THE SATIRES OF HORACE AND JUVENAL
AS A SOURCE FOR CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT AND MANNERS
A CONTRAST OF METHOD AND VIEWPOINT

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The purpose of this thesis is to utilize the material that the Satires of Horace and Juvenal provide in order to portray the contemporary life of Rome. (No attempt has been made to include other sources in the discussion.) The references listed at the end of each chapter, are to be found in "Horace -- Complete Works" by Charles E. Bennett and John C. Rolfe, "The Fourteen Satires of Juvenal" by J. D. Duff, and "The Satires of Juvenal" by Harry L. Wilson.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

More than a century separated Horace and Juvenal, the greatest satirists of Rome. The former was born in Venusia[1] in 65 B.C., the latter at Aquinum[2] in 55 A.D.: both these products of rural Italy were the sons of freedmen. They both, too, lived in the times when the blood of Roman citizens was shed and the state was rent by civil strife, to which succeeded the establishment of a stable government and a new order. In his youth, Horace witnessed the bloodshed that followed the murder of Julius Caesar, the rise of youthful Octavius and his establishment of peace and the Roman Empire. Juvenal lived through the turbulent regime of Nero, which after the year of the Four Emperors and the rule of the first Flavian was followed by the dismal days of Domitian, which in turn happily made way for the new era of the good Emperors. In both of these dark ages, Roman society sank morally and socially to a very low level. This condition of affairs afforded an excellent opportunity for the moralist and satirist. Hence, arose the social writings of Horace, Persius, Martial, and Juvenal. The present discussion is concerned with the first and the last of these.

The first published works of Horace were his two books of Satires. It may be, that they were meant to be merely an experiment for future writings --- whether or not this was the case, need not be discussed here. Again, it is possible that Horace felt that other fields of literature were currently well occupied

by his contemporaries, and that there was a need for a potent writer in the field of satire. Moreover, though much influenced by Lucilius, his predecessor in satire, Horace probably believed that he could improve this type of composition. He candidly admits, in his discussion[3] with Trebatius, that he has no gift for writing epic[4] and feels a strong urge to write satire,[5] even though his immediate reward may not be very great. Whatever was the main motive of Horace for writing satire, his choice of this literary field was well rewarded by the popularity which his Satires enjoyed for centuries after his death.

It may be noted that there is a distinction in matter and manner between the first and the second books of Horace's Satires. The latter book presents a more serious aspect and outlook on life than the former. It may be observed throughout that Horace has a message which he wishes to impart to his readers, namely, his doctrine of the golden mean, so prevalent in all his works, and other lessons of moderation and common sense. The style, too, changes, since six out of eight satires in the second book are written in dialogue, whereas the entire first book consists of monologues.

Juvenal wrote only satires; they are divided into five books. There is a marked difference between the last two books (Satires X to XVI) and the first three (Satires I to IX). The later ones seem to lack the spirit and bitter vehemence of the early satires, particularly of the first three. There is a difference of opinion in regard to the sincerity of Juvenal. The present writer holds that Juvenal was serious and honest, although quite prejudiced. As

a serious-minded youth, Juvenal acquired ideals and a philosophy of life in accordance with which he formed his judgment on all vital matters. Consequently, when he later came to live at Rome, debauched in the days of Nero, gory in the year of the Revolution, and gloomy under the regime of Domitian, it is not surprising that Juvenal felt disappointed and discouraged, and gave vent to his feelings in caustic and incisive satires on human failings. Hence, came the bitter attacks found in the first three satires. As the years went by, however, a gradual change came over Juvenal, and his writings took on a gentler tone and a more tolerant attitude to the faults of humanity.

In his very first satire, Juvenal strikes the key-note and indicates the range and the reasons for his satires. Wearied by the tiresome and distasteful recitations of amateur writers of epics and dramas, he feels that it is his duty to retaliate, not by work of the same nature, but by something that is more appropriate, satire.[6] Why should he not write satire? In an age when virtue is praised but starves, and vice abounds in monstrous luxury;[7] in an age of infamous and ignoble characters, of parvenus, poisoners, murderers, informers, forgers, legacy-hunters and nouveau-riches it is difficult, he declares, to refrain from writing satire.[8] In such an era in which vice has reached its zenith, indignation compels one to compose.[9] Indeed, the entire daily life of Rome is a most fertile field to which Juvenal will resort;[10] the abuses of his day, he deems, demand the lamp of Venusia.[11]

Both Horace and Juvenal attack the weaknesses and the

failings of humanity; for example, both deride wealthy freedmen, who, having amassed great wealth, make a vulgar display of it. Horace in his genial manner satirizes those who need censure. He writes in such a way as to make his reader smile at them, and yet, to make him conscious that he too might possess similar failings.[12] The conviction that this good-natured approach is the most effective even in satire is clearly and emphatically affirmed in the first satire of the first book when he asks "why shouldn't one tell the truth with a laugh".[13] This characteristic attitude constitutes the principal distinction between Horace and Juvenal. Juvenal, too, satirizes abuses, but, his attacks are in the form of vehement invective. He spares neither wrath nor ingenuity when he directs his assaults on human failings. He indulges in tirades and rages savagely at foreigners, corrupt women, degenerate nobility, and rich freedmen.

Both writers mention names of individuals, some of them being of great personages. Horace uses names either as a decoration or as types, representative of certain groups of people under the attack, as for example, Novius[14] for a parvenu, Balbinus[15] for a doting lover, Porcius,[16] a glutton, Opimius,[17] a rich man, and Pantolabus,[18] a greedy one. Other names, to serve as types, appear to be borrowed from Lucilius,[19] such as Nomentanus for a spendthrift. Some names, however, are probably thin disguises for contemporary personages, as Cervius[20] for Servius and Catius[21] for Matius. The majority of his names are fictitious. He tended to satirize the class rather than the individual, the sin instead of the sinner. Juvenal, more than Horace, realizes that it is dangerous to

satirize any living personage. Therefore, he will attack only those whose bones rest by the Flaminian and the Appian Way;[22] and these men of the past, whom he does name, are selected by him as typical of a class. In this respect, he agrees with Horace. Despite this protestation of Juvenal, he cleverly portrays contemporary life.

There is one matter on which the reader must be cautioned. The scope of this thesis is limited to the Satires of Horace and Juvenal, and all inferences the present writer draws are necessarily based on these two sources. It is unjust to draw absolute conclusions about Roman society from such comparatively meagre evidence. A complete picture of the society of the day would of course involve a study of all contemporary writers as well as other evidence.

Further, it is impossible to overemphasize the distinctive characters of these satirists. Horace was amiable and took a genial attitude toward everything, while Juvenal, on the other hand, is bitter and severe even to trifling fault. He reveals the key-note of his character in his very first satire when he states that even if a man has no natural gift for writing satire, indignation at current vices would force him to do so.[23]

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CHAPTER II

ETHICS AND MORALITY

The ethics and morality of society in the days of Horace and Juvenal had profoundly changed from those old hardy Roman principles, which had been influenced by the expansion of the city into a world-wide empire. The Civil Wars of Augustus and his predecessors, the prodigality and profligacy of Nero, and the tyranny of Domitian had all had their effect. The foundation of Roman morality, family life, had undergone the greatest change. Once it had been the source of honesty, uprightness, honor and social integrity. With its decay, Roman society degenerated. Dishonesty grew rampant in finance, business, politics and government. Vice assumed such various forms as hypocricy, avarice, legacy-hunting, gambling, forgery, poisoning, brigandage and swindling. Horace satirizes them with weapons of wit and philosophy, while Juvenal attacks them with bitterness and vehemence. So fierce are his assaults that his reader is led to believe that there never was, in the entire history of civilization, a period so base and degenerate as was the last half of the first century A.D. Despite Juvenal's prejudices, it must be admitted that the moral standards of family life were at a very low ebb.

(a) FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

The state of family life in Rome at this period shocks the modern reader. It has been said that nowhere in the history of human civilization is there found a parallel to the domestic life of the late Republic and the first century of the Roman Empire.

Family ties were lax because of the very nature of marriage which was a formal contract not prompted by affection on either side. Men and women married, divorced and remarried with little regard for the rights or emotions of their original partners. It was only a natural consequence that the children of such unions should follow in the footsteps of their parents. The main motive involved in marriages of such a nature was money. Hence it is not difficult to picture the true condition of family life in Rome. This state of affairs was more general in the capital, however, being especially prevalent in the upper strata of society and perhaps to a lesser extent in the lower ones. The reader should not be too prompt to conclude that it prevailed throughout the Roman Empire. Even in Rome itself there were found families whose moral standards were unimpeachable.

Juvenal reminds us of the Lex Julia[1] by which Augustus tried to restore the ancient ideals of family life. In order to stimulate marriage and repress celibacy, he passed repeated enactments, the chief of which were the Lex Julia and the Lex Papia Poppaea, by which the power of the childless and the unmarried to inherit property was restricted. The marriage ties were very lax, being only a legal contract between two parties[2] and readily broken at the desire of either party. The most trivial excuses were given to justify repudiation, as for example, the disparity of age. This was very often the fate of a wife who began to lose her beauty[3]. Conversely, wives abandoned their husbands, foresaking them for other lovers[4]. Women were known to remarry as often as eight times in five years[5]. Impotent men often entered

the matrimonial arena,[6] which is not surprising when it is remembered that money was an influencing factor in the selection of a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law. Horace suggests that girls were often married for their parents' sake.[7] Thus a debtor might marry his daughter to his creditor, hoping that the latter would leave enough money to pay the debt.[8] Juvenal condemns the habit of marrying women on account of their wealth or dowry.[9] He cites cases of young wives strangled to death or otherwise murdered because they happened to possess large dowries;[10] men were wont to use the shortest routes to reach their destinations.[11] The serious result of such marriages was the problem of childlessness, which was fashionable with the wealthy class.[12] The general attitude seemed to be that only the poor must have children.[13] Children were considered to be too troublesome, and various ways were used to dispose of them.[14] They might be abandoned by a cistern or at an aqueduct;[15] but sometimes castaways were smuggled into rich homes and adopted.[16] Juvenal calls these children the nurselings of Fortuna who smiles and protects them.[17]

The relationship between husband and wife now enter into the discussion. There was intermarriage of Greeks and Romans. Horace mentions Persius,[18] a half-breed, but the race question will be discussed in a later chapter. Juvenal believes that it is difficult for a man to tolerate a wife who is perfect.[19] Some men do give the highest character to their wives; but, they have special reasons for doing so.[20] Thus Censennia can do no wrong because she is rich.[21] Other men connive at their wives' prostitution for the sake of their hire in the form of legacies, which revert to the husbands

by the Lex Voconia.[22] Sometimes, blood of wealthy brides stained the hands of their husbands, recently wedded.[23] Some husbands callously delegate to freedmen the dismissal of wives whose charms have given way to wrinkles.[24] Husbands were not alone at fault --- wives certainly were not angels. Juvenal bares the mercenary nature of those who took every opportunity to rob their lovers.[25] Many became domestic tyrants.[26] They would dictate to their consorts their selection of friends and insist upon punishment of innocent slaves,[27] [28] their personal tastes and dislikes,[29] and their own choice of heirs.[30] To reward their husbands for their subservience, they would abandon them and seek new husbands.[31] This the wife accomplished by resort to several tricks. Quarrels and recriminations would continue all through the night,[32] accompanied by weeping and false accusations,[33] which were only a mask to cover their infidelity and adultery, the evidence of which the husband would find, if he searched his wife's writing desk.[34] Some women used cosmetics as a weapon. They put on hideous pastes as a barrier against the husbands,[35] but would remove these when they met their adulterers.[36] Caring so little about their husbands, they were equally careless of expenses.[37] [38] They hated their husbands' friends and slaves.[39] They sought solace in foreign religions and the society of foreign priests to whom they became abjectly devoted.[40] They went to the utmost extremes to satisfy their fantastical urge of consulting priests,[41] [42] astrologers,[43] soothsayers,[44] palsied Jewesses,[45] and other quacks about their future,[46] the possibility of inheriting property, the probability of becoming wealthy and winning new adulterers.[47] [48] Some, more degraded still, are smitten by a passion for actors playing feminine roles in mimes, or even gladiators.[49] They forsake

and abandon their families, husbands, and children to follow[50] and be paramours to these gladiators and actors. They brave the dangers of the sea as they travel in their company to distant lands,[51] and the reason for this, Juvenal alleges, is that a woman will disregard her reputation, and indeed will sacrifice everything to satisfy her base desires.[52] Some matrons of noble families descended to the lowest level of becoming public harlots, as did Messalina, the wife of Emperor Claudius.[53] Male chaperon were set to watch suspected wives,[54] but the precaution was useless when a cunning wife could easily bribe her guardian.[55] Failing other means, the resourceful wife administered love philtres to her husband to secure his compliance with her wishes,[56] a method which sometimes led to serious consequences, such as madness or death, as in the case of Caligula and Claudius.[57] What a contrast with the days when life in Rome was hard and simple![58] Peace had brought luxury in its train, a worse enemy than war.[59] "Now", Juvenal argues, "all the corruption of foreign nations have found a home here.[60] How can one expect virtue in a woman who is not even sober?[61] It is easy to understand her contempt for the altar of chastity.[62] She is so unlike the Sabine matron."[63]

The degradation of wedlock had its evil effect on children. Juvenal held that the greatest force for education was in the home.[64] There above all, children were corrupted from the beginning by their parents' examples.[65] Youthful minds are great imitators.[66] All parents should take heed to their ways.[67] If a son imitates his father and betters his instructions, his father has no right to be angry and to disinherit him.[68] It is the duty of every father to rear his children for the state as suitable citizens, fit to

play their role in life, whether in peace or in war;[69] parents are responsible for the future of the state.[70] Children are like the birds and beasts, in reproducing the habits of their parents.[71] But the example set in Rome was bad, where fathers encouraged their sons to value money above all else, and, having launched them on their careers of money-getting, were unable to hold them in check.[72] It would not be strange if, in the end, the son, in order to obtain money, became a murderer, perhaps even of his own father.[73] Fathers do not bear the whole weight of Juvenal's censure. Wicked mothers not only set bad examples for their daughters in adultery[74] but even instructed and assisted them in the vice and became their accomplices.[75] So it is, says Juvenal, that a mother-in-law makes peace impossible in a household during her lifetime: she teaches her daughter how to deceive her husband and fashions her into a character as bad as herself.[76] The step-mother step-son relation is always a topic for gossip.[77] A commonplace in Juvenal is the mother who does away with her step-son or even her own children if they are heirs to an estate.[78] Care must be taken to prevent their being poisoned.[79] The cries of Medea and Procne are not the invention of ancient tragedy.[80] They are repeated everyday in Rome; so is the deed of Clytemnestra.[81] The method may be different, but the husband, nevertheless, dies.[82]

Roman children were victims not only of their parents but also of their guardians.[83] A ward often found herself despoiled by the greediness of her custodian.[84] The innocent victim sometimes brought legal action against her trustee.[85] Others were forced into adultery by the rapacity of their protectors.[86]

That poisoning of relatives, children and parents was not unknown in Rome, we may perhaps infer from the reference to fratricide in Horace,[91] and the amusing prediction that he himself was not destined to be poisoned.[92] Aconite was used for this purpose.[93] For the parricide, there was provided the severe and well-known penalty of being launched on the sea in an ox-hide sack with an innocent monkey.[94] The penalty did not always deter children from poisoning their parents and especially if they were wealthy and long-lived.[95] Mothers were known to be poisoned and wives strangled with impunity.[96] Wives consulted soothsayers in regard to the death of their husbands, their husbands' wills and the welfare of their lovers.[97] The enquirer's husband might subsequently die of poisoned wine[98] and the guilty wife would ostentatiously display all the outward symptoms of an unconsolable but unreal sorrow.[99]

Adultery is an ancient vice, practiced everywhere since the Iron Age.[100] The morals of Imperial Rome were so bad that even notorious Canopus cried out against its monstrous corruption.[101] The chastity of earlier Roman women had been due to their humble fortune and simple homes into which they did not allow vice to enter.[102] Long peace had brought luxury and evil in its train.[103] The crimes of Sybaris, Rhodes, Miletus and drunken Tarentum had flowed into Rome.[104] Drunken lust knew no bounds.[105] Adultery was widely practised among married women who skilfully hid their follies.[106] It was useless to try to keep watch over such faithless wives, whose deceits and tricks enabled them to escape detection.[107] Notorious offenders were found among women of high rank, of whom Perhaps Messalina was the worst.[108] Men were as guilty as the

women, even stooping to the corruption of young brides.[109] [110] These sinners led a dangerous life, always facing death at the hands of irate husbands.[111] They scandalously broke every rule and law of chastity.[112]

In the conclusion of this section, mention may be made of some less heinous evils of family life. Some men by avarice alienated the affection of their families, finding in their extremity, as Horace warns, that they received no sympathy from them in turn.[113] There were the wealthy bachelors, and childless couples,[114] whom Horace scornfully describes as cherishing a lamb or other animal as a child.[115] Others in their unnatural greed were prepared to sacrifice their slaves and even daughters to the lusts of wealthy persons who were ill, that they might become their heirs.[116] Among the guilty were those who traced their ancestry to the distant past.[117] The silver busts of their ancestors were broken down and pawned by faithless sons to buy some delicacies and other luxuries.[118] Disputes between neighbours and blood feuds complete this section on family life.[119]

(b) DISHONESTY, WICKEDNESS AND CRIME

Because of the great race for wealth, there were many forms of dishonesty rampant in Rome. Horace suggests that virtue and good conduct are considered more worthless than sea-weed unless accompanied by property.[120] Juvenal asserts that honest men are very scarce,[121] for where is there a man so trustworthy and honest as to give shelter to deities rescued from a burning temple.[122] There are scarcely as many honest men as Thebes has gates,[123] or fertile Nile has mouths.[124] This is the worst age that the world

has ever seen.[125] To prove this statement, Juvenal advises his reader to visit a praetor's court.[126] What day is there so holy that it fails to bring to light theft, perjury and ill-gotten gains acquired by crimes of every nature, even money won by stabbing and poisoning?[127] There are worse crimes than being swindled![128] Some are killed by violence;[129] other men have their homes burnt;[130] temples are robbed and images of gods are melted down;[131] poisoning and parricide are so common[132] that they ought not to excite surprise and resentment.[133] Conditions are due to the new social philosophy which held that the object of desire should be obtained irrespective of the means employed and opinion encountered in its pursuit.[134] Juvenal dramatizes the acquisitive craze "I would rather have a bean-pod than be a model of virtue on a tiny plot of land".[135] In Horace we meet informers like Cervius,[136] poisoners like Canidia,[137] corrupt judges like Turbius,[138] and poisoners of parents like Scaeva.[139] Juvenal consoles a victim of dishonesty by saying that a guilty man, although he may be acquitted in court due to his influence or unfair verdict, passes a judgment against himself and becomes convicted in his own conscience.[140] Not all men are of the same opinions as Juvenal! Some think that human destiny is a matter of chance and that there is no ruler of the world;[141] these have no scruples in perjuring themselves.[142] Others believe in Providence, but dare its anger, preferring to undergo any punishment rather than surrender their unlawful gains.[143] They reason that the gods are slow to punish crimes and that the penalty may be long delayed or may not come at all.[144] Hence the reason for their perjury.[145] Some would be dishonest and commit crime, if they were not afraid of a consequent penalty by the gods.[146] The

nobles were no better than their social inferiors. They had long been decadent, indulged to excess in gambling, protracted and licentious banquets, and were not guiltless of poisoning.[150]

Horace's first satire is a forceful arraignment of the unscrupulous race for wealth as the measure of public esteem;[151] a man will go through storm, fire, sea, any danger, so that another man may not be richer than he.[152] He will perjure himself, plunder and steal for the sake of obtaining more money.[153] To their crimes, Juvenal writes, many men owe their wealth.[154] With this money are built immense sepulchres and costly villas.[155] Juvenal charges that it is not considered more dishonorable to defraud one's creditors than to move from one quarter of the city to another.[156] Horace warns money-lenders to take all precautions when they loan a ten or a hundred or a thousand because the debtor will find a loophole to beat his creditor.[157] Such tricksters are quick to take advantage of weakness of character. Thus Ruso, a money-lender, had a weakness for writing histories. His debtor, unable to meet his payments, feigned an interest in Ruso's writings and so received easy terms from the flattered author.[158] Regarded as particularly heinous at Rome was the crime of tampering with property entrusted to one's care,[159] and yet, it was one of common occurrence.[160]

Perhaps the factor most responsible for such dishonesty was the reckless expenditure of enormous sums on extravagant living. Horace tells of Tigellius who could spend a hundred thousand sesterces within five days.[161] Such men caroused all night and snored in the daytime.[162] Juvenal calls it a common practice to borrow money from a creditor and pawn family heirlooms to buy a

few delicacies.[163] When these had been eaten, the debtor slipped out of the city and took up his abode in another part of the country.[164] There was sufficient money for everything except to help a poor man in need.[165]

Swindlers did not hesitate to perjure themselves by all the gods of heaven and by the lives of their children.[166] The victim might be an impecunious teacher. Pupils would refuse to pay their fees[167] which could only be collected by resort to law.[168] The parents meanwhile spent large sums of money on baths, porticoes and villas[169] though refusing to pay a rhetorician his paltry fee. They blamed the stupidity and laziness of their children upon the failings of the teacher.[170] There was the dishonest house agent who plastered over the cracks in the wall in order to fool his prospective tenant.[171] Tax-farmers found themselves in law-suits,[172] as a result of improper dealings.[173] Innkeepers were extortionate, and characterized by Horace as "perfidus caupo".[174] People of the better class rarely used inns while travelling. Taverns were frequented by slaves and laborers, and had a bad reputation for cheating.

