as here and Verg. Aen. 12.386) the blunt end of the wooden shaft is more in point.

131 NeC Quereris Patri Cf. 13.113 (q.v.); as he does when wounded by Athene, Iliad 5.872 sqq. [145]

Vade See on 1.145; Sen. Phoen. 622 vade et id bellum gere.
CAMPI i.e. Martii, where he had his altar (10.83; Wissowa 142); the word should be printed with a capital.

SEVERI Mart. 10.30.2 severi ... oppidum Martis; the Campus Martius was the scene of many state activities.

NEGLEGIS Hor. Odes 1.2.35.

132 OFFICIUM A word applied to all social obligations (3.239, 5.13, 10.45), often in the early morning; of weddings 6.203, Suet. Nero 28.1 (cf. on 117) etc. Cf. p. 18, SG 1.209 = 1.243, Marquardt 261, Blümner¹ 355 and 381. The crowds gather early for the wedding at Stat. Silv. 1.2.229.

IN VALLE QUIRINI This form of reference hints at degeneracy from Quirinus, cf. 126 and 8.14. Beer 62 points out that this valley is probably mentioned also by Ovid Fasti 4.375, though there again most mss. read colle, a clear interpolation from other passages where the more familiar collis Quirinalis is meant (see BICS 14, 1967, 46).

134 NUBIT Cf. Mart. 1.24.4; the bride is here and normally the subject of this verb, cf. 137.


FIENT, FIENT Cf. p. 32; an emotional figure.

PALAM They begin at present domi (cf. 84).

136 ACTA The Gazette (7.104 and see in general Schanz–Hosius 1.380–2) had a court column which might cover the noble (145) Gracchus; cf. 9.84, RE Acta 293.65, Marquardt 88.

137 INTEREA Until that (135–6) happens.

138 Cf. on 117. The purpose of marriage in Juvenal’s time was almost exclusively considered to be the procreation of legitimate children (cf. the tabulae mentioned on 119; the very word matrimonium means ‘mothering’), and the first divorce at Rome involving a guiltless wife was said to have been because of sterility; cf. Varro Sat. Men. 553, Balsdon¹ 83–4; ² 209–10, RE nuptiae 1482, matrimonium 2260, Daube PCA 74, 1977, 16 sqq. and note fecunda 6.162. Mutual affection between man and woman as a motive for marriage only becomes prominent later than Juvenal (though affectus maritalis is a familiar concept within marriage), and divorce was easy and common. Plut. Amatorius 23.768f Periander ἠρώτα τὸν ἐρώμενον εἰ μήπω κύει, and cf. Mart. 12.42.

PARTU RETINERE MARITOS Cf. Dio Chrys. 15.8.

139 MELIUS QUOD Cf. bene quod (Thes. s.v. bonus 2122.84).

141 A fat quack with her fertility drugs, like the one mentioned by Marcian Dig. 48.8.3.2 who was relegated for causing death by giving a medicamentum ad conceptionem; cf. RE medicamenta mala. For ||146 fertility drugs see Hippocrates Γυναικεία passim, Schneider fecunditas and sterilitas, André 174 n. 105.

142 PALMAS Plut. Caes. 61.2; probably originally the whole body was whipped

143–8 should be placed in parenthesis; see the introduction.

TUNICATI See ibid. Gracchus’ activities as a gladiator are mentioned also in 8.199–210, and his tunica in 207. He performed as a retiarius, and retiarii were usually nudi (on 4.49), i.e. clothed only in a subligaculum. Suet. Cal. 30 mentions a tunica (but the point is obscure), and so on some representations (Bull. Archeol. Napolitano n.s. 1, 1852, tav. 7; a mosaic in Colin 365 after Rev. Arch. 1 8.2, 1852, 407; Faccenna Bull. Mus. d. Civitá Romana 16 (= Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom. 73, 1949–50, appendix) 4, and 19 (= B. C. 76, 1956–8) 52; Reeve CR 23, 1973, 125 n. 2). At 6.O.9–13 a retarius qui nudus pugnare solet refuses to associate with one who wears a turpis tunica, cf. 8.209–10. The reference is simply to the costume of amateurs, citizens acting as gladiators; for such see 11.5–8, SG 2.48–50 = 2.59–61 and 2.17 = 2.19.

FUSCINA Cf. 8.204 tridens, SG 4.173 = 4.261, RE retiarius 692.36.

FUGA 8.206; from the secutor.

145–6 The Manlii Capitolini and the Aemilii Pauli (8.21) had by now died out; we hear of a M. Iunius Silanus Latatius Catulus (PIR 2 I 836), there were a few Claudii Marcelli (PIR 2 C 922–4) and Marcellini, and the many Fabii (6.266, 8.14 and 191) did not belong to the old patrician family. There is something to be said for Catulis Paulique (Lipsius Epist. Quaest. 4.25), as it is hard to be sure which of the two well-known Catuli Juvenal had in mind (the elder 8.253); but see the similar ambiguity at 8.105. 145 is a massively grand line.

GENEROSIOR An exaggeration.

147 PODIUM The front row, where the senators sat, and at this time also the imperial family (Trajan having removed the pulvinar or imperial box, Pliny Pan. 51). Cf. RE podium 1145.30, SG 2.4 = 2.5, Balsdon 2 259–60, Cameron 2 176.

IPSUM Presumably Nero, as Σ says; he used to watch toto podio adaperto, Suet. 12.2.

ADMOVEAS i.e. addas; MUNERE ablative of time, cf. Lucil. 149 and HS 147.

149 Iliad 23.103 ἢ ἰᾶ τις ἐστὶ καὶ εἶν Αἰδαὶ δόμοισι / ψυχῆ καὶ [i147] ἐ ἱδωλον (where τι is a variant); Prop. 4.7.1 sunt aliquid manes (whence probably CIL 11.1616 = CEL 1190.3 si tamen at manes credimus esse aliquid). Aliquid here has some faint manuscript support and was conjectured by Burman (on Prop. l.c. and Anth. Lat. 2 p. 41) and Schrader, but cf. CIL 6.3221 and 32784 si sunt aliq. inferi (evidently meaning aliquid), 12735 si qui estis manes; contrast Ovid Fasti 6.366 putant aliquos scilicet esse deos with Met. 6.543 si numina divum / sunt aliquid, and note that at Ex Ponto 2.1.55 the mss. read sunt quaedam oracula vatum.

150 COCYTUM Of the three sources of Liutprand’s text, one reads contum and one coitum corrected to contum. A Zwickau ms. of Juvenal is reported to
read *cochetum*. *Contum* is due to Verg. *Aen*. 6.302, where Charon is described propelling his *cumba* (303, cf. Juv. 151 and Petron. there adduced; the usual word for Charon’s boat); but this would be a strange detail to single out, the boat is not relevant until 151, and Cocytum is confirmed by Vergil 297. For the asyndeton cf. 12.46, 15.135. Cf. *CIL* 6.14672 = *ILS* 8156 = *IG* 14.1746 οὐκ ἔστ’ ἐν Ἀδου πλοίον, οὐ πορθμεύς Χάρων.

**RANAS** Thinking of Aristophanes.

**NIGRAS** Like everything in the underworld (J. André *Étude sur les Termes de Couleur* (1949) 342, 363; Radke 15).


**NONDUM AERE LAVANTUR** The usual price of admission to the public baths was a *quadrans* (6.447) for a man, but children in some cases at least were admitted free; *RE* *Bäder* 2749, Meusel 102, Blümner¹ 422, Marquardt 322–3 and 274, Carcopino 254.

153 TU Cf. on 61; *PUTA* cf. 5.7.

**CURIUS** recalls 3. He fought against the Samnites and Pyrrhus, Fabricius (9.142, 11.91), who was censor in 275 B.C., against Pyrrhus, Camillus (16.15) against Veii and the Gauls. They are often associated as patterns of old Roman manhood (see Otto under their names and add Mart. 7.58.7; Val. Max. 4.4.11, Plin. *Pan*. 13.4 with *Scipiones*).

**SCIPIADAE** A hybrid form coined (by Ennius? It is known first in Lucilius) when *Sci pi o* would not fit a hexameter (Ennius *var*. 3 gets [[148]] round this by correction, *Scipio invictae*); Juvenal could incorporate *Scipio* but not *Scipiones*, and in any case the grand form suits the context. Verg. *Aen*. 6.843 (where see Norden) also has the plural, followed by mention of Fabricius and the Fabii.

**CREMERAE LEGIO** The 306 Fabii killed in 406 B.C. by the people of Veii; cf. Lucan 2.46 *Cannarum … Trebiaeque iuventus*. Cf. Ogilvie *Commentary on Livy I*–*V* 359.

**IUVENTUS** ‘fighting men’ as often; Gell. 10.28 and (with a false etymology) Varro ap. *Censorin*. 14.2; cf. *iuvenis* 8.51.

156 TOT Probably to be taken with ANIMAE. Cf. Lucan 1.447 *fortes animas belloque peremptas*; Σ compares id. 6.786 *lustrales bellis animas*, also in a list of traditional heroes.

157–8 Such means of purification imply the primitive view that pollution is

159 The supposition of 153 is now treated as fact. For TRADUCIMUR cf. 7.16, 8.17, 11.31; the Romans are led like captives in a triumph, though seemingly victorious (162).

159–62 are very Tacitean in content (details follow), cf. on 102.

ULTRA LITORA IUVERNAE Juvenal exaggerates; Agricola (*Tac. Agr.* 24, where see Ogilvie–Richmond) planned an expedition against Ireland but did not carry it out. As well as Hibernia, Ireland was called Iuverna (Mela 3.6.53, Ptolemy and others listed by W. Pape–G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der Griech. Eigennamen* (1884) s.v. *Iouerpvia* and Ἴερνη (*RE* *Hibernia* 1389). Syme *Ammianus and the Hist. Aug.* (1968) 140 calls attention to Claudian *IV Cons. Honor.* 33 *Hiberne, Cons. Stil.* 2.251 *Iuerne* or *Hiberna* according to the mss.

161 ORCADAS *Tac. Agr.* 10.4 (where see Ogilvie–Richmond) in A.D. 84; MODO thus covers about 20 years (see introduction).

MINIMA NOCTE is again rather strong. Britain was considered to be so far north that sometimes accounts of the midnight sun were applied to it; in fact the longest day is about 3½ hours longer at the north of Scotland than in Rome, and the shortest night in the Shetlands is about 5 hours long. See Caesar *BG* 5.13.2–4 with T. Rice Holmes (on 4.126) 225–6, *Tac. Agr.* 12.3 with Ogilvie–Richmond, *Pliny NH* 2.186–7 (with Beaujeu pp. 238–9) and 4.104, *Pan. Lat.* 6.9.3 (p. 192 mynors), Hipparchus ap. Strabo 2.75 = fr. 61 Dicks (q.v. 185 sqq.), Thomson (on 1–2) 147 sqq. [[149]

MINIMA CONTENTOS Because they cannot have any more (cf. 9.9, 13.47).

162–3 Very much the spirit in which Tacitus in the *Germania* (see the editions of Anderson xv sqq. and Perret 17 sqq.; also Syme 126, Kroll 303) contrasts the barbarian tribes with Roman civilisation; cf. 9.131–3.

163–7 CUNCTIS EPEBIS MOLLIOR Cf. 11.66; CUNCTIS means ‘all other’ cf. 11.25 (q.v.), 10.13, 8.97, Bell 195, Enk on Prop. 2.1.57. The word *ephebus* (10.306) suggests effeminacy (MOLLIOR cf. 47).

OBSES Hostages were often exacted from the frontier peoples of the East; e.g. the Tigranes who *diu obses apud Urbem fuerat* (*Tac. Ann.* 14.26.1, cf. 15.1.2, 2.2.2, 6.32.2 and 43.3). Suet. *Cal.* 36 mentions the seduction of hostages by Caligula; on their Romanisation see *Tac. ll.cc.* and 12.10–11, and A. Aymard *Études d’Histoire Ancienne* (1967) 458 = *JRS* 51, 1961, 141. The tribune here was probably Z’s guard.

166 φθείρουν ἣθη χρήσθ’ ὁμιλίαι κακαί.

167 HOMINES ‘men of the world’; but not *viri* (10.304). Note the shift to the
plural; see index variation.

URBEM Since this means Rome, it would be better printed with a capital, cf. 3.60 and 7.162.

168 INDULSIT as the text stands is a solecism; it ought to be *indulserit*. Leo was probably right to suspect a gap after *pueris* of the general sense *<docti rediere domique instituunt alios>* since in other lines of emendation the tenses of 167–70 cause some harshness (referent Markland and Ruperti). Clausen tries to soften this by punctuation, as if 170 were the reason for 169; but *adeo* rather than *sic* would be required. Better put a semi-colon after 168 and a full stop after 169, so that 170 stands on its own as a closing *epiphonema* (Quintil. 8.5.11). Professor Nisbet suggests *induerit*, with which cf. Sen. Med. 43 *Caucasum mente indue*.

NON … AMATOR Cf. 9.130.

169 MITTENTUR *dimittentur* Σ, *omittentur* Probus; in favour of women’s dress, cf. 83–142. The following items are part of the attire of young Armenians. For BRACAE see DS s.v., *RE* ἀναξυρίδες; for CULTELLI DS *culter* 1584 n. 25, Joseph. AJ 18.45 (*CGL* 2.562.48 Παρθικὸν μαχαίριον *cultellum* refers to here). The Armenians usually fought from horseback (cf. FRENA, FLAGELLUM), for which purpose this weapon was easier to manage than a sword.

170 PRAETEXTATOS Like those of the young Romans, cf. on 1.78 and the phrase *praetextata verba* (Mooney on Suet. *Vesp.* 22). But we are also meant to link the word with the change of dress indicated ||150 in 169, as if in Juvenal’s eyes the dress of women and of young Romans were now synonymous terms.

REFERUNT ARTAXATA I take *Artaxata* to be nominative and *referunt* to mean ‘bring back’, as if the *mores* were the spoils of war; this carries on the idea that the Romans, apparently victorious (162), are in fact defeated (159). The meaning might also be that the *ephebi* bring back these morals to Artaxata, or that A. recalls (1.66) Roman morals. Pliny *Ep.* 4.22.7 also speaks of the deleterious effect of a Roman habit on provincials; of course moralists, and particularly Juvenal, usually speak of foreigners corrupting Rome (cf. p. 19), so what we have here is something of a paradox.
Satire Three

This poem is unusual in form in that, like Hor. Serm. 2.3, it consists mainly of a long monologue addressed to the poet with an introduction and conclusion to establish a dramatic setting. As if aroused by the denunciation of Rome’s corruption at the end of the preceding poem, Juvenal’s friend Umbricius is leaving Rome in disgust and retiring to Cumae. It is impossible to say, and not important to know, whether this is historically true or Juvenal has invented Umbricius; one might argue that Juvenal would have made an invented figure retire to one of the towns of 191 sqq. or 223–4 rather than the Greek Cumae. If however he is an invented figure we can see why he should have been invented; Juvenal had expressed an urge to leave Rome (2.1–2), but his love-hatred relationship with the metropolis keeps him there, and it is much more forceful to put the denunciation of Rome in the mouth of one who finds the city so intolerable that he is shaking its dust from his feet and going into exile (29) than it would have been for Juvenal himself, who only occasionally goes off to Aquinum (318), to denounce Rome while continuing to live in it. Cairns (see introduction to Twelve) 47–8 classifies the poem in terms of rhetoric as a συντακτικόν (Menander rhetor in L. Spengel Rhetores Graeci 3.430–4; Cairns 38–40), the farewell of a departing traveller (in this case the type in which he leaves home for another city), but a reversal of the usual pattern in that here the traveller attacks the home which he is leaving instead of expressing regret. One can fit some details into this classification (e.g. the comparison with other places in 170–231, in this case unfavourable to Umbricius’ patria), but it hardly seems to have been prominent in Juvenal’s mind.

The structure is simple and symmetrical.

I. 1–20 Introduction.

II. The difficulty of making a living; foreshadowed by Umbricius 21–4.
   (a) Honesty does not produce a living (21–2) 21–57. [152]
   (b) Foreigners oust Romans (22 nulla emolumenta laborum) 58–125.
   (c) Poverty is despised and helpless (23–4; res 23, 155, 165) 126–89.
III. The discomfits and dangers of the city; foreshadowed by Juvenal 7–9 (so there is a chiastic pattern; III foreshadowed, II foreshadowed, II, III). The junction of II and III is bound together by the theme of the little country towns 168–92.

(a) 190–231 Falling buildings and fire.
(b) 232–67 Crowds and traffic.
(c) 268–314 Perils of the night, accidents and assaults. (b) and (c) (mille pericula saevae urbis 8–9) are arranged to show the events of a whole day; night 232–8, morning 239–48, main part of the day 249–61, late afternoon 261–7, evening 268–301, night 302 sqq.

IV. Conclusion, which recalls the introduction (the removal wagon 10 and 317; Umbricius’ secessus at Cumae with its Sibyl and Juvenal’s refectio at Aquinum with its Ceres and Diana; the terror inspired by the reciting poets of Rome (9) contrasted with Umbricius’ willingness to be an auditor (322; cf. 1.1) of Juvenal at Aquinum, whence we infer that Juvenal’s satires are a cut above the ordinary).

Juvenal makes it plain in 5–8 that he fully shares the feelings of Umbricius as far as concerns III (and it seems to be merely a structural device that Umbricius foreshadows II and Juvenal III), and 60–6, 114–18 look more like words of the declaiming satirist than of Umbricius. The two seem to be of much the same social position, and the nature of their complaints in II is revealing. If a man of comparable position today were faced with the problem of making a living in a large city, his answer in most cases would be to look for work; but this notion never occurs to Umbricius, who on the contrary despises those who do this (31, 76, even though some of the associated occupations were not considered artes honestae 21). His only idea is to hang on to the coat-tails of some wealthy man (compare how Tacitus Hist. 1.4.3 contrasts pars populi integra et magnis domibus adnexa,clientes libertique with the plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, or Martial 10.10.11 complains quid faciet paua cui non licet esse clienti?); those who do get on are upstarts (38–40) and their \textit{[[153]]} kind of prosperity is to him sour grapes (54–7); he is afraid of being ousted from traditional privileges by immigrants (I cannot accept Finley’s remark, 60 ‘It is decisive to note that in the familiar denunciation of freedmen and metics, from Plato to Juvenal, the invariable theme is moral, not economic. They are condemned for their vices and their evil ways, never as competitors who were depriving honest men of a livelihood’), and feels that, irrespective of his merits, his nationality should secure him favour (cf. Mart. 10.76, but note that, unlike Juvenal, Martial shows little racial prejudice); he self-righteously complains that the competition is unfair (119–25); he implies that it is his ineffectiveness and not his principles that keeps him from captatio (127, 161; cf. 92); he attaches great importance to status and maintaining appearances (147–89; note that a man like him may expect (167) to have slaves, though he himself (286)
does not seem to have any).

The fact that Juvenal must be assumed to be entirely in sympathy with Umbri- cius, who to us does not seem to be a wholly faultless character, shows that he did not possess the intellect to diagnose the problem presented by urban society in his day, which for one class at least sprang from two sources. First, the institution of slavery produced in Rome, as in another very different culture, the ‘poor white’ mentality with a hierarchy of occupations, some of which are *sordidae*, not *liberales*. *Negotiator* itself is a term of reproach in Mart. 11.66, whereas to the freedman at Petron. 38.14 undertaking (cf. Juv. 32) is *honesta* (cf. Juv. 21) *negotiatio*; cf. Quintil. quoted on 155–9. To Cicero *De Off.* 1.150 *portitores* (cf. Juv. 31) are a disreputable profession. This passage of Cicero is generally illuminating and has been much discussed; see de Robertis 52, *RE Industrie* 1510, Brunt *PCPS* 19, 1973, 26; on the Greek background Nörr; *ZRG* 82, 1965, 79 n. 53 reviewing de Robertis (Cicero may here mirror Panaetius, as Seneca *Ep.* 88.21–3 Posidonius, but neither is false to Roman views); on the whole topic Crook1 193 sqq., Finley 73–6 and generally chs. 2–3, pointing out that hired labour working for wages is what Cicero finds particularly degrading, Blümner1 599–600. Umbricius feels indignation that the law of Rome ignores these social distinctions (155).

Secondly, another fundamental institution of Roman society, the *clientela*, turned into an instrument of pauperisation when possession of slaves became wide-spread. Juvenal often criticises the degeneration of personal relationships between patron and client into those of commerce (see p. 21).

A writer who for once shows himself more perceptive, Dio Chrysostom, analyses this problem in his seventh speech (on which see Brunt l.c. 9 sqq.), 104 sqq., in which he poses the problem what *oι κωμόποι πέλητες* are to do in the city, and realises that the answer lies in *oι αὐτουργεῖν βουλόμενοι* (125; though not any kind of work is acceptable (106), e.g. one should not sink to being a *praeco*, cf. Juv. 157).

*Addendum, originally on p. 194:* On the Euboean speech see also C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrys.* (1978) 59–60, 129–30.] This speech lays much emphasis on the antithesis between rustic virtue and urban corruption, which was deeply rooted in ancient thought, and Umbricius too, though he does not actually set up a rural ideal, frames an antithesis between Rome and little country towns, Cumae and others (169 sqq., 190–2, 223–4; yet in 34 *municipalis* is a sneer (cf. on 8.238) and reveals in his hatred for Rome something of the love-hatred which we have remarked in Juvenal). It is consistent with this that we catch hints of an anti-urban genre of literature, the pastoral; in particular the tranquility of the concluding departure at sunset (316) reminds us of the end of several Vergilian Bucolics (1.83, 2.66–7, 6.85–6, 10.75–7; cf. Calp. Sic. 5.119–21), and Umbricius has something of Meliboeus about him (29 *cedamus patria*; Verg. 1.3–4 *nos patriae fines et dulcia linquimus arva, nos patriam fugimus*).

Apart from scattered parallels in Martial, some epigrams show a closer resem-
blance; 3.38 (13 quid faciam? ... certum est vivere Romae cf. Juv. 41) and 4.5 on the
difficulty of making a living at Rome, 12.18 addressed to Juvenal on the contrast
between his life at Rome and the peace of Martial’s retirement in Spain. One won-
ders if Juvenal accompanied his friend to the gates of Rome when he retired to
Spain about A.D. 98.

M. Hodgart *Satire* (1969) 129 makes some remarks on the wider significance of
this poem which deserve quotation. ‘The device of the crowded canvas is found
almost everywhere from Juvenal’s *Rome* through Pope’s *Dunciad* to the horrible
collective canteens of 1984. The reasons for its prevalence are that satire is an ur-
ban art, and that city crowds, mindless and faceless, are unpleasant to most peo-
ple. But there is a deeper reason for the effectiveness of this device. The opposite of
the satirist’s butt is the heroic individual who in tragedy or epic is pictured as [155]
standing alone in his moment of triumph or defeat. The tragic hero loses in his
conflict with society, but is allowed to die in glorious isolation. And so the great
leader is depicted in painting or sculpture. When grotesque or comic realist art
shows a seething mass, whether of devils in Hell or of Flemish peasants, dignity
is impossible’. Ibid. 135 ‘This is the first great urban poem, the first to do justice to
the complexities of city life, and that has been its fascination for writers ever since.
Most writers, after all, have lived in cities for part of their lives; even if they prefer
to live in the country, their patrons and public are in the capital cities, which are
the centres of political and cultural life, and where most interesting events take
place. At the same time cities are always unpleasant places to live in; if the plague
gets better, the traffic gets worse. Thus writers are bound to their cities in a pow-
erful love-hate relationship’. And 137 ‘The moral centre of Juvenal’s satire really
lies ... not in the preference of the country over the town; Johnson, who believed
that the man who is tired of London is tired of life, was patently insincere in saying
that he wished to escape, and we may assume that Juvenal was too; he would have
found the country even less tolerable than Rome ... Johnson concentrates with
weighty sincerity on one of Juvenal’s main points: that there is one law for the rich
and another for the poor, who must bear “oppression’s wrong”: “Slow rises worth
by poverty depressed”. Juvenal ... has succeeded in making a powerful protest
against social injustice ... He identifies himself ... with the poor freemen of Rome.
Uprooted and powerless, Juvenal writes with true desperation—but with a gaiety
born of desperation ... Juvenal is a great comic writer; he cannot help making the
miseries of life more absurdly unfair than they really are, and thus he reminds that
satire must entertain as well as denounce.’ The caveat must be entered that this
rather exaggerates the uprightness of Umbricius.

1 DIGRESSU ... CONFUSUS (‘upset’) Pliny *Pan.* 86.3 quam ego audio confusionem tuam fuisse cum digredientem prosequereris!
VETERIS Cf. 1.132.
2 VACUIS (cf. 10.102; whereas Rome is over-full, 232 sqq.) CUMIS quieta Cyme Stat. Silv. 4.3.65; it was overshadowed by the foundation of Puteoli in 194 B.C. Cf. Sirago 15. [156]

3 CIVEM DONARE Cf. 14.70.

UNUM Even if she has no more, as if Cumae were literally vacuae, a ghost-town; cf. solum 6. He indicates Umbricius' independence.

SIBYLLAE A testa which is municeps of the Sibyl, Mart. 14.114. The association of the Sibyl and Daedalus (25) shows that Juvenal has in mind Aen. 6 init.

4 Cumae is at the neck of the peninsula on which Baiae stands, and affords easy access to that pleasant spot with its mild climate and hot sulphur springs (11.49, SG 1.337 = 1.407); cf. 11.124 porta, Sen. Ep. 55.7. Travellers to Baiae would pass through the Arco Felice at Cumae.

GRATUM LITUS AMOENI SECESSUS It is rare to find adjective and genitive of quality not coupled by et, but cf. 5.46–7, 9.28–9, 10.125, perhaps 15.76, Sen Dial. 12.5.5 (not however 48 below), etc.

AMOENI SECESSUS Tac. Ann. 14.62.3, Suet. Cal. 45.3; amoenus is the recurrent epithet of this area (D’Arms 132). Wealthy Romans liked to retire to sea-side or country for relaxation and refreshment (cf. 319, SG 1.329 = 1.398); the Bay of Naples was fringed with villas.

PROCHYTA Then a desolate island (aspera Stat. Silv. 2.2.76).

SUBURA A bustling street (11.51 and 141) with which Mart. 12.18 links Juvenal himself (cf. p. 2).

7 CREDAS See on 310.

INCENDIA, LAPSUS TECTORUM The two are often coupled (Adamietz 27). The insulae of Rome were jerry-built (Pliny NH 36.176) of largely inflammable materials, with few open spaces to prevent the spread of fire; building regulations such as those of Nero after the great fire of A.D. 64 had no lasting effect (Tac. Ann. 15.43; cf. on 199). See SG 1.21 = 1.23, P. Werner De Incendiis Urbis Romae (1906) 47, Carcopino 39, Brunst 84–6, Packer JRS 57, 1967, 81–2, Yavetz Latomus 17, 1958, 507, A. G. McKay Houses Villas and Palaces (1975) 85–9 and on fires van Ooteghem Études Class. 28, 1960, 305.

8 AC MILLE PERICULA Of course the incendia and lapsus are also pericula, so that English idiom might insert ‘other’ and German say ‘und überhaupt’; but in such concluding phrases Latin often uses et or ac on its own, cf. 10.174 (q.v.), KS 2.25, B. Axelsson Senecastudien (1933) 58. Note Florus 2.21.7 Arabum et Sabaeorum et mille aliarum (this word absent from the best ms.) Asiae gentium.

9 A comic (anti-)climax; they recite (on 1.3) even in the hot and unhealthy weather (on 4.56), when everyone who could would have left Rome (Hor. Epist. 1.7 init.). Pliny Ep. 8.21.2 mentions recitations in July when the courts were closed. The dog-days in the city become an important theme of later satirists (A. Kernan The Plot of Satire (1965) 13n.).
10 DOMUS His frivola (198); not his slaves (cf. 261), since he seems to have none (286). Wagons were not allowed inside the city by day (on 236), so his scant (TOTA … UNA; cf. 23–4) effects have to be carried to one of the gates and loaded there (SG 1.280 = 1.332). Cf. Mart. 2.6.16 interiungere ad Camenas (cf. Juv. 16), meaning ‘to load up’; 3.47 Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta … plena Bassus ibat in raeda … tuta faeno cursor ova portabat (see on 14). urbe petebat Bassus? immo rus ibat; Galen 11.301 Κ χωρίον ένθα τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀποβαίνει εἰς εἶθισμένοι.

RAEDA See on 236.

11 Through the Porta Capena (see Platner–Ashby s.v.) went out the Appian Way; over the gate passed an aqueduct, a branch of the Aqua Marcia (Frontin. 19), which dripped (Mart. quoted on 10). Cf. Platner–Ashby arcus stillans; Lugli 1 p. 161, 2 p. 205, 3 pp. 18–21; T. Ashby Aqueducts of Ancient Rome (1935) 155; E. B. van Deman The Building of the Roman Aqueducts (1934) 141 (for the so-called Nymphaeum of Egeria see N. Neuberger L’Architettura delle Fontane e dei Ninfei nell’ Italia Antica (1965) 161 and pl. 58 (perhaps of Hadrianic date)).

QUE is epexegetic, cf. et 48, KS 2.25, Kroll 261, index conjunctions.

12–16 would be best punctuated thus: amicae, nunc … supellex (omnis … Camenis), in …, so that 12 and 13–14 can be in adversative asyndeton. HIC UBI is a common combination in the first foot (examples in Friedlaender and Thes. hic 2762.37; add Prop. 3.18.5, Mart. 4.25.6). It is rather informal style to say ‘Here, where numa met egeria, we went down into egeria’s valley’, but it is excused by the parenthesis; one should not make VALLEM the antecedent of UBI.

NOCTURNAE AMICAE Not a flattering description of a demigoddess (coniiux Livy 1.21.3; Mart. 10.35.13, who speaks of her ioci, is less disrespectful). The basic sense of NOCTURNAE could be expressed by noctu (cf. 4.108 and on 1.27; Livy 1.19.5 congressus nocturnos), but Juvenal’s expression emphasises the furtiveness of the goddess, cf. 8.114.

CONSTITUEBAT Cf. 6.487; this also suggests furtive assignations. The use with a dative in this sense developed from an ellipse; it can be seen developing in Ter. Haut. 726, Cic. De Or. 1.265.

13 For the grove cf. Livy I.c., Plut. Numa 13.2; Sulpicia 67–8 (spoken by a Muse) nam laureta Numae fontesque habitamus eosdem / et comite Egeria ridemus inania coepta; Symmachus Ep. 1.20.1 Camenarum religio sacro fontis advertitur; Colini (on 10.17) 13. Egeria was associated with the Camenae, Ovid Fasti 3.275; in fact Dion. Hal. AR 2.60 calls [138] her one of them. She and the Camenae are represented as jointly advising Numa (Ovid Met. 15.482, Plut. Numa 8.6 and 13.1). Plut. De Fort. Rom. 9.321b makes her a dryad.

DELUBRA Poetic plural; the temple of the Camenae, of which the exact nature is uncertain (Cancik Röm. Mitteil. 76. 1969, 323–5). What Juvenal says is not to be taken literally; the actual temple could not be hired out. Apart from this the passage is usually understood literally to mean that the grove has been let out for rent
(merces; cf. Mommsen1 2.60–1) to a group of Jews, perhaps to build a synagogue (296) in it, cf. SG 3.178 = 3.210 (there are Jewish cemeteries farther out on the Appian Way, Smallwood 521); but this fails to account for the emphatic OMNIS. More probably the meaning is that the Jews, who had to pay a special tax (the fiscus Iudaicus; Smallwood 515; Bruce Palestine Exploration Quarterly 96, 1964, 34, who however thinks that Nerva exempted Jews resident in Italy), had been allowed to settle there (Mommsen Ges. Schr. 3.419 n. 3); the description of this tax as rent is satirical, not literal, intended to suggest omnia Romae cum pretio (183). Since the Porta Capena was a loading-point, it will have been rather like a modern railway-station (Sturtevant AJP 32, 1911, 322), with a general market where Jews could peddle their wares; it seems to be called Idymaea porta 8.160. The Jewish sacerdos arboris 6.544–5 will have no connection with this passage. For the CO-PHINUS FENUMQUE cf. on 6.542–5; Sidon. Epist. 7.6.3 (incedad) Israelita cum cophino, which however may well refer to Psalm 81.6 = 80.7. This is perhaps the basket used for the feast of first fruits (Schürer 1.446 n. 23; Goodenough 5.84), but it is more probable that food was warmed (cf. 11.70) on the sabbath in a basket of hay, since cooking would not then be allowed (Exodus 35.3 and Mishnah 12 (‘The Sabbath’) 4.1, p. 103 ed. H. Danby (1933); cf. H. Rönsch Collectanea Philologa (1891) 249 = Neue Jahrb. 123, 1881, 692 and 131, 1885, 552; Cameron CR1 40, 1926, 62). Valla notes qualos dicit, ubi sabbato calida asservant, and Σ on 6.542 his pulmentaria sua et calidam aquam die sabbati servare consuerunt. in that case Martial’s reference to eggs carried in straw at the Porta Capena (see on 10) is mere coincidence, and we are not to think of Jews peddling eggs.

MENDICAT SILVA The primary meaning of this is doubtless that the Jews who live in the grove (cf. cena 2.120 and on 1.116) beg for their living (cf. 6.543, Mart. 12.57.13 and on 296); but in this context it is probably also hinted that the trees, pauperised like the poor Romans such as Umbricius, have to beg from the Jews the merces which they are required to pay to the treasury.

Whatever the historical interpretation of the passage, its literary [139] point is clear. Juvenal and Umbricius look for a non-urban setting for the denunciation of Rome, but the one they find is spoiled by foreigners (like the Graeculi soon to be denounced) whose cult has evicted the native Roman goddesses, by greed which profiteers from the sacred, by luxuria which despises simple Roman stone, and in short by lack of respect for Roman tradition (note the emphatic contrast between nunc and Numa, with whom cf. Quirinus 67; it will be noted that the satirist cannot refrain from joking at Numa, his symbol of what is to be respected, cf. p. 24). This porta is quite the opposite of the ianua of 4–5; Egeria’s grove is crowded with the wrong people, whereas the Sibyl lives in a solitary place.

PRAESENTIUS Cf. 11.111 and the context (116 violatus, cf. 3.20), Ovid Am. 3.1.1–2, Pliny Ep. 8.8.5; on the Roman feeling for the numinous in nature see SG 1.380–1 = 1.461 and particularly Ovid Fasti 3.296, Amores 3.13.7–8, Mela 1.75. Egeria would be præsens in the stream; she was changed into a fons (Ovid Met. 15.547 sqq.).

INGENUUM Native; tufa is a soft (Pliny NH 36.166–7) volcanic stone, used by the earliest Italian builders (Blake 23), whereas the marble is probably imported (14.89). The fount was presumably adorned because water for the cult of Vesta was taken from it (Wissowa 219, Latte 77).

The lines certainly show a feeling for nature (cf. SG 1.384–6 = 1.467–9), but from what has been said it will be apparent that this is not their essential point; contrast Sen. Ep. 90.43 rivi non opere nec fistula nec ullo coacto itinere obsolefacti sed sponte currentes.

21–2 Cf. 119 and Pliny Ep. 2.20.12 in ea civitate in qua iam pridem non minora praemia, immo maiora, nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent.

23 ‘And again tomorrow it (the res) will rub away (i.e. lose) something from the little left’. Cf. 16.50 res atteritur; here however the res is surprisingly the subject; not the object, and since res and exiguis are almost the same thing (11.130, res exiguis), the expression is virtually equivalent to res sibi deteret, the idiom discussed on 15.19–20. Cases like 8.247 and 10.195, where a passive creature is spoken of as an active agent, should not be compared; nor should eadem be taken to mean urbs. Emendations which make cras a noun fail because when this word is a noun it must have an adjective with it (Pers. 5.68, Mart. 5.58); Herwerden altered eadem to fames, but this is too blunt. ||

24–5 The favourite technique of periphrasis here makes the point that Umbri-ci us too will come to rest there; cf. 79–80 (q.v.), 1.55, Verg. Aen. 6.14 sqq., Sil. It. 12.103. Daedalus is a representative of escape, and fatigatas (cf. Ovid Met. 8.260) arouses sympathy for him.

PROPONIMUS This is his propositum (5.1, 9.21, 10.325).

26–8 Cf. Calp. Sic. 5.13 baculum premat inclinata senectus; usually senectus is curva (Thes. s.v. 1549.84). Prima senectus is the period between the ages of 46 and 60, while one is senior without being senex (Gell. 10.28, Censorin. 14.2).

NOVA CANITIES Apul. Met. 5.15 interspersus rara canitie.

27 QUOD i.e. stamen (10.252, 12.65, 14.249); cf. Hor. Odes 2.3.15 dum res et aetas et sororum / fila trium patiuntur atra.

29 CEDERE PATRIA is to go into exile (Tac. Ann. 13.47.3).

ISTIC might mean simply ‘here’ (on 4.67), but more probably Ummuricius chooses a pronoun which suggests his divorce from Rome. LaFleur Riv. Stud. Class. 22, 1974, 3 implausibly tries to identify Artorius and Catulus.

30 Cf. Ovid. Met. 11.313; it is hard to see why Juvenal did not write nigra, as Ovid did.

31 CONDUCERE To undertake a contract, cf. 38, 7.4, Hor. Epist. 1.1.77 publica

AEDEM sc. reficiendam velaedificandam; the counterpart is aedem locare (Thes. aedes 914.72, DE aedes 168).

FLUMINA may refer either to keeping rivers free from obstruction (Gell. 11.17) or the collection of tolls. Likewise PORTUS may mean dredging etc. or the collection of portoria (cf. Cicero quoted in the introduction); for portus in this sense cf. RE portorium 3.48.20, S. J. de Laet Portorium (1949) 19 and e.g. Cic. 2 Verr. 2.171, Ad Att. 5.15.3. For an inscription of a conductor ... portus Lirensis see de Laet 130–1 and RE 353.59 sqq.; for the conductores de Laet 384, RE 385.47, DE conductor 580–1, Blümner1 635 n. 1, de Martino 4' 830.

SICCANDAM ELUVIEM Σ takes this to refer to cleaning out the sewers (cf. Pliny NH 2.197), others with greater probability to clearing up after the frequent floods of the Tiber (Pliny Ep. 8.17 with the notes of Sherwin-White and Lehmann-Hartleben), which would be almost as unpleasant a job; in the latter case the curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis would let out the work to contractors.

PORTANDUM ... CADAVER For the contempt in which undertakers were held cf. 8.175, Val. Max. 5.2.10, Blümner1 613, RE libitinarius 114.44. Here too the counterpart is locare (Hor. Serm. 1.8.9, RE 114.46, Blümner1 489, Marquardt 384).

33 'to be sold up beneath the spear of ownership', an ironical παρὰ προοδοκίαν at the end of a series introduced by quis facile est! The contractors just mentioned embezzle the money and make a fraudulent bankruptcy (which they would hold light; 11.50), whereupon their property would be sold sub hasta; here Juvenal speaks as if the man himself were sold into slavery, cf. Cic. Pro Sest. 57 de hoc est rogatum ut ... praeconi publico subiceretur, De Domo 52, Suet. Claud. 9.2 venalis pendere (have one's goods advertised for sale). A spear was set up at public auctions, which were originally established to sell spoils of war, as a symbol of conquest and ownership (Gaius 4.16 fin., RE hasta 2502–3, Thielmann 38); domina hasta is the spear which confers dominium, ownership (unfortunately the meaning of Sen. Contr. 2.1 pr. limina sub domino sectore venalia is obscure; see Winter-bottom’s note). Cf. Sen. Dial. 3.2.1 principum sub civili hasta capita venalia (the result of ira). This quotation and the phrasing generally are against Tränkle’s idea (ZPE 28, 1978, 168) that the reference is to contractors, mancipes, who bid for state contracts (the bidding being held in the form of an auction; Sen. Dial. 10.12.1 quos ... hasta praetoris infami lucro et quandoque suppuratur exercet) and who are indifferent to the risk that they may lose their civic status (caput) if they default.

Killeen Mnem. 12, 1959, 343 thinks the reference to be to provincials who sold themselves into slavery in order eventually to become freedmen and Roman citizens (Petron. 57); but this does not produce immediate lucre. Others think of praecones auctioning slaves, but praebere caput could not mean this.
34–5 Gladiators fought to the music of horns (cf. 6.249; RE suppl. 3.781, SG 2.60 = 2.73, Wille 202, DS cornu fig. 1957, S. Aurigemma I Mosaici di Zliten (1926) 152–4, 149, 163), and the horn-players were attached to travelling (cf. 6.82 sqq., Suet. Vitell. 12; assiforana CIL 2.6278.29) companies of gladiators which went around the municipia (for the sneer which this implies see the introduction).

QUONDAM becomes virtually an adjective, since Latin has no means of expressing ‘having been’; cf. HS 171, KS 1.218, Naegelsbach §75.

BUCCAe nom. plur.; their swollen cheeks as they blew were a familiar sight (cf. Plaut. Poen. 1416). 11.34 is somewhat different. Cf. Mart. 3.95.7 notumque per oppida nomen.

36 For upstarts now rich enough to give gladiatorial shows themselves cf. Mart. 3.16 and 59 (but in Juvenal this happens at Rome itself), Tac. Ann. 4.62 and 15.34, (Suet. Claud. 28), Pliny NH 35.32, ILS 5186, SG 2.82–5 = 2.102–6.

VERSOr POLLeCI converso Prudent. In Symm. 2.1098. The actual gesture is hard to establish. Friedlaender adduced the evidence of a relief (SG 2.60–1; not in ed. 10), but was refuted by Post AJP 13, ||162 1892, 213. At Apul. Met. 2.21 the infestus pollex is apparently upturned, and premere pollicem, which would naturally mean turn down the thumb or cover it beneath the fingers, is a sign of favor (Pliny NH 28.25); cf. Onians 139 n. 4. Normally the editor would follow the wishes of the audience in deciding whether to spare or slay a defeated gladiator (RE suppl. 3.782, SG 2.60 = 2.74, RSV 3.564 n. 7), but Julius Caesar (Suet. 26.3) was known to disregard them. With POPULARITER cf. [Quintil.] Decl. 9.6 sedebat sanguine nostro (sc. gladiatorum) favorabilis (winning favour) dominus.

OCCIDUNT Not personally; cf. 116, 186, 4.110, 6.481 and on 16.13 (Mart. 3.99.4 iugulare).

INDE REVERSI Even in their elevation they still engage in filthy trades.

FORICAS They are foricarri (Paulus Dig. 22.1.17.5; this passage does not seem to refer to the vectigal of that name on wine), like the man who gave his name to the sellae Paterclianae (Mart. 12.77.9); they would charge an entrance-fee, cf. SG 4.284 = 4.310 and the tax of Vespasian mentioned on 14.204. For CONDUCUNT cf. on 1.108.

CUR NON OMNIA sc. faciant; ‘anything’ cf. on 8.209.

39 EX HUMILI Cf. Thes. humilis 3106.77, 3108.20.

MAGNA ... RERUM A humorous exaggeration.

40 Cf. 6.608, 7.197, Livy 30.30.5, Lucian Nigrin. 20 etc.

FORTUNA For the word-order cf. on 93.

41 One might expect Umbricius to contrast himself with the persons of 29 sqq. by means of an ego; for its absence cf. Housman CQ 8, 1914, 155 = Coll. Papers 884, Müller and Sjögren on Cic. Ad Att. 5.9.1. Other instances are 14.223, Plaut. Truc. 755, Cic. Phil. 2.89 mansi, Mart. 1.5.1, 1.13.3–4, Ovid Met. 13.210–11. For verbal parallels to this line in Martial see the introduction and on 136.
MENTIRI NESCIO Cf. Mart. 12.40.1 (toadying), Petron. 116 (captatio).
LIBRUM … POSCERE Hor. Serm. 2.5.74–5 (captatio), Petron. 10, Mart. 2.27 (a laudicenus), Pliny Ep. 9.25.1, Plut. περὶ δυσωπίας 6.531c.
LAUDARE Cf. 86.
42–4 Cf. 14.248 sqq. and on the popularity of astrologers 6.553 sqq. (esp. 565, q.v.).
PROMITTERE Cf. spondet 6.548.
RANARUM … INSPEXI Presumably not for the purpose of poisoning (on 1.70), which inspicerere would hardly suit, but of divination (6.549–551 shows the popularity of such diviners) of an Oriental type. Cf. Thes. inspicio 1953.59; Prop. 3.6.27 mentions ranae portenta rubetae in magic. ||163
45–6 QUAE MITTIT … QUAE MANDAT His gifts (4.20, 5.32 and 108, 7.74, 9.50 etc.) and messages; cf. 14.30.
47 FUR Like Verres (53), cf. 2.26.
ATQUE IDEO NULLI This takes it for granted that all governors are thieves.
COMES EXEO As a member of a provincial governor’s cohors; cf. on 8.127 and Thes. exeo 1356–48.
TAMQUAM ‘on the grounds that I am’ cf. 222, 9.97, 14.111–12 and often in e.g. Tacitus; see HS 597, KS 2.456.
48 CORPUS NON UTILE should be placed between commas (so Weidner and Bücheler) as an apposition (for the artificial word-order see Kroll1 262, Sen. Ag. 348 ades, o magni, soror et coniunx, consors sceptri, regia Iuno); then ET (epexegetic, cf. on 11 and 1.75) couples the adjective with the adjectival genitive of quality, cf. on 11.96. Otherwise we have a very harsh instance of the feature mentioned on 4. With the punctuation here proposed the genitive of quality does not depend directly on a noun, a Silver idiom (HS 70; contrast Sil. It. 1.641 fatiferae iuvenem dextrae).

His right hand being mutilated he will be unable to take bribes.
49 CONSCIUS Cf. 2.58–61, 14.28, Tac. Ann. 6.4.2 noxae conscientiam pro foedere haberi. Mart. 6.50 is close to this whole passage.

CUI Since Juvenal frames the ends of his spondaic lines with great regularity (with the exception of 273; cf. p. 38), this word is probably disyllabic here and at 7.211; this scansion is established in Seneca’s iambics (Ag. 146) and Sapphics (Tro. 852), and four times in Martial’s hendecasyllabics. Huic too is sometimes disyllabic. See F. Sommer Handbuch der Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre3 (1913) 446, Sturtevant TAPA 43, 1912, 58.
50 Cf. 1.166; Cic. De Leg. 2.43 arderc conscientia; Plut. De Rat. Audiendi 16.46d αἰσχύνη φλεγόμενον τὴν ψυχὴν.
TACENDIS 4.105.
52 should end with a colon, as 53 is in adversative asyndeton. SECRETI is a noun, cf. Tac. Ann. 1.6.3 particeps secretorum, 15.50.2.
54–7 TANTI ... UT Cf. 6.178, 10.97–8. The ut-clause carries within itself the ellipse of ‘being willing’ or the like; cf. on 8.196.

NON If this sentence is a prohibition, I do not know why Juvenal did not write ne. Non at 6.448 is excused by metrical convenience, and at 6.451, 11.185, 16.28 it goes closely with one word. So here SIT is probably potential, not jussive.

OPACI sc. arboribus (Mart. 1.49.15–16), with a visual contrast between green leaves and golden sand; opimi Bücheler Rh. Mus. 29, 1874, 637 = Kl. Schr. 2.79, which seems more pointed. [1164]

HARENA AURUMQUE Golden (literally so) sand, by epexegesis; cf. 14.299.

PONENDA PRAEMIA Rewards thrust on you which you will presently have to abandon (because you will be assassinated); cf. on 14.268. Other interpretations ignore the obvious relationship between this and SUMAS (Sen. Ep. 90.30 ponenda non sumeret).


MAGNO AMICO i.e. patrono; cf. on 1.33.

58–9 GENS Cf. 86; ACCEPTISSIMA takes up diligitur 49, carus 53; FUGIAM cf. 81.


60–1 QUIRITES The formal name of the Romans is used pointedly (cf. Quirinus 67) in contrast with GRAECAM.

GRAECAM URBEM As a matter of modern convention one should print Urbum (cf. 7.162). Umbricius would not mind a Graeca urbs (Puteoli and Naples are such, Petron. 81 and Tac. Ann. 15.33.2), since he is retiring to Cumae; what he dislikes is a paradoxical Greek Rome.

QUAMVIS In Ciceronian Latin this corrective use belongs only to quamquam, cf. KS 2.444.

QUOTA PORTIO Cf. 13.157; FAECIS cf. Lucan 7.405 Romam ... mundi faece repletam.

ACHAEI Greece proper was now the province of Achaea, but since Alexander the Great the whole of the Near East is in some sense ‘Greek’. Cf. pp. 21–2 and Pliny Ep. 8.24.2 Achaiam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, Cic. Pro Flacco 61. The reading Achaeae is due to attraction.

62 For the foreign communities at Rome cf. Athen. 1.20b–c. The Orontes is the river of Antioch; cf. Prop. 2.23.21 et quas Euphrates (cf. 1.104) et quas mihi misit Orontes / me iuverint, and the Syrophoenician at 8.159. Moore CW 69, 1976, 376 thinks that Juvenal alludes to the ability of the Orontes to float over other bodies of water (Pliny NH 2.224), which seems far-fetched; more probably Juvenal is putting in a more pictorial form the metaphor often conveyed by fluo (6.295) and its compounds, conluvies etc. The Greeks are the συρφετός (Callim. Hymn 2.108) carried along by the river.
63–5 LINGUAM κοινή; for use of Greek at Rome cf. 6.185 sqq.

CHORDAS OBLIQUAS refers to various Oriental types of harp, sambugae, psalteria, trigona, spadices (cf. Tillyard JHS 27, 1907, 162; Duchesne-Guillemin Revue d’Assyriologie 34, 1937, 29; Herbig Ath. Mitt. 54, 1929, 164; SG 2.345 = 2.171). For such names in uncomplimentary contexts cf. Livy 39.6.7, Quintil. 1.10.31, Scipio ap. Macrobr. Sat. 3.14.7 (= ORF p. 133); tibicinas sambucas in a Phoenician [[165] cargo Plaut. Stich. 380–1, cf. Marquardt 151. In the Greek lyre the strings were vertical.

GENTILIA Belonging to this gens (58), national; not ‘belonging to the gentes’ i.e. foreign to Rome, barbara (66), a sense not natural in this context and not attested so early (though the noun gentes is; Löfstedt 2.464).

TYMPANA Used especially in the cult of Cybele 6.515, 8.176.

AD CIRCUM A favourite haunt; Herter 85 n. 277, SG 2.20 = 23.

IUSSAS (sc. a lenonibus) PROSTATE PUELLAS For Oriental whores at Rome cf. Herter 71; dancing girls are always associated with immorality (cf. 6.320, Blümner 66, Wille 313, Baudo 68).

66 might suitably go in parenthesis; ITE sc. ad circum.

PICTA … MITRA Ovid Met. 14.654; sc. acu. Sen. Herc. Fur. 471 mitra … barbara; [Vergil’s] Syrian Copa wears one (cf. CR² 22, 1972, 174), and in comedy the ἐταίρα has one which is ποικίλη (Pollux 4.154). It suggests the foreign whore (Herter 93 n. 444, Brandenburg 59 nn. 27–8).

67 RUSTICUS Cf. 2.74 (with illud like IILE here) and 127; 11.78 sqq., 14.179 sqq.; there are overtones of absence of cultus, to which rusticitas is regularly opposed by Ovid (cf. AA 3.127–8 and Higham CR¹ 46, 1934, 114), but Juvenal reverses Ovid’s approval of the former and disapproval of the latter.

TUUS … QUIRINE indicates degeneracy, cf. on 2.126–8 and 133; 8.259. In what follows the Greek words current are ridiculed (this follows from linguam 63) and contrasted with the Roman Quirinus.

TRECHEDIPIA Apparently a kind of shoe (so in the Notae Tironianae, 99 (4.1.161).42, where it is slightly corrupt; cf. Heraeus ALL 12, 1902, 55), τροχάδια or τροχάδες. The word is not so used in Greek, where in the masculine it means a parasite who rushes to dinner. Perhaps it was a type of shoe worn by parasites in comic productions. Juvenal refers to the replacement of calcei by sandals for dinner (Blümner 397).

νικητήρια Prizes.

COLLO Aristoph. *Knights* 490 ἀλειψον τὸν τράχηλον τουτῷ. [166]

69 ALTA αἰτίς, αἰτίως, the traditional epic epithet of cities; but what a let-
down from epic glory is this!

AMYDON is in Macedonia, Andros and Samos are islands of the Aegean,
Tralles and Alabanda are in Caria; so Greece is represented by two mainland
towns, two islands, and two towns on the Asiatic coast.

HIC … HIC … HIC … ILLE … HIC For this series cf. 10.227, *Thes. hic* 2736.20
sqq., Meader–Wölfflin *ALL* 12, 1902, 245. The epic hiatus in 70 contributes to the
same effect as *alta* in 69.

71 ESQUILIAS A grand area 5.78, 11.51.

DICTUM … COLLEM i.e. *Viminālem* (cf. Ovid *Fasti* 2.511 *collis quoque dictus
ab illo est*, i.e. *a Quirino*), the periphrasis here contrasting a Latin name with the
Greek ones of 70; for the etymology cf. Festus 376, Varro *LL* 5.51, Pliny *NH* 16.37.
This too was a grand area, Jordan 1.3.377, S. B. Platner *Topography and Monu-
ments of Ancient Rome* (1911) 503–4. In these districts they will attach themselves
to patrons.


DOMUUM … DOMINI A common *figura etymologica*, cf. *Thes. dominus*
1912.49 sqq., 1916.5 sqq., Petron. 76.1, Catull. 61.31 and 68.68 (according to the
mss., which are correct).

DOMINI They will prosper and end up owning the *magnae domus* themselves.

73–8 A series of breathless asyndeta.

INGENIUM VELOX Ovid *Met.* 8.254, Quintil. 6.4.8, cf. Mart. 6.28.7; *AUDACIA
PERDITA* cf. on 5.129.

73–4 The Greeks were regularly reproached with volubility, e.g. Pliny *Ep.* 5.20.4
(with *torrens*); *promptae gens linguæ* of the Syracusans, Sil. It. 14.31. For the met-
aphor of *torrentior* cf. 10.9, 119, 128; Quintil. 3.8.60, 10.7.23, 1.2.10.61; Gudeman on

ISAEO i.e. *Isaei sermone*, a comparatio compendiaria. Isaeus was an Assyrian
(Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.20.1; Suidas 3.281.31; cf. Juv. 62) rhetorician who made a
great impact when he arrived at Rome towards the end of the first century (Pliny
*Ep.* 2.3, who mentions his *copia* and *ubertas*). On him see further Oliver *Hesperia*
suppl. 8, 1949, 249–51.

EDE Cf. 296.

QUID For the neuter cf. Heinsius and Burman on Ovid *Her.* 12.31.

ILLUM Any Greek; SECUM in himself. For the following Figaro-like list cf.
SH 18.27.5–7, Athen. 4.184c, Plut. *Aemil. Paul.* 6.7; Hippias was famous for his
versatility (Cic. *De Or.* 3.127, Apul. *Flor.* 9 and Plato passim). For the nominatives
in enumeration see HS 27–8. [167]
GEOMETRES Juvenal does not employ synizesis, and most cases of this licence in Latin fall into fixed categories into which this could not be fitted. So we must assume geŏmetres (twice established in the hendecasyllables of Sidonius), in spite of γεωμέτρης; Juvenal was probably misled by false analogy with compounds like Theŏ-dorus. At Rome this word often suggests a practical surveyor rather than an abstract theoretical mathematician (Colum. 5.1.4 etc.), though geometry was part of Roman education (Marrou 378, Bonner 77–8, Blümner¹ 328; Cic. De Or. 1.187, Petron. 58, Quintil. 12.11.20; the proficiency of Pompey’s wife Cornelia is emphasised by Plut. Pomp. 55.2, Zonaras 10.9). Cf. Clarke 49 ‘The Romans … learned it’ (i.e. mathematical science) ‘so far as we can tell from Greeks and in Greek’ with the context.


ALIPTES 6.422; the Greek gymnasia of Rome (68) were staffed by Greek attendants (Pliny Pan. 13.5). He pointedly prefers the Greek name to unctor; cf. Blümner¹ 434.

SCHOENOBATES Cf. 14.266 sqq. and RE νευροβάτης; again deliberately using the Greek word (Manetho 4.287) rather than funambulus.

AUGUR Cf. 44. 6.585.

MEdICUS The medical profession was almost entirely staffed by Greeks; Pliny NH 29.17, Marquardt 772, Blümner¹ 475, SG 1.167 = 1.190, J. Scarborough Roman Medicine (1969) 110.

78 GRAECLUS A contemptuous diminutive, 6.186 and often (cf. Petrochilos on 68) 48; soon after this it was given to Hadrian as a nickname (SHA 1.1.5, [Aurel. Vict.] Epit. 14.2).

IUSSERIS should be enclosed within commas; it is a jussive perfect subjunctive acting as the protasis of a paratactic condition, cf. 6.331 and 526, Hor. Serm. 2.7.32, Petron. 70 volueris (see KS 2.164), and for its position cf. Verg. Aen. 6.31, Stat. Silv. 5.3.68, Sen. Dial. 6.16.1 libeart (wrongly doubted by some editors). Cf. Plaut. Stich. 615 quin si iussiseris, eo quoque ibo (sc. in carcerem); miseris (see the apparatus) is a simplification.

IN CAELUM IBIT He will profess himself ready to perform the impossible (Anth. Lat. 649.22, Chariton 3.2.5, Otto Nachträge 143; Amm. Marc. 29.11.11 sidera quoque, si iussisset, exhiberi posse promittens), as Daedalus did literally; a Greek once engaged to represent this in a mime to Nero (Suet. 12, Dio Chrys. 21.9), with fatal results.

79 IN SUMMA ‘to sum up’, or ‘in fact’, ‘after all’ (Stevens CR¹ 63, 1949, 91). It is difficult to draw semantic distinctions within and [168] between this, ad summam, and in summam (see the apparatus). Of the writers of this time Quintilian (like-
wise the *Decl. Mai.*) and the younger Pliny use only *in summa*; Mart. 12 pr. has *ad summam* (which in Juvenal is probably due to Σ’s paraphrase *ad postremum, ad ultimum*); *in summa* is transmitted Stat. *Silv.* 4 pr. fin. (but this is a very poor textual tradition) and [Quintil.] *Decl.* 317 p. 247.27 Ritter (this work however elsewhere uses *in summa* and *ad summam*; see Ritter’s index), and is sometimes a variant in Pliny, but never with superior authority.

NEQUE See on 8.98.

80 SUMPSIT Juvenal ironically means that he sprouted them, cf. 14.76; this is the regular sense of this phrase (Heinsius and Burman on Ovid *Met.* 4.561), though cf. Ovid *Fasti* 4.605.

MEDIIS Mart. 12.21.5 *in media ... nata Subura*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.372 and Fordyce on Catull. 64.149. Daedalus was an Erechtheid (Frazer on Apollod. 3.15.8).

81 CONCHYLIA Cf. 1.27, 8.101.

Romans regularly invited their friends, clearly in order of rank, to be witnesses to marriage-deeds (10.336) or wills (1.67, 8.142, Pliny *Ep.* 1.9.2), and this became quite a social occasion (*officium*); cf. *SG* 1.211 = 1.245.

TORO MELIORE For the order of precedence in the traditional *triclinium*, which had three *lecti* with three places on each (cf. 5.17), see Blümner1 387, Marquardt 303–8, *RE* *convivium* 1205–6, Swainson *JP* 6, 1876, 219. In the form which had now become an accepted alternative, the lunar couch called *sigma*, the two ends (*cornua*) were the places of honour. Seating could cause resentment (Sen. *Dial.* 2.10.2, 5.37.4; Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 1.2).

83 They come with the groceries from Syria (Pliny *NH* 13.51, Mart. 13.28–9 and 7.53.7 etc.), cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.73, Pers. 6.39; they are their *municipes* (4.33). The *pruna* are damsons, which take their name from Damascus.

84 USQUE ADEO NIHIL EST Pers. 1.26–7.

CAELUM HAUSIT Cf. 6.637, Verg. *Aen.* 10.899, Ovid *Trist.* 4.8.25, Curtius 5.5.19, Lucil. 601 *ne caelum bibat*; recollection of one’s native *caelum* Livy 5.54.3; ἕλκειν τὸν ἀέρα is common.

AVENTINI Unlike the Esquiline and Viminal (71), this was not a high-class district (A. Merlin *L’Aventin dans l’Antiquité* (1906) 337).

BACA SABINA The olive (Sil. 3.528 *gens bacifero nutrita Sabino*; *RE* *Oelbaum* 2003.31), contrasted with the imported damsons and figs and conveying a hint of Sabine toughness and austerity (10.229).


PRUDENS with genitive gerund Tac. *Ann.* 3.69.5.

LAUDAT Cf. 41–2; the activity of the κόλαξ e.g. in Eupolis Κόλακες I M = 159.9K, cf. Lucian *Adv. Ind.* 7 and 20, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 1.25.20–1.

88–9 There is a general resemblance to Mart. 12.82.9–10. Hercules is the bull-necked type, short and thick (Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2.1.12). A wrestler should not be υψαύχην according to Philostr. Gymn. 35, who however does not like statues of Hercules which are ξυντράχηλα (dilatare cervicem Sen. Ep. 15.2). Collum and cervices (which can include the shoulder-muscles; on 1.64) appear to be contrasted. This fight is a common subject in works of art (Philostr. Imag. 2.21, RE Antaios 2341–2).

ANGUSTAM Cf. Cic. De Or. 1.261, Apul. Flor. 17.13; he is ἵσχνόφωνος. Nero was flattered on his voice, which was in fact exigua (Suet. 20.1). The ugly rhythm of 90–1 matches the voice.

91 The humorous epic circumlocution conceals a pun (Plathner in Ruperti’s excursus; Bücheler Rh. Mus. 29, 1874, 637 = Kl. Schr. 2.79; Burge CP 61, 1966, 111); his squeaky voice is that of a gallus (cock; cf. Quintil. 11.3.51) or a Gallus (eunuch priest; cf. 2.111). Mart. 13.64 succumbit sterili frustra GALLINA MARITO. / hunc matris Cybeles esse decebat avem (the gallus should have been a Gallus; cf. ibid. 63). For other such puns cf. Suet. Nero 45.2, RAC Gallos 986; one is implicit in the monument of Modius Maximus the Gallus, which shows a gallus on a modius maximus (F. J. Dölger IXΘΥΣ 5 (1943) 730). Novius 20 applies gallulascere to boys whose voice is breaking.

QUO The lower animals are instruments, not agents.

MARITO Often applied to animals (e.g. Pliny NH 10.155), cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.17.5. The antecedent, which incorporates a comparatio compendiaria (maritus = vox mariti), is attracted into the relative clause (cf. on 11.85).

MORDETUR The cock holds the hen by the crest in mating (hence here MARITO).

92 NOBIS We Romans (but not Umbricius himself, 41 sqq.); cf. Suet. Nero 22.3, Pliny Pan. 66.

93–100 i.e. an melior Graecis est comoedus cum … Dorida agit? Comic actors can represent women perfectly, but even they when doing this are no better than the Greeks; only in mimes were there actresses. For the position of comoedus cf. fortuna 40, potestas 4.71, Niobe 6.177, Horatius 7.62, Pythagoras 15.173; commas around comoedus would help. Three stock roles of fabula palliata are mentioned; the meretrix (cf. 6.0.26), the matrona, the ancilla Doris (there are servant girls of this name in Menander Perikeiromene and Kolax fr. 951.18; also in the Enchiridion (?) PSI 99).

The pallium is the Roman name for the upper garment of both sexes in Greece; having work to do Doris does not wear it, just as workmen at Rome wore only the tunic, not the toga; this one character of the palliata has no pallium. Cf. Pollux 4.154 in comedy θεραπαινίδιον … χιτῶνι μόνω ύπεξωσμένω … χρώμενων.

PALLIOLA avoids pälliā (cf. on 10.334); but this diminutive is quite common.

97 For similar euphemisms cf. RAG Genitalien 4 and imis ventris Apul. Met. 8.29.
98–100 DEMETRIUS and STRATOCLES were admired by Quintilian, who speaks of them in the past tense (for ERIT cf. on 238). Demetrius excelled as married women and strict old ladies; there is a tombstone of a Δ. κωμῳδός from Rome, but it probably does not belong to this one (L. Moretti Inscr. Graec. Urb. Rom. 474). For Haemus cf. 6.198 (mollius, cf. 6.63 etc.; actors were often reproached for effeminacy, RAC Effeminatus 627).

ILLIC In Greece; the actors are comoedi (94), but so is the whole race.

100 RIDES Since this means not Juvenal (addressed by Umbricius) but ‘one’, we might expect ridēās (cf. 289, 7.14, 8.11, 13.215), as poscas, dixeris. It is a paratactic form of condition, cf. 13.227 and on 6.329.

MAIORE CACHINNO CONCUTITUR A cackling alliteration. For the phrase cf. 11.2, 13.171, Lucr. 1.919, 2.976 risu tremulo concussa cachinnent. Even without MAIORE, CACHINNO would express exaggerated risus (Cic. Tusc. 4.66); such exaggerated reaction is characteristic of the flatterer (Cic. Lael. 98), cf. Ammianus AP 9.573, Theophr. Char. 2 (κόλαξ).4, Plut. Quomo do adulator 54d.

102 NEC bears the sense of nec tamen, cf. 2.130, 10.120, 13.114, 15.65, KS 2.42, Lewis and Short D and OLD s.v. neque.

IGNICULUM A brazier; ENDROMIS 6.246; ACCIPIT he has a slave hand him one; AESTUO 2.71; DIXERIS = dicas cf. Plaut. Truc. 51 and Handford p. 108.

104 Mart. 2.18.2, 4, 6 iam sumus ergo pares; 9.61.1–2 omni / et nocte ... et die (without omni Juv. 7.61, 13.198 and often), Stat. Silv. 1.4.117 quis omni / luce mihi, quis nocte timor. The line is related to 93–103 as 92–3 are to 86–91; MELIOR cf. 93.

105–6 ALIENA ... FACIE Stat. Silv. 2.6.53.

IACTARE MANUS in admiration; Dio Cass. 61.20.3, Mart. 10.10.10, Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2.32.626, Lucian Rhet. Praec. 22. [171]

IACTARE ... LAUDARE is an asyndeton bimembre; see index s.v.

107 SI BENE RUCTAVIT Diodorus’ Ἐπίκληρος ap. Athen. 6.239e line 35; Roman etiquette permits belching (4.31).

108 ‘i.e. if the rich man has drunk off his glass with no heel-taps ... CREPITUS is the gurgling sound with which the last drops leave the cup’ Duff; cf. Lucil. 139 vertitur oenophori(s) fundus and the type of cup called βομβύλιος from the gurgling sound (LSJ s.v. II and Athen. 6.262b). This seems an anticlimax, but the idea put forward by Bücheler (in Friedlaender) after others that a kind of chamberpot is meant cannot be backed by archaeology or verbal usage; ἐπὶ τῇ τορύνῃ καθῆται Plut. Ant. 62.6 is not explicit. Green suggests taking 107–8 closely together and assuming that the trulla (Blümner1 407) was placed upside down on the floor for the dinner guests to urinate at it in competition; but 108 looks to be separate from 107, and what we want is a commonplace activity which the patron does particularly well.

109 Housman’s emendation would be acceptable if Juvenal elided at the trochaic caesura in the fourth foot, which he does not. Green proposes nihil <huic
vel>; a combination of haplography and homoeoteleuton (vel appearing as l or ul) could have caused the omission.

110 LARIS (cf. 8.14; MATRONA LARIS = materfamilias) and VIRGO emphasise the sanctitas. SPONSUS LEVIS ADHUC the prospective husband of the daughter, still beardless (6.356); betrothals were often made at a young age (SG 4.123 = 4.133).

NEC rather than neque cf. 6.203, 10.235.

112 SI NIHIL EST ‘Failing these’ 6.331; RESUPINAT cf. 8.176, 6.126.

113 is made up out of 52 (secreti) and 57 (timearis).

114–18 do not fit in quite smoothly and look like a later addition.

ET QUONIAM COEPIT Cic. Orat. 54, cf. In Pis. 51; for the praeteritio with TRANSI cf. p. 34 and 7.190.

GYMNASIA Cf. on 68. The Romans regarded them as hot-beds of immorality because nudity was usual in them, but one might look for better from a philosopher like Egnatius.

MAIORIS ABOLLAE ‘of a bigger wig’, perhaps a colloquial phrase, perhaps a comical substitute for maioris personae; cf. 16.13. The abolla was a thick double (Serv. Aen. 5.421; replicantur abollae Mart. Cap. 7.802) cloak worn by Cynic and cynicising Stoic philosophers (the διπλαξ or διπλοίς; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.22, Zeller 2.14–5.318, Mart. 4.53.5). Cf. 4.76, Wilson 84, Blümner1 217–18, Marquardt 570.

116 Tac. Ann. 16.32. In A.D. 66 Q. (?) Marcius Barea Soranus (as he is now known) was prosecuted on the grounds of his association with Rubellius Plautus and suspicion of plotting a revolt in Asia; ||172 his daughter Servilia too had consulted magicians, actually about the outcome of the trial. P. Egnatius Celer, a Stoic client of Soranus, was a witness against him (not actually the delator, as Juvenal says) and dedit exemplum praecavendi … specie … AMICITIAE falsos; cf. Hist. 4.10 Celer professus sapientiam, dein testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque AMICITIAE, cuius se magistram ferebat (Urlichs transposed the last clause to follow Baream, which would suit Juvenal’s disciplum). Σ on 6.552 says that he filiam Bareae Sorani, (quam) cum ipse ad magicam discendam esset hortatus, detulit Neroni, ob quam rem mori cum patre iussa est a Nerone. The support which this gives to Ritter’s (Philol. 5, 1850, 567) disciplulamque is slight, and in spite of Soranus’ advanced age he may reasonably be called the disciplus of Egnatius; Roman noblemen often maintained philosophers in their houses as a kind of domestic chaplain (SG 3.260 = 3.283, Clarke 75 and 80, Kroll2 2.122, Allen and DeLacy CP 34, 1939, 59–65). It must however be admitted that SENEX has little point if the ‘pupil’ with which it is contrasted was of much the same age; perhaps we are to infer that old age should have induced him to behave better.

The punctuation may be either Stoicus occidit Baream, delator amicum, disciplulamque senex or Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum, disciplulamque senex; cf. 1.33 delator amici.
OCCIDIT Cf. 37.

DELATOR Cf. 1.33, 4.48, 10.70. This class of men arose largely because Augustus in his marriage-laws granted rewards to those who deferebant to the treasury the names of those not entitled to receive inheritances (cf. Tac. Ann. 3.25, Mommsen² 877 sqq., Kaser² 356, Baumann 54–5, 221–3). But they became much more dangerous under the lex Iulia de maiestate, by which a quarter of the victim’s property went to the informer (hence called quadruplator); this began to happen under Tiberius (Tac. Ann. 1.72, 2.50 with Koestermann Historia 5, 1955, 84; Mommsen² 510–11). Nero at one point reduced the rewards of delatores under the lex Papia (Suet. 10).

RIPA … CABALLI Egnatius was a native of Beirut (Dio Cass. 62.26.2), but, unless Juvenal has made a mistake, had evidently been educated (nutritus; cf. Hor. Epist. 2.2.41) at Tarsus, which was a famous centre of study (Strabo 14.5.13.673; in particular it produced the Stoics Athenodorus and Nestor) and the name of which was derived from ταρσός. Most authors link this with the hoof of Pegasus, which was said to have been broken there; but Dion. Per. 869–70 has ταρσόν ἀφείς, which Σ and Eustathius ad loc. say means ‘feather’ (cf. RE Pegasos 59.40, Tarsos 2414.50). The ripa is that of the river Cydnus, which flowed through the city. Others take the reference to be to Jaffa, where Perseus was said to have landed (Tarsus was also [173] said to have been founded by him, RE l.c. 2415.1); but mythological links between Perseus and Pegasus are faint.

GORGONEI CABALLI 117–18 have been in the sublime style of epic-type periphrastic allusion beloved by Juvenal, but all is punctured by the last, undignified word (10.60, 11.195); cf. Pers. prol. 1 fonte caballino (Hippocrene struck out by the hoof of Pegasus) and contrast Ovid Ex Ponto 4.8.80 Gorgonei equi, Fasti 3.450. Pegasus sprang from the blood of Medusa when her head was cut off.

119 NON EST … LOCUS HIC Cf. 22; to be a Roman one has to leave Rome, cf. 61.

120 Cf. Cic. Phil. 2.15 tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni.

GENTIS VITIO Cf. Ovid Met. 6.459, Curtius 8.5.17; Lucan 1.290 partiri non potes orbem, / solus habere potes. To go with HABET a semper is evolved out of NONQUAM; cf. 6.18, 14.233–4, KS 2.563, HS 825, Wackernagel 2.312.

122 FACILEM AUREM 5.107; STILLAVIT cf. instillare Hor. Epist. 1.8.16; LIMINE cf. 1.96, 100, 132; PERIERUNT they have been wasted, cf. 4.56 and Lucan 9.233, an instantaneous perfect (cf. Verg. Georg. 1.330, 2.306); LONGI SERVITI cf. Hor. Serm. 2.5.99, putting AMICUM 121 in its true light; SUMMOVEOR cf. 1.37; MINOR IACTURA cf. 6.91.

126 NOBIS Romanis, contrasted with the Graeci just dealt with, who must not take all the blame.

PORRO A transition, cf. 7.98.

OFFICIUM … MERITUM Cic. Ad Fam. 11.17.1 non dico officia sed merita,
12.29.1 officia vel merita potius.

NOCTE 5.19; TOGATUS 1.96, Mart. 10.82.2 mane vel e media nocte togatus ero; CURREERE 5.77.

128 For such assertions about aristocratic salutatores cf. 1.99–120, Mart. 10.10 and 12.26. ORBIS is here feminine; because of their orbitas they are objects of captatio (221, 4.19, 6.548, 12.99). For captatio, the consequence of a low rate of marriage and reproduction in the upper classes, cf. also 5.98, 6.39, 10.202, 16.56, Marquardt 74; the earliest striking document is Hor. Serm. 2.5, cf. Epist. 1.1.77.

DUDUM VIGILANTIBUS For the former cf. 10.333, for the latter 10.162, for both Apul. Met. 4.10. This is what the praetor imagines and says to the lictor to make him hurry.

130 PRIOR Cf. 1.102 and Hor. Serm. 2.6.24 ne prior officio quisquam respondeat urge; SALUTET cf. 184; COLLEGA the other praetors.

131 SERVO Perhaps an exaggeration for libero (cf. Pliny NH 13.22 and 18.7, Shackleton Bailey on Cic. Ad Fam. 5.20.2 (vol. 1 p. 466), Mommsen1 3.428 n. 1 and Ges. Schr. 3.21, Treggiari 265, Dessau [174] on ILS 7820–1); but slaves too might be courted (Sen. Ep. 47.13 and De Ben. 3.28.5, Epictet. 4.1.148).

CLUDIT LATUS Cf. Hor. Serm. 2.5.18 (with tegere, which is usual in this phrase) etc. It is a sign of respect to walk on the left of another (Eutrop. 7.13.4) or on his outside (Hor. l.c., Ovid Fasti 5.68).

INGENUORUM FILIUS Not just ingenuus himself.

132 ALTER The other, the servus. A tribune’s pay is not explicitly attested, but inferences about it are made by von Domaszewski 139–41, Brunt PBSR 18, 1950, 68–9, Dobson Ancient Society 3, 1972, 200 and 203. Cf. Pliny NH 24.11 tribunorum militum salariis emere (candelabra), remarking that a bronze one plus an ugly slave costs 50,000 sesterces.

133 CALVINAE Perhaps alluding to the notorious Junia Calvina of Tac. Ann. 12.4 and 8, Sen. Apoc. 8, Suet. Vesp. 23.4 These would be matrons of rank, contrasted with the following scortum.

134 SEMEL AUT ITERUM Thes. iterum 559.33.

135 VESTITI Not one of the lowest type, who would be naked (on 6.122); Tac. Ann. 15.37.3 contrasts lupanaria inlustribus feminis completa with scorta nudis corporibus, and cf. Sen. Contr. 1.2.7.

SELLA Cf. Plaut. Poen. 266 prosedas ... quae tibi olant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum; Catull. 37.6–8 and 14, Herter 87 n. 321, Blümner1 370 n. 2. Proseda from sedere is like prostibulum from (pro)stare (10.239).

CHIONEN ‘Snow-White’, a name commonly applied to prostitutes by Martial, here derived particularly from 3.30.4 sportula nulla datur ... unde vir es Chiones? (and with 2 quid Romae ... facis? cf. Juv. 41).

DUBITAS Because of her high price.

137 DA ‘produce’, a legal formula, cf. 16.29; here the protasis of a paratactic
conditional sentence.

HOSPES NUMINIS IDAEI P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who because of his virtus was chosen in 204 B.C. to receive the image of Cybele brought from Pessinus (IDAEI cf. 11.194); Livy 29.11–14, Vogt Hermes 68, 1933, 84. The rhythm of 137 is appropriately solemn.

PROCEDAT As testis.

NUMA His piety is rejected in favour of money, cf. 12–16.

139 See on 6.265; but the joke at Minerva (TREPIDAM) punctures the great deed described in a grand periphrasis.


141 PASCIT 9.67 and often; cf. on 3.167.

AGRI IUGERA Mart. 10.58.9.

PAROPSIS Originally a side-dish, then as here and often in Latin a dish in general (Marquardt 655, Blümner1 391, Hilgers 33 and 238); | [175] but here the Greek name suggests luxuria. For the ablative cf. 168, for the collective singular 14.307 etc.

QUAM MULTA Seven fercula 1.94.

143-4 Cf. 7.139 sqq., 14.207; Otto habere (1) with Nachträge 169, 237, 273, Adamietz 22 n. 36, Sedgwick CQ 21, 1927, 207, Gercke Rh. Mus. 48, 1893, 50–1, Garnsey 208, Levy in Studi ... B. Biondi 2 (1965) 87. There are protests against such ideas at Ter. Ph. 903–4 and Cic. De Off. 2.71. Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.6.36–7 fidem ... regina pecunia donat; but FIDEI here means ‘belief in his word’ (see Jaekel on Menand. Sent. 752), not ‘financial credit’. Rich witnesses are regarded as more reliable by Cic. Pro Q. Rosc. 44; cf. Callistratus Dig. 22.5.3 pr. (one must consider whether a witness) locuples an egens sit, ut lucri causa quid facile admittat (Garnsey 212). From this view develops the set phrase locuples testis, a reliable witness (RE locupletes 956); on the other side a barrister may argue non esse ex fortuna fidem ponderandam (Cic. Part. Or. 117).

ARCA cf. Petron. 137 clausum possidet arca Iovem.

IURES ARAS Hor. Epist. 2.1.16; cf. Juv. 13.89, 14.219 (that of Ceres, a goddess with mysteries like the Cabiri).

SAMOTHRACUM The Cabiri, whose mysteries were celebrated in Samothrace (B. Hemberg Die Kabiren (1950) 303); for Roman interest in their cult cf. Tac. Ann. 2.54, Donati Epigraphica 27, 1965, 45, Latte 274, SG 1.320 = 1.388. They were said to avenge perjury (Suidas 2 p. 61 l. 26).

NOSTRORUM sc. deorum.

FULMINA Jupiter’s punishment of perjurers, 13.78 and 223.

146 DIS IGN. IPSIS Because he perjures himself through necessity, not wick- edness.

147 MATERIAM P. IOCRUM Cf. 10.47, Sen. Dial. 7.27.2.

SORDIDULA The diminutive (on 6.425) probably suggests contempt rather
than ‘somewhat dirty’.

TOGA and CALCEUS The two distinctively Roman features of dress, cf. 1.119. See Mart. 1.103.5–6 sordidior multo post hoc toga …, calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute, 12.26.9 rupta cum pes vagus exit aluta. It was important for the toga to be white, and it needed constant cleaning (Blümner 214, Carcopino 158). For the LACERNA see on 9.28.

150–1 A repaired shoe (rather than lacerna) contrasted with that of 149–50; for the LINUM see Galen 19.134 K (a ῥάφιον).

VOLNERE ἀκεῖσθαι and its derivatives regularly mean ‘darn, repair’ (Blümner 2 1.212).


152–3 A bitter and not obvious reflection which suggests personal experience; cf. Crantor (?) ap. Stob. 4.32.33 (5.791.10 Hense); on ||176 the other hand, Piso’s friends even if poor nulla superborum patiuntur dicta iocorum (Laus Pi. 115).

INQUIT See on 8.44.

154 The fourteen rows of seats behind the orchestra (on 178) in the theatre were reserved for the equites by the Lex Roscia Theatralis promoted in 67 B.C. by the tribune L. Roscius Otho (cf. 159, 14.324). This law was tempered by Augustus, but was strictly revived by Domitian as censor (Suet. 8.3), and Martial 5 (published A.D. 89) has many references to it (e.g. 23, 25, 38); cf. Scamuzzi Riv. Stud. Class. 17, 1969, 301, Reinhold Historia 20, 1971, 281–2. Any eques whose property fell below 400,000 sesterces (on 1.106) lost his rank and his right to one of these seats; Cic. Phil. 2.44 mentions a special place for bankrupts (cf. Scamuzzi ibid. 18, 1970, 47, Stein 23 n. 2 and in general 22 sqq.). Horace too (Epist. 1.1.57 sqq.) disapproves of the precedence given to property by the Lex Roscia; but one will note that Umbri- cius’ sympathy is not directed at the really poor of Rome.

SI PUDOR EST ‘for very shame’, a common phrase.


155–9 For such people in the 14 rows cf. Hor. Epode 4.15–16 and on 7.16. This of course is not what the usher would actually say (cf. on 7.243).

LENONUM … LANISTAE Cf. 6.216; for the lucrative and ill repute of a lanista cf. Mart. 11.66, for the infamia of a leno Julian Dig. 3.2.1. PRAECO an auctioneer; his profession too was despised (7.6, Thielmann 54 n. 58; the praecones on inscriptions are nearly all slaves or low-born) but lucrative (Petron. 46.7; SG 1.154–5 = 1.172–3), and like the lanista, leno and gladiator he too is barred from office by the Lex Iulia Municipalis 94–104 (on 6 l.c.), alluded to by Cic. Ad Fam. 6.18.1 (cf. Kaser ZRG 73, 1956, 239; Hinard Latomus 35, 1976, 730). Cf. Quintil. 1.12.17 sit locupletior aliquis sordidae mercis negotiator et plus voci suae debeat praeco.

FORNICE Cf. 10.239, 11.173.

NITIDUS Housman dismisses nitidi with the remark praecones nitor absentis hic frustra exsplendescit; the nitidus filius corresponds to the cultos (cf. 189, 11.202)
“iuvenes” of 158, and both are contrasted with the ragged pauper of 148–51. Women were not alone in liking to make a show at the theatre (on 6.352).

PINNIRAPU Evidently a kind of gladiator, perhaps a retiarius, who snatched feathers from the plumed helmet (6.256 cristae; Varro LL 5.142; SG 2.49 = 2.60) of another; Σ quotes Lucil. 122 cum septem incolumis <pinnis> redit ac recipit se. Pinna or Πιννάς is a gladiator’s name (CIL 4.2387, 2389 Threx and murmillo; Robert pp. 94-5 no. 34 [177] and 129–30 no. 76 a retiarius). Rostovzef Röm. Mitteil. 15, 1900, 225–6 is not likely to be right in connecting with this pinn. iuvenum on ILS 6635.

IUVENES i.e. filiōs (on 10.310). VANO Cf. 8.15, 14.211.

160–1 The two means of enrichment in a society in which wealth results mainly from the accumulation of capital and is easily transmitted. Cf. MacMullen 2 102; Martial 10.47.3 would like res non parta labore sed relicta.


SARCINULIS 6.146.

HERES A poor man would not be able to captare with presents.

162 ‘When does he sit as assessor to the aediles?’; cf. 6.497, Thes. consilium 461.22, RE s.v., Mommsen’ 1.307. This passage would suggest that such assessors were paid; SHA 11.7.6 implies an honorarium from the magistrate personally, but probably refers to the professional consiliarii of late antiquity (W. Kunkel JAC 11–12, 1968–9, 241 = Kl. Schr. 427). A poor man could hardly hope to be assessor to a prefect or praetor, but might look for it in connection with the police and public inspectorate of weights and food. Cf. Epictet. Ench. 25 προετιμήθη σού τις … ἐν τῷ παραληφθῆναι εἰς συμβουλίαν.


DEBUEANT Cf. Lygdamus 6.64 and similarly opertuerat, aequius fuerat etc. (KS 1.173, Gaffiot Ant. Class. 1, 1932, 89); this is like the imperfect of neglected duty (2.115). MIGRASSE is the aoristic infinitive, often used by poets for metrical reasons absent here, as at Ovid AA 1.496, Fast. 1.354, Met. 6.700; presumably Juvenal wants to emphasise the idea of ‘long ago’ (OLIM = iamdudum), cf. KS 1.134–5, HS 352.

TENUES Cf. 7.80 (and 145), 8.120, 13.7.

MIGRASSE QUIRITES The Romans (cf. on 60) have to leave Rome, as Umbriacus is doing; there is probably an allusion to the secessions of the plebs to the Mons Sacer (Aventine) and Janiculum in 494, 450–449, 287 B.C., and more particularly the proposal, quashed by Camillus, to move to Veii after the Gallic sack. Cf. Suet. Nero 39 Veios migrate, Quirites (when Nero built his Golden House), Sen.
Contr. 10.1 (30).15 κτίσωμεν ἰδίᾳ, ὦ πένητες, πόλιν.

164 Cf. 7.59 sqq.; pauper ubique iacet Ovid Fasti 1.218; Laus Pisonis 121, 255.

EMERGUNT cf. Pliny Ep. 6.23.5. [178]

RES ANGUSTA DOMI Cf. 6.357, 12.10 and on 6.152; Cic. Part. Or. 112 angustiae rei fāmiliaris, Tac. Ann. 12.52 angustias fāmiliaris.

165–6 ROMAE ... CONATUS Cf. 7.138.

MAGNO sc. constat; cf. 223 sqq. MAGNO ... MAGNO ... MAGNO anaphora and redditio (cf. 208–9) combined, as at Hor. Epist. 1.1.65–6.

HOSPITIUM Lodging (211, 7.70 etc.); cf. pensio 9.63 and Frier JRS 67, 1977, 32.

SERVORUM VENTRES 14.126; cf. pascit 141, Petron. 57 viginti ventres pasco.

Even the poor have to maintain their station and have slaves (see introduction).

168 FICTILIBUS Cf. 10.25, 11.20 and 108; an old Roman hero is found prandentem in fictilibus Pliny NH 33.142. For the ablative cf. on 141. CENARE picks up cenua 167.

SUBITO By divine intervention, cf. Hor. Serm. 2.7.24.


VENETO should not be printed with a capital; it means dark blue, the colour of a poor man’s hood in comedy (Kassel Philol. 106, 1962, 150), cf. pullo ... cucullo Mart. 10.76.8. Such a hood is a poor man’s present at Mart. 14.139.

DURO Cf. 9.29.

171–2 Fronto p. 107 contrasts vita togata and rusticatio. The dead were arrayed in the toga (Marquardt 347, Blümner1 484, RE Bestattung 348.19), but otherwise in the country the unpopular (11.204) toga was rarely worn, cf. 179, Mart. 4.66.3 (cf. on 225) etc.

ADMITTIMUS Cf. 1.21.

173 HERBOSO ... SIQUANDO (for the late position of this word see on 16.37) ... TANDEM Theatrical performances are not so common here as at Rome, so the grass gets a chance to grow between the stone seats. This looks forward to the theme of the little country towns in 190 sqq.

REDĪT Perfect, cf. 6.128, 295 (559); 10.118 and on 8.85. This audience, unlike the Roman, does not require novelty (cf. NOTUM).

EXODIUM Cf. on 6.71; probably an Atellan farce (cf. Balsdon1 278). Then PERSONAE PALLENTIS HIATUM may refer in particular to Manducus, magnis malis et late dehiscens Paul. Fest. p. 138; cf. Bieber fig. 821–2. Perhaps this Punch-like mask was whitened (PALLENTIS). For the presence of children (RUSTICUS INFANS 9.60) at the theatre cf. Plaut. Poen. 28–9, Vitruv. 5.3.1, Cic. Tusc. 1.37; for terror caused by masks cf. Novius Agricola 2 quia enim repuerascis, fugitas personas, [179] pater; Sen. Dial. 4.11.2 timetur a pluribus sicut deformis persona ab
infantibus; ibid. 2.5.2; Mart. 14.176; Plut. De Exilio 5.600e; Callim. Hymn 3.70–1.

175–6 describe a picturesque detail not required by the train of thought.

178 ORCHESTRAM At Rome reserved for the senators, here for the decurions (RE decurio 2330.50).

CLARI … HONORIS (cf. 1.110 and 117), SUMMIS A playful piece of irony.
SUMMIS AEDILIBUS The two chief magistrates cf. 10.102.
TUNICAe Cf. tunicata quies Mart. 10.51.6; whereas at Rome even the populus had to wear the toga in the theatre (cf. 11.204).

ALBAe Municipal magistrates seem to have had the right to the clavus on their tunics (Hor. Serm. 1.5.34), but these ones do not bother, whereas Horace’s praetor insists on his dignity. But it may simply mean that they have a clean one in honour of the dierum festorum maiestas (cf. albus Hor. Serm. 2.2.61). When Habinnas enters amictus veste alba at Petron. 65.3, Encolpius thinks he is the praetor.

180 ULTRA VIRES Because the toga necessary for a client is expensive to buy and keep clean. Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.18.22 and Thielmann ALL 4, 1887, 379. For living beyond one’s means cf. 7.129 sqq. and SG 1.18 = 1.20.

HABITUS Genitive of the noun, cf. 177; NITOR cf. 157.

181 SUMITUR ‘is borrowed’, cf. Sen. Ep. 26.8; it is aes alienum (cf. ALIENA).

AMBITIOSA (pretentious) PAupertate An oxymoron; cf. 6.352 sqq., Sen. Ep. 50.3, Quintil. 2.4.29.

OMNIA ROMAE CUM PRETIO Cf. 7.138, pretiosa fames Mart. 10.96.9.

184 QUID DAS To the rich man’s ostiarius; cf. Hor. Serm. 1.9.57, Sen. Dial. 2.14.1 and 15.5, Amm. Marc. 14.6.15. SALUTES Cf. 130.

COSSUM See on 8.21; VEIENTO presumably thinking of the Fabricius of 4.113 (cf. 6.113), though other members of his gens carried the name.

ALIQUANDO Even bribery does not succeed at the first attempt.

RESPICIAT Mart. 10.10.5; aliquando respexit Sen. Dial. 10.2.5.

CLAUDIO LABELLO non resalutans Mart. 10.70.5, Sen. Dial. 9.12.4, cf. Lucian Nigrin. 21; the opposite Petron. 44 quam benignus resalutare.

186 BARBAM sc. amati. Even a capillatus acersecomes (8.128, 5.59) eventually has to grow up and have his hair and beard cut, which would be an operation performed with ceremony; cf. Petron. 29 (the beard), Stat. Silv. 3.4 and Mart. 9.16–17 (the hair). Friedlaender [180] understands barbam suam on the grounds that anyone with a beard would be too old to be an amatus (cf. Mart. 5.48, where we find deposuere comas), but this is stylistically improbable and cf. Petron. 73.6 hodie servus meus barbatoriam fecit (and so let us make merry). The first cutting of the beard was an important occasion (Suet. Cal. 10 is mentioned as an exception) when gifts might be offered (Apollonides AP 10.19 = Gow–Page GP 1273); cf. Marquardt 599, Blümnerl 269–70 and on 4.103.

METIT … DEPONIT Not necessarily in person; cf. on 37 and 16.13.
LIBIS To be offered to the Lares; cf. Ovid *Am. 1.8.94, AA 1.429* a *libum* on a birthday in return for which a present is to be given (hence *VENALIBUS*).

ACCIPERE sqq. As this is punctuated by Clausen, it is a remark addressed by Umbricius (i.e. Juvenal) to the client, and means ‘take the cake and keep it to make you simmer with anger’; against this *FERMENTUM* used metaphorically needs and elsewhere always has support from the context, and *TIBI HABE* is normally a brusque form of refusal ‘I don’t want’, cf. 5.118, Sen. *De Ben. 6.23.8, Thes. habeo* 2399.47 sqq., 2429.21, Landgraf *ALL 8*, 1893, 45, Fordyce on Catull. 1.8 (where he points out that it is used for disparagement), Monaco in *Studi ... Q. Cataudella 3* (1972) 21, and the formula of divorce quoted on 6.146. The words therefore must be spoken by the client (for similar abrupt introduction of direct speech cf. 5.135 and 166, 6.O.27 and 492, 7.124 and 158, 16.17) and should be in inverted commas; he says to the slave ‘take your money and keep your cake’. Perhaps the cake is called ‘leaven’ on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle (the *flamen Dialis* could not touch *farinam fermento imbutam*, Gell. 10.15.19); or it may imply ‘I hope it blows you up inside’, *dirumparis*. The client should be obsequious rather than brusque to the slave, but his temper gets the better of him. C. F. Hermann *Rh. Mus. 4*, 1846, 314 also suggests that the cake has no leaven, and supposes the client to tell the slave to take the money to supply its place; but this does not suit *TIBI HABE* (nor does the explanation of Thomson *CR* 42, 1928, 172).

188 TRIBUTA refers both to *quid das* and to *venalibus*.

190 TIMET AUT TIMUIT Cf. 8.70 and HS 708; this well illustrates the origin of the gnomic perfect.

GELIDA Hor. *Odes 3.4.22 frigidum Praeneste seu Tibur supinum*; because of its hilly situation (14.88, where it is again coupled with *Tiburis arce*). It was a popular site for villas (Balsdon 198). It is feminine also at Verg. *Aen. 8.561*, cf. *KS 1.31, Madvig 312.*

VOLSIINIIS In Etruria; the other towns mentioned are in Latium. GABIIS See on 6.56.

PRONI Juvenal sees a hill-town as leaning forwards, whereas Horace (above) sees it leaning backwards.

193 NOS ‘But we’; adversative asyndeton.

TIBICEN A prop (Ovid *Fasti 4.695*, Donatus *Vit. Verg. 24*). *Insulam fulcire* is significantly common in the jurists (*VIR s.v. fulcire* II), cf. Sen. *De Ben. 6.15.7*.

SIC i.e. *tibicine*.

LABENTIBUS The people are named instead of the house (*labentem domum* Sen. *l.c.*), cf. on 10.16.

VILICUS Mart. 12.32.23 and perhaps *CIL 6.9483*, the agent who looks after the *insulae* for the landlord.

196 RUINA Cf. 11.13. NOCTE METUS 268 sqq.

IAM FRIVOLA TRANSFERT UCALEGON Juvenal ironically dignifies the poor man by alluding to Aen. 2.311 iam proximus ardet / Ucalegon; he loses all his property like the Trojans, but the modern Troiigenae are so impoverished that they own only frivola (5.59, cf. Ulpian Dig. 13.7.11.5; like those listed Mart. 12.32). Juvenal keeps Vergil's rhythm, but transfers the metonymy (regarded as bold, Quintil. 8.6.25) to 201 and makes it less striking. [Addendum originally on p. 623: See O'Sullivan AJP 99, 1978, 456.]

TABULATA 10.106, Gell. 15.1.2; perhaps thinking of Aen. 12.672 flammis inter tabulata volutus / ad caelum undabat vertex. There is a striking alliteration of t, which may suggest trepidation or the crackle of flames. ‘Ucalegon’ lives on a lower storey, the poor man on one higher than the third, just below the roof; cf. Mart. 1.117.7 scalis habito tribus, sed (and that too) alitis. More storeys had been known, and though Nero had restricted the height of buildings (Tac. Ann. 15.43), the fact that Trajan had to re-enact restrictions ([Aurel. Vict.] Epit. 13.13; 60 feet) shows that they had not been effective; Mart. 7.20.20 mentions 200 stairs, which if meant literally would indicate six or seven storeys. Cf. on 269; Poehlmann 90–3; SG 1.4 = 1.5; Wotschitzky in Natalicum C. Jax (1955) 151.

TIBI Anyone, not Juvenal who is being addressed.

200 The scare starts at the foot of the stairs.

201 TEGULA Collective (Livy 5.55.3) ‘tiling’; so also κέραμος and often materials (cf. 7.46, Svennung 169). Suet. De Gramm. 9 habitare sub tegulis (in a cenculum, 10.18).

MOLLES Hor. Odes 1.37.18, Mart. 11.104.9. A sentimental detail; [[182] he is so high up that he has the society of the birds, not other humans.

203 CORDO This is clearly right; Umbricius would not feel sympathy for anyone with the Greek name Codrus (cf. on 1.2). A poor Cordus Mart. 3.15.

PROCULA (cf. 2.68) must have been a dwarf. GLK 7.395.1 equates proculus with magnus and μακρός, so that one might suspect a κατ’ ἀντίφρασιν (on 8.32); but the statement does not seem trustworthy.

MINOR with the ablative of comparison here means ‘too small for’, cf. on 4.66: URCEOLI 10.64; the diminutive and the monosyllabic ending indicate modesty.

204 ABACI A square slab, here his sideboard (cf. Pliny NH 37.13, Thes. s.v. 42.22, Marquardt 319, Blümner1 126 and 128 n. 1, DE s.v.), which perhaps is not large enough to hold the cantharus (a deep drinking cup; Blümner1 406, Hilgers 46 and 136) as well as the six urceoli; but Juvenal may envisage the cantharus placed on a shelf of the abacus.

NEC NON ET Humorous epic grandeur (9.88, 10.51), immediately counterbalanced by PARVULUS.
EODEM <E> So E. Matthias *De Scholiis in Juvenalem* (1875; Diss. Phil. Halenses 2) 292, and Σ probably read this; it is hardly likely that we should assume a use of *sub* 'made of' attested only in late inscriptions (Killeen *Glotta* 42, 1964, 213). Attempts to limit Juvenal’s use of *e* rather than *ex* are not convincing, and even if it were necessary to add *ex* we should still do this. EODEM hardly means more than *eo* (a form which Juvenal would not use; on 7.41), which can be paralleled, though not in Juvenal (HS 188, Svennung 303, Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 18 p. 306; e.g. Suet. *Galba* 19.1). Whatever we read the *abacus* is presumably of marble, like the *lapis albus* which is part of Horace’s modest *supellex* (*Serm.* 1.6.116); but the difficulty in the reading of the manuscripts lies in the clumsy way in which the explicit information that it is of marble is dragged in at the last moment. The recumbent Centaur-figure acting as a τραπεζοφόρον would be despised by a rich man if it were only in marble (11.122 sqq.; I cannot see much force in the claim that a recumbent figure seems unsuitable for a support, since with a centaur his human head and trunk would remain erect).

206 IAM VETUS go together, cf. 8.153, 11.77. 
CISTA (7.11). He keeps his books in a basket, having no *foruli* (219); cf. Marquardt 677–8.

207 DIVINA CARMINA In the *Graeci libelli*.

OPICI 6.455. Ὀπικοί was an old name for the inhabitants of [[183] Southern Italy, in Italic *Opsci* or *Osci* (Festus 189, E. T. Salmon *Samnium* (1967) 28). Thence it can mean ‘barbarous, rustic, uncivilised’; Cato ap. Pliny *NH* 29.14 (*Graeci*) *nost quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcios nos quam alios opicon* (-os codd.) *appellatio-ne foedant* (so perhaps Philodemus *AP* 5.132.7 = Gow–Page *GP* 3234; but Gow and Page deny this sense); with particular reference to lack of knowledge of Greek, Tiro ap. Gell. 13.9.4 and then Gellius himself (11.16.7) and Fronto; cf. Otto *opicus*, with *Nachträge* 113. This is a humorous ‘golden line’ (on 4.28–31); the juxtaposition of DIVINA OPICI (cf. 7.28) is particularly pointed, as if the mice would have had more respect for the *divina carmina* if they had known Greek.

RODEBANT MURES For the nibbling of books by mice cf. Ariston *AP* 6.303.5 = Gow–Page *HE* 798, Lucian *Adv. Indoct.* 17, Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2.59. The famous relief of Homer by Archelaus apparently originally showed two mice nibbling at a roll (West *HSCP* 73, 1969, 123 n. 35). The wording recalls the anonymous verse quoted by Quintil. 8.3.19 *praetextam in CISTA mures rosere camilli* (?) *Camilli*.

208 Ovid *Met.* 6.193 *quis enim negat hoc?* <I assert this> for who can deny it?
TOTUM NIHIL Ter. *Andr.* 314 *id aliquis nihil est*; Ovid *AA* 1.151 *et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum*. NIL … NIHIL is an instance of *reddito* (cf. 165–6).
FRUSTA ROGANTEM Mart. 11.27.3; this and NUDUM are chiastically answered in reverse order in 211.
HOSPITIO TECTOQUE Hendiadys. Cf. on 166.
SI ‘But if’ with adverative asyndeton; so 211 should end with a colon.

CECIDIT It collapses as the result of being burnt out; but this is a surprising word in a context which has also involved ruina (190–6). Cf. casus 214.

HORRIDA … IGNEM (214) μετάφρασεις, variatio (Quintil. 9.3.45), followed by disiunctio with anaphora.

HORRIDA … PULLATI The squalor and sordes of mourning, for which cf. 10.245, Lucan 2.17–29, RE luctus 1700.

DIFFERT (cf. Thes. s.v. 1074.60) VADIMONIA There is a iustitium and the magistrate postpones the hearings at which defendants are bound to appear; likewise at the funerals of prominent men in the inscriptions quoted by Reynolds JRS 61, 1971, 143 (not to mention members of the imperial family), cf. F. Vollmer De Funere Publico (Neue Jahrb. suppl. 19.6, 1893) 339.

ODIMUS Express hatred, ‘curse’; cf. 6.272.

MARMORA Marble to build a new house (14.89 and 307; on 1.12). As it stands 215 ought to mention something specific enough to be contrasted with the marble and bronze statues of 216–17, and the feminine haec is surprising (it would have to be referred to mater 212). It suffices to alter haec to aera with Housman; some fine piece by Euphranor and bronzes of Polyclitus which once adorned the temples of Asia. Euphranor and Polyclitus worked in both bronze and marble, and at 8.103 Juvenal thinks of the marble statues of the latter, but both were more notable for bronze (Pliny NH 34.77 lists the former among sculptors in bronze). Euphranor also painted.

ORNAMENTA DEORUM Cf. Livy 26.30.9 and (of paintings) Cic. 2 Verr. 4.123; Augustus (Mon. Anc. 24.1) declares that he restored ornamenta (ἀναθέματα) to the temples of Asia. On the loss of statues by the provinces to Rome cf. 8.102 sqq.

LIBROS A library is a necessary part of a house, Sen. Dial. 9.9.7. FORULOS Book-cases (Suet. Aug. 31).

MEDIAM To stand in the middle; it is less likely to mean dimidiam (Thes. s.v. 596.2, Krebs–Schmalz 2.68, Svennung 584; cf. on 12.30) i.e. a bust of her.

MINERVAM As goddess of culture; statues of her seem to have stood in the great libraries of Ephesus, Pergamum and Timgad, cf. H. Thiersch Nachr. Göt-
tingen n.s. 2, 1936–8, 229 (but note the reservations of Wendel Zentralblatt fur Bibliothekswesen 55, 1938, 649).

220 MODIUM ARGENTI modius (cf. Otto s.v. and add Lucian Gallus 12, Sat. 21) shows that argentum means ‘money’, but the context unhappily suggests that it means ‘silver plate’.

REPOINIT In place of what he had before; contrast 208–11.

PERSICUS (cf. introduction to 11) may (a) live in a house called domus Asturici (212) after a previous owner (cf. Suet. Aug. 72.1, Nepos Att. 13.2), (b) be identical with Asturicus; so Groag RE Fabius no. 121, who thinks that there may have been a Fabius Persicus Asturicus, connected with Paullus Fabius Persicus cos. A.D. 34, whose father Paullus Fabius Maximus had been legatus in Spain, (c) be an entirely unconnected new example. [185]

ORBORUM Cf. on 129.

TAMQUAM Cf. on 47 and Bennett ALL 11, 1900, 410. Tongilius (Mart. 3.52; cf. casus in urbe and Juv. 214) incurred the same suspicion.

223 ‘If you can tear yourself away from the races’, cf. 6.87, 11.53 and on 8.117.

SORAE … Towns in Latium (Sil. 8.394–8), all near Aquinum.

PARATUR ‘can be bought’ (5.56, 7.66, 6.465, 11.21, 14.140 and 200), not just rented.

225 TENEBRAS A dark garret (cf. Prop. 3.15.17); Mart. 3.30.3 fuscae pensio cel-lae (cf. Juv. 7.28). On the expense of Rome and the cheapness of country towns cf. Pliny NH 14.50, Mart. 4.66 (cf. on 171; he comments on the absence of fires 13), SG 1.18 = 1.19, 2.186 = 2.332, Duncan-Jones 345 and 364, Brunt² 86, Frier JRS 67, 1977, 34, S. Mrozek Prix et Rémunération (1975) 34. For renting by the year cf. RE suppl. 6.386.44.

HIC In the country towns; HORTULUS cf. 11.78. Horace’s Sabine farm provided him with hortus … et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons and faba Pythagorae cognata (Serm. 2.6.2 and 63, cf. Juv. 229).

PUTEUS Very necessary for an Italian garden (Pliny NH 19.60, Verg. Georg. 4.114–15), cf. Mart. 9.18.3–4. This one is so shallow that a bucket can be dipped in by hand (putei non sede profundi Colum. 10.25).

PUTEUS DIFFUNDITUR i.e. the water from it; some verbs may take either a vessel or its contents as object, e.g. haurire poculum or vinum, cf. 277.

228 VIVE Choose this βίος. The theme of cataloguing certain βίοι and choosing between them is quite a favourite; see Terzaghi Stud. It. i 2, 1920, 364, la Penna ASNP 24, 1955, 161, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.1 (pp. 1–2) with Fraenkel 231.

VILICUS HORTI Cf. 11.69, Priapea 24.1; a v. hortorum CIL 6.623.

229 A Pythagorean meal would be vegetarian, 15.173.

230 ALIQUID Thes. s.v. 1614.51; not as 1.74.

231 The spot of ground is so small that it is adequate, not for a capella or the like, but παρὰ προσδοκίαν only for a lizard (not even for two lizards), cf. Mart.
Lizards are so common in Italy that even the smallest plot would be sure to have one.

**232 AEGER functions as a noun, cf. 9.16, 12.122, 13.124 and on 2.9.**

VIGILANDÓ This scansion appears in Seneca (*Tro. 264* and the spurious *Herc. Oet. 1862*), and is offered also by the mss. of Lygdamus (who was very likely born in A.D. 69) 6.3. It is doubtless rightly conjectured in the dative at Sen. *Oed. 9.42*, and is later employed by Nemesianus. [186]

SED See on 14.117. LANGUOREM Cf. 1.122.

**232–4 Good digestion depends on sleep.**

IMPERFECTUS Undigested (Celsius 4.23.1).


MERITORIA Cf. on 10.18 and *Thes.* s.v. 843.66, Ulpian *Dig.* 7.1.13.8, Blümner1 56 n. 2.

ADMITTUNT ‘allow’ cf. 5.69. MAGNIS OPIBUS Ablative of price.

For the noises of Rome cf. Mart. 12.57.3 *nec quiescendi in Urbe locus est pauperi*, whereas the well-off Sparsus has a house at Rome which does not suffer in this way; cf. 4.64.17–24 the house of Julius Martialis on the Janiculum. Hor. *Épist.* 2.2.79 *streptus nocturnos atque diurnos, 1.17.6 pulvis strepitusque rotarum*; *SG* 1.19 = 1.21, Paoli 35.

**236 INDE is understood by Adamietz 67 n. 145 to refer to what follows, in which case a colon should be placed after morbi.** But *inde* explained by what follows with asyndeton is so rare (*Thes.* quotes only Val. Max. 2.5.4) that it should not be imported here. CAPUT ‘source’; *Thes.* s.v. 415.16.

A RAEDA was a heavy carriage used by travellers (10, 4.118). Almost the only vehicles allowed to pass through Rome by day were those carrying materials for public construction works (254 sqq.; Trajan cut down on their noise by cutting down on public building, Pliny *Pan.* 51.1), hence either loading up had to take place at the gates (10) or the noisy transit had to be made at night (for night travel cf. on 10.20). Cf. *SG* 4.28 = 4.22, Marquardt 730–1, Blümner1 443–4, Carcopino 57, *CIL* 1² 593 (= ILS 6085).56 and the re-enactment by Hadrian *SHA* 1.22.6.

ARTE … IN FLEXU Cf. 6.78, *Tac.* Ann. 15.38.4 *artis itineribus hucque et illuc flexis*, Suet. *Nero* 38.1 *angustiis flexurisque vicorum*. The narrow winding streets of Rome, partly due to the hilly site, are remarked by Diod. Sic. 14.116.9, and regarded by Livy 5.55.4 as a legacy of hasty reconstruction after the Gallic sack. Cf. *SG* 1.5 = 1.6; after the great fire Nero improved the situation, *Tac.* 15.43.1 and 5 (Carcopino 53–4).

**237 STANTIS In a traffic-jam.**

CONVICTA MANDRAE may be objective genitive, ‘abuse hurled at the herd’ (cf. *iurgia Codri* Verg. *Buc.* 5.11), or subjective, ‘abuse coming from <the drivers of> the herd’ (CONVICTA can be applied to animal noises, but not quite of this type; *Thes.* s.v., 873.82); In Greek μάνδρα (see *RE* s.v.) means an animal-pen; here
it is due to Mart. 5.22.7 *vixque datur longas mulorum rumpere mandras / quaeque trahi multo marmora fune vides*, where Martial probably has in mind the beasts of burden of the building- contractors, also mentioned by Hor. Epist. 2.2.72–4 (cf. on 235). [187]

238 DRUSO The drowsy emperor Claudius, cf. on 8.40; the future ERIPIENT (Celsius 2.7.25 *somnus ereptus*) causes no difficulty as it merely means ‘are likely to’ (cf. 239 sqq., 98, 7.81, 13.184 and on 1.126), and Juvenal is quite ready to speak of those long dead as still alive (on 8.39). Emendations destroy the wit of the combination with the seals (for which cf. Pliny NH 9.19, 41–2).

239 VOCAT OFFICIUM Pers. 6.27.

VEHETUR (1.158) ... VENIET One might almost call these futures ‘gnomic’ (cf. on 238 and 7.187 etc.; HS 549, KS 1.145–6), so the present in the protasis fits well enough; but in any case it would not be unnatural, cf. 14.145 sqq., 16.18 sqq.

OFFICIUM A social duty; perhaps, since the rich man may have a nap (241), here a morning call. Cf. 5.13, 2.132.


INGENTI ... LIBURNA The litter is like a warship (Torr 16, Casson 141) which can cut through the *unda* (243) of people. Σ here and on 6.477 alleges the existence of a type of litter called *liburnata*.

241 LEGET AUT SCRIBET Like the elder Pliny (Pliny Ep. 3.15–16).


One should punctuate ... *intus (namque ... fenestra), ante ...*. The contrast demands that *dives* must be in the same sentence as *nobis*, and *tamen* refers back to 241. The contrast is of the type in which the first element is subordinate in sense, ‘whereas the rich man is at his ease, we poor people toil’.

242 NAMQUE Unelided as 11.50; FACIT SOMNUM 282 etc.

CLAUSA ... FENESTRA By means of curtains; cf. 1.64 and 124, 4.21, Mar- quardt 738, Blümner 446.

244 UNDA Verg. Georg. 2.462, Stat. Th. 2.223.

PRIOR is contrasted with QUI SEQUITUR.

245 ASSERE Probably the pole of a litter, 7.132.

247 PINGUIA CRURA LUTO 7.131, Mart. 3.36.4, 10.10.8, 12.26.8; Lucian De Merc. Cond. 13 and 24.

248 Cf. 16.24–5; PLANTA is collective; for MAGNA cf. 16.14; DIGITO toe.

249 NONNE VIDES Verg. Georg. 1.56, 3.103.

SPORTULA Tränkle ZPE 28, 1978, 171 takes this to mean a ‘picnic’ on fare distributed to the members of a *collegium*; he quotes *sportularum divisio celebratur* from inscriptions and points out that the word in this connection may mean particularly the meat as opposed to the bread and wine, which fits the stoves. *Sportula* is somewhat similarly used at Suet. *Claud.* 21.4. It has usually been understood of
an ἔρανος, a club-dinner to which each guest brings his share of victuals, (Athen. 8.365a ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκεφταίς δείπνον καὶ συνθείς εἰς σπυρίδα παρὰ τινα δειπνήσων ἦ). Here there is no literal basket, but slaves carry the food with a portable stove (foculus, clibanus) to the meeting-place. Cf. Sen. Ep. 78.23 non circa cenationem eius tumultus cocorum est ipsos cum opsonis focos circumferentium … cenam culina prosequitur; 104.6 illum odorem culinarum fumantium quae MOTAE …

251 Cn. Domitius Corbulo the general was corpore ingens (Tac. Ann. 13.8.3). Perhaps Juvenal derives his name from corbis, cf. SPORTULA; cf. on 2.58.

252 Heavy weights are still often carried on the head in Italy (cf. Prop. 3.9.5, Paul. Fest. 16 s.v. arculus).

254 Cf. 148 and Pliny Ep. 4.16.2 adulescens scissis tunicis ut in frequentia solet fieri.

254–6 Cf. on 236; Sen. Ep. 90.9 pinus aut abies deferebatur longo vehiculorum ordine vicis intrementibus; Tib. 2.3.43 urbisque tumultu / portatur validis mille columna iugis; αμάξας λθοφόρονς Plut. Galba 8; Loane 38.

SERRACO 5.23, a heavy goods wagon.

ALTERA PLAUSTRA Probably poetic plural ‘a second wagon’ (cf. on 4.92) rather than ‘a second set of wagons’.

NUTANT … MINANTUR Thinking of Verg. Aen. 2.628–9, a tree about to fall.

257 NAM It may seem inconsequential to alter the load from timber to marble, but cf. 10.201–2 and on 8.1–9, 6.416.

SAXA LIGUSTICA Marble from Luna (RE s.v. and Steinbruch 2267, ES 5.121, Blümner3 3.49), near Carrara, which had been part of Liguria (cf. Pers. 6.6–9) before being incorporated in Etruria by Augustus (L. Pareti Studi Minori 3 (1965) 98 sqq., R. Thomsen The Italic Regions (1947) 124).

MONTEM Stat. Th. 1.145 montibus … Grais effulta nitebant atria; but here it is a deliberate hyperbole, not a synecdoche.

259 DE rather than e, cf. 1.34.

259–61 Sen. Ep. 57.6 quid enim interest utrum supra aliquem vigilariam ruat an mons? nihil invenies … (7) nunc me putas de Stoicis dicere qui existimant animam hominis magno pondere extritum permanere non posse? ANIMAE means the breath of life, not the soul which survives (264–7); cf. Lucan 9.788 (to a snake whose venom liquefies the body) eripiunt omnes animam, tu sola cadaver. The destruction of the anima at death is accepted as normal, but that of the body too is abnormal. It is not likely that more animae means ‘like a puff of wind’ (cf. Prop. 3.17.12 animae … modo in Housman’s emendation).

OBTRITUM in a similar context Alfenus Dig. 9.2.52.2. [189]

OMNE The corpse of each member of the vulgus who is killed.

261 DOMUS i.e. familia; the slaves are getting ready for the cena and the bath which preceded it. Duff suggests that Juvenal may be thinking of the preparation
of the bath for Hector when he is already dead (Iliad 22.442). Cf. Petron. 115 hunc (the drowned man) forsitan ... secura expectat uxor.

STRIGLIBUS Syncope to avoid strīgliōn; so CIL 4.10566, Vitruv. 4.4.3 (of the flutings of columns), glossaries. In hexameters one may compare cap(i)tibus Ennius Ann. 490, fac(i)lia CEL 248–4, in trochaics perviglōnda at Pervig. Ven. 46; see generally Leumann 97, L. Mueller 456. This implement, here of metal, was used to remove oil and sweat from the body (Marquardt 289); UNGTIS is a fixed epithet, as the strigils have not been used yet on this occasion.

SONAT Now domus becomes the house itself; for the shift of meaning cf. 12.68 and on 14.82. The attractions of home life are underlined by the diminutives patellae, joculum.

LINTEA Towels (14.22); GUTO oil-flask (11.58, Marquardt 289, RE guttus 1953).

264 PUEROS Slaves.

AT ILLE often ends a line (cf. 4.120) with pathetic effect. ILLE the person concerned, the dominus; cf. on 10.179.

IN RIPA Of Styx or Cocytus (2.150) or Acheron etc. Juvenal bas emphatically denied survival 2.149 sqq.; there is an obvious tone of joking and parody here. Juvenal is not insensitive to the pathos of such an end, but mocks the beliefs which have grown up around it.

TAETRUM terríbili squalore Charon Verg. Aen. 6.299(–301).

PORTHMEA Petron. 121.117, CEL 1549.3 (CIL 10.1 *191 p. *9 seems to be forged), Theocr. 17.49 etc.

CAENOSI GURGITIS 2.150, Aen. 6.296; the mud is a traditional feature as in Aristophanes Frogs.

267 In Greece an obol was placed in the mouth of the dead as Charon’s πορθμεῖον or πορθμήιον (Callim. fr. 278; Lucian De Luctu 10, Catapl. 18, Dial. Mort. 22.1 etc.); cf. Prop. 4.11.7 ubi portitor aera recepit. This custom came to Rome as early as the third century B.C.; skeletons have been found with Roman coins between the teeth (cf. Samter 203, Nock 227, RE Bestattung 349.34, RAC Geleit 959, Blümner 486, Marquardt 349, SG 3.298 = 3.317, Holst Symb. Osl. 9, 1930, 112). The prematurely dead (ἄωροι) would not be ferried across directly; cf. Aen. 6.325 with Norden pp. 10–14, Plaut. Most. 499, Waszinck Vig. Christ. 3, 1949, 108 = Opusc. Sel. 112 and commentary on Tertull. De Anima pp. 565–6, Cumont ch. 5 and 2 305 sqq. There are some inconsistencies in the beliefs about this, but J. ter Vrugt-Lenz Mors Immatura (1960) is over-sceptical. [190]

267 PORRIGAT ORE The corpse pops out his tongue with the coin on it.

268 ALIA Other than sleeplessness (232); DIVERSA (i.e. varia cf. 10.263 and on 10.2–3) shows that it does not mean ‘other dangers, i.e. those of the night’.

269 On the height of houses cf. 6.31 and on 199 above.

TESTA At first sight it looks as if this means roof-tiles; cf. Cic. De Domo 61 testis tectorum meorum; CIL 3.2083 = CEL 1060 is an epitaph on a man killed by a
falling tile, cf. Lucian *Charon* 6. But it is more likely to mean potsherds, the *vasa rimosa et curta*; this is strongly suggested by 274–7. *Digest* 9.3 is *de his qui effuderint vel deiecerint*; such things were general in ancient cities (Dio Chrys. 32.71, Aristoph. *Ach.* 616 and fr. 306; Carcopino 51). Then TECTIS means ‘buildings’, not ‘roofs’.


SILICEM Pavement 6.350; IGNAVUS negligent.

**273** A very unusual concluding rhythm, unique in Juvenal; cf. p. 38.

CASUS conveys both ‘mischance’ and ‘fall’ (of the pot).

ADEO ‘for’ (on 11.131): *ILLA* on that particular night cf. 264.

PATENT i.e. with the shutters opened; 6.31.

VIGILES 8.158, 15.43; the personification here and in 277 is clear.

**276** OPTES ‘you must pray’; cf. *metuas* 302 (prohibition) and on 1.14.


**277** DEFUNDERE PELVES (6.430) i.e. their contents (cf. on 226–7); a typical Silver concentration of expression (cf. on 1.131) in which we have to supply mentally an antithesis (*deicere*) to *defundere*.

**278** Nero’s escapades of this type were notorious; cf. McDaniel *AJP* 35, 1914, 58.


Forte It is unusual.


CUBAT IN FACIEM Celsus 7.26.5 *in ventrem cubare*.

**281** A clearly spurious line; Juvenal scans *érgoto* (often) and *ergò* (9.82), as *éstò* 8.79 and *estò* 8.164 (cf. *BICS* 22, 1975, 154). But in any case the conjunction should be *nam*.

**282** ANNIS Because of his youth.

**283** COCCINA LAENA The colour is expensive (Pliny *NH* 37.204); the garment (5.131, 7.73), a thick warm cloak (Marquardt 570, Wilson 113), was worn over other clothes when going out to dinner (Mart. 8.59.10).

COMITUM Clients (on 1.46); *comitum ... ordo* Verg. *Aen.* 11.94. [191]

MULTUM FLAMMARUM Cf. 12.46, 7.24; with LAMPAS this forms a hendiadys.

AENEA indicates a wealthier owner than *ferrea* would.

LAMPAS Carried by a *lampadarius* (*RE* s.v.); cf. 7.225. Rome had no street lighting, though Pompeii had (Casson 359); cf. Marquardt 148–9, Blümner 419 and 450.

**286** ME contrasted with *hunc* 283; so 285 should end with a colon. Umbricius is ἀσυνακόλουθος, ἄδουλος; to have no slaves at all is a mark of extreme poverty (Lucil. 243, Catull. 23–4, Mart. 11.32, Sen. *Dial.* 2.3.1). In Epicharmus fr. 35 Kai-
bel ap. Athen. 6.236a a man going home at night without a light, which only a poor man like Umbricius would contemplate doing (LUNA), is beaten up by the περίπολοι (= the Roman vigiles).

CANDELAE cf. Mart. 14.42; Festus 54 candelis pauperes, locupletes cereis utebantur; Maecenas ap. Sen. Ep. 114.5 cerei fila. Cerei were made of wax, candelae of tallow.

DEDUCERE Escort.

287 His thrift indicates his poverty.

288 μὴνιν ἂειδε! The PROOEMIA are the iurgia (292 sqq.) which proludunt (5.26).

289–91 TU PULSAS, EGO … AGAS … TE The contrast in 289 requires not only the common indefinite TU but also an indefinite EGO (Nutting AJP 45, 1924, 377); then the person indicated by the latter is shifted into the second person, which usually involves a subjunctive verb as AGAS; for the indicative PULSAS cf. HS 419 and on 100 above. See also on 5.25.

290 PARERE NECESSE EST Catull. 62.62, Lucan 6.494.

QUID AGAS CUM 4.14.

UNDE VENIS Hor. Serm. 1.9.62. The following questions are a rude version of the Homeric τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι γένος ἠδὲ τοκῆες; Cf. Verg. Aen. 8.114, Hor. Epist. 1.7.53 and the insulting greeting of Pelias in Pind. Pyth. 4.97.

ACETO An insult; his host is assumed only to be able to afford cheap sour wine.

CONCHE 14.131, a cheap food (cf. Athen. 4.159f, André 36). For the largely vegetable diet of the poor cf. on 1.134. The singular is collective cf. KS 1.68.

TUMES Beans being flatulent (Ovid MF 70 and Pease on Cic. De Div. 1.62).

SECTILE PORRUM 14.133; leeks cut when just above the soil, contrasted with p. capitatum, when they had grown to a head. The assailant pretends that he can smell this vegetable on the victim’s breath (cf. Mart. 13.18; graves id. 5.78.4). |[192]

SUTOR Another insult; on 4.153.

ELIXI v.l. caput vervecinum Mart. 14.211; André 142, Blümner1 173.

295 NIL MIHI RESPONSDES Mart. 5.61.7, 6.5.3, 10.41.4.

CALCEM The Romans kicked with the heel as their sandals (on 6.612) did not protect the toe; cf. calcare 248, 10.86.

296 UBI CONSISTAS ‘where you have your stand’ as a beggar.

PROSEUCHA Synagogue (cf. CIL 6.9821 = CIL 531, Kittel–Friedrich συναγωγή 808, Smallwood 133, Svennung 521); QUA because there were a number at Rome (S. Safrai and M. Stern The Jewish People in the First Century 1, 1974, 166, SG 3.178 = 3.209–210, Leon 139 sqq.). To Umbricius, who loathes immigrants, this would be a terrible insult. For Jewish beggars cf. on 16 and 6.543; for the association of beggars and synagogues cf. Artemidorus 3.52, Cleomedes 2.1.91. In fact the Jews attached much importance to charity (Joseph. Contra Apion. 2.283, 291), and Ju-
lian the Apostate praises them for the absence of beggary (Ep. 84 Bidez–Cumont 430d).

QUAERO The meaning would be more explicitly conveyed by a deliberative subjunctive; on 4.130.

297 SI … VE This seems not to be found elsewhere in this sense; cf. sive … vel 11.28 (HS 670). Schrader proposed seu.

298 PARITER In both cases.

VADIMONIA FACIUNT This phrase used only to be known with the plaintiff as subject, binding over the defendant to appear in court, and it had then to be assumed that here the assailant represented himself as the victim; at Quintil. 6.3.83 an assailant threatens to prosecute for hurting his hand on his victim’s hard head. This may still be right, but the phrase is now known with the defendant as subject from wax tablets from Herculaneum; V. Arangio-Ruiz Parola del Passato 3, 1948, 138 = Studi Epigr. e Papirologici (1974) 334, Tomulescu Rev. Int. des Droits de l’Antiquité 17, 1970, 319–22, Ferrari Laboe 4, 1958, 184.

There is a remarkable shift from the singular to the plural, cf. on 308, 1.137, 6.365.

300 PUGNIS CONCISUS Cic. 2 Verr. 3.56, Hor. Serm. 1.2.66.

301 PULSATUS … REVERTI Cf. 16.8–10.

302 NEC METUAS Cf. on 276 and 8.188. HAEC TANTUM Not just assault, but robbery and even (305) assassination; cf. on 10.22.

303–4 The doors are chained and the shutters closed; the tabernae are part of the domus, cf. on 6.415. The style is remarkably elevated. [1193]

305 For the footpads of Rome cf. CIL 6.5302 (= CEL 1037) and 20307, 3.14588, Callistratus Dig. 48.19.28.10, Juv. 14.174; SG 1.20 = 1.22, Poehlmann 53–4.

306 ARMATO CUSTODE Instrumental ablative (on 1.13) and collective singular, often combined (9.150, Verg. Aen. 1.564 fines custode tueri).

The Pomptine marshes (cf. on 10.20–1) and the Gallinarian pine-forest (in the West of Campania, between the river Vulturnus and Cumae; known as Pineta since the Middle Ages) were dens of robbers because of their sparse population and provision of concealment; Sex. Pompeius gathered pirates in the latter (Strabo 5.4.4.243), and robber-barrons visited Scipio at near-by Liternum (Val. Max. 2.10.2). The Appian Way passed by the Pomptine marshes, where Nerva and Trajan carried out extensive works on it (RE suppl. 8.1202; Dio Cass. 68.15.3, A.D. 106). From time to time military posts were established to subdue brigands (O. Hirschfeld Kl. Schr. 591), but clearly they had no permanent effect; cf. H. Bellen Studien zur Sklavenflucht (1971) 95 and 104.

PINUS Collective cf. KS 1.69–70, Svennung 169 and on 15.76.
SiC ... TAMQUAM 6.431.
OMNES sc. *grassatores*; for the shift to the plural cf. on 298.
VIVARIA Their game-preserves; 4.51.


TIMEAS Because of the indefinite second person, this would still be subjunctive even without the UT; cf. 3.7, 1.18, KS 1.179.

For these implements cf. 15.166–7, with a similar variation in number.

FELICIA SAECULA QUAE Cf. 2.38. PROAVORUM ATAVOS This happy time was long ago.

The *tribuni militares consulari potestate* occasionally appointed in the early Republic.

UNO Even the good old days could not entirely dispense with prisons. This one is the *carcer Mamertinus* with the Tullianum built by Ancus Marcius and Servius Tullius. In Juvenal’s day the *castra praetoria* also had a prison, 6.561. The Lautumiae occasionally mentioned as a prison (Sen. *Contr.* 9.4 (27).21 and Livy) seems to have been part of the complex to which the *Mamertinus* belonged (Varro *LL* 5.151). Cf. M. Grant *The Roman Forum* (1970) 127, le Gall *Mél. d’Archéol. et d’Histoire, École Fr. de Rome* 56, 1939, 76, Eisenhut ANRW 1.2 (1972) 275–6. Prison at Rome was only a place of detention until [194] the next legal step was taken, not a penalty in itself (though see RAC Gefangenschaft 330).

POTERAM Cf. KS 1.170–3, HS 328.

CAUSAS sc. *migrandi*.

VIRGA ANNUIT To attract his attention; cf. 8.153 (slightly different), Cic. *Lucull. 147 quoniam non solum nauta significat sed etiam Favonius ipse insusurrat navigandi nobis tempus esse ... est mihi perorandum*.


Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.104 *reficit gelidus Digentia rivus* (cf. 322); Praeneste too is cool (190), whereas Cumae is warm, cf. 4.

HELVINAM Presumably the temple was built by a Helvius; for this gens in these parts cf. *CIL* 10 index p. 1039. For the association of a deity with a particular family cf. Nock 41 = *JHS* 45, 1925, 91; Wissowa 33 and 302 n. 10. For surviving traces of these cults in modern Aquinum see Hight 234 n. 3 fin.; both Ceres and Diana are country-side goddesses.

VESTRAM *Aquinatium*; or *Juniorum* (Juvenal’s gens)? Cf. *CIL* 10.5671 (from Rocca d’Arce).

NI PUDET ILLAS They might desire a more refined audience, not wearing
*caligae*. The pronoun probably refers to the satires, not to Ceres and Diana.

322 Lucan 1.382 *Hesperios audax veniam metator in agros*; for *AUDITOR* cf. 1.1. CALIGATUS With thick boots, a countryman’s wear (Blümner 226; Edict of Diocletian 9.5a *caligae mulionicae sive rusticae*). Thus Umbricius’ divorce from city life is reinforced at the conclusion; he is not willing to visit Juvenal in Rome.
Satire Four

This satire appears to fall into two parts. The first attacks Crispinus and ends by introducing (28–33) for purposes of comparison the emperor Domitian, who, after three transitional lines (34–6) to set the tone, occupies the rest of the poem. The best way to appreciate the structural framework is to begin with discussion of the nature of this second part.

Valla on 94 quotes, certainly from Probus, four lines from a lost poem by Statius which he calls De Bello Germanico:

lumina; Nestorei mitis prudentia Crispi
et Fabius Veiento (potentem signat utrumque
purpura, ter memores implerunt nomine fastos)
et prope Caesareae confinis Acilius aulae.

In this quotation lumina, which has lost its context, may either mean ‘luminaries’ or be part of a reference to the blind Catullus (113–22). Fabius is not the nomen of Veiento (and therefore Jahn altered et Fabius to Fabricius), but means, as Bücheler saw (Rh. Mus. 38, 1884, 283 = Kl. Schr. 3.12), that he was another Q. Fabius Maximus (cf. Nestorei), as prudent (113) as the famous Cunctator. This poem was probably that recited (Silv. 4.2.65–6) by Statius when he won the prize at the Alban agon of Domitian, very likely in A.D. 90. That poem described not only Germanae acies but also Domitian’s Dacian campaign; in view of what is said below about the dramatic date of Juvenal’s poem the Germanae acies probably included the campaign of 83 as well as that of 89 A.D. If the identification is correct De Bello Germanico cannot be the exact title.

The fragment obviously describes the attendance at a council of war. Juvenal too describes a meeting of Domitian’s cabinet with the same members (and others perhaps also mentioned by Statius) present, and in closely similar wording. At least from 72 onwards the satire is without doubt based on parody of Statius, a poet in whom Juvenal was interested (see on 7.83). Juvenal has hinted as much to the reader in 147 (for another such hint see on 2.92), where he says that Domitian
might have been expected to have news about the Chatti and the Sygambri. Why he mentions the latter is not clear (see the notes), but the former were the tribe against which Domitian’s German expeditions were mainly directed. The military context also accounts for the reference to *castra* in 135 (see note) and the martial allusion in 124–8.

The tone is set for the mock epic by 33–5. First Calliope, the epic Muse, is invoked (cf. Stat. *Th.* 10.628–30 *nunc age quis stimulos … addiderit iuveni … memor incipe Clio*) and invited to begin her song. This she would naturally do standing in a formal pose (Ovid *Met.* 5.338–9 *surgit … Calliope to sing of the rape of Proserpina; Lucian *Icaromenippus* 27 αἱ Μοῦσαι ἀναστᾶσαι ἔδο); But Juvenal assures her that she can continue to sit; this is not poetry to be sung (*cantandum*), but history (*res vera*) to be related. The mock epic is also foreshadowed in 16–17 (see the note).

The subject of the weighty deliberations of the cabinet is what to do about a fish which has been presented to the emperor, but is too big for any available dish. We thus have a typically burlesque contrast between the trivial subject of debate on the one hand and on the other the elevated literary style (see the notes passim) and the formal procedure (130 and 136) of the cabinet; this poem is in fact an important historical source for the Roman cabinet (see Crook 50–1). The first part of the poem attacking Crispinus also comes to a climax with a large fish (15 sqq.); the gluttony of Crispinus may be measured by the price which he paid for it. This instance of extravagant gluttony however is one of the *facta leviora* (11) of Crispinus, just as the culinary deliberations of Domitian are his *nugae* (150); in each case a contrast is drawn with their worse aspects, so that we have a chiastic scheme—crimes of C., follies of C.; follies of D., crimes of D. The first part, in short, directly states the theme, the corruption of Domitian’s court (Crispinus is mentioned as one of his councillors in 108; see below) through *luxuria* (1–27, 139–43) and *adulatio* (31), the second for the most part insinuates it obliquely through the medium of literary parody, though from time to time Juvenal drops the mask of epic impersonality to introduce savage comments of his own (the first person singular 140), and he ends the poem in his own person (150–4), re-emphasising the *saevitia* which he had commented on in 85 and 95. Crispinus thus pre-figures Domitian and represents his court; the two are sharply juxtaposed in 28–33 (note the *a fortiori* formulation and the *tunc … cum* contrast), and their close connection is already made plain in 11–14, where Domitian is first introduced. Crispinus’ familiarity with Domitian, stated in these lines, is also made prominent by comparison of *emit* 15 with *quis … talem … emere auderet* (other than Crispinus!) 46–7. One notes also that neither C.’s *facta leviora* nor D.’s *nugae* arise from obvious causes (18–22, 147–9).

The method of literary parody here employed by Juvenal was introduced into Roman satire by Lucilius, who in Book 1 of his Satires represented the gods deliberating (fr. 4 *consilium summum hominum de rebus agebant*) about the death of L.
Cornelius Lentulus Lupus. The discussion was apparently carried on in the forms of a meeting of the Roman senate (Servius on Aen. 10.104 = fr. 3; note the *domum deductio* at the end of the Vergilian meeting, Aen. 10.117, which Servius says is imitated from Lucilius) with formal conventional speeches (fr. 26 and 27). It was evidently basically a parody of the *concilium* in the Annals of Ennius in which the gods decided on the deification of Romulus, and Lucilius refers to this as the *antiquum* (fr. 30) or *prius concilium* (fr. 27); resemblances between Lucilius and Vergil (fr. 4 and Aen. 9.227; Aen. 10 l.c.) are probably due to common derivation from Ennius. Note too Lucilius’ use of an epic (i.e. Ennian) tag fr. 18 *haec ubi dicta dedit, <fecit> pausam ore loquendi*. Lupus, who may even, like the Licini Murœnae and the Sergii Oratae, have derived his *cognomen* from the fish *lupus* rather than the animal, was apparently a gourmet fond of fish (fr. 49 and 54); such fondness for fish was a traditional topic of abuse (Plut. Quaest. Symp. 4.4.668a). Juvenal, who has much in common with Lucilius (see p. 9), very likely had the Lucilian *concilium* in mind when he wrote this satire.

Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis* in Menippean form is on similar lines to Lucilius I; Menippus, who appears to have parodied Homeric councils, evidently gave to Lucilius the idea of a mock-epic council. Though this work of Seneca was little known or read in antiquity (knowledge of it is shown only by Dio Cassius, Au- sonius and perhaps the emperor Julian), there are a few hints that Juvenal, who likewise abuses a dead emperor [198], may have been familiar with it (see on 16–17, 56–8 and 5.54). There is a point of contact in Juvenal’s phrase *res vera agitur* (35) as compared with Seneca’s *haec ita vera* (1.1). By this Seneca, who throughout mockingly insists on his historical accuracy, means to assert that he is writing an ἀληθὴς ἱστορία, but Lucian’s work of similar title (describing a journey to the moon!) shows how we are to understand that, and Juvenal too. It is true that Domitian was capable of a macabre practical joke (Dio Cass. 67.9) and that emperors were known to play such tricks on their cabinet (Crook2 29). But Juvenal has combined several easily recognisable elements into his narrative. First, it was traditional to make presents of large fish to monarchs; Mart. 13.91 *ad Palatinas acipensem mittite mensas; / ambrosias ornant munera rara dapes*. There are two such stories about Tiberius, who was easily associated with Domitian as another cruel despot (it is well known how Tacitus’ portrait of Tiberius has apparently been influenced by his experience of Domitian, and according to Suet. Dom. 20 Domitian studied the *acta* and *commentarii* of Tiberius). One narrates the presentation of a *grandis mullus* to the emperor at Capri by the fisherman who had caught it (Suet. Tib. 60); the other, that when a 4½ lb. mullet was bought and sent as a present to Tiberius, he put it up for sale and it was bought by Octavius, out-bidding Apicius (cf. 23), for 5,000 sesterces (Sen. Ep. 95.42). Seneca remarks that it was disgraceful for Octavius to buy it in order to eat it, but not for the unnamed first purchaser to buy it in order to present it to the emperor (cf. Juv. 18–22), notes how the same act can
be judged differently in different circumstances (cf. Juv. 13–14), and declares that an expensive meal for one’s own benefit deserves the *nota censoria* (cf. Juv. 12); Juvenal certainly has this actual passage in mind. Secondly, Vitellius was abused as *patinarius* (Suet. *Vitell*. 17.2) for having had a special kiln built to produce an enormous dish (Pliny *NH* 35.163–4; Dio Cass. 65.3.3 wrongly says that it was of silver because it was too big to be made of pottery; Suet. 13.2 names the ingredients which filled it).

The dramatic date is before A.D. 85–6 (see on 111); if we may assume the same of the council in the Statian original, that will have referred to the German war of A.D. 83. So we may put the dramatic date of Juvenal’s poem more exactly in autumn 82 (some scholars, forgetting that it is autumn, have put it in 83). The question arises of the exact meaning of what Statius says about Crispus and Veiento. The third consulship was the most to which a *privatus* might aspire under the empire (Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep*. 2.1.2, Jones *AJP* 94, 1973, 81 n. 15). Does Statius then mean, as his wording prima facie certainly seems to imply, that Crispus and Fabricius held office simultaneously as a pair of coss. III? This would be historically improbable, and in fact a diploma (*CIL* 16.28 = *ILS* 1995) names the consuls of September 82 as L. Marcius Magnus Silo and T. Aurelius Quietus; the hypothesis has been put forward that this pair in fact belongs to 83 (A. Degrassi *I Fasti Consolari* (1952) 24 and *Inscr. Italicae* 13.1 pp. 220–1; *PIR*² L100), but it does seem rather gratuitous (Evans *Historia* 24, 1975, 122). I think that Statius must simply be alluding to their distinction without intending to fix it in time (cf. *RE* *Vibius* 1970.21 and 6.1940.39; W. Eck *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* (1970) 61), though in fact their third consulships probably were in 82–3 (Syme *JRS* 43, 1953, 155).

Since the dramatic date is right at the beginning of Domitian’s reign, his depiction as already a fierce tyrant is somewhat anachronistic (cf. on 47–8); his savage temper was not fully revealed until after the rebellion of Saturninus in A.D. 89 (Suet. 10.5, Dio Cass. 67.11.2). But of course Juvenal must not have the standards of historical accuracy applied to him; his interest lies in using the conventional themes of the tyrant’s wretched ‘friends’ and extravagant banquets (cf. Pliny referred to on 28–31) as a basis for his fervent declamation. He mocks this stock theme of the rhetorical schools at 7.151 (cf. Sidon. *Apoll. Ep*. 8.11.3.28–9 *tyrannicarum / declamatio controversiarum*; Dunkle *CW* 65, 1971, 12, Deratani *Rev. Phil.* 55, 1929, 187, Gudeman’s commentary on Tac. *Dial.* p. 463, MacMullen¹ 35–6), but himself refers to the conventional tyrant at 10.112–13 and 306–7 (cf. e.g. Sen. *Contr*. 9.4); according to Dio Cass. 67.12.5 Domitian Μάτερνον σοφιστήν, ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκῶν, ἀπέκτεινε.

Some scholars have argued that the two parts of the poem were originally separate, on two grounds. First, that the introduction of Crispinus in 108 is inopportune and surprisingly phrased if he had already been mentioned in the first line of
the [[200]] same poem. I cannot see any force in the latter objection, and the former will have been excused by historical fact and presumably his presence in Statius. It is surprising that Crispinus’ gluttony is not mentioned here and Montanus takes over the role of gourmet (107, 136 sqq.); this may be because Juvenal wants to direct our minds back to the days of Nero (38, 137) and Vitellius, when Crispinus will not have been at court. The second ground relates to iterum in 1. The only other mention of Crispinus in Juvenal (who failed to fulfil his anticipation that he would often mention him) is at 1.26, and (so it is claimed) the prefatory poem would have been written after the other poems of the book; the reference therefore of iterum to a poem allegedly written later than the main body of this satire would indicate that the Crispinus-part of this poem was a last-minute addition. This house of cards collapses when it is recognised that we have no grounds at all for dating poem One later than Four; though it is true that prefatory poems were often written last, it is quite unjustifiable to assume it as a matter of course in all cases. At any rate it must be admitted that if the two parts did not originally form a unitary composition, Juvenal has taken immense care to interweave them by thematic connections; the degree of his success is a matter for individual aesthetic judgment.

This poem is discussed by Griffith G & R 2 16, 1969, 134.

1 ECCE ITERUM See for the combination Thes. ecce 31.81; e.g. Stat. Th. 12.429 e.i. fratres, CEL 1552 B (= CIL 8.213) 3 ecce Secundus adest iterum. On ITERUM and SAEPE see introduction.

1–2 VOCANDUS AD PARTES A theatrical metaphor; C. is called to take his cue. So Varro RR 2.10.1, Sen. Phoen. 351.

2–3 More usual would be nulla virtute vitia redimens (cf. Sen. Contr. 4 pr. 11 redimebat vitia virtutibus); Ovid Met. 12.393 nec te … tua … forma redemit is comparable.

FORTES ‘healthy’ is the antithesis of AEGRAE, Tac. Dial. 23.4; Crispinus’ health has been ruined by vice. At 6.O.25 in lecto fortissimus the word has a different antithesis, but that passage and this are not to be kept too strictly apart; cf. Sen. Contr. 1 pr. 10 istis … nunquam nisi in libidine viris, Macrobr. Sat. 2.1.3 Alcibiadi, qui tantum fuit fortis ad crimina.

4 DELICIAE ‘dandy’; so Pliny NH 22.99 and probably Mart. 8.48.6 nec nisi deliciis (the dandy Crispinus) convenit iste color (purple, ||201 cf. Juv. 31), though it might mean ‘luxury’ there (but see Housman on Lucan 10.478).

VIDUAS (‘unmarried women’) … ADULTER Technically this would be stuprum, not adulterium, but even the law used the latter word in a non-technical sense (Papinian Dig. 48.5.6.1, Modestinus ibid. 50.16.1). Crispinus is attracted by the spice of danger; cf. 9.116, Sen. Ep. 97.11, De Ben. 3.16.3 and other passages quoted by Citroni in his introduction to Mart. 1.57.
ASPERNATUS See the apparatus. At Colum. 8.5.23 the mss. vary between aspernor and spernor, and at Fronto p. 136.6 the palimpsest presents spernor; but even if it is right there, the word cannot be justified in a classical writer by such an eccentric stylist.

5–6 IUMEN TA … PORTICIBUS Cf. 7.178–80, Mart. 1.12.5–8, SHA 26.49.2 miliarensem porticum in hortis Sallusti ornavit in qua cotidie et equos et se fatigabant. IUMEN TA, a rural word rare in poetry outside Juvenal (Thes. s.v. 645.75), who has it seven times, means mules at 3.316 (cf. 317), 7.180, 8.154 (cf. 148), as commonly; cf. on 7.181.

NEMORUM … UMBRA See on 39.

VECTETUR Perhaps understand equo; this clause will then in sense repeat that which precedes, and the place meant will be the hippodromus (cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.19 hippodromi nemus; Pliny himself used his hippodromus for walking, but not everybody did, see Sherwin-White on 5.6.32). Alternatively, and preferably, understand lectica (6.577 and Apul. Apol. 76); the reference then will be to the gestatio (Pliny Ep. 2.17.14, 5.6.17), and there will be the special point that doctors recommended promenades in a litter for the sick (aegrae 3), cf. Pliny NH 26.13–14 with the note of Ernout–Pépin p. 80; Cael. Aurel. Chron. 1.1.18–19 (where this is called vectatio), RE lectatio 1088. On gestatio and hippodromus see Blümner 86, Grimal 265–73.

7 VICINA FORO This agrees with QUAS AEDES (‘what house’, singular) also. Land near the centre of large cities is always expensive (Poehlmann 87, Duncan-Jones PBSR 33, 1965, 224); the site for Julius Caesar’s forum cost 100 million sesterces (Suet. Iul. 26.2, Pliny NH 36.103; Cic. Ad Att. 4.16.8 mentions 60 million).

8 This line is absolutely in place, indeed necessary, and there is no warrant for deleting it with Jahn (which leaves 9 intolerably abrupt) or emending it with Housman (whose conjecture, as he admitted in ed. 2, is based on a misunderstanding of the scholia). The only reproach brought against the line by Housman is that the connection of thought is abrupt (prave abrupta atque dissoluta continuatone sententarum), but this is not so. 1–4 Crispinus is vicious, 5–7 so his riches don’t matter, 8 for no wicked man, even if rich, is fortunate, and Crispinus, who is burdened by not only adultery (corruptor referring back to 4 viduas tantum aspernatus adulter, cf. 6.233; the verbal noun in -tor, as commonly, implies that he is a seducer by habit), but also sacrilege (incestus; see below), is the most unenviable of all. For the sequence of thought after quid refert with a following asyndetic sentence cf. 8.192–4 (7 should now end with a question mark and 10 with a full stop), for ET IDEM 3.291, for the general thought e.g. Philo De Prov. 7 (vol. 9 p. 462 in the Loeb ed.) μὴ τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς εὐδαίμονα τίνα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἀν πλουσιώτερος Ἄρης ἔσωσθαι.

9–10 The condemnation on a charge of incestum of the Vestal Cornelia by Domitian in A.D. 93 is described by Pliny Ep. 4.11 (see Sherwin-White) and Suet.
Dom. 8 (see Mooney). The paramour named was an eques called Celer, and among others Valerius Licinianus was involved. Suetonius says that Cornelia was absoluta olim, dein longo intervallo repetita; her earlier trial was presumably at the time of the condemnation of three other Vestals (who however were not buried alive) in A.D. 83–4. Crispinus can hardly have been involved in the earlier trial, for in A.D. 92 he was still in favour with Domitian (Mart. 7.99); and since in 93 Martial can still pull his leg (8.48), to suppose that he was one of those not named by Suetonius executed in that year is chronologically uncomfortable. It is most probable that he was linked with Cornelia only by gossip.

Some have understood the reference to be to rumours linking Crispinus with another unknown Vestal, and interpreted SUBITURA to mean ‘who (if discovered) would have been buried alive’. Such conditional uses of the future participle are common in Silver Latin (KS 1.761, HS 390 and 644, Woodcock p. 155), but it would be very harsh here, where, unlike 5.32 and 6.277, there is no hint of a protasis; 6.44 (q.v.) is probably not a valid parallel.

On the incestum involved in the seduction of a Vestal and the punishment of burial alive see Latte 49, 110 (cf. 108 n. 4), 195; ML Vesta 260–1; RE incestus 1246–7, Vesta 1747; RSV 3.342; Frazer on Ovid Fasti 6.457–60; Mommsen 928.

VITTATA SACERDOS is from Lucan 1.597. The epithet reinforces the horror of Crispinus’ act (cf. Stat. Th. 7.758 conatusque toris vittatam attingere Manto); the vittae (on which see RSV 3.340, DS Vestalis 759b, Ovid l.c.) were torn from the head of errant Vestals before their incarceration (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 8.89.5, cf. Sen. Contr. 1.3.6).

SANGUINE VIVO Ovid Met. 5.436, Lucan 6.554, Stat. Th. 5.162, 8.761.

FACTIS The plural although only one is mentioned; cf. ista 9.73 and on 9.118. ET TAMEN … PERSONA EST 15 should be enclosed in parenthesis and this followed by a colon to make plain that MULLUM … EMIT explains FACTIS.

FECISSET IDEM sc. factum levius, ‘had been guilty of the same’ (see on 6.638).

CADERET SUB Cf. 10.69 (7.13 is also comparable), Suet. Otho 5.1; he would have had the nota censoria affixed to him. For CADERET rather than cecidisset see on 85.

IUDICE MORUM i.e. censore; one speaks informally of a iudicium censorum (Mommsen 2.386, Greenidge 51, RE mores 297, DE censor 164–5). Domitian had himself named censor perpetuus in A.D. 85 (RE 6.2561, Gsell 54 and 83, DE Domitianus 2038b, Buttrey Cf 71, 1975, 26) and took the moral functions of the office seriously (cf. 2.30–1 and Suet. 8 with Mooney). Sumptuary observances were the particular province of the censors (cf. 9.142, Sen. Ep. 95.41, RE sumptus 903.38, E. Schmähling Die Sittenaufsicht der Censoren (1938) 58 and 131, I. Sauerwein Die Leges Sumptuariae (1970) 26–35), whereas the supervision of the morals of the Vestals lay with the pontifex maximus (Pliny Ep. 4.11.6 and other references as
above); but in this case the censor turns out to be as luxurious as anybody.

13–14 Cf. 8.181–2, 11.176–8. TITIO SEIOQUE are names used by jurists in giving concrete examples, hence 'the man in the street', 'John Doe and Richard Roe'. In full C. Seius and L. Titius, Plut. Quaest. Rom. 30 (see Rose and correct his reference to Tert. Apol. 1.4 to Ad Nat. 1.4.8), Tert. Apol. 3.1; RE Seius 1120.53, Titius no. 10; Lancel in Hommages à Jean Bayet (1964) 355.

NAM As if Juvenal had said nam turpe foret Titio quod decebat Crispinum; or perhaps <Crispinus non cecidit> nam ...

QUIS AGAS CUM 3.291.

FOEDIOR OMNI CRIMINE 'too disgraceful for any accusation', cf. on 66 and 8.209.

PERSONA Simply 'person', a rare usage; the nearest approach in classical Latin seems to be Cic. Pro Cael. 30 sunt duo crimina ... in quibus una atque eadem persona versatur; cf. Val. Max. 6.2.5 huic facto persona (the author) admirationem adimit. See OLD (5) and Lewis and Short (II B 2) s.v., Krebs–Schmalz 2.286.

15 MULLUM The red mullet, a fish greatly valued by Roman gourmets, cf. 5.92–8, 11.37, Galen De Alim. Fac. 3.26 (CMG 5.4.2.365), Blümner 182–3, Marquardt 434, RE mullus 499, Préchac REL 14, 1936, 102–5, Andrews CW 42, 1948–9, 186. Fantastic prices were paid for them; Suet. Tib. 34.1, Pliny NH 9.67 (see the notes of de Saint-Denis pp. 118–20 on the surrounding passage, which deals with mullets generally; from Pliny probably derive Macrobi. Sat. 3.16.9, Tert. De Pallio 5, though their figures differ). Pliny l.c. 64 [1204] says that the fish rarely exceeded 2 lbs in weight, Martial 14.97 that it was valued according to its size and 2 lbs was the minimum (he finds this acceptable 3.45.5, 11.50.9; but at 10.37.7–8 one of less than 3 is thrown back). Horace Serm. 2.2.33 mentions one of 3 lbs, Mart. 10.31.3 one of 4 (costing according to different mss. nummis mille ducentis or trecentis; Kübler in Festschrift J. Vahlen (1900) 567 is probably right to understand denariis = 4800 or 5200 sesterces), Sen. Ep. 95.42 (see introduction) one of 4½ for 5000 sesterces. This one weighed 6 lbs; Thompson 266 says that one of this size can hardly have been a real mullet.

16–17 Juvenal expresses the weight of the fish by a periphrasis (cf. 10.126) which recalls the Ovidian and Manilian technique of numerical circumlocation (cf. also Stat. Silv. 2.1.124 Herculeosannisaequarelabores, i.e. the boy was in his twelfth year); then in 17 he makes plain (with the mainly poetical word perhibent, which he does not use elsewhere; cf. Lyne on Ciris 56 and 77) his mock-epic intent (qui ... loquuntur is a thrust at poetical bombast). All this is rather similar to Sen. Apoc. 2 (see introduction and on 56–8). Archestratus (p. 147 Brandt Corpusc. Poesis Epicae Graecae Ludibundae 1, 1888) ap. Athen. 7.305ε speaks of a fish as ἵσορρυξος.

18–19 The mullet, like expensive fish generally, was often given as a present by captatores; 5.92–8, 6.38–40, Mart. 2.40.4. LAUDO is similarly ironical at 12.121, ARTIFICIS (cf. 14.116) at 10.238 (see Thes. s.v. 701.12). For ORBI see on 3.128 and 12.99.
Roman wills were written out on the common writing material of waxed tablets (codex 10.236 or tabulae; RE Testament 996), each page of which was a cera (Blümner1 468 n. 2, Marquardt 805). Praecipuam is probably an allusion to the legal sense of the word (Lewis and Short i b, OLD 1b; cf. praecipio, praeceptio) applied to a legacy which was the first charge on an estate before distribution of the remainder; e.g. Suet. Galba 5.2, Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 6.12.5.

Magna amica. Cf. on 1.33; her magnitudo explains how she could afford a large litter, cf. Dio Cass. 57.15.4 ἐν σκίπωδε πατάστεγῳ, ὃποι ἀν τῶν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες chriftai.

Cluso. Cf. 1.124 and on 1.64; see Blümner1 445–6, RE lectica 1091–3, Marquardt 736–8.

Specularibus. Cf. 3.242, RE ibid. 1066.4; probably covered with lapis specularis (talc, mica or selenite), on which see Blümner1 103, Marquardt 757, RE fenestra 2184–5, DS lapides 934 and fenestra 1039, K. C. Bailey (on 2.94–5) on Pliny NH 36.130.

Antro. It was apparently a point of rivalry in Roman society to have a laxa sella, Sen. Dial. 2.14.1.

Exegetes. See on 1.14. ||[205]

Apicius was the proverbial (Otto s.v.; cf. 11.3) gourmet, but Juvenal probably has in mind the particular incident reported by Seneca and discussed in the introduction.

Hoc tu sc. fecisti; hoc pretio Squamae sc. emptae sunt. For the ellipse cf. 1.88–9. The anaphora would suggest that the two questions ought to be parallel in construction, i.e. that tu ought to remain the subject of the second (sc. emisti); but squamas, the conjecture of L. Dorléans (in his edition of Tac. Ann. (1622) p. 762), receives no support from the scholia (see BICS 14, 1967, 42), as used to be thought. It may of course still be right; it could have been turned into a genitive singular to depend on pretio, though this reading does not so obviously require a genitive as the interpolated pretium.

