

Nobilitas Vera:

A Commentary and Translation of Juvenal's Eighth *Satire*

A thesis submitted by

Brigid M. Freymuller

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts in Classics

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

May 2013

Advisor: Dr. J. Matthew Harrington

Abstract

The *Sixteen Satires* of (Decimus Iunius) Juvenalis have long been misinterpreted. Despite numerous scholarly attempts to unmask the authorial *persona* or impossibly recreate the life of the satirist, there has been little focus on the fundamental information about *Romanitas* available in the *Satires* themselves. While the *Satires* provided a means for literary entertainment and a medium through which Juvenal himself could express his disgust with the supposed decline of Roman virtues and *Romanitas* itself, there is much that can be learned about the basic elements of Roman thought and cultural identity.

Satire VIII addresses the topic of *nobilitas vera*. Much of the scholarship on this particular satire focuses on the character of the “speaker” or the “speaker’s” use of negative *exempla* to make a point about morality; however, the bulk of these studies fail to directly address the message about Roman *virtus* and the elements which form its construct, their significance to the formation of Roman identity, and how they shape the concepts of *Romanitas*. This paper will analyze the previous scholarship on Juvenal, critique the *persona* theory, and argue the points the author makes which contribute to the factors which shaped *Romanitas* and formed Roman identity particularly against the Other, *Romanitas* being the essence of what made someone Roman, and the Other being those who were not. This study of *Satire VIII* will show how the satire uses the concepts and language that defined *nobilitas vera* in ancient Roman culture and thought. It will compare Juvenal’s work to

that of other Roman authors, identify similarities and differences, and assess how Juvenal's presentation differed and why.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Professor J. Matthew Harrington for all his time, patience, and advice. This paper would have never been possible without his expertise and guidance. He is truly one of the best scholars under whom I have ever had the privilege to work. I would also like to thank the Department of Classics at Tufts University. They are a truly wonderful staff of scholars who supported my academic career here in Medford and gave me all the resources I needed to be a success.

This is also for my amazing man, Ben Johnson, who bravely and patiently dealt with my stress and fed me ice cream while I wrote this paper, and to my father, William Joseph Freymuller, who understood the importance of finishing my masters.

Most of all, I owe this to my mother, Catherine Elizabeth Freymuller I, who raised my daughter while I completed this paper. Without her patience and understanding, this paper would have never been completed.

I dedicate this masters thesis to my daughter, Catherine Elizabeth Freymuller II, who has taught me along with Socrates that “an unexamined life is truly not worth living” (Plato, *Apology*, 37e-38a).

Table of Contents

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| Abstract..... | 2 |
| Acknowledgments..... | 4 |
| Introduction..... | 6 |
| Chapter I..... | 13 |
| Chapter II..... | 22 |
| Conclusions..... | 62 |
| Appendix..... | 66 |
| Bibliography..... | 79 |

I. Introduction

The authorial *persona* of Juvenal's *Satires* has for centuries remained the prime impediment to the effective use of this corpus as evidence of Roman belief and practice in the second century CE. It is a slippery slope to argue the author's true rhetorical stance due to the lack of biographical material,¹ as Juvenal offers very little evidence about himself. Although we know essentially nothing about the satirist himself, I will argue that Juvenal's intentions are clear; he writes to highlight the failures of moral virtues that he sees as a rhetorical trope during his time and throughout Rome's past. Although he claims that he will confine his attacks to those long deceased (*Sat.* I.70), this assertion serves as a front for him to satirize contemporaries who also provided his inspiration. Unlike his distant predecessor Lucilius,² Juvenal deploys a satiric speaker who claims not to satirize those currently in power due to the differences in of the times' policies in freedom of speech,³ but Juvenal's past was a reflection of his present, a Roman society still driven by the avaricious powers who failed to uphold their duty as moral *exempla*. His subject matter involves the activities of men and deal with the depravity

¹ Coffey, Michael. *Roman Satire*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1989, 136. Coffey contrasts Juvenal with Lucilius and especially Horace in relation to the availability of autobiographical material found in their works. While Lucilius and Horace provide details about their lives, Juvenal gives no such information. Coffey states that Juvenal's lack of autobiographical data may be due to "an aloof and proud disposition" or little contemporary appreciation. Coffey also suggests that Juvenal's material may have been performed before a public audience, thus making declamatory satire an unsuitable medium to present autobiographical details.

² Duff, J. Wight. *Roman Satire: Its Outlook on Social Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936, 46. Duff's chapter on Lucilius describes the topics of his satire as commentary on "contemporary life" and discusses the social conditions of which he satirized.

³ Ramage, Edwin, Sigmund C. Fredericks, and David L. Sigsbee. *Roman Satirists and Their Satire*. Park Ridge: Noyes Press, 1974, 4. The introduction of the book briefly discusses the difference in freedom of speech during the times of the various Roman satirists and the social conditions in which they lived.

and corruption of human activity.⁴ Although the *Satires* may still evoke laughter, that laughter is seldom comfortable for longer than a few lines. Juvenal's language is presented as cathartic, the use of emotional release, and critical, but more importantly, the *Satires* are his assessment of the individual failures of elite Romans and Roman society as a whole.⁵ Many scholars are too quick to write him off as the angry man, the misogynist, or they focus on the modern *persona* theory; however, too many studies on Juvenal attempt to focus on his perceived use of a *persona* rather than focusing on the understanding of Roman systems of thought that can be obtained through his work. There has been too much focus on understanding the satirist himself based on attempts to recreate his life or analysis of the *persona's* morality rather than the information the *Satires* provide about Roman social *mores* and thought during the second century CE. This study will analyze the rhetorical claims and provide a commentary for *Satire VIII* in order to clarify how the author uses the theme of *nobilitas vera* to promote his formulation of the system of moral choices appropriate to the noble class, morally significant choices that would uphold proper *mores* and define elite Roman identity.

⁴ Knoche, Ulrich. *Roman Satire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975, 149-51. Knoche's chapter on Juvenal compares his topics with that of his predecessors. Horace's themes had a personal touch, as Juvenal's did not. Knoche discusses the various inspirations for Juvenal's works and his influences by Tacitus and Stoic philosophy. Knoche points to the identities of Juvenal's "driving forces of his satiric poetry" as "anger and indignation" and how the subject matter relates to the satirist himself.

⁵ Courtney, Edward. *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. London: The Athlone Press, 1980, 27-9. Edward Courtney's work is an elaborate commentary on the sixteen *Satires*. The introduction to Courtney's commentary discusses Juvenal's interest in the social issues rather than political. Courtney assesses the changes in the patron-client relationship, Juvenal's distaste for Easterners and freedmen as part of the breakdown in Roman social fabric, and his targeting of the aristocracy's failures to preserve *mos maiorum*.

There have been several attempts to uncover Juvenal's life,⁶ but the satirist's biography is irrelevant to the purpose of the *Satires*. The only definite conclusion about the author that can be drawn from the *Satires* themselves is that the author's use of language is a reflection of his rhetorical training, a staple for the education of young Roman men of the wealthier classes. His language, use of *exempla*, and imagery reflect his vast range of colloquial to elevated stylistic features found in oratory, history, and epic.⁷ He often replaces declamation for drama⁸ despite numerous references to mythology and epic. He makes appeals to Rome's "moral" past, not necessarily political, but rather social. Juvenal frames his contemporary world as the produce of a series of revolutions—the *res novae* of past failures derived from the influx of the foreign and the upsurge of newly wealthy freedmen. The speaker is made to claim that the aristocracy and their failures to uphold a moral example and preserve the *mos maiorum* connected to the

⁶ Highet, Gilbert. *Juvenal the Satirist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954. The first four chapters are devoted to Highet's attempt to reconstruct Juvenal's life from youth to death. His work has provided theories about the satirist's life, but this is an example of a positivist fallacy. His methods are outdated and based on scanty evidence surrounding two inscriptions (*CIL*, X.5382 and 5426), epigrams by Martial (VII.24 and 91; XII.18), and weak conclusions drawn from a few statements within Juvenal's *Satires*. The inscriptions were dedications to Ceres found in Aquinum and were most likely erected by a relative of Juvenal's. Unlike Horace and Persius, Juvenal's satires avoid the use of personal attributes. For analysis on the inscriptions, see Courtney 3-4.

⁷ Coffey, 144. There is a discussion of the rhetorical devices employed by Juvenal from his predecessors and Greek influences. These include parody, hyperbole, and other topics belonging to "a shared stock of traditional themes or to similar experiences of Roman society."

⁸ Duff, 126.

early Republican era disgust him; however, he is willing to give credit to those whose deeds uphold the *exempla of nobilitas*⁹ vera.

The *Persona* Theory of Braund has become foundational to most recent studies of Juvenal's personifications of the satirical speaker; however, this analysis fails to address the fact that writers are most often driven by their own ambitions and biases, which ultimately motivate the form and focus of their writing. The satirist may be a "moral crusader and a social reformer,"¹⁰ and the use of a *persona* may be employed to excuse the author from invective language; however, this does not mean that there is no personal interest at stake. The satire itself may be merely a dramatic performance, but this does not at all prove that the writer himself was not concerned with the reform of social *mores*. Keane states that the *persona* adopted by a satirist is an "attempt to identify with some disenfranchised or disgruntled party" and that the genuine motivations of the speaker's "performance" cannot be assessed with any confidence;¹¹ however, who is to say that the writer himself is not the disgruntled party? Is the point of satire not to raise awareness that something needs reformation? When John Stewart and Stephen Colbert perform their comedic material it is, of course, an

⁹ The definition given by Lewis and Short is "celebrity, fame," or "renown," but later becomes associated with the concept of "noble birth" and "nobility." The word originates from the verb *nosco* "to make known." Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short. *A Latin Dictionary*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1879.

¹⁰ Braund, Susanna. *Roman Verse Satire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, 1. Braund's introduction discusses the various themes and setting of Roman satire. The "moral crusader and social reformer" is in reference to biographical interpretations in exchange for more recent studies on the emphasis of "the artistic aspect of the satirist's work."

¹¹ Keane, Catherine. *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 32. Keane's chapter deals with "The Theatrics of Satire." The discussion is about Umbricus in *Satire III* and how Juvenal portrays a Greek *persona* in order to relate to the "disgruntled party," here Umbricus.

exaggerated production of political and social issues, but one of the major points of satirical material is to exaggerate. Although they may not literally mean everything that they say, the point of their performances is to raise awareness of social issues, fire up the populace and to build consensus and identity through ridicule of the Other; however, despite the fact that these performances are more than the simple sharing of the speaker's point of view, this does not mean that these popular icons are merely "masks" or simply a "persona." There must be a personal reason for them to host these shows. . "As much as art can shape life, life is always the creative force behind any artist, literary or other."¹² On some level, just as Juvenal, these men are expressing a certain disgust for perceived failures of their peers and even social superiors. While Swift did not condone the boiling and baking of children for sustenance, there were specific factors in society that prompted him to write such a scathing treatise.¹³ Just as Swift, Orwell, and Huxley saw certain moral aspects of their societies as problematic and as trends to be resisted, Juvenal's *Satires* reflect the moral failures of his culture and its history negatively affecting the world around him. Social critics are products of the society that surrounds them.¹⁴

The nature of the connection between the speakers of the *Satires* and the external world system of the author has been obscured by a scholarly

¹² Winkler, M.M. *The Persona in Three Satires of Juvenal*. Olms: University of California Press, 1983, 15. The discussion is about the separation of the author from the *persona*.

¹³ Swift, Jonathan. *A Modest Proposal*. Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996.

¹⁴ Keane, *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire*, 138. The conclusion discusses the use of rhetoric in Roman satire and problems with the "rhetorical view" as faulty interpretation of the genre.

fascination with the apparent alteration in tone and focus between the five books of Juvenal's satires. The sixteen satires are distributed into five Books. Modern scholars generally agree that the author is characterizing an angry speaker in Books I-II and that there is a change in tone and intention throughout the last three.¹⁵ Some scholars have suggested that this may have been due to a change of circumstances in Juvenal's life,¹⁶ but there is not sufficient evidence to prove this supposition. The *Satires* and their topics must be regarded individually rather than collectively in order to understand that issues that Juvenal is satirizing. There is still plenty of scathing invective found in Books III-V.

The claim that *indignatio facit versum* (*Sat.* I.79) and a plea to Rome's moral past¹⁷ sets the tone for Books I-II, but Book III appears to be one of a more advisory tone, as Juvenal specifically addresses individuals and their connections and relationships made with various levels of the Roman aristocracy. It is a focus on patron-client relations¹⁸. Book IV has been described as the philosophical contest of Democritus and Heraclitus;¹⁹ however, with only 65 existing lines from *Satire XVI*, a comprehensive analysis of the thematic issues of Juvenal's Book V as a whole remains

¹⁵ Braund, Susanna H. *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1988, 22; *Roman Verse Satire*, 47; Ramage et al., 152 For discussions on the reasons why the tone changes.

¹⁶ Hight 25-31 suggests that Juvenal may have been recalled from exile out of Scotland or Egypt following the death of Domitian in 96 CE. See Green, xv for the problems with this.

¹⁷ Courtney, 19.

¹⁸ Braund, *Roman Verse Satire*, 48

¹⁹ Ramage et al., 156.

unattainable.²⁰ The publication dates for the *Satires* are generally agreed to be ca. 100-112 CE for Book I, which refers to the trial of Marius Priscus (I.49-50); ca. 115-7 CE for Book II with a reference to a comet (VI.407); ca. 117-121 CE for Book III, if the “Caesar” referred to is Hadrian; ca. 125 CE for Book IV despite any clear evidence for dating; and ca. 125-7 CE, which has a reference to a man born in 67 CE having his sixtieth birthday (XIII.17).²¹ These references provide a general time frame in which the *Satires* may have been published; yet there is much room for interpretation. The “Caesar” could have been Trajan, although he was not as much of a promoter of the arts as his successor, Hadrian. Although these references provide a framework for chronology, the exact dates for publication remain in question.

Despite the lack of knowledge of Juvenal’s life and controversies surrounding it, the sixteen satires are a crucial source for the study of nearly all aspects of Roman thought and social practice in the second century CE. While Juvenal parodies almost all levels and aspects of society in ancient Rome, his satires provide evidence for oratorical methods employed by Roman writers, cultural *mores* and practices of ancient Rome, and the concepts that formed the basis of *Romanitas*.

²⁰ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 196.

²¹ Barr, W. “Res—A Thing?": Persius, 4.1, *PLLS* 3: (ARCA 7), 1981, xii.

Chapter I.

Satire VIII belongs to the third book of Juvenal's satires wherein some scholars argue that a change of tone can be detected. Instead of what has often been labeled the "angry man," Juvenal shifts to what appears to be someone more calm and insightful;²² but the nature of the topics has changed. The three poems of Book III incorporate VII and VIII as advisory pieces and IX is styled after a Horatian dialogue. It is a dialogue with the prostitute Naevolus and his mistreatment by his *patronus*, Virro. Satire VII speaks to intellectuals about good patronage, followed by Satire VIII about the fundamentals of true nobility. Although at first glance VII and VIII may appear to have no common thread, the patronage system of ancient Rome ties the two together. Since the patronage incorporated the noble class of citizens, it makes sense that a discourse on the meaning of true nobility would follow one of good patronage, as righteous patronage could not exist without ones who show the characteristics of true nobility. Book III ends with Satire IX, the circumstances of Naevolus whose story represents more abuses exercised within the patrician class.

Satire VIII is an address to a Ponticus²³, most likely a young man preparing to set out for his duties as a provincial governor, as indicated

²² See Ramage, et. al, 152; Hooley, Daniel M. *Roman Satire*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007, 121; Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 22-3 for the discussions of the change in Juvenal's tone and style. These authors attribute this to a change in the circumstances of Juvenal's life rather than the nature of the topics.

²³ The name "Ponticus" refers to a *cognomen* relating to the region of the Black Sea. The name and the nature of the poem indicate that Ponticus may be relying upon the previous accomplishments of his ancestor's namesake to support his own achievements (Rudd, Niall, trans. *Horace and Persius*. London: Penguin Books, 2005.

specifically by Juvenal's encouragement to Ponticus to "be a good soldier, an honest guardian, a judge of integrity..." (VIII.79-80) and his mention of "...when you at last obtain that provincial governorship..." (VIII.87). It is a persuasive speech incorporating deliberative oratory.²⁴ The poem moves from addressing Ponticus to criticizing a Rubellius Blandus²⁵ and then back to advising Ponticus on what not to do as a provincial governor. The discourse on how not to behave is loaded with *exempla*, highlighting those of noble descent who have disgraced themselves despite their origins contrasted with a catalogue of others, specifically two *novi homines*, members of the plebeian class, and a descendent of a slave, those who did not hail from noble origins, but greatly performed noble deeds. The satire is concerned more with the past glories of families than personal careers and argues that the belief that excellence derives from noble birth is a false idea; while certain members of the nobility may have accomplished little of merit many of them are yet full of their pompous pretense to greatness due to their bloodlines²⁶. Only personal probity and accomplishments can defend true

n. 191). This thought is furthered by Courtney who suggests that this could be someone of no note whose ancestor had conquered in the area of Pontus (386). Green notes a possible reference to Valerius Ponticus who was banished during the reign of Nero (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV.41) or a Ponticus in the writings of Martial (III.6, IV.85, IX.19) who speaks of him unfavorably. While there is a possibility that Ponticus is merely fictitious, I agree with Green that this is rather doubtful as "almost all [Juvenal]'s characters can be run to earth somewhere." Green, Peter, trans. *Juvenal, Sixteen Satires*. London: Penguin Books, 2004. n. 1, 171.

