

Domitian and Roman Religion: Juvenal, *Satires* Two and Four

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For Agnes K. Michels

In this paper, I want to examine the allusions to traditional ritual in *Satires* Two and Four. While Juvenal was a satirist whose work reflected and developed the traditions of his genre, he was also a Roman and the product of the broader cultural traditions of Rome—political, ritual and social.¹ His rhetoric therefore is two-fold, consisting of devices and techniques that develop and color his argument and of constructed images that resonated with Roman values and made his argument persuasive (cf. Braund 1992: 80). In sum, while the poet Juvenal did not write history, the *Satires* can provide evidence for social and political history, for attitudes towards Domitian, and the rhetoric for legitimating imperial power in the late first and early second centuries A. D. In fact, the enquiry into the social and political context of *Satires* Two and Four can also elucidate how the *Satires* work as literary texts. In these satires, Juvenal invokes traditional rituals that had fundamental political functions at Rome. The importance of tradition and adherence to tradition in public life was institutionalized in the religious procedure of *instauratio* and the political principle of *mos maiorum* (Wissowa 1912: 329–34, Dumézil 1.83–88). I shall argue that the paradox between traditional ritual roles and current ritual practice as Juvenal defined it serves to expose the pretense of seemingly traditional political behavior. Thus, in *Satire* Two, the poet presents Domitian's claim, as censor, to have restored the morals of the State. While the appeal to political traditions undermines traditional morality, a travesty of traditional rituals that guaranteed the domestic prosperity of the Roman State exposes political hypocrisy. Ritual hypocrisy provides a commentary on domestic policy. Similarly, in *Satire* Four Juvenal contrasts the cult of Vesta and re-

¹Anderson has explored at least in part Juvenal's use of Republican political traditions and Gérard has explored the influence of the broader Roman literary tradition, not specifically satire, on Juvenal's work.

ligious rituals that guaranteed military enterprises with Domitian's leadership of war and religion: ritual parody uncovers the pretense of religious scruple and traditional martial values (cf. Deroux's study of expiatory ritual in *Satire* 4). My argument is that the allusions to ritual traditions in both satires appeal to a presumed standard with which to evaluate Domitian's political behavior.²

I. *Satire* Two

The opening section introduces the censor Domitian as the focus of the *Satire*. The diatribe against moral hypocrites progresses geographically from the edges of the world (*ultra...glacialem Oceanum*, 2–3) to Rome and temporally from the Republic (M.' Curius Dentatus, 3; Ti. and C. Gracchus, 24; the triumphs, 28) to the Empire, culminating with Domitian, whom the narrator explicitly identifies as censor/adulterer reviving the Augustan adultery laws (29–30).³ As censor, Domitian exercised a general moral jurisdiction over the behavior of Roman elites and enunciated a moral program that affirmed traditional values, reviving the *lex Scantinia* prohibiting male prostitution as well as the Augustan laws.⁴ With a vivid and immediate reference to Domitian's incest with Julia and her death by an abortion, the narrator aligns Domitian with the preceding list of moral hypocrites (29–33, cf. Vinson 436 n. 21).

qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter
concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras
omnibus atque ipsis Veneri Martique timendas,
cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam
solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas

such a one as the adulterer recently polluted by a fatal liaison,
who then revived bitter laws that rightly cause dread for all
and for Venus and Mars themselves, when the fertile Julia
aborted so many times and brought forth fetuses looking like her uncle.

The opening section then concludes with a rhetorical appeal to moral conscience (33–35).

²Cf. Gérard 358–359 and 363, who argues that an allusion to Latianis at Juvenal 8.146–57 and to Vesta at Juvenal 6.385–92 serve to establish the Roman religious tradition as a measuring stick to gauge the religious and political integrity of individual characters and of Rome.

³Cf. Ramage 688–92, examining how Trajanic ideology influenced the depiction of Domitian. For Domitian's relations with elites and their apprehension at his censorial powers, see Waters 65–77, esp. 66.

⁴In general, Grelle 340–65: on the date of the edict prohibiting castration, 343–44; on the revival of the *lex Iulia* and the edict against male prostitution, 346–47. Cf. Jones 1992, who summarizes details without considering policy.

Satire Two maintains its focus on Domitian's censorship by repeated allusions to the details of his moral program. Laronia invokes the *lex Scantinia* that prohibited male prostitution (43–44); after derisively declaiming against the violation by men of traditional gender roles (51–56), the degeneration of marriage and a wife's loss of position to her husband's male lover (60), she concludes with a pronouncement on the inequity of censorial surveillance (63–64). The earlier reference to Domitian's revival as censor of the *lex Iulia* (29–31) and his revival as censor of the *lex Scantinia* suggest that Laronia's gnomic declaration refers to his moral policy. Moreover, Martial corroborates a professed concern for family values as part of Domitian's policies:

Lusus erat sacra conubia fallere taedae,
Lusus et immerito execuisse mares.
Utraque tu prohibes, Caesar, populisque futuris
Succuris, nasci quod sine fraude iubes.
Nec spado iam nec moechus erit te praeside quisquam:
At prius—o mores!—et spado moechus erat (6.2)

It was sport to violate the holy nuptials of the wedding—torch.
Sport as well to castrate males undeservedly. You, Caesar,
prohibit both practices and lend assistance to future populations,
for you order that there be births without guile. Now under your
protection no one will be either eunuch or adulterer. But
earlier—oh the behavior!—the eunuch was an adulterer.⁵

Again, Creticus prosecutes women for adultery, implementing the revived Julian laws (67–69). The homosexual marriage of Gracchus (115–19) violates the *lex Iulia*, provoking an exclamation of the inappropriateness of a censor to remedy the situation.⁶ Finally, the concluding vignette shows a young Armenian Zalaces, who is debauched at Rome in contravention of *lex Scantinia*. Thus the dramatic episodes illustrate the promotion and the contravention of Domitian's domestic policy as censor.

Juvenal is ironic about traditional appeals to Republican political traditions as standards for judgment. The narrator cites the first Republican pre-

⁵Both Statius and Martial celebrate Domitian's prohibition of castration (Mart. 6.2, 9.6.4–5; Stat. *Silv.* 3.4.73–77) and of male prostitution (Mart. 9.6.6–7, cf. Suet. *Dom.* 8.3). Assessment of their evidence is divided. For various views, see Grelle 347–52; Waters 66; Garthwaite 13–22; Dominik 74–97, esp. 75–76; Jones. Recent challenges to the sincerity of these poets do not, however, diminish their evidence of official doctrine.

⁶*Stuprum* included incest and homosexual relations which were thus actionable under the Julian law: Guarino 185–86. Courtney 142–43 compares Gracchus' marriage with that of Nero and sees the allusion to the censorship as referring to Domitian. Gracchus is not identifiable, see Courtney *ibid.*

cedents rhetorically in the opening section to challenge the ability of wrong-doers to challenge wrong-doing, i.e. to serve as negative paradigms (24–28):

quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?
 quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo
 si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
 Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum,
 in tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres?