Papyro. For papyrus fabrics cf. Theophr. Hist. Pl. 4.8.4 (the source of Pliny NH 13.72); Anacreonta 32.4 ὁ δ’ Ἐρως χιτῶνα δήσας / ύπὲρ αὐχένος παπύρῳ / μέθυ μοι διακονεῖτω means a papyrus cord. The picture of Crispinus wearing a papyrus apron is meant to sound outlandish and ridiculous to Roman ears.

 Succinctus. Crispinus cannot have bought the fish when he was ‘formerly girt in his papyrus apron’, so this word cannot go with the understood fecisti. We must therefore punctuate thus: hoc tu, succinctus patria quondam Crispino papyro? Strict grammar would then require succincte (cf. 6.277), but it is obvious that in many such cases the boundary between nominative and vocative is hard to fix, and the Romans did not always apply close logic; cf. Löfstedt 12 96–102, J. Svennung Anredeformen (1958) 269, C. F. W. Müller (on 2.3) 3, KH 448.

The point of the word is that in Egypt he performed menial tasks; cf. 8.162,
Anacreontea l.c., Dio Chrys. 72 (περὶ σχῆματος) 2 κάπηλοι ἀνεξωσιμένοι, DS cingulum 1177b n. 50. The ablative indicates the nature of the garment (cf. Suet. Cal. 26.2 succinctus linteo etc.), the participle the fact that it is girt up.

25 SQUAMAE Contemptuous = ‘fish’.

25–6 The joke is like Pliny NH 9.67 nunc ... pretiis parantur ... coquorum pisces; Martial’s Callidorus (10.31) sold a slave for 4800 or 5200 sesterces (see on 15) and bought a 4 lb mullet. On slave-prices see Duncan-Jones 348–50 (who takes Martial to mean 1200 or 1300 sesterces and in Pliny l.c. adopts without warning a conjecture which gives too low a price for a cook); Columella gives 6000–8000 as the price of a skilled vine-dresser. Slaves were extensively employed in the fishing industry.

26–7 PROVINCIA The provinces as opposed to Italy; cf. 5.97 for this collective singular. Cf. Musonius Rufus p. 104.2 Hense δεῖπνα δὲ παρατίθενται τινες ἀγρῶν ἀναλίσκοντες τιμάς. [[206]

SED ‘and indeed’ cf. 5.147 and on 14.117; the use is as old as Plautus (KS 2.76–7, HS 487, Friedlaender on Mart. 1.117.7). Here Juvenal has in mind Ovid Met. 8.282–3 (of the Calydonian boar), which however does not show this use of sed:

misit aprum, quanto maiores herbida tauros
non habet Epirus, sed habent Sicula arva minores.

MAIORES APULIA VENDIT sc. tantidem. Apulia was an improverished dis-trict in which there was little cultivation for crops; it was mostly given over to large-scale ranching (whence the wool of Canusium 6.150, etc.), so land was cheap there (9.54–5, Sen. Ep. 87.7). See Yeo TAPA 79, 1948, 295, Sirago 220, A. J. Toynbee Hannibal’s Legacy (1965) 2.239 and 565, White1 73 and 83.

28–31 An argument a fortiori.

PUTAMUS conveys the sense more explicitly given by a deliberative subjunctive (see on 130). In fact in this particular case the indicative is usual and putemus rare (e.g. Cic. Orator 74); it is significant that when Pliny Ep. 4.25.3 recalls Catullus 22.12 putemus (cf. 97.11), he instinctively slips into putamus. Arbitramur is also quite common.

GLUTTISSE ... INDUPERATOREM glutrire is a word which, even if not onomatopoeic in origin (see Walde–Hofmann s.v.), is certainly undignified and t-otally foreign to elevated style. This is ironically contrasted with the solemn INDUPERATOREM, gross gluttony (which in fact Suet. 21 denies in Domitian, though the prejudiced Pliny Pan. 49 affirms it) as opposed to heroic ideals (dux magnus 145). Dactylic verse could not incorporate impĕrātor, so induperator was coined by Ennius, using the archaic form (indu) of in, and was then adopted by Lucretius; Juvenal uses it again at 10.138 (his other striking morphological archaisms are at 1.169 and 15.157). Perhaps it also foreshadows the coming epic burlesque. With RUČTARIT (cf. 3.107, 6.10 and Pliny Pan. l.c. plenus ipse <et> eructans) he returns to the level of GLUTTISSE, but again with an ironical stylistic contrast, this time

29–30 **PARTEM … CENAE** Whereas the mullet of Calliodorus (Mart. 10.31) was *cenae pompa caputque*.

31 On the fondness of Crispinus for purple clothes see 1.27 and Mart. 8.48. His position as an associate of Domitian is indicated by Mart. 7.99, but Juvenal contemptuously down-grades him to a *scurra* (cf. 8.190, 13.111), a position for which the typical Egyptian impudence (Stat. *Silv.* 5.5.66 sqq. etc.) would qualify him; for imperial *scurrae* see on 5.3–4. ||

32 **PRINCEPS EQUITUM** is not an official title and probably has no special significance (cf. *equestris ordinis princeps* Cic. *Ad Fam.* 11.6.2, Pliny *Ep.* 1.14.5 and in the plural Cic. 2 *Verr.* 2.175; at Suet. *Aug.* 66.3 Maecenas is one of *sui quisque ordinis principes*; cf. Stein 99–101, Hellegouarc’h 456–7). Some however have seen more in this. Since, apart from the unidentified Pompeius, Fuscus (111–12) and Crispinus are the only *equites* who attend the *consilium*, and the other members are not only senators but all apparently, except the younger Glabrio, consuls as well, it is argued that, Fuscus being one of the two *praefecti praetorio*, Crispinus was the other. Vell. Pat. 2.127.4 applies the phrase *equestris ordinis princeps* to L. Seius Strabo, who was *praefectus praetorio* (though that is not relevant in the context), and Fronto p. 157 describes Marcius Turbo, who also held the office, as *equestris ordinis primarius*; the office is called *summus equester gradus* by Suet. *Galba* 14.2 and *equestre fastigium* by Tac. *Ann.* 4.40.5 (cf. *RE* 22.2397). But (1) the council at Alba mentioned on 145 has *splendidi viri utriusque ordinis* in attendance, (2) there is reason to suppose that Laberius Maximus became colleague of Fuscus as *praefectus* in 84 or late 83, and that he was preceded by Julius Ursus (*PIR* 2 i 630, Syme1 635 and *JRS* 44, 1954, 117), (3) this Egyptian dandy does not strike one as a potential *praefectus praetorio*. See White *AJP* 95, 1974, 377, McDermott *Rivista Storica dell’ Antichità* 8, 1978, 117.

Crispinus was probably a *peregrinus* in origin; there is no reason to suppose that he was a freedman (as some have; see in particular the astonishing misunderstanding of 25–6 by Stein 117 n. 1). Doubtless he simply assumed this Roman cognomen; cf. SG 4.56–7 (not in ed. 10), Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5.112, Philostr. *Ep. Apollon.* 72, *CIL* 8.22729; in the case of the Anauni Claudius had to justify retrospectively their assumption of Roman names (*CIL* 5.5050 = *ILS* 206 = *FIRA* 1 no. 71; probably however referring to *gentilicia*, cf. Suet. 25.3).


*SILUROS* cf. 14.132. These were found in the Nile (Thompson2 235–7; e.g. Pliny *NH* 32.125, *Geopon.* 13.10.11) and were pickled at Alexandria (Athen. 3.88.118f, Blümner3 14 and 17, Marquardt 436, Dumont *Chron. d’Égypte* 52 (103), 1977, 136,
Crispinus may have sold them there as a street-trader, though MUNICIPES has more point if he sold them at Rome. They were a cheap fish (Blümner1 184 n. 11, André 110 n. 198), and those sold by C. were of even lower quality, since their jars had been damaged (fracto vaso sardarum Σ; cf. Pap. Oxyyr. vol. 42 no. 3007) and they had deteriorated. We must of course recognize that satiric distortion might have turned a well-to-do fish-merchant into a street-trader (cf. on 10.130).

MAGNA VOCE The cries of street-traders echoed through ancient cities; see Calp. Sic. 4.25–6, Blümner1 449 and the illustrations in DS mercator 1739 fig. 4921, Bossert and Zschietzschmann 221.

MUNICIPES This word, like civis, bears the meaning of ‘fellow townsman’, Thes. s.v. 1645.82. Its use of animals or, as 14.271, of things is humorous; the same joke Mart. 10.87.10, 14.114.2.

34–6 See the introduction on these lines.

CONSIDERE A rhapsode would naturally stand, while for less impassioned reading one would sit. Cf. on 7.152.

CANTANDUM … VERA Similarly at Pers. 1.88–91 nocte paratum and cantare are contrasted with verum.

36 A poor joke; the Muses are as sensitive about their age (cf. 6.191) as any other woman. Townend JRS 63, 1973, 154 attributes its poverty to an attempt to parody something in Statius.

37 Cf. lacertus orbis Petron. 121.121; Domitian is compared to a wild beast by Pliny Pan. 48.

38 Domitian went bald early (Suet. 18) and was sympathetic to Nero’s memory (Pliny Pan. 53.4); Mart. 11.33 seems to refer to him outright as Nero (and perhaps Tertull. De Pallio 4.5 = 6 as Subnero), and the Revelation of St John 17.11 is often taken to mean that Nero is reincarnated in Domitian (see the commentaries and C. Brütsch La Clarté de l’Apocalypse (1966) 283, Harris Prudentia 11, 1979, 18).

39 INCIDIT Naegelsbach §90.3b understands in sinus from 41 with this and says that it is the harshest such ellipse known to him; but incido occasionally takes an accusative (Thes. s.v. 905.67; Lucr. 4.568 at least seems certain), and cf. Apul. Apol. 33 quicumque … piscis inciderit (though perhaps an indirect object is supplied from the piscatores and amici just mentioned).

HADRIA CI S.A.R. A type of periphrasis typical of elevated style (KS 1.242, HS 152, Naegelsbach §74); μέγα νός χρήμα (Herod. 1.36) and the like (Kühner–Gerth Gramm. Gr. Spr. 1.280) are not quite the same. This mock-elevation is here combined with the form of a near-golden line; see on 31 and cf. 64, 68, 94, 112, 118, 132, 149. For other such periphrases cf. 6 nemorum umbra = nemoribus umbrosis and on 81; index s.v. nouns.

RHOMBI Turbot (11.121), an expensive fish, cf. Blümner1 184. The best were caught at Ravenna (Pliny NH 9.169), about 100 miles north of Ancona, and in
the Adriatic generally ([Ovid] Hal. 125). That is why Juvenal makes his fisherman come from Ancona, ignoring the implausibility that he has to cross the Apennines at the beginning of winter (56) to get to Alba (61), a distance of about 150 miles, which under the most favourable conditions would require three days’ travel on horse.

40 The temple of Venus at Ancona is mentioned also by Catullus 36.13; it was on a hill, now Monte Guasco (where the modern cathedral incorporates some of its columns), whence SUSTINET (Nissen 2.416; M. Moretti Ancona (1945) 58; Stucchi Röm. Mitt. 72, 1965, 145–8 and taf. 60). Venus is Aphrodite Εὔπλοια, and appears on the coins of Ancona (British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Italy (1873) 40).

DOMUM The conception of a temple as the god’s house (cf. Thes. s.v. 1970.17 and compare the use of aedes singular and plural; also habitare 1.114) is linked with the anthropomorphic view of deity; it must be remembered that primitive thought can equate the god with his statue (cf. on 13.115).

DORICA Ancona was colonised in the fourth century B.C. by Syracusan refugees from the tyranny of Dionysius I (Strabo 5.4.2.241a, Pliny NH 3.111).

41 MINOR sc. rhombus; Juvenal drops spatium, cf. 6.180.

ILLIS Aristotle Hist. An. 8.13.598b says that with certain exceptions there were no large fish in the Black Sea, and Pliny NH 9.52 is alone in saying that turbots enter the Black Sea and spend the summer there; but cf. Encyclopedia Britannica ed. 11 s.v. Turbot ‘The turbot … is replaced in the Black Sea by an allied species with much larger bony tubercles (Rhombus maeoticus)’.

42 Ovid Tristia 3.2.49–50

vidimus in glacie pisces haerere ligatos,

sed pars ex illis tum quoque viva fuit.

Cf. Pliny NH 9.177 from Theophrastus (fr. 171.8), and similarly Strabo 7.3.18 of the Sea of Azov. In general on the fish of the Sea of Azov and their migration to the Bosporus see pseudo-Hipparchus in E. Maass Analecta Eratosthenica (1883) 147.

43 SOLIBUS ‘sunny days’; for the plural cf. KS 1.71, Lewis and Short s.v. II C.

TORRENTIS On the currents of the Black Sea see RE suppl. 9.932 and 1911. A strong continuous current flows out of it into the Propontis; Lucr. 5.506–8, Sen. NQ 4.2.29, Lucan 3.277, Hipparchus fr. 6–7 Dicks.

OSTIA PONTI Ovid Tristia 1.10.13, Stat. Th. 6.328. ‘There was a great fish-picking industry at Byzantium, particularly of tunny-fish caught as the current swept them (Blümner 42 and 56, ES 4.626).

45 MAGISTER (cf. 12.79) CUMBAE is rather grandiloquent, as a cumba is a small boat (c. piscatoria Afranius fr. 138, cf. Pliny NH 9.145; Casson 330 n. 4); we are reminded of κώπης ἄναξ Aesch. Pers. 378 (see Broadhead), Eur. Cycl. 86. But ‘captain of the net’ is yet more clearly comical. LINUM in the singular (plural 5.102) nearly always refers to a line, not a net, but see Sil. It. 7.503 sinuato … lino
(Nemes. Cyn. 308 lini ... saeptum).

46 PONTIFICI SUMMO A variant for màximō, in Juvenal due to metrical convenience (but not in Tacitus, Ann. 3.58.3); all the emperors held this office for life. It is mentioned because the fish is so large that it is a monstrum (cf. 14.283) and therefore requires procuratio according to the advice of a pontifex (Wissowa 514 n. 8; RSV 3.260 n. 4, RE 23.2290); a laboured joke. There may well also be an allusion to the pontificum cenae (Hor. Odes 2.14.28, Mart. 12.48.12, cf. Macrob. Sat. 3.13.10).

PROPONERE For sale; usually venale would be added, but see Suet. Nero 16.2.

47 AUDERET See on 85.

48 DELATORE Domitian naturally fostered informers (Suet. 12, Pliny Pan. 34–5), though he started by suppressing them; this is perhaps therefore anachronistic (see introduction). Juvenal is of course comically exaggerating; the point of delatio (see on 3.118) was to get a share in the victim’s property (RE quadruplator, DE delator, Mommsen3 510), and a remex nudus would not make anyone rich.

PROTINUS R. D. Williams on Aen. 3.416 and Stat. Th. 10.264 links this with DISPERSI and takes it to mean ‘continuously’; but the essential meaning of the word is ‘proceeding forwards’ and this seems quite suitable in all his examples. Here it means ‘forthwith’, and goes with AGERENT.

ALGAE This is proverbially worthless (Otto s.v.).

49 INQUISITORES Tac. Agr. 2.3, 43.2 mentions Domitian’s inquisitiones.

AGERENT CUM i.e. would prosecute; Thes. s.v. ago 1396.23.

NUDO Not literally (cf. 6.525); for active physical work (cf. 100) such as fishing (Gospel acc. to St John 21.7 Σίμων Πέτρος ... τὸν ἐπενδύτην διεζώσατο, ἦν γὰρ γυμνός) one would remove the tunic and wear only the subligaculum (see also Aurel. Vict. 16.2 ex nauticis, quia plerumque nudi agunt). See L. Bonfante Warren ANRW 1.4 (1973) 609. Sturtevant AJP 33, 1912, 324, denies this sense of the word (pointing out that Nonnus in his Paraphrasis in Johannem (Migne Patrologia Graeca 43) 21.37–44 certainly understood Peter to be entirely naked); but he seems to dismiss too lightly phrases like nudus quaerat licio cinctus (Gaius 3.192), simulacrum nudum caprina pelle amictum (Justin 43.1.7); cf. LSJ γυμνός 5. [121]

50 FUGITIVUM On runaway slaves and the law concerning return to their owner (52) see Westermann 107, Berger s.v. servus fugitivus, Buckland 268, Crook1 186; Dig. 11.4.

51 VIVARIA CAESARIS Mentioned also Pliny NH 9.167, 10.193; Mart. 4.30 in the Lucrine Lake. On fish-preserves in general see Blümner1 180, DS vivaria 959b.

INDE The asyndeton is harsh. Perhaps read unde; for the following accus. and infin. cf. KS 2.545, Woodcock p. 241.

52 REVERTI ‘is surely intended to recall the jurists’ phrase animus revertendi, a concept specially relevant to the ownership of animals quae ex consuetudine abire et redire solent’ Griffith G & R2 16, 1969, 149, cf. Henderson PCPS n.s. 23, 1977, 30 n. 72.
53. M. Palfurius Sura (CIL 5.8112.64, assuming this to be the same man) is mentioned as an orator by Suet. Dom. 13.1, who says that he had been expelled from the senate (by Vespasian, the scholiast here adds); the scholiast also refers to his eloquentia, rightly calls him a delator (not, as many editors, a jurist), and says that he was condemned as such after Domitian’s death (he is probably the Σέρας ὁ φιλόσοφος of Dio Cass. 68.1.2, emended by Merula to Σούρας; the scholiast here reports his eminence as a Stoic, cf. 3.116). Armillatus is only known from this passage and the scholiast, who quotes Marius Maximus (fr. 1 HRF Peter) to the effect that he was influential with Domitian. He too was evidently a delator (nomina delatorum Σ).

54. ‘Juvenal enunciates the principle quicquid …’ Juvenal’s words may suggest that the right arose from the custom of sending rarities or valuable curiosities as presents to the emperor’ Millar JRS 53, 1963, 36. Juvenal enunciates no principle, and no right is involved; these are the humorously exaggerated claims of sycophants. Millar suggests a connection with the law that treasure-trove fell to the emperor; this could be right if we assume, as Millar does not, parody of such a law; Griffith (l.c. on 52) suggests that ‘the phrase res … natat is an adaptation of a ruling which may have differed only in the last word: latet, appropriate to buried treasure, having been replaced by Juvenal by the rhythmically equivalent natat’. It was a well-known principle (Ulpian Dig. 47.10.13 saepissime rescriptum) that no-one could be prevented from fishing and that the sea was commune; cf. RE suppl. 7.684, Blümner1 533.

55. FISCI. The precise nature of the fiscus is a highly controversial subject; see Millar l.c., Jones JRS 40, 1950, 22 (= Jones1 ch. 6; this passage p. 109 = 26 JRS), Brunt JRS 56, 1966, 75; RE suppl. 10.222. In a general sense it covered that part of the imperial revenues which was more directly under the control of the emperor than the aerarium. Informers were often concerned to establish the rights of the fiscus over property (e.g. as a result of Augustus’ marriage-laws, cf. on 3.118 and Millar 34–6, Brunt 79–81).

DONABITUR. This is the fisherman’s thought; cf. 15.47.

56. PEREAT pereo is the passive of perdo (‘waste’), as pessum eo of pessum do and venum eo of venum do; cf. 1.18; 3.124; 7.99, 174, 222; 11.17, 192. If he makes a present of the fish at least he will get some thanks for it.

56–8. An epic-style periphrasis indicating the end of October or the beginning of November; but the mockery becomes plain in IAM … AEGRIS, which preserves epic form but ridicules it by non-epic content. Even more than 16–17 this resembles Sen. Apoc. 2, especially as deformis hiems appears there too (and elsewhere only Sil. It. 3.489; informis Hor. Odes 2.10.15).

LETIFERO. Cf. 10.221; longe periculosissimus Celsus 2.1.1 (cf. ibid. 2 and 8–9). Autumn, particularly September, was notoriously an unhealthy time (Celsus 1.3.37, Hor. Epist. 1.7.5–9) bringing fever because of the pestilent south wind, the
Sirocco (auster 59, cf. 6.517, Hor. Serm. 2.6.18–19, Odes 2.14.15 (see Nisbet–Hubbard) etc.; Pliny NH 2.127 noxius auster, with Beaujeu’s note p. 207; Celsus 2.1.11 and 15).

QUARTANAM sc. febrim; in Greek ὁ τεταρταῖος, sc. πυρετός; a form of fever with two days between the attacks (called quarten because of the ancient habit of inclusive reckoning). Ancient medical writers agree on its mildness; Celsus 3.15.6 quartana neminem iugulat, Hippocrates Επιδημιώτων 1.24 (1.200.8 Kühlewein = 1.182 Loeb ed.) with the commentary of Galen, CMG 5.10.1 p. 114.3. It was associated with autumn (Hippocrates περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπων 15 (6.68 Littré = 4.40 Loeb ed.) with Galen’s Commentary, CMG 5.9.1. p. 85.9) and autumn quartan fevers, especially towards winter, were thought to be long-lasting even if mild (Hippocrates ἀφορισμοί 2.25 (Littré 4.478 = 4.114 Loeb ed.), reproduced by Galen ὑπόμνημα 17.2.513 Kühn, and Celsus 2.8.42, cf. 2.1.9). Hence Juvenal 9.16–17 refers to it as a torment not because of its severity but because of its chronic nature. Otherwise it was regarded as a respite from more serious forms of fever (Cic. Ad Fam. 16.11.1), and could reasonably be hoped for by invalids. Nevertheless, ‘hoping for fever’ is a paradoxically pointed way of expressing this, and Bücheler (in Friedlaender’s edition) was right to point that one of the infames materiae (ἄδοξοι ὑποθέσεις) on which Favorinus (c. A.D. 80–150) declaimed was cum febrim quartis diebus recurrentem laudavit (Gellius 17.12 = fr. 1–2 pp. 139–41 Barigazzi; cf. Pease CP 21, 1926, 28 and 39 n. 1). Of course sperare, like ἐλπίζειν, can mean not ‘hope’ but ‘expect’ even undesirable things (Lewis and Short II); but Juvenal certainly did not intend that here.

58 STRIDEBAT HIEMIS Cf. 9.67.
RECENTEM Predicative, ‘kept the fish fresh’.
59 AUSTER See on 56–7; being a warm wind, it would hasten the decay of the fish (14.129; Hor. Serm. 2.2.40 with rhombus recens 42).
60 LACUS Albanos … lacus Horace Odes 4.1.19, the lacus Albanus and the lacus Nemorensis. These fill the craters of extinct volcanoes, hence as the fisherman climbs up the mountains to Alba (12.72 sublimis apex) on the via Appia he has them beneath him (cf. Mart. 5.1.2). According to tradition Alba was founded by Ascanius (12 l.c., hence TROIANUM; on the Trojan origin of the cult of Vesta’s fire see Verg. Aen. 2.296–7, Stat. Silv. 1.1.35 etc.) and dismantled by Tullus Hostilius. Tullus however left the temples (Livy 1.29; Strabo 5.3.4 ἡ Ἀλβα κατεσκάφη πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ) and the cult of Vesta, though mainly transferred to Rome, was in part maintained there (Latte 405, Wissowa 157 n. 4, RE Vesta 1721.31).

On the topography of the area see the map RE 1.1310; Ashby JP 27, 1901, 48–9; G. Lugli Studi Minori (1965) 354; on Domitian’s Alban villa see on 145. Juvenal, himself a native of one little country town, is thinking affectionately of the past glory of another; I see no trace of parody or irony here, nor any link with the profanation of Vesta by Crispinus (9–10).
62 MIRATRIX TURBA On the adjectival use of -trix (5.21, 13.80, 15.81) and -tor (6.40, 9.61, 13.195) nouns see KS 1.232, HS 157; Naegelsbach §54.4

63 FACILI CARDINE Horace Odes 1.25.5. This is meant to underline the indignity to the senators mentioned in 64; there is nothing supernatural about it (Scott 125).

64 Stat. Th. 1.424 exclusaeque expectant praemia matres (mothers not allowed to see the triumphs of their sons at the Olympic games); Sen. Ep. 47.9 stare ante limen Callisti dominum suum vidi et ... aliis intrantibus excludi. The thought is pointed by the form (see on 39); the fish is admitted, the senators are excluded and, humiliated constantly by Domitian, watch the fish enviously. ADMISSUS and EXCLUSUS are technical words of the right of entrée to the levées of the emperor; Pliny Pan. 48.4 admissis et exclusis, 47.3 admissiones. See RE and Thes. admission, Crook2 23, Gelzer 104–6, SG 1.86 = 1.90, Marquardt 144. Domitian’s levées were grim occasions, Pliny Pan. 48.

OPSONIA κατ’ ἐξοχήν of fish; Marquardt 432, Charitonides Mnem. 37, 1909, 194, LSJ (3) and RE (759.38) s.v. ὄψον.

65 ITUR AD ATRIDEN More obvious epic parody. For the use by antonomasia of the mythological name cf. 133, 6.660; particularly | [214] Homeric names, cf. 10.84 and 1 on 1.61, SG 4.131 (not in ed. 10). The emperor can readily be linked with Agamemnon, ἀνήκη αὐτῷ; cf. Dio Cass. 58.24.4 and Suet. Tib. 61.3, H. D. Jocelyn Tragedies of Ennius 321 n. 4. For the impersonal passive cf. 144; Wackernagel 1.145–6 comments on its Vergilian use to give archaic dignity (his example also with itur). Wackernagel presses his point too far (itur is quite common; Fraenkel 115 n. 1), but clearly the vagueness of the idiom can give a touch of grandeur, and it is not unfair to see this here.

PICENS Ancona was just within the borders of Picenum (Pliny NH 3.111).

66 PRIVATIS ‘belonging to a subject’; see on 1.16.


GENIALIS Because the genius (Thes. 1838.41) has a treat; Latte 103 n. 2, Wisso- wa 175–6, RAC Genius 58.

67 ISTE Cf. 6.295, 14.179; golden Latin would have used hic. Iste is a more familiar pronoun (Thes. s.v. 510.2, cf. 508.58 sqq.; HS 184; Meader–Wölflin ALL 11, 1900, 384 and 12, 1902, 355) and is meant to characterise the fisherman. He does not use courtly language in 67, but in 68 we again have Juvenal’s favourite humour through incongruity. The word SAGINA will have been familiar to the fisherman from his trade; it means the small fry which feeds large fish (Varro RR 3.17.7, where it is also described as plebeiae cenae pisces; Pliny NH 9.14). There is a play on animum laxare, where the verb is metaphorical.

68 SAEculA Poetic plural, consistent with the elevated style of the line. It was a stock topic of flattery that the accession of each emperor was greeted as a new saeculum; so Nero (Sen. Apoc. 1.1 and 4.1.9), Nerva (Tac. Agr. 3.1), Trajan (Tac.

**SERVATUM sc. fato or a dis.**

**69 IPSE CAPI VOLUIT** The emperor’s supernatural influence over animals is a frequent topic of flattery especially in Martial (Scott 119–24); cf. SHA 3.9.5 *leones sponte se capiendos praebuerunt* in a list of prodigies.

**APERTIUS** A word often connected with *adulatio*; Cic. *Lael.* 99, Sen. *NQ* 4 pr. 5 and 9.

**70 SURGEBANT CRISTAE** is clearly of proverbial character (cf. 6.198), though lacking good parallels (*Thes. crista* 1209.83). [125]

**71 DIS** i.e. *deorum potestati* (see index *comparatio compendiaria*), cf. Sen. *Dial.* 10.17.6 *dis aequos honores*; *POTESTAS* however here approaches the concrete sense discussed on 10.100. For the topic of flattery (here ironically used and with a special point, cf. on 69) cf. 83, 6.115, Pliny *Pan.* 4.4 *principem quem aequata dis immortalibus potestas deceret*, Eur. *Tro.* 1169 τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος, Isocr. 2 (πρὸς Νικοκλέα) 5 ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀποβλέψωσιν εἰς … τὰς δυναστείας, ἰσοθέους ἄπαντες νομίζουσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντας. Domitian insisted that he be known as *dominus et deus noster* (cf. on 96).

**72 PATINAE MENSURA** ‘a dish big enough’; see index *nouns*. Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.76–7 expensive fish should not be cramped in a dish too small, 2.2.95 *grandes rhombi patinaeque* and similarly Mart. 13.81. It is not a problem confined to the ancient world; for Brillat-Savarin see Highet 257 n. 4, and Mrs Beeton remarks ‘Turbot often grow to considerable size (25 lb is not uncommon) … It must be noted that if cooking a whole turbot, a turbot kettle (shaped) will be required’.

**73 PROCERES** A word which in early Latin had a technical constitutional sense (Festus 249 and Cic. *Or.* 156), but in golden prose is not used as here (only ironical in Cic. *Ad Fam.* 13.15.1; not elsewhere in Cicero, nor in Caesar or Sallust). Livy has it ten times, all in the first decade, and it is frequent in Tacitus (also at Pliny *Pan.* 26.6); for Pliny *NH* see F. Kuntz *Die Sprache des Tacitus* (1962) 94 n. 7. It is used six times by Juvenal (cf. 144, which rounds off the episode by ring-composition, and on 8.26); its poetical tinge suits this context.


**MAGNAE** (cf. 20 and on 1.33) … **AMICITIAE** They were *amici Caesaris* (cf. 88) in the technical sense (Crook 2 ch. 3, *SG* 1.70 = 1.74 and 4.58 = 4.56, Millar 111) but not (cf. 73) in any real sense. On the insincerity of Domitian’s friendships see Pliny *Pan.* 85, Dio Cass. 67.1.3–4; Nero’s were equally dangerous (Tac. *Hist.* 4.8). **AMICITIAE** is objective genitive, after the construction *pallere amicitiam*.

**75 LIBURNO** An Illyrian slave; an usher here and perhaps at Mart. 1.49.33,
undefined function 6.477. The *proceres* are not expecting a summons since it is early morning (cf. 108) and ordinarily the *salutatio* (62–4) would still be taking place.

**76** ABOLLA A double cloak (Serv. *Aen.* 5.421, Mart. Cap. 7.802), cf. on 3.115; Crispinus had one, Mart. 8.48. Pegasus probably wears it because of the cold (58).

**77** PEGASUS (whose *nomen* was perhaps Plotius; Champlin *ZPE* 32, 1978, 269) was a learned and famous jurist (his fragments are collected by O. Lenel *Palin genesia Iuris Civilis* (1889) 2.10). He was consul [[216] early in Vespasian’s reign (Justinian *Inst.* 2.223.5) and became head of the Proculan school of law; Pomponius *Dig.* 1.2.2.53 *Proculo <successit> Pegasus, qui temporibus Vespasiani praefectus urbi fuit*. Pomponius may be confusing the dates of Pegasus’ prefecture and consulship, in which the famous SC *Pegasianum* was passed; on the other hand Juvenal may be deliberately distorting facts in implying his appointment by Domitian in order by his expressions to denigrate that emperor. See Schulz 102, 104; Syme† 805; Vitucci 69.

ATTONITAE ‘terror-struck’; cf. 146, 12.21, 13.194, 14.306 and perhaps 8.239, Pliny *Pan.* 48.1 and 76.

POSITUS See Lewis and Short *pono* I B 7, *OLD* 12b.

VILICUS The praefectus was no more than Domitian’s head-slave, placed over the other (38) slaves. Domitian is an absentee (in Alba) landlord, and Rome is his private property.

**78** ANNE ALIUD Cf. 7.199, 15.122. 78–81 would be best placed in parenthesis.

PRAEFECTI QUORUM OPTIMUS The other known Domitianic *praefecti urbi* were C. Rutilius Gallicus (13.157) and T. Aurelius Fulvus (Syme† 644).

INTERPRES LEGUM 6.544.

QUAMQUAM This must be taken to mean that even the best and most incorruptible of the prefects thought it advisable (because of Domitian’s arbitrary temper) not to exercise severity in spite of the corruption of the times. Even the reading of PRK, *quamque*, is not impossible grammatically with a parenthetical exclamation, ‘(and just think how corrupt the times were!’). I agree with Housman however that these explanations involve an unlikely interpretation of *temporibus diris*, which ought to refer not generally to corruption but specifically to Domitian’s tyranny (as at 10.15 to Nero’s), cf. 151 and Mart. 12.6.11–12 (= 12.3.11–12 Heraeus) sub *principe duro / temporibusque malis*. I therefore accept Housman’s *quippe* (he also thought of *nempe*, *Letters* ed. H. Maas (1971) 429), for which he compares 12.7; thus D’s tyranny perverts even this good man. Knoche *Die Römische Satire* 122 quotes a proposal by Axelson to read *tamquam* (‘reflecting that the times were corrupt’, cf. on 3.47); but it seems logical to suppose that PR point in the direction of the corruption. Housman thought that Σ’s note *interpres* (Jahn: *tempus codd.*) *quamquam optimus tamen* (Barth: *tum codd.*) *pro tempore omnia inuste agenda credebatur* implies that Σ did not read *quamquam* and that this was interpolated from his note; but I agree with Wessner 250 that Σ was quite capa-
ble of the mental confusion required to deduce his explanation from a text with quamquam.


81 In both form and content this closely resembles Statius' phrase Nestorei (of his age and wisdom) mitis (82) prudentia Crispi; the idiom discussed on 39 is particularly applied to persons (107, 10.75; 13.184–5 mite Thaletis ingenium) after such epic models as ἱερὴ Τηλεμάχοι (often imitated in the Ilias Latina e.g. 737 Nestoris aetas). Q. Vibius Crispus is referred to on a new fragment of the Fasti Ostienses (Ann. Epigr. 1968 no. 6) as L. Iunius Vibius Crispus; i.e. he was originally Q.V.C. adopted by a L. Iunius. He had a distinguished career; his first consulship (held in 61?; cf. Eck Historia 24, 1975, 343) is recorded on a tessera nummularia (RE 17.1433 no. 141, cf. 1449; but it may be a forgery, Gallivan CQ² 24, 1974, 307), his second on the Fasti Ost. (A.D. 74; Gallivan 306), his third on an Athenian inscription (Ann. Epigr. 1971 no. 436; the year is uncertain, see the introduction). Tacitus reports that Crispus had been a delator under Nero, and generally (Hist. 4.41–3, Dial. 8 and 13.4) has a poor opinion of him (Hist. 2.10 Vibius Crispus pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos). Juvenal however does not seem to have much against him or any of the other three counsellors first mentioned (75–103); Trajan remarked (SHA 18.65.5) Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse, cf. 84. Tacitus Dial. l.c. discusses the facundia of Crispus, and Quintilian often mentions his iucunditas (5.13.48, 10.1.119, 12.10.11; he was dead when the second of these references was written).

82 This reverses the topic talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita (Sen. Ep. 114.1); see Bramble 23.

83 Pliny Pan. 4.4 principem cuius dicione nutuque maria, terrae, pax, bella regeretur; cf. 71 above.

84 COMES in a technical sense; the comites Caesaris were those of his amici who accompanied him on journeys and campaigns; Crook² 24–5, SG 1.75 = 1.78, DE 2.468, Syme AJP 77, 1956, 264.

CLADE ET PESTE On these words (combined as here Cic. De Prov. Cons. 13) as part of the vocabulary of abuse cf. HS 746, Naegelsbach §15.

85 LICERET licuisset would be commoner. 'if the condition were changed to an affirmation, the verb would be non licebat, not licuit' Duff; the same applies in the interrogative 47 (the surrounding historical presents doubtless have some influence there, but note forent, not sint) and in the apodoses 8.263, 13.187 (again note the future dicet), but not in the protasis 7.69 (q.v.). In other cases however there is no perceptible difference in sense, as at 12 (apodosis) and 6.388 (question), and we must think of a survival of archaic ||218 idiom. See HS 332–3 and 662, Handford p. 124, Woodcock p. 91 (questions) and 155 (KS 2.396–7 is unsatisfactory).
87–8 The weather has always been a topic of small-talk; Hor. Serm. 2.6.45 (nugas), Sen. Ep. 23.1 (ineptiae verba quaerentium), 67.1 (communia). The Italian spring tends to be showery; 5.79, 9.51, Verg. Georg. 1.313 quoted by Sen. NQ 4.4.2, Bentley on Hor. Odes 4.4.7.

88 AMICI In the technical sense but with ironical undertones, cf. on 74. Cf. Pliny NH 29.21 pendentibus fatis.

89 DEREXIT … TORRENTEM Otto flumen 7 and Nachträge 163.

90 CIVIS ‘patriot’; cf. the use of civilis.

91 Lucan 2.383 patriaeque impendere vitam, Stat. Silv. 5.1.63 vitamque impendere famae.

92–3 This looks like a combination of octoginta solstitia and octogesimum solstitium; cf. Mart. 12.31.7 septima lustra, HS 213, Svennung 292–3 and 639, B. Löfstedt Eranos 56, 1958, 206 (see also Sen. Ag. 42, where the mss. differ between dena and decima lustra). But it may be simpler to assume a poetic plural; for the combination of this with a numeral cf. Verg. Aen. 2.642 una excidia and on Juv. 3.255. SOLSTITIUM means the summer solstice in particular, contrasted with hiems as here Verg. Georg. 1.100 and often; it is not applied to the winter solstice (which is bruma, i.e. brevissima dies) at all until post-Augustan Latin.

93 Lucan 10.55 Pellaea tutus in aula. All courts are dangerous places, cf. 97.

94–5 Nothing more is known of the elder Acilius, though it is often thought that he is somehow to be connected with the M′. Acilius Aviola who was one of the counsellors of Claudius and consul in A.D. 54 (Crook 43–4; Syme 98; H. Musurillo Acts of the Pagan Martyrs (1954) 18 and 133; Gallivan Historia 27, 1978, 621, who relies too much on Σ’s confused note here). The younger, M′. Acilius Glabrio, was consul A.D. 91. Dio Cass. 67.14 records that he fought with a lion (this is confirmed against Juvenal’s bears by the allusion at Fronto p. 77.15–22, though Dio also says generally that θηρίος ἐμάχετο at Domitian’s Alban villa. He was exiled and then executed (Suet. 10.2) in A.D. 95, partly because of Domitian’s jealousy at his prowess, partly because he was suspected of plotting, and (Dio seems to imply) partly because of ἀθεότης (which means that he had Jewish or Christian connections).

The younger Acilius, who did not reach his consulship until over eight years after the date of this meeting, seems very junior to be a member of the consilium, and he may have been anachronistically introduced by Juvenal in order to allow more denigration of Domitian. In introducing the Statius quotation Valla says Acilius Glabrionis [i.e.] filius consul sub Domitiano fuit, Papinii Statii carmine de bello Germanico … probatus; but there is no need to suppose that Valla had specific warrant either for giving the father the cognomen Glabrio or for stating that Statius referred to the son.

IUVEC i.e. fīliō; see on 10.310.

96 DOMINI The primary meaning of this word was that of the owner of e.g. slaves (cf. 38 and Pliny Pan. 7.6, 45.3), and therefore the emperors before Domi-
tian constantly rejected the name, as D. himself did for a few years; but then it came to please him (Suet. 13.1–2, where see Mooney; Dio Cass. 67.13.4). See further Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 10.2.1, Scott 102, RE princeps 2127 (on Domitian 2131), Béranger 37 and 62, Taeger 2.353, Mommsen 1, 2759–62, Alföldi 209–10 = Röm. Mitt. 50, 1935, 91–2.

GLADIIS Cf. 8.195, 10.345.


98 The mythological Giants were sons of Ï, literally Terra filii (cf. Naevius fr. 19 Morel), and terrae filius was a proverbial phrase meaning ‘a nobody’ (Otto terra 2, Thes. filius 758.23; Josephson Eranos 54, 1956, 246). The elaborate circumlocution for this common phrase shows Juvenal’s favourite humour through incongruity, here emphasised by the use of the diminutive of the puny human contrasted with his brother giants.

99–101 Domitian’s Alban villa (see on 145) had an amphitheatre (though the extant one is later; Blake (on 145) 138) in which D. himself performed (Suet. 19). For Numidian bears cf. Jennison 49, Toynbee 94, SG 4.183 = 4.270, RE Bär 2759, Numidia 1393; for the venationes in general SG 2.62 = 2.77, Balsdon 310, J. Aymard Essai sur les Chasses Romaines (1951) 74, Robert 309, DS venatio 700. Suet. 4.4 mentions the venationes given by Domitian at his Alban Quinquatria Minervae. For nobles appearing in the arena cf. 2.143 sqq., 8.199 sqq.; Juvenal there assails Gracchus violently, but here appears to excuse Glabrio, presumably because he wants to whiten Glabrio in order to blacken Domitian.


NUMIDAS The noun is used adjectivally as at Ovid AA 2.183; cf. 15.23 and KS 1.233.

101 INTELLEGAT PRV have assimilated the mood to MIRATUR.

102 PATRICIAS The Aciliii were plebeians but must at some time have been raised to the patriciate (perhaps by Claudius), since the Acilius Glabrio who was consul in 152 was a Salius (cf. on 6.604). However historians may be unwise to press Juvenal’s word; he seems to use this adjective merely as an elevated synonym for nobilium; see especially 10.332, also 1.24 (8.190 is less clear-cut).

ACUMEN, BRUTE, TUUM An oxymoron, as brutus is often combined with hebes and the like (Sen. De Ben. 3.37.4 etc.); Brutus himself is hebes in the ‘Brutus’ of Accius ap. Cic. De Div. 1.43.

103 BARBATO REGI Tarquin. For BARBATO cf. 5.30, 16.31. The early Romans wore beards, and according to Varro RR 2.11.10 the first barbers came to Italy from Sicily in 300 B.C. Pliny NH 7.211, who refers to Varro, says that Africanus sequens set the fashion of shaving daily; either he means the younger Scipio and
has misunderstood the story reported by Aul. Gell. 3.4, or he means the elder and sequens is corrupt (the same word begins the section). After the end of the third century B.C. young men wore a beard until the barbae depositio (see on 3.186 and cf. 6.215, 8.166, 13.56); a close-clipped one was retained until about the age of forty, and was then shaved off entirely (6.105, 1.25 and 10.226, 14.217). Hadrian with his fondness for Greek customs brought the wearing of beards back into favour; it is noticeable that even in the Hadrianic books Juvenal takes no account of the change of fashion, but still speaks in terms of the custom of his youth and middle age (cf. on 6.502). See RE Bart 32–4, Blümner 1 267–71, Marquardt 600, Carcopino 163, Paoli 108, Kaufmann CW 25, 1932, 145–6. Here the word BARBATUS implies primitive rusticity.

104 MELIOR 'more cheerful'; vultu meliore Mart. 4.1.4.

IGNOBILIS The nobility had most to fear (cf. 97, 1.34, Tac. Hist. 1.2 nobilitas opes omissi gestique honores pro crimine et ob virtutes certissimum exitium), but nobody was secure.

105 Rubrius Gallus is first heard of as one of Nero's generals, and in the civil wars he ended up on the side of Vespasian (Tac. Hist. 2.51 and 99), under whom he is mentioned as conducting a campaign in Moesia (Joseph. BJ 7.4.3 = 92). The offesa is thus explained by the scholiast: iste Rubrius aliquando <Do>mitiam (Matthias: tibiam codd.; the inferior scholia mention uxor Domitiani, and for her immorality cf. Suet. Tit. 10.2) in pueritia corrupserat et verebatur ne pro hac mercede <m> [poenas] ab ipso reposceret.

106 IMPROBIOR 'more impudent' cf. 5.73, 9.63; for Juvenal's opinion of hypocrisy cf. Satire Two (e.g. 1–3).

107 A clear parody of the epic-type periphrasis discussed on 81; cf. 12.60 and 6.326. The identification of Montanus is not quite certain, but he is probably Curtius Montanus, the pater of Tac. Ann. 16.33, who had enough influence with Nero (cf. 136–9) to save his son. His gastronomy (139–43) had by now caught up with his figure. ||[221]

108 SUDANS Cf. 1.28.

MATUTINO ... AMOMO Cf. on 75 and for the use of the adjective on 1.27. Respectable Romans would not wear perfumes until the time of the cena; 11.122 etc., Mart. 5.64.3 (amomum), RE Salben 1855, Marquardt 331, Blümner 1 400–1 and 435–6. For this perfume (8.159) see RE amomon.

109 Perfume was lavishly used at Roman funerals—of necessity, in view of the Italian heat which hastened putrescence (RE Salben 1857, SG 2.211 = 2.361, Blümner 1 484, Robert REA 62, 1960, 338, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 3.560; Mart. 11.54.1 olentem funera murrant); amomum in this connection Ovid Ex Ponto 1.9.52, Pers. 3.104, Stat. Silv. 2.4.34, 3.3.132 (in the burial urn Ovid Tristia 3.3.69, where see Luck).

FUNER A perhaps means 'corpses', cf. 10.258; but 'funeral processions' is more of a joke.
POMPEIUS cannot be securely identified.

APERIRE Of course he did not personally slit the throats; cf. on 3.37, 16.13. For the prolative infinitive after *saevus* cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.30, Sil. It. 11.7. For APERIRE cf. 9.98, Sen. *Dial.* 3.2.2 *aperire iugulum*, which Duff plausibly suggests to be a quotation from tragedy, and other examples in *Thes. aperio* 214.57, to which add Ovid *Met.* 13.693, Val. Flacc. 3.154.

SUSURRO cf. Pliny *Pan.* 62.9; into Domitian’s ear (86).

Cornelius Fuscus prima iuventa quietis cupidine senatorium ordinem exuerat Tac. *Hist.* 2.86.3 (see Heubner’s commentary ad loc. and p. 263); *quies* is at this time often used of the pursuit of an equestrian career (Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 1.14.5, Duff on Sen. *Dial.* 12.18.2), and Tacitus (l.c. and *Hist.* passim) gives much information about the career of Fuscus; see Syme *AJP* 58, 1937, 7 and H. G. Pflaum *Carrières Procuratoriennes Équestres* (1960) 1 p. 77 no. 34 (whose account is somewhat distorted by his adoption of a mistaken emendation in Tacitus l.c.). He was at this time *praefectus praetorio* (*Lydus* *Magistr.* 2.19, 3.22), and was defeated and killed with his army by the Dacians, probably in A.D. 86 (Syme *CAH* 11.170–1 and *JRS* 35, 1945, 110–11, Garzetti 288 and 656, Vollmer introduction to Stat. *Silv.* 49, Davies *JRS* 10, 1920, 19 n. 2); Mart. 6.76 writes an epitaph for him.

MEDITATUS PROELIA Cf. 7.128 and *Thes. meditor* 579.4; Juvenal seems to imply that he was only an armchair general, but we know from Tacitus that this was not so.

The climax; these are the two most dangerous members, associated as here by Pliny *Ep.* 4.22.4–6 (see Sherwin-White) and [Aurel. Vict.] *Epit.* 12.5, who refers to Catullus as a *delator*. A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento was presumably the son or adopted son of A. Didius Gallus (cf. Jones *AJP* 92, 1971, 476), who was a *comes* of Claudius in Britain (*CIL* 3 suppl. 7247 = *ILS* 970; cf. Oliver Hesperia 10, 1941, 239 and *AJP* 69, 1948, 219, McDermott *AJP* 91, 1970, 143 n. 46). He was cos. II in A.D. 80, and his third consulship is alluded to by Pliny *Pan.* 58.1 and mentioned on an inscription from Mainz (*CIL* 13.7253 = *ILS* 1010 = McCrum and Woodhead 155); he was presumably in Germany as a *comes* of Domitian in his war against the Chatti (hence Statius’ comparison of him with the Cunctator, who was also a prudent general). See further in the introduction. His survival under Nerva (Pliny *Ep.* l.c.), his *OCCULTAE criminationes* ([Aurel. Vict.] l.c.), and his Fabian *prudentia* fit together. See also 3.185, 6.113.

L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus was consul in 73 and 85, both times with Domitian. Tac. *Agr.* 45 *intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat* (associated with the *delatores* Massa and Carus).

Catullus was blind (Pliny l.c.); *caeci amatores* are ridiculed by Mart. 3.15 and 8.49, *Anth. Lat.* 357 because normally *oculi sunt in amore duces* Prop. 2.15.12; cf. 10.332, Oldfather in *Donum Natalicium Schrijnen* (1929) 630, E. Rohde *Der Griech. Roman* 3 (1914) 159 n. 2, Ogle *AJP* 34, 1913, 129–46. It is hard to tell whether
NUNQUAM goes with VISAE or FLAGRABAT.

115 MONSTRUM like Crispinus (2); GRANDE cf. 6.645.

116 The following note is largely reproduced from BICS 22, 1975, 157. The words A PONTE present a problem. A ponte satelles has usually been understood to mean that Catullus was a ‘beggar-courtier’. But in the parallels quoted (6.118 mere-trix Augusta, 8.148 mulio consul, 8.198 citharoedo princepe mimus nobilis) the persons concerned are actually acting as prostitute, muleteer, lyre-player and actor, and this is necessary for such oxymora to function properly; the point is destroyed if the noun (here a ponte) on which it depends is itself metaphorical, and Catullus is not here represented as begging. Moreover Juvenal could not say first that Catullus was a beggar, then that he deserved to be one. An old punctuation caecus adulator dirusque, a ponte satelles dignus has been revived by Marache, but is clearly unsatisfactory.

Housman put commas before and after a ponte and took this with 117; but, as he admits, the hyperbaton is much more violent than any of the parallels quoted by him from Juvenal (6.115–16, 14.114, 11.187–9), and this punctuation introduces a difficulty. Modern Ariccia is on the hillside which was the citadel of the ancient town; ancient Aricia was in the valley (Strabo 5.3.12.239). There was a hill on the via Appia down into Aricia so steep that carriages had to brake hard in descending it; they were therefore going very slowly, and this gave a golden opportunity for the importunities of beggars (Persius 6.56, Mart. 2.19.3, 12.32.10), but no pons is ever mentioned in this connection. Beggars at Rome itself (this is specifically stated by Seneca Dial. 7.25.1 in sublicium pontem me transfer et inter egentes abice, and there is nothing to indicate that the other references envisage anywhere else; Juv. 5.8, 14.134, Ovid Ibis 416 = 418, Mart. 10.5.3, 12.32.25) regularly thronged the bridges, for an obvious reason; traffic is funnelled to bridges. Now in the valley at Aricia the via Appia is carried for some way on an elevated causeway, fully described by Florescu, Ephemeris Daco-Romana 3, 1925, 22 with photographs figs. 11–14 (cf. also the plan facing p. 32). We may grant that this could be called a pons, in spite of Haverfield CR 14, 1900, 86 (the word is usually so understood at Tac. Ann. 1.61.1, 63.3–5, Hirtius BG 8.14.4; cf. RE pons 2428), but the reason for the proverbial connection of the Roman bridges and beggars, which must imply an urban environment in which a number of streets are channelled on to one outlet, no longer applies.

Some have supposed a ponte to be corrupt, but none of the emendations proposed has anything to commend it, and any emendation will leave another difficulty. For it is improbable that Juvenal, after mentioning Catullus’ blindness in a line (114) which gains point from its indirectness, would destroy that point by caecus in 116, which is made even weaker by the intervening line. Moreover, as explained above, a caecus amator forms a fine paradox, but there is nothing paradoxical about a caecus adulator, and that phrase here weakly anticipates the point
of 119–22. Perhaps there is relevance in LaFleur’s citation (Rev. Phil. 3 48, 1974, 73) of Catull. 67.25 sive quod impia mens CAECO flagrabat amore.

I therefore regard 116 as spurious. It is a line which grew from glosses, caecus adulator on 119–22 (on 119 our scholia remark quam Catullus caecus adulator and tantae adulationis erat iste Catullus caecus), dirus satelles on mortifero. A ponte is perhaps Juvenal’s de ponte 14.134 adapted to the metre and part of a comment on mendicaret; but I cannot help wondering if the interpolator misunderstood axes when I recall Catull. 17.3 crura ponticuli acsiclis (so Owen: ac sulcis V) stantis in redivivis.

Even after the excision of 116 Catullus is very abundantly described; cf. 14.18–22, 267–71.

118 IACTARET BASIA In thanks for the alms; see Tac. Hist. 1.36.3 (note serviliter), RE suppl. 5.518. Tacitus prefers the more dignified oscula, though in this phrase Mart. 1.3.7 and Phaedr. 5.7.28 have basia. At 6.384 basia is metrically convenient. [224]

120 AT ‘may be translated “unfortunately”; it seems to have sometimes an ironical force which sed … has not: cf. Cic. Ad Att. 7.21.2 consul ei rescripts ut prius ipse in Picenum (sc. iret); at illud totum erat amissum …’ Duff.

121 Petron. 52.3 Hermerotis pugnas et Petraitis (cf. 71.6).

CILICIS Apparently a contemporary gladiator named after his country of origin, like Syrus at Hor. Serm. 2.6.44; as a servile name Thes. onom. s.v. 436.14 (cf. Mart. 6.72).

122 PEGMA πῆγμα, a scaffold of wood erected in the theatres or amphitheatres to produce stage effects; see DS machina 1478b, RE and LSJ I s.v. and add Prudent. Perist. 1017. Phaedr. 5.7.7 has dum pegma rapitur; can he have ventured on pegma, -ae, like schema, -ae, so that pegma l.c. would be ablative? The PUERI were probably actors representing e.g. Icarus (Suet. Nero 12) or Ganymede; or they may have been Cupids. Mart. Spect. 16 similarly describes a bull evidently represented as carrying Hercules up to heaven, raptus abit media quod ad aethera taurus harena.

VELARIA The awnings which covered the Roman theatres, usually called vela; uelabra Amm. Marc. 14.6.25. See Balsdon 1 257, Bömer on Ovid Met. 5.389, Bieber 179 and 199, Beare 170, RE Theatron 1419, DS velum 677, J. Durm Baukunst der Etrusker (und) Römer 2 (1905) 687–9.

123–4 BELLONA The Cappadocian goddess Ma, whose cult was introduced at Rome in the time of Sulla, was given the name of the old Roman goddess of war, though in nature she was quite different, being one of the Asiatic orgiastic goddesses like Cybele; cf. 6.512 and see Latte 281, Wissowa 348, Cumont 1 50, RSV 3.75, RAC 2.127. Her priests, like those of Cybele (2.112), were called fanatici (from fanum, which often indicates the temple of a non-Roman god; Wissowa 469 n. 2, RE s.v. 1996.30), i.e. τεμενῖται, ἱερόδουλοι; cf. RAC l.c., RSV 3.153 n. 6, RE s.v., DE
1.988 and on the temple-estates of Ma in Asia RE Ma 85, Bömer 2 (1960) 168. They went into wild trances in which they practised self-mutilation. The Mainz inscription of Veiento (see on 113) is a dedication to Nemetona, and McDermott l.c. 139 suggests that she may be identified with Bellona.

OESTRO Similarly used of Bacchic frenzy Sen. Oed. 443.

124 DIVINAT For the prophecies of the fanatigi cf. 6.517 and the references given by Wissowa 349 n. 3, Latte 281 n. 3, to which add Arnob. 1.24.

126 DE TEMONE The Britons fought from the poles of their chariots (Caes. BG 4.33); T. Rice Holmes Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar (1907) 674.

127 ARVIRAGUS is chosen by Juvenal simply as a Celtic-sounding name. V’s Arviracus is the correct Celtic form, but we have no assurance that Juvenal would have known this, and it is probably merely a lucky accident. Britain was in the news at the dramatic date of this poem, which is about half-way through the governorship of Agricola.

128 The thorns of the fins are called SODES to justify Veiento’s interpretation as a military omen. A drawing of a turbot will be found in Thompson 2 223. From this it can be seen that Housman was right in pointing out that the reference cannot be to the lateral fins, which are small and do not resemble stakes, but must be to the long rows of dorsal fins. Bower CR 2 8, 1958, 9 rightly interprets ‘spines running in a line up its back’ or ‘marching up’, comparing the military phrase erigere aciem (agmen) in collem (clivum).

129 As Roman gastronomes professed to be able to do, 139 sqq.

130 Domitian brings the discussion (of which Juvenal has only picked out the high-lights, hinting at more in 119) to an end by asking, with the formal word CENCES, for sententiae (136); for the procedure cf. Crook 2 113.

CONCIDITUR A deliberative subjunctive would be usual; cf. 28, 3.296, 6.0.29, 7.165 and KS 1.120, HS 308. It is often remarked that the indicative so used is uncommon outside the first person, but this is merely because most deliberative questions are naturally in the first person. Here concidimus would suit the metre but not the imperial dignity.

132 TENUI A sign of fine workmanship. (Pliny NH 35.161).

SPATIOSUM ORBEM is usually understood of the fish (cf. 39 spatio), but more probably refers to the circumference of the dish itself.

133 PROMETHEUS was the first potter, as he moulded men out of clay (14.35). Hence his name is applied to potters in general (cf. on 1.61); Lucian Prometheus es in verbis 2, Symphosius Aenigm. 81, Epigr. Bob. 21.

134 PROPERATE sc. servi.
SED Turning from the slaves to Domitian; as if it were vos propeate, sed tu, Caesar, figulos duc tecum; but he cannot give an order to the emperor.

135 CASTRA Because of the military element underlying the whole satire. Hirschfeld 314 took it to mean ‘court’, a sense common in later Latin (Thes. s.v. 561.43, cf. 545.65; e.g. CIL 6.8520 dispensator castrorum, Macrobr. Sat. 2.4.6); this meaning develops from the military side of the emperor’s position (dux and imperator), cf. Dio [1226] Cass. 53.16.5 (of Augustus) ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καίσαρ ὕπαι καὶ ἔκει τὸ στρατηγίου εἰς. That however does not suit Sequantur here, and is rightly rejected by Mommsen 1 2.807 n. 2 and Hermes 25, 1890, 242 n. 1 = Ges. Schr. 7.315 n. 2; cf. Boulvert 166.

137 NOCTES NERONIS Of which Nero was proud (Tac. Ann. 16.20).

138 IAM MEDIAS It was midnight before anyone noticed; cf. 6.302, Suet. Nero 27.2 epulas ... ad medium noctem protrahebat.

Aliam alteram, which is metrically awkward, would be more precise (cf. 6.437, 8.245, 10.150, 7.114); but even without metrical compulsion the Romans were not always exact in such matters, cf. on 8.196. There is a similar revival of hunger at 6.302 (already adduced in the preceding note), cf. Friedlaender on Petron. 65; wine was thought to stimulate the appetite, Mart. 5.78.17–18.


FALERNO This noble wine is called ardens by Horace Odes 2.11.19, Mart. 9.73.5 and 14.113.1 (cf. Juv. 13.216). For the metaphor cf. 5.49 (but not 10.27), Eur. Alc. 758 φλὸξ οἴνου.

140 TEMPESTATE MEA Cf. 6.26, 7.2 and contrast nostro tempore 115, 15.68. This use of tempestas in the sense of tempus (usually in the ablative) is considered poetical by Cicero (De Or. 3.153); cf. Lucil. 731 qua t., Stat. Th. 6.13 festa t.

140–2 On the production and consumption of oysters in the Roman world see Marquardt 442, Blümner 188, André 108, RE Austern 2590, Keller 2.564, Thompson 191. Those of Circei are mentioned by Hor. Serm. 2.4.33, Pliny NH 32.60–3; those of the Lucrine Lake by Juv. 8.85–6 and 11.49, Pliny 9.168–9, 32.61–2 (whence Macrobr. Sat. 3.15 = 2.11) and often (RE Lucrinus lacus 1696.16; the method of cultivation is shown on some glass-engravings, D’Arms 136, Kolendo Études et Travaux 9, 1976, 144, Casson 141). British oysters (Britannica) are mentioned by Pliny 9.169, 32.62 (cf. Auson. Epist. 3 Prete 36–7). Rutupiae (see RE s.v.) is modern
Richborough, near Sandwich on the East coast of Kent; many oyster-shells have been found in excavation there (B. W. Cunliffe \[227\] Fifth Report on Excavations at R. = Reports of Society of Antiquaries 23, 1968, 24 and 33), but they are generally common in Roman sites. It was familiar to the Romans as the terminal of the crossing from Boulogne; Juvenal probably took the adjective from Lucan 6.67 Rutupina litora (= Britannica, by synecdoche). See I. A. Richmond Roman Britain (Penguin ed. 1955) 147–8; J. Hawkes Guide to Prehistoric and Roman Monuments in England (1951) 46; J. Liversidge Britain in the Roman Empire (1968) 415–16; S. S. Frere Britannia (1967) 118, 317, plate 32a.

-VE This ought to mean that the oysters are divided into two groups, (A) those of Circeii, (B) a second group falling into two sub-groups, (i) those of the Lucrine Lake, (ii) those of Britain; but this can hardly be. If Juvenal wrote … forent aut … Rutupinone, the groups would be (A) (i) (ii) (B), which is much more plausible; after the corruption of -ne to -ve, a marginal correction n could easily have been referred to aut to make it into an.

142 Roman gourmets were particular about the sources of their delicacies and expert in detecting them; cf. 129, Hor. Serm. 2.4.31–6, Stat. Silv. 4.6.8–11 and perhaps Lucil. 328 (though it is corrupt).

143 ECHINI ‘sea-urchin’, a delicacy often coupled with oysters (Pliny Ep. 1.15.3, Varro Sat. Men. 173, Thompson\(^2\) 70); cf. André 106, Blümner\(^1\) 190.

145 ALBANAM ARCEM The word arx is chosen invidiously by Juvenal and Tacitus (quoted on 113) in order to suggest the tyranny of Domitian, cf. 10.307; it was a necessary step to tyranny in Greece to seize the acropolis, and Dio Cass. 67.1.2 says of Domitian and Alba τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον … ὡσπερ τινὰ ἀκρόπολιν ἐξείλετο. Alba of course was on a mountain (see on 60) and the word is easily applicable to it (Mart. 9.101.12); in fact it was technically the correct term, for after the destruction of the town by Tullus Hostilius there was no longer a community of Alba but merely an arx with a few cult ceremonies (CIL 6.2172 Virgo Vestalis maxima arcis Albanae, 14.2947 Salius arcis Albanae; see also Livy 7.24.8, Sil. It. 6.598, Ashby (on 60) 49). On this arx see Lugli, Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom. 45, 1917, 39.

On Domitian’s fondness for his Alban villa see Dio Cass. l.c. and 66.3.4, 9.4: RE Albanus ager 1308.9. For the remains see M. E. Blake Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians (1959) 134. Another meeting of his consilium there in July 82 is recorded CIL 9.5420 = FIRA 1 p. 423 no. 75 = McCrum and Woodhead 462 (cf. Crook\(^2\) 49).

145–7 Domitian conducted a campaign against the Chatti in 83 (see Syme CAH\(^1\) 11.162, Garzetti 280 and 655; Evans Historia 24, 1975, 121 rejects the attempt by Jones ibid. 22, 1973, 79 to put it \[228\] early in 82); after this he celebrated a triumph and assumed the name Germanicus, though in fact our sources assert that he won no credit (Dio Cass. 67.4–5, Tac. Agr. 39, where see Ogilvie–Richmond, and Germ. 37.6, Pliny Pan. 16–17). Frontinus, who served on this campaign, praises D’s gen-
eralship (Strat. 1.1.8, 1.3.10, 2.3.23, 2.11.7); but he was writing under Domitian. The Sygambri had been completely subdued since the time of Augustus (cf. on 8.51), and if Juvenal is not simply mentioning them as a Germanic-sounding name he may be hinting at the fictitious nature of D’s triumph. DUX MAGNUS (cf. 2.104) is used of the emperor without any undertones by Stat. Silv. 3.1.62, 3.4.57, but in this context is probably an ironical reference to his military pretensions (cf. induperator 29).

ATTONITOS Cf. 77.
TORVIS Hor. Odes 4.2.3 and 14.51, Tac. Ann. 4.47.


EX The variant a is probably due to misreading of a compendium of et; even modern collators have fallen into this trap (see CR 2 17, 1967, 300).

149 The letter wings its way to Rome, cf. Cic. Ad Att. 2.19.3 litterae Capuam volare dicebantur, Aelius Aristides εἰς Ρώμην 33 (αἱ ἐπιστολαί) πάρεισιν ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πτηνῶν φερόμεναι. To modern readers this looks like a reference to carrier-pigeons, but these were little known in the ancient world (RE Taube 2493–4, Jennison 103–4, Thompson 1 242, Naber Mnem. 2 39, 1911, 107; Pliny 10.71 mentions a similar use of swallows). Plut. Otho 4.1 refers to couriers in the Roman army as πτεροφόροι (cf. Hesychius and Photius s.v.); this name is derived ultimately from Egyptian sacred officials who wore a hawk’s wing on their head (RE s.v., LSJ πτεροφόρας, Ronchi Parola del Passato 23, 1968, 290).

The scholiast saw a reference to the custom (further discussed in editions) of attaching a feather to despatches containing news of defeats; but Juvenal’s phrasing makes that very unlikely.

152 INLUSTRES ANIMAS Verg. Aen. 6.758. URBI would be better printed with a capital.

153–4 imply a typically Juvenalian attack on the spinelessness of the nobility, but in this case he is not quite fair. It is true that those who actually struck down Domitian were of humble station (Suet. 17, Dio Cass. 67.15), but the conspirators were thought to include his wife Domitia and the praefecti praetorio Norbanus and Petronius Secundus (Dio l.c.; these are the amici of Suet. 14.1).

CERDONIBUS Cf. 8.182. Κέρδων is a proper name associated with [229] slaves (so e.g. Papinian Dig. 38.1.42; cf. M. Ulpia Cerdo the freedman in Ann. Epigr. 1946.140, ibid. 1975.79, and the slave in Menander’s Encheiridion (?), del Corno Parola del Passato 23, 1968, 306) or workmen who husband their poor wages, e.g. a cobbler in Herodas 6 and 7 (see Headlam–Knox xlix), and so also Mart. 3.16, 59, 99 (where Heraeus rightly prints it as a proper name; see his edition xxii). [Addendum, originally on p. 623: For the name Κέρδων on papyri see F. Preisigke Namenbuch (1922) and D. Foraboschi Onomasticon Alterum Papyrol. (1967–71) s.v.] The etymology from κέρδος is hinted at in Petron. 60, where one slave is called Cerdo,
another Lucrēcio, a third Felicio (cf. Festus s.v. Cercopa 56). It then comes to be used generally of humble folk, as at Pers. 4.51, the sutores et zonarii of Cic. Pro Flacco 17 (cf. sutor 3.294); CIL 4.6869 cerdo cerdonibus sal. How far it should be treated as a generalising plural of a proper name, like Virronibus 5.149, and how far it had become a common noun is rather an unreal question; Van Wageningen Mnem. 2 40, 1912, 148 points out that in both places in Juvenal it is contrasted with other proper names, cf. E. H. Brewster Roman Craftsmen (1917) 55.

Charlesworth JRS 27, 1937, 60 points to the existence at Domitian’s court of a cobbler named Felicio (Epictet. 1.19.16–23; cf. Petron. l.c.).

TIMENDUS Stephanus was at risk (Suet. 17.1, where see Mooney; more generally Dio Cass. 67.15).

LAMIIARUM One of those put to death by Domitian was L. Aelius Plautius Lamia Aelianus (cos. 80), the first husband of the empress Domitia (Suet. 1.3 and 10.2; Dio Cass. 66.3.4). The plural represents him as a type, ‘people like L.’ To Juvenal the Aelii Lamiae are a type of ancient noble ancestry (6.385; genus decorum Tac. Ann. 6.27), but in fact they did not rise above equestrian rank until Augustan times, when Horace (Odes 3.17) has to construct a mythical genealogy; this is significant for the extinction of the old republican nobility (see on 97 and cf. Tac. Ann. 11.25.2, Apul. Flor. 8 ex senatoribus pauci nobiles genere). One at least was alive when this was written, L. Aelius Lamia Aelianus, cos. 116; he can hardly have read this passage with pleasure.
Satire Five

This poem is, like Six, a λόγος ἀποτρεπτικός. In 1.132–4 Juvenal had remarked on the frequent disappointment of clients’ hopes (spes, cf. 5.166) of an invitation to dinner; now he tries to divert Trebius from the life of a parasite by describing the indignities inflicted when an invitation is given. Better beggary (8–11), just as suicide or homosexuality is better than marriage and its humiliations (6.30–7). When he came to write Nine Juvenal deliberately recalled this poem by again using the name Virro (on 9.35); Trebius and Naevolus are both slaves (127, 161, 173; indirectly 9.45) and suffer the indignities of dependence. Naevolus too cannot change his way of life; but Juvenal does not preach at him as he does at Trebius.

The train of thought is this:
1–11 propositio.
12–155 main theme, tractatio.
(a) 12 (primo fige loco) –23 This invitation is the sole recompense for all your services
(b) 24–155 and a poor recompense it is.

24–79 Accompaniments of the meal (note the mention of cibus 49 before its serving is described); 24–65 all that has to do with drinking, the wine, vessels, water and servants,

66–79 the bread (cf. 169) and the servants who offer it. Thus the servants link the descriptions of drinks and bread, and the bread introduces the description of eating.

80–106 The first ferculum, a fish course.

107–13 Interlude, in which for the moment Juvenal turns to address Virro.

114–45 The second ferculum, foie gras, chicken, boar (which, as at 1.140, is not shared), truffles, hare. The clients are in suspense waiting for their share (166–9), and Juvenal leaves us too in suspense whether they will get any, but they never do (cf. 120–1, 135) and dare not remonstrate (125 sqq.). Ribbeck proposed to place 166–9 |[231] after 124, and there is sufficient homoeoteleu-
ton between 124 -cetur and 169 -cetis to justify this palaeographically; see on 169.

146–55 The dessert, mensae secundae. The serving of the mushrooms here is rather surprising, and they appear to duplicate the tubera (116); but they seem to be served in the mensae secundae in the meal phrase-book, CGL 3.652.11.

156–73 Conclusion, which recalls the introduction; with omnia ferre si potes, et debeis (170) cf. 3, with 171–3 cf. 3–4, with quis tam nudus 163 cf. 8–11.

We may compare this meal with that at 11.64 sqq., where again the gustus or promulsis is not mentioned, and there are two fercula, goat and asparagus, chicken and eggs, followed by fruit for dessert, and that in Hor. Serm. 2.8, where there is a gustus of (cold) boar, followed by two fercula, squilla and muraena with Venafran oil, foie gras and hare.

The central theme of the disparity between the food of the host and that of humble guests is found in a number of epigrams of Martial which have influenced this poem, 1.20 (see on 121 and 147), 1.43 (see on 121 and 167), 2.43, 3.60 and 82, 6.11, 9.2 (see on 113). It is not merely a literary stock theme, because Pliny Ep. 2.6 denounces the custom. His host sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. vinum etiam parvulis lagunculis in tria genera descripserat … aliu sibi et nobis, aliu minoribus amicis …, aliu suis nostrisque libertis; other quotations in the notes. Julius Caesar (Suet. 48) punished a baker for serving him different bread from that of the guests; Hadrian (SHA 1.17.4) took care that this should not happen. Pliny NH 14.91 comments unfavourably on those who unlike Cato serve different wine to themselves and their guests, and 19.53 sqq. declaims, though without reference to cenae, on the difference between the apples, bread, cabbages, asparagus and water consumed by the rich and the poor. One will note that this poem exemplifies the same combination of meanness and extravagance (113) as was attacked in One.

Morford AJP 98, 1977, 234 points out that Virro’s cups, apples and boar are related to grand mythological exempla, and the former two are contrasted with humble exempla related to Trebius (he does not get any of the boar). When Trebius is [132] related to mythological exempla, it is in contexts of degradation (25, 125). See also on 100–21

1 TE Trebius (19, 135).

PROPOSITI (i.e. προαίρεσις cf. 9.21, 10.325), BONA SUMMA (poetic plural for the prose phrase sumnum bonum; cf. on 4.11, 9.118) Juvenal uses the language of ethical discussion to parody Trebius’ ignoble standards.

EADEM EST MENS Hor. Epist. 1.1.4.

2 QUADRA A quarter of a loaf, the bread being scored into four parts for breaking up (André 71–2, Marquardt 420, Blümneri 1.88).
ALIENA *alienus cibus* of parasites Plaut. Capt. 77, Ter. Eun. 265.

3 SI POTES *ista PATI* Mart. 11.23.15.

SARMENTUS Σ provides full information about him (the mention of *forma* makes it probable that the man mentioned in Plut. Ant. 59.8 is identical). He appears in Hor. Serm. 1.5.52 sqq. as a *scurra*; cf. also Haffter Hermes 87, 1957, 94, Treggiari 271.

GABBA Mart. 1.41.15, 10.101 and cf. on 1.55–7 above; he also seems to be mentioned in Plut. Quaest. Symp. 8.6.1.726a, and Quintil. 6.3 quotes several of his jokes (his name has usually been corrupted). Like Sarmentus, he was a *scurra* associated with Augustus and Maecenas.

CAESARIS Augustus.

INIQUAS This is something which one cannot usually *pati* (1.30). It indicates that distinctions were made between the guests, the *scurrae* being *viles*; there was no *aequa libertas* (8.177), *mensa communis* (Pliny Pan. 49) at the *cenae* of this *rex* (on 1.136).


6 FRUGALIUS More easily satisfied.

7 PUTA Cf. 2.153 (also followed by a question); a paratactic condition.

8 You could at least beg, which would be better than being a parasite.

CREPIDO The steps of public buildings and raised footpaths (cf. SG 2.223 = 2.375); these (Val. Max. 4.3 ext. 4) and bridges (on 4.116) were the haunts of beggars, cf. Housman on Manil. 4.48.

TEGETIS PARS A scrap of a mat (*φορμός* or *ψίαθος*; Aristoph. Frogs 567) on which the beggars would sit or lie (9.140; cf. 6.117).


IIUNA FAMES Ovid Met. 8.791, II. Lat. 397.

TANTI ... TAM ut illa patiari quae nec Sarmentus nec Gabba tulisset: POSSIT fames tua, i.e. tu esuriens possis; ILLIC in crepidine vel ponte. [[233]

HONESTIUS is paradoxical and hyperbolical.

TREMERE 6.543 is perhaps comparable; cf. frigora 14.318.

11 SORDES FARRIS i.e. *sordidum far*, with a high bran-content. For *panis sordidus* (*ῥυπαρός*) cf. Marquardt 419, Blümner² 1.78 n. 6, Voigt Rh. Mus. 31, 1876, 122 n. 38; even at the patron’s meal Trebius hardly gets any better (67 sqq.). For FAR CANINUM cf. Mart. 10.5.5, 4.53.6 (with a special point), Sen. Contr. 1.7.18; canicae Lucil. 711 and Paul. Fest. 46. Dogs were fed on bread made from barley and bran (Varro RR 2.9.10, Phaedr. 4.18.4), cf. Moritz 177; they were not given much meat (West on Hes. Op. 604). See also on 70.

12 PRIMO The *deinde* is not expressed in 24; see on 2.4.

FIGE i.e. *pone*; cf. Quintil. 5.12.14, 7.1.10.

IUSSUS ‘invited’; so often κελεύω. Verg. Aen. 1.708 *toris iussi discumbere,*
Petron. 21 *iusser ergo discubuimus*, Ovid *Met.* 12.212.


14 AMICITIAE MAGNAE Cf. 4.74 and on 1.33.

IMPUTAT As 6.179, he takes the credit for it; but at 2.16 it means to attribute blame. Both senses are book-keeping metaphors (to set down to someone’s account) common in Silver Latin. Here it harmonises with FRUCTUS (revenue) and MERCEDEM; social relations are reduced to mercantile terms, cf. p. 21.

REX 130, 161, 137; see on 1.136.

16 ADHIBERE 2.135 and often.

17 Three per couch being the usual number (on 3.82). Cf. Phaedr. *Append.* 15.8 *sponda cessabit tua*.

CULCITA On which he would lean his left arm while reclining.

18 UNA SIMUS These are the only words spoken by Virro to his guest; it is quite a polite formula.

VOTORUM SUMMA Cf. 166 (*spes bene cenandi*), 1.133, Mart. 12.48.2 (cf. on 135); recalling the *summa bona* of 2. This with its ellipse and the next brief sentence mirror Trebius’ excitement.

19 HABET TREBIUS A sarcastic change to the third person; preaching at him will do no good in this state of bliss. Cf. 13.16, Donatus on Ter. *Andr.* 877.


20 LIGULAS DIMITTERE Leave his shoe-laces untied, flying in all directions, because he has not had time to tie them; cf. Blümner1 225 and horridus Mart. 3.36.3.

ORBEM Their round of visits, cf. 1.121; they have more than one patron (Marquardt 259). ||[234]

SALUTATRIX TURBA Cf. 4.62, 15.81.

22 SIDERIBUS DUBIS They are waning (Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 457) just before dawn; cf. Val. Fl. 2.72.

PIGRI Bootes takes a long time to set, which in winter he does about dawn, because he does so in a roughly perpendicular position; Hom. *Od.* 5.272 ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην. Cf. Mart. 8.21.3 *pigra Bootae / plaustra*, Ovid *Fasti* 3.405 *piger ille Bootes*. Here however AUT seems to suggest that Juvenal is, with deliberate exaggeration (cf. 7.222), thinking of midnight; cf. Anacreontea 33.1–3 *μεσονυκτίοις ποτ’ ὥραις / στρεφέτην ὅτ’ Ἄρκτος (= serraca) ἡδη / κατὰ χεῖρα τὴν Βοώτου and Housman on Manil. 5.693.

FRIGIDA suggests both proximity to the pole and the chill of dawn.

SERRACA (3.255) An undignified. (Quintil. 8.3.21) word for the usual *plaustra* (as Mart. l.c.), deliberately incongruous with the surrounding elevated diction.

24 SUICIDA LANA Wool with the natural oil (lanolin) still in it, the opposite of *lota lana*. This was used like cotton-wool to apply wine or vinegar (*acetum*)
for medical treatment; Pliny *NH* 29.30, Celsus passim, Kühn’s index to Galen *s.v. lana*, Blümner2 1.107 n. 6 (correct the Vegetius references to Book 3 and add Colum. 7.5.18). The implication then is that Virro’s wine is worse than the poor wine which would be used for this purpose, worse even than *acetum*.

25 CORYBANTA Cf. Posidippus Χορεύουσαι ap. Athen. 9.377b. VIDEBIS ‘You’ means ‘anybody’, cf. 1.91, but TORQUES means Trebius. Cf. on 54; likewise *aspice* 14.275 seems to be general in the middle of particulars. To avoid this Ribbeck 140 proposed *torquet* (sc. *conviva*) and H. Valesius altered DE (for which cf. 7.197) to *te e*.

26 IURGIA PROLUDUNT 15.51–2; Alexis Ὀδυσσεύς ὑφαίνων ap. Athen. 10.421a–b; CIL 4.7698 = CEL 2054 odiosaque iurgia differ, an inscription in a triclinium. PROLUDERE (and evidently also praetrude: Pliny Ep. 6.13.6, Rut. Nam. 1.257) is to skirmish, contrasted with *pugnare*, Cic. *Div. Caec.* 47, *De Or.* 2.325; *Laus Pison.* 87.

27 SAUCIUS If this goes with the preceding it means ‘drunk’, as often; but it is more likely to go with the following. RUBRA is proleptic. A brawl is one of the regular features of ‘Symposion-Literatur’, e.g. Lucil. 223–7, Lucian *Symp*.

28 VOS You, Trebius, and your fellow-clients; cf. 166 and on 8.126. COHORTEMENT maintains the military metaphor.

SAGUNTINA Pliny *NH* 35.160 and often the Spaniard Martial; cf. Charlesworth 166, Blümner7 132, Marquardt 661–2, ES 3.174.

LIBERTORUM If freedmen did not actually live with their patron (Blümner4 298 n. 11, Marquardt 203; cf. Plaut. *Men.* 1034), they might often be invited to dine with him (e.g. Pliny *Ep.* 2.6 quoted [235] in introduction; but not by Augustus, Suet. 74); a *libertini locus* Petron. 38. But with a large party such as is envisaged here only Virro and the other *Virrones* (149) would sit at the top table, and the clients and freedmen would be seated separately, cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 13.52 (*libertis minus lautis servisque nihil defuit, nam lautiores eleganter accepti* implies some kind of gradation in Cicero’s hospitality).

PUGNA COMMISSA LAGONA For such brawls cf. Lucil. l.c. on 27; Lucian *Symp.* 44–5, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.27.1.

30 IPSE αὐτός, the host Virro; indicating the *dominus*, as often in this poem and elsewhere (*Thes.* 344.14). He has the *vinum dominicum* (Petron. 31.2).

DIFFUSUM 11.159; sc. *vinum*. The *amphorae* or *cadi* would have a ticket or inscription on them giving the consuls of the year in which the wine was bottled and the place from which it came (34); cf. Petron. 34, Lucan 4.379 *nobilis ignoto diffusus consule Bacchus*, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 34, Marquardt 461–3, Blümner4 152. Many specimens will be found CIL 4 p. 169 sqq., 15 p. 657 sqq., M. H. Callender *Roman Amphorae* (1965) 7–22, 37. In contrast to this the client’s *vin ordinaire* is anonymous.

CAPILLATO Therefore ancient; on 4.103. Martial even exaggerates to regal
wine 3.62.2, 13.111.


CALCATAM By the feet of the workers; Blümner¹ 578.

32 sqq. After a meal like this the client (AMICO cf. 108) is likely to be dyspeptic (CARDIACUS); but the patron will not send to him (cf. 108 and on 3.45) a glass of wine, a recommended remedy for this in extreme cases (Pliny NH 23.50, 14.96; Celsus 3.19.3 sqq. vini cyathum; Plut. Quaest. Symp. 3.5.652c, Athen. 1.10d, Pers. 3.92).

CYATHUM A ladle, as a measure of capacity 1/12 of a sextarius (on 6.426).

MISSURUS Conditional (on 4.9); nunquam mittat si amicus cardiacus sit.

33 For the wines of Alba and Setia cf. 6.0.15, 10.27, 13.213–14 etc. Housman, whose punctuation links 32 with 33, points out that these vintages would be of a type to help the dyspepsia.

34 TITULUS The notice would include the PATRIA as well as the date (30; though even in the days of Opimian wine the varieties were not noted, Pliny NH 14.94), so there is a kind of hendiadys.

SENECTUS Cf. 13.214.

35 The wine was placed to mature in a fumarium (Mart. 10.36.1) where smoke was allowed to circulate (Marquardt 458, Blümner¹ 71, Billiard 521 sqq., Marescalchi–Dalmasso 31); cf. Stat. Silv. 4.8.39 Albanoque cadum sordentem promere fumo.

TESTA The clay amphora (cf. Horace quoted on 31); of a dolium 14.311.

36 P. Clodius Thrasea Paetus and his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus were respectively condemned to death and sent into exile in A.D. 66, and the latter was put to death by Vespasian. They were Stoic leaders of opposition and outspoken champions of libertas (Wirzubski 138 sqq.); Virro, who is a rex, defiles their favourite wine by drinking it. Thrasea wrote a book on Cato (Plut. Cato Min. 25, 37), and they are coupled with Cato and Brutus, who were also Stoics, by Marc. Aurel. 1.14 (another Stoic himself). Cassius and M. Brutus were the great liberatores; here D. Brutus is also included, cf. Tac. Ann. 1.10 Cassii et Brutorum exitus, 16.22.5 Brutorum aemulos (in the context of an exile of a Cassius, cf. ch. 7.2), Pliny Ep. 1.17.3 imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum (rhetorical plurals). [Corrigendum, on p. 251 of original: In spite of his Stoic connections, Brutus was an Academic in philosophy.]

Birthdays of the dead were often celebrated in commemoration, cf. Sen. Ep. 64.8, Suet. Dom. 10.3.

CORONATI Cf. 15.50, 6.297.

38 HELIADUM CRUSTAS Cups overlaid with amber (Mart. 9.13.6 gemma Heliadum), cf. on 14.307 and Blümner¹ 409.

INAEQUALES aspera 14.62.

INAEQUALES BERULLO The only verse in Juvenal ending in three spondees,
which is generally uncommon; Ovid *Met.* 1.117 *et inaequales autumnos*. The rare rhythm matches the rare objects.

PHIALAS Broad shallow cups; Marquardt 651, Blümner 405, Hilgers 74 and 250.

AURUM This is the material on which the amber and gems are set; legal quibble on the proportions of silver and amber in vessels, Paulus *Dig.* 34.2.32.5. These are λιθοκόλλητα ποτήρια, *pocula gemmata* (Blümner 393 and 408, Marquardt 706), cf. 43–4, 10.26–7; *praepositus ab auro gemmato* CIL 6.8734–6 (cf. Boulvert 237), the CUSTOS here (cf. Mart. 14.108, 12.74.7, Cic. 2 *Verr.* 4.33).

41 No doubt this is an indignity for the client, but it was not an unnecessary precaution; for stealing of cups cf. Mart. 8.59.7 and the historically documented case of T. Vinius (Plut. *Galba* 12.2, Suet. *Claud.* 32, Tac. *Hist.* 1.48).

UNGUES Which may prise off the gems.

42 ILLI LAUDATUR The gold cup has a jasper which is praised. This type of brachylogy, in which the notion <est et> has to be understood, is common with verbs of saying and calling (HS 210, Svennung *Eranos* 50, 1952, 71); cf. also Tac. *Germ.* 44.1 *Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur*. For the dative in reference to an inanimate thing cf. 15.20. The jasper is named because he is thinking of *Aen.* 4.261 *illi* (= *Aeneae*) *stellatus iaspide fulva / ensis erat*, referred to in 44–5. ||[237]


44–5 In Vergil the jasper is on the sword, not on the scabbard. Such finery in the old days was used for martial purposes, cf. *pugnacis* 57 and 11.100–9; but nowadays Rome is degenerate.


QUAS He does not mean that Virro’s gems are identical with those of Aeneas, but that Virro has gems on his cups as Aeneas had on his scabbard. For this loose use of the relative pronoun cf. 153 (and *petitas* 9.149, *gestamen* 2.99); Cic. *De Leg.* 3.47, *Pro Mil.* 69; Sall. *Iug.* 6.3; Verg. *Aen.* 8.99; Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.275; Mart. 10.62.9; Tac. *Hist.* 5.13.1, *Dial.* 38 init.; often in Seneca.

46 The traditional type of poetic periphrasis to avoid *calicem Vatiniānum*, and also to carry on the epic aura of 44–5 while contrasting with the humble content. The deformed Vatinius had begun life as a cobbler at Beneventum and then become powerful at Nero’s court, Tac. *Ann.* 15.34. These cups were called after him presumably because there were faces moulded round the glass with long noses like his. Cf. Mart. 14.96 *villa sutoris calicum monumenta Vatini / accipe; sed nasus longior ille fuit*; this is contrasted with the *phiala* (cf. Juv. 39) *aurea caelata* of no. 95. For the genitive of quality combined with an adjective cf. on 3.4
SICCABIS CALICEM Hor. Serm. 2.6.68.

48 Mart. 10.3.3–4 quae sulphurato nolit empta ramento / Vatiniorum proxeneta fractorum. There were peddlars at Rome who gave sulphur-tipped matches (Mart. 12.57.14, Sen. NQ 1.1.8) in exchange for broken glass (Mart. 1.41.3, Stat. Silv. 1.6.73), evidently intended for use in mosaics (Smyth CR 61, 1947, 46).

49 FERVET VINO Cf. 4.138, Sen. NQ 4.13.5 sqq. (cf. on 52).

-QUE … -QUE Cf. 6.424, 7.34, 10.152, 14.219 and 222. All of these instances are at the end of the line, a favourite place in hexameters.

50 DECOCTA sc. aqua; water first boiled to purify it and then cooled with snow, supposed to be an invention of Nero (so Suet. 48; but it was known before him, Athen. 3.122e). Cf. SG 2.142 = 2.281, Marquardt 333, Blümner1 402, R. J. Forbes Studies in Ancient Technology 6 (1958) 113.

GETICIS … PRUINIS Mart. 11.3.3 and often Ovid.


ALIAM AQUAM Cf. Sen. NQ 4.13.4 (see on 49), Pliny NH 19.55. |[238]

52 CURSOR A groom, whose normal duty is to run in front of his owner’s carriage (cf. SG 1.288 = 1.344, Marquardt 149–50 and 170, Blümner1 466) is fetched from the stable to wait on the client; cf. Cic. In Pis. 67 servi sordidati ministrant, non nulli etiam senes; idem coquus, idem atriensis. At Lucian Symp. 15 after an attempt to bribe a handsome cup-bearer (the hand of one such is nudged by the poor men at Saturn. 38) he is sent out and replaced by one of τῶν ἐξώρων ἢδη καὶ καρτερῶν, ὀρεωκόμον τινὰ ἢ ἵπποκόμον.

NOLIS Not Trebius (cf. 150), who would not be likely to drive around much, but anybody, ‘one’; cf. on 25.

PER … NOCTEM Cf. Sen. Apoc. 13.3; his ugliness makes him seem villainous.

For NIGRI … ET CUI cf. on 14.229.

55 For night journeys cf. 10.20, 3.236.

MONUMENTA LATINAE Cf. 1.171; robbers would hide among the tombs.

CLIVOSAE Around Tusculum; Strabo 5.3.9.237.

56 FLOS ASIAE The most handsome slave from Asia cf. 11.147.

IPSUM is contrasted with TIBI 52; so 55 should end with a colon.

PRETIO MAIORE Cf. 60 and on 4.25; PARATUS on 3.224.

57 Hor. Odes 4.7.15 dives Tullus et Ancus; see on 44–5.


59 PRIVOLA 3.198; ἀπροσδόκητον for ‘riches’. By comparison with Virro their property was merely odds and ends.

QUOD CUM ITA SIT This prosy phrase is used by Cat. 68.37, Ovid Tristia 3.6.37; cf. Prop. 2.17.17.

GAETULUM GANYMEDEM An oxymoron (cf. 7.214). For Ganymede cf. 9.47, 13.42, Mart. 9.73.6; cup-bearers are commonly compared to him.

RESPICE Apul. Met. 10.17; he would stand behind the guests.
61 Puer is contrasted with the Gaetulus Ganymedes, who is not a puer in age (AETAS); so there should be a colon after SITIES.

MISCERE The water (63) and wine.

SED FORMA, SED AETAS Ovid Met. 3.455 nec forma nec aetas (of Narcissus); ὥρα is the regular term.

DIGNA SUPERCILIO They justify his disdain; cf. 6.169.

ILLE The Gaetulus Ganymedes; even he, let alone the flos Asiae, is inattentive.

63 sc. aquae. Both the hot (cf. Marquardt 333, Blümner1 401, Kleberg 104) and the cold are to mix with the wine according to taste; cf. Mart. 14.105 frigida non derit, non derit calda petenti, 1.11.3; Athen. 3.123e, Tac. Ann. 13.16.2. For Ribbeck’s proposed deletion of this line see BICS 22, 1975, 150. ||39

64 Cf. Mart. 3.58.43–4. The construction is indignatur parere indignaturque quod poscas.

VETERO CLIENTI 1.132; because he is vetus (cf. 13) he is taken for granted.

66 This line seems inoffensive if it is ended with a colon so that it looks forward to the superbia shown in 67–79; cf. BICS 22, 1975, 153.

67 ECCE ALIUS 12.24; PORREXIT in the canistra of 74.

68 VIX FRACTUM This may mean (1) which has been broken with great difficulty, being stale and hard; but frangere panem is an operation which the guests would normally perform themselves (10.200, Plaut. Poen. 729, Curtius 4.2.14), (2) which can be broken only with great difficulty; then fractum will supply the place of an adjective in -bilis, as invictus ‘invincible’ (usually with negated participles like this) etc., cf. HS 392, Naegelsbach §72b. (3) Duff suggests as a possibility ‘which you break only with difficulty’, pointing out that the perfect participle can be used to supply the missing present participle passive (cf. 15.80); but even a present participle would be harsh here. So (2) seems best.

MUCIDA FRUSTA 14.128; farina is the flour made from far.

ADMITTENTIA Cf. 3.235.

70 SILIGINE The finest flour, cf. 6.472, Mart. 9.2.3–4, Pliny NH 18.85–6 etc.


NIVEUS The technical term would be candidus (Blümner1 163 and 2 1.77 n. 4, André 71 n. 206, Voigt Rh. Mus. 31, 1876, 122; cf. Colum. 2.9.13).

72 ARTOPTAE The bread-pan, ἀρτόπτης; as usual the Greek word is used mockingly. Cf. Moritz 208–9, André 69–70, Blümner2 1.81–3, RE s.v. Bread was sometimes served hot in the pans in which it had been baked (in a clibanus Petron. 35).

FINGE TAMEN 8.195; a paratactic condition.

IMPROBULUM ‘somewhat audacious’; cf. on 6.425.

SUPEREST i.e. superpositus est, ἐφέστηκε, is in charge.

74 VIS TU is often used in a peremptory command (‘be so good as to’), whereas visne 10.90 is merely a question; cf. KS 2.505, HS 460–1 and 467.
IMPLERI Petron. 16.1.

COLOREM nigrum, cf. 11, the opposite of niveus 70.

76–9 Cf. 19 sqq.; now Trebius himself spontaneously admits what Juvenal has been telling him (note PROPTER QUOD in both places).

FUE RAT i.e. fuit; cf. 9.96, 10.272, 15.16.

77 MONTEM GELIDASQUE ESQUILLAS i.e. Esquilinum montem, with hendiadys. There was a steep slope from the Subura up to the porta |{| Esquilina (Mart. 5.22.1–5); the Esquiline was an area of great houses (3.71, 11.51).

CUCURRI Cf. 3.128.

GRANDINE VERNUS On spring hail cf. Sen. NQ 4.4.1, Aristotle Met. 1.12.1; for spring rain cf. 4.87.

IUPPITER The sky-god controls the weather, cf. Latte 79, Wissowa 113 and 120 n. 10, Haupt 2.171, Gross (on 7.25) 360; see the remark of the elder Cato cited by Plut. 21.5, and Calp. Sic. 5.45 dum peragit vernum lovis inconstantia tempus (pater vernus is conjectured in Pervig. Ven. 60).

PAENULA An overcoat used in rainy weather; RE s.v., Marquardt 564, Blümner1 215, Wilson 87, Kolb Röm. Mitt. 80, 1973, 89.

80 DISTINGUAT may mean (1) ’marks out, reserves’ for the host, (2) ’parts in two’, (3) ’sets off’ with its bright red colour and size, cf. Sen. Contr. 9.2.6 distinguuntur argenteis poculis aurea.

SQUI LL A See Thompson² s.v. καρίς; the name embraces various kinds of prawn, but here seems to indicate a bear-crab, lobster or crawfish. Cf. Blümner³ 189 n. 16.

SAEPTA Cf. constrictus 84.

ASPAR AGIS Cf. Macrobr. Sat. 3.13.12 turdum asparagos sub tus.

CON VIVIA ’the company’; poetic plural (cf. 11.150) and abstract for concrete (= convivas; cf. cena 2.120, Prop. 4.6.71 (?), and HS 747, KS 1.82). It seems to look down scornfully on the clients from its elevation; they are despised by the very fish as well as the servants.

84 CAMMARUS The crayfish, inferior to the squilla; cf. André 105, Thomson² s.v. It is contrasted with the rich man’s mulet by Mart. 2.43.12; Apicius 2.1.3 gives a recipe for isicia de scillis vel de cammaris AMPLIS.

DIMIDIO OVO Mart. 5.78.5 divisib cyanum latebit ovis, 10.48.11, 11.52.7–8; ἑῶν ἡμίτομα Alexis ap. Athen. 2.69a.

FER ALIS CEN A Apul. Flor. 19.6 suggests that this phrase refers to the victuals placed on the pyre (Catull. 59.3, Verg. Aen. 6.225). It is usually taken to indicate the cena novemdialis, a simple meal placed on the grave nine days after burial and often including eggs, many of which have been found in tombs (Marquardt 380, Blümner¹ 509–10, RE Bestattung 358.54, RAC Ei 738). F. Bömer Ahnenkult (Arch. Rel.-Wiss. Beiheft 1, 1943) 130 takes the word PATELLA also to have funereal associations.
EXIGUA For the combination of this with a diminutive cf. 11.144 and HS 776.

**86** Hor. Serm. 2.4.50 *quali perfundat pisces securus olivo.*
VENAFRANO sc. *oleo*; Venafrum in Samnium was famous for fine olive oil. [241]

AT HIC QUI Other lines end in three monosyllables at 14.114, 143.

CAULIS The poor man’s food (1.134), contrasted with the asparagus of 82.

PALLIDUS Colourless, cf. Automedon *AP* 11.325.2 = Gow–Page *GP* 1550 κράμβης μήλινον ἀσπάραγον (‘yellow shoot of cabbage’); they were made green artificially (Pliny *NH* 19.143, Colum. 11.3.23, Marquardt 324, *RE* *Kochkunst* 959).

OLEBIT LANTERNAM Hor. Serm. 1.6.123 unctione *olivo,* */ non quo fraudatis immundus Natta* (who in Juvenal becomes *Boccar*) *lucernis,* 2.2.59 *cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre … caulibus instillat;* 2.3.125.

ALVEOLIS Plates; 7.73.

**89** CANNA The word in this application must originally have meant a reed boat (cf. Val. Fl. 2.108), but here evidently a larger ship is intended (a *gandeia,* according to Probus; see Walde–Hofmann s.v.).

MICIPSRUM Micipsa was the son of Masinissa and king of Numidia; the generic plural here means ‘M. and his family’ or ‘African kings’.

SUBVEXIT Has brought up the Tiber, the opposite of *dejectum* 7.121; the good Sabine oil (3.85) came down the Tiber. For this African oil cf. Pliny *NH* 15.8, Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.11, Loane 25–6, *ES* 4.61, M. Rostovzeff *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1957) 202–3, L. Foucher *Hadrumetum* (1964) 142–6; its production was encouraged by Trajan and Hadrian.

PRORA ACUTA Cf. Foucher 143 n. 467 for this type of boat.

BOCCAR This name is a variant at Livy 29.30.1; Ampelius 36.2 has *Boccor* meaning Barca.

**91** The genuineness of this line is hardly open to doubt; for the accumulation of description in 88–91 cf. 34–7 and 150–2. We are reminded of the Homeric dilations on the history and value of precious objects, here parodied by application to this vile oil. The Psylli were said to have in their bodies a *virus exitiale serpentibus et cuius odore sopirent eos* (Pliny *NH* 7.14); perhaps Juvenal had heard a distorted account of this.


**92–106** Virro has two fish, the client only one (AUT 104). The *muraena,* murre or lamprey, is a long thin fish contrasted with the eel (103), while the mullet corresponds to the *lupus* (104). For the association of *muraena* and eel cf. Macrobr. *Sat.* 3.15.7, for the MULLUS see on 4.15.

MISIT Cf. 119, 6.466.

RUPES These would produce the *saxatilis mullus* (Mart. 10.37.7, Sen. *NQ* 3.18.4, Colum. 8.17.8). [242]

**93–6** This is rather verbose and straggling; Juvenal could have with advantage cut it down.
NOSTRUM MARE = *Tyrrhenum* 96 = *proxima* 95; usually it means the Mediterranean in general. Cf. Macrobr. *Sat.* 3.16.10 *nec contenta illa ingluvies fuit maris sui copiis*, but *scari* were brought from the Troad (Pliny *NH* 9.62).

PERACTUM Cf. Pers. 6.22, Mart. 5.70.4; Pliny *NH* 9.68 also implies the fact.

DUM With a causal implication; on 6.176.

GULA Gell. 6.16.6 *peragrantis gulae industria*; Petron. 119.33.


SCRUTANTE Sen. *Ep.* 89.22 (also with *gula*), *Dial.* 12.10.2 and 5.

MACELLO Cf. 11.10 and 64, 6.40; here it means *macellarii*.

96 The fish are caught before they grow up.

97 PROVINCIA Cf. 4.26.

98 Chiastic order. CAPTATOR Cf. 6.40 (see on 95), 4.18–21 and on 3.128.

VENDAT παρὰ προσδοκίαν for *edat*; she is avaricious as well as rich and sells the expensive fish. An Aurelia was pestered by the *captator* Regulus (Pliny *Ep.* 2.20.10), but she was not so disreputable as this. The lawyer at Mart. 12.72.5–6 sells his rewards in kind (for which see Juv. 7.119).

LAENAS Probably a Popilius or Octavius.


100–2 Auster (a wind dangerous to those who sail in search of luxuries 14.267) stirs up Charybdis; Ovid *Met.* 8.121, Sen. *Dial.* 6.17.2, *Ep.* 14.8. All this is in fine epic style (note the near-golden line 102), contrasted with 103–6; see introduction fin.


MADIDAS It is a wet wind; Ovid *Met.* 1.264 *madidis Notus evolat alis*.


LINA Nets (4.45) made from flax.

103 The eel is made as unattractive as possible by insisting on its relationship to the snake (cf. Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 5.77), though it was in fact quite well-liked (cf. André 99). For LONGAE cf. 6.431.

104–6 The following quotations are relevant to the interpretation and emendation of this passage:

Pliny *NH* 9.169 *eadem aquatilium genera aliubi atque aliubi meliora, sicut lupi pisces in Tiberi amne inter duos pontes*.

Hor. *Serm.* 2.2.31 *unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto / captus hiet, pontes inter iactatus an amnis / ostia sub Tusci?*[143]

Colum. 8.16–4 *fastidire docuit fluviale lupum nisi quem Tiberis adverso torrente defatigasset*.

id. 8.17.8 *sine macula (nam sunt et variis) lupos includemus (in piscinae)*.

Macrob. Sat. 3.16.11–18 quid stupemus captivam illius saeculi gulam servisse mari, cum in magno vel dicam maximo apud prodigos honore fuerit Tiberinus lupus et omnino omnes ex hoc amni piscis? … M. Varro … pisci Tiberino palmam tribuit his verbis in libro Rerum Humanarum xi, ‘ad victum optima fert … piscem Tiberis’. Haec Varro de omnibus scilicet huius fluminis piscibus; sed inter eos … praecipuum locum lupus tenuit, et quidem is qui inter duos pontes captus esset. Id ostendunt cum multi alii tum etiam C. Titius, vir aetatis Lucilianae, in oratione qua legem Fanniam suasit … ‘quid mihi negoti est cum istis nugatoribus potius quam … edimus … lupum germanum qui inter duos pontes captus fuit?’ Haec Titius. Sed et Lucilius … ostendit scire se hunc piscem egregii saporis qui inter duos pontes captus esset, eumque quasi ligurritorem ‘catillonem’ appellat, scilicet qui proxime ripas stercus insectaretur … Lucili versus hi sunt … (ducebat) ‘hunc pontes Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo’ (1176).

From this it emerges that the fish meant is the lupus or λάβραξ, the sea-bass. This sometimes comes up rivers, and the best were those which had done this and been caught inter duos pontes, which presumably, since this is an old name for the insula Tiberina between the pons Cestius and the Fabricius (RE Tiberina insula, Platner–Ashby 282, Lugli 2 p. 136, Hirst PBR 14, 1938, 143), means round the insula. This then like the eel was quite a well-liked fish, but Juvenal puts everything about it in a bad light. He represents the fish as contaminated by sewage, specifying the unsavoury district of the Subura (3.5, 11.51); but since the cloaca maxima debouches a little downstream from the insula, a lupus which had come up-stream to the insula must have passed it. We are therefore inclined to suspect that GLACIE ASPERSUS MACULIS also conceals some distortion. The spotted lupi were evidently either the young ones or a separate variety, lupus punctatus; but Juvenal suggests that the spots were due to putrefaction. The word GLACIE however does not fit into this interpretation, and is presumably a corruption due to 4.42. It must be replaced by a noun in the nominative, because there is no fish called a Tiberinus; Galen De Alim. Fac. 3.29.6 (CMG 5.4.2 p. 369) has been quoted to prove that there was, but Galen, like Varro in Macrobius, means the fish of the Tiber generally (Thompson CR 52, 1938, 166). The only emendation which meets all criteria is Campbell’s glutto (CQ 39, 1945, 46), which Juvenal will have modelled on Lucilius’ catillo. The attestation of this noun looks unimpressive in the Thesaurus, but at Pers. 5.112 it is the reading of all mss. except P and should probably be accepted; at 4.28 Juvenal uses the verb glutire. Attempts, to me unconvincing, to defend GLACIE are made by Bradshaw CQ 15, 1965, 121, Giangrandé Hermes 95, 1967, 118.

As the text stands, ET IPSE (cf. 11.62) must mean like Trebius, rather than like the eel; the poor man’s fish do not come from distant seas. Campbell however reads the passage thus:

103 vos anguilla manet l.c.c.
106 et solita in mediae c.p.S.
104 aut glutto aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
105 v.r.p.t.C.

This is zoologically more probable since the eel is much more likely to go up sew-
er-s than the lupus or any other fish; it gives more point to ET IPSE (like the eel); and
the corruption could be due to the omission of 106 because of the homoeo-
teleuron -ubrae, -urae. But the manuscript order gives a better climax.

TORRENTE Pliny NH 36.105. VERNULA Cf. on 1.26.
CRYPTA An underground drain at the far end of the cloaca maxima, which
runs from the Subura to the Tiber.

PAUCA VELIM Ter. Andr. 29 paucis te volo; Plaut. Aul. 199.
FACILEM Cf. 3.122, Curtius 8.6.24; Hor. Serm. 1.1.22, Prop. 2.21.5.
MODICIS viles 146, minores Pliny Ep. 2.6 (see introduction).
MITTEBANTUR Cf. 32 and on 3.45.

109 For Piso and Seneca cf. Mart. 12.36.8, 4.40.1–2. C. Calpurnius Piso was ex-
ecuted in A.D. 65, and Seneca perished in the sequel; for Piso’s generosity cf. Tac.
Ann. 15.48 and Laus Pis. 97 sqq. (a poem evidently known to Juvenal; see Eight,
intr.). Cotta is probably the man of 7.94, q.v.; for his generosity cf. CIL 14.2298
= CEL 990. The man of Tac. Ann. 13.34.1 is not likely to be meant, though he is
Neronian like Piso and Seneca.

BONUS Generous, as Mart. 12 l.c.

110 TITULIS Honorific inscriptions (1.129, 8.69 and 242, 10.143, 11.86).
To get the contrast between NEMO PETIT 108 and SOLUM POSECIMUS we
should punctuate thus … largiri (namque … gloria): solum …

112 CIVILITER As an equal among equals; cf. on 127.
ESTO, ESTO An emphatic (con)duplicatio or geminatio, cf. p. 32. There is a
paratactic condition. FAC is the only legitimate spelling here.

113 DIVES TIBI Cf. Cic. De Off. 3.63, Plato Menex. 246e, Mart. 9.2.1 pauper
amicitiae cum sis, Lupe, non es amicae (the whole epigram is comparable). This is
luxuriae sordes 1.140.

114 For goose liver, foie gras, cf. Marquardt 431, RE Gans 716.31, ||245 Blümner1
177 n. 8, André 132–3. Geese were and are crammed in such a way that liver disease
ensues and produces this delicacy; they were fed on figs (Pollux 6.49 etc., RE Feige
2136.54), foie being derived from ficus.

ANSERIBUS The plural is surprising in combination with ANSERIS and AL-
TILIS; perhaps one should emend to anseris et, though Juvenal does not elsewhere
clearly use the genitive after PAR (cf. KS 1.448–9; see on 10.192).

ALTILIS sc. avis, a chicken kept in the dark and fattened on sweetened meal
(Varro RR 3.9.19–21, Mart. 13.62), cf. Blümner1 177 n. 2.
FERRO i.e. venabulo.
FLAVI MELEAGRI ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος *Iliad* 2.642; he killed the Calydonian boar. For the comparison with this cf. Mart. 7.27.1–2, 9.49, 13.93 and 41.2; note the similar comparisons in Juv. 59 and 151–2 and see introduction.

**SPUMAT** This word is often applied to the froth round the mouth of living boars. This animal was served up head and all (cf. 1.140, Petron. 40, Pliny *NH* 8.210), and Juvenal suggests that it looks still alive; perhaps the froth was imitated. Cf. Mart. 14.221.2 *spumeus in longa cuspidce* (spit) *fumat aper*, which motivated Φ’s interpolation here.

**TUBERA** Truffles, cf. 14.7; it was thought that thunder made them grow larger (*RE* *Pilze* 1383) and that they were of best quality in the spring (see ibid.; for spring storms cf. 78). For those from Africa cf. Pliny *NH* 19.34, whose source is Theophr. fr. 167 ap. Athen. 2.62a.

**117–18 MAIORES** If they shall add a dish to the meal; cf. 12.56.

**TIBI HABE** 3.187, **FRUMENTUM** … **LIBYE** see on 8.117. The rich are indifferent to the provision of food for the poor.

**MITTAS** Cf. 92.

**120** The *structor*, whose duty is properly to lay the dishes on the trays (*struere*, cf. 7.184, Petron. 35), also carves (cf. 11.136, Mart. 10.48.15); he is identical with the *scissor* or *carptor* (9.110). Cf. Marquardt 146, Blümner1 394.

**INTEREA** While the others are eating.

**NE** Ironical, cf. HS 837.

**INDIGNATIO** Cause for anger, provocation.

**SPECTES** Not just *aspicias*; he is a mere looker-on, a *spectator*, who gets none of the meat. Cf. Mart. 1.20.1, 1.43.11.

**CHIRONOMUNTA** χειρονομοῦντα, gesticulating (like a ballet-dancer 6.63); the Greek word as usual indicates contempt. Ancient dancing consisted largely in movements of the arms (see Munro on *Lucr.* 4.790 and cf. Herod. 6.129 τοῖς σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε, where it is [146] apparent that the word has become a fossil), so SALTANTEM need not imply much prancing around; ET is epexegetic. For the elaborate ritual of carving cf. 11.136 sqq. (*MAGISTRI = doctoris* there, cf. Sen. *Dial.* 7.17.2). Petron. 36.6 *scissor gesticulatus laceravit obsonium*.

**122 DICTATA** As if the instructions of a fencing-master, cf. 6.261; Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.13 *puerum saevo credas dictata magistro / reddere*.

**OMNIA** Emphatically placed; ‘leaving nothing out’.

**SANE** ironical; **NEC MINIMO** i.e. *et maximo* (*et sane* is a common combination, e.g. 15.61).

**REFERT** has become completely synonymous with *intérēst* (cf. on 6.657), which Juvenal only has in the future at 14.73. The ablative DISCRIMINE seems unique with this verb (KS 1.461).

**GALLINA** SECETUR 11.135 (where hares and boars are also mentioned), with *cultelli* 133.
Verg. Aen. 8.264. DUCERIS Cf. 10.66.

He dare not remind Virro that he has not been served; cf. 159, 169.

SIQUID HIS CERE Cf. Accius 157, Ovid Met. 13.231.

TAMQUAM … NOMINA i.e. tamquam liber sis, cf. 161–5 and Quintil. 7.3.27. Virro does not treat his clients as cives (112) but behaves as a rex (130); Trebius does not possess the παρρησία (libertas; 4.90) which goes with ἐλευθερία (libertas). Plutarch wrote a work περὶ τῶν τριῶν ὀνόματων, τί κύριον (no. 100 in the Lamprias catalogue), and uses τρίτον ὄνομα as a technical term (Schulze LEG 488 n. 3, cf. Posidonius fr. 264 Edelstein–Kidd); cf. Marquardt 8–10, Doer 18–20 quoting Paus. 7.7.8. In fact it became normal for the Roman in the street to carry three names only in the second half of the first century A.D., following the rule of the aristocracy on one side and freedmen and enfranchised peregrini on the other.

PROPINAT One would first drink the toast which one had proposed, then pass the cup to the friend whose health was being drunk; cf. Mart. 2.15, Sen. De Ben. 2.21.5, Blümner 405, Marquardt 336, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 76.

SUMIT 10.26. CONTACTA Polluted, cf. 6.0.5 and 14; not just tacta (Ovid AA 1.575).

USQUE ADEO (going ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with PERDITUS also) After its adjective, cf. 6.181–2.

PERDITUS Reckless, cf. 3.73, 8.212, 14.269; cf. 73–4 above.

PERTUSA … LAENA Cf. 3.283 and 48–51.


SIQUIS DEUS Cf. Cic. Lael. 87, Cato 83; Hor. Serm. 1.1.15, Petron. 100.4, Max. Tyr. 15 (Hobein); a situation of fable.

SIMILIS DIS HOMUNCIO A paradoxical diminutive; he may be puny in comparison with a god, but he has the same power. Power for good and evil was regarded as one of the chief attributes of deity; this was readily transferred to men with similar power (εὐεργέται; cf. Sternbach Wien. Stud. 9, 1887, 199, Otto deus 7 and Nachträge 55) and this notion became one of the roots of ruler-cult. Cf. Sen. De Ben. 3.15.4 qui dat beneficia, deos imitatur; Ter. Phorm. 345 ea qui praebet, non tu hunc habeas plane praesentem deum?; Charlesworth Harv. Theol. Rev. 28, 1935, 8 sqq.

MELIOR FATIS If the gods fail to give, the man who does give is ‘kinder than destiny’. To us it seems self-contradictory that what destiny cannot do should yet be done, but cf. on 14.248.

PETRON. 38 de nihilo crevit.

QUANTUS AMICUS is like magnus amicus at Mart. 3.40.3, ‘great friend’ in the sense of ‘close’.

Virro addresses the servants (cf. Aristoph. Peace 771), then Trebius; for his
interested hospitality cf. Mart. 12.48 (see on 18).

FRATER A term of familiarity, Thes. 1256.22, SG 4.83 = 4.84.

AB IPSIS ILIBUS The choicest part of the boar, cf. 167, Mart. 10.45.4, Blümner 176 n. 8; previously Trebius had got none at all of it.

137 FRATER The mss. which offer this have probably conjectured it from 135, but correctly. For the concord cf. Pliny Ep. 4.27.3 unus Plinius est mihi priores, Mart. 5.38.7 unus cum sitis, Cic. Pro Caec. 62.

137–45 The main cause of Virro’s treatment of his clients is money; amicitia has become mercenary. This leads Juvenal to digress into an attack on legacy-hunting, which however (particularly 141–5) is not fully relevant. TUM (so read) in 138 means ‘in that case’, siquis deus donaret, and is countered by SED … NUNC 141, as matters now stand, vūv ḍē (cf. Sen. NQ 1.3.4, where Z omits sed).

DOMINI REX Cf. 8.161; Mart. 2.18.8 qui rex est, regem, Maxime, non habeat. DOMINUS again indicates the servile status of the guests.

138–40 You must be orbus; cf. 6.38 sqq. Juvenal wittily adapts Verg. Aen. 4.328. LUSERIT The ordinary prohibitive construction of the perfect subjunctive with a negative (e.g. 14.48).

ILLO probably means Virrone, not filio.

140 A weak line which spoils the contrast, but not clearly spurious.

STERILIS Cf. Mart. 10.18.3; the opposite of fecunda, Hor. Serm. 2.5.31. [1248]

141 TUA MYCALE His coniunx 77. Trebius may have married a libertina, unless Juvenal has in mind Ovid Met. 12.263 mater erat Mycale and intends tua M. like Tanaquil tua 6.566, tuus Endymion 10.318; but Mycale hardly seems prominent enough for that. We hear little of the family life of Juvenal’s clients, or of parasites in general, but that in Plaut. Persa has a daughter.

TRES Cf. 12.95.

FUNDAT Cf. 2.33, Cic. In Pis. fr. 5 (contemptuously), Verg. Aen. 8.139 (in a surprisingly elevated context); here it suggests the improvident fecundity of the poor.

SEMEL i.e. uno puncto temporis, uno actu, cf. 6.521; cf. Paul. Sent. 4.9.2 quae semel uno partu tres filios edidit; the opposite of per partes (Sen. Dial. 9.1.4) or per gradus (id. NQ 4.2.25). Juvenal does not use simul, but instead employs pariter.

142–3 Another Vergilian reference, Aen. 12.475 nidisque loquacibus. For νεόττια in a similar context see Theophr. Char. 2.6.

VIRIDEM THORACA A miniature chariot-driver’s costume of the Greens, cf. 11.198. Ullman 281 takes it to mean a toy soldier’s uniform covered with verdigris, which makes it a cheap present conformably with the meanness shown in the other gifts. A thorax is a woollen under-vest at Suet. Aug. 82, thoracia are female garments Lucil. 71.

NUCES Nuts were used in many children’s games (Blümner 309, Marquardt 839, DS s.v., Väterlein 34, RAC Gesellschaftsspiele 867–8) and also of course eaten.
by them; there was often a sparsio of nuts to children at festivals. Stob. 4.430.18
mentions a host who gave them to the children of his slaves at feasts; cf. the story
of Archytas in Aelian VH 12.15 (also referred to at Athen. 12.519b, where the text
seems corrupt).

MINIMAS Walnuts would be usual, but the mean Virro is content with hazel-nuts; likewise he only gives pennies when they are requested, and his attitude is indicated by the sneer implicit in PARASITUS INFANS (cf. Ter. Ad. 779 para-
sitaster paullulus).

MENSAM sc. Virronis.

146 VILIBUS Cf. 4; they are contrasted with the quantus amicus which the
enriched Trebius would become (133–4).

ANCIPITRES Dangerous; Pliny NH 22.96 tertium genus (fungorum) suilli vene-
nis accommodatissimi ... quae voluptas tanta tam ancipitis cibi?, Mart. 3.60.5 sunt
tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos.

147 Mart. 1.20.4 boletum qualem Claudia edit edas, cf. Juv. 6.621. For successive
lines ending in the same word cf. 7.143–4.

SED (talis) QUALES, cf. 1.80. SED probably means ‘yes, and’, et quidem, cf. on
4.27 and Mart. 1.107.3. Others take it, like the [[124] original in Martial, to imply a
curse, ‘but unfortunately not the poisoned type’; but a blunt curse like this is not in
Juvenal’s style.

ILLUM UXORIS Cf. KS 1.418.

149 VIRRONIBUS The guests (cf. 17) whom Virro treats as equals.

150 A man (anyone, cf. on 54) would find even their smell a meal in itself; cf.
Mart. quoted on 162.

151 For the apples of Alcinous cf. Hom. Od. 7.114 sqq. and Otto Alcinous 1; those
of the Hesperides (cf. 14.114 and Otto Nachträge 86, 171, 247) are associated with
them by Mart. 10.94.1, 13.37, Priapea 16.2–4. Cf. on 115.

AUTUMNUS ὀπώρα, fruit-time.

SUBREPTA Like those stolen from the Hesperides by Hercules.

153 SCABIE MALI i.e. scabioso malo, cf. 11 etc.; QUOD cf. on 44. The line
describes a trained monkey (so Σ) dressed up as a soldier and riding on a goat, cf.
Mart. 14.202 callidus emissas eludere simius hastas (see also 128.2) and SG 2.70 =
2.86, RE Affe 707.12, Toynbee 57–8, Jennison 128–9, McDermott 137. This per-
forming monkey symbolises the degradation of Trebius.

FRUERIS An ironical word.

IN AGGERE See on 8.43 and 16.25. It was a favourite promenade and accord-
ingly the resort of fortune-tellers (6.588) and showmen.

METUENS With genitive 7.210 etc.; the FLAGELLUM, the trainer’s whip, is
the stick, the MALUM is the carrot.

157 HOC AGIT UT DOLEAS He is deliberately (cf. 7.20, 48) annoying you.

QUAE COMOEDIA, MIMUS QUIS Chiastic. This could be said quite general-
ly (cf. 6.0.27 and 608, 14.256–7), but here specifically envisages the entertainments put on at Roman dinner-parties, cf. on 11.179; for comme
di cf. Pliny Ep. 9.36.4 and 40.2. Marquardt 337–8, Blümner¹ 410 n. 10, for mimes, which would be less respectable, Plut. Quaest. Symp. 7.8.712e, Macroob. Sat. 2.1.9. Likewise the audience would divert Democritus more than the play according to Horace, Epist. 2.1.197–8. In what follows Trebius is like a comic parasite.


SI NESCIS ‘let me tell you’, cf. HS 826, Hofmann p. 200 addenda on 134. There is an ellipse, si nescis, <ego tibi dico> omnia fieri, cf. on 15.89.

EFFUNDE

PER LACRIMAS non per os.

161 LIBER HOMO Cf. 8.177 and on 127 above; Mart. 2.55.3, 9.10; Epictet. 4.1.55. Trebius ignores that the proper correlative of rex is servus.

TIBI VIDERIS Mistakenly, cf. 9.46–7; he is not a CONviva in any true sense (cf. on 1.135).

162 Mart. 1.92.9 pasc
eris et nigrae solo nidore culinae (cf. on 150); he is a κνισοκόλαξ, καπνοσφράντης.

CAPTUM Mart. 5.44.7–8, Hor. Serm. 2.7.38.

NUDUS Cf. 7.35 and tegetis 8, tremere 11; destitute.

164 BIS One experience of this treatment should be enough.

ETRUSCUM … If he is free-born. All free-born children until puberty and the assumption of the toga virilis wore an amulet as a protection against the evil eye; among the better-off it would be in a gold locket (bulla), among the poorer it would consist merely of a knot in a leather thong (for knot-amulets cf. Onians 367 n. 8), cf. [Ascon.] on Cic. 2 Verr. 1.152, where a boy de plebe is robbed of his gold bulla and has to wear a leather amulet; Pliny NH 33.10, who says bulla aurea … ut eorum qui equo meruisset filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum; Macroob. Sat. 1.6.9–14 in the Second Punic War concessum ut libertinorum quoque filii … togam praetextam et lorum in colla pro bullae de
core gestarent. Cf. Juv. 13.33, 14.5; Stat. Silv. 5.3.120 nobile pectoris aurum. The Romans considered that the use of such bullae as protection against the evil eye came from Etruria, and a number have been found in Etruscan graves. See RE (1048) and RAC s.v., Marquardt 84–6, Blümner¹ 305–6, Alfeldi (on 7.192) 64–5, ERE Charms 462b, L. Bonfante Etruscan Dress (1975) 143.

SIGNUM ingenuitatis; cf. insigne in Pliny l.c.

166 Cf. 1.133; VOS cf. 28.

LEPOREM 124, APR 1.16 (Martial was also disappointed of this, 1.43), ALTILIS 114. For CLUNIBUS cf. on 135.

MINOR may mean ‘smaller than the magnus altilis of 114–15’ or ‘the altilis
smaller now that so much has been cut off it’ or ‘too small for Virro’.

169 STRICTOPane παρὰ προσδοκίαιν for ense, cf. Com. Adesp. 649 K and E ἐσπάτην γνάθον / εὐχρήστον; this meal is a battlefield and the clients are ready to engage the enemy, i.e. the food, cf. Varro Sat. Men. 102 discumbimus mussati, dominus ... cenam committit (for the last word cf. Juv. 1.163).

TACETIS This is much more pointed than iacetis (with which cf. 8.173). It takes up 159–60; 166–8 are their unspoken spes. With Ribbeck’s transposition (for which see introduction) it leads up to hiscere 127.

171 VERTICERASO You will one day act the morio (Pliny Ep. 9.17) or γελωτοποιός with shaven head (Lucian Symp. 18, Artemidorus [251] 1.22, Alciphron 3.7 (= 43).1) and receive all the cuffs. In the mime (cf. 157) the stupidi who received the cuffs (cf. 8.192–7) had shaven heads, like Satyrs or Sileni; cf. Arnob. 7.33 stupidorum capitibus rasis, salapittarum sonitu atque plausu, Galen CMG 5.10.2.2 p. 206.17, Manetho 4.280–5 and 5 (6).104, RE Mimos 1748.22, and the parasite-masks in Bieber p. 100. Glosses explain alapiciosus by calvus, but there may be some confusion here (cf. CGL 6.47a).

For the indignities inflicted on parasites at meals cf. Plaut. Capt. 88–9 and plagipatidae ibid. 472, the parasite family called Duri Capitones id. Pers. 60, Ter. Eun. 243–4, the passages collected by Athen. 6.237d–240c, Mart. 2.72, [Quintil.] Decl. 298 p. 178 Ritter, LSJ s.vv. κοσσοτράπεζος, ψωμοκόλαφος and the parasite-name Ἑτουμίκοσσος Alciphron 3.4 = 7; the parasite-mask had cauliflower ears (Pollux 4.148). At Piso’s table (Laus Pis. 116) nullius subitos affert iniuria risus, whereas the generality of patrons (126–7) miserum parva stipe focilat, ut pudibundos / exercere sales inter convivia possit.

171–3 For a similar prophecy cf. 2.82.

PRÆEBEBIS CAPUT adapts the phrase os praebere (Sittl 109 n. 3).

173 He will undergo a servile punishment (6.479, 10.109, 14.19) because, though he regards himself as a liber homo (161), he is really a servus (3.125).

PATI For the iambic elision cf. 6.327.

AMICO A final irony (cf. 1.146) to conclude the poem and Book 1, which has had so much to say about client and patron; it is in this book that the great majority of occurrences of this word is found (LaFleur Illinois Class. Stud. 4, 1979, 158).
This satire is addressed to a man called Postumus and tries to dissuade him from his intention to marry. It is thus a λόγος ἀποτρεπτικός γάμου (Five was also an ἀποτρεπτικός), though in fact in large part it becomes a ψόγος γυναικῶν (or rather a ψόγος of married women); note that Stobaeus Ecl. 4.22 περὶ γάμου has as part 2 ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὸν τὸ γαμεῖν (4.513 W–H) and part 7 ψόγος γυναικῶν (4.550). ψόγος and ἀποτρεπτικός are terms of rhetoric, and ducendane uxor (εἰ γαμητέον in the Greek rhetors) is a thesis which personis modo adiectis becomes a suasoria (Quintil. 2.4.25). It is however unprofitable to consider the poem in these terms; no firm links can be forged with the rhetorical tradition as it survives.

The most interesting question about Juvenal’s antecedents is that concerning his relationship with Seneca’s lost De Matrimonio. This problem is discussed in detail in a note appended to this introduction, where the conclusion is reached that the resemblances which have been detected are of interest only in showing the existence of an inherited stock of misogynistic themes. This stock can be seen elsewhere too; e.g. [Lucian] Ἐρωτευματοκριτικά (a work devoted to the comparison of hetero- and homosexual love; cf. Juv. 33–7) 38–9 comments on the artificial use of cosmetics and the ugliness of women first thing in the morning, 40 on their hair-dressing, 41 on their clothes and jewelry, 42 on their superstition (including χωρίς ἀνδρῶν ὑποπτα μυστήρια), their μακρὰ λουτρά and meals. There are obvious correspondences to all these themes in Juvenal. Many writers had commented unfavourably on women (e.g. Semonides, in catalogue form like Juvenal) or discussed marriage, and occasional parallels are adduced in the notes; but here too the attempt to study Juvenal’s poem in the light of a literary tradition is unprofitable, and it is best considered in its own right.

The length of the poem alone gives it a special place in Juvenal’s work, and when the development of the argument is considered in conjunction with the vehemence of the denunciation of women it becomes hard to deny that Juvenal is spurred by genuine personal misogyny; and remarks in this direction can be found in his other poems (10.321, 11.186 sqq., 13.191–2), though of course it is hard
to judge how far they derive from a settled conviction. But his animus does reveal itself in details. At 451–6 he expresses personal dislike (with an emphatic ego which he was under no compulsion to insert) of the bluestocking, and reveals his reason in the phrase ignotos mihi versus; such a woman makes him feel inferior, and the only way he can find to compensate for this feeling is the assertion that such things are beneath a man’s attention. Again in 162 sqq. he argues that even a completely perfect woman is intolerable because of pride (a heads-I-win, tails-you-lose argument); but is it inevitable that a virtuous woman should be proud, particularly with family pride, which is what Juvenal mentions in both his exempla, Cornelia and Niobe? Not every Roman married a noblewoman, and Juvenal’s conjunctions show awareness that his complaints cannot be generalised; si 168, quotiens 180. No, he gives the game away in 166; again his motive is consciousness of inferiority. In mitigation it should be remembered that in this poem he has in mind mainly upper-class women (see below); and also that considerable fire is directed against the husbands.

Juvenal begins by claiming that whoever Postumus marries is sure to be unchaste. This emphasis on chastity prevails until 141, but even in this part of the poem another note becomes perceptible in 30 ferre potes dominam?; the dominance which wives exercise over their husbands (43, 149, 207–8, 224 etc.) and the difficulty which husbands find in putting up with various aspects of their wives’ behaviour (166, 184, 413, 432, 434, 460 etc.) become recurring themes. The contrasts of 35–7 also indicate other disadvantages (elaborated later in the poem) than immorality.

The first paragraph (1–37) states that in view of the disappearance of chastity Postumus must be mad to contemplate marriage. But, he continues (38–59), even the notorious adulterer Ursidius wants to marry, and wants to marry a chaste woman; yet he of all men ought to be aware that chaste women are almost non-existent now. 60–113: you won’t find one in those places at Rome where crowds of women are to be seen, the porticoes and the theatre, amphitheatre and circus. These were good places for getting to know women in the days of Propertius and Ovid (see on 60); but nowadays women are less interested in male spectators than in the actors, musicians and gladiators. 114–35: even an empress (the social climax; we have already passed from unimportant women to a senator’s wife 82) has prostituted herself because of nymphomania; other crimes characteristic of women, such as dabbling in magic and poisoning, fade into insignificance beside those due to their lust (see on 133–5).

Now with an ἀνθυποφορά Juvenal makes an interlocutor mention two seeming exceptions to his pessimism. 136–41: Caesennia’s husband is perfectly content with her: but it is her dowry that he really loves, and her side of the bargain is freedom to indulge her immorality. 142–60: Sertorius genuinely does love Bibula: but his love is purely physical and will not outlast the passing of her beauty. For the
time being she rules her husband and has all her extravagances satisfied. This last instance shows Juvenal passing from his attack purely on the morals of women to other unpleasant sides of their character, one of which, pride, is discussed in the next paragraph (161–83); it will be noted that he now (163) admits the possibility that there may be chaste women in Rome, which (except for a hint in *paucae* 50) he had denied in 45–62. This paragraph is introduced in continuation of the dialogue between Juvenal and his interlocutor, and looks as if it may have been designed originally to end the poem; compare how Ten, after various possibilities have been dismissed, ends with a paragraph introduced *nil ergo optabunt homines*? The next paragraph in Six has no substantial stylistic or material link with what precedes (though *pudicitia* reappears in 193); Juvenal’s *indignatio* has been genuinely inflamed and he begins to look around for every stone to cast at women. It is plain that this paragraph is an afterthought to his original scheme of structure and has impaired it by its superimposition.

184–99: even small faults, such as the use of Greek, annoy. 200–30: a dilemma. If you are not going to love your wife, why marry? If you are, she will oppress you and desert you for other husbands. This paragraph has no link with 184–99, but is linked with what precedes that by the idea of not loving (139, 143, 181–3; note *deditus* 181 and 206). 231–41: it is your mother-in-law who teaches your wife to despoil you (232, linking with 210) and cuckold you (a return to the *pudicitia* theme, also hinted at in the previous paragraph at 218). 242–67: women even invade men’s provinces by engaging in litigation (242–5) and by exercising as gladiators. Realising that he is again drifting from the immediate point, Juvenal here inserts a parenthesis (252–4) in which he tries to link such masculine behaviour with *impudicitia* (see the note for the precise interpretation of these lines and cf. on 320; 320–3 are like a male athletic contest). 268–85: women feign jealousy to cover their own infidelities, and if caught they defend themselves shamelessly, asserting their rights (this repeats themes of 136–41). From this summary it can be seen that the last few items in Juvenal’s indictment, though thematic links do appear, have been introduced in a disjointed way.

So far Juvenal has been adducing aspects and instances of female behaviour which might deter a man from marriage. The deterrent basic to his theme, though as we have seen he does tend to stray from it, is the lack of *pudicitia*; the other recurring motif is that women are no longer subordinate to their husbands and have in certain respects taken over the male role. Now he turns from description of the state of affairs to analysis of the reasons for it (286–351). His answer is the eternal commonplace of Roman moralising, the picture of a small primitive state in which work and war kept vice at bay until Rome was ruined by its own success (some parallels from historians are quoted in the notes; see also D. C. Earl *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (1967) 17–19); thus in this part, as in the prologue and the conclusion with its mythological examples, the contrast between
past and present is emphasised. Once the whole orbis had been conquered (293) and the pax Romana (292) had prevailed, the door was open to luxuria imported from abroad; e.g. drunkenness (foreshadowed in 297). Now no longer castae (287; note libido 294, venus ebria 300 which unites impudicitia and luxuria; Pudicitia 308 is connected with the old days by veterem, an echo of 14, and as the note shows refers to an obsolete cult), women hold drunken orgies; even the rites of the Bona Dea have turned into an orgy, and all women of whatever station are the same (346–8 are an interpolation; see below). 352–65 describe a second aspect of luxus, extravagance (the hint that Ogulnia hires gigolos, cf. 10.319, is not pressed); paupertas, once the backbone of Roman virtus (295), is no longer effective. (O 1–34; the genuineness of the Oxford fragment is for the moment assumed) A third aspect of luxus is the maintenance by women of cinaedi in their homes as their general factotums. In this connection Juvenal twice (O 7 and 14) incidentally mentions the husband, as in 312, with an apostrophe. The thought of the husband puts into his head another idea about the cinaedi, namely that they may be adulterers in disguise, and he proceeds to discuss this (tibi in O 23 thus becomes more integral than the previous apostrophes), though it is not really germane to his argument in this part of the poem. The same inconsequence also colours the treatment in the following sections. 366–78 deal with the fondness of other women for eunuchs, this having been suggested by custodes O 32, since such custodes were often eunuchs (e.g. Ovid’s Bagous). Eunuchs however are discussed not as a display of wanton luxus, but as a means of safe satisfaction of their mistresses’ lusts. If this paragraph followed directly on 365 we should be unable to account for this; it should be remembered to Ribbeck’s credit that long before the discovery of the O-fragment he had wished (Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal 162) 366–78 to follow 348. When we insert the fragment, eunuchs follow naturally on cinaedi, the immediate link being that of the wife’s adultery with impunity (O 32–4 and 368). The same attitude appears in 379, which accordingly repeats themes of 73 sqq., but the rest of the paragraph lets it fade out and can hardly be said even to present women’s enthusiasm for music purely under the aspect of luxus, as I stated in Mnem. 15, 1962, 264; rather it is simply represented as one of the objectionable features of women, in a manner comparable to 184–99, or (discounting 252–4) 242–67. Note that 366 and 379 are both framed in such a way as to suggest that Juvenal is discussing a category of women.

Juvenal therefore has now drifted away from his attempt at analysis back to description; a clear indication that his mind has returned to the marital question is the re-appearance of the prospective bridegroom Postumus in 377. After 28 Postumus fades gradually from memory; apostrophes have little to tie them down specifically to him, though as late as 200–18 the future tenses and warning tone make us think of him. There follow two characterless addresses (231 and 258), then in 275–8 one which certainly does not envisage him; nor do 312, O 7, O 14, O
23. Revived consciousness in 377 that he is the addressee needs such explanation as is provided by my analysis. In the following husbands and their wives' effects on them are freely mentioned.

398–412 deal with another aspect of women, their fondness for gossip. Juvenal links this with the foregoing by a rather mechanical gradation (sed; the similar tamen in 413 and 434, where gravior picks up gravis 418, does correspond to more unity of theme). Here stress is laid on the fact that they have abandoned their sex and taken over the male role (399–401). This idea is further stressed in the next paragraph 413–33 (see on 413 for the reading and punctuation), the woman who whips her humble neighbours if they awaken her early, who takes her bath late, engages in unwomanly athletic exercises (in view of misunderstandings it needs to be remarked that this is not the main point of this section), keeps her guests waiting and vomits in front of them. This is rather a rag-bag of characteristics, and her cruelty to her neighbours might be better placed in 474 sqq., but Juvenal inserts some unifying themes. In 418 the words gravis occursu, taeterrima vultu are clearly meant to link what precedes with what follows (and therefore Leo was wrong to put the full stop after vultu instead of after canem). The woman lacks feeling both for the humiles vicini and the convivae and rejoices in tumultus (420). We may observe two points within this section. First, the phrasing of 422–3, a prurient detail, shows that the idea of sexual immorality, last traced in 379, is still at the back of Juvenal's mind. Secondly, the wording of 413 is significant; the poet is judging from the viewpoint of the husband, who has to put up with his wife's behaviour (intolerabile; cf. 432–3 and gravior 434), not from that of a moralist. To the former the gossip and the violent spoilt aristocrat are objectionable in much the same degree, whereas the latter would see a great difference between them (the special factors which sometimes make Juvenal utter odd moral judgments are absent here).

There follows in 434–56 another unsexed (445–7) type, the culture-bug. It is difficult to trace the exact sequence of thought in what follows because there is probably a gap in the text after [258] 460 (see the note there). As it stands Juvenal states that the donning of expensive jewelry confers such arrogance on women that they feel themselves above all rules; nothing is more intolerable than a rich woman (457–60). Then after the presumed gap he is found talking about the repulsiveness of women with their make-up on (461–73). The notion of the toilet gives him the idea of describing the events of a day (474 sqq.) beginning with this operation; cf. how [Lucian] Ἕρωτες 39–42 passes from the toilet to the events of the rest of the day. In fact the toilet monopolises Juvenal's attention and he neglects to make clear what was, I think, his intention, that the arrival of the priests (511) is the next event of the day of this woman who has good reasons for worshiping Isis (489). It has generally been thought that he neglects to describe the rest of the day's occupations, whether inadvertently or because he wishes the reader to
generalise from a detail and gather that the whole day is like the morning (cf. on 1.132); certainly the text gives no support to another view, that he is deliberately exaggerating and intends to imply that they spend all day at their toilet. He begins (474–95) with criticism of the lady’s cruelty to her attendants, due to causes outside their control (475–6, 495), but then passes to ridicule of *quaerendi cura decoris* (495–507) in respect of hairdressing; this follows naturally from the discussion of hairdressing in 490–5, but thematically might have been better grouped with the description of making-up in 461–73 (verses which *faciem linit* 481 shows to have been still present in his mind at that point).

508–91: all this time she is quite indifferent to the expense she is causing her husband, who is so important to the argument that he appears under three names in 508–10 (see note); her hatred of her husband’s friends and slaves (510–11) is an entirely out-of-place repetition of an earlier theme (214–33). One of the chief expenses is her outlay on religious charlatans; and while rich women consult expensive practitioners, poor women too have their humble consultants (582–91), so that the corruption spreads through the whole of society (cf. the contrast *pauper* 72 with *magnus* 73, and 349–51, which imply that the corruption began at the top). The humbler women of Rome are thus not exempt from Juvenal’s censure; but it is manifest that his attack is directed mainly against the rich and aristocratic (80, 82, 265–7, 323, 385, 414, 594, 614; 279 clearly envisages a senator’s wife).

The contrast between rich and poor introduces 592–609, which claims that rich women avoid childbirth and introduce supposititious infants. The notion of abortion (595–6) foreshadows the last two paragraphs (610–6 and 627–61), dealing with women’s dabblings in love-philtres, which produce mental derangement in their husbands, and poison, given to their stepchildren, children and husbands; Juvenal carefully marks this out as the climax (634–7). The satire thus ends with matrimonial relations again in the forefront (652–61), nowadays (*nunc* 659) transgressed in the most drastic and callous way.

The sequence of thought as thus traced is in many cases an associative rather than a logical or structured one; but there are clear indications that a more formal structure was at one time intended, and that added layers of elaboration have been allowed to obscure this. Juvenal has been diverted from attention to structure as his mind suggested more and more topics to him. Now the impulse which compels an artist to blur his design must be a powerful one, and I identify it with that genuine personal misogyny which I have already claimed to detect. The outcome is that Juvenal attempts to batter, not to argue, the reader into accepting his view. But battering seldom produces genuine conviction, and its main effect is to arouse resistance; the reader cannot but be conscious of the unbalanced nature of Juvenal’s attack, which relies on generalisation from isolated cases (see on 242–6). The merits of the poem therefore do not depend on any moral insight, but are purely literary, residing in the vehemence and vividness of the writing in the individual sections.
Note: Juvenal and Seneca’s ‘De Matrimonio’

In his treatise *Adversus Iovinianum* 1.41–9 St Jerome quotes copious extracts from a number of pagan authors on marriage, naming Aristotle, Theophrastus, Seneca and Plutarch. It is hard to disentangle the contributions of each of these; as far as concerns Seneca, the fundamental work is E. Bickel’s *Diatribe in Senecae Philosophi Fragmenta I* (1915). Further bibliography will be found in M. Lausberg *Untersuchungen zu Senecas Philos. Fragmente* (1970) 1 n. 2, the items more particularly relevant to *[260] Juvenal being van Wageningen *Mnem.* 45, 1917, 47 and Frassinetti *Rendic.* 88, 1955, 151; add D. Wiesen *St Jerome as a Satirist* (1964) 152–8. Bickel edits the relevant parts of Jerome on pp. 382–94, and I shall refer to his pagination as well as to the numeration in Haase’s collection of Seneca’s fragments.

Seneca is first mentioned in ch. 41 (p. 383.2; fr. 80), then twice in ch. 49; p. 292.24 = fr. 81 scripserunt Aristoteles et Plutarchus et noster Seneca de matrimonio libros, ex quibus superiora nonnulla sunt et ista quae subiecimus and p. 393.25 = fr. 87 (the following *doctissimi viri vox est* p. 393.29 = fr. 78 doubtless also means Seneca). Within these portions the following resemblances to Juvenal may be detected. Ch. 48 = p. 392.1–7 = fr. 66–7 *quid referam Pasiphen, Clytemestras et Eripylas,* quorum … dicitur … alia occidisse virum ob amorem adulteri, tertia prodidisse Amphiiaraum et saluti viri monile aureum praetulisse. *quidquid tragoidiae tument et domos urbes regnaque subvertit,* uxorum paelicumque contentio est. armantur parentum in liberos manus … (not firmly established as Senecan), cf. Juv. 627–56.

Ch. 45 = p. 386.27 *Alcestin fabulae ferunt pro Admeto sponte defunctam* (also not clearly Senecan) cf. Juv. 652–3 (the same point in Musonius Rufus p. 74.15 Hense, from a piece εἰ ἐμπόδιον τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν γάμος). Ch. 49 = p. 393.25–9 = fr. 87 *nam quid, ait Seneca, de viris pauperibus dicam, quorum in nomen mariti … pars magna conducitur? quomodo potest regere mores et praecipere castitatem*; an addition by Jerome to suit his own argument about virginity et mariti auctoritatem tenere qui nupsit? cf. Juv. 140–1. Ch. 46 = p. 387.16–18 = fr. 72 *estendit divitias magis in uxoribus elegi solere quam pudicitiam, et multos non oculis sed digitis uxorres du cere. optima sane res quam avaritia conciliat* cf. Juv. 137–41. These resemblances are mere commonplaces and quite fail to establish any link between Juvenal and Seneca.

The question however becomes more complicated when we consider the large extract from Theophrastus (on which see *RE* suppl. 7.1487) in ch. 47 (pp. 388.11–390.14), which is clearly marked off by mention of the source at the beginning and end. This is more germane to Juvenal’s theme, since whereas Seneca, in the Stoic tradition, was like Musonius supporting marriage (although critical of corrupt forms of the institution), Theophrastus was attacking it as unsuitable for the *[261] philosopher. In fact a number of parallels with Juvenal are here present. P. 388.12–15 = fr. 47 *cum definisset* (Theophrastus) *si pulra esset, si bene morata,*

These certainly are concrete resemblances of thought, and it has been proposed to account for them by assuming that Seneca summarised the argument of Theophrastus and then refuted it (hence, as will have been noticed, Haase included the passage among Seneca’s fragments, nos. 47–59). I agree with Bickel that there is no warrant for this. One verbal parallel, rara avis, might seem to support the theory; but this proverbial phrase is four times used by Jerome in other contexts (Otto avis 2 and Nachträge 233; Thes. avis 1441.59), and was probably taken by him from Persius, who is echoed in other passages also of the Adversus Iovinianum (H. Hagendahl Latin Fathers and the Classics (1958) 145; by contrast he shows little knowledge of Juvenal, Hight 298 n. 11, Wiesen l.c. 9–10, Godel Mus. Helv. 21, 1964, 69, cf. BICS 22, 1975, 162 n. 4). There are no other verbal | resemblance, and though some elements in the Theophrastus passage look more Roman than Greek, Jerome was quite capable of importing this Roman colour in adaptation. It is of course improbable that Juvenal consulted Theophrastus directly, and I come to the afore-mentioned conclusion that the resemblances only testify to the existence of a ready-made stock of themes.

1–24 The basis of Juvenal’s picture of primitive life is the story of the Ages of Man recounted by Hesiod and others, according to which Αἰδώς (Pudicitia) stayed among men in the Golden Age (Saturno rege cf. 13.38–40) and subsequently left the earth with Νέμεσις (so Hesiod Opera 199) or (as most later writers, e.g.
Aratus 96 sqq.; Ovid *Met.* 1.149, cf. 129 *fugere pudor* ...) *Astraea* (19; first named by Ovid, she being to Aratus daughter of Astraeus), equated with Δική or *Iustitia*. Juvenal’s formulation of this concept in this connection has been influenced by Propertius 2.32 (49 sqq. nowadays no-one can keep *puellae* from *peccata*; *is mos Saturno regna tenente fuit*, but since the Flood *quis potuit lectum seruare pudicurn*?), a poem (cf. on 1.81) which suggested to Juvenal the reference to Cynthia and Lesbia (7–8; Prop. 45 *haec eadem* (behaviour *contra mores* *ante illam* <iam> *impune et Lesbia fecit*). But Juvenal has not given such an idealised picture of the past for two reasons. First, he wants to insist on the harsh elements in the life of the Golden Age because he is leading up to the explanation of Rome’s moral decay given in 286 sqq., which links morality with a hard life. Secondly, his satiric astringency likes to deflate even what he holds up for imitation, cf. p. 24. So he has combined with the mythological motif a more anthropological attitude which insists on the grimmer features of primitive life (for predecessors cf. Singleton *G & R* 2 19, 1972, 154); for this he has inevitably drawn heavily on *Lurc.* 5 (details follow).

CREDO is contrasted with *forsan* 14.

2 VISAM The point of this is the old feeling χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς (*Hom.* *Il.* 20.131); cf. Pease *HSCP* 53, 1942, 3. *Fas sit vidisse* is the natural reaction on seeing a god (*Thes. fás* 288.72, H. Wagenvoort *Studies in Roman Literature* (1956) 184); cf. Dio Cass. 59.27.6, Festus 193 s.v. *obstitum*. Gods associated with men in olden times, Catull. 64.384–6 and 407–8; cf. on 15.10–11.

3 SPELUNCA *nemora atque cavos montes silvasque subibant* *Lurc.* 5.955; Ovid *Met.* 1.121 *tum primum subiere domos*; *domus antra fuerunt* (in the Silver Age; previously the climate had been so balmy that houses were unnecessary); *[Lucian] Ἐρωτες* 34.

IGNEM i.e. *focum*; cf. 1.120 and 134. [1263]

4 Like Polyphemus; Festus 46 (s.v. *caulae*) *antiquitus ante usum tectorum oves in antris claudebantur.*

5 *Silvae* (cf. 15.152) and *montes* are often combined in such descriptions of the life of primitive man; *Lurc.* l.c. on 3, Cic. *De Or.* 1.36, Quintil. 9.4.4. The two adjectives, reinforcing each other by their juxtaposition at the beginning of the clause, are virtually equivalent to *in silvis et montibus*, but MONTANA has the extra implication of toughness remarked on 2.74 (cf. 637, Lucian *Dearum Iudicium = Dial. Deor.* 20.3 γυνὴ ἀγροῖκος καὶ δεινῶς ὄρειος).

6 FRONDIBUS *Lurc.* 5.972 and 987; Ovid *AA* 2.475.

FERARUM PELLIBUS *Lurc.* 5.954.

7–8 Cf. on 1; the Cynthia of Propertius and the Lesbia of Catullus (poems 2 and 3.17–18), the latter described by a typical periphrasis and with the Catullan diminutive *ocellus*. They had plenty of sensibility and daintiness but not much morality.

TURBAVIT *Verg.* *Aen.* 8.223 *turbatum oculos* (so the mss., cf. *Livy* 7.26.5), Sen. *Dial.* 11.5.3 *oculus ... conturbat*, *Juv.* 13.133 *vexare oculos*. These passages seem suf-
ficient defence against *turpavit* (Schrader and Schurzfleisch). See also Cic. *Tusc.* 3.15, Sen. *Ep.* 85.5, Celsus 6.6.8 D.

EXSTINCTUS PASSER i.e. the death of a ‘sparrow’; see index nouns.

9–10 POTANDA (not just *sugenda*), UBERA (not just *mammias*; of a cow 12.8), MAGNIS (cf. on 15.69), RUCTANTE (he does not just eat them but devours them greedily; cf. 3.107, 4.31) all indicate grossness. Isidore 17.7.26 quotes a poet *mortales primi ructabant gutture glandem*.

GLANDEM The food of men before the discovery of corn; cf. 13.57, 14.182–4 (qq.v.), Lucr. 5.939 and 1416.

11 Lucr. 5.907 *tellure nova caelo recenti*.


13 COMPOSITE LUTO By Prometheus, cf. on 14.35. In either case they were *indigenae* (13.38), *terrae filii* (4.98), and had no parents to corrupt them. [264]


15 ALIQUA Some even if not many.

SUB IOVE In the Silver (24) Age, Ovid *Met.* 1.114; but by the time Jupiter grew up and acquired a beard, the Iron Age, in which Astraea left the earth, had arrived. For the childhood of the gods cf. 13.40–1, for the Saturn–Jupiter contrast Ovid *Her.* 4.131–4.

17 ALTERIUS The last word of the clause is παρὰ προσδοκίαν. It was common to swear by the head (e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 9.300 *per caput hoc iuro*; *Thes.* *caput* 47.73, where correct the Ulpin reference to *Dig.* 12.2.3.4) because it was ιερός (Athen. 2.72.66c); but the Greeks (Cic. *Pro Flacco* 9 *testimoniorum religionem et fidem nunquam ista natio coluit*, ibid. 36; even a Greek admits this, Polyb. 6.56.13) divert the punishment for perjury to someone else (unlike the special case of 13.84, q.v., a relative is not here intended).

18 CAULIBUS Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.116 *qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti*.

AC rather than *et*, as it suitably differentiates the items; cf. 15.167 and note the variant in 166.

VIVERET sc. *quisque* from *nemo*, a common and natural idiom; cf. on 14.233–4, 3.119 and e.g. Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.3.

20 HAC i.e. *Pudicitia*.
21 ANTICUM ET VETUS See on 15.33.

LECTUM CONCUTERE Cf. on 9.78 and Ovid Am. 3.14.26.

GENIUM FULCRI The genius (a word derived from the root indicating procreation) is concerned with propagation of the family and therefore with the marriage-bed; cf. the lectus genialis 10.334, Isid. 8.11.88, Latte 103–4, Wissowa 176, le Bonnec REL 54, 1976, 110. He is particularly affronted by adultery because this runs the risk of producing children in whose veins the blood of the gens does not flow; cf. Seneca fr. 78 pudicitia ... bene meretur de maioribus, quorum sanguinem furtiva subole non vitiat, Musonius p. 65.5 Hense, Phintys (cf. on 314) ap. Stob. Flor. 4.23 (74).61 (4.590.11 Hense). “The fulcrum corresponds to the head of a modern sofa; it is the end of the frame-work on which the pillows of a couch were placed; some specimens are extant, and these usually terminate in an ass’s head of bronze: cf. 11.96 sqq.: lower down on the fulcrum there is generally a round boss of metal carrying a bust of a Genius or some god” Duff; cf. Blümner1 114 and the illustration given by Anderson CR1 3, 1889, 323. The fulcrum is the part of the bed on which the sleeper fulcit (cf. Prop. 3.7.50) his head.

24 SÆCULA Poetic plural for metrical convenience; so Verg. Aen. 6.792, Ovid AA 2.277, and cf. on 13.28.

25 CONVENTUM (or conventio) and PACTUM (often associated) are general terms for any contract, but both particularly used with reference to marriage (cf. Fordyce on Cat. 62.27); cf. pactam 200, Festus s.v. conventae 62 conventae (sc. coniugis) condicio dicebatur cum primus sermo de nuptiis et earum condicio habebat, Serv. Aen. 10.722 pactae coniugis hic ordo est, conciliata primo, dein conventa, dein pacta, dein sponsa; Digest 23.4 is De pactis dotalibus. SPONSALIA (Kaser1 1.75, Marquardt 39, Blümner1 345) is the promise of a woman’s hand given by her legal representative originally in the form of a sponsio; cf. Serv. Aen. 10.79, Arnob. 4.20 habent speratas, habent pactas, habent interpositis stipulationibus sponsas.

NOSTRA TEMPESTATE (see on 4.140) In the Iron Age, and the worst of it (1.149).

26 A master-barber (one who teaches others) is smartening him up for the ceremony (solito diligentius ornaris Probus; cf. 11.150). A magister of ornatrices is mentioned by Marcian Dig. 32.65.3, pupil-barbers by Petron. 94; cf. the architectus magister of Diocletian’s Edict 7.74, and RE Industrie 1493.

27 PIGNUS i.e. a ring (Pliny NH 33.12), cf. SG 1.234 = 1.276, Blümner1 346, Marquardt 41, Carcopino 86, RE nuptiae 1488.66, Dölger 5, 1936, 188, L. Anné Les Rites de Fiançailles (1941) 5–36. Cf. the ring or bracelet which is a pignus of further favours, Hor. Odes 1.9.23.

CERTE with the imperfect 9.9; ERAS you used to be, cf. Hom. Od. 4.31 ou ῥηθαί.

SANUS Cf. Menander fr. 59 ou γαμεῖς ἃν νοῦν ἥχης; Alexis fr. 262 K and E =
fab. inc. 34 M; Varro Sat. Men. 167 γαμήσει ὁ νοῦν ἔχων; Brecht 57 n. 297.

29 Hom. Od. 10.64 τίς τοι κακός ἔχρας δαίμον;
TISIPHONE In a semi-abstract sense, furia; therefore an instrumental ablative without an agent a, cf. 7.64 and on 1.13.

COLUMBUS The Furies have serpent hair and whips of serpents (RE Furiae 312.22, ML Erinys 1314.58), and the touch of these serpents induces madness (Verg. Aen. 7.346 sqq., 8.445 sqq., Ovid Met. 4.495 sqq.). Some editors speak of a hendiadys, as if the sense were 'snake-haired fury'; but each noun has its proper force, and they rather constitute an epexegeis (cf. on 1.76).

EXAGITERE The present indicative in -are (see the apparatus) is a form which is seldom used except in deponent verbs, and by Juvenal not even in these (Housman); cf. Neue–Wagener 3.209.

30–2 Why marry when you can commit suicide? Val. Fl. 7.331 ‘tune sequeris’ ait ‘quicquam aut patiere pudendum / cum tibi tot mortes scelerisque brevissima tanti / effugia?’

SALVIS Cf. 23.1. |

RESTITUS Cf. 10.53, Mart. 4.70.1, Lucian Timon 20; to hang yourself with (Otto restis, Bücheler on CEL 95.3, Bonfante CP 50, 1955, 47). Donatus on Ter. Ad. 43 quotes a hopelessly corrupt line which the context shows to have been critical of marriage and which probably ended σχοινίων πωλουμένων.

DOMINAM The usual title of Roman ladies (9.78) here has the extra point that husbands are slaves (see introduction).

ULLAM vel optimam.

31 CALIGANTES Not a case of the idiom discussed on 382. The windows are personified; they are so high that they themselves become dizzy as they look down. At the same time there is no doubt a paradoxical reversal of the usual function of windows, to let in light. On the height of the insulae at Rome see on 3.269 and note the verbal link with ibid. 275.