²⁴ Ramage, Sigsbee, Fredricks,, 154.

²⁵ Green cites two Rubelli Blandi, son in law of Tiberius, or his son, the great grandson of Augustus, C. Rubellius Plautus, who was put to death by Nero in 62 CE, but notes that his address is to a nobody who is attempting to ride the coattails of ancestral achievements (n. 2, 172). Courtney agrees that this is another case of Juvenal representing the dead as living (391).

²⁶ Ramage, Sigsbee, Fredricks, 154.

nobility, not just nobility via birth.²⁷ Juvenal's point is *nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus* (VIII.20), and high birth must be justified by personal integrity and achievement, despite the fact that aristocratic behavior is often contemptible. Juvenal shows examples that the efficiency of political matters has often depended upon men of humble origins²⁸. Exceptional service to the public had often been performed by the *novus homo* (VIII.232-9, 245-54). Yet the poem ends with a *reductio ad absurdum*²⁹, as it claims that despite behavior, all Romans claim descent from shepherds and criminals (VIII.272-5). The following will examine Juvenal's tone and intentions of Satire VIII, the examination of true nobility.

Although Juvenal's tone may have changed, does it still hold true that *facit indignatio versum* (I.79)? Juvenal's target audience would have been the Roman elite, the class of literate society educated in the same manner as Juvenal³⁰. Bearing this in mind, his readers would have been familiar with Cicero's *De Inventione*, an advisory handbook for the aspiring orator. Book I touches on the topic of *indignatio*, described as "a kind of speech by which the effect produced is, that great hatred is excited against a man, or great dislike of some proceeding is originated" (I.100.17) and lists fifteen topics of interest pertaining to this manner of oratory (I.100-105). Rudd argues that

²⁷ Coffey, 130.

²⁸ Coffey, 120-30.

²⁹ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 69.

³⁰ Juvenal's origins are highly debated, but the fact remains that Juvenal himself does very little to tell the reader about his personal life. Highett's *Juvenal the Satirist* includes a lengthy section postulating his background on the basis of evidence found in the Satires, 4-41.

topics seven and eight³¹ pertain most of all to Books I and II³², but do these rules of *indignatio* still apply to Book III? In a certain sense, yes—topic seven speaks to Juvenal’s intentions of the eight satire by employing its description of atrocious deeds performed by those of noble birth as influenced by wealth (accrued from their positions), but what about topic eight? Cicero says that the “crime... is not a common one” and “foreign to the nature of even men in a savage state...” and that these are cruel actions against a list of various people. This list includes parents, which would pertain to the actions of Nero (VIII.211-19), and against “men who are illustrious, noble...invested with

³¹ *septimus locus est, per quem indignamur, quod taetrum, crudele, nefarium, tyrannicum factum esse dicamus per vim manum opulentiam; quae res ab legibus et ab aequabili iure remotissima sit. octavus locus est, per quem 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. Haec erunt, quae in parentes, liberos, coniuges, consanguineos, supplices crudeliter facta dicentur, et deinceps si qua proferantur in maiores natu, in hospites, in vicinos, in amicos, in eos, quibuscum vitam egeris, in eos, apud quos educatus sis, in eos, ab quibus eruditus, in mortuos, in miseros et misericordia dignos, in homines claros, nobiles et honore usos, in eos, qui neque laedere alium nec se defendere potuerunt, ut in pueros, senes, mulieres; quibus ex omnibus acriter excitata indignatio summum in eum, qui violarit horum aliquid, odium commovere poterit. (I.102.10-104.1) is: The seventh topic is one which we employ when we say that any deed is foul, and cruel, and nefarious, and tyrannical; that it has been effected by violence or by the influence of riches,—a thing which is as remote as possible from the laws and from all ideas of equal justice.*

An eighth topic is one of which we avail ourselves to demonstrate that the crime which is the present subject of discussion is not a common one,—not one such as is often perpetrated. And, that is foreign to the nature of even men in a savage state, of the most barbarous nations, or even of brute beasts. Actions of this nature are such as are wrought with cruelty towards one’s parents, or wife, or husband, or children, or relations, or suppliants; next to them, if anything has been done with inhumanity towards a man’s elders, —towards those connected with one by ties of hospitality,— towards one’s neighbors or one’s friends,—to those with whom one has been in the habit of passing one’s life,—to those by whom one has been brought up,—to those by whom one has been taught,—to the dead,—to those who are miserable and deserving of pity,—to men who are illustrious, noble, and who have been invested with honors and offices,—to those who have neither had power to injure another nor to defend themselves, such as boys, old men, women: by all which circumstances indignation is violently excited, and will be able to awaken the greatest hatred against a man who has injured any of these persons.

³¹ See *Rudd, Niall. Themes in Roman Satire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, 108 for the discussion of the rhetorical themes of *indignatio*.

honors and offices,” which would address the actions of Antonius, Dolabella, and Verres (105-6) and Lateranus (146-76), stage and gladiatorial performances by nobility (185-210), and the actions of Catiline and Cethegus (231-4). These actions would have been considered a crime against the noble class itself and a crime against the definition of *nobilitas*; however, these extensive *exempla* show Juvenal’s irony in relation to the eighth topic that these crimes are in fact common in the record of Roman nobility behaving badly. (awkward) Juvenal’s audience would have perhaps recalled this writing of Cicero and seen Juvenal’s ironic twist on a familiar subject.

I argue that topics two and three³³ directly pertain to Satire VIII. While Juvenal’s poem lists noble men as the bad *exempla*, he not only means to raise indignation in regards to the actions of the noble class, but the larger theme of true nobility incorporates all men as the topical address to Ponticus is an overall discourse of advice to everyone on how to behave according to true *nobilitas*. The third topic also closely relates to Satire VIII as the list of

³³ *secundus locus est, per quem, illa res ad quos pertineat, cum amplificatione per indignationem ostenditur, aut ad omnes aut ad maiorem partem, quod atrocissimum est; aut ad superiores, quales sunt ii, quorum ex auctoritate indignatio sumitur, quod indignissimum est; aut ad pares animo, fortuna, corpore, quod iniquissimum est; aut ad inferiores, quod superbissimum est. tertius locus est, per quem quaerimus, quidnam sit eventurum, si idem ceteri faciant; et simul ostendimus, huic si concessum sit, multos aemulos eiusdem audaciae futuros; ex quo, quid mali sit eventurum, demonstrabimus (1.101.5-102.1)* is: The second topic is that by which it is shown with amplification, by means of indignation, whom that affair concerns,--whether it concerns all men or the greater part of men, (which is a most serious business ;) or whether it concerns the higher classes, such as those men are on whose authority the indignation which we are professing is grounded, (which is most scandalous;) or whether it affects those men who are one's equals in courage, and fortune, and personal advantages, (which is most iniquitous;) or whether it affects our inferiors, (which is most arrogant.). The third topic is that which we employ when we are inquiring what is likely to happen, if every one else acts in the same manner. And at the same time we point out if this man is permitted to act thus, that there will be many imitators of the same audacity; and then from that we shall be able to point out how much evil will follow.

exempla is the “imitators of the same audacity,” and brief section of misnomers (30-8), and results of angry, plundered provincials (121-4) show the results of ignoble behavior if “man is permitted to act thus.” Here, Juvenal’s audience would have recognized these Ciceronian topics of *indignatio* and seen a connection between them and Juvenal’s work. Although the focus of the topic may have changed, Juvenal still maintains the idea from the programmatic Satire I: *indignatio* still *versum* facit.

Thus, the overall point of Satire VIII is the theme of true nobility through virtue, that *nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus* (20). Juvenal maintains the usage of *indignatio*, but instead of a scathing invective, he uses Satire VIII with the *indignatio* as a *suasoria* in deliberative oratory to Ponticus on what not to do during a provincial governorship by using the poem as an all around *suasoria* directed at the elite, specifically noble, class of men on how not to behave. Ponticus represents Juvenal’s contemporary noble class as the lofty aspirations of his bloodline contradict his “diminutive reality.”³⁴ Juvenal plays with seven and eight of the Ciceronian topics on indignation by using irony, but specifically targets topics two and three to make his points of persuasion in Satire VIII. As Rudd notes, Juvenal’s work was purported “to evoke indignation, contempt, and disgust...furthered by his satirical wit” although all the satires do not convey “the same intensity of feeling”³⁵.

³⁴ Fredericks, Sigsbee. “Rhetoric and Morality in Juvenal’s Eighth Satire.” Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. Vol. 102, (1971), 112. The article discusses the use of language to make Juvenal’s moral point in *Satire VIII*.

³⁵ Rudd, *Themes of Roman Satire*, 39.

The next question is of Juvenal's morality in which there have been several attempts to identify the nature of Juvenal's character. Braund and Rudd argue on the basis of a *persona* or a speaker that Juvenal uses to make his point; however, as I have proposed earlier, there is no clear separation of a *persona* versus the true author; one cannot exist without the other, and the authorial intentions must originate from the true personality. If an alter ego is employed, no "confident assessment of the real motives of the performing speaker can be made."³⁶ There is a reason why one is driven to write satire, as in the case of Juvenal, and although he was not the first to explore the topic of true nobility, his driving force was his disgust with what Rome had become. Juvenal's predecessors will be discussed later.

Braund's work *Beyond Anger* argues Juvenal's position of a "speaker" as "pseudo-moralist" or a "parody of a moralist,"³⁷ that Juvenal initially presents himself as moralist but then "degenerates into unmoralistic material and/or a humorous/cynical/sensational tone and treatment" based on his awareness "that his mask has slipped"³⁸. She is more interested in the character of the speaker³⁹ in his relation to the nature of true nobility. She breaks Satire VIII into seven parts and gives her assessment of each and explains their relationship to each other, the overall theme of the satire itself, and how Satire VIII is more complex than it may appear.⁴⁰ It is initially a

³⁶ Keane, 33.

³⁷ Rudd, 122

³⁸ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 108

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 69

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 69-76

discourse on the contest between *genus* and *virtus*,⁴¹ a long-time discussed topic of Roman literature debated by a variety of authors from Lucilius of the second century BCE to Stobaeus of the fifth century CE. She relies heavily upon previous works to argue Juvenal's originality in treatment of the theme of *nobilitas vera*, and how she believes these works and their influences upon Juvenal have shaped his "speaker."

The question remains as was this intentional? Was Juvenal aware that he was condemning the aristocracy and their debased behavior while possibly debasing his own character by what he said? I believe he was fully aware that he was using invective language to satirize his point of moral behavior, but that does not prove that a moral point was lacking. Rudd states "it is possible to express indignation and disgust without cherishing any illusions about human improvement."⁴² Simply because Juvenal deals with a moral topic via debasement of his *exempla* does not prove that the author himself was immoral. The "relationship of the invective against the aristocrats" and the "morality advocated by the satirist" must be considered as one to "understand the basic unity of the Eighth Satire."⁴³ As stated above, the satire is meant to be cathartic and invoke thoughts based upon the outrageous. Did Swift really believe that children should be eaten as sustenance? Just because he proposed this ridiculous notion in his treatise does that mean he truly condoned cannibalism, and therein does this automatically assume that Swift

⁴¹ Ibid., 77

⁴² Rudd, *Themes in Roman Satire*, 29.

⁴³ Frederick, 112.

himself was immoral? I argue that Juvenal's use of immoral behavior shown by those of the noble class does not make him himself immoral. He did not have to exaggerate the behavior of men such as Nero to make his point that noble blood did not automatically translate to noble action, and simply because he chose to highlight these sorts of behavior by recalling their abhorrence does not prove Juvenal himself as a man lacking moral standards. He used these *exempla* to make the nature of his point that *nobilitas vera* is not dependent upon origins, but truly comes from noble actions alone.

Chapter II.

Thus Satire VIII begins:

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo</i> | 1 |
| <i>sanguine censer, pictos ostendere uultus</i> | |
| <i>maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos</i> | |
| <i>et Curios iam dimidios umeroque minorem</i> | |
| <i>Coruinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem,</i> | 5 |
| <i>[quis fructus generis tabula iactare capaci</i> | |
| <i>Coruinum, posthac multa contingere uirga</i> | |
| <i>fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistris,]</i> | |
| <i>si coram Lepidis male uiuitur?</i> | 10 |

What is the worth of family trees? What is the benefit, Ponticus,
To be valued by a distinguished bloodline, to exhibit the painted
faces of ancestors,
The Aemiliani standing in their chariots, a Curii already diminishing
into halves,
A Corvinus minus a shoulder, and a Galba without his little ears and
nose, 5
[What pleasure derives from bragging a Corvinus gracing the
capacious record of your origin,
Among considerable branches, to smoky Masters of Horse with a
Dictator,]
If you behave badly under the eyes of the Lepidi?

The satire opens with the question, what is the worth of family trees? Juvenal continues the inquiry calling to mind the ancestral masks which would have lined the atrium halls of Roman elite homes. They are depicted with the names of some of the most ancient families of the Roman Republic, the *exempla* of men with *maiores* and *mores*. It is also of note that the satirist is not at all interested in commemorating the great names at great length⁴⁴ as compared to the sections on men with *maiores* and no *mores* and the men without *maiores* but *mores*. Juvenal invites Ponticus to look back and reflect upon Roman ancestral worship, but also some of the most glorified *gentes* of

⁴⁴ Frederick, 114.

their history. By Juvenal's time, almost all of the original families of the Roman Republican nobility had become extinct.⁴⁵ Yet his appeal to these men of the past depicts their *imagines* as so old that they are missing limbs and facial parts (4-5) and are grimy with smoke (8). This is a prompt which signals a *sermo* that "feeds... on a jeeringly destructive question of tradition."

⁴⁶ They are a representation of the deterioration of noble houses who have failed to uphold moral *exempla*. It is Juvenal's depiction of a decline in Roman virtues and descendants of noble families whose actions have disgraced their patrician name. These *imagines* tangibly represent the "deliberately grotesque" portraying the "absolute decadence and absurdity of the contemporary nobility," thus rendering the concept of *stemmata* as foolish.⁴⁷

A noble name means nothing if one behaves immorally.

The theme of *nobilitas vera* was a standard rhetorical *topos* of ancient Rome. As Juvenal's rhetorical methods were employed, the class of educated elite males would have recognized his topical treatment of this theme.

Braund categorizes the evaluation of this theme into three kinds: one with *mores* but not *maiores*, one with *maiores* but no *mores*, and the one who has both⁴⁸. Juvenal's *exempla* throughout Satire VIII relies heavily upon the first two types, as the point of the poem is to show that anyone can achieve *virtus* regardless of social status. This notion had been explored by Valerius

⁴⁵ Green, n. 2, 171

⁴⁶ Henderson, John. *Figuring Out Roman Nobility: Juvenal's Eighth Satire*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1997, 9. Henderson's work focuses on the first 39 lines of the satire and their relation to what defines *nobilitas*.

⁴⁷ See Frederick., n. 12, 114 for the depiction of the decline of the external world as a metaphor for the internal life of man, here the nobility's moral deterioration.

⁴⁸ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 77.

Maximus writing in the early 1st c. CE. Valerius Maximus' treatise used the *novus homo* Cato the Elder as his example of the *mores* without *maiores* and then Metellus Piso and Curiones as the foil to Cato, the men with *maiores* but no *mores* (IX.1.5-6). There is a striking similarity found in Juvenal's work as he presents the *novi homines*, Cicero and Marius, in contrast to Lateranus, Gracchus, and Nero. Braund claims that there is no evidence that Juvenal was directly influenced by Valerius Maximus or Velleius Paterculus' work on Sejanus (II.28); however, Juvenal would have been well aware of both of these former works and the manner in which his predecessors treated the theme of *nobilitas vera*. Although Juvenal's Satire VIII does not borrow any direct wording from the work of Valerius Maximus, it not sufficient to say that there is absolutely no evidence that he did not use any of Valerius' conceptual ideas. It is likely that Juvenal did not rely too highly on Velleius Paterculus' treatment of Sejanus due to Juvenal's description of Sejanus' fall from grace in Satire X (103-7).

Horace's Satire 1.6 treats the theme of nobility, but in a different fashion. His address is to Maecenas, his patron, thanking him for his sponsorship of a son of a freedman. Horace's work is centered around political offices bestowed upon those worthy and unworthy, but like Juvenal he still uses vibrant characters from Roman history as *exempla* to make his point that social status has nothing to do with *nobilitas vera*. Horace's work shows that

he thought political offices should be based on ability rather than on social status⁴⁹.