Who could endure the Gracchi complaining about treason?
 Who would not confuse heaven with earth and the sea with
 the heavens if a thief should find fault with Verres, a murderer
 with Milo; if Clodius should accuse adulterers, Catiline Cethegus
 if Sulla's three disciples should speak against his proscriptions?

The list contains major figures in Cicero's life and identifies them by the crimes that affected their relations with Cicero: Cicero successfully prosecuted Verres for extortion in 70 and won his reputation; he unsuccessfully defended Milo for having killed Clodius in 52; as consul in 63 he countered the political machinations of Catiline; he opposed Antony in 44–43 and was proscribed by the triumvirs in 43. The reference to Clodius should therefore refer to his violation of the Bona Dea in 62, for Cicero's testimony destroyed Clodius' alibi, and Clodius, as tribune in 58, retaliated by exiling Cicero (Tatum 204–08). As a hypocrite, Domitian is a natural extension of the preceding list of Republicans, and the identification of Clodius ("moechus") and Domitian ("adulter") as adulterers emphasizes the association. Domitian is therefore identified with Republicans, but notorious Republicans. While the narrator applies these in a positive argument to expose hypocrisy, the simple appeal to Republican political traditions as standards for action is shown to be at best ambiguous and potentially deceptive.

The opening section concludes with a rhetorical question on the rightful censure of hypocrites: "nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima fictos/contemnunt Scauros et castigata remordent?" ("Do not therefore the most vile vices rightly and justifiably condemn the false Scauri and, once reprov'd, gnaw at them?" 34–35). The narrator claims to have discovered a paradigm of virtue compared to which the actions of hypocrites, like Domitian, are revealed as pretense. The Aemilii Scauri were extinct by Juvenal's time, and "Scauros fictos" probably refers to M. Aemilius Scaurus, identifying a Republican censor of 109 (see Ferguson 203–04 s.v. "Scaurus"). The narrator thus assumes the moral high ground invoking Republican traditions to question Domitian's moral integrity as censor. His choice of paradigm, however, creates a paradox. Aemilius Scaurus was known for his unwillingness to resign his censorship

until threatened by the tribunes (Plut. *QR* 50), and his political behavior resembled rather than contrasted with that of Domitian, who assumed the censorship in 85 and was named *ensor perpetuus* in that year.⁷ Domitian attached enormous importance to the office: his bronze coinage from 85 onwards, the *as*, *dupondius* and *sestertius*, always shows the title; the silver and gold issues of 85 and 86 consistently refer to it (Buttrey 26–34). The choice of Republican paradigm therefore sets a standard which identifies Domitian's actions with those of the Republic. Republican political standards again validate hypocrisy, although this time the appeal to them undermines the narrator's own moral posture, showing it to represent further hypocrisy. Furthermore, Juvenal also confounds the Republican sensibilities of his audience, for the narrator addresses his rhetorical question outwards, and his choice of paradigm undermines the Roman respect for tradition canonized in *mos maiorum*, i.e. the expectations of his audience. The political and historical traditions of Rome thus become a profoundly ironic commentary on Domitian's political behavior and the possibility even of evaluating it.

By contrast, Laronia's assessment of Domitianic practice rings true. Niall Rudd has suggested that Laronia, the advocate of the *lex Scantinia* and of traditional morals, is probably a whore who cites whores as exemplars, revealing her morality as posture and hypocrisy; S. Braund (1988: 10 relying on Coffey 125) has suggested that she represents an aristocratic adulteress who has suffered under Domitian's hypocritical revival of the Augustan laws. Yet the sexual morality of women as women was an *oxymoron* that Juvenal exploited in *Satire* Six. Paradox may therefore be created simply by Laronia's gender. Laronia labels Domitian a third Cato ("tertius e caelo cecidit Cato"), thus appealing to a positive precedent of traditional morality. Through hyperbole ("tertius Cato") and bathos ("e caelo cecidit"), she suggests the pretense of Domitian's morality, thereby affirming the value of Roman political tradition to provide positive moral paradigms to evaluate action. The poet intensifies the paradox by identifying her as divinely inspired to speak truth ("vera ac manifesta canentem," 64), and by introducing her with an irrepressible sense of indignation ("non tulit...Laronia," 36) which compares her to the narrator (24, see Winkler 430 and n. 62). Laronia's ability to use Republican political sensibilities to evaluate action contrasts, however, with the narrator's earlier inability to do the same, when the expected authority of Republican standards subverts the moral posture of both narrator and audience. A woman's assessment of Domitianic practice therefore confounds the expectations of the

⁷On the date: Buttrey 26–34, esp. 29; cf. Waters 66.

audience on the moral judgment of women. Traditional sensibilities are again inverted and offer no reliable standard.

A letter of Seneca elucidates the poet's construction of Domitian's character.⁸ Seneca (*Ep.* 97) used Clodius' trial in 62 to argue that contemporary times were not bad: Clodius' acquittal *de incestu* represented a greater offense to standards than his violation of the Bona Dea (1–3); the primary difference between the current day and the times of the Republic was not the presence of a Clodius but the absence of the Cato who had opposed Clodius (10). In *Satire* Two, Juvenal conflates Cato and Clodius in the characterization of Domitian. While the narrator equates the characters of Clodius and Domitian as adulterers in the opening section, Clodius' crime of incest looks forward to the parody of the Bona Dea; and in *Satire* Six the narrator similarly invokes Clodius as the paradigm for the violation of ritual codes (341–45):

et quis tunc hominum contemptor numinis, aut quis
simpuium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum
et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas
ausus erat? sed nunc ad quas non Clodius aras?

What man then despised deity, or who dared to laugh
at Numa's sacrificial bowl, the black pot and the fragile
offering-dish made from Vatican stone? But now what altar
lacks a Clodius?

Clodius' alleged incest with his sister Clodia establishes another link with Domitian whose relationship with Julia is identified as incestuous ("patruo similes effunderet offas," 33).⁹ Second, while assimilating Domitian and Clodius, the poet also associates Domitian with Cato. Laronia labels Domitian a

⁸Cf. Gérard 366–67, who emphasizes this letter of Seneca as the literary source for Juvenal's comments.

