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CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN JUVENAL

by

Louis Felix van Ryneveld

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Before I turn to the subject matter of this dissertation, an explanation of the title is called for. The phrase "contextual meaning in Juvenal" is likely to awaken the expectation that all sixteen Satires, or at least a fair number of them, will figure in the ensuing discussion. Such, indeed, was the original intention. However, research soon turned up so much material that it became clear that a choice would have to be made between an unacceptably bulky report, a superficial one or a reduction in the field of study. The last one mentioned seemed the wisest alternative. A decision to narrow down the field of study to four poems - the Second, Third, Tenth and Eleventh - proved to be not drastic enough. I therefore elected to confine myself to two poems which, as it seems to me, display a particular aspect of Juvenal's word mastery in two very different ways: they are the Tenth and the Third, discussed in that order in my next two chapters. It is to be hoped that, even if readers of this treatise should reject my theories, they will agree that my choice amongst the Satires was not unsound.

It will appear from what follows that this dissertation focuses upon the single word which acquires differences of meaning as it recurs in new contexts. An exception is my discussion in Chapter Two of the exempla in the Tenth Satire (v. inf. pp. 62-77). Especially the lines in which the history of Sejanus is presented for the audience's consideration puzzled me; as an exemplum, Sejanus seemed to convey a statement at variance with the one intended. I could not resist an

attempt to solve the puzzle. To do so, I had to stretch my terms of reference, as it were; instead of a semantic study of a single word in its immediate context, I had to try to define the 'meaning' or 'poetic statement' of a sizable section of the poem in the context of the whole. For that deviation from the overall path of this study I must ask my reader's indulgence; I can only hope that the results justify the digression.

WORD REPETITION AND LITERARY STRUCTURE

A poetic mechanism that Juvenal (like other ancient authors) employs, is the repeated use of a word in a poem at irregular intervals in such a way that the meaning of the word changes in some way or another. Its referential or connotational scope may enlarge, as orbem in Sat. X 40 refers to the triumphator's "heavy gold wreath" ⁽¹⁾ worn by the president of the games in the Circus procession, and at v. 63 of the same poem orbe refers to the world (v. inf. n. 74 and c. 2 pp. 77 - 83); or it may be used first in a literal, then in a metaphorical sense, as frena in Sat. X 45 is used in the literal sense and, as I shall argue later, also in a metaphorical sense, while in v. 128 of the same poem its use is purely metaphorical (v. inf. pp. 45- 55); or a word may be used as part of a proverbial expression and then in some other context which alters its suggestive or emotional force; for example, in Sat. III 210 the adjective nudum bears its proverbial sense equivalent to "poor, destitute, penniless", and six lines further on it appears in a phrase suggesting opulence - nuda et candida signa, "gleaming white nude statues (sc. of marble)" (v. inf. pp. 16 - 17 and pp. 110 - 122). By careful contextual engineering Juvenal establishes striking verbal

effects such as these which, as I shall try to prove, contribute to the achievement of organic unity in his poems.

The notion of unity in a literary composition has fascinated some of the most brilliant minds in the history of Western literature. Plato thought of a work of literary art as something comparable to a living organism, in which all necessary parts should be present and should stand in proper relation to each other and to the whole.⁽²⁾ In his deliberations on epic poetry, Aristotle expresses the desirability of a work being "a complete whole in itself, with a beginning, middle and end...(and) with all the organic unity of a living creature".⁽³⁾ Among Roman theorists, both Cicero⁽⁴⁾ and Horace⁽⁵⁾ use versions of the organic simile which show their debt to the Greek philosophers.

Proper structuring came to be thought of in terms of a simile based on the art of weaving.⁽⁶⁾ According to this conception, horizontal and vertical connecting strands together maintain unity. Horizontal (or primary) connections are those joining successive sentences and clauses as they succeed one another in the horizontal lines of writing, i.e. syntactic devices like conjunctions and the coordinating relative. Vertical (or secondary) structural connecting lines come into being through the repetition of words, notions and themes at various places in the work, one below the other. The imaginary lines of horizontal (primary) and vertical (secondary) structure represent the weft and the warp of weaving, together forming the textus. This dissertation is accordingly concerned with secondary structure, as I shall try to prove that the word repetitions examined provide verbal links (i.e. elements of vertical structure) connecting different parts of the poem.

(A definition of terms seems advisable at this stage. Phrases like "the structure of the poem" will refer to the conception of a Satire as a composite of interconnected yet distinct paragraphs whose first and last lines can be indicated with fair certainty; cf. Hight's⁽⁷⁾

exposition of the structure of Juvenal's Third Satire: Introduction, vv. 1 - 20; a paragraph on poverty, vv. 21 - 189; a paragraph on discomfort and danger, vv. 190 - 314; epilogue, vv. 315 - 322.

" Hierarchical structure" will refer to the conception of a poem consisting of recognisable paragraphs which in turn are composed of subparagraphs - the latter are thought of as being of lower hierarchical structure than the paragraphs; cf. Hight's view that the paragraph on poverty in the Satire alluded to above consists of three lesser subparagraphs, viz. "(a) honesty starves 21 - 57 / (b) foreigners oust Romans 58 - 125 / (c) poor men are helpless 126 - 89." For the sake of variety in my writing I shall use the terms "paragraph" and "division" as synonyms; and likewise "subparagraphs" and "subdivisions". "Primary / horizontal structure" and "secondary/ vertical structure" will bear the meanings outlined in the preceding paragraph of this dissertation).

The unifying effect of the repetition of themes with variations in a literary work has been remarked both for Latin prose and poetry.⁽⁸⁾ In fact, non-identical thematic repetition in short⁽⁹⁾ Augustan poems and even whole anthologies is credited not only with establishing unity but also with permitting delicate shades of expressiveness otherwise unobtainable.⁽¹⁰⁾ In a poem of modest length, recurrent reference to a theme will of necessity be more succinct than, say, in a speech requiring three hours for its delivery - the poet has to be content with a line or two, a suggestive phrase, even a single word.

Brief consideration of four examples will serve to illustrate the principle. Hor. Od. I 3, a propempticon⁽¹¹⁾ written upon the occasion of a sea-voyage to Attica by Vergil, contains several direct references to the sea (pelāgo, v. 11; Hadriae, v. 15; freta, v. 16; mare, v. 19; oceanō, v. 22; uada, v. 24) and to modes of sea-travel (navis, v. 5; ratem, v. 11;

natantia, v. 18; rates, v. 24); among several more oblique references, the one to Venus as a sea-goddess in v. 1 (diva potens Cypri) is notable for introducing the marine theme at the beginning of the poem.⁽¹²⁾ Would it be over-imaginative to detect in the last word of the last line (fulmina, v. 40) a final echo of the watery theme in the suggestion of thunder-storms and showers? Horace's partly autobiographical Sat. I 6, in which birth (in its metaphorical sense of social class (ordo) and Maecenas' liberal attitude towards such matters is discussed,⁽¹³⁾ has natus eight times and the synonym ortus twice. Moreover, several semantically related words (genus/generosus, pater/paternus, mater/maternus, avus, patruus etc.) abound up to v. 99, while the poet is elaborating the antithesis of noble birth and innate decency (non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro, v. 64). From v. 100 Horace goes off at a tangent; while the highly placed are encumbered with the nuisance of putting up the appearances expected of them, he says, he himself can live a comfortably inconspicuous life. In this section, from v. 100 to v.130, words denoting birth or family relationships are absent. Then suddenly three of these terms pop up again in the last line (quaestor avus, pater atque meus patruusque fuisset, v. 131). This abruptly brings the poem around to its opening theme again. But there is bathos in quaestor placed in the final line, following the string of titles denoting truly high office (regnum, v. 9; ensorque, v. 20; and so on, up to senator, v. 110). By this unexpected twist, the satirist vividly, and with remarkable succinctness, expresses his contempt for those who value the accident of birth above all else.⁽¹⁴⁾ Similar repetition of words closely connected to a theme of a poem is to be found in Juv. X, which may be entitled "True and False Objects of Prayer".⁽¹⁵⁾ Words relating to prayer and supplication abound, reminding the reader

repeatedly of the subject matter of the work: optare appears in vv. 7, 115, 189, 289, and 346; uouere/ uotum in vv. 6, 23 and 354; poscere in vv. 354 and 357; petere in vv. 8 and 352; orare in v. 356; and v. 188 actually is a prayer:

' da spatium uitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos.'

(" Grant us, oh Jupiter, length of life, yea, many years grant us.")⁽¹⁶⁾

Let us finally consider an example in which the word repeated is, first, associated with a major theme of the poem and, secondly, also undergoes some change in semantic capacity. Such a word is sportula, which occurs three times in Juvenal's First Satire. The noun is introduced innocuously, but according to Witke⁽¹⁷⁾ it expands in meaning until it represents the deterioration in the relationship between patron and client. Witke writes: "The first time (sc. in v. 95) it signifies the small basket into which a patron would put money or food for his clients. The sportula is mentioned in contrasting the old days with the present." By its second appearance in v. 118 the noun's referential scope has expanded from the domestic article to the daily ritual of the salutatio: "Here sportula ... clearly refers to the dole as an occasion and a provision". The semantic shift from the concrete to the abstract is completed when the word becomes a symbol of a debased Roman institution and concomitant sordidness: when "the noun sportula occurs the third time in 33 lines (128) its significance has grown from the very restricted basket to the institution and the degrading activities it provokes as well".

A study of individual words recurring with ever varying shades of meaning in a poem, inevitably involves the application of the science of semantics. As metaphor is one of the chief ways in which words may acquire new or altered meanings, the theory of metaphor - both ancient and modern - must also receive some attention. Consequently a brief

outline of relevant theory follows. I must ask the reader's indulgence if I reserve some of the discussion on metaphor for that part of Chapter Two where it seems to be most apposite.⁽¹⁸⁾

THEORY OF SEMANTICS AND METAPHOR

To say that it is the interaction of a word or expression with its context which determines its meaning, is to state a linguistic truism. Courtney comments in his note on Juv. XII 13 - 14⁽¹⁹⁾: "Housman also objected to sanguis iret, as this combination elsewhere means 'blood would flow'; but this objection is not conclusive, since such phrases quite often have two meanings in different contexts..." Nida⁽²⁰⁾ repeatedly refers meaning to context, without subscribing to the view that a word has meaning only in a given context. Giving as an example the sentence "the man runs" he comments: "...the verb run occurs in what might be regarded as the most 'unmarked meaning', that is to say, in a context which parallels the meaning of run if it is uttered without any context at all."⁽²¹⁾ However, that such an 'unmarked meaning' might be difficult to determine for a given word or expression is clear from another example, "where is the stock?", in which the noun "stock" might refer to animals, manufactured goods or certificates of ownership, depending on whether the sentence is spoken on a farm, in a grocery store or

in a share broker's office.⁽²²⁾ Of some significance is the fact that Nida interprets "context" in a much wider sense than usual when the occasion demands it. He illustrates the bewildering semantic range of "bar" by displaying the word in ten separate sentences; this corresponds with the way one usually interprets "context" in literary or linguistic discussions (v. inf. p. 15). But the entire culture of the people using a word or expression may provide the context which determines meaning. Nida writes: "In order to determine the meaning of any linguistic symbol, it is essential to analyze all of the contexts in which such a symbol may occur, and the more one knows about the culture in which such symbols are used, the more readily can one determine the particular contribution of meaning which a symbol makes in any specific context."⁽²³⁾ He opens his first chapter, entitled "Signs", with a discussion of an expression meaningless to anyone unfamiliar with the habits and philosophy of life of the people using it: "God doesn't hang up jawbones"⁽²⁴⁾; to New Guinea headhunters this is the equivalent of "God forgives us our sins". Traditionally, the jawbones of family members slain by rival tribes were hung on the doorpost to remind their relations that an act of revenge was expected of them.

An example from Juvenal which shows the importance of some knowledge of day-to-day Roman life for the explication of a passage is afforded by vv. 155 - 157 of his First Satire. Without precise information about the entertaining horror of standard amphitheatre procedures we may never know exactly what the lines mean. Three recent writers expend some ingenuity - and also some acerbity - in their attempts to arrive at a conclusive interpretation of these lines, which also puzzled Duff.

pone Tigillinum, taeda lucebis in illa
qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducit harena.

Duff⁽²⁵⁾ explains: "i.e. you will be burnt alive in the tunica molesta... and your remains will then be dragged by the uncus through the amphitheatre," tracing a furrow in the sand. But this interpretation of the text does not satisfy him: "... if a man were burnt to death, there would be no remains to be dragged by the uncus ...". Duff obviously overrates the tunica molesta as a means of reducing a human body to ashes.⁽²⁶⁾ Barrett⁽²⁷⁾ strangely seems to overlook the spectacle of the corpse being dragged from the arena, and argues ingeniously that taeda should be emended to raeda, a two-wheeled wagon on which a burning victim might be dragged around in the amphitheatre, the wheels of the wagon then drawing the furrow (sulcum, v. 157). Neither Baldwin nor Griffith, writing in later issues of the same journal⁽²⁸⁾ in which Barrett's article appeared, accept his interpretation. Baldwin rejects Barrett's proposed emendation of taeda to raeda, pointing out inter alia that the raeda was a four wheeled-vehicle. To him, sulcum is a trench in which the stakes to which victims were tied for burning, were partly buried in an upright position. Barrett notes an interpretation according to which "Juvenal is not describing a form of punishment but is using a popular Latin figure of speech 'to plough the sand', in the sense of 'to waste time', as in 7. 48 - 9: "nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos/ducimus et litus sterili uersamus aratro."

But the context of punishments inflicted in a public display surely requires that the reference to harena be a concrete reference to the amphitheatre."⁽²⁹⁾ Griffith rejects the notion that sulcum might

mean "a furrow traced on the ground by a dragged corpse", as this is "a suggestion which confuses two distinct forms of punishment and which was disposed of long ago". But cadavers surely had to be removed from the arena after execution, so that the dragging of a corpse is not so much a form of punishment as a simple necessity to clear the area of human remains before the next item on the programme could be introduced. Both Baldwin and Griffith support the interpretation of sulcum as a "furrow of light", which Barrett dismisses in a footnote as a "curious notion"; they quote passages from Vergil, Lucan and Valerius Flaccus in which this is, in fact, the sense of sulcus. Griffith suggests that Juvenal may have been describing "the moment of ignition of either a single stake-bound victim, or... of several such persons planted in a line or rectangle (or circle) media harena. If this took place at night, as Tacitus indicates in his lurid description of this atrocity ... the spectacular visual effect of the 'furrow' of light traced against the darkened background of the amphitheatre as the blaze shot up is easily imagined."

Nida (30) warns that "some persons mistakenly assume that whenever a word occurs, regardless of context, it somehow or other carries with it, at least potentially, something of all the other meanings which the word has in other types of contexts ...", but he concedes that "a writer may use a word with more than one meaning in an attempt to play on diverse meanings."

If only for the sake of argument, I suggest that Juvenal may have intended these three lines, and the noun sulcus, to be so ambiguous as to evoke several interpretations simultaneously. The literal reference to a horrible form of execution is obvious; the spectacular "furrow of light", if displays of this kind were usually reserved for

the hours of darkness, is easy to accept; moreover, sulcum may well refer both to the furrow in which the stakes were planted upright and to the furrow that a victim's corpse drags in the sand when it is removed; and the latter notion may have been intended to recall the proverbial sense of "ploughing the sand" to suggest that the satirist would die a fruitless martyr's death if he were to attack living exemplars of vice.

Consideration of the "cultural context" will necessarily be very important in a consideration of the meaning of the historical exempla in the context of the Tenth Satire, and especially Sejanus, who is portrayed there with unusual sympathy (v. inf. pp. 62 - 77) - or, if sympathy is absent, then there is a notable absence of condemnation.

To return to the individual word, Nida ⁽³¹⁾ gives ten examples of the English word "bar" in different contexts which make the word refer to such widely different things as an activity which may be denoted by the verb "prevent", an association of legal practitioners, insignia of military rank, and music. He warns against what might be termed the etymological fallacy, i.e. an attempt to account for such a phenomenon by examining the history of the word. When a word may assume entirely different meanings in different contexts in a given period of a language - such as "bar" meaning (i) an association of advocates or (ii) a beam used as an obstruction to prevent a door being opened - the word is best regarded as a homophone of itself, "that is to say, a completely separate linguistic unit which bears no synchronic semantic relationship to the other" meanings of the word. But as noted above (v. sup. p.14), Nida concedes the obvious possibility that a writer may intentionally use a word with several meanings for the sake of a play

on words. Jokes often depend on a recognition of such apparently unrelated meanings in a word. (32)

When Mooij⁽³³⁾ says that "one of the factors that make metaphors interesting and significant is that they provide a possibility of extending the area of what can be expressed by means of language" and again: "... it is certain that the use of metaphors has played a considerable part in the historical development of the natural languages," he is echoing Quintilian's enthusiastic opinion: (translatio) copiam quoque sermonis auget permutando aut mutuando quae non habet, quodque est difficillimum, praestat ne ulli rei nomen deesse videatur (34) — metaphor, according to the great Silver Age rhetorician, increases the range of a language by exchanging and borrowing what it does not have, and, most remarkable, it prevents any object wanting a name.

An instance of metaphoric extension of a word in Juvenal's poetry is the adjective nudus, a word of considerable importance for my third chapter on Satire Three. A few of the 29 occurrences of the adjective in the Satires will suffice to illustrate the principle involved. In Sat. I 22 - 23 the adjective has its literal meaning, with overtones of disapproval:

Meuia Tuscum

figat aprum et nuda teneat uenabula mamma;

the female in question, taking part bare-breasted in a uenatio in the amphitheatre (35) is acting in a most unladylike fashion. In Sat. II 71 the same adjective serves to connote improper conduct by a man pleading in the courts (nudus agas: minus est insania turpis). In Sat. III 210 (36) and V 163 (37) it has the metaphorical meaning of "poor, destitute". Standing, as I shall attempt to show in Chapter Three (v. inf. p. 112), in antithetical relation to its appearance in Sat. III 210, the adjective

is applied in v. 216 of the same Satire to statues given to a rich man - a gift suggestive of opulence. ⁽³⁸⁾ In Sat. IV vv. 49 and 100 it means something like "stripped for action"; ⁽³⁹⁾ at Sat. I 84 and VI 122 it has overtones of prurient behaviour; ⁽⁴⁰⁾ Sat. VI 0 12 is cited in OLD under the heading "Having no armour or weapons, unarmed." ⁽⁴¹⁾

As Nida constantly discusses the semantic value of a word in relation to its context, Mooij, in the introductory chapter of his book on metaphor, also refers to "the role played by context and situation". ⁽⁴²⁾ Consequently, in the two following chapters, I have tried to analyse the means by which Juvenal creates a context in which he intends a particular word to contribute in some specific way towards the overall poetic statement. That he was meticulous in the placing and repetitious patterning of words, is attested by both Ferguson and Courtney on Sat. VI 111 - 112. ⁽⁴³⁾ The patterns in the Third and Tenth Satires identified and discussed in the following two chapters, have consistently had implications for the structure of the poem. As I hope to show in Chapter Three, the patterns discerned in Satire Three tend to establish antitheses, as well as antithetical links, between subdivisions in the paragraph comprising vv. 190 - 231 (v. inf. pp. 110 - 122), while other patterns in the same Satire, leading up to vv. 190 - 231, tend to form unifying strands of vertical structure in the poem (v. inf. pp. 122 - 132); the patterns of repetition discerned in Satire Ten (Chapter Two), though mainly different from the patterns of Three, also serve as unifying links.

As good poetry is an artistic construction of tight density built up by means of intricate interrelations between often highly ambiguous words, phrases, metaphors, sound effects ⁽⁴⁴⁾ and figures of thought and diction, the total meaning of a poem is necessarily a composite

of a myriad meaningful facets. To explicate a poem fully, analysis and evaluation of each of these facets will be necessary; and, paradoxically, if a poem admits of such exhaustive explication, it probably is not to be considered a poem at all. The present study does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis of Juvenal's poetic technique; it is intended to indicate only one of the many means by which complete understanding of Juvenal's poetic statement may be sought.

The difficulty lies in proving that the repetition of a particular word is to be considered significant; how does one precisely define objective criteria for deciding which repetitions are significant and which are not? Subjectivity in the interpretation of literature and literary technique cannot be entirely eliminated, as subjectivity is essential for its creation. Nevertheless, the maximum degree of objectivity must be the scientific researcher's goal.

J.C.Zietsman, in an MA dissertation on the verbal links between Persius' prologue and his first and fifth Satires, addressed the problem as follows: "Die maklikste identifiseerbare verband tussen Persius se satires 1 en 5 en die proloog, worddaargestel deur die herhaling van 'n groot aantal woorde. Dit is egter belangrik om in gedagte te hou dat blote herhaling van woorde onvermydelik is by dieselfde digter wat boonop telkens gelyksoortige temas behandel (soos wat die geval met Persius is). Daar moet dus nie te ligtelik afleidings gemaak word uit die feit dat 'n bepaalde woord in verskillende satires herhaal word nie: die gebruik van 'n woord moet telkens bime sy konteks ondersoek word ten einde te bepaal of die herhaling betekenisvol is." (45) (i.e. "The most readily identifiable connection between Persius' satires 1 and 5 and the prologue is created by the repetition of a large number of words. It is, however, important to be mindful of the fact that mere repetition of words is inevitable (sc. in different poems) of the same poet who,

moreover, repeatedly concerns himself with similar themes (as is the case with Persius). One should therefore not too easily draw conclusions from the fact that a particular word is repeated in different satires: the use of a word must be examined within its context to determine whether its repetition is significant.")

Cloud & Braund ⁽⁴⁶⁾ state their guidelines as follows: "In utilizing verbal links, there is a temptation to over-emphasize the trivial or purely fortuitous in order to suit one's case. We have tried to avoid this by regarding words as significant only if intrinsically interesting, unusual, occurring rarely within the Book or closely connected with a prominent theme. Such links, on (sic.) our view, can only complement and reinforce existing motifs, not establish their presence." Even this formulation may be considered vague enough to leave loopholes - how, for instance, does one determine whether a word is "intrinsically interesting" ?

In this study, I have been mindful of the guidelines devised by the abovementioned researchers. My own criteria were partly evolved from theirs. They are as follows: First, one might ask whether the repeated use of the particular word was inevitable in that it simply happened to be the only suitable word to use; if so, it should be rejected out of hand. Second, one should consider whether the word is connected with the major theme of the poem or a favourite theme of the satirist; if so, repetition of the word might represent repetition of the theme and it might reward further study. Third, one should attempt to establish powerful arguments to prove that repetition of the word serves a linking function, and conversely, one should with equal zeal seek arguments to the contrary; if the former attempt should succeed and the latter fail, such a word may be considered a fit object of further close attention.

RECENT WORK ON JUVENAL

Prof. W.S. Anderson prefaces his most recent bibliographical survey of scholarly output on Roman satire ⁽⁴⁷⁾ - the fourth of a series (the first part was published in 1956) - with the following observation:

"Although I cover a decade this time, it is obvious that interest in this subject, especially Juvenal, has grown more than proportionally. Whereas in 1970 the studies of Juvenal only slightly outnumbered those of Horace, they are now more than twice as numerous: 171 vs. 80."

After commenting on the relative importance attached to other satirists as measured by the extent of academic interest shown in publications, he concludes: "In short, it has been an active decade (sc. 1968 - 1978) for Roman satire, and the heart of both conservative philologist and dedicated literary critic can take pleasure in the products."

Perhaps a reason for the spurt of activity on Juvenal may be found in an observation by Ferguson: ⁽⁴⁸⁾ "...our age is franker and more like Juvenal's. We do not need the expurgated edition, whether for male or female readers, especially as we know that we shall not grasp the full force and nature of Juvenal's satire if we bowdlerise."

A glance at prof. Anderson's section on Juvenal in his survey (pp. 290 - 299) will show that a considerable proportion of work on the last and greatest of Roman satirists is concerned more with the satire in Juvenal's poetry than with the poetry in his satire. A section of the survey is even headed "Historical Applications". ⁽⁴⁹⁾ In his recent commentary on Juvenal Courtney ⁽⁵⁰⁾ remarks in connection with the Fourth Satire: "... this poem is in fact an important historical source for the Roman cabinet ...". The two main lines of academic attack -

i.e. work on the satirist and on the poet respectively - are well illustrated by two works of S.C. Fredericks: his chapter on Juvenal in Roman Satirists and their Satire ⁽⁵¹⁾ can be termed a critical paraphrase of the Satires; the inattentive, uninitiated reader may be excused for getting the impression that Juvenal was (or might have been) a prose writer. On the other hand, Fredericks' article entitled "The Function of the Prologue (1 - 20) in the Organization of Juvenal's Third Satire" ⁽⁵²⁾ is a careful analysis of the symbolism of a number of recurrent words and ideas in the construction of the poem. A major work often cited is the significantly entitled Juvenal the Satirist by Gilbert Highet. ⁽⁵³⁾ It discusses the poet's life and the contents of the poems in the first 27 chapters, with a further five on Juvenal's reading public in subsequent centuries. Discussion of the satires as poems - and especially analysis of their structure - is consigned to the notes on individual chapters. In another work on satire by the same author - The Anatomy of Satire ⁽⁵⁴⁾ - it is perhaps unavoidable that mainly content should be dealt with, as well as matters such as typical satirical guises and themes, since the book is a compact survey of the satiric genre in several languages, ranging in time from Greek Old Comedy to the twentieth century.

To note that Juvenal the satirist often attracts scholarly attention at the expense of Juvenal the poet, is not intended as criticism of the critics : it is rather a comment on the peculiar nature of satire in which interaction with contemporary economic, social and cultural conditions is inevitable; in fact, immediate social relevance is part of the definition of the genre and the dilemma of the satirist. Because satire must be topical if it is to live up to its nature (i.e. social criticism), it necessarily tends to be contemporary and local

rather than universal and timeless. This represents "one of the chief problems the satirist has to face. To write good satire, he must describe, decry, denounce the here and now. In fifty years, when he is dead, will not his subjects also be dead, dried up, forgotten?" (55)

This dissertation is more concerned with how Juvenal makes his statement than with whatever it is he has to say, yet the bibliography attests the inevitability of exploring all sorts of unexpected byways to arrive at an understanding of satire. One need only note the presence of books concerned with humdrum, day-to-day life at Rome, such as those by Friedländer,⁽⁵⁶⁾ Balsdon⁽⁵⁷⁾ and Paoli;⁽⁵⁸⁾ books concerned with Roman ceremonial and religion, like the works of W. Warde Fowler,⁽⁵⁹⁾ Wissowa⁽⁶⁰⁾ and Versnel;⁽⁶¹⁾ purely historical works like those by Millar,⁽⁶²⁾ Garzetti,⁽⁶³⁾ Scullard⁽⁶⁴⁾ and Marsh;⁽⁶⁵⁾ and general reference works like the Oxford Classical Dictionary⁽⁶⁶⁾ and the Realencyclopädie (RE)⁽⁶⁷⁾ and it becomes clear that, if one would hope to understand satire, one would have to be familiar with the conditions of life in the community in which it was born and to which it constantly and critically refers.

Among recent works whose emphasis is more on the literary side, is Tengström's study of the Tenth Satire.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Ferguson⁽⁶⁹⁾ has much to say, both in his Introduction and in his commentary on the sixteen poems, on Juvenal's literary qualities. On p. xx of his Introduction he writes: "Juvenal was a serious writer. The seeming looseness of his writing is illusory: a total of sixteen satires over the best part of a quarter of a century does not suggest that they were tossed off lightly. ... He is a master of controlled rhetoric and knows the force of digression and disproportion. ... He has two supreme gifts. One lies in the use of rhetorical language." Of more direct importance to this study is

a paragraph on the next page: "One other verbal device I must mention is ambiguity." After a short discussion on various kinds of ambiguity (simile, metaphor, epic allusion, puns) he gives a few examples: "So at 5, 38 inaequales marks the irregular surface and the unfair difference of treatment; at 6, 91. molles means that the chairs are comfortable and "their occupants highly sexed" and so on.

Several articles in classical journals are devoted to an analysis of Juvenal's way with words. Such articles tend to show that the old Silver Age curmudgeon was "first and foremost a poet" ... not simply a moralist, nor a rhetorician, nor a social historian, nor a diehard reactionary, nor a vengeful victim of imperial oppression, but a professional poet, an expert manipulator of the hexameter, a craftsman skilled in every finesse of the Latin language ... " as Martyn expresses it in the introductory paragraph of his article entitled "Juvenal's Wit". (70) He summarises his eulogy by stating that Juvenal was "Rome's outstanding writer within the field of literature most congenial to the Italian spirit, most distinctively Latin, Roman Satire."

In his article entitled "Exempla and Theme in Juvenal's Tenth Satire" (71) Lawall traces the strands of mockery and tragedy introduced by the figures of Democritus and Heraclitus and alternately woven into the fabric of the poem (v. inf. pp. 66 = 75). He comments on the significance of the tower image (turris, Sat. X 106) in the poem and the effect of "verbal similarities" between sections of the poem. In his last paragraph he says that the "diction in these closing lines of the satire is reminiscent of Stoic moral teaching and looks back to the beginning of the poem where also such diction occurs"; in a footnote he gives a few examples and refers to Anderson's opinion on the frequency of the "close semantic connection between the introduction and the conclusion of a

Satire" in the latter's article entitled "Studies in Book I of Juvenal".⁽⁷²⁾

Two other researchers who also refer to this important article of Anderson's are Felton & Lee ⁽⁷³⁾ who comment in a note on v. 100 of Satire Eleven: "It is noteworthy that in v. 100 Juvenal uses words with derogatory overtones, rudis, nescius, to express, not disapproval, but commendation." They point out similar instances, including rudis repeated in v. 143 of the same Satire, and then refer to p. 37 of Anderson's article, where the latter quotes vv. 52 - 57 of the First Satire and comments: "The ironic doctus demonstrates how Juvenal examines the Roman scene and hints at the cause of its degradation. As one of his crucial methods throughout this section (sc. vv. 22 - 80) he indicates the total overthrow of Roman virtus by transferring terms of moral approval to the description of immorality, by which he implies the transvaluation which has occurred among most Romans." To paraphrase the principle enunciated by Felton & Lee as well as by Anderson, one might say that Juvenal occasionally makes a word, as it were, contradict itself.

Authors who have written about Juvenal's repetition of a word so that it shows different facets of its semantic or symbolic potential at each appearance include Anderson,⁽⁷⁴⁾ Fredericks⁽⁷⁵⁾ and Witke.⁽⁷⁶⁾ The latter's discussion is referred to in Chapter Two (v. inf. p. 79; cf. also p. 10).

Cloud & Braund ⁽⁷⁷⁾ take a different line in their assessment of the importance to be attached to the repetition of words - they consider not the structure of a single Satire and the effect of verbal echoes within its limits, but the composition of the entire Book I (the first five Satires) and the role in that considerable context of such repetitions (but v. sup. p. 19). In rex at Sat. I 136, V 14, V 130,

and V 161, and parasitus at Sat. I 139 and V 145 they read links between the first and fifth Satires (not the only links, of course; the authors expatiate on thematic resemblances). Likewise, on the relation between Satires Two and Four they remark: "Once again verbal links underline strands common to the two poems: monstrum makes its only appearance in the Book at 2.143 and 4.2, 45 and 115; adulter describes Domitian at 2.29 and his minion Crispinus at 4.4" and so on. (It may be pointed out incidentally that monstrum also occurs at Sat. II 122). These and other poetic effects are discerned and discussed from different perspectives in three recent editions of Juvenal's text and commentary. Rudd & Courtney's ⁽⁷⁸⁾ elementary commentary has the merit that it supplies a cheap text of what many scholars would consider Juvenal's three most interesting poems plus "Questions for Discussion" and "Suggested Exercises" on each poem intended to help (British) sixth form pupils and undergraduates attain an understanding of the text and of the satire in it. Ferguson's ⁽⁷⁹⁾ 1979 edition of the sixteen Satires alluded to above (cf. n. 15) is also intended both for school pupil and university undergraduate. That he tries hard - perhaps occasionally too hard - to hold a young audience's attention is apparent from his quotation of one of Ogden Nash's famous nonsense rhymes in his comment on Sat. VI 361. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ His extensive note on the absence of colour prejudice in Classical antiquity seems to be primarily a political 'message' with contemporary relevance and only in the second instance scholarly explication of ancient poetry. ⁽⁸¹⁾ Nevertheless, his sensitivity to the multiple meanings of a single word is often very valuable as it suggests new avenues for the researcher to explore. In this respect caution is advisable, though, as he occasionally seems somewhat bold in his suggestions; Courtney, ⁽⁸²⁾ though more cautious,

is by no means oblivious of Juvenal's deliberate exploitation of ambiguity. His note on Sat. XI 154 - 155 will serve as an example: "Ingenuus means both 'free-born' and 'frank, open' ... Decet suggests that ingenui in the social sense are not necessarily so in the moral sense, whereas Juvenal's boys are ingenui in the moral but not in the social sense." (83) (Ferguson (84) and Felton & Lee (85) concur).