The theme of true nobility was also explored in Seneca's *Epistle 44* to Lucilius. Seneca speaks of pedigrees as *stemmata* (XLIV.1.1) and argues that *nobilitas* is only achieved via *virtus*. Like Satire VIII, the letter names men without *maiores* who were noble by their *mores*, and this letter may have influenced Satire VIII. Although Lucilius is an *eques* (LXIV.2) and Ponticus is of the *nobiles* both writers use the theme of true nobility but to different ends. While Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, uses "positive moral exhortation" and appeals to "aristocratic piety" by exploiting specific terminology⁵⁰ Juvenal is "largely negative" and "harshly critical."⁵¹ The latter uses virtue and morals only to "support the negative argument" that the noble class of past and present "cannot have fulfilled their own pretensions."⁵² Braund argues that this presentation makes Juvenal's *persona* a "pseudo-moralist,"⁵³ but this does not mean that Juvenal himself fails as a moralist. Braund fails to identify the difference between philosophy and satire and drastic difference between the two genres. In the end, both men are making very similar points about *nobiltias vera* while using very similar *exempla* to argue their points. "Seneca is serious; Juvenal humorous."⁵⁴ Was Juvenal intentionally being

⁴⁹ Rudd, *Themes in Roman Satire*, 25

⁵⁰ Ibid., 115.

⁵¹ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 83

⁵² Frederick, 115.

⁵³ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 83.

⁵⁴ Frederick, 116.

negative or is this just the nature of satire to criticize by using the negative as means to make a point and entertain on a different level?

The rhetorical questions continue with more glorious names of the past:

*effigies quo
tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox* 10
*ante Numantinos, si dormire incipis ortu
luciferi, quo signa duces et castra mouebant?
cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus, si
uanus et Euganea quantumuis mollior agna,* 15
*si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
squalentis traducit auos emptorque ueneni
frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?*

Why have the effigies of so many soldiers,
If you gamble with dice all night before the Numantini,
and then go to bed when the morning star wakes, 10
At the time when generals were breaking camp and
moving the standards?
Why should Fabius, born on the Herculean hearth,
celebrate because of the Allobrogici and the Great Altar,
If he is vain and softer than Euganean⁵⁵ wool with his
loins exfoliated by Catinensian pumice, 15
A mockery of his bristly grandfathers, if as the patron of
poison, he dishonors his dejected clan with a bust which
should be broken?

The next lines continue with more rhetorical questions and more references to glorious *gentes* of earlier times in Rome, but it is crucial for establishing the paradigms that compare and contrast throughout the satire.⁵⁶ The “contemporary noble” who spends his entire night gambling with dice is a foil to the military ancestor who breaks camp at sunrise. The descendant of the Fabii and their claim to fame via the line of Hercules is a “mockery of his

⁵⁵ Courtney calls this an “ornamental epithet” and explains that the “Euganei were a tribe of Venetia.” The sheep were from Altinum, referred to Euganean (Mart., IV.25.1-4) and famous for their wool. See Blurner, 238-9; Marquardt, 477; Lauffer, 269; *Edict. Diocl.*, XXI.2).

⁵⁶ Frederick, 116.

bristly (*squalentis*) grandfathers, as “his loins are exfoliated by Catinesian pumice” (15-6). The verb *traducere* used here means “to parody” as may have gained this definition through the practice of “marching prisoners in mockery through the streets of Rome in triumph.”⁵⁷ This comparison looks ahead to the contrasts of the *novi homines* Cicero and Marius to Lateranus and Nero. This is a development of the caricatures of Lateranus as the *mulio consul* (148) and Nero as the *citharodeo principe* (198).⁵⁸ *Frangenda* modifying *imagine* provides a “metaphor for the justifiable destruction of the *stemmata*”⁵⁹ and represents the “descendant kill[ing] the dead”⁶⁰ despite that *vivit imago* (55).

Juvenal proceeds, this time focusing on advice to Ponticus:

| | |
|--|----|
| <i>tota licet ueteres exornent undique cerae atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus.</i> | 20 |
| <i>Paulus uel Cossus uel Drusus moribus esto, hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum, praecedant ipsas illi te consule uirgas. prima mihi debes animi bona. sanctus haberi iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris?</i> | 25 |
| <i>agnosco procerem; salue Gaetulice, seu tu Silanus: quocumque alto de sanguine rarus ciuis et egregius patriae contingis ouanti, exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri inuento.</i> | 30 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Go ahead; let the waxen men of old adorn your entire atrium, Yet virtue is the one and only nobility | 20 |
| Let you be a Paulus, Cossus, or Drusus—in respect to your manners; Place these men before the effigies of your ancestors, | |

⁵⁷ Courtney, n. 17, 388.

⁵⁸ Frederick, 117.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Henderson, 59.

Let those men precede your very rods when you are consul.
 You owe me the best excellence of your rational soul.
 Are you worthy to be regarded as morally pure and steadfast of
 justice because of your deeds and words? 25
 Then I declare you a noble man. Good day, Gaetulicus, or you,
 Silanus!
 From whatever lofty bloodline you befall, you are a rare citizen
 and distinguished to your exulting fatherland,
 As the delighted Egyptians rejoice when Osiris has been found.

Here Juvenal states the whole purpose of the satire: *nobilitas sola est atque unica uirtus* (20). Although more names of Republican Roman greats are mentioned, Juvenal does not suggest a return to past glories. Great ancestral deeds, the claim to fame of which Juvenal is satirizing to be the very essence of the contemporary nobility, are not recalled. While appealing to the distinguished achievements of predecessors would have fed aristocratic pride, Juvenal instead puts forward “a simple morality of *virtus, mores, and bona animi*.” The noble class would not have been as attracted to advice of this nature, as it is “offered as a criticism of improper values the aristocrats hold dear,”⁶¹ as Juvenal is questioning their morality based upon their actions rather than the actions of their ancestors.

The *civis* who actually earns (*mereris*) his noble blood with noble action is *rarus*, so much so that he would be celebrated as the returning of a dead god (28-30). The use of *ovanti* indicates “the highest triumphal honor to which a noble not a member of the Imperial family could aspire,”⁶² and with the comparison to the revival of Osiris represents the return of a “once upon

⁶¹ Frederick, 118.

⁶² *Ibid.*

a time lost morality.”⁶³ Since moral noble is so *rarus*, a man of virtue appears as an “amazing hero by contrast.”⁶⁴ Juvenal is also being sarcastic in his comparison of the Roman *civis* as an Egyptian god, as he held this latter race in very low esteem (Satire XV.1-70).

The *exordium* ends with more contrast and comparison with a humorous twist⁶⁵:

quis enim generosum dixerit hunc qui 30
indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
insignis? nanum cuiusdam Atlanta uocamus,
Aethiopem Cycnum, prauam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque uetusta
leuibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae 35
nomen erit pardus, tigris, leo, si quid adhuc est
quod fremat in terris uiolentius. ergo cauebis
et metues ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus.

For who would have said that one is a noble species,
 unworthy of his descent and 30
 distinguished just because of his noble name?
 We call dwarfs “Atlas,” an Ethiopian “White Swan,” and a
 deformed and monstrous girl “Europa.”
 Mangy mutts licking the edge of a dry oil-lamp are named
 “Panther,” “Tiger,” or 35
 “Leo,” of if there is anything which growls more violently
 throughout the lands.
 Therefore, this will be a caveat lest you be either a
 Creticus or Camerinus.

In lines 30-8 Juvenal lays out a compare and contrast of beings misnamed for the sake of a joke; “a dwarf named Atlas... a mangy cur named ‘Leo’...” (32-6). It is a discourse of how some beings are intentionally misnomers of reality. He does this to drive home the point that once again, names do not

⁶³ Ibid., n. 18, 119.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 118

⁶⁵ Ibid., 119.

necessarily define the man, and if one chooses to live his life badly, a family name, regardless of how noble, can potentially have a similar negative effect (38). The comparison and contrast is Juvenal's "exploitation of *indignatio*" because the opposition between the "name and reality" is disgraceful and inappropriate.⁶⁶ This points to the "specific vice" of familiar pride of bloodline leading to "an absurd contradiction between pretensions and realities." While a name and the reality supporting it should correspond, this is not found in the contemporary nobility.⁶⁷

Juvenal says this as a set up to address Rubellius Blandus, a man who apparently believes that a name is enough to carry his fame. Juvenal's specific use of *pictos ostendere* above (VIII.2) seems to suggest that perhaps this is a trap into which too many nobles have fallen; instead of making their own name or upholding their ancestral deeds by virtuous action, many of these men have simply ridden the coat tails of their ancestors' great achievements for their personal gains, as shown by his address to a Rubellius Blandus. It is unclear whether this is the Rubellius Blandus mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.*, I.14-15), or if it is just a name used by Juvenal as a "rhetorical figure"⁶⁸; however, we should have little reason to doubt that Juvenal is addressing someone who actually existed at some point, especially considering the fact that Juvenal claims that this Rubellius' head swells (*tumes*, 40) from being of the line from Drusus (VIII.39). Just as Rubellius is depicted as an "inflated bag

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 120.

⁶⁸ Henderson, 93.

of wind,” this is a representation of his empty vanity⁶⁹ reflecting back to the *vanus* descendent of the Fabii (15). The reference to the weaving woman is yet another stab at the misconception of one’s origins. Rubellius’ behavior is not a reflection of his bloodline.

*his ego quem monui? tecum mihi sermo, Rubelli
Blande. tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam
feceris ipse aliquid propter quod nobilis esses,
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
non quae uentoso conducta sub aggere textit*

40

Whom did I warn with these things? I’m addressing you,
Rubellius Blandus.
You are inflated in the head because of your lofty descent
from the Drusi,
As if you yourself have done something to deem yourself as a
noble,
So that she who conceived you shines because of the bloodline
of the Julii,
Not the weaving woman employed under the windy
Embankment.

40

This section echoes the epideictic invective found in Books I-II.⁷⁰

Frederick indicates that this is “partly an invective on terms of a *locus de superbia*, especially indicated in *monui* (39) and states that this is “a tension between the old Juvenal and the new,”⁷¹ but demonstrates the mistakes of earlier scholarship on the *Satires*. This is evidence for the same Juvenal throughout the *Satires*. Frederick fails to address the difference in the topics of Books I-II in comparison to Book III. This is the same author, but the nature of the subjects is different, thus calling for a varied style in handling the subject matter.

⁶⁹ Frederick, 120.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 19, 120.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

The next section ties in another claim from mythological descent, this time referencing Cecrops, one of the first kings of Athens, yet Juvenal abruptly cuts this concept short by use of simile:

*'uos humiles' inquis 'uolgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis,
ast ego Cecropides.' uiuas et originis huius* 45
*gaudia longa feras. tamen ima plebe Quiritem
facundum inuenies, solet hic defendere causas
nobilis indocti; ueniet de plebe togata*
qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata soluat; 50
*hinc petit Euphraten iuuenis domitique Bataui
custodes aquilas armis industrius; at tu
nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae.
nullo quippe alio uincis discrimine quam quod
illi marmoreum caput est, tua uiuit imago.* 55

“You all are lowly men,” you say, “the lowest part of our vulgar rabble,
Of which no man can point out the fatherland of his father, 45
But I derive from the line of Cecrops!” Well, may you live and bear
The lengthy joys of this origin. Nevertheless, in the lowest *pleb*
You will find an eloquent *Quirites*, this man accustomed to defend
The lawsuits of an ignorant noble; the one who comes from the togated *pleb*
Takes apart the knots of justice and solves the enigmas of the law; 50
From this place, the young man seeks the Euphrates
And the one more assiduous with arms seeks the eagles as the guardians of the tamed Batavi.
But you are nothing except the offspring of Cecrops, similar to the body of a Herm.
In fact, you are victorious in respect to no other distinction than
The Herm has a marble head, while your image is alive. 55

Juvenal follows his sarcastic salute to Rubellius with an explanation that the common man of the plebeian class often times has more intelligence than the nobleman for whom he works. The soldiers on the frontiers, also recruited

from the plebeian class, are noted for their bravery, but Rubellius himself possesses competence neither in the law nor in military matters, both career paths that defined successful elite men of ancient Rome. Despite the claimed lineage to Cecrops, Juvenal emasculates Rubellius comparing him to a Herm without its phallus; however, in Rubellius' case, the statue is the luckier of the two as it will remain still and speechless while Rubellius is alive, continually embarrassing himself by boasting of his pedigree, but having nothing to show for it. The Herm with the missing phallus parallels the earlier *imagine...fragenda* and is yet another representation of destruction of the *stemmata*.

The following section continues the salute to Rubellius as a scion of Trojans, but it is a sarcastic comparison to the breeding of horses, as Rubellius behaves no better than an animal:

*dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
 quis generosa putet nisi fortia. nempe uolucrum
 sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
 feruet et exultat rauco uictoria circo;
 nobilis hic, quocumque uenit de gramine, cuius
 clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore puluis. 60
 sed uenale pecus Coryphaei posteritas et
 Hirpini, si rara iugo uictoria sedit.
 nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
 umbrarum; dominos pretiis mutare iubentur 65
 exiguis, trito ducunt epiraedia collo
 segnipedes dignique molam uersare nepotes.*

Tell me, progeny of the Trojans, in respect to dumb animals,
 Who would think them a noble species unless they were
 strong?

Indeed we thus praise the swift horse, for whom the victory
 palm is easy while he seethes and triumphs in the hoarse
 Circus.

This one is noble, he comes from whatever grassland, 60

Whose clear flight is before the others and he is first in the
 plane of dust.
 But the offspring of Coryphaeus and Hirpinus are a flock for
 sale, if a rare victory sits on the yoke.
 There the respect for ancestors is nothing, no gratitude of the
 shades;
 They are ordered to change masters when the prizes become
 meager,
 The slow-footed ones lead the reins with their neck rubbed
 away and the grandsons are worthy to turn the millstone.

65

Juvenal implies that Rubellius is no better than an animal as he launches into
 the discussion of describing the life of a racehorse compared to that of a
 nobleman—performance does not necessarily rely on pedigree. If the horse
 fails to win, he's retired to the pasture or labor, regardless of bloodline (57-
 67). Unfortunately, this cannot literally be applied to nobles in earnest.

The didactic discourse returns to addressing Ponticus as “positive advice”
 forming the core of the satire’s argument:⁷²

*sed te censeri laude tuorum,
 Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
 laudis agas. miserum est aliorum incumbere fama,
 ne conlapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
 stratus humi palmes uiduas desiderat ulmos.
 esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
 integer; ambiguae si quando citabere testis
 incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
 falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro,
 summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
 et propter uitam uiuendi perdere causas.
 dignus morte perit, cenet licet ostrea centum
 Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.*

75

80

85

But I do not wish thus, Ponticus, that you be valued by
 the praise of your ancestors,
 That you yourself make nothing of future praise. It is
 wretched to rely upon the reputation of others,

75

⁷² Frederick, 121.

So that your house having fallen into ruins tumbles down
after the columns are removed.

The young vine-sprout stretched upon the ground longs
for the elm trees having been deprived of the soil.

Be a good soldier, a good guardian, likewise an honest
judge;

Even if when you are called as a witness of a doubtful
and uncertain affair,

Even if Phalaris was ordering that you swear falsely
And perjury should repeatedly with his brazen bull
brought near,

Believe it is the highest wickedness to prefer your life's
breath to honor,

And to destroy the reasons for the sake of living because
of life.

A man perished is worthy of death, it is permitted he eat
one hundred Gaurana oysters and be immersed in the
whole bronze tub of Cosmus'⁷³ perfumed oils.

80

85

Juvenal advises him that regardless of ancestral achievements, if Ponticus' behaves badly and should he rely upon his blue blood to rectify his actions, this is still insufficient action to justify bad behavior. Juvenal exhorts Ponticus to "be a good soldier, an honest guardian, a judge of integrity" (79-80), all qualities found in an upright individual, especially one in preparation for provincial governorship in ancient Roman society. To be a "*tutor bonus*" was "a traditional Roman virtue," and the *arbiter* here refers to someone judging civil affairs (79).⁷⁴ To continue his point of how important honesty truly is in these matters, Juvenal then references Phalaris, a tyrant of Sicily, and his bronze bull in which he used to broil victims (Pindar, *Pythian I*). Again, we see a fine example of Juvenal's use of historical reference for vivid imagery (81-2). Juvenal is saying that regardless of the extent of pains which may

⁷³ Martial mentions a famous seller of perfumes by this name.

⁷⁴ Courtney, n. 79, 397.

occur for being an honest man, this is preferable to living a life of dishonesty; it is better to die an honest man than live as a corrupted one (83-4). “Who merits death is dead,” Juvenal continues although people may attempt to fill their lives with costly, material goods (85-6). In other words, those worthy of death, regardless of a life lived extravagantly, if they are dishonorable, they are dead anyway. *Aeno* (86) not only refers to the vessels which would have held Cosmos’ perfumes, but also plays on Phalaris’ bronze *tauro* (82). The *aeno* is a “living death” contrasted with the *tauro* which represents a literal death.⁷⁵

Juvenal’s discourse returns to advice on how to behave if and when Ponticus should obtain the long awaited provincial governorship focusing on the idea of the *tutor bonus* (79).⁷⁶

*expectata diu tandem prouincia cum te
rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,
pone et auaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum:
ossa uides rerum uacuis exucta medullis. 90
respice quid moneant leges, quid curia mandat,
praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
et Capito et Tutor ruerint damnante senatu,
piratae Cilicum. sed quid damnatio confert?
praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis, 95
cum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit,
iamque tace; furor est post omnia perdere naulum.*

When the long awaited province receives you as its
governor,
Set aside the reins of ire, and set a limit to your greed, be
compassionate of our poor allies;
You see the bones of their affairs sucked dry with the
marrows being empty. 90

⁷⁵ Ibid., n. 86.