Robbery, brigandage and arson receive their share of the attention of the satirists. Horace tells of slaves who robbed their masters and ran away.[175] If a man refused to sell his land to his neighbor, the latter sent his cattle to pasture on his crops with the result that he finally bought the land for a very low price.[176] He also alludes to the dangers of the night when a man keeps vigil with a club to watch over his possessions.[177] Juvenal confirms these nocturnal risks from brigands and hired assassins who lurked in the shadows.[178] Rich men could protect themselves by

posting armed guards and firemen to protect their property.[179] Fires were started by incendiaries generally at strategic points such as at the outer doors.[180] Even temples were not immune to these abuses. The temple of Mars Ultor, where money was deposited for safe-keeping, was robbed.[181] Old prizes of war, cups, gifts and crowns were stolen.[182] If there were none of these, a sacrilegious culprit would scrape the gold from the statues of the gods.[183] He would not hesitate to melt down the golden statues of Jupiter.[184] Unscrupulous provincial governors committed all these dishonest deeds, and more, in order to increase their wealth with the result that corruption, avarice, barbarism and piracy were the bane of their provinces.[185]

From Horace's bore we may infer that it was not uncommon for unscrupulous men to make their way into other men's hearts and homes by bribing the slaves and driving away competitors.[186] Juvenal bitterly attacks this evil and the foreigners who, by their hypocrisy, perjury and bribery, displace Romans in positions of confidence and influence with the great;[187] some of them boldly ventured to put to death the descendants of Romulus.[188] Most successful in this field were those who became the confidants and accomplices of their overlords in crime and so held over them the threat of blackmail.[189] Slaves from Asia, Cappadocia and Bithynia, amassed, chiefly by perjury, enough wealth to become knights.[190] Thus, Juvenal is revolted by a barber who gained great wealth in a similar fashion.[191]

In Horace, the cynical advice of Tiresias to Ulysses is an eloquent, though ironical, exposure of the common practice of

legacy-hunting.[192] Juvenal rails at the custom of courting wealthy and childless women and old men,[193] however repulsive.[194] If a poor man suddenly becomes rich, he becomes his patron's best friend;[195] but, if he is also childless, he is the master of his patron.[196] The legacy-hunters employed various methods to gain their sordid ends. Tiresias advices Ulysses that wealth and flattery must be given to those who possess wealth in order to gain their favor and win a legacy.[197] He sets down various rules to follow, such as care in selecting the victim who must be wealthy,[198] childless,[199] or a sickly boy's father,[200] while men of great repute and fathers of natural heirs must be shunned.[201] The utmost pains must be taken to win the victim's good graces by flattery,[202] support in court[203] and persistence in attention.[204] Special court should be paid to the favorites of the testator.[205] The most important rule is to study the victim's peculiarities[206] and not to be discouraged if discovered in the trick.[207] Tiresias concludes by advising that, when the goal is reached, the fortune-hunter must make a proper display of grief at his victim's death and at once set plans for another prize.[208] Juvenal speaks of the presents used to bribe old men by those who aspired to become the chief beneficiaries in their wills.[209] No sacrifice is too costly for a will-hunter to offer: he would sacrifice elephants, a slave, or even a daughter, in order to win the desired benefits![210] Wills were often witnessed in a temple and were deposited there for safe-keeping; therefore, to forge them by substitution or emandation was also a sacrilege.[211] Juvenal's indignation is roused by such a forger, as rich as Maecenas, flaunting his luxury on the street.[212] Horace, while confirming the fact of forgery,[213] reminds us that the tables were

sometimes turned and the legacy-hunter was tricked and disappointed.[214] It sometimes happened that a dotard would bar his kinsfolk from inheriting his estate and would will his property to legacy-hunters and prostitutes.[215] A Roman was expected to remember his friends in his will; the rich rarely left their property to the poor.[216] Juvenal declares that bad women cajoled their husbands into including their lovers in their wills.[217] He represents the heirs as impatient to inherit their legacies, often resorting to evil means to do away with their benefactors.[218] Dead men were plagued by angry mourners, if they did not leave a will.[219]

Sufficient has been said already in this and in the section immediately preceding to indicate the prevalence of perjury, poisoning and gambling. It is only necessary here to repeat that the numerous references in the satirists seem to justify the conclusion that they were all too common in the Roman society that they knew. It will suffice to quote the cynical remark of Juvenal that a poor man was never believed on his oath in court, however honest he might be, though a rich man's wealth was accepted as a pledge of truth.[220] Horace's Canidia[221] and Juvenal's Lucusta,[222] if the most notorious, were not the only adepts in the black art of poisoning. It cannot be denied that gambling was a passion with the Romans,[223] and though banned by law, was beyond the power of the law to control. Who can forget the vivid picture in Juvenal's First Satire of the shivering slave whose only garment has been taken from him to back his master's last throw of dice?[224]

Deplorable as was the dependence of the Roman proletariat upon the institution of the sportula, it was made far worse by

the abuse of dishonest claims.[225] Nobles, men of rank, tribunes, consuls and other magistrates descended to the low level of seeking the dole of one hundred quadrantes *per diem* to eke out their incomes.[226] Greeks and other subservient foreigners usurped with their patrons the places once held by the poorer, less versatile Roman clients,[227] whose loss was not even regretted. To obtain the dole, a client had to attend his patron's reception, and perhaps bribe the porter to gain admittance.[228] In spite of all obstacles, however,[229] some clients succeeded even in obtaining a double share.

In concluding this long tale of wickedness and wrong, we must not suppose that the comment of the satirists is wholly negative. Both suggest a remedy. Horace's principle of the "Golden Mean" would correct, if practised, the mad race for wealth and hence remove the main occasion for dishonesty. Juvenal preached a similar philosophy of the abnegation of desire and mental sanity; he who is not satisfied to live within such restrictions will never be contented, no matter how great the wealth he may possess.[230]

(c) RELATION BETWEEN CITIZEN AND STATE

Rome's greatest contribution to modern civilization has been the principle of rule by law. This implied on the one hand that the citizen had a duty to perform to the state, and on the other hand, that the state undertook to protect its citizens and to administer justice. Every Roman citizen had a right to appeal to the Roman people from the conviction by a magistrate for serious offences. Justice, it was intended, should be the right and the privilege of all alike. Every citizen enjoyed the privilege of

the vote and the right to stand for office according to his social standing, and the established rules of the cursus honorum. This had been the achievement of the Republic, but with the advent of the Empire the citizen had lost many of his political functions, especially under Nero and Domitian. Appeals to the people were replaced by the appeals to the Emperor. Justice became subject to many abuses, notably the delatores, corrupt judges, and irregular court procedures and legal practices. Candidature for offices became nominal, since the emperor nominated his own list of candidates, and so far as the semblance of election remained, the choice of the electorate was determined largely by the high rank or open-handedness of the candidates. A man's worth was estimated by his birth and wealth; Horace believed that life and character should be the determining factors.[231]

There was a class of men in Rome in Horace's time who made a business of bringing to justice criminals for the sake of reward.[232] Though they were less objectionable than the delatores of later years, they were, nevertheless, held in disrepute. He expresses his hate of such informers as Cervius who threatened lawsuits.[233] Juvenal had greater cause for his bitter denunciation of the delatores. He charged one Stoic delator with the murder of his closest friend and pupil.[234] It was dangerous under the worst emperors to express any opinion save that which accorded with the views of the tyrant in power,[235] because a secret accusation without any proof from an informer like Pompeius would seal any man's death warrant.[236] Horatian references to the conduct of trials

are few and slight, such as the amusing incident in Brutus' court, where Persius propitiated the judge with praise,[237] or the characterization of Turius as a corrupt judge,[238] but Juvenal's criticism is much more caustic, as his provocation was more real. The meaningless sentence imposed on Marius was neither a punishment to him, nor a satisfaction to the province that he plundered.[239] Ignorance of the law was an unjust penalty to its victims.[240]

The pleasant picture of friendly diplomats travelling to Brundisium, with Horace in their company, to secure a friendly understanding between Augustus and Mark Antony is in delightful contrast with the absurd and sombre council of Domitian, under[241] whom, as Juvenal says, Rome was half-strangled and further mangled by a bold Nero.[242] From the caricature, we extract the truth that the council's only function was to subserve the will of its master,[243] who summoned it peremptorily to deal not with such important questions as campaigns against the Chatti or Sycambri or with pressing despatches but with such trivial problems as an oversized turbot.[244] Bearers of gifts gained admittance to Domitian, which he denied to more deserving suitors.[245] He equated his power to that of the gods and desired himself to be addressed as[246] "Dominus et Deus noster". He hated the advisers who formed his council, and they feared for their lives whenever they spoke.[247] Flattery was the burden of their speech, and in this they were emulated by the humblest citizen.[248] The tyrant treated Rome as his private estate and the people therein as his slaves.[249] Everything that attracted his cupidity was regarded as his, and, if not presented to him, was confiscated and its owner punished.[250] Humility[251]

and subservience failed to save the person who aroused his jealousy and hatred.[252] A reign of terror held Rome in its grasp during his rule,[253] but in spite of his cruelty, he was served by efficient officers and advisers[254] like Pegasus, his praefectus urbanus.[255]

There were malign influences at work in the court. Juvenal insinuates that favorite actors exerted greater power than the nobility. They could secure a commission in the army for a friend.[256] Libertines like Tigellius[257] and Crispinus[258] had stood high in imperial favor. Sejanus, the alter ego of Tiberius, dispensed curule offices and other magistracies to whomsoever he pleased, placed men in charge of armies, and elevated others to knighthood.[259] The influence of these favorites was not without its adverse effect even upon the law courts which they corrupted.[260]

Although free election to office had begun to disappear in Horace's day, and had completely done so by Juvenal's time, both satirists are much concerned with the expenditure and extravagance which candidacy still entailed, ruinous to the fortune of the candidate, and demoralizing to the people who received his largesses.[261] Juvenal's remark is famous that the populace desired only two things, bread and games.[262] The passage is well-known in which Horace justifies his entire lack of ambition for public office, on the ground of the ingratitude of the people to those who serve them in office, and the popular bias in favor of blue blood.[263] He had little respect for the judgment of the electorate, and perhaps less for the noisy nobodies who impress the people. Juvenal has some sharp criticism for the less worthy descendants

of great families,[264] who degrade both themselves and their office by the low company they keep and the vicious habits to which they become addicted.[265]

The wealth squandered by a magistrate in his candidature and tenure of office, he attempted to recover later. Juvenal speaks of the graft involved in the granting of public contracts and private business.[266] Corruption, avarice, piracy and barbarism, he continues, were rife in the provinces which were governed by unscrupulous ex-magistrates whose only purpose was to increase their own wealth.[267] Such governors as Dollabella, M. Antony and his brother, and sacrilegious Verres, all plundered the conquered provinces without mercy and brought home great quantities of booty and objects of art for their own private collections.[268] These men were unworthy of their rank! Juvenal's example of true nobility is the governor who takes an upright staff, whose wife is charged with no crime in the province, and who does not ravish the province for his own personal good.[269] Unfortunately in practice governors were characterized by their lust and vile ambition, rapacity and avarice, cruelty and merciless torture of their provincial subjects.[270]

In concluding this section, it seems appropriate to refer briefly to each satirist's view of punishment. Horace rejects the Stoic doctrine that all faults are equal, and, with his usual common-sense, believes that the punishment should fit the crime, judged in relation to its effects on the common welfare: too rigorous an interpretation of the laws should not be demanded.[271] If a person were adjudged by a praetor to be insane, he

passed to the care of his sane relatives and was henceforth barred from all legal activities.[272] Juvenal, in a less practical and more philosophical mood seems sceptical of the efficacy of punishment, but is certain of the power of conscience and remorse over the guilty mind.[273] Perhaps he was enough of a realist to believe that under a tyrant like Domitian, Crispus chose the wiser course in refusing to swim against the stream, and in sacrificing the truth to length of years.[274]

The impression created by the review of Roman social conditions surveyed in this chapter must necessarily be extremely pessimistic. Indeed, the satirist could readily find examples enough in high places of all the vices to which he devotes his eloquent and scathing criticism. There is undoubtedly much truth also in the diagnosis of Horace and Juvenal that these conditions can largely be attributed to the growth of wealth and luxury, and the simultaneous removal of political freedom and responsibility from the citizens at large. On the other hand, we must not forget that it is always characteristic of the satirist's style to exaggerate, and to speak of the exceptions as though they were the rule. This qualification must be applied to all that has been said.

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CHAPTER III

SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Horace and Juvenal present excellent pictures of contemporary Roman life, with many references to, and descriptions of current social behaviour. Both illustrate Roman hospitality of the vulgar and also of the polite type. There are descriptions of banquets given by the representatives of various classes: an ordinary marriage feast, an imperial banquet, a wealthy man's dinner, as well as the poor man's dole. Both assert that banquets in themselves are proper. Both portray a banquet of the vulgar type with its three main courses followed by drinking. Both satirists tell us much of the prevailing extravagance in entertainment and flattery. Juvenal in this regard bitterly criticizes the treatment of clients. Both writers also criticize social customs and manners, pertaining to wealth, slavery, travel, dress, and book-selling. To attempt, however, a detailed description of the entire social behaviour would a repetition of the rest of this essay.

(a) ROMAN HOSPITALITY AND BANQUETS

Wealthy Romans generally followed the Epicurean view that life was to be enjoyed. They celebrated marriages and birthdays in festal manner and gala dress.[1] Usually great banquets were organized and enjoyed, commonly in accordance with the example set by some great personages. Hence Juvenal emphasizes Domitian's sumptuous feasts.[2] The extremes to which they degenerated were to some extent the visible warnings of Rome's impending fall.

Banquets, extending from mid-day until a late hour, displayed an amazing variety of food and drink, not to mention the use of emetics and stimulants.[3] Some of the guests at these revelries became drunk at the table and were guilty of gross bad manners.[4] Others would disgrace themselves by roaming about the streets of Rome in daytime with torches[5] or would commit acts of folly such as insulting and assaulting innocent passers-by.[6] Wealthy freedmen and degenerate nobles spent a good portion of their time in such revelries. Horace devotes an entire satire to the banquet of a wealthy freedman Nasidienus;[7] Juvenal shows to what extremes Domitian went to prepare his banquets.[8]

The usual number of diners at a banquet was nine: three on each of the three couches arranged around a table; sometimes, there were four guests to each couch.[9] Horace describes an arrangement of guests at such a dinner.[10] The diners wore garlands.[11] A host provided them with water to wash their hands.[12] It was considered bad form to keep the guests waiting.[13] A bath regularly preceded a dinner because it was thought to stimulate the appetite,[14] while another was generally taken after a banquet to promote better digestion.[15] Horace holds that the meal should be enjoyable in itself, and to make it thus, proper service is essential: servants must be neat, dishes must be clean, and all courses must be dainty and appetizing.[16] The wealthy spent their money lavishly on such banquets by purchasing select slaves as their pages and waiters, costly dishes and goblets, and expensive food. This will be dealt with more fully in connection with the vulgar display of wealth. Sometimes, the guests were differentiated; valued ones were served with golden goblets overlaid with amber

and studded with emeralds,[17] while poorer guests received cups and goblets made of Campanian earthenware.[18]

A Roman meal consisted of three main parts, an appetizer (gustatio) which introduced the dinner (cena) followed by a dessert (mensa secunda). Water was always provided first, since it was thought to excite and whet the appetite.[19] Horace satirizes vulgar hospitality in his "Art of Fine Dining".[20] Here, he represents Catius, a student of elegant dishes, as making some observations on points of proper procedure. He is a typical epicure, who believes that preparing a dinner is an art; that the cooking and seasoning of fish are as important as their selection, and that care is necessary in choosing meat.[21] Some connoisseurs of the gastronomic art claim to recognize where every oyster originated and to be able to tell immediately upon inspection its habitat and age.[22] Wealthy Romans usually baked their own bread from fine flour.[23] Eggs were the commonest element in the gustatio;[24] but sometimes a boar, small turnip, lettuce, radish, skirrit, brine, or tartars of Coan wine, were used as appetizers.[25]

After the appetite had been whetted by the gustatio, there came the cena which was sumptuous and resplendently garnished. Great care was exercised in the choice and the preparation of dishes which formed its courses. The items of this portion of the meal were varied to suit the tastes of the host and his guests, but the range of its constituents might be wide enough to include: oysters, scar-fish, foreign grouse, relishes, peacock, three-pound mullet, boar, fresh rhombus, tart, pickles, radishes, sturgeon, stork, long-shaped eggs, field-grown cabbage, pullet[26]

boiled in Falernian wine, mussel, meadow mushrooms, black mulberries picked before noon, honey mixed with Falernian wine, shell fish, short-leaved sorrel, Lucrine shell fish caught in the waning moon, Baian cockles, Circean oysters, sea-urchin from Misenum,[27] or a tunny fish from the Black Sea.[28] Juvenal describes a typical cena as including a costly lobster, garnished with asparagus and poured over with oil from Venafrum, and a mullet,[29] as well as a goose with a large liver, fattened capon, smoking boar, truffles and mushrooms,[30] and in addition, Lucrine oysters,[31] a sow's breast with milk, hare, white-backed antelope, Scythian pheasant, a flamingo, and a one-horned wild goat from Gaetulia.[32]

Apples,[33] by preference from Picenum and Tibur, grapes from Alba and those of the venuclian type,[34] and other fruits formed the mensa secunda. Some hosts went to greater extremes! Domitian, for example, had a specially talented potter make a dish large enough to accomodate his huge turbot.[35] Juvenal suggests that food which costs most pleases most.[36] Horace, in his satire on the dinner of Nasidienus, ridicules the senseless efforts which men exerted to display their vulgar hospitality.[37]

Both Horace and Juvenal dislike this vulgar hospitality. Horace praises frugal living as a great virtue which can only be acquired by an active life and amid simple surroundings.[38] Overeating and lack of exercise corrupt the tastes of men and so prevent them from enjoying plain food;[39] fashion and price also have a bad influence.[40] There is, however, a golden mean in diet, since stinginess is as bad as gluttony.[41] Observance of the golden mean gives vigor, bodily health, facility of mind, and

prepares one for greater enjoyment on festal days and of old age.[42] Horace further asserts that simple living makes possible the charity of sharing one's lot with another, safeguards against ill-repute and bankruptcy, and prepares one for changes of fortune.[43] Juvenal holds that it makes a difference who serves the banquet; for a poor man, a bountiful board is an extravagance.[44] Horace clarifies his idea of simple hospitality by describing his meal in the country with a pullet or a kid, raisins, shrivelled figs, and nuts.[45] His meal is served by a saucy house slave who is allowed to eat the balance of the dishes; each guest, in the meantime, is at his ease and free from the insane rules imposed by a magister bibendi.[46] Juvenal, too, advocates simple and unsophisticated hospitality by describing his own fare of such wholesome dishes as green pods of leguminous vegetables, simple porridge, young kid, mountain asparagus, fresh eggs, roast chicken, preserved grapes, apples, pears, smoked ham, fresh meat and bacon.[47] His table ornaments are simple and cheap; and a hardy Italian boy serves at his table.[48]

Roman banquet generally concluded with drinking. It was customary to select a magister bibendi, who presided over the drinking and imposed penalties upon the delinquents.[49] Horace mentions this functionary and refers to his insanis legibus.[50] Care was taken in the preparation of the wine;[51] Horace tells of it being strained through a linen cloth to clear it, a process which tended to destroy its flavor.[52] It was customary, says Juvenal, to let the wine age, because aging improved its taste and quality, as it did the wine bottled in the distant Social

War.[53] He further states that poor wine was sometimes offered to guests of lower rank, while the best vintage was reserved for the host and his few select guests.[54] In toasting, the proposer drank first, and then passed the cup to the man to whose health he was drinking.[55] Juvenal sarcastically alludes to this custom. It was not unusual for a man to drink so much as to see double.[56] At a banquet, sometimes, if the drinking became heavy or the wine was too strong, a brawl might break out, accompanied by arguments and the throwing of the earthenware.[57] At other times, the carousing revellers prowled about the streets in search of pugilistic encounters.[58]

Banquets were attended by entertainment which varied according to the class and the type of guests. Carving the roast was a favorite spectacle for the rich man's guests. Specially selected slaves were trained in this art; there was a school which taught its pupils in what manner and by what movements to carve different animals.[59] The carvers practised on wooden models.[60] Again, it was customary for sophisticated Romans to possess specially-trained clever slaves whose duty it was to exhibit their wit for the amusement of their masters. Horace describes such a matching of wits between the slaves of Cocceus and Maecenas during his journey to Brundisium.[61] Juvenal mentions the court buffoons who amused the emperor and his guests.[62] Sometimes, the jesters were dwarfed or otherwise deformed and were often nicknamed in derision; thus, a midget might be called Atlas.[63] Many banquets of the wealthy were followed by the dancing of Spanish damsels; there were, too, debased acts, gambling, and even adultery.[64] On the

other hand, the well educated and socially refined, Horace[65] and Juvenal[66] agree, discussed literary and philosophical themes at their dinners.

Gross flattery was all to prevalent in Horace's day and was a common method of approach for a legacy-hunter. Thus, Tiresias advises Ulysses to flatter a wealthy host for the sake of obtaining a legacy from him.[67] Wealthy freedmen, who were uncouth but tried to appear learned,[68] often gave extravagant entertainments, at which they provided an excellent opportunity for the cunning parasite, skilled in the art of flattery, to worm his way into the hearts of such unrefined upstarts. Horace tells how Nomentanus and Porcius, parasites of Nasidienus, at the banquet which the wealthy freedman gave in the honor of Maecenas, made ingratiating comments and supplemented their host's description of the dishes.[69] Juvenal, too, complains of flattery as an instrument by which foreigners gain access to Roman hearts.[70] He draws a vivid picture of the subservience by which the citizens sought to please their emperor, Domitian, who considered everything as his personal property; failure to conform to his whims meant confiscation and possible death.[71] The same subservience is shown in the council by the courtier, Catullus, in his speech on the turbot,[72] as by the humble fisherman, who brought the huge fish as a present for his emperor, we see how every citizen was compelled to please Domitian's fancy.

In the patron's treatment of his clients, discrimination in the distribution of the dole (sportula) was evident; wealthy clients received theirs first, the foreigner's gold took prece-

dence over the lineage and rank of the native Romans.[73] This *sportula*, when it was given in the form of food,[74] was often poor in quality; mouldy bread, baked from unground flour, was hard and incapable of being bitten.[75] Clients and parasites were invited to a banquet as a compensation for countless former services and as a prepayment for future ones:[76] but, such invitations were rare and came only when there were vacancies at the table.[77] At these dinners, the host and his select guests, attended by Greek pages, had the best wine, food, dishes, silver plate, and service, while the clients, served by an African negro, drank the worst wine from broken cups and ate the cheapest food, the bread and even water being of inferior quality.[78] According to Juvenal, such harsh and insulting behaviour was employed, not to save expenses, but so that the host might be mean and at the same time might provide amusement for his choice guests.[79] Juvenal's restrained criticism of this treatment is an exhortation to the host not to be too generous, but to treat his guests with decent politeness.[80]

Both satirists deplore vulgar ostentation. Horace's view may be gleaned from his tale of the Country and the City Mouse. His description of a country mouse's feast, frugal, yet openly generous to its guest,[81] mark his approval of proper hospitality; but his picture of the banquet of the city mouse is a subtle satire on the sophisticated atmosphere at a rich man's dinner.[82] Juvenal repeatedly scores the vulgar hospitality of wealthy freedmen and indicates his conception of suitable entertainment in his description of his own banquet.

(b) SOCIAL HABITS

Some of the Roman social habits, now to be discussed, were more prevalent in the days of Juvenal than in those of Horace, because they were acquired as the Empire expanded and the Romans came into closer contact with other civilizations.