Professor Courtney's exhaustive commentary will no doubt be an indispensable aid to students of Juvenal for many years to come. In my research work for this thesis I made constant and grateful use of both these full-scale commentaries. The difference in approach and viewpoint invariably served to throw extra light on the obscurities of Juvenal. I also found that I could not quite dispense with Duff's edition of fourteen Satires re-issued in 1970 with a new Introduction by Michael Coffey.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Where I have had the temerity to disagree with any of these editors - e.g. in the interpretation of fascēs in vv. 35 and 79 of the Tenth Satire⁽⁸⁷⁾ - I have felt the need to forestall Nemesis by constructing proofs as solidly impervious to attack as I could. If this makes for tedious reading, my plea in mitigation is that, if my arguments and conclusions are accepted, they may represent an addition to knowledge and understanding of a memorable poet and the way he practises his craft.

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In conclusion I must pay tribute to the indispensability of a work like Dubrocard's Index Verborum⁽⁸⁸⁾ in a detailed word study like this one. Whenever I make confident statements like "civīs occurs four times in this poem", it is to be understood that the information was culled from Dubrocard (that is, if the source is not stated). That the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae

- unfortunately at present only complete up to M - and the recently completed Oxford Latin Dictionary⁽⁸⁹⁾ are likewise essential, goes without saying. It has occasionally been necessary to point out cases in which the two foremost Latin dictionaries are at variance on specific points.

Abbreviations used are those recommended by the L'Annee Philologique and Lewis & Short. When referring to the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae I use the same abbreviation as Courtney (TLL). Quotations from Juvenal's Satires are from Clausen's OCT edition⁽⁹⁰⁾ unless (i) otherwise stated or (ii) they are part of a quotation from some other scholarly work. I have elected to use this text because Ferguson's⁽⁹¹⁾ edition is based on it and because Courtney⁽⁹²⁾ recommends it as the text "with which I should agree more often than any other".

FOOTNOTES

1. Versnel, H.S., Triumphus, pp. 56 - 57.
2. Drijepondt, H.L.F., Die antike Theorie der v a r i e t a s, p. 24 and n. 131 on pp. 43 - 44. Drijepondt here cites Sicking, C.M.J., "Organische Komposition und Verwandtes", Mnemosyne, vol. 16, 1963, pp. 225 - 242.
3. Drijepondt, op. cit., pp. 99 - 100.
4. Ibid., p. 50.
5. Ibid., p. 211.
6. Based on lecture notes by Prof. H.L.F. Drijepondt.
7. Hight, G., Juvenal the Satirist, p. 254, hereafter referred to as "Hight, Juv."
8. Drijepondt, op. cit., p. 62, where Büchner is cited on Cicero's De Amicitia and Klingner on Vergil's Georgics.
9. Ibid., p. 62. To the ancients, 'long' in connection with literary works meant an epic or a tragedy or a work of similar length, i.e. at least the equivalent of 1300 lines of verse. Anything less was 'short'.
10. Ibid., p. 63.
11. Nisbet, R.G.M., and Hubbard, M., A commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1, p. 41.
12. Ibid., p. 45: "It was traditional in a propempticon to invoke the gods of the sea. Aphrodite counted as one of those gods ..."
Further indirect references to (sea) water and wet weather are: Aquilonibus, v. 13 (Aquilo, the north wind, was thought of as the bringer of wet or stormy weather - Lewis & Short s.v.); Hyadas, v. 14 ("a cluster of stars ... their morning setting (November) and evening rising (late October) were supposed to indicate rain"; Nisbet & Hubbard, op. cit., p. 50 ad loc.); Acheronta, v. 36, the river of Hades (though Nisbet

- & Hubbard, p. 57, ad loc. remark: "not simply the river, but the abode of the dead.")
13. Palmer, A., The Satires of Horace, p. 191; cf. also Rudd, N., The Satires of Horace, c. 2 and esp. pp. 37 - 38, and Coffey, M., Roman Satire, pp. 76 - 77.
 14. Palmer, op. cit., p. 207 ad loc.: "Horace contemptuously chooses the lowest rung in the ladder of public offices".
 15. Courtney, E., A commentary on the Satires of Juvenal, p. 446 (hereafter referred to as "Courtney, Comm.") and Ferguson, J., Juvenal - the Satires, p. 254.
 16. I hope to prove that the repeated reference to prayer in the Tenth Satire serves another purpose besides repetition of a theme (v. inf. pp. 38 - 41).
 17. Witke, C., Latin Satire - the structure of persuasion, p. 120 - 121.
 18. V. inf. c. 2 pp. 52 - 55 and n. 51 on pp. 95 - 100.
 19. Courtney, Comm., p. 519.
 20. Nida, E.A., Signs, Sense, Translation.
 21. Ibid., p. 55.
 22. Ibid., pp. 58 - 59.
 23. Ibid., p. 53.
 24. Ibid., p. 1.
 25. Duff, op. cit., pp. 122 - 123.
 26. Photographs displayed in Bloemfontein a few years ago as part of a road safety exhibition showed corpses taken from burnt-out motor cars. The bodies were horribly mutilated on the surface, but otherwise largely intact. A crashed car with a ruptured fuel tank spilling petrol is likely to prove much more efficient in respect of the destruction of humans by fire than the tunica molesta, so I cannot believe that a person burnt in a pitch-soaked garment would be completely destroyed.

- Courtney (Comm., p. 116) is implicitly in agreement with this view in his note on sulcum in Juvenal's Sat. I 157 : "Sulcum ... traced in the sand as the victim's body is pulled away by the hook ... "
27. Barrett, A.A., "Juvenal, Satire 1. 155 - 7", CQ, vol. 27, no., 2, 1977, pp. 438 - 440.
28. Baldwin, B., "Juvenal 1. 155 - 7", CQ, vol. 29, no. 1, 1979, pp. 162 - 164 and Griffith, J.G., "Juvenal, 1. 155 - 7", CQ, vol. 29, no. 2, 1979, pp. 463 - 464.
29. Barrett, op. cit., pp. 438 - 439.
 Otto (Otto, A., Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer, p. 159 quotes Juvenal VII 48 under subheading 4 in his entry on harena. Among other authors cited are Propertius and Ovid with expressions of the nature of "ploughing the sand" or "planting seeds in the sand" implying " ... nutzlose und erfolglose Arbeit ...", i.e. misspent toil.
30. Nida, op. cit., p. 44.
31. Ibid., pp. 41 - 44.
32. At least one such joke happens to depend on the ambiguity of "bar". The husband reports to his wife that the doctor diagnosed his disease as "syncope" and the mystified woman is enlightened when she finds the word defined in the dictionary as "an irregular movement from bar to bar." (The definition is not traceable to the Shorter Oxford Dictionary.)
33. Mooij, J.J.A., A Study of Metaphor, pp. 9 and 11.
34. Quint. Inst. VIII. 6. 5.
35. Courtney, Comm., p. 89, on Meuia in Juv. Sat. I 23 : "Meuia dresses as an Amazon ... and participates in a venatio in the amphitheatre ..."
36. Oxford Latin Dictionary (hereafter referred to as OLD) p. 1200, s.v. meuius, cites Juv. III 210 under heading 1.b: "(implying loss of all one's

material possessions ...)"

37. Courtney, Comm., p. 250 on nudus in Sat. V 163 : "Nudus ... destitute".
38. Juv. Sat. III 216 is cited in the first paragraph of the OLD entry on nudus. It serves as an illustration of the literal usage of the adjective: "1. (of a person, his body) Naked, nude, unclothed". The reference to this line is preceded by a bracketed subheading "(of statues)" and followed by another: "(transf. ep.)". Strictly speaking, nuda in the phrase nuda ... signa is itself a transferred epithet: "nude statues" (as though statues might be expected to wear clothes) instead of "statues representing nudes".
39. Courtney, Comm., p. 210, on Juv. Sat. IV 49: "Nudo Not literally (cf. 6. 525); for active physical work (cf. 100) such as fishing ... one would remove the tunic and wear only the subligaculum ... ".
 On Juv. Sat. IV 49 Ferguson (op. cit., p. 163) goes further, discerning, besides the literal denotation, two additional implications: "nudo: he is naked because he is fishing, like Peter in John 21 : 7; he is naked because he has no money from which to pay a fine; he is naked because he is defenceless against tyrannical bureaucracy."
40. Courtney, Comm., p. 102 on Juv. Sat. I 81 - 84: "Deucalion ... Pyrrha is the beginning of history ... the corruption of morals began then ..." OLD cites Juv. Sat. VI 122 on p. 1200 s.v. nudus under the heading 1. c, "(of parts of the body) uncovered, bare ; (sim. of persons, w. acc. or abl. of respect)", adding by way of explanation meretrix in brackets.
41. OLD p. 1200, s.v. nudus, para 4.
42. Moolj, op. cit., p. 8.
43. Courtney, Comm., p. 275: "Juvenal rounds off the episode by recalling its beginning 85 - 6, with the nouns in reverse order ... "
 Ferguson, op. cit., p. 190 on Juv. Sat. VI 111: "Note how J(uvenal)

inverts the order of 85 - 6: coniugis ... sororis ... patriae ... natos ... pueris ... patriae ... sorori ... uiro".

44. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on Juv. Sat. III 199: "tabulata tibi iam tertia: strong alliteration on t; the teeth chattering with fear. Note too how tertia fumant inverts the verbal pattern of friuola transfert. ..." Cf. Courtney (Comm., p. 181) on the same line: "... There is a striking alliteration of t, which may suggest trepidation or the crackle of flames."
45. Zietsman, J.C., Die Verband tussen die Proloog en Satires 1 en 5 van Aulus Persius Flaccus, M.A. thesis, p. 88. An article based on this thesis and bearing the same title was printed in AClass, vol. 23, 1980, pp. 122 - 128.
46. Cloud, J.D., and Braund, S.H., "Juvenal's libellus - a farrago?", G & R, vol. 29, no. 1, 1982, p. 85 n. 22.
47. Anderson W.S., "Recent Work in Roman Satire (1968 - 78)", CW, vol. 75, no. 5, May-June 1982, pp. 273 - 299, hereafter referred to as "Anderson, Recent Work".
48. Ferguson, op. cit., Preface, p. VII.
The words quoted from Ferguson's Preface were not written as an explanation of current greater interest in Juvenal, but as part of the second reason given for the publication of a new annotated text of the sixteen Satires. The first reason includes the fact that "a great deal of attention has been paid to the text by Housman, Knoche, Clausen and others, and to the interpretation of the text by innumerable commentators in scholarly journals."
49. Anderson, Recent Work, pp. 294 - 295.
50. Courtney, Comm., p. 196, in his introduction to the Fourth Satire.
51. Ramage, E.S., Sigsbee, D.L., and Fredericks, S.C., Roman Satirists and

Their Satire, c. 7, "Juvenal: A Return to Invective", pp.136 - 169

(hereafter this chapter by Fredericks will be referred to as "Fredericks, Satire").

52. Fredericks, S. C., "The Function of the Prologue (1 - 20) in the Organization of Juvenal's Third Satire", Phoenix, vol. 27, no. 1, 1973, pp. 62 - 67 (hereafter referred to as "Fredericks, Prologue").
53. Highet, Juv. (v. sup. n. 7 p.28).
54. Highet, G., The Anatomy of Satire, Princeton, 1962 (hereafter referred to as "Highet, Anatomy").
55. Ibid., p. 17.
56. Friedländer, L., Roman Life and Manners.
57. Balsdon, J.P.V.D., Life and Leisure. in Ancient Rome.
58. Paoli, U.E., Rome, its People, Life and Customs.
59. Fowler, W.W., The Religious Experience of the Roman People (hereafter referred to as "Fowler, Religious Experience").
60. Wissowa, G., Religion und Kultus der Römer.
61. Versnel, op. cit.
62. Millar, F., The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC - AD 337).
63. Garzetti, A., From Tiberius to the Antonines - A History of the Roman Empire AD 14 - 192.
64. Scullard, H.H., From the Gracchi to Nero (referred to hereafter as "Scullard, Gracchi").
65. Marsh, F.B., A History of the Roman World from 146 to 30 B.C.
66. Hammond, N.G.L., and Scullard, H.H., edd., Oxford Classical Dictionary (hereafter referred to as OCD).
67. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus-Ziegler, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (hereafter referred to as RE).

68. Tengström, E., A Study of Juvenal's Tenth Satire.
69. Ferguson, op. cit., Preface, pp. XX - XXI.
70. Martyn, J., "Juvenal's Wit", GB, vol. 8, 1979, p. 219.
71. Lawall, G., "Exempla and Theme in Juvenal's Tenth Satire", TAPhA, vol. 89, 1958, pp. 25 - 31.
72. Anderson, W.S., "Studies in Book I of Juvenal", YClS, vol. 15, 1957, pp. 33 - 90 (hereafter referred to as "Anderson, Studies").
73. Felton, K., and Lee, K.H., "The Theme of Juvenal's Eleventh Satire", Latomus, vol. 31, 1972, p. 1044, n. 2.
74. Anderson, Studies; e.g. p. 78 on orbem in Juv. Sat. IV : "In 37 orbem designates the imperial world; in 132, in the same metrical position, it refers to the shape of the fish" (i.e. the turbot, which "can be interpreted as a symbol not merely of luxury but of the Empire and what Domitian has done to it by his despotism, as we may infer from Juvenal's ambivalent use of words."). (v. inf. c. 2 pp. 77 - 83).
75. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 63, on ingenuum in Juv. Sat. III 20 :
 "... it is not so much their being foreign that Umbricius resents as the fact that they (sc. Greek immigrants) have usurped the place of genuine, free-born Romans ... This too has been anticipated by ingenuum tofum, 'native stone' opposed to the foreign marble ... "; and on p. 64 Fredericks refers to the adjective in v. 131 : "So the free-born Roman (ingenuorum filius, 131 - 132, with repetition of the significant word) must take second place to slaves of the wealthy ...". On the same word in Juv. Sat. XI Felton & Lee (op. cit., p. 1045, n. 2) have the following: "... Juvenal is playing on the two meanings of ingenuus. His slaves, though not ingenui in the sense of 'free-born', are ingenui in the sense of 'upright, decent'. Those who wear the ardens purpura are ingenui in the former sense; the

other sense of the word may be less applicable to them."

76. Witke, op. cit., p. 120 - 121.

77. Cloud & Braund, op. cit., p. 81.

78. Rudd, N., and Courtney, E., Juvenal Satires I, III, X.

79. Ferguson, op. cit.

Tatam (R.F., JACT Bulletin no. 53, June 1980), reviewing Ferguson's edition of Juvenal's Satires, regrets "the brevity of the treatment of some topics" and notes that "in 'Juvenal and Roman Society' discussion of a number of important topics is avoided, e.g. Juvenal's relationship to that society (his status) and the exact ... period which is being 'described'." He queries the inclusion of a section entitled "Juvenal and Social Change". In a final paragraph he sums up: "This edition ... must be highly recommended ... no student of Juvenal at any level could ignore this volume. I have expressed reservations ... These ... are very slight in comparison to the many fine points. The lack of indices will hinder its effective use ..."

80. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 201.

81. Ibid., p. 128 on Juv. Sat. II 23.

82. Courtney, Comm.

See Mitchell, T.N., Hermathena, nos. 130 and 131, 1981, pp. 123 - 125 for a review of Courtney's commentary, in which Mitchell regrets that Courtney "does not provide a full review of the satiric tradition inherited by Juvenal or the degree to which he departed from it." In his judgment "some poems ... are treated very narrowly and with little reference to modern opinions" and "a serious shortcoming ... is the absence of a full bibliography." On the credit side, "the commentary on the text itself is the best and most important part of the book. Courtney fulfils very well the main tasks that he sets

himself, to explain the poet's words ... and to illustrate them ... He provides a wealth of linguistic information and of well-chosen parallels to illustrate both meaning and literary influence. ... The book ... has great merits. ... its learning and sound scholarship make it an important work ..."

83. Courtney, Comm., p. 509.
84. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 285.
85. Felton & Lee op. cit., p. 1045, n. 2 (quoted in n. 75, p. 34 sup.)
86. Duff, J.D., D. Iunii Iuuenalis Saturae XIV.
87. V. inf. c. 2, pp. 41 - 45.
88. Dubrocard, Juvenal - Satires, Index Verborum, Relevés Statistiques.
89. The recently completed OLD, though it does not "challenge the preeminence of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae," does not "entirely supersede Lewis and Short" either, according to I. du Quesnay in a review in G&R, vol. 29, no. 2, October 1982.
90. Clausen, W.V., ed., A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuuenalis Saturae.
91. Ferguson, op. cit., p. XXV : "The text here presented has no claim to originality. It is based on Clausen."
92. Courtney, Comm., p. vii: " ... the Oxford Classical Text by W.V.Clausen ... is on the whole the text with which I should agree often than any other ... "

CHAPTER TWO

THE TENTH SATIRE

In this chapter I shall try to prove that the repetition of certain key words in the Tenth Satire serves to link paragraphs of the poem and that some of these links form an interlocking chain pattern establishing unity among the paragraphs occupying vv. 28 - 187. In conjunction with this I propose to examine some of the exempla used by Juvenal. Finally, what appears to be two strands of secondary structure will be discussed.

Before taking up the topics outlined above, it will be necessary to examine the structure of the poem. There is some disagreement on the boundaries of paragraphs; since my dissertation is concerned with verbal links between sections of a poem, precise delimitation of those sections in Satire Ten will be a prerequisite to an analysis of links connecting them. ⁽¹⁾ Following that, the first repeated key word to be discussed will be fascēs which appears in v. 35 and v. 79; I hope to show that this repetition provides a strong link between the digression (vv. 28 - 53) and the section on political power (vv. 54 - 113). The sequence in which three of the paragraphs appear, will then receive consideration; the sections concerned are those on the dangers attending political power (vv. 54 - 113), public speaking ability (vv. 114 - 132) and military conquest (vv. 133 - 187). As military and political ambition both appear to have the same goal, namely power over other people, the paragraph on eloquence might seem to interrupt the natural train of thought from the scheming politicians to the conquering generals. In this regard, I hope to show that the repetition of the nouns frena (vv. 45 and 128) and custos (vv. 117 and 144) represent links which connect the eloquentia

section (vv. 114 - 132) with the digressio (vv. 28 - 53) and with the fama section (vv. 133 - 187) respectively. After the examination of the sequential arrangement of three paragraphs of the poem, the order in which four important exempla appear will be scrutinised. Arguing from the premise that Sejanus, seeking political supremacy, and the generals pursuing conquest are all striving to satisfy the same ambition, i.e. power over nations, I shall consider the sequence in which the exempla of the potentia section (vv. 54 - 113) and the fama section (vv. 133 - 187) are arranged. The series Sejanus-Hannibal-Alexander-Xerxes represents an arrangement in inverted chronological order but, as I hope to prove, in ascending order of arrogance and disrespect toward the gods; this seems to run counter to Juvenal's usual theme that the present shows great degeneration from an (idealised) past. Sejanus himself will receive especial attention. Lastly, I propose to show that the repetition of cervix and orbis at various places in the poem represent strands of secondary structure in support of unity of the poem.

If my arguments are sound respecting the effect of the repeated use of fascis, frena and custos, it will be straining neither the evidence nor (I hope) the metaphor to conclude that each of these words forms a link in a unifying chain.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE POEM

General agreement exists among scholars on the paragraph boundaries from v. 114 to the end of the Satire (v. 366), though some would see the sections between vv. 114 and 345 as subparagraphs (according to my definition of this term; v. sup. pp. 7 - 8); on the other hand, there is general disagreement both on the number of paragraphs discernible between v. 1 and v. 113 and on the places at which transitions from one

section to the next occur.⁽²⁾

Examination of the paragraphs on which scholarly unanimity exists may provide criteria for determining the boundaries of the rest. All seem to accept the following division of the latter part of the poem: eloquence (vv. 114 - 132), military glory (vv. 133 - 187), long life (vv. 188 - 288), beauty (vv. 289 - 345), conclusion (vv. 346 - 366). The break in discourse at each of these boundaries is fairly obvious - for instance, the potentia section ends on the noun tyranni (v. 113), while the very first word in the section on speaking ability is eloquium (v. 114).⁽³⁾ Also noticeable is the fact that the opening lines of all these paragraphs contain some reference to prayer - the main theme of the poem - and, more specifically, in these opening lines optare and uouere/uotum are several times repeated from the introduction (where we have uotique in v. 6, optantibus in v. 7). Starting at the last section, we find the rhetorical question nil ergo optabunt homines? ("Shall men therefore ask nothing of the gods?", v. 346) introducing the conclusion. In the first line of the section on the vain desire for beauty, we have optat in v. 289 and in v. 291 uotorum; the paragraph on long life opens with a line quoted from a prayer - 'da spatium uitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos' ("Give us length of life, oh Jupiter, yea, many years grant us", v. 188), while the verb optas appears in the emphatic end position of the next line. In the first sentence of the section on speaking ability, we find both the infinitive optare and the finite verb optat in the second line of the paragraph (v. 115). In the section on military conquests, the opening reference to prayer is indirect. In the second sentence of the paragraph we have se ... erexit (vv. 137 - 139), suggesting the general in a position of supplication before the gods.⁽⁴⁾ But the second word in the section (exuuias, v. 133) has

religious overtones⁽⁵⁾ and the erection of military trophies (tropaeis, v. 133) is itself a religious act.⁽⁶⁾

Turning now to vv. 56 - 58, the first sentence of the potentia section according to the majority view of this part of the poem, it is noticeable that these lines contain no reference to prayer or to any religious activity at all. But the two disputed preceding lines⁽⁷⁾ do: petuntur⁽⁸⁾ in v. 54 harks back to petuntur in the introduction (v. 8) and in v. 55 the phrase genua incerare deorum is a clear reference to supplication.⁽⁹⁾ So it seems reasonable to accept vv. 54 - 55 as part of the paragraph on the perils of political ambition with Ferguson.⁽¹⁰⁾

Preceding the potentia section, both Ferguson and Tengström⁽¹¹⁾ mark off a digressio starting in v. 28 in which the two philosophers, the laughing Democritus and the lugubrious Heraclitus, are introduced. This seems acceptable, as the poet does in fact interrupt his discourse on people praying foolishly for things that are likely to bring death or unhappiness to discuss briefly the antithetical reactions of the Greek sages to the curas ... et gaudia uolgi (v. 51), those things in life which are so important to the common man.

This brings the length of the introduction into dispute: majority opinion favours vv. 1 - 53, Ferguson prefers vv. 1 - 22, Tengström vv. 1 - 14. But if we accept Tengström's view, we shall have to miss the foreshadowing of the topics of beauty and long life in the introduction⁽¹²⁾ which are to be detected in vv. 10 - 11 and vv. 20 - 22. If we accept Ferguson's opinion here, on the other hand, we gain an introduction doing what it should - giving an indication of all the topics to be found in the rest of the work. Further enhancing Ferguson's structural scheme for this Satire is the presence of uota in v. 23, which he considers the first line of a very brief section on the evils of wealth.⁽¹³⁾

We may then conclude that it is safe to accept Ferguson's view on the points at which transitions from one topic to the next occur:

vv. 1 - 22: Introduction

vv. 23 - 27: Wealth

vv. 28 - 53: Digression, introducing Democritus and Heraclitus

vv. 54 - 113: Political power

vv. 114 - 132: Eloquence

vv. 133 - 187: Military ambition

vv. 188 - 288: Long life (or old age)

vv. 289 - 345: Attractive physical appearance

vv. 346 - 366: Conclusion

Let us proceed to the examination of what seem to be key words which are repeated in the poem. The first such repetition to receive attention is fascēs in vv. 35 and 79.

FASCES IN VV. 35 AND 79

Courtney notices the repetition of fascēs, but he seems to attach little importance to it, merely remarking that "Juvenal's attitude to such things seems to have reversed."⁽¹⁴⁾ I shall attempt to show that the repetition of fascēs is more significant than that: it is my opinion that fascēs in v. 35 refers to the degenerate present while in v. 79 the noun points to the Rome of former times, which the poet idealises. It seems worthy of note that at each occurrence fascēs is part of a short list of nouns denoting symbols of high office and power in the State; moreover, a similar list in v. 64, composed of nouns denoting what might be deemed symbols of downfall and degradation, seems to have some bearing on vv. 35 and 79 and their respective contexts.

The careful arrangement of the line in which fascēs first

appears (v. 35) is to be noted. Fasces is the central term in a list of five; it is the only bisyllable, flanked on either side by two trisyllables. Each of these nouns refers to an object associated with high rank in the State.⁽¹⁵⁾ A list reminiscent of this one occurs when fasces is repeated in v. 79:

..... nam qui dabat olim
imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. (vv. 78 - 81)

(i.e. the once sovereign citizen body of Rome, which formerly took decisions on civil and military appointments, have shrugged off their responsibilities and are concerned exclusively with satisfying their immediate appetite for food and amusement.) The noun preceding fasces here - imperium - refers to the power of the senior magistrates; legiones, following fasces, suggests military commands. But while this list is obviously similar to the one in v. 35, the difference in the import of vv. 35 and 79 is also rather striking, as Courtney noticed.

Courtney remarks elsewhere⁽¹⁶⁾ that "the contrast between virtuous past and degenerate present is frequent" in Juvenal. The two occurrences of fasces come to stand for the opposite poles in that contrast. In vv. 35 - 46 Juvenal is describing what Democritus would have seen and laughed at⁽¹⁷⁾ had he been an inhabitant of Rome in Juvenal's time - the procession in the Circus before the actual start of the proceedings, with the presiding magistrate in the lead, clad in the regalia of a triumphing general.⁽¹⁸⁾ The Quirites of v. 45 are depicted as a debased lot, following the magistrate ad frena,⁽¹⁹⁾ their 'friendship' was bought for the occasion by means of the sportula (v. 46). But if the citizens of Rome disappoint Juvenal,

he seems to see little in the magistrate and the procession he is leading to stir one's admiration. The poet is quite explicit in vv. 39 - 40 that the crown is too big for the consul (or praetor⁽²⁰⁾) to wear - ridiculous ostentation. And if the magistrate is made to seem foolish, the trappings of high office listed in v. 35 - including the fascēs - may be deemed fit objects for the derision of Juvenal's audience, as they would have been for Democritus.

Let us now return to the lines quoted above (v. sup. p. 42) in which fascēs reappears. There is strong antithesis⁽²¹⁾ between the main clause (nunc ... circenses, vv. 79 - 81) and the preceding relative clause (qui dabat olim ... omnia, vv. 78 - 79) which contains fascēs: the antithesis is that of commendable past v. nasty present (olim v. nunc). In the relative clause, the formerly responsible and sovereign citizen body is depicted exercising its authority. In the main clause, the contemptible turba Remi of v. 73 is said to be concerned only about the satisfaction of base desires - panem et circenses ("bread and circuses", v. 81), is the object of the thematic verb optat,⁽²²⁾ reappearing in v. 80 with more than a touch of bitterness. The impression here created of the contemporary Roman citizenry recalls that of vv. 45 - 46 but it is, if anything, even worse. In contrast, the burghers of the Republic conferred the fascēs (v. 79) - a great and meaningful honour in those early days before the emperors usurped all power and the magistrate's bundle of rods became the symbol not of supreme and independent, but of delegated and subservient, authority.⁽²³⁾ As we have seen above, the fascēs as symbol of power in Juvenal's own time (v. 35) is sneered at; the same symbol is respected in a context depicting the hallowed past (v. 79). Thus fascēs, referring to the opposite poles in the past v. present antithesis, also acquires antithetical emotional suggestivity.

The third list of symbols referred to above now requires attention:

... ex facie toto orbe secunda

fiunt urceoli, pelues, sartago, matellae (vv. 63 - 64).

The two lists in vv. 35 and 79 diverge in that the former refers to the degenerate present, the latter to the past. They are, however, synonymous in referring to power, or the insignia of power, in the Roman state. It is in this respect that the list of mundane objects in v. 64 provides contrast to, and comment on, both the others. Sejanus achieved the political eminence symbolised by (inter alia) the fascēs in vv. 35 and 79. It is his statues which are being melted down to the pitchers, basins, saucepans and - depths of degradation - chamber-pots⁽²⁴⁾ of v. 64. Statues themselves signify rank,⁽²⁵⁾ and just as these symbols of high dignity were reduced to receptacles of filth, so Sejanus was ignominiously executed and his dishonoured remains consigned to the Tiber - into which the Cloaca Maxima flowed.⁽²⁶⁾ In the digression, the politician who has realised his ambition is exposed as foolish (v. sup. p. 42). Here, striving after the nocitura toga⁽²⁷⁾ of v. 8 is shown to be more than misguided - it is downright dangerous. Both the incumbents and the symbols of high office are likely to meet a shameful end, as in the case of Tiberius' confidant. Sejanus had, in a manner of speaking, held the fascēs; he ended up as refuse floating down a polluted river.

To summarise: both in v. 35 and v. 79 fascēs denotes the bundle of rods that served as symbol of the senior magistrates' power. But from the two contexts the noun acquires antithetical connotations, viz. a reference to the present in v. 35 and to the past in v. 79. In both lines, the noun fascēs is part of a list of terms with political

significance. These two lists interrelate with a third in v. 64, where five nouns denoting humble household objects give a vivid and concrete picture of the depths to which the mighty are liable to fall; the mundane nature of the urceoli, pelues etc. supplies a strong contrast with the exalted fascēs, tribunal, imperium etc. of vv. 35 and 79. Thus a complex set of poetic interrelations is set up: vv. 35, 64 and 79 relate to one other in that each contains a list; they are antithetical in that v. 64 connotes degradation, vv. 35 and 79 political dignity (even though v. 35 carries a sneer with it in this respect). A verbal link is set up between v. 35 and v. 79 in the repetition of fascēs. The link is reinforced in three ways: first, by the fact that at both instances the noun is part of a list with roughly equal import; second, by the antithesis of past and present in the two occurrences of fascēs; third, by the antithetical relation between vv. 35 and 79 on the one hand and v. 64 on the other. This complex set of interrelations establishes a unifying web of verbal and thematic correspondences and antitheses between the digression (vv. 28 - 53) and the section on the dangers of political power (vv. 54 - 113).

THE REPETITION OF FRENA (vv. 45 AND 128) AND CUSTOS (vv. 117 AND 144)

ARRANGEMENT OF PARAGRAPHS AND EXEMPLA

A question arises on the sequence of the paragraphs on potentia (vv. 54 - 113), eloquentia (vv. 114 - 132) and fama (vv. 133 - 187). Sejanus, the great exemplum in the section on political power, strove to obtain domination over the nations of the world by gaining control of the Roman empire from within by means of political intrigue. The power structures of that empire had been established by military expansion

and political developments over centuries. Alexander, on the other hand, had no ready-made empire to take over; he had to undertake the military subjugation of nations and empires before he could establish his own with himself at the top. So Sejanus and Alexander - and other great conquerors - had the same ultimate goal, viz. power;⁽²⁸⁾ they differed only in the means they used to gain it. Would it then not have been preferable to let the discourse in the Tenth Satire proceed from political ambition to military exploits rather than to interrupt the train of thought with a passage on eloquence?

There are several poetic devices discernible with which Juvenal firmly and deliberately anchors the section on eloquence in its place by references both to preceding and to following sections of the poem. Two of these devices that I propose to examine are the repetition in the eloquentia section of frena (v. 128) from the digression (v. 45) and the repetition of custos (v. 117) in the section on military ambition (at v. 144). I hope to prove that these two repetitions provide links connecting the abovementioned sections of the poem.

Considering the sequence of exempla exhibiting a thirst for power - Sejanus, Hannibal, Alexander, Xerxes - one notices that Sejanus is depicted less as a monster than as a victim of fickle Fortune, almost an innocuous man. One notices, too, that as the other exemplars recede into the past, they become more and more arrogant towards the gods. Is Juvenal here abandoning his usual theme that the present is much more sinful than the past?

These topics will be examined in the following pages.

As to the first question, it is noteworthy that vv. 108 - 109 in the section on political power contain an oblique reference to Julius Caesar⁽²⁹⁾:

Quid euertit et illum,

ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?

Green ⁽³⁰⁾ retains the anonymity in his rendition:

... and the other tyrant

Who cowed Rome's citizens, brought them under the lash.