⁷⁶ Fredericks, 122.

Have regard for what the laws advocate, what the Senate orders,
 How great the rewards await good men, how both Capito and Tutor fell to ruin
 By the just thunderbolt when Senate damning them, the pirates of the Cilicians.
 But what did condemnation bring? Look around for a seller for your garments, Chaerippus,
 Because Pansa snatched whatever Natta left behind for you, and say nothing already;
 It is madness to destroy your passage money after all of this.

95

He advises Ponticus to not be greedy, to hold his temper, and show compassion for the local population (87-9). If he should not do so, the following lines exemplify what could happen via another fine historical reference to Cossutianus Capito, indicted by the Cilicians in 57 CE for disgraceful conduct as a provincial governor. His reward for this was a charge for extortion and banishment (Tac., *Annals*, XIII.33). The other individual simply referred to as the *Tutor* (93) cannot be confidently identified⁷⁷. The irony here is that the Roman provincial governors are plundering Cilicians, a people infamous for pirating. And what were the results of these men's behavior? Chaerippus, assumed to be a Cilician native, is forced to "sell the clothes off his back" due to what appears to be a replacement of a corrupt governorship by another set of depraved men, Pansa and Natta⁷⁸ (96-7). Despite this harsh treatment, the provincial chooses to hold his tongue in order to save his money for his transport

⁷⁷ Green, n. 12, 173.

⁷⁸ Rudd, n. 95, 193. Rudd claims the names appear to be fabricated. Green translates them as "Official A...[and] Official B" (64).

money. Green⁷⁹ and Rudd⁸⁰ both note that this money could refer to a fare to pay for a trip to Rome; however, Rudd takes it one step further suggesting that this passage to Rome may be for the provincial to take his case before the Senate. Green notes that this could be Juvenal's use of a "*double entendre*" as the poet may be suggesting that this "boat-fare" may also be the fee for Charon across the river Styx into the Underworld. At face value, the passage to Rome to present a case before the Senate would make sense here, especially since the topic is provincial corruption and the results—exile for behavior based on a case brought against dishonest governors; however, Green astutely points to an alternative meaning. It is not at all out of the question that this poor provincial just wants to stay alive, free from any further hassle, and is just merely seeking a decent afterlife.

The discourse on corrupt provincial governors and the devastating results (for both governor and the governed) continues with more *exempla*. He launches into a brief discourse on the history of those who greedily plundered the provinces and their unfortunate results. This is Juvenal's warning to Ponticus of how not to behave as the inhabitants of the provinces still have arms and will use them if so persuaded (VIII.123-4).

*non idem gemitus olim neque uulnus erat par
damnorum sociis florentibus et modo uictis.
plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat aceruos
nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
et cum Parrhasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum uiuebat ebur, nec non Polycliti
multus ubique labor, rarae sine Mentore mensae.*

100

⁷⁹ Green, n. 13, 173.

⁸⁰ Rudd, n. 95, 193.

*inde †Dolabella atque hinc† Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant nauibus altis
occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.* 105

Once upon a time, there was neither the same burden
nor wound was equal of losses when the allies were
flourishing and just having been conquered.
Every home was full at that time and was maintaining
heaps of coins, Spartan cloaks, garments of Coan 100
purple, and the ivory statues of Phidias were living
With the paintings of Parrhasius and the statues of
Myron, the great work of Polyclitus were everywhere,
there were few tables without a Mentor.
Then Dolabella and next Antonius and thereafter the 105
sacrilegious Verres
Were carrying back hidden spoils in their tall ships
and triumphing during peacetime.

Juvenal recalls earlier days when provinces were just newly defeated and still maintained wealth (98-104). He lists the names of famous sculptors and luxury goods, a show of Juvenal's knowledge of the great artisans; however, these images of artistic beauty and prosperity come to an abrupt halt as the names Antonius, Dolabella, and Verres are mentioned⁸¹, all men infamous for their extortion in Roman provinces (105-6). Because of the behavior of such men, the provincials barely have anything left for themselves, except maybe a scanty amount of livestock and perhaps one remaining statue (108-12). This is a likening of robbery by provincial governors to the plundering that happens during military campaigns.⁸²

⁸¹ Antonius here is not the triumvir Mark Antony, but his uncle, C. Antonius Hybrida, infamous for extortion in Greece. He was eventually banished for rapacious behavior in Macedonia (Dio, XXXVIII.10). The Dolabellae were also known for corruption in provincial government in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Cn. Cornelius Dolabella was legate to Verres in Sicily. Verres was successfully prosecuted by Cicero for his extortion of the province (*In Verrem*).

⁸² Frederick, 123.

Juvenal then returns to recent times with the description of the results of plundering allies. He then takes yet another stab at his opinion (or the Roman opinion in general) of the effeminate Greeks,⁸³ describing them as perfumed with completely shaved legs, but despite this, is a dislike for these sorts of practices still sufficient for them to deserve plundering (112-5)?

*nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex paruus equarum,
et pater armenti capto eripietur agello,
ipsi deinde Lares, si quod spectabile signum.* 110
[*si quis in aedicula deus unicus; haec etenim sunt
pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu]*
*forsitan inbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon
despicias merito: quid resinata iuuentus
cruaque totius facient tibi leuia gentis?* 115

Now for our allies, there are a few yokes of oxen, a meager flock of mares,
And the father of the herd will be taken away with the little field having been seized.
Next the *Lares* themselves, if any statue is notable. 110
[if there is any one god in the little shrine; these things indeed are instead of the highest things, for these things are the greatest.
Perhaps you might disdain] the unwarlike Rhodians and you rightly scorn the oil smeared Corinthian;
What will race of youth with legs shaved smooth do to you?

This section references a work of Persius. Satire IV of Persius also takes a stab at the theme of *nobilitas vera*. Persius' work is styled after a Platonic dialogue⁸⁴ between Socrates and Alcibiades of the late 5th c. BCE. Alcibiades represents the politician of the *maiores* without *mores* category. While the style of Persius' satire differs from Juvenal's, both are addresses filled with colorful language and vivid imagery. Persius even mentions "a crotch plucked

⁸³ This is not Juvenal's first reference to his dislike for Greece (Sat. III)

⁸⁴ Ibid., 148. Rudd refers to it as a "pseudo-Platonic dialogue."

smooth around your dangling worm” (38) which closely corresponds to VIII.115 of Juvenal, “...youths who put on perfume and shave their legs to the crotch?” Despite the various purposes and for different ends, all these Roman writers of satire used public men⁸⁵ as their means to convey their thoughts on *nobilitas vera*.

As a foil to the effeminate Greeks, Juvenal then mentions the provincials of Spain, Gaul, and Illyria; places which had a history of causing military troubles for Rome, and peoples who the Romans viewed as the most barbaric (116-7).

*horrida uitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
 Illyricumque latus; parce et messoribus illis
 qui saturant urbem circo scenaeque uacantem;
 quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
 cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros? 120
 curandum in primis ne magna iniuria fiat
 fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
 auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques.
 [et iaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt.]*

Bristly Spain must be shunned, the Gallic pole and the
 Illyrian side;
 Spare those reapers who fill the city idle because of
 the circus and stage;
 Moreover from there how great of prizes of so dire
 blame will you bear,
 After Marius recently disarmed the poor Africans? 110
 It must be attended to in the first things that injustice
 not become great
 To the strong and to the wretched. It is permitted that
 you take away all
 Which is of gold and silver, you will leave behind
 shield
 and sword.
 [and spear and helmet; arms remain to the ones
 having been plundered.]

⁸⁵ Braund, *Beyond Anger*, 90. This is her analysis of the use of public men in Roman satire.

He refers to these people as being unrefined and rugged “harvesters” and makes a reference to the 390 BCE invasion of the city by the Gauls (118). Juvenal then briefly returns to corrupt men in the provinces with the actions of Marius⁸⁶ in Africa as a lead in to the advisory warning not to do as these men have done. One can strip the provincials of their statues and money, but since Rome did not take weapons from their allies, this gives them a means for a fight another day (119-24).⁸⁷ In other words, angry people remember and corrupt deeds will come back to haunt one either in the form of exile or death.

The treatise then briefly summarizes Juvenal’s earlier points:

*quod modo proposui, non est sententia, uerum est;
credite me uobis folium recitare Sibyllae.*

That which I have only proposed, it is not opinion, it is true;
Believe that I recite the pages of the Sibyl to you all.

He professes that his didactic words are not ones of mere casualty; they are taken straight from the mouth of the Sibyl (125-6), indicating that this is something that should not be taken lightly. It is a manner of expressing a prediction of what *will* happen as the books of the Sibylline oracle were those that told of future prophesy and actions taken to prevent such results. The voice of the author has been likened to divination.

⁸⁶ This is not C. Marius the seven-time consul of the late 2nd- early 1st c. BCE. Juvenal is referring to Marius Priscus’ who was prosecuted and exiled for extortion in Africa, 100 CE [Pliny, *Ep.* 2.11].

⁸⁷ The Romans did not take arms from conquered provinces, Brunt, *Phoenix* 29, 1975, 260.

The discourse returns to advice of how take preventive measures, but again, instead of discussing the fundamental basis of *nobilitas vera*, Juvenal simply recommends what should not be:

*si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
uendit acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen
nec per conuentus et cuncta per oppida curuis
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno,* 130
*tum licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
nomina delectant omnem Titanida pugnam
inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas.
[de quocumque uoles proauom tibi sumito libro.]*

If your cohort of companions is just, if no long-haired youth
sells your tribunal,
If there is no accusation against your spouse and she is not
preparing to go
Through the assemblies and through all the towns about to
seize coins with curved talons like Celaeno, 130
Then it is permitted you regard your ancestry from the
Woodpecker King,
And if the lofty names delight you as every Titan battle,
You may place Prometheus himself among your ancestors.
[from whatever assumed myth you wish your grandfather
to be.]

Not only should the governor himself be above corruption, those with whom he surrounds himself should also refrain from avaricious behaviors--his staff and his spouse. The description of the spouse echoes some of Juvenal's tirades found in Satire VI. Here Juvenal equates a vicious wife to a greedy harpy snatching all the wealth that surrounds her (130). The mythological references continue with references to Picus, "the Woodpecker king,"⁸⁸ revered by Mars, and then the Titans and Prometheus (133). While Green notes that the mention of the Woodpecker king is rather obscure, the Titans

⁸⁸ Green states that Picus later became associated with an early Italian king whose lineage derived from an offspring of Saturn who bore Faunus, n. 17, 173.

and Prometheus create for a more stable genealogy⁸⁹ as the point here once again is that despite one's roots, even if embedded in those of the gods, bad behavior cannot make *nobilitas vera*. Juvenal is being ironic here, as the Titans battled with Zeus and were damned to Tartarus, and Prometheus received a tortuous punishment by Zeus for his gift of fire to man. Although Prometheus was later freed by Heracles, the irony of one tracing his or her ancestral roots to mythological characters of this nature is that these are not necessarily meant to be positive examples of good breeding. Those who challenge the authority of the gods or divine will often meet a tragic end. This is an example of satire taking a "contradictory stance between a pose of simple truth and an obvious fantasy,"⁹⁰ especially in relation to Prometheus. One can go as far as claiming descent from the first man or the creator of men, but the mythological reference shows that the entire quest for *stemmata* is "foolhardy system of values."⁹¹ Again, the emphasis should not be on one's bloodline, but one's actions.

The claim to mythological ancestry ties into the next brief section that is another explanation for the cause and effect of bad behavior in a provincial governor. Juvenal says that people can claim their ancestry from the gods, but even this cannot protect one from unethical and immoral behavior which will turn against them (VIII.138-9).

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Frederick, n. 27, 125. Anderson, William S. *Essays on Roman Satire*. Princeton: New Jersey, 1982. Anderson's "Anger in Juvenal and Seneca" discusses "truth" and "exaggeration" as two aspects that complement one another in a satirical *persona*, 293.

⁹¹ Ibid., 126.

quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido, 135
si frangis uirgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
omne animi uitium tanto conspectius in se 140
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.
quo mihi te, solitum falsas signare tabellas,
in templis quae fecit auus statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo, si nocturnus adulter
tempora Santonico uelas adoperta cucullo? 145

If excessive ambition and lust for power brings you down, if 135
 you break the rods on the blood of allies,
 If the blunt executioner's axes delight you with the
 exhausted lictor,
 The nobility of your parents themselves begins to stand
 against you
 And a bright torch brings to light that which you should
 be ashamed.
 Every vice of the soul is more conspicuous than such a 140
 great thing the fault has against itself, by how much the one
 who fails is held more.
 But why should I care that you are accustomed to sign false
 tablets/records,
 In the temples which your grandfather made and the statue
 of your father before his triumph?
 Why should I care that as the nocturnal adulterer you hide
 the times covered over by a Santonic garment? 145

Juvenal brings in the traditional symbols of the offices of the Roman
 magistracies, the axes and the rods (the *fasces*), but using them for wicked
 ends will result in vicious public talk. The higher one's position and the
 greater one's terrible actions, the more public hatred will be incurred. Why
 not inscribe dishonest deeds in a temple erected by a grandfather or on a
 triumphal statue of one's father? Why not add adultery while one is at it
 (135-45)? The public is always watching and will always be aware of the
 wicked deeds done by the ruling class. They will be harsher in their criticism

toward men in the public eye than a common criminal as the latter is expected to behave badly while the former are expected to set and uphold a moral example. The passage explains the *animi vitium* (140), as the *nocturnus adulter* (144) is yet another “noble who caricatures his forebearers.”⁹²

The satire takes a shift to Juvenal’s *exempla*, another showcase of nobles behaving badly, yet in comparison to the earlier figures such as Verres and Capito, these descriptions run much longer to support Juvenal’s point of *nobilitas vera*:

*praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa uolucris
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul,
nocte quidem, sed Luna uidet, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumet et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis ac uirga prior adnuet atque maniplos
soluet et infundet iumentis hordea lassis.
interea, dum lanatas robumque iuuencum
more Numae caedit, Iouis ante altaria iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.*

Past the ashes and bones of his ancestors, fat Lateranus is carried along by his flying cart, and he, he himself works the brake to the wheel, the muleteer consul, At night indeed, but the Moon sees, and the stars bear witnesses stretching forth their eyes. When the time of his office will have ended, Lateranus will take up the whip in the light of day and he will never fear the meeting of a friend; already old and he will nod his greeting before with his switch, And he will release the bundles of hay, and he will pour out the barley for his tired mules. Meanwhile while he slaughters wooly sheep and a red young bull in the custom of Numa, Before the high altar of Jupiter he swears oath to Epona alone and her images painted on the reeking stables.

⁹² Frederick, 126.

The display of bad nobility begins with Lateranus, the “muleteer Consul.”⁹³ Juvenal describes the fat man’s deeds in his gig and tells that Lateranus performs them at night, under the watch of the moon and stars. If this deed is not vile enough, after his term of office has ended, Lateranus will have the gall to drive his own gig during the day and greet those as he passes by. Instead of being depicted with the symbols of the office of the consul such as the *virgas* (136), the *virga* held by Lateranus is a switch for to goad his mules (153).⁹⁴ Juvenal notes that while Lateranus may show piety by sacrificing to the goddess Epona, the overseer of muleteers, this is again a show of irony, first, because Lateranus not only drives the wagon himself, but most importantly, the wagon is pulled by mules instead horses. By bringing in Epona as the foil Jupiter, despite Lateranus making sacrifices, this is an indication that Lateranus has stooped far below his station and does not even sacrifice to proper, Roman deities, but one of barbaric, Gallic descent (146-57).⁹⁵

Lateranus’ journey under the cover of night continues as he visits the tavern and debases himself further as Juvenal describes the company at the bar.

⁹³ Green notes the debate on which Lateranus this could be. There is a Plautius Lateranus, convicted of adultery with Messalina, 48 CE, later executed by Nero in the Pisonian Conspiracy. Tactius describes this man as being of “big build.” The second choice T. Sextius Lateranus, consul 94 CE. Green argues for the latter, although the general agreement falls for the former. Green believes it to be T. Sextius as he notes that it is questionable why Juvenal would ridicule an opponent of Nero, as Juvenal passionately hated the emperor, unless “he considered driving ones own gig to be a worse crime” (n. 22, 173-4). Rudd notes that there are problems with both Laterani (n. 146, 195).

⁹⁴ Frederick, 127.

⁹⁵ Green, n. 21, 174.

*sed cum peruigiles placet instaurare popinas,
 obuius adsiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
 currit, Idymaeae Syrophoenix incola portae* 160
*hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat,
 et cum uenali Cyane succincta lagona.
 defensor culpae dicet mihi 'fecimus et nos
 haec iuuenes.' esto, desisti nempe nec ultra
 fouisti errorem. breue sit quod turpiter audes,* 165
*quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba.
 indulge ueniam pueris: Lateranus ad illos
 thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea uadit
 maturus bello Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
 omnibus et Rheno atque Histro. praestare Neronem* 170
securum ualet haec aetas.