32 From the Aemilian Bridge (like the Fabrician at Hor. Serm. 2.3.36) Postumus can conveniently drown himself by jumping into the Tiber.

34 PUSIO pungio PSR, pugio F Σ (and similarly in 35), cf. BICS 14, 1967, 41. Cic. Pro Cael. 36 tecum (with Clodia) … pusio … cubitavit; perhaps in this case it is the Bromius of 377, cf. the concubinus of Cat. 61.121. The advice is of course ironical, coming from the writer of two, but it is something of a τόπος; cf. Prop. 2.4.17–18, Lucian Symp. 39, Lucil. 866 qui et poscent minus et praebent rectius multo / et sine flagitia (see introduction on [Lucian] Ἐρωτες).

NON LITIGAT Contrasted with the lites of 268; MUNUSCULA (a coaxing diminutive) contrasted with 149 sqq.; NEC … ANHELES contrasted with 475–6 and 129 sqq.

37 LATERI A common euphemism in Ovid (cf. esp. AA 2.413 and see Vessey Liverpool Class. Monthly 1, 1976, 39) and others, but also often generally equivalent

ANHELES Tib. 1.8.37 etc.

38 URSIDIO is apparently not identical with Postumus, but a figure chosen to illustrate the first possible reason for matrimony, desire of offspring (cf. Plaut. MG 703–15).

LEX IULIA de maritandis ordinibus, of Augustus 18 B.C.; under this Juvenal is also thinking of the lex Papia Poppaea of A.D. 9. These laws placed the unmarried and childless under certain legal disadvantages; cf. on 9.87.

TOLLERE See on 9.84; DULCEM cf. 5.139.

39 Only the childless are attractive to captatores; 3.129, 5.137, Marquardt 74. For their presents of dainty food cf. 5.98 and SG 1.213 = 1.249.

TURTURE A dainty (Blümner1 178 n. 3, André 124). Mullorum iubis The bearded red mullet (on 4.15 and Pliny there referred to) was the best kind, Sophron ap. Athen. 7.21.325c. The barba (here indicated by iubae) itself is mentioned as a delicacy SHA 17.20.7.

40 CAPTATORE MACELLO The dainties bought in the fish-market (cf. 5.95–8, 11.64) and used as gifts by captatores. We should probably here postulate the masculine form macellus found in Mart. 10.96.9 conturbatorque macellus and occasionally elsewhere (Thes. s.v. 3.57–63). For the adjectival use of -tor nouns see on 4.62.

41 Ovid Trist. 1.8.7 omnia iam fient fieri quae posse negabam; Dirae 7; Archil. 122. West χρημάτων ἄελπτον οὐδέν. Juvenal is alluding to the literary theme of the ἀδύνατον as developed ll.cc. and often elsewhere (e.g. Verg. Buc. 8.26); cf. H. Kenner Das Phänomenon der Verkehrten Welt (1970) 65.

42 NOTISSIMUS (cf. 9.25) OLIB i.e. iamdiu notissimus. 43–4 These two lines were transposed by X. Prinz, Rev. Instr. Publ. Belge 10, 1867, 14; and this is a great improvement.

43 Verg. Georg. 3.188 det mollibus ora capistris; cf. on 207–8.

44 CISTA A large chest or wardrobe (Blümner1 131); cf. the arca at Hor. Serm. 2.7.59.

LATINUS (1.35) played the part of the lover in an adultery mime who had to hide himself from a jealous husband (on 8.192 and 197).

PERITURI ‘on the point of perishing, in danger of his life’. Reynolds CQ4 40, 1946, 83 takes this to mean that he was almost smothered, but this is feeble. Choricius (quoted by Reynolds) makes the husband call for a dagger; cf. 10.314 sqq., Hor. Serm. 1.2.41 sqq., 2.7.67 vita and 69 perire. It is apparent how the conditional sense discussed on 4.10 is implicit (but not here explicit) in this use of the future participle.

45 His experience as an adulterer should have taught him better. QUID QUOD ET begins the line Ovid Met. 9.596, 13.223.

ANTIQUIS DE MORIBUS i.e. de (partitive) mulieribus antiquorum morum,
antique mōratis; cf. Thes. mos 1524.43, Livy 39.11.5 antiqui (the reading is not quite certain) moris feminam, Tac. Hist. 2.64.3 Sextilia antiqui moris. It is hardly likely to mean ‘a woman originating from old-fashioned morals’.

46 ‘Ursidius has too much blood; he is too sanguine, we should say. sanguinis missio was a staple remedy of ancient medicine in insanity’ Duff; cf. Petron. 90.4 Aētius 6.8 (cf. 6.2) explains that madness is due to an excess of blood, and blood-letting was the logical treatment; cf. Celsus 3.18, Paul. Aegin. 3.6, Galen 10.930 and ( spurious) 14.733K, Alexander Trallianus 1 p. 515 Puschmann, Plutarch quoted on 369 and Juv. 13.125, 14.57. || 

47 ‘He is delicatus, i.e. gives himself airs and is difficult to please; cf. 13.140’ Duff. See on 20.291.

TARPEIUM 12.6 (see on 3), 13.78; of the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, Juno (who alone is here in point) and Minerva.

ADORA i.e. kiss; Ovid Met. 1.375 procumbit uterque / pronus humili gelidoque pavens dedit oscula saxo, Dölger 2, 1930, 157, Appel 199.


IUNONI As pronuba, the goddess of marriage; Wissowa 186, RE 1117 and ML 588 s.v. Iuno (e.g. Verg. Aen. 4.59).

IUVENCAM For this victim for Juno cf. C. Krause De Romanorum Hostiis (1894) 38 (cf. Ovid Am. 3.13.13).


Clausen’s punctuation obscures the connection of the imperatives in 47–8 and 51–2. Better would be … pudici (paucae … oscula); necte … ADEO introduces an explanatory clause; 10.297, 13.59, 15.82.

50 CERERIS VITTAS DS vitta 952b n. 25 interpret this of vittae on the statue of the goddess: ‘dans une peinture relative au culte de Cérès, on voit une femme attachant des vittae à un rameau feuillu (Roux et Barré Herculaneum et Pompeii V pl. vi)’; cf. Verg. Aen. 2.168 divae contingere vittas of Diomedes and Ulysses carrying off the Palladium. But cf. Tertull. De Test. An. 2.7 vittâ Cereris redimitâ … deum indicem imploras, De Pallio 4.10 ob notam vittae Cerei initiatur. Nothing more is known about these vittae in the cult of Ceres, who is mentioned because she is an especially chaste goddess (9.24). There is no particular allusion to the Cereris castus involving sexual abstinence.

Houses were garlanded for weddings (79, 227 etc.; in general rejoicing on the occasion of a marriage Stat. Th. 2.248), births (9.85), and other joyful occasions (10.65, 12.91). See SG 1.235 = 1.277, Blümner1 354 (where one reference should be Apul. Met. 4.26), Ogle AJP 31, 1910, 294 and 32, 1911, 263, Baus 96, J. Köchling De Coronarum Vi (1914) 64.

uno contenta is stock praise in obituaries (Thes. 4.679.66, adding CEL 643 and 2214; Sprenger (on 2.40) 98), but Hiberina is far from univira (see on 230).

EXTORQUEBIS Not merely exorabis.

RURE PATERNO Cf. Pers. 3.24, Hor. Epist. 1.18.60; Prop. 2.19.3 nullus erit castis iuvenis corruptor in agris.

Even in backwaters like Gabii (3.192, 7.4) and Fidenae; cf. 10.100, Hor. Epist. 1.11.7. Yet Gabii got an aqueduct under Hadrian (CIL 14.2797), and a senatus Fidenattium is mentioned under Trajan (CIL 14.4057). 'It is obvious that Gabii with its important quarries was far from deserted. Our witnesses simply disregarded the slaves’ Brunt1 348; cf. Ashby PBSR 1, 1902, 188–9.

concedo et in agro castam fuisse Σ (who also gives another interpretation deserving no attention). But cedo in this sense (with agello ablative of place) is of doubtful Latinity and the ellipse is harsh (nor is it any easier to understand ut vivat with Gil Fernandez, Emerita 26, 1958, 77). It is equally harsh to take agello as dative and interpret 'I grant what you say of the influence of the paternal country-seat.' Thierfelder’s credo (Hermes 76, 1941, 317) is probably right; cf. credam 16.31 in a similar context and a sentence likewise framed as a sponsio (O 27). For the present tense in such cases where a future might seem more natural see HS 308, KS 1.119; it indicates willingness to be convinced instantly.

NIL rather than nihil; see the apparatus and Housman CR1 34, 1920, 163 = Coll. Papers 1014. Today’s mountains and caves are very different from those of 3–6.

Sen. fr. 119 (ap. Lactant. Inst. 1.16.10; from the libri moralis philosophiae) quid ergo est quare apud poetas salacissimus Iuppiter desierit liberos tollere? utrum sexagenarius factus est et illi lex Papia fibulam imposuit? Dio Chrys. 7.143 says that many seductions happen in cities as in the old legends.

The arcades (Prop. 2.23.5, Ovid AA 1.67 sqq. and 491–6, Am. 2.2.3–4, RA 627, Trist. 2.296, Mart. 11.47.3; SG 1.248 = 1.293), a favourite place for taking a stroll, theatres (Prop. 2.22.4, Ovid AA 1.89, 3.633, Trist. 2.279) and circus (see on 11.201) were places where crowds of women might be seen and, though women had separate seats in the theatre (RSV 3.535, SG 1.246 = 1.289; for the amphitheatre see Hollis on Ovid AA 1.167), were suitable for picking up a girl. The rows of seats (spectacula; 8.205, 11.193) were divided by passages into wedge-shaped blocks (Thes. cuneus 1406.26).

TOTIS See on 8.255.
62 Logically a slight hysteron proteron. QUOD The neuter is an Ovidian idiom (see *Gnomon* 46, 1974, 412a; many examples in comedy, and cf. also Pliny *Ep.* 4.27.4); here Juvenal has in mind *AA* 1.91 and 175 in comparable contexts (cf. also *Am.* 1.8.95 *ne securus amet*). |[270]

63 BATHYLLUS was the name of a famous *pantomimus* of Augustan times who virtually founded the pantomimic genre with Pylades. It is generally supposed that a successor, perhaps under Domitian, took his name, as often happened (cf. on 1.36; *SG* 4.257 sqq. = 4.197, esp. 260 = 199; Cameron 171 sqq., L. Robert *Hermes* 65, 1930, 112 = *Opera Min.* Sel. 1.660, Bonaria *Maia* 11, 1959, 226 and 231–2); but there is no other reference to a second Bathyllus, and Juvenal may simply be using his name as that of the archetypal *pantomimus* (cf. Pers. 5.123).

CHIRONOMON (cf. on 5.121) Probably ‘the gesticulating Leda’ or perhaps in a passive sense, χειρονομομένην, *a chironomo actam*. Gesticulation was naturally important in the pantomime, in which the meaning was conveyed by dance with words from the chorus but not the actor (cf. Crinagoras *AP* 9.542.4 = Gow–Page *GP* 1998 of Bathyllus; *SG* 2.104 = 2.130–1, O. Weinreich *Epigramm und Pantomimus* (1948) 140, *RE pantomimus* 853). Hesychius has χειρονόμος· ὄρχηστής, cf. *LSJ* χειρονομία II, Aristaenetus *Ep.* 1.26 πᾶς θεατὴς ὑφ’ ἠδονῆς χειρονόμος εἶναι πειρᾶται.

LEDAM Mythological subjects were favourites in the pantomime, *SG* 2.101–7 = 2.126–34; for Leda cf. *RE pantomimus* 848.66.

MOLLI 3.99; it indicates the sensuous movements of the dancer’s pliant limbs (*RE pantomimus* 852.40, 856.48–58, 857.31, *Tanzkunst* 2243.16; *SG* 2.106 = 2.133).

SALTANTE With accusative, as commonly ὀρχεῖσθαι (LSJ I 2); see *KS* 1.278 and add Juv. 6.O.26, Apul. *Apol.* 78, Arnob. 7.33 *Ledam saltare*.

64–5 Two methods of interpreting the text of the mss. have been tried: (1) *gannit subito et miserabile longum*, but this should be *gannit subito miserabile et longum*, (2) *Apula gannit subito et miserabile*, *longum* (i.e. *diu*) *attendit Thymele*, but *et* is still not wholly in place (though there is reasonable manuscript authority for its omission). Housman’s transposition of *longum* and *gannit* evades these difficulties, but leaves the passage burdened with empty verbiage. The most elegant solution is:

Tuccia vesicae non imperat, *Apula gannit*,
attendit Thymele,
with 65 deleted (Guyet); all is now clear-cut and unencumbered by clumsy superfluities.


APULA For this name cf. Brutitia and the other parallels in Reichmuth 52, Kajanto 192, Doer 99.

66 Even Thymele, who as a mime-actress (1.36, 8.197) might be expected to be a mistress of obscene representations, can learn from him (cf. *SG* 2.106 = 2.133). |[271]
RUSTICA See on 3.67; she is a novice by comparison with him.

67 sqq. On the attractions of actors for society ladies (a topic of course on which scandal battens) cf. Petron. 126.6, Mart. 6.6, RE histrio 2127.3.

68–9 Since the ludi Palatini in January were not public (RSV 3.469 and 490, Wissowa 458, Beaujeu BICS 22, 1975, 114), there were no scenic games between the ludi plebeii in November and the ludi Megalenses (11.193) in April (RE suppl. 5.620 and 626; RSV 3.499 and 501; Wissowa 318 and 454–6). During this period therefore from January on (the end of the year being legal vacation; on 16.42) the courts, which except for cases of vis would not be held during ludi (RE actus rerum 333.33 and 67), would resound with eloquence.

70 They fondle items of the actors’ costumes to keep them fresh in their memory; cf. 383–4. Accius would presumably be portraying a bacchante or satyr.

SUBLIGAR Worn by actors under the rest of their costume; Cic. De Off. 1.129, Nonius s.v. subligaculum. Note that Juvenal chooses an item with a sexual innuendo; cf. on 422.

ACCI So the quotations GLK 5.231.1, 6.232.11. PSR read acne, A acii; i.e. as Housman explains acī became acī. But Acti (it is not clear from Knoche how much support this has) is perhaps right, cf. CIL 10.1946 = ILS 5183.

71 URBICUS For the name cf. Kajanto 311; it became an inherited one (CIL 14.2408 of A.D. 169 a scenicus called Aelius Urbicus); cf. on 63. Should Mart. 1.41.11 be non optimus urbicus poeta or Urbicus?

EXODIO ATELLANAEE On the Atellan farces see Balsdon1 278, SG 2.90 = 2.112, Beare 137–48. They often had mythological subjects (Suet. Dom. 10 etc.; Leo Hermes 49, 1914, 176 = Ausg. Kl. Schr. 1.263, Cèbe 72 sqq.): Autonoe was the mother of Actaeon and sister of Agave, whom she helped to dismember Pentheus, Atellans were often performed as exodia after more serious plays; cf. 3.175, Suet. Tib. 45 Atellanicum exodium, Cic. Ad Fam. 9.16.7 a tragedy used to be followed by an Atellan, nowadays by a mime, Lydus De Mag. 1.40 Ἀτελλάνη δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν λεγομένων ἕξοδιαρίων: Exodium is the title of an Atellan by Novius. Hence actors in this genre were called exodiarii (B. Zucchelli Le Denominazioni latine dell’attore (1964) 90). Accordingly Atellanae is usually understood as defining genitive after exodio. This is disputed by F. Skutsch RE exodium 1687, who thinks that the reference is perhaps to a pantomime following an Atellan; but gesticulation suits an Atellan just as well (Tertull. De Spect. 17.2 Atellanus gesticulatur), no reliance can be placed on the obscure phrase exodia ... conserta fabellis potissimum Atellani sunt in Livy’s (7.2.11) artificially fabricated account of Roman dramatic [272] history, and an Atellan would hardly be of sufficient weight to be followed by an after-piece. Pichon (Rev. Phil.2 37, 1913, 257) thought that Atellanae agrees with Autonoes, ‘Autonoe from Atella’, an admirably satiric phrase (cf. 5.59 etc.); and this may be right.

72 Atellans being less popular, their actors would not disdain proposals even
from poor women, unlike the comedians of 73; or perhaps they did not need to
look after their voices so carefully (cf. *gestibus* and Beare 140) and therefore did
not require payment.

73 HIS ‘some’ cf. 13.91. Sexual activity was held to harm the voice (cf. on 11.156;
Pliny *NH* 28.58 seems to be isolated in the contrary opinion), and therefore actors
and singers were restrained by the *fibula* attached to their penis; cf. 379, Mart. 7.82

74 CHRYSOGONUM A citharode, 7.176.
VETENT = prōhibēant.

HISPULLA 12.11; on the bearers of the name cf. Syme l.c. on 2.50.

75 AN EXSPECTAS UT Stat. Th. 11.688; cf. Juv. 6.239, 14.25.

QUINTILIANUS The type of an educated and cultured man (280, 7.186); but it
may also be remembered that he was the elderly husband of a young wife.

76 On the performances of such musicians cf. Balsdon¹ 286–7, *RE Kitharoedia
533.53* and *choraules*, J. Frei *De Certaminibus Thymelicis* (1900) 48 and 57, Cockle
*Proc. xiv International Congress of Papyrologists 1974* (1975) 59, SG 2.351 = 2.177; on
their offspring from Roman matrons 598–601, Mart. 6.39.19 (the wife of Pertinax
was said to have been infatuated with a citharode SHA 8.13.8). Galphyrus is known
from Mart. 4.5.8; this is another inherited name (on 63; cf. SG 4.261 = 4.201) de-
rived from an earlier *choraules*; the tomb of the *choraules* Ti. Claudius Galphyrus
(*CIL* 6.10120 = *ILS* 5232) belongs to one or the other. A *choraules* played the oboe
(on 2.90) to the accompaniment of a chorus.

QUE Similar instances of variation between copulative and disjunctive con-
junctions are common; HS 479, *Thes. 5.2.894.30*. Cf. 575 and on 10.170.

78 This suggests that noble families on the occasion of weddings put up stands
in the streets for spectators to watch the procession, but there are no further ref-
erences to this; on an occasion of public rejoicing at Nero’s return to Rome, Tac.

ANGUSTOS Cf. 3.236–7.

79 Cf. on 51–2 and SG 1.235 = 1.277; GRANDI because whole trees seem to have
been used (12.91, Catull. 64.288 where a river-god carries them). LAURO is placed
ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. [273]

80 An aristocratic family like the Cornelii Lentuli (7.95, 8.187; Cic. *Ad Fam.
3.7.5 Lentulitas*) could afford expensive canopied (the word is derived from *cono-
peum*) beds inlaid with tortoise-shell (11.94–5, 14.308); Varro *RR* 2.10.8 *fetas nos-
tras quae in conopeis iacent dies aliquot* (Juvenal had read this work; on 8.117). Cf.
*RE Konopeion*. The massive words of this line portray the grandeur let down in 81,
and the spondees of 79 contribute to the effect (cf. 89).

81 MURMILLONEM See on 8.200. On the attractions of gladiators cf. Balsdon¹
297, *RE suppl. 3.783.50*, Tertull. *De Spect. 22.2*, SG 2.51 = 2.62; Dio Cass. 60.28 re-
ports an affair of Messalina.

82 SENATORI Perhaps Veiento (see on 113). SORORIS (85 and 111) gives the impression of being an authentic detail of an actual event.

LUDUM 8.199, 11.20; the whole school of gladiators to which Sergius (105, 112) belonged went to Egypt (cf. on 3.34). There was an imperial gladiatorial school and an amphitheatre in Alexandria (Robert 124 no. 70 and 242 no. 6; SG 4.252 = 4.238 and 21.65 n. 17). For Alexandrian gladiators see Bang Röm. Mitt. 25, 1910, 232.

83 FAMOSA MOENIA LAGI i.e. Alexandria. Lagus was the father of Ptolemy I and Alexandria was notorious for immorality (cf. generally Dio Chrys. 32); but even Canopus (15.46) could not stand this.

84 PRODIGIA ET MORES i.e. prodigiosos mores; cf. monstra 286. Prof. Nisbet suggests prodigium.

URBIS i.e. Rome; it should be printed with a capital.

86 INDULSIT i.e. tribuit; Hor. Serm. 2.2.94 das aliud famae?, Prop. 2.32.31 Tyndaros externo patriam mutavit amore.

87 Statius insists that his wife’s unwillingness to leave Rome was not due to this cause, Silv. 3.5.15. For the sarcastic anti-climax cf. 3.223, 11.53; for the use of UT rather than quo in spite of the comparative HS 642, KS 2.233, and for the type of purpose clause see on 15.89. For Paris (RE no. 3, PIR ² P 95) see 7.87, SG 4.258 = 4.198; another inherited name (Bonaria (on 63) 226 and 234). The Domitianic pantomimus meant here was executed in A.D. 83; but one could hardly trust Juvenal’s historical accuracy in a side-kick like this sufficiently to infer a dating for the episode.

88 SED Simply δέ; cf. on 8.158.

PLUMA A luxury 1.159, 10.362; RE pluma, SG 2.142–3 = 2.281, Marquardt 724, Blümner ² 115–16, RE Betten 373; cf. Lucil. 252.

89 SEGMENTATIS Cf. the segmenta of the wedding-dress 2.124 and the toralia segmentata at feasts (Marquardt 548 no. 9, Blümner ² 116 no. 15); these segmenta were often very rich, of purple or gold.

90 FAMAM This is important in Juvenal’s eyes; 14.1 and 152. [Ovid] Her. 17.207 non ita contemno volucris praeconia famae, said by Helen. [274]

91 MOLLES CATHEDRAS The chairs of women; 9.52, Marquardt 726, Blümner ² 123 nn. 6 and 11. Cf. Verg. Aen. 8.666 pilentis matres in mollibus.

MINIMA EST IACTURA Cf. 3.125; Prop. 2.32.21 famae iactura pudicae.

92–3 IGITUR resumes after a digression, cf. ergo 14.244. On her route cf. SG 1.349–52 = 1.423–7. She would sail from Puteoli through the Straits of Messina and then across the Ionius Pontus between Sicily and the Peloponness, next through the main mare internum until she reached the mare Aegyptium (with MUTANDUM cf. Lucr. 4.458, mari alio Tac. Ann. 5.10.3). ὁ Ἰόνιος (sc. πόντος) is found in Greek, but the masculine is not elsewhere attested in Latin; Housman however compares Tyrrhenus Val. Fl. 4.715, and Aegeus is also found (Thes. s.v. 945.40).
94 PERICLII RATIO The reason for incurring danger; cf. 7.1.

95 TIMENT sc. feminae, cf. 112, 135, 284–5 and on 365, 464, 2.18.


97 TURPITER AUENT Cf. 8.165; contrasted with honesta 95. Cf. 285.

98 DURUM EST This is what they say in reply to their husband; cf. on 15.47 and Regula Glotta 31, 1951, 90–2.

99 Cf. Pliny NH 10.194 sentinae odorem; nautea means both bilgewater and sea-sickness. SUMMUS VERTITUR AER i.e. summus becomes imus; she is dizzy and sick, cf. 304.

100 ILLA The one with her husband; HAECE the one with her lover.

101 CONVOMIT Elsewhere only Cic. Phil. 2.75.

101–2 ‘Not being sick, she is able to eat, and she is not so exclusive as to object to the presence of the sailors, but even takes a share in their duties’ Duff; Prop. 3.7.48 duro teneras laedere fune manus.

103 It is impossible to say whether CAPTA is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ or one should understand est. Note that FORMA is developed 107–9, IUVENTA 105–6; the order is chiastic.

104 LUDIA ‘Gladiator’s Moll’ Balsdon, a woman who loves the ludus and gladiators; cf. 265, Mart. 5.24.10.

105 SERGIOLUS The caressing diminutive (ὑποκόρισμα) by which Eppia calls her Sergius; cf. HS 773, Hofmann 139 and other parallels in Duff. Σ on 105, though Wessner doubts the text, declares that his professional name was Ludor.

RADERE GUTTUR COEPERAT i.e. he was past middle age (on 4.103).

106 And not only getting old, but mutilated as well.

107–9 SICUT ‘as for example’, cf. KS 2.450. The GIBBUS must be a wart on the outside of the nose, since Juvenal is referring to visible deformities. Housman objects to -que, but Juvenal is mentioning two points which make this wart particularly ugly; first, it is sore and inflamed because the rubbing of his helmet irritates it (cf. Sil. It. 2.318 galea teruntur mala; Pliny NH 33.105 excrescentia ulcerum ex attritu facta; attero is a technical medical term), second, it is right in the middle of his nose, not in some unobtrusive place, e.g. at the side of the nostril. There is no warrant for any emendation.

ACRE MALUM Lucr. 3.252; acer (Thes. 360.24) is often applied to bodily humors. Celsus 7.7.7 pituita distillat from the eyes.

OCELLI As in addressing her Sergius, so in speaking of his ‘poor little eye’ Eppia uses a diminutive.

110 HYACINTHOS Cf. Lucian De Merc. Cond. 35, Libanius Ep. 1493.4; a type of youthful beauty.

111–12 Juvenal rounds off the episode by recalling its beginning 85–6, with the nouns in reverse order (Hirst 67); the so-called ring-composition, cf. on 247 and Hermathena 118, 1974, 17–19. There is a noteworthy example of this type of ar-
rangement in the prayer in Cato De Agr. 141.2–3.

AMANT For the subject cf. on 95, for the idea 253.

113 ACCEPTA RUDE The wooden sword presented to retiring gladiators; cf. 7.171, RE rudarius, DS gladiator 1575b.

VEIENTO Though other men of this name are known (McDermott AJP 91, 1970, 137 n. 32), it is hard to doubt that Fabricius Veiento (on 4.113) is intended. The meaning is unclear. If Veiento was the senator to whom Eppia was married (82), the point is that Sergius, if retired from his profession, would be as unattractive to Eppia as her own husband. This seems to give the best point, though at the date of the Mainz inscription (not earlier than A.D. 83) Veiento was married to an Attica, and we should expect to hear of such a lurid episode as this in his past. Alternatively the name might be meant to represent a repulsive old man.

114 PRIVATA See on 1.16; DOMUS cf. 85. Cf. Sen. Dial. 11.16.4 potest (fortuna) adversus privatam domos ullam aequitatem nosse ... cuius implacabilis saevitia to-tiens ipsa funestavit pulvinaria?

RIVALES DIVORUM In power (cf. 619) and prosperity; but of course it is heavily ironical here. Cf. the concept of the domus divina, the imperial house (Latte 316).

116 sqq. I have proposed to read as follows (BICS 13, 1966, 39):

116 dormire virum cum senserat uxor
117 ausa Palatino tegetem praeferre cubili
119 linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una;
118 sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos

The merits of this arrangement are (1) it gives sense to sed 120, (2) it brings linquebat nearer to its object virum, (3) it removes the asyndeton praeferre, sumere, (4) it breaks the unpleasant coupling between the imperfect linquebat and the perfect intravit.

116–18 UXOR and MERETRIX AUGUSTA (for the oxymoron cf. on 4.116; Prop. 3.11.39 and Pliny NH 9.119 meretrix regina of Cleopatra) are identical; see on 8.120. Though Messalina is sometimes Σεβαστή on Greek inscriptions (PIR' V 161 pp. 380–1) she never had the title Augusta (Dio Cass. 60.12); but detailed historical accuracy is not to be expected from Juvenal, who uses the word simply to mean ‘Caesar’s wife’ (cf. Suet. Nero 28.2). Friedlaender considers the possibility of augusta, but this is enfeebling.

TEGETEM A mat served as a bed for the poor, e.g. beggars (on 5.8, 9.139); here for the prostitutes. Cf. Mart. 6.39.4.

CUCULLOS For concealment, as 330 and 8.145 (q.v.). The plural presumably to indicate a number of occasions; then Mart. 11.98.10, where we have a poetic plural dictated by metrical convenience, is not parallel. Note however lacernas 16.45 with
no metrical purpose. For NOCTURNOS see on 1.27.

119 NON AMPLIUS UNA On ordinary excursions the Empress would have many.

120 She put on a blonde wig partly for disguise (cf. Suet. Nero 26.1) and partly because the demi-monde favoured this colour (O 16 *flava lupa*; Tertull. *De Cultu Fem.* 2.6.3); it would be made from the hair of Germans (cf. RE 19.1959–60, Mar-quadt 603–4, Blümner1 276).

121 sqq. Apart from scattered references, the main literary sources for Roman brothels are Petron. 7–8 and Sen. *Contr.* 1.2; see Herter.

CALIDUM It was probably an inn or *thermopolium* as well; cf. 11.81, Herter 73, Kleberg 89–91.

CENTONE i.e. *velo*, used to cover the entrance of the brothel and the doors of the individual rooms; Petron. 7, Blümner1 370 n. 6 and add Sen. *NQ* 1.16.6; σινδόνιον Dio Cass. 79.13.3.

CELLAM 128, Petron. 8, Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.5 and 10 (ibid. 1 the diminutive); *Thes.* s.v. 760.3, Blümner1 370 n. 4.

SUAM accepisti locum Sen. l.c. 1.

NUDA This indicates the lowest class of whore; 3.135, 11.172, Herter 92–3, Blümner1 370 n. 3 (add Hor. *Serm.* 2.7.48, Ovid *Tristia* 2.309 and correct one reference to Tac. *Ann.* 15.37).

PAPILLIS AURATIS Presumably with gold leaf, as in modern nightclubs. Weidner is wrong to see an allusion to the *ornamentum mamillarum* of pearls which even a respectable woman might wear (Hubner *Hermes* 1, 1866, 356).

TITULUM The name would be written above the door of the *cella*; cf. Sen. l.c. 7 *nomen tuum peendit in fronte*, Herter 88, *RE meretrix* 1024.5.

LYCISCAE A significant name indicating the profession (cf. *lupa*); applied to a depraved woman Mart. 4.17, but also evidently quite innocently e.g. *CIL* 6.28228; Cf. Locker *Glotta* 22, 1934, 48.

OSTENDIT Sen. *De Ben.* 7.9.5 *ut matronae nostrae ne adulteris quidem plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendant*. The grand style of the apostrophe to Britannicus bitterly contrasts with the context.

BLANDA Necessary in this profession, Sen. l.c. 2, 5, 12; Plaut. *Cas.* 585; Apul. *Apol.* 98 *meretricia blandimenta*.


INTRANTES Sen. l.c. 7.

126 All the mss. which contain this line are of the fifteenth century. It could have been deleted from motives of prudery; on the other hand it could have been added because an interpolator thought that the point of the proceedings should be mentioned and considered 125 too abrupt, failing to see that followed by a semi-colon it would cohere well with 127. Of the alternative beginnings *ac resu-*
pina would be more in Juvenal’s style (cf. 3.112, 8.176); continue is a form which hardly occurs in classical Latin, and not in any poet (Thes. s.v. 729.25). For AB-SORBUIT cf. 10.223, for ICTUS Anth. Lat. 712.19, for the whole line Hor. Serm. 2.7.49 quaecumque exceptus turgentes verbera caudae.

127 Normally the girls (14.45) would be slaves owned by the leno; but this one evidently merely provided them with rooms.

128 ABIT See on 3.174; TAMEN quamquam abit.

131–2 11.172 olido; Mart. 4.4.9 redolet ... quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ledae; Hor. Serm. 2.7.48 sub clara ... lucerna. To Tertullian (Ad Uxorem 2.6.1, Apol. 35.4) a ianua lucernata is the equivalent of the modern red light; cf. RE meretrix 1023.41, Herter 84 n. 260. Ancient lamps tended to be smoky; cf. 7.225, Blümner1 136 n. 1.

PULVINAR (RE s.v.) A divine pulvinus (cf. rivales divertum 115), the Palatinum cubile of 117; Domitian; the dominus et deus, so called his bed (Suet. 13.1), cf. Sen. quoted on 114. The word is used of couches at a lectisternium and the cushioned seat reserved for members of the imperial family in the circus.

133–5 form a praeteritio, I have argued at BICS 13, 1966, 39 that MINIMUM is a corruption of some word of exactly the opposite sense; but I cannot produce a good parallel for my proposal summum, and peius, which could have been omitted because of homoeoteleuton, is better.

HIPPOMANES 616 and 626 show that by this Juvenal means an excrecence on the forehead of a newly-born pony used as a love-charm; RE s.v. 1880.62, Pease on Verg. Aen. 4.515.

CARMEN magicos cantus 610; love-incantations.

COCTUM Tac. Ann. 13.15.5, Livy 8.16.6, Suet. Nero 33.2.

PRIVIGNO 627–8.

SEXUS feminini cf. 647; IMPERIO cf. 15.138 naturae imperio.

136 CAESENNIA Censeennia (PSR) is not a Roman name (Schulze LEG 136 n. 3).

137 BIS QUINGENA A million sesterces, the amount of the senatorial census, is often mentioned as a rich woman’s dowry (10.335, Mart. 11.23.3, 12.75.8; Mommsen1 1.498.2, RE nuptiae 1489). Cf. the equestrian census as a dowry at 2.117 (also for DEDIT). Thus Caesennia becomes a dotata coniunx who regit virum (Hor. Odes 3.24.17; cf. SG 1.238 = 1.280, Diggle on Eur. Phaethon 158–9, Aristotle Eth. Nic. 8.1161a1; the word κερδογαμέω was invented for this).

138 A probably spurious line, deleted by Scholte 50 (cf. BICS 22, 1975, 159). INDE 139 should not be separated from the mention of the dowry in 137 (cf. on 188), and a quiver is an odd means of making anyone thin (cf. on 614b–c; even a bow and arrows would be odd), though defence of a sort may be found in Theocr. 11.14–16 κατετάκετο ... / ... ἐχθιστὸν ἕξων ὑποκάρδιον ἐλκος / Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας, τὸ οἱ ἠπατὶ παξε βέλεμινον.

PHARETRAEE Poetic plural; the arrows of love are usually discharged by Cu-
pid, but sometimes by Venus (BICS l.c.).

140 LIBERTAS EMITUR ‘She is buying her freedom of conduct’. But this is an abrupt change from the view-point of the husband to that of the wife, and W. Schulz Quaestionum Juv. Capita Tria (1885) 16 may be right in supposing a lacuna after 139. If this is right, and 138 is also spurious, it looks as if the passage may have suffered some deliberate re-writing, comparable to the loss of the O-fragment and the subsequent insertion of 346–8; this supposition would account for the brevity of 136–41 as they stand.

Cf. generally Jerome Ep. 127.3.3 … ut tandem dominatu virorum se caruisse laetentur quaerantque alios … quibus imperent. unde et pauperes eligunt ut nomen tantum virorum habere videantur, qui patienter rivales sustineant.

CORAM sc. marito; cf. 1.56–7, Tib. 1.2.21.

INNUAT ‘make signs with winks to her lover’; Ovid AA 2.543, 3.514 etc.

REScriBAT Cf. 233–4, 14.29, Mart. 2.9.

VIDUA ‘unmarried’.

142 sqq. Plut. Coniu. Praec. 4.138f dissuades marriage because of mere physical attractiveness. SERTORIUS is a cunnilingus at Mart. 2.74 [[279]] (he also uses the name 3.79, 7.10.5); BIBULA is a cognomen of the Calpurnii and Publicii.

143 SI VERUM EXCUTIAS (Thes. 5.2.1313.16) is a compressed expression for si rem excutias et verum invenias. The whole sentence involves a common and natural type of ellipse, ‘if you examine the facts, <you will find that> …’

144 ‘Suppose her skin becomes dry and loose’ (ARIDA proleptic), thus causing wrinkles; cf. 10.192–5, Ovid AA 3.73 laxantur corpora rugis, Hor. Odes 2.11.6–8 arida canities.

145 OBSCURI ‘black’ cf. 131.

OCULI MINORES As the cheeks become fat and puffy and the eyes sunken.

146 A travesty of the customary (not legal) formula of divorce tuas res tibi habeto (Marquardt 70, Blümner 1 363, RE divortium 1243.54, Corbett 218 and 224, Kaser 1.81–2, J. Huber Die Ehekonsensus (1977) 151); Juvenal took it from the homosexual divorce in Petron. 81.1 (cf. Philol. 106, 1962, 94), where it is more suitably applied to itinerants. Sarcinulæ = ‘baggage, property’ 3.161, cf. Sen. De Rem. Fort. 16.7 duc … cuius sārcīnīs domus non sit angusta. Sarcinas colligere is the preparation for setting out on a journey; Sall. Iug. 97.4, Varro RR 1.1.1. The freedman is his master’s agent, as Pyrgopolynices wishes Palaestrio to be at Plaut. MG 1115; hence the technical phrase nuntium remittere (Kaser 1.327, Blümner 1 362 n. 12, E. Levy Hergang der röm. Ehescheidung (1925) 55, Marquardt 77); cf. Titinius 51–3 at vestrorum aliquis nuntiet / Geminae ut res suas procuret et facessat aedibus (the text is uncertain in detail). Paulus Dig. 24.2.9 says that a divorce requires seven witnesses praeter libertum eius qui divortium faciet; the exact sense of this is not clear (Corbett 228, Levy 45, Huber 153).

EXI Petron. 94.6 ocius foras exi (cf. Philol. l.c.); Sen. De Ben. 3.16.2 exeunt mat-
rimonii causa. This is a natural corollary of the circumstances, not, as has sometimes been supposed, part of the formulae; cf. the man expelling his mistress at Menand. Samia 381 ἔχεις τὰ σαυτῆς πάντα ... ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἄπιθι.


147 NOBIS The self-important freedman associates himself with his patronus, as slaves often do; e.g. Ter. Hec. 807 ab nostro adfíne, Menand. Dyic. 902–4, Hofmann p. 135.

EMUNGERIS ‘You wipe your nose’ (middle voice; Thes. s.v. 543.24), a sign of old age (10.199; note gravis there) and lack of mundities (Catull. 23.16 sqq.); cf. Plaut. MG 647 minime mucidus.


CALET ‘She is in favour’, the opposite of friget. Cf. Tac. Ann. 13.45.4 Otho flagrantissimus in amicitia Neronis habebatur; ibid. 11.29.1; Hofmann p. 154.

REGNAT Cf. 224, Hor. Odes 3.24.19, Ovid Am. 2.19.33, Sen. Contr. 1.6.5 etc.

150 PASTORES sc. Canusinos. She demands that he buys her a sheep-farm at Canusium in Apulia (RE Canusium 1502.17, the inscription there referred to being CIL 13.3162; Blümner1 237 and 2 121; ES 5.165, Jones2 354, N. Jacobone Canusium (1925) 137) and a vineyard in Campania (on 9.56–7), both distinguished by products of the best quality. Cf. Plaut. Truc. 947 at ego oves et lanam et alia multa quae poscet dabo.

ULMOS in effect means vites, which would be trained on elms (on 8.78). Juvenal’s word is chosen for metrical convenience, which is also the reason for the singular collective OVEM (cf. KS 1.68).

FALERNAS See on 4.138.

151 PUEROS Slaves for personal attendance; she wants all her husband’s servants for herself.

ERGASTULA TOTA The barracks of the chain-gangs (on 8.180, 14.23) and all their contents.

152 DOMI NON EST ‘is not available to her’; cf. Fordyce on Catull. 31.14.

HABET sc. quod in the accusative from QUOD in the nominative, a common idiom in Greek and Latin (KS 2.323, HS 565, Housman on Manil. 3.451).

EMATUR Her own word (cf. 214 and on 98) is more vivid than emi iubet.

153 BRUMAE The shortest day (brevissima), the winter solstice; tempus brumae associated with the giving of presents at the Saturnalia Mart. 8.71.1, 10.14.7 (cf. 12.81.2).

‘The Saturnalia, an exceptional opportunity for extravagance, were celebrated as a public holiday from 17–19 Dec.; and a fair, called Sigillaria from the statuettes in clay (sigilla) which were a main article on sale there, went on for four days after 17 Dec. For the purpose of this fair canvas booths (casa candida) were erected near the Saepta, in the Campus Martius; the effect of these booths was to cover up the
walls of the *porticus Agrippae* … This *porticus* was adorned with frescoes representing the voyage of the Argonauts; consequently it was often called the *porticus Argonautarum* …’ Duff. On the presents of sigilla see RE *Saturnalia* 204–5, Sigillaria and sigillum (1), RSV 3.587, Hollis on Ovid AA 1.407–9, SG 2.270 = 3.48, RAC *Geschenk* 692; on the festival of the Sigillaria Wissowa 206 and Latte 254; on the portico and the market Platner–Ashby [281] *porticus Argonautarum*, Nash 2.291–2, Loane 136–7, Lamer *Ph. Woch.* 49, 1929, 825.

**MERCATOR IASON** Since things are sold in Jason’s portico he becomes in a way a merchant himself; but Juvenal is also hinting at a rationalising and deflating interpretation of his voyage (cf. 1.10). Similarly the Argonauts are degraded to nautae (not a word of praise; on 8.174), though they are armati, i.e. unlike ordinary sailors they carry weapons.

**CLAUSUS** Covered by the canvas (see above); this makes him like a sailor harbour-bound during the period of *mare clausum* (Casson 1 270–3, Rougé 32 and *La Marine dans l’Antiquité* (1975) 22).

**CASA** Cf. Mart. 9.59.4 (also of the Saepta market).

155 **TOLLUNTUR** sc. *a Bibula*; she carries them off.

**CRYSTALLINA** Vessels made of rock-crystal (Blümner 3.249, M. L. Trowbridge *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (1930) 53 sqq. and 79 sqq.); Murrina (cf. 7.133) made of fluor spar (Loewental and Harden *JRS* 39, 1949, 31; Bromhead *Antiquity* 26, 1952, 64; Whittick *JRS* 42, 1952, 66; Harden ibid. 44, 1954, 53; *RE* vasa murrina; Eichholz on Pliny *NH* 37.21, who also considers agate). The two are often coupled as being very expensive (Marquardt 765–8, Blümner 408–9; in the Saepta market Mart. 9.59.13–14).

156 **ADAMAS** Usually translated ‘diamond’; but the word also seems to embrace white sapphire and haematites.

**BERONICE** (Bernice is also a well-attested spelling) was the sister of King Agrippa II of the Jews, with whom she lived so long and so closely as a young widow and later when divorced from her second husband that they were suspected of incest (with Juvenal’s words cf. Lucan 8.693 *incestae sceptris cessure sorori* of Cleopatra). See *PIR* 3 *Iulia* 651, *RE* Berenike no. 15, G. Macurdy *AJP* 56, 1935, 246 and *Vassal Queens* (1937) 86. During her involvement with Titus she spent a considerable time at Rome, and a Roman jeweller may well have had for sale a famous ring once belonging to her and sold by her. Famous ex-owners added to the value of works of art (on 12.44–7); cf. the lady who had Cleopatra’s pearls, SHA 24.32.6.

**GESTARE** (see the apparatus). This has been rightly described as ‘the best emendation that has ever been made in Juvenal’. The word dropped out after *-cestae*, and the consequent stuffing *dedit hunc* (or *hoc*, a substantial variant not recorded by Clausen) absurdly divorces the adjectives from the nouns. For the application of the word to the wearing of rings see *Thes.* s.v. 1963.31; for the construction of the infinitive 14.29 and Verg. *Aen.* 12.211 *patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.*
159–60 A typically Juvenalian circumlocution for Palestine, [[282] meant to make it sound ridiculous and outlandish, and to contrast ritual purity in absurd details with incestum.

MERO ‘bare’; calce mera Prudent. Perist. 6.91, imitating Juvenal.

SABBATA (14.96) Here apparently in the general sense ‘festival day’. Removal of the shoes was a Jewish sign of respect on holy ground, and according to one section of the Mishnah (ed. H. Danby (1933) 301) that included the Temple in Jerusalem, where every seven years there took place a special festival in which the kings played an important part (further details in Friedlaender). Alternatively we might suppose that Juvenal has heard of the occasion when Berenice was discharging a vow barefoot (Joseph. BJ 2.312–13). Lewy Philol. 84, 1929, 390 points out that on the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur, which was called ‘Sabbath of Sabbaths’ (Leviticus 16.31, 23.32), the wearing of sandals was forbidden (Mishnah p. 171 Danby); but this could hardly be called FESTA.

160 SENIBUS Proleptic, ‘spares them to grow old’. Cf. 14.98; this struck the Romans as they were themselves pork-eaters (on 11.82).

162 sqq. The list of laudatory epithets reads like an epitaph (Lattimore 295; add CEL 1502 (= CIL 9.3543), 1988.8). Cf. the praise of a prospective wife in Libanius Decl. 26.9 (6 p. 516 Foerster), and the Roman who divorced a wife who was σωφρων, πλουσία ὡραία (Plut. Coniug. Praec. 22.141a; σωφρων, εὕμορφος, παιδοποιός Vita Aemilii Pauli 5.2), comparing her to a pinching shoe.

FORMOSA, DECENS pulcher ac decens Suet. Dom. 18; GLK 7.530.25 decens in gestu est et motu corporis, formosus ab excellenti specie dicitur (Thes. decens 135.29–34).

FECUNDA See on 2.138; cf. 177 below and contrast 594 sqq.

PORTICIBUS In the peristyle; cf. Blümner’s 41 n. 9, Maiuri Parola del Passato 1, 1946, 311, RE Römisches Haus 986.64 and suppl. 7.964.56. See also on 14.66. Juvenal is presumably thinking of triumphal statues like those of 7.126.


165 RARA AVIS Otto avis 2; cf. 7.202, Persius 1.46 and introduction fin. for Jerome.

NIGRO CYCNO Cf. 7.202, Lucr. 2.824, Ovid Ex Ponto 3.3.96.

166 CONSTANT OMNIA Cf. Ovid Met. 15.258; an accounting metaphor.

MALO, MALO An emphatic epanadiplosis, cf. p. 32.

VENUSTINAM For the name cf. CIL 6.22391 and Kajanto 283; Venusta and Venustilla are also found. This name represents the woman in the street. Venūsina

nam is unmetrical (see the apparatus). [[283]

CORNELIA MATER GRACCHORUM Cf. CIL 6.31610 = 6.10043b = 12 p. 210.39 = ILS 68 Corneliae Gracchorum on a statue base (see also Pliny NH 34.31, Plut. C. Grach. 4.3; Thes. onom. Cornelia 616.69). The use of this title insinuates...
her pride, but Juvenal is forced to weaken his own implication by using the conjunction Si; he does not dare to suggest that such a woman is necessarily proud (cf. 180).

SUPERCILIUM Pride; 5.62, Pliny NH 11.138, Sittl 94.

TRIUMPHOS All those of the gens Cornelia, and in particular those of her father the elder Scipio, who in 203 surprised Syphax, burnt his camp, and destroyed his forces, and in 202 defeated Hannibal; cf. Prop. 3.11.59 Hannibalis spolia et victi monimenta Syphacis.

170 TOLLE Ovid Am. 1.8.66, Trist. 2.280, 5.1.65.
CUM TOTA CARTHAGINE αὐτῇ τῇ Καρχηδόνι, Carthage and all; cf. 13.61, 14.61.

MIGRA = exi 146; cf. on 9.76.

172 A προσωποποιεῖα.

DEA Artemis.

173 NIL FACIUNT ‘are guiltless, commit no facinus’; on 638.

MATREM Amphion’s wife Niobe. An excellent joke; Amphion is like the Roman husbands who cannot bear their wives (Juvenal’s favourite technique of deflating grand figures of mythology by bringing them down to the domestic level). Amphion has heard enough from his wife about her exalted family.

174 CONTRAHIT ARCUM Bends the bow by bringing the two ends together.

EXTULIT (567, 1.72) sc. Niobe (177); cf. on 3.93.

GREGES NATORUM Seven sons and seven daughters in the commonest account (for other versions cf. RE Niobe 663.41). Sen. Tro. 32 (spoken by Hecuba) meorum liberum magni greges; Herc. Fur. 1149 natorum grege (the children of Hercules); Herc. Oet. 1849, on which see Ker CQ 12, 1962, 51; Ovid Met. 6.198 populo natorum (of Niobe).

PARENTEM According to Ovid Met. 6.271 Amphion killed himself, but there are other versions of his end.

176 DUM In a causal sense (429, 1.60, 5.94, 14.92), usually of an action to be regretted; HS 614, KS 2.377, Thes. 2210.19.

LATONAE Latona Scholte; but the reading of the mss. offers a perfectly natural inexactitude of expression, a kind of comparatio compendiaria; cf. 7.72.

GENTE Niobe was proud of being the daughter of Tantalus (Ovid Met. 6.172–6, 185).

177 The white sow of 12.72–4, Verg. Aen. 3.390, 8.45 and 81; for Latin’s lack of the definite article cf. on 15.7. The undignified comparison ridicules her pride, and so does the vocabulary; SCROFA is [1284] a word of the farmyard (in 12.73 it is another piece of deflation of mythology).

178 ‘is worth having it for ever thrown in your teeth’; see on 3.54 and for imputare on 5.14.

179 HUIUS BONI uxoris gravis et formosae, whence the feminine CORRUPTA
SATIRE SIX 245

(c.f. 4.41).

180 QUOTIENS Cf. on si 168.

181 Love is notoriously γλυκύπικρον, it has both fel and mel (Otto mel 3, Enk on Plaut. Truc. 178, Korzeniewski Gymn. 83, 1976, 289, Meleager AP 12.81.2 = Gow–Page HE 4459). Cf. Plut. Coniug. Pracr. 28.142a ποιεῖ ἡ χαλεπότης ἀηδῆ τήν εὔνταξιν τῆς γυναικὸς; a Strasburg papyrus contains a number of distichs hostile to women, one of which (Arch. Pap.–Forsch. 2, 1903, 191) is:

36 μεστὸν κακῶν πέφυκε φορτίον γυνῆ.

DEDITUS ‘enslaved’; cf. 206, Catull. 61.98 = 102.

USQUE ADEO See on 5.129.

183 ‘Seven hours per day’ (ablative of duration of time), i.e. more than half the day (Paulus Dig. 50.16.2 ‘cuiusque diei maior pars’ est horarum septem primarum diei, non supremarum); for in with the accus. after distributive numerals cf. Thes. s.v. 755.35 (and see also dies 1040.78).

185 Rancidus, like putidus, is applied to affectation in bad taste; Pers. 1.33, Gellius 18.11.2. Mart. 10.68 criticises a lady for her use of endearments like ψυχή μου (i.e. mea vita), words which ought to be kept for bed (cf. 191, 195); her mother is an Etruscan. Juvenal’s point is that even provincial ladies wish to speak Greek, and pure Attic at that. Cf. Heliodor. 8.6.4 ζωὴν καὶ φῶς καὶ ψυχήν, Machon 223 Gow; for other Greek endearments lucr. 4.1160 sqq.

186 GRAECE See on 3.78.

187 GRAECE sc. loquentur.

188 A prosy interpolation intended to explain Juvenal’s point (CUM ‘although’) and separating the inseparable Graece and hoc sermone (cf. on 138) with the confusing interjection of another language. The interpolator may have had in mind Cic. Brut. 140 non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire; the thought is totally different but the verbal resemblance is clear.

MAGIS quam nescire Graece.

189 PAVENT ‘they express fear’, crying ὤμοι etc. (Duff).

190 EFFUNDUNT, indicating thoughtless volubility, goes well with SECRETATA.

QUID ULTRA 8.200; CONCUMBUNT GRAECE cf. 406.

195 LODICE 7.66. RELICTIS is clearly corrupt, as Housman saw. [285] Lascivious words used in turba are not ‘left under the blanket’; they are inexcusably impudica because they come from an octogenarian who is past intercourse either in Greek or Latin; and ENIM 196 is senseless as the text stands. Ferendis does not carry full conviction but is certainly on the right lines. MODO will now mean ‘only’, not ‘lately’.

197 NEQUAM ‘lascivious’ as often; similarly nequitia. DIGITOS HABET 10.206. The whole passage has similarities with Mart. 6.23 (4 te contra facies impe-

UT Tamen 10.354; the type of purpose clause discussed on 15.89. ‘So that you don’t become over-excited, <I must point out to you that> facies tua computat annos’.

198 SUBSIDANT PINNAE The opposite of 4.70 surgebant crista. 
MOLLUS Cf. O 23; HAEMO 3.99, an actor; CARPOPHORUS is unknown. 
199 COMPUTAT ANNO 10.249.

200–6 SI … SI A dilemma. In such cases the second horn is often introduced by sin (a word not used by Juvenal), but the number of exceptions is so large that it is hard to ascribe them all to textual corruption; cf. HS 669, KS 2.431, Sjögren on Cic. Ad Fam. 1.7.5.

PACTAM Cf. on 25; TABELLIS sc. nuptialibus (on 2.119).
CENAM sc. nuptiale; usually given in the house of the bride’s parents, but sometimes in that of the bridegroom, as here (Blümner 357 n. 8, Marquardt 53). Cf. 2.119–20.

MUSTACEA A kind of cake in which mustum or mustax, a type of laurel, was an ingredient; a recipe Cato De Agr. 121. They evidently had some association with marriage; Vespa Iudicum Coci et Pistoris (Anth. Lat. 199) 49 sponsae mustacea mitto. ‘… why you should waste the dinner and the cakes which you must present to the guests (i.e. as apophoreta) after a good dinner when the company is dropping off’.

OFFICIO See on 2.132; here of the guests = officiosi, cf. 10.45, Pliny Pan. 76.9 and often. For abstract nouns used as concrete collectives see HS 747, KS 1.81.
CRUDIS (on 1.143) They have not yet digested the meal, hinting that they have already had more than enough to eat.

203–5 Amphis ap. Pollux 3.36 mentions διαπαρθένια δῶρα; see further L. Mitteis Reichsrecht und Volksrecht (1891) 273 and add Pap. Soc. Ital. 1075 (fifth century) a φθόριον ἕδνον. The late law concerning dona nuptialia discusses a praemium pudicitiae (Corbett 205), and at the end of antiquity the Germanic invaders gave Latin the word morganegyba (see Thes. s.v.). The present consists of aurei issued by Trajan and bearing his agnomen and image; he took the title of Germanicus in 97 at the end of the Suebian war and of Dacicus in 102. The lanx is given as part of the gift, cf. Mart. Spect. 29.6.


206 The asyndeton is harsh, and Ruperti suggested punctuating (simplicitas uxorialis); for a very similar exclamation in the nominative cf. Ter. Ad. 390–1. This however leaves the two datives TIBI and UNI unpleasantly belonging in the same clause. One might consider est <si>; for elision of long before short here cf. 1.73, 6.50, 14.76, and for elision of a monosyllable (not however long) before short 5.59.

207–8 SUBMITTE CAPUT Cf. 43; FERRE IUGUM cf. 13.21–2. The metaphor of a yoked pair is continually applied to marriage (cf. Thes. 7.2.641.27, Nisbet–
Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.33.11, ξεύγος Xen. *Oec.* 7.18, 19, 28), but in Juvenal’s eyes only one is yoked, and that one not, as is usual, the woman (cf. Ov. *Her.* 6.97).

PARCAT AMANTI Plaut. *Asin.* 177 quae amanti parcit, eadem sibi parcat parum.

210 SPOLIIS sc. amantis; cf. 232, 149 sqq.

210–11 She will impose on his good nature.

212–13 A double chiasmus.


EXCLUDATUR The direct command as 152.

215 Who visited you even in his youth while his beard was allowed to grow (on 4.103). IAM SENIOR Cf. 8.153.

216–17 Lenones and lanistae (O 7) belong to the most contemptible of professions, Sen. *Ep.* 87.15; the lex Iulia municipalis (*CIL* 1 593.123 = *ILS* 6085 = *FIRA* 1 no. 13 p. 149) excludes them from office (cf. Carcopino 237, Balsdon1 293). HARENAE = gladiatoribus (cf. Petron. 126.6); 3.156–8 couples leno, lanista, gladiator. But Juvenal’s statement is grossly exaggerated to accentuate the husband’s subjection; most gladiators, being slaves, could not make a will.

218 NON UNUS, 3.151, 8.213. The married man is virtually intestabilis.

219 Soon after this Hadrian is said to have prohibited a slave’s execution without trial (SHA 1.18.7). For a husband restraining his wife cf. Plut. *Cons. Uxor.* 4.609c.

219–20 The breathless questions resemble 10.69–70. AUDI ‘Hear what he has to say’.

221 LONGUS often implies ‘over-long’ (*OLD* 12). Amm. Marc. 29.2.18 *de vita et spiritu hominis … laturum sententiam diu multumque cunctari oportet.* [187]

222 ITA In an indignant question, as often itane; *Thes.* s.v. 522.12.

HOMO To the lawyers a slave is res mortalis (Ulpian *Dig.* 4.4.11.4–5), the view which prevailed in Greece (Aristotle *Pol.* 1.4.1253b and *Eth. Nic.* 8.13.1161b κτήμα or ὄργανον ἐμψυχον; cf. Varro *RR* 1.17.1). Yet for homo applied colloquially to a slave cf. Catull. 10.15 (see *Thes.* s.v. 2888.67; even in lawyers, *VIR* s.v. IV col. 258), and in the first century A.D. a humanitarian recognition of his status as a fellow-man came into being, due particularly to Stoic influence; 14.16, Sen. *Ep.* 47.1, *De Clem.* 1.18.2, *De Ben.* 3.22.3, Petron. 71, Florus 2.8.1. A slave lays claim to this status Plaut. *Asin.* 490. This idea finds only isolated utterance in Greece (Philemon Ἐξοικιζόμενος fr. 22 K and E). Cf. Marquardt 191, Westermann 116. Härtel *Klio* 59, 1977, 338.

223 VOLUNTAS takes up VOLO. She is like the sovereign people which, when a law is put to the vote, is asked *velitis iubeatis?* (Mommsen1 3.312).

224 IMPERAT VIRO So did all Roman women, according to Cato (Plut. *Reg.*
et Imp. Apophthegm. 198d). For REGNA cf. 149.

225 PERMUTAT Cf. 94, [Qvintil.] Decl. 2.7.

FLAMMEA CONTERIT ‘wears out her wedding veil’ (2.124) by using it in so many marriage ceremonies.

INDE From her new home.

226 AVOLAT Cf. ἀποπέτονται Plut. Amatorius 7.752f.

VESTIGIA The imprint which her weight has left on the bed; a common idea (Shackleton Bailey and Enk on Prop. 2.9.45).

227–8 are a superfluous elaboration awkwardly placed. Before the laurel garlands (on 51) decorating the door of her second bridegroom's house have withered, she is off again.

VELA Decorated awnings.

229 Satirists and moralists naturally name the highest number of divorces they can (SG 1.243 = 1.285, Blümner1 363, Marquardt 72; ten Mart. 6.7.4). But comparable historical instances are known; Vistilia (Pliny NH 7.39) married six times, and Nero was the fifth husband of Statilia Messalina.

FIUNT An arithmetical term; the total is reached. Cf. Thes. facio 100.51.

230 AUTUNNOS i.e. annos (Thes. s.v. 1604.79); similarly by synecdoche the other seasons are often used to indicate the whole year.

TITULO (10.143) The distinction of these women is very different from that idealised by conventional tombstones, to have had only one husband. Such women are praised as univirae, unicae, uniiugae; cf. on 53–4. See Marquardt 42 n. 6, SG 1.265 = 1.314, RAC Digamus 1017, Humbert 62, N. Rudd Lines of Enquiry (1976) 42, Kajanto in [[288] Mélanges M. Durry (1970), 111, Kötting in Romanitas et Christianitas (Studia Waszinck, 1973) 195, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 6.231.

231 CONCORDIA Which one expects in marriage; Thes. 85.5, Bömer on Ovid Met. 7.752, 8.708.

SALVA i.e. superstite cf. 30 etc.


SPOLIIS Cf. 210; NUDI proleptic.

233 CORRUPTORE Cf. 1.77, 4.8, 10.304. By implying that he takes the initiative the word hints at a young inexperienced wife.

TABELLIS Love-letters; cf. 141, 277, 9.36, 14.29, Marquardt 804.

234 Not to say yes or no outright; Ovid AA 3.475. For the combination RUDIS and SIMPLEX cf. Ovid Am. 2.4.18.

235 CUSTODES Cf. O 32. There are countless references to such male chaperons in the elegists (e.g. Ovid AA 3.611 sqq.), Martial mentions them 1.73, 10.69, and there is a historical case at Tac. Ann. 11.35.3 (cf. also the θυρωροί of Plut. Mar. 16.7).

TUM … IACTAT The subject is still socrus (Gnilka WS 81, 1968, 194 sqq.). Σ explains simulat aegritudinem socrus ut habeat facultatem ad se filia veniendi
causa adulterii, a common stratagem (Ovid Am. 2.2.21, AA 3.641; Mart. 11.7.7). Presumably the adulterer has to hide so that there will be as few confidants as possible.

TUM This form is preferable before a guttural (Housman xxii–xxii), though mss. are unanimous at 11.110, 13.40.

CORPOR SANO Concessive; cf. Ovid Am. 2.19.11.

ARCHIGENEN See on 13.98.

PALLIA Being oblong (unlike the curved toga), this type of cloak could be used as a blanket; Prop. 4.3.31, Ovid Am. 1.2.2, Her. 21.170 etc. Vestimenta sometimes means ‘bedclothes’; for χλαῖνα see Gow on Theocr. 18.18.

237 For the pleonasm cf. Cic. Pro Rab. Perd. Reo 21 inclusum atque abditum latere in occulto. This line and the next are remarkably similar in rhythm; cf. 11.68 and 71, 11.110–11, 11.142–3, the recurring bucolic diaereses in 11.171–7, 12.101–2, 15.150–1, and for the recurrence of et in the same position 10.165–7.

IMPATIENSQUE MORAE A common combination; cf. 327, Sil. It. 8–4 impatiensque morae fremit.

239 SCILICET EXPECTAS Cf. 75, 14.25 (in a similar context), Ovid Trist. 3.13.13.

241 PRODUCERE 8.271, 14.228. The daughter is αὐτομήτωρ (Semonides 7.12); Plaut. Asin. 544 audientem dicto, mater, produxisti filiam, Sen. De Rem. Fort. 16.7 duc bene institutam nec maternis inquinatam vitiis.

FILIOLAM A diminutive for metrical convenience (matched by VETULAE), perhaps also hinting at false endearments, [289]

242–5 A difficult passage of which the exact sense is hard to grasp. Juvenal flatly contradicts 2.51–2 (q.v.) unless he merely means that women are the power behind a man of straw, like Clodia in the case of Caelius; for women in the courts see Mommsen 3 369 (who however is wrong to see in Juvenal an allusion to the case recorded in Gellius 4.14). The most obvious interpretation is that a woman is behind every case that comes to court (cherchez la femme), but Duff takes the meaning to be ‘There is hardly any matter about which a woman will not stir up a law-suit’ (MOVERIT potential, οὐκ ἂν κινήσει, not ‘generic’). I do not see however how a Roman reader could have been expected to understand this.

244–5 Such a rhetorically educated woman was Statilia Messalina (Σ on 434).

PRINCIPIUM A technical term for the exordium (Quintil. 4.1.1) or part of it (ibid. 42); cf. Volkmann 137, Lausberg p. 784.

LOCOS is also a technical term with various nuances (see Bonnell’s lexicon to Quintilian pp. 497–8 and Halm’s index s.v.; Lausberg p. 740); Juvenal is most likely to have in mind either loci communes or the argumentorum loci.

CELSO The writer on rhetoric A. Cornelius Celsus often mentioned by Quintilian (Marx Celsus vii, xix, 411–12; Schanz–Hosius 2 p. 722, Teuffel–Kroll 2 p. 197, RE Cornelius no. 82) or one of the two jurists P. Iuventius Celsus, father and
son (RE nos. 12 and 13, PIR² 1 nos. 880 and 882), of whom the son was Juvenal’s contemporary? ‘A teacher of rhetoric is more in point here; these women are prepared to teach eloquence to a master of the art’ Duff; likewise Σ. Against this it is argued that Celsus was a purely theoretical writer and that he lived too early to be mentioned by Juvenal in such a context, where Juvenal’s exemplum would be likely to be Quintilian; compare also the title of a play by Titinius Iurisperita. But the technical terms indicate that Juvenal is thinking of the speech delivered in court, and that was the business of professional orators, not of jurists.

COMPONUNT … LIBELLOS Either they prepare the documents (cf. 7.107) for their advocate without professional advice (cf. Quintil. 12.8.5 pessimae consuetudinis libellis esse contentum quos componit … ligat), or they write the actual speech (Pliny Ep. 7.30.4–5 libellus meos de ultione Helvidii … cum componeremillos). The former is more likely as with libelli Pliny is thinking of the published version. The phrase could also refer to the framing of a petition or accusation (so RE libellus 60, comparing Apul. Apol. 102; add Frag. Vat. 166 = FIRA 2 p. 499), but this is less suitable to the rhetorical terms. Pliny Ep. 7.12.1 libellum formatum a me seems to refer to a treatise on rhetoric. ||

246 Juvenal uses the rhetorical question QUIS NESCIT (15.1) to convey without distinctly stating that such athletic women are notorious, though in 2.53 he had said that they are rare; one is ridiculed by Martial 7.67, and here too the Greek words indicate ridicule. For female athletics cf. Balsdon¹ 167 and Suet. Dom. 4.4

ENDROMIDAS 3.103; a thick wrap put on in the intervals of severe exercise to guard against a chill (RE s.v., Blümner¹ 220, Radermacher Rh. Mus. 57, 1902, 146). It was usually of rough plain stuff (Mart. 4.19.3), but these ladies wear one of highly elegant purple.

CEROMA This word is discussed by Reinmuth Phoenix 21, 1967, 191, who argues that it means a kind of earth used as a covering of the wrestling-floor and translates ‘the women’s wrestling-school with its muddy ring’. It is applied to the ring, to the abstract wrestling, and even to a wrestler (Mart. 5.65.4); see Friedlaender on Mart. 4.19.5, Lauffer Edict. Diocl. p. 241, Juv. 3.68.

247 Juvenal passes to gladiatorial activity (Balsdon¹ 167–8, 290–1), marking off the section by ring-composition (PALUS 247 and 267; cf. on 111–12). See on 1.22.

PALI A wooden stump on which the gladiator practised his cuts and thrusts with a wooden sword (RUDIS; see RE s.v. (2)); cf. RE suppl, 3.776, Balsdon¹ 161 and 294, SG 2.56–7 = 2.68–9 and add Mart. 7.32.8, Lucian Demonax 38, Stat. Silv. 4 praef. palærius.

ASSIDUI RUDIBUS Continual blows with the rudis.

SCUTOQUE LACESSIT She imitates the manoeuvre often employed in combat of using the shield to push over the adversary.

249 NUMEROS ‘literally “rhythm”, is a technical word for the prescribed rhythmical movements of the fencing or wrestling school’ Duff; cf. Quintil. 10.1.4,
12.2.12, Sen. De Ben. 7.1.4, Veget. 1.4. The sentence drifts away from the relative pronoun, cf. KS 2.325.

249–50 meretrices nam Floralibus ludis armis certabant gladiatorii atque pugnabant Σ; this, though not elsewhere attested, is necessarily correct (Gnilka WS 81, 1968, 199). MATRONA, i.e. though not a meretrix. The Floralia (14.262) were held 28 April–3 May, and meretrices played a prominent part; so the juxtaposition FLORALI MATRONA is paradoxical.

TUBA All public shows began with the blowing of trumpets; cf. 10.214, 3.34, Mart. Spect. 28.2, Verg. Aen. 5.113, RE suppl, 3.781.32, SG 2.60 = 2.73.

250 NISI SI She is quite fit to take part in the feigned fights of the Floralia; but perhaps she actually wants to fight in the real arena.

252–4 should be placed in parenthesis (see introduction). They may be punctuated in three ways: (1) as in Clausen, (2) pudorem? | quae fugit a sexu, vires amat., (3) pudorem, quae fugit a sexu, vires amat? The third seems best; with the first and second we have to understand vires amat, ergo uiros, which is still hardly a satisfactory answer to the question. With the third vires amat is comparable with ferrum est quod amant 112, specifically contrasted with affection for the wielder of the ferrum. In that case the question is merely rhetorical; this entirely suits the confused, illogical and prejudiced argumentation in this passage.

254 Cf. the spurious 11.168. This is the question which Tiresias was asked to decide (Ovid Met. 3.320).

255 AUCTIO Not a sign of insolvency, but a common means of getting rid of superfluous property. There is a fine discussion of the place of auctions in Roman life by Mommsen Ges. Schr. 3.225 = Hermes 12, 1877, 98; cf. SG 1.155 = 1.173, Loane 151–3, Thielmann.

255–6 This, plus the shield of 248, composes the armour of the gladiators called Samnites; SG 4.174–5 = 4.262, RE suppl. 3.777 and s.vv. Samnes and manicae 1113.10. Livy 9.40 describes the armament of the Samnite army and sees it as the fore-runner of that of the gladiators, but his account is an unhistorical retrojection (E. T. Salmon Samnium and the Samnites (1967) 102).

BALTEUS The sword-belt; MANICAE rings of armour worn round the right arm, the left being protected by the shield; CRISTAE (on 3.158) on the helmet (Salmon 108); CRURIS … TEGIMEN the greave, worn on the leg which in fighting stance would be advanced; DIMIDIUM on the lower part of the leg, since the shield protected above the knee (Salmon 104 and 110).

257–8 Alternatively she may be a Thraex; these gladiators, unlike the Samnites, wore greaves on both legs (SG 4.176 = 4.263, RE Thraex and suppl. 3.778; cf. on 8.201).

PUELLA Cf. on 2.59; a comic use of a term of endearment, familiar in erotic poetry, for such a woman.

259–60 Again the critical Greek words (on 246). CYCLADE ἡ κυκλάς (sc.
ἐσθής); the word is not found in this sense in Greek, though ἔγκυκλον (RE s.v.) is. It is a robe named from a fringe of purple or gold embroidery which ran round it, cf. DS s.v.; explained as *circumtextum* by Serv. *Aen.* 1.649.

260 DELICIAS On 10.291.

PANNICULUS A significant diminutive (but the big words and absence of third-foot caesura represent it as a burden to the women); BOMBYCINUS therefore very light (Mart. 8.33.15 and Pliny quoted on 2.70).

URIT ‘galls’ Hor. *Epist.* 1.10.43, 1.13.6; Prop. 4.3.23.

261 MONSTRATOS PERFERAT (cf. 392, 7.153) ICTUS Cf. 5.122; her | [292] trainer stands by her and by his *dictata* (Petron. 45, Suet. *Iul.* 26.3) instructs her in the thrusts.

QUAM DENSO LIBRO Ablative of quality; ‘see the size and thickness of pith of the bandages adjusted round her legs’. As protection for her legs she wears *fasciae* made of bark, like cricket-pads.

SEDEAT Cf. Mart. 7.1.4.

SCAPHIUM Used only by women, while the *lasanum* belonged to men; Henderson 191, Blümner 148 n. 2, Hilgers 271, *RE Skaphe* 441. They were of different shapes.

265 DICITE VOS Cf. 8.56; LEPIDI cf. 8.9.

CAECIVE METELLI 3.139; the *pontifex maximus* L. Caecilius (RE no. 72) Metellus, who in 241 B.C. rescued the Palladium when the temple of Vesta was burnt. Since men were not supposed to see this image, the rhetoricians (Sen. *Contr.* 4.2) invented the story (on a Greek model, like so much Roman mythology; cf. [Plut.] *Parallela Graeca et Romana* 17.309f) that he was blinded as a punishment by the goddess and took the agnomen Caecus; but Ovid *Fasti* 6.453 rejects this, and Metellus was later (224 B.C.) dictator (Leuze *Philol.* 64, 1905, 102). See Leuze l.c. 95 sqq., Bömer on Ovid l.c. 437, Morgan *CQ* 2 24, 1974, 139–41.

Q. Fabius (RE no. 112) Maximus Gurges, cos. 292 and 276 B.C. (and 265, unless that is his son; Broughton 1 p. 202), won victories over the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians and was *princeps senatus*. Note firstly that Juvenal gives his names in the common Silver style, cognomen before nomen; secondly that the Fabii and the Metelli were now extinct.

LUDIA Cf. 104; here clearly of the *contubernalis* (which is what is meant by UXOR) of a gladiator.


ASYLI nomen *gladiatoris* Σ; a slave-name (*Thes.* s.v.).

ORBA TIGRIDE PEIOR Mart. 3.44.6 non tigris orba natis … sic timetur; Sen. Med. 861. The theme of the tigress chasing the hunter who has stolen her cubs appealed to the Romans (Mart. 8.26, Val. Fl. 1.489 etc.). For further details see Friedlaender and SG 4.189 (not in ed. 10); Jennison 147, Otto Nachträge 19, Toynbee 72, Walter Rh. Mus. 118, 1975, 156.

This line should be followed by a full stop; 272 is epexegetic. ||293] Women according to Alexis ap. Athen. 13.558ε ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ’ ἔτι.

FACTI Her own misconduct; cf. 279, 13.193, Ovid Am. 1.8.79–80.

OVID ‘abuses’ cf. 3.214; PUEROS ‘slaves’, the man’s homosexual partners (cf. 34), cf. Petron. 74.

The tears are sentries in the war of the sexes, and such faked weeping is often mentioned as a device; e.g. Petron. 17.2 lacrimas ad ostentationem doloris paratas.

ILLAM … IUBEBAT For this type of prolepsis see HS 471.

A semi-colon in the middle of the line would be preferable.

TUCA ‘caterpillar’; a term of abuse ‘you worm’, of the cringing abased husband. Cf. the Plautine parasite Curculio and Hofmann pp. 88, 194. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: O’Mara CP 74, 1979, 242 supports (tum) curuca from medi-aeval authors, who apply the word to the bird (the warbler?) which has the cuck-oo’s eggs substituted for its own. But this word probably came into existence merely from imaginative glosses on the corrupt reading of this line; Papias, who is quoted as an authority for it, is known to have used Juvenal glosses. Compare how the word caeruleus acquired existence and a meaning (bestia marina) from the corrupt reading of 15.7.]

LABELLIS A caressing diminutive. For kissing away her tears cf. Ovid AA 2.326, Fasti 3.509.

Lecture Attracted from the nominative, cf. on 4.24. The future participle is conditional, cf. on 4.9; note that in Latin an exclamation need not depend on the main verb of the sentence.

TABELLAS Cf. 233.

TIBI Dative of agent; for SCRINIA cf. RE s.v., Blümner1 132.

ZELOTYPÆA is usually applied to the aggrieved party (cf. 8.197), so its combination with MOECHAÆ is paradoxical. ‘Cf. 5.45; the word is post-Augustan though Cicero uses ζηλοτυπία. There is no Latin word which exactly expresses the “jealousy” of lovers’ Duff.

SED ‘suddenly alters the situation and introduces a new possibility’ Weidner, who compares 4.72, 7.32. The new situation contrasts with that of 271; the factum is no longer occultum.

SERVI … EQUITIS She is presumably a senator’s wife, like Eppia; for the class
of women envisaged by Juvenal see p. 222. She is not interested in ordinary plebeians, but all slave-societies show instances of slaves attractive to their mistresses (cf. SG 1.244 = 1.287 and e.g. Herodas 5).

DIC, DIC Cf. 393; Wöllflin 293 remarks (without further detail) that poets soften the gemination of monosyllabic imperatives by placing them as here. For DIC SODES cf. Hofmann §124.

QUINTILIANE The master of rhetoric (7.186).

COLOREM 'line of defence’ cf. 7.155; in Greek χρῶμα. Cf. Sen. Contr. 2.1.27 Fuscus Arellius hunc colorem dixit. It indicates the favourable light in which a speaker endeavours to place an action which he is defending, e.g. Quintil. 3.8.44, 4.2.88 sqq.; Thes. s.v. 1721.62, ||[294] Austin on Quintil. 12.1.33, Volkmann 113, Lausberg p. 511, S. F. Bonner Roman Declamation (1949) 55–6.

281 HAEREMUS Quintilian and I; but I should prefer to put the word within inverted commas and make it Quintilian’s answer.

CONVENERAT As part of the conventum (25). The pluperfect here is in sense merely a strengthened perfect reinforcing the idea of remoteness (OLIM); on 9.96.

283 MARE CAELO CONFUNDAS See on 2.25; the husband may raise a storm.

HOMO SUM humanum est errare; cf. Thes. homo 2880.10, humanus 3092.6; Otto homo 2 and 3, Nachträg 57, 105, 171; Herodas 5.27 in a similar context. Cf. Eur. Hippoll. 439 ἐράθη· τί τούτο θαῦμα; σὺν πολλοῖς βροτῶν.

NIHIL is often used in such sweeping statements, usually with a comparative, where strict logic might suggest a masculine; cf. 460, 10.278, KS 2.466, Hofmann p. 90, Greene CR 18, 1904, 448. For such audacia cf. Apul. Met. 2.29 fin., Tac. Ann. 11.26.2 flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum; attack is the best form of defence.

285 ANIMOS Juvenal could just as well have written animum (cf. 97); metrical convenience probably dictated the choice (cf. Stat. Th. 11.525), which supports A (cf. Ovid Met. 6.474; either Ovid or Juvenal may be Cyprian’s source). The imitations by Dracontius, who had read Juvenal, have de.

286 MONSTRA Cf. 84, 645; FONTE cf. fluxit 295. Juvenal seems to be adapting Prop. 3.13.1 quaeritis unde avidis nox sit pretiosa puellis ... 4 luxuriae nimium libera facta via est, cf. the description of primitive lovers 35–6 with the beginning of this poem, and 59 utinam patriae sim vanus (verus codd.) haruspex with Juv. 638.

287–93 Note the chiastic sequence paupertas, bellum, pax, luxuria.

288 CONTINGI Cf. 5.128, Tac. Dial. 12; ‘did not allow humble homes to be polluted’.

LABOR SOMNIQUE BREVES The opposite of languor et immodiici ... somni Ovid RA 145. For similar remarks in moralising historians see Vell. Pat. 2.1.1 in somnum a vigilis ... conversa civitas, Sall. Cat. 13.3 dormire prius quam somni cupidus esset, Aurel. Vict. 1.4 ad somnum intemperantias.

289 TUSCO Etruscan sheep and wool had no reputation; Juvenal means or-
dinary rough wool from the neighbourhood of the city, not imported fine wool. The *durae manus* of Allia Potestas (CEL 1988.24) were presumably caused by her wool-working (ibid. 14); cf. Ovid *Fasti* 4.773–4 *lana ... ad teneras quamlibet apta manus*. Spinning wool was the traditional occupation of Roman women, often mentioned \[295\] on tombstones as a sign of virtue, e.g. CIL 6.3.15346 = CEL 52.8 = ILS 8403 *domum servavit, lanam fecit*, CEL 471.8 = CIL 6.23852, Lattimore 297, Marquardt 58, Blümner¹ 342 and 364, SG 1.229 and 266 = 1.269 and 316, DS *lana* 920b. By now of course it was no longer a living tradition.

290–1 TURRE The gate-tower; when Hannibal made his dash for Rome in 211 B.C. (7.162) the Roman army was camped between the Colline and Esquiline gates (Livy 26.10). The viewpoint is traditional; Sall. *Iug.* 41.2 *metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat*, Florus 1.31.5, Ogilvie on Livy 1.19.4. In the view of many historians security brings τρυφή, and that moral decline (so in a context of sexual morals Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3.3.21.3); cf. Vell. Pat. l.c. on 288, Sall. l.c. and Cat. 10, Marquardt 63, Lintott *Historia* 21, 1972, 627, Fuchs HSCP 63, 1958, 366, La Penna *Parola del Passato* 31, 1976, 232, Frank *Prudentia* 8, 1976, 1.

LONGAE PACIS MALA The view of Tacitus too (Syme¹ 218 n. 6, Ogilvie–Richmond on Agr. 11.4), cf. Sen. *Ep.* 73.6, Vell. Pat. 2.110.2 *Pannonia insolens longae pacis bonis* (ironically reversed by Juvenal’s MALA). It is pointless to look for historical precision in these commonplaces and enquire when Juvenal envisaged Roman decline as beginning; τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην in a similar context Polyb. 32.13.6 B-W means about 35 years.

293 INCUBUIT Like a hostile army.

VICTUMQUE ULCISCITUR ORBEM Because it is imported from it (298).


PERĪT See on 3.174.

HINC ex paupertate perdita; FLUXIT cf. on 286.

ISTOS i.e. hos (on 4.67), cf. *collibus istis* 14.179 (not in this sense), *his collibus* 9.131.

296–7 The cities are Italian, Greek, Greek, Italian.


HINC ... ET ... HINC ET An unusual form of anaphora; it is a variant of the type *iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna* (*Thes.* et 887.32); cf. also *Aen.* 10.369.

RHODOS Cf. 8.113; on Rhodian luxury cf. also Plut. *De Cupid. Divit.* 5.525b.

MILETOS Cf. the proverb ἦσαν ποτ’, ἦσαν, ἄλικιμοι Μιλήσιοι and \[296\] Athen. 12.523e. But Rhodes and Miletus were not notorious for depravity; to Juvenal any
Greek city will serve this purpose.

297 For the reputation of Tarentum see P. Willeumier *Tarente* (1939) 229 sqq., esp. 232; *molle Tarentum* Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.34. Juvenal probably has in mind particularly the occasion at the outbreak of the Pyrrhic war when the Tarentines insulted the Roman ambassadors in the theatre (Dio Cass. fr. 39.5 = 1.114.10 Boissévain; Willeumier 104). They were then wearing garlands (CORONATUM) as it was a festival of Dionysus, but garlands in general go with drinking (5.36, 9.128, 15.50).

PETULANS Cf. 3.278 *ebrius ac petulans*; MADIDUM primarily indicates intoxication (15.47), but perhaps also hints at perfumes and unguents (15.50; Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 5.430 *uncta Tarentos*).

298 OBSCENA Filthy, i.e. bringing filth; *funesta* 1.113. So MOLLES 300 in effect means ‘making effeminate’.

PEREGRINOS Livy 39.6.7 *luxuriae peregrinae* (187 B.C.).

300 VENUS EBRIA i.e. a lustful woman when drunk; this phrase of elevated diction in the middle of a sordid context unites the themes of *luxuria* and *impudicita*. Cf. Val. Max. 2.1.5 *proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam uenerem esse consuevit*; 9.1 *iungatur illi* (i.e. *luxuriae*) *libido quoniam ex isdem vitiorum principiis oritur*; Sen. *Ep.* 83.19.

301 Such a woman is prepared not only for normal intercourse but also for *fellatio* (cf. on 49). Acro quotes this line on Hor. *Odes* 1.18.10 *fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum / discernunt*.

302 MEDIIS IAM NOCTIBUS Cf. 4.137 (where again Falernian wine is mentioned); it is already midnight before they have realised it, the party is so wild that time flies unnoticed; the oysters are to satisfy the *alia fames* (cf. Petron. 70 and the next note). ‘The Romans in general kept early hours, and a *commissatio* prolonged to such an hour was in itself scandalous. Seneca *Ep.* 95.21 says of women *non minus* (sc. *quam viri*) *pervigilant, non minus potant*; *et oleo et mero viros provocant*’ Duff. Cynthia drinks even during *mediae noctes* Prop. 2.33.25.

303 MERO Wine undiluted with water. For the mixing of wine and perfumes (*ἀρωματίτης (οἶνος)*)) cf. Petron. 70 (in a similar context), Blümner 203, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 30, Marquardt 460, Billiard 504, André on Pliny *NH* 14.107. The word is dative, cf. Prop. 2.4.5, not ablative as 5.86, 14.66.

304 CONCHA Cf. 419 and *RE* s.v.; Paulus Sent. 3.6.90 *quae ad poculum speciem comparata sunt velut conchae*; Hilgors 50 and 151; Headlam–Knox on Herodas 1.79 list many kinds of drinking vessels named after shells (cf. Suidas 3 p. 91 no. 1289 *κελέβη· κόγχη;*). [297] Here however there is a contrast with the usual small drinking-cup (for Jerome’s phrase *non calice sorbere sed concha* see BICS 22, 1975, 162 n. 4). The *concha* is a large broad shell-shaped vessel which might be used to hold scent (Hor. *Odes* 2.7.22, where see Nisbet–Hubbard); they pour the wine into the scent-vessel (note the singular) and all drink from it, as the guests do from the
large ψυκτήρ at Plato Symp. 214a, cf. LSJ κρατηρίζω I. Vollgraf Mнем.² 49, 1921, 78 thinks that the concha was used for libations.

304–5 VERTIGINE TECTUM AMBULAT Cf. Sen. Ep. 83.21; Theognis 505 τὸ δὲ δῶμα περιτρέχει; Lucian Dial. Marin. 2.2.

EXSURGIT One lamp on top of the other.

GEMINIS LUCERNIS Hor. Serm. 2.1.24, Petron. 64, Strato AP 12.199.3.

306 I NUNC ET DUBITA Ovid AA 2.222, Mart. 8.63.3; see on 12.57.

SANNA She sniffs; Jahn on Pers. 1.62, Sittl 86 sqq. Normally in passing a temple or altar one would kiss the hand as a gesture of respect (on 1.116; Appel 59 and 199, Sittl 182, RE suppl. 5.518).

307–8 With 307 placed before 308 we must punctuate either

... qua sorbeat aera sanna

Tullia, quid dicat notae collactea Maurae
Maura, Pudicitiae …

or

... collactea Maurae,

Maura Pudicitiae …

In the first case we have to think of two sisters called Maura, and Maurae may be either genitive after collactea or (less likely) dative after dicat; in the second case the collactea may or may not be identical with Tullia. The order 308, 307 is altogether more clear-cut, but it is surprising that Maura only gets an adjective on her second and not on her first mention. I suspect that 307, which is not firmly established in the mss., is spurious; it is not required by the plurals in 309 sqq. (see below), but an interpolator might have thought something required.

MAURA The name of a notorious fellatrix at 10.223–4; cf. Kajanto 206. She is passing through the Vicus Longus, where the shrine of Pudicitia Plebeia was (Livy 10.23; he says that the cult was obsolete in his day, whence VETEREM). Some sources allege that Pudicitia Patricia had a shrine in the Forum Boarium, but they have wrongly identified what was in fact a statue of Fortuna; see Latte 239, Wissowa 237 and 333, Platner–Ashby Pudicitia, RE Pudicitia.

COLLACTEA (now on Ann. Epigr. 1946 no. 142) ὁμογάλακτος, συγγάλακτος. She shared the same nurse as a child, but Friedlaender is hardly right in supposing that Maura is envisaged as a slave child later emancipated who became the confidante of a lady of rank ||²⁹⁸ named Tullia. The wording of the line suggests that the two are of the same standing.

309 PONUNT Women in general, the coniuges of tu (anybody; on 2.61) 312–13; they are returning from one of the wild parties just mentioned (NOCTIBUS 302, 309). Even if 307 is genuine, Maura and Tullia are not meant; so W. Stegemann De Iuvenalis Dispositione (1913) 52. Juvenal has in mind women of some status, as their use of Lecticae shows (cf. 350–1, SG 1.248–9 = 1.293).

MICTURIUNT i.e. mingunt (on 16.43); this shows their contempt (cf. on 1.131;

310 **SIPHONIBUS** urina diu retenta ac deinde longo tractu proiecta Rupert. Eur. *Cycl.* 438, sometimes quoted in illustration, is both obscure and corrupt.

311 IN VICES Cf. 7.240.

EQUITANT Metaphors from horse-riding are often applied to sexual activity; *Thes. equus* 738.10 and e.g. Mart. 7.57.2, Machon 362 Gow, Asclepiades *AP* 5.203 = Gow–Page *HE* 832, Henderson 165.

LUNA TESTE 8.149.

312–13 LUCE REVERSA On your way at dawn (5.22) to the *salutatio* of your influential (on 1.33) ‘friends’.

314 NOTA … SECRETÆ A paradox.

BONAEC … DEAE would be better printed with capitals, cf. 2.86–7. Saufeia (320) is again described at 9.117 as drunkenly officiating at these ceremonies. Drunkenness in women’s festivals is a common topic of scandal since Aristophanes, e.g. in the *Mystes* of Antiphanes (see on 2.86). ὀργιασμῶν καὶ ματρῳασμῶν τῶν κατ’ οίκον ἀπέχεσθαι is the advice of Phintys (cf. on 21) ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 4.23 (74).61 (4.593.6 Hense), because they bring μέθας καὶ ἐκστάσις ψυχᾶς. But Plutarch’s view of this occasion is milder; *Caes.* 9.8 (cf. 10.2) παιδία! Cf. also the romanticised *luditis* Prop. 4.9.33. For the festival in general see T. P. Wiseman (on 2.86) 130.


315–16 CORNU Of the tibia (on 2.90); *vino … attoniti* (i.e. in ecstasy) Livy 39.15.9 of the Bacchanalia.


SALTANTE Of palpitating excitement; similarly πηδᾶν (LSJ II).

320 LENONUM ANCIILLAS They would be professional dancers; music and prostitution go together, 3.65.

POSITA i.e. *proposita in medio*; τιθέναι ἄεθλα Hom. *II.* 23.653, 740. 320–3 are like a male athletic contest; cf. the contest in Alciphron 4.14.

321 PENDENTIS COXÆ Cf. *lumbos* 314 and Arnob. in next note.

322 FLUCTUM CRISANTIS Priapea 19.4 Telethusa … crisabit tibi fluctuante lumbo; *Apul. Met.* 2.25 *lumbis sensim vibrantibus decenter undatabat*; Arnob. 2.42 *coxendicibus sublevatis lumborum crispitudine fluctuare*. Cf. on 326.

MEDULLINAE An aristocratic lady, like Saufeia; this is a cognomen of the Furii.
DOMINAS Medullina and Saufeia, contrasted with the *lenonum ancillae*, who stand no chance. Cf. *Laus Pisonis* 12 *animum natalibus aequat*.

AD VERUM ad veritatem Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.61.


For Priam and Nestor (10.245 and 258) coupled as types of old age see Friedlaender on Mart. 2.64.3 and Otto under their names; Priam in contexts like this Mart. 6.71.3, 11.60.3, Nestor Ovid *Am.* 3.7.41. A fine mock-epic line; the resounding *Laomedontiades*, which the sordid context highlights, is from Verg. *Aen.* 8.158, *Nestoris hirnea* is a travesty of such epic phrases as *βίη Νέστορος* (cf. on 4.81 and 107), with *hirnea* (*a nomen indecorum* *Celsus* 7.18.3) placed to form an anti-climax. With HIRNEA cf. *ramex* 10.205; Lucil. 331–2 *senex ... ramice magno* (330 from the same book is *crisabit ut si frumentum clunibus vannat*, cf. *Juv.* 322); old men are *κηλῆται* Lucilius *AP* 11.132.6, the scrotum being enlarged as the result of a rupture.

MORAE IMPATIENS Cf. 238; for the rare iambic elision cf. 5.173.

FEMINA SIMPLEX An ironical transformation of what would normally be a good quality (Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.85, 5.1.65).

ANTRO ‘grotto’ (so in the romanticised Prop. 4.9.33), such as might be used in the ceremonies of Priapus (316) or Bacchus (Boyancé *Atti Pontif. Accad.* 33, 1960–1, 107). Naturally few details [1300] are known of the celebration of the rites of the Bona Dea, but Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 20 speaks of a σηκός, *Caes.* 9.4 of σκηναί, Sen. *Ep.* 97.2 a *consaeptum*; cf. Latte 229 n. 3.

Sqq. Paratactic and hypotactic conditions alternate; DORMITAT (for the reading see *BICS* 14, 1967, 46) without *si*, SI 331, ABSTULERIS without *si* (cf. 3.78), SI 332. One might punctuate ... *adulter?* (cf. 3.100, 8.25, 13.227), but this is unnecessary; KS 2.164, HS 657. The clauses are linked with each other to form a climax or *gradatio*.

IAM FAS EST A paradox; the presence of men at the ceremonies of the Bona Dea was anything but *fas*, cf. 2.87 sqq. Ovid *AA* 3.638 indicates that the temple of the Bona Dea could be used for assignations, but he is perhaps thinking of Clodius.

ADMITTE Not only to admit to the ceremony, but also a term of stock-breeding (*Thes.* 751.60); cf. *Sen. NQ* 1.16.5 (Hostius Quadra) *spectabat admissos sibi pariter in omnia viros*.

ILLA Cf. on 10.179; CUCULLO for concealment (118, 8.145).

IUVENEM It is not apparent who this is; the son (on 14.23) of the adulterer?
Juvenal does not seem to have formed a clear picture of what is supposed to be happening here.


AQUARIUS Water-carriers acquired a bad reputation because in fetching water for the ablutions of prostitutes (cf. Ovid *Am.* 3.7.84) they could readily be used as touts and pimps. Cf. Festus 22 *aquarrii sunt impudicarum mulierum sordidi asciae; is enim tamquam amorum internuntiis solebant uti mulieres; CGL* 2.28.5 *bacario πορνοδιάκονος; RE* 2.312–13, Rosenbaum 347–8.


MORA NULLA PER 12.11 with *quin.*


337 MAURI ATQUE INDI East and West; *Verg. Aen.* 6.794 *Garamantas et Indos.*

QUAE PSALTRIA (= *tibicina* 2.90; cf. 314) i.e. Clodius dressed as a musician in his attempt to seduce Caesar’s wife.

338 A place where Latin’s lack of an article causes ambiguity. Does Juvenal mean ‘two Anticatones’ or ‘the two Anticatones’? In the former case he means that Clodius’ penis was twice as big as Caesar’s work (on which see Teuffel–Kroll 1 p. 444, *RE Iulius* 264, Schanz–Hosius 1 pp. 334–6; the fragments in Klotz’s edition of Caesar 3 p. 185). In the latter he is referring to the fact that the work filled two *volumina*, and means that the penis was longer than [301] these placed end to end; this would postulate an unusual method of expression (as if *duodecim Aeneides* could mean ‘the twelve books of the Aeneid’), which however seems to be used by Suet. *Iul.* 56.5 *Anticatones totem* (i.e. *duo libri*), though this has been emended to *Anticatonis* (so e.g. A. Klotz *Caesarstudien* (1910) 158), and Prisc. *GLK* 2.227.2 *Caesar in Anticatone priore* (cf. also Gellius 17.13.3–4 *Cato in tertia* (secunda) *Origine*, and Abel *Mus. Helv.* 18, 1961, 230 compares *Artes =* the three books of the *Ars Amatoria*). In either case we have to remember the shape of the ancient papyrus roll. The resounding quinquesyllable at the end of 338 contrasts comically with the diminutive *testiculi* and the monosyllabic ending of 339.

339–41 All male creatures are excluded, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 20; even pictures of male animals are covered, Sen. *Ep.* 97.2.

INTULERĪT Juvenal’s only metrical lengthening.

342 It hardly shows sensible historical perspective to suppose that Caesar’s times were more pious than Juvenal’s own.

ET Cf. on 1.87.

CONTEMPTOR is often combined with *deorum* etc.; *Thes.* s.v. 657.46.

343–4 Vessels used in cult always retained archaic earthenware form (cf. Athen. 6.274b, Dion. Hal. *AR* 2.23), cf. *RE immolatio* 1124, Marquardt 393 and 653. NUMA is the founder of Roman religion 8.156; *vasa Numae* Pers. 2.59, *Cic. Parad.* 11, cf.

VATICANO For the potteries of the Vatican producing cheap ware cf. Elter *Rh. Mus.* 46, 1891, 124; Mart. 1.18.2, 12.48.14 are jokes at the bad wine of the Vatican, not at its pottery.

345 CLAUDIUS This is the only form with respectable ms. authority here (*BICS* 14, 1967, 50 n. 12) and should be retained; cf. the variant at Cic. *Ad Att.* 14.13a.2 (his son), where see Shackleton Bailey. In the *o–au* alternation the former usually indicates a vulgar pronunciation; this is not historically true among the Claudii (cf. Münzer 273–4, though his declaration that the sisters of Clodius were invariably called Clodia is incorrect, since Cic. *Ad Fam.* 5.2.6 writing to the husband of one of them formally refers to Claudia; Brüch *Glotta* [1302] 26, 1938, 150), but Juvenal may have supposed that it was and used the more aristocratic-looking form to sharpen the ironical contrast between his birth and his behaviour, a point not present when he employs *Clodius* at 2.27. We have to understand ‘a Clodius’ (cf. on 14.41). Sen. *Ep.* 97.10 arguing against idealisation of the past remarks *omne tempus Clodios … feret.*

QUAS NON ARAS Cf. 9.24.

346–8 These lines largely coincide with O 30–4. When the first 29 lines of the O-fragment had been accidentally lost, the remaining five were reduced to this form to give them some sense, a verb *audio* being supplied and the now unintelligible *hac mercede* being eliminated, and were transferred to a place where they were not so obviously unsuitable. They are however still unsuitable between 345 and 349. They disrupt the connection between *nunc* 345 and *iamque* 349, and, as shown in the introduction, are alien in matter. Since 286 Juvenal has no longer been describing the miseries brought by marriage to husbands, but analysing the causes of the degeneracy of Roman women since the old days; he finds the reason to be *luxus* in various aspects, the aspect discussed in this paragraph being drunkenness. The topic of marriage is no longer relevant (the incidental reference to the husband in 312–13 does not invalidate this statement). Now in the context 346–8 would have to be understood of a husband barring in his wife to prevent her from participating in the rites of the Bona Dea, and a wife bribing her guards with her favours to let her out so that she can participate. This is odd enough in itself, but in addition such a marital interlude has no business to be here at all. The subject is the depravity of Roman women, not the adultery of Roman wives. Finally the first person *audio* lacks motivation in this context.
349–51 (in which the mentions of humble and aristocratic women are arranged in chiastic order) resume the ideas of 320–3. SUMMIS MINIMISQUE Cf. 1.14, 11.36.

SILICEM silice sternere is ‘to pave’ generally, with no specific sense attached to the noun; cf. 3.272, Blake 39–40, Jordan 1.1.4 (hence silicarius ‘paver’ Blümner 3.8; there was a procurator ad silices, CIL 6.1598). But here ATRUM (cf. Pliny NH 36.168 nigris silices optimi) shows that Juvenal was thinking of the basalt which paved many of the streets of Rome; and in fact the word usually seems to apply to volcanic stones (cf. Lucr. 6.683).

CONTERIT cf. Prop. 2.23.15.

CERVICE See on 9.143; LONGORUM ‘tall’ 10.223 (cf. Cic. De Inv. 1.35), cf. fortres 9.142; SYRORUM as litter-bearers Mart. 9.2.11 and 22.9 (RE lectica 1097.6).

352 OGULNIA The gens of this name was evidently long extinct (Münzer 85 n. 1; CIL 6.12564 is undated), so Juvenal has not a real contemporary in mind. Women want to make a fine appearance at the games (11.202, Ovid AA 1.99 veniunt spectentur ut ipsae; SG 1.245–6 = 1.289); her hiring of her trappings is ambitiosa paupertas 3.182. Plaut. Pseud. 1184 mentions a chlamys conducta, but I do not know anything more about this feature of Roman life.

COMITES … AMICAS Some of those hired would escort her as clients (on 1.46), others ride with her as friends; cf. on 7.141.

SELLAM A sedan-chair, see Blümner 445, Marquardt 399; on hiring one RE lectica 1093. She could sit in it in the circus if she wished (9.143; cf. Calp. Sic. Buc. 7.27).

CERVICAL προσκεφαλαίον, perhaps a cushion or padded back in the sella, cf. 1.159; but it is not clear that those at Petron. 32.1 are in the sedan-chair, and here it more probably means a cushion on which she could sit in the stone seat, cf. 3.154 pulvino, Ovid AA 1.160, Dio Cass. 59.7.8, SG 2.36 = 2.44.


ET See on 9.74.

FLAVAM … PUELLAM i.e. one who functions as a German (13.164) slave. Cf. Theophr. Char. 22.10 (ἀνελευθερία) τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπαιναν ἄλλα μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικείας παιδίον τὸ συνακολουθήσων; Blümner 285.

355 ARGENTI Silver plate; on 1.76.

356 LEVIBUS ‘beardless’ (3.111) i.e. young; hardly ‘smooth’ with oil, as used by
athletes. For such gifts cf. Mart. 4.28.

NOVISSIMA ‘down to the last’ cf. 11.42.

357 RES ANGUSTA DOMI Cf. 3.165, 12.10.

358–9 SE METITUR … MODUM Cf. 11.35, Hor. Epist. 1.7.98.

359–60 TAMEN ALIQUANDO go together; they take a long time to do it, yet eventually they do so. Cf. 640 and on 8.272.

360–1 FRIGUSQUE FAMEMQUE An alliterative pair; cf. 14.318 (and 273), Lucil. 599–600, Hor. Serm. 1.2.6, Mart. 12.32.7, Thes. fames 232.52 sqq. and 62, Wölflin 261. -QUE FAMESQUE is a favourite line-ending, cf. 424, 14.273, Christensen ALL 15, 1908, 197.

FORMICA The ant is a traditional example; Thes. s.v. 1091.81, Hor. Serm. 1.1.32, Otto s.v., Sauvage Latomus 29, 1970, 293. |[304|


ACERVO Cf. Hor. Serm. 1.1.51, Epist. 2.2.190.

365 Words of place and time are often almost interchangeable (e.g. ibi ‘there-upon’), and usquam (see the apparatus) ‘in any case’ frequently approaches unquam closely; but here the contrast with aliquando and tandem (361–2) favours UNQUAM.

Inevitably some mss. simplify to reputat, but cf. on 95 and 464; here the plural prepares for permittunt O 5. See further on 3.298 and index variation.

GAUDIA Cf. 379.

O 1–34 This passage and 373a–b appear only in O, in which they were discovered by Winstedt CR 13, 1899, 201; O has evidently introduced the lines through contamination with some antique ms. standing apart from the main Juvenal tradition (see BICS 14, 1967, 38–9). In the transmission a format of 29 lines at first per column, then per page seems to have had a dominant influence (l.c. 39, 47–8). While the text was still on rolls a column of 29 lines (O 1–29) was accidentally omitted; the remaining five lines (O 30–4) were reduced to three and transferred to follow 345 (see on 346–8). A marginal note however was made of the fuller form of the lines, qui (O 32) … tacetur (O 33), and this was subsequently incorporated in the scholia to 348, in which it stands with no introduction or explanation of any kind.

All this is written on the hypothesis that these lines are genuine, a matter which has been much debated. I have tried to show (Mnem. 15, 1962, 262) that they are genuine and demanded by the context (see introduction). They contain much that is corrupt (this is natural in view of their transmission) and unexplained, but my
notes attempt to answer the positive objections which have been raised against their authenticity, in default of listing the huge bibliography. A possible reminiscence in Tertullian should be noted (see on O 21).

S. Citrioni Marchetti in Maia 29–30, 1977–8, 61 shows that the O-fragment was known to and imitated by the satirist L. Sergardi at the end of the seventeenth century.

LUDIT 7.239 ne turpia ludant.

2 OBSCENUM. Masculine sc. se; cf. Hor. Epist. 1.18.2 professus amicum and on 2.3; also 6.513 and 2.9 tristibus obscenis. ||

The line as presented by O is unmetrical. Housman pointed out that Juvenal nowhere postpones et to third word in its clause, as his emendation postulates, but defended the licence by Mart. 9.59.12, the only place in which Martial puts et third word. However Griffith Hermes 91, 1963, 113 shows that Martial does this as a traditional feature of elegiac poetry, so the defence fails. Von Winterfeld’s (Berl. Phil. Woch. 19, 1899, 794) et tremula promittens, which also occurred to Housman, is much preferable; the corruption was due to failure to see that ET linked PROFESSUS and PROMITTENS. For OMNIA in such a sexual context cf. παμπαθής and παντοπαθής (Manetho 4.31, 5.283; Flaccus AP 5.5.4 = Gow–Page GP 3799).


3 Every word in the line ends with s; cf. 15.20 and Housman on Manil. 4.780. Apul. Apol. 75 domus eius tota lenonia, tota familia contaminata.

OMNIS Feminine. Cf. on 2.111.

4 VIOLARE Cf. 15.(9 and) 84.

SACRAE … MENSÆ Cf. on 2.110; adsistere mensis Val. Fl. 3.159.

5 PERMITTUNT sc. feminae (362; cf. on 365 and O 17). These cinaedi are maintained by women in their homes (to the disgust of their husbands, implies O 14) as their general factotums to perform such services as are mentioned in 14.30, where eisdem suggests a permanent post in the household. Cf. Lucian De Merc. Cond. 33 quoted in Mnem. l.c. 263.


6 A colocynth is a kind of gourd, a vegetable of the marrow and pumpkin family. Since the σικύα was sometimes inserted into the female genital organs in gynaecological treatment (cf. Todd CQ 37, 1943, 108 n. 2; Colin 338 n. 8), Housman here interprets of the mouth of a cunnilingus; cf. the effeminate cunnilingus for ever hanging round the wife of Candidus, Mart. 12.38. This explanation is not entirely convincing, but no better has been proposed.

BARBATA CHELIDON χελιδών is a slang term for the female genitals, and barbata might then refer to pubic hair; hence Housman explains the phrase as os
fellatoris, which like the vulva is a receptacle for a penis; this seems far-fetched, though it gives the desired sense. Chelidon is a name associated with cinaedi, presumably because of their twittering voices (τερετίζοντος Lucian l.c.); an attendant of Cleopatra was so called (Sen. Ep. 87.16, Suidas s.v. Кивайдα 3.118.1634 Adler), and the cinaedus in Lucian is called Chelidonion. [[306] BARBATA (the gender of which will then follow the rule for epicenes; HS 7, KH 269) may have either of two points: (1) it may suggest that some male semen from his partner spills on his beard (as female secretion 9.4), thus making his mouth and the cups still more disgusting, (2) but from Lucian, who makes the contrary point that the cinaedus had removed his beard, it seems more likely that the beard indicates an attempt by him to disguise his sexual proclivities under a show of manliness; this also seems to be the point in Lucil. 1058 imberbi androgyni, barbati moechocinaedi and Mart. 7.58.1–2 iam sex aut septem nupsisti, Galla, cinaedis, / dum coma te nimium pex-aque barba iuvat. At Mart. 12.42.1 barbatus Callistratus is the female partner in a homosexual marriage, and cf. Theopompus fr. 225 (Fr. Gr. Hist. II B p. 583 Jacoby) οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐτόλμων ἐπανίστασθαι πάγωνας ἢ ἀγαθοὺς ἔχουσι. The difficulty however remains of linking all this with fellatio.

7 PURIOR Lucil. 680 impuram domum. It is paradoxical that the despised LANISTA (216, 3.158) should be purus; the word is placed in a comparatio comperedia for lanistae lares. The religious word LARES ‘house’ is chosen to suggest the violation of purity.

8 NUMERO A military term (Lewis and Short I B 3, OLD 9) in place of the technical família.

9 Juvenal must here be saying that even in the gladiatorial school perverts are separated from normal heterosexuals. The passage of Charisius quoted by Leo and Clausen is useless since the vital word psyllos is a Renaissance emendation for the transmitted populus. Vianello and Colin 344 suggested psilus and one might combine this with euhoplo (cf. εὐοπλίη Robert p. 229 no. 295); psilus will mean both ‘light-armed’ and ‘depilated’, i.e. effeminate (a similar amphiboly at Aristoph. Thesm. 232), but with the first sense 10–12 become repetitive, and with the second euhoplo (which perhaps indicates vigorous sexual organs in the obscure passage Aristoph. Ach. 592; cf. LSJ δῆλον ν) fails to provide a good co-ordinate, since even a pervert may possess sexual vigour (O 25). Provisionally therefore it is best to read psellus … euphono, with reference to the characteristic speech of the sexual invert (Plato Gorg. 485c etc.; cf. RAC Effeminatus 636 and on O 6). The Greek words as usual indicate contempt.

QUID QUOD There are not only moral distinctions but other distinctions of rank too, as between professional and amateur retiarii; for the association of the tunic with the latter see on 2.143 and 8.207.

10 EADEM qua ponitur tunica; they are not συγκελλάριοι (Robert p. 147 no. 109).
MUNIMENTA UMERI The shoulder-guard of retiarii (on 8.207). The following corruption has not yet been satisfactorily emended; [1307] in Housman’s conjecture pulsata (he also suggested pertusa) is left hanging weakly. Best so far is Leo’s pulsatoremque (cf. Sil. It. 13.376 bellatorem ensem); a pulsator is a type of gladiator (Colin 372).

NUDUS Wearing only the subligaculum; cf. on 4.49.

HAS ANIMAS The pselli and the wearers of the turpis tunica. ANIMAS (cf. 531 and 8.254) seems a very dignified word for these despised men, but cf. Tac. Hist. 4.32 servientium animae, Sil. It. 15.500 venales a. (Thes. s.v. 73.14).

NERVOS A iron chain (RE s.v., Allen HSCP 7, 1896, 46 and 62–3); there was such a prison with stocks in the gladiatorial school at Pompeii (SG 2.56 = 2.67; A. Mau–F. Kelsey Pompeii (1899) 157), cf. Le Blant Rev. Archéol. 13, 1889, 149. This form of the nominative singular is well attested in Juvenal (Knoche Grundlagen 351).

Juvenal resumes 6 after the digression contrasting the house with the gladiatorial school. COMMUNEM CALICEM Cf. 8.177, Lucian Pseudol. 31.

For Alban wine cf. 5.33; that of Surrentum is often mentioned and associated with it.

SEPULCHRI A common haunt of prostitutes, being generally by the road-side (on 1.171); cf. Mart. 1.34.8, 3.93.15.

RUINOSI A fortiori a prostitute with a tomb in good order to shelter her would be even more vehement in rejection.

DEGUSTARE vinum Cato De Agr. 148.

NUBUNT i.e. repeatedly; SUBITAEQUE RECEDUNT (discedunt would be commoner) cf. 224 sqq. After the singular uxor O 14 to match tibi, the subject returns to fœminae (on O 5).

This line makes no sense as it stands. With solvunt or relevant there is a zeugmatic coupling of animum and seria (illustrated by Housman), and his is instrumental ablative (cf. on 1.13). Reserant goes less well with seria.

Cf. 11.164; Mart. 5.78.27–8 (vibrare); Copa 2, Ovid Am. 2.4.30, AA 3.351 (latus); a vivid illustration in Colin fig. A p. 334. The fundamental sense of the word cinaedus is ‘dancer’; RE Kinaidos 459.65 (esp. 460.53), cf. Pap. Tebtun. 208 = Sammelbuch Gr. Urkunden 3.1 (F. Bilabel, 1926) 7182.96. Cf. Lucian l.c. on O 5, Clem. Alex. Paed. 2.10.113.2 τῶν τὴν κιναιδίαν τὴν ἄφωνον ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς μετιόντων ὀρχηστῶν (i.e. pantomimi); Colin 332.

QUIQUID summing up with asyndeton; cf. on 8.27.

ILLI qui docet. For another cinaedus who turned out to be an adulterer cf. Mart. 10.40, and note also Jerome quoted in the introduction.

FIDES 2.8; OCULOS FULIGINE PASCIT (i.e. he makes them larger) [308]
cf. 2.93–6 and Lucian l.c., Tertull. quoted on 2.94 (perhaps a reminiscence of here).

22 CROCEIS He wears a crocota (Apul. Met. 8.27) cf. galbina 2.97; yellow is an effeminate colour, Verg. Aen. 9.614.

RETICULATUS 2.96.

23 SUSPECTUS sc. tanto (eo) magis; cf. KS 2.484.

VOX MOLLIOR Cf. 2.111.

24 LUMBIS Their own; cf. 8.16 tenerum ... lumbum, duros ... l. Catull. 16.11. Anth. Lat. 689b (a poor poem attributed to Cyprian) 12 leniter incedunt mollita voce loquentes / laxatosque (lass- or laps- codd.) tenent extenso pollice (? podice) lumbos (of the priests of Cybele).

25 FORTISSIMUS 4.3. This sham weakling is compared to a Triphallus (a name of Priapus; H. Herter De Priapo (1932) 175) who saltat Thaida, Thais is a character of comedy (3.93) and we might therefore expect acta rather than SALTATA, which suggests a comparison rather with pantomime; but pantomime did not deal with everyday life and comic characters (see on 63, which presents the same accusative after saltare). Perhaps we should suppose that a Thais performed a dance in some comedy, but Juvenal must have chosen the word saltare to include an allusion to the dancing-lessons (19) and effeminate gait (2.17) of the cinaedi. The inconcinnity is heightened by MIMUM O 27 (q.v.). Housman makes unnecessary difficulties about the method of expression; the stage-character Thais takes off her mask and reveals herself as the actor Triphallus.


27 sqq. A προσωποποιία, like 172–3, though here the reader has to see for himself without any Amphion clamat that the husband is speaking (cf. 492 and on 3.186); a modern text should enclose 27–34 in inverted commas. In a piece of vivid dramatic dialogue the husband catches the cinaedus laughing at him, tells him that he is not taken in by this masquerade, and challenges him to a legal sponsio to establish his virility. Then he turns to his old friends who happen to be present and says that he is tired of hearing continually the same crambe repetita of their useless advice (useless because they have not until now realised that she commits adultery at home as well as abroad) to lock up his wife. ‘If I put her under surveillance’ he says, ‘the guards will need to be guarded, for as matters now stand (NUNC) she bribes them with this fee.’ HAC MERCEDE (cf. Lucan 1.38) is said δεικτικῶς and has its meaning filled in with a gesture as he points at the disguised adulterer who has been detected, reasonably assuming that his aim is his wife’s favours and that his friends will realise this; this interpretation seems quite natural in a vivid dramatic context, characterised as such by the style with its questions, short sentences, and excited ellipse (ALIS HUNC MIMUM sc. serva or the like; cf. e.g. Pers. 3.40 ad populum phaleras! and 3.19 cui verba?).

Because of the abruptness of the introduction of the husband’s words in 27, Clauss 15–17 claims that 27–34 are in fact spoken by the poet who for the moment
is putting himself in the position of a husband; but his parallels fall far short of this passage (651, where there is no hint at all that the poet is thinking of himself; 166 sqq. *malo* etc.).

27 **MIMUM** In the general sense of pretence, cf. 608, 13.110; in the latter passage there is a link with the literal sense, but no such link can be intended here with 25–6 because masks were not worn in mimes.

**SPONSIO** At 11.202 this means ‘bet’; here it refers to the procedure (*sponsione provocare*) used in civil law to decide ownership. One claimant would ask the other ‘do you promise (*spondesne*) to pay me X sesterces if Y belongs to me?’; for **CONTENDO** cf. Catull. 44.4 The testimony of slaves would ordinarily be taken under torture (29), cf. Kaser

29 **VOCAT** In a deliberative sense; cf. on 4.130.

**TORTORIS PERGULA** (11.137) Cf. 480 and on 8.175; in the Subura, Mart. 2.17.

30 **QUAECUUMQUE** It has been claimed that the indefinite lacks point and is inferior to *quid* 346. It is however a piece of character-drawing; it is spoken by the worn-out and despairing husband who says that he is well aware of all (*quaeque = omnia quae*) the advice given to him, which all consists of variations on the theme summarised by him as *pone seram, cohibe*, and is all equally useless.

**COHIBE prohibe** (*sc. moechos*) as read by PR in 347 is interpolated because that passage referred to the introduction (*intulerit* 340) of an adulterer from outside the house.


31–2 **CUSTODES** Cf. 235; Plato *Rep.* 403e γελοῖον τὸν γε φύλακα φύλακος δεῖσθαι. Puellae See on 2.58.

366 On eunuchs as lovers cf. Mart. 6.2.6 and 6.6.7 (with the same point as 368, for which cf. also *Theophrastus* quoted in the introduction), Lucian *Eunuchus* 10; Cyril of Alexandria ap. Suidas s.v. σπάδων (4.413 Adler) = *Sermo contra Eunuchos* (Migne *Patr. Gr.* 77) 1108c; Basil *De Vera Virginitate* 61 (Migne 30 col. 796); Hopfner¹ 394–6. The eunuch Favorinus was prosecuted for adultery (Philos. *Vit.* Soph. 1.8.489). All eunuchs are necessarily sterile, but not all are impotent; Dalle 33, *ERE* s.v. *Eunuchs* ‘The castrate can for some time (at least a year) have sexual intercourse and emit a semen (probably the secretion of the prostate gland). Later however erections occur much more seldom—almost never after 18 months from the operation—and there is no sensation of seminal ejaculation.’ Cf. Isidore 10.93 and on the semen of eunuchs Hippocrates *De Semine* 2 (7.472 Littré, vol. 11 p. 45 Budé ed.) and the spurious insertion in Galen *De Usu Partium* 14.11 (2.321.22 Helmreich). Castration was repeatedly forbidden; by Domitian (often mentioned), by Nerva (Dio Cass. 68.2.4; *RE castratio* 1772), by Hadrian (Ulpian *Dig.* 48.8.4.2, cf. Paulus ibid. 48.8.5), but the prohibitions remained ineffective. Cf. Mommsen² 637, Dalle 84 and 89.

**IMBELLES** Cf. Mart. 7.58.5, Claudian *In Eutr.* 1.271–81.
MOLLIA OSCULA Cf. Mart. 11.22.1 of a *puer delicatus*.

367 DESPERATIO BARBAE Cf. 373.

368 ABORTIVO sc. *medicamento* cf. 2.32.

369 QUOM This is certainly right, though it gains no support from the scholia (*BICS* 14, 1967, 41). *Quod* is impossible because some eunuchs were castrated at birth.

CALIDA IUVENTA Cf. on 325, and Plut. *De Virtute Morali* 11.450f νέοι οἰστρώδεις αἵματος πλήθει καὶ θερμότητι.

370 PECTINE Pliny *NH* 29.26; κτείς is similarly used (Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 343).

371–2 and 374–6 The type of eunuch technically known as θλιβίας or θλαδίας (θλασίας), who loses his testicles or has them crushed but retains his penis (Hopfner1 386, Dalle 48, Maass *Rh. Mus.* 74, 1925, 450 sqq.); the procedure is described by Paulus Aegineta 6.68.

PRIMUM sc. *antequam rapiantur*.

BILIBRES Cf. *crassa* 11.157 and Mart. 10.55.2.

TANTUM DAMNO This word-order is preferable because Juvenal always places *tantum* beside the word which it modifies.

HELIODORUS A surgeon, *RE* no. 18, col. 41.

373a–b A semi-colon after 373b makes it clear how well these lines fit in. They contrast the MANGONUM PUERI (Mart. 9.6.4 *non puer avari sectus arte manguonis*) and their shame with the A DOMINA FACTUS SPADO and his pride, and the mention of these persons is elegantly placed to form a chiasmus.

FOLLIS The medical writer Caelius Aurelianus so uses *folliculus*; CICERIS likewise ἑρέβινθος (Henderson 119).

RELICTI The scrotum and penis alone remain to them (cf. 16.12), not the testicles.

375 Baths are naturally the place for showing off male physique; 11.156 and on 9.35.

CUSTODEM VITIS ET HORTI Priapus, cf. Herter (on O 24–5) 207; for the comparison cf. Mart. 11.72.2 and Claudian *In Eutr.* 1.256 *eunuchorumque manipli, / Hellespontiacis legio dignissima signis.* ||[311]

PROVOCAT 1.24.

377–8 Bromius is a *puer delicatus* who is approaching manhood and is therefore now DURUS (Arnob. 5.25 *nondum duri pusionis*; Plut. *Ages.* 13 a boy grown μέγας καὶ σκληρός), and whose hair must now be cut. The name (on inscriptions *Thes.* s.v. 2204.32) alludes to the Bacchus-like long hair and feminine appearance of such boys; cf. 8.128.

COMMITTERE The eunuch, says Juvenal ironically, is welcome to sleep with his mistress, who is capable of accommodating his Priapean member; but, Postumus, do not trust your *pusio* (35) to him, for even though he is nearly grown up he
will be torn and injured. This explanation, due to Lubinus, is the only one which
gives proper value both to the antithesis (SED) between the domina and Bromius
and to the adjectives attached to the latter.

379 GAUDET As in 611, no explicit mention is made of the subject; here Juve-
nal may still have had domina in mind.

CANTU includes playing as well as singing; cf. 10.210. It does not of course
mean that she likes to sing herself.

FIBULA Cf. 73 and Priapea 77.14–17.

380 VOCEM VENDENTIS Cf. 8.185 and 192, Mart. 7.64.9.

PRAETORIBUS They were in charge of paying the performers (see on 8.194).

ORGANA Isidore 3.21.2 organum vocabulum est generale vasorum omnium

381 'Her rings glitter thick all over the sounding-board'; she wears several rings
on each hand (cf. Mart. 5.61.5, Lucian Nigrin. 13, RE Ringe 826, Blümner 1 260, G.
M. A. Richter Engraved Gems of the Romans (1971) 3), as was traditional for mu-
sicians (Pliny NH 37.6–7). The sardonyx (masculine here and always in Martial,
feminine 7.144, Pers. 1.16, Pliny NH 37.85 sqq.; Neue-Wagener 1.937) was the usual
stone for a ring (cf. ll.cc. and 13.139). Σ understands of gems on the instrument, but
this has no relevance in the context.

TESTUDINE According to legend Hermes used a tortoise-shell as a frame
when he invented the lyre; even in Roman times this material was sometimes em-
RE Schildkröte 430, Lyra 2479, Saiteninstrumente 1761.

382 'The strings are struck in succession (or 'rhythmically'; see below) by the
vibrating quill'. PECTINE = plectro 384. CRISPO pulsanti, qui crispet chordas Σ;
an active sense is implicit, cf. 631, 7.206, 13.27 and 229 and on 1.70.

NUMERANTUR 'This (means) that the strings … being numerous, ||[312] are
struck …; cf. Mart. 8.28.7 an tua … numeravit lana Timavum? 'was your fleece
washed in Timavus of many mouths?'; ibid. 65.9 currus numerant elephanta fre-
quentem ‘the chariot is drawn by a number of elephants': in each case the idea of
number belongs not to the verb but to the object' Duff. The word has also been
interpreted numero feriuntur, but parallels are lacking.

383 HEDYMELES if a real person had derived his name from his art; but it may
be merely a name invented by Juvenal to fit a virtuoso musician.

OPERAS DEDIT ‘has been kind enough to oblige'; cf. operas edere and Thes.
5.1.1681.76.

HUNC pectinem; TENET cf. 70; SOLATUR in default of Hedymeles himself;
for BASIA cf. on 4.118.

385 Presumably she was descended from the Claudii on one side and the Aelii
Lamiae on the other; the latter now represent the highest nobility (on 4.154). The
praenomen Appius (often taken by Claudii who did not belong to the now extinct
patrician family; Groag PIR² C 762) is often used as if it were a gentile name (Thes. s.v. 289.64; cf. via Appia, aqua Appia, Appietas aut Lentulitas Cic. Ad Fam. 3.7.5), cf. Cossus 8.21, Mamercus 8.192. Here it is adjectivally applied, cf. Tac. Ann. 1.8.1 Livia in familiae Iuliam nomenque Augustum adsumebatur, with other parallels in Koestermann’s note (KS 1.209). Heinsius’ conjecture (on Ovid Fasti 4.305) may be supported by 5.38, where V reads Appiadum.

386 IANUM VESTAMQUE according to many ancient sources were regularly named first and last in prayers, though the facts of cult do not entirely bear out these statements: Bömer on Ovid Fasti 1.89 and 6.304, Pease on Cic. De Nat. Deor. 2.67, Latte 134 and 207, B. R. Burchett Janus (1918) 22, RE Vesta 1771–2 and suppl. 3.1176, Gianelli Riv. Fil.² 2, 1924, 219 and 224, L. A. Holland Janus and the Bridge (1961) 283. In consulting them she offers a lamb (392), which would have mola salsa (far combined with salt) and wine scattered over it (Wissowa 417, Latte 387, RE immolatio 1127–8, RSV 3.180, Ettrem 316 sqq., cf. 12.8 and 84).

387 The Capitoline contest instituted by Domitian in A.D. 86; Suet. 4, RE Capitolia, SG 2.120 and 352 = 2.150 and 179, 4.264 = 4.276, Balsdon¹ 326, Carcopino 245, Wille 353, Beaujeu BICS 22, 1975, 115, Wissowa 465. The prize was of oak-leaves; SG 3.44 = 2.231.

POLLIO A famous citharode (RE no. 5); 7.176, Mart. 4.61.9.

388 FIDIBUS PROMITTERE He talks affectionately to his lyre as if it were animate and he were only trying to win the victory for its sake; cf. on 391. ||[33]

FACERET See on 4.85.

389 ERGA Cf. Tac. Ann. 4.74,3 anxii erga Seianum; the word appears nowhere else in poetry.

TRISTIBUS i.e. nil promittentibus (16.12).

FILIOLUM An affectionate diminutive (cf. on 10.310).

391 CITHARA The same point as 388, with the further contemptuous implication that her prayers are not even pro citharoedo.

VELARE CAPUT As usual in praying and sacrificing; Latte 383, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 3.363, H. Freier Caput Velare (1964) 102 sqq.

DICTATA VERBA The formula would be rehearsed by the priest (carmen praeire or praeferi) and then repeated by the celebrant to avoid any invalidating mistake in the wording; RSV 3.177, Latte 198, Wissowa 394, Appel 207; Val. Fl. 1.685 miseris dictat pia vota sacerdos.

392 PERTULIT Cf. 7.153 and on 6.261.


393 DIC, DIC Cf. 280.

ANTIQUISSIME DIVOM So Janus is called by Herodian 1.16.1 and (with some confusion) Procopius 5.25; this however has no roots in Roman cult or theology,
and is simply an extension of his association with all beginnings, applied here to heighten the contrast between the majesty of the god and the triviality of the prayer.

394 PATER A term of respect for his venerable age; for its application to Janus cf. RE suppl. 3.1176, Wissowa 109, Appel 103.

394–5 The Epicureans are right after all! Or rather the situation is still worse; the gods do not just lack concern for human affairs, but neglect the important ones and attend to the trivial (Ruperti).

395 QUOD VIDEO ut video 13.118 in a similar context. Perhaps we should read this here also with Φ; the repeated est would make the corruption easy, and with quod one looks for videam.

VOS te, lane, ceterosque deos; see index pronouns.

397 CONSULIT With a hostia consultatoria (392); cf. Latte 379, Wissowa 419 n. 1, RE haruspices 2449, Thulin 2.11.

398 VOLET The future seems out of place; solet Scholte p. 65 (Σ has merely orat, but one should not rely too much on this).

VARICOSUS From so much standing (cf. Macrobr. Sat. 2.3.5).


399 ET connects the adjectives AUDAX and COETUS … MAMILIS. |[314] Women are out of place in male gatherings to discuss business; cf. Stat. Th. 9.825 (Diana in battle), 3.571 coetus procerum perferre.

400 The PALUDAMENTUM (RE s.v., Marquardt 567, Mommsen 1.64 and 431) was a purple cloak worn by a general when he left Rome in possession of the imperium; cf. an alleged fragment of Sallust quoted by Perotti (Oliver TAPA 78, 1947, 416–17). This woman buttonholes him even when he is busy.

401 RECTA FACIE 10.189, Quintil. 9.3.101.

SICCISQUE MAMILIS Like an unsexed creature, and quite unlike primitive women (9).

403 The Thracians may be taken to represent the peoples of the extreme North, as the Chinese those of the extreme East.

SECRETÀ … PUERI Hardly the cruelty suffered by a step-son (on 627), but his seduction by his step-mother.

QUIS AMET bellus homo est … qui scit quam quis amet Mart. 3.63.11; cf. SG 1.223 = 1.261.

DIRIPIATUR Of extreme popularity which causes women to fight over him (Thes. s.v. 1261.45); cf. rapere Pers. 2.37 and the literal διασπασμός at Aristoph. Eccl. 1076.

406 VERBIS Cf. 191, 197.

MODIS i.e. figuris, σχήμασι, τρόποις; cf. Thes. s.v. 1267.57, Ovid Am. 2.8.28, Tib. 2.6.52.
Comets, generally a bad omen, are particularly threatening to kings; *Re Kometes* 1148, Pease on Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.14. It is clear that this and the following lines contain a contemporary reference. A conspicuous comet was visible in Rome in November A.D. 115, and Trajan began his campaign against Parthia in 116; admittedly the Armenian campaign was over in 114, but it is readily comprehensible that Juvenal should have sacrificed strict accuracy for the dramatic effect of linking the fall of Parthomasiris of Armenia as well as the defeat of Chosroes of Parthia with the comet. Another comet had appeared in 110, but this does not come into the question because the troubles with Armenia and Parthia did not arise until 113, and the earthquake (411) took place in 115; this woman’s two sensational items of hot news could not be so widely separated in time.


**409** PORTAS sc. *Urbs.*

**QUOD** DAM FACIT As the gossip in Theophrastus (on 398) 6 does.

*Niphates* was in reality an Armenian mountain-range from which the Tigris flows (Strabo 11.12.4.522 and 11.14.8.529); this fact, and perhaps a misunderstanding of Hor. *Odes* 2.9.20 (where see Nisbet–Hubbard), confused the Silver poets, who speak of a river Niphates (as well as Juvenal cf. Lucan 3.245, Sil. *It.* 13.765).


**412** QUOCUMQUE is an indefinite, CUICUMQUE a relative pronoun.

TRIVIO Cf. 9.112.

**413** QUAE Housman prefers *quod*, seeing 388–433 as governed by the notion of *audacia* (399), readiness to behave in male fashion in front of her husband (400, 432). He claims that we want to know what is done during the day by the woman who does not go to the baths until evening; but 413 sqq. deal with the morning, and he neglects 415–18, which make it plain that 419 sqq. are only a specimen of the woman’s behaviour, not its predominant feature. See further in the introduction. *Quod* is an obvious simplification; before QUAE we have to understand *eius* (cf. 10.330; KS 2.282, HS 555), for as Friedlaender shows 2.34 is not to be compared.

**414** CONCIDERЕ Cf. 3.300 and on 481.

**415** EXORTATA If this is interpreted as *exhortata* we should have to understand *servos* (cf. 417), which is barely possible. *Exorata* would have to mean ‘when she is appeased’; ‘i.e. when she is in a good humour, her neighbours get off with stripes; *for* when she is really angry she inflicts the severer punishment with cudgels’ Duff. But this is very strained, and if *nam si* … is intended to convey this contrast, the second sentence ought to have a word meaning *non exorata*, *irata* together with something to indicate the cause of her milder assault. Knoche’s defence of *exortata* (*Gnomon* 9, 1933, 249) is also plainly futile; at Apul. *De Deo Socr.*
17.158 *exortatus* is usually and rightly emended to *exortus*. It must be established whether *nam si* … *fustes* is intended to contrast with the preceding *lora*, as Duff thought, or not. In the former case we should have to restore something to indicate a lesser annoyance than being awakened in the middle of the night. But, comparing *nam si* at 3.257, I think that Juvenal just passed from *lora* to *fustes* without intending any contrast by the same kind of inconsequence as that passage shows; so I prefer here to restore something more neutral like *exsecrata* (Martyn Hermes 106, 1978, 214).

LATRATIBUS Roman houses were not so burglar-proof as modern; in some the *impluvium* provided an entrance for the cat-burglar (though it was sometimes covered by a metal grid), and walls were often soft (Blümner1 10, Marquardt 617; hence *perforadere parietes* Cic. *In Vat.* 11, Festus 378, Plaut. *Pseud.* 980, Apul. *Apol.* 32). Watch-dogs (Blümner1 28, *RE Hund* 2558; cf. on 14.66 and 9.104) were therefore numerous and vocal (Ovid *Trist.* 1.3.27 etc.). The *humiles vicini* are probably shop-keepers; many aristocratic houses had the front [316] ground floor let out in shops (Blümner1 58, *RE Römisches Haus* 980) in which the tenants might sleep (cf. Tac. *Hist.* 1.86.2, though unfortunately *taberna* may also mean ‘poor house’; Packer *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* 31, 1971, 69). For rich and poor living cheek by jowl cf. Carcopino 36.


417 DOMINUM The dog’s owner.

419 BALNEA Presumably, as Friedlaender argues, the private bath in her own house (7.178).

NOCTE The ordinary hour for the bath (cf. on 11.205) was the 8th or 9th (Marquardt 270, Blümner1 383 and 432); the 10th was late (Mart. 3.36.5, 10.70.13). The *cena* (424) would usually begin at the 9th or 10th (Marquardt 298, Blümner1 384, *RE cena* 1895). This lady bathes late and takes a long time over it (425 *tandem*), so that it is bedtime (*somno* 424) when they begin the meal. NOCTE however does not imply more than ‘dusk’; so Clement quoted by Marquardt 270 equates μὴ καθ’ ἡμέραν with ἡ δεκάτη.

CONCHAS Duff compares 304 and thinks that she uses these vessels instead of the usual *gutus* (3.263, 11.158) for oil. But Friedlaender is probably right in thinking of basins or bathtubs; cf. *Thes.* s.v. 28.61 and *CIL* 8.8396 *conchas de suo posuit*, Sidon. *Apoll. Ep.* 4.8.4–5.

CASTRA MOVERI She is the general (IUBET) ordering her large retinue (cf. 7.131) amid much hubbub; cf. στρατόπεδον Lucian *Nigrin.* 13.

420 SUDARE In the *sudatorium* or Turkish bath; Marquardt 280 and 290, Blümner1 425, *RE sudatio* (2).

421 Like a man (and Martial’s Philaenis 7.67) she takes exercise and massage before her bath; cf. on 2.53, Clem. *Paed.* 3.5.32 (p. 255 Stählin) δούλοις ἀποδύονται γυμνάι καὶ ἀνατρίβονται ύπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐξουσίαν δοῦσαι τῷ κατεπτηχότι
tēs ἐπιθυμίας τὸ ἄδεξς τῆς ψηλαφήσεως, Marquardt 282.

GRAVI … MASSA The halteres (also used by Philaenis), lumps of stone or metal used to give impetus when jumping or (as here) swung in the hand like dumb-bells; Sen. Ep. 15.4 cum aliquo pondere manus motae, 56.1 fortiores … manus plumbo graves iactant. See Blümner1 329, Jüthner Röm. Mitteil. 43, 1928, 13, E. N. Gardiner Athletics of the Ancient World (1930) 153, Harris 150 and Greek Athletes and Athletics (1964) 80, Crowther G & R2 24, 1977, 118.


CRISTAE The pubic hair; as in 70 Juvenal chooses a sexual innuendo. Cf. Clement quoted on 421. [317]

424 SOMNOQUE FAMEQUE Cf. on 360 and on 5.49.

425 RUBICUNDULA rubentem Mart. 5.4.4; a comic diminutive. Diminutive adjectives are discussed by Petersen CP 11, 1917, 426 (P1) and 12, 1918, 49 (P2). Apart from the common parvulus, pusillus, vetulus, Graeculus, misellus, quantulus(cumque), Juvenal has candidulus 10.355 (P1 446), improbulus 5.78 (P2 54), lividulus 11.110 (P2 55), pallidulus 10.82 (P1 441, 448), rancidulus 11.135 (P2 55), sordidulus 3.149 (P2 55); for rubicundulus see P2 55, 57.

The bath has made her hot. Such hot baths (420) were taken in order to arouse thirst: Colum. 1 pr. 16 exusto sudore sitim quaerimus, Sen. Ep. 15.3, 122.6, Plut. Quaest. Symp. 8.9.734a. Then before the meal huge quantities of wine were swallowed to whet the appetite, and these were then vomited (Pliny NH 14.139 and 29.26, Athen. 15.2.665e, Sen. Dial. 1.3.13 and 12.10.3). So in women Sen. Ep. 95.21 and Martial’s Philaenis (on 421). Cf. Marquardt 290, Blümner1 435.

426 OENOPHORUM SITIENS Internal accusative. The oenophorus (7.11; Blümner1 404, Marquardt 650, Hilgers 232, K. D. White Farm Equipment (1975) 174) holds a full urna (12.4.44), about three gallons. Roman measures of capacity run thus: 1 quadrantal (RE s.v.) or amphora = 2 urnae = 48 sextarii = 576 cyathi (5.32); note that this is a duodecimal system (on 1.40). This lady drinks 2 sextarii, about 2 pints; one sextarius would be the usual amount (Blümner1 404 n. 3).

TENDITUR The vessel is ‘stretched’ by the contents; distenditur would be more specific.

427 ADMOTUM PEDIBUS Cf. Mart. 7.20.19.

428 DUCITUR ‘is drunk’; 12.9.

ANTE CIBUM The aperitif came in in the time of Tiberius, Pliny NH 14.143, 23.41; cf. the passages cited on 425.

RABIDAM rabies edendi Verg. Aen. 9.64.

OREXIM 11.127 (and thence SHA 17.29.9). For ‘appetite’ Gellius 16.3.2 uses ādpetītio, motivated however by the preceding edundi adpetens; the medical writer Caelius Aurelianus uses both this and ādpetitus. ēsūritio can approach this
sense (Mart. 5.78.18), but is basically a painful sensation of hunger. So Latin lacked a generally current word of this meaning, and of the words which it provided none would fit Juvenal’s metre.

A comma after CIBUM rather than after OREXIM would make plain the close dependence of DUM (in a causal sense; on 176) on FACTURUS.


430 AURATA PELVIS Cf. 3.277 and Blümner1 146–7; she has vomited in this, but it overflows. [[318]

431 SIC TANQUAM 3.308; LONGUS cf. 5.103. tamquam serpens, quando in dolium vini ceciderit, bibendo vomit et vomendo denuo bibit Σ. For the fondness of serpents for wine cf. Aristotle Hist. An. 8.4.594a, Pliny NH 10.198 and 22.106, Colum. 12.31. Herrmann Latomus 7, 1948, 199 rightly sees here a reference to the fable known from Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. 4.9.

434 sit non doctissima contionux Mart. 2.90.9; for such cf. SG 1.251 = 1.296, A. M. Guillemin Le Public et la Vie Littéraire (1937) 86–7.

DISCUMBERE COEPIT Duff translates ‘has begun her dinner’, cf. 448 and 5.12. But discumbere in its literal sense ‘to take up a reclining position’ is incompatible with a verb of beginning, and the transferred sense postulated by Duff cannot be clearly established. It is more likely that COEPIT is used in the periphrastic sense which became progressively more common; KS 2.569, HS 319, W. Kroll Wissenschaftliche Syntax4 (1962) 57; e.g. Petron. 86 sedere coepit.

435 IGNOSCIT Cynthia made similar moral judgments about literature, Prop. 2.1.50; women lay down the law for other women. Cf. Claudian 30 (Laus Serenae). 148 damnas Helenam nec parcis Elissae.

436 COMMITTIT ‘pits the poets against one another’ like gladiators, cf. 1.163, Prop. 2.3.21; i.e. lets them fight for primacy, cf. Mart. 4.23.

COMPARAT ‘compares’; VATES see on 1.18.

ALIA PARTE Cf. 7.114, contrasted with hinc. The more exact āltĕrā will not fit the metre, but in any case such inexactitudes are common (on 8.196).

TRUTINA The metaphor of the balance Hor. Epist. 2.1.29; a material one Aristoph. Frogs 1365 sqq. On such comparisons in general cf. Focke Hermes 58, 1923, 339 sqq. and 363 sqq.; between Homer and Vergil 11.180, Quintil. 10.1.86, Macrobi. Sat. 5.2 and even before the publication of the Aeneid Prop. 2.34. They were common in the schools (438; cf. Marrou 255), and doubtless too a topic of conversation in cultured cænae; cf. the parody quid putas inter Ciceronem et Publilium interesse? at Petron. 55.

438 GRAMMATICI, RHETORÈS Teachers of literature and rhetoric (ῥήτορες), cf. 7.150–243. CEDUNT Cf. 515.

439 CAUSIDICUS (on 7.106), PRAECO Both voluble and loud-mouthed by profession.
ALTERA NEC MULIER (a humorous climax) should be followed by a comma or semi-colon, VIS by a full stop, PULSARI by a comma. Both demonstratives TANTA and TOT are, as often, used in a causal sense, the former explaining what precedes, like tanta 501, the latter what follows, like tot 502. In the second case we have paratactically expressed what might be expressed hypotactically thus, tot ... pulsari ut nemini sint tubae fatigandae; cf. HS 529, Housman on Manil. 4.134 with addenda (add Mart. 1.109.14).

VIS The monosyllabic crash of her verbosity, which is also conveyed by the alliteration of t and p.

The superstitious thought that the moon’s eclipses (for LABORANTI and similar expressions cf. Thes. 7.2.793.16, RE Finsternisse 2332, ML Mondgöttin 3165, W. H. Roscher Über Selene und Verwandtes (1895) 89, Richter WS² 11, 1977, 96 sqq. (esp. 103), Allen CQ² 25, 1975, 154) were caused by demons (not by witchcraft; Hill Rh. Mus. 116, 1974, 233–5). Noise, mainly percussion, would, it was thought, be apotropaic and frighten off the demons (Gow on Theocr. 2.36, J. Quasten Musik und Gesang (1930) 36–9). See in general RE and ML l.c., Roscher 87, RE Mageia 375 and Selene 1137, 1140; Gruppe 895–900, Hopfner² 48 = 104 §207, Bömer and Frazer on Ovid Fasti 5.441; cf. e.g. Plut. De Facie in Orbe Lunae 29.944b with the note of Cherniss (p. 208 Loeb ed.).

AERA Magic, like religion in general (on 343), is conservative in its materials; the arrival of the Iron Age did not expel bronze in such uses (RE Aberglaube 51, Mageia 327.33; RAC Erz 479, Abt 85, E. E. Burriss Taboo, Magic, Spirits (1931) 114 and CP 24, 1929, 159, RSV 3.236; cf. Isidore 8.11.66, Macrob. Sat. 5.19.9, Varro ap. Augustine CD 7.24, Pease on Verg. Aen. 4.513, Σ Theocr. 2.36 quoting Apollodorus fr. 36 Fr. Gr. Hist. II B p. 1074 Jacoby). Of course bronze gives a particularly good resonant sound which makes it suitable for this purpose; cf. ML l.c. 3166, Rohde 2.77 = 296 and 320, Cook JHS 22, 1902, 14, Hildebrandt Philol. 70, 1911, 67. Cf. Ovid Met. 4.333 aera auxiliaria (and similarly Stat. Th. 6.686) with SUCCURREERE 443.

PELVES This normally (though not at 431) humble domestic appliance is ironically mentioned.

TINTINNABULA For the use of bells in magic cf. RE s.v. 1408, Delatte Bull. Acad. Belge 40, 1954, 266, RAC Erz 483; cf. Menander Protector fr. 20 Fr. Hist. Gr. 4 p. 227 Müller. A talkative woman is compared to the Δωδωναῖον χαλκίον by Menander fr. 60 (cf. Sandbach’s commentary p. 691 and Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 483); tinnire is applied to female chatter Plaut. Cas. 249, Poen. 33. At Sen. Phaedr. 792 the chorus says that, thinking that witches had dragged down the moon, tinnitus dedimus. Symphos. Aenigm. 80.2 speaks of a bell as linguae crepitantis imago.

TUBAS As at Tac. Ann. 1.28.2.

The philosopher lays down the limit (finem ponere cf. 359, 13.241) beyond which virtues, such as doctrina, turn to vices (cf. Hor. Epist. 1.6.15; μηδέν ἄγαν); <and rightly so>, for ... For the common elliptic use of nam cf. 10.204. [[320]
VIDERI She is more interested in an impressive appearance than in true learning, cf. Lucian De Merc. Cond. 36.

She should wear a tunica instead of a stola.

CAEDERE SILVANO PORCUM Silvanus being a farmer’s god, naturally only the farmer would sacrifice to him (Cato De Agr. 83); hence arose a taboo against women (RE Silvanus 120, Latte 83, Wissowa 214, Wagenvoort 169).

QUADRANTE LAVARI This was a man’s fee in the baths (Hor. Serm. 1.3.137 quadrante lavatum; cf. on 2.152), a quadrans (¼ as) being the smallest coin in normal use (RE s.v. 662.48; Crawford JRS 60, 1970, 40–1); but women were charged more (double at Vipsas; Carcopino 254), though sometimes bequests gave them free entry (Meusel 103 n. 1). Cf. Austin on Cic. Pro Cael. 62.


RECUMBIT At meals, cf. 434, 9.106.

DICENDI GENUS subtile, grande or floridum (medium), the standard division of the rhetoricians (Lausberg pp. 519 sqq.); i.e. she should not have had a rhetorical training, like Statilia Messalina (on 244).

ENTHYMEMA A type of rhetorical argument based on a syllogism (Quintil. 5.10 and 14 passim; Volkmann 191–4, Lausberg pp. 199 and 432). CURVUM means ‘rounded, complete’, applied to the rounding off of the logical proof; in se revolvitur et undique concludit breviter the inferior scholia, cf. Quintil. 11.3.102 enthymemata sua gestu corrotundant, Pliny Ep. 2.3.3 crebra enthymemata, crebri syllogismi, circumscripiti et effecti.

TORQUEAT … ROTATO The metaphor is from the brandishing and throwing of weapons; cf. 7.156 and Sen. Ep. 108.10 sententia velut lacerta excussa retorquetur (excussiore torq. Gertz), Cic. Tusc. 3.63 verba contorquet (see Kühner’s note; the metaphor is explicit at De Or. 1.242), Pliny Ep. 5.20.4 periodos contorquere, Plato Protag. 342e.

HISTORIAS SCIAT This is the business of the grammaticus, though not all grammatici concerned themselves with it; cf. 7.230 and Sen. Ep. 1.8.18–1.9.1 (see Colson); the explanation of subject-matter, mythological, historical and geographical (see Thes. s.v. 2838.57, Marrou 167 and 279 sqq., Blümner1 326–7, Marquardt 107–8, Bonner 237).

In all other cases in Juvenal where there is a trochaic caesura in the third foot this is supported by a strong caesura in the second; the long Greek word, which perhaps is felt to have a quasi-caesura en-thymema, enforces neglect of this.

ET As well as the many things which she does understand; cf. Quintil. 1.8.21 mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur aliqua nescire. For NON cf. 448 and on 3.54. ||321|

‘The woman who consults and turns over (10.126, 15.30) the text-book of Palaemon’.
ARTEM τέχνην, systematic treatise, cf. 7.177; in this case a grammar.

PALAEMON Q. Remmius (RE no. 4) Palaemon, a famous grammaticus; see Schanz–Hosius 2.728, A. Mazzarino Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta 1 (1955) p. 68, Pennisi Helikon 1, 1961, 496 (but this line should not be connected with 454 to deduce Palaemon’s taste in authors); see on 7.215. Several forged Artes survive under his name.

453 ‘The rules and laws of grammar’; 7.230 verborum regula, Quintil. 1.8.1, 1.2.14, 8.1.2 ratio loquendi as one of the tasks of a grammaticus.

454 TENET ‘remembers’ as often.

ANTIQUARIA The word in Tac. Dial. 21, 37 (a certain emendation), 42; Suet. Aug. 86. The fashion of archaism which prevailed in the next generation was now gathering strength; Tac. Dial. 23, Mart. (8.69 and) 11.90, Quintil. 8.2.12, 10.1.43, cf. SG 3.5 = 2.195, G. Williams Change and Decline (1978) 309.

455–6 The mss. read: nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae / verba. This however is confused and unsatisfactory. In the first place there is no reason why men should concern themselves with the words of the friend; nec curanda viris would only have a point if the words of the viri themselves were being corrected. Secondly, amicae and marito must be antithetical, and that necessitates the correction to castiget to correspond to liceat; castigat ... liceat would only be tolerable if Juvenal were saying odi hanc quae castigat amicae verba; liceat ei (sc. amicae) sol. facere. Housman removed the first difficulty by his punctuation, so that nec cur ... viris means ‘and things beneath the attention of men’ (he compares Ovid Her. 6.93 et quae nescierim melius), but his sympathy for Postgate’s haec curanda viris? is fully justified (Ruperti in his first edition quoted this from his Erlangen fragment). After the corruption to nec the scribes will have connected tenet nec castiget and assimilated the mood of the second verb.

OPICAe See on 3.207.

SOLOEICISMUM A slip in syntax; Ad Herenn. 4.17, Quintil. 1.5.34 sqq., Gellius 5.20 and Hornsby on 1.7.3, Lausberg p. 266.

FECISSE = facere.

457 sqq. Several questions have to be answered here:

(1) The punctuation; do the cum-clauses 458–9 go with what precedes (as in Clausen’s punctuation) or what follows (... turpe putat nil. cum ... elenchos, intolerabilius ...)? The former is certainly right; 457 standing on its own is too sweeping and general to introduce a [[322] new paragraph describing another objectionable feature of women to which it has no particular relevance.

(2) The meaning of INTEREA 461. It would have to imply ‘until she puts on her jewelry’, the last stage in her toilette (the deletion of 460 is intended to facilitate this; see below), or, as Leo explained, refer to the interval between putting on her jewelry and removing her cosmetics (467; this hardly seems a likely sequence, though at [Lucian] Ἔρωτες 41 rouge is applied after jewelry). However the word is
interpreted or emended, it is still very difficult to see a train of thought in the passage; there seems to be no relationship between 457, which appears oddly isolated and undeveloped, and what follows. The most economical solution seems to be Teuffel’s (Rh. Mus. 20, 1865, 478 = Studien (1871) 430) hypothesis that something has been lost before 461 which gave relevance to 457 and a reference to INTEREA; the missing lines will have dilated on the intolerability of such a woman and her quarrels with her husband.

(3) Is 460 genuine? Provisionally I see no solid reason to deny it, since its removal gives meaning to INTEREA but leaves 457 even more isolated than before. The resemblance to 413 speaks more for than against genuineness, and there are no internal grounds for offence. For MULIER (457) … FEMINA (460) cf. on 511; for NIHIL (460) on 284; and in general cf. Sen. Contr. 1.6.7 impotens malum est beata uxor.

It should be remarked that Housman takes 460 to be a summing-up in non-figurative language of the thought of 457–9, which he takes to mean ‘when she is a rich woman’. But it does not look to me as if 457–9 mean just this. It is true that, as the text stands, DIVES looks unmotivated, though obviously poor women are not envisaged here; it too probably received elaboration in the missing portion.

TURPE PUTAT NIL Cf. 390.

VIRIDES GEMMAS Emeralds (smaragdi) or jaspers (iaspides). Cf. Naumachius ap. Stob. Flor. 4.23 (74.7) (4.573.1–2 Hense) μητ’ ἐπὶ δειρῆς … ἔχοις … χλωρὸν ἴασπιν.


COMMISIT ‘has joined’.

ELENCHOS Long pear-shaped pearls, Pliny NH 9.113 (two or three in earrings), Paulus Dig. 34.2.32.8. Probus says that they were also called titulati, which is perhaps corrupt for tituli, since glosses equate titulus and ἔλεγχος (CGL 7.352b). Cf. RE Margaritai 1685.

461 sqq. A woman in such a state is naturally repulsive, Ovid RA 351–6.

462 PANE See on 472 and 2.107.

PINGUIA POPPAEANA SPIRAT ‘reeks of sticky plasters’; a type of [323] cosmetic invented by Nero’s wife (see on 469); cf. Cosmiana, Nicerotiana named after Cosmus and Niceros. There is a gluey alliteration of p.

463 HINC From, by these; when he kisses her.

464–6 are a parenthesis, and TANDEM 467 resumes 463.

VENIUNT … VULT For the variation of number cf. on 95. For the general sense cf. Lucil. 504–5 cum tecum est, quidvis satis est; visuri alieni / sunt homines, spiram pallas redimicula promit; Tib. 1.9.71 non tibi sed iuveni cuidam vult bella videri.

FOLIATA Mart. 11.28.9, Pliny NH 13.15; a scent of which one of the ingredients
was nard, though we have to remember the continual confusion in ancient sources of nard and malobathrum (φύλλον Ἰνδικόν, cf. RE nardus, Thes. folium 1013.24). For the import of nard and other aromatics from India cf. RE India 1302, Miller 65 sqq., Warnington 194, Marquardt 783–4, Lauffer p. 287 on Edict. Diocl. 36.88, SG 4.574 note on 2.179.33 = 2.324.

PARANTUR i.e. emuntur (on 3.224). MITTITIS ‘export’ as 5.92, 119 and often; the apostrophe is purely for metrical convenience.

467 TECTORIA PRIMA ‘the first (cf. INCIPIT) layer of stucco’; cf. Petron.

23 inter rugas malarum tantum erat cretae ut putares detectum parietem nimbo laborare.

468–9 Like Poppaea (462), Pliny NH 11.238, 28.183, Dio Cass. 62.28. EDUCIT I can see no justification for the indicative; read educat.

470 SI etsi would be more specific, cf. (7.194), KS 2.426.


471 QUAE The gender is determined by FACIES 473.

MUTATIS seems both pleonastic (with TOT) and pointless. Perhaps we should read mutata his, cf. Naumachius (on 458) 12–13 ἐξ ἑτέρης ἑτέρην σε καὶ ἀλλην ἄλλοτε λευσσων / φαινομένην πολλῇσι μίαν μορφήι γυναίκα (a lacuna follows). The metrical form would be rather like 4.61.

MEDICAMINIBUS Cf. Ovid’s Medicamina Faciei and Thes. s.v. 531.53.

SILIGINIS Cf. 462 and 5.70. Bread-poultices (mentioned by Galen 13.731 K) were used until quite recently to draw out the infection from sores, because bread retains heat well.

MADIDAE Suet. Otho 12.1 (cf. on 2.107).

474 Hor. Serm. 2.4.63 est operae pretium … pernoscere; Epist. 2.1.229 est operae pretium cognoscere. These passages motivated the interpolation of Φ. Pretium curae is a variant at Pliny Ep. 8.6.2.

476 aversi mariti Lucan 5.736; καθεύδειν ἀποστραφείς Lucian Dial. Mer. 11.1. [[324]

PERIIT She cries ‘perií’, like comic slaves on the brink of punishment; cf. on 14.269.

LIBRARIA Apparently the lanipendia (so Σ), who weighs out the pensum to the female slaves; cf. DE s.v. 956a, Treggiari Amer. Journ. Anc. Hist. 1, 1976, 82.

PONUNT TUNICAS To be beaten; Plaut. Persa 362–3, Ovid Am. 1.6.19, Sen. Dial. 5.12.5 (recepta tunica when a slave is pardoned Petron. 49); cf. on 491.

COSMETAE The word is applied to masseurs and the like by Xen. Cyr. 8.8.20. Here it probably represents ornatores (so CGL 7.32b; qui ornamentis praesunt Σ, though that suggests charge of jewels etc.). Ordinarily women would have their hair done by ornatrixes, but here male hairdressers are used; cf. CGL 2.265.44 ciniflo γυναικῶν κοσμητής and Claudian In Eutr. 1.105, where a eunuch so acts.

477 LIBURNUS See on 4.75; ALIENI i.e. mariti.
479 FRANGIT Cf. 8.247; passively, he has the *ferulae* broken on him. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* 6 *flagra rumpentium*.

FERULAS … FLAGELLO … SCUTICA Cf. Blümner¹ 293, Marquadt 182; all these are again associated at Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.119, though the text there is corrupt. The *ferula* (1.15) is a cane, the *scutica* a strap, the *flagrum* or *flagellum* a cat-o’-nine tails of knotted cord.

480 The TORTORES (see on 8.175, 14.21 and cf. 13.195, 6.O.29, Mart. 2.17.2 *flagella tortorum*) were public slaves charged with the punishment of other slaves; cf. Herodas 5.31–4, Blümner¹ 294. This lady calls on them so often that she pays them a yearly salary (ANNUA sc. *salaria*; *Thes.* s.v. 121.38) instead of by the job.

481–4 VERBERAT … CAEDIT Not personally, cf. 484; so also 414. See on 16.13. The metre slows down from the brisk dactyIs of 481 to the spondees of attentive consideration (482) and exhaustion (484).

482 CONSIDERAT Of a connoisseur’s inspection, *Thes.* s.v. 426.73. This is a *vestis auro clavata* (*auroclava* Σ), cf. Marquadt 548, Blümner¹ 254 and ² 1.168–70.