V. 109 irresistibly recalls v. 45. Both contain, in the emphatic end position, the noun Quirites. Courtney comments (on v. 45)⁽³¹⁾: "Quirites The formal word for 'citizens' (cf. 3. 60), here as 109 ironically hinting that they abase their station by servility", and on v. 109⁽³²⁾: "Flagra As if the Romans (ironically given their most formal name, cf. 45) were his slaves ... or tamed animals". Another link is ad sua ... flagra, a metaphorical phrase allusively recalling the partly metaphorical ad frena⁽³³⁾ (v.inf. pp. 49 - 51). The similarity is fourfold - both frena and flagra are the penultimate words in their respective lines; both are trochaic words; both occur in prepositional phrases; and the meaning of the phrases is virtually synonymous. Frena, "bridles", are instruments for the control of horses; flagrum, "whip, scourge, lash", may be used to exert one's authority over animal or menial.⁽³⁴⁾ Thus Caesar is portrayed as political dominus of Rome, absolute master of the domitos ... Quirites; reference is also made to the other two members of the first triumvirate (Crassos ... Pompeios)⁽³⁵⁾ and thus to Caesar's political career, which culminated in his receiving the unprecedented honour of having the supreme and extraordinary office of the dictatorship conferred upon him in 44 B. C. "for life", a life shortly afterwards snuffed out at a meeting of the Senate⁽³⁶⁾; a more apt exemplum of violent death following hard upon political success is hardly imaginable.

But more than that, the conqueror of Gaul was also "one of the world's greatest soldiers"⁽³⁷⁾, as Juvenal's audience might be expected

to know. Since Caesar united political power and generalship in his person, he would have provided an ideal "bridge" between the section on potentia and the one on military glory. But a third facet of his extraordinary personality and career must not be ignored: "As an orator he was second only to Cicero"⁽³⁸⁾; furthermore, "the Forum was the first ring for a politician's training ... During the Republic all the greatest men of Rome (with the single exception of Marius ...) were expert speakers ... Cicero, besides being very young, was a man of humble origins when a parricide case with a political background offered him his chance; his eloquent defence gained him in a few days a leading position in the Forum and laid the foundations of his future political success, although he had previously been completely unknown"⁽³⁹⁾; from all this it becomes clear both that the section on eloquence is quite logically connected with the preceding one on political power and that Caesar serves as a three-way connection: he provides a brilliant example of political ambition, eloquence and military ability, and thus serves to connect the three relevant sections of the poem.

In the section on eloquence Juvenal in fact explicitly alludes to Cicero's own considerable political success when he quotes the notoriously smug and inept verse line of the great orator (me consule, v. 122); for a nouus homo to reach the highest of the normal Republican magistracies was unusual, and historian H.H.Scullard pays tribute to his political courage.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, mention of his name could hardly fail to evoke memories not only of the great forensic and political speeches, but also of his philosophical treatises, among which the De Legibus and De Republica established him also as a political thinker.⁽⁴¹⁾ The other exemplum in this section, Demosthenes, also attained high civic (and military) authority,⁽⁴²⁾ as Juvenal was no doubt aware. We may then conclude that

the transition from potentia to eloquentia is not unacceptably abrupt but quite natural, taking into account the importance of rhetoric in ancient political life.

Let us now turn to those two devices alluded to earlier by which Juvenal seems to fix the eloquentia section in its place; the noun frena in v. 128 referring back to its first occurrence in v. 45, and custos in v. 117 providing a link with the following section on military glory by its repetition in v. 114.

OLD⁽⁴³⁾ and the TLL⁽⁴⁴⁾ cite both v. 45 and v. 128. The OLD entry on frenum has as its first subheading: "1. A horse's bridle or harness (incl. the reins and bit). ... " Under this heading OLD quotes the latter part of v. 44 and the whole of v. 45, adding in brackets: "sc. clients escorting a chariot". Likewise TLL quotes v. 45 at 1292. 47, with an explanatory "triumphantem comitantes" added, under the main heading "I. sensu corporeo" (1291. 19). Thus OLD and TLL concur in defining the usage of frena in v. 45 as literal.

The second paragraph of the article in OLD - in which v. 128 is quoted - is introduced as follows: "2 (in various phrases and collocations, often fig.)⁽⁴⁵⁾ ...g (fren)os (-a) tenere, moderari, etc., to handle the reins, be in control of a chariot." The expression frena moderari may thus be used either literally or - as in v. 128 - in a metaphorical sense. In fact, towards the end of this second paragraph a bracketed sub-heading in tiny italics follows a dash (- (in fig. phrs.)), which includes a citation from Ovid (Pont. 2. 9. 33 : Caesar ut inperii moderetur (fren)a precamur, i.e. "It is our prayer that Caesar restrain the exercise of his authority") and the line presently under discussion, v. 128. In subsection e of the citations under this second paragraph heading is a quotation from Pliny, of interest for the present discussion

owing to the linkage of frenos⁽⁴⁶⁾ with eloquentia, the latter standing in objective-genitive relation to the former: Plin. Ep. 9. 26. 7 laxandos esse eloquentiae (fren)os ("... that restraints on eloquence should be removed ..."). TLL quotes v. 128 as exhibiting a tropical use of frena: the headings are (1293.51 - 52): translate de rebus incorporeis : A tropice vel in locutionibus tropicis (subluet comparatio), i.e. "metaphorical usages for abstract notions ; the noun used in a tropical sense or as part of tropical expressions in which an implied comparison may be detected", followed by B. translatione plena: interdum genitivus additur aut obiectivus aut subiectivus, i.e. "Fully metaphorical usages: on occasion an objective or subjective genitive is added", under which v. 128 is cited. It is interesting that, as in the corresponding section of the OLD article, v. 128 is immediately preceded by the citation from Ov. Pont. 2. 9. 33.

That the two dictionaries do differ in their classification of word usages is shown by the citation of Juv. VIII 88 in each; in TLL it is included in the same paragraph as Juv. X 128, though 22 lines later (1294.61), while OLD cites Juv. X 128 in the second paragraph of the relevant article, as already noted, while deferring Juv. VIII 88 to a third paragraph headed "3 (in other fig. uses) : a restraint, check, curb. b control, mastery (over persons or things)". However, the difference in classification of Juv. VIII 88 (pone irae (fren)a modumque - "curb your anger") is less important than their substantial agreement on vv. 45 and 128 from the Tenth Satire; both consider v. 45 an example of the literal use of frena, and v. 128 is said to show the noun in a "figurative phrase" (to use OLD terminology).

Ferguson⁽⁴⁷⁾ evidently disagrees : his interpretation of v. 45 is reflected in his partial translation and interrogatory comment:

"ad frena: 'to the tune of his bridle-rein.' Who are more truly bridled - the horses or the citizens?" indicates that he reads the line as being at least in part figurative. It is noteworthy that his expression "to the tune of " is itself metaphorical - bridle-reins may produce sounds, but not tunes. His question - "Who are more truly bridled" etc. - reveals that he sees a dual reference in the phrase ad frena; the horses are physically bridled, so there is a literal reference, while the procession of white-clad clients can be "bridled" only in a non-literal, moral sense. Green⁽⁴⁸⁾ seems to agree with this interpretation when he translates vv. 45 and 46:

... the imposing procession
Of white-robed citizens marching/ so dutifully beside
His bridle-rein, retainers whose friendship was bought
With the meal-ticket stashed in their wallets.

When frena recurs in the eloquentia section in v. 128, it is wholly metaphorical. The scene is a theatre packed with Athenians held in thrall by the speaking talent of Demosthenes:

... quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri (vv. 127 - 128)

(i.e. fairly literally translated: "Whom the Athenians used to admire as he let his eloquence pour forth, holding, as it were, the reins of the packed theatre"). Green renders vv. 126 - 128 as follows:⁽⁴⁹⁾

And then

Violent, too, was the end of Demosthenes, who held
All Athens spellbound with his torrential oratory
In the crowded theatre.

Thus, while both dictionaries (OLD and TLL) agree in classifying the use of frena in v. 45 as literal, Ferguson and Green are unanimous

in taking it as partly literal, partly metaphorical; as to v. 128, the two dictionaries, commentators Ferguson and Courtney and translators Green and Mazzaro ⁽⁵⁰⁾ agree in interpreting frena as metaphorical. (Juvenal uses the word in a similar sense in Satire VIII 88; v. sup. p. 50).

What is remarkable in Satire X is that Juvenal has provided a textbook example of the extension of the meaning of a word by means of its metaphorical application. He might almost be suspected of having deliberately set out to prove Quintilian's theoretical exposition of the metaphor, and, in fact, his usage of frena in v. 128 is strongly reminiscent of an example quoted by Quintilian from Virgil to illustrate his theory.

Of some interest is the fact that ancient theories of metaphor have not been superseded by the work of modern scholars. Mooij⁽⁵¹⁾ evaluates many theories, ancient and modern, and comes to the conclusion that the "dualistic comparison view" of Quintilian and others is sound. Mooij classifies theories of metaphor in two main categories, dualistic and monistic. Characteristic of the latter is the belief that the metaphorical expression loses its literal extension. This is probably acceptable in the case of so-called frozen metaphors, like the Afrikaans "geradbraakte taal", in which the adjective certainly does not refer to medieval torture in the mind of the average user of the language; but it is doubtful whether people would still feel this to be a metaphor. If, on the other hand, an English author were to use an expression like "tortured language", it would probably be interpreted as a vivid metaphor, because "torture" is quite commonly used in its normal, literal sense and is required to perform unaccustomed figurative duty in our example. In dualistic theories, metaphoric expressions are

held to retain literal reference together with their transferred reference. According to theories of this group, the expression used by Juvenal in v. 128 of the Tenth Satire - pleni moderantem frena theatri - combines the idea of Demosthenes holding his audience in thrall by his eloquence with the image of a horseman (or driver) controlling his horse(s) by means of the reins.

Of some value towards understanding Juvenal's use of frena in Satire Ten would be a comparison between the two usages in vv. 45 and 128. It is noteworthy that the word is fairly rare in the Satires, occurring only at Sat. II 169, VIII 88 and twice in Ten - this is the only poem in which it is repeated.⁽⁵²⁾ Further, as noted above (pp. 50 - 52), at its first occurrence in v. 45 it has both literal and figurative meaning, pointing as it does to the physically present reins and also figuratively connoting (aided by the context, especially v. 46) the servile state to which the once proud Roman citizenry has sunk. At its second occurrence in v. 128 it is wholly metaphorical, with clearly identifiable double signification.^(51.5)

In fact, the repetition of frena is in many ways reminiscent of the repetition of fascēs discussed above (pp. 41 - 45), for even though fascēs is used only in its literal, denotative meaning in both its occurrences, it is symbolic of two very different notions - the "good old days" vs. the reprehensible present. Further, I have argued that the two lists containing fascēs (v. 35 and v. 79) stand in meaningful relation to a third one of a different nature in v. 64. Similarly, I propose to show that the repetition of frena is not accidental and that v. 109 stands in a special and meaningful relation to vv. 45 and 128.

The relation between v. 45 and v. 109 has already been

discussed (see above pp. 46 - 47). The relation between v. 45 and v. 128, apart from the obvious one in the repetition of frena, now needs to be proved. In the context of the digression (vv. 28 - 53), v. 45 is part of a description of a senior imperial magistrate gorgeously decked out in the formal dress of a triumphing general - himself made to seem a pompously foolish object of Democritus' derision⁽⁵³⁾ - with a train of debased and servile Quirites in tow, subjected to the magistrate's eminence by the sportula of v. 46. In the new context surrounding v. 128, a somewhat similar scene is depicted - Demosthenes, eminent citizens of Athens, towering over his fellow-citizens by virtue of his supreme speaking ability; in a sense they, too, are subjected to him. But there is an important difference. The white-clad Quirites are a debased lot - a long row of people performing their duty (officia) to the 'great' man; a humble duty (as suggested by ad frena), performed for the sake of a paltry reward (sportula). Against this uninspiring picture, Juvenal sets that of the Athenians who, unlike the Romans, are subjected to Demosthenes not by their own servile state but by their admiration (mirabantur, v. 127) for his scintillating talent; though he controls them (moderantem frena, v. 128), it is not by means of a dole (sportula), but by his superior ability, which draws the free and sovereign Athenian citizen body in droves to pack the theatre (pleni ... theatri, v. 128); thus, after Juvenal has displayed the Romans of his own day as debased and irresponsible, bereft of pride (vv. 45 and 109) and concerned only for panem et circenses (bread and circuses - v. 81) he shocks his audience with an image of what should have been the case in contemporary Rome - the image is of a proud and free, but enthusiastically admiring, Athenian citizen body, corresponding to the once equally free and sovereign Roman people who olim - once upon a time - conferred imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia (v. 79), i.e. the highest

honours of the Roman Republican State, upon those whom the people considered worthy.

Thus the repetition of frena serves not only as a significant verbal link between the digression (vv. 28 - 53) and the section on eloquence (vv. 114 - 132), but it also corresponds to the repetition of fascēs in serving as symbol of that contrast so beloved by Juvenal, viz. idealised past v. degenerate present. However, while fascēs is used in its literal meaning in the immediate contexts of its two occurrences, frena is first used in a partially literal, partially metaphorical sense and then in a purely metaphorical sense. And as v. 64 bears a resemblance to the two lines in which fascēs appears in being a list of items, the resemblance is ironical: for whereas v. 35⁽⁵⁴⁾ and v. 79 are lists of outward symbols of high political office, v. 64 is a list of common household items to which the statue of once-great Sejanus is reduced, ending in the "scabrous anti-climax" of matellae, "chamber-pots".⁽⁵⁵⁾ In the case of vv. 45, 109 and 128, the first and last mentioned are again linked by the repetition of a significant word, frena, but the relation between v. 109 and the other two is a different matter; for, as shown above (v. sup. p. 47), v. 109 shows compositional resemblances with v. 45 and the two lines agree in tenor by exhibiting the degraded state of the Roman citizens, while v. 128 shows in contrast the sovereign Athenian citizen body.

Let us now direct our attention to the link between the section on eloquentia and the following section on military glory provided by the repetition of custos in vv. 117 and 114.

The article on custos in OLD⁽⁵⁶⁾ is subdivided into five paragraphs; the first is headed "1. One who protects (persons, places, conditions etc.), guardian, protector", including a member of a bodyguard, guardians of lunatics and minors and keepers of animals; the fifth -

under which Juv. X 144 is cited - is headed: "5. a A thing which keeps or holds, a container. b a thing which protects, a guard, ... "

While Juv. VII 218 is in fact cited, Satire X 117 is not; however, it may reasonably be argued that, had this line been quoted in the relevant article in OLD, it would not have been in the same paragraph as Juv. X 144; it seems most likely that it would have been classified under paragraph 2, "One who guards (a thing) against thieves, etc. (also, fig., of the memory)", since the phrase custos ... capsae refers to the capsarius⁽⁵⁷⁾, the "slave who carried the satchels of boys going to school".⁽⁵⁸⁾ TLL⁽⁵⁹⁾ does quote both lines, and under different sub-headings. The article as a whole is divided into two fairly long main paragraphs, entitled respectively "I. proprie de eo, qui custodit aliquem, aliquid vel vigilat .." and "II. translate", which in turn is subdivided into "A. i. q. observator" and "B. i. q. conservator"; both lines in Satire Ten are cited; under the main heading translate, i.e. metaphorical or tropical usages, v. 117 under the A section (i. q. observator, an observer, one who watches (over ...)), subsection 2, headed "speciatim de eo qui munere aliquo fungitur" (i.e. "in particular, one who performs some function or another") and v. 144 under the B section (i. q. conservator, a keeper or preserver), sub-section 2 headed "de rebus" (i.e. "of inanimate objects"). Thus Juvenal has again shown great sensitivity to the shades of semantic force a single word might permit in different contexts constructed with the necessary subtlety. Moreover, the word is not so common in Juvenal as to leave much room for the objection that its repetition in the Tenth Satire should be ascribed to pure chance (though it might prove difficult to show an intentional relationship between the two occurrences presently under discussion and the one in v. 303); in the sixteen Satires, the noun occurs but twelve times, of

which four are in the misogynistic Sixth Satire, which also has the associated verb three times; besides Six, the Tenth Satire is the only one which contains custos in more than one line.⁽⁶⁰⁾

That the occurrence of custos in the sections on eloquence and on military glory is not to be ascribed to mere chance, is suggested by the fact that in both instances the word is, in a way, superfluous, being part of a circumlocution for which a simpler term exists. In v. 117, as Courtney remarks,⁽⁵⁷⁾ it is part of the phrase custos ... capsae, representing the capsarius;⁽⁵⁸⁾ in v. 144 the phrase saxis ... custodibus replaces the noun sepulcrum (tomb), which actually appears in a following line (v. 146), making the circumlocution not only unnecessary but drawing some attention upon it. We may conclude that the repetition of custos is functional and serves a structural purpose in linking two sections of the poem by means of the verbal echo.

It is noteworthy that custos in both instances refers to an object of low esteem in Roman eyes - a slave and a tomb, the latter a place of reverence to be sure,⁽⁶¹⁾ but nevertheless mere ornately worked rock, container of quantula ... corpuscula (v. 173 - "negligible little corpses"), negligible like even great Hannibal's remains (quot libras in duce summo/ invenies? - vv. 147 and 148 - "how much substance will you find in the supreme general?").

As to the slave, Juvenal himself testifies to the cruel contempt in which at least some sections of Roman society held slaves, mere chattels in Roman law;⁽⁶²⁾ in Satire VI 219 the heartless mistress commands: Pone crucem seruo! ("crucify that slave!") She is asked whether legally acceptable grounds exist for such rather drastic action. With callous irritability she responds:

'o demens, ita seruus homo est? nil fecerit, esto;
hoc uolo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione uoluntas.' (vv. 222 - 223)

(i.e. "Silly fool, since when is a slave human? So all right, perhaps he didn't do anything wrong; but that's the way I want it, and that's the way I'll have it, and that's quite enough reason" (freely rendered). So - to return to the custos capsae, the phrase, and thus the nominative noun, is made to carry overtones of very low esteem; semantically, custos qualified by the genitive denotes a specific type of slave whose duty in life is to carry school books for a junior male member of the family.

The second instance of custos is grimly humorous in its reference to tombs as guardians of the grisly remains of the dead, valueless in the grave, even if in life they had been renowned leaders of men. The context surrounding custodibus makes the reference to tombs unmistakable: (63)

... patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda ualent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.

(vv. 142 - 146)

(i.e. "In former times our country was thrown into turmoil by the lust for honour of a handful of men, by their desire for laudatory epitaphs on gravestones, guardians of the dead - guardians themselves subject to being rent apart by the destructive strength of a mere sterile fig-tree, since graves, too, have their allotted fate" (freely rendered)). In the line preceding 144, the phrase laudis titulique cupido is itself suggestive of the grave - Sandys⁽⁶⁴⁾ quotes titulus as a word appearing in epitaphs; the suggestion is supported by laudis,⁽⁶⁵⁾ since, by the nature of things, then as now, an epitaph would be likely to praise the deceased and to omit all mention of misdeeds committed in life. So

when the reader or listener comes to saxis ... custodibus, he could hardly fail to have some mental impression of a tomb in his mind.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The ending of v. 146 removes all possible lingering doubts that the poet is in fact writing about graves; more than that, it is so explicit that it makes the preceding oblique references, and especially saxis ... custodibus, pleonastic.

We may ask whether the repetition of custos serves any purpose besides functioning as a verbal link (v. sup. p. 57). Is there an implicit statement in the reference to a slave in v. 117 and to the tomb in v. 144?

The reference to the grave in v. 144 is the first of several in the gloria section and takes up several references to death in the section on eloquentia - perit (v. 118), leto (v. 119), ceruix caesa (v. 120), sanguine ... rostra maduerunt (v. 121 - "spilt blood on the rostrum"), exitus (v. 127). The section on military glory opens with a description of the spoils of war and by implication death, though death in this case implies success, as it is the enemy who were required to pay the ultimate sacrifice:

bellorum exuèiae truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum uictaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captiuos in arcu (vv. 133 - 136)

which Green⁽⁶⁷⁾ renders

Consider the spoils of war, those trophies hung on tree-trunks -
 A breastplate, a shattered helmet, one cheekpiece dangling,
 A yoke shorn of its pole, a defeated trireme's
 Flagstaff or figurehead, the miserable frieze of prisoners
 On a triumphal arch ...

But the phrase saxis ... custodibus in v. 144 makes up the centrepiece

of an arrangement depicting death as the ultimate (and only?) reward even for a life of dazzling success; it is followed by a consideration of the worth of Hannibal's remains in the rhetorical question quoted above (v. sup. p. 57), to which the implicit answer must be: "Not much". After a short summary of the Carthaginian general's awesome successes (vv. 147 - 156), the poet points to the ridiculous figure he cut, one-eyed, upon the back of his sole⁽⁶⁸⁾ remaining elephant (vv. 157 - 158) and then returns to a consideration of the great man's lonely end:

exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! uincitur idem (v. 159)

(i.e. "And how did he meet his end? O, glory! He was defeated ..."), and at last he met his death (finem animae, v. 163) not in a soldierly fashion (non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, v. 164) but in a way hardly fitting his dignity - the famous poisoned ring (anulus, v. 166) finished him off. There is also a reference to Alexander's grave - the young conqueror for whom a single world presented too little scope to satisfy his ambition at last had perforce to be content with the narrow confines of a sarcophagus (sarcophago contentus erit, v. 172). Alexander's fretting at the narrow confines of the world (angusto limite, v. 169) echoes, in the adjective, the angustae ... capsae of v. 117. Likewise, Hannibal after his death becomes merely another stock topic for youngsters shaping their speaking skills in the declamationes of the rhetorical schools:

... i, demens, et saeuas curre per Alpes

ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias (vv. 166 - 167),

like Alexander taking one back to the

quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam (v. 116),

the little fellow hoping the goddess Minerva will grant the gift of

eloquence⁽⁶⁹⁾ in return for his small offering. It seems unreasonable to deny careful design in the interaction between the attractive cameo of the youthful pupil in rhetoric with the little slave trotting along behind him and the bleakly melancholic picture of the tumble-down sepulchres of v. 144. There is a dismal, pessimistic implication that the little custos dutifully following his wide-eyed (eloquium ac famam ... incipit optare, vv. 114 - 115) young master will be replaced by the cracked 'stone guardian' of v. 144; fame kills (nec unquam/ sanguine cauidici maderunt rostra pusilli, vv. 120-121: "nor has the blood of a hack pleader ever been spilt on the speaker's platform"); fame perishes in turn. (There is a contemptuous tone in the phrase mala robora, reinforced by sterilis ... fici in v. 145).

Quietly, subtly - and brilliantly - Juvenal has transformed the dutiful little slave-companion into a grim symbol of forgetful death; he has equated rhetorical ambition, and indeed military ambition, with nothingness, pathetic oblivion; he has made his repetition of a simple noun, crafted into apparently unrelated contexts, to serve as vehicle for his nihilistic view of life.

The present chapter has up to now been devoted to an evaluative study of the repetition of fasces, frena and custos in the body of Juvenal's Tenth Satire. In conclusion, before passing on to analyses of other elements of the poet's artistry, we should note the interlocking effect of the three repetitions, which may be represented in tabular form as follows:

v. 35	<u>fasces</u>
v. 45	<u>frena</u>
v. 79	<u>fasces</u>
v. 117	<u>custos</u>
v. 128	<u>frena</u>
v. 144	<u>custodibus</u>

The pattern may be likened to the links of a chain, each link hooking into the next, as it were. The chain effect strengthens the unity of the poem by linking successive structural units into each other by means of the echoes of significant words.

To summarise, we may conclude that the eloquentia section was deliberately, and not unreasonably, placed between the section on political power on the one hand (with Sejanus as its great exemplum), and the section on the dangers of military glory on the other (in which the exempla are three of the greatest generals of antiquity, viz. Hannibal, Alexander the Great and Xerxes.) Let us now proceed to a consideration of the aforementioned exempla themselves. It is, more particularly, Juvenal's treatment of Sejanus in relation to the three generals that will occupy our attention; in his arrangement of these four exempla, and in the attitude towards them displayed in this poem, Juvenal seems to be making a statement that is most uncharacteristic of him. By portraying his example from recent history, Sejanus, with some sympathy, and by making the succession Hannibal : Alexander : Xerxes seem to approach a climax of overweening ambition and hybris, Juvenal seems to be inverting his usual antithesis of the good old days and the nasty present.⁽⁷⁰⁾

At his very first mention in the Annals, Sejanus is characterised by Tacitus as being a man wielding undue influence over the Emperor, Tiberius: simul praetorii praefectus Aelius Sejanus, collega Straboni patri suo datus, magna apud Tiberium auctoritate, rector iuveni ...⁽⁷¹⁾

("At the same time the commander of the Praetorian Guard, Aelius Sejanus, who had been appointed as co-commander with his own father Strabo, and who had great influence with Tiberius, (was sent) as adviser (or guide) to the young man ...") When Tacitus describes Sejanus' early life and character in Ann. IV 1,⁽⁷²⁾ he sets a sinister tone in his opening sentence:

after defining the date of events to be described (nonus Tiberio annus erat, Ann. IV 1. 1) he makes the ominous statement ... cum repente turbare fortuna coepit ... (i.e. "(ill) fate began to throw it all into confusion"). When Tacitus uses the noun fortuna here, he may be displaying the same word-play that Juvenal has in vv. 52, 73 and 74 of the Tenth Satire; according to Clausen's⁽⁷³⁾ punctuation, the poet refers to the goddess Fortune in v. 53; she is not at all to be trusted, and the only sensible attitude towards her is that embodied in Democritus' obscene gesture;⁽⁷⁴⁾ in vv. 73 and 74 it becomes clear that Juvenal has established a relation between Democritus and Sejanus, to be precise an inverse relation, in their respective attitudes towards this goddess. For while Democritus distrusted her, Sejanus had very special ties with her. In v. 73 Juvenal says scornfully of the city mob that they sequitur fortunam, ut semper (i.e. "follow fortune, as always"; worthy of note is the lower case "f", indicating the somewhat vague abstract notion corresponding to our "chance, luck, fate, fortune (good or ill)"⁽⁷⁵⁾); in the next line, the personified goddess is referred to by her Etruscan name 'Nortia', making the reference to Sejanus unmistakable, as he was born in Volsinii, the main centre of her cult; moreover, Pliny the Elder and Dio are both quoted by Courtney in support of a contemporary tradition that her statue turned its back on her protégé shortly before his downfall.⁽⁷⁶⁾ When the reader reaches vv. 73 and 74, it is apparent that v. 52 foreshadows Juvenal's main exemplum in the potentia section. Similarly, Tacitus may have intended his early reference to fortuna in Ann. IV 1 to set the scene, as it were, for the mention of Sejanus' name in the next sentence.

But before the greatest of Silver Age historians comes round to mentioning Sejanus' name, he manages to insert an additional stab directed at the morose emperor and his trusted adviser in the verb

saeuire, suggestive as it is of excessively violent emotion, even lunacy and barbarousness: ⁽⁷⁷⁾ (coepit) saeuire ipse aut saeuientibus uires praebere, on which Van der Mijnsbrugge comments: "ipse : Tiberius" and "saeuientibus : vooral Seianus (i.e. especially Sejanus)". ⁽⁷⁸⁾ Dudley ⁽⁷⁹⁾ translates : "Tiberius became cruel, or entrusted power to cruel men".

The origin and cause (initium et causa) of this unhappy state of affairs Tacitus states unequivocally to have been Sejanus: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam (i.e. "I shall now give an exposition of his origins, his character and the (mis)deed(s) by which he proceeded to get mastery over the Empire into his own hands" (freely rendered)). The choice of the noun facinus seems significant: it is derived from the verb facere, has the neutral meaning "deed" but also the prominent secondary, specialised meaning "misdeed, crime". ⁽⁸⁰⁾

Tacitus does not hesitate to implicate him in an odious deed: non sine rumore Apicio diuiti et prodigo stuprum ueno dedisse (i.e. "there was a rumor that he sold his person to the lusts of the rich and depraved Apicius", as Dudley translates ⁽⁸¹⁾) Whether there was any evidence to substantiate this allegation, Tacitus does not bother to say; he seems to be quite happy to let the mention of a rumour prejudice the reader's mind. He goes on : mox Tiberium uariis artibus deuinxit ("in due course he gained the ascendancy over Tiberius by means of various artifices"). Such was his success in his efforts to win Tiberius' confidence that after a while the emperor was obscurum aduersum alios sibi uni incautum intectumque (i.e. "uncommunicative towards others, and confidently frank only towards Sejanus himself"). What was the cause of this amazing influence that Sejanus acquired over a ruler known more for his suspicious nature than his gullibility? It was more than Sejanus' evil shrewdness could account for (non tam sollertia) - Tacitus ascribes it to the supernatural, to the

anger of the gods against Rome (deum ira in rem Romanam). In other words, Sejanus was capable of more evil than normally fell within the scope of a single human. A catalogue of Sejanus' qualities, good and bad, physical and moral, follows. His deceitful nature is concisely drawn: iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido ("on the one hand, fawning (upon the Emperor), on the other, bursting with arrogance; outwardly, he exhibited quiet modesty, while in his heart an extreme lust for power burned"); he might exhibit qualities normally winning approval (industria ac uigilantia), but these, when turned to evil purpose (i.e. to usurp power), were themselves evil (noxiae). Tacitus leaves his reader in no doubt whatsoever that he stands in awe of Sejanus' evil potency; in his mind, supreme, indeed supernatural, evil is embodied in this man.

In his character of arch-villain, Sejanus has been compared to Iago, the irredeemably evil character in Shakespeare's Othello, and in fact there are obvious reminiscences. Othello the Moor, a noble man of high esteem in the Venetian state, places complete trust in the thoroughly evil Iago, a creature redeemed by not a single semblance of virtue; likewise Tiberius, successor of the noble Augustus, Emperor of Rome, relaxed his suspicion of others only in the case of the one person he should least have trusted, according to Tacitus' outline discussed above. In both cases a serious misjudgment of a lieutenant's character led to disaster - in the Shakespearian tragedy it is Othello himself who is destroyed by his fatal error, as might be expected in a tragedy; in the case of the historical character, events did not follow the conventions of tragedy (though Tiberius undoubtedly suffered after the true nature of his socius laborum⁽⁸²⁾ had been exposed) - Rome herself and many

prominent Romans of the day suffered heavily in the ensuing reign of terror.

Among modern writers, Sejanus is generally received as an instrument of evil in the history of the early Empire. Van der Mijnsbrugge⁽⁸³⁾ states his opinion of Sejanus succinctly in the heading to Ann. IV chap. 1: "Aelius Sejanus, Tiberius' kwade geest" (i.e. "Aelius Sejanus, Tiberius' evil genius") with a second heading: "Noodlottige invloed van Sejanus" ("Evil influence of Sejanus"). Salmon⁽⁸⁴⁾ absolves Sejanus from at least part of the blame: "For the ensuing tragedy the direct responsibility is usually attributed to Sejanus. But Tiberius connived at, if he did not actually encourage, it." But despite his dispassionate account of events, he cannot avoid expressions such as "Sejanus' intrigues now (i.e. after Tiberius' withdrawal to Capri) had greater scope"⁽⁸⁵⁾ and "Tiberius himself may have been the object of Sejanus' plot. But it was the younger males of the imperial house who stood in the more immediate peril."⁽⁸⁶⁾ Scullard is more openly hostile in his account - for instance, he writes that "the bright hopes of Drusus were overcast by the sinister shadow of Sejanus";⁽⁸⁷⁾ further, this unscrupulous man "made skilful use of the treason law to strike down a number of potential enemies".⁽⁸⁸⁾

Juvenal - surprisingly - exhibits none of this hostility;⁽⁸⁹⁾ he does not show Sejanus as a thoroughly evil character, though he directs ridicule toward him, according to Lawall.⁽⁹⁰⁾ This critic says Sejanus is "pictured first as potentially tragic and then as ridiculous". Withholding his name, the poet "draws a man of great proportions", honoured by having statues dedicated to him and beloved by the people. "The superb rhetorical arrangement of this passage (i.e. Sejanus' fall from grace) is designed to arouse some degree of admiration for the falling hero,

who ... has apparently fallen from power through no error or crime of his own, but because all power is subject to magnae inuidiae (56 - 57)". There is even, in the "suffering" of the bronze horses in the group of statues, some pathos, part of which "may be felt to radiate to the surrounding lines". However, three lines after the reference to the horses in v. 60, Sejanus' name is at last mentioned, and immediately "Juvenal undercuts this tragic effect with sardonic laughter" in vv. 63 - 64, in which "the omnipotent politician, adored by the people, is made equal to 'Pans, Cans, and Pisspots, a whole Kitchen Trade', " the latter being a line quoted from Dryden's translation of 1697. Courtney, noting "the inuidia to which power is subject", is of the opinion that "Juvenal seems to hint some sympathy for Sejanus",⁽⁹¹⁾ and on caballis in v. 60 he notes that "here the word seems to suggest pity rather than contempt" - pity that Lawall feels as radiating to the surrounding lines (see above).