As has been shown, there was much vulgar display of wealth. One form of ostentation consisted in building mansions and organizing large estates. Even in the days of Horace, a building mania was sweeping through the wealthy class; large city houses, villas, and country estates were multiplying throughout Italy. Some men of humble means, like Horace, built small villas in imitation of the great.[83] In Juvenal's time, this practice had long been common and he mentions individuals who owned several villas.[84] The mania for building was a characteristic of wealthy Romans under the Empire, and it is frequently satirized. Juvenal refers to the rivalry of a certain Cretonius and his son, who outbid the father in the erection of palaces.[85] The Romans built many magnificient baths and porticoes in which they might promenade during the rain.[86] Numidian marble lined the walls.[87] This practice of veneering the walls with variegated marble, patterned to form images of animals or geometric designs,[88] began in the Augustan era. Another mode of ostentatious display of wealth was the inlaying of drinking cups with gems, to be admired there rather than in the rings on the fingers.[89] Further, ostentation was seen in the elegant dishes prepared for banquets. Some hosts served meals with seven courses, which was a foolish extravagance;[90] others, like Apicius,[91] squandered their money rather on elegant and rare dishes. Many were the objects upon which

money was wastefully spent, like the lectica[92] with six bearers, and select pages from Asia.[93] It had long been fashionable for the great to stock their mansions with fabulous collections of objects of art, and those who became provincial governors pillaged the provinces to enrich their galleries.[94] Disparity of means led to discrimination and insult, when wealthy foreigners, who had outdistanced Romans, mocked and made fun of them and their inferior dress at the games.[95]

Another index of Roman social standards is seen in their treatment of prisoners of war. At times, they would behead their captives.[96] Those who were not put to death might be sent to Rome in cages with feet naked and marked with chalk.[97] They were driven in gangs through the streets to be sold as slaves.[98] The punishment of slaves was severe! Horace says that it was administered to some by flogging with a whip (scutica)[99] and to more serious offenders with a scourge (flagellum).[100] Juvenal states that it was customary to strip a slave before he was beaten and then to apply the whips without mercy.[101] He says that a lash (lorum)[102] was used for whipping while for more sturdy and coarser slaves a cudgel (fustis)[103] or a scourge was employed. Sometimes, branding was resorted to as well the enfettering of their feet.[104] The breaking of the legs of slaves was not uncommon.[105] Those who could not be managed in a city were sent into the country and kept in chains; at night they were confined in a workhouse (ergastulum), while in the day, they spent their time in the fields in hard labor.[106] Horace admits that slaves were badly fed, and, while they served at the table, they were tempted to lick and steal portions from the dishes they placed on or removed from the table.[107] Juvenal

corroborates the statement.[108] Some slaves were specially trained to serve at table and to cook dishes to tempt the appetite,[109] and others were trained to be pedagogues.[110] Dwarfs and hunchbacks were kept for amusement.[111] Horace informs us that the slave food ration was four or five pounds of meal a day.[112] Those who were able to save some of this and sell it might be able finally to purchase their freedom with such savings. Slaves who ran away or otherwise won their freedom dedicated their chains to some god.[113] Juvenal likes his slaves to be simple and of Italian stock.[114]

Horace and Juvenal throw some light on the modes of travel in their times. Horace tells of Roman traders (mercatores), who sailed in their own ships to foreign ports where they purchased goods to resell in Rome.[115] He also describes a journey on a canal barge from Forum Appi to the Groves of Ferona, with boisterous slaves on board and sailors and a quick-tempered traveller who belabored the helmsman for making slow progress.[116] Mules,[117] and four-wheeled wagons were also used in travel.[118] When a Roman pedestrian wished to walk rapidly, he girded his tunic high so as to leave his legs free.[119] There was a good system of roads in Italy. A sedan-chair (lectica), borne on the shoulders of burly slaves from Liburia, Cappadocia, or Syria, was used for street conveyance in Rome.[120] Gentle women generally used shuttered lecticae.[121] A rich man travelled in an entourage of personal slaves who acted as his body-guards, crowd-buffers, and torch-bearers.[122] Horace refers to this when he states that a high social position demands tiresome social duties, costly establishments, and an expensive retinue for travel.[123] Money was carried by travellers

in a purse tied about the waist.[124] Roman travellers might take shelter in inns or taverns which were situated on the main roads. These popinae enjoyed a very poor reputation for cleanliness, comfort, and morality,[125] and were managed by extortionate innkeepers.[126] A host or hostess stood outside, greeted, and begged the passers-by to enter.[127] They were commonly frequented by sailors, slaves, highwaymen, thieves, and other fugitives from justice.[128] Better class travellers rarely used them. The well-to-do had friends or other acquaintances in many place, where they were received as guests, so that they were rarely obliged to depend on public inns as we may infer from Horace's experience on his journey to Brundisium.[129] There were also villula or public stopping-places, maintained by the government for the use of officials travelling on state business.[130] In this connection Horace shows that, as distinguished guests passed through an Italian town, they were greeted by its mayor dressed in the complete regalia of his office.[131] Juvenal remarks that beggars gathered on frequented roads and places where the travellers would have to go slowly, such as at bridges and slopes of hills.[132] Travellers had other inconveniences to contend with, such as, bad water[133] and the lack of water[134] and of good bread.[135]

Fashionable Romans were fastidious about their personal appearance. According to Horace, their hair must be correctly cut, their toga properly draped, and their shoes perfectly fitting.[136] The standard dress required for important occasions was the toga. It was prescribed as the attire necessary for attendance at the games[137] and for claiming the sportula.[138] It was cumbersome, heavy,

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warm, and in some cases expensive; it was a subject of constant complaint as one of the plagues of life in Rome.[139] Some togas were embroidered,[140] others, ornamented in gold.[141] Black dress was a sign of mourning.[142] The wearing of fine clothing, made from choicest material, was considered of effeminate men.[143] The tunic was the standard undergarment.[144] Senators had a purple stripe or a border around their tunic or toga.[145] Some men made themselves objectionable by their use of perfumes, as Horace says of a certain Gargonius.[146] Juvenal adds that some annoit themselves with perfume in the morning.[147] Perfumes imported from India were used by women.[148] They also wore emerald necklaces and pearl-studded ear-rings.[149] A golden ring was worn by a knight and distinguished him as a member of the equestrian class.[150] Sensuous Romans wore rings close, one after the other on their fingers.[151] Juvenal sarcastically pictures Crispinus, an ex-fish peddler, displaying his huge summer ring.[152] Jewelry and plate were highly praised, especially if they had been previously possessed by an owner of distinction.[153]

In closing this section, another common practice of Juvenal's may be added: young nobles often squandered their ancestral estates on horse-racing and in gambling;[154] these, to replenish their funds, hoped to obtain military tribuneship.[155]

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CHAPTER IV

CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE

Horace and Juvenal are both lovers of the country, but show their liking for it in different ways. Horace is spontaneous and direct. He is a true son of the soil who longs to return to the country from time to time. Juvenal, too, is a rustic at heart in that he likes to extol the ideals of ancient Rome and Italy current in the days of the Scipios, of Lucilius, of the Catos, the Scauri, and others. His liking for the free and easy life of the country is indirectly implied and may be inferred by contrast with his dislike of city life which is very clearly indicated in the Third Satire. There is little contrast between the two writers in their attitude towards the eternal opposition of country life to city life. Their ideas are fundamentally the same. The difference seems to be in the treatment, since Horace emphasizes the pleasures and advantages of country life, while Juvenal, on the other hand, bitterly attacks the life at Rome with all its dangers and handicaps. Consequently, in this chapter, a resumé is given, first, of the relevant phases of metropolitan life, drawn principally from Juvenal, and secondly, a summary of the advantages of country life, illustrated chiefly from Horace.

(a) HANDICAPS OF CITY LIFE

Life in ancient Rome in the times of Horace and of Juvenal was essentially similar to that of any large city of ancient or modern civilization. Although there were many differences in

detail in such matters as transportation, housing, standard of living, problems of environment, yet, city life has not changed fundamentally throughout the centuries. It is not difficult with the help of our sources to visualize the Roman scene with its narrow streets, its lurking dangers and crimes, its veritable melting pot of many races. Horace in his account of the visit of a country mouse to the city, graphically suggests the gay life of the metropolis with its ease and luxury, and contrasts therewith its dangers.[1] Juvenal praises the wise decision of his friend Umbricius to depart from Rome: he is leaving a city of perils, where there is no room for a poor man to live.[2] Nevertheless, Horace[3] and Juvenal, both of whose birthplaces, Venusia and Aquinum,[4] were in the country, spent much of their lives in Rome, despite the fact that they remained rustic at heart and wished at times to withdraw to the country.[5] Both were oppressed by the inconveniences, handicaps and dangers of life in Rome.

Roman weather calls forth unfavorable comments by both poets. It was damp in January when cold winds and rains were not unusual.[6] Snow, accompanied by heavy winds, was not unknown there in winter.[7] The early autumn was a season of sickness.[8] But, whatever the season or the weather, the dependent populace had to make its morning rounds. Lawyers were compelled to rise early when their clients called upon them before cock-crow.[9] Some had to go to court to answer sureties or bonds given by them.[10] For a host of others there was the necessity of attendance on the levee of wealthy patrons, in order to get their daily dole (sportula).[11] They had to appear in their togas;[12] they were buffetted about by

the great throng[14] and were made victims of discrimination. The poorer were compelled to give way to the richer, especially to foreigners, who, because of their wealth, took precedence even over tribunes, praetors, and other magistrates.[15] The dole was earned at the price pf inconvenience for the client.[16] When the levee was over, it might be necessary to follow the patron to the court and there to support him in some lawsuit.[17] Should a man not be subject to the levee and clientage, he would encounter other matters to annoy him. He might chance to meet a bore, as Horace did,[18] or some parasite of whom it would be difficult to get rid. If this did not happen, he might fall foul of a soldier on leave in Rome, or a veteran retired from service, who were wont to voice their dissatisfaction with military service and lament their lot;[19] others might be in a jubilant mood, as in later times, at the prospect of privileges and rewards.[20] There were always the omnipresent foreigners, Jews,[21] Sardinians,[22] Egyptians,[23] Greeks,[24] or Orientals[25] in Rome, with whom the city overflowed.[26] It was nothing new for Romans to see a band of slaves driven in chains to the slave-market.[27] But most unseemly in the eyes of citizens retaining a feeling for ancient ideals was the sight of long lines of their fellow citizens awaiting their turn for the dole; while their patrons might feast themselves to death, they would shiver in the cold, in hunger and in pain.[28]

Aside from these encounters in public streets, there was the common social annoyance of the public recitations.[29] These were held wherever it pleased the author: in the baths,[30] in the forum,[31] in private houses,[32] and on the street corners. They varied

according to the author's literary tastes: consisting of elegies,[33] comedies[34] and tragedies[35] --- such reading sometimes lasted several days.[36]

The most popular pastimes in Rome were the public games on festal days, for instance, at the time of the Saturnalia. Horace was bored with them and left Rome for the remainder of the Saturnalian feast.[37] Juvenal was deeply disgusted with them and especially with those in which women appeared.[38]

Life in Rome was difficult for men of humble circumstances, but, endowed with fine tastes. Both Horace and Juvenal found much to criticize in its everyday life, its congestion and its scandals,[39] its guilds and societies[40] with their frequent meetings and lengthy discussions,[41] its class consciousness and prejudice. Displaying their lineage, ancestral regalia and other magnificence, at the time of elections, the nobility overawed the common people. It was of little use for an ordinary man to compete with them for office.[42] This fact was emphasized by Horace's own experience --- he arose from the status of a freedman's son to that of being a companion of Maecenas,[43] Augustus' prime minister, and thereby aroused the jealousy of self-seekers.[44] Because of his friendship with Maecenas and Augustus, he was subjected, at times, to the annoyance of unpleasant questions regarding official business and government policies.[45] He was apt to be asked to appear in court as a surety,[46] to look after the affairs of the clerk's guild,[47] to be present at some business transaction as a witness,[48] to act as Maecenas' companion,[49] and he had a thousand other things to do.[50]

Horace and Juvenal both emphasized the heterogeneous composition of the populace. They felt that the city of Rome was filled with quacks and other dishonest people. Horace rather enjoyed his wanderings in the deceitful forum with its fortune-tellers[51][52]; while Juvenal bitterly denounced the duplicity of the astrologers, doctors, and fortune-tellers[53][54][55]. Juvenal regarded their activities as an aspect of the hypocrisy of life in the capital and includes them among the reasons which he assigns for Umbricius' departure from Rome. There was no room there for a man desiring honest employment[56], nor was there any adequate reward for his toil[57]. To make a living at Rome, one must stoop to low pursuits --- perjury, flattery, astrology, poisoning, fortune-telling[58][59][60][61][62], or be a procurer, an adulterer's messenger, or an accomplice of theft[63][64]; one had to engage in the ignoble profession of informer (delator)[65] and other base pursuits to inherit wealth[66]. Crimes were so common in Rome that a day spent in praetor's court might reveal to those in attendance cases of swindling, forgery, assassination, arson, robbery of temples, melting down of images of gods (even of Jupiter himself), poison administered by peddlers, and parricides[67][68][69][70][71][72][73][74][75][76]. Brigandage and arson were so common that it became necessary for a man of wealth to place an armed guard and a band of firemen about his property for protection[77]. The high cost of living made it practically impossible for a poor man to live decently in the capital[78][79]. His scanty means were consumed to cover the cost of board and lodgings, or of maintaining slaves, to buy miserable meals[80][81][82], or expensive dress[83], and finally in paying respects to his patron[84]. He was tempted to raise loans in order to survive[85], with ruinous results. The poor, says Juvenal, should

have migrated from Rome long ago.[86]

The man of moderate means lowered his standard of living, to keep up with a large household; heavy expense forced him to become niggardly and avaricious. He went hungry or subsisted himself on the worst fare and doled out starvation rations to his slaves.[87] He served food that had gone stale,[88] and kept everything under lock and key.[89] This soon had its effects.[90] Men grew sick from the want of sleep due to improper accomodations and noisy surroundings,[91] as wagons passed on the narrow streets and herds of cattle were driven through the city.[92] Improper food caused illness.[93] The unhealthy athmosphere was aggravated by industries across the Tiber.[94][95][96]

Even the rich man faced handicaps in Rome; at his home, he gorged on sumptuous banquets of oysters,[97] scar-fish,[98] grouse,[99] relishes,[100] peacocks,[101] Tiber pike,[102] three-pound mullets,[103] boars,[104] fresh rhombus,[105] pickles,[106] radishes,[107] sturgeons,[108] and storks.[109] His taste was dulled with overeating and lack of exercise.[110] The simple life was hard to maintain in the city. It could only be achieved by activity amid simple surroundings.[111] These sumptuous banquets definitely involved a lowering of the moral standard;[112] they were, however, limited to the wealthy since no poor man could afford them.

The narrow and congested streets of Rome were not the least of its drawbacks.[113] Idlers and gossips gathered at the corners and choked the thoroughfares.[114] Horace found difficulty in making his way in a hurry through the crowd.[115] If one tried to make headway, he might be cursed for jostling;[116] he might be injured by the long[117]

poles of a rich man's *lectica*,[118] by a log,[119] by a wine cask,[120] or a beam;[121] he might have his foot crushed by a soldier's spiked boot;[122] he might get into a brawl with a soldier;[123] or in the mad rush, he might have his clothes torn.[124] If no worse befell him, he might meet the fate of Horace and be held up a self-seeking bore.[125] It was difficult to avoid the drunkard,[126] the bully,[127] or the soldier,[128] by whom the pedestrian might be accosted, insulted, subjected to humiliation,[129] [130] and finally assaulted.[131] He was in imminent danger from articles falling on his head from the windows above,[132] such as crockery,[133] tiles,[134] dishes,[135] and slops.[136] He ran the risk of being killed by the collapse of wagons with their loads of logs or marble.[137] [138]

Most serious of all the perils of Rome was that of fire,[139] a hazard common to all ancient cities. Sometimes, fires were set by brigands who desired to gather spoils,[140] sometimes, by more powerful culprits in the plot to increase their wealth,[141] while some were due to chance causes.[142] In many cases, they left the poor man poorer[143] and the rich man richer.[144] They were greatly dreaded by poor apartment dwellers.[145] But if the apartment did not catch fire, the flimsy building might collapse.[146] This was due to weak construction;[147] cracks often gaped wide open in their walls,[148] and indeed, they were always on a verge of tumbling.[149]

The great variety of criticism directed by Horace and Juvenal to urban life suggests the inference that Horace agreed with his country mouse,[150] and Juvenal with his friend Umbricius[151] in a marked preference for life elsewhere.

(b) ADVANTAGES OF COUNTRY LIFE

In Horace we find many eloquent passages of praise and love for the country and its natural simplicity. It may be due partly to the strong influence of his father and the latter's precepts and maxims about plain living wherewith he taught his son to shun crime and evil cravings for wealth and other material things. Juvenal, whose main insistence is negative and against the city, likewise loves the country, but, his affection does not manifest itself as directly as that of Horace. He praises rural life for the moral soundness that is associated with it. To both writers, the country with its simple living offers escape from the luxury and degenerate practices of city dwellers, and it provides freedom from care and want.

Life in the country, according to the satirists' ideal, is plain,[152] frugal, and virtuous, but its virtue is only attained by active life[153] amid simple surroundings at the opposite pole from those tables[154] glittering with silver plates where the eye is dazzled[155] by senseless splendor, and where tastes are corrupted by overeating[156] and lack of exercise.[157] Such luxury and extravagance are impossible in the country --- there are no costly dishes of scar,[158] peacock,[159] rare bird,[160] Tiber pike,[161] three-pound mullet,[162] boar,[163] rhombus,[164] radishes,[165] tart pickles,[166] and stork's nest[167]; but instead, cheap eggs[168] and black olives.[169] The contrast is made more pointed by Horace's satirical lesson in the preparation of a fancy meal with all its proper procedures.[170] But, most telling of all is the sympathetic and attractive picture of the country-mouse bustling about[171] in its desire to please the sophisticated city mouse;[172]

serving as a host and attendant,[173] it brings out hoarded vetch,[174] raisin,[175] and half-nibbled bits of bacon,[176] as it attempts to satisfy the fastidious appetite of its proud guest.[177][178]

Juvenal, too, reveals his bias for rustic simplicity in the statement that a great portion of Italy does not wear the toga[179] and is quite satisfied to eat from earthenware dishes.[180] His approval is given to the simple banquet,[181] one for which, in the good old days, consuls[182] and dictators,[183] such as Cato, the Scauri, the Fabii,[184] and Fabricius,[185] would put down their spades, or would finish their work an hour earlier than usual.[186][187] Cato, who was Juvenal's ideal,[188] affected simplicity of food and furniture. In those days, soldiers broke up the Greek works of art[189] to adorn their shields and helmets.[190] As a result, says Juvenal, man then was nearer to heaven.[191] The simple life no longer existed in Juvenal's Rome, but it can be inferred from his Third Satire that it still flourished in the country.

Both Horace and Juvenal praise the simplicity of country life and its dinners. Although Juvenal did not spend much of his time in the country, yet, he says that be brings to his city house his rustic feast.[192] Horace likes to have his feast by his hearth, served by saucy house-slaves; he allows them to eat the barely tasted dishes.[193] Juvenal disapproves of fancy dress at dinner and of select slaves. He prefers to have country boys, sons of herdsmen[194] and shepherds,[195] natives of Italy, with such devotion to their homes that they sigh for their mothers and miss their little cottages[196] and playful kids --- youths, unspoiled and uncorrupted.[197] These are not elegantly dressed, but roughly clad in homespun,

just well enough to keep out the cold.[198] This is in sharp contrast to city banquets where exquisite Asiatics, Phrygians and Lycians, purchased for large sums, serve, but, as Juvenal adds, do not speak Latin.[199] Simple and plain as the slaves who serve it, is the food used for a country dinner. Horace's fare consists of beans and vegetables smeared with fat and bacon.[200] As for Juvenal, there are corn-cakes, greenpods of leguminous vegetables like peas and beans, simple porridge but no fancy cakes, a young kid, mountain asparagus, fresh eggs, roast chicken, preserved grapes, apples and pears, smoked ham and fresh meat and bacon --- all these come from his own estate at Tibur.[201] For Horace, there are no fancy goblets but cups unmatched.[202] Juvenal uses bone-handled knives[203] and plain cups.[204] Both Horace and Juvenal dispense with the magister bibendi[205] and his insane laws of drinking; both allow their guests to drink what they please and as much as they like, though Juvenal expresses preference for local wine.[206]

It was the Roman custom to provide entertainment with the banquet.[207] There might be recitations, singing, instrumental music, a farce or a contest of wit by the host's buffoons.[208] Sometimes an extravagant and wealthy host would hire professional singers and dancers;[209] these were generally of low morals. Horace says that his dinner does not entail such revelries, but instead his guests and he enjoy a conversation, not about villas, other persons' homes, or current fads on the stage and like, but, they discuss philosophical matters such as friendship, or perhaps some literary theme.[210] Juvenal is very bitter in his denunciation of the low character of wealthy entertainments. Instead of having Spanish dancing

girls, debased acts, with gambling and adultery, he regales his friends with the reading of Homer and Vergil and a discussion of their respective merits.[211]

Another rural advantage which Horace cherishes is the leisure for reading and time to spend in complete forgetfulness of care.[212] To Juvenal the country offers cheap land[213] and cheap livelihood.[214] There a man can live on a little and have his own garden, yielding free vegetables and food.[215] There is no need to wear a toga in the country even on festal days.[216] There we have Juvenal's charming picture of a mother sitting on a grassy theatre seat and holding in her arms her frightened infant, while she watches the rustic actors.[217]

The remoteness of country residence had some drawbacks, as Horace admits. It was necessary, at times, to go to Rome to transact business.[218] Social caste was sometimes as marked in the country as in the city. Soldiers formed the upper stratum in Roman colonies.[219] The sons of centurions appear to have set the standard at the school at Venusia. This attitude of Horace towards the military class may be due to his own early acquaintance with it and to his experience in the Civil War.

Horace was a city dweller who had a sincere liking for country life. From his story of the Country and the City Mouse,[220] the conclusion may be drawn that, although country life may have its hardships, yet, its safety is a compensation.[221] He shows his own contentment with country life in finding his heart's desire on his Sabine farm;[222] he prays to Mercury for the continuation of

its blessings.[223] Juvenal's love for the country, on the other hand, is generally to be inferred from his derogatory remarks about the city life and all its vices.

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CHAPTER V

CLASSES AND CLASS PREJUDICES

Roman society early began to exhibit strong class prejudices. This came about because the ruling class of patricians acquired power and prominence in the early days of the Republic and strenuously resisted attempts to wrest their privileges from them. The struggle between them and the plebeians served to emphasize the class consciousness of both. With the expansion of Rome, the importance of wealth gave rise to a new class, the knights, who gradually augmented the ranks of privilege. The expansion of Rome also caused an influx of foreign slaves, from whom emerged a new class of wealthy freedmen. Instinctive Roman nationalism was further emphasized by the growth of Rome from a small city-state into a world-wide empire, and in the process, Romans became more arrogant and self-conscious. This chapter presents the evidence that Horace and Juvenal afford on class prejudice among their fellow countrymen directed chiefly against men of non-Roman origin.