ET CAEDIT … ET CAEDIT This is the figure of epiphora (Lausberg p. 320).

483 This is usually taken to mean ‘the broad-sheet of the long gazette’, the *acta diurna* (on 2.136). But though this could be referred to simply as *diurna*, there is no evidence that the singular could be so used. Σ explains *ratiocinium diurnum*, i.e. her account-book, *ephemerides*, and the word certainly possesses this sense (Sen. *Contr.* 10.4.24). Suet. *Iul.* 56.6 mentions official documents written *transversa [[325] charta*], and this has now been correctly explained by Turner *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 16, 1978, 31 as referring to a roll not in the format of an ordinary book, thus:

but like a herald’s scroll, thus:

with the roll itself and the lines of writing with respect to the roll both swivelled through an angle of 90° (the proper meaning of *transversus*). This is christened the *rotulus* format by Turner, who on p. 51 (cf. my note printed at ibid. p. 66) produces evidence that this format was used for accounts, for which it is obviously suitable.
SATIRE SIX

LASSIS Cf. 8.137.

COGNITIONE As if she were a magistrate; cf. 497 and praefectura 486.

486 SICULA AULA Comparatio compendiaria; in full quam praefectura Siculae aulae, the court of Phalaris (8.81) and the other Sicilian tyrants who were proverbial for cruelty (Hor. Epist. 1.2.58, cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 5.145).

487 CONSTITUIT ‘has made an assignment’, cf. on 3.12.

488 HORTIS Probably a public park; Cic. Pro Cael. 36 fuisti nonnunquam in eisdem hortis.

489 ISIDACE LENAE i.e. Isidos lenae; cf. urbs Romana and the like (KS 1.209, Housman on Manil. 5.567). On her temple and its reputation see 9.22; Isis is the goddess who brings woman to man (Becker Zeitschr. Aegypt. Sprache 96, 1969–70, 82–3).

490 sqq. For the cruelty of Roman ladies to their maids cf. Mart. 2.66, Ovid Am. 1.14.16, AA 3.239; Hadrian punished it in one case, Ulpian Dig. 1.6.2.

491 NUDA UMEROS (see the apparatus) There is no grammatical need to alter umero (cf. 6.122, 10.227 and 309 and Lucan 6.256 nudum pectore Martem), but the plural goes better in sense with [[326] MAMILLIS. Her lack of clothing is to facilitate punishment (cf. 476). Cf. on 8.4 for the accusative.

PSECAS A Greek girl, so called because she drops (ψεκάζει) hair-oil on the hair. From Caelius ap. Cic. Ad Fam. 8.15.2 the name seems to have had a standing association with ladies’ maids (RE s.v.; Risch Mus. Helv. 32, 1975, 110–12).

492 TAureA sc. scutica; so Tertull. Ad Martyras 5.1.

FACINUS Mart. l.c. on 490; cf. also on 294.

493 FLEXI sc. altius. Barth proposed fluxi, but this would indicate hair flowing loose (cf. Tac. Ann. 11.31), not curled up too high.

494–5 She takes this out on others, as at 475 sqq.

LAEVUM … ORBEM are to be taken together (cf. 606 and see on 11.140 and Housman on Manil. 1.270). ORBIS is a technical term in this connection; Mart. l.c., Blümner1 275 n. 2.

497 MATERNA sc. ancilla. She has retired from hairdressing (for ACU cf. Mart. l.c. and on 2.94) and now busies herself with spinning, a fit occupation for an old woman (Hor. Odes 3.15.13, Tib. 1.6.77); perhaps she is the lanipendia (on 476).

EST IN CONSILIO carries on the humorous exaggeration of 485–6; she ‘sits as assessor’, cf. 3.162, 4.73 and for this fundamental institution of Roman life RE consilium, Crook1 88–9, F. Schulz Principles of Roman Law (1936) 168, W. Kunkel JAC 11–12, 1968–9, 230 = Kl. Schr. 405. Šen. Dial. 10.12.3 uses the same metaphor of male hairdressing. She is princeps senatus and therefore gives her advice first (for SENTENTIA and CENSEBUNT cf. 4.130, 136); in the senate, the consilium of the magistrates with imperium, the order of the speeches was largely fixed by rank and
seniority. Her hairpin too is ‘pensioned off’ from active service.

502 TOT ADHUC COMPAGIBUS ‘with so many added erections’. For this hair-style (which was by now going out of fashion; cf. on 4.103) cf. Stat. Silv. 1.2.113 celsae procul aspice frontis honores / suggestumque comae; Blümner1 274, Paoli 111–12, Marquardt 603, RE Haartracht 2138 and suppl. 6.90 sqq., Hirst 75 = CW 27, 1933–4, 205. For the Silver use of ADHUC = ἔτι cf. on 8.36, and for TOT on 6.440.

503 ANDROMACHEN A woman of heroic stature according to ovid AA 2.645, 3.777; longa Dares 12. The rhythm seems to mimic size.

504 CEDO SI 13.210 etc. CEDO = ‘tell me’, quid censes?; so cedo si comes to much the same as quid si. The high hair-do is all the more absurd if the woman is short.

504–5 Housman objects to breVe … breVior. The latter is certified by Priapea 46.3, Anth. Lat. 310. For the former Castiglioni (in Vianello’s edition) proposed male, comparing Hor. Serm. 1.3.45; see however on 16.9–10. ||[327]

NULLIS ADIUTA COTHURNIS ‘if she is not helped by high boots’; socci were worn by Roman women (RE s.v. 771.38), but not cothurni, which are simply mentioned as the only high-soled boot of the ancient world; cf. Xen. Oec. 10.2.

PYGMAEA Cf. 13.167.

507 Cf. Sen. Ep. 111.3, Quintil. 2.3.8.

508 INTEREA While she is engaged on all these other occupations.

509 DAMNORUM Due to his wife’s extravagance; cf. Plaut. Aul. 535, MG 699.

510 AMICOS … ODIT 214–23; see the introduction. SERVOS cf. 272 and the hostility of Q. Cicero’s wife Pomponia to his slave Statius.

511 RATIONIBUS His finances; here expenditure, at 1.118 income. She spends on religious quacks (518–19, 546, hinted 585), but religion is the dominant topic, not extravagance. For the appeal of Oriental religions to women cf. Pomeroy (on 595) 217, Graillot 146, ML Isis 492, SG 1.255 = 1.302 and on 9.22–3. Plut. Coniug. Praec. 19.140d warns against superstition just after advising a wife to share her husband’s friends and just before advising sharing of property by husband and wife; cf. Menander fr. 796.

CONIUGIS Juvenal could well have written illius, especially as VIRI (508) as well as MARITI has preceded; but by putting CONIUGIS he lays greater stress on her alienation from her husband. Cf. on 457–60 and Sil. It. 17.133–6 cornipedis … quadrupedem … equus.

FURENTIS Transferred epithet.

512 BELLONAE See on 4.123; MATRIS DEUM Cybele (9.23). The two are often associated in cult (Wissowa 349–50, Graillot 99 and 188, Nock 1.38 = JHS 45, 1925, 89), and Bellona’s title dea pedisequa (Cumont Comptes Rendus de l’Acad. des Inscr. 1918.319) perhaps means that she is Cybele’s attendant.

CHORUS On their hymns see Graillot 254, Latte 259 n. 6, Wissowa 320 n. 7, Wille 60, Quasten (on 441–3) 52, RAC Gallos 1016, SG 2.350 = 2.176; a hymnolo-

INTRAT sc. the woman’s house.

INGENS SEMIVIR Cf. 2.112 and Pers. 5.185 grandes Galli; pre-pubic castration makes the eunuchs grow tall. Carcopino Mél. École Française de Rome 40, 1923, 237 sqq. = Aspects Mystiques de la Rome Païenne (1942) 76 sqq. shows that this man should not be called an archigallus.

OBSCENO A noun, cf. O 1 and on 2.9.

514 TESTA Cf. on 2.116. MOLLIA ‘effeminate’, proleptic.

515 TYMPANA 8.176 and often; PLEBEIA those of the ordinary priests; CEDUNT they cannot make such a noise, cf. 438. |328|

516 TIARA This is a cap with the top bent down so that it projects horizontally forward, a sign of royalty (10.267); but Juvenal fails to distinguish it from the mitra, a hood with strings (2.84) fastening under the chin, which is what is meant here (Brandenburg 64, RAC Gallos 1013 and 1021); cf. Prop. 4.7.62, Apul. Met. 8.27, [Lucian] Όνος 37.

517 Autumn being a time notorious for fevers; H. 4.56 (Auster), and for the threat of fever R. Pettazzoni Confessione dei Peccati 2.3 (1936) 127. The man is a fraud; it is easy to prophesy what usually happens. For prophecies by devotees of Bellona cf. 4.124.


CENTUM An ὀ ὁν ἐ κατόμβη Ephippus Ἑφηβοὶ fr. 1 M = fr. 8 K and E.

519 XERAMPElinAS sc. vestes, clothes of the colour of a dead vine-leaf, intermediate between red and purple; the word is elsewhere found only in Lydus De Mag. 1.17 and Suidas s.v. ἄτραβατικάς (p. 406 no. 4377 Adler), both times in Roman contexts. The priests of Cybele begged their living and were hence called μητραγύρται; this one is content with cast-off clothes, but because of his effeminacy he stipulates female clothes of bright colour; cf. 2.97, RAC Gallos 1021.

Juvenal finds it convenient to differentiate SE (the woman) and IPSI (the priest), cf. Caes. BG 1.40.4.

520–1 The clothes are a kind of piaculum or scape-goat; the idea of transference is common in religion and magic (RE Aberglaube 35, Cumont1 217 n. 36, Versnel Mnem.4 29, 1976, 389, Duff on Sen. Dial. 12.18.6). [Addendum, originally on p. 623: See J. G. Frazer The Golden Bough 6, The Scapegoat (1913) 47.]

EXPIET The subject is presumably the woman; hardly the priest.

TOTUM … ANNUM The acts of a whole year; for confession at the beginning and end of the year cf. Pettazzoni (on 517) 2.2.97 and 229.
SEMELE Once for all; cf. 5.142 and Housman on Manil. 1.228.

522 sqq. Bathing in flowing water in the morning to wash away the pollutions of the night (conceived in physical form; see on 2.157) was one of the normal purifications even in Roman ritual before prayer and sacrifice (Pers. 2.15; Wissowa 219, RSV 3.175, Appel 185, Eitrem 80–1). For a similar bathing in the Tiber cf. Hor. Serm. 2.3.290. Aelius Aristides 48.18 sqq. mentions bathing in a river in winter as a cure prescribed in incubation (cf. on 526), cf. A. J. Festugière Personal Religion among the Greeks (1954) 91–5. |

The future tenses link 522 sqq. with 527 sqq., and details in 522–6 suggest the cult of Isis; we should therefore connect this passage not with what precedes but with what follows and punctuate 526 thus:

erepet genibus, si candida iusserit io;

The cult of Isis stressed cleanliness (see on 533); cf. e.g. Apul. Met. 11.23, Tib. 1.3.25 pure lavari; and of the priests Porph. De Abst. 4.7 (p. 239.19 Nauck).

FRACTA GLACIE Juvenal exaggerates; the Tiber hardly ever froze (Livy 5.13.1, Zonaras 8.6.16, Augustine CD 3.17).

TER MATUTINO mane … bis terque Pers. l.c., ter mane id. 5.188 in a similar context, mane Hor. l.c.; Juvenal conveys by an adjective what they convey by an adverb, cf. on 1.27. TER is the ritual number; cf. Borthwick Eranos 64, 1966, 107–8 (e.g. Ovid Fasti 4.315).

IPSIS VERTICIBUS Going right out into the river, not just dipping her head in at the edge.

SUPERBIB REGIS AGRUM The Campus Martius, said to have been occupied by Tarquinius Superbus (Platner–Ashby 92); that is where the Iseum stood (529).

GENIBUS For crawling on the knees as a sign of humility cf. Tib. 1.2.85; Sen. Dial. 7.26.8 associates it with other aspects of the cult of Isis, and a woman appears to be doing it in an Isiac fresco from Herculaneum (Tran Tam Tinh Le Culte des Divinités Orientales à Herculanum (1971) pl. 41, Witt pl. 26).

EREPET She will crawl all over it.

TREMIBUNDA She is both timida (524) and cold, because she is wearing only her underclothes (NUDA, see on 4.49).

IO = Isis, as often (foreshadowed Herod. 2.41); CANDIDA Io having been turned into a white cow.

IUSSERIT In a dream (530–1). Incubation was regularly practiced in the cult of Isis (Witt 191; Diod. Sic. 1.25), and such dreams would be interpreted by the Isiaci coniectores of Cic. De Div. 1.132; see RSV 3.99 n. 11, Vidman1 55 and 2 348b and 354 (övap), ML Isis 522. Cf. the dreams and visions of Lucius in Apul. Met. 11, on which see the edition of J. G. Griffiths p. 139 and Festugière (on 522) 164 nn. 42–3. Dedications are often ex iussu or ex visu (cf. Vidman2 354b and CIL 6.353) or somnio admonitus (cf. 530); cf. CIL 5.484 = Vidman2 597 Isidi … ex monitu eius, ML Isis 524, RSV 3.100, Nock 1.45–6 = JHS 45, 1925, 95.
Lustral water played an important part in the ritual of Isis; RE Isis 2127, Apul. Met. 11.20 with the notes of J. G. Griffiths pp. 133 and 214–15, Bonneau (on 15.122) 280, Malaise1 281, Dölder 5, 1936, 153, Vitruv. 8 pr. 4 cum hydria aqua ad templum aedemque casta religione refertur (by those who sacerdotia gerunt moribus Egyptiorum; cf. [330] the note of Callebat). Vidman2 313 is a dedication of a περιραντήριον. This water was by a customary fiction deemed to be Nile-water (Serv. Aen. 4.512, on Vergil’s latices simulatos fontis Averni, and 2.116, with the general remark sciem dum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi; see Pease on Verg. Aen. 4.512, B. Postl Die Bedeutung des Nil in der röm. Lit. (1970) 197); but here auto-suggestion acting on the woman’s religious fanaticism makes her go not only to Egypt but to its farthest bounds and beyond. Meroe (13.163; for CALIDA cf. 15.28) was far south of the limits of the Roman province of Egypt; if Juvenal were not deliberately exaggerating he would have named Syene or Philae (R. Reitzenstein Die Hellenistische Mysterien-Religionen (1927) 144 n. 1). However CIL 3.83 comes from just beyond Meroe: bona fortuna. dominæ reginae (i.e. Isis; cf. on 530) in multos annos feliciter. venit e urbe (Rome or Alexandria?) … vidi tacitus (or Tacitus?); for the doubtful reading see Hintze, Kush 12, 1964, 296, and for the cult of Isis at Meroe Snowden Ant. Class. 25, 1956, 112.

OVILI (Platner–Ashby s.v.; dubious in Ennius ap. Fronto p. 153.19) i.e. Saeptis, the area with marked-out pens, as if for sheep, in which the centuriae were separated to give their votes. This was in the Campus Martius; so was the Iseum (what a disgraceful neighbour for the Ovile with its roots in Roman tradition!), since worship of Isis was forbidden within the pomoerium. Cf. 9.22, Malaise2 187, Nash 1.510 and 2.291, A. Roullet Egyptian … Monuments of Ancient Rome (1972) 23, J. G. Griffiths on Apul. Met. 11.26 p. 327.

DOMINÆ A cult title of Isis (Vidman3 344a; ML Isis 51.3). Both this and the equally technical MONERI (on 526) defend the line against deletion (Paldamus Zeitschr. f.d. Altertumswissenschaft 1838.1143).

IPSİUS might suggest that the priest transmitted the message, or that he committed a fraud by impersonating an epiphany of Isis, but probably indicates no more than the woman’s awe at being granted a vision of the goddess; cf. Paus. 10.32.13 oũς ἄν αὐτῇ προτιμήσασα ἦ Ἰσις καλέσῃ σφᾶς δι’ ἐνυπνίων. 531 EN with accusative in irony, cf. 2.72, 9.50. Markland and Scholte proposed animum, which goes rather better with mentem; but ANIMAM may convey irony, cf. on O 13.

The dog-headed Anubis is the attendant of Isis and her husband Osiris (541).

ERGO Because of her devotion to the Egyptian gods and her credulity; PRÆCIPUUM SUMMUMQUE in comparison with the priests of other cults, not with the other priests of Isis. This woman’s catholicity well illustrates the rise of the syncretism characteristic of the religion of the late Empire. [331]
GREGE ... GREGE See the parallels in Shackleton Bailey 252.

LINIGERO ... CALVO Cf. Mart. 12.29.19; turba linigera Ovid Met. 1.747; λινοστολίαι καὶ ξυρήσεις Plut. De Iside et Osir. 3 (with the notes of J. G. Griffiths pp. 269–70); Apul. Met. 11.10 linteae vestis ... capillum derasi (see the commentary of Griffiths pp. 192–3); Herod. 2.36–7; Gnomon of the Idios Logos 71–6. These customs are for cleanliness, the vegetable linen being thought purer than animal wool; cf. Wissowa 356, Vidman1 52, Cumont4 88 and 4 118, T. Wächter Reinheitsvorschriften im Gr. Kult (1910) 20, Schwarz BICS 20, 1973, 104–5, Marquardt 480, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 5.619, Abt 215.

PLANGENTIS Mourning the death of Osiris (Lucan 8.834), cf. on 8.29.

CURRIT In the procession (Apul. Met. 11.11); a priest would wear an Anubis-mask (Vidman1 16, Nilsson 2 pl. 11.1, Witt pl. 46 opposite p. 224; Anth. Lat. 689b.32 cum sistro faciem portare caninam). DERISOR is usually taken to mean that this priest laughs at the people’s credulity, but there is also the implication of the rictus of the dog; CURRIT too portrays a dog better than procedit would.

535 ILLE The priest who acts as Anubis.

ABSTINET CONCUBITU For ritual abstinence in the cult of Isis cf. Plut. De Is. et Os. 2 with Griffiths p. 261; Porph. De Abst. 4.7 (p. 239.18 Nauck) of the priests; Witt 143; Festugière (on 522 sqq.) 162 n. 32 on Apuleius, Poplawski Eos 29, 1926, 120; it is a τόπος in the elegists (E. Fehrle Die Kultische Keuschheit (1910) 135–7).

VENIAM Cf. the inscription of a woman whose husband has exercised his conjugal rights, W. M. Ramsay Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia (1895–7) 1.150 no. 45 = F. Steinleitner Die Beicht (1913) 47 no. 22, and the confession of the sinner against Isis at Ovid Ex Ponto 1.1.51, Merkelbach ZPE 11, 1973, 85.

537 POENA For the punishments of Isis cf. 13.92.

CADURCO A mattress (7.221, Sulpicia FPR p. 134 Morel), so called after the Gallic Cadurci, who like most Gauls (on 9.28) were famed for textiles (Blümner1 243).

538 This sentence has straggled rather towards the end, and is improved by Reitzenstein’s suggestion (l.c. on 527 sqq., p. 143) ... cadurco. ut ... serpens, illius ... MOVISSE The movement of statues, perhaps due to seismic causes, or in some cases to priestly fraud, is one of the commonest portents; Wülker 19.

SERPENS On the association of Isis with snakes cf. ML 533 and RE 2124 Isis; Vidman2 356 anguis, Hopfner Fontes (see introduction to Fifteen) 910 serpens, Griffiths Journ. Egypt. Archaeol. 47, 1961, 114, J. Ferguson Religions of the Roman Empire (1970) pl. 55; e.g. Apul. [332] Met. 11.4. Aelian HA 10.31 says that she sent the asp against οἱ τὰ μέγιστα πλημμελήσαντες.


MURMURA For such quiet prayers cf. 10.290, Abt 212.

540 UT ... NON Cf. KS 2.212–13. For the goose as a sacrifice to Io-Isis cf. Ovid
Fasti 1.453 with Bömer and Frazer; ML Isis 492, RE Gans 722, Hopfner (on 538) 812 anser, P. Stengel _Opferbräuche der Griechen_ (1910) 227. It was a favourite animal for sacrifice in Egypt generally (Herod. 2.45). As here it is combined with a λαγαρὸν (= TENUI) ποπάνευμα by Philip AP 6.231 = Gow–Page GP 2775 in an offering to Isis; a POPANUM (RE s.v. and Kuchen 2094) is a cake or bun often offered in cult (cf. the _liba_ 3.186, 16.39; Goodenough 5.70; to Isis at Heliodorus 7.11.1).

CORRUPTUS ‘bribed’, a disrespectful word.

542–7 Cf. Lucian _Podagra_ 173 Τουδαῖος ἔτερον μωρὸν ἐξάδει λαβών. Procopius also mentions a Jewish soothsayer, _De Bellis_ 5 (B. Goth. 1) 9.3. Interpretation of dreams has a sizeable part in the Talmud (cf. A. Cohen _Everyman’s Talmud_ (1949) 286), and one of the Rabbis there named, R. Ishmael son of Elisa, was a contemporary of Juvenal (Lewy _Rh. Mus._ 48, 1893, 398; cf. _The Babylonian Talmud, Berakoth_ transl. M. Simon (1958) 346); see Hengel 240, _SG_ 3.179 = 3.211, J. Juster _Les Juifs dans l’Empire Romain_ (1914) 2.209, M. Simon _Verus Israel_ (1964) 295.

DEDIT LOCUM _Thes._ 5.1.1679.81.

COPHINO FENOQUE See on 3.14.

ARCANAM … AUREM Her private ear; cf. Ovid _AA_ 2.596 _arcana manu_ ‘furtive’.

TREMENS From age and palsy; 10.198, 16.56.

MENDICAT For Jewish beggars cf. Mart. 12.57.13 and Juster (l.c.) 319–20; see on 3.296.

INTERPRES LEGUM Cf. 4.79, 14.101.

SOLYMARUM The name of the city has been turned directly into an adjective; cf. on _Bebriacus_ 2.106, though that has an ending resembling a Latin adjectival suffix.

MAGNA SACERDOS ARBORIS An obscure phrase of which I know the following interpretations. (1) It is to be connected with the trees of the Jewish settlement in the grove of Egeria 3.16; this seems unlikely. (2) Juvenal may have known synagogues surrounded by trees, cf. Philo _Leg. ad Gaium_ 20.132 τὰς προσευχὰς … ἐδενδροτόμησαν; this appears equally implausible. (3) Reitzenstein (on 527 sqq.) sees here, as in the following _summi … caeli_, an element of syncretism, and thinks that this ‘Jewess’ allotted at least part of her devotions to _[[333]]_ Attis, who was changed into a tree (Ovid _Met._ 10.105, _Ibis_ 505–6; H. Hepding _Attis_ (1903) 114) and one of whose festivals was called _arbor intrat_ and administered by _dendrophori_ (Hepding 149 sqq., Nilsson 2.643–4, Wissowa 321–2, M. Vermaseren _Cybele and Attis_ (1977) 115 and pl. 73); but Juvenal should have made this plainer, though Attis does appear on a Jewish sarcophagus (F. Cumont _Symbolisme Funéraire_ (1942) 491). (4) Others connect with Florus _[[1.40.30]]_ _Pompeius_ _vidit illud grande impiae gentis arcanum, patens sub aurea vite caelum_ (so the best ms., cf. Joseph. _BJ_ 5.208–10), referring to the design of the Temple in which one gate-way gave an open view of the sky and another was adorned by this golden vine. Juvenal certainly
could have distorted the facts to produce a scornful phrase, but he would hardly have called a vine an *arbor*. Trees do have symbolic religious value in Judaism, but nothing in Goodenough 7.87 sqq. seems to help here. The problem remains.


INTERNUNTIA προφήτις.  
SOMNIA Interpretations of dreams; QUALIACUMQUE VOLES since fortune-tellers try to please their clients, Apul. *Apol.* 97.

AMATOREM … INGENS Lucian *Alex.* 5 γόνης τῶν … υπισχυόμενων … χάριτας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐρωτικοῖς; *De Merc. Cond.* 27 μάντιν … τῶν κλήρους πολυτάλαντους καὶ … ἀθρόους τοὺς πλούτους υπισχυόμενων.

ORBI Cf. 3.129 (q.v. on *captatio*), Mart. 11.83.1 etc.

549 TESTAMENTUM i.e. *legatum*.  
COLUMBAE … PULLORUM Consultation of exta of birds was unusual at Rome (though see Cic. *De Div.* 2.29, Pliny *NH* 10.49) and is considered characteristic of barbari like these by Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 28.147.

ARMENIUS … HARUSPEX For Oriental diviners cf. 585 and G. Blecher *De Extispicio* (1905) 71 n. 6; by ‘Armenian’ Juvenal may well mean Persian (Kroll on Catull. 90.2). For private consultation of haruspices see on 392. [334]

551 EXTA Cf. *extispicium*.

CATELLI This is quite un-Greek (except for Paus. 6.2.2) and un-Roman (though Pliny *NH* 18.14 does mention an *augurium canarium*, cf. Latte 63). Cf. the frog at 3.44–5.


FACIET … IPSE Sen. *Dial.* 4.7.3; Σ thinks of Egnatius (on 3.116), but the facts of that case do not seem to fit.

553 The *Chaldaica doctrina* (Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1.2) was systematised about 280–260 B.C. by Beros(s)us, a priest of Babylon who settled on Cos, and the name
was applied to all astrologers (10.94; RE Chaldaioi 2059). Their calculations (numerorum 576) also gave them the name mathematici (562, 14.248; Gellius 1.9.6, DS s.v.) in Silver Latin.

554 A FONTE HAMMONIS This famous fountain ran warm by night and cold by day (Herod. 4.181 etc.; H. W. Parke The Oracles of Zeus (1967) 199, RE Ammoneion 1858). This feature of the place is singled out to represent the whole location of the oracle in the Oasis of Siwa, as at Val. Max. 8.15 ext. 3 (where again mss. corrupt to fronti, because of recollection of Ammon’s ram’s head). M. Ninck Die Bedeutung des Wassers (Philol. suppl. 14.2, 1921) 90 thinks that there is an allusion to mantic water-drinking, but this is not necessary and is not elsewhere attested of Ammon. For the idea cf. 8.126 and Tac. Ann. 6.21.3 quae dixerat (Thrasylus) oraci vice accipiens.

555–6 The oracles had fallen into neglect in Augustan (Strabo 17.1.43.813 says this even of Ammon, cf. 7.7.9.327; Parke 231–2) and Neronian (Lucan 5.111 of Delphi; see F. M. Ahl Lucan (1976) 122–4) times. But in Juvenal’s own day, though his contemporary the Delphic priest Plutarch wrote his De Defectu Oraculorum (dramatic date probably A.D. 83), they were beginning to revive, and regained importance under the Antonines. See RSV 3.96–7, Nilsson 2.467, H. W. Parke–D. E. W. Wormell The Delphic Oracle (1956) 1.283 sqq., RE Delphi 2579, Orakel 853 and 861, Beaujeu 184, Flacelière Comptes Rendus de l’Acad. des Inschr. 1971, 168. Juvenal seems to imply that all other oracles are a poor second to Delphi, and their activity hardly lightens the darkness caused by the silence of the Pythia.

DAMNAT damnare est damno afficere DServ. Aen. 4.699, Nonius 276; cf. Plaut. Trin. 829. On the association of this word with darkness (e.g. Ovid Met. 3.335) see E. Löfstedt Vermischte Stud. (1936) 96.

CALIGO (cf. Hor. Odes 3.29.29) takes a genitive κατὰ σύνεσιν as if it were ignoratio.

557 On the frequent banishments of astrologers cf. Balsdon1 186, F. H. Cramer Astrology in Roman Law and Politics (1954) 241–5, 232–4, MacMullen1 128 sqq. The reason was that their prophecies aroused hopes and therefore political plots, as with Otho (558–9).

558–9 MAGNUS CIVIS (cf. on 2.105) Galba; according to Tac. Hist. 1.21 Otho’s fear of him was only a pretence. The astrologer who urged on Otho to the murder of Galba is variously called Ptolemaeus and Seleucus (Tac. Hist. 1.22 and 2.78, Plut. Galba 23.4, Suet. Otho 4 and 6); see Cramer 129–35. The text seems to imply that he had once been intimate with Galba and had transferred his allegiance to Otho for gain; nothing is known of this from other sources’ Duff; nor does anyone else suggest that he was saepius exul.

These two lines should certainly be eliminated from the text. Firstly, on manuscript authority, since, though G adds no weight to P because it is here derived from the same source (BICS 14, 1967, 45; Griffith2 136), the consensus of F, a ms.
characterised by the retention of very old readings widely different from the P-tradition \((BICS\ 40–4)\), and \(P\) carries great weight. Secondly, on grounds of sense. The lines break the connection between 557 and 560–4 and unsuitably limit the reference to one specific astrologer (this cannot be defended by 5.44). It has also been objected by Ribbeck 167 and Duff that this astrologer would be dead by now, but this objection carries no force in view of the way in which Juvenal refers to figures from the past as if still alive (e.g. 8.39). It may be remarked that \(qui\ ...\ cuius\ (557–8)\) match \(si ... si\ (561–2)\) and \(qui ... cui\ (563)\). Nevertheless the lines are certainly an illustrative quotation taken from another source; they are clearly genuine lines of ancient poetry, but there is no reason to suppose them Juvenal’s.

**CONDUCENDA TABELLA** A venal document, containing Otho’s horoscope; cf. 2.114 and LSI \(πινακ\ 4\). OB\(I\)T See on 3.174.

560 FIDES ARTIS Tac. \textit{Ann.} 6.22.3 (also of astrology).

SONUIT FERRO Cf. Tib. 2.6.26, Lucan 8.663; i.e. \textit{catenis}, cf. \textit{RE carcer} 1581, Mommsen\(^2\) 300.

561 CASTERUM IN CARCERE Presumably the \textit{castra praetoria}, the depot of the \textit{cohortes praetoriae} and probably also of the \textit{cohortes urbanae}; imprisonment there is a result of the police duties of these bodies (cf. Joseph. \textit{AJ} 18.235, O. Hirschfeld \textit{Kl. Schr.} 590, Mommsen\(^2\) 316, \textit{RE} 22.2414 and \textit{carcer} 1579–80, Sherwin-White on Pliny \textit{Ep.} 10.57.2). See on 3.314. ||336

LONGE ‘for a long time’ cf. 7.41, Stat. \textit{Silv.} 1.2.276 and the adjective 8.47; \textit{longum} would be more usual. \textit{Longo} (see the apparatus) would have to mean ‘distant’, but this is untrue of the \textit{castra praetoria}, and, unlike 16.25, there would here be no point in misrepresentation.

562 GENIUM HABEBIT In the eyes of the world; people will think that he possesses no talent. \textit{Genium} here hardly differs from \textit{ingenium} (cf. Stat. \textit{Silv.} 4.6.19, Mart. 6.61.10, 7.78.4).

MATHEMATICUS See on 553.

563 PERĪT Cf. on 8.85.

563–4 For banishment to the Cyclades (\textit{deportatio in insulam}) see on 1.73, 10.170; for PARVA Ovid \textit{Met.} 5.242.

‘VIX CONTIGIT suggests that he was lucky to escape a capital sentence, TANDEM that he was confined for a term of years in Seriphos’ Duff.

CARUISSÈ A perfectly neutral word, used of undesirable things at 10.287 and 357, 14.156 and often; there is no need therefore to see an ironical oxymoron with Weidner. But the idea of getting off the island spoils the humour, which would be preserved by \textit{iacuisse} (Prof. Nisbet) or \textit{latuisse} (Schrader).

565 sqq. 565–8 describe fatalistic astrology, 569 sqq. catarchic astrology. ‘The one assumed that the constellations prevailing at birth (or at conception) inexorably determined the character and the future destiny of each human being. The other … merely assigned to individual planets, fixed stars, or entire constellations
a strong but not inescapable power over the course of events. By ascertaining the preponderant influence for specific days, hours or even minutes catarchic astrologers thus believed themselves able to advise their clients to plan or avoid specific undertakings at certain times’ Cramer (on 557) 19.

Though illegal (Cramer 248 sqq.), consultations on the death of relatives were very common (3.43; cf. 14.248, which illustrates LENTO).

566 DETE The imaginary husband, cf. 597.

TANAQUIL TUA Cf. tuus Endymion 10.318 and Lausberg p. 301. Tanaquil is not mentioned for her skill in divination, for then she would not need to consult anyone else, but as the pattern of a good wife (in this context of course ironically); cf. Sen. fr. 79 notior est marito suo Tanaquil … hanc rara inter feminas virtus altius saeculorum omnium memoriae … infixit, Auson. Parentalia 30.5 (pp. 31–2 Prete) virtutibus … quas habuit Tanaquil.

567 EFFERAT Cf. 175; an indirect deliberative.

AN 'whether' (as often), not 'or'.

ADULTER A comic climax coming after the family relationships. [[337] Epitaphs show cases in which a surviving spouse claims to have wished for the survival of the other (Lattimore 203–4); cf. Theophr. ap. Jerome Adv. Iovin 1.47.314b ut sit superstes (uxor) optandum. Juvenal sardonically applies to an adulterous relationship the attitudes of marriage (cf. 10.241).

SIDUS TRISTE SATURNI … LAETA VENUS The character of these planets is commonplace (RE Planeten 2130; e.g. Lucan 1.652–62).

QUO ASTRO In which sign of the Zodiac.

SE PROFERAT Cf. Pliny NH 18.218.

MENSIS Cf. Manil. 3.512.

572 ILLIUS Contrasted with haec 569.

OCCURSUS ETIAM nedum sermonem; occurrsum eius vitare Tac. Ann. 4.60.

573 SUCINA 9.50. Balls of amber were carried by Roman ladies in their hands because they gave off an agreeable smell when warm and kept the hands cool (Ovid Met. 2.365, Prop. 2.24.12, Mart. 3.65.5 sucina trita, Pliny NH 37.30–49 etc.); Paoli 155, Blümner 262 n. 8, RE Bernstein 303.

PINGUIA Resinous.

574 EPHEMERIDAS Astrological almanacs; Pliny NH 29.9 ad siderum motus ex ephemeride mathematica cibos dando horasque observando.

575 PATRIAM The district of Italy from which he hails; so often. For QUE cf. on 10.170.


577 AD PRIMUM LAPIDEM A short journey of one mile; cf. RE suppl. 13.1453–4. For VECTARI cf. on 4.5, and for HORA Pliny quoted on 574; for advice about

579 INSPECTA GENESI Only after consulting her horoscope (cf. 14.248; the calculation based on the exact hour of birth). The emphasis of the sentence falls on the participle, cf. 1.99.

COLLYRIA RE κολλύριον 1101; RAC Augensalbe. Cf. E. Svenberg Lunaria et Zodiologia Latina (1963) p. 34.14 Luna X. m(ari) p(leno). collirium facere ad oculos bonum est. This belongs to the sphere of ιατρομαθηματική (RE s.v., Cramer 188, Gundel l.c. 16, E. Stemplinger Antike und Moderne Volksmedizin (1925) 103, A. J. Festugière La Révélation d’Hermès 1 (1950) 123); a work on this topic circulated under the names of Nechepso and Petosiris (581). Cf. Manil. 3.138–44.

580–1 ‘No hour of the day is thought the right hour, except that assigned by astrology’; APTIOR indicates ‘fitter than others’ cf. Verg. Georg. 1.286 nona fugae melior. So Housman CR 17, 1903, 468 = Coll. Papers 616. To say, as others interpret, that no hour of the day is [338] thought fitter than (nisi) that assigned by astrology would hardly suggest profound belief in astrology and postulates a use of nisi which should not be attributed to Juvenal (on Quintil. 4.2.66 see HS 596). For lucky and unlucky hours cf. Gundel 273 and Pliny quoted on 574.

PETOSIRIS An alleged Egyptian priest regarded as one of the founders of astrology. Books under his name were in circulation and are quoted by Pliny (cf. Beaujeu on NH 2.88). See Gundel 27 sqq. and 31, Cramer 17–18, RE Petosiris and Nechepso, Nilsson 2.269.

582–91 The MEDIOCRES of 582 are identical with the plebeiae of 588; cf. 11.177, where mediocres are contrasted with the rich and equated with humiles. The literary form of the passage seems inelegant, in that 585–7 appears to be contrasted (with adversative asyndeton) to both 582–4 and 588–91, whereas it would naturally be contrasted only to one. Transpositions of verses which have been suggested do not help; it would be better with Weidner to assume a gap in the text before 582. Teuffel saw here a sign of the double recension which he professed to find in the text of Juvenal (Rh. Mus. 20, 1865, 476 = Studien (1871) 429); and indeed this passage is the strongest support for this theory, which however is a fantasy. I have defended the text in Hermathema 118, 1974, 16, where I argued that after a long discussion of rich superstitious women (up to 581), Juvenal wished to add a final comment that poor women are no better (cf. 349–51). This he did in 582–4, which may be paraphrased ‘a woman of low rank will frequent the fortune-tellers of the circus’. Feeling however that this brief remark carried inadequate weight to end the paragraph, he added ‘(for whereas) rich women can afford to consult expensive practitioners, plebeian women will have to find the resolution of their destinies among the vulgar fortune-tellers of the circus’. Thus the four (assuming a gap after 585) lines 585–7 are related to the four lines 588–91 by adversative asyndeton (not to 582–4), so that 587 should end with a colon. Now 585–7 becomes logically subordinate, only intended to highlight 588–91, and no longer represents
a disorderly repetition of 548–52 (rich women and *haruspices*) and 553–81 (their astrologers). In my article I discussed the type of sentence which at the end recurs to its beginning.

582 UTRIMQUE with the genitive, like ἐκατέρωθεν, is a Grecism like those of which Apuleius is fond (*Met. 8.17 undique laterum; altrinsecus aedium 3.17, 5.2*). Cael. Aurel. *Acut. 2.37.194 utrimque orarum* ‘on both sides’ is rather different.

METARUM (*RE* s.v. 1311) In the circus the *spina* (*RE* s.v. 1780) ran down the centre of the course, and on it there were seven dolphins, symbolising speed, supported on columns (590), one of which was [339] removed as each of the seven laps of a race was completed. At each end of the *spina* were three *metae*, turning posts. See *RE delphines* (2), suppl. 7.1631; *RSV* 3.516, *SG* 2.37 = 2.45, Balsdon 1 253, Quin-Schofield *Latomus* 25, 1966, 99 and Balil ibid. 867, Harris fig. 79, G. Lugli *Roma Antica, il Centro Monumentale* (1946) p. 604 fig. 183, Vogel *Art Bulletin* 51, 1969, 155.

The *circus* (*RE* s.v. 2576), called *fallax* by Hor. *Serm. 1.6.113*, was the haunt of fortune tellers (Cic. *De Div. 1.132 de circo astrologos*, Livy 39.16.8 etc.); cf. *SG* 2.20 = 2.23, *RSV* 3.102.

SORTES 1.82; a type of divination based on the drawing of lots; cf. Latte 177 and 264, Wissowa 260 and in *ERE* s.v. *Divination* 821, *RSV* 3.94, *RE Losung* 1451 and *Orakel* 854, *Kl. Pauly* s.v. *Losung* 739, Pease on Cic. *De Div. 1.2. Sortilegi* are mentioned with contempt by Cicero *De Div. 1.132*, who says (ibid. 2.87) that nobody of consequence now uses the *sortes* of the Praeneste oracle (see however Pease’s note). Here, as at Tib. 1.3.11, the woman draws the lots herself; usually this was done by a boy.

FRONTEM PRAEBEBIT To the μετωποσκόπος; *MANUM P. to the χειρομαντις or χειροσκόπος* (cf. Pack *TAPA* 103, 1972, 367). The two are coupled by Artemidorus 2.69; cf. *RE Mantike* 1288.

POPPYSMA (from ποππύζω), a smack of the lips. This is probably not intended for the fortune-teller to divine from it, but to assist the magic; cf. the ποππυσμός in *Pap. Mag. Gr.* (on 518) 2.XIII p.89.40, and Pliny *NH* 28.25 *fulgetras poppysmis adorare* (so Aristoph. *Wasps* 625), on which see *RE Aberglaube* 42.44 and X. F. M. G. Wolters *Notes on Ancient Folklore* (1935) 82.

585 Verg. *Georg. 3.491 nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates*. As Clausen prints the text, it means ‘a Phrygian augur, hired direct from Phrygia’, i.e. a genuine one, not an impostor. But *dabit* looks like an interpolation; it is better with Housman to accept *dabunt* and postulate a gap after 585, e.g. *inde <ubi croci nascuntur> conductus*, i.e. a Cilician. For Cilician augurs see Pease on Cic. *De Div. 1.2*, for Phrygian id. on 1.92 (add Dio Chrys. 34.5), and cf. ibid. 1.94, 2.80 and on 549 above. On the other side it must be granted that, when Juvenal puts a singular verb with two subjects in 586–7, it is not apparent why he should put a plural in 585.

587 i.e. an *haruspex*, who would expiate (*procurare*) the thunderbolt, this being
a prodigium. According to the place where the lightning struck the earth it would be either privatim or publice conditum (CIL 9.1047); i.e. everything scorched by the lightning would be collected and buried. See Latte 81, Wissowa 122 and 546, RSV 3.262, DE fulmen 330–4, RE haruspices 2446, Thulin 1.92 sqq. (ibid. 87 Thulin notes that Juvenal seems to imply a contrast with iuniores qui privata [1340] fulgura condunt), Mingazzini in Gli Archeologi Italiani in Onore di A. Maiuri (1965) 317.

PUBLICA Possibly for metrical convenience, to avoid pūblĭcē (as in CIL l.c.); but not necessarily, as there was a category of fulgura publica Sen. NQ 2.48.1 (privata Pliny NH 2.139).

588 AGGERE The wall attributed to Servius Tullius (on 8.43, 16.25), which being a favourite promenade (Hor. Serm. 1.8.15, Quintil. 12.10.74) attracted mountebanks (5.153) and fortunetellers. Juvenal ironically speaks as if destinies were decided and not merely revealed there.

589 Friedlaender explains that it was the custom (as now in the East) for women of low station, especially copae (cf. 591), to carry their wealth upon them in the form of gold ornaments’ Duff (cf. SG 2.183 = 2.328); being a copa the woman might well be a Syrian (Kleberg 77). It is certainly surprising that gold should be mentioned as a sign of poverty, but cf. Pliny NH 33.152 argentum succedit aliquando et auro luxu feminarum plebis compedes sibi ex eo facientium, quas induere aureas mos tritior vetet; ibid. 40, gold on the feet of an intervening ’equestrian’ order of women inter stolam plebemque. Madvig 559 proposed armum, but the notion of burliness (robustum de plebe mulierem) is out of place.

NUDIS CERVICIBUS reiecto quae libera vadit amictu Prop. 2.23.13.

590 FALAS Nonius 114 explains haec sunt et in circio, quae apud veteres propter spectatores e lignis erigebantur; i.e. scaffolding to support extra spectators. DServ. Aen. 7.702 has this: et in circo fala dicuntur divisiones inter euripum et metas quod ibi constructis ad tempus turribus his telis (sc. falaricis) pugna edi solebat. We have no means of deciding between these two explanations, and no warrant for inventing a third. For the dolphins see on 582.

591 RELICTO She divorces him, cf. 224; so ἄπολειπω (LSJ II 1).

SAGA The sagum (RE s.v.) is a coarse cloak worn by poor people (Sen. Ep. 18.7, Mart. 6.11.8) and farm labourers (Colum. 1.8.9); cf. Blümner 257 n. 7, Wilson 104, Lauffer on Edict. Dioc. 7.60. Its vendor is a sagarius (Marquardt 585, Blümner 595); specialisation among vestiarii, as in many other occupations at Rome, is noteworthy (cf. 9.109, SG 1.147 = 1.163, Treggiari PBSR 43, 1975, 61, A. Burford Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society (1972) 97).

592–3 Like the cave-women of 9. They cannot afford to hire a nurse, as most well-off women would do.

594 AURATO Pliny NH 33.144, Blümner 118, Marquardt 309–10, RE Betten 372.

595–7 tantum medicamina possunt Ovid Met. 7.16, 14.285; sterilitatis medica-
mentum (‘causing sterility’) [Quintil.] Decl. 327. STERILES FACIT [341] looks more like a reference to contraception than to abortion, but the two were not clearly distinguished by all the ancients; see M. K. Hopkins Comparative Studies in Society and History 8, 1965, 136, quoting e.g. Pliny NH 24.18 (but not noting that this passage is probably a garbling of the source of Dioscorides 1.77.2). Juvenal’s humanitarian sentiments are perceptible here, as in Fifteen; in ancient thought generally a foetus might be animal or ζῷον, but was certainly not homo, and Papinian Dig. 35.2.9.1 specifically asserts this point, though Favorinus ap. Gell. 12.1.9 takes the same attitude as Juvenal, and another humanitarian writer, Ovid, in Am. 2.14 (see Watts Acta Classica (S.A.) 16, 1973, 89) repeatedly applies the verb necare (cf. Adams Glotta 51, 1973, 282) to abortion. Abortion did not become a crime until Christianity established firmly the concept that a foetus has a soul. See RAC Abtreibung, Beseelung, Geburt 38–9 and 42; RE partus abactio; E. Nardi Procurato Aborto nel Mondo Greco-Romano (1971) 475 sqq. and passim; S. B. Pomeroy Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves (1976) 168; L. Edelstein Ancient Medicine (1967) 9 sqq. On the use of contraception at Rome see Hopkins l.c. and CQ 15, 1965, 72; Salmon 66.

CONDU CIT This emphasises the callousness.

597 is addressed to the imaginary husband, cf. 566.

598–601 Cf. on 76.

600 AETHIOPIS Cf. on 2.23; for racial intermixture at Rome cf. Snowden 194. A stock declamation was matrona Aethiopem peperit (Calp. Flacc. 2, Quintil. Decl. fr. 8 p. 353 Lehnert).

DECOLOR As compared with Roman complexions, ‘mulatto’; the lighter colour of a νόθος Αἰθίοψ (Ach. Tat. 3.9.2; cf. Pliny NH 7.51).

601 IMPLERET TABULAS He would be heres ex asse; the same phrase 2.58 of the maker of a will (for TABULAS cf. 4.19).

NUNQUAM … VIDENDUS The first thing seen in the morning was thought to influence the whole day’s luck (RE omen 373; cf. Lucian Pseudol. 8, Eun. 6, Aristoph. Frogs 196 τῷ ξυνέτυχον έξων; i.e. a σύμβολον), and an Ethiopian, because of the funereal associations of black, would be an ill omen (Plut. Brut. 48 = Florus 2.17.7 = Appian BC 4.134 = Obsequens 70; SHA 10.22.4–5).

602 TRANSEO 10.273, cf. p. 34. As often, the praeteritio becomes longer than we are led to expect.

SUPPOSITOS (cf. 1.98) ὑποβολιμαῖοι, another woman’s children passed off as the wife’s own; the comparative frequency of this in the ancient world was due to the importance of the perpetuation of the family (on 21 and 2.137). See RE suppositio partus and partus suppositus; there is a lively description in Aristoph. Theasm. 502 sqq. and an alleged case in the Roman aristocracy Tac. Ann. 3.22. These suppositi [342] have previously been expositi by their own parents (RE Aussetzung and Kinderaussetzung, potestas patria 1089–96; Blümner 301, Marquardt 2–3, Kaser 4
1.342, Westrup (on 9.84) 249).

GAUDIA Cf. 597; DECEPTRA because the husband’s prayers for a son seem to be answered, but in reality are not.

603 SPURCOS LACUS is usually taken to mean the public reservoirs, made turbid by being thronged by men and animals (cf. Sen. Ep. 36.2, Apul. Met. 9.27, Prop. 2.23.2, Ann. Epigr. 1955 no. 55). Lachmann however took it to mean the public latrines (on Lucr. 4.1026, which shows an analogous use of lacus; cf. Carcopino 50), and the discovery of papyri has made this seem nearer the truth (M. Maas Woch. Kl. Phil. 15, 1898, 1189; Carcopino Mém. Soc. des Antiquaires 77, 1928, 59–86). For we now have references to children who have been exposed and rescued as ἀναιρεθέντες ἀπὸ κοπρίας (e.g. F. Bilabel-E. Kiessling Sammelbuch Gr. Urkunden 5 (1955) 7619; Pap. Soc. Arch. Athens ed. G. A. Petropulos (1939) 20.13 sqq. ἐγχειρίζειν ἀπὸ κοπρίας. κοπριαίρετος is glossed sportellarius CGL 2.187.34, i.e. a child exposed in a sportella, cf. RE Kinderaussetzung 467.21; further instances in Preisigke-Kiessling s.v. ἀναιφώ (2)). This is fully discussed by Westermann 6a = RE suppl. 6.903; Maro in Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di G. Lumbroso (1925) 377, 387–8, 392–7 (but it is at least doubtful if the names Κοπρίας, Stercorius etc. have anything to do with this; see Kajanto 246 and in Arctos 3, 1962, 45 sqq.), W. Graf Uxkull-Gylleband on the Gnomon of the idios logos 41 and 107 (Berlin Gr. Urk. 5 (1919) 2 p. 54; ibid. §92 κοπριάρτῳ is a probable reading), Biezunska-Malowist Jahrb. f. Wirtschaftsgesch. 1971, teil II, 129.

SAEPE or atque? 442 suggests that atque is the interpolation, and P’s reading lacu satque (Martyn Eranos 72, 1974, 136) with the last five letters written in an erasure by P² indicates that it too originally had saepe.

604 PONTIFICES, SALIOS Asyndeton bimembre (HS 828, KS 2.149). The Ae-mili Scauri (on 2.35) were patrician, and this was a necessary qualification for a Salius. Since Augustus all major PONTIFICES had to be senators (Mommsen’ 3.566, Wissowa 492).

605 IMPROBA ‘mischievous’. A foundling is παῖς τῆς τύχης Soph. OT 1080.

OMNI = toto; the nearest parallel to this which I can find is Stat. Silv. 1.4.32 dives praedae tamen accipit omni / exuvias Diana tholo. For the separation of OMNI from SINU cf. on 495.

608 MIMUM (cf. O 27 and 5.157) For Fortune’s amusements cf. 3.40; Hor. Odes 3.29.50, Pliny Ep. 4.11.2.

HIS SE INGERIT She thrusts herself on them; cf. Lucan 2.263. [343] PRODUCIT ‘promotes’; cf. on 1.39.

610 THESSALA Thessaly is the proverbial country of witches and magic; cf. Lucan 6 and the story of Apul. Met.; RE Mageia 320, Hopfner 2 II 21 p. 12, DS venenum 713b. It was a centre of the cult of Hecate. Menander fr. 718 mentions φαρμακεία of wives, and Plut. Conig. Praec. 5.139a warns against them.

611 VALEAT sc. uxor; cf. on 379.
MENTEM VEXARE MARITI Cases of this are mentioned Aristoph. Thesm. 561, Tac. Ann. 4.22.3; cf. RE philtron 206, Gow on Theocr. 2.58. Ovid AA 2.106 philtra nocent animis viumque furoris habent (99 Haemonias artes); Plaut. Amph. 10.44 (after a reference to Thessalum veneficum); Tac. Ann. 12.66.1.

612 SOLEA (i.e. a sandal consisting merely of a sole tied on with thongs; RE sandalia 2257, 2261.32) PULSARE NATES As if he were a child; cf. Pers. 5.169, Anth. Lat. 156.3, Gow CQ 6, 1956, 232.

INDE (sc. a philtris) EST QUOD Thes. 7.1.1115.82.

614 ABC The Danaid simile indicates a man maddened by a love philtre who cannot satisfy his lust even by continual indulgence. But the lines can hardly be by Juvenal. They cannot be simply an alternative to 615, since the reference to Caligula would then be abruptly introduced in 614C, and 616 would not follow well on this line. The style of the lines is poor; ISTUD is weak, and ONUS QUO RABIDUS is as odd a combination as that in 138. It is moreover doubtful if Juvenal would have called Caligula REX NOSTER. Emperors are occasionally spoken of as reges (Mommsen 1, 2.764 n. 4, RE princeps 2108–18, Alfoldi 149 = Röm. Mitt. 50, 1935, 31), but normally in a pejorative sense which cannot be intended here, since then the contrast with Phalaris would break down. The only valid parallel known to me is Stat. Silv. 4.1.46 rex magne (which is not to be eliminated by unnatural punctuation); cf. also regina Pliny NH 29.20 of Messalina. The lines may be an illustrative quotation from another poet, like 558–9, or they may have been composed to give a reference to ET (‘also’) 615, misunderstood as ‘and’.

IPSIS Like the DOLIA (for which cf. Hilgers 174). The version in which not only the jars into which the water is emptied but also the pitchers in which it is carried are leaky seems to be found first in Seneca Med. 748–9 (see Costa there and in Mnem. 4, 1973, 289).

DE Cf. 5.25, 7.197.


PHALARIM DEDISTI (cf. 14.52) is an instance of the idiom discussed on 2.3, Caligula showed himself a Phalaris; cf. Dzialko-Hauler’s Anhang on Ter. Ph. 476.

615 Nero’s mother Agrippina was Caligula’s sister; the periphrasis, [[1344] typical of Juvenal, links the two great Julio-Claudian eccentrics contemptuously (for AVUNCULUS cf. on 14.43). Suet. Cal. 50 creditur potionatus a Caesonia uxore amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit; Joseph. AJ 19.193.

616 i.e. hippomanes, cf. 626 and on 133.

TOTAM hints at an overdose; INFUDIT is a technical medical term (Thes. s.v. 1503.57).

TREMULI Unsteady because new-born.

617 An argument a fortiori; cf. 2.65–6, 8.198.

618 Caligula’s madness caused chaos throughout the empire. Hor. Odes 3.3.7 si FRACTUS illabatur orbis (= CUNCTA), / impavidum ferient RUINAE; for COM-
PAGE cf. Tac. Hist. 4.74.3. Pliny NH 7.45 speaks of Caligula and Nero (cf. 615) as faces generis humani, and Sen. Dial. 11.17.3 of the imperium adustum by Caligula; Tiberius declared that in Caligula (Suet. 11) se ... Phaethontem orbi terrarum educare.

619 The Emperor has as much power for the happiness or misery of men as Jupiter himself (cf. on 8.92). Caligula tried to associate himself with Jupiter (Weinstock 287 n. 4).

620 ERIT 'will be found to be', cf. on 1.126 and Lucan 1.31.

AGrippinae boletus 5.147.

621 Praecordia Hor. Epode 3.5 quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis?


Descendere in caelum The oxymoron is reminiscent of Sen. Apoc. 11 Cyllenius illum trahit ad inferos a caelo 'unde negant redire quemquam' (a deliberately paradoxical application of Catullus' words; it takes a Claudius to get himself ejected from heaven).

624–6 also depend from Siquidem (12.107); ILLE is contrasted with HAEc (adversative asyndeton).

Ferrum atque ignes Cf. 14.22, Otto Nachträge 238, Ovid Met. 3.698.

HAEc potio Caesonia’s philtre. For LACERAT cf. Suet. Cal. 28, for MIXTos ... Patres ibid. 49.2 and Sen. Dial. 5.18.3, for Torquet Sen. l.c.

626 Cf. 616; a concluding epiphonema.

Venefica This covers a wider field than just poisoning; in fact venenum originally meant love-potion, from Venus (Walde–Hofmann s.v., r. Schilling La Religion Romaine de Vénus (1954) 43). Cf. Mommsen2 635, Pharr TAPA 63, 1932, 272–4, Rayment Class. Bull. 35, 1958–9, 50 (rhetorical parallels), DS venenum 714b, and see Dig. 48.8 on the lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis, Quintil. 9.2.105 ut non is demum sit veneficus qui vitam abstulit data potione, sed etiam qui mentem (cf. 7.3.30), Afran. 380. ||345


Paalex is the second wife’s invidious name for the first wife; cf. [Sen.] Herc. Oet. 1499 (Hercules to Alcmena) paelicem feci tuam (Juno) credi novercam.

Fas est Cf. 1.131, 6.329.

629 We pass to children who have lost their father, who would consequently
be pupilli under the guardianship of a tutor, and who are poisoned by their own mother. Such was Vettius Crispinus, the addressee of Stat. Silv. 5.2, whose father was dead (64) and whose mother tried to poison him (76); cf. White CP 68, 1973, 283.

The link with the foregoing must be this: nowadays mothers kill even their own children (which we still regard as a crime), so it can no longer be considered immoral for step-mothers to kill their stepchildren. But this is distinctly artificial, and I think that Duff is right in suggesting quoque for ego, especially as P evidently had equo.

CUSTODITE ANIMAS Cf. 654 (9.123 being probably spurious).

631 ADIPATA A kind of sweet cake (Mart. 14.223 the breakfast of schoolboys).

LIVIDA They turn the body dark (cf. on 1.72 and Goetz ALL 15, 1908, 534); Ovid Met. 1.147 lurida and Lucan 4.322 pallida aconita. For the active sense see on 382, 1.70, 7.206.

633 The line stutters (p) with fear. The emperors had a praegustator (RE s.v., SG 4.50 = 4.48) as a precaution, and prominent men did the same (DS veneficium 715); cf. Blümner1 396, Marquardt 147, Kaufman CP 27, 1932, 160 and for προγεύσται at Athen. 4.171b sqq. In Sen. Contr. 9.6 (see on 627) the father says (19) ipse omnes praegustavi cibos.

PAPAS A child’s name for his paedagogus; the word is so explained in glosses (CGL 7.45b), is used by the glossator of P on 7.218, and appears in inscriptions (Heraeus ALL 13, 1904, 157; add CEL 2191.4).

634 These, it is alleged in an ἀνθυποφορά, are tales more like the fables (FINIGMUS cf. 15.18) of tragedy (643; for Coturnum cf. 15.29).

635 LEGEM 7.102; a word significant for the formal classification of literature into genres by ancient critics (Brink on Hor. AP 135, ||146 J. F. D’Alton Roman Literary Theory and Criticism (1931) 398 sqq., Coffey2 5–6; Sen. Dial. 9.1.14).

636 Sophocleo ... cothurno Mart. 5.30.1 after Verg. Buc. 8.10. Bacchari (here followed by an internal accusative) from Bacchus, the god of tragedy. Juvenal’s style rises to suit the context.

HIATU Of grandiloquence Pers. 5.3, Hor. AP 138, and similarly χάσκω etc. There is no reference to the tragic mask (3.175); cf. Prop. 2.31.6 carmen hiare.

637 Rutuli is one of Silius’ innumerable equivalents for Romani. Here it adds a suitable nuance of primitive uncrupt virtus.

MONTIBUS Cf. on 5; CAELO LATINO the pure air of Latium, cf. 3.84, Hor. Odes 2.7.4 Italo caelo, Epist. 1.6.77.

638 UTINAM VANI Prop. 3.13.59 (on 286).

PONTIA A poisoner who killed her own children, Mart. 4.43.5, 6.75, 2.34.6; all that we know about her is derived from Σ’s garbled note. She was perhaps the daughter of C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus, cos. A.D. 37; the views of G. Bagnani Arbiter of Elegance (1954) 86 are improbable.
FECI ‘guilty’, cf. Mart. 9.15.2, Sen. Contr. 8.1.3 (De Decker 140 quotes other occurrences from declamations); cf. 4.12, 6.173, 14.185 and the formula fecisse videtur used in giving a verdict (Cic. In Pis. 9 with Nisbet, Daube173, Kl. Pauly s.v. sententia 118.38).

639 ACONITA 1.158.

640 As explained by Housman, this means quamquam ipsa (most unexpectedly) facinus peregi, tamen peregi; he compares tamen Herculeae Ovid Fasti 2.312, tamen haec Verg. Buc. 6.9, tamen lignum Ovid Met. 1.556.

641 Sc. occidisti or the like, an excited ellipse (cf. 1.89).


643 CREDAMUS Cf. 15.117; TRAGICIS cf. 634.

644 PROCNE e.g. in the Tereus of Faustus 7.12.

645–7 GRANDIA (cf. 4.115) MONSTRA (cf. 286) … SUMMIS MONSTRIS See on 16.9–10.

MONSTRA AUDEBANT 15.121–2; maius parat / Medea monstrum Sen. Med. 675.

646–52 The same distinction between premeditated and impulsive crimes is made by Cic. De Off. 1.27.


649–50 describes an overhanging precipice, over the edge of which rocks fall straight down into the valley, whereas in the simile at Verg. Aen. 12.684 they roll down the mountainside.

650 should end with a colon; 646–50 and 651–2 are contrasted with adversative asyndeton.

651 NON TULERIM Cf. on 2.24.

652 SPECTANT In the theatre.

653 PERMUTATIO Val. Max. 4.6.1 Admete … qui coniugis tuae fata pro tuis permutari passus es. Unfortunately for Juvenal inscriptions record cases in which wives vowed their lives in return for those of their husbands (Lattimore 204–5, Latte 344; cf. AP 7.691).

654 ANIMAM Cf. 629. CATELLAE Their lap-dog; CEL 1176 is an example of an epitaph to one.

655 BELIDES The Danaids, who all except Hypermestra killed their husbands. EIRIPHYLE sent her husband Amphiarautus to his death because of greed (cf. 646,
651). CLYTAEMESTRAM  Caelius called Clodia, who was suspected of murdering her husband, a *quadrantaria Clytaemestra* (Quintil. 8.6.53).

MANE When you go out in the morning (cf. 601), after they have committed murder in the night (though this suits the Danaids better than Eriphyle). Housman suggested *mille*. For VICUS cf. 2.8.

657 REFERT = *īntĕrĕst*, makes a difference; 5.123, 11.21 etc.

BIPENNEM  Juvenal follows the account of e.g. Sen. Ag. 897. It is so heavy that it needs two hands to wield it.

658 INSULSAM ET FATUAM  Transferred epithets, contrasted with TENUI.

659 RUBETAE See on 1.70.

660 ATRIDES  Her Agamemnon, i.e. her husband; cf. 566.

661 PONTICA Not exclusively a transferred epithet for the intractable *Pöntici*, but alluding to the reputation of Pontus for *venena* (Verg. Buc. 8.95; e.g. aconite, which some thought derived from the city Aconae; *RE ἀκόνιτον* 1182); this is the area from which Medea (643) came. Mithridates, who was successively defeated by Sulla, Lucullus and Pompey (Florus 1.40.2), was believed to have protected himself against poisoning by constantly taking small doses as a prophylactic to inure himself; see on 14.252.
This poem consists of an introduction stating the theme followed by a number of *exempla* to illustrate it, very much like Ten. The introduction makes two converse statements:

1–21 The Emperor is the only hope (*spes* 1) for poets.

22–35 There is no hope (*spes* 30) from any other source; the *nobiles* (*dives avarus* 30) who ought to patronise them do not do so. Thus the attack on meanness of the rich at Rome is carried on from One and Five (cf. e.g. 5.113).

Now follows the detailed exemplification for the poets (36–97). After this Juvenal passes on to other activities not mentioned in his introduction. Historians too (98–104) fail to receive proper patronage (104); actually his argument is weak here (see ad loc.). Next follows the other important branch of prose, oratory (105–49). In the historical situation of Juvenal’s time this necessarily means forensic oratory; and of course Juvenal’s theme makes it impossible for him to take as his *exemplum* those rich grandees, like Pliny, who still maintained the tradition of looking after the legal interests of their clients without pay. He therefore takes the *causidici*, though he elsewhere refers to this class in terms of sarcasm (cf. 6.439, 15.111), actually contrasting them with orators proper (10.118–21; Cicero, there contrasted with *causidici*, is here one of them 139) and making unfavourable mention (11.34) of one of them, Matho (1.32), who is here named with sympathy (129). We may indeed wonder why, if the profession was so unprofitable, the ambitious father directs his son towards it at 14.191. In short, the weakness of the rhetorical method of ‘proof’ by *exempla* is as apparent here (cf. on 189) as in Ten (see p. 31); there are and always were successful and unsuccessful lawyers, just as there are successful and unsuccessful generals. It is of course perfectly possible to feel genuine sympathy for people whom one dislikes or despises, and I do seem to catch such a tone of sympathy in 117 (with *miser* cf. 27 and 154, with *lasso* 1.132). [349]

The practising orators are naturally followed by the non-practising, the *rhetores* (150–214); here again criticism of the rich but mean *lauti* is emphasised (175 sqq.). From the *rhetores* he passes to their colleagues, the *grammatici* (215–43), one of
whom had bewailed his lot (on 157); this enables him to end with a climax (cf. 217) of poverty and misery. Townend (PCA 69, 1972, 27 and JRS 63, 1973, 152) argues that Juvenal is reflecting the arrangement of Suetonius De Viris Illustribus, which he thinks began with the surviving Grammatici and Rhetores, continued with orators and historians, and ended with poets; Juvenal will have reversed this order because he wanted his own profession of poetry to come first and desired the climax just mentioned.

We may ask why, if one can look to the emperor for patronage, those who might expect to receive it are in such a miserable state of poverty. The obvious answer is that the emperor in question has not yet had time to do anything about it (cf. 20–1; the hope expressed is all in the future, posthac 18, a word suggesting a new departure), i.e. he has just succeeded to power; and what is known of the chronology of Juvenal’s satires admirably fits the dating of this poem to the accession of Hadrian, whose interest in culture is well known (cf. SHA 1.16.8–10). However, he is but a faint hope in the gloom (1 tantum, 2 solus) and hardly relieves it; the era of generous patrons is not likely to return (94–5). It should also be noted that the hope expressed is remote and impersonal; there is no hint that Juvenal expects anything for himself or his kind of poetry. Indeed he is for once making common cause with the writers of elevated poetry whom he had contemptuously dismissed in One, but toward whom he here shows sympathy (though see on 12); note also how he refers to recitations here in contrast to 3.9. Of course he does not feel obliged to refrain from irony at the expense of poets as occasion arises (instances are pointed out in the notes). Wiesen Hermes 101, 1973, 466 well speaks of 'his technique, used repeatedly, of simultaneously asserting a truth and questioning his own assertion by parody, exaggeration and self-ridicule'; but this questioning must not be carried to the point of supposing that the central point of the whole poem is put in doubt, that the victims are implied by Juvenal to be as despicable as those who exploit them. Juvenal plainly links himself with the poets in 48–9, and in 13–16 explicitly asserts that they do not descend to the lowest degradation.

Complaints much like this are uttered by Martial 3.38 (poets and orator-lawyers), 5.56 (grammatici, rhetores, poets contrasted with citharoedi (cf. 3.4.8), choraulae (for both cf. Juv. 177), praecones (Juv. 6)), 6.8 (poets and causidici contrasted with praecones); cf. also on 16 and 27. It is interesting to compare the appeal of a grammaticus which met with a dusty response from Hadrian, AP 9.137. As far as poetry is concerned, Juvenal has drawn much from the speech of Aper, who despises it, in Tac. Dial. 9, often quoted in the notes. The connection with the emperor recalls Calp. Sic. 4, in which Corydon has dissuaded his brother Amyntas from poetry; frange puer calamos ('pipes') et inanes desere Musas (cf. Juv. 27, where however calamum means 'pen') … quid enim tibi fistula reddet / quo tutere famem? (23–6). Now however spes magis adridet (31) because of the indulgentia (33) of
Meliboeus; now per te secura saturi recubamus in umbra (37) and have avoided the necessity of emigrating to Spain as a hired shepherd, nec quisquam nostras inter dumeta Camenas / respiceret (46). The song which Corydon and Amyntas then compose is in honour of Caesar, i.e. Nero (Severus Alexander according to Champlin JRS 68, 1978, 105); me quoque facundo comitatus Apolline Caesar / respiciat. There is also a certain resemblance to Theocr. 16 (Χάριτες ἡ Ἰέρων), in which Theocritus complains of the general stinginess towards poets and the sad state of the Χάριτες (8 sqq.; cf. tristes Camenae), and delicately insinuates that he would be glad of Hieron’s patronage in return for commemorating him in poetry.

As for the general situation of patronage in Juvenal’s day, it must be remarked that Pliny’s letters show plenty of it (e.g. in his own case of Martial and Suetonius), and that Martial and Statius seem to have received it from a number of people, in spite of the former’s many humorous complaints of poverty. However the writers of this time do not seem to have looked for consistent large-scale support from any one source such as Maecenas had provided (cf. White JRS 68, 1978, 74 sqq.). Juvenal’s black picture no doubt owes its colour to his own lack of any literary patron; though he addresses some poems to certain individuals, the addresses do not take the form of dedication which suggests patronage. [351]

1 RATIO STUDIORUM Inducements (6.94) to writing; studia in this sense (cf. 17) is common in Silver Latin.
2 TEMPESTATE See on 4.140.
3 IAM may go either with temptarent or celebres notique.
4 BALNEOLUM A contemptuous diminutive. This would be a balneum meritorium; cf. 233, Balsdon1 27, Blümner1 421, Marquardt 272. Deserted as Gabii allegedly was (3.192, 6.56, 10.100), it was visited for its sulphur baths (Hor. Epist. 1.15.9, Strabo 5.3.11.238).
FURNOS Bakeries; Marquardt 416, Blümner2 67.
CONDUCERE Cf. 3.31 and 38, and on 1.108; for c. balneum cf. Marquardt 273 n. 1, Blümner1 422 n. 1.
6 PRAECONES A despised but lucrative profession (3.157, RE s.v. 1198, Blümner1 614, Citroni’s introduction to Mart. 1.85, Cic. 2 Verr. 2.122, Quintil. 1.12.17, Steinmetz on Theophr. Char. 6.5); more lucrative than poetry, Mart. 5.56, 6.8.
7 ATRIA Auction-rooms (Thes. s.v. 1103.11, DE s.v. 760a). This word and ESURIENS (13.99) are deliberately incongruous with the poetic trappings of Muses and their haunts; how are the mighty fallen! There are similar effects in 8 and 11–12.
CLIO does not differ from Terpsichore 35, and means simply ‘Muse’. The differentiation of the functions of the Muses was late and never imposed itself completely.
8 PIERIA … IN UMBRA Cf. 59, 105, Mart. 9.84.3.
QUADRANS TIBI NULLUS Mart. 2.44.9 *et quadrans mihi nullus est in arca*
(the source of Φ’s reading here). This was the smallest coin in use (on 6.447).

9 AMES You must put up with (jussive, cf. 1.14), cf. Plin. *Pan.* 31.4 etc.; ἀγαπᾶν and στέργειν are similarly used.

MACHAERA (or -AS; Masson, *ZPE* 11, 1973, 2) was clearly a contemporary *praeco*.

10 COMMISSA AUCTIO The strife of the auction (cf. 5.29); mock-heroic.

STANTIBUS The by-standers.

11 OENOPHORUM 6.426; TRIPEDES may mean either cooking vessels (Hilgers 82, 290; Blümner1 159) or three-legged tables, the cheaper kind (Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.13, Ovid *Met.* 8.662), *monopodia* being more expensive and elegant.


12 With the book-cases books also are sold; the point may be like that noted on 7, or, as Σ suggests, it may be that they are poor tragedies which their owners want to get rid of (maybe Juvenal is ||1352 again indicating the dismissive attitude to mythological poetry which he took in One). This ex-poet auctions works by his fellow-poets.

ALCITHOEN She was turned into a bat according to Ovid *Met.* 4.1 sqq., 388 sqq.; other versions make her become a cannibal.

PACCI The name again at 12.99, q.v.

TEREA Cf. 92, 6.644.

13 Cf. 16.30. Ovid *Am.* 3.9.47 *sed tamen hoc melius quam si* ...


14 VIDISTI More exact would be *videris*; cf. on 3.100.

FACIANT i.e. *hoc faciant*, let them do so; see Munro on Lucr. 4.1112 and add Plaut. *Persa* 64.

EQUITES ASIANI Sarcastic; they can hardly be given the formal title *equites Romani*. Cf. Gell. 19.9.1 *adulescens e terra Asia de equestri loco*, i.e. from the Roman province of Asia; for such provincial *equites* cf. Stein 397 sqq., *SG* 1.103 and 134 = 1.110 and 146. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 60 declares that witnesses from Asia readily commit perjury.

15 A spurious line. *Bithynus* is elsewhere invariable (cf. 10.162, 15.1) until Gregory of Nazianzen, *AP* 8.93.4, and emendations to eliminate the anomaly offend against Juvenal’s metrical usage. This however would not in itself be decisive; what is decisive is the clumsy verbosity. The line is partly modelled on 6.198–9 dicas *haec mollius Haemo / quamquam et Carpophoro*; it began with quamquam added as a gloss and was then filled out to a complete verse.

16 This line has been explained by MacKay *CR* 58, 1944, 46. One of their shoes, by leaving the ankle bare, makes them ridiculous, i.e. it exposes the scar left by the fetters which they wore when they came to Rome as slaves (cf. the concealed
brand-marks at Mart. 2.29); Mart. 10.76.3 *de Cappadocis eques catastis* (the whole epigram is comparable). Strictly *equites* were supposed to have been descended from two generations of *ingenui*, but the law was often ignored (cf. 1.106, 3.155–9, SG 1.135 = 1.148, Stein 109, Reinhold *Historia* 20, 1971, 286).

TRADUCIT 8.17, 2.159, 11.31.

GALLICA A low shoe, Gell. 13.22.5, *Schuh* 755, Blümner¹ 223, Marquardt 595.

18 NECTIT Cf. Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.2.30, Riedner 59 and ὑφαίνειν Pindar fr. 179 Snell = 169 Bowra, Bacchyl. 5.9, 18.8; cf. on 54. CANORIS because poetry was conventionally referred to as sung. The diction and thought are deliberately elevated.

LAURUMQUE MOMORDIT As the Delphic priestess (though not before the second century A.D.) and other prophetesses were supposed to (Parke–Wormell on 6.555) 1.26, Ogle *AJP* 31, 1910, 310); hence [[353] the transference of the idea to poets inspired by Apollo, Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.5.67. Cf. Ogle 307, Kambylis 21–3, *RE* Lorbeer 1441.43.

20 HOC AGITE Be diligent, cf. 48, 5.157; the opposite is *aliud agere*. Sen. *De Ben.* 3.36.2 hoc agite, optimi iuvenes.


CROCEAE MEMBRANA TABELLARUM The parchment of the yellow page, i.e. by engallage, the yellow page of parchment; *tabella* (cf. Mart. 14.192.1) because the page in the codex form of book was the same shape as the wooden wax-covered square used in *pugillares* to which the name properly belongs. Here the codex form is used as a writer’s notebook for rough drafts (cf. Mart. 14.7, Quintil. 10.3.31; T. Birt *Antike Buchwesen* (1882) 57–60), but it was also coming into use for published texts (Mart. 1.2.3 *hos eme quos artat brevibus membranae tabellis*). See Blümner¹ 647 n. 10, Marquardt 821, C. H. Roberts *The Codex* (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* 40, 1954) 173, E. G. Turner *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) 38–40. This is like the *peritura charta* 1.5–6 and 18.

Birt *Kritik und Hermeneutik* (1913) 291 implausibly takes Juvenal to mean the covers (*membrana*) of the book consisting of yellow leaves.

MEMBRANA P’s *implentur* would make this neuter plural, but that is a very late form, though Apul. *Met.* 6.26 has *membranulum*.

CROCEAE Isid. *Or.* 6.11.2 *fiebant primum coloris lutei, id est crocei, postea vero Romae candida membrana reperta sunt* (ibid. §4 is clearly mistaken); Edict of Di-
ocletian 7.38 membranario ... pergameni vel crocati; cf. RE membrana 598. The proceedings of the Synod of A.D. 680 mention a βιβλίον ἐν σώμασι κροκωτοῖς (liber membranaceus crocatus); see P. Labbé–G. Cossart Sacrosancta Concilia 6 (1671) p. 792. Johnson CQ 23, 1973, 341 suggests that parchment was dyed to make ink adhere to it. There is not likely to be any reference to the use of saffron as a preservative (Lucian Adv. Ind. 16), which would seem more appropriate to papyrus.

25 VENERIS MARITO = Vulcano by antonomasia (cf. 10.112) = igni by metonymy (cf. 10.132, Quintil. 8.6.24, Wissowa 10). For [[354]] this type of metonymy cf. Lucr. 2.655 sqq., Pease on Cic. De Nat. Deor. 2.60, Fordyce on Aen. 7.113, Haupt 2.166, O. Gross De Metonymiis (Diss. Phil. Hal. 19.4, 1911) 407, and for the joke Catull. 36.5 (which also combines antonomasia and metonymy), Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.16.3; here it deflates the bombastic diction of Telesinus.

TELESINE One of the iüvenes of 20, a poet addressed like Vettius (150) and Palaemon (219).

26 TINEA PERTUNDE (5.131) A sin of omission, neglect, is spoken of as one of commission, as if he deliberately caused the maggots to bore holes in the books; cf. Housman on Lucan 1.103 and 3.485. Worms come from the wood of bookshelves, walls or floors to attack books.

POSITOS i.e. repositos, stored away in scrinia or capsae.

27 Mart. 9.73.9 frange leves calamos et scinde (cf. 177), Thalia, libellos (see the poem generally); Calp. Sic. quoted in the introduction.

VIGILATA PROELIA Battles (in an epic) which you have sat up at night to write; cf. on 99, 1.51 and Horace there quoted, Cinna fr. 11 p. 89 Morel (after Callim. Epigr. 27.4), Lucr. 1.142, Traenkle Mus. Helv. 24, 1967, 87, KS 1.281–2, Lyne on Ciris 46.

28 PARVA SUBLIMIA A pointed juxtaposition, cf. 3.207.

CELLA A garret like a slave’s room; RE s.v. 1877.46, Blümner1 46 and on 3.225.

29 UT Ironical as 177 etc.

VENIAS ‘you may come forward’; but it differs very little from fias, cf. HS 395, Fordyce on Aen. 7.470, Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 1.10.25, Enk on 1.4.10 and the variants at Ovid Trist. 2.126.

HEDERIS Poetic plural, for metrical convenience; cf. Maas ALL 12, 1902, 528, Cunningham CP 44, 1949, 9. This denotes the Bacchic poet (cf. 60; RE Efeu 2838), as the laurel (19) the Apollinine, cf. 64. Busts of poets were wreathe with ivy (real, not sculptured; Ovid Trist. 1.7.1–2), cf. Pers. prol. 5 quorum imagines lambent / hederae sequaces (this prologue refers to the drinking of poetic springs, cf. 58; the pallor of poets, cf. 97; and poets are accused of writing for money to feed themselves).

IMAGINE Busts of poets were placed in libraries, a custom introduced by Asinius Pollio (Pliny NH 35.9–10); cf. Marshall Phoenix 30, 1976, 263, RE Bibliotheken 421–2, SG 3.38 = 2.225, Marquardt 615.
MACRA Because the poet’s own privations have made him thin.

30 DIVES AVARUS Ovid AA 3.750, Sen. NQ 1.16.1, Rutil. Lupus p. 15.2 RLM.

TANTUM LAUDARE But not to give him any money; cf. Cic. Ad Att. 14.5.2, Mart. 5.16.3, 9.49.9, Tac. Dial. 9 laudem inanem et infructuosam.

DISERTOS This word is not common in the specific sense of ‘poet’ (cf. on 1.15), though facundus is; but see Mart. 6.61.7.

IUNONIS AVEM The peacock (RE Hera 384, Toynbee 251, Thompson ταῦτα). For the point of LAUDARE cf. Ovid AA 1.627 laudatas expandit avis Iunonia pennas with Hollis’ note, Met. 13.802; praise makes the peacock preen itself, but does not feed it.

SED See on 6.279.

33 He is becoming too old to be a merchant (14.277; this certainly requires patientia), soldier or gladiator (11.6), or farmer; cf. Tac. Ann. 11.7.1, Laus Pisonis (cf. on 21–2) 244–5, Norden 30.

34–5 For TERPSICHORE see on 7, for -QUE ... -QUE on 5.49, for ET on 1.74; nuda (destitute; 5.163) senectus [Ovid] Her. 9.154, cf. Petron. quoted on 145.

36 ACCIPE 13.120, 15.31; NUNC 11.64 (some implausibly see a contrast with tunc 34 and understand ‘now while there is still time’); ARTES the devices of patrons; CONFERAT cf. 3.51.

37 There was a library in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and another in another temple there to Augustus, begun by Tiberius and Livia and dedicated by Caligula, and known as the novum templum. Mart. 12.2.7 addressing his book says iure tuo veneranda novi pete limina templi, / reddita Pierio sunt ubi tecta choro, and some have deduced from this that this library was dedicated to the Muses; but Martial may well only mean that it is dedicated to culture. If therefore Juvenal has specific temples in mind, he must be referring to the aedes Herculis Musarum, or perhaps solely to the temple of Apollo with its library under the patronage of the Muses; but he may only mean that the poet renounces his allegiance to Apollo and the Muses (cf. Mart. 2.89.3), replaced by another god, the patron whom he colit.

38 IPSA FACIT VERSUS At this time amateur poets (e.g. Pliny) proliferate; cf. 1.17 tot. The patron yields place only to Homer, and that only because of his antiquity, causa antiquitatis (Sedigitus ap. Gell. 15.24); cf. Hor. Epist. 2.1.20 sqq., Lucian Merc. Cond. 35. MILLE ANNOS is a round number which had been current since Vell Pat. 1.5.3 intra mille (annis) natus (about A.D. 30) and is repeated by Pliny NH 7.74 (under Vespasian). For recitations see on 1.3.

MACULOSAS Damp-stained because disused. The spelling -onus in such adjectives is rare and doubtful outside formonsus, cf. Schönwerth–Weymann ALL 5, 1888, 194, so BICS 14, 1967, 42 is to be corrected.

COMMODOAT AEDES This does not cost him anything. Evidently the house in which the patron lives (cf. 1.12) is not meant, but another [1356] owned by him. Cf. Tac. Dial. 9.3–4 domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conduct
et libellos dispergit.

DULCEDINE FAMAE Ovid Ex Ponto 1.5.57–8; dulcedine accensus Pliny Ep. 8.14.3.

41 HAEC merely acts as antecedent to QUAE, cf. 6.532–3, 14.44–5; the only form of is used by Juvenal is id (cf. the variants at 14.164). However there is certainly some awkwardness here; perhaps … aedes, ac (so Φ) is correct, with a semi-colon after annos 39.

LONGE i.e. diu, cf. on 6.561.

FERRATA ferreas aedes Plaut. Persa 570; ferratam Danaes … domum Prop. 2.20.12.

SERVIRE Mart. 10.30.28.

SOLLICITAS PORTAS Gates of a city fearing attack; perhaps we should recognise a sense ‘vigilant’ in this adjective (Livy 5.47.3, Ovid Met. 11.599). The house seems to want to exclude the listeners, and is far from inviting.

43 SCIT Cf. Pers. 1.53–4. The freedmen (cf. Mart. 3.46.8) sit at the end of the benches (διακάθηνται Epictet. 3.4.4) so that the shouts of applause will not seem to come from a hired claque (cf. Pliny Ep. 2.14.4); Quintil. 4.2.37 clamorem dispositae … multitudinis, Suet. Nero 20. For the applause of clients (COMITUM; on 1.46) cf. 13.32.

REGUM On 1.136; SUBSELLIA (86) Tacitus quoted on 40.

ANABATHRA (an uncertain restoration on CIG 2924, from Tralles; see L. Robert Études Anatoliennes (1937) 409) = βάθρα Epictet. 3.23.35, rising tiers of seats at the back of the room supported on scaffolding (TIGILLO). The auditorium is arranged like a theatre, in which the ORCHESTRA is for senators, there are 14 rows of seats (here SUBSELLIA) for equites (on 3.154), and the plebs sit in the cunei (6.61; here ANABATHRA); theatrum is applied to a recitation-hall Hor. Epist. 1.19.41, cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Odes 2.1.10. The ‘senators’ have cushioned chairs (CATHEDRAE), whereas the benches would be bare; cf. Pliny Ep. 8.21.2, Mart. 1.76.14.

TIGILLO Collective singular, as often with materials (on 3.201).

POSITA i.e. disposita, laid out with them.

48 HOC AGIMUS Cf. 20. Ploughing the sands (cf. 103) is wasted labour; Otto harena 4, Sen. De Ben. 4.9.2, Ovid Ex Ponto 4.2.16 siccum sterili vomere litus aras, and (in a similar context) Mart. 1.107.7. For STERILI cf. 203.

50–2 Juvenal cannot be allowed to say first that (all) those who try to give up poetry are unable to rescue themselves from its grip, then (an anti-climax) that many are unable to do so. CONSUETUDO MALI has got into the text from a note explaining the etymology of κακόηθες (which Σ glosses mali mores vel mala consuetudo (he has confused ἦθος and ἔθος) scribendi), and then the interpolation has been stretched out to fill a whole line (cf. 15). We should delete LAQUEO … MALI with Housman, since otherwise we have an intolerable mixed metaphor.
SI DISCEDAS If people try to escape; hence there is no incongruity with MULTOS.

CACOETHESES A medical term (like INSANABLE and AEGRO), a malignant but not incurable growth or ulcer (Celsius 5.28.2, cf. Spencer in the Loeb ed. 3.592; but, unlike the usual kind, that in Juvenal is incurable); stronger than morbus or νόσος, which are often found in such contexts, stronger still than amor scribendi Hor. Serm. 2.1.10. Cf. Petron. 42 antiquus amor cancer est.

SENESCIT It becomes chronic, inveterascit.

SED resumes the train of thought from 47; so 48–52 should go in a parenthesis.

VATEM (89, 93) See on 1.18.

VENA What are the metaphors here and in the following lines? That in 55 is clearly from coining (the masters of the mint were IIIvirī auro argento aeri flando feriundo), which is more often applied to coinage of words. EXPOSITUM simply means in medio positum, obvious, trite (Quintil. 10.5.11), and carries no clear picture. VENA seems here to mean primarily a seam of ore (as probably at Hor. AP 409), and DEDUCERE also fits this metaphor; cf. Codex Iustin. 11.10.1 venae nobilis et quae facile deducatur ignibus seu liqueat ferri materies praebeat. Thus 53–5 hammer home the thought by repetition with a unified picture; first mining, then smelting, then minting. However there are secondary hints of other common literary metaphors. PUBLICA VENA could also mean a stream of inspiration which is common property, cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 4.13.5, Petron. 3, Callim. Epigr. 28.3 οὐδ’ ἀπὸ κρήνης / πίνω. DEDUCERE could refer to the drawing off from this of irrigating channels, and could also be a metaphor from spinning (cf. on 18; but not the operation of 224) often applied to literary composition, cf. Thes. 282.55, Riedner 59, Gilbert CQ 11, 1976, 111.

The attitude expressed in these lines is the Callimachean (cf. on 58) exclusivity, and TRIVIALE recalls his metaphors from the public road (Aetia fr. 1.27–8, Epigr. 28; cf. the vilis patulique orbis of Hor. AP 132). The trivium is where the vulgar mob meets (6.412), cf. Verg. Buc. 3.27 non tu in trivis, indocte, solebas / stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?, Calp. Sic. 1.28 non pastor, non haec triviali more viator ... canit.

56 HUNC Resuming the subject after a digression; Thes. 2710.66. Cf. Cic. Orator 23 ad eam quam sentiam eloquentiam, non ad eam quam in alio ipse cognoverim; ibid. 7–9, 18–19. Latin has no word for ‘ideal’. [358]

57 ANXIETATE The cares of poverty. Juvenal has adapted Ovid Trist. 1.1.39–48 and 5.12.3–4, though those passages do not refer to poverty.

IMPATIENS qui non patitur, as Val. Fl. 1.296; it usually means qui pati non potest.

58 For the retreat of the poet into the woods cf. Hor. Epist. 2.2.77 (cf. on 105)
and elsewhere, Tac. Dial. 9.6 and 12.1 (evidently alluded to by Pliny Ep. 9.10.2). Drinking the fountains of the Muses is a commonplace since Callimachus (cf. on 55); e.g. Pers. prol. (on 29), Tac. Dial. 13; cf. Wimmel (on 1.19) 226 sqq.

SUB (‘down in’) ANTRO (grotto) PIERIO Cf. 8, Hor. Odes 3.4.40, 2.1.39, where see Nisbet–Hubbard.

THYRSM The Bacchic poet, cf. 29, Hor. Odes 2.19.9 (this poem is referred to in 62) etc.; the poet is cliens BACCHI, Hor. Epist. l.c.

60 οὐδεὶς πεινῶν καλὰ ἄδει Macarius 6.73 (Paroemiogr. 2 p. 197).

62 i.e. at Odes 2.19.5; the well-filled poet after dinner sits down to write a wild Bacchic ode, whereas actual Bacchantes fasted! For the position of HORATIUS see on 3.93.

63 QUIS Not qui; cf. 6.571, 15.119.

64 DOMINIS Dative of agent (cf. 6.45, 11.191, 13.124); or perhaps ablative of instrument (cf. 6.29), Bacchus and Apollo being understood to mean ‘poetic inspiration’. Apollo is lord of Cirrha, the port of Delphi (13.79, Mart. 1.76.11); Nysa was a mythological mountain on which Bacchus was said to have been reared. Cf. Lucan 1.64–5.

VESTRA Yours, Telesinus, and that of poets like you; see index pronouns.

DUAS Poetry and poverty; cf. Cic. Phil. 11.23 and for ADMITTENTIA Val. Fl. 2.399.

66 Ovid (?) Her. 15.14 vacuae carmina mentis opus.

LODICE For bed-clothes 6.195; PARANDA on 3.224.

ATTONITAE This word, like VEXANT and CURAS, carries a deliberate ambiguity between ‘worried, distressed’ (cf. on 8.239 and Sen. Ep. 108.37) and ‘inspired’ (cf. Tib. 1.9.47); a similar ambiguity is probably intended in a similar context at Mart. 8.56.7. Fletcher Latomus 35, 1976, 113 prefers ‘intent upon’, but this does not fit the context so well.

67 CURRUS ET EQUOS Part of the proelia of 27.


69 PUER Slave, 9.64 (probably not thinking specially of Alexis, [339] Mart. 8.56.12–16), HOSPITIUM lodging (3.166); the sublime poet, who of course was in fact well housed, is brought into contact with the sordid cares of everyday life, cf. 62, 66, 73, 87.

DESET, CADERENT, GEMERET Not an instance of the idiom discussed on 4.85. Vergil is spoken of as alive at the moment (cf. 62, 79, 82–7); instead of saying that his descriptions would not be so vivid, Juvenal says that the events which he describes would not be happening, implying that the descriptions are so vivid that they give an air of actuality.

CRINIBUS Of Allecto (l.c. 447); CADERENT reverses Vergil’s erexit.
SURDA Unheard, cf. 13.194; GEMERET cf. 2.90, Laus Pis. 142; BUCINA l.c. 513 sqq.

72 COThURNO i.e. tragic writers (6.634 sqq., 15.29); a kind of comparatio compendiaria, cf. 6.176.

73 ALVEOLoS Dishes 5.88; LAENAM 3.283.

PIGNERAT Comically, as if the tragic king were personally pawnning; prosaically it means that the writing of tragedy makes Lappa (like Sthenelus, Aristoph. Wasps 1313) resort to the pawnbroker, cf. 92 and on 16.13.

74 Cf. 184 sqq., Mart. 9.2.1.

NON HABET … HABET Note the chiastic order; for NON HABET INFELiX (ironical; cf. 10.169, Mart. 2.46.9) cf. 3.152, Ovid Met. 3.723.

NUMiTOR A dives avarus (30); for the name cf. CIL 13.3183.6.

QUOd MiTTAT Cf. 3.45.

QUINTILLAE Probably his amica, balancing AMiCO; cf. Mart. 9.2.1.

76 On θηριοτροφεῖν cf. ulpian Dig. 21.1.40–2, SG 2.70 = 2.86, Jennison 132, DS Bestiae mansuetae 689–90, and for lions Toynbee 64.

IAM This would cost more than one straight from the wilds.

77 LEVIORi See on 13.48.

78 NiMiRUM Ironical 2.104, 10.248; CAPiUNT ’hold’ 11.171, 195.

79 IACEAT Recline at his ease; cf. Ovid Trist. 1.11.37–8, Pliny Ep. 5.5.5, 3.7.4.

MARMOREIS Sarcastically, as if statues (cf. 1.12, SG 2.264 = 3.40, Balsdon¹ 207) covered all the grass in his Horti (on 1.75). Unlike most poets, Lucan possessed inherited wealth, Tac. Ann. 16.17; cf. Stat. Silv. 2.7 (to L.’s wife).85.

80 SERRANO Quintil. 10.1.89, where the mss. read ferrenum or farrenum; a Serranus in debt, Mart. 4.37.3.

SALEiO Basso (Quintil. ibid. 90); cf. Tacitus quoted on 21. Mart. 5.53 criticises a poet Bassus.

79E NUi 3.163, 8.120. ||360]


82 ERiT The future though both were now dead (Quintil.); cf. 3.238.

83 Statius mentions his own recitations Silv. 5.2.163 (from the Achilleid), 5.3.215; the Thebaid was known before publication, 12.812 sqq.

84 IUCUNDAM Important for a recitation, Pliny Ep. 5.17.3.

85 AMiCAE The first hint of the sexual imagery which follows and which conveys that Statius has to prostitute his talent.

86 PROMISITQUE DIEM promittere noctem is characteristic of the whore or bawd (often in the elegists).

DULCEDINE CAPTOS Cic. De Fin. 5.49, Ovid Met. 1.709, 11.179, all of the effects of music; here of the vox iucunda of Statius. Tandoi Maia 21, 1969, 103 sees in the word a criticism of Statius’ style.

86 FREGIT SUBSELLiA (45) per alios (on 16.13). Perhaps so many crowd
to hear him that their weight breaks down the stand (cf. Suet. Claud. 41.1), but more likely it is the result of *exsultatio* (Pers. 1.82), stamping; τὰ πηδήματα τῶν παρόντων Plut. *De Recta Rat. Aud.* 7.41c, cf. Lucian *Rhet. Præc.* 21.


AGAVEN Pantomimes loved to show their talents in female roles, cf. 92 and *SG* 2.106 = 2.133, though there were a few female *pantomimae* (*RE pantomimus* 850.60).

PARIDI (*RE* no. 3) Put to death by Domitian in A.D. 83; cf. 6.87.

VENDIT For the sale of librettos cf. Ovid *Trist.* 2.507–8; but the sale of a slave prostitute is also suggested.

ESURIT From the sublime of 82–6 to the ridiculous, with a bump. Though Statius admits that his family’s means were straightened (*Silv.* 5.3.116 sqq.), it is doubtful if he himself was ever as poor as this; when he wrote the *Silvae* (after the death of Paris) he owned a small *praedium Albanum* (3.1.61 sqq., 4.5.13 sqq., where his assertion of its poverty is purely conventional).

88 For the *militia equestris* see on 1.58; the three usual steps were *praefectura cohortis sociorum*, *tribunatus legionis*, *praefectura alae*. A six-month service in the second rank (Pliny *Ep.* 4.4.2) conferred equestrian status; cf. *CIL* 6.2131 = *ILS* 4929 (A.D. 240) *Campiae Severinae virgini Vestali maxima pro conlatis in se beneficiis equestri ordinis...* Likewise Paris uses his influence at court to secure these appointments. Of course poets would not wish to enter on an official career, but would have sinecure appointments (*supra numerum* Suet. *Claud.* 25). Martial became an *eques* by holding such a tribunate (3.95.9–10).


AURUM (cf. 1.28) SEMENSTRE The equestrian gold ring (on 11.43, 129) gained by six months’ service; *DE legio* 578b–579.

VATUM (cf. 53) See on 1.18; here the elevated word hints that they are debased by this patronage.


CAMERINOS (8.38) The plural suggests that he may be thinking of the consuls of A.D. 9 and 46; for BAREAM see on 3.116.

MAGNA ATRIA Haunting these was a common fate (Mart. 3.38.11).

CURAS For the application of this word to clients cf. White *JRS* 68, 1978, 81.

92 PRAEFECTOS ... TRIBUNOS On 88.

PELOPEA The daughter of Thyestes, from whose incest sprang Aegisthus (Lu-
cian *De Salt. 43*). This and PHIOMELA (cf. *Tereus 12* and *Apul. Apol. 78*) are the titles of librettos, like *Agave*. The form of expression has the same point as 73.

93 was deleted by Markland, probably rightly. Juvenal uses *haud* only with adjectives and adverbs (at 6.0.20 it goes with *semper*), and here it appears to convey a prohibition, which is solecistic (*BICS* 22, 1975, 158). Moreover the line is quite useless and the connexion of thought is much better without it; then *tibi* 94 and the names of the patrons of old take up *tu* 90 and the names of modern non-patrons. The remark that poets like Statius who are forced to make a living by writing librettos even so only make a poor living is both misplaced and vaguely expressed. The composer of the line took VATI from 89, and PASCUNT was suggested to him by *esurit* 87.

The consequence of this analysis is that though 88–92 are not fully relevant (cf. p. 7), yet they are integral to the passage, not a mere parenthesis.

94 Cf. 5.108 sqq. C. PROCULEIUS is the generous man of Hor. *Odes* 2.2.5 and Rutil. Lup. 1.5; Paulus FABIUS (*RE* no. 102, *PIR² F* 47) Maximus is the patron of Ovid; M. Aurelius (*RE* no. 111, *PIR² A* 1488) COTTA Maximus (later Cotta Messalinus), a son of M. Valerius Messala adopted into the *gens Aurelia*, was also a patron of Ovid, cf. 5.109. For such complaints of the decay of patronage cf. Mart. 1.107.3–4 (cf. on 49), 8.56.5.


96 *UTILE MULTIS* Ovid AA 1.159. [362]

PALLERE Pers. prol. (on 29) 4 *pallidam* (making pale) *Pirenen*, Pliny *NH* 20.160, Quintil. 1.2.18, 7.10.14 etc., *SG* 3,50 = 2.236; because of the *Pieria umbra* 8, a touch of humour.


98–104 Historians are given little space because Juvenal’s case is weak here; they must be included to represent prose writers, since history was at this time the most prominent branch of prose, but they were usually aristocratic, retired politicians and the like, not poor men in need of patronage (Livy is the most striking exception). Cf. Suet. *De Gramm.* 27 L. Voltacilius Pilutus … *primus omnium libertinorum* … *scribere historiam orsus, nonnisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam ad id tempus*.

FECUNDIOR  See on 103.

HISTORIARUM … PLUS The imposing, though sarcastic, weight of one line-end is followed by the miserable outcome of the other.

OLEI Lamp-oil for *lucubratio* (cf. on 27). We have here the passive (on 4.56) of *perdere oleum*, to waste lamp-oil; Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.17.1 *ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit*, Pliny *Ep.* 7.2.1 *aliquid perituri temporis*, Otto *oleum* 3, Gurlitt *Berl. Phil.* Woch. 21, 1901, 731, Wölfflin 268.

100 *NULLOmodo* ‘with no limits in sight’; misunderstanding as if it meant
'by no means' caused interpolation in Φ.

MILLENSIMA PAGINA Each *volumen* would hold at most 200 *paginae* (columns); of course many histories would be longer than 5–10 *volumina*. In the format of Pap. Ox. 884 Sall. *Cat*. would cover about 100 columns. Cf. Marquardt 812–13, N. Lewis *L’Industrie du Papyrus* (1934) 56 and 74 = *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (1974) 54–6 and 79–83.

SURGIT Ovid *Am*. 1.1.17 *cum bene surrexit versus nova pagina primo*. CRESCIT Ovid *Trist*. 4.9.3–4 *inque libellis / crevisset sine te pagina nulla meis*, Mart. 5.6.15 *nigris pagina crevit umbilicis*.

101 The expense is due entirely to quantity (Mart. 13.1.3 *perdite Niliacas, Musae, mea damna, papyros*); unit-costs of papyrus were not high (Marquardt 822, Lewis ll.cc. 152 = 129, T. Birt *Antike Buchwesen* (1882) 83, Skeat *JRS* 24, 1934, 65–6).

102 RERUM History being *res gestae*, the historian *rerum scriptor* (cf. Livy pr. 1, Tac. *Hist*. 1.1).

LEX See on 6.635; but it is hard to see what point the plural OPERUM has, and perhaps it is due to RERUM; Hor. *AP* 135 has *operis*, and this reading is quoted here by Valla (perhaps inadvertently; it was explicitly conjectured by Lubinus).


104 DARET The tense and mood indicate that LEGENTI too is hypothetical, equivalent to *si quis legeret*; the philistine would prefer to listen to a recitation of the gazette (on 2.136) rather than a recitation of a history.

105 GENUS IGNAVUM This probably includes poets (Ovid *Am*. 1.15.1) as well as historians (Sall. *Iug*. 4.3).


106 CAUSIDICIS Since according to old Roman custom a man’s legal interests would be looked after by his *patronus*, this class of professional speakers is not referred to and probably did not exist before Ciceronian times (*De Or*. 1.202, *Orator* 30; Lucr. 4.966); the word tends to imply a sneer (on 10.121) because it suggests taking money for what ought to be an *officium* (see below).

CIVILIA OFFICIA Practice at the bar; so first Sen. *Contr*. 2 pr. 3 and often e.g. in Quintilian and the younger Pliny. CIVILIA implies usefulness to society and thus hints a contrast with IGNAVUM. Cf. Pliny *Ep*. 6.32.1 *Nonio Celeri, cui ratio civilium officiorum necessitatem quandam nitoris imponit* and with this Juv. 124–5.

LIBELLI Briefs; cf. on 6.244 and Mart. 5.51.1; T. Birt *Die Buchrolle i.d. Kunst* (1907) 256 gives illustrations of *fasces* of *libelli*.

QUID PRAESENTENT Because advocacy had been part of *clientela*, in theory at any rate remuneration was forbidden (Gelzer 63–4) until Claudius (Tac. *Ann*. 11.5–7), who established a limit of 10,000 sesterces (cf. Ulpian *Dig*. 50.13.1.12); this
was re-enacted under Nero (Tac. 13.42.1), who was also responsible for more legis-
lation (Tac. 13.5.1; Suet. 17), which evidently prohibited payment in advance (Pliny
_Ep._ 5.9 and 13). Quintil. 12.7.8–12 thinks that even fees should not be regarded in a
commercial light. Of course fees were more needed by the poorer lawyers (Quinti-
lit. l.c., Tac. 11.7.3); Pliny never took any (but the Aemilius of 124 did). See _SG_ 1.163
= 1.184, Parks 56, Marquardt 770, _RE_ _honos_ _rarium_ 2274.

108 MAGNA SONANT _Cf._ 6.517, _Hor._ _Serm._ 1.4.44, 1.6.43.

_TETIGIT_ i.e. _fodicavit_. When a creditor of their own is listening or when they
are approached by a litigant seeking repayment from someone else; the latter is
_ACRIOR_, i.e. he inspires yet more keenness in the _causidicus_ than his own cred-
itor, and is more likely to be impressed by the bragging of the _causidicus_ into
giving him the brief.

_CODEX_ The money-lender’s account-book (_Thes._ 1406.53, _RSV_ 2.67–8), the
size of which (GRANDI) suggests his wealth; _NOMEN_ an ||364 entry in this (cf.
_Cic._ _Pro Q. Rosc._ 4–5 etc.) under the debtor’s name; _DUBIUM_ of doubtful credit,
the opposite of _certum_ (Cic. _Pro Quint._ 38).

111 FOLLES _Bellows, metaphorically; cf._ Plaut. _Bacch._ _fr._ 8, Otto _Nachträge_ 28.
The lines are sibilant to suit his spluttering haste.

112 CONSPUITUR SINUS _This perhaps merely indicate their eagerness to
babble out their words, but more probably refers to a familiar charm to placate
Nemesis for their boasting; cf._ Otto _sinus_ 3, Gruppe 890, Goodyear _Proc._ _Afr._ _Class._
_Ass._ 14, 1978, 55 on Petron. 74.13, Gow on _Theocr._ 6.39 (add now Menander _Samia_
503), R. Muth _Träger der Lebenskraft_ (1954) 42 sqq. (esp. 46) and 167, and on spit-
tle in general _RE_ _Aberglaube_ 87–8, _ERE_ _s.v._ _saliva_. For Nemesis herself perhaps
portrayed as performing the act see _RE_ (2375.20) and _ML_ (figs. 5 and 7) _Nemesis._

MESSEM _See_ on 103.

113 PATRIMONIA Property in general, not inherited; cf. 14.116 (10.13, 12.50)
and for the usage of the lawyers _RE_ suppl. 10.493–4.

_ALIAS_ i.e. _āltērā_; cf. 6.436.

RUSSATI _Belonging to the red _factio_ (on 11.198) in the circus._

LACERTAE _A charioteer C. Annius Lacerta is known (CIL 15,6250 = _ILS_ 5293).
For the size of prizes cf. _SG_ 2.22–4 = 2.26–9, _RE_ suppl. 7.1637, _DE agitator_
362–3 and add Mart. 4.67.

115 CONSEDERE DUCES _This parodies the opening of the _Armorum Iudici-
_umb_ , Ovid _Met._ 13.1 _c.d. et ... surgit ... Aiax; consedere as _iudices_, cf._ Ovid 12.622
and _Thes._ _s.v._ 433.81. BUBULCO _IUDICE_ would then be collective; for such com-
plaints about the low intelligence of _iudices_ cf. _Cic._ _Ad Att._ 6.1.15 _Turpio sutorius
et Vettius manceps_, _Sen._ _Ep._ 40.8 and often Quintil. (e.g. 4.2.45 _cum ... iudicem
rura plerumque in decurias mittant, 11.1.45 cum etiam singulis iudicantibus non
idem apud ... eruditum quod militarem (cf. _Juv._ 16.13) _ac rusticum deceat, 12.10.53
cum vero iudicet detur aut populus aut ex populo laturique sententiam indocti
It will be noticed that these criticisms apply both to members of the jury-panels, decuriae, who had to be Roman citizens with a property-qualification of at least 200,000 sesterces, and to the unus iudex chosen by mutual agreement of the two parties, who was not subject to either restriction. Here Juvenal has in mind the former; money of course brings neither culture nor intelligence. The case in question is a causa liberalis or vindicatio (assertio) in libertatem, and though some legal sources suggest the possibility of a trial by unus iudex, this was certainly not the usual method (G. Franciosi Il Processo di Libertà (1961) 106 and in Labeo 9, 1963, 192, Kaser ZRG 79, 1962, 394, Buckland 654). Kelly 54 thinks that the reference is to a judge trying the case by cognitio, but this method of trying causae liberales cannot be demonstrated to have started before Antoninus Pius, and it appears to have begun with consuls, for whom BUBULCO seems too complimentary; see Kaser2 359.

PALLIDUS reinforces the parody of Ovid; one can hardly imagine Ajax affected by the nervousness of the declaimer (Quintil. 6.2.36). BUBULCO also brings the sublime down to the level of the ridiculous.

117 Cic. Ad Fam. 7.1.4 dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Canini. The IECUR is the seat of the passions (1.45). UT cf. 29.

118 For the fixing of palms to the front door as a sign of forensic victory cf. Mart. 7.28.6, Laus Pis. 27–31, Lucian Rhet. Praec. 25; but this advocate in spite of his success is poor and lives in a garret approached by stairs (cf. 3.200, 10.18). This witty point is misunderstood by the scholiast (see Wessner), followed by Puccioni Riv. Fil. 95, 1967, 180.

119 Cf. Mart. 4.46, 12.72, Pers. 3.73 sqq.; these would be birthday or Saturnalia presents (Mart. 10.87).

PETASUNCULUS Diminutive of petaso, a leg of pork.

SICCUS Cf. 11.82, Mart. 13.55.

PELAMYDUM Small tunny fish (Blümner1 185, Marquardt 437).

BULBI Some member of the onion family (RE βολβός 3.669), also mentioned by Mart. 4.46; Pliny NH 19.97 vetustiores improbant.

EPIMENIA ‘rations’, a military term, Latin menstrua; the word is found in Polybius, papyri (Preisigke–Kiessling s.v.), Epictetus 2.7.8 (LSJ II 2). For monthly issue of rations cf. Plaut. Stich. 60, Gow on Theocr. 16.35.

MAURORUM Of African slaves (5.53); they would be used to them, as bulbi were much grown in Africa (Pliny NH 19.95, Ovid RA 797, Athen. 2.64b, Edict. Diocl. 6.41).

121 The best wine, that from Greece and Campania, was imported up the Tiber (subvectum cf. 5.89); only vile Sabinum and poor Etruscan wine came downstream (Marquardt 452, Blümner1 200).

Schmalz 2.82–3 s.v. *mille*. The quantity does not compensate for the lack of quality.

122 SI QUATER EGIsti If the case has run to four *actiones*; cf. 143–4 *agebat*. AUREUS UNUS 25 denarii, 100 sesterces.

123 CADUNT They are deducted; PRAGMATICORUM depends on PARTES, cf. *SG* 1.163 = 1.184–5. The *causidici* would often know little law and would depend on those who gave themselves the Greek name of *pragmatici* to supply this; cf. Quintil. 12.3.2–4, *RE* suppl. 10.639, *SG* 1.166 = 1.189, Schulz 108, W. Kunkel *Herkunft … der Röm. Juristen* (1967) 327–30. [[366]

124 For the abrupt intervention of an interlocutor cf. on 3.187. Aemilius, who being a noble can make a display, receives the full fee permitted by the law (on 106, and cf. *licita quantitas* in Ulpian there adduced).

ET ‘and yet’; *Thes.* 893.4, Kühner on Cic. *Tusc.* 1.6 and above on 1.93.

HUIUS depends on VESTIBULIS (on 1.132); for statues there cf. Wistrand *Eranos* 68, 1970, 204–5, Marquardt 225. He has a triumphal statue of an ancestor (cf. 8.3, 143) and an equestrian one of himself presented by a grateful client (cf. 13.119, Mart. 9.68.6, Tac. *Dial.* 8.4, 11.3).


CURVATUM … LUSCA Although he has a statue, it is not well maintained or of good quality (cf. 8.4–5); the sculptor has provided no support for the heavy spear-head, which has dragged down the shaft into a curve, and one of the coloured stones regularly used to represent eye-balls has fallen out (cf. *CIL* 6.9403 = *ILS* 7713 *M. Rapilius Serapio oculos reposuit statuis*; Marquardt 688, *SG* 2.317 = 3.100). Griffith 382 thinks that HASTILE means ‘bow-shaft’, as at Amm. Marc. 22.8.37, but Aemilius is not likely to have been represented as an archer.

MEDITATUR PROELIA 4.112.

129 SIC By imitating the display of the rich and noble; cf. Pliny quoted on 106. CONTURBAT sc. *rationes*, cf. 14.94; DEFICIT ‘fails’ (so Pomponius Dig. 35.2.31, Callistratus ibid. 49.14.3.8).

MATHO 1.32, 11.34; cf. introduction.

TONGILII For the name cf. Schulze *LEG* 455; here from Mart. 2.40.7.


RHINOCEROTE An oil-flask made from (real or imitated) rhinoceros-horn, cf. Mart. 14.52–3; for the synecdoche cf. 12.4 *vellus*.

VEXAT Cf. 1.100 and *premit* 1.46; Plut. *Praec. Reip. Ger.* 31.8 ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν πιλήθη (at the baths), Lucian *Nigrin.* 13, 34.

LUTULENTA Cf. 3.247; his clients are covered with mud from attending him all day.

132 ASSERE Collective singular, the poles of the litter (so probably 3.245); LONGO of a *hexaphoros* or *octophoros*.

MAEDOS From Thrace; *CIL* 6.6310 a *Medus lecticarius* (cf. Matescu *Ephem.*
133 ARGENTUM Silver plate cf. 1.76; MURRINA cf. 6.156; VILLAS cf. 10.225.

134 SPONDET Secures credit for him; cf. Lucian Rhet. Praec. 15–16. The sequence of thought around here is rather abrupt (though not abrupt enough to compel the deletion of 135); it would run more smoothly if 134 were placed after 137.

STLATTARIA A *stlatta* is a kind of boat (for an ancient illustration see Casson' pl. 137 after Gaucker Fondation E. Piot, Monuments 12, 1905, 140) which Caper GLK 7.107.1 and glosses (cf. CGL 7.196b) say was associated with pirates; this adjective (conjectured by Haupt at Quintil. 8.2.13 but nowadays removed from Petron. 108.12) is illustrated by Probus from Enn. Ann. 469 et melior navis quam quae stlattaria portat; Probus glosses illecebrosa, probably merely because of a false derivation, implicitly rejected by Caper, of *stlactarius* from lacto, lacio, illicio (this was pointed out to me by Prof. O. Skutsch). Ennius suggests that we should understand 'imported' rather than 'deceptive' (sailing under false colours); Griffith3 382 understands 'bought from the proceeds of the *piraticus mos* (Quintil. 12.7.11) of bargaining for fees', which seems far-fetched. Of course if we had the context of Ennius we might find a sense 'property stolen by pirates' or the like.

PURPURA On 1.27. Note the chiastic order in PURPURA ... AMETHYSTINA.

136 AMETHYSTINA (sc. *vestimenta*) A highly-valued shade of purple (Pliny NH 9.135, 21.45, Citroni on Mart. 1.96.7). Cf. Mart. 2.57 amethystinatus media qui secat Saepa, / quem grex togatus sequitur et capillatus / recensque sella (he has however just pawned his ring, cf. 140).

138 Cf. 3.165, 182 and Seneca there referred to.

139 The mss. show a striking variant; Mart. 11.5.5 has *si redeant veteres ... patres* in a passage showing no other resemblance, but there the idea is better motivated than here, where it looks like a pedantic explanation of NUNC. Moreover ELOQUIO appropriately contrasts with the empty display of the preceding lines, and Juvenal's mss. show some striking interpolations from Martial (e.g. in 8 above). On the other hand it must be admitted that *ut* 'supposing that' is a refined idiom, and the possibility of an author-variant for once cannot be entirely excluded.

DUCENTOS NUMMOS (cf. 11.19) 200 sesterces, a trivial sum contrasted with Mart. 8.16.2 causas nunc agis et ducena quaeris.

DEDERIT On 2.24. For the context generally cf. 3.143–4.

With this display of ring and escort cf. Galen 14.600 K; SERVI OCTO enough for a *lectica octophoros*; COMITES cf. on 1.46; POST TE SELLA cf. Mart. quoted on 136. ||368|

TOGATI ANTE PEDES Cf. on 1.96 and Mart. 2.74.1 cinctum togatis post et ante Saufeium (but he owes all this to money-lenders), Tac. Dial. 6; Mart. 9.100.3 praecedere sellam, as an anteambulo.
CONDUCTA Cf. 3.652 (also with sella and comites).
SARDONYCHE On 6.382; AGBEAT ... AGBEAT cf. 5.147–8.

145 Not Juvenal’s opinion (cf. 8.47), but that of the people in general (cf. on 15.47); cf. Petron. 83.10 sola pruinosis horret facundia (i.e. poets) pannis.

146 One of the devices frequent in the ancient world to sway the jury’s emotions; cf. 15.135 sqq., Quintil. 6.1.30, Cato Orig. fr. 107 Peter, Cic. Pro Font. 46–7, Pro Cael. 4, 2 Verr. 1.93; Volkmann 282. PRODUCERE is the technical term (Bonnell Lex. Quintil. s.v. I, e.g. 11.3.174).

147 ACCIPIAT TE GALLIA Because of the expense of Rome 138.

GALLIA Cf. 214, on 15.111 and the contest in oratory referred to 1.44. For native Celtic aptitude for oratory cf. Cato Orig. fr. 34 Peter, Strabo 4.4.2.195, 4.1.5.181, N. Chadwick The Celts (1970) 45; for Gallic orators M. L. Clarke Rhetoric at Rome (1953) 145–6, Jullian (on 9.30) 6.140, Duval (ibid.) 203 and 353, Bonner 157, V. M. O. Denk Gesch. des Gallo-Frankischen Unterrichts- und Bildungswesens (1892) 34–6. If nostris in Tac. Dial. 10.2 is correctly interpreted, only one speaker (Vipstanius Messala) in that work does not come from Gaul.

AFRICA Soon after this that province began to produce distinguished writers (Fronto and Apuleius; note also the Florus who wrote the dialogue Vergilius orator an poeta). For oratory there cf. Clarke l.c. Juvenal is probably alluding to the description of the province as nutrix ferarum (Vitruv. 8.2.24).

PONERE This seems unobjectionable; Hor. Serm. 2.3.23 huic signo ponebam milia centum. There is a similar variant at Quintil. 12.7.11 imponentium (so B; pon- b) perculis pretia. Gnilka Symb. Osl. 44, 1969, 102 thinks that LINEA should be emphasised in contrast to the impensa of Rome (138); but this is far-fetched and would require LINEA to be genitive, which is not plausible.

150 sqq. The rhetor, introduced with a question like the historian 98. He would take over his pupils from the grammaticus in their mid teens.

FERREA Cf. 1.31.

CLASSIS For this term cf. Quintil. 1.2.23, 10.5.21 (where he remarks on their size; see Clarke Higher Education 33).

NUMEROSA ‘large’ cf. 10.105. Wiesen CQ 21, 1971, 506 understands it to mean ‘sing-song’, and takes CANTABIT also to refer to a style of delivery often criticised (Thes. s.v. 288.50, 289.68); but the point in this passage is monotony, hammered home by the polyptoton of idem. Therefore EADEM CANTABIT should be understood as Ter. Phorm. 495 cantilenam eandem canis. Quintil. 8.3.76 his ... quae ... ubique cantari solebant, Plaut. Trin. 289, Ter. Haut. 260 and often decanto; cf. LSJ âœíðw II.

PERIMIT ... TYRANNOS i.e. describes the death (on 1.162) of tyrants; the tyrannicide is a stock figure of declamations (cf. on 10.113 and Four introduction; Gudeman on Tac. Dial. 35 p. 463, Winterbottom index to Sen. Contr. p. 641). This topic is a fossil; the famous tyrants of Greece left a permanent imprint on history,
and at Athens especially the memory of the tyrannicides was fostered.

152 At first sight it looks as if the subject of this sentence is classis; one could then adopt Wiesen’s interpretation of numerosa and infer that the same stuff was recited twice (by each individual pupil). But the insistence on monotony and the teacher’s boredom is much more pointed if Juvenal has in mind not two repetitions of the identical composition but infinite repetitions of essentially the same points in superficially different garb. It is therefore more likely that the participles are masculine and the reference is to repetition of the same material by all members of the numerous class; therefore SEDENS and STANS (cf. stabant 225) will refer to different pupils, and the assumption will be that ‘less advanced students read their speeches without standing; others, more experienced, stand up to declaim’ (Duff). Our knowledge of Roman school-routine is defective (cf. Clarke CP 63, 1968, 295); advanced schoolboys stood to read from classic speeches (Quintil. 1.11.14). Note Pollux 8 pr. δύο λόγους ἐξειργασάμην, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου λέγων, τὸν δὲ ὤρθοστάδην.

LEGERAT For the pluperfect cf. on 9.96.
PERFERET ‘will rehearse’ cf. 6.392.
VERSIBUS στίχως, lines of prose as well as of verse; Gell. 9.15.10.

154 REPETITA Re-hashed; δίς κράμβη θάνατος Suidas 2 p. 119 no. 1272, cf. Antipater in the letters of Basil 187 in reply to Basil’s allusion in 186. Quintil. 2.4.28 repetition of the same points causes fastidium velut frigidi et repositi cibi.

155 COLOR 6.280.

CAUSAE GENUS A technical phrase of several applications; cf. Volkmann 108 sqq., Lausberg p. 658a. Quintil. 3.9.6 intueri oportet quod sit causa genus, quid in ea quaeratur; with SUMMA QuAESTIO cf. ibid. 3.11.2.

156 refers to occupatio, the refutation in advance of arguments likely to be used by the other side. The point of forte (see the apparatus) would be that the opponents’ points can only be guessed beforehand; but, as Housman says, the word is rare in a question after |[370] Lucretius. PARTE could be an interpolation from 13.136 (q.v.), but is more likely to be right. In that case diversae will be due to elimination of the noun with which DIVERSA agrees, and one should not compromise with diversa e. For diversa pars cf. Quintil. 3.11.23 and diversa subsellia ibid. 11.3.122; Thes. 5.1.1576.80 (add Suet. De Gramm. 9).


157 Ovid Fasti 3.829 vos, turba fere censu fraudata, magistri (i.e. grammatici); cf. 228 and Palladas referred to on 219. Orbilius (Suet. De Gramm. 9) wrote a book Περιαλγής (?) de iniuriiis quas professores neglegentia aut ambitione parentum aciperent.

APPELLAS ‘dun for’, cf. 9.64; usually with a personal object, though cf. Sen. Dial. 9.11.3.
SCIO The pupil himself answers; cf. Libanius Or. 43.6 and the story recounted of Protagoras (Gell. 5.10 etc.; see Hosius ad loc.) or Corax (Schmid–Stählin 1.3.28 n. 1 and 91 n. 6; H. Rabe Prolegomenon Syloge (1935) x; L. Radermacher Artium Scriptores (1951) p. 29) and his pupil.

ENIM You cannot seriously dun for your fee, since I know nothing. However in this combination ENIM seems sometimes merely to give a surprised emphasis to the interrogative, cf. Ovid Met. 3.262 and Shackleton Bailey on Cic. Ad Att. 12.21.1 (perhaps 3.208 above).

CULPA DOCENTIS Cf. Quintil. 2.10.3, Libanius Or. 62.32; now the rhetor (mihi 160) speaks.

159 LAEVAE Cf. Sil. It. 10.231 laevae ... vitalia mammae; Pers. 2.53 pectore laevo ... cor, the heart being, as often (on 14.57), considered the seat of intelligence. The circum praecordia sanguis is so frigidus that the actual physical heart-beat (cf. Sen. Thy. 756) has stopped.

ARCADICO Rustic; often used in Greek with this implication.

SEXTA QUAECE DIE certi dies were set aside for formal declamation which parents (cf. 166 and Pers. 3.47) could attend, Quintil. 2.7.1, 10.5.21. This line is often taken (e.g. by Balsdon' 62–4) as evidence for a seven-day week, as if it meant ‘every sixth day out of groups of seven’; but in spite of Beaujeu REL 53, 1975, 334 n. 1 (add SHA 6.6.3 and see Chastagnol Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1975–6 (Antiquitas Reihe 4, Band 13, ed. A. Alföldi, 1978) 133) it does not seem demonstrated that it could mean this, and rhetorical schools went on every day without any kind of week-end or holiday on nundinae (Suet. De Gramm. 4 and 7). Of course it may mean ‘every fifth day’ (cf. Beaujeu 337, 353).

HANNIBAL A favourite figure of the schools (10.167) for a suasoria. ||[371]

DIRUS Hannibal’s traditional epithet (Hor. Odes 2.12.2, 3.6.36, 4.4.42; cf. Quintil. 8.2.9); but he is particularly dirus to the rhetor.

CAPUT IMPLET As if he were a poisonous vapour; a technical medical term (Pliny NH 21.146 and several times Cael. Aurel.).

162 QUICQUID ID EST Ovid Ex Ponto 3.3.73 etc.

DELIBERAT AN A set phrase to announce the theme of a suasoria, e.g. Ad Herenn. 3.2.2 and at the headings of Seneca’s Suasoriae.

URBEM would be best printed with a capital. See Livy 22.51.


MADIDAS A Dripping in consequence of, cf. 197.


165 QUID DO? I would pay anything; probably the indicative is used deliberatively (on 4.130). Cf. Sen. Ep. 79.5 quid tibi do ne Aetnam describas?; Sen. Contr. 9.3.11 and 12.


168 RAPTORE A figure of the *controversiae* (cf. Ritter’s index to [Quintil.]* Decl. Min. s.v.), like those of 169–70.

VERAS Cf. Quintil. 2.10.4–5, 2.20.4, 10.5.14; von Martitz *Glotta* 46, 1968, 282. In fact quite a few *rhetores* were also advocates (cf. Mart. 2.64.1), e.g. Quintilian.

169 FUSA VENENA Cf. Parks 89–90, Bonner 310; MALUS INGRATUSQUE MARITUS e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 2.5 (see Winterbottom’s note 1.316 n. 2 for the importance of *ingratum* in the declamations), 9.1. Juvenal is perhaps thinking of a connected story in 169–70; *marito caeca uxor venenum dedit, ille recepit oculos; uxorem dimisit, ingrat reus est.*

VETERES CAECOS Cf. 9.16, SHA 1.25.3.

171 DABIT RUDEM Like a retired gladiator; cf. on 6.113 and Otto *rudis.*

VITAE ITER Cf. 10.363–4.

173 PUGNA Cf. 16.47; a continual metaphor (Bonnell *Lex. Quintil. s.v.* IIβ; Tac. *Dial.* 34.2, 37.8; Cic. *De Or.* 1.157 and Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.103–9 contrasted with *umbra*). Cf. Fortunat. 1.28 (p. 101.35 RLM *ad pugnam … descendemus*; this use of DESCENDERE (*Thes.* 644.68) is in origin due to the low-lying situation of the Forum. Here the metaphor is probably gladiatorial (cf. *harena* Pliny *Ep.* 6.12.2); and gladiatorial shows were often given in the Forum.

RHETORICA UMBRA is an equally common metaphor, contrasted with *lux forensis*, cf. 105; but the metaphor is based on the reality that courts might be open to the weather (Quintil. 11.3.27, Sen. *Contr.* 3. pr. 13, Balsdon1 136). [372]

174 TESSERA *frumentaria*, the ticket (*RE* s.v. 852, Hands 106, D. van Berchem *Les Distributions de Blé* (1939) 85) given to citizens on the roll of those entitled to the grain-distribution (*cf. panis* 10.81, which however may simply refer to fear of famine); these tickets could be bequeathed by will, transferred, or sold (van Berchem 49; Rea *Oxyr. Pap.* 40 (1972) 9–13, Nicolet in *Mél. J. Heurgon* (1976) 698), since the number of recipients was limited (van Berchem 21–31, Rea 8–9). The *rhetor* needs his fee in order to be able to buy one (PEREAT ‘it may be lost’, passive of *perdo* cf. 222); he cannot look for any greater fee.

VILIS might be genitive and mean ‘of poor quality’, cf. *scabiosum tesserula far / possidet* Pers. 5.74; but the diminutive SUMMULA suggests that it is more likely to be nominative meaning ‘cheap’.

175 TEMPTA … SCINDES A paratactic condition.

CHRYSOGONUS A singer (6.74), *POLLIO* a citharode (6.387); for the contrast between their fees (on which cf. *SG* 2.354 = 2.181) and a rhetorician’s cf. Mart. 5.56, and for music teaching Bonner 44.

QUANTI DOCEAT πόσου διδάσκει Plato *Apol.* 20b.

ARTEM τέχνην, the text-book, cf. 6.452.
THEODORI of Gadara, a famous rhetor who was the teacher of Tiberius and founded the school of the Theodorei (cf. Quintil. 3.1.18, who often quotes theoretical points made by him). Suidas 2 p. 696 no. 151 does not list a τέχνην among his writings; Juvenal probably names him as a famous rhetor who might well have written a textbook without bothering whether he actually had done so. There was also a Theodorus of Byzantium who lived in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. (RE no. 38; Quintil. 3.1.11) and evidently did write one (Radermacher (on 157) 106–7); but it would have been obsolete by now.

SCINDES Cf. Mart. cited on 27.

178 SESCENTIS (sc. constant) 600,000 sesterces; that projected by Fronto, a senator of moderate means, would have cost 350,000 (Gell. 19.10.1–4). These baths of course were in private houses, cf. 6.419.

PORTICUS Cf. 4.5, Mart. 1.12 and 82 (both with gestari; cf. Pliny Ep. 9.36.5 equo gestor), SHA 26.49.2.

SPARGATQUE If he dispenses with an arcade, he will have to wait until the rain stops, and even then the ground will be muddy. Arcades must be kept free of mud, 14.66.

181 HIC (sc. in porticu) POTIUS sc. gestetur; but Heinrich may be right to delete the line as an attempt to supply an answer to the question of 180, cf. on 12.50–1.

MULAE A favourite animal for light carriages; 4.5, 8.147, Mart. 3.62.5–6, RE Esel 660.50. Cf. Mart. 9.22.13 lutulenta … mula.

182 Numidian marble is now known as giallo antico, and was widely used (cf. Sen. Ep. 115.9, Blümner2 3.54, Ward-Perkins JRS 41, 1951, 96). FULTA COLUMNIS Prop. 3.2.11; cf. 14.307.

183 The placing of the dining-room to catch the winter sunlight was attended to with great care by architects, cf. Pliny Ep. 5.6.15, 28, 31, Blümner1 45, Marquardt 249, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 2.15.16 (Juvenal’s RAPIAT dramatises the technical term excipere).


QUANTICUMQUE Cf. 178.

VENIET … VENIET Because they would be hired for special occasions; we should probably not compare 29.

QUI FERCULA COMPOSIT A structor, cf. on 5.120, Plaut. Men. 101–3, Marquardt 320–1. QUI PULMENTARIA (i.e. ὄψον, anything eaten with bread) CONDIT (from condio) a cocus. For the indicatives cf. 219 and 9.146.

186 QUINTILIANO (cf. 6.75 and 280) Named as the type of rhetor. The weakness of Juvenal’s method of argument is very apparent here. He is insisting on the poverty of rhetores, and inevitably mentions the most famous of them. The trouble is that he was a rich man from his professorial appointment and practice at the bar (the Quintilian of Pliny Ep. 6.32 is a different person), and Juvenal has
to answer this objection which could be raised against his argument. His answer is feeble; pass over (3.114) this case, Quintilian’s prosperity is a novum (novel) fatum and he is felix because of his lucky destiny (a remark perhaps revealing some jealousy of one who has succeeded, as it implies that his prosperity is not due to his own merits; fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules has been compared!). But at least this answer does not actually subvert the point which Juvenal is trying to establish. He is attacking the divites avari (30) for failing to patronise the arts; but even if destiny is responsible for prosperity and failure, that does not absolve them (see Manil. 4.108 sqq.).

UT MULTUM ‘and a great deal too’; Mart. 10.11.6, SHA 26.46.4
SUFFICIENT For the future see on 3.239.

SESTERTIA DUO This is four or five times as much as the grammaticus gets (243; cf. on 217). It is rash to draw precise historical inferences from this about Quintilian himself, as many have done; namely that he received fees from his pupils as well as his professorial salary of 100,000 sesterces (Suet. Vesp. 18), and that this was his scale of fees (presumably for a whole course). His name here serves partly as that of a type.

RES … FILIUS (i.e. his son’s education) Cf. Pliny Ep. 4.13.5, [Plut.] De Lib. Educ. 7.4f. [[374]]

SALTUS Grazing land; cf. White BICS 14, 1967, 74, Blümner\(^1\) 541 n. 8.

190 ‘The happy man’ (ὁ εὐδαίμων, cf. 202; one born under a lucky star 194 sqq.), such as Quintilian, is the subject, the other adjectives predicates. The Stoic sapiens has all desirable qualities (Hor. Epist. 1.1.106 sqq.), and this is here transferred to the felix, who is thus an orator as well as everything else; the irony is obvious.

192 The diple obelismene attached to this line in the Antinoe fragment is never used to indicate athetesis, but as a rhetorical mark or to call attention, sometimes implying that the line in question is doubtful (cf. Roberts Journ. Egypt. Archaeol. 21, 1935, 202–3). This was presumably the implication here; the line as it stands cannot be fitted into the structure of the sentence. If it is spurious it must be a genuine line of ancient poetry which started off as a marginal illustration; but it seems better with Reeve CR\(^2\) 21, 1971, 328 to delete [sapiens … adpositam] and suppose that the spurious matter was padded out to a whole line from the basis of a gloss nobilis et generosus (and adpositam too could be part of an explanation of subtexit). The sense now proceeds harmoniously, ‘the fortunate man is handsome and energetic, a patrician (or senator), an orator too, a champion with the javelin, and a good singer’, and in 190–2 we now have one clause with est understood followed by one with the verb subtexit, just as in 193 we understand est and in 194 have cantat. The rhythm of 190–2 becomes markedly spondaic and solemn, which quite fits the context.

Even if there were no spurious matter here, it should be noted that this is not a statement about Quintilian, and has no connection with his ornamenta consularia
(on 197).

The line refers to the patrician or senatorial shoe (these are inextricably confused in our sources; Citroni on Mart. 1.49.31) which had an ivory crescent sewn on the top of the instep. With NIGRAE cf. Hor. Serm. 1.6.27 nigris medium impedit crus / pellibus; but Mart. 2.29.7–8 (non hesterna sedet lunata lingula planta, / coccina non laesum cingit aluta pedem) speaks of red. Presumably one colour was senatorial and the other patrician; the emperor could confer patrician rank.

SUBTEXT Cf. subligo, ὑποδεῖσθαι etc.

193 MAXIMUS is presumably ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

194 As editors print this, it means ‘and, even if he has caught cold’. But I have found no example of si = etsi that is quite like this (on 6.470), and think that in principle Weidner was right to propose ni; however it should be nisi, since Juvenal only uses ni where metre [375] requires one long syllable. This also links clearly with Horace’s (on 190) nisi cum pituita molesta est.

DISTAT Thes. 1538.36.

196 RUBENTEM Cf. SHA 12.4.4. This makes a striking rhyme with 195.

197 Like Quintilian, who received the ornamenta consularia (Auson. Grat. Act. 7.31).

FORTUNA Cf. 3.39–40; if Juvenal were concerned with philosophical technicalities, the tenor of the whole passage would lead us to expect fatum, but Fortuna (cf. on 199, 9.32 and Ovid Trist. 3.7.41–2, Lucian Nigrin. 20) is the right goddess to associate with ups and downs, and contrast 12.25–9 with ibid. 63. Moreover fortuna has a part to play within Stoic fatum; note Manil. 4–46 (Marius) quod, totiens consul, exul, quod <de> exule consul … hoc, nisi fata darent, nunquam fortuna tulisset. On the other side cf. the opening words of the lectures of Valerius Licini anus (Pliny Ep. 4.11.2) quos tibi, Fortuna, ludos facis! facis enim ex senatoribus professores, ex professoribus senatores (doubtless an allusion to Quintilian). This is probably what Juvenal had most particularly in mind, though Valerius had in fact been praetor, not consul; but strict accuracy here would ruin Juvenal’s point. For DE cf. 5.25.

199–201 Chiastic order. P. VENTIDIUS Bassus was as a child led captive (201) in the triumph of C. Pompeius Strabo in the Social War of 89 B.C.; he later dealt in mules and vehicles for official use, became consul in 43 B.C. and triumphed himself over the Parthians in 38 B.C. He is often quoted as an instance of rising in the world (RE Ventidius 797.38, 814.65).

TULLIUS Servius (8.259), alluded to with servis 201. He has strong associations with Fortuna (Wissowa 256, RE Fortuna 16, S. F. Bonner Roman Declamation (1949) 62, Guarducci Rendic. Pontif. Accad. 25–6, 1949–51, 29); but to Manil. (I.c. on 197) 66–7 he again illustrates the power of fatum.

ANNE ALIUD 4.78.
200 occulta potestate fatorum Pliny Pan. 1.5.

202 'Yet that happy man (of 190 sqq.; such as Quintilian) is even rarer than a white crow, whereas many have regretted the profession of rhetor'. 202 should be followed by a colon because of the adversative asyndeton between RARIO and MULTOS.

CORVO ALBO Cf. 6.165, Otto avis 2, Herter in Δώρημα H. Diller (1975) 123.

203 STERILIS (49) CATHEDRAE Mart. 1.76.14 (in which poets sat to recite); the teacher sat on a θρόνος (cf. 223 and Blümner 123, 318, 339), represented in a number of works of art. [376]

204 Juvenal takes advantage of the alternative forms θράσος and θάρσος to avoid Thrasymachus, whose name had to be spelt letter by letter in his epitaph (Athen. 10.454f). He wrote a τέχνη ῥητορική (Suidas s.v.; cf. 177 and Radermacher (on 157) 70), and according to Σ suspendio periiit, but nothing further is known about this. Secundus Carrinas was a rhetorician banished by Caligula (Dio Cass. 59.20.6), and Σ says that he poisoned himself; he was probably the father of the man named by Tac. Ann. 15.45.2.

205 ET HUNC As well as Thrasymachus.

206 The hemlock (13.186) which turns the body cold (cf. on 1.70, 6.631; Ovid Am. 3.7.13).

207 DI sc. dent; cf. Verg. Georg. 3.513 di meliora piis. He is alluding to the common formula S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(avis), found first on CEL 55.20 = CIL 1.1214, 6.10096; cf. Lattimore 65, G. Hartke Sit Tibi Terra Levis (1901), Welles Harv. Theol. Rev. 34, 1941, 82, RAC Erde 1144, Fustel de Coulanges Book 1 ch. 1; Prop. 1.17.24 ut mihi non ullo pondere terra foret, Lucr. 3.893 urgerive superne obtritum pondere terrae. SINE PONDERE fills the place of an adjective 'weightless' lacking in Latin; cf. Ovid Met. 1.20 and 26, Aetna 482.

SPIRANTES ‘fragrant’, elsewhere usually with an accusative (2.41 is not exactly similar). Antipater of Sidon AP 7.218.8 = Gow–Page HE 327 asserts of Lais ἢς καὶ ὑπ’ εὐώδει τύμβος ὄδωδε κρόκῳ, but he is probably alluding to the perfumes which she used in life.

IN URNA PERPETUUM VER i.e. may their bones turn to flowers; cf. CEL 1313 (= CIL 9.3184).2 precor ut cineres sint ia sintque rosae ... terraque ... sibi sit levis oro and CIL 10.7567 = IG 14.6076e; Auson. Epitaph. 31 Prete sparge mero cineres ... et adde rosis balsama puniceis. / perpetuum mihi ver agit inlacrimalis urna; Lattimore 130–1 and 136. But it is hard to decide how far IN means ‘in’ and how far ‘on’, with reference to flowers growing on the grave, cf. Pers. 1.36–40.

209 Quintil. 2.9.1, 2.2.4. Likewise with the grammatici 239.

210–12 Chiron taught Achilles the lyre among other things, cf. Ovid AA 1.11–16; this is often represented in art (cf. e.g. Baudot pl. 1, Fleischhauer pl. 58). Of course this cannot be an entirely serious exemplum.

GRANDIS Hor. Epode 13.11; PATRIIS IN MONTIBUS Pelion.
METUENS VIRGAE (= *ferulae* 1.15) ET CUI Cf. on 8.262, 14.229; CÜI as 3.49. TUNC Nowadays things would be different; fancy the impudence of laughing at a teacher with a tail!

213 ATQUE ALIOS One wonders if Juvenal could have backed up this generalisation, though for the ancient blackboard jungle one may compare Plaut. *Bacch.* 154, 441. CAEDIT ‘flogs’. [1377]

214 sc. *sua iuventus*; they sneeringly called him ‘the Cicero from the backwoods’, cf. 5.59. For Gallic orators cf. on 148, for the Greek accusative *ALLOBROGA* on 15.93.

215 GREMIO i.e. *sinui*, where money was carried (1.88, 14.327).

CELADI An unknown *grammaticus* bearing a common freedman name (*Thes. onom. s.v.*). Φ, thinking the reference to be to the sea-god Palaemon, has introduced another mythological figure.

Q. Remmius (*RE* no. 4) PALAEMON, Rome’s most famous *grammaticus*; his *ars* is mentioned 6.452. He taught from the reign of Tiberius to that of Nero. Actually he too, like Quintilian, subverts Juvenal’s case; he was indeed poor, but this was because he squandered his large income (Suet. *De Gramm.* 23; cf. Pliny *NH* 14.49–51).

Curiously Pompeius GLK 5.131.19 gives as an example *doctusque Palaemon*.

217 Cf. on 186–7 and 242–3 with Horace there quoted, Marquardt 95 (*CIL* 2.2892 there mentioned, which refers not to fees but to salary, gives 1151 sesterces yearly); Suet. *De Gramm.* 3 is corrupt (the tradition is *quadringenis annuis conductos multos edoceret*). The Edict of Diocletian 7.70–1 gives the *grammaticus* four-fifths of a *rhetor*’s fees. [Addendum, originally on p. 380: On the passage of Suetonius see Watt, *Liverpool Class. Monthly* 4, 1979, 167.]

218 DISCIPULI CUSTOS The *paedagogus* (cf. 10.303).

ACOENONOEUS ἀκοινονόητος, he lacks *communis sensus* (8.73); so Σ. The word is also in Cic. *Ad Att.* 6.1.7 and 6.3.7, with the same variant as here; κοινονομισόνη Marc. Aurel. 1.6.2. *Acoenonetos* ἀκοινώνητος would mean ‘selfish, refusing to share’ (also Pliny Ep. 3.9.8, again with the variant), which is manifestly unsuitable here. Besides, Juvenal’s spondaic lines, with the exception of 3.273, end in words of 3 or 4 syllables; on the other hand he has no other 6-syllable line-ending, a very rare phenomenon generally (Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.79, several times Lucretius).

219 The *dispensator* 1.91.

FRANGIT Cf. Pers. 6.32; ἀποτέμνεσθαι Dio Cass. 57.10.4. For such deductions cf. Palladas *AP* 9.174, Libanius *Or.* 43.9, Ep. 405.8; *CIL* 4.8562 *qui mihi docendi dederit mercedem, habeat quod petit a superis*. See on 157.

220 INDE a mercede. A *grammaticus* has to bargain in typical Mediterranean fashion like a huckster of bed linen (for whom cf. Ulpian *Dig.* 14.3.5.4, Pliny *NH* 18.225). Bonner 153 thinks that Juvenal is alluding to Palaemon’s investments in
textiles (Suet. l.c. on 215).

TEGETIS On 5.8; CADURCI on 6.537.

222 DUMMODO NON Cf. KS 2.447, HS 616–17, *Thes. dum* 2224.54 and *dum-modo* 2233.17.

PEREA'T 'it goes to waste'; cf. 174, [Quintil.] *Decl.* 11.1.

MEDIA ... HORA An exaggeration of course, though Roman [[378] schools did begin before daylight; cf. the boy who is to get up early 14.190. See Marquardt 113, Blümner² 318, 379–80, SG 1.158 = 1.177, Marrou 362 and 517.

SEDISTI In the *cathedra* (203), contrasted with *stabant* 226. Cf. Florus *Vergilius orator an poeta 3.2 sedere in scholis et pueris praecipere; 3.7 sedere in suggestu praecipientem bonos mores.

224 Where artificial lighting is poor, full use must be made of daylight; but not even a workman would begin so early (cf. *Verg. Georg.* 1.340, *Cic.* *Tusc.* 4.44 opificum antelucana industria).

OBLIQUO ... FERRO 'to card wool with the slanting iron comb', the *pecten lanarius*, to prepare it for spinning, cf. Blümner² 1.110; for DEDUCERE cf. Varro *De Ling. Lat.* 7.54 and (on the sheep) Colum. 7.4.5. DOCET is rather surprising; *solet* Scholte. A *lanarius* is meant (Σ; cf. Marquardt 504).

225 Each boy brought to school a lamp (cf. on 3.285), which would produce *fuligo*, cf. 6.131. Cf. the lamp carried by the *paedagogus* in Bonner fig. 3 p. 24.

226 Probably busts rather than texts of the poets (cf. on 8.8). The *grammatici*, to whom boys went at the age of eleven or twelve, largely based their teaching on the literary classics, and were particularly concerned with *poetarum enarratio*.

228 The jurisdiction (for COGNITIONE cf. Mommsen¹ 279 n. 7) which the tribunes apparently have here is mysterious; presumably they have intervened after the praetor has refused to help. See Mommsen¹ 1.279–80, 2.309–10; Jones¹ 74 and 189 n. 18; de Martino 4.4.627–8, Villers in *Études ... J. Macqueron* (1971) 668, and cf. 157 above.

229 VOS parentes. IMPONITE and EXIGITE (237–8) are ironical challenges which might be expressed by *ite et imponite*; cf. 6.597, 8.228.

CONSTET Cf. 6.166. He should not make slips in his grammar (on 6.453; *loquendi regula* Quintil. 1.5.1, 1.7.1) and should know all (OMNES ἀπὸ κοινοῦ) the allusions; see on 6.450–3 and note that Quintilian there quoted does not lay much store on knowledge of all the more obscure *historiae*; indeed Sen. *Ep.* 88.3 regards the *historiae* as a secondary matter to a *grammaticus*. Quintil. 1.9.1 *enarratio auctorum* is *historice*, but many differentiated these (Bonner 239).

[Addendum 2013: 231 In *RFIC* 122, 1994, 139 I have suggested that *ut legat* be emended to *calleat.*]

233 THERMAE The public baths, BALNEA PHOEBI a private bath kept (cf. 4) by a freedman *balneator* called Phoebus; cf. Mart. 12.82.1 in *thermis et circa balnea*, 3.20.15–16, Balsdon¹ 27, Blümner¹ 421 n. 4.
These are ζήτηματα, quaestiones (Suet. De Gramm. 11, Tib. 56; quaestiones explicare Quintil. 1.2.14), such as those with which Tiberius (Suet. 70) and Hadrian (SHA 1.16.8, 20.2) liked to tease |[379] grammatici; those who solved such questions were called λυτικοί (Athen. 11.493e, 494a). Cf. Quintil. 1.8.21, Sen. Ep. 88.37 (Didymus enquired de Aeneae matre vera), Philip AP 11.321 = Gow–Page GP 3033, Stégen in Hommages à L. Herrmann (1960) 698, Bonner 239–40, RE Λύσεις 2511–22. In this case all the quaestiones are Vergilian.

NUTRICEM ANCHILAE Σ on unknown authority says Tisiphone.

For ANCHEMOLUS and his step-mother see Aen. 10.389; Servius says that she was called Casperia and was Greek. Archemorus, who appears in most mss., was familiar to the scribes from the Thebaid of Statius (cf. on 8.229).

ACESTES is aevi maturus, Aen. 5.73; for his gift of wine cf. Aen. 1.195. This is a climax of absurdity; at least the first two questions have answers, even if obscure ones.

POLLICE Cf. Blümner 2 2.118; moulding in wax is a common educational metaphor (with which TENER harmonises), cf. Pers. 5–40 animus ... artificemque tuo ductit (‘takes upon itself; not as in Juvenal) sub pollice vultum; Pliny Ep. 7.9.11; Plato Rep. 2.429e.

A wax imago.

Roman educational sources lay great stress on potential moral corruption in schools; Sen. Contr. 4 pr. 11, Quintil. 2.2.3–4 (which also illustrates PATER, cf. on 209) and 14–15, 1.2.2–5; Pliny Ep. 3.3.3; Libanius Ep. 1330.2. The teacher praecipit bonos mores (Florus quoted on 222).

IPSUUS seems to emphasise the sentence generally, with something of the force of ‘actually’; cf. Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 4.8.54.

NE TURPIA LUDANT A humiliating come-down after the elevation of 237–8. For LUDANT cf. Sen. referred to on 238, and 6.O.1; lusus, παῖζω etc. are often used in an erotic sense. FACIANT is also a euphemistic erotic term, cf. Thes. s.v. 121.40, Citroni on Mart. 1.46.1, Henderson s.v. ποιεῖν 158.

VICIBUS = in vices (6.311); the word is so used by Pliny NH 7.15 and several times Manilius and Statius.

IN FINE Mart. 9.69.1.

TREMENDES From sexual exhaustion; cf. Pers. 1.18 patranti fractus ocello, [Aristotle] Probl. 4.32.88ob8 διὰ τί, ἐὰν ἀφροδισιάζῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀσθενοῦσι μάλιστα.

MANUS Cf. Sen. referred to on 238.

INQUIT The typical parent says; see on 8.44.

Se verterit annus. Cf. Thes. annus 116.33. In making their contracts (cf. Lucian De Merc. Cond. 19) teachers might stipulate payment either monthly (ibid. 23, cf. Hermotim. 80; Edict. Diocl. 7.66, Hor. Serm. 1.6.75, where the preferable reading is octonos (sc. asses) referentes Idibus aeris) or yearly (Suet. De Gramm. 17.
and evidently 3,][380] quoted on 217; Libanius Or. 43.13, 9.16 (cf. vol. 8 p. 475.8–9 Foerster), 31.19; Macrobr. Sat. 1.12.7 payment in March, the old beginning of the Roman year; Palladas l.c. on 219 mentions both methods.

243 An ἀπροσδόκητον, which of course does not report the actual words of the parent but is Juvenal’s sarcastic paraphrase of them, cf. 3.155.

VICTORI A victorious gladiator, who was paid 500 sesterces (5 aurei) if auctóratú or 400 if a slave by the editor; cf. Suet. Claud. 21.5 (the counting on the fingers of the left hand indicates 5 aurei), SC de sumptibus (on 11.7) 45; thus brains are dragged down to the level of brawn (cf. 113–14), and the grammaticus gets in a year what a gladiator gets for a single success. The amount indicated is probably not the fee per pupil, but the miserable total income paid up before the grammaticus goes to law (228; cf. Bonner 151–2).

This satire is addressed to a Ponticus, who was presumably of noble family (see on 1), and discusses the nature of true nobility, which in Juvenal’s view derives from *virtus*, not from birth. This theme is a commonplace (see e.g. *RAC Genealogie* 1200, Hellegouarc’h 476), of which many illustrations are collected in Stobaeus *Flor.* 4.29 (including excerpts, though of doubtful genuineness, from the περὶ εὐγενείας of Juvenal’s contemporary Plutarch); see also Galen *Protrepticus* 7 and Philo *De Virtutibus* 187 sqq. In connection with one of Juvenal’s illustrations, Marius, there is a long discussion in Sall. *Iug.* 85, which has provided Juvenal with some phrases: 15 *existumo … fortissumum quemque generosissumum* (Juv. 57), 17 *maioribus suis quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit* and 29–30 *militaria dona … cicatrices … hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas* (Juv. 20), 22–3 *quanta vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum socordia flagitosior … maiorum gloria posteris quasi lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur* (Juv. 139). The discussion of this speech by D. C. Earl *Political Thought of Sallust* (1961) 32–6 and *Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (1967) 48–53 (cf. Skard *Symb. Osl.* 21 1941, 101–2) has much of interest and relevance to Juvenal. Other treatments also show resemblances to Juvenal. Compare Sen. *Contr.* 1.6.3–4 *quidam avitas paternasque flagitiis obruerunt imagines, quidam ignobiles nati fecere posteris genus; in illis non servasse quod acceperant maximum dedecus, in his quod nemo dederat fecisse laudabile est* (there follow *exempla* which include Marius and Servius Tullius) *quemcumque volueris revolve nobilem; ad humilitatem pervenies* (illustrated by the origins of Rome, cf. Juv. 272–5): Sen. *Ep.* 44.5 *quis est generous? ad virtutem bene a natura compositus. hoc unum intuendum est … non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus* (cf. Fredericks *TAPA* 102, 1971, 115–16): Plin. *Ep.* 5.17.6 *cupio ne nobiles nostri nihil in domibus suis pulchrum nisi imagines habeant: Laus Pisonis* 5–11 (Juvenal seems to have been familiar with this poem; cf. on 3.164, 5.171, 6.323, 7.23, 33, and for Piso 5.109) [382]

*hinc tua me virtus rapit et miranda per omnes*
The notes record other similarities of thought and expression.

The train of thought proceeds thus:

1–70 *exordium*, stating the theme that nobility of birth is incomplete without *virtus* (1–38), and illustrating it by the empty pride in his ancestry of the worthless Rubellius Blandus (39–70).

71–145 Ponticus must be prepared to stand on his own merits, especially (87–138) as a provincial governor. Most of this long development on provincial government is not linked with the theme of nobility, which does not re-appear until 131. We must draw the inference that, as 87 suggests, Ponticus was a real person to whom this otherwise disproportionate digression had relevance. More will be said about it presently.

146–268 Juvenal now gives *exempla* (184) to illustrate the notion of vicious degeneracy from noble ancestry introduced in 133–45. These *exempla* are arranged to form a climax. First (146–82) Lateranus and his low tastes; he is disgraced by his companions. Second (183–210; note *peiora* 184) nobles who perform as actors (a despised profession at Rome) and gladiators (*haec ultra* 199; cf. *vicit* 2.143); in the first case actors and people are equally culpable (188 sqq.), in the second Gracchus disgraces his associate (209–10). Third (211–30) Nero, his murders and—singing! This will be further discussed below. 231–68 develop the hint of 212 by taking a number of pairs of nobles and men of low birth, and pointing out how the latter often outshone the former and indeed sometimes had to suppress their villainy: Cicero and the Catilinarians, Marius and Catulus, the Decii and Servius Tullius (see below), the sons of Brutus and the slave Vindicius. Two of these examples are not explicitly fitted into the pattern. Servius Tullius is an inevitable illustration who often appears in such contexts (e.g. at Sen. *Contr.* 3.9.2 linked with Vindicius); there is an implicit contrast with the sons of the elder Tarquin who were passed over for the succession and one of whom eventually murdered Servius. As for the [[383] Decii, the elder is specifically labelled δημότης by Appian *Samn.* 1.1 in contrast with his aristocratic colleagues. Apart from Servius, these examples are arranged in reverse chronological order, as if Juvenal were making the point, reinforced in the *conclusion* (269–75), that the corruption of the nobility goes right back to the origins of Rome.

In this poem for the first time Juvenal shows an interest in giving some positive advice and instructing Ponticus how he should behave (cf. p. 11), but he does so largely in terms of negative examples which show him how he should not behave.
Thus most of the poem is devoted to showing that the *nobiles* have not lived up to their inheritance (cf. p. 23), and Juvenal, in the vein indicated by 1.87, can concentrate on vice and invective rather than goodness. His treatment shows some remarkable features. First, when he advises Ponticus about his government in the provinces, the advice is based not on ethics but on Roman institutions (91 sqq.); this passage in fact reminds us of two other lectures on the theme, Cic. *Ad Q. Fr.* 1.1 (cf. on 127) and Pliny *Ep.* 8.24. He says that as the result of a long series of depredations the provincials are reduced to poverty, and there is hardly anything left to steal; they may seem despicable, but it would be dangerous to arouse the boldness of despair. The first of these is of course a highly ironical argument for integrity; Juvenal is conscious of another consequence of their destitution, that it arouses the humane feeling of pity (89). The second is, as 125–6 make plain, a serious warning. It will however be noticed that neither is based on morality. No doubt Juvenal was aware that there are ethical reasons for honesty, but he has not mentioned them.

Secondly it must be observed that virtually all the noble families named in this satire were by now extinct or in total obscurity (cf. p. 23 and on 4.153–4); yet see how Juvenal gives advice to one long dead at 39, and for the dominance of the past over him cf. p. 24 and on 198.

Thirdly, we are bound to wonder whether the mention of Nero's singing as the climax (220) of his misdeeds is meant to be a humorous anticlimax. Yet Dio 63.22.4 represents Vindex, and Tac. *Ann.* 15.67 Subrius Flavus (see p. 23), as coming to exactly the same climax. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: For Nero's singing see also Plut. *Galba* 14.] No doubt Juvenal is conscious of an element of paradox, and perhaps the mention of the *Troica* is in fact ironical, poking fun at epic poets as Juvenal often does; this is suggested by 221 (for the idea of Orestes writing a *Troica* is hardly serious) and 223 (an important line which must not be deleted), for neither epic alone nor combined with singing could be regarded as a manifestation of a *saeva crudaque tyrannis*. Yet basically (as 198 suggests) he must mean what he says, for if he had intended a joke he would not have ruined it by continuing for seven more lines after 223. This is one of the most striking indications of his attachment to traditional Roman values and his indifference to purely ethical values (cf. pp. 23–4); note how the reference to *in scena* 220 harmonises with the weight attached to publicity in judging misdemeanours remarked l.c.

This poem is discussed by Fredericks, *TAPA* 102, 1971, 111.

1–9 The opening of this satire is beset by a grave textual problem; the following discussion is largely reproduced from *BICS* 22, 1975, 151. There are four difficulties:

(a) The repetition of *Corvinum* 5 and 7 is intolerable, and the reference to a capacious family tree does not suit the mention of only one man.