Having noted the sympathetic (or, at the very least, non-hostile) treatment Sejanus gets from Juvenal, let us consider the poet's attitude towards those other exempla with whom Tiberius' treacherous adviser has an important characteristic in common - the ambition to rule the world. They are the three great generals, Hannibal, Alexander and Xerxes.

Lawall⁽⁹²⁾ notes "the mocking treatment given to ... the three generals ...". Juvenal briefly sketches their careers, and has a scathing comment or two about each: for instance, see his description of Hannibal towards the end of his marauding campaign in Italy; blinded in one eye and perched on top of his last surviving elephant:⁽⁹³⁾

o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,

cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum! (vv. 157 - 158)

which Green renders⁽⁹⁴⁾:

A fine sight it must have been,
Fit subject for caricature, the one-eyed commander
Perched on his monstrous beast!

Nor does Alexander - whose name Juvenal doesn't bother to mention - escape ridicule (v. sup. p. 60): the great commander, who chafed at the limit of only one world available for conquest, ends up within a severely confined space which is an incalculably small fraction of the wide horizon he had fixed his eyes on in youth:

cum tamen a figulis munitam intrauerit urbem,
sarcophago contentus erit. (vv. 171 - 172)

(i.e. "when he enters the brick-walled city, he'll have to be happy with a coffin of stone"(freely rendered)), on which Courtney comments:⁽⁹⁵⁾

"Hardly a flattering description of the brick walls of Babylon ... where Alexander died; it is a parody of poetic doctrina, which loved such allusive descriptions, and implies that his conquests came to a miserable end."

When Juvenal observes

mors sola fatetur
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. ... (vv. 172 - 173)

("Death alone shows how miserably insignificant little human corpses are", which recalls the similar sentiment on Hannibal in vv. 147 - 148: quot libras in duce summo/inuenies?), Ferguson⁽⁹⁶⁾ comments: "quantula ... corpuscula: the double diminutive is pointed". Courtney⁽⁹⁷⁾ alludes to Juvenal's fondness of diminutives "usually to imply affection ... or contempt ...". Palmer,⁽⁹⁸⁾ in a discussion on the language of Plautus and Terence, remarks that "diminutives are the most important class of emotionally charged words", expressing "a whole range of emotional attitudes", amongst which contempt; Juvenal's double diminutive, standing

in rather glaring contrast to the greatness of Alexander in life, can hardly be taken to express anything but derision and contempt. Finally the fearsome Persian potentate is also made to bear the brunt of the poet's sarcasm:

... huic quisquam uellet seruire deorum? (v. 184)

(i.e. "Who amongst the gods would want to serve this man", who had once even bound great Neptune the Earth-shaker (v. 182) ?)

But scorn and derision are not the only elements in Juvenal's depiction of the generals. He is also careful to draw attention to their ambition and high self-esteem. Of Hannibal he writes:

hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos

(vv. 148 - 150),

which Green translates: (99)

This is the man for whom Africa

Was too small a continent, though it stretched from the surf-beaten

Ocean shores of Morocco east to the steamy Nile,

To Ethiopian tribesmen - and new elephants' habitats.

His consuming ambition drove him to extend Carthaginian hegemony over most of Spain and to cross the Pyrenees with his forces. He goes even further - by defying Nature's obstacles, he displays hybris, thereby challenging even the gods and inviting their resentment:

... opposuit natura Alpemque niuemque:

diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto. (vv. 152 -153).

In Green's edition the translation reads as follows: (99)

Nature throws in his path

High Alpine passes, blizzards of snow: but he splits

The very rocks asunder, moves mountains - with vinegar.

On this manifestation of Hannibal's contempt for natural obstacles, Courtney ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ comments: "natura ... it is hybris to override her intentions." Still he was not satisfied:

iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit (v. 154)

(i.e. "with Italy under his domination, he wanted to go further still".) Whilst Hannibal felt cramped in the vast wastes of Africa, Alexander's ambition is shown to be even greater - in geographical terms, almost unbounded. "The picture of Alexander sighing for fresh worlds to conquer is unauthentic but ben trovato. It comes from Valerius Maximus 8, 14, who tells how Alexander, hearing the philosophical view that there were many worlds, cried heu me miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc sum potitus".⁽¹⁰¹⁾ (i.e. "alas, poor me, and I have not yet succeeded in gaining control over even this one world".) This image of the young Alexander is made to refer to Tiberius by contrast:

unus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis,

aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi

ut Gyarae clausus scopulis paruaque Seripho (vv. 168 - 170)

(i.e. "for the laddie from Pella the world is not enough; unhappy fellow, he seethes at the narrow limit of the earth like one abandoned on the crags of Gyara or exiled on tiny Seripho"). That is to say, when yet a youth, Alexander felt as though he were cramped on a little island and dreamed of subjecting all the world to his divine rule; against this, v. 93 depicts Tiberius, who did rule all the (then known) world, as a voluntary exile who preferred the island of Capri to the seat of world power which was his, Rome. The energetic inner drive of Alexander is well expressed in the verb aestuat - "An excellent image of the sea seething through a narrow strait";⁽¹⁰²⁾ and his ambition is greater than Hannibal's in the same proportion as the world is greater

than Africa.⁽¹⁰³⁾ But for sheer arrogance, Xerxes, as sketched by Juvenal, represents the superlative degree. With evident scepticism (quidquid Graecia n e n d a x / audet in historia, vv. 174 - 175) Juvenal retells the tales of the vast Persian forces crossing the Hellespont on a bridge of boats,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ their numbers so incalculably huge that they emptied rivers at a sip:

credimus altos

defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo

prandente et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis (vv. 176 - 178),

a story told by a reciter of poetry perspiring under the arm-pits as a result of his vehement delivery.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Then Juvenal proceeds to the ultimate in effrontery towards the gods when he refers to Xerxes' punishment of the wind and his chaining of the major god Neptune, referred to here by the epithet Ennosigaeum, 'Earth-shaker':⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

in Corum atque Eurum solitus saeuire flagellis

barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,

ipsum conpedibus qui uinxerat Ennosigaeum (vv. 180 - 182)

sarcastically adding that the god should be grateful that he wasn't branded as well:

(mitius id sane, quod non et stigmatē dignum

credidit. ...) (vv. 183 - 184).⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

That this represents flagrant disregard of the respect due to the gods is underlined by the fact that "the punishments mentioned are those of slaves, chains ... branding ... and whipping".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ And if Xerxes' arrogance exceeds even that of Hannibal and Alexander, the poignancy of his end (or, at least, the end of Juvenal's version of his story) is also greater than that of Alexander's. In five brief lines (vv. 168 - 172), Juvenal has compressed the history of Alexander from his youth to his untimely end in Babylon at the apex of his success. The only bit of pathos

in the story is the poet's resigned philosophical comment:

mors sola fatetur

quantula sint hominum corpuscula (vv. 172 - 173).

Xerxes, on the other hand, occupies fourteen lines of the poem (the end of v. 173 to v. 186), of which the last two stand in marked pathetic contrast to the image of a confident leader of vast land and naval forces, punisher of the gods:

sed qualis rediit? nempe una naue, cruentis

fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadauera prora (vv. 185 - 186).

Green (109) translates:

But mark his return from Salamis - the single unescorted
Vessel, the blood-red sea, the prow slow-thrusting
Through shoals of corpses.

The evidence of Xerxes' spectacular failure is in gruesome evidence: his single boat, the last survivor of a once-great fleet (vv. 175 - 176), struggles to escape through waves of Persian gore (cruentis / fluctibus, vv. 185 - 186), masses of floating Persian dead retarding his attempt to save at least his own skin. As his arrogance in challenging the gods' wrath was greater than the aspirations of the two generals mentioned before him, so his humiliation was deeper. This is consonant with Lawall's interpretation of the image of the tower (turris) in vv. 104 - 107:

... nam qui nimios optabat honores

et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat

excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset

casus et impulsae praeceps inmane ruinae,

translated by Green (110) as follows:

His interminable pursuit
Of excessive wealth and honours built up a towering

Edifice, storey by storey, so that his final downfall

Was that degree greater, the crash more catastrophic.

According to Lawall, "the tower has a wider significance in the poem, for it may be seen as representative of the frustration implied in all the casus illustrium uirorum presented in the following series of exempla."⁽¹¹¹⁾

Thus we have an arrangement, in these exempla, of four would-be world rulers in inverted chronological order but ascending order of arrogance. In other words: Sejanus, the exemplum nearest Juvenal's own time, an historical character almost universally detested in ancient sources, receives the most sympathetic treatment from the satirist, though from a moral standpoint he is arguably the most contemptible of the four (perhaps the only really contemptible one) as he did not try to attain world domination by manly battle but by treachery. Is Juvenal saying that recent history provides examples of political ambition destroying people through no real fault of their own, while those in the remoter past got what they deserved? Is he saying that the "good old days" were really worse than the present (or recent past)? Is he contradicting his former pessimistic self when he exclaimed in Sat. I 149 that at no time in the history of man had vice reached such a zenith as in his own - omne in praecipiti uitium stetit?

Juvenal is not quite alone amongst ancient sources in his non-critical attitude towards Sejanus, though he has neither numerous nor particularly distinguished company; Scullard⁽¹¹²⁾ notes that "a general history of Rome down to A.D. 30 in two books was written by a retired officer, Velleius Paterculus", whose history is "a useful source for the northern campaigns of A.D. 4 - 12 and it is interesting in being, unlike most of the sources, favourable and even enthusiastic towards Tiberius and also Sejanus." For the rest, Juvenal's ridicule, but also

apparent sympathy, for the erstwhile imperial favourite has been noted; one might add that, in the scene of the statues being torn down, the poet is fairly neutral and objective in his reporting, refraining from scurrilous comments such as that found in the first Satire (v. 131):
cuius ad effigiem non tantum melere fas est.

However, I do not think that Juvenal is abandoning his usual attitude that the present is the worst time imaginable and the past a time of more or less untainted virtue; rather, he is attempting to make two statements at once with his exemplum Sejanus and falling between two stools in the process.

Lawall⁽¹¹³⁾ notes a difference in the depiction of Silius by Juvenal and Tacitus respectively that corresponds with these two authors' picture of Sejanus. The last exemplum of Satire Ten, Lawall writes, "is the tragic story of Silius, who publicly married Messalina during Claudius' absence at Ostia and thus brought ruin on himself and Messalina". This is Juvenal's "proof" that handsomeness is a fatal gift. "Silius is here drawn as the innocent and sympathetic victim of Messalina's whims:

optimus hic et formosissimus idem

gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguendus

Messalinae oculis (331 - 3)"

(i.e. "this excellent and extremely handsome son of a noble family was pounced upon by Messalina's eyes and, poor fellow, doomed to extinction"). Lawall continues that "he has a choice, but the reader is reminded that whether or not he marries Messalina he must die:

quidquid melius leuiusque putaris,

praebenda est gladio pulcra haec et candida ceruix. (344 - 5)

His necessary downfall is painted with pathetic and tragic colors.

Comparison with Tacitus' account best shows Juvenal's calculated attempt

to win the reader's sympathy for Silius and to give the exemplum a tone of pathos, for Tacitus makes Silius the cunning villain of the story. ... the Machiavellian overtones of Tacitus' account are suppressed in favor of sympathy and pathos in Juvenal."

In Sejanus' case, it seems to me that Juvenal painted a more favourable picture than is usual because he not only wanted to make the statement that political power was deadly but he also wanted to get a blow in at the degenerate Roman mob. Had he made Sejanus a "hellish villain"⁽¹¹⁴⁾ in conformity with majority opinion, the citizens rushing to dishonour his corpse (calcemus Caesaris hostem, v. 86) would hardly have deserved the charge of fickleness levelled at them in v. 73 (sequitur fortunam); to the satirist, the latter was an important statement that he wished to include and even emphasise in the Tenth Satire, as I have attempted to prove in my discussion concerning the repetition of fascēs and frena (v. sup. pp. 41 - 55); he emphasises their degradation by referring to their participation in the pompa circensis in the sneering terms of vv. 45 and 46 (ad frena and sportula fecit amicos), by referring to them as turba Remi (v. 73) and as slavish followers of Julius Caesar (ad ... flagra, v. 109); specifically with reference to their reaction after Sejanus' disgrace, he accuses them of having shrugged off their responsibilities (effudit curas, v. 78) and of acting in an opportunistic and reprehensible way - after one degenerate advises an acquaintance that they should run along and kick the corpse, he adds:

sed uideant serui, ne quis neget et pauidum in uis
ceruice obstricta dominum trahat (vv. 87 - 88)

(i.e. "but make sure our slaves see us, so that no-one can later deny we did it and drag their master bound by the throat before the dread

tribunal".) To make this statement by means of the exemplum he chose, he had to whitewash Sejanus' reputation; in the process, he undermined his associated statement on the dangers of political power, for the audience of the poet's own time may reasonably be expected to have been uneasily aware of the fact that it was not so much the possession of power that destroyed Sejanus as the evil means he employed to acquire it. The "familiar associations"⁽¹¹⁵⁾ of Tiberius' sinister adviser contradict Juvenal's intended statement.

Courtney criticises the method of winning over one's audience by exempla:⁽¹¹⁶⁾ "The weakness of this device is that the orator cannot always get his exempla to fit his case ... and one cannot but feel that some of the force of Seven and Ten ... is impaired by defects in exempla selected. Rhetoricians in fact did not scruple to improve on history ... The other difficulty is that it is usually possible to consider the exempla chosen in different lights, or to produce equally valid exempla to 'prove' the exact opposite (as remarked above in the case of Ten); the employer of such exempla is in the position of an orator arguing one side of a case and ignoring the contrary evidence."

In his introduction to Satire Ten, Courtney⁽¹¹⁷⁾ expresses further reservations: "The rhetorical method of 'proof' by exempla ... can powerfully move the emotions but can hardly satisfy the intellect." He continues: "In fact, some of the exempla do not fit well. ... It is hard to claim that Alexander's death was the direct result of his conquests ..." Juvenal's use of Sejanus as an exemplum deserves similar criticism. Just as Alexander did not die as a result of his victories, Sejanus didn't owe his fall to his eminent position as such. A lawyer, who argues his case orally before a jury, might be excused such misuse of exempla, provided it helps him win his case; but the poet may be

expected to look beyond the recitatio to the publication of his work in written form. He must consider not only an audience hard pressed to absorb the full import of 366 lines of artfully composed poetry at a single hearing, but also the reader with time to reflect, ruminate, and re-read. Even Juvenal's listeners might be expected to have felt the inappropriateness of Sejanus' history as an example of political power destroying the holder of high office; could his readers have failed to do so?

CERVIX AND ORBIS

Two words innocently introduced in v. 40, orbis and ceruix, recur later on in the poem in such a way as to permit the reference of orbis to expand almost unnoticed from the over-heavy triumphator's crown to encompass the entire world, which ambitious political and military men desire to control; in this expanded meaning, it occurs also in association with exempla which seem to expand in importance - Sejanus, the man in the second most powerful position in the huge Roman world (facie toto orbe/ secunda, vv. 63) and then Alexander, who in his own time actually reached the pinnacle of world power and, according to Juvenal, chafed at having only one world to conquer (unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis, v. 168). The second word of the pair, ceruix, throughout maintains its literal reference to the human neck. At its first appearance, it is with orbis in the context of the magistrate presiding over the circus games and made to appear over-dressed and ridiculous. When it reappears, the signification is deadly serious; in v. 88 (ceruice obstricta) it denotes the physical (and, by implication, psychological) discomfort of the accused being dragged along to face a serious charge, and from there it proceeds to become a symbol of death

overtaking superiority - superior eloquence in the case of Cicero (ceruix caesa, v. 120), superior physical beauty in the case of Silius (v. 345); in v. 260, ceruix paradoxically represents the blessing of a timely death and consequent decent burial (in the case of Priam, v. 260).⁽¹¹⁸⁾

As to orbis, OLD⁽¹¹⁹⁾ has a long entry comprising sixteen paragraphs. A perusal of the separate headings shows that "roundness", whether two-dimensional as in a disk or three-dimensional as in a sphere, seems to be the central semantic force of the word. Thus it is not surprising to find Juv. X 40 cited under the heading 9 (a): "An object having the form of a ring, a band, circlet, hoop" etc. Had v. 63 and v. 168 of the same Satire been cited in the article, both would doubtless have appeared in paragraph 12, headed: "-is terrarum, also -is terrae. The central land surface of the world (as conceived by the ancients surrounded by Ocean ...), the world. b (without terrarum, etc.)" Among the ensuing citations under the subdivision b is to be found not only Vergil and Ovid, but also two writers of the Silver Age, Pliny the Elder and Tacitus.

Ceruix occurs five times in the Tenth Satire - in vv. 40, 88, 120, 260 and 345. The TLL⁽¹²⁰⁾ entry s.v. is divided into three main divisions. The second and third are concerned with usages of the word in imagery, allegory and metaphor. The first, headed "I. proprie", therefore contains the (more or less) literal usages cited. Among these are vv. 88, 120, 260, and 345 from the Tenth Satire; ceruix in this poem is a synonym of collum (the phrase in the TLL heading is "i.q. collum"). That is not unimportant with a view to my discussion of the thematic symbolism of ceruix. The division headed I. proprie is divided into subdivisions A and B. Subdivision A is headed de dis, hominibus and has two further subdivisions: 1 generatim ("in general") and 2 speciatim

("in particular"); under the first v. 120 is classified (947. 32), under the second v. 260 (947. 60), following the further subdivision of particular usages into a ...portantur quaedam -bus: homines (v. 260 concerns the hypothetical "happy ending" of Priam being carried on his sons' necks in his imagined funeral procession); further along in the paragraph on specialised usages, under the subheading c de uinctis et uerberatis sim., we find Juv. X 88, depicting prisoners being dragged along to a tribunal. The last subparagraph heading under proprie usages reads: epitheta notabiliora ad A et B (i.e. "rather noteworthy adjectives attached to A (sc. usages with reference to gods or humans (946. 34)) or to B (949. 13) (sc. usages with reference to animals)"); here v. 345 is cited twice, first for the epithet candida (950. 19) and then for the epithet pulchra (950. 70). One might have expected to find v. 40 cited under "literal usages in general" (946. 35 - 947. 32), as it is a completely pedestrian usage of ceruix, referring to the neck of the magistrate leading the pompa circensis (but I hope to show that the word here has more significance than meets the eye).

The way in which each of these words is unobtrusively introduced and then permitted to recur as a unifying strand in the fabric of the poem is reminiscent of Juvenal's use of sportula in the First Satire as analysed by Witke, ⁽¹²¹⁾ especially in the case of orbis; ceruix maintains its literal denotation throughout, acquiring increasing symbolic, rather than semantic, force along the way. It is noteworthy that, unlike his practice in Satire One, Juvenal here introduces in the same line two such words with what one might call a semantic/ symbolic snowballing effect and allows each to develop on its own.

Let us consider orbis. At first glance, the phrase magnae ... coronae tantum orbem (vv. 39 - 40) means little more than magnam coronam.

But Juvenal's phrase is an example of amplificatio,⁽¹²²⁾ which draws more attention to itself than the shorter phrase would have done. It also allows the poet to introduce orbis into his discourse in such a way as not to escape the reader's (or listener's) notice. Therefore, if the occurrences of orbis in vv. 40, 63 and 168 serve as a series of verbal links, as I believe, the measure of emphasis the word receives at its first appearance strengthens the unifying effect of the series. The semantic expansion of the word is striking. At first orbis refers to an oversized crown of gold⁽¹²³⁾ in the circus procession presented by Juvenal as an object of Democritus' derision; ⁽¹²⁴⁾ in v. 63 the crown becomes the world over which Sejanus almost ruled as supreme monarch; in v. 168, the world too narrow for Alexander's ambition. It seems fair to say that already in v. 40 the foundation has been laid for orbem to refer to something greater than the golden bauble which serves as a symbol of high imperial office; in foreshadowing its use as a synonym of mundus (v. 169), it is on the way to becoming a symbol of world rule and the lust after such domination by ambitious men through the centuries. In its Democritean context at v. 40, it is a symbol of the vanity of political-military ambition. Both the political and the military associations are present in the context: the two offices referred to (praetorem, v. 36, and consul in v. 41) were civilian in Juvenal's time, but the procession in which the magistrate is taking part, bears several striking resemblances to the triumphal procession with its obvious military significance.⁽¹²⁵⁾ In this way orbem here takes up the themes of nocitura toga and nocitura ... militia foreshadowed in the Introduction in vv. 8 and 9 (although it is perhaps not immediately obvious) and leads on to the exemplification of the themes in the relevant sections (vv. 54 - 113, Sejanus, and vv. 133 - 187, Hannibal, Alexander and Xerxes).

Likewise, the ceruix of v. 40 is represented with some ridicule as not strong enough to wear the heavy crown of triumph. When the noun reappears in v. 88, it is used to represent the distress of a citizen dragged along to a dread tribunal (pauidum in ius, v. 87) and the phrase ceruice obstricta symbolises the dangers of political indiscretion even to members of the anonymous mass of Roman citizenry; in v. 120, the plight of Cicero surpasses the anguish expressed in v. 88 in his barbarous and gruesome execution and disfigurement (manus est et ceruix caesa), explicitly ascribed to his talent (ingenio, v. 120); in v. 345, a line with a distinctly sneering and sarcastic tone (praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida ceruix - "you'll have to stick out this lovely lily-white neck of yours to the executioner's sword"), the neck is again the symbol of death (or of the seat of death). It reiterates the theme of death following hard upon blessings begged from the gods, whether the particular divine gift be speaking ability as in Cicero's case, or a life extended beyond its apogee as in the case of Pompey or Priam. (The lines on the death of Silius (v. 345; v. sup.) and Pompey are remarkably close both in expression and sentiment - cf. vv. 285 - 286: ... igitur Fortuna ipsius et urhis/ ... uicto caput abstulit, i.e. "thus Destiny - his and the city's - defeated him and carried off his head".) Priam is depicted with pathos and ridicule - he rushes up to Jupiter's altar ut uetulus bos (i.e. "like a little old ox" - v. 268) which presents its neck to receive its master's knife-thrust. Worthy of note here is collum (v. 269), synonym of ceruix (v. sup. p. 78), and the epithets applied to it - tenuis et miserabile ("stringy and pitiable"), contributing to the disparaging force of the diminutive adjective. This is in contrast with the description of Silius' neck as pulchra ... et candida (v. 345). The depiction of Priam here as a sacrificial victim - and an improper one,

according to strict ritual conventions⁽¹²⁶⁾ - recalls the similar depiction of Sejanus in vv. 65 - 67:

pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bouem : Seianus ducitur unco
spectandus, gaudent omnes.

(i.e. "Put up the laurel-wreaths at home, lead a big whitewashed bull to the Capitol; Sejanus is being dragged along behind a hook for all to see to the general delight of the people.") Courtney comments:⁽¹²⁷⁾ "Duc ... ducitur ... is deliberate : Sejanus is like a victim felled at the altar ... Trahitur would be the technical term." The noun bouem in v. 66 is recalled by the uetulus bos of v. 268; and though Silius' death is an execution in military style,⁽¹²⁸⁾ it too has at least in part an aura of an animal being sacrificed. This aura is created by the similarities and contrasts noted above between v. 345 and Priam's death scene described in vv. 268 - 270, and it is further reinforced by the whiteness of the ox led to slaughter in Sejanus' case (cretatum, v. 66) and the corresponding whiteness of Silius' neck (candida, v. 345). Thus the deaths of Sejanus, Cicero, Priam, Pompey and Silius are linked by various means. The presence of the noun ceruix in the Sejanus section (v. 88) and in the references to Cicero and Silius is one of those means. But the noun is also present in the section on Priam - not in the lines depicting his actual death-scene, where collum is used, but in the earlier, hypothetical scene depicting the course of events had he expired earlier - if he had died in time, he would have had a decent burial, carried on his son's necks, and "for a son to bury one is the coping-stone of happiness".⁽¹²⁹⁾ The noun here is also a symbol of death, but of a different kind: it represents the proper ceremonials owed to the deceased by his family. The relation between the significance of ceruicibus in v. 260 and its appearances in vv. 88,

120 and 345 may be viewed as either paradoxical or ironical, but in any case nihilistic - while death is elsewhere the grim reward of talent received from the gods, in v. 260 it is a happy event, having come at the right time, followed by the "coping-stone of happiness", a decent burial. Juvenal here seems to be taking up the dismal philosophical position that death is the only reward one might expect, whether for success or for failure.

Thus ceruix, the magistrate's neck not quite up to bearing the weight of the triumphal crown, becomes in the rest of the poem a symbol of death, death following upon the attainment of one's prayers; amongst those prayers, the wish for nocitura toga and nocitura militia (vv. 8 - 9) is mentioned in the Introduction as being very common; just as the physical neck could not bear the physical crown in v. 40, so the attainment of world power (symbolised by orbe in v. 63, orbis in v. 168) poses a threat to the supreme ruler's life; ⁽¹³⁰⁾ and ceruix, in its symbolic equation with death, ties in with the theme of death as the impartial reward of success or failure. This symbolism of ceruix in the body of the poem transforms the noun at its first occurrence into more than a mere literally referring semantic symbol; it is the embryo of the symbol it is about to become, an emblem of danger impending over high office.

FOOTNOTES

1. (a) The paragraph boundaries given are Ferguson's (op. cit., p. 254; v. sup. p. 41).
- (b) To avoid tedious repetition of terms I shall alternate Latin and English titles for the paragraphs of the Tenth Satire. Thus the section on the dangers of political ambition may be referred to as the "potentia paragraph" (vv. 54 - 113), the next one on eloquence (vv. 114 - 132) may variously be entitled "the eloquentia section" or "the paragraph on speaking ability"; while "military conquest", "military ambition" or "fama" will be used as alternative descriptive terms for the paragraph extending from v. 133 to v. 187.
2. (a) I am indebted to Prof. Drijepondt for pointing out the reasons why Ferguson's structural scheme is the most acceptable.
- (b) On the structure of the first part of the poem (vv. 1 - 113) the divergence of opinion is striking. Clausen (op. cit., pp. 121 - 134) indicates breaks in the discourse typographically, i.e. by indenting the first line of a new section. This gives no indication of his preferences as to hierarchical structuring, but for our present purposes the information he does convey is quite sufficient. In his OCT text the distinct paragraphs are vv. 1 - 53, vv. 54 - 55, vv. 56 - 113. On the first 53 lines of the poem Duff (op. cit., p. 321), Courtney (Comm., p. 446) and Highet (Juv., p. 277) agree with Clausen in taking this as the first main division of the poem. Duff, however, is alone among the scholars here cited in agreeing with Ferguson that vv. 54 - 113 make up a single paragraph (Duff, op. cit., p. 326, and Ferguson, op. cit., p. 254). Clausen shows vv. 54 and 55 as a separate, tiny section, as do Courtney and Highet, who respectively consider that these disputed lines are an "announcement of the central subject" or the "general question"

of the poem. Courtney and Hight also agree in considering vv. 56 - 345 a paragraph to be further divided into subparagraphs. It is interesting to note that Ferguson, though indicating that vv. 54 - 55 belong with vv. 56 - 113 in a single paragraph, exhibits some doubt about these two lines. In his note ad. loc. (op. cit., p. 258) he observes: "Knoche omits these intrusive lines, but Bickel defended them persuasively" (my underlining). On p. 276, in his "general comments" on the poem, he leaves the question open whether the two lines are to be considered genuine: "... if they are genuine, (they) are curiously abrupt" (my underlining). It evidently worries him that the lines are so "intrusive" and "abrupt". But their very abruptness may be seen to have a poetic purpose: Juvenal is returning from his philosophical digression to his main theme of foolish prayers and marks the transition abruptly to wake up his audience, as it were. While both Ferguson and Tengström (op. cit., p. 25) detect a digression starting at v. 28, the latter errs in considering vv. 54 and 55 as part of it (Tengström, op. cit., p. 19) and in recommending with Knoche their deletion (ibid., p. 21). Ferguson rightly sees the digression as extending from v. 28 to v. 53, with vv. 54 and 55 belonging to the following section on political power (v. sup. p. 40 and notes 7 - 9 on pp. 88 f.) On the length of the introduction, Tengström favours vv. 1 - 14, arguing that igitur in v. 15 is a clear "transition marker". He apparently attaches too much weight to the presence of igitur; at any rate, he undermines his own position when he cites Lausberg on "the purpose of an exordium" (Tengström, op. cit. p. 11); "Das Hauptmittel des docilem parare ist die Kurze Aufzählung der in der narratio zu behandelnden Gegenstände" (i.e. "The chief means to get the audience in a receptive mood is the brief enumeration of the topics to be discussed in the narration"); on

his next page, Tengström (op. cit., p. 12) makes the damaging admission that " ... Juvenal ... deals with six themes in the main part of the poem. Four of these are announced in the lines just quoted (i.e. vv. 8 - 14)" (my underlining). Allusions to the two missing topics are to be detected in vv. 10 - 11 and vv. 20 - 21, as argued in n. 12 (v. inf. pp. 89 - 90). Against Tengström's opinion that the introduction ends at v. 14, arguments can be found to support Ferguson's view that it goes on to v. 22, followed by a brief section on wealth in vv. 23 - 27. (v. sup. pp. 40 - 41).

3. The second last word of the eloquentia section makes a last reference to that topic (rhethora, v. 132), while the first word in the section on military ambition (bellorum, v. 133) marks a clear break and introduces the new topic with some emphasis (as does the rest of the opening sentence, up to v. 137). Similarly, while the last line of the paragraph on the generals contains the significant word gloria, it also recaps the "message" on the vanity of wanting to conquer:

has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas (v. 187),

(i.e. "Glory, so often sought for by men, exacts these punishments").

The next line, introducing the paragraph on the common desire for a long life, is a prayer to Jupiter that he should grant the petitioner many years. Pueris and puellis in v. 289 signify a fresh start after the sombre paragraph on the horrors of old age, which ended in a gloomy view of Catiline's corpse which might have been left unmutilated had he died in time, so to speak. And after the depressing v. 345, according to which the handsome and hapless Silius would have had to submit to execution whatever his reaction to Messalina's blandishments, the conclusion is unmistakably introduced with the rhetorical question nil ergo optabunt homines? (i.e. "Shall men then pray for nothing at all?").

4. Williams, G., ed., The third book of Horace's Odes, p. 120, on Ode 23:
 "The ancients prayed, holding out their hands, palm upwards ... , towards the sky, after sacrifice " (my underlining).
- Latte, K., Römische Religionsgeschichte, p. 393 On Das Gebet: "Das bei den Dichtern bezeugte Emporheben der beiden Arme mit gegen Himmel gekehrten Händen (Hor. C. 3, 23, l. Verg. Aen. 2, 688. ...) ist bei einer gleichzeitigen Darbringung nicht möglich, da der Betende das f e r t u m oder die Schale mit dem Trankopfer in der einen Hand hält." (i.e. "Raising both arms to heaven with upturned palms as attested by the poets is hardly possible, if sacrifice is made at the same time, since the person praying holds the oblation-cake or the bowl containing the libation in one hand.") The phrase "after sacrifice" might solve Latte's objection, but Williams gives no source reference. However, Latte observes: "In der Kaiserzeit erscheint der Gebetsgestus gelegentlich in der Literatur und auf Denkmälern" (i.e. "In Imperial times the praying posture appears occasionally in literature and monuments".) In a footnote on p. 245 he quotes Livy 26. 9. 7 which includes the significant phrase manus ad caelum et deos tenentes, describing matrons rushing around temples "holding up their hands to heaven and the gods", while the passage from Aen. 2 referred to in the quotation above reads as follows (I quote vv. 687 - 689);
- at pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
extulit et caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis ...'
- (i.e. "But father Anchises joyfully raised up his eyes to the stars and held up his hands to Heaven with these words: 'Oh Jupiter almighty, if you be swayed by any prayers ... '").
5. OLD, s.v. exuuiæ, cites Juv. X 133 under its first heading: "Armour, etc., stripped from a defeated enemy, spoils ... "; the third heading of

the same entry shows that the noun was a religious term in appropriate contexts: "3 The special attributes of gods, carried in processions". The partial synonym spolia might have had a more martial ring to it, as it not only refers to "... spoils of war in general" (OLD, s. v., subheading 2) but is also used in the military technical terms spolia opima/ secunda/ tertia (ibid.). It is at least possible that exuviae was selected in preference to spolia because it might be expected to carry with it a hint of the religious sphere. (Cf. also RE 1700. 27).

