

A Commentary on the
Satires of Juvenal

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A COMMENTARY
ON THE
SATIRES OF JUVENAL

Edward Courtney



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STUDIES

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*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 Psoinos 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 [viii] 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 ^{[[ix]} 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. ^{[[x]} 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

[xi] 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

Introduction

JUVENAL'S LIFE

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 [2] 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 *iuuenis*, 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 [3] 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:

dum tu forsitan inquietus erras	1
clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura	
aut collem dominae teris Dianae;	
dum per limina te potentiorum	
sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque	5
maior Caelius et minor fatigant ...	

(*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

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):

ÇERERI SAÇRVM IV]NIVS IVVENALIS T]RI[B] COH DELMATARVM II QVINQ. FLAMEN DIVI VESPASIANI VOVIT DEDICAVITQVE SVA PEC.	or	... DELMATARVM II VIR QVINQV. FLAMEN
---	----	---

[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

COH. DELMATARVM II
 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 flamine 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 flamine (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 cohors* 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 congeners) provide a number of biographies of Juvenal, almost [6] 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 strepentis 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 [7] 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-Khargeh, 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 figuras* (Suet. 10). The biographer makes the story a neat [8] 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 Oasin 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 *libertino 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 periit* 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 [10] 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 ordines*, 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 laticlavus* (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 urbanae*, 3 cohorts commanded by *tribuni* and the *praefectus urbi*.

(5) The *vigiles*, 7 cohorts commanded by tribunes, each of [11] 1000 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) *saepe 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. [12]

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 subnexio 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 chiasmic 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. [17] 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 [18] 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 [19] 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). [20]

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 |[22] 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 [23] 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, Hellegouarc’h 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 togata* 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 [24] 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. 6.274a associates the qualities of the early Romans with ἡ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἄσκησις. 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 deplors 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, [125] 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 [[26] and Scipio ap. Macrobian *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 τοσοῦτω μείζονα τὴν εὐδοξίαν παρὰ τοὺς ἐλάττονας <ἔχοντας> 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-*

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 *viles amici* (5.146). What the nobles do now (*nunc* 1.95) is misguided; the way of the *avi* (*ibid.*) was much better; and Rome should return to the *mos maiorum*. Patrons now think that their obligations are satisfied by giving out a dole (*sportula*) at a standard rate in their *meritoria salutatio* (*Sen. Dial.* 10.14.3); thereafter they are *dives tibi, pauper amicis* (5.113), the *dives avarus* (7.30; cf. 90) whose characteristic is *luxuriae sordes* (1.140). *Luxuria* (6.293; *luxus* 299) by breaking down the old *paupertas Romana* and replacing it with *divitiae molles* (300) has created a gulf of bitterness between rich and poor; see how *paupertas*, formerly an ideal, is now resented (3.126 sqq.). Traditional *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 *iniqua* (5.3).

Money also breaks up the traditional framework of society in that *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 *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 *praefectus praetorio*, though see on 4.32), defile characteristically Roman offices. Such above all are the *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 *Achaei* at 3.61 (cf. *Cic. 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 depraved 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 [129] *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 *Troiugeneae* (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 transgress 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 exstitisti* (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 kindness 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 *solutus* 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), *rhetoires* (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 ^[34] weakness in the argument. When Juvenal is discussing the poverty of *rhetoires*, inevitable mention is made of the most famous *rhetoire* 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 [35] 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 [36] 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 |[38] 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 significant 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; 6.142, 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 ^[42] 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 *reditio* (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 *reditio* 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). ^[43]

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 ^[44] 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 *gluttio* (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 inoffensively sordid, but chosen to convey repulsion, e.g. *effunderet 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*, *cunnius*, *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* (11.157; anatomical 6.372), or euphemisms (e.g. *facere* 7.240, *omnia* 6.O.2, *ludo* 6.O.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 *anhelo*, 3.112 *resuspino*, 9.26 and 10.224 *inclino*, 9.34 and 10.205 *nervus*, 1.39 *vesica*, 9.59 *lumbi*). The euphemisms of 6.O.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 *ficus* 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 [147] occasionally (*Subura* 156, *cliens* 161); or take 10.346–66, with the irony in 354–5. This is not *sermones repentēs 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 τηλαυγές 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 [148] (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 epexegetis), 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 verbosissimos locos arcessunt, cum ex locis debeat nasci sententia*; this one arises from the *locus de indulgentia*), 7.139–45 and 194–201, 13.127–34.

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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 (Stattius and Silius). In round figures Juvenal has 3600 hexameters, Horace *Satires* 2100, Persius 650, Vergil 12850, Silius 12300, Stattius 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 quadrisyllable), or a quadrisyllable. 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 bathetically undignified one (3.120, a contemptuous Grecising rhythm for the contemptible 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 *σπονδειαίῳ* (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 penhemimeral caesura (of which 3.70, 10.281, 11.151, 12.110, [51] 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 *frivola* 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 *caelicolarum*) 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.

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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.* 4.464). 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 *mediae*; 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.

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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*² 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.* 6.551), thrice in Silius (9.575, 12.209, 17.546).

Short before two consonants or a double consonant. Once in Vergil (*Aen.* 11.308), 8 times in Horace *Satires*, not found in Persius or Silius or Statius (but see *Theb.* 7.733), in Juvenal only 5.45 *ponerē zelotypo* (q.v.; z is not on quite the same plane as *quiā 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 *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 *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 *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; [154] 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 *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 *unde/octoginta*, 1.2.62 *inter/est*. Juvenal has *inter* twice; *ultra*, *contra*, *erga*, *usque* (10.1) once each; and 6 monosyllabic prepositions (*de* 5.33, 14.114; *pro* 8.255, 14.306; *in* 6.58 and *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 century, 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 preserves two lines after 6.373. As well as the basic exemplar from which he copied 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^A, 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 [158] knew him (for another possible trace of his commentary see Hightet 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 *CQ*² 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, sesterces 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.

Hour	Midsummer	Midwinter
Sunrise	4.27	7.33 a.m.
1	5.42	8.17
2	6.58	9.02
3	8.13	9.46
4	9.29	10.31
5	10.44	11.15
6	12.00	12.00 noon
7	1.15	12.44 p.m.
8	2.31	1.29
9	3.46	2.31
10	5.02	2.58
11	6.17	3.42
12	7.33	4.27

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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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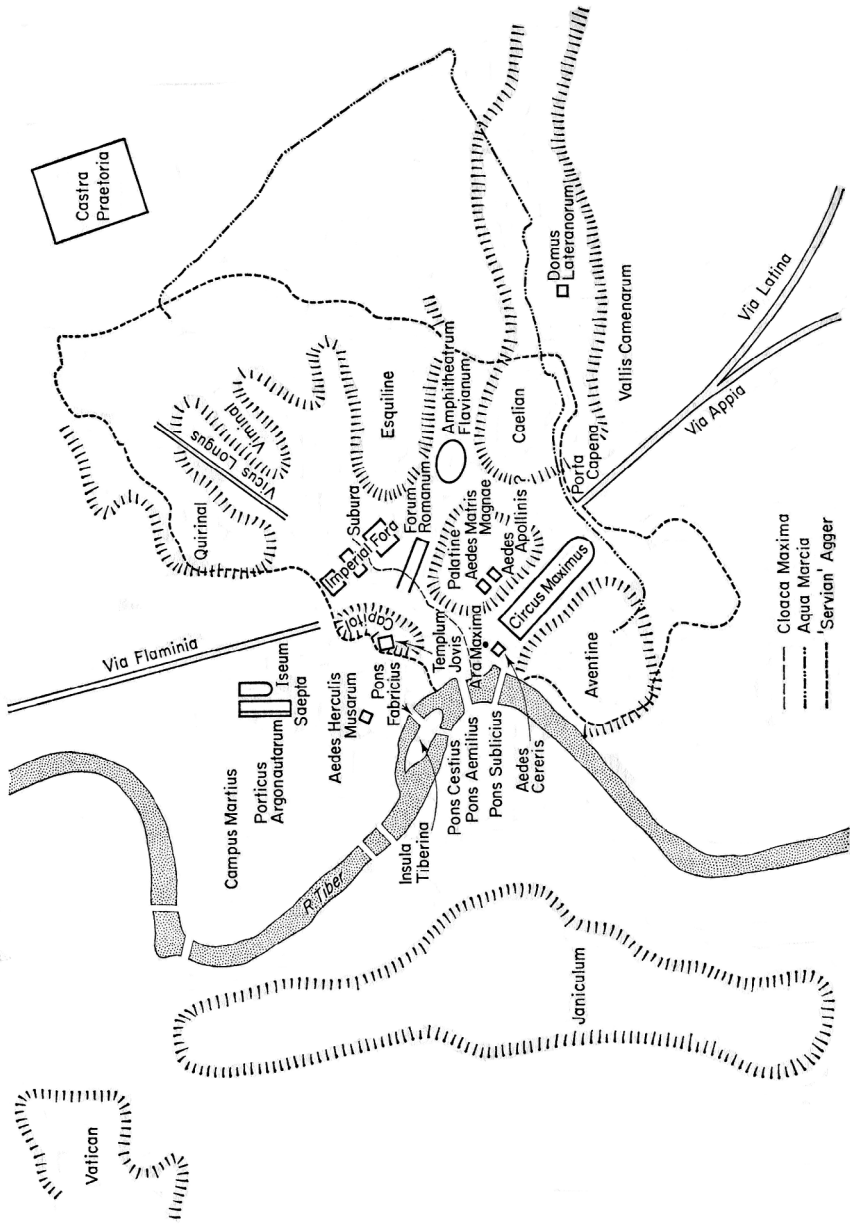
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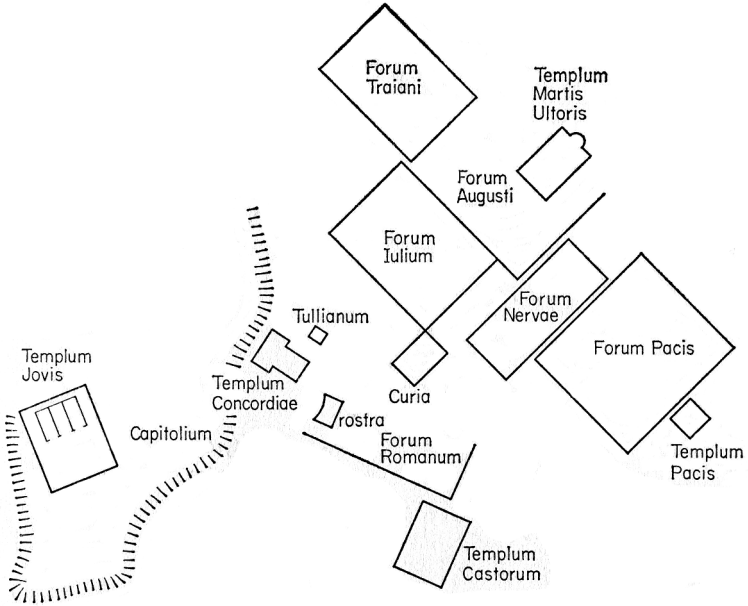
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[72]

ROME AT THE TIME OF JUVENAL

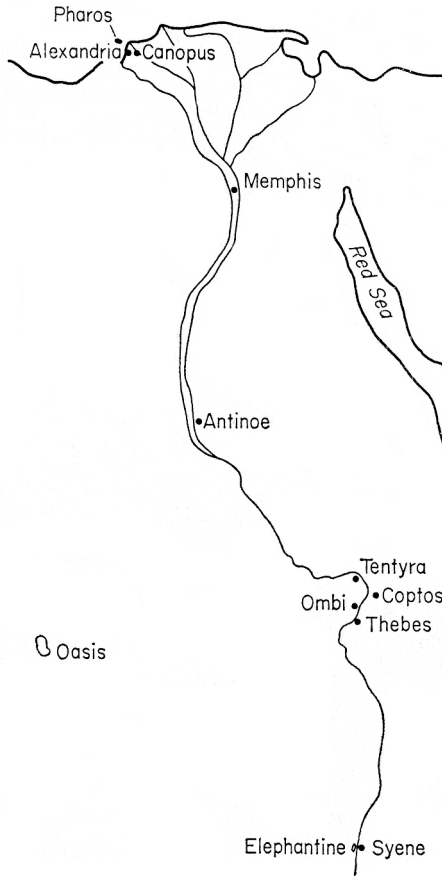


THE FORUM AREA OF ROME



[74]

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.

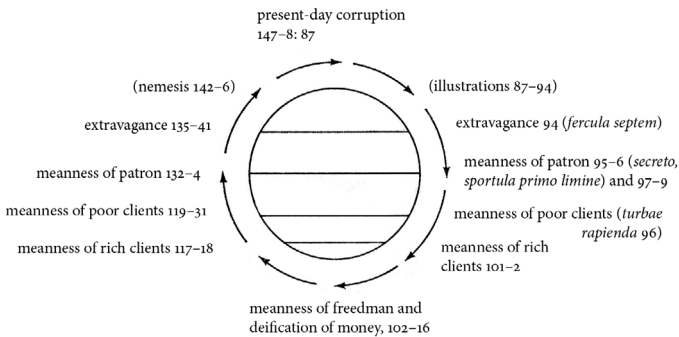
He then announces his explanation why he chooses to write satire in particular (19–21). These other poets wrote in elevated genres, elegy, tragedy and epic (comedy also, 3; Juvenal seems to have classed it with higher poetry, a point challenged by Horace *Serm.* 1.4.45 sqq.); Juvenal rejects trite mythology 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

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 [79] 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-

position; see the index under these entries and also *Hermathena* 118, 1974, 17, where I considered the passage under these aspects (I might have adduced Cic. *Part. Or.* 24). The diagram above will illustrate the point.

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. [181] 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 [82] 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*² 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, [83] 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 εὐρετής* 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.

AUDITOR At a recitation 3.322, Pliny *Ep.* 1.13.7, Mart. 12 pr.; Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.39 *nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor* (cf. the next note).

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 ‘retaliate’ (cf. on 21); Juvenal is thinking of Horace’s *ultor* (see previous note; the interpretation of Fraenkel 348 is unacceptable).

2 RAUCI Because of continual recitation; Mart. 8.3.15. [184]

THESEIDE An epic of the type rejected in 53 sqq. (n.b. *mugitum Labyrinthi*) and 162–4.

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*² 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.

RECITAVÉRIT This and *consumpsérit* 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*³ (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). [185]

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

INGENS Sen. *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 Choerilus 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 ἐκφρασις 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 Hieria (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* (Hieria) ... *nec scopulos aut ANTRA minor iuxta altera tellus* (Strongyle) / *cernitur; illam Acamans habitat nudusque Pyracmon, / 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] common thief (*furtivae*) stealing gold (cf. Aetes at Val. Fl. 7.54). Cf. 6.153; *velleris auro* Val. Fl. 8.258 (for this idiom, ultimately equivalent to *auream pelliculam*, see index nouns). UNDE seems to repeat *lucus Martis*, unless the Theban one is meant.

MONYCHUS A centaur who hurls trees against the Lapiths, Ovid *Met.* 12.410; *orni* are hurled by Rhoecus, Lucan 6.390 (Monychus is mentioned 388), and the centaurs in general, Stat. *Ach.* 1.113.

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. Catus 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 Maecenatianos 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' ἀνακείσθαι / 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-(D)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 (*columnnae*); 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 *Copa* 27; Donatus *vit. Verg.* 18.77 (Vergil is speaking) *tu loquacitate ... muros rumpis* (walls collapse because of shouting, Plut. *περί 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 [87] (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. 13.409, who is fond of the construction; P. Verres *De Tib. Sillii 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?

FERULAE The giant fennel, used as a cane (cf. 6.478–80). For the instruments of corporal punishment in ancient schools cf. Domitius Marsus ap. Suet. *De Gramm.* 9 *si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit*; Phantias AP 6.294 = Gow-Page HE 2972, Alciphron 3.15 (= 51).3, Bonner 143, Marquardt 113, Blümner¹ 319 and illustration on 317.

SUBDUXIMUS = *subtraximus* 8.77, 11.142. Juvenal is thinking of Horace's *extimuit magistrum* at *AP* 415 in a similar context of artistic preparation. Here the boy snatches away his hand as the cane descends. [188]

16 CONSILIIUM 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 republican 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 absent from *poeta* 14; cf. the juxtaposition of the two at Pers. prolog. 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 emphasises 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 occurrence of *poeta* 32 and the Theocritean original (7.37–41) has ἀοιδὸς 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. Runes 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. Newman *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.

19 POTIUS He cannot use the natural *potissimum* without an ugly elision (on 6.151). For TAMEN ... SI ... EDAM cf. 14.316–17.

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 ἀρματοδρομαίαι 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 [189] 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*² (1909) 1.33 n. 3, Schmid–Stählin 1.1.10 n. 3, G. Luck *The Latin Love Elegy*² (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 ἀρματοδρομῖαι 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 infremuit*).

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* 3.212–13) 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. C  beillac-Gervasoni and Zevi, *M  m. 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. [190]

VENABULA Probably not poetic plural; it was common to carry two spears

when hunting (Verg. *Aen.* 1.313, Ovid *Met.* 14.344, Apul. *Met.* 11.8; sometimes so depicted on Greek vase paintings).

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.

PATRICIOS is simply equivalent to *nobiles*; 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.

NILIACAE 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 [191] προφαίνοντες καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους (δακτυλίους Marcilius) προτείνοντες, and Martial mentions a branded slave turned knight *cuius et hinc lucet sardonichata 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 (μικροφιλοτιμία). 8 ἀναβαλλόμενος (note the tense

according to the mss.) θοιμάτιον), 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), Macrob. *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.

28 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).

29 For heavy rings cf. 7.140 and F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the B.M.* (1907) xxvi, Blümner¹ 259 (cf. also Ovid *Am.* 2.15.22).

30 INIQUAE *saevae 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 [192] 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

Shackleton Bailey on Cic. *Ad. Fam.* 9.25.3 (vol. 1, p. 454).

33 IPSO i.e. *ipso solo* (cf. 136), as αὐτός often means μόνος. Some litters were large enough for two normal-sized people (*RE lectica* 1076.21, 1079.14; Blümner¹ 446), 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*¹⁰ 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. Apul. *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 Domo* 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 ... DEUNCCEM 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 *maximam 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) *vestemque cruentent* of wet dreams (one should not press Petron. 139.4, where Chrysis says to Encolpius *nunquam finies hunc ignem nisi sanguine exstinxeris*). 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 αὐτῶ 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.

43 UT ... ANGUEM Homer *Il.* 3.33–5 (insisting on the pallor), Verg. *Aen.* 2.379–80 (influencing Juvenal’s wording), Ovid *Fasti* 2.341–2.

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*.

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

PUPILLI PROSTANTIS Poverty forces him to become a *puer lenonius* (cf. the *Fasti Praenestini* for April 25, *CIL* 1² p. 236 = *Inscr. Italiae* 13.2 p. 131); cf. Mart. 9.59.3-4, Krenkel *Altertum* 24, 1978, 49.

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. [196]

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

INFAMIA A technical legal status involving the loss of certain civic rights; cf. Berger s.v., Kaser¹ 274, Crook¹ 83, Greenidge 28 and 155, Kinsey's edition of Cic. *Pro Quinctio* app. 2, Kelly 95; with reference to condemned provincial governors Brunt *Historia* 10, 1961, 196.

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-moniis 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;

Braginton *CJ* 39, 1944, 398.

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 (Juno of Hercules) *superat et crescit malis / iraque nostra fruitur*, Mart. 8.30.3 *aspicis ut teneat flammis poenaque fruatur*.

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, [197] *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 ceperit* and *ibid.* 30 (29).3–4. A similar prosecution in the schools for *lenocinium* [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 accipit 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, Renehan *CP* 72, 1977, 243. See also the next note but one.

SI *sit* (PR) could be right as a paratactic jussive subjunctive used [198] 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 Julia 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*² 19, 1973, 43, Mommsen *Ges. Schr.* 3.192, Kaser¹ 684 and 756), according to which no citizen of an estate of 100,000 sesterces 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 *Lateranus* (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]

PUER AUTOMEDON A young version of Achilles' charioteer (*Automedon* Varro *Sat. Men.* 257, cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 98, Ovid *AA* 1.8). For the use of Homeric and other names by Juvenal as appellatives cf. 71 and on 4.65, index *names*.

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 *iactantem sese 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 *deliciae supinores* 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. Kaser¹ 687, *RE Testament* 1003.

TABULIS see on 4.19. [100]

FE CERIT 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 MISCET will now be *Calenum*, and SITIENTE will mean ‘causing thirst’ (cf. on 6.382 and 631, 7.206, 13.27 and 229; Griffith³ 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*.

GYARIS ET CARCERE *Deportatio in insulam* (the punishment for forgery of a will, Mommsen² 677) and execution (not imprisonment; on 3.314) at Rome, coupled also 13.245–7 and 6.557–64 (a similar context); cf. 10.170 *Gyarae clausus scopulis paruaque* (cf. 6.564 and BREVIBUS) *Seripho* (q.v.). GYARIS here and elsewhere neuter plural, also found in the forms Gyarus and -a (fem. sing., as 10 l.c.); it is hardly a generic plural meaning ‘islands like G.’ It is a barren little island in the Aegean, a common place of banishment; cf. *Dig.* 48.22, *SG* 1.344 = 1.416, Braginton *CJ* 39, 1944, 400.

74 ESSE ALIQUID *Thes. aliquis* 1614.49 and similarly εἶναι τι; 3.230 is different. [101]

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 pueros 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).

75 DEBENT The subject is left vague.

CRIMINIBUS 'crimes', cf. 13.24–5, 14.1237, 8.266; not 'accusations'.

HORTOS Parks; 7.79, 10.16 and 334, 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 exstantibus asper / ANTIQUUS crater*. Athen. 5.199e mentions drinking vessels with a ζῶον περιφανές, evidently on the brim. Griffith *G & R* 20, 1973, 79 takes the reference to be to a handle in the form of a goat.

77 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 (*occurrit*) in the crossroads; the punishments of 73 are suitably introduced by the mention of forgery and poisoning, *esse aliquid by lautum 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 Fortunatianus 1.6, *RLM* p. 85.24); Catull. 67.

SPONSAE TURPES 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.

CLUVIENUS 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. *Cluvenius* 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 **NAVIGIO 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 / molliri que 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

DISCURSUS 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 Wytttenbach's lexicon).

FARRAGO Mixed fodder given to cattle (White¹ 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 (*farci-men* 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), Coffey² 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 (Blümner¹ 415, SG 1.218 = 1.256, Balsdon¹ 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 Blümner¹ 130 for both), which in 11.26 is itself contrasted with |[104] *sacculus* (cf. Mart. 5.39.7 *oculosque sacculumque*). For the *arca* see on 13.74.

COMITANTIBUS Cf. *comites* 7.107; they are personified. Perhaps Juvenal thinks of them as *militēs 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; Blümner¹ 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.

DISPENSATORE 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.

95 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. *Ep.* 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.

PRAECONE So Juvenal ironically terms the *nomenclator* (cf. Sen. *De Ben.* 6.33.4, *Ep.* 19.11).

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 EUPHRATEN 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*.

LICET IPSE NEGEM Sen. *De Ben.* 7.8.2; *Herc. Oet.* 704.

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 *quadrigena* (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 $[\text{107}]$ 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 *equites*; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.124 with reference to a *tribunus militum laticlavus* and see *RE clavus* (2), Blümner¹ 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 oviaricorum* with Sirago 147; Ulpian *Dig.* 19.2.9.4–5 *grex* (of goats) *quem quis conduxerat; ... siquis vitulos pascendos ... conduxit* with Hartmann *Mnem.*² 44, 1916, 216 (arguing unnecessarily for *conductus* here with U, cf. 8.43 and Calp.

Sic. 4.44); White¹ 304–5, Blümner¹ 551.

109 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 (*PIR*² 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 Pompilii similes et Catonem*.

POSSIDEO Owen *CR*¹ 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).

110 nec cedit honori or *honore* Verg. *Aen.* 3.484. **SACRO** (contrasted with *sanc-tae 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 omnes oporteret*); 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 *vernae*, 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*.

NUMMORUM For the genitive cf. 6.560, HS 87, Shackleton Bailey 222, C. K. Reisig–F. Haase–J. H. Schmalz–G. Landgraf *Vorlesungen* 3 (1888) p. 538, Koestermann on Tac. *Ann.* 3.18.2. The word might be better printed with a capital.

115 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: *saturice* ‘*salutato nido*’ non ‘*templo*’ and *ciconia, quae contra templum Concordiae ex conlisione (consilio codd.) rostri sonitum facit*, and similarly Probus. The meaning [109] 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 constituentur uti praetereuntes 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 ^[110] 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).

CLAUSAM 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 Cucis* 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 caudicos*. 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* 1² 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 NESICIOQUIS and AEGYPTIUS (cf. on 15.126 and Tac. *Hist.* 1.11 *Aegyptum ... 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 *nobiles* 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 *nobiles*, 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 Römische 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.O.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 chiasmatic 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 *μονοστία* 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 *luxuriae 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*.

142 POENA PRAESENS Cic. *De Div.* 2.122, Pliny *NH* 14.142.

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, Blümner¹ 435. A resulting apoplexy is vividly described by Persius 3.98 sqq., a passage (beginning *TURGIDUS 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 *plures iam pavones confeci quam tu pullos columbinos ... satius 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. *CR*¹ 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, Blümner¹ 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 senum*

(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 CR¹ 13, 1899, 432 = *Coll. Papers* 489 therefore understands *INTESTATA* 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 CR¹ 19, 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 referretur*. [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).

147 ULTERIUS 9.38, 15.118; cf. Ovid *Fasti* 1.195–6.

148 FACIENT CUIPIENTQUE 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 CR¹ 17, 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 CQ² 14, 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 ἰστία 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*.

150 DICAS This is the preferable reading; as opposed to four subjunctives, *forsitan* has the indicative in Juvenal only at 14.295–6, and *forsan* at 12.125, the future indicative being inevitable in both cases, and the indefinite second person would in any case favour the subjunctive (cf. *forsitan 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 *audeō*.

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.

LUCIBIS 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 urerentur* (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.

GUTTURE 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 hominem qui per os emergeret stipitem* seems to favour *guttur* 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 1.44; 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 γατομῶν δι' αἰλακος* 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 between 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 amphitheatri 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 *circumdatis 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.

ACONITA 6.639, 8.219, 10.25; cf. *RE* ἀκόνιτον and Kaufman *CP* 27, 1932, 162.

VEHATUR (3.239) ... DESPICIAT 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 alternatively 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.* 5.1.1124.38.

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 Aeneid 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 *CQ*² 21, 1971, 207 n. 1, [118] Shackleton Bailey on Cic. *Ad Att.* 9.2A.3, Gronovius *Diatribae Stat.* ch. 22 and e.g. Plaut. *Cas.* 66, Pliny *NH* 21.13.

RUTULUM 7.68; FEROCES *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, with *infremere* 711, *stricto ferro* 715. Juvenal too is *ardens* 45, cf. 153.

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 conscience 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 (*Fasti* 6.201), then Stat. *Th.* 8.684, 11.282; cf. Clausen *HSCP* 75, 1971, 69.

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 Campagna*² (1970) 153). Cf. Blümner¹ 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 [119] 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 Cumont² 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 *factos 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 [121] parallel is the attack on Stoic morals in Athenaeus 13.563d–565f; this begins by quoting Hermias who attacks Stoics as λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες ... ἀλίσκεσθε / ἐναντία πράσσοντες οἷς

τραγωδεῖτε, and goes on to speak of their προσποιητὸς ἐπιτήδευσις (cf. on 12).

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*¹ 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 [123] 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. 6.0.1–2 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).

GYP SO CHRYSIPPI Cf. *Apollineo gypso* 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 vivere.*

6 SIMILEM This, ὁμοίος and εἰκώς 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.) ἀρχέτυπον Διδούς (translated *Dido assimulata* (cf. on 6) in *Epigr. Bob.* 45), *IG* 14.1188 (Kaibel *Epigr.* 1084; on a Herm of Homer found at Rome) Ὅμηρον ... ὄρας τοῦτον, δαιδαλον ἀρχέτυπον.

PLUTEUM A wall-bracket (*RE* s.v. 985, Blümner¹ 113–14, *Anth. Lat.* 158.4). Oddly enough it is glossed γυσοπλασία (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.

9 TRISTIBUS σκυθρωποῖς, cf. 14.110; in similar contexts Quintil. l.c. and 1 pr. 15, Mart. 1.24.2, 7.58.9; cf. Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 1.10.7.

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 2.1⁵.69 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... ξυρουμένους ... 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)edricon, 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. συκίδαφόρος).

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

15 ἐν χρῶ 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 PERIBOMIUS *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*), *Thest.* s.v. 1481.54 [126] (add Manil. 5.140), Rosenbaum 152. Likewise *morbosus* (Catull. 57.6, *Priapea* 46.2), νόσος (Callim. *AP* 12.150.6 τὰν φιλόπαιδα νόσον; Dio Chrys. 4.106 αἱ γυναικεῖαι 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 recognise perverts; cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3.3.15.2 (for this passage see also on 8.114) ἀτεχνῶς καθάπερ μετωποσκόπος ἐκ τοῦ σχήματος αὐτοῦς καταμαντεύεται μοιχοῦς τε καὶ ἀνδρογύνους, ἀμφοτέρων ἀφροδίτην θηρωμένους, μισότριχας, ἄτριχας ... διὰ τούτους γοῦν πλήρεις αἱ πόλεις πιττοῦντων, ξυρούντων, παρατιλλόντων τοὺς θηλυδρίας τούτους. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomica* 21 (Foerster *Scriptores Phys.* p. 34) lists κιναιδίου σημεῖα (including βαδίσεις), and in 70 (p. 82) says οἱ ἐγκλινόμενοι (ἐντριβόμενοι codd.) εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι κιναιδοὶ (cf. Foerster's index under κιναιδος etc.). Likewise Dio Chrys. 33.52 links βλέμμα, σχῆμα, περίπατος and Zeno himself (fr. 174 Pearson, 246 Arnim) spoke of σχηματισμοὶ καὶ κινήσεις μηδὲν ἐνδιδούσαι 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' ὄλον οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι
 ἐγὼ ψιθυρίζειν οὐδὲ κατακεκλασμένως
 πλάγιον ποήσας τὸν τράχηλον περιπατεῖν,
 ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὄρῳ κιναιδούς ἐνθάδε
 πολλοὺς ἐν ἄστει καὶ πεπιττοκοπημένους.

INCESSU is lavishly illustrated by Housman on Manil. 4.518–19, Headlam-Knox on Herodas 4.36, Horsfall *Glotta* 49, 1971, 146 n. 2; see also Firm. Mat. *Astr.* 8.7.2, Lucian *Adv. Ind.* (on 4) 23, Cael. Aurel. *Chron.* 4.9.1 *gressu*, Cic. *De Off.* 1.128–31, Tac. *Hist.* 1.30.1 of Otho (99 below).

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 ... πιττοῦνται 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 3.1⁵.276 n. 4 and 343; E. V. Arnold *Roman Stoicism* (1911) 295–6; G. K. Galinsky *The Herakles Theme* (1972) 106, 147, 167.

21 The pot should be whiter than the kettle, a common thought, [127] 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 *spatalocinaedi ... 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.

25 Cf. 6.283–4, Otto *caelum* 1 and *Nachträge* 263; add *Sil. It.* 13.586–7.

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 (Kaser¹ 316, Corbett 48, Balsdon² 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 [128] refers 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).

32 ABORTIVIS sc. *medicamentis*, cf. 6.368, *Thes.* s.v. 126.71.

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.

ULTIMA 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 *omnium 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.

REMORDEMENT 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 'quaerit 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 iaceant quaerat sed ut iacere significet nec usquam apparere'* Housman, who introduced this punctuation [129] (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.

38 Cf. 3.312–14; SUBRIDENS cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.742.

39 MORIBUS sc. *malis*. 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. Weinreich *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 *Nachträge* 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.

41 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).

42 DOMINUM TABERNAE ‘shop-owner’ Mart. 1.117.14.

43 LEGES AC IURA 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.

44 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 *Scantinia*).

PRIMUM See on 8.

45 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.

46 NUMERUS Tac. *Ann.* 14.49.3 *plures numero tuti*.

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.

47 MOLLES 165, 8.15, 9.38.

CONCORDIA *pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis* Catull. 57.

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

47–9 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; *PIR*¹ 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 *hispidia 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.

PALLET Cf. on 1.43 and Henderson 211 λευκός.

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.

CIVILIA IURA Hor. *Serm.* 1.9.39 (with *novi*); for *ius civile* (cf. Bednara *ALL* 14, 1906, 557).

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

COLŶPHIA 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 Circulari* 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 PENELOPE who is often referred to in the *Odyssey* as ἡλκάκα στρωφῶσα. LEVIUS *levi pollice* 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, Balsdon² 215 and 230, Kröll² 2.40, Westermann 74b and 118b; cf. Sen. *Contr.* 6.3 and the *ancillariolus* of Sen. *De Ben.* 1.9.4, Mart. 12.58.1; also Musonius Rufus p. 66.2 Hense); presumably the *pressum quasillis 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.

58 TABULAS IMPLEVERIT 6.601; cf. on 4.19. SOLO Cf. 12.124.

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; Kaser¹ 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, Blümner¹ 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, Thompson¹ 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 (Thompson¹ 160; *corve* ... *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 *Stōicī* (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

Chrys. 36.56, Helm on Lucian *Nigrin.* 30, Stevens on Eur. *Andr.* 1124, Juv. 8.234.

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, *διαφανέσι δὲ χλανίσι 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 Iulius Creticus *qui sub Caesaribus illustris causas egit*; 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).