(a) CLASS PREJUDICE

The stratification of Roman society was marked externally in various ways by dress or precedence in public places, which became irksome when it failed to correspond to a basis of merit. A law, enacted in 67 B.C. and known as the Lex Roscia, mentioned by both Horace and Juvenal, assigned the first fourteen rows in the theatre to the knights[1], whose minimum qualification of means was the possession of four hundred thousand sesterces[2]. A gentile

name and an amulet distinguished a freedman from a slave.[3] Juvenal bitterly complains that a man's rank is measured by his wealth.[4] If a man lacks wealth, his trustworthiness in court is questioned,[5] his clothes incur mockery,[6] and he himself is made an object of discrimination.[7] Juvenal alleges that poor men are compelled to give place to sons of adulterers and harlots, because of their poverty.[8] He is particularly aroused when he contemplates the influence of the wealthy at Domitian's court.[9]

The nobility, with ostentatious pride, displayed its ancestral effigies and masks in the atrium.[10] Great houses traced their lineage to the distant past, if not to Jupiter, at least to Aeneas,[11] or to some other legendary hero.[12] Comtempt was the lot of the humbly born.[13] Patricians paraded their heraldic regalia at funerals or at elections, to impress the common people with their ancestry.[14] But Domitian hated and despised the nobility[15] and tried to ruin it at every possible opportunity.[16] Juvenal remarks that it was a marvel if a man of noble rank lived to old age.[17] Gradually, the old aristocracy was supplanted by this emperor with his favorites and freedmen to such extent[18] that Juvenal can compare the old nobility of his day to a broken down statue of Hermes, a lifeless image of its former self and utterly unworthy of its name,[19] for that nobility, he adds, consisted now of knights from far-off Cappadocia, Bithynia, and even Gaul.[20] To the scions of ancient houses, he offers the advice that they should not be satisfied to depend upon the distinctions earned by their ancestors,[21] but should fulfil the duties of good citizens; they should tell the truth whatever the cost.[22] If one of them became governor

of a province, he should restrain his avarice, and not excessively provoke the poor.[23] Juvenal reminds him that by good administration he increases his nobility, while corruption in office aggravates his iniquity and degrades his ancestry.[24] Roman history is cited to point to the lesson that it is not always men of illustrious houses who saved Rome from disaster: it was Cicero, newly ennobled, who foiled Catiline, Cethegus and their adherents;[25] it was Marius, and not the patrician Catulus, who defeated the Cimbri.[26] The Decii were not of noble blood,[27] while Servius Tullius was the son of a slave.[28] The sons of Brutus himself tried to betray the new Roman Republic.[29] The nobility has fallen so far from its ancient elevation that the satirist can speak of men of noble blood seeking the dole or even hiring themselves as shepherds to their former slaves.[30]

In the first century A.D., the prominence of freedmen was exemplified by their position at the court, where they occupied important administrative posts. Their influence and wealth were enormous, especially under Claudius. A freedman was distinguished from a slave by having a praenomen, nomen and cognomen,[31] while a slave had only one name (sometimes two). Sons of freedmen wore amulets.[32] Horace was the son of a freedman, while Juvenal was either the son or adopted son of one of that class. Horace's attitude towards freedmen is not very clear, but apparently he is not hostile. He praises his freedman father sincerely for all that he has done for him and states openly that all his success is due to him.[33] He honors his father and is not ashamed of his humble parentage.[34] Indeed, he would not, if it were possible,

change places with any man of noble rank, incredible as that may seem to be.[35] He mentions the part that freedmen played as tax-farmers.[36] Juvenal's attitude, on the other hand, is hostile possibly due to the fact that freedmen of his day were commonly of foreign stock and often received preference over native Romans.[37] Freedmen controlled most of the retail trade of Rome, from which they became exceedingly wealthy and powerful. Having obtained wealth, they employed it in vulgar and unseemly modes of living. Horace had ridiculed such vulgarity in his description of the sumptuous banquet given by Nasidienus.[38] He comically describes all the trouble this freedman took to make himself seem an efficient and excellent host.[39] Juvenal vehemently protests that such freedmen, owing to their wealth, have precedence over the ancient nobility, and indeed over tribunes, praetors, and other officials in the distribution of the dole.[40] He adds that the former horn-blowers at public games, having become wealthy, give games themselves at which they put innocent men to death;[41] that slaves from Cappadocia and Bithynia become knights,[42] having bought their freedom and amassed money from profits of perjury and legacy-hunting.[43] To this Horace attests.[44] Some wealthy freedmen, Juvenal continues, become arrogant patrons and insult their clients at their banquets, not to save expense, but to provide amusement for other guests.[45] He singles out for mention Narcissus[46] and Posides,[47] the freedmen of Claudius, and Crispinus,[48] an ex-fish peddler from Egypt, who became a favorite of Domitian; likewise the Egyptian Arabarches (Tiberius Alexander), a capable general and supporter of Vespasian.[49]

The military class in Italy had become more important in the

First Century B.C. when Julius Caesar, Antony and Augustus founded colonies for their retired veterans. They often came to be the upper class in provincial centers. Horace recalls a boyhood memory of this class in his reference to the tall sons of tall centurions, who go to school with their satchels on their shoulders and bring on the appointed day the fee for their tuition.[50] Young Horace did not take to them. He makes only a passing reference to his later experience of soldiers. It was not uncommon to have one's foot trampled upon in Rome by a soldier's hob-nailed boot.[51] Juvenal, in the fragment which we possess of his last satire, reveals his anti-militarist spirit by the ironical praise which he bestows upon the bullies of the camp, and by his imposing recital of the inequalities of the civilians in contrast with the soldiers who were favored by the law.[52] He enlarges on the privileges that the soldiers enjoy, pointing out that a civilian may not strike a soldier, even in self-defence, and that the civilian does not dare to show the praetor his teeth which a soldier has knocked out or the black bruises and the swelling on his face.[53] It was a soldier's privilege to be tried by a court over which a military man presided.[54] As the trial of a soldier took place in camp, it was difficult for a civilian plaintiff to muster witnesses to brave the dangers and the hostility of the defendant's fellow soldiers.[55] Suits involving soldiers were exempt from legal entanglements and from the slow processes of the law.[56] Soldiers could make wills while their parents were still alive, nor did a soldier's property come into his father's possession while he was on service.[57] The soldier retained as personal possessions the rewards and spoils of war.[58]

He was free from social obligations and attendance at banquets.[59] Commissions in the army were granted regardless of merit and abused when granted.[60] Horace, the son of a freedman of Venusia and descendant of either Apulian or Lucanian stock, or both,[61] himself was thus appointed a tribune in the army of Brutus.[62] Juvenal derides the intrigues of the unworthy and ambitious who sought to obtain commissions.[63] The post was sought and employed by its holder to increase his wealth in diverse ways.

The lowest class of society consisted of slaves, recognized in literature by the possession of a single name,[64] and usually a foreign one. Their children were distinguished from the free-born. Slaves were placed on a block (catasta) and were sold by auction like any other commodity. Sometimes, their feet were chalked.[65] Some students of Juvenal believe that this practice was employed to signify that these slaves were born outside of Italy. Although generally subjected to harsh and scornful treatment, as Horace implies,[66] it was nevertheless the custom of the Romans to give a day of liberty to the slaves at the time of the Saturnalian festival, on which they might converse freely with and dine with their masters and even criticize them.[67] Thus Horace allows his own slave, Davus, to censure him. He himself does not seem to be too strict with his slaves, for he does not care if they filch such trifles as a few meatballs from the dishes that they bring to the banquet-table.[68] However slaves were often ill-fed and badly treated. By cruel masters, they were flogged and branded even for such venial faults as the inadvertant loss of a bath-towel at the baths,[69] while incorrigible slaves were assigned to

chain-gangs and work-houses.[70] With slaves who were innocently punished, Juvenal sympathizes and heaps his satire on their owners, especially on those heartless and callous mistresses who inflicted cruel torture upon the hapless victims of their resentment for the most trivial faults.[71] Under such circumstances, it need excite no surprise that slaves became disloyal to their masters and, as Horace states, sometimes robbed them.[72] Horace also mentions the scant ceremony that attended the funeral of a slave. Hired fellow slaves carried the body in a wooden box to a plot of ground while the master might pay no attention to the matter.[73]

Wealth was, Juvenal insists, the determining factor of social position at Rome.[74] He asserts that the goddess Money, although she had as yet no temple consecrated to her, was revered and worshipped more than any other deity,[75] criticism already expressed by Horace.[76] Juvenal declares that, as a man's merit is measured by his wealth, so also is his trustworthiness,[77] while a poor man, though he takes his oath by all the gods, is deemed to perjure himself.[78] No poor man is included as an heir to the estate of a man of means.[79] Torn clothes of the needy or his gaping shoes, incur the ridicule of the wealthy and the wearer himself is made a laughing stock.[80] At the public games the poor were compelled to give place to the illegitimate because of the difference of their means.[81] At the court of Domitian, wealthy freedmen, of foreign birth, were the favorites and received pardon for crimes which in another would have incurred severe punishments.[82] Scorn of the impecunious was due in part to the general high cost of

living, dear food and expensive dress which the poor could not afford.[83] There was even discrimination at social gatherings.[84] Haughty slaves of rich masters rebuffed and insulted old and poor clients of the house, regarding them as below their own social station.[85] But, should a destitute client suddenly acquire riches, he was immediately treated as the best friend of the patron whose slaves now insulted him.[86] The same discrimination was made between the rich and the poor when they suffered misfortune. The wealthy man received such assistance from his friends after a fire that he became more affluent than before, while the poor man, suffering loss from a similar cause, was befriended neither with clothing nor food, but was left to face the cruel world alone.[87] Juvenal sums up the situation with the remark that life in Rome is only for the rich, who alone can afford sleep, food and protection,[88] and that the poor should have left the city long ago, seceding like the plebeians of earlier times.[89]

While Juvenal more bitterly attacks the nefarious ways of acquiring wealth, such as legacy-hunting, forgery, perjury, and poisoning, both Horace and Juvenal express equal sympathy with the under-privileged and the ill-treated and equally criticize all those who abuse the privilege that position and wealth confer. Their attitude is undoubtedly explained to some extent by their rise from the freedman class.

(b) ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOREIGNERS

Juvenal by a forceful figure says that the Syrian Orontes had long flowed into the Tiber and that Rome had become a Greek city.[90] Roman conquests had indeed resulted in many foreigners

coming to Rome from various parts of the world: from India, Spain, Ethiopia, Belgium, and Britain. Many of these were slaves who subsequently won their freedom. Having a bent for business and being generally more alert than the Romans, these aliens became wealthy and influential in the capital, and some, such as Seneca and Vitellius, gained positions of great power. That Roman racial pride resented this is clear from the question in Horace: "Do you, foreign-born, dare to put a Roman to death?"[91] Juvenal in a sweeping condemnation describes them as degenerates. Scornfully he employs foreign names to designate degrading professions.[92] Towards natives of regions in Italy outside of Rome, his attitude is much milder.

In a famous mocking phrase Juvenal says that Orientals were wafted to Rome by the same wind that brings figs and plums.[93] With them they brought their outlandish language and customs, and their strange paraphernalia.[94] They were keen, bold, ready of speech, versatile, skilled in every craft, adept in flattery, persistent, and prepared to try anything.[95] Others Juvenal depicts as coarse in features, with brawny necks, and shrill and unnatural voices.[96] Spaniards, Illyricans, Gauls, and Africans, men from the provinces which would not brook to be despoiled by the greedy Roman governors,[97] were fierce and warlike. Chaldeans practiced astrology and soothsaying, from which they acquired great influence,[98] even over emperors like Tiberius and Galba. The latter group Juvenal particularly detested. To these, he refers again and again as scheming quacks.[99] Horace too refers to them with casual observations and is skeptical of their art.[100] By

craft and boldness, these alien climbers became first intimate friends of great families, and presently, their masters![101] Some, by perjury and other dishonest means, attained to the equestrian census![102] Juvenal cites a foreign barber,[103] a former fish peddler,[104] and an Egyptian general[105] as typical examples. He complains that, at the distribution of the dole, a client with holes in his ears took precedence over the descendants of the Trojans, even though they were tribunes and praetors.[106] They were called before native Romans to be witnesses and were given better places at table,[107] and were thus displacing faithful Romans in the friendships of the great.[108] Their religious customs and beliefs do not escape the censure of the satirist, who mocks at the Jews for their being bare-footed on the Sabbath and for abstaining from pork.[109]

The Greeks were the first considerable foreign element in Rome, for, from the rise of the Republic, Greek civilization constantly influenced that of Rome, particularly in language and literature. Horace, criticizing Lucilius for his excessive use of Greek, refers to inhabitants of Canusium and Apulia who spoke Greek as well as Latin,[110] suggesting that it was unnecessary to use Greek where Latin would suffice.[111] Juvenal endorses this view when he criticizes women who like to speak Greek but are ashamed to speak Latin.[112] Greek influence was also shown in Roman recreation. Horace scornfully asserts that Roman military service would wear out gentle Romans wont to play the part of Greeks with their ball, discus and javelin.[113] But, on the whole, he is sympathetic toward the Greeks for he had completed his education in Athens. He refers to his Greek travelling companion and rhetorician, Heliodorus.[114] A

reminiscence of his sojourn in Greece is seen in his account of the witty incident in the court of Brutus involving Persius, the half-Greek.[115]

Juvenal, on the other hand, is strongly antagonistic to the Greeks. He shows his disdain by using Greek names for men of ignoble professions or of low character,[116] and latinized Greek words to indicate practices imported from Greece.[117] He stigmatizes the Greeks as a race of actors, comedians, tragedians,[118] and liars,[119] asserting that they transform fables into history and pretend that they are the truth.[120] In almost every way, he regards them as morally degenerate.[121] He accuses a Greek physician, Archigenes, of being a procurer for adulterers,[122] while another Greek doctor, Themison, he alleges to be a murderer of Romans.[123] Greek professors corrupted the morals of their pupils.[124] Trypherus was a contemptible teacher of carving.[125] While it is a common practice to swear by one's head, a cunning Greek saves his own head and swears falsely by that of someone else, who will thus bear the consequences of his perjury.[126] Juvenal's dislike is reflected in his praise of the uncouth and barbarous soldiers who adorned their shields and horses' reins with the broken pieces of Greek statuary.[127] Juvenal particularly emphasizes the hypocrisy of the Greeks, who will burst their sides with false laughter at the first sign of a smile on the face of him they wish to please,[128] who shed a flood of tears if they notice a tear in his eye.[129] They suit their mood to their victim, and perspire or shiver, cry or laugh, in keeping with the passing feelings of the patron with whom they wish to ingratiate themselves.[130] Such a friend they never

share, but, keep to themselves.[131] To them, there is nothing sacred, nothing is safe from their greed and lust. They sacrifice everything to their desires.[132] Greeks will dare all, even scale the heights to heaven, if they are told to do so.[133] It was a Greek Stoic who killed Bareas, his personal friend.[134] It is abundantly clear that Juvenal dislikes everything Greek.

Among the foreigners at Rome, Egyptians had long been detested. This feeling had been enhanced in the struggle of Augustus against Antony and his Egyptian paramour. The name of Egypt's queen, Cleopatra, was feared and despised by every Roman, and Egypt came to be identified with profligacy and corruption. Horace's dislike does not emerge in his Satires but in his Odes which, however, are not under discussion here. Juvenal's Satires, on the other hand, display a marked antipathy, and it is believed that he spent his last years in Egypt. He charges that Egypt is uncivilized, profligate and luxurious, and specifies Canopus near Alexandria.[135] Egyptians are useless and unwarlike: they ply toy boats of porcelain, impelled by Lilliputian oars, and are capable of childish fury.[136] They have strange religious customs. They worship animals of all sorts: the cat, the dog, the ape, the crocodile, the ibis, not to mention reptiles, fish, and even vegetables, such as the leek and the onion.[137] Juvenal sarcastically remarks that it must indeed be a holy nation which has gods growing in its back-yards.[138] He denounces the oriental orgies of the <u>rauca cohors</u> of Egyptian worshippers. He scornfully says that it is well known that the temple of the Egyptian Isis supports painters.[139] The crimes of cannibalism, to which he

devotes an interesting passage, is another charge against the Egyptians.[140] He admits that under the stress of war and siege men have kept death at bay by eating human flesh,[141] but, the Egyptians cannot claim to be savages from whom such an atrocity might be expected. They refuse to eat animals, and yet, do not shrink from eating human flesh.[142] Individual Egyptians are singled out for attack because of their wealth and influence. One is a foul voluptuary[143] who wears out his steeds by racing them in the porticoes;[144] he is so extravagant that he paid a thousand sesterces for a three-pound mullet.[145] Juvenal compares his present position as Domitian's favorite with his former trade of street-hawker.[146]

Jews were treated with contempt at Rome where they lived like gypsies by begging and fortune-telling. Juvenal points to the palsied Jewess who foretold the future of those who crossed her palm with a coin.[147] Horace suggests that they were superstitious,[148] and yet well organized.[149] Juvenal touches upon the creation of slums where sacred groves and fountains are let out to the race whose only furniture is a basket and a bundle of hay.[150] He ridicules their synagogues,[151] and their custom of going barefooted on the sabbath and suggests with disdain that their abstention from pork grants long life to swine.[152][153][154] He laments that some Romans have fathers who fear the Sabbath and worship no other deities than the clouds and the heavens,[155] who scorn Roman laws but obey and fear those of Moses,[156] which prevent them from working on the seventh day.[157] He describes them as an unfriendly race, who will not even point out the way or show a fountain to anyone except one of their race or faith.[158]

The cosmopolitan population of Rome included representatives of many other races, even African negroes, who were scorned but nonetheless used as waiters and footmen.[159] They were believed to indulge in murders and robberies whenever they could.[160] The Near East was a prolific source of pages and waiters at banquets.[161] Juvenal's epithet "fair-haired" (*flavam*) seems to indicate the presence also of captive women from Northern tribes.[162]

To counterbalance the general prejudice, we find in both Horace and Juvenal a notable strain of friendly sympathy for the Italians and the provincials who were commonly treated as inferior to the native Romans.[163] Horace, born at Venusia,[164] was a southern Italian, while his patron Maecenas was a descendant of Etruscan kings.[165] Horace himself felt the stigma of Roman scorn though Maecenas considered not a man's origin but his character and worth;[166] these earned the poet's undying gratitude and praise. Juvenal, also an Italian, born at Aquinum,[167] recalls with pride that Cicero, a *novus homo* from Arpinum, saved the Roman state when it was endangered by the plot of Roman nobles like Catiline and Cethegus.[168] Other provincials, he notes, rose to great heights, as did Sejanus, Tiberius's *alter ego*.[169] But he thoroughly despises vulgar provincial horn-blowers, conspicuous for their puffed-up cheeks;[170] and Horace makes a joke of town-magistrates in Italy who bore him with their petty official pride.[171]

Juvenal adopts a lofty moral tone when he writes of the mistreatment of the provinces at the hands of greedy Roman governors. They were plundered wholesale and despoiled of their gold and art-treasures.[172] Each succeeding governor reduced the remnants

which his predecessor left behind.[173] Provinces could, it is true, bring suit against their ex-governors, but, in the epigram of Juvenal, the victorious province weeps while the ex-governor enjoys his spoils.[174]

On the whole Horace appears more tolerant towards the foreigners than Juvenal, whose hostility is due partly to his belief that the moral laxity of his time should be blamed upon the unprincipled alien, and partly to his dismay at the success of those same aliens in outstripping the native Romans wherever they competed. In Horace's day, this social process had not advanced so far, and thus we may account for his greater tolerance.

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CHAPTER VI

LITERARY TASTE AND CRITICISM

As it is of the essence of satire to be critical, and as poets are particularly concerned about literature, the work of the Roman satirists is filled with shrewd observations and strictures on popular writers and current literary trends. From the opinions and criticisms so expressed, varying with the preference or prejudice of the critic, one may form a fairly clear estimate of the personal characteristics and canons of judgment of the satirists themselves as well as the prevailing literary tastes of Roman society contemporary with them.

(a) PERSONAL TASTES AND LITERARY PRINCIPLES OF HORACE AND JUVENAL

Horace and Juvenal are in sharp contrast, as much in their style of writing as in their outlook on life. Horace takes an amiable view of life; he recognizes human weaknesses and censures them lightly, for, what is to prevent a man, he asks, from criticizing human frailties with a smile.[1] He undertakes to slander no one and vows to keep his word. Juvenal, on the other hand, deals with human weaknesses and frivolities sternly and mercilessly; his general attitude is indicated in his own statement that even if one had no ability to write satire, indignation at current vices would force him to do so.[2] He does admit that it is dangerous to direct his satire against living personages[3] --- this may be due to the fact that he began writing in the inauspicious days of Domitian.

Horace believed in quality in literature rather than in quantity. Poetry should not be valued for its volume nor the poet for his rapidity of composition. This belief is clear from his repudiation of the false ambition of Crispinus.[4] Many writers, because they share the views of Crispinus and err with him, compose as if they were blowing bellows in a blacksmith's shop.[5] The same criticism is reflected in Horace's rejection of the bore's claim to merit.[6] He himself writes neither copiously nor carelessly.[7] On similar grounds, he criticizes the satires of Lucilius for their turbid style.[8] Wit, brevity and variety, he regards as essential.[9] Sometimes good-natured raillery is more effective than severity, as the Greek writers of the Old Comedy knew.[10] There is no merit, however, in the mere use of Greek words and phrases.[11] Most of all, a poet must employ care and sound judgment and should not concern himself about popular adulation.[12]

In spite of all his editor's attempts at corrections, the work of Lucilius, in Horace's opinion, is full of faults,[13] and who, he asks, is such a partisan as not to admit it.[14] That Lucilius was a bold satirist and spared no effort in his censure, Horace does not dispute, but he frankly denies the claim that he was a faultless one.[15] It is not enough to make a reader smile, for writing must possess the merits already mentioned, of brevity, wit and variety.[16] Lucilius is praised by his admirers for mingling Greek and Latin words which Horace insists is not a virtue but a defect in his style.[17] Horace appears to be of the opinion that Lucilius imitated the writers of Old Attic Comedy, differing from them only in outward form.[18] He considers him as a

writer, not inelegant, of quick discernment, but harsh in composition, and capable of dictating two hundred verses within an hour.[19] Because he was verbose and careless, Lucilius' verse was like a muddy stream, from which there was much that could be omitted.[20] Horace does not deny that Lucilius was a great writer, more forceful and effective than any of his predecessors in the same field, but neither was he faultless. Had he lived longer, he would have pruned much from his rough lines.[21] Horace is careful to add, however, that his censure of Lucilius does not imply his own superiority in the field.[22] Indeed, he followed Lucilius in entrusting to his writings his inmost thoughts[23] and confiding to his tablets his honest observations of the life about him.[24]

Horace denies the charge that he takes pleasure in showing up the failings of men.[25] This charge, he declares, should rather be directed against parasites and hypocrites who feign praise.[26] Instead of swelling the over-crowded ranks of epic and dramatic poets, he chose deliberately to write satire for which he feels himself suited.[27] Indeed he plans to develop a new style in which he will avoid the defects of Lucilius, although he cannot hope to surpass him.[28] Warned by his friend Trebatius that he will be feared and hated, he confesses that he has an uncontrollable impulse to write satire and so is not immune to the cacoethes scribendi.[29] Here he has an excellent example in Lucilius. Yet, he will employ satire only as a weapon for defence.[30] Juvenal's motive is rather different with a greater moral emphasis, inspired by his idealistic admiration for the manners and morals of the early Roman Republic. In the light of that vanished

standard,[31] he castigates the decadence of contemporary Roman society.[32] Indignation compels him to write satire. The men of his day were not like the men of old and worthy to converse with the gods.[33]

Horace and Juvenal differed also in their attitude to their literary contemporaries. Horace reminds us of the early antagonism with which he met as an aspiring writer. When he became acquainted with Vergil, Varius, and Plotius, his attitude towards other writers became more kindly.[34] His circle of friends may well have included writers who were Greeks. Juvenal, on the other hand, though he was acquainted with Martial and some other men of letters, appears to have had no close literary friends, herein differing greatly from Horace. Of the Greeks, he questions the veracity of Herodotus and spares not even Homer.[35]

It is a satirist's business to be critical. Horace in a picturesque figure suggests that his proper instrument is the balance with man's virtues and vices suspended in opposite scales.[36] He attributes his critical acumen to his father, who taught him to observe the conduct of others as an object lesson in what to shun and what to imitate.[37] Thus, he developed the power of appraising not only others, but also himself.[38] And so in his satires, he disclaims the title of poet, for, it is not enough to put mere words or ordinary discourse into verse;[39] a poet must have inspiration and lofty ideals.[40] He admits his inferiority to Lucilius in native ability, but, he has been as fortunate as he in his literary friends.[41] For good writing, friendly criticism is essential and this is not afforded by the flattery of the crowd.

Horace writes to please a small group of discriminating cultured friends.[42] Though Juvenal admits the danger of writing about and dealing with contemporary personalities,[43] and criticizes the length of contemporary plays,[44] he throws little specific light upon his canons of literary criticism.

A point of contrast between Horace and Juvenal in respect of literary method concerns the question of emphasis. Horace has a sense of proportion and views his subject in its proper perspective,[45] whether he scans the foibles of the Stoics or the vice of avarice.[46] His tone is suited to the theme and its seriousness. But, Juvenal's dislikes, so many and so varied, are all declaimed with the same vociferous vehemence. Whether he attacks foreign morals or foreign religions,[47] domestic manners or domestic crimes,[48] literary bores or military bullies,[49] his indignation is always intense. He seldom discriminates between mere vanity and actual vice.[50] Juvenal lacks a proper sense of balance and this is a serious literary fault.

(b) INFERENCES AS TO THE PREVALENT POPULAR TASTES

Rome enjoyed two great periods of literature, the Golden Age and the Silver Age. Horace well represented the first, and Juvenal was a characteristic product of the second. The interval between failed to produce outstanding genius. Even during the great periods, the average literary taste of common people was low. They were interested in the mimes and the games. Horace withdrew to his Sabine farm from Rome during the orgies of the Saturnalia.[51] Juvenal complains that literature was so little valued in the time of Nero that it was more profitable to engage in other professions

than in writing.[52] Books were sold chiefly at auctions because people were more interested in other things.