6. Der Kleine Pauly, vol. 5, s.v. tropaion: "... war ein Denkmal der Flucht bzw. des Sieges ... Es wurde dort errichtet, wo die τροπή, die Fluchtwendung des Gegners eingesetzt hatte ... und der Sieg errungen war. Das T(ropaion) bestand urspr. aus an Baumstümpfen aufgehängten Waffenstücken der feindliche Beute. Die mit Inschr. versehenen T(ropaion) waren der Kriegsgöttern geweiht ... Bei den T(ropaion) fanden auch Opfer statt ..." (i.e. "The trophy was a memorial to the flight (sc. of the enemy) or to victory, as the case may be ... It was erected on the actual place where the enemy turned to flee ... and the victory was gained. Originally the trophy consisted of a tree trunk hung with pieces of armament looted from the enemy . With inscriptions added to it the trophy was dedicated to the gods of war ... Sacrifices were also made at the trophy ..." (my underlining).
7. Clausen (op. cit., p. 123) notes in his apparatus criticus that Leo deleted v. 54, Knoche both v. 54 and v. 55.
8. Petere is itself a verb found in prayers, e.g. the carmen used at the siege of Carthage (Macr. 3. 9. 6) quoted by Fowler (Religious Experience, p. 206) in the phrase ueniam ... peto ("I beg indulgence"), which also occurs in the formula spoken by Decius before his self-sacrifice in battle with the Latins, quoted (ibid., p. 207) from Livy 9. 9.

9. Courtney, Comm., p. 460: "Genua incernere deorum ...will allude to the regular grasping of the knees in supplication ..."
10. On Ferguson's uneasiness about vv. 54 - 55, v. sup. n. 2(a).
11. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 254. Tengström considers vv. 54 - 55 as part of the digression (op. cit., p. 19), but after recommending deletion of these lines ("from a strictly structural point of view", ibid., p. 21) he defines the digression as comprising vv. 28 - 53 (ibid., p. 25). Lawall (op. cit., p. 25) also brackets these lines as a distinct section of the poem.
12. It is somewhat surprising that Tengström (op. cit., p. 12) does not detect the reference to physical beauty in vv. 10 - 11. Perhaps the terms used by English commentators are a bit misleading (cf. Duff - "beauty", op. cit., p. 348; Ferguson - "good looks", op. cit., p. 254; Hight, too, has "good looks" (Juv., p. 277); Courtney - "handsomeness", Comm. p. 447). An English speaker is likely to interpret these terms as having a bearing on facial features. But the first word in Juvenal's section on physical attractiveness is formam, which does not necessarily refer to the face - nor even to beauty as such; OLD s.v. has the translation "fine or handsome appearance, beauty, good looks" only in the fifth subdivision of the entry on this noun. That Juv. X 289 is cited under this subheading, though, is perfectly reasonable, as mothers are unlikely to utter earnest prayers for ugly children. Still, it is noteworthy that OLD offers the much more general "visible form, appearance, aspect" in the first subheading, and in the fourth "A person's outward appearance, his features, aspect, person. b (esp., as beautiful or ugly)" (my underlining).

At any rate, besides pulchra in v. 292, we have the filius ... corporis egregii (i.e. "a son with a splendid body") in vv. 295 -296, rather obviously foreshadowed by the male person described in vv. 10 - 11

as being uiribus ... confisus (i.e. "relying on his strength") and as being endowed with admirandisque lacertis (i.e. "muscles that excite wonder (or admiration)"). (TLL, s.v. admiror, notes the two meanings of the verb, i.e. "to admire" or "to be astonished at" - duas notiones ... alteram stupendi ... alteram cum ueneratione suspiciendi).

The reference to long life is more obscure. On the one hand, there is a negative reference in gladium contumque timebis, since one who fears (an instrument of) death desires to live (presumably for a long time). On the other, there are the more allusive references to death, also in a negative way referring to (long) life, in nocte (v. 20), umbra (v. 21) and uiator (v. 22). As to nox, OLD (s.v.) notes under the first heading in the entry: "g (poet.) (no)x aeterna, perpetua, etc., i.e. death," and under the fifth subheading: "5. Night-like conditions, darkness, gloom ... b (in the Underworld)" (my underlining). Umbra, besides denoting the absence of light on a surface, may also be translated by "ghost" and even, in a collective sense, "the world of the dead" (OLD, s.v.) Viator is common in epitaphs (Sandys, J.E., Latin epigraphy, p. 63: "... we often find salutations purporting to be addressed by the dead to the living, e.g. ... uale, uiator"). The three words have their usual meanings of "night", "shadow" and "traveller" here, of course; but placed as they are in the emphatic beginning and end positions of three consecutive lines in conjunction with the latter part of v. 20 quoted above, they may be deemed to aid the suggestion of death and, of course, life.

13. The suggestive force of uota in v. 23 is reinforced by templis at the end of the same line and the prayer in indirect speech in the following line (grescant ut opes).

14. Courtney, Comm., p. 462 on v. 79.
15. Ibid., p. 457 on v. 35 refers to "similar lists with a tinge of disparagement" in Seneca and continues: "Praetextae ... worn by the curule magistrates. Trabeae ... now worn by augurs and on ceremonial occasions by equites ... Lecticae ... A mark of women of high rank ... or by now even of men ... Tribunal ... A platform on which curule chairs were set ..."
16. Ibid., p. 25.
17. Tengström, op. cit., p. 19.
18. Courtney, Comm., p. 457 on v. 36.
19. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 258, and Courtney, Comm., p. 459, on v. 45; v. sup. pp. 49 - 55 .
20. The praetor of v. 36 has become a consul in v.41. Ferguson (op. cit., p. 258 on v. 41) ascribes this to Juvenal's desire to avoid "overdoing alliteration on p." Courtney (Comm., p. 458 on v. 36) suspects a scribal error: "The word (sc. consul) must be gloss on something like praeses."
21. The temporal antithesis is supplied by the adverbs olim (v. 78) and nunc (v. 79); in dabat (v. 78) the people are shown bestowing honour, in optat as begging for food and games (besides that, it is noteworthy that Juvenal here uses two verbs so closely related to his theme of foolish prayers (v. sup. pp. 39 - 40).); imperium, fasces, legiones (v. 79) opposes panem et circenses (v. 81) in the same sense that omnia (v. 79) opposes (duas) tantum-(res) in v. 80, viz. "once, the people decided great issues; now, they occupy themselves with trifles", reinforcing the antithesis between olim and nunc.
22. V. sup. n. 21 on dabat and optat in vv. 78 and 80 respectively.
23. Garnsey, P. and Saller, R., The early Principate - Augustus to Trajan, p. 6: "Magistrates had nothing of significance to do. Competition for office

... was between men vetted by the emperor; the ambition of candidates was to achieve status, or if a measure of power, delegated power."

24. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 259 on v. 64: "... matellae: piss-pots, the final degradation." Courtney (Comm., p. 461) considers matellae a "scabrous anti-climax."
25. Courtney, Comm., p. 460 on v. 59: "Though because of the links with the imperial cult the right of having statues was limited ... there were many of Sejanus."
26. On the fall of Sejanus, cf. Dio, Caes., 58. 11. 5.
On the Cloaca Maxima, cf. RE IV (1) 59. 61: "... mündete ... in den Tiber ..."
27. Courtney, Comm., p. 447: "They ask for potentia 56 - 113, taking up nocitura toga 8". But vv. 35 - 44 of the digression are also concerned with men who have reached senior political positions (praetorem, v. 36, consul, v. 41).
28. Though the theme of the paragraph from v. 133 to v. 187 is famae sitis (v. 140), the desire for military glory, it is clear that Juvenal was aware that conquest was a goal subservient to a greater goal - power. This is apparent from v. 151, where he states that Hannibal added Spain to the Carthaginian empire (additur Hispania imperiis), where the noun imperiis harks back to imperium in v. 79, establishing a verbal link between the sections on potentia and fama.
29. Courtney, Comm., p. 465, n. on vv. 108 - 109.
30. Green, op. cit., p. 208.
31. Courtney, Comm., p. 459.
32. Id., ibid., pp. 465 - 466.
33. On frena, and whether its use in v. 45 and v. 128 is to be considered literal, partly literal and partly metaphorical, or purely metaphorical,

I shall expatiate later (v. sup. pp. 45 - 55).

34. TLL, s.v. flagrum, 848. 49: "... proprie, ad castigandos homines, imprimis seruos." At TLL 848. 65 Juv. X 109 is cited.
35. Courtney, Comm., p. 465, on vv. 108 - 109.
36. Marsh, op. cit., p. 255.
37. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 157; O.C.D. s.v. Caesar (1), para. 7, p. 190: "His generalship, unsurpassed in antiquity, rested chiefly on his sense of the moment to strike."
38. Cf. Suet. Caes. 55. 1: Eloquentia militarique re aut aequavit praestantissimorum gloriam aut excessit. Post accusationem Dolabellae haud dubie principibus patronis adnumeratus est. Cf. also O.C.D. s.v. Caesar (1); Scullard, Gracchi, p. 157: "... he was also a writer of great distinction and an orator of the first rank."
39. Paoli, op. cit., pp. 191 - 192.
40. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 165: "Though the chances of success may have been faint, he boldly struck one more blow in defence of that free state, where men would rule by persuasion and reason, and refused to admit that the choice lay only between tyranny and anarchy." Cicero himself writes of the political power he had wielded. For instance, the Introduction to the Loeb edition of Cicero's De Re Publica (Keyes, C. W., Transl., Cicero - De Re Publica, De Legibus, p. 2) opens with the following sentence: "In the year 44 Cicero stated that he had written the Republic 'when he held the rudder of the State.' This was true only in a comparative sense." Cicero's words are quoted in a footnote: "Sex de re publica, quos tum scripsimus cum gubernacula rei publicae tenebamus. De Divin. II 3." Lawall, op. cit., p. 27, says: "Admiration for Cicero (is) implied in lines 120 to 121:

ingenio manus est et ceruix caesa, nec unquam
sanguine cauidici maduerunt rostra pusilli",

but on the other hand "Cicero is mocked for his ridiculous poetry:

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam. (122)

This tone is carried through with the playful alliteration of si sic / omnia dixisset (123 - 4) and the description of Cicero's work as ridenda poemata (124)." V. 122, quoted from Cicero, not only refers to his political activities, thus providing a logical link with the preceding section on the dangers of political power, but there is a verbal link too: the noun consule echoes consul in the digression (v. 40). Juvenal's dismissal of this line by Cicero as ridenda poemata (v. 124) also refers back to the same part of the poem (ridebat in v. 29, risu v. 33, materiam risus v. 47, ridebat v. 51).

41. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 165: "Further, besides wrestling with these practical problems, he wrote works that have had a profound influence on the course of European civilization."
42. O.C.D., op. cit., s.v. Demosthenes, pp. 330 - 331.
43. OLD p. 733, s.v. frenum.
44. TLL, 1290. 53 s.v. frenum - 1296. 60.
45. My underlining.
46. According to the introductory paragraph of the OLD article on frenum, the plural is "more often in masc. heteroclite form -i" while the n. pl. ending -a is "perh. confined to poetry."
47. Ferguson, op. cit., on v. 45, p. 258.
48. Green, op. cit., p. 206.
49. Ibid., p. 209.
50. It is worth noting that Mazzaro (Mazzaro, M., Juvenal: Satires) also indicates a metaphorical interpretation by the wording of his translation:

Better be second than to share the chance
of him whom Athens loved for eloquence.

He held in check the passions of her mob.

On torrentem in v. 128 Courtney (Comm., p. 467) refers to the occurrence of the same participle in v. 9 "and the fuller simile in Hor. Serm.

1. 7. 27 - 8", adding: "but it must be a faded metaphor (cf. 13. 8, 14. 27) unless we are to assume a mixed metaphor with moderantem frena (with which cf. Ovid Ex Ponto 2. 9. 33 ...)."

Ferguson has the following (op. cit., p. 263): "moderantem frena: a quick change of metaphor."

51. Mooij (Mooij, J.J.A., A Study of Metaphor) explains, amongst others, Quintilian's view of the metaphor. In his third chapter (ibid., p. 37), Mooij comes to the conclusion that "the comparison view (i.e. of the metaphor) may still be a defensible overall view," even though it cannot satisfactorily explain every single instance of metaphoric usage. Quintilian is, according to Mooij, the "best known representative" (ibid., p. 29) of the so-called "comparison view". It seems reasonable to suppose that Quintilian was known to, and influential upon, Juvenal. Knoche considers it possible that our poet might have been a student of the great Silver Age rhetorician (Knoche, U., Die römische Satire, p. 89; Quintilian is mentioned by name in Juv. VII 186). Therefore, a consideration of Quintilian's definition of metaphor may prove to be illuminating in a discussion of the satirist's use of frena in v. 128 of the Tenth Satire.

51.1 Mooij opens his Chapter Three (op. cit., p. 29), entitled "The Theories of Metaphor: A Survey and a Classification", with the general statement that "According to many students of language, metaphors are to be looked upon as abridged or implicit comparison" and quotes Beardsley's definition: "A metaphor, in this view, is an elliptical

simile, that is, a collapsed comparison from which 'like' or 'as' has been omitted, for convenience or for heightened interest." Mooij continues that "Aristotle ... seems to have been an adherent of this theory". (Mooij says in a later chapter (pp. 64 - 65) that the Greek philosopher's exposition in his Poetics leaves room for doubt that his view on the metaphor may be a "monistic view", as Mooij terms the main alternative set of theories. Mooij seems to have difficulties with Aristotle's views on metaphor. Leeman is helpful here in his analysis of the Greek philosopher's theories (Leeman, A.D., Orationis Ratio, vol. 1, pp. 125 - 126). Leeman distinguishes between metaphors based on similarity and those based on analogy; it is this latter type that Aristotle favours. In these, the transfer of a 'name' to a 'thing' is "from the relation between two things to the analogical relation between two other things." Accordingly, Aristotle "greatly admires baroque analogical metaphors like calling a shield a 'bowl of Ares' and, inversely, a bowl a 'shield of Dionysus'." These rather far-fetched metaphors involve comparison, not simply between two objects, but between two relations, each relation existing between two objects. Thus Mooij seems to be justified in concluding that Aristotle was an adherent of an (adapted) "dualistic comparison view".)

51.2 On this commonly held opinion that a metaphor is a collapsed comparison, Mooij observes (op. cit., p. 29) that "Quintilian probably is its best known representative because of his characterization of metaphor as brevior similitudo." A modern redefinition of this traditional view is Henle's, called the "Iconic Signification Theory" by Beardsley, and stated by Mooij as follows (p. 30) : "It holds that the metaphorical words in a sentence refer not only figuratively to one situation (that is, the literal subject-matter of the sentence),

but also literally to another, this second situation serving as an icon of the first. It is only through the literal reference of a metaphorical expression that its figurative reference comes into being. Indeed, Henle is committed to the idea that metaphor consists in an analogy between different things and situations." After concise discussion of various other theories, Mooij states his own position as being close to that of Quintilian: "In chapter 5 I wish to show that recent attacks on the comparison view have not been successful, and that, in consequence, the comparison view may still be a defensible overall view. But not every instance of metaphor can be analysed convincingly along its lines. ... On the whole ... this study will amount to a defence of the dualistic view", though there "are cases of metaphor which had better be analysed in terms of a monistic approach" (p. 37). The so-called 'monistic approach' is defined as follows: "Monistic theories: loss of reference to literal extension in metaphorical expressions" (p. 36).

It must of course be emphasised that the opinions of modern scholars on the suitability of various theoretical models intended to describe the phenomenon known as "metaphor" are not necessarily important for a proper appreciation of its application by an ancient author; to explicate Juvenal's practice in this respect, for instance, knowledge of Quintilian's theory is probably more useful, perhaps even to the exclusion of later thinking on the topic. But if Mooij is right in concluding that the equation of metaphor with "collapsed comparison" is still the best "overall view", then an examination of Juvenal's use of metaphor in the light of Quintilian's thinking may be useful for modern literary scholarship and, conversely, modern definitions of metaphor may be valuable additional tools to the classicist.

51.3 With these provisos in mind, we may now usefully proceed to

Mooij's statement of Bühler's theory (pp. 75 - 76), which seems to me to possess some merit for the discussion of frena in Juvenal's Tenth Satire. Bühler's analogy is that of a projector behind two partly overlapping disks, each of which only partly transmits light; the patterns projected onto the screen will then only show light on those parts of the screen "which correspond to the places where the transmitting patterns overlap." He illustrates by means of the examples "'Hölzlekönig' (said of a big tree) and 'Salonlöwe' (drawing-room lion)" as follows: "Es gibt am Wüstenbewohner 'Löwe' gar viele sprichwörtlich fixierte Eigenschaften, darunter auch Blutgier und Kampfgeist. Die Sphäre 'Salon' aber deckt sie ab, genau wie die Baumsphäre alle nicht passenden Königseigenschaften abdeckt" which Mooij translates: "The lion, the inhabitant of the desert, has many proverbial characteristics, among them bloodthirstiness and pugnacity. However, the sphere of 'drawing-room' blocks them out, precisely as the tree-sphere blocks out all kingly qualities which are not appropriate."

- 51.4. One further section of Mooij's sixth chapter may be briefly reviewed before we apply this theoretical discussion to the Tenth Satire, and that is the part on Wundt's theory (pp. 69 - 70) in which Quintilian's example classique immittit habenas is discussed. While Wundt is said to reject Quintilian's definition of metaphor "as unsatisfactory", he does, according to Mooij, consider "the introduction of the image of the horse" as being "precisely the essence of the example under discussion". This combination of words "erweckt die Vorstellung eines mit gelöstem Zügel dahineilenden Rosses, und diese überträgt sich unwiderstehlich auf die dahineilenden Schiffe", translated by Mooij as: "(this combination of words)" raises the image of a horse speeding away with a loose rein, and this is irresistibly transferred to the ships

that speed away." Even if Wundt does not accept the notion of the metaphor as being a breuior similitudo, he does accept the two-way reference of the metaphorical word. As Mooij states it: "Without explicitly saying so, Wundt presumably holds that the metaphorical image depends on the full literal meaning of the relevant words. Thus his is a dualistic theory", which, in Mooij's main bipartite classification of the various views on the matter, is at least related to the 'comparison view' (pp. 36 - 37).

51.5 Juvenal's metaphoric use of frena in v. 128 may now be compared with Quintilian's example: classique inmittit habenas, a quotation from Vergil Aen. VI 1 ("he gives his fleet the reins"), which, if taken as a completely literal statement, is lunacy - an admiral would no more think of attaching leather thongs to the vessels in his fleet for their control than Demosthenes would have fitted his audience with bit and reins before addressing them. Common to both metaphors then - Quintilian's example and Juvenal's in Sat. X 128 - is a literal misapplication but also an image of a horseman (or chariot driver) who controls his steed (or the horses pulling his vehicle) by means of reins. (It is worth noting that frena and habena are partial synonyms; cf. TLL s.v. frenum 1293. 16: "... 3. i.q. habenae"). This image of a horseman or driver supplies the metaphoric meaning both of frena and habenae - the abstract quality of control, which the horseman exerts over the animal(s) by means of the literally denoted bit and reins; similarly, the admiral controls his fleet, though with entirely different equipment (e.g. signal-flags), and the brilliant speaker controls the thoughts and emotions of his hearers by his eloquence. According to the dualistic theories mentioned above, both metaphors retain their literal reference to horses' reins while at the same time

referring to the literal subject of the metaphoric expression (the fleet in Quintilian's example, the Athenian audience in Juvenal) (cf. Mooij's statement of Henle's view - n. 51.2 sup.); the comparison between the two referents (i.e. horses being driven : : a fleet being directed, and: horses being driven : : a speaker influencing the thoughts of his audience) brings the common element of control to the fore in the reader's (or hearer's) mind, and if the implicit comparison is a felicitous one, makes a more forceful impression on the receptor than an unimaginative literal expression would have done (at least, this might reasonably be supposed to be the writer's motive in creating or employing a metaphor).

51.6 To explain the two metaphors according to Bühler's theoretical model (v. sup. n. 51.3), one may consider the two disks as being, in the first case, (a) the semantic domain denoting the admiral's authority over his fleet and (b) the reins as the physical means by which the horseman exerts control over his steed; the overlap of the two disks is represented by the notion of control. In the second case, the first disk is the semantic domain containing the notion of a talented speaker exerting influence over his audience by the flow of his eloquence; the second disk and the overlap is similar to the first case.

52. Dubrocard, op. cit., p. 79, s.v. frenum.

53. V. sup., pp. 42 - 43.

54. Courtney, Comm., p. 457 on v. 35, prefaced by the following remark: "35. Similar lists with a tinge of disparagement Sen. Dial. 2. 12. 2, De Ben. 1. 5. 6".

55. Courtney, Comm., pp. 460 - 461 on v. 64; see also my discussion on pp. 41 - 45 above.

56. OLD, p. 479, s.v. custos.

57. Courtney, Comm., p. 466 on v. 117.

58. OLD s.v. capsarius: "a... A slave who carried a boy's book-case."
On the use of custos here, cf. Hor. Sat. I 6. 81, where the poet refers to his own (ex-slave) father.
59. TLL, 1571. 59 - 1577. 84.
60. Dubrocard, op. cit., p. 48 s.vv. custodio and custos.
61. Gai., Inst., II 4: Sacrae sunt quae diis superis consecratae sunt, religiosae quae diis Manibus relictas sunt; cf. Thomas, J.A.C., Textbook of Roman Law, p. 128: "Res religiosae were things dedicated to the nether gods, the di manes: in effect, tombs, sepulchres and burial grounds."
- Sandys (Sandys, J.E., Latin Epigraphy) notes (p. 63): "Many epitaphs (especially in and after the Augustan age) begin with Dis Manibus or Dis Manibus Sacrum ... afterwards abbreviated as D.M. or D.M.S."
62. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 393 - 396, and esp.: "The Roman slave was a hybrid, both person and thing ..." (p. 393) and: "Though a chattel, indeed a res mancipi, the slave was marked off from other chattels in a number of respects" (p. 394). (cf. Van Zyl, D.H., Geskiedenis en Beginsels van die Romeinse Privaatreg, p. 76.)
63. Sandys, op. cit., p. 16, comments (in a footnote, with reference to Juvenal X 143 - 147): "Men may be ambitious of fame, in the form of an epitaph, says Juvenal, but even the tombs on which those epitaphs are carved have their destined day of doom."
64. Ibid., p. 63.
Lewis & Short, s.v. titulus, defines the noun generally as meaning "a superscription, inscription, label, title; a ticket, bill, placard, notice...", and subsequently cites Juv. VI 230 (... titulo res digna sepulcri) in justification of the translation "epitaph", supported by Plin. Ep. 6, 10, 3: "cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine jacere" and id. ib. 9, 19, 3.

65. Sandys, op. cit., p. 65, quotes from a sepulchral inscription - a laudatio funebris - a part actually including the noun (laus) in the accusative: "The extant page in praise of a mother ends as follows:
Eo maiorem laudem omnium carissima mihi mater meruit ..."
66. Sandys, op. cit., p. 65, quotes an expression likely to be included in an epitaph which contains a cognate of custos, viz. the gerundive of the verb custodire: "ob memoriam custodiendam adque propagandam".
67. Green, op. cit., p. 209.
68. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 265 on v. 158: "... By 217 Hannibal had one elephant left which he rode himself."
69. Courtney, Comm., p. 466, on v. 116: "Uno asse: The stips or contribution to a god's treasury: ... this appears to have been collected by the teacher and given to the goddess ... The little boy wants in return that Minerva should give him eloquence."
70. Admittedly, Juvenal's preoccupation is with the 'good old days' and the intolerable present at Rome, so one might argue that examples of sin and crime from the past in a foreign country does not affect his usual view that the times he lived in were the worst imaginable. Furthermore, the conquering generals become worse as their distance from Rome increases (Hannibal, Alexander, Xerxes.) However, in vv. 127 - 128 his ideal image from the past is set in Athens, despite his normal loathing of the Greeks (e.g. the Third Satire).
71. Furneaux, H., ed., The Annals of Tacitus, vol. I, p. 214 (Ann. I 24. 3), on which Furneaux comments: "Seianus. Here first mentioned." Cf. Miller (Miller, N.P., Tacitus: Annals Book I): "Aelius Seianus. This is the first mention in the Annals of Tiberius' famous minister, who later gained such ascendancy that he even aimed at the Principate - an attempt which caused his downfall. Tacitus describes his early life and

character in Ann. IV 1, where he calls his ascendancy the result of deum ira in Rem Romanam. He was a clever and unscrupulous man, whose strength of character probably appealed to Tiberius' diffidence."

72. Tacitus' sketch is both vivid and brief, occupying only eighteen lines of text in Furneaux's edition.
73. Clausen, op. cit., pp. 123 - 124.
74. Tengström, op. cit., p. 18; Ferguson, op. cit., p. 258, on v. 53: "mandaret laqueum : as we say 'let her go hang'. mediumque ostenderet unguem : an obscene gesture, still in use, designed originally to avert the evil eye; cf. Pers. 2. 33 digito infami."
75. The OLD entry s.v. fortuna has twelve paragraphs, including: "1. The more or less personified agency supposed to direct events, Fortune. ..." and "3. The goddess Fortune"; under 4, "... luck...", and "5. The way in which events fall out ... chance(s), hazard(s) ...".
Cf. also Lewis & Short s.v.
76. Courtney, Comm., p. 462 on v. 73; Tengström, op. cit., p. 21.
77. OLD s.v. saeuio: "1. To behave ferociously or savagely, to rage"; s.v. saeuitia: "1. Savageness of character or conduct, barbarity, cruelty."
78. Van der Mijsbrugghe, M., P. Cornelius Tacitus; Uitgelezen Teksten p. 177.
79. Dudley, D.R., The Annals of Tacitus, p. 141.
80. TLL s.v. facinus, 77. 58: ... in bonam uel neutram partem; and 77. 74 - 75: in malam partem (scelus, crimen).
81. Dudley, op. cit., p. 141.
82. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 285.
83. Van der Mijsbrugghe, op. cit., p. 177.
84. Salmon, E.T., A History of the Roman World 30 BC to AD 138, p. 139.
85. Ibid., p. 140.
86. Ibid., p. 141.

87. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 285.
88. Ibid., p. 286.
89. Ferguson ascribes the hostile sentiments of vv. 65 - 66 (pone domi laurus ... Seianus ducitur unco/ spectandus) to "ordinary people" viewing the spectacle (op. cit., p. 259 on v. 65).
90. Lawall, op. cit., pp. 28 - 29.
91. Courtney, Comm., p. 460, on vv. 56 - 57.
92. Lawall, op. cit., p. 27.
93. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 265, on v. 158: "... luscum: he lost the sight of one eye. The whole portrait (derived from Liv. 22, 2) is satirical."
94. Green, op. cit., p. 210.
95. Courtney, Comm., p. 471 on v. 171.
96. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 265, on v. 173.
97. Courtney, Comm., p. 46: "Abundant use is made of diminutives ... with the wide range of effects that this suffix permits, sometimes because the diminutive was becoming established as the usual form (8. 5 auricula), sometimes for metrical convenience (3. 95 palliolum, 10. 334 flammeolum), sometimes genuinely to indicate size, but usually to imply affection (6. 105 Sergiolus) or contempt (7. 4 balneolum). It will be noted that Juvenal also makes considerable use of diminutive adjectives ... which are rare in poetry ."
- Coffey (op. cit., p. 116) notes Persius' "extensive use of diminutives" which is a "characteristic mark of the spoken language" that is "frequently made to bring a jab of derision".
98. Palmer, L.R., The Latin Language, p. 77, in his chapter entitled "Spoken Latin - Plautus and Terence", observes: "But the diminutives are the most important class of emotionally charged words. Such formations do not ... merely denote smallness ... but, with the added connotations

'dear little', 'poor little', and the like, express a whole range of emotional attitudes - endearment, playfulness, jocularity, familiarity, and contempt. A muliercula is not 'a little woman', but 'a bit of a hussy', and is generally used with reference to a courtesan."

99. Green, op. cit., p. 210.
100. Courtney, Comm., p. 469, adducing Cic. De Prov. Cons. 34.
101. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 265 on v. 168.
102. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 265 on v. 169.
103. This implicit comparison of Hannibal with Alexander, related to the equally implicit comparison of Africa with Earth, recalls the explicit comparison in vv. 12 - 14:

sed pluris nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exuperans patrimonia census
quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.

(i.e. "but the pile of money accumulated with such great care and the bank account which exceeds several fortunes in like measure as the British whale overtops the dolphin, throttles even more people.")

104. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 266, on vv. 175 -176 : "This is a reference to the bridge of boats which Xerxes used to enable his army to cross the Hellespont."
105. Courtney, Comm., p. 472, on v. 177, has the following about the Sostratus mentioned in v. 178: "Sostratus (the scholiast) says that he was a poet: J.O.Thomson CR² 1, 1951, 3 identifies him with Sosistratus, who according to Aristotle Poet. 26. 1462a in epic recitation overdid gesticulation, and suggests that the name in Aristotle should be emended; but Juvenal's description implies someone nearer to his own time. Madidis alis: The perspiration gathers in his armpits ... because of his vehement delivery."

On prandente in v. 178 Courtney comments: "Prandente 'lunching' is ironical; the prandium was a light meal" - hence my version of the Persian army emptying rivers "at a sip".

106. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 266, on v. 182: "'Earth-shaker' is a Homeric description of Poseidon-Neptune, god of the sea: earthquakes and tidal waves go together."
107. Courtney, Comm., p. 472, on v. 183, following E.W.Weber, suggests the lines should read as follows: mitius id sane, quid? non et stigmatē dignum/ credit? ..., adding that "Herodotus had heard that he actually did this ..., the crowning absurdity should not be denied, and with the reading of the mss. the following remark huic ... deorum lacks motivation."
108. Courtney, Comm., p. 472 on v. 184.
109. Green, op. cit., p. 211. It is to be noted that he makes Xerxes the subject of the next line, too, in his version:

Such was the price he paid

For that long-cherished dream of glory and conquest
of Juvenal's v. 187 (has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas) which sums up the entire preceding section on the folly of military ambition.

Courtney (Comm., p. 473, on v. 187) comments: "Gloria is meant to recall 143 (though the sense is slightly different) ..." While this is by no means conclusive proof that v. 187 should not be taken as referring exclusively to Xerxes, it is worth noting that v. 143 is part of what might be described as an introduction to the gloria section in general terms (vv. 133 - 146).

110. Green, op. cit., p. 208.
111. Lawall, op. cit., p. 29.
112. Scullard, Gracchi, p. 367.
- Salmon (op. cit., p. 145), in an "Appraisal of the Reign" of Tiberius,

writes that "The Senate's point-blank refusal to accord him divine honours posthumously indicates that he had inspired no great affection in the hearts of the upper classes. The soldier-historian, Velleius Paterculus, seems to be an exception to this. But Velleius was writing in 30 and probably missed the last and gloomier years entirely; in any event his enthusiasm for Tiberius was little more than calculating flattery"; on p. 337 of the same work Salmon adds in an appendix : "Velleius Paterculus hurriedly produced a two-book compendium of Roman history in A.D. 30, the latter portions of which provides us with the 'official' view of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius : it is significant that Velleius, the time-serving careerist, feels it incumbent on him to flatter Tiberius and even Sejanus without stint." It seems reasonable to conclude that, had Velleius been writing after Sejanus' execution in A.D. 31, his view of the man might have been more in accord with that of other ancient writers.

113. Lawall, op. cit., p. 26.

114. "Hellish villain" is the term used with reference to Iago by Lodovico at the end of Shakespeare's Othello.

115. Courtney, Comm., p. 40, on the exempla in satire: "The use of these exempla by a satiric poet, then, is much the same as the use of mythology in other genres; it provides a vivid and concrete code embodied in figures whose familiar associations leap readily to the mind."

116. Id., ibid., p. 40.

117. Id., ibid., p. 453.

118. Unlike Sejanus, Cicero and the rest, Priam is not shown as dying because of his eminence - thousands of his subjects died on the same night irrespective of age, talent or station in life. The Trojan monarch's eminence is important only insofar as it makes him a well-known

(mythological) figure, hence useful to the satirist as an exemplum.