PROCLAS 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. Gallitta 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 aestivam*. 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* 1².2, 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 uvam 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 coepisse 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 Lehnert) *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 *κακοδαίμονισταί* (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 inverts 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 ... deformentur viri*). **TOTO** suggests a kind of choker. Omphale makes Hercules wear *monilia collo* Ovid *Her.* 9.57; Pygmalion decks 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 (*psaltria* 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 |[136] 76–87 (e.g. Hor. *Odes* 1.18.14 *Berecynthio cornu*, Ovid *Met.* 11.16

infracto Berecynthia tibia cornu; Thes. cornu 968.1).

91–2 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 worshippers, derived doubtless from a ritual bath (cf. Scheffelowitz *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 saltantes lassare psaltriam Cotyton* (this last word should perhaps be a lemma; Srebny *Eos* 33, 1930–1, 513). *Cotyto 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 αὐτόχρομα 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 τῆ Χίων θεῶ (i.e. Cotyto) καὶ τοῖς ἰθυφάλλοις ὠργίακεν; *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 n. 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 discrimine confert / umbra supercilii*, Dares 13 *Briseidam ... superciliis 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 ἀβλεφάρους ὥπας ἐπανθηρακίσης (according to Meineke’s emendation); ἀσβόλη Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 3.2.7.3. Cf. 6.O.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 tangant*, 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. ὑπόγραμμα II, ὑπογραφή II, ὑπογράφω V (τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, 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.* 2.10.104.1 ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῆς ... καὶ παραφουκισμῶν. The usual material was called *stimmi* or *stibium* (and various related [138] forms), i.e. antimony; see *LSJ* s.vv. στίμμι, στιμμίζω, στίμμισμα. 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 adfectatio 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 pulverem quo oculorum exordia producuntur* (but note that this verb does not apply to the same operation as in Juvenal); 2.5.2 *oculos fuligine 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 pigment 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 *Materialen zur röm-germ. Keramik, I, Die Keramik des Kastells Niederbieber* (1914) 55 and fig. 34), particularly of Priapus (H. Roux and M. L. Barrée *Herculane et Pompéi* 8 (1862) 180). Σ produces the word *drillopotae*, from δριλος = *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 remembered 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 inverts 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 habere 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 *CQ*² 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 *galbinos 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 common (Bömer 1073–6 = 4 (1963) 217–20); hence the interjection *eiuno*, like *ecastor* (Charis. p. 258.3 Barwick); cf. Wissowa 177.

99 SPECULUM Men made little use of mirrors; *RE* κάτοπτρον 32, *RAC Effeminatus* 629, Scipio l.c. on 41, Sen. *NQ* 1.17.10 *quicquid mundus muliebris vocaba-*

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. *legendus* 8.266) Otho's mirror, but did not (Syme¹ 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 [140] Nisbet would prefer to translate 'while the annals (which at the time recorded this) are still new and the story is fresh'.

102–9 A digression which should be put in parenthesis; HIC 110 refers back to the orgy at which *ille tenet speculum*.

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 CUTEM 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.*² 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 *Bebriacis* 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 *adfectare* [₁₄₁] 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 suasit avito?* where it refers to a weaver's stool), *adfectare* 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).

107 On bread-poultices see 6.461 sqq. and Blümner¹ 436; on Otho's use of them Suet. 12.

108–9 Cf. 162–3.

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. Macrob. *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 *τραπέζῳ* 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 *cuius manibus*, 9.40 *ét cevét*, 14.176 *quí fierí*). Note that at 6.O.3 (which may be compared for the sense of *turpis*) O spells *omnis turpes similesque cinaedis*. If this defence fails to satisfy, we might read [142] *typanumst* (cf. 6.515, 8.176, though there Juvenal uses the form *tympanum*).

FRACTA VOCE Characteristic of the effeminate, 6.O.23, RAC *Effeminatus* 636 (add Phaedr. 6.9.2, Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.5, Pliny *Ep.* 2.14.12 and cf. also Quintil. 1.11.1), Krenkel *Arethusa* 8, 1975, 385 n. 22.

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.

CRINE ... ALBO Cf. *canus* Ovid *Fasti* 4.339.

GUTTURIS For the chanting; cf. 6.515–17. Cf. Lucan 4.496 *magnum et memorabile fatis / exemplum*.

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; Cumont¹ 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.*² 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 *equus* (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 derecti, 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 *accumbibat ... 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 *Salius*.

125 *ARCANO ... LORO* Mart. 6.21.9 in a different sense. The |[144] 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.

CLIPEIS ANCILIBUS 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, Iliacae 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.

135 ADHIBET 5.16, Suet. *Cal.* 25.1 etc. Cf. Ter. *Haut.* 981 *modo liceat vivere*, Ovid RA 391.

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 *adfectus 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 Γυναικεῖα passim, Schneider *fecunditas* and *sterilitas*, André 174 n. 105.

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

(Ovid *Fasti* 2.445). For the activity of the Luperci cf. Latte 84–7, Wissowa 210, Sachs *AJP* 84, 1963, 267, Porte *REL* 51, 1973, 172 sqq., Bömer on Ovid l.c. 425 and Frazer's commentary vol. 2 pp. 331–2, A. W. J. Holleman *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia* (1974).

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 *retiaris*, 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. Civiltà Romana* 16 (= *Bull. Comm. Arch. Rom.* 73, 1949–50, appendix) 4, and 19 (= *B. C.* 76, 1956–8) 52; Reeve *CR*² 23, 1973, 125 n. 2). At 6.O.9–13 a *retiaris 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* *retiaris* 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 Lutatius 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, Balsdon¹ 259–60, Cameron² 176.

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

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

149 *Iliad* 23.103 ἢ ῥά τις ἔστι καὶ εἰν Ἀἴδαο δόμοισι / ψυχῆ καὶ |[₁₄₇] εἶδωλον (where τῆ is a variant); Prop. 4.7.1 *sunt aliquid manes* (whence probably *CIL* 11.1616 = *CEL* 1190.3 *si tamen at manes credimus esse aliquit*). *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 *aliqui*), 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 *conitum*. 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 Ἄδου πλοῖον, οὐ πορθμεὺς Χάρων.

RANAS Thinking of Aristophanes.

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

151 A rationalistic argument; cf. Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 555–7, Petron. 121.117, *Cons. Liv.* 358 (Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 12.5 and Sil. It. 13.761 are special cases).

152 NEC PUERI CREDUNT And of course Juvenal's descriptions at 3.265–7 and 13.49–52 must not be taken to indicate credulity. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 24.18 *nemo tam puer est ut Cerberum timeat*, and on the general question of belief see Latte 287 n. 4, *SG* 3.297 = 3.316, S. Dill *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (1905) 495–6, Bailey edition of Lucretius vol. 2 p. 994, Cumont² 127 and ³ 83, Lattimore 78. Pliny *NH* 7.189 *puerilium ista deliramentorum ... commenta sunt*.

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 *Scipiō* would not fit a hexameter (Ennius *var.* 3 gets [148] round this by correction, *Scipiō invicte*); Juvenal could incorporate *Scipio* but not *Scipiōnes*, 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.

CREMERAEE 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

physical; cf. 6.522, Verg. *Aen.* 6.740–2 with Servius, Gruppe 889–90, E. R. Dodds *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 36–7, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 2.35, *DS lustratio* 1408–9. For the use of a branch of laurel to scatter water see *RE Lorbeer* 1439 sqq. (esp. 1442.12), Abt 79 n. 1, Eitrem 87 and 130; Ogle *AJP* 31, 1910, 288–90; for sulphur *RE Schwefel* 798 (line 62 on the *taedae* for burning it), Eitrem 247, Bömer on 4.739, Gow on Theocr. 24.6.

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. Ἰουερνία) and Ἰέρπη (*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 Myrns), 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 Syme¹ 126, Kroll¹ 303) contrasts the barbarian tribes with Roman civilisation; cf. 9.131–3.

163–7 *CUNCTIS EPHEBIS 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 φθειρουσιν ἤθη χρησθ’ ὀμίλιαι κακάι.

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 discomforts and dangers of the city; foreshadowed by Juvenal 7–9 (so there is a chiasmic 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 pauper cui non licet esse clienti?*); those who do get on are upstarts (38–40) and their ^[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 Umbrius, 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*² 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. Umbrius 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 [154] 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 οἱ κομψοὶ πένητες are to do in the city, and realises that the answer lies in οἱ 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 Umbrius 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 tranquillity 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 Umbrius has something of Melibeus 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 wonders 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 urban art, and that city crowds, mindless and faceless, are unpleasant to most people. 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 powerful 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 confu-
sionem tuam fuisse cum digredientem prosequeris!*

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, Brunt² 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. Axelson *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 ^[157] 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). *urbem petebat Bassus? immo rus ibat*; Galen 11.301 Κ χωρίον ἔνθα τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀποβαίνειν εἰσὶν εἰθισμένοι.

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. Neuerburg *L’Architettura delle Fontane e dei Ninfe nell’Italia Antica* (1965) 161 and pl. 58 (perhaps of Hadrianic date)).

QUE is epexegetic, cf. *et* 48, KS 2.25, Kroll¹ 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 (*coniunx* 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 l.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 [158] 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 COPHINUS FENUMQUE cf. on 6.542–5; Sidon. *Epist.* 7.6.3 (*incedat*) *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 *CR*¹ 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 |[159] 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.

17–20 Juvenal has in mind Ovid's description of a grove at *Met.* 3.157 sqq. SPELUNCAS *antro* Mart. 10.35.14 (cf. on 12).

VERIS 'natural' cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.9.13, Manil. 5.261, Sen. *Tro.* 168.

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 *praesens* 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 *exiguus* are almost the same thing (11.130, *res exiguas*), 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. |[160]

24–5 The favourite technique of periphrasis here makes the point that Umbrius 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 Umbrius 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 CONDOCERE To undertake a contract, cf. 38, 7.4, Hor. *Epist.* 1.1.77 *publica*

conducere, Sen. *Ep.* 101.4 *ille qui ad publica quoque nullum relinquens inexpertum genus quaestus accesserat*.

AEDEM sc. *reficiendam vel aedificandam*; 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* 348.20, 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 4¹ 830.

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 [161] *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* 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 Winterbottom’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 suppuraturo exercet*) and who are indifferent to the risk that they may lose their civic status (*caput*) if they default.

Killeen *Mnem.*⁴ 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.

VERSO POLLICE *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, [1162] 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 *foricarii* (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*¹ 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 NESICIO 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 *inspicere* 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 genit. |[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 dissyllabic 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 dissyllabic. See F. Sommer *Handbuch der Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*³ (1913) 446, Sturtevant *TAPA* 43, 1912, 58.

50 Cf. 1.166; Cic. *De Leg.* 2.43 *ardere conscientia*; Plut. *De Rat. Audiendi* 16.46d *αἰσχρὴν 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. |[164]

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

SOMNO CAREAS 13.217, Phaedr. 4.21 (20).10.

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*).

TRISTIS Through anxiety and conscience, cf. 9.96-7.

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

58-9 GENS Cf. 86; ACCEPTESSIMA takes up *diligitur* 49, *carus* 53; FUGIAM cf. 81.

PROPERABO FATERI Stat. *Theb.* 2.342.

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 *Urbem* (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 Achaëa, 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, *conluyies* 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, *sambuca*, *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. Macrobian *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*) PROSTARE PUELLAS For Oriental whores at Rome cf. Herter 71; dancing girls are always associated with immorality (cf. 6.320, Blümner¹ 368, Wille 313, Baudot 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 ἑταίρα 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 ILLE 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.

TRECHEDIPNA 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 (Blümner¹ 397).

CEROMATICO Smudged with *ceroma* (see on 6.246 and Reinmuth l.c. 193–4), an athletic term. The Romans despised the Greek *palaestra* and all its works, cf. 115, Sen. *Dial.* 10.12.2; RE (2061) and Kl. Pauly (890–1) *Gymnastik*, Harris 52 sqq., Carcopino 256, Marquardt 117 and 122, Blümner¹ 329, N. Petrochilos *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (1974) 177, Wardman 36, E. Mähl *Gymnastik und Athletik* (1974) 23 and 40, Koestermann on Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.4, SG 2.122 = 2.152 (for Domitian's Capitoline games see *ibid.* 120–1 = 150–1 and for Roman athletes 124–5 = 155, Mähl 34).

νικητήρια Prizes.

COLLO Aristoph. *Knights* 490 ἄλειψον τὸν τράχηλον τουτῶι. [[166]

69 ALTA αἰπύς, αἰπεινός, 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. *Vimīnālem* (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 Monuments of Ancient Rome*² (1911) 503–4. In these districts they will attach themselves to patrons.

VISCERA ‘The heart and soul’. Cf. Curtius 6.9.19; *viscera rerum* Lucan 7.579.

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 linguae* of the Syracusans, Sil. It. 14.31. For the metaphor of *torrentior* cf. 10.9, 119, 128; Quintil. 3.8.60, 10.7.23, 1.2.10.61; Gudeman on Tac. *Dial.* 24.1.

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. SHA 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 synzesis, and most cases of this licence in Latin fall into fixed categories into which this could not be fitted. So we must assume *geōmetres* (twice established in the hendecasyllables of Sidonius), in spite of γεωμέτρης; Juvenal was probably misled by false analogy with compounds like *Theō-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.

PICTOR A *sordidum studium* Val. Max. 8.14.6; Marquardt 607 and 616, Blümner¹ 617, SG 2.322 and 327 = 3.105 and 109, Brunt *PCPS*² 19, 1973 15 n. 1, J. M. C. Toynbee *Latomus* 9, 1950, 175 = *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World* (1951) 35.

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 GRAECULUS 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 *libeat* (wrongly doubted by some editors). Cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 615 *quin si iusseris, 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. 29.1.11 *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 *CR*¹ 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 summam* 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 lunate 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; ἔλκειν 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).

86 sqq. The following lines employ many of the topics which had become established in portraits of κόλακες (*adulatores*) in comedy, [169] e.g. Gnathon in Ter. *Eun.* 248 sqq., 416 sqq. (on which cf. Cic. *Lael.* 93).

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.

AMICI i.e. *patroni*, cf. 101, 107, 112, 116, 121 and p. 21.

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 ὑψαύχην according to Philostr. *Gymn.* 35, who however does not like statues of Hercules which are ξυντράχηλα (*dilatate 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 ισχνόφωνος. 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* |[170] *Thais* (cf. 6.O.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 θεραπευιδιον ... χιτώνι μόνω ὑπέζωσμένω ... χρώμενον.

PALLIOLO avoids *pālliā* (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. κωμωδός 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. *Quomodo 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* 5 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 Ἐπικληρος 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 βουμβύλιος 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; ἐπι 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 = *materfāmīlias*) 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; *repticantur abollae* Mart. Cap. 7.802) cloak worn by Cynic and cynicising Stoic philosophers (the δῖπλαξ or διπλοῖς; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.22, Zeller 2.1^{4–5}.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 magistrum ferebat* (Urlichs transposed the last clause to follow *Baream*, which would suit Juvenal's *discipulum*). Σ on 6.552 says that he *filiam Bareae Sorani, (quam) cum ipse ad magicam descendam 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) *discipulamque* is slight, and in spite of Soranus' advanced age he may reasonably be called the *discipulus* 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, discipulumque senex* or *Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum, discipulumque 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 *quadruplicator*); 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 ταρσὸν 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 NUNQUAM; 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 SERVITII 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*; CURRERE 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 *liberto* (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. *Proседа* 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.

140 Sen. *Ep.* 115.14 *an dives omnes quaerimus, nemo an bonus*.

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, Adami-etz 22 n. 36, Sedgwick CQ¹ 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 wickedness.

147 MATERIAM P. IOCORUM 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 (Blümner¹ 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 (α ῥάφιον).

VOLNERE ἀκεῖσθαι and its derivatives regularly mean 'darn, repair' (Blümner² 1.212).

NON UNA 6.218, 8.213–14, 14.284.

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 superbiorum patiuntur dicta iocorum* (*Laus Pis.* 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 Umbrius' sympathy is not directed at the really poor of Rome.

SI PUDOR EST 'for very shame', a common phrase.

PULVINO Cf. Ovid *AA* 1.160 and on 6.353.

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 lucre 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 *praeconis 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).

PINNIRAPI 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 Πιννᾶς 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*). Rostovzeff *Röm. Mitteil.* 15, 1900, 225–6 is not likely to be right in connecting with this *pinn. iuvenum* on *ILS* 6635.

IUVENES i.e. *filios* (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. MacMullen² 102; Martial 10.47.3 would like *res non parva labore sed relicta*.

GENER 'as son-in-law', predicative. Hor. *Epist.* 1.6.36 *uxorem cum dote ... regina pecunia donat* (cf. on 144); Pliny *Ep.* 1.14.9.

PLACUIT Gnomical perfect (coupled with presents 161–2 as at 13.162–4, 14.174). CENSU Ablative of respect.

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., Mommsen¹ 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 *consilarii* 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 σου τις ... ἐν τῷ παραληφθῆναι εἰς συμβουλίαν.

AGMINE FACTO 10.218; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 104.19, *Apoc.* 13.5.

DEBUERANT Cf. Lygdamus 6.64 and similarly *oportuerat, 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 Umbricius 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 ἰδία, ὧ 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 familiaris*, Tac. *Ann.* 12.52 *angustias familiares*.

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 *cenula* 167.

SUBITO By divine intervention, cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.7.24.

MARSOS MENSAMQUE SABELLAM Types of primitive frugality, cf. 14.180; here alluding to Verg. *Georg.* 2.167 *Marsos pubemque Sabellam*. For SABELLAM (Samnite) cf. Sonnenschein *CR*¹ 11, 1897, 340b, *RE Sabini* 1570–1; for -QUE see on 10.170.

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. *albatu*s 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).

182 COMMUNE VITIUM Cf. *Thes. communis* 1970.61.

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.

ALICQUANDO Even bribery does not succeed at the first attempt.

RESPICIAT Mart. 10.10.5; *alicquando respexit* Sen. *Dial.* 10.2.5.

CLAUSO 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, Blümner¹ 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).

ACCIPE 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*¹ 42, 1928, 172).

188 TRIBUTA refers both to *quid das* and to *venalibus*.

CULTIS More so than the clients 158; *cohors culta servorum* Sen. *Ep.* 110.17.

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 (Balsdon¹ 198). It is feminine also at Verg. *Aen.* 8.561, cf. KS 1.31, Madvig 312. |[181]

VOLSINIIS 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.

198 POSCIT AQUAM Cf. Prop. 4.8.58, Dio Cass. 57.14.10 ὕδωρ αὐτῶν αἰτοῦντων; Plut. *Rom.* 20.12 ἐβόων ὕδωρ; Sen. *Ep.* 17.3; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 241; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 12.6 *aqua incendio inclamari publice solet.*

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 *Troiugeniae* 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 uolutus / 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) altis.* 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 *Natalicium 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 *cenaculum*, 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 Iuvenalem* (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 nos quoque dictitant barbaros et spurcius nos quam alios opicon* (-os codd.) *appellatione 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 aliquid nihil est*; Ovid *AA* 1.151 *et si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum*. NIL ... NIHIL is an instance of *reditio* (cf. 165–6).

FRUSTA ROGANTEM Mart. 11.27.3; this and NUDUM are chiasmically answered in reverse order in 211.

HOSPITIO TECTOQUE Hendiadys. Cf. on 166.

212 SI 'But if' with adversative 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) μετάφρασις, *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.

215 ARDET sc. *domus*.

MARMORA Marble to build a new house (14.89 and 307; on 1.12). [184]

IMPENSAS presumably means 'building materials' (*Thes.* s.v. 552.12), as e.g. Frontin. *De Aquaeduct.* 118 and 124 and the mining inscription in *FIRA* 1 p. 500.9, though the same inscription has *impensas conferat* (13) of money (cf. *CIL* 8.23422 *conlatis omnibus impensis*).

The absurdity of giving gifts to the rich and not the poor is also remarked by Pliny *Ep.* 9.30.1. The actual gifts listed are contrasted with 203–7, and in particular 219 with 206–7; the rich man values the books merely as furniture, not for their contents.

216–18 There is something wrong with the text here. As it stands 218 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* (ἀναθήματα) to the temples of Asia. On the loss of statues by the provinces to Rome cf. 8.102 sqq.

219 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 für 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’.

REPONIT 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 cellae* (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.* 1², 1920, 364, la Penna *ASNP* 24², 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 παρά προσδοκίαν only for a lizard (not even for two lizards), cf. Mart.

11.18. 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.

VIGILANDŌ 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.* 942, 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 (Celsus 4.23.1).

ARDENTI (Pliny *NH* 21.130) cf. *aestus* Sen. *NQ* 4.13.5-7.

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. *Epist.* 2.2.79 *strepitus 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.

ARTO ... 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.

CONVICIA 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' (CONVICIA 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 (Celsus 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.

240 SUPER ORA Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 80.8, Pliny *Pan.* 24.5.

INGENTI ... LIBURNA The litter is like a warship (Torr 16, Casson¹ 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.* 3.5.15–16).

DORMIET Cf. 1.126, Pliny *NH* 26.14, *cubile* Sen. *De Ben.* 3.28.5 and perhaps Pliny *NH* 37.17.

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, Marquardt 738, Blümner¹ 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, |[188] or δείπνον ἀπὸ σπυρίδος (Athen. 8.365a ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκευάσας δείπνον καὶ συνθεις 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 opsoniis 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*; ἀμάξας λιθοφόρους 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, Blümner² 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 vigilarium ruat an mons? nihil invenies ... (7) nunc me putas de Stoicis dicere qui existimant animam hominis magno pondere extriti 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 ... securo expectat uxor*.

STRIGLIBUS Syncope to avoid *strigilibus*; 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 *perviglanda* 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); UNCTIS 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 *patellas*, *foculum*.

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 has emphatically denied survival 2.149 sqq.; there is an obvious tone of joking and parody here. Juvenal is not insensible to the pathos of such an end, but mocks the beliefs which have grown up around it.

TAETRUM *terribili 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 πορθμειον 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. Samter² 203, Nock 2.716, *RE Bestattung* 349.34, *RAC Geleit* 959, Blümner¹ 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, Cumont³ 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’.

CEREBRUM looks slangy; Hor. *Odes* 2.17.27, Apul. *Met.* 9.40.

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.

VOTUM MISERABILE 9.147, Stat. *Th.* 2.642

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.

PETULANS A much stronger word than ‘petulant’, more like ‘aggressive’; cf. 6.297, Sen. *Dial.* 5.13.5 *ebrietatis petulantia*.

FORTE It is unusual.

279–80 *Iliad* 24.10, cf. Sen. *Dial.* 9.2.12. The incongruity of the comparison indicates ridicule.

CUBAT IN FACIEM Celsus 7.26.5 I *in ventrem cubare*.

281 A clearly spurious line; Juvenal scans *érgō* (often) and *ergó* (9.82), as *éstō* 8.79 and *estó* 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 (Casson² 359); cf. Marquardt 148–9, Blümner¹ 419 and 450.

286 ME contrasted with *hunc* 283; so 285 should end with a colon. Umbricius is ἀσνακóλουθος, 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 μήνιν ἄειδε! 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 εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι γένος ἦδὲ τοκῆς; 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 RESPONDES 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 = *CIJ* 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 *Labeo* 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.

PULSATUS ... REVERTI Cf. 16.8–10.

PAUCIS A few at least, if not all.

302 NEC METUAS Cf. on 276 and 8.188. **HAEC TANTUM** Not just assault, but robbery and even (305) assassination; cf. on 10.22.

NON DERIT QUI Cf. 9.112.

SPOLIET Cf. *El. Maec.* 29, Tib. 1.2.25–6, Cic. *De Fato* 34.

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. [[193]

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 Volturnus 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.

308 SIC ... TAMQUAM 6.431.

OMNES sc. *grassatores*; for the shift to the plural cf. on 298.

VIVARIA Their game-preserves; 4.51.

309 NON For the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ order cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.92, Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.128 (see BICS 13, 1966, 98), Cic. *De Domo* 53. For the separation of GRAVES ... CATENAE between clauses see on 11.140.

310 14.276 shows a similar exaggeration.

TIMEAS Because of the indefinite second person, this would still be subjunctive even without the UT; cf. 3.7, 1.18, KS 1.179.

311 For these implements cf. 15.166–7, with a similar variation in number.

312 FELICIA SAECULA QUAE Cf. 2.38. PROAVORUM ATAVOS This happy time was long ago.

313 The *tribuni militares consulari potestate* occasionally appointed in the early Republic.

314 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).

315 POTERAM Cf. KS 1.170–3, HS 328.

CAUSAS sc. *migrandi*.

317 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*.

318 VALE NOSTRI MEMOR A phrase of farewell, Sappho 94.7 (D. L. Page *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1955) 75), Hor. *Odes* 3.27.14, Ovid *Her.* 11.125, *Am.* 2.11.37, Lygdamus 5.31.

319 Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.104 *reficit gelidus Digentia rivus* (cf. 322); Praeneste too is cool (190), whereas Cumae is warm, cf. 4.

320 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 Highet 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).

321 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 (Blümner¹ 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 *Germanas 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 |[196] 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 ἦδον). 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 Crook² 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 chiasmic 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 |[197] 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 summis 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 Licinii Murenæ 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, Ausonius 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 ἀληθής 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 mit-tite 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 [199] 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. Marcus 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. Italiae* 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 Μάτηρνον σοφιστήν, ὄτι κατὰ τυράννων εἶπέ τι ἀσκήων, 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* 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*, Macrobian *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 IUMENTA ... 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 fatigabat*. IUMENTA, 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 lectica* 1088. On *gestatio* and *hippodromus* see Blümner¹ 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 continuatione sententiarum*), 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* [₂₀₂] 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.) μη τοσοῦτόν ποτε ψευσθείης τῆς ἀληθείας ὡς εὐδαίμονά τινα τῶν φαύλων εἶναι νομίσαι, κἄν πλουσιώτερος ἢ Κροίσου.

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 *equus* 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; Mommsen² 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.

11 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 [1203] parenthesis and this followed by a colon to make plain that MULLUM ... EMIT explains FACTIS.

12 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* (Mommsen² 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 *CJ* 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), Blümner¹ 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 Macrob. *Sat.* 3.16.9, Tert. *De Pallio* 5, though their figures differ). Pliny l.c. 64 [204] 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; Thompson² 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 circumlocution (cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.124 *Herculeos annis aequare labores*, 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). Arcestratus (p. 147 Brandt *Corpusc. Poesis Epicae Graecae Ludibundae* 1, 1888) ap. Athen. 7.305e speaks of a fish as ἰσόχρυσος.

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, AR-TIFICIS (cf. 14.116) at 10.238 (see *Thes.* s.v. 701.12). For ORBI see on 3.128 and 12.99.

19 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.

20 MAGNAE AMICAE Cf. on 1.33; her *magnitudo* explains how she could afford a large litter, cf. Dio Cass. 57.15.4 ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγω, ὁποῖω αἱ τῶν βουλευτῶν γυναῖκες χρῶνται.

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.

22 EXPECTES See on 1.14. |[205]

23 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.

23–5 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); *Anacreontea* 32.4 ὁ δ' Ἔρωσ χιτῶνα δῆσας / ὑπὲρ αὐχένος παπύρω / 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 girl in his papyrus apron', so this word cannot go with the understood *fecisti*. We must therefore punctuate thus: *hoc tu, succinctus patria quondam Crispine 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 σχήματος) 2 κάπηλοι ἀνεζωσμένοι, 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 Calliodorus (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 δέϊπνα 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 district 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 *gluttire* is a word which, even if not onomatopoeic in origin (see Walde-Hofmann s.v.), is certainly undignified and totally 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 *impērātor*, 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 RUCTARIT (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

to the artistic literary form of the 'golden line', on which see L. P. Wilkinson *Golden Latin Artistry* (1963) 215, Norden *Aeneid* 6²⁻³ p. 393. The u-sounds of 31 mirror belching.

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. [207]

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, consulars 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).

32-3 A stock topic of abuse, Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 2.1.4.631d (whence Macrob. *Sat.* 7.3.6); cf. *DS salsamentum* 1024b, Neil on Aristoph. *Knights* 1246-7.

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,

F. X. J. Dölger IXΘΥΣ 2 (1922) 149, Besta *Aegyptus* 2, 1921, 72–4); Crispinus may have sold them there as a street-trader, though MUNICIPALIS 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. Oxyrr.* vol. 42 no. 3007) and they had deteriorated. We [208] 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’, *Thest.* 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. *laceratus 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 (*Thest.* 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).

HADRIACI S.A.R. A type of periphrasis typical of elevated style (KS 1.242, HS 152, Naegelsbach §74); μέγα ὑὸς χρῆμα (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, [209] 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 Ἐπλοία, 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 turbot 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 Bosphorus 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-pickling industry at Byzantium, particularly of tunny-fish caught as the current swept them (Blümner³ 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; [210] Casson¹ 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 *māxīmō*, 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. Macrobian *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*, Mommsen² 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. |[211]

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 & R*² 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 FISCO 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 [212] *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 pestilential 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 quartan because of the ancient habit of inclusive reckoning). Ancient medical writers agree on its mildness; Celsus 3.15.6 *quartana neminem iugulat*, Hippocrates’ *Ἐπιδημιῶν* 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 ἀνθρώπου* 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 *ἀφορισμοὶ* 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 [213] things (Lewis and Short II); but Juvenal certainly did not intend that here.

58 STRIDEBAT HIEMS 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 *rhomus 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 Ἄλβα 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 intransibus 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. admissio*, Crook² 23, Gelzer 104–6, SG 1.86 = 1.90, Marquardt 144. Domitian's levées were grim occasions, Pliny *Pan.* 48.

OPSONIA κατ' ἔξοχήν of fish; Marquardt 432, Charitonides *Mnem.*² 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 on 1.61, SG 4.131 (not in ed. 10). The emperor can readily be linked with Agamemnon, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν; 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.

MAIORA FOCIS 'too big for'; cf. 14, 3.203, 13.12, 14.165, 15.140 and KS 2.475.

GENIALIS Because the *genius* (*Thes.* 1838.41) has a treat; Latte 103 n. 2, Wissowa 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–Wölfflin *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.

ibid. 44.5, *CIL* 10.1401, often in Pliny's letters and *Pan.*; Trajan himself ap. Pliny *Ep.* 10.97.2). Cf. Weinstock 191, Kuijper *Mnem.*⁴ 18, 1965, 160. With Domitian, who celebrated the *ludi saeculares* in 88, there is a special point; cf. Pliny's irony in the account of the Vestal trial, *Ep.* 4.11.6.

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). |[215]

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, ἰσοθέου ἀπαντες 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.

74–5 *pallor in ore sedet* Ovid *Met.* 2.775, *Tristia* 3.9.18; cf. *tot hominum palloribus* Tac. *Agr.* 45.2.

MAGNAE (cf. 20 and on 1.33) ... AMICITIAE They were *amici Caesaris* (cf. 88) in the technical sense (Crook² 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, of

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.* 2.23.5) 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; Syme¹ 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 (Syme¹ 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*² 122 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 iniuste 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*.

80 INERMI For the sword of justice see *RE Dike* 578, E. Fraenkel |[217] commentary on Aesch. *Agamemnon* p. 730. Justinian *Codex* 9.9.30 (31) *iubemus ... armari iura gladio ultore*.

81 In both form and content this closely resembles Statius' phrase *Nestorei* (of his age and wisdom) *mitis* (82) *prudencia 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 ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο* (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.* 1.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 *talīs hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita* (Sen. *Ep.* 114.1); see Bramble 23.

83 Pliny *Pan.* 4.4 *principem cuius ditione nutuque maria, terrae, pax, bella regerentur*; 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 DEREEXIT ... 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 (Crook² 43–4; Syme³ 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 θηρίοις 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 Glabronis* [₂₁₉] *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.

IUVENE i.e. *filīō*; 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, Mommsen¹ 2.759–62, Alföldi 209–10 = *Röm. Mitt.* 50, 1935, 91–2.

GLADIIS Cf. 8.195, 10.345.

97 Cf. 1.34–5, Sen. *Dial.* 4.33.2 *rarissimam rem in aula, senectutem*, Tac. *Ann.* 6.10.3 *L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit*. See *RE princeps* 2195, Syme¹ 574 sqq. and ² 490 sqq., Gelzer 155.

98 The mythological Giants were sons of Γῆ, literally *Terrae 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, Balsdon¹ 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.

NUDUS See on 49 and cf. 1.23, 6.O.12; on the attire of *venatores* cf. *SG* 4.180 = 4.267, Robert 324–5.

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 Acilii 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 *Salii* (cf. on 6.604). [220] 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, Blümner¹ 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 *offensa* 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 corruerat 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, Blümner¹ 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, Blümner¹ 484, Robert *REA* 62, 1960, 338, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 3.560; Mart. 11.54.1 *olentem funera murrām*); 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).

FUNERA perhaps means ‘corpses’, cf. 10.258; but ‘funeral processions’ is more of a joke.

110 POMPEIUS cannot be securely identified.

APERIRE Of course he did not personally slit the throats; cf. on 3.37, 16.13. For the prolativative 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).

111–12 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 *De 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.

113 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 [222] 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 *prudencia* 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).

114 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 *meretrix Augusta*, 8.148 *mulio consul*, 8.198 *citharoedo principe 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 ^{[[223]} 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 egentem 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*¹ 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 rescripsit 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 2 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 Balsdon¹ 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, Cumont¹ 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 *fanatici* 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 |[225] 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 SUDES to justify Veiento's interpretation as a military omen. A drawing of a turbot will be found in Thompson² 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)*.

HOC DEFIUIT UNUM *id rebus defuit unum* Verg. *Aen.* 12.643, there a cry of despair.

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 CENSES, for *sententiae* (136); for the procedure cf. Crook² 113.

CONCIDITUR A deliberative subjunctive would be usual; cf. 28, 3.296, 6.O.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.

ABSIT ... HOC Val. Max. 3.2.20 *absit istud dedecus a sanguine nostro*.