The chief means of literary promotion was by public recitations. These had become an everyday affair in Rome. Juvenal considers them to be one of the greatest afflictions of city life.[53] They were held in almost any place where the author could muster an audience --- in the forum, in vaulted rooms, in the baths, on street corners, in porticoes, and even at banquets or ordinary meals in private homes.[54] Public exhibitions of an author's writings were held in the portico of a temple,[55] in a room or a garden loaned by a friend,[56] or in a house rented for the occasion and fitted out with benches in the manner of a theatre.[57] Sometimes freedmen were hired to applaud, while clients were always present to give vociferous support to their patrons' orations.[58] Private recitations were also held and these were generally staged for the guests during a banquet or became an unwelcome entertainment if the host recited his own composition.[59] Not all the recitations were tiresome; indeed, some were well liked, especially those of the writings of Vergil, Horace, and Pliny.[60] Horace says that he often gives private recitations to his friends, but, these are his select few.[61]

Public recitations contributed to the popular dislike of satire and its authors. But, honest folks, says Horace, need not fear that he will expose their weaknesses, because he does not read works publicly, nor does he publish or sell his books.[62] His recitations are restricted in regard to occasion and audience in contrast to those of others who recite readily at all possible[63]

times.[64]

Juvenal complains of the discursiveness of writing in his day, especially of the drama. Plays, he says, were so lengthy that they required the reverse side of the scroll.[65] Recitations were long drawn out and some took several days to complete,[66] frequently lasting until the bored audience melted away.[67] They normally dealt with harmless subjects and mythological characters, for it was dangerous to write, especially in satire, about current topics or influential persons.[68] In the opinion of Juvenal, literary talent can never flourish under such conditions, for, to be a great poet, a man must be in easy and unrestricted circumstances.[69] Vergil's poetry would not have been as great as it is, had Vergil languished in poverty.[70] Horace was in favorable circumstances when he wrote his Satires, since he enjoyed the friendship and the companionship of Maecenas.[71] For himself, Juvenal states that he will not write voluminously nor will he recite his works in public.[72]

The Roman theatre enjoyed a limited popularity, but the plays staged were generally mimes or farces, representing scenes from the lives of common people, and the lines were vulgar and coarse.[73] Comedies and farces were popular in the time of Horace,[74] though the learned still wrote epics and dramas for their set of literary enthusiasts.[75] The plays of low life appealed to the humor and provoked the laughter of the rabble.[76] The ballet or pantomime, imported from Greece, was also popular.[77] Horace criticizes the comic writers of his day for claiming the rank of poet though merely putting ordinary conversation into verse --- a poet must possess[78]

inspiration.[79] Comedy seldom shows that quality in spite of its fiery speeches,[80] for it deals with low characters, such as young spendthrifts in love with harlots, with profligates and drunkards, and with cunning slaves.[81] Juvenal bitterly denounces the theatre of his time as monopolized by degenerate foreign actors,[82] for whom women pine and even forsake their husbands.[83] Literary appreciation was at a low ebb, so low in fact, that Romans, both high and low, preferred the bloodshed of the gladiatorial games.[84] Horse-racing in the Circus was also popular because of the betting as well as the risks run by the competitors.[85]

Not only did literature suffer from competition with more popular amusements; it was prostituted by writers who made a pretense of literary art to further their selfish ends, as did the self-seeking bore who met Horace in the Forum.[86] Horace would not stoop to the common practice of writing an epic about the emperor Augustus's exploits in order to obtain a reward.[87] Juvenal asserts that such topics had been exploited so thoroughly by poets that they had become tiresome.[88] He affirms that literature had descended to so low a state that it was more profitable to take to trades, even to such a low one as auctioneering.[89] Authors could afford only the poorest of quarters and starved from lack of funds.[90] The historians were in no better circumstances than the poets, for their renumeration was equally inadequate, in spite of their more exacting labor and research and more extensive content of their many rolls.[91] Oratory seemed to fare better, since it was gaining in popularity. Gaul, Spain, and Africa were great patrons of oratory, and some of the foremost of Roman rhetoricians

had founded their reputation there.[92] The lack of interest in literature was largely due to the low value placed on education. Wealthy Romans readily squandered large sums for luxuries, but refused to pay even a niggardly fee to their son's tutors,[93] and preferred to entrust their offspring to Greek pedagogues and to household slaves.[94] The only hope of literature in Juvenal's time centered in the emperor.[95]

Literary patronage on the whole was beneficial to Roman literature. Augustus and Maecenas helped and encouraged Horace; but, they were careful to choose between the many who desired to obtain their patronage, as Horace points out.[96] He testifies to the discrimination of Maecenas in his account of his admission to Maecenas's friendship.[97] This close intimacy of the poet and his patron brought on Horace the jealousy of self-seekers. Juvenal adds to our knowledge of the subject the names of such refined patrons of letters as Proculius, Fabius, Cotta, and Lentulus.[98] During the tyranny of Nero, who was jealous of literary competition, patronage was impossible, and writers were reduced to extreme distress.[99] Again, rich men, who posed as patrons, were more generous to their mistresses whom they pampered with such luxuries as pet lions, but, for a client poet, they had nothing to spare that cost money.[100] Others competed with their clients, for they, like Nero, aspired themselves to the name of poet.[101] If a poet wished to give a recitation, his wealthy patron might loan him a disused house in a distant part of a town, send his freedmen to applaud, but would not contribute to the expenses involved.[102] Juvenal concludes that the only hope of literary aspirants was in

the court where they could expect recognition for their work.[103] He admits that for a rich writer like Lucan praise was enough; but, for a starving poet, the necessaries of life were more important.[104] Statius, at one time, was a popular poet, for all Rome thronged to hear his art, but, he profited nothing by it.[105] Actors sometimes were better patrons than the great nobles of the day.[106] With the rise of Trajan and Hadrian to power,[107] there came a literary revival for these emperors lent their patronage to worthy authors.

For a writer of satire, there was an additional difficulty of avoiding libel, and falling foul of the law.[108] Trebatius warns Horace against lampooning anyone with abusive verses.[109] Juvenal alleges the same reason for not writing on contemporary politics and persons.[110]

Although prevailing taste offered little encouragement to literature, it did provide excellent material for the satirist and the moralist. Horace and Juvenal accepted the challenge and made the most of it. To them, we are indebted for a graphic indictment of the evils of their day, and to these faults, they were indebted for stimulating themes.

(c) LITERARY CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH WRITER

Roman satire was a native literary achievement to which both Horace and Juvenal made their characteristic contributions. The former is a shrewd observer and a kindly commentator, while the latter sees social phenomena in a distorted medium and stigmatizes all failings with equal severity. Their respective methods of writing may now be considered.

On the whole, Horace is natural and straight-forward in the unfolding of his theme. In his discussion of the common discontent of men with their lot, there is a gradual disclosure of the basic absurdity of attributing it to occupation or to fate.[111] His topical discussions are carefully planned and executed as for example that on the merits of the works of Lucilius and those of[112] the Stoic doctrine.[113] Often, he concentrates his criticism in a passing phrase or a brief illustration.[114] Juvenal, on the other hand, prefers rhetorical amplification of circumstances, as when he develops the thought that a true poet must be free from all anxiety,[115] or his description of the arrival of Catullus in Ostia.[116] Some of his satires are a conglomeration and a medley of topics, disconnected and different, as is the case with his Sixth Satire.

Both satirists employ effectively words and phrases with pictorial implications. Horace uses the expression ambas buccas inflet of Jupiter to convey the idea of anger with a burlesque comic effect.[117] He compares the striving for wealth to a horse race in which every competitor tries to overtake and pass those who are in front.[118] The sententiousness of his Trebatius is characteristic of a lawyer.[119] Juvenal's diction, too, is expressive of the desired colouring. He employs latinized Greek words to designate customs derived from Greece, for example, the Greek[120] word by which he denotes the ballet,[121] and the Greek words, derivatives and proper names, which he uses to show his contempt for things Greek.[122]

Both satirists use proper names to designate more vividly certain types, classes and characters. In Horace, we meet

Nomentanus,[123] a spendthrift, Naevius,[124] a prodigal, Gargonius,[125] a fop, Fabius,[126] a Stoic writer, Ofellus,[127] a rustic, Servius,[128] Balatro and Vibidius,[129] parasites, and Umidius, a miser. Sometimes he introduces[130] friends like Fuscus Aristus to dramatize his story; again he names individuals whom he dislikes, like Crispinus,[131] to make criticism more realistic. Juvenal also habitually deals with concrete cases rather than general abstractions; for him, Maecenas[132] typifies an effeminate and a dandy, Gallitta and Pacius,[133] legacy-hunters, Novius, Pacuvius and Histra,[134] novus homo, Artorius and Catullus,[135] swindlers, Verres, the extortionist and tyrannical governor,[136] Crispinus,[137] Massa and Carus, wealthy freedmen and ex-slaves.[138] He cites Caesar, Cicero, Pompey and Sejanus, as typical statesmen,[139] and Hannibal, Xerxes and Alexander, as world conquerors.[140] Sometimes, for dramatic reasons, Juvenal, like Horace, introduces persons whom he does not satirize, such as Umbricius[141] and Catullus.[142] For his examples he draws heavily upon Roman history as is evident from the use of such names as Marius, Pompey, Cethegus, Lentulus, Brutus, Catiline, Servius Tullius, and the Drusi.

Horace shows artistic variety in terminating his satires, for in one he breaks off abruptly in order to avoid the charge of garrulity, while in another he closes with a witticism, to save himself from being too serious or too didactic.[143] Juvenal closes normally on a serious philosophical note --- it never occurs to him that his discourse may become too ponderous.

The wit of Horace is good-humoured, and it takes many interesting forms: a mock-heroic grandiose manner in describing

the battle of brains between two buffoons;[144] an unobtrusive pun conveying subtle satire on Brutus;[145] or an amusing description of the encounter with a bore.[146] Catius' detailed description of the preparation of fine dishes is a comic parody on the Epicurean art of dining;[147] a similar treatment is used in the account of the banquet of Nasidienus.[148] Humor is exemplified also in the two Stoic lectures by Davus[149] and Damasippus.[150] Juvenal, though witty, is seldom humorous; his attempts at humor are still bitter and caustic, as when he compares a meeting of maidens deliberating about the dressing of their hair to the meeting of magistrates or of senators with their dignified diction.[151] His most sustained and not unsuccessful effort in this direction is his likening of the meeting presided over by Domitian to decide the fate of a turbot to an august meeting of a council of state.[152]

Mythology is a useful source of illustration to both writers. Horace employs it in his description of Damasippus' despondency.[153] It provides him with his examples of sanity and insanity, where Orestes, Ajax, Achilles and Ulysses, all are concerned.[154] He renders his discussion of legacy-hunting and inheritance more impressive by using the seer Tiresias to tell Ulysses how to regain his former position in his home.[155] Juvenal avails himself of mythological material to convey more vividly the idea that men had shrunk and become tiny creatures.[156] As Catullus goes past Alba Longa, Juvenal illuminates the scene by recalling that Aeneas with Iulus came there long before.[157] Like Horace, Juvenal takes his typical madman from mythology, in the person of Orestes.[158] He finds appropriate use for the names of Hercules,[159] Nestor,[160] Peleus[161]

and Priam.[162]

The dexterous use of contrast is a valuable literary device. Horace makes effective use of it when he places two types in juxtaposition as a soldier and a sailor, a lawyer and a rustic,[163] and again, when he contrasts a jar with a granary, or a brooklet with a river.[164] There is contrast too between the doctrinal formalism of the Stoics and the blithe common-sense of Horace,[165] to the advantage of the latter. In the story of the city and the country mouse, life in the country is skilfully contrasted with that in the city.[166] The brevity of Trebatius is in contrast with the verbosity of Horace.[167] Juvenal vividly contrasts the living and the dead.[168] He also places side by side two vivid pictures of a fire and its contrasting effects on its poor and its rich victim.[169] He sets ancient simplicity in opposition to the extravagance of his own day.[170] In his description of Egypt, he contrasts gaiety and revelry with hatred and hunger.[171]

Many arresting miniature pictures and portraits increase the interest of Roman satire. Horace deftly sketches a niggardly miser of Athens, gloating over his gold and praising himself;[172] he draws a memorable picture of a miser on his death-bed with his physician standing by;[173] with a few well-chosen words he recalls the contradictory nature of Tigellius.[174] Like a clever cartoonist, he depicts the host who almost set his house on fire while trying to prepare a meal for his guests.[175]

Juvenal has an even greater talent for brief characterization of prominent individuals, like Nero, who murdered his relatives

and kinsmen, who played in farces and mimes, sang at public games and participated in public contests in which, of course, he was always victorious.[176] He brings the three great conquerors to life: Hannibal, a man of genius driven by a mad ambition for fame,[177] Alexander, a youth unsatisfied by the conquest of the entire world,[178] and Xerxes, a tyrant of unrestrained ferocity who vainly defied the obstacles of nature.[179] Among Juvenal's lesser types, there is a pigmy, a foot in height, who fights with a crane and is carried off by the victorious bird;[180] there is the sick man whose appetite for food and drink has vanished;[181] above all, there is the senile dotard with his deformed features, flabby cheeks and unsightly wrinkles, which give him the appearance of a monkey:[182] the poor creature, with his quaking voice, dripping nose and toothless gums, is a burden to everyone, including himself.

The influence of fable on satire is seen in the animal portraits. Horace draws them well and vividly sketches the ant storing up in summer provisions for the approaching winter,[183] the frog trying to equal the size of an ox,[184] and the country mouse and the city mouse in their respective backgrounds.[185] Juvenal elaborates upon the huge turbot which was brought to Domitian and traces its finny journey from the Sea of Azov to the Black Sea,[186] and does not neglect the lobster carried on its large platter into the dining room.[187] He feels the pathos of the calf with its newly budding horns, fattened as a victim, led into the temple for sacrifice,[188] and he is interested in the rarer beaver.[189]

Snapshots of Rome itself are common in the satires of Horace and Juvenal. What could be more real and amusing than Horace's

description of his walk through the Forum and of his meeting with the bore, from whom he tried so hard to escape?[190] What could better reveal the life of the streets than his account of his day in the big city and the characters that he encountered there?[191] Juvenal, in a rapid succession, gives brief but vivid glimpses of the swarming metropolis, for, just as if he were at a cinema, the reader sees a burning house with a poor tenant trapped in his room on the top floor,[192] a rich man's house consumed by fire,[193] a street-scene with its cattle, wagons and gossiping throngs,[194] a long line of clients waiting their turns at the dole,[195] some disputing about their place in the line,[196] others hurrying hither and thither with their bread-baskets and portable kitchens,[197] a narrow street through which the sedan-chair of a rich man is borne on the shoulders of husky slaves.[198] Wagons pass loaded high with logs of fir or pine, or mountain-loads of Ligurian marble;[199] one of these breaks down and a poor man is crushed beneath the mass of rock,[200] meanwhile his family at home, unaware of his fate, is preparing his meal and his bath,[201] while his ghost is already sitting on the banks of the Styx, distressed because it could not pay the Ferryman's fee.[202] The scene changes and shows a drunkard seeking the chance to engage in a brawl,[203] and an innocent pedestrian being attacked by a soldier, a bully, or else by a belated reveller.[204]

Examples of graphic or realistic description by either writer might be multiplied. In Horace, a god suddenly appears between two individuals whose lots of life he offers to exchange.[205] The progress of mankind is pictorially represented from its

creation to the present day.[207] From his own experience, Horace describes the trip on a tow-boat, a travelogue enlivened with gnats and croaking frogs.[208] Juvenal has a vivid sketch of winter with its howling winds, pestilential fevers, and bitter cold,[209] and a lively description of a storm.[210] He shows us homely views of domestic life: the assembly of maidens meeting to discuss the topic of hairdressing;[211] the household of a wealthy man, bustling about and cleaning everything under the careful scrutiny of its master who is awaiting his guests;[212] the simple process of spinning or gathering vegetables.[213] More exotic is his lurid picture of Egypt and its orgies,[214] and its unwarlike and useless people who play with toy boats.[215] Particularly striking is his description of the decline of the human race.[216] There is a caricature of the manner in which a wealthy man treats his son's teachers.[217] There is an attracive delineation of the professors of old whose word to their pupils was law, in contrast with the contemporary professor beaten by his pupils.[218]

The chief characteristic of Horace is his genial common sense, that of Juvenal is his dramatic vehemence. Horace is distinguished for the skilful unfolding of his theme whereas Juvenal prefers the rhetorical amplification of circumstances. Both satirists are skilled in the dramatic and pictorial use of language and both find effective illustrations in mythology. Horace relieves the seriousness of his discourse with a sudden sally of humor; his conclusion frequently takes this turn. Juvenal, lacking Horace's humour and mental agility, finishes his sermonizing with a philosophical maxim. While both satirists

support their arguments with apt examples, Juvenal's vignettes are somewhat the more vivid because of his dramatic intensity and his proneness to exageration.

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CHAPTER VII

ROMAN EDUCATION

The ancient ideal of the Roman parent was to beget and train a son to succeed him in the ranks of the citizens. He regarded this as a duty to the state. It was upon this very foundation that Roman greatness was built, and when the foundation began to slip, the security of the Empire was threatened. The new citizen was naturally a product of his training and, in the early days, education was simple and strict. The pater familias had complete control of his family; he brought up his sons to lead an austere and frugal life, to revere the household and native gods, and to preserve Roman ideals. Boys were taught the management of the farm and household, while the girls were taught domestic arts. This training produced the hardy people who carried Rome to world power. With its rise and expansion, there came an infiltration of foreign influences, chiefly Greek. The Roman became aware of new and seductive aspects of culture, literature, music and philosophy. He heard of strange gods. He basked in unwonted luxury. Under Greek influence, education too began to change. The pater familias yielded his place to a Greek teacher, who cast the young citizen in a different mould. From this slave teacher the adolescent Roman imbibed a different ambition. Literature, music, rhetoric, and philosophy were not his only lessons. His wealth encouraged indulgence in luxury and vulgarity. The old ideals of austerity and simplicity yielded to the extravagant and enervating refinements that were imported from the East.

Mystic and fanatic cults succeeded the simple faith of the old religion. The character of the new Roman was that of a selfish individualist, rather than of a public-spirited patriot of the past. As the complexity of wants increased, education too became more complex, but personal ambition was a poorer asset for the state than the older ideal of public service. Rome had started on the downward trend, uneven at first, now hastened, now arrested, but always headed towards chaos and oblivion.

It will be useful here to examine briefly the content and method of the educational practices reflected in Horace and Juvenal and to estimate the importance which they seem to attach to the training of youth.

(a) CONTENT AND METHOD OF ROMAN EDUCATION

Much valuable data on Roman education can be gleaned from both Horace and Juvenal. The old frugality and contempt of wealth and luxury had long since disappeared except in the agricultural communities, which always tend to be conservative. Horace's boyhood was passed under the more wholesome influence of the older ideal. Elsewhere, the content and method of education had changed greatly with the influx of Greek teachers, Greek letters and Greek ideas of culture. A completely new system of education grew up. The Greek teacher was left to assume the responsibility of the pater familias as the moulder of national character. The new curriculum included art, literature, music, rhetoric, history and grammar. At the higher level, schools of rhetoric eventually developed an elaborate course in public speaking. We read of gladiatorial schools in the

satirists, but they were seldom entered by free Romans voluntarily. In them were confined and trained the brutal captives who shed their blood in the arena for Roman amusement. Gastronomic schools for slaves of the kitchen or the dining room constitute another strange phenomenon that may foreshadow modern technical training, but had nothing to do with Roman education.

Juvenal was an ardent admirer of the ancient ideal of frugality[1] and the contempt of luxury,[2] once impressed upon his sons by the pater familias while his wife initiated her daughters into the use of the spinning wheel and into other household duties. The method of instruction was by maxim, precept, and the observation of characters from real life. Such an education Horace himself received.[3] Juvenal laments that this sacred duty of the parent was entrusted to Greeks, the renegades of Rome.[4] And yet, he can sympathize with the teachers of rhetoric,[5] for he had attended such a school,[6] and states that the teaching of rhetoric was no more lucrative than speaking in court.[7] Students evaded the payment of fees by shifting the blame for their stupidity upon their instructors.[8] Many professors had to abandon the unreal debates of their class-rooms to engage in the real contests of the court-room, if they hoped to collect their hard-won fee from the ungrateful debtors.[9] The debtor could afford to build a splendid house with bath and covered walk,[10] but could not spare a pittance for his son's education, considering this to be the least of his concerns.[11] Professors had to beware even of their own pupils. In former days, pupils feared and respected their teachers, but, in Juvenal's time, they were known to raise

the rod against him.[12] Schoolmasters were in no better position than were the professors of rhetoric,[13] because their salary was lower and deductions were made from their fees,[14][15] hard as they were to obtain from parents unwilling to pay.[16] Nevertheless, the same parents demanded a high standard of education from the teachers,[17] expecting them to have all historical and literary facts at their finger-tips.[18] To them, they entrusted the moral training of their sons,[19] who were to become the good citizens of the future. As a recompense for all this, the teacher received as much as an actor or a charioteer.[20] The Roman school-boy was constantly attended by his pedagogue, who acted as his guardian, escorted him to and from school, made the rounds of all his classes with him, protected him and acted as his slave.[21] The pedagogues were household slaves, generally Greek,[22] whom Juvenal describes as of low moral character and dishonest.[23] He is opposed to placing boys of tender years in the care of such men who had no scruples in corrupting the morals of their wards.[24]

Horace also complains of this evil, and is happy that he had not the misfortune to be placed under such guardianship. He praises his father, who acted as his pedagogue, for being the most incorruptible of guardians.[25] Horace does not tell us what he studied, but says that his father led him from one class to another.[26] At the same time, his father taught him to observe the conduct of others as examples of what to shun and what to imitate.[27] This practical form of education was the best way to inculcate the moral principles sanctioned by tradition.[28] It depended on no philosophical theory. It left such a deep impression upon young

Horace[29] that he always continued to observe the good qualities and the faults of others and governed his own conduct accordingly.[30]

Roman education can be recognized as graded into Primary education (i.e. the ludus litterarum), Secondary education (i.e. the grammar school) and Higher education (i.e. the school of rhetoricians). After the completion of their education in Rome, the sons of wealthy Romans generally went to Athens to continue their studies. Some Roman youths secured commissions in the army or positions on the staffs of provincial governors in order to train themselves for public life as well as to augment their personal fortunes. There were also gastronomical and gladiatorial schools, but these were generally attended by slaves.

Roman primary education consisted of reading, writing and a little arithmetic. According to Horace, beginners were often coaxed with sweets and cakes to learn their letters.[31] In his Ars Poetica, Horace describes the question and answer method of teaching arithmetic.[32] An older pupil was taught music, poetry, history, rhetoric and grammar. Homer, Horace and Vergil were used as text books in the grammar schools.[33] From these the teacher read aloud and commented on the author under discussion. The pupils memorized their lessons and recited them aloud to the teacher.[34] Horace in one of his Epistles foresees that his work will be used as text-books.[35] He makes no mention of the state of education in the country, except the remark that his father did not want to send him to the school of Flavius at Venusia which the big sons of big centurions attended, each carrying a satchel and a tablet and bearing eight pence in fees

on the Ides of each month,[36] but took him to Rome where he might obtain an education comparable with that given to the son of a senator or a knight.[37] Discipline was maintained by the rod; Juvenal confesses having snatched his hand from beneath its blows.[38] Roman schools opened so early in the morning that each pupil was lighted on his way by the lantern carried by his pedagogue.[39] The odor of the lanterns was suffocating to the teacher and blackened the school books and the busts of authors,[40] which were displayed about the room. That the life of a Roman school-boy was not very pleasant at times, may be inferred from Horace's reference in one of his Epistles to his own teacher whom he calls plagosus Orbilius (i.e. Orbilius, the thrasher).[41]

Juvenal tells us that he was instructed in rhetoric and declamation.[42] This was considered a very important subject. He states that there were even women in Rome who were well versed in literature, prepared to discuss Homer and Vergil,[43] trained in rhetoric and public speaking,[44] and conversant with history, grammar and philosophy.[45] Music was taught by Greek musicians, sometimes better paid than professors of rhetoric.[46] Rhetoric was an important part of the training for a political career. It was begun in schools in the form of declamations against tyrants and speeches attributed to historical characters like Hannibal or Sulla at the critical moments of their lives.[47] Juvenal gives two typical examples of such suasoriae in describing the counsels that school boys give to Sulla[48] and the deliberations of Hannibal at Cannae.[49] Other themes involved ravishers, poisoners, wicked husbands and mythological subjects.[50] Students prepared their declamations,

sat and read them silently, then, when their turn came, rose and recited them aloud.[51] An indication of public interest in education is to be found in the exhibitions that were held once a week for the benefit of the parents who witnessed their sons' speeches or declamations.[52]

Not as an integral part of Roman education, but as a by-product of Roman wealth and luxury, there developed schools for the specialized training of the menials who ministered to this luxury. In schools of gastronomics, specially selected slaves were taught to wait on table, to prepare tasty dishes and to carve different types of meat. The roasted carcass of each animal was carved with its own peculiar set of cuts and flourishes.[53] Wooden models were used for the novice to practice on.[54] The epicures for whom these pains were taken were so versed in the art of gastronomy that they could tell the source of each fish simply by its taste.[55] They demanded meat from beasts killed at a certain season, because the time of slaughter made an important difference to their discriminating taste.[56]

It is clear from the evidence of Horace and Juvenal that Roman education was both practical and theoretical. The former aspect was emphasized in the country, where agriculture and the domestic arts completed the round of daily life.[57] Feminine occupations were largely the same in the city or country, except among the pampered darlings of wealth and luxury. But in the upper class circles of the capital and larger centers, dominated by ambition for public honor and office, the emphasis was early shifted to literature and rhetoric, as the foundation of public

speaking. Another preliminary to public life, considered essential, was a period of apprenticeship in warfare and administration. It was obtained by serving in the army,[58] or joining the staff of a provincial governor for a time.[59] Neither Horace nor Juvenal were primarily interested in the formal side of education, though they supply numerous incidental references. As satirists, they were concerned with its moral results. Horace proudly cites his father's methods to prove what can be accomplished in this direction in a positive way. Juvenal's approach is mainly negative and critical, a constant exposure of the deplorable results of the lack of discipline and moral standards.