119. OLD, op. cit., pp. 1263 - 1264, s.v. orbis.
120. TLL, op. cit., 946. 3 - 951. 55 s.v. ceruix.
121. V. sup. p. 10 .
122. I am indebted to Prof. Drijepondt for drawing my attention to the figure.
Cf. Drijepondt, op. cit., p. 195.
123. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 258, on v. 39: "coronae: a wreath of gold oak-leaves studded with gems, too heavy to wear, so held by a slave ."
124. Democritus, referred to by name in v. 34, depicted in the preceding line as the "laughing philosopher", is the implied subject of vidisset in v. 36, of which verb orbem in v. 40 is one of a series of direct objects. See Courtney (Comm., p. 457) on v. 36: "a fortiori; he would have laughed at the pomp of Roman magistrates, and would have laughed even harder at the pompa circensis ..."
125. Versnel, op. cit., after a discussion of the pompa triumphalis (pp. 95 - 96), pompa circensis (pp. 96 - 98), and pompa funebris (pp. 98 - 100), remarks (p. 100) : "The fact that the pompa described show a number of striking similarities was observed long ago." Modern investigations - e.g. by Müller-Deecke - "have demonstrated an Etruscan origin for many details, and , in view of this, for this type of pompa generally. The similarity of the pompa circensis and the pompa triumphalis in particular was once again strongly emphasized."
126. Courtney, Comm., p. 479 on v. 269: "In earlier times it would have been exceptional for an ox from the plough to be sacrificed ... Victims should be iniuges."
127. Courtney, Comm., p. 461, on v. 65.
128. Courtney, Comm., p. 486, on v. 345: "Praebere ceruicem (gladio) 'submit to execution' is common from Livy onwards ...;" he refers to

Mommsen, T., Römisches Strafrecht, on this "military style of execution under the principate."

129. Courtney, Comm., p. 479, on funus in v. 259.

130. On the weakness of some of Juvenal's exempla, v.sup. pp. 76 - 77:
and Cf. Courtney, Comm., p. 40 and p. 453.

CHAPTER THREE

ANTITHETICAL WORD PATTERNS IN VV. 190 - 231 OF JUVENAL'S THIRD SATIRE

Both Hightet⁽¹⁾ and Anderson⁽²⁾ consider Juvenal's Third Satire a poem built up around a series of contrasts. Hightet distinguishes the following "four sets of contrasts: city v. poor, Roman v. foreigner, and sincerity v. flattery." It is my purpose in this chapter to analyse the interrelation of two of those sets, viz. city v. country and rich v. poor, that are prominent in the section of the poem under discussion: traces of the Roman v. foreigner theme will also be pointed out. I shall attempt to show that the section admits of further subdivision into four subparagraphs, so that the first and the fourth correspond and the two in the middle stand in antithetical relation towards each other. The main thrust of the argument will be to demonstrate that Juvenal joins each pair of subparagraphs - the outer and the inner - by a remarkable semantic device: he repeats a set of words in each member of each pair in such a way that those words seem to oppose themselves in sense at their two occurrences. In the case of the middle pair, this device serves to point the contrast of life in the city for the poor citizens on the one hand and for the rich on the other; in the case of the outer pair, it accentuates the contrast of idyllic country life and horrific city life. For the sake of clarity I propose first to state the case fairly briefly and to return to contentious points later, discussing these in relation with further supporting arguments and with main themes of the poem as a whole. Possible objections to my arguments - especially where members of the aforementioned sets of words appear in other parts of the poem as well - will also receive attention.

On the boundaries of the section under discussion, Duff,⁽³⁾ Hightet,⁽⁴⁾ Clausen,⁽⁵⁾ Ferguson,⁽⁶⁾ and Courtney⁽⁷⁾ are unanimous. Courtney's heading is almost identical to Hightet's: "Falling buildings and fire."

We may subdivide as follows:

- vv. 190 - 198: (up to nocte metus): Country living is pleasant - we should leave the city (A.1);
- vv. 198 - 222: City life is unpleasant and dangerous for the poor owing to jerry-building and frequent fires, but the rich are much better off;
- vv. 223 - 231: We should leave the city and move to the country, where life is idyllic (A.2).

The middle subdivision may be further subdivided as follows:

- vv. 198 (from iam poscit ...) - 211: A poor man loses his totum nihil (v. 209) in a fire and receives neither sympathy nor aid (B. 1);
- vv. 212 - 222: A rich man loses all in a fire, but gains more than he lost (meliora ac plura, v. 220) owing to immediate recompense (B. 2).

This scheme yields a ring composition (A. 1 : B.1 : B.2 : A. 2).

Four words are used both in the subparagraph B.1 (vv. 198 - 211) and in B.2 (vv. 212 - 222) in such a way that each one implies, in some way or another, poverty in the former, opulence in the latter. They are:

- (i) v. 204: ornamentum: "in apposition to urceoli (sc. in v. 203);"⁽⁸⁾ the latter are "six earthen pipkins"⁽⁹⁾ displayed on the abacus (sc. sideboard⁽¹⁰⁾) which is "usually used to display silver, which Cordus does not possess;"⁽¹¹⁾ implication - poverty;
- v. 218: ornamenta: "The ornamenta deorum are the statues which used to adorn the temples in Asia;"⁽¹²⁾ Asia was the Roman province famous for its wealth;⁽¹³⁾ implication - wealth;

- (ii) v. 205: marmore: "The recumbent Centaur-figure acting as a τραπέζιο φέρου would be despised by a rich man if it were only in marble;"⁽¹⁴⁾ implication - poverty;
- v. 215: marmora: "Marble to build a new house,"⁽¹⁵⁾ an extravagant gift suggesting wealth;
- (iii) v. 206: uetus: applied to the cista (basket⁽¹⁶⁾) in which he keeps his books, suggests that Cordus cannot afford a proper bookcase, so the adjective contributes to suggestions of poverty;
- v. 218: uetera: this time the adjective is applied to the Asianorum ...ornamenta deorum (v. 218), the statues taken from Asian temples (see above on ornamenta v. 218 and nn. 12 and 13); their age presumably added to their value in collectors' opinion; thus the adjective supports the aura of wealth;⁽¹⁷⁾
- (iv) v. 210: nudum: after the fire, Cordus, who was poor to start with (nil habuit Cordus, v. 208), is reduced to the state of the proverbial⁽¹⁸⁾ naked beggar; implication - abject poverty;
- v. 216: nuda: the adjective is part of the phrase nuda et candida signa, i.e. "marble statues of nudes,"⁽¹⁹⁾ a luxury within the means of the rich only; implication - wealth.
- (On the apparent contradiction in my argument that the marble representation of Chiron (v. 205) implies poverty while the nude sculptures here suggest wealth, v. inf. pp. 130 - 131 and n. 92.)

It is further noteworthy that each of these four words appears in the

singular in the section describing the poor man's fire (vv. 198 - 211: ornamentum, v. 204; marmore, v. 205; uetus, v. 206; and nudum, v. 210), while in the section on the fire at the rich man's house (vv. 212 - 222) they are all in the plural (marmora, v. 215; nuda, v. 216; uetera, v. 218; and ornamenta, v. 218). This contrast of singular v. plural, or one (of each) v. many, or scarcity v. plenty, emphasises the contrast between Cordus' absolute destitution (perdidit infelix totum nihil, v. 209; "The poor fellow lost even the nothing he had") after the disastrous fire, and the rich Persicus' augmented wealth after his 'disaster' (meliora ac plura reponit, v. 220: i.e. "He replaces his losses with more and better possessions.")

Let us now proceed to a consideration of the similar phenomenon linking the first subparagraph on the evils of the city and the attractions of the country (vv. 190 - 198) with the second (vv. 223 - 231), i.e. the two outer subparagraphs of the ring composition numbered A.1 and A.2 in my outline above. Between these two sections the linking verbal echoes are:

- (i) colimus, v. 193, and culti, v. 228;
- (ii) tenui, v. 193, and tenuis, v. 227;
- (iii) uilicus, v. 195, and uilicus, v. 228.

The OLD⁽²⁰⁾ article on colere comprises ten paragraphs. The first shows examples of the verb carrying the meaning "to live in, inhabit", the third shows it in the sphere of agriculture with the meaning "to till, cultivate, farm" etc. The second, sixth and eighth exhibit its use in the religious sphere with meanings ranging from gods being thought of as inhabiting places of worship devoted to them, to an equivalent of the English verb "to worship" and to the practising of religious observances. TLL cites v. 193⁽²¹⁾ under a heading corresponding to the first in OLD, namely as synonym of incolere, habitare;⁽²²⁾ v. 228⁽²³⁾ is cited under a heading

showing its use as an agricultural verb; ^(24.1) "i.g. curatus, tractatus:
A de agricultura " with a subheading indicating its meaning more precisely
 as indicative of proper care: "sensu strictiore i.g. bene cultus, ornatus
sim." ^(24.2) Thus at its two occurrences the verb carries meanings divergent
 in sense, which is brought about by the fact that the direct object in
 v. 193 (urbem) and the 'subject' of the passive past participle in v. 228
 (horti) are the opposite members of the city v. country contrast noted by
 Hightet. ⁽¹⁾

It is at least a possibility that Juvenal chose this verb for
 an additional reason besides its applicability on both sides of the city v.
 country theme; in v. 173 colitur is a verb used in the religious sphere ⁽²⁵⁾
 and the poet may have meant these overtones still to be lingering in the
 audience's consciousness by the time they got to vv. 193 and 228. If so,
 the repetition of colere here would show life in the city as something
 almost akin to false worship in the derogatory context of vv. 190 - 198
 (urbem ... fultam, v. 193, "a city propped up"; pendente ... ruina, v. 196,
 "collapse is ever-imminent"). In vv. 223 - 231, on the other hand,
 rustic life is depicted as inexpensive ⁽²⁶⁾ (domus ... paratur ⁽²⁷⁾ / quanti
nunc tenebras ⁽²⁸⁾ unum conducis in annum (vv. 224 - 225) i.e. "you
 can buy a house in the country for the price of one year's rental for a
 gloomy flat (in the city)" and relaxed (you water your plants facili ...
haustu (v. 227), "with an easy scoop of the bucket" ⁽²⁹⁾). Looking after
 the tender plants (tenuis plantas, v. 227) in your well-tended garden
 (culti horti - see above and n. 24.2) is an occupation worthy of a man.
 Umbricius exhorts one to live there and to love even the humble implements
 of farming (uiue/ bidentis amans, v. 228). Juvenal might well be suggesting
 that the countryside, as opposed to the saeva urbs of vv. 8 - 9, is a fit
 object for reverence in a sense approaching the religious.

The adjective tenuis ⁽³⁰⁾ is similarly fitted into the two subsections (vv. 190 - 198 and 223 - 231) to accentuate the city v. country contrast. In the former subsection we find in vv. 193 - 196 a brief but vivid description of appalling conditions in the slum that Rome has largely (magna parte, v. 194) become. Dwellings are in a tumble-down condition (labentibus, v. 194; pendente ... ruina, v. 196), with walls showing gaping cracks (hiatum, v. 195), long in need of repair (ueteris rimae, v. 195) but hastily - to use the modern English expression - papered over (textit, v. 195); collapse is an ever-present probability for the uneasy inhabitants:

securos pendente iubet dormire ruina (v. 196)

(i.e. "and then he expects us to sleep untroubled when the threat of collapse hangs over us"). In this context, the tenui tibicine of v. 193 with which the city (urbem, v. 193) is propped up (fultam, v. 193) can only be a stay so alarmingly slender that the occupants find it impossible to sleep securos (v. 196).⁽³¹⁾ The exaggeration in v. 193 makes the statement more forceful. In the fourth subparagraph (vv. 223 - 231) the references to the city are brief - si potes auelli circensibus in v. 223 (i.e. "If you can tear yourself away from the Circus") plus v. 225 (quoted above, previous paragraph). The rest of the passage is devoted to a eulogy of rusticity - instead of renting a tenebras (v. 225, "garret"⁽²⁸⁾) at an exorbitant rate in the city, you can, for the same outlay, buy outright an optima ... domus (vv. 223 - 224; "an excellent house") in one of the Italian towns mentioned. In your nice little garden (hortulus, v. 226)⁽³²⁾ with a well so shallow that no rope is necessary to draw up the bucket⁽²⁹⁾ (puteusque brevis nec reste mouendus, v. 226), you can cultivate your tender plants (tenuis plantas, v. 227) with hardly any trouble and raise a crop sufficient for a hundred vegetarians (epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis,

v. 229)⁽³³⁾ - at least, so Umbricius would have us believe.⁽³⁴⁾ Thus tenuis in v. 227 serves as a term of endearment and approbation, just as surely as tenui in v. 193 expresses disapproval.

Similarly, uilicus in v. 195 and v. 228 denotes opposites.⁽³⁵⁾ In v. 195 he is the unscrupulous character who uses makeshift props of uncertain strength to prevent the ramshackle tenement buildings crashing down (sic labentibus obstat/ uilicus, vv. 194 - 195);⁽³⁶⁾ he it is who papers over the cracks (textit hiatus, v. 195)⁽³⁷⁾ and expects the tenants to sleep soundly despite the threatening collapse (v. 196, quoted above, previous paragraph). He is, in short, the enemy of the hapless tenant. But in v. 228 the noun denotes the former tenant himself, as the change from the third person in uilicus ... textit in v. 195 to second person in uilicus ... possis in vv. 228 - 229 shows; the callously exploited city dweller has now himself become a uilicus, no longer preyed on by the rich and their agents, but in charge of his own life and of a little plot of land, a man who has regained his self-respect by leaving the Circus behind him and moving to a healthy country spot; he can avoid the beggar's existence of the client at Rome, who rushes off to the salutatio in the wee hours to collect his dole (nocte ... currere, vv. 127 - 128) - instead, he is in a position to extend hospitality if he moves to the country (epulum possis ... dare, v. 229); it "is quite something" (est aliquid, v. 230) to be master (dominum, v. 231) of even a tiny little patch, no matter where (quocumque loco, v. 230), no matter how remote (quocumque recessu, v. 230).

Thus, to summarise: in two adjacent subparagraphs, Juvenal exemplifies the unfairness of life in the city by contrasting the effect of a disastrous fire on a poor man (vv. 198 - 211) with the rich man's further enrichment when his house burns down (vv. 212 - 222). He heightens the antithetical effect by employing a set of four words (ornamentum, v. 204;

marmore, v. 205; uetus, v. 206; nudus, v. 210) in the first of these subparagraphs in such a way that each seems to oppose itself in sense or emotional suggestion when it occurs again in the second subsection (marmora, v. 215; nuda, v. 216; uetera, v. 218; ornamenta, v. 218). Preceding and following these two subparagraphs he has placed two more, both posing the contrast of urban nastiness and emptiness (circensibus, v. 223) y. rural contentment, but in the first of these (vv. 190 - 198) the accent is on the city, in the latter, on the countryside (vv. 223 - 231); in these outer subparagraphs in a four part ring composition, colimus (v. 193) connotes an existence of humiliating dependence in the metropolis, culti (v. 228) the satisfaction of a meaningful and industrious life (bidentis amans, v. 228) in the country districts; tenui in v. 193 bears the connotation of danger in dilapidated slum tenements, in v. 227 tenuis has an affectionate ring of satisfaction to it; while the uilius is transformed from being the enemy of the poor city man in v. 195 to becoming in v. 228 the emancipated former urban dweller himself, the self-assertive dominus of v. 231 (sese dominum fecisse).

It has been stated above that the words concentrated upon function as they do in carefully constructed contexts. The means by which Juvenal builds up the (at least partly) antithetical contexts must now be examined.

Of the two outer members of the ring composition, the keynote of the former (vv. 190 - 198) is fear, of the latter, (vv. 223 - 231) contentment and fulfilment. In the first of these subparagraphs, the second and fourth words are the present and perfect tenses of timere:

quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam (v. 190)

(i.e. "who fears - or for that matter, has ever feared - the collapse of a house in cool Praeneste?"). The verbs occur, it is true, in a

rhetorical question extending over three lines (vv. 190 - 192) which has the effect to depict the small towns as places that afford their inhabitants peace of mind; but ~~legitimate~~ objects of apprehension are supplied in the following four lines (vv. 193 - 196), which depict the careless jerry-building and bad maintenance of dwellings for the urban poor. The section is rounded off with a noun denoting fear - metus (v. 198). This latter is part of a phrase - nocte metus (v. 198) - that anticipates the diuersa pericula noctis (v. 268 - "various perils of the night") in the section from v. 268 to v. 314.⁽³⁸⁾ Furthermore, the first line of this subparagraph ends in the ominous word ruina (v. 190), as does v. 196; between these two, and supporting them in sense as having reference to the same kind of urban threat to life and safety, are words and phrases already alluded to - tenui tibicine fultam (v. 193), labentibus (v. 194) and ueteris rimae ... hiatus (v. 195). The final phrase of the section, nocte metus (v. 198), lays emphasis on the impossible 'command' of v. 196 (securos ... iubet dormire), an utterly unreasonable demand in the circumstances so vividly sketched. One further horror of metropolitan life mentioned in v. 197 - incendia - leads straight into the two middle subparagraphs.

Opposing the fear pervading vv. 190 - 198, the subparagraph in vv. 223 - 231 radiates rural contentment, but this has already been analysed. One detail may still require brief mention, and that is the single animal mentioned in the last line - unius ... lacertae (v. 231) - reminiscent of the doves (columbae, v. 202) and the mice (mures, v. 207) in the subparagraph on the poor man losing all in a fire (vv. 198 - 211). That Juvenal intended his readers to notice these humble and insignificant animals is clear from the fact that each is mentioned in the emphatic end position of the line (cf. also n. 45 inf.).

In the section describing the effect of a fire in a high-rising ⁽³⁹⁾

block of flats for the poor (vv. 198 - 211), Juvenal clearly set out to paint a picture of poverty and at the same time to evoke sympathy for the poor. After enumerating the dangers of city life in vv. 193 - 198, he illustrates the last mentioned (incendia, v. 197) by means of two (presumably fictional) exempla, one nicknamed Ucalegon,⁽⁴⁰⁾ the other a neighbour - a pauper⁽⁴¹⁾ named Cordus - who lives on a floor "higher than the third, just below the roof".⁽⁴²⁾ After the alarm is raised that the place is on fire (iam poscit aquam, v. 198), Ucalegon starts carrying his possessions out - but this latter-day Troiugena⁽⁴⁰⁾ is so impoverished that he owns "only frivola", i.e. "bits and pieces, odds and ends."⁽⁴³⁾ Poor Cordus, the last to notice anything wrong, is described with a note of pathos: quem tegula sola tuetur/ a pluuiis (vv. 201 - 202) - he is the impoverished person "whom only the tiles⁽⁴⁴⁾ protect against showers". Juvenal even indulges in sentimentality:⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cordus lives: molles ubi reddunt oua columbae (v. 202: "where the gentle doves lay their eggs.") Then he adds a detail which describes the discomfort to which Cordus is exposed because he can't afford a bed quite big enough for him - lectus erat Cordo Procula minor⁽⁴⁶⁾ (v. 203). Among his possessions, Cordus - who "had some culture" - "prized a few papyrus rolls" which he had to be content with as he "could not afford long texts".⁽⁴⁷⁾ (On the diminutive libellos, v. inf. p. 121). Then some pathos follows when the poet informs us that the philistine⁽⁴⁸⁾ mice (opici ... mures, v. 207) have been chewing up these diuina ... carmina (v. 207). In v. 208 Juvenal states that Cordus was very poor: nil habuit Cordus, quis enim negat? and then the fellow loses all the pathetic little possessions he did manage to scrape together: illud/perdidit infelix totum nihil (vv. 208 - 209). It is in this carefully constructed context of poverty and degradation in which Cordus - a man of at least some culture - has to muddle on that the set of four significant

words discussed above (ornamentum, v. 204; marmora, v. 205; uetus, v. 206; and nudum, v. 210) are made to acquire connotations of poverty and, in turn, to contribute to the context.

In the following passage (vv. 212 - 222), describing the paradoxically happy outcome of a fire in the home of a rich man, Juvenal again makes his statement by means of an exemplum who may have been historical (it is not quite clear whether the satirist has one or two examples in mind⁽⁴⁹⁾). The antithetical relation between the former passage and the present one is shown by the first word of v. 212 - si, "(but) if".⁽⁵⁰⁾ Here it is no tumble-down tenement building that has taken fire but a magna ... domus (v. 212) - a "great (sc. rich man's) house." There is general consternation amongst the 'best people' - the proceres (v. 213 - "the nobility") are in mourning (pullati, v. 213),⁽⁵¹⁾ the praetor postpones his hearings.⁽⁵²⁾ Among the extravagant gifts the rich man receives are statuary made by the famous artists Euphranor and Polyclitus (praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti, v. 217).⁽⁵³⁾ In fact, one of his benefactors rushes up with a gift of a modum argenti (v. 220), virtually our "buckets of money".⁽⁵⁴⁾ So well is Persicus, richest of the childless (orborum lautissimus, v. 221) and thus a prime target of legacy hunters, looked after that one might be forgiven a suspicion that he started the fire himself:

suspectus tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes (v. 222).

The same set of words noted in the preceding subparagraph (marmora, v. 215; nuda, v. 216; uetera ornamenta, v. 218) is thus made to operate in a context unmistakably suggestive of opulence, to which they are made to contribute,

Apart from these four words and the contexts showing the absurd⁽⁵⁵⁾ disparity between the treatment of rich and poor in the city, there are other contrastive links. Courtney⁽⁵⁶⁾ notes that the "actual gifts listed

are contrasted with 203 - 7, and in particular 219 with 206 - 7." The urceoli of v. 203 - the 'earthen pipkins' which Cordus displays on his sideboard for want of silverware⁽⁵⁷⁾ - contrast with the gift of a modium argenti in v. 220; Cordus keeps his prized papyri in a basket or box (cista, v. 206) for want of proper bookcases (forulos, v. 219) which the rich man gets even before the fire in his magna ... domus (v. 212) has been extinguished (ardet adhuc, v. 215); in sum, whereas the poor man loses his totum nihil (v. 209), the rich man is better off after his fire (meliora ac plura, v. 220).

The contrast in the libellos (v. 206) which Cordus loses and the wealthy Persicus' gift of books (libros, v. 219) deserves special attention. On the one hand, the noun contrasted with its own diminutive supports the contrast of plenty *v.* scarcity in the two subparagraphs. But the two words carry connotations that reflect unfavourably on the rich man and favourably on Cordus, if Courtney and Ferguson are right in their interpretations. Of the former, Courtney remarks: "the rich man values the books merely as furniture, not for their contents",⁽⁵⁸⁾ i.e. though rich, though he associates with the 'best people' (proceres, v. 213), he is a barbarous individual. Against this, Ferguson deduces from Cordus' possession of a few papyrus rolls (libellos, v. 206) that he "had some culture"⁽⁵⁹⁾ - the fact that he suffers total loss while the rich man profits from his 'disaster' makes Cordus' fate the more poignant. Thus the repetition of libros and its derived diminutive libellos has very much the same effect as the repetition of ornamentum/ ornamenta (vv. 204 and 218), marmore/ marmora (vv. 205 and 215), uetus/ uetera (vv. 206 and 218), and nudum/ nuda (vv. 210 and 216): instead of the opposition of a noun or adjective in the singular with its later appearance in the plural, Juvenal uses the contrast of a diminutive (libellos) with the

noun from which it is derived; and the words are made to acquire connotations from their respective contexts that oppose each other in sense. The contrast in this case is not so much that of poverty y. wealth as in the case of the other four words, but of culture y. ostentatious barbarousness.

COLERE, LIBER, MARMOR, TENUIS, VETUS, BEFORE V. 190

An objection to my deductions on the repetition of sets of words in the corresponding inner and outer pairs of subparagraphs that readily suggests itself, is that some of them occur in other parts of the poem as well and that some are quite common in the Satires. While I believe that my deductions on the significance of those repetitions are not invalidated by the occurrence of some of the words elsewhere in the poem, it is a problem that will have to be addressed. Of the eight words isolated above for detailed discussion (colo, liber/libellus counted as one word, marmor, nudus, ornamentum, tenuis, uetus and uilicus) only nudus, ornamentum and uilicus do not appear in other sections of Satire Three; of the rest, uetus is even more troublesome than the others in that it not only appears in the two middle subparagraphs on the consequences of fire for the city rich and poor (vv. 198 - 211 and 212 - 222 respectively) but also in the first of the four subparagraphs (vv. 190 - 198; ueteris rimae in v. 195). And if one can conceivably plead that the distance between colimus in v. 193 and the participle cultam in v. 95 is great enough to rule out intentional interaction in the echo, one cannot hope to get by with the same argument in the case of the participle cultis in v. 189, only three lines removed from colimus.

If the repetition of the adjective uetus in the first subparagraph of the ring composition (vv. 190 - 198, up to nocte metus, termed A.1

above) and the second (vv. 198 (iam poscit...) - 211, termed B.1) is the most troublesome, perhaps it should be the first to be examined.

The presence of this adjective in the subparagraphs A.1 and B.1 is not the only link between them. The notion of fear in A.1 (timet ... timuit, v. 190; metus, v. 198) reappears in trepidatur (v. 200) in B.1; incendia in v. 197 foreshadows the alarmed shouts of "fire!" in iam poscit aquam (v. 198),⁽⁶⁰⁾ the fumant in v. 199 ("there's smoke on the third floor") and, much further down in the subparagraph termed B.2 (vv. 212 - 222), the cognate verb incenderit (v. 222) puts in an appearance. Of note perhaps in vv. 195 and 206 is that uetus has a derogatory ring in both: v. 195 ueteris rimae ... hiatus means approximately "a gaping crack that should have been mended long ago" or even "a gaping crack long past mending", while uetus ... cista in v. 206 means roughly "any old box".⁽⁶¹⁾ At any rate, the sort of relationship that exists between uetus in v. 206 and uetera in v. 218 - a relationship of paradoxically opposed connotations - cannot be shown to exist between the two occurrences in vv. 195 and 206. That the same adjective is used in v. 1 (ueteris ... amici) and again in v. 11 (ueteres arcus) may be entirely fortuitous (this seems quite possible). However, the "ancient arches" of v. 11 may have been introduced deliberately to recall the Rome of former times with its associations of pristine virtue in contrast with the hated Graecam urbem (v. 61) of Juvenal's own day, thus playing a part in establishing two of the thematic contrasts of the poem, viz. virtuous past v. degenerate (hellenised) present and indigenous v. foreign (again Graecam).

The use of librum in v. 41, even if not intended to be recalled by the echo of 165 lines later (libellos, v. 206), does have a

thematic relation: the sentence librum, / si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere (vv. 41 - 42: "I simply can't pretend a book is good if it is worthless and beg to have a copy") marks the speaker, Umbricius, as a man of some culture who can pass value judgments on literary works. This places him on a par with Cordus in three respects - both are poor, both are (for the present, at least) city dwellers, both are possessed of some cultural background; both, then, are the opposite of the rich barbarian of subparagraph B.2 as regards wealth and culture. (Dubrocard⁽⁶²⁾ accepts the variant reading libris at v. 187 and classifies the line accordingly, but both Clausen⁽⁶³⁾ and Courtney⁽⁶⁴⁾ read libis, "sacrificial cakes".)

The verb colere, occurring six times in the poem in one form or another (cultam, v. 95; cultos, v. 158; colitur, v. 173; cultis, v. 189; colimus, v. 193; culti, v. 228), would seem to be the one word of those discussed above most likely to undermine my thesis concerning the particular significance of its two appearances in the paragraph on "falling buildings and fire".⁽⁶⁵⁾ Of the three instances of the past participle before v. 190 - i.e. in vv. 95, 158, and 189 - the first is cited in TLL⁽⁶⁶⁾ under the main heading "III i.q. ornare ... A. proprie i.q. ornare corporaliter; spectat ad speciem exteriorem" (i.e. "to fit out, equip, adorn, specifically in the physical sense of the word, with reference to external appearances") and the subheading "2. animantia: a homines" (i.e. "in respect of living things: (a) people"), and a further subordinate heading: "fere i.q. vestire" (i.e. more or less a synonym of 'to dress, clothe'). The other two lines are cited⁽⁶⁷⁾ under the main heading "part. perf. pass." (perfect participle passive) and subheading "III. i.q. ornatus" (i.e. as a synonym of 'fitted out, equipped, adorned').

Thus these three have more or less the same material denotation, though their connotations may vary in their respective contexts. The verb of v. 173 is cited under the main heading "V. i.q. uenerari" (i.e. "to reverence with religious awe, worship") and a subheading "dies festos, natales sim., i.q. celebrare" (i.e. in the case of special occasions like birthdays etc. the meaning is equivalent to "to celebrate, to keep a festival").

Cultam (v. 95) is used in a tirade against the Greeks, who are represented as a natio comoeda (v. 100: "a nation of (comic) actors"), i.e. an utterly insincere tribe able to sumere uultum a facie (vv. 105 - 106: "to make their facial expression match their companion's"). The references to the actor's profession are quite explicit in the two lines preceding v. 95: Thais and Doris are stock characters of the fabula palliata, significantly the "comedy in Greek dress". Cultam, though, is attached as epithet not to the Greeks but to the comic actor (in a female role) and means no more than 'without the outer garment', roughly our modern 'with sleeves rolled up', i.e. ready for work.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The Greek 'actor in everyday life' is compared to the comedy actor (comoedus, v. 94) who plays female roles so well that you would think it was a woman appearing on stage (mulier nempe ipsa uidetur, v. 95), yet the Greek in real life comes off better in the comparison.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It is in this context that another of the words discussed for their significant repetition in the ring composition (vv. 190 - 231) participates in a contemptuous sexual aspersion, viz. the adjective tenuis in v. 97. Of interest too is that the noun it defines - rima (v. 97) - also appears in the A.1 subparagraph (vv. 190 - 198) of the ring composition. In the sentence⁽⁷⁰⁾

uacua et plana omnia dicas

infra uentriculum et tenui distantia rima (vv. 96 - 97),

tenui ... rima is comic exaggeration of a gross nature and is made to convey derogatory overtones in the outpouring of disgust in which it appears. Likewise, tenui in v. 193, as argued above, represents a note of censure on the ill-built and dangerous city, as does rima in v. 195.

When the perfect participle of colere reappears in v. 158, the subject has changed, but the reference to the theatre is retained - here it is not the Greeks who are being attacked as a nation of actors; the object of wrath is theatre regulations that unjustly discriminate against the poor but decent Romans and humiliate them in favour of people who in Umbricius' eyes are the scum of the earth. Cultos is here applied to the "moneyed bastards"⁽⁷¹⁾ of vv. 155 - 158:

... et sedeant hic

lenonum pueri quocumque ex fornice nati,

hic plaudat nitidus praeconis filius. inter

pinnirapi cultos iuuenes iuuenesque lanistae.

(i.e. "Let pimps' sons sit here, spawned in goodness knows which whorehouse, let the flashy son of an auctioneer do the hand-clapping in the midst of the natty brood of the gladiator and his trainer."⁽⁷²⁾)

Again a theatre, but one of a very different nature, is presented to us in vv. 171 - 179. The scene has now shifted to a "natural, 'grassy theater',"⁽⁷³⁾ a symbol of rustic simplicity. As noted above, TLL cites v. 173 under a heading showing the use of colere in a sense approaching the religious. The subparagraph is in contrast with the following one (vv. 180 - 189); the contrast is that of country v. city (pars magna Italiae, v. 171; hic ... hic ... (sc. Romae), v. 180). In the former, the lack of pretence in the small, anonymous town is humorously expressed with reference to the apparel required at formal occasions in the city, the toga:⁽⁷⁴⁾ there, nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus (v. 172),

i.e. the toga is never used except as a shroud for the dead. In the city, on the other hand, the externals of dress are considered very important, so much so that clients are for ever overreaching themselves financially (hic ultra vires habitus nitor, v. 180)⁽⁷⁵⁾ and trying to keep up with their neighbours (hic uiuimus ambitiosa/ paupertate omnes, vv. 182 - 183),⁽⁷⁶⁾ though this means being chronically in debt (hic aliquid plus/ quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca, vv. 180 - 181).⁽⁷⁷⁾ Umbricius restates his protest (cf. vv. 155 - 158 quoted above, previous paragraph) against the humiliation of free-born Romans in favour of people of repellent character or background - in this case, the slaves of the rich:

praestare tributa clientes

cogimur et cultis augere peculia seruis (vv. 188 - 189)

(i.e. "we (sc. poor) dependants are made to give bribes to the well-dressed slaves (sc. of their patrons) and to swell their savings.")⁽⁷⁸⁾ (Worth noting is how Juvenal stresses the unwholesome client-slave relation by placing the two nouns in the emphatic end position of consecutive lines.)