But when he wishes to repeat his all-night visit to the
 tavern,
 A Syrophoenician wet with persistent perfume runs up to
 him blocking his path, 160
 The Syrophoenician, an inhabitant of the Idymaeian Gate,
 with the goodwill of a host,
 He salutes him as master and as king, while Cyane bustles
 up her skirt with a bottle to sell.
 The defender of the fault says to me, "We did these things
 as young men."
 It may be so, indeed you desisted and did not foster the
 mistake further.
 That which you dare disgracefully should be brief, certain 165
 crimes should be cut off with your first beard.
 Concede a favor to boys; Lateranus goes to those wine cups
 of the bathhouses and the marked curtains as the proper
 age for war at Armenia or Syria,
 And for watching over the rivers at the Rhine and the
 Danube.
 This age is strong to preserve Nero as secure. 170

Lateranus is hailed by a Syrian Jew, yet another racial reference to those
 of Eastern descent, and yet another blow to Lateranus' reputation. Juvenal
 interrupts the discourse briefly to note that while he and others may have
 conducted themselves as such at one time, this time was in their youth; those
 days and this sort of behavior should not "outlast [one's] first official shave"

(160-66). The depiction of the Syrian Jew as Lateranus' greeter stands opposite to the Eastern military campaigns of which Lateranus should be conducting (168-70) instead of slumming it in the bars with them and those of far less reputable status (169-76).

The catalogue of tavern companions that are listed, particularly the hangmen and the coffin maker, may be Juvenal's suggestion that Lateranus' dealings with those who deal in death is an indication of the death of his political career.

*mitte Ostia, Caesar,
mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina:
inuenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum* 175
*et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.
aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, seruum?
nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.* 180
*at uos, Troiugenaе, uobis ignoscitis et quae
turpia cerdoni Volesos Brutumque decebunt.*

Send to Ostia, Caesar, send, but seek your legate in a great pub:

You will discover him somewhere lying with an assassin,
mixed up with sailors, thieves, and fugitives,
Among executioners and forgers of coffins, and eunuch 175
priests lying prostrate with their drums at rest.
Here liberty is equal, community cups, no other couch for
anyone,
Nor a table more withdrawn for another.
What would you do with a slave such of this sort, Ponticus?
Indeed you would send him to the penitentiary in Lucania
or Etruria. 180

But you, progenies of Troy, you overlook for yourselves even the disgraceful things

Which slaves will befit the Volesi and a Brutus.

Juvenal then turns and directly addresses Ponticus commenting that if he were to find his slave in such company, that slave would be demoted to the lowest position, but because of Lateranus' status, he will somehow be forgiven for such conduct (179-82). The *Troiugena* provides the negative parallel to the companions who deal in death—it is a contrast of the “inflated apostrophe” versus the “lowest sort of degeneracy.”⁹⁶

The *exempla* of nobles who disgraced themselves on stage follows (185-92):

*quid si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
 utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint?
 consumptis opibus uocem, Damasippe, locasti
 sipario, clamosum ageres ut Phasma Catulli. 185
 Laureolum uelox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
 iudice me dignus uera cruce. nec tamen ipsi
 ignoscas populo; populi frons durior huius,
 qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum, 190
 planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
 Mamercorum alapas. quanti sua funera uendant
 quid refert? uendant nullo cogente Nerone,
 nec dubitant celsi praetoris uendere ludis.
 finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni, 195
 quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
 zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
 res haut mira tamen citharoedo principe mimus
 nobilis.*

If any of us never uses these foul things to this extent and
 Uses these examples which must be shamed to this extent,
 so that the worst things remain?
 With your resources having been consumed, you hired out
 your voice to the theater, Damasippus, 185
 So that you were performing the bawling ghost of Catullus.
 Swift Lentulus also performed well Laureolus, with me
 being the judge he was worthy of a real cross.
 Nevertheless, you should not forgive the public itself; the
 brow of this populous is more dire,
 The ones who sit and look upon the gross buffooneries
 of the patricians, 190

⁹⁶ Frederick, 127.

It listens to the shoeless Fabii, the one who is able to laugh
 at the slaps of the Mamerci.
 How many of them sell their funeral rites; what is the
 return? They sell themselves with no Nero compelling
 them,
 They do not hesitate to sell themselves at the games of the
 lofty praetor.
 Nevertheless, imagine the gladiators there and here the
 stages are placed,
 What is more advantageous? Did anyone thus tremble at
 death,
 That the husband of Thymele was jealous, or the colleague
 of the foolish Corinthus?
 With the emperor being a lyre player, nevertheless by no
 means is a noble mime an astonishing affair.

195

This is Juvenal's way of likening these men to no more than slaves, as slaves were the actors in ancient Rome. This is seen as an abhorrent debasement of social standing, especially when done for the sake of money as in the case of Damasippus (185). These men did so on their own accord without being forced by Nero (193).⁹⁷ Lateranus' actions were horrific; however, these nobles play to the amusement of the *populus*, a group of inferiors to whom these nobles sold their voices and bodies. The Fabii as mimes are presented as a parody, and the *collega stupidi Corithi* (197) is the negative parallel to the colleague of a Roman magistrate.⁹⁸

What is worse than the stage? Prostituting one's nobility to the arena. The next in the list of bad noble *exempla* is Gracchus, whose exploits are also referenced in Satire II:

*haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? et illic
 dedecus urbis habes, nec murmillonis in armis
 nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina;*

200

⁹⁷ For patricians forced to appear in the mime by Nero see *Suet. Nero*, XI.

⁹⁸ Frederick, 128.

*damnat enim talis habitus [sed damnat et odit,
 nec galea faciem abscondit]: mouet ecce tridentem.
 postquam uibrata pendentia retia dextra
 nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula uoltum 205
 erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
 credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se
 porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
 ergo ignominiam grauiorem pertulit omni
 uolnere cum Graccho iussus pugnare secutor. 210*

Beyond these things what will be except the school for
 gladiators?
 And there is the disgrace of the city, not in the arms of a
murmillo, 200
 Gracchus fighting not with a shield and a curved scythe;
 For he condemns such attires [but he condemns and he
 hates,
 The helmet does not hide his face]: Behold! He wields a
 trident.
 In vain he casts the hanging net brandished with his right
 hand,
 He raises his exposed face to the spectators, and he who 205
 should be recognized flees from the entire sand.
 We believe his tunic, because the gold extends itself from
 his throat
 And the twisted tie is swinging from his long priest's cap.
 Therefore, the pursuer having been ordered to fight with
 Gracchus 210
 Endures a disgrace more serious than every wound.

Gracchus appears as a *retiarius* casting his net and wielding his trident before
 the crowd in the arena only to be given away by the fact that this gladiatorial
 fighter does not don a helmet; thus the crowd recognizes his face. If this is
 not somehow embarrassment enough, the collar of his Salian priestly garb
 appears above his gladiatorial costume (200-6), yet again giving away his
 status as not only a nobleman, but also one in the service of Mars. Gracchus
 has disgraced not only himself but also the Roman deity of war, in this case
 gladiatorial combat as a foil to true military combat. In addition to Gracchus'

disgrace brought upon himself and the divine, there is further shame brought upon his opponent who not only suffers wounds but receiving them from a more than unworthy opponent (209-10). The gladiator and Gracchus reflect the reverse roles of the “disgracer and the disgraced” in comparison to Lateranus and his tavern companions.⁹⁹ Was this meant to be funny? Plaza points to the use of “object-oriented humor” as a means to diminish or lower a person. In the case of Gracchus, not only has he lowered his noble status by performing in the gladiatorial arena, but he has physically lowered himself as the mob looks down upon him as he makes his escape after being recognized¹⁰⁰.

Juvenal next moves to Nero as bad *exemplum*, the crowning glory of noble debasement on stage, and serves as an ironic comparison of his patricide to that of Orestes:

*libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni?
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus.
par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem* 215
*dissimilem. quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula, sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scena numquam cantavit Orestes,* 220
Troica non scripsit.

If free suffrage was given to the people, for who is so corrupted that he would hesitate to prefer Seneca to Nero?

⁹⁹ Frederick, 128.

¹⁰⁰ Plaza, Maria. *The Function of Humor in Roman Verse Satire: Laughing and Lying*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 57. The discussion is about “object oriented humor,” and its uses to make expressions within satire.

For the punishment of this man, one ape, one serpent, and
 one sack ought to be prepared.
 His crime was equal to that of Orestes, but motive made the
 affair different. 215
 Indeed by the authority of the gods that one was the
 avenger of his father slain amid his drink,
 But he did not pollute himself by slitting Electra's throat or
 with the blood of his Spartan wife,
 And he did not mix up poisons for any relatives, Orestes
 never sang on the stage, 220
 Nor did he compose a Trojan epic.

It is significant that Juvenal opens the section with an indirect question
 pitting Nero against Seneca, writer of Roman tragedies. Nero's actions are
 compared to those of Orestes, but only in the sense that both killed a parent;
 they committed patricide for different reasons—Orestes was avenging the
 death of his father while Nero just wanted his mother's nagging to cease.
 Juvenal continues to exalt Orestes in comparison to Nero's stage
 performances. Orestes may have murdered his mother, just as Nero did, but
 this action pales in comparison to the other debasing deeds that Nero had
 done (215-30).

Yet Juvenal's treatment of Nero implies that he finds the emperor's stage
 performances to be more offensive than his committing patricide.

*haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
 gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu* 225
*prostitui Graiaequae apium meruisse coronae.
 maiorum effigies habeant insignia uocis,
 ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
 syrma uel Antigones seu personam Melanippes,
 et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.* 230

These works and these skills were of a noble-born *princeps*,
 Rejoicing that he prostituted himself to the foreign stages
 with his foul singing 225
 And that he had earned the parsley of a Greek crown.

Let the effigies of your ancestors have the honors of your voice,
Place your tragic robe of Thyestes before the feet of Domitius or
Your mask of Antigone or Melanippe, and hang your lyre from your enormous marble statue.`

230

Knoche states that this is a “canon by which Juvenal judges...not so much moral...[but this is] a departure from the normal image that the poet has of an emperor.”¹⁰¹ The section reflects back to the idea of the *citharoedo principe* (198) and is yet another example of conflicting concepts used by Juvenal. In addition to this, Nero, the *Roman* emperor, is presented as a *Greek* actor, not at all adhering to the title of one who should be promoting *Romanitas*.¹⁰²

Before shifting the satire to the list of good *exempla*, Juvenal finishes the section of the bad with Catiline and Cethegus, the major players of the Catilinarian Conspiracy of 63 BCE:

*quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inueniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen uos
nocturna et flammis domibus templisque
paratis,
ut braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed uigilat consul uexillaque uestra coerces.
hic nouus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum finit Leucade,
quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus adsiduis gladio; sed Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.*

235

240

¹⁰¹ Knoche, 262.

¹⁰² Frederick, 129.

What, Catiline, will anyone discover more lofty
 than the noble lineage of yours and Cethegus?
 Nevertheless the two of you prepared
 nocturnal arms and flames for homes and
 temples,
 As the children of pants-wearing Senones, you
 dared what is lawful to punish with the tunic of
 pitch. 235
 But the consul keeps watch and he surrounds
 your standards.
 This *novus homo* from Arpinum, not noble born
 and only a municipal *eques* at Rome,
 He placed the helmeted men and protection
 everywhere for the terrified, and he worked on
 every mountain.
 Therefore, the toga conferred him within the
 walls so 240
 great of name and title to that man,
 How great Octavian obtained in Leucas, how
 great Octavian obtained on the plains of
 Thessaly with his sword dripping from
 incessant carnage;
 But a free Rome hailed Cicero the Parent and
 Father of the Fatherland.

This incident nicely sets up Juvenal's discourse on the *novi homines*, particularly Cicero and Marius, as good *exempla* as men with *mores* but not *maiores*. While the noble born Catiline and Cethegus planned to torch the city, the *novus homo* Cicero revealed the plot and stopped the conspiracy (238). Juvenal likens Catiline and Cethegus to Gauls, drawing an allusion to the late 4th c. BCE Gallic sack of Rome (231-4) to highlight the barbarism of the deed. Juvenal then likens Cicero to Augustus, but snidely remarks that Rome was still a republic when Cicero was hailed savior of the city (241-4). Cicero receives titles associated with the highest honors of *Romanitas*—he is hailed as "*parens*" and "*pater patriae*" (243-4) despite his being *hic novus*

Arpinas ignobilis (237) compared to the *hostes*, Catiline and Cethegus.¹⁰³

Juvenal conveniently fails to mention that Cicero later executed Roman citizens without a trial.

The next *exemplum* of a man without *maiores* but with *mores* is Marius, savior of Rome from the Cimbri and Teutones (249-50):

Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat 245
poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro;
nodosam post haec frangebatur uertice uitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra.
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
excipit et solus trepidantem protegit urbem, 250
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque uolabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadauera corui,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.

Another man from Arpinum was accustomed to ask 245
 for
 wages in the mountains of the Volsci wearied because
 of another man's plough;
 After these things he was breaking the knotty staff on his head,
 if as a lazy man he was fortifying with a lethargic pickaxe.
 Nevertheless, this man both took out the Cimbri and
 removed the highest dangers of the affairs and he
 alone protected the trembling city, 250
 And for that reason, afterwards the ravens were flying
 around the carnage
 Toward the Cimbri, (the ravens) who had never tasted
 bigger corpses,
 His noble colleague was adorned with a second-place
 laurel.

Juvenal portrays him as a "plough for hire" (246), and here we almost get a sense of Marius being likened to Cincinnatus, the farmer who was given the power of the dictator and valiantly handed the power back after the threat had been quelled (cite). Marius is then described as a simple, hard-working

¹⁰³ Frederick, 129.

soldier (247-8), as Braund notes very similarly aligned with the personality portrayal presented by Sallust (*Bell. Jur.*, LXXXV). This imagery of the soldier-farmer is a prominent theme in presenting what were once the good old days of the Roman republic¹⁰⁴, but again Juvenal fails to mention the also not quite attractive end for the hero Marius as he conducted a civil war with Sulla.

Braund notes that Juvenal's handling of Marius borrows heavily from Sallust's (*Bell. Jur.*, LXXXV) portrayal of Marius, and the use of language, topics, and theme in relation to *nobilitas vera*. She points to Sallust's Marius as a "model for Juvenal's speaker," but differentiates between the two as she claims that Sallust was working with an "already established personality of Marius" and that Juvenal had no concern for the "character of his speaker as an individual"¹⁰⁵. While Juvenal and Sallust were writing at different times and in different genres and both men use Marius as an *exemplum* for the *mores* without *maiores*, the *Bellum Jugurthinum* ends with Marius' reelection to the consulship and Juvenal writes of Marius' campaigns against the Cimbri. Both writers fail to mention that Marius' career ended in a civil war with Sulla (245-53). If Juvenal was not at all interested in the character of his supposed "speaker" he would not have written about Marius' campaign following his treatment of Cicero saving the city. The portrayal of character was at stake for both Juvenal and Sallust but to different ends.

¹⁰⁴ This theme is especially treated by Vergil's *Georgics* as a propaganda piece to support Octavian (later Augustus) and recall to mind the early days of the Roman republic.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 82.

To continue the recall of the early days of Rome, Juvenal mentions the Decii, plebeian in status (256), but heroes who saved the Roman army against the Samnites (Livy, VIII.9.8; X.28.15). Next follows Servius Tullus, son of a slave woman (259-60) and then Cocles, Mucius Scaevola, and Cloelia (263-5), all prominent figures in the conflicts against Lars Porsenna (Livy, II.12-3). In comparison here, the sons of the consul refer to the offspring of Brutus (261), one of the first consuls of Rome, who attempted to restore Tarquinus Superbus as king (Livy, II.3) were revealed by a slave, a further comparison and contrast that noble deeds do not necessarily spawn from noble birth:

*plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina; pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis Terraeque parenti.
[pluris enim Decii quam quae seruantur ab illis.]
ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fascis meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.
prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuuenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii finis Tiberinum uirgo natauit.
occulta ad patres produxit crimina seruus
matronis lugendus; at illos uerbera iustis
adficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.*

The plebeian lives of the Decii were plebeian names;
Nevertheless these men are sufficient for all the Latin
youth,
the infernal gods, and Mother Earth instead of the
whole legions and all the auxiliaries.
[For the Decii by those greater things were more than
the things which they preserved.]
A man having been born by a slave woman earned
the robe, the diadem, and the rods of Quirinus, that
man was the last of the good kings.

The young sons of the consul himself were releasing
 the locks opened for the exiled tyrants
 Whom also it was fitting to do something great on
 behalf of doubtful liberty,
 That which Mucius should admire with Cocles and
 the maiden who swam the Tiber, the ends of our
imperium.
 A slave who should be mourned by the matrons
 disclosed the secret crimes against the Senate;
 But whips and the first axe of the laws inflicted those
 men with just penalties.