(b) *Lepidis* should follow the other proper names of 3–5. It may seem inconse-
quent to say 'family pride in being a Cornelius, a Curius, a Valerius, or a Sulpicius is pointless if you disgrace your ancestral Aemili', but an exactly similar inconsequence is found at 3.254–8 (q.v.). It has been argued that Juvenal has in mind particularly M. Aemilius Lepidus, the magister equitum of the dictator Caesar, but this is a feeble defence.

(c) quid prodest ... ? needs a protasis (i.e. si 9) as much as 9–12 and 13–18.

(d) What exactly were stemmata and imagines? The crucial passages are these:

Pliny NH 35.4 imaginum quidem pictura ... in toto exolevit ... (6) aliter apud maiores in atris ... expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis (cf. Juv. 19) ... stemmata vera lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas.

Sen. De Ben. 3.28.2 qui imagines in atrio exponunt et nomina familiae suae longo ordine ac multis stemmatum illigata flexuris in prima parte aedium collocant, non noti magis quam nobiles sunt?

Suet. Nero 37.1 obiectum est ... Cassia Longino ... quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassi percussoris Caesaris imagines retinuisset (I do not understand the point of the plural imagines here; Tac. Ann. 16.7 and Dio Cass. 62.27.1 mention only one imago).

The question at issue is whether the family tree, stemma or generis [[385] tabula, was quite separate from the wax masks of ancestors, or the imagines were so arranged as to compose a family tree. On the former hypothesis the passage of Seneca raises no difficulties, and indeed this somewhat better suits the distinction between imagines and nomina. Pliny is more difficult; since it is inordinately harsh to interpret ad as ‘to correspond to’, it will be necessary to understand imagines pictas to mean that the stemmata indicated the ancestors not only by names but also by medallion portraits. The same explanation will account for Suetonius (but Mart. 11.102.4 in cera vultus et in tabula probably refers to ordinary paintings, not on a stemma). This is supported by the fact that Pliny’s imaginum pictura picks up after a digression the pictura of §2, which refers to portrait painting. I therefore follow this view, and refer Juvenal’s pictos vultus to these miniatures also, though the wax imagines too were probably painted (ὑπογραφή Polybius 6.53; this has been interpreted otherwise, but probably wrongly). This granted, it has been argued that 7–8 confuse two different things, on the grounds that fumosos (certainly the correct reading) must refer to the wax imagines. The phrase fumosae imagines is found at Cic. In Pis. 1 (in a context like Juv. 69–70), Sen. Ep. 44.5 (quoted in the introduction), Boethius Cons. Phil. 1 pros. 1; in the first place it probably, in the second certainly refers to the wax masks. That would be more pointed here also (cf. the sooty busts of Horace and Vergil at 7.227) because of the contrast of the black soot on the white surface; but it could be maintained that the medallions too would become sooty, so I do not regard this objection as quite conclusive. We are hampered by the fact that no stemma survives either in the original or in representation. What appears to be a set of imagines (of the Poppaei) does sur-
vive in its original setting in Pompeii (A. Maiuri *La Casa del Menandro* (1932) 1.98–106); these stand in a row in a niche with no sign of a *stemma*. For *imagines* in general see Walbank on Polyb. 6.53; *RE* *imagines maiorum*; Rowell *Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome* 17, 1940, 132–8; O. Vessberg *Studien zur Kunstgesch. der röm. Republik* (1941) 97–105. The discussion in B. Schweitzer *Bildniskunst d. röm. Rep.* (1948) 19 sqq. adds nothing both new and true.

Even if the fourth difficulty is discounted, the other three cannot be removed by emendation, which is in any case bound to be violent. 6–8 were deleted by Guyet, and they were composed, I suggest, by someone who was upset by the seeming illogicality discussed under (b). Then the repetition of *Corvinum* in 7 is a sign of interpolation and not of corruption; the omission of 7 by Φ is a secondary corruption due to recognition of the impossibility of the repetition. If 6–8 are interpolated, we may also leave undisturbed the difficulty that [[386] ‘hereafter’ (*posthac* P Par. 7906; *post haec* G Lond. Add. 30861, cf. 14.55) in 7 gives no sense; of course Withof’s (*Krit. Anmerkungen* 4 (1798) 116) *posse ac* is acceptable in itself.

1 *STEMMATA* See *RE* s.v. These were so called because the names were illuminated with painted garlands (cf. Seneca quoted in the previous note); Pliny *NH* 35.139 *Coeneus (pinxit) stemmata* (not in the technical sense). The word is synonymous with *generis tabula* (6), but here largely in an abstract sense, cf. 40.

**QUID FACIUNT** 9.34, *Thes.* 6.1.102.69 (but Juv. 2.166 and 8.115 are different), Citroni on Mart. 1.59.2; add Petron. 14.1.

**PONTICE** 75, 179. The name (quite common in Martial, always in uncomplimentary contexts except 9.19) suggests a noble ancestor who had conquered Pontus (cf. on 2.67). We know of a Valerius P. (Tac. *Ann.* 14.41) and a Domitius P. (*Ann. Epigr.* 1951 no. 206).

**LONGO SANGUINE** Cf. 27 (*alto*), 40; *de stemmate longo* Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.23.

2 *CENSORI* 74 and often; ‘to be valued by’.

3 *STANTI* … *AEMILIANS TRiumphal statues*, cf. 7.125 (coincidentally of an Aemilius).

**AEMILIANS** The Cornelii Scipiones; 11 and 2.154.

4 *CURIOS* Cf. on 2.3; Curios is here thought of as the opponent of Pyrrhus.

**DIMIDIOS** Humorously for ‘mutilated’ cf. 15.5 (and 57), 13.96, Mart. 10.1.10; cf. the statue at 7.125 sqq.

**UMEROSQUE MINOREM** Housman pointed out that this can only mean *umeros minores habentem*, i.e. armless; cf. Sil. It. 3.42 *frontem minor* of the river-god whose horn has been broken off his forehead. This is precisely the sense required, and Housman’s statement that the expression is obscure is merely a subjective judgment; for the accusative of respect with a part of the body cf. 6.491 and for the accusative after a participle 8.16. Prateus conjectured *umeroque*, which would mean ‘lacking a shoulder’; this would suit a bust (the wax *imagines* were at first masks, later busts), but Juvenal seems now to be talking rather of statues, and
the change is needless and undesirable. For the shift to the singular see on 11.91.

The physical decay of these portraits symbolises the decline of the noble republican ideals and traditions; cf. the deliberate breaking in 18.

5 CORVINUM M. Valerius Corv(in)us, who won his cognomen as military tribune in 349 B.C. from the famous single combat with a Gaul in which a corvus assisted the Roman. See RE Valerius no. 137, Broughton 1.129.

GALBAM A branch of the Sulpicii. The emperor Galba was particularly [[387] proud of his distinguished (and partly fictional) family tree; Suet. 2–3, Plut. 3, Tac. *Hist.* 2.76.2, cf. *Sil. It.* 8.468 sqq.

AURICULUS The diminutive in this word was common in ordinary speech and prevailed in Romance (Bork *Glotta* 55, 1977, 120), but here perhaps does express some disparagement.

6 QUIS FRUCTUS with the infinitive also Calp. Flaccus *Decl.* 22 (p. 20.12 Lehmann). A comma after fructus would be helpful.

IACTARE *Thes.* 7.1.58.41; ‘to show off’.

7 CONTINGERE 11.62.

VIRGA A linea (Pliny quoted on 1–9 and others) linking up the relatives; called *rami* Pers. 3.28, *ramusculi* Isid. 9.6.28.

FUMOSOS The ancients had no chimneys, except in the baths and ovens of public bakeries, and some of the fuels employed would produce much *fumus* (on 1.120; Mart. 2.90.7, Sidon. *Apol. Ep.* 2.2.11, Carcopino 45). Rightly or wrongly some derived atrium (*Thes.* s.v. 1101.20), cf. 20, from *ater*.

EQUITUM … MAGISTROS Apart from the revival of the office by Sulla and Caesar, the last dictator was appointed in 202 B.C.

9 LEPIDIS Aemilius; cf. 6.265.


EFFIGIES QUO … The *ius imaginum* (a modern, not an ancient term) was restricted to those who had held curule office; cf. Seneca quoted on 1–9.

10 LUDITUR ALEA The passive of *aleam ludere*; cf. *Ovid Trist.* 2.471, Ulpian *Dig.* 11.5.1 pr.

PernoX Cf. *SHA* 5.4.6 *fertur et nocte perpeti alea lusisse* and *Codex Just.* 3.43.1; see on 1.88 for the illegality of dicing.

11 ANTE Cf. (22), 144 (q.v.), 156 and *coram* 9.

NUMANTINOS i.e. Scipio Aemilianus (3); the plural also Prop. 4.11.30, Pliny *Ep.* 8.6.2.

DORMIRE INCIPIS Cf. *Sen. Ep.* 122.9 of the *lucifuga* Buta (see Balsdon1 142); *SHA* 17.28.6. *incipis* is presumably the indefinite second person; for the indicative see on 3.100.

12 DUCES Scipio and the others.
13 ALLOBROGIS The cognomen won by Q. Fabius Maximus, cos. 121 B.C. (*RE Fabius* no. 110; Broughton 1.520), for his victory over the Allobroges. Juvenal probably has in mind both his son (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.81; Val. Max. 3.5.2 in a chapter on degeneracy from noble parents) and Q. Fabius Persicus (*RE* no. 120, *PIR*² F 51), cos. a.d. 34, whose degeneracy from Allobrogicus is insisted on by Sen. *De Ben.* 4.30.2. [388]

MAGNA ARA So called also by Tac. *Ann.* 15.41 (cf. 12.24.1); the usual Máximá would not fit the verse. On this altar, said to have been established by Hercules, see Latte 213, Wissowa 273, Platner–Ashby 253, *RE Hercules* 551 sqq., Frazer on Ovid *Fasti* 1.581, H. Lyngby *Beiträge zur Topographie des Forum-Boarium-Gebietes* (1954) xvi and 1.

14 HERCULEO The Fabii (cf. 191 and 2.146; *RE* s.v. 1740) were said to be descended from Hercules; the contrast with the divine origin of the family emphasises the degeneracy of this Fabius, cf. 2.132.

15 EUGANEAE An ornamental epithet, cf. 1.22. The Euganei were a tribe of Venetia; the sheep of Altinum (called Euganean at Mart. 4.25.1–4) were famous (Blümner 238–9, Marquardt 477, Lauffer 269 on *Edict. Diocl.* 21.2).

VANUS 3.159, 14.211.

QUANTUMVIS *KS* 2.446, HS 604.

MOLLOR (cf. on 2.47) AGNA  See Otto agna.

16 CATINENSIS Catina being near Etna had plenty of volcanic pumice-stone, but it also had a bad reputation for dissoluteness; Σ quotes Furius Bibaculus fr. 4 Morel *Osce senex Catinaeque puer, Cumana meretrix.* Tertull. *De Pallio* 4.5 mentions a mime *Catinenses* by Lentulus.

PUMICE Often mentioned as a depilatory; 9.95, Pliny *NH* 36.154, *pumicatus* Pliny *Ep.* 2.11.23 etc.; *RE Bimstein* 474.

LUMBUM 2.12, 6.0.24.

17 SQUALENTIS ‘hairy’ (9.15), contrasted with *tenerum;* cf. *horrida* 116 with 114–15 and on 4.103.

TRADUCIT ‘caricatures’ 2.159, 7.16, 11.31 and often; this sense appears first in Livy (2.38.3) and is ‘derived from the custom of marching prisoners in mockery through the streets of Rome at a triumph’ (Duff), for which cf. Livy 36.40.11, 45.39.13. The ‘triumph’ of this Fabius is over his ancestors, unlike that of Allobrogicus.


18 FRANGENDA (see on 14.268) IMAGINE A mark of disgrace, often applied to public enemies, cf. Vittinghoff 13–18.

19 CERAE i.e. *imagines.* Ovid *Am.* 1.8.65 *veteres circum atria cerae.*

20 VIRTUS is the subject, NOBILITAS SOLA ATQUE UNICA (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.6.1 *res una solaque*) the predicate. The sentiment is common; see introduction and Quintilian quoted on 56 with e.g. Cicero in a letter to Hirtius (*Ep.* 3 p. 162
Watt) *cum enim nobilitas nihil aliud sit quam cognita virtus*; Vell. Pat. 2.128.1 *neque novus hic mos senatus putandi quod optimum sit esse nobilissimum* (followed by mention of Marius).

21 Juvenal probably has in mind particularly L. Aemilius Paulus [[389] (2.146), the victor in the Third Macedonian War, Drusus (cf. 40) the brother of Tiberius, and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus (*RE* Cornelius no. 182, *PIR*² C 1380), cos. 1 B.C. and conqueror of the Gaetuli, who according to imperial custom gave the name Gaetulicus (26) to his son but did not take it himself (Münzer 355 n. 1; cf. on 2.67). COSSUS under the empire became a characteristic praenomen of the Cornelii (cf. 3.184); hence it identifies the *gens* as clearly as the cognomina with which it is combined (cf. 192, Tac. *Ann.* 15.22.2 and on 6.385). The imperial Cossi were all meritorious (La Fleur *AJP* 93, 1972, 598), though cf. 10.202. Cf. the remark of Augustus to a conspirator (*Sen.* *De Clem.* 1.9.10) *Paulusne te et* (this word should perhaps be deleted) *Fabius Maximus et Cossi et Servilii ferent tantumque agmen nobilium non inania nomina praeferentium, sed eorum qui imaginibus suis decori sint?*

22 HOS mores.

ANTE ... PONE Not simply *antepone* `prefer’, but more picturesque, as if *mores* were to be set up in the *atrium* in front of the *imagines* (instead of dice; *ante* 11); Gnïlka *Symb. Osl.* 44, 1969, 93.

23 The *mores* are personified as preceding the very fasces (VIRGAS cf. 136), which normally nobody would do. The rhythm of 21–3 is markedly solemn.

ILLI has the same reference as *hos*, which the anaphora makes a harsh switch; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.417 *hanc cupit, hanc optat, sola suspirat in illa*, *AA* 2.491–2, *Stat. Th.* 1.273–4 *hic ... illic*, *Silv.* 1.3.76 *haec* after three cases of *ille*. 2.45 even if not corrupt would not be parallel.

24 ANIMI BONA virtues, *mores*.

SANCTUS ... PROCEREM In effect a paratactic conditional clause; see on 6.329.

SANCTUS 127; a man of integrity.

26 PROCEREM The singular of this word (see on 4.73) is very rare (Neue–Wagner 1.662); *procer* *SHA* 19.2.1.

SALVE `hail’ of homage. `Juvenal means “if you are virtuous, then your noble birth is allowed full value” ’ (Duff).

SEU TU SILANUS i.e. *vel Silane, si tu Silanus es*. A D. Iunius Silanus Gaetulicus (*RE* Iunius no. 179; *PIR*² I 835) became a Salius in A.D. 63; he was presumably the grandson of the victor of the Gaetuli (on 21) adopted by a Iunius Silanus. It is however unlikely that Juvenal is thinking of this family connection.

27 With *alio*, it is necessary to put a comma after *Silanus* and a full stop after *ovanti*, so that it will mean ‘hail, Gaetulicus, or Silanus, or whatever other family has produced you as a boon to the state’; for the asyndeton before *quocumque* cf. 6.O.20, 13.83, 15.99, *KS* 2.154. But the limitation to *noble* descent given by ALTO
A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal

(cf. 40) is very ||[390] desirable; *alto a sanguine* Verg. *Aen.* 4.230, 5.45, 6.500. It will now mean ‘whatever noble family you come from as a boon to the state, public rejoicing is called for’.

29 EXCLAMARE LIBET This combination is so common (to Friedlaender’s examples add Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.13) that it must have been a cliché.

POPOPUS i.e. *Romanus* 6.534. There was an annual feast called Heuresis in November commemorating the grief of Isis at the loss of the body of Osiris and her joy at its recovery, which was hailed with the ritual chant εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν (συγχαίρωμεν in the mss. of Seneca); cf. Sen. *Apoc.* 13.4, Plut. *Is. et Osir.* 39 (with the commentary of J. G. Griffiths p. 452), Wissowa 353–4, Latte 283, *RE Isis* 2129, *RAC Freude* 369, Cumont 1 90, Stern *Comptes Rendus de l’Acad. des Inscr.* 1968, 43, Fridh *Eranos* 74, 1976, 145.

Thus the discovery of a meritorious noble is like the revival of a dead god, and deserves an *ovatio*. The people *ovat* when it shouts ‘*salve*’ (26).

30 DIXERIT Cf. on 2.24; QUI sc. est.

GENEROSUM (224) contrasted with INDIGNUS GENERE. A degenerate nobleman is as ridiculous a contrast (*antiphrasis* Isid. 1.37.24 with reference to this passage; *permutatio ex contrario, Ad Herenn.* 4.46) to his name as the following examples. For similar cases of antiphrasis cf. Pliny *NH* 7.75 (including a dwarf called Andromeda), Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 2.1.6.632d; Lucian ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑικόνων 2 comments on the ridicule implied in such names.

32 NANUM Dwarfs often formed part of the household of the rich; Marquardt 152, Blümner1 412, *RE deliciae* 2438, SG 2.221 = 2.372, 4.6 = 4.2. There was a special market for them at Rome (*Plut. De Curios.* 10.520c, *Adv. Colot.* 3.1108d).

ATLANTA He was naturally a huge man, Ovid *Met.* 4.630 sqq.; cf. Mart. 6.77.7 and the dwarf called Magnus, Prop. 4.8.41.

33 AETHIOPEM ‘negro’; see on 2.23.

CYCNUM For this as a name see *Thes. onom. s.v.* 784.37; for the white complexion of the mythological Cycnus see Sen. *Ag.* 215, schol. Theocr. 16.49.


EXTORTAM The technical term for such was *distortus* (Suet. *Aug.* 83), but *extorquere* (Thes. 2040.69) has similar usages, e.g. Pliny *Ep.* 8.18.9 omnibus membris extortus et fractus.

34 Mange has made their hair drop out, and they try to lick some oil out of a dry lamp because they have not the energy to search far for water. The laziness of these dogs (as of the horses 67) is like that of the *nobiles* (40–1, 53, 68, 75–6). ||[391]

36 For TIGRIS as a dog-name see Mentz *Philol.* 88, 1933, 421; Λέανα is also known (ibid. 184), but not Λέων; Παρδαλέων is doubtful (ibid. 198).

ADHUC The word-order discourages joining this with *violentius* and favours linking it with SI QUID in the Silver sense *etiam, aliud*, cf. 6.502 (KS 2.462–3, HS 485).
37 FREMAT 14.247; like e.g. lions.
CAVEBIS ET METUES The future tense giving an instruction, cf. 9.101 and KS 1.144, HS 311.
38 TU Not Ponticus, but anyone; cf. on 2.61.
CRETICUS A Caecilius Metellus (cf. on 2.67); but perhaps Juvenal is thinking of the ironical conferment of this name on M. Antonius, propraetor 74–71 B.C. (Plut. Ant. 1; cf. on 105).
CAMERINUS A Sulpicius; 7.90.
SIC solo nomine et non moribus a gloss in P which shows that sic was the inherited reading in P too and was accidentally corrupted through haplography. Φ disliked the ellipse of sis. The conjecture is due to Lubinus, not to Junius.
39 A remarkable instance of the way in which Juvenal represents long-dead (cf. 71) characters as alive; cf. 146 sqq.; 3.238, 13.157 (for parallels in other authors cf. C. P. Jones Plutarch and Rome (1971) 131). The Rubellius Blandus here admonished was evidently an otherwise unknown brother of Rubellius Plautus, executed by Nero in A.D. 62; cf. C. Letta and S. D’Amato Epigrafia della Regione dei Marsi (1975) p. 85. The family tree is this:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Livia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drusus</td>
<td>Drusus Caesar = Livi(ilia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rubellius Blandus = Julia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(R. Blandus)</td>
<td>R. Plautus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The family pride of Rubellius Blandus illustrates a significant difference between the Republic and the Empire. In imperial times nobilitas can be derived through the maternal side, which would be inconceivable under the Republic (Gelzer 151, Syme 654, Oliver Illinois Class. Stud. 3, 1978, 255); see Tac. Hist. 1.14–15 and Suet. Galba 2 (with Gelzer 142–3), Tac. Ann. 14.22.

TECUM EST So the mss.; the omission of est by Clausen is an error.
40 TUMES Tac. Hist. 1.16.2 (Neronem longa Caesarum serie tumentem; |392|
[Sen.] Oct. 496 cives ... clara tumentes genere; cf. inflatum 72 and Pers. 3.27, 4.20.
ALTO Cf. 131 and on 27.
DRUSORUM i.e. the emperors descended from Drusus, namely Claudius, Caligula, Nero; so Mart. 8.52.3. Claudius (cf. 3.238) bore the name Drusus until he became emperor (RE Claudius 2781–2, PIR² C p. 226); Caligula never carried it; Nero bore it between his adoption by Claudius and his succession (PIR² D pp. 35–6), and even afterwards it appears on a few documents (ibid. 37 fn.). It is unlikely that there is any reference to the son of Tiberius, who had Drusus as a praenomen.
41 FECERIS IPSE Ovid Met. 13.140 nam genus et proavos et quae non fecimus
ipsi, / vix ea nostra voco; cf. 75–6 below.


43 SUB AGGERE See on 16.25; cf. super aggerem SHA 17.30.4, and Strabo 5.3.7.234 says that the Porta Viminalis is ὑπὸ μέσῳ τῷ χώματι. Houses were built on to the ‘Servian’ Wall on the Esquiline (Jordan 1.3.370), and according to Platner–Ashby 354 this ‘was the highest point in Rome’. The agger here is ventosus (apricus Hor. Serm. 1.8.15) because of its height (hence praecepti ex aggere as a method of execution Suet. Cal. 27.2).

CONDUCTA Tib. 1.6.79 a destitute old woman conductis adnectit licia telis, cf. AP 6.282.3. The women may have worked either in their own houses or in a textrina; more likely the former, since, though some centres did have factories for textile production, at Rome it remained mainly a domestic industry. Cf. ES 5.201–3 and 224, Loane 70–1, Jones2 350, F. Kiechle Sklavenarbeit und Technischer Fortschritt (1969) 106, and compare the woman at Apul. Met. 9.5 fin. To call someone a weaver is an insult, MacMullen2 139.

44 INQUIS This was altered from inquit by the scribe of P himself, and the third person deserves consideration; it is often used to mean ‘someone says’ (cf. 3.153, 7.242, 10.291?; HS 417, KS 1.5–6, Thes. inquam 1779.44) and is the only form of this verb used elsewhere by Juvenal. However, though it is found in the middle of second persons at 14.153 (cf. ait 9.63), Rubellius is strongly visualised here as the subject.

PARS Cf. 1.26, lucan 6.593 non ultima turbae / pars ego Romanae.

45 i.e. their parents were slaves, who, since in Roman law they had no patres, had no patria either.

46 Cecrops was αὐτόχθων (Apollodorus 3.14.1.1), indigena (Ampelius 15.1; cf. ML Kekrops 1018.50), in contrast to the parents of 45. εὐγενέστερον ... τοῦ Κέκροπος Lucian Timon 23 (cf. Synesius Ep. 3 col. 1328 Migne; Dio Chrys. 66.21) is probably proverbial in nature. [393]

VIVAS ‘Good luck to you’, a form of toasting (Marquardt 337, 754–5); cf. vivite Lucil. 75. But there seem to be two ironical undertones, first that of πολλὰ χαίροις (’a long farewell to you’), second that, as 55 shows, it is questionable whether Rubellius can be said to be alive.

47 Housman, largely in order to bolster up his mistaken emendation in 49, claims a contrast between Cecropides and Quiritem, as if the poet were humorously misunderstanding Rubellius and supposing him to be claiming descent in fact from Cecrops, as if he were a Greek, not a Roman; then 45 would refer to the descent of the Romans from those who fled to Romulus’ asylum (272–5; Sall. Ep. Mithrid. 17 convenas olim sine patria parentibus). It is true that at Ovid Am. 1.7.29 minimum de plebe Quiritem the implication of Roman citizenship is in point, but it is not ibid. 3.14.9 ignoto ... Quiriti; and Rubellius does use nostri in 44.

Oratory, the law and the army are the three usual ways of advancement at
Rome; cf. 14.191 sqq., Livy 39.40.5, Cic. Pro Muren. 22–30 (slanted), Tac. Dial. 28.7. For orators of humble origin cf. Tac. Dial. 8 and Gudeman p. 234. 47–9 embrace causidici (cf. Petron. 46.8), 49–50 iurisconsulti (such a plebeian jurist was Pegasus 4.77); cf. Tac. Ann. 11.7.3 plebem quae toga enitesceret.

NOBLIS A noun, cf. on 2.9; INDOCTI though nobiles should know the law (Pomponius Dig. 1.2.2.43 turpe esse patricio et nobili et causas oranti ius in quo versaretur ignorare).

TOGATA has not much point with plebs, and is particularly harsh after 47, as if the plebs togata (i.e. clients, cf. 1.96, 3.127, 7.142) were being contrasted with a yet lower class, the ima plebs, i.e. workmen who would wear only a tunic. PLEBE cannot be corrupt since the indication of humble birth is essential (Housman’s argument on this point fails, as indicated above); we should read TOGATUS with Scriverius (in T. Crenius, Animadv. Phil. et Hist. 13, 1705, 34), i.e. a lawyer (cf. 240 and on 16.45; also e.g. CIL 8.646), whose garb of peace is contrasted with that of the armis industrius 52.

The knots of the law are referred to by lawyers themselves at Gellius 13.10.1; Codex Just. 1.14.12.4 and 4.29.23 pr.; cf. Amm. Marc. 30.4.13. Students of law at stages in their career were called προλύται and λύται (Dig. pr. 5). Cf. the nodosus Cicuta at Hor. Serm. 2.3.69.

HINC de plebe; hic (see the apparatus) would be too confusing after the different use in 48.

EUPHRATEN Cf. 169; probably thinking of Trajan’s recent campaigns. Juvenal mentions the extreme northern and eastern frontiers. IUVENIS i.e. as a soldier; cf. on 2.155. [194]

DOMITI BATAVI The genitive depends on CUSTODES. This tribe had revolted in A.D. 69, but was now a client people by no means completely subject (Tac. Hist. 4.12 and 17, Germ. 29); for the garrisons stationed among them see Anderson on Germ. 29.2. Sil. It. 3.608 would seem to imply that they were involved in Domitian’s German wars, but their name there is only used by metonymy; Juvenal himself is rather inexact about German tribes 4.147.

AQUILAS i.e. legiones; Thes. s.v. 372.55.

Another Athenian allusion counters the claim to Cecropid origin. Cf. Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 4.12.3 illum ipsum Hermam stolidissimum. TRUNCUS here means ‘limbless’, but in its meaning ‘tree-trunk’ is a common proverb of insensibility; cf. Otto stipes, Hofmann p. 88. For the comparison with a statue see Otto statua; Eur. Electra 383–8; perhaps [Sall.] Ep. ad Caes. 2.9.4 inertissimi nobiles in quibus, sicut in statua (Lipsius; institute codd.; in titulo Jordan) praeter bonum nomen nihil est additamenti. It is possible, though it cannot be proved, that Juvenal intended further implications; that Rubellius’ only limb was the phallus of a Herm, or that (TRUNCUS suggesting ‘mutilated’) he did not even possess this virility. This latter would harmonise well with the symbolic value of the broken imagines of 4–5
and suggest a reference to the famous Athenian ‘Mutilation of the Herms’.

55 TUA VIVIT IMAGO ‘you are a living statue’ (or more precisely he is his own death-mask, cf. 4–5), comically reversing the commonplace that fine statues seem to be alive (see on 103). Cf. Sen. Dial. 9.16.1 Cato ille virtutium viva imago.

56 DIC MIHI cf. 6.265.

TEUCRORUM PROLES Cf. 1.100; descended, with the help of adoptions, from Julius Caesar (cf. 40).

ANIMALIA MUTA Cf. 15.143; ζώα ἄλογα (ἄλογον eventually comes to mean ‘horse’; Charitonides Mnem.2 37, 1909, 260). The argument from the animal analogy is a commonplace of rhetoric, [Quintil.] Decl. Min. 277, 307 etc.; in particular the illustration from horses in contexts like this, Quintil. 5.11.4 (as an example of induction), Epictet. fr. 18 and 3.14.12–13, Dio Chrys. 15.30.

57 Accius 272 non genus virum ornat, generis vir fortis loco.

58 SIC quia fortis, non quia generous est.

FACILI PALMA Circumstantial ablative ‘with easy-won victories’, cf. Catull. 62.11 (so E. G. Hardy in his edition of 1891). For the palm-branch as prize cf. RE phoinix 401–2 (where it is mentioned at 401.44 that gems show it being placed on horses) and suppl. 7.1636.43.

VICTORIA The shout of victory. Cf. Florus Vergilius orator an poeta 1.6 ille de Dacia triumphus exsultat. [[395]

PLURIMA (VICTORIA) contrasted with rara 63.

RAUCO 9.144, 11.197.

60 GRAMINE Cf. patriam 45.

61 FUGA Speed (Thes. s.v. 1467.57); PULVIS (10.37) raised by his feet. Cf. Baccyl. 5.43 οὔπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέρων ἵππων κατέχρανεν κόνις.

62 Human genealogical terms were often applied to the pedigrees of horses (SG 2.10.31); e.g. stemma (Stat. Silv. 5.2.21 sqq.), nobilis, generousus.

PECUS A contemptuous word.

CORYPHEAI κορυφαῖος ‘leader’; HIRPINUS a famous horse, known from Martial (3.63.12 Hirpini ... avos) and CIL 6.10069, derived his name from his native gramen (60), as was common.

63 IUGO The horses were always driven in teams, but one horse is regularly singled out and named as the victor (see the inscriptions in SG 4.148 = 4.179 sqq., and CIL 6.10047–56; Cameron 47–8; Sil. It. 16.333 sqq.); this would be the left-hand trace-horse (cf. Sil. 361), which needed particular skill for turning close to the spina (RE suppl. 7.1639.57 and 1633.55; RSV 3.523 n. 6). He must be meant by the name principium in the inscription of Diocles (SG 161 = 193).

RARA The adjective often appears where English idiom would suggest an adverb (Lewis and Short s.v. II B 1 b); cf. on 10.18 (13.8 is not striking). Seneca and Martial are the only post-Augustan poets who use raro.

VICTORIA should be printed with a capital; Juvenal is thinking of representa-
tions of the goddess, who naturally had a part in the ceremonial of the games, such as are mentioned in RE Victoria 2528.

64 IBI In the case of the horse; cf. 11.176.

NIL … RESPECTUS Suet. Nero 22 occultae musicae nullum esse respectum.

65 DOMINOS MUTARE Cf. Beseler, ZRG 50, 1930, 64 for this legal phrase.

66 Knoche asserts that et was deleted by the scribe of P himself, but other collators do not agree. The asyndeton is very harsh, and I incline to read trito et. This will have been corrupted to et trito to restore simplex ordo, trito will be an attempt to mend the metre of this, and tritoque a subsequent effort to remove the asyndeton. Cf. Sen. Phaedr. 34 trito collo of dogs whose collar has rubbed their neck; Ep. 19.6 cervicem iugo tritam.

EPI(R)A EDIA Ullmann in Hommages à Leon Herrmann (1960) 745 rightly derives this word from two Celtic constituents, epos ‘horse’ (see on 157) and r(a)eda (3.10 and 236, 4.118), so that it will mean ‘horse-carriage’; cf. Pliny NH 3.123 eporedias Galli bonos equorum [i396] domitores vocant. Juvenal’s spelling however is dictated by the false etymology from ἐπί (Quintil. 1.5.8). For ‘vehicle’ words derived from Celtic see HS 766.

67 SEGNIPEDES Αʹαικ λεγόμενον, coined after the likewise rare βραδύπους. Cf. on 9.65.

MOLAM VERSARE An indignity for a broken-down race-horse, as asses would normally turn the mill in the pistrinum; cf. Plaut. Asin. 709, Edict. Diocl. 15.52 (JRS 63, 1973, 102) mola caballaria, Pomponius Dig. 33.7.15, Blümner2 1.34 and 38 sqq., Toynbee 184, Vigneron 182 and pl. 71, Kiechle (on 43) 100, Moritz 100.

68 TE NON TUA Cf. Ovid quoted on 41, from a different viewpoint. Bion ap. Diog. Laert. 4.47 σκόπει δὲ με ἐξ ἐμαυτοῦ.

PRIMUM (cf. 2.44) is, as B. Axelsson Neue Senecastudien (1939) 51, points out, quite faultless; privum would suitably underline the point, but it cannot be called necessary, and Juvenal would hardly have used such a cascum verbum. The passages which come closest to defending it are Hor. Serm. 2.5.11, Epist. 1.1.93, Ovid Tristia 2.138, Manil. 2.126 (where however there is special justification; see Housman, who puts the line after 270).

DA i.e. exhibe; cf. on 16.29.

69 TITULIS On his statues (cf. 1.130 and on 5.110) or his tomb (6.230, 10.143); cf. 10.57–8 honorum pagina.

70 DAMUS AC DEDIMUS Cf. on 3.190. In giving to you we are really giving to them. Distinguished ancestry still carried weight in public life, Sen. De Ben. 4.30.1–4, cf. SG 1.109 = 1.118.

72 INFLATUM Cf. on 40.

NERONE PROPINQUO i.e. Neronis propinquitate; cf. HS 393, KS 1.770, Naegelsbach §20.1, Woodcock p. 76 and index nouns.

73 FERME ‘as a rule’; 13.236.
SENSUS COMMUNIS Cf. on 7.218, 15.146; the fellow-feeling that unites mankind, feeling for others. See Bentley on Hor. Serm. 1.3.66, Thomson CR 34, 1920, 18.

RARUS IN Pliny Ep. 8.23.3; FORTUNA ‘rank’ 11.176.

74–6 Stat. Silv. 5.1.51–3 laudantur proavis … quae … falsae (or -a) … potentem laudis egent verae; cf. also Pan. Mess. 29 sq., esp. 32 quam tibi maiores maius decus ipse futuris (cf. FUTURAE); Plut. (?) fr. 139 Sandbach from the περί εὐγενείας.

CENSERI Cf. 2; NOLUERIM see on 15.21; IPSE cf. 41.

76–7 The COLUMNNAE are the metaphorical correspondent to ALIORUM FAMA.

78 A semi-colon after 77 would make it plainer that 78 quotes a proverbial illustration of being left in the lurch. Cf. Aristoph. Wasp 1291 εἶτα νῦν ἐξηπάτησεν ἣ χάραξ τὸν ᾑμπελον (cf. Liban. Ep. [i397] 218.9), on which the scholiast notes παροιμία; see the many quotations of the line listed by W. Kraus Testimonia Aristophanea (1930) 28. Juvenal changes the Greek method of viticulture by props to the Italian (very rarely used in Greece) of training on trees, particularly elms (vites arbusitvae; cf. RE Ulme 548 and arbusatum, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 9, Billiard 366–8, Blümner1 576–7, White1 236). This procedure is often spoken of in terms of marrying the vine and the tree (RE l.c. 552, Pease CP 22, 1927, 95); maritus, maritare, coniunx (Colum. 5.6.18), nubere, dos (Colum. 3.3.5), dotare (Pliny NH 18.266) etc. Viduus ‘unmarried’ is similar, cf. Catull. 62.49 sqq., Hor. Odes 4.5.30, Colum. 4.22.6, but here has the extra point that the palmes has fallen off the elm. For elm-trees cf. 6.150, Hor. Odes 2.15.4–5 (where it is contrasted with the platanus caelebs; the plane-tree is too bushy for this purpose), Ovid Met. 14.661 sqq., Pliny NH 17.200.

79 TUTOR BONUS A traditional Roman virtue, Cato ap. Gell. 5.13.4, Cic. Pro Q. Rosc. 16, Hor. Epist. 2.1.122; contrast 1.46.

ARBITER In civil cases.

81 RÊI This quantity is attested in Hor. Odes 3.16.25, Phaedrus 3.10.2; in the dative Hor. Odes 3.24.64 and spēi Sen. Phaedr. 131; cf. fidēi 13.6, which appears first in Manilius (Housman on 2.605).

PHALARIS 6.486 and Otto s.v. with Nachträße 114, 201.

82 FALSUS testis, cf. 14.218, 16.32.

ADMOTO A verb often used of application of means of compulsion, Thes. s.v. 770.65.

83 ANIMAM ‘life’ cf. 15.94; PUDORI ‘honour’ as 16.34 etc.

84 VIVENDI CAUSAS What makes life worth living; 11.11, CEL 1402.4, Pliny Ep. 1.123.3, 5.5.4. Pliny NH 28.9 vitam quidem non adeo expetendum censemus ut quoquo modo trahenda sit.

85–6 These lines are not well fitted into the argument.

quidem periit pudor.

CENTUM Oysters were sold by the hundred, *Edit. Diocl. 5.6.*

86 GAURANA From the Lucrine Lake (see on 4.140); for Mount Gaurus see on 9.57.

COSMI A famous perfumer often mentioned by Martial (also the spurious Petron. fr. 18). His name is derived from his profession; cf. *cosmetae 6.477*. His *aenum* is a living death (85) as surely as the bronze bull of Phalaris (82) is a literal one.

TOTO The sense would be more plainly given by *totus*; Mart. 4.22.4 (cf. 8.30.6), Val. Flacc. 2.536 are very similar. But, as usual with such so-called enallages (HS 159–60), it makes reasonable [1398] sense as it stands (cf. on 90); when he is entirely submerged he fills the whole cauldron. It also suggests extravagance; he uses up the whole stock.

87 *exspectata diu vix tandem* Catull. 62.2.

88 IRAE FRENA (cf. 135) from Hor. *Epist. 1.2.62–3.*


90 explains INOPUM; for RERUM cf. 249, for OSSA Mart. 5.44.11. A more straightforward method of expression would be *vacua exsuctis medullis*. Yet, as in 86, the expression is not without defence. *Plenus* can be applied not only to a vessel but also to its contents (HS 35–6; Prop. 1.20.44, *aliquid plenae vitale medullae*, Calpurn. *Buc. 5.115*), and so therefore might *vacua* (cf. Cic. *Pro Marcell. 17 gladium vagina vacuum*); and *ossa exsucta* on its own would be acceptable on the principle mentioned on 3.226–7. Cf. Hor. *Epode* 5.37 *exsucta* (v.l. *exsecta*); [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1230 *malum / hausit medullas, ossibus vacuis sedet*; Amm. *Marc.* 30.4.13 *adusque ipsas medullas exsuctus* (metaphorical as here); similarly with μυελός Lucian *Timon* 8.

92 *bonorum praemii* in a similar context Pliny *Pan.* 70.2; e.g. temples, statues, festivals named after them.

FULMINE Often used of imperial punishments (e.g. by Ovid of his exile; see Fowler *CR* 29, 1915, 46, Scott *TAPA* 61, 1930, 53); *Thes. s.v.* 1528.28. It implies a flattering comparison of the emperor with Jupiter, cf. 6.619, Sen. *NQ* 2.43–4. On the Arch of Beneventum Jupiter is handing his thunderbolt to Trajan, who holds it on some coins (Mattingly 3 pl. 30.4 and 34.7; cf. Beaujeu 71 and pl. 4); Caracalla (?) is <t>onitrator *CIL* 6.1080. Cf. Artemidorus 2.9 (p. 112.25 Pack) τοὺς καταδικασθέντας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ κεραυνοῦσθαί φαμεν, and see *RAC Gewitter* 1138.

[92–4 *Addendum, originally on p. 623:* See Syme *AJP* 100, 1979, 269–71.]


CAPITO Cossutianus Capito was accused by the Cilicians and condemned in
A.D. 57 (Tac. Ann. 13.33, 16.21; Quintil. 6.1.14). TUTOR is unknown; he was perhaps one of the Vellaei, who carried this cognomen, and either predecessor or successor of Capito (this is suggested by 96). He may have been one of the ἥγεμονες mentioned by Dio Chrys. 34.9 and 42 (delivered in Tarsus), if the allusion there is to Capito. Cf. Castritius, Historia 20, 1971, 81.

DAMNANTE SENATU The usual procedure; see D. Magie Roman Rule in Asia Minor (1950) 1419 n. 68; Brunt Historia 10, 1961, 199; Bleicken 161. ||[399]

94 PIRATAE CILICUM A paradox; the Cilicians themselves were notorious pirates until suppressed by Pompey (see H. A. Ormerod Piracy in the Ancient World (1924) 255–6 for the last traces of this). Cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 1.90 C. Verrem in ea classe quae contra piratas aedificata sit piratam ipsum consceleratum fuisse; 154 praedonum praedo … pirata nefarius. Coincidences in the following with the Verrines (cf. 106) are so many and so close that they can hardly be due merely to common subject-matter.

QUID … CONFERT I.47–50 and 106.

95–6 PANSA and NATTA (a cognomen of the Pinarii) seem to be simply typical names of aristocratic governors, not actual governors (though M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa was governor of Cappadocia and Galatia under Vespasian; B. Thomae Senatores Procuratoresque Romani (1975) 43, B. Kreiber Die Statthalter Kleinasiens (1975) 84 and 106); condemnation does not deter the next governor. CHAERIPPUSS likewise is a typical Greek name which might belong to an accuser of these governors, a delegate of the provincial concilium (Brunt l.c. 217).

PRAECONEM An auctioneer; 3.33, 7.6.

PANNIS He has no decent clothes left.

CIRCUMSPICE Thes. s.v. 1171.32.

97 FUROR with the infinitive 1.92, 14.136.

NAULUM This word appears here for the first time in Latin; it became domesticated, since it left Romance derivatives (W. Meyer-Lübke Roman. Etymol. Wörterb.3 (1930–5) s.v.). Hesychius (2 p. 698.26 Latte) and Et. Magn. gloss the word with reference to the fee paid to Charon (cf. 3.267), but they probably have in mind Aristoph. Frogs 270; it cannot be proved that it could be used in this sense without a reference to Charon in the context, as at Apul. Met. 6.18. παραπόλλυμι τὸ ναῦλον Plut. An Virtus Doceri Possit 2.439e shows that perdere naulum was a cliché, which in that passage means ‘waste the fare’. Juvenal might thus mean that Chaerippus may waste his passage-money to Rome, but POST OMNIA (sc. perdita cf. 11.42; for OMNIA = ‘everything else’ cf. on 2.164) makes me think that he has altered the meaning of the cliché to ‘lose the fare’; Chaerippus may spend everything and not have left his passage-money back home from Rome. For the slowness of procedure cf. Brunt l.c. 219.

98 IDEM GEMITUS Plural, as the metre shows.

VULNUS sociorum vulnera Cic. De Imp. Pomp. 66.
NEQUE Cf. 3.79; elsewhere Juvenal uses it only before vowels (ipse 3.110; enim, see on 15.107).

99 FLORENTIBUS tum cum Sicilia florebat (Cic. 2 Verr. 4.46 in a similar context.)

100 PLENA DOMUS Cic. 2 Verr. 2.35; ACERVÖS 6.364.


CONCHYLIA Purple robes (3.81, Pliny NH 22.3). Cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 2.176, 4.59.

102–4 These are the stock masters in their genres, and there are many lists like this. Myron and Polyclitus (3.217, q.v. for plunder of statues) both worked mainly in bronze, but Juvenal is here thinking of the marble statues of the latter.

PHIDIAEUM He cannot write Phīdïae to match the surrounding genitives, cf. Fordyce on Catull. 44.10 and on Aen. 7.1.

EBUR Of his chryselephantine work (not many examples of which are likely to have been in private houses); cf. Mart. 9.24.2, Stat. Silv. 4.6.27.

VIVEBAT ‘existed and was life-like’, a word of compressed sense, of which the second implication is an example of the commonplace referred to on 55; cf. e.g. Mart. 3.35 (of Phidias), the long series of epigrams on Myron’s cow AP 9.713–42, and the travesty in Petron. 52.1; Oltramare REL 19, 1941, 88, Bömer Hermes 80, 1952, 121–2.

LABOR Cf. Mentoreos labores Mart. 4.39.5; ibid. 8.51.1, 9.44.2, 14.95.2 etc.; cf. Thes. s.v. 794.48.

MENTORE i.e. argento a Mentore caelato; the same metonymy Mart. 11.11.5, cf. Nestora Juv. 12.128.

105 The line is unmetrical and has not been satisfactorily emended. The corruption plainly lies in HINC, which is importantly combined with INDE … INDE (meaning a sociis florentibus et modo victis). Lachmann suggested dehinc, but the word is not used by Juvenal. Best so far is Leo’s proposal (Hermes 45, 1910, 51 n. 1) atque inhi<ans>; hinc will then be an attempt under the influence of inde to emend inhi after ans had been lost before ant. For the resultant rhythm cf. 15.143. However inhians would be better with the support of e.g. a dative. Dolābella is presumably transmitted correctly; the quantity is not elsewhere directly attested, but CIL 12.3232 has Dolābellae with an apex.

DOLABELLA might refer to Cn. Cornelius (RE no. 35, Broughton 2.80) Dola-bella, condemned in 78 B.C. for extortion in Cilicia 80–79 B.C., or to another man of the same name (RE no. 134) prosecuted but not condemned in 77 B.C. for extortion in Macedonia (Badian PBSR 33, 1965, 48); Ruperti’s conjecture removes the ambiguity, but see on Catuli 2.146. In any case the whole line is aimed at governors who do not live up to their noble families.
ANTONIUS C. Antonius (RE no. 19) (Hybrida) prosecuted in 76 B.C. for plundering Greece as a prefect of Sulla in 84 and condemned in 59 for plundering Macedonia in 62 (Broughton 2.61 and 175). Σ refers to the extortions of M. Antonius (RE no. 29) Creticus (cf. on 38) in his campaign against the pirates; but he was not a provincial governor.

106 VERRES 2.26, 3.53; SACRILEGUS Cic. 2 Verr. 1.9 and 47, 5.4 and 188 (because of his robberies from temples).

ALTIS They had to be lofty (no other meaning is possible) since otherwise their holds would not have been large enough to contain all the booty. Verres had a ship built for the purpose, 2 Verr. 4.17–19, 5.44–6.

107 A double oxymoron. SPOLIA would normally be shown in a triumphal procession, not OCCULTA (this word is not to be connected with navibus). PLURES DE PACE (i.e. de pacatis, as Mart. 12.9.2 pax peregrina = peregrini pacati; for DE see on 15.47) quam alii de bellantibus. This peace is like war, the provincials (socii 99) are treated as hostes whose lands have been captured (109); cf. vulnus 98, provinciarum spolia Pliny NH 9.117; Libyci quid mira tributi / obsequia et missum media de pace triumphum / laudem? Stat. Silv. 1.4.83 (but not of extortion).

OCCULTA SPOLIA Juvenal’s only instance of such a scansion (the converse at 5.45). For cases in other poets (some to be emended) see L. Müller 390, Hoenigswald TAPA 80, 1949, 276–8 (add perhaps II. Lat. 453).

108 NUNC is contrasted with tunc 100. SOCIIS sc. sunt.

GREX EQUARUM Cic. 2 Verr. 1.28, 2.20.

109 PATER ARMENTI (cf. Petron. 133 v. 14 and maritus Juv. 3.91) presumably refers to both the bull and the stallion.

CAPTO (cf. on 107) Cic. 2 Verr. 2.46 ex illa domo capta et oppressa.

ERIPETUR Because the boves and equae have already gone.

110 LARES The Roman term is applied to the cults of the provincials cf. 14.320. Roman statuettes of the Lares would usually be of little value (see on 12.87), whence IPSI; but sometimes they did have a certain value (Tertull. Apol. 13, Ad Nat. 1.10.20; those of Trimalchio were naturally of silver, Petron. 29.8).

111–12 AEDICULA (see Friedlaender on Petron. l.c., Commodian Instr. 1.20.3, RE s.v. 446, DE aedes 140b) and UNICUS (Ulpian Dig. 1.18.6.5 ne tenuis vitae homines sub praetextu adventus officiorum vel militia, lumine unico vel brevi supellectili ad aliorum usus translatis, iniuriis vexentur praeses provinciae providebit) are both excellent and add to the pathos of the picture. The deletion of 111–12 also leaves the transition from 110 to 113 abrupt, and forsitans weakens the clause to which it is now attached (though Housman’s incompletely quoted parallels for the 1402 position of this word are not quite fair; cf. 1.150); at least it should be punctuated despicias: merito. In BICS 13, 1966, 40 I have proposed to read something like:

deus unicus. haec retinentes
pro summis (nam sunt haec maxima) despicias tu
forsitan.

Only by such an emendation can the abruptness of the transition in 112 be eliminated. Cf. *rebus in summis minimisque* 11.36.


CORINTHNION For its luxury see Otto s.v. and *RE* suppl. 4.1035; cf. the verb *κορινθιάζειν* (Schn.–Leutsch *Paroemiogr.* 2.180 on Macar. 5.26) and the proverb οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρός ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ’ ὁ πλοῦς. The reputation of the old Corinth (*Cic. De Rep.* 2.7–8) which perished in 146 B.C. remained with the new foundation of Julius Caesar.

The punctuation should be this: *merito (quid ... gentis?):* 116 is preceded by an adversative asyndeton indicated by the colon after 115. Cf. *Sen. Med.* 922 *placuit hoc poenae genus / meritoque placuit.*

114 Resin like pitch (9.14) was used for depilation (17), cf. 11.157, Pliny *NH* 14.123, 29.26; *Graecatim depilari* Tertull. *De Pallio* 4.1; *SHA* 8.8.5; a long tirade Clem. *Paed.* 3.3.15 sqq. (cf. on 2.17).


116 Spain and Gaul are *valentissima imperii pars* Tac. *Agr.* 24, *Hist.* 3.53, and Spain is *horrida provincia* Val. Max. 9.1.5; Martial contrasts himself as a rough Spaniard with an effeminate Corinthian 10.65. There had been rebellions in Gaul headed by Sacrovir and Florus in A.D. 21 and by Vindex in A.D. 68.

AXIS ‘clime, region’ 6.470, 14.42 and often; cf. *orbis* 2.108.


MESSORIBUS ILLIS i.e. the Africans of 120; cf. 5.118–19. This is from Varro *RR* 2 pr. 3 *manus movere maluerunt in THEATRO ET CIRCO ... frumentum locamus qui nobis adevat qui SATURI fiamus EX AFRICA;* cf. *saturare* 14.166, Mart. 6.86.5 *Libycas messes,* Tac. *Hist.* 1.4 *plebes sordida et circo ac theatris sueta.* On popular enthusiasm for the circus and theatre see 3.223, 10.80 (with *panem,* 11.53, Carcopino 205–8, *SG* 2.11 = 2.13; but Balsdon¹ 267 sqq. and in *Hommages à M. Renard* (1969) 2.57 warns against exaggeration. For the import of grain from Africa see *RE frumentum* 132, Charlesworth 143, *ES* 4.39, *[1403]* Loane 14 n. 14, Tac. *Hist.* 1.73, Ann. 12.43.2; Commodus built a special fleet for the purpose, *SHA* 7.17.7. URBEM would be better printed with a capital.

118 VACANTEM Proleptic, *ut vacare possit.* The punctuation should be this: *vacantem (quanta ... Afros?)*;

119 DIRAE Because it would cause a famine at Rome; cf. 13.106. Cf. *Phaedr.* 2.3.6 *culpae praemium.*

120 NUPER About 20 years ago; see the introduction to Two.
MARIUS See on 1.49.

TENUIS  Proleptic, making them poor (3.163, 7.80); hardly that he paradoxically robs those who are already poor.

DISCINXERIT  Money was usually carried in the belt (RE marsupium; cf. Apul. Met. 7.6 incincta), and Marius is a cut-purse, sector zonarius (Plaut. Trin. 862, i.e. βαλαντιοτόμος; cf. discinxi Plaut. Truc. 957 in the context). Thus Juvenal adds an extra meaning to Vergil’s discinctos Afros (Aen. 8.724, cf. Livy 35.11.7, Sil. It. 2.56 and 3.235–6), referring to their loose flowing robes; they are so because Marius has stolen their belts!

AFROS  The messores illi (referred to by INDE) are given another name within the same sentence instead of simply a demonstrative pronoun. Cf. 6.116 sqq., 10.161–2, 13.215–16, Verg. Aen. 4.91–2, Hor. Odes 4.8.22–4, Epode 3.10.12, Tib. 1.1.17–18, Prop. 2.14.5–6, Ovid Tristia 1.9.27–8; cf. on 220.

123–4  These lines are very tautologous, but both SCUTUM GLADIUMQUE RELINQUES (where defensive and offensive weapons are symbolised, as at Cic. In Pis. 73, Pro Caec. 62 and 64, and RELINQUES ‘you will not take as booty’ correlates with TOLLAS) and SPOLIATIS ARMAR SUPERSUNT (which best fits the description as a sententia in 125) are excellent in themselves. The difficulty lies in ET IACULUM ET GALEAM, another pair of offensive and defensive weapons, which in Housman’s view would destroy the symbolism. I am not certain that this is necessarily so, though I agree that Juvenal should not have written the words, and incline to think the text sound; for over-long lists in Juvenal cf. p. 37.

The Romans did not disarm the provincials (Brunt Phoenix 29, 1975, 260).

125  MODO  Cf. on 9.124; QUOD PROPOSUI Sen. Dial. 10.10.1.

SENTENTIA  An epigram (14.205), spoken for effect; cf. Plut. Quomodo Adulator 14.57f χρησμὸν οὐ γνώμην, De Liberis Educ. 8.5c. Nothing could better fit Quintilian’s definition (8.5.2) of sententiae as lumina … praecipue in clausulis postita than spoliatis arma supersunt.

126  VOBIS Pontice et Pontici similes; contrast with tibi 127. Cf. index pronouns, KS 1.60, HS 14 and 433. [[404]]


FOLIUM Verg. Aen. 3.444 sqq., 6.74 (where see Norden).

127  COHORS COMITUM Cf. 3.47 and in a similar context Cic. Ad Q. Fr. 1.1.12; young men chosen by the governor who would go out with him to gain experience (see W. T. Arnold Roman Provincial Administration (1914) 68, Fordyce on Catull. 10.10, Hellegouarc’h 57 sqq.).

SANTA Cf. 24.

TRIBUNAL VENDIT i.e. decreta; Sen. De Ben. 1.9.5, Ovid Am. 1.10.40.

The Greek word as usual indicates contempt.

CONIUGE Under the Republic she would have stayed at home; this was changed by Tiberius, and thereafter there were cases of extortion by the wives of governors. Cf. Balsdon¹ 237 and ² 60, Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 3.9.19, Koestermann on Tac. Ann. 3.33 (pp. 482–3), H. Pflaum Les Procurateurs Équestres (1950) 298–307, Marshall G & R¹² 22, 1975, 11 and Ancient Society 6, 1975, 113 and 119 sqq. Cf. Mart. 2.56.

129 CONVENTUS (sc. cunctos; for the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ see index word-order) assess size districts; see RE (1173–9) and DE (1190) s.v., Marshall Phoenix 20, 1966, 232, Burton JRS 65, 1975, 92.

130 CURVIS UNGUIBUS 13.169; the Harpy Celaeno has uncae manus at Verg. Aen. 3.211 sqq., i.e. she is γαμψῶνυξ.

CELAENO An identification instead of a comparison, cf. on 9.126, 14.246. See Otto Harpyia, who quotes Sidon. Apoll. Ep. 5.7.4 as a proverbial expression of rapacity; Nachträge 104; Plut. Lucull. 7.7 in a similar context.

131 TUM marks the beginning of the apodosis; tu (see the apparatus) would be pointless.

PICO Son of Saturn and father of Faunus, first of the Laurentine kings; RE s.v. 1214, Verg. Aen. 7.48 and 189 sqq. For such genealogies cf. SG 1.110 = 1.120, Mooney on Suet. Vesp. 12.

LICET i.e. per me licet, for all I care you are welcome to.

NUMERES Cf. Verg. Georg. 4.209, Ovid Her. 8.48, Gow on Theocr. 17.27.

ALTA Cf. 40.

132 OMNEM TITANIDA PUGNAM The whole battle-array of the Titans who fought against Zeus; Prometheus too was a Titan, but he supported Zeus. In fact he made the first men out of clay (14.35), so he could not be ancestor of them; alternatively, if he was the ancestor of men, he was like Adam ancestor of all men, not just the nobiles (cf. 272–5). The Titans regarded Zeus and the Olympians as new gods (Aesch. PV passim; Hes. Theog. 424 and West on 486).

IPSUM Not just an ordinary Titan, but the chief one; it also underlines the absurdity of the claim (see above).

134 LIBRO e.g. Hesiod’s Theogony. But the line is probably spurious, an intended replacement for 131–3; it is an anticlimax, weak in thought and expression and breaking the rhythmical flow. Moreover the form sumito is suspicious (see on 9.105).

136 VIRGAS The fasces of the lictors; on their use for inflicting punishment on provincials see Strachan-Davidson 1.126.

FRANGIS Cf. on 247; not personally, cf. on 16.13.

SI TE DELECTANT Carelessly repeated from 131–2; cf. on 16.9.

137 LASSO LICTORE Cf. 6.484; ablative absolute, cf. 9.150.

138 CONTRA TE STARE Cf. 3.290; Pers. 5.96, Mart. 1.53.12.
CONSPECTUS = magis conspicuum; cf. Thes. s.v. 497.19, Naegelsbach §72b.

QUO Cf. 9; 14.135, 15.61. Housman interprets the line according to his punctuation thus, ‘quo mihi te <versantem> in templis avitis et ante statuam paternam, si falsarius es? quo, si adulter?’, for the participle supplied comparing Manil. 4.63–4, where see his note. Others omit the comma after tabellas, so that the adverbial phrases go with signare. To this Housman raises two objections. (1) That quo mihi te would then imply that nature had created Ponticus for the sake of Juvenal. I do not fully grasp this objection, but so far as I understand it, it seems to press the idiom too hard; Housman’s own example appears very similar, Sen. Contr. 1.2.1 quo mihi sacerdotem cuius precaria est castitas? (2) That one would not forge wills in crowded public places (see below). But exaggeration must be allowed to a satirist, and ante admirably indicates shamelessness, as at 10–11 and 156. I therefore follow the second interpretation, especially as wills were often witnessed in a temple (Mart. 10.70.7) and kept there (Fronto p. 12; Vidal Rev. Hist. de Droit 43, 1965, 550). The forger seals a false will in the very temple or in front of the statue and substitutes it for the true one (cf. 1.67).

STATUAM TRIUMPHALEM Under the empire triumphs were only permitted to members of the imperial family, but statues could be granted to victorious generals (RE triumphus 499, RSV 2.592 n. 1, Mommsen1 450, Peine Berl. Stud. 2 (1885) 319, A. E. Gordon Q. Veranius (Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Archaeol. 2.5, 1952) 305). Statues of all the triumphatores were set up by Augustus in a portico in his [[406] forum (cf. 1.129, SG 2.294 = 3.75; Peine denies that these were properly called triumphales, but see Ann. Epigr. 1972 no. 174 = Reynolds JRS 61, 1971, 142–3 statuas ei ponendas triumfales in foro Augusti). But perhaps the statues referred to in 3 and at 7.125 could also informally be called triumphales, or Juvenal may be thinking of statues in the temples.

SANTONICO … CUCULLO Mart. 14.128.1 (cf. 1.153.5); see on 9.28 sqq.; cucullus is probably a Gallic word (Niedermann Mus. Helv. 7, 1950, 152–3). For such hoods (to be seen on a relief from Trèves, Bossert and Zschetzschmann 209) cf. 3.170, RE and DS s.v., Blümner1 218, Marquardt 568; naturally they were useful for disguise on such occasions, cf. 6.118 and 330, Hor. Serm. 2.7.55 sqq. etc. (W. Deonna De Télesphore au ‘moine bourru’ (1955) 13 and 17). For the opposite aperto capite see Blümner1 228 n. 4.

VELAS ADOPERTA After Verg. Aen. 3.405, cf. Catull. 64.64; a common type of pleonasm with participles, cf. 7.84 (HS 797, KS 2.572).

vela sqq. Unless an otherwise unknown Lateranus was consul at some time under Nero, Juvenal has here made a bad historical mistake. He appears to be referring to Plautius (RE no. 45, PIR1 P 354) Lateranus (cf. 10.17), who was consul designate in A.D. 65 but did not act as consul because he was executed for complicity in Piso’s conspiracy. Tacitus (Ann. 15.53) describes him as corpore ingens,
typically using a more elevated expression than Juvenal’s blunt pinguis; though it must be admitted that the picture of this man given by Tacitus is quite different from that of Juvenal. Juvenal may here be acquitted of deliberate distortion of historical fact; but he must be convicted of willingness to embroider it without checking the accuracy of his statements.

To drive oneself instead of being driven (cf. on 1.61) was undignified (transport workers were despised, Blümner1 613–14), but hardly the moral scandal Juvenal considers it; cf. p. 23.

IPSE, IPSE An indignant epanalepsis; cf. p. 32.

146 The main roads out of Rome were lined with tombs, cf. on 1.171, 5.55.

147 CARPENTO 9.132; a two-wheeled, two-horse light carriage.

148 SUFFLAMINE The brake, 16.50; RE s.v.

MULIO CONSUL Cf. mulae 7.181 and for the oxymoron (cf. 198–9) see on 4.116; for the contempt felt for muliones, most of whom were slaves (Blümner1 465) see Blümner l.c. on 146 sqq.

149 LUNA … OCULOS 6.311 luna teste, Prop. 2.9.41 sidera sunt testes, Verg. Aen. 9.429 conscia sidera testor (Mart. 9.22.15), Val. Fl. 8.50 sidera … vident, Stat. Ach. 1.643–4. TESTES may be either nominative [407] or accusative; in the latter case there may either be an apposition or the noun may be used adjectivally, cf. 261–2 and index nouns.

153 IAM (cf. 6.215 and on 3.206) SENIS ‘His age makes the friend more likely to be a stickler for respectability, so that it would be only decent in L. to pass without recognising him’ Duff.

VIRGA ADNUET ‘salute with the switch’ cf. Apul. Flor. 21.5–7, Dio Cass. 77.10.2; in a different sense 3.317.

MANIPLOS sc. feni.

155 INTEREA While still consul he cannot give full rein to his inclinations. The sacrifice described is that of the feriae Latinae (RE s.v.), at which the consuls sacrificed to Iuppiter (RE s.v. 1134) Latiaris on the Alban mount; Dion. Hal. AR 4.49 mentions sheep and bulls.

LANATAS Palladius 12.13.3; cf. virgata [Sen.] Herc. Oet. 146 = tigris, cornutus Accius 494 = aries (conjectured also by Clark at Amm. Marc. 23.4.8), auritulus Phaedr. 1.11.6 = asinus, barbatus ibid. 4.9.10 = hircus; cf. pecus lanatum Colum. 11.2.33, Pliny NH 17.188, and Theop. laniger 930.55. For such animal ‘kennings’ cf. I. Waern ГΗΣ ΟΣТЕА (1951) 38, Bornmann Athen.2 30, 1952, 85, R. Renehan Studies in Greek Texts (1976) 39, West on Hes. Op. 524, Hollis on Ovid Met. 8.376, and below on 13.232. The occurrences in Palladius and Phaedrus suggest a rustic origin, and Waern 45 identifies this as the folk-tale; it is noticeable that quite a few examples are found in religious formulae (note that the slightly different use at 15.11 is also in a religious context), though this is not likely to be the origin of such γρῖφοι (Waern 60). Their primitive character and oracular vagueness make them...
suitable for religious use.

ROBUM is also a religious archaism. Paul. Fest. 264 (cf. Müller’s remarks p. 267) explains it as ruber, rufus; he regards robur, robustus (which Σ here gives as alternative meanings) as derivatives. Cf. robius (Gell. 4.6.2); Å. Josephson Die Columella-Handschriften (1955) 90. Reddish bulls had become legitimate at this ceremony (as at others; RE Stier 2516.19, cf. 67), Arnob. 2.68 (rufulos); cf. Latte 144, Armstrong 35.

156 NUMAE The father of Roman religion, 6.343.

157 EPONAM The goddess of muleteers; a Gallic name, cf. on 66 and the proper names Eporedia, Eporedorix, Eponina (Holder 1.1446). A picture of Epona in a stable, Apul. Met. 3.27. See RE s.v. and suppl. 3.436, Wissowa 377 and 86–7, Toynbee 197, SG 3.150 = 3.182, R. Magnen Épona (1953), J. de Vries Keltische Religion (1961) 123. To swear by her in this solemn ceremony is an insult to Jupiter (emphasised by ANTE; cf. 9, 11, 144); cf. the oath by Ποσειδῶν ἵππιος at Aristoph. Clouds 83. |

158 SED indicates that Juvenal is turning from the horse-mania of L. to his fondness for low dives; ‘but’ is too strong, it is rather δέ (see index conjunctions and KS 2.76–7, adding e.g. Livy 9.2.7). However 158–62 are hardly happy, since the main clause should tell us something done by L.

PERVIGILES See on 3.275, 15.43 and Kleberg 120.

POPINAS For their poor reputation see Kleberg 93 sqq., Balsdon 153, SG 1.292 = 1.350; popino is a reproach.

INSTAURARE “The word means “to renew” (e.g: pugnam 15.74), and hence (because the least informality made a repetition necessary) “to celebrate solemnly”, esp. of the feriae Latinae: e.g. Cic. Ad Q. Fr. 2.4.4 Latinae instaurantur. Here it is generally translated “to visit”; but surely Juvenal is using it in exactly the same sense as Cicero above; and popinas is added παρὰ προσδοκίαν (as in 172) with good ironical effect, where we should expect Latinas. It may be noted that pervigiles might be applied to the festival; cf. Lucan 5.402’ Duff. The feriae Latinae (see RE s.v. 2215.66) were prone to instauration, cf. C. Werner De Feris Latinis (1888) 38.

159 SYROPHOENIX See RE Συροφοινίκη and Syria 1552–3; cf. Συρομηδία, Συροκιλικία, Δυμοφώνις. Cf. the Syrian cauponae listed by Kleberg 77, who also mentions a possible Jew at Pompeii (and at 143 n. 35 eliminates a supposed Jewish caupo). Syrophoenicians were noted for obsequiousness (Eunapius Vit. Soph. 16.2.2), a quality desirable in inn-keepers (cf. on 161); they were also considered avaricious (Lucil. 497) and generally despised (Lucian Concil. Deor. 4).

UDUS This indicates excessive oiliness better than unctus, though Sidonius seems to have read the latter (Ep. 9.13 manus uncta suco anomi). H reads unus.

AMOMO See on 4.108.

160 IDYMAEAE PORTAE must be a contemptuous name given to the Porta
Capena with the settlement of Jews beside it; cf. Three init. (so Owen CR1 7, 1893, 402; Ullmann 277). This explains why he is incola and not accola; Porta Capena was the name given to the first of the Augustan regions of Rome (RE regiones 482; O. Richter Topographie der Stadt Rom2 (1901) 371; Platner–Ashby 445).

161 The form of 159–61 is objectionable, since with such epanalepsis there should not be a new finite verb (cf. 6.34–5). Housman, who saw this, thought that a line is missing after 160, but salutans (Leo) is preferable, as obvia currit is an excellent verb for Cyane.


ADPECTU See on 15.150.

dominum regemque salutas Mart. 4.83.5, cf. Citroni on 1.112.1; for dominus as a title of respect cf. Thes. s.v. 1925.8, SG 4.81 = 4.82, and on 5.137, and for rex cf. on 1.136.

162 CYANE Presumably she had a dark complexion; for the name cf. Thes. onom. s.v. 778.70.

SUCCINCTA For ease of movement; cf. 4.24 and Hor. Serm. 2.6.107.

163 DEFENSOR CULPAE Cf. [Cic.] Ad Fam. 10.7. in culpa defensorem.

DICET An occupatio, cf. 1.150 and p. 31.

FECIMUS … IUVENES Cf. Plaut. Bacch. 410 and 1079, Mart. 4.78.9 and esp. Ter. Ad. 100–10. The locus de indulgentia (cf. 167) became a commonplace of rhetoric (e.g. Cic. Pro Cael. 39 sqq.; note especially Sen. Contr. 2.6.11 id facio quod pater meus fecit cum iuvenis esset.

164 ESTO A concessio, cf. 6.222.

DESIsti Hor. Epist. 1.14.36 nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere lusum.

165 TURPITER AUDES 6.97.

166 CUM PRIMA BARBA Cf. on 4.103.

168 THERMARUM CALICES Baths regularly had bars attached to them, Kleberg 51–2, Blümner1 435.

INSCRIPTA LINTEA Awnings in front of the entrance with advertisements on them, Kleberg 115.

169 i.e. The Euphrates and the Tigris; both rise in Armenia and the former for a long distance is the border of Syria. The four rivers of 169–71 are the boundaries of the empire (cf. 51); Sen. Dial. 10.4.5, Stat. Silv. 5.1.89, Tac. Ann. 4.5, Joseph. BJ 3.107, Appian pr. 4 similarly list Rhine, Danube, Euphrates (Tac. Ann. 1.9.5 annibus longinquos saeptum imperium). All of them saw action under Nero; Corbulus’s campaigns in Armenia (and the Jewish rebellion in 66, after the death of Lateranus), disturbances in Moesia about 62 (CAH 10.775 and 806; Zawadzki Parola del Passato 30, 1975, 59), the revolt of Vindex in 68 (this too after the death of L.); but it is not likely that Juvenal had specific references in mind.

171 HAEC AETAS Lateranus being in his prime.
MITTE sc. *legatum*; for the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ see index word-order.

OSTIA To embark for his foreign command.

172 LEGATUM The usual title of the governor of an imperial province being *legatus Augusti pro praetore*.

POPINA In fact Nero himself was notoriously fond of *popinae*. MAGNA shows that Σ is right in thinking *popina* put παρὰ προοδοκίαν for *castris* or the like (cf. on 158).


174 NAUTIS The ναυτικὸς ὀχλός regularly gets a bad press because [[410] sailors on shore leave tend to go on a spree; Mayor collects many references, to which add Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 913, Aristoph. *Frogs* 1075 (λωποδυτήραι); in an inn Plut. *De San. Tuend.* 16.130e. The inn of course is in Rome, not in Ostia. See also on 10.20.

FURIBUS AC FUGITIVIS An alliterative pair (see Wölfflin 262).

175 CARNIFICES Minions of the *Illi viri capitales* who were particularly charged with punishments of slaves; identical with the *tortores* of 6.480 and O 29, 14.21. See Plaut. *Capt.* 597, *RE* s.v., Mommsen 1 1.327–8 and 2 915. They are associated with undertakers as contemptible by Mart. 2.61.3–4; cf. on 3.32.

FABROS SANDAPILARUM σοροποιοί or σοροπηγοί; they made rude biers for the poor (*RE sandapila*, Blümner 490, Marquardt 356).


TYMPANA GALLI 6.515.

177 It is Liberty Hall, cf. on 5.3 and 161; *aequa libertas* Livy 34.54.5 (of seats in the theatre).

COMMUNIA POCULA Cf. 6.O.14; 5.37 sqq. and 127 sqq.

LECTUS An inn at Pompeii advertises *hospitium hic locatur, triclinium cum tribus lectis* (*CIL* 4.807 = *ILS* 6036).

178 CUIQUAM … ULLI Cf. 12.130.

MENSA REMOTOR An individual table set apart; *mensa communis* Pliny *Pan.* 49.5–6 of Trajan contrasted with Domitian.

179 For the addiction of slaves to *popinae* see 11.81 and Colum. 1.8.2; cf. Horace’s bailiff, *Epist.* 1.14.21.

180 To send a slave to the country was a punishment; Blümner 1 290, Marquardt 179 and add Plaut. *Most.* 18, *Ter. Ph.* 250, Quintil. 2.8.7.

LUCANOS The name *Lucania* is not found until Horace; before that it was usual to speak of *Lucani* (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.89), and even afterwards some authors continued to do so (Wölfflin *ALL* 12, 1902, 332 and 13, 1904, 414).

TUSCA ERGASTULA Mart. 9.22.4 *et sonet innumera compede Tuscus ager*; on *ergastula* cf. 6.151, 14.24 and on 11.80 (*RE* s.v., Blümner 550, Marquardt 180, White 361 and 370, Duncan-Jones 323). Both Lucania and to a lesser extent Etruria were
depopulated areas with many *latifundia*, in the former case mainly devoted to animal ranching and in the latter cultivated by chain-gangs of slaves (Sen. *Dial.* 9.2.13, Nissen 2.118, E. Magaldi *Lucania Romana* (1947) 61, Yeo *TAPA* 79, 1948, 302–3, White 69–70, 74, 84); but in Etruria at least this was now changing (Pliny *Ep.* 3.19.7 *nec ipse usquam vincit habeo nec ibi quisquam* with Sherwin-White).

181 TROIUGENAE Cf. 56 and on 1.100; e.g. Catiline (231). ||[141]

182 Cf. 4.13–14, 11.1–2 and for CERDONI on 4.153.

VOLEOS or VOLUSOS Volesus Valerius (*RE* no. 89) came to Rome with Titus Tatius (Dion. Hal. *AR* 2.46, Plut. *Popl.* 1 and *Numa* 5) and was the ancestor of P. Valerius Poplicola, whose father still carried the name (Livy 1.58.6; *CIL* 1 ² p. 202 no. xlii = 6.1327). It survived as a cognomen of the Valerii as late as Augustan times (*RE* no. 270, *PIR* V 96). Cf. *RE* Volusus, Schulze *LEG* 106, Reichmuth 25, Kajanto 178, Chase *HSCP* 8, 1897, 147. Poplicola is naturally associated with the liberator Brutus. For the combination of generalising plural with singular cf. on 11.91; but perhaps we should think of the two brothers of Poplicola also (*RE* nos. 74 and 243).

DECEBUNT ‘will be found to befit’; cf. on 1.126.


185 VOCEM LOCASTI Cf. 6.380.

DAMASIPPE A name of the Iunii and Licinii, with a few other occurrences (*Thes. onom.* s.v. 26.4); this bearer of it cannot be identified. For nobles on stage cf. *RE* Mimos 1750; Tac. *Ann.* 14.14–15; Nero’s grandfather, perhaps praetor in 19 B.C., produced noble actors (Suet. 4).


CATULLI On this mime-writer cf. 13.111, Mart. 5.30.3; Bonaria 1 p. 111 and ² p. 133; on his PHASMA (‘The Phantom’) Watt *Hermes* 83, 1955, 497–8. Perhaps the apparition of the ghost made the characters scream (CLAMOSUM).

187 LAUREOLUS (*RE* s.v.) was a highwayman (Joseph. *AJ* 19.94 = 19.1.13), probably merely a fictitious character, whose crucifixion was represented in the mime named after him, also by Catullus. Mart. *Spect.* 7 speaks of a criminal who was made to play the part and actually killed, *non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus*; Juvenal is thinking of the same occasion and regards Lentulus as no better than a common criminal (*DIGNUS* cf. 15.17).

LENTULUS A Cornelius; 6.80.

VELOX Juvenal is attracted by the oxymoron with Lentulus, which looks like a diminutive of *lentus*; the same joke Cic. *Ad Att.* 10.11.2. But this particular mime required agility (Tertull. *Adv. Val.* 14 (*Enthymesis*) *nec habens supervolare crucem*
quia nullum Catulli Laureolum fuerit exercitata); Suet. Cal. 57 speaks of *actor pro-ripiens se ruina.


FRONS (Thes. 1358.7) DURIOR (Thes. 2308.39) ‘cheek’; cf. *ferrea frons* Pliny *Pan.* 35 and often *os durum* (note the contrast with *mollis frons* at Quintil. 6.4.11).

For the forehead as the seat of shame cf. 2.8, 11.204, 13.242.


TRISCURRIA A word probably invented by Juvenal with the use of the intensive prefix *tri*- (cf. *RAC Drei* 293, Marx on Plaut. *Rud.* 734); Priscian’s mention (GLK 3.480.10) of the singular probably refers to this passage. For *scurrae* cf. on 4.31, 13.111.

PATRICIORUM Probably simply equivalent to *nobilium* (see on 1.24), though in fact the Corneli, Fabii and Aemilii were patrician.


FABIOS Cf. 14, 2.146, 6.266; Dio Cass. 61.17.4 in a list of noble families thus disgraced by Nero.

MAMERCORUM i.e. Aemiliorum (cf. 21), who were said to be descended from Mamercus, a son of Pythagoras or Numæ, and kept his name as a praenomen and cognomen (*RE* s.v. and *Aemilius* 543–4 and 568–9).

ALAPAS A standing feature in the mime was the beating bestowed on the *stupids* (cf. 197), a stock character who played such parts as a deceived husband, cf. Choricius *Apol. Mim.* 146, Tertull. *De Spect.* 23.3, and on 5.171. Cf. also Mart. 5.61.11 *o quam dignus eras alapis*, Mariane, *Latinii*; as this quotation shows, the meaning could be in grammar ‘cuffs dealt by the Mamerci’ (a similar genitive is common after e.g. *vulnus*), but Juvenal here certainly means ‘blows inflicted on the M.’ to emphasise the degradation.

192–4 The following interpretations of this obscure passage deserve attention:

1 That of Madvig 545, *non se vendere dicit, qui iam nulli sint, extincta hoc scelere nobilitate illa, sublato genere, nomine paene deleto, ut potius funus suum et reliquias mortuas tanti generis vendere videantur*. On the same lines Lendrum (CR 4, 1890, 229) and Duff explain *sua funera* as ‘their moral suicide’, an oxymoron like *dignus morte perit* (85); after such a disgraceful compliance, they cannot be said to be living (the further elaborations which Duff and Lendrum add to Madvig’s interpretation are unhappy and can be ignored).

2 That of Quincey *Mnem.* 12, 1959, 139; they sell their ancestry and lineage, their noble dead. This cannot be extracted from the Latin, and is refuted by Griffith, ibid. 15, 1962, 256.

3 Griffith himself takes the reference to be to the simulated *crucifixion*
in the Laureolus-mime; but Juvenal has left this behind and is here speaking in quite general terms.

Other explanations are quite clearly mistaken. If the text is sound, Madvig must be correct, but a strong suspicion must persist that if *sua funera* is to be intelligible in this sense, it ought to have more support in the context, which at 85 is quite explicit. However Dobree’s proposal *munera* does not satisfy; perhaps *verbera*, which (if spelt *ververa*) might have been reduced by haplography to *vera* and hence *nera*.

192 QUANTI Literally of their fee (cf. *consumptis opibus* 185); cf. Tac. Ann. 14.14.4 *merces ab eo qui iubere potest vim necessitatis adfert* and 3 *nobilium fAMILiarum posteros egestate venales in scaenam deduxit*; Hist. 2.62 cautum severe (sc. a Vitellio) *ne equites R. ludo et harena polluerentur … priores id principes pecunia ac saepeius vi perpulerant.*


194 Mommsen’s support for the deletion of this line is to be discounted because, misled by *funera* 192, he took it to refer to gladiatorial shows, not to stage performances. Juvenal must be stating something that makes their appearance even more shameful. I take it to be a criticism of their impudence; they appear even at the main holidays in Rome, where everyone will be present and recognise them (202 sqq.). At least they could have chosen an obscure festival in a country town (3.172 sqq.) or a private performance (*in hortis* Quintil. 3.6.18 and of Nero Suet. 21.1–2, Tac. Ann. 15.33, Pliny *NH* 37.19; for theatres in the gardens of villas cf. Grimal 279 n. 3). Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.62 (sentence after that quoted on 192) *ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretia illicere.*

Since Augustus the management of public shows in circus and theatre, for which previously the aediles had been responsible, was a duty of the praetors (6.380, 10.36, 11.195, 14.257); cf. *RE praetor* 1602, Mommsen1 2.237. He is CELSUS because he sat in an elevated box (*RSV* 3.536 n. 2, Bieber 172 (Pompeii); *tribunal Suet. Aug.* 44, Vitruv. 5.6.7 and perhaps *CIL* 9.3857); his elevation makes the degradation of the *nobiles* below him on the stage yet more striking (*Σ’s obscure remark ignobilioris quam ipsi sunt seems to be groping after this point*).

LUDIS Abl. of time ‘at the games’ (KS 1.355, HS 147); cf. Pliny *Ep.* 7.11.4 *praetore me ludis meis.*

195 A deliberate exaggeration; such a blunt choice was not put to anyone. *FINGE TAMEN* (5.72) contrasts with *nullo cogente Nerone*.[44]

GLADIOS 4.96, 10.123; a deliberation on this choice Epictet. 1.2.12.

196 QUID i.e. *utrum* (which Juvenal does not use) as often; cf. 10.338 (and *quicquid* 344), *quisque* 1.41, *alius* 4.138 (q.v.), 6.436, 7.113, 10.150 and see KS 1.648, 655, HS 201, 207, 459.
SIT ‘= velit esse, as in phrases with tanti est (see on 3.54); the sense might be expressed by nemini vita tanti est ut sit ...’ Duff.

197 THYMELLE See on 1.36 and Reynolds CQ1 40, 1946, 82–3. The jealous husband (cf. 5.43, 6.278) played by the stupidus (cf. on 192 and SG 2.92 = 2.114, RE stupidus and Mimos 1748, Wiemken 179, Bonaria1 2 p. 236) was a stock role in the mime (Reynolds 82). ZELOTYPUS (on 6.278) THYMELLES ‘jealous husband of T.’ must be a theatrical phrase. COLLEGA (a sarcastic use; a noble might be expected to be collega consulis) may mean that he takes the part normally played by Corinthus (a company might include two stupidi; see RE and Wiemken l.c.), or that the plot allows for the appearance of two stupidi. The name Corinthus (or -ius; Thes. onom. s.v. 605,3), like Latinus (1.36, 6.44), indicates servile status (Gordon JRS 14, 1924, 99).

198 shows how present and past blur in Juvenal’s mind. In 193 he was thinking of the present day, now he has slipped back to Neronian times. The argument is a fortiori, cf. 2.65 and p. 30. Cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 1.9.12 quales in re p. principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives with Shackleton Bailey (vol. 1 p. 311).

CITHAROEDO PRINCIPE An oxymoron (cf. 148), in view of Roman contempt for lyre-players (Nepos 15.1.1–2.1). Cf. 230; Tac. Ann. 15.65 etc. MIMUS NO-BILIS is likewise an oxymoron, RE Mimos 1748; cf. Laberius ap. Macrobr. Sat. 2.7.3.

199 HAEC ULTRA (cf. 6.190) Tac. Ann. 14.20 quid superesse nisi ut ... , Sen. NQ 7.32.3 deinde in similar contexts.

LUDUS The gladiatorial school 6.82, 11.20. On free-born and noble gladiators see 11.8 (4.95); Balsdon1 290, SG 2.17 and 50 = 2.19 and 61, RE suppl. 3.774, Yavetz 128–9. See the list in Dio Cass. 61.17.4–5 (cf. on 191).

ILLIC in ludo; or perhaps ‘in that respect’, in illa re.

200–1 GRACCHUM 2.143–8. On the murmillones (6.81) see RE s.v., SG 4.176 = 4.264, Colin 364 (and for the word see Frei-Korsunsky 25). FALCE SUPINA refers to the sica, the short curved sword, of the Thraex (cf. Artemidorus 2.32), for whom cf. 6.257, RE s.v., SG 4.175 = 4.263. CLIPSEO is usually taken to refer to the secutor (SG I.c. 174 = 262, RE 2 A 2553); but it is odd to identify a gladiator as fighting with a defensive piece of equipment, and secutores carried a scutum, not a clipeus. Nis-bet’s (233) tentative ET would refer the whole line to the Thraex, and is probably correct. On these gladiators and their ||415|| weapons in general cf. Robert 65–8. In any case the point is that these gladiators would all have their faces covered by a helmet.

202 damnat et odit Ovid Tristia 3.1.8. But SED is an extraordinary use, not paralleled by 14.117, and the mention of his failure to hide his countenance in 203, elaborated in 204 sqq., is misplaced at this particular point because it fails to co-ordinate with movet ecce tridentem, which must be linked with 200–1. Housman transposed sed damnat et odit and movet ecce tridentem, but damnat followed in the next line by damnat et odit is unattractive. Nor will it solve the problems to
suppose *sed damnat* corrupt (one might think of e.g. *securus* or *ardenter*, cf. 9.96 *ardet et odit*). On the whole Hermann’s deletion is the best solution.

Gracchus is a *retiarius* (*SG* 4.171 = 4.260; Robert I.c. on 200); *tridentem* = *fuscinna* 2.143. *Retiarii* wore no helmet (Suet. *Claud.* 34, Val. Max. 1.7.8).

204 VIBRATA Usually one *vibrat telum manu*; perhaps we should read *librata*, cf. Sen. *Ag.* 900, [Quintil.] *Decl.* 1.10.


SPECTACULA The spectators’ seats (6.61) or the spectators themselves (11.193).

206 Cf. 2.144. AGNOSCENDUS ‘recognisable’, a use of the gerundive much developed in Silver Latin (*KS* 1.733, HS 371, Madvig on Cic. *De Fin.* 1.6, Naegelsbach §72 b 3).

207–10 A very obscure passage. The fundamental point is the identity of the *galerus*. Σ (who however also explains it to mean the cap; see below) interprets this of the shoulder-guard of the *retiarius* (6.O.11; *SG* 4.172 = 4.260, *RE* *retiarius* 691–2, Colin 358–60, figs. 2–8 and fig. B on p. 382), and he is followed by almost all editors. But this sense of the word is unattested elsewhere and quite unsuitable; we must look for a meaning with some relation to its ordinary use (cf. 6.120). Therefore I follow the interpretation put forward by Colin 357 and *Les Études Class.* 23, 1955, 409, after Ruperti and Owen *CR* 19, 1905, 354. Gracchus was a Salius (2.125–6), and the *galerus* is his high (*longus*) cap, technically called *pilleus* (*RE* *Salius* 1886, Wissowa 499 and 556 n. 4, Esdaile *JRS* 1, 1911, 213). Colin suggests that the Salii could not appear in public without their caps, like the flamen Dialis (who like the Salii was associated with *ancile* and *trabea*; Serv. *Aen.* 7.190) with his *galerus* and *apex*; this however is not attested elsewhere, and perhaps we should rather think of personal caprice by Gracchus. The *spira* will be the cord which fastened the *galerus* round the chin (cf. Festus 205 *offendix*); it can be clearly seen in Mattingly 1 pl. 3 no. 2, DS *Salius* p. 1021 fig. 6047 ||416 (for a caution against the common application of fig. 6046 to the Salii see Brandenburg 33–5). The noun agreeing with *aurea* and functioning as subject of *se porrigat* is *tunica*, not *spira*; so a comma after *porrigat* would be helpful. The whole emphasis of its clause is placed on *aurea*. The spectators can hardly believe their eyes when they recognize Gracchus, but are forced to do so by his official uniform; the *aurea tunica* is the *tunica picta* (Liv. 1.20.41) of the Salii, which may have had a gold stripe down the front or the like. Normally a *retiarius* would not wear a tunic (on 2.143, where Gracchus seems to wear an ordinary one). Then 209–210 is merely an exaggeration; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1.3.4 *ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi*. Housman’s idea that a tunic on a gladiator was a sign of depravity is in itself far-fetched and cannot be reconciled with the details of this passage.

OMNI ‘any’, as often in the ablative of comparison (4.14, 6.163, 10.232 and 303; *KS* 1.639); cf. also 3.38, 14.68.
Now Juvenal picks up 198. LIBERA ... SUFFRAGIA Livy 4.3.7.

Some of the Pisonian conspirators thought of making Seneca emperor (Tac. Ann. 15.65; cf. on 10.16).

The senate decreed punishment for Nero more maiorum (Suet. 49.2); Juvenal thinks not only this but even the usual punishment for parricide (because of his murder of Agrippina) inadequate. The Roman public had in fact envisaged this punishment, which consisted of being enclosed with animals in a sack and thrown into the sea; Suet. 45.2 tu culleum meruisti, cf. Dio 61.16.1. For it cf. 13.155–6, Modestinus Dig. 48.9.9, RE culleus 1747, Cloud ZRG 88, 1971, 26, Radin JRS 10, 1920, 119, Winterbottom index to Sen. Contr. p. 640 'sack', H. J. Rose Primitive Culture in Italy (1926) 183, RE suppl. 7.1611.21, 1614.56. Juvenal is the first source to mention the ape.

NON UNA See on 3.151, 6.218.

Orestes, with whom Nero was compared (Suet. 39.2; the speech of Vindex (cf. 222) in Dio 63.22.6, cf. 61.16.2; Philostr. Apollon. 4.38.3; [Lucian] Nero 10); though Orestes had an excuse (Philostr., [Lucian]). Orestes was a stock example of the rhetorical schools, Quintil. 3.11.4–6 (see the commentary of Adamietz, who quotes other examples), a passage which discusses the technical sense of causa 'motive', for which cf. also Quintil. 7.4.8 fortissimum est si crimen causa facti tue-mur, qualis est defensio Orestis; Cic. Parad. 24. Already Aristotle Rhet. 3.2.1405b22 points out that οἱ μητροφόντες can be considered also as οἱ πατρὸς ἀμύντωρ. For the excuse introduced by SED cf. 15.94.

DEIS i.e. Apollo, through the Delphic oracle, speaking in the name of Zeus (Aesch. Eum. 616 sqq., 797–8). [417]

CAESI ... POcULa The account of Hom. Od. 4.531 sqq., 10.410 sqq. and Sen. Ag. 875 sqq.

SED NEC The whole passage is framed after Hor. Serm. 2.3.131 sqq. (a modern parricide contrasted with Orestes, who however non Pyladen ferro violare ausus fecit sororem / Electran) and 210–14.

NEC ... AUT HS 522, KS 2.104.

If Juvenal intended an exact comparison, SPARTANI CONIUGII (= coniugis; HS 748), i.e. Hermione, will correspond to Octavia and ELECTRA to Antonia, the daughter of Claudius and Nero’s half-sister by his adoption (Suet. 35 however does not make plain the manner of her death). It is not likely that there is any reference to the death of Poppaea as a result of Nero’s casual brutality.

IUGULO Lucan 3.135 haud ... iugulo se polluet isto / nostra manus; cf. Weymann Glotta 9, 1918, 125. POLLUIT ėūlāvev; as the text stands the subject is ORESTES 220, not ILLE. But while Orestes following Agamemnonidae would not be surprising (cf. the passages of Vergil and Hor. Odes adduced on 120), its occurrence after ille and so late is odd. Weidner suggested Oresten, which gives the excellent joke that Orestes never performed the role of himself (as Nero did; Suet. 21).
ACONITA See on 1.158.

PROPINQUIUS Cf. Suet. 35.4. Apart from his attempt to poison Agrippina, Nero poisoned Britannicus and his aunt Domitia (PIR² D 171, RE no. 91; at least Dio 61.17 says so, though Suet. 34.5 disagrees about the manner of her death).


221 TROICA On this epic by Nero cf. SG 3.32 = 2.219, Schanz-Hosius 2 p. 428. For this whole passage see the introduction.

VERGINIUS in fact did not rebel against Nero, but in his interests subdued the attempt of Vindex to make Galba emperor, though on Nero’s death he did accept the succession of Galba. Yet even before that the part he played showed some ambiguity; see Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 9.19.

222 VINDEX is represented elsewhere as criticising both the fact of Nero’s singing (Dio. 63.22) and its quality (Suet. 41.1).

223 QUID (221) … QUOD Cf. Cic. Phil. 13.34 quid non aut probastis aut fe-

224 GENEROSI A thematic word, cf. 30; his gens before his adoption was the Domitia. ||[418]

225 FOEDO Not a reference to his allegedly poor voice, but to the disgrace of his behaviour; cf. 183, foedum studium Tac. Ann. 14.14; Nepos 15.1.2 scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona.

PEREGRINA AD PULPITA On his Greek tour in 66–7.

226 PROSTITUI Ovid Am. 1.15.6 ingrato vocem prostitutisse foro.

GRAIAE See on 11.100.

APIUM When Dio 62.9.3 among Nero’s prizes lists celery and pine, by the former he means the Nemean and by the latter the Isthmian games. But Corinthian coins under Nero show the celery (B.M. Catalogue of Greek Coins, 12 Corinth (1889) no. 564), and Juvenal is probably thinking of both Nemea and Isthmia. In the first century the prehistoric prize of pine at the Isthmia (RE s.v. 2253, Bronner AJA 66, 1962, 260; cf. Pliny NH 15.36) had been revived, and apparently ran concurrently with the celery for some time.

227–30 228–9 refer to his performance of tragic scenes, 230 to his singing to the lyre. With EFFIGIES Juvenal returns to the symbol of ancestral statues which started the poem. The INSIGNIA VOCIS are implicitly contrasted with the insignia of triumphs etc. (Suet. 1.2) which the gens had won; cf. the insignia of the charioteer Diocles, SG 4.155.12 = 4.186.12 (CIL 6.2.10048). The statue may be either of L. Domitius, the shadowy ancestor of the family (Suet. 1.1; cf. Syme JRS 60, 1970, 33), or of Nero’s father Cn. Domitius, to whom he is known to have erected one (Tac. Ann. 13.10).
TU Combined with an ironical imperative, cf. 7.229.

SYRMA 15.30 and RE s.v.; the long trailing robe of tragic actors. The word appears in Latin (Afran. 64; Valerius in Ribbeck Scaen. Rom. Fr. 2 p. 367) much earlier than in Greek (LSJ s.v. I 1). Nero’s performance of Thyestes is mentioned Dio 63.9.4 and 22.6.

PERSONAM Suet. 21.3 tragoedias cantavit personatus; Dio 63.9.4–5.

MELANIPPE was the heroine of two plays by Euripides. The corruption in PF Σ Mico is perhaps due to the influence of texts of Statius, who mentions the Melanippus who killed Tydeus; his name is everywhere corrupted in all mss. of Statius (and evidently of Lactantius Placidus too) to Menalippus.

229 SEU For this Knoche Hermes 63, 1928, 348 compares sive ... vel 11.28–9; but that is quite different, and since the word has poor authority it is likely to be an interpolation. Aut is better, but the omission in P Mico suggests a deeper corruption. Heinrich in fact defended tu, with a comma before it; but this is rather awkward in itself, and as Housman pointed out Antigone is probably to be associated with the mask (so that, with either seu or aut, personam will be placed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). Perhaps we should read syrma <aut> Antigones | [419] personam <vel> Melanippes; in that case vel (due to Bücheler) dropped out before mel-, was noted as a marginal correction, and was then referred to the wrong place.

230 Juvenal is not referring directly to Nero’s Colossus since that was of bronze, but he was doubtless indirectly influenced by it in his choice of the word. Suet. 12.3 says that he dedicated his coronam citharae at the statue of Augustus, Syncellus p. 162c that he dedicated his lyre itself by the golden statue of Apollo in Delphi. For the sting in CITHARAM cf. 198.

231 CATILINÁ 2.27, 10.288, 14.41; he belonged to the patrician Sergii, who traced their descent from Troy (Verg. Aen. 5.121). CETHEGUS 2.27, 10.287; a Cornelius, also patrician. Cf. Cornelius Severus ap. Sen. Suas. 6.26.6–7 patriciumque nefas extinctum; poena Cethegi / deiectusque redit votis Catilina nefandis.

NATALIBUS ‘lineage’, a Silver usage.

234 bracae were the dress of the Gauls of Gallia Bracata, the old name for Narbonensis (Thes. 2.2155.68, Holder s.v. bracatus). The SENONES who sacked Rome in 390 BC in fact belonged to Gallia Comata. For MINORES with the genitive cf. 2.145; here we are meant to think of such epic phrases as νῦς Ἀχαιῶν.

235 TUNICA MOLESTA Mart. 10.25.5–6; a grim euphemism for the inflammable coating applied to those who were to be burnt alive (cf. Tac. Ann. 15.44); described in detail Sen. Ep. 14.5, cf. Juv. 1.155, SG 2.73 = 2.91. On the principle of talio, crematio (RE s.v. and vivicomburium; Mommsen 2 923, Garnsey 125) was one of the punishments for arson (cf. 233).

236 VIGILAT So Cicero himself boasted (In Cat. 1.8); in both places the literal and metaphorical senses blend (noctem Cicero, nocturna Juvenal). Vigilantia is a standing attribute of consuls.
VEXILLA 'bands' serving under a vexillum.

IGNOBILIS and NOVUS are identical in meaning. [Sall.] In Cic. 3.4 calls him homo novus Arpinas; Tac. Ann. 3.55 refers to novi homines e municipiis. Both MUNICIPALIS and EQUES carry a sting; he was not of senatorial family (Pro Muren. 17 etc.) and not even from Rome (Pro Sulla 22–3, Phil. 3.15 etc.). Municipalis is often used contemptuously; 3.34, Tac. Ann. 4.3.4 municipalis adulter (see Koestermann), SG 1.104–5 = 1.113–14.

GALEATUM 1.169; the helmet, as may be seen on some of the reliefs of Trajan’s column, was carried and not put on until the enemy was in sight (Caes. BG 2.21.5; Bell. Afr. 12.3 with the verb galeare). Cicero’s men are the Roman soldiers, the Catilinarians hostes (the very point on which their execution turned).

PRAESIDIUM meis praesidiis Cic. In Cat. 1.7 etc. ||

ATTONITIS The terrified (4.77) citizens; or perhaps merely 'bewildered' (Sall. Cat. 31.1–3).

MONTE Cf. 2.74.

TOGA The garb of peace (10.8, Cic. De Or. 3.167); cedant arma togae. Pliny NH 7.117 primus in toga triumphum … merite. Cicero himself makes much of the point (In Cat. 2.28; W. Drumann–P. Groebe Gesch. Roms (1899) 5.512 n. 7).

IN This has not been plausibly emended.

LEUCADE An island or peninsula (since the channel periodically silted up) 30 miles south of Actium, but often spoken of as the site of the battle (e.g. Verg. Aen. 8.677, Prop. 3.11.69, Lucan passim).

THESSALIAE CAMPIS After Verg. Georg. 1.489 (whatever the exact interpretation of that passage) the poets (and even the rhetorical historian Florus 2.17.6) often confuse Pharsalia in Thessaly with Philippi in Macedonia, usually for an artistic effect absent here; see RE Philippoi 2227, Postgate on Lucan 7.872, F. M. Ahl Lucan (1976) 314.

OCTAVIUS Juvenal, who puts him in an unfavourable light, avoids the honorific name Augustus.

LIBERA While still free, i.e. republican; cf. p. 22.

Cicero was hailed as pater patriae by Catulus in the senate and by Cato in the popular assembly, Augustus was given the title in 2 B.C. (Weinstock 200 sqq., Béranger 276, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 2.127, Alföldi Mus. Helv. 10, 1953, 104 and 114). The comparison between Cicero and the imperial title is made by Appian BC 2.7.

ARPINAS ALIUS Marius, who was in fact distantly related to Cicero (RE Tullius 827, T. F. Carney Biography of C. Marius (1962) 8); for a remark about two saviours of the state from the same municipium see Cic. De Leg. 2.6.

VOLSCORUM A tough warrior race; IN MONTE also implies toughness (2.74, 11.89), a peasant wrestling with barren soil.

MERCEDES He was a mercenarius (Blümner 550 and 605 n. 9, White1 347 and 352–3); arator Arpinas Pliny NH 33.150. But in fact these stories of his humble
origin (Carney 8–9, RE suppl. 6.1367–8, J. van Ooteghem *Caius Marius* (1964) 59) and service in the ranks (Carney 15, *RE* 1370, van Ooteghem 72–3) are probably merely rhetorical inventions (cf. 10.130).


FRANGEBAT Passively, as 6.479 (not as 136 above and Tac. *Ann.* 1.23 *fracta vite in tergo militis*); VERTICE his own head.

248 DOLABRA See *RE* s.v., White2 61. [421]

249 RERUM ‘of the state’ cf. 90 and Naegelsbach §19.1.

250 EXCIPIT A zeugma; with *Cimbros* it means that he sustained their attack, with *pericula* he took the dangers on his shoulders.

251 A hendiadys, meaning in effect *stratos Cimbros*. For the repetition of *Cimbros* from 249 cf. on 16.9–10; Prof. Nisbet suggests *cumulos* with a different hendiadys, *cumulos stragis*, cf. Claudian 1.110 *crescunt in cumulum strages*.


254 ANIMAE Cf. on 6.0.13; Verg. *Aen.* 6.817–24 *animamque superbam ultoris Bruti … saevasque securis* (cf. Juv. 262–8) … *poenam … quin Decios*. Decii (14.239) devoted themselves in 340 B.C. in battle against the Latins at Veseris (*RE* no. 15, Broughton 1.135) and in 295 at Sentinum against the Samnites and Gauls (*RE* no. 16, Broughton 1.177); Cicero is alone in mentioning a third devotion at Asculum in 279 against Pyrrhus (*RE* no. 17, Broughton 1.192), though Dio says that one was attempted then. Thus in this plebeian instance the son is not degenerate from the father, unlike the sons of Brutus. Livy 8.9.8 professes (though see Latte 5 n. 1) to give the formula *pro re p. Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis … dis manibus Tellurique* (8.6.10 *dis manibus matrice Terrae*). See Wissowa 384, *RE* devotio, Latte 125 and 204; for DIS … PARENTI Wissowa 239 and 194; *RE* *Terra Mater* 802; *Kl. Pauly, Tellus* 574.45. In Livy’s formula (of 340 B.C.) *auxiliis* refers to the Samnite allies; Juvenal has embroidered this to make 256 a paraphrase of the common combination *sociis et Latino nomine*. This however is hardly happy since the occasion was a *defectio sociorum nominisque Latini* (Livy 8.3.8).

255 TOTIS eventually develops into a synonym of *omnis* and indeed displaces it (cf. French ‘tout’). But most seeming instances in classical Latin, such as this and 6.61, are intelligible in the proper sense; * legionibus* is treated as a collective, undifferentiated mass (= *toto exercitu*), not as a number of separate units. Cf. HS 203, Shackleton Bailey on 1.16.38, Wölfflin *Rh. Mus.* 37, 1882, 107–9 and e.g. Livy
‘Some of the verses which I mark as spurious are correct explanations or summaries of what Juvenal is saying, but no more suited for insertion into J’s discourse than a Livian periocha is suited for insertion into a book of Livy ... At 8.258, when J. has said in [422] three lines of vigorous rhetoric what he wants to say ... there follows in the text what was meant for the margin, a curt matter-of-fact comment or paraphrase’ Housman xxxii. Moreover QUAE is curious; it would most naturally signify the Roman state (and so Σ takes it), but must be intended to mean *legiones et auxilia atque pubes*, for which *qui* would be natural.

259 Servius Tullius, cf. 7.199.

TRABEAM Cf. 10.35; *RE* s.v. 1861, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 6.375, Frazer on 1.37, Gabelmann *Jahrh. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 92, 1977, 329. Verg. *Aen*. 7.612 Quirinali *trabea* (and often associated with Romulus, see Fordyce on *Aen*. 7.187–8); Pliny *NH* 8.195 *trabeis usos accipio reges* (cf. 9.136); Livy 1.41.6 *Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodiit* (see Ogilvie). The regal *trabea* was a short toga coloured white and purple.

DIADEMA The mark of kingship, cf. 13.39 and 105, *RE* s.v., Alfoldi 263 = Röm. *Mitteil.* 50, 1935, 145. Lydus *De Mag.* 1.7 gives a στέφανος to Romulus, and H. W. Ritter *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (1965) 13 n. 2 lists republican coins on which Numa and Ancus Marcius wear the diadem (this seems to be the basis of Alfoldi’s assertion that the Capitoline statues of the kings had it).

QUIRINI i.e. Romuli (cf. 2.133, 3.67, 11.105); Servius is represented as a come-down from him, Livy 1.40.2–3.


ULTIMUS Livy 1.48.8.

261–2 IUVENES CONSULIS i.e. *filii* (on 3.158) *Bruti*.

LAXABANT Conative.

EXULIBUS The noun (see index s.v.) is used adjectivally.

ET English would not add a conjunction. Here it is harsher than at 5.54, 6.399, 7.211, 14.52–3 because the reason why they should have been champions of liberty is the very fact that they were the sons of Brutus.

DECERET For the tense see on 4.85.

264–5 Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola and Cloelia, all associated with the war against Porsena and often linked with each other (Livy 2.13.8, Verg. *Aen*. 8.650–1).

265 Territory on the right bank of the river had to be surrendered to Porsena (Livy 2.13.4). It is a point of pride to Roman writers to insist on the narrow boundaries of early Rome (cf. 14.160); the Tiber was a very different frontier from the rivers of 169–70.

TIBERINUM i.e. *Tiberim*; *RE* 784 and Kl. *Pauly* s.v., Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 4.47,
Wagenvoort 120 n. 2. The river-god represents the river.

NATAVIT Transitive (KS 1.263). ||423|

It would be better to punctuate with a colon after 265 and a comma in 267.

266 The slave Vindicius (linked with Servius by Sen. Contr. 3.9.2) revealed the conspiracy of the sons of Brutus (cf. Ogilvie l.c. p. 241); Juvenal thinks that he deserved a year’s mourning (LUGENDUS = qui lugeri debuit) by the matrons of Rome no less than Brutus (Livy 2.7.4).

CRIMINA ‘crimes’ as OCCULTA shows (on 1.75).

267–8 virgis caedunt securique feriunt Livy 2.5.8.

LEGUM vōmōi are the antithesis of τυραννίς, and denote constitutional as opposed to arbitrary regal power; Livy 2.1.1 (see Ogilvie), Lucan 7.441, Tac. Ann. 3.26.3, Cic. De Leg. Agr. 3.5, Sen. Ep. 90.6 and (the elder?) ap. Lactant. Inst. Div. 7.15.14.

270 The contrast between Achilles and Thersites 11.30–1.

VOLCANIA ARMA Cic. Tusc. 2.33 (and Verg. Aen. 8.535, 12.739); so P’s Vulcanique (Volcani G) is not acceptable. Juvenal is thinking of Achilles at Iliad 19.18 sqq. For ARMA CAPESSERE see Thes. 3.310.28.

271 PRODUCAT ‘beget’ as 6.241, 14.228.

272 ‘ordo est et, ut longe repetas, tamen deducis; vide 10.240 sq., 13.100. hoc loco tamen ante ut positum est, ut saepius ante quamvis, saepissime ante etsi … ’ Housman. Cf. also on 2.115, Housman on Lucan 1.333, KS 2.98.

REVOLVAS Sen. Contr. 1.6.4 (see the whole context quoted in the introduction), Ovid Fasti 4.29; perhaps a metaphor from rolling back a scroll.

LONGE Cf. 13.207.


275 PASTOR 2.127.

ILLUD … NOLO Cf. Prop. 3.6.22 qualem dicere nolo = scortum; literally ne-fan-dum. Juvenal pointedly avoids the word fur or latro, neither of which should be applicable to an aspiring provincial governor like Ponticus; but perhaps we should not suppose that Juvenal is specifically thinking of Ponticus.
Satire Nine

This is Juvenal’s only satire in dialogue-form (see p. 31), which is chosen because of the scope which it offers for irony; the urbane politeness of the interlocutors to each other reminds us of a Platonic dialogue. Juvenal does not make an overt attack on Naevolus, but represents himself as a detached listener who pretends to sympathise with him. The enormity of Naevolus’ profession is emphasised by the coolness with which it is taken for granted. The poem shows Juvenal passing to a new stylistic phase, from the indignatio of the earlier satires to the cooler manner of Book IV characterised more by Democritean laughter; this is not to say that his moral indignation has decreased, but that he has here found a different way of expressing it, one that is all the more effective because seemingly dispassionate. This poem lacks the dramatic vividness of Three and the sombre elevation of Ten, but in respect of literary artistry it is Juvenal’s masterpiece.

In appearance it is an attack on an unnamed passive pervert (like most of those assailed in Two) for his meanness to his client (59 and 72) Naevolus, a bisexual gigolo (like those mentioned by Clement of Alexandria quoted on 2.17), who complains of his treatment. It looks then like another assault on the miseries and humiliations of client life from a different side to that treated in Five. This impression is not entirely false, and generalised bitterness at such patrons breaks through (48–9) even where it is not wholly appropriate. Juvenal has also specifically recalled Five by mentioning Virro (35) as an example of lust (note that he is no more than this; it is quite unwarranted, with most editors and e.g. Hight ch. 17, to identify Naevolus’ patron with Virro). Likewise the mercenary attitude shown in 38–42 picks up 5.13–15; but the contrast with the literary form and vehement style of that poem is striking. The present attack however is double-edged; in fact the main point of the poem is Naevolus’ unwitting revelation of his own true character. Juvenal meets Naevolus in the street and begins with a common conversational gambit (see on 1–2). But the comparison of Naevolus with Marsyas, typical of the attitude of amused banter which Juvenal adopts, shows that, in spite of his seeming concern, he does not take Naevolus quite seriously,
and the following lines (3–5) with their startling obscenity definitely set the tone of the poem. Naevolus, formerly so trim, is now unkempt; here too an apparent expression of sympathy carries a barbed gibe at his former dandyism. He must have changed his way of life, which had been that of a notorious lover—not only of women, but also (26) of men. So, with an arresting gross colloquialism (inclinare), the real character of Naevolus suddenly comes into the open in the last line of the introductory speech, whereas until now words suggesting serious standards of ethics have been applied to him (propositum 21 cf. 10.325, modico contentus 9, animi tormenta 8).

Naevolus in his reply indicates that he has not changed his way of life, but has fallen on hard days. He represents himself as all wounded innocence, and shows no trace of moral sensibility about his profession, in which he does not see anything remarkable; it is just a job like any other (ET hoc 27), but laborious (42 labores, 59 exhausti, 76 tota vix) and unpleasant (43–7). He has taken it up not because he gets any pleasure from it (he regards himself as an instrument, a bipes asellus 92, not as a human being), but as a means of living (136) and an investment (damnum temporis et spes deceptas 125–6). What concerns him is not sex but money; his first word is utile (27), and his first complaint (27–8) is that the rewards do not correspond to services rendered. He fears destitution, but shows the snobbish attitude typical of many of his social standing (see on 10; one slave is not enough 66) in the same position at Rome (cf. introduction to Three and 3.21 sqq.). The banausic answer of actually working for a living does not occur to him; prosperity at Rome can only come from hanging on to other (139 figam, a naked word). Many others prosper from this way of life (27; cf. the picture of Rome in 130 sqq., from which the reader will understand how Naevolus can regard his profession in such a matter-of-fact way); he exonerates himself for his own failure by concluding that it can only be due to fate (32; cf. 135–6; he is infelix). With this Stoic ‘touch’ (see on 32) he elevates his misfortune to a cosmic context, and thus shows a ridiculous self-importance which is accentuated by his application of Homeric allusions (37, 64–5, 149–50) to his situation. Yet, even if miserly effeminates are sent by destiny (tamen 38), they are abominable. They reckon up every penny, which to a Roman would be a sign of an illiberalis animus; adopting their methods Naevolus shows that even so he is underpaid. But he obviously finds cash ungentlemanly; he would prefer the present of a little estate in return for the gifts which he himself sends (50–3) to his patron. Moreover the patron, in spite of his promises (74, cf. perfide 82), has forgotten to count or has undervalued Naevolus’ services in making him a father (Naevolus showed a becoming reluctance to do this, 73, though this reluctance has now gone, 90); and this is not the only case passed over by the patron (70). Instead of commercial calculations (70–1) Naevolus would prefer a more gentlemanly manner of requital, one more conformable to the traditional client-patron relationship, gratia (82; of course this
may take concrete form) for a *meritum*.

Juvenal admits that Naevolus’ resentment seems to be justified, but, feeling that the picture presented has been one-sided, asks what defence the patron puts up. The answer is ‘none’; he just ignores Naevolus and is now looking for someone else instead. But now (93) Naevolus suddenly realises that he has been indiscreet, and asks Juvenal to keep all this dark. A rich man has no secrets, replies Juvenal; slaves disclose them all. Indeed one of the chief reasons for living a good life, which of course one ought to do, is to avoid the gossip of slaves (one can think of nobler reasons; the irony is obvious). Juvenal is here delicately pointing out to Naevolus that in fact he has been betraying his patron’s secrets, and although he resents his patron’s suspicions on these grounds (96–7) they are in fact justified (contrast 3.49–57). But Naevolus is too self-righteous to catch the hint, and answers that this advice is too general to help him (quite correctly; it has little relevance to a poor man with only one slave, cf. 64); evidently he sees no contradiction between *recte vivere* and his own life. He wants some specific advice (125), for time is passing and he is getting old. This thought is expressed in terms of elevated and affecting pathos with delicate imagery, all of which would be appropriate to an irreproachable and sympathetic character; the fact that Naevolus, like Acanthis in Propertius (l.c. on 126–8), sees nothing incongruous in such language issuing from his mouth shows how insensitive he is to his moral degradation. Nevertheless Juvenal’s general presentation suggests that he does not lack a certain genuine compassion for Naevolus; moral condemnation need not be one-sided and preclude pity.

Juvenal answers, though in ironical tones, that Naevolus may yet, like some others (see on 133–4a), attain riches. Naevolus declares that he will be content with a modest prosperity, fit reward for his simple piety to his Lares (an affecting picture—if it came from rustic Phidyle); but he stipulates not too modest a reward (see on 147). Yet even this cannot be hoped for; Fortune is deaf to his Siren song (see on 150).
Unlike Juvenal’s, a passive one, and employs it several times for men introduced in other characters.

Fronte obducta Hor. Epode 13.5.

Marsyas victus Cf. the famous statue preserved in many copies and illustrated e.g. by M. Bieber Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age 2 (1961) figs. 438–40. As a Satyr or Silenus, Marsyas was necessarily lustful.

3–4 Deprensus dum go together.

Barba (cf. on 4.103) Aristoph. Knights 1286 μολύνων τὴν ὑπήνην; Lucian Pseudol. 31.

Ravola The name is formed like Scaevola.

Rhodope is a name associated with disreputable women (Bömer on Ovid Met. 6.87).

5 This line looks most unlike an interpolation. Weidner Wochenschr. Kl. Phil. 4, 1887, 463 punctuated ... barba, nos ... servo? so that 5 is attached in asyndeton as another dum-clause, and Housman ||1428|| explains this nos, qui inrupimus, Ravolae colaphum incutimus tamquam servo crustula lambenti; for the identification where a comparison might be expected see on 126–8. This seems to be right (though perhaps incutimus is not quite so natural a present as terit), and it is not necessary to place a lacuna after 4 with Ruperti. Lambere is wittily used both of slaves who lick the morsels (Lucil. 585 iucundasque puer qui lamberat ore placenta; Hor. Serm. 2.4.79, 2.6.109) and in the obscene sense (2.49; cf. Henderson 167 n. 75 and 186). Rhodope is presumably a courtesan on whom nos have proprietary rights.

Colaphum-incutimus Ter. Ad. 200 colaphos infregit mihi.

6 Erit ‘will be found to be’ cf. 2.47. There is a kind of comparatio compendiaria, so that in effect Crepereius = facies Crepereii. This man, mentioned 11.43 as the victim of moneylenders, is prepared to pay three times the maximum (G. Billeter Gesch. des Zin zfusses (1898) 266; Pliny Ep. 9.28.5 is joking) legitimate rate of interest, 36 per cent per annum instead of 12 per cent (1 per cent per month); cf. 60 per cent in similar circumstances Hor. Serm. 1.2.14. On interest rates cf. on 140–1; RSV 2.60, RE fenus 2197; Blümner 1 650; Reece G & R 16, 1969, 37–8. This passage is discussed by Billeter 234–5.

9 certe With the imperfect 6.28.

Modico contentus Cf. 139 sqq.; Thes. modicus 1234.8; c. parvo Hor. Serm. 2.2.110.

10 Vernam equitem He was as witty as a verna (Marquardt 167 n. 3, Blümner 1 288 n. 8; e.g. Sen. Dial. 2.11.3), but without abandoning the dignity of his rank; cf. Petron. 24.2, Tac. Hist. 2.88.2 urbanitas vernacula (see on 11). Martial’s Naevolus either was not an eques or his property had fallen below the equestrian census (3.95.10), cf. on 140. Perhaps Juvenal is also contrasting him with the foreign equites (7.14), who lack the true urbanitas (11). For verna = native cf. Mart.
3.1.5–6, where it is equated with *domina qui natus in urbe est* and contrasted with *Gallus* (see also 10.76.4, 13.43.2) and on 1.26; on the other hand cf. Mart. 1.41.1–2 *urbanus tibi, Caecili, videris. / non es, crede mihi. quid ergo? verna.*

CONVIVA (i.e. παράσιτος) … FACETUS Like Calliodorus, Mart. 6.44; Cic. Pro Cael. 67 in convivis faceti.

11 A paraphrase of *urbanitas,* Cic. Ad Fam. 9.15.2 *urbani sales* (cf. De Or. 2.231), *vernacula festivitas* (contrasted with the wit of foreigners, cf. on 10), Brut. 172 *sapor vernaculus.* Domitius Marsus declared it *propriam esse nostrae civitatis* (Quintil. 6.3.103) and defined the *urbanus* after Cato as *qui in … conviviis … ridicule commodeque dicet* (ibid. 105). In general see De Saint-Denis Latomus 3, 1939, 5 = Essais sur le Rire (1965) 145; Ramage AJP 84, 1963, 390. ||[429]

12 SICCAE Not nomadized, Mart. 10.72.11; Theocr. 14.4 ἀυσταλέοι κίκιννοι; Julian Anth. Plan. 113.4 χαίτην αὐσταλέην.

13 nitidum bene curata cute Hor. Epist. 1.4.15; cutis nitorem Pliny NH 31.84.

14 VISCI normally means mistletoe or birdlime made from it, but here is applied to another viscous substance, pitch (*pix viscosa* Marcell. Med. 16.67); that from Bruttium, then as now covered with thick pine-forests, was famous (*RE Pech* 4.14, *Bruttium* 910.18; *Thes.* 2.2214.3, Blümner2 2.353 n. 4, e.g. Lucian Alex. 21). Pitch and resin were used as depilatories (see on 8.114), whence πισσόω, πισσοκόπεω and their derivatives. BRUTTIA is a transferred epithet.

15 FRUTICANTE Cf. *silva* 13; CRURA cf. on 8.115.

16 AEGRI acts as a noun, cf. 3.232 and index adjectives.

17 TORRET ‘has been torturing’, the present as with *iamdiu* etc.

TEMPORE LONGO In conformity with a general linguistic trend, the short word *diu* tended to disappear in favour of various periphrases (Löfstedt 2.41–2, Wölfllin 177); the one which we have here (cf. 11.152) is the ancestor of French longtemps. The ablative of ‘time during which’ is common in Juvenal, e.g. 6.474, 10.239.

QUARTA DIES See on 4.57.

DOMESTICA Cf. 15.64; *Febris* lived with Claudius for years, Sen. Apoc. 6.

18–20 Lucil. 638 *animo qui aegrotat, videmus corpore hunc signum dare;* cf. Otto *frons* 1 and Nachträge 40, 237; Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 128.

DEPRENDAS Anybody, not just Naevolus who is being addressed.

22–4 Temples were common places of assignation, especially those frequented by women (Herter 86 nn. 296–7, *SG* 1.257 = 1.304, Mayor on Tertull. *Apol.* 15 p. 248, where correct one reference to Ovid Trist. 2.287). The temple of Isis is often mentioned in this connection, rightly or wrongly (6.489, Mart. 11.47.4 and the elegists; Jordan–Hülsen 1.3.567, S. K. Heyob The Cult of Isis among Women (1975) 111); for this temple see on 6.529.
GANYMEDEM PACIS The temple of Pax built by Vespasian (Weinstock JRS 50, 1960, 51; Platner–Ashby 386, Lugli 3 (1955) 173 and Roma Antica, Il Centro Monumentale (1946) 269, Nash 1.439, Colini Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom. 65, 1937, 7 sqq., esp. 10; RE Pax 1435) was elaborately adorned with works of art, including evidently this statue of Ganymede. Temples in the ancient world often performed the functions of modern museums and art-galleries (e.g. that at Petron. 90.1; SG 1.369 = 1.448, Casson2 238, D. E. Strong in Archaeological Theory and Practice, Essays presented to W. F. Grimes (ed. ||[430] Strong, 1973) 247). The base of a statue of Ganymede by Leochares (RE s.v. 1994, Pliny NH 34.79) was found in Rome (IG 14.1253; C. Picard Manuel d’Archéologie Grecque, La Sculpture 4 (1954) 823), though not evidently near the site of the temple of Pax.

23 For female enthusiasm for the cult of the Mater Magna (Matris would be better for a capital) see e.g. [Lucian] Amores 42 and on 6.511; on her temple on the Palatine see Platner–Ashby 324, Lugli 8 (1962) 88 sqq. and Roma Antica, Il Centro Monumentale (1946) 431, RE Palatium 36; Romanelli Monum. Ant. 46, 1963, 201 and in Hommages à J. Bayet (1964) 619.

ADVECTAE Almost a technical term in this connection, e.g. Livy 29.10.5; cf. on 3.137.

SECRETAE This word has not been satisfactorily explained; plainly unsatisfactory explanations are given e.g. by Wissowa in Friedlaender and by Ziegler in RE Palatium 11. Lubinus proposed sacrata, cf. Ovid AA 3.389 sacrata Palatia Phoeb, Catull. 55.5.

24 Ceres is a particularly chaste goddess (casta Ceres Stat. Silv. 4.3.11 and restored on Ann. Epigr. 1953 no. 48; cf. Vitruv. 1.7.2), and therefore adultery in her temple was the more reprehensible. She was especially worshipped by women (see on 6.50 and H. le Bonniec Le Culte de Cérès (1958) 388), who were initiated in her rites (le Bonniec 423).


QUO NON TEMPO Cf. 6.345.

25 NOTIOR Cf. 6.42. Elsewhere Juvenal uses adulter in the nominative and keeps moechus for the oblique cases, adūltěrī etc. being metrically intractable. He has moecha also in the nominative at 2.68 (contrast 6.278, 14.25–6).

CELEBRARE scelerare (P) would be inconsistent with the urbanity of Juvenal’s address to Naevolus.

26 INCLINARE Cf. 10.224, CIL 4.5406 = CEL 356 and incurrare Mart. 11.43.5; see Gow on Theocr. 5.43.

27 ET HOC As well as more honourable kinds.

VITAE GENUS βίος; cf. 3.228.
NULLUM OPERAE PRETIIUM Cf. 12.127.

28–31 LACERNAE could be worn over the toga (cf. 16.45, RE s.v. 328.45, Marquardt 568, Blümner² 215, Wilson 117 sqq., Kolb Röm. Mitt. 80, 1973, 116) and were a common present from patron to client (Pers. 1.54, Mart. 6.82.9–12, 7.92.7–8); but these ones were of [[131] poor quality, like many Gallic fabrics (Mart. 4.19.1 Séquanicae pinguing textricis alumnam, 6.11.7 me pinguis Gallia vestit). On the Gallic textile industry see RE Gallia 648 and Industrie 1479, ES 3.586, Blümner³ 137 and 142–3, Charlesworth 195; C. Jullian Hist. de la Gaule 5 (1920) 238, P. M. Duval La Vie Quotidienne en Gaule (1952) 163 and 350; and on 6.537, 8.144.

COLORIS The epithets (crassae lacernae Mart. 8.58.1; for duri cf. 3.170) show that this must mean ‘type, quality’ in a general sense; but none of the examples quoted in Thes. s.v. 1720.73 sqq. is close to this passage. For the combination of the genitive of quality with an adjective (PINGUES) cf. on 3.4.

PERCUSSAS PECTINE To make the fabric close-woven; cf. Blümner² 1.158–9.

31 ARGENTUM Silver plate, as often (on 1.76); this too was a common present (Mart. 5.19.11, 8.71, 10.14.8, 10.57, 11.105).

32 fata regunt orbem Manil. 4.14; Naevolus resorts to Stoicism to explain his ill luck, though in 148 he calls upon Fortuna, more appropriate in that context. See however on 7.197.

33 SINUS Cf. Petron. 24.7, Sen. Exc. Contr. 4 pr. 11 inter pueriles condiscipulorum sinus lasciva manu obscena lusisti. On the folds of the toga (RE s.v. 1656.8, Marquardt 557–60) the locus classicus is Quintil. 11.3.137; they became much longer and more flowing under the Empire.

SIDERA Cf. 7.195.

34 FACIET i.e. proderit, cf. 8.1.

INCOGNITA ‘unprecedented’ as nunquam visa 12.74 and often invisitatus.

MENSURA 1.41 and Priapea 80.3; also Seneca quoted on 35.

NERVI 10.205; Rosenbaum 388; LSJ νεῦρον v.

35 VIRRO The name, which appears also in Five, seems to be known only from the Augustan S. Vibidius Virro (Syme JRS 39, 1949, 17 = Syme³ 76).

NUDUM VIDERIT In the baths 6.374 (11.156), Sen. NQ 1.16.2–3 Hostius Quadra ... in omnibus quidem balineis ... aperta mensura legebant viros (see the preceding context), Petron. 92, Mart. 1.96.10–13 (nec otiosis mentulam videt labris) and Citroni on 1.23, SHA 17.8.6.

36 TABELLÆ Cf. 6.233, 14.29.

37 A parody of Hom. Od. 16.294, 19.13 (… ἄνδρα σίδηρος), a well-known verse translated by Val. Fl. 5.541 and referred to by Tertull. De Pallio 4 as if proverbial; Juvenal’s alteration underlines degeneracy from manliness to effeminacy.

38 ULTERIUS Cf. 2.34, 15.118; MOLLIS AVARUS cf. on 2.9 and 47.

40–1 TABULA The abacus; Petron. 80.9 calculus in tabula ||[143] mobile ducit opus. CALCULUM PONERE is common (Thes. calculus 143.14).
PUERI Slaves to perform the calculations, calculatores (CIL 14.472 = ILS 7755); cf. the relief partly illustrated by DS abacus p. 3 fig. 4.

NUMERA Now Naevolus addresses the mollis avarus.

42 OMNIBUS IN REBUS 'all told'.

43 TAM FACILE ET PRONUM EST 13.75. AGERE … PENEM Priapea 25.6 hoc sceptrum … intra viscera furis itib usque. 44 LEGITIMUM Of proper size.

HESTERNAE OCCURRENCE CNAE Parallels are quoted by Buchheit Hermes 90, 1962, 255 and Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum (1962) 144 (but Priapea 69 probably has a slightly different point), Henderson 193 (add Aristoph. Eccl. 316–17, Lys. 1174). Mart. 11.88 and 13.26 hint at the same point; cf. also Arnob. 4.7 lutes voluptates and CIL 10.4483 = E. Diehl Pompeian. Wandschr. (1910) 508.

45–6 FODERIT … DOMINUM Cf. Plaut. Cas. 455, Mart. 1.92.11–12, Priapea 52.8, Henderson 168; cf. 2.10 fossa. AGRUM FODERE is hard work, 11.80. A semicolon should be placed after DOMINUM. The line implies that the male prostitute is a servus.

46–7 The patron piles every laudatory epithet on himself. He thought himself a Ganymede (the archetypal catamitus, a word derived from this name; cf. 5.59 and RE s.v. 741.66 sqq.) though he was old and ugly. According to Suidas s.v. Θύμωρις Zeus and Ganymede were the first instance of homosexual love.

CYATHO Cf. 13.44.

48–9 are not strictly relevant to the train of thought at this point, but they cannot be removed since then the proximity of tu in 46 and 50 with different references would be intolerable, and there is a contrast between the presents not received by the client (48–9) and those sent by him (50 sqq.). A spasm of anger at the treatment of poor clients by patrons has caused the introduction of 48–9.

VOS o molles avari; see index pronouns.

CULTORI Cf. colis 7.37.

MORBO Cf. on 2.16; Naevolus has a cheek to call it this, and evidently despises those on whom he preys.

50 EN Cf. on 2.72; TU cf. on 2.61.

UMBELLAM See RE and DS s.v., RE and Kl. Pauly s.v. Schirm, Blümner1 266, Marquardt 148 n. 4, Diez Jahreshefte des Öst. Arch. Inst. 41, 1954, Beibl. 123. Naturally this was usually employed in the ancient world as a sunshade, and this seems to be the only mention of its employment to keep off rain (madidum ver). For SUCINA see on 6.573. These are presents suitable for women on their birthdays or [1433] the festival of the Matronalia (RE s.v. 2307, RSV 3.571, Blümner1 365, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 3.167) on 1st March; the combination as Ovid AA 1.405–6.

MADIDUM VER Cf. 4.87; INCIPIT The beginning of spring is set by Juvenal round the end of February; some put it even earlier.

STRATA Cf. 16.44; CATHEDRA used by women, cf. on 6.91.
SECRETAE He is ashamed to do all this in public.

54 PASSER 'Sparrows' (see Fordyce on Catull. 2) were regarded as salacious; Otto s.v., Henderson 129, RE Sperling 1630–1 (e.g. Cic. De Fin. 2.75). The word is also used as a term of endearment (Plaut. As. 666, Cas. 138).

MONTES These would be used for summer grazing in the transhumance system; cf. White BICS 14, 1967, 74.

APULA See on 4.26; the pasturing farms were particularly large there (Yeo TAPA 79, 1948, 293).

55 MILVOS Miluus begins life as a dactyl, though interpolation has introduced the trochaic scansion into Mart. 9.54.10 and some mss. at Ovid Met. 2.716 and Pers. 4.26. No instance of the trochaic scansion can be shown to be earlier than Juvenal, though it is found also in pseudo-Ovid Halieut. 95, which is significant for the dating of that work. These birds proverbially flew a long distance (Otto s.v.).

56–7 On Campanian wine see Sirago 225 sqq., Billiard 73, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 13, P. Remark Weinbau im Römerreiche (n.d.) 94. The TRIFOLINUS AGER was near Naples; its wine and that of mount Gaurus are often mentioned. On the wine of Cumae see Athen. 1.26f.

INANIS Knoche's reference to Aetna 489 presumably means 186 or 195, but the parallel is probably not valid (see Goodyear's commentary pp. 144–5). The point is doubtless its volcanic character (quia vaporiferos specus habet Σ); if Gaurus is correctly identified with Monte Barbaro, that has a crater (K. J. Beloch Campanien (1879) 25; Nissen 2.736 rejects this without giving reasons). It is less likely to mean 'unpeopled'; still less to refer to Nero's excavations for a projected canal (Grenade REA 50, 1948, 179).

58 This line should be ended with a semicolon.

VICTURO … MUSTO Dative from vivo (cf. vita Pliny NH 14.21); the wine is kept to increase its value because of its vintage character. DOLIA are large urns (Blümner 1580 and on 14.308) into which the grape juice was drained immediately on pressing (hence often coupled with mustum, Thes. 5.1.1833.45, Hilgers 172); but only poor wine meant for everyday use would be kept in them, whereas better wine like this after fermentation would be bottled in amphorae (Blümner 148 n. 8). These dolia were regularly lined with pitch (picata, cf. Thes. ibid. 11, Billiard 474, Hilgers 176, White 2 plate 15c), both because they were of coarse, porous material and because pitch added a flavour liked by many (like resin in modern Greece); cf. Marquardt 457, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 29, Pliny NH 14.121, 127, 134 (with André's note p. 148), 16.53–4, 23.45–6 (where he considers this unhealthy). Linere is also applied to sealing the cork with pitch, but that is less likely to be meant here.

59 QUANTUM ERAT Mart. 2.46.9, Ovid Met. 4.74. This should be punctuated with the older editions as a question; quantum erat? suggests the answer non magnum, whereas the exclamation quantum erat! suggests magnum. The indicative in
such cases, where English would say ‘would have been’, is regular (KS 1.170–3, HS 327–8). For a present of land to a client cf. White JRS 68, 1978, 91.

LUMBOS is common in this sense in the Vulgate (‘loins’), but not clearly so attested in classical Latin (not even at Catull. 16.11). However the imagery seems to imply it at Pers. 1.104, and delumbare may mean ‘castrate’ Sen. Contr. 10.4.2.

60 MELIUS is the adverb; is it better that the legacy should be left not to me but to the priest of Cybele? The legacy is described in humble terms to make it seem a modest request; he lays the emphasis not on the land and its products but on one little verna, who is still at the stage of playing with his pup (note the diminutive) and toy houses (Tib. 2.1.23–4 turbaque vernarum … ludet et ex virgis extruet arte casas; Hor. Serm. 2.3.247 and 275 aedificare casas; Aristoph. Clouds 879, Lucian Hermotim. 33). The wording closely resembles 11.145–53, but that is largely fortuitous since there the casula is his actual home.

HIC cannot be the adverb, for the country is not ‘here’, i.e. at Rome; nor can it be the pronoun, for no definite rustic infant is indicated. Housman therefore must be right with melius nunc, i.e. νῦν, as matters now stand (cf. 5.141), since you are not going to leave the property to me. Castiglioni (in Vianello’s edition) suggested dic.

RUSTICUS INFANS 3.176.

CONCLUSORE This hovers between the status of an adjective and an apposition; cf. 14.247 and on 4.66, 8.149.

CYMBALA These like tympana belonged to the cult of Cybele with its eunuch priests. The patron’s friends show his character.

The genitive after LEGATUM here indicates the recipient, as at Cic. De Rep. 3.17, Scribon. Larg. Comp. 120; so also after donum (Thes. s.v. 2021.68).

63–9 Cf. 3.166–7; Prop. 3.13.13 nulla est poscendi … reverentia. IMPROBUS ‘impudent’. [135]

PENSIO develops from the meaning of ‘rent’ to that of ‘lodgings’, which survives in Romance. PENSIO CLAMAT is a προσωποποιία.

AIT See on 8.44; but it may be the idiom remarked on 5.19.

PUER UNICUS (a comma after Puer would be helpful) To have only one slave is as abnormal and inadequate as to be one-eyed, cf. Mart. 12.87.3; Umbricius has none (3.286). Cf. Balsdon1 107, Blümner1 281.

LATA See Aen. 3.636.

PER On account of which; Ulysses would not have escaped if Polyphemus had had two eyes.

SOLLERS Ovid Ex Ponto 4.14.35; because of Latin’s aversion from compound adjectives (but see on 8.67, 11.181), a Greek compound (here πολύτροπος, πολύμητις) is often rendered by a simple Latin adjective. The same epithets are represented in Livius Andronicus by versutus, in Horace by duplex. See A. Cordier Études sur le Vocabulaire Épique dans l’Énéide (1939) 219 sqq.
67 PASCENDI Cf. 123 and see on 3.141. 
BRUMA SPIRANTE 4.58. 
68 SCAPULIS A conversational expression; Sen. Ep. 17.9, 63.11, Dial. 7.25.2. Cato Agr. 59 specifies a clothing allowance for a slave (vestiarium Sen. Dial. 9.8.8, De Ben. 3.21.2; Colum. 1.8.17), cf. Blümner¹ 289 and on 1.93. 
DECEMBRI Cf. Calp. Sic. 2.87 sole Decembri. 
69 Cf. Ovid AA 1.271 prius ... taceant aestate cicadae, Hesiod Scut. 393, Anacreontea 33.1. 
70 sqq. Naevolus is like the communis exoletus of Mart. 12.91. UT is concessive. 
71 ISTA ut eam devirginarem; for the plural cf. on 118. 
74 ET (see index s.v.) connects quam saepe and quae pollicitus, both being adverbial qualifications of rogaris, like quibus modis. Cicero and Caesar would not allow et to stand thus with the third item of an enumeration (cf. Thes. s.v. 877.1, KS 2.32, Pinkster Mnem.¹ 22, 1969, 258); cf. 132, 2.167, 6.354, 11.106 (ac), 14.8 and 260, 2.52 (aut). POLLICITUS does not represent a finite verb (sc. sis). 
NEMPE So Housman. 75–8 certainly look as if they refer to one occasion (see on 76), and the corruption to saepe could easily be due to 73; but in any case sepe and nēpe are liable to confusion (see Clausen on Pers. 3.1 ed. maior). 
PUELLAM See on 2.59. 
75 TABULAS sc. nuptiales, cf. on 2.119; RUPERAT cf. Tac. Ann. 11.30.2 (likewise rumpe re testamentum). 
76 MIGRABAT So Highet CR² 2, 1952, 70. Signabat (see on 2.119, which has probably influenced the corruption) would have to mean |[436] that she was putting her seal (I cannot find any evidence that the word could mean 'sign') to a new marriage-contract with another man, but even if this could be extracted from the Latin it is hardly conceivable that she should do this while still in the in the patron’s house; and in any case I can find no evidence that the woman herself would put her seal on the marriage-contract, which was done by the witnesses (10.336). Migrabat is a climax after fugientem; she was not only herself running away from the patron, she was moving house (cf. 6.171) with all her property (Highet himself goes wrong about this, and his discussion of the passage is inexact in detail). HOC REDEM I got her to change her mind. 
77 TE PLORANTE FORIS The patron is in the situation of a lover chanting a παρακλαυσίθυρον (cf. 14.45–6). 
LECTULUS The diminutive as if he is caressing the memory, as the patron, to whom it is only a lectus (78), is not. Cf. 6.21, Asclepiades AP 5.181.12 = Gow–Page HE 921 κλίνη ἐπεγράφετο and Philodemus ibid. 5.4.5–6 = Gow–Page GP 3164–5; Lucian Catapl. 27; Catull. 6.10 tremulique quassa lecti argutatio. 
DOMINAE VOX sc. gannientis (6.64). Domina is the lady of the house, the usual form of address like δέσποινα; cf. Thes. s.v. 1938.35, SG 4.86 = 4.87, Marquardt 59, Blümner¹ 364, Svennung Anredeformen (on 4.23–5) 340–3. At 6.30 there
is a special point; here too the grotesqueness of the situation is underlined.

79 This looks pleonastic, but in fact is a climax.

81 Hom. Od. 9.14 τι πρῶτόν τοι ἐπείτα, τί δ’ ύστάτον καταλέξω; The rhetoricians develop this into the figure of (ad)dubitatio, διασόρησις (Lausberg p. 383, Cic. Rosc. Am. 29 with Landgraf, Verg. Aen. 4.371 quae quibus antefaram? (and ibid. 284, 677) with Pease, Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 649); Juvenal adapts this to indicate the patron’s attempted evasions in order to try to avoid admitting his obligations to Naevolus. CIRCUMAGAS more vividly signifies such attempted evasions than vertas, the usual word in such contexts; cf. Quintil. 9.2.19.

82 ERGO ‘after all’; Thes. s.v. col. 769.

84 TOLLIS After birth a Roman child was placed on the ground, and by lifting it the father recognised it as legitimate. Cf. 6.38; RAC Erde 1143, Geburt 115–16; RE potestas patria 1071, Kaser1 65, C. W. Westrup Introduction to Early Roman Law 1.1 (1944) 260, Wagenvoort 17–18, Volterra in Festschr. F. Schulz (1951) 1.388.

LIBRIS ACTORUM See on 2.136.

85 VIRI i.e. virilitatis; cf. Petron. 119.27, Sen. Phaedr. 925, HS 751, Housman Hermes 66, 1931, 405 = Coll. Papers 1178, Headlam CR1 15, 1901, 393; τὸν ἄνδρα Epictet. 2.10.17. || 437 |

CORONAS A sign of rejoicing in general (6.51), seemingly not a fixed part of the ceremonies at a birth, though Statius Silv. 4.8.38 does it on the birth of a friend’s son, and it was regular in Attica (Hesych. s.v. στέφανον ἐκφέρειν, Ephipp. ap. Athen. 9.370c; στέμματα λεχώ ια nonnus 25.220). 6.79 refers to wedding celebrations.

86 Cf. Lucilius AP 11.217.

87 Tac. Ann. 3.28 privilegia parentum. Since the Leges Iulia and Papia Poppaea of Augustus (6.38, Berger 553–4) orbi suffered certain disadvantages in inheritances; they could only inherit half of what was left to them, the rest (caducum) was allotted to any parent named in the will. See Gaius 2.206–8, Berger 377, Kaser1 724, Marquardt 76, Furneaux excursus to Tac. Ann. 3 p. 483, Humbert 147, Brunt1 558, Millar 161–3.

89–90 The ius trium liberorum brought many privileges (e.g. seniority in magistracies) and dispensations (e.g. from exercising guardianship); Berger 530, Kaser1 320, CAH 10.451, RE ius liberorum, Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 10.2.1, Arango-Ruiz Studi (on 3.298) 173–4.

92 The ass was notorious for its lust; cf. 6.334, RE Esel 634.64, Bömer on Ovid Fasti 1.391. Add Semonides 7.48, Archil. fr. 43 West, Priapea 52.9, Lactant. Inst. 1.21.28, and see Deonna Rev. Belge Phil. 34, 1956, 637.

94 FIGE Cf. 11.28.

95 PUMICE LEVIS Mart. 14.205.1; cf. on 8.16. RES cf. 8.198.


COMMISERAT In sense equivalent to a perfect (HS 320–1); cf. 5.76, 6.281,
7.152, 10.272, 15.16.

TAMQUAM 'thinking that'; cf. on 3.47.

98 APERIRE 4.110, Petron. 132.

CANDELAM ADPONERE VALVIS Cf. 13.146. Lovers are often represented as burning down doors to get to their mistresses, and an ejected one does so for revenge with a *cereus* in Fortunatianus p. 90.23 *RLM*.

NON DUBITAT Whenever occasion arises.

100 The variants (*careas* being due to the subjunctives of 99) indicate *carast* (Knoche).

ANNONA 'price' generally (*Thes. 112.1*); cf. 8.17 *emptor veneni*, 13.154. But here it is clearly sarcastic, as if poison were a commodity in regular supply with a price fixed each year.


CURIA renders βουλή in many contexts; for the periphrasis cf. Soph. *OC* 947 Ἀρεος (genitive) πᾶγος. The secrecy of the deliberations of the Areopagus was proverbial, στεγανώτερος ὄροσ συμβουλήтερος |[438] Άρειοπαγίτου Diogenianus 1.8 and 2.91 (1 p. 181 and 212), with occurrences in Alciphron and Themistius; see also Macrob. *Sat.* 7.1.17 (in error; see Jan’s note).

102 A Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit? Verg. *Buc.* 2.69; the patron is cast as the haughty Alexis. Naturally the quotation is highly ironical; the sordid reality contrasts with the stylised homosexuality of Vergil’s milieu. Vergil’s *a* is an interjection generally too elevated for satire (cf. on 14.45).

Nævolus’ request is naive. Gossip prevents the suppression of secrets, Petron. fr. 28 (*Anth. Lat.* 476); a slave has his tongue cut out Mart. 2.82; Hamillus anticipates gossip by his slaves about his sexual proclivities, ibid. 7.62; a slave betrays a secret in a πανδοκεῖον to a κάπηλος (cf. 108), Appian *BC* 1.72.

103–5 IUMENTA See on 4.5.

CANIS The watch-dog (6.415, 14.64); Blümner¹ 28, Marquardt 236.


FENESTRAS Shutters; *RE* s.v., Blümner¹ 102–3.

VELA TEGANT RIMAS Cf. Mart. 1.34, 11.45; these *rimae* (ὁπή Aristoph. *Wasps* 127) would be particularly in the shutters (Pers. 3.2; for the *vela*, desirable because there would generally be no glass in the windows (on 4.21), see Blümner¹ 104 n. 5), but there might be others too.

OSTIA Double doors; *RE* s.v., Blümner¹ 17 n. 7, Marquardt 229.

105 Apart from *esto* and *memento*, the only -to imperative in Juvenal is *sumito* in 8.134, a probably spurious line (Lucan also has no -to imperatives); therefore *tollito* can hardly be right here. For the shift in number cf. Grattius 55–6 *vel ... oppande ... vel ... reponite* (*reponito* Logus wrongly), 377–8 *averte ... superabitis*; Menander fr. 239 (Prop. 4.5.77–8 is corrupt); *Enn. Ann.* 198 *accipe* surrounded by
plurals; see also Zwierlein Philol. 113, 1969, 262.

106 RECUMBAT At meals; 3.82, 5.65, 6.434 and 448.

107 secundis gallicinis Amm. Marc. 22.14.4; cf. Aristoph. Eccl. 390, Gospel acc. to Mark 14.30 and 72, Otto gallus 2. For ἀλεκτοροφωνία and the divisions of the night see Gow on Theocr. 18.56, Blümner 374 n. 3, Marquardt 254.

108 ANTE DIEM Before it is day proper.

CAUPO Cf. on 103; his shop is a centre of gossip.

109 LIBARIUS Sen. Ep. 56.2 (but not there a slave), CIL 4.1768. On specialisation of bakers see Blümner 193 and 2 1.94–5, Marquardt 420; for specialisation in other occupations see on 6.591.

ARCHIMAGIRI See Blümner 1 193 n. 2, Marquardt 146, Harcum 8 [(439) and 71. The word (now also in Ann. Épigr. 1973 no. 84) is only found in late Greek (Plato, Plutarch, Josephus, the Septuagint).

CARPTORES are usually called scissores (Blümner 394, RE scissor, Marquardt 146–7); cf. the structor of 5.120 and on 11.136.


BALTEA Used to beat them, cf. lora 6.414, scuticae 6.480.

112–13 Drunken betrayal of secrets is contrasted with the preceding deliberate betrayal.

NEC DERIT Qui 3.302; TE 'one', cf. 50 and on 2.61.

COMPITA are naturally centres of gossip (Hor. Serm. 2.6.50, Ovid Am. 3.1.18, Mart. 7.97.12, Gellius 1.22.2, Prop. 2.20.22); cf. 6.412.

MISERAM Because the victim wants to get away; Hor. Serm. 1.9.8 and 14.

114–15 refer back to 93–4 and 101. QUICQUID here hardly seems to differ from quod, cf. Petron. 86.3 quicquid promiseram, meaning the two cocks just mentioned; 6.O.30 is probably not parallel (but quicumque at Hor. Epist. 1.7.60 is).

illos … illi Note the chiasmus.

116 The wine is doubly sweet, because it is the excellent Falernian (on 4.138) and because it is forbidden fruit (cf. 4.4). FALERNI sc. tantum, cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 16.14.1.

117 Saufeia's drunkenness is mentioned also 6.320. PRO POPULO FACIENS means that as the wife of a consul or praetor urbanus she conducts the ceremonies at the festival of the Bona Dea (RE s.v. 688.29, RSV 3.345, Wissowa 217); on the drunkenness traditionally associated with these ceremonies cf. 6.315 and on 2.86. FACIENS 'sacrificing', absolute; cf. Thes. s.v. 97.19 and 30.

118–21 The following discussion is mainly reproduced from BICS 22, 1975, 149–50. Obviously 119 and 120–1 are variants which cannot co-exist, but there is another difficulty. Cum … tunc in the sense 'both … and', though offered by manuscripts at Lucr. 1.130 (see Lachmann there) and occasionally elsewhere, appears to be a solecism. There is even considerable doubt whether tunc can be used on its own in enumeration (see the grammarians quoted by Svennun 413), though
perhaps this doubt is not justified; the point is discussed by Svennung, who however fails to evaluate the manuscript evidence on which he relies and is uncritical in detail (e.g. at Pers. 2.35 tunc answers to ante in 33, and the Juvenal instances are futile). I believe that Housman was right to restore this passage thus:

\[ \text{vivendum recte, cum propter plurima, tum est his praecipue causis, ut lingus mancipiorum contemnas, nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.} \]

The first stage in the corruption was the deprivation of \textit{tum} to \textit{tunc} \[\text{[[440]}\] the latter form expelled the former in late Latin (e.g. the Peregrinatio Aetheriae and the Vulgate never use \textit{tum}, which does not survive in Romance; cf. HS 520). This put the metre wrong, and the \textit{Φ}-manuscripts emended the fault by omitting \textit{est} and reading \textit{tunc his}. The \textit{P}-tradition chose rather to delete \textit{his} and read \textit{tunc est}; but this left \textit{causis} isolated, and so a line \textit{idcirco} etc. was composed to follow 118 and replace 120–1; that this line is spurious is shown by the fact that Juvenal, like Martial and a number of other poets (see B. Axelson Unpoetische Wörter (1945) 80 n.), does not use \textit{idcirco}, but only \textit{ideo}. The line later made its way by contamination into the \textit{Φ}-tradition, where it has no function, and in this it was placed not in the position for which it was intended, but after 123. This is much the most striking of the few interpolations in the \textit{P}-tradition (others being at 11.91, 15.93; see also 2.34). \textit{Vivendum recte est} of the \textit{P}-tradition shows a secondary corruption, probably due to anticipation from the end of the line because of the tendency to restore \textit{simplex ordo}; but it may be due simply to dittography (\(ê = \text{est}\)). The plural \textit{causis} explained by just one cause may seem surprising, but cf. \textit{factis} 4.11, \textit{bona summa} 5.2, \textit{quaecumque} 6.O.30; this phenomenon is quite common with neuter pronouns like \textit{ista} 73 (see e.g. Plaut. Merc. 764 and the editors on Cic. De Nat. Deor. 1.20) and cf. also \textit{quas ob res} (Ad Herenn. 1.1 and four times in Vitruvius, listed in Nohl’s index s.v. \textit{ob}). For the position of the aphaeresis \textit{tum est} cf. 5.1, 14.276.

122–3 are omitted by a few manuscripts of no authority and were deleted by Pinzger (who is misreported by Friedlaender and Knoche), I believe rightly. The effect of \textit{mali … pessima} is spoiled by \textit{deterior tamen,} and \textit{custodire animas} is taken from 6.630, where, unlike here, the notion of guarding is entirely suitable. \textit{Illis} (contrary to BICS 22, 1975, 150) seems to be intended as ablative of comparison after \textit{deterior} (\textit{hic} simply acting as antecedent to the relative; on 7.41, 14.44), so that the sequence of thought is ‘avoid the gossip of slaves, for a bad slave’s tongue is the worst part of him; yet a man who finds himself deprived of his freedom (because his slaves may gossip about his peccadillos) is yet worse than his slaves’; but \textit{hic qui liber non erit} is very badly expressed.

123 FARRE Cf. \textit{pascendi} 67; AERE e.g. in providing clothing (68).

124 CONSILIAM 118 sqq.; COMMUNE ‘too general’, cf. \textit{Thes.} s.v. 1971.4. Naevolus is quite right in saying that the advice is not relevant to him.
MODO ‘just now’, cf. 8.125; the word is often nearer to nunc than to nuper (Thes. s.v. 1305.13–16).

126–8 As presented in most editions, these lines show a striking mixed metaphor and a surprising word-order, as if vita in connection with flosculus were angusta but not misera, and, in connection with portio, misera but not angusta. All difficulty is removed when, with Wakefield Silva Critica 5 (1795) 153, velox flosculus is placed within commas. This will then be an instance of the common idiom whereby what might be expected to stand in a simile is presented in apposition as an identification (cf. 5 above and 8.130, 14.246); see Headlam–Knox on Herodas 6.14, Handley on Menander Dysc. 444, E. Fraenkel Plautinisches im Plautus (1922) 51–2 = Elementi Plautini (1960) 47–9 and on Aesch. Ag. 393 sqq.

The comparison is as old as Homer’s οἵη περ φύλλων γενέη; its appearance here in the sordid context recalls Prop. 4.5.59–62, and in each case the introduction of objects of beauty is intended to show up the sordid context.

128 SERTA, UNGUENTA, PUELLAS The usual features of an ancient stag-party, cf. 6.297, 11.122, 15.50; Plaut. Asin. 803, Lucr. 4.1132, Aristoph. Ach. 1091; Marquardt 331, Blümner 400, Baus 74.

PUELLAS POSCIMUS Naevolus is bisexual.

129 OBREPET In similar contexts Plaut. Pseud. 686, Cic. Cato 4 and 38 (subrepere Tib. 1.1.71); NON INTELLECTA Plaut. l.c. and Sen. Dial. 10.9.4.

130 Cf. 2.168.

131 HIS COLLIBUS Cf. 6.295. Salva urbe arceque is an old formula applied incongruously for comic effect by Caecilius 146 (see Fraenkel Plautinisches (on 126–8) 231 = Elementi 223 with addenda 428; G. Williams Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry (1968) 366); Juvenal hints at the same incongruity. Stare is also common in such solemn contexts (e.g. Hor. Odes 3.3.42; Cic. Pro Plancio 71 stante urbe et curia, Ad Att. 9.12.3).

131–3 Cf. the portrayal of Rome as the centre of corruption in 2.163 sqq. (also adduced on 130). The generalising present conveniunt (see the apparatus) is perhaps preferable, cf. Tac. Ann. 15.44.3 urbem quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt; the future is probably due to assimilation to DERIT.

ET CARPETIS (this indicates speed; cf. on 8.146) ET NAVIBUS By land and sea; cf. Hor. Epist. 1.11.28 navibus atque quadrigis.

QUI … CAPUT Seneca Ep. 52.12 impudicum … ostendit … relatus ad caput digitus; other references are collected by Foerster, Scriptores Physiognomici 2.277, Sittl 48, Otto digitus 12, Onians 198. Capillus arte compositus (Gellius 3.5) is characteristic of cinaedi (RAC Effeminatus 632), who do not wish to disturb their locks. Juvenal is thinking of the epigram of Calvus (fr. 18 Morel) against Pompey Magnus … digitu caput uno / scalpit; to Foerster’s references for this unfortunate habit of Pompey add Plut. Praec. Reip. Ger. 4.800d. ||

133–4a The text here should, I believe, be read thus:
The best discussions of the problem are by Ribbeck, Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal 143; Clauss 62; Knoche Grundlagen 65.

*Altera maior spes superest* is explained by Housman with reference to 125–6 *post spes deceptas*; the patron has cheated the hopes of Naevolus, but there are more perverts who are less mean and offer better hope. The text however looks as if the first hope is not the patron but the fact that Rome is the cynosure of perverts; and in that case the second, greater hope is not mentioned. Moreover *haec exempla* in 135 at the moment has no reference; Juvenal must have mentioned some men from whose example Naevolus could take heart, men like Gillo (1.40); for such a change of sexual interest for mercenary reasons see Mart. 11.87 and Lucian Rhet. Praec. 24 (a γραιας after a γλίσχρος ἑραστής). In that case in 135–6 Naevolus states that he merely wants a modest amount, not riches like the men (*felices*) mentioned in the *exempla*. The *altera maior spes* was perhaps to turn, like Martial’s Charidemus and Gillo, to *vetulae beatae*. This would suit the reference to the aphrodisiac *erucae* (*Thes. s.v.* 824.25; Blümner1 166 n. 12), since Gillo owes his prosperity to *mensura inguinis*. Σ explains *altera maior spes* of the coming generation, *multos imberbes habes tibi crescentes*; this may be merely an improvised explanation without justification either in our text or that of the scholiast (which probably agreed with Φ in omitting 134a), but Ribbeck is very likely right in thinking it a displaced note on 130.

A substantial portion then of the text must have been lost (suggesting that Naevolus turn to old women and naming some men who have done this), and subsequently 134 was filled out to a complete verse by borrowing from 134a. The omission of 134a by Φ might then have come about because of homoeoteleuton (for a close parallel in Valerius Flaccus see *BICS* 13, 1966, 96), or it could be due to deliberate emendation to remove the seeming doublet. The simple omission of 134a, either as part of an alternative version by Juvenal himself or on the hypothesis that *gratus eris* is part of a gloss, will not meet the other difficulties analysed above. In fact *gratus esse* is found in erotic contexts (not of course as sordid as this) at Hor. Odes 3.9.1, Prop. 1.12.7.

TU TANTUM IMPRIME A paratactic method of expression in effect equivalent to *si impresseris*, cf. KS 2.165, HS 657, index *parataxis*; for TANTUM cf. KS 1.201 and Stat. Silv. 3.4.97 *tu modo fige.* [[143]

136 Mart. 9.63.2 *mentula quem pascit*; Plaut. Persa 56 parasitando paverint ventres suos.

137–8 On the cult of the Lares with garlands and incense (a simple cult which hardly fits Naevolus!) cf. 12.87 sqq. (*parva simulacra*); *RE Lares* 814.60, *corona* 1636.63; RSV 3.128, Wissowa 169 n. 3.
NOSTRI ‘favouring’, cf. 12.89; or me digni, parvi, ut est fortuna mea (Heinrich).