Thus the two passages contrast rustic simplicity and the unpleasantness of the city in much the same way as subparagraph A.1 (vv. 190 - 198) in the ring composition (more precisely, vv. 193 - 196 in A.1) is contrasted with A.2 (vv. 223 - 231), though in reversed order. Both colimus in v.193 and cultis in v. 189 refer to the despised city that has become untrue to its former self; both bear overtones of bitter criticism and rejection. On the other hand, when colitur (v. 173) is used in respect of a dramatic performance in an Italian country town, Fredericks⁽⁷⁹⁾ also detects a religious tone: the slaves of v. 189 "are carefully contrasted with the frugal native peoples of Italy (171 - 179), who have preserved the authentic numen of the old religion intact (172 - 174):

ipsa dierumfestorum herboso colitur si quando theatromaiestas ..."

In this sense, colitur (v. 173) presents a marked contrast with cultis in v. 189 and colimus in v. 193, while it is in harmony with the connotations of culti in v. 228 (part of A.2 in the ring composition): in both passages, the country is extolled and, if my suggestion is valid that colere was selected for use in the first and last members of the ring composition because of its application in religious contexts, the harmony between colitur and culti is further strengthened.

About the use of colere in vv. 95, 158, 173, 189, 193, and 228, then, we might conclude that it is first introduced unobtrusively and thereafter in a recognisable pattern with alternating reference to the city or urban phenomena, in which it acquires overtones of disapproval, and to events in the countryside, when it connotes contrary sentiments. At its debut in v. 95, cultam is fairly neutral in sense, though it is part of a negative context on the insincerity of the Greeks. It is not applied to one of the odious Greeks but to a member of the actors' guild - a despised profession - against whom the Greeks are compared as a natio comoeda (v. 100); the actor's professional skill pales beside the practised insincerity of the Greeks. In vv. 158 and 189 the perfect participle refers to the fashionable dress of despicable people in contrast with the poverty of free-born Romans and their dirty, torn and patched clothes (vv. 149 - 151); in vv. 188 - 189 the clients are shown to be in a de facto inferior position relative to rich men's slaves, the reverse of the (proper) de iure situation. In vv. 173 and 228 the verb operates in a country setting with connotations of approval; v. 158 and v. 173 both form part of descriptions of events in the theatre, the former passage (vv. 153 - 159) continuing the theatrical

reference of vv. 93 - 108 (natio comoeda, v. 100) and its tone of disapproval, the latter (vv. 171 - 179) referring to the unpretentious informality in a backwoods theatre. Colimus in v. 193 stresses the city as an improper object of devotion in contrast with vv. 173 and 228. Of direct relevance to the ring composition (vv. 190 - 231) is the contrast of country (with approval) v. city (disapproved of) in vv. 173 and 189 respectively, a mirror image of the relation between vv. 193 and 228, giving a chiasmic arrangement (country, v. 173 : city, v. 189 : : city, v. 193 : country, v. 228).

In the above discussion on colere, the similarity in the emotive value of tenuis in v. 97 (in the section on the natio comoeda, vv. 93 - 108) and v. 193 (in subparagraph A.1 of the ring composition) has been remarked upon. It remains to point out the thematic relation between v. 163 (tenuis ... Quirites) and the A.2 (vv. 223 - 231) passage of the ring composition. In v. 163, tenuis is synonymous with pauperes, the poverty-stricken Romans (Quirites - their "most formal name")⁽⁸⁰⁾ whom Juvenal treats with so much sympathy in this poem. The message to the Romans in this line is that they should get out of the saeua urbs which has no place for decent people, anyhow⁽⁸¹⁾ - they should have left long ago:⁽⁸²⁾

debuerant olim tenuis migrasse Quirites (v. 163).

Corresponding to debuerant in v. 163 is the imperative uiue in v. 228: "Go and live on a country plot where you can learn to love your rustic implements," Umbricius is in effect saying. In other words, whereas v. 163 advises the Romans to get out of Rome, vv. 223 - 231 point to their recommended destination - the countryside. As tenuis in v. 163 denotes poverty and thus the poet's (and Umbricius') sympathy, so tenuis in v. 227 is part of an idyllic word-picture in which the adjective has an affectionate ring to it in its reference to the "tender plants" one

should be tending in the inexpensive, relaxed life far from the urban rat-race.

It remains to examine marmor which, apart from vv. 205 and 215, also appears earlier in the poem - in the prologue (v. 20). Fredericks⁽⁸³⁾ mentions Juvenal and his old friend Umbricius going into the "denatured grotto of Egeria", which holy spot is now "profaned and made artificial by marble (18 - 20)"; in the contrast between the ingenuum tofum (v. 20) and the foreign marble, he discerns the theme of native-born Romans being ousted by foreigners, especially Greeks;⁽⁸⁴⁾ it also foreshadows the abandonment of "the old Roman values".⁽⁸⁵⁾ So disgusted is Umbricius with this Graeca urbs⁽⁸⁶⁾ that Rome has become that he proposes to leave the capital city forever and to become a citizen of the famous Sybil's (destinet ... unum ciuem donare Sibyllae, v. 3); no longer will he remain in Rome, tainted by foreign influences (quamuis quota portio faecis Achaei? / iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes, vv. 61 - 62), where even one of its most ancient sacred places has been desecrated by foreign marble.

If Fredericks is right in his assessment of the symbolic value of marmora in v. 20, the word was probably intended to retain this symbolism throughout the poem. An examination of marmora in v. 218 and the surrounding lines suggests that this was the case. The wealthy Persicus⁽⁸⁷⁾ receives at least two presents of marble from those who - with ulterior motives (he was orborum lautissimus, v. 221) - shower gifts upon him even before the blaze destroying his house has quite died down (ardet adhuc, v. 215). These are the nuda et candida signa of v. 216, "marble statues of nudes",⁽⁸⁸⁾ and the marmora of v. 215, "marble to build a new house".⁽⁸⁹⁾ The statues - or at least some of them - are of foreign origin. Both the

sculptors mentioned - praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti (v. 217) - were Greeks.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The uetera ornamenta of v. 218 formerly adorned temples in Asia, a region of the world which Juvenal despises, as is shown by vv. 61 - 65: Greeks are "dregs" (faecis, v. 61), but "Syrian Orontes" discharges its language, outlandish musical instruments and prostitutes into Rome. In the thematic contrast of foreign v. indigenous, the fashionable zeal for works of art imported from the East receives Juvenal's censure. But, as shown above, this subparagraph (vv. 212 - 222, termed B.2 in my analysis of the ring-composition) is associated with the former (B.1, vv. 198 - 211) in terms of the rich v. poor contrast. If Persicus is made the target of Umbricius' bile on account not only of his wealth but also his penchant for exotic art, how does penniless Cordus fare, for whom Umbricius shows so much compassion in vv. 198 - 211?

Prominent among Cordus' few pathetic possessions is an object, possibly two, of marble; it is not quite clear whether it is only his sideboard (abacus - v. 204)⁽⁹¹⁾ or the figure of the recumbent Centaur Chiron⁽⁹²⁾ as well. So even Cordus is guilty - at least to some degree - of Graecomania. In fact, it goes beyond the marble; the literary papyri he so highly prizes are also Greek - Graecos ... libellos (v. 206). Chiron, too, must be counted amongst the symptoms of Cordus' enthusiasm for things Greek, for he was "the wise Centaur who tutored Achilles".⁽⁹³⁾ But the mice are indigenous - and they are described as such by means of an originally Greek word (opici)⁽⁹⁴⁾ which was offensive to Romans, who would have regarded it as an ethnic slur. So the mice, described by an adjective meaning "barbarous" from a Greek perspective and "indigenous" from a Roman one, attack the libellos (v. 206) - which are Greek themselves. In this little detail of the gnawing rodents Juvenal has brought the contrast of native-born Roman v. foreign (and especially Greek) into a

paragraph mainly concerned with another thematic contrast, that of rich v. poor. By doing so, and by exposing the fact that Cordus himself has succumbed to current fads for anything Greek, he has emphasised just how far the Greek rot has penetrated into the Roman citizen body; he drives home the point by sarcasm in referring to the Graecos ... libellos of v. 206 as diuina... carmina in v. 207, when the mice are at them.⁽⁹⁵⁾

SUMMARY

By way of conclusion one might summarise as follows: In a four-part ring composition (vv. 190 - 231), Juvenal places the accent in the first paragraph (A.1: vv. 190 - 198) on the evils of the city, in the last (A.2: vv. 223 - 231) on the attractions of the countryside. He emphasises the antithesis by repeating in A.2 a set of words from A.1 (colere, v. 193 and v. 228; tenuis, v. 193 and v. 227; uilicus, v. 195 and v. 228) in such a way that, through skilful construction of antithetical contexts, they oppose themselves in sense (or emotional force) at their two occurrences. He does the same in the two inner paragraphs (B.1, vv. 198 - 211, and B.2, vv. 212 - 222) with a different set of words (marmor at v. 205 and v. 215, nudus at v. 210 and v. 216, ornamentum in v. 204 and 218, uetus in v. 206 and v. 218. One might add libellos, v. 206, and libros, v. 219). Some of these words appear earlier in the poem as well - colere in vv. 95, 158, 173, and 189; liber in v. 41; marmor in v. 20; tenuis in vv. 97 and 163; and uetus in vv. 1 and 11. Of these, liber/ libellus can be shown to function by emphasising the contrast between the cultured Roman poor and the rich devoid of culture. Colere is introduced bearing a fairly neutral sense (cultam, v. 95), reappears in a setting that contrasts the privileges of the despicable, nattily dressed (cultos, v. 158) children of, amongst

others, pimps and prostitutes with the humiliation of ill-dressed (scissa lacerna, v. 148; toga sordidula, v. 149; una cicatrix, v. 151), true-blooded but poor (paupertas, v. 152) Romans; at v. 189 cultis contrasts the spoilt slaves of the rich with the financially embarrassed clients who find themselves in the awkward and humiliating position of having to give bribes to the former who are legally of inferior status; and colitur in v. 173 in conjunction with cultis in v. 189, appearing in two passages that contrast rural simplicity (vv. 171 - 179) with metropolitan ostentation (vv. 180 - 189), reinforce the country v. city contrast in the same way that colimus in v. 193 and culti in v. 228 do. Similarly, tenuis appears first with connotations of disapproval in v. 97, consonant with tenui in v. 193, and then, as a synonym of pauperes in v. 163, exhorts Roman citizens to leave the city with its distorted values, foreshadowing the positive advice of vv. 223 - 231 to go to the clean, healthy countryside, in which passage tenuis (v. 227) contributes to the idyllic depiction of rural life. Marmor is introduced in v. 20, acquires overtones of foreignness from its contrastive association with ingenuum ... tofum in the same line, and retains this connotation at its reappearance in v. 205 and v. 215, where, by skilful engineering of the two contexts, it operates in two of the thematic contrasts of the poem, viz. foreign v. native and poor v. rich.

Since none of the words concerned reappear in later parts of the poem,⁽⁹⁶⁾ one might draw a further conclusion, especially with reference to colere and tenuis, viz. that they are quite naturally and even unobtrusively introduced in the same subparagraph (vv. 93 - 108); that both form strands woven through the texture of the poem,⁽⁹⁷⁾ with connotations varying in accordance with the immediate context at each appearance until in vv. 173 and 189 colere foreshadows the contrast of city v. country

which both colere and tenuis, supported by uilicus, strikingly emphasise by their use in the two antithetical outer members of the ring composition (A.1, vv. 190 - 198; A.2, vv. 223 - 231). Marmora in v. 20 prefigures a central theme of the poem (foreign v. native) which anticipates its use in a double role in the two antithetical middle paragraphs of the ring composition (B.1, vv. 198 - 211; B.2, vv. 212 - 222). Similarly, librum in v. 41 appears as a symbol of culture and at its reappearance in the subparagraphs termed B.1 and B.2 (libellos, the diminutive, in v. 206 and libros in v. 219) serves to accentuate two contrasts: poor v. rich, and (poverty-stricken) culture v. (opulent) barbarism. Though I state this with less confidence, even uetus might have been deliberately placed at v. 1 and again at v. 11 so as to form an irregular semantic strand running through the poem: in v. 1 it appears in the phrase ueteris ... amici, i.e. "an old friend", tantamount to "a good friend", and by implication "a true Roman", especially as Juvenal is disturbed (confusus, v. 1) at his friend's departure; in v. 11 the reference is to the ueteres arcus of the aquaduct passing overhead, possibly intended to serve as a symbol of Old Rome, true to its pristine virtues, with ueteres carrying overtones of venerableness, as opposed to the degenerate city of Juvenal's own time; when the adjective is used in the subparagraphs B.1 and B.2 it carries derogatory overtones (uetus ...cista, v. 206 - "any old box", thus a valueless container; Asian, and thus foreign, uetera ornamenta in v. 218) and also serves to support the thematic contrast of poverty v. wealth. Thus the words that appear before the ring composition of vv. 190 - 231 seem to lead up to it and to culminate, as it were, in the neat antithetical patterns noted there.

Fredericks observes that "Juvenal has unified this satire as much with recurrent words and ideas as with the logical flow of Umbricius'

rhetoric",⁽⁹⁸⁾ and concludes his article with the conclusion that "This satire - which has long remained one of Juvenal's most popular - is also a very successful poem in its use of verbal foreshadowings which lead ultimately to their realization as fully stated themes."⁽⁹⁹⁾

Anderson⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ similarly traces the altering symbolic/semantic value of words that he interprets as being of particular significance in the poem. I hope that I have been successful in my attempt to show that the word patterns, especially in the ring composition of vv. 190 - 231, are more complex than the fairly simple (though not insignificant) matter of weaving a particular word into the intricate mesh of a poem at intervals so that its literal or metaphorical or symbolic signification changes, adding the while to the poetic statement by the metamorphoses themselves. The carefully constructed balance of words contradicting themselves in a ring composition seems to me a particular merit of this poem that, to my knowledge, has escaped previous researchers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hight, Juv., p. 251.

2. Anderson, Studies, p. 57.

The unifying force of contrast and antithesis may be likened to the attraction of opposing magnetic poles.

3. Duff, op. cit., p. 149.

4. Hight, Juv., p. 254: "(a) falling buildings and fires 190 - 231".

5. Clausen, op. cit., shows the boundaries typographically by means of an indented line at v. 190 (p. 55) and another at v. 232 (p. 57). There are no indentations in between.

6. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 135: "190 - 231 Collapse and fire".

7. Courtney, Comm., p. 152.

According to my own definition of the terms (sub)paragraph/ (sub)section (v. sup. pp. 7 - 8), the part of Satire Three comprising vv. 190 - 231 should be termed a subparagraph (or subsection). However, I am not concerned so much with the place of vv. 190 - 231 in the poem as with the interconnections between further subdivisions (vv. 190 - 198, 198 - 211 etc.). To insist on "subparagraph" for vv. 190 - 231, would be to require clumsy terms like "sub-subparagraph" for the lesser divisions. To avoid this, I shall apply the terms paragraph/section to vv. 190 - 231 and subparagraph/subsection to the further divisions.

8. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 204. OLD cites the line on p. 1270,

s.v. ornamentum, under the heading: "2. An object used for adornment or embellishment, an ornament (personal, architectural, etc.)" Courtney,

Comm., p. 182, on v. 203: "Urceoli ... the diminutive and the monosyllabic ending indicate modesty".

We might keep it in mind that the poor for whom Juvenal shows so much sympathy here perhaps do not deserve our wholehearted compassion. Hight

(Juv., p. 68) remarks that "Juvenal's 'poor' men always have just enough to keep them going in leisured indigence, and their chief struggle is not to keep from starving but to avoid the degradation of having to work." Even Cordus has a few bits and pieces of furniture in his apartment, though after the fire he really has nothing and no-one is inclined to offer aid (cf. v. 211).

9. Duff, op. cit., p. 151 on v. 204.
10. Courtney, Comm., p. 182 on v. 204.
11. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 15 on v. 204.
12. Duff, op. cit., p. 153 on 218; cf. Courtney, Comm., p. 184, on vv. 216 - 218: "Augustus (Mon. Anc. 24. 1) declares that he restored ornamenta ... to the temples of Asia. On the loss of statues by the provinces to Rome cf. 8.102 sqq."
13. OCD, p. 131, s.v. Asia: "The province Asia was rich in natural resources and in the products of agriculture and industry. ... On this wealthy land the Roman republican governors and capitalists descended like vultures. ..." Cf. also Horace's reference to ditem Asiam (Serm. I. 7. 19), Lucanus' dites Asiae populi (Luc. 3. 162) and the almost identical phrase in Statius (Silv. V. 3. 188).
14. Courtney, Comm., p. 182 on v. 204. There is some uncertainty on the interpretation of the line. Duff (op. cit., p. 151, on v. 205) equates marmore with abaco, the single slab of marble used by Cordus for the display of his pathetic little collection of ornaments. Courtney mentions Matthias' suggestion that the preposition e be inserted between eodem and marmore, adding that the scholiast "probably read this"; he writes that "Eodem hardly means more than eo", which would refer to abaci in v. 204, so that (e) marmore would indicate the material used to produce the sculpted figure of a reclining Centaur referred to in the quotation in my main text;

but "whatever we read the abacus is presumably made of marble"; whether marmore refers to the slab on which Cordus displays his urceoli or to the Centaur or both, it suggests poverty.

TLL (410. 77) cites the line under the sub-heading "de aliis rebus ex (marmor)e factis" (i.e. "about other marble artefacts") in a paragraph headed (409. 84) "B. metonym.: l. i.g. opus ex (marmor)e factum (i.e. "by metonymy, a work made of marble.")

15. Courtney, Comm., p. 183 on v. 215. In his note, Courtney refers to Juv. XIV 89, apparently a mistaken reference to Juv. XIV 90 (cf. Clausen, op. cit., p. 158), which is cited in TLL (409. 30) under the heading B in architectura.
16. Courtney, Comm., on v. 206: "Cista ... He keeps his books in a basket, having no foruli (sc. bookcase) (219)." He also points out that "Iam uetus go together"; Duff (op. cit., p. 151 on v. 206) has a more detailed note: "iam goes closely with uetus; when joined ... with participles and adjectives, iam may be transl. 'quite': cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 5 iam fractus, 'quite broken-down'." Thus a iam ... uetus cista would mean "a quite old basket" - not the place in which a person would store his valued Graecos ... libellos (v. 206) if he could afford anything better. Ferguson's explanation (op. cit., p. 150, on v. 206), though differing from those of Courtney and Duff, also tends to support my interpretation: "cista: the rolls were stored in a box: the technical term was scrinium or capsa: the implication is that Cordus used any old box" to store the "few papyrus rolls" which he had "acquired and prized".
17. Cf. Juv. I 76: argentum uetus et stantem extra pocula caprum and Courtney's comment on the line (Comm., p. 101): "Argentum uetus Silver plate, cf. 8. 104, 12. 43 - 7, 6. 355, 7. 133; the work of old masters was highly valued."

18. OLD, p. 1200, s.v. nudus, sub-heading 1 (b) : "(implying loss of all one's material possessions, cf. sense 10)"; Juv. III 210 is cited under this sub-heading. Paragraph 10 is headed: "Devoid of wealth, penniless, destitute"; Otto (op. cit., p. 247, s.v. nudus) has two proverbial expressions involving an equation of nudus with poverty. Citing Plaut. Asin. 92 (Nudo detrahere uestimenta me iubes) and a line from Apuleius (Met. 1, 15), he explains: "Den Nackten Kann man nicht ausziehen" (i.e. "You can't undress a naked person"; i.e. "You can't rob a person who has nothing."). Similar in spirit is Seneca's nudum latro transmittit, (Ep. 14. 9), supported by a quotation from Juvenal X 22: Cantabit uacuus coram latrone uiator, explained as "Bettler pfeifen, wenn auch Rauber im Walde streifen," i.e. "Beggars whistle, even when robbers are roaming the forest".

19. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 216.

20. OLD, pp. 354 - 355 s.v. colo.

21. TLL, 1671. 59.

22. Ibid., 1670. 81.

23. Ibid., 1691. 30.

24.1 Ibid., 1690. 56.

24.2 Ibid., 1691. 22.

25. For colere in v. 173, v. sup. pp. ~~124~~ = 129.

Bearing in mind Nida's warning against etymological explorations in the case of possibly ambiguous words (op. cit., p. 42; v. sup. pp. 15 - 16), we may examine the TLL entry s.v. colo for a synchronic study. Among Silver Age writers who use the verb in the sense "inhabit, dwell in" are Tacitus (1671. 19 and 1671. 59), Martial (1671. 58), Quintilian (1671. 58) and the Younger Pliny (1671. 59); in the agricultural sense, the Younger Pliny (1673. 29), Quintilian (1673. 54, 1690. 34, 1690. 72) and

Columella (1673. 77, 1691. 32); and in the sacred sphere the verb is used by Quintilian (1684. 30), Tacitus (1684. 32), the Younger Pliny (1684. 32) and Seneca (1687. 77). Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that Juvenal himself uses the verb in each of these three senses (e.g. 1671. 59, 1691. 12, 1684. 31).

That a writer may intend a play on several meanings of a word, is conceded by Nida (op. cit., p. 44; v. sup. p. 30, n. 32).

26. Courtney, Comm., p. 185, on v. 225: "... On the expense of Rome and the cheapness of country towns cf. Pliny NH 14. 50, Mart. 4. 66 ..."
27. Id., ibid., p. 185, on v. 224: "Paratur 'can be bought' ... not just rented."
28. Id., ibid., p. 185, on v. 225: "Tenebras A dark garret ... "
29. Id., ibid., p. 185, on puteus in v. 226: " ... This one (sc. well) is so shallow that a bucket can be dipped in by hand."
30. The OLD entry on tenuis is divided into 13 paragraphs. Juv. III 193 might have been cited in either of the first two - "1. (of things small in cross-section) Fine-drawn, slender, thin ..."; "2. Having little extent between opposite surfaces, thin ...". One might have expected to find v. 227 cited under the third heading: "3. (of living creatures, their bodies, etc.) Thin, emaciated. b. (of other things) thin, fragile." (Under this heading Juv. X 269, referring to Priam as a 'little old ox' with a scrawny neck, is cited.) The second English equivalent here offered under (b) would suit the context of Juv. III 227 well - "fragile plants" for tenuis plantas. Green (op. cit., p. 95) translates "seedlings".

As to the two occurrences of tenuis earlier in the poem, v. 97 might have been cited under the fourth heading: " ... b. (of a passage, channel, orifice, etc.) narrow, fine" (my underlining). Under heading 10 v. 163 might have been cited: "... Inconsiderable in respect of wealth, etc. humble, poor. b. (of men) lowly, poor."

31. Courtney, Comm., p. 181 on v. 193: "Tibicen A prop ... Insulam fulcire is significantly common in the jurists."
32. The diminutive here can hardly be meant solely as a reference to size (though Juvenal does have a small plot of land in mind: cf. Courtney, Comm., p. 185, on v. 231: "The spot of ground is so small that it is adequate, not for a capella or the like, but παρα προσδοκίαν only for a lizard (not even for two lizards), cf. Mart. ll. 18. Lizards are so common in Italy that even the smallest plot would be sure to have one.") In v. 228 Juvenal has horti without the diminutive ending; after all, as Courtney shows, vv. 230 - 231 make it quite plain that this is no ranch. Hortulus in v. 226 seems to "imply affection" (Courtney, Comm., p. 46), a sentiment overtly expressed in amans (v. 228). (On the expressive force of diminutives, v. sup. pp. 68 - 69 and notes 97 - 98 on pp. 104 - 105.)
33. Courtney, Comm., p. 185 on v. 229: "A Pythagorean meal would be vegetarian".
34. In his eulogy on country life, Juvenal avoids references to arduous toil; he makes Umbricius describe life in a bucolic paradise.
35. The OLD entry on uilicus is brief - only two paragraphs. The first is headed: "A man (either slave or free) in charge of the running of a farm or estate, farm-overseer"; in the last line Juv. III 228 is cited as an example of the noun carrying a "transferred meaning". Under the second heading, v. 195 of the same Satire might have been cited - "2. A grade of servant employed in imperial or public service, a manager, overseer, or sim." The RE article is perhaps clearer in its subdivisions (RE VIII A, 2): the first paragraph heading is "1. V i l i c i auf Landgütern" (2137. 4; i.e. "in charge of country estates") and the third is concerned with uilici in an urban environment ("V i l i c i in der Stadt Rom"; 2140. 27) which is subdivided into uilici in imperial service (Am

Kaiserhof ...; 2140. 28) and those employed by private individuals (u (i l i c u s) von Privatleuten; 2140. 57). The uilicus of v. 195 in the Third Satire would belong under the last heading cited. (Cf. Courtney, Comm., p. 181 on v. 195: "Vilicus ... the agent who looks after the insulae for the landlord.")

To return to the uilicus of v. 228 - this individual is not an employee, but the owner of the bit of land he works (Courtney, Comm., p. 185 on v. 224: "Paratur 'can be bought' ... not just rented;" Ferguson (op. cit., p. 151, on v. 231) approves of Johnson's interpretation of unius lacertae: "... as much ground as one may have a chance to find a lizard upon", i.e. a very small plot of land in view of the commonness of lizards in Italy. But the uilicus is also dominus of this patch (v. 231), in other words: owner-overseer (and presumably the entire work force as well). There is pleasant humour in the use of uilicus here: Umbricius is saying "if you leave Rome and come to the country districts, you will be a landowner rather than a mere tenant, but you will have to do the work." But it will be a labour of love - bidentis amans (v. 228) - and not a soul-destroying servile grind.

36. Courtney, Comm., p. 181 on labentibus in v. 194: "The people are named instead of the house."
37. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 149 on v. 195: "textit hiatus: exactly as we say 'papering over the cracks'."
38. Courtney, Comm., p. 181, on v. 196: "Nocte metus 268 sqq." In the paragraph on the dangers awaiting those abroad in city streets, the buildings themselves are not depicted as unsafe (except for the dropping tile - cerebrum testa ferit, vv. 269 - 270); rather, people pose a danger to other people; one might be relatively lucky and get only a dousing from on high (patulas defundere pelues, v. 277); or one might run into a drunk-in the mood

for a brawl (ebrius ac petulans, v. 278); worse, a murderous armed thug might be prowling the streets:

interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem (v. 305).

Nocte metus, as Courtney rightly observes, points to this paragraph (vv. 268 - 314); what is more, the paragraph conveys the same message as vv. 198 - 222, viz. that urban life for the rich is a very different matter from the experience of the city poor:

uitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,

multum praeterea flammaram et aenea lampas (vv. 284 - 285);

whereas the rich are safe from assault by virtue of the long train of people accompanying them and the row of brass lamps, the poor, lonely individual dodging about in the night with danger lurking in every dark spot is a pathetic sight. There is stark contrast in

me, quem luna solet deducere uel breue lumen

candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,

contemnit.

(vv. 286 - 288).

39. Courtney, Comm., p. 181, on tabulata in v. 199: "... 'Ucalegon' lives on a lower storey, the poor man on one higher than the third, just below the roof"; on the height which buildings actually could reach, Courtney cites Martial 7. 20. 20, where the epigrammatist "mentions 200 stairs, which if meant literally would indicate six or seven storeys."
40. Id., Ibid., p. 181: "Iam friuola transfert Vcalegon Juvenal ironically dignifies the poor man by alluding to Aen. 2. 311. iam proximus ardet/Vcalegon; he loses all his property like the Trojans, but the modern Troiugena are so impoverished that they own only friuola ... "
41. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 199: "... Insulae seem to have risen to five storeys (R. Meiggs, Roman Ostia² 1973 pp. 240 - 1) and perhaps higher. Paupers were at the top ..."

42. Courtney, Comm., p. 181 on v. 199.
43. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 149 on v. 198.
44. Courtney, Comm., on v. 201: "Tegula Collective ... 'Tiling' ...".
45. Id., Ibid., p. 181, on molles in v. 202: "Molles ... A sentimental detail; he is so high up that he has the society of the birds, not other humans."
 It has been noted (v. sup. p. 118) that Juvenal mentions three humble and insignificant animal species in two subparagraphs on the poorer classes (vv. 198 - 211 and vv. 223 - 231) whom he delineates with great sympathy. The poet makes sure that the columbae (v. 202 - "doves"), mures (v. 207 - "mice") and the single lizard (lacertae, v. 231) attract our notice by placing the words in the emphatic end position of their respective lines. The lizard gains even more emphasis from the hyperbaton unius ... lacertae which embraces the line. At the risk of seeming mawkish - worse, at the risk of anachronism - one might venture to conclude that Juvenal wanted to portray the poor somewhat sentimentally in company with their "little animal friends". At any rate, the animals with which the poor are associated are no large, impressive, powerful creatures like bulls and lions; by association with insignificant creatures the poor are also made to appear powerless and unimportant.
- Ferguson (op. cit., p. 151) comments: "The allusions to animals in this section are worth consideration ... none unsympathetic. Only man is vile."
46. Courtney, Comm., p. 182 on v. 203: "Procula ... must have been a dwarf. ... Minor with the ablative of comparison here means 'too small for' ...".
47. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 206.
48. Hight, Juv., p. 255: "But he does not hate them (sc. the doves), any more than Codrus (sic.) hates the 'philistine' mice which eat his books. ..."
 Also Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150, on v. 207: "opici: 'Philistine'."
49. Courtney, Comm., p. 184 on Persicus in v. 221: "Persicus ... may

(a) live in a house called domus Asturici (212) after a previous owner ...

(b) be identical with Asturicus ... (c) be an entirely unconnected new example."

50. Id., Ibid., p. 183, on v. 212: "St 'But if' with adversative asyndeton" joining the line to the previous one.
51. Id., Ibid., p. 183 on horrida and pullati in vv. 212 and 213: "The squalor and sordes of mourning ..."
52. Id., Ibid., p. 183 on differt uadimonia in v. 213: "There is a iustitium and the magistrate postpones the hearings at which defendants are bound to appear ..."
53. See Courtney, Comm., p. 184, on vv. 216 - 218 for details of these artists.
54. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 151 on v. 220: "modium: strictly a corn-measure, but slangily applied to money, the idea being that the rich measured their money instead of counting it ... This makes it probable that the reference is to money rather than silver plate." Cf. Courtney, Comm., p. 184 on v. 220: "Modium argenti - modius (cf. Otto s.v. ...) shows that argentum means 'money', but the context unhappily suggests that it means 'silver plate'." In the passage in Otto (op. cit., p. 225), this line is quoted, and also an expression from Petronius (Satyricon 37): "quae nummos modiis metiretur, i.e. "who counts out her money by the bucketful".
55. Courtney, Comm., p. 184, on inpensas in v. 216, comments: the "absurdity of giving gifts to the rich and not the poor is also remarked by Pliny Ep. 9. 30. 1."
56. The quotation is from Courtney's note referred to in my n. 55. Several other links are discernible: cf. J. Adamietz (Untersuchungen zu Juvenal) pp. 63 - 64.
57. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150, on abaci in v. 204.
58. Courtney, Comm., p. 184, in his note on inpensa in v. 216.

59. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150, on Graecos ... libellos in v. 206.
60. Ibid., p. 149 on v. 198: "poscit aquam: Our idiom is 'shouts FIRE!' : 'aquam!' was the Roman alarm."
61. Ibid., on v. 206: "... the implication is that Cordus used any old box." There is no contradiction between my statement that uetus in v. 206 "has a derogatory ring" and my conclusion (v. sup. p. 112) that uetus in this line emphasises Cordus' poverty and thus adds to the pathos of the B. 1 subparagraph (vv. 198 - 211); for the adjective is derogatory as applied to the box (or basket) itself, and since by implication poverty can be the only reason why Cordus stores his prized papyrus rolls in this way, pathos is elicited.
62. Dubrocard, op. cit.; pp. 115 - 116 s. vv. liber and libellus.
63. Clausen, op. cit., p. 55.
64. Courtney, Comm., p. 180 on libis in v. 187. Duff (op. cit., p. 63) and Ferguson (op. cit., p. 22) also have libis; accordingly I shall not discuss this line in relation with libellos (v. 206) and libros (v. 219).
65. Courtney's heading for the section (Comm., p. 152).
66. TLL 1678. 63, 1679. 1, 1679. 14, and 1679. 19.
67. Ibid., 1690. 51, 1691. 59, and 1692. 12.
68. Courtney, Comm., pp. 169 - 170 on vv. 93 - 100: "Three stock roles of fabula palliata are mentioned; the meretrix Thais ..., the matrona, the ancilla Doris (There are servant-girls of this name in Menander Perikeiromene and Kolax fr. 951. 18: also in the Enchiridion (?) PSI 99).
"The pallium is the Roman name for the upper garment of both sexes in Greece; having work to do, Doris does not wear it, just as workmen at Rome wore only the tunic, not the toga ..."
69. Id., Ibid., p. 169 on vv. 93 - 100: "... Comic actors can represent women

perfectly, but even they when doing this are no better than the Greeks ..."