132 TENUI A sign of fine workmanship. (Pliny *NH* 35.161).

SPATIOSUM ORBEM is usually understood of the fish (cf. 39 *spatium*), 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 properate, 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 (*Theo. s.v.* 561.43, cf. 545.65; e.g. *CIL* 6.8520 *dispensator castrorum*, *Macrobo. 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) ἔν τε τῷ Παλατίῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ᾤκει καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατήγιον εἶχε. That however does not suit SEQUANTUR here, and is rightly rejected by Mommsen¹ 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 mediam noctem protrahabat*.

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.

PULMO So Alcaeus τέγγε πνεύμονας οἴνω (D. L. Page *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1955) 303) and others, e.g. Plato *Timaeus* 70c and 91a (see A. E. Taylor's commentary pp. 503–4 and F. M. Cornford *Plato's Cosmology* (1937) 284 n. 1), who is criticised by *Plut. Quaest. Symp.* 7.1 (whence *Aul. Gell.* 17.11, *Macrobo. Sat.* 7.15). The notion is opposed by Hippocrates *περὶ νόσων* 4.56 (7.604 *Littre* = 11.119 *Budé* ed.), cf. *Littre* 1.376–7; but *περὶ καρδίας* 2 (9.81 *Littre* = *REG* 57, 1944, 9) admits that some liquid enters the lungs (see M. R. Cohen and I. E. Drabkin *A Source-Book of Greek Science* (1948) 479). See further *Onians* 36 and 42–3, *Fuchs Hermes* 29, 1894, 193–4, *RE Erasistratus* 338, von *Staden BICS* 22, 1975, 181.

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 φλόξ οἴνου.

140 TEMPESTATE MEA Cf. 6.26, 7.2 and contrast *nostro tempore* 115, 15.68. This use of *tempestatas* 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 *fasta t.*

140–2 On the production and consumption of oysters in the Roman world see *Marquardt* 442, *Blümner*¹ 188, *André* 108, *RE Austern* 2590, *Keller* 2.564, *Thompson*² 191. Those of Circeii 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 *Macrobo. 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*² 141). 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 ^[1227] *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, Thompson² 70); cf. André 106, Blümner¹ 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 τούτο 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. Crook² 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 ^[1228] 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.

148 DIVERSIS as usual in classical Latin means 'distant'; Ovid AA 1.685 *diverso venerat orbe*, Met. 2.323, Verg. *Aen.* 12.708 *genitos diversis partibus orbis*.

EX The variant *a* is probably due to misreading of a compendium of *et*; even modern collators have fallen into this trap (see CR² 17, 1967, 300).

149 The letter wings its way to Rome, cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.19.3 *litterae Capuam ad Pompeium volare dicebantur*, Aelius Aristides εἰς Ῥώμην 33 (αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ) πάρεισιν ὥσπερ 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, Thompson¹ 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 περοφόροι (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 περοφόρας, 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. Ulpius 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 *Lucr<i>*, 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).

LAMIARUM 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 homooteleu-

ton between 124 *-cetur* and 169 *-cetus* 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 debes* (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 ... aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis ..., aliud 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 [232] 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 *summum 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, Blümner² 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).

5 Cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 437, Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.16.10, 13.28.2.

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).

9 INIURIA CENAE The insult consisting in a dinner, *cena iniuriosa*. Cf. Ammianus *AP* 9.573.2.

IEIUNA FAMES Ovid *Met.* 8.791, *Il. Lat.* 397.

TANTI ... TAM *ut illa patiaris quae nec Sarmentus nee Gabba tulisset*: POSSIT *fames tua*, i.e. *tu esuriens possis*; ILLIC *in crepidine vel ponte*. [[233]

HONESTIUS is paradoxical and hyperbolic.

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 *iussi ergo discubuiimus*, Ovid *Met.* 12.212.

13 'Payment in full for your long-standing (1.132) attendance (2.132; cf. 19–20 below)'. Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 9.7.2.

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.

RUMPERE SOMNUM Cf. 3.127 (and *ibid.* 128 sqq. with SOLLICITUS 20), 239; Sen. *Dial.* 10.14.4, Mart. 12.26.7 sqq.; for the morning *salutatio*, cf. Marquardt 259.

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 DUBIIS 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 δύνοντα 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 / στρεφῆτην ὄτ' Ἄρκτος (= *serraca*) ἤδη / 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 SUCIDA 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 Ὀδυσσεὺς ὑφαίνων ap. Athen. 10.421a–b; *CIL* 4.7698 = *CEL* 2054 *odiosaque iurgia differ*, an inscription in a *tricladium*. PROLUDERE (and evidently also *praeludere*: 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. COHORTEM maintains the military metaphor.

SAGUNTINA Pliny *NH* 35.160 and often the Spaniard Martial; cf. Charlesworth 166, Blümner³ 132, Marquardt 661–2, *ES* 3.174.

LIBERTORUM If freedmen did not actually live with their patron (Blümner¹ 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 *cadī* 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, Blümner¹ 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.

31 Hor. *Odes* 3.14.18 *cadum Marsi memorem duelli*; for wine 200 years old cf. Pliny *NH* 14.55.

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.O.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*.
|[236]

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, Blümner¹ 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* (Blümner¹ 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. [1237]

43–4 Cf. Mart. 14.109. UT MULTI Cf. 113.

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.

PONERĔ ZELOTYPO (on 6.278). Cf. Hoenigswald *TAPA* 80, 1949, 278 and add Varro *Sat. Men.* 92.2 *fragminē zonae*, Manil. 3.625; 8.107 shows the opposite metrical feature. Zeta was not always pronounced as a double consonant in Latin; cf. Saguntum–Zacynthos (on 15.114), *zona–sona* in early Latin (W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* (1894) 104).

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 Vātiniānum*, 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 *vilia sutoris calicem 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 empty 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*¹ 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.

QUEREBAR Cf. Cic. *Pro Flacco* 22.

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 ἥδη καὶ καρτερῶν, ὀρεωκόμον τινα 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.

58 NE TE TENEAM Cf. Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1.34, *Pro S. Rosc.* 20; Sen. *Ep.* 124.20.

59 FRIVOLA 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); ὦρα 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. [239]

64 Cf. Mart. 3.58.43–4. The construction is *indignatur parere indignaturque quod poscas*.

VETERI 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.

TENER Sen. *Ep.* 123.2.

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 preemptory command ('be so good as to'), where-as *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).

FUERAT i.e. *fuit*; cf. 9.96, 10.272, 15.16.

77 MONTEM GELIDASQUE ESQUILIAS i.e. *Esquilinum montem*, with hendiadys. There was a steep slope from the Subura up to the *porta* |[240] *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 Iovis 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*.

SQUILLA See Thompson² s.v. *καρί*; the name embraces various kinds of prawn, but here seems to indicate a bear-crab, lobster or crawfish. Cf. Blümner¹ 189 n. 16.

SAEPTA Cf. *constrictus* 84.

ASPARAGIS Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.12 *turdum asparagos subtus*.

CONVIVIA ‘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 mullet 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 *divisis cybium latebit ovis*, 10.48.11, 11.52.7–8; ὀῶν ἡμίτομα Alexis ap. Athen. 2.60a.

FERALIS CENA 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 *unguor 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.).

MICIPSARUM 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 *devectum* 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*² (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.

ATRIS Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.129, *Aen.* 4.472; also a variant at Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.95.

92–106 Virro has two fish, the client only one (AUT 104). The *muraena*, murrey 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. Macrobius *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. Macrob. *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.

SAEVIT Cf. 14.148, 15.100.

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 παρά 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.

99 GURGITE DE SICULO Cf. Blümner¹ 183 n. 10, Marquardt 434 n. 10, André 102, *ES* 3.283 (add Clem. Alex. *Paed.* 2.1.3 p. 155 St.).

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.

CARCERE 10.181; Ovid *Met.* 11.431–2 *Hippotades ... qui carcere fortes / continet ventos*. For SE CONTINET cf. 10.79.

MADIDAS It is a wet wind; Ovid *Met.* 1.264 *madidis Notus evolat alis*.

CONTEMNUNT Cf. 6.90 and Sen. *Ep.* 14.8 adduced above.

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, pontesne inter iactatus an amnis / ostia sub Tusci?* [243]

Colum. 8.16–4 *fastidire docuit fluvialem lupum nisi quem Tiberis adverso torrente defatigasset*.

id. 8.17.8 *sine macula (nam sunt et varii) lupos includemus (in piscinae)*.

Xenocrates (*Physici et Medici Graeci Minores* ed. J. L. Ideler (1841) p. 122) ὁ ἔν Τιβέρι λάβραξ, ὃς ἔστιν ἐπεστιγμένος.

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 pisces? ... 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 ... Lucilii 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 *PBSR* 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* 1 52, 1938, 166). The only emendation which meets all criteria is Campbell's *glutto* (*CQ*¹ 39, 1945, 46), which Juvenal will have modelled on Lucilius' *catillo*. The attestation of this noun looks unimpressive in the *Thesaurus*, but at [244] *Pers.* 5.112 it is the reading of all mss. except P and should probably be accepted; at 4.28 Juvenal uses the verb *gluttire*. Attempts, to me unconvincing, to defend GLACIE are made by Bradshaw *CQ*² 15, 1965, 121, Giangrande *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 sewers 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 homoeoteleuton *-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.

107 Cf. 14.210–12.

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 executed 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 POSCIMUS 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 ALTILIS; 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 cuspide* (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 τοῖσι σκέλεσι ἐχειρονόμησε, where it is [[246] 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 m̄xīmō* (*et sane* is a common combination, e.g. 15.61).

REFERT has become completely synonymous with *int̄r̄est* (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.

125 Verg. *Aen.* 8.264. DUCERIS Cf. 10.66.

126 He dare not remind Virro that he has not been served; cf. 159, 169.

SIQUID HISCERE Cf. Accius 157, Ovid *Met.* 13.231.

127 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 ὀνομάτων, 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, Blümner¹ 405, Marquardt 336, Marescalchi–Dalmasso 76.

SUMIT 10.26. CONTACTA Polluted, cf. 6.O.5 and 14; not just *tacta* (Ovid *AA* 1.575).

129 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.

132 QUADRINGENTA The equestrian census, 1.106, 2.117, 14.326. For gifts of money by a *similis dis* patron to bring a man up to the equestrian census cf. Pliny *Ep.* 1.19.2, Mart. 4.67 and 5.25, *CIL* 14.2298 adduced on 109. |[247]

SIQUIS DEUS Cf. Cic. *Lael.* 87, *Cato* 83; Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.15, Petron. 100.4, Max. Tyr. 15 (Hobein).1; 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.

134 Petron. 38 *de nihilo crevit*.

QUANTUS AMICUS is like *magnus amicus* at Mart. 3.40.3, ‘great friend’ in the sense of ‘close’.

135 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, Blümner¹ 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 δέ* (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 *orbis*; 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. |[248]

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 (Blümner¹ 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 *parasitaster paullulus*).

MENSAM sc. Virronis.

146 VILIBUS Cf. 4; they are contrasted with the *quantus amicus* which the enriched Trebius would become (133–4).

ANCIPITES Dangerous; Pliny *NH* 22.96 *tertium genus (fungorum) suilli venenis 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 Claudius 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 ^[249]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 ὄπωρα, 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 performing 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 accordingly 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.O.27 and 608, 14.256–7), but here specifically envisages the entertainments put on at Roman dinner-parties, cf. on 11.179; for *comoedi* 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, Macrob. *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.

158 Cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 217. GULA A gourmet, cf. 14.10, 15.90 (?).

SI NESKIS ‘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.

EFFUNDERE BILEM Cf. *indignatio* 120, *iratis* 1.146; the same phrase Sen. *Dial.* 4.26.3, cf. Juv. 13.143. A parasite cannot afford a display of gall, Diphilus Συνοπικῶν ap. Athen. 6.247c.

PER LACRIMAS *non per os*.

161 LIBER HOMO Cf. 8.177 and on 127 above; Mart. 2.55.3, 9.10; [250] 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 *pascere 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 (*bullae*), 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 *bullae* and has to wear a leather amulet; Pliny *NH* 33.10, who says *bullae aureae* ... *ut eorum qui equo meruissent filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum*; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.6.9–14 in the Second Punic War *concessum ut libertinorum quoque filii ... togam praetextam et lorum in colla pro bullae decore 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, Alföldi (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, APRI 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 STRICTO PANE παρά προσδοκίαν for *ense*, cf. *Com. Adesp.* 649 K and E ἐσπάρτην γνάθον / εὔχρηστον; 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 VERTICE RASO 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 Ἐτοιμόκοσσος Alciphron 3.4 = 7; the parasite-mask had cauliflower ears (Pollux 4.148). At Piso's table (*Laus Pis.* 116) *nullius subitō 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.

PRAEBEBIS CAPUT adapts the phrase *os praeberē* (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).

Satire Six

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] Ἐρωτες (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 χωρὶς 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 [253] 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 [254] 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 ἀνθρωποφωρά 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 [1255] 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 |[256] *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.*⁴ 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 |[257] 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] Ἐρωτες 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 worshipping 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 limit* 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 *magno* 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, [1259] 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 suppositious infants. The notion of abortion (595–6) foreshadows the last two paragraphs (610–26 and 627–61), dealing with women's dabbings 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 *Diatribae 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.*² 45, 1917, 417 and Frassinetti *Rendic. Ist. Lombardo* 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, quarum ... dicitur ... alia occidisse virum ob amorem adulteri, tertia prodidisse Amphiarauum et saluti viri monile aureum praetulisse. quidquid tragoediae 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 *ostendit divitias magis in uxoribus elegi solere quam pudicitiam, et multos non oculis sed digitis uxores ducere. 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 pulcra esset, si bene morata,*

si honestis parentibus, si ipse sanus ac dives, sic sapientem inire aliquando matrimonium, statim intulit 'haec autem raro in nuptiis universa concordant', cf. Juv. 28 and 161 sqq. P.389.27–8 = fr. 56 *si bona fuerit et suavis uxor, quae tamen rara avis est ...*, cf. Juv. 165. P.388.19–23 *per totas noctes garrulae conquestiones: 'illa ornatio procedit in publicum' 'haec honoratur ab omnibus, ego in conventu feminarum misella despicio' 'cur aspiciebas vicinam?' 'quid cum ancillula loquebaris?' 'de foro veniens quid attulisti?' non amicum habere possumus, non sodalem. alterius amorem, suum odium suspicatur,* cf. Juv. 152, 214, 268 sqq. P.388.25 = fr. 49 *paupe-rem alere difficile est, divitem ferre tormentum* cf. Juv. 460. P.389.4–5 (*honorandus*) *procurator calamistratus et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado; sub quibus nominibus adulteri delitiscunt* cf. Juv. 366 and O 20–2. P.389.11 = fr. 53 *quid prodest etiam diligens custodia cum uxor servari impudica non possit?* cf. Juv. O 32. P.390.3–5 = fr. 58 *liberorum causa uxorem ducere ut vel nostrum nomen non intereat vel habeamus senectutis praesidia et certis utamur heredibus stolidissimum est* cf. Juv. 39. P.389.6 = fr. 52 *si totam ei domum regendam commiseris serviendum est. si ...* (with the other horn of the dilemma) cf. Juv. 206 (also in a dilemma); but this resemblance is faint. One should perhaps also compare Theophr. fr. 158 Wimmer ap. Stob. *Serm.* 83 p. 481 οὐ χρὴ τὴν γυναῖκα δεῖν ἔν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ... εἶναι with Juv. 398 sqq., and the quotation at Stob. *Ecl.* 2.31.31 (2.207 Wachsmuth) with 434 sqq.

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; *Theo. 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, Highet 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 [₂₆₂] resemblances, 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 Δίκη 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 pudicum?*), 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 Lucr. 5 (details follow).

CREDO is contrasted with *forsan* 14.

2 VISAM The point of this is the old feeling *χάλεποι 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. fas* 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* Lucr. 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; Lucr. 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 Lucr. 5.972 and 987; Ovid *AA* 2.475.

FERARUM PELLIBUS Lucr. 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 oculis* (so the mss., cf. Livy 7.26.5), Sen. *Dial.* 11.5.3 *oculos ... 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 *mammās*; 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 caeloque recenti*.

12 There are some legends representing the birth of the first men from trees (ML *Weltschöpfung* 500, Gruppe 439); cf. Stat. *Th.* 4.279 *quercus laurique ferebant / cruda puerperia ac populos umbrosa creavit / fraxinus et feta viridis puer excidit orno*. Oaks are particularly mentioned by Zonas AP 9.312 = Gow–Page GP 3484 *κοκúαι γὰρ ἔλεξαν / ἀμῖν ὡς πρότεραι ματέρες ἐντὶ δρύες*; Verg. *Aen.* 8.315 *gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata* (from which the cadence of Juvenal's line derives). Stat. *Th.* 4.340 *saxis nimirum et robore nati* (referring back to the passage already quoted) and 3.560 *aureus ille / sanguis avum scopulisque satae vel robore gentes* refer to Hom. *Od.* 19.163 *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἐσσί παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης*, on which see West on Hes. *Theog.* 35.

13 COMPOSITIVE 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]

14 VETERIS VESTIGIA Catull. 64.295, Verg. *Aen.* 4.23, Ovid *Am.* 3.8.19.

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* 417.73, where correct the Ulpian 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 Bonniec *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 *CR*¹ 3, 1889, 323. The *fulcrum* is the part of the bed on which the sleeper *fulcit* (cf. Prop. 3.7.50) his head.

24 SAECULA 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 |[265] 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 condicione habebatur*, 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 οὐ μὲν νῆπιος ἦσθα.

SANUS Cf. Menander fr. 59 οὐ γαμεῖς ἄν νοῦν ἔχης; 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 κακὸς ἔχραε δαίμων;

TISIPHONE In a semi-abstract sense, *furia*; therefore an instrumental ablative without an agent *a*, cf. 7.64 and on 1.13.

COLUBRIS 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 epexegetis (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. |[266]

RESTIBUS 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) ... *pugio* ... *cubitavit*; perhaps in this case it is the Bromius of 377, cf. the *concupinus* 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 praebebunt rectius multo / et sine flagitio* (see introduction on [Lucian] Ἔρωτες).

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

to *vires*. Cf. *Thes.* s.v. 1027.24.

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). |[267]

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 ἄελλτον οὐδέεν. 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) OLIM 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 CQ¹ 40, 1946, 83 takes this to mean that he was almost smothered, but this is feeble. Choricus (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 Aëtius 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. [268]

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 humi gelidoque pavens dedit oscula saxo*, Dölger 2, 1930, 157, Appel 199.

48 PRONUS Cf. Sittl 184, Appel 202.

AURATAM sc. *cornua*; Latte 386, *RE Immolatio* 1126, Cook *JHS* 14, 1894, 122, *Ann. Epigr.* 1975 no. 480, Armstrong 39–40, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7.161. For another offering at the Capitol cf. 10.65.

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).

49 CAPITIS PUDICI i.e. *oris pudici*, cf. 51 and 301; *fellatrices sunt*. Cf. *Thes. caput* 408.34–7, Sen. *NQ* 1.16.4, Onians 123–4; Housman *Hermes* 66, 1931, 406 = *Coll. Papers* 1178 quotes Suet. *Iul.* 22.2 and *Tib.* 45. Cf. Ovid *Ibis* 349 *nec tibi contingat matrona pudicior illa*.

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 Cérés, 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 *vittā Cereris redimitā ... deum indicem imploras*, *De Pallio* 4.10 *ob notam vittae Cereri initiantur*. 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.

51 For aversion from *oscula* for sexual reasons cf. Mart. 1.94, Catull. 79.3–4 with Kroll, Cic. *Pro Sest.* 111, Sen. *De Ben.* 4.30.2, Lucian *Pseudol.* 31, Aristoph. *Eccl.* 647.

51–2 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.

53–4 *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).
|[269]

EXTORQUEBIS Not merely *exorabis*.

55 RURE PATERNO Cf. Pers. 3.24, Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.60; Prop. 2.19.3 *nullus erit castis iuvenis corruptor in agris*.

56 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 Fidenatum* 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.

57 *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.

58 NIL rather than *nihil*; see the apparatus and Housman *CR*¹ 34, 1920, 163 = *Coll. Papers* 1014. Today's mountains and caves are very different from those of 3–6.

59 Sen. fr. 119 (ap. Lactant. *Inst.* 1.16.10; from the *libri moralis philosophiae*) *quid ergo est quare apud poetas salacissimus Iuppiter deserit 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.

60–1 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; Cameron¹ 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, χειρονομουμένην, 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 ὀρχηστῆς, cf. LSJ χειρονομία II, Aristaenetus *Ep.* 1.26 πᾶς θεατῆς ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς χειρονόμος εἶναι περιᾶται.

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.

VESICAE NON IMPERAT Cf. *Anth. Lat.* 487a.19–20.

APULA For this name cf. Bruttia 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 batters) 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 plebei* 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 *acñi* became *acñ*. 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 *scaenicus* called Aelius Urbicus); cf. on 63. Should Mart. 1.41.11 be *non optimus urbicus poeta* or *Urbicus*?

EXODIO ATELLANAE 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 ἐξοδιῶν; *Exodium* is the title of an Atellan by Novius. Hence actors in this genre were called *exodiarum* (B. Zucchelli *Le Denominazioni latine dell' at-tore* (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 Atellanis 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 and 14.215, *Thes. fibula* 644.73, *RE* 9.2543, *RAC Abstinentz* 42–3, E. J. Dingwall *Male Infibulation* (1925), *SG* 2.354 = 2.180.

74 CHRYSOGONUM A citharode, 7.176.

VETENT = *prōhībēant*.

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). Glaphyrus is known from Mart. 4.5.8; this is another inherited name (on 63; cf. *SG* 4.261 = 4.201) derived from an earlier *choraules*; the tomb of the *choraules* Ti. Claudius Glaphyrus (*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 conjunctions 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 references to this; on an occasion of public rejoicing at Nero's return to Rome, Tac. *Ann.* 14.13.

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 Corneli *Lentuli* (7.95, 8.187; Cic. *Ad Fam.* 3.7.5 *Lentulitas*) could afford expensive canopied (the word is derived from *conopeum*) beds inlaid with tortoise-shell (11.94–5, 14.308); Varro *RR* 2.10.8 *fetas nostras 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 n. 6; SG 4.252 = 4.238 and 2¹⁰.65 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 aliquid famae?*, Prop. 2.32.31 *Tyndaris 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*¹ 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 plumae*, SG 2.142–3 = 2.281, Marquardt 724, Blümner¹ 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 n. 9, Blümner¹ 116 n. 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, Blümner¹ 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 Ionian Pontus between Sicily and the Peloponnese, 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). δ'Ιόνιος (sc. πόντος) is found in Greek, but the masculine is not elsewhere attested in Latin; Housman however compares *Tyrrhenus* Val. Fl. 4.715, and *Aegaeus* is also found (*Thes.* s.v. 945.40).

94 PERICLI RATIO The reason for incurring danger; cf. 7.1.

95 TIMENT sc. *feminae*, cf. 112, 135, 284–5 and on 365, 464, 2.18.

PAVIDO GELANTUR PECTORE Cf. Lucan 7.339, Stat. *Th.* 2.544.

97 TURPITER AUDENT Cf. 8.165; contrasted with *honesti* 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; HAEC 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 chiasmatic.

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 (ὀποκόρισμα) 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 [1275] inflamed because the rubbing of his helmet irritates it (cf. Sil. It. 2.318 *galea teruntur malae*; 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 *pituuta 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 rudiarius*, *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 privatas domos ullam aequitatem nosse ... cuius implacabilis saevitia totiens 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
 <non erubuit>
 120 sed ...

The merits of this arrangement are (1) it gives sense to *sed* 120, (2) it |[276] 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*¹ 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, Marquardt 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; σινδόδιον 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). |[277]

TITULUM The name would be written above the door of the *cella*; cf. Sen. l.c. 7 *nomen tuum pependit 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*.

AERA POPOSCIT *basia meretricum poscinumma* Apul. *Met.* 10.21; cf. Mart. 9.8.4, Ovid *Am.* 1.10.21.

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 (*Thest.* s.v. 729.25). For ABSORBUIT cf. 10.223, for ICTUS *Anth. Lat.* 712.19, for the whole line Hor. *Serm.* 2.7.49 *quaecumque excepit turgentis 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 ABĪT See on 3.174; TAMEN *quamquam abiit*.

131–2 11.172 *olido*; Mart. 4.4.9 *redolet ... quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ladae*; 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 divorum* 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 |[278] excrescence 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 CAESENIA *Censennia* (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 ... / ... ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος / Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας, τό οἱ ἥπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον*.

PHARETRAE 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. *Coniug. 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 ellipsis, '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, Blümner¹ 363, *RE divortium* 1243.54, Corbett 218 and 224, Kaser¹ 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. *Sarcinulae* = 'baggage, property' 3.161, cf. Sen. *De Rem. Fort.* 16.7 *duc ... cuius sarcinīs 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* (Kaser¹ 1.327, Blümner¹ 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.

EXI OCIUS ET PROPERA Plaut. *Curc.* 312 *properatin ocius?*, *Pers.* 85 *adproperate ocius* and Hofmann pp. 97 and 196.

147 NOBIS The self-important freedman associates himself with his *patronus*, as slaves often do; e.g. Ter. *Hec.* 807 *ab nostro adfine*, Menand. *Dysc.* 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*.

149 sqq. Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 498 sqq. |[280]

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 ³ 121; *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 Geschenck* 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* (Casson¹ 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 (Blümner² 3.249, M. L. Trowbridge *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (1930) 53 sqq. and 79 sqq.); MURRINA (cf. 7.133) made of fluorspar (Loewental and Harden *JRS* 39, 1949, 31; Bromehead *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, Blümner¹ 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*² *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 σὠφρων, πλουσία ὠραία (Plut. *Coniug. Praec.* 22.141a; σὠφρων, εὐμορφος, 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. Blümner¹ 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.

OMNI 'any' cf. on 8.209. Prop. 2.6.21 *intactas Sabinas*, cf. Juv. 10.299. Livy 1.13.1 *Sabinae mulieres ... crinibus passis ... dirimere infestas acies*.

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. *Venüsinam* 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. Gracch.* 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 αὐτῆ τῆ Καρχηδόνι, Carthage and all; cf. 13.61, 14.61.

MIGRA = *exi* 146; cf. on 9.76.

172 A προσωποποιῖα.

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*² 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 ^[284] 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**

(cf. 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. Praec.* 28.142a ποιεί ἢ χαλεπότης ἀρῆδῃ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῆς γυναικός; 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 γυνή.
ἀ[ψίνθι]ον γάρ ἐστι μεμελιττωμένον.

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 ψυχὴ 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 ζῶν καὶ φῶς καὶ ψυχὴν, Machon 223 Gow; for other Greek endearments Lucr. 4.1160 sqq.

186 GRAECULA See on 3.78.

187 GRAECE sc. *loquuntur*.

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 ὄμοι 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-*

riosa tua est, cf. Juv. 199), 11.29, 12.97.8–9.

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 cristae*.

MOLLIUS Cf. O 23; HAEMO 3.99, an actor; CARPOPHORUS is unknown.

199 COMPUTAT ANNOS 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. *nuptialem*; usually given in the house of the bride’s parents, but sometimes in that of the bridegroom, as here (Blümner¹ 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 *Iudicium 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 ἔδνον. 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 *agnomina* and image; he took the title of |[286] 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.

BEATA See on 1.39; SCRIPTO cf. *tituli* 14.290 and Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.105.

206 The asyndeton is harsh, and Ruperti suggested punctuating (*simplicitas uxoria!*); 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, ζεύγος 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 parcat, 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.

214 ADFECTUS Here in the neutral sense of likes and dislikes, cf. Lucan 10.94; not in the common Silver sense of 'affection' (on 12.10, 15.150). Cf. Plut. *Coniug. Praec.* 19.140d a wife should share her husband's friends.

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 1² 593.123 = 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.* [1287]

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 ἔμψυχον; 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, [Quintil.] *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 AUTUMNOS 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, unicubae, uniuigae*; 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.

232–41 Cf. 14.25–30.

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 chaprons 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 θυρωποι 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 xxi–xxii), though mss. are unanimous at 11.110, 13.40.

CORPORE 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 Mommsen² 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 ἄν κινήσειε, 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. Volkman 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, *PIR*² I 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 ... litigator*), or they write the actual speech (Pliny *Ep.* 7.30.4–5 *libellos meos de ultione Helvidii ... cum componerem illos*). 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. |[290]

246 Juvenal uses the rhetorical question *QUIS NESCI*T (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. *palaris lusio*.

ASSIDUIS 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 gladiatoriiis 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?* |[291] *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 AUCTION 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* 113.10. 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.

ἔσθης); 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.

263 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.

264 SCAPHIUM Used only by women, while the *lasanum* belonged to men; Henderson 191, Blümner¹ 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.

266 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.

267 GEMAT The gasping caused by severe exercise, *Cic. Tusc.* 2.56, *Sen. Ep.* 56.1.

ASYLI nomen gladiatoris Σ; a slave-name (*Thes.* s.v.).

268 LITES ... **IURGIA** Cf. 35, *Ovid AA* 2.153, *Plut. Coniug. Praec.* 39.143e, *Plaut. Men.* 765–71, *Cas.* 317; *Varius Geminus* ap. *Jerome Adv. Iovin.* 1.28 *qui non litigat caelebs est*. Yet epitaphs often record that married pairs lived *sine lite*, *sine iurgio* (*Lattimore* 279, cf. *Pliny Ep.* 8.5.1); perhaps this is protesting too much.

270 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.

271 This line should be followed by a full stop; 272 is epexegetic. [293] Women according to Alexis ap. Athen. 13.558e ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι.

FACTI Her own misconduct; cf. 279, 13.193, Ovid *Am.* 1.8.79–80.

272 Ovid *AA* 3.677 *accedant lacrimae dolor et de paelice fictus*.

ODIT 'abuses' cf. 3.214; PUEROS 'slaves', the man's homosexual partners (cf. 34), cf. Petron. 74.

274 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 ... IUBEAT For this type of prolepsis see HS 471.

275 A semi-colon in the middle of the line would be preferable.

276 TIBI PLACES 'You preen yourself' cf. 10.41, Ovid *RA* 286, *AA* 3.679.

URUCA '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 mediæval authors, who apply the word to the bird (the warbler?) which has the cuckoo'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.

277 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.

278 TIBI Dative of agent; for SCRINIA cf. *RE* s.v., Blümner¹ 132.

ZELOTYPÆ is usually applied to the aggrieved party (cf. 8.197), so its combination with MOECHAE is paradoxical. 'Cf. 5.45; the word is post-Augustan though Cicero uses ζήλοτυπία. There is no Latin word which exactly expresses the "jealousy" of lovers' Duff.

279 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; Wölfflin 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, [1294] 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, *Nachträge* 57, 105, 171; Herodas 5.27 in a similar context. Cf. Eur. *Hippol.* 439 ἐρᾶς· τί τοῦτο 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 CR¹ 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 *animus* (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 chiasmic 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 immodici ... somni* Ovid RA 145. For similar remarks in moralising historians see Vell. Pat. 2.1.1 *in somnum a vigiliis ... conversa civitas*, Sall. *Cat.* 13.3 *dormire prius quam somni cupido esset*, Aurel. Vict. 1.4 *ad somnum intemperanties*.

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 *duræ 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* 92ob. 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).

294 CRIMEN FACINUSQUE With genitive 493, cf. *Thes.* 6.1.81.44.

295 PAUPERTAS (on 9.147) **ROMANA** The ideal of the peasant-farmer community of early Rome, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 87.41, Livy pr. 11, Val. Max. 4.4, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.12.42; inculcated by Horace *Odes* 3.2.1.

PERIT 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.

SYBARIS The Sybaritic way of life, cf. Philostr. *Apollon.* 4.20, LSJ II and Otto s.v.

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, ἄλκιμοι 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. Wuilleumier *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 Bois-sevain; Wuilleumier 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 *impudicitia*. Cf. Val. Max. 2.1.5 *proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam uenerem esse consuevit*; 9.1 pr. *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), Blümner¹ 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 poculorum speciem comparata sunt velut conchae*; Hilgers 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. Vollgraff *Mnem.*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 collectea Maurae

Maura, Pudicitiae ...

or

... collectea Maurae,

Maura Pudicitiae ...

In the first case we have to think of two sisters called Maura, and *Maurae* may be either genitive after *collectea* or (less likely) dative after *dicat*; in the second case the *collectea* 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*.

COLLECTEA (now on *Ann. Epigr.* 1946 no. 142) ὀμογάλακτος, 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;

Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.38, Suet. *Nero* 59, Aristoph. *Frogs* 366, Chrysippus ap. Plut. *De Stoic. Repugn.* 22.1045a).

310 SIPHONIBUS *urina diu retenta ac deinde longo tractu proiecta* Ruperti. 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 ... SECRETA A paradox.

BONAE ... 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 Μύστις of Antiphanes (see on 2.86). ὀργιασμῶν καὶ ματρφασμῶν τῶν κατ’ οἶκον 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 ἐκστάσιας ψυχᾶς. But Plutarch’s view of this occasion is milder; *Caes.* 9.8 (cf. 10.2) παιδιὰ! Cf. also the romanticised *luditis* Prop. 4.9.33. For the festival in general see T. P. Wiseman (on 2.86) 130.

TIBIA Plut. l.c.; cf. *psaltria* 337 and on 2.90. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 8.27 *incitante tibiae cantu lymphaticum tripudium* and on 322; anon. *AP* 11.339 τὴν κεφαλὴν σείεις καὶ τὴν πυγὴν ἀνασείεις; / ἔν μὲν μαινομένου, ἔν δὲ περαινομένου; Sittl 243.

315–16 CORNU Of the tibia (on 2.90); *vino ... attoniti* (i.e. in ecstasy) Livy 39.15.9 of the Bacchanalia.

