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Juvenal the Reformer and His Age

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Juvenal The Reformer and His Age

By

John P. Fisher

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Vita

John P. Fisher was born in Chicago, Illinois, April 28, 1918.

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From 1941 to 1942 the writer held an Assistantship in Classics at Loyola University and during that same period he devoted his time to graduate study in the same field.

Introduction

By "Juvenal and his Age" is meant that period in which the greater number of historical personages lived who are mentioned in Juvenal's Satires. There are many important personages and traditional characters to whom he has given considerable mention and to whom he attaches importance. Especially does he regard highly those of the earlier centuries of Rome; to these frequent references will be made. In this thesis important events, places, ruling bodies, and customs, which had their roots in earlier times, shall also be mentioned. The intention is not to develop this age chronologically, for the first chapter is not considered as a history; it is only a historical setting for the Satires. The intention is not to develop the growth of Rome, only to the extent that such growth affected the customs of the people. Juvenal refers time and time again to the family life, social, business or professional life, less often to government or political life, and least often to religious life. The researches have been taken from the histories of Rome written by the most noted authorities, with emphasis on works published during the twentieth century.

A number of points to be discussed will deal directly with Juvenal's works. In this regard quotations from the Satires will be offered as primary sources. Additional points may from time to time be drawn from events or persons whom Juve-

nal mentions indirectly, such as the tunica molesta, the earlier history of the Roman Republic, and the Christian influence in Rome. There is no attempt to depart from Juvenal's shadow; for the sake of variety, new material will come into the light, tempered only by the fact that such material occurred in some form or other in Juvenal. Where may the difference be noted? If the material does not occur directly in Juvenal, it may be inferred that the poet has concealed his meaning under a symbol of the past.

I

General Character of The Period

Since the biography of Juvenal will be given at length in the second Chapter and the Satires will be discussed fully in the third Chapter, such data shall be omitted here except where it is expedient to refer to either. The purpose of this thesis is to prove from history that Juvenal's attacks on the vices of his day were not exaggerated. He tactfully does not assail powerful personages who are still living, for he says he attacks only those buried by the side of the Flaminian and Latin roads.¹ The vices, however, are those of his own time, the vices of the great parasites and even those of the common crowd; slavery, sloth, avarice, murder, and the entire calendar of sins in Juvenal's day, all are there. It may be necessary to go back many centuries to search out the roots of the evils. This procedure is necessary, because history has shown that the great events of one era arise out of the isolated incidents of an earlier era. Slavery, luxury, gluttony, pride, immorality, idleness, greed, all had a beginning; this beginning came long before Juvenal's time. Needless to say, if such is the case, the earlier Republic witnessed the base beginnings of the vices of the later Empire.

Rome was successful in the Punic Wars; then she con-

¹ Juv. Sat. i. 170.

quered Philip of Macedon and all these lands came under her control. Since the Romans were not at this stage experienced in governing conquered peoples, at first a governor was appointed for each province. His power was unlimited, almost like that of an ancient king.² The governor, seldom a man of experience, used the power to gain a quick fortune, a fortune obtained by looting and robbery; then he returned to Rome to live in ease with his ill-gotten wealth.³ Cornelius was condemned for extortion in 78 B.C.; C. Antonius also, nephew of Mark Anthony, was expelled from the Senate for the same reason about 70 B.C. Then there arose a group of "loan sharks",⁴ contractors or publicani, who were allowed to collect the taxes for the state; a reference to this class of sinner publicani is found in the New Testament.⁵ These tax-gatherers plundered the provinces more than the greedy governors.

The Roman citizen of the old days lived in a one-room, sun-dried brick cabin or atrium. After the Macedonian and Carthaginian Wars, he, the plain Roman citizen, added a colonnaded Hellenistic court with adjoining dining-room, bedrooms, library, and kitchen. Statues, paintings, and trophies of war brought from the East were additional collections. Pipes for running water and sanitary conveniences were likewise being produced.⁶

2 Robinson & Breasted, A History of Europe Ancient and Medieval, p.196.

3 Ibid.

4 Juv.Sat.1.49-50, viii.87-97.

5 Matt. 23,12, Luke, 18,10-14.

6 Robinson & Breasted, op.cit., p.210.

Such luxury required a large body of household servants; a door-keeper(janitor) stood at the door(janua) and there was a slave for every household duty. Conquest and luxury also changed men's minds; the Romans now brought the conquered peoples to Rome as slaves. The large estates naturally required many slaves, and since the colonies furnished the available labor supply, many Romans bought their slaves in the open market.⁷ No free citizen gave a thought to their condition or to the economic danger of the system. Slave labor was also the rule on the estates of moderate size; with the rapid growth of capital and the cheapness of such slave labor, all types of conquered peoples came into the Roman homes. Not only were they house servants, road workers, and body servants; many were also capable of filling positions as clerks and secretaries. On the surface the slave evil was not apparent; yet one author seems to imply that slavery was causing concern with these words:

"A man who is served by scores of fellow-creatures is liable to have his sense of duty gradually paralyzed".⁸

During the first century under the Empire, and later during the Christian era, a belief arose that the slave was after all a human being.⁹ The great number of captives brought to Rome were unhappy prisoners and the life of such unfortunates was little better than that of the beast. Slave holding continued on a

7 Ward Fowler, Rome, p.125.

8 Ibid. p.127.

9 Ibid. p.244.

large scale in Imperial Rome;¹⁰ the palaces of the rich could count slaves by the hundreds, the estates by the thousands.

However, the slave's treatment varied with the master's temperament.¹¹

"Incredible cruelty, recklessness of human life, callousness in dealing with the vanquished and the subject peoples, meet the reader at every turn in that dark age of Mediterranean history...."¹²

And again the same author says: "Under the baleful influence of slavery the hard Roman nature had become brutalized: and we have to wait for the Christian era before any sign of sympathy was manifest toward that vast mass of humanity with which the Roman world was populated."¹³ In the plays of Plautus(254-184

B.C.) the slave is portrayed as a liar and a thief, apparently without a conscience.¹⁴ The Roman character, naturally hard e-

nough, came, in the earlier days of the Republic, to be harder than ever. Juvenal, so stern toward the noble and the rich,

is full of sympathy for the slave "whose body is made of the same clay as ours"(xiv.16-17), full of anger against the master

"who delighted to hear the cracking of the thong -- a music sweeter to him than the song of the Sirens".¹⁵ The lot of farm

slaves working under the lash was a bad one, penned at night in underground prisons(ergastula), panting, cursing, all but

beasts: writers call them "speaking tools", only different from mute tools, the beasts. It was argued that it was cheaper to

10 E.A.Boak,History of Rome to 565 A.D.,p.295.
11 Juv. Sat.viii.180.
12 Warde Fowler, Rome, p.128.
13 Ibid.p.128.
14 Ibid.p.127.
15 Juv.Sat.xiv.18-19.
16 W.S. Davis,Outline of The History of The Roman Empire,p.40

work a slave to death than to doctor him. In the days of Augustus the supply of slaves was abundant and cheap. A price of one hundred dollars bought an ordinary slave; clever ones cost more. However, it appeared that "Presently the day would come when the legions would cease to conquer, and since slaves seldom could raise families, the entire labor supply would be dried up -- this disaster seems far away in the days of Augustus."¹⁷

Sometimes the slave of a kind master could hope for release in about seven years or he might be permitted to work for himself, save a little money(peculium), and buy his release.

It is seldom that the effect of slave labor on the master is discussed. To have a body of slaves perform his every command, to have them on hand at his beck and call certainly weakened him. In addition, his slaves would be expected to anticipate his commands; he ordered them about, punished them at the slightest act of disobedience, and thus developed his own lower brute nature.¹⁸ Over the whole of the Roman world were scattered those poor unfortunates whom the Romans called servi and we unfortunately call slaves. The sparing of the conquered enemy may have been the beginning of slavery; to enslave an enemy rather than to slay him constituted an attempt to reap his labor, yet it was always a means of enjoying a perpetual triumph over him. Slavery as a punishment, therefore, became applicable "not only to the foreigner but also to the citizen, who by crime, civil or religious, has shown himself unworthy

17 W.S.Davis, An Outline of The History of The Roman Empire, p.41

18 R.H.Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.25

of a citizen's privileges."¹⁹ Accident of birth condemned a child to a life similar to that of his parents. When a provincial turned rebel, he became a public enemy, he threatened Roman peace, and was thus liable to enslavement. Piracy and brigandage often constituted causes for enslavement.²⁰

Roman law did not recognize self-enslavement. A patria potestas gave the father the right to sell a child.²¹ The Lex Cornelia prescribed severe penalties for selling a freedman into slavery. Cicero says that the Syracusans were the most worthless, because their words were gross lies.²² Yet in Rome the proportion was about one slave to every two freemen; the population of Rome was five hundred thousand freemen and one hundred thousand slaves. Tacitus considers the percentage as "four freemen to one slave."²³ The same author says: "To depend on slaves gives them power which in turn is dangerous."²⁴

A principal subject mentioned by Juvenal many times is the Roman luxury. Except for slavery it would never have raised such a super-structure. The case of Trimalchio, a typical wealthy Roman, affords us a good example. He went to the public baths and amused himself with a game of ball. His slave handed him a new ball as he dropped the other; a slave boy stood by to offer his mop of hair to the great man to wipe his

19 R.H.Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.2.

20 Oratio xv.45.

21 T.Mommsen, Romanische Mittheilungen, xxvii.p.207.

22 Cic. De Oratore, iii.66.

23 Tac.Ann.iv.27, as quoted by Barrow, op.cit., p.20

24 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.23.

hands upon. Next a massage by skilled masseurs, then home in a litter; four runners went before him, a musician played for him, and his favorite rode in a rickshaw by his side. At the door stood a waiter in green livery; at the entrance to the dining-room sat a steward receiving payments. Here was a slave stationed to remind the guests to enter the dining-room with the right foot first. Alexandrian boys poured water over the guests' hands, other manicured them; the banquet began, waiters passed busily everywhere. Ethiopians, Syrians, Jews, and Egyptians performed the tasks. Cooks and butlers were commended or reproached. Lest the banquet should pall, entertainers of all kinds made their appearance, acrobats, comedians, mimics of the mule-driver or hawkers of the nightingale's song. There were fellow-musicians, reciters of Homer, dancers, even hunters to enact the slaying of the wild boar, fowlers to ensnare the game. The staff was so large that it was organized into two decuriae; no one knew the master on sight. Even the staff had to take meals in relays. Valets and bath attendants, baliffs and agents, foresters, tavern-keepers, and courtiers were there. At night watchmen came to guard the whole.²⁵

A tomb erected by the Statilian family for their slaves (found in 1875 on the Esquiline) contains over five hundred epitaphs. Seneca's critic retorts that the Stoic philosopher in

25 Adapted from Petronius, Satyricon, 47, quoted by Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, pp.23-24.

his Epicureanism has more slaves than he can remember. Pedanius Secundus of consular rank is said to have employed more than five hundred slaves in domestic duties alone.²⁶ Silent ranks of slaves stood around and watched the gluttony of their master.²⁷

Should the slave cough or sneeze, he received punishment. Skill in carving a fowl, skill in pouring out wine, these divided the night between the drunkenness and debauchery of the master. The pleasure of eating and drinking, of dress and display of self-indulgence, of lust -- all these were everywhere present.

Slaves were matched as to looks, but they attended the master on his walk for mere appearance's sake.²⁸ Yet gluttony and feasting were characteristic Roman customs.²⁹ Extravagant spending came from the East. Many masters learned as much evil from their slaves as they taught others. Slavery itself could not be wholly responsible for corruption; Rome fared worse than London of to-day. She talked more openly of her vice which slavery made more easy and more open. Lust was a disease which did not confine itself to any one class;³⁰ society put itself into the hands of its slaves and laid itself open to attack.

Serious results depended upon the word of a slave.

Worthless slaves came forward with information; covert information gave place to open threats.³¹ These servants impersonated

26 Tac.Ann..xiv.43.

27 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.25.

28 Juv.Sat. viii.141, vi.352.

29 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.26.

30 Ibid. p.27.

31 Ibid. p.28.

Agrippa, counterfeited Drusus, even laid claim to the Empire. A Roman matron would even display to her friends a deformed slave.³² If a slave answered curtly, he was flogged; if he remained silent, he was considered sullen. When Agrippina suspected that poison was hidden in her fruit, she handed it first to her slave;³³ personal slaves were exposed to discipline. Floggings and brandings were common as Martial states. Burning, maiming, flinging victims to lampreys, even crucifixion, was the rule.³⁴ For example, when Octavia was accused by Poppaea, the majority of the slave girls asserted her innocence under torture. Slaves as teachers had the charge of evil instruction brought against them; but Juvenal, Tacitus, and Quintilian levelled their criticism against the parents.

