

THE PATRIA OF JUVENAL

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I

Simple truth can take a long time to percolate. The personal detail concerning Juvenal that the *vitae* and the scholiasts serve up with complacency is only a farrago, concocted from the poems. That was declared by Johannes Vahlen, long ago.¹ Nothing emerges to contradict or refute. As the orator Domitius Afer once observed, *hoc artificium periit*. Or, on a lower-key and Juvenalian note, stale cabbage, *crambe repetita*.

Nonetheless, the biography of the poet has proved an alluring theme in recent time, issuing an abundant discourse, and not without confident asseverations.² Brief affirmations of skepticism or denial intervene.³ They are not always given heed. And the traffic keeps on.⁴

That being so, while faith and credulity persist, it is something of a paradox that doubts should be voiced in passing about Juvenal's Italian home, *tuo . . . Aquino* (3. 319).⁵ The phrase might indicate, it is true, not the *patria*, but merely a sojourn of predilection. Thus, in a poem of Martial, his eloquent friend Licinianus will repair for the winter to the sunny shores of Tarraconensis: "*aprica repetes Tarraconis litora / tuamque Laietanium*" (1. 49. 21–22). Now Licinianus, as is patent, belongs to Bilbilis, in the interior (1. 49. 1 ff., 4. 55).

On that line of argument, the inscription found in the vicinity of Aquinum has to be explained or disallowed. The standard text runs as follows:

C[ere]ri sacrum / [D. Iu]nius Iuvenalis / [trib.] coh. [I] Delmatarum / II[vir]
quinq., flamen / divi Vespasiani / vovit dedicav[it]que / sua pec.

[CIL, 10. 5382 = ILS 2926]

That text calls for various comment, some of it disturbing. The document is not extant; it has not been seen for nearly two centuries. Shortly before 1772 it was transmitted by "magistrates of Aquino" to a certain Orlandi, who made the first publication. A better version was provided by P. Cayro of that city, in 1808.⁶

1. "Juvenal und Paris," *Gesammelte philologische Schriften*, vol. 2 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923), pp. 181 ff. The article originally appeared in *SBerl*, 1883, pp. 1175 ff.

2. Notably in G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 4–41, 233–45.

3. Thus U. Knoche, *Die römische Satire* (Berlin, 1949; 3d ed. Göttingen, 1971), pp. 88 ff.; idem, *Gnomon* 29 (1957): 52 f. (reviewing Highet); R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), p. 499; M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London, 1976), pp. 121 f.

4. J. Gérard, *Juvénal et la réalité contemporaine* (Paris, 1976), pp. 5 ff.; E. Cizek, "Juvénal et certains problèmes de son temps: Les deux exils du poète et leurs conséquences," *Hermes* 105 (1977): 80 ff. And it may be noted that Highet "nous paraît un peu trop critique," according to A. Michel, "La Date des *Satires*: Juvénal, Héliodore et le tribun d' Arménie," *REL* 41 (1963): 316, n. 1.

5. Knoche, *Satire*, p. 89.

6. See the annotation at *CIL*, 10. 5382.

First of all, the command of a Dalmatian cohort. The manuscript texts showed no space for a numeral, which was inserted by Mommsen. Again, the supplement *trib.* Cayro's text apparently had *trib.* That would permit *praef.* That title is desiderated for the commander of an ordinary cohort (i.e., *quingenaria*).⁷ A tribune commands a *cohors milliaria*. But that kind of regiment would not be the first post to be held by an equestrian officer (and perhaps his sole post). Finally, the two *cohortes milliariae Delmatarum* were created in the time of Marcus Aurelius.⁸

For attribution to the satirist Juvenal a cohort of Dalmatians carried an attraction not easy to withstand. Other regiments (*quingenariae*) are attested in Britain, a region in which the poems appeared to disclose a marked and even personal interest.⁹

Yet the man may not be the satirist, so some have opined. No matter, and nothing need be lost save the anxious or optimistic search for provinces in which Dalmatian cohorts had their stations (they are numerous). The officer and magistrate who set up the dedication to Ceres might be another member of the family, perhaps the father. No reason need therefore debar Aquinum as the residence of these Junii.

Their *ultima origo* is another matter. Domicile or birthplace is not the same as a *patria*. A modest observation now becomes pertinent, albeit not conclusive. When a local worthy makes or receives a dedication in his home town, a common and intelligible habit attaches to his *nomen* the tribe as well as the filiation. This time both are absent.

Aquinum supplies three inscriptions of Roman knights, each of whom held the posts of *tribunus militum* and *praefectus fabrum*. Two register the tribe, the Oufentina.¹⁰ The third omits it. This man, after (or during) a varied and a successful career in the days of Tiberius Caesar, became *patronus* of the town. Since he had been a *quattuorvir* at Verona, he looks like an immigrant from Transpadane Italy.¹¹

II

A brief excursus is in place. Though the document cannot be verified, nobody seems to doubt that it is genuine. A gentle suspicion insinuates. As with literary products, a clear motive is often enough to arouse dubitation.