CRINEMQUE ... ULULANTQUE Lucan 1.566 *crinemque rotantes ... ulularunt* (the devotees of Bellona); *rotare comas* is *fanaticum* (cf. Juv. 4.123) Quintil. 11.3.71, *crines rotare* of the Galli Stat. *Th.* 10.173, of the priests of the Dea Syria Apul. *Met.* 8.27. [299]

PRIAPI MAENADES *non Bacchi*. The *secreta Bonae Deae* resembled Orphic rites (Plut. *Caes.* 9).

SALTANTE Of palpitating excitement; similarly πηδᾶν (LSJ II).

320 LENONUM ANCILLAS They would be professional dancers; music and prostitution go together, 3.65.

POSITA i.e. *proposita in medio*; τιθέναι ἄεθλα Hom. *Il.* 23.653, 740. 320–3 are like a male athletic contest; cf. the contest in Alciphron 4.14.

321 PENDENTIS COXAE 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 undabat*; Arnob. 2.42 *coxendicibus sublevatis lumborum crispitudine fluctuare*. Cf. on 326.

MEDULLINAE An aristocratic lady, like Saufeia; this is a cognomen of the Furii.

323 DOMINAS Medullina and Saufeia, contrasted with the *lenonum ancillae*, who stand no chance. Cf. *Laus Pisonis* 12 *animum natalibus aequat*.

325 AD VERUM *ad veritatem* Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.61.

FRIGIDUS AEVO Cf. 10.217; the opposite of *calidus iuventa*, cf. 369, 11.6. Sen. *Dial.* 4.19.4 shows how the notion of hot youth and cold old age, natural in itself (cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* 2.13.1389b31; Verg. *Georg.* 3.97 *frigidus in venerem senior*), fits in with the medical theory which based itself on the mixture (κρᾶσις, *temperamentum*) of the four Empedoclean elements in the body. Cf. Celsus 2.1.5, Eyben *Latomus* 31, 1972, 679–81 and 686.

326 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 re-sounding *Laomedontiades*, which the sordid context highlights, is from Verg. *Aen.* 8.158, *Nestoris hirnea* is a travesty of such epic phrases as βῆη 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 Lucillius *AP* 11.132.6, the scrotum being enlarged as the result of a rupture.

327 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).

328 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 [300] 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 σηκῆναι, Sen. *Ep.* 97.2 a *consaeptum*; cf. Latte 229 n. 3.

329 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.

NIHIL EST 3.112; *SERVIS* cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 491–2.

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 *aquarii sunt impudicarum mulierum sordidi asseclae; iis enim tamquam amorum internuntiis solebant uti mulieres*; *CGL* 2.28.5 *bacario* πορνοδιάκοπος; *RE* 2.312–13, Rosenbaum 347–8.

CONDUCTUS Cf. Carcopino 47, *Edict. Diocl.* 7.31 (his daily wage).

MORA NULLA PER 12.11 with *quin*.

ASELLO Cf. [Lucian] Ὀνος 51 = Apul. *Met.* 10.19–22, Pliny *NH* 8.155 (Semiramis), J.G. Griffiths' edition of Apul. *Met.* 11 p. 25 fin. and 351. Cf. on 9.92.

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 totidem* (i.e. *duo libri*), though this has been emended to *Anticatoris* (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.

Pease on *De Nat. Deor.* 3.43. For the SIMPUVIUM cf. *RE* s.v., R. von Schaewen *Röm. Opfergeräte* (1940) 35, Hilgers 56 and 279, Latte 384 and pl. 30; for the CATI-NUM, which is of earthenware (*fictile* *Apul. Apol.* 18) and hence black (cf. *nigra patella* Mart. 5.78.7, *n. lagona* 7.53.6) cf. 11.108, *RE* s.v.; for the PATELLA used for making libations (the diminutive, though admittedly it is common, indicating its lack of pretensions) Marquardt 318 and 651, *RSV* 3.167 n. 1, Hilgers 239, Nuber *Bericht der Röm.-Germ. Kommission* 96, 1972 (publ. 1973) 96, von Schaewen l.c. 24.

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; Bruch *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 chiasitic 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’ Blümner² 3.8; there was a *procurator ad silices*, *CIL* 6.1598). But here ATRUM (cf. Pliny *NH* 36.168 *nigri 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. *fortes* 9.142; SYRORUM as litter-bearers *Mart.* 9.2.11 and 22.9 (*RE lectica* 1097.6).
|[303]

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 Blümner¹ 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 προσκεφαλαῖον, 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.

NUTRICEM The presence of this old family servant implies a respectable old family; *nutrices* remained part of the household even when their charges grew up. Cf. *RE Ammen* and *nutrix* 1497, *RAC Amme* 381, J. Vogt *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man* (1975) 105, S. Treggiari *PBSR* 43, 1975, 68 n. 108 and *Amer. Journ. Anc. Hist.* 1, 1976, 88, Blümner¹ 308, M. Maxey *Occupations of the Lower Classes in Roman Society* (1938) 54, Bömer 962 = 4.106.

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 γυναικί τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπειναν ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς γυναικειᾶς παιδίον τὸ συνακολουθήσον; Blümner¹ 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 FAMESQUE 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, Wölfflin 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]

EXPAVERE Gnomic perfect, cf. on 2.83 and 14.174.

363–4 A mixed metaphor. RECIDIVUS παλιμβλαστής (cf. H. Nettleship *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* (1889) 567) suits *pullulat* better than *redivivus* 'renovated'; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 10.58 *recidiva, renascentia. tractus autem sermo est ab arboribus, quae taleis sectis pullulant*, Some folk-tale may lie behind this (*SG* 4.92 = 4.95; Stith Thompson *Motif Index of Folk-Literature* 2 (1956) pp. 233–4).

ACERVO Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.51, *Epist.* 2.2.190.

365 Words of place and time are often almost interchangeable (e.g. *ibi* 'thereupon'), 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*¹ 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.*⁴ 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. Citroni 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*. |[305]

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 4.311, 5.283; Flaccus *AP* 5.5.4 = Gow–Page *GP* 3799).

TREMULA DEXTRA Cf. O 24; [Aristotle] in *Physiognom.* 1, p. 34 Foerster as a σημεῖον κιναΐδου mentions αἱ φοραὶ τῶν χειρῶν ... ἔκλυτοι, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 52.12 *manus mota*.

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 ... MENSAE 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.

FRANGENDA Aristoph. *Knights* 1289, Mart. 12.74.10, Macedonius *AP* 11.39 = Gow–Page *GP* 2544; cf. *Juv.* 5.128.

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*¹ 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. Κίταιδα 3.118.1634 Adler), and the *cinaedus* in Lucian is called Chelidionion. |[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 pexaque 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 δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτόλμων ἐπανίστασθαι πώγωνας 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 compendiaria* 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 *fāmīliā*.

9 Juvenal must here be saying that even in the gladiatorial school pervers 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 ὄπλον v) fails to provide a good co-ordinate, since even a pervers 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 *retiarīi*; 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).

11 MUNIMENTA UMERI The shoulder-guard of *retiarum* (on 8.207). The following corruption has not yet been satisfactorily emended; |[307] 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 ense*); a *pulsator* is a type of gladiator (Colin 372).

12 NUDUS Wearing only the *subligaculum*; cf. on 4.49.

13 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 An 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.*³ 13, 1889, 149. This form of the nominative singular is well attested in Juvenal (Knoche *Grundlagen* 351).

14 Juvenal resumes 6 after the digression contrasting the house with the gladiatorial school. COMMUNEM CALICEM Cf. 8.177, Lucian *Pseudol.* 31.

15 For Alban wine cf. 5.33; that of Surrentum is often mentioned and associated with it.

RECUSET Cf. *negabit* 14.134.

16 FLAVA See on 120.

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.

17 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 *feminae* (on O 5).

18 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*.

19 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 ἄφρωνον ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς μετιόντων ὀρχηστῶν (i.e. *pantomimi*); Colin 332.

20 QUICQUID 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.

21 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 *crokota* (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.

DOCILI Cf. Mart. *Spect.* 26.1.

27 sqq. A προσωποποιῖα, 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 [309] sentences, and excited ellipse (ALIIS 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, Claus 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. Kaser² 282.

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 QUAECUMQUE 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* (*quaecumque* = *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 SERAM Ovid AA 2.636, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 414.

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 6.67 (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 (Philostr. *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 [310] 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* 11.45 of νέοι οἰστρώδεις αἵματος πλήθει καὶ θερμότητι.

370 PECTINE Pliny *NH* 29.26; κτεῖς is similarly used (Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 343).

371–2 and 374–6 The type of eunuch technically known as θλιβίας or θλαδίας (θλασίαις), 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 mangonis*) 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 ἐρέβινθος (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 manipuli, / 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 Juvenal 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 musicorum*; cf. LSJ ὄργανον I 3, Löschhorn *Mus. Helv.* 28, 1971, 200.

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, Blümner¹ 260, G. M. A. Richter *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (1971) 3), as was traditional for musicians (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. Il.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 employed (Paus. 8.54.7, Aelian *NA* 14.17). *Chelys* is similarly used. Cf. Keller 2.248–9; *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 crispent 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 frequentem* ‘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 *numerose 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 *PIR*² 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 familiam 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, Eitrem 316 sqq., cf. 12.8 and 84).

387 The Capitoline contest instituted by Domitian in A.D. 86; Suet. 4, *RE Capitotolia*, 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. [313]

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.

APERTA Cut open by the *haruspex* (397); for private consultations of *haruspices* cf. 550, Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1.132 *vicani haruspices*, Latte 158 n. 3, Wissowa 547, SG 3.126 = 3.161, Thulin 3.136–40.

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.

HIS sc. *verbis* (391).

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, Iane, 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. Macrob. *Sat.* 2.3.5).

398 sqq. For similar portraits of gossips, male and female, cf. Mart. 9.35, Se-monides 7.12 sqq., Theophr. *Char.* 8 (λογοποῖτα), Plaut. *Trin.* 199 sqq.

399 ET connects the adjectives AUDAX and COETUS ... MAMILLIS. [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, Mommsen¹ 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 MAMILLIS 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.

SECRETA ... 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.

407 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.

FAMAM EXCIPIT Tac. *Hist.* 4.12.1.

409 PORTAS sc. *Urbis*.

QUOSDAM 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).
|[315]

411 Referring to the earthquake at Antioch in December 115 (Dio Cass. 68.24–5; G. Downey *History of Antioch* (1961) 213, F. Lepper *Trajan's Parthian War* (1948) 67 sqq.).

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 CONCIDERE 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 *perfordere 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.

416 FUSTES on a similar occasion Suet. *Cal.* 26.4.

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 μή 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. Alex. *Paed.* 3.5.32 (p. 255 Stählin) δούλους ἀποδύονται γυμναὶ καὶ ἀνατριβόνται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐξουσίαν δοῦσαι τῷ κατεπηχότι

τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ ἀδεὲς 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 & R*² 24, 1977, 118.

422 ALIPTES (3.76) The masseur; Martial l.c. *uncti verberere vapulat magistri*. He brings his hand down with a smack, Sen. *Ep.* 56.1. Cf. Blümner¹ 433-4, *RE Aleiptes*, J. Jüthner *Die Athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen* 1 (1965) 188.

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* (*cum-que*), 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* (12.44), 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 *ādpētītio*, motivated however by the preceding *edundi adpetens*; the medical writer Caelius Aurelianus uses both this and *ādpētītus*. *ēsūrītio* 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.

429 REDIT Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 9.1.6, *Ep.* 108.15, Mart. 1.87.4, Plut. *Quaest. Symp.* 2.1.634e.

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 coniunx* 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 Syntax*⁴ (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 *āltērā* 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, Macrob. *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 *cenae*; cf. the parody *quid putas inter Ciceronem et Publilium interesse?* at Petron. 55.

438 GRAMMATICI, RHETORĒS 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.

440 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* ... |[319] *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*.

441-3 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 *WS*² 11, 1977, 96 sqq. (esp. 103), Allen *CQ*² 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 SUCCURRERE 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 Δωδωναίων 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.

444 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; μηδὲν ἄγαν); <and rightly so>, for ... For the common elliptic use of *nam* cf. 10.204. |[320]

445 VIDERI She is more interested in an impressive appearance than in true learning, cf. Lucian *De Merc. Cond.* 36.

446 She should wear a *tunica* instead of a *stola*.

447 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* ($\frac{1}{4}$ *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 Vipasca; Carcopino 254), though sometimes bequests gave them free entry (Meusel 103 n. 1). Cf. Austin on Cic. *Pro Cael.* 62.

448 NON Cf. 451 and on 3.54. Eur. *Hippol.* 640–1 σοφήν δὲ μισῶ· μὴ γὰρ ἔν γ' ἐμοῖς δόμοις / εἶη φρονοῦσα πλεῖον ἢ γυναῖκα χρή.

RECUMBIT At meals, cf. 434, 9.106.

449 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, circumscripti 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, Quintil. 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).

450 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.

451 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]

452 '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.

PALAEEMON 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.

SOLOECISMUM 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] Ἐρωτες 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) μήτ' ἐπὶ δειρής ... ἔχοις ... χλωρὸν ἴασπιυ.

EXTENTIS The weight of the jewels stretches the ears, cf. [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 661 and more generally Sen. *De Ben.* 7.9.4.

COMMISSIT '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., Warmington 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.

HYPERBOREUM Cf. Otto *Nachträge* 86; AXEM cf. 8.116.

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 ἐτέρης ἐτέρην σε καὶ ἄλλην ἄλλοτε λεύσωσιν / φαινομένην πολλῆσι μίαν μορφῆσι γυναικα (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 ἀποστραφεῖς Lucian *Dial. Mer.* 11.1. [324]

PERIIT She cries ‘perii’, 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 *ornatrices*, 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, Marquardt 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.

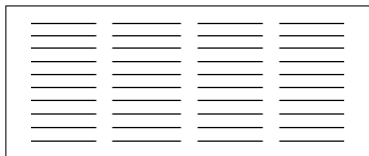
481-4 VERBERAT ... CAEDIT Not personally, cf. 484; so also 414. See on 16.13. The metre slows down from the brisk dactyls of 481 to the spondees of attentive consideration (482) and exhaustion (484).

482 CONSIDERAT Of a connoisseur's inspection, *Thes.* s.v. 426.73. This is a *vestis auro clavata* (*auroclava* Σ), cf. Marquardt 548, Blümner¹ 254 and ² 1.168-70.

LATUM Cf. Ovid *Met.* 6.567, *Her.* 9.127; PICTAE sc. *acu*, 'embroidered'.

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.

LASSIS Cf. 8.137.

485 *horrendumque intonet armis* Verg. *Aen.* 12.700.

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 ISIACAE 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. f. 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 CONSIILIO 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. Sen. *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-*

gus Longo *Epigraphica* 38, 1976, 38. Cf. *rauca* 515, 2.111, Apul. *Met.* 8.26–7 with a *choraula*.

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] *Ὀνοσ* 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.

GRANDE SONAT Cf. 7.108; *conclamat Sen. Dial.* 7.26.8.

518 For eggs as purificatory cf. Ovid AA 2.330, Mart. 7.54.7, Lucian *Catapl.* 7, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.4.26.3, Pap. Lond. 121.522 = *Pap. Mag. Graec.* ed. Preisendanz 2 no. 7, p. 24; in launching a ship Apul. *Met.* 11.16. Cf. also Pliny NH 10.19, *RE Mageia* 364.35.

CENTUM An ὀῶν ἐκατόμυθη Ephippus Ἐφηβοί fr. 1 M = fr. 8 K and E.

519 XERAMPÉLINAS 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. ἀτραβατικός (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.

SEMEL 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. |[329]

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).

IPSI VERTICIBUS Going right out into the river, not just dipping her head in at the edge.

SUPERBI 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 Herculaneum* (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 (ὄναρ), *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.

527 sqq. 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, Dölger 5, 1936, 153, Vitruv. 8 pr. 4 *cum hydria aqua ad templum aedemque casta religione refertur* (by those who *sacerdotia gerunt moribus Aegyptiorum*; cf. [1330] the note of Callebat). Vidman² 313 is a dedication of a περιφαντήριον. 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 *sciendum 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. dominae 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. Rouillet *Egyptian ... Monuments of Ancient Rome* (1972) 23, J. G. Griffiths on *Apul. Met.* 11.26 p. 327.

530 DOMINAE A cult title of Isis (Vidman² 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).

IPSIUS 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 οὓς ἂν αὐτῇ προτιμήσασα ἢ Ἴσις 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.

532 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; PRAECIPUUM 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. [1331]

GREGE ... GREGE See the parallels in Shackleton Bailey 252.

LINIGERO ... CALVO Cf. Mart. 12.29.19; *turba linigera* Ovid *Met.* 1.747; λινοστολῖαι καὶ ξυρήσεις Plut. *De Iside et Osir.* 3 (with the notes of J. G. Griffiths pp. 269–70); Apul. *Met.* 11.10 *liniteae 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, Cumont¹ 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.

539 MEDITATA 'practised', passive though the verb is deponent; cf. *KS* 1.111 and *Juv.* 13.210.

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 λαγαρόν (= 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 Ἰουδαῖος ἕτερον 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*² (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.

SUMMI ... CAELI Cf. 14.97. Jehovah is of course a god of Heaven (*RE* 9.446.27; it seems unnecessary to me to suppose that Juvenal had in mind the syncretistic cult of Ζεὺς ὑψιστος οὐράνιος). Posidonius ap. Strabo 16.2.35 (*Fr. Gr. Hist.* II A fr. 70 p. 264 Jacoby) after discussing the 'sky-worship' of the Jews mentions incubation by οἱ εὐδνειροὶ (cf. Norden 276 n. 3), though Jacoby thinks this sentence an addition by Strabo.

INTERNUNTIA προφητῆς.

IMPLET MANUM Hom. *Od.* 11.359 πλειοτέρη σὺν χειρὶ.

AERE MINUTO Sen. *Dial.* 2.12.2.

SOMNIA Interpretations of dreams; QUALIACUMQUE VOLES since fortune-tellers try to please their clients, Apul. *Apol.* 97.

548 SPONDET Of astrologers Suet. *Tib.* 14.2, *Otho* 4.1; cf. *promittere* Juv. 3.43.

AMATOREM ... INGENS Lucian *Alex.* 5 γόης τῶν ... ὑπισχνουμένων ... χάριτας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς; *De Merc. Cond.* 27 μάντιν ... τῶν κλήρους πολυταλάντους καὶ ... ἀθρόους τοὺς πλοῦτους ὑπισχνουμένων.

ORBI Cf. 3.129 (q.v. on *captatio*), Mart. 11.83.1 etc.

549 TESTAMENTUM i.e. *legatum*.

CALIDAE Still warm; PULMONE cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1.85.

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.

552 PUERI Cf. e.g. Lucan 6.710 and the epitaph of a boy killed in sorcery *CIL* 6.3.19747, with the illustration of the rite in *DS Magia* p. 1515 fig. 4784; see *RSV* 3.113 n. 1, *RE Mageia* 329-30, MacMullen¹ 335, *SG* 3.306-7 = 3.324, *ML Inferi* 253, Hopfner² 1 p. 382 §635, Dölger 4, 1934, 211, F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer* (1915) 190 sqq. There is perhaps a reference in Pap. Warren 21.32 (*Papyrol. Lugd.-Bat.* 1 (1941) 52).

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 (*numeri* 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 fount 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 Siwah, 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 (Thrasyllus) oracli 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 Delphoi* 2579, *Orakel* 853 and 861, Beaujeu 184, Flacelière *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 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; |[335] 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 LSJ πίνναξ 4. OBĪT See on 3.174.

560 FIDES ARTIS Tac. *Ann.* 6.22.3 (also of astrology).

SONUIT FERRO Cf. Tib. 2.6.26, Lucan 8.663; i.e. *catenis*, cf. *RE carcer* 1581, Mommsen² 300.

561 CASTRORUM IN CARCERE Presumably the *castra praetoria*, the depot of the *cohortes praetoriae* and probably also of the *cohortes urbanae*; imprisonment there is a result of the police duties of these bodies (cf. Joseph. *AJ* 18.235, O. Hirschfeld *Kl. Schr.* 590, Mommsen² 316, *RE* 22.2414 and *carcer* 1579–80, Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 10.57.2). See on 3.314. |[336]

LONGE 'for a long time' cf. 7.41, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.276 and the adjective 8.47; *longum* would be more usual. *Longo* (see the apparatus) would have to mean 'distant', but this is untrue of the *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. *Genium* here hardly differs from *ingenium* (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.19, Mart. 6.61.10, 7.78.4).

MATHEMATICUS See on 553.

563 PERIT Cf. on 8.85.

563–4 For banishment to the Cyclades (*deportatio in insulam*) see on 1.73, 10.170; for PARVA Ovid *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.

CARUISSE 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 *iacuisse* (Prof. Nisbet) or *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 DE TE 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; occursum 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, Blümner¹ 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.

576 THRASYLLI The astrologer of Tiberius (Cramer (on 557) 92–108); for his astrological writings cf. *RE Thrasyllus* 583–4, W. and H. G. Gundel *Astrologumena* (1966) 149, and for **NUMERIS** on 553.

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

a journey Apul. *Met.* 2.12–13.

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 CR¹ 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, Balsdon¹ 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 χειρόμαντις 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* |[340] *fulgura condunt*), Mingazzini in *Gli Archeologi Italiani in Onore di A. Maiuri* (1965) 317.

PUBLICA Possibly for metrical convenience, to avoid *publicē* (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 (*robustam 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 circo, quae apud veteres propter spectatores e lignis erigebantur*; i.e. scaffolding to support extra spectators. DServ. *Aen.* 7.702 has this: *et in circo falae 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 ἀπολείπω (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. Blümner¹ 257 n. 7, Wilson 104, Lauffer on Edict. Diocl. 7.60. Its vendor is a *sagarius* (Marquardt 585, Blümner¹ 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, Blümner¹ 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*² 15, 1965, 72; Salmon 66.

CONDUCIT 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 ἐξιών; 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. *Thesm.* 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; Blümner¹ 301, Marquardt 2–3, Kaser¹

1.342, Westrup (on 9.84) 249).

GAUDIA Cf. 597; DECEPTA 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 ἀναρπεθέντες 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. ἀναρπέω (2)). This is fully discussed by Westermann 6a = *RE* suppl. 6.903; Maroi in *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di G. Lombroso* (1925) 377, 387–8, 392–7 (but it is at least doubtful if the names Κοπρία, Stercorius etc. have anything to do with this; see Kajanto 246 and in *Arctos*² 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 κοπριάρτω 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 Aemilii Scauri (on 2.35) were patrician, and this was a necessary qualification for a Salius. Since Augustus all major PONTIFICES had to be senators (Mommsen¹ 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, Hopfner² II 21 p. 12, DS *venenum* 713b. It was a centre of the cult of Hecate. Menander fr. 718 mentions φαρμακείαι of wives, and Plut. *Coniug. 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 *philtrā nocent animis vimque furoris habent* (99 *Haemonias artes*); Plaut. *Amph.* 1044 (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*² 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* (Mommsen¹ 2.764 n. 4, *RE princeps* 2108–18, Alföldi 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'.

IPSI 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 26, 1973, 289).

DE Cf. 5.25, 7.197.

PHALARIS Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 9.14.4 *Phalaris ille* = Caligula.

PHALARIM DEDISTI (cf. 14.52) is an instance of the idiom discussed on 2.3, Caligula showed himself a Phalaris; cf. Dziatzko-Hauler's *Anhang* on Ter. *Ph.* 476.

615 Nero's mother Agrippina was Caligula's sister; the periphrasis, [₃₄₄] 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?*

622 TREMULUM CAPUT, LONGA M.L. SALIVA Suet. *Claud.* 30, Sen. *Apoc.* 5 and 7.

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. 1.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]

627 The poisoning step-mother (134; cf. Otto *noverca* with *Nachträge* 113, 193, 241, 282) is a stock character in verse and rhetoric; cf. Sen. *Contr.* 9.5 and 6 with Winterbottom's index p. 640 s.v. 'step-mother', Jerome *Ep.* 54.15 *quodsi de priore uxore habens subolem te domum introduxerit, etiam si clementissima fueris, omnes comoediae et mimographi et communes rhetorum loci in novercam saevissimam declamabunt*; Quintil. 5.10.19; Ritter's index to [Quintil.] *Decl. Min.* pp. 481-2; I. Opelt *Die Lat. Schimpfwörter* (1965) 202, Humbert 198. An historical case is that of Agrippina and Britannicus.

PAELEX is the second wife's invidious name for the first wife; cf. [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1499 (Hercules to Alcmene) *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 προγεῦσται 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 *pācdāgōgus*; 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 (*FINGIMUS* 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, [346] 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 uncorrupt *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, Daube¹ 73, *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).

VIPERA ἐχιδνης οὐδὲν ἤπιωτέρα Eur. *Alc.* 310 of a step-mother; cf. Otto *Nachträge* 227. Her answer in 642 hisses.

SEPTEM So Medea (*Colchis* 643) in Sen. *Med.* 954–7.

643 CREDAMUS Cf. 15.117; TRAGICIS cf. 634.

644 PROCNE e.g. in the *Tereus* of Faustus 7.12.

CONOR sc. *dicere*; *audeo* is similarly used (cf. 2.2).

ET Like this modern case.

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.

ADMIRATIO Cf. 13.53. HUNC SEXUM Cf. 135 *imperio sexus; notum furens quid femina possit*. NOCENTES plural κατὰ σύνεσιν; IECUR 1.45; |[347] INCENDENTE 13.14. PRAECIPITES Verg. *Aen.* 2.316 *furor iraque mentem praecipitant*.

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.

COMPUTAT Counts up her gains; cf. 9.40 and Sen. *Ep.* 14.9.

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. ERIPHYLE sent her husband Amphiaraus 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 = *intērēst*, 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 *Pōntīcī*, 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* ἀκόνητον 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.

Satire Seven

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 nonpractising, 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 [350] 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 segura saturi recubamus in umbra* (37) and have avoided the necessity of emigrating to Spain as a hired shepherd, *nec quisquam nostras interdumeta 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 ἢ 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.

CONDOCERE 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 AUCTION 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.

ARMARIA Probably book-cases (*RE* s.v., Blümner¹ 128, Callmer *Opusc. Archaeol.* 3, 1944, 188, E. G. Budde *Armarium und κιβωτός* (1940) 30); CISTAS 3.206.

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 [352] 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 ...*

SUB IUDICE On 4.12, 15.26; Tac. *Ann.* 3.36.3, *Laus Pis.* 29, 65.

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*¹ 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, *RE* s.v. and *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*.

21 Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.125 *ergo age* (cf. Juv. 20), *nam magni ducis indulgentia pulsat*. *Indulgentia* had become a technical term for imperial favour (*indulgentia ducis* of Julius Caesar to his army, Suet. 69); see *Thes.* s.v. 1247.23, *DE* s.v., Syme¹ 755–6 (who points out that Hadrian was the first to put *indulgentia* on his coins, cf. Strack 2.123), H. Kloft *Liberalitas Principis* (1970) 98 n. 66, Frei–Stolba *Mus. Helv.* 26, 1969, 36. Vespasian gave 500,000 sesterces to the poet Saleius (80), on which Tac. *Dial.* 9 remarks *pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri*.

23 PRAESIDIA Cf. *Laus Pis.* 243–5 and Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.1.2.

CROCEAE MEMBRANA TABELLAE The parchment of the yellow page, i.e. by enallage, 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 membrana 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-

oletian 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*² 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 [1354] 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 *iuvenes* 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 Calim. *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 wreathed 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* |[355] *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, Thompson¹ ταῶς). 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 IPSE 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 (annos) 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 *-onsus* 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.

COMMODAT AEDES This does not cost him anything. Evidently the house in which the patron lives (cf. 1.12) is not meant, but another |[356] owned by him. Cf. Tac. *Dial.* 9.3-4 *domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit*

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) = βάρβα 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 κακότηες (which Σ glosses *mali mores vel mala consuetudo* (he has confused [1357] ἥθος 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

(LAQUEO and CACOETHES).

SI DISCEDAS If people try to escape; hence there is no incongruity with MULTOS.

CACOETHES A medical term (like INSANABILE and AEGRO), a malignant but not incurable growth or ulcer (Celsus 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*.

53 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 *IIIviri 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 nobiliss et quae facile deducatur ignibus seu liquescat ferri materies praebeatur*. 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*² 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 patulusque orbis* of Hor. *AP* 132). The *trivium* is where the vulgar mob meets (6.412), cf. Verg. *Buc.* 3.27 *non tu in triviis, 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. *Ora- tor* 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.

THYRSUM 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 οὐδείς πεινῶν καλὰ ᾄδει 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.

68 *Aen.* 7.445 sqq. (with *facies*). N. Rudd *Lines of Enquiry* (1976) 98 points out that Juvenal's mind moved from one Bacchic passage in which Allecto appears (*ibid.* 389 *euhoē*, 390 *thyrsos*, cf. Juv. 60–2) to another.

69 PUER Slave, 9.64 (probably not thinking specially of Alexis, |[359] 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.

DESSET, 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 pawning; 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 chiasmic 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.

TENUI 3.163, 8.120. |[360]

81 QUID 'of what importance?'; Nisbet's edition of Cic. *De Domo* p. 200.

ERIT The future though both were now dead (Quintil.); cf. 3.238.

82 Statius mentions his own recitations *Silv.* 5.2.163 (from the *Achilleid*), 5.3.215; the *Thebaid* was known before publication, 12.812 sqq.

IUCUNDAM Important for a recitation, Pliny *Ep.* 5.17.3.

AMICAE The first hint of the sexual imagery which follows and which conveys that Statius has to prostitute his talent.

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. Praec.* 21.

87 INTACTAM Previously unperformed (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.238, 3.1.67), but also suggesting 'virgin' (cf. 6.163). Statius is not otherwise known to have written for the stage, but Lucan did compose *fabulae salticae* (the Vacca life); cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.19 *Silonis, qui pantomimis fabulas scripsit*, Crinagoras AP 9.542 = Gow-Page GP 1997.

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 maximae ... pro conlatis in se beneficiis equestr. ord. item secundae militiae Aemilius Pardalus trib(unatu) coh. I Aquitanicae petitu eius ornatus*. Likewise Paris uses his influence at court to secure these [361] 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).

LARGITUS Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.39.4.

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.

90 HISTRIO i.e. *pantomimus*, cf. Suet. *Dom.* 3.1, Sidonius quoted p. 5, and commonly.

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 PHILOMELA (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.O.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, *PIR*² F 47) Maximus is the patron of Ovid; M. Aurelius (*RE* no. 111, *PIR*² 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.

ITERUM ... ALTER *Cic. Phil.* 13.1 *sive iterum Sulla sive alter Marius*.

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.

TOTO DECEMBRI Even during the Saturnalia; cf. *Hor. Serm.* 2.3.4 sqq., *Stat. Silv.* 1.6.5.

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 NULLO MODO '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 versu 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).

103 SEGES Cf. *fecundior* 98, *fructus* here, *messem* 112; APERTAE [1363] ploughed, cf. 48. The agricultural metaphor also embraces *labor* 98 and *merces* (cf. 8.246) 112.

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).

LECTO (a couch for studying) ET UMBRA Ovid *Am.* 1.9.42, AA 3.542; cf. Juv. 8 and 173, Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.77–8 (see on 58).

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, *Ora-tor* 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 PRAESTENT 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 legislation (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 (Quintil. l.c., Tac. 11.7.3); Pliny never took any (but the Aemilius of 12.4 did). See SG 1.163 = 1.184, Parks 56, Marquardt 770, *RE honorarium* 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 creditor, 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 Quinct.* 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 spittle 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.

ALIA i.e. *ältërä*; 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 Iudicium*, 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 complaints 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 iudex detur aut populus aut ex populo laturique sententiam indocti*

saepius atque interim rustici). 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* (*adsertio*) 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 [365] Antoninus Pius, and it appears to have begun with consuls, for whom BUBULCO seems too uncomplimentary; 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).

QUINQUE LAGONAE For the apposition cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1222–3, HS 44 and 57, KS 1.250–1, Svennung 198, C. Otto *De Epexegeos ... Usu* (1912) 7, Krebs-

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*² (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).

BELLATOR (cf. *Thes.* s.v. 1807.13) *equus* is a regular poetic combination, also in Tac. *Germ.* 14.2. Sil. It. 3.295 uses *venator* of a hunting dog.

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). Griffith³ 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.

EXITUS HIC EST Cf. 11.39, Tac. *Dial.* 9.3, *CIL* 6.9693 = *CEL* 1136.5.

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 πλήθει (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.*

Dacorom. 1, 1923, 215). |[367]

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 Casson¹ pl. 137 after Gauckler *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 chiasmic 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 Saepta, / 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; AGEBAT ... AGEBAT 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) 82, T. J. Haarhoff *Schools of Gaul*² (1958) 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*) *periculis pretia*. Gnilka *Symb. Osl.* 44, 1969, 102 thinks that LINGVAE should be emphasised in contrast to the *impensa* of Rome (138); but this is far-fetched and would require LINGVAE 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 CQ² 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 [369] 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 ἀείδω 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 ὀρθοστάδην.

LEGERAT For the pluperfect cf. on 9.96.

PERFERET 'will rehearse' cf. 6.392.

VERSIBUS στίχοις, lines of prose as well as of verse; Gell. 9.15.10.

154 *REPETITA* Re-hashed; δις 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 causae 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; *Thest.* 5.1.1576.80 (add Suet. *De Gramm.* 9).

SAGITTAE develops the metaphor of *pugna* 173; cf. *hastae* Cic. *Part. Or.* 14, *adversa tela* Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.105 and on 6.449.

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 Περιαλήγης (?) *de iniuriis quas professores neglegentia aut ambitione parentum acciperent*.

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 Sylloge* (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 QUAQUE 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 Balsdon¹ 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.

POST NIMBOS ... COHORTES 6.291, Livy 26.11. Cf. Julius Victor *RLM* 381.29.