139 FIGAM Naevolus is like a hunter stalking a victim.

TEGETE ET BACULO The attributes of beggars, cf. 5.8 and RE Stab 1898.9.

SENECTUS picks up 129.

140–1 At 14.322–4 Juvenal mentions 400,000 sesterces as a sum with which one might live content, and Mart. 3.10 names 24,000 sesterces per annum, which would be the interest at 6 per cent on this. Naevolus would be content with 5 per cent, a modest rate of interest (quincunque modesto Pers. 5.149, cf. Billeter 180–2 and RSV 61 n. 5 (ll.cc. on 6)). This suggests that Naevolus’ property had fallen below the equestrian census, cf. on 10. Understand sint mihi from 145.

141 ARGENTI VASCULA PURI 10.19, q.v.; the diminutive underlines the modesty.

142 C. Fabricius Luscinus, censor 275 B.C., named as representative of the good old days 2.154, 11.91, expelled the consular P. Cornelius Rufinus from the senate because he owned 10 lbs. of silver plate; RE Fabricius 1937.23, Broughton 1.196.

142–4 These Moesians would carry him in a litter through the crowds to his place in the circus; cf. 6.352–3 (q.v.), Suet. Nero 26.2 clam gestatoria sella delatus in theatrum (= Dio Cass. 61.8.2); an inscription from Cumae (Degrassi Riv. Fil. 54, 1926, 371 = Scritti Vari 1 (1962) 473) decrees a locus lecticae in theatro to a C. Cupiennius. Conducit ... sellam in 6 l.c. might suggest that locata here means ‘let out for hire’, but that is very unlikely since the Moesians seem to be Naevolus’ own slaves. It must mean ‘placing their necks (1.64, 6.351) in position’ (cf. RE lectica 1090) to carry Naevolus; but it is very hard to extract this from the word, and Heinrich’s locatum is probably right, cf. Catull. 10.22–3 qui ... pedem grabati / in colla sibi collocate posset.

DUO A modest number, RE l.c. 1089.57; duo lecticarii Petron. 96.4 (RE 1066.30). Naturally they must be strong.

INSISTERE He will ride above the crowd 1.159, 3.240.

MOESORUM P reads Mysorum; Mysia was regarded as a colony of Moesia, and the two spellings are often confused. Cf. RE Mysoi, Moesi 2348, Moesia 2352; Howard CQ 6, 1956, 164 on Val. Flacc. 2.360, 3.484. [444]

CLAMOSO Mart. 10.53.1; cf. Juv. 8.59, 11.197.

145–6 These would be ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα (Dio Cass. 59.28.8 etc.), who would work independently and pay an ἀποφορά to Naevolus; Paulus Dig. 33.7.19.1 servum arte fabrica peritum, qui annuam mercedem praestabat. See Marquardt 162–4, Blümner1 285, Barrow 105, Biezun’ska-Malowist Journ. Juristic Papyrology 15, 1965, 65, Loane 147, RE Industrie 1506–4, Staerman Dialogues d’Histoire Anciennne 2, 1976, 109 and 114.

145 CURVUS Cf. Lucian Somn. 18 a sculptor κάτω νενευκώς εἰς τὸ ἔργον.

CAELATOR Verres (Cic. 2.4.54) owned his own caelatores (sc. argenti cf. 12.47), and CIL 6.4328 mentions one of Germanicus; cf. Marquardt 695, Blümner2

PINGIT For the indicative see on 7.185. This would be a *pictor imaginarius* (Edict of Diocletian 7.9, p. 118 Lauffer, where his wages are fixed), who would decorate room-walls with figure-scenes; cf. Blümner¹ 91 n. 3. The point of MULTAS … CITIO is that he would be paid by piece-work; Settis *Atene e Roma*¹ 15, 1970, 117 refers to the *compendiaria* of Pliny NH 35.110 (see K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers, *The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art* (1896) 238) and Petron. 2.9 (cf. Austin on Quintilian 12.10.6 *facilitate*).

147 PAUPER Whereas he is now *egens*, *inops* and fears that he may become *mendicus* (140). *Paupertas* (see Lewis and Short s.v.) does not indicate penury, but a modest sufficiency (cf. Hands 62); at Cic. *Parad.* 50 a man who is *pauper* owns *aedicas in Carinis et fundum in Labicano*. Nevertheless there is paradox in the expression of the wish, cf. on 4.57. Of course the irony of the passage consists in the fact that his wishes are not all that modest (cf. *modico contentus* 9). He wants the interest from an equestrian census, but he stipulates that his investment is to be well secured; his plate is to be more than 10 lbs.

VOTUM MISERABLE 3.276.

NEC … HIS SALTEM = *ne his quidem*, a Silver idiom; cf. Mart. 1.86.8, KS 2.56, HS 448.

148 VOCATUR Bücheler in Friedlaender points out that this rather than *rogatur* is the correct correlation to SURDO; for the variant cf. 5.63.

148–50 are noticeably mournful in rhythm.

149–50 Similar allusions to the wax plugs of Ulysses Sen. *Ep.* 31.2, Lucian *Charon* 21, Amm. Marc. 29.2.14. PETITAS does not imply that these are the actual plugs used on that occasion, cf. on 5.44.


REMIGE SURDO Prop. 3.12.34 *Sirenum surdo remige adisse lacus*; the *| [445] ablative* is best classified as circumstantial (*‘absolute’*; cf. 8.137, 13.87), though it might be related to the class of instrumental ablatives defined by Witton (see on 1.13) as *‘soldiers on duty’* (10.155). This is a fine-sounding golden line to conclude; the effect is reinforced by the epic-style collective singular REMIGE (cf. 3.306, 10.155; Verg. *Aen.* 5.116, Ovid *Met.* 8.103, *Her.* 3.153; *Ciris* 111), for which see HS 13, KS 1.67, Löfstedt 1.12. The point of the comparison is that he would try to tempt Fortune by offering her a share of his prosperity in a *votum* (147).
The subject of this poem, to his imitation of which Samuel Johnson gave the title ‘The Vanity of Human Wishes’, has in fact a positive as well as a negative side, and might be more exactly summarised as ‘The Right and Wrong Objects of Prayer’. The argument is systematically laid out thus:

1–53 Introduction. Men cannot see what is really for their good; whereas Heraclitus wept at their irrationality, Democritus laughed at it and snapped his fingers at Fortuna.

A change in Juvenal’s technique was becoming apparent in Nine, a move away from the anger announced in One and the denunciation characteristic of One–Eight. Now the prominence given at the beginning of Book IV to the laughing Democritus announces satire based not on indignation (in fact Juvenal in 360 urges men to abandon *ira* (contrast 1.45)), but on a mixture of scorn, cynicism and melancholy. That is readily comprehensible in this particular context (for who could feel indignation rather than pity at men for compassing their own destruction by misguided wishes? Sympathy is hinted at in 56 and 129), but the change of manner affects the whole book (Eleven and Twelve are chatty and comparatively personal), so Juvenal’s announcement of it is to be taken as programmatic; 51–2 look like a new programme replacing 1.85–6. It is significant that he sees the goal of life as *tranquillitas* (364), that is Democritean εὐθυμία (on which more below); his ethical and literary attitudes converge. I would infer from this that the change in Juvenal’s literary attitude is not merely a change in technique, but does correspond to a real alteration in his outlook on life, though it did not persist unadulterated beyond this book.

54–5 Announcement of the central subject. What (reading *quae* in 54) in fact are the superfluous (35–46) and harmful things for which men pray? What should they pray for? The former question is answered in 56–345 (though the stress is laid entirely on harmful things; *supervacua* are not so well suited to satire), the latter in 346–66. [447]

56–345 Rehearsal of the things for which men pray and their disastrous con-
sequences. They ask for (1) *potentia* 56–113, taking up *nocitura toga* 8; this is illustrated by the one *exemplum* of Sejanus: (2) eloquence 114–32, taking up 9–10; this has two *exempla*, Cicero and Demosthenes: (3) military glory 133–87, the *nocitura militia* of 8–9; this has the three instances of Hannibal, Alexander and Xerxes: (4) long life 188–288, with four main illustrations (Nestor, Priam, Marius, Pompey): (5) handsomeness 289–343, which returns to one main *exemplum*, Silius. Nos. 1, 2, 3 thus refer to human achievements, though of course divine assistance may be needed, whereas 4 and 5 come wholly from the gods; we may compare Livy 3.11.6, where *munera data a dis* embrace nobility and bodily strength, while military glory and eloquence are classified as won by a man himself. It will be noted that whereas money figures prominently in the introduction (12–27) it is absent from the exemplification (with only incidental mention 90–1, 105); Juvenal evidently feels that he has said enough about this already in previous poems.

346–66 The positive part of the poem: men, if they are not content to take what comes and must pray for something (which Juvenal, to judge from the vocabulary of ridicule in 354–5, regards as a weakness in the human psyche), should pray for gifts of the mind, something which they can attain to within themselves and which does not depend on the external influence of that Fortuna which Democritus defied.

Thus in form the poem as a whole is an extended version of that type of composition known as ‘priamel’ (preamble) in which the writer leads up to the main point by an enumeration of related items which contrast with it or by comparison fall short of it; see F. Dornseiff *Antike und Alter Orient* (1959) 391 (originally published in W. Kröhling *Die Priamel (Beispielreiheung) als Stilmittel* (1935) 86–7) and e.g. C. M. Bowra *Pindar* (1964) 199 (who remarks ‘This … habit of thinking is more at home with pictures than with bleak ideas. It has the advantage for poetry that each stage of an argument stands very much by itself with its full, visual appeal’), Fraenkel 230–1. The recurrence of this form in poetical treatments of Juvenal’s topic is striking. We have it very briefly in Pind. *Nem.* 8.37. Then Horace, who in carrying on the tradition of Greek lyric adopts the form in a number of poems, applies it to this topic in *Odes* ¶1.31, in which he rejects the prayer for riches and asks for good health and a sound mind (cf. on 356). Persius 2, following his constant model Horace, adapts it to combine with a poem of birthday congratulations (cf. on 289, 354–5); he too ends (73–5) with the same exaltation of mental qualities. The form obviously had no longer any living meaning to Juvenal in itself, but provided him with a structural model which happened to suit his literary purpose, for after all desirable things offer much less scope for satire than undesirable (cf. Mack quoted on pp. 16–17).

The fabric of Juvenal’s theme can have its threads disentangled thus:

(1) The Socratic element. The first discussion of the subject is found in [Plato] *Alcibiades II* (it is worth recalling that Persius 4 is based on the likewise spurious
Alcibiades I). The following quotations from this work illustrate some of Juvenal’s points.

138b οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι πολλῆς προμηθείας γε προσδεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ λήσεται αὐτὸν εὐχόμενος μεγάλα κακά, δοκόν δ’ ἀγαθά, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ τύχωσιν ἐν ταύτῃ ὄντες τῇ ἕξει, ἐν ἥ διδάσκειν αὐτοῦ ἐς τις εὐχόμενος τυγχάνει;  

141a εὑρήσεις δ’ ἐτι καὶ τῶν νῦν πολλοὺς οὐκ … οἰομένους κακά σφισι εὔχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, ὥσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἀχλὺν ‘ὦφρ’ εὖ γιγνώσκοι ἤμεν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα’, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πρῶτον τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφελόντα, ἥν νῦν παροῦσα τυγχάνει, τὸ τηνικαῦτ’ ἤδη προσφέρειν δι’ ὧν μέλλεις γνώσεσθαι ἠμὲν κακὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλὸν· ὅλιγον δὲ ἐπισχόντες ἐνίοτε παλινῳδοῦσιν (cf. Juv. 6).

138b and 142c are resumed in 148b.

142c οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὐτε ἄν τυραννόδος διδομένης ἀπόσχοιντο ἄν οὔτε στρατηγίας οὐδ’ ἄν τυραννίδος διδομένης ἀπόσχοιντο ἄν οὔτε στρατηγίας ἄλλο τις εὐχόμενος τυγχάνει; εἰ τῷ μὴ παρόντι τυγχάνει· ὅλιγον δὲ ἐπισχόντες ἐνίοτε παλινῳδοῦσιν (cf. Juv. 3–4).

Another source of the Socratic tradition is Xenophon, e.g. Mem. 4.2.34–5 and particularly 1.3.2 ηὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τἀγαθὰ διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὅποια | ἀγαθά έστι· τοὺς δ’ εὐχόμενος χρυσίον ή ἄργυριον ή τυραννίδα ή άλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐνόμιζεν εὔχεσθαι ή εἰ κυβείαν ή μάχην ή άλλο τι εὔχοιντο τῶν φανερῶς ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο. Note also Plato Laws 3.687c–8c. But the immediate source from which Juvenal drew was Val. Max. 7.2 ext. 1 Socrates … nihil ultra petendum a dis immortalibus arbitrabatur quam ut bona tribuerent (so the Stoics, Diog. Laert. 7.124), quia ii de mun scirent quid uni cuique esset utile (cf. Juv. 348), nos autem plerumque id votis expeteremus quod non impetrasse melius foret; etenim, densissimis tenebris (cf. Juv. 4) involuta mortualis mens. in quam late patentem errorem caecas precationes tuas spargis! divitas adpetis, quae multis exitio fuerunt: honores concupiscis, qui complures pessum dederunt: regna tecum ipsa volvis, quorum exitus saepenumero miserabiles cernuntur: splendidis coniugis inicis manus, at haec, ut aliquando insidrait, ita nonnunquam funditus domos evertunt (cf. Juv. 7). desine igitur stulta futuris malorum causis quasi felicissimus rebus INIQUITATE teque totam caelestium arbitrio permittit, quia qui tribuere bona ex facili solet, etiam eligere aptissime (cf. Juv. 349) possunt. From a later date note Maximus of Tyre 5 (εἰ δεὶ εὐχέσθαι).8 (Σωκράτης) … εὔχετο μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐλάμβανεν δὲ παρ’ ἑαυτῷ, συνεπεινούντων
(2) The Democritean. The idea of using Democritus as a symbol seems to have been given to Juvenal by Seneca’s Dialogue 9, De Tranquillitate Animi (cf. animum 357, tranquillae 364); see Anderson, Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil. 19.3 (1964) 174–83. Cf. 2.3 hanc stabilem animi sedem Graeci euthymian vocant, de qua Democriti volumen egregium est; ego tranquillitatem voco. Cicero had referred to Democriti securitas, quam appellavit (v.l. -ant) euthymiæan (De Fin. 5.23, cf. ibid. 87), but it is in Seneca 15.2 that we find the Democritus–Heraclitus contrast (see further on 28–30). The very Johnsonian title for this poem is found 12.1 proximum ab his erit ne aut in supervacuis aut ex supervacuo (cf. Juv. 54; Juvenal is reminded by Seneca to list this, though he pays little attention to it) laboremus, id est ne quae aut non possimus consequi concupiscamus aut adepti VANITATEM CUPIDITATIUM NOSTRARUM sero … intelligamus; cf. 13.1 hoc secutum puto Democratum ita coepisse, ‘qui tranquille volet vivere, nec privativam agat multa nec publice’ (fr. B 3 Diels–Kranz; also quoted by Plutarch (see below) 2.465c), ad SUPERVACUA scilicet referentem … (§2) nam qui multa agit, saepe Fortunae (cf. 14.2) utique animus ab omnibus externis in se revocandus est. It will also be noted that Seneca uses the exempla of Sejanus (11.11) and of Croesus and a Mithridates (11.12, cf. Juv. 273–4 q.v.), though Juvenal’s Mithridates is a different person.

Another work on this subject is the περὶ εὐθυμίας of Plutarch, from which the following quotations are relevant:

\[ \begin{align*}
1.465a & \text{πόθεν γε δὴ πρὸς ἄλυπιαν ψυχῆς καὶ βιον ἀκύμονα χρημάτων ὄχλος ἢ δόξης ἢ δυνάμεως ἐν αὐλαῖς;} \\
17.475d & \text{εἰδότας, ὅτι μικρὸν ἐστὶ μέρος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπίκηρον, φ δέχεται τὴν τύχην, τῆς δὲ βελτίωτά τινα κρατοῦμεν, ἦ ἀπὸ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰδρυθέντα, δόξαι τε χρηστὰ καὶ μαθήματα τελευτῶντες εἰς ἀρετήν, ἀδιάφθορα, ἀηττήτους (ἀνεκπλήκτους Stobaeus) πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι καὶ θαρραλέους, πρὸς τὴν τύχην λέγοντας, ἃ Σωκράτης … ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἀποκτείνῃ μὲν Ἀνυτος καὶ Μέλητος δύναται, καὶ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ … οὐ δύναται … παρελέσθαι τὴν διάθεσιν, ἢς ἂει παρουσίας πλέον ἐν κυβερνήτῃ τοῦ βίου.} \\
19.477a & \text{oú' oἰκία πολυτέλης οὐτέ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος οὐτέ ἀξίωμα γένους οὐτε μέγεθος ἡρῴς, οὐ λόγου χαρής καὶ δεινότητας χαίδιαν παρέχει βιω καὶ γαλήνην τοσαύτην ὅσην ψυχή … τὴν τοῦ βίου πηγήν τὸ ἰθος ἀτάραχον ἔχουσα.}
\end{align*} \]

The following surviving fragments of Democritus himself bear on the theme:

B 119 ἀνθρωποι τύχης εἰδωλον ἐπλάσαντο πρόφασιν ἰδίης ἀβούλης. βαία γὰρ φρονήσει τύχη μάχεται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν βιω εὐξύνετος ἀξιωδερκεις καθισθεύει.

B 170–1 happiness comes from the ψυχή.
B 176 τύχη μεγαλόδωρος, ἀλλ’ ἄβεβαιος, φύσις δὲ αὐτάρκης· διόπερ νικᾷ τῷ ἡσσονι καὶ βεβαιώ τῷ μείζων τῆς ἐλπίδος.

B 234 υγιείην εὐχήσι παρὰ θεῶν αἰτέονταί ἄνθρωποι, τὴν δὲ ταύτης δύναμιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες οὐκ ἱσάσιν· ἀκρασίᾳ δὲ τἀναντία πρήσοντες αὐτοὶ προδόται τῆς υγιείης τῇσιν εὐθυμίησ φίγγονται. Democritus evidently did not believe in the efficacy of prayer to the gods (Guthrie 2.479).

Plutarch 2.465c quotes the περὶ εὐθυμίας of Democritus as advising moderation even if τύχη brings overweening prosperity (p. 132 Diels–Kranz; cf. fr. B 191).

(3) The Stoic, perhaps due to the influence of Seneca. This [451] comes out strongly in the conclusion (cf. Sen. Ep. 118.3–7); the Stoics, as noted above, adopted the Socratic attitude to prayer, and the very concept of requesting from the gods what one can provide for oneself (363) only makes sense in a Stoic context. The Stoics on the one hand believe in a beneficent providence, and that implies prayer; on the other hand they believe in a fixed destiny, so the content of a Stoic’s prayer is that his actions may be in harmony with that destiny. It was the Stoics who made a firm distinction between things within human power and those outside it; see Zeno fr. 79 Pearson = 177 von Armin and especially Epictetus 1.22.9 sqq., Man. 1–2, fr. 4, where it is pointed out that what is in our power is moral choice, προαίρεσις, which results in εὔροια and εὐθυμία and ἀρετή (virtus Juv. 364). But they recognised that deity co-operates with man even in respect to things classed as within human power (cf. Marcus Aurelius adduced on 363). It was the Stoics also who appropriated to themselves Hercules (361) as a pattern of man labouring for the general good of humanity. But this illustrates a problem often encountered in Roman literature. Juvenal was typical of those many Romans who had a general acquaintance with philosophy, but not an exact knowledge. Such Romans, in attempting to build up a practical guide to the conduct of life, often took elements which appealed to them from diverse creeds, as we see Juvenal drawing on the traditions of Socrates, Democritus (the fore-runner of the Epicureans) and the Stoics (who traced parts of their creed back to Heraclitus). But this entails the absence of any coherent theoretical basis, and that causes some discomfort here. For whereas the Stoics advocated engagement in civic life for the general good of mankind, Democritean tranquillitas looks forward to Epicurean λάθε βιώσας, the withdrawal from civic life, and we have seen Seneca (l.c. 13.1) quote a remark of Democritus on these lines. Of course one must admit that Juvenal does not spell out (indeed probably had not thought out) the implications of what he is saying, and that both sects with their respective ἀπαθεία and ἀταραξία had in common what is central here, the seeking of happiness within the mind.

(4) The poem of Horace already mentioned is not only brief, in the lyric manner, but also personal, a statement of the poet’s own preferences and opinions (just as Pindar’s brief remark [452] ends). But Juvenal is not just stating his opin-
ions, he is trying to convince the reader of their truth and impress them upon him; in short, he is trying to exercise persuasion, and that means that he is employing rhetoric. The influence of Valerius Maximus has already been remarked, and it is particularly striking that in 273 Juvenal separates nostri from foreigners in his exempla, thus reflecting the arrangement of the handbook of Valerius, in which most chapters list first Roman exempla and then externi (cf. his preface, urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna). In fact most of Juvenal’s examples were favourites in the declamations. Sejanus we have seen in Seneca. Demosthenes and Cicero come together [Quintil.] Decl. 268 (p. 96 Ritter), and for Demosthenes and his father see Val. Max. quoted on 130–2, for Cicero Quintil. 3.8.46 (discussing persuasion and suasoriae) cum Ciceroni dabimus consilium ut Antonium roget vel etiam ut Philippicas, ita vitam pollicente eo, exurat, non cupiditatem lucis adlegabimus (however this is precisely what Juvenal does; see below) and Sen. Suas. 6 and 7 on the same theme. For Hannibal cf. 167 declamatio and 7.161–4; for Alexander Sen. Suas. 1 deliberat Alexander an Oceanum naviget (quotations in the notes); for Xerxes ibid. 2.3 and 17, Lucian Rhet. Praec. 18 and the notes. 188–288 may be illustrated by the passages collected under ψόγος (a rhetorical term) γῆρως in Stobaeus Flor. 116 (see on 188); Marius in particular is a favourite example, usually to illustrate fortune’s mutability (cf. on 274–5, and see on these lines Manil. 4.45 sqq., who lists Hannibal, Marius, Pompey, (Alexander in Housman’s reconstruction), Caesar, Croesus, Priam, Xerxes; it may be noted that Juvenal has drawn on Cicero for Priam and Pompey, see on 258). Silius alone is Juvenal’s (though he is introduced as if the theme of a suasoria 330); he had evidently been impressed by the narrative of Tacitus (as probably in the case of Sejanus; cf. on 83). For the mingling of historical and mythological in these exempla see Canter AJP 54, 1933, 223 (and ibid. 224 for the emphatic introduction of the word in 246).

The vividness and force of the declamation (particularly in the Sejanus section), the drama and pathos of the episodes (cf. Bowra’s remark quoted above), the moral elevation of the conclusion merit and have always won great admiration. But we should not be blind to certain drawbacks of the technique [1453] adopted by Juvenal, drawbacks caused by attempting to treat a fundamentally philosophical question (and Juvenal’s use of philosophical traditions shows his awareness of the nature of the question) in a rhetorical manner. The rhetorical method of ‘proof’ by exempla, which relies merely on process of elimination (346), can powerfully move the emotions but can hardly satisfy the intellect. To show that eloquence was fatal to Cicero and Demosthenes does not show that eloquence is fatal; and the fact is that there are and always have been successful and unsuccessful generals. Persuasion by such means has a purely temporary effect; that is sufficient for an orator’s purpose, but poetry needs to be grounded in a less opportunistic and more deeply-felt moral conviction.
In fact some of the *exempla* do not fit well. In the case of Marius Juvenal has to ignore the fact that he returned to Rome victorious, held a seventh consulship, and died in his bed. It is hard to claim that Alexander’s death was the direct result of his conquests; and Juvenal must be claiming this. For although he mentions *supervacua* in 54, these play no part in the main body of the poem; on the contrary, note *nocitura* (= *perniciosa*) *militia* 8–9. The rhetorical nature of Juvenal’s style makes him push the argument to its most extreme and striking form, whereas a more philosophical consideration would have to admit that some misguided objects of prayer are not actually disastrous, though they may not contribute to the central essence of happiness.

Moreover Juvenal simply assumes throughout that the game is not worth the candle; the examples of 188–343 would probably have agreed with this, but it needs proof for those of 56–187, who might have argued that ‘One crowded hour of glorious life / is worth an age without a name’. Would Cicero really have preferred to live longer than to have written the Second Philippic (the declaimers at any rate thought that one should not say so; see above)? Would Juvenal himself (124) really have preferred to have written bad poetry rather than that speech? On the contrary it is easy to find utterances by him (8.83–4 and 195) which assure us that mere survival is not the highest good. Again one misses a coherent framework of thought against which such questions could be set, and one must doubt whether Juvenal has seriously thought out his views. Of course one must not demand from poetry something that it is not bound to give, the cerebral analysis of a philosophical treatise; but poetry of the top class does not show weaknesses like those here analysed.

The final summing-up must be that this poem, fine as it is, is less successful in the whole than in the parts. This is very characteristic of Silver Latin generally, and it is due to the methods and canons of composition promoted by the practice of recitation, which encouraged concentration on small-scale effects at the expense of sustained execution of a well-planned overall design.


USQUE has become a preposition; *KS* 1.574, HS 254.

2–3 Pers. 5.105 *veris speciem* (so P) *dinoscore calles*; Sen. *Ep. 45.6–7* (and 33.5 *intellectis veris bonis*).

DIVERSA ‘different’ (cf. 263, 3.268); not, as in Golden Latin (e.g. Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.114), ‘opposite’, which is excluded by MULTUM. The word incorporates a euphemism; cf. the use of *seius* etc.

4 ERRORIS NEBULA See the introduction on [Plato] and Val. Max.; but the
metaphor is natural (e.g. Dio Cass. 38.19.1).

RATIONE Adverbial ablative (KS 1.412). Sen. Ep. 82.6 sciat quod illi bonum, quod malum ... quae sit illa ratio ... qua cupiditatum mansuescit insania, timorum saevitia compescitur. Fear and desire are the two main causes of mental unrest, often coupled in both Stoic and Epicurean contexts (cf. 360).

5 DEXTRO PEDE To set out with the right foot was a good omen; RE omen 371.33, Wagener TAPA 66, 1935, 74–6, Dölger 1, 1929, 236, Otto Nachträge 200.

CONCIPIS voto concipere (Thes. s.v. 62.14) is a common combination.

VOTI PERACTI Ovid Ibis 97; when you are voti compos.

7–8 Cf. 111, Sen. Ep. 22.12 istis ... quibus (di) bono ac benigno vultu mala magnifica tribuerunt, ob hoc unum excusati, quod ista ... optantibus data sunt. OPTARE is a recurrent word in this poem in the sense 'pray for' (also 13.96).

FACILES ‘indulgent’ (Thes. s.v. 62.47) as Mart. 1.103.4 (a similar context), Sen. Ep. 101.13 etc. The expression is clearly paradoxical.

EVERTERE Instances like this show clearly how the gnomic perfect [455] came into existence (cf. 2.83); for the combination with the surrounding presents cf. on 14.173.

IPSIS The domini of the domus themselves; for ipse applied to the inhabitants in contrast to their home see A. Draeger Historische Syntax 1 (1878) p. 80.

NOCITURA Sen. Ep. 110.10 (deus) nocitura altissime pressit.

TOGA (cf. 8.240) ... MILITIA (for the ablative see Thes. s.v. 961.14) Cf. Mart. 1.55.2 militiae ... togaeque decus.

9 TORRENS A common metaphor (119, 128, 3.74 etc.).

10 ILLE The famous athlete Milo of Croton, who died with his hands wedged in an oak-tree which he tried to rend.

VIRIBUS is to be taken both with confisus (Val. Max. 9.12 ext. 9 fretus viribus; Strabo 6.1.12.263 τῇ ... ῥώμῃ πεποιθότα) and periiit.

13 STRANGULAT This may mean 'causes to be strangled', or simply 'kills'; or it may allude to Midas, who in one version (schol. Aristoph. Plut. 287) λιμαγχοθείς ἀπέθανεν.

CUNCTA 'all other', cf. on 11.25; PATRIMONIA and CENSUS are synonyms, cf. on 12.50.


15 TEMPORIBUS DIRIS Cf. 4.80.

16 LONGINUM i.e. his house; cf. Verg. Aen. 2.311 (cf. on 3.199), Hor. Serm. 1.5.71–2 hospes paene ... arsit, and on 3.194, 9.24. In the aftermath of the conspiracy of Piso in A.D. 65 C. Cassius Longinus was banished to Sardinia (Tac. Ann. 16.9.1, Pomponius Dig. 1.2.2.51).

SENCAE PRAEDIVITIS This phrase Tac. Ann. 15.64; cf. on 8.212. For the ad-

CLAUSIT tribunus … villam globis militum saepsit Tac. 15.60.4.

For the execution of Plautius LATERANUS see on 8.147. It is improbable that this house is identical with that on the Caelian hill which later belonged to the Sextii Laterani and the name of which survives in the basilica of St John Lateran; cf. RE Sextius 2048, Platner–Ashby 183, Jordan 1.3.243, A. M. Colini Storia e Topografia del Celio (Mem. Pontif. Accad. 7, 1944) 373.

OBSIDET Historic present.

18 RARUS Though formally this is contrasted with tota cohors, logically it must be equivalent to raro; cf. 8.63.

CENACULA Poetic plural; a garret (Varro LL 5.162), all the upper rooms of an insula. Cf. 7.118, 3.199, Suet. Vitell. 7 meritorio (cf. 3.234) cenaculo and see RE s.v., Blümner1 55–6, Marquardt 221, Hermansen Phoenix 24, 1970, 342. |

MILES See on clausit 16; to make an arrest.

19 PAUCA Only a few, and that of plain, not embossed, silver, and small (cf. 9.141 for the phrase and the diminutive). ARGENTUM (cf. Thes. s.v. 526.5) PURUM is contrasted with caelatum, silver with crustae or emblemata; cf. 14.62, Cic. 2 Verr. 4.49–52, Paulus Dig. 6.1.6.

PORTES Roman travellers took their plate with them, Sen. Ep. 87.7, 123.7, Mart. 6.94; SG 1.287–8 = 1.343–4.

NOCTE ITER INGRESSUS Cf. 5.55, 3.236, Kleberg 62; one would thereby avoid the heat of the day.

CONTUM is usually understood of a lance or pike (cf. Tac. Ann. 6.35.1 contis gladiisque of the Sarmatians). But Scholte 75 is probably right in understanding a boat-hook (on 2.150), which would make a good weapon (Verg. Aen. 5.208, Tac. Ann. 14.5); he supposes the scene to be the Pompitine marshes on the Appian Way (cf. 3.307 and harundinis 21) and refers to the poor reputation of sailors (on 8.174; in this case bargees).

21 Cf. Lucan 7.5–6, Stat. Th. 6.158, Dio Cass. 63.28.2.

AD (Thes. 527.53; add Petron. 103) LUNAM So πρὸς τὴν σελήνην.

MOTA … UMBRA motae … umbram would be equally satisfactory (cf. 8.152); see the apparatus.


CANTABIT From relief and indifference (Prop. 2.21.5); but travellers often did anyway (Calp. Sic. 1.28).

25 TOTO FORO Among all the business-men of the forum, cf. 11.50. According to Σ here and on 14.261 the argentarii kept the arcae of their clients in the temple of Castor in the forum; cf. Ulpian Dig. 16.3.7.2 quotiens foro cedunt (on
11.50) nummularii solet primo loco ratio haberi depositariorum, Paulus ibid. 15.1.52 pecuniam in arca deponere; Pernice ZRG 19, 1898, 115.


FICTIONEBUS Cf. 3.168, 11.20; ACONITa cf. 1.158; POCULA GEMMATA (Thes. s.v. 1758.31) cf. 5.37 sqq.; SETINUM cf. 5.33.

ARDEBIT does not here apply to the fiery intoxicating power of the wine (4.138), but to its red colour (cf. 11.155) and sparkle in the gold cup (AURO cf. 5.39).

LATO A phiala (5.39).

**28–30** Democritus and Heraclitus. This contrast was evidently introduced by Seneca’s teacher Sotion (Stob. *Flor.* 3.20.53 p. 550) and popularised by Seneca himself; see especially *Tranq. An.* 15.2 |[457] (quotiens in publicum processerat; see further in the introduction), *De Ira* 2.10.5 (quotiens proderat). Thereafter we find it in Lucian (*De Sacrific.* 15, *Vit.* *Auct.* 13, *De Morte Peregr.* 7 and esp. 45 τί σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ ταῦτα εἶδε; κατ’ ἀδίκιαν γελάσαι ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρί. καίτοι πόθεν εἶχεν ἐκείνος τοσοῦτον γέλωται); see Lutz *CJ* 49, 1953–4, 309; Stewart *HSCP* 63, 1958, 186; and p. 555. Μελαγχολία, whatever that means, was attributed to Heraclitus by Theophrastus ap. Diog. Laert. 9.6 (cf. Pliny *NH* 7.80). Democritus was nicknamed Γελασῖνος (Aelian *VH* 4.20, Suidas 2.44.15 no. 447; Cic. *De Or.* 2.235 = fr. A 21 probably alludes to this and does not seem to imply that he wrote a treatise on laughter); perhaps his εὐθυμία became γέλως. Note however fr. B 107 ἄξιον άνθρώπους οὖν ἔπ’ άνθρώπων συμφοραῖς μὴ γελᾶν ἀλλ’ ὀλοφύρεσθαι.

IAMNE After what I have said.

DE Partitive; cf. 1.34, 66, 137; 3.259; 6.385; 15.92.

QUOTIENS … PEDEM Cf. the parallels quoted by Otto *pes* 10 with *effere*.

A The variant *de* is due to 28.


RIGIDI CENSURA Cf. 11.91–2; if we understand ‘a mirthless laugh’ we need not assume a transferred epithet. There is a cackling alliteration of *c.*

32 This is reversed in Lucian (on 28–30).

UMOR Cf. 13.133; ILLE of the other.


35 Similar lists with a tinge of disparagement Sen. *Dial.* 2.12.2, *De Ben.* 1.5.6. *Praetextae* 99; worn by the curule magistrates. *Trabeae* (8.259 and Gabelmann there cited; *RE* s.v.); now worn by augurs and on ceremonial occasions by *equites* (Mommsen1 3.513), and in their case purple with a scarlet border.

FASCES Cf. 79, 8.136, 5.110.

LECTICA A mark of women of high rank (4.20, 6.351 and 477) or by now even of men (1.32, 64, 159; 3.239; 7.132; 9.143; cf. Dio Cass. 60.2.3 and the special honour

TRIBUNAL A platform on which curule chairs were set, 8.194.

36 A fortiori; he would have laughed at the pomp of Roman magistrates, and would have laughed even harder at the pompa circensis (RE suppl. 5.610, 7.1627, RSV 3.507, SG 2.36 = 2.44) led by the president of the games dressed as a triumphing general (11.194; Balsdon 245, Wissowa 452, RE triumphus 500.37, H. S. l.c. 458) Versnel Triumphus (1970) 130). The president would normally be a praetor (36; cf. on 8.194), and it is therefore hard to justify consul in 41 (quippe 41 prevents us from supposing a change of scene). The word must be a gloss on something like praeses. Scholte tentatively proposed to delete 41–2 (followed by Helbig Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France, Centenaire 1804–1904, Recueil de Mémoires (1904) 181), but SUDANS looks like Juvenal, and the lines are needed to explain what Juvenal means by his inexact expression that the magistrate is carrying (FERENTEM) what is too heavy to be carried (40).

CURRIBUS ALTIS (poetic plural; cf. curru 42) Versnel 131; SUBLIMEM cf. Livy 28.9.15, Tert. Apol. 33.4; PULVERE see on 8.61 (and 11.200).

38 The tunica palmata and toga picta (Marquardt 542) were the attire of Jupiter Capitolinus and on each occasion were borrowed from his treasury; cf. Versnel 58, 72, 92; RE triumphus 504.62, 494.33; Warren JRS 60, 1970, 59.

PICTAE sc. acu, embroidered.

SARRANA i.e. Tyrian (on 1.27); it was of purple embroidered with gold (Versnel 56, RE l.c. 505.10).

AULAEA Of the broad folds and great size of the toga; Σ compares Cic. Catil. 2.22 velis amictos, non togis.

CORONAE Cf. Versnel 56–7, 74–7; RE 506.32; J. W. Salomonson Chair, Sceptre and Wreath (1956) fig. 12 and p. 32 (one shown on the tomb of a praetor). When this referred to the president of the games it became the praetoricia corona of Mart. 8.33.1, who speaks of the lightness of one gold leaf from it; but Juvenal’s assertion of its weight, matched by the heavy rhythm, explains why it was not actually worn, but held by a public slave.

41 SIBI ... NE PLACEAT Cf. 6.276; to avoid nemesis, like the obscene songs of the soldiers at a triumph; cf. Versnel 70 and 380, RE l.c. 506.67.

PUBLICUS ... SERVUS For the word-order cf. on 11.140. See L. Halkin Les Esclaves Publics (1897) 72–3; he is clearly seen in Ryberg fig. 77a (cf. ibid. p. 142).


44 CORNICINES RE l.c. 503.36.

OFFICIA The train of clients (such as may be seen in the procession on the Arch of Titus) in their white togas. For OFFICIA (‘escort’) cf. 2.132, 6.203 (of weddings); Suet. Iul. 71 inter officia prosequantum, Nero 28 celeberrimo officio deduc- tum; Ovid Met. 15.691–2; for NIVEOS Calp. Sic. 7.29 nivei ... tribules (as emended
by van Berchem, Rendic. Pontif. Accad. 18, 1941–2, 189), Mart. 1.55.14 urbanis albus in officius.

PRAECEDENTIA Cf. 7.142; they are anteambulones. ||

QUIRITES The formal word for ‘citizens’ (cf. 3.60), here as 109 ironically hinting that they abase their station by servility.

46 Cf. on 1.95; the sportula will already have been distributed.

DEFOSSA Like buried treasure.

AMICOS A mercenary kind of ‘friendship’; cf. 5.14, 173.

47–50 MATERIAM RISUS 3.147, Sen. Dial. 2.18.1.

CUIUS The antecedent is the subject of INVENIT.

VERVECUM μωρότερος προβάτου the paroemiographer Macarius 6.8 with the note of Schneidewin–Leutsch 2 p. 189. Pliny NH 8.199 quam stultissima animalium lanata, whence the point of Synesius’s remark (Dion 9 vol. 66 col. 1141 Migne) ei ἐπέθλατοι φιλοσοφεῖν τοῖς κριοῖς.

CRASSO SUB AERE This is alleged of Boeotia Hor. Epist. 2.1.244, Cic. De Fato 7 (cf. De Nat. Deor. 2.42); the Black Sea has ἀθρ. παχός Menander Samia 109 (Sandbach’s numeration). The idea that climate affects intellect goes right back to the Hippocratic περί ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων; cf. Onians 78, Walbank HSCP 76, 1972, 156 and on Polyb. 4.20–1, Pease on Cic. De Div. 1.79 and De Nat. Deor. 2.17, Watts Acta Classica (S.A.) 19, 1976, 85. Abdera was the birthplace not only of Democritus, but also of Protagoras, Leucippus (?), Hecataeus and other intellectuals. It seems to be reproached for dullness first by Herodas 2.58, then Cicero (Otto Abdera, Pease on De Nat. Deor. 1.120); cf. Lamb PCPS 94–6, 1913, 11, Hendrickson CP 22, 1927, 52 (Democritus fr. C 2–6).

51 Cf. the attitude taken by Pollius Felix (Stat. Silv. 2.2.129–32), an Epicurean and therefore a spiritual descendant of Democritus. IPSE in contrast to the volgus.


MEDIUM UNGUEM Cf. Mart. 2.28.1–2; the digitus infamis or impudicus held out from the clenched hand like a phallus from the scrotum taunted a man as a pathic (it is called καταπύγων and verpus). Cf. Sittl 101, RAC Finger 930 and Genitalien 19, S. Seligmman Der Böse Blick (1910) 2.183, Henderson 213, Jahn Sitzb. Sächs. Akad. Leipzig 7, 1855, 81–2.

54 <QUAE> spelt que would readily be omitted before per through similarity of contractions (Housman); the word is placed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

SUPERVACUA (cf. introduction) AUT PERNICIOSA Sen. De Ben. 6.27.7 votum tuum aut supervacuum est aut injuriosum; Suet. De Rhet. p. 29.17 Brugnoli, Sall. Iug. 1.5. ||
GENUA INCERARE DEORUM This may mean to cover the knees of the statues with wax tablets (cerae, tabulae votivae) on which vows were inscribed, and will allude to the regular grasping of the knees in supplication (cf. also Homer’s ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούναις κείται; Arnob. 6.6 haec signa quorum … genua contrectatis et contractatis orantes). But Gnilka, JAC 7, 1964, 52 attractively understands ‘die Vota … auf den Statuen zu versiegeln’ (to fasten with wax), and quotes sources which mention the thighs as the place for this (cf. SG 3.168 = 3.199). He thinks that incerare is a comic substitute for inaurare (13.151); it is certainly hyperbolical, as if the statues were covered with wax.

56–7 For the INVIDIA to which power is subject cf. Lucr. 5.1126, Sen. Ep. 84.11 and Dial. 11.9.5; Juvenal seems to hint some sympathy for Sejanus.

MERGIT ‘shipwrecks’, cf. 13.8; Sen. Ep. 55.3 aliquos … Seiani odium, deinde amor merserat (aeque enim offendisse illum quam amasse periculosum fuit).

PAGINA HONORUM A column of distinctions, i.e. tituli on statue bases (1.130, 8.69); pagina of the consular fasti Livy 9.18.12, Pliny Pan. 92.2.

58 Cf. 8.18 of imagines; Vittinghoff 13; SG 2.279, 286 = 3.59, 66. Juvenal will have seen such scenes after the death of Domitian (Suet. 23, Dio Cass. 68.1, Pliny Pan. 52), as we have in Budapest in 1956.

DESCUNDUNT 14.61.

SECUNTUR Cf. 1.164; Pliny NH 35.4 ut frangat heres forisque detrahat laqueo (furisique … laqueum or -us codd.); [Sen.] Oct. 794 sqq. For the RESTIS cf. Libanius Or. 20.4, 22.8.

59 Chariot statues 7.126, 8.3, SG 2.290 = 3.71; the characteristic triumphal type (Pliny NH 34.19). Though because of the links with the imperial cult the right of having statues was limited (Vittinghoff 14 n. 32), there were many of Sejanus.

IMMERITIS Cf. Thes. s.v. 456.55 and Juv. 13.156; others are more guilty than they are.

CABALLIS Cf. on 3.118; but here the word seems to suggest pity rather than contempt.

62 ADORATUM Dio 58.2.7–8, 4.3–4, 6.2, 8.4, 11.2; Tac. Ann. 4.2; Suet. Tib. 48.2, 65.

CAPUT … FACIE The rest of the statue would have been left (Vittinghoff 14 n. 37).

64 Cf. Pliny quoted on 58.

URCEOLOI 3.203; pitchers.

PELVES 3.277, 6.441; basins.

SARTAGO A saucepan, cf. Blümner 1 157, Hilgers 269; one of silver [46] is mentioned by Ulpian Dig. 34.2.19.12, but is merely ornamental. For the singular surrounded by plurals cf. 7.11, 9.109, 2.169 and the equally anomalous plural at 11.139.

MATELLAE Chamber-pots (RE s.v., Blümner 1 147), a scabrous anti-climax; cf.

**65** PONE DOMI LAURUS 6.79 and 227–8 for a marriage, 9.85 for a birth; also for any occasion of rejoicing, private (6.51–2, 12.91) or public. Cf. Ogle *AJP* 31, 1910, 295 and the celebrations at the downfall of Nero, Dio 63.29.1 (Zonaras and Jo. Antioch.).

 DUO ... BOVEM Cf. 6.48, 12.2 (both in contexts where garlands are also mentioned). Σ quotes Lucretius (meaning Lucil. 1145) *cretatumque bovem duc[it] (or duci[t]) ad Capitolia magna* (-um conjectured by Wessner, and so involuntarily quoted by Heinrich). Any dark spots would be covered with pipe-clay to make sure that it was white (cf. *niveam 12.2*); see Latte 210, *RE* suppl. 5.245, Capdeville *Mél. Éc. Franç. Rome* 83, 1971, 300. This passage may have the satiric point that a pure white victim would be more expensive, and it would be an insult to the emperor to offer any less.

 DUO (cf. 12.112) ... DUCITUR (cf. 5.125) is deliberate; Sejanus is like a victim felled at the altar (cf. 268). *Trahitur* would be the technical term (99).

 SEIANUS DUCITUR UNCO His corpse is being dragged from the *carcer* (13.245) to the *scalae Gemoniae* (cf. 86); Suet. *Tib.* 61 etc., Dio Cass. 58.11. SPEC TANDUS Cf. Plut. *Galba* 14 θέαμα.

 **67** LABRA Indicating scorn, cf. 3.185, Quintil. 11.3.80; Lucil. 43 *quae facies, qui voltu’ viro!*

 **68** NUNQUAM AMAVI Cf. Seneca quoted on 57; many of his friends shared his fall, and of course many were eager to deny his friendship (Tac. *Ann.* 6.8, Dio 58.10.4 and 7, 12.3).

 **69** CECIDIT SUB CRIMINE Cf. Ovid *Trist.* 2.121 and on 4.12.

 DELATOR *delatores* first became prominent in the reign of Tiberius, and had been encouraged by Sejanus himself; cf. Baumann 113–24 and on 3.118.

 QUIDBUS ... TESTE Cf. 6.219–20; either ablative absolute or instrumental, cf. Cic. *Pro Clu.* 38 *nullo teste, nullo indice, Pro Cael.* 6 *rem teste confirmare*. Index and *testis* are often associated; in the case of Sejanus the *coniurationis index* (Tac. 6.47) was Satrius Secundus. An *index* as contrasted with a *delator* is one who betrays his accomplices, whereas the other denounces from outside.

 **71** EPISTULA Dio 58.9–10.

 BENE HABET καλῶς ἔχει, all right; cf. KS 1.91, *Thes. habeo* 2451.48. ||[1462]|

 NIL PLUS INTERROGO Cf. 6.223 (see on 69 for this context), Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.188, Petron. 41.5.

NORTIA (So PA; nyrtia Σ, nurtia (F)G, nursia Φ; for the forms cf. RE s.v. 1050.50.) The Etruscan goddess of Fortune (L. R. Taylor Local Cults in Etruria (1923) 154 and RE), worshipped particularly at Volusini, the birthplace of Sejanus (Tac. Ann. 4.1.2, 6.8.3; CIL 11.7285 = ILS 8996 is an inscription of his parents). Sejanus had in his house a statue of Fortuna (Pliny NH 8.197, 36.163; Dio 58.7.2) which turned its back on him just before his fall (Syme Hermes 84, 1956, 261).

SENECTUS PRINCIPISE See on 4.81.

SECUERA Sejanus made Tiberius sibi uni incautum intectumque (Tac. Ann. 4.1); but Duff may be right in taking the word as part of the hypothesis.


77 Elections of magistrates were transferred to the senate by Tiberius in A.D. 14; see Garzetti 23 and 565, Millar 302.

VENDIMUS παρὰ προσδοκίαν for damus adds an extra bitter allusion to the bribery which had marked the end of the republic. The present tense is like that in 1.85.

EFFUDIT CURAS Has lost interest in politics (Tac. Ann. 1.15 neque populus ademptum ius questus est nisi inani rumore; Dio 59.20.4).

79 Cf. 35, where fasces also are mentioned (but Juvenal’s attitude to such things seems to have reversed), [Sen.] Oct. 676 sqq.

SE CONTINET 5.100, reins itself in.

PANEM ET CIRCENSES Cf. Fronto p. 199–200 (Trajan), Tac. Ann. 15.36.4, Juv. 8.117–18 (q.v.). The same was said of the Alexandrians, Dio Chrys. 32.31, Joseph. AJ 19.1.16.130. Cf. SG 2.2 = 2.2.

PANEM Cf. 7.174, Tac. Hist. 4.38 volgus … cui una ex re p. annonae cura. Apart from the public distributions, it is not clear how far the state intervened in the provision of bread; cf. RE pistor 1826, Marquardt 416 (but note that the baker M. Vergilius Eurusaces who had a contract with the magistrates probably had it for supplying the vigiles, praetorians etc.).

CIRCENSES Cf. 6.87, 3.223, 11.53 and 197.

The conversation is now resumed from 72, after the poet’s interposed comment. [1463]

82 MAGNA FORNACULA The epithet cancels the diminutive in colloquial style (cf. Petron. 63.5 valde audaculum; HS 776); some thought such things solecistic, Quintil. 1.5.46. Another diminutive (PALLIDULUS) follows; cf. on 6.425. The metaphor of the furnace is suggested by 61 sqq.

MI Juvenal nowhere else uses this form.

BRUTTIDIUS or Bruttedius (so Sen. Contr. and Tacitus) Niger, who in A.D. 22 as aedile prosecuted C. Iunius Silanus, Tac. Ann. 3.66 (where he is introduced very ominously; he was probably prominent in the missing part of Ann. 5 which covered the fall of Sejanus).

MARTIS ARAM In the Campus Martius; Latte 114 n. 3, Wissowa 142, Welin
84–5 Madvig 35 (and on similar lines Merry CR 11, 1897, 26) explains thus: Bruttidius was in the habit of declaiming in the schools (Sen. Contr. 2.1 (9).35–6), where one of the stock controversiae was the armorum iudicum between Ajax and Ulysses (ibid. 2.2 (10).8); Bruttidius had made a poor speech on the side of Ajax and the speaker here (who is not really a friend in spite of meus) says ironically that Ajax may be punishing B. for his loss of the case. This is incredibly frigid, and it is hard to believe that the speech of B. would have retained its fame or infamy until Juvenal’s time. Hertzberg sees Sejanus in Ajax (and Tiberius in Ulysses), exacting vengeance from the underworld; this seems equally frigid and has no appropriateness to the context. Nor can the interpretation of P. Thomas (Rev. Phil. 8, 1884, 108), ‘some Ajax’ (i.e. someone himself involved in the fall of Sejanus) ‘may denounce us for abandoning him’, create satisfaction. It is best to see Tiberius in Ajax (as Domitian is Agamemnon 4.65, q.v.); as Ajax in madness killed the cattle (14.286), so Tiberius, who was suspected of suffering from senile dementia, like Ajax when defeated in the armorum iudicum (8.269, 11.31) may slaughter the citizens under the impression that he has been badly defended. Then Sejanus will be Ulysses, and the point of the allusion will be that oblique references are a prudent precaution in such circumstances. Difficulty however remains; male defensus has no application to Ajax (cf. 7.115) and hardly seems to suit Tiberius either unless we suppose that he attempted to shift the blame for his incautious trust in Sejanus to others. Victus too is quite unsuitable to Tiberius, and is not improved by the emendations suggested.

86 Cf. Dio referred to on 66. RIPA of the Tiber; for exposure by the Tiber cf. Weinstock 348 n. 1.

CALCEMUS Cf. 15.60.

87 QUIS sc. servorum. A treason charge was one of the few occasions when slaves could lay information against their owner (Buckland 90, [146] Baumann 43 and 55). PAVIDUM DOMINUM is not what the actual speaker would say, cf. 1.103.


90 SALUTARI At the salutatio (cf. Dio 57.21, 58.5; Tac. Ann. 4.41.4 adsiduos in domum coetus).

HABERE Cf. 14.207.

ILLI ... ILLUM Cf. 196–7, 2.93–9 and hic ... hic 1.46–7, 3.216, 6.610; Thes. ille 355.66.

SUMMAS CURULES sc. sellas, cf. Stat. Silv. 3.3.115. Sejanus’ favour was a necessary passport to the consulship; cf. Tac. 4.68, 6.8.2–4, 4.2. neque senatorio am-
bitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi.

92 e.g. his uncle Junius Blaesus, who was sent as proconsul of Africa to conduct the campaign against Tacfarinas (Tac. 3.35–8, 72–4).

TUTOR As if the senex (75) Tiberius were a minor.

93 The lord of the world perched on a narrow crag, like a shepherd pasturing his flock (grex) on cliffs (cf. Verg. Buc. 1.76; Capri, the rock of goats (capri), is saepta undique praeruptis immensae altitudinis rupibus Suet. 40); he is exiled by his own decree, cf. 170. SEDERE often carries a hint of sitting idly.

CUM GREGE CHALDAEO Especially Thrasyllus 6.576, cf. 553.

CERTE State and pomp at least, if not sole executive power.

PILA, COHORTEs i.e. the praetorian guard (pilata ... cohors Mart. 10.48.2), of which Sejanus was praefectus and which he first concentrated at Rome in the castra praetoria (16.25, Tac. 4.2, Suet. 37, Dio 57.19.6). CASTRA DOMESTICA a barrack at his disposal, which he treats as part of his own household.

EGREGIOS EQUITES This cannot allude to equites singulares (cf. RE s.v. 313), since we can hardly accuse Juvenal of the anachronism of attributing this comparatively recent innovation to the time of Sejanus (they are first definitely attested in A.D. 113; M. Speidel Die Equites Singulares (1965) 91–2). Nor to the title vir egregius (Thes. egregius 288.64, RE equites Romani 308, O. Hirschfeld Kl. Schr. 652), a common style of equestrian magnates as vir clarissimus of senators; this is post-Juvenalian. The praetorian guard had some cavalry, but though it was an elite corps (see Sixteen, introduction) that could not justify the epithet egregios. The allusion must be to the class among the equites which possessed the senatorial census and was selected by the emperor to enter on a career as procurator Augusti (quae equestris nobilitas est Tac. Agr. 4.1), regularly called inlustres, insignes, splendidi and contrasted with equites modici; see RE l.c., Mommsen1 3,563, Stein 98 sqq. and 420, Nicolet 228 (Hill CQ1 22, 1928, 77 and 23, 1929, 33 refers such titles to courtiers of equestrian rank). They might perform part of their militia equestris (on 1.58) as tribunus cohortis praetoriae.

96–7 Cf. Ovid Her. 12.75.

98–9 = ut paria mala accipere velis, cf. on 3.54.

99 PRAETEXTAM (cf. 35). Sejanus was given the ornamenta praetoria in A.D. 20 and was consul in the year of his death in A.D. 31; cf. Dio 58.11.2.

100 FIDENARUM GABIORUMQUE 6.56; cf. on 170.

POTESTAS In a concrete sense, Italian podestà; so Verg. Aen. 10.18 (Cic. Tusc. 1.74 is not a case, Quintil. 7.1.32 is marginal; I have not located the instance in Vitruvius alluded to by HS 748); the plural is well attested from the elder Pliny. Cf. honor 1.110, 117 and on 4.71.

101–2 From Pers. 1.130, with Ulubrae from Hor. Epist. 1.11.30 (cf. on 6.56 for Gabii and Fidenae in the same passage). For the aediles of country towns cf. 3.179 and RE s.v. 462; weights and measures are the humble sphere of their jurisdiction
PANNOUS Even on feast-days their dress is not conspicuous (3.178); but Juvenal exaggerates their informality.

VACUIS Cf. 3.2.

VASA MINORA Cf. Festus 246 publica pondera = FIRA 1 p. 79.

105–7 He is thinking of the fall of the tower at Verg. Aen. 2.460–7; cf. Hor. Odes 2.10.10 (where see Nisbet–Hubbard), [Sen.] Oct. 379 sqq.; Lucian Charon 14, Navig. 40 ὁ οὖν ύπνλὸς καταπεσὼν.

NUMEROSA Cf. 7.151; TABULATA cf. 3.199.

PRAECEPS A noun, cf. 1.149, Sen. Ep. 94.73, Stat. Silv. 1.4.51; RUINAE the falling tower, cf. 11.13.

UNDE … ESSET A result is described in terms of a purpose (cf. HS 642, KS 2.251). R. G. Nisbet AJP 44, 1923, 28 thinks that the purpose is that of destiny; but perhaps we should rather say that the agent is blinded so that he cannot see what achieving his ends actually involves, and the desired outcome is ironically replaced by the actual, cf. 167.

108–9 i.e. Julius Caesar. The plurals may be generic (‘men like Pompey and Crassus’, the other members of the first triumvirate), in which case for the combination with the singular Caesar cf. on 11.91; or it may include the sons of Pompey and Crassus.

FLAGRA As if the Romans (ironically given their most formal name, cf. 45) were his slaves (cf. 5.173, Suet. Aug. 94, Macrobi. Sat. 2.7.4) or tamed animals (cf. 2.169, 5.154).

110 i.e. petitio summi loci; see index nouns. Sen. Ep. 95.3 inter illos quos honores nulla non arte atque opera petiti discruacios et ceteros malorum suorum compotes.

111 MALIGNIS The veneer of di faciles (7–8) is stripped off; cf. Verg. Aen. 11.157–8 nulli exaudita deorum / vota. If he promises to repay great things, he must have asked for great things.

112 GENERUM CERERIS Pluto (13.50).

REGES Tyrants; the tyrannicide is a commonplace of rhetoric (on 7.151). Pompey, Caesar and Crassus (who were reges Cic. Ad Q. Fr. 1.2.16) all died by the sword.

For the interlaced word-order in 112–13 cf. index word-order, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

115 QUINQUATRIBUS The feast of Minerva, goddess of arts and wisdom, on 19–23 March (properly only on 19 March; ML Minerva 2987, Frazer on Ovid Fasti 3.809), particularly observed by teachers and scholars (Ovid 829 and 815) as a holiday (Hor. Epist. 2.2.197–8); cf. Latte 165, Wissowa 254.

116 UNO ASSE The stips or contribution to a god’s treasury (Varro LL 5.182); this appears to have been collected by the teacher and given to the goddess (ML l.c. 2986.48). The little boy wants in return that Minerva should give him eloquence (cf. Ovid 815–16).
ADHUC He cannot yet pay any more.

PARCAM The scholiast’s explanation vilioris pretii fictile Minervae signum is to be dismissed as based on the reading of Φ partam (uno asse). Doubtless we have a transferred epithet ‘economical’, in sense belonging to asse (cf. Mart. 8.33.12 cum parco asse). Heinsius on Ovid 829 understands Minervam qua parce adhuc puer est imbutus, following the scholiast aut qui tenue adhuc eloquium habet; Minerva is sparing of her gifts to the boy, as he is to her. This however seems more critical of Minerva and the boy than the context warrants. Perhaps she is ‘thrifty’, building up her treasure from tiny contributions.

117 The capsarius; the capsa was used for transport of books.

VERNULA Even he only rates a modest diminutive.


PERIT Perfect; see on 3.174.

LETO DEDIT An old Roman formula here used ironically; the solemn announcement of a funeral was ollus Quiris leto datus (Thes. do 1695.26; Jocelyn on Enn. Trag. 283 p. 409, E. Norden Aus Altrömischen Priesterbüchern (1939) 61, Waszinck Mnem.4 19, 1966, 249).

LARGUS … FONS Cf. 9, 128; Ovid Trist. 3.14.34, Cic. Pro Marcell. 4. [1467]

120 INGENIO Ablative, meaning propter ingenium, cf. eloquio 118. This refers to Cicero, whose head and hand(s) were fastened up on the rostra; it was his ingenium that Antony hated (Sen. Suas. 7.1 and 7).

NEC See on 3.102.

120–1 apply the lesson of 18 to eloquence. Heads of those executed were often displayed on the rostra (as late as Domitian, Dio Cass. 67.11.3).

CAUSIDICI PUSILLI A mere puny causidicus (see on 7.106), not an orator (118); for the contrast cf. 11.34 (Matho being a causidicus, 1.32), Cic. De Or. 1.202, Tac. Dial. 1.1.

122 Cicero’s (in)famous line from his poem De Consulatu Suo, much derided for its vanity and (Quintil. 9.4.41) its assonance. Juvenal mocks the latter with another assonance si sic; apart from verbal endings in -et and -at followed by et or atque, such assonance is rare in him (4.146, 5.129, 6.426, 7.73 and 168, 10.1, 14.43, 15.87 and in a fixed phrase 7.162).

123 Cic. Phil. 2 (referred to 125).118 contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Antony ridiculed Cicero’s verses (ibid. 20).

125 DIVINA A term of literary praise (3.207 and often).

126 VOLVERIS i.e. evolveris, cf. 6.452, 15.30; it is unrolled to be read.

A PRIMA PROXIMA ‘Next to (counting from) the first’, cf. 247, Ovid RA 404 and Trist. 5.8.38; Juvenal mocks poetic circumlocution of numbers, cf. 4.16. But note also Colum. 3.20.2 proximum a primo.

ET ILLUM Who also wrote Philippics.
128 TORRENTEM Cf. on 9 and the fuller simile in Hor. Serm. 1.7.27–8; but it must be a faded metaphor (cf. 13.8, 14.27) unless we are to assume a mixed metaphor with MODERANTEM FRENÆ (with which cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 2.9.33, Plut. Praec. Reip. Ger. 5.801c–d, 802d.)

THEATRÆ This was used on a number of occasions for the ecclesia instead of the Pnyx, e.g. before Chaeronea (Diod. Sic. 16.84–5); W. A. McDonald Political Meeting-places of the Greeks (1943) 56. Juvenal probably chooses it to compare Demosthænes by implication to an actor (cf. Cic. Brut. 6 forum populi Romani, quod fiuisset quasi theatrum illius ingenii).

129 He arouses sympathy (cf. on 56) for Demosthænes by suggesting that he was not responsible for his career. Cf. 1.50, Pers. 4.27, Otto deus 9 and Nachträge 4, Thes. deus 893.83. Suffering was regarded as a mark of divine displeasure (as in the case of Job). Juvenal is probably not thinking either of his physical defects which affected his pronunciation (RE Demosthænes 171–2) or of the fraud of his guardians.

130–2 Demosthænes’ father was a prosperous gentleman who owed part of his wealth to a sword-factory, whence he was called μαχαιροποιός (Plut. Dem. 4.2 etc., cf. Val. Max. 3.4 ext. 2 cultellos venditasse); this readily lent itself to distortion in the rhetorical schools (cf. on 4.32–3, 8.246, 15.114). Cf. the stories about the mother of Euripides (see Rennie on Aristoph. Ach. 457) and Nisbet’s edition of Cic. In Pis. p. 194, Fairweather Ancient Society 5, 1974, 246.

LUTEO VOLCANO ‘grimy blacksmith’s work’ or ‘smoky fire’; cf. 7.25 for the metonymy and 13.44–5, Diræ 173–4 for the portrait of Vulcan.

133 TRUNCIS … TROPAEIS (poetic plural) The simplest form of trophy was a tree stripped of its branches (cf. Suet. Cal. 45, Verg. Aen. 11.15 sqq., Plut. Rom. 16.5); see Woelcke Bonner Jahrb. 120, 1911, 143. Juvenal emphasises that most of the trophies are broken, which has obvious symbolic value.

BUCCULA The cheek-piece; CURTUM TEMONE IUGUM the yoke of a chariot with the pole broken off; APLUSTRE the stern-ornament of a ship, cf. Woelcke 152, Torr 68.

136 ARCU A triumphal arch, cf. Lucan 8.819 extractos spoliis hostilibus arcus and the temple of Mars in Stat. Th. 7.55 sqq.; like the captive Dacians on the Arch of Constantine, taken from that of Trajan. Cf. RE Triumphbogen 478.5, 479.22, 480.29. The series of appositions to EXUVIAE should be ended with a comma after arcu.

137 They make a man immortalis or caelestis (cf. 1.38) with happiness. Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.17.33–4 res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes / attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat.

GRAIUΣ Like Alexander; this rather than Graecus is usual when the Greeks are being contrasted with other nationalities, cf. 15.110, Cic. De Rep. 1.58 and on 11.100 (though see e.g. Quintil. 5.10.24).
ROMANUS He does not actually give a Roman _exemplum_.
BARBARUS like Hannibal and Xerxes.
INDUPERATOR The context clearly deflates the grandeur of the archaism (4.29).
CAUSAS … INDE HABUIT Cf. 278; one might have expected _hinc_ here, resuming HOC 137 with an anaphora.

141–2 QUIS … TOLLAS? should go in parenthesis; TAMEN refers back over this.

IPSAM For her own sake; cf. Ovid _Trist._ 5.14.31–2, _Ex Ponto_ 2.3.11–14 and 35–6, _Sen. Dial._ 7.9.4, _Cic. Pro Milone_ 96.

142 OLIM 'at times' (Tracy _CW_ 69, 1976, 432): GLORIA ambition (_Thes._ 2085.15, Naegelsbach §48.2).

TITULI … CUSTODIBUS Cf. 6.230 and on 5.110, 8.69.

145 Cf. _Mart._ 10.2.9 etc.; _Thes._ 359.32.

STERILIS The wild fig cannot propagate itself; nor can their hoped-for fame, which cannot resist it.

148 HANNIBALEM i.e. his ashes, cf. 242, _Prop._ 4.11.14 etc. |[469]

146 HANNIBALEM i.e. his ashes, cf. 242, _Prop._ 4.11.14 etc. |[469]

148–50 i.e. bounded on the West by the Atlantic (cf. on 2.1) off the coast of Mauretania and on the East by the Nile as far backwards (RURSUS = retroversus, i.e. southwards, cf. 12.76; an archaism in this sense) as Ethiopia, taken to be the S.E. boundary. Juvenal does not mention the northern boundary, which is obvious, nor the southwestern extent, which was unknown.

ALIOS ELEPHANTOS Those of Ethiopia, particularly associated with Elephantine (11.124), contrasted with the Indian (11.125). Cf. _Stat._ _Th._ 10.85 _Aethiopias alios_, i.e. the Western contrasted with the Eastern (there as here _alios_ replaces _āltĕroś_ in the sense 'a second set of'); _Val. Fl._ 2.382 _vigilem alium draconem_, the Colchian contrasted with that of the Hesperides (14.114). In each case, typically of the allusive style of Silver poetry, the other item is not mentioned in the context and has to be mentally supplied. Here we should not interpret 'other than those of Mauretania' (158), since the elephants of Africa form one family.


151 For the pause before the spondaic ending cf. on 1.52.

152 _Sen. Ep._ 51.5 _Hannibalem … indomitum … nivibus atque Alpibus_. Hannibal jumps lightly over the heavy spondaic mass of the Pyrenees (cf. _Pyrenen_ ending the line at _Lucan_ 1.689). For _-QUE … -QUE_ see on 5.49; the singular _ALPEM_ (contrast 166) found since _Ovid_ is chosen for the rhyme.

NATURA _Cf._ _Cic. De Prov. Cons._ 34; it is hybris to override her intentions.


153–8 All these lines have a spondaic fourth foot followed by diaeresis; this is
clearly meant to convey the effect of one hammer-blow after another.

154 After Cannae, when he was expected to attack Rome (7.162–3).

155 ACTI was bound to be corrupted to actum; Housman quotes Sen. Med. 993, NQ 6.5.3; Pliny Ep. 2.11.1 (cf. also Quintil. 4.2.21, 7.1.50). For the thought cf. Lucan 2.657 (Caesar).

MILITE Ablative of instrument, cf. on 9.150 and Ovid Fasti 5.562.

FRANGIMUS … PONO These may both mean 'I'; or perhaps the former means 'I and my army', the latter 'I the general'.

SUBURA The grand general is coupled with this seedy district (3.5, 11.51), which Martial represents Juvenal himself as frequenting (see p. 2); a humourless writer would have made Hannibal name the Capitol. For MEDIA cf. Mart. 12.21.5. |[470]

157 FACIES 'sight' (cf. Petron. 82.5, Tac. Ann. 1.41.1); TABELLA 'caricature'.

158 Livy 22.2.10–11, Polyb. 3.79.12. BELUA Cf. 11.126, 12.104.

GAETULA For the elephants of Mauretania, where a few still survive, see Scullard 24. However some at least of Hannibal’s elephants may have been Indian (Scullard 170, Toynbee 36).

159 GLORIA resumes 143.

160 FUGIT Not until 196 or 195 B.C., six or seven years after his defeat at Zama; he did not arrive in Bithynia until about 190, and his suicide took place between 183 and 181 B.C.

MAGNUS MIRANDUSQUE For the alliterative pair cf. Wölfflin 266 and ALL 3, 1886, 449.

161 Roman customs are observed in Bithynia! Cf. 250, 177–8.

SEDET A suppliant’s posture, waiting for King Prusias to hold his salutatio; Hannibal has to get up early like a Roman client (3.129 vigilare; Sen. Dial. 10.14.4 suum somnum rumpunt ut alienum exspectent). PRAETORIA embraces both 'palace' and 'mansion' (1.75). REGIS and TYRANNO are the same person; cf. on 8.120.

163 RES HUMANAS The whole world. FINEM DABUNT (the future announcing destiny) cf. Thes. do 796.65 (and similarly with pausam). Two Indo-European roots have coalesced in dare, and this is one of the cases in which *dhe (to put or make) is more prominent.

166 ANULUS In which he carried poison; this romanticised detail is elsewhere found only in Aurel. Vict. Vir. Ill. 42.6 (cf. on 185). The one-word climax in a new line punctures the preceding grandeur. Juvenal is doubtless thinking of the Roman rings sent back to Carthage after Cannae.

I … ET In this challenging form (details in Lease AJP 19, 1898, 59) Juvenal elsewhere uses i nunc; cf. De Decker 173n. and on 1.145, 12.57. The combination here with another verb of motion shows that the original sense of i has been lost from sight; cf. 2 l.c.

167 UT Cf. on 106.
PUERIS PLACEAS They like this romantic theme.


168 Cf. 14.313; Val. Max. 8.14 ext. 2; Sen. Suas. 1.5 orbis illum suus non capít (cf. 148; this Alexander-suasoria often mentions the orbis, cf. De Decker 42); Curtius 7.8.12; Lucan 5.356 quibus hic non sufficit orbis, 10.455 (Caesar).

PELLAEO The point of this is made clear by Sen. Ep. 119.8 ille modo ignobilis anguli non sine controversia dominus tacto fine terrarum per suum rediturus orbem tristis est.


170 Cf. 1.73, 6.564, 13.246 and Otto Nachträge 90; the two together Sen. Dial. 12.6.4. Gyaros (Yaros) was used for the same purpose under the regime which emerged from the coup of 1967. H. Valesius proposed to read parvave, and similar questions arise at 100, 3.169, 6.575, 6.77 (after aut), 11.34 (with et). Scribes show a strong tendency to corrupt -ve to -que (Housman on Manil. 1.475), but the correctness of et in such a case is guaranteed by metre at Verg. Aen. 5.52. English idiom would suggest that e.g. 6.575 would mean one journey with two destinations, whereas Latin can take it to mean two journeys on separate occasions. Cf. Fordyce on Cat. 45.6, Bömer on Ov. Met. 6.616.


171 Hardly a flattering description of the brick walls of Babylon (Herod. 1.178–83, Curtius 5.1.25 etc.), where Alexander died; it is a parody of poetic doctrina, which loved such allusive descriptions, and implies that his conquests came to a miserable end.

172 Stat. Silv. 2.7.95 angusto Babylon premit sepulchro. SARCOPHAGO is the first occurrence of the word in this sense (Blümner1 502 n. 8).

FATETUR 'shows', cf. 15.132 and Thes. s.v. 342.48.

QUANTULA Cf. 147; the second diminutive reinforces the effect, cf. Hofmann p. 141.

173 OLIM is usually taken with creditur 'it has long been believed' (cf. 6.346); but credimus 176 is against this. Juvenal is (wrongly) sceptical about this canal.

QUICQUID 'whatever else', cf. 13.83, quae 178 and on 3.7.

GRAECA ... HISTORIA Cf. 14.240; Pliny NH 5.4 portentosa Graeciae mendacia, 8.82, 28.112; Val. Max. 4.7.3. On Greek historians see Quintil. 2.4.19, Tac. Hist. 2.4.1, Censorin. 17.3; the fabulous element in Herodotus was often remarked (Wardman 105).

AUDET Cf. 2.2.

As 173–8 are punctuated by Clausen the naval references are grouped together and CREDITUR and CREDIMUS are placed in corresponding positions. Housman preferred to put the semi-colon after historia rather than mare, so that one
sentence ends with *quicquid Graecia audet*, the other with *cantat quae Sostratus*, both summarising phrases.

**CONSTRATUM CLASSIBUS … MARE** The ships were so numerous that they paved the sea (cf. Livy 35.49.6, Curtius 9.6.7 and 8.5, Manil. 1.776 *Persidis et victor* (Themistocles at Salamis) *strarat quae* (*qui* the best mss.) *classibus aequor*; Herod. 7.45 ὥρα πάντα τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεών ἀποκεκρυμένον. |[472]

**ISDEM** The same as sailed through Athos; though this seems weak.

**SOLIDUM MARE** A paradoxical way of referring to the bridge over the Hellespont (Herod. 7.36).

177 This looks pleonastic, but it is rather a case of epexegeesis. See Herod. 7.21.1 (cf. 43.1, 58.3, 108.2, 187.1, 196.3). EPOTA sc. *esse*.

**PRANDENTE** ‘lunching’, ironical; the *prandium* was a light meal. No doubt the application of this Roman word to the Persians (as to the gods, 13.46) is humorous; cf. 161.

**SOSTRATUS Σ** says that he was a poet; J. O. Thomson CR 2, 1951, 3 identifies him with Sosistratus, who according to Aristotle *Poet.* 26.1462a in epic recitation overdid gesticulation, and suggests that the name in Aristotle should be emended; but Juvenal’s description implies someone nearer to his own time.

**MADIDIS ALIS** The perspiration gathers in his arm-pits (11.157) because of his vehement delivery.

179 **ILLE** The person in question, Xerxes; cf. 278, 1.97, 3.264, 6.330.

180 **SOLITUS** Exaggerated (cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.7.34); it only happened once (Herod. 7.35, who however says that it was the sea that was whipped when the storm broke the bridge over the Hellespont). This exaggeration shows clearly how Juvenal is liable to refer to exceptions as if they were the rule (cf. on 2.51–2 and p. 25).

**CORUS** (14.267) is the WNW wind, Eurus the ESE; so Juvenal has in mind the common ancient view that storms are due to the conflict of opposing winds (Sen. *NQ* 5.16.1–2, Austin on Verg. *Aen.* 1.85, Morford (on 12.23–4) 40, Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 476, Friedrich in *Festschr. B. Snell* (1956) 79).

**BARBARUS** As shown by his behaviour, cf. Plut. *Fort. Alex.* 2.12.342e ὁ δὲ μάστιγες οὐδὲ πέδαι, μανικὰ καὶ βάρβαρα κολαστήρια θαλάσσης.

**AEOLIO IN CARCERE** Cf. 5.101, *Thes. carcer* 437.43; a prison is where one might normally expect whipping.

182 Herod. 7.35 and 54.3; 8.109.3.

183 Read … SANE. QUID? NON … CREDIDIT? (So E. W. Weber *Animadversiones* (1820) p. 17). Herodotus had heard that he actually did this (7.35; cf. Plut. *De Cohib. Ira* 5.455d), the crowning absurdity should not be denied, and with the reading of the mss. the following remark HUIC … DEORUM lacks motivation.

**VELLET** ‘would have wished’; KS 1.179–80, Woodcock p. 91.

**SERVIRE** As Neptune had served Laomedon and Apollo Admetus. The pun-
ishments mentioned are those of slaves, chains (11.80, 14.23), branding (14.24) and whipping (14.19); cf. δεσπότης Herod. 7.35. ||

185 SED resumes 179; cf. 318. Juvenal compresses the events, as if Xerxes returned direct from Salamis.

UNA NAVE A romantic post-Herodotean detail (cf. on 166); Justin 2.13.9–10, Joseph. BJ 2.16.4.358 and perhaps implied Dio Chrys. 14.8.


187 Petron. 120.66 hos gloria reddit honores; GLORIA is meant to recall 143 (though the sense is slightly different) by the technique of ring-composition (see index s.v.).

TOTIENS goes primarily with EXEGIT, in order to round off the paragraph 133 sqq. with an epiphonema; but its influence may well also extend to OPTATA.

188 sqq. For the following description of the penalties of old age cf. Pliny 7.168, Lucian Dial. Mort. 6.2. Of the passages collected by Stobaeus Flor. 4.50.2 (116) (vol. 5 p. 1036), that by Juncus (the man mentioned 15.27? Oliver Hesperia 36, 1967, 42) most resembles Juvenal (pp. 1050–1) συνεχεῖς νόσοι … ἄσιτός τε καὶ ἄτοπος καὶ ἀνέραστος … βοώντων οὐκ ἀκροώμενος … ῥικνὸς καὶ ἄμορφος … παῖς πάλιν γεγονός. Cf. also Lucil. 331 quod deformi’ senex, arthriticus ac podagrosus / est, quod mancu’ miserque, exilis, ramice magno.

188 DA … DA in prayers Pers. 2.45–6, Verg. Aen. 3.85.

189 RECTO VOLTU Cf. 6.401 recta facie of the set face of self-assurance. PAL-LIDUS Cf. 13.223 ad omnia fulgura pallent; i.e. anxious, apprehensive. The whole line probably means ‘whether you have a clear or a bad conscience’, or possibly ‘with set face and anxious with desire (or, with apprehension that the prayer may not be granted)’. Other interpretations are open to grave objections. For the variants, which grew from glosses, see BICS 14, 1967, 46. A comma after the second HOC would be an improvement.

191 ANTE OMNIA Cf. 11.192, 2.44; ‘first and foremost’.

192 SUI This pronoun regularly is in the genitive after (dis)similis, cf. KS 1.449; elsewhere Juvenal invariably has the dative.

192–3 DEFORMEM … RUGAS Cf. 6.144, 11.203.

194 The elevated tone, indicating parody of an unidentifiable source, contrasts with the sordid context and the let-down in 195. For apes as a symbol of ugliness cf. Brecht 62.

THABRACA In Numidia; for the forests and apes there cf. Posidonius fr. 245 Kidd–Edelstein ap. Strabo 17.3.4,827 and McDermott 58.

SCALPIT She has the wrinkles engraved in her cheeks; for this type of expression cf. Prop. 4.3.27 diceris et vultum macie tenuasse, Callim. Hymn 5.75–6, Fordyce on Cat. 64.305, Gow on Theocr. 24.124.

195 IAM I do not know how to explain this word; it would most || naturally go with MATER and imply that apes do not bear young until late in life, but in
spite of Robson CR1 22, 1908, 245 this is zoologically false.

197 Ovid Am. 2.10.7 pulchrior hac illa est, haec est quoque pulchrior illa. Housman’s ORE should be accepted provisionally (see ed. 2 p. liii); it is ablative of quality (linked with the adjective PULCHRior by ATQUE, cf. 11.96), meaning ‘handsomer and differently featured’. One may wonder whether Σ had this in his text and misunderstood it to mean ‘mouth’, since he notes alter eloquens.

MULTUM See on 12.66.

198 et vox et membra tremunt; cf. 6.563, 16.56.

199 MADIDI … NASI Cf. 6.147–8 (and with gravis there cf. 201), κορυζόντα Lucian Dial. Mort. 9.2 INFANTIA second childhood; cf. on 13.33 and Juncus quoted on 188 sqq.

200–1 MISERO (-is AL) … GRAVIS A striking change to the singular; cf. index variation.

FRANGENDUS 5.68.

It seems inconsequential to say ‘he is so loathsome to his family that he disgusts even legacy-hunters’; cf. 3.257, 8.1–9. Cf. Ovid Met. 9.770 nataeque sibique, Mart. 13.17.1 moveant fastidia. Legacy-hunters (see on 3.128, 8.21) could usually be counted upon to have strong stomachs, Epictet. 4.1.148.


204 ‘I don’t count impotence, for …’; cf. 6.444 and often.

205–6 Cf. 325–6. IACET Ovid Am. 3.7.65 etc.; NERVUS 9.34 etc. IACET … IACEBIT Verg. Aen. 6.617 sedet acernumque sedebit.

206 Cf. 6.197, Ovid l.c. 73 etc. The penis is as torpid as the spondees.

207 ALIQUID A sexual euphemism; Catull. 64.145, Thes. s.v. 1615.59. CANITIES See on 14.10.

208 i.e. he has to resort to oral sex, cf. Mart. 3.75, 4.50, 6.26, 11.25 and 46; Suet. Tib. 44.1 aetate.

SUSPECTA Cf. 11.188.

209 PARTIS Faculty (that of hearing); DAMNUM cf. 233.

212 Does this refer to citharodes or tibicines? Citharodes regularly wore gorgeous robes in the theatre (Lucian Adv. Ind. 8–10), but normally a long chiton or palla (RE s.v. 154.60, Marquardt 580, Blümner1 234; inaurata, Ad Herenn. 4.60); so, though Nero, who played the cithara, wore a chlamys in his procession (Suet. 25.1), the reference is probably to tibicines (Hor. AP 215 tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem), who may have worn a chlamys or lacerna (for which see on 1.27). Then 210–12 may be paraphrased quae voluptas cantante cantore etiam eximio sive cithara cantante Seleuco (accompanying his singing on the lyre) tibische tibicini-bus; with the tibicines cantare [147] will mean ‘playing a musical instrument’ cf. 2.118. Admittedly ET might suggest that Seleucus and the players of 212 form one group; then QUIBUS would mean ‘any others who’ (cf. on 173).

214 For the orchestra at Roman theatrical performances (e.g. pantomimes;

216 Puer The *cubicularius*; Marquardt 144, Blümner1 44.

QUOT NUNTIENT HORAS Slaves were sent to watch *horologia* and *solaria* and report the time, Mart. 8.67.1, Pliny *Ep.* 3.1.8, *Thes. hora* 2958.63. See Balsdon1 18, Blümner1 375–6; Marquardt 256 and 789; for public clocks cf. ILS 5392, 5617–25.

217 Gelido Cf. on 6.325, 11.6; Verg. *Aen.* 5.293 *gelidus tardante senecta / sanguis hebet frigentque effetae in corpore vires* (supporting in here; see the apparatus).

MINIMUS The old are regularly supposed to lack blood (Val. Max. 3.8.5 and often the poets).

218 Febre Calet sola Not even with this in Mart. 3.93.17.


Quorum ... Quaeras Cf. Dio Chrys. 6.23 νοσημάτων ... ἃ μηδὲ ὀνομάσαι ῥᾴδιον.


Oppia Cf. 322; here there are variants *Eppia, Ippia*, there *Optia*. Her adulterers are like those of Larga, 14.26–8.

221 Themison The name of a famous doctor of Augustan date from whom sprang the Methodic school (*RE* s.v. no. 7; suppl. 6 *Methodiker* = L. Edelstein *Ancient Medicine* (1967) 173–9, 187–8; E. D. Phillips *Greek Medicine* (1973) 163). But this is probably a contemporary of Juvenal named after him (cf. *SG* 4.262 = 4.201 and see on 6.63; an incestuous Themison, Mart. 12.20), just as later a slave of Apuleius (*Apol.* 33, 40) and a doctor (ibid. 48; evidently not identical).

Autumnus The unhealthy time (4.56, 6.517).

Occiderit A standing joke against doctors, common in Martial; cf. also *AP* 11.112–26.

222 Basilus Not the *causidicus* of 7.145; it is a cognomen of the Minucii (cf. *Thes.* s.v., Schulze *LEG* 418 n. 3), as HIRRUS of the Lucillii.


224 Maurus 6.307. For exsorbeat cf. 6.126 (if genuine); Longa (cf. 6.351) implies her physical stamina. [476]

Hamillus *Amillus* Guhlz, and so the mss. at Mart. 7.62; but Hamillus is found on *Ann. Epigr.* 1952 no. 162, 1962 no. 284. *CIL* 4.3710 = E. Diehl *Pompeianische Wandinschriften* 544 shows Hamillus spelt in reverse, which Büchler (over-?) ingeniously took to symbolise sexual inversion; if Juvenal means this man, it is another case in which he is speaking of the dead as alive (cf. on 8.39), since the inscription must pre-date A.D. 79.

Inclinet 9.26. Schoolmasters were often reproached with immorality (*SG*
1.159 = 1.179, Bonner 105); Quintil. 1.2.4–5, 1.3.17, 2.2.1 sqq., Suet. *De Gramm.* 23 (Remmius Palaemon, cf. 7.215), Lucian *Symp.* 26, Strato *AP* 12.219 etc.

225–6 These lines were deleted by Griffith2 105 (following a hint by Helm (l.c. on 325) 26) as a decency-interpolation intended to be substituted for 220–4 and using 1.25. The suggestion has its attractions (the lines seem an anti-climax), but for the repetition of lines see on 365 and 16.41, and for protracted lists p. 37.

QUOT VILLAS Cf. on 1.94.


ILLE … HIC … HIC Cf. on 3.69.

[Addendum, originally on p. 623: 228 sqq. See Syme *AJP* 100, 1979, 253–4 on this passage in relation to Pliny *Ep.* 8.18.]

228 Sen. *Ep.* 122.4 *quanto plus tenebrarum in animo est! ille … invidet caecis.*

229 PALLIDA Because of his *minimus sanguis* 217. Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 3.16.8 *servulos aliquos quorum e manu cibum capiat* (here too a few mss. read *capiunt*, but for the rhythm cf. 6.327, 15.81; it may be taken to mimic a greedy gulp, the dactyls contrasting with the slow spondees of 230).

230 Hor. *Serm.* 1.10.7 *risu diducere rictum / auditoris.*

TANTUM Not doing anything for himself, cf. 7.31.

231–2 A humorous use of a Homeric simile; IEIUNA has no point in this context but is retained from the original, *Iliad* 9.323.

232 OMNI ‘any’ cf. 303 and on 8.209.


Scholte proposed *quia*, but 238–9 is a yet stronger case of this natural negligence of expression.

234 Not to recognise familiares was counted as a symptom of insanity (Nisbet on Cic. *In Pis.* 47).

ILLOS i.e. *volitus illorum*; cf. 12.117 and 247 below.

236 CODICE i.e. *tabulis*, wax tablets (*cerae*) hinged together, cf. on 4.19. SAE-VO would technically be *inofficioso.* [477]

HERedes … SUOS Forbids his kith and kin from inheriting, with an allusion to the legal phrase *sui heredes* (*RE* s.v., Kaser1 95; Petron. 116); *filius meus exheres esto* Ulpian *Dig.* 28.2.2–3 (Kaser1 703). VETARE is often applied to decisions in a will or legal document.

BONA … PHIALEN Cf. 1.37–41, 55–7. As a *persona turpis* she would not in fact be entitled to inherit (*RE* *turpitudo* 1438.25; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 8.3). Her name (cf. Ovid *Met.* 3.172) suggests that she liked the bottle.

ARTIFICIS Cf. 4.18, 14.116; she fellates him, cf. 208.
STETERAT Cf. on 11.172; the mouth prostituted itself, i.e. practised fellatio. Of course a mouth cannot literally stand.

CARCER Her cella would be foul (olida, cf. 11.172, 6.132) and dark.

Fornicis 3.156, 11.173; ‘Underneath the Arches’. Cf. DS s.v. 1264b, RE s.v. 11, Poehlmann 96–7, Isidore 10.110.

240 UT ‘though’, 8.272; Ducenda 1.146. The ancients regarded it as particularly tragic and a reversal of the order of nature that a father should bury his children, cf. 259 and on 16.54, Sen. Cons. Marc. 1.2, 10.3, 17.7, Mart. 1.114.3–5 with Citroni, Tac. Ann. 16.11.2 and Agr. 44.4 with Ogilvie–Richmond; Catalepton 11.7–8 with Westendorp–Boerma; Pease on Cic. De Nat. Deor. 2.72; Kassel (see Thirteen, introduction) 96 on Plut. (?) Cons. Apoll. 34; F. Vollmer Laudationum Funebrium Historia (Jahrb. Kl. Phil. suppl. 18, 1891) 507, Lattimore 187 sqq. (esp. 191), Bömer on Ov. Met. 8.529. So ultimus suorum moriatur is a curse (Marquardt 1 n. 3). This particular passage draws on Stat. Silv. 2.6.2 sqq.

241 Rogus … Coniugis Cf. on 6.567–8, Quintil. 6 pr. 4–6, Stat. Silv. 5.1.181.

Aspiciendus ‘one must live to see’, cf. 265; in Greek ἐπιδεῖν.

243 Poena Cf. 187; DATA cf. 146.

245 Nigra Veste Cf. 3.213, RE Trauerkleidung 2229–30 and luctus 1698, Blümner 497, Marquardt 356.

Senescant Both literally and in the metaphorical sense ‘pine’; Cic. Pro Clu. 13 maioer et lacrimis consescebat.

246 Rex Pylius Nestor cf. 12.128.

Si quicquam credis Homero Cf. 68, 173, 4.53, Priapea 80.5 si quid credis Homero, Sen. NQ 6.26.1 si Homero fides est, Ovid Ex Ponto 1.6.19, Thucyd. 1.9.4, 1.10.3.

247 Cornice i.e. cornicis vita, on the same principle as comparatio compendiaria (cf. on 234). Cf. Hesiod quoted on 14.251; RE Krähe 1562; Thes. cornix 961.71; Otto cornix (1) and Nachträge 99, 149, 234; Bömer on Ov. Met. 7.274.

Secundae A Cf. on 126 and Housman on Manil. 4.445.

248 Qui is quite often followed by an indicative where a causal subjunctive would be more explicit (cf. on 15.133). [478]

249 Units and tens were counted on the fingers of the left hand, hundreds and thousands on the right, and there was an elaborate system of finger-positions; see Sittl 252, Marrou 157 and 400–1, RAC Finger 916, Thes. digitus 1125.12, RE Arithmetica 1113, Bonner 187, Turner CJ 47, 1951, 65, H. Hommel Symbola 1 (1976) 377, Calderone Riv. Fil. 104, 1976, 41. For the application here cf. Lollius Bassus (who lived under Tiberius) AP 11.72 (Gow–Page GP 1639) Kυτώταρις … δ̣ ἦν Νέστωρ οὐκέτι πρεσβύτατος, / ἡ φαος ἀθρήσασ’ ἐλάφου πλέον, ἡ χερὶ λαϊ̣ / γῆρας ἀραθμείναι δεύτερον ἁρξάμενη (i.e. she has passed beyond 10,000, at which point one returns to the left hand). Nestor had outlived two γενεαὶ and was reigning over the third (Il. 1.250; Od. 3.245 exaggerates this to make him reign over...
three γένη). It is not apparent whether Juvenal, like most authors who elaborate on Nestor, reckons three γενεαί to the century, or, like Ovid Met. 12.187, one (in which case saeculum rather renders αἰών; cf. Censorin. 17.2); cf. Enk on Prop. 2.13.46, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 2.9.13.

COMPUTAT ANNOS 6.199.

250 Cf. 14.253; Ovid Met. 14.146 ter centum messes, ter centum musta videre (of the Sibyl); i.e. he saw so many autumns (cf. on 339). But perhaps Juvenal attributes the Roman festival of the Meditrinalia (11 October) to Pylos (cf. 160, 177–8; this would be like the so-called interpretatio Romana in religion); at this one would drink the old and new wine saying novum vetus (or vetus novum) vinum bibo (Varro LL 6.21, Festus 123).

251 Juvenal seems to be thinking of dramatic representations (for ATTENDAS cf. 6.65), e.g. the Memnon of Aeschylus.

STAMINE 3.27, 14.249, 12.65.

ACRIS μαχητής Od. 3.111. Juvenal has in mind Prop. 2.13.47–50.

BARBAM Philostr. Imag. 2.7.5 ἡβάσκει υπήνης πρόσω.

254 SOCIO See on 11.85.

CUR ... DURET Cf. Cons. Liv. 104, Ovid Met. 8.530 etc.

255 Paradoxical.

256 PELEUS sc. queritur from 251.


FAS ‘natural’; cf. Prop. 2.13.52 (after the Antilochus passage) fas est praeteritos semper amare viros, Stat. Th. 12.79. Normally it is nefas to feel luctus (244, 256 etc.) for the living (hence Tac. Agr. 46.1 virtutum tuarum quas neque lageri neque plan-gi fas est because their memory is still alive; the epigram of Naevius in Gell. 1.24.2; Pliny Ep. 2.1.10), but Ulysses was supposed to be dead (hence Penelope’s grief is θέμις Od. 14.130).

NATANTEM Storm-tossed, shipwrecked; thinking of his swim to the coast of Phaeacia (cf. Prop. 3.12.32) rather than that to the island of Calypso. This word apparently could not carry the meaning ‘sailing at sea’, though nantem could.

258 For Priam and (283) Pompey Juvenal draws on Cic. Tusc. 1.85–6; Priam and Nestor together 6.324–6.

ASSARACUS was the son of Tros and brother of Priam’s grandfather Ilus.

FUNUS ‘corpse’, cf. on 4.109; funera portant Stat. Th. 3.361. For a son to bury one is the coping-stone of happiness, as in the famous case of Metellus (Cic. l.c., cf. Blümner1 495–6). CERVICE Cf. 1.64, 9.143.

UT perhaps means ita ut, perhaps ‘when’; or more exactly UT PRIMOS may indicate ‘as soon as’. First Cassandra (ἐξ)ἀρχει γόοου (Il. 24.723, 747, 761), then the funeral procession starts off. In that case the subjunctive is due to the conditional form of the whole sentence.

264 AUDACES CARINAS Because of the object of the voyage.

AEDIFICARE *Thes.* s.v. 925.57.

265 CONTULIT sc. *Priamo*, cf. 302, 1.106.

VIDIT Cf. on 241 and Verg. *Aen.* 2.5 (after Ennius *Andromache* quoted by Cicero l.c.); Ogilvie–Richmond on Tac. *Agr.* 45.1 (*non videre* misfortunes is a topic of consolations; Ovid *Met.* 13.521 *neec* *aspicit*).

266 *Aen.* 3.1 *res Asiae ... evertere ... ceciditque superbum Ilium*.

267 *Aen.* 2.509. TIARA is part of the dress of Phrygians in general (6.516 q.v.) and Priam in particular (*Aen.* 7.247, where it is masculine; cf. A. Baumeister *Denkmäler* (1885) fig. 792). TREMULUS Cf. 198; there is a trembling alliteration of *t*.

268 *Aen.* 2.550. The simile is from *Od.* 4.535, 11.411, the wording with the closing monosyllabic fall from *Aen.* 5.481. The humour (*VETULUS*) is grim, Priam is indirectly an ‘old fellow’.

269 COLLUM PRAEBET Cf. 345.

AB The inanimate plough here is represented as capable of feelings which of course really belong to the ploughman. In earlier times it would have been exceptional for an ox from the plough to be sacrificed (though Lucian *De Sacris.* 12 has a reference like Juvenal’s); cf. Verg. *Georg.* 3.160 *AUT aris servare sacros AUT scindere terram*, Pythagoras in Ovid *Met.* 15.120 sqq., *RE Opfer* 596.55, P. Stengel *Griech. Kultusaltertümer* (1920) 123. Victims should be *iniuges*.

271–2 Hardly a convincing argument for not desiring long life; Juvenal has added, but not integrated, an extra twist.

UTCUMQUE At all events; VIXERAT for the tense see on 9.96. ||480

TORVA is part of the predicate, with *latravit* (not attributively with *uxor*). Cf. Ovid *Met.* 13.542, 568–9.

273–5 Both Mithridates and Croesus were conquered and deposed. For the *praeteritio* with *TRANSEO* cf. 6.602 and p. 34.

274–5 Herod. 1.29 sqq.; chronology is usually thought to rule out such a meeting, but Markianos *Historia* 23, 1974, 9 thinks it possible. The lesson *respicere finem* is applied to Croesus by Sen. *Tranq. An.* 11.12 (see introduction); Solon’s *τέλος ὅρα* is proverbial (1.315 Schn.–Leutsch).

Croesus, Pompey and Marius are coupled by Ovid *Ex Ponto* 4.3.37 sqq. as patterns of fortune’s mutability.


MENDICATUS *cibus* Ovid *Trist.* 5.7 (9).14.

HINC From long life; for QUID see on 6.284, and for ILLO on 179 above.

279 ‘The climax formed by *Roma* is remarkable; it is significant of the estimate formed by the Romans of their imperial city’ Duff. A comma after *Roma* would be helpful.
280–1 These lines have a slow stately movement, emphasised by the hiatus in 281.

CIRCUMDUCTO The triumphal procession, including the principal captives and the booty (POMPA refers in particular to this, though it covers the procession generally), made a long circuit through the city; RE triumphus 501.48.

OPIMAM Cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 1.132 præda opimus; ‘glorious’, a word often associated with triumphs.

282 VELLET ‘was on the point of’, a use which later leads to a periphrastic future, like English ‘I will’. Cf. HS 314, A. Ollfors Textkritische … Beiträge zu Lucan (1967) 58; Hor. Serm. 2.3.37, Ovid Her. 13.87, Am. 1.12.3.

CURRU In which he rode in his triumph over the Teutoni and Cimbri.


OPTANDAS For which he should have prayed (cf. on 7) so that they would bring death; but in fact all the prayers were for his recovery.

284 i.e. multarum urbium publica vota; Juvenal chooses this mode of expression to suggest multae urbes vicerunt (unam) Campaniam. The vota are not mentioned by Cic. Tusc. (on 258) or Seneca l.c., but are at Ad Att. 8.16.1, Vell. Pat. 2.48.2. Cf. CIL 13,128 = CEL 2099.10 optabant vitam publica vota tuam. [1480]

FORTUNA IPSIUS See Cic. De Imp. Pomp. 47–8, Lucan 8.710–18, Taeger 2.23 and 46; felicitas is an essential attribute of a general.

FORTUNA URBIS (better printed Urbis) For the concept cf. RE (29.65) and ML (1515) Fortuna, Thes. s.v. 1188.48 and 58, Wissowa 261, Latte 178–9. The implication here is that ‘the fortunes of Rome were bound up with those of Pompey’ Duff (cf. Lucan 8.686).

286 CAPUT Cut off when he was assassinated in Egypt.

286–8 Catiline and his accomplices would most naturally be contrasted with Cicero, whose body also suffered mutilation (120); but the exemplum of Cicero has already been used. Catiline to Juvenal (cf. 14.41) is the chief of sinners, as to Vergil (Aen. 8.668); both authors regard the attempted overthrow of the state with true conservative Roman horror. Lentulus and Cethegus (2.27, 8.231) were strangled in the Tullianum, Catiline died in battle (IACUIT on the battlefield), but Dio Cass. 37–40.2 says that his head was in fact cut off.

INTEGER … CADAVERE TOTO are contrasted with caput abstulit; cf. Lucan 8.699, 10.380, Plut. Pompey 80. Cornelius Severus ap. Sen. Suas. 6.26 remarks in contrast with Cicero that even Hannibal membra tamen Stygias tulit inviolata sub umbras (it was thought that disfigurement would remain in the after-life, Norden on Aen. 6.446; cf. Ovid Met. 10.49, Trist. 3.4.20). Nero (Suet. 49) and Otho (Tac. Hist. 2.49.3) were anxious about this.

289 FORMAM Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.4.6–8 (prayed for by the nutricula); for its penalties cf. Sen. Phaedr. 820–3.
VENERIS The giver of venus and venustas.

MURMURE Cf. 6.539, Pers. 2.6 murmure humilesque susurros; in Greek ψιθύρῳ. Petron. 85 timidissimo murmure votum feci. Presumably the louder it is, the more insistent it is; or perhaps she is rather ashamed to request forma for a boy (this is the point in Persius l.c.).


291 Sen. De Ben. 4.5.1 usque in delicias amamur (i.e. god provides luxuries as well as necessities). This may here apply (1) to what the mother promises; she will in return give Venus far-fetched and precious gifts, (2) to what she requests, either not just beauty in general but specific points of beauty, e.g. a fair complexion, or fanciful prayers as at Pers. 2.37–8. Deliciae (4.4, 6.47 and 260, 13.140) always implies discontent with the ordinary; cf. Fordye on Cat. 50.3.

INQUIT Presumably the subject is aliquis (on 8.44); an objection is often introduced in dialogue this way (E. Norden Die Antike Kunstprosa 2 (1909) 1.129 and 277; R. Hirzel Der Dialog 1 (1895) 371). If the subject is mater, TAMEN will represent her as having heard the poet’s criticism, cf. 14.153. 


294 CUPERES … OSQUE TUUM This is the most convincing emendation; the path of corruption will have been via otque suum. With otque suum we should have to understand tergum, an intolerable zeugma.

296 TREPIDOS HABENT ‘keep on tenterhooks’; for habere so used cf. 13.194, Val. Fl. 8.1–3, Thes. s.v. 2429.58, HS 319, KS 1.8.296 and 763, Thielmann ALL 1, 1885, 377 sqq. But in this case habere may simply mean ‘have’.

297–8 Cf. Ovid Am. 3.4.41–2, Her. 16.288, Sen. De Ben. 3.16.3, Cic. Pro Cael. 6, Mart. 8.53; Petron. 94 raram fecit mixturan cum sapientia forma.

ADEO with RARA, cf. 13.59 and on 6.49.

It was negligent of Juvenal to put LICET (‘although’) introducing the protasis when LICET 304 is the main verb of the apodosis. Note also NATURA 301 and 303 (cf. on 16.9–10).

299–300 Vell. Pat. 2.11.1 horridus vitaque sanctus; when women were horridae (6.10) Pudicitia stayed on earth.

SABINOS Cf. 6.164 and often of the Sabine women (Otto Sabina and Nachträge 208; Ovid Am. 2.4.15 imitata Sabinas, whence Φ here); Livy 1.18.4 disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum.


303 Ovid Met. 9.759 natura, potentior omnibus istis (cf. 751–2 custodia … cura). CUSTODE Cf. 7.218, Pliny Ep. 3.3.4; OMNI cf. 232 and on 8.209.

304 VIRO is probably right; cf. puero 302, filius … parentes 295–6 with parentes
305. Petron. 81 *adulescens ... quem tamquam puellam conduxit etiam qui virum putavit. quid ille alter ... qui ne vir esset a matre persuasus est, qui opus muliebre in ergastulo fecit? Cf. Mart. 9.56.12, 11.78.12; Sen. Dial. 5.8.2, Ep. 122.7; Sen. Contr. 10.4 (33).17.
CORRUPTORIS Cf. on 1.77.

IMPROBITAS carries an implication of impudence (4.106) as well as wickedness.

TEMPLARE PARENTES Who sometimes succumbed (Musonius Rufus p. 83.4 Hense). But parents who have brought up the boy strictly (298–9) are not likely to surrender to bribes.

307–8 The typical tyrant of the declaimers (Fortunat. 1.15) with his typical *arx* (on 4.145), the seat of his profligacy ([Quintil.] Decl. 282); the stock tyrant is *libidinosus* (Nepos 21.2.2; cf. Sen. fr. 34 ap. Aug. De Civ. Dei 6.10.2, [Lucian] Amores 21). For *EPHEBUM* cf. [483] Lucian Catapl. 26–7, Varro Sat. Men. 205 rex ... *ephebium mulieravit*. Nero castrated Sporus (Suet. 28, Dio Cass. 62.28.3). But free-born Roman boys (*praetextati*) hardly had to fear castration (Nero’s homosexual partners were not free-born); Juvenal’s declamation exaggerates, as at 304–5.

CASTRATIVIT For the perfect see on 2.83.

PRAETEXTATUM See on 1.78, 2.170; RAPUIT cf. 332, 7.168; LORIPEDEM 2.23; GIBBO cf. 294.

UTERO ‘belly’, naturally not ‘womb’; Lewis and Short II C.

NEC (at end of 308) *vel* seems preferable (see the apparatus).

310 IUVENIS i.e. *filius*; cf. 3.158, 4.95, 8.262 and on 14.23. Juvenal only has *filius* in the nominative singular, with the diminutive *filiolum* in 6.390 (cf. on 10.334).

MAIORA (than those of 304–9), namely those of 316–17.


MARITI / IRAE DEEBBIT At *BICS* 13, 1966, 41, where I proposed this reading, I have argued that the reading of P provides the only basis for emendation, and that a future tense rather than a present would be natural. I suggest that *deebbit* became *debit* through haplography, and that the next scribe inevitably wrote *debet*, though he conscientiously noted the reading of his exemplar with *al. i.* above the line. His successor saw that the line was now a syllable short, read this note as *ati*, and hence produced *irati*. I referred to a very similar corruption at Catull. 66.86.

313–14 i.e. *nec astrum eius felicius erit astro* (‘luck’) Martis. Mars, who appears in this story with the imperfections of humanity, has a natal star like any man.


DOLOR Resentment; common in such contexts of marital infidelity, e.g. Val.
Max. 6.1.13 (q.v. generally). In Juvenal’s day the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* (2.37; cf. Corbett 136, Kaser 323) applied: both guilty partners might be killed at once by the wife’s father if called in by the husband; the husband might kill the male adulterer if he were a freedman, a slave, or belonged to a disreputable profession or had been condemned in a public trial. For *necare* in this connection cf. Adams *Glotta* 51, 1973, 283; for the penalties of adulterers 6.44, Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.37–46, Quintil. 3.6.27, 5.10.88, Varro ap. Gell. 17.18 (*loris bene caesium*).

*MUGILIS* (the usual nominative is *mugil*; *Thes.* s.v. 1557.70) The grey mullet; cf. Catull. 15.19 and indirectly Hor. *Serm.* 1.2.133. [[484]] This was a fish with a large head tapering to a small tail, in shape like the radish (*ραφααλις*) similarly used in Greece (cf. Lucian *De Morte Peregrini* 9). It was inserted in the adulterer’s anus as a substitute for humiliating him by homosexual rape (Fehling 22–3), and also to inflict pain with its spines (Ellis on Cat. l c.). Cf. Dover 105–6.

318 *SED … FIET ADULTER* resumes (cf. 185) *fiit adulter* 311; so 314 (*exigit*)–317 should be placed in parenthesis.

CUM DEDERIT … NUMMOS Cf. 6.355–65, Mart. 11.62.
ILLIUS Serviliae; NEGAVERIT see *index verbs* for the potential perfect subjunctive.

OPPIA 220; CATULLA 2.49. This passage should probably be punctuated thus … *inguinibus? sive est … Catulla, deterior …*; the punctuation after *inguinibus* is due to Weidner. All women when their passion is aroused will do anything to satisfy it; in the case of degenerate nymphomaniacs their whole character actually consists of their passion. *HAEC = deterior femin*.

ILLIC in *inguinibus udis*; Mart. 11.16.8 *uda puella*.
TOTOS With the collective notion ‘whole character’, cf. on 8.255.

320 EXUET … ORNATUM The woman will give him all her jewelry, cf. Mart. 4.28.

325 *PROPOSITUM προαίρεσις, institutum vivendi* (5.1, 9.21).

Phaedra and Stheneboea (both Euripidean heroines) are coupled Aristoph. *Frogs* 1043 sqq., cf. Lucian *De Calumn.* 26.

As Markland saw, a line is missing after 325, something like *hospita cum stuprum suaderet sive noverca* (Helm Bursians Jahrest. 282, 1943, 29; though better lines could be devised). Then 326 should read ERUBUIT NEMPE HAEC (i.e. Phaedra) CEU FASTIDITA REPULSA. NEMPE answers the rhetorical question as at 110, 160, 185 etc., and for REPULSA cf. Ovid *Met.* 14.42 *Venerisque offensa repulsa*, 13.967, 15.503. PUDOR 329 resumes ERUBUIT, and thus establishes that the line is genuine.

CEU FASTIDITA ‘like a scorned woman’; in fact rejection of the proffered love was due not to *fastidium* but to grave *propositum*.

SE CONCUSSERE Whipped themselves up to fury, like lionesses; cf. Florus
1.36 pr., where it means that Numidia whipped itself up to fight.

PUDOR STIMULOS ADMOVET Livy 7.15.3.

330 SUADENDUM Adopting the technique of a suasoria; sc. (ei) CUI, cf. on 6.413.

331 Tac. Ann. 11.12.1 C. Silium, iuventutis Romanae pulcerrimum; Dio Cass. 60.31.7 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἑνομίζετο. Juvenal is much more sympathetic to Silius than Tacitus is. [485]

GENTIS PATRICIAE In fact the Sili were plebeians; Juvenal uses patricius merely as equivalent to nobilis, cf. on 1.24, 4.102.

RAPITUR EXSTINGUENDUS ‘is carried away to destruction’; passion passes from the eyes of Messalina to his, cf. Ovid Am. 3.11.48 tuos oculos, qui rapuere meos, Phaedr. 4.5.4 oculis venantem viros, Shackleton Bailey 268 on Prop. 1.1.1, and on 4.114 above. But RAPITUR (cf. 308) also puts him in the position of a woman being abducted by a man, cf. 7.168.

333 DUDUM Cf. on 3.128.


FLAMMEOLO The ironical diminutive is only found here and in imitation by Prudentius. Cf. 2.124 and 6.225 flāmmēă; but -um and -o pose metrical problems, cf. on 310 and 3.95.

GENIALIS sc. lectus (Thes. 6.2.1808.14); cf. 6.22, Cic. Pro Clu. 14 etc., Marquardt 56, Blümner 30 and 361.

TYRIUS Because she is an empress; cf. Catull. 64.49 for Thetis.

PALAM IN HORTIS (on 1.75) Not in atrio.

335 RITU ANTIQUO refers to the handing over of the dowry, not to its amount; in this case 1,000,000 sesterces, cf. 6.137. Suet. Claud. 26.2 C. Silio etiam nupsisse dote inter auspices consignata; Tac. 11.27 adhibitis qui obsignarent … auidisse auspicum verba (i.e. feliciter, see on 2.119). The auspices now took merely a formal part in the ceremonies (Cic. De Div. 1.28, whence Val. Max. 2.1.1); see Latte 264, Wissowa 386, Blümner 354–5.

SIGNATORIBUS Witnesses to the tabulae nuptiales, cf. 2.119, 9.75 and on 3.81–2.

337 TU Silius; Tac. 11.12.2 nonnulla fallendi spe.

338 Messalina wants to marry in proper form, Tac. 11.26.

QUID PLACEAT DIC Sen. De Ben. 2.21.2. QUID would more exactly be utrum (cf. 3.44 and on 8.196) since a dilemma follows.

VELIS … ERIT shows the same form of condition as ADMITTAS, DABITUR; cf. KS 2.395, HS 663.

PEREUNDUM ERIT Tac. 11.12.2 certo si abnueret exitio.

ANTE LUCERNAS sc. incensas, cf. on 15.99. Luminibus accensis (Censorin. 24.6, Thes. accendo 274.47), prima fax (Thes. fax 402.36), λυχναψία or λύχνων ἁφαί belong to a group of expressions for denoting time, like πλήθουσα ἡγορά (Pliny
NH 10.15 *donec impleantur hominum conventu fora* and βουλυτός, by events of the human day, which originated when more accurate methods of fixing time were lacking. Cf. on 250 and Blümner1 374; *ante lucernam* SHA 27.10.2.

341 Tac. 11.30 *matrimonium Siliis vidit populus et senatus et miles.*

342 Tac. 11.25 *is illi finis inscitiae erga domum suam fuit.* Likewise Sulla was the last to learn about Metella, Sen. fr. 63. [486]

344 Φ’s order is due to 2.56.

345 PRAEBERE CERVICEM (GLADIO) ‘submit to execution’ is common from Livy onwards (*Thes. cervix* 948.45); cf. 269–70, 4.96 and Mommsen2 923 on this military style of execution under the principate.

347 IPSIS Without our prayers.

351 Schurzfleisch reasonably felt MAGNA to be weak, especially after CAECA, and thought that Σ, who notes *caeco sive vano desiderio*, read vanave. Housman proposed either vanaque (comparing for the corruption *Cons. Liv*. 37 and Lucan 11.268 as quoted by Servius) or pravaque, which could have been corrupted to parvaque and ‘emended’ to magnaque (cf. 9.106; parva and magna are variants at *Ovid Trist*. 2.186).

352–3 Note the chiastic order.


354 ET POSCAS as well as leaving it to the gods *ipsis*. The logic of this is not quite perfect.

354–5 These lines include three diminutives and are clearly ironical in content. Juvenal suggests a lack of respect for the usual method of prayer with offerings and hints that prayer is an unnecessary concession to human weakness because we ourselves can provide its object (363). The irony however is hardly opportune here as it casts doubt on the sincerity of the following advice.

DIVINA ‘Either “a feast for gods” (Mayor) or “presaging”, in allusion to divination of the future by the *viscera* which are sarcastically called “sausages”; for the latter sense cf. *divinat 4.124*’ Duff (see *Thes. s.v.* 1623.76). The latter seems less relevant here.

PORCI 13.117; CANDIDULI the preferred colour (66, 12.3).

TOMACULA *RE* s.v., Blümner1 175; cf. *omenta* 13.118 and for the irony Pers. 2.29–30.

356 Cf. Plato *Gorg*. 479b; Dio Cass. 69.20.3 (see on 353) ἀρτιμελή καὶ ἄρτινουν, Lucian *Pro Laps. inter Salut*. 5 υγιαίνειν ... ψυχῆ καὶ σώματι ἁρμοδιώτατον; Isocr. *Panath*. 7; Libanius *Or*. 6.15. It was usual to pray for *bona mens* and *bona valetudo* (Petron. 61.1, 88.8, Sen. *Ep*. 10.4; cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.31.17–19). *Animus sanus* is defined by Sen. *Ep*. 72.7. This is a solemn spondaic line.
POSCES resumes poscas 354; now Juvenal explains what he means by mens sana, and some of his instances also require a corpus sanum (which to Stoics was προηγμένον), though this is not quite in tune with what follows. For the thought cf. 8.83–4. The following [487] reads almost like a summary of Cicero’s Tusculans, of which Book I deals with the fear of death, II with the bearing of pain (see on dolores 359), IV with the emotions (those of 360 are both classified under libido), and V with the self-sufficiency of virtus.

SPATIUM VITAE. Cf. 188 and the following; Sen. Ep. 49.10. EXTREMUM least important; this is the predicate.

The rhythm of the line is harsh, more so than 14.108. There are very similar lines at Lucr. 3.258 nunc ea quo pacto inter sese mixta quibusque, Pers. 3.100 and often in Silius (inter in the third foot 5.497, in the second 1.450, 2.321, 12.536, in the fourth 5.429, 9.206, 10.308, 15.13); all involve inter (in-ter with a quasi-caesura?) preceded by elision (add Sil. 8.75 attollit mitique manu intra limina ducit).

DOLORES (see the apparatus) is probably correct as it avoids the tautology with 361; cf. Sen. Ep. 98.14 (in integrum) restituamur ut possimus dolores … perferrae et fortunae (cf. Juv. 365–6) dicere ‘cum viro tibi negotium est: quaere quem vincas’. There remains a remarkable series of three rhyming lines (cf. 7.195–6); perhaps this is appropriate to an ethical catechism, cf. Lucil. 1326 sqq.

It has attained to Stoic ἀπάθεια; cf. 4–5.

Cf. Otto Hercules (2) and Nachträge 105, 238, Thes. aerumna 1066.57. For the Stoic links of Hercules see on 2.20 and cf. Cic. De Fin. 2.118 (would you prefer to spend your whole life in pleasure sine dolore or help others and) vel Herculis perpeti aerumnas, which is addressed to an Epicurean.

SARDANAPALLI The Assyrian king Assurbanipal, proverbial for luxury and effeminacy (RAC Effeminatus 637, Otto Nachträge 90, Paroemiogr. ed. Schn.–Leutsch 2.207 and 600). For Η Σαρδαναπάλλου τράπεζα see Graux Rev. Phil. 2, 1878, 221. He is several times contrasted with Hercules (RE Sard. 2447.3).

PLUMA 6.88 (collective singular as here), 1.159 etc.

MONSTRO Cf. 6.261, 14.256; often used of doctors’ prescriptions and of teaching of any kind.

QUOD … DARE Sen. Ep. 41.1 bonam mentem (cf. 356) quam stultum est optare cum possis a te impetrare, Dial. 7.4.2; Cic. De Nat. Deor. 3.86–8 virtutem nemo unquam acceptam deo rettulit … fortunam a deo petendam, a se ipso sumendum esse sapieniam (cf. Pease p. 1025). The opposite Epictet. 2.16.47 ἔξω ζητῶν ἡ χρονια. Why should one ask the gods for what one can provide oneself? Because ducunt volentem fata; cf. Marc. Aurel. 9.40.

SEMITA VITAE Cf. 7.172, Hor. Epist. 1.18.103 (and with this context cf. ibid. 111–12 sed satis est orare Iovem, quae ponit et aufert, / det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo). [488]

365–6 are largely repeated at 14.315–16, q.v. For the role of Fortuna here cf.
52–3, Sen. quoted on 359, and introduction.

[Sen.] Oct. 911 nullum pietas nunc numen habet; cf. 13.37. 7.194–8 emphatically asserts the power of Fortuna, but Fortuna there is a very complex notion.

HABES SI SIT If men were to judge rightly, <they would find that> you have; cf. 13.20 victrix fortunae sapientia.

366 Cf. 13.86, Pliny NH 2.22, Publil. Syr. 153 ex hominum questu facta Fortuna est dea; Philemon fab. inc. 48 M = fr. 137 K. There were of course many cults of Fortuna; in this context Juvenal must be urging that prayers should no longer be directed to her, since external events cannot affect happiness derived from within.
Satire Eleven

This poem combines an attack on luxury and extravagance with praise of simplicity in the form of a disquisition about an invitation to dinner. Juvenal begins (1–55) by stating that, while the rich can afford to be gourmets, for anyone of lesser means this leads to bankruptcy and degradation; γνῶθι σεαυτόν should be the motto. This lesson he proceeds to exemplify himself in talking about his invitation to Persicus, in that he relates the simplicity shown by himself with his modest means to that associated in Roman tradition with early Republican times, and contrasts it with the luxury of the rich of the present day. Thus we have this pattern (and the text should be paragraphed accordingly):

1. My food will not be extravagant (56–76)
2. but only marginally less austere than that of the old Romans (77–89; 60–3 foreshadow this theme);
3. in those days the furniture too was not lavish (90–119)
4. but the rich nowadays require lavish furniture (this resumes 1–55), whereas mine is simple (120–35).

These four sections are very clearly bound together by logical progression in chiastic order, so that it is natural for 129 to resume 60.

5. My servants and wine likewise will not be distinguished (136–61);
6. I will not provide for entertainment the obscene θεάματα of the rich, but cultured ἀκροάματα (162–82).

The conclusion (183–208) is an exhortation to Persicus to put off worries and enjoy himself quietly; even simple pleasures should not be taken to excess.

Some problems in this poem require deeper interpretation. The first is this: how do Juvenal’s precepts relate to the rich? It is quite clear that Juvenal disapproves of luxury and extravagance in the rich (95, 120–9, 171–8 and much that is implicit; cf. 8.181, 4.11); yet γνῶθι σεαυτόν and the whole tenor of 1–55 would seem to allow it (cf. 1–2, 21–7). In answer one may [490] observe first that Juvenal only says that it does not bring material disaster to a rich man, not that it is morally legitimate. In the second place he does not himself in any way palliate or commend
it, but only says that the man in the street does so (habetur 1; famam 23; vocantur
178; nomen 22, i.e. what it is commonly called, not what it is). He is thereby hinting
a criticism of the common people of Rome for loving a Lord (cf. p. 23), though
to make the criticism more palatable he associates himself with them by the first
person damus 176 (cf. nobiscum 1.101); the values of the ordinary man are also im-
plicitly criticised in 193–201. One cannot but feel that Juvenal has given up the rich
men of his day as beyond redemption. He makes no attempt to direct his teaching
at them or to convert them to his way of thought, but focusses on persuading
men of his own station not to let themselves be carried away by luxury which they
cannot afford and should not want; and this is the message of a passage in Horace,
Epist. 1.18.21–36, compared by Adamietz 127.

The second problem is this; what is the precise function of the form based on
an invitation, and how does Persicus himself fit in? First it must be clear that this
poem is not itself the invitation, which Persicus has already accepted (60). No
precisely-defined situation seems to be envisaged; it is as if the poet were talking to
Persicus before the latter left home on his way to Juvenal’s house (204–6). In this
it is like Hor. Odes 1.20, but both may be related to a well-developed literary form,
the invitation to a modest meal; noteworthy examples are Philodemus AP 11.44 =
Gow–Page GP 3302 to Piso, Hor. Epist. 1.5 to Torquatus, Martial 5.78 to Toranius,
10.48 to a number of friends, 11.52 to Julius Cerealis (in which Martial promises
that he will not recite his own poetry; cf. Lucilius AP 11.10). These invitations
may be attached to a special occasion (in Philodemus and Horace the birthdays of
Epicurus and Augustus). In Juvenal this is the Megalesia, though the host refuses
to spend the holiday like the vulgar mob; the date and the contrast with the rich
that runs through the poem make it likely that Juvenal wishes us to contrast his
modest meal on the last day of the festival (on 193) with the lavish mutitationes
held by wealthy aristocrats on the first (Graillot 90–1, Latte 261, Wissowa 318).
The invitation may be for the same day (Horace, Mart. 10.48 ||1491 and 11.52). The
guest may be a man of aristocratic and rich family (this is true of at least Stella
among Martial’s guests), who is urged to forget about money-making (Hor. Ep.
1.5.8, cf. Odes 4.12.25), who has to leave aside business for relaxation (Torquatus;
cf. Odes 3.29.16 and 25) and who is used to better food, wine and furniture (Piso
and Maecenas). The host provides simple furniture (Archiai lecti and modicae
patellae for Torquatus, modici canthari for Maecenas, nigra patella for Toranius)
and a simple meal; holus omne for Torquatus, Sabine wine for Maecenas, and in
the case of Toranius vinum tu facies bonum bibendo; no fish for Cerealis (cf. Juv.
64), but (Mart. 10.48) vegetables gathered by the vilica, a goat, ofellae not requir-
ing carving by a structor, chicken, wine from Martial’s own farm at Nomentum
(not far from Tibur, Juv. 65), mitia poma or (Mart. 5.78) vegetables, puls, lardum,
then, as mensae secundae, marcentes … uvae / et nomen pira quae ferunt Syro-
rum. For entertainment (Mart. 5.78) nec de Gadibus improbis puellae / vibrabunt
sine fine prurientes / lascivos docili tremore lumbos. The bath comes first (10.48.3, 11.52.3). Clearly Juvenal had these two poems (5.78 and 10.48) of Martial prominently in mind; all the items mentioned have their correspondences in him. The traditional emphasis on simplicity admirably suits his purpose; of course neither poem of Martial makes any point of morality, whereas Horace does have philosophical reflections. One must also note Pliny’s humorous remonstrance (Ep. 1.15) with a friend who has failed to turn up to a modest vegetarian meal with cultured ἀκροαμάτα and has preferred a lavish repast with dancing-girls from Cadiz.

The third question is, what about Persicus? He clearly cannot have been an actual friend of Juvenal; 186–9 could never be addressed to such. That leaves two alternatives; he could be an invented figure, or he could be an actual person whom Juvenal in fact disliked (in which case the generally friendly and polite way in which he is addressed will be ironical). But in the latter case it is unlikely that Juvenal would give himself away by the brutality of 186–9, and I prefer to think that he is merely a peg created by Juvenal on which to hang his moral lesson. For in Eleven, Twelve, Thirteen Juvenal has chosen a form in which his lesson is attached to an occasion, and that necessarily postulates an individual involved (cf. pp. 13–14). Juvenal conceives |1492| him as not young (203; nostra there is unlikely to mean mea in a context in which Juvenal is inviting Persicus to join him), but, though he bestows an indirect compliment on him in 129, he hints that Persicus would enjoy the luxury against which he is warning. This is suggested by his very name (cf. 14.328 and on 8.13; but he can hardly be identical with the man of 3.221), which is not common (see Friedlaender on 58); he may look for dancing-girls (162) and is likely to call for bigger cups (148). He fits the lesson which Juvenal wishes to impart, but not obtrusively so. See also on 185–6.

One feature which contributes to the attractiveness of this poem is that in it Juvenal, contrary to his usual habit, does not insist on the application of a rigid set of standards. He presents himself as austere relative to his own society (with some relaxation as this is a special occasion 204 sqq.), but not to early Rome (77), which itself showed a historical development from the harsh days of Curius; 91–2 (and perhaps 100 sqq.; Juvenal’s attitude in these lines is not free from ambiguity, but note magnorum artificum) seem to hint that the early Romans at times went to excess in their austerity. Such recognition that standards are relative and the clock of history cannot be simply turned back is quite exceptional in Juvenal.

1–2 Cf. 21–2, 171–8; 4.13, 8.181–2.

LAUTUS Cf. 140, 14.13 etc. and p. 19.
2 RUTILUS A poor man, not identical with that of 14.18.
MAIORE CACHINNO 3.100.
3 PAUPER APICIUS An oxymoron; cf. on 4.23.
OMNIS Nominative plural; cf. on 2.111.
4 CONVICTUS Social gatherings, particularly convivia; cf. Quintil. 6.3.27 in convictibus et cotidiano sermone, Mart. 12 pr.
THERMAE Cf. Athen. 1.1d–e.
STATIONES ‘lounges’, any place where people gathered and conversed (Pliny Ep. 1.13.2, 2.9.5); cf. SG 1.216–17 = 1.253 and for the various technical senses of the word La Piana Harv. Theol. Rev. 20, 1927, 255 and RE s.v.
THEATRUM Mart. 7.76.2.
MEMBRA SUFFICIUNT Cf. [Quintil.] Decl. 335 p. 318.6.
6 GALEAE Cf. 7.33 patiens cassidis. P and some others read iuvenalia (which seems to mean ‘with the vigour of youth’), Φ iuvenilia (which apparently means ‘immature’).
ARDENT See on 6.325, 10.217.
FERTUR is usually taken to mean ‘he rushes on’ in his course of extravagance which will end in his signing, cf. 6.648. But it is more likely to mean ‘it is said’; bankrupts do not necessarily turn gladiator, it is not possible to divine beforehand what action the tribune will take, and this interpretation links up better with the idea of gossip (so Housman CR 17, 1903, 468 = Coll. Papers 615).
7 When a Roman citizen was about to hire himself out as a gladiator (cf. 2.143, 7.33, 8.199), he was obliged to notify one of the tribunes of the plebs (S.C. de sumptibus munerae minuendae of A.D. 176–8, CIL 2.6278 = ILS 5163 = FIRA 1 no. 49 p. 300 lines 62 sqq. = Oliver and Palmer Hesperia 24, 1955, 334); they apparently could confirm or refuse to confirm such a contract (unless PROHIBENTE is merely a joking allusion to tribunician intercessio). Cf. Kaser2 357 n. 42.
NON COGENTE Not (as Mommsen Ges. Schr. 8.525) that the tribune could force him to become a gladiator; Juvenal simply drags in an allusion to the fact that compulsion had been applied to make men fight in the arena (e.g. by Nero 8.193).
SED NEC PROHIBENTE Cicero would have said sed ne proh. quidem; cf. 136, Ovid Ex Ponto 1.1.19 etc.
8 ‘To sign the conditions and tyrannous terms of the trainer’, the auctoramentum or oath taken by gladiators (Hor. Serm. 2.7.58–9, Sen. Ep. 37.1–2, Petron. 117); by this the gladiator surrendered his legal rights and became a chattel of the lanista, who was thus rex over him ([Quintil.] Decl. 9.22 subire dominum lanistam); cf. de Robertis 165–8. For the prizes of these auctorati cf. the S.C. adduced on 7 and Mommsen Ges. Schr. 8.528 (add Lucian Toxaris 59); for bankrupts turning gladi-
ator cf. [Quintil.] Decl. 302 p. 191.24 qui gula se auctorasset and Balsdon¹ 290, SG 2.48–9 and 17 = 2.59 and 19, Stein 433–6 and 503 (add Sen. Ep. 87.9).

9 PORRO As well as Rutilus; cf. 6.240.

10 MACELLI There were a number of these markets; cf. 64, on 5.95, RE and Platner–Ashby s.v., ES 5.230 n. 25, Blümner¹ 641, Harcum 58, Ward-Perkins JRS 60, 1970, 15–16. [494]

11 VIVENDI CAUSA Cf. 8.84; in this application see Ad Herenn. 4.39 esse oportet ut vivas, non vivere ut edas (cf. Quintil. 9.3.85), derived from an anecdote of Socrates reported by Diog. Laert. 2.34 and elsewhere (see Sternbach on Gnomol. Vat. 479).

12 EGREGIUS An adverb in the comparative degree, a rare type of formation (Leumann 498, Neue–Wagener 2.202); here MELIUS helps to identify it for what it is. The sense would be more precisely expressed by eo melius cenat quo miserior et quo citius casurus est or ut quisque miserrimus et citissime casurus, ita optime et maxime egregie cenat.

13 IAM PERLUCENTE RUINA ‘while the falling building (10.107) already lets in the light through cracks’, cf. Plaut. Rud. 102, Sen. Herc. Fur. 1001 and on 3.196. The man’s fortunes are compared to a house about to fall.

14 INTEREA Until the crash comes.

GUSTUS ‘flavours’ i.e. dainty dishes; sapores is similarly used.

ELEMENTA (15.86) PER OMNIA Sea, earth and air at least, if not fire; Lucan 10.155–7, Ovid Ex Ponto 1.10.9, Dio Cass. 65.3.1, Macrobi. Sat. 3.17.15, Philo Vit. Contempl. 54, Clem. Alex. Paed. 2.1.3.2, cf. SG 2.148 = 2.288. Cf. Apul. Met. 11.23 per omnia elementa vectus.

15 INTERIUS Manil. 1.25 and 31.


EMENTUR The future seems hard to justify and is perhaps due to 36; if it is right it will have to be interpreted ‘will have to be bought’. Σ perhaps had the present (intentius emunt quae carius distrahuntur); see the apparatus.

17 Therefore they make no bones about pawning the family plate; OPPOSITIS sc. pignori. ARCESSERE Cf. Sall. Hist. fr. 2.97 argentum mutuum arcessivit.

18 FRACTA Broken up, for re-use, cf. 102; Pliny NH 35.4 imagines have been replaced by argentae facies … ut frangat heres.

19 QUADRINGENTIS NUMMIS 400 sesterces, cf. 7.139.

20 FICTILE (cf. index adjectives acting as nouns) Because their silver dishes have been pawned to pay for the delicacies, cf. 108–9, 3.168, 10.25–7. The combination with GULOSUM is paradoxical; gourmets would normally dine off silver or gold.

MISCELLANEA The mess of the gladiators’ school (6.82, 8.199), a sad contrast to their previous food; Σ notes genus miserabile ferculi … omnia quae apponuntur
eis miscent et sic manducant. Cf. SG 2.56 = 2.67–8, Balsdon¹ 427 n. 281.

21 REFERT 6.657; ERGO resumes 1–2; HAEC EADEM referring to 16; PARET 'buys' (see on 3.224). [1495]

22 LUXURIA EST sc. haec parare. Heinrich's conjecture (with which one may compare Tac. Germ. 36.1) supplies an expressed subject and lessens the tautology of laudabile nomen sumit et famam trahit, but is not imperatively required for either purpose.

VENTIDIO Some rich man; Hanslik RE no. 6 sees in him the man of Tac. Ann. 1.10.5 as emended by E. Wolff and R. Ehwald (or a descendant of his).

LAUDABLE NOMEN i.e. lauititia (cf. 1).

25 OMNIBUS All the others, cf. 66, 42 and on 2.164; Greek and Latin often speak inclusively in comparisons.

HIC It is common in a double relative clause to find a demonstrative substituted for the second relative; KS 2.324–5, HS 565–6. The meaning depends on the combination of the clauses, with the first subordinate in sense (cf. index parataxis); while skilled in geography, the man is unaware of the comparative depth of purses (cf. Hor. Epist. 1.7.23), a very Socratic and Senecan sentiment.

IGNORAT The subjunctive read by most mss. is not defended by 15.169–70; but it is hard to be sure that Σ had the indicative.

26–7 SACCULUS 14.138, a little purse, contrasted with a large ironbound strong-box; cf. on 1.90 and Marquardt 677 and 727, Blümner¹ 35 n. 7 and 129–30, Paoli pl. 29.

E CAELO Cf. 2.40.

ΓΝΟΘΙ ΣΕAYTON The famous motto inscribed on the temple at Delphi and variously attributed to one or other of the Seven Sages or to Apollo himself; cf. Cic. De Fin. 5.44 etc., Otto noscore 1, E. G. Wilkins The Delphic Maxims in Literature (1929) 9 and 52. This is the only case in which Juvenal uses Greek words without contempt; for though this grand precept is applied to the sordid matter of one's financial position, I do not detect any irony on Juvenal's part.

28 FIGENDUM 9.94; PECTORE (memori p. Hor. Serm. 2.4.90) may go with this ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, cf. Lucil. 431, Verg. Aen. 3.250.

SIVE CONIQUIUM QUAERAS τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα Callim. Epigr. 1 (see Pfeiffer) ascribed to Pittacus; Paroemigraphi 1.314, 2.674; Ovid Her. 9.32.

SIVE … VEL HS 670, KS 2.436.

29 IN PARTE Cf. 101; to take a share in the senate means to be a member of it. Cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 2.2.102.

SACRI Usually the senate is sanctus, ἥ ἱερὰ σύγκλητος; SG 4.85 = 4.86 (add Ovid Ex Ponto 4.9.17).

30–1 Thersites does not take part in the armorum iudicium, cf. 8.269 sqq. This was a stock example of the schools; cf. 'Socrates' ap. Stob. Flor. 3.4.118 (3 p. 250.14), Lucian Adv. Indoctum 7. [1496]
IN QUÆ ‘wearing which’ (cf. 10.38), the arms having been adjudged to him.


32 MAGNO DISCRIMINE Circumstantial ablative, ‘with great issues involved’.

ADFECTAS After the parenthesis neque … Ulixes the construction changes and a new apodosis CONSULE is provided. TU Anybody (on 2.61); for its position in the second clause only cf. Leo 1.96 (e.g. Lucan 2.638, Hor. Odes 1.9.16 and Epist. 1.2.63, Sen. Herc. Fur. 1246).

33 TE CONSULE Examine yourself; Sen. Ep. 59.14, NQ 4 pr. 18, De Ben. 6.38.5; Pliny Ep. 7.16.5.

QUI The only instance in Juvenal of this form of the interrogative (cf. on 7.63); but it is usual before the subjunctive of esse (HS 540, Löfstedt 2.84, Fordyce on Catull. 17.22).

Quintil. 6.1.45 metiatur ac diligenter aestimet vires suas actor.

34 MATHO A causidicus 1.32 (q.v.), 7.129.

BUCCAÉ Mouthers, windbags; 3.35 is slightly different.

35 Cf. 6.358, Pliny NH 2.4, Hor. Epist. 1.7.98, Sen. Dial. 9.6.1–2.

SUMMIS MINIMISQUE Cf. 1.14, 6.349, 8.111.

37 MULLUM See on 4.15 for the price of this fish.

GOBIO A cheap fish, Blümner1 182 n. 4 (add Lucil. 938 and Marx); for the formation of the word see Frei-Korsunsky 21.

SIT … IN LOCULIS (on 1.90) i.e. the price of a gobio; cf. Plaut. Persa 317 boves bini hic sunt in crumina and 264, Asin. 589, Truc. 654–5 and 956.

38 Hor. Epist. 1.4.11 non deficienfe crumina; the word CRUMINA is an archaism (Watson JRS 60, 1970, 112).

EXITUS See on 7.129.

39–40 Ovid Met. 8.843–4 iamque fame patrias altaque voragine ventris / at
tenuarat opes, 846 demissa in viscera censu (Erysichthon). For MERSIS cf. on 14.9 and Phaedr. 4.6.10; for IN VENTREM Apul. Apol. 75 quae omnia … in ventrem condidit and the joke at Plaut. Trin. 424. Hence vorago, gurges, barathrum applied to gourmands. See also Manil. 4.538 censumque immerget in ipso.

REBUS sc. paternis with an ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

41 ARGENTI GRAVIS Sen. Dial. 9.1.7, Varro Sat. Men. 170; silver plate. The weight was sometimes inscribed, Petron. 31; cf. Blümner1 393 n. 4, SG 2.209 = 2.358 and 4.278 = 4,301, ILS 8617–19.

DOMINIS Owners of the property mentioned; Heinrich suggested damnis, comparing 6.508.

42 POST CUNCTA Cf. on 25 and 8.97. ||497

EXIT Leaves the family; a technical legal term for the alienation of property (Thes. 1362.53) e.g. Cic. 2 Verr. 2.61. But it is also used of taking off a ring (Ovid Am. 2.15.19).
Crepereius Pollio, the debtor of 9.6–8, is an eques, and when he is bankrupted and loses his census he has to lay aside the ring, the sign of his rank (cf. 129, 7.88, Stein 23 n. 2 and 39 n. 1, Nicolet 138, Vassileiou Ant. Class. 40, 1971, 649, Henderson JRS 53, 1963, 67); cf. SG 1.134 = 1.147. At Mart. 2.57.7 a spendthrift pawns his to live.

Thinking of Apicius, who poisoned himself when he no longer had enough money left to satisfy his tastes (Dio Cass. 57.19.5, Sen. Dial. 12.10.9, Mart. 3.22).

ACERBUM Premature; this is a common combination (Thes. s.v. 368.17, Blümner’ 489). The metaphor of unripe fruit is developed CEL 1490.

LUXURIAE i.e. luxuriosis hominibus (cf. 2.34, 10.120); dative of agent.

MORTE MAGIS These words form a parenthesis, since they apply only to senectus, not to cineres and funus; it is as if Juvenal had said metuenda senectus, et quidem morte magis.

GRADUS The stages in the rake’s progress.

CONDUCTA Borrowed (resuming 9–10): this word has a monetary object only here and in similar context at Hor. Serm. 1.2.9, though locare often has.

ET ‘even’.

DOMINIS The owners and lenders of the money, fenoris auctores.

PAULUM NESCIO QUID sc. ‘only’.

QUI makes no sense; what happens to those who do not go into exile? Perhaps we should read iam; then VERTERE becomes an instantaneous perfect, cf. on 3.124.

VERTERE SOLUM hoc est sedem ac locum mutant Cic. Pro Caec. 100, cf. De Domo 78. Juvenal is alluding to an institution of Republican times, when some Italian municipalities retained enough independence to receive exiles from Rome (RE exilium 1683–4, Strachan-Davidson 2.35–8, Mommsen1 3.48, Cic. Pro Balbo 28); but of course this no longer existed under the Empire, and these debtors are not going into legal exile, but simply avoiding the eyes of their creditors.

BAIAS ET AD OSTREA A kind of epexegeisis (on 1.76). For Baiae cf. 3.4; the oysters are those of the Lucrine Lake (4.140–1, 8.85–6, Varro Sat. Men. 549, Blümner1 188 n. 18).

CEDERE FORO i.e. to be bankrupt, since all financial business was carried on there (10.25); cf. Sen. De Ben. 4.39.2, Ulpian Dig. 16.3.7.2, Julian Dig. 42.7.5, Blümner’ 654 n. 8.]

ESQUILLAS A superior district 3.71, 5.77.

FERVENTI (bustling) SUBURA This was quite the opposite (3.5); it had many shops (cf. 141) and brothels; cf. Mart. 12.18.1–2 (to Juvenal; cf. p. 2) and Platner–Ashby s.v. So these bankrupts regard deterioration as improvement.

CIRCESIBUS (10.81) Cf. 3.223, 6.87 and on 8.117. Other towns besides Rome had circuses (SG10 2.24, 4.241; Enciclopedia dell’ Arte Antica 2.652), but none
could provide the excitement of the Roman circus games. The poet himself is quite happy to stay away from them 193 sqq.

54 An apology for a blush, 10.300 (13.242). This would be better written ... gutta; morantur ... Urbe Pudorem. They do not blush, for nowadays Pudor is a laughing-stock and nobody pays any heed (or 'holds it back') as it flees from Rome (cf. Pudicitia fleeing from men 6.20, Αἰδώς Hes. Op. 199).

RIDICULUM Thuc. 3.83.1.

57 VITA ET This cannot be right, and the true reading can hardly be recovered, cf. BICS 14, 1967, 44. One might adopt P's genitive and read vitae tibi with Bücheler, but then vitae moribus and re look unbalanced (contrast Cic. De Fin. 1.65 hoc ... vita et factis et moribus comprobavit). Most plausible so far is Prof. Nisbet's suggestion <tibi> vita et; tibi (spelt tivi) could easily drop out before vit-.

58 SI i.e. NUMQUID NON PRAESTEM (ut non praestem) SI; in effect numquid non praestem laudando.

SILIQUAS A poor food, André 82, Blümner¹ 165 n. 14.

PULTES The traditional Roman porridge (like Italian polenta) cf. 108, 14.171; Blümner¹ 160 n. 3 and 162, Marquardt 298 and 415, André 62; prepared from far, husked emmer wheat.

IN AURE Cf. Ad Herenn. 4.50.63, Hor. Serm. 1.9.9.

PLACENTAS Honey cakes, André 215.

DICTEM Ordering the meal, imperem; PUERO i.e. servo.

60 sqq. Alluding to Verg. Aen. 8.362 sqq., the minor hospes aquis ad sidera missus being Aeneas, said to have been drowned in the Numic(i)us and elevated to heaven as (Iuppiter) Indiges (cf. Tibull. 2.5.43–4 cum te veneranda Numici / unda deum caelo miserit Indigitem); the flammis ad sidera missus is Hercules, cremated on Oeta. The grandeur with the humorous periphrasis is mildly ironical; Juvenal is poking fun at himself. 61–3 show chiastic order.

CONTINGENS Cf. on 8.7; attingere caelum Sil. It. 8.295.

PROMISSUS 'engaged'; promittere ad cenam is common.

64 NUNC Cf. 7.36.

NULLIS ORNATA MACELLIS takes up 10 and 36. Cf. Hor. Serm. 2.2.120 sqq. non piscibus Urbe petitis (i.e. from the macellum) / sed pullo [(499) (= matribus) Juv. 71) atque HAEDO; tum pensilis (= servatae 71) UVA secundas / ORNABAT mensas; ibid. 116 non ego ... temere edi luce profesta (cf. 83) / quicquam praeter holus (cf. 79) fumosae cum pede pernae (cf. 82–4).

ORNATA suggests elaborate display; Sen. Ep. 95.27 multorum ferculorum ornamenta coeant, Mart. 13.91.2. As at Mart. 10.59.3 ex omni ... instructa macello cena, MACELLIS may mean 'products of the macellum' (cf. Housman on Manil. 5.376); but this is not inevitable.

65 There are no hors d’oeuvres.

TIBURTINO AGRO The mention of the vilica (the wife of the vilicus) in 69
shows that this is a farm of Juvenal’s own at Tibur. Literary men traditionally had farms in the Campagna (Horace, Martial, Statius), cf. Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 1.24.1. This poem lays much stress on direct links with the country, in the tradition of old Rome, and rejection of the city (cf. 64, 78–81, 98, 136–41, 151–60, 193 sqq.).

66 INSCIUS HERBAE Cf. Colum. 7.3.13, Pliny NH 28.220; still unweaned.

TOTO Cf. on 25 and 2.164.

SALICTI Verg. Georg. 2.434.

68 PLUS LACTIS … QUAM SANGUINIS Cf. lacteum porcum Mart. 3.47.12, lactentia viscera of infants Ovid Fasti 6.137. This line and 71 are very similar in rhythm; cf. on 6.237.

MONTANI ASPARAGI (5.82) Cf. RE s.v. 1713.37 and 55, Pliny NH 19.145; asparagus is one of the πετραῖα Philemon fr. 98 K = 4 p. 38 fr. inc. 12 M.

69 She lays aside her spinning to gather fruit, vegetables and flowers (Mart. 9.60.3).

70 The eggs were wrapped in hay to prevent breakage in transport (Mart. 3.47.14; cf. on 3.10–14); these ones are still warm.

MATRIBUS Cf. Ovid Fasti 4.696, Mart. 7.31.1; i.e. gallinis.

71–2 It is now April (193), so the grapes have been kept for about six months since the vintage. Pars may mean ‘a good part’ (but note that at 12.110 it is strengthened by aliquam) or even ‘a half’ (Munro on Lucr. 2.200, OLD pars 4 b); here we have the common Silver ablative of duration.

SERVATAE Mart. 1.43.3 non quae de tardis servantur vitibus uvae (for this frequent line-ending see Citroni); cf. Pliny NH 14.16 with André, 15.62–7, Apicius 1.17 and more in the agricultural writers (Marescalchi–Dalmasso 12).

73 SIGNINUM From Signia in Latium (Macrobr. Sat. 3.19.6, Celsus 4.26 = 19.5); the so-called Syrian (Verg. Georg. 2.88) did originate [1500] from Syria (RE Berlinbaum 491.54, 496.44), but in fact were now produced at Tarentum. The two kinds are associated Colum. 5.10.18, Celsus 2.24.2, Pliny NH 15.53–5.

74 redolentia mala Ovid Met. 8.675 (cf. on 77), just before vitibus uvae; cf. Bömer there and Juv. 5.150.

ISDEM This indicates economy and simplicity.

PICENIS Hor. Serm. 2.4.70, 2.3.272; Priapea 51.7. Martial in his invitation poems mentions olives from there.

75–6 When winter’s cold has dried up their autumnal juice and removed (cf. 69) the perils of unripeness; a bold use of autumnus which has to be interpreted in the light of the neighbouring words. For the view that apples are more unhealthy off the tree than stored for a time see Augustine De Moribus Manich. 43; cf. Galen De Alim. Fac. 2.21.6 (CMG 5.4.2 p. 290), Pliny NH 23.100, Dioscorides 1.115.1 and 4.

77 IAM LUXURIOSA ‘quite lavish’ cf. 3.206; by now lavish, in contrast with the yet more primitive times of Curius, cf. Pliny NH 18.18 luxuriantis iam rei p. fuit ista mensura (followed in 19 by a reference to the personal cultivation of their
lands by the generals of old). Then *Curius legerat*, now *vilica legit* 69. M’ Curius Dentatus, censor 272 B.C. and famous for his part in the wars against the Samnites and Pyrrhus, was an *exemplum* of old Roman simplicity and frugality (cf. 2.3 and 153); Juvenal has in mind the famous story (*RE Curius 1844*) that the envoys of the Samnites found him cooking vegetables, cf. Sen. *Dial.* 12.10.8. This passage resembles 14.161–72; Juvenal is thinking of the famous meal of Baucis and Philemon, Ovid *Met.* 8.646 sqq. (cf. on 74 and note *collegerat horto … holus*).

**IPSE** Not even a slave.

**HOLUSCULA** A modest traditional meal, contrasted with meat 81 sqq.; cf. 1.134, Hor. *Serm.* 2.2.166 sqq., 2.6.64 (with *lardo*, cf. 84 and Petron. 39.11) etc., Marquardt 298 and (of the Roman poor) Pliny *NH* 19.52.

**IN MAGNA … COMPEDE FOSSOR** In the chain-gangs on the *ergastulum*, cf. 8.180, Colum. 1.8.16, Marquardt 180, Blümner1 549–50; contrasted with the *fossor* of 89. For the wording cf. Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.6.31, *Tristia* 4.1.5; Lucan 7.402.

81 He has been sent from the town to work in the country as a punishment (cf. 8.180), and thinks back longingly on urban pleasures (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.21).


**SAPIAT QUID** Cf. 121. 153

**VOLVA** A favourite delicacy, André 141, Marquardt 329, Blümner1 174 n. 4; contrasted with 82 sqq.

82 Pork is the characteristic meat of the ordinary people of Rome (Highet 77–8, E. Fraenkel *Elementi Plautini* (1960) 239 and 408, André 139, Marquardt 429–30, Blümner1 173–4; of the old days Ovid *Fasti* 6.169 sqq.); cow (which was also a working animal), sheep and (in spite of 65) goat were too valuable as sources of milk and wool to be recklessly slaughtered for meat (cf. Antiphanes ap. Athen. 9.402d–e). In farm-houses a side of pork would hang from an open (RARA) wicker-work frame attached to the ceiling, cf. Ovid *Met.* 8 l.c., *Moretum* 55–6, Colum. 12.55.3, Petron. 135. *SICCI* (7.119) = *durati sale* in the *Moretum*. *RARA craticula* at Mart. 14.221 appears to be a kind of griddle, like *spissa c.* at Marcell. *Med.* 8.101.

83 MORIS ERAT Cf. *Thes.* s.v. 1528.84, HS 62, Löfstedt 2.408; so also *consuetudinis*.

**FESTIS DIEBUS** (dative) Cf. Ovid *Fasti* 6.179 *caesa sue festa colebant*.

**NATALICIUM** On birthdays; English idiom would incline to express the meaning by an adverb, cf. on 1.28, 3.12, 4.108 (all of time). One would then have a feast in honour of the *genius* (Cic. *Phil.* 2.15 *dat nataliciam* (*dapem*), Gell. 19.9.1, Marquardt 251), though one would not perform a sacrifice (on 12.1); so the meat comes from some other sacrifice.

85 NOVA CARNE Contrasted with the salted pork; *Cod.* *Theodos.* 7.4.6 *lardum vel recens forsitan caro*. In ancient sacrifices certain parts of the victim were
burnt, the rest was sold or used by the offerer as an occasion for a feast (whence *popina* from *popa*; André 138, Latte 391, Wissowa 419, *RE immolatio* 1132).

CARNE *Carnem* (see the apparatus) might also be legitimate; it is not common for a noun attracted into a relative clause to leave behind an adjective in the main clause, but it does happen (e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 179, Lucr. 1.152–3, Cic. *Phil.* 2.44, Hor. *Epode* 2.37, *Serm.* 1.4.2, Livy 31.22.6, 32.5.9, Germanicus 21, Sil. *It.* 1.280, 13.400–1, Mart. 9.49.1–2; a doubtful instance with a participle Vell. *Pat.* 2.80.3); cf. HS 564. Similar questions arise at 10.211, 254; at 2.41, 3.91, 14.85 a demonstrative pronoun is left behind, which is not uncommon. Marx on Plaut. *Rud.* 77 remarks that in such cases (in Greek also) the attracted antecedent is usually last word in the line in poetry. But the accusative here, where ACCEDENTE makes a difference, is probably due to scribal assimilation; cf. 12.59 and the variants at Prop. 4.7.7.

86 TITULO See on 5.110.

88 For an ordinary meal of vegetables they would return at the usual time; 14.169–71. ||[502]

89 ERECTUM Over his shoulder.

MONTE implies hard farming; cf. 2.74, 8.245. The common metaphor of DOMITO (*Thes.* s.v. 1946.18; e.g. Verg. *Aen.* 9.608, Mart. 4.64.32–3; Sen. *Ep.* 86.5 of Scipio *terram, ut mos fuit priscis, ipse subigebat*) goes well with this, but it also carries on the military context of 86–8, so that, expecting *erectum domito referens ab HOSTE PILUM*, we meet an ἀπροσδόκητον It is a common-place that the old Romans like Curius alternated between the dignity of office and personal toil in the fields; e.g. Pliny quoted on 77 and 36.111, Cic. *Pro Rosc. Am.* 50–1, Colum. *praef.* 13, Val. *Max.* 4.4.4.

90–1 The names are arranged so that singular and plural alternate. A number of Fabii were censors (e.g. the Fabius Gurges of 6.266 perhaps in 289 B.C.; Broughton 1.184); *durus Cato* (Mart. 11.2.12) was censor 184 B.C., M. Aemilius Scaurus (who passed a sumptuary law as consul 115 B.C.) 109 B.C., Fabricius (cf. 2.154, 9.141) 275 B.C. The plural SCAUROS is probably generic as at 2.35; for the combination with a singular cf. 1.109, 8.3–5 and 182, 10.108–9, Catull. 14.18–19, Manil. 4.86–7, Pers. 3.79, Colum. 4.11.1. Some have seen a reference to M. Aurelius Scaurus, but he was never censor. Cf. also Hor. *Odes* 1.12.37.

91 RIGIDIQUE Cf. 10.31 *rigidi censura*; Ovid AA 2.664 *rigidus censor. rigidiq*; was lost after -*ricium* and in P the gap was filled with *postremo*, a word not found in Juvenal or most Latin poetry outside Lucretius (Housman). Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 7.226 *rigidum ... Fabricium*.

92 This refers to the quarrels between M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero, censors in 204 B.C. (Broughton 1.306).

94 OCEANI Cf. 113; *mare Oceanus* is found as an apposition, and even *mare Oceanum* (Ampel. 1 and 7; Avienius *Phaen.* 2.1153 is corrupt), but that does not defend *fluctus Oceanus* (PA). Here the reference is to the Indian Ocean (Pliny
NH 9.35, Thorley G & R² 16, 1969, 220; Warmington 166; C. L. Ransom Studies in Ancient Furniture (1905) 55; the Edict of Diocletian 16.7 mentions testudo Indica. This line introduces the theme of foreign luxuries which becomes prominent.

TESTUDO 6.80, 14.308, Pliny NH 33.146, Marquardt 310, RE Betten 371, Blümner¹ 117 n. 2 and ² 2.377 n. 2.

95 TROIJGENIS See on 1.100.

FULCRUM See on 6.21 and Anderson there adduced.

96 ET couples the adjectival nudo latere with the adjective parvis (3.203), cf. 3.48, 9.29–31, 12.30 sqq. and HS 818. Their sides were unadorned with tortoise-shell or anything else, and their only adornment was the frons aerea; this frons (Val. Max. 2.10.3) is the head-end, identical with the fulcrum. Hygin. Fab. 274.1 also speaks [150] of ass-heads on the fulcrum crowned with vine-leaves, the ass being connected by legend with the discovery of the vine and the worship of Bacchus; but in fact in all extant cases the heads appear to be of mules or horses (Ransom l.c. 83, Hoffmann AJA 61, 1957, 167, Neugebauer Ath. Mitt. 57, 1932, 29–41); Juvenal has probably been misled by thinking of the sexual vigour of the ass (on 9.92). Cf. Deonna Rev. Belge Phil. 34, 1956, 640–1.

98 LASCIVI (Mart. 14.79.1) RURIS ALUMNI The playful rustic children, cf. 14.168–9; children ate ad fulcra lectorum (Suet. Claud. 32).

99 The paragraph 77–89 dealt with the simple food of olden days, 90–119 deals with the simple equipment of life—couches (90–8), table service (100–9), statues of the gods (110–16), tables (117–19). 108–9 closes the discussion of the table service with the remark ‘they used simple dishes for their simple food’; 99 is clearly meant to form a similar conclusion to the discussion of couches, ‘so their houses and furniture were as simple as their food’. Ruperti proposed quales … talis, and this is indeed what modern idiom would lead us to expect; but Latin idiom in expressions of this kind sometimes seems to reverse the terms (e.g. Plaut. Aul. 672; Šen. Ep. 12.6, 77.7, 55.3 (quoted on 10.56–7), Dial. 1.3.6, 7.8.1, De Clem. 1.3.3, 1.13.3; I have argued in CR² 14 1964, 49 that Cic. De Rep. 1.50 is to be understood thus, and Juv. 14.255 is also comparable). Linguistically therefore there is no objection to the line, but nevertheless it may well be spurious; it is weak, and the reference back to the food is not so well motivated by the context as in 108.

100 Livy 25.40.2 (after Polyb. 9.10) dates the initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera in 212 B.C. Scenes of vandalism such as those alluded to here are described at the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C. by Polybius 39.2 B-W and Florus 1.32.6–7, and Varro Sat. Men. 97 may come from a similar context; but the Roman army had become more appreciative in 84 B.C. (Sall Cat. 11.6; cf. Petron. 119.9).

RUDIS A term of praise cf. 143.

GRAIAS The more elevated word as contrasted with Livy’s Graecarum gives a touch of sarcasm, cf. 8.226, 10.138, 15.110.

ARTES Works of art.
101 Livy 5.46.4 in *parte praedae esse*; cf. 29.