⁹For Clodius' political trial on the charge of *incestum*, see Scheid 130–33, citing Schol. Bob. p. 89 Stangl to suggest that the charge of incest was a lesser charge. But the Scholiast could just as easily be remarking a tough and conservative decision of the Senate: "decreverunt de ea re non aliter quam de incestu quaereretur." Cf. Moreau 88–89. The charge of *incestum* was not strictly appropriate to Clodius' crime and was an attempt by the Senate to define a criminal charge that would encompass the alleged *stuprum* with Pompeia and the religious affront to the Vestals (Moreau 88). Cicero alleges that Clodius committed incest with Clodia (Cic. *Har Resp.* 37–38; *Mil.* 86). The charges are usually accepted as truth, see e.g. Mitchell 84 and n. 6. The charge is more likely rhetoric (Vinson 435 n. 17). For the connection between incest (=sexual relations with a Vestal) and incest (=sexual relations with a relative), see Guarino 186, 216–18; Cornell 32–33. The charge of incest against Domitian is probably false: Waters 60–61 emphasizes Domitian's otherwise conservative morality; Vinson 431–38 demonstrates the rhetorical motives behind the charge and the chronological objections to it (Julia's death late 89; Domitian's absence on campaign until fall, 89).

third Cato ("tertius e caelo cecidit Cato," 40). Courtney associates the reference with Domitian's censorship and identifies the allusion to archetypes of moral living (Courtney 129, cf. Ramage 689). While the reputation of Cato the Elder supplies an allusion to censorial severity, the second Cato had a specific role in the politics of 62, insistently pressing for Clodius' trial (Cic. *Att.* 1.13.3, 14.5).¹⁰ In sum, Seneca had juxtaposed Clodius and Cato. Juvenal equates them through the character of Domitian, who thus embodies the hypocrisy and ambiguity of Republican political traditions.

The figure of Creticus identifies Domitianic moral legislation with a blind, hypocritical appeal to political tradition. The narrator introduces Creticus in court, prosecuting adulterous women and wearing a transparent toga: the emblem of Roman citizenship literally exposes his hypocritical advocacy of traditional values (66–68, 77). Creticus also bears an honorific *cognomen* such as that assumed by successful Republican generals, creating paradox between the traditional Republican expectations stirred by his name and the reality of his actions. To underscore Creticus' hypocrisy, the narrator twice questions him directly about the incongruity of his public actions and his personal demeanor (66–68, 75–76). Republican historical and political traditions seemingly function therefore to undermine the credibility of Creticus' behavior and so Domitian's advertised moral revival.

The figure of Creticus again calls into question, however, the simple appeal to political traditions as reliable standards for moral judgement. Creticus bears the specific honorific *cognomen* of Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer. Courtney (132–33) rejects the identification because the Caecili Metelli were extinct in Domitian's time, but this may in fact be the point: the allusion is simply Republican, like the allusion to the extinct Scauri (35) and the unidentified imperial Gracchus (117). Juvenal is playing with Republican names. Creticus identifies therefore a Metellus, and Clodia, the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher, had married into the family, specifically to Creticus' cousin, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer. Moreover, P. Clodius Pulcher masqueraded as a woman, a fluteplayer, to participate in the rites of the Bona Dea in 62 B.C.;¹¹ and the narrator had established the image of Clodius' violation of the Bona Dea at the beginning of the *Satire* (24–28). The narrator assures us that Creticus will join one day in the travesty of the Bona Dea (83–84), thereby creating a transition

¹⁰On the Republican politics, see Balsdon 66–69, Mitchell 84.

¹¹Cic. *Har. Resp.* 44. See Balsdon 66 n. 13 and Mulroy 167 and n. 17. Mulroy uses Clodius' transparent disguise, however, to reject the story of an intentional sacrilege; against this view, Tatum 207–08. On Clodius' infiltration of the Bona Dea, see Brouwer 363–70, who collects and discusses the sources.

from the court scene to the Bona Dea celebration and reinforcing the association. Creticus has already dressed the part and wears the transparent garb of a flute-player, the only musician admitted to the Bona Dea, according to the narrator.

The poet shows that ritual traditions offer incontrovertible standards for evaluating the political behavior of Domitian's world. The Vestal Virgins and the married women of elite families of Rome performed the annual festival of the Bona Dea at the house of the highest-ranking chief magistrate of the State: the women drank wine and the necessary performance of the festival *pro populo* gave women an important role in the State (Wissowa 1912: 177–78, Brouwer 358–70). Men were excluded absolutely, and the infiltration of the festival by a single male in 62 occasioned the immediate repetition of the rite to guarantee the *pax deorum* (Cic. *Att.* 1.13.3; Schol. Bob. p. 89 Stangl). In 62, the infiltrator Clodius faced a political trial for violating the religious traditions of the city.¹² The ritual of the Bona Dea represented an inversion of women's traditional roles: the lapse of the traditional taboo against women's use of sacrificial wine; the abandonment of women's fundamental social definition within marriage; the assumption of an important political role in the life of the city.¹³ The ritual guaranteed fertility and domestic prosperity, the advertised aims of the censor Domitian's policy.

In his parody of the Bona Dea, Juvenal alludes to characteristic features of the ritual to establish the Roman reference: the sacrifice of a sow (86) and the consumption of wine (86, see Gérard 369). As a male, Juvenal would not have had detailed knowledge of the Bona Dea festival, and he conjures up the image of a secret ritual by referring to a ritual of the Eleusinian mysteries, namely the lowering of the torch that served to purify the initiate (91).¹⁴ He focuses the parody on the exclusive performance of the ritual by men. Women were driven away: “sed more sinistro exagitata procul non intrat femina limen” (“but in a perverse ritual a woman is driven off and does not cross the threshold,” 87–88). He identifies women as ritually proscribed, using the technical invocation to begin religious ceremonies: “ite, profanae” (89).¹⁵ Word order

¹²Scheid 130–31. Tatum 204 and Balsdon emphasize the political motives for the suit against Clodius.

¹³Versnel 31–55. Cf. Latte 228–30, who discounts the drinking of wine during the ritual. Against this view, Brouwer 327–36 emphasizes the important role of wine-drinking in the aetiological myths about the goddess and the festival.

¹⁴On the purificatory ritual, Burkert 286 and n. 7. Brouwer 358–61 emphasizes the distortions inherent in literary tradition because of the ritual exclusion of men from the rites and the political agenda of each writer.

¹⁵Appel 82–83, cf. Courtney 135.

emphasizes the celebration by individuals whom the poet will identify as male (“maribus”), but not men/husbands (“viris”): “solis ara deae maribus patet” (89). The celebrants use phallic-shaped ritual paraphernalia (“vitreo bibit ille priapo,” 95), although in *Satire Six* Juvenal shows himself aware that the presence of male images contravened the ritual (6.339–41). Thus the poet shows us the violation of traditional ritual. The opening lines detail the costuming of the men who dress as women to celebrate the rites, and these underscore the theatricality and pretense of the ritual: “[sc. viri] longa domi redimicula sumunt frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo” (“they put long fillets on their foreheads at home and cover their necks with necklaces,” 84–85).¹⁶ At Juvenal’s Bona Dea, the celebrants ape religious practice while offending ritual codes.