MADIDAS A Dripping in consequence of, cf. 197.

CIRCUMAGAT Turn around, cf. Sil. It. 12.665.

165 QUID DO? I would pay anything; probably the indicative is used deliberately (on 4.130). Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 79.5 *quid tibi do ne Aetnam describas?*; Sen. *Contr.* 9.3.11 and 12.

167 Α σοφιστής ‘is a virtuoso rhetor with a big public reputation’, G. W. Bowersock *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969) 12–14, cf. Plut. *De San. Tuend.*

16.131a, *Edict. Diocl.* 7.71 *oratori sive sofistae. Antisophistes* is also found. [*Addendum, originally on p. 380: See C. P. Jones, The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (1978) 9.]

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, ingrati 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*. |[373]

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*).

184 sqq. Cf. 74 and Crates ap. Diog. Laert. 6.86.

QUANTICUMQUE Cf. 178.

VENIET ... VENIET Because they would be hired for special occasions; we should probably not compare 29.

QUI FERCUA COMONIT 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) *factum* 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. [1374]

SALTUS Grazing land; cf. White *BICS* 14, 1967, 74, Blümner¹ 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 dipole 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 *subtextit*). 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 *subtextit*, 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 impediit 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*, ὑποδείσθαι etc.

193 MAXIMUS is presumably ἀπὸ κοινοῦ.

IACULATOR In exercise on the Campus (Hor. *Odes* 1.8.12, Ovid AA 3.383).

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 Licinianus (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. (l.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 RARIOR 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 Blümner¹ 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 *Thrásymāchus*, 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 periit*, 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(evis)*, 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* ἦς καὶ ὑπ' εὐώδει τύμβος ὄδωδε κρόκω, 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 14.607e; Auson. *Epitaph.* 31 *Prete sparge mero cineres ... et adde rosis balsama puniceis. / perpetuum mihi ver agit inlacrimabilis 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; CŪ 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'. |[377]

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).

ACOENONOETUS 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; κοινονοήσιμος Marc. Aurel. 1.6.2. *Acoenonetus* 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* 222.4.54 and *dummodo* 223.17.

PEREAT '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, Blümner¹ 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 4².627–8, 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.

234 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 ANCHISAE 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.

237 POLLICE Cf. Blümner² 2.118; moulding in wax is a common educational metaphor (with which TENER harmonises), cf. Pers. 5–40 *animus ... artificemque tuo ducit* ('takes upon itself; not as in Juvenal) *sub pollice vultum*; Pliny *Ep.* 7.9.11; Plato *Rep.* 2.429e.

238 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).

239 IPSIUS 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, παίζω* 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.

TREMENTES From sexual exhaustion; cf. Pers. 1.18 *patranti fractus ocello*, [Aristotle] *Probl.* 4.32.880b8 διὰ τί, ἐὰν ἀφροδισιάζῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀσθενοῦσι μάλιστα.

MANUS Cf. Sen. referred to on 238.

242 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; Macrob. *Sat.* 1.12.7 payment in March, the old beginning of the Roman year); Palladas l.c. on 219 mentions both methods.

243 Ἀν 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 *auctoratus* 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).

POPULUS POSTULAT Cf. Fronto p. 17.19–21.

Satire Eight

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 ... fortissimum quemque generosissimum* (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 flagitiosior ... 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 generosus? 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

*vita modos; quae, si desset tibi forte creato
nobilitas, eadem pro nobilitate fuisset.
nam quid imaginibus, quid avitis fulta triumphis
atria, quid pleni numero consule fasti
profuerint cui vita labat? perit omnis in illo
nobilitas cuius laus est in origine sola.*

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 ^[384]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 Aemilii', 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 totum exolevit ...* (6) *aliter apud maiores in atriis ... 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 retinisset* (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 (ὀπογραφή 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*) *stemma* (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, *Theas.* 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 CENSERI 74 and often; ‘to be valued by’.

3 STANTIS ... AEMILIANOS Triumphant statues, cf. 7.125 (coincidentally of an Aemilius).

AEMILIANOS The Cornelii Scipiones; 11 and 2.154.

4 CURIOS Cf. on 2.3; Curius 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.

AURICULIS 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 Lehnert). 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. *Apoll. 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 Aemiliis; cf. 6.265.

CORAM ... VIVITUR Cf. Val. Max. 2.9.1 *quid prodest* (cf. Juv. 1) *foris esse strenuum, si domi male vivitur*; Sen. *Ep.* 97.1 *nunquam apertius quam coram Catone peccatum est*.

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 ALLOBROGICIS 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 *Māximā* 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 EUGANEA 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 (Blümner¹ 238–9, Marquardt 477, Lauffer 269 on *Edict. Diocl.* 21.2).

VANUS 3.159, 14.211.

QUANTUMVIS KS 2.446, HS 604.

MOLLIOR (cf. on 2.47) **AGNA** See Otto *agna*.

16 CATINENSI 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.O.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.

EMPTOR VENENI 9.10, 13.154.

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); Gnilka *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-Wagener 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

(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.

POPULUS 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 εὐρήκαμεν, 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, Cumont¹ 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 Εἰκόνων 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 Cynus see Sen. *Ag.* 215, schol. Theocr. 16.49.

PRAVAM 'crooked', the opposite of *recta*; Cic. *Tusc.* 4.29, Hor. *Serm.* 1.3.48, Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.

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; Λέαινα 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.

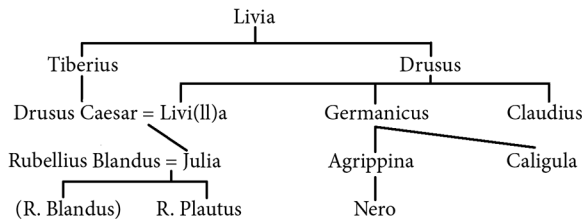
38 TU Not Ponticus, but anyone; cf. on 2.61.

CRETICUS A Caecilius Metellus (cf. on 2.67); but perhaps Juvenal is thinking of the ironical conferment of this name on M. Antonius, propractor 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:



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, Syme¹ 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, *PIR*² C p. 226); Caligula never carried it; Nero bore it between his adoption by Claudius and his succession (*PIR*² D pp. 35–6), and even afterwards it appears on a few documents (*ibid.* 37 fin.). 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.

42 FULGET Sen. *Med.* 209; Sil. It. 17.12.

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 *praecipitari 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 ἀπόχθων (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 χάρεις (‘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*.

NOBILIS 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.

50 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 *προλῦται* and *λῦται* (*Dig.* pr. 5). Cf. the *nodosus* Cicuta at Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.69.

51 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. [394]

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.

52 AQUILAS i.e. *legiones*; *Thes.* s.v. 372.55.

53 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; *instituto* 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 virtutum 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; ζῷα 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 generosus est.*

FACILI PALMA Circumstantial ablative 'with easy-won victories', cf. Catull. 62.11 (so E. G. Hardy in his edition of 1891²). 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. Bacchyl. 5.43 οὐπω νιν ὑπὸ προτέρων ἵππων ἐν ἀγῶνι κατέχρανεν κόνις.

62 Human genealogical terms were often applied to the pedigrees of horses (SG 2¹⁰.31); e.g. *stemma* (Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.21 sqq.), *nobilis*, *generosus*.

PECUS A contemptuous word.

CORYPHAEI 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; Cameron¹ 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*.

EPIR(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* [396] *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 Α ἄπαξ 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 δέ με ἐξ ἑμαυτοῦ.

PRIMUM (cf. 2.44) is, as B. Axelson *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 *casum 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, Nae-gelsbach §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*¹ 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*) ... *potentes laudis egent verae*; cf. also Pan. *Mess.* 29 sqq., esp. 32 *quam tibi maiores maius decus ipse futuris* (cf. FUTURAE); Plut. (?) fr. 139 Sandbach from the *περὶ εὐγενείας*.

CENSERI Cf. 2; NOLUERIM see on 15.21; IPSE cf. 41.

76–7 The COLUMNAE 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. *Wasps* 1291 *εἶτα νῦν ἐξηπάτησεν ἢ χάραξ τὸν ἄμπελον* (cf. Liban. *Ep.* [397] 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 arbustivae*; cf. *RE Ulme* 548 and *arbustum*, 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 RĒI 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 *Nachträge* 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.* 1.12.3, 5.5.4. Pliny *NH* 28.9 *vitam quidem non adeo expetendam censemus ut quoquo modo trahenda sit*.

85–6 These lines are not well fitted into the argument.

PERĪT 'is dead already', perfect; so before a consonant 6.563 (cf. on 3.174). Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 93–4 *ante mortem periiit*; Plaut. *Bacch.* 485 *nam ego illum periisse dico quoi*

quidem perit pudor.

CENTUM Oysters were sold by the hundred, *Edict. 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 [398] 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.

89 SOCIORUM 99, 108, 136 etc.; a common euphemism (*RSV* 1.72, Mommsen¹ 3.724, M. Wegner *Untersuch. zu den lat. Begriffen socius und societas* (1969) 91) which here emphasises the heinousness of plundering them.

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 *vacuus* (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*) *medulla*; [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 praemiis* 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*¹ 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) τὸς καταδικασθέντας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ κεραυνοῦσθαι φαμεν, and see *RAC Gewitter* 1138.

[92–4 *Addendum*, originally on p. 623: See Syme *AJP* 100, 1979, 269–71.]

93 RUERINT carries on the metaphor; cf. *corruiere* Pliny *Ep.* 3.9.34 and (of Capito) *concidere* Tac. *Ann.* 16.21.3.

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 ἡγέμονες 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 1.47–50 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. CHAERIPPUS 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.) |[400]

100 PLENA DOMUS Cic. 2 *Verr.* 2.35; ACERVÖS 6.364.

101 On the purple dye of Sparta and Cos see Blümner³ 50 and 81, Charlesworth 125, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 2.18.7, *RE purpura* 2007–8 and *Schnecke* 610; perhaps Prop. 2.1.5 speaks of *Cois coccis* (so Lachmann). Cf. S. M. Sherwin-White *Ancient Cos* (1978) 383.

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.

PHIDIACUM He cannot write *Phidiāē* 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 importunately 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. *Dolabella* 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) Dolabella, 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. |[401]

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).

OCCULTĀ 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 *Il. 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*.

ERIPLETUR 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., Comodian *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 militum, 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 *forsitan* weakens the clause to which it is now attached (though Housman's incompletely quoted parallels for the [402] 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.

113 IMBELLIS RHODIOS 6.296; cf. Stratonicus ap. Athen. 8.352b–c.

UNCTAM With *unguenta* on the hair of banqueteers (9.128).

CORINTHON 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 ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθόν 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. Alex. *Paed.* 3.3.15 sqq. (cf. on 2.17).

CRURA LEVIA (contrasted with *horrida* 116) = *tota gens cruribus levibus*, cf. on 16.24. To depilate the legs goes too far, Sen. *Ep.* 114.14, Ovid *AA* 1.506, Epictet. 3.1.42, Fronto p. 122, Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 4.27, Lucian *De Salt.* 5, Dio Chrys. 33.63. Contrast 9.15.

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.

117 LATUS Stat. *Silv.* 4.4.63 etc.; 'shore'.

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 advehat qui SATURI fiamus EX AFRICA*; cf. *saturare* 14.166, Mart. 6.86.5 *Libycas messes*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.4 *plebs 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, |[403] 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 ARMA 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 Adu-lator* 14.57f χρησμόν οὐ γνώμην, *De Liberis Educ.* 8.5c. Nothing could better fit Quintilian's definition (8.5.2) of *sententiae* as *lumina ... praecipue in clausulis posita* 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]

CREDITE ... SIBYLLAE Cf. 6.554, Otto *Sibylla* 3; similar expressions Ovid AA 2.541, Cato ap. Pliny NH 29.14, Sen. *Contr.* 1 pr. 9.

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*³ (1914) 68, Fordyce on Catull. 10.10, Hellegouarc'h 57 sqq.).

SANCTA Cf. 24.

TRIBUNAL VENDIT i.e. *decreta*; Sen. *De Ben.* 1.9.5, Ovid *Am.* 1.10.40.

128 ACERSECOMES *A puer capillatus* (cf. 3.186 and contrast 11.149; *RE delici-ae* 2437.62, Blümner¹ 271) like Apollo, cf. Bromius 6.377 and *RAC Effeminatus* 628.

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 & R*² 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*) as-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 ^{[[405]} 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.

140-1 Cf. Cic. *De Off.* 2.44.

CONSPECTIUS = *magis conspicuum*; cf. *Thes.* s.v. 497.19, Naegelsbach §72b.

142 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).

143 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 triumphales 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 Zschietzschmann 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 Téléphore 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).

146 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, *PIR*¹ 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 ADNUE'T '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 *Thes. laniger* 930.55. For such animal 'kenning' cf. I. Waern ΓΗΣ ΟΣΤΕΑ (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 γῆροι (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. |[408]

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., Balsdon¹ 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 παρά 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 Feriis Latinis* (1888) 38.

159 SYROPHOENIX See *RE* Συροφαινική and *Syria* 1552–3; cf. Συρομηδία, Συροκλικία, Λιβυφοῖνιξ. 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*). Syrophenicians 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 amomi*). 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 Rom*² (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*.

HOSPITIS ‘mine host’, cf. Kleberg 12; for the blandishments of inn-keepers cf. Apul. *Apol.* 87, Dio Cass. 46.6.4, Plut. *De Vitioso Pudore* 8.532b. |[409]

ADFECTU 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. *Bf* 3.107, Appian pr. 4 similarly list Rhine, Danube, Euphrates (Tac. *Ann.* 1.9.5 *amni-bus longinquis saeptum imperium*). All of them saw action under Nero; Corbulo’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 ἀπό 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 παρά προσδοκίαν for *castris* or the like (cf. on 158).

173 IACENTEM 1.136; PERCUSSORE cf. the *iuvenis luxuriae popinalis* of Apul. *Met.* 8.1.

174 NAUTIS The ναυτικὸς ὄχλος 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 (λωποδυτήσαι); 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 *Illviri 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., Mommsen¹ 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*, Blümner¹ 490, Marquardt 356).

176 RESUPINATI *ebrii, turpia patientis* Σ; cf. 3.112, 6.126, Apul. *Met.* 8.29, Catull. 28.9.

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 REMOTIOR 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; Blümner¹ 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., Blümner¹ 550, Marquardt 180, White¹ 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, White¹ 69–70, 74, 84); but in Etruria at least this was now changing (Pliny *Ep.* 3.19.7 *nec ipse usquam vinctos habeo nec ibi quisquam* with Sherwin-White).

181 TROIUGENAE Cf. 56 and on 1.100; e.g. Catiline (231). [[411]

182 Cf. 4.13–14, 11.1–2 and for CERDONI on 4.153.

VOLESOS 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* 1² p. 202 no. xlii = 6.1327). It survived as a cognomen of the Valerii as late as Augustan times (*RE* no. 270, *PIR*¹ 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.

184 EXEMPLIS A technical term of rhetoric; cf. 14.322 and p. 30.

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).

186 SIPARIO The curtain which served as a back-drop for a mime; cf. the English use of ‘foot-lights’, Sen. *Dial.* 9.11.8 *cothurno, non tantum sipario*, Tertull. *Adv. Val.* 13.2 *prima tragoediae scaena, alia autem trans siparium coturnatio est*, *OGIS* 510.6 σιφάρους. See *R.E.* s.v. and *Mimos* 1747, Beare 154 and 270–4, Bieber 180 and 205, Wiemken 201, Bonaria¹ 2 p. 235.

CATULLI On this mime-writer cf. 13.111, Mart. 5.30.3; Bonaria¹ 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 propiciens se ruina*.

188–9 NEC IGNOSCAS Cf. 3.302; POPULO cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.14.2. ^[412]

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.

190 SEDET sits quiet; so often. Cf. Fronto p. 77 *populo R. spectante* (sc. *Acilium*; on 4.99).

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 Cornelii, Fabii and Aemilii were patrician.

191 PLANIPEDES Barefoot, wearing neither *cothurnus* nor *soccus*; mime-actors are *excalceati* Sen. *Ep.* 8.8. Cf. *RE Mimos* 1747, Bonaria¹ 2 p. 226, Wiemken 207, Beare 370 n. 23.

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 Numa, 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 *stupidus* (cf. 197), a stock character who played such parts as a deceived husband, cf. Choricus *Apol. Mim.* 146, Tertull. *De Spect.* 23.3, and on 5.171. Cf. also Mart. 5.61.11 *o quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini*; 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*¹ 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.*⁴ 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 ^[413] 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 saepius vi perpulerant*.

193 NULLO COGENTE NERONE Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.14 (on 192) and 20, Dio Cass. 61.17.3.

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*. |[414]

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 THYMELE 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) THYMELES '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 NOBILIS is likewise an oxymoron, *RE Mimos* 1748; cf. Laberius ap. Macrobian *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. CLIPEO is usually taken to refer to the *secutor* (SG l.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*. Nisbet'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 l.c. on 200); *tridentem* = *fuscina* 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.

205 NUDUM Cf. Demosth. 19.287 *Cyberion ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει*.

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*¹ 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* (Livy 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.

211 Now Juvenal picks up 198. LIBERA ... SUFFRAGIA Livy 4.3.7.

212 Some of the Pisonian conspirators thought of making Seneca emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 15.65; cf. on 10.16).

213 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.

215 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 ὁ μητροφόντης can be considered also as ὁ πατρὸς ἀμύντωρ. For the excuse introduced by SED cf. 15.94.

216 DEIS i.e. Apollo, through the Delphic oracle, speaking in the name of Zeus (Aesch. *Eum.* 616 sqq., 797–8). |[417]

217 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 aususve sororem / Electran*) and 210–14.

NEC ... AUT HS 522, KS 2.104.

218–19 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 ἐμίαιεν; 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.

PROPINQUIS Cf. Suet. 35.4. Apart from his attempt to poison Agrippina, Nero poisoned Britannicus and his aunt Domitia (*PIR*² D 171, *RE* no. 91; at least Dio 61.17 says so, though Suet. 34.5 disagrees about the manner of her death).

220 For Nero's dramatic and musical activities see *SG* 2.99 and 362 = 2.124 and 187, Wille 338 sqq., A. Lesky *Ges. Schr.* (1966) 343 sqq.

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 fecistis, quod* (v.l. *quid, qu(a)e*) *faciat, si reviviscat, ... Cn. Pompeius ipse?* H. Hogg, *Interpolationen bei Juvenal?* (1971) 172 prefers to read ... *Galba? quid ... fecit <foedius hoc? ...>*

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 prostituisse 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, Broneer *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.*³ 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 CATILINA 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 B.C. 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 *ὑἷες 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*; Mommsen² 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*.

237 INOBILIS 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.

238 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. [420]

239 ATTONITIS The terrified (4.77) citizens; or perhaps merely 'bewildered' (Sall. *Cat.* 31.1–3).

MONTE Cf. 2.74.

240 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).

241 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*).

242 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.

243–4 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.

245 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.

246 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).

247 VITEM The centurion's staff (*RSV* 2.375 n. 1, Sander *Historia* 3, 1954–5, 103–4 and on 14.193); NODOSAM cf. Apul. *Met.* 9.40. Perhaps the spondees of 247–8 portray his *lentitudo*.

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*.

252 The size of the Cimbri is remarked by Plut. *Mar.* 11, Diod. Sic. 37.1.5, [Quintil.] *Decl.* 3.13–14; mention of it exalts their victor.

COLLEGA Lutatius Catulus; for his minor part in the triumph cf. Plut. *Mar.* 27.

LAURO *lauru* P^aF; the second declension 6.79 (abl. sing.), fourth 10.65 (acc. pl.); cf. Cuny *Rev. Phil.*³ 4, 1930, 6.

254 ANIMAE Cf. on 6.O.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 Vesperis (*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 matricae 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 *socii 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

37-49-5.

258 '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 *Jahrb. 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., Alföldi 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 Alföldi'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.

260 FASCES *insigne regium* Livy 3.36.3 (cf. 1.41.6 quoted above); cf. Ogilvie's commentary p. 235, *RE* s.v. 2002-3, Mommsen¹ 1.377.

ULTIMUS Livy 1.48.8.

261-2 IUVENES CONSULIS i.e. *fili* (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 νόμοι 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 sq. 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.

273 ASYLO Cf. on 47; Ogilvie p. 62, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 3.429, H. Strasburger *Zur Sage von der Gründung Roms* (Sitzb. Akad. Heidelberg 1968, Abhl. 5) 33–5; *infami ... luco* Lucan 7.438.

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 [425] 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 ^[426]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 [427] 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).

1–2 A greeting, cf. Mart. 2.65.1 *cur tristiore cernimus Saleianum?*; Quintil. 10.3.13 *Iulius Florus ... cum Secundum ... tristem forte vidisset interrogavit quae causa frontis tam adductae*; Donatus on Ter. *Eun.* 304 (*quid tu tristis?*) *proverbiale est in hominem perturbatum et incerti vultus* (also from comedy cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 669, *Cas.* 172, Menander Δις Ἐξαπατῶν 104 τί κατηφής καὶ σκυθρωπός; also Varro *Sat. Men.* 8); Lucian *Dial. Deor.* 14.1 τί κατηφής εἶ (v.l. τί σκυθρωπός), ὦ Ἄπολλον.

TOTIENS So all this has been going on for some time.

NAEVOLE This like many Roman names (Plut. *Cor.* 11, *RE Spitznamen* 1828, Reichmuth 60, Cèbe 153, O. Weise *Language and Character of the Roman People* (Eng. tr. 1909) 32) is derived from a bodily deformity; for the names Naevus and Naevolus see Kajanto 246. Martial 3.71 and 95 also uses the name of a pervert, but,

unlike Juvenal's, a passive one, and employs it several times for men introduced in other characters.

FRONTE OBDUCTA Hor. *Epode* 13.5.

MARSYA 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 DEPENSUS DUM go together.

BARBA (cf. on 4.103) Aristoph. *Knights* 1286 μολύνων τὴν ὑπὴνην; 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 [428] 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 placetas*; 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 Zinsfusses* (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; Blümner¹ 650; Reece *G & R*² 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, Blümner¹ 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 conviviiis 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 ... conviviiis ... ridicule com-modeque 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 pomaded, Mart. 10.72.11; Theocr. 14.4 ἀυσταλέιο κίκιννοι; Ju-
lian *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 πισσώω, πισσοκοπέω 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*.

VETERIS One who has been *aeger* for a long time; cf. 1.133, 7.170, *vetus quar-tana* Celsus 3.16.1–2.

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, Wölfflin 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–Hülse 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.

SECRETA 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 Phoebos*, 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).

CEREREM i.e. *templum Cereris*; for the idiom cf. 14.260, HS 827, Bömer on Ovid *Fasti* 6.191, Cic. *Pro Milone* 86, Sen. *Contr.* 7.2 (17).7, Livy 5.52.10 compared with 31.3 etc.; cf. also on 10.16. For the temple see le Bonniec 254, Platner–Ashby 109, *Thes. Ceres* 340.9, Nash 1.227.

QUO NON TEMPLO Cf. 6.345.

25 NOTIOR Cf. 6.42. Elsewhere Juvenal uses *adulter* in the nominative and keeps *moechus* for the oblique cases, *adūltērī* 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 *incurvare* 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 PRETIUM Cf. 12.127.

28–31 LACERNAE could be worn over the toga (cf. 16.45, *RE* s.v. 328.45, Marquardt 568, Blümner¹ 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 ^[431] poor quality, like many Gallic fabrics (Mart. 4.19.1 *Sequanicae pinguem 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 legebat 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 TABELLAE 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* ^[432] *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 ibit usque*.

44 LEGITIMUM Of proper size.

HESTERNAE OCCURRERE CENAE 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 *luteas voluptates* and CIL 10.4483 = E. Diehl *Pompeian. Wandinschr.* (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. Θάμυρις 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 [433] 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.

SECRETA 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 *Milvus* 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 *Haliut.* 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 (Blümner¹ 580 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 (Blümner¹ |[434] 148 n. 8). These *dolia* were regularly lined with pitch (*picata*, cf. *Thes.* *ibid.* 11, Billiard 474, Hilgers 176, White² 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. *vūv*, 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.

CONLUSORE This hovers between the status of an adjective and an apposition; cf. 14.247 and on 4.62, 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* (*Thest.* s.v. 2021.68).

63–9 Cf. 3.166–7; Prop. 3.13.13 *nulla est poscendi ... reverentia*. IMPROBUS 'impudent'. |[435]

PENSIO develops from the meaning of 'rent' to that of 'lodgings', which survives in Romance. PENSIO CLAMAT is a προσωποποιΐα.

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.

73 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.*⁴ 22, 1969, 258); cf. 142, 3.167, 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 *sēpe* 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 (like-wise *rumpere testamentum*).

76 MIGRABAT So Hight *CR*² 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 (Hight himself goes wrong about this, and his discussion of the passage is inexact in detail). HOC REDEMI 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 τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω; The rhetoricians develop this into the figure of (*ad*)*dubitatio*, διαπόρησις (Lausberg p. 383, Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 29 with Landgraf, Verg. *Aen.* 4.371 *quae quibus anteferam?* (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 λεχώια Nonnus 25.220). 6.79 refers to wedding celebrations.

86 Cf. Lucillius 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, Arangio-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.

96–7 Cf. Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 41. ARDET ET ODI Sen. *Med.* 582.

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.

101 TEGES A polite imperative, cf. 8.37–8.

CURIA renders βουλή in many contexts; for the periphrasis cf. Soph. *OC* 947 Ἄρεος (genitive) πάγος. The secrecy of the deliberations of the Areopagus was proverbial, στεγανώτερος or σιωπηλότερος |[438] Ἀρειοπαγίτου 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).

Naevolus' 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 πανδοκείον 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.

POSTES Cf. Catull. 67; MARMORA see on 1.12; cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 6.3.3 *parietes ipsi loqui posse videantur*, Eur. *Hippol.* 418.

FENESTRAS Shutters; *RE* s.v. 2184, Blümner¹ 102–3.

VELA TEGANT RIMAS Cf. Mart. 1.34, 11.45; these *rimae* (ὀπή 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 galliciniis 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, Blümner¹ 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 Blümner¹ 193 and ² 1.94–5, Marquardt 420; for specialisation in other occupations see on 6.591.

ARCHIMAGIRI See Blümner¹ 193 n. 2, Marquardt 146, Harcum 8 [439] and 71. The word (now also in *Ann. Epigr.* 1973 no. 84) is only found in late Greek (Philo, Plutarch, Josephus, the Septuagint).

CARPTORES are usually called *scissores* (Blümner¹ 394, *RE scissor*, Marquardt 146–7); cf. the *structor* of 5.120 and on 11.136.

110–11 Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 47.4, Aristoph. *Frogs* 750 sqq.

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 Svennung 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:

vivendum recte, cum propter plurima, tum est his
 praecipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
 contemnas, nam lingua mali pars pessima servi.

The first stage in the corruption was the deprivation of *tum* to *tunc*; [[440] the latter form expelled the former in late Latin (e.g. the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* and the Vulgate never use *tum*, which does not survive in Romance; cf. HS 520). This put the metre wrong, and the Φ -manuscripts emended the fault by omitting *est* and reading *tunc his*. The P-tradition chose rather to delete *his* and read *tunc est*; but this left *causis* isolated, and so a line *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 *idcirco*, but only *ideo*. The line later made its way by contamination into the 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 P-tradition (others being at 11.91, 15.93; see also 2.34). *Vivendum recte est* of the P-tradition shows a secondary corruption, probably due to anticipation from the end of the line because of the tendency to restore *simplex ordo*; but it may be due simply to dittography ($\bar{e} = est$). The plural *causis* explained by just one cause may seem surprising, but cf. *factis* 4.11, *bona summa* 5.2, *quaecumque* 6.O.30; this phenomenon is quite common with neuter pronouns like *ista* 73 (see e.g. Plaut. *Merc.* 764 and the editors on Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1.20) and cf. also *quas ob res* (*Ad Herenn.* 1.1 and four times in Vitruvius, listed in Nohl's index s.v. *ob*). For the position of the aphaeresis *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 *mali ... pessima* is spoiled by *deterior tamen*, and *custodire animas* is taken from 6.630, where, unlike here, the notion of guarding is entirely suitable. *Illis* (contrary to BICS 22, 1975, 150) seems to be intended as ablative of comparison after *deterior* (*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 *hic qui liber non erit* is very badly expressed.

123 FARRE Cf. *pascendi* 67; AERE e.g. in providing clothing (68).

124 CONSILIUM 118 sqq.; COMMUNE 'too general', cf. *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* (*Theas.* 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 [1441] 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 οἷη 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, Blümner¹ 400, Baus 74.

PUELLAS POSCIMUS Naevolus is bisexual.

129 OBREPIT In similar contexts Plaut. *Pseud.* 686, Cic. *Cato* 4 and 38 (*sub-repere* 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 atrociam aut pudenda confluunt*; the future is probably due to assimilation to DERIT.

ET CARPENTIS (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 ... *digito caput uno / scalpit*; to Foerster's references for this unfortunate habit of Pompey add Plut. *Praec. Reip. Ger.* 4.800d. [1442]

133–4a The text here should, I believe, be read thus:

altera maior
 * * * *
 spes superest
 gratus eris, tu tantum erucis imprime dentem.

The best discussions of the problem are by Ribbeck, *Der Echte und der Unechte Juvenal* 143; Claus 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 γραῦς after a γλίσχρος ἐραστής). 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 *eruciae* (*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*. [443]

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 (*quincunce 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 collocare 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 CQ² 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, Biezunska-Malowist *Journ. Juristic Papyrology* 15, 1965, 65, Loane 147, *RE Industrie* 1506-4, Staerman *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 2, 1976, 109 and 114.

145 CURVUS Cf. Lucian *Somn.* 18 a sculptor κάτω νενευκῶς 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

4.235, *RE Industrie* 1458.7.

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 ... CITO is that he would be paid by piece-work; Settis *Atene e Roma*⁴ 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 *aediculas 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 MISERABILE 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.

SICULOS The usual ancient location of the Sirens, *RE Sirenes* 296.14, *ML Seirenes* 607.40.

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).

Satire Ten

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*² (1959) 391 (originally published in W. Kröhling *Die Priamel (Beispielreihung) 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* [[448] 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, ὅπως μὴ λήσεται αὐτὸν εὐχόμενος μεγάλα κακά, δοκῶν δ' ἀγαθά, οἱ δὲ θεοὶ τύχῳσιν ἐν ταύτῃ ὄντες τῇ ἕξει, ἐν ἧ διδόασιν αὐτοῖ ἅ τις εὐχόμενος τυγχάνει;

141a εὐρήσεις δ' ἔτι καὶ τῶν νῦν πολλοὺς οὐκ ... οἰομένους κακά σφισιν εὐχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθά: but many deliberately wish for things which turn out disastrous-ly (141c ὀρᾶς οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς οὔτε τὰ διδόμενα εἰκῆ δέχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτὸν εὐχεσθαι γενέσθαι, εἴ γέ τις βλάπτεσθαι μέλλοι διὰ ταῦτα ἢ τὸ παράπαν τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγῆναι), e.g. τυραννίς, στρατηγία (cf. also on 353).

142c οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ οὔτε ἂν τυραννίδος διδομένης ἀπόσχοιντο ἂν οὔτε στρατηγίας οὐδ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, ἂ παρόντα βλάπτει μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφελεῖ, ἀλλὰ κἂν εὔξαιτο ἂν γενέσθαι, εἴ τῳ μὴ παρόντα τυγχάνει· ὀλίγον δὲ ἐπισχόντες ἐνίστε παλινοδοῦσιν (cf. *Juv.* 6).

138b and 142c are resumed in 148b.

150d ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, ὥσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Ὀμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀφελεῖν τὴν ἀχλὺν ὄφρ' εὐ γινώσκοι ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς πρῶτον τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφελόντα, ἢ νῦν παρούσα τυγχάνει, τὸ τηρικαῦτ' ἤδη προσφέρειν δι' ὧν μέλλεις γινώσσεσθαι ἡμὲν κακὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν· νῦν μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖς δυνηθῆναι (cf. *Juv.* 3–4).

Another source of the Socratic tradition is Xenophon, e.g. *Mem.* 4.2.34–5 and particularly 1.3.2 ἠύχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τάγαθὰ διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὅποια |[449] ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ· τοὺς δ' εὐχομένους χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ τυραννίδα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐνόμιζεν εὐχεσθαι ἢ εἰ κυβείαν ἢ μάχην ἢ ἄλλο τι εὔχοιντο τῶν φανερώς 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 deum 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 mortalium mens, in quam late patentem errorem caecas precatationes tuas spargis! divitias adpetis, quae multis exitio fuerunt: honores concupiscis, qui complures pessum dederunt: regna tecum ipsa volvis, quorum exitus saepenumero miserabiles cernuntur: splendidis coniugiis inicis manus, at haec, ut aliquando illustrant, ita nonnunquam funditus domos evertunt* (cf. *Juv.* 7). *desine igitur stulta futuris malorum causis quasi felicissimis rebus inhiare teque totam caelestium arbitrio permittite, quia qui tribuere bona ex facili solent, etiam eligere aptissime* (cf. *Juv.* 349) *possunt*. From a later date note Maximus of Tyre 5 (εἰ δεῖ εὐχεσθαι).8 (Σωκράτης) ... εὐχετο μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἐλάμβανεν δὲ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, συνεπινευόντων

ἐκείνων, ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς καὶ ἡσυχίαν βίου καὶ ζωὴν ἄμεμπτον.