265

Frederick refers to this section as a “clever parody of Livy” as it briefly calls to mind the celebrated genesis of Rome. Both writers were showcasing the decline in Roman state, but at different times and for different ends.¹⁰⁶ Livy, the historian, wrote to recall the earlier days of the Roman Republic as propaganda for the rising Augustine regime, while Juvenal, the satirist, wrote to highlight the moral failures for the further degenerated elite class. Livy “justified the pride” of aristocratic descent while Juvenal uses this recollection of the past as another opportunity to show that noble action does not rely upon noble blood.¹⁰⁷

The poem’s close begins with a reference to the *Iliad*. Juvenal tells Ponticus that he would prefer that he was a son of Thersites with the valor of Achilles than have Achilles for a father only to become a Thersites:

*malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
 Aeacidae similis Volcaniaque arma capessas,
 quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
 et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque reuoluas
 nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo;
 maiorum primus, quisquis fuit ille, tuorum
 aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

270

275

¹⁰⁶ Frederick, 130.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

I prefer Thersites be your father, provided that you
 are similar to Achilles and you attain the arms of
 Vulcan, than 270
 Achilles begat you and you are similar to Thersites.
 And nevertheless, as far back as you return, and as
 far back as you unwind your name,
 You draw your *gens* from the infamous asylum;
 The first man of your ancestors, whoever that guy
 was,
 Either he was a shepherd or that which I do not wish
 to say. 275

The joke here is that Thersites had no paternal name, a sign of nobility in ancient Greek culture. In addition to this, Homer describes him as deformed and vulgar. Although a much lesser character in the *Iliad*, he is known for rude conduct during the assembly of the Greek army (*Il.*, II). Next follows the *reductio ad absurdum* in which Juvenal slams home his point—in the end, *stemmata* mean absolutely nothing as all Romans descended from Romulus' asylum of shepherds, thieves, and other common criminals (272-5). Juvenal may not necessarily be looking for a way to cure the nobility of their false misconceptions, but he is pointing out that the nobles “do indeed pursue the wrong ideals.” *Virtus* is shaped by *mores* which are not inherited through *stemmata*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Frederick, 132.

III. Conclusions

What was Juvenal's point in building up his crescendo in all this didactic advice to Ponticus chocked full of opposing *exempla* if in the end *stemmata* mean nothing? The rhetorical point of many of the arguments is that actions alone define personal value. As has been discussed above, the treatment of *nobilitas vera* was a standard rhetorical theme for the Roman audience. Juvenal's presentation of this theme may not have constituted a new means of analytical delivery in his presentation; however, originality of theme was not as heavily emphasized in the ancient world as in the modern. For the Roman elite, the telling and retelling of familiar historical tropes was an opportunity to display one's own virtuoso skills of improvisation and selection, not a lack of originality. Consequently, to criticize Juvenal's supposed lack of originality is an unfortunate anachronism that many scholars have made. The text was written for an audience consisting of the Roman elite, the part of their population conditioned and trained for the ruling body of Rome; however, by Juvenal's time, the nature of the ruling class had changed from that of the Republican era. While the senate still existed and the offices of the *cursus honorum* and governorships remained as a means for the ruling class to share in the governing responsibilities and decision making, the final word and say lay with the *princeps*, and the supposed restoration of the Republic, as reinstated by Augustus, had long been past. The readers of Juvenal's work may have been able to reflect upon a Rome "back in the day" when consuls lead armies, the citizen body had

more voting privileges, and men fought for the glory of the Roman Republic, but *mos maiorum* was always a construct located in a “better” past and was not so much different by Juvenal’s time. Perhaps life in Rome was not quite the same as when Juvenal’s predecessors, Lucilius and Horace, were writing their satires, but this does not at all mean that corruption among the noble class did not exist in either time (as it still does today) nor did the desire for a ruling class as a moral example.

The question of Juvenal’s morality or the morality of the “mask/speaker/persona” has been long debated. Braund and others have argued that Juvenal’s more philosophical *persona* fails as a moralist because of the manner in which he treats *nobilitas vera* with seemingly inappropriate and sarcastic material to support his points. Here Green notes the “fundamental problem” that the “deconstruction of authorial intent” along with excessive application of the “persona principle and moral relativism” have diminished the study of Juvenal’s satires to little “more than a meaningless literary game.”¹⁰⁹ What the modern audience may deem inappropriate was not always the case for the educated, Roman population of aristocrats (Juvenal’s target audience) who lived in a society fraught with violence, brothels, and gladiatorial games. To them, Juvenal’s material was not so inappropriate, but a reflection of the social times in which they lived, and the genre of satire includes sarcasm and hyperbole to make its points. As Fredericks? notes, the use of positive and negative moral “statements are

¹⁰⁹ Green, lxvi.

essential to the structure of this poem and cannot be separated from Juvenal's irony, hyperbole and wit."¹¹⁰

Satire VIII may use negative *exempla* to make its point about *nobilitas vera*, but these corrupt men serve as a means to for the author to show what not to do, especially for those in the ruling class, the ones who were meant to provide positive *exempla* for those whom they governed. More importantly, the work craftily intertwines language associated with the Roman military, mythological references for contrast and comparison, and racial identifications that adhere to or do not adhere to Roman identity and the fundamentals of *Romanitas*. The *exempla* are employed as a means to show what is not acceptable behavior, particularly for a Roman in a ruling position. The *novi homines* and the catalog of early Republican heroes not of the aristocracy provide the *exempla* to show that *nobilitas vera* is a misconception by the aristocracy who have relied too much on their *stemma* to define their false *mores*. In this sense, the modern world is not so different from that of ancient Rome—there are still many who falsely believe that their supposed ancestral rights can excuse their corrupt actions, just as there have been numerous examples of ordinary Joes whose actions have defined *nobilitas vera*; however, while modern identities are shaped within their respective cultures, just as in ancient Rome, each respective culture engages in different types of language and moral codes which can lead to variants in the conceptualization of *nobilitas vera*.

¹¹⁰ Frederick, 132.

After a litany of provocations, the speaker of the programmatic *Satire I* makes the sententious claim: *difficile est saturam non scribere* (I.30). Ancient Rome, its cultural practices, diversity of races, power and corruption, and the city itself provided Juvenal with a plethora of topics to satirize. Juvenal's world was one in which he and his audience had seen corruption run rampant among their predecessors, and while his satires may have been a moral guideline on what and what not to do, like many writers of satire, he may have been venting, but it was a means to parody the values which were supposed to shape the identity of the Roman concepts of *nobilitas vera*. Juvenal and his writings were a product of his society, one that had seen a variety of corrupt and eccentric emperors, civil wars, and violence. What the modern audience must bear in mind is that the world in which Juvenal lived, while different from ours, still had many of the moral problems questioned in the modern world, but just under different circumstances and with different social values due to the violent nature of ancient Roman culture and the differences which formed their definition of morality. Today's reader must begin as the "Roman audience did...with clear realization that the poet is a rhetorical artist" and whatever he expresses in his works may not "correspond directly to his own psychological state,"¹¹¹ yet this statement does not at all prove that Juvenal created a *persona* to express his true feelings. The person behind the *personae* remains an enigma.

¹¹¹ Anderson, 313.

Appendix I: Translation

What is the worth of family trees?¹¹² What is the benefit, Ponticus,¹¹³
 To be valued by a distinguished bloodline, to exhibit the painted faces of
 ancestors,
 The Aemiliani standing in their chariots,¹¹⁴ a Curii¹¹⁵ already diminishing¹¹⁶
 into halves,
 A Corvinus¹¹⁷ minus a shoulder,¹¹⁸ and a Galba¹¹⁹ without his little ears and
 nose, 5
 [What pleasure derives from bragging a Corvinus gracing the capacious
 record of your origin,
 Among considerable branches,¹²⁰ to smoky¹²¹ Masters of Horse with a
 Dictator,¹²²]¹²³
 If you behave badly under the eyes of the Lepidi? Why have the effigies of so
 many soldiers,
 If you gamble with dice all night before the Numantini,¹²⁴ and then go to bed
 when the morning star wakes, 10
 At the time when generals were breaking camp and moving the standards?
 Why should Fabius, born on the Herculean hearth, celebrate because of the
 Allobrogici¹²⁵ and the Great Altar,¹²⁶

¹¹² *Stemmata* as an abstract idea, but synonymous with *generis tabula*. Courtney, 386.

¹¹³ The name indicates a possible ancestor of a noble who had been a conqueror in Pontus, a region on the Black Sea. The name appears to have a negative connotation (Martial, IX.19) and could refer to Valerius Ponticus (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV.41) or Domitius Ponticus (*Ann. Epigr.* 1951 no. 206), *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Courtney suggests that these are triumphal statues of the Cornelii Scipiones. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Perhaps the adversary of Pyhrrus. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Dimididos* as in “mutilated.” *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ This is thought to be M. Valerius Corvinus, the military tribune of 349 BCE, who earned this cognomen by his single combat against a Gaul, supposedly assisted by a raven. X

¹¹⁸ Houseman suggests *umeros minores habentem* to indicate “armless” as a use of the accusative of respect with a body part. Prateus speculates that this is “lacking a shoulder,” which would fit if Juvenal means that these are busts, as the *imagines* began as masks and later became busts; however, Courtney believes Juvenal is talking about statues indicated by *stantis in curribus Aemilianos* and that Houseman’s statement is “merely as subjective judgment.” *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Related to the *gens Sulpicii* from which he boasted (Suet. II-III; Plut. III; Tac., *Hist.* II.76.2; Sil., *It.* VIII.468). *Ibid.*, 386-7.

¹²⁰ As a “*linea*” connecting relatives (Pliny I-IX).

¹²¹ *Fumosos* indicates the burn off of the fuels used to light lamps. Since the houses at this time had no chimneys, smoke residue would have covered the *imagines*. *Ibid.*

¹²² Courtney points out that the last appointed dictator was 202 BCE. If Juvenal means M. Aemilius Lepidus as the master of horse, the *dictatore* would be Caesar.

¹²³ The bracketing indicates a line thought to be interpolated or corrupt. While it is an extension of the thought process here, the poem still flows and makes sense without it, but since the Lepidi is mentioned in the line following, this would tie in with the idea of the “master of horse with a dictator” if this is a reference to M. Aemilius Lepidus the master of horse to the dictator Julius Caesar. Courtney’s commentary does not make note of this.

¹²⁴ Scipio Aemilianus for his campaigns in Spain.

If he is vain and softer than Euganean¹²⁷ wool with his loins exfoliated by
 Catinensian¹²⁸ pumice,¹²⁹ 15
 A mockery¹³⁰ of his bristly¹³¹ grandfathers, if as the patron of poison, he
 dishonors his dejected clan with a bust which should be broken?
 Go ahead; let the waxen men of old adorn your entire atrium,
 Yet virtue is the one and only nobility¹³² 20
 Let you be a Paulus, Cossus, or Drusus¹³³—in respect to your manners;
 Place these men before the effigies of your ancestors,
 Let those men precede your very rods when you are consul.
 You owe me the best excellence of your rational soul.
 Are you worthy to be regarded as morally pure and steadfast of justice
 because of your deeds and words? 25
 Then I declare you a noble man. Good day,¹³⁴ Gaetulicus, or you, Silanus!¹³⁵
 From whatever lofty bloodline you befall, you are a rare citizen and
 distinguished to your exulting fatherland,
 As the delighted Egyptians rejoice when Osiris has been found.¹³⁶

¹²⁵ This is the cognomen received by Q. Fabius Maximus (cos. 121 BCE) for conquering the Allobroges. Courtney believes that Juvenal also means his sons (Cic., *Tusc.*, I.81) and an exempla of a degenerate from noble birth (Val. Max., III.5.2), and Q. Fabius Persicus (cos. 34 CE) “whose degeneracy from Allobrogicus is insisted on by Seneca (*De Ben.*, IV.30.2).

¹²⁶ Set up by Hercules (Latte, 213; Wissowa, 273; Platner-Ashby, 253; *RE Hercules*, 551). The Fabii claimed their descent from Hercules.

¹²⁷ Courtney calls this an “ornamental epithet” and explains that the “Euganei were a tribe of Venetia.” The sheep were from Altinum, referred to Euganean (Mart., IV.25.1-4) and famous for their wool (Blurner, 238-9; Marquardt, 477; Lauffer, 269; *Edict. Diocl.*, XXI.2).

¹²⁸ Catina was near Etna, thus there was plenty of pumice-stone from the volcano; however, Catina was also infamous for debauchery (F. Bibaculus, IV; Tertull., *De Pallio*, IV-V).

¹²⁹ Frequently referenced for hair removal (Pliny, *NH*, XXXVI.154).

¹³⁰ *Traducit* here in the sense of a caricature, first used by Livy (II.38.3) from the “custom of marching prisoners through the streets of Rome as a triumph.” Courtney states that this “‘triumph’ [is] of this Fabius over his ancestors, unlike that of Allobrogicus” 388.

¹³¹ *Squalentis* as in “hairy” for a contrast to *tenerum*.

¹³² *Virtus* to be taken as the subject and *nobilitas sola atque unica* as the predicate nominative. This is a common view (Cicero, *Ep.* 3; Vell. Pat., II.128.1).

¹³³ Courtney suggests that Juvenal is particularly alluding to L. Aemilius Paulus, conqueror of Perseus in the Third Macedonian War, Tiberius’ brother Drusus, and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, cos. 1 BCE (*RE Cornelius* no. 182; *PIR*² C 1380) who was victorious over the Gaetuli in Africa. He supposedly gave the name to his son (Munzer, 355, n. 1). In the empire, Cossus “became a characteristic praenomen of the Cornelii), and those of the imperial period were commendable (La Fleur *AJP*, 93, 1972, 598).

¹³⁴ *Salve* as an address of reverence, as indicated by following lines comparing to Osiris.

¹³⁵ There was a D. Iunius Silanus Gaetulicus (*RE Iunius* no. 179; *PIR*² I 835) who was a priest of Mars in 63 CE, most likely the grandson of the Gaetulian victor. Iunius Silanus had adopted him. Courtney believes that Juvenal is not making this “family connection”; however, Juvenal is mentioning their names in the same address which could point to a possible relationship between the two.

¹³⁶ The Egyptians held a yearly celebration commemorating Isis’ recovery of Osiris’ body. It was hailed with the ritual chant εὐρήκαμεν συγχάρομεν (Sen., *Apoc.* XII.4; Plut., *Is. et Osir.* XXXIX). The finding of an exemplary man of noble birth is comparative to the restoration of a dead god, and thus is merited an *ovatio*, indicated by the shout of “*salve*,” Courtney, 390.

For who would have said that one is a noble species, unworthy of his descent
and distinguished just because of his noble name? 30
We call dwarfs “Atlas,” an Ethiopian “White Swan,¹³⁷” and a deformed and
monstrous girl “Europa.”
Mangy mutts licking the edge of a dry oil-lamp¹³⁸ are named “Panther,”
“Tiger,” or 35
“Leo,” of if there is anything which growls more violently throughout the
lands.
Therefore, this will be a caveat lest you be either a Creticus or Camerinus.¹³⁹

Whom did I warn with these things? I’m addressing you, Rubellius
Blandus.¹⁴⁰
You are inflated in the head because of your lofty descent from the Drusi,¹⁴¹ 40
As if you yourself have done something to deem yourself as a noble,
So that she who conceived you shines because of the bloodline of the Julii,
Not the weaving woman employed under the windy Embankment,¹⁴²
“You all are lowly men,” you say,¹⁴³ “the lowest part of our vulgar rabble,
Of which no man can point out the fatherland of his father, 45
But I derive from the line of Cecrops!¹⁴⁴ Well, may you live¹⁴⁵ and bear
The lengthy joys of this origin. Nevertheless, in the lowest *pleb*

¹³⁷ The white skin of the Cynus from mythology is discussed by Seneca (*Ag.*, 215).

¹³⁸ The lazy dogs attempt to quench their thirst from an oil lamp rather than looking for water. The lazy dogs are a parallel to the *nobiles* (40-1, 53, 68, 75-6), Courtney, 390.

¹³⁹ This is either Caecilius Metellus or an “ironical conferment” on M. Antonius, the propraetor of 74-1 BCE (Plut., *Ant.* I). Camerinus is of the Sulpicii. Ibid, 391.

¹⁴⁰ Courtney suggests this is the brother of Rubellius Plautus whom Nero put to death in 62 CE and shows the family tree from which he descended. As Courtney also notes, this is interesting as it demonstrates a notable difference of lineage in the Republic versus that of the Empire. In latter times, *nobilitas* was obtained maternally, “which would be inconceivable under the Republic” (Tac., *Hist.*, I.14-15; Sue., *Galba*, II), 391.

¹⁴¹ This indicates imperial descent from Drusus, either Claudius, Caligula, or Nero. Claudius carried the name until he was emperor (*RE Claudius* 2781-2; *PIR*² C p. 226), whereas Caligula never used it, and Nero used it only after he was adopted by Claudius and during his succession (*PIR*² D pp. 35-6. Courtney believes that it unlikely Juvenal is referencing Tiberius who used Drusus as a praenomen, n. 40, 392.

¹⁴² For *sub aggere* this references the houses constructed on the Servian Wall along the Esquiline Hill (Jordan, I.3.370), and it is *ventosus* because it was the “highest point in Rome” (Platner-Ashby, 354).

The *conducta* is the “modern equivalent to a washerwoman” (Braund, n. 13, 327). These women did their work either at home or in a *textrina*. There were factories for producing textiles, but the trade was kept primarily in the home (Loane 70-1; Jones, 350). To call her a “weaver woman” is insulting (MacMullen, 139).

¹⁴³ Courtney says that *inquis* was altered “by the scribe of P himself” from *inquit*, as the verb is typically found in the third person singular; however Juvenal uses it in the second person middle at XIV.153. Here, Rubellius is “strongly visualized” as the subject of *inquis*. n. 41, p. 392.

¹⁴⁴ One of the mythical first kings of Athens.

¹⁴⁵ An optative subjunctive; Courtney suggests that *vivas* is in the sense of “good luck to you” (Marquardt, 337; 754-5), n. 46, 393.

You will find an eloquent *Quirtes*, this man accustomed to defend
 The lawsuits of an ignorant noble; the one who comes from the togated *pleb* 50
 Takes apart the knots of justice and solves the enigmas of the law;
 From this place, the young man seeks the Euphrates¹⁴⁶
 And the one more assiduous with arms seeks the eagles as the guardians of
 the tamed Batavi.¹⁴⁷
 But you are nothing except the offspring of Cecrops, similar to the body of a
 Herm.
 In fact, you are victorious in respect to no other distinction than
 The Herm has a marble head, while your image is alive.¹⁴⁸ 55
 Tell me, progeny of the Trojans, in respect to dumb animals,
 Who would think them a noble species unless they were strong?
 Indeed we thus praise the swift horse, for whom the victory palm is easy
 while he seethes and triumphs in the hoarse Circus.
 This one is noble, he comes from whatever grassland, 60
 Whose clear flight is before the others and he is first in the plane of dust.
 But the offspring of Coryphaeus and Hirpinus¹⁴⁹ are a flock for sale, if a rare
 victory¹⁵⁰ sits on the yoke.
 There the respect for ancestors is nothing, no gratitude of the shades;
 They are ordered to change masters when the prizes become meager, 65
 The slow-footed ones lead the reins with their neck rubbed away and the
 grandsons are worthy to turn the millstone.
 Therefore, as we admire you, not your achievements, first give something
 Which I am able to engrave besides your honors from the titles
 Which we give and have given to those men, to whom we owe everything. 70

Enough of these things for the young man whom it was rumored
 That he was arrogant, inflated and puffed up because of his relation with
 Nero;
 For there is nearly a rare understanding common in this this fortune.
 But I do not wish thus, Ponticus, that you be valued by the praise of your
 ancestors, 75
 That you yourself make nothing of future praise. It is wretched to rely upon
 the reputation of others,
 So that your house having fallen into ruins tumbles down after the columns
 are removed.

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps a reference to Trajan's campaign in the East. (Courtney, n. 51, p. 392).

¹⁴⁷ By Juvenal's time, the Batavi had become a "client people" yet "by no means completely subject" (Tac. *Hist.*, IV.12; *Germ.* XXIX). They had rebelled in 69 CE. Courtney suggests that the name here is used merely as a metonymy. N. 51, p. 394

¹⁴⁹ Coryphaei or κορυφαῖος means "leader. Hirpinus was a famous horse (Mar. III.63.12). n. 62, p. 395.

¹⁵⁰ Use of the adjective *rara* instead of an expected adverb in idiomatic English (Lewis and Short, s.v. II B I b). Courtney suggest that *victoria* should be capitalized indicating the goddess. N. 63, p. 395.

The young vine-sprout stretched upon the ground longs for the elm trees
 having been deprived of the soil.
 Be a good soldier, a good guardian, likewise an honest judge;
 Even if when you are called as a witness of a doubtful and uncertain affair, 80
 Even if Phalaris was ordering that you swear falsely
 And perjury should repeatedly with his brazen bull brought near,
 Believe it is the highest wickedness to prefer your life's breath to honor,
 And to destroy the reasons for the sake of living because of life.
 A man perished is worthy of death, it is permitted he eat one hundred
 Gaurana¹⁵¹ 85
 oysters and be immersed in the whole bronze tub of Cosmus'¹⁵² perfumed
 oils.
 When the long awaited province receives you as its governor,
 Set aside the reins of ire,¹⁵³ and set a limit to your greed, be compassionate of
 our poor allies;
 You see the bones of their affairs sucked dry with the marrows being empty. 90
 Have regard for what the laws advocate, what the Senate orders,
 How great the rewards await good men, how both Capito and Tutor¹⁵⁴ fell to
 ruin
 By the just thunderbolt¹⁵⁵ when Senate damning them, the pirates of the
 Cilicians.¹⁵⁶
 But what did condemnation bring? Look around for a seller for your
 garments, Chaerippus, 95
 Because Pansa snatched whatever Natta¹⁵⁷ left behind for you, and say
 nothing already;
 It is madness to destroy your passage money¹⁵⁸ after all of this.
 Once upon a time, there was neither the same burden nor wound was equal
 of losses when the allies were flourishing and just having been conquered.
 Every home was full at that time and was maintaining heaps of coins, Spartan 100
 cloaks, garments of Coan purple, and the ivory statues of Phidias were living

¹⁵¹ Found in the Lucrine Lake. n. 86, p. 397.

¹⁵² Martial mentions a famous seller of perfumes by this name. The *aenum* is a "living death" as contrasted with Phalaris' bronze bull which is literal. Courtney, n. 86, p. 397.

¹⁵³ Horace, *Epist.* 12.62-3.

¹⁵⁴ Cossutianus Capito was sentenced in 57 CE for accusations brought against him by Cilicia (Tac., *Ann.*, XIII.33, XVI.21; Quintil., VI.1.14). Tutor is otherwise unknown, but Courtney suggest that he was a Vellaei, perhaps a predecessor or successor of Capito. n. 93, p. 398.

¹⁵⁵ Indicating an imperial punishment. Courtney, n. 92, p. 398.

¹⁵⁶ Ironic, as the Cilicians were notorious for piracy.

¹⁵⁷ Courtney says that these names are typical of governors of the noble class, but not actual governors although M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa governed Cappadocia and Galatia during the reign of Vespasian. The point here is that previous greedy actions do not discourage a successor from like behavior.

Chaerippus may have been an accuser of these men. n. 95-6., p. 399.

¹⁵⁸ This is the first time *naulum* appears in Latin. Courtney says it may have become "domesticated" from Roman derivatives, but it may be a reference to Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 270 as a fare for Charon. n. 97, p. 399.

With the paintings of Parrhasius and the statues of Myron, the great work of Polyclitus were everywhere, there were few tables without a Mentor.
 Then Dolabella and next Antonius and thereafter the sacrilegious Verres¹⁵⁹ 105
 Were carrying back hidden spoils in their tall ships and triumphing during peacetime.
 Now for our allies, there are a few yokes of oxen, a meager flock of mares,
 And the father of the herd will be taken away with the little field having been seized.
 Next the *Lares* themselves, if any statue is notable.¹⁶⁰ 110
 [if there is any one god in the little shrine; these things indeed are instead of the highest things, for these things are the greatest.
 Perhaps you might disdain]¹⁶¹ the unwarlike Rhodians and you rightly scorn the oil smeared Corinthian;¹⁶²
 What will race of youth with legs shaved smooth¹⁶³ do to you? 115
 Bristly Spain must be shunned, the Gallic pole and the Illyrian side;
 Spare those reapers who fill the city idle because of the circus and stage;
 Moreover from there how great of prizes of so dire blame will you bear,
 After Marius recently disarmed the poor Africans? 120
 It must be attended to in the first things that injustice not become great
 To the strong and to the wretched. It is permitted that you take away all
 Which is of gold and silver, you will leave behind shield and sword.
 [and spear and helmet; arms remain to the ones having been plundered.]¹⁶⁴
 That which I have only proposed, it is not opinion, it is true; 125
 Believe that I recite the pages of the Sibyl to you all.¹⁶⁵

If your cohort of companions is just, if no long-haired youth sells your tribunal,
 If there is no accusation against your spouse¹⁶⁶ and she is not preparing to go

¹⁵⁹ Either Cn. Cornelius Dolabella who was charged with extortion in Cilicia, 80-79 BCE, or another of the same name for extortion in Macedonia, 77 BCE.
 Antonius is C. Antonius Hybrida who was prosecuted for plundering Greece in 76 BCE under Sulla and charged for plundering Macedonia in 62 BCE.
 Verres was successfully prosecuted by Cicero for extortion in Sicily, namely temple robbing (Cic. 2, *Verr.*, 1.9; 47.5-4; 188). n. 105-6, p. 401.

¹⁶⁰ *Lares* meaning the term the Romans denoted for provincial cults. Roman *lares* were typically not worth much, but could hold a significant value (Tertull., *Apol.* 13, *Ad Nat.* I.10.20).

¹⁶¹ See Courtney, n. 111-12, p. 401 and Green, n. 15, p. 173. I agree with Green that the interpolation here is "unnecessary."

¹⁶² See Courtney, n. 111-12, p. 401 and Green, n. 15, p. 173. I agree with Green that the interpolation here is "unnecessary."

¹⁶² Corinth was famed for its wealth (Cic. *De Rep.* II.7-8).

¹⁶³ Too effeminate for Roman tastes (Sen. *Ep.* 114.14; Ovid *AA* I.506; Epictet. III.1.42).

¹⁶⁴ These lines are seen as a tautology and their authenticity is in question. Courtney, n. 123-4, p. 403 and Green, n. 17, p. 173.

¹⁶⁵ Ovid *AA*, II.541; Pliny *NH*, 29.14; Sen. *Contr.* I pr. 9.

¹⁶⁶ In Republican times, the wife would have stayed home, but this rule changed under Tiberius. As a result, wives were charged with extortion (Pliny *Ep.*, 3.9.19; Tac. *Ann.* III.XXXIII).

Through the assemblies and through all the towns about to seize coins with
 curved talons like Celaeno,¹⁶⁷ 130
 Then it is permitted you regard your ancestry from the Woodpecker King,¹⁶⁸
 And if the lofty names delight you as every Titan battle,
 You may place Prometheus himself among your ancestors,¹⁶⁹
 [from whatever assumed myth¹⁷⁰ you wish your grandfather to be.]
 If excessive ambition and lust for power brings you down, if you break the
 rods on the blood of allies, 135
 If the blunt executioner's axes delight you with the exhausted lictor,
 The nobility of your parents themselves begins to stand against you
 And a bright torch brings to light that which you should be ashamed.
 Every vice of the soul is more conspicuous than such a great thing the fault
 has against itself, by how much the one who fails is held more.
 But why should I care that you are accustomed to sign false tablets/records,
 In the temples which your grandfather made and the statue of your father
 before his triumph?
 Why should I care that as the nocturnal adulterer you hide the times covered
 over by a Santonic garment?¹⁷¹ 145

Past the ashes and bones of his ancestors,¹⁷² fat Lateranus is carried along by
 his flying cart,¹⁷³ and he, he¹⁷⁴ himself works the brake to the wheel, the
 muleteer¹⁷⁵ consul,
 At night indeed, but the Moon sees, and the stars bear witnesses¹⁷⁶ stretching
 forth their eyes. 150

¹⁶⁷ One of the harpies. Vergil describes her with *uncae manus* (*Aen.* III.211).

¹⁶⁸ Picus was the son of Saturn who fathered Faunus who in turn was the first Laurentine king (*Ver. Aen.* VI.48).

¹⁶⁹¹⁶⁹ This refers to the Titanomachy versus Zeus. Although Prometheus himself was a Titan, he backed Zeus. Prometheus is said to have fashioned the first men from clay, thus denying his position as the ancestor of men; however, if he was the first man, not just *nobiles* descended from him (Courtney, n. 133, p. 404-5).

¹⁷⁰ *Libro* as in a myth such as *Theogony* by Hesiod; however, the line seems to be spurious and seems to be a replacement for 131-3. "It is an anticlimax, weak in thought and expression and breaking the rhythmical flow" (*Ibid.*, n. 134).

¹⁷¹ *Cucullus* is most likely a Gallic word (Niedermaier *Mus. Helv.* 7, 1950, 152-3).

¹⁷² A reference to the tombs that were along the roads in ancient Rome (Courtney, n. 146, pg. 406).

¹⁷³ *Carpento* refers to a "two-wheeled, two horse light carriage" (*Ibid.*, n. 147, pg. 406). Lewis-Short indicates that this type of vehicle was particularly "used in town by women," which would further demote Lateranus' position.

¹⁷⁴ *Ipse, ipse* is "an indignant epanalepsis" (*Ibid.*, n. 145 pg. 406).

¹⁷⁵ *Muliones* were typically slaves, thus again a direct jab at Lateranus' behavior for someone in his position (*Ibid.*, n. 148 pg. 406).

¹⁷⁶ *Sidera testes*... Courtney states that *testes* could be in the nominative or accusative. If accusative it is either in apposition or an adjectival use; however, due to its position, I argue for its use as a predicate nominative (*Ibid.*, n. 152 pg. 406-7).

When the time of his office will have ended, Lateranus will take up the whip
in the light of day and he will never fear the meeting of a friend; already old
and he will nod his greeting before with his switch¹⁷⁷,

And he will release the bundles of hay, and he will pour out the barley for his
tired mules.

Meanwhile while he slaughters wooly sheep and a red young bull in the
custom of Numa,¹⁷⁸

155

Before the high altar of Jupiter he swears oath to Epona alone and her images
painted on the reeking stables.¹⁷⁹

But when he wishes to repeat¹⁸⁰ his all-night visit to the tavern,¹⁸¹

A Syrophoenician wet with persistent perfume runs up to him blocking his
path,

The Syrophoenician,¹⁸² an inhabitant of the Idymaeen Gate,¹⁸³ with the
goodwill of a host,

160

He salutes him as master and as king, while Cyane¹⁸⁴ bustles up her skirt
with a bottle to sell.

The defender of the fault says to me, "We did these things as young men."

It may be so, indeed you desisted and did not foster the mistake further.

That which you dare disgracefully should be brief, certain crimes should be
cut off with your first beard.

165

Concede a favor to boys; Lateranus goes to those wine cups of the
bathhouses¹⁸⁵ and the marked curtains¹⁸⁶ as the proper age for war at
Armenia or Syria,

And for watching over the rivers at the Rhine and the Danube.¹⁸⁷

170

This age is strong to preserve Nero as secure.

Send to Ostia, Caesar, send, but seek your legate in a great pub:

¹⁷⁷ *Virga adnuet* "salute with his switch" (Apul., *Flor.*, XXI.5-7; Dio Cass. LXXVII.10.2), *Ibid.*, n. 154, pg. 407.

¹⁷⁸ This type of sacrifice would have been made to Jupiter Latiaris (Dion. Hal. *AR* IV.49). Numa was considered the establisher of many Roman religious traditions (Livy, *Ab. Urbe Cond.*, I.20).

¹⁷⁹ Epona is the muleteer goddess of Gallic origins. Her image was depicted in stables (Apul., *Met.* III.27).

¹⁸⁰ An ironic use; *instaurare* can mean "to renew" or "to celebrate anew" or "solemnly" (especially in relation to the *feriae Latinae*, Cic. *Ad. Q. Fr.* II.4.4). The general translation is "to visit," but Juvenal uses it in the same manner as Cicero as indicated by the use of *popina* (Courtney, n. 158 pg. 408).

¹⁸¹ *Popinas* were known to be of low repute (Kelberg 93 ssq.; Balsdon, 153; *SG* I.292 = I.350).

¹⁸² *Syrophoneniktes* were infamous for being obsequious and greedy, a desirable quality for an innkeeper (Courtney, n. 159 pg. 408).

¹⁸³ Probably a snide reference to the Jewish district by the Porta Capena (Rudd n. 159, pg. 195).

¹⁸⁴ A "blue-eyed" prostitute (Braund n. 37 pg. 337).

¹⁸⁵ *Thermarum calices* refers to the bars found in bathhouses (Kleberg 51-2; Blumner, 435).

¹⁸⁶ *Inscripta lintea*. The awnings on the front of businesses were painted with advertisements (Kleberg, 115).

¹⁸⁷ References to the boundaries of the empire (Courtney, n. 169 pg. 409).

You will discover him somewhere lying with an assassin, mixed up with
 sailors, thieves, and fugitives,
 Among executioners and forgers of coffins, and eunuch priests lying
 prostrate with their drums at rest.¹⁸⁸ 175
 Here liberty is equal, community cups, no other couch for anyone,
 Nor a table more withdrawn for another.¹⁸⁹
 What would you do with a slave such of this sort, Ponticus?
 Indeed you would send him to the penitentiary in Lucania or Etruria.¹⁹⁰ 180
 But you, progenies of Troy, you overlook for yourselves even the disgraceful
 things
 Which slaves will befit the Volessi and a Brutus.¹⁹¹

If any of us never uses these foul things to this extent and
 Uses these examples which must be shamed to this extent, so that the worst
 things remain?
 With your resources having been consumed, you hired out your voice to the
 theater, 185
 Damasippus,¹⁹²
 So that you were performing the bawling ghost of Catullus.¹⁹³
 Swift Lentulus¹⁹⁴ also performed Laureolus well, with me being the judge he
 was worthy of a real cross.¹⁹⁵
 Nevertheless, you should not forgive the public itself; the brow of this
 populous is more dire,
 The ones who sit and look upon the gross buffooneries of the patricians, 190
 It listens to the shoeless¹⁹⁶ Fabii,¹⁹⁷ the one who is able to laugh at the
 slaps¹⁹⁸ of the Mamerci.¹⁹⁹

¹⁸⁸ *Galli* were eunuch priests of the cult of Cybele. Her rites included the use of drums and symbols.

¹⁸⁹ This appears to be a sarcastic jab at the Stoic concept of equality (Green, n. 23 pg. 174).

¹⁹⁰ To be sent to these places was a punishment for a slave (Blummer 290; Marquard 179; Plaut. *Most.* 18; Ter. *Ph.* 250; *Quintil.* II.8.7).

Lucania is not used until Horace although Lucani (Cic. *Tusc.* I.89) appears previously (Wolfflin *ALL* 12, 1902, 332 and 13, 1904, 414).

Latifundia in Etruria were often worked by chain-gangs (Courtney, n. 180 pg. 410).

¹⁹¹ Not the original bearers of these names (Rudd n. 182 pg. 196). Volessus was a descendent of P. Valerius Poplicola (Livy I.58.6) and is "naturally associated with the liberator Brutus" (Courtney, n. 182 pg. 411).

¹⁹² A name associated with the Lunii and Licinii, but the identity of this one is uncertain (Ibid., n. 185, pg. 411; Green, n. 24 pg. 174).

¹⁹³ This is not Catullus of the 1st c. BCE, but a "popular farce writer" in the reign of Nero (Green, n. 24, pg. 174).

¹⁹⁴ Of the *gens* Cornelia.

¹⁹⁵ This play may have been similar to Plautus' *Mostellaria*, It was about a highwayman named Laureolus and his crucifixion and was popular under the reign of Caligula. Whoever played Laureolus "had to die while escaping... and vomit blood" (Suet. *Cal.* LVII). Martial references this scene (VII.4) and states that a convicted criminal played the part and was truly crucified in the end of the play and mauled by a bear (Green, n. 24, pg. 174; Rudd n. 187 pg. 196).

How many of them sell their funeral rites; what is the return? They sell themselves with no Nero compelling them,
 They do not hesitate to sell themselves at the games of the lofty praetor.²⁰⁰
 Nevertheless, imagine the gladiators there and here the stages are placed, 195
 What is more advantageous? Did anyone thus tremble at death,
 That the husband of Thymele was jealous, or the colleague of the foolish
 Corinthus?²⁰¹
 With the emperor being a lyre player, nevertheless by no means is a noble
 mime an astonishing affair.

Beyond these things what will be except the school for gladiators?
 And there is the disgrace of the city, not in the arms of a *murmillo*,²⁰² 200
 Gracchus fighting not with a shield and a curved scythe;²⁰³
 For he condemns such attires [but he condemns and he hates,
 The helmet does not hide his face]²⁰⁴: Behold! He wields a trident.
 In vain he casts the hanging net brandished with his right hand,²⁰⁵
 He raises his exposed face to the spectators, and he who should be
 recognized flees from the entire sand. 205
 We believe his tunic, because the gold extends itself from his throat
 And the twisted tie is swinging from his long priest's cap.²⁰⁶
 Therefore, the pursuer having been ordered to fight with Gracchus
 Endures a disgrace more serious than every wound. 210

If free suffrage was given to the people, for who is so corrupted that he would
 hesitate to prefer Seneca²⁰⁷ to Nero?

¹⁹⁶ *Planipedes* here meaning barefoot, typical of actors in the mime (Courtney, n. 191 pg. 412).

¹⁹⁷ A noble *gens* forced by Nero to disgrace themselves (Dio. Cass. LXI.17.4).

¹⁹⁸ *Alapae* were a standard part of the mime. Courtney states that here "Juvenal certainly means blows inflicted on the Mamerci" to place emphasis on the abasement (n. 192-4 pg. 412).

¹⁹⁹ From the Aemilii supposedly of Mamercus, son of Pythagoras or Numa (*RE* s.v. and *Aemilius* 543-4; 568-9).

²⁰⁰ During the reign of Augustus the *praetores* instead of the *aediles* became responsible for the sponsorship of games (Courtney, n. 194 pg. 412).

²⁰¹ The jealous husband was a standard character of the mime. *Collega* is a "sarcastic use" as Corinthus refers to someone of slave status (*Ibid.*, n. 197 pg. 414).

²⁰² Heavy armed fighter with a fish on his helmet.

²⁰³ *Falce supine* was a "short curved sword" wielded by the *Thraex* (cf. Artemidorus II.32). The *Thraex*, and the *murmillo* would have had their faces covered by helmets (Courtney, n. 200-1 pg. 414-5).

²⁰⁴ See *Ibid.*, n. 202, p. 415.

²⁰⁵ Gracchus is a *retiarius* indicating a lower class of gladiator (Braund n. 50 pg. 341).

²⁰⁶ Not only Gracchus' bare face but Salian priest attire reveals his identity (Rudd n. 201 pg. 196).

²⁰⁷ Tutor of Nero and forced to commit suicide after the Pisonian conspiracy (*Tac., Ann.* XV.65)

For the punishment of this man, one ape, one serpent, and one sack ought to
 be prepared.²⁰⁸

His crime was equal to that of Orestes, but motive made the affair different. 215
 Indeed by the authority of the gods that one was the avenger of his father
 slain amid his drink,
 But he did not pollute himself by slitting Electra's throat or with the blood of
 his Spartan wife,
 And he did not mix up poisons for any relatives, Orestes never sang on the
 stage,²⁰⁹ 220
 Nor did he compose a Trojan epic. For what did Verginius owe to avenge
 more by arms or by Vindex and Galba,²¹⁰
 That which Nero made by a so savage and bloody tyranny?
 These works and these skills were of a noble-born *princeps*,
 Rejoicing that he prostituted himself to the foreign stages with his foul
 singing 225
 And that he had earned the parsley of a Greek crown,²¹¹
 Let the effigies of your ancestors have the honors of your voice,
 Place your tragic robe of Thyestes before the feet of Domitius or
 Your mask of Antigone or Melanippe, and hang your lyre from your
 enormous marble statue.²¹² 230

What, Catiline, will anyone discover more lofty than the noble lineage of
 yours and Cethegus?²¹³
 Nevertheless the two of you prepared nocturnal arms and flames for homes
 and temples,
 As the children of pants-wearing Senones, you dared what is lawful to punish
 with the tunic of pitch.²¹⁴ 235

²⁰⁸ The punishment for patricide was placement in a sack with an ape, a snake, a dog, and a cock and then thrown into the river.

²⁰⁹ Orestes killed his mother Clytemnestra in vengeance after she killed Agamemnon. Hermione is the parallel to Octavia and Electra to Antonia, daughter of Claudius. Antonia was half sister to Nero via adoption (Sue. XXXV). Nero attempted to poison his mother Agrippa and eventually had her killed. In addition to her attempted poisoning, Nero had Britannicus and Domitia, Nero's aunt, killed by poison (Sue. XXXIV.5; Dio LXI.17).

²¹⁰ Although Verginius did not oppose Nero, his actions suppressed Vindex's attempt to put Galba on the throne (Pliny *Ep.* IX.19). Vindex apparently criticized Nero's singing and its nature (Dio LXIII.22; Sue. III.1).

²¹¹ A reference to the crowns of parsley, the prize at the Isthmian and the pine crown of the Nemean games. Nero toured Greece 67-8 CE (Dio LXI.14, LXII.22; Sue. *Nero* XIX, XXI.2, XXII.3, XXIII-IV).

²¹² Domitius refers to a distant ancestor of Nero. Thyestes, Melanippe, and Antigone refers to roles that he supposedly played (Rudd n. 228 pg. 197). For the colossal statue and dedication of the crowns see Sue. *Nero* XII.

²¹³ Catiline was of the *gens* Sergii who traced their lineage from the Trojans (Verg. *Aen.* V.121). Cethegus traced his lineage from the Cornelii (Sen. *Suas.* VI.26.6-7).

²¹⁴ The *bracae* were worn by the Gauls from Gallia Bracata, the former name of Narboensis (Thes. II.2155.68). The Senones invaded Rome in 390 BCE.

But the consul keeps watch and he surrounds your standards.
 This *novus homo* from Arpinum, not noble born and only a municipal *eques* at
 Rome,
 He placed the helmeted men and protection everywhere for the terrified, and
 he worked on every mountain.
 Therefore, the toga²¹⁵ conferred him within the walls so great of name and
 title to that man, 240
 How great Octavian obtained in Leucas,²¹⁶ how great Octavian²¹⁷ obtained on
 the plains of Thessaly²¹⁸ with his sword dripping from incessant carnage;
 But a free Rome hailed Cicero the Parent and Father of the Fatherland.²¹⁹
 Another man from Arpinum was accustomed to ask for wages in the
 mountains of 245
 the Volsci²²⁰ wearied because of another man's plough;
 After these things he was breaking the knotty staff on his head, if as a lazy
 man he was fortifying with a lethargic pickaxe.
 Nevertheless, this man both took out the Cimbri and removed the highest
 dangers of the affairs and he alone protected the trembling city, 250
 And for that reason, afterwards the ravens were flying around the carnage
 Toward the Cimbri, (the ravens) who had never tasted bigger corpses,²²¹
 His noble colleague was adorned with a second-place laurel.²²²
 The plebeian lives of the Decii²²³ were plebeian names;
 Nevertheless these men are sufficient for all the Latin youth, the infernal
 gods, and 255
 Mother Earth instead of the whole legions and all the auxiliaries.
 [For the Decii by those greater things were more than the things which they
 preserved.]²²⁴
 A man having been born by a slave woman earned the robe, the diadem, and
 the rods of Quirinus, that man was the last of the good kings,²²⁵ 260

Tunica molesta was a shirt made of pitch in which the person accused of arson was burned (Mart. X.25.5-6; Tac. *Ann.* XV.44; Sen. *Ep.* XIV-V).

²¹⁵ Worn in peacetime (Cic. *De Or.* III.167). Juvenal is referencing a line from Cicero, "Let arms give way to the toga" (Rudd n. 240 pg. 198).

²¹⁶ A reference to the island or peninsula thirty miles south from Actium often referred to as the battle site (Ver. *Aen.*, VIII.677; Prop. III.11.69).

²¹⁷ A jab at Augustus (Courtney n. 242 pg. 420)

²¹⁸ See Ver. *Georg.* I.489. Poets have "often confused Pharsalia in Thessaly with Philippi in Macedonia usually for artistic effect absent here (Ibid.).

²¹⁹ Given to Cicero by his colleague Catulus (App. *Bell. Civ.* II.7; Plut. *Cic.* XXIII).

²²⁰ Volsci were a tough race of warriors. The idea of Marius' ruggedness is furthered by *in monte* (Courtney n. 245 pg. 420).

²²¹ The conflict with the Cimbri and Teutones was 102 BCE. For the size of these peoples see Tac. *Ger.* XX and Plut. *Mar.* XI.

²²² Q. Lutatius Catulus was Marius' fellow consul. The soldiers would not let Marius triumph without sharing the honors with Catulus (Plut. *Mar.* XXVII).

²²³ P. Decius Mus and his son surrendered their lives in exchange for the Roman army's in battle against the Samnites, 295 BCE (Livy VIII.9.8, X.28.15).

²²⁴ See Courtney, n. 258 p. 421-2.

²²⁵ Servius Tullius.

The young sons of the consul himself were releasing the locks opened for the exiled tyrants

Whom also it was fitting to do something great on behalf of doubtful liberty,
That which Mucius should admire with Cocles and the maiden who swam the
Tiber, the ends of our *imperium*. 265

A slave who should be mourned by the matrons disclosed the secret crimes
against the Senate;²²⁶

But whips and the first axe of the laws inflicted those men with just penalties.

I prefer Thersites be your father, provided that you are similar to Achilles
and you attain the arms of Vulcan, than Achilles begat you and you are
similar to 270

Thersites.²²⁷

And nevertheless, as far back as you return, and as far back as you unwind
your name,

You draw your *gens* from the infamous asylum;²²⁸

The first man of your ancestors, whoever that guy was,

Either he was a shepherd or that which I do not wish to say. 275

²²⁶ Titus and Tiberius, sons of Brutus, who attempted to restore Tarquinius Superbus to the throne, but their plans were revealed by a slave (Livy II.3).

Cocles and Mucius were involved with the conflict against Lars Porsena, the former for saving a bridge and the latter for making an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Porsena. Mucius in turn told Porsena his plans for assassination and then burnt his hand saying "See how cheap men hold their bodies when they care only for honor," thus earning his *cognomen* "Scaevola." The "maid who swam the Tiber" is Cloelia who crossed the Tiber with other prisoners of war during the same conflict with Porsena (Livy II.12-3).

²²⁷ Thersites was infamous for speaking out against Agamemnon during a rally of Greek forces (*Iliad* II). Achilles was son of Peleus of Aeacus. Achilles' arms were stolen by the Trojans after they were worn by Patroklos and a new set of arms was forged by Vulcan.

²²⁸ Asylum was offered by Romulus to help populate the city. Livy states that it was open to criminals of every sort and men of every status (I.8-9).

Works Cited, Primary

- Braund, Susanna Morton, trans. *Juvenal and Persius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Green, Peter, trans. *Juvenal, Sixteen Satires*. London: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Kaster, Robert A. and Martha C. Nussbaum, trans. *Seneca: Anger, Mercy and Revenge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Rudd, Niall, trans. *Horace and Persius*. London: Penguin Books, 2005.
- , trans. *Juvenal, The Satires*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Works Cited, Reference

- Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short. *A Latin Dictionary*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1879.

Works Cited, Secondary

- Anderson, William S. *Essays on Roman Satire*. Princeton: New Jersey, 1982.
- Barr, W. "Res—A Thing?": Persius, 4.1, *PLLS* 3: (ARCA 7), 1981, xii.
- Braund, Susanna H. *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires*.
Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1988.
- , "Juvenal VIII.58-59," *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1981): 221-3.
- and Christopher Gill. *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- , *Roman Satirists and Their Masks*. London: Bristol Classical Press,
1996.
- , *Roman Verse Satire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, ed. by Kirk Freudenburg.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Carnochan, W.B. "Satire, Sublimity, and Sentiment: Theory and Practice in
Post-Augustan Satire," *PMLA*, Vol. 85, No. 2 (Mar., 1970): 260-7.
- Coffey, Michael. *Roman Satire*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1989.
- Courtney, Edward. *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. London: The
Athlone Press, 1980.
- Critical Essays on Roman Satire*, ed. by John Patrick Sullivan. London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963.
- Diggle, James. "Juvenal VIII.220," *The Classical Review*, New Series, Vol. 24,
No. 2 (Nov., 1974): 183-4.

- Duff, J. Wight. *Roman Satire: Its Outlook on Social Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.
- Essays on Roman Satire*, ed. by Anderson, William S. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Fredericks, Sigsbee. "Rhetoric and Morality in Juvenal's Eighth Satire." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*. Vol. 102, (1971), 112-32.
- Freudenburg, Kirk. *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Green, Peter. "Juvenal Revisited," *Grand Street*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (Autumn, 1989): 175-96.
- Guilhamet, Leon. *Satire and the Transformation of Genre*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Henderson, John. *Figuring Out Roman Nobility: Juvenal's Eighth Satire*. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1997.
- Hight, Gilbert. *Juvenal the Satirist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- , "Masks and Faces in Satire," *Hermes*, 102. Bd., H. 2 (1974): 321-37.
- Hodgart, Matthew. *Satire: Origins and Principles*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2010.
- Hooley, Daniel M. *Roman Satire*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- McBrown, P.J. "Two Passages in Juvenal's Eighth Satire," *The Classical Quarterly, New Series*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Nov., 1972): 374-5.
- Keane, Catherine. *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire*. Oxford: Oxford University

- Press, 2006.
- "Theater, Spectacle, and the Satirist in Juvenal," *Phoenix*, Vol. 57, No. ¾ (Autumn-Winter, 2003): 257-75.
- Kernan, Alvin B. *The Plot of Satire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Knight, Charles. *The Literature of Satire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Plaza, Marcia. *The Function of Humor in Roman Verse Satire: Laughing and Lying*. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2006.
- Quincey, J.H. "Juvenal 'Satire' VIII 192-6," *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, Vol. 12, Fasc. 2 (1959): 139-40.
- Ramage, Edwin trans. Ulrich Knoche *Roman Satire*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.
- Relihan, Joel C. *Ancient Menippean Satire*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Richlin, Amy. *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Rudd, Niall. *Themes in Roman Satire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.
- Pollard, Arthur. *Satire: The Critical Idiom*. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1982.
- Satire and Society in Ancient Rome*, ed. by Susan H. Braund. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989.
- Selden, R. "Juvenal and Restoration Modes of Translation," *The Modern*

- Language Review*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jul., 1973): 481-93.
- Swift, Jonathan. *A Modest Proposal*. Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996.
- Van Rooy, C.A. *Studies in Classical Satire and Related Literary Theory*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965.
- Winkler, M.M. *The Persona in Three Satires of Juvenal*. Olms: University of California Press, 1983.
- Wisn, David S. "Juvenal and the Intellectuals," *Hermes*, 101. Bd., H. 4 (1973): 464-83.