At Ameria local zeal duly reveled in a plethora of bogus Roscii, now segregated.¹² And further, one gained admittance to *CIL* 11 but can hardly pass muster.¹³ To come closer to home (if that is the word), Rocca d'Arce,

7. As assumed without argument by E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (Kendal, 1953), p. 20. Similarly, *PIR*² J 765.

8. Dessau's note gave a reference to *ILS* 2616 (Salonae): one of the pair.

9. Namely coh. I in 122, coh. II in 105 (*CIL*, 16. 69, 51). C. Cichorius had uttered a salubrious admonition (s.v. "Cohors," *RE* 4 [1900]: 283 f.).

10. *CIL*, 10. 5399, 5401 (= *ILS* 6291).

11. *CIL*, 10. 5393 = *ILS* 6286 (Q. Decius Saturninus).

12. *CIL*, 11. *548-68.

13. *CIL*, 11. 4349.

lying half way between Aquinum and Arpinum, has its inscriptions of the Cicero family. Why not? The place is near the site of Q. Cicero's property, called Arcanum. All condemned, however: fabrications of Grossi early in the nineteenth century.¹⁴

One piece in the collection deserves scrutiny. It honors the orator's son (*suff.* 30 B.C.), describing him as "cos., pro cos. prov. Asiae, leg. imp. / Caes. Aug. in Syria" (*CIL*, 10. *704). The extant sources that reveal these two provincial governorships are far from obvious: the elder Seneca and Appian.¹⁵ Observe, moreover, the formulation of the second post. It is the correct style at that time for a legate in the *provincia* of Caesar Augustus—which not all scholars have discerned.¹⁶

It might not have exceeded the talent or the scruples of an erudite antiquary to furnish from Aquino desirable confirmation of the Third Satire—though the disappearance of the stone is no credit to the local magistrates. A dedication to Ceres was suitable, since the poet himself names *Ceres Helvina* (3. 320).¹⁷

Preoccupation with Juvenal neglects the inscription reported on the other face of the stone. It presents peculiar features.¹⁸ That is not enough in itself to cast discredit on the Juvenal inscription.

To conclude. It cannot be proved that the document from Rocca d'Arce is genuine, that from Aquino a forgery. Such is not the point and purpose of these remarks. Advantage will accrue if speculation about the poet's life and career eschews the inscription. For the scholar (as previously for scholiasts) the only source resides in the poems—and their author is artful, perverse, and secretive.

III

It suits the satirist to parade from time to time in the garb of a poor client.¹⁹ To infer impoverishment or a disaster that deprived him of rank and estates, that is a sad misconception.²⁰ It overlooks both what can be established (the demands of the genre and the persona of a satirist) and what cannot, namely the temperament of an author, perhaps predisposed to ferocity and discovering in invective a congenial outlet and liberation.

14. *CIL*, 10. *700–706.

15. Sen. *Suas.* 7. 13; App. *BC* 4. 51. 221.

16. See further the review of A. E. Gordon's *Potitus Valerius Messala Consul Suffect 29 B.C.* in *JRS* 45 (1955): 160 = *Roman Papers* (Oxford, 1978), p. 270.

17. Juvenal elsewhere mentions the goddess six times.

18. *CIL*, 10. 5426: "... iuvaverit / huic universus populus / Aquinatium tabulam / aeneam patronatus tra / ditam sed et statuam / perpetuabilem cum pic / turam similitudinis / eius hoc in loco ad peren / nem testimonium censuer[e] / constituendam." The word *perpetuabilis* is not found anywhere else. However, that reason, or others, cannot exclude or disprove a document of late antiquity.

19. Such is a common theme in Martial, who, addressing his friend, has "dum per limina te potentiorum / sudatrix toga ventilat" (12. 18. 4–5). For Juvenal's dependence on Martial, and for his essential frivolity, see G. B. Townend, "The Literary Substrata to Juvenal's Satires," *JRS* 63 (1973): 148 f.

20. Eloquenty expressed by Highet in the summary of his reconstruction (*Juvenal the Satirist*, p. 41).

It will be useful to adduce opportunities in the wider world that beckoned to alert young men from the *municipia* with moderate aspirations and some proficiency in polite letters. That is, military posts—and also paramilitary, for the *praefectus fabrum* should not be neglected.

In contrast to *laticlavii*, there was no uniform age of entrance, no regularity in service or prospects.²¹ A pair of examples from Pliny's circle is instructive. First, in the year 101 Pliny requested the governor of Britain to accord a military tribunate to Suetonius Tranquillus (*Epist.* 3. 8. 1). Tranquillus, the son of Laetus, who had fought as tribune in a legion at Bedriacum, was born (so it may be conjectured) in the year of peace, hence aged about thirty at the time.²² Second, Pliny's friend from the studious years, Voconius Romanus of Saguntum. Pliny's natal year was 61 or 62 (probably the latter). In 100 Pliny wrote to an army commander called Priscus, soliciting some post or other for Romanus, who had recently been provincial high-priest of Tarraconensis (2. 13. 4).²³

Tenure of a single post in what is called the *militia equestris* is by no means infrequent. Thus the two knights from Aquinum already noted, or two writers from Spain, Cornelius Bocchus and the agronomer Junius Columella.²⁴ Further, a number of the local dignitaries who end as high-priests at Tarraco.²⁵

That is to say, persons with no clear vocation for the military life, no hope or ambition to rise higher in an equestrian career. Their motives do not evade conjecture: travel and recreation, attachment to a friend or a patron, local prestige when they came back after a brief sojourn with the armies.²⁶

Like others of the educated class, Juvenal may have chosen to embark on this avenue. With success or with failure, who can tell? The poems breathe no hint of any patron. By an innovation in the author's technique, the last five are dedicated to friends, so it appears. None can be identified.²⁷

Aquinum is styled a *frequens municipium* by Cicero, a great city by Strabo.²⁸ Yet it cannot show a Roman senator, Republican or imperial.²⁹

21. Birley, *Roman Britain*, p. 135.

22. For the conjecture that Tranquillus was born in 70, see "The Enigmatic Sospes," *JRS* 67 (1977): 44 (discussing "Sospes" and "Innocens").

23. Priscus is to be identified as Javolenus Priscus, legate of Syria: cf. "Pliny's Less Successful Friends," *Historia* 9 (1960): 365 f. = *Roman Papers*, pp. 480 f.

24. *ILS* 2920–21 (Bocchus), 2923 (Columella).

25. See the lists in G. Alföldy, *Flamines provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 33 ff.

26. "Pliny the Procurator," *HSCP* 73 (1969): 208 = *Roman Papers*, p. 748.

27. Viz., Corvinus, Calvinus, Fuscinus, Volusius Bithynicus, Gallius. The persons addressed have all been proved fictitious ("erwiesen") according to Knoche, *Satire*, p. 89. The claim is excessive.

Further, it might do no harm to concede Umbricius (3. 21) as the authentic name of a friend. But Persicus, addressed in 11. 57, is presumably debarred because of his wife's adultery (187 ff.).

28. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 106; Strabo 5, p. 237.

29. Unless it be P. Barronius Barba, curule aedile in the late Republic (*ILS* 5562). Because of the extremely rare *nomen* (three instances at Aquinum), cf. T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (Oxford, 1971), p. 217.

According to the *Historia Augusta*, Aquinum was the home of Pescennius Niger. The engaging piece of fiction endows him with "Annius Fuscus" for father, "Lampridia" for mother; and the grandfather was *curator Aquini*. The biographer goes on to deprecate the invention, as is his fashion, with a note of scholarly caution: "quod quidem dubium etiam nunc habetur" (*Pesc.* 1. 3). Aquinum, it is surmised, owes its evocation to his scholastic milieu and acquaintance with the poems of Juvenal.³⁰ Nor are any of the higher knights there discoverable. That deficiency, however, is not enough to consign Aquinum to the downward path of Ulubrae. The region was rich and prosperous. Nor, again, is it legitimate to suppose that Aquinum was harmed by close proximity to three other towns in the valley of the Liris, each at an equal distance of less than a dozen kilometers: Casinum, Interamna Lirenas, Fabrateria Nova.³¹

The great family in the neighborhood was established at Casinum: the Ummidii, of ancient opulence. They had recently come into possession of the Roman palace inhabited by the jurist Cassius Longinus—by what means, it evades ascertainment.³² When describing Neronian confiscations, Juvenal alludes to the mansion. A regiment of soldiers, he says, "Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos / clausit" (10. 16–17). *Longinus* indicates the mansion—not the person, as commentators and translators assume. There is a faint chance that the choice of this particular derives from personal knowledge.³³

Subjoined to the notorious inscription, these observations are independent of that document. The design is to illustrate the milieu, to indicate occupations accessible to the better sort from *municipia* in Italy or in provinces of the Roman West.

Juvenal's knowledge of foreign parts has not failed to arouse curiosity and some inordinate expectations. Its nature and origin demands discrimination. In the first instance literature, given the author's manner and habits, elsewhere beyond dispute. Juvenal does not attack the living (1. 170 f.). His Rome is mainly the *imperium vetus* of Claudius and Nero, as well as the recent age of Domitian.³⁴ But personal experience comes in—at least for one country.

30. For an engaging parallel in Renaissance fiction, observe the *vita* published by J. Dürr (*Das Leben Juvenals*, Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Kgl. Gymnasiums in Ulm, Prog. 561 [Ulm, 1888]). It assigns the poet "Septumuleia" for mother—and also for his sister, who married "Fuscinus." The author took "Fuscinus" from 14. 1. The other *nomen* is rare, municipal, and plausible—cf. *Septumuleius ille Anagninus* who got hold of the head of C. Gracchus and claimed a reward (Cic. *De or.* 2. 269).

31. The latter two towns do not offer senators either. Juvenal happens to mention Fabrateria, along with Frusino (3. 224).

32. Pliny *Epist.* 7. 24. 8.

33. C. Ummidius Quadratus was consul suffect in 118. He and his aged grandmother are the subject of Pliny's letter, a showpiece. For the family, see "The Ummidii," *Historia* 17 (1968): 72 ff. = *Roman Papers*, pp. 659 ff.

34. His "Domitianic experience" tends to be overvalued, largely because of *Satire* 4. Thus Knoche: "obwohl Juvenals Satiren sich ganz vorwiegend mit der Schreckenszeit beschäftigen" (*Satire*, p. 90).

IV

In *Satire* 15 Juvenal recounts a murderous feud between two villages. Terminating the long *exordium*, he claims to know Egypt:

horrida sane
Aegyptos, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.

[15. 44–46]

Juvenal does not assert that he was in Egypt at the time, but he assigns the incident to a precise date, *nuper consule Iunco* (15. 27). Now L. Aemilius Juncus was consul suffect with Sex. Julius Severus in 127, entering office on the first day of October. Dating by *suffecti*, that is precise—but anomalous in a literary text. Who knew, who cared? That year had six *suffecti*. The significance of the item has seldom been perceived.

The only other consular date in the poems registers a year by the *ordinarius*. Addressing Calvinus, Juvenal exclaims, “stupet haec qui iam post terga reliquit / sexaginta annos Fonteio consule natus?” (13. 16–17). The sixtieth year stamped a man as *senex* indubitably, and in a senator it excused attendance at the high assembly. The poet himself avows an affection for birthdays, as in the previous poem, “Natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux” (12. 1). Now the consulship of Fonteius Capito (in 67) was not a year of notoriety like 68, introduced by Silius Italicus: Nero’s end, and Silius, orator and poet, living on as the last survivor of the Neronian consuls. The conjunction of the two consular dates permits a hypothesis. Each meant something to Juvenal. He may have seen the light of day in the autumn of the year 67.³⁵ Other estimates have shown a wide fluctuation.³⁶ The matter thus acquires some importance. Less, however, than the time of writing.³⁷

When or why Juvenal visited the land of Nile, there is no clear indication. Perhaps on military service (either as tribune in a legion at Alexandria, or as commander of a regiment elsewhere), perhaps in the retinue of a prefect of Egypt. The next governor after Cornelius Gallus, namely Aelius Gallus, had Strabo with him, not yet known as “Strabo the geographer,” who shared an excursion as far as Syene.

Attention has also been drawn to Meroe, mentioned twice in the poems. First, the votary of Isis will journey under divine injunction to the southern frontier of Egypt and get water from torrid Meroe (6. 527–28). Second, among examples of deformity, the large breasts normal among Negresses at Meroe (13. 163). That item, so commentators with gravity aver, stands unique in writings of the ancients.³⁸ Why, Meroe is only about nine hundred

35. As suggested in *Tacitus*, pp. 774 f.

36. As at different times by Highet. Thus “probably c. 50,” *OCD*¹, p. 475; “about 55,” “The Life of Juvenal,” *TAPA* 68 (1937): 505; “about 60,” *Juvenal the Satirist*, p. 5 (cf. p. 50); “between 50 and 65,” *OCD*², p. 571.

37. There are no valid reasons for supposing that Juvenal had published anything before 117.

38. J. E. B. Mayor in his commentary ad loc. (2d ed., London, 1878); Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist*, p. 31.

miles distant from the end of Egypt: from the *porta Syenes*, as it is designated (11. 124).³⁹

This item need not detain, save for a fleeting glance at the exotic seduction of far Meroe, euphonic name. It is commemorated in the famous Greek quatrain on the subject of death.⁴⁰ Strange therefore that Meroe had no appeal for any of the Augustan poets, keen as they are on remote geography, save only Propertius: "Cepheam hic Meroen fuscaque regna canat."⁴¹

V

Four passages which mention Britain are noteworthy on various counts:

(a) The reference to Roman conquests in the far North:

arma quidem ultra
litora Iuvernæ promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos.

[2. 159-61]

(b) Fabricius Veiento in Domitian's council of state is moved to foretell splendid news from the island:

regem aliquem capies aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus.

[4. 126-27]

(c) An aspirant to the centurionate is given advice ironically:

dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum.

[14. 196]

(d) The spread of rhetorical education to the world's end is illustrated thus:

Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos,
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.

[15. 111-12]

The rubric is respectable, an attraction to insular conceit and an incentive to the quest for Juvenal's area of service as an equestrian officer. The question stands thus: do any of those passages entail and demand his presence in Britain?

The third is a general reference to disturbed regions in the frontier zone, valid at any time in the reign of Hadrian subsequent to initial trouble on the borders of Dacia. For the rest, literature appears to be the answer, notably the *Agricola* and the *Historiae* of Cornelius Tacitus. The chieftain Arviragus may have been named in the latter work.

Another foreign name is stylish indeed, Iuverna instead of Hibernia. It is found in Pomponius Mela (3. 53), not to recur until the late days, in the

39. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 61. 2: "Elephantinen ac Syenen, claustra olim Romani imperii."

40. *Anth. Pal.* 10. 3.

41. Prop. 4. 6. 78.

Historia Augusta. Glory is predicted for a descendant of the emperor Tacitus, who will impose a Roman governor in Ceylon and send a proconsul to Ireland (*Tac.* 15. 2). Parading Taprobane and Iuerna, the ingenious author did not require Thyle, which Juvenal adopts for adornment (15. 112).⁴²

The preceding verse has eloquent Gaul instructing Britain in the forensic art. That might be taken as an allusion to civilizing operations conducted by a Roman governor. Agricola shaped his policy *ut . . . eloquentiam concupiscerent*. But Agricola, it may be noted in passing, came out with a preference for the untutored talents of the natives: "ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre" (*Agr.* 21. 2). However, there is no call to insist on what may be only a stylized commonplace.

Nor will the great whale in British seas impress, "quanto delphinis bal-
laena Britannica maior" (10. 14). A final item will serve as a test case. Montanus, the gourmet present at Domitian's council, had an exquisite taste in oysters:

Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu.

[4. 140-42].

Oysters from Rutupiae, at first sight that is vivid and precise. The British bivalve came in fact to high esteem shortly after the invasion. Awarding the palm among eight varieties of oyster to the product of Cyzicus, the eminent authority of Licinius Mucianus declared them *dulciora Britannicis*.⁴³

Yet *Rutupino* should not deceive. It simply means "British."⁴⁴ In this device the satirist had been anticipated by a stylish performer in another genre. Lucan introduced *Rutupinus* along with *Caledonius* into Latin poetry:

aut vaga cum Tethys Rutupinaque litora fervent,
unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

[*Phars.* 6. 67-68]

VI

Africa might be another matter. Juvenal employs *Maurus* no fewer than eight times (it is absent from Martial), and also *Maura* as the name of an unchaste woman (6. 307-8, 10. 224). Likewise *Gaetulus*, six times (against once in Martial): the massive epithet appealed, as notably in *Gaetulum Ganymedem* (5. 59).

It is hazardous to claim significance for any such phenomenon: Horace also liked *Gaetulus* (three times in the *Odes*). But the passage describing cheap oil imported in Numidian boats made of reeds might invite attention:

illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur.

[5. 88-90]

42. Iuerna can thus be added to the Juvenalian echoes registered by A. D. E. Cameron, "Literary Allusions in the *Historia Augusta*," *Hermes* 92 (1964): 363 ff.

43. Pliny *NH* 32. 62.

44. F. Haverfield, "Three Notes," *CR* 21 (1907): 105; idem, s.v. "Rutupiae," *RE*, 2. Reihe 1 (1914): 1284. As that scholar pointed out, Rutupiae (Richborough) does not grow oysters.

The name Boccar is not elsewhere on attestation, not even in Martial, who produces some peculiar and enigmatic specimens.⁴⁵ It is patently Punic. Indeed, "Boccar" instead of "Bucar" should probably be read in Livy (three times: an officer of Syphax).⁴⁶

Again, the huts of the Moors, *Maurorum allegiae* (14. 196). The word occurs elsewhere only on an inscription in Germania Superior.⁴⁷ The origin is not clear. Some invoke Celtic. The standard term for huts in Africa is *mapalia*, brought into Latin poetry by Virgil (*Georg.* 3. 340); and Martial has *Gaetula mapalia* (10. 13. 7).

What then emerges? Only the notorious word-fancier, it might appear. His tastes come out clearly in the naming of fictitious characters. Thus "Laronia" and "Tongilius" (2. 36, 7. 130), taken, along with less obtrusive specimens, from his friend Martial.⁴⁸

Those *gentilicia* are extremely rare. Similarly, the exploitation of technical or alien terms not normally admitted to the high style. They can be used for effects of comedy or bathos. For example, Juvenal in a solemn passage calls the spear of a Roman god *Martis frameam* (10. 79). The word is German, so Tacitus states in the *Germania* (9. 1). He avoids it in the historical writings.

Next, a transaction of recent history that stands prominent in the early poems, and in its way unique:

exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis, at tu, victrix, provincia ploras.

[1. 49-50]

Juvenal reverts to it later on;

cum tenuis nuper Marius discinxerit Afros.

[8. 120]

He refers to the prosecution of Marius Priscus, terminated in January of the year 100. The vivid repercussion of a recent event has generally been assumed, hence valid for dating: the First Satire was composed in the near sequel.

Not at all. The indictment of a proconsul of consular rank was something memorable, and probably without parallel during the whole reign of Trajan. Moreover, it passed into the realm of literature. As Pliny states, *ego et Cornelius Tacitus* conducted the case (*Epist.* 2. 11. 2).

Juvenal therefore alludes to the account in a modern classic, the correspondence of Pliny, rather than to a prosecution that occurred in the year 100. Whether or no with veiled malice toward the eminent advocates who achieved so little, that is a question irrelevant to the present context.

45. Thus Baccara (6. 59. 2, 7. 92. 2, 11. 74. 1); Lattara (11. 47. 2); Ligurra (12. 51. 2).

46. Cf. the apparatus to Livy 29. 32 in the edition of R. S. Conway and S. K. Johnson (Oxford, 1935).

47. *CIL*, 13. 6054 = *ILS* 3204 (Niederbronn): "deo Mercurio ategi / am teguliciam comp / ositam Severinius / Satullinus c(ivis) T(ribocus) ex vo / to posuit l. l. m."

48. Mart. 2. 32. 5, 2. 40. 1. Martial also produced "Tongilianus" (2. 52. 1, 12. 88. 1).

Finally, no marked or especial concern for Africa need be deduced, despite the double mention of the proconsul's misdeeds.

And now for something quite different. Describing old age and its bodily degradation, the poet calls up for comparison the wrinkled cheeks of elderly apes in the woods near Thabraca,

tales aspice rugas
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.

[10. 193-95]

The first emergence in poetry of towns or tribes with novel names is a topic of some mild interest. The source and the reason can often be divined. Names of specific tribes in Cantabria and Asturia are not easy to come by. But Horace supplies the Concani, who drink the blood of horses.⁴⁹ The poet reflects contemporary warfare.

No known transactions of history brought in Thabraca, or any exotic product. It is not mentioned by any other poet except Claudian. With Claudian the word is not decorative but precise. The insurgent Gildo was captured and killed there, early in the year 398.⁵⁰

Thabraca was an ancient harbor on the coast of Numidia, close to its eastern boundary. The *umbriferi saltus* of Juvenal are discovered westward from Tabarka along the shore or inland to the southeast, in the Oued Zeen. As concerns apes, one may rest content with *quaerere distuli* or invoke testimony from Posidonius. On a journey from Gades to Italy Posidonius was moved to laughter when observing the appearance and comportment of those creatures (male and female) in a wooded grove along the shore of Africa.⁵¹

The cool glades near Thabraca and their denizens may have been familiar as a piece of common knowledge. Perhaps not. The sentence explains itself—that does not always happen with Juvenalian allusions. Another explanation avails: Juvenal had been in Africa, and the family may come from Africa.

VII

For long ages the persuasion prevailed that Juvenal was Italian, he must be Italian. His love of old Italy and his hatred of foreigners were duly enlisted.⁵² And amusing consequences ensue. Cornelius Tacitus has been hailed an "Italico giovenaliano."⁵³

The frequentation of Roman social history imports a severe doubt. One looks toward the provinces of the West—and a quieter tone now becomes perceptible.⁵⁴

49. Hor. *Odes* 3. 4. 34, whence Silius 3. 311.

50. Claud. *Cons. Stil.* 1. 359.

51. Strabo 18, p. 827.

52. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist*, pp. 233, 255.

53. P. Treves, *Il mito di Alessandro e la Roma d'Augusto* (Milan, 1953), p. 159.

54. Thus "Juvenal perhaps was not of Italian origin" (Coffey, *Roman Satire*, p. 120).

Nomenclature affords guidance in the investigation of local origins. The procedure can only be experimental; the prospects are limited when a *gentilicium* is common, indistinctive, and widespread; and statistics are often delusive.

What then can be done with D. Junius Juvenalis?⁵⁵ Junii are very numerous both in Spain and in Africa. Given the comparative totals of inscriptions in the two regions, Spain carries a heavy advantage.⁵⁶ Junius is one of the *nomina* spread through grants of the citizenship by proconsuls—but that is not the only explanation.

In favor of Spain, some might be moved to invoke Martial's warm affection for young Juvenal, first conveyed in two poems of the year 92.⁵⁷ Not valid. Immigrants from all the lands came together at the capital, and some families formed potent and enduring alliances. Nor can Juvenal's estate at Tibur acquire significance (11. 65), albeit a resort where many Spaniards congregated.⁵⁸

Martial avowed his yearning for Bilbilis (rivers, mountains, and the names of obscure villages); and he was generous in proclaiming a Spanish origin for friends of any rank or condition. But not for Juvenal, despite three poems. There is a clear parallel. Pliny is sparing with local topography (only Lacus Larius) but exuberant in praise and promotion of a larger *patria*; that is, the Transpadana. Pliny does not annex Tacitus to *illa nostra Italia*.

Now Juvenal nowhere discloses an interest in anything Spanish. Reticences can be detected in some of the extraneous. Quintilian betrayed no sign of his own origin. In a cursory reference to dialect words he says, "licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam" (1. 5. 56). He goes on to make a distant and ostensibly nescient reference to a word current in Spain.⁵⁹ Yet the immigrant professor was in a position to offer much more: archaisms in Spanish Latinity or words brought to the peninsula from towns of Italy.

VIII

Taken alone, the *nomen* Junius tells nothing. Recourse can be had to *praenomena*, generally negligible and neglected. Some of them adhere to *gentilicia* by tradition or from a kind of elective affinity, while others appear repugnant. For example, one seldom comes upon A. Claudius, P. Caecilius, T. Cornelius.

Decimus attached to Junii is familiar from history and literature, as witness D. Junius Brutus (*cos.* 137 B.C.), who campaigned in Spain; D. Junius Silanus (*cos.* 62), who opened a momentous debate in the senate;

55. The full name stands at the beginning of the biography attached to the Codex Montepesulanus: the earliest, and the original, of the scholiastic *vitae*. The scholium elucidates the *praenomen* Decimus. The item has never been impugned.

56. Nearly two columns in *CIL* 2 against about two and a half columns in *CIL* 8.

57. Mart. 7. 24, 7. 91. Also in 100 or 101 (12. 18).

58. Tacitus, p. 602.

59. Quint. 1. 5. 57: "et gurdos, quos pro stolidis accepit vulgus, ex Hispania duxisse originem audiui."

D. Junius Brutus Albinus, serving for long years under the proconsul of Gaul, then governor there and in the Cisalpina, consul designate for 42.

One might expect to discover repercussions in nomenclature among clients in the western provinces. The results are a surprise and a shock. In such Junii as carry a *praenomen* on the inscriptions, the percentage is minimal.⁶⁰

Spain abounds in Junii (the ninth name in order of frequency), but Spain yields a solitary specimen of the desired collocation: a wealthy lady, Junia D. f. Rustica, honored for her buildings and benefactions at a small *municipium* near Malaca.⁶¹ Africa in *CIL* 8 registers four Decimi Junii out of eighty-four; but three examples in eight have recently accrued at one town, Lepcis Magna.⁶²

Narbonensis registers a blank; and, for that matter, Transpadana (the "provincial" zone of the Cisalpina) shows only one example.⁶³ Nonetheless, for Juvenal's origin a thought might go to Tres Galliae, in view of the early renown engrossed by the Gallic orators. All Julii—except Marcus Aper, one of the interlocutors in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus. Aper was often and easily taken to be a Julius. Better, the parent of Flavius Aper, consul suffect shortly before 105, grandfather of M. Flavius Aper (*cos.* 130).⁶⁴ Therefore D. Junius Juvenalis might be enlisted in the ranks of those *causidici* who gave instruction to natives of Britain.

However, no sign in the poems points to Tres Galliae, to Narbonensis, or to Transpadane Italy. The *cognomen* now comes in. It indicates either low-class Italian or a provincial origin.⁶⁵ Observe, for example, "Iuvenalis e primoribus Tungrorum" (Tac. *Hist.* 4. 66. 3), and C. Julius Juvenalis (*suff.* 81), one of the rare Gallic senators on record in the period.⁶⁶ *CIL* 13 furnishes six specimens of the *cognomen*, *CIL* 8 a dozen.⁶⁷

IX

The data about nomenclature are registered as relevant, but not decisive; and it is expedient here as elsewhere to declare limitations in the method. For Juvenal's *ultima origo* nothing debars Africa, even Thabraca, slipped in at a late stage in the poems, like the two consular dates which permit an inference about the age of this elusive fellow.

Thabraca is sparse on record. Yet it happens to stand on conspicuous show in an early writer, Pomponius Mela, as he follows the coast eastward: "Hippo Regius et Rusicade et Thabraca" (1. 33). Thabraca acquired the status of a *colonia* or a *municipium* from either Caesar or the Triumvirs. A

60. Viz., *CIL* 2 (1/63), 8 (4/84), 12 (0/21), 13 (2/13).

61. *CIL*, 2. 1956 (Cartima).

62. *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, nos. 517 (two men), 645.

63. *CIL*, 5. 3396 (Verona, a magistrate).

64. As argued in "People in Pliny," *JRS* 58 (1968): 139 f. = *Roman Papers*, p. 701 f.

65. *Tacitus*, pp. 799 f.

66. "Helvetian Aristocrats," *Mus. Helv.* 34 (1977): 138 f.

67. Also one in *CIL* 2, four in *CIL* 12.

dedication to Lepidus, set up *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*, has recently brought the town into due notoriety.⁶⁸

The site had strategic value: a harbor (there are very few along that coast) with a road running south through the mountains to open country at Bulla Regia. The inscriptions of Thabraca are not numerous or remunerative; but Thuburnica, about thirty kilometers to the west of Bulla, discloses early settlement with a plethora of rare Italian *gentilicia* and an abnormal variety of tribes.⁶⁹

Juvenal himself designates Africa next to Gaul as a nurse of forensic oratory, *nutricula causicorum* (8. 148). In the days of his early manhood an African town far less promising than Thabraca delivered the first of them, namely Septimius Severus from Lepcis. In an ode of the year 95 Statius extols his amiable talent, "est et frementi vox hilaris foro; / venale sed non eloquium tibi" (*Silv.* 4. 5. 49–50). The young man was well to do—the father had an estate at Veii (5. 54–55).⁷⁰ Furthermore, the prose preface to Book 4 brings up a welcome fact. Severus was a *condiscipulus* of Vitorius Marcellus. This is the excellent young man (*suff.* 105) to whom Quintilian dedicated his great work. Sober scholars have not been reluctant to reckon Juvenal among the pupils.⁷¹

Lepcis did not acquire the full status of a Roman colony until the year 110; and the first magistrate under the new ordinances was L. Septimius Severus, precisely.⁷² Immigrant or native, the extraction of these Septimii has been a question for debate.⁷³ Statius comes out with a firm pronouncement, "non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, / externa non mens: Italus, Italus" (4. 5. 45–46). The fervor of that asseveration is perhaps superfluous if the ancestry of Severus was in fact Italian.

The rise of the new Romans from the western lands is the triumph of the educated class, parallel (but generally antecedent) to their emergence in the service of the Caesars, with senatorial rank soon to ensue. Spain and Narbo-nensis lead the way and go on to produce a dynasty of emperors.

Africa puts up its first consul in 80, a Pactumeius from Cirta, the family Campanian by origin. Writers and scholars from Africa became prominent

68. *AE*, 1959, no. 77 = *ILLRP* 1276. See further J. Guey and A. Pernet, "Lépide à Thabraca," *Karthago* 9 (1958): 81 ff. An inscription of the second century presents the title, "colonia V. P. Thabracenorum" (*Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, 1. 109).

69. L. Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 14 ff. The Furfanii are a family of local notables, one of them honoring C. Marius as *conditor coloniae* (*AE*, 1951, no. 81), with some exaggeration. Observe also four Velonii, an Etruscan name absent from *CIL* 11. One of them, with the tribe Lemonia, has for *patria Ionia* (*CIL*, 8. 787). Borne also by the Furfanii, Lemonia is the tribe of Bononia.

70. Cf. *HASev.* 4. 5, with the emendation of M. Hammond, "Septimius Severus, Roman Bureau-cratic," *HSCP* 51 (1940): 144.

71. F. Vollmer, s.v. "Iunius (Iuvenalis)," *RE* 10 (1917): 1042; Vollmer adduces 6. 75, 6. 280, 7. 186 ff.

72. *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, nos. 353, 412.

73. For Italian origin, T. D. Barnes, "The Family and Career of Septimius Severus," *Historia* 16 (1967): 87 ff.; for native, A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus, the African Emperor* (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), p. 36.

toward the middle years of the Antonine century. Rational curiosity will look about for predecessors.

Hippo Regius yields a dedication to Suetonius Tranquillus, set up early in the reign of Hadrian, after he had become the secretary *ab epistulis*.⁷⁴ At first sight, his *patria*—though Pisaurum is not excluded for the *ultima origo* of the family (because of the occurrence of their rare nomen).⁷⁵ Attempts were made to appropriate Suetonius for Ostia. They have recently been canceled.⁷⁶ As for Junius Juvenalis, the argument leads toward Africa—but Thabraca does not have to be the *patria*.

X

The present disquisition puts emphasis on facts and the scarcity of facts, on plain nescience in a field that has been infested with credulity and romance. In consonance, the "exile of Juvenal" is eschewed.⁷⁷

However, if license be conceded at the end to mitigate aridity, the notion of a festival to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of a professor in the last years of Domitian (a somber season) might amuse a philosophical mind. Quintilian himself was emboldened to proclaim an efflorescence of Roman oratory in this epoch, exhibiting already some *consummati patroni*, worthy rivals to classic performers in the old time; and younger men are coming on.⁷⁸

A fine company of disciples might convene for a discreet symposium, men whose births fall between 57 and 70. In the forefront perhaps Cornelius Tacitus, and perhaps also his friend Fabius Justus (*suff.* 102). Resplendent success had endowed Tacitus with a priesthood by the time of his praetorship (in 88), but Justus soon gave up eloquence for the career of provinces and armies, taking him to consular commands in Moesia Inferior and in Syria. Next, and beyond a doubt, the loyal and alert Pliny (*pr.* 93), and Pliny's close coeval Vitorius Marcellus.⁷⁹

At the tail end might be surmised without discomfort some persons of lower rank, such as Severus, the young man from Punic Lepcis—or Juvenal. Perhaps likewise Suetonius Tranquillus, whose career as an advocate was to be cut short through diffidence and superstition.⁸⁰

74. *AE*, 1953, no. 73.

75. *Tacitus*, pp. 780 f.

76. F. Zevi, "Nuovi documenti epigrafici sugli Egrili ostiensi," *MEFR* 82 (1970): 302 f.; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*² (Oxford, 1973), pp. 515 f.

77. For Knoche it was only "vielleicht . . . eine Legende" (*Satire*, p. 91). Coffey goes some way further: "probably invented in the fourth century" (*Roman Satire*, p. 122). *PIR*² J 765 is firm and negatory. The poet is now hounded into exile not once but twice by Cizek: "Juvénal et certains problèmes de son temps," pp. 80 ff.

78. Quint. 10. 1. 122: "namque et consummati iam patroni veteribus aemulantur et eos iuvenum ad optima tendentium imitatur ac sequitur industria."

79. For Pliny as a disciple, *Epist.* 2. 14. 9, 6. 6. 3.

80. Terrified by a dream, Suetonius asked Pliny to have the case postponed (*Epist.* 1. 18. 1). He is next found soliciting (and rejecting) a military tribunate in Britain (3. 8. 1).

To posterity the satirist Juvenal remains an isolated and enigmatic figure (he willed it thus). No friend is both verifiable and tangible, except for Martial.⁸¹

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81. Young Juvenal lurks somewhere on the fringe of Pliny and Tacitus, of Statius perhaps, and of Suetonius. That he should fail to gain entry to Pliny's letters has evoked surprise and illicit inferences about both persons (e.g., Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist*, p. 19). Many other people of various categories, far superior in birth, rank, and attainments, are also absent. There is no sign that Juvenal had written anything before the last installment of the correspondence was given to the world (109?).