(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, quae est animi tanquam tranquillitas, quam appellavit* (v.l. *-ant*) εὐθυμίαν (*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 supervacuuo* (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 possumus consequi concupiscamus aut adepti VANITATEM CUPIDITATIUM NOSTRARUM sero ... intelligamus*; cf. 13.1 *hoc secutum puto Democritum ita coepisse, 'qui tranquille volet vivere, nec privatim 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. |[450] *Juv.* 52, 365) *potestatem sui facit ... (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:

1.465a πόθεν γε δὴ πρὸς ἀλυπίαν ψυχῆς καὶ βίον ἀκύμονα χρημάτων ὄχλος ἢ δόξης ἢ δυνάμεως ἐν αὐλαῖς;

17.475d δεῖ ... εἰδόμενος, ὅτι μικρὸν ἐστὶ μέρος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπικηρον, ᾧ δέχεται τὴν τύχην, τῆς δὲ βελτίονος μερίδος αὐτοὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἐν ἧ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰδρυθέντα, δόξαι τε χρῆσται καὶ μαθήματα καὶ λόγοι τελευτῶντες εἰς ἀρετὴν, ἀναφαίρετον ἔχουσι τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον, ἀηττήτους (ἀνεκπλήκτους Stobaeus) πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι καὶ θαρραλέους, πρὸς τὴν τύχην λέγοντας, ἃ Σωκράτης ... ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν Ἄνυτος καὶ Μέλιτος δύνανται, βλάψαι δ' οὐ δύνανται, καὶ γὰρ ἡ τύχη ... οὐ δύναται ... παρελθεῖν τὴν διάθεσιν, ἧς αἰεὶ παρούσης πλέον ἢ κυβερνήτου πρὸς θάλατταν ὄφελός ἐστι πρὸς τὸν βίον.

19.477a οὐτ' οἰκία πολυτελής οὔτε χρυσίου πλῆθος οὐτ' ἀξίωμα γένους οὔτε μέγεθος ἀρχῆς, οὐ λόγου χάρις ἢ δεινότης εὐδῖαν παρέχει βίῳ καὶ γαλήνην τοσαύτην ὅσην ψυχῇ ... τὴν τοῦ βίου πηγὴν τὸ ἦθος ἀτάραχον ἔχουσα.

The following surviving fragments of Democritus himself bear on the theme:

B 119 ἄνθρωποι τύχης εἰδῶλον ἐπλάσαντο πρόφασιν ἰδίης ἀβουλῆς. βαιὰ γὰρ φρονήσει τύχη μάχεται, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν βίῳ εὐξύνετος ὀξυδερκεῖη κατιθύνει.

B 170–1 happiness comes from the ψυχῇ.

B 176 τύχη μεγαλόδωρος, ἀλλ' ἀβέβαιος, φύσις δὲ αὐτάρκης· διόπερ νικᾷ τῷ ἥσσονι καὶ βεβαίῳ τὸ μείζον τῆς ἐλπίδος.

B 234 ὑγειὴν εὐχῆσι παρὰ θεῶν αἰτέονται ἄνθρωποι, τὴν δὲ ταύτης δύναμιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασιν· ἀκρασίη δὲ τάναντία πρήσσοντες αὐτοὶ προδοταὶ τῆς ὑγειῆς τῆσιν ἐπιθυμίησι γίνονται. 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 [1451] 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 Arnim 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 *εὐροία* 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 *ἀθε 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 [1452] 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) γήρωος 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 |[453] 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 opportunist 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. It is of a [454] piece with this that when Juvenal at the end tells us what to do, he, unlike Johnson, gives no reasons for his selection. 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.

1–2 From extreme West to extreme East; cf. Sen. *NQ* 1 pr. 13, Pliny *NH* 2.242–4, Stat. *Th.* 1.685–8. Juvenal chooses *exempla* from Rome, Carthage, Greece and Persia.

USQUE has become a preposition; KS 1.574, HS 254.

2–3 Pers. 5.105 *veris speciem* (so P) *dinoscere 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 *secus* 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*² 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 τῆ ... ῥωμῆ πεποιθότα) and *perit*.

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) λιμαγχονηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.

CUNCTA ‘all other’, cf. on 11.25; **PATRIMONIA** and **CENSUS** are synonyms, cf. on 12.50.

BALLAENA BRITANNICA Cf. Hor. *Odes* 4.14.47 *beluosus qui remotis / obstrepat Oceanus Britannis* and on 14.283; whales are rare in the Mediterranean (Pliny *NH* 9.12).

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).

SENECAE PRAEDIVITIS This phrase Tac. *Ann.* 15.64; cf. on 8.212. For the ad-

jective *praedives* see 14.305. On Seneca's *horti* ('park', cf. on 1.75) see Tac. 14.52–5.

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. |[456]

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 Pomptine 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.

22 Cf. [Ovid] *Nux* 43–4 (with *inanis* like VACUUS here and Catull. 64.288), Sen. *Ep.* 14.9, 57.13, Dio Chrys. 7.9. For the brigands of the Roman world see SG 1.296 = 1.354, Flam-Zuckermann *Latomus* 29, 1970, 456, MacMullen¹ 255 and 266; cf. 3.302.

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.

25 sqq. Cf. Sen. *Thy.* 451–3 (*venenum in auro bibitur*); *Herc. Oet.* 653–9; Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.29.

FICTILIBUS 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 prodierat*). Thereafter we find it in Lucian (*De Sacrif.* 15, *Vit. Auct.* 13, *De Morte Peregr.* 7 and esp. 45 τί σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Δημόκριτος, εἰ ταῦτα εἶδε; κατ' ἄξιαν γελάσαι ἄν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. καίτοι πόθεν εἶχεν ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον γέλωτα;); 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 Γελασίνοσ (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 107a ἄξιον ἀνθρώπους ὄντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων συμφοραῖς μὴ γελαῖν 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 *efferre*.

A The variant *de* is due to 28.

AUCTOR Teacher; cf. *Stat. Silv.* 2.2.113.

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.

34 sqq. ILLIS Of those days (*tum quoque* 47). Cf. *Hor. Epist.* 2.1.194 *si foret in terris rideret Democritus* (the public shows), anon. *AP* 9.148.

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

at Suet. *Claud.* 28). Cf. *RE* s.v. 1079–81.

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; Balsdon¹ 245, Wissowa 452, *RE triumphus* 500.37, H. S. [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).

43 DA = *adde*. For the sceptre surmounted by an eagle cf. Versnel 60, *RE* l.c. 507.30, Warren *JRS* 60, 1970, 58.

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 prosequentium*, *Nero* 28 *celeberrimo officio deductum*; 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 officiis*.

PRAECEDENTIA Cf. 7.142; they are *anteambulones*. [[459]

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 MATERIAM RISUS 3.147, Sen. *Dial.* 2.18.1.

49–50 Sen. *Ep.* 66.3 *potest ex casa vir magnus prodire*.

CUIUS The antecedent is the subject of INVENIT.

VERVECEM 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) εἰ ἐπέλθοι 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 ἄηρ παχύς Menander *Samia* 109 (Sandbach’s numeration). The idea that climate affects intellect goes right back to the Hippocratic *περὶ 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*.

53 MANDARET LAQUEUM Cf. on 6.30 and Apul. *Met.* 9.36 *suspendium ... illis ... mandare*, Lucian *Timon* 45 etc.; *suspende te* is a curse (Plautus *passim*, Ter. *Andr.* 255, Sen. *Dial.* 5.23.2, *CIL* 4.1864 = E. Diehl *Pompeianische Wandinschriften* 489).

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 *κατατύγων* and *verpus*). Cf. Sittl 101, *RAC Finger* 930 and *Genitalien* 19, S. Seligmann *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 *vo-tum tuum aut supervacuum est aut iniuriosum*; Suet. *De Rhet.* p. 29.17 Brugnoli, Sall. *Iug.* 1.5. [[460]

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 γούνασι κείται; Arnob. 6.6 *haec signa quorum ... genua contingitis et contrectatis 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 hyperbolic, as if the statues were covered with wax.

56-7 For the **INVIDIA** to which power is subject cf. *Lucret.* 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.

DESCENDUNT 14.61.

SECUNTUR Cf. 1.164; *Pliny NH* 35.4 *ut frangat heres forisque detrahat laqueo (furisque ... 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.

URCEOLI 3.203; pitchers.

PELVES 3.277, 6.441; basins.

SARTAGO A saucepan, cf. *Blümner*¹ 157, *Hilgers* 269; one of silver [₁₄₆₁] 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.

Plut. *Praec. Reip. Ger.* 27.820e (statues of Demades), Diog. Laert. 5.77 and Strabo 9.1.20.398 (of Demetrius of Phalerum), Philo *De Vita Contempl.* 1.7.

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. Ét. 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. SPECTANDUS 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.

QUIBUS ... 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. |[462]

NIL PLUS INTERROGO Cf. 6.223 (see on 69 for this context), Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.188, Petron. 41.5.

73 REMI replaces *Rōmūli*, as not infrequently in the poets (cf. Diodorus *AP* 9.219.3 = Gow–Page *GP* 2102 and *Tatio* 14.160). TURBA REMI (*t. Quirini* Ovid *Met.* 14.607) means the plebeians, contrasted with those just depicted. For the fickleness of the mob cf. Dio 58.11.1–2, Tac. *Hist.* 3.85, Yavetz 5 n. 1; for *fortunam sequi* Heubner on Tac. *Hist.* 2.86.4.

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 Volsinii, 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 PRINCIPIS See on 4.81.

SECURA 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.

HAC IPSA HORA Cf. 14.295.

77 Elections of magistrates were transferred to the senate by Tiberius in A.D. 14; see Garzetti 23 and 565, Millar 302.

VENDIMUS παρά 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 Eurysaces 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. |[463]

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 Bruttidius (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

Opusc. Rom. 1, 1954, 166.

84-5 Madvig 35 (and on similar lines Merry *CR*¹ 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 iudicium* 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.*² 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 iudicium* (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, [[464] Baumann 43 and 55). PAVIDUM DOMINUM is not what the actual speaker would say, cf. 1.103.

CERVICE OBSTRACTA Cf. *Thes. collum* 1660.62, Plaut. *Poen.* 790 *obtorto collo ad praetorem trahor*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.70 *trahebatur ... adstrictis faucibus*, Cic. 2 *Verr.* 4.24, Lucian *Catapl.* 25 προβάλλ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐπὶ τράχηλον ὠθοῦσα; G. Beseler *Opora* (1930) 29.

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, 4.2.3 *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 *saepa 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* [₄₆₅] (*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 *CQ*¹ 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

(Blümner¹ 642 n. 3, Langhammer 150).

PANNOSUS 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 οὕτως ὑψηλὸς καταπεσών.

NUMEROSA Cf. 7.151; TABULATA cf. 3.199.

PRAECEPTA 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 [466] name, cf. 45) were his slaves (cf. 5.173, Suet. *Aug.* 94, Macrobian *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 discruciant et ceteros malorum suorum comptes.*

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.

118 Sen. *Rem. Fort.* 12.4 *si muti fuissent Cicero et Demosthenes, et diutius vixissent et lenius obiissent*; [Quintil.] quoted in the introduction.

PERĪT 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 ... FONTS Cf. 9, 128; Ovid *Trist.* 3.14.34, Cic. *Pro Marcell.* 4. [467]

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 *contempsit 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 FRENA (with which cf. Ovid *Ex Ponto* 2.9.33, Plut. *Praec. Reip. Ger.* 5.801c–d, 802d.)

THEATRI 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 Demosthenes by implication to an actor (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 6 *forum populi Romani, quod fuisset quasi theatrum illius ingeni*).

129 He arouses sympathy (cf. on 56) for Demosthenes 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 Demosthenes* 171–2) or of the fraud of his guardians.

130–2 Demosthenes' father was a prosperous gentleman who owed part of his wealth to a sword-factory, whence he was called μαχαίροποιός (Plut. *Dem.* 4.2 etc., cf. Val. Max. 3.4 ext. 2 *cultellos venditasse*); [₄₆₈] 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, *Dirae* 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 *exstructos 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*.

GRAIUS 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, re-summing 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. caprificus* 359.32.

STERILIS The wild fig cannot propagate itself; nor can their hoped-for fame, which cannot resist it.

147 HANNIBALEM i.e. his ashes, cf. 242, Prop. 4.11.14 etc. [[469]

148 CAPIT 'contains', cf. 168, 11.171 and 197, 13.74, 14.320; Plut. *Alex.* 6.2 ἡ Μακεδονία σε οὐ χωρεῖ.

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 *Aethiopus alios*, i.e. the Western contrasted with the Eastern (there as here *alios* replaces *āltērōs* 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.

TEPENTI Prop. 2.33.3, Sen. *Oed.* 606.

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 Cf. Livy 21.37, Appian *Bell. Hann.* 4.

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.

DECLAMATIO FIAS 7.160–3. Aristoph. *Peace* 148 ἐκείνο τήρει, μή ... τραγωδία γένῃ, Theocr. 12.11.

168 Cf. 14.313; Val. Max. 8.14 ext. 2; Sen. *Suas.* 1.5 *orbis illum suus non capit* (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*.

169 Like the sea churning in a narrow channel, cf. Lucan 6.63 ^[1471] *aestuat angusta rabies civilis harena*; Sen. *Suas.* 1.3 *Alexandro orbis angustus 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.

CLAUSUS Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 14.63.1.

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.

GRAECIA ... 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 Ἑλλησποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον. ^[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 epexegetis. 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 1, 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 οὐδὲ 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. |[473]

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.

CRUENTIS FLUCTIBUS Aesch. *Pers.* 419–20.

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 ... βωόντων οὐκ ἄκροώμενος ... ῥικνός καὶ ἄμορφος ... παῖς πάλιν γεγινώς. 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. PALIDUS 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 |[474] naturally go with MATER and imply that apes do not bear young until late in life, but in

spite of Robson *CR*¹ 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), κορυζῶντα 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.

203 Cf. Plato *Rep.* 1.329, Plut. *An Seni Resp.* 5.786a–b.

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 aeternumque sedebit*.

206 Cf. 6.197, Ovid *I.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) *tibiisve tibicibus?*; with the *tibicines cantare* |[475] 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;

Wille 181) cf. Sen. *Ep.* 84.10, Balsdon¹ 286–7, SG 2.345 = 2.172.

216 PUER The *cubicularius*; Marquardt 144, Blümner¹ 44.

QUOT NUNTIET 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.

AGMINE (*Thes.* s.v. 1347.11) FACTO 3.162, a Vergilian tag; cf. *februm cohors* Hor. *Odes* 1.3.31.

QUORUM ... QUAERAS Cf. Dio Chrys. 6.23 νοσημάτων ... ἃ μὴδὲ ὀνομάσαι ῥᾶδιον.

219 A parody of passages like Verg. *Georg.* 2.103–8, Ovid *Trist.* 4.1.55 sqq., *Ex Ponto* 2.7.25 sqq., [Lucian] *Amores* 2; cf. Canter *AJP* 51, 1930, 38.

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).

AUTUMNO 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 Lucilii.

SOCIOS Business partners; CIRCUMSCRIPSERIT PUPILLOS 1.46, 15.135–6. For the combination cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.122–3.

224 MAURA 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 Bücheler (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.

227 Cf. 14.156, Maecenas ap. Sen. *Ep.* 101.11 *debilem facito manu, / debilem pede coxo* (*coxa* a weakly-supported variant).

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.

233 MAIOR is attracted by *dementia* from *maius* (*damnum*, cf. 210); cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3.44 *tales*, *De Div.* 1.112 *nullam*, and *ulla* from *quicquam* Tac. *Ann.* 14.15.3, Quintil. 10.1.65, *nullam* from *nihil* Cic. *De Leg.* 1.49; see also Tac. *Dial.* 32 quoted by KS 1.34.

Scholte proposed *qua*, but 238–9 is a yet stronger case of this natural negligence of expression.

234 Not to recognise familiars was counted as a symptom of insanity (Nisbet on Cic. *In Pis.* 47).

ILLOS i.e. *voltus illorum*; cf. 12.117 and 247 below.

236 CODICE i.e. *tabulis*, wax tablets (*cerae*) hinged together, cf. on 4.19. SAEVO 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 turpitude* 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.

CARCERE 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 ἐπιδῆiv.

243 POENA Cf. 187; DATA cf. 146.

245 NIGRA VESTE Cf. 3.213, RE *Trauerkleidung* 2229–30 and *luctus* 1698, Blümner¹ 497, Marquardt 356.

SENESCANT Both literally and in the metaphorical sense 'pine'; Cic. *Pro Clu.* 13 *maerore et lacrimis consenescebat*.

246 REX PYLIUS Nestor cf. 12.128.

SI QUICQUAM CREDIS HOMERO Cf. 68, 173, 4.53, *Priapea* 80.5 *siquid 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 compendiarum* (cf. on 234). Cf. Hesiod quoted on 14.251; RE *Krähē* 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) Κυτώταρις ... δι' ἣν Νέστωρ οὐκέτι πρεσβύτατος, / ἢ φάος ἀθρήσας' ἐλάφου πλέον, ἢ χερί λαυῆ / γῆρας ἀριθμῆσθαι δεύτερον ἀρξαμένη (i.e. she has passed beyond 10,000, at which point one returns to the left hand). Nestor had outlived two γενεαί 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 ὑπήνης 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.

257 ALIUS Laertes, cf. 1.10, Hom. *Od.* 15.353–5.

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 lugeri 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 |[479] 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. Blümner 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)άρχει γόοιο (*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.

SCISSA PALLA Cf. 13.132, and Verg. *Aen.* 8.702 (Discordia).

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 *nec 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 Sacrif.* 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*³ (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 *respice finem* is applied to Croesus by Sen. *Tranq. An.* 11.12 (see introduction); Solon’s τέλος ὄρα βίου 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.

SPATIA ‘laps’, a common circus metaphor (e.g. Cic. *Cato* 14, Sen. *Dial.* 9.9.3).

276–82 Marius; CARCER at Minturnae (cf. Carney *G & R*² 8, 1961, 106–11).

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 *praeda 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.

283 Cf. on 258. For Pompey’s sickness in 50 B.C. cf. *RE Pompeius* 2172, J. van Ooteghem *Pompée le Grand* (1954) 494; Sen. *Dial.* 6.20.4.

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*. [[480]

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 *murmurque humilesque susurros*; in Greek ψιθύρω. 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.).

ANXIA MATER Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 60.1.

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. Fordyce 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. [[482]

PULCHRA ... DIANA Hom. *Od.* 6.106, Verg. *Aen.* 1.502.

293 LUCRETIA and VERGINIA Sen. *Contr.* 1.5.3, [Quintil.] *Decl. Mai.* 3.11, [Sen.] *Oct.* 297–304. For Verginia see Livy 3.44 sqq.

294 CUPERES ... OSQUE TUUM This is the most convincing emendation; the path of corruption will have been via *otque suum*. With *atque 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 1.296 and 763, Thielmann *ALL* 2, 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 mixturam 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*.

300–1 VULTUMQUE ... FERVENTEM Cf. 11.54 and 154, 13.242, Suet. *Dom.* 18.1, Pliny *Ep.* 1.14.8.

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 muliebri 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.

TEMPTARE 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 ... ephelum 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.

CASTRAVIT 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. *fili*; 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.

ADULTER PUBLICUS Cf. Hor. *Odes* 2.8.7–8 *iuvenum ... publica cura* (see Nisbet–Hubbard), Sen. *De Ben.* 3.28.4, Apul. *Met.* 7.22, *cinaedus publicus* passim in Firm. Mat.

MARITI / IRAE DEBEBIT 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 *debebit* became *debit* through haplography, and that the next scribe inevitably wrote *debit*, 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.

LAQUEOS Set by Hephaestus for Ares and Aphrodite; cf. 2.31, Hom. *Od.* 8.266–369, Ovid *AA* 2.578–80, *Met.* 4.177.

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, Kaser¹ 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 caesum*).

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 (ῥαφανίς) 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) *fiet adulter* 311; so 314 (*exigit*)–317 should be placed in parenthesis.

TUUS ENDYMION Cf. 6.566 etc., Apul. *Met.* 1.12.

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 femina*.

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 Jahresber.* 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 REPULSĀ 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. Silius, iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum*; Dio Cass. 60.31.7 ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐνομιζέτο. Juvenal is much more sympathetic to Silius than Tacitus is. |[485]

GENTIS PATRICIAE In fact the Silii were plebeians; Juvenal uses *patricius* merely as equivalent to *nobilis*, cf. on 1.24, 4.102.

RAPITUR EXSTINGUENDUS 'is carried away to destruction'; *passio* 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.

334 sqq. Cf. 2.117–24.

FLAMMEOLO The ironical diminutive is only found here and in imitation by Prudentius. Cf. 2.124 and 6.225 *flämmēä*; 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, Blümner¹ 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 ... audisse 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, Blümner¹ 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. 344 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), λυχνασία or λύχνων ἀφαι belong to a group of expressions for denoting time, like πλήθουσα ἀγορά (Pliny

NH 10.15 *donec impleantur hominum conventu fora*) and βουλευτός, 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 Siliii 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 chiasitic order.

QUI ('of what sort') PUERI sc. *futuri sint*. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 59.2, *De Ben.* 3.11.1, Xen. *Mem.* 1.1.8, [Plato] *Alc. II* 142b3, Dio Cass. 69.20.2 (Hadrian; cf. on 356). PUERI (instead of the usual *libēri, nati*) and UXOR seem to be a rare combination (Livy 5.40.10).

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 και ἀρτίνουν, Lucian *Pro Laps. inter Salut.* 5 ὑγιαίνειν ... ψυχῇ και σώματι ἀρμοδιώτατον; 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.

357 POSCE 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 προηγγμένον), 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*.

358 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 ... perferre 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.

360 It has attained to Stoic ἀπάθεια; cf. 4–5.

361 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.

362 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 ἡ Σαρδαναπάλλου τράπεζα see Graux *Rev. Phil.* 2, 1878, 221. He is several times contrasted with Hercules (*RE Sard.* 2.447.3).

PLUMA 6.88 (collective singular as here), 1.159 etc.

363 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 sumendam esse sapientiam* (cf. Pease p. 1025). The opposite Epictet. 2.16.47 ἔξω ζητῶν ἀεὶ τὴν εὐροίαν. 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 σεαυτὸν 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 chiasmic 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 σεαυτὸν 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 implicitly 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 [491] 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 (*Archiaci 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 requiring 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 Syrorum*. 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 ἀκροάματα 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 [[492] 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.

ATTICUS Probably Ti. Claudius (*RE* no. 71, *PIR*² C 801) Atticus (father of Herodes Atticus), who discovered an immense treasure on his estate in Attica; Nerva allowed him to retain it all. He was twice consul, and perhaps proconsul of Asia c. A.D. 121; cf. P. Graindor *Un Milliarde Antique, Hérode Atticus* (1930) 20–38, M. Woloch *Roman Citizenship and the Athenian Elite* (1973) 163–7.

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 [493] the various technical senses of the word La Piana *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 20, 1927, 255 and *RE* s.v.

THEATRUM Mart. 7.76.2.

5 DE RUTILO sc. *loquuntur*, cf. 13.181, 14.189.

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*¹ 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 munerum minuendis* 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.

16 So Hor. *Serm.* 2.2.25–6, Petron. 93, Sen. *Ep.* 122.14, *Dial.* 12.10.5, *NQ* 4.13.3–4, Mart. 13.76, SHA 17.29.9.

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 mutuuum arcessivit*.

18 FRACTA Broken up, for re-use, cf. 102; Pliny *NH* 35.4 *imagines* have been replaced by *argenteae 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). |[495]

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).

LAUDABILE NOMEN i.e. *lautitia* (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.

ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ 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 *noscere* 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 CONIUGIUM QUAERAS τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα Callim. *Epigr.* 1 (see Pfeiffer) ascribed to Pittacus; *Paroemiographi* 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*, ἡ ἱερά 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. |[496]

IN QUA 'wearing which' (cf. 10.38), the arms having been adjudged to him.
SE TRADUCEBAT Made himself ridiculous (on 2.159). Cf. Ovid *Met.* 13.103 sqq.

32 MAGNO DISCRIMINE Circumstantial ablative, 'with great issues involved'.

ADFFECTAS 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.

BUCCAE 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 deficiente 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 / attenuarat 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*, *gorges*, *barathrum* applied to gourmands. See also Manil. 4.538 *censumque immerget in ipso.*

REBUS sc. *paternis* with an ἀπό 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).

NOVISSIMUS Cf. 6.356.

43 Crepereius Pollio, the debtor of 9.6–8, is an *equus*, and when he is bankrupt 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.

44 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, Blümner¹ 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*.

46 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.

47 ET 'even'.

DOMINIS The owners and lenders of the money, *fenoris auctores*.

PAULUM NESCIO QUID sc. 'only'.

49 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 epexegetis (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).

50 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, Blümner¹ 654 n. 8. |[498]

51 ESQUILIAS 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.

52 CIRCENSIBUS (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 chiasitic 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 (Macrob. *Sat.* 3.19.6, Celsus 4.26 = 19.5); the so-called Syrian (Verg. *Georg.* 2.88) did originate [1500] from Syria (*RE Birnbaum* 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).

CALIDAE ... POPINAE 8.172, 6.121, Hor. *Serm.* 2.4.62, Mart. 1.41.9–10, Suet. *Vitell.* 13; common haunts of slaves (8.174, 179; Colum. 1.8.2, Plaut. *Trin.* 1021). Cf. Balsdon¹ 153.

SAPIAT QUID Cf. 121. |[501]

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 Only 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 *laridum 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 & R*² 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 TROIUGENIS 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 [503] 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; Sen. *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 *CR*² 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 *Böchner 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 κοίλη.

QUIRINOS i.e. Romulus (8.259) and Remus; so *Castores* = Castor and Pollux, *Polluces* (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; Δευκαλιώνες 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-Wagener 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 mss. 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.*

85, 1930, 299.

108 TUSCO CATINO 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. *pultes* (58), cf. André 63.

108–9 Cf. Livy 22.52.4 of the spoil taken by Hannibal at Cannae *praeter ... siquid argenti, quod plurimum in phaleris equorum (cf. 103) erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur.*

110 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.

111 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).

113 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.

116 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 μύθη *Il.* 4.141), Lucan 9.519. W. Schulze *Quaestiones Epicae* (1892) 235 compares χρυσὸς ἀκήρατος, but that means unalloyed.

117 DOMI NATAS Home-grown (cf. Otto *domus* 3 with *Nachträge* 158, Friedlaender 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 αὐτάρκεια (cf. e.g. Cic. *De Rep.* 2.7–8, Appian *Pun.* 86–9), and so they disliked foreign imports (cf. on 14.267).

118 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). [506] STABAT followed by DEIECERAT seems very infelicitous; perhaps <ex>*stabat*.

120 sqq. Cf. Fronto p. 14.20–3, Musonius p. 110.12–15 Hense.

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 Plasberg ed. min.

UNGUENTA ATQUE ROSAE The usual accompaniments of the *commissatio* 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 concolor 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 *CQ*² 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.

DEPOSITUIT 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 senators wore a gold one. Cf. 7.88, Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.143–5, [507] Pliny *NH* 33.9–33, Sherwin-White on Pliny *Ep.* 8.6.4, Mommsen¹ 3.1.516–17.

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.

TESSELLAE *tēssērāē*, dice; often made of ivory, like CALCULI, the counters used in board games. Cf. Mart. 14.17, *RE Elfenbein* 2361.62, Blümner¹ 414–15 and ² 2.366. The modesty of Juvenal's household is emphasized by the diminutives in 132–5.

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 PERGULA 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.O.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.

TRYPHERI 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*.

PYGARGUS Antelope; Pliny *NH* 8.214. This and the following Greek names scornfully designate degenerate luxuries.

139 SCYTHICAE VOLUCRES Pheasants, *aves Phasianaes*, 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 *Afrae 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.

142 Juvenal implies that expert carvers are also expert filchers.

CAPRAEAE 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.

144 OFELLAE 'Pork' cutlets' Dunbabin *CR*¹ 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 EXIGUAE (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).

145 PLEBEIOS CALICES Cf. 5.46-8, Mart. 14.94.1.

PAUCIS ASSIBUS EMPTOS Mart. 9.59.22.

146 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.

147 PHRYX AUT LYCUS *flos Asiae* 5.56; cf. Bang *Röm. Mitt.* 25, 1910, 235-6. See on 117.

NON ... PETITUS i.e. he is a *verna*; cf. 6.373a *mangonum pueros*.

148 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 ἤτει πειν 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* 'μείζονα ἔνεγκε ποτήρια' 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.

TONSI Mart. 10.98.9 (*tonsos ... 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 CUNCTIS 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; *igneae* 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 *pupillis 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 δυσχερής 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 338, Blümner¹ 412, Wille 200 and 313; cf. modern Spanish 'Gitana' and γαιρτάναν 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.O.19.

INCIPIANT ἐξάρχωσι (cf. 10.262).

165 sqq. If 165–6 are retained they must be parenthetical, as otherwise URTICAЕ (cf. 2.128) in 168 should be accusative. But they are certainly spurious; they are feeble and irrelevant, *ipsis* should be |[511] *illis* (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 χωρεῖ, contains; cf. 197 and on 10.148.

TESTARUM Castanets, *crotala*; ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις κροτούσα Aristoph. *Frogs* 1305–6, Athen. 14.636d–e, Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.71 *cymbala tinnulaeque Gades*, Mart. 6.71.1 *Baetica crumata*.

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 LACEDAEMONIUM 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).

PYTISMATE *pytissare*, (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*.

HILARES Vell. Pat. 2.105.2 *eum splendidum aut hilarem potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem diceret*. 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; Blümner¹ 410, Marquardt 151) rather than songs of Cadiz. Cf. SG 1.218 = 1.255, Balsdon¹ 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 ῥαψωδία (μελωδεῖν 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 (*licebit*).

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 *libidinatam incestate ac maculis vestis proditum* is not exactly comparable.

SUSPECTIS 10.208; the word may suggest jealousy (Hor. *Odes* 1.17.25).

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 [1513] 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, Balsdon¹ 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. Hugueney *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 [514] 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).

FRAGOR See on 8.59 and cf. Sen. *Ep.* 83.7, Rutil. *Nam.* 1.201; for the wording cf. Lucan 6.193.

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).

VIRIDIS Cf. *virens* Sidon. *Apoll. Carm.* 23.324, Lydus *De Mens.* 4.25 and cf. on 5.143. COLLIGO Cf. 13.191.

PANNI A technical term (Maricq *Bull. Acad. Belge* 36, 1950, 403 n. 2; add Caper *GLK* 7.104.12).

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).

202 SPONSIO ‘betting’; cf. 6.O.27, Balsdon¹ 321, Carcopino 250–1.

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 (Balsdon¹ 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* [515] (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.

CUTÍCULA (cf. Pers. 4.18 just quoted). Similar formations, however they are to be explained, are *canícula*, *clavicula*, *craticula*, *tegeticula*; see Leumann 306–7 (cf. 341).

204 TOGAM This was required dress at all spectacles (SG 2.8 = 2.9, Blümner¹ 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 *thermae* 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, Blümner¹ 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.

207 Hom. *Il.* 13.636 πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστὶ καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλόητος; Democritus fr. 232, 2 p. 191 Diels–Kranz, also falsely attributed to Epictetus (fr. 33 Schenkl); Dio Chrys. 6.48; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 306 p. 203.14.

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 |[517] 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 for 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 [518] 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 *pas-citur in vestrum reditum 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 intransitively 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 ὤς; cf. HS 510, KS 1.808 and 4.79 as emended by Housman.

MERO In its proper meaning of unmixed wine, *purum vinum* Ovid *Met.* 7.594; cf. 6.386, *RE immolatio* 1127–8, Pease on Verg. *Aen.* 4.59–61 and Cic. *De Div.* 2.37.

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.

ADFFECTIBUS 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.

11 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 *irēt 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*² 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 *ictum*.

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 ... tempestas), 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. Pisa*³ 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), [521] 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 PLENUS 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 arbore 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.

IACTU Cf. the Digest title quoted on 17, Paul. *Sent.* 2.7, *Theis.* s.v. 69.21. For jettisoning of cargo cf. Rougé 397 sqq. (esp. 406).

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 mutor 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, ... vellera praecipuas habet ... rutili ... Baetica*, Mart. 9.61.3–4 *Baetin ... vellera nativo pallent ubi flava metallo / et linit Hesperium brattea viva pecus*, 1.96.5–8, Nonius 549 (*pullus*), Tertull. *De Pallio* 3.6 (5) *ovibus ... quis ... Baetica cluet natura colorante*; Mart. 8.28.6 (to a toga) *Baetis in Hesperia te quoque lavit ove?*, 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.

MITTERE Cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.24.50.

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 pоторia*, 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 *quicquam 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 Euthykrates; 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 Zschietschmann 224); then the application here to cutting it down is ironical.

ANGUSTUM is surely neuter nominative (so Haeckermann), meaning |[524] *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 aequora 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 νεῶς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλεόντας ἀπέχειν. For DIGITIS TAEDAE (finger-breadths of pine-wood) cf. Dio Chrys. 64.10 οὔτε τριδάκτυλον αὐτοὺς σφῆζει ξύλον πεύκινον (perhaps from Euripides).

60 MOX Cf. 20; having entrusted yourself to a ship.

RETICULIS ET PANE Baskets of bread, cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.1.47 *reticulum panis*. *Panis nauticus* is ship-biscuit, Pliny *NH* 22.138, cf. *panes* for a voyage in Cic. *Ad Att.* 10.15.4, *panarium et lagunculam* Pliny *Ep.* 1.6.3, πανοπλίη ἀρτολάγυνος (= equipment consisting of bread and bottle) Polemon *AP* 11.38 (Gow-Page *GP* 3350), with which cf. *artolagyni* associated with simple living, Cic. *Ad Fam.* 9.20.2 (see Shackleton Bailey vol. 2 p. 345). VENTRE LAGONAE ('round-bellied bottle', cf. 4.107 and on 4.39) cf. Symphos. *Aenigm.* 81, Colum. 10.383-7 (of a vegetable gourd), Hilgers 61 sqq.

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 ... lagonae* 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.