Juvenal also associates the Bona Dea festival with the orgiastic cults of the Thracian god Kotyto (91–92) and of Cybele at Rome (110–14) to distinguish it further from traditional ritual. The opening comparison to Kotyto, a goddess unknown at Rome and labelled by Juvenal as specifically Greek, identifies the Bona Dea rite as utterly foreign and a vulgar pretense of ritual.¹⁷ Again, Juvenal likens the festival to the cult of Cybele to underscore the variance with traditional practice.¹⁸ While the goddess was celebrated as the giver of victory and gained particular prominence under Augustus as the patron of Rome, her cult, in contrast, was severely restricted by the Roman Senate. Juvenal plays upon traditional prejudices against the cult.¹⁹ During the Republic, Romans were not allowed to serve as priests; the priests might perform their ritual only on specified dates and were otherwise confined to their temple.²⁰ The Bona Dea festival was under the jurisdiction of the Vestal Virgins, who were selected from the elite families of Rome (Wissowa 1912: 421 and n. 10, cf. Gell. *NA*

¹⁶On the stage effects in the episode and especially the emphasis on make-up at lines 93–95, 99, see Braund and Cloud 1981: 206.

¹⁷On Kotyto, see *RE* 11 (1922) 1549–51 s.v. Kotys (Schwenn); Burkert 179. The allusion to Baptae may refer to a play of Eupolis on the cult (Courtney 136–37). Lucian (*Adv. Ind.* 27) identifies the rhetoric of Juvenal’s allusion: Eupolis’ play the *Baptae* was a well known and uncomfortably bawdy depiction of the cult which Strabo (10.3.16) likened to that of Cybele and Aeschylus associated with the mysteries of Dionysus. Cf. Hesychius s.v. Kotyto, who states that Eupolis maligned a foreign rite out of anger and made the ritual bawdy.

¹⁸For the cult, Wissowa 1912: 263–64. Bona Dea is perhaps associated with Cybele in a first-century A.D. inscription from Dalmatia (Bouwer no. 127), see Brouwer 386–89, noting a connection of the two goddesses in southern Gaul as well.

¹⁹Wiseman 117–28 examined the tension between Roman regard for the goddess and the concomitant fear and disparagement of the ritual in Vergil’s *Aeneid*. His views have been elaborated by Wilhelm 77–101, who does not address Roman views on the priesthood or the ritual.

²⁰See Wissowa 1912: 264–65. Romans, generally of lower status, were allowed to become priests during the Empire.

1.12.5–7, 12). The priests of the parody are identified as frenzied priests of the Eastern Cybele (“crine senex fanaticus albo/sacrorum antistes,” 113–14). Vestal Virgins had to be without blemish when they were selected.²¹ The priests of Cybele were eunuchs. Juvenal emphasizes their mutilation and identifies their testicles as useless even before castration: “quid tamen expectant, Phrygio quos tempus erat iam/more supervacuum cultris abrumpere carnem” (115–16). Roman priesthoods were honorary offices; Juvenal identifies the priests of the parody as “for hire” (“conducendusque magister,” 114), emphasizing the ritual begging that was a conspicuous and suspect feature of the cult.²² The reference to Phrygian custom (“Phrygio more”) in concluding the description of the ritual recollects the opening description of the Bona Dea parody as perverse (“more sinistro”). Thus the contrast of current ritual practice with traditional ritual at Rome reveals a traditional cult betrayed to alien, foreign practices.

The entire satire, and particularly the marriage of Gracchus, illustrates the consequences of such travesty. First, Bona Dea was a fertility goddess.²³ Martial celebrated Domitian’s policies as increasing the population (9.6.1–3):

Tibi, summe Rheni domitor et parens orbis,
pudice princeps, gratias agunt urbes:
populos habebunt; parere iam scelus non est

To you, great conqueror of the Rhine and parent of the world,
chaste princeps, the cities give thanks,
they will have people; now it is not a crime to give birth.

The satire continually refers to births, failed births, and monstrous births. The opening criticism of moral hypocrisy and homosexuality concludes with a description of Domitian’s incest with Julia and her death by abortion: “[sc. Domitian] qui tunc leges revocabat...cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam/solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas” (30–33, cf. Vinson 437). Immediately following the Bona Dea parody, the narrator describes the homosexual marriage of an unidentified imperial Gracchus whose name perhaps serves to create another apparent Republican/imperial dichotomy. The narrator terms Gracchus’ marriage a prodigy (“monstrum”) and likens it to a woman giving birth to a cow (121–23):

²¹For the physical requirements of the Vestal, see Gell. *NA* 1.12.1–3: “negaverunt capi fas esse...quae lingua debili sensuve aurium diminuta aliave qua corporis labe insignita sit.”

²²Cic. *Leg.* 2.40: “Stipem sustulimus nisi eam, quam ad paucos dies propriam Idaee Matris excepiimus; implet enim superstitione animos et exhaurit domus.” Cf. *Leg.* 2.22.

²³*CIL* 6.73 (=ILS 3506, Imperial); *CIL* 6.74 (=ILS 3507, Flavian). See Brouwer 398 and esp. 346–47 and n. 179–80.

o proceres, censore opus est an haruspice nobis?
 scilicet horreret maioraque monstra putares,
 si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum?

Illustrious nobles, have we need of a censor or a haruspex?
 Would you shudder and consider it a greater monstrosity,
 if a woman calved or a cow gave birth to a sheep?

The call for a *haruspex* rather than a *censor* to interpret the prodigy alludes to Domitian's professed concern, as censor, to promote marriage and babies, while labelling the reality a religious threat. The use of the vocative *proceres* attributes to the audience the Republican moral perspective capable of recognizing and disapproving of the travesty (cf. Braund and Cloud 1982: 81). The narrator notes the frustration of the newlyweds not to be able to produce children: "interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret/quod nequeant parere et partu retinere maritos" ("Meanwhile a great torment remains for the newlyweds, for they cannot produce children and hold onto their husbands with offspring," 137–38). Marriages in Domitian's world are sterile (140).

Traditional rituals of public cult emphasize the marriage as a sham. The narrator claims that not even the Lupercal ritual can assist to produce birth for Gracchus: "nec prodest agili palmas praebere luperco" (142). At the Lupercalia, two patrician priesthoods sacrificed a goat and ran around the Palatine, striking women with strips of the hide to promote fertility (Ov. *Fasti* 2.425–52, cf. Wissowa 1912: 172–73). Gracchus is male, and the poet emphasizes the pretense: Gracchus dons bridal garb as a costume (124). Moreover, the narrator reminds us of his proper religious role: as a *Salus*, Gracchus wore the ritual regalia to dance the sacred war dances for Roman military campaigns (125–27). Thus the Lupercal is directed at pretense and cannot work. The concluding image of Gracchus fighting with the trident in the arena (143) creates a metaphor of the public display of his blind hypocrisy: unlike all other gladiators, a man with a trident fought without a mask/helmet (cf. 8.204–06). In sum, the poet connects homosexual marriage with Domitian's moral program that affirmed family values. Yet he shows the inefficacy of traditional Roman ritual to guarantee birth in Domitian's world, for Domitianic characters only aped traditional ritual while violating the very codes they professed to represent and protect.

The rite of the Bona Dea offers a ritual explanation for the satire's repeated allusions to disease and ritual taint (cf. Braund and Cloud 1981: 204).

Bona Dea was the goddess of health, and her temple served as a pharmacy.²⁴ In the opening diatribe against moral hypocrisy, the narrator introduces Peribomius, whose Greek name translates “about the altar.” Peribomius’ name looks to the coming descriptions of the Bona Dea/Cybele, and the scholiast identifies the figure as the chief priest of the frenzied priests of Cybele: “nomen archigalli cinaedi qui publice impudicitiam perpessus.” Yet Peribomius while praised by the narrator as not a moral hypocrite is nevertheless identified as diseased (15–17):

verius ergo
et magis ingenue Peribomius; hunc ego fati
inputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur

Peribomius is more honest and unaffected; and I consider him fated, who admits his disease in his expression and in his gait.

Creticus, who is about to join the ranks of those performing the travesty of religion, is identified as a contagion that taints and destroys all that it touches (78–81):

dedit hanc contagio labem
et dabit in plures, sicut grex totus in agris
unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci
uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva

disease produced this destruction and will cause more,
just as an entire herd in the field falls because of the mange
of one pig, and one grape draws rot from (merely) seeing another.

Braund and Cloud have suggested that the final episode offers an example of Juvenal’s gnomic statement about the threat of Creticus: a young Armenian boy has been debauched at Rome and returns home in a new Roman toga signalling his change in character (164–70):

Armenius Zalaces cunctis narratur ephebis
mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno...
mittentur braciae, cultelli, frena flagellum:
sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores

the Armenian Zalaces, more effeminate than the Greek boys,
is the talk of the town, namely that he indulged the

²⁴CIL 6.72 (=ILS 3514, II s. A.D.), cf. Brouwer 345–46, Wissowa 1912: 178, Latte 228, 230.

passion of a tribune...the trousers, knives, reigns and
 whip will be let go: thus hostages to Rome bring back toga'd
 behavior to Araxata.

Thus the poet concludes by showing that the world is infected and that the infection spreads from Rome. Domitian and his supporters are revealed to offend the very principles of Rome; and the Republican heroes in the underworld want to purify themselves as from a disease: "cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur/sulpura cum taedis et si foret umida laurus" ("they would want to be purified, if there were any sulfur, torches, and moist laurel," 157–58).²⁵

To sum up, ritual and historical allusions color the characterization of Domitian and those who promote his policies. While the censor Domitian presented a political policy of affirming traditional values, the poet challenges the appeal to political traditions as reliable standards for evaluating political behavior. Ritual traditions, however, are incontrovertible and expose hypocrisy. Domitian's domestic policy as censor establishes a thematic link with *Satire Four*, the structural counter-part of *Satire Two* within Juvenal's first book of *Satires* (Braund and Cloud 1982: 79, 81–82). A further feature of Domitian's moral program was his policing of the Vestals and his prosecution, as *pontifex maximus*, of the alleged sexual indiscretion of the head Vestal Cornelia. *Satire Four* concerns this event.

II. *Satire Four*

Juvenal begins this *Satire* with an allusion to Crispinus' incest with a Vestal, rhetorically emphasizing Crispinus' intrigue: "incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat/sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos" ("the adulterer, with whom the filleted priestess recently lay, she who was about to go under the earth while still alive," 9–10). The punishment of the Vestal identifies the incident (cf. Townsend 156–57). The narrator suggests a recent event ("nuper"). In 83, Domitian accused three Vestals of sexual misconduct: all three were given the opportunity to commit suicide and did.²⁶ In 93, Domitian accused the head

²⁵The ritual cannot relate to a religious crime since Roman religion did not require a purification of the offending individual for a sacral offense (Scheid 130). Cf. the ritual expiation for a prodigy (reflecting commission of a sacral offense and a violation of the *pax deorum*, Henzen 136–49). Water and fire were basic to lustral ritual: Wissowa 1912: 327–29. The substances for purification (*suffimenta*) varied for the occasion: *RE* 2.4 (1932) 652–53 s.v. *suffimentum* (Marbach). Sulphur served to purify from disease: Tib. 1.5.11; Ov. *Met.* 7.261; Verg. *Georg.* 3.449. See *RE* 14 (1930) 364 s.v. *Mageia* (Hopfner); *RE* 2 (1923) 798–99 s.v. *Schwefel* (Blümner).

²⁶Suet. *Dom.* 8.4: "Nam cum Oculatis sororibus, item Varronillae liberum mortis permisisset arbitrium corruptoresque earum relegasset."

Vestal Cornelia of unchastity and buried her alive.²⁷ The next most recent trial and burial had occurred in 114–113 B.C. (Livy, *Per.* 63, *Obseq.* 37). Domitian's punishment of Cornelia provides therefore the most probable reference, and the allusion to censorial surveillance of Crispinus' excesses, while administratively inaccurate, invokes the moral program Domitian enunciated primarily, although not exclusively by means of his authority as censor. By alluding to the Vestal's burial and then dismissing it ("sed nunc de factis levioribus," 11), the narrator emphatically focuses on the event.

A letter of Pliny is particularly informative about the rhetoric of this dismissal. While Suetonius describes Domitian's policing of the Vestals as strict, conservative, and remedying the negligence of his predecessors (*Dom.* 8.3) and Statius presents them as pious and adhering to the religious traditions of Rome (*Silv.* 1.1.32–36),²⁸ Pliny represents Cornelia's trial as a scandal (cf. Vinson 433–35). He impugns Domitian's motives and the procedure: Domitian acted as a tyrant; he convened the *concilium* at Alba without precedent; and he condemned the Vestal to death, allowing her no defense (*Ep.* 4.11.6):

Nam, cum Corneliam, Vestalium maximam, defodere vivam concupisset, ut qui illustrari saeculum suum eiusmodi exemplis arbitretur. Pontificis maximi iure seu potius immanitate tyranni, licentia domini reliquos pontifices non in Regiam, sed in Albanam villam convocavit. Nec minore scelere, quam quod ulcisci videbatur, absentem inauditamque damnavit incesti...

For he had wanted to bury Cornelia, the head Vestal, alive, as he believed that his reign would be made illustrious by such deeds. By his authority as pontifex maximus or rather with the outrageousness characteristic of a tyrant and the wanton disregard typifying a slave-owner, he convened the pontifices not in the Regia but at his Alban villa. Nor with less a crime than he seemed to avenge did he condemn her for incest, although she was absent and had no opportunity to defend herself.

Pliny attempts to undermine Domitian's authority by likening Cornelia's trial to Domitian's alleged incest with his niece Julia.²⁹ At her execution, Cornelia

²⁷Suet. *Dom.* 8.4: "Mox Corneliam maximam virginem absolutam olim, dein longo intervallo repetitam atque convictam defodi imperavit stupratoresque virgis in Comitio ad necem caedo, excepto praetorio viro, cui, dubia etiam tum causa et incertis quaestionibus atque tormentis de semet professo, exsilium indulsit."

²⁸*Dom.* 8.3: "Incesta Vestalium virginum, a patre quoque suo et fratre neglecta, varie ac severe coercuit, priora capitali supplicio, posteriora more veteri." *Silv.* 1.1.32–36: "Ipse autem puro celsum caput aere saeptus/templa superfulges et prospectare videris/an nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis/pulchrius, an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis/atque exploratas iam laudet Vesta ministras."

²⁹On senatorial opposition to Domitian, see Waters 65–68, Jones 102.

professed her innocence and defended herself by citing Domitian's military successes against the Germans and Dacians (4.11.7):

Illa nunc ad Vestam, nunc ad ceteros deos manus tendens multa, sed hoc frequentissime clamitabat: Me Caesar incestam putat, qua sacra faciente vicit, triumphavit?...Dixit, donec ad supplicium, nescio an innocens, certe tamquam innocens ducta est.

The woman stretched her hands now towards Vesta, now towards the other gods, and repeatedly said many things, but this most frequently: "Does Caesar think me unchaste, who performed the *sacra* when he won his victory, when he triumphed? She spoke, until she was buried. I don't know if she was innocent, but she was thought to be innocent.

In his treatment of the Vestals, Domitian had sought to establish his severity. The event back-fired, and Domitian incurred censure: "Fremebat enim Domitianus aestuabatque in ingenti invidia destitutus... Ardebat ergo Domitianus et crudelitatis et iniquitatis infamia" ("For Domitian was isolated in the enormous resentment of him, and he raged and blustered and seethed with the notoriety of his cruelty and injustice," 4.11.6). By Pliny's account, Domitian's actions were notorious, and, in Pliny's view, Cornelia was a victim.

Juvenal has the same view of the event, for he continually alludes to Cornelia's trial throughout *Satire* Four. Calling upon the Muses to begin his account of Domitian's *concilium*, the narrator calls them "puellae" (36). The word may suggest "a young girl" or "virgin" (Townend 154, Braund 1988: 15); it may also identify "girl friend," creating a sexual innuendo to recall the issue of chastity for which the historical *concilium* was convened. The *concilium* is located at Domitian's villa at Alba, the place of Cornelia's trial, and the poet identifies Alba with reference to Vesta's cult, noting that Vesta's fire there was still lighted: "ubi quamquam diruta servat/ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem" (60–61). The extinction of Vesta's fire at Rome was considered to be a sign of the Vestal's unchastity (Dion. Hal. 2.67.5). Juvenal's fisherman gives the turbot to Domitian because he is *pontifex maximus*, the head of the pontifical college: "destinat hoc monstrum cumbae linique magister/pontifici summo" (45–46). It was by virtue of this office that Domitian exercised jurisdiction over the Vestals, including Cornelia. In giving the turbot to Domitian, the fisherman asserts that the fish was too great for private hearths and wanted to be caught: "accipe...privatis maiora focus...ipse capi voluit"(66–69). *Focus* invokes the hearth as a place of cult, particularly

(but not exclusively) the domestic cult of Vesta and of the Lares.³⁰ *Capere* (69), used by the fisherman to describe the catching of the turbot, was particularly used for the inauguration of priests and was such an odd and particular use that it occasioned Gellius' explanation of procedure (*NA* 1.12.13–16):

'Capi' autem virgo propterea dici videtur, quia pontificis maximi manu presa ab eo parente in cuius potestate est, veluti bello capta, abducitur. In libro primo Fabii Pictoris, quae verba pontificem maximum dicere oporteat, cum virginem capiat, scriptum est. Ea verba haec sunt: 'Sacerdotem Vestalem, quae sacra faciat quae ius siet sacerdotem Vestalem facere pro populo Romano Quiritibus, uti quae optima lege fuit, ita te, Amata, capio.' Plerique autem 'capi' virginem solam debere dici putant. Sed flamines quoque Diales, item pontifices et augures 'capi' dicebantur.

Moreover, it seems that the virgin is said to be "taken" for the following reasons, because she is taken by the hand of the pontifex maximus from the parent in whose authority she is, and is led away as if captured in war. The first book of Fabius Pictor contains the words which the pontifex maximus ought to say, when he "takes" a virgin. These are the words: "As a Vestal priestess to perform the *sacra* which it is right for the Vestal priestess to perform on behalf of the Roman people and *Quirites*, as one qualified by law, so I take you, Beloved." Several think that only a Vestal Virgin ought to be said to be "taken." But the flamens of Jupiter, the pontifices and the augurs were said to be "taken" as well.

The pun associates the presentation of the turbot to Domitian with the inauguration of a Vestal by the *pontifex maximus*. Concluding references to Domitian's anticipated triumph (125) and the German campaigns for which he did triumph (147–148) recall Cornelia's defense of her conduct. With word-play and imagery, the satire repeatedly refers to the Vestal.

Juvenal plays upon traditional respect for Vesta's cult and the importance of the cult to Roman welfare in order to question Domitian's religious scruples. Alba and Lavinium competed as homes for the gods and the fire brought from Troy to Italy by Aeneas;³¹ and Vesta's cult was maintained at Alba even after the Romans destroyed the city and transferred its population to

³⁰*TLL* vol. 6.1 (1912–26) s.v. focus 987–91. The *TLL* article lists all uses of the word. For the *focus* associated with Vesta, see Cic. *Leg.* 2.29, 2.20; *ND* 2.67; *Ov. Trist.* 6.37; *Sil.* 6.76; *Tib.* 2.5.52; *Prop.* 4.11.54; *Ov. Am.* 3.6.76; *Fasti* 3.142, 418, 6.456; *Met.* 4.296; *Val. Max.* 4.4.11; 5.4.7; 6.1 pr.

³¹See Alföldi 246–50. D. H. identifies both cities as the original center: *Ant. Rom.* (2.52.3, 5.12.3 v. 2.65.1 [Alba]). On the cult of Vesta at Alba, see *RE* 8a (1958) 1721–22 s.v. Vesta (Koch); Alföldi 240–41.

Rome.³² Symmachus (*Epist.* 9.147) refers to the practice of the cult in the fourth century; and the priesthood was a religious office of the Roman State (Wissowa 1915: 3–5). Pliny (*Ep.* 4.11.6), Statius (*Silv.* 1.1.32–36) and Suetonius (*Dom.* 8.3–4) agree that Domitian had acted to affirm traditional religious values; the identification of the *pontifex maximus* as the priest of Vesta (*pontifex Vestae*) would underscore Domitian's patronage of Vesta's cult.³³ The narrator stresses the maintenance of the religious tradition at Alba ("ubi quamquam diruta servat/ignem Troianum," 60–61).³⁴ Yet the traditional respect for the cults of Alba Longa contrasts with the actual practice of Domitian, whose Alban villa we know incorporated the site of old Alba Longa and thus subsumed the old cults.³⁵ The identification of Domitian's palace as an "arx" (145) creates another pun which emphasizes the incorporation, for Alba Longa itself is identified in inscriptions as an arx.³⁶

Juvenal is ironic about the religious pretense. In describing the presentation of the fish, the narrator combines ritual allusions with an exhortation to Domitian to gorge himself, reducing ritual solemnity and authority to extreme gluttony: "accipe...privatis maiora focus. genialis agatur/ iste dies. propera stomachum laxare sagina/ et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum/...ipse capi voluit" (66–69).³⁷ Again, the sacred fire of Vesta, together with the Trojan *penates*, were signs of the permanence of Rome,

³²G. Wissowa 1915: 3; Alföldi 241, cf. Latte 405. For the Alban Vestals, see *CIL* 6.2172, 14.2410; Asconius, in *Mil.* p. 36 Stangl; Symm. *Ep.* 9.147. Asc. in *Mil.* p. 36 Stangl and *CIL* 14.2410 locate the Vestals at nearby Bovillae.

³³Grelle 344–46 and Waters 60–61 assert the sincerity of Domitian's religious policy; Waters 72, notes its consistency with traditional religious values. Bengston 192 claims that the policy sought to reaffirm traditional values: "Die Bestrafung der Vestalinnen ist als ein Versuch zu betrachten, altrömischen Glaube und altrömische Sitten wieder zur Geltung zu bringen." Cf. Jones 1992: 101–02, who considers the incidents to demonstrate Domitian's concern for details, "the attention Domitian paid to the letter of religious law." On *pontifex Vestae*, cf. Cic. *Har. Resp.* 12; Ov. *Fasti* 3.699, 5.573, see Koch 1740–41.

³⁴Cf. Livy 1.31.3–4, describing the maintenance of the cult as an act of piety owed the gods: "Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut dis quoque simul patria relictis oblivioni dederant." Further Livy 5.52.8. Poucet 241–44 emphasizes the venerability of the site.

³⁵Lugli 35–36. Cf. Cic. *Mil.* 85 of the constructions of Clodius at Alba: "Vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro atque obtestor, vosque, Albanorum obrutae arae sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales, quas ille praeceps amentia caesis prostratisque sanctissimis lucis substructionum insanis molibus oppresserat."

³⁶Lugli 40. For the "arx" of Alba Longa and the association of Vesta there, see *CIL* 6.2172 (v.V. maximae ar[cis A]lbanae), cf. 14.2947 (Tironi Salio arcis Albanae).

³⁷On "saecula," Courtney 214.

talismans of Rome's safety,³⁸ and proper tendance of Vesta's fire guaranteed military successes.³⁹ The narrator emphasizes this role of the goddess by identifying Alba as the home of the Trojan fire (60–61). Yet in alluding to Domitian's military campaigns at lines 146–49, he couples Domitian's historically verifiable victory over the Chatti with the mention of the Sygambri, defeated since the time of Augustus. Bathos suggests the speciousness of the campaigns (Courtney 227–28). In sum, the allusions to the ritual function of Vesta at Rome emphasize the importance of the goddess for military success and contrast with Domitian's religious practice and his military campaigns. They imply the speciousness of his motives for burying Cornelia.

Other ritual associations of Alba Longa challenge Domitian's religious and military pretensions. Alba was also the location of the festival of the Latin League, a religious and political organization of the peoples of Latium. Like the cult of Vesta, the festival in honor of Jupiter Latiaris continued to be celebrated even after the destruction of Alba Longa.⁴⁰ The last recorded observance of the festival is tentatively dated by Degraasi to A.D. 142–144 (*II* 13.1, p. 155, 158), although he also suggests that the festival continued to be celebrated until the suppression of non-Christian cults in 354 A.D. (*II* 13.1, p. 143). The festival took place annually on the Alban Mount, to the east of Alba Longa across the Alban Lake. Correct performance of the Latin festival was necessary to guarantee Roman military enterprises (Alföldi 31–32; Weinstock 321–22). The description of Domitian's *concilium* parodies the ritual of the Latin festival in a number of ways.

First, the Alban ritual was administered by the Roman consuls (Marquardt 3.297). The narrator represents Domitian at Alba as a military commander but deflates the image by using heroic and archaic language to describe Domitian within vulgar contexts. The fisherman's admission into the court to give the fish to Domitian is described heroically: the verb is impersonal passive, and Domitian is given the Homeric patronymic "Atriden," "son

³⁸D. H. 2.67.5 records the Roman belief that extinction of the fire portended the total annihilation of the city. Describing the plight of Crassus' soldiers captured and detained in the East, Horace associates the fire of Vesta with the *ancilla* of the Salii as one of the embodiments of Rome and a talisman of the city's safety: "Anciliorum et nominis et togae oblitus aeternaeque Vestae, incolumni Iove et urbe Roma" (3.5.10–12). See Dumézil 499.

³⁹Dumézil 311; cf. Beard 15–16: "serious crisis in the state could give rise to suspicions of sexual activity among the Vestals." Cult observance to Vesta formed part of the inaugural ritual for magistrates departing for their provinces: Cato *Orig.* fr. 55 Peter with Alföldi 262 n. 1; Macr. *Sat.* 3.4.11; Serv. *Aen.* 2.296; Val. Max. 1.6.7.

⁴⁰On the cult: Samter 2213–16; Wissowa 1912: 109–10; Alföldi 19–33; Galosi 63–66, with bibliography.

of Atreus" (65). Domitian convened the *concilium* as a "dux magnus" (145). The fatuous grandiosity of these titles is underscored by the first image of the emperor devouring an enormous meal: "qualis tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus/induperatorem" (28–29). The use of the heroic "induperator" within a degenerate context points up the hypocrisy in Domitian's claims regarding military matters (cf. Anderson 236; Ramage 701–02).

Second, the sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris was fundamentally and necessarily a shared ritual meal: the Latins made simple offerings of milk and agricultural produce to Latiaris and sacrificed together a bull (D. H. 4.49.3). The festival was attended by representatives of the Latin communities and by all the magistrates of Rome (Wissowa 1912: 109, Alföldi 32, cf. Mommsen 1.618–19); to deny a share to a legitimate participant required a repetition of the entire rite (Alföldi 21–22, 33). Livy reports the repetition of the Alban rite in 199 and 190 B.C., when the representatives from the Latin towns Ardea and Lavinium did not receive their shares of the sacrificial meal.⁴¹ Yet at Alba the enormous turbot presented to Domitian was the best variety of an expensive fish (Courtney 214), and Domitian alone received the fish. The anticipated imperial claim induced Juvenal's fisherman to give the turbot to Domitian (53–55):

si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto
res fisci est, ubicumque natat

If we give any credence to Palfurrius and Armillatus,
whatever is noteworthy and beautiful in the entire sea
belongs to the imperial treasury, wherever it swims.

Using a legal term to identify Domitian as the owner of the fish ("dominum," 52), the narrator invokes a title that Domitian had in fact refused (Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.84) but which insinuated his pretensions to absolute power (cf. Waters 67; Jones 108–09, contra Ramage 697). Juvenal emphasizes the wrongful exclusion of the nobility at Alba by word order and word choice ("exclusi...patres," 64).⁴² Domitian's solitary consumption of the turbot is suggested by his dismissal of the *concilium* after it had deliberated on how best to cook it (Deroux 288–89, Helmbold and O'Neil 72). Whether Domitian's selfish enjoyment of

⁴¹Livy 32.1.9 (199 B.C.): "Feriae Latinae pontificum decreto instauratae sunt, quod legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in Monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse." Livy 37.3.4 (190 B.C.): "Ea [sc. prodigia] procurata, Latinaeque instauratae, quod Laurentibus pars carnis quae dari debet data non fuerat."

⁴²For Domitian's hesitant use of patricians and the animosity inspired by it, see Jones 1979: 50–55.

the fish instances his gluttony and savagery (Anderson 242) or the corruption of the *amicitia* between patron and client (LaFleur 166–70), the exclusion would have represented a ritual flaw of the Latin rite.

Third, the Latin festival coincided with a council of war to determine military campaigns for the coming year.⁴³ Domitian convenes his *concilium*, but his council does not embody Republican values. Anderson has argued that Juvenal uses military images in describing the councillors in order to reveal their lack of martial values and to emphasize the reality of their savagery (Anderson 240–41). This is even clearer, however, if we understand the background: the reenactment of the Latin festival. An apostrophe to Brutus, while recounting the membership of the *concilium*, laments the absence and the inefficacy of Republican political values in Domitian's world (101–03):

quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias? quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato inponere regi

Who now does not know the aristocratic tricks?
Who does not admire, Brutus, your venerable cleverness?
It is easy to deceive a bearded king.

Domitian's *concilium* advises on the proper preparation of the turbot. The closing opinion is to include potters in the imperial entourage. Applying the language of political deliberation ("censes," 130, "sententia," 136) and military enterprise ("castra," 135) to a discussion on the proper preparation of a fish, the narrator emphasizes the ludicrous motive for the *concilium* and the degeneracy of Domitian's political and military administration. In describing the assembly's dismissal, the narrator recalls the proper business of a *concilium* (144–49):

surgitur et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sygambriis
dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna

He rose and the concilium was dismissed,

⁴³See Alföldi 36. Festus records a military convention of the Latin people near Alba after the destruction of Alba Longa: "Alba deinde diruta usque ad P. Decium Murem consulem populos Latinos ad caput Ferentinae, quod est sub monte Albano, consulere solitos, et imperium communi consule administrare" (p. 276L). Alföldi, 35–38, suggests that the meetings began at the *lucus Ferentinae* only with the political eclipse of Alba, Lavinium, and Aricia in the 5th century.

the illustrious aristocrats are ordered to leave,
 the great commander had dragged them thunder-struck
 and under order to hurry to Alba, as if he were about
 to announce some news about the Chatti and the fierce
 Sygambri, as if an anxious letter had quickly come
 from the remote regions of the world

The *concilium* manifests Domitian's betrayal of traditional Republican martial values.

Finally, the sacrifice at Alba was an omen for the military campaign.⁴⁴ In describing Domitian's *concilium* at Alba, the narrator foreshadows the military failures of the regime and denigrates its successes. The character sketch of Cornelius Fuscus refers to Fuscus' defeat and death while campaigning against the Dacians: "et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis/Fuscus marmorea mediatatus proelia villa" ("Fuscus who preserved his intestines for the Dacian vultures and contemplated military battles in his marble villa," 111–12). References to Domitian's military campaigns suggest the speciousness of his triumph (Courtney 227–28). Moreover, the narrator emphasizes the betrayal of the traditional ritual. At Domitian's Alba, the prophecy for the military campaigns came not from Jupiter's bull,⁴⁵ but from an extravagant fish, and was given not by a Roman priest but by the oriental priest of a foreign, Eastern Bellona (123–27):

non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
 percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
 omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi.
 regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
 excidet Arviragus. peregrina est belua'

Veiento does not yield place, but as a fanatic
 struck through by your frenzy, Bellona, he divines
 and says 'you have an enormous omen of a great and
 illustrious triumph: you will conquer some king or the
 Briton Arviragus will fall out of his chariot, for the monstrous
 turbot is foreign.'

⁴⁴Faulty performance or complete disregard of the rite are associated with the military defeat of the consul C. Flaminius in 217 (Livy 22.9.7, cf. 21.63.6, 22.1.5–7); the death of the consul Q. Petilius in battle (Livy 41.18.11, cf. 41.16.1–3); the military disasters of 43 and 42 (Dio 46.33.4–5, 47.40.6).

⁴⁵Cf. Weinstock 322–23, who argues that Caesar received the omen of his victory over Pompey while sacrificing the bull at his special performance of the *feriae Latinae* at Alba in 49 (Dio 41.39.2).

Under the Empire, the goddess Bellona/Ma eclipsed the old Roman goddess Bellona,⁴⁶ but the narrator here exploits the older, Republican tradition. The temple of Bellona was vowed in 296 B.C. during the war with the Etruscans, and the Republican Senate met at the temple to decide on the requests for triumph from returning, victorious generals (Wissowa 1912: 137–38; Mommsen 3.930 n. 5). The Republican tradition of the temple persisted into the Empire: Augustus and later M. Aurelius performed at the temple the old fetial ritual for declaring war, tossing a spear into land designated as hostile from a column that stood immediately before the temple.⁴⁷ The contrast of the Eastern priest of Bellona at Domitian's court with the Republican Bellona whose function is alluded to offers final proof that Domitianic practice contradicts ancestral Roman ritual. Domitian, not Cornelia, has perverted Roman religion and endangered the Roman world.

To conclude, examination of *Satires* Two and Four as historical documents enables us to appreciate the two poems as literary texts and how these literary texts elucidate history. The two poems function as structural counterparts in Juvenal's first book of *Satires*. Ritual allusions offer a perspective to understand their individual coherence and their thematic linkage.⁴⁸ In *Satire* Two, Juvenal juxtaposes a travesty of the Bona Dea and Domitian's publicized moral agenda; in *Satire* Four, Juvenal compares the sanctity of Vesta's cult and the religious rituals of Alba with Domitian's religious and military policies. In both satires, the paradox becomes profound ironical commentary on Domitianic policies.⁴⁹ The satires provide important evidence for the vitality of traditional ritual and its function as part of the rhetoric for legitimating imperial power.

⁴⁶On Bellona/Ma, see Wissowa 1912: 289–92; Latte 281; on Bellona, see Wissowa 1912: 138, Latte 235.

⁴⁷For the topography: Ov. *Fasti* 205–06; Paul. Fest. p. 30 Lindsay. For the ritual: Dio 50.4.5; 71.33.3. See Wissowa 1912: 138.

⁴⁸For *Satire* Two, Griffith 135–37, Braund and Cloud 1981: 203–08, Braund and Cloud 1982: 81. For *Satire* Four, Braund 1988: 15–17, Anderson 232–44, Townend 155–58, Kilpatrick 230–35, Romano 98–108.

⁴⁹Cf. Anderson 209–19, Romano 80–86. For the role of epic allusions, Winkler 430–31. An earlier version of part two was read at the APA annual meeting in December, 1991. I should like to thank the editor and referees of *TAPA* for their many helpful criticisms and suggestions. Special thanks to my colleague Jim Tatum.

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