102 MAGNORUM ARTIFICUM e.g. Mentor (8.104).

FRANGEBAT Break up for re-working cf. 18.

103 PHALERIS Ornamental medallions, cf. on 108–9, 16.60 (but there of humans), *RE* s.v., *RSV* 2.575, Webster (see Sixteen introduction) 151–2, Büttner *Bönnner Jahrb.* 157, 1957, 133 and 145.

CAELATA i.e. with a piece of chasing taken from the cup and fastened on to the helmet. [[504]

104 SIMULACRA Poetic plural. All these scenes were of course common topics for engraving, especially on weapons and armour. There is a tinge of epic parody; we think of the scenes described on the shields of Achilles and Aeneas (cf. Vergil adduced on 105).

105 IMPERII FATO Pliny *NH* 8.61.

SUB RUPE In a cave (Verg. *Aen.* 8.630 on Aeneas’ shield; Sil. It. 5.143 on the shield of Flaminius); Fabius Pictor ap. Dion. Hal. *AR* 1.79 mentions a πέτρα κοιλή.

QUIRINOS i.e. Romulus (8.259) and Remus; so *Castores* = Castor and Pollux, *Pollux* (cf. *geminus Pollux* Hor. *Odes* 3.29.64, though *geminus Castor* at Ovid *AA* 1.746 is not a clear case); *Romuli* = Romulus and Remus is conjectured at Tertull. *De Corona* 12; *geminas Alpes* = Alps and Pyrenees, Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 5.593; for *Hecatae* cf. Wissowa 378; Δευκαλίωνες seems to mean Deucalion and Pyrrha at Theocr. 15.141; but *Scyllae* at Lucr. 4.732, Verg. *Aen.* 6.286, Stat. *Theb.* 4.533 should be interpreted in the light of Lucr. 5.893. See further Löfstedt 1.66 sqq., Neue–Wagner 1.592, Bell 3–4, HS 19, Meister 113 sqq., Puhvel *AJP* 98, 1977, 404 and on *reges* 13.52.

106 Mars is on his way to visit Rhea Silvia; in works of art representing this theme he is shown naked except for a chlamys floating behind him, armed with shield and spear, and generally flying. Such representations may be seen in Alföldi *Mus. Helv.* 7, 1950, 9 pl. 3.1 (cf. p. 11 n. 20); *ML* 4.65–7; Mattingly 4 pl. 6.4 and 32.14; D. Raoul Rochette *Monuments Inédits* (1833) 35 pl. viii.1; C. O. Müller–F. Wieseler *Denkmäler der Ant. Kunst* (1854–81) 2 pl. 23 no. 253 (a, b, c). The works of art are thus against construing the ablatives offered by the ms. with NUDAM, though this can be supported by Ovid *Fasti* 3.1 and 9. *Fulgentis* (see the apparatus) is an obvious interpolation from 108. The text therefore must be corrupt, and the simplest correction is the addition of IN; cf. *Thes.* s.v. 770.1 and Claudian *III Cons. Honor.* *48 in clipeo*. The line will then metrically resemble 1.135, 3.237, 6.327 and 366, 15.174. Ullmann 284 suggested *vementis*, comparing 9.11 and for the scansion of *vemens* Catull. 50.21, but this would lose the reference to Mars coming to visit Rhea; admittedly some deny this reference and understand VENIENTIS from the view-point of the enemy who see the Roman helmets as they charge (cf. 113).

107 Fierce representations, e.g. Gorgons, on shields to terrify the enemy were common; Denniston on Eur. *El.* 456–7, Chase *HSCP* 13, 1902, 61, Wickert *Philol.*
TUSCOCATINO The cheap common pottery produced particularly at Arretium (Pliny NH 35.160, Mart. 1.53.6, Marquardt 659); [505] cf. Pers. 2.60, Mart. 14.98. PONEBANT They served up (84 etc.); FARRATA (SHA 14.5.8) i.e. pulites (58), cf. André 63.

Cf. Livy 22.52.4 of the spoil taken by Hannibal at Cannae praeter ... sìquid argenti, quod plurimum in phaleris equorum (cf. 103) erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur.

LIVIDULUS See on 6.425; the diminutive appears to have hardly any force, and the line seems generally odd. It is curious that this line and 111 have almost the same type of caesura and monosyllabic ending; see on 6.237. TUNC See on 6.235; SI only if, ironically.

PRAESENTIOR ‘more near to help’ cf. 3.18 and OLD s.v. 3. The story of this divine warning given near the temple of Vesta in 391 B.C. is told by Livy 5.32.6 etc. (see Pease on Cic. De Div. 1.101, Latte 50–1); it gave rise to the cult of Aius Locutius.

MEDIAMQUE A pointless trick of style; tacitamque Nisbet 237 (noctis silentio Livy).

LITORE AB OCEANI A rhetorical exaggeration due to Livy 5.37.2. ‘Part of Gaul was bounded by the Ocean; but by Livy’s own account these Gauls had been settled in Etruria for 200 years’ Duff.

VENIENTIBUS This word often carries an implication of attacking, e.g. Lucr. 3.833, Culex 34, Verg. Aen. 12.510, 6.291.

HIS hac voce et huiusmodi signis Madvig.

FICTILIS This is a standing symbol of simplicity; Sen. Ep. 31.11 cogita illos (sc. deos) cum propitii essent fictiles fuisse, Sen. Contr. 2.1.18. The oldest statues at Rome were of terracotta, in the Etruscan style (Marquardt 640, Pliny NH 34.34); the first image of Jupiter for the Capitol was made at Veii on the orders of the elder Tarquin (cf. Pliny NH 35.157, Ovid Fasti 1.202, Cic. De Div. 1.16).

VIOLATUS Cf. 3.20, Verg. Aen. 12.67 (representing Homer’s μῆνιν Ἰ. 4.141), Lucan 9.519. W. Schulze Quaestiones Epicae (1892) 235 compares χρυσὸς ἀκήρατος, but that means unalloyed.

DOMINATAS Home-grown (cf. Otto domus 3 with Nachträgê 158, Friedländer on Petron. 38.1, Thes. s.v. domus 1957.7), made of ordinary walnut or beech, not imported Moroccan citrus, cf. on 1.75 and 137, Mart. 14.90 (the poor gift; though maple wood too is quite elegant). The food too is home-grown 64–76 (contrast 139 sqq.), so is the servant (147 sqq.), and the entertainment does not consist of foreign girls (162). To ancient political theorists one of the chief qualities of a state was ἀὐτάρκεια (cf. e.g. Cic. De Rep. 2.7–8, Appian Pun. 86–9), and so they disliked foreign imports (cf. on 14.267).

HOS hoc (see the apparatus) is a mere assimilation to the nearest noun; one might construe ad hoc usus (gen. sing.; at Apul. Met. 2.32 F has hoc corrected to
hos), but hos is usual (e.g. at Apul. 5.29). STABAT followed by DEIECERAT
seems very infelicitous; perhaps <ex>staban.


121 RHOMBUS See on 4.39; DAMA appears to mean ‘gazelle’, cf. Blümner1 176,
André 120 (one appears on a Pompeian representation of a butcher’s shop).

PUTERE VIDENTUR UNGUENTA Cf. Cic. Acad. fr. 11 Müller = p. 21.8 Plas-
berg ed. min.

UNGUENTA ATQUE ROSAE The usual accompaniments of the commissa-
tio after a banquet; see on 9.128, 4.108, 15.49.

ORBES Round tables (cf. 1.137) supported on carved ivory; EBUR ET PARDUS
is a hendiadys for eburneus pardus, cf. 3.205. See RE Elfenbein 2361.2, Blümner1
125–6, Marquardt 723; Stat. Silv. 4.2.38, τρίποδες ἐλεφαντόποδες Dio Cass. 61.10.3.
There was a special guild of eborarii (RE s.v.) and citrarii, cf. Blümner1 611 n. 6.

123 SUBLIMIS Rampant.

124 DENTIBUS Tusks; RE Elfenbein 2357.62.

PORTA SYENES Syene, the most southerly place in the Roman empire, is the
gateway to it; cf. Stat. Silv. 4.4.63, Tac. Ann. 2.61. It is very close to Elephantine.

125 MAURI The African elephants (from Ethiopia and Morocco) lived farther
north than now; Scullard 24–31, DS elephas 536b, J. Carcopino Le Maroc Antique
(1943) 41.

CELERES This refers to their famous cavalry.

MAURO OBSCURIOR INDUS This reverses both Lucan 4.678 (Mauro con-
color Indus) and the facts; cf. 5.53 and Snowden 2 sqq., 277–9.

126 There are no elephants in Arabia, but Petra was on the trade-route from
India, so it was regarded as the source of the ivory which it only transmitted.
Nadeau CQ2 20, 1970, 348 takes the reference to be to Napata in Ethiopia; but no
reader who had recently heard of Trajan’s annexation of Arabia Petraea would
think of this.

DEPOSUIT Cf. Pliny NH 8.7–8. In fact elephants do not shed their tusks, cf.
Scullard 228, 232; discoveries of fossil ivory (Theophr. De Lapid. 37 with the note
of Caley and Richards p. 135; thence Pliny NH 36.134) led to this belief.

BELUA 10.158, 12.104.

127 He is criticising a perverted sense of values; the rich attach value to the
mere refuse of a foreign monster (cf. Pliny NH 12 .4).

OREXIS For this word see on 6.428; even the appetite is foreign.

PES ARGENTEUS Even a τράπεζα ἀργυρόπους is despised.

129 The iron ring in Juvenal’s day was the mark of plebeians; equites and sen-
ators wore a gold one. Cf. 7.88, Stat. Silv. 3.3.143–5, || Pliny NH 33.9–33, Sher-

129–30 I do not invite a conceited guest who draws comparisons between my
circumstances (i.e. possessions; cf. 3.24, Mart. 1.55.4 in parvis rebus) and his own;
this is an indirect compliment to Persicus.

131 ADEO ‘for indeed’, ‘so true is it that’, cf. 3.274, 12.36; it introduces a clause explanatory of EXIGUAS.

NULLA UNCIA Plaut. Rud. 913, Mart. 9.3.5 and 48.10–11.


MANUBRIA CULTELLORUM Cf. 5.122, Marquardt 743. This idea and SECATUR 135 lead on to the STRUCTOR 136.

135 i.e. peior est gallina quae secatur; cf. 5.124. The GALLINA resumes 71 and contrasts with the birds of 138 sqq.

136 SED NEC Cf. 7, Tac. Germ. 6.2.

STRUCTOR He would both carve and lay the table, cf. 5.120 (the slaves throughout this passage are the opposite of those in Five), 7.184, RE s.v. (2), Blümner1 394, Marquardt 146.

137 PÉRIGULA The booth or studio used by a teacher of the art of carving (5.122; cf. Colum. 1 pr. 5, Sen. Ep. 47.6), as by grammatici (Suet. Aug. 94, De Gramm. 18; SHA 29.10.4); see also 6.0.29. It would be an extension or loggia built above a shop in an arcade; Blümner1 60 n. 3, Marquardt 93, Mau Röm. Mitt. 2, 1887, 214 sqq., Bonner 120–2.

TRYPERI τρυφερός, a significant name.

138 SUMEN Of a sow, a favourite delicacy, e.g. Mart. 7.78.3 sumen aprum leporem; André 141, Blümner1 174. One is seen hanging in a butcher’s shop, Bossert and Zschietzschmann 212. It is however odd to find this carved. Cf. 5.167 leporem … apri.

PYGERGUS Antelope; Pliny NH 8.214. This and the following Greek names scornfully designate degenerate luxuries.

139 SCYTHICAE VOLUCRES Pheasants, aves Phasianae, so called from the river Phasis (see Toynbee 255 and further references in Lauffer on Edict. Diocl. 4.17–20); they are often associated with Afrææ aves (142–3), guinea-fowl (Petron. 93 etc.), which were raised commercially (Colum. 8.12; cf. Toynbee 253, André 133–4, Blümner1 179). The phoenicopterus or flamingo also sometimes appears in such contexts, e.g. Mart. 3.58.14–16, 13.71–3; Philostr. Apollon. 8.7 (cf. Blümner1 180, André 128). See SG 2.149 and 165 = 2.288 and 308.

140 ORYX This is also a type of antelope (Toynbee 146; cf. Pliny ||508|| NH 10.201); it was kept in Roman game-parks (Colum. 9.1.1 and 7).

HEBETI So that the trainee will not cut himself.

LAUTISSIMA (cf. 1) … CENA go together (for the word-order cf. 3.309, 6.495–6 and 606–7, 10.41, 12.91, 13.29–30, 14.3) and are in apposition to the animal-names; the phrase is of course ironical, as this is only a model.
ULMEA CENA Trypherus used wooden models of the various dishes for his pupils to practise on.

SUBURA Cf. 51.

Juvenal implies that expert carvers are also expert filchers.

CAPREÆA Roebucks (RE Reh 513, André 120); these too were commercially raised (capreoli Colum. 9 pr. 1 and 9.1).

NOSTER The boy who waits on me.

OMNI TEMPORE ‘all his days’ Duff.

RUDIS (cf. 146) Like the soldier 100; cf. Mart. quoted on 149. From the caesura 142–3 are remarkably similar in rhythm, cf. on 6.237.

OFELLAE ‘(Pork) cutlets’ Dunbabin CR 49, 1935, 10, cf. Blümner1 174 n. 13. This needs no carving, Mart. 10.48.15. In this word the diminutive formation has acquired a special sense, so it can readily be combined with EXIGUAIE (contrast 5.85). For such petty thieving see on 9.5.

IMBUTUS He has just had his first taste of it, the usual sense of the word (14.123).

PLEBEIOS CALICES Cf. 5.46–8, Mart. 14.94.1.

PAUCIS ASSIBUS EMPTOS Mart. 9.59.22.

INCULTUS (cf. 143) Sen. Dial. 9.1.7 placet minister incultus et rudis vernula (cf. 147–8), Mart. 4.66.10.

A FRIGORE TUTUS Warmly dressed in thick coarse cloth, not in light or inadequate clothing as an elegant page might be, to display his beauty; cf. Sen. Dial. 10.12.5, Colum. 1.8.9.


NON … PETITUS i.e. he is a verna; cf. 6.373a mangonum pueros.

The reading et might be defended by 5.56–60, but in the immediate context only nationality, not price, is relevant. Read thus:

… Lycius, non a mangone petitus quisquam erit; in magno cum posces, posce latine.

With MAGNO understand POCULO, and for IN compare Mart. 10.49.4–5; Athen. 2.58c ἠτει πιεῖν ἐν ψυκτῆρι (also ibid. 15.668f, which is the reference intended by Heraeus 53–4); CGL 3.219.27 quoted by Housman. Cic. 2 Verr. 1.66 uses an instrumental ablative [509] (on 2.95), fit … invitatio ut Graeco more biberetur, hortatur hospes, poscunt maioribus poculis. This passage implies that the custom, though adopted at Rome (Hor. Epode 9.33, Serm. 2.8.35; Petron. 65.8; Plut. Brut. 24.4), retained a Greek flavour. Juvenal’s point then is that even when Persicus feels in a Greek mood he must not ask Graece ‘μείξονα ἐν ψυκτῆρι’ but Latine ‘maiora adfer pocula’, because this verna does not understand Greek. Persicus should not fall into the luxurious habit of asking for larger cups at Juvenal’s modest table; he has not attained to Juvenal’s level of frugality. See further BICS 13, 1966, 41 and 43.
149 IDEM HABITUS Whereas a rich house would have groups of slaves in varied outfits, Sen. Ep. 95.24, Lucan 10.127 sqq.

TONGI Mart. 10.98.9 (tonos ... rudes ... filios subulci, of waiters; cf. Friedlaender on 2.57.5), Sen. Ep. 119.14; RECTI not curled, Sen. Ep. 95.24. In both respects they are unlike the pueri capillati of the rich (cf. 8.128 acersecomes, 5.59 Ganymedem, Blümner1 396).

150 PEXI Pers. 1.15, Hor. Serm. 2.8.70, Quintil. 1.5.14; this indicates a big occasion, cf. 6.26, Marquardt 601.

151–2 Their rusticitas is portrayed by the spondees and the hiatus.

152 This is a third waiter, the son of a goat-herd, contrasted with 151. 151 sqq. elaborate on CUNCITIS 149.

SUSPIRAT With accusative cf. KS 1.263; LONGO TEMPORE see on 9.17. In spite of his humanitarian attitude to slaves (14.16), Juvenal is callous to the deprivations of slavery.

154–5 Ovid Met. 2.13 facies ... qualem decet esse sororem. INGENUUS means both ‘free-born’ and ‘frank, open’ (2.16); DECET suggests that ingenui in the social sense are not necessarily so in the moral sense, whereas Juvenal’s boys are ingenui in the moral but not in the social sense. Thus the morals of both host (Mart. 10.98.12) and guest (Hor. Epist. 1.18.72) remain uncorrupted. Cf. Mart. 3.33.4 ancilla ... facie ... ingenua (where ‘handsome’ predominates), Pliny Ep. 1.14.8 facies liberalis ... ingenua totius corporis pulchritudo, Petron. 107.6.

153 CASULAM Cf. villa Mart. 10.98.8 for the goats cf. 66.

155 ARDENS Cf. 10.27 and Verg. Aen. 4.262; ignea Val. Fl. 1.427.

PURPURA Of the toga praetexta (Pers. 5.30, Stat. Silv. 5.3.119 etc.), a mark of ingenuitas (Cic. 2 Verr. 1.113, 152).

156 PUPILLARES Sen. Dial. 4.21.6 pelliss quo plus licuit, corruptior animus est; Σ notes quales habent hi qui patres non habent, scilicet tumentes in licentia pueritiae.

DEFERT IN BALNEA 6.374–6, 9.34–5.

RAUCUS This may mean that his voice has not yet broken and he still speaks in a boyish treble (cf. IAM 157), or that he has not yet [510] had sexual intercourse to ruin his voice (on 6.73). Calderini suggested draucus, but this word means one who performs feats of strength in public and only secondarily acquires an implication of sexual vigour (Housman CR1 44, 1930, 114 = Coll. Papers 1166); it is quite out of place here, and anyway is only found in Martial and the Notae Tironianae.

157 VELLENDAS PRAEBUIT ALAS To the alipilus or παρατίλτρια who would work in the baths (Blümner1 439, Philostr. Apollon. 4.27.1). Adults would normally have this done (cf. Plaut. Amph. 326), and certainly pueri capillati, catamites and glabri generally would see to it (Marquardt 147 n. 7); but rough rustics would not bother (cf. Hor. Epode 12.5, Theophr. Char. 19.3 of the δυσοχερής and Steinmetz ad loc.).
158 CRASSA Cf. 6.371; GUTO (on 3.263) would be used for anointing in the baths. The meaning may be either that in his innocence he does not realise that his genitals are being inspected, or that he has nothing to hide because he does not suffer from Priapism etc. because of frequent intercourse.

159 Mart. 14.112 hic tibi vina dabit.

DIFFUSA 'bottled', transferred from the large dolium to the smaller amphora or cadus, cf. 5.30, Billiard 514. In a rich man’s house one would have imported Greek wines, or at least those of Campania; but this is ‘vile Sabinum’ from the mountains of Tibur, like the asparagus (68).

161 A vapid verse composed to explain 159–60. Juvenal never allows more than three elisions in a line (cf. BICS 22, 1975, 154–5). For PATRIA cf. 5.34.

162 FORSITAN EXSPeCTES Ovid Tristia 1.1.69. Now the notion of pudor is picked up from 154–8.

GADITANA sc. cantica (Mart. 3.63.5; at Pliny Ep. 1.15.3, on which see the introduction, the mss. vary between -a and -as sc. puellas); probably internal accusative after PRURIRE (which is applied to the dancers of Cadiz at Mart. 5.78.26–8, 14.203.1). The Spaniard Martial often refers to the dances and dancers of Cadiz (Marquardt 318, Blümner 412, Wille 200 and 313; cf. modern Spanish ‘Gitana’ and γαειτάναν Pap. Grenfell 1.53.28, on which see E. Rohde Kl. Schr. 2.4), and he signals a frugal meal by their absence 5 l.c. (cf. Wille 145), like Pliny l.c.

TREMULO CLUNE Mart. 5 l.c., 14 l.c.; cf. Juv. 6.0.19.

INCIPIANT ἐξάρχωσι (cf. 10.262).

165 sqq. If 165–6 are retained they must be parenthetical, as otherwise URTICAe (cf. 2.128) in 168 should be accusative. But they are certainly spurious; they are feeble and irrelevant, ipsis should be ἵνα is (so K; cf. Housman on Manil. 4.860), and clearly they stood not in the text but in the margin of the Juvenalian archetype. But the following lines also show great difficulties. Ista only has meaning if it refers back to 165–6; divitis, which Weidner and Housman thought corrupt, absurdly anticipates 171–8. Moreover what is signified by alterius sexus (cf. 6.341)? Clearly women (cf. ista with its reference back and 6.64 Tuccia vesicae non imperat), but where is the masculine contrast? Rennin and Achaintre take the meaning to be ‘but more pleasure is derived from male dancers (κιναιδολόγοι etc.; on 6.O.19); they put more effort into their dancing, and the male spectators’ lust is soon aroused’ (for urina cf. on 1.39); but this postulates an odd use of the genitive after voluptas and an equally odd use of extenditur. Finally on the usual interpretation extenditur (ostenditur F) lacks parallel and should be intenditur or simply tenditur (cf. Mart. 6.71.3 in a similar context). I therefore follow Ribbeck in deleting 165–70, and assume that when this sizeable block was interpolated there was not room to put it all in one place, so that 165–6 and 167–70 had to be squeezed into different parts of the margin and the position to be occupied by 165–6 was not made clear.
167 Mart. 1.46.1–2 languet ... venus.

171 CAPIT χωρεί, contains; cf. 197 and on 10.148.

VERBIS The obscene words of the Cadiz songs; the language of whores is bad enough (cf. Herter 96 n. 498), but these songs are even worse.

NUDUM On 6.122; OLIDO 6.132, Hor. Serm. 1.2.30 olenti in fornice stantem; FORNICE 3.156, 10.239.
STANS This is common enough where prostare would be the technical word; 10.239, Cic. 2 Verr. 2.154 fornix ... in quo nudus filius stat, Ovid Tristia 2.310 etc.

175 LACEDAEONIUM Of Spartan marble, mostly black from Taenarus or green from Taygetus.

ORBEM A circular inlay in the floor (as on the wall, Sen. Ep. 86.6).

PYTISMAΣΤΕ PYTISSTARE, (δια)πυτίζειν denotes the wine-taster’s habit of savouring a sip of wine and then spitting it out; Ter. Haut. 457, Vitruv. 7.4.5 (an emendation).

176 IBI In his case cf. 8.64; FORTUNAE rank, cf. 8.74.
ALEA TURPIS The two vices are coupled Cic. In Cat. 2.23; cf. on 1.88 and Suet. Claud. 5 aleae infamiam.

MEDIOCRIBUS Cf. 6.582. The word is carefully placed; the reader expects a full stop at adulterium, then comes this cynical addition. \[512\]

178 FACIUNT This is generally adopted so that CUM can be understood as ‘when’, cf. 9.63. But it does not seem to me that OMNIA then fits in well, and I incline to retain faciant with CUM meaning ‘although’. For the shift to the plural ILLI see index variation.

HILAΣRES Vell. Pat. 2.105.2 eum splendidum aut hilarem potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem diceres. The dactyls of 177–8 seem to portray their hilaritas.

179 CONVIVIA Poetic plural; LUDOS entertainments (cf. on 5.157 and Marquardt 337–8). Juvenal provides ἀκροάματα rather than θεάματα, as Pliny l.c. on 162 a lector (CIL 6.9447 = CEL 1012; Blümner 410, Marquardt 151) rather than songs of Cadiz. Cf. SG 1.218 = 1.255, Balsdon 1 44–5 and the Homeristae of Pap. Ox. 519, 1025. For comparisons between Homer and Vergil see on 6.436.

CANTABITUR (cf. 4.35) as compared with LEGANTUR 182 suggests a kind of recitative or ραψῳδία (μελῳδεῖν Athen. 6.620c); cf. Petron. 68, SG 2.339 = 2.163.

182 Juvenal does not have an expert professional lector. He claims that Vergil can survive even this treatment (cf. the similar point of 134–5), but Petron. l.c. disagrees.

ALTISONI A deliberately grand compound.

183–5 Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.5 (see introduction) 10–11 (lichebit).

185–6 A difficult passage with two problems: (1) Is the fenus owed to or by
Persicus? The former seems more pointed; an invitation to a simple meal carries a lesson for a man of substance (see the introduction on the character of Persicus).

(2) What is the verb of MENTIO? It seems simplest to take it to be BILEM TIBI CONTRAHAT; Juvenal does not want the thought of defaulting debtors (cf. 48) to ruffle Persicus. Then NON rather than ne (cf. on 3.54) will be due to the coalescence of non ulla into nulla (cf. Hor. Epist. 1.18.72, Tib. 2.1.9, Ovid Met. 15.157, though all these instances are before vowels).

186–9 TACITO Cf. 6.206–8; MULTICIA cf. 2.66 and 76.

UMIDA sc. with her female secretion, cf. 9.4; Suet. Nero 28.2 libidinatum inces-te ac maculis vestis proditum is not exactly comparable.

SUSPECTIS 10.208; the word may suggest jealousy (Hor. Odes 1.7.25).

REFERENS goes with REVERTI; a comma should be placed after UXOR.

VEXATAS COMAS In a quarrel, Prop. 4.5.31.

CALENTEM Suet. Aug. 69.1; πρόσωπα θερμότερα Theocr. 2.140.

190 EXUE Cf. Mart. 10.30.3 etc.; this is varied by PONE in the figure synonymia or disiunctio (Lausberg pp. 332, 368).

192 PERIT ‘is lost or wasted’ cf. 1.18; DOMUM i.e. domesticas curas.

193 Cf. on 52. Juvenal must distance himself from the vulgar mob [[513] and reject the values of the extravagant if he is going to criticise them. The Megalesia (6.69), in honour of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ (for IDAEUM cf. 3.137), were on 4 and 10 April, and circus games were held on the latter day (Ovid Fasti 4.391–2); cf. Hadzsits TAPA 61, 1930, 165, Degrassi Inscr. Italiae 13.2.435–6. The adjective MEGALESIACUS is found in the calendar of Filocalus (CIL 12 p. 262 = Inscr. Italiae 13.2.144–5); cf. Swanson Glotta 37, 1958, 144 and 140.

SPECTACULA The spectators, or more exactly the seats (6.61, 8.205). MAPPAE depends on SOLLEMNE and refers to the starting signal for the race, which was given by the presiding magistrate dropping his mappa (Thes. s.v. 371.7), mappam mittere (Mart. 12.29.9). Cf. RSV 3.512, Balsdon 317, RE mappa 1415.27, SG 2.39 = 2.48, Harris plate 77, Vigneron 1.198.

194 TRIUMPHO i.e. triumphanti; cf. Livy 28.9.15 uno equo per urbem verum triumphum vehi (i.e. one of the consuls). On the praetor’s pomp when presiding at the games cf. 10.36 sqq.; for the praetor cf. on 8.194.

PRAEDA … PRAETOR This pun also at Cic. 2 Verr. 1.131, 2.78, 3.204, 5.54 and 63 (Diomedes GLK 1.446 seems to quote another instance, which however is not accepted by Schoell as part of his frag. B 1); also Prop. 2.16.1–2.

PRAEDA CABALLORUM ‘the prey of the horses’; i.e. he spends all his money in paying the factiones, with which he had to make a contract to provide horses and drivers, and rewarding the winners. For the expenses cf. Mart. 10.41, 4.67; Dio Cass. 60.27.2; RE suppl. 7.1653 and 1659; RSV 3.488 and 520–1; SG 2.33–4 and 10 = 2.40–2 and 11.

CABALLORUM The vulgar word for ‘horse’, used contemptuously as at 3.118
(cf. Mart. 5.25.9); it punctures his pomp.

SEDET Cf. Tac. Ann. 11.11.2, 14.20.3.
PACE Cf. HS 65, Hofmann p. 131.

195–7 The Romans were proud of the immense population of the city (plebem innumeram Amm. Marc. 14.6.26), and might be offended at the statement that the Circus could hold it all, because this might seem to limit the unlimited. Estimates of the population of Rome vary widely and lack secure basis (cf. Hermansen Historia 27, 1978, 129 sqq. (esp. 166–8), Hopkins 96, Packer JRS 57, 1967, 82 and Mem. Am. Acad. Rome 31, 1971, 78–9, Salmon 11, P. Lavedan–J. Hugueny Histoire de l’Urbanisme, Antiquité² (1966) 319). The Circus, after an enlargement begun by Domitian and completed by Trajan, held about 250,000 spectators (Pliny NH 36.102 gives this figure after the Neronian restoration), which on many estimates would be about a quarter of the population of Rome; in the fourth century it had 385,000 loca (which probably does not mean individual seats) according to the Notitia. See further SG 2.19–20 = 2.22, RSV 3.506, Carcopino 215–16, Platner–Ashby Circus Maximus.

197 CIRCUS i.e. Maximus; HODIE 10 April (cf. VERNUM 203); CAPIT ‘holds’ cf. 171. Few stayed away, Suet. Aug. 43; cf. Ovid AA 1.136 capax populi … circus, Sen. Dial. 4.7.5, Dio Cass. 68.7.2 (of the Trajanic restoration).


198 ‘The success (Thes. s.v. 1018.53) of the green tunic’ (worn by one of the drivers). Of the four circus factiones (RE and DE s.v., RSV 3.517, SG 2.27 = 2.32) which competed against each other, the red (7.114) and white worked as junior partners of the blue and green (Cameron² 45 sqq.). The Greens (prasina) tended to be predominant in the early empire (cf. Mart. 11.33, SG 2.28 = 2.34, Balsdon¹ 321); it has been argued that they were usually supported by the plebs while the upper classes favoured the Blues, but the evidence is thin (Cameron² 96–7).


199 If the Greens were beaten. The partisanship of the circus spectators is notorious (Cassiod. Var. 3.51.11 transit prasinus, pars populi maeret; praecedit venetus, et †potius† turba civitatis affligitur); defeat is like a national disaster (ibid. §13, Amm. Marc. 28.4.30), an idea which links with the triumph of 194.

Sen. Dial. 11.15.5 non solum maestum sed etiam attonitum.

200 PULVERE The dust which blew in the Romans’ faces is prominent in all accounts of the battle; here Juvenal is also thinking of the dust of the race-track (8.61, 10.37).

ADSEDISSE PUELLAE In the circus men and women sat together; cf. on 6.60–1, SG 1.245–6 = 1.288–90 (Ovid Am. 3.2, AA 1.135 sqq., Tristia 2.283–4), T. Bollinger Theatralis Licentia (1969) 19. Dio Cass. 69.8.2 implies that Hadrian had altered this by A.D. 119, but if this were right it would indicate an inconceivably early date for this poem.

CULTAe Cf. on 6.352 and Tertull. De Spect. 25.2.

203 Literary men like to make a parade of staying away from games and festivals (Balsdon 74; see especially Pliny Ep. 9.6). Sun-bathing (apricatio) was thought good for the health, especially of old men, as Juvenal now was; Pers. 4.18 assiduo curata cuticula sole | (and ibid. 33), 5.179 aprici senes; Mart. 10.12.7 totos avida cute combibe soles.

CONTRACTA Wrinkled; conversely this can be regarded as the result of loosening of the skin, 6.145. Cf. pellis 10.192.

CUTICULA (cf. Pers. 4.18 just quoted). Similar formations, however they are to be explained, are canícula, clavícula, craticula, tegeticula; see Leumann 306–7 (cf. 341).

204 TOGAM This was required dress at all spectacles (SG 2.8 = 2.9, Blümner 213, Marquardt 553), but it was unpopular, being hot and heavy and expensive to keep clean (cf. 3.171–81).

SALVA FRONTE i.e. salvo pudore; on 8.189, 13.242.

IN BALNEA This would be done as a matter of course before the dinner to which Persicus is invited (cf. 6.419). The usual hour for the bath would not be before the eighth (the public thermæ would not open until then), but Martial 10.48.1–4 mentions hot water in private baths at the sixth hour; cf. Vitruv. 5.10.1 maxime tempus lavandi a meridiano ad vesperum est constitutum and Carcopino 257. Here Juvenal urges his friend to bathe a whole hour before noon, whereas Martial’s guest causes consternation by arriving at the fifth hour (8.67), and at SHA 11.3.10 tribuni medio die lavant is a sign of a demoralised army. Cf. Marquardt 270 n. 4, Blümner 383; this must be distinguished from the routine of some who preferred to take a bath before the prandium (Marquardt 270 n. 1; evidently implied also Suet. Dom. 21).

206 QUINQUE DIEBUS Simply a vague phrase roughly equivalent to ‘for a whole week’, Hor. Serm. 1.3.16, Epist. 1.7.1; Gaius 2.11.8 post tres aut quinque pluresve dies; Herodas 5.60 with Headlam–Knox.


208 Cf. Otto rarus 2, Nachträge 63, 286.

VOLUPTATES COMMENDAT Makes pleasure more pleasant; cf. Pliny Ep. 5.11.3.
Satire Twelve

The structure of this poem is as follows:

I  a (1–16) a sacrifice in thanksgiving for the safe return of a friend
   b (17–82) who has undergone a storm at sea but escaped;
   c (83–92) hence the sacrifice
II (93–130) which is not due to legacy-hunting.

Ic thus rounds off the first part of the poem with a return to the first theme, a familiar function of the so-called ‘ring-composition’ (see index s.v.) emphasised by the recurrence of festus 2 and 92. It is therefore plain that a new paragraph should begin at 93.

The first part of the poem belongs to the class of προσφωνητικά, welcome to a traveller who has arrived at the place where the speaker is (F. Cairns, Generic Composition (1972) 18 sqq., to whom the following analysis is deeply indebted); one may compare Catullus 9, Horace Odes 1.36 (describing a party, given apparently by Horace, in honour of Numida’s return, preceded by a sacrifice ex voto; parallels from this poem are quoted in the notes), Ovid Amores 2.11.43 sqq. Traditional elements are the announcement of arrival (15), expressions of affection (16 and 29, implied also in 1 and 94), the claim of divine assistance (62–6, cf. Hor. 3), insistence on the safety of the friend (16, cf. Catull. 6, Hor. 4), his dangers and sufferings (15–82; cf. Ovid 49–52, with the humour in 53 omnia pro veris credam, sint ficta licebit), his achievements (37–51), the vows undertaken for him (2–16, cf. Hor. 1–3, Ovid 46) and the consequent sacrifices (2–16 and 83–92). The ‘friend’ in Juvenal’s poem is Catullus, but an element of irony in Juvenal’s attitude to him is clearly apparent (see on 23–4, 33, 47, 62–7; since this irony persists after 37 sqq., we cannot suppose that Catullus is finally cured of greed). The ‘poetic storm’ has much of mock-epic about it, intended to hint at exaggeration (cf. 82 and Ovid quoted above), and this is particularly plain when after the elevation of 30–3 we find Catullus compared to a eunuch beaver ||| 157 scampering away from its hunters. His stock-in-trade consists of luxury-wares (38–49), and the criticism implied of the fanatical (48–9) money-grubbing involved in the importation of
such extravagant superfluities perhaps helps to hold the poem together when it turns to another form of money-grubbing, legacy-hunting. The addressee of the first line, Corvinus, reappears here, and in view of the frequent comparison of legacy-hunters to carrion-eating birds (corvi Hor. Serm. 2.5.56, Petron. 116) it seems likely that Juvenal has chosen a significant name to represent his poem as addressed to one who was himself a legacy-hunter and is quick to suspect a rival in that line (93; this suggestion was made in an unpublished paper by Mr A. D. Pryor), just as he chose the name Persicus for a similar hinted characterisation in Satire 11 (see introduction there). Both the merchant and the legacy-hunter cover the temples with ex voto objects (27–8, 100–1, the former passage very clearly ironical); to gain his wealth one has to pass through exaggerated ‘poetic’ storms, the other has to vow exaggerated sacrifices (101–14) like those of poetry (118–20, 127). They are opposite sides of the same coin. Intertwined with this merchant-captator analogy is a contrast between Juvenal and the captator in respect of their attitude to their ‘friends’. Juvenal’s ‘friendship’ may have irony mingled with it, but at least it is not mercenary. The promised (101) sacrifice of the captator is exaggerated and insincere, unlike that of Juvenal (2); if Juvenal were rich he would offer a bull, the captator offers a hecatomb and if he could would offer an elephant, a foreign beast transferred to Italy (104–5) whereas the Clitumnus bulls are native. The final curse on the captator (130) is that he be deprived of amicitia. Thus Juvenal appears in very much the same light as in Eleven, the only other poem in which the author himself is at all prominent.

A remarkable feature is the length of the passage about elephants (102–10), which, like 62–7 and similar dilations in Thirteen, must be intended to convey deliberate exaggeration (the laboured excuses of the legacy-hunters; contrast the straightforward 11–14); but it undoubtedly strays into irrelevance and goes on far too long. In general it must be said that, though the poem possesses more unity than has usually been recognised, it has wrapped up its point too much to impress it on the reader with any vigour. The more relaxed manner of writing which Juvenal announced at the beginning of this book here degenerates into slackness, and this is not only his shortest complete poem, but also his weakest.

1 Hor. Odes 4.11.17 the Ides of April, the birthday of Maecenas, is iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque / paene natali proprio; ibid. 6 ara ... avet immolato / spargier agno; one would not sacrifice on one’s own birthday (RE Γενέθλιος ἡμέρα 1143; Wissowa 177 n. 4; Wilhelm Schmidt, Geburtstag im Altertum (1908) 26 and 30). For the connection of festus and natalis cf. 11.83–4.

2 PROMISSA i.e. vota, when Catullus set out; cf. 15, 101, Hor. Epist. 1.3.36 pascitur in vestrum reeditum votiva iuvenca, Stat. Th. 5.175 (the men of Lemnos on their return) promissasque trahunt pecudes; D. Wachsmuth Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων (1967) 131.
CAESPES An altar (or three altars) of turf (cf. 85, *Thes.* s.v. 111.26, *RSV* 3.161, Wagenvoort 28); burnt offerings were not placed on altars inside Roman temples (*RSV* 3.163, *RE Altar* 1650–1 and *immolatio* 1127). The three deities named, Juno, Minerva (who uses the aegis to scatter her enemies), Jupiter, are the Capitoline triad, cf. Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 6.37 (Nash 1 p. 532 fig. 657 reproduces a coin showing their statues side by side in their *cellae*). Iuno Regina is a cult title in this connection, brought to Rome from Etruscan Veii (Livy 3.17.3 is anachronistic; see Ogilvie’s note), and Reginae might be better printed thus; see *RE Juno* 1119 and Regina (*b*), *Kl. Pauly* s.v. Regina, *ML Iuno* 600–1, Wissowa 189, Frazer on Ovid *Fasti* 6.37, J. B. Carter *Epitheta Deorum* (*ML* Suppl. 2, 1902) 49–50. For private offerings at the Capitol cf. 6.47–8, 10.65 (with *ducere* as here and 112, and branches decorating the house as 91). A white victim is usual for Juno (Wissowa 413, Radke 24).

4 VELLUS i.e. a sheep (so Ovid *Met.* 7.244), as 7.130 *rhinoceros = cornu* and 12.112 *ebur = elephans*; cf. on 73. Ovid *Tr.* 1.10.43 also sacrifices an *agna* to Minerva.

GORGONE MAURA i.e. *aegide* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.616, Prop. 4.9.58, Mart. 6.10.11); for the ablative cf. 8.201. MAURA is here probably merely an ornamental epithet, cf. 1.22, 8.15.

5 PETULANS The technical term in this connection is *petulcus*; both words are derived from *petere* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9.629 *iuvencum ... (qui) iam cornua petat*, Buc. 3.87). The animal is not actually resisting as it is led to sacrifice, since this would be a bad omen, but simply showing signs of the *ferocitas* which Juvenal admires in it (cf. Carcopino 127). It is given plenty of rope so that it may not seem to be dragged along; cf. *RSV* 3.180, Wissowa 416, Latte 386.

6 TARPEIO Cf. 6.47, 13.78, Carter (*l.c.* on 2) 56. [[519]

FRONTEM CORUSCAT This suggests to the scholiast that the victim brandishes his forehead as a weapon; probably rightly, though *corusco* is used intrinsively of lambs butting (Lucr. 2.320).

7–9 generally resemble Hor. *Odes* 4.2.53 sqq., also a *votum ob reditum* with a *vitulus*.

QUIPPE is used like ἄτε or ὦς; cf. HS 510, KS 1.808 and 4.79 as emended by Housman.


9 Verg. *Georg.* 3.232 *irasci in cornua discit / arboris obnixus trunco*, [Ovid] *Hal.* 2–3 *vitulus sic namque minatur / qui nondum gerit in tenera iam cornua fronte* (so the ms., but it is doubtless corrupt). Galen *De Usu Partium* 1.3 (p. 4.17 Helmreich) a calf butts before he has horns.

DUCERE To suck, drink, cf. 6.428 and *Thes.* s.v. 2150.62.

10 The opposite of *res angusta domi* 3.165, 6.357.

ADFECTIBUS This word is used in a neutral sense (both likes and dislikes) at 6.214, of affection at 15.150 (cf. 8.161) and often in Silver Latin; the latter is implicit here.
The bull is of course an expensive victim (Headlam–Knox on Herodas 4.16); MOLE PIGER cf. 4.107.

HISPULLA is a lascivious woman at 6.74; cf. on 2.50.

13 For the famous white oxen of the luxuriant pastures by the Clitumnus in Umbria, which were choice victims, cf. Verg. Georg. 2.146–8 with Servius, Prop. 2.19.25–6, Nissen 2.401–2, RE Clitumnus (1).

13–14 The reading of the Φ-mss., which has infected most of the mss. of Servius, is a metrical interpolation; the consensus of PA, the best mss. of Servius, and Σ (which explains ministro by the dative sacerdoti) is quite certainly the prior reading, confirmed by the usage of Juvenal, who does not elsewhere have the construction with a after the gerundive. This reading however requires emendation, as īrĕt ēt is metrically faulty. Housman also objected to sanguis iret, as this combination elsewhere means ‘blood would flow’; but this objection is not conclusive, since such phrases quite often have two meanings in different contexts (see on 1.42). Of the three emendations suggested by Housman I prefer <cui fo>ret et grandi cervix, because in the sentence ‘A fat bull would be dragged along, and not one reared in a neighbouring meadow, but …’ it seems to me most natural that the subject should continue to be taurus, ‘one from the Clitumnus’. For the position of the relative cf. 1.111, 2.41–2, 7.131, 11.173, 15.173.

The emphasis is on GRANDI; a small attendant would not be able [[520] to reach up to kill such a tall victim. For the height of the Clitumnus bulls cf. Colum. 3.8.3, Sil. It. 6.647 and 8.450.

OSTENDENS PASCUA Cf. 40; LAETA ‘luxuriant’ cf. Thes. s.v. 884.12.

15 OB A word not found elsewhere in Juvenal and used here because of the underlying religious formula, cf. Pearce CQ 20, 1970, 311–13 (Statius also has ob only at Th. 3.207).

17 sqq. Julian Dig. 14.2 (De Lege Rhodia de Iactu).6 navis adversa tempestate depressa ictu fulminis deustis armamentis et arbore et antemna … This favours Φ’s ic tum.

ET i.e. etiam. NUBE UNA ‘an unbroken cloud’.

19 SUBITUS As usual in ‘poetic storms’; Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 470.

20 ILLO i.e. fulmine, lightning which hits.

ATTONITUS ‘terrified’ (see on 4.77), with a glance at the derivation from tonitru (quo edito … quidam vivi stupent et in totum sibi excidunt, quos vocamus attonitos Sen. NQ 2.27.3).

It does not make sense to say ‘Lightning hit the mast when everyone thought that he had been struck by it’, any more than, with another punctuation, ‘When everyone thought himself struck by lightning, everything happens like this in poetic storms’. The answer to this difficulty, felt by Madvig 537, was found by A. L. Doellen, Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Satiren des Juvenalis (1846) 185, who punctuates thus: … ignis. cum … ardentibus (omnia … tempestatas), genus e.a.
discriminis! audi et miserere iterum. For ECCE ALIUD (here referring forward to 33 sqq.) cf. Thes. ecce 29.57 with the remark fere dest verbum (though not at 5.67), and Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 528.

23–4 Juvenal hints that Catullus is exaggerating in his account. For poetic storms (1.9) see Austin’s commentary on Aen. 1, p. 51, M. P. O. Morford The Poet Lucan (1967) 20 sqq., Friedrich l.c. on 10.180; there is a noteworthy one in Petron. 114. Cf. mimicum naufragium Sen. Dial. 4.2.5, and Dion. Hal. Ars Rhet. 10.17.

25 CETERA has the same reference as ALIUD, i.e. besides what has already been mentioned. A comma after PARS would clarify the thought.

27 VOTIVA tabula Hor. Odes 1.5.13, where see Nisbet–Hubbard. For such votive pictures cf. Tib. 1.3.28, Cic. De Nat. Deor. 3.89 with Pease (for the confusion in his note cf. on 14.302), SG 2.273 = 3.52.

28 Isis is the goddess who protects at sea (ML Isis 474, Wissowa 354, Vidman1 86, Malaise1 180, 186, 279, Pucci Annali Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa1 6, 1976, 1177, J. G. Griffiths ed. Apul. Met. 11 p. 31), as she does in danger generally (Tib. l.c., ML l.c. 539). Ships were named after her (Lucian Navig. 5, Casson1 359 and index 440, Rougé 327, Griffiths p. 262), she had cult officials called nauarchos (Vidman1 76), [1521] and one of her festivals was the πλοιαφέσια or Isidis navigium; the voyage in which she went in search of the dismembered Osiris is important in her legend.

29 SIMILIS This word must be corrupt (Courtney1 42). Juvenal cannot say that the lot of Catullus was ‘like’ any other, for he has not mentioned any other which it can be like, but only alluded indirectly to one in genus ecce aliud discriminis! The word therefore lacks a reference, and was probably originally at home in 78 (q.v.); when it was displaced from there it became a marginal correction and drifted a column away (cf. Courtney2 49 n. 2). The word which it ousted from this line was probably qualis, used as often to quote a specific instance (cf. 2.29); Catullus is a specimen of the type of disaster indicated in 25–8 and described in 30 sqq.

30–2 Commas at the end of 30 and 31 would make it plainer that ET connects PLENUM FLUCTU with ARBORIS INCERTAE, an adjective combined with a genitive of quality (see on 11.96); 31 explains why the mast (ARBOR) was tottering. For arbor in this sense cf. Julian quoted on 17, Paul. Sent. 2.7.2 (3) nave vel arboe vi tempestatis amissa, Petron. 114.13, Pliny Ep. 9.26.4 etc. The word cannot mean ‘ship’; Ovid Her. 12.8 is a special case.

EVERTENTIBUS Cf. Petron. 114.9, Lucan 5.647 in similar storms.

MEDIUS Wilson probably wrongly takes plenus medius to mean ‘half-full’; see on 3.219.

PRUDENTIA RECTORIS approaches the epic-type periphrases discussed on 4.39.

33 DECIDERE ‘compromise’, ‘compound with’, a common commercial term of bankrupts, probably used here to suggest that Catullus is a money-grubber; cf. Thes. s.v. 167.13. The ablative indicates the compensation; he compromised with
the winds at the cost of jettisoning his cargo.


34–6 For this fable about the beaver cf. Phaedr. app. 28, RE Biber 400.58, Dioscorides 2.24. This animal was hunted for the medicinal *castoreum* (Pliny NH 8.109), which in fact did not come from the testicles; Aelian NA 6.34 explains that the fable arose because the beaver can retract its testicles to make them invisible.

TESTICULI ADEO The only hiatus at this point of the verse in Juvenal, excused by the strong pause (cf. p. 39). For ADEO see on 11.131.

INTELLEGIT Pliny NH 8.9 *mirum in plerisque animalium scire quare petantur* (followed by a similar *adeo*).

37 Catullus was presumably a merchant, and Juvenal’s opinion of merchants can be seen from 14.265 sqq. [[522]

38–9 VESTEM Collective singular.

PURPUREAM See on 1.27. MAECENAS had become proverbial (see on 1.66) for luxury and effeminacy; see especially Sen. Ep. 114 and cf. Mart. 10.73.4 *togae qua … uti vellet Maecenas.*

40 i.e. *alias vestes, quarum pecus ipsum* (the very sheep that yield the wool) *infectum est graminis natura*; the grass itself is the *infector*. For *pecus ipsum* cf. Mart. 14.133 (*lacernae Baeticae*) *non est lana mihi mendax nec motor aheno. / sic placeant Tyriae; me mea tinxit ovis*. The reference is to sheep reared on the banks of the Baetis (Guadalquivir); Pliny NH 8.191 *oves … quas nativas appellat aliquot modis Hispania, … velleris praecipuas habet … rutili … Baetica*, Mart. 9.61.3–4 *Baetis in Hesperia te quoque lavit ovem?, 12.98.2 Baetis … aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis*. PECUS VESTIUM is certainly a remarkable phrase, though it may be meant as deliberately bombastic; Helmbold’s *decus* (CP 51, 1956, 20) deserves consideration, as does Rupert’s *ipsa*, which gives a good contrast with *sed et … aer*.

43 ARGENTUM Silver plate, as 49; see on 1.76.


44 The scholiast takes this to mean ‘made by Parthenius’, who was, he asserts, a *caelator*. He is however unknown from any other source, and this context requires someone well-known. So I follow Friedlaender in understanding ‘made for Parthenius’ the well-known chamberlain of Domitian. To have belonged to famous people added to the value of works of art, cf. 47, 6.156–7, Mart. 8.6.3 *argenti stemmata* (the same word Stat. Silv. 4.6.88), Hor. Serm. 2.3.21 (but not 1.3.91), Sen. Dial. 9.1.7, SHA 24.30.19 (Zenobia used Cleopatra’s cups); SG 2.331 = 3.113, 4.319 (not in ed. 10).

URNAE About three gallons; see on 6.426.
45 From the sublime to the ridiculous. Pholus (see ML s.v.) was a centaur who used a huge crater for a weapon in the fight against the Lapiths (Stat. Th. 2.563 with Mulder’s note, Val. Fl. 1.337), having on the same occasion entertained Hercules with an equally large one (Stesich. fr. 4 Page ap. Athen. 11.499a, Theocr. 7.149, Lucian Symp. 14; for representations in art cf. Schauenburg Ath. Mitt. 86, 1971, 43). For the canard about drunken women cf. 2.86, 6.315, 9.116–17.

46 BASCAUDAS A British object (Mart. 14.99), and probably a British name (‘basket’, Welsh basgawd). In the paired gifts of Martial this is the rich man’s; its exact nature remains uncertain (the context in Martial does not, as some editors say, establish it to be a kind of cup). Cf. Hilgers 120. [523]

ESCARIA Paulus Dig. 33.10.3.3 vitrea escaria et potoria, which may be of great value; Ulpian ibid. 34.2.19.12 escarium argentum comprises quod ad epulandum in ministerio habuit, but probably not cooking vessels.

MULTUM CAELATI For the asyndeton in enumeration cf. on 15.135. Cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 4.48 quicquum caelati; sc. argenti, cf. 49, 9.145.

47 QUO See on 2.95.

CALLIDUS EMPTOR OLYNTHI Philip captured Olynthus in 348 B.C. by bribing two leading citizens, Lasthenes and Euthycrates; he was famed for his fondness for bribery (Sen. Ep. 94.62, Hor. Odes 3.16.13–15 etc.) and his drunken bouts (Pliny NH 33.50 etc.). The point of the periphrasis (see p. 34) here is to reduce everything to the mercantile level and link luxuries with corruption.

After 47 a colon, not a full stop, should be placed; SED contrasts ILLE 43 with QUIS NUNC ALIUS. The epanalepsis of QUIS comes out best if the line is punctuated sed quis nunc alius qua mundi parte, quis audet with Heinrich.

48 AUDET makes the compliment back-handed; it requires an act of resolution for Catullus to abandon wealth in order to retain life (CAPUT; Thes. s.v. 416.31). Aristippus did not find it so hard; fr. 69 Mannebach.

50–1 were rightly deleted by Britannicus and by Bentley on Hor. AP 337; they are an attempt to supply an answer to the question of 48–9, cf. on 7.181. Quidam is a favourite word in the interpolations in Juvenal (3.281, 15.107), which here produces a ridiculous anticlimax. ‘Almost every one in the world, says Juvenal in 48–9, loves riches better than life itself … Certain persons, adds somebody in 50–1, … live to make fortunes instead of making fortunes to live. Certain persons, that is, are so avaricious that they evince less avarice than the author of 48–9 imputes to mankind in general’ Housman xxxiv. PROPTER VITAM has been taken from 8.84; Bentley also objected to FACIUNT PATRIMONIA, but for the former word cf. Thes. s.v. 94.32 (14.326 is not exactly comparable), and the latter need not necessarily mean inherited property (7.113, 10.13).

52 Not only the above-mentioned luxuries, but also the utilensia (food and stores) are jettisoned; utilia Sall Iug. 86.1, Or. Cottae 6 and probably Tac. Agr. 28.2.

SED … LEVANT i.e. ne damna (cf. 35) quidem navem levant.
54 RECCIDIT Catullus, presumably.
MALUM SUBMITTERET This suggests the operation, normal in an ancient ship, of lowering the mast (Torr 94; illustrated in Bossert and Zschietzschmann 224); then the application here to cutting it down is ironical.
ANGUSTUM is surely neuter nominative (so Haeckermann), meaning *angustiae*; those who take it as accus. masc. have never proved that *se explicare angustum* could mean ‘extricate oneself from straits’.
55 Cf. 15.95 *bellorumque ultima*; Lucan 8.665, 10.467.
57 I NUNC ET COMMITTE Cf. 6.306, 10.310 and on 10.166; in similar contexts Prop. 3.7.29, Petron. 115.14, *CEL* 950.3 = CIL 4.5296 i nunc <et> ventis tua gaudia, pupula, crede.

57–9 Sen. *Med.* 301–8 *audax nimium qui … / animam levibus credidit auris / dubioque secans cursu / potuit tenui fidere ligno / inter vitae mortisque vias / nimium gracili limite ducto*. For the commonplace cf. also 14.289, Morford (on 23–4) 27 n. 4, Casson1 204 n. 16; especially Diog. Laert. 1.103 (Anacharsis) μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἐξίζει ξύλον πεύκινον (perhaps from *euripides*).

60 MOX Cf. 20; having entrusted yourself to a ship.

61 Griffith1 56–7, 3 385 defends *aspice*; find out where the lifesaving equipment is stored, inspect the axe with which you can hack away a bit of timber to hang on to. But then *reticulis … lagoneae* have to mean ‘survival rations’, and that is very implausible. ACCIPE (Britannicus) = ‘take on board’.
SUMENDAS See on 14.268.

62–7 are very verbose; Juvenal piles on the heavy irony.
PLANUM is proleptic.
EURO But *Austri* 69 (cf. 14.268); neither really means more than ‘stormy wind’, cf. Housman on Lucan 7.871.
65 ET connects HILARES with LANIFICAE, cf. 74.
DUCUNT i.e. *deducunt*, in spinning; Blümner² 1.127 n. 1.


66 MULTUM cf. 10.197; but *multo* 13.196. In both cases of the accusative an ablative singular is present, and at 10.197, though not here, another ablative would be confusing; cf. Diggle *CQ* 17, 1967, 141. But in any case the accusative had become common in Juvenal’s day; cf. KS 1.402, HS 136, *Thes. s.v.* 1618.19, Bell 166.

68 VESTIBUS In default of sails (22), cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.24.3. With CUCURRIT the subject is *PRORA* in the sense of ‘ship’, by synecdoche, but *SUO* refers to *PRORA* in its proper sense; for a similar shift cf. on 3.261. VELO is the small foresail called *artemo* (Casson¹ 240, Torr 88).

70 CUM SOLE Cf. 18–19, Verg. *Aen.* 1.143 *solemque reducit* (a ‘poetic storm’).

GRATUS … APEX ‘The lofty mountain which pleased Ascanius and was preferred by him as his residence to *Lavinium’; SEDES is predicative, ATQUE connects GRATUS and PRAELATA, and, as often happens, the predicate has influenced the gender where strict logic would require *praelatus* (see index attraction).

The usual form is *Lavinium*; *LAVINUM* is presupposed by the adjective *Lāvinus* (*Aen.* 1.2, where it is supported by the oldest testimonies CIL 2.4967.31, Prop. 2.34.64). The genitive *Lāvini* is found at Verg. *Aen.* 1.258 and 270, 6.84; Tib. 2.5.49. Juvenal here has in mind one of these passages, *Aen.* 1.267–71 (cf. Livy 1.3.3).

72–4 CANDIDA NOMEN i.e. Alba; here he has in mind *Aen.* 8.43–8, again alluded to at 6.177. Juvenal uses the less dignified word *scrofa* for ironical reasons; all the other sources refer to the animal as *sus*. Similarly SUMEN (meaning *feta sus*; cf. on 4) is far from dignified. The periphrasis of the name Alba is mock-epic, but also conveys the associations of sailors attaining a happy home under the guidance of destiny (like these sailors, 62 sqq.).

NUNQUAM VISIS i.e. *invisitatis*; it was a *mirabile monstrum* (*Aen.* 8.81; *monstrum* also Cassius Hemina fr. 11). Varro *RR* 2.4.17–18 states with reference to this sow that it is a portent to find more piglets than teats; so Juvenal exaggerates Virgil’s 30 piglets into 30 teats. The corruption *miserabile* is due to 67, though the confusion is in any case common.

ET connects the apposition SUMEN with the adjective CLARA, cf. 65. Knoche, putting a comma after SUMEN, makes it connect CANDIDA and CLARA, but this is not so good in sense.

75 The reference is to the portus Augusti constructed by Claudius (Suet. 20) two miles north of Ostia, where continual trouble was caused by silting (Dio Cass. 60.11, Pliny *NH* 16.202 and 36.70, Sil. It. 4.295–9); see CIL 14 p. 6, Lehmann-Hartleben *Die antiken Hafenanlagen* |[526| (Klio Beiheft 14, 1923) 185–98, Meiggs 54 sqq., 149 sqq., 591–2, plates 4–5, O. Testaguzza *Archaeology* 17, 1964, 173 and *Portus* (1971) 121, Casson *JRS* 55, 1965, 33. For the lighthouse cf. Stuhlfauth *Röm. Mitt.* 53,
1938, 139; Picard *BCH* 76, 1952, 88 (depicted on the Peutinger Table, Balsdon plate 1b, cf. p. 349). It is masculine in Suet. l.c.; see Shackleton Bailey on 2.1.30.

MOLES Of the harbour-works in general; Suet. and Pliny l.c. apply it to particular parts.

POSITAS … MOLES Strict logic would demand either *ante* for PER or the omission of INCLUSA.

RURSUM Here, as at 10.150 (which favours Φ’s *rursus*), Juvenal seems to use this word in its root sense, now obsolete, ‘backwards’, *reversum*. The side piers (BRACCHIA; so Suet.) ran out to sea and then bent inwards again, with a breakwater or artificial island in front of them thus:

![Diagram of harbour works]

78 NON SIC *ut hunc manu factum*.

IGITUR As Housman pointed out, this has no meaning. He suggested that it is a stopgap consequent on the omission of *similis* between *sic* and *mir*; and this *similis* is in my opinion the very word which has now migrated to 29 (q.v.).

79 SED (see index *conjunctions*) resumes after the digression about harbours.

MAGISTER Juvenal probably uses this word in a non-technical sense (cf. 4.45) of the *rector* (cf. Rougé 234) of 33, though technically they would be distinct (Casson 317).

80 Traianus *portum Augusti restauravit in melius et interius tutiorem, nominis sui, fecit* Σ on 76; cf. Meiggs ll.cc. and 488, Strack 1.212.

BAIANAE CUMBAE The boats of Baiae were mere skiffs which were rowed in the Lucrine Lake (Balsdon 221, SG 1.338 = 1.409, Sen. *Ep*. 51.4 and 12). But Trajan’s inner basin at Ostia was as smooth as a pond (*stagna*), and even light boats would be safe; cf. Mart. 3.20.20 *Lucrino nauculatur in stagna*.


VERTEX RASO Those saved from shipwreck shaved their heads as a vow of gratitude; *RE Haaropfer* 2109, Wachsmuth (on 2), 120–1 and 303, L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion* (1912) 81 (e.g. Lucian *Hermotim*. 86).

82 GARRULA The transferred epithet because Juvenal could not use either *garruli* (Mart. 12.57.12 *nafragus loquax*) or *garrulē*.

83 PUERI Slaves, cf. 117 and often.

LINGUIS … FAVENTES Cf. *Thes. faveo* 377.14; the risk of uttering words of ill
omen is so high that in practice this means ‘be silent’ (see RSV 3.176, Latte 386 n. 8, Appel 187–9, Novotny REL 27, 1949, 108); like εὐφήμει (cf. Soph. OC 13, Aristoph. Knights 1316 and Thesm. 39).


DELUBRIS The shrines (cf. Pliny NH 35.108 in Capitolio in Minervae delubro) of the three deities on the Capitol (2).

FARRA Cf. 6.386; i.e. mola salsa (Serv. Aen. 2.133, Val. Max. 2.5.5, Paul. Fest. 110 and 140). This was placed on the sacrificial knife (Serv. I.c., Lucan 1.610, Sen. Thy. 688).

85 MOLLES … VIRENTEM Cf. caespes 2; FOCUS and GLEBAM are identical, and -QUE (see index conjunctions) is epexegetic.

ORNATE With vittae etc.; cf. Turcan (on 84) 113, Verg. Buc. 8.64, Prop. 4.6.6.

86 SEQUAR AD Capitolium; the slaves precede him (83).

QUOD PRAESTAT The more important rites (cf. Pollio ap. Cic. Ad Fam. 10.32.4) of 3–9, contrasted with those of 87 sqq.

87 GRACILES Pliny NH 21.5 corollis inter initia propter gracilitatem nominatis.

CORONAS For the Lares, cf. 9.137–8, Hor. Odes 3.23.15–16 parvos coronantem … deos, RE corona 1636.63, Turcan (on 84) 110–12. The Lares are the appropriate gods to thank when peregrino / labore fessi venimus larem ad nostrum; cf. RE Lares 814.61 and 815.62, Latte 93–4, Wissowa 169, RSV 3.128.

88 FRAGILI (crumbling) CERA This may be understood in two ways: (1) the images were of wax (Blümner 2.155 n. 6). Some claim that this material would be unsuitable for Lares standing in front of the fire, but the Lares were not necessarily placed there (RE lararium 794.20, Ogle AJP 32, 1911, 262, Boyce Mem. Am. Ac. Rome 14, 1937, 105); (2) the images were coated with a wax varnish as used on marble statues (Vitruv. 7.9.3); Prudentius Contra Symm. 1.203–4 seems to understand it thus (saxa inlita ceris / viderat unguentoque lares umescere nigros). Then FRAGILI will indicate either that it ‘first [528] crumbles away and then melts with the fire before it is fit to be applied in the way mentioned’ (Monro in Mayor) or that ‘like any varnish it was liable to crack and peel off after a time, especially when exposed to the heat of the hearth-fire’ (Wilson). (2) seems preferable.


PLACABO Hor. Odes 1.36.1–3 iuvat / placare … / custodes Numidae deos, 3.23.3–4; to avoid envy of the gods and consequent nemesis.

IOVEM Hor. Odes 2.7.17 (on return from exile) obligatam redde lovi dapem.

PATERNIS Hor. Epist. 2.2.51 paterni / et laris et fundi, Sen. Ag. 6 video paternos, immo fraternalos lares. This can hardly mean just familiaribus; it must indicate that Juvenal has inherited this house, cf. p. 7.

90 TURA Cf. 9.137; IACTABO (iacit flores Verg. Aen. 5.79) cf. RE ϕυλλοβολία.

OMNES The ancients included a number of flowers under the name viola; RE
Veilchen, SG 4.141 (not in ed. 10).

91 EREXIT As if the door itself sprouted branches (of laurel); cf. on 10.65 (also adduced on 2 above), 6.51 and 79 (where grandi corresponds to LONGOS here), Turcan (on 84) 119.

92 OPERATUR ‘worships’. This is the first case of a present operari in this sense; Golden Latin would have said operata est (Postgate JP 26, 1899, 319).

MATUTINIS (see on 1.27) FESTA LUCERNIS For lanterns as a sign of rejoicing see RE lucerna 1584, Nilsson 2.376, Mart. 10.6.3–4, Dio Cass. 74.1.4, Epictet. 1.19.24 and 2.17.37–8, Tertull. Apol. 46.

93 NEU (a word used also at 14.203) i.e. ac, ne suspecta tibi sint haec, <dico> Catullum tres habere heredes; the purpose clause is of the type discussed on 15.89.

SUSPECTA Of captatio.

94 TOT Three (1–6).

94–5 He is not orbus (99 and on 3.129), cf. 5.137 sqq., Petron. 116.7 quisquis suos heredes habet.

96–7 STERILI Paradoxical; normally a sterilis, one without children (cf. 5.140), would be spoken of as attracting captatores, but here he is sterilis as an unrewarding object for the attentions of such (contrast Mart. 10.18.3 turba tamen non dest sterilem quae curet amicum) when his wife is fecunda.

TRES 5.141; an important number for a Roman as it would secure the ius trium liberarum (cf. 9.87–90).

EXSPECTARE Wait and see; cf. 6.274, Mart. 4.40.8.

GALLINAM Cf. 113 and see on 13.233. Lucian Iupp. Trag. 15 a |[529] sailor on his escape from a storm sacrificed only one cock to sixteen gods, γέροντα κἀκεῖνον ἠδη καὶ κορυζῶντα. The contrast with Juvenal’s own sacrifices (2 sqq.) underlines his freedom from mercenary motives.

VERUM i.e. immo.

COTURNIX A cheap and disliked bird; Pliny NH 10.69, Blümner1 178.

98 NULLA nullo Helmbold (I.c. on 41).

PATRE here means ‘a father’, the opposite of an orbus, cf. 14.45, Pliny Ep. 8.18.3 qui de patre avo proavo quasi de orbo querantur, Mart. 11.55.

CADET Cf. 113.

SENTIRE CALOREM ‘be affected by fever’ (Thes. calor 181.29).

99 GALLITTA Cf. 113 and on 2.68; LOCUPLES and ORBUS are regularly associated in such contexts (Cic. Parad. 39, Mart. 11.44.1 etc.).

COEPI LOCUPLES … ORBI An extraordinary construction, odder than Hor. Serm. 1.4.65 Sulgius acer / ambulat et Caprius, rauci male.

PACIUS So PF; Paccius the other mss. (Schulze LEG 204, 424). At 7.12 the mss. are unanimous with Paccius. Mart. 14.78 habebis / munera quae cuperet Paccius esse sua.

100 LEGITIME In due form, cf. 10.338.

101 PORTICUS Probably in a temple.

PROMITTANT Cf. 2; HECATOMBEN of bullocks (ἐκατὸν βόες), not of elephants ‘since there are no elephants here’.

102 QUATENUS This word is not used elsewhere by Juvenal (nor is *hactenus*), and here is due to a reminiscence of *Mart*. 5.19.15 *quatenus hi non sunt*. NEC ... NEC are partitive after the general NON, and there is a slight anacoluthon; regular would be either *nec sunt hic venales elephanti nec concipitur talis belua Latio or hic non sunt elephanti, nec venales nec Latio concepti*. Ruperti proposed *res venales*.

101–2 are remarkably similar in the rhythms of the second half of the line; cf. on 6.237. Here the heavy rhythms portray the ponderous animals.

103 SIDERE This word is associated with *caelum* to mean ‘clime’ by Pliny *Pan*. 12.3, 15.3, 29; cf. 6.637 *caelum Latinum*. For elephants bred in captivity cf. Aelian *NA* 2.11, COLUM. 3.8.3.

FURVA GENTE Moors, Ethiopians and Indians, cf. 11.124–5, 10.150 and 158 (all passages with *belua*).

105 sqq. ARMENTUM is in apposition, as if *elephanti* were still the subject; Ruperti suggested *petitum*. The possession of elephants was [[[530]] a privilege reserved for the emperor alone (SG 2.67 = 2.83); they were used to draw triumphal chariots, to pull heavy loads, for *venationes* or to perform tricks in the circus. When Aurelian as a *privatus* received a present of an elephant he offered it to the emperor (SHA 26.5.6). The imperial herd was kept at Laurentum (cf. *CIL* 6.8583 = *ILS* 1578; Kolendo *Klio* 51, 1969, 291–6), which was near Ardea, the town of the Rutulians.

PARATUM This glances at a topic of flattery, the obedience of wild animals to the emperor, illustrated by Mart. *Spect*. 17.

PRIVATO See on 1.16.

SIQUIDEM Since (6.621) in the old days they obeyed Hannibal, Pyrrhus and the great Roman generals, they are too proud and distinguished now to obey anyone but the emperor.

TYRIO i.e. *Poeno*, Carthage being a colony of Tyre.

HANNIBALI Cf. 10.158; the Romans first encountered elephants in the war with Pyrrhus (cf. 14.162) in 281 B.C., and first used them against Philip in 200 B.C. (Livy 31.36.4).

109–11 109 by its spondaic rhythm (cf. 102) and 110 by its hiatus depict the slow elephants, whereas 111 with its dactyls shows the haste of the *captatores*.

109–10 For the *turres* which elephants carried on their backs see Scullard 240; they would contain at most four fighting men plus the mahout (ibid. 243). They were probably introduced by Pyrrhus (ibid. 104, 109), but the Carthaginians ev-
idently did not actually use them (ibid. 242, Toynbee 34), in spite of Sil. It. 9.239 turritae moles ac propugnacula dorso / belua nigranti gestans.

PARS Cf. Verg. Aen. 10.426 Lausus, pars ingens belli, 737 pars belli haud temnenda ... Orodus; Sil. It. 8.426, 10.223.

ALIQUAM i.e. a considerable; Pliny NH 8.27 turres armatorum in hostes ferunt, magnaque ex parte Orientis bella conficiunt.

111 MORA NULLA PER 6.333 (with quominus); note the anaphora with chiasmus (NULLA MORA, MORA NULLA).

NOVIUS and PACUVIUS HISTER are captatores, the latter perhaps also meant at 2.58.

EBUR Cf. on 4.

114 HORUM i.e. deorum, Larum; the captatores try to win their favour by costly victims. TANTIS is sarcastic.

115 ALTER Pacuvius, cf. 125.

116 MAGNA ET PULCHEERRIMA QUAEQUE Housman explains this to mean ‘adult slaves, and the most handsome of them’ contrasted with the following pueri ancillaeque; but pueri (slaves, cf. 83) and ancillae are not necessarily young, and magna corpora is incredibly vague. Others understand ‘all the biggest and most handsome slaves’; for the combination of quisque with a positive cf. Wölflin 187, KS 1.648, [531] HS 170. But this remains unacceptably harsh; examples like Tac. Ann. 1.48.3 foedissimum quemque et seditioni promptum (cf. Hist. 1.24.1, 1.88.3; Germ. 29.3) are explained by the precedence of the superlative and Tacitus’ love of asymmetry. I am inclined to follow Weidner’s hint and read magna, ut pulcherrima quaeque, corpora (ut is actually P’s reading); for ut quisque with the superlative cf. KS 1.645, 2.486, for the plural where ut pulcherrimum quodque would be more common KS 1.646, Wölfflin 184. Behind this lies the ancient view that size is essential for beauty (Verdenius Mnem. 2, 1949, 294, Fordye and Kroll on Catull. 86.1 and 4, Ovid Her. 15.33).

117 PUERIS i.e. frontibus puorum, on the same principle as the comparatio compendiaria; cf. 10.235.

118 VITTAS As placed on the heads of victims (Latte 385, RSV 3.180 n. 3); cf. the infula of Iphigenia at Lucr. 1.87.

119 IPHIGENIA (cf. 127) i.e. filia, cf. 5.138, 6.566.

NUBILIS nubendi tempore in ipso Lucr. 1.98; this makes her fate more tragic, cf. 15.138.

TRAGICAE ‘in the tragedy’ (cf. poetica 23, Homericus 13.113), i.e. in Euripides (IA 1587, IT 28 and 783).

FURTIVA PIACULA ‘secret substitution’; cf. Ovid Met. 12.34 supposita fertur mutasse Mycenida cerva.

121 LAUDO ‘bravo’, cf. 4.18.

MEUM CIVEM Contrasted with the Greek Agamemnon.
NEC COMPARO I consider the will much more important, cf. 14.19–20.

**122 LIBITINAM** Cf. Hor. Odes 3.30.7 vitabit Libitinam; undertakers (libitinarii) had their headquarters at her temple, cf. RE s.v., Marquardt 384, Blümner 489, Wissowa 245.

AEGER A noun, cf. 3.232.

**123 TABULAS** The will by which he left his money to people other than Pacuvius; cf. 14.55.

NASSAE A fisherman’s weel; legacy-hunters are compared to fishermen Hor. Serm. 2.5.44 and 25, Lucian Timon 22 and often.

**124 MERITUM** He thinks his recovery due to the captator’s sacrifice.

SOLI Cf. 2.58; BREVITER ‘summarily’ cf. 1.68 exiguis tabulis.

**125–6 SUPERBUS INCEDET** Cf. Hor. Epode 15.17–18, Sen. Dial. 4.5.5, Thes. incedo (often implying stately gait) 853.70, Horsfall Glotta 49, 1971, 145.

**127 GRANDE OPERAE PRETIUM** Cf. 14.281.

IUGULATA MYCENESIS The slaughter (see index nouns) of a girl from Mycenae = an Iphigenia = a daughter; cf. 119 and Ovid quoted there. IUGULATA is a callous word which shows how lightly the father takes the sacrifice.

**128 NESTOR** A Nestor’s lifetime (10.246), internal accusative; for the compression of meaning cf. 14.326, 8.104 Mentore = a work of Mentor, Epigr. Bob. 62 tres vivere cervos, Mart. 11.56.13 ter vivere Nestoris annos. Mart. 10.24.11 post hunc Nestora nec diem rogabo appears to mean ‘after so long a life’. Juvenal turns the common poetic good wish for the age of Nestor (Stat. Silv. 1.3.110, 4.3.149 etc.) into a curse; the poem ends with a turn from irony to seriousness, cf. 4.150–4.

**129–30 Cic. Lael. 52 quis est … qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse abullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere? Cf. Otto mons (1) and (2).**

QUEMQUAM … ULLO Cf. 8.178 and Cic. l.c., where see Seyffert–Müller.
This poem is in many ways a touchstone for the criteria to be followed in the interpretation of Juvenal. It used to be read in an entirely serious spirit, but in recent years strong emphasis has been laid on the ironical element in it by the following writers:

Pryor *AUMLA* 18, 1962, 167.

In their central contention I believe these writers to be correct, and my introduction and notes are deeply indebted to them. But in my view the modern urge to find omnipresent irony in Juvenal has gone much too far; in the case of this poem, it will be seen that I hold that it starts off ironically but turns serious half-way through.

The satire is addressed to a man called Calvinus, who probably had historical existence (cf. pp. 13–14). On the surface it is a *Consolatio* (cf. 120) or παραμυθητικὸς λόγος meant to assuage the *dolor* (12) of Calvinus at the loss of *decem sestertia* entrusted by him as a fiduciary deposit to a friend who had refused to restore it. The *Consolatio* was a well-developed literary category usually linked to occasions such as the exile of the addressee or the death of one of his relatives or the like, but sometimes also to other topics (cf. the list at Cic. *Tusc.* 3.81–2), and my notes show many resemblances to stock themes of the genre. However the only close parallel which I can adduce to a consolation for pecuniary loss, and that of an amount which, though not insignificant in itself, is not crippling to Calvinus (6–8 and 13), is Seneca *Ep.* 107, which consoles Lucilius on his desertion by his slaves (note the insistence that the loss is small and such things are not unusual, §1–2 and 5). It seems clear that here, as so often in his later work, Juvenal is writing with his tongue in his cheek; by the (affected) seriousness with which he
takes Calvinus’ exaggerated fury and the gravity with which he applies the traditional *loci* of consolation for disasters to soothing it he wishes us to perceive that Calvinus’ reaction should be more temperate and philosophical, especially in view of his age and experience (16–22; this reference gives a not quite secure *terminus post quem* for the dating, cf. p. 1). The very exaggeration of Calvinus’ fury over pecuniary loss implies that he is no less avaricious than his defrauder (cf. 129–34); the mature Juvenal, who has developed a Democritean side, can see this and ridicule the anger of Calvinus, whereas the indignant satirist of the earlier poems would have sympathised with it. One notes throughout the poem a tone of weary acceptance of contemporary dishonesty, which should be countered by a measure of impassivity.

The poem falls into two divisions (A) 1–173 the crime, the situation which causes *dolor* (B) 174–249 revenge, the attempt to assuage *dolor*; these two basic themes play the part of death and grief in a normal *Consolatio*. The first part has three subdivisions (i) 1–70 introduction (ii) 71–119 present-day contempt for the gods (a new paragraph should not be started at 86) (iii) 120–73 the consolation proper (*solacia* 120).

**A i.** This part sets the tone and introduces some themes which are later developed. It begins with complete gravity; wrongdoers condemn themselves (cf. 192–235) and are condemned by everyone else. But Calvinus’ loss is not serious to him, and such losses are common (cf. 72–4, 126–73), so his resentment ought not to be as great as it is. He should not need philosophy to tell him this (cf. 120–5; these dismissals of the guidance of philosophy are a deliberate reversal of the tradition of the *Consolatio*); age and experience should ensure that he feels no surprise at what after all is common (ramming home again the content of 8–10), since nowadays the good, not the bad, is the exception (*rari* 26 is contrasted with *nec rara* 8) in view of the decline of morals (this passage undercuts 5–6, since it now appears that it is useless to call on the *fides hominum* 31, for the *vulgus* 35 will only laugh). In the Golden Age, *Saturnia regna*, primitive man lived an innocent life, before the present generation of Olympians took over, when there were fewer gods and they lived in simpler style, when there was no need for punishments after death. In that age the power of religion (note the religious vocabulary in 54–9; *nefas, piandum, sacrae* and to some extent *venerabile*) was such that even lack of respect towards one’s elders was considered a capital crime (this remark can hardly be an unambiguous compliment to the Golden Age, of which Juvenal gives a not entirely favourable impression in Six init.). We are meant to see a relationship between this adult linked with the attributes of childhood (33) and the childish gods (41–2) envisaged by him. Juvenal is surely hinting that *simplices* like Calvinus (35) are wrong to think that human nature was ever free from fault; Calvinus’ lack of proportion (11–12) had its counterpart in the idealised past to which he looked back). But now religion has been turned upside down and a good man who ought
to be revered (sanctus 64) is regarded as a portent (miranti 65 and miris 70 are contrasted with admirabilis 53); so unnatural (28–30) is the present age.

_A ii._ This section carries on and elaborates the theme of the facility with which the gods can be despised. The religious theme had been introduced with sacrum 15, continued with tam festa dies 23, and dominated from 31 onwards; now the emphatically placed sacrilega 72 points to the theme of this part. Money is stronger than the fear of the gods; we now see that the only effect of the multiplication of deities (42 sqq.) is to give more names by which one can swear falsely; punishment for great sinners in the after-life may have been introduced (49–51), but this Thyestes-like perjurer (84–5) is not impressed by that. The result is that even the wronged party begins to disbelieve in the gods (118–19), in whom in a normal Consolatio he would be encouraged to put his trust (cf. Sen. _Ep._ 107.9–12).

_A iii._ The actual consolation is introduced by a few lines insisting that it is not based on abstract philosophy (see on A i). Its purport is that similar and worse offences are universal, the offences named being the hiring of assassins, arson, sacrilege, poisoning, parricide; the fundamental importance of religion is underlined by the placing of sacrilege on a par with the various forms of murder. So Calvinus’ calamity is not exceptional. Spiritual corruption is as endemic in the human race as certain outlandish physical features are in some parts of it. In detail the analogy seems to be this. What is outlandish gentibus in nostris (171) is normal among the Pygmies, where everyone (173) is the same; likewise the whole humanum genus (159) is corrupt: i.e. we have this series, gentes nostrae: Pygmaei etc.: deformity = ? : humanum genus: criminality. What corresponds to the first item of the series? It must be the uncorrupted indigenae of 38, though Juvenal has not made this plain. The inference is that corruption has now become ingrained in men (so that one need not be surprised at it; stupuit 164 and miratur 162 are contrasted with stupet 16 and the passages adduced above at the end of A i), but that it is a bizarre departure from essential human nature.

(If I am right about the unmentioned part played here by the indigenae, one should note that Juvenal has here succumbed to a difficulty often incurred by irony, namely that it may be applied to an object which one regards seriously, so that the reader has to be prepared to switch his attitudes to that object according to the demands of the context. Juvenal in this poem uses the indigenae in an ambivalent way, first as a symbol of unrealistically high-pitched expectations of human nature and conduct, secondly as a token that human nature is capable of something better than its present condition.)

_B_ This part also falls into three divisions (i) 174–92 revenge inflicted by the victim is useless (ii) 192–235 the most effectual revenge is that exacted by conscience (237–9 transition) (iii) 239–49 if the victim is not satisfied with this, he can reflect that anyway the sinner is sure to sin again and meet human punishment at the hands of others.
Bi. The wronged party is so anxious for revenge that he is willing to expend his life to secure it (180). Here again, as with the question of avarice and disrespect for the gods, we see that a victim who cannot rise above his wrongs becomes a kind of mirror-image of the wrong-doer; one such wrong-doer was willing to risk divine wrath and physical punishment (92 sqq.). The philosophers, whose consolations Juvenal had rejected at 19 sqq. and 120 sqq., here show a better way. This change of attitude seems to me to make it plain that Juvenal has altered his tone; the irony of the first half of the poem has given way to seriousness, and I regard it as mistaken to continue interpreting this second part in ironical terms.

B ii. Those who resolutely committed wrongs despising divine vengeance (92 sqq.) now interpret lightning (223 sqq.) and sickness (229 sqq.) as divine punishments. |

B iii. When a sinner meets human punishment, the faith of the wronged party in divine justice, which was shaken at 118–19, is restored (248–9).

One noteworthy feature of the poem is the length of the developments at 38–52, 78–83, 64–70, 162–73; in rhetorical terms these are instances of commoratio. The first of these seems to be clearly ironical; it uses the technique of discrediting by over-praising. The second emphasises the seeming impotence of the gods and also links with the first. The third too has a clear function. The fourth by choosing a grotesque gallery of freaks to illustrate criminality hints that Calvinus should take his loss in a less tragic spirit; but it would be hard to claim that it is as well worked out and fitted in as the others (Juvenal has taken the idea from Seneca; see the notes). However, apart from the individual functions of these developments, the occurrence of four such within one poem must imply a structural function for this feature. Surely Juvenal is caricaturing the exaggeration which he implicitly criticises in Calvinus; the victim allows himself to be carried away by resentment, and the consoler mimics the torrent of his denunciation. It will be noted that all four passages come before the poem, on my view, turns serious.

Bibliography on Consolation-Literature

1 EXEMPLO MALO Ablative of accompanying circumstances, ‘setting a bad example’ (Thes. 5.2.1334.38); cf. 104 for the construction.

2 Cf. 237–9, Sen. Ep. 42.2 nec ulla maior poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet. AUCTORI (the doer) is contrasted with HOMINES 5; the criminal feels disgust for himself, the community even more so (so Housman). Therefore PRIMA 2 … URNA 4 should be placed in an explanatory parenthesis and followed by a colon.
PRIMA ... Sen. Ep. 97.14 primæ illæ et maxima peccantium est poena peccasse; cf. on 192 sqq.

3 Cf. 4.8.

4 Servius quotes this line on Aen. 6.431 and refers both passages to a ballot before the praetor to determine the order in which the cases [[538] shall come on. But this sense is inadequate for the context and the wording of Juvenal’s line, which demand a reference to an acquittal in a legal trial, contrasted with condemnation before the bar of one’s own conscience. There are two possible references; either to the urn (cf. Hilgers 302) used for balloting to select the iudices for each case from the full panel (RE 1495 and Kl. Pauly 740 s.v. Losung, Mommsen2 219; cf. Cicero’s delicate remarks on the selection of iudices, Pro Mil. 21), or to that in which the iudices in the praetor’s court deposited their votes (Mommsen2 444–6). The former is more probable as this makes the urn more fallax (unless we are supposed to suppose that the praetor miscounts the votes).

VICERIT Has won the case; cf. victrix 1.50. Victoria often refers to acquittal.

5 RECENTI This is a reflection of the importance attached in Consolations to choosing the right time (Kassel 52, Johann p. 37, Esteve-Forriol 128). Usually the point is made that the consolation should not come too soon after the disaster, but cf. Stat. Silv. 2 pr. huius amissi recens vulnus ... epicedio prosecutus sum; Sen. Ep. 63.13 dolor ... recens consolatorem inventit; Ovid Ex Ponto 4.11.17 sqq., Cic. Tusc. 4.63, Plut. (?) Cons. ad Apoll. 32.118c.

6 CRIMINE ‘crime’, cf. 24 and on 1.75.

SED Yet after all there are alleviating circumstances.

7 TENUIS CENSUS Hor. Epist. 1.7.56.

8 IACTURÆ ... ONUS If iactura (cf. 177) retained its primary nautical sense ‘jettison’ (12.52), this would be a mixed metaphor; we should however think rather of a faded metaphor, though even so ‘the burden of a loss’ is not a happy phrase. For MERGAT cf. 10.57.

NEC ... PATERIS Consolationes commonly put forward two related arguments, that other people have just the same sufferings, and that they have worse; cf. 71 sqq., 126 sqq., Cic. Ad Fam. 5.16.2 est autem consolatione pervulgata quidem illa maxime ... ut ... eventis aliorum memoria repetendis nihil accidisse novi nobis cogitenum, ibid. 6.6.12, Tusc. 3.57 sqq. and 79 (with which cf. the ironic οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ταῦτα γέγονεν of Theocritus ap. Stob. Flor. 124 (= 4.56).34, vol. 5 p. 1131, in the chapter on παρηγορικά; see Kassel 70–1), Sen. Ep. 107 adduced in the introduction, Timocles ap. Stob. ibid. p. 1123

ό γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ἰδιῶν λήθην λαβὼν
πρὸς ἀλλοτρίῳ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει
μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἅμα ...
ἀπαντα γάρ τὰ μείζον’ ἢ πέπονθε τις
ἀτυχήματ’ ἀλλοις γεγονότ’ ἐννοούμενος
τὰς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ συμφορὰς ἥπτον στένει.


9 Cf. 12.26 cognita multis.

10 The metaphor is that of the lottery of Fortune (sors).

11 PONAMUS Juvenal sympathetically associates himself with Calvinus; cf. 31, Plut. Quomodo Adulatro 33.71f–72a and e.g. Sen. Cons. Marc. 6.

12 VULNERE (cf. Stat. Silv. Ic. on 5 etc. and Esteve-Forriol 161) and DOLOR (which of course here primarily indicates resentment but is carefully chosen for its ambiguity) suggest bereavement; cf. 131 dolorem, where financial loss and bereavement are related, Tac. Agr. 45.5 noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, Sen. Cons. Marc. 1.8, Cic. Tusc. 3.54.

VIRI Emphatic; cf. femina 192. Consolationes regularly insist on a manly attitude; παρασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπομονὴν (sc. τοῦ κακοῦ) ἄρρενα Plut. (?) Cons. ad Apoll. 4.103a, ibid. 4.102e δυσπάθεια is γυναικοπρεπές (cf. Kassel 59); Sen. Ep. 107.7 magnum sumere animum et viro bono dignum, Cons. Polyb. 17.2, Cic. Ad Fam. 5.16.6. The link between men and docti, women and indocti (see on 181) is made by Plut. (?) 22.112f–113a, Sen. Cons. Marc. 7.3.

VULNERE MAIOR Disproportionate to the offence, cf. on 4.66. μετριοπάθεια is regularly inculcated in the Consolationes (e.g. Cic. Ad Fam. 5.16.5; Sen. Ep. 63.1 plus acquo dolere te nolo), though usually in connection with the Peripatetic ideal of the mean as the norm of conduct in opposition to the Stoic ideal of ἀπάθεια; cf. Johann p. 66 n. 273.

13 Cic. Acad. Pr. 2.127 exigua et minima.

14 Cf. praeordia flagrantia 182 and on 1.45, 6.648; Sen. Oed. 358 spumat icur, a metaphor from the foaming of the mouth; De Ira 2.19.3 effervescente circa cor sanguine, a view held by some Stoics.

FERRE The metaphor (cf. LEVIIUM) is developed in 21.

15–16 SACRUM Cf. sacrilega 72. Refusal to return a deposit seems to have been quite common; Hor. Serm. 1.3.94–5, Pliny Ep. 10.96.7 etc., cf. CIL 14.2605 = CEL 477.4 reddedi depositum. The ancient economy did not depend on banks so much as the modern, cf. Crook1 209 and Dig. 16.3 on deposits.


SEXAGINTA Cf. Menander fr. 127 (= Ter. Haut. 67)

πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, δαμονᾶς, γεγονός ἔτη
tosaūθʼ ὦμου γάρ ἐστιν ἐξηκοντά σοι.

FONTEIO may be the consul of A.D. 67 (RE no. 18, PIR² F 467–8, Degrassi Inscr. Italiae 13.1 p. 267) or of A.D. 59, or even of A.D. 58; ||540] cf. pp. 1–2. In any case we
have only a *terminus post quem*, not an absolute date; Juvenal does not mean that Calvinus is in his sixtieth year, but that he is a *senex* (cf. *senior* 33), having passed (we are not told by how much) the age of sixty; cf. 14.197, Mart. 4.78.1.

18 The reading *proficit* is due either to the third persons of 16–17 (for which see on 5.19) or to a misunderstanding as if *nihil* were the subject.


With Clausen’s punctuation of 19 MAGNA and QUAE are feminine singular and SAPIENTIA is subject to the main verb *<est>*. This is correct; other interpretations are excluded by QUOQUE 21.

SACRIS Since philosophy is *donum deorum* (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.64; see Kühner there and add Sen. *Ep.* 90.1, Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.27).


23 FESTA DIES Juvenal elsewhere uses *dies* feminine only with ordinals (7.161 in the ablative, 9.17 in the nominative) and in the meaning ‘period of time’ (10.265); contrast 15.41 *laetum … diem*. The feminine here seems to be due solely to metrical convenience, as often in the nominative singular (E. Fraenkel *Glotta* 8, 1917, 60 = Kl. *Beiträge* 1.63), though perhaps we should allow for the influence of *feriae*. *Dies festa* outside of poetry is found only in the *sermo vulgaris* of Petron. 45.4; Markland proposed *fausta*, but I know no example of the feminine with this adjective.

FUREM *furtum* Nisbet 237.

24 OMNI EX CRIMINE Cf. 1.75 and on 6 above.

LUCRUM (on 14.204) QUAESITUM i.e. *quaesitionem lucri*; cf. 206 and index nouns.

25 GLADIO Cf. 10.20; a πυξίς might contain e.g. medicinal drugs (2.141) or, as here and Cic. *Pro Cael.* 65, Suet. *Nero* 47.1, poison.

27 The scholiast sees here an allusion to the famous *Septem Sapientes*. Thebes in Boeotia had seven gates and the Nile seven mouths (the two are coupled Stat. *Th.* 8.353). By using these learned allusions Juvenal emphasises what a rare and exotic creature the *bonus* is nowadays. [[541]]

DIVITIS Enriching the land, cf. 15.123, Ovid *Am.* 3.6.39; cf. on 1.70, 6.382. The wealth of Egypt depends on it (Athen. 5.203c).

28 Cf. 6.23–4. NONA AETAS (Lucan 7.387) is usually taken to mean the ninth century of the city, which according to prophecy was destined to be fatal to it (Σ
Bern. Lucan 1.564 (Sibylla) nuncentesimum annum exitio Romanis cecinerat; one
may toy with the idea that a gloss of this form has influenced P’s nun,
but that is probably merely a corruption of non; Cladius had closed the eighth saeculum
in A.D. 47. Dio Cass. 57.18.3–5 mentions the fatal number of 900 years, though
not counted from the foundation of the city, as occurring in a Sibylline prophecy
in A.D. 19 that Rome would perish through civil war and at Συβαρίτις ἀφροσύνα;
this same prophecy was repeated in A.D. 64 (ibid. 62.18.3). On these Sibylline ora-
cles cf. McGann Hermes 96, 1968, 509 sqq. (esp. 513); quoting parallels from other
Sibylline oracles he understands the reference here to be to nine γενεαί, not nine
centuries of the city.

SAECULA Poetic plural, cf. 4.68, 6.24. On McGann’s interpretation the line is
straightforward; on the alternative, one would naturally look for nonum saeculum
peiorque aetas, and we must assume an instance of an idiom occasionally used by
poets to dignify their language, interchange of terms. Cf. Ovid Met. 1.39 flumi-
aque obliquis cinxit declivia ripis with Bömer’s note, and see also Wilamowitz
Bömer Hermes 80, 1952, 117 and 83, 1965, 130 discusses Verg. Aen. 6.847–8, where
contrary to normal usage excudere is used for bronze and ducere for marble stat-
ues; see also Ovid Am. 3.7.21 sic flammras aditura pias aeterna sacerdos, and Verg.
Aen. 4.36 non Libyae, non ante Tyro may be a variation of the idiom (for Libya …
Tyri).

IPSA … NATURA For the word-order cf. on 11.140.
30 Servius, commenting on ultima (Juvenal’s nona) Cumaei venit iam carminis
aetas (Buc. 4.4), remarks (Sibylla) saecula per metalla divisit; a sarcastic age of lead
Lucian Saturn. 20.

31 Plaut. Aul. 300 quin divid atque hominum clamet continuo fidem; Livy
22.14.7 non homines tantum, sed foedera et deos ciebamus; at Sil. It. 2.484 Fides
is decus divumque hominumque. Cf. CEL 1178.27–8, Thes. 6.1.665.80, Schulze 170
sqq.
NOS (cf. on 11) is indignant; eίτα ημείς.

32–3 SPORTULA (on 1.95) Those who receive the sportula, his clients; they
applaud their patron while he speaks in court, cf. Mart. 6.48, Pliny Ep. 2.14.4, Gell.
9.15.9, Lucian Rhet. Praec. 21. This sarcastic addition implies that Calvinus’ clamor
is excessive.

33 BULLA A sign of infancy, cf. on 5.164 and 14.5. δις παιδες οi ||[542] γέροντες
(cf. Otto senex 1, Nachträge 211 and 244, Norden 2 n. 6). Similar rough addresses,
with the obvious aim of shocking the recipient out of his state of mind, are often
found in consolations; cf. 140–2 and Kassel 14.

35 RISUM Sen. Ep. 107.5 offendi istic rebus … ridiculum est.
36 NE PEIERAT ET (sc. ut cf. 16.9) PUTET Cf. 91.
ULLIS For this I have proposed altis (BICS 13, 1966; 42), arguing that ‘you ask anyone to think that there is some divinity in any temples’ does not make sense.

NUMEN Cf. 10.365.

RUBENTI Ovid Ex Ponto 3.2.54 (the altar of Tauric Diana), Theocr. 17.127; the blood (about which Roman sources say little; Latte 388, RE immolatio 1129.47) was poured on the altar and the oath taken over it, cf. 89 and the phrase ὅρκια τέμνειν.

38 INDIGENAE αὐτόχθονες, cf. 6.1–24 and 352; Origo Gentis Rom. 3.1 Iano regnante apud indigenas ... Saturnus ... exceptus hospitio est.

39 SUMERET This is the common Silver subjunctive after priusquam without any idea of anticipation.

DIADEMATe Cf. 105 and on 8.259.

SATURNUS (6.1) is regularly falcifer and identified with Κρόνος and his ἄρπη; his name was derived (wrongly) from satus and satio. See Bömer on Ovid Fasti 1.234.


TUNC See on 6.235.

41 PRIVATUSS Cf. on 1.16; Jupiter was still a subject. The language throughout (virguncula, taberna, prandebat) is ironical, and the effect of the resounding caeli- colarum in contrast with its humble surroundings is similar. Cf. 6.15 love nondum barbaro; Ap. Rhod. 3.134 ἄντρῳ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι, a piece of Hellenistic prettiness, cf. id. 1.508–9 and Juv. 14.270–1. For the cave see West on Hes. Theog. 477.

43 Ovid Trist. 2.405–6 huc Herculis uxor, / huc accedat Hylas Iliacusque puer; cf. 5.59, 9.47 and for Hebe Homer II. 4.2–3.

44 AD CYATHOS Cf. Prop. 4.8.37; ‘the cyathus was a ladle used to transfer wine from the mixing-bowl to the drinking-cup; hence stare ad cyathum was to serve the wine’ Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.29.8, cf. Hilgers 166, Blümner l 396, 403.

ET continues the negative, where nec might have been used; cf. -que 184 and 15.125.

NECTARE i.e. calice nectaris; cf. 5.47 and Hor. Odes 1.31.11. Vulcan arrives begrimed from his smithy (cf. 10.132), the heat of which has made him so thirsty that he has to drain off a cup of nectar before cleaning himself (whereas at Homer II. 18.414 he does clean ἄμφω | χεῖρε). Under normal circumstances a Roman would take a bath before his meal. Σ’s gloss aut liquifacto would seem to indicate a variant saccato ‘strained’, i.e. even after the nectar was ready for the table (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.11.6, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 73, Marquardt 334, Blümner l 402–3), Vulcan was still cleaning himself; but this is far less forceful.

LIPARAEA 1.8; i.e. on Hiera.

TABERTA His retail shop is identical with his officina, as would often be the case with a Roman craftsman (Blümner l 640, RE Industrie 1482).
PRANDEBAT SIBI QUISQUE is contrasted with *convivia* 42; cf. 1.140–1.

TURBA DEORUM Sen. fr. 39 (ap. Augustine *CD* 6.10) *omnem istam ignoblem deorum turbam quam longo aevo longa superstitione congescit*; *Apoc*. 9.3; e.g. Ganymede (43) and Hercules (cf. on 48).

TALIS UT I know of no other example of this combination (for Livy 42.42.7 is different); *talis* is answered by *ac* (*atque*) at Ter. *Ph*. 1028, Cic. *In Vat*. 10, and Cic. 1 *Verr*. 3 has *tantum … tantopere ut* (with which *Juv*. 7.31–2 is not to be compared; there *tantum* means ‘only’).

SIDERA i.e. *caelum*.


MINORI is evidently preferred to *minore* to give a weightier close to the line, cf. Bömer on *Ovid* *Met*. 8.190. The form is used at 7.77 for metrical convenience; cf. Priscian *GLK* 2.346, *neue–Wagener* 2.265 (add Stat. *Silv*. 1.3.50). Apart from a probable occurrence at *Ovid* *Met*. 8.443 (not at 5.598) it seems to be confined to Silver poetry.

There being no crime in the Golden Age (53).


SORTITUS alludes to the famous story of the drawing of lots between Zeus, Posidon and Pluto for sky, sea and underworld. [*544*

*SICULA* Carried off from Henna; she is *Hennaea* at Sil. It. 7.689 and (with variants *Aetnaea*) 1.93, 13.431, 14.245.


REGIBUS i.e. *rege et regina*, cf. Sen. *Med*. 873, *CIL* 3.7371 = *ILS* 4056, *Neue–Wagener* 1.902, and regularly of the king and queen of Egypt (βασίλεις; Theocr. 17.132 of Zeus and Hera compared with the Ptolemies; cf. E. Mayser *Gramm. der*

53 ADMIRABILIS Cf. 6.646.
54 morte piabunt Verg. Aen. 2.140.
55 On this token of respect cf. Cic. De Inv. 1.48, Tac. Ann. 3.31, Sittl 152, Kroll RE 2.64, RE (2065.35) and DS (1060) Salutatio, Mommsen 1.398. But VETULO ‘old fellow’ gives a touch of irony which maiori would not have suggested.
56 LICET has now become a conjunction indifferent to the sequence of tenses; KS 2.444, HS 605.

BARBATO Throughout this passage the ideal past is ironically described in terms of contemporary life, and this word is anachronistic. In the Golden Age nobody would shave the beard, but during most of Juvenal’s lifetime it would only be worn by young men (on 4.103; he totally ignores the Hadrianic fashion of wearing one). Iuvenes defer to senes and pueri imberbes to iuvenes; but Juvenal obscures his point by the exaggeration in 59, where lanugo takes up barbato.

57 There being no money then (Prop. 3.13.26; cf. Lucr. 5.695); for FRAGA and GLANDES (Thes. s.v. 2032.18) as the food of the Golden Age cf. 6.10, 14.184; Ovid Met. 1.104–6, Dicaearchus fr. 49 Wehrli2 with A. O. Lovejoy and G. Boas Primitivism and Related Ideas (1935) 95, RE Eiche 2068, Pohlenz in Χάριτες Leo (1911) 86, J. Haussleiter Der Vegetarismus in der Antike (1935) 56, West on Hesiod Works 233.

GLANDIS Collective singular, KS 1.68.

59 ADEO Causal, cf. 6.49, 10.297. [545]
60 DEPOSITUM INFITIARI Sen. De Ben. 4.10.1, Celsus Dig. 47.2.68 (67) pr. (cf. [Quintil.] Decl. 245, 312, 353); Paul. Fest. 112 infitari, creditum fraudare. So infitator, infitiation; cf. abnegare 94, Paulus quoted on 71, etc. Ter. Ph. 55 ut nunc sunt mores ... si quis quid reddit, magna habendast gratia.

61 The old leather bag (in which the money was handed over; 14.281), rust and all (cf. 6.171, 14.61); περιλείχουσι τῶν ὀβολῶν τὸν ῥύπον Lucian Icaromen. 30, cf. Plaut. Bacch. 680.

62 PRODIGIOSA FIDES Their honesty is a portent.

TUSCIS LIBELLYS Of the haruspices (2.121); RE Etrusca disciplina 725, RSV 3.411, Thulin 1.1.

63 On the garlanding of animals for sacrifice cf. Baus 13, Turcan (on 12.84) 117. In fact Roman authors seldom mention this (Pliny NH 16.9, Min. Fel. 37.8, Tertull. De Cor. 10.20); to them the specific infulae and vitae (12.118) are more important.

63–70 Contrast 2.121–3 (with monstra). The length of the list shows that Ju-
venal is incidentally mocking traditional catalogues of portents (cf. Weinreich in *Studies in Honor of D. M. Robinson* (1953) 2.1147). The traditional categories are listed and discussed by F. Luterbacher *Prodigenglaube und Prodigienwesen* (1904) and L. Wülker *Geschichtliche Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903). The hiatus and the line-end in 65 high-light the monstrosity.

**BIMEMBRI** i.e. half-human, half-animal; the word is often applied to the Centaurs. Cf. Luterbacher 26, Wülker 14, Pease on Cic. *De Div. 1.93*.

**PISCIBUS** Livy 42.2.5 (referring to what in fact is a natural phenomenon; see Weissenborn ad loc.); cf. Heinze on Lucr. 3.785 and Walbank on Polyb. 34.10 (p. 610).

**FETAE MULAE** Luterbacher 27, Wülker 15, Pease on 1.36; cf. Pliny NH 8.173, Cic. *De Div. 2.61*. *Cum mula pepererit* (Otto mulus 2) = on the Greek Calendars.

**LAPIDES EFFUDERIT IMBER** Wülker 12, Cic. *De Div. 1.98* with Pease, F. B. Krauss *An Interpretation of the Omens ... Recorded by Livy ...* (1930) 55.

68 Luterbacher 28 and 51, Wülker 16, Thulin 3.98, *RE Biene* 448. The agricultural writers use *UVA* to mean a ‘cluster’ of bees; cf. Pliny NH 11.55 *uva dependente in domibus templisque* (cf. DELUBRI), Homer II. 2.89 ψυρύδον.

70 i.e. *gurgitibus et vertice miris lactis*. For rivers running with milk cf. Livy 34.45.7, Obsequens 27a and 43, Krauss l.c. 65–6, Pease *De Div. p. 273b*. Σ notes *aut lacteis aut sanguineis*, i.e. he was unsure whether *miris* was merely an elaboration of *lactis vertice* or a different prodigy. In view of repeated attempts to introduce it, it may be ||546|| as well to remark that there is no adjective *minius* (Heraeus on Mart. 11.99.6; *subminius* at Plaut. *Epid.* 232 is a corruption); cf. on 178.


**LACTIS** Genitive of material, *KS 1.429*, *HS 52*.

71 Paulus Dig. 47.2.1.2 *is qui depositum abnegat non statim etiam furti tenetur, sed ita si id intercipiendi causa occultaverit.*

**SACRILEGA** Cf. 15; because the deposit was protected by an oath, cf. 75, 201. 10,000 sesterces is less than the cost of two skilled slaves (on 4.25), half of what Naevolus regards as a comfortable annual income (9.140).

**ALTER** For consolation by comparison cf. on 8–9.

73 **HOC** ... **MODO** By perjury of the trustee.

**ARCANA** ‘deposited without witnesses’; Juvenal appears to hint at the correct etymology of this word from *arca* (Paul. Fest. 16, Nonius 32).

74 **CEPERAT** ‘had contained’; on 10.148. **ANGULUS** **ARCAE** A chest filled to the corners.

75 **FACILE ET PRONUM** 9.43; for **PRONUM** cf. Sil. It. 13.183.
TESTES Cf. Ovid Am. 3.3.19; they are essential to an oath.

76 quis enim sciet? Pliny Ep. 4.25.4.

NEGET (sc. the defrauder) cf. on 60. Ovid Am. 1.4.70 constanti voce dedisse nega; Tac. Hist. 2.13.

78 sqq. He requests all these weapons to be turned against him if he perjures himself; cf. Ovid. 3.3.27–30. For an oath by the rays of the sun cf. Homer Il. 3.277, Bömer on Ovid Met. 1.768–9. Juvenal’s idea presumably is that he would use his rays to blind the perjurer; for mythological instances of blindness caused by the sun cf. RE Helios 60.56, 85.32.

TARPEIA i.e. Iovis Capitolini, cf. 12.6, 6.47; Sil. It. 17.267 Tarpeio Iovis ... telo. For FULMINA cf. 223, 3.145 (with contemnere, cf. 75), Pliny NH 2.21, Aristoph. Clouds 397, Lucian Timon 2. Ζεύς ὃρκιος carries thunderbolts in both hands, Paus. 5.24.9; Stat. Silv. 3.1.185 aetherii iuravit fulmina patris; Jupiter is the special god of oaths, Wissowa 118. Cf. RAC Gewitter 1127.

79 FRAMEAM A German word for spear (Tac. Germ. 6.1, where see Much°); cf. 2.130, 11.106.

CIRRHAEUS VATES Apollo (7.64). ||547]

80 Tibull. 1.4.25, Ovid Fasti 2.157. For the adjectival use of VENATRIX see on 4.62. Diana is referred to.

81 For cult names of Posidon associating him with the Aegean cf. RE Aigeus 955.31, Poseidon 493.55; Verg. Aen. 3.74 Neptuno Aegaeo in relation to Delos. He is pater profundi Val. Fl. 2.606, meaning that he is paterfamilias, master (Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.3.3; cf. Fustel de Coulanges book 2 ch. 8.1 fin.).

83 From the sublime to the ridiculous, cf. on 46. He is ridiculing the epic catalogue of Lucan 7.144–50. For a catalogue ending in asyndeton cf. on 8.27, and for QUICQUID ‘whatever else’ on 10.173.

84 For oaths by the head (cf. on 174) of one’s son cf. (6.16–17), Paulus Dig. 12.2.4 tu per caput tuum iurasti ... vel filiorum tuorum, Pliny Ep. 2.20.5; cf. Sittl 140 n. 2, DS ius iurandum 752 b n. 29, Pease on Verg. Aen. 4.357. Here the man calls down on himself the fate of Thyestes. Every oath ends in a curse on the perjurer, Plut. Quaest. Rom. 44, cf. RAC Drohung 326.

COMEDAM sc. si mentior.


SINCIPUT Romans ate this part of the pig (Blümner° 174; add Macrob. Sat. 3.13.12 of the wild boar)! That is why Juvenal says sinciput rather than caput.

85 For Egyptian vinegar cf. Blümner° 192 n. 5, André 196, RE Essig 690.40. ‘Juvenal’s language is purposely ludicrous; the perjurer would not have added these picturesque details himself’ Duff.

86–9 i.e. the Epicureans; their dogmas could lead to perjury, Quintil. 5.6.3 (but would not necessarily do so; Pliny NH 2.22). The view of an orthodox layman
(Sen. Ep. 16.4) is *deus rector est*. NULLO RECTORE is ablative absolute (on 1.13).

88 Cf. Lucr. 5.76–7, Prop. 1.15.30, Tib. 1.4.20; Verg. Aen. 3.376 *deum rex ... volvit vices*, 6.796 *anni solisique vias* (meaning the zodiac). VICES LUCIS = night and day, V. ANNI = the seasons.

89 ALTARIA TANGUNT Cf. 14.219 and on 3.144; DS *ius iurandum* 770a n. 4 and 771b nn. 36–8, RE *Altar* 1690, Sittl 142, Wagenvoort 50 n. 1, Dölger 2, 1930, 166, McCartney CJ 21, 1925–6, 121.

90 ‘Some bad men, says Juvenal . . ., are atheists, and therefore commit perjury without a qualm. Another type of man (*hic*), he proceeds in 90–108, believes in God yet commits perjury all the same . . . A reader who did not see the sense of *hic*, and thought to provide it with a reference, has inserted verse 90; so that perjurers are now divided, not into atheists and theists, but into atheists and those who dread punishment, and it is then mentioned in passing that these latter are the theists’ Housman xxxiv. For HIC so used cf. 6.73 etc. ||518

91 PUTAT Cf. 36. ET ‘and yet’, cf. 114 and on 7.124.

92 For blindness ascribed to Isis cf. Ovid *Ex Ponto* 1.1.51–4, Nicarchus AP 11.115, Plut. *De Iside et Osir. 17* and 63 (with the commentary of J. G. Griffiths p. 525), Cumont 237 n. 44, *ML. Isis* 543–4, de Meulenaere *Chron. d’Égypte* 28, 1953, 255–7, Y. Grandjean *Une Nouvelle Arétalogie* (1975) 24; many gold and silver ex-voto eyes have been found in the sanctuary of Isis at Delos. Swearing by the eyes was common; Sittl 139 n. 2, Gow on Theocr. 6.22, Headlam–Knox on Herodas 6.23.

SISTRUM (*σεῖστρον* from *σείω*) The rattle used in Isiac rites; see RE s.v. and Witt plate 39. This corresponds to the weapons of 78 sqq.

94 ABNEGO Cf. on 60.

95 DIMIDIIUM CRUS Cf. on 8.4.

96 PAUPER sc. *ὥν*; if he were poor. For Latin’s lack of a present participle from *esse* cf. KS 1.239.

LOCUPELEM PODAGRAM The rich man’s gout, cf. 99 *esuriens ramus*. The natural association of wealth and gout is illustrated by Mayor and by Brecht 81.

OPTARE To pray for; see on 10.9.

97 Either ‘even Ladas would not hesitate’ or ‘Ladas would not even hesitate’ (the word-order favours the second). There were two famous runners of this name, Olympic victors, whose name became proverbial at Rome (perhaps because a statue of one of them by Myron came there; cf. Mingazzini *Jahreshefte Öst. Arch. Inst.* 50, 1972–3, 13). See L. Moretti *Olympionikai* (Mem. Acc. Lincei 8, 1957, 2) 96 and 135, Otto *Ladas* (and note also E. Ziebarth *Aus der Antiken Schule* 2 (1913) p. 7 no. 16). The discussions in RE *Ladas* can only confuse.

ANTICYRA Two places of this name (Otto s.v., RE *Antikyra* nos. 1 and 3) in Phocis and Malis both produced hellebore (RE s.v., Otto *elleborus*, adding Plaut. *Men*. 913; Frazer on Paus. 10.36.7), which was a purge used to remove excess of black bile and treat madness (Brink on Hor. *AP* 300, O’Brien Moore 30–47). Here
ANTICYRA means ‘a dose from A.’

98 ARCHIGENE The medicines or surgery (cf. 6.46) of the doctor Archigenes, who flourished under Trajan (Suidas 1.376.1; note that here and in 125 Juvenal names contemporaries, whereas his usual practice is to take characters from the past); cf. 6.236, 14.252, RE s.v. and suppl. 11.1099, T. C. Allbutt Greek Medicine at Rome (1921) 276–86 (esp. 282), M. Wellmann Die Pneumatische Schule (1895) 8, 61, 222. He wrote a work covering treatment with hellebore used by Oribasius Coll. Med. 8 = 1.247 and 250 Raeder (the reference in [549] Galen 16.124 Kühn is a late forgery). On the ablative termination in -ē as if from a noun of the first (instead of the third) declension cf. Housman JP 31, 1910, 258 = Coll. Papers 833 and (on the vocative) Schulze 89–90; cf. the accusative -en 6.236, 14.252.

99 ESURIENS (cf. 7.7) Again from the sublime to the ridiculous; esuriens ramus is the olive-wreath accompanied by hunger (cf. 96). Cf. Πισαίου προσδοκίην στεφάνον Anth. Plan. 54.4 in an epigram on Ladas. PISAEAE at the Olympic games.

100 A common sentiment from Homer Il. 4.160–1 onwards (e.g. Stat. Th. 5.689); cf. Otto deus 11 with Nachträge 100, 153, 268, Woodman on Vell Pat. 2.126.4. Plutarch’s treatise περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βραδέως τιμωρομένων, the proverb ὁμε θεόν ἀλέουσι μῖλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά, Sen. Contr. 10 pr. 6 sunt di immortales lenti quidem sed certi vindices generis humani. The perjurer reverses the usual emphasis of the sentiment to comfort himself, cf. DS ius iurandum 769b n. 32.

100–2 Pliny NH 2.26 poenas maleficiis aliquando seras occupato deo in tanta mole, nunquam autem irritas esse; Prop. 2.30.11 deus exorabilis ille est, παραιτητός Plato Laws 10.901c, στρεπτός Hom. Il. 9.497 (criticised by Maximus of Tyre 5 Hobein.3).

103 HIS Such acts of perjury as mine.

105 The general sentiment is like Cato ap. Gell. 11.18.18; cf. Vell. Pat. 2.45.2 conservatae patriae pretium calamitatatem exilii tuit.

TULIT Gnomic perfect cf. 2.83, 10.7, 13.241.

DIADEMA Cf. 29.

106 DIRAE Cf. 8.119.

107 SACRA … VOCANTEM To swear in a sacred place (cf. 89, 219); there is a vivid dialogue on such an occasion in the colloquium Harleianum, CGL 3.114.27 sqq.

IMMO The unique example of this word with a participle.

VEXARE ‘pester’.

109 SUPEREST Is present in abundance; 237, Ovid Trist. 3.9.17 superest ingens audacia menti. For the audacia–fiducia contrast cf. Thes. 6.1.701.69.

110–11 MIMUM Cf. 6.O.27; for CATULLI see on 8.186; URBANI ‘witty’. Σ notes talis est minus ubi servus fugitivus dominum suum trahit, i.e. to the altar to receive his oath that he was free-born (Mayor). Cf. Sen. Ep. 114.6 non alter quam
in mimo fugitivi divitis solent.

SCURRA (4.31) Cf. on 8.190.

112–13 For these shouts see Iliad 5.785–6 and 859–61 and cf. Otto Stentor; a bereaved person wails as loud as Stentor, Lucian De Luctu 15. For HOMERICUS cf. 12.23 and 120, Sen. Dial. 9.2.12 ille Homericus Achilles, KS 1.211. [[550]

VINCERE Cf. Hor. Serm. 1.6.44; there is no allusion to the contest between Stentor and Hermes reported by Σ on Homer.

113 sqq. Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.206 Iuppiter ... aspicis haec? ... nos munera templis / quippe tuis ferimus; Livy 8.5.8, Lucian Timon 2–3; Juv. 2.130 sqq. with a similar use of nec = nec tamen (cf. on 91 and 15.65, 3.102). The commercial attitude taken in dealing with the gods is characteristically Roman (Appel 150).

VEL ... VEL A parody of the formulae of Roman religion, which in cases of uncertainty about the nature of the god in question tried to cover all eventualities; cf. Appel 75 sqq.; H. Usener Götternamen (1896) 336, E. Norden Agnostos Theos (1913) 146; H. Kleinknecht Gebetsparodie (1937) 140 compares Lucian Iupp. Trag. 7.

MARMOREUS, AENEUS Cf. 11.116, Hor. Serm. 2.3.183 aeneus ut stes, Verg. Buc. 7.35 nunc te (sc. Priape) marmoreum ... fecimus ... aureus esto. Such forms of expression, which are common (Gow on Theocr. 10.33), are a faint reflection of the primitive belief that the god and his statue are identical (cf. 8.111, on 4.40, RE suppl. 5.473, SG 3.167 = 3.198, Callim. Hymn 5 passim).

AUT Or else; HS 499.

116 Incense is carried to the temple wrapped in paper (cf. Hor. Epist. 2.1.269, Pers. 1.43, Mart. 3.2.5, Stat. Silv. 4.9.12); this may emphasise the poverty of the supplicant.

CARBONE i.e. foco; SECTUM i.e. exsectum; VITULI cf. 12.7–9; PORCI cf. 10.355.

OMENTA Catull. 90.6, Pers. 2.47, Arnob. 7.24–5.

118 quod (?) video in a similar context 6.395.

119 VESTRAS Of you and your fellow-gods, cf. 8.126.

VAGELLI The stupid orator of 16.23, who was presumably presented with a statue by a grateful client (cf. Sen. De Ben. 5.8.2, Pliny NH 34.17, CIL 6.1390 = ILS 920 and on 7.126). Perhaps a point like 8.55 is hinted, or like 1.129–31.

120 ACCIPE Cf. 15.31 and p. 32.

121 ET ‘even’.

are not distinguished.

123 Cf. 14.319; hence the frequent contrast between κῆπος and στοά. EXIGUI emphasises its modesty; hortuli (Thes. s.v. 3014.58, ||3015.6) is used with a similar nuance, cf. κηπίδιον Plut. Non Posse Suaviter Vivi 16.1098b. Epicurus recommended a tenuis victus (Cic. Tusc. 5.89), and Juvenal humorously speaks as if he grew his own vegetables (Haussleiter (on 57) 272–81; cf. Zeller 3.1.376); he is κηπολόγος Phanias AP 6.307.6 = Gow–Page HE 3015. In fact the Garden cannot have been all that small as it was the headquarters of his school.

124 DUBII ‘critical’, cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 3.4.8 and Thes. 2118.34. AEGRI acts as a noun, cf. 234, 3.232, Ovid l.c. and on 2.9.

MEDICIS Dative of agent; CURREN'TUR ‘treat’, not ‘cure’ (on 16.21). The metaphor of healing sickness (or sometimes wounds; on 12) is common in consolations; e.g. Sulpicius Rufus ap. Cic. Ad Fam. 4.5.5, Sen. Cons. Marc. 1.8. See Morford (l.c. in introduction) 29–31, Johann pp. 37 sqq.

125 VENAM This word indicates blood-letting at 6.46; but it may mean only ‘pulse’, as e.g. Pers. 3.107.

PHILIPPI RE no. 50 (cf. no. 51), Wellmann (on 98) 19 n. 2; he was evidently a pupil of Archigenes (98). There must be a derogatory implication, but the reflection may be only on the apprentice status of such a practitioner rather than on Philippus himself.

126 Juvenal repeats the theme of 23–70 (cf. Hor. Serm. 2.3.41–2); see on 8–9. OSTENDIS ‘you can show’.


127 FACIEM CONTUNDERE Claudian De Bell. Gild. 135 contusa (v.l. confusa, concussa) genas; Sittl 20 n. 8 and addenda 363, 24 n. 9; add Cic. Ad Att. 1.11.1, Lucan 9.105, Val. Fl. 2.142.

129 As for a funeral (Tac. Ann. 2.82, Livy 35.15.7, Cons. Liviae 183). Otherwise it was a matter for surprise to find a door closed during the day (Plaut. Most. 444, though that has been understood to mean ‘locked’).

130–1 A parody of Verg. Aen. 2.486–7 at domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu / miscetur ... plangoribus. For DOLOR and GEMITUS cf. on 12. DOLOREM FINGIT is contrasted with lacrimis veris (cf. Stat. Silv. 3 pr.) 134.

132 VESTEM DIDUCERE Cf. 10.262, Ovid Met. 6.566 and 3.480, Sittl 25 n. 6, Blümner’ 497 n. 15, J. Heckenbach De Nuditate Sacra (1911) 33; but here only the upper edge is torn.

135 Cf. Sen. Dial. 4.9.4. There were now five fora (2.52; six if the forum Pacis be counted).

136 DIVERSA PARTE ‘on the other side’, i.e. the claimant and his ||552 lawyers keep reciting the written acknowledgement originally given by the trustee, who
however declares it a forgery. For the use of diversus cf. Suet. Iul. 29.2, [Quintil.]

Decl. 269 p. 100.6, Thes. 5.1.1576.80, and on 7.156; so often ex diverso.

137 Chirographi exhibitio was a normal part of proving money transactions (Gell. 14.2.7); cf. Quintil. 6.3.100 chirographus verus, Ulpian Dig. 11.3.11.1 servo persuasit ut chirographa debitorum corrumpat, Riccobono ZRG 43, 1922, 320, Kaser 234.

LIGNI The wooden tabellae (136) covered with wax; Tryphonianus Dig. 37.4.19 contra lignum = contra tabulas.

The whole line is equivalent to vana chirographa et supervacuum lignum.

138 LITTERAUM Handwriting; see Shackleton Bailey on Cic. Ad Att. 7.2.3.

SARDONYCHUM In rings 6.382, 7.144 and often. Sardonyches were particularly suitable for sealing-rings because they did not drag the wax away (Pliny NH 37.88). For forged seals cf. on 1.68. Even a man able to afford such an expensive ring is liable to defraud through greed (or the implication may be that he has profited from his perjury); it is so valuable that it is not worn but kept in a case of ivory (RE loculi, Blümner 130 nn. 7 and 12).


141–2 TU sc. sis, NOS sc. simus.

141 A deliberately deflating expression, clearly of proverbial character. The difficulty is that white hens of course are common; ALBA therefore has been understood ‘of good omen’ (cf. 12.65), contrasted with INFELIX 142. But this does not quite suit the context, and there is probably a more specific allusion. There was an imperial flock of white hens descended from one which gave an omen to Livia (RE 7.670 s.v. ad Gallinas; Lugh Bull. del Commissione Archeol. di Roma 51, 1923, 26), of which Aurel. Vict. Caes. 5.17 says adeo multae albaeque erant aptioresque religionibus ut iis Romae habeatur hodie locus (this is actually a confusion; see Jordan Hermes 2, 1867, 87). Juvenal then is probably using a proverbial phrase, meaning an aristocratic imperial hen, which gained currency before these hens died off at the end of Nero’s reign (Aurel. Vict. I.c., Suet. Galba 1, Dio Cass. 63.29). Even under Trajan there was a procurator gallinarum albarum (i.e. the estate), CIL 6.37763 = ILS 9024–5. [553]

143–4 FERENDAM SI FLECTAS go together; BILE cf. 5.159.

145 Not to be taken as a hendiadys for doloso sulphure; see Ulpian Dig. 1.15.4 qui dolo fecisse incendium convincentur. English idiom would incline to differentiate one of the two modal ablatives as instrumental and omit the copulative conjunction, cf. 14.35.

SULPURE See on 5.48; θεῖον was collected in the house of Cethegus during the
Catilinarian conspiracy (Plut. Cic. 18.2).

IANUA Thus preventing egress (9.98); COLLIGIT (Thes. 1609.72) it catches light.

148 ROBIGINIS Therefore the vessels are old and probably of bronze (cf. Pliny NH 7.64), hence valuable (1.76); but ADORANDAE ROB. is of course a humorous expression.

DONA ἀναθήματα, POSITAS ἀνακειμένας, as often; ponere coronam Vitruv. 9 pr. 9 etc.

150 ‘Metal or wood was gilded by laying on thin plates of gold (bratteae or lamminae), which could be prised off by the finger of a thief, cf. Mart. 8.33.5’ Duff; hence brattearius, bratteator. Cf. RE brattea, Marquardt 686, Blümner\(^3\) 4.230, Lauffer on Edict. Diocl. p. 279. Bratteam ducere is the opposite of bratteam in-ducere (Pliny NH 33.65); DE clarifies this.

151 FACIEM Cf. SG 3.165 = 3.196.

153 This line is absolutely nonsensical as it stands (see BICS 22, 1975, 153), but it looks most unlike an interpolation, and point is given to it by the emendation suggested by Munro to Mayor: an dubitet? solitumst t. c. Tonantem. Now the clause solitumst ... gives a reason why the minor sacrilegus would not hesitate to commit his thefts; morals are such that the melting down even of whole statues of Jove is an everyday occurrence. This of course is an exaggeration, but not without its grain of truth; cf. Clem. Alex. Protr. 4.52.3 and Arnob. 6.21 (Antiochus of Cyzicus), Sen. Dial. 2.4.2, Suet. Nero 32.4, Lucian Iupp. Conf. 8. For AN DUBITET? cf. Stat. Th. 7.126.

154 ARTIFICES Cf. Sen. NQ 3.25.1; MERCATOR VENENI 8.17, 9.100.

155 A parricide, cf. on 8.214; CORIO BOVIS (cf. Ad Herenn. 1.23) = culleo. DEDUCENDUM As if he were a ship being launched.

156 INNOXIA The ape deserves sympathy, even if the man does not; cf. 10.60. Yet at the same time the grand (cf. 10.129) ADVERSIS FATIS mocks the ape.

157 Sen. Dial. 4.9.3 et quaota pars ista scelerum est? Cf. on 3.61.

HAEC Probably nom. fem. sing., with the usual attraction to the predicate, cf. on 15.133–5.

C. RUTILIIUS (RE no. 19, PIR\(^1\) R 167) GALLICUS, praefectus urbi under Domitian, died in A.D. 91–2, but is spoken of by Juvenal as if still in [[ 554] office; see on 8.39 and SG 4.304 (not in ed. 10). On his criminal jurisdiction see Stat. Silv. 1.4 and RE 22.2519, Garnsey 90; he also exercised it over much of Italy (Stat. l.c. 11, cf. RE 2517–18, Garnsey 93). See Vitucci 50 sqq.

CUSTOS Cf. Stat. l.c. 16 custodia, RE l.c. 2519 and custos 1903–4, Woodman on Vell. Pat. 2.98.1, A. von Premerstein Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats (1937) 143 and add Plut. Otho 5.4.

160 UNA DOMUS Not his house, but his office, by the temple of Tellus (RE 22.2519, Lanciani Bull. del Commissione Archeol. di Roma 20, 1892, 19); cf. Dem-
For the endemic goitre of the Alpine districts cf. Vitruv. 8.3.20 and Pliny NH 37.44, who attribute it to the water (correctly; goitre is still common in Switzerland).

MEROE 6.528. Synesius Ep. 4 (col. 1340 Migne) remarks the same in Cyrenaica (de Vries Mnnen.3 12, 1945, 160); large pendulous breasts are common in negro women.

164–5 Sen. Dial. 5.26.3 (see the passage generally and cf. on 174) nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet; Tac. Germ. 4 caerul(e)i oculi, rutilae comae; Sil. It. 4.200 flavam caesariem of a Gaul (202 rutilus sub vertice nodum); Sidon. Apoll. Carm. 5.240–1. Mart. Spect. 3.9 (with torquere) and 5.37.8, Tac. Germ. 38 (see Much’s commentary ed. 3, p. 427 with plate 11, and fig. 25 facing p. 180 in Anderson’s edition) like Seneca speak of nodus; cirrus Tertull. De Virg. Veland. 10, Sidon. l.c. 226 (cirro madente) and 238–40.

STUPUIT for the tense cf. on 3.160.

MADIDO ‘greasy’; the Germans greased their hair with a kind of soap (Pliny NH 28.191; cf. Mart. 14.26–7, 8.33.20).

CORNUA Cf. LSJ κέρας V i.

‘“Who” asks the poet “was ever amazed at wens in the Alps or blue eyes in Germany?” Nobody, the reader is expected to reply; for he knows that in those places they are common. This was understood aright by the student who noted in the margin nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una (which verse … means … “obviously because all those folk are of this same type”); but the explanation is so framed that it will not fit into the text, unless nempe is altered to nemo’ Housman xxxii. Moreover natura only suits 162–3; 164–5 are ars, not natura. Tac. Germ. 4.2 HABITUS quoque corporum … idem omnibus is correctly phrased.

VOLUCERES NUBEMQUE ‘cloud of birds’ by hendiadys; cf. McCartney CP 55, 1960, 84.

THRACUM Storks gathered on the banks of the Strymon (‘Thompson’ 68; RE Strymon 392.53, Kranich 1573.11); for the legend of the fights between them and the Pygmies (6.506) cf. Hom. Il. 3.3–6 etc., ||555 Thompson1 72, RE 2067 and ML 3287 s.v. Pygmaios, Frazer on Paus. 1.12.4; this is a favourite subject in art (ML 3291 sqq., Karageorghis Rev. Archél. 1972.47). The Pygmies are placed in Ethiopia by Homer etc. (RE 2065), though Pliny NH 4.44 puts them in Thrace.

SONORAM κλαγγή Homer; AD cf. 223; CURVIS UNGUIBUS 8.129.

QUATIARE Cf. 3.101; GENTIBUS = terris, cf. OLD s.v. 3, Housman on Manil. 4.602.

ASSIDUE By everyone, contrasted with nemo 173.

Pygmaeus being derived from πυγμή ‘cubit’ (RE s.v. 2066.43).

An ἀνθυποφορά. CAPITIS ‘= hominis, as often … it need not mean that the swindler has sworn falsely by his head’ Duff (cf. on 85). For the general thought of

175 Sil. It. 6.582 dum non vinctum Carthago catenis / abripiat.

176 Yet even tyrants’ victims may be allowed (liberum) mortis arbitrium (Tac. Ann. 11.33, 16.3, Suet. Dom. 8).

178 INVIDIA This word receives the emphasis.

MINIMUS SANGUIS at 10.217 means the small amount of blood left in an old man’s body. Here it would have to be taken to mean ‘even a few drops of blood’, but that is quite incompatible with necari and corpore trunco. Minimus must be corrupt; nimius a few mss., missus Wakefield, perhaps <socius>, which could have dropped out before so-lacia. At any rate the form of the line strongly suggests that an adjective should be restored; but there is no adjective minius (see on 70).

180 Publil. Syr. 231 (230 Spengel) inimicum ulisci vitam accipere est alteram; Sen. Dial. 4.32.1, Cornelia ap. Nepos fr. 59 Marshall; Aristotle Rhet. 1.11.1370b1 and 29, 2.2.1378b1.

181 sc. dicunt, cf. 184, 11.3–5, 14.189. INDOCTI non-philosophers (cf. 2.4). παιδεία is an important theme in Consolations; cf. Plut. (?) Cons. Apoll. 30.117a ἡ διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν ἄνοια καὶ παραφροσύνη, 33.119d διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἀσθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς; cf. also 22.112f–13a (see on 12), Fronto p. 16.7 (cf. on 19), Sen. Cons. Marc. 7.3.

The implication of 181–2 is that Calvinus, if he holds such an extreme view, is acting like an indoctus; cf. 13–15 levium … ardens … visceribus.

183 uncomfortably separates hoc indocti <dicunt> and Chrysippus non dicet idem, and the scansion occasiō seems not to accord with Juvenal’s practice (BICS 22, 1975, 156). ADEO emphasises the preceding word as e.g. Ovid Trist. 3.6.31.

184 Chrysippus, Thales and Socrates are an odd combination. ||556|| Probably Juvenal, who knew little about philosophy (as he admits 121 sqq.), chose the first names to come into his head.

DICET The future is like that of 1.126 (q.v.); if you look up the works of C., you will find that he says …

CHRYSIPPUS 2.5 (cf. Zeno at 15.106–7).

MITE THALETIS INGENIUM For the form of expression cf. 4.39 and 81 (note mite ingenium 82–3), 10–75. Thales was more interested in physics than in ethics, but was one of the proverbial Seven Sages (cf. on 26 and 2.6). Unfortunately one of his apophthegms was (Diog. Laert. 1.36) πῶς ἄν τις ἀτυχίαν ῥάστα φέροι (ἐρωτηθεὶς ἔφη) ‘εἰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χεῖρον πράσσοντας βλέποι’. This does not contradict the letter of what Juvenal says (cf. 248–9), but Juvenal would hardly have chosen Thales as an example if he had known of it; cf. on 15.107.

SENEX Socrates, who was 70 at the time of his trial.

DULCI Val. Fl. 1.397, Sen. Phaedr. 23; because of its honey, which, it is implied, gives a sweet temper (cf. mite), in contrast to Calvinus’ bitterness (amara 247).

186 Plato Apol. 41d τοῖς κατηγόροις οὐ πάνω χαλεπαίνω.
CICUTAE 7.206.

ACCEPTAE Of poisons Suet. Nero 33, Thes. s.v. 305.55 (cf. Quintil. 7.2.17), the opposite of dare 187 (cf. 1.158, 6.134), a technical term of medicines and poisons, whence δόσις, dose.

ACCUSATORI Meletus. Perhaps Juvenal is really thinking of the famous story of Theramenes toasting Critias with the hemlock; Theramenes and Socrates are associated Cic. Tusc. 1.96–7 and confused by Teles p. 17.8 Hense².

NOLLET where nōlŭīsset might have been expected, cf. on 4.85; here the imperfect is doubtless influenced by the future dicet, as if the philosophers mentioned were alive at the moment.

187–9 A vapid sentence, certainly interpolated. Why plurima and not cuncta (cf. Cic. Tusc. 5.5)? What is the point of prima? Felix has to be strained to mean ‘making men felices’ (though cf. misera 14.304 and on 27, 229). There seems to be an awkward contrast between plurima vitia and errores omnes; to avoid this Clausen puts a comma after exuit, but this is harsh and in any case philosophy does not teach omnes (hence omne Griffith¹ 57). Finally there is a harsh asyndeton exuit...docet, to avoid which the Φ-mss. have introduced what is certainly a secondary interpolation docens.

189 MINUTI Cic. Or. 94, μικρόφυκος; for the cumulation of adjectives cf. 15.47–8, for the sentiment Musonius fr. X Hense.

191 COLLIGE ‘infer’ cf. 11.198; sic collige Hor. Serm. 2.1.51, Epist. 2.1.119. [557]


194 ATTONITOS ‘terrified’ cf. on 12.21, 4.77; attonitum habere Val. Max. 3.3 ext. 4, Sen. Ep. 110.5 vana sunt ista quae nos...attonitos habent. Cf. on 10.296 for habere with adjective or participle.

SURDO ‘unheard’ (7.71); see A. Önnerfors Pliniana (1956) 82–3 (Pliny NH 19.20). So caecus ‘unseen’.


197 Caedicium aulicum Neronis crudelissimum fuisse vult intellegi Σ; but this is probably merely an improvisation. A pleader of this name is mentioned 16.46. Perhaps he gruesomely dilated on grisly punishments in his speeches and declamations, but this is hardly adequate for GRAVIS, and Juvenal probably chose a character of this name to hint at caedere (cf. 6.483–4); cf. on 2.50, 3.251.

RHADAMANTHUS Cf. Verg. Aen. 6.566 (see on 222) and Aeacus Juv. 1.10. The combination of the two names is comic.

SUUM ‘against oneself’. Quintil. 5.11.41 quotes a proverb conscientia mille testes, cf. Sen. Ep. 43.5.

199 sqq. The story of Glaucus (a type of remorse, Plut. De SeraNuminis Vindicta 11.556d) is reported by Herod. 6.86 (see H. W. Parke–D. E. W. Wormell The Delphic Oracle (1956) 2 Oracular Responses no. 35). The story has nothing to do with the penalties of conscience and is not, as most editors suppose, intended to illustrate them; as Heinrich saw, it simply prepares by contrast for the a fortiori of 210. Conscience is the worst of punishments (192–8); even the contemplation of crime (peccandi sola voluntas 208) involved physical penalties in the case of Glaucus, so what (210) can we expect when the crime is actually committed? The even worse penalties of repentance (211 sqq.). The punctuation could with advantage be altered to... voluntas, nam... habet:

200 QUONDAM Even though, in the words of the oracle, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα κέρδιον ὑτῳ.


203 ILLI Strict grammar would demand sibi; cf. HS 175, KS 1.610, Thes. 7.1.350.81 (add instances at Italicus Il. Lat. 710, Sen. Ep. 73.9, 82.6, Tac. Ann. 4.56.1 and, if this is a verbal quotation, Sall. Hist. fr. 4.71). The demonstrative pronoun ‘substitutes the narrator’s point of view for that of the questioner’ (Wilson).

204 The logic becomes plainer if (metu, non moribus) is placed thus in parenthesis. Cf. Thes. mos 1525.26.

205 Lucan 9.565 (Cato) effudit dignas adytis e pectore voce.

206 EXSTINCTUS i.e. extinctio eius, the occasus Caesar idiom (cf. 24 and see index nouns). Cf. Val. Fl. 4.33 cum gente domoque; for punishment passing to the perjurer’s descendants cf. Hom. Il. 4.162, Hes. Op. 282 sqq., Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.28.30. An imprecation involving this formed part of the διωμοσία (RE and D S.v.), Demosth. 54.38 sqq.

207 ‘who traced descent from his stock, however far back”; i.e. even those of remote collateral descent’ Duff; cf. 8.272–3.

209–10 ‘is guilty of its commission’; Prop. 2.32.2 facti lumina crimen habent (n.b. also peccat). So Herodotus τὸ πειρηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι ίσον δύνασθαι; Sen. Dial. 3.3.1, Val. Max. 7.2 ext. 8 and often (see Mayor). In this connection we meet voluntas with genitive gerund Sen. De Ben. 5.14.2, voluisse peccare Val. Max. 6.1.8, sola mente atque animo adnitente Gell. 11.18.23, voluntates nudas Gell. 6.3.47.

210 CEDO SI 6.504 ‘tell me your opinion in the event that …’

CONATA Passive (on 6.539).

212–13 Cf. Sen. Ep. 82.21, [Ovid] Her. 16.226 (= 228); this is a symptom associated with lack of appetite.
SED follows nec 211. But SETINA is surely correct; the corruption to set vina is simple. The wine of Setia is mentioned at 10.27 and associated with that of Alba at 5.33–4 (q.v.); the plural is found at Pliny NH 23.36, Mart. 4.69.1, and is common with wine-names.

ALBANI … SENECTUS 'old Alban wine' cf. on 4.81; senectus of wine 5.34 (cf. Ovid Met. 8.672), though here it is pleonastic with VETERIS. Cf. Hor. Odes 4.11.1–2 nonum superantis annum / plenus Albani cadus.

OSTENDAS Cf. on 3.100.

DENSISSIMA Cf. 1.120; COGITUR cf. Ovid Am. 2.2.33.

FALERNO Duff points out that the better wine (melius) is identical with the Falernian, the only vintage which could rival Alban and Setine; the very sight of it makes the man screw up his face as if it were bitter and he were drinking it. To indicate the identity, English idiom would insert the definite article, 'by the falernian'; cf. on 8.120. One variety of Falernian (cf. on 4.138) was austerum (severum Hor. Odes 1.27.9), 'dry' (Pliny NH 14.63), but none was acre 'vinegary'; the man only imagines this, so VELUT ACRI should be enclosed in commas. |[[559]]

DUCTA Cf. trahit 14.325.

218 Catull. 50.11–12, Prop. 1.14.21 and 2.22.47, Sen. Dial. 9 (De Tranq. An.) 2.6, Val. Fl. 7.21.

219 NUMINIS is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. For TEMPLUM cf. 107, and for ARAS 89.

220 SUDORIBUS Cf. 1.167; MENTEM cf. intus pallere Pers. 3.42.

221 TE VIDET IN SOMNIS (for the plural cf. Löfstedt 1.55) cf. Ovid Ibis 155 and often.


222 Verg. Aen. 6.567 subigitque fateri (cf. on 197).

223 AD (cf. 167) OMNIA FULGURA is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Cf. Suet. Cal. 51, Sen. NQ 2.59.11 and the καταιβασίαι of Plut. De Sera Numinis Vindicta 10.555a; see on 78 and RAC Gewitter 1117.

224 CUM TONAT goes with what follows; cf. Ovid Tristia 1.1.82. QUÕQUE 'even'.

225 FORTUITUS Cf. gratuītus Stat. Silv. 1.6.16 established by the hendecasyllabic metre (otherwise one might think of a consonantal u), fortuitus Manil. 1.182 (who does not use synizesis), Petron. 135.9 (who also does not), Stat. Th. 7.449. This is the Epicurean view, cf. Lucr. 5.1219 sqq.; with murmura caelum there cf. 224 here. Ovid Her. 7.72 quaeque cadent, in te fulmina missa putes.

VENTORUM RABIE Aristoph. Clouds 404–8, where see Dover. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: For winds and thunderbolts see Lucr. 6.246 sqq. with Bailey’s notes.]

226 Prop. 2.16.52 fulminis ira, Hor. Odes 1.3.40 iracunda fulmina.
VINDICET So the Paris florilegia and a very few other mss. (including Ruperti’s Gaybacensis 2); cf. Ovid Ibis 476 aetherii vindicis igne cadas, Ex Ponto 4.8.60 Gigantas / ad Styga nimbifero vindicis igne datos. Iudicet might mean (1) ‘act as judge’, but one can hardly conceive the lightning sitting in deliberation, (2) ‘exercise judgment, i.e. discrimination, in choosing its victims’, i.e. not fall blindly; but this is most improbable in a context dealing with crime and punishment.

227 ILLA i.e. tempestas; a paratactic condition, cf. on 3.100, 6.329 sqq.
229 Cf. 3.232 aeger moritur vigilando; the fever (1) keeps men awake (cf. on 1.70, 6.382 and 187 above), (2) occurs in men who cannot sleep anyway (217). Cf. Ovid Met. 3.396 curae vigiles, Celsus 4.13.1 huic dolori lateris (pleurisy) febris … accedit.

PECUDEM BALANTEM i.e. agnam. Cf. the poet (Ennius Alexander?) quoted by Cic. De Div. 1.42.5 hostis balantibus; Enn. Ann. 186 and Lucr. 2.369 balantum pecudes. This approaches the kind of ‘kenning’ discussed on 8.155, and fits a ritual context; one may compare Ovid |\[560|\[210|Fasti 1.333 rex placare sacrorum / numina LANIGERAE coniuge debet OVIS.

233 i.e. cristatum gallum (Mart. 9.68.3). Cf. 12.96 and 113, Pliny NH 10.49 and 156, RE Lares 815.49; even the smallest offering (Headlam–Knox on Herodas 4.16; add CIL 6.820, Porph. Vit. Pythag. 36) to the smallest gods; cf. 235.

234 AENIRIS A noun; see on 124.
235 MALORUM Masculine; but the line is incompatible with 240. For FERME cf. 8.73.

237 SUPEREST Cf. 109.
239 NATURA RECURRIT Hor. Epist. 1.10.24.

DAMNATOS By themselves (cf. 1–4); they have seen their guilt (238) and condemn it, but continue to sin (cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 3.177).

241 POSUIT (cf. 6.444) Gnomical perfect, cf. 105.

242 Cf. Mart. 8.59.2; so often perfricare frontem, (παρα)τρίβειν τὸ μέτωπον. When the loss of shame had caused the forehead to lose the power of blushing, this was regarded as the result of rubbing the brow, which was supposed to become hardened; cf. on 2.8, 8.189, 11.204, 14.56, Otto facies 1 with Nachträg 236, Lucian Vit. Auct. 10 τὸ ἐρυθριᾶν ἀπόξεσον τοῦ προσώπου παντελῶς.

RUBOREM Cf. 10.300, 11.54.

244 DABIT IN LAQUEUM Like a hunted animal.

NOSTER Cf. Hofmann §128; a colloquial usage.

245 CARCERIS UNCUM See on 10.66; RUPEM SCOPULOSQUE e.g. Gyarus (10.170); cf. 1.73 for both. Cf. Pliny Pan. 35 cum insulas omnes, quas modo sena-torum, iam delatorum turba completer; Tac. Hist. 1.2 plenum exilii mare; [Sen.] Octav. 382 remotus inter Corsici rupes maris, Philostr. Apoll. 8.5.4.
248 NOMINIS INVISI Cf. Tac. Hist. 2.53.1, Ann. 2.44.2, 14.13.1.

249 SURDUM … TERESIAN An odd combination (not defended by 5.138–9, quoted by Mayor), as I pointed out in BICS 13, 1966, 42, where comparing 3.238 I proposed DRUSUM; Tiresias is blind, Claudius deaf.

248–9 A bereaved person would naturally accuse the gods (e.g. Quintil. 6 pr. 4, Fronto p. 220.25; cf. 112 sqq.). Editors generally claim that 247–9 do not harmonise with 181 sqq., contrasting gaudebis with gaudet 192. But in fact I cannot see that there is any contradiction; 181 sqq. (cf. on 184) deal with the infliction of punishment by the injured party personally, whereas here the fact that punishment is not inflicted by him but comes nevertheless is a proof that after all there is justice in the world and therefore a cause for rejoicing.
Satire Fourteen

The structure of this poem has been analysed as follows by O’Neil, CP 55, 1960, 251:

1–37 Children copy the faults of their parents.

38 (a new paragraph should begin here)–69 Parents must therefore abstain from wrongdoing for the sake of the children (no paragraph should be placed at 59).

70 (new paragraph)–85 It is important that children grow up in the right atmosphere, otherwise they will imitate, and indeed surpass (cf. 224), parental

86–95 extravagance, or

96–106 superstition.

107–18 But whereas they instinctively absorb these faults, they are actually encouraged to avarice, which includes both miserliness (111–14) and greed (114–18 adquirere).

119 (new paragraph)–172 So, falling in with the attitudes of society, parents teach both miserliness (123–4, 126–37) and greed (125 adquirere, 138–72), which is contrasted with the early days of Rome.

173 (new paragraph)–255 The dishonourable and criminal results, contrasted with the old days, of the inculcation of greed (189–234; adquiro 223) and miserliness (236–55); the latter (235–6) leads to the former (adquiro 238; cf. MOX adquirendi 125), and the former to crime.

256–302 The dangers faced in the acquisition of wealth (greed).

303–16 The dangers faced in the preservation of wealth (miserliness).

316 (new paragraph)–31 Conclusion; a moderate competence is enough.

The topics therefore are treated in this order, if we may symbolise miserliness as a, greed as b, and the old days as c:

a (111–14), b (114–18) / a (123–4, 126–37), b (125, 138–59), c (160–71) / c (179–88), b (189–234), a (235–55) / b (256–302), a (303–16). This elaborately symmetrical scheme is reminiscent of 1.81–149, and there too Juvenal sees two sides of avaritia (1.88, cf. 1.4.108), meanness (sordes 1.140, 1.124) and extravagance. Simi-
larly Plut. De Cupid. Divit. 7.526c (cf. on 207) comments that miserly fathers breed miserly sons, concerned with κέρδος (lucrum 204, 278, both in b contexts) and φειδωλή.

The inclusion of two topics, parental influence and avarice, within the same poem reminds us of Satire 2; Juvenal has taken pains to link them by contrast at 107, but in the end (after 255) the theme of parental influence does completely fade away. One may recall how in Hor. Serm. 1.1 the introductory theme of discontent modulates with the contrast cum te into a discussion of greed (lucrum; cf. quaerendi 92), which takes over until the original theme is abruptly reintroduced and the two are united in 108 (cf. on 305–6 and 321); in that poem too avarice covers both miserliness and greed.

In both themes Juvenal had of course many predecessors, from whom illustrations are quoted in the notes. That of parental influence can be paralleled from educational writers (see e.g. on 44), and in particular [Plut.] De Liberis Educandis (cf. on 47–9, 208–9) 20.14a–b πρὸ πάντων δεῖ τοὺς πατέρας τῷ μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνειν ἀλλὰ πάνθ’ ἀ δεὶ πράττειν ἐναργές αὐτοὺς παράδειγμα τοῖς τέκνοις παρέχειν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν τούτων βίον ἄσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέποντες ἀποτρέπωνται τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων, ὡς οίτινες τοῖς ἁμαρτάνοσιν υἱοίς ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι περιπτοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων ὄνόματι λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτῶν κατήγοροι γιγνόμενοι τὸ δ’ ὅλον φαύλως ζῷντες σοὺδ’ τοῖς δούλοις παρρησίαν ἄρουσαν ἐπιτιμῶν, μή τι γε τοῖς υἱοῖς. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ’ ἃν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων συμβουλοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι. ὅπου γὰρ γρῶσιν ἀναίσχυντοι, ἐνταῦθ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἀναιδεστάτους εἶναι (quoted from Plato Laws 729c; cf. Juv. 4 and 57).

1 FAMA SINISTRA Cf. 152 and Thea. fama 225.21 (add Tac. Ann. 11.19.3).
2 MONSTRANT By example, cf. 10, 37.
4 HERES BULLATUS A phrase like praetextatus adulter 1.78; for the bulla see on 5.164 and cf. 13.33, for the word bullatus Scipio ap. Macrobr. Sat. 3.14.7 (ORF fr. 30 p. 133). ||563|
5 ARMA Cf. on 1.91–2; Ovid Trist. 4.1.32 nec nisi lusura movimus arma manu, a clearly mock-heroic conception.
6 sqq. Nisbet 237 suggests that commas should be placed after fritillo (5) and gula (10), and a full stop after iuvenis (7), on the grounds that it is awkward that the glutton should first be mentioned as a iuvenis (7) while his education as a puer (11) is only mentioned later. 4–7 will then mean that when a father plays dice his small son will do the same, and he will be no better as a young man. But this leaves 6–7 too weak, and Juvenal probably means that faults are ingrained in the puer which become noticeable and ineradicable in the iuvenis.
7 RADERE TUBERA To peel truffles (Apicius 7.14 = 16.1), cf. on 5.116.
8 BOLETUM 5.147.

EODEM as the boleti; cf. boleti et ficedulae Suet. Tib. 42, uno iure perfusa Sen. Ep. 95.28. Eadem 5 might suggest that the sense is ‘the same as his father’, but the different form of this sentence discourages that.

MERGERE is usually taken to mean ‘gulp down’, cf. 11.40, but this would require some local modification like in ventrem there; rather it has the common culinary sense ‘steep’, which better balances radere and condire, though NATANTES (cf. Hor. Serm. 2.8.42, Pers. 5.183) is then somewhat pleonastic.

FICEDULAS elsewhere has ē (cf. Mart. 13.5.1), as it should have (cf. acredula, monedica, querquedula, nitedula; the quantity is documented in the first three); but ficella (see the apparatus) is an unattested word (the text is uncertain at lucil. 978) and Mart. 13.48–50 has the sequence boleti, ficedulae, terrae tubera. For this bird (the warbler or beccafico) as a food cf. Blümner 178 n. 8, André 126, Kl. Pauly s.v. Fliegenfänger.

NEBULONE … GULA Hendiadys, ‘taught (cf. 3) by the hoary gluttony of his wastrel father’. GULA is sometimes taken to mean ‘glutton’, cf. 5.158, 15.90 and fossa 2.10; but CANA does not necessitate this, cf. 10.207 inguinis canities.


12 BARBATOS MAGISTROS Pers. 4.1; i.e. philosophers. Cf. on 4.103 and SG 3.230 = 3.258.

13 PARATU Val. Fl. 2.652 mensaeque paratu / regifico.

14 DEGENERARE is often applied ironically and meaning in effect ‘improve’; but here the reader does not perceive this until the final παρὰ προσδοκίαν word CULINA (probably to be taken in the abstract sense ‘cuisine’, cf. Thes. s.v. 1288.68).

After 14 Housman rightly inserted 23–4; this makes Juvenal first ask in general what advice such a father gives, then in particular whether he inculcates kindness. Then in 16–17 Bucheler equally rightly suggested utque … putet, since the point is not what Rutilus thinks but what he teaches by example, and putat comes awkwardly between praecipit and docet. The subject of PRÆCIPIT is Rutilus, that of PUTET is iuvenis.

23 IUVENTI i.e. filiō; cf. (107), 121, 191, 235, 251 and on 10.310.


ADFCIUNT Pliny Ep. 3.1.9 Corinthia quibus selectatur nec adficitur. The pun-
ishments communicate adfectus (on 12.10).

INSCRIPTA is used as a noun by Gell. praef. 9 to mean ‘titles’; here it means stigmata (10.183; cf. Thes. s.v. 1846.55, 1848.23, 1849.80, Blümner1 294, Marquardt 184). Mart. 8.75.9 has inscripti = στιγματίαι, which suggested his conjecture to Richards (CR1 2, 1888, 326; so Weidner also independently).

ERGASTULA (the ordinary cells in which the slaves slept), CARCER Cf. Livy 7.4.4 in opus servile, prope in carcerem atque in ergastulum; see on 6.151, 8.180. To be sent to the ergastulum is in itself a punishment.

15 ERRORIBUS AEQUOS Sen. Dial. 4.10.7.

16–17 NOSTRA Ablative fem. sing. For the thought cf. Sen. Ep. 47.10, Quintil. 3.8.31, Epictet. 1.13.3, Macrobr. Sat. 1.11.6, Dion. Hal. AR 4.23, Philemon fr. 95 K = 4 p. 47 fr. inc. 39 M κἀν δοῦλος ἥ τις, σάρκα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει and on 6.222; but note Finley 88 ‘the stress is on the master’s moral obligation to behave, for his own sake, with self-restraint and moderation, at least as much as on the humanity of the slave’. Like Quintilian (elementa), Juvenal uses Lucretian vocabulary (materiam, elementa); Seneca’s semina is Stoic (Pohlenz 2.50).

18 RUTILUS See on 11.2.

COMPARAT He thinks the sound of the lash sweeter than the song of any Siren; cf. 12.121.

20 Carrying on the Odyssean allusion; Antiphates, king of the cannibal Laestrygonians, and Polyphemus are coupled as if proverbial by Ovid Ex Ponto 2.2.113–14. Cf. 15.18. For the apposition followed by a further qualification (FELIX) cf. 269. ||[565]

21 TORTORE VOCATO Cf. Sen. Contr. 2.5.5 and on 6.480 and O.29.

ARDENTI FERRO i.e. lamminis, red-hot plates of metal used to burn the flesh; cf. 6.624.

LINTEA Presumably he is being punished for negligently allowing the towels (3.263) to be stolen at the baths, as they often were (Catull. 25, Digest 47.17); or perhaps napkins are meant (cf. Catull. 12, Mart. 12.29).

23–4 See after 14.


RUSTICUS EXPECTAS is from Hor. Epist. 1.2.42. Larga is like Oppia 10.220.

CONTEXERE CURSU This looks like a mixed metaphor, but probably CURSU is merely a faded one (cf. Sen. Contr. 1 pr. 18).

TER DECIENS 13 seems to appear only here in Latin as an indefinite number (‘a dozen’), though it is found in Greek; cf. RAC Dreizehn 314, Elmore and Postgate CR1 19, 1905, 436–8.

NUNC When she is marita herself, no longer virgo.

CERAS (cf. 191 and on 1.63) PUSILLAS i.e. tabellae 6.233 and 277, 9.36 (Marquardt 8.04 n. 6); γραμμάτια (Lucian De Merc. Cond. 36, Rhet. Praec. 23) or γραμματιδία (id. De Merc. Cond. 27). Such billets-doux (cf. 6.141) would naturally
be small for ready concealment, but line 5 makes me wonder if Juvenal has in mind a child-bride. The legal minimum age for marriage was twelve, but it took place even earlier in some cases (Hopkins *Population Studies* 18, 1965, 309; cf. *SG* 4.124 = 4.133 and 1.232 = 1.273, Blümner1 343, Salmon 40, Beard *JRS* 68, 1978, 202, *RAC Ehehindernisse* 687, Bömer on Ovid *Met*. 9.714); the law did not admit adultery under this age (Ulpian *Dig.* 48.5.14(13).8).

30 ἘISDEM So Manil. 2.707 (mss. vary at Calp. Sic. 7.71); *isdem* is usual. Contrast ἕιδem 122.

DAT FERRE Cf. *Thes. do* 1688.67 and on 6.156.


31 VELOCIUS ET CITIUS For the pleonasm cf. 2.34.

34 ARTE BENIGNA Val. Fl. 4.554.

35 TITAN Prometheus, cf. on 4.133, 8.133; LUTO πηλός china clay, cf. 6.13 and Blümner2 2.8 n. 2. The word is commonly used of the creation of man by writers who wish to emphasise his humble origins (Otto s.v. 4, Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 493, Bömer on Ovid *Met*. 1.82–3; cf. Gruppe 441, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.16.13–14, L. Séchan Mythe de Prométhée (1951) 33. MELIORE adds a further touch of irony, cf. Headlam on Herodas 2.28 ἐκ ποίου πηλοῦ πεφύρηται; Epimetheus used *deterior lutus*, Claudian *In Eutr.* 2.496.

ET The ablatives coupled by this are dissimilar, cf. 13.145 and [566] index s.v.; e (ec Ribbeck) is unnecessary. FINXIT ἔπλασε as a *figulus*.

PRAECORDIA (cf. 1.167) φρένες (cf. ἄφρων, ἀφροσύνη), the midriff, like the cor itself (on 57) often considered the seat of mental and moral qualities (e.g. Ovid *Met*. 11.149).

36–7 VESTIGIA Cf. 53 (ORBITA continues the metaphor); MONSTRATA cf. 3.

40 Sen. *Dial.* 12.10.10 (Apicius) *cum iuventutem ad imitationem sui sollicitaret etiam sine malis exemplis per se docilem*.

TURPIBUS AC PRAVIS Neuter and either dative (as after *indocilis* Sil. It. 1.237, 11.11) or ablative (Pliny *NH* 10.120).

41–3 Sen. *Ep.* 97.10 *omne tempus Clodios, non omne Catones feret. ad deteriora faciles sumus* (which in turn derive from Manil. 4.86–7). For CATILINA (8.231, 10.286) as a type-name cf. *Thes. onom.* s.v. 261.14, Otto *Nachträge* 146; this use is rare in the singular (6.345 and 656; Fordyce on Catull. 22.19). BRUTUS (5.37) is an uncommon *exemplum* (Litchfield *HSCP* 25, 1914, 43) because tyrannicide is an uncomfortable precedent under the Empire. BRUTI AVUNCULUS Cato (*Thes. avunculus* 1608.27), whose half-sister Servilia was the mother of Brutus. The word AVUNCULUS is considered beneath the dignity of epic by DServ. on *Aen.* 3.343, and is here, as at 6.615, applied deflatingly, for the satirist is free to poke fun even at the objects of his approval (cf. p. 24). At the same time the periphrasis of relationship (cf. 6.615) implies that *virtus* runs in this family, cf. p. 34.
AXE Quarter of the world (on 8.116).

44 DICTU FOEDUM VISUQUE Cf. 11.162 and the remarks in many educational treatises (Xen. Cyr. 7.5.86, Aristotle Pol. 7.17.1336b42 sqq., Tac. Dial. 28.5 and 29.1, Quintil. 1.2.8). One might also think of e.g. obscene paintings. DICTU is explained by CANTUS 46, VISU by PUELLEAE 45; the order is chiastic. The line is slow and solemn, cf. 49.

PATER EST This is the correct reading; puer is due to 47, es to the second persons in 38 and 42. Either ruins the παρὰ προσδοκίαν effect which depends on encountering pater est where we have been expecting puer est (PUERO in 47 is also paradoxical). Not only the child, but the father too must be incorruptible (lest the child should imitate his corruption, cf. 68–9).

HAEC Ordinarily used by Juvenal as the antecedent of the relative pronoun; cf. on 7.41 and BICS 13, 1967, 49 n. 7. See further Thes. 6.3.2732.80, HS 181.

PROCUL A PROCUL We expect this to be followed by profani rather than PUELLEAE (6.127), cf. 2.89, Verg. Aen. 6.258 procul o procul este profani, Stat. Silv. 3.3.13, Sil. It. 17.27; Ovid Met. 15.587 procul a (variants o, hinc) procul omina ... talia di pellant cf. Fasti 2.623. This [567] is a formula of warning (πρόρρησις) for dismissing those not qualified to be present at religious ceremonies (cf. Appel 83 and on 15.140); so we infer that a child’s innocence is sacred. The exclamation A indicates very strong emotion; it is generally too elevated for satire (cf. on 9.102), though found at Pers. 1.8 and perhaps 3.16.

CANTUS PERNOCANTANTIS PARASITI (1.139) Cf. 8.10–12 and the obscena cantica at convivia Quintil. l.c. on 44.

47–9 ANNOS and INFANS are emphatic; do not think your son too young to be worth respect, but let even the babe in the cradle restrain your actions (a hyperbole). The thought is rammed home, but it is not merely repetitive.

REVERENTIA Quintil. 11.1.66 cuique personae debetur reverentia; Pliny Ep. 7.24.5; Maiestas ... comes pueris virginibusque venit Ovid Fasti 5.50; Pliny quoted by [Plut.] adduced in the introduction. Yet a paradoxical (on 45) effect is clearly intended; contrast 13.54–9 (respect for elders).

PUERO Not a general reflection ‘to any boy’, but ‘to your son’, cf. 3.228.

TURPE Cf. 41; TU anybody, in admonitions (on 2.61).

PUEROS ... PIERI This is defensible, cf. on 16.9–10; but the second may be a gloss which has ousted teneros (Quintil. 2.2.3 ut teneriores annos ab iniuria sanctitas docentis custodiat). Lucan 8.405 ends contemptserit annos.

49 The spondees and the hiatus make this a solemn warning, cf. 44. Sen. Ep. 11.8–9 one should choose a model man and live as if under his eyes; magna pars peccatorum tollitur si peccaturis testis adsistit. alienum habeat animus quem vereat.

50 Under the empire no censors were elected, though Claudius and the Flavians (cf. 4.12 and DE 2.160–1) took the title themselves; but Juvenal is using the
name simply as a fossil, cf. 2.121 and p. 24.

51 QUANDOQUE Cf. 2.82, 5.172; after si one might expect just quando (cf. 13.56 cuicumque). For se dare with adjectival cf. Thes. do 1699.32 and compare 6.614c.

52 MORUM FILIUS (simius Witchof) Heir to your vices. Cf. Pliny Ep. 5.16.9 and contrast Juv. 8.21. This phrase is in apposition to the subject of FECERIT and DEDERIT, thus producing a slight anacoluthon; regular would be either sed etiam morum filius fuerit or sed etiam morum filium. For NON TANTUM ... QUOQUE KS 2.66 adduce Lucr. 4.507, Tac. Hist. 2.27; in general Silver Latin greatly varies the non tantum ... sed etiam formula (cf. HS 518). For ET cf. on 229; it connects FILIUS and QUI ... PECCET, both being adjectival.

53 OMNIA Internal accusative. [1568] TUA PER VESTIGIA (36) Following in your footsteps.

55 TABULAS MUTARE Change your will (cf. 12.123), resulting in exheredatio (cf. 1.6.8); for tabulae see on 4.19.

UNDE with the accusative; a similar ellipse is commoner with quo (8.9 and 142, 14.135, 15.108). Contrast the nominative 1.150, 9.8, 15.108.

FRONTEM Cf. 2.8, 13.242, frons paterna Calp. Sic. 4.21; cf. Ter. Phorm. 1042 quo ore illum obiurgabis? (in similar circumstances). LIBERTATEM παρρησίαν.

57 PEIORA This contradicts deterius 53; Juvenal allows his tirade to carry him into inconsistency (cf. p. 64 on nondum 1.114). Cf. Sen. Dial. 4.28.8 tempestiva filii convivia pater deterior filio castigat; for SENEX cf. 4.

VACUUM CEREBRO Cf. Priscian’s variant at 15.23. Juvenal is not concerned to decide the physiological question of the seat of intelligence as between heart (35, 7.159; ibi mens habitat Pliny NH 11.182) and brain (cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.19 with Pohlenz, 24, 41; Pliny NH 11.135 etc.), where others placed the seat of anger.

HOC istud would be plainer; cf. 9.6, 10.345, Thes. hic 2704.53, Enk on Prop. 2.9.26.

VENTOSA CUCURBITA A cupping-glass shaped like a gourd, which was applied to draw blood from the head in cases of derangement (cf. Petron. 90, Celsus 3.18 and on 6.46). Cf. J. S. Milne, Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times (1907) 101. In late Latin ventosa was so used alone; Theodorus Priscianus refers to the cupping-glass in both ways (Helmreich ALL 1, 1884, 322–3). The name may refer to the rush of air into the vacuum when the instrument is removed, or to the production of a subcutaneous oedema (cf. Celsus 2.11.3) by application of a dry cup, which some ancient medical theory would attribute to πνεῦμα.

QUAEERAT As its natural home.

CUM TOTA TELA  Web and all, cf. 6.171, 13.61; DESCENDAT cf. 10.58; ARA-NEA TELA ends the verse at Catull. 68.49, Ovid Met. 6.145, Mart. 8.33.15.


64–9 The thought is expressed paratactically; 64–7 are subordinate in sense.

STERCORE … CANINO Because of the watch-dog (on 9.104, 6.415).

VENIENTIS AMICI 59.

PORTICUS At the back of the atrium (65), round the peristyle; cf. on 6.162.

SCOBIS This was left on the floor during the meal (Petron. 68, Hor. Serm. 2.4.81, Sen. Contr. 9.2.4) and then swept out.

EMENDAT Thes. s.v. 458.41–5; U’s emundat has found some favour, but the word is rare outside Columella (Thes. s.v. 541.39), and EMENDAT better suits the application of the metaphor to the moral situation (note how LABE 69 can apply both to physical, e.g. Pers. 3.25, and moral filth, and cf. Sen. Ep. 4.1).

OMNI He might have said ulla; cf. on 8.209. sine labe domus Ovid Tristia 2.110.

70 GRATUM Deserving of thanks; gratum est is normal for ‘thank you’ (Thes. s.v. 2261.35).

PATRIAE POPULOQUE Cf. Hor. Odes 3.6.20, Ovid Met. 15.572. The promotion of population growth was always a concern to ancient statesmen (notably Augustus); the very word proletarii means ‘breeders’. Cf. 3.3 civem donare; Lucan 2.388; Cic. 2 Verr. 3.161 susceperas liberos … patriae, Pro Clu. 32 quae … designatum rei p. civem sustulisset (by abortion). Housman, who suggested that civis had dropped out in 71 after -cis ut, objected to PATRIAE on its own in 71 preceded by PATRIAE POPULOQUE here, but the implication of increasing the population contained in POPULO would there be out of place (cf. patriae 8.28).

71 PATRIAE  PS read the ablative, and Ad Herenn. 3.3.5 has res humiles contemnere oportere nec idoneas dignitate sua iudicare; but there the ablative follows idoneus on the analogy of dignus, which is avoided because of dignitas, whereas here dignus substituted for idoneus would not make sense. Similarly par may take an ablative when it is synonomious with dignus (Plaut. Persa 834, Cic. De Div. 2.114, Matius Ad Fam. 11.28.1) and apparently even when it is not (Ovid Fasti 4.306, 6.804; not however Sall. Hist. 4.4, in spite of Arusianus GLK 7.500). But this is inadequate defence for the ablative here.

UTILIS See Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.12.42 and CIL 4.6668.

AGRIS sc. colendis.

74–5 Cf. RE Storch 69.10, Keller 2.193, Thompson 223.

PER DEVIA RURA An Ovidian phrase (3 times): SUMPTIS cf. 3.80. [570]

77 IUMENTO ET CANIBUS Their corpses, cf. Phaedr. 1.27, Obsequens 50.

CRUCIBUS On which the bodies of dead criminals would be left hanging
80 Juvenal, like Ovid (Amores 1.12.20), was unaware that vultures nest in rocks, not in trees.

81 LEPOREM Cf. Thes. aquila 370.30, LSJ λαγωφόνος; Aesch. Agam. 118 and the famous Sicilian coins mentioned by Fraenkel ad loc. IN SALTU is contrasted with PER DEVIA RURA 75.

FAMULAE IOVIS Eagles (Thes. aquila 370.59): GENEROSAE AVES birds of prey in general, contrasted with vultures.

HINC ex leporibus aut capreis; INDE ex cubili.

CUBILI might mean ‘in the nest’ (cf. Verg. Georg. 1.141), but is more likely to mean ‘for its nestlings’ cf. 5.143. Then INDE introduces a shift in the meaning of the word, cf. on 3.261–2.

PONITUR Is served up, cf. 1.141 etc.

86 On aedificatio cf. 275, 1.94, SG 2.193 = 2.340, Balsdon1 209, Kroll2 1.97, Nisbet–Hubbard intr. to Hor. Odes 2.18; the word aedificator Nepos Att. 13.1, Colum. 1.4.8.

CAETRONIUS A well-attested name (Schulze LEG 268 n. 4); Cetronius is found CIL 6.25015, Cretonius ibid. 35067 (see the apparatus). There is a house of a Caetronius at Pompeii (M. della Corte Case ed Abitanti2 (1954) p. 41). Ceroneus is implicit in CIL 10.407.

CURVO LITORE CAIETAE The sinus Caietanus; SG 1.332 = 1.401.

TIBURIS ARCE Cf. 3.192 (Praeneste 190); seu mihi frigidum / Praeneste seu Tibur supinum Hor. Odes 3.4.22–4.

ALTA CULMINA VILLARUM Cf. Mart. 4.64.9.

GRAECIS … MARMORIBUS Cf. 307, 7.182, 11.175, Marquardt 620, SG 2.189 = 2.336; LONGE PETITIS and therefore involving heavy transport costs (cf. Musonius p. 108.9 Hense).

FORTUNAE … AEDEM The famous temples of Fortuna at Praeneste and Hercules at Tibur. The order in relation to 87–8 is chiastic. Of course it would have been tactless to mention Hadrian’s magnificent villa now being built at Tivoli.

VINCENS Cf. 2.143, Sen. De Ben. 7.10.5.

POSIDES A wealthy freedman of Claudius (Suet. 28), who evidently built a lavish house near the temple of Capitoline Jupiter.

CAPITOLIA Poetic plural (10.65); NOSTRA contrasted with the foreign Posides (cf. Graecis longeque petitis).

92 DUM In a casual sense, cf. 95 and on 6.176.

94 HANC partem relictam; TURBAVIT conturbavit would be more specific cf. 7.129 (turbare is used absolutely by Caelius Ad Fam. 8.8.2, ||571 but Shackleton Bailey (vol. 1 p. 400) thinks it does not mean ‘go bankrupt’).

ATTOLLIT Cf. erexit 1.94.

96 The Jews were keen proselytizers (Sevenster 201 sqq.), though in fact in-
scriptions do not record many proselytes (La Piana Harv. Theol. Rev. 20, 1927, 390, Sevenster 199, Kittel–Friedrich s.v. προσήλυτος 733–4), and there were many Jews in Rome (3.14 and 296, 6.159–60 and 543); cf. SG 3.170.86 = 3.202.19. The attitudes expressed by Tac. Hist. 5.4–5 have much in common with those of Juvenal.

METUENTE and METUUNT  J. Bernays in Comment. Mommsen (1877) 563 = Ges. Abhandl. 2.71 claimed that this was a technical term for Gentile sympathisers with the Jewish law, in Greek οἱ φοβούμενοι (σεβόμενοι) τὸν θεόν, but this view is now discredited; see on the question Sevenster 198, Leon 253, Feldmann TAPA 81, 1950, 200, Kittel–Friedrich προσήλυτος 731, 734, RE suppl. 9.1259, Safrai and Stern (on 3.296) 2 (1976) 1158 n. 1, McEleney New Testament Studies 20, 1974, 325, Bellen JAC 8–9, 1965–6, 171. CIL 5.88 = CIJ 1.642 religioni<s> Iud<a>e-icae metuenti refers to an actual Jewess. Metuens and metuens deum (Thes. s.v. 906.35 sqq.) simply refer to pious observers of any cult, pagan or not.

SABBATA Pers. 5.184 recutitaeque sabbata palles; cf. sabbatarius Mart. 4.4.7. For the Σαββατισταί see Nilsson 2.665, Kittel–Friedrich σάββατον 17–18.

97 Cf. on 6.545 and Florus there quoted; Anth. Lat. 696.1–2 Iudaes licet ... caeli summas advocet auriculas (‘Petronius’), Strabo 16.2.35.761, Origen Contra Celsum 5.6 sqq. and 41. In Hellenistic and later Hebrew literature the proper name of ‘God’ YHWA is avoided except in prayers, and ‘Heaven’ is a frequent synonym for it (cf. Bernays l.c. 568 = 78); this led to the attribution to the Jews of the worship of the sky (cf. Hengel 256 and 267). NUBES (cf. Psalm 18.11–12) satirically underlines the nebulous nature of such a god, which seemed strange to those used to deities represented by anthropomorphic images (cf. Aristoph. Clouds 265 sqq., Tertull. Apol. 24.5).


99 Cf. Tac. l.c. Hadrian’s prohibition of circumcision (SHA 1.14.2) evidently caused the Jewish revolt of 132 (Smallwood 429 and Latomus 18, 1959, 334 and 20, 1961, 92; Schürer 1.536–40); from this we can infer a terminus ante quem for the composition of this poem.

100 Tac. l.c. 5.1 pessimus quisque spretis religionibus patriis paid dues to Jerusalem; cf. also the edict of Claudius, Joseph. AJ 5.3.290.

101 Cf. legum Solymarum 6.544; iuste legem colens and observantia |[1572] legis, CIJ 72, 476; φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους (τὸν νόμον) is common in Jewish sources, cf. also Romans 2.17.

EDISCUNT (cf. 124) ἐκμανθάνειν Joseph. Contra Apion 2.18.178.

102 Diod. Sic. 34.1.4 τὰς ἱερὰς αὐτῶν βιβλίους καὶ περιεχούσας τὰ μισόξενα νόμιμα cf. §3. Misanthropy was a common reproach against the Jews (Sevenster 82–94; RE suppl. 5.20.20; M. Radin The Jews among the Greeks and Romans (1915) 182–6; A. N. Sherwin-White Racial Prejudice (1967) 87).

ARCANO Juvenal is probably thinking merely of Jewish exclusivity; the Bible was in no sense a secret book. Secret books under the name of Moses did circulate
in the ancient world for use in magic (see e.g. Butler–Owen on Apul. Apol. 90, J. J. Gager Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism (1972) 146–7), but Juvenal hardly has these in mind.

VOLUMINE The Pentateuch, the roll of the Mosaic law.

MOYES This should probably be spelt Moses (L. Mueller 311).

103–4 These are the ordinary courtesies of humanity (Cic. De Or. 1.203, De Off. 1.51–2; Sen. De Ben. 4.29.1, Ep. 95.51; [Theocr.] 25.6); they were sanctioned at Athens by the so-called curses of Buzycles (RAC Drohung 326, Hands 46, J. Bernays Ges. Abhandl. 1.277, H. Bolkestein Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege (1939) 69, Williams Mnem. 15, 1962, 396). Proverbs 5.15–17 (this is not attributed to Moses, but Juvenal would not have known or cared about this) gives some ground for the reproach of 104, but Jewish authors defend themselves on these points; Philo Hypothetica (Loeb ed. vol. 9 p. 426) μὴ πυρὸς δεηθέντι φθονεῖν (with Buzycles mentioned on p. 428, cf. Colson’s note p. 539); Joseph. Contra Apion. 2.29.211 πᾶσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὕδωρ τροφήν, ὁδοὺς φράζειν (the last also in AJ 4.8.31.276).

105 The son has gone beyond the father (96, 99). Grades of proselytes had probably not been formalised in Juvenal’s time (Sevenster 198).


107 Cf. Seneca quoted on 40.

108 Cf. Sen. Ep. 115.11. The line has only a quasi-caesura in ex-ercere; cf. 10.358.

109 UMBRA A faint resemblance, cf. Augustine Conf. 2.6.12 est quaedam defectiva species et umbratica vitiis fallentibus. This is an extension of the usage exemplified in Jerome Ep. 107.6.2 via non decipiunt nisi [573] sub specie umbraque virtutum. Avarice itself could be called an umbra (outline) of a virtus, cf. Ovid Met. 9.461. The sentiment is commonplace.

110 Cf. 2.8.

111–12 Cf. Quintil. 3.7.25 praecipit … quia sit quaedam vitiis ac virtutibus vicinitas utendum proxima derivatione verborum ut pro … avaro parcum vocemus; Hor. Serm. 1.3.49, Tac. Hist. 1.37.4. Nec dubie laudetur i.e. et laudetur non dubie; for TAMQUAM see on 3.47.

RERUM DUBIE LAUDETUR i.e. et laudetur non dubie; for TAMQUAM see on 3.47.

HERERUM TUTELA SUARUM Cf. Hor. Epist. 1.1.103 (and see on 288), Val. Fl. 5.644, Ovid Trist. 5.14.15.

HESPERIDUM SERPENS Cf. 5.152; PONTICUS which guarded the Golden Fleece.

HUNC … LOQUOR Any avarus; for the line-ending see on 5.86, for the enjambement p. 41.

ADQUIRENDI (for the absolute use see Thes. 427.65) contrasted with tuendi,
servandi (112–13), as at 125 with sordes 124 and 126 sqq.

ARTIFICEM Cf. 4.18; PATRIMONIA See on 10.13.

HIS FABRIS Ablative absolutive rather than dative of advantage. For the switch to the plural cf. 1.137–8 and index variation.

SED … MODO should be placed within commas or brackets; a similar parenthesis with sed 3.232 (and sed … damnatio 8.94 picks up damnante 93; but 8.202 should not be compared). ‘But’ makes better sense than ‘and moreover’ (on 4.26). The line makes the point that they are unscrupulous (cf. 204–7; Hor. Epist. 1.1.65 rem facias, rem, / si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem, Pliny NH 7.140 pecuniam magnam bono modo invenire); this is not strictly relevant here, but Juvenal may be allowed to remark it in passing.

INCUDE (Otto s.v.) carries on the metaphor of FABRIS with a proverbial phrase.

119 This line involves some abruptness, but it can hardly be spurious since its removal brings yet greater abruptness between 118 and 120. A semi-colon must be placed after putat 121 (not after avaros, since Juvenal is not speaking about every father; nor after opes, since the relative clauses are inseparable). Housman suggested iuvenes<que>, and one might consider reading qui pater … et miratur. It is advantageous to have animi … avaros and nulla … putat both as relative clauses since otherwise the sentence becomes very tautologous, and, while as the text stands et means ‘as well as the populus 115’ (cf. et … ergo 1.15), Juvenal has not in fact said that the populus regards avari as felices. In any case the sense demands that HORTATUR remain a main verb.

BEATI PAUPERIS An oxymoron to this father, since beatus has acquired overtones of ‘wealthy’ (on 1.39). Sil. It. 1.609 castaque beatos / paupertate patres.

123 ELEMENTA στοιχεῖα, rudiments, alphabet; cf. Hor. Odes 3.24.51, lucr. 1.81. IMBUIT ‘initiates’; EDISCERE (cf. 101) as if they were children learning the alphabet.

123–4 are defined by 126–37, 125 by 138 sqq.; see introduction. For SERVORUM VENTRES cf. 3.167.

MODIO INQUO Paulus Dig. 50.16.221; this is how the αἰσχροκερδής treats his slaves (Theophr. Char. 30.11). The modius would be used to measure out their rations (demensum; cf. H. Wallon Histoire de l’Esclavage 2 (1879) 74–8, Marquardt 175, Blümner1 289). INQUUS is a technical term for short measure (Thes. 16.43.80).

127 OMNIA He does not eat up every crust at once, but keeps some for next day.

MUCIDA Cf. 5.68; CAERULEI covered with bluemould.

HESTERNUM ‘from the previous day’, therefore ‘stale’ (Thes. 2269.1); cf. ἐσωλος. Cf. Aristoph. Frogs 987; Suet. Tib. 34 and Vitell. 13.3 pridiana ac semesa obsonia.

SERVARE Cf. Mart. 1.103.7, 3.58.42; the act of a sordidus.
MEDIO SEPTEMBRI Even though in this month, the hottest and most unhealthy at Rome, it is likely to go bad (4.59).

MINUTAL Mart. 11.31.11 and Apicius 4.3; ‘hash’, ‘mince-meat’.

CENAE ALTERIUS i.e. crastinae, cf. Mart. 1.103.8.

131–3 Cheap foods; for CONCHIS cf. André 36–7, Blümner\(^1\) 165 n. 17, for LACERTI (a kind of mackerel) André 101, Blümner\(^1\) 182 n. 7, Thompson\(^2\) κόλιας, for SILURI on 4.33. Conchis and porrum (beans and leeks) go together 3.293–4, conchis and lacerti Mart. 7.78, porrum and lacerti Mart. 11.52.

AESTIVAM i.e. aestate (on 1.28), when it will not keep.

SIGNATAM locked up and sealed (Mart. 9.87.7, Pliny NH 33.26) to prevent pilfering by slaves; cf. Theophr. Char. 18.4 εἰ σεσήμανται τὸ κυλιούχιον (?), Aristoph. Thesm. 418–28, Plaut. Cas. 144, Persa 267, Diog. Laert. 4.59, Stobaeus 3.284.14, Lucian Hermotim. 11.

SILURO This putrefied easily; σαρόν σίλουρον Sopater ap. Athen. 6.230e, Diodor. ibid. 239e.

NUMERATA Cf. Theophr. 30.16, Lucian l.c.

FILA ‘blades’ Mart. 11.52.6, 13.18.1; Thes. 762.41.

SECTIVI Cf. 3.293, André 28, Blümner\(^1\) 166, Pliny NH 19.108.

134 DE PONTE Cf. on 4.116, 5.8.

NEGABIT Of declining an invitation, Hor. Epist. 1.7.63, Mart. 2.69.8; cf. 6.0.15.

136–7 Cf. Hor. Serm. 2.3.107–10. ||575||

PHRENESIS Mart. 4.80.1 and medical writers (cf. Celsus 3.18.1), and implicit in phreneticus; but φρενίτις in Greek, the proper form (D. M. Paschall Vocabulary of Mental Aberration (1939) 75).

138 Heinrich suggested dum, cf. 8.155.

139 Cf. Hor. Odes 3.16.17–18, Ovid Fasti 1.211–12, Sen. De Ben. 2.27.3 etc. and on 328 sqq.


142 sollicitat ipsa pulchritudo iungendi Pliny Ep. 3.19.2 (White BICS 14, 1967, 70); but Pompey never bought a conterminus ager (Pliny NH 18.35).

VICINA Of your neighbour, cf. Ovid AA 1.349–50, Pers. 6.13–14. For the line-ending see on 5.86.

144 ARBUSTA Vineyard; strictly the trees on which the vines were trained (Thes. 430.35). A simpler word-order would be montem densa (cf. Sil. It. 1.158 qui riguo perfunditur auro, / campum, atque illatis Hermi flavescit harenis); Juvenal apparently wishes to have the syntactically agreeing words at the caesura and the end of the line. [Addendum, originally on p. 623: See Munro on Locr. 3.843: 145 also places syntactically agreeing words at caesura and the end of the line.] OLIVA might be collective singular (cf. on 15.76), but DENSAX can be used in the singular like multus (‘many a’) cf. 1.120. CANET describes the greyish colour of the ol-
ive-leaf (Stat. *Theb.* 3.466 etc.).


VINCI

146 VINCITUR … MITTENTUR For the tenses see on 3.239.

MACRI … COLLO (8.66) Starved and hard-worked between the shafts, and therefore likely to eat more; SAEVOS = ravenous, cf. 5.94 and Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.5. BOVES are the breeding bulls, IUMENTA those used for traction; cf. Colum. 6.19.1.

150 INDE sc. *abibunt* from *mittentur*.

ACTUM i.e. *rem actam*.

151 He has to sell, as he has no income once his crops have been ruined.

152 QUI SERMONES Cf. 10.88; FOEDE … FAMAE cf. 1; BUCINA cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 16.21.2 (praeconia famae is similarly used).

153 The character hears and answers the poet’s words of 152; cf. 10.291. For INQUIT cf. on 8.44; here it introduces a retort, cf. Housman on *Manil.* 4.869.

TUNICAM LUPINI A pea-pod; *tunica* is often so used in *Pliny NH*, cf. *LSJ* χιτών I 1; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.30 *bulborum tunicas mihi malo*. For the sentiment cf. 1.48 etc.


CULTI Not grazing land.

SUB TATIO Cf. Ovid *Med. Fac.* 11, AA 3.118; this avoids Römülö, cf. 10.73.

162 MOX ‘subsequently’, as usual. MOLOSSOS Cf. 12.108.

163 IUGERA BINA Traditionally mentioned as the amount of land (a *heredium*; 100 *heredia* = 200 *iugera* = 1 *centuria*) allotted to the first Roman colonists, though it can hardly have been the whole of their allotment; cf. RSV 1.98 n. 1, *RE centuria* 1960, *coloniae* 574–5, Brunt1 296, E. T. Salmon *Roman Colonisation* (1969) 21, R. Werner *Beginn der Röm. Republik* (1963) 450, Hopkins 21, Dilke 179, *KL. Pauly* s.v. Erbrecht 348, Frayn G & R2 21, 1974, 15, Ogilvie on *Livy* 4.47.7. Plut. *Apophth. Rom.* 194e Curius ἐπηύξατο μηδένα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὃς ὀλίγην ἰγήσεται γῆν τὴν τρέφουσαν; *Pliny NH* 18.18 reporting this mentions seven *iugera*.

165 i.e. *minor quam pro meritis* cf. on 4.66. Cf, Plancus *Ad Fam.* 10.9.3 nihil … exigue a patria civi tributum potest videri.

NULLI nullis (see the apparatus) is due to *meritis*; Juvenal does not use the plural of this word as a pronoun (Housman).

166 CURTA FIDES ‘breach of faith’ is the predicate.

TURBAM CASAE All the inhabitants of the cottage, not necessarily many; cf. Stat. Silv. 4.8.43 (of two sons), Mart. 10.61.5 and for the application of *turba* to the family circle see Winnington-Ingram *CR* 2, 1955, 140.

168–9 Pliny *NH* 33.26 in the old days there were few slaves (cf. the proportions here) and *omnem victum in promiscuo habebant*; for the intimate upbringing of *vernae* cf. Blümner 1 288 n. 7, Marquardt 167, Bonner 36 and see what Tac. Germ. 20.1 says of that race in a passage of similar import.


UXOR FETA In those days women did not shrink from childbirth (cf. 6.594).

170–1 Since they are grown-up and have been working all day, they need a larger meal.

A SCROBE VELO SULCO From digging or ploughing.

PULTIBUS (cf. 11.58) OLLAE Mart. 13.8 *imbuere ... pultibus ollas*, Varro *Sat. Men.* 190, Blümner 1 154–5. ||577

HORTO Kitchen-garden.


173 INDE From such greed; Tac. *Hist.* 4.13.1 *inde causae irarum*. Sen. *Dial.* 5.33.1 (*pecunia*) *venena miscet, gladios ... percussoribus ... tradit*.

MISCUIT AUT GRASSATUR (3.305) For the mingling of gnomic present and perfect cf. 3.160, 6.361, 10.9 sqq. Tac. *Ann.* 15.60.2 *ut ferro grassaretur, quando venenum non processerat*.

178 AVARI A noun, cf. on 2.9.

179 CASULIS Cf. 9.60 (where however they are toys).

ISTIS Probably ‘these’ cf. 6.295 and on 4.67.

MARSUS (3.169) ... HERNICUS ... VESTINUS These tribes fought bravely against Rome and, after their subjection, for her; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 276, Strabo 5.4.2.241.


VETERIS Which had long been their food.

185 FECISSE To be guilty of (6.638); but independently of this special sense *velle* followed by a perfect infinitive is common in legal contexts (*HS* 351–2, Daube 1 37).

PERONE A heavy boot worn e.g. by farmers; Pers. 5.102, *RE* s.v. (5), Blümner 1 226, Marquardt 590. The Hernici (180) wear them at *Verg. Aen.* 7.690. Cf. the *caligae* 3.322.


INVERSIS With the fur inwards for greater warmth; cf. Blümner 2 1.260–2 (who however wrongly refers *qui* to *perone*).

187 PÆREGRINA Especially Tyrian.

QUAEQUEMQUE EST implies the same as IGNOTA; this old Roman has never
seen what he is talking about.

PURPURA (cf. 1.27, 7.134, 4.31, 12.39) 'stands for “fine raiment” as opposed to the skins of beasts, cf. Lucr. 5.1423’ (Duff).

189 PRAECEPTA sc. dabant.

VETERES probably means ‘old men’ (cf. senex 181) contrasted with minoribus; if it meant ‘men of old’, antiqui would be more usual. NUNC contrasts not with this but with ILLI (those of ólim 180).

190 POST FINEM AUTUMNI At the beginning of winter, when the night becomes longer; the boy expects to be able to sleep later because it is dark in the mornings.

MEDIA DE NOCTE Censorin. 24.2 tempus quod (mediae nocti) proximum est vocatur de media nocte. The elder Pliny lucubrare Vulcanalibus (August ||578| 23) incipiebat … statim a nocte multa, hieme vero ab hora septima, saepe sexta (Pliny Ep. 3.5.8); cf. 7.222, Blümner1 379–80. This passage is modelled on Pers. 5.132 sqq. (cf. on 279, 292); cf. CEL 36 = CIL 9.2749, Sen. Dial. 1.2.5 patres … excitati iubent liberos ad studia obeunda mature. See on 8.47.

SUPINUM Hor. Serm. 1.5.19.

191 CERAS Writing-tablets.

CAUSAS AGI e.i. exercise as a barrister; PERLEGLE … LEGES or as a jurisconsult.

RUBRAS Because the titles of laws were written in red; cf. rubrica and RE s.v., Blümner1 471 n. 7, Marquardt 824, Paulus Dig. 43.1.2.3. At Petron. 46 a father like this says emi nunc puero aliquot libra rubricata quia volo illum … aliquid de iure gustare.

193 VITEM Of a centurion; 8.247, RSV 2.375 n. 1, Pliny NH 14.19 centurionum in manu vitis … opimo praemio tardos ordines ad lentas perducit aquilas (cf. Juv. 197); SHA 1.10.6 Hadrian nulli vitem nisi robusto … daret.

LIBELLO A petition sent to the ab epistulis (Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 10.47.2); some such petitions are mentioned in Pliny Ep. 10. Cf. Stat. Silv. 5.1.95, the duty of the ab epistulis is pandere quis centum valeat frenare, maniplos / inter missus eques, where the reference is to centuriones ex equite Romano (cf. Birley 122, Domaszewski–Dobson xx, Dobson–Breeze Epigr. Studien 8, 1969, 109, Stein 136). Presumably that is the situation of this boy; an eques who wanted to spend his whole life in the army might have no other way of doing so.


194–5 would be best put in parenthesis. Neglect of personal toilet would make him fit to join the gens hircosa centurionum (Pers. 3.77); cf. grandes surae 16.14, Ovid AA 1.520 inque cava nullus stet tibi nare pilus.

BUOXO Comb (Ovid Fasti 6.229, Mart. 14.25); cf. RE pecten (7), Blümner2 2.254 n. 2.

LAELIUS The person who promotes his petition, like Pliny at Ep. 6.25.3; cf.
SHA 8.1.5.

196 The boy is to traverse the empire from North to South. There is an allusion to revolts at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign, both suppressed by A.D. 123 (though Birley 25 and 37 thinks that there may have been a later outbreak in Britain; cf. Jarrett and Mann, *Böninger Jahrb.* 170, 1970, 185); see *CAH* 11.313. That in Britain, where Hadrian was present in 122 after its suppression, caused the building of his wall, of which ‘one of the functions was to facilitate the control of the turbulent and ever-resurgent Brigantians’ (*CAH* 11.153), cf. Frere (on 4.141) 126. These revolts are further discussed in *RE Mauretania* 2375; P. Romanelli *Storia delle Province Romane dell’* [[579] *Africa* (1959) 332; W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907) 52, 109, 117; Strume *JRS* 52, 1962, 87.

ATTEGIAS A foreign word, found elsewhere only *CIL* 13.6054 = *ILS* 3204. Delgado *Boletim de Filologia* 10, 1949, 64 points to the Byzantine Greek ἀτέγεια, the Calabrian nteia, and the Berber adege.

BRIGANTUM This tribe covered most of the northern six counties of England (Richmond–Ogilvie on Tac. *Agr.* 17.1 and 31.4, Birley 31, Richmond *JRS* 44, 1954, 44); but in fact they had very few forts (Frere l.c. 55).

197 LOCUPLETEM (‘enriching’) AQUILAM A well-paid post as *primipilus* (cf. 10.94), senior centurion of a legion, who had charge of the standard since it was in the care of the first cohort (*RSV* 2.354 n. 1; add Dion. Hal. *AR* 10.36.6, Veget. 2.6). This was the peak of a non–commissioned military career (cf. Veget. 2.21); for the pay cf. Brunt *PBSR* 18, 1950, 67, *RSV* 2.377 n. 1, Dobson *Ancient Society* 3, 1972, 197 and 203, Papinian *Dig.* 34.4.23, Pliny quoted on 193, *SG* 1.194 = 1.223. There were also generous donatives (cf. Suet. *Cal.* 44.1).


CORNUA CUM LITUIS The former was curved at both ends like a C, the latter at one end ‘like a tobacco-pipe’ (Mayor); cf. Sen. *Oed.* 732. The *bucina* was straight, opening out at the end into a bellshape like a modern oboe, and the *tuba* was also straight and expanded all the way down in a cone shape, like a screw shell; cf. on 2.118. See Wille 78 sqq., Fleischhauer 13 and 64–9, Baudot 29–33, Kromayer–Veith 323, Webster (introduction to Sixteen) 141, Speidel *Böninger Jahrb.* 176, 1976, 147 (correcting previous views about *bucina* and *tuba*).

PARES You must buy, cf. 140.

201 PLURIS DIMIDIO (abl. of measure of difference) At a profit of 50 per cent; Suet. *Vesp.* 16.1 *negotiationes quoque vel privato pudendas propalam exercuit, coemendo quaedam tantum ut pluris postea distraheret*.

202 Businesses causing pollution, e.g. tanning (cf. CORIUM), were confined to
the right bank of the Tiber; cf. Mart. 6.93.4 (and sulphur id. 1.41.3), *CIL* 6.1117–18, Loane 77.

203 NEU Cf. KS 1.194.


206 ATQUE And indeed; cf. Cic. *In Catil.* 1.11 and KS 2.25. γνώθι σεαυτόν is good enough for Apollo (11.27), but this γνώμη (cf. 8.125) is worthy of Apollo’s father himself.


HABEAS ... HABERE The verb is often applied absolutely to avarice; cf. 10.90, *Thes.* 2400.9.

For a father like this cf. [Plato] *Eryxias* 396b–c, Plut. *De Cupid. Divit.* 7.526c (the consequence being that his son desires his death 526d, cf. Juv. 246 sqq.).

208–9 These lines were the sequel of 207 in its original context, whatever that was. Here they are quite out of place, and do not come suitably either from the father or the poet.

ASSAE Dry nurses, *Thes.* s.v. 940.33 (*quae lac non praestat infantibus* Σ, who quotes a hexameter *hoc* nutricula sicca vetusta infantibus monstrat, doubtless Lucilius). For the moral influence of nurses cf. Quintil. 1.1.4 and 16, [Plut.] *De Lib. Educ.* 5.3e, Tac. *Dial.* 29.1 (where however *erroribus* mainly applies to the *paedagogus*, as *fabulae* to the nurse).

MONSTRANT Cf. 10.363.


209 Cf. the epigram of Aratus, Gow–Page *HE* 767; the word *alphabetum* is late, though ἀναλφάβητος is found from the fourth century B.C. Cf. Quintil. 1.1.12 *a sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo*, 1.4.3; *CIL* 6.33929.

211 For the address to the father cf. 5.107.


213 ABI Leave him to himself.

213–14 From Ovid *Met.* 15.856; the elevation of the comparison accentuates the ignominy of its setting.

215 Verg. *Georg.* 2.363 *parcendum teneris*; young children are tender plants.


IMPLERE ‘infect’ (cf. Livy 4.30.8), like ἀναπιμπλάναι.

216–17 CULTRI A knife or shears (*Thes.* s.v. 1317.31, Blümner1 268–9), not a razor; the allusion is to trimming, not to shaving, the beard. *The barbae depositio*
would take place probably with the assumption of the *toga virilis*; cf. on 4.103. \[581\]

LONGAE sc. *barbae* (PF actually read *longe*, not -ae).

218 vendunt periuria Ovid *Amores* 1.10.37.

219 ET is usually taken to mean ‘even’, because an oath by a deity who presided over mysteries would be especially solemn (cf. 3.144, Plut. *Dion* 56.3–4, Justin 22.2.8, [Moschus] *Megara* 75); but it might merely connect the two adverbial phrases SUMMA EXIGUA and TANGENS, cf. 2.98. In either case the allusion is Greek, not Roman.

TANGENS ARAM Cf. 13.89, 3.144–5 etc.; but this perjurer goes so far as to touch the foot of the goddess, cf. Wagenvoort 48 n. 1 and *RAC Contactus* 411.

-QUE … -QUE Cf. 222 and on 5.49.

220 ELATAM 1.72.

VESTRA Of you and your son; they all live together, cf. Marquardt 58, Sen. *Contr.* 1.6.1. The crossing of the *limen* was a solemn part of the marriage ritual (Blümner 360, Marquardt 55).

221 PREMETUR Ovid *Met.* 9.78.

223 ADQUIRENDA A thematic word (115, 125, 238). *Anquirenda* (see the apparatus) goes better with TERRAQUE MARIQUE (for which cf. Christensen *ALL* 15, 1908, 200), and one might compare Florus 2.25.12 (*aurum*) ... *gens omnium cupidissima* ... anquirit (*ad*- codd.); but the word is rare outside Cicero, Livy and Tacitus.

PUTAS One might look for a *tu* to contrast with ILLI, but see on 3.41.


229 It is inconceivable that this line, nonsensical in itself, should be an interpolation; its omission in Φ is due merely to homoeoarchon or an attempt to restore sense. Nor can CONDUPLICARI be taken as depending on PRAECEPIT, because PER FRAUDES is then nonsensical (*non de fraudulento patre haec dicuntur, cui sane non displiciturus erat fraudulentus factus filius, verum de avaro, qui filium, dum avarum ac sui similem efficere studet, fraudulentum efficit invitus Housman*).

Housman is right in supposing a lacuna after this verse, for which he suggested *

<cum videant, cupiant sic et sua conduplicari>; for successive lines with the same ending cf. 7.143–4, 5.147–8, for CONDUPLICARI Lucr. 3.70 *divitias conduplicant*, for avaros *ET qui cupiant* 52, 5.54, 6.399, 7.211–12, 8.262, HS 561.

LAEVO i.e. *sinistro*, perverse.


230 Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5.818, Sil. It. 8.280 and often metaphorically (e.g. *Aen.* 12.499).

TOTAS Cf. on 8.255.
CURRICULO i.e. equis; cf. currus Verg. Georg. 1.514. [582]

QUEM This is most easily interpreted if we believe the grammarians who al-
lege the existence of a masculine curriculus; they declare that this form, perfectly
regular in itself, was used by Cicero and Varro (Thes. 1505.60). Otherwise one will
have to assume reversion from pueros 228 to the singular illi 223.

233 TANTUM QUANTUM and no more.

ADEO may carry the sense of immo (Pliny NH 35.55, Sen. De Ben. 4.17.2, and
similarly sometimes atque adeo, cf. OLD s.v. 6). Herwerden’s ideo gives the wrong
emphasis.

INDULGENT sc. omnes from NEMO; cf. on 6.18.

237 ET (SPOLIARE) ‘both’; the apodosis begins here.

SPOLIARE 1.46; CIRCUMSCRIBERE 10.222, 15.136; CRIMINE 1.75.

DECIORUM See on 8.254.


241–2 He corroborates his doubts of the veracity of Greece by sarcastically
suggesting that these are everyday occurrences at Thebes. Cf. Ovid Met. 3.104–10
(clipeata).

QUORUM sc. Thebanorum, implicit in THEBAS; cf. KS 1.30, HS 438–9, Löf-
stedt 2.140, McCartney CP 14, 1919, 197 and 18, 1923, 290.

DENTIBUS Ablative after nascuntur, cf. KS 1.375, HS 104.

TUBICEN Cf. 1.169, 15.52.

244 ERGO resumes 238, cf. igitur 6.92. See Otto scintilla and Nachträge 297.

246 NEC TIBI probably means ‘not even you’. Cf. on 207.

246–7 This allegory might have been expressed as a simile, cf. 8.130, 9.126. Cf.
Aristoph. Frogs 1431–2 of Alcibiades (and see Fraenkel comm. on Aesch. Agam. p.
342), Stat. Ach. 1.858 sqq., Mart. Spect. 10.1; Lucan 4.242 in a similar context a trepi-
do vix abstinet ira magistro (‘trainer’). CAVEA may mean either ‘cage’ or ‘arena’.

For FREMITU cf. 8.37, for LEO ALUMNUS index nouns.

248 MATHEMATICIS See on 6.553; GENESIS 6.579. The son has consulted
the astrologers about his father’s death (such consultations were common; see
on 6.565 and cf. 3.43, SG 1.186 = 1.213–14), but cannot wait so long and resorts to
poison. Cf. Ovid Met. 1.148 filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos, Fasti 2.625;
Daube2 88–90.

GRAVE ... COLUS The opposite of a dutiful son, Stat. Silv. 3.3.20.

STAMINE NONDUM ABRUPTO By Atropos; cf. 3.27, 10.252, 12.65, Stat. Th.
8.12–13, Val. Fl. 6.645. Unnatural death was often described as death ante fatum
(Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 3.5.18, Schulze 140, J. ter Vrught-Lenz Mors Immatura

VOTA MORARIS Vell. Pat. 2.67.2 and four times in the Ovidian corpus.

LONGA Too long (6.221 and often); cf. Stat. Silv. 3.3.14–15.

ARCHIGENEN Any doctor; cf. on 13.98.

MITHRIDATES On 6.661; Mithridatios antidotos Gell. 17.66.6; Pliny NH 29.24 Mithridatium antidotum ex rebus liv componitur (‘is compounded’; the usual word of drugs), cf. 23.149. He discovered the herbs Mithridatia (Pliny 25.62 and 127) and Eupatoria (ibid. 65). See T. Reinach Mithridate Eupator (1890) 283–5. He too had reason to fear his sons, Machares and Pharmaces.

Cf. 10.250 (and with cervina cf. the equally Hesiodic cornix 10.247).

FICUS Another autumn (Hor. Epist. 1.7.5, cf. Cato De Agr. 56), ROSAS another spring (Cic. 2 Verr. 5.27).

MEDICAMEN 6.661; alternatively he might use a praegustator (6.633).

A father no less than a king; English would reverse the Latin order, cf. on 11.99.

SPECTES Like a spectator at the theatre; cf. on 264.

PRAETORIS See on 8.194; LAUTI cf. 11.1.

DOMUS i.e. rei domesticae; AERATA … ARCA See on 11.26.

Money was frequently deposited in temples (Vidal Rev. Hist. Droit 43, 1965, 548; e.g. Cic. Ad. Fam. 5.20.5), particularly that of Castor and Pollux in the forum because of its huge podium with many chambers (Platner–Ashby 104; Pernice ZRG 19, 1898, 115; Richter Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. 13, 1898, 111; cf. Nash 1 pp. 210–13). This was also the banking quarter (cf. on 10.25 and Bluëmner1 652 n. 1); for the procurator ad Castoris see Sherwin-White on Pliny Ep. 8.6.13.

AD CASTORA Ad may be equivalent to apud, or Castora may be equivalent to templum Castoris (see on 9.24 and contrast ad Castoris in the previous note and commonly). The temple of Castor and Pollux is often referred to simply as that of Castor (Platner–Ashby 102–3, Latte 173, Bell 4, Hadzsits in Classical Studies in Honor of J. C. Rolfe (1931) 101).

VIGILEM Guarded by sentries; for such guards on temples cf. SG 3.166 = 3.198. For the transferred epithet cf. 3.275, 8.158. ||[84]

GALEAM PERDIDIT Marx on Plaut. Rud. 801, where the same phrase is found, suggests that it is proverbial (‘lost his shirt’); but here the literal sense too is included, cf. 13.150–2. SUAS nedom alienas (Hor. AP 329 rem poteris servare tuam). The Ultor cannot ulisci.

The ludi Florales (6.250) 28 April–3 May, Ceriales 12–19 April, Megalenses (11.193) were all now scaenici, though the Ceriales had not originally been so (Tac. Hist. 2.55; cf. le Bonniec (on 9.24) 319).
AULAEA Cf. 6.67; RELINQUAS cf. 6.87.

264 HUMANA NEGOTIA is the subject, LUDI the predicate; Tac. *Ann.* 3.18 *ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis*. ‘Life’s a stage’ to the ancients too; see e.g. Cic. *Cato* 5, 64, 85, Otto *Nachträge* 44, 120, 187 and on 256–7 above.

265 PETAURO (see *RE* s.v. and *LSJ* πετευρόν and its cognates) A kind of spring-board (trampolin) or see-saw used by acrobats, cf. Housman on *Manil.* 5.438 sqq., Blümner *Sitzb. Münch. Akad.* 1918, Abh. 6 (*Fahrendes Volk im Altertum*) 12 (who wrongly thinks of a trapeze), Mehl *Mitteil. des Vereins klass. Phil. in Wien* 6, 1929, 28. Hence *petauristes, petauristarius* (Blümner 615 n. 15). See Frei-Korsunsky 59; Lucil. 1298 is of uncertain interpretation.

266 Cf. 272, a *funambulus* or *schoenobates* (3.77); he comes down from the roof of the theatre on the tight (RECTUM) rope or *catadromus* (Paulus *Dig.* 19.1.54 pr.; hence *catadromarius* *CIL* 6.10157). Cf. Blümner *Fahrendes Volk* 14.

267 To moralists (e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 10.2.1), poets (Smith on Tib. 1.3.39 sqq.; often in Horace), agriculturalists (e.g. Colum. 1 pr. 8) and rhetoricians (e.g. Nicolaus *Progymn.* 9.6, vol. 1 p. 347 Walz) the merchant is a recurrent symbol of greed because of the attitude discussed on 11.117; cf. Rougé 11 sqq. and Pers. 6.75 sqq. and l.c. on 190, T. Heydenreich *Tadel und Lob der Seefahrt* (1970) 32, Morford (on 12.23–4) 29.

CORYCIA Though Corycus had a ship-building industry (*ES* 4.837), this is certainly a transferred epithet; the Corycian cave in Cilicia was the source of the best saffron (269; cf. Pliny *NH* 21.31, Strabo 14.5.670–1, *RE* Κώρυκος 4, *ES* 4.615, Blümner 30).

HABITAS The ship is his home.

CORO (10.180) The WNW wind. Both this (Sen. *NQ* 5.16,5 etc.) and *auster*, the S wind (5.100, 12.69, Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.6 etc.), could be stormy.

TOLLENDUS The gerundive here, 314 and 12.61 is often taken in the sense of a future participle passive (sometimes also at 3.56, 8.18); but this is not necessary, and this usage is not established until after Juvenal’s time (HS 374, KS 1.733–4).

PERDITUS In spite of 268 this is hardly likely to mean that he cries ||[585] perii (cf. 6.476), which would here be premature. It means ‘reckless’, cf. 275, 5.130, 3.73; *VILIS* then can comfortably mean ‘contemptible’ (Hor. *Odes* 3.27.57, *Epist.* 2.1.38), and I cannot think why Housman, whose emendation is quite impossible, dismisses this as irrelevant. For the double qualification (TOLLENDUS and PERDITUS AC VILIS) cf. 18 sqq., 4.115–18.

SACCI OLENTIS Full of perfumed saffron; *succi* Scholte, but Juvenal was perhaps thinking of κώρυκος ‘sack’.

270 ANTIQUAE Famed in ancient legend; cf. Lucan 3.185.

PASSUM Raisin wine, made of grapes spread out (*pando*) in the sun to dry; from Crete Pliny *NH* 14.81 (a certain emendation; see André), 20.208, Mart. 13.106, Athen. 10.440e.
PINGUE Because it was thick like honey (Colum. 12.39). Cf. Billiard 491.
MUNICIPES Because Jupiter was born in Crete (13.41), these wine-jars are his ‘fellow-towsmen’, an obviously humorous expression; cf. 4.33, Aristoph. Ach. 333.

272 HIC The *funambulus*; FIGENS VESTIGIA cf. Verg. Aen. 6.159.
273 BRUMAMQUE FAMEMQUE. Cf. 6.360.
TALENTA. In Roman money a talent is 6,000 *denarii*.
CENTUM VILLAS. Cf. 86 sqq., 140.
275 ASPICE. See on 5.25; PORTUS sc. *plenos trabibus*.
276–8. Cf. Pliny NH 2.118. PLUS. sc. *quam in terra* (cf. the exaggeration at 3.310); CLASSIS not just one ship.

CARPATHIUM. Between Crete and Rhodes, often stormy (Prop. 2.5.11, 3.7.12; Stat. Silv. 3.2.88; Hom. Hymn 3.43). For this name on its own without *mare* see Thes. onom. s.v.; but here perhaps sc. *aequor*.

GAETULA (i.e. Gaetulica; cf. 4.100, 6.544, 15.23 and on 2.106) AEOQUORA. The sea along the north coast of Africa, frequented by traders in the purple-fish (Pliny NH 5.12, 9.127 etc.; Blümner 2, Charlesworth 140). Juvenal is probably thinking of the dangers of the Syrtes, though they were considerably east of the Gaetuli.

TRANSILIET. Hor. Odes 1.3.24, Pers. 5.146 (cf. on 190).

279 CALPÈ (Gibraltar) from the rare nominative *Calpis* (Thes. onom. s.v. 101.19 and Calpe 100.16; Neue–Wagener 1.94–5; Philostr. Apollon. 5.1). This represents the extreme West (cf. 10.1); τὰ γὰρ Γαδείρων οὐ περατά is proverbial (Apostolius 16.19, 2 p. 661 Schn.–Leutsch after Pindar Nem. 4.69).

280 The fable that the sun hissed like red-hot metal when it sank into the sea was characteristically credited by Epicurus (fr. 346b Usener) and refuted by Posidonus (fr. 119 Edelstein–Kidd); it is quite often mentioned by Roman writers, e.g. Stat. Silv. 2.7.27 and [586] (of the rising sun) Tac. Germ. 45, cf. McKay Antichthon 10, 1976, 41. Hercules visited Spain to take the cattle of Geryon, and set up his Pillars (one of which is Gibraltar) as a memorial of his visit; cf. Sil. It. 1.141–2 *atque hominum finem Gades Calpenque secutus / dum fert Herculeis Garamantica signa columnis*; 17.637–9.

281 GRANDE … EST. 12.127. Seeing the mermen (or Tritons) is a price worth paying to become rich.

TENSO FOLLE. With full purse cf. 13.61; made of leather, ALUTA, cf. Lucil. 446 and the context in Non. p. 151.

IUVENES MARINOS. Pliny NH 9.9 sqq., 32.144; Tac. Ann. 2.24 *monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et beluarum formas*, cf. Pliny 2.7; Aelian HA 13.21, Paus. 9.21.1. Such creatures were regarded as characteristic of the Atlantic as opposed to the Mediterranean; cf. the *ballaena Britannica* of 10.14, Albinovanus FPR p. 115 v. 5, Tac. Germ. 17.1.

HiC Ajax (cf. Soph. Ajax 97 sqq., 295 sqq.).

PARCAT Refrain from tearing, which is a sign of madness; cf. 2.71, [Quintil.] Decl. 256, Gospel acc. to Luke 8.27, Lucian De Salt. 83 (of an actor representing Ajax).

LACERNIS See on 9.28.

curatoris egere / a praetore dati Hor. Epist. 1.1.102 (a passage also recalled in 112); cf. the Twelve Tables 5.7, Berger s.v. curator furiosi, Kaser² 84, 90, 371. The feebleness of ancient ships naturally caused the feeling that seafaring was madness.

Is parted from the sea only by a plank’s thickness, cf. 12.58.

CAUSA MALI TANTI Not a Lavinia (Verg. Aen. 6.93, 11.480).

TITULOS The legend (cf. 6.205); the phrase is contemptuous.

FUNEM The mooring-rope, Ovid Am. 2.11.23 etc.; i.e. set sail.

PIPERIS Cf. Pers. 5.136 (on 190), Miller 80.

FASCIA The strip or ‘wrack’ (Duff) of cloud.


HAC IPSA 10.76.

FRACTIS TRABIBUS Pers. 1.89; abl. of separation, he will fall from the ship. FLUCTU … OBRUTUS Petron. 115.17.

ZONAM Cf. on 8.120 and Phaedr. 4.22.11; a common way for travellers to carry money.

LAEVA He is swimming with the right hand; MORSU literally, because of the circumstances, but alluding to the proverbial mordicus tenere.

HARENA is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Cf. 3.55, Pliny NH 33.66, Thes. aurum 1526.44 and 47, Blümner³ 4.17 and 25, Otto Pactolus and Tagus with | Nachträge 114, 118, 196, 216, 242. In fact the gold of the Pactolus was now exhausted (Strabo 13.1.23.591, 13.4.5.625–6).

Cf. Hor. AP 20–1, Pers. 1.88–90 (perhaps implying that the picture was if possible painted on a fragment of the wreck, cf. Mart. 12.57.12), 6.32, Phaedr. 4.22.24–5 (cf. on 297), Pease on Cic. De Nat. Deor. 3.89 (who however confuses these pictures used to help in begging with the votive pictures of 12.27–8), SG 2.273 = 3.52.

TUETUR i.e. sustentat.

LICINUS See on 1.109. He has his private fire-brigade (for the danger of fires cf. 3.212 sqq., Hor. Serm. 1.1.76–7) modelled on the public cohortes vigilum (Thes. cohors 1554.8; P. K. Baillie-Reynolds The Vigiles of Imperial Rome (1926) 22) with their amae (Paulus Dig. 1.15.3.3; Nero had ordained such precautions, Tac. Ann. 15.43.4).

ATTONITUS PRO ‘terrified (4.77) for’.
307 ELECTRO This may mean either ‘amber’ (cf. 5.38; amber cups Apul. Met. 2.19) or an alloy of gold and silver (Pliny NH 9.139, 33.80, Blümner2 4.160). As often, it is difficult to decide; cf. Riddle in Laudatores Temporis Acti, Studies in Memory of W. E. Caldwell (1964) 110.

PHRYGIA COLUMN A (collective singular cf. 3.142) Cf. 89; of Synnadic marble, sometimes exported in whole columns (Marquardt 621, Blümner2 3.53, Ward-Perkins JRS 41, 1951, 98–100). Cf. Pliny NH 35.3 nec cessat luxuria id agere ut quam plurimum (sc. of marble, including Synnadic) incendiis perdat; Sen. Contr. 2.1.12.

TESTUDINE (6.80, 11.94) should be followed by a colon to indicate adversative asyndeton.

DOLIA (probably not poetic plural, cf. on 311) Large earthenware wine-jars (cf. Marquardt 646, Billiard 466) in which Diogenes lived to show his αὐτάρκεια; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.23 etc. and the representations in DS dolum 332 fig. 2492, T. Schreiber Hellenist. Reliefbilder (1894) xciv.

NUDI Sen. Ep. 13.3 qui male vestitum et pannosum vidit, nudum se vidisse dicit. Cf. on 13.122 and Sen. De Ben. 5.4.3 with the context about Alexander (cf. 311).

309 The ‘tub’ was once broken, Diog. Laert. 6.43.

ATQUE And in fact the old one will still serve, cf. 206 and HS 479 (atque adeo is common in this sense).

PLUMBO COMMISSA Fastened (commissura means ‘joint’) with a strap of lead; Cato De Agr. 39.1 doli plumbi vincito, Varro Sat. Men. 532. Hence plumbare. [588]

311 TESTA Cf. 5.35. Diogenes shared most of his time between Corinth, where he met Alexander, and Athens; presumably he maintained a ‘tub’ in each city. Cf. Zeller 2.1.317 n. 5.

312 MAGNUM It is Diogenes Magnus now, not Alexander Magnus. The story is famous.

NIL CUPERET Except that Alexander should not cut off the sunlight.

TOTUM … ORBEM Cf. 10.68. The subjunctive verbs indicate that these are Alexander’s reflections.

AEQUANDA i.e. conferenda; not aeque magna futura (on 268).

315–16 This picks up passurus pericula; Fortune gives ups and downs to Alexander (and Licinus), but not to Diogenes, who is prudens. But the reflection hardly fits in naturally here, and since it is largely repeated from 10.365–6 Juvenal must intend to refer us back to that poem; ‘remember what I said previously, that we become slaves of capricious Fortune in striving for wealth, power and fame’ (Weidner). Hight 282 is wrong to take Fortuna here bluntly as ‘Wealth’; 328 does not defend this.

316 MENSURA A new paragraph begins here. For TAMEN … EDAM cf. 1.19–21 (also with si).

IN QUANTUM is common in Silver prose for *quantum*, but apparently in classical verse only Manil. 3.249 (Ovid *Met.* 11.71 seems to be corrupt), and surprising here in view of 319–20; perhaps *sit*.

**319** EPICURE … HORTIS See on 13.123.

**320** SOCRATICI Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 2.1 etc. The PENATES (‘house’, by synecdoche) are in origin the humble gods of the Roman larder, *penus*; their application to a Greek is perfectly unobtrusive, cf. 8.110.

CEPERUNT ‘contained’; 10.148, 11.171 and 197.

**321** Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.73–5 (Epicurean); M. Aurel. 5.9 φιλοσοφία (SAPIENTIA cf. 13.20) μόνα δὲ θέλει ἡ φύσις σου θέλει. άκολούθως τῇ φύσει ζῆν is Epicurean (fr. 202 Usener = 45 Bailey; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 16.7) as well as Stoic.

**322** ACRIBUS Strict; EXEMPLA in the rhetorical sense (Epicurus and Socrates) cf. 8.184.

**323** NOSTRIS Modern (cf. *nos* 15.106); SUMMAM 400,000 sesterces (on 1.106).

**324** See on 3.153–9; the expression hints that the law values money rather than character.

**325** Makes you frown (13.215) and pout; cf. Sen. *De Ben.* 6.7.1, Ovid *Am.* 2.2.33, Varro *RR* 1.2.26. |[589|

**326** DUOS EQUITES i.e. *duorum equitum censum*; cf. *Nestora* 12.128. Juvenal’s generosity here is becoming ironical.

FAC is quite natural in itself (cf. 12.50; hardly in the arithmetical sense, ‘tot up’, cf. on 6.229), but after EFFICE 323 it may exemplify the idiom discussed on 1.55.

**327** GREMIUM Cf. 7.215 and *patuit sinus* 1.88.

**328–9** The insatiability of the rich is a commonplace, cf. 139, Pers. 6.78–80 etc.


DIVITIAE NARCISSI A humiliating (anti-)climax; this is a sample of nostrī mōres 323! Narcissus, the *ab epistulis* of Claudius, owned one of the largest fortunes recorded from antiquity (Duncan-Jones 343, *RSV* 2.56, *SG* 1.43 = 1.46, 2.135 = 2.273); cf. Pliny *NH* 33.134, Dio Cass. 60.34.4, Suet. *Claud.* 28.

**331** Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 11.37–8, who however represents Narcissus as acting without the authority of Claudius.

UXOREM Messalina.

IMPERIS Narcissus is the *imperator* now; cf. Tac. l.c. 35 *omnia libero oboedie-bant*; Pliny *Ep.* 8.6.12 etc.
This satire describes a conflict between two Egyptian towns which ended in cannibalism. It falls into four paragraphs. 1–32 first comment on a number of Egyptian taboos, and then, when the reader has made up his mind that this is going to be a satire against superstition, suddenly (and unfairly; see on 13) the low value there attached to human life is contrasted with the respect accorded to worthless things; a dramatic introduction of the theme (cf. the delayed surprise of 9.26). Cannibalism as recounted in the *Odyssey* is incredible enough; but this instance is well-attested and true. It is even worse than any of the horrors of tragedy, for it incorporates the act of a whole community. More will be said about the themes of this introduction presently.

The second paragraph (33–92) narrates the story. 93–128 contrast it with cases of cannibalism enforced by siege, and 129–72 (with 129–31 acting as transition) comment that it runs counter to the divine origin of man’s nature and his natural superiority over the animals. There is thus a certain resemblance in form to Twelve, which likewise falls into four divisions and consists of reflections on an event narrated in the second of them.

The introduction, as just indicated, is unusually complex, and achieves several aims. First, it allows Juvenal incidentally to poke fun at Homer; the satirist naturally likes to deflate elevated literature and insinuate the value of writing relevant to actual contemporary life (cf. 1.52–4). Secondly, it emphasises the horror of the event by insisting on its incredibility as well as its truth. Thirdly, it introduces the contrast between present and past which runs through the whole poem (*nuper* 27, *nostro aevo* 31, *adhuc* 35, 65–71, *nos ... antiqui* 106–9, *nunc ... iam* 110–12, *modo* 119, *iam* 159, *primi fabri* 168, *aspicimus* 169, *nunc* 172). Juvenal is horrified that these things could happen in modern times; modern society has acquired a veneer of civilisation, but this is stripped away to show that human history has [[391] been essentially regression, not progress (see notes on 69–70 and 151, and, in spite of the irony, cf. Six init.). Accordingly Juvenal keeps his theme in historical perspective by references to the past as seen in history (the great source of *exempla*) and my-
thology (the symbolical expression of the psychological instincts of man). There has been no such crime right from the beginnings of the human race and recorded history (30). Even in their violence these puny Egyptians of today are no match for the epic heroes of the past (65–71); though it must be admitted that this digression, even if it does have a structural function, over-labours the point and is disproportionate in length, awkwardly introduced, and somewhat harsh in expression. At least the benefit of fire brought by Prometheus remained inviolate (84–6); this carries on the point that they did not wait to cook the captive, but is a piece of artificially introduced and vapid rhetoric (see note). The Vascones can be pardoned in siege conditions, especially as they could not be expected to have reached our modern stage of culture, which has prevailed throughout the world (highly ironical, though 110–12 rather weaken than contribute to the effect). Saguntum too can be excused (it never needed to be except in the eyes of the declaimers who invented the story); but Egypt is even worse than the Tauric Diana. The primitive smiths of fable only forged implements of peace (166–8); Pythagoras ate no meat at all and abstained even from some vegetables.

The influence of the schools of rhetoric is prominent in this poem; one example has been noted on 93. The writer of [Quintil.] Decl. 12, on the theme *cadaveribus pasti* in a famine, found in it a useful stock of themes and expressions, and the notes point out parallels with other rhetorical writers too. Apparently when Juvenal heard of this event in Egypt, a country of which he disliked the natives, he framed his treatment of it on the topics applied in the schools to the characteristically horrific and (until this instance turned up) unreal theme of cannibalism. Yet in my judgment the poem has not suffered from the rhetoric except at 84–7. Pseudo-Quintilian seems intent merely on coining a string of epigrams, but Juvenal to me conveys genuine moral fervour, humanitarian feeling (cf. on 6.595), and revulsion at the thought that such things could happen in his own day. Some faults in the execution of the poem have been pointed out above, but it seems to me a much better work than is generally held.


*Egyptological Bibliography*

T. Hopfner³, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* (1922–5).

¹ *VOLUSI BITHYNICE* He is unknown. The name Bithynicus appears often in Martial, and Plutarch wrote a work addressed either to Βιθυνικός or Βιθυνός (Teubner ed. vol. 7 by Sandbach, p. 4 no. 83). See further *Thes. s.v.* 2018.81, and
now also T. Flavius Bithynicus, *Ann. Epigr.* 1968 no. 42. It need not be a noble name of the type discussed on 2.67 (even a slave has it, *CIL* 6.6417); for other such geographical names cf. Schulze *LEG* 113 n. 2.

QUIS NESCIT (6.247) is modelled on Cic. *Tusc.* 5.78 *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat, quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnis incinerant prius subierint quam ibim aut aspidem aut faelem aut canem aut crocodilum violent?*  

DEMENS *Aegyptiorum … dementiam* Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.43, where see Pease.


AEGYPTOS P offers this termination here, 45, 116, with some support from other mss.; likewise in other feminine geographical names in this declension, *Zacynthos* 114 (see apparatus), *Rhodos et Miletos* 6.296.

2–12 There are many references in classical authors to the Egyptian cults of these animals, conveniently collected in Mayor’s notes and by Hopfner3, with useful discussions by Hopfner4 and Bonnet. Many mummies of most of them have been found, and cities were named after them (Crocodilopolis, Cynopolis; of fish e.g. Oxyrhynchus). In general I only quote the evidence of Herodotus and a few select references.

Juvenal is right to insist on the local character of most of these cults, though he eventually does drift off into unwarranted generalisation 9 sqq. By local cult I mean that certain animals would have special veneration in certain places, though others would be recognised as part of the national pantheon, with some exceptions such [[593] as the crocodile, which was abhorred in most of Egypt and only worshipped in a few areas. Juvenal is also correct in confining the cult of the dog to local status, though in fact its worship was widespread; he is incorrect in so confining ibis, ape, cat except insofar as they would have special local enthusiasms. The case of fish depends on the species. He is incorrect in attributing national cult to sheep and goats.

Diversity of religious practice between communities often caused enmities (Dio Cass. 42.34.2; Joseph. *Contra Apionem* 2.6.65–6 and cf. *AJ* 1.8.2; Athanasius *Contra Gentes* 23; [Apul.] *Asclep.* 37 and cf. A. D. Nock *Conversion* (1933) 293, L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 1.2 (1912) no. 11). Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 72 mentions a contemporary case between Oxyrhynchus and Cynopolis (cf. Griffiths 548), and, like Diod. Sic. 1.89.5–6, says that such diversity was introduced from deliberate policy (*divide et impera*) by one of the Pharaohs; cf. Hopfner4 8.

2 CROCODILON Herod. 2.69, Hopfner4 125, *RE* *Krokodile* 1952.

3 The ibis (Hopfner4 117; *RE* *Ibis* 809.63) was said to kill the fabulous flying serpents from Arabia (Herod. 2.75; Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.101, where see Pease and add Mela 3.8.82; Pliny *NH* 10.75; Hopfner4 118b) and feed its young on serpents’ eggs (Amm. Marc. 22.15.25–6). It is zoologically correct that the ibis eats snakes.

4 CERCOPITHECI The long-tailed ape. Though Lydus *De Mens.* 3.11 and 4.76
also mentions κέρκωπες, the apes worshipped were actually κύνοκέφαλοι; but Juvenal, to whom zoological accuracy was unimportant, could not fit this into his verse. See *RE Affe* 706.32, *Thoth* 374.51; Hopfner 1 26 sqq., esp. 31b; McDermott 35–6.

**Eeffigies** Nothing is known of this. For the ape catacombs at Thebes see L. Lortet–C. Gaillard *La Faune Momifiée* (1905) 2.239.

5 This famous statue is in fact of Amenophis III (Paus. 1.42.2 with Frazer; inscriptions on it, A. and E. Bernard *Les Inscriptions du Colosse de Memnon* (1960) nos. 29 and 31); apparently it is first called Memnon in an inscription (no. 1) of A.D. 20 (though the reading is not quite certain). Its musical sound is first mentioned by Strabo 17.1.46.816, and Pausanias l.c., like Juvenal, compares it to that of the strings of a lyre. The sound was heard every morning at sunrise (hence the identification with Memnon, the son of Aurora, cannot be earlier than the beginning of the phenomenon), and was due to the fact that the upper part of the statue had been overthrown by an earthquake (Strabo), probably that recorded by Eusebius in 27–26 B.C., so that after the cold of night the rapid expansion of the loosened stones in the sudden change of temperature caused vibration of the material and air-currents through the cracks. Juvenal’s *Dimidio* (cf. 8.4) hints at this explanation. See *RE Memnon* 643.49, 651.21, 648.39; A. Bataille *Chron. d’Égypte* 26 (52), 1951, 332 and 348, and *Les Memnonia* (1952) 153; Wiedemann *Bönner Jahrb.* 124, 1917, 53 with photograph (cf. also Bernard plates 1–3 and frontpiece); Casson 272–8; Balsdon 1 230; *SG* 1.364 = 1.441.

**Dimidio Memnone** Ablative absolute. I cannot see the relevance of Houseman’s quotation of Verg. *Buc.* 3.39.

6 ἑκατόμπυλοι Hom. *Il.* 9.383. Thebes, like the statue of Memnon, was one of the tourist sights of Egypt; Germanicus visited both Memnon and *veterum Thebarum magna vestigia* (Tac. *Ann.* 2.60). Diod. Sic. 1.50.1 οἱ δὲ Θηβαιοι φασιν ἑαυτους ἀρχαιοτάτους εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. The grand associations of 5–6 put the ape-statue of 4 to shame.

**Portis** Most authors would have preferred the medio-passive construction with *portas*, but cf. Val. Flacc. 5.609 gens … *picta pharetris* contrasted with the examples quoted by Langen p. 14, who points out that Valerius only uses such accusatives with parts of the body. Juvenal, who only has the construction at 8.16 (cf. on 8.4), seems to have restricted it similarly; and so does Persius (1.78, 5.86).

7 **Aeluros** The first occurrence of the word in Latin. Cats were first domesticated in Egypt, but it is doubtful how far they were kept in the households of the Greeks and Romans, where ferrets or polecats or mongooses were commonly used as mousers. *F(a)eles* is a generic name which can cover martens and wild cats, though it appears often in Egyptian contexts (e.g. Cic. *Tusc.* quoted on 1; cf. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.82 with Pease). Cf. Toynbee 87, Aymard *Latomus* 20, 1961, 57 and on Egyptian cat-cult Herod. 2.67, Hopfner 1 35.

FLUMINIS The river, i.e. the Nile; cf. \textit{Urbs} and \textit{scrofa} 6.177 ‘the sow’. Greek expresses such senses more clearly with the article, e.g. ὁ ποταμός often in Herod. 2, and Athen. 9.388a.

ILLIC … VENERANTUR Herod. 2.66–7; e.g. Cynopolis. Dogs were sacred to Anubis (6.534); cf. Hopfner\textsuperscript{4} 48b.

NEMO DIANAM They worship dogs, but not the huntress goddess, patroness of dogs. Bubastis is identified with Diana e.g. by Herodotus (2.59.1, 137.5, 155–6), but is properly the goddess of cats; cf. Witt 146.

\textbf{9} PORRUM ET CAEPE is from Hor. \textit{Epist}. 1.12.21 \textit{seu porrum et caepe trucidas}, where it is a joke at Pythagoreanism (cf. on 173–4). No \textit{[[595]]} other classical source, except imitations of this passage by Prudentius, mentions abstention from leeks, and the Coptic evidence quoted by A. Jacoby \textit{Recueil de Trav. rel. à la Philol}. \textit{Ég}. 34, 1912, 9 is not compelling for Juvenal’s time. In fact leeks were a staple of the Egyptian diet, and the best grew there (Pliny \textit{NH} 19.110; \textit{RE Lauch} 989.44). For onions cf. Hopfner\textsuperscript{3} 825b, V. Hehn \textit{Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere} (1902) 192–3, F. Zimmermann \textit{Die Aeg. Religion} (1912) 80; the Egyptians swore by them, Pliny \textit{NH} 19.101 (cf. 2.16); some abstain from lentils, some from beans, some from onions, Diod. Sic. 1.89.4; Porphyry \textit{De Abst}. 1.21 generalises this into a prohibition from υφά generally. But in fact, though they were often offered on altars, abstention from them seems to have been confined to the peculiar cult of Pelusium (Lucian \textit{Iupp. Trag}. 42, Jacoby l.c., Griffiths 280, \textit{RE Pelusion} 414).

FRANGEREMORSU Lucan 6.114.

\textbf{10–11} ‘This refers to the belief that the gods revealed themselves only to innocent men in an innocent age; see … 6.19 and cf. Catull. 64.383. The vegetables are “home-made” gods (domi nata)’ Duff; cf. \textit{RE} suppl. 4.291 and on 6.2.

\textbf{11} LANATIS ANIMALIBUS i.e. sheep, cf. Pliny \textit{NH} 8.199 and on 8.155. See Hopfner\textsuperscript{3} 887 s.v. \textit{oves} and \textsuperscript{4} 89; rams were sacred to Iuppiter Hammon (Herod. 2.42). Yet the Lycopolitae ate mutton (Plut. \textit{De Is. et Osir}. 72 with Griffiths 547).

CAPELLAE Goats were thought to be sacred to Mendes, who was equated with Pan (Herod. 2.42 and 46; Frazer on Ovid \textit{Fasti} 2.441); but in fact this is wrong (\textit{RE Mendes} 783; Hopfner\textsuperscript{4} 89; Bonnet \textit{Widder} 868). Goats were not worshipped in Egypt; foreigners were misled because the Egyptians had a species of sheep which closely resembled a goat.

\textbf{13} LICET Juvenal infers the legitimacy of cannibalism from the fact that it had happened (so during a famine Diod. Sic. 1.84.1); but of course this is not a fair inference.

ATTONITO Even in the days of mythical monsters this was extraordinary.

TALE FACINUS In the episodes of the Cyclops and the Laestrygonians (18). It
is hard to see that these are more incredible than the events listed in 19–22; but it
suits Juvenal to emphasise the inhumanity of cannibalism.

SUPER CENAM For the phrase cf. Vendryes Rev. Phil. 3 15, 1941, 8. This is the
time for incredible stories (Pliny Ep. 9.33.1); cf. Suet. Aug. 74 adduced on 16 and A.

15 Hor. Epist. 1.19.19–20 mihi saepe / bilem, saepe iocum ... movere. 596
MOVERAT is in sense equivalent to movit, cf. on 9.96.

FORTASSE in effect = sine dubio, cf. on 24; see Hofmann p. 143, Hand 2.722,
and likewise Ἰσως. Such understatement is characteristic of urbane language, to
avoid the appearance of dogmatism; cf. the use of minus and parum meaning in
effect non.

16 UT MENDAX AREALOGUS The narrative of Odysseus is dismissed as
fictitious by Dio Chrys. 11.34 (though it must be remembered that ψεύδεσθαι is
regular for the creation of imaginative literature), Lycophron 764, Lucian Vera
Hist. 1.3. Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος, first in Plato Rep. 614b, became proverbial of long

AREALOGUS In Hellenistic Greek a manifestation of a god’s power was
called an ἀρετή, and the composers of encomia on such ἀρεταλόγοι. Naturally
they did not confine themselves to strict veracity, and the word acquired over-
tones such as it has here and at Manetho 4.446–9. Such an aretalogy is Prop. 3.17
(note virtutis tuae poeta 20), cf. R. Reitzenstein Hellenistische Wundererzählungen
(1906) 11 and 151; the same notion may underlie Ter. Ad. 535–6. See RE s.v. and
suppl. 6.13; Nilsson 2.228; V. Longo Aretalogie nel Mondo Greco (1969). Aretalogi
were a dinner diversion for Augustus (Suet. 74); cf. on 14 and Scobie l.c.

16–17 NEMO ... ABICIT Such impatient questions with nemo or nemon(e)
and the present indicative are a colloquial substitute for an imperative, originat-
ing in orders given to slaves by their masters; ecquis is similarly used. Cf. Ter. Ph.
152, Hor. Serm. 2.7.34 (where the reading fert is preferable), Epictet. 3.26.22 οὐδεὶς
φέρει φαγεῖν;

ABICIT Such scansions in compounds of iacio appear in classical poetry with
Moretum 94, Germanicus 196, Manil. 1.666 and 4.44 (Mather HSCP 6, 1895, 87
and 101); at Ovid Ex Ponto 2.3.37 the reading is not certain (Mather 143). Juvenal
uses no other form of any compound of iacio where the question arises.

DIGNUM VERA 8.188; VERA because it is unlike that which Odysseus told of.

18 FINGENTEM has a causal nuance; cf. KS 1.755.

3.249 (after discussion of the Stoic doctrine on cannibalism, cf. on 106) ἂπερ οὐκ
ἂν τολμήσειν (οἱ φιλόσοφοι) διαπράττεσθαι, ἐγέ μὴ παρὰ Κύκλωψιν ἢ Λαιστρυ-
γόσι πολιτεύοιντο and Pliny NH 7.9 (Book 7 is devoted to the human species of
animals, and §9 begins the discussion of human customs; for the rhetorical pro-
logue §1–5 cf. on 131–3, 159–64). The massive spondaic ending suits the monsters.
NAM The speaker does not believe in Scylla and Charybdis (17) etc., but they are at least more plausible than the cannibal episodes.

CITIUS 16.32, 10.225.

CREDIDERIM For this perfect subjunctive of modified assertion cf. Thes. s.v. 1147.37, Handford p. 105 and Juv. 8.74.

Homer’s Πλαγκταί (Od. 12.59–72) are identified with the Κυανέαι Συμπληγάδες at the entry to the Black Sea and prominent in the Argo legend; vice versa Apollonius and others (cf. CR 17, 1967, 44) make the Argo pass Πλαγκταί by Scylla and Charybdis. CONCURRERE (συμ-πλήσσω) is common in this context, e.g. Ovid Met. 7.62. CYANEIS (dative) is the whole, SAXA the part, cf. Val. Flacc. 4.563–4 sua comminus actae / saxa premunt cautesque suas and 658; for such expressions cf. on 3.23 and La Penna and Ronconi, Riv. Fil. 107, 1979, 1.

PLENOS … UTRES Given by Aeolus to Odysseus.

Juvenal’s memory slips; Homer does not name Elpenor among those changed into swine. Juvenal is thinking of Od. 10.238 ράβδῳ πεπληγυῖα; the blow of a ladylike hand is only TENUÈ. ‘Pig oarsmen’ makes a fine oxymoron.

PHAEACA A touch of national pride. The word is properly a noun, but is used here adjectivally, cf. 4.100 and index nouns, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.31.12.

VACUI CAPITIS 14.57; ἰδιῶται at Lucian referred to on 16.

SIC ALIQUIS sc. dixit; cf. on 15. We infer that most of the tipsy banqueters believed Odysseus.

The identification of Phaeacia with Corcyra appears first in Thuc. 1.25, 3.70.

TEMETUM An archaism (Pliny NH 14.90; cf. Blümner 197) to suit the mythological context. Cic. De Rep. 4.6 in using the word is thinking of an old law, but there does not seem to be any special point at Hor. Epist. 2.2.163.

DUXERAT ‘had drunk’ cf. 6.428; URNA (6.426, 12.44) would more exactly be ἄμφορα, cf. on 9.58.

SUB Cf. 7.13, 4.12 etc. All his crew had been lost before he reached Phaeacia.

CANEBAT Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.14 (Aeneas’ narrative); hardly just because the poets make their heroes speak in verse, but suggesting that they recited like rhapsodes.

MIRANDA Like the story of Odysseus; but unlike that it is precisely placed in time (nuper, cf. modo 119) and space, so that it can be checked; cf. of another θαυμάσιον Sen. Apoc. init., and Petron. 110 nec se tragoedias veteres curare … sed rem sua memoria factam. It is also a res gesta. ||

CONSULE IUNCO L. Aemilius Iuncus (PIR i² A 355; now also on Ann. Epigr. 1974, 596) was consul in A.D. 127 from 1 October, as the Fasti Ostienses show. This dates the event to the last three months of the year. A terminus post quem is also provided for the composition of the poem, but note the elasticity of nuper (see Two, introduction and on 2.161). Cf. on 13.17.
28 Tentyra is modern Denderah, a little north of Coptos; Ombi is about 10 miles away, a little south of Coptos, modern Negadeh (Nakada) or Kom-Belal near Ballās, ancient Egyptian Nubt. SUPER, glossed *ultra* in Bob., would in Greek be ὑπερ and means ‘up-country from the sea’ (cf. ἀνάβασις and e.g. Sall. *Jug.* 19.5), i.e. in this case ‘south of’. This locates the battle nearer to Ombi, so the aggressors were the Tentyrites, as 72–6 also indicate.

CALIDAE 6.527.

29–31 VOLGI SCELUS … POPULUS Tragedies tell only of crimes of individuals.

COTURNIS … TRAGICOS 6.634 and 643; cf. the whole passage.

SYRMATA 8.229.

SCELUS … SCELUS  See on 16.9–10.

A PYRRHA From the time of the Flood 1.80–6.

VOLVAS ‘read’ 6.452, 10.126; more specifically *evolvas*. Juvenal never uses the indicative after *quamquam*, but in any case this would be subjunctive as it is both potential and ‘ideal’ second person.

ACCIPE  Cf. 7.36 and p. 32.

NOSTRO AEVO  Not in primitive times; cf. *iam* 159.

33–5 Ombi and Tentyra are named as neighbours by the Ravenna geographer 3.2 (p. 133 Pinder and Parthey). The hostility probably centred on the cult of the crocodile, which was worshipped in connection with the cult of Set(h) (*RE Seth* 1900–1) at Ombi (*RE* l.c. 1902.44, Griffiths 490). Seth was identified with Typhon, and Strabo 17.1.44.815 mentions Typhonia near Tentyra. A granite crocodile has been found near Ombi (Boussac *Rev. Phil.* 2 41, 1917, 178). The people of Tentyra however abhorred the crocodile and were famed for their skill in hunting it, which had been exhibited even at Rome (*RE Tentyra* 537, Hopfner 3 923, 4 134b). This diversity is remarked by Aelian *NA* 10.21 (cf. 24), assuming that he means this Ombi and not the other town of the same name. ‘The British excavators actually found the remains of a wall built between the two sites, as though the men of Dendera had been trying to keep off the attacks of their fierce neighbours’ Higet 29; cf. Boussac 180. But present-day Egyptologists are doubtful about this wall.

VETUS ATQUE ANTIQUA 6.21 and often; *vetus* because it has lasted a long time, *antiqua* because it started long ago. [599]


SANABILE VULNUS  *Ovid RA* 101. Here sc. *animi*; likewise ἕλκος (LSJ II).

SED resumes 35, as if 35–8 were a digression; similarly perhaps 51 and 87.

39 POPULI Mela 1.9.58 (after mention of theriolatry and its local divergences) *Apis populorum omnium numen est.*

40 PRIMORIBUS An ironically dignified word; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.1.69, Kuntz (on 4.73) 94.

SENTIRENT  The men of the *alter populus*, Ombi.
COMPITĂ Herod. 2.35.4 ἔσθιονσι δὲ ἐξ ἐν τῇ δόοισι (whence Mela 1.57).
PERVERGILI 8.158 (3.275).

IACENTEM I cannot parallel the expression torus iacet; Ruperti suggested quo ... iacentes, cf. 1.136.

SEPTIMUS There seems to have been quite a number of seven-day festivals in Egypt; Pliny NH 8.186, Amm. Marc. 22.15.17, RE Zeitrechnung 2357.54, W. H. Roscher Die Sieben- und Neunzahl (Abhl. Sächs. Gesellsch. 24.1, 1904) 98.

44–6 LUXURIA 'here denotes the will rather than the means to practise excessive indulgence' Duff; SED necessitates this.

QUANTUM IPSE NOTAVI 'So far as my personal observation goes', cf. notemus 16.35; i.e. to judge from the Egyptians I have met, they are all just as bad as the notorious Canopus (but perhaps I have met an unfair selection). QUANTUM is generally understood as equivalent to ut (a post-Juvenalian usage), and then the passage is taken as evidence that Juvenal had visited Egypt; such interpretations go back to the ancient world (see pp. 6–7).

BARBARA TURBA The native Egyptians, contrasted with the Hellenised Canopus, the playboy resort (6.84, cf. famosa moenia 83; hence Κανωβισμός Strabo 17.1.16.800) of Alexandria; for the contrast between Egypt proper and Alexandria cf. Bell JRS 36, 1946, 130; A. Stein Unters. zur Gesch. und Verwaltung Aegyptens (1915) 85. Cf. Lucan 8.542 barbara Memphis / et Pelusiacci tam mollis turbæ Canopi; Sen. Ep. 51.3 illic sībī plurimum luxuria permittit (and ibid. 4); SG 1.361 = 1.439.

47 ADDE QUOD ('besides' cf. 14.114) ET (Ovid AA 3.81) is like nec non et. This adds a second reason to 40–4, so horrida ... Canopo should be placed in parenthesis.

FACILIS Not a statement of fact, but the thought of the Tentyrites; cf. 4.55, 7.145.

VICTORIA DE A common combination; cf. triumphus de (8.107).

MADIDIS 6.297 (cf. on 50); BLAESIS Mart. 9.87.2, Ovid AA 1.598. [600] For the pleonasm cf. p. 37. The metre, like the men, staggers at the end of these lines. MERO is wine not mixed with water.

48–51 INDE Among the men of Ombi; HINC among the Tentyrites.

VIRORUM Ironical, since the Romans regarded dancing as incompatible with gravitas (SG 2.110 = 2.137, Wille 187, Paoli 238, RE Tanzkunst 2247, Marquardt 118–19).

NIGRO Σ, who glosses Aethiope, takes this to mean of Nubian stock; they could not afford a skilful Alexandrian, just as they have to use inferior (QUALI-ACUMQUE) perfumes (it is improbable that Juvenal hints that, being drunk, they are not particular). This is probably right, though all Egyptians were μελάγχροες (Herod. 2.104 etc., Mart. 4.42.5, 10.12.12), and some mummy-portraits are rather negroid. Egyptian flute-players are mentioned Prop. 4.8.39, Tac. Ann. 14.60; for papyrus contracts hiring musicians for village festivals see Westermann Journ.
Egypt. Archaeol. 18, 1932, 16.

UNGUENTA ... CORONAE Cf. 11.122, 5.36, 9.128; 6.297 coronatum ... madidumque (cf. on 47). Though these are not fine perfumes, Egypt did in fact produce such (RE Salben 1862.54, Blümner3 13, ES 5.283, A. Lucas–J. R. Harris Ancient Egyptian Materials (1962) 85, T. Reil Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbs in Hellenist. Aegypten (1913) 145; many references in Athenaeus).

MULTAE seems a weak epithet.

51–2 IURGIA (5.26) as the first stage of a rixa Tac. Hist. 1.64.2; cf. Ann. 14.17.1 (first probra, then saxa (cf. Juv. 63), then ferrum (Juv. 73)) and Quintil. 5.10.71 (where the text is unfortunately corrupt).

TUBA 1.169; Cic. Ad Fam. 6.12.3 tibi quem illi appellant tubam belli civilis. AR-DENTIBUS cf. 35.

53–4 Ovid Met. 12.381–2 saevique vicem praestantia teli / cornua. NUDA ‘unarmed’.

55 Pers. 1.3 vel duo vel nemo.


58 GENIS ‘cheeks’ rather than ‘eyes’.

59 IPSI The participants; bystanders would have disagreed.

62 sqq. Cf. Verg. Aen. 7.507 sqq. quod cuique repertum / rimanti telum ira facit ... non iam certamine agresti ... sed ferro ancipiti decernunt.


SAXA ... TELA after Verg. Aen. 1.149–50; cf. Tac. Ann. 13.48. Juvenal is imitated by SHA 24.22.3 omni seditionum instrumento ... nec defuit (Peter; de P, desiit Σ) ullum seditionis telum. [601]

DOMESTICA Likewise οἰκεία (LSJ IV); cf. Ovid Met. 6.686 (‘familiar’).

65 NEC ‘but not’, as 2.130, 3.102, 13.114, 10.120.

QUALIS sc. torserunt. HUNC ... QUALIS cf. Stat. Th. 1.474 hanc ... quanta (Juv. 7.56 is not parallel). The whole sequence hunc lapidem ... qualis ... vel quo pondere (= hoc pondus quo) ... sed quem (sc. lapidem) is awkward. The metre of 66 is deliberately ponderous.

TURNUS Aen. 12.896; AIAX II. 7.268, 12.380; TYDIDES II. 5.302. On the complaint of degeneracy cf. II. 1.272, 12.449, 20.285 and as above (but not 7.268), with the references at Vell. Pat. 1.5.3 and Pliny NH 7.74. This contrast between the present and the epic past recalls 13–26; yet there is a hint of irony in the word COXAM, which (with the exception of Sil. It. 10.181) is too undignified for epic.

68 ILLIS Probably feminine, rather than masculine in a comparatio compendiaria for illorum dextris.

69 GENUS HOC i.e. nos homines, the human race.
70 MALOS The view of progressive degeneration put forward in Six init. after Hesiod; cf. e.g. Hor. *Odes* 3.6.45–8, Sen. *De Ben.* 1.10; hence DEUS ODIT.

PUSSILLOS Cf. Pliny *NH* 7.73–4 (cf. on 65), Gellius 3.10; Empedocles fr. 77 Diels–Kranz, and, perhaps influenced by him, the Epicureans (Lucr. 5.925 sqq. with Bailey p. 976), who attributed it to the exhaustion of the earth (Lucr. 2.1150 sqq.; so also Sen. *Ep.* 90.44; opposed by Pliny *Ep.* 6.21.1, where see Sherwin-White); that is probably the point of *infantibus magnis* 6.9. Their smallness is why DEUS RIDET, cf. 13.170–3. Many instances are recorded of the exhumation of large bones, probably in fact mammoth bones, supposed to be of the heroes (F. Pfister *Reliquenkult* (1912) 507, Frazer on Paus. 1.35.7).

71 QUICUMQUE ASPEIXIT Perhaps none bothers to.


OMBIS The town is named instead of its inhabitants; cf. Florus 1.6.7 *Fidenae … praecesserant*, Housman on Manil. 4.602.

76 I understand this to mean ‘neighbouring (i.e. to Ombi, cf. 36) Tentyra with its shady palm-grove’: *Palmae* is collective (cf. 3.307) and its construction is genitive of quality (for the combination of this |[602] with an adjective see on 3.4–5). To interpret ‘Tentyra near the shady palm-grove’ puts an intolerable strain on the collective, which is not defined clearly enough for such a context.

77 Clausen does not record that PO read *hinc*, which is probably right; it will mean ‘one of the Tentyrites’. Cf. Ovid *Met.* 3.404 *inde … aliquis*; *Ex Ponto* 2.2.22 *cum quis laeditur inde (= lex nomine Iuli); HS 208–9.*

80 CORROSI In sense equivalent to a present participle passive (cf. on 5.68); HS 391, KS 1.758, Naegelsbach §96, and cf. Serv. on *Georg.* 1.206.


LONGUM PUTAVIT So Sil. It. 4.428; Petron. 10 *tardum est differre quod placet.*

83 A striking alliteration perhaps meant to convey the crushing of bones.

84 A former pupil of Prof. Nisbet, S. Tugwell, suggested *licit.*

85–6 SUMMA seems to suggest that Juvenal envisages the fire stolen by Prometheus as part of the *aether*, the fiery refined air which in ancient cosmology was the outer ring of the universe; others say it was the fire of Zeus’s thunderbolt or the sun (ML 3038.65 sqq. and RE 694.13 sqq. s.v. *Prometheus*). Hence VIOLAVEIT
Similarly at *Aetna* 557 the fire of the volcano is *sacer* (though the text is doubtful), not like that in everyday use *sed caelo proprium*.

PROMETHEUS, DONASTI So Griffith¹ 57; ² 387. *Te* in 86 can otherwise only be referred to Volusius, but this is singularly pointless (cf. on 98); like Fuscinus in Fourteen and (so far as we can tell) Gallius in Sixteen, he only appears in the initial address. P originally read *Promethea*.

ELEMENTO Cf. 11.14; GRATULOR cf. Ovid *Met.* 10.305 *nostro gratulor orbi,* / *gratulor huic terrae quod abest regionibus illis / quae tantum genuere nefas* (a rhetorical turn, cf. Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.4, 10.4.9); REOR is an old-fashioned word, found only here in Juvenal.

⁸⁷ *SED* may resume 83 (cf. on 38), or it may mean that Prometheus and I abhor cannibalism, *but* the men of Ombi loved it.

⁸⁸ *NIL* For the metrical reasons which make this reading preferable to *nihil* see Housman *CR* ³ 34, 1920, 163 = *Coll. Papers* 1014.

⁸⁹ *NE* *QUÆRAS* This indicates not the purpose of the man who performed the action of 90–2, but the purpose of Juvenal in reporting it; cf. 6.87 and 197, 12.93; KS 2.233, HS 535, 642, 826. The use of *dubito an = haud scio an* is of course irrelevant.

⁹⁰ *GULA* See on 5.158. *[603]*

ANTE While the rest were eating the flesh; contrasted with *iam*.

⁹² *DE* *SANGUINE* From such partitive uses develops the Romance substitute for the genitive; HS 58, KS 1.199, index *prepositions*.

⁹³ A new paragraph should begin here.

UT *FAMA EST* is common, *haec fama est* (see the apparatus) unexampled.

⁹⁴–⁵ *RE* *DIFFERSA* 8.215–16; *BELLORUM ULTIMA* cf. 12.55; *OBSIDIONIS EGESTAS* cf. Sen. *Dial.* 10.18.5; *FORTUNAE INVIDIA EST* ‘the blame belongs to fortune’ cf. 123.
97–8 tibi in Clausen is a misprint for CIBI; tibi (so G and a few other mss.), si cui, was conjectured by Housman, but it is quite wrong to introduce a reference to the shadowy Volusius (cf. on 86) and give him a distinct character. Leo places the sentence in the train of thought thus: ‘the inhabitants of Ombi committed cannibalism. So did the Basques, but under quite different circumstances, when reduced to this extremity by siege. For when food like this, the matter now under discussion, is used, it ought to be in circumstances which arouse pity, as in the case of the Basques’. But this is unsatisfactory; exemplum is not a natural word, quod nunc agitur is pointless, the construction of the nominative gens is loose (others put no stop after this word and make it the subject of lacerabant 102, which might be thought better), and modo dicta mihi, which is modelled on 113 ille tamen populus quem diximus, is insufferably prosy, certainly not defended by Moretum 97 dictas herbas or German. 451 praedictis ante (orbibus). Other attempts to defend the text are yet more plainly futile, and we are left with an overwhelming impression of garbled thought and expression. The lines are certainly spurious. ||

99 POST OMNES HERBAS sc. comesas; this preposition and ante often are pregnant in sense, cf. 1.169, 10.339, 14.183; HS 243 and 827, Verres (on 1.13) 33, Housman on Lucan 5.473, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 1.18.5.

QUICQUID closes a list of particulars with asyndeton 6.O.20, 13.83; cf. on 8.27.

100 gula saevit 5.94; ventris rabies Verg. Aen. 2.356–7; cf. γαστριμαργία.

101 PALLOCREM ET MACIEM Livy 2.23.3.

104 VENTRIBUS (cf. 100) would be abbreviated útribus; see the apparatus.

106 NOS ‘us moderns’ cf. 14.323. In fact the Stoics were willing to allow cannibalism (Zeno fr. 254 Arnim = 184 Pearson; cf. on 18); Zeller 3.1.289 n. 1. Juvenal did not possess a technical knowledge of philosophy (cf. on 13.184); here he is simply thinking of the Stoic willingness to commend suicide. Cf. Val. Max. 7.6 ext. 2 (on the cannibalism at Numantia; just before the passage quoted on 93) nulla est in his necessitatis excusatio; nam quibus mori licuit, sic vivere necesse non fuit.

NEC … PUTANT is probably interpolated; the thought is like 8.83–4 (Sen. Ep. 70.7 non omni pretio vita emenda est), but QUIDAM is as silly as in another interpolation 12.50. NEC ENIM OMNIA is modelled on 14.127, but, if we may trust the mss., the interpolator has failed to notice that Juvenal would have written neque (1.89, 7.59, 14.127; also, though with substantial variants, 4.41, 11.30). Griffith1 57 takes cuiquam from Weidner (who understands praecepta as the subject of putant) and putat from a few mss.; but ‘nobody’ (non cuiquam) is unsuitable.

108 The Vascones were actually not Cantabrians, but their neighbours.

109 Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius fought against Sertorius 79–72 B.C.

ANTIQUI Like everything republican (cf. 1.137); the Metelli were now extinct, cf. on 2.67.

110–12 would be best placed in parenthesis. Note how the notion of culture slips from philosophy to rhetoric; sophists often combined the two.
GRAIAS Cf. on 10.138.

ATHENAS can, like many proper names, have a typical sense ‘an Athens’, i.e. a place of culture (cf. Val. Max. 2.1.10 quas Athenas, quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae practuerim?; Fronto ap. Consent. GLK 5.349.15 et illae vestae Athenae Dorocorthoro (= Reims); Auson. Prof. Burd. 1.1.4.8 Athenaei loci; but the more [[160]] abstract sense of this line (‘the culture of Greece and Rome’) is unparallelled. There is certainly no reference to Hadrian’s Athenaeum (see Hight 236–7, RE 1.514, Blümner 339, Callmer Opusc. Rom. 7, 1967–9, 277, Braunert Historia-Augusta Colloquium 1963 ([Antiquitas Reihe 4 Band 2 ed. A. Alfoldi, 1964]) for one thing this derived its name from Athena (Braunert 13), not from Athens.

111 GALLIA FACUNDA See on 7.148.

CAUSIDICOS BRITANNOS On the level of education in Britain, promoted by Agricola (Tac. 21.2 with Richmond–Ogilvie), see Frere (on 4.140) 350, Liversidge (ibid.) 317–18 and cf. SHA 29.14.1.


THYLE A semi-mythical island first seen and named by Pytheas of Marseilles, sometimes identified with Britain itself (but not here, since that would spoil the humorous climax), by others placed beyond it (Tacitus probably thought of it as one of the Shetlands, Agr. 10.4); in any case it was the end of the world, Verg. Georg. 1.30 etc. The grammaticus Demetrius of Tarsus evidently visited the Hebrides (Richmond Antiquity 14, 1940, 193; Ogilvie Phoenix 21, 1967, 113–14).

113–16 TAMEN refers back to 109; though nowadays we know better. Since Juvenal uses the indefinite enclitic quis and qui only after si and ne, I think that a full stop should be placed after Zacynthos and tale ... Aegyptos should be punctuated as a question. The meaning will then be that the Basques, though ignorant of Stoic precepts to shun cannibalism, are yet honoured for their loyalty, and so are the Saguntines; but what can Egypt quote in its defence (cf. Thes. excusō 1305.72) of a similar nature? Then quippe ... hostia (119) should be placed in parenthesis as an explanation of the incidental remark Maeotide saevior ara, and the question of 115–16 is repeated and varied in 119–22. Why did Juvenal not write quid tale? Because he prefers a dactyl in the first foot.

Without repunctuation TALE QUID (cf. quid tale Sall. Hist. 2 fr. 105 M) will mean ‘something like cannibalism enforced by a siege’, and EXCUSAT will be used as at Sen. Contr. 9.4.5 necessitas ... excusat Saguntinos (cf. Val. Max. quoted on 106).

114 Saguntum was supposed to have been founded by colonists from Zacyn-
thos (Sil. It. 1.290, 2.603) and was also connected with a companion of Hercules of that name (id. 1.275). Stephanus of Byzantium attests this form for Saguntum; usually in Greek it is Σάγουντον or Ζάκανθα.

Homer’s ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος caused the Latin poets (Vergil, Silius etc.) to allow a short syllable before the Ζ.

The historians do not record any cannibalism at the siege of Saguntum by Hannibal, and Silius 2.521 sqq. speaks of it as a notion not put into effect; it was probably a rhetorical invention (mischievously applied by Petron. 141).

FIDE Pliny NH 3.20 Saguntum … fide nobile; its fides is often mentioned (Sall. Hist. 2.64 M fide atque aerumnis incluti, Livy 28.39.1 and 17, Val. Max. 6.6 ext. 1; cf. Sil. 2.479 sqq.).

MAIOR CLADE It was levelled.

MAEOTIDE The altar of Diana among the Tauri of the Crimea. Actually Lucian Dial. Deor. 16.1 does attribute cannibalism to it; but there Hera is slandering the children of Leto.

ILLA TAURICA INVENTRIX Probably Artemis rather than the altar.

UT IAM ‘granting for the moment’; cf. HS 647, KS 2.251, Thes. iam 128.49.


ULTERIUS 1.147, 9.38.

MODO = nuper 27; HOS contrasted with ille 113.

VALLO Ablative with infesta, the beleaguering wall.

MONSTRUM Cf. 172 and 6.645.

Would they put the Nile to shame in any other way?’ Duff notes: ‘The fertility of Egypt depends entirely, in modern as in ancient times, upon the autumn rising of the Nile … The river is regarded as a divinity; and it was the regular practice of ancient religions, if the gods failed to do what was expected of them, to commit outrages in order to put them in the wrong and make them ashamed’; cf. e.g. Ovid Met. 7.603; I. Odelstierna Invidia (Uppsala Univ. Arsskrift 1949 no. 10) 19 and 82; Vollmer on Stat. Silv. 1.4.17; A. Weische Studien zur Politischen Sprache (1966) 98 sqq. and for INVIDIA on 94–5. Mythology knows several instances of human sacrifice because of the failure of the Nile to rise (Griffiths 551, D. Bonneau La Crue du Nil (1964) 401; add [Plut.] De Fluv. 16, vol. 7 p. 308 Bernadakis), but there is no trace of it in historical times.

ANNE ALIAM 4.78.

CIMBRI 8.249.

Brittônis is attested GLK 4.11.6, cf. Vascônês 93; but Brittônis Mart. 11.21.9 (at Procop. De Bellis 8.20.7 mss. vary between Βρίττωνες and Βρίττονες); cf. RE 3.862.19. There is a similar variation between Σήνωνες (8.234 etc.) and forms like Σήνωνες (1607) (Polybius), cf. RE s.v. 1475; Σάντονες (cf. 8.145) and Σάντωνες (RE s.v. 2290); see Holder on both names. Cf. Hor. Odes 3.4.33 Britannos hospitibus

SAUROMATAE 2.1; yet Ephorus fr. 42 Jacoby ap. Strabo 7.3.9.302 alleges can-
nibalism among them.

-QUE in the middle of a negative list, cf. *et* 13.44.

AGATHYRSI They lived in modern Rumania.

In these lines Juvenal is using a rhetorical technique; cf. Cic. *De Inv.* 1.103
*demonstramus non vulgare neque factitatum esse ne ab audacissimis quidem hominibus id maleficium de quo agatur, atque id a feris quoque hominibus et a barbaris gentibus et in manibus bestiis esse remotum.*

126 IMBELLE Strabo 17.1.53.819, Ach. Tat. 4.14.9, Dio Chrys. 32.43. Similar
contemptuous remarks about the Egyptians abound; Philo *In Flaccum* 4.17 (see
Box), Theocr. 15.47–50 (see Gow), SHA 29.8.5 (an alleged letter of Hadrian), Polyb.
15.33.10, 27.13.1, 39.7 (= 18).7; cf. O. Seeck *Gesch. des Untergangs der Ant.* Welt 4 2
(1923) 503–4, SG 1.36–7 = 1.39 and (on tumults and religious outbursts) 359–60 =
347.

127–8 From Verg. *Georg.* 4.289 (the Egyptian people) *circum pictis vehitur sua
rura phaselis*, cf. Strabo 17.1.4.788 ὀστράκινα πορθμεῖα; Ovid *Met.* 3.639 *pictae dare
vela carinae*. Dr D. M. Dixon explains this passage thus. On the canals of Upper
Egypt today one encounters raft-like ferry-boats made of pots tied together, with
planks laid on top. Although there are no ancient representations of this type of
vessel, it must be meant by references to ferry-boats as ‘a work of Khnum’, Khnum
being the god of potters; some of these references mention mast and sail. However
these pots would not be painted; PICTAE is a purely literary floscule taken from
Vergil (who intends a different type of vessel) and Ovid. The whole description
is contemptuous; the diminutive PARVULA and BREVIBUS (ridiculously com-
bined with INCUMBERE) are meant to show how *imbelles* and *inutiles* they are.

129 A new paragraph should begin here.

POENAM sc. *dignam*; see index *word-order*.

130 POPULIS The plural as 169; contrast 31. He generalises to all Egypt.

131 IRA *rabies* 126; FAMES 102 and 120.

131–3 MOLLISSIMA Prop. 3.15.29 *lacrimis Amphiona mollem*; Ovid *Fasti* 4.523
*flent pariter molles animis*.

FATETUR 10.172.

DEDIT The causal nuance would more explicitly be given by *dederit*; cf. HS
559, KS 2.293 and on 10.248. ||608|

Tears distinguish men from beasts, says Pliny *NH* 7.2–4 (cf. on 18 and 159–64;
but the context in Pliny is rather different and the tears have no reference to sym-
pathy); Sen. *De Ira* 1.5 declares that anger is contrary to nature.

A semi-colon would be better than a full stop before HAEC. The epic phrase
ἀγαθοὶ δ’ ἀριδάκρυες ἄνδρες became a proverb applied to sympathetic men
(*Paroemiogr.* 1 p. 4, 2 p. 3).
133–5 With Clausen’s punctuation there are the following difficulties: (1) SEN-
SUS meaning something like ‘our emotional make-up’ lacks a good parallel; con-
trast 146 (2) SQUALOREM is placed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, but this variety of that figure
with -que is not Juvenalian (3) if -que links rei, used as an adjective, to causam
dicentis, rei adds nothing to the sense and is a pointless anticlimax; if it connects
rei, used as a noun, with amici and these two refer to different persons, we should
require rei cuiuslibet (4) to weep at a friend’s tribulations is not a good illustration
of soft-heartedness; this is not a malum alienum (142). So SENUS can hardly
be gen. sing. Housman made it acc. plur. by moving the full stop from after it to
before it; but the result is too unnatural to merit serious consideration. I think it
is nom. sing. and that a comma should be placed before it, so that 133 will mean
‘this is the best part of us, feeling’; now it does properly co-ordinate with 146.
HAEC has been attracted into the gender of the predicate (cf. 11.52 and often),
and for PARS OPTIMA NOSTRI cf. Sen. Ep. 23.6, 74.16, NQ 1 pr. 14. Then I sug-
gest that difficulties 2–4 should be solved by altering AMICI to AMICTUM. Now
SQUALOREM REI will be epexegetic of CAUSAM DICENTIS AMICTUM; for
epexegetic -QUE cf. index conjunctions.

IUBET sc. natura cf. 138.

SQUALOREM So defendants regularly appeared in order to arouse sympathy
(Gell. 3.4.1 etc.; cf. on 7.146); see RE Trauerkleidung 2229, luctus 1698.61, A. W.
Lintott Violence in Republican Rome (1968) 16, J. Stroux Ein Gerichtsreform des
Claudius (Sitzb. Bay. Akad. 1929, 8) 61.

135–7 For the asyndeton before pupillum cf. 2.149–50, 12.46, 3.90 and on 10.176.
PUPILLUM … CIRCUMSCRIPTOREM 10.222, 1.46; the ward would not him-
self prosecute, but bring the action through others (Ulpian Dig. 26.10.7; Kaser1
1.363, RE tutela 1556, Berger 749 s.v. tutor suspectus).

AD IURA Cf. Laus Pis. 41; technically in ius (10.87).

CUIUUS refers back to PUPILLUM over CIRCUMSCRIPTOREM; cf. HS 556,
KS 2.286.

MANANTIA FLETU Catull. 101.9.

INCERTA Sexually ambiguous; Σ compares Hor. Odes 2.5.21–4, ||[609] where
see Nisbet–Hubbard. The ancients favoured a hermaphroditic ideal of beauty in
boys, cf. H. Licht Sittengesch. Griechenlands (1925) 1.127 and e.g. Ovid Met. 3.607,
13.605d, Dio Chrys. 21.3, Trag. Graec. Fr. adesp. 355 Nauck. For the long hair of
Roman boys cf. Blümner1 271 and add Mart. 12.49.

138–40 ADULTAE i.e. nubilis; death then is especially tragic (cf. 12.118, Latti-
more 192, E. Griessmair Das Motiv der Mors Immatura (1966) 63, Rohde 2.392 n.
2 = 576 n. 14).

MINOR IGNE ‘too small for the fire’, cf. on 4.66. Infants were regularly buried,
not cremated; cf. Latte 100 n. 3, Blümner1 487 n. 9, Onians 263, van Hoorn 94;
Pliny NH 7.72.

ET MINOR ut minor Schrader, perhaps rightly.

140–1 The hierophant ‘wishes men to be’ of good character by proclaiming in the πρόρρησις (cf. on 14.45) through the voice of the herald that the wicked depart before the ceremony, cf. Suet. Nero 34.4, SHA 18.18.2 (P. Foucart Les Mystères d’Eleusis (1914) 309, G. E. Mylonas Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (1962) 247, K. Clinton The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries (1974) 78). Velle often carries the stronger sense ‘ordain’. The Eleusinian mysteries were in the news around this time because Hadrian was initiated in A.D. 125–9 (Kienast Jahrb. für Numism. 10, 1959, 61, cf. Beaujeu 165); but the statement that he introduced the mysteries at Rome (Aurel. Vict. Caes. 14.4) is of no credit.

FACE See Mylonas l.c. index p. 345; Bömer and Frazer on Ovid Fasti 4.493; M. Vassits Die Fackel (1900) 15; Eitrem 178; RE Fackeln 1947. Torches were common in mystery cults (cf. on 2.91), both for purificatory and symbolical reasons and because such rites are usually celebrated at night.

ARCANA Cf. secreta 2.91; Cereris sacrum arcanae Hor. Odes 3.2.26; Stat. Silv. 4.8.50, Sen. Phaedr. 107, Herc. 301.

142 Ter. Haut. 77 homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto, a famous and much-quoted verse; Sen. Ep. 88.30 nullum alienum malum putat (humanitas).

143 MUTORUM Cf. 8.56 and on the substantival use Thes. s.v. 1733.55; Sen. De Ira 2.8.3 animalia muta in the context mentioned on 159–64.

ADEO So Nisbet 238. On ideo Duff remarks ‘the logic is dubious; because we have the power of sympathy, therefore we have it (146)’. With adeo Juvenal argues ‘a capacity for sympathy separates us from the brutes; what is more, it is from heaven that we have acquired a feeling that the brutes lack’ (Nisbet).

VENERABILE is capable of meaning ‘reverent’, but it would require -bilis adjectives actively.

143–7 All this is of Stoic character (cf. Zeller 3.1.203); all the themes have close parallels in Cic. De Leg. 1.22–6.

144 DIVINORUM CAPACES Cf. Manil. 2.106 and the context, 4.902 and the context (cf. on 147); Ovid Met. 1.76.

145 PARIENDIS Claudian l.c. (see the apparatus) utque artes pariat sollertia; the reading capiendis is due to capaces. Note the hysteron proteron, for which see HS 698.

146 SENSUM (cf. on 133) i.e. communem sensum (8.73), ‘sympathy’.

147 It is often remarked that man’s erect posture distinguishes him from the other animals; e.g. Cic. De Nat. Deor. 2.140 (where see Pease), Ovid Met. 1.84–6 pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram (see Bömer), Manil. 4.897–906 (where the context is very like this); cf. Alfonsi Atene e Roma 3.10, 1942, 59. The idea is perhaps hinted at by Plato Tim. 90a. On the contrast between men and animals...
cf. Zeller 3.1.196. See also Vretskva on Sall. Cat. 1.1 (p. 32).

148 CONDITOR i.e. δημιουργός; cf. Thes. s.v. 146.83. The word is so used by the Stoics Seneca and Manilius, and also Stat. Th. 3.483.

149 ANIMAS ... ANIMUM Not just the breath of life, but feeling and intelligence also. Cf. Sen. Ep. 58.14, 4.4; Manili. 4.892; Nonius 426 who quotes Accius 296 and Varro Sat. Men. 32; Servius on Aen. 10.487 animus consilii est, anima vitae ... [quidam secundum Epicureos ... volunt animum esse τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν animae] (for the Epicurean view see Lucr. 3.94 sqq.). Varro ap. August. CD 7.23 (Ant. Rer. Div. 1.14–16 Agahd p. 200) defines animus as the highest grade of anima.

149–58 The thought generally resembles Aristotle Pol. 1.2.7 (1252b15) sqq.; cf. also Cic. De Inv. 1.2 sqq., De Rep. 1.39, Lucr. 5.1019–20 (with Bailey p. 1484). Juvenal insists on κοινωνία, societas (see Pohlenz 2.158 note on 316.1; von Arnim’s index to SVF 18a and 84; Zeller 3.1.292 sqq.); cf. Sen. Ep. 95.52–3, who quotes Terence referred to on 142.

150 ADFECTUS ‘friendly feeling’ cf. on 12.10.

151–2 Cf. Six init. and on 6.5.


DEFENDIER A striking archaism, cf. on 4.29. Outside epic and didactic poetry this form of the infinitive is found in Horace’s hexameters, Pers. 1.28 and 3.50, Phaedr. 4.18.14; cf. KH 693. In hexameters as here it is usually in the fifth foot (exceptions at Hor. Serm. 1.2.78, Epist. 2.2.151). Perhaps, as 156 suggests, Juvenal wishes to impart some epic elevation, or he may feel the form appropriate to an account of prehistoric times. \[611\]

158 TURRIBUS Lucr. 5.1440.

159–64 IAM is contrasted with mundi principio 147–8. The idea appears in proverb (Otto cornix 3, canis 9, Nachträge 145), rhetorical treatments (Sen. Contr. 2.1.10, Val. Max. quoted on 93, Pliny NH 7.5 (cf. on 133) on human rabies (cf. 126), Libanius Decl. 12.6, Dio Chrys. 40.41) and Seneca’s utopian Stoicism (Ep. 95.31, De Clem. 1.26.4; De Ira 2.8.3, for which see on 142). Cf. also Hor. Epode 7.11–12.

159–60 ‘A related animal spares its spotted kin’; probably not ‘an animal of similar spots spares its kin’.

160–3 An elegant demonstration of the figure polyptoton.

165 AST is elsewhere used by Juvenal only before pronouns.

166 CUM is concessive. PRODUXISSE ducere (Thes. 2148.64) is similarly used.

166 For these tools see White\(^2\) 40, 43, 52, 132, and for the enumeration cf. 3.311, with the same variation between singular and plural.

COQUERE Thes. 226.82. Nisbet’s (238) deletion of 167 deserves mention, though it does not impose itself.

168 GLADIOS EXTENDERE ‘forge long swords’; for this type of compressed expression see the references given by Fraenkel JRS 56, 1966, 145–6.
169–71 ASPICIMUS i.e. nowadays; cf. *iam* 159 and 31–2.

**POPULOS** Cf. 130.

**CREDIDERINT** Understand *qui* from QUORUM, cf. HS 565, KS 2.323. ‘Non sufficit, res manifesta; *qui* crediderint, hoc est quos credidisse colligimus’ Housman. Inevitably some mss. read *crediderunt*, but Juvenal does not use -ërunt.

172 **QUO NON FUGERET** Even beyond the Sarmatians (2.1).

**MONSTRA** Cf. 121; PYTAGORAS for the word-order cf. on 3.93.


**TAMQUAM HOMINE** Cf. 14.98 of the Jews; but in the case of Pythagoras the prohibition was due to the theory of metempsychosis, according to which a human soul might reside in an animal.

**NON OMNE LEGUMEN** Beans in particular were forbidden in the famous verses:

> δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἀπὸ χεῖρας ἔχεσθε.
> ἵσόν τοι κυάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλάς τε τοκήων


In fact Pythagoras was said to have derived this prohibition from [[612] Egypt (Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 8.8.2.729a), and whether Juvenal knew this or not the lines lose some of their point when one compares 9–12. Here abstinence from meat and some vegetables indicates that cannibalism would be even more horrible, there piety in this respect makes cannibalism even more reprehensible by contrast. Juvenal’s declamation is not concerned to arrive at a consistent moral evaluation of abstinence from meat and vegetables, but only with its application for the immediate effect of whipping up the reader’s feelings in each context, even two opposite applications within the same satire.

To this analysis two caveats must be entered. First, Pythagoras is differentiated from the Egyptians by TAMQUAM HOMINE, so that the poem ends by emphasising *humanitas*. Secondly, Juvenal’s attitude to Pythagoras is not devoid of humour (cf. 3.229); he regards him as a crank, but as a saintly one. He is quite prepared to poke fun even at the objects of his respect (see p. 24), but it would be totally discordant with the tone of this poem to suppose that he ends with a purely destructive irony.
This satire is a mere fragment which breaks off in mid-sentence. The incompleteness could be due either to mutilation of some ancestral codex at the end or to the author, who in that case will have died leaving his work unfinished. Knoche Grundlagen 63 argues that in the latter event the posthumous editor would have trimmed a few lines off to give the impression of completeness. The evidence however is not sufficient to establish this, and the fact that 41 is an almost identical repetition of another line in the same book suggests to me that Juvenal had not given this poem its final polish.

The subject is the advantages of a soldier’s life, treated in a manner which combines Juvenal’s earlier aggression with his later irony (see p. 13). Juvenal discusses (tractat cf. 7) three advantages, all concerning his legal position; primum (7–34) when he is prosecuted for assault on a civilian, nunc alia (35–50) when he is plaintiff in a civil action, praeterea (51 sqq.) in disposing of his property by will. In the latter two cases the civilian has no cause for complaint except jealousy; in the first he is unable to get redress for his grievances. The whole poem is an interesting document of the alienation of the togati (8) or pagani (33) from the army, which became ever more pronounced in the late Empire and has been regarded by some scholars as a main cause of its decline and fall. Some emperors, like Vespasian and Trajan, were themselves military men and inclined to favour soldiers; others felt the need to buy the support of the army, which was the instrument of repression used by unpopular emperors. Hence assaults and extortions by soldiers could easily go unpunished (cf. on 10 sqq.) and increase civilians’ dislike of them. I have concluded (pp. 3–7) that evidence linking Juvenal himself with the army is fallacious, and in this poem he fully identifies himself with the civilians (28, 37, 47); indeed he seems to criticise Hadrian directly (15). \[614\]

Bibliography on the Roman Army

G. Webster, The Roman Imperial Army (1969).
PRÆMIA (cf. 35) and COMMODA (7) are both words which have technical senses in the Roman army (of donatives; lump sums on discharge, etc.), but here are both used in the non-technical sense which the latter often has, e.g. CEL 986.8.

NAM explains felicis (with which cf. 59); there are many infelices militiae.

SECUNDO SIDERÆ cannot co-exist in an apodosis with PROSPERA in the protasis. ‘If recruits are lucky, may I be a lucky recruit’ is grotesque; the apodosis ought to say ‘may I be a recruit’. Therefore there is a gap after 2.

ME But of course the historical Juvenal was now an old man.

PORTA castrorum; EXCIPIAT cf. Tac. Hist. 3.24.

FATI HORA At one’s birth; cf. 7.194–5 (in a description of felicitas), 6.577–81; Pers. 5.48, on which see Housman CQ 17, 1913, 20 = Coll. Papers 853.

A recruit might bring litterae commendatìciae (Thes. 3.1836.72) to his commander; Watson 37 and in ANRW 2.1.496, Davies Bönner Jahrh. 169, 1969, 216 and 229 (there is one among the Vindolanda tablets, Bowman and Thomas Historia 24, 1975, 473). Likewise he might be humorously imagined as being commended to the patron of soldiers by the latter’s mistress (2.31, 10.314) or mother. Juno had strong mythological associations with Samos (RE 378 and ML 2084 s.v. Hera, Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 100–1), and there was a huge Heraion there (RE Samos 2194).

HARENA Presumably because the Heraion is on the coast. The Sibylline oracles include a prophecy ἔσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος (3.363, 4.91, 8.166), which appears to be a post eventum reference to the earthquake of A.D. 177–8; but perhaps the implied etymology is earlier.

TRACTEMUS The tractatio begins; cf. [Quintil.] Decl. 2.16 tractemus nunc …

COMMUNIA (cf. 13.140) to all soldiers; Juvenal must later have treated or intended to treat the cases of particular groups (e.g. officers) or individuals.

NE ut non would be orthodox, but there is a hint of jussive and/or purpose; cf. Livy 40.15.6 ita me gessi ne tibi pudori … essem; Mart. 4.64.19–20 essedo tacente / ne blando rota sit molesta somno, as if the house had been placed so far from the road for this purpose. Cf. HS 641–2, Handford p. 51, Hand 4.42. [1615]

TOGATUS A civilian (8.240, 10.8).

It was known for defendants to enlist in order to evade justice; Arrius Menander Dig. 49.16.4.8, RE suppl. 10.403.12.

DISSIMULET Sc. ut from ne, cf. 13.36, on 6.17–18 and KS 2.563. Ulpian Dig. 47.10.11.1 iniuriarum actio … dissimulatione aboletur.

si te delectant, 10.298–304 licet. Of course not all of these are of exactly the same kind.

10 sqq. This passage raises difficult legal problems, made more difficult by the fact that Juvenal is our only authority; and poets do not strive for legal exactitude, nor satirists for impartiality. Evidently a civilian with a complaint against a soldier would apply to the praetor (10; i.e. urbanus), who, as in many civil actions, would appoint a iudex (see on 13), and this iudex would exercise summary jurisdiction (cognitio 18). According to Juvenal he would be a centurion (cf. R. Cavenaille Corpus Pap. Lat. (1958) no. 212, where the praefectus castrorum iudicem dat a centurion), but Durry REL 13, 1935, 95 (cf. Sander Rh. Mus. 101, 1958, 229 and 103, 1960, 296) has argued that he would in fact be an ēvōcātus. Juvenal could not fit this name into his verse and therefore (it is suggested) used that of the nearest rank instead; evocati were now in effect corporals to the centurion-sergeants (see RE evocatus, DE evocatio, Kromayer–Veith 490; Domaszewski xix and 75). Durry’s grounds are two. First, he quotes CIL 11.2108 = ILS 2146 evocatus a quaestionibus; but CIL 6.2755 = ILS 2145 offers a fuller form of this title, evocatus a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio, which shows that this official assisted the praefectus praetorio in the civil jurisdiction which he gradually acquired. The second argument depends on uniform footwear. The Bardaei or Vardaei were an Illyrian tribe who gave their name to a type of boot (13–14) which Martial associates with an evocatus, 4.4.5 lassi vardaicus ... evocati. Ordinary soldiers wore hob-nailed caligae (24); what did centurions wear? This question is discussed by Gilliam TAPA 77, 1946, 183. The only positive evidence for calcei is the scholiast on this passage, who may be simply inferring from the context; other evidence is scanty, but favours caligae. In that case the evocati will have worn calcei because they were often detached as assistants to civil officials, and the inscriptions which contrast service in calceo with that in caliga will refer to promotion to evocatus. On the other hand the use of the term caligati for ordinary rankers does suggest a contrast with higher ranks like centurion, and the evidence does not suffice for a definite decision. Cf. Taegert Hermes 106, 1978, 583 n. 55.


OFFAM A raw lump, a bruise.

RELICTUM He has not quite lost it (6.373b), but the doctor gives no guarantee (Pliny Ep. 1.22.11 uses pōllīcēri similarly).

IUDEX (cf. 29) is here predicative, but alludes to the phrase iudicem dare (Thes. 7.2.598.72 and Corp. Pap. Lat. l.c.), in which it is not.

BARDAICUS CALCEUS The boot indicates the wearer; cf. 24 and 3.115. With this and grandes surae (which would be conspicuous because centurions wore their tunics high; Quintil. 11.3.138) Juvenal hints that the iudices (or the iudex and
his consilium, cf. on 3.162, 6.497) are all brawn and no brain (cf. buccae 11.34). Cf. 3.247, 14.195; Pers. 3.86 torosa iuventus and more in Otto Nachträge 85. Because of their size they need big benches (cf. 44) to sit on.

PUNIRE To get punished; qui facit per alium, facit per se. Cf. 3.37 and 186, 4.110, 6.481–4, 7.73 and 86, 8.136; KS 1.100, Fraenkel JRS 56, 1966, 146 and references given there.

15 multo minus milites avocandi sunt a signis vel muneribus perhibendi testimonii causa, idque divus Hadrianus rescripsit Callistratus Dig. 22.5.3.6. The same wish to avoid long absence from duty motivates the speed remarked in 35–50. Camillus is mentioned symbolically as the father of the Roman army (RSV 2.332), not literally as having established such a rule; if there is any literal reference, it is to the fact that in his day for the first time during the siege of Veii soldiers were not permitted to return home at the end of the campaigning season to see to their affairs (Livy 5.2).

17–19 Spoken by an injured party in naive optimism; most people felt sceptical about camp justice (Tac. Agr. 9.2; cf. Garnsey 248 n. 2). As 18 is punctuated by Clausen and most editors, igitur is nonsensical and must be supposed corrupt. Weidner however placed a comma after est and understood nec mihi in the sense of ne mihi quidem; igitur is first word at 6.210, 9.20, 10.285. No solid objection has been raised against this, and I accept it. For iustissima—iustae cf. on 9–10; for ultio de Florus 1.45.8. Juvenal might more plainly | 617 have written iustă (cf. Lucan 8.511–12 iustior … querellae causa), but cf. Tib. 1.4.10 causas iusti semper amoris. For QUERELLAE cf. 13.135, Petron. 15 iudex querellam inspiceret.

20 There were three maniples in a cohort (M. Durry Les Cohortes Prétoriennes (1938) 93 sqq.; A. Passerini Le Coorti Pretorie (1939) 68). For the rest of this paragraph Juvenal seems to have in mind particularly the soldiers of the praetorian guard, which at this time probably had ten cohorts (Durry 80–1, Passerini 55, Kennedy Ancient Society 9, 1978, 275).

21 CONSENSU MAGNO For this phrase see Thes. 4.391.42.

CURABILIS ‘requiring medical treatment’ (cf. currentur 13.124), a sense not elsewhere attested for this word but defended by close analogies; placabilis ara Verg. Aen. 7.764, 9.585. See Postgate Hermathena 17, 1913, 404 sqq., with other parallels on 407–8.

23 MULINO CORDE Cf. Otto mulus 1 (but the Plautine quotation is fictitious), Nachträge 243; cor bubulum Mart. 14.219 in a pun. The variants are attempts to emend a corruption mutino.

VAGELLI 13.119.

24 DUO Only two; cf. Naegelsbach §84.1.

CALIGAS … CLAVORUM Caligae are the hob-nailed boots of the rankers (see on 10 sqq.), cf. 3.248; Blümner 1.281, 226; Marquardt 595; clavi caligares or caligarii cf. Thes. 3.155.47 and 54; clavarium is a special boot-allowance Tac. Hist.
3.50 (cf. calcearium); see the hob-nailed boot-sole in Guide to Antiquities of Roman Britain, British Museum,2 (1958) p. 11 fig. 5. They are personified (cf. 13–14 and crura 8.115) as if they and not the soldiers were responsible for the kicking; Caligula acquired his name from a similar personification (Suet. 9, Tac. Ann. 1.69).

25 ADSIT To support in court; Thes. s.v. 923.20.

TAM PROCUL AB URBE Juvenal’s readers will have laughed at this. The praetorian camp (Lugli 4.242) was just outside (450–500 metres; Platner–Ashby 106, Durry (l.c. on 20) 46, RE praetoriae cohortes 1611) the ‘Servian’ wall (agger 5.153, 8.43, 6.588; Σ on 10.95 iuxta aggerem primus posuit castra Seianus, quae dicta sunt castra praetoria; for the agger cf. Nash 2.104, Lugli 1.148, Platner–Ashby 354, Thes. s.v. 1308.24), between the portae Collina and Viminalis. There was an open space between the walls and the camp, the campus Viminalis sub aggere (Platner–Ashby 95, Lugli 4.34), probably to be identified with the campus mentioned as the exercise-ground of the praetorian cohorts (Platner–Ashby 90, Lugli 4.250, Durry 54). The camp therefore could hardly be described as tam procul ab Urbe (best printed with a capital); the friends represent it thus as an excuse. When Tac. Ann. 4.2.1 (on Sejanus’ establishment of the castra praetoria) says [618] severius acturos si vallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris he is giving Sejanus’ weak pretext.


28 NON See on 3.54.

29 DA 3.137, Thes. s.v. 1694.64 (cf. Juv. 8.68); = producere 32. IUDEX cf. 13.

VIDI 7.13. Cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 5.165 adhuc enim testes ex eo genere a me sunt dati non qui novisse Gavium, sed se visisse dicrent.

AUDEAT … ET CREDAM Cf. 6.57; et in such cases (Thes. s.v. 895.10, 894.55), which are in effect paratactic ways of expressing a condition, is not Ciceronian (HS 481, KS 2.5).

31 Cf. on 4.103 and 5.30; a witness like Scipio Nasica 3.137.

33 PAGANUM ‘civilian’; the word first appears in this sense in authors of this time (the younger Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius); cf. e.g. in a military papyrus, Cavennaille (on 10) no. 106, p. 213 xiv = R. O. Fink Roman Military Records on Papyrus (1971) p. 108.15. The antithesis paganus–miles is hardly due to the fact that the army no longer recruited from the peasantry (so RE paganus 2296), but rather to the sense ‘outsider’ which paganus acquired, the army regarding itself as forming a self-contained club; cf. H. Grégoire Les Persécutions dans l’Empire Romain (Mem. Ac. Belge 56.5, 1964) 188; C. Mohrmann Étude sur le Latin des Chrétiens 3 (1958) 277 sqq. = Vig. Christ. 6, 1952, 109 sqq.

34 FORTUNAM ‘possessions’ 14.328.

PUDOREM ‘honour’ 8.83.

35 NOTEMUS 15.45.

36 SACRAMENTORUM i.e. militiae.
Boundary-stones are of great importance in open-field agriculture, where properties are not separated by hedgerows. Hence the boundary-stones are sacred (38), and their worship produced a god Terminus; cf. Latte 64, Wissowa 136–8 and in ML s.v., Ogilvie on Livy 1.55.3, Rudorff in his edition of the Gromatici 2.236 sqq. In spite of the impiety involved, dishonest neighbours could increase their holding by surreptitiously moving back the stones (ML l.c. 381.35; cf. Pliny NH 2.175); Hadrian increased the penalty for this (Williams JRS 66, 1976, 72). See in general RE terminus and terminus motus, F. T. Hinrichs Gesch. der Gromatischen Institutionen (1974) 174, Dilke 98 and 105–6, Fustel de Coulanges 67–9 (Book 2 ch. 6), Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. Odes 2.18.24.

37 CAMPUM sc. ruris aviti. SI is placed very late, cf. 3.173.


39 On the Terminalia, 23 February; Ovid Fasti 2.639 sqq., where see Bömer and Frazer. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 15 and Numa 16 says that animate victims used not to be offered to Terminus, and Dion. Hal. AR 2.74.4 says the same in the present tense, but he is refuted by Ovid and Hor. Epode 2.59.

PULS The primitive offering; Wissowa 411.

PATULO Verg. Aen. 7.115.

LIBO Cf. 3.187, 6.540, Ovid and Dion. Hal. l.c., RE s.v.

40 SUMPTOS sc. mutuos, borrowed.

41 is almost identical with 13.137; this has brought some suspicion on the line, but its removal would leave 40 a disproportionately brief anticlimax. For other such repetitions see on 1.24, 10.365; this instance is more surprising as both occurrences come within the same book.

42 Two essential preliminaries. First, Clausen does not record that U reads incohät and P seems to have originally read the same, though the scribe himself altered it to incohät. Second, the meaning and use of exspectare. The accusative after this verb can indicate either the point of time which one awaits or the period during which one waits. Mayor (‘we must wait a year for the beginning of the hearing … of the whole nation’s litigation’) and Duff (‘I must wait for a year (i.e. a long time) before the hearing of the suits of the whole people begins’) assume the latter; but then to make sense the Latin must be twisted to a meaning which it cannot bear (Duff has to translate qui as ’before’).

Servius comments on Aen. 2.102 in ordinem dicebantur causae propter multitudinem vel tumultum festinantium, cum erat annum litium; then he quotes this verse (with incohät). There is no other authority for the phrase annum litium, but the explanation is right. The courts generally conducted their business during
the months January–October (Balsdon 180 and 212–13, RE actus rerum 332; cf. on 6.68), and there was a legal vacation (res prolatae) during November and December. Juvenal’s meaning must be that civilians have to wait until January for redress, but annus on its own cannot mean ‘New Year’. There is however a Latin idiom whereby annus (cf. Thes. s.v. 120.3) is applied to a part of a year, e.g. Stat. Silv. 4.4.40 piger annus of the judicial vacation (cf. Gow on Theocr. 7.85 and the similar use of axis and orbis, for which see on 8.116). But the word in this sense requires [620] adjectival qualification, which would be given in straightforward fashion by qui incohat; and I regard this reading with favour. If the subjunctive is right it cannot be final, which would be most natural but would produce nonsense, but must be due to the psychological influence of the idea of ‘waiting until’. The passage has given rise to complex discussions by students of Roman law, among which I single out Mommsen Ges. Schr. 4.110.

Juvenal adds that the plaintiff must not only await the beginning of legal term, but even longer, for everybody’s case is then before the court; this is naturally exaggerated, though for the mass of litigation cf. Parks 55 and for other remarks about the law’s delays J. M. Kelly Roman Litigation (1966) 123 (Pliny Ep. 6.2.5 sqq. gives the answer of the legal establishment to such complaints).

A novel explanation of this passage has been propounded by M. O. Behrends, Die Röm. Geschworenenverfassungen (1970) 31 sqq. and passim. He argues that at the beginning of each year those who planned to embark on a suit during the year to be heard by a single iudex had to apply to the praetor, who then compiled a fixed calendar of legal actions for the whole year, so that anyone who from February onwards decided to start such a legal action would have to wait until the next January. This explanation would give more point to Juvenal’s complaint as it would suit plaints filed at any point of the year, whereas on the explanation suggested above only those who began actions late in the year would be likely to be subject to delay. But the evidence alleged to prove that the Romans could have conducted their legal business in such an amazing way is thin and unclear.

43–4 MILLE TAEDEA Mart. 12.82.14.

SUBSELLIA cf. 14; RE 504 and DS 1551b n. 14 s.v., Blümner 121 n. 5. The benches are laid out (cf. 9.52) and no more; i.e. they are not actually used.

PONENTE LACERNAS (poetic plural, cf. 6.118). These were worn over the toga (9.29), but one had to speak togatus (cf. 2.70, 8.49; Suet. Aug. 40.5 ne quem posthae patenterunt (aediles) in foro circave nisi positis lacernis consistere; Lydus De Mag. 3.8).

CAEDICIO 13.197, where he is a iudex.

FUSCO 12.45, if the same man is meant; Mart. 7.28.5–6 mentions an orator Fuscus, but respectfully.

MICTURIENTE Friedlaender thinks that excitement had this effect on Fuscus. It is however more likely that the word is used without any desiderative force (cf.
HS 298) equivalent to *mingente* (cf. 6.309). Fuscus realises that he will have to stay in court for some time and is taking the precaution of going to the lavatory beforehand. The [[621] drunken *iudex* portrayed by Titius ap. Macrobr. *Sat.* 3.16.16 (*ORF* p. 202) has to leave the court for this purpose.

PARATI DIGREDIMUR Pliny *Ep.* 5.9 describes a similar sudden adjournment (remarking *numquam ita paratus sum ut non mora laeter*).

47 LENTA This word, placed emphatically first in its clause, conveys the main notion, as if it were *lenta est fori harena in qua pugnamus*. Here it primarily conveys the notion ‘slow’, but also suggests that the sand of the forum, in which gladiatorial fights often took place, had been turned into a sticky, clinging paste (cf. Cato *De Agr.* 40.2) by blood. For the gladiatorial metaphor of HARENA applied to orators cf. Sen. *Contr.* 3 pr. 13, Pliny *Ep.* 6.12.2, for PUGNAMUS 7.173.

48 The reason for avoiding delay with soldiers is as noted on 15.

BALTEUS The sword-belt 6.256; *balteus ambit* ends the line at Germanicus 191 (cf. Val. Fl. 3.189).

50 SUFFLAMINE 8.148.

RES ATTERITUR Their property (RES) is like a wheel worn away by the friction of the brake. Cf. Suet. *Galba* 3.4 *atritis facultatibus*; Pliny *Ep.* 8.12.3 *si litibus tererer*.

51 sqq. A soldier, like any other citizen, was *in manu patris* (*RE* potesta patria 1138). Citizens in this position could in practice own property, though strictly it was not a right but an act of grace and the property was (like a slave’s) *peculium*. But soldiers had a formal right to money gained on military service (*peculium castrense*; *RE* peculium 15, *Dig.* 49.17, Kaser¹ 344, Berger s.v., *RE* suppl. 10.400) and could formally dispose of this by will (*Dig.* 29.1 is *De Testamento Militis*; cf. Campbell *JRS* 68, 1978, 157, *RE* suppl. 10.398), whereas civilians could not bequeath their *peculium*. See Sander *Rh. Mus.* 101, 1958, 170 and 200; Daube² 77; Garnsey 248–9; B. d’Orgeval *L’Empereur Hadrian* (1950) 349 and (for Hadrian’s enactments on the subject) 87; Schiller in *Festgabe U. von Lübtow* (1970) 302.

LABORE Cf. 57; often of military service (*Thes.* s.v. 790.20).

CORPORE A legal use; see *VIR* s.v. iv.

54 CORANUM It appears to be mere coincidence that this is the name of the *recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro* at Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.55–69 who disappoints the hopes of his *captator* (on 3.128) father-in-law. There Coranus seems to be an old man who has married a young wife, and his age is the reason why his father-in-law *captat*; here the reason why the father *captat* the son is that a soldier is always liable to be killed on service. That would make this particularly horrible to ancient thought, which abhorred the death of children before their parents (cf. on 10.240 sqq.); but here the father virtually wishes for it. The name Coranus is used by Mart. 4.37.1, 9.98. ||622|

CASTRORUM AERA MERENTEM For this standard phrase see *Thes.* 1.1076.13, 8.803.31.
TREMULUS 10.198.

56 FAVOR (corrupted via fabor and the influence of labori 57) AEQUUS The advancement that is his due, cf. Hor. Epist. 2.1.9. and sua dona (‘the appropriate reward’) 57.

PROVEHIT So used in the Vita Juvenalis and often; cf. on 1.39.

PULCHRO Sil. It. 15.267 pulchroque labori of soldiers.

DONA sc. militaria (Thes. s.v. 2018.80), including phalerae (medals; RE s.v.), torques etc.; likewise phaleris etc. donatus. On military decorations see Watson 114, Webster 133, Büttner Bönner Jahrb. 157, 1957, 127.

DUCIS The emperor.
Appendix: Juvenal and Lucian

It is to be expected that two writers of a satirical bent, living close in time to each other (Lucian seems to have been born just before the death of Juvenal) in a very similar social and political milieu, should in their writings show points of contact; and accordingly my notes adduce a number of parallels from Lucian to the thought and phraseology of Juvenal. It has however sometimes been suspected that the relationship between the two is closer than this; that Lucian knew the work of Juvenal, that he imitated it, and even made some of his points to counter it (a view propounded in particular by R. Helm Lucian und Menipp (1906) 218–22; cf. Highet 252 n. 1, 296 n. 1). A decision on the correctness of such contentions is not to be reached on general grounds, such as the knowledge, or lack of knowledge, of Latin literature and of literary Latin possessed by Greek writers (it is certain that Lucian knew some administrative Latin). Allusions to commonplace events of life, such as the early morning rounds of clients, contribute nothing to proof unless there is some special closeness in setting or in turn of thought or phrase. Again, resemblances scattered through the writings of both carry no weight since, as explained above, they are naturally to be looked for; unless of course there is some particular feature which makes dependence unmistakeable. Before enquiring whether there are any such instances, this appendix assembles the passages of Lucian which can in my judgment with validity be related to the 3rd and 5th satires of Juvenal, the only two poems which present a sustained series of resemblances; we have to decide whether these are due merely to community of theme. The three dialogues of Lucian mainly concerned are his De Mercede Conductis (περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῶν συνόντων), Nigrinus and Saturnalia (τὰ πρὸς Κρόνον). It will help if I begin with an outline of the contents of these; this will facilitate understanding of the context in which each specific parallel occurs. [625]

The De Mercede Conductis ‘On Salaried Attendants’ is a λόγος ἀποτρεπτικός addressed to Timocles (as Juvenal 5 to Trebius), and attacks the life led by educated Greeks who attach themselves to the households of great Roman lords and ladies; especially philosophers, but grammarians, rhetoricians and musicians are
also singled out. Discussion of this theme could be read as an answer to Juvenal’s attack on such Greeks, 3.58–125. Their main motive for such employment is poverty, but they are not well-paid; in some cases it is old age or sickness, but they are forced to work hard; in others, pleasure or greed, but they are always tantalised by hopes of attaining their wishes, and nothing beyond hopes; or finally snobbery. The main body of the work then discusses (10) what they put up with before they are received, (21) what they endure when they have been received, (39) the miserable outcome.

The Nigrinus opens with a dedicatory letter saying how deeply Lucian has been affected by the words of the philosopher Nigrinus. The dialogue proper begins with a conversation between Lucian and a friend (1–12); he then reports how Nigrinus, who lives at Rome, lectured him, as Umbricius lectured Juvenal (both Lucian and Juvenal are passive listeners who do not interrupt). Nigrinus first praises Greece and especially Athens (12–14), then (15–34) denounces life at Rome; we may recall how Umbricius sets up an antithesis between Rome and the little country towns. First there is a preliminary review of Roman vices; Juvenal too sketches the coming themes in 3.7–9 and 21–4. These make Nigrinus withdraw into his own house (18), as Umbricius withdraws to Cumae. Then he reviews the relationships of rich and poor, the prevalent arrogance and servility, making special mention of toady philosophers (21–5), and proceeds to attack the hubbub of the city, the circus etc. (29); thus we have a scheme very like the parts marked out as II and III in my analysis of Juvenal’s poem.

The Saturnalia, the general theme of which is the treatment of the poor by the rich at festival-time, begins with a dialogue between Cronus and his priest (1–9). Then (10–18) laws, νόμοι συμποτικοί (17–18), are given for the conduct of the god’s festival: all are to drink the same wine and no special beverage is to be reserved for the host; all are to be served equal portions of the same meat, and the waiters are to show no favour; toasts are to be allowed to anyone, and the wine-waiter is to be attentive. There follow letters from Lucian to Cronus (19–24), Cronus to Lucian (25–30), Cronus to the rich (31–5), and the rich to Cronus (36–9), clearing up some practical points.

Now I list the actual resemblances in the order in which they occur in Lucian.

De Mercede Conductis

1. The alleged relationship of φιλία is really δουλεία, dependants become δοῦλοι ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων (2; a point elsewhere repeated, e.g. in §7 quoted below). Cf. Juv. 3.125; 5.12, 161, 173.

2. Philosophers put up with maltreatment fit only for κόλακες; οἱ υπομένοντες αὐτὰ are no less to blame than οἱ ποιοῦντες. Cf. Juv. 5.3–4, 170–4.


15. (Cf. 28 and 39). The hireling is suspect with regard to the master’s sons and wife, cf. Juv. 3.109–12.

17. πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ κατακλίσει λυπήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν παλαιῶν φίλων; cf. Juv. 382) ὃτι τήμερον ἤκουν προὐκριθῆς ἀνδρῶν πολυτελῆ δουλεῖαν ἤμητηκότων (cf. 3.124–5). εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τοιούτῳ τις ἐν αὐτὸς πέπεπε λόγος τοῦτο ἤμιν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους δεινοὺς διελεύστου, καὶ τῶν ἀρτι εἰσεληλυθότων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν δευτέρους εἶναι, καὶ μόνοις τοῖς "Ελλήστε ἀνέφερατ ἢ Ρωμαίων πόλις" (cf. 3.60–1, 119).


26. κατάκεισαι μάρτυς μόνον τῶν παραφερομένων (cf. Juv. 5.121), τὰ ὁπότα, εἰ ἐφίκοιτο μέχρι σοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ κύνες περιεσθίων … οὔτε ἡ ὄρνις ἤμιν ἁπαχεῖαι καὶ πιμελῆς, σοὶ δὲ νεοττὸς ἡμίτομος ἢ φάττα τις ὑπόσκληρος, ὑβρις ἀτιμία (cf. 5.9, 114–5, 166–8; but in Juvenal the client does not actually get any at all of this course) … τῶν ἄλλων ἠδικησόν τε καὶ παλαιώτατον οἶνον πινόντως μόνος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος δυνατόν τίνα καὶ παχῶν πίνεις (cf. 5.24–37) … καὶ εἴθε γε κὰν ἄνεμον εἰς κόρον ἦν πιεῖν, νῦν δὲ πολλάκις αἰτήσαντος ὁ παῖς ’οὔθ’ ἀϊστοὶ ἐφευκέν (cf. 5.62–3).

27. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ … γραμματίδια ὑπὸ κόλπου διακομίζουσι (i.e. cinaedi etc.; cf. Juv. 14.30) πόθεν σὺ γ’ ἰσότιμος; … υποσταίης δ’ ἂν, εἰ καὶ μάγων ἢ μάνων ἢ ἐκκρίνασθαί δεοὶ τῶν κλήρων πολυταλάντους καὶ αρχάς καὶ ἀθρόους τὸς πλούτους ὑποσχνουμένων· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸποῦν ὁ παῖς ’οὔθ’ ἀϊστοὶ ἐφευκέν (cf. 5.341, 77–8).

30. οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖν εἰδὼς οὐδὲ κεχαρισμένος εἶναι δυνάμενος. ἰδιώτης γὰρ ἔγωγε τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἄτεχνος, καὶ μάλιστα παραβαλλόμενος ἀνδράσι τέχνην τὸ πράγμα πεποιημένος. Cf. Juv. 3.104.

35. One must admire the writings of the patron and praise his beauty, his socalisms must become standard usage; cf. Juv. 3.41 sqq., 86 sqq.

39–40. Slander causes your ejection (cf. Juv. 3.122–5), ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ
σιωπῶν ἀξιόπιστος, σὺ δὲ Ἑλλην καὶ ράδιος τὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν εὐκολος … πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας παρελθόντες υπέρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμον εἰδέναι μαντείας καὶ φαρμακείας υπέσχοντο. Cf. Juv. 3.77–8.

Nigrinus

17. τί καὶ πράξειν διεγνώκασ μήτ’ ἀπαλάττεσθαι μήτε χρήσθαι τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυνάμενος; cf. Juv. 3.41.

20. ἐνεστὶ … τῶν τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὡσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐς οἰκίαν δεσπότην, τὸν δ’ ἀντί πλουσίου πένητος, τὸν δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πένητος ἡ βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ φίλον τούτου, τὸν δὲ εὐθρόντος, τὸν δὲ φυγάδα πολυπροσώπῳ περνάειν, ὡσπερ τοῖς καθεστῶσι μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι βέβαιον, ὡς … ὀρέγονται καὶ πλουσίου καὶ δυναστείας. Cf. Juv. 3.39–40; but Lucian’s point is essentially different.

21. <οἱ> πλουτοῦντες … ἀγαπᾶν ἀξιοῦντες ὅτι μόνον αὐτοὺς (i.e. τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας) προσέβλεπον. Cf. Juv. 3.185. [628]

22. πολὺ δὲ τούτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοῦ καὶ θεραπεύοντες γελοιότεροι, νυκτὸς μὲν ἐξανιστάμενοι μέσης (cf. Juv. 3.127, specifically of the pauper, as Lucian: 5.19–23), περιθέοντες δ’ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆν πόλιν (orbem 5.21) … κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα ὑπομένοντες. γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῖς περιόδου (orbem) τὸ φορτικὸν ἐκεῖνο δεῖπνον (cf. 5.12 and 77) … ἀπίασιν … ὑβρίν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες (cf. 5.9).

Saturnalia

22. δειπνίζειν ἐκαστὸν ἄρτι μὲν τέσσαρας, ἄρτι δὲ πέντε τῶν πενήτων καταφρονεῖ τοὺς εἰς τὸν νῦν τρόπον τῶν δείπνων, ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ δημοτικόν (civiliter 5.112), ὡς ἐπ’ ἵστη συμπίνειν. At present in the case of the poor a servant passes by δείξαντα μόνον τὴν λοπάδα ἢ ὡσον ἐστὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ λοιπόν (cf. 5.80–3, 121 spectes) … προειπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰνοχόοις μὴ περιμένειν ἐστ’ ἄν επτάως συμπίνειν ὡσον ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἔπαξ κηρῷ βεβύσθαι τὰ ὦτα (cf. 5.15–17), πλέον τοῦ εὐφραίνοντος ἐνεῖναι τὸ ἀνιαρὸν τῷ δείπνῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ’ ύπρείναι αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι (cf. 5.9) οἷον ἐκείνο τὸ μή τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁνόματος συμπίνειν, Ἡράκλεις, ὡς ἀνελεύθερον … ἀλλ’ ὑβρίν ἢ μικρολογίαν … ύπὲρ τοὺς ὄνομα κακοί ὡσπερ τοὺς ὄνομα κακοί ὡσπερ τοὺς ὄνομα κακοί ὡσπερ τοὺς ὄνομα κακοί ὡσπερ.
5.62–3). Moreover the servants carrying the meat run past the poor. ήπιοντων
φιλοτησίας (cf. §18 and Juv. 5.128), μεταξύ πίνοντες περισκοπείτωσαν τὸ ἔκπωμα
καὶ τὸ βάρος ῥήσαν οὗτοι διαβαστάσαντες … καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσος, ὃς ἐπανθεῖ
τῇ的技术学 (cf. 5.37 sqq.).

It will be apparent that even where there are undeniable resemblances between
Lucian and Juvenal, these often occur in different settings and with different ap-
plications, and that no single instance requires explanation by imitation. Never-
theless there is a certain cumulative weight, though this cannot be taken as any
form of proof in itself, and similarities in structure do impress. A resemblance not
quoted above which does seem to me to carry weight is adduced on 5.52, and a
cluster of [629] parallels between Juvenal 2 (see on 4, 50, 91) and Lucian’s Adversus
Indoctum is striking (see also on 12.95). But most important of all is the not obvi-
ous joke very similar to Juv. 10.32 quoted from De Morte Peregrini 45 on 10.28–30.
It seems to me very unlikely that this joke, in Lucian applied to Democritus, not
to Heraclitus, could have occurred independently to Lucian and Juvenal; nor can
it come from a common source, since Juvenal’s source is Seneca, who does not
have the joke. I therefore conclude that Lucian probably knew and imitated the
writings of Juvenal; the precise significance which this has for the interpretation
of the works of Lucian I leave to students of that author.
INDICES

I. NAMES

This is provided by Clausen. A few additions and adjustments need to be made.

(Abdera) 10.50
(Aemilius) 8.192
Auster 14.268
Bona Dea 2.86–7, 6.314
(L. Junius) Brutus, cf. 8.262
(Cabiri) 3.144
Caesar 7.1 not Trajan but Hadrian
Campus (Martius) 2.132, cf. 6.525
Cerdol, see Index III
(Cinnamus) 1.24–5
Claudius, see Caesar and Drusus
Cornelius, see Numantinus
Corus 14.268
Cyclas, cf. 13.246

(Dacius, read Dacicus
Etruscus, cf. Tuscul
(Gabba) 1.57
(Tiberius Iulius Alexander) 1.130
Lupercus 2.142
(Megalesia, cf. 14.263
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