62-4 i.e. *postquam vectoris prospera tempora fatumque valentiora fuerunt quam eurus et pelagus*, cf. 6.571, 16.4, Manil. 3.510-59 (Housman). There is a hint of the concept *ante fatum mori*, for which see on 14.249.

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.

STAMINIS Cf. 3.27, 10.252, 14.249; white wool is a symbol of good fortune (Sen. *Apoc.* 4, Mart. 6.58.7, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.24, 1.4.123), as [525] black of bad (Ovid *Tr.* 4.1.64, 5.13.24 etc.), cf. Radke 22, *RAC Farbe* 392. *CEL* 2296.15 is obscure.

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*² 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 fore-sail 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 *Lavinus* (*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 Vergil'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.

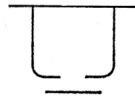
75 The reference is to the portus Augusti constructed by Claudius (Suet. 20) two miles north of Ostia, where continual trouble was caused by silting (Dio Cass. 60.11, Pliny *NH* 16.202 and 36.70, Sil. It. 4.295–9); see *CIL* 14 p. 6, Lehmann-Hartleben *Die antiken Hafenanlagen* [526] (*Klio Beiheft* 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, Balsdon¹ 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 break-water or artificial island in front of them thus:



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 (Casson¹ 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 (Balsdon¹ 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*.

81 GAUDENT ὡς ἦδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνήσθαι πόνων *Eur. Andromeda* fr. 131, a famous line (quoted by Aristotle *Rhet.* 1.11.1370b, who also adduces, inexactly, *Hom. Od.* 14.400, and by *Macrob. Sat.* 7.2.9, and referred to by *Cic. De Fin.* 2.105); cf. also *Cic. Ad Fam.* 5.12.4, *Verg. Aen.* 1.203 *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit* (after the 'poetic storm'), *Sen. Ep.* 78.14 and *Herc. Fur.* 656; *Otto labor* (1) and *Nachträge* 40, 107, 239. |[527]

VERTICE 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 Hermetim.* 86).

82 GARRULA The transferred epithet because Juvenal could not use either *gārrūli* (*Mart.* 12.57.12 *naufragus loquax*) or *gārrūlē*.

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).

84 SERTA For the garlanding of temples cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.23, 4.8.9, Val. Fl. 2.626; Turcan *JAC* 14, 1971, 108, Bömer on Ovid *Met.* 8.264. Cf. 91.

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. l.c., Lucan 1.610, Sen. *Thy.* 688).

85 MOLLES ... VIRENTEM Cf. *caespes* 2; FOCOS 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 (Blümner² 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' (Munro 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.

89 NOSTRUM 'favouring' cf. 9.137, Pers. 5.50, Shackleton Bailey *CR*² 4, 1954, 9.

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 Iovi dapem*.

PATERNIS Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.51 *paterni / et laris et fundi*, Sen. *Ag.* 6 *video paternos, immo fraternos 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 *orbis* (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 κάκεινον ἦδη 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 (l.c. on 41).

PATRE here means 'a father', the opposite of an *orbis*, 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.).

COEPIT 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.

LIBELLIS Containing *vota*, cf. Suet. *Cal.* 14.2 *qui capita sua titulo proposito devoverent*. For the general idea cf. Mart. 12.90, Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 5 (15).1 θύσειν ... ὑπισχοῦνται ἢν ῥαῖση.

101 PORTICUS Probably in a temple.

PROMITTANT Cf. 2; HECATOMBEN of bullocks (ἑκατὸν 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 elephantum nec concipitur talis belua Latio* or *hic non sunt elephantum, 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 *elephantum* 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. *Poenus*, 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 ... Orodes*; Sil. It. 8.426, 10.223.

ALIQUAM i.e. a considerable; Pliny *NH* 8.27 *turres armatorum in hostes ferunt, magnaue 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 PULCHERRIMA 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. Wölfflin 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.*⁴ 2, 1949, 294, Fordyce and Kroll on Catull. 86.1 and 4, Ovid *Her.* 15.33).

117 PUERIS i.e. *frontibus puerorum*, 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, Blümner¹ 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 *exiguus 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 MYCENIS 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. |[532]

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 'Cf. Mart. 6.86.5 *possideat Libycas messes Hermumque Tagumque / et potet caldam, qui mihi livet, aquam*. In both cases the last petition makes the other advantages worse than useless' Duff. Cf. also Theocr. 16.64–7. For Nero's depredations see Tac. *Ann.* 15.45, Suet. 32.4 (see Bradley's edition p. 185), Dio Cass. 63.11–12 etc.

129–30 Cic. *Lael.* 52 *quis est ... qui velit, ut neque diligat quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligitur, 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.

Satire Thirteen

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.

Anderson *CP* 57, 1962, 149–51; *Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.* 19.3, 1964, 184–90
(*Anger in Juvenal and Seneca*).

Fredericks *Arethusa* 4, 1971, 219.

Edmunds *Rh. Mus.* 115, 1972, 59.

Morford *AJP* 94, 1973, 26.

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 [534] 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 ^[535] 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 ^[536] 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.

B i. 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. |[537]

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

R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur Gr. und Röm. Konsolationsliteratur*, 1958.

H. T. Johann, *Trauer und Trost*, 1968.

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1 EXEMPLO MALO Ablative of accompanying circumstances, 'setting a bad example' (*Theas.* 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 *prima illa 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 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 invenit*; 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 IACTURAE ... 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 consolatio pervulgata quidem illa maxime ... ut ... eventis aliorum memoria repetendis nihil accidisse novi nobis cogitemus*, *ibid.* 6.6.12, *Tusc.* 3.57 sqq. and 79 (with which cf. the ironic οὐ σοὶ μόνω 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

ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν ἰδίων λήθην λαβὼν
πρὸς ἄλλοτριῷ τε ψυχαγωγηθεὶς πάθει
μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπῆλθε παιδευθεὶς ἅμα ...
ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ μείζον' ἢ πέπονθέ τις
ἀτυχήματ' ἄλλοις γεγονότ' ἐννοούμενος

τὰς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ συμφορὰς ἦπτον στένει.

Cf. Lier *Philol.* 62, 1903, 574 (add *CIL* 5.1721 = *CEL* 2156.8), [539] Johann p. 64 nn. 262–3, Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 464, and for a Greek proverb on the community of misfortune Apostolius 9.96, *Mantissa prov.* 3.36 (2 p. 778) with Otto *solus* 2.

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 Adulator* 33.71f–72a and e.g. Sen. *Cons. Marc.* 6.

12 VULNERE (cf. Stat. *Silv.* l.c. 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 ὑπομονήν (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 aequo 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. *praecordia flagrantia* 182 and on 1.45, 6.648; Sen. *Oed.* 358 *spumat iecur*, 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. LEVIUM) 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.

16–17 POST TERGA RELIQUIT (Stat. *Th.* 5.507, Sil. It. 16.335) A metaphor from the journey of life (10.363).

SEXAGINTA Cf. Menander fr. 127 (= Ter. *Haut.* 67)

πρὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, δαίμονας, γεγινώς ἔτη
τοσαῦθ'· ὁμοῦ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξήκοντά σοι.

FRONTEIO may be the consul of A.D. 67 (*RE* no. 18, *PIR*² 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.

19–22 Verg. *Georg.* 2.490 sqq. has the same contrast between the theoretical philosopher and the man in contact with practical life (cf. 120 sqq.); *πεῖρα μαθῶν ἔγωγε ἄλλ' οὐ σοφίᾳ* Fronto p. 16.15 in a consolation to Herodes Atticus (cf. on 181). Juvenal reverses the old description of philosophy as *magistra vitae* (Cic. *Tusc.* 2.16, Nepos fr. 39 Marshall = Cicero *Ep.* vol. 3 p. 153 Watt, Sen. *Ep.* 90.26); cf. Ovid *Her.* 5.96 *quis aetas longa magistra fuit*.

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).

VICTRIX FORTUNAE SAPIENTIA ('philosophy' cf. 14.321) Cf. 10.28, 52, 365; Sen. *Ep.* 71.30 *sapiens quidem vincit virtute fortunam*, 82.5; Manil. 1.797 *Cato fortunae victor*. FORTUNAE looks back to 10.

IACTARE JUGUM The opposite of 6.208 (cf. Sil. It. 14.107).

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. *quaestionem 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. |[54]

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 *nunc*, but that is probably merely a corruption of *non*); Claudius 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 ἡ Συβαρίτις ἀφροσύνα; this same prophecy was repeated in A.D. 64 (ibid. 62.18.3). On these Sibylline oracles 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 *fluminaeque obliquis cinxit declivia ripis* with Bömer's note, and see also Wilamowitz on Eur. *Her.* 883, Bell 317–18 (with due caution), Burkhardt *Gymn.* 78, 1971, 407. 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 statues; see also Ovid *Am.* 3.7.21 *sic flammas aditura pius aeterna sacerdos*, and Verg. *Aen.* 4.36 *non Libyae, non ante Tyro* may be a variation of the idiom (for *Libya ... Tyri*).

29 SCELERI Abstract 'criminality'; cf. Naegelsbach §17.1.

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 divom 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; εἶτα ἡμεῖς.

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 παῖδες οἱ [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 istis 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 ὄρκια 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.

FUGIENS *arma Iovis fugiens* Verg. *Aen.* 8.319–20.

TUNC See on 6.235.

41 PRIVATUS Cf. on 1.16; Jupiter was still a subject. The language throughout (*virguncula, taberna, prandebat*) is ironical, and the effect of the resounding *caelicolarum* in contrast with its humble surroundings is similar. Cf. 6.15 *Iove nondum barbato*; Ap. Rhod. 3.134 ἄντρον 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 *Il.* 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, Blümner¹ 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 *Il.* 18.414 he does clean ἄμφο [543] 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, Blümner¹ 402–3), Vulcan was still cleaning himself; but this is far less forceful.

LIPARAEA 1.8; i.e. on Hieria.

TABERNA His retail shop is identical with his *officina*, as would often be the case with a Roman craftsman (Blümner¹ 640, *RE Industrie* 1482).

46 PRANDEBAT SIBI QUISQUE is contrasted with *convivia* 42; cf. 1.140–1. PRANDEBAT is sarcastic ‘took his lunch’, as at 10.178; cf. on 83.

TURBA DEORUM Sen. fr. 39 (ap. Augustine CD 6.10) *omnem istam ignobilem deorum turbam quam longo aevo longa superstitione congegessit*; 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’).

47–8 SIDERA i.e. *caelum*.

Cf. Stat. Ach. 1.93 *superisque gravatum Pelion*; so at the deification of Hercules (Ovid Met. 9.274) *sensit Atlas pondus*, and similarly at the deification of Nero (Lucan 1.56); when the gods leave heaven (Stat. Th. 5.430) *respirat caelifer Atlas* and (Petron. 124.264) *sentit terra deos mutataque sidera pondus / quaesivere suum*; Germanicus 264–5 *sustinet Atlas / regna Iovis superosque atque ipso pondere gaudet*; [Sen.] Herc. Oet. 11.

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.

49–52 There being no crime in the Golden Age (53).

49 With *aliquis* here and *aut* in 50 the reference must be to Neptune (for similar indirectness cf. *alius* 1.10, 10.257), but he does not fit into the context of punishment for crime, and TRISTE puts it beyond doubt that the underworld and Pluto are meant. Therefore Housman should be followed; for IMI he compares Ovid Met. 4.444, Stat. Th. 4.476, Sil. It. 5.241 and 7.688–9, and for PROFUNDI cf. Sen. Phaedr. 147–8, Oed. 577–8.

SORTITUS alludes to the famous story of the drawing of lots between Zeus, Posidon and Pluto for sky, sea and underworld. |[544]

50 SICULA Carried off from Henna; she is *Hennaea* at Sil. It. 7.689 and (with variants *Aetnaea*) 1.93, 13.431, 14.245.

51 The punishments of Ixion, Sisyphus and Tityus, the three famous sinners (Ovid Met. 4.457, Sen. Ep. 24.18, Lucian *De Luctu* 8; cf. Prop. 3.5.42–4 and on this and Lucr. 3.978 sqq. see BICS 16, 1969, 71). FURIAE may indicate Tantalus, who often makes a fourth (cf. Tarrant on Sen. Ag. 15 sqq.), though Verg. *Aen.* 6.602–7 doubtless does not refer to him.

ATRI Sen. Thy. 10.

52 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 (βασιλεῖς; Theocr. 17.132 of Zeus and Hera compared with the Ptolemies; cf. E. Mayser *Gramm. der*

Gr. Pap. 2.1 (1926) 38); cf. *Sen. Med.* 59 *Tonantibus*, *Plaut. Amph.* 960 *eri* (for *domini* cf. *Thes.* s.v. 1911.9 and *Sen. Herc.* 805 *uterque dominus*), *OGIS* 606 = R. Cagnat *Inscrr. Graecae ad Res Rom. Pertinentes* 3 (1906) 1086 οἱ κύριοι Σεβαστοὶ of Tiberius and Livia (Weaver *Historia* 13, 1964, 188 tries to establish a similar use of *Augusti*, but see Chantraine *ibid.* 24, 1975, 603). See Fahnestock and Peaks *TAPA* 44, 1913, 84–5; many words of relationship are used thus (KS 1.61, Meister 122–7). Cf. on 11.105.

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, Kroll² 2.64, *RE* (2065.35) and DS (1060) *Salutatio*, Mommsen¹ 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 *infitiari, creditum fraudare*. So *infitiator, infitiatio*; 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 LIBELLIS 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 *vittae* (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 *Prodiengi Glaube und Prodigienwesen*² (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 Calends.

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 *Il.* 2.89 βoτρυδόν.

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.

GURGES means 'body of water', not 'whirlpool'; see J. Henry *Aeneidea* 1 (1873) 378 on *Aen.* 1.117-18 (modern numbering). This passage means 'an eddying stream', one 'with floods and a vortex, forming *vortices* in its course'; cf. *Pan. Lat.* 12.8.2 (p. 277.6 Mynors) *gurgitibus vorticosis*, Amm. Marc. 16.12.55, Verg. *Aen.* 7.567 *et torto vertice torrens*.

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. Ζεὺς ὄρκιος 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 Much³); cf. 2.130, 11.106.

CIRRHAELUS 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 profundus* 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* 752b 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*.

FLEBILE Proleptic, 'to my sorrow'. Prof. Rudd prefers to interpret 'pitiable brain', quoting Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* 5.419 *miserabile sinciput*.

SINCIPUT Romans ate this part of the pig (Blümner¹ 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. Blümner¹ 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 solisque 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 theists’ Housman xxxiv. For HIC so used cf. 6.73 etc. [548]

91 PUTAT Cf. 36. ET ‘and yet’, cf. 114 and on 7.124.

93 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), Cumont¹ 237 n. 44, *ML Isis* 543–4, de Meulenaere *Chron. d’Égypte* 28, 1953, 255–7, Y. Grandjean *Une Nouvelle Aréologie* (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 (σειστρον from σειω) 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 DIMIDIUM CRUS Cf. on 8.4.

96 PAUPER sc. ὄν; if he were poor. For Latin’s lack of a present participle from *esse* cf. KS 1.239.

LOCUPLETEM 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 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 στεφάνου *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 τιμωρουμένων*, the proverb ὄψε θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, 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 inritas 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 calamitatem exilii tulit*.

TULIT Gnomonic 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 mimus 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 aliter 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 be-reaved 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. [1550]

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 ... aspicias 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 suppliant.

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’.

121–2 On the relationship between Stoics and Cynics cf. Cic. *De Off.* 1.128, D. R. Dudley *History of Cynicism* (1937) 96–103, 187–99, Pohlenz 2.75–6 and 84, J. M. Rist *The Stoic Philosophy* (1969) 54, Zeller 3⁴.1.287 and 360. Cynics discarded the χιτών in their search for αὐτάρκεια (Lucian *Cyn.* 1, M. Aurel. 4.30, Lucilius *AP* 11.154.6, Epictet. 4.8.31) and instead wore a double *pallium* (Zeller 2⁴.1.318). The expression is concentrated so that the philosophers themselves and their doctrines

are not distinguished.

123 Cf. 14.319; hence the frequent contrast between κήπος and στοά. EXIGUI emphasises its modesty; *hortuli* (*Thes.* s.v. 3014.58, [[551] 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 3⁴.1.376); he is κηπολόγος Phantias 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; CURENTUR ‘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’.

PUGNIS CAEDERE PECTUS A token of mourning, cf. Sittl 20 n. 1 and 23 n. 3, RE *Trauerkleidung* 2231 (add Lucan 3.733).

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.* 1.1.1, 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. DOLOR EM 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, Blümner¹ 497 n. 15, J. Heckenbach *De Nuditate Sacra* (1911) 33; but here only the upper edge is torn.

UMORE (10.32) COACTO Cf. 6.273–5, Mart. 1.33, Verg. *Aen.* 2.196.

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 diversis*.

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 persuasi ut chirographa debitorum corrumpat*, Riccobono ZRG 43, 1922, 320, Kaser¹ 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 **LITTERA** 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*, Blümner¹ 130 nn. 7 and 12).

140 **O DELICIAS** Cf. 6.47 and on 10.291; of a man who gives himself airs and expects to be exempted from the common lot (cf. Lucian *Demonax* 25): 'what fastidiousness!' For chiding of the bereaved for expecting such exemption cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 6.1.1, Sen. *Cons. Polyb.* 1.3–4 (note *commune*), Menander fr. 740 ap. Plut. (?) *Cons. Apoll.* 5.103c.

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*; Lugli *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. l.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; θείον 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, Blümner² 4.230, Lauffer on *Edict. Diocl.* p. 279. *Bratteam ducere* is the opposite of *bratteam inducere* (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 quota 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. RUTILIUS (*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-

osth. 21.85 τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἶκημα.

162 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).

163 MEROE 6.528. Synesius *Ep.* 4 (col. 1340 Migne) remarks the same in Cyrenaica (de Vries *Mnem.*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 *rutilum 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.

166 "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.

167 VOLUCRES NUBEMQUE 'cloud of birds' by hendiadys; cf. McCartney *CP* 55, 1960, 84.

THRACUM Storks gathered on the banks of the Strymon (Thompson¹ 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. Archéol.* 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.

171 QUATIARE Cf. 3.101; GENTIBUS = *terris*, cf. *OLD* s.v. 3, Housman on Manil. 4.602.

172 ASSIDUE By everyone, contrasted with *nemo* 173.

173 *Pygmaeus* being derived from πυγμή 'cubit' (*RE* s.v. 2066.43).

174 Ἀν ἄνθυποφορά. 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

what follows cf. Sen. *Dial.* 5.26.1–2 (cf. on 164).

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 INVIDIOSA 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 ulcisci 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 ἂν τις ἀτυχίαν ῥᾶστα φέροι (ἔρωτηθεὶς ἔφη) 'εἰ τοῦς ἐχθροῦς χεῖρον πρᾶσσοντας 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 πάνυ 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 *nōlūisset* 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 *exiit*, but this is harsh and in any case philosophy does not teach *omnes* (hence *omne* Griffith¹ 57). Finally there is a harsh asyndeton *exiit* ... *docet*, to avoid which the Φ-mss. have introduced what is certainly a secondary interpolation *docens*.

189 MINUTI Cic. *Or.* 94, μικρόψυχος; 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]

192 FEMINA Sen. *De Clem.* 1.5.5, *Dial.* 3.20.3, Plut. *De Cohib. Ira* 8.457b.

192 sqq. On the punishments of conscience cf. 1.166, Lucr. 3.1018, Lucan 7.783–4, Ovid *Met.* 8.530–1, Sen. *Ep.* 97.14–15 (cf. on 2), [Quintil.] *Decl.* 314 p. 236.13 *conscientiam esse quae torqueat, animum esse qui urat. bene hercule factum est quod etiamsi omnes fefellerimus effugere non possumus nos* (on p. 237 there is a description of the appearance of the wronged person in a dream, cf. Juv. 221 sqq.).

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. Önnersfors *Pliniana* (1956) 82–3 (Pliny *NH* 19.20). So *caecus* ‘unseen’.

TORTORE (cf. 6.479–80) acts as an adjective, cf. on 4.62. For the idea cf. Val. Max. 7.8.8.

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.

198 NOCTE DIEQUE 3.105, 7.61; in this context Cic. *Pro S. Rosc.* 67 (cf. Sil. It. 13.290).

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 Sera Numinis 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 οὔτω.

DUBITARET 'felt inclined to', as Cic. *Ad Att.* 12.49.1, Tac. *Ann.* 4.57.

203 ILLI Strict grammar would demand *sibi*; cf. HS 175, KS 1.610, [1558] *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 voces*.

206 EXSTINCTUS i.e. *extinctio eius*, the *occisus 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 *DS* 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 ἴσον 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. [1559]

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.

SACRA Supernatural. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.773 *nota maior imago*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.83 and other parallels in *Thes. humanus* 3087.5, Wagenvoort 122. For a similar dream cf. on 192.

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 καταβασίαι 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. QUŌQUE 'even'.

225 FORTUITUS Cf. *gratuitus* Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.16 established by the hendecasyllabic metre (otherwise one might think of a consonantal u), *fortuītus* 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 Ruper-ti'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*.

232 TELA Sen. *De Ben.* 4.19.1; like the arrows of Apollo in *Iliad* 1. *Anceps valetudo* is a divine punishment Tac. *Ann.* 14.22.

PECUDEM BALANTEM i.e. *agnam*. Cf. the poet (Ennius Alexander?) quoted by Cic. *De Div.* 1.42.5 *hostiis 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 [1560] *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 AEGRIS A noun; see on 124.

236 MALORUM Masculine; but the line is incompatible with 240. For FERME cf. 8.73.

237 SUPEREST Cf. 109.

237-9 Cf. Plut. *De Sera Numinis Vindicta* 10.554f, 11.556c.

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) Gnostic perfect, cf. 105.

242 Cf. Mart. 8.59.2; so often *perfricare frontem*, (παρα)τριβεῖν 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 *Nachträge* 236, Lucian *Vit. Auct.* 10 τὸ ἐρυθριᾶν ἀπόξερσον 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 senatorum, iam delatorum turba completeret*; Tac. *Hist.* 1.2 *plenum exiliis 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 |[562] of 1.81–149, and there too Juvenal sees two sides of *avaritia* (1.88, cf. 14.108), meanness (*sordes* 1.140, 14.124) 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* 38 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 τῶ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ἃ δεῖ πράττειν ἐναργὲς αὐτοὺς παράδειγμα τοῖς τέκνοις παρέχειν, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν τούτων βίον ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀποβλέποντες ἀποτρέπωνται τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἔργων καὶ λόγων, ὡς οἵτινες τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν υἱοῖς ἐπιτιμῶντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι περιπίπτουσιν, ἐπὶ τῶ ἐκείνων ὀνόματι λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτῶν κατήγοροι γιγνώμενοι· τὸ δ' ὅλον φαύλως ζῶντες οὐδὲ τοῖς δούλοις παρρησίαν ἄγουσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν, μή τί γε τοῖς υἱοῖς. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων σύμβουλοι καὶ διδάσκαλοι. ὅπου γὰρ γέροντές εἰσιν ἀναίσχυντοι, ἐνταῦθ' ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἀναιδεστάτους εἶναι (quoted from Plato *Laws* 729c; cf. Juv. 4 and 57).

1 FAMA SINISTRA Cf. 152 and *Thes. fama* 225.21 (add Tac. *Ann.* 11.19.3).

3 MONSTRANT By example, cf. 10, 37.

4 DAMNOSA (Mart. 14.18.1) ALEA Cf. on 1.88; SENEM cf. Suet. *Aug.* 71.1–2.

HERES BULLATUS A phrase like *praetextatus adulter* 1.78; for the *bullatus* see on 5.164 and cf. 13.33, for the word *bullatus* Scipio ap. Macrobian. *Sat.* 3.14.7 (*ORF*² fr. 30 p. 133). [563]

ARMA Cf. on 1.91–2; Ovid *Trist.* 4.1.32 *nec nisi lusura movimus arma manu*, a clearly mock-heroic conception.

4 **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*, *monedula*, *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. Blümner¹ 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*.

10 SEPTIMUS ANNUS Continually associated both with second teeth (*dentes ... cadere annis septimis* Varro ap. Gell. 3.10.12; Pliny *NH* 7.68, Censorin. 14.7, Plaut. *Men.* 1116 etc.; cf. W. H. Roscher *Die Enneadischen und Heptomadischen Fristen* (Abhl. Sächs. Ges. 21.4, 1903) 64, J. Mansfeld *The Pseudo-Hippocratic Tract* *περί ἑβδομάδων* (1971) index p. 251 s.v. *Teeth*) and the beginning of formal education (Quintil. 1.1.15–18, where see Colson; Plaut. *Bacch.* 440, *Merc.* 292 with 303), cf. Clarke 1–2. These are particular manifestations of the common division of human life into seven-year periods (F. Boll *Neue Jahrb.* 31, 1913, 114 = *Sternkunde* (1950) 186; Eyben *Ancient Society* 4, 1973, 228). [1564]

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 PRAECIPIT is *Rutilus*, that of PUTET is *iuvenis*.

23 IUVENI i.e. *filio*; cf. (107), 121, 191, 235, 251 and on 10.310.

STRIDORE CATENAE Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.558.

ADFICIUNT Pliny *Ep.* 3.1.9 *Corinthia quibus delectatur 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* = στυγματίαι, which suggested his conjecture to Richards (*CR*¹ 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, Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.11.6, Dion. Hal. *AR* 4.23, Philemon fr. 95 K = 4 p. 47 fr. inc. 39 Μ κἄν δοῦλος ἢ 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 (*materia, 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.

25–30 Cf. 6.232–41 (especially EXPECTAS and HAC DICTANTE).

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 *CR*¹ 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 804 n. 6); γραμματία (Lucian *De Merc. Cond.* 36, *Rhet. Praec.* 23) or γραμματίδια (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 *ĒISDEM* So Manil. 2.707 (mss. vary at Calp. Sic. 7.71); *isdem* is usual. Contrast *ēidem* 122.

DAT FERRE Cf. *Thes. do* 1688.67 and on 6.156.

CINAEDIS Cf. 6.O.17–20 and Lucian *De Merc. Cond.* 27.

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, ἀφοροσύνη), 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 derives 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 PUELLAE 45; the order is chiasmatic. 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 PUELLAE (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 (πρόβρησις) 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 PERNOCTANTIS 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; Plato 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 ... PUERI 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 *contempserit 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. aliquem habeat animus quem vereatur*.

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 adjective cf. *Thes. do* 1699.32 and compare 6.614c.

52 MORUM FILIUS (*simius* Withof) 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. |[568]

TUA PER VESTIGIA (36) Following in your footsteps.

55 TABULAS MUTARE Change your will (cf. 12.123), resulting in *exhereditatio* (cf. Gell. 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, 15.61). 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 *tempestitiva 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.

QUAERAT As its natural home.

59 sqq. A scene from comedy; cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 424 sqq., *Bacch.* fr. 3–4, *Pseud.* 161 sqq., *Stich.* 347–57, fr. 146 Lindsay ap. Gell. 18.12.3; Titinius fr. 36 and 130; the anon. fragment ap. Athen. 2.48a. Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 2.17.9 *plerisque tam mundis ut accipere hospites possint*, and the lists of implements in Ulpian *Dig.* 33.7.12.22 and of slaves in Cic. *Parad.* 37 (for *scoparii* 'sweepers' see Marquardt 142 n. 3).

CUM TOTA TELA Web and all, cf. 6.171, 13.61; DESCENDAT cf. 10.58; ARANEAE TELA ends the verse at Catull. 68.49, Ovid *Met.* 6.145, Mart. 8.33.15.

LEVE i.e. *purum* 9.141, 10.19; ASPERA cf. *Thes.* s.v. 809.10, Pliny *NH* 33.139 and on 1.76, 5.38; for the contrast cf. Drexel *Röm. Mitt.* [1569] 36–7, 1921–2, 43–4, and for the cleaning of silver D. E. Strong *Greek and Roman Silver Plate* (1966) 14.

VIRGAM Sen. *Ep.* 47.3, Amm. Marc. 14.6.17.

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 synonimous 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, Thompson¹ 223.

PER DEVIA RURA An Ovidian phrase (3 times): SUMPTIS cf. 3.80. [1570]

77 IUMENTO ET CANIBUS Their corpses, cf. Phaedr. 1.27, Obsequens 50.

CRUCIBUS On which the bodies of dead criminals would be left hanging

(Hor. *Epist.* 1.16.48 etc.).

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 Abitanti*² (1954) p. 41). Ceronius 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 chiasmic. 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 longaeque 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.

METUENTEM and 101 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 *recutitaque 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 *Iudaeus 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).

98 Cf. 6.160, 15.11–13.

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* |[572] *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 ἱεράς αὐτῶν βίβλους καὶ περιεχούσας τὰ μισόξενα νόμια 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.

MOYSES 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 Buzyges (RAC *Drohung* 326, Hands 46, J. Bernays *Ges. Abhandl.* 1.277, H. Bolkestein *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege* (1939) 69, Williams *Mnem.*⁴ 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) μή πυρός δεηθέντι φθονεῖν (with Buzyges mentioned on p. 428, cf. Colson's note p. 539); Joseph. *Contra Apion.* 2.29.211 πᾶσι παρέχειν τοῖς δεομένοις πῦρ ὕδωρ τροφήν, ὁδοῦς 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).

IGNAVA Cf. Tac. l.c. 4.3, Rutil. Nam. 1.391 *septima quaeque dies turpi damnata veterno*, Philo l.c. p. 432 Loeb ed., Agatharchides ap. Joseph. *Contra Apion.* 1.22.209 etc.; cf. *RE* suppl. 5.21.8. The laziness is pointed by torpid spondees.

VITAE The business of life; cf. Cic. *De Off.* 1.4.

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 *vitia 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 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 absolute 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.

INCLUDE (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 [574] 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.

IMBUI ‘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 INIQUO 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). INIQUUS is a technical term for short measure (*Thes.* 1643.80).

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. ἔωλος. Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 987; Suet. *Tib.* 34 and *Vitell.* 13.3 *pridianā 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, Blümner¹ 165 n. 17, for LACERTI (a kind of mackerel) André 101, Blümner¹ 182 n. 7, Thompson² κολίας, 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; σαπρὸν 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, Blümner¹ 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.O.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.

PARATUR Is bought, cf. 200, 3.224 etc. Wealthy Romans usually owned a considerable number of villas, cf. 275, 10.225, *SG* 1.329 = 1.398, 2.193 = 2.339.

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 *Lucr.* 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 DENSA 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.).

145 QUORUM DOMINUS go together. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 90.39 *licet agros agris adiciat, vicinum vel pretio pellens vel iniuria* (cf. 151). For such aggrandisement cf. 16.36–40, Mart. 2.32.3, Apul. *Met.* 9.35, Yeo *TAPA* 79, 1948, 283; an instance in Pap. Merton 92 (A.D. 324). The Twelve Tables (8.7 and 9 *FIRA* 1 p. 55) forbade practices such as this.

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.

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*, [576] cf. LSJ χιτών IV 1; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4.9.30 *bulborum tunicas mihi malo*. For the sentiment cf. 1.48 etc.

156 Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.47–9. DEBILITATE Bodily injury, 10.227.

159–60 For *latifundia* cf. Sen. *Contr.* 5.5; Sen. *Dial.* 3.21.2, *Ep.* 89.20 and White l.c. on 142.

CULTI Not grazing land.

SUB TATIO Cf. Ovid *Med. Fac.* 11, AA 3.118; this avoids *Rōmülō*, 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 & R*² 21, 1974, 15, Ogilvie on Livy 4.47.7. Plut. *Apophth. Rom.* 194e Curius ἐπηύξατο μηδένα γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὃς ὀλίγην ἡγήσεται γῆν τὴν τρέφουσιν; 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.

SATURABAT 'fed' cf. 8.118; GLEBULA Petron. 57.6, Apul. *Met.* 9.35.

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 5, 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. Blümner¹ 288 n. 7, Marquardt 167, Bonner 36 and see what Tac. *Germ.* 20.1 says of that race in a passage of similar import.

DOMINI Cf. Tac. *Dial.* 29 *coram infante domino*, Plaut. *Capt.* 18; comic slaves speak of their *minor erus* (*Thes.* 5.2.849.18).

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 VEL SULCO From digging or ploughing.

PULTIBUS (cf. 11.58) **OLLAE** *Mart.* 13.8 *imbue ... pultibus ollas*, Varro *Sat. Men.* 190, Blümner¹ 154–5. [[577]

HORTO Kitchen-garden.

MODUS The technical term, *Thes.* 1252.77, Pliny *NH* 18.7, Hor. *Serm.* 2.6.1–2.

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.

182–4 NUMINA RURIS Ceres and Tellus (Verg. *Georg.* 1.7, Ovid *Fasti* 1.671–6 etc.); cf. on 6.10, 13.57.

POST MUNUS sc. *datum*, cf. on 15.99.

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, Daube¹ 37).

PERONE A heavy boot worn e.g. by farmers; Pers. 5.102, *RE* s.v. (5), Blümner¹ 226, Marquardt 590. The Hernici (180) wear them at Verg. *Aen.* 7.690. Cf. the *caligae* 3.322.

SUMMOVET Sen. *Dial.* 12.10.2 *frigus submoveri vult (corpus)*, Lucan 2.384.

INVERSIS With the fur inwards for greater warmth; cf. Blümner² 1.260–2 (who however wrongly refers *qui to perone*).

187 PEREGRINA Especially Tyrian.

QUAECUMQUE 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 *olim* 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 ... excitari iubent liberos ad studia obeunda mature*. See on 8.47.

SUPINUM Hor. *Serm.* 1.5.19.

191 CERAS Writing-tablets.

CAUSAS AGE i.e. exercise as a barrister; PERLEGE ... LEGES or as a juriconsult.

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.

[*Addendum, originally on p. 623: 193–7* See B. Dobson *Die Primipilares* (1978) 364 on *centuriones ex equite R.*, 65 on *aquila*, 60 on *sexagesimus annus*.]

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*.

BUXO 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, *Bönnner Jahrb.* 170, 1970, 185); see *CAH*¹ 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*¹ 11.153), cf. Frere (on 4.141) 126. These revolts are further discussed in *RE Mauretania* 2375; P. Romanelli *Storia delle Provincie Romane dell'* [1579] *Africa* (1959) 332; W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907) 52, 109, 117; Strack 2.69–80; Syme *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).

SEXAGESIMUS ANNUS The age when many people retired, cf. 13.16, Sen. *Dial.* 10.3.5. For soldiers and centurions of advanced age cf. Balsdon¹ 190, Dobson *ANRW* 2.1.411, Birley *Carnuntum Jahrb.* 1963–4, 31 and 33; e.g. *CIL* 3.11031, 13.6728. Cf. Pliny l.c., Sen. *Ep.* 101.6 *castrensium laborum tarda manipretia*.

199 [Aristotle] *Probl.* 27.10, Plut. *Aratus* 29.4–5; cf. Aristoph. *Frogs* 479.

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 *Bönnner 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. **CORNIUM**), 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.

204–5 Alluding to the remark of Vespasian (Suet. 23 = Dio Cass. [580] 66.14.5) that money derived from the tax on urine did not smell. Some Roman houses invoke *Lucrum* (278, 13.24) in decorative inscriptions (*CIL* 10.874–6; κέρδος Meiggs 231).

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.

207 A quotation of unknown origin; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 115.14 with the Greek original, *Fr. Trag. Adesp.* 147 Nauck. See on 3.143.

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.

REPENTIBUS Quintil. 1.2.6, Stat. *Th.* 9.427.

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*, 1.4.1; *CIL* 6.33929.

211 For the address to the father cf. 5.107.

212 FESTINARE Cf. 176–8; PRAESTO I guarantee. Cf. 1.71 and the line quoted by Cic. *Ad Fam.* 9.7.2 and Lucilius *AP* 11.176.5 (Nauck *Trag. Frag.*³ p. 861) πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείττονες διδασκάλων.

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.

215–16 Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 3.16.2; *nequitiae malis* Phaedr. 3.8.15.

IMPLERE 'infect' (cf. Livy 4.30.8), like ἀναπιμπλάνα.

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. [1581] 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 (Blümner¹ 360, Marquardt 55).

221 PREMÉTUR 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.

VIA *lucris vias* Sen. *De Ben.* 7.26.4.

226 CAUSA ET ORIGO PENES Livy 28.27.11, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.1.1. For the general sentiment cf. Sen. *Ep.* 115.11

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 PRAECEPTIT, 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.

PRODUCIT 6.241, 8.271; for the change of tense after PRAECEPTIT cf. 2.84–7, 12.62–7, 13.29–30 and 217–18.

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 allege the existence of a masculine *curriculum*; they declare that this form, perfectly regular in itself, was used by Cicero and Varro (*Thest.* 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.

240 SI GRAECIA VERA 10.174.

MENOECEUS Stat. *Th.* 10.628–782.

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, Löfstedt 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 trepido 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 inquirat 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 Vrugt-Lenz *Mors Immatura* (1960) 63, Norden's edition of *Aen.* 6 pp. 12–13; cf. on 12.63). |[583]

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.

251 CERVINA A common belief (Hesiod fr. 304 Merkelbach–West; see the context in Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 11.415d) though denied by Aristotle *Hist. An.* 6.29.578b23; cf. Otto (with *Nachträge* 147, 265) and *Thes.* (952.23) *cervus*, Frazer on Paus. 8.10.10 and add now *Epigr. Bob.* 62 quoted on 12.128.

252 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 Pharnaces.

253–4 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).

255 A father no less than a king; English would reverse the Latin order, cf. on 11.99.

256–7 Cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.79, Pliny *Ep.* 4.25.4, Juv. 5.157. This is a Democritean attitude (10.28–53). **MONSTRO** Cf. 10.363.

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.

260 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 Blümner¹ 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. [584]

261 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 nedum alienas** (Hor. *AP* 329 *rem poteris servare tuam*). The Ultor cannot *ulcisci*.

262 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 πέτευρον 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, Abhl. 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* (Blümner¹ 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 14.5.5.670–1, *RE* Κώρυκος 4, *ES* 4.615, Blümner³ 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-townsmen', 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) AEQUORA The sea along the north coast of Africa, frequented by traders in the purple-fish (Pliny *NH* 5.12, 9.127 etc.; Blümner³ 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 CALPĒ (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 περατὰ 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 Posidonius (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.

284 NON UNUS 3.150. ILLE Orestes, cf. Eur. *Orest.* 260–4; SORORIS Electra.

286 HIC Ajax (cf. Soph. *Ajax* 97 sqq., 295 sqq.).

287 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.

288 *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.

289 Is parted from the sea only by a plank's thickness, cf. 12.58.

290 CAUSA MALI TANTI Not a Lavinia (Verg. *Aen.* 6.93, 11.480).

TITULOS The legend (cf. 6.205); the phrase is contemptuous.

292 FUNEM The mooring-rope, Ovid *Am.* 2.11.23 etc.; i.e. set sail.

PIPERIS Cf. Pers. 5.136 (on 190), Miller 80.

294 FASCIA The strip or 'wrack' (Duff) of cloud.

AESTIVUM TONAT Modelled after *intonuit laevum* (Enn. *Ann.* 527, Verg. *Aen.* 2.693, 9.628).

295 HAC IPSA 10.76.

296 FRACTIS TRABIBUS Pers. 1.89; abl. of separation, he will fall from the ship. FLUCTU ... OBRUTUS Petron. 115.17.

297 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*.

299 HARENA is ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Cf. 3.55, Pliny *NH* 33.66, *Thes. aurum* 1526.44 and 47, Blümner² 4.17 and 25, Otto *Pactolus* and *Tagus* with [587] *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).

301-2 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*.

303-4 Cf. 10.12-22 (with *praedives* as here), Sen. *Dial.* 10.17.4, 11.9.5, *Ep.* 115.16 and on 139.

MISERA It produces misery.

305-6 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 COLUMNA (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 *dolium* 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 *dolia plumbo 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 2⁴.1.317 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*).

318 Cf. 5.10–11, Varro *Sat. Men.* 22 and 315–18, Sen. *Ep.* 4.8 sqq., 119.7, *Dial.* 12.10.2; σιτία καὶ ποτὰ καὶ ἰμάτια [Plato] *Eryxias* 404a.

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 ἃ θέλει ἡ φύσις σου θέλει. ἀκολούθως 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.

CROESI 10.274 and Otto s.v.; PERSICA REGNA (which Diogenes despised; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.92, Dio Chrys. 6.35, *RE Diogenes* 766.42) cf. Hor. *Odes* 2.12.21, Otto *Persa*, τὰ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου χρήματα [Plato] *Eryxias* 393c–d. FORTUNA singular as 16.34.

DIVITIAE NARCISSI A humiliating (anti-)climax; this is a sample of *nostris mores* 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.

IMPERIIS Narcissus is the *imperator* now; cf. Tac. *l.c.* 35 *omnia liberto oboediabant*; Pliny *Ep.* 8.6.12 etc.

Satire Fifteen

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 ^[591] 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 [592] poem have been pointed out above, but it seems to me a much better work than is generally held.

The poem is discussed by Fredericks, *Illinois Class. Stud.* 1, 1976, 174.

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T. Hopfner⁴, *Tierkulte* (Denkschriften der Öst. Akad., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 57, 1913, Abh. 2).

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 NESCIIT (6.247) is modelled on Cic. *Tusc.* 5.78 *Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat, quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam 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.

2 PORTENTA Cic. *De Rep.* 3.14 of Egyptian animal-gods.

AEAEGYPTOS 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 (Crocodylropolis, Cynopolis; of fish e.g. Oxyrrhynchus). 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 as [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 Oxyrrhynchus 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 CROCODYLON Herod. 2.69, Hopfner⁴ 125, *RE Krokodile* 1952.

3 The ibis (Hopfner³ 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; Hopfner⁴ 26 sqq., esp. 31b; McDermott 35–6.

EFFIGIES 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 |[594] 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 *Bönnner Jahrb.* 124, 1917, 53 with photograph (cf. also Bernard plates 1–3 and frontpiece); Casson² 272–8; Balsdon¹ 230; SG 1.364 = 1.441.

DIMIDIO MEMNONE Ablative absolute. I cannot see the relevance of Housman's quotation of Verg. *Buc.* 3.39.

6 ἑκατόμυλοι 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 Θηβαῖοι φασιν ἑαυτοὺς 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, Hopfner⁴ 35.

PISCEM The cult depended on the species. Cf. Herod. 2.72; Hopfner³ 892 and ⁴ 150; Bonnet *Fische*; Keller 2.346, *RE Ichthys* 844, Griffiths 277 and 548, W. Helck–E. Otto *Lexicon der Aegyptologie* (1975–) s.v. *Fische, religiös*.

FLUMINIS The river, i.e. the Nile; cf. *Urbs* and *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. Hopfner⁴ 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.

9 PORRUM ET CAEPE is from Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.21 *seu porrum et caepe trucidas*, where it is a joke at Pythagoreanism (cf. on 173–4). No [1595] other classical source, except imitations of this passage by Prudentius, mentions abstention from leeks, and the Coptic evidence quoted by A. Jacoby *Recueil de Trav. rel. à la Philol.* 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 *NH* 19.110; *RE Lauch* 989.44). For onions cf. Hopfner³ 825b, V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*⁷ (1902) 192–3, F. Zimmermann *Die Aeg. Religion* (1912) 80; the Egyptians swore by them, Pliny *NH* 19.101 (cf. 2.16); some abstain from lentils, some from beans, some from onions, Diod. Sic. 1.89.4; Porphyry *De Abst.* 1.21 generalises this into a prohibition from φυτό 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 *Iupp. Trag.* 42, Jacoby l.c., Griffiths 280, *RE Pelusion* 414).

FRANGERE MORSU Lucan 6.114.

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. *RE* suppl. 4.291 and on 6.2.

11 LANATIS ANIMALIBUS i.e. sheep, cf. Pliny *NH* 8.199 and on 8.155. See Hopfner³ 887 s.v. *oves* and ⁴ 89; rams were sacred to Iuppiter Hammon (Herod. 2.42). Yet the Lycopolitae ate mutton (Plut. *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 *Fasti* 2.441); but in fact this is wrong (*RE Mendes* 783; Hopfner⁴ 89; Bonnet *Widder* 868). Goats were not worshipped in Egypt; foreigners were misled because the Egyptians had a species of sheep which closely resembled a goat.

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. Scobie *Aspects of the Ancient Romance* (1969) 24.

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 ἴσως. 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 ARETALOGUS** 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. Ἀλκίβου ἀπόλογος, first in Plato *Rep.* 614b, became proverbial of long nonsensical stories, Suid. 1.305.20 Adler, *Paroemiogr.* 1 p. 210, 2 p. 13.

ARETALOGUS 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 overtones 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, originating 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;

ἈΒΙCIT 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.

LAESTRYGONAS ET CYCLOPAS Cf. 14.20 and on 13; Sext. *Empir. Pyrrh.* 3.249 (after discussion of the Stoic doctrine on cannibalism, cf. on 106) ἄπερ οὐκ ἂν τολμήσειαν (οἱ φιλόσοφοι) διαπράττεσθαι, εἶγε μὴ παρὰ Κύκλωψιν ἢ Λαιστρυγόσι 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 prologue §1–5 cf. on 131–3, 159–64). The massive spondaic ending suits the monsters.

19 NAM The speaker does not believe in Scylla and Charybdis [597] (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.

19–20 Homer's Πλαγκταί (*Od.* 12.59–72) are identified with the Κυνάεα Συμπληγάδες at the entry to the Black Sea and prominent in the Argo legend; vice versa Apollonius and others (cf. *CR*² 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.

20 PLENOS ... UTRES Given by Aeolus to Odysseus.

21–2 Juvenal's memory slips; Homer does not name Elpenor among those changed into swine. Juvenal is thinking of *Od.* 10.238 ῥάβδω πεπληγυῖα; the blow of a ladylike hand is only TENUÉ. 'Pig oarsmen' makes a fine oxymoron.

23 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.

24 SIC ALIQUIS sc. *dixit*; cf. on 15. We infer that most of the tipsy banqueters believed Odysseus.

25 The identification of Phaeacia with Corcyra appears first in Thuc. 1.25, 3.70.

TEMETUM An archaism (Pliny *NH* 14.90; cf. Blümner¹ 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 *āmphōrā*, cf. on 9.58.

26 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.

27 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*. [598]

CONSULE IUNCO L. Aemilius Iuncus (*PIR* 1² 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 Ballâs, ancient Egyptian Nubt. SUPER, glossed *ultra* in Bob., would in Greek be ὑπὲρ 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.

ACCIPERE 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, Hopfner³ 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' Highet 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]

IMMORTALE ODIUM Stat. *Th.* 4.609.

SANABILE VULNUS Ovid *RA* 101. Here sc. *animi*; likewise ἔλκος (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.

COMPITA Herod. 2.35.4 ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῆσι ὁδοῖσι (whence Mela 1.57).

PERVIGILI 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 Pelusiaci tam mollis turba Canopi*; Sen. *Ep.* 51.3 *illic sibi 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*. ARDENTIBUS cf. 35.

53–4 Ovid *Met.* 12.381–2 *saevique vicem praestantia teli / cornua*. NUDA ‘unarmed’.

55 Pers. 1.3 *vel duo vel nemo*.

57 DIMIDIOS ‘mutilated’ cf. 5 and 8.4; ALIAS ‘disfigured’ cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 316–17.

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*.

63–4 INCLINATIS LACERTIS TORQUERE To throw with arms bent back; *sententia velut lacerta excussa torquetur* Sen. *Ep.* 108.10, *inclinare brachia* of boxers Stat. *Th.* 6.763.

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, desitit* Σ) *ullum seditionis telum*. [[601]

DOMESTICA Likewise οἰκεῖα (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 *Il.* 7.268, 12.380; TYDIDES *Il.* 5.302. On the complaint of degeneracy cf. *Il.* 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 ODI.

PUSILLOS 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 *Reliquienkult* (1912) 507, Frazer on Paus. 1.35.7).

71 QUICUMQUE ASPEXIT Perhaps none bothers to.

72 DEVERTICULO Cf. Val. Max. 2.6.9. Satirists make a point of indicating their informality of composition; cf. Horace 1.1.108, 1.6.45, 1.7.9 and Fraenkel 94, 97–8.

75 PRAESTANT A grander word than *praebent* (Ovid *Met.* 10.706, Curtius 4.14.14, Tac. *Ann.* 14.37.1), still more than *dant*; so Tac. *Agr.* 37 with dative of person. Cf. Sil. It. 14.560 *terga fuga celeri ... convertit*. For *praeSTANT inSTANTibus* cf. Sil. It. 7.421 *obiectis reiectat*, Stat. *Th.* 8.414.

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 CORROSIS 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.

VICTRIX TURBA Cf. on 4.62.

82 VERIBUS sc. *assavit*, by zeugma; cf. Val. Flacc. 8.254 *pars veribus, pars undanti despumat aeno*.

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 *licet*.

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 VIOLAVERIT

(cf. 6.O.4). Similarly at *Aetna* 557 the fire of the volcano is *sacer* (though the text is doubtful), not like that in everyday use *sed caelo propior*.

PROMETHEU, 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 Fuscus 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*¹ 34, 1920, 163 = *Coll. Papers* 1014.

89 NE QUAERAS 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.

VASCŌNĒS Cf. on 124; Strabo has Οὐάσκωνες, Ptolemy 2.6.10 Οὐάσκονες; (ibid. 66 his mss. vary between the two). The Greek declension is common with Celtic names, cf. *Allobroga* 7.214 and see Neue–Wagener 1.484 and 490–1, Schulze *LEG* 4 (who quotes *Ceutronas* and *Limovecas*). The Vascones are the Basques; their chief town was Calagurris, which supported Sertorius and only submitted in 72 B.C. after his death and a long siege in which the inhabitants were driven to cannibalism (Sall. *Hist.* 3.87 M, Florus 2.10.9). This offered a fine theme for declamation; Val. Max. (cf. on 106) 7.6 ext. 3 (*quia nullum iam aliud in urbe eorum supererat animal* = Juv. 99; *cum omne serpentium ac ferarum genus comparatione sui titulo feritatis superarit* = Juv. 159 sqq., q.v.). For another case in a siege cf. on 114.

ANIMAS Cf. 8.83; Avienius *Descr. Orb.* 1242 *neque per compendia diras / producant animas* ('prolong their life').

TALIBUS USI was corrupted by haplography to *talibus*, and *olim* was then interpolated.

94–5 RES DIVERSA 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. [604]

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 PALLOREM ET MACIEM Livy 2.23.3.

104 VENTRIBUS (cf. 100) would be abbreviated *ūtribus*; 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 3⁴.1.289 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). Grif-fith¹ 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 praetulerim?*; Fronto ap. Consent. GLK 5.349.15 *et illae vestrae Athenae Dorocorthoro* (= Reims); Auson. *Prof. Burd.* 1.14.8 *Athenaei loci*); but the more |[605] abstract sense of this line ('the culture of Greece and Rome') is unparalleled. There is certainly no reference to Hadrian's Athenaeum (see Hight 236–7, RE 1.514, Blümner¹ 339, Callmer *Opusc. Rom.* 7, 1967–9, 277, Braunert *Historia-Augusta Colloquium* 1963 (*Antiquitas* Reihe 4 Band 2 ed. A. Alföldi, 1964) 9); 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.

112 CONDUCENDO (2.112) Cf. Pliny *Ep.* 4.13.7 with Sherwin-White; Strabo 4.1.5.181 says that the Gallic cities welcome σοφιστὰς κοινῇ μισθοῦμεναι, cf. Lucian *Apol. De Merc. Cond.* 15. See Marrou 304–5.

RHETORE See on 7.150–214; cf. Gellius 19.9.2 *Antonius Iulianus rhetor, docendis publice iuuenibus magister*.

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. excuso* 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 [[606] Byzantium attests this form for Saguntum; usually in Greek it is Σάγουντον or Ζάκανθα.

Homer's ὕλησσα Ζάκυνθος caused the Latin poets (Vergil, Silius etc.) to allow a short syllable before the Z.

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.

115 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.

117 UT IAM 'granting for the moment'; cf. HS 647, KS 2.251, *Thes. iam* 128.49.

CARMINA Especially Euripides; cf. 6.643 (note *credamus*), 14.240. Tertull. *Apol.* 9 *remitto fabulas Tauricas theatris suis*.

ULTERIUS 1.147, 9.38.

119 MODO = *nuper* 27; HOS contrasted with *ille* 113.

120 VALLO Ablative with *infesta*, the beleaguering wall.

121 MONSTRUM Cf. 172 and 6.645.

122-3 '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.

124-5 CIMBRI 8.249.

BRITTŌNĒS is attested GLK 4.11.6, cf. *Vascōnēs* 93; but *Brittōnis* Mart. 11.21.9 (at Procop. *De Bellis* 8.20.7 mss. vary between Βρίττωνες and Βρίττωνες); cf. RE 3.862.19. There is a similar variation between *Sēnōnes* (8.234 etc.) and forms like Σήνωνες [[607] (Polybius), cf. RE s.v. 1475; Σάντωνες (cf. 8.145) and Σάντωνες (RE s.v. 2290); see Holder on both names. Cf. Hor. *Odes* 3.4.33 *Britannos hospitibus*

feros, thinking of the human sacrifices of the Druids (Tac. *Ann.* 14.30).

SAUROMATAE 2.1; yet Ephorus fr. 42 Jacoby ap. Strabo 7.3.9.302 alleges cannibalism 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 inmanibus 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* 4² (1923) 503–4, SG 1.36–7 = 1.39 and (on tumults and religious outbursts) 359–60 = 437.

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 combined 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 sympathy); 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) SENSUS meaning something like 'our emotional make-up' lacks a good parallel; contrast 146 (2) SQUALOREM is placed ἀπὸ κοίτου, 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 SENSUS 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 suggest 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 himself 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).

CUIUS 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, 4.18-20, 8.322, 9.712, 10.631, Auson. *Epigr.* 62 p. 312 Prete, *Anth. Lat.* 263, Athen. 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, Lattimore 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 |[610] qualification (*in deos, erga deos* Val. Max. 1.1.15, 2.4.4) and Juvenal does not use *-bilis* adjectives actively.

143-7 All this is of Stoic character (cf. Zeller 3⁴.1.203); 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 3⁴.1.196. See also Vretska 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; Manil. 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 κοινωμία, *societas* (see Pohlenz 2.158 note on 316.1; von Arnim's index to *SVF* 18a and 84; Zeller 3⁴.1.292 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.

156 Ovid *Met.* 10.375 *animus vario labefactus vulnere nutat*. For INGENS VULNUS cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.842, 12.640.

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 White² 40, 43, 52, 132, and for the enumeration cf. 3.311, with the same variation between singular and plural.

COQUERE *Thes.* 926.82. 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 *-ērunt*.

172 QUO NON FUGERET Even beyond the Sarmatians (2.1).

MONSTRA Cf. 121; PYTHAGORAS for the word-order cf. on 3.93.

173 ANIMALIBUS ABSTINUIT Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 108.17–22, describing the influence of the semi-Pythagorean Sotion.

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, κνάμων ἀπό χειρας ἔχουθε.

ἴσόν τοι κνάμους τε φαγεῖν κεφαλᾶς τε τοκῆων

(cf. Guthrie 1.184–5; R. Arbesmann *Das Fasten bei den Griechen und Römern* (1929) 53), but Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 95 mentions some other vegetables also (cf. on 9 and Arbesmann 59, A. Delatte *Étude sur la Litt. Pyth.* (1915) 292).

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.

Satire Sixteen

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. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (1969).

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1 PRAEMIA (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.

2 NAM explains *felicis* (with which cf. 59); there are many *infelices militiae*.

2-3 SECUNDO SIDERE 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 CQ¹ 17, 1913, 20 = *Coll. Papers* 853.

5-6 A recruit might bring *litterae commendaticiae* (*Theis.* 3.1836.72) to his commander; Watson 37 and in *ANRW* 2.1.496, Davies *Bönnner Jahrb.* 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.

7 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.

8 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. [[615]

TE Anyone (rather than 'you, Gallius, if you become a soldier').

TOGATUS A civilian (8.240, 10.8).

9 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*.

8-10 Cf. 3.300.

9-10 AUDEAT ... AUDEAT The repetition seems slightly ungainly to modern taste, but cf. 17-19 *iustissima—iustae*; 1.73-4 *aliquid*, 6.208-9 *amanti—amantis*, 264-6 *sumitur—sumpsert*, 468-71 *fovetur*, 504-5 *breve—brevior*, 645-7 *monstra—monstris*, 7.175-7 *lautissima—lautorum*, 10.256-7 *luget—lugere*, 301-3 *natura*, 13.21-2 *vitae—vita*, 14.47-8 *puero—pueri*, 15.29-30 *scelus*. See also on 8.131-7

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 [616] 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.

EXCUSSOS DENTES Lucil. 337 *dentesque advorsos discutio omnes*. For assaults by soldiers on civilians cf. Webster 261–2, *SG* 1.192 = 1.220, A. S. Hunt–C. C. Edgar *Select Papyri* (Loeb) no. 291, Libanius *Or.* 47.33.

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 *iustā* (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. *curentur* 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* 241; *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; Blümner² 1.281, ¹ 226; 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.

TAM PYLADES = *tam amicus*, cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 9.2.2 *tam Lynceus*. Cf. Otto s.v. *Orestes* 1, *Nachträge* 114 and 196, and e.g. Callim. *AP* 11.362.6.

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 vidisse dicerent*.

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, Cavennille (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*.

36-9 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.

38 MEDIO Intervening between the two estates. A *limes* is a path of [1619] uncultivated land separating fields laid out on the Roman pattern of square centuriation, cf. *RE* 572-3 and *DE* 1078b s.v. *limes*, Dilke *G & R²* 9, 1962, 174-5, Gebert *Bönnener Jahrb.* 119, 1910, 158, J. Bradford *Ancient Landscapes* (1957) 150 and other refs. on 36-9 above.

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 *incohat* and P seems to have originally read the same, though the scribe himself altered it to *incohet*. Second, the meaning and use of *expectare*. 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 annus litium*; then he quotes this verse (with *incohet*). There is no other authority for the phrase *annus litium*, but the explanation is right. The courts generally conducted their business during

the months January–October (Balsdon¹ 80 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 [1620] adjectival qualification, which would be given in straightforward fashion by *qui inchoat*; 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. Geschworenengerichtsverfassungen* (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 plaintiffs 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 TAEDIA Mart. 12.82.14.

SUBSELLIA cf. 14; *RE* 504 and DS 1551b n. 14 s.v., Blümner¹ 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 posthac paterentur (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. Macrob. *Sat.* 3.16.16 (*ORF*³ 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 potestas 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 scribe 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 Iuvenalis* 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 *Bönnner 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 unmistakable. 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 μισθῶ 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 [626] 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 δούλοι ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων (2; a point elsewhere repeated, e.g. in §7 quoted below). Cf. Juv. 3.125; 5.127, 161, 173.
2. Philosophers put up with maltreatment fit only for κόλακες; οἱ ὑπομένοντες αὐτὰ are no less to blame than οἱ ποιοῦντες. Cf. Juv. 5.3–4, 170–4.

7. ταῦτα ὑπάγει αὐτοὺς καὶ δούλους ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων τίθησιν, οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρεία, ἦν ἔφασκον, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὁ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πολυτελῶν ἐκείνων ζῆλος. Cf. Juvenal 5.6–7.

10. ἐσθῆτος ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν ἐπιμεληθῆναι χρή. Cf. Jun. 3.180.

13. μυρία γάρ ἐστιν ἀφόρητα ἐλευθέρω ἀνδρὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἤδη ταῖς συνουσίαις γιγνόμενα. Cf. Jun. 5.161–5.

15. (Cf. 29 and 39). The hireling is suspect with regard to the master's sons and wife, cf. Jun. 3.109–12.

17. πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ κατακλίσει λυπήσας τινὰς αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν παλαιῶν φίλων; cf. Jun. 382) ὅτι τήμερον ἦκων προῦκρίθης ἀνδρῶν πολυετῆ δουλείαν ἠντληκότων (cf. 3.124–5). εὐθὺς οὖν καὶ τοιοῦτός τις ἐν αὐτοῖς περὶ σοῦ λόγος· 'τοῦτο ἡμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις δεινοῖς ἐλείπετο, καὶ τῶν ἄρτι εἰσεληλυθότων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν δευτέρους εἶναι, καὶ μόνοις τοῖς Ἑλλησι ἀνέφκται ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις' (cf. 3.60–1, 119).

24. παρὰ πόδας τοιγαροῦν τῆς λιχνείας ταύτης τὰπίχειρα, καὶ ... ἄλλοις μὲν γέλωτα παρέχεις, σεαυτῷ δὲ δοκεῖς τρυφᾶν, ὅτι ἔστι σοι τῶν ἰσχάδων ἀφθόνως ἐντραγεῖν. ἡ δὲ ἐλευθερία καὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς ... φροῦδα πάντα. Cf. Jun. 5.161–2.

26. κατακέισαι μάρτυς μόνον τῶν παραφερομένων (cf. Jun. 5.121), τὰ ὄστα, εἰ ἐφίκοιτο μέχρι σοῦ, καθάπερ οἱ κύνες περισθίων ... οὔτε ἡ ὄρνις ὁμοία ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν πλησίον [627] παχεῖα καὶ πιμελής, σοὶ δὲ νεοττὸς ἡμίτομος ἢ φάττα τις ὑπόσκληρος, ὕβρις ἄντικρυς καὶ 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 ἠδιστόν τε καὶ παλαιότατον οἶνον πινόντων μόνος σὺ πονηρόν τινα καὶ παχὺν πίνεις (cf. 5.24–37) ... καὶ εἴθε γε κἂν ἐκείνου εἰς κόρον ἦν πιεῖν, νῦν δὲ πολλακίς αἰτήσαντος ὁ παῖς 'οὐδ' αἴοντι ἔοικεν' (cf. 5.62–3).

27. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ... γραμματίδια ὑπὸ κόλπου διακομίζουσιν (i.e. *cinaedi* etc.; cf. Jun. 14.30) πόθεν σὺ γ' ἰσότιμος; ... ὑποσταίης δ' ἄν, εἰ καὶ μάγον ἢ μάντιν ὑποκρίνασθαι δεοὶ τῶν κλήρους πολυταλάντους καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀθρόους τοὺς πλούτους ὑπισχνουμένων· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ τούτους ὄρας εὖ φερομένους ἐν ταῖς φιλαίαις καὶ πολλῶν ἀξιουμένους. Cf. Jun. 3.41, 77–8.

30. οὐκ εὐδοκιμεῖν εἰδὼς οὐδὲ κεχαρισμένος εἶναι δυνάμενος, ιδιώτης γὰρ ἔγωγε τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἄτεχνος, καὶ μάλιστα παραβαλλόμενος ἀνδράσι τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοις. Cf. Jun. 3.104.

35. One must admire the writings of the patron and praise his beauty, his solecisms must become standard usage; cf. Jun. 3.41 sqq., 86 sqq.

39–40. Slander causes your ejection (cf. Jun. 3.122–5), ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ

σιωπῶν ἀξίопιστος, σὺ δὲ Ἑλληγ καὶ ράδιος τὸν τρόπον καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀδικίαν εὐκόλος ... πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας παρελθόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἄλλο χρήσιμον εἰδέναι μαντείας καὶ φαρμακείας ὑπέσχοντο. Cf. *Juv.* 3.77–8.

Nigrinus

17. τί καὶ πράξειν διέγνωνκας μήτ' ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μήτε χρῆσθαι τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυνάμενος; cf. *Juv.* 3.41.

20. ἔνεστι ... τῶν τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν καταφρονεῖν ὁρῶντα ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ καὶ πολυπροσώπῳ δράματι τὸν μὲν ἐξ οἰκέτου δεσπότην προῖόντα, τὸν δ' ἀντιπλουσίου πένητα, τὸν δὲ σατράπην ἐκ πένητος ἢ βασιλέα, τὸν δὲ φίλον τούτου, τὸν δὲ ἐχθρόν, τὸν δὲ φυγάδα· τοῦτο γάρ τοι καὶ τὸ δεινότατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι καίτοι μαρτυρομένης τῆς Τύχης παίζειν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα καὶ ὁμολογούσης μηδὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι βέβαιον, ὅμως ... ὀρέγονται καὶ πλοῦτου 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) προσέβλεψαν. Cf. *Juv.* 3.185. |[628]

22. πολὺ δὲ τούτων οἱ προσιόντες αὐτοὶ καὶ θεραπεύοντες γελοῖότεροι, νυκτὸς μὲν ἐξανιστάμενοι μέσης (cf. *Juv.* 3.127, specifically of the *pauper*, as *Lucian*; 5.19–23), περιθέοντες δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν (*orbem* 5.21) ... κόλακες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκοῦειν ὑπομένοντες. γέρας δὲ τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης αὐτοῖς περιόδου (= *orbem*) τὸ φορτικὸν ἐκεῖνο δεῖπνον (cf. 5.12 and 77) ... ἀπίασιν ... ὕβριν ἢ μικρολογίαν ἐγκαλοῦντες (cf. 5.9).

Saturnalia

22. δειπνίζειν ἕκαστον ἄρτι μὲν τέσσαρας, ἄρτι δὲ πέντε τῶν πενήτων παραλαμβάνοντας, μὴ μέντοι ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον τῶν δεῖπνων, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον (*civiliter* 5.112), ὡς ἐπ' ἴσης μετέχειν ἅπαντας. At present in the case of the poor a servant passes by δεῖξαντα μόνον τὴν λοπάδα ἢ ὅσον ἐστὶ τοῦ πλακοῦντος τὸ λοιπόν (cf. 5.80–3, 121 *spectes*) ... προειπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰνοχόοις μὴ περιμένειν ἔστ' ἂν ἐπτάκις αἰτήση πιεῖν ἡμῶν ἕκαστος, ἀλλὰ ἦν ἅπαξ κελεύση, αὐτίκα ἐγχείαι καὶ ἀναδοῦναι μεγάλην κύλικα ἐμπλησαμένου ὥσπερ τῷ δεσπότη. καὶ τὸν οἶνον δὲ αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς συμπόταις ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, whereas at present the poor man may get γλεύκος. Cf. 5.24–37, 62–3.

32–3. εἰ δὲ ποτε κάκεινων (the poor) τινὰς ἐστιᾶν διὰ μακροῦ ἐθελήσετε (cf. 5.15–17), πλέον τοῦ εὐφραίνοντος ἐνεῖναι τὸ ἀνιαρὸν τῷ δεῖπνῳ, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ' ὕβρει αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι (cf. 5.9) οἷον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἴνου συμπίνειν, Ἡράκλεις, ὡς ἀνελεύθερον ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐς κόρον ὅμως φασὶ πίνειν. τοὺς γὰρ οἰνοχόους ὑμῶν ὥσπερ τοὺς Ὀδυσσεῶς ἐταίρους κηρῷ βεβύσθαι τὰ ὦτα (cf.

5.62–3). Moreover the servants carrying the meat run past the poor. προπινόντων φιλοτησίας (cf. §18 and Juv. 5.128), μεταξύ πίνοντες περισκοπείτωσαν τὸ ἔκπωμα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἴστωσαν αὐτοὶ διαβαστάσαντες ... καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσος, ὃς ἐπανθῆι τῇ τέχνῃ (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 applications, and that no single instance requires explanation by imitation. Nevertheless 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 obvious 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.

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