70. Green (op. cit., p. 90) retains the scurrility of these lines in his translation.
71. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 64.
72. Courtney, Comm., p. 176, on vv. 155 - 159: "Lenonum ... lanistae ... ; for the lucre and ill repute of a lanista cf. Mart. ll. 66, for the infamia of a leno Julian Dig. 3. 2. 1. Praeco an auctioneer; his profession too was despised ... but lucrative ... and like the lanista, leno and gladiator he too is barred from office by the Lex Iulia Municipalis ...
- "... the nitidus filius corresponds to the cultos ... iuvenes of 158, and both are contrasted with the ragged pauper of 148 - 51.
- "Pinnirapi Evidently a kind of gladiator ..."
73. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 64.
74. In the city, even the poor clients have to wear a toga, and if it is less than spotless (si toga sordidula est, v. 149) they become the object of derision (causasque iocorum, v. 147). On tunicae in v. 179 Courtney (Comm., p. 179) comments: "Tunicae ... whereas at Rome even the populus had to wear the toga in the theatre ... "
75. Courtney, Comm., p. 179 on v. 180: "Ultra uires Because the toga necessary for a client is expensive to buy and keep clean."
76. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 148 on vv. 182 - 183: "ambitiosa paupertate: The two long words express the pretentiousness . But ambitiosa has a double meaning, 'pretentious' but also that they have to go round canvassing loans to keep it up. J(uvenal) is girding at what we call 'keeping up with the Joneses'."
77. Ibid., p. 148 on v. 181: "aliena sumitur arca: i.e. 'borrowed'." Courtney, Comm., p. 179, on v. 181: "Sumitur 'is borrowed'."
78. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 149 on v. 189 recommends "fashion-conscious" as a

translation for cultis. On the same line Courtney (Comm., p. 180) comments: "Cultis More so than the clients 158", i.e. cultos in v. 158 stands in contrastive relation to the infelix paupertas (v. 152) besetting the clients.

79. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 64.
80. Courtney, Comm., p. 459 and pp. 465 - 466 on vv. 45 and 109 of the Tenth Satire.
81. saeuae / urbis, vv. 8 - 9; honestis / nullus in urbe locus, vv. 21 - 22.
82. Courtney, Comm., p. 177 on debuerant in v. 163: "... this is like the imperfect of neglected duty ..."
83. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 62.
84. Id., ibid., p. 63: "The tufa is 'authentic' as well as 'native', but the costlier marble has replaced it anyway, exactly as the honest, sincere Umbricius has been ousted from his rights by those who will do anything for money ...
- "The transition from the worthlessness of honesty to the successful dishonesty of the Greeks (58 - 125) is an easy one ... "
85. Id., Ibid., p. 64: "In the same way that artificiality has dislodged authenticity and foreignness true Romans, the desire for money has supplanted the old Roman values. This was first intimated in the prologue by marmora (20)..."
86. Graecam urbem, v. 61. "It is further ironically appropriate that the last shade of the true essential Rome should be journeying to Cumae, for Cumae is the first Greek settlement upon the Italian mainland" (Motto, A.L., and Clark, J.R., "Per Iter Tenebricosum. The Mythos of Juvenal 3", TAPhA 96 (1965) p. 276, cited by A.C. Romano, Irony in Juvenal p.88.) Cf. also R.A. LaFleur's comments on Cumae ("Umbricius and Juvenal Three", ZAnt, 26, 1976, p. 401):

"Cumae is a most peculiar refuge for a man so thoroughly prejudiced as Umbricius, and Juvenal's audience would have sensed this peculiarity. The

man who sought escape from Greeks could have found many towns eminently better suited. ... Why Cumae, of all places, famous - or, for Umbricius, infamous - as the oldest Greek city in Italy, situated in the very heart of the region that remained the most thoroughly Hellenized in the country?" He continues (p. 404): "When Juvenal wrote and published his third satire, some ten to twenty years after the completion of the via Domitiana, Cumae was in fact alive and energetic. ... The paradox of Umbricius' pastoral 'escape' to Cumae ... centre of a district whose forests are - by Umbricius' own admission - infested with brigands, perhaps explains why Juvenal is confusus. The alert audience would share his perplexity ..." But is this the correct interpretation? Is Juvenal not employing paradoxical hyperbole to make the statement that Rome has become more thoroughly Greek than Cumae itself? Wilfred Owen, the English poet who described the infernal horror of the First World War so graphically, makes a similar comparison of the battle-field with Hell in his "Strange Meeting" (Modern Poets Two, Hunter, J., ed., p. 122): "It seemed that out of battle I escaped," runs the first line, spoken by the soul of a recently killed soldier, who soon discerns where he is: "By his dead smile I knew we stood in Hell." He reflects a little:

And no guns thumped, or down the flues made moan.

'Strange friend,' I said, 'here is no cause to mourn.'

So instead of the conventional statement that "the battlefield is pure hell,"

Owen makes a much more forceful statement in his hyperbolic "Hell was a pleasant escape from the horror of war." Likewise, Juvenal seems to be saying that Rome has become more Greek than Cumae itself by making Umbricius "escape" to that arch-Greek town.

87. On the puzzle presented by the two proper nouns in the paragraph on the fire in the rich man's mansion (vv. 212 - 222) - Asturici in v. 212 and Persicus in v. 221 - see Courtney, Comm., p. 184, for his note on Persicus. For

the sake of convenience I shall assume that Persicus is the name to be used.

88. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 216.
89. Courtney, Comm., p. 183 on v. 215.
90. OCD, p. 417 s.v. Euphranor and p. 854 s.v. Polyclitus.
91. Courtney, Comm., p. 182: "... Whatever we read the abacus is presumably of marble ..."
92. Id., Ibid., p. 182: "The recumbent Centaur-figure ... would be despised by a rich man if it were only in marble ..." (my underlining.) Cordus' possession of one or two insignificant pieces of marble is reminiscent of marble ash-trays and other trifling ornaments in the homes of middle and lower income people today. A really rich man in our society might be happy to have a life-sized marble statue or two in his garden to advertise his wealth; he would on the other hand probably refuse to tolerate an ashtray made of the same material, preferring, say, silver or some exotic mineral. A person of more modest means might be rather proud of a marble-topped coffee table or a 30 cm statuette, which would provide mute evidence of his lack of funds and his desire to be reckoned a man who at least knew what the currently acceptable status symbols were. Accordingly, the nuda et candida signa of v. 216 show wealth, while the Centaur of v. 205, though possibly marble sculpture, implies poverty. (Cf. also n. 14 on pp. 137 - 138).
93. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 150 on v. 205.
94. Courtney, Comm., p. 182 on v. 207: "Opici 6. 455. Ὀπικῶν was an old name for the inhabitants of Southern Italy, in Italic Opisci or Osci ... Thence it can mean 'barbarous, rustic, uncivilised' ... with particular reference to lack of knowledge of Greek ..." Duff, op. cit., p. 151 on the same line: "... Ὀπικῶν was applied to the Romans in the same disparaging sense as βάρβαροι to all non-Hellenic peoples. That it was resented, we see from Cato in Pliny, Nat. Hist. XXXIX 14 nos quoque dictitant barbaros (Graeci),

et spurcius nos quam alios opicon appellatione foedant. ..."

95. Sarcasm is evident from the fact that Umbricius is fleeing the Graecam urbem and the Greeks in it, whom he despises for all the various sins he ascribes to them:

hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relictā,

hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,

Esquillas dictumque petunt a uimine collem,

uiscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.

ingenium uelox, audacia perdita, sermo

promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ... (vv. 69 - 74);

they swarm into Rome from various hateful little Greek towns, insinuate themselves into the homes of the great and eventually take over, these unscrupulously bold, smooth-tongued dregs. He puts nothing past a Graeculus esuriens (v. 78) who is quite capable of taking off and flying if you tell him to do so (in caelum iusseris ibit, v. 78). They are an insincere race of actors (vv. 93 - 108) and utterly hedonistic:

praeterea sanctum nihil +aut+ ab inguine tutum,

non matrona laris, non filia uirgo, nec ipse

sponsus leuis adhuc, non filius ante pudicus.

horum si nihil est, auiam resupinat amici. (vv. 109 - 112).

They spare no-one, neither male nor female, young nor old - not even a grandmother. Yet Umbricius refers to the cultural products of the Greeks as diuina ... carmina (v. 207). These are Umbricius' words ("... a monologue ... by his (sc. Juvenal's) friend Umbricius" - Hightet, Juv., p. 68). In view of the fact that Juvenal has made him such an uncompromisingly prejudiced character, Umbricius' diuina can hardly be anything but sarcasm (at the very least, strong irony).

96. Dubrocard, op. cit., p. 37, s.v. colo; pp. 115 - 116 s.v. liber and libellus;

p. 124, s.v. marmor; p. 144, s.v. nudus; p. 151, s.v. ornamentum; p. 221, s.v. tenuis; p. 236, s.v. uetus; p. 238, s.v. uilicus.

97. The principle of two words first appearing in close association and then separately recurring at irregular intervals in later parts of the poem, each time showing a different facet of their multivalent semantic nature, is reminiscent of Juvenal's treatment of orbis and ceruix in Satire Ten (v. sup., pp. 77 - 83).
98. Fredericks, Prologue, p. 64.
99. Id., Ibid., p. 67.
100. Anderson, Studies, especially pp. 60 - 62 for a discussion of miserum and solus (plus the cognates of the latter) and the development of their symbolism in the poem.

CHAPTER FOUR - CONCLUSION

JUVENAL, METICULOUS POETIC ARCHITECT

"Hardly any satire, except the third, has a consistent and satisfactory framework ... in nearly all, the attentive reader is puzzled by irrelevant digressions, sudden transitions, and the unexplained absence of topics which he (sc. Juvenal) has promised to treat of. He is a marked example of the fault of his age, the tendency to sacrifice the whole to the parts."⁽¹⁾ Thus Duff voices a fairly generally held indictment of Juvenal, and perhaps the last and greatest of Roman satirists is guilty, at least in part, as charged; perhaps he was perfectly deliberate in the commission of the sins ascribed to him by many critics. Recently, however, critics have been discovering verbal links and structural patterns under the chaotic surface of the Sixteen Satires. So Cloud and Braund⁽²⁾ attack the "belief that Juvenal is incapable of composing even a coherent poem, let alone a coherent book" with an exposition of the balanced structure they detect in Book I (the first five Satires). Courtney discusses the "most carefully laid out" construction in the section of the First Satire comprising vv. 87 - 146, which upon analysis yields a ring-composition.⁽³⁾ On the larger scale of the entire corpus he remarks that "it will have been noticed that Juvenal seems to have made an effort to link successive poems, and even successive books, by formal devices."⁽⁴⁾

Careful analysis of Juvenal's usage and placing of the individual word within a poem reveals a painstaking craftsman's attention to the tiniest detail. Perhaps the most striking example of the arrangement of a set of hand-picked words in distinct but related subdivisions of a poem is to be seen in Juv. III 190 - 231, the ring-composition discussed in Chapter Three. It has been shown how four words are used in the subparagraph termed B.1 (vv. 198 - 211) to support the vivid enargeia

of poverty in those lines, while the same set of four words are used in the following subparagraph (B.2; vv. 212 - 222) to contribute to a convincing picture of opulence. The four words in question - ornamentum in vv. 204 and 218, marmor in vv. 205 and 215, uetus in vv. 206 and 218, and nudus in vv. 210 and 216 - further emphasise the contrast of poverty and wealth by being used in the singular in B.1 and in the plural in B.2. This gains further support from a fifth echo, libellos in v. 206 and libros in v. 219, where the relation between the diminutive and the parent noun corresponds to the singular-plural relation in accentuating the contrast of poverty and wealth.

This repeated pattern of five words may of course be ascribed to mere chance, but the statistical probability is extremely slim, though almost impossible to compute precisely. A textbook analogy from elementary probability theory might serve to illustrate.

Let us imagine a punter at an afternoon race meeting. Assume that there are five races, with ten horses running in each. The probability of his picking a winner in the first race is one in ten. The probability that he will pick a winner in the first and second races drops to one in a hundred and so on in geometric progression until the probability of his picking a winner in five races in a row drops to an infinitesimal one in a hundred thousand. Assume fifteen horses in each race, and the probability of picking five winners in succession dwindles to one in 759 375 (expressed as a decimal fraction, the probability of such a successful afternoon of betting equals 0,000013). Such odds in horse racing are not encouraging; whoever considers that the repetition of five words in two adjacent subparagraphs in such a way as to reinforce their antithetical nature is pure coincidence, has to contend with odds of least the same order. A horse race with a restricted number of participants is a closed system; a language, with an almost infinite

number of word combinations available to express any thought, is an open system, which means that, if the odds could be precisely computed, they would be even less attractive to a bettor.

It has also been shown that colere (vv. 193 and 228), tenuis (vv. 193 and 227) and uilicus (vv. 195 and 228) occur in both the subparagraphs A.1 (vv. 190 - 198) and A.2 (vv. 223 - 231), reinforcing the condemnation of urban evils in A.1 and the eulogy of countryside bliss in A.2.

SEJANUS

A problem separately examined in this dissertation is that of Juvenal's great exemplum in his paragraph on the folly of seeking political power (vv. 54 - 113 of the Tenth Satire). How and what does Juvenal's portrayal of Sejanus 'mean' in the context of a poem on the foolishness of human desires and ambitions? Or to be more exact, one might formulate the question as follows: How and why does Tiberius' evil genius fail to convey the meaning obviously intended? As this is a separate problem, conclusions in this respect are here divorced from those concerning my main topic, viz. the way in which a word recurring in a poem has its meaning shaped and reshaped by changing contexts. Nevertheless, the problem of what an exemplum does or does not mean is not quite unrelated to that of the word acquiring meaning in a context, so I feel it merits inclusion.

Sejanus, considering the generally unfavourable view of him from other sources (notably Tacitus), would have made an excellent exemplum for the illustration of a "crime doesn't pay" theme. Instead, Juvenal uses him to exemplify the folly of pursuing political power. In this role, he might have served almost as well; if his downfall was due to his methods rather than his ambition as such, the satirist might have argued that, to achieve political eminence, questionable methods and a ruthless disregard for others is virtually a sine qua non. However,

Juvenal apparently could not resist the temptation to get in a blow at the contemporary Roman mob, whose fickleness he portrays by reference to their eagerness to dishonour the corpse of the man who, had circumstances been different, they would on that very day have been acclaiming as Emperor (vv. 75 - 77 and 85 - 88). To manage this, he has to portray Sejanus favourably - Quirites kicking the corpse of a thug would thereby display their own righteousness, even if their actions were rather distasteful; the palpably falsified portrait of the poet's exemplum, however, robs it of any power to convince that it might have had.

VERBAL AND OTHER LINKS IN SATIRES III AND X

Juvenal employs several means to establish unity in the two Satires discussed in this study. The recurring thematic contrasts of the Third Satire⁽⁵⁾ may be mentioned under this head. In the Tenth, the goddess Fortune makes a final bow in the last line (v. 366), referring back both to v. 52, where Democritus makes a rude gesture at her and to v. 74, where Fortuna-Nortia appears as Sejanus' poor choice of patron goddess. The Introduction of Satire Ten foreshadows the various paragraphs (e.g. Nocitura toga in v. 8 anticipating the section on the dangers of political power, vv. 54 - 113); in two cases the topics to come are foreshadowed in so oblique a fashion that scholars have missed the allusions (i.e. admirandis ... lacertis in v. 11 pointing to the section on physical beauty, vv. 289 - 345; and in vv. 20 - 22, several allusions to death presage the section on long life, vv. 188 - 288.⁽⁶⁾ The repetition of optare and other words suggesting prayer (or desire) has been noted by researchers,⁽⁷⁾ and as the poem is about foolish prayers, recurrence of these words coincide with repetitions of a theme. It has also been noted that optare or some other word or expression referring to prayer occurs at each transition to a new topic; here, too, ambiguity is a feature in the lines introducing the section on military

glory (vv. 133 - 187).⁽⁸⁾ In this dissertation it has been my purpose to show that another kind of linking device functions in these two poems, viz. the repetition of words in such a way that the change of context produces some alteration in their meaning or poetic symbolism. If subtly used, this device may escape conscious notice and create intangible bonds between parts of a poem, giving an impression of satisfying wholeness.

VERBAL LINKS WITH CHANGE IN MEANING

In its simplest form, this device consists in a word occurring twice with its meaning somehow changed the second time. An example is custos in Juv. X 117 which is recalled by (saxis) ... custodibus in v. 144. The change of meaning is clear - in v. 117 custos ... capsae refers to the slave accompanying a boy to school, while the phrase in v. 144 denotes tombstones. The simplest way to extend the device is to make a word appear more than two times, e.g. orbis in Satire Ten, which in v. 40 refers to the triumphator's gold crown, and in vv. 63 and 168 signifies the world. In fact the repetition of orbis has a more complex role in the poem, as it interacts with the repetition of ceruix, both nouns being introduced in the same line (v. 40). While ceruix retains its literal meaning throughout, it does become an important symbol in the poem - the symbol of downfall and death which overtakes success (ceruice obstricta, v. 88; ceruix caesa, v. 120; praebenda est gladio ... ceruix, v. 345); in v. 269 the synonym collum is the target of the enemy soldier's blade. Even in v. 260 ceruicibus refers to death - here Priam is imagined as being carried on his sons' necks in a decent funeral procession, if only he had died earlier. In v. 40, the gold crown, symbol of victory and power, is dangerous for the human neck too frail to bear it; likewise, power to rule the world was too heavy a burden for Sejanus and Alexander and destroyed them (or so Juvenal would have us believe in this poem).

Apart from the change in meaning of orbis and the augmented symbolism of ceruix, the altered tone is noteworthy. In v. 40, the tone is distinctly mocking, as the poet wonders how Democritus, who was forever shaking with laughter (perpetuo risu, v. 33), would have reacted if he could have viewed the ridiculous spectacle of the magistrate in the circus procession. When the statues of Sejanus are melted down to humble household utensils in vv. 63 - 64, the mockery is compounded by the gibe that Sejanus did not quite make it to the top (facie toto urbe s e c u n d a). The picture of Alexander feeling cramped (ut Gyarae clausus scopulis, v. 170) at having only one world to conquer is a taunt aimed at the great general. But the theme of death overtaking those who aspire to great things is deadly serious - e.g. the barbarous execution of Cicero (v. 120). But even death is mocked in vv. 268 - 270, where Priam meets his undignified end ut uetulus bos. This alternation of the ridiculous and the tragic in the intertwined repetitions of orbis and ceruix is a striking characteristic of the Tenth Satire, according to Lawall.⁽⁹⁾

We may briefly recap: a word occurring twice in a poem with change in meaning may serve as a link strengthening the unity of a poem; the device may be extended by using the same word more than twice, to form a unifying strand as in the case of orbis in vv. 40, 63 and 168 in Satire Ten; the device may be made more complex still by the introduction of two (or more) such strands which intertwine and interreact, as in the case of orbis and of ceruix (vv. 40, 88, 120, 260, 345, plus the synonym collum in v. 269).

Still in the Tenth Satire, Juvenal extends the effectiveness of simple, two-part verbal links by arranging three such links to form a chain. The first link in this chain is formed by fascēs in v. 35 and v. 79; the second by frena in vv. 45 and 128; the third by custos in vv. 117 and 144. The changes in meaning are as follows: In v. 35, fascēs is a symbol of political authority subservient to the emperor's,

while in v. 79 the noun represents independent, Republican political power; v. 35 refers to the degraded present and is tainted with Democritean ridicule, v. 79 refers to the past with reverence for the once sovereign People who conferred power by their free vote. Frena in v. 45 is partly literal in referring to the chariot horses' reins, partly metaphorical in suggesting the servility of the clients in tow behind the triumphal chariot - they are walking along ad frena; in v. 128 frena is a metaphor signifying Demosthenes' control over the democratically free Athenian citizens by means of his oratorical skill. As in the case of fasces, frena refers to the debased present in v. 45, to an idealised past in v. 128. Custos is part of a circumlocution in both vv. 117 and 144; custos ... capsae in v. 117 refers to the capsarius, while saxis ... custodibus in v. 144 is equivalent to sepulcris (v. 146). The companion of the starry-eyed schoolboy who asks Minerva to bless him with speaking talent (v. 116) becomes the grim guardian of the once great general's remains (cinerum, v. 144).

Juvenal makes the chain pattern more complex still by inserting between the ends of the first link (fasces in vv. 35 and 79) a line that interrelates with both the others (v. 64); he does the same with the second link (frena in vv. 45 and 128, and v. 109). In the case of vv. 35, 64 and 79, their most obvious common characteristic is that each contains a list: vv. 35 and 79 have, besides fasces, other nouns referring to politically significant objects and concepts - praetextae, trabae, ... lectica, tribunal (v. 35) and imperium ... legiones (v. 79). The list in v. 64 signifies not political eminence, but a fall - Sejanus' statues are being melted down to urceoli, pelues, sartago, matellae. The anti-thesis between fasces and matellae shows how far Sejanus fell and corresponds with the image of the tower in vv. 104 - 107. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Between the two lines containing frena (vv. 45 and 128), v. 109 is reminiscent of v. 45 in phrasing (ad frena in v. 45, ad ... flagra in v. 109; and

both lines end on Quirites). Frena (reins; vv. 45 and 128) and flagra (whips; v. 109) are also related in terms of their respective semantic domains. While both vv. 45 and 109 refer to the servile state of the Roman people in the late Republic and early Empire, v. 128 shows the Athenians, free and independent (as the Romans once were; cf. vv. 78 - 79), obliging Demosthenes to persuade rather than to command, as Caesar could (v. 109).

In Satire Three Juvenal uses strands of repeated words as well as words that occur twice only in a particularly subtle and intricate combination. First he unobtrusively introduces five words at irregular intervals; these words are repeated to form strands, which end in the passage from v. 190 to v. 231, where the five plus an additional three words are woven into a tight antithetical pattern producing a ring composition in vv. 190 - 231. We may term the subparagraphs as follows: A.1, vv. 190 - 198 (up to nocte metus); B.1, vv. 198 - 211; B.2, vv. 212 - 222; A.2, vv. 223 - 231. These correspond as follows: A.1 - life is ideal in the country, hell in the city, (with the accent on the city): A.2 - the nasty, expensive city v. the idyllic countryside, with the accent on the latter: B.1 - a poor city man loses all when his dwelling burns down; B.2 - a rich city man profits by a fire in his house.

The placing and effect of liber/libellus, marmor, nudus, ornamentum and uetus in the subparagraphs B.1 and B.2, and of colere, tenuis and uilicus in A.1 and A.2, were noted above (v. sup. pp. 153 - 155).

Of these eight words, five appear earlier in the poem. They are colere (vv. 95, 158, 173 and 189), liber (v. 41), marmor (v. 20), tenuis (vv. 97 and 162) and uetus (vv. 1, 11 and 195). Of these, uetus may seem to upset the neat composition of two outer subparagraphs (A.1 and A.2) and two inner ones (B.1 and B.2) respectively referring to each other in antithetical relation, since uetus occurs not only in B.1 and B.2 (i.e. at vv. 206 and 218) but also in A.1 (at v. 195). However,

the two occurrences of the adjective in vv. 195 and 206 do not stand in the same contrastive relation exhibited in its occurrences in B.1 and B.2. Rather, in v. 195 it contributes to the sense of fear and danger in A.1 (vv. 190 - 198), and at v. 195 and again at v. 206 the adjective has a derogatory ring ("an old crack in the wall that should have been mended long ago" and the cherished papyrus rolls stored in "any old box" because the owner is too poor to buy a proper bookcase). Other verbal links exist between A.1 and B.1, so the occurrence of uetus in both may have been intentional. The same adjective in v. 1 and 11 ("an old friend", i.e. "a trusted and valued friend", and the "ancient arches", both referring to the 'real' Rome,⁽¹¹⁾ whose demise is deplored in the poem) may have been introduced to contrast the idealised Republican Rome with the odious Graecam urbem of v. 61 which it has now become, thus participating in two of the thematic contrasts of the poem: virtuous past v. degenerate present and indigenous v. foreign. Librum in v. 41 marks Umbricius as a cultured man, as libellos does Cordus in v. 206; Persicus, whose books are mere furniture, is exposed as a cultural barbarian in v. 219 by his attitude towards libros. The book does duty as a symbol of erudition in the thematic contrast poor v. rich, which is shown to correspond with another contrast, culture v. materialistic lack of it.

Colere and tenuis, so important for the two outer subparagraphs (A.1, vv. 190 - 198, and A.2 vv. 223 - 231) of the ring composition, also occur in close proximity in two other sections of the poem: first in the subparagraph exposing the Greeks as a natio comoeda (vv. 93 - 108) and then in two consecutive subparagraphs - cultos in v. 158 describes low-caste people in whose favour true but poor Romans are humiliated in the theatre (vv. 153 - 159) and tenuis (v. 163) evokes sympathy for the indigent Roman's poor prospects in a materialistic city as described in vv. 160 - 170. In the passage comprising vv. 93 - 108, cultam and tenui are both

used to describe the professional actor's skill at portraying women, with tenui as part of a gross sexual aspersion. The emotive force of tenui in v. 97 serves to shock and repel; the same adjective in v. 227 affectionately describes the plants which the city folk of v. 163 will be watering if they move to the idyllic countryside of A.2.

Colere, introduced more or less neutrally in v. 95, recurs subsequently with disapproving overtones when it refers to life in the city (vv. 158 and 189) and with unmistakable approval when it refers to the countryside (v. 173), corresponding with its antithetical usages in the ring composition (evil city, v. 193; beneficent country, v. 228). The play with colere in the lines preceding the ring composition is especially pointed in two respects: first, it contrasts the nastiness of the city theatre (vv. 153 - 159) with the wholesomeness of a rustic theatrical festival (vv. 171 - 179); second, the approving reference to the grass-grown backwoods theatre (colitur, v. 193) contrasted with the embittered reference to the over-dressed slaves of the city rich (cultis, v. 189) anticipates in reversed order the country v. city antithesis of subparagraphs A.1 and A.2 in the ring composition.

Marmor, introduced in the last line of the prologue (v. 20), there implies foreignness and disapproval (uiolarent), a connotation retained by the word at its two reappearances in the subparagraphs B.1 and B.2 (i.e. in vv. 205 and 215); thus marmor participates throughout in the foreign v. native contrast which is one of the themes of the Satire.

Then these strands meet in the ring-composition. In A.1, the city is dangerous, a place of fear, yet we inhabit it (colimus, v. 193) foolishly; against this, in A.2, the well-tended garden of v. 228 (c u l t i ... horti) evokes yearning for the peaceful countryside. While in the city collapse is predicted by the dangerously slender props (t e n u i tibicine, v. 193), wholesome peace of mind is suggested by the tender seedlings absorbing one's attention in the country plot (t e n u i s plantas, v. 227). In the slums, one's enemy is the

unscrupulous uilicus of v. 195, while a move to rural districts offers the exploited city man the chance of becoming the contented uilicus of his own patch (v. 228).

In the two centre subparagraphs, B.1 evokes pity for the poor Cordus as he loses all (totum nihil, v. 209) in a fire; B.2 emphasises Cordus' plight by depicting the rich man's profit from a similar 'disaster' (meliora ac plura reponit, v. 220). In B.1, ornamentum, (eodem) marmore, uetus ... (cista), all in the singular, are calculated to elicit sympathy from Cordus and the pathetic paucity of his possessions, while the same words occurring in the plural in B.2 emphasise Cordus' plight by the contrasting suggestion of wealth. While Cordus ends up a destitute beggar (n u d u m .. rogantem, v. 210), the rich man ends up getting nude statues (n u d a ... signa, v. 216).

That this masterly balance of words arranged to contradict themselves in the corresponding subparagraphs of the ring composition was intended as the culmination of the word patterns discerned in the Third Satire, is suggested by the fact that none of the eight words occur after v. 231.

We may briefly recap as follows on Satire Three: links between parts of the poem are formed by the repetition of words with some change in meaning, symbolism or emotional force. These occur either as two-word links or as strands, i.e. words occurring more than twice. An example of the first kind is uilicus in vv. 195 and 228, linking subparagraphs A.1 and A.2 of the ring composition (vv. 190-231). An example of a strand is supplied by tenuis which occurs in vv. 97 and 163 and then, linking A.1 and A.2, in vv. 193 and 227. Each word repeated in a strand has its last two occurrences in corresponding subparagraphs of the ring-composition, acting as, and reinforcing other, two-word links between the same subparagraphs. Whereas the two-word links in the Tenth Satire are arranged in interlocking chain pattern, those in the ring-composition of the Third are laid parallel to each other to link either

A.1 and A.2 or B.1 and B.2. These links (together with others discerned by scholars such as Adamietz) create an effect of tightly-woven unity in the ring-composition.

Series of repeated words similar to the threads in the Tenth Satire (orbis, ceruix) and to those preceding the ring-composition of Satire Three (colere, liber, marmor, tenuis and uetus) have been noticed and discussed by various other scholars, e.g. Anderson,⁽¹²⁾ Fredericks⁽¹³⁾ and Witke.⁽¹⁴⁾ Those discussed in this thesis seem to have escaped notice so far.

Of more significance are the exquisitely careful antithetical word patterns analysed in the ring-composition in the Third Satire (vv. 190 - 231). These are not commented upon in either of the two major recent commentaries by Ferguson⁽¹⁵⁾ and Courtney;⁽¹⁶⁾ more significantly, the latter makes no mention of this section of the Third Satire under the entry "Ring-composition" in his "Index: Style, Grammar, Latinity, Metre".⁽¹⁷⁾ The analysis of Juvenal's contextual engineering and concomitant shaping of the semantic and suggestive potential in two sets of words would therefore seem to be an addition to available knowledge and understanding of Juvenal's artistry. It also seems to suggest additional avenues for Juvenalian scholars to explore.

FOOTNOTES

1. Duff, op. cit., Introduction, p. xxxii.
2. Cloud & Braund, op. cit., p. 78.
3. Courtney, Comm., pp. 79 - 80.
4. Id., ibid., p. 17.
5. Highet, Juv., p. 251.
6. V. sup. pp. 89 - 90 (n. 12).
7. E.g. Tengström, op. cit., p. 49: "One of the key words of the satire is optare (see lines 7, 80, 103, 104, 115, 187, 189, 284, 289, 293, 346)."

Cf. also Dubrocard, op. cit., s.vv.: Votum: vv. 6, 23, 111, 284, 291; Voueo: v. 354; Oro: vv. 250, 356; Posco: vv. 105, 354, 357; Cupio: vv. 5, 96, 294, 360.
8. V. sup. pp. 39 - 40 and nn. 4, 5 and 6 on pp. 87 - 88.
9. Lawall, op cit.
10. Ibid., p. 29.
11. According to Anderson (Studies), Umbricius is "... the single Roman facing the leveling process of the big city who ultimately recognizes that the force of mass standards has defeated him and leaves Rome" (p. 62); and "Umbricius must withdraw to Cumae, because there alone a true Roman will find satisfaction" (p. 63). Fredericks (Satire, p. 147) says of Umbricius "he is all that is left of traditional Rome," so he is "a 'shade' or 'shadow' (umbra) of her former greatness. His departure ... is meant to symbolize the departure and loss of all that was once truly Roman."
12. Anderson, Studies.
13. Fredericks, Prologue.
14. Witke, op. cit.

15. Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 135 - 158.
16. Courtney, Comm., pp. 151 - 194.
17. Courtney, Comm., pp. 648 - 649.

My findings on vv. 190 to 231 of the Third Satire were recorded in preliminary form and submitted to American and British scholars for comment. Most encouraging was the reply received from Prof. W.S. Anderson of the University of California, writer of several authoritative studies of Juvenal. The relevant part of his letter reads as follows:

"I am very interested in the way your work on Juvenal has been developing, and I encourage you to push on. You have already devised a methodology which may eventually pay off, if it is refined. ... I must say ... I like very much your reading of 3.190 ff.

"On the whole, what you do with the repeated terms in S.3 is to show that they function with the same meanings, but with very different emotional force in their respective contexts. Thus, the singular and plural, which you nicely quote, make the poor fire-victim pathetic and the profiteer arsonist despicable. Similarly, what one cultivates in Rome carries the overtone of terror and anxiety, whereas the simple plot one cultivates in the country connotes contentment and personal security. That passage, then, has been composed with consummate artistry by Juvenal, to extract the maximum rhetorical effects from thematic terms."

This opinion of the compiler of four bibliographical surveys in The Classical World (vol. 50, 1956; vol. 57, 1964; vol. 63, 1970; and vol. 75, no. 5, May - June 1982, pp. 273 - 299, covering the years 1968 to 1978) encourages me to believe that my results may well prove to be an original contribution.

This of course places no responsibility whatever on Prof. Anderson for the originality of my work or the validity of my conclusions.

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