Luxury in slaves reached its height in Nero's time. Domitian terrorized his freedmen who brought charges against their former masters.³⁵ Under the Republic the power of the master was not limited: in Hadrian's day the master could still put his slave to death. One author remarks "as many have fallen through the rage of slaves or that of their sovereigns."³⁶ And Barrow goes on to say "Quisquam vitam suam contempsit."³⁷

The effect of Greek captives upon Roman methods of slav-

32 Sen. Ep. 12.

33 Tac. Ann. iv. 54.

34 Ibid. Hist. ii. 72.

35 Dio. lxxviii. 2.

36 Mommsen, Droit Penal, ii. p. 330

37 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p. 56.

ery has yet to be discussed. When Athens with the smaller Greek states and islands fell to Rome's control after the Second Macedonian War, many Greek slaves were brought into Italy, even into Rome itself. Naturally they brought with them their language, culture, customs, and craftiness; Juvenal feared them greatly.³⁸ The Greek slaves kept coming to Rome, kept going into the houses of the rich, and kept rising to positions of importance in the State. The lot of the Athenian slave had not been hard, but identity of speech and culture with that of their masters often provoked severe cruelty. The Greeks taught the Romans extreme luxury; extreme luxury made the lot of the Roman slaves harder.

The Greeks influenced the Roman religion considerably. The Romans adopted the Greek gods as their own, but this important difference existed. Latin names were substituted for Greek names; the point may be illustrated by a few examples. Zeus in Greek became Jupiter in Latin, Athena in Greek became Minerva in Latin, Hera in Greek became Juno in Latin, Ares in Greek became Mars in Latin, Aphrodite in Greek became Venus in Latin, Poseidon in Greek became Neptunus in Latin. However, there was no Greek god equivalent to Janus or Vesta. Hardy stresses the distinction thus:

"Notice how different the Roman religion was from the Greek. The latter was purely concrete, and its deities were taken from the forces and phenomena of nature. The former was abstract, except where it copied from the Greeks, and made divinities out of such abstract ideas and qualities as Virtue, Hope, Faith, etc."³⁹

³⁸ Juv.Sat.iii.60-61.

³⁹ Hardy, note to Juv.Sat.i.115.

These deities had the same characteristics as their creators, the same vices, the same desires, the same heroic traits. The Greeks had done the very same thing to represent their deities; only the Romans made an effort to keep religious customs. The Romans, however, unlike the Greeks, were a united people; in consequence, the Romans made their religious rites center in the household. Such is the case from this statement: "It is at the fire of the hearth that the father laid his new-born child."⁴⁰ The various parts of the house had their divine functions. Limentinus was god of the threshold, Forculus stood at the door, Janus with the two faces looked in and out. The Lares and Pena-tes, the guardian spirits of the household, watched over the family. For every act of the family a Genius was present; therefore, one finds a multiplication of deities. The domestic hearth constituted the family altar, and every act of the family was consecrated there by traditional rites in the early days under the chieftains and kings. But Carcopino has this to say:

"As for the deities who occupy the background of the picture, they must content themselves with a sketchy paraphrase like Minerva, or with a ritual adjective like Juno, Queen of Heaven, or with a purely geographical epithet attached to Jupiter, whose temple on the Capitol overhung, as everybody knows, the Tarpeian Rock."⁴¹

In ruder days the Romans prayed to these gods; at least they prayed. Their earlier rites were free from the taint of the degeneration that crept in later.

40 Albert Grenier, The Roman Spirit, p.87.

41 Jerome Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.122.

Grenier gives a hint of the Roman's religious beliefs:

"The Roman believed that after death the spirit in man continued to live, but it was a diminished faint life. It abided in the tomb and needed nourishment. The Roman conception of life beyond the grave and the abode of the dead appeared grave indeed. The Romans did not venture into Hell any more than into Heaven, preferring to remain on earth: Ereptam viro et matri, Mater me Terra recepit (torn from my husband and mother, Mother Earth received me."⁴²

Polybius(204-123 B.C.) in his books on "The Rise of Roman Supremacy " says "The Romans are more religious than the gods themselves."⁴³ As time went on and life became more complex, less religious activity occurred, yet the pagan beliefs continued in outward honor to the deities. But it may be inferred from this statement that the religious festivals were well-attended. "The temples and priests, the sacrifices and expiations, the various processions and the celebration of holidays were under the control of the state. The temples being public property were open to everybody."⁴⁴ Again the same author says: "In Rome during the Empire 300 temples graced the avenues and Augustus had restored 80 of these."⁴⁵

It was a highly organized religion with a multitude of functionaries. There were the College of the Pontifices, the Vestal Virgins, the Fratres, the Salii, the college of quindecemvirs, of augurs, of septemvirs. There occurred many festive days, as the Ludi Romani, Saturnalia, Lupercalia, Ceralia. This religion constituted a religion of signs and portents. Cicero's treatise

42 Grenier, The Roman Spirit, p.94.

43 Polyb.vi.56, 2-11.

44 Grant Showerman, Rome and The Romans, p.284.

45 Ibid. p.284.

"On Divination" is a discussion of methods in learning the will of the gods. "It was a religion of material sacrifice, a religion of bargaining, entirely without spiritual inspiration. It was a conservative religion, slow of change, and required many degrees of faith."⁴⁶ Caesar was never frightened by religion regarding any undertaking; Cicero was an average man. Even Horace seemed only a spectator; Lucretius was an aggressive skeptic, Vergil religious by temperament.

Many philosophies sprang up with the Empire; various groups presented their beliefs. The Cynics, Stoics, Epicureans among others appeared on the stage of Roman philosophy, each group having a different solution for the ills of mankind. The Christians and Jews too appeared on the Roman scene about this time with a new philosophy of life; yet these same Christians and Jews did not use the same means in attaining their end. The Jews did not especially suffer; they made no effort to bring others to their faith. The Jewish rising in Judaea (85-86 A.D.) had easily been put down. In addition, the Jewish religion was considered a religion of the mind, abstract. The Christians, on the other hand, suffered death for refusing to worship the emperor's image; they were constantly seeking new converts. Juvenal mentions both groups. However, it is necessary to look at the provincials whom these religions influenced.

The provincials, oppressed and robbed of their produce, wealth and land, in despair sought consolation in religion, in doctrines partly religious and partly philosophical which held

⁴⁶ Quoted by Showerman, Rome and The Romans, p.57.

out the possibility of a better life beyond the grave. They found such a possibility only in the school of the Stoics, because the Epicureans had laid down a purely materialistic view of things and the Cynic had devoted himself mainly to an unsparring criticism of mankind and society. Only the Stoic connected the search for an inner life with religion. Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, comes under Juvenal's notice.⁴⁷ Stoicism itself colored many of Juvenal's views on human wishes. Yet who was the Stoic? The Stoic was a seeker after God; to live with nature was to have communion with the deity. Stoic thought shows itself in such poets as Persius, Lucan, and Juvenal.⁴⁸

"No one can take up Petronius, Martial, or Tacitus without feeling that real life and real things are being described and without feeling absorbed by their reality."⁴⁹

Davis has this to say:

"The old state religion was almost beneath those men steeped in Greek philosophy and so they believed that religion must be revived."⁵⁰

Stoic opposition irritated Domitian, who trusted no one after Julia's death. The Stoics, therefore, were imprisoned, persecuted, even executed. About the year 73 A.D. a number of worshippers of Cato fell under the official suspicion and were punished. When Herennius Priscus composed a panegyric on Helvidius Priscus (who had been exiled under Vespasian) he was accused of maiestas by the delator Metellus Carus and condemned to death.⁵¹

47 Juv.Sat.xv.107.

48 J.W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome in The Silver Age, p.7.

49 Ibid. p.8.

50 W.S.Davis, An Outline of The History of The Roman Empire, p.26.

51 J.B.Bury, History of Rome, p.389.

Fannia, the widow of Priscus and daughter of Thrasea, had supplied Herennius with the material for his work; she was banished and her property confiscated. The panegyric on Priscus itself was publicly burned. L. Junius Arulenus," the ape of the Stoics," was condemned to death on a similar charge. "In maintaining the national religion Domitian tried to prevent the spread of cults."⁵²

The Jews, from the earliest days of the Caesars, had worked their way into every class of society. A Jewish prince had even inspired Caligula with the ideas of monarchy. Yet Jews remained influential from Horace's day to the time of Rubellius Numanianus. This reference shows their strength: "There were adherents of Judaism in the household of Claudius."⁵³ In the reign of Domitian two members of the imperial household with others suffered death for preferring the Jewish mode of life.⁵⁴ In spite of the extinction of the Jewish political power, the number of its members grew in Italy. "The world was in the throes of a religious revolution and eager in quest of some vision."⁵⁵ Juvenal mentions the Jews in none too complimentary terms because of their influence. He speaks of the sacred groves being rented out to Jews for their prayer houses;⁵⁶ in another place he tells about the poor man and his rough treatment

⁵² J.B.Bury, History of Rome, p.393.

⁵³ Samuel Dill, Roman Society, p.83.

⁵⁴ Suet.Dom.xv.

⁵⁵ Dill, Roman Society, p.82.

⁵⁶ Juv. Sat.iii.14.

at the hands of a bully, one of whose insults was to call the poor man a Jew.⁵⁷

Yet, despite the seeping into Rome of ideas about one God, Augustus fostered the worship of the emperors.⁵⁸ His adopted father had been enrolled as a "Son of the Divinity"; after the death of Augustus, succeeding emperors who were not declared infamous traitors were enrolled as divine. In time there was an imperial pantheon used to foster a spirit of loyalty to the Empire. In the principal cities a special order of priests, Augustates, sprang up. Freedmen were elected to the priesthood and were allowed to wear the purple robe, even to have the seat of honor of magistrate. Nero was trained in the wrong way; the only means to correct the mistake was discipline in the spiritual, and the only form of spiritual activity he knew was the dramatic. Such an event was inevitable; he knew no other morality and no other logic. Yet one author has this to say about religious conditions in general:

"The populace, it is true, still showed lively enthusiasm for the festivals of the gods which were subsidized from public funds, but Gaston Boissier is unduly optimistic when he attributes this enthusiasm to piety."⁵⁹

Although Statius and Martial and Juvenal may perhaps not have suspected the fact; and though Pliny the Younger -- who in Bithynia had himself been up against the Christians of his

57 Juv. Sat. iii. 296.

58 Boak, A History of Rome to 565 A.D., pp. 213-215.

59 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p. 122.

province -- lets fall no hint of its existence in his Letters; though Tacitus and Suetonius speak of it only from hearsay, the former in abusive language which excludes his having had any first-hand knowledge, the second with confusions which prove both the lacunae in his information and his own lack of insight -- it is nevertheless beyond all doubt that "Christianity" in Rome goes back to the reign of Claudius(41-54), and that under Nero it had become so widespread that the emperor was able to throw the blame for the great fire of 64 onto the Christians.⁶⁰ They underwent persecutions from time to time. Juvenal mentions them indirectly and then only once. There Juvenal says:

"Just describe Tigellinus and you will blaze amid those faggots in which they stand and burn and smoke with their throats tightly gripped, and you trace a broad furrow through the middle of the arena."⁶¹

At Rome the slaves were under the protection of the household gods. The 13th of August was a slaveholder's holiday sacred to Diana.⁶² But the slaves could not expect religious consolation; Roman religion provided no special heaven and no particular hell for his soul. Juvenal agrees that the slave, body and soul, is made of the same stuff as his master. Christianity was spread by slaves; the early Church even contributed to a fund to ransom slaves.⁶³ Yet Juvenal, while not knowing much about Christianity, opposed the state religion.

60 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.136; also see Suet. Claud.25,4, Nero 16, Pl.Ep.x.96, Tac. Ann.xv.44.

61 Juv.Sat.1.156-157.

62 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.160.

63 Ibid. p.163.

"Juvenal was only a slight believer in the Roman Mythology."⁶⁴ M. Boissier in the third chapter of "Religion Romaine" states that Juvenal believed in a higher moral institution, a vision of higher life.⁶⁵ Again, he (Juvenal) glorifies piety and tenderness for the suffering as the best gifts of God that separate the slave from the brute creations. He also scores and detests the Eastern religions; furthermore, in the later Satires the governing sense of the brotherhood of man is noted.

Another subject over which Juvenal waxed hot more than once was the problem of favored groups. Three such classes of favored Romans existed and toward these Juvenal was especially severe in hurling his bitter invective. These were the patrons, clients, and delatores; in just that order did his sarcasm become most biting. A patron (from the Latin patronus) was a name applied to a master who had freed his slave but retained certain rights over him. Such a master was a man of distinction and the client placed himself under a patron for protection. Such was the case not only in early Rome but even in the period of the Empire. The delatores were informers who fabricated violations to incriminate their enemies.

The clients were tenants who tilled the estates of the patricians in an economic and political dependence.⁶⁶ The relationship of patronus and clientela was hereditary on both sides.

64 Dill, Roman Society, p.82.

65 Ibid. p.82: see especially Sat.x.,xiv., and xv.

66 Boak, A History of Early Rome, p.30.

The patron was obliged to protect the interests of his client; if either failed in his obligation, it was considered a sacrilege.⁶⁷ The relationship was voluntarily assumed.⁶⁸ There was a time later on when a form of clientage came, that of voluntary association of master and paid retainer. The agricultural revolution, which had ruined the small landholders, had driven large numbers of once prosperous farmers to the capital to depend on the granaries of the state or on the charity of some wealthy patron. Many of the eminent families had been reduced to poverty by proscription and confiscation; these individuals attached themselves to some wealthy patron. A prominent noble might be keeping sheep on a Laurentine farm. But Juvenal says "Make your son an auctioneer or undertaker rather than a man of letters."⁶⁹ During all epochs in the history of Rome, the number of men living by clientship, wholly or partially, must have been very large.⁷⁰ Tacitus in speaking of Nero's death emphasizes only two classes, the mob of the circus and the uncorrupted adherents of the great houses, the clients and freedmen of the banished and condemned nobles. Under the Empire eminent men had throngs of adherents to greet them at their morning receptions and to accompany them to the Forum. The clients were recruited partly from freedmen, partly from citizens of low birth, and partly from citizens of the better classes who had fallen on evil days.

67 Boak, A History of Early Rome, p.295.

68 Ibid. A History of Rome to 565 A.D., p.30.

69 Dill, Roman Society, p.95.

70 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.195.

In general, the lot of these pensioners does not appear to have been a happy one. Even the slaves despised them and their large numbers are attributed to the superior attraction of city over country life, even to the stigma which in Rome rested on industrial life.

In the time of Augustus and later the clients are known to us from the Roman Satirists as the crowds of mean-spirited men, who every morning thronged about the doors of the arrogant and ambitious rich patron to receive the dole of food or money, in return for which they escorted and applauded their benefactor, and in other noisy, conspicuous ways supported him.⁷¹ Martial and Juvenal found the condition of the clients a miserable one. They both told of the grumblings of the needy clients against the niggardly and involved patrons;⁷² "Iubet a praecone vocari ipsos Troiugenas."⁷³ Juvenal and Martial knew intimately the life of the client in the days of Domitian. They portrayed it in all its sordid slavery. Often sons of ruined houses, even senators of consular rank, had to submit to coldness and caprice for miserable alms. Beside the regular fee, the clients received occasional benefits, invitations to the patron's table, presents, or a few acres of land. In Martial's time they were paid six and one-half sesterces a day. Their duties were to

71 Showerman, Rome and The Romans, p.71.

72 Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, p.61.

73 Juv. Sat.i.100.

wait on the lord every morning and to supply the social requirement of a full atrium.⁷⁴ The clients had to be punctual; more often than not these poor unfortunates were compelled to start out in the dark to reach their patron's house. Juvenal says:

"As soon as the stars begin to dim or while tardy Bootes is still moving in the heavens, the poor client rises out of his bed in haste, forgets to lace his shoes, anxious lest the host of visitors has already run its course."⁷⁵

Again Friedlander makes this remark: "If the lord was travelling in the country, they (the clients) had to be in attendance to take an empty seat in the chariot."⁷⁶ The same author says that "The greatest humiliation to the client was, however, at table."⁷⁷ Juvenal affirms this idea⁷⁸ and Martial echoes it. But Boak seems to imply that, despite the insults heaped on the clients, the violet cloak of the patron attracted them.⁷⁹ Davis sees far ahead into the dark side of things:

"We are now passing through the ninth age of the world, an era far worse than the age of iron, for whose villainy not even Nature herself has any metal base enough to call it by."⁸⁰

No sane man can deny that there was an appalling sensuality, prodigality, and wasteful squandering of wealth under the Empire. The basest of the three classes, the informers or delatores, were even referred to as the worst parasites. The law of treason (lex de maiestate) was rigidly enforced and many

74 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.197.

75 Juv. Sat.v.23-25.

76 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.198.

77 Ibid. p.199.

78 Juv. Sat.v., Mart.Ep.iii.59,1-2.

79 Boak, History of Rome to 565 A.D., p.126.

80 Davis, Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p.122.

persons were put to death. But Boak adds this further consideration:

"The senators in the time of Tiberius lived in terror of being accused by informers (delatores), and in their anxiety to conciliate the emperor (princeps) they were only too ready to condemn one of their own number."⁸¹

Noble families in the time of Tiberius had been ruined by their extravagance or their prominence which made them a mark for the informer. Tacitus and Suetonius in their account of Tiberius' later years represent him as a ruthless tyrant.⁸²

Delatio was a fear of the Romans; even the flimsiest evidence was equivalent to conviction. The fortunate delator was a public benefactor; therefore, delatio became a popular calling. Men were afraid to meet or talk; they even feared things dumb and inanimate. As regards informers Tacitus says "Not relatives, not friends, the very walls were suspect."⁸³ The statement of this writer would be sacrilege to a delator: "Noble is he who noble acts."⁸⁴ Ambitious nobles came forward, impelled by greed, to act as informers against their fellow-nobles and to share in the confiscation of property. Juvenal speaks of Pompeius, an informer:⁸⁵ furthermore, he mentions Fabius Veiento and Catullus Messalinus, informers under Domitian.⁸⁶ He represents Sarmenus and Galba as the worst of the class of parasites.⁸⁷ Every emperor

81 Boak, History of Rome to 565 A.D., p.229.

82 Davis, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.229.

83 Hamilton, Juvenal's Rome, Vol.xii., p.356.

84 J.W.Duff, Roman Satire, p.157.

85 Juv.Sat.iv.110.

86 Ibid.113.

87 Ibid.4.

from Tiberius to Marcus Aurelius was the object of conspiracy.⁸⁸ However, many a Roman fortune was ruined by the private prosecutor or blackmailer, an avenue by which Romans parted with their wealth.⁸⁹ M. Boissier devoted an entire chapter to delatores whom he called parasites.⁹⁰ Augustus encouraged delatio by offering rewards to those who lodged information against the violators of his marriage laws. Soon delatio became a regular profession, as there was no public prosecutor.⁹¹ Tiberius regarded delation as an admirable instrument for securing the enforcement of justice: thus he encouraged the practice. Citizens lived in fear of unscrupulous delatores.⁹² The praetorian prefect, Syranus, proposed a law of treason which became more comprehensive; as a result the delatores grew more terrible. The work of impeachment was the curse of the Empire. The laws of Augustus gave first choice to the professional delator; Tiberius welcomed such sinister support.⁹³ The profession grew in reputation and emolument. The delator, proud of his craft, was even envied and admired. Men of every degree flocked to the profession. Vatinus, a shoemaker, a Scaurus, a Cato, or a Regulus flocked to a trade which might earn a fabulous fortune and the favor of the prince. Notorious delatores such as Eprius Marcel-

88 Dill, Roman Society, p.39.

89 Davis, Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p.187.

90 Boissier, L'Opposition sans Les Caesars, p.193.

91 Bury, History of The Roman Empire, p.92.

92 Ibid. p.95.

93 Dill, Roman Society, pp.36,37,55,164; see also Tac.Ann.1.72, 74, Suet.Tib.lxii.

lus, Vibius Crispinus, and others acquired 2,400,000 pounds: Regulus led them all in the reign of Nero, yet he lived in peace and wealth up to Trajan's time.⁹⁴

From senators to equites to plebeians to slaves the social ladder descends. The senatorial class was the only class limited in its choice of endeavors either by law or by tradition, that is, the members of this class were forbidden from engaging in trade or ordinary business. The equites were those who through an inheritance or successful endeavor had accumulated a certain amount of wealth or had gained it in a profession or occupation. The equus may have been a teacher, builder, or goldsmith; the only requirement was that he be the son of a freeman, be of good character, and possess 400,000 sesterces. The plebeians were the middle class laborers, farmers, and gladiators; they might become poets or philosophers.⁹⁵ The slaves were such from birth, being either members of conquered peoples, physicians, bankers, or even actors. One author says: "We hear of freedmen historians, of a slave philosopher, of slave and freedmen architects."⁹⁶ Duff states (in a reference to Juvenal) that there is a marvelous range in his figures from "Privy Council down to a shivering slave."⁹⁷ In another place one hears that laziness and mendicancy were widespread and honorable.⁹⁸ The

94 Pl. Ep. ii. 11, 12, quoted by Dill, Roman Society, p. 37.

95 Robinson & Breasted, History of Europe Ancient & Medieval, p. 276

96 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p. 61.

97 Duff, Roman Satire, p. 137.

98 Davis, Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, p. 268.

ratio of drones to workers was very high. No Roman citizen needed to work, if he was content to be a pauper.⁹⁹

The nobles alone held offices and got what they wanted. The Senate was a hereditary class.¹⁰⁰ Fowler says:

"The lower class was engaged in industry, not employed by capital, and not in competition with the slave labor. In the equestrian order one might become a prefect or procurator; such posts were required by the new Empire. The equites also became the journeymen in the regular Roman courts of the world. They were the money-lenders, promoters, and syndicate managers. Being of humble birth, they were more often preferred as officials than the more lordly senators. They had their honors, wore a gold ring and the narrow purple stripe on their tunic; they had the place of honor at public festivals. If in public life they were styled egregius, perfectissimus, and a few eminentissimus; those without office were styled splendidus."¹⁰¹

Juvenal says "The equites were those who don't want to kill anybody, but would like to have the power to do it."¹⁰²

Beneath the nobles were the non-noble plebeians, Roman citizens being the only ones eligible for governmental offices, the only ones entitled to the protection of the firm Roman law, and safe from the irresponsible behavior of the local magistrates. It was a mighty advantage to Saint Paul to boast "Civis Romanus sum", and to appeal to Caesar (Nero), when the Jews accused him before Festus. This privilege did not apply to Italians, only to Romans.

Naturally laborers were skilled and unskilled. In the

⁹⁹ Robinson & Breasted, History of Europe Ancient & Medieval, p.276

¹⁰⁰ Davis, An Outline of The History of The Roman Empire, p.200.

¹⁰¹ Fowler, Social Life at Rome, p.225.

¹⁰² Juv. Sat.x.96-97.

groups one finds sicarii, artifices, postiarrii, scabillari, artes ludicrae, and artes vulgares.¹⁰³ There also was a tendency of the common people toward agriculture, on account of the perfect seasons, fertile lands, and cheap labor. The crops were heavy, the herds multiplied; redeunt Saturnia regna. Roman farmers, robbed of their land, turned to a profitable trade. The idea of the extent and variety of trades can be gained by reading through the lists of corporations of Rome drawn up by Waltzing.¹⁰⁴ There were merchants, financiers, traders, masters of industry, manufacturers, and retailers. Skilled workmen were needed to submit heavy, raw material as well as more delicate merchandise. In the making of luxuries were goldsmiths, roblemakers, and embroiderers; in the making of necessities were washermen, tanners, furriers, ropemakers, caulkers, carpenters, and workers in iron and bronze.¹⁰⁵

In the building corporations one finds wreckers, masons, timber workers, transporters, muleteers, wagoners, carters, drovers, raftsmen, towers, ballast leaders, guardians, porters, stevedores, and wharfmen.

The topic of slavery deals with those employed in personal service. Juvenal's Satires and Martial's Epigrams allude to the ex-banker who made his pile and became an eques or a wealthy landed proprietor.¹⁰⁶ By the second century of the Empire the

103 Frank Abbott, The Common People of Ancient Rome, Chap.2.

104 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.178.

105 Ibid. p.79.

106 Ibid. p.48.

work of a barber was so general that he had become a tyrant.¹⁰⁷ Many barbers amassed great wealth as Juvenal tells us.¹⁰⁸ The barber used to shave his customers in the middle of the fairway; the tonstrina soon became a rendezvous, a club, a gossip-shop, a dispensary for information. The barber, however, needed to be an expert of no common dexterity and served a long apprenticeship. The barber's victims had to choose between a cautious treatment and the scars. If the latter resulted, Pliny had a receipt for staunching the bleeding; this receipt consisted of a web soaked in oil and vinegar.¹⁰⁹ The barbers were so necessary that they formed an association or guild. In this guild, as well as other trade bodies, rules were drawn up and approved by Augustus. These rules established an eight-hour working day, but by the second century A.D. it had been shortened. Friedlander says "There was no unemployment for the willing worker. Imports were enormous and Rome was the principal exchange of the world."¹¹⁰

It is hardly necessary to give any attention to women as workers in professions and trades. One finds only men buying and selling. Women did not figure in corporations; no women were on the list of shippers. They generally preferred to remain in their homes.¹¹¹ They were so deeply rooted in indolence

107 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.157.

108 Juv.Sat.1.24.

109 Pl.Ep.xxix.12.

110 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.148.

111 Drury, The History of The Roman People, p.18.

that they were seldom seen in the shops. As proof of their absence from the busy world, they are absent from bas-relief, and they are absent from paintings and wherever street scenes are portrayed by sculptors.¹¹² There existed women doctors and female physicians who treated only women's diseases.¹¹³ The women might devote themselves to literature, music, science, law, or philosophy, as they threw themselves into the professions merely to pass the time; they would have thought it beneath them to stoop to working at a trade.¹¹⁴

The populace, the rich Romans, and the Emperor indulged in pleasures. Originally their gatherings were held to give honor to a deity; later they congregated to show enthusiasm for the ruler, also to share his likes and interests. For their amusement there were plays and circuses; later there developed actors, musicians, and gladiators. The mime (Gr. mimos, Lat. mimus) is a name used to denote the play and the actor in it. Mime actors became the emperor's favorites and often incurred his displeasure, as did Paris. In order to make the play more realistic, Laureolus was crucified alive for the amusement of the public. The actor portraying Mucius Scaevola actually plunged his right hand into the burning coals of a brazier, and in the last act of the "Death of Hercules" the hero writhed in the flames of the fire.¹¹⁵

112 Drury, History of The Roman People, p.168.

113 Ibid. p.180.

114 Ibid. p.180.

115 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.246.

The Romans were not competent to teach, nor would they condescend to do such work.¹¹⁶ The Greeks were the one people who could undertake what we call higher education, and they were then beginning to swarm in Rome.¹¹⁷ Greek was the language of half the civilized world and the language of commerce everywhere. There was a steady flow of Greek slaves and teachers into Italy by the time of the Empire.¹¹⁸ Teachers of grammar, literature, and rhetoric were found in many well-to-do families, either slaves or freedmen. The best slaves were turned into farmers, captains of vessels, merchants, stewards, and bankers' agents. Whenever a slave turned out to be a drunkard or worthless for any other purpose, he was converted into a pedagogue. The teaching, says Quintilian, was bad.¹¹⁹ Little is known about individual pedagogues.¹²⁰ Besides the Greek teachers, there were some from Spain, Northern Italy, and Syria, countries which also provided rhetoricians.¹²¹ Educated slaves must have been necessary in the absence of printing; there was need of copyists, readers, and secretaries. Shorthand writing was in common use under the Empire and slave vocatarii were regularly employed. But Friedlander says "The teaching profession had not an assumed position nor the esteem of an official security."¹²² Grammatical instruc-

116 Fowler, Rome, p.121

117 Ibid. p.121.

118 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.37.

119 Quint.2,7.

120 Barrow, Slavery in The Roman Empire, p.42.

121 Ibid. p.61.

122 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.150

tors at Rome were poorly paid: Juvenal gave as a fee for a year's work (eight months) five hundred sesterces or five gold pieces.¹²³

And again Friedlander states: "Schoolmasters generally, as Ovid says, drew very small incomes."¹²⁴ The professors of oratory had the same difficulty; Quintilian, a Spaniard, the first holder of a State chair, complained of his troubles. Carcopino states in part: "They (the Romans) dipped into everything without studying the subject thoroughly."¹²⁵

Blinded by an excess of practical common sense and with an eye always fixed on immediate profits, the Romans did not understand the value of research.¹²⁶ Public readings and recitations gave rise to the Roman library (public and municipal); these eventually resulted in the rise of the publisher.¹²⁷ These book-merchants assembled and trained expert slaves who sold them copies, e.g., two or three sesterces for a text of twenty pages. Certain publishers brought about the rise of the public recitation which grew to be the curse of literature.¹²⁸ Poor writers depended on the good-will of the rich; Juvenal pours out scorn on these Harpagnons.¹²⁹ Formerly the title of tutor was literatorus, later grammaticus; most of these teachers had been servants of prominent nobles, but were now freedmen.¹³⁰ Some had held po-

123 Juv.Sat.vii.240; also see Sat.x.116.

124 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.161.

125 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.113.

126 Ibid. p.162.

127 Ibid. pp.193-194.

128 Ibid. p.195.

129 Ibid. p.196. (Juv.Sat.vii.40-47.)

130 Dill, Roman Society, p.91.

sitions in public offices, others were pugilists, actors, house slaves, and weavers. Any mean, malodorous trade would be more lucrative than the greatest knowledge and culture. Juvenal himself maintains that "The man who will spend a fortune on his baths and colonnades can spare a Quintilian only a fraction of what he will give a pastry cook."¹³¹ Rome wanted what satisfied the eye, not what satisfied the spirit or the mind. Satire vii relates the discouragements under which not only literature, but also poetry, history, oratory, rhetoric, and grammar labored at Rome.

Juvenal laments over the bad fortunes of the other arts. He himself wrote poetry in revenge against the inferior poetry which had been inflicted on him; before this time he had been content with declamation. An orator would have a costly sardonyx to wear, before he went to plead in the court.¹³² All lawyers were not charlatans nor starvelings, just as all did not win the fortune of a Crispinus. Educated Romans studied grammar, rhetoric, archaeology, jurisprudence, philosophy, the history of religion, and law;¹³³ these, however, were a small minority. In addition, they cultivated the arts as one would a hobby. It is true that the Romans paid little attention to the exact and minute discoveries of Greece in mathematics, medicine, physiology, geography, and the natural arts.¹³⁴ Friedlander says that astrol-

131 Juv.Sat.vii.180.

132 Davis, Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome, pp.126-127.

133 Rostovtzeff, History of The Ancient World, p.173.

134 Ibid.

ogy was a Greek art.¹³⁵ Some of the noted men in astrology were Silenicus, Ptolemaeus, and others who affected to guide Domitian's reign. During Nero's reign the horoscopes of these men led to the tragic deaths of P. Aurelius and Arterius Scapula.¹³⁶

Finally the lot of the common soldier as a profession will be discussed. Soldiering was organized as a profession by Marius in 102 B.C.¹³⁷ The former universal obligation to military service was no longer enforced. In place of the former system, a system of voluntary enlistments had become effective, and the recruit was enrolled not for one year but for sixteen years.¹³⁸ Augustus reorganized the army, but retained a permanent professional army composed of legionaries and auxiliaries.¹³⁹ Each of these two numbered 150,000 recruits, but the legionaries came from among the Roman citizens, while the latter (the auxiliaries) came from the most warlike of the subject peoples of the Empire. A third group, known as the praetorian guard, comprised the imperial bodyguard. Since the subject under discussion is the occupations and professions of the Romans, interest will be centred chiefly in the legionaries and the praetorian guards. The praetorian guards comprised nine cohorts of one thousand men each under the command of two praetorian prefects. These soldiers enjoyed a shorter term of service and higher pay than the

135 Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners, p.93.

136 Tac.Ann.xii.14.

137 Boak, A History of Rome to 565 A.D., p.58.

138 Ibid. p.136.

139 Ibid. p.211.

other corps. Juvenal in his last satire praises the military life and longs for his youth again.¹⁴⁰ The soldier considered his occupation a good one, and upon his retirement the government settled an annuity on him; the soldier's annuity ranged from 25 denarii to 5,000 denarii in the later Empire.¹⁴¹ The army grew in power; for example, in the years 68 and 69 four emperors were nominated by the soldiery. Tacitus expressed the view that the princeps could be nominated elsewhere than in Rome.¹⁴² The soldier's property was his own, not his father's; therefore, he (the soldier) might dispose of the property in any manner he chose. Juvenal regards such a state of affairs as just.¹⁴³ Thus in the military life Juvenal sees the stern discipline so sorely lacking in first-century Rome.

140 Juv.Sat.xvi.1-5.

141 Dill, Roman Society, p.283.

142 Tac.Hist.ii.49.

143 Juv.Sat.xvi.55-60

II

Part I

The Biography of Juvenal

The accounts which have come down to us concerning the life of Juvenal show a lack of reliability. The reason for this lack of reliability probably lies in the fact that there are such contradictory data on the major events in his life. Therefore, to formulate even an approximate idea of the man and his relationship to his times it is necessary to rely on outlines, some of which are rather sketchy. Yet, although the basic details, such as those dealing with his birth, profession, and exile, do have in them some element of truth, they are not to be too hastily accepted as final. It is necessary to consider many points of view; variety enlightens the mind.

Many and varied opinions persist about the date of his birth. This difference of opinion is inevitable, because Juvenal himself has given us no definite date. One author is of the belief that he was born at Aquinum in the reign of Nero;¹ another author, however, takes issue with the first and places Juvenal's birth during the reign of Claudius (46-130 A.D.).² A third author regards 47 A.D. as the correct year of his birth.³ A fourth

1 J.W. Mackail, History of Latin Literature, p.221.

2 C.T. Cruttwell, A History of Roman Literature, p.443.

3 Seifferts, A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, p.341.

author specifies no date at all and only mentions Aquinum as his birthplace.⁴ A fifth author, Hardy, regards 55 A.D. as the correct year, basing his belief on a newly-discovered Life found by Dr. Durr at the Palazzo Barbarini in Rome, the opening sentence of which reads:

"Junius Juvenalis Aquinas Junio Juvenale patre, matre vero Septumuleia ex Aquinati municipio Claudio Nerone et L. Antistio consulibus natus est. Sororem habuit Septumuleia quae Fuscino nupsit."⁵

Yet a sixth author proposes to regard the dates of Juvenal as (65-130 A.D.; he further considers the poet as one of the greatest writers of Silver Age Latin, whose fame stood very high.⁶ Duff prefers the year 60 A.D. as Juvenal's birth date.⁷

On the question of his place of birth all our sources are in unanimous agreement upon Aquinum. If one would go back to a first source, he would find a more convincing proof for his argument. An inscription on a temple at Aquinum dedicated by Juvenal states that he served in the army, was commander of a Dalmatian cohort, and was superintendent of the civic worship paid to Vespasian after his deification. The inscription reads as follows

" Cere) ri Sacrum

4 John E. Sandys, A Companion to Latin Studies, p.641.

5 Quoted by E.G. Hardy, Juvenal, Introduction, p.xvi.

6 White and Kennedy, Roman History, Life and Literature, p.255.

7 J.W. Duff, Roman Satire, p.147.

D. Iu nius Iuvenalis
 praef coh. al Dalmatarum
 II vir quinque flamen
 divi Vespasiani
 vovit dedicav it que
 sua pec."⁸

The matter would seem to be settled by this inscription; however, there is other proof. In Juvenal's own works one will discover a reference to Aquinum.

"Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino."⁹

Twelve "Lives", in addition, present their testimony for the birthplace. The secondary references quoted above supplement our primary references.

There is little else known that is definite about his later life. It is believed that his father or foster-father was a rich freedman; the oldest form of the biography states:

"Iunius Iuvenalis, libertini locupletis incertum est filius an alumnus."¹⁰

It is said that he practiced declamation up to his fortieth year. The Satires themselves do not aid us materially. This point is probably due to the fact that Juvenal was treating objective truth rather than subjective egotism. Juvenal was not one to engage in trivialities, when there appeared to him a myr-

8 Quoted by Hardy, Juvenal, Introduction, p.xxvii.

9 Juv.Sat.iii.319.

10 Quoted by G.G. Ramsey, Juvenal & Persius, Intro.,p.xvii.

iad of social problems to solve. Therefore, very little occurs in Juvenal about his life; it is necessary to depend on other scattered information that comes from the contemporary literature of the time. Such information will be given in its proper place.

The banishment, to which all sources refer, is another question under dispute. That he was exiled all agree. When, where, and why he was exiled are questions difficult to answer. The occasion is said to have been the ominous line in the Seventh Satire: "...esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven."¹¹ The Paris whom Juvenal mentions here was a pantomime actor. One will discover two actors of that name. One was a favorite of Nero, but was put to death by him as a rival in 67 A.D.; the other, Domitian's favorite, died under him in 87 A.D. Only the second seems to come into the picture here; conditions under the Emperor Domitian, also known as Nero, were hotly attacked not only by Juvenal, but also by Martial and Suetonius. The majority of authorities allude to this banishment; as would be expected, they differ regarding the cause of the banishment. What has the Biography to say about the matter? The Biography states as follows:

"...Erat tum in deliciis aulae histrio, multique fautorum eius cottidie provehebantur. Venit ergo Juvenalis in suspicionem, quasi tempora figurate notasset, ac statim per honorem militiae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus est missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte tendentis Aegypti."¹²

¹¹ Juv. Sat. vii. 87.

¹² Quoted by Ramsey, Juvenal & Persius, Introduction, p. xvii.

One belief is that the circumstances of his banishment for offense given to **the Emperor's favorite** are well authenticated; but neither the place nor the time can be definitely fixed.¹³

Duff reasons that, if as an exile he did serve in the army, he was probably sent to Britain.¹⁴ This belief would account for his references to the chariot-fighting of the Britons,¹⁵ to the forts of the Brigantes in Yorkshire,¹⁶ to the Rutupiae in Kent,¹⁷ to the short Northern night,¹⁸ to the British whale,¹⁹ and to the idea of engaging a professor of rhetoric for far distant Thule.²⁰ The same author also maintains that it is impossible to decide from conflicting records when or to what country, Egypt or Britain, he was exiled.²¹ In addition, he reports that Juvenal composed lines against Domitian's pantomime actor Paris. Later, when he became famous, he inserted these lines into what is known as the Seventh Satire; at that time a favorite actor at court took these lines to be directed against himself. Juvenal's allusions were so resented in the highest quarters that under pretext of a military command but in reality by way of punishment, the authorities sent him, an old man of eighty, to the prefecture of a cohort in a distant part of Egypt. There he

13 Mackail, History of Latin Literature, p.222.

14 J.W. Duff, Roman Satire, p.148.

15 Juv.Sat.xv.124.

16 Ibid.xiv.196.

17 Ibid.iv.140.

18 Ibid.ii.161.

19 Ibid.iv.141, x.14.

20 Ibid.xv.112.

21 Duff, Roman Satires, p.150.

very soon after (intra brevissimum tempus) died of grief and weariness.²² Cruttwell remarks that the satire Juvenal wrote against Paris received high praise from friends; therefore, he resolved to devote himself to poetry. He did not, however, write these lines until the reign of Trajan; then they were inserted into Satire VII (probably lines 87-90). During Hadrian's reign these verses were recited by the crowd in a theatre against some unpopular court favorite. The result was that the poet, now eighty years of age, was exiled under the specious pretext of a military command, the emperor's favorite having taken offense at the allusion.²³ Sidonius Apollinaris in the sixth century says "irati fuit histrionis exul."²⁴ As regards the question of whether he ever visited Egypt, Juvenal implied that he did: "...Egypt, doubtless, is a rude country; but in indulgence, so far as I myself have noted, its barbarous rabble yields not to the ill-famed Canopus."²⁵

One would imagine that a mere allusion to an obscure pantomime actor would not cause a social stigma to fall upon a poet. It actually seems odd that an actor, twenty years later, would resent such an allusion; but no actor is perfect. The acting profession enjoyed very little popularity in early Rome, because slaves usually constituted the actors. Later the profession im-

22 Duff, Literary History of Rome in The Silver Age, p.601.

23 Cruttwell, History of Roman Literature, p.444.

24 Quoted by Ramsey, Juvenal & Persius, Intro., p.xxi.

25 Juv.Sat.xv.45.

proved its position, the actors rising to be men of leisure. However, the mime actors rather disgraced themselves by their indecency; this indecency often was concerned with the presentation of the mime. By action, speech, and effect they lowered the morals at Rome. Soon they fell lower and lower in the scale of human conduct than their predecessors, and to better their position the emperor supported them. It is no wonder then that this actor, hiding behind the emperor's skirts, took offense at a reference to a deceased fellow-actor. Not only he, however, took offense at the allusion; the court too resented the implied cut at the imperial dignity. The old saying has it "To err is human, to forgive divine." The actor had erred but he would not forgive. In consequence of his hostility, Juvenal was sent away from Rome under the pretext of a military command. It would be wrong to hazard a guess as to whether his enemies deemed the exile sufficient punishment; they probably wished to put him to death. Yet their influence at court was great enough that he was sent as far away from Rome as possible.

The Satires, as their order would indicate, seem to have been published early. Does this belief square with the facts? Commentators differ on the dates but agree that the present division of the Satires may have existed in Juvenal's own day; the earliest Manuscripts show such a division. Hardy, in favoring this view, points out that the Satires, like Pliny's Letters, Martial's Epigrams, and Tacitus' Histories, were published in

their present order.²⁶ Although the order of the poems as published may be true, this belief does not hold up in regard to the interior makeup of the poems. It has been observed that Juvenal inserted some lines on the pantomime actor Paris into the Seventh Satire and put some lines attacking Crispinus into the Fourth Satire. Many other such insertions may have occurred; his habit of alluding to present conditions under the cloak of the past renders this belief plausible. Duff gives this proof that Juvenal was in Rome in 92 A.D.

"Mayhap, my Juvenal, your feet
 Stray down some noisy Roman street,
 While after many years of Rome
 I have regained my Spanish home.
 Bilbilis, rich in steel and gold,
 Makes me a rustic as of old...."²⁷

He goes on to say that Juvenal returned to Rome in his old age and broke his heart over the absence of his fellow-poet.²⁸ How true is this report? It seems unusual that Juvenal would grieve over the absence of Martial whom, strange to say, he never mentions. However, a common practice of this type did exist; writers did not often refer to one another in their works.

If consideration is to be given to the arrangement of the books of Satires, there is much material to examine. One author regards the Satires as having been published in five books.²⁹

Book I he dates after the year 100 A.D.; this book contains Sat-

26 Hardy, Juvenal, Introduction.

27 J.W. Duff, Writers of Rome, p.93

28 Ibid., Roman Satire, p.148.

29 Hardy, Juvenal, Introduction.

ires i-v. The date he bases on a reference to Marius Priscus in Satire i.: "...The exiled Marius carouses from the eighth hour of the day and enjoys the wrath of the gods, but you, poor Province, win your case and weep."³⁰ This Marius was condemned in the beginning of that year. That it was published after 105 A.D., the probable year of the death of Aquilius Regulus, is inferred, if Regulus is the arch-informer mentioned in Satire i. 33-56. Hardy does not think that the book was published later than this date and proves his point by showing that the death of Marius was recent when Satire viii was published. He quotes a line to strengthen his argument. "...What great rewards will you gain from such cruel outrages, since Marius has so lately stripped the Africans to the skin?"³¹

He assigns Book II to the year 115 A.D. It contained only Satire vi. The date is drawn from an inference to contemporary events in lines 405-411.³² These lines contain a clear reference to the Parthian expedition of Trajan which began in 112 A.D.: a second reference is to the comet which, it is known, was visible in 115, and a third to the terrible earthquake which hit the East and especially Antioch in that same year.

30 Juv. Sat. i. 48-49.

31 Ibid. viii. 119-120.

32 "Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometem
prima videt, famam rumoresque illa recentis
excipit ad portas, quosdam fecit: isse Niphaten
in populos magnosque illic cuncta arva teneri
diluvio, mutare urbes, subsidere terras, etc."

Line 205 also in Satire vi refers to Trajan's title of Dacicus;³³ this title he did not assume until 103 A.D. after his first Dacian war.

Book III included Satires vii-ix; its date seems to depend on the identity of the Caesar mentioned in Satire i.1: "On Caesar alone are the hopes and prospects of learning."³⁴ Much discussion has arisen on this point alone. What view does Hardy take? He believes the Caesar addressed to be Hadrian and disagrees with (Professor) Nettleship's belief that it was Domitian. The dedication to Domitian could hardly have been published under Trajan, for the extreme hatred of Domitian among literary men was still too noticeable. The studia that Pliny mentions are oratory and philosophy;³⁵ his statement would rather refer to Trajan's time. However, Juvenal uses the word to mean poetry. Hadrian's reputation as a poet was very high, for Spartian (Vit. Hadr. 14,8) tells us that he was judged poematum studiosissimus. This emperor especially favored the spread of literature, because he himself wrote some fairly good poetry. A sample of his style, the "Apostrophe to His Soul", may be found under the writings of Florus.³⁶ The publication date of this book may be fixed between 118-121 A.D.

33

"...cum lance beata

Dacicus at scripto radiat Germanicus auro."

34 Juv.Sat.1.1.35 Pliny, Panegyric, 47, "sub te spiritum et sanguinem receperint studia."36 See Peck-Arrowsmith, Roman Life in Latin Prose and Verse, pp.170-171.

Book IV contains Satires x-xii; no exact chronological data are found here. However, in Satire xi Juvenal makes this statement: "...but let my shrivelled skin drink in the sun and escape the toga."³⁷ He infers here that he is an old man; the other books also contain this same hint. He has done the same thing in Satire i: "...when a fellow under whose razor my stiff youthful beard used to grate."³⁸ The publication date of this book may, therefore, be placed between the dates of Book III and Book V, namely, between 118 or 121 A.D. and 127 A.D.

In the case of Book V there is a little more chronological matter to hold our attention. Here a number of historical references help to fix the date. Satire xv mentions a quarrel between the Tentyrites and Ombites and says that the quarrel took place "in the recent consulship of Juncus."³⁹ An Aemilius Juncus was consul in 127 A.D. Allowance must be made for the word nuper, an allowance perhaps of eight or ten years; this fact would indicate that the quarrel took place in that year. In Satire xiii Juvenal, addressing a friend Calvinus, says that he (Calvinus) is sixty years old and was "born in the consulship of Fonteius."⁴⁰ According to the records a Julius Fonteius was consul in 67 A.D.; thus Calvinus' sixtieth year fell in the year 127. If one looks further, one will find in Juvenal's poem to

37 Juv.Sat.xi.202-203.

38 Ibid.Sat.i.25.

39 Ibid.Sat.xv.27.

40 Ibid.Sat.xiii.18.

Calvinus many traces of senility; he must remember that Juvenal was speaking to an old man. If the poet was older, the result was obvious. The two examples quoted in the previous paragraph show that Juvenal had reached old age. All these facts by themselves show that he began to write late in life, that he lived to be over eighty, and that he knew Rome well.

Now on the surface it would appear that Juvenal never felt the pinch of poverty. Yet how does this point seem to square with the facts? How did he, a man of moderate means, know poverty at first hand? Obviously he became acquainted with actual conditions early in his career. In his walks about the streets of Rome instances of poverty were on every side; the poorly-constructed insulae, the shabbily-dressed clients, the caste system, an unequal opportunity for advancement to public offices, the treatment of slaves, the high cost of living, the idle mob -- all these everyday occurrences were materials for the satirist. The Satires show this familiarity with the poor. In one place Juvenal says:

"...Who was ever approved as a son-in-law, if he lacked money or had fewer possessions than the lady? What poor man is ever written into a will as an heir? When is he in the councils of the aediles?"⁴¹

How does he happen to concern himself with the poor? If intellectual curiosity impels one to examine ancient history, one would find that the rich thought very little of the poor. A poor man might be among the parvenu's clients but nothing more;

41 Juv.Sat.iii.160-162.

the rich man never took notice of him. When the time of the sportula came around, the parvenu's servants had to handle the motley throng at the doors. Juvenal, undoubtedly, witnessed such unpleasent scenes at the giving of the sportula, of the recta cena, and of other remunerations to the poor. The poor man had to endure all the indignities of the day; he was what one would call "a Scapegoat". At the time of the Empire conditions had indeed become bad; even the rich began to protest against the increasing degeneracy. As if this fact were not bad enough, the city of Rome drew within itself a crowd of idlers and loungers unwilling to work. The Emperor had to keep the mob satisfied with "bread and the games."⁴² This mob constituted a serious drain on the public treasury.⁴³ In the meanwhile the deserving poor starved. Juvenal lived in the culminating period of vices; bad as conditions had been before, no one could have foreseen this moral degeneration. Iago had a handkerchief, Scarpia a fan, but Vice held the die of the nation. He had become acquainted with the delatores or hired spies, because he tells us: "...When he comes near you, put your finger to your lips; he who but says the word 'That's the man!' will be counted an informer."⁴⁴

Whether he actually felt poverty is uncertain. At any rate he had a first-hand knowledge of Rome and could release his venom

42 Juv.Sat.x.81.

43 Hardy, Juvenal, note to above.

44 Juv.Sat.1.160-161.

on existing conditions. For violence and lack of restraint he has never been equalled; therein lay his power.

Part II

The History of Satire

What did Juvenal mean by the term Satura?⁴⁵ To answer that question it is necessary to go back to the early period of Roman Literature. There are several derivations of the word given by commentators both ancient and modern. A modern author proposes that the term arose from: (1) the Saturoi (a Satyris), an idea now discountenanced; or (2) a full platter of various fruit offerings called satura, illustrated by the phrase satura lanx; or (3) a kind of fruit stuffing (farcimen) for which Varro's authority is quoted twice; or (4) a law of what may be called an omnibus character, illustrated by the phrase per saturam, which, however, implies logically the existence of the noun Satura.⁴⁶ The second meaning appears to have been the original one; however, the idea of a medley of subjects underlies all the other meanings. Such a medley was not uncommon, and Lucilius, the founder of true Roman Satire, used the word in such a sense. The subject-matter of the satura was originally dramatic, later didactic. Though the dramatic element may have served the purpose earlier, the didactic tone soon overshadowed

45 Juv. Sat. i. 30.

46 J. W. Duff, Roman Satire, p. 14.

it. From ancient history one learns that the Romans, practical in outlook, disdained literary works; therefore, whatever was written was written to instruct. An author tells us that if such works form a literature of knowledge and information rather than of inspiration and power, especially in Latin, one should not be too impatient of the didactic element. Many Romans wrote books to teach, others read them to be taught, for the Romans were a practical people. "Art for Art's sake" was never a Roman conception.⁴⁷

What is meant by satire itself? Is the term used in the same sense to-day? A number of meanings come to the mind at once. Webster's Unabridged Dictionary defines satire as a literary composition, originally in verse and still generally so, holding up abuses or vices to reprobation or ridicule. Though this definition is undoubtedly adequate, some modern developments have somewhat modified the sense. Dr. Johnson calls it "a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured."⁴⁸ Here too the definition seems to overlook the later development. Yet in the literature of England the majority of the satirical writings are in poetry. One has but to read Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" and "Don Juan", or Pope's "The Rape of The Lock" to discover their form. The three satires just mentioned

47 J.W. Duff, Writers of Rome, p.6.

48 Ibid., Roman Satire, p.16.

constituted the formal side; Juvenal, however, used this formal side, when he addressed Hannibal: "...On! on! thou madman and race over the wintry Alps, that thou mayest be the delight of schoolboys and supply declaimers with a theme."⁴⁹ The formal element in poetic style consisted in attacking public and private abuses under the guise of a poem. One finds too an informal side or treatment of satirical subject-matter concealed under rather absurd characterizations; here for the first time English prose took over the functions of poetry. Swift's Gulliver's Travels and Tales of a Tub in their bitter tirades on governmental and religious questions closely resembled Aristophanes' Birds. The only difference was that, though Aristophanes' time allowed a direct attack on individuals, Swift's day avoided such a dangerous procedure. Juvenal proposed to attack great men under the names of the past; Swift, on the other hand, by describing a land of pygmies, the Lilliputians, or the country of intelligent horses, the Houyhnhnms, the darkness in spirit of the Yahoos, the character of the Brobdingnagians, lashed human follies in general and court life in particular.⁵⁰ In a lesser degree Pope's Defense of Poesy, Dryden's McFlecknoe and Absolom and Achitophel attack political or literary scandals under the cloak of contemporary figures and Old Testament characters. Plato's Republic found an echo in Thomas Carlyle's Past and Present and Sartor Resartus. These two famous works

49 Juv.Sat.x.166-167.

50 Brother Leo, English Literature, p.312.

protested against inequalities in the machine age of his day. The echo consisted only in an attack on public abuses; though Plato's age had no well-developed industrial system, he (Plato) took a good opportunity to view the moral stupidity of his fellow-men. Carlyle was attacking the evils of an industrial system which seriously affected the health of men, women, and children alike.

At the time when these English writers were inveighing against moral degeneracy, they had the singular purpose of reform in mind. It was not enough to hold up abuses to scorn or ridicule; a remedy was always proposed, a remedy that, if actually tried, would prove a boon to all mankind. No less did the ancient writers possess a feeling for reform. The Roman satirists, including Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, while living in Rome at different periods, found much to criticize in the life of their day. Nothing escaped their notice; shall one not call them prophets? It was no less true then that "no prophet is accepted in his own country."⁵¹ Indeed they were prophets of doom.

Lucilius (180-103 B.C.), the first Roman satirist, lived "in an age in which the struggle between the old and new manners, though daily becoming more equal, or rather inclining to the worse side, was still far from being decided."⁵² No actual cen-

⁵¹ Luke, 4,24.

⁵² Rev. Lewis Evans, Juvenal and Persius, Introduction.

sorship existed at the time; what checks on speaking or writing may have been in force were intended "to restrain the course ebullition of rustic malignity."⁵³ Lucilius came of a very well-known family, for he was great-uncle to Pompey. In addition to this fact, he knew many leading men of the Republic, men such as Laelius and Scipio, who protected him against the Lupi and Mutti, but these opponents probably did not molest him. He looked forth on a world which invited copious and caustic comment;⁵⁴ the results of his researches were thirty books of satires, written principally in hexameters, the meter used by Horace and Juvenal. Unlike Horace, "he showed up the vices of his time in a very uncompromising way."⁵⁵ In the 1,300 lines of fragments extant, though one may find poor composition and a rudeness of language, his style on the whole was very forceful. The later Roman writers appreciated this forceful manner; Horace says of him:

"...What? when Lucilius had the courage to be the first to compose verses after this manner, and to pull off that mask, by means of which each man strutted in public view with a fair outside, though foul within; was Laelius and he, who derived a well-deserved title from the destruction of Carthage, offended at his wit, or were they hurt at Metellus being lashed, or Lupus covered over with his verses?"⁵⁶

And Juvenal, his equal, states: "But when Lucilius roars and rages as if with sword in hand, the hearer, whose soul was cold with crime, grows red; the silent consciousness of sin causes

53 Evans, Juvenal and Persius, Introduction.

54 Duff, Writers of Rome, p.27.

55 Evans, Juvenal and Persius, Introduction.

56 Hor.Serm.ii.1, 62-68.

him to sweat."⁵⁷ One would not be far wrong in considering Lucilius the first political critic in Roman history, because he attacked the persons whom he mentioned by name.

In Horace (65-8 B.C.) one comes upon a new period of Roman literature. The freedom of the Republic had long since disappeared; Rome had changed from a shepherd city to a world-power. The political unrest which had characterized the death-throes of the Republic came to an end at Actium in 31 B.C. In view of the altered circumstances of the time, therefore, Horace prudently confined himself to generalities on society and literature. He had a mixture of the gay, lively, gentle, and affectionate; as a result he was adequately fitted for the period in which he wrote. Though he took little part in public affairs, needless to say, Augustus and his minister, Maecenas, were warmly attached to him.

The works of Horace in the satirical vein include the Epodes, as well as the Satires which Horace himself called Sermones. They were written in the hexameter verse and displayed much of the colloquial Latin. Unlike Lucilius, he preferred to attack the sin rather than the sinner; thus one finds his Sermones ("chatty essays or causeries in verse"),⁵⁸ more mature, less polemical, with the charm of serenity always in the foreground. In this form of composition no one has ever surpassed him. Dill tells us that Horace felt more keenly than Juvenal

57 Juv. Sat. i. 165-167.

58 J.W. Duff, Writers of Rome, p. 57.

the charm of hills and streams, and the scenes of rustic toil and gayety.⁵⁹ Yet in another place he asks: "Why is someone poor when you are rich?"⁶⁰ Horace was always eager "to put words into metre";⁶¹ this fact probably made him "the least inspired of the poets."⁶² He considered that happiness and misery are inside emotions, not outside facts.⁶³ His comment on the gloomy-minded individual is appropriate: "The timid sailor seeks not in hour of fear for painted ships."⁶⁴ But on the other hand he despises popularity: "I hate the uninitiate throng and keep them off...."⁶⁵ The preacher seems always to run through Horace's works. He talks about the extremes of Rome; on top, absolute despotism, at the bottom, hopeless slavery. Whereas harmony had been the Greek ideal, internal affairs in Rome had become more a force of disunity. Horace saw that point too; to him "the man who got rich got all the other prizes too."⁶⁶ But he made friends among the rich and urged others to follow his example. In his works he constantly speaks of money under one guise or another; he urges the study of philosophy to counteract its evil effects. In short, Horace had a Chaucerian smile for human foibles.⁶⁷ He smiled, though he felt that his advice would

59 Dill, Roman Society, p.198.

60 Hor. Serm.ii.2,103.

61 Edith Hamilton, The Roman Way, p.155.

62 Ibid. p.162.

63 Ibid. p.167.

64 Hor. Carm.i.14,14.

65 Ibid. Carm.iii.1,1.

66 Hamilton, The Roman Way, p.177.

67 Duff, Writers of Rome, p.87.

never be heeded. Rome wanted what satisfied the restless eye, not what satisfied the spirit or the mind.⁶⁸ He calls Rome "Queen Money."⁶⁹

By the time of Persius (34-62 A.D.) affairs had really taken a turn for the worse. The emperor Nero was in control of the Empire, and during this period his wicked passions were beginning to show themselves. Evans tells us that the chains, which the policy of Augustus concealed in flowers, were now displayed in all their hideousness. The arts were neglected, literature of every kind discouraged or disgraced, and terror and suspicion substituted in the place of the former ease and security.⁷⁰ Therefore, one may feel safe in saying that Persius was, to a certain extent, influenced by circumstances. Under the rigorous censorship of the time it is rather a surprise that he chose satire; even more so, if one considers that he took Lucilius as his model. As a person of rank he was distinguished enough to be dangerous, whenever he preferred to speak freely. His education in Stoicism infected his verse; but while he grew pale over the page of Zeno, and Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, while he imbibed, with all the ardors of a youthful mind, the paradoxes of these great masters, together with their principles, the foundations of civil society were crumbling around him and soliciting his attention in vain.⁷¹ He does not

68 Hamilton, The Roman Way, p.191.

69 Ibid. p.176.

70 Evans, Juvenal and Persius, Introduction, p.xxii.

71 Ibid. Introduction, p.xxii.

seem to talk much about Rome's degeneration. His works show him as the stranger in his own country.

But what does one find in his style? One author says that he is neither simple nor clear; but in the six satires which this convinced young Stoic preached at his generation, he developed a condensation which makes him one of the hardest of Latin authors.⁷² This seeming fault probably arose from his habits of thinking and from his natural dispositions. He will contort a Horatian phrase to the verge of obscurity. Moreover, he employed a type of catachresis, an anxiety of compression, a sudden transition from one over-strained figure to another. His life was blameless and he practiced virtue in the highest degree; at an early age, at which few would reach full maturity, he left behind an established reputation for genius, learning, and worth.

The history of satire up to the time of Juvenal has just been considered. In the next chapter Juvenal himself will enter the picture; one will then notice his effect on his age and his subject-matter in the field of satire.

72 Duff, Writers of Rome, p.86.

III

The Abuses

Juvenal looked down on Rome, a city teeming with life amid the most sordid conditions. He did not see in the city the cosmopolitan center that had risen to prominence from a colony of shepherds; the bad far outweighed the good. What he did see disgusted his sense of decency. Everyday contact with his fellow-Romans made him familiar with the city's empty self-seeking, its crass vulgarity, its foreign population, its debauchery and crime.¹ Everywhere he went he came up against abuses of the worst type. It was bad enough to be compelled to live amid inequalities; it was even worse to keep silent and to refrain from speaking one's mind. Juvenal, therefore, could not and did not restrain his indignation against the capital of the world. Rome was in sore need of reform; he saw the fact as few men did. From that moment he resolved to attack all abuses unceasingly; Rome had to be saved in spite of herself. The cause for abuses had to be hunted down relentlessly; neither the sin nor the sinner would escape notice. Thus Juvenal could defiantly say "...Difficile est saturam non scribere."²

The imperial dignity was tending toward the lustful and

1 J.Wight Duff, Writers of Rome, p.87.

2 Juv.Sat.i.30

avaricious desire for power. On the imperial throne sat Domitian, a gloomy tyrant who, to all appearances, had inherited every bad quality of his predecessors. Whereas Augustus had concealed the sword in a velvet scabbard, Domitian allowed the sword to be seen. Wickedness and tyranny again ran riot. Under such circumstances Juvenal was ready for his duty; Mackail indicates the point well by saying that Juvenal brought to his task not only a wide knowledge of the world -- or, at least, of the world of the capital -- but a singular power of mordant phrase, and a mastery over crude and vivid effect that keeps the reader suspended between disgust and admiration.³ His "facit indignatio versum" rose out of the tyranny which he witnessed. His indignation was roused at sight of the vice and immorality of Rome; under Domitian hardly anything else could flourish. From these two evils alone Juvenal had more than enough material on which to draw. He described situations as he saw them; generally he saw them as the scourge of Rome. There could be no doubt that reform was needed. How did Juvenal propose to attack abuses? He himself tells us in a few lines:

"I will tell you why I prefer to run in the course over which the great nursling of Aurunca drove the steeds, if you can give me time and will listen quietly to reason."⁴

and further on he says:

"But when Lucilius roars and rages as if with sword in hand, the hearer, whose soul was cold with crime, grows red;

³ J.W. Mackail, Latin Literature, p.222.

⁴ Juv. Sat.i.19-21.

the secret consciousness of the crime causes him to sweat."⁵

In adopting the "discursive style of Lucilius"⁶ Juvenal showed up the problems of his time without mincing words. At the very outset he attacked the well-known, established practice of professional poets of inflicting their inferior representations upon a suffering audience. Juvenal does not like the practice; the public recitations he disliked most of all. This idea may be inferred from his opening lines of impatience:

"Shall I be a hearer only? Am I never to retaliate, I who have been so often bored by the Theseid of the hoarse Cordus? Shall this one recite for me his comedies, another his love-poems, and I go unavenged? Shall I do nothing, when huge Telephus takes up the whole day or an Orestes, which has been written on the margin at the top of the roll and on the back as well, is still unfinished."⁷

He had good reasons for his annoyance. The private recitations were originally after-dinner entertainments; at these the host inflicted his own compositions on his guests. However, the declaimer at the public recitations either held forth in the porticoes of temples, or he would rent a house and fit it with benches, or he might borrow a room from some rich friend. Freedmen usually were hired to applaud at suitable times. The unfortunate clients had to be present, and friends or acquaintances of the poet also attended; they themselves might wish to to secure an audience on a similar occasion.⁸ To make matters

5 Juv.Sat.i.165-167.

6 J.W. Duff, Writers of Rome, p.27.

7 Juv.Sat.i.1-6.

8 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.196.

worse, the same old hackneyed themes appeared over and over again. It must be admitted that the old matter did not improve with repetition; in fact Juvenal gives this advice to a writer: "...It's far better, Telesinus, to give your writings to the husband of Venus."⁹ Though Juvenal, as is likely, did not make the remark with malicious intent, he knew the lot of the reader-author. If the poet was poor, he had to depend on the good-will of the rich.¹⁰ The rich were willing enough to lend their rooms, but cash had to be given in advance. The surroundings usually varied with the authors; an author, anxious to establish a reputation, would hire an auditorium. The poor, who could not obtain an auditorium, still got their audience; for if they saw a crowd anywhere, they would mingle with the people, and sooner or later would unroll the volumen or manuscript and begin to read.¹¹ Indeed Juvenal's blast at them seems justified: "...and the columns broken by the constant reading."¹² One might wonder what the reader's reward was, and one might suppose it was not very much. First, he (the reader) had to put up with the inattention on the part of the audience; at times the members talked with one another or, worst of all, they fell asleep during the recitation. Furthermore, if the piece was long, they left before the end of the performance. At other times the audience

9 Juv.Sat.vii.24-25.

10 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.198.

11 Ibid.p.197.

12 Juv.Sat.i.13.

sat, as one would say, "like bumps on a log", and made no effort to relieve the monotony. This attitude led to a very amusing incident. At one recitation Javolenus Priscus, a friend of the reader, was present. The first line of the poem ran thus: "Priscus, at thy command..." Javolenus hastily roused himself and exclaimed "I did'nt command him."¹³ The laughter shook the rafters. It is possible that the same type of incident took place many times; if such is the case, the reader himself was partly to blame. He inflicted upon a helpless audience literature notorious for inferiority. These so-called "masterpieces" were often read in the heat of summer; as a result, fatigue, boredom, and utter nausea broke down the desire for letters.¹⁴ Soon anything that could pass for a literary composition came from the mouths of budding poets. Later mere spouting was the order of the day; the poor fell into the same error as the rich. Instead of making literature a true instrument of feeling, the author aimed to dazzle his audience more by the brilliance of the idea than by the beauty of the general plan, and thereby hastened the disastrous evolution which culminated in a taste so perverted that it responded only to tirades aimed at effect and epigrammatic conceits (sententiae).¹⁵ Furthermore, by detaching the works they seized on from their natural setting --

13 Pl.Ep.vi.16 as quoted by Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.198.

14 Carcopino, op.cit., p.199.

15 Ibid.p.200.

pleading from the law-courts, political speeches from the Curia, tragedy and comedy from the theatre -- these public recitations completed the severance of such links as still existed between literature and life, and drained literature of that genuine human content without which no masterpiece is possible.¹⁶

Therefore, even Roman tragedy suffered. This species of drama never appealed to the Romans; soon the drama resolved into its elements. There were two elements, dancing and gesticulation, accompanied with words or not. The subjects generally came from tragedy and comedy; in some cases the subjects were historical, but more often mythological, such as Turnus, Dido, Hector, Niobe, and Philomela. The pantomime actor represented the various characters as well as the plot by appropriate dancing and gestures; the libretto of the piece was sung by a chorus. But despite his best efforts:

"...With such sweetness he has charmed their spirits, and with such eagerness he is heard by the crowd; but when he has broken down the benches, he will starve, unless he sells his unpublished Agave to Paris."¹⁸

The rhetorician's art got no better. In the course of time this branch narrowed down to two types of declamationes: "The orations became either suasoriae in which more or less thorny questions of conscience were discussed, or controversiae, which consisted in imaginary indictment or defense."¹⁹ The two

16 See Petronius, Satyricon, 1-5, quoted by Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.200.

17 Hardy, Juvenal, n. to Sat.vii.87.

18 Juv.Sat.vii.84-87.

19 Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.116.

weakness. No contrast existed between the branches of the grammarian's and the rhetorician's school. In both types there was a deplorable lack of natural ability and of contemporary life. This very artificiality led to subtlety of reasoning and smartness of phrase. Even here serious defects were apparent:

"The themes were hackneyed and to make old stuff presentable, it had to be dressed up in novel ways, so that there was a strong temptation to say something unnatural and to prefer the extraordinary and striking to the simple and straightforward."²⁰

The hackneyed themes generally dealt with subjects drawn from the past, often from a foreign and distant past. Yet one does find an up-to-date subject as in Seneca the Elder: "...In one Cicero hesitates as to whether he will or will not ask mercy of Anthony; in another he consents, in order to obtain it, to burn his works."²¹ And in another place a contemporary hue attracts our attention:

"Another case deals with a slave-merchant who, when unloading at Brindisi, wished to evade custom duty on the most valuable slave he had. He hit on the expedient of dressing up the handsome boy in the toga praetexta, the scarlet-bordered cloak of a young Roman citizen. Arrived at Rome, the boy refused to lay his disguise aside and stoutly averred that it had been given him in token of his irrevocable manumission."²²

Juvenal did not consider the recitations as the only objectives for his complaint. A more pressing evil, which he saw striking at the very heart of society was the regard for dis-

²⁰ Duff, Writers of Rome, pp.74-75.

²¹ Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.117.

²² Suetonius, "On Rhetoricians", as quoted by Carcopino, Daily Life in Ancient Rome, p.117.

inction. This unfortunate situation brought to a head the already aggravated conditions; the rich not only took pride in their titles and ancestors, but also sought eagerly after rank and fame as eagles after a lamb. And if this point were not bad enough, the distinctions more often than not brought debauchery, suspicion, rapacity, bad example to the young, and disgrace. Juvenal, therefore, saw that he must warn the rich, in the persons of Rubellius Blandus and Ponticus, not to despise the poor; all Roman ancestry really came from humble shepherds. Pride goeth before a fall, and pedigrees are of no avail as he tells Ponticus:

"What good are pedigrees? What does it avail, Ponticus, to be regarded because of a long blood-relationship, or to display the painted features of one's ancestors, of many an Aemilianus standing in the chariot, of many a smaller Curius, of Corvinus bereft of a shoulder, and of Galba without ears and nose."²³

The rich indeed decorate their halls. Their order furnishes the great men of the state, but let them look at history. From the lower estate, the plebs, have come many famous pleaders and generals. Avoid pride, he tells Blandus, and seek virtue.

"What person have I admonished with this advice? My speech is addressed to you, Rubellius Blandus. You swell up with the high rank of the Drusi, as though you had done something deserving of nobility, that one may regard you as glorying in the blood of Julius rather than sewing for hire under the windy rampart."²⁴

Juvenal has not yet finished his outburst. A horse may have ancestry too, but, as he says, let it fail to win a race or gain

23 Juv. Sat. viii. 1-5.

24 Ibid. 39-43.

a prize and all its pedigrees would be powerless to keep it away from the mill. As for the provincials, their governor, if accused of maladministration, suffered the penalty; sometimes this punishment was little consolation, because the new governor did exactly the same thing. Their pedigrees did not prevent Verres and Dolabella from stealing the provincials' works of art. Therefore, Juvenal cries:

"When a long-awaited province falls to your lot as ruler, put limits and checks on your anger as also on your greed, then pity the poor provincials: you see that their bones are sucked dry and the marrow is gone."²⁵

Yet, on the other hand, Juvenal points out what little chance the provincials have against his successor; the new incumbent may be just as bad: "But what benefit does a condemnation have, since Pansa may take whatever Natta left for you."²⁶ At one time they were rich; they could at least hold up their heads. But now, Juvenal says, they have nothing left:

"Then there is a Dolabella, then an Antonius, then a law-breaking Verres who loaded hidden spoils unto their tall ships, triumphs more numerous than those in peacetime."²⁷

But, Juvenal goes on to say, while the Greeks may seem docile, beware of the Spaniards! At times they suffer wrongs silently; later, however, the wrongdoer suffers the penalty. Crime does not pay. Stop your own avarice and you will end the extravagance of your wife, your relations, your slaves. Even the

25 Juv. Sat. viii. 87-90.

26 Ibid. 94-95.

27 Ibid. 105-107.

great men have ruined their reputations. Thus it is that "Fat Lateranus is whirled past the cinders and bones of his ancestors in a swift chariot, but the muleteer consul himself fastens the wheels with a chain."²⁸ As usual the sinner will make excuses: "The defender of faults will tell me, 'we too did the same thing as young men! Granted; but then you stopped your mistakes and never cherished crime."²⁹ Yet when it came to a question of bad example, the rich men never blushed for shame. They seemed to take pleasure in handing on their vices to others. By permitting the young to come in contact with crime at its worst, the rich men were polluting the new generation of Romans. In the past Rome could expect much of her new citizens; now she had actually to fear for her very life. Juvenal also shared this apprehension and saw that something drastic had to occur to prevent disaster. At the very beginning he says: "If the ruinous dice delights the old man, the heir still a child also plays and moves the same weapons in a small dice-box."³⁰ The parents might just as well give up hope, because the young man is beyond saving. O wealth, is this thy victim?

"When the seventh year has passed over the boy, even before all his teeth are reborn, though you may influence him with a thousand bearded advisers on one side or an equal number on the other, he will wish to dine in state always and not to fall down from this magnificent fare."³¹

28 Juv.Sat.viii.147-149.

29 Ibid. 163-165.

30 Ibid.Sat.xiv.4-5.

31 Ibid. 10-14.

Indeed the young man is imbued with the insatiate desire to live well rather than wisely. The rich put such temptations in his way and the young man snatches them, only too eager to gratify his passions. What could the parents say? Like father, like son! The father taught the youth bad habits; yet Juvenal gives this advice: "To the youth great respect is due."³² But the master ignored this suggestion for reform. Nature took its course and the result was disaster. At the early age of seven he takes delight in the bad habits of the father. Even cruelty toward slaves pleases him, if one can believe this statement:

"When Rutilus teaches him to be cruel, Rutilus who rejoices at the sound of a severe flogging and considers it better than the Siren's song, he is an Antiphates of his trembling household or a Polyphemus, but he is only happy as many times as someone is burned by the torturer summoned at his call, or someone is placed over glowing iron because of the theft of two towels."³³

Even then the cruelty goes on, for "What counsel does the father give his son who is happy at the sound of the chains, and on whom the prospects of brandings, dungeons, and a prison have a surprising effect?"³⁴ Why did cruelty toward slaves please him? Why did he take delight and pleasure in his questionable and unenviable reputation to acquire the mastery over them? The father's evil thoughts have gone into his mind; he cannot avoid them. As surely as young animals follow their species as surely does the son follow the father's example.

32 *Juv. Sat. viii. 47.*

33 *Ibid. 18-22.*

34 *Ibid. 23-24.*

"The stork feeds her young with the serpent and the lizards found in the by-ways; the young themselves search for the same things after they have acquired wings. Then the vulture hastens from pack-animals, dogs, and crosses to her young and brings instead carrion. This is the food of the vulture; he feeds himself when he is full-grown, and makes nests in a tree of his own. But the birds, the noble offspring of Jove, hunt the hare or the she-goat in the mountain-passes; then the booty is laid in the nest; hence when the offspring of full growth flies up under the impulse of hunger, it will hasten to the same booty which it tasted after the egg-shell was broken."³⁵

The father has shown the son the way; he has shown the "itching palm" of avarice and the son has not forgotten the lesson. Juvenal is explicit when he says, "Cretonius was given to building; now on Caieta's curved shore, now on the heights of Tibur, now on the mountains of Praeneste he would build lofty mansions."³⁶

The windfalls of avarice continue; wealth becomes the only end. How does the young man practice avarice? Consider the father's method. Juvenal cries out that "He (the father) pinches the bellies of his slaves, starving himself into the bargain."³⁷

Such teaching the young man will follow. But, Juvenal goes on to say, his avarice will not stop there; even the property of his neighbors will not be safe, so long as his madness rages.

Therefore, Juvenal exclaims:

"And so when one country house is not enough for you, you buy another; then you must extend your boundaries; because your neighbor's field seems bigger and better than yours, that too you must buy, also his vineyard and the hill that is thick and gray with olives."³⁸

35 Juv.Sat.xiv.74-85.

36 Ibid. 86-88.

37 Ibid. 126-127.

38 Ibid. 140-144.

Has the young man stopped here? No indeed, he is only beginning. By practicing vice, says Juvenal, the young man is in danger; beware of him!

"When the lad begins to comb a beard, and to apply to its length the razor's edge, he shall give false testimony, he shall sell his perjuries for a trifling sum, touching the altar and the foot of Ceres all the time."³⁹

Even, to the horror of Juvenal, he will kill his wife for her dowry. Excuses now cannot save him; he is committed to his evil ways. However, just in passing, one may view a miser ready to suffer any hardship which is better than any play. Juvenal points out that such a man will overload his ship with goods and return home in triumph:

"Should clouds and thunder threaten, 'Let go!' cries the merchant who has bought up corn or pepper, 'that black sky, this black wrack are but nothing -- it is only summer thunder!'"⁴⁰

Yet, like Alexander who realized the folly of wealth, when he saw Diogenes in his tub, his wealth will never satisfy him. Even the riches of Croesus would fail to bring him happiness.

Juvenal had more than enough opportunity to view his fellow-Romans. He saw their weaknesses and faults, their desires and aspirations. Often their aspirations did not coincide with their true abilities; the vanity of their desires was all too apparent. No one seemed to want spiritual betterment in Rome. Money, oratorical ability, long life, military glory, good

³⁹ Juv. Sat. xiv. 216-219.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 292-294.

looks, social standing, and talent came in for their share of attention. Juvenal poured out his invective more than once against such empty self-seekers; he indeed was attacking the "vanity of human wishes."

In Juvenal's day the ordinary man sought money.⁴¹ But all in vain; the wealth of Seneca, of Longinus, and of the Laterani caused Nero to kill them.⁴² Such a sight even a Democritus would have longed to see; he, "the laughing philosopher", laughed at the foibles of mankind.⁴³ Look further! Sejanus, in spite of his wealth, fell amid the acclamations of all. Thus do the powerful fall.⁴⁴ Yet the common mob sought such a prize; "bread and games" has become their motto.⁴⁵ The schoolboy of Rome prays for oratorical ability.⁴⁶ Yet oratorical ability cost both Cicero and Demosthenes their lives;⁴⁷ their very popularity angered the powerful. The schoolboy may be dazzled by military glory; the General even seeks the trophies of war.⁴⁸ Hannibal, the greatest general of all, sought to conquer all lands;⁴⁹ he ended his life by poison in exile.

The common man now asks of Jupiter a long and eventful life.⁵⁰ Old age brings on wrinkles and feebleness.⁵¹ The old suf-

41 Juv. Sat. x. 23-25.

42 Ibid. 15-17.

43 Ibid. 33-34.

44 Ibid. 65-70.

45 Ibid. 81.

46 Ibid. 114.

47 Ibid. 117-118.

48 Ibid. 133-137.

49 Ibid. 147-153.

50 Ibid. 188.

51 Ibid. 190-195.

fer the loss of physical and mental power;⁵² their very friends leave them because of their hideousness.⁵³ Calamity after calamity befalls their houses.⁵⁴

The loving mother seeks the most priceless of all gifts, beauty, for herself and her daughters.⁵⁵ Even though the famous personages of mythology vied with one another in beauty, they did not always seek one another's deformities.⁵⁶ Beauty does not mean safety for any young man;⁵⁷ wickedness will surely overwhelm him. Money may tempt him;⁵⁸ the outraged husband awaits him with drawn sword or lash.⁵⁹ He may fall into the hands of some scheming woman;⁶⁰ sooner or later he will be dead.⁶¹ Behold a fallen gallant! Juvenal advises his readers to let the gods decide what is best.⁶² However, the satirist says this in his most famous line:

"...orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano."⁶³

The Third Satire is the best known of Juvenal's works. The identity of Umbricius, the chief speaker, is not revealed, but the satire seems to have been written about 110 A.D. In the satire one learns the reasons which have caused Umbricius

52 Juv. Sat. x. 217-219.

53 Ibid. 201-202.

54 Ibid. 240-245.

55 Ibid. 289-291.

56 Ibid. 294-295.

57 Ibid. 296-299.

58 Ibid. 306.

59 Ibid. 315-316.

60 Ibid. 318-319.

61 Ibid. 345.

62 Ibid. 346-348.

63 Ibid. 356.

to leave Rome; many conditions there irk him. What can he do at Rome?⁶⁴ There is no room for an honest man or honest pursuits; only dishonest pursuits are the order of the day. He who can lie wins the favor of the great, the foreigners are favored, and the poor remain despised.⁶⁵ He (Umbricius) will leave Rome; the danger to life and limb is too great. In one line he hits the point of the whole Satire: "What man wins favor nowadays, unless he be an accomplice -- one whose soul burns with secrets never to be revealed."⁶⁶ On the other hand, the poor man faces all kinds of dangers. Umbricius knows whereof he speaks: "There are many accidents awaiting you from as many windows as you pass along."⁶⁷

Yet what are these accidents? Listen and you shall hear. Either a flower-pot will fall or the contents of slop-pails may deluge the poor man in the streets by night;⁶⁸ perhaps he may meet with a robber who all but kills him.⁶⁹ But "this is the liberty of a poor man to beg that he be allowed to return home with a few teeth left in his head."⁷⁰ Perhaps a fire may break out on the first floor of a miserable tenement house, though our poor unfortunate friend has a room on the third floor;⁷¹ only the rich get any sympathy from the loss of their houses.⁷² And what

64 Juv. Sat. iii. 41.

65 Ibid. 70-71.

66 Ibid. 49.

67 Ibid. 274-275.

68 Ibid. 276.

69 Ibid. 280-297.

70 Ibid. 299-301.

71 Ibid. 200.

72 Ibid. 211-220.

troubles does the poor man face in the daytime? In the narrow, crowded street he may be trampled on, struck in the face, or kicked;⁷³ or a load of marble, being carried along on a litter over the heads of the crowd, even a wooden beam, may fall, shatter, and crush out the life of the poor man.⁷⁴ Yes, the lot of the poor man is hard indeed; Umbricius has resolved to go elsewhere for his peace of mind.

73 Juv. Sat. iii. 243-249.

74 Ibid. 257-259.

IV

Deductions and Conclusion

From the preceding three chapters one has viewed a panorama of Juvenal's time. The Rome of the first century A.D. has once more come to life; the classical atmosphere of the Roman scene is before our eyes. Within the confines of this great city the life of the classical world has been portrayed in all its varying shades. The sordid and seamy side of Juvenal's age stands revealed; nothing has been spared, nothing held back. The verdict must now be taken. Was Juvenal justified in his attacks on the vices of his age? Were his attacks exaggerated? The purpose of this final chapter will be to show that he was justified in his attacks and that these attacks were not exaggerated. By a series of deductions drawn from each of the three chapters, the proof of his reasonableness will be demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt.

The First Chapter has brought out the historical background of Juvenal's time. A myriad of personages and events are recalled at the mere word of the writer; plebs, knights, bankers, senators, and soldiers pass in review. Against this historical background the multifarious evils of the Roman society have come into the light. Such evils as slavery, debauchery, luxury, and lax morals appear in the pages of Suetonius,

Martial, Tacitus, Phaedrus, and Petronius, as well as Juvenal. Therefore, these other writers confirm all Juvenal's arguments. Under such circumstances all classes of reasonable men in Rome were not silent. Then too the history of Rome from 31 B.C. to 476 A.D. was simply a series of slow, steady declines in vigor and unity; even the Christians in the Empire could not stem the spread of decay. One has but to look into the pages of history to see how corruption gnawed at the vitals of the Roman state; the reader would see the year 476 in retrospect. The voice of counsel was being ignored. Labor conditions, the favoritism shown to Greeks, and the growth of pagan practices prove how much outside influences were affecting the once virile Roman state. Gone was the Rome of great legendary heroes and warriors. Lastly, the notorious spy system or delatio made free speech impossible; all Romans were afraid to state their opinions openly. They were even afraid to speak out against the government. From all these points it is not hard to judge that Rome seethed with corruption. She needed a moral leader to revitalize her sagging fortunes. Juvenal was not alone in his efforts to improve conditions, but he did more by hitting at the heart of the whole problem.

The Second Chapter deals partly with a few facts about Juvenal's life and partly with the history of satire. The few and sketchy points known prove that Juvenal did possess much courage. He had nothing to lose by attacking Paris; he had more

to lose by remaining silent. Therefore, his stormy life at Rome shows through his poetry. Horace and Lucilius, prominent satirists, furnished him with much material for his poetic style. Lucilius in particular was of inestimable value to Juvenal; his rude vigor and forceful expression moulded Juvenal's lines into the great social poetry of the period. As has already been indicated, the political aspects of Lucilius' poetry caused Juvenal to take up this style. Such a style never failed him.

The Third Chapter brought to the fore Juvenal the man and Juvenal the poet combined. Throughout his works the reader will find lines of rare beauty and pathos. The reader will also notice his (Juvenal's) feeling toward his fellow-men; on the one hand, there is a sympathy for the poor, on the other hand, there occurs a savage diatribe against pagan Rome and her pagan practices. The Rome that Juvenal loved ardently was fast disappearing; in its place a city of proud, haughty, arrogant, immoral people reared an ugly head. Evils abounded everywhere. This point is Juvenal's main theme; time and time again, and in every conceivable way, the social crisis is hammered home. Thus Juvenal's fellow-men are not spared denunciation; their crimes filled to the brim the cup of pagan Rome. Reform and more reform was the watchword. Added to the force of the expression was a biting, mocking, scathing, taunting sneer at the weaknesses of mankind. Rare words and phrases, transferred epithets,

peculiar usages of words -- all these devices served to make Juvenal's poetry effective both from a literary and a social point of view. For all these years his poetry has never failed to interest the reader.

The main purpose of a conclusion is to draw a pertinent fact from the deductions of the preceding chapters. Therefore, summing up in a few words the point of the entire thesis, from the standpoint of history, of contemporary writers, and of the idea of humanitarianism, Juvenal did not exaggerate in his attacks on the vices of his age.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by John Paul Fisher has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

December 5, 1944
Date

A. Herbert Abel, Ph.D.
Signature of Adviser