(b) APPRECIATION OF THE FORMATIVE PERIOD OF A BOY'S LIFE

The warm and sincere tribute which Horace pays to his father's memory in that remarkable biographical passage to which reference has already been made more than once, is itself the surest proof that Horace fully realized that childhood is the critical period in education. The lessons he learned in boyhood from his father were never forgotten, but constantly practised in after life. From this experience he continually derives the moral precepts that he preaches. As he freely admits that the efforts of his own father saved him from base conduct and from foul reputation,[60] so, he argues, the sight of folly in another may be used to warn the tender mind of a child from committing the same mistakes, and a companion's funeral may arouse the fears of fellow-parasites and compel them to mend their ways.[61] In his father's manner, by specific examples drawn from everyday life, he denounced the life of the drunkard, prodigal or adulterer.[62]

Such objective training received in childhood is superior to the reasoning of philosophers and is more in accord with ancestral tradition.[63] Nothing is so impressive as an example.[64] As an earnest of good faith he asks Maecenas to give all the credit for his own character to his father whom he proudly honors by stating that he would not exchange him for one of noble ancestry.[65]

Juvenal's main point in his fourteenth satire is the importance of boyhood in the formation of character. He believes that the child should be kept unspoiled like his own country slave who sighs for his absent mother and misses his playmate kids.[66] Young Romans, he charges, are not so fortunate. The influence of their parents is bad.[67] The child of his day may and does learn many vices from the examples set by his parents in gambling,[68] gluttony,[69] cruelty,[70] wantonness[71] and prodigality.[72] A fine nature indeed must a child have, says Juvenal, if it is not impressed by the bad examples of the home, which it must shun, not follow.[73] Parents must take heed to their ways, since it is human nature to imitate the base and depraved example --- children are quick to learn.[74] Greatest reverence is due to the child who should be a check upon his parents' sinning so that they dare not commit acts openly which offend the young.[75] Parents are to blame,[76] if a child grows up to be a spendthrift, a builder of extravagant mansions,[77] or a follower of Moses.[78] Juvenal, as we have seen, was no lover of the Jews. Parents should spare no care in the rearing of their children. When one expects a visitor, he is careful to create a good impression by having his house and furniture spotlessly cleaned.[79] No less care should be taken to keep free

from all moral pollution a home where children live.[80] So vital is child training that it determines the quality of the future citizens, whether for good or bad.[81] The child follows the footsteps of its parents and does what it sees them do in the same manner as the birds and beasts imitate and duplicate the habits of their parents, whether storks, vultures, or eagles.[82] Learning from his father to value money above all else,[83] the son progresses so far in the pursuit of pelf,[84] that he is not restrained from murdering that same father in order to get his money.[85] Mothers, too, have a bad influence upon their daughters, Juvenal notes, when with evil counsel, they launch them upon careers of adultery.[86] Children are subject also to the influence of their teachers and pedagogues.[87] So potent indeed are these collective early influences, that an infinitude of philosophers could not entirely erase the evil characteristics instilled by them.[88]

Horace and Juvenal agree in the honor that they pay to childhood. Horace's arguments are drawn from personal experience, Juvenal's are more general, but they both express the traditional Roman attitude to education, a desire to uphold the high standards of ancient Rome in the field of morality. Both likewise deplore certain marked moral and social trends of their own day, though this is more noticeable in Juvenal because the deterioration from the ancient standard was greater in his time.

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CHAPTER VIII

FEMINISM

In early Roman times, women did not occupy as prominent a position in society as they did later, because civilization was then less advanced. At that time, they were only beginning to free themselves from the concept, current in ancient civilization, that women were only material entities necessary to life, the property of their fathers and husbands. Their duty was in the home, to bear and to bring up children and to be the servants of their husbands. Notable exceptions, however, do occur even under the Republic, and a different attitude was gradually evolved. Hence, in the times of Horace and Juvenal, women had come to play an active part in almost every phase of society, displayed a keen interest in public affairs, patronized the arts, even perhaps practiced some professions. Freedom led to licence; some women degenerated, abandoning their lofty and pure ideals, and descending to the lowest levels of contemporary vice. The Roman moralists and philosophers were thus presented with an object lesson for their preaching, and it is not surprising to find Juvenal, who revered the simple ideals of early Rome, giving vent to his feelings in a satire of an even unusually vehement invective. This chapter presents the later position and characteristics of women in Roman imperial society as they are seen by Juvenal, who does not write without prejudice, and certainly leaves an exaggerated impression by generalizing too readily from particular instances.

(a) ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Juvenal seems quite opposed to the idea that women should interest themselves in any profession or even take an active part in social life. This, he believes, is the reason for their degeneracy. When he praises women, it is the women of old that he has in mind. He contrasts the simplicity and chastity of old with the depravity and decadence of the present. In his rather heterogeneous list of unbecoming feminine pursuits, women are charged with an interest in literature, music, astrology, advocacy, fencing and gladiatorial training. He demonstrates these failings by elaborate descriptions of extreme cases, where women have yielded unduly to their favorite passions. The theme called forth Juvenal's most brilliant and sustained satiric effort. He became an anti-feminist. By Horace, the question is wholly neglected; perhaps, he enjoyed the society of women too much to attack them. On Juvenal, then, we must depend for more specific information about the new women of Roman society.

The licentious character of Juvenal's modern women is brought out first by contrast. He praises the women of old, whose chastity was due to their humble fortunes; they would not allow the entry of vice into their homes, because they spent their time in spinning and helping their husbands defend their homes, for instance, from Hannibal.[1] He commends these women,, who, unlike his contemporaries, had much less sensibility but far better morals[2] and devoted themselves to their families.[3] Women of the times of Metellus and Lepidus[4] did not behave like those of Juvenal's day, for a gladiator's wife would not stoop

as low as the latter.[5] Chaste women are rare, but, if a man should find one to marry,[6] he should thank the gods for his good fortune, and should offer sacrifice.[7] Rather than risk an unhappy marriage, Juvenal suggests that it is better to hang oneself, leap from a high building, or drown oneself.[8] The worthy object of man's affection must be free from suspicion.[9] Women of decent character are not found in such haunts as the theatre, the amphitheatre,[10] or the circus; they do not let their hearts throb for actors and gladiators.[11] These contemporary women are so debased and faithless, that it is necessary to place a male chaperon to watch over a wife in order to safeguard her fidelity.[12] These cannot hope to bring up such upright men as the Scipios and the Gracchi.[13] Horace, who devotes little of his satire to women, agrees with Juvenal to this extent that the famous fidelity of Penelope was probably due to the absence of temptation.[14]

From another point of view, an evasion of the law does make the immorality of the wife profitable to her conniving husband. Prevented by the Lex Voconia, of 169 B. C., from receiving the adulterer's fee in the form of legacies, the wife retains the benefits, though not the title of her ill-gotten gains, by making her husband her fiduciary heir.[15] It is probably with this in mind, that Juvenal states that one of the assets of a woman is her face,[16] since, by employing her beauty, she may bring her husband wealth and thereby purchase her freedom from matrimonial restrictions.[17]

Another anomaly of the marital state is the common shrinking from motherhood. Poor women are expected to bear the troubles

and dangers of child-birth[18], while the rich refuse to endure the burdens[19] with the result that foundlings are smuggled into opulent homes[20] and become the foremost darlings of Fortune. Wealthy and childless wives[21], however, are preferred by rich patrons, for they are courted by legacy-hunters. The vice of immorality has been known to corrupt the most strictly regulated group of women in Rome. Juvenal refers to a certain Vestal Virgin who was buried alive[22] because she was led astray by a certain Crispinus. As in all great cities, professional prostitution was rife[23], but Juvenal's denunciation is all the more pointed and effective, because he can point to Agrippina, the wife of the Emperor Claudius, playing the part of a common harlot[24]. She and her predecessor, Messalina, illustrate the almost entire absence of moral standards in the high society of the day[25]. A minor infraction of feminine decorum displeases our satirist when he observes wives accompanying their husbands to claim their share of the sportula[26].

But worse than their lust, are the crimes which they commit by witchcraft and poisoning. The common practice of witchcraft is described by Horace in his portrayal of Canidia, one of the many participants in this evil pursuit[27]. These persons went to the grave-yards by night with dishevelled hair, in black cloaks and bare-footed[28]; they dug into the graves to get bones[29]. Among other peculiar rites, they would tear to pieces a black lamb and pour its blood into the ditch whence ghosts were expected to rise to answer their questions[30]. With the cries of the ghosts echoing in their ears, they would hide in the grave a wolf's beard and a

spotted snake's tooth.[31] Then they would return to practice their witchcraft.

Witchcraft was generally accompanied by the criminal practice of poisoning, which was known in the time of Horace, but was not then as widespread as in Juvenal's day.[32] With Horace's Canidia, a fictitious name for a real character and a professional poisoner, we may compare Juvenal's Lucusta.[33] Many crimes were committed by the use of love-philtres, incantations and poisons; these were administered to lovers or enemies, husbands or step-sons, and others as the case might be.[34] Juvenal writes that wives bought spells and potions to upset their husbands' reason.[35] This led, at times, to disastrous results such as idiocy or madness; it might have worse effects;[36] Caligula, who drank a love-philtre prepared by his wife Caesonia, almost threw the world into chaos in his madness,[37] while Claudius, with perhaps less disastrous results, lost his life, when he ate the poisoned mushrooms that were prepared by his wife, Agrippina.[38]

Juvenal, who regards women as weaklings and scornfully remarks that they cannot bear the weight of even the lightest silk and perspire in muslin,[39] disapproves of the athletic propensities of some members of their sex who practiced swordmanship[40] and other accomplishments of the gladiator.[41] Little modesty can be expected from these,[42] who, despite their delicate frame, would put on all the fighting regalia (belt, gauntlets, crest, and leg armor),[43] which they could scarcely bear,[44] and, dressed as Amazons, would make their appearance in the amphitheatre.[45] They would not attend the gladiatorial school, Juvenal believes, unless they

contemplated public exhibitions in shows and games.[46] Women, however, did not take part in mimes, comedies, and tragedies, since all female roles were portrayed by male actors.[47]

The women of the Empire showed a great advance in artistic and literary education. Juvenal says that they insisted upon talking Greek on all occasions and tried to behave like Greeks in all their actions.[48] He admits that this may be pardonable in the case of a young girl, but, he asks, should it not shame one who has passed her eighty-sixth milestone?[49] Literature, both Greek and Latin, was the principal subject of study in the Roman school of the grammaticus; literary knowledge, therefore, became the aim of those who possessed any intellectual ambition, but to Juvenal, it was a perversion of ambition and an exhibition of bad manners. Some women were so proficient, he writes, that they could readily discuss Vergil and Homer,[50] institute comparisons and offer literary criticism.[51] Some were well versed in grammar, in rhetoric, in philosophy,[52] in folk-lore, and in history. What Juvenal particularly dislikes, is a woman who monopolizes the conversation at a dinner-table with her literary erudition,[53] or one who undertakes to correct all the grammatical errors her husband makes.[54] Other women are never satisfied unless they prepare pleas for the court to be used either by the plaintiffs or defendants.[55] They have attained such perfection in the art that they believe themselves capable of giving lessons to masters of rhetoric.[56]

Another feminine fad is music, both vocal and instrumental,[57] but the fad is inspired, Juvenal charges, not so much by a love of music, as by a passion for certain professional musicians.[58]

One woman went so far as to offer sacrifices to Janus and Vesta in order to ascertain whether her favorite musician would carry off a prize in the coming Capitoline Games.[59]

The spurious science of astrology too had numerous female addicts, so well versed in its lore that, instead of consulting experts, they were themselves consulted as such.[60] The demoralizing influence of this superstition is well illustrated by Juvenal's reference to its domination over the aged Tiberius.[61] The lives of these deluded women are entirely ruled in all their actions, both small and great, by the courses of the stars.[62] The poorer women of the group go to the Circus to consult common fortune-tellers, while the richer, who are equally superstitious, employ more expensive practitioners to stay at their homes.[63]

Juvenal's adverse portrayal of these feminine activities, however, may be discounted on the score of prejudice. But, the satirist does show that the greatly increased freedom of women under the Roman Empire led to unfortunate excesses which were fairly common, at least, in the capital.

(b) TEMPERAMENT AND DISPOSITION OF WOMEN

Numerous as are the casual references from which a characterization of the women of Imperial Rome might be constructed, nowhere is there as elaborate an attempt at a complete delineation of feminine personality as in Juvenal's Sixth Satire. In this unique rhetorical exercise, he not only roundly condemns, as we have seen, the more shameless activities of the sex in his day, but he exposes in great detail the most intimate tendencies of female temperament.

Superficially the most obvious of these is the use of the artificial aids to beauty. Then, as now, woman's greatest assets seemed to be her dowry[64] and her face[65]; by bringing her husband an ample dowry, the wife bought the right to indulge her vicious whims with impunity, while without such a bribe, she deemed it necessary to enhance her beauty with a generous application of cosmetics and pastes, which not only smeared her own face, but that of her husband when he tried to kiss her.[66] Some employed asses' milk as a cosmetic.[67] So many and such varied dressings and poultices does she apply, and so frequently does she change them, that one would be led to believe that her face is an open sore.[68] Juvenal adds that she never used such offensive preparations when she planned to meet her lovers.[69]

Most deep-seated of all the qualities of the female nature is the dominance of passion over other feelings, even fear. Our satirist contends that a poor woman, who walks on foot, is no better in this respect than a wealthy lady, who is carried in a litter --- their desires are the same.[70] Under ordinary circumstances, they are timorous, fearing the sea and its dangers;[71] but, if they are goaded by lust and passion, they lose their fear of it and face these elements like brave men.[72] They will endure hardships and dangers, no matter how great they may be, provided their evil passions are satisfied.

In contrast to the lust of the vicious, but equally objectionable in Juvenal's narrow view, is the pride of a virtuous woman, who like Niobe brought destruction upon her husband and children by rousing the jealous vengeance of Apollo and

Diana.[73] Pride often leads to the kindred fault of competitive ostentation. A woman cannot bear to be outdone by her neighbours, whether it be in broad lands and slaves, or in household furniture.[74] She insists that her husband buy her whatever she lacks to keep up with them. Worse than pride and ostentation, is the utter selfishness of women who bully their husbands and force them to grant their most unreasonable desires.[75] At the dictation of their wives, husbands are compelled to repudiate old friends,[76] to punish innocent slaves,[77] and to leave their property to rival lovers.[78] As a reward for all these concessions, the faithful husband is at times abandoned by his wife. Women were known to marry as often as eight times in five years.[79] The infidelity of wives cannot be curbed by setting a guard to watch over them, for these very guards fall the first victims to their wiles.[80]

The passion for extravagance is shared by all women, rich and poor alike, even though it involves them in ruin.[81] Ogulnia, a poor woman, hires a dress and a blond attendant to make a respectable appearance in public;[82] yet, she has some family plate left which she bestows upon athletes who fascinate her.[83] A woman never allows her poverty to control her spending; whenever she sets her heart on anything, she never considers the price.[84]

The harsher side of a woman's nature is seen in the cruel vengeance she exacts when aroused from her sleep by the barking of her neighbor's dog;[85] the dog and the owner alike are ordered to be cudgelled or thrashed.[86] More heartless and callous is the mistress whose passing ill-humor is visited upon her luckless slave. A hair-dresser's improper arrangement of her mistress's

hair is punished with a lash.[87] Spells of ill-temper,[88] for which the slaves are not at all to blame are sometimes only appeased by a cold-blooded flogging in the presence of a mistress who sits near by, having her hair done and is chatting with a friend about the latest gossip.[89] In the meantime, the slave is flogged until the executioner collapses.[90] It is from such behaviour as this that Juvenal concludes that no one so much as a woman rejoices and takes pleasure in vengeance.[91] A passing remark by Horace to the effect that a woman, as strong and as brave as Clytemnestra, put a niggardly and wealthy miser to death by splitting him in two with an axe[92] throws some light on the cruelty of some women of his day.

Jealousy is a frequent cause of unhappiness between husband and wife, but jealousy is often a pretense on the wife's part to distract attention from her own guilt.[93] Her tears flow upon the slightest pretext, tears which the fond and foolish husband delights to kiss away, deeming them to be signs of genuine affection.[94] The falsity of all this would soon be apparent, if the husband were to go through the desk of his wife and there find the letters and presents from her lovers.[95] Irresistible in her finery,[96] she believes that she may do as she pleases. For her husband or his interests[97] she has no care or concern. Mothers-in-law are often a source of discord, because they make peace impossible in the household during their lifetime.[98] They teach their daughters how to deceive their husbands and make them as wicked and as unscrupulous as they themselves are.[99]

A final weakness in woman's character is her marked

susceptibility to the most fantastic and outlandish superstitions.[100] They fall an easy prey to foreign priests of every cult. They give clothing and food to Bellona's priests.[101] Nor do they disregard the divinities of Egypt: Io, Isis, Anubis, and Osiris.[102] They listen even to the palsied prophetess of Judea.[103] All come within their orbit of worship and consultation. They will perform the most painful penance and take the longest journeys, if Bellona or Io requires it:[104] thus Juvenal tells of a poor penitent devotee of Isis who broke the ice to plunge thrice into the Tiber on a winter morning, and crawled on bleeding knees over the Campus Martius, or brought some water from Nile to sprinkle in the fane of the goddess.[105] This charge of Juvenal appears to have some justification for the cults of the East seemed to satisfy the cravings of emotions and their ritual appealed to the feeling and the imagination. This mixture of the ascetic and the sensuous fascinated weak women who often went to extremes. There were many moral abuses and the temples of these worships were at times used as places of assignation and intrigues as Juvenal implies.

Juvenal goes back two hundred and fifty years to find his ideal of womanhood. He envisages the old Roman matron in the power of her husband for whom she busied herself with her household cares and to whom she offered help in times of stress and danger;[106] in character, austere, self-contained and self-controlled, she held a dignified position in the family. A wife of this type is an object of love without suspicion for her husband.[107] Occupied by her daily tasks, she has no time to study the Greek language,

literature, mathematics, philosophy, or any other branch of learning; nor to busy herself with all the current religious fanaticism from the East, Egypt and the Orient; nor to waste her time in the Circus or in the theatre where she may set her heart afflutter and burn with passion for some gladiator or actor; nor trouble her mind with criminal predictions of fortune-tellers and astrologers. Juvenal's ideal woman possesses the great chastity for which Sabine women of old were famous.[108] A chaste wife brings up a family and trains it in the morals that made Rome the mistress of the world. She has an unyielding and tenacious loyalty to her family and husband, whom she does not forsake for some gladiator or fencing teacher[109] --- she has only one husband during her entire life.[110] Such a woman holds her rank in society, though she be restricted from public appearance.[111] She is self-controlled, unlike the women of his own day who sacrifice everything to gratify their base desires, for these do not care for their reputation[112] and are bravest in acts that are foulest.[113] But even if it were possible to find this ideal woman, who is as rare as a black swan, Juvenal fears that a wife who has every perfection is apt to be intolerable to her husband from her just pride and self satisfaction.[114] In confirmation of this, he cites the case of Niobe, a model wife and mother, who caused the death of her husband and her whole family.[115] This severe ideal of womanhood, which Juvenal esteems so highly, began to fade even in the days of Cato; he was waging a lost battle, lost long before he began to write.

Juvenal's sweeping condemnation of women should be received

with great caution. There is no doubt that some members of that sex were morally debased. It is really these that Juvenal, as a satirist, portrays. But, what age is entirely free from such characters? Just as there were evil women like Poppaea, the voluptuous mistress of Nero, there were also found many like his chaste wife, Octavia, of whom a Cato might be proud, and who would compare favorably with Lucretia or Cornelia. His ideal lies in the distant days of Curius, who was thrice consul.

In conclusion, it must not be forgotten, that we have been reviewing the denunciations of a satirist, whose purpose is to criticize and condemn, and whose method and manner is distinguished by a rhetorical exaggeration and undue generalization. Undoubtedly, he had basis for his charges in the scandalous conduct of individual women of notorious character and we must agree that vice was far too prevalent in Roman society. But it is equally probable that there were many more Cornelias than Juvenal admits, and countless rustic virgins of whom the Sabine matrons of old would not have been ashamed.

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CHAPTER IX

PHILOSOPHY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES

Although the study of philosophy did not produce among the Romans such great thinkers as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, nevertheless, it had a profound influence upon Roman life. Brought to Rome by the conquered Greeks, philosophical ideas quickly began to permeate the Roman mind, which had a natural affinity for Stoicism. Roman youths, educated in Athens, further helped to spread philosophy. Incorporated in the curriculum of higher schools, it soon became known to the majority of educated men. Influenced by the new mode of thought, they began to adopt certain philosophical attitudes. Stoicism, in particular, was reflected in Roman daily life and exemplified in the leadership and guidance of some Roman leaders. Other Greek schools of thought also secured followers. With the passing of time, philosophy became incorporated into everyday thinking, and men came to shape their outlook on life and their ideas by the prevailing philosophical systems of the day. It is not surprising that Horace formulated a system of his own in which he embodied his teaching of the Golden Mean. Juvenal tended to lean upon Stoic ideas, modifying them to suit his theory of the simplicity of ancient virtue and ideals.

(a) HORACE'S REACTION TO STOICISM: HIS OWN PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Horace was not a very profound thinker, nor do we look to him as the source of any philosophical principle. He was rather an eclectic interpreter of several schools of thought. In his youth,

he seems to have been an ardent follower of Epicureanism and opposed to Stoicism. With the progress of the years, however, he began to change his attitude and to incorporate into his own thinking certain Stoic ideas. This might be shown by comparing the first book of his Sermones with the second book. Horace was an independent amateur, drawing his philosophical ideas mainly from the Epicureans and Stoics, but qualifying them to suit his own views. His outlook on life was determined from the start by the excellent moral training which he had received from his father. That training was a practical one based upon ancestral tradition, and conveyed by precept and example. Nothing is so impressive as an example.[1] Horace's father, though of slender means, refused to send him to the local school at Venusia but took him to Rome. Even there, paternal supervision was not lacking, for he acted as his son's pedagogue,[2] and employed his opportunities in this capacity to point out and illustrate the pitfalls in life.[3] Upon this foundation, Horace built up his own system of philosophy and outlook on life.

Horace is fond of satirising the Stoics, upon whom he often bestows his humorous attentions for their formalism and austerity which were repugnant to a man of his disposition, and led him to overlook their good qualities. With all their superficial defects, they were the most serious religious teachers in Rome. He jests at Fabius and Crispinus, both voluminous Stoic writers.[4] He ridicules their cardinal points and paradoxes, like their doctrine that all sins are equal and there should be one punishment for all. Horace argues that the punishment should fit the

crime.[5] The Stoic paradox that a philosopher is skilled in every kind of work and is a king, meaning that he is a master of all trades, even though he is ignorant of them, makes him a pitiful kind of king in Horace's eyes.[6] Horace prefers to be a private citizen and to live on terms of mutual tolerance with his fellow men rather than a Stoic rex.[7] In one of his Satires, a madman charges Horace with madness and delivers a discourse on the insanity of the world.[8] This is Damasippus who explains that he has busied himself with the affairs of others after his business career ended in failure.[9] In reply to Horace's remark that this is only another kind of folly, he replies that the poet himself is mad in common with the rest of the world.[10] Because of his business failure, Damasippus would have drowned himself had not Stertinius saved his life by convincing him that all men, except the philosophers, are mad and foolish.[11] Madness possesses all who are foolish and ignorant.[12] This insanity manifests itself in various ways, as in fear, caution and various manias.[13] In another Satire, Horace's slave, Davus, charges his master with being a slave to some ambition, delivers a lecture on slavery and argues that all except philosophers are slaves.[14] Davus obtained his material from a philosopher's door-keeper. Another Stoic doctrine that Horace disputes is that barriers like fire, river banks and rivers are non existent and are only figments of the mind.[15] In his description of the miser, Avidienus, Horace satirizes the Cynics.[16] The diligence and the exactness of the Epicureans too in their selection and preparation of food is mocked by the writer from Venusia.[17]

Horace developed a philosophy of his own based upon the principle of the golden mean. He held that human unhappiness is often the result of the multiplicity of our different interests and follies,[18] out of which arise the circumstances against which we rebel. Hence he disagrees with the fundamental doctrine of Aristippus,[19] a disciple of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school, who said: "I try to adapt circumstances to myself and not myself to circumstances". It is because of this attitude that many people are disappointed and dissatisfied with their own lot, which is the result of their own choice, and praise that of another.[20] Another reason for popular discontent is ambition, and according to the Stoics, the ambitious are mad because they sacrifice their fortunes for office and empty glory.[21] Agamemnon who sacrificed his daughter to his ambition was as mad as Ajax when he slew the sheep.[22] Indeed, to treat a daughter like a lamb is a symptom of madness; far worse is the treatment of a lamb like a daughter.[23] A third reason for the dissatisfaction of mankind is self-indulgence, which is another form of madness. A young heir would be called insane, if he were to distribute his inheritance among the purveyors of luxury.[24] The case is no different when a prodigal squanders his money on costly dainties.[25] In the opinion of the Stoics, a sewer would have been as good a place as this for his money.[26] A fourth cause of discontent is superstition.[27] But, in spite of their discontent, men, if given the chance, would not change places with those whom they envy.[28] All discontent would cease, however, if men would adopt Horace's principle of the golden mean, a middle way between two extremes. Care should be taken to avoid turning from one excess to another.

Rational enjoyment is the mean between stinginess and prodigality. So will a man be free from discontent and envy; he will live a happy life and die contented. The rational life according to the golden mean gives bodily strength, health and vigor, and fortifies its owner for the days to come.[29] In diet, as in other things, extremes should be avoided;[30] stinginess is as bad as gluttony.[31] Why should a poor man strive to rival the rich and mighty, when he does not possess the means?[32] To aspire beyond one's powers is as foolish as the frog which tried to match the size of the ox.[33] The middle way is the best for the life of contentment.

A cardinal point in Horace's philosophy is the attitude to riches. He holds that mankind is largely blinded by the false desire for money and that everything is rated according to wealth.[34] Avarice is the inevitable result. He approved the Stoic view that men are mad who regard poverty as a disgrace and believe that wealth confers every blessing, even wisdom.[35] Like the Stoics he deprecated the fact that men became slaves to wealth. What pleasure is there to have money and like a miser to bury it in the ground?[36] Its ultimate value is in its use and not in its acquisition.[37] The avaricious are mad because they hoard possessions whose use and consumption are beyond their power and desire.[38] They may not seem mad because miserliness is so common, but they are as insane as those who show their mental unbalance by deeds of violence.[39] Horace believes that a certain Opimius, a wealthy miser, was mad because he would not spend a few coins on nourishing food to save his own life.[40] Neither can a miser buy affection; sooner or later, some dreadful fate will overtake him.[41]

But, if a man has enough for his needs, greater possessions are only a burden and a source of danger.[42] Nevertheless, Horace does recognize that money has its proper use. He admits that virtue and good conduct are cheaper than sea-weed unless accompanied by property.[43]

Horace believes in the simple life. A high position involves tiresome social duties and costly establishments, whereas in his present position he may live simply without any suggestion of stinginess.[44] He prefers a life of ease, and free from care, the kind of life he himself did lead throughout. His independence permits him to stroll alone and observe the world about him; his time is his own.[45] Thus he is more satisfied than if his grandfather, father and uncle had been quaestors.[46] Plain living does not endanger good reputation; it prevents financial ruin; it permits the exercise of charity and philanthropy; and paves the way for changes of fortune.[47] Frugality is a great virtue which can be acquired only by an active life amid simple surroundings.[48] This he illustrates by the case of Ofellus, who, in the days of prosperity, lived simply and happily, and, when adversity came, was courageous and contented.[49] Horace's love for the simple life is the motive when he satirizes the preparation of a fancy meal.[50] On his Sabine farm, he has his heart's desire and envies no man --- he prays only for the continuation of present blessings.[51] His experiences in the city make him long for the country, where life abounds in simple pleasures and where he can read and devote himself to literary work.[52] There is an Epicurean element in Horace's desire for a life of simplicity and ease. Since

all mortals are doomed to die, he asks why they should toil and not make merry.[53] But, he does not indulge this inclination to extremes, because he satirizes the Epicureans for their over careful diligence in selecting their food.[54] His interpretation of the simple life is summarized in the country mouse's conclusion on city life: the luxuries do not warrant the great dangers they involve and the simple care-free life is best.[55]

Another point embraced by Horace's philosophy is the matter of personal relationships. Since all have faults which cannot be wholly eradicated, it is only proper to distinguish between what is venial and what is criminal and not to treat all offences with equal severity.[56] It is fair to grant indulgence for others' failings, if pardon for one's own irregularities is to be expected.[57] It is foolish self-love for Maevius to criticize others and to disregard his own defects.[58] Such conduct influences others to judge with the same severity. Faults should be viewed by the critic in truer perspective and he should enquire whether or not they are balanced by good qualities and whether he himself has any failings.[59] The faults may not only be inborn but also the result of carelessness and bad habits.[60] It is best to cultivate the blindness of a lover or the fondness of a father and regard a friend's failings as virtues; such conduct will cultivate and preserve friendships.[61] Horace maintains that the true estimate of a man is not based on social position, but, on his character.[62] He agrees with Maecenas that humble persons have often proved themselves worthy of high positions, while men of noble birth have been despised by common folk, who often honor the unworthy.[63] He

warns that the judgment of ordinary people is often unsatisfactory since it is some insignificant trait that catches the popular fancy and outweighs the modest claim of an obscure candidate in his candidature for office.[64] Hence men of ignoble birth should not aspire to office for their qualifications will not receive fair consideration but will stir up envy.[65] Horace himself is not affected by this erroneous attitude but pays generous tribute to his father who was a mere freedman. He is not ashamed of his parentage, and would not, were it possible, change places with any man of noble ancestry, incredible as that may seem.[66] This is the lesson he learned from the practical education that his father gave him. It is utterly false that Horace, as some charge, takes pleasure in showing up the failings of others; the charge is rather true of parasites and those who damn their friends with faint praises.[67] These are the false hearts who slander absent friends and refuse their assistance to them in court, who concoct gossips and lies and fail to keep secrets.[68]

Social behaviour also is considered by Horace in his philosophy. Every man is actuated by some folly or madness, whether it be evil ambition, love of money, extravagance or gloomy superstition.[69] The majority of mankind deserves censure.[70] Since no one is free from inborn faults, it is best to distinguish between the venial and serious offences and not to treat them with equal severity.[71] To regard all sins as equal, as the Stoics do, is unpractical and inimical to the common good.[72] By gradual evolution from the state of barbarism, man has formulated laws for his own protection.[73] Since nature herself cannot inform man of what is

right and what is wrong, there is a need of graduation in offences according to their effects on common welfare.[74] In his criticism of social behaviour, Horace does not exonerate himself from all faults; for in his satire on the Stoics, he makes Damasippus bring some charges against himself; he admits that he is no exception to the general rule, as he builds a house in imitation of the great, writes satire, is hot-tempered, extravagant and amorous.[75] These are incidental humorous items in Horace indicating his capacity for self-criticism.

Horace's philosophy of life is a product of personal experience, observation of everyday life in the circles in which he moved and his own native common sense. He enunciates those principles of conduct which he had found to be of practical value to himself. His views changed and grew as his years matured, and, he did not hesitate to borrow suggestions from any of the formal schools, while at the same time he ridiculed the extremes to which their theories carried them. His philosophical thought consists of a series of casual comments rather than a consistent body of doctrine, but is no less sound for all that.

(b) THE PHILOSOPHY OF JUVENAL

Juvenal does not profess to be a philosopher, but he does seem to be acquainted with the current teachings of his day. He denies following either the Stoics or the Cynics, who differ only in dress. He implies that there is no important difference in their doctrine.[76] But despite this profession of impartiality, Juvenal, like Horace, has a decided leaning towards Stoicism, at times. He does not completely agree with their doctrines, but

ardently advocates those which are in accordance with his own ideals embodying the ancient Roman virtues. His philosophy appears to be based on the ideals of ancient Rome, of the golden age, when life was unsullied and when it was a heinous crime to fail to pay respect to an old man.[77] The Romans of the olden days were frugal and taught their sons to despise luxury and wealth.[78] Sabines and Marsians are often cited as typical survivors of such simple and hardy ancient Italians.[79] Juvenal continually points the contrast between these standards and the life of his own day; vice and immorality have now reached their climax.[80] To counteract this social degeneracy, he advises his readers to share their wealth and good fortune with their fellow men.[81] He exhorts them to exercise moderation or else they will pay the penalty. He urges man to know himself; before attempting anything, whether it be marriage, candidature for office, or a defence of a case in court, one should take stock of himself, his strength and ability --- this is necessary if one is to respect the limit of his powers.[82] Juvenal also believes that men should free themselves from their worries, and advises them to cast worries aside and to enjoy life at times; always, however, avoiding excess of leisure which leads to monotony and ennui.[83] For Juvenal, philosophy was the highest wisdom and the guide to proper living since it frees from error by instructing in what is right.

Juvenal hails philosophy as triumphant over fortune. Noble are the precepts which she sets down in the books of her sacred wisdom. Yet, they too are happy, who with daily life for their

instructress have learned to endure with patience the inconveniences of life and not to gird at the yoke.[84] Adherence to this principle enables a man to live contented with his lot. He avoids excess and asks for as much as is sufficient to keep him alive and maintain his spirit.[85] Juvenal often voices the Stoic notion that the fortunes of men are influenced by the aspects of planets and stars; thus a consul may become a professor of rhetoric, while a slave may become a consul.[86] But though he owes much of his creed to the Stoics, he does not spare them in his satires. His attacks may be due to his hatred of the Greeks and other foreigners. He inveighs against the Greek Stoic Bareas who destroyed his disciple and friend by informing against him.[87] He scoffs at Stoics, Cynics and other philosophers for allowing their beards to grow; he also criticizes their teaching.[88] The Stoics taught that moral virtue was the only good: that a man should die rather than commit a folly.[89] On this principle, Chrysippus, Socrates and Thales refused to stoop to revenge.[90] Nor would Juvenal trust for guidance to Epicureans, whose delight is in vegetables and live almost entirely off their own gardens.[91] He agrees, however, with two philosophers of opposite feelings; Democritus, who laughed at everything and bade Fortune to go and hang herself, and Heraclitus, who wept at the follies of mankind.[92] Cheap is the criticism of the sneering smile, but the constant supply of tears is not easily replenished.[93] Both of these philosophers would need their smiles and tears were they alive in Rome in Juvenal's time and saw the vain pomp of a Roman praetor with hired friends on his way to the games.[94] Juvenal's satire of philosophers is not however malicious.

Juvenal's most philosophical satire is a negative criticism of ambition. What useless and injurious things do men ask from the gods![95] Wealth and power are dangerous. Great power is a source of envy and its possession is precarious.[96] The greater the power, the greater the fall is a well known maxim. There is a law of nature by which the degree of power and good fortune is inevitably counterbalanced by the magnitude of calamity.[97] It was because of the inherent instability of power that Sejanus, the alter ego of Tiberius, fell from his exalted eminence; his statues, to which once worship and sacrifice were paid, are now demolished and melted down to make frying pans, kettles, pots and foot pans.[98] The ambition of Pompey and Crassus similarly led to their deaths.[99] Juvenal states as an axiom that it is better to be an insignificant magistrate in some small town and to live peacefully and free from burdensome and precarious responsibilities than to be a renowned potentate.[100]

Eloquence, too, for which every school boy prays and longs is often a snare for its possessor. Proof is seen in the fate of the greatest orators of Greece and Rome.[101] If Cicero had limited his efforts to poetry, he could have scorned Antony's swords; his splendid eloquence cost him his head and strewed the blood of the puny case-pleader over the rostrum.[102] Juvenal thinks it safer and saner to write poetry that may be sneered at rather than the divine Philippics of blazoning fame.[103] Demosthenes, too, whom the thronging benches of the overcrowded theatre of Athens admired, came to a violent end.[104] He would have acted more wisely, had he continued his father's trade and fashioned swords on the forge.[105]

Men burn with passion for military glory which they regard as the highest prize of life --- this too is a delusion.[106] They are foolish to undergo any toil and danger to obtain it.[107] Some indeed have ruined their country by such an ambition.[108] What of Hannibal, whom Africa could not hold within her bounds of Ocean, Nile, and Ethiopia?[109] He contrived the use of elephants for war; he added Spain to his domain; he blasted with vinegar the Alps, which dared to bar his way, and so reached Italy on his remaining elephant.[110] What was his reward but ignominious death? Slighted by the petty king of Bithynia, to whom he fled for refuge, the one-eyed general poisoned himself.[111] Alexander, the Pellaean youth, who was not satisfied to bring under his rule all the lands of the earth, sighed for more territory to conquer and scorned the narrow boundaries of the world; but, soon, he had to content himself with the grave.[112] Xerxes, in his career of conquest, defied nature by the canal which he built through the peninsula of Mount Athos and his bridge over the Hellespont, and by his draining the rivers when he invaded Greece; he dared to wreck his vengeance upon the seas with scourges and upon the winds with whips for thwarting his will.[113] This insolent and haughty man was lucky to return safely with but a single ship.[114] And yet, Juvenal concludes, the thirst for fame is greater than for virtue; no one will embrace the latter without a reward.[115] Glory penalizes its worshippers with disaster.[116]

Beauty also is a lure and a temptation. Every mother prays for beauty for her sons in a loud voice and in a louder tone for her daughters even petitioning for fanciful details;[117] she forgets

that the beauty of Lucretia only brought her shame and death.[118] Equal perils overshadow the handsome youth; while an ugly and deformed dwarf escapes the pitfalls.[119] The youth of profligate character suffers disgrace or punishment for his misdeeds,[120] and one, who lives a chaste and continent life, finds himself the victim of some unscrupulous and evil-minded woman.[121] Such was the fate of Bellerophon, Hippolytus and Gaius Silius.[122]

Rejecting all these vain ambitions for which men pray, Juvenal holds that the wisest plan is to ask the gods to give man what is best for his welfare.[123] If it be necessary to pray and to offer sacrifice, then it should be for wisdom, courage, endurance and health;[124] these are the things that are necessary for life and harmful neither to life nor morals.

Juvenal's philosophy also has its social implications. Holding it to be every man's duty to rear his children as citizens capable of assuming a worthy role whether in peace or in war, he deplores the vicious examples of degenerate parents, which are faithfully copied by their imitative offsprings.[125] Perhaps his most memorable criticism of Roman social morality regards the low esteem in which honesty is held. There is no place for honest toil in Rome.[126] No one shares the friendship of the great unless he shares his guilty secrets.[127] Dishonesty is coupled with flattery, which the satirist arraigns in its many loathsome forms.[128]

A whole satire is devoted to the degenerate aristocracy and a discussion of the nature of true nobility,[129] which in Juvenal's definition implies virtue, integrity, strict observance of justice

and unimpeachable morals; wickedness and weakness are all the more conspicuous when attatched to a great and a famous name.[130] Against perjury one must guard at all costs, even at the sacrifice of life;[131] honor must be prized above all. True worth cannot be judged by popular favour, which is as fickle as wind or wave; the populace fawn upon success and power, but spurn defeat and failure. They are wholly mercenary. The only thing they care for is bread and games.[132] Of this world's goods, Juvenal would accord each man sufficient for an independent livelihood so that he will neither starve nor die from gluttony.[133] It is better to lose one's wealth and live, than to lose one's life in the acquisition or maintenance of a fortune.[134]

More generally the poet condemns the all too prevalent tendency towards the gratification of desire in complete disregard of accepted moral standards.[135] It is a matter of chagrin to Juvenal that these same moral standards in his day have been set very low.[136] Vice has reached its climax, a state of affairs which he attributes to the neglect of reason as a guide to conduct, and to human inability to understand wherein true advantage lies.[137] The lure of riches is so great a temptation, and has been such a corrupting influence that honest men are no more numerous than the gates of Thebes or the mouths of the Nile.[138] Acquittal in court, perhaps due to influence or to improper verdict, is not always a guarantee of freedom from guilt; conscience may be at odds with the legal decision.[139] Juvenal ironically consoles his friend Calvinus, who has lost some money through a friend's dishonesty, by pointing out several reasons why he should not be

dismayed: it is a common misfortune in Rome.[140] Justice, honesty, modesty and chastity are rare.

Still rares is the combination of beauty and modesty.[141] Scandalous violations of chastity are committed by the women of the day,[142] the worst of whom ignore the proprieties of sex. Others do not shrink from the murder of their step-sons or even of their own children, if they happen to be heirs to a large estate.[143] The crimes of Medea and Procne cease to be the fictions of ancient tragedy; they are the common occurence of everyday life in Rome.[144] Though there may not be a single Alcestis in Rome, there are many Clytemnestras;[145] crimes committed in passionate excitement are less heinous than these mercenary deeds perpetrated in cold-blood.[146]

Juvenal's views on the function of wealth closely resemble those of the other moralists of Rome. He was oppressed by the sight of the wretched poverty side by side with greedy avarice.[147] So few of his contemporaries seemed to seek money to live, and so many seemed to live to accumulate wealth.[148] So few valued the good life at greater worth than money and possessions;[149] so many, trusting to planks of pinewood, and separated from death by a few fingers' breadth, put out to sea, the sport of wind and wave, in quest of worthless goods to be exchanged for golden coins.[150] The death of a member of a family forces insincere and ostentatious lamentations, while the loss of money is received with genuine grief and scalding tears --- so great is the love of money![151] Some live like beggars in order to die wealthy;[152] avarice grows in proportion to the increase of wealth: the penniless feel it least.[153] The vicious character of avarice in its

most aggravated form is apparent in the provinces, where it is exhibited by the Roman governors.[154] But its most insidious effects are experienced by the young who learn from their parents by example to value money above all else, and, who, having started on the career of money-getting, are incapable of being checked until in the end a son may become a murderer of his own father.[155]

In his religious outlook, Juvenal has Stoical tendencies. He expresses the Stoic belief that the fortunes of men are influenced by the aspects of planets at their birth.[156] Fortune raises men from the lowest to the highest rank whenever she wishes to make sport.[157] It is the "lucky man" who is handsome, happy, keen-minded, wise, noble and good-natured.[158] It is he whom Fortune raises from a rhetorician to a consul, while another man she demotes from being a consul to be a rhetorician.[159] But, she herself has no divinity, for men alone make her a goddess.[160] Like the Stoics, Juvenal believes in an inexorable power which controls human destiny and in conjunction with the planets, determines the future of mankind.[161]

Juvenal also believes in the power of human conscience. He deprecates the vengeful spirit which resorts to legal punishment;[162] a man's conscience will take care of his guilt.[163] Vengeance is characteristic of a puny mind, especially of women.[164] Nature is more effectual than any guardian or any vigilance.[165] Juvenal points to the distinction between men and animals; the former differs from the latter by possessing the power to weep.[166] Civilization is based on sympathy which is the noblest manifestation of human nature,[167] though some men have fallen below the level of

beasts, since, unlike the dumb creatures, they attack and prey upon their fellow men.[168]

Juvenal's hatred of fanaticism is prominent in his condemnation of Oriental religions.[169] Fanaticism leads to intolerance which in turn gives rise to jealousy and wars.[170] He scorns the thought of prayers for trivial things and sarcastically observes that the gods must have little to do, if they can spare the time to listen to such prayers.[171] Men too often pray for things which are harmful to them. It is best to let the gods give us what they think is good for us, for they love us and know our wants much better than we do ourselves.[172] But if pray we must, then it should for things that we could give ourselves.[173] The road to the life of peace lies through virtue.[174]

Juvenal's knowledge of philosophy does not appear to be very extensive. From this passing acquaintance with the teachings of the various schools, he derives many elements of practical wisdom, which he applies to the field of ethics and social behaviour. He professes to be the adherent of no sect, but his reflections on human destiny are more Stoic than otherwise. He believed in fate as the ruling power in human life, in the interest of the gods in human affairs, and in the wise man's freedom from anger and desire. His best advice is to lead a natural life, for Nature is never at variance with philosophy.[175]

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CHAPTER X

THE FREEDOMS

The political history of the Roman Republic is the story of a continuous struggle for freedom, but for freedom wrung at great effort and in slow degrees from privileged classes which were reluctant to share their rights. By the irony of fate, the rights which had taken so long to win, were presently lost in the collapse of the Republic, which was succeeded by the personal government of the Emperors. Freedom of speech, the potent political weapon of the Republican orators, was transformed into the shameful and unabashed flattery of Tiberius, Nero and Domitian. During the dark days of the second half of the first century of the Empire, men could still remember the time when speech was free, but they could express their thoughts only on peril of their lives. Power, both political and economic, gravitated into the hands of a few who assumed responsibility for ruling the state and feeding the people. Patrons supported their clients by means of the dole, while the government fed the great mass of inhabitants by free largesses of grain and entertained them with free games. The general populace, being thus satisfied, became passive and indolent and allowed the ambitious and crafty to amass wealth and acquire influence. The opportunity was seized by many slaves of foreign extraction to buy their freedom and rise in the social scale. Here was a new type of social freedom not appreciated by Martial and Juvenal, who regale us with so much hostile comment upon the freedmen class. Proud and

jealous however as they were of their birth and privilege, the Romans did practice tolerance in religion, provided always that it did not interfere with national policy.

(a) FREEDOM OF SPEECH

In the course of Roman history, freedom of thought and speech suffered many vicissitudes. After the collapse of the early monarchy and the rise of the republic, these freedoms became basic in the constitution. Popular assemblies grew up in which every Roman citizen had a right to vote, express his opinion and appeal from the sentence of the magistrates. With the extension of Roman citizenship after the Social War, some of these rights fell into disuse, and yet, we remember that Sulla was recalled from his command by the vote of the popular assembly; other similar instances could be cited. But, with the advent of the Empire, the political freedom of the assemblies soon disappeared.

Although political freedom ceased to exist, the freedom to write and to speak one's opinion long remained, even though at times it was dangerous to exercise it as during the proscriptions of Marius, Sulla and the Second Triumvirate, and in the reigns of Tiberius, Nero and Domitian. Horace lived during the transition period; the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire. He lived at the time when political freedom was beginning to disappear and the freedom to criticize and express one's opinion still lingered. Juvenal, however, lived in times when political freedom had almost vanished. Under Nero and Domitian, little freedom of any kind existed. Exile, confiscation or death awaited him who was bold enough to criticize. Under Trajan and

Hadrian, however, freedom began to reappear.

One innocuous form of literary freedom which survived and was practiced widely, even during the gloomiest and darkest hours of the early Empire, was that of public recitations. A recitation, as its name implies, was a reading aloud of an original composition in prose or verse to an audience of friends, clients, hirelings, or even men in the street. Thus, it is said that Vergil read at the imperial court a portion of his Aeneid, as well as his Georgics. Horace recited his own works, but states that he limited the audience to his friends and that he read only when asked to do so, and not everywhere, nor to everyone.[1] Juvenal expresses his weariness of recitations and those who practice them. He is tired of being harassed by amateur poets who write long epics, tragedies, comedies and other hackneyed types of poetry, and inflict them on long-suffering audiences.[2] He says in disgust that the grove of Mars and Vulcan's forge on the Aeolian rocks are better known to him than his own home.[3] The shade trees and colonnades of Rome echo with a surfeit of mythological lore. The recitations last so long that a tragedy on Telephus has been read all day and still is unfinished.[4] Martial too complains about the great length of recitations,[5] while Pliny candidly admits that he has been reading publicly his Panegyric for several days.[6]

Recitations were held in any place where the author could gather an audience: on the street-corners, at the baths, at dinners, during discussions and at social gatherings, and even at public exhibitions.[7] Some authors went to the length of

renting a theatre or a hall in which to recite, while others hired claques to provide or regulate the cheers or applause.[8] This form of free speech, so prevalent in Rome at the time of Juvenal, developed into a public nuisance.

Freedom of speech was not normally extended to slaves, who had no right to speak to or answer their masters, unless bidden to do so. On certain days, however, during the Saturnalian holidays from the seventeenth to the twentieth of December, slaves were allowed to mingle with their masters, speak with them on terms of equality, and even criticize their overseers as Horace indicates.[9]

Another limitation on free speech was the law against the license of satire and other libellous writings.[10] From the writings of Horace and Juvenal it is not clear how much force this law had. According to Horace, Lucilius seemed to encounter trouble when he criticized too freely such powerful men as Metellus and Lupus;[11] while Juvenal states that the only persons whom it is safe to attack are the dead.[12] It was unquestionably dangerous during the reigns of Nero and Domitian to attack such individuals as Tigellinus, an infamous character and a close confidant of those emperors. To do so was to incur the risk of becoming a human candle and illuminating the arena in a coat of pitch.[13]

More serious were the informers (delatores), who acted as a check upon free speech.[14] These notorious busy-bodies made life miserable and anxious for the Romans. They carried tablets or notebooks, as Juvenal says, in which they recorded inappropriate

sayings or criticisms, and reported them to Nero, Domitian or to the cruel authorities and favorites of the court.[15] Their activities grew into a terrible abuse and perversion of justice, since it was customary for the informer to receive as a reward one fourth of the estate of the man whom he was instrumental in convicting. Nero and Domitian encouraged these parasitic and predatory prosecutions as a means of removing eminent citizens whom they disliked or whose wealth they envied. Even under Tiberius, it was dangerous to express one's opinion or true feelings as Juvenal indicates in his account of the fall of Sejanus; he pictures two citizens discussing the affair in low tones and deciding to go to the banks of the Tiber to spurn the corpse as a proof of loyalty to the emperor.[16] The menace of delation is well brought out in Juvenal's recipe for a long life: never to swim against the current of opinion, never to express one's real thoughts, and not to devote one's life to the cause of truth.[17]

Scanty as were the vestiges of freedom surviving under Tiberius,[18] they were more completely obliterated under Nero. In the latter reign, as Juvenal says, if there had been any freedom, people would have voted for Seneca and not Nero.[19] In Domitian's reign, matters were even worse, for it was dangerous to converse with him about such trivial things as snow or rain, heat or cold.[20] Speech was almost limited to the fulsome flattery of the Emperor.[21] Any remark which might be construed as a criticism or a slight to him, brought immediate death. The nauseating adulation which resulted is well caricatured in Juvenal's satire on the Cabinet

Council summoned to discuss the ways and means of disposing of a huge turbot.[22] This total eclipse of freedom of speech came to an end after the assassination of Domitian by a band of freedmen.[23] But despite the new freedom under the Good Emperors, Juvenal appears to have been banished to Egypt by Hadrian for making uncomplimentary remarks about some actor who was an Imperial favorite.

(b) FREEDOM FROM WANT

The Roman populace was for the most part indolent and parasitic, desiring only to be fed and entertained. Provided that it was not hungry and was kept amused by the games and shows in the amphitheatres and the Circus, it remained quiet and abstained from mischief. But to keep the city people peaceful in this way, was a problem, even in the days of the Gracchi; with the passing of time, it became more and more acute. Earlier, in the second century B.C., when the wealthy had begun to accumulate large estates, the poor farmers began to move into the metropolis, which was not sufficiently developed at that time to employ all its inhabitants: indeed, it never became industrialized enough for this. The problem remained unsolved throughout the Republic, but was alleviated to some extent by the sporadic munificence of politicians. Candidates for public office distributed free grain and exhibited games and shows in order to obtain votes. In the interval between the elections, the city of Rome took care of its poor by similar distributions.

After the fall of the Republic, elections became nominal; no longer were games and grain supplied gratis by the candidates.

To remedy this, the emperor and the state assumed responsibility in part for the maintenance of the populace, which was steadily growing larger and larger due to the influx of foreigners from different parts of the empire. Indeed, the city could be very dangerous when it got out of hand. The food problem was further alleviated by the institution of the sportula, an equivalent of the dole of the present day. It had its origin in the old system of patronage and clientage. By the time of Juvenal, it had become accepted as a regular system of relief. The clients had become the dependents of wealthy patrons who provided virtually their entire maintenance.

We find no reference to the sportula in Horace, but Juvenal, Martial and other writers of the Silver Age often mention it. According to Juvenal, wealthy Romans, whether freemen or freedmen, all had their trains of attendants. The clients of these would rise early in the morning, dress in their togas, and hurry to the home of their patrons to pay their respects. Then they followed them wherever they went, in fair weather or foul.[24] They supported them in court, escorted them through the streets, accompanied them to the baths and performed other acts of service.[25] At the conclusion of their duties, they received the pittance on which they lived.[26] At first, the patron used to invite his clients to dinner, but as clientage grew, this practice was found to be impossible, and the patronus distributed food or rations for which each client brought a basket (sportula).[27] Later, the ration was abolished and a sum of one hundred quadrantes (twenty five asses)[28] was subtituted. Under Domitian, payment of the dole

in cash was cancelled, but it was soon restored. Meals (cenae) were provided when the patron felt disposed to do so,[29] generally in the evenings, and some of them were made occasions for embarrasment and insults to the client.[30] At other times, clients were refused admittance to the meal while the patron feasted himself to death.[31] A client's lot was not a happy one. If he received rations of food, the flour was likely to be coarse and the bread mouldy and incapable of being bitten.[32] Because the dole was so niggardly, it is not surprising to find the same client attending on several patrons.[33]

All classes seem to have shared in the benefits of clientage; even nobles, members of great families and magistrates such as praetors and tribunes, as well as freedmen and other Roman citizens. Among the recipients of doles were wealthy men who were formerly slaves. This is quite clear from Juvenal's description. Preference was given by the patron to wealthy clients. Thus a citizen, whether tribune, praetor, or a nobleman, might have to give place to a wealthy freedman who was brought to Rome from the banks of the distant Euphrates.[34] The rich man took precedence even though a Roman might have been first in line.[35]

Before the nomenclator distributed the sportula to a toga-clad band of his patron's clients, he carefully scrutinized, outside his master's vestibule, every applicant for the dole; when he had satisfied himself as to his proper identity, he gave him his share.[36] Sometimes, a client was invited to a meal or a banquet given by his patron as a payment for past favors and to establish credit for the favors to be bestowed.[37] The treatment

of the client at such a banquet was often discriminating and discourteous.

In Juvenal's time, the money payments, which were substituted for the dole baskets and banquets, at the rate of one hundred quadrantes[38] per client per day, were subject to abuse by grasping and unscrupulous persons. When they supplemented their income with the sportula, they found themselves in better circumstances by becoming clients than if they pursued some trade. Various tricks were employed to obtain the dole on false pretenses. One client pretended to be accompanied by his wife in a shuttered and heavily curtained lectica, and claimed a sportula[39] for her, though the litter was empty. As a result of these malpractices, nomenclators became more cautious and curt than before.

The prevalence of begging in Rome, attested by Juvenal, is a clear evidence that the ideal freedom from want was far from realized. Many were Jews, whose baskets and bundles of hay[40] arouse the satirist's scorn rather than his sympathy. They plied their calling as beggars usually do at crossroads, city gates and approaches to the bridges.[41]

The complaints so prevalent in Juvenal about the inadequate renumeration[42] given to teachers and rhetoricians and men of letters is further testimony of the want and poverty that existed in the capital of the ancient world. Juvenal's eloquent commiseration for the victim of poverty, whose torn cloak and patched shoes make him an object of general ridicule,[43] and his pen picture of the poor tenant, Cordus, who lost his precious little in a fire,[44]

are moving proof, if any further corroboration were required, of the destitute condition of large numbers of common people who constituted the incurable cancer of the body politic. Rome was a city in which a great gulf was fixed between the very rich and the very poor. The economic problem, whether soluble or not, was not solved.

(c) FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Roman policy in matters of religion was tolerant and refrained from interference with the established cults in the empire, provided that they did not come into conflict with the interests of the state. The Romans had their own ancient agricultural deities, and household gods which had once sufficed for the peasant soldiers of the heroic days; and simple faith, which makes a strong appeal to the poets, still persisted, perhaps, in rural parts.[45] But, Greek divinities were early adopted into the Roman canon, as a result of Roman expansion and conquest of Greece. As new provinces were added to the empire, new gods and goddesses migrated to Rome, and brought their devotees with them or gained new converts. Nevertheless, the nation still retained the forms of its original beliefs as the official religion of the state. The ancient ritual with its periodic sacrifices and festivals was observed with strict Roman conservatism.[46]

In the provinces, the policy of tolerance and conciliation can be illustrated in the exemption of Jews from military service because of the taboos connected with their observance of the Sabbath. Both Horace[47] and Juvenal[48] regarded the keeping of this commandment as a foolish superstition, but they both bear witness

to the fact that Judaism had established itself in Rome, that some of its tenets were familiar to the Romans,[49] that Jewish synagogues were in use,[50] and that the Jewish doctrines were winning converts even among the ranks of the gentiles.[51]

It is clear from Juvenal that the worship of Isis and other Egyptian cults devoted to deities represented in animal form, commended a large following in the heterogeneous population of the capital.[52] The Gallic priests of the Magna Mater exerted an evil influence on many susceptible women,[53] who seemed equally prepared to part with their property[54] or their honor[55] at the behest of their religious confessors. The satirist condemns in the most scathing terms the hypnotic influence of the rites and the demoralized condition of the votaries. He describes the penance and pilgrimages imposed upon some credible women.[56] We are told that they were sometimes enjoined to fetch water from the Nile for lustrations in the Iseum an the Campus Martius.[57]

The growth of Christianity constituted a special problem in itself though this is scarcely noticed by either Horace or Juvenal.[58] The problem here was not moral but political. The Christians refused to perform the customary sacrifices of the state religion, whether in honor of the gods of the old orthodox pantheon, or as a tribute to the new bond of the empire, the worship of the emperor. In this refusal they came into conflict with high policy of state and religious tolerance broke under the strain. This explains in large measure the persecutions that disquieted the reigns of Nero and his successors. The secretive manner in which the Christians were compelled to carry on their

services further gave rise to suspicious imaginings about the rites performed. Many false reports were current which increased their difficulties.[59]

Horace's attitude to these foreign cults was one of amused tolerance and in this he reflected the feeling of the cultured classes of his day. Juvenal's position was that of puritanical prejudice and dislike of the foreigner; his views are those of a nationalist and a moralist. The official policy of the government was somewhere between the two. Tolerance generally prevailed, but the sporadic excesses of which Juvenal makes so much, occasionally brought down the strong arm of the law, and expulsions of philosophical and religious sects occurred at intervals.

(d) FREEDOM OF ADVANCEMENT

Rome was a city of opportunity; men of initiative and ability were allowed to forge ahead there and to rise above their station in society. Even slaves were able to buy their freedom and so to share in the same advantages as the native-born Romans, and former slaves like Servius, Crispinus and Narcissus gained great influence. The haughty Roman temper looked down upon such up-starts, but could not prevent their rise by reason of their native ability and shrewd business acumen. Many of the foreign-born not only became exceedingly wealthy, but also attained to responsible positions in the government, and performed their duties with merit and distinction. Since the days of the Scipios they had been welcomed as friends by the progressive Roman nobles.

Horace tells of a certain Tigellius, Sardinian by birth, who

had been able to earn the friendship of such notables as Julius Caesar, Cleopatra, Cicero and Augustus.[60] He also mentions a Greek rhetorician named Heliodorus, who had become Maecenas's secretary and accompanied him on an important mission to reconcile Octavian and Antony.[61] The most outstanding advancement that Horace mentions is that of Maecenas himself, a notable and wealthy Italian from Etruria, who had risen so high as to become the chief adviser of Augustus in addition to being the patron of many outstanding literary men.[62]

Horace himself had risen high in the social scale. Son of an Italian freedman who was probably a tax-collector, he had first enlisted as tribune in the army of Brutus.[63] He next became the intimate friend of Maecenas, whose favor was not the reward of influence, but rather due to the estimate which the shrewd Etruscan put upon Horace's ability.[64] He admits that his rise inspired envy and jealousy among others who were not as capable or as fortunate as he. The unjustified ambitions of his rivals drew from him the comment that since the judgment of the common people is fickle and untrustworthy, men of humble birth should not aspire to office, for their qualifications will be critically examined and may justly excite envy.[65]

Juvenal too was a countryman, as the best evidence about him indicates; yet, he shared the typical Roman prejudice against foreigners and their rise to power. In his satires, there is ample evidence of the contemporary freedom of advancement, since he notes that many men of humble origin had risen to high stations. It is possible that his disapproval and envy of these

is not due to the fact that he was less fortunate than they, but rather to the methods they employed to gather wealth and to gain their social objectives. He charges that mere nobodies, who used their ability and shrewdness to obtain government contracts, soon became wealthy by manipulation and graft.[66] Ex-slaves or illegitimates, as the case might be, surpassed the true Romans in riches, luxury and extravagance;[67] a former barber and a fish-peddler are cited as horrible examples.[68] Greeks and other foreigners easily outstripped the Romans and received preference in the courts and in general social life.[69] Slaves from Asia, Cappadocia and Bithynia accumulated enough money to qualify as knights:[70] some even became court favorites, like Crispinus,[71] the favorite of Domitian, and Narcissus,[72] the favorite of Claudius. Not all rose by evil means, for Juvenal mentions with approval such men as Quintilian, Ventidius, and Servius Tullius,[73] all former slaves. Seneca from Spain, and Marius and Cicero from rural Italy,[74] all had honorable careers. Sejanus, who rose to the position of being the <u>alter ego</u> of Tiberius, was also a provincial being from Etruria.[75]

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CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

As the satirist contemplates the weaknesses and foibles of mankind, he naturally assumes a critical attitude; he may indeed become cynical or dejected at the many forms of evil that meet his view. The critic has a tendency to look at the dark side of society, and, disregarding its nobler aspects, to dwell upon what is ignoble and base. He is inclined to be analytical and primarily preoccupied with destructive criticism. Nevertheless, one can discern in the satires, even of the most morbid and pessimistic writers, thoughts suggestive of positive remedies for the ills that they delineate. Thus, Horace, in his genial manner suggests a positive philosophy of life, while Juvenal offers the solution that men should entrust their cares to the gods and thereby rid themselves of their false ambitions and evil desires![1]

Both of these writers realize the limitations of human nature and are sympathetic, at times, to those whom they satirize. Thus Horace admits that he himself has shortcomings,[2] while Juvenal concludes that there is some hope for man in that he has the ability to weep.[3] Horace was a man of broad understanding and a close observer of his fellow men; these qualities he owed to his father who taught him to study the character and behaviour of others and to conduct himself accordingly.[4] Because of the nature of his training, his writings reflect the individuals and ideas

of his age.[5] His vivid portrayal of them makes them still accessible to us for our scrutiny and analysis.

What then is the underlying fault of the age of Horace as revealed in his writings? In his opening satire he shows that the fundamental difficulty is the general discontent of mankind.[6] He raises the question why so many are disatisfied with the lot that was the result of fortune or their own choice.[7] Why is man dissatisfied with his own circumstances and why does he pine for those of another?[8] Imperialist expansion had brought to Rome from distant lands many persons who differed greatly from the descendants of Romulus. With power, too, came an increase of wealth which disturbed the simple contentment of the inhabitants of the Seven Hills.[9] In the race for wealth which ensued, many were left far behind, outstripped by competitors born beyond the shores of Italy.[10] Indeed, men, brought to Rome in chains, won their freedom, gained fortunes and formed a class of <u>parvenus</u>, vulgar and unabashed; they naturally aroused the envy of the less fortunate. In short, wealth became a deity everyone worshipped; for wealth, men hazarded even life itself. Jealousy and competition gave birth to the discontent which Horace diagnosed as the root of human unhappiness.[11]

Wealth, too, brought in its train many social evils. Its vulgar display was an offence to men with a proper sense of value. Its abuse took two opposite forms: prodigality and avarice alike arose from the worship of wealth.[12] Some of the devotees of Mammon built great mansions, porticoes and villas; they lavished countless sums on food and drink,[13] and shone resplendent in jewelry and fine

silk, while others denied themselves the expense of a few asses for food to keep body and soul together.[14] Men commonly rated everything in terms of money,[15] and amassed as much of it as they could. Insatiable greed was coupled with reckless ambition. Enslaved to their ambitions, their wants and their desires, men became continually the victims of strife and discontent, of jealousy and disappointment.

Horace has a message for persons perturbed by the current instability and discontent: he advocates for them his doctrine of the Golden Mean.[16] Adherence to this principle would greatly aid the convert towards finding satisfaction with his own lot, for it would eliminate the unnatural and unnecessary struggle for excessive wealth.[17] Moreover, it would keep a man within his means and bounds; he would not strain his efforts to obtain something beyond his reach. Ambition would be supplanted by an inner satisfaction leading to greater enjoyment of life, as the new attitude gave freedom from worry and anxiety. Much toil and effort, now needlessly expended, would be conserved for sensible employment in everyday life. In short, the mind would thus be emancipated to engage in philosophy which constitutes the true guide of life.

In addition to wealth, which he regards as the chief cause of the discontent of the age, Horace discusses another social evil for which he prescribes a homely remedy. The education and the rearing of children was degenerating from the old Roman principles. With a critical eye, the Venusian bard must have viewed, examined, and analyzed many a character, indeed many a human derelict, as

he wandered through the streets of the imperial city. Evidence from other sources indicates that there were many who lacked proper training as well as parental care. Horace evidently regards this situation seriously for he takes great pains to expound his theory of proper education.[18] To his father, he gives all the credit for his own character and offers it as a proof of the soundness of the training which that father so conscientiously imparted to him.[19] This autobiographical reference has already been fully discussed in a previous chapter on education.

As a consolation for the adversities of life, Horace suggests the adoption of a philosophical attitude. Well acquainted with current philosophical thought, he appropriates ideas from both the Stoic and the Epicurean schools. Moderation, however, should be observed in the borrowing to safeguard against the extremes, both of the too rigid Stoics and the too radical Epicureans.

Horace practiced what he preached; this is evident from his writings. He divided his time between his Sabine farm and Rome. Though he preferred the easy and simple life of the country,[20] he enjoyed life also in the capital. There he loved to stroll through the forum or meander about the tricky Circus, observing the many human types whose weaknesses might presently point a moral in his satire.[21]

Juvenal's vivid portraits and bitter attacks exposed society in which he is convinced that vice and degeneracy have reached their zenith.[22] It is hardly likely to have been as bad as the

bard from Aquinum depicts it. He admired the principles and practices of the simple and hardy Romans of old who made Rome great.[23] Much allowance must be made, not only for his strong patriotism, but also for his abiding abhorrence of everything that was foreign to Italy. Finally, it should be remembered that his youth had witnessed a tumultuous period of civil strife and social chaos; thence he derives a large part of his gloom and pessimism.

In Juvenal's critical judgment, three faults of Roman life were basic: the disastrous decline of the old Roman principles, the desperate race for wealth, and the baneful inroads of foreign influence. These three were interwoven. It seemed to Juvenal that the elimination of the last two and the revival of the first would solve the problem of contemporary society. To expect the realization of such remedies was probably wishful thinking, but what other cures could be suggested?

Wholesome family life had always been the foundation and the pillar of society. With its decline, homely virtues yielded place to dishonesty, hypocricy, debauchery and profligacy, while simplicity gave way to monstrous complexity. In order to arrest such a downward trend of family morals, it is necessary to begin with the proper education of children. It is too late to teach proper behaviour and develop upright character, when the child has grown up and developed evil habits; the training must begin in infancy.[24] Parents have the first and chief responsibility in the rearing of children and are bound to take every precaution lest harmful influences enter the home and affect their pliant

and impressionable minds.[25] To press this point, Juvenal devotes an entire satire in which he elaborates at length upon his views on education.[26] The formation of the child's character should be under parental supervision and not entrusted to some renegade Greek pedagogue who is clever but unprincipled. In short, the principles of the men of old should be the basis of education.

Roman character was affected by Roman political expansion and the influx of foreigners; some of the effects were good, but Juvenal, because of his prejudice against everything that was not Roman, seems to regard them all as evil. Penetration of the outside world resulted in exploitation which induced a flow to Rome of slaves from many lands who brought with them new manners and philosophies of life. Women, Juvenal thought, were especially influenced by the spread of new ideas in religion and new social habits. Foreign influence was seen everywhere; indeed, the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber.[27]

Wealth and luxury were other by-products of Roman imperial expansion and gave the simple and austere Romans a new standard of living. The change was accelerated by the manumission of slaves and the rise of the freedmen class which soon gained control of the economic life; freedmen were the keenest competitors in the great race for wealth. In this strife, there were many Romans who could not keep pace with their foreign rivals and were forced to fall back upon the dole. The winners in the race did not strain at dishonesty and crime to amass great fortunes to support their lives of extravagance, of luxury and of vulgar ease. Wealth and influence become the supreme objectives of life.

Juvenal hated the idolatry of wealth and luxury. In an age of injustice and selfishness, he preached sympathy and justice. He felt genuine sympathy for unfortunate slaves who were the victims of inhuman treatment by cruel masters,[28] and for the provinces which were oppressed and despoiled by unscrupulous governors.[29] Mutual helpfulness was needful in such an age. He devoted a large part of his thirteenth satire to show that revenge is the petty satisfaction of a small mind;[30] the real punishment for crime may be left to the guilty conscience which exacts its own penalty.[31] Evil thought is the root of sin, and it must be eradicated. This is the function of education, which, if begun in time, saves from the pitfalls of later life and is the only guarantee of good citizens; family life, in short, is the sure foundation of the state.

The adult should turn to philosophy and apply the test of reason to all his desires and actions. He should strive to discern what is to his advantage, and what to his disadvantage.[32] Reason imposes limits of conduct which must not be transgressed. Vain ambitions bring disaster to their possessors. The wisest plan is to devote one's time and prayer, if one must pray, to the acquisition of wisdom, health, courage and endurance.[33] A wise man can help the gods to grant his prayer.[34] Virtue is the only true nobility.[35] It is this ideal of ancient Rome that preoccupies Juvenal. To effect it was, it seems, the vain dream of an idealist.

Juvenal's ideal of individual character is largely derived

from Stoicism. The wise man will banish all ambitions save that of courageous indifference to the vicissitudes of fortune, and pray for a sound mind in a sound body.[36] It is a counsel of perfection and of pessimism, and the common doctrine of the disillusioned philosophical theorists of the Roman Empire.

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