

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Writing in the Street: The Development of Urban Poetics in Roman Satire

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7x66m4vs>

Author

Gillies, Grace

Publication Date

2018

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Writing in the Street:

The Development of Urban Poetics in Roman Satire

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Classics

by

Grace Gillies

2018

© Copyright by

Grace Gillies

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Writing in the Street:
The Development of Urban Poetics in Roman Satire

by

Grace Gillies

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Amy Ellen Richlin, Chair

My dissertation examines Roman imperial satire for its relationship with non-elite street culture in the Roman city. I begin with a lexicon of sites and terms related to Roman concepts of disgust in the city, as they appear in the satiric sources I am working with. Then, in my next four chapters, I work chronologically through the extant satires to show how each author reflects or even appropriates practices from Roman street culture. Satirists both condemn parts of the city as disgusting—the parts and people in them who ignore social and cultural boundaries—and appropriate those practices as emblematic of what satire does. The theoretical framework for this project concerns concepts of disgust in the Roman world, and draws primarily on Mary Douglas (1966) and Julia Kristeva (1982). The significance of this work is twofold: (1) it argues that satire is, far from a self-contained elite practice, a genre that drew heavily on non-elite urban

culture; (2) that it adds to a fragmentary history of Roman street culture. The introduction and lexicon establish a vocabulary and framework for examining the history of street culture, and the city in Roman satire. After the lexicon, I continue with the poet Horace, whose work shows evidence of the destruction of tenement housing and squatters' camps under Augustus (31BC-14AD). I argue that the urban poor addressed in Horace's satires had a collective memory. My third chapter focuses on the Neronian satirists Persius and Petronius (54-68AD). Both of them, I argue, display a version of street culture for an elite readership, as a form of slum tourism. Persius both condemns poor or mixed-residence parts of the city as worth of disgust (and hence satire), and at the same time compares satire to practices that make the city disgusting, like public excretion. What remains of Petronius's novel satirizes poor communities in the streets and alleyways of Roman cities. My fourth and fifth chapters work with a final pair of Roman satirists from the end of the 1st century AD, Martial and Juvenal. Both of these authors consistently visualize themselves as standing in the street, and incorporate aspects of oral street culture in their poetry, including street harassment and public sales and auctions.

The dissertation of Grace Gillies is approved.

Maria Teresa de Zubaiurre

Chris Johanson

Robert A. Gurval

Amy Ellen Richlin, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
<i>Vita</i>	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Urban Sites of Disgust in Satiric Literature	18
Chapter 2: Contested Memories in the City Streets of Horace and Ovid	93
Chapter 3: Slum Tourism in Persius and Petronius	150
Chapter 4: Martial's Fear City	208
Chapter 5: Juvenal at the Crossroads	245
Conclusion: The Sewer in the City of God	317
Bibliography	325

List of Figures

2.1. A fragment of the wall-painting from the <i>praedia</i> of Julia Felix.	99
2.2. A detail of the Esquiline hill.	107
2.3 A detailed reconstruction of the Gardens of Maecenas.	108
2.4 Häuber's reconstruction of the Gardens of Maecenas from 1990.	109
3.1 A screenshot from <i>Ghostbusters</i> (1984), showing the exterior of the firehouse.	154
3.2 A lararium from Pompeii, now in the Naples Archaeological Museum.	179
3.3 A painted warning against <i>cacatores</i> , now in the Naples Archaeological Museum.	180
3.4 A painted guard dog from the Tavern of Sotericus in Pompeii, I.12.3.	196
3.5 A mosaic of a sleeping dog from the entrance of the house of Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii, V.1.26.	197
3.6 A mosaic of a guard dog from the entrance of the house of P. Paquius Proculus in Pompeii, I.8.1.	197
3.7 A mosaic of a guard dog with the caption <i>cave canem</i> from the entrance to the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, VI.8.5.	198
3.8 Relief from Ostia of woman selling food, Ostia Museum, inv. 134.	201
3.9 Episcopo relief depicting a woman selling vegetables, Ostia.	201
4.1 In <i>The Out-of-Towners</i> (1970) characters confront a sanitation strike with garbage that was delivered by the Department of Sanitation.	211
4.2 Wall-painting from a taberna in Pompeii (Tavern of Salvias, VI.14.36).	217
5.1 Shadowman, Richard Hambleton, Downtown New York City, 1980	314

Acknowledgments

I am deeply indebted to my professors at UCLA for their aid in bringing this project to fruition. I would particularly like to thank Professor Amy Richlin for all of her help, advice, and support. Before she ever became chair of my committee, Professor Richlin was a wonderful teacher and amazing mentor to me for years. As chair, she consistently went above and beyond the call of duty. I am also indebted to Professor Robert Gurval, who provided invaluable feedback while managing a busy schedule of international travel, as well as Professors Chris Johanson and Maite Zubiaurre for their ongoing support. I was also lucky enough to work with Professors Christopher Gregg, Evelyn Adkins, and Brandon Jones at the Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies. In addition to being brilliant and wonderful colleagues, they provided a wealth of information and suggestions for my research. During a year of nearly constant teaching and travel, they gave me the most valuable thing of all: time to write.

I would also like to extend warm thanks to friends and family: to Kristin Mann, for walking me off countless metaphorical ledges, in addition to providing support and feedback; to Katie Uva, for providing a number of sources on New York City's history, and a shoulder to kvetch on; and to Anastasia Baran, for her insights, feedback, and warmth. I would like to thank my mother, Sarah Robertson, for her love and encouragement through my academic career, and for her help in planning my wedding during the last chaotic months of writing. Finally, I would like to thank my soon-to-be husband, Ehren Murdick, for all of his love.

VITA

- 2010 B.A. in Classics and Medieval/Renaissance Studies
Wellesley College
Wellesley, MA
- 2011-2012 Teaching Assistant
Department of Classics
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2012 M.A., Classics
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2013-2014 Graduate Research Mentorship
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2015-2016 Teaching Assistant
Department of Classics
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2015-2016 Collegium of University Teaching Fellowship
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2016-2017 Instructor
Intercollegiate Center for Classical Studies
Rome, Italy
- 2017 Citation for Teaching Excellence
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2017-2018 Dissertation Year Fellowship
University of California, Los Angeles

PRESENTATIONS

- Gillies, Grace (January 2015) Staging Revolt: Theater in the Sicilian Slave Wars. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies .
- (January 2016) Constructing Identity in the Sepulchral Relief of Fonteia Helena and Fonteia Eleusis. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies.
- (May 2016) Street Harassment in Martial 2.17. Paper presented at Feminism and Classics VII.

—— (April 2018) Same Sex, Different Day: the Amazon Communities of Wonder
Woman (2017) and Xena: Warrior Princess. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the
Classical Association of the Middle West and South.

Introduction

This dissertation, *Writing in the Street: The Development of Urban Poetics in Roman Satire*, explores the picture of the city streets that is generated by Roman satire: what this image of the streets looks like, what sources satirists are drawing from in making it, and what role it plays in their work. The authors discussed include the imperial verse satirists, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, as well as fragments of Lucilius. Other authors who use satiric themes, even if they are working within a different genre, have been included; Ovid, Petronius, and Martial also engage satirically with the urban landscape. Satire, as I will show, is not only a quintessentially urban genre, but as a genre plays the largest role in defining the culture of the Roman street, and the city outside of the limited scope of monumental buildings and elite use of public spaces. It is satire, more than any other genre, that gives us a picture of the Roman street. That picture is worth examining, because it has had such a long afterlife, and comes from such a skewed perspective. In each of these chapters, I examine ways in which satiric authors indirectly witness aspects of urban culture as they incorporate them into their own work. Frequently the places, people, and practices that are associated with the city streets are the objects of contempt—but it is this very contempt that generates satire, which leads to a kind of loving disgust on the part of the authors. They claim to be scouring the streets as a moralizing force, but at the same time gaze at the urban slums with pleasure, and even frame their own work in terms of the pollution of the city street. This approach has much in common with other forms of exploitation recognized in modern cities: gentrification, cultural appropriation, and slum tourism. In order to

show this, I compare the choices of satirists with more modern forms of these practices. I use the twentieth century gentrification of Manhattan to show how whole neighborhoods can be erased from public memory, and compare it to erasure in Rome under Augustus. I use examples of modern slum tourism to show how the works of Persius and Petronius operate in similar ways. Finally, I use the development of New York's "brand" in the 1970s, and the New York exploitation films that were produced simultaneously, to show how Martial and Juvenal exploit Rome's street culture while promoting a different brand of the city.

Theoretical Background

My theoretical framework lies at the intersection of disgust and space. Mary Douglas, Julia Kristeva, and Mikhail Bakhtin have been particularly important in defining disgust for this project. Mary Douglas's foundational *Purity and Danger* (1966) argues that concepts of "dirt" are culturally defined. "There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder" (1966: 2). Douglas gives "dirt" the flexible definition of "matter out of place." In defining dirt this way, Douglas argues that concepts of pollution and taboo are not random, as had been previously theorized, nor are they primitive versions of modern hygiene. Instead, dirt is defined according to each culture's priorities, with a coherent internal logic, and has a direct relationship with the organization of a society: "Dirt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment" (1966: 2). Dirt's definition and control by society, Douglas explains, regulate behavior within that society, and also act as symbols of that society's way of expressing social order, such as relations between men and women, or locals and foreigners. Douglas's work is important for my work for two reasons. The first is her flexible definition of "dirt," which allows for many otherwise disparate

aspects of culture to be grouped together productively. This is particularly necessary for my project, since its focus is "urban matter out of place"—that is, anything that does not actively affirm a very narrow definition of the city, which I will discuss below. The second is Douglas's argument that dirt has an important function in defining social order, and as such is coherently defined by a particular culture. In focusing so much of their energy on urban matter out of place, satirists are not reaching for low-hanging fruit, or idly commenting on their surroundings, but are instead getting at the heart of Roman principles of social order.

Julia Kristeva's *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (1980), which draws in part on Douglas's ideas, focuses more on the relationship between the individual and pollution, rather than society and pollution; pollution is defined in terms of the order of the body rather than social order. For Kristeva, "dirt" is defined as things that remind a person of the impermanence and permeability of their own body. She calls this form of dirt the "abject." In this framework, the satirist's disgust is aimed at whatever reminds him of his own impermanence; disgust is a form of reinforcing personal boundaries. This definition of the form and function of disgust is useful for my project, because the satirists generally explore the city through the lens of the individual—often a fictional version of themselves. Kristeva's definition of the abject, however, is less flexible than Douglas's, since it does not change as radically from one culture to another. The abject consistently includes examples or reminders of death, of bodily excretion, and the body's ability to be penetrated.

The final theory of disgust that has had a strong impact on my work is Mikhail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*, which was written in Russian during the 1930s, but only published in Russian and in translation in the 1960s (1965, and in English translation in 1968, by Hélène Iswolsky). Bakhtin used the Renaissance work of François Rabelais, *Gargantua and*

Pantagruel, to examine the role of disgust in the carnival. The concept of the carnival is drawn from Renaissance festivals of rebirth and renewal, which have their roots in Roman festivals. Bakhtin uses the concept of "the carnivalesque" to identify the festival's propensity to invert social order, within certain boundaries, and to produce rebirth. Bakhtin argues that within the context of the carnival, objects of disgust become part of this narrative of rebirth. These objects of disgust are normally "grotesque," socially low and disgusting; often they are associated with the "lower bodily strata," i.e. the body as a site of pollution and degradation. Rather than being rigorously excluded, as Douglas and Kristeva argued, Bakhtin shows the ways in which the grotesque is incorporated within the carnival. Rome had its own collective rituals of rebirth, in which social order was in some ways suspended, such as the Floralia and the Saturnalia, which do appear in satire. Bakhtin's description of the grotesque is a useful descriptor for objects of disgust within satire. Satire, however, is not carnivalesque, even though it may appear to be at first glance because of its preoccupation with the grotesque; satire does not consider the grotesque as a site for rebirth.

These theories of disgust overlap messily with ideas of the city street, and the culture of the people who populated it, often the urban poor. The works of Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, Pierre Nora, and Jan Assmann have been particularly important for this project. Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* (1974; translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith in 1991), which helped begin the "spatial turn" in academic analysis, establishes a basis for my work. Lefebvre argues for the primacy of space in the production and maintenance of social order: rather than being a container for activities, space actively shapes the lives of those who experience it. Moreover, control of space, and so control of the political narrative it espouses, has historically been dominated by an elite few. This framework is essential to my work in that

it allows for a connection between Douglas's theory of disgust and the urban landscape: both are shaped by social hierarchy, and, to some extent, reinforce it. This framework also indicates the importance of the specific urban context in which each author wrote. Unlike other analyses, which focus on the satirist and even the city as timeless symbols, I focus on the ways in which changes to the city are reflected in the authors' writing. As the city is shaped by politics, so too are images of the city, even the city as a locus for disgust.

Equally important, however, is Michel de Certeau's work on the way in which people consume urban space as individuals (1980, in translation by Steven Rendall in 1984). Unlike Lefebvre, de Certeau argues for the power of the individual to subvert the intended, politically informed, use of space. As de Certeau argues, the meaning of space is defined by more than its initial, intended usage. It is difficult, but necessary, to study the ways in which the city is individually negotiated, in order to get a more complete picture of the meaning of urban space. The satirists offer a perfect showcase for this kind of study: although they are obviously aware of the intended usage of space, and play an active role in reinforcing its hierarchical meaning, they also experience and reproduce space as individuals. In addition, they comment on the ways in which others do so. Although each version of their usage is incomplete and hard to generalize, they offer examples for ways in which politicized space, intended to reinforce elite power, could be reclaimed by its individual, less powerful residents.

One of the major political functions of urban space in the Roman world was as a form of cultural memory. Pierre Nora has discussed the role of *lieux de mémoire*, "sites of memory," in the creation of national identities (1989). Nora identified the process by which certain "sites," either literal or abstract, become vested with historical or cultural significance. This concept is particularly potent in discussions of the city of Rome, as I discuss below, which had a number of

physical sites that were clearly fundamental to Roman identity, and were preserved or rewritten as necessary. These sites might include humble objects, like the "hut of Romulus" (discussed in chapter 2 below), an archaic-style hut which was continuously rebuilt on the Palatine hill as a reminder of Rome's origins. There were also many sites that were much grander and monumentalized. The Forum of Augustus, also discussed below, was created specifically as a site of memory. It juxtaposed Augustus's own lineage and achievements with representations of Rome's heroes, all the way back to its mythical founders. Nora's theory helps situate my own work, in that it helps explain why certain sites are given primacy in the Roman city. On the other hand, my focus is on the sites that are almost always *not* sites of memory, and are even excluded from certain definitions of Rome or its culture. They are ephemeral, and not preserved, but still play a fundamental role in the concept of the Roman city and its culture. The greatest impact Nora's work has on my project, ultimately, is to offer a negative outline for the urban sites I am working with.

Related to the concept of sites of memory is the concept of collective memory. Here, I am indebted to Jan Assmann's work on the relationship between collective memory and cultural identity (1995). Like Nora, Assmann discussed the role of memory in the construction of culture. In doing so, he differentiates between "communicative memory" and "cultural memory": communicative memory is built by casual interactions, while cultural memory accretes over time, and lasts for generations. Even so, cultural memory is still adapted and negotiated as it is handed down through generations, allowing for the relationship between cultural memory and cultural identity to be in an ongoing flux. Assmann's discussion is useful to my project in that it explains how, in the work of the satirists, cultural memory is continuously defined and redefined

. At the same time, they are often preoccupied with what is excluded from cultural memory: what often is and even should be forgotten.

Previous Relevant Scholarly Work

There is a wealth of studies of both satire and the city streets, but not many of them connect the two. I will cite the sources that have been most directly influential, or from which I differ most significantly. These studies can be divided into three categories: relevant studies of satire; discussions of the cultural meaning of urban space; and analyses of the lived experience of urban residents. My dissertation differs most significantly from other recent work on satire in that I argue for a direct relationship between the city and the satirist, and read each author as a function of their specific historical and urban context. I am indebted to Amy Richlin's foundational work on the role of anger in Roman humor (1992) for the selection of my sources.¹ Richlin identifies a common denominator in the narrators of satire and other related verse; I have similarly examined both verse satirists and authors who worked with similar satiric themes. I have also relied on Richlin's argument for part of the function of anger in satire: to establish the narrator's dominance within satire, and to reinforce social norms and hierarchies. At the same time, I differ significantly from Richlin in focusing on the ways each author is a function of their specific historical and urban context.

In the past fifteen years, readings of satire have become more directly historical. Fritz Graf locates satire within a ritual context (2005), which I have used to situate satire in the city

1. Richlin's subsequent work on Persius and Juvenal (2009) has also been useful for my project. Richlin connects Persius and Juvenal to acts of hate speech, which I have drawn on in analyzing the ways in which satire relates to oral culture more generally.

street. At the same time, Graf connects satire to curses, public shaming, and mocking public verse (*versus Fescennini*). As I argue in chapter 2, I agree that satire has a connection to popular and oral genres, but ultimately do not agree that satire can be directly connected to any of the genres he discusses. All of the genres he names have an individual as the object of their invective. In addition, curses and public shaming act by delivering someone to a higher power for punishment. Satirists, on the other hand, assume their own authority for punishment, and tend to attack large swathes of society rather than individuals. In my dissertation, I identify other forms of public entertainment and oral culture that satirists could have been drawing from: auctioneers, *circulatores*, street harassment, and even the display of goods for sale in a shop. Soon after Graf, Greg Woolf discussed the picture of poverty generated by Roman authors, including satirists (2006). Woolf's identification of the tropes of poverty in Roman writing is certainly useful, but I differ from Woolf in his argument that the poor would have been an "undifferentiated mass" to authors and to the elite more generally (2006: 84). As I show, satirists often turn to the specifics of the city street in their work.

David Larmour's study of the role of the abject in Juvenal's description of the city (2007) and Paul Allen Miller's work on the relationship between satire and the carnivalesque (2009) have both influenced my overall framework.² I have drawn on Larmour's discussion of the abject for my work on Juvenal and other authors, but differ, again, in reading authors of satire more directly against the urban landscape. As discussed above, Kristeva's theory of the abject is

2. Larmour's work comes from a collection, edited by him and Diana Spencer, on the role of time, space, and memory in Rome (2007). Although the other chapters are not as directly relevant, the connection of these concepts in this collection laid a groundwork for my own dissertation. Similarly, Ralph Rosen and Ineke Sluiter's collection on the use of city and countryside to determine ancient values has helped in reading specific parts of the city within a moral framework (2006).

ultimately concerned with the individual's body. As a result, Larmour reads the city in terms of the author's or persona's body, rather than in terms of the city *per se*. I am indebted to Allen Miller's argument that satire is not a carnivalesque genre; the grotesque imagery in satire does not ultimately generate rebirth. I have followed this argument in my own work, but am ultimately interested in how satirists use the grotesque to comment on Roman rituals of carnival, rather than how the carnival can be used to define genre. Satirists, as I will show, are interested but hostile witnesses to the power of the carnival, especially as celebrated by the urban masses.

At around the same time, Maria Plaza (2006) and Susanna Braund (2007) argued that the anger of satire did not necessarily reflect the views of the author.³ Plaza argues that humor in satire is often derived from juxtaposition and surprise. The humor from these tactics operates independently from the content of the jokes. Although it is important to acknowledge that the persona is separate from the author, the readings that result from this separation not only separate the author from the text, but separate the text from the world around it. Satire becomes an even more self-reflexive genre, if it is commenting on its own nature, or the nature of humor. This kind of reading is also demonstrated in Victoria Rimell's work on Martial (2008). Here, the "world of epigram" becomes an almost purely literary world. Rimell argues that Martial imports street culture into his poetry, but to show the diversity of epigram, rather than to comment on the diversity of the city street (2008: 51-93). I am similarly interested in the ways Martial, amongst other authors, incorporates the urban world into his poetry, but read these choices as a commentary on the city, rather than on writing. Similarly, Timothy O'Sullivan has argued for

3. Both of these works make use of persona theory, which can be traced back to Alvin Kernan (1959), and which was applied earlier to Roman genres by W. S. Anderson in a series of essays (published together in 1982).

the meaning of walking in Roman culture, but uses walking as a trope or metaphor in written work, rather than a reflection of written practices (2011).

Recent work has connected the city to the satirist more directly than ever. Mark Roman discussed the commodification of space in Martial's poetry (2010), and soon afterwards Ray Laurence discussed the spatial turn in Martial (2011).⁴ Laurence's work is part of a collection, edited by himself and David Newsome (2011), on movement and space in Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii. This collection was innovative, and influential on my work, in its emphasis on movement within space, rather than movement within text, or space without movement. Particularly useful within this collection was Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis's discussion of walking in the Roman street (2011). Macaulay-Lewis argues that different streets would have been used for generally different purposes. Most significant in this is that the imperial forums, which seem at first like large pathways through the city, would actually have been more closed off from the rest of the city; side streets would have been preferable for rapid movement. At the same time, Jeremy Hartnett repopulates streets in Pompeii with the people, animals, and objects that would have regularly been there, arguing for much more restricted movement in the streets generally (2011).

Two recent works on Juvenal have situated him more firmly in the city. James Uden (2015) has located Juvenal in his historical context more firmly than ever. I am indebted to his argument for the dating of Juvenal's works, as I discuss in chapter 5 below. This new timeline

4. Earlier, Tara Welch argued for the commodification of movement in Horace's poetry (2001), but ultimately considers space as a metaphor for Horace's place in literary society. Similarly, Larmour connected movement in satire to sadism, but ultimately argues that movement in the text connects sites of meaning, rather than generating meaning itself (2007). More recently, however, Paule 2017 has explored the relationship between Horace's fictional witch Canidia and real figures and practices in Roman magic.

for Juvenal's writing puts his early work more squarely in the early years of the adoptive emperors, and changes the way his relationship to the city can be read. Even more recently, Osman Umurhan has argued for Juvenal's "global awareness" (2017).⁵ Like Umurhan, I situate Juvenal—and the other satirists—within a specific historical framework. Unlike Umurhan, I am interested in the effect of the city on the satirist, rather than in the impact of the increasing span of the empire. As I discuss below, I differ from Umurhan in seeing the city as initially generative of satire in the works of Lucilius, rather than the city as affected by trade and expansion. I trace this relationship to the city from Lucilius to Juvenal.

Much has been published within the last twenty years on the relationship between space and cultural meaning in the Roman city. Earlier work that has been particularly influential for my dissertation is Emily Gowers' discussion of the Cloaca Maxima (1995). Gowers shows how the Cloaca Maxima, seemingly out of place amongst other prized urban sites, was actually an important part of the city as symbol. Gowers is one of the few authors who addresses the sewer as a site of memory. Similarly, I have drawn from Catharine Edwards' book on approaches to writing the city (1996). She discusses the hut of Romulus as a site of memory, but one that is explicitly never made monumental (1996: 33-43). Alain Gowing's book on the representation of the Roman republic in imperial culture (2005) provides a more ranging discussion of how the landscape of the city was connected to memory, and how that landscape could subsequently be exploited by an imperial agenda.⁶ The question of the relationship between urban landscape and

5. Umurhan's work differs significantly from Nappa 2018, who reads Juvenal in terms of anxiety about generalized trends, rather than the specifics of his own time.

6. Mary Boatwright (1987) has discussed the specific use of memory in the landscape of Rome by Hadrian. Diane Favro (1996) has discussed its use by Augustus. More recently, Amy Russell (2015) has explored the meaning of space in the Republican period, which I have drawn on in my discussion of space under the empire.

memory was most recently renewed by Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (2006). Hölkeskamp uses Assmann's theory of cultural memory, as I discuss in more detail in chapter 2, to argue that Roman cultural identity was created by a nexus of statues, temples, dedications of *spolia*, and inscriptions. All of these were tied to military victory, the defining aspect of Roman cultural identity for Hölkeskamp, and almost all were instituted and regulated by wealthy male citizens. This view has subsequently been challenged by T. P. Wiseman (2014), in a collection edited by Karl Galinsky on Roman memory, who argues that this definition of cultural identity relies too heavily on abstract concepts, and that Roman cultural identity would have been negotiated by a larger section of the public.⁷ Although I discuss the relationship between memory and landscape, my own project focuses on the sites outside of elite cultural memory. I have drawn more from a different collection, published at nearly the same time, edited by Mark Bradley, on the role of pollution in Rome's cultural identity (2012). Bradley's collection is framed by Douglas's theory of dirt, and explores both the Roman definition of urban pollution, and its role in Roman self-definition. With my dissertation, I hope to add the satirists' perspective on similar concepts.

Lastly, my project draws on and contributes to the scholarship on the experience of the physical city, since I contextualize satirists in terms of the literal city street. The bleakest picture of city streets, and still widely cited, is Alex Scobie's discussion of sanitation and mortality in the Roman city (1986). Scobie uses a number of ancient sources, including satire, to show how

7. Hölkeskamp defends his choices in the same collection (2014). The collection also includes a discussion of the Roman triumph's relationship to memory by Favro (2014), notable for its use of urban movement to generate memory, rather than sites alone. This concept is also examined by Amy Russell (2015), and in the collection of Östenberg, Malmberg, and Bornebye (2015) on processions in the city more generally. On the Roman triumph, see also Beard 2007.

pervasive and destructive unhygienic practices would have been in the Roman city. Although Scobie's perspective is radical, it is a useful reminder of how different the ancient experience of the city street might have been.⁸ I have also made use of Ray Laurence's extensive work on the layout of Pompeii (1994), which quantifies the networks of shops, brothels, toilets, and locations for gathering in Pompeii—all of which are discussed by the satirists. Similarly, I have frequently cited Thomas McGinn's groundbreaking work on urban prostitution (2004). McGinn differs from many scholars, including Laurence, on the placement of brothels and prostitution in the Roman city. He shows that there would have been no zoning in the ancient city, and that as a result prostitution could be found in almost every sector of the city. This fact is particularly significant because of the way satirists can impose a moral landscape on the city. If we read this landscape as a choice on the satirists' part, rather than a widely understood concept, the satirists' relationship with the city becomes more clear.

The Scope of the Work

My first chapter is a lexicon of terms of disgust and urban sites of disgust in satiric literature. "Urban sites of disgust" is a broad category, and entries range from words for crossroads and paving stones to cheap food eateries and brothels to city occupations to whole streets and neighborhoods, like the Subura. Here, the theoretical framework discussed above is essential in the determination of this category. For the purpose of this lexicon, and in the chapters that follow, "urban site of disgust" is defined, following Douglas's work, as "urban

8. John Bodel (2000) discusses mortality and sanitation in the disposal of the dead, which I have also drawn on. Also useful for this perspective is the chapter by Barnes 2005 on the omnipresence of foul smells in pre-industrial Paris, as well as Loukaitou-Sideris 2009, who explores the changes in sidewalk culture over time.

matter out of place." This matter is people, practices, and sites with no proper place in the city, despite their ongoing and even prominent presence there. In a specifically urban context, this matter is also outside of the city as defined by its rulers, its laws sacred and secular, its institutionally approved sites of memory, and even, potentially, its collective cultural memory.

This definition is useful in its flexibility, but makes for some inconcinnity in the entries. A further restriction I placed on my list was that the entries should appear in multiple authors over time, and in a pointed reference, rather than in passing, so that I could see more clearly how these tropes changed over time. Chapter 1 is divided into two main categories, terms of disgust (I) and sites of disgust (II), the latter being then subdivided into four groups: (A) types of streets and forms of walking; (B) generic types of places that could be found in the city, such as bars and brothels, that usually do not have individual names; (C) occupations, often the ones associated with these sites; and (D) named places and neighborhoods that appear consistently in satiric literature. Chronologically, I list terms going back as early as Lucilius in the mid second century BC, and as late as Apuleius in the second century AD. This chapter establishes the main sites and vocabulary that comprise the satirists' disgusting version of the city. Looking at each site individually lets patterns amongst them become more obvious. We can see how much they owe to more popular forms of entertainment, performed for a public audience and written by those with low or no social status. Plautus's comedies frequently prefigure many of the tropes of urban satire, but from a different perspective: the perspective of the urban poor, or the enslaved, or an elite perspective as imagined by such persons. It is in this chapter that the relationship that satirical authors have with the culture of the urban street begins to emerge. Although all of these authors were writing for a limited and largely elite audience, and often evince hegemonic elite attitudes about the form and function of urban sites of disgust, they frequently try on and play

with the perspectives of the urban poor. This understanding of the relationship between satirical authors and urban street culture led me to comparisons with more modern forms of appropriation of the culture of the urban street and the urban poor. These modern comparisons offered a secondary framework for the remaining chapters, in that they offer more immediate and more heavily documented examples of gentrification, the erasure of communal memory, slum tourism, and a top-down, distorted perspective on the city streets.

In chapter 2, I discuss the sites that were erased as Augustus rebuilt Rome (27 BC - 14 AD). Although his works were intended to remind viewers of select parts of Roman history, they also functioned as a kind of forgetting: of the civil war that preceded his rule, and of the urban poor who were dislocated by his works. I use Horace's *Satires* 1.8 as a case study for this kind of erasure and how it is indirectly documented in satire. Horace discusses Maecenas's villa on the Esquiline, just outside the limits of the city, which had been built over what used to be a mass burial site. As a burial site, the site had also probably served as a squatting site for the urban poor, who were dislocated as the hill was used for the villas of the wealthy. In *Satires* 1.8, Horace discusses how the burial site has been remade into Maecenas's gardens, but the bones remain underneath. At night, two witches sneak in, attempting to steal them. I argue that, with this story, Horace comments indirectly on what has been literally and figuratively buried by Augustus, how the urban poor refuse to forget it, and how they might have resisted Augustus's program. In the rest of the chapter, I discuss Horace's relationship with street culture, particularly the culture of the urban poor, in his vignettes of walking through the city. Like subsequent satiric authors, Horace plays with the fiction of being part of the urban masses. He simultaneously condemns practices found on the city streets as immoral, but also depends on them for material for his satires. I end with a brief discussion of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, his satiric

poem on how to seduce women. He also makes use of the landscape of memory that Horace discusses. Ovid, however, writes toward the end of Augustus' reign, rather than the beginning of it, like Horace. His work also resists the political landscape that Augustus had imposed, but far more playfully, and after the reality of the civil war had been over for decades.

Chapter 3 concerns the works of Persius and Petronius, both written in the Neronian period (54-68 AD). Although Persius's satires and Petronius's satiric novel, the *Satyricon*, are different in many ways, both offer a kind of slum tourism for the reader. Other studies of Persius, as I discuss in that chapter, focus on the ways in which Persius turns away from the city street to focus on private spaces. Even in his few brief mentions, however, Persius describes a tantalizingly degraded city, which he offers to the reader even as he rejects it in favor of Stoicism. Like Horace, Persius plays with the contradiction that the city streets are to be avoided and yet they serve as the source material for much of satire. Persius even goes so far as to compare his own satire to public defecation (1.112-14, discussed in chapter 3), a decision that Juvenal will later repeat. In turn, I look at extant urban graffiti that deal with public defecation and argue that Persius is placing himself within this milieu. In the second half of the chapter, I discuss the *Satyricon* as a more extended form of slum tourism. Rather than treating this novel as a coded criticism of the Neronian court, or a parody of epic, I focus on the ways in which the *Satyricon* is a satire of place. The protagonists of the novel tour the city's poorer haunts, which are imagined as fantastical spaces, full of opportunities for comic reversal, rather than a site of mundane life or grim poverty. In presenting this kind of landscape, Petronius offers his readers a tour of the city that has the veneer of risk, but ultimately presents no danger—what John Hannigan has called “riskless risk” (1998); this tour guide reinforces a hierarchy of urban space.

Chapter 4 examines the role of the city streets in the epigrams of Martial, who wrote primarily under the Flavian emperor Domitian (81-96 AD) and for a brief time after his assassination. My argument concerning Martial has three parts. The first is that Martial incorporates specific elements of the city streets into his works. Although he does rely on tropes of urban poverty, as discussed by Greg Woolf (2006), Martial also incorporates specific sites and images from the city street into his works, in jokes that would make more sense if his readers were familiar with the same sites. Martial even goes so far as to recreate certain situations within the city, as I discuss in the case of 2.17. In that epigram, he recreates the scene of a woman standing in a specific part of the city, and involves the reader in a form of street harassment against her. This is part of the second half of my argument, which is that Martial, like Horace and Persius, incorporates specific elements of the city into his work even as he condemns them. He distances himself from street performers, for instance (*circulatores*, discussed in more detail in chapter 4), by incorporating their work into his epigrams. He rails against urban filth with long descriptions of it in his work. Ultimately, I argue, Martial imagines himself as part of the urban masses, even though he makes references to property ownership and wealthy friends. Like Horace and Persius, he too plays with the fiction of his own poverty, exploiting the liminal state of the author in elite circles.

I continue this approach in chapter 5, on Juvenal, one of Martial's friends, who wrote under Trajan (98-117 AD) and Hadrian (117-138 AD). Juvenal's satires are the most extensive in their tours of the city streets, and the most obsessed with urban filth. The polluted city lurks even, as I show, in satires that do not ostensibly discuss the city street or even Rome. Juvenal imagines himself writing directly in the streets (1.63-64), and follows Persius in comparing satire to public defecation (1.131), framing satire as a necessary urban pollution. Like his

predecessors, Juvenal both uses the city for satire and uses satire to criticize the city. Like Martial, he includes descriptions of the urban underbelly that are clearly moralizing but also show an obsessive, almost loving disgust (e.g. 6.116-32, 8.171-80, discussed in chapter 1 and chapter 5). Juvenal returns continuously to the city as a site of the grotesque, of carnival without rebirth. By contrast, he instantiates the city through lists that emphasize the mundane and disgusting parts of it. For Juvenal, the entire city is matter out of place. I end the dissertation with a brief discussion of the afterlife of this satiric image of the city, which is reused by later historians in their invective against certain emperors, adopted by Christian authors in their polemics against the city, and re-contextualized for other cities like Carthage and Byzantium. For those who chose to write the city, as John Rechy says of his protagonist in his semi-autobiographical novel *City of Night* (1963): "The grinding streets awaited me" (368).

Chapter 1

Urban Sites of Disgust in Satiric Literature

Introduction

This chapter is a lexical study of the disgusting city in Roman satire and related genres. It is divided into two parts: (I) words and concepts associated with disgust and uncleanness, especially dirt and related materials; and (II) words associated with disgusting parts of the city. There is some overlap between the first and second halves, but less than might be expected: occasionally places are considered disgusting because they are associated with physical uncleanness or dirt, or are explicitly looked down upon with a verb or adjective that indicates disgust. More often, however, the disgust is implied: the site is listed in a satire about the city, or is the location or profession of characters who are worthy of contempt without being explicitly described as such. Dirt and mud are certainly associated with the city (especially *lutum*, see below), but may be connected only by inference: a pair of muddy legs, or muddy horses. Other words for dirt and dirtiness may be used to express disgust, i.e. *caenum* and *sordes*, but may be rarely associated with descriptions of locations.

Words for disgust may also be divorced from disgusting locations in the city because of the nature of satire. As Robert Kaster has discussed in his work on *fastidium* and its role in determining social hierarchy, disgust can be and frequently is used inappropriately by subjects in satire to show how degraded Roman society has become.¹ A character in Juvenal, for instance,

1. Kaster 2001.

looks down on (*fastidit* 11.80) cabbage, the honored meal of Rome's ancestors, in favor of cheap junk food in a dive bar. Here, Juvenal is relying on the reader's knowledge of both *fastidium* and what it should express—appropriate distinctions between what is good or not good—and the disgusting nature of the *popina*. The *popina* is not explicitly labeled as disgusting in the passage, but the passage's meaning depends on it being a sense of disgust shared between speaker and reader. In Part I, therefore, I have first looked at words related to disgust, and how they are applied generally. Because concepts of disgust are so closely related to ideas of uncleanness, I have also included words for dirt in this first part. I have focused on words that appear in multiple authors and genres, with consistent trends in meaning.

Only rarely do the words for dirt have a meaning that is not associated with disgust. Torn and dirty clothing was in general associated with mourning, for instance, but that practice is not well reflected in the sources, and if so does not use the same words for dirtiness.² Perhaps the most frequent reference to dirt that is not worthy of contempt is the use of the word *lutum* to mean "clay," but even this is a rarity compared to its meaning of "mud."³ As mud, *lutum* is not fertile or health-giving, either—it is usually the kind that gets on feet and clothing from walking on the road or in the street. A wider survey of sources and genres may indicate a greater range of meaning for each of these words. I have also focused on dirt that is closely connected with

2. On dirt and mourning, see Corbeill 2004: 68-74, as well as Richlin 2014a: 271-72.

3. For *lutum* as clay, see *TLL* s.v. *lutum* I.A.2.b.α, which includes three instances of this meaning from satiric texts (Petr. *Sat.* 69.9, Mart. 8.6.2, 14.108.2).

disgust. *Pulvis*, "mud," can be used in descriptions of honest labor (e.g. Horace, *Ep.* 1.1.51).⁴

In Part II, I have looked at words related to the disgusting city specifically. This part is further subdivided into four parts: (A) words associated with streets and walking; (B) unnamed public sites including shops and brothels; (C) people and professions associated with those sites; and (D) named places in the city that are associated with disgust. Sites are listed alphabetically by Latin name, unless there are multiple words associated with that site, as with brothels, toilets, and similarly generic terms. In choosing what words have been included in the lexicon, preference has been given to words that appear in more than one author or more than one genre. This study is meant to represent both what words make up the disgusting city, and how their usage changes both over time and by different authors.

The two largest lexicons of Rome are *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* by Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby (1992), and the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* in six volumes, edited by Eva Margareta Steinby (1993-2006). Unlike these lexicons, this project will not be addressing the physical remains of these sites in the city, as that will be the focus of later chapters. Rather, I here emphasize the reputation and description of the physical site in the textual tradition. More than that, however, my intention is to address some of the cultural implications of places and spaces in the city. In this way, this lexicon draws more on social lexicons than topographical ones; inspirations for my collection include J. N. Adams's *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982), Amy Richlin's *The Garden of Priapus* (1983), and Jeffrey Henderson's *The Maculate Muse* (1991).

4. It is also associated with mourning. See Corbeill 2015: 83-85, who argues that *pulvis* is treated as feminine because of its associations with the earth; dirt, mourning, women, and the earth are all associated with each other.

This lexicon is primarily one of the imperial city. Partly that is a function of the evidence: the fragments seem to indicate, for instance, that Lucilius discussed the city at least by inference in his poem on the council of the gods (see below in the entry on *popina*), but the mutilated nature of his text makes his version of Rome difficult to parse. It is clear, however, that later authors pick up on his descriptions of the disgusting parts of the city as part of a larger interest in incorporating themselves into his tradition. But even beyond the problem of fragmentary writing, descriptions of the city as disgusting change over time. Martial and Catullus both wrote epigrams in and about the city of Rome, but Martial accounts for much more of this lexicon: his corpus is much larger, his epigrams more frequently target the city, and the Rome he wrote in was much larger and more diverse than that of Catullus, and the built environment has changed. Martial, for instance, often uses the imperial baths as a setting for his epigrams, while Catullus only mentions the *balnea* once (33.1). Horace and Juvenal both wrote verse satire about Rome, and even mention the same sites, but consider them differently. Horace, for instance, devotes an entire satire to the changing landscape of the Esquiline, a change that had long since become irrelevant for Juvenal. Urban space can differ also within authors of the same period. Martial, for instance, consistently uses the Subura as a location for prostitution. Juvenal, on the other hand, considers the Subura to be Rome's hectic 42nd Street, but never refers to it explicitly as a place to purchase sex.

In deciding what can be counted in the category "satire and related genres," I have turned to Frederick Jones's definition of satire. All three extant verse satirists, he claims, emphasize the importance of public and aggressive criticism while simultaneously claiming that they cannot do

so; they claim Lucilius as a predecessor; and they distance themselves from epic in some way.⁵ But satire was not at all a stable genre, and Jones discusses its overlap with epigram, iambs, lyric, and elegy.⁶ For authors whose satirical works were only part of their corpus, I have focused on their satire but made reference to their other works as necessary. For Horace I have included the *Sermones*, his satires, but also the *Epistles* and *Epodes*, which deal with many of the same themes and vocabulary,⁷ and referred to his other works as necessary. The *Ars Poetica*, for instance, while wholly different in nature from his invective works, repeats several of the same assumptions about the city: that the theater is by nature packed tight, for instance (see the entry on *theatrum*), or that people urinate on tombs (see the entry on tombs). The vocabulary from Apuleius's novel spills over into his other works.

Although all Roman literature is urban in some respect because the literary scene was concentrated in cities, and many genres—especially history—look at the development of urban space, satire and other obscene genres are the most concerned with describing sites of disgust. Epigram makes the most natural comparison, as it uses many of the same themes and vocabulary as satire; Martial wrote extensively about the city and was a friend of Juvenal, and Catullus provides a Republican precedent for many of the themes and scenes of satire and epigram. Later satire also frequently draws on the invective of oratory, and the declamations of Seneca and Quintilian can be instructive for a stable meaning for these sites, since declamation deals mainly with tropes. For this chapter I have not addressed the tropes of the city in either declamation or

5. Jones 2007: 23-24.

6. Jones 2007: 49. Jones also discusses the relationship between Juvenal and Martial, and holds that Juvenal probably used Martial as a model for his own poetry.

7. See Meyer 1994: 2, who argues that the *Epistles* should be read in conjunction with Horace's satires.

rhetoric, although their influence on specific authors and places may be addressed in later chapters. Where relevant I have cited Lucilius, although, again, the fragmented nature of his work makes comparisons of word usage difficult. One author whose absence may be notable in this lexicon is Ovid: although his version of the city is included in later chapters, he makes almost no reference to the people and places included in this lexicon either as sites of disgust or using the vocabulary employed by the other authors.

Roman comedy is useful for sites that are not necessarily specific to Rome: the plays of Plautus, the largest extant corpus, ostensibly took place in Greece but on at least one occasion described the disgusting sites of Rome directly (*Cur.* 466-85). At the very least the sites must have made sense to a Roman audience; jokes about places are funnier if everyone in the audience is familiar with them.⁸ Place humor, however, is very different in Plautus from place humor in other genres: Plautus's humor overall is more slapstick than that of satire, but more importantly was written for a much larger audience than satire or epigram, and shares more with the Roman novels. This difference can be instructive when comparing the way certain sites are treated in Plautus and in satire, or in verse satire as opposed to prose satire.

Most of the authors in this chapter refer explicitly to Rome's topography and all of them wrote within a Roman literary circle. None of them, however, wrote exclusively about the city. The tension between city and country is often marked, and has been a frequent topic of research.⁹ In this chapter, however, I have included words for people and things that occur in small towns

8. For a discussion of place humor in Plautus, see Richlin 2005: 39-40, as well as Richlin 2017: 351-416, which discusses place in Plautus in the context of human trafficking and comedy's enslaved actors.

9. See Rosen 2006 for an overview of this theme, and especially Merli 2006 for a discussion of Martial, who leaves Rome for Bilbilis, and Spencer 2006 for a discussion of Horace and the meaning of his references to the Sabine farm given to him by Maecenas.

as well as cities, such as street intersections, inns, and alleyways. Although these features are not bound to the city, they are generally more numerous and overwhelming in urban space. Frequently and unsurprisingly, the sites are associated with the disempowered. The greatest cause for disgust is social mixing: places that allow for the congregation of rich and poor, and professions that allow the poor to become rich.¹⁰ Beginning with Plautus, one of the greatest horrors of the brothel, described at some length in *Poenulus* (831-35), is that one can find anyone from knights to runaway slaves (see below on brothels)—although Plautus, unlike the satirists, often writes from a much less elite perspective. This same fear is repeated in descriptions of cheap places to eat and busy streets (see below on the *caupona*, the *compitum*, and the *popina*). Professions like barber, cobbler, and auctioneer are repeated targets, in that they are both low-class and potentially highly profitable.¹¹ There are also other professions and places that are cause for explicit or implied disgust simply because they involve labor, or other taboos like the handling of the dead.

Perhaps most interestingly, all of these sites and professions can cease to be sites of disgust when considered from a different perspective. Some of the sites are consistently polyvalent—the Forum Romanum, for instance, is both the heart of the city and a place to find annoying people and disgusting things. Similarly, the *stabulum* and *caupona* are a respite from travel but less than ideal as places to stay. But there are also sites whose meaning depends completely on context; disgust is in the eye of the beholder. In the novels and Plautus, for

10. On this phenomenon in classical Athens, see Vlassopoulos 2007.

11. See Malnati 1988 on social mobility in Martial and Juvenal.

instance, non-elite characters enjoy or at least are not disgusted by places that are the object of invective in verse satire. The ridiculousness of the characters implies that, at least for an elite audience, these places would still have been reinforced as sites of disgust by such texts. But they also imply that a separate culture existed for these places outside of their function in social policing: non-elite people who visited a *popina* probably did not feel that they were being put in their place. Similarly, the anger in these texts at places that have social mixing probably reflects the ease with which people did so: elite people who visited brothels probably did not feel that they were tearing apart the most basic fabric of society.

Lexicon, Part I

Disgust

Caenum means "mud." It is generally used to refer to mud that has some metaphorical meaning, especially as a term of abuse for sexual depravity, although not always. Lucilius uses it when he describes a miser picking out food from excrement (26.659M), and the muddy banks that oysters grow in and taste like (9.329). In Plautus, the word is only used once to refer to mud generally, but in a moralizing simile (*Poen.* 306), and is generally a term of abuse, especially to describe pimps: *caeno conlitus* ("smear'd with mud," *Poen.* 826), *commixtum caeno sterculinum publicum* ("the people's dungheap all mixed up with mud," *Per.* 407), *caenum* (*Ps.* 366). It is also used once as a term of abuse from one slave to another (*caeno κοπρὸν commixte*, "you shit mixed with mud," *Mos.* 41), and once to refer to a place associated with sex in general (*ex lutulento caeno*, "out from that place of muddy filth," *Bac.* 384). Catullus too uses it to refer to mud, but with sexual undertones (17.26). Horace uses the word only once, again as a term of abuse and with a meaning similar to that at *Bac.* 384 (*S.* 2.7.27). The *Satyricon* similarly uses

caenum to refer to the metaphorical filth of civil war (119.1.58), as well as the literal mud dripping from the Harpies (136.6.2).

Apuleius uses it only in the adjective form *caenosus*, to describe either muddy things or things with the consistency of mud: ground covered in mud and slime (*limo caenoso*, *Met.* 7.18, *subluvie caenosa*, 9.9), makeup (*caenoso pigmento*, 8.27), a latrine (*caenosam latrinam*, 9.14; used in a comparison with a sexually depraved woman's soul), and the juices of rotting food (*caenosi sucus*, 9.32). Juvenal, similarly, refers to the river Styx as the "muddy abyss" (*caenosi gurgitis*, 3.266), and Martial calls a man's toga "dirtier than mud" (*sordidior caeno*, 7.33.1).

The *faex* is the dregs of wine left over in the cup. Although its derivatives are used figuratively, the word itself is generally used literally, or slightly more loosely to describe wine that is cheap, unpleasant, and associated with poverty. The word is occasionally used to describe other liquids of similar consistency, and a few times in a figurative way to refer to the "lowest" parts of the urban masses. The verb *defaecare* appears in Plautus and Apuleius and has the meaning "cleans" or "purify": in Plautus, *defaecato animo* ("with purified heart," *Aul.* 79), and *defaecatumst cor* ("My heart has been purified," *Ps.* 760). In Apuleius the word seems to be used literally: *vina pretiosa defaecat* ("she cleanses the expensive wine of dregs," *Met.* 9.22). The adjective *faeceus*, "impure," appears only once, again in Plautus and again with a figurative meaning, to describe *mores* (*Trin.* 299).

As for *faex* itself, it is used either literally or metaphorically with an eye towards the literal, as when Cicero famously refers to the "dregs of the city" (*tanta faex est in urbe*, *Ad Fam.* 7.32.2). Juvenal uses it in a similar way to refer to Greek immigrants in Rome: *non possum ferre, Quirites, / Graecam urbem. quamvis quota portio faecis Achai?* ("I cannot stand,

Romans, / a Greek city. But what fraction of the dregs [of this city] are Greeks?" 3.60-61).

Apuleius also refers to a man "from the cheapest dregs of society" (*de triviali popularium faece*, 8.24), a worshipper of Atargatis. Martial refers to glass windows that let in light without any *faex*, here all the detrimental parts of the outdoors (8.14.4). Horace uses it in a symbol of ravenous consumption: *diffugiunt cadis / cum faece siccatis amici* ("Friends leave once the wine jugs have been drained down to the dregs," *Carm.* 1.35.26-27), a use echoed by Martial (7.54.3). Later in the *Odes*, Horace uses the same image to shame an old woman for still attempting to appear attractive when she is past her prime (*Carm.* 3.15.16). Martial also refers to the *faex* of wooden coffers (14.13.1). Ovid uses *faex* to refer to makeup in a pejorative sense: *quem non offendat toto faex inlita vultu, / cum fluit in tepidos pondere lapsa sinus?* ("Whom does makeup smeared all over your face not offend, / when it flows, slipping from its weight, onto your warm chest?" 3.211-12). Horace may be referring to a similar practice when he discusses the first actors who performed tragedy *peruncti faecibus ora* ("with wine-lees smeared all over their faces," *Ars* 277).¹²

For the most part, however, *faex* is used to describe wine. Someone who drinks *faex* either enjoys the cheapest and most disgusting parts of wine, or enjoys wine that is characterized as *faex* no matter what part of it someone is drinking. Only Horace refers to *faex* that is not disgusting: the *faex* of Falernian actually improves Sorrentine wine (*S.* 2.4.55); *faex* is just another ingredient in a separate list later in the satire (*S.* 2.4.73); and Coan *faex* goes well with boar (*S.* 2.8.9). Persius, however, refers to it once in a picture of a wealthy man who insists on

12. On the use of *faex* as a form of makeup, especially for actors, see Olson 2009: 296-97. Olson suggests, given the color of the lees, that it would have been used as a kind of rouge.

drinking dregs: *farrata pueris plaudentibus olla / pannosam faecem morientis sorbet aceti* ("While his slaves applaud over pots of grain, / he sucks up the ragged dregs of dying vinegar," 4.31-32). Martial similarly refers to a poor man who drinks the dregs of vinegar (11.56.7). Good wine should be served with no dregs (10.48.19).

Martial also urges a man who drinks to excess, Sextilianus, to drink *faex* once he is already drunk, instead of indulging in famously expensive and delicious wines. This excess is also framed in terms of the city's geography: Sextilianus can drink as much as five theater rows worth of knights (1.26.1-2), and the *faex* should be sought from a bartender (*a copone*, 1.26.9). The *faex* is named (*Laletana*, 1.26.9), and presumably stands for a kind of cheap wine. Similarly, in an epigram addressed to a man who has become suddenly wealthy but ironically more miserly, the *faex* is an especially poor kind of wine: *et Veientani bibitur faex crassa rubelli* ("And you drink thick dregs of pink wine from Veii," 1.103.9). In both cases the *faex* is disgusting because it is *per se* unpleasant to drink, but also strongly associated with the poor or the places of the poor (see below on the *caupona*). An ointment from Sabine *faex* is mentioned for its bad smell, as a basis of comparison for a woman's terrible odor (4.4.10), and a smoky *faex* is also used at the baths to promote perspiration (presumably by being noxious, 12.82.11).

Fastidium, and the verb form *fastidio*, are words for "disgust" and "expressing disgust" respectively. As Robert Kaster has noted in his work on the word, *fastidium* expresses two kinds of disgust: compulsive revulsion, and contempt that refers to social hierarchy.¹³ This secondary

13 Kaster 2001.

meaning of the word is particularly useful to satirists, who make fun of people misapplying the idea. Lucilius, for instance, uses it to refer to people who are difficult to please and even pass over worthwhile things (7.293, 26.602) and admits that he himself may have a flaw when he expresses *fastidium* for Agamemnon (26.654). Horace uses the word a total of eighteen times.¹⁴ Some are for appropriate examples of contempt: disdain for wine that has been handled too much by slaves' greasy hands (*S.* 2.4.78); sleep's lack of disdain for anyone (*Carm.* 3.1.23), a man's contempt for a witch who loved him (*Epod.* 5.78), Horace's contempt for a woman who mocks him (*Epod.* 12.13), depression's distaste for everything (*Epod.* 17.73), literary ambition that causes one to look down on lesser genres (*Ep.* 1.3.11), and the proper disdain for bad food that is difficult to remember when you are tired (*S.* 2.2.14). Food is mentioned two other times in connection with *fastidium* with different connotations, however: it is questionable to prefer royal decadence to good honest vegetables (*Ep.* 1.17.15, *S.* 2.6.86), and Horace asks sarcastically whether anyone would disdain all but the finest food when they are starving (*S.* 1.2.115). Food is discussed further below on the *popina*, but this use of *fastidium* points to the Roman distinction between poverty as an idealized literary trope and poverty as a contemporary reality: cabbages and other *holus* are often associated with an idyllic and antiquated version of poverty, but cheap greasy fast food is worthy of disdain. Later, Juvenal satirizes the slave who prefers the greasy food of the *popina* to the humble cabbage of Roman ancestors (11.80), and says that advances in agriculture led to *fastidium* for the acorns of the Golden Age (14.184). Martial criticizes the wealthy who look down on those who have less than they do (3.31.5), but also acknowledges that cabbages may be disgusting before they are boiled (13.17.1).

14. It also appears at *S.* 1.10.7, which is generally regarded as spurious.

Fastidium is also used to criticize the wealthy's disdain for simple or blameless things: in Horace, a destructive landowner's inappropriate disdain for nature (*Carm.* 3.1.37), as well as that of people who prefer the city to the country or farm (*Ep.* 1.10.25, *Ep.* 1.14.2), the lifestyle of the wealthy in general (*Carm.* 3.29.9), the inappropriateness of being revolted at a friend's fault (*S.* 1.3.44), the Roman compulsion to despise anything that is not long dead and gone (*S.* 2.1.22), as well as the spectator's tendency towards disdain as opposed to a reader's (*S.* 2.1.215). Martial, on the other hand, laments the *fastidium* of Roman readers for his work (1.3.3). The word is used similarly by Apuleius to describe young women's disrespect for their parents (*Met.* 5.17), and Venus's rumored contempt for traditional social bonds (*Met.* 5.28; see below on *squalidus*). Ovid refers in the *Ars Amatoria* to the arbitrary fussiness of a sick patient (2.323). In the *Satyricon*, this usage of *fastidium* is applied outrageously to cannibalism: the stomach's squeamish disdain for human flesh could be easily overcome with money (141.7). Juvenal similarly refers to the *fastidium* for goods from across the Tiber that must be stomached if one is intent on wealth (14.201). *Fastidium* in the *Satyricon* also covers appropriate contempt for a beggar's possessions (13.1; used similarly in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* for people's distaste for Lucius in ass-form, 8.23), and is used sarcastically of literature and an extensive library (48.4). Like Horace, the *Satyricon* refers to the *fastidium* someone might have for a person's potential as a sexual partner, although it is directed by and towards both genders (127.1, 127.3; and similarly in Apuleius, *Met.* 2.5, 10.71; Juvenal 10.326). When Martial uses *fastidium* to refer to sexual partners, it is to make fun of a man's preference for older (and wealthy) women (3.76.1).

Lastly, *fastidium* from a source that is itself worthy of disdain is used to increase the force of the speaker's invective. Horace insults a freedman by saying that he has been whipped *praeconis ad fastidium* ("to the point that the auctioneer was disgusted," *Epod.* 4.12)—here the *fastidium* is

appropriate, and the phrase is insulting because of both the number of scars and the fact that the *praeco* himself is worthy of *fastidium* by anyone with taste (see below on the *praeco*). Apuleius uses the word similarly to insult an old woman who is beneath the contempt of death itself (*Met.* 4.7). Juvenal says a feeble old man is disdained even by a legacy-hunter (10.202), and that an old ox is disdained by the plough itself (10.270). Martial accuses someone of being so sexually deviant that he has earned the contempt of undertakers (2.61.3), and describes a wealthy host as a *popina* that looks down on a particularly desperate guest (5.44.10; see below on the *popina*).

Foedus (along with the verb *foedo*, *foedare*) can mean that something is either physically ugly, often because of dirt, or figuratively dirty, beneath contempt. When it is used to describe a physical attribute, *foedus* implies that something is ugly or dirty. In his satire on a journey from Rome to Brundisium, Horace describes an insult contest between two men at Caudium: one an Oscan named Messius (*S.* 1.5.54), the other a slave named Sarmentus (55), who is also called a *scurra* (see below). Messius mocks Sarmentus's "ugly scar" (*foeda cicatrix*, 60), which he compares to a stump from where an animal's horn has been cut off (60). In his second book of satires, he mocks an overly frugal man who will not even spend money for oil to put on his head, which is "disgusting with dandruff" (*foedum porrigine*, *S.* 2.3.126). In the *Satyricon*, a fight between the protagonists in which they roll around on the floor is described as *foedissimam* (*Sat.* 95.1), ugly both because they are on the ground, and because the fight is fruitless. Near the end of the novel, *foedus* is used to describe the honking of geese, which is "loathsome and feverish, as it were" (*foedo atque veluti rabioso*, *Sat.* 136.4). Martial uses *foedus* to describe a sickly woman (*nihil foedius est* 1.10.3). He describes the mutilation of an adulterer by the removal of his ears and nose with the verb *foedare* (*foedasti*, 1.83.1). He insults a woman named Fabulla for

having ugly old women as friend, who are even uglier than old women usually are (*vetulisque foediores*, 8.79.2), so that Fabulla will seem more beautiful by comparison as she walks with them around the city. Juvenal says that the cloak of a poor man is tattered and "dirty" (*foeda et scissa lacerna*, 3.148). The worst result of this kind of poverty is that, in Rome, it makes you the butt of cruel jokes (147). The empress Messalina, after she has spent all night in a brothel, is physically and morally *foeda*, because she takes the reek of the brothel (*lupanaris... odorem*) into the imperial bed (6.132). On the other hand, a wealthy woman who wears makeup is *foeda* because of it, because it is greasy and layered on (6.461-62). He also describes dog feces as *foeda* (14.64).

The metaphorical uses of *foedus* pick up on the tactile ugliness implied by the adjective, but also implies that the object should be ignored, or not spoken of because it is so low. In his epistle on literature, Horace denounces authors who besmirch brave deeds with a "foul song" (*carmine foedo*, Ep. 2.1.235). In the *Satyricon*, the character Encolpius verbally abuses his flaccid penis, but eventually becomes ashamed of his "shameful rebuke" (*foeda obiurgatione*, 132), because most men with real character do not even notice this part of themselves, much less argue with it (132.12). The verbal abuse is *foeda* because its object is *foeda*, foul and beneath contempt. Martial describes the crime of greed as *foedum* (*immodicae foedo crimine avaritiae*, 2.56.2), and later uses the adjective to describe the profit from stolen goods (*foedi... lucri*, 8.48.7), and the joy derived from masturbation (*gaudia foeda*, 9.41.8), because it does not produce children. He also describes the sale of castrated children for sex as the sale of children "to be made foul" (*foedandos... mares*, 9.7.2). The joking insults of a public entertainer are described as foul (*foeda linguae probra circulatoris*, 9.41.8; on this poem and the *circulatores*, see chapter 4 on Martial).

Juvenal describes having passive sex with men obliquely as "more disgusting than effeminate clothing" (*foedius... amictu*, 2.82). In Satire 4, he asks what one can do, when a man's character is more foul than any crime (*foedior omni / crimine persona*, 4.14-15). Acting as public criers (*praecones*) should be considered *foedum* (7.5-6). After lambasting the aristocrats of Rome for slumming in the *popina*, Juvenal's narrator sums up the examples he has used so far in the satire as "foul things to be ashamed of" (*foedis... pudendis*, 8.183). Juvenal also attacks Nero for prostituting himself on stage with a "foul song" (*foedo... cantu*, 8.225), and uses *foeda* to describe gossip (14.64). He advises that, in order to preserve children's innocence, a father let no *foeda* into his house (14.44), and gives the example of prostitutes (45).

Limus, "slime" or "mud," is used by Persius and Horace, and only in a literal sense. Persius compares his hungover mind to the green clay of a poorly fired pot (*viridi... limo*, 3.22), and follows with a comparison to soft, wet mud (*udum et molle lutum*, 3.23). In the next satire, he mocks a wealthy man who is overly thrifty. Although the man has a lot of land, he still acts like a man in the depths of poverty, offering "slime" from a jar (*limum*, 4.29) at the crossroads. In his first satire, Horace explains that greedy men will ultimately drink water mixed with mud (*limo / turbatam... aquam*, *S.* 1.1.59-60) because they are never satiated. In his second book of satires, Horace recommends that someone who has mixed Falernian lees (*faex*, discussed below), with Surrentine wine, should collect the *limum* out of it with an egg (*S.* 2.4.56).

Lutum (alternatively *lutus*) is mud, dirt, or clay.¹⁵ It also exists in the adjective form

15. I have passed over instances where *lutum* is used to refer to clay instead of mud: Persius 3.23; *Sat.* 69.9, 135.8; Martial 3.74.3, 8.6.2, 10.39.4, 14.108.2, 14.182.2; Juvenal 6.13, 14.35.

lutulentus, as well as the adjective form *luteus*, although this usually means "made of clay" rather than "covered in mud."¹⁶ The function of the word can be broken down into three general categories: as a figurative description or term of abuse; used to describe space; and used to describe other people and objects that are covered in mud. Catullus uses *lutum* as a term of abuse, pairing it with *lupanar* (42.13). Horace famously says that Lucilius flows on like mud (*lutulentus*, *S.* 1.4.11, 1.10.50). In the *Satyricon*, *pro luto* is used by the freedmen at the *Cena* to mean "dirt cheap" (44.11, 56.6, 67.10).

Most often *lutum* is used to describe space or the experience of space, especially urban space. This differentiates it from *caenum*, which also means "mud" but is rarely used to describe a location. Horace lists muddy pigs as one of the many disgusting hazards of the road (*Epist.* 2.2.75, and mud as pigs' habitat, *Epist.* 1.2.26), and mud as an inevitable discomfort for the traveler (*Epist.* 1.11.11).¹⁷ Horace also criticizes sweeping with a muddy palm leaf (*S.* 2.4.83). Martial refers to muddy mules in the street (9.22.13), and Apuleius to muddy puddles that collect in the street after the rain (*Met.* 7.20), and icy mud on the road (*Met.* 9.32). Persius describes throwing mud and potsherds at passing crows (3.61), as well as finding coins in mud (5.111). Juvenal refers to muddy people in the streets (3.247), muddy horses there (7.180), and a muddy crowd in the baths (*lutulenta turba*, 7.131). Martial refers several times to muddy city streets (3.36.4, 7.61.6, 10.10.8, 12.29.8), and shoes that become covered in mud because of them (9.73.2), and the muddy gym (7.67.7).

16. With a few exceptions, e.g. Martial 11.47.5 to refer to someone smeared with ointment, and Juvenal 10.132 to refer to Vulcan.

17. Cf. the complaint about the smells of the city at Plautus *Captivi* 807-22.

The adjective *sordidus*, verb *sordeo*, and noun *sordes* mean "dirty," "be dirty," and "dirt" respectively. These terms can be used figuratively, like *foedus*, to mean "be beneath contempt." Applied as a character flaw, this set of terms consistently implies stinginess with money. Other figurative uses overlap with physical descriptions, however—the use of *sordidus* to describe something that is covered in dirt or other grime is widespread. This dirtiness is, unsurprisingly, frequently connected with the poor and enslaved, who are covered in dirt, wear dirty clothing, and eat dirty food.

Its figurative use can emphasize moral lowliness. Lucilius, for instance, calls the short tunic of the Lydians a "filthy little work" (*opus sordidulum*, 1.12), and Persius criticizes the *sordidus* person who makes fun of Greek slippers (1.128). Horace refers to people with "ancestral baseness" (*paternis sordibus*, *Epod.* 17.46), and people who are generally "lacking" character (*S.* 1.6.107, 2.2.65). Martial criticizes a man's morals for befouling the age (*tempora sordent*, 9.70.9), and makes fun of a woman who looks down on knights as a "base rank" (*sordida condicio*, 5.17.2). He himself looks down on base uses of leisure time (*sordida otia*, 1.55.4).

Horace consistently uses *sordes* and *sordidus* as synonyms for "miserliness" and "miserly" (*S.* 1.1.65, 96, 1.2.10, 1.6.68, 2.2.53, 2.3.164, 2.5.105). This usage also appears in Apuleius (*Met.* 1.21, 4.9), and once in Juvenal (14.125). Apuleius refers to "base robbery" (*sordidae rapinae*, *Met.* 10.15), which may also make use of the connection between *sordes* and money.¹⁸ Martial complains about a wealthy man who hosts feasts paid for by "the dirt of black coins" (1.99.13),

18. See Richlin 2017: 187, on the use of *sordidatus* to imply poverty in Plautus (*As.* 497-98).

and a man who uses gifts as social snares (4.56.3). Horace wonders whether, in comparison with the Tiber, other rivers might "come up short" (*sordent*, *Ep.* 1.11.4); similarly a second life "is not worth the price" (*pretium sordet*, *Ep.* 1.18.18). The *Satyricon* refers to the "disgrace" of being conquered (*sordes*, 122.1.173). It also describes women's desire for "disgraceful things" (*sordibus*, *Sat.* 126.5), here slaves as sex partners. The most contemptible slaves in the household are the "most base part" (*sordidissimam partem*, *Sat.* 132.3). Inappropriate desire is a source of *sordes* in Apuleius as well (*Met.* 5.29, 6.22, 9.26); a brothel is both figuratively and literally dirty (*lupanaris spurci sordidicique*, *Met.* 7.10). Martial describes the money exchanged for sex with children as *sordida* (9.7.4).

Juvenal calls the act of overconsumption a kind of *sordes* (1.140), and blends the literal and figurative meaning of *sordes* when he describes the humiliation of eating bread that even dogs will not eat (*sordes farris... canini*, 5.11). Apuleius, similarly, refers to the tendency of the poor to eat whatever is free, even if it is filthy (*sordentia*, *Met.* 4.14, 6.19). All of the mortal world, however, is both dirty and base in comparison with the celestial world (*terrenis sordibus*, *Met.* 4.30).

Sordes is also used to refer to dirt and other repulsive substances or polluted objects. Horace mentions earwax (*Ep.* 1.2.53), dirty napkins (*Ep.* 1.5.22, also in Martial 7.20.8), and books that have been handled too often (*Ep.* 1.20.11) in connection with *sordes*. Martial also describes books that have become *sordidus* from too much handling, although it is because of their contact with beards (10.93.6). In the *Satyricon* there are dirty tunics (14.6), dirty teeth (64.6), a "dark and dirty exit" from the baths (*tenebrosum et sordidum egressum*, 91.3), and dirty beans (135.5). Apuleius describes a man encrusted with dirt (*sordium enormem eluviem*, *Met.* 1.7), dirty bandages (5.10), grain (7.15), the ground (*humo sordida*, 7.21), a hand (8.23), a jar (9.7), mill

slaves covered in ash flour (9.12), and hair that is dirty with ash (9.30, 10.6). Juvenal mentions a dirtied toga (3.149), as does Martial (1.103.5, because the wearer has been miserly; 4.34.1; 5.16.8, because the wearer has filled it with money; 6.50.2 and 8.33.12, because of poverty; 7.33.1, from mud).

Martial uses the adjective more than any of the other authors. He uses it to characterize ugly or dirty things: hair (spoiling an attractive slave's cheeks, 1.31.5; an unwashed beard, 4.53.4), and baldness (6.57.2), unwashed skin (2.36.2), oiled clothing or skin (7.32.6, 8.3.10, 11.15.6), teeth (10.3.1, although this is metaphorical for foul language), a fox (10.37.14), an unappealing slave (10.98.8), skin infections (11.98.5), a money-changer's table (12.57.7), a baby's lap (12.82.8), bugs (13.1.2, 14.83.2), and a dress with dust on it (14.68.1). He is the only one to apply it to Rome's geography: the steps of the path up from the Subura (see below) are dirty and wet (5.22.6). He also uses it to refer to the pleasantly untamed or unrefined quality of the woods (1.49.28), farm animals (3.58.12), and humble housing (10.96.4, 12.57.2). Similarly, he describes a cloak but seems to be referring to its humble lack of adornment or refined craftsmanship, rather than offering a dirty cloak as a gift (4.19.3).

Spurcus means both physically disgusting, especially by the stain of dirt or other impurities, and is used metaphorically to mean socially low, often in the sense of "nasty." To explain the word's metaphorical usage, Nonius quotes a description by Lucilius of a hated gladiator: *Samnis, spurcus homo, vita illa dignus locoque* ("A Samnite, a nasty man, worthy of that life and station," 4.150). Nonius also quotes Lucilius to show how *spurcus* means "low:" *praetor noster ad hoc, quam spurcust ore quod omnis / extra castra ut stercus foras eiecit ad unum* ("Our praetor, to this: 'What a dirty face he's got, because he's thrown everyone out of the camp, to a

man, like dung into the open," 11.398).¹⁹ Lastly, he quotes Lucilius to show how it may mean "reeking:" *quaeque aspectu sunt spurca et odore* ("And things which are nasty in sight and smell," 28.798). Horace uses the term to pejoratively describe a generic slave (*spurco Damae*, *S.* 2.5.18), when Odysseus sneers that he did not fight at Troy to spend his time near slaves. *Spurcus* here emphasizes both the slave's low station, and the physical unpleasantness of being near him. In Juvenal, the word is used to describe the bodies of water where babies are abandoned (*ad spurcos... lacus*, 6.603). The exact meaning of *lacus* is unclear, but it must refer to water heavily frequented, used either for washing or for excretion: bathing pools, perhaps, or latrines, places both socially low and physically repulsive. Martial uses the word to describe prostitutes who hide in tombs (*abscondunt spurcas monumenta lupas*, 1.34.8), a prostitute Leda at the end of the night (*spurcae... Ledaie*, 4.4.9), and bath water, once a man who fellates other men dunks his head in it (*spurcius ut fiat, Zoile, merge caput*, 2.42.2). He also uses the word in a more abstract way, when he pairs it with *sordidus* to describe a man who wants to be called generous because he sends gifts to the elderly, in the hope of being included in their wills (*sordidus nihil est, nihil est te spurcius uno*, 4.56.3).

Squalidus is an adjective for something that is disgusting specifically because of neglect. It is often used to describe hair, and in that case frequently pairs with the verb/adjective *horreo/horridus*. It corresponds to the verb *squaleo*. Its noun forms are *squalor* and, less commonly, *squalitas*, which appears once in Accius and once in Lucilius.²⁰ He uses it to

19. Here, I follow E.H. Warmington's version of the text.

20. For Accius: *trag.* 617. Accius also uses the word *squalitudo* (340), which does not appear anywhere else in the texts of the Packard Humanities Institute.

describe Antiope in prison (26.597-600):

squalitate summa ac scabie, summa in aerumna, obrutam
neque inimicis inuidiosam, neque amico exoptabilem.

hic cruciatur fame,
frigore, inluuie, inbalnitie, inperfundit<ti>e, incuria.

In greatest griminess and grubbiness, in greatest hardship, weighed down
and neither enviable to her enemies, nor hoped for by any friend.
Here she is tortured by hunger,
cold, lack of cleanliness, lack of baths, lack of washing, lack of care.

Plautus uses the noun *squalor*, as well as the adjective and verb form, to describe both people and places that have become disgusting through neglect (*immundas fortunas aequom est squalorem sequi*, *Cist.* 114; *suppellex mihi squalet atque aedes meae*, *Per.* 732; *hominem squalidum*, *Truc.* 933; *hic squalet* 934). Catullus uses it as a transferred epithet to describe rust on unused plows (64.42).²¹ In the *Satyricon*, *squalor* is used to describe long, unkempt hair, particularly that of prisoners; Eumolpus explains that he had ordered the heads of several slaves (really the protagonists in disguise) to be shaved so that the ship they are on does not seem like a prison (105.2). The verb is later used to describe a frightening and barren land: *nigro squalentia pumice saxa / gaudent ferali circum tumulata cupressu* ("Rocks scaly with black pumice / delight in the wild cypress heaped around them," 120.74-75).

In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, *squalor* is one of a string of adjectives used to describe Venus's household in various mean-spirited rumors. Rather than the expected marriages and friendships and care for children, there is only: *enormis colluvies et squalentium foederum insuave fastidium* ("An enormous mess, and an unpleasant contempt for grimy marriages and

21. On *squalor* in the Republic, see Lintott 1999: 16-21.

social bonds," 5.28; see above on *fastidium*). Later in the same book Venus uses the adjective to describe the goddess Sobriety. Here the word is paired with her provincial lack of charm (*rusticae squalentisque feminae* 5.30). This use is echoed in Book 9, when a baker who has caught a young man in adultery explains that he will not stoop to something as provincial as torture: *non sum barbarus, nec agresti morum squalore praeditus* ("I'm not a barbarian, nor do I share in that backcountry roughness of morals," 9.27). It is later used to describe Charon (*squalido seni*, 6.18), a boar with bristling hair (8.4), and Lucius's own hair as an ass (11.13). In book 8, Charite attempts to starve herself to death through *incuria squalida*, like Lucilius above (8.7).

Martial uses it in a promise to attend a friend's hypothetical trial: he will come even more *squalidus* than the defendant (2.24.2), who customarily (and proverbially) went unkempt in order to attract pity. Juvenal similarly refers to the *squalorem rei* ("griminess of the defendant," 15.135). Later, Martial uses the verb to dismissively describe old ancestral portraits (9.47.2), as does Juvenal (8.17). In these the reference is probably to the long unkempt beards that were the fashion before the adoption of the Greek custom of shaving (see below on the *tonsor*). In the next satire, Juvenal uses the adjective to refer to leg hair that has not been smoothed off in a while (9.15). Lastly, he uses the adjective to describe an enslaved ditch-digger (*squalidus fossor*, 11.80). The ditch-digger looks down on the ancestral Roman meal of vegetables in favor of pig-womb in a *popina* (see above on *fastidium*, and below on the *popina*).

Taeter is used most often to describe physical and repulsive ugliness. Lucilius uses it to describe an ugly, lazy nag (*taetri tardique caballi*, 4.163), and the foulness of a bad omen (*ob ominis taetri*, 30.976). Horace uses it to describe the desire that drives a young man to the

brothel (*taetra libido*, *S.* 1.2.33), a vagina as the cause for the war (*cunnius taeterrima belli / causa*, *S.* 1.3.107-8), and Discord as the cause for wars (*Discordia taetra*, *S.* 1.4.60). In the *Satyricon*, *taeter* is used almost exclusively of sounds and voices: Trimalchio's singing voice is "most dreadful" (*taeterrima voce*, *Sat.* 35.6), as is a dog's barking (64.5, 9), a cook's singing (70.7). The one exception is its use to describe the "hideously swollen" lips of Ethiopian slaves (*tumore taeterrimo*, 102.15). Martial uses the word to describe the reek of a goat's castration (*taeter... immundae carnis... odor*, 3.24.6). Juvenal uses the word to describe the ugliness of an overly masculine woman (*taeterrima vultu*, 6.418), and the ugliness of Charon that a dead man shudders at (3.265), and the ugliness of old age (*taetrum ante omnia vultum*, 10.191).

Turpis is a general and very popular adjective that means "disagreeable" in any sense, and is used frequently because of its flexibility. It also exists in the verb form *turpo*, which means to make something *turpis*. It is often used to describe something that is *per se* disgusting, often because it is physically ugly, such as Horace's description of a frog (*Epod.* 5.19, also called ugly by Martial, 10.37.5), the first primordial beasts (*S.* 1.3.100), what a scar does to a face (*turpaverat S.* 1.5.61), an unpleasant couch valance (*Epist.* 1.5.22), and as a general term of abuse (*turpissime*, *S.* 1.9.75, used also by Juvenal 2.83). Martial similarly refers to ugly buffalo (1.104.8), snot (7.37.5), hemorrhoids (7.71.3), pelicans (11.21.10), a chamberpot (12.32.21), and flies (14.67.1). Horace uses the word to describe women's bodies, as well: an old woman's gaping asshole (*Epod.* 8.5), Cleopatra's tent (*Epod.* 9.15), a female prostitute's body (*S.* 1.2.85, 1.2.102), a female sex partner's body (*S.* 1.3.39). All of these uses refer to what causes visceral repulsion. In general, they pertain to Julia Kristeva's theory of the abject: in their association with the dying, permeable, or deformed body, they are reminders of the

impermanence of the viewer (1982).

Another frequent application is to describe behavior that is inappropriate. Lucilius explains that part of manliness (*virtus*) itself is recognizing what is *turpis* (*inc.* 1330), a sentiment echoed by Horace (*S.* 1.6.63, 1.6.84, *Epist.* 1.1.43, 1.2.3). Lucilius uses the word only one other time in the extant text: the *popina* is *turpis* and so worthy of hatred (1.11). Horace uses the word often, and frequently with reference to women and especially their bodies: love for prostitutes (*S.* 1.4.111), a mistress's armoire that one might hide in (*S.* 2.7.59), the yoke of love for a woman (*S.* 2.7.91), and someone under the thrall of a prostitute mistress (*Epist.* 1.2.25). *Turpis* also describes inappropriate behavior that should be a source of shame: the vices that satire reveals (*S.* 2.1.65, *Epist.* 1.16.45), a Roman citizen dressing as a slave (*S.* 2.7.55), the idea of showing deference to one's juniors (an attitude Horace criticizes, *Epist.* 2.1.84), and experimenting with the tragic genre (*S.* 2.1.167). Florus's literary genius, on the other hand, is not at all *turpis* (*Epist.* 1.3.22). Persius also uses the adjective in connection with literary work: the fact that only one or two people will read his poetry is *turpe et miserabile* ("shameful and pathetic," 1.3). Later, Martial applies *turpis* to writing when he describes jokes with no bite to them, framed as a castrated Priapus (1.35.15), and the shame in expending actual effort on writing (2.86.9).

For Ovid, *turpis* is one of the guiding adjectives of what is fit for a lover—he seems partly to be drawing on the adjective as descriptive of women, and partly using it satirically to describe being an adulterer as a form of *virtus*. A pretty woman crying, for instance, is not made *turpis* (*Ars* 1.534). Paleness is shameful (*turpis*) for a sailor (*Ars* 1.723) or a farmer (725) or an athlete (728), but well suited to lovers, who should not think it shameful (*turpe*) to cover their head with a cape (733), or suffer blows from a girlfriend (*Ars* 2.534). Similarly, it is shameful (but still recommended) for a man to hold a woman's mirror (*Ars* 2.215), and shameful (and not

recommended) to send gifts with ill will to a mistress (2.271). Clytemnestra considers the sexual misconduct of the Trojan Wars to be *turpis* (*Ars* 2.404), and any story about a sexual encounter can be considered *turpis* (*Ars* 2.630). At the opening of the third book of the *Ars Amatoria*, the fact that Ovid has given tips to men but not to women is *turpis* (3.6). Growing old and unattractive is shameful (3.80), as is the act of applying makeup (3.218), and women with no hair (3.249). Lastly, all women who are not beautiful are *turpes* (3.255).

In the *Satyricon*, *turpis* is used to describe only behavior. In the middle of a sendup of rhetorical trends, for instance, the speaker admonishes that not admitting a fault is *turpius* (4.4). The protagonists and other characters also rebuke each other for using flattery to gain an invitation to dinner (10.2), arguing among friends (10.3), being looked down upon (18.6), drunkenness (78.5), abandoning a friend in need (80.9.4), and a reckless death (103.1). Conversely, a freedman insists that obeying the orders of one's owner is not *turpe*, even if the orders themselves are demeaning, as they include sexual assault (76.11). In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, the adjective is also applied only to shameful behaviors: adultery (*Met.* 6.22, 9.23), sexual assault (8.29), a wife's extravagant spending (9.14), and thievery (10.14).

Juvenal uses some form of the word twenty-five times, more than any other satiric author, and more frequently, even given the differing lengths of their works. His usage is divided evenly throughout his works, with the notable exception that almost a third of these uses occur in the sixth satire; many uses have to do with women or effeminacy: adulterous women (1.78; 6.97), women in general (6.241), the cult of Cybele (2.111), sarcastically of women's shame in speaking Latin instead of Greek (6.188, a contested line), modern women's decadence (6.299), effeminate men (6.0.3, 0.9), women's obsession with musicians (6.391), and wealthy women

(6.457).²² These descriptions are of behavior, but in the sixth satire, Messalina is *turpis* in both the literal and figurative sense: she is ugly and smells bad because of the smoke of the brothel that she has spent the night working in (6.131). Martial similarly refers sarcastically to the "shame" women in Rome find in saying no to sex (4.71.3), to a specific woman Laetoria's inability to be a wife or a mistress (6.45.4), and applies the adjective to an adulterous woman (6.90.2), women who are even more ugly or unappealing than old women (8.79.2), and men who submit to penetration by other men (9.47.5).

Juvenal also juxtaposes different kinds of *turpis* actions to produce outrage: a known pathic homosexual has the temerity to accuse others of *turpia* (2.9-10); going naked is less *turpis* than wearing inappropriate clothing (2.71); wealthy noblemen excuse in themselves what they would condemn even in a slave (8.182). He also uses the word to address the situational nature of disgust: at Rome it is *turpe* to use cheap plates, but in the country it would be fine (3.168); what is normal in one man is criminal in another (4.13); children ought to be forgiven for shameful behavior but adults should not (8.165); shameful behavior is always learned (14.41, 48). Lastly, Juvenal occasionally uses the word to indicate behavior that is inappropriate for men although not because it is effeminate: acting as a *praeco* (7.5, see below on the *praeco*), and the sexual games of distracted students (7.239). Similarly, Martial shames a man for offering a lot of money when he could not even afford to give a little (5.82.3), a man who steals from a dinner party (7.20.16, 11.54.4), men who fawn over rulers (10.72.6), and trying to hide baldness with a comb-over (10.83.11).

22. These twenty-five instances exclude 11.176-177, where gambling and adultery are called *turpis*, as these lines are generally considered to be an interpolation.

These words for disgust, from *caenum* to *turpis*, show a range of uses. Disgust can be a form of virtue, if it is used to express appropriate behavior, such as mourning. More often, however, disgust is used to shame those who are behaving inappropriately, especially by comparing them to the effeminate, or the poor. At the same time, these usages show how satiric authors play with the display of disgusting people, places, and things within satire, or what the definition of disgust might be within a satiric context. This dialogue with disgust is played out on the streets of the urban landscape, which included its own particular sites of disgust.

Lexicon, Part IIA

Streets and Walking

An *angiportus* (or the alternative *angiportum*) is a narrow alleyway, from the combination of *angustus*, "narrow," and *portus*, "entrance or retreat." The word is used with relative frequency in Plautus, because a corridor ran through the back of the *scaenae frons* that could be conveniently described as an alleyway, and is generally used to refer to an alleyway that led up to the house through the garden.²³ It is typically a means for slaves to move around, or people who want to be discreet²⁴—already the association is with low social status and shameful activities. When a freeborn man uses the *angiportus* to return home, it is because he is attempting to avoid his wife's anger. When a freeborn visitor tries to use the *angiportus* to navigate the city, he becomes lost (*Pseudolus* 961). When Plautus describes the *angiportus* as a place where

23. On the stage in Plautine comedy, see Marshall 2006: 33-36.

24. So in *Asinaria* 741 (*per hortum... clam*), *Mostellaria* 1044/45-6 (*ad hortum... clanculum*), *Persa* 444 (to the forum from the house), 678 (*per hortum*).

people or things belong, instead of a space to move through, the picture is even more negative. In *Pseudolus*, the freeborn Simo looks for a pimp in the *angiportus*, and cannot find him as his house is indistinguishable from the others in the alley. This more negative version of the *angiportus* is picked up in *Cistellaria*, where an *angiportus* is the kind of street in which one might abandon a baby (later found by a female pimp, although she herself is a positive character, 124). It also features in one of the decontextualized fragments from the play: *quae quasi carnificis angiporta purigans* ("who, purging the alleyways like the executioner's....," 384, via Non. 190M). Executioners are hated characters in general (see below), and Plautus emphasizes that that disgust comes as much from fear as it does with a general revulsion for the dead. This fragmented passage has been placed in the context of a prostitute denigrating her competition. Even so, it is difficult to tell without a secure placement whether the *angiporta* are the innocent victims of this purge, and in that sense synonymous with slave bodies, or the *angiporta* are the natural abodes of executioners and other lowlives.

It is this latter meaning that is picked up in later texts. Catullus mentions it in conjunction with *quadrivia*: both are sites where Lesbia, the lover who has scorned him, now has sex with other men (58.4-5). The word does not fit into dactylic hexameter, so it does not appear in the verse satires, although Horace does use it once in the Odes. There it is the inevitable haunt of a woman past her prime: *invicem moechos anus arrogantis / flebis in solo levis angiportu* ("When you're an old woman, you in turn will weep over disdainful adulterers, inconsequential in your lonely little alleyway," 1.25.9-10). Both texts imply that the *angiportus* was a typical place to find sex or prostitution, or at least women outside the house, but not completely exposed to public view, which fits with the description of it in Plautus. Both texts also imply a hierarchy in the way they relate to space: the basic meaning of the *angiportus* as a passageway remains

true for male citizens in the text, but women are static in them once they have been consigned there by the authors.

Although it interestingly does not appear in the extant *Satyricon*, whose characters often find themselves in narrow alleyways, it is picked up again by Apuleius. Milo, a character known for his miserliness despite his great wealth, lives in a house outside of the city that looks out on an alleyway (*Met.* 1.21), referring again to the *angiportus* as a passageway that led up to the back of a house. The *angiportus* is also a symbol of Milo's needless poverty; although one of the wealthiest men in town, he lives outside of the city in a tiny house (*exiguo lare*) with a view of an alleyway. This first description of the house puts it outside the city (*extra pomerium et urbem*), but later, in book 3, Lucius is arrested and dragged off by two lictors into the *angiportus*, at which point the entire city (*civitas omnis*) suddenly swarms them (3.2).²⁵ Here, the *angiportus* serves to connect the city with the house outside of it. Similarly, when a fuller discovers an adulterer in his house, he drags him half-dead to the alleyway outside of his house (9.25).

The *compita* (-orum, n.), crossroads, is ubiquitous in the city, although like the *quadrivium* it is not limited to urban space, and there are references to the *compita* of small towns. Horace, for instance, refers to a gladiator who fights at the *pagos* and *compita* (*Ep.* 1.1.49-51)—these *compita* are the main squares of small towns, and perhaps metonymous for the festival associated with them, the Compitalia.²⁶ But *compita* are both more prevalent, visible,

25. Lucius is then led through the city's *plateae*, broader streets referred to frequently in Plautus (*Am.* 1011, *Aul.* 407, *Bac.* 632, *Capt.* 795, *Cas.* 799, *Cist.* 534, *Cur.* 278, *Men.* 881, *Mil.* 609, *Trin.* 840, 1006), but otherwise only in Apuleius (*Met.* 2.18, 27, 32; 3.2; 4.14, 29; 8.6, 24; 9.21; 10.34; 11.7, 9). Catullus mentions them dismissively as the place where the *populus* goes about its business (15.7), but in general *platea* is an unmarked word for "street."

26. Meyer 1994: 98.

and significant in the city. In book two of Horace's satires, a character named Damasippus who has lost all of his money recalls that he used to be so good at business that men on streetcorners remarked on it: *frequentia Mercuriali / imposuere mihi cognomen compita* ("The busy streetcorners gave me the nickname 'Mercury Man,'" *S.* 2.3.25-26). The *compita* here are crowded, and represent both the commerce that Horace frequently abuses in his satires, and people who hang out in the street. In fact, Horace here completely passes over the people in these streets and writes as if the streets themselves named Damasippus. This reference also implies that *compita*, like the barbershop (below), are a place of public gossip, and Horace says as much in the sixth satire of his second book: *manat per compita rumor* ("Rumor trickles through the crossroads," *S.* 2.6.50).

But the *compita* also maintain their strong association with the shrines of the Lares Compitales present at every crossroads. In the third satire, Damasippus also describes a freedman who attempts to prolong his life by praying at various *compita* (*S.* 2.3.281-83). Frances Muecke comments that freedmen were strongly associated with the gods of the *compita*, the *lares compitales*, because of the festival associated with them, the *Compitalia*, even though it had nominally been banned in 64 BC.²⁷ Here Horace uses them to comment not only on the freedman, who is trying to prolong his life at the expense of his dignity, but by inference on the crossroads themselves: they are the sort of place where a silly freedman prays.

27. The festival continued to be observed (according to Cicero *ad Att.* II.3), and the ban was ultimately lifted by Augustus, who integrated the *Compitalia* into the imperial cult. See below, as well as in chapter 5, for a more thorough discussion of the *Compitalia* and their relationship with the emperor and neighborhoods.

Persius uses the *compita* similarly: the Compitalia is an occasion for the miser to show publicly how stingy he is (4.28-32). Crossroads appear again in the next satire, although they are metaphorical: when Persius recounts the doubts of his youth that led him to his Socratic mentor Cornutus, he envisions himself *ramosa in compita*, "at the branching crossroads" (5.35, discussed in more detail below in chapter 3). The metaphor has shades of the real, however, since only a few lines earlier Persius had summed up the many distracting temptations available to young men by describing how becoming a man had made the whole Subura available to him (5.32-33).

Like Horace, Juvenal also mentions the *compita* in the context of gossip: the rich man can have no secrets, because his slaves spread rumors about him, and a drunk man will wander through the crossroads (*per compita*) to spill out his story, whether you want to hear it or not (9.112-113). Martial mentions the *compita* twice: once as the place through which the butcher carries the grisly guts of a slaughtered animal (6.64.19-21), and once as one of the sites that can be used to summarize the entire city (along with banquets, the forum, temples, porticoes, and *tabernae*, 7.97.11-12).

A *pondus* in the context of the city streets was a stepping stone, similar to the kind extant in Pompeii and Herculaneum.²⁸ Horace describes a candidate for office who is forced by a slave to go *trans pondera* in order to curry favor with men of different tribes (*Ep.* 1.6.51). In mocking

28. Listed in the OLD definition of *pondus* under 5d; see also *CIL* 1.681 (also listed as *CIL* 10.3789), which commemorates the building of stepping-stones and pavement (*pondera et pavimentum*) by a freedman and number of slaves.

the candidate, Horace implies that the *pondera* were not very effective in keeping mud and other refuse off of pedestrians: politicking is like wading through muck, not skipping lightly over it.

The *trivium* and the *quadrivium* are crossroads, of three and four roads respectively. The adjective form *trivialis* also appears in Apuleius and Juvenal. *Quadrivium* is only used twice in the authors of this survey, and very rarely in Latin generally.²⁹ Catullus compares the *quadrivium* with the *angiporta* (see above): both will be the haunts of his once beloved Lesbia, who is now reduced to prostitution (58.4-5). Juvenal, on the other hand, pictures himself standing at the *quadrivium* while he writes his satires, since it is there that he can see all the problems in the city (1.63-63).

The *trivium* appears more regularly. Catullus comments that people he dislikes dine everywhere, while his friends are stuck begging for invitations *in trivio* (47.7). Horace goes further and imagines the *trivium* as the typical site of scams: *nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat / fracto crure planum* ("Nor does the man who's been laughed at before care to lift up the con artist with the broken leg at the crossroads" *Ep.* 1.17.58-59).³⁰ In the *Ars Poetica*, Horace argues that one should not force out filthy jokes as if they were from the crossroads or the marketplace (*velut innati triviis ac paene forenses*, 245). In the *Satyricon*, an old woman asks Encolpius: *quae striges comederunt nervos tuos, aud quod purgamentum in nocte calcasti in*

29. It is used by only two other authors, according to a survey of the Packard Humanities Institute: once by Pacuvius (*trag.* 398-99), and three times by Servius in his commentaries on Vergil (*A.* 4.609.6; *B.* 3.26.1; *G.* 2.382.1).

30. The *trivium* appears elsewhere in the *Epistles* as a place to find loose change (*Ep.* 1.16.64), and in the satires as somewhere an annoying friend might hunt you down (*S* 1.8.59).

trivio aut cadaver ("What screech owl has stolen your wits, or what garbage or corpse did you step on at the crossroads during the night?" 134.2).

In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, the long-lost Socrates is discovered by his friend Aristomenes, sitting on the ground in rags, like a beggar at the crossroads: *humi sedebat scissili palliastro semiamictus, paene alius lurore, ad miseram maciem deformatus, qualia solent fortunae decermina stipes in triuiis erogare* ("He sat on the ground half-covered by a shredded cloak, nearly unrecognizable because of his paleness, reduced to the point of wretched thinness, like the sort of useless sticks of Fortune who are in the habit of begging for alms at the crossroads," *Met.* 1.6). Later, when Lucius is describing with disgust the man who has bought him, a devotee of the Syrian goddess Atargatis, he calls him *unum de triviali popularium faece* ("one from among the dregs of the crossroads, full of common people," *Met.* 8.24).³¹ Here, the crossroads is combined with a more figurative use of *faex*. The lowest people of the city are compared to a low or disgusting form of food. As I discuss below for several authors, the city is consistently referred to as both disgusting and consumable for satire's audience. Lastly, Juvenal mentions the *trivium* only once, as the site where a woman prone to gossip finds people to bore with her stories (6.412). He does also use the adjective *triviale*, however, to describe with disdain a "cross-road song from the common mint," (*communi... carmen triviale moneta*, 7.55). Unlike a good poet's song, which is rarified and not from a "public vein" (*publica vena*, 7.53), the low song is publicly visible, accessible, and of the people. Again, social mixing and unrestricted access lie at the heart of the crossroads as a form of disgust.

31. The word *trivium* also appears one other time in Apuleius, but it does not seem to be marked (*Met.* 6.29).

Lexicon IIB

Public Sites and Places of Commerce

The baths are typically referred to as *balnea* or *thermae*: *balnea* are smaller and privately owned, while *thermae* are the public baths funded by the emperors beginning with the *thermae Agrippae* under Augustus. The *thermae* are only mentioned in Juvenal and Martial. As a result of the imperial building programs, baths are a more frequent topic in imperial literature, although there is a Republican precedent. Catullus writes strong invective against thieves in the baths (33.1). Horace considers them, along with games, to be some of the most typical urban pleasures that one might long for in the country (*Ep.* 1.14.15). But, like bookshops and theaters, Horace associates them with the ignominious masses: unlike other poets, he only recites his poetry for small groups at parties, instead of in the baths (*lavantes S.* 1.4.76). In the *Satyricon*, the public baths are where the story's protagonists first meet Trimalchio. His odd bathing games and habits are described at some length (27-28), and again in Trimalchio's private bath (73). Characters in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* visit the baths on several occasions, but it is never a site of disgust.

For Martial, disgust at the baths comes primarily from the naked bodies one might find there, especially bodies that are deformed, or disgusting for their sexual practices (1.23; 2.42, 48, 70; 3.3, 51, 72, 87, 93; 7.82, 12.83). He also makes reference to annoying acquaintances harassing people at the baths, along with theaters and public restrooms (5.44.10). Similarly, Juvenal uses the baths as a *locus* for social upheaval: slaves patronize them (6.375, 11.56-58), as well as women, especially women who act like men (6.419-25, 446-47). Renting out a bath is undignified labor (7.3-4, along with renting out a bakery, *furnos*). Lastly, he discusses a more pragmatic disgust with baths: they are filled with people covered in dirt (7.131).

The *caupona* was a place that sold either goods or food, similar to a *taberna* (discussed below) and run by a *caupo* (spelled alternatively *copo* from Petronius onward).³² Like the *taberna* it is not specific to the city, although Horace uses it to stand for city life in an epistle about escaping to the country: *si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum, / si laedit caupona* ("If dust and the rattle of wheels [i.e. in the city], / if the shop annoys you", *Ep.* 1.17.7-8). In the *Satires* the *caupo* is untrustworthy (*perfidus*, *S.* 1.1.29). When Horace describes Forum Appii, a town near Rome, the *caupones* are part of what make it unappealing: *differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis* ("[The town was] stuffed with sailors and stingy shopkeepers," *S.* 1.5.3-4). Lucilius mentions a *caupona*, described as *Syra*, once in the extant texts (3.128); Marx argues that here this noun denotes, not the inn itself, but a female *caupo*, who happens to hear some sailors in the middle of the night. Marx also believes that Juvenal might have had this verse in mind when he described the influx of Syrians into Rome.³³

The use of *caupo* is not only limited to the running of the *caupona*, as in Petronius, where a *caupo* runs the *stabulum* (97.1, which has individual *cellas*, 97.7; see below on the *stabulum*) in which the protagonists are hiding (98.1).³⁴ In Apuleius, a *caupo* is a malevolent witch (mentioned as such at *Met.* 1.7, 1.8, although the story about her is longer). Martial mentions a rural *caupo* (3.58.24) who delights in hunting for local game to cook, as part of his praise for a country estate. The *copo* appears in the next epigram as the punchline of a joke that begins with

32. See Richlin 2017: 152-53 on the *caupona* in Plautus.

33. 1905: 62. Marx also explains that in this instance the *caupona* is, like *lena*, a feminine word formed from the masculine, and refers to the tavern as much as the woman. See also the *copa Syrisca* of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, discussed below.

34. The novel also has another *caupo*, Terentius, the husband of Melissa, mentioned in passing (*Sat.* 61).

a cobbler and a fuller: *sutor Cerdo dedit tibi, culta Bononia, munus, / fullo dedit Mutinae: nunc ubi copo dabit?* ("Cerdo the cobbler offered games to you, elegant Bononia, / and a fuller did so at Mutina—when will the shopkeeper offer one?" 3.59.1-2). The shopkeeper is, at least for the sake of the joke, an even more banausic profession than fuller or cobbler, and one without the same potential for wealth. Martial in general uses the *copo* as a typically low trade: when Domitian clears the streets with a new ordinance, the *copo* is one of the professions to keep back (7.61.9). Lastly, Juvenal describes the *caupona* as a place of gossip, especially amongst slaves (9.108). He mentions the *caupo* with contempt in a description of the activity of the poor in the Circus Maximus, when a poor woman consults a soothsayer about whether she will divorce her husband, a *caupo*, for a man who sells rags (6.589-91; see below for a discussion of Volteius Mena, another salesman of the urban masses).

The words for brothel are *fornix* and *lupanar*, although there are also references to brothels that either do not use a particular term, or take over another space (e.g. *stabulum*, discussed below). *Fornix* originally meant only "an arch," and before the Augustan era is used interchangeably with *arcus*. Arches were clearly common places to find prostitutes: *fornix* eventually extends to mean any place of prostitution, but is still used by later satirists to mean actual arches where one could find prostitutes. Catullus mentions the brothel in conjunction with mud: *o lutum, lupanar, / aut si perditius potest quid esse!* ("Oh you mud, you whorehouse, / or if there's anything that can possibly be more ruined!" 42.13-14). In *Poenulus*, the slave Syncerastus goes on a tirade against his master, a pimp, whom he describes as dirty (*luteus*, 826) and "smeared with mud" (*caeno conlitus*, 826). The brothel where he works (*apud lenonem*, 826), is described at greater length (831-35):

quodvis genus ibi hominum videas, quasi Acheruntem veneris,
equitem peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitivom velis,
verberatum, vinctum, addictum: qui habet quod det, ut homo est,
omnia genera recipiuntur; itaque in totis aedibus
tenebrae latebrae, bibitur estur quasi in popina, hau secus.

You'd see every kind of person possible there, as if you'd come to a sort of Acheron—whether you're looking for the knight, the foot-soldier, the freedman, the thief or the fugitive, beaten, bound, in bonds of debt—if he's got something to give, as long as he's human, they take all kinds; and so throughout the whole house it's dark, it's a cave, and people drink and eat there like they do in a dive bar, no different.

The first person listed in the brothel is the *eques*, someone of wealth and high social rank, but afterwards the lists descends rapidly into society's dregs. As with the *popina* (discussed below), the primary source of disgust in prostitution for elite satiric authors is social mixing. Horace also compares the brothel to the *popina*, and connects them to city life: *fornix tibi et uncta popina / incutiunt urbis desiderium* ("It's the brothel and the greasy dive bar / that inspire your desire for the city," *Ep.* 1.14.21-22).

The *Satyricon* provides a somewhat different picture of what went on in a brothel. The protagonist of the novel, Encolpius, finds himself lost and asks an old woman (selling vegetables,) for directions. She leads him to a place he does not recognize (7.4):

subinde ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana reiecit et 'hic' inquit 'debes habitare'. cum ego negarem me agnoscere domum, video quosdam inter titulos nudasque meretrices furtim spatiantes. tarde, immo iam sero intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum.

And then just as we came to a more hidden location, the old city woman drew back the ragged curtain and said: "Here's where you should dwell." While I was denying that I recognized the house, I see placards advertising sex acts, and men, and naked prostitutes walking around discretely. Finally, now too late I realized I had been led to a brothel.

Encolpius then finds his friend Ascyltos in the brothel, because he has also been tricked into going there by someone claiming to give him directions who ultimately attempts to pay him for sex. One of the prostitutes had already taken a fee for the room (*cella*, 8). As I discuss below in

my chapter on Petronius, this description of the brothel is part of the slum tourism that Petronius engages in through the *Satyricon*. The brothel is simultaneously novel and unknown, and dirty and disgusting. It also has the potential to turn people into prostitutes, threatening social order. It is particularly representative of the night city that Petronius keeps returning to: an otherworldly and dislocated version of the city in which social hierarchies break down.

Petronius's description of the working of the brothel is similar to Juvenal's, when he describes the empress Messalina sneaking out of the palace at night to visit one (6.120-124):

sed nigrum flauo crinem abscondente galero
intrauit calidum ueteri centone lupanar
et cellam uacuam atque suam; tunc nuda papillis
prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae...

But, hiding her black hair with a blonde wig,
she entered the sultry brothel with its old ragged curtain,
and went into her own empty cell: then, naked and with gilded nipples,
she stood for sale, pretending on her placard that her name was "She-Wolf"...

Both brothels are screened by a *cento*, a curtain made of various rags sewn together.³⁵ The prostitutes also have placards, *tituli*, that identify them, and each has a *cella* where they work and collect their fee. A few lines later, Juvenal describes the brothel by implication when the empress returns to the imperial palace: she is dirty (*foeda*) from the smoke of the lanterns (131), and brings the smell (*odorem*) of the brothel back to the royal bed (132). Juvenal's description is in part motivated by his delight in juxtaposing an empress and the palace with a dirty brothel, but its bad smell is also mentioned in Horace, when he says that some men only prefer women *olenti in fornice* ("in the reeking brothel," *S.* 1.2.30). Here the separation between the brothel and the

35. The *cento* appears in the fragments of Lucilius, but as a metaphor for lying (28.747; *suere centonem optume*), and as a blanket on a cot (30.1061).

rest of the city is not a curtain but height, as men must descend down into it (*huc... descendere*, 34).³⁶ Juvenal refers to the *carcer* of a *fornix* (10.239, a comparison to the starting gates of the Circus Maximus, which were also archways), and makes other references to the smell associated with prostitution (10.238, 11.173). Martial calls the *fornix* "black" (12.61.8), and makes several references to a particular prostitute named Leda in a brothel in the Subura (3.82.3, 4.4.9), emphasizing that brothels allowed sex to be purchased with a certain amount of privacy (11.61.3-4). He uses the word *lupanar* only once, when it is the last point of resistance to the sense of decorum Domitian has imposed on the city (9.5.9). Apuleius labels the *lupanar* with different words for unclean (*spurci sordidique*, *Met.* 7.10), and makes reference to the kissing that goes on in brothels, disgusting because these kisses are so commercial (*M.* 10.21).

The most common word for prostitute is *meretrix*, itself a loaded term because of its emphasis on earning money (as in the modern "working girl"), but prostitutes are frequently referred to by the even more pejorative *scortum*.³⁷ Prostitutes are by no means limited to the brothel, or even the city, and since references to them are numerous, I have focused on the references that connect them to a location, which is typically urban and public. Horace, for instance, says pipe-playing prostitutes are one of the things lacking in country life (*Ep.* 1.14.25-26). He also describes prostitutes who sell themselves publicly (*S.* 1.2.84-85):

adde huc quod mercem sine fucis gestat, aperte
quod venale ostendit nec, si quid honesti est,
iactat habetque palam, quaerit quod turpia celet.

36. It is possible to read *descendere* metaphorically, especially since the literal "lowness" of the brothel is not mentioned elsewhere.

37. On the terms for prostitutes and prostitution, see Adams 1983, Marshall 2013, and Witzke 2015.

In addition [to the fact that she is frequently prettier than matrons] is the fact that she carries her merchandise without any makeup, she openly offers up what she's got for sale and doesn't flaunt and publicize whatever's good, while trying to hide the ugly stuff.

They are compared with citizen's wives, who are hidden, "surrounded by a defensive ditch" (*vallo circumdata*, 96) made up of their attendants and their clothes. The comparison focuses on actions the women take and clothes they wear, but is also mapped out onto the location of women in the city: prostitutes are (or at least should be) associated with public space, and matrons with private. When Juvenal describes the influx of Greek people and culture, the list ends with women who will be ordered to prostitute themselves publicly at the Circus Maximus (*ad circum iussas prostare puellas*, 3.65).

Like the brothel, the *popina* is a fundamental feature of the urban underbelly. I have translated it as "dive bar," even though references tend to focus more on the food than the drinking. Like the dive bar, the *popina* serves greasy meat that is both disgusting and appealing ("bar food"). Both cater to a variety of people, although they are in general associated with the poor and whatever other people the author judges undesirable. As often as the social elite go there, they are always slumming when they do. Lucilius mentions the *popina* in a brief but cutting fragment in his poem on the council of the gods: *infamem incestam turpemque odisse popinam* ("That he hated the notorious, defiled, foul dive bar," Marx 11).³⁸ The relationship of this fragment to the other fragments is unclear, but Friedrich Marx pairs it with descriptions of other things and people associated with luxury (Marx 1905: 12-16). Whatever the context, the

38. *Infamam* is marked with a dagger in Marx's text, although losing this word hardly takes away from the impact of the description as a whole. On *infamia* see Edwards 1997.

implication is that morally upright men should not like the *popina*—and that probably they really did.

As is the case today for dive bars, however, there are hints that *popinae* may have been a less complicated pleasure for the non-elite communities they served. In the prologue of *Poenulus*, as seen above, the speaker heckles the different kinds of audience members. During this speech, he orders slaves attending their owners (*pedisequi*) to run over to the *popinae* while the cheese pastries (*scriblitae*, 43) are still hot (41-43).³⁹ This passage is one of the few references to the *popina* that does not seem to be judging anyone for enjoying its wares, even elsewhere in Plautus. In *Poenulus*, the slave Syncerastus compares the brothel he works in to a *popina* in order to convey how disgusting it is: both feature eating and drinking, although this is typical of a *popina* and is worth more comment in a brothel (834-45; this also has large wine jugs in it).

The pairing of these two places—brothel and *popina*—reurs in Horace: when he complains about missing the city while in the countryside, the city is summed up by the *popina* and a brothel (*Ep.* 1.14.21-22, see above on the brothel). Later in the poem he pairs prostitution with a shop (*taberna*) that serves wine, in a way that is clearly meant to recall the earlier pairing of the brothel and the *popina*. By inference the *popina* continues after Plautus to be known as a place for cheap drinks, although when Horace mentions it in his satires it is as a good place for greasy food. While he is making fun of gastronomy, Horace names the *popina*'s food as the accompaniment par excellence for heavy drinking: *stomachus perna magis et magis hillis / flagitat immorsus refici; quin omnia malit / quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis* ("The

39. *Scriblitae* are also mentioned in the *Satyricon* (35). A recipe for them is also given by Cato (*Ag.* 78).

bitten stomach demands to be refreshed more with ham, and more with sausages; and above all it prefers whatever is hot, brought in from filthy dive bars," *S.* 2.4.62).⁴⁰ The joke depends on the *popina's* bad reputation.

A few satires later, the *popina* is the haunt of men with no taste or self-control: Horace's hanger-on Mulvius admits that he is a *popino*, a dive bar patron (*S.* 2.7.39).⁴¹ The theme of the satire is taste: what is proper for freeborn men and slaves to enjoy, and whether they are ultimately different. Mulvius admits that he goes to *popinae*, but accuses Horace of doing the equivalent by scurrying after Maecenas's every invitation to dinner (40-42). Earlier in the poem, the wealthy Priscus oscillates between extravagant wealth and slumming, which includes where he spends his time in the city: *aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet unde / mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste* ("From great houses he'd suddenly go where a somewhat morally upright freedman would scarcely get away with virtue intact," *S.* 2.7.11-12). The *popina* is not named explicitly, and this may also be a reference to a brothel, but reinforces the division between spaces for the poor (who have no taste) and the wealthy (who ought to). The *popina* receives so much attention from authors addressing the wealthy because it is consistently a place for the poor that is enjoyed by the wealthy.

40. Muecke 1993: 174 says this is a reference to street-vendors and refers to Cicero, *In Pisonem* 13, where a man also turns to the *popina* for food that goes with heavy drinking: *meministine, caenum, cum ad te quinta fere hora cum C. Pisone venissem, nescio quo e gurgustio te prodire involuto capite soleatum, et, cum isto ore foetido taeterrimam nobis popinam inhalasses...?* ("Do you remember, filthy man, when at about the fifth hour I had come with Gaius Piso, and you had come out of some hut in your girly slip-ons, with your head wrapped up—and when you exhaled the foulest dive bar on us with that rotting mouth of yours?"). This does not seem to be a reference to street-vendors: Piso has come out of a *gurgustium*, a rare word for a hut or hovel that seems meant to be a more exciting name for the *popina*, which is buried in the next clause. Cicero refers several times to *popinae*, and always with the greatest disgust (*In Pisonem* 18, *Philippicae* 2.69, 3.20, 13.24). Martial does, as discussed below, refer to a cook who carries around sausages from *popinae* (1.41.10).

41. This noun form only appears in two other places, both on satire: in a fragment of Varro (*Menippeae* 308), and in a description of a satire against Sallust, written by Pompeius Lenaeus and described by Suetonius (*De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* 15.2).

Similarly, in the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius uses the *popina* in adjective form to describe a wealthy nobleman who spends his time with cheap pleasures: *clarus et pecuniae fuit satis locuples, sed luxuriae popinalis scortisque et diurnis potationibus exercitatus atque ob id factionibus latronum male sociatus nec non etiam manus infectus humano cruore* ("He was a nobleman and was rich enough, but well-practiced in whores and day-drinking, typical of dive bar luxury, and on account of that he was friends with gangs of thieves in a bad way, and even had no little stain of human blood on his hands," 8.1). Apuleius refers to the *popina* only one other time in the rest of his corpus, where it is paired with the "shadowy latrines" in a description of the low parts of the soul (*latrinarum tenebras*, *Pl.* 1.13). But the other side of *popina* is represented in the *Satyricon*. The *popina* appears only once in the text, although in general this text uses more words associated with the places of the poor than the other texts; this one use is markedly neutral. There it is the obvious place that Eumolpus might look for Giton, if Giton had not given away where he was hiding under the bed with a sneeze (98). Eumolpus is annoyed at the idea that he might have wandered around the *popinae* like a fool, but not at the *popinae* per se, and is not insulting Giton for being someone who visits them. As in *Poenulus*, the *popina* is just a place slaves go to.

Juvenal's satire is typically composed of juxtapositions of high and low (discussed at length in chapter 5), and unsurprisingly picks up on the *popina's* association with these extremes. In a passage that resembles the Plautine description of the brothel, Juvenal describes the *popina* as a chaotic *mélange* when he urges the emperor to look for his own official there (8.172-76):

mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina:
 inuenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
 permixtum nautis et furibus et fugitivis,
 inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
 et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.

Send your legate [to Ostia], but look for him in the big dive bar:
you'll find him lying there with some murderer,
all mixed up with sailors and thieves and runaways,
amongst the executioners and the coffin-makers
and the silent drums of the passed-out eunuch priest.

Unlike other authors who consider the *popina* inappropriate because of the social mixing that goes on there, Juvenal typically raises the stakes: the *popina* is home not just to the poor and slaves, but especially to low slaves (like ditch-diggers, below), criminals, foreign priests, and people who handle the dead. Again, Juvenal sums the *popina* up as a source of disgust by emphasizing not its low patrons but its equal access: *aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus / non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli* ("There is equal liberty there, cups to be shared, no bed / for each person individually, and no table is farther from any other," 8.177-78; see below for a more thorough discussion of this passage in the context of Juvenal's works). Juvenal is also the only one to mention the *popina* as a place that can be visited at night, even late at night (*pervigiles... popinas* 8.158).

In the eleventh satire, he describes the food that might be found in a *popina*, as a contrast with what the hearty Romans of yesteryear ate (11.78-81):

... Curius paruo quae legerat horto
ipse focus breuibus ponebat holuscula, quae nunc
squalidus in magna fastidit conpede fossor,
qui meminit calidae sapiat quid uolua popinae.

Curius himself used to put humble vegetables,
which he had picked himself, on his measly hearth —
vegetables that nowadays a dirty ditch-digger in big shackles would look down on,
as he remembers what the sow's womb of the hot dive bar tastes like.

The *volva*, sow's womb, is mentioned frequently as a favorite dish.⁴² *Holus*, "cheap vegetables," are elsewhere handled with disgust, but as here can be incorporated into a noble version of poverty—not so with the *popina*.⁴³ Martial refers to smoked sausages (*fumantia tomacla*) from the *popina* being sold on the streets (1.41.10), among other cheap goods for the tasteless plebs (1.41.3-13).⁴⁴ The sausages are being carried around, implying a kind of flexibility for the term *popina* that Martial returns to elsewhere: when the client Syricus (whose name might indicate a foreign background) is made rich by his patron, he spends his money wandering around *in sellariolis... popinis* ("in sitting rooms with snacks for sale," 5.70.3). Here the *popina* is functioning as a kind of adjective to describe the tiny rooms off the main rooms of the baths. Similarly, the *popina* spills out onto the street in the epigram concerning Domitian's new law banning such obstacles: *nec... / occupat aut totas nigra popina vias* ("Nor does the dark dive bar occupy every street," 7.61.7-8). It is the hangout for drunks and gamblers: *arcana modo raptus e popina / aedilem rogat udus aleator* ("Now, snatched out of some hidden dive bar, / the soaking gambler begs the aedile," 5.84.4-5).

Martial uses the *popina* as the epitome of bad taste, when he insults a man, Dento, who has refused Martial's invitation to dinner in favor of a wealthier man's invitation. Martial refers sarcastically to the *fastidium* of the *popina*: *cum fastidierit popina dives, / antiquae venies ad*

42. See Horace *Ep.* 15.41, where *volva* is praised by Maenius, a spendthrift sometime *scurra*, as worth losing one's inheritance for.

43 See in chapter 3, on Petronius, who depicts an old woman in the city street selling vegetables (*agreste holus*, *Sat.* 7.1, also discussed above).

44. Martial is the only author to refer to the *popina*'s goods traveling: *fumantia qui tomacla raucus / circumfert tepidis cocus popinis* ("The cook who carries around smoking sausages from heated dive bars," 1.41.9-10).

ossa cenae ("When the wealthy dive bar is disgusted with you, / you'll come to the bones of your old dinner [with me]," 5.44.10-11). Martial is combining two insults in one: the wealthy house Dento has been invited to will eventually kick him out when they recognize him as worthless, but Martial sharpens the insult by referring to the wealthy house as a *popina*, so that Dento is found wanting by the lowest eating place possible.⁴⁵

A *stabulum* is generally a dwelling, and can be used to describe the housing of both animals and people. For people, however, it is especially associated with humble places, like a motel, and in an urban or semi-urban context can take on connotations of prostitution. The most explicit example comes from outside satire and epigram: *stabulum* is used in conjunction with *fornix* by Suetonius to describe Julius Caesar's relationship with Nicomedes (*stabulum Nicomedis et Bithynicum fornicem, Vit. Caes.* 49). *Stabulum* is also used as a term of abuse, especially in Plautus: *stabulum nequitiae* ("den of iniquity," *Cas.* 159), *servitricium* ("of slavery," *Per.* 418), *flagiti* ("of the whip," *Truc.* 587). The sense of the *stabulum* as a sleazy lodging is emphasized by all of these epithets. In *Poenulus* it is used to refer to a brothel, one of a list of places especially cheap prostitutes smell of (268).⁴⁶ The term is not used with this meaning in verse satire, however, and is used only once in epigram to describe a lodging for people. Martial makes fun of a man for using fine china everywhere he goes, even *in stabulo* (6.94.3). The list begins with other people's houses in the city, and moves on first to his own home, then to the *stabulum*, and finally a field or farm (*in agro*, 3); a *stabulum* is somewhere

45. On *fastidium* and its role in social hierarchy, see above.

46. See Richlin 2005: 208; the other two are streetcorners (by inference from *statum*, standing, 268) and toilets (*sellam et sessibulum merum*).

between them. In the novels, it is used to mean lodgings in the city. The rooms it describes vary, but the protagonists who frequent them are poor and worthy of contempt (Petronius *Sat.* 6, 8, 16, 79, 97, and Apuleius *Met.* 1.4, 15, 17; 3.26, 27, 28; 4.1, 3, 4, 6; 6.6; 7.27, 28; 9.2, 4, 32; 10.1; 11.16; see below for a discussion of the role these rooms play in Petronius's tour of the urban underworld).

The *taberna* is usually translated as "tavern," but is in general a shop: either for wine and food, or for crafts, or for sex. As lodging it is primarily associated with the poor, or with shopkeepers who also live there. As a term of abuse it is associated with prostitution. Catullus uses it as a term of abuse when he is discussing his travels through the Mediterranean in the context of the goddess Venus's many temples: Dyrrachium is the "tavern of the Adriatic" (*Hadriae tabernam*, 36.15), a possible reference to the *taberna's* association with prostitution.⁴⁷ Catullus inveighs against the *taberna* in the next poem, where it is the lecherous (*salax*, 37.1) hangout of Catullus's rivals for his girlfriend. Interestingly, Catullus locates this *taberna* within the city with reference a temple to Castor and Pollux, possibly the one in the forum: *a pilleatis nona fratribus pila* ("at the ninth pillar from the brothers in hats," 37.2). Angry at the men inside the *taberna*, Catullus promises to cover the front of it with pictures of penises (37.10), a prime example of the conflation between despicable people in the city and the sites they haunt. In the *Copa*, a drunk woman dances sexily in a "smoky tavern" (*fumosa taberna*, *Copa* 3). Although she is drunk, dancing is her job, and she is as much a part of the *taberna* as the smoke. Juvenal will later play with this idea in his description of the empress Messalina, who works as a

47. Morgan 1980: 63-65 ultimately reads this passage as part of Catullus's literary criticism of the *Annales Volusi*, but also discusses the cultural meaning of the *taberna*.

prostitute by night, and who will bring in the smoke of the brothel to the imperial palace in Juvenal's satire (6.131-32).

Tabernae are not restricted to the city, although Horace identifies them as a pleasure only to be found there: *nec vicina subest vinum praeberere taberna / quae possit tibi* ("Nor [in the country] is there a tavern nearby / that could offer you wine," *Ep.* 1.14.24-25).⁴⁸ Although they are pleasurable when they sell wine, Horace includes the *taberna* in negative descriptions of labor. He insists that Alfenus is still a barber even after he has thrown away his tools and closed his *taberna* (*S.* 1.3.131; see below on the *tonsor*). He also distinguishes his writing from that of other poets by saying that he does not sell his books in a shop: *nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos, / quis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli* ("No shop, nor its column out front, is holding my little books, / which the hands of the crowd and Hermogenes Tigellius sweat all over," *S.* 1.4.71-72).⁴⁹ Just as Alfenus has all the marks of the shop even though he no longer occupies it, the shop—and its goods—has the marks of the people who frequent it: their sweat, in this case. Rather than jeering, laughing, or dismissing, Horace imagines the physical touching and the staining it engenders when he pictures the urban crowd. In the *Ars Poetica*, *tabernae* are dark (*obscuras tabernas*, 229), and in the *Odes* they are the natural abodes of the poor (*pauperum tabernas*, *C.* 1.4.13).⁵⁰

Like Horace, Martial says books are sold in *tabernae* (1.3.1, 1.117.10, 1.117.14, 7.97.12). In 7.97 the *taberna* is one of the selective list of places that make up the entire city, all of which

48. The line continues with a description of a performing prostitute *meretrix tibicina* (*Ep.* 1.14.25), although she is not necessarily in the *taberna*. This line echoes the pairing of the *fornix* and *popina* of a few lines earlier (21).

49. The *pila*, a column in front of a store that advertised wares within, is also mentioned by Martial (1.118.10-12).

50. In both cases the *tabernae* are the furthest removed from luxury: the clouds of gods (*Ars* 230) and the castles of kings (*C.* 1.4.14).

will know about his books if they become famous.⁵¹ Lastly, Martial uses the *taberna* as a term of abuse for a city crowded with laborers, which Domitian had recently cleared with an ordinance on street frontage: *tonsor, copo, cocus, lanius sua limina servant / nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit* ("The barber, innkeeper, cook, and butcher all keep their own boundaries. / Now Rome exists, where once there was a big shop," 7.61.9-10; see below for an expanded discussion of this poem).

Juvenal refers to the *taberna* exclusively as a shop for tradesmen. It is unmarked in an otherwise abusive description of men who use excessive perfumes (2.42), and appears in an ironic picture of a successful freedman who owns several (1.105). It is also used as a dismissive term for Vulcan's forge (13.45). Juvenal describes the practice of locking up shops at night with a chain (3.304), which Edward Courtney interprets as a possible home for the tenants who have rented the *taberna*.⁵²

The *Satyricon* uses a similar spectrum of meaning in the three times it refers to *tabernae*: once as the lodging of the three main protagonists (80.3, where it is called *humilis*, "humble"), and in the fragments as a metonymy for trade (*frag.* 27). It is also metonymous for the low parts of society in a fragmented speech about Socrates: *Socrates... gloriari solebat, quod numquam neque in tabernam conspexerat nec turbae frequentioris concilio oculos suos crediderat* ("Socrates used to brag that he had never set eyes on a shop, nor entrusted his eyes to the meeting of a very packed crowd," 141.14). Schmeling connects this passage to one by Isocrates

51. The rest of the list is the Forum, temples, crossroads, and porticoes (7.97.11-13; see above on *compita*).

52. Courtney 2013: 522 refers to Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.86.2 in which a flood cuts off people not just outside but *in tabernis et cubilibus* ("in shops and bedrooms"). He also argues that a *taberna* may also be interpreted as a "poorhouse."

in which he complains that the youth spend their time drinking, gambling, and purchasing sex.⁵³ Like the *popina*, the *taberna* is an unmarked site for the poor to congregate, especially from their perspective—as in 80.3, when the characters do not want to sully the *taberna* with violent quarreling. Again, it only becomes a site of disgust when the wealthy, noble, or other elite citizens discuss it as a site they might visit. In the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius refers to *tabernae* exclusively from the point of view of people who either live or work there, or could do so, and so it is unmarked in all four instances (*Met.* 7.6, 9.25, 9.40, 10.9).⁵⁴

The theater, usually *theatrum*, is a frequent topic or location—for this project I have focused on it as a site of disgust. Horace claims that he writes poetry that will not be played out over and over in theaters (*S.* 1.10-37-39), similar to his insistence that his poetry is only for a small crowd and not to be sold in *tabernae* (*S.* 1.4.71-72, discussed above). The few other times that he refers to theaters themselves, it is always with reference to their crowded seating (*Ep.* 2.1.60-61, *Ep.* 1.19.41-42, *Ars* 205), or people who disrupt the hierarchy of theater seating (*Epod.* 4.15). Apuleius similarly refers to the theater's crowding when a town gathers there for a trial (*Met.* 3.2).

Martial begins the prologue to his epigrams with a reference to the festival of the Floralia taking place in a theater; not just the festival but the theater itself is representative of Martial's more defamatory epigrams (*meum theatrum*, 1.*pr.*17, 21). Anger at people who disrupt the

53. Schmeling 2011: 544 refers to *Areop.* 49 and *Antid.* 287.

54. In these instances the *taberna* is a small inn (*tabernacula*) in a coastal town, the shop and house of a fuller, the shop of a friend of a gardener, and a physician's shop respectively. Apuleius also refers to the *taberna* four times in his other works: *Apol.* 57, 62, 87, *Fl.* 7.

proper seating arrangement by class and wealth is a pointed topic (2.29; 5.8, 6.9.1-2), as is the theater's ability to distinguish rank (3.95.9-10, 5.41.8-9). Social mixing at the theater is framed as physical sensation and defilement: *turba non premimur nec inquinamur* ("[With proper seating enforced,] we are not pressed by the crowd nor stained by it," 5.8.9). Similarly, Martial lists the theater along with the baths and public bathrooms as places where an annoying person might try to hunt him down (5.44.5-6).

Juvenal only refers a few times to the *theatrum* by name, although references to actors and shows are frequent and always negative.⁵⁵ These references are mostly generalized, and indignant when actors leave the stage—either because they then assume power in society, or because they maintain a lasting effect on their audience. Two references, however, pay particular attention to their location. The first is in a description of the effect actors have on women as they sit in the *cunea*, the wedge-shaped divisions of the theater (6.61-62), part of a programmatic description of women defiling different parts of the city in this satire. Even once the theater is closed (*vacuo... theatro*, 6.68) and the games are over for the season, women still obsess over performers from every possible theatrical genre (6.68-77).

Similarly, in a later satire Juvenal lingers over the image of a man who has lost all of his money, and so hires himself to be a mime, which Juvenal indicates with a reference to the *siparium* (8.185-6), a curtain that separated the front and back of the stage in performances of mime. When the audience is criticized for watching such a spectacle, Juvenal emphasizes the process of theater (*sedet et spectat*, 8.190). He also refers to the scaffolding of boards, the *pulpita*, when he says that death should be preferable to acting (8.194). Nero's performance on a

55. These include: shows that women attend (6.63-64), women's obsession with actors (6.7, 71-81, 87), and the power and prevalence of actors in general (1.35; 7.87-90, 92; 8.185-99), especially Greek actors (3.94-97).

stage provides an occasion for Juvenal to express simultaneously his disgust with theater, with Greek foreignness, and with citizens (especially nobility) behaving inappropriately: *gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu / prostitui* ("He rejoiced in prostituting himself on foreign stages with his filthy singing," 8.225-26). The theater and its games are a distraction to the true spectacle of life (14.256-64). By comparison, outside of the city the *pulpita* appear in a scene of rustic virtue, where people enjoy the traditional performances and do not dress above their means (3.173-189).

There is a surprisingly large vocabulary for **toilets**. *Matella* and *scaphium* are chamberpots, although other words for basin may be used, such as *pelvis* (see below on Juvenal). Petronius refers to the *matella* several times: as a sign of Trimalchio's wealth, and perhaps his obsession with cleanliness and excess, when he uses a silver one (27.3, 27.5); as a term of abuse for a woman who demands sex from her slaves (45.8); and in an offhand description of a terrified mouse caught in one (58.10). Martial refers to their tendency to leak (12.32.13), and being told to handle one is a form of abuse (10.11.3). Although typically translated as "chamberpot," because they were small and portable, neither the *matella* nor the *scaphium* seem to have been confined to the bedroom. When Trimalchio uses his silver one, he does so outside of the bedroom, although it should be noted that he himself is the object of satire. Roman houses could contain small, individual latrines, but these do not seem to have been separated from the rest of

the house by a door. City latrines were separated from the street by a revolving door, but did not have individual stalls inside.⁵⁶

Juvenal uses many different words for toilets and chamberpots. He is the only author to refer to the *forica*, a public restroom: running a *forica* is one of the lowest trades he can think of, one which hornplayers at gladiator shows (*tibicines*) will ply even after they have become wealthy enough to put on shows themselves (3.36-38). This word is extremely rare even outside of satire and other invective genres: the only other reference to it from antiquity is in the *Digest* (*Dig.* 22.1.17.5).⁵⁷ Juvenal refers in his satire on the city to the danger of being hit with the contents of *pelves* as they are poured out the window (3.275-77). He also uses *matella* and *scaphium*. The statue of the once great Sejanus has been reduced to *matellae* (10.64). A woman who pretends to be a man in other respects still uses a *scaphium*, a chamber pot specifically for women (6.264).⁵⁸ Juvenal is the only one to refer to the *scaphium* by name except for Martial, who accuses one of the objects of his epigrams of turning beautiful art into a *scaphium* for his mistress (11.11.6).

56. On Roman latrines and their role in Roman culture, see Koloski-Ostrow 2015, who discusses both the range of forms of latrines and the culture surrounding them. See also below in discussions of Persius and Juvenal for the satirist's comparison of satire to public excretion, and graffiti concerning public excretion in Pompeii.

57. In a discussion of interest payments, Paulus refers in passing to the *foricarii*, who pay rent: *ut solet a foricariis, qui tardius pecuniam inferunt* ("As is the case with *foricarii*, who are late in paying their rent," *Dig.* 17.1.5.1) For discussion of the fee see Courtney 2013: 261.

58. The word is from the Greek σκάφιον, which generally means "a small bowl," but can also be used to refer to a woman's chamber pot (*Ar. Th.* 633). See also Henderson 1991: 187-203 on scatological humor in Greek.

A *latrina* could refer to a toilet, a bath, or a brothel. Lucilius mentions someone who hangs around in the *latrina* (*qui in latrina languet*, 11.400M; see below for a discussion of this behavior in baths by Martial). Apuleius has a character compare a man who has been pissed on to the stench of the latrine (*fetorem extremae latrinae*, *Met.* 1.17) and to the tendency of *latrinae* to be generally foul (*caenosam latrinam*, *Met.* 9.14). Elsewhere in his corpus he calls them "dark," and pairs them with the *popina* when he uses them as a comparison for the state of the degenerate soul (*latrinarum tenebras*, *Pl.* 1.13).

Lexicon IIC

Professions

The *praeco* makes announcements, and so would have been ubiquitous in an oral culture like Rome. *Praecones* are associated with sales (and so *praeco* is often translated as "auctioneer"), but also courts, assemblies, and spectacles. Like many of the professions treated with disgust by the satiric authors, the job was both highly visible and potentially profitable, at the expense of the elite, since *praecones* auctioned off the goods of the bankrupt. It is the most frequently mentioned of any of the professions in this section.⁵⁹ At the very fountainhead of Roman satire, Lucilius names a *praeco* Granius whose witticisms he would like to put into verse (11.412M). Martial, discussed below, would also incorporate the work of the *praeco* into his satire.

Horace mentions a wealthy *praeco* Gallonius, but derides him more for mindlessly following popular trends than for his profession (*S.* 2.2.46-47). In the *Epistles*, however, Horace

59. See below in chapter 5 on Juvenal for all references to the *praeco* in his satires.

tells the story of a *praeco* named Volteius Mena, who hangs out in an empty barbershop in the Subura and sells trash to the poor: *vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello* ("selling cheap broken trash to the blue-collar crowd," *Ep.* 1.7.65; see also below on the Subura and the barbershop).⁶⁰ Mena charms a lawyer, Philippus, with his uncensored babble (72-73) and is eventually given some land outside the city. But while Mena is well groomed when he is living in the Subura, he is sick and unshaven when Philippus next sees him on his farm (90, discussed below), and begs to be taken back. Making the most of one's surroundings is a frequent theme of Horace's, and Horace addresses the same theme in an epistle to a slave who has begged to be sent back to the city from the country (*Ep.* 1.14). This epistle, however, strongly implies that Mena, rather than suffering from a weak character, belongs in the city selling junk.

The profession of *praeco* is also mentioned by Horace as a trade his father thought he might pursue, if he did not become a debt-collector (*coactor*) like himself (*S.* 1.6.86-87). The satire as a whole paints a picture of Horace's humble father and his own virtuous upbringing, but Horace's depiction of and relationship with his father is fraught in the *Satires* and elsewhere (see chapter 2). Similarly, in the *Satyricon*, a father hopes his son may one day become a *praeco*, since it is profitable (or perhaps a *tonsor*, discussed below, or a *causidicus*, a cheap lawyer, 46.7). In both cases, the authors play with looking down on the aspirations of the poor, by trying on their perspectives. As I discuss in my chapters below, this is a frequent thrill for satiric literature, and is often played out in the city.

The *praeco* appears later as a figure of fear for the protagonists, as he is looking for Giton, a runaway slave (97.1, 3; 98.2). In Apuleius, the *praeco* is mentioned frequently but in

60. See below in chapter 2 on Volteius Mena, as well as Horsfall 2003: 67-69.

general only for the sake of his announcements: *Met.* 2.23, where he contracts for the night guard of a corpse; 3.2, 3, 4; 10.7, where he assists at a murder trial; used as a means of spreading a message in 5.10; 6.7; as an auctioneer 8.23, 24; 9.10.

Martial mentions the *praeco* several times, in general as a holder of a profitable but low-status profession. He makes fun of a stupid auctioneer who exposes all of the faults of the estate he is trying to sell (1.85.1), and similarly advises a father to tutor his son in being a *praeco* if he thinks the boy is too stupid for anything else (5.56.10-11). He addresses a different father who had given his daughter to a *praeco* to marry even though she had many suitors, and asks why he had done something so stupid (*fatue*, 6.8.6). He is the only author to refer to a *praeco* who is selling prostitutes (6.66.1-3).

Prostitutes and prostitution are referred to frequently, but for the sake of this project I have emphasized references that tie to them to space, typically urban. They can be found under the discussion of brothels above.

The *scurra*, "comedian," relies on jokes and gossip to make a living. *Scurrae* are associated with the city from their first appearance in Plautus, when they appear in the street (*Cur.* 296).⁶¹ Catullus uses the *scurra* as a byword for cleverness (22.12), and Apuleius refers to

61. For a discussion of joke-tellers and comic stock characters, including the *scurra*, in Plautus and Roman republican culture, see Richlin 2016. See also Richlin 2017: 151-71 for verbal dueling, which the *scurrae* practiced, as well as a comparison between satire's form and intended audience and comedy's. Although satire can present itself within the context of verbal dueling, the author exerts far more control over his text and his audience than a comedic actor might have. See below for the ways in which satiric authors contextualize themselves in a broader urban context, although their work differs from that of street performers. See also Corbett 1986 on the *scurra*.

insulting *scurriles ioci* (*Met.* 8.25). The profession is compared to that of the parasite and of writers of the obscene—including satirists.⁶² It is mentioned once by Lucilius (1134M), but only in a passing description. Like the parasite, who is dependent on dinner invitations for his well-being, the *scurra* depends on the whim of his potential patrons, and *scurrae* are mentioned several times as present on the streets. Horace describes a man named Maenius, who has spent all of his money and is forced to become a "wandering comedian" (*scurra vagus*, *Ep.* 1.15.27-28).⁶³ He is also called *urbanus* (27), which is typically used to mean "witty," but Horace may be satirizing that word as well: Maenius is called "brutal" (*saevus*, 30) rather than clever or funny when Horace elaborates his description, and his only tie is to the marketplace (*macelli*, 31).⁶⁴ Horace associates the *scurra* with the *macellum* again, as well as other professions associated with different parts of the city, when he satirizes a man who spends money as soon as he gets it (*S.* 2.3.226-30):

edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps...
 unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia Vici,
 cum scurris fator cum Velabro omne macellum,
 mane domum veniant.

He sends out a public decree that the fisherman, the fruit-seller, the poultry man, the perfume seller and the wicked bunch from the Vicus Tuscus, the sausage maker with the standup comedians, the whole meat market with the Velabrum, should come to his house in the morning.

62. Gowers 2012 discusses the similarity between Horace and the *scurra* at several passages: 68, concerning *S.* 1.23-24; 172, concerning *S.* 1.4.82-88; 200, concerning *S.* 1.5.52.

63. Mayer 1994 also connects this *scurra* to the Plautine tradition through the use of the adjective *impransus* ("unfed," 29), which is typical of Plautus (216).

64. Martial repeats this joke with an epigram about a bad poet (1.41.10). *Urbanus* is also used both sarcastically and literally of a *scurra* by Plautus in *Mostellaria* (15): the character is being accused of making a bad joke, and is mocked for his attempts to say anything intelligent about life in the country.

The survey recalls the description of the Forum Romanum in Plautus's *Curculio* (470-85), and might identify the *scurrae* geographically as well as their place in the Roman pecking order of labor. Horace may also be referring to the *scurra*'s tendency to work the streets when he paraphrases Aristippus calling Diogenes the Cynic—who was known for living in the streets—a *scurra* for the people (*Ep.* 1.17.9).

But *scurrae* are more often mentioned as among the retinue of a citizen, including Horace himself (*S.* 2.7.36).⁶⁵ The profession is also used to shame fellow citizens: Horace uses them to stand for false friendship in fellow citizens (*Ep.* 1.18.2, 4), and Juvenal uses the rare word *triscurria* ("absolute clownishness") to shame patricians (8.190). Horace also refers twice to a *scurra* named Pantolabus: as a stand-in for anyone who has committed some vice worthy of satire (*S.* 2.1.22), and as an example of the kind of degenerates who filled the pauper's grave on the Esquiline (*S.* 1.8.11). In both places, Pantolabus is mentioned in conjunction with someone who had and spent a lot of money, and Horace refers elsewhere to a *scurra* with gout, a wealthy person's disease (*S.* 2.7.15). Juvenal similarly calls Crispinus, a member of Domitian's court, a *scurra* (4.31).⁶⁶ The *scurra*'s routine seems mainly to have been funny insults and heckling, which Horace describes through the lens of epic (*S.* 1.5.51-69). This *scurra*, Sarmentus, was famous and is revived as a type-name for a *scurra* by Juvenal a century later, along with another *scurra* named Gabba.⁶⁷ Gabba is described as "worthless" (*vilis*, 5.4), and both suffer indignities

65. In Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, there is also a *scurrula* at a banquet where Lucius is given food (10.16).

66. Courtney 2013: 336, who also mentions Martial's discussion of Crispinus (7.99).

67. On Sarmentus, see Richlin 2017: 153, 163, 164n. 36.

at the hands of their patron (5.3-4). Juvenal also mentions the *scurra* as playing a part in a mime, where he is a runaway slave (13.111).

A *sutor* is a cobbler. Like being a *tonsor* (see below), shoemaking is a stock "low" profession. Horace mocks Alfenus for still having the clear marks of his old profession of *sutor* despite having closed up shop and gotten rid of all of his tools (*S.* 1.3.130-32, although it is also read as *tonsor*, an interpretation discussed above). Earlier in the satire, Horace makes fun of the Stoics for saying that the wise man is potentially a master at any craft, including that of the *sutor* (124-28). The joke is both on the logic of the Stoics, and on the profession itself: who would brag about being the best *sutor*?⁶⁸ In the *Satyricon*, *sutor* is one of a list of professions that are both associated with the forum and ignominious. Habinnas dotes on a slave, Massa, whose voice is so grating that he makes even Virgil sound unpleasant (68.5). Habinnas explains that the slave has had no formal education, but was instead sent to street performers (*circulatores*) in the marketplace.⁶⁹ He can imitate them perfectly, as well as mule-drivers (another despised trade), and has also picked up the cobbler's trade, along with cooking (*cocus*) and baking (*pistor*, 68.7), an occupation associated with slave punishment. Juvenal also uses *sutor* as a metonym for the poor people of the streets, when a bully who crosses the speaker's path in the middle of the night demands to know where he begs (3.296), and what cobbler shares his food with him (3.293).

68. Horace also refers to the *sutor* at *S.* 2.3.106, but only to say that no one besides a cobbler would buy a cobbler's tools—but this argument seems predicated on the fact that a cobbler's tools are unique to his profession, rather than disgusting *per se*.

69. The *circulator* appears only here in the *Satyricon*, and once in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* (1.4), where the word is used to describe a sword-swallower. It is used rarely, and emphasizes the movement of the person rather than a particular profession. Martial also refers to people who go around selling their wares (1.41.9-10, see above on the *popina*). The *circulatores* are treated in greater detail below in the context of Martial's epigrams.

The *sutor* appears again in Juvenal in a periphrasis for an informer in Nero's court who was originally a cobbler before rising to power. While the wealthy guests at a dinner party drink from fine glassware, the object of the satire has only a cheap cup named after the informer (5.46-48):

tu Beneuentani sutoris nomen habentem
siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulphura uitro.

You will drain a cup of four "noses,"
which takes its name from the cobbler of Beneventum,
and it's already shattered and in need of sulphur for its broken glass.

The poet uses *sutor* here partially to replace the informer's metrically impossible name (Vatinius), but as the *sutor*, he also collaborates in another jab at the man stuck with the cheap cup: not only is he undeservingly excluded from luxury, but a cobbler once attained it.

Martial also refers to these cups in his catalogue of gifts (14.96-97). Like Juvenal, he emphasizes the outrageousness of a cobbler becoming wealthy (9.73). The *sutor* Cerdo is mentioned twice for funding a public spectacle (*munus*): Martial refers to him sarcastically as *sutorum regulus* ("little king of the cobblers," 3.16.1), and wonders when an innkeeper (*copo*) will provide a spectacle, now that a cobbler and a fuller (*fullo*) have done so (3.59.2; see above on *copo*).⁷⁰ Martial mentions cobblers the most often of the authors addressed for this project, and is the only one who gives any indication of why *sutores* might be despicable besides their association with banausic labor. He characterizes them by their habit of working leather with their mouth: *dentibus antiquas solitus producere pelles / et mordere luto putre vetusque solum*

70. The name "Cerdo" itself is a class-based insult, as a *cerdo* is a low kind of craftsperson. The Greek κέρδος, "profit" or "cunning" is associated with the fox in fables. On the fox in fables and its role as a trickster hero in slave literature, see Forsdyke 2012: 63-73.

("[The cobbler is] accustomed to stretch the ancient skins with his teeth / and bite the old sole of the shoe, rotten with mud," 9.73). A dirty mouth (*os impurum*) was a sign of sexual penetration and humiliation, and one of Martial's frequent jokes.⁷¹ He repeats it about cobblers when describing all the disgusting people a man has kissed: *sutor modo pelle basiata* ("The cobbler who's just smooched leather," 12.59.7). Accordingly, then, Martial is the only writer who associates *sutores* with the Argiletum, where he connects them with prostitutes and torturers (2.17.2-3).

The *tonsor*, "barber," is mentioned relatively frequently in satire, epigram, and the novel. The profession has a rich history in Plautus's plays, in which the barbershop was a site of social mixing and a good locus for gossip.⁷² The reputation of the barbershop as a site for social mixing and gossip goes back as far as Aristophanes, and so to classical Athens, as Kostas Vlassopoulos has discussed (2007). The word *tonstrina*, for "barber's shop," is used several times in Plautus, but not at all in the satirists, and then is used once by Apuleius (*Met.* 3.16).⁷³ Other authors refer to the barber's shop as his *taberna* (see above on the *taberna*). Some mentions of barbers are unmarked, given the pervasiveness of their profession, but it is this

71. On the *os impurum*, see Richlin 1992: 28-29.

72. Richlin 2017: 248-50 discusses the barbershop as a site where slaves could spend their time as if they were free, the figurative use of "to shave" to mean "to deceive," and the barbershop as a *locus liber*.

73. In Plautus: *Asinaria* 343, 408, 413; *Epidicus* 198. It is also used once by Terence (*Phormio* 89), and three times by Pliny the Elder (29.114.3, 35.112.5, 36.165.4), as well as in post-Classical Latin.

universal access to all rungs of society that makes them an easy target. The profession itself is low, and associated with other urban annoyances, but barbers serve everyone from the poor to the rich. This means that they know a lot about a lot of people, which gives them a reputation for gossip. They are criticized for their potential to be socially mobile, if their business was lucrative, but the main source of disgust seems to be their association with banal labor and the disgusting ephemera of the body. Authors also imply that barbers could be a source of fear because of the simple fact that they hold razors.

Interestingly, satirists do not seem to care about barbers' supposed Greek origins: although other sources refer to barbers and clean-shaven faces in general as a marked foreign import, in satire a good shave is Roman, and the opposite of the Greek philosopher's beard.⁷⁴ When Horace is irritated at his friend Damasippus's babbling about the latest trendy philosophical nonsense, he wishes a *tonsor* on him (*S.* 2.3.17).⁷⁵ But the necessity of the *tonsor* for proper presentation of oneself as a Roman man is a source of concern: Horace is mocked by Maecenas for being the victim of a bad barber (*inaequali tonsore, Ep.* 1.1.94). Martial also refers to the power barbers have over their clients, but his interpretation is more literal: *quid si me tonsor, cum stricta novacula supra est, / tunc libertatem divitiasque roget?* ("What would happen if my barber, while the blade was bared above me, then starts asking me for freedom and riches?" 11.5-6). He returns to the theme in another poem against a barber Antiochus, who has

74. Varro *De Re Rust.* 2.11.10 believes that barbers came to Italy via Sicily, and only in the late 4th c. BC: *olim tonsores non fuisse adsignificant antiquorum statuae, quod pleraeque habent capillum et barbam magnam* ("The statues of our ancestors show that barbers were once not present, because many of them have bushy hair and beards"). Cicero also refers to old statues and ancestral images that have bristling (*horrida*) beards (*Cael.* 14.33).

75. Horace makes fun of poets who do not shave and avoid barbers (*Ars.* 297-301).

given him scars from his rough handling (11.84.13).⁷⁶ The barber's blade is referred to again in the *Satyricon*, when the slave Giton attempts to kill himself with it, only to find that it is a blunted version used by students to practice (94.14). A slave with experience in barbering shaves the hair and eyebrows of characters who want to look like slaves who have been punished for running away (103.1), and later hands out razors as weapons in a brawl (108.8).

Horace lists the barber as providing one of the services available to the poor: they would like to imitate the whimsical rich by changing the habits of their life, but can only change mundane things like their bed, their bath, and their barber (*Ep.* 1.1.92). The *tonsor* plays an integral part in the urban slums in Horace *Ep.* 1.7: the lawyer Philippus finds the auctioneer (*praeco*) Volteius Mena in the literally and figuratively shady barbershop: *adrasum... vacua tonsoris in umbra / cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis* ("[Mena was] a man with his head shaved, gently cleaning his own nails with a little knife in the empty shade of the barber's," 50-51; see above on the *praeco*, an auctioneer). After Philippus generously gives him a farm in the countryside, however, he finds him there *scabrum intonsumque* ("flea-bitten and unshaven," 90). Horace uses shaving and well-kept hair as a test of good taste and character (see above), but here plays with the trope: Mena's hair is poorly kept because he is no longer loitering in an empty barbershop, selling trash to the crowd (65). Shaving is a mark of the nobleman, but barbers belong with the poor.⁷⁷ Martial lists them as one of the many annoying tradesmen taking

76. Martial also refers to barbers in a few other epigrams: 8.83.1, 7.95.13, 8.50.11, 8.52 (a poem in praise of a young barber). These references are incidental, however, and in two Martial uses *tonsor* as a term for a goat shearer (7.95.13, 8.50.11).

77. See also Juvenal 6.26, where visiting a barber is a mark of not just age but good taste, as well as Ovid, who recommends shaving to young men seeking love (*Ars* 1.518).

over the streets, only now curbed by Domitian's decree to clear public thoroughfares (7.61.9, discussed in chapter 4).⁷⁸

Horace also mentions the *tonsores* as people with professions that were potentially lucrative enough to make them rich and even change profession, a source of condemnation in satire: *ut Alfenus vafer, omni / abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna / tonsor erat* ("Just as clever Alfenus, even after he / had thrown away all the tools of his trade and closed his shop, / was still a barber," *S.* 1.3.130-2). Emily Gowers has cautiously identified Alfenus as P. Alfenus Varus, a jurisconsult.⁷⁹ Barbers, lawyers, and auctioneers are paired together again in the *Satyricon*, where *tonstrinum*, "barbering," is listed with with the professions of auctioneer and cheap lawyer (*causidicus*) as a reliable trade that can be plied all one's life (46.7). But the speaker is himself a rag-dealer (*centonarius* 45.1), and his perspective on society and accomplishment is possibly just cause for an elite reader to laugh (see chapter 3 on perspective in Petronius's work). Juvenal is indignant that a barber might become richer than he is. He mentions this man twice, and lingers on the banalities of the man's previous job: *quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat* ("Who used to make my rough, youthful beard rasp as he cut it," 1.25). He repeats the line later (10.226), with the additional detail that the barber is now rich enough to own several villas (225).⁸⁰ Martial returns to Horace's theme that a barber cannot escape his fate: a famous barber in the city (*tonsor... tota notissimus urbe*, 7.64.1) is suddenly

78. The others are innkeepers, cooks, and butchers (*copo, cocus, lanius*, 9). The whole street is described as having once been a big *taberna* (10, see above on the *taberna*).

79. Gowers 2012: 144-45 identifies *vafer* as a word associated with lawyers, and used of *ius* at *S.* 2.2.131.

80. Juvenal mentions barbers in passing at 6.26 and 6.273.

made a knight by his former (female) owner (*dominae*, 2), cannot take up any other art or means of leisure, and, in the end, Martial insists: *iterum... tonsor eris* ("You'll be a barber again," 10).

Horace also refers to barbershops as a *locus* for gossip, especially for the poor: the story of one particular satire, he claims, is known to everyone and barbers; barbers are paired with people with pinkeye (*lippis*, *S.* 1.7.3). Persius makes a similar allusion to barbers and gossip when he compares the "muttering" (*muttire*, 119) of his own satire to the fabled barber of King Midas, who could not keep the king's secret and eventually whispered into a hole in the ground that the king had ass's ears (121).⁸¹ The potential for barbers and barbershops to be a place of social mixing appears again in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, where barbershops are a target for people who want hair for magic rituals (*Met.* 3.16). This is also one of the few references that connects women with barbers or barbershops: Photis's owner sees a young man she is interested in at the barbershop on the way back from the baths, and sends Photis there to gather hair the barber has cut off. Photis explains that she was then caught by the barber, but he is only irritated that she was gathering hair, and she stresses that it was the hair-collecting she was attempting to hide (*sedulo furtimque colligentem*) rather than her presence at all. Martial goes further and mentions a female barber (*tonstrix*, 2.17.1, 4), but this description seems to be only the setup for a joke about prostitution (2.17.4).⁸²

Although all professions have the potential to be a source of contempt in elite Roman literature, because of the pride of place given to income based on the ownership of farm and pasture land, it is clear that certain professions are more frequent targets than others. Of these, the professions that would have been most visible to the city's wealthiest make the most obvious

81. On the relationship between *muttio*, power, and slaves, see Richlin 2014b: 197-98.

82. A *tonstrix* also appears in *Truculentus*, where she is a slave hairdresser.

targets. *Praecones*, *scurrae*, and prostitutes all made money in part by making themselves as visible (or audible) as possible. Some were in addition associated with vulnerability: the *praecones* with bankruptcy, the *scurrae* with the whims of a powerful patron, and the *tonsor* with the application of blades. Some of these professions also included physical vulnerability and staining on the part of the laborer, such as the prostitute and the *sutor*.

Like professions, certain sites within the city of Rome gained reputations that were generated, or at least passed down, by satiric authors. Like these professions, these sites were highly visible, in the thick of the urban landscape.

Lexicon IID

Named Sites

The *Argiletum* (-i, n.) is a stretch of road that connects the northeast end of the Forum Romanum with the Subura. It was later converted into a forum that was begun by Domitian and finished by Nerva, called either the Forum Transitorium or the Forum Nervae. Martial says that his books prefer to be in the shops of the Argiletum (*Argiletanas tabernas*, 1.3.1) rather than at home. He refers to bookshops in the area in other epigrams (1.2.8, where it is called the *Palladium forum*, and 1.117.9), but the reference to the *tabernae* seems to be an allusion to Horace's slave-book, prostituting itself in the city (*Epist.* 1.20.1, see below on *Ianus*). Martial may be playing with the different associations of the Argiletum. He also refers to the Argiletum's reputation for prostitution in 2.17, in which he describes a "hairdresser" (*tonstrix*, 1; see above on *tonsor*) who stands at the mouth of the Subura at the edge of the Argiletum. The punchline of the poem is that the hairdresser is a prostitute; the poem relies on the uncertain overlap of spaces and professions. In the same poem Martial identifies the Argiletum by its

cobblers, proverbially disgusting elsewhere (see above on the *sutor*), and makes a rare reference to physical violence in the city outside of the Colosseum: the prostitute stands near the professional torturers (2.17.2).

The *Cloaca Maxima*, "Greatest Sewer," is a covered channel that ran under the Subura (see below) and the Forum Romanum into the Tiber. It is mentioned as an open channel by Plautus in the tour of the Forum in *Curculio* (476, as a place to find people who show off), along with the adjacent temple to the goddess of the sewer, Cloacina, that was located in the Forum (471, where one might find liars). Horace does not mention it by name, but does compare it in passing with the Tiber (*S.* 2.3.42): both are garbage dumps. Juvenal imagines a fish that has swum up into the Cloaca from the river, all the way to where the sewer ran, "gushing" (5.105), in the Subura (106).

Ianus is used by Horace to describe a part of the Forum associated with money and trade, although the topography is unclear. When Horace mentions *Ianus summus ab imo* ("Ianus from top to bottom," *Ep.* 1.1.54), he may be referring to the *ianua* of the *Cloaca Maxima* visible in the *Forum Romanum*.⁸³ Horace quips that the whole place encourages money before virtue, a point he returns to later: in the satires, Damasippus's fortunes are shipwrecked at the "Middle Ianus" (*omnis res mea Ianum / ad Medium fracta est*, *S.* 2.3.18-19). In the *Epistles*, Horace's book, anthropomorphized as a boy slave, is eager to prostitute himself there (*prostare*, *Ep.* 1.20.1).

83. Meyer 1994: 99, referring to Richardson 1992: 206.

Martial, by contrast, seems eager to send his books out for sale into the forum (by the temples of Pax and Minerva, 1.2).⁸⁴

The *Subura* is another ancient part of the city, and home of one of the four tribes established early in its history. It lay between the southern end of the Viminal hill and the western end of the Esquiline and was connected to the Forum Romanum by the Argiletum (see above). Although the Subura is mentioned in Republican literature, it becomes a much bigger focus beginning with the Augustan era: Catullus and the extant Lucilius do not refer to it. Its association with sex work and prostitutes seems to belong largely to satire and similar genres. It is rarely mentioned outside of these genres: Martial, for instance, refers to the Subura or uses the adjectival form *Suburanus* twelve times, and Juvenal five.⁸⁵ The next closest number of mentions is from the grammarian Pompeius Festus, who also mentions the Subura five times (178.59, 302.15, 309.5, 340.10, 348.61). Livy is the only historian to refer to it by name.⁸⁶

The Subura is named once by Propertius, who refers to the "tricks of the restless Subura" (*vigilacis furta Suburae*, 4.7.15) when discussing his relationship with Cynthia. A poem in the *Priapea* refers to a girl who is "well known amongst the Suburan girls" (*nota Suburanas inter...*

84. For a comparison between these two authorial stances, see Roman 2014: 308-11, as well as Fitzgerald 2007: 108-110 for a discussion of 4.72, in which Martial argues about people who want to read his books for free, taking up the metaphor of prostitution.

85. This data does not count instances where the Subura is implied but not named, such as Horace *Ep.* 1.7.50 or *S.* 1.8.47.

86. Livy refers to it twice: once in naming the four tribes (*Perioch.* 20.20), and then as the location of a riot that had broken out when M. Volscius Fictor had come across some young men "loitering" (*grassantem*) in the Subura (3.13.2). Persius, discussed below, also refers to the Subura as the preferred hangout of young men.

puellas, 40.1). Like Propertius, Horace connects the Subura with adultery instead of prostitution; it features in Canidia's curse of her unfaithful lover: *senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum / latrent Suburanae canes* ("Let the dogs of the Subura bark at the old man adulterer, a thing that everyone laughs at," *Epod.* 5.57-58). This is the only time Horace refers to the Subura by name, although he makes reference to it elsewhere, and again in connection with witchcraft and old women. When two witches invade Maecenas's gardens on the Esquiline, looking for remains from the paupers' graves that used to be there, in the end the witches run away *in urbem* (*S.* 1.8.47), which would have been the Subura, as they came down from the Esquiline. Lastly, the lawyer Phillipus finds Volteius Mena on the way home from the Forum Romanum, while heading to the Carinae on the Esquiline; although this is not stated explicitly, Mena is probably in the Subura or Argiletum. When he is introduced, Mena is hanging around in an empty barbershop, cleaning his nails (*Ep.* 1.7.50-51; see above).

Persius uses the Subura as a symbol of the privileges of male citizenship, especially that of young men (5.31-33). Juvenal, on the other hand, never refers to the Subura as a place of prostitution or even sex. It is typically horrible and stands for all of the flaws of the city, but none of those are sexual or even moral (*S.* 3.5-9):

ego uel Prochyta praepono Suburae; 5
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum uidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?

I'd prefer even Prochyta to the Subura: 5
For what place have I seen that is so miserable, so lonely,
that you wouldn't believe it's worse to have the never-ending fires
and collapses of buildings and the thousand dangers of the savage city
and poets reciting in the month of August?

Juvenal uses the Subura to stand in for the entire city, rather than a specifically sexualized part of it. It is in particular the city as a densely populated and socially mixed space; later in the same satire, Juvenal discusses how urban fires will affect everyone in the city, although to different extents (discussed below). Juvenal uses the Subura as an unmarked term for the heart of the city when he imagines Hannibal attempting to penetrate all the way to the heart of Rome (10.155-56), but returns to the Subura as symbolic of the lowest parts of the city in his description of a dinner party. While the other wealthy men there are given healthy fish, the parasite has to eat a fish that has swum through the sewer all the way to the Subura: *uernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca / et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae* ("a little homeborn slave of the banks, fat from the rushing sewer / and used to going all the way into the vault in the middle of the Subura," 5.105-6; on the *Cloaca Maxima* see above). Juvenal also refers to the experience of being in the Subura: it is hot (*ferventi*, 11.51), and filled with the noise of a carvers' workshop, where they practice on wooden models of animals (11.141). These last three references all contrast the lives of the wealthy with the function of the Subura. To reach the Esquiline, a walker must ascend from there (11.51). The fish served from the bowels of the city stands in for the juxtaposition of rich and poor at the dinner party of a wealthy patron.

Martial later connects Juvenal to the Subura, again with reference to its noise: *erras / clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura* ("You wander in the noisy Subura, Juvenal," 12.18.1-2).⁸⁷ Martial refers to the Subura by name the most of any extant author, consistently in connection with prostitution. He imagines the "hairdresser" (*tonstrix*, 2.12.1) sitting at the mouth of the the Subura in the Argiletum, but in the punchline of his epigram reveals that she is actually a

87. The alternative space for Juvenal's wandering is the Aventine, which Juvenal wears out with his walking (*collem... teris Dianae*, 12.18.3).

prostitute—or at least that he considers her one (2.17.5; see above on the Argiletum, and above on the *tonsor*). Martial refers again to prostitutes who sit in the Subura: *famae non nimium bonae puellam, / quales in media sedent Subura, / vendebat modo praeco Gellianus* ("The auctioneer Gellianus was selling a girl whose reputation was not that good—like the sort of girls who sit in the middle of the Subura," 6.66.1-3; see above on the *praeco*). Both of these women are in public spaces, but Martial also mentions prostitutes who operate out of brothels and are explicitly indoors: *cum fenestra vidit a Suburana / obscena... Leda, fornicem cludit* ("When the obscene Leda sees him from her window in the Subura / she closes up the brothel," 11.61.3-4).⁸⁸ An experienced prostitute is referred to as a "Suburan schoolteacher" (*Suburanae magistrae*, 11.78.11). Martial accuses a woman who wears a lot of makeup and a wig of having body parts in the Subura when she herself is home elsewhere (9.37.1). The joke is two-fold: that the woman has false parts and adornments, and that they are made up in the Subura.

Like Juvenal, Martial also refers to climbing up to the Esquiline via the path from the Subura, and abuses it as filthy: *alta Suburani vincenda est semita clivi / et numquam sicco sordida saxa gradu* ("The steep path of the Suburan ascent must be overcome / and those dirty rocks, with never a dry step," 5.22.5-6). In addition to the mud, Martial adds that it is nearly impossible to break through the crowds of mules dragging marble along this same path (7-8).⁸⁹

Juvenal also has a passage describing the chaos of the streets and the particular difficulties and

88. Martial refers several times to a prostitute named Leda: 3.82.3, 4.4.9. See below on the Summemmum, another place associated with prostitution, mentioned in conjunction with Leda and the Subura by extension.

89. Although Martial is not explicit about the nature of the urban muck he has to trudge through, the presence of mules and other livestock must have meant that animal excretion was a regular feature of the city streets. See chapters 3 and 5 for a discussion of human excretion in satire, especially as a form of satire, and on the priority given to the removal of dung in the legislation of urban traffic.

dangers of moving marble (3.257-60). The location is not named, but he may also be referring to the path to or from the Subura. Martial refers again to the path up from the Subura when he asks the muse Thalia to bring his book to a friend: there the path is steep (*altum*, 10.20.5). Martial uses the Subura not just to stand for the center of the city (12.21.5), but also as the hilarious opposite of the country: while others serve their apples from their various country estates, Martial can only offer apples from the Subura: *haec igitur media quae sunt modo nata Subura* ("These things, therefore, which were recently born in the Subura," 10.94.5). The place name is delayed until the end of the line as a dramatic reveal, a trick which Martial is repeating from an earlier poem, in which the Subura is revealed to be the place that can not only produce everything that a country estate could produce, but is far more fruitful than his own estates: *id tota mihi nascitur Subura* ("the whole Subura provides it for me," 7.31.12). Martial also makes one reference to the Subura that seems only incidental, or even a mark of pride: he notes that his patron, a consul, has a house there (12.2.9-10), and he calls the house "lofty," *alta*.

The *Summoenium* (or alternative *Submemmium*, from *sub moenia*, "at the walls") is referred to only by Martial, and then only in the adjectival form with alternative spelling *Summemmianus*. The location of the *Summoenium* is not clear, but it was probably near the Subura, since the two are mentioned in conjunction with each other in two out of the four times the *Summoenium* is named. Martial refers once to a brothel there (*Submemmi fornice*, 1.34.6). Twice he refers sarcastically to "Summoenian wives" (*Summemmianae uxores*, 3.82.2 and 12.32.22), and once to their "defiled" mouths (*Summemmianis inquinatio buccis*, 11.61.2). These three references seem to be jokes about male prostitutes specifically: stained cheeks is an insult applied to both men and women, but men who are penetrated by other men are jokingly

called "wives" elsewhere, and plucking hairs from one's body is an insult often (although not exclusively) aimed at men (*pilantur*, 12.32.22). The *moechus* Nanneius is shunned by both the Summoenium and the Subura (11.61.1-4):

Lingua maritus, moechus ore Nanneius,
Summemmianis inquinatio buccis;
quem cum fenestra vidit a Suburana
obscena nudum Leda, fornicem cludit.

Nanneius is a husband with his tongue, an adulterer with his mouth,
More defiled than Summemmian cheeks;
And when filthy Leda sees him naked from her Suburan window,
she closes up her brothel.

The prostitutes of the Summoenium and the Subura are paired again by inference, through the mention of the prostitute Leda: *conviva quisquis Zoili potest esse, / Summemmianas cenet inter uxores / curtaque Leda sobrius bibat testa* ("Whoever is able to be a dinner guest of Zoilus, / would dine amongst Summoenian wives / and, sober, would drink from Leda's wine-jar," 3.82.2-3). In both cases the prostitutes of the Summoenium are paired with a female prostitute from the Subura.

The *Vicus Tuscus* is a neighborhood of Rome near the Forum. It is referred to once by Plautus, in a satirical description of the Forum, as a place where men sell themselves (*Curculio* 484). Otherwise it is mentioned only by Horace, of the authors discussed in this lexicon.⁹⁰ Like Plautus, he refers to it as a place of male prostitution: when he compares his book to a slave boy who is eager to prostitute himself (*prostare*, *Ep.* 1.20.1-2), he envisions him standing in the *Vicus Tuscus* specifically.⁹¹ Horace may also be alluding to the *Vicus Tuscus*'s reputation for male

90. Other references to the *Vicus Tuscus* include Varro, *Ling.* 5.46; Propertius, 4.2.50; Livy 2.14.9; and Tacitus *Ann.* 4.65).

91. The *Vicus Tuscus* is identified by the temple of Vortumnus that stood there. The slave-book also wants to stand by the *Ianus*, discussed above. Interestingly, the slave-book will meet its ignominious end in *vici* as well, but

prostitution when he refers to the "wicked crowd of the *Vicus Tuscus*" (*Tusci turba impia Vici*, *S.* 2.3.226-30). It is also a place to buy perfume and incense (*Ep.* 2.1.269). Martial also mentions the street, but only in the context of shopping for luxury goods there (11.27.11), and so its reputation may have changed.

Overall, the city in satiric works is associated with a number of kinds of disgust: the pervasive concern of class and social mixing; contamination caused by social mixing, or by physically touching repulsive elements of the city; the disgust elite authors had towards labor; the connection between disgusting aspects of the city and the effeminate, especially as the difference between dry (masculine) and wet (feminine). As I will show in the following chapters, satirists use these terms and sites not just to inveigh against certain parts of the city, but to situate themselves among them. Although, as this lexicon has shown, this landscape appears in the fragments of Lucilius, it is sketched more clearly by Horace. Horace wrote at the end of the Republic, at one of the most important transitional points in the city's history. This tension is played out in the city of his satires, with a focus on the city streets.

unnamed and far removed from the center of the city: *hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem / occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus* ("This also remains for you, that stammering old age will busy you with teaching boys their ABCs in the furthest corners of the city," *Ep.* 1.20.17-18).

Chapter 2

Contested Memories in the City Streets of Horace and Ovid

In 1905, San Juan Hill was one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in Manhattan. The area was made up of mostly tenement buildings and brownstones. It was one of the largest black neighborhoods in New York City, and heavily overcrowded because of racist residential restrictions. Its residents were bounded by the Irish and the Italians on the north and south respectively, and racial tensions resulted in frequent violence. Police aggravated these tensions with brutal treatment of black residents.¹ By 1949, it was known as one of the worst slums in the city, and finally became the target of slum clearance.² By 1959, President Eisenhower was breaking ground for the creation of Lincoln Center, while Leonard Bernstein conducted the New

1. Sacks 2006: 80-81.

2. By the 1950s, the demographics had changed, but the gang violence was so well known that it was the setting for *West Side Story*, and the opening shots to the movie were filmed there. Robert Moses (1977) later defended the clearance by saying, "Now I ask you, what was that neighborhood? It was a Puerto Rican slum. Do you remember it? Yeah, well I lived there for many years and it was the worst slum in New York. And you want to leave it there?"

York Philharmonic in a nearby tent. The thousands of residents had either moved or been forced out by eminent domain to Harlem and the Bronx.

Nearly sixty years later, Lincoln Center is one of the most important cultural centers in the city, and San Juan Hill has been largely forgotten. Even the given etymologies of both Lincoln Square, for which Lincoln Center was named, and San Juan Hill support this narrative of forgetting and rewriting. There is no recorded reason why either of them was named. The *New York Times* questions but ultimately accepts the assumption that Lincoln Square was named after the president.³ San Juan Hill might have been named after the battle of San Juan Hill in the Spanish-American War, where the United States' black 10th cavalry fought.⁴ Both suggestions connect the neighborhood to a positive historical narrative for black people in the United States, rather than the racial violence and institutional oppression that characterized it.

Augustus also rewrote history by forgetting it. At the end of the first century BC, Rome had a lot to forget: riots, assassinations, the burning of the Curia in 52 BC, the proscriptions of 43 BC, when heads and hands were nailed to the rostra, and other stains of civil violence. In 27 BC, Augustus began to build the largest forum in the city, which he would fill with statues meant to tie him and his family to Rome's cultural memory, as expressed by Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* (1989). Representations of the gods and himself would have been complemented by figures from Rome's history and myth, in the long colonnaded walkways stretched out on either side. The forum was an architectural manifestation of Augustus's relationship with the city and

3. Collins 2009. The name was given in 1906 by the Board of Aldermen, with no reason recorded. Interestingly, the mayor at the time was George B. McClellan, son of the Union general and outspoken detractor of President Lincoln. Harold Holzer, a scholar of Abraham Lincoln quoted in this article, assumes that the space was named after Lincoln but any written references to it were diplomatically avoided for McClellan's sake.

4. Strausbaugh 2008, quoting Marcy Sacks.

its people, and part of his agenda of political forgetting: although the temple was vowed in the midst of a civil war, it acknowledged only his success in retrieving the lost standards from Parthia.⁵ At the same time, the forum was separated from the dense residential neighborhood behind it, the Subura, by an imposing firewall. This large tufa wall continues to dominate the site to the present day, and would have limited traffic between the Subura and the forum area to two staircases. The Subura was a dense, socially mixed residential neighborhood; the wealthy inhabitants would have been inconvenienced, but the poorer residents potentially hamstrung by new construction that restricted movement in and out of the neighborhood. Imperial propaganda not only defined cultural memory at this time, but would also have disproportionately disadvantaged the urban poor.

The destruction of the common burial site on the Esquiline is a prime example of this institutionalized forgetting and its effect on the urban poor, and in *Satires* 1.8, published in 35-34 BC, Horace points out satirically what cannot be forgotten. Even though the graveyard has been turned into a beautiful suburban villa, everyone—including the narrator—remembers that it used to be a burial site. This past becomes important when the garden is invaded by witches. They are driven off, but the bones still remain underground; the site can be policed, but not fundamentally changed. This policing has been read as Horace's anxiety about his role in aristocratic literary circles—as Priapus, he is uncertain about his ability to ward off witches; as the garden itself, he is uncertain about his ability to make himself anew. It has also been read as a commentary on the role of the satirist more generally: that he protects the space of his genre,

5. See Gowing 2005: 138-45 for the role of memory particularly in the Forum of Augustus. See also Jaeger 1997 and Edwards 1996 for discussion of Rome's monumental topography and memory.

and that the targets of his invective include women and especially old women. Adding another dimension, I will focus on the poem as an interpretation of historical events.

In the second part of this chapter, I discuss the role of walking and memory as it appears in Horace's *Satires*, *Epodes*, and *Epistles*: *Satires* 1, 35-34 BC; *Satires* 2, 32 BC; *Epodes*, 29 BC; *Odes* 1-3, 23 BC; *Epistles* 1, 21 BC; *Epistles* 2, c. 11 BC. *Satires* 1.9 famously features Horace walking through the city, but references to movement through the city are scattered throughout the rest of his satiric corpus. In this section, I look at these references to a street culture that is disconnected from elite processions through the city. Horace both mocks and adopts an explicitly non-elite culture, with its own forms of memory, that runs counter to elite principles: poor people loiter in the street, move quickly or by cover of darkness, or engage in activities outside of statesmanship. Finally, I end with a discussion of walking and memory in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (2 AD), his most satirical work. In using the politicized landscape of Augustan Rome as a setting for flirtation and extramarital sex, Ovid engages in the same kind of disapproved-of use of space that the poor do.

Urban Space, Class, and Memory

It is difficult to separate out any one kind of space in Rome, where most spaces were multi-functional and socially mixed. Paul Zanker emphasizes that the imperial fora, on the model of the Republican fora, were sites for religion, the administration of justice, commerce, education, and entertainment. Many of the most fundamental aspects of justice were carried out in the open, or separated only nominally by impermanent partitions. The same space could serve for passage through the city, with some people conducting business or searching for someone,

and others standing idle for gossip or observation.⁶ "Contact is crisis," says Anne Carson, but a culture conducted in public might not always think so.⁷ Ramsey MacMullen offers a more optimistic view of city living: "The narrower one's house, the more time would naturally be spent amongst one's neighbors, the more intercourse and friendliness, the more gossip and exchange of news and sense of fraternity."⁸ Zanker draws on a fresco from the Villa of Julia Felix in Pompeii that shows a Pompeiian forum streetscape with scenes of commercial activity (which includes men, women, and children), education, begging, rhetoric, and the abuse of slaves, without any sense of hierarchy (see Fig. 1 for a fragment of the wall painting). Anthony Corbeill has recently looked at literary evidence, in Horace amongst other authors, for evidence of the practice of justice in the streets of Republican Rome. Because of Rome's allergy to bureaucracy, it relied on tactics like citizen's arrest and self-help, which naturally involved bystanders.⁹

6. Zanker 2010: 52.

7. Carson 1990: 135.

8. MacMullen 1974: 63.

9. Corbeill 2015; see also Crook 1967: 33-35; Lintott 1999: 25-34 on self-help in Roman law and private arrest.



[Fig. 1: A fragment of the wall-painting from the praedia of Julia Felix, via Bragantini and Sampaulo 2013: 502. To the right, a young male slave, or a schoolboy, is stripped and held by the arms in anticipation of a beating. The punishment is merely one part of a busy streetscape.]

The imperial fora, on the other hand, were clearly meant to be a regulation of urban space and the activities conducted within it. Zanker sees the porticoes as a way for the emperor to add official spaces for both formal and informal urban activities, and especially as a way to incorporate the general populace into the kinds of practices and spaces that had previously only been available to the elite, through the use of expensive building materials and the display of artwork.¹⁰ And although the imperial fora had wide open spaces within them, they do not seem to have been considered useful for moving quickly and efficiently through the city. Imperial fora were, with one exception, spaces outside of the natural arteries of the city—walking through them, even to conduct business, was a form of leisure walking.¹¹

10. Zanker 2010: 60.

11. Domitian's Forum Transitorium—completed by Nerva, and discussed in Chapter 4—co-opted the Argiletum, a passage from the Forum Romanum to the Subura. On imperial fora and leisure walking, see Macaulay-Lewis 2011.

The fora came from a Republican tradition of competitive building. Julius Caesar and the emperors built within this tradition, but on a larger and more invasive scale than ever before, to reflect their larger and more centralized role in the government. From the beginning, the imperial fora were considered not just additions to urban space but replacements of it; their creation required the destruction of existing urban spaces. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero describes Caesar's purchase of residential space for his forum (*Att.* 4.16.8). Augustus boasts that he built his forum on private land (*in privato solo*, *RG* 21), since he had purchased the land beforehand instead of expropriating it. Suetonius claims that Augustus was not able to convince all of the owners to sell (*Aug.* 56.2), and some irregularities in the northeast corner have been interpreted in this light. As Amy Russell points out, Augustus would have been able to make his forum rectangular if he wanted to: he is making a point of refusing to expropriate land because he had the power to do so, and may have been expected to.¹² Later, Trajan would cut away 316,000 cubic meters of earth to provide flat space for his new forum. This action is memorialized in the Column of Trajan, whose inscription explains to the reader that it was erected "to show how high a mountain and area was removed for such great works" (*ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tan<is ope>ribus sit egestus*).¹³ This Forum conquered more than dirt: the space it resided on had been densely populated and crossed by numerous routes.¹⁴ It is difficult to know to what extent these imperial building programs affected non-elite spaces preferentially; that distinction itself is nearly impossible to draw. Wealthy Romans like Cicero owned slums

12. Russell 2014: 504-505 n. 24.

13. See also Cassius Dio, *Roman Histories* 68.16.3.

14. Palombi 2005: 81-92.

(*Att.* 14.9, 14.11), and enjoyed visiting places that were typically associated with the poor, like the *popina*.

The relationship between memory and the city of Rome is obvious, and commented on by the Romans themselves. Livy imagines a speech by the early Republican hero M. Furius Camillus, who, having saved Rome from the Gauls, famously argued for the rebuilding of the city. The speech ends with a stirring appeal to place (5.54):

hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa; hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di.

Here is the Capitol—after a human head was found there, the oracle explained that that spot would be the head of human affairs and the height of power; here, when the Capitol was being ritually cleared of encumbrances to augury, Iuventas and Terminus would not allow themselves [i.e., their temples] to be moved—to the utmost delight of your forefathers; here are the fires of Vesta; here, the shields sent down from heaven; here are all the gods who will be kind to you if you remain.

Livy sets this speech as the final element in the final book of his first pentad (probably published around 27 BC), importing, as he does so, a bit of Augustan revisionist history: many had said that Terminus, god of boundaries and limits, had by his rootedness vouchsafed Rome's empire, but the goddess Iuventas is not otherwise credited with such foundational importance. Augustus, however, was beefing up her cult (see Ogilvie 1965 ad loc.) In her work on the different written versions of Rome, Catharine Edwards points out how Romans very explicitly connected memory and space in writing: Cicero famously uses space to organize memory (*De Or.* 2.351-4).¹⁵ She then looks at references to the Palatine as the site of Romulus's first settlement there, and

15. Edwards 1996: 29-30. Cicero also refers to this system in *Fin.* 5.2, and it appears earlier in *Ad Herenn.* 3.23-24 and later in Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.2.17-22.

especially references to a real preserved hut on the hill, and its relationship to Roman memory.¹⁶ This hut matters as a built structure in Rome that is monumentalized in part because it is so different from other monuments: it is markedly inexpensive and impermanent. Its importance came not only from its connection to Romulus and the earliest settlements in Rome, but from its representation of a lifestyle of idealized poverty. Edwards discusses the hut as a practice of Roman memory: it is frequently destroyed by time or the elements, and assigned priests immediately fix and restore it.¹⁷ The hut was ultimately a symbol of the humble beginnings the currently mighty city had grown from, and the pastoral livelihood and simple virtues of the ancestral Roman people.¹⁸

More recently, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp has discussed the role of the Roman landscape in shaping and reinforcing the Romans' perceptions of themselves and their history (treated in more detail below). In addition to focusing on a very limited readership of Roman space (elite male citizens), Hölkeskamp's discourse focuses on the landscape of Rome as monumental and intentionally created and preserved, i.e. the highly curated relics from Rome's founding, and victory monuments and *spolia* created as a result of Roman victories. But there are signs in Horace's satires, as well as in the *Epodes* and the *Epistles*, that cultural memory extended not just beyond but even in opposition to these categories, and that the memories of the non-elite would

16. Edwards 1996: 33-43. The hut is mentioned by, among others, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.79.11), Varro (*L.* 5.54.1), and Cassius Dio (53.16.5). Martial also praises Domitian for restoring it (8.80). There are also references to a similar hut on the Capitoline, e.g. Vitruvius 2.1.5, Macrobius *Sat.* 1.15.10.

17. Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to this practice (1.79.11), as a result of its destruction by storms and time; Cassius Dio refers to a fire caused by priests who were performing a ritual in it (48.43.4), and another caused by birds that had dropped burning meat from a nearby sacrificial fire (54.29.8).

18. Edwards 1996: 39-40. She refers also to Seneca the Younger's discussion of it in a letter to his mother, when he recommends poverty as the ideal lifestyle of anyone who has attained true wisdom (*Helv.* 9.3). But here the connection between poverty and Rome's past is irrelevant; poverty is *per se* desirable because luxury is distracting.

have challenged the perceptions of the aristocracy. Popular street culture in Rome is incorporated by Horace both as a metaphor for his own social situation and as a source of anxiety for his elite audience more generally.

One of the major events of the May 1968 protests in Paris was the month-long occupation of the Odeon Theater. In the foyer was written: "When the national assembly becomes a bourgeois theater, all the theaters should turn into national assemblies!"¹⁹ The occupation of a space can defy its institutional definition. The witches who come to the graveyard insist that, although currently defined as a garden, the site remains a burial ground: when Rome's graveyards become gardens, the gardens become graveyards. The witches represent the lowest part of the city: literally, since they come from the valley of the city rather than one of the hills, and figuratively, as poor, ugly, old women who are obsessed with death.

The historian J. H. Parry once said: "Old maps are slippery witnesses; but where would historians be without them?"²⁰ In reading the city in Horace's satires, I am not using him as a map, but as a slippery witness. Horace tends to represent ethical choices in terms of landscape: city and country, work and leisure, present and past, satire and epic. But he also wrote about the city's changes in the midst of the city's greatest architectural restructuring to date. His satires are conscious of the changes to and disruptions in Rome's landscape: this work has been read as a metaphor for Horace's awareness of political upheaval in elite circles, and his own potentially fraught relationship with Augustus given his previous allegiance to Brutus.²¹ The landscape, for Horace, was political.

19. Dosse 2010: 173.

20. Quoted in Harley 2002: 34.

Satire is consistently concerned with the city, but tends to be allusive rather than specific about where in the city it takes place. For once, Horace is explicit: in Maecenas's gardens, at his suburban villa on the Esquiline, where there used to be a common burial ground. Ironically, this site is difficult to locate in the material record. The Esquiline had included a burial site in various forms since the earliest settlements in Rome. Three general types of burials have been found. The earliest were trench-type burials, also found in the Forum, that date from the eighth and seventh century. The second are chamber tombs cut into tufa bedrock, which date to sometime after the seventh century. The third are the pitlike *puticoli* used for mass burial, which were the ones that characterized the Esquiline by the time Maecenas settled there. The Esquiline thus had a long tradition of burial or cremation, and the site probably held a large number of the dead. John Bodel estimates that roughly 30,000 citizens died each year, based on a conservative estimate of 750,000 residents in the city, and an average mortality rate of 40 per thousand.²² Only a small percentage would have been buried in family tombs, and even funerary *collegia* and the tradition of burying slaves and freedmen in an elite family's tomb would not have accounted for a large population that lived in poverty and without a patron or support network. There had even arisen, near the Porta Esquilina, a sanctuary to Libitina, the patron of funerals.²³ Even beyond the pollution of the dead, then, the Esquiline was associated with the dead as a source of

21. See Gowers 2002 for a discussion of the role Horace played in the civil wars and how it appears in *Satires* 1.7.

22. Bodel 2000: 128-29. The more common estimate for Augustan Rome is 1 million, although this is not without controversy. Bodel's estimation for the mortality rate is drawn from other pre-industrial European cities, and would have risen in times of epidemics.

23. Lennon 2012: 48, n. 30; Bodel 1994a: 14-16.

pollution. This sanctuary and the surrounding area were marked as part of the Pagus Montanus, and thus outside the city's legal limits.²⁴

Excavations on the Esquiline starting in the nineteenth century were at first a byproduct of the new United Kingdom of Italy's establishment of government headquarters there. As a result, early records are poor.²⁵ In 1874, Rodolfo Lanciani discovered seventy-five mass burial pits, rectangular and in rows, lined with tufa, and set off from the surrounding cemetery by a travertine channel.²⁶ This mass grave was naturally identified as the burial ground Horace describes in *S.* 1.8. John Bodel, however, believes this was not the case, citing the layer of rubble and debris on top of the graves that dated to half a century before the construction of Maecenas's villa.²⁷ The exact limits of Maecenas's villa remain disputed (see below), but if this was a separate site, Maecenas was part of a tradition of co-opting the fringes of the city, previously reserved for the dumping of corpses, for living space. The entire Pagus Montanus would later be integrated within city limits under Augustus, and so even at the time of Maecenas's building, it was close to being considered part of the city.

Maecenas's gardens were in the tradition of *horti* used as sites of power and influence among the elite which arose out of the struggle for land reform in the second century. As Katharine von Stackelberg discusses in her work on the Roman garden, *horti* became an

24. *CIL* 12 591 = VI 3823 = 31577 = *ILS* 6082, via Coarelli 1999a.

25. Holloway 1994: 22-23. Holloway discusses the effect of public building, especially the creation of streets and sewers, and its effect on the material record, as well as grave robbing from the two early phases of the tombs.

26. Lanciani 1874; the publication began in the 1870s and was one of several journals dedicated to work on Italy's archaeological past, which had taken on new significance after Italy's unification.

27. Bodel 2000: 131; Bodel 1994a: 38-54. Filippo Coarelli 1999 also argues that these pits are not like the ones described by Varro (*L.* 5.25), but Varro says only that *puticoli* may come from the word for well (*puteus*), because of their shape, or for rotting (*putesco*), because the bodies rot.

especially prominent political tool when property ownership became concentrated in the hands of a few in the wake of depopulation of rural farms. At the end of the Republic, Marius, Pompey, and Caesar began a tradition of using *horti* to advertise their military success and their loyalty to their soldiers.²⁸ Unlike monuments in public space, gardens allowed the creator to dominate and manipulate the experience of the viewer more fully; choosing to open the gardens to a larger public generated political goodwill. Augustus translated this use of gardens into a series of public parks. His garden and residence on the Palatine (purchased 36 BC), the *Horti Pompeiani*, the groves surrounding his mausoleum, and the grove connected to the shrine of his grandsons (the *nemus Caesarum*, initially part of Julius Caesar's gardens) were in some way available to the public (Suet. *Aug.* 50-51; Dio 54.27.3; 54.29.4). The gardens of Maecenas were the only ones built during this period (c. 38 BC) that could compete with the private gardens of the Republican elite. Unsurprisingly, Maecenas left them to Augustus in his will (Dio 55.7).²⁹

Christina Häuber's reconstruction (Figs. 2, 3) shows that the *horti* were built west of the Servian Wall, in between the *Porta Esquilina* and the *Porta Queretulana* in the Servian Wall, to which they were closely adjacent. The *Domus Maecenatis* would have made the northern boundary, with the *Via in Figlinis* on the east and the temple of Minerva at the south.³⁰ Häuber originally argued for a slightly different reconstruction (Fig. 4).³¹ The more recent

28. Von Stackelberg 2009: 76. Von Stackelberg argues that elite gardens themselves would have suggested the land grants that the generals gave to their veterans. Marc Antony did promise his civilian followers *horti*, at least according to Cicero, presumably in the tradition of Caesar, who gave his gardens to the people in his will (*Phil.* 8.9).

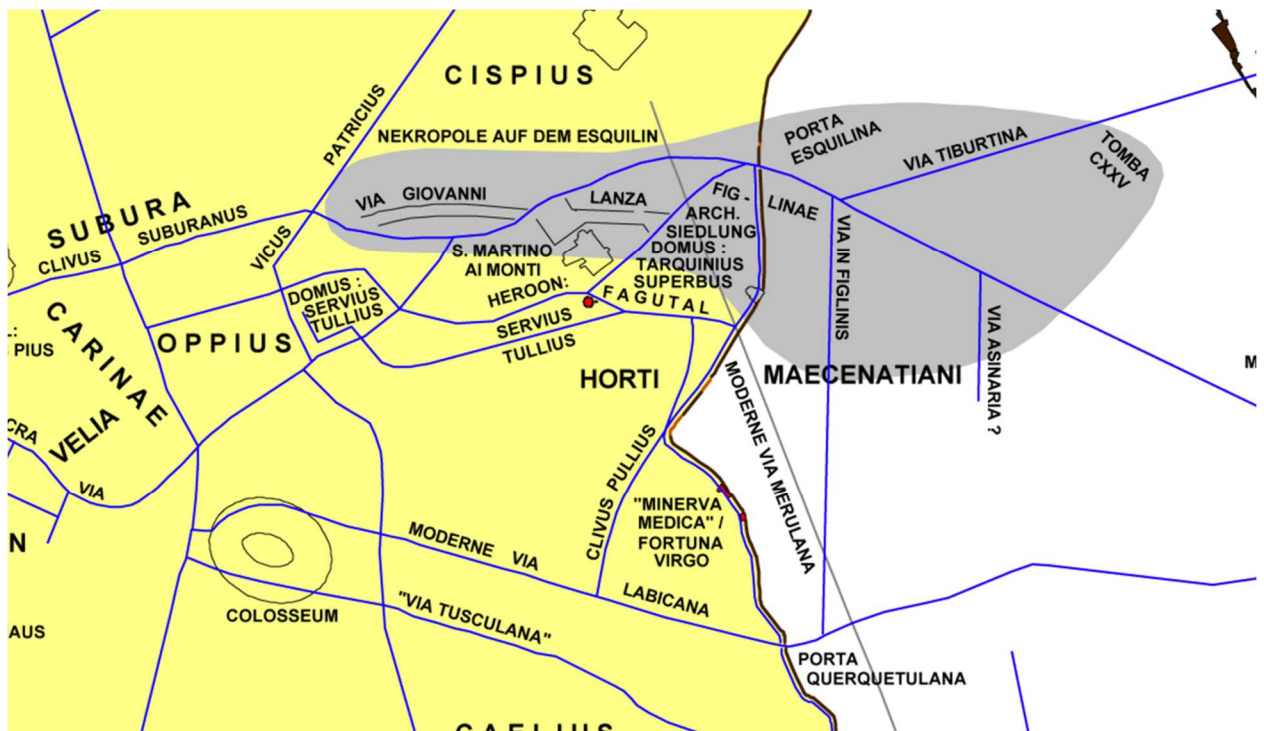
29. Stackelberg 2009: 79 traces Maecenas's gardens once they entered the possession of the imperial family. They became the residence of Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 15), and then were incorporated in the *Domus Aurea* and the *Domus Augustana*.

30. Häuber 2011.

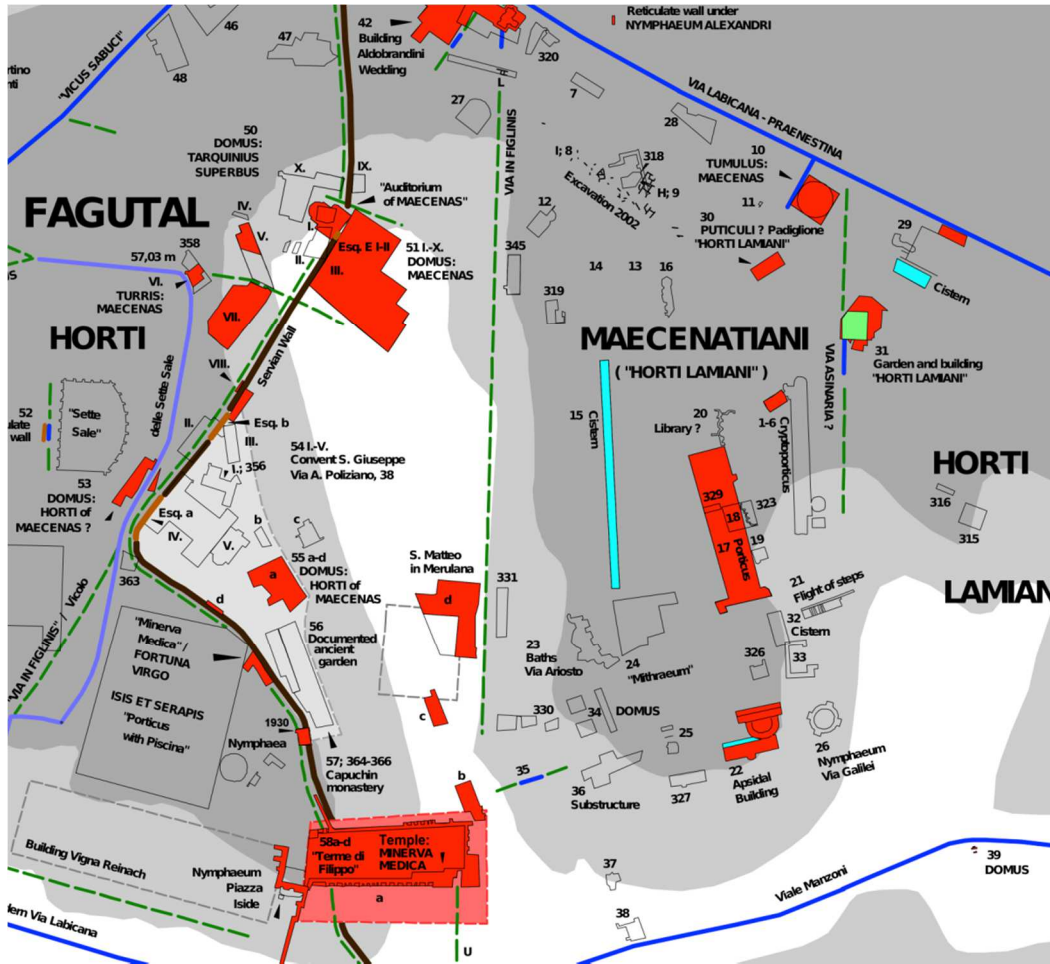
31. Häuber 1990: 62, originally published as Häuber and Stöcker 1990.

reconstruction is clearer about which structures are more securely identified, but the earlier one shows a little more clearly where the gardens themselves might have been on the hill.

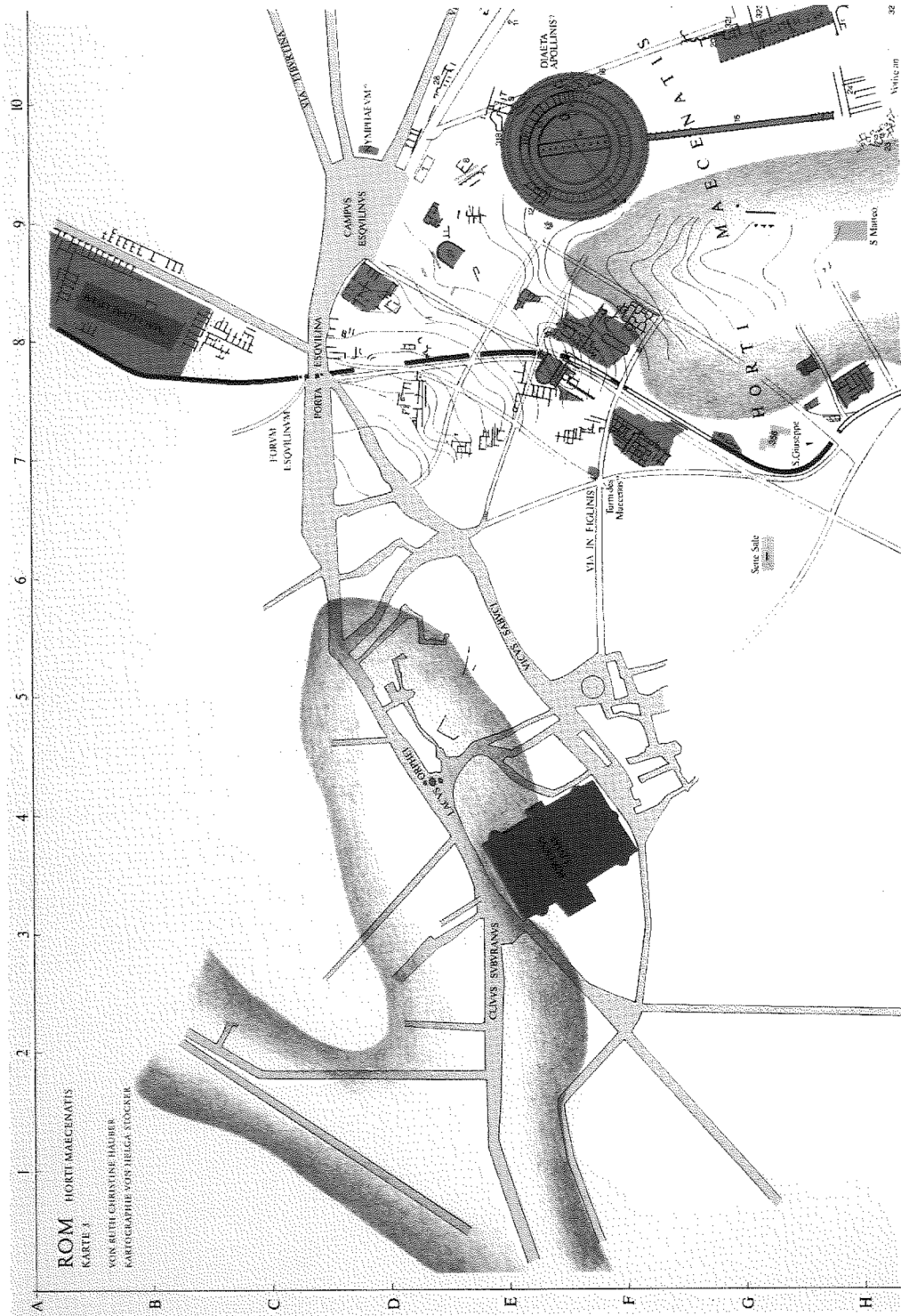
Perhaps the most important thing that reconstructions of the *horti* and surrounding areas can tell us is that the *horti* of Maecenas were not the only or first wealthy suburban *horti* in that area. The tension apparent in *Satires* 1.8 about the transition of the site from paupers' grave to wealthy luxury villa can perhaps stand in for tensions about the rest of the development of the Esquiline and Oppian hill, or even the rest of the city, as the city's population swelled and Augustus's building program and sanitation measures continued.



[Fig. 2: a detail of the Esquiline hill, via Häuber 2011. This map shows where the *horti* are in relation to the Servian wall and the Subura.]



[Fig. 3: a detailed reconstruction of the Gardens of Maecenas, via Häuber 2011. Red areas represent ancient buildings, green dotted lines represent reconstructed ancient roads, and blue lines represent modern roads.]



[Fig. 4: Häuber's reconstruction of the Gardens of Maecenas from 1990, which delineates the gardens more precisely (labeled *horti Maecenatis*): the biggest difference from the two more recent reconstructions is that they do not include the *Diaeta Apollonis*.]

Horace, Urban Transformation, and the Dead

Horace wrote during a tumultuous and transformational era of Roman history, but most of what we know about him comes from his own writing (as well as the Hadrianic *Vita Horati*).³² Although Horace's propensity for self-fashioning has been noted, a loose framework for his life can be sketched out.³³ After being pardoned by Octavian for his initial support of Brutus, Horace became a *scriba*, a civil servant role of some prestige. His early literary forays led him to Virgil and Varius, who in turn sent him to Maecenas in the early 30s BC. *Satires* 1 was published in the mid-30s, and reflected his early success with Maecenas. The poems of *Satires* 1 are diverse, but show Horace navigating his genre, his success, and his standing in a rapidly changing political landscape.

As such, *Satires* 1 muses on, amongst other things, the relationship between the satirist and the city: its vices, its necessity as a source for satire, and the danger it presents in a tense regime. *Satires* 1.8 comments directly on all of these themes, in the setting of a haunted garden on the Esquiline, now owned by Maecenas, that was once a burial ground for the poor. The garden is defended by a statue of Priapus, who looks on as two witches sneak in at night to steal materials from the burial ground beneath the surface. One of the witches is Canidia, who is a formidable fixture of Horace's early poetry, an ugly old woman who wreaks violence and magical havoc. Ellen Oliensis has pointed out that Canidia's placement at the end of both *Satires*

32. The *Vita's* authorship is unknown, but the author is presumed to be Suetonius; see Fraenkel 1957: 1-2.

33. See Williams 1995, Oliensis 1998, Gowers 2003.

2 (2.8.95) and the *Epodes* (17.53-81, where she speaks the closing lines) makes her a "structural counterpart" to Maecenas, whom Horace names at the beginning of both collections.³⁴ *Satires* 1.8, then, shows the clash between two major forces in Horace's work. Their contested ground is the garden on the Esquiline.

The Esquiline graveyard is a prime example of the renegotiations of the boundary of the city as the city center was built up: here the housing of the rich moved to the periphery of the city, and the poor were dislocated. In New York City, the reverse happened: the poor who were dislocated from San Juan Hill were forced to move to Harlem and the Bronx. The etiology of Lincoln Center was deliberately never recorded and forgotten; Harlem and the Bronx seem to become the only loci for African Americans of their own accord. A similar kind of dislocation is evident in *Satires* 1.8. The narrator begins by emphasizing the marvelous transformation on the Esquiline, which now has beautiful gardens instead of unhygienic paupers' graves. Yet the witches who sneak into the garden one night seem to have a longstanding relationship with the Esquiline.

Satires 1.8 has been recently been interpreted as Horace's meditation on his changing relationship with political circles within the city, as a result of his success with satire, making the city a metaphor for satire.³⁵ This reading is in line with those that emphasize location in Horace's poetry as a metaphor for his standing in aristocratic circles, which disavow earlier

34. Oliensis 1998: 109-110. See also Paule 2017 on Canidia.

35. See Gowers 2012: 263-66.

readings that look for a realistic sketch of Rome in the thirties, or attempt to trace Horace's exact passage through the Forum.³⁶ Other readings have focused on the Priapus-narrator's role within the garden, and especially his ability to ward off the witches from it. In doing so they have emphasized Horace's connection with the statue of Priapus, and by extension his ability to stand in for the middle-aged Roman male citizen, the "common denominator" of Horace's audience and what was perceived as normal.³⁷ Priapus's anxiety about his ability to protect the gardens, however, is also a concern about whether the graveyard can be successfully converted to a garden.

The poem begins with the narrator's origins, which are framed as a transformation (*S.*

1.8.1-7):

olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
 cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
 maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque
 maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet
 obscaenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus, 5
 ast inportunas volucres in vertice harundo
 terret fixa vetatque novis considerare in hortis.

Once I was a fig-tree trunk, useless wood,
 when a craftsman, unsure whether he'd make a Priapus or a stool,
 decided it was a god. So I am a god, the biggest fear for thieves and birds;
 because my right hand wards off thieves, and so does the
 stake rising red from my shameless groin, 5
 while the reed stuck on my head frightens off annoying birds
 and stops them from settling in the new gardens.

The poem begins tellingly with a reference to the past (*olim*, 1), and the first few lines waver on whether Priapus will come into existence at all (*incertus*, 2). Priapus's newness is tied to the

36. Salmon 1952, Castagnoli 1952, Schmitzer 1994, Dyson and Prior 1994.

37. Richlin 1992: 66.

gardens (*novis*, 7); they too are new, and the parallel between them leads the reader to wonder what the gardens used to be before. Their origin, another transformation, similarly stresses the difference between the past and present (*S.* 1.8.8-16):

huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
 conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;
 hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum; 10
 Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti
 mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
 hic dabat, heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
 nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
 aggere in aprico spatari, quo modo tristes 15
 albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.

Here a fellow slave used to contract for the bodies, thrown out from their narrow cells, to be carried out in a cheap box;
 this used to stand as a common tomb for the wretched masses; 10
 for Grabsalot the joke-teller and the playboy Nomentanus
 here a boundary stone gave a plot of a thousand feet in frontage and three hundred feet deep: let the tomb not pass to the heirs.
 Now, it's possible to live on the healthy Esquiline and
 to wander on the sunny Embankment, where only recently the miserable 15
 used to look at the field deformed with white bones.

The gardens are beautiful, but what really makes them special is that the site used to be one of horror. References to the way things used to be abound (*locabat*, 9; *stabat*, 10; *dabat*, 13).

When the narrator begins to describe why the gardens are lovely, it is with an emphatic *nunc* at the beginning of the line (14). In the line immediately following, however, the past returns (*quo modo*, 15); the garden's existence is still tenuous, and the past still shows through.

Priapus complains that some women bother him repeatedly; their activities identify them as witches (*S.* 1.8.17-22):

cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suetae
 hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori
 quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
 humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum 20

nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis.

But it's not just the thieves and wild beasts that like to haunt this place
that are a source of care and work for me,
but those women who trouble human souls
with their incantations and poisons: 20
I can't destroy these women or stop them in any way, as soon as the wandering moon
has offered up her pretty face, from picking bones and harmful herbs.

The witches' use for the garden has nothing to do with its current iteration. They are not interested in its newly created beauty; they wait for the cover of night, when it is easiest to access what the space used to be: a deposit of bones and noxious herbs. The witches remember the old site more intently and intrusively than any other threats the narrator must contend with. In this way they come to represent everyone who previously lived on that part of the Esquiline, who had worked there, or lived there, or was buried there; now they are all out of place. Within this satire, they now have no place beyond the city, broadly defined, although they are associated with the Subura elsewhere and, as I will show, this poem points them on their way back there.

Satires 1.8 is especially arresting because it examines the disgusting aspects of the city more explicitly than any of Horace's other satires. As a burial site, the space had, by law, to be outside the city. But the distinction is not that simple. John Patterson discusses the different kinds of boundaries that could delineate the city: physical, ritual, economic, and legal.³⁸ The Esquiline graveyard was outside the Servian wall, and outside the *pomerium* of the city when it was established, making it physically and legally outside of the city, but the city had grown past a boundary that itself belonged to the legendary regal past. Simon Malmberg and Hans Bjur have discussed the Porta Esquilina's role in facilitating trade from the Tibur region, and even go

38. Patterson 2000: 86-90.

so far as to say "we should not see the Porta Esquilina as separating the city from its eastern hinterland, but instead joining two spatially distinct parts of the urban economy together through movement."³⁹ A burial site would continue to be ritually outside of the city, even as the city grew past it. But one of the burial sites on the Esquiline, as seen above, was covered over with a thick layer of dirt and debris towards the end of the Republic as habitation extended beyond the Servian wall; taboo was trumped by the needs of Lebensraum.⁴⁰ This extension of living quarters outside of the city walls may also have been what prompted Augustus to ban the burning of bodies within two miles of city walls in 38 BC (Dio 48.43.3), although presumably this was to benefit wealthy citizens who had established *horti* there, rather than poor squatters.

Horace is always writing about writing, and landscape is a consistent and obvious metaphor for this process. Rome and the idea of the city are consistently paired with and compared to the country.⁴¹ Maecenas's villa, like the paupers' burial site, was technically extra-urban, but ultimately deeply involved with the city, as Joseph Farrell discusses in his work on the *suburbium*.⁴² In *Odes* 3.29, Horace invites Maecenas to his Sabine villa; the distinction between them is that, on the Esquiline, Maecenas is too enmeshed in the city of Rome. His life there is still in view of urban blight, the city as a source of stress and disgust (*fimum et opes*

39. Malmberg and Bjur 2011: 365.

40. This may seem like a dramatic change, as the sharp distinction between urban and burial space went back as far as the Twelve Tables (X.1; see Toynbee 1971: 48-49). But public burial sites would have been considered public land, rather than *loca religiosa*, and so, although the expansion surely went against Roman religious norms, it did not violate law (Bodel 1994a: 39).

41. See also Dang 2010 for a discussion of the treatment of the Sabine villa/farm in the scholarship, especially on its interpretation as a symbol for writing, leisure, and Horace's relationship with Maecenas.

42. Farrell 2014: 87.

strepitumque Romae, 3.29.12). Farrell has read the villa in this poem as stuck between two definitions of the *suburbium*: Maecenas can see both the hill towns of the countryside (*contempleris* 3.29.7), and the bustle of the city (*mirari*, 3.29.11).⁴³ But both verbs imply a certain distance; Maecenas may ponder the hills and admire the sprawling city, but his house is part of neither.

Maecenas's close relationship with urban space is more marked in the *Satires*, where urban refuse invades the gardens themselves, already precariously situated on the edge of the city. The initial image of the garden as a hygienic and beautiful space is disrupted by the advent of the two witches, whom the speaker views as tremendously threatening (*S.* 1.8.23-29):

vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
 Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
 cum Sagana maiore ululanti: pallor utrasque
 fecerat horrendas adspectu. scalpere terram
 unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
 coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
 manibus elicerent animas responsa daturas. 25

I myself saw Canidia, going along in her black shawl with her dress hiked up,
 with her feet bare and her hair let down
 shrieking with Sagana the Elder: paleness 25
 had made both of them horrible to look at. They began
 to scrape the ground with their nails and to tear apart
 a black lamb with their teeth; blood ran into the ditch, so that from there
 they might draw out from the ghosts of the dead their souls, to give answers from beyond.

This passage picks up on the initial description of the transformation of the space. The moonlit *fossa* that the gore runs into is the downward-mirrored image of the *agger* from which one might view the sunny gardens (15). Similarly, the passage picks up on the garden's transformation in

43. Farrell 2014: 86.

its emphasis on seeing (*vidi, adspectu*): in the past, and at night, one sees a witches' playground. The night begins with moonlight (21-22), but even that disappears after the moon, ashamed of what it might witness, hides behind a tomb (35-36).⁴⁴ The witches are the opposite of the garden: hideous, unhygienic, violent, and insistent on the past.

The witnessing of this violence is emphasized: *vidi* stands at the beginning of the line, followed by an even more strident *egomet* (23), which suggests a hostile audience, who might interpret these events differently. Priapus calls himself a witness to the witches' deeds (*testis*, 44). Meanwhile, the reader is directly called upon to witness as well, as the witches' rites become more frantic (34-36):

...serpentes atque videres
infernās errare canes Lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.

... You would have seen serpents
and hellhounds wandering around, and the blushing Moon,
so she wouldn't have to witness this, hiding behind the big tombs.

The space is entirely transformed, with creatures from the underworld now wandering the world above. The assertion *videres* amounts to an oath of veracity. The only other potential witness, the moon, refuses to watch. Its disappearance implies total darkness—making it difficult to witness anything—but also the perfected transformation of the space. The moon hides behind a tomb, which implies that the witches have successfully transformed the garden back into a burial ground: are these real tombs? Or the ghosts of tombs?

44. Compare Juvenal 6.311, where Roman noblewomen defile the city while watched by the moon (*luna teste*).

The reader is called to witness again at the end of the poem, when Priapus successfully wards off the witches from the garden (46-50):

nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
diffissa nate ficus; at illae currere in urbem.
Canidiae dentis, altum Saganae caliendrum
excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres. 50

For, as loud as a burst bladder, I farted,
my wooden buttocks split; but they ran into the city.
Canidia's teeth, Sagana's high wig falling off,
and the herbs and the enchanted chains falling from their arms —
you would have seen it with a big laugh and jeering. 50

The truth of the matter is plainly visible at the end, as the witches are returned to their rightful place. They are exposed as not only false witches but false women, as they lose their wigs and teeth in flight. The crumbling of their props and costumes is theatrical, as if the women were characters in a mime. The humor of the ending is audiovisual, and the poem ends with one last *videres* (50).

Satires 1.9, like 1.8, juxtaposes Maecenas's garden with the urban center of Rome. In 1.8, the two unmasked witches flee Maecenas's garden for the city (*in urbem*, *S.* 1.8.47). In 1.9, Horace is accosted while wandering the Via Sacra in downtown Rome by a man trying desperately to break into Maecenas's social circle: Horace replies that his gardens and his politics are far removed from the city (1.9.48-52). Tara Welch uses this comparison to emphasize satire as an urban genre: as a satirist Horace relies on the chaos of the city to provide him with material for his satiric commentary. Ironically, she argues, his success promotes him to Maecenas's circle, which is inextricably tied to his suburban home on the Esquiline, which is in turn geographically and generically separate from city and satire. Horace uses *Satires* 1.8 and 1.9 to

meditate on his complicated relationship with city and success—success with satire in the city moves him to Maecenas's garden, where he is stifled.⁴⁵

Welch's discussion relies on the gardens as distinct from the city and Horace himself as distinct from the gardens. *Satires* 1.8, however, is based on the idea that urban spaces cannot be separated or even changed. The poem begins with the Priapus statue before it was carved, mere "useless wood" (*inutile lignum*, 1). The craftsman debates whether the cheap wood will become a stool or a god, and eventually settles on a Priapus. As the Priapus statue struggles to ward off the witches who have come into the garden, however, it is clear that whether he has successfully changed from "useless wood" into something more useful is one of the main themes of the poem. His initial transition from wood to god is followed by and parallels the Esquiline's change from pauper's graveyard to private gardens. The switch from grave to gardens is from the beginning uncertain: Horace emphasizes that it is the practices concerning the space that change, rather than the landscape itself. The description of the graves and the description of the gardens both begin with temporal descriptions, rather than geographical ones: *huc prius ... nunc licet* (1.8.8, 14). Time is the main difference between the two spaces; the site has not fundamentally changed.

Like the hut of Romulus, the burial ground on the Esquiline has been a longtime feature of the city, and is associated with poverty and impermanence. Unlike the hut, however, the graveyard has no connection with Rome's heroic past or humble virtues. Horace describes the site as one of memory, but only satirically, as one where modern Romans attempt to create

45. Welch 2001. See Oliensis 1998: 17-63 for a discussion of Horace's anxiety about his rise to power and simultaneous condemnation of social climbers. Spencer 2006: 248 follows Welch's argument but reads these two satires in light of Augustus's attempt to turn Rome into a kind of utopia; as such, boundaries between city and country, living and dead are being dismantled.

memories of themselves (1.8.11-13). The site should, in fact, be explicitly disconnected from the city, inasmuch as it is a burial ground—taboo ground. Horace also describes it as an *ager* (16), a word normally used to represent arable land, or the fields as opposed to the city. Here, it is a bonefield (*informem ... ossibus*).

But a graveyard is also a distinctly urban feature, especially a burial ground for the poor. A mass of unclaimed dead bodies is often a function of the urban poor, and the stock characters that Horace describes are typically urban: *Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti* (11). *Scurra* is a disparaging occupational title going back to Plautus, associated with the disgusting city (see chapter 1). The two people named here are paired again in *S.* 2.1, when Trebatius advises Horace not to write about them, because each reader will take this as a personal assault under these false names, and hate Horace (22-23). Not only are they connected to typical urban vices, then, but they can even stand in for anyone in the city. *S.* 1.8 also satirizes a more traditional Roman burial site; Pantolabus and Nomentanus, with names and occupational identities, have tomb sites demarcated by a tombstone (*cippus*) inscribed with standard legal language claiming permanent ownership of a sizeable burial area (12-13): *in fronte* (“in width,” literally “on its forehead”); *in agrum* (“in depth”; another field of the dead). The anonymous dumping ground of the poor and indigent would have had none of these. Gowers reads the dimensions as describing the entire field, rather than individual plots, so that the dimensions are a joke.⁴⁶

The satirical epitaph is a commentary on money as well as on place. Both wasteful heirs and greedy comedians deserve to be dumped ignominiously in the paupers' field, or sarcastically given a "monument" there. At the same time, Horace's description implies that the paupers' field

46. Gowers 2012: 270.

is culturally relevant to elite circles in Rome, not just the poor who might have ended up there. Although the graveyard may be highly specialized, it is imagined as a potential burial site and source of pollution for everyone in the city.

Jack Lennon has discussed the difficulty in defining Roman concepts of pollution. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans had no single word for religious impurity, and Roman concepts of physical pollution and religious impurity could be blurry and overlapping.⁴⁷ The grave site combines several different kinds of dirt: dead bodies (*cadavera*, 8), which should be ritually and geographically distanced from the city; the wretched and unindividuated poor (*miseræ plebi*, 10), whose mass grave (*commune sepulchrum*, 10) goes against elite Roman traditions of preserving the memory of individuals; specific people associated with either hated occupations or undeserved money or both (11); and a "field deformed with bones" (*informem ... ossibus agrum*, 16), so called because of its gruesome contours, for Horace even describes the bones as white (*albis*, 16), as if they were visible. The burial site is a kind of anti-burial site: even when removed from the city, the dead refuse to be put away—a damning commentary in the wake of a civil war, under a regime with an insistently selective memory.

Horace is sensitive to the threat the restless dead pose elsewhere as well. In the *Odes*, he describes an unburied corpse requesting a passerby to perform his burial rites in order to avoid the resulting threat to the passerby's children: *neglegis inmeritis nocituram/ postmodo te natis fraudem committere* ("Do you not care about committing an offense that would harm your

47. Lennon 2012.

undeserving children afterwards?" 1.28.29-30).⁴⁸ The gardens should also be separate from the city, as a representation of Maecenas's distance from urban chaos. But it is in a separate satire that Horace emphasizes the gardens as geographically or morally distant from the rest of the city (*S.* 1.9.49-50).

The insistence in this satire that both the graveyard and the garden are inextricably entwined with the city is especially important because both of these landscapes potentially threaten social order *per se*. The graveyard and especially the burial ground exemplify Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia: a site that undoes the usual order of a space.⁴⁹ As a burial ground, the site is already a heterotopia. Foucault discusses graveyards as a kind of heterotopia through the transition from the medieval practice of burying the dead in the heart of the city, to the nineteenth century tradition that placed burial grounds at the edge of the city, as a kind of other city, where each member of society had a corresponding space for themselves amongst the dead. For Foucault, this transition corresponds to the adopted conviction that death was a kind of illness, so that proximity to the dead propagated illness. In his work on systems for the disposal of waste and corpses in the Roman world, John Bodel argues that although connections between the exposure to rotting bodies and public health were not made explicit before the last quarter of the second century AD, there are allusions to it before that. Bodel cites Lucretius, Varro, Columella, Pliny, Galen, and Ulpian as educated Romans who refer to some kind of "bad air" that comes from swamps, sewers, or the dead and can be related to poor health—that is, from the

48. In *Epod.* 5, a boy who is murdered by Canidia and Sagana in order to provide materials for spells threatens to come back as a ghost to haunt them (87-96). On Canidia's connection to child-killing demons, see Paule 2017: 65-79.

49. Foucault 1986.

late Republic to the Severan emperors. He cites as well the purging and repairing of the sewers, by the elder Cato in 184 BC and by Agrippa in 33 BC.⁵⁰

Horace does not discuss the effect of the burial site on public health, but he does praise the new version of the Esquiline for its health-giving effect (*Esquiliis salubribus*, 1.8.14). *Salubritas* is the same quality Vitruvius, drawing on Hippocrates, would later urge architects to consider during town planning, and he specifically advocated for public parks to improve residents' health (*Arch.* 1.4, 1.6, 5.9).⁵¹ In her work on the sanitation measures implemented in Rome at the end of the Republic, Penelope Davies suggests that the numerous parks and porticoes that were constructed or made public around this time might have been a public health measure.⁵² These changes would have been in keeping with other Augustan measures that improved urban quality of life, such as Agrippa's repair of the Cloaca Maxima. Suetonius reads Augustus's beautification of the city as a safety measure as much as a decorative movement, since the city had previously been exposed to fire and flooding (*Aug.* 28.3).

Foucault's category of heterotopia also includes spaces that juxtapose several incompatible real spaces. Foucault uses the garden itself as an example of this, although he bases his argument on the medieval Persian tradition. In her book on the Roman garden, von Stackelberg considers the Roman garden a heterotopia because of its mythic dimension and, because a garden encourages social interactions that deviate from the norm, as a "heterotopia of

50. Bodel 1994a: 34-38.

51. See also Vitruvius *Arch.* 8.3, Columella *RR* 1.4.4-5, 12.2. Vitruvius is concerned with bad air and bad water as sources of disease, although he regards temperature as the main threat.

52. Davies 2012: 75. Davies includes the porticoes in Pompey's theater complex as well as the gardens Caesar made public in his will; the landscaped spaces of the baths of Agrippa and the gardens around Augustus's mausoleum could also be added.

deviation."⁵³ Small household gardens, like the ones von Stackelberg describes, were primarily herb gardens, and the witches are looking in part for herbs.⁵⁴ But the witches gather on the Esquiline because they believe that the site is a burial ground, rather than a garden. Elsewhere in Roman literature, Priapus is called upon to protect a generic space, as Amy Richlin has discussed.⁵⁵ Here, Priapus protects a temporal space, from those who insist on remembering its former self.

In *Satires* 1.8, the graveyard and the garden occupy the same space, but are incompatible. The satire begins with that tension, and never resolves it. It is significant that the satire takes place at night.⁵⁶ Claire Holleran discusses the difficulty in navigating the city at night.⁵⁷ In their work on the lives of slaves, Sandra Joshel and Lauren Petersen have discussed the city at night as more welcoming to slaves and fugitives: darkness offered cover and fewer people.⁵⁸ Horace defines the difference between the garden and the graveyard as primarily a visual one: certainly it is now a possible place to live (*habitare*, 14), and has new health benefits

53. Von Stackelberg 2009: 52.

54. On Roman household gardens, see Jashemski 1981, especially pp. 3-4 on the prevalence of herbs. In one Pompeian house, Jashemski also finds the bones of mice (43), although it is unclear whether these were dead and buried or died as a result of the volcanic eruption. In one case, her study found latrines in the garden (I.XII.8, 38), which often served as refuse deposits more generally.

55. Richlin 1992: 210.

56. Cf. *Epod.* 5 and 17, which also describe the exploits of the witch Canidia, and take place at night (5.49-51, 17.3).

57. Holleran 2011: 249.

58. Joshel and Petersen 2014: 115-17.

(*salubribus*, 14), but the main difference is that what used to be visible is no longer (15-16). In the darkness, this difference almost disappears.

The laws and rituals that surround the removal and treatment of corpses only underline how strange it might have been to build a luxury villa on an old burial site. Houses that had housed dead bodies had to be cleansed even after the corpse had been carried outside of the *pomerium* to a burial site; the family of the deceased underwent a *suffitio* of ritual purification with fire and water.⁵⁹ The placement of a residential space on a burial site complicates these ideas of purification through division. The law code from Puteoli stresses that undertakers could only enter town on official business and had to be identified with brightly colored clothing and bells on their clothes. Bodies were dragged away with a hook, a practice which implies that bodies were considered a source of impurity.⁶⁰ This practice was retained in the arena and in the *carcer* in Rome. Jörg Rüpke even goes so far to assume that the Puteoli code represents a simplification of Rome's laws, but Bodel warns against assuming uniformity amongst sites.⁶¹

The Priapus statue and the witches, Canidia and Sagana, have been related to the French theorist Julia Kristeva's concept of the abject: things that serve as a reminder of the permeability and impermanence of the human body, and so generally anything that has to do with death or the thresholds of the body.⁶² Satire is a prime site for anxieties about the abject, as David Larmour has argued with reference to Juvenal's poetry.⁶³ In Horace's satire, the abject maps onto

59. Paulus 68L, 3L; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.23-26. See also Lennon 2012 on burial practices and Roman concepts of purification.

60. Lennon 2012: 49; Bodel 1994a: 72-81. See also Lennon 2013: 136-68.

61. Bodel 2000: 131.

62. Kristeva 1982.

anxieties about changes in the city—the witches interrogate not only the threshold between life and death, but the elite's ability to define space in the city. Priapus's ultimate punishment of the witches (46-47), and the potential punishment he invites if he is lying about them (37-39), reflect not just anxieties about liminality in the body, but more immediate concerns about the regulation of waste in the city.

When Priapus first describes the witches' outrageous behavior, he offers proof that he is telling the truth by inviting pollution by bodily fluids if he is lying (37-39):

mentior at siquid, merdis caput inquiner albis
corvorum atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Iulius et fragilis Peditia furque Voranus.

And if I'm lying about anything, let me be stained on my head with the white excrement of ravens and let Julius and weakling Peditia and the thief Voranus come to piss and shit on me.

Commentators have focused on the peculiar combination of characters: Iulius is all too familiar a name, while Peditia and Voranus are unknown. *Fragilis* is pejorative, but it is difficult to determine in what way.⁶⁴ The fact that these unknowns would be Priapus's punishers intensifies an already humiliating punishment, and it is odd, in that context, to see the name Iulius in their company, which suggests Augustus's family or one of his freedmen. This has been read as a potential corruption in the text, and prompted suggestions of different names that also imply disapproved-of sex practices. But if the name Iulius is correct, it might be a reminder of the general legitimacy of this kind of public excretion, and imply that the entire social spectrum will

63. Larmour 2007.

64. Gowers 2012: 277 reads Peditia as a man with a woman's name, sees effeminate passivity in *fragilis*, and suggests that Voranus's name suggests "reciprocal anal or oral insatiability."

come to punish Priapus—not only citizens from respected aristocratic families, but even "weak" men and thieves, Priapus's primary targets for sexual dominance.

By daring people to come excrete on him, Priapus is playing with the regulation of excretion in urban space.⁶⁵ This practice is at odds with Augustus's measures at the beginning of his reign to centralize the regulation of human waste in the city. Penelope Davies cites the public latrine created in Pompey's Curia after Caesar's death as possibly the first public latrine in Rome.⁶⁶ Although Rome had seen numerous public works during the monarchy and Republic, Augustus's lengthy tenure as *princeps* allowed for a building and urban renovation program never attempted before.⁶⁷ Both the site and the central figure of the poem hint at the impossibility of controlling a city's viscera, even for an emperor. A century later, Persius would programmatically compare satire to public excretion (*S.1.112-114*), as would Juvenal after him (*S.1.130-131*).⁶⁸

Priapus himself ironically resorts to flatulence to drive off the intruders from the garden. After bragging at the beginning of the poem that his penis is a tool to defend the garden (3-5), he

65. See below on Juvenal.

66. Davies 2012: 76, via Cassius Dio 47.19.1.

67. See also Barnes 2005 on London and Paris in the nineteenth century, which each suffered their own "Great Stink" as a result of excess of human excrement; actions on them were delayed by political infighting and decentralized government. Frequently, cleaning up the city necessitated cleansing it of political rivals.

68. Juvenal refers to excretion at public statues, as Priapus does here, but Persius refers to excretion at tombs. Tombs warned about the dangers of excreting at their site so frequently that it became a joke, as when Trimalchio expresses angst about the possibility (*Sat. 68*). Milnor 2014: 65-66 discusses a Pompeian graffito that jokes about the practice.

himself is "split open" (*diffissa*, 57) by his own attempt to express power.⁶⁹ Gowers reads the passage as a joke at Priapus's expense, especially given the popularity of figs as a simile for hemorrhoids: rather than a macho rapist, Priapus acts like and resembles an anus.⁷⁰ Farting is also abject, and has servile connotations that go back to Aristophanes.⁷¹

The Priapus statue is probably the most discussed element of this satire, as it is difficult not to connect him with Horace and the role of the satirist. Emily Gowers has read *Satires* 1.8 as Horace's attempt to turn over a new leaf after discussing his role in the battle of Philippi, albeit indirectly, in *Satires* 1.7.⁷² This fresh start requires the "sunny gardens and pure house" of Maecenas, Gowers argues; yet surely the focus of *Satires* 1.8 is on the debatable purity of this house. The Priapus figure does discuss his creation as a fresh start: once "useless wood" (*inutile lignum*, 1.8.1), his creation allows him to find his purpose in frightening off intruders from the garden (1.8.3-7). Although this is a fitting metaphor for a satirist's success as well as for his anxiety about his role in an aristocratic literary circle, it is significant that this metaphor manifests itself in a landscape that had also recently been changed.⁷³ Like the Priapus statue,

69. Stratton 2014: 158 sees this as a humorously weakened version of rape.

70. Gowers 2012: 279.

71. See *Frogs* 1-35, in which a slave makes a series of fart jokes.

72. Gowers 2002: 147; following Henderson 1998: 83-84.

Horace describes the previous use of the landscape as a waste—it was ugly to look at and housed the worst the city had to offer. The emphasis on the change from ugliness to beauty, and from being useless to useful, gives the description the feel of an *apologia*. This fits in with Horace's hyperbolic reference in the *Odes* to the decadence of Maecenas's villa: *fastidiosam desere copiam et / molem propinquam nubibus arduis* ("Give up on disdainful abundance, and / the hulking mass near the lofty clouds," 3.29.9-10).

The witches, of course, star as the central examples and agents of disgust in the poem, invading the homes of the wealthy. A villa placed so close to the city would be impossible to close off completely from the more general urban populace, especially given the patron-client system that allowed for numerous visitors to an ostensibly private space.⁷⁴ Amy Richlin has read these witches as targets of gender and age based invective.⁷⁵ Kimberly Stratton has read them as the manifestation of Roman fears about abjection, as proposed by Kristeva. The witches' use of corpses for their rituals reflect fears about the loss of agency that come with dying; the flatulence that Priapus uses to drive them off is itself humiliating. But the witches also violate spatial boundaries: they go out at night, and invade gardens.⁷⁶ Richlin has read their act of invading the garden as their entrance into the generic space of satire and Roman humor more generally: this is

73. Horace might have additionally been thinking of his hometown, Venusia, which had suffered during the recent civil wars along with the rest of southern Italy. Gowers notes the prevalence of mutilated characters that he meets along the way as he travels from Rome to Brundisium in *Satires* 1.5 (2012: 186).

74. In addition, suburban villas were meant to be connected to city traffic. Newsome 2011: 24-25 looks at Cicero's search for a suburban villa. He is specifically looking for a site that is *celeber* (*Att.* 12.19.1; 12.23.3; 12.37.2), an adjective that depends on transitory traffic; villas adjacent to the city were meant to be ostentatiously outside of it, although they depended on traffic to them or nearby for cultural capital. See also Russell 2015: 25-42.

75. Richlin 1992: 126. See also Richlin 1992: 109-16 and 2014: 71-74 for old women as the source of invective.

76. Stratton 2014: 152 mentions Erietho, the witch in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, who inhabits tombs and only goes out at night (6.518-520).

why they are thwarted, and even appear ridiculous.⁷⁷ But this rejection may also represent the guarding of literal urban space: as poor, old, crazy women, they are unwelcome in elite space.⁷⁸

More specifically, a contemporary reader would have picked up on Horace's suggestion that their natural habitat is the Subura. When the witches flee, they run only "to the city" (*in urbem*, *S.* 1.8.47), but the path down from the Esquiline led into the Subura. The Subura is also connected to the witches' appearance in the *Epodes*, when, with Sagana's help, Canidia starves a child to death to use as an ingredient in a love potion, meant to torture a man who has rejected her. The location of the ritual itself is unclear; Horace mentions only a house (*domum* 5.25). But the target of Canidia's potion is located in the Subura: *senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum / latrent Suburanae canes* ("Let the dogs of the Subura bark at the old man adulterer, so that everyone laughs," *Epod.* 5.57-58).⁷⁹ There are also two other witches, Veia and Folia (5.29, 5.42), who do not appear in *S.* 1.8; in their rightful place, the witches appear in even greater numbers. There are more of them out there.

Writing a story about ugly women on the Esquiline might also reflect broader associations between prostitution and that area. The goddess Libitina, who presided over death and burial, was also associated with Venus; there was a temple to her in the grove of Libitina near the Esquiline Gate, and she was celebrated as the patron of gardens (*Venus Lubentina*).

77. Richlin 1992: 66. See also Richlin 1992: 9 on the garden as the area delimited by satire.

78. It should be noted that, despite this admonition, non-elite old women would have had significant roles in elite households, e.g. as *nutrices*, nurses, or *praeeficae*, professional mourners. On the *nutrix* in the Roman household, see Bradley 1986. On the *praeefica*, see Richlin 2014a: 267-288; Corbeill 2004: 75-77.

79. See above in Chapter 1 on the Subura as a motif in satire and related genres.

Near the Colline Gate, the gate on the other side of the Servian *agger*, was a temple to Venus Erycina, patron of prostitutes.⁸⁰ Bodel sees these two goddesses as the conceptual association between sex and death, and especially the "low" versions of both of these things, being mapped onto the city: brothels and potter's fields.⁸¹ Martial and Juvenal later makes casual references to women who hang out in tombs outside the city as especially cheap prostitutes.⁸² This might also explain why the witches fall apart at the end of the satire and are revealed to be impotent old women instead: witches are just superannuated prostitutes with delusions of grandeur. In throwing them out of the garden, the Priapus statue attempts to reiterate the boundaries created by the construction of the villa: the women must now go to the Subura, where cheap prostitution belongs.

Movement, Memory, and Street Culture

Satires 1.8 is unusual in that it takes place in two locations but does not involve any movement on the part of the interlocutor, since one location is superimposed on the other. Satire is generally concerned with movement through the city, especially as an expression of social hierarchy; Horace calls the muse of his satire a "pedestrian" (*pedestri*, *Sat.* 2.6.17). *Satires* 1.9 is the most obvious expression of this: Horace maps his social standing and his role as satirist onto movement through the city. Even more general descriptions of city-wide vices often have

80. The association is discussed in Ovid's *Fasti*: on the Vinalia, prostitutes (*volgares puellae* 4.865) worship Venus Erycina at the Colline Gate and pray for good business (866-870).

81. Bodel 2000: 137. See also T. P. Wiseman 1998 on these two goddesses.

82. See Martial 1.34.7-8. As seen above, tombs were also used as covert places to excrete; the old women, already connected with death and cheap prostitution, are further relegated to the lower bodily strata. Again, see Stratton 2014 for the connection between witches and the abject.

descriptions of movement scattered within them. Rather than giving a panoramic view of the city, Horace's satires tends to use scattered allusions that imply familiarity with a range of sites in the city, as experienced through walking, rather than a bird's eye view.

This section of the chapter focuses on walking through the city in Horace's satires—on how walking through the city relates to memory. Like most other authors, Horace wrote for an elite audience. Walking through the city, however, meant being among and reacting to the street culture of the urban poor. This reaction shows up in Horace's work, but has been interpreted in terms of what Ray Laurence, drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, describes as the conception of movement, rather than the actual lived experience of movement.⁸³ But Horace's description of the city also alludes to a street culture that was largely exclusive of the elite, and had its own system for memory.

As in the previous section, the question of who is remembering is key. This has become somewhat contentious in recent scholarship on the role Roman landscape plays in Roman memory. Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp has discussed the role of the city of Rome in reinforcing and even explaining Roman culture and history to Roman citizens ("in the strictest sense of the term," 482). In doing so he draws on Jan Assman's idea of "cultural memory," i.e. a society's collective knowledge of itself, especially its defining characteristics and historical roots. He also draws on Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire*, the sites or objects that helped the French understand their national identity and past.

Hölkeskamp focuses on a monumental landscape—statues, temples, dedications of spolia, and inscriptions—that was made up of a nexus of sites, legends, concepts, and events

83. Laurence 2015: 176 blames this emphasis in the scholarship on the reliance on literary sources for evidence, which is natural given the relative lack of material evidence in Rome—as compared to Pompeii, for instance.

which collectively reinforced the Romans' "theology of victory" (481), their sense that their military success was divinely aided. One of his primary examples is the temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum, which had a series of military conquests associated with it throughout the Republican period. According to legend, in 499 BC the Dioscuri had appeared to the Romans and ensured their victory at the battle of Lake Regillus. They had also appeared the same day in the Forum itself, watering their horses at the lacus Iuturnae. Hölkeskamp not only points to the religious importance of this site, where the temple was dedicated only a few years later, but also looks at the continuing popularity of the legend of the Dioscuri. Their story was circulated in text, and in the late fourth century the triumphator Q. Marcius Tremulus dedicated an equestrian statue of himself in front of the temple, to celebrate his victory over the Hernici—one of the tribes associated with the original legend. Much later, in the early first century, A. Postumius Albinus circulated a coin with the Dioscuri watering their horses—Hölkeskamp points out that this coin would have been decipherable to the public in part because of the landscape of the city, and also would have recalled to them A. Postumius Regillensis, hero of the battle of Lake Regillus.⁸⁴ This monument, with its associations, Hölkeskamp argues, was only one of many sites that were a sort of marker for and repository of memories associated with Roman military victory. Although they used different media and were layered on top of each other, he argues that ultimately they would have presented a consistent message about Roman dominance to the viewer—whether a Roman citizen or a foreign enemy.

Hölkeskamp focuses on sites that had been the object of many consistent attempts by the Roman elite to establish and control Roman memory—the Forum Romanum and the Capitoline

84. Hölkeskamp 2006: 487.

especially, since they were also the sites of Roman political functions. Roman politics was played out on a landscape of memory, which then fueled future decisions to establish more monuments there. This trend contributed to a sense of Roman-ness that was, he says, solidified by the mid-second century: Roman identity was war and conquest, and associated with a system of values and norms that were set forth by exempla that began with Romulus. T. P. Wiseman has argued that these sites themselves could not generate memory, although they could perhaps remind an audience of what they already knew. He looks at a variety of sources from various points in the empire to show that the Roman elite, although they may have thought of statues and temples as keepers of memories, relied on inscriptions to interpret sites, rather than the sites per se, and on oral narratives to learn their own past.⁸⁵

Both Hölkeskamp and Wiseman, however, look at the role of sites in relation to memory, rather than movement. More recently, Amy Russell has looked at the way movement through and between monumental structures from Rome's past creates narrative. She explores the difference between the way individual and communal narratives were formed in antiquity: individuals, she says, were free to create a narrative of their choosing by wandering through and by different memory sites as they pleased. Communal memory, by contrast, was formed by ritualized and prescribed processions through the city. In exploring the role of the individual, Russell draws on Michel de Certeau's work on the individual walking through the city; rather than consumers or the subjects of space, de Certeau theorized pedestrians as creators of "spatial

85. Wiseman 2014. See Hölkeskamp 2014 in the same volume for his reply to Wiseman, which emphasizes that monuments and other traditions of memory comprised a "web of significance." Both of these analyses dodge discussion of communal memory, as discussed by the Public Memory Group, which emphasizes the contested nature of public memory, including what they call "dominant memory," which is opposed by and silences other historical agents.

stories" through their unique movements through the city. In this view of the city, even following someone is an exercise in the unknowability of the individual; individual paths through the city are unrepeatable and difficult even to represent. As the function of a particular time and space, it is impossible ever to cross the same street twice.⁸⁶

Russell emphasizes that, beginning with Caesar, imperial fora were ways to read the past: manipulating space and the viewer's line of sight, and creating a static monument that was not experienced as an organic or even ritualized movement through space—a "snapshot of a particular moment, not an evolving narrative bringing together multiple pasts" (485). Russell's work comes closest to acknowledging the distance between the discourse intended by the creation and curation of public spaces, especially those associated with memory, and the chaos that is inherent in practical movement through the city. Her work focuses on how these monuments might have been read more organically than Hölkeskamp suggests, but ultimately still reads Roman landscape as a series of monuments that reinforced Roman conceptions of military dominance.

Russell emphasizes the ability of individuals to form their own narrative of Rome's military past, but there is evidence in Horace that this was an activity that was considered exclusive to the elite. At the beginning of *Satires* 1.2, Horace imagines a funeral procession of urban bottom-dwellers (1-3):

ambubaiaram collegia, pharmacopolae,
mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
maestum et sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.

All the guilds of go-go girls, the quacks,
the beggars, the showgirls, the babblers, this whole tribe

86. De Certeau 1984.

was moved and miserable over the death of Tigellius the singer.

The insult to Tigellius is that he consorted with these people, that they are the only ones who mourn him, and that his funeral procession is a testament to his poor choices rather than his achievements. The image is also a joke because actors and erotic dancers are making up a funeral procession. Being attended by the wrong kind of people while moving in public is a trope of Roman rhetoric: compare Cicero's accusation that Antony wandered around Italy with a *mima* and her entourage of actors and pimps, while his mother was sent to the back of the convoy (*Phil.* 2.58).⁸⁷ The impropriety that Cicero exploits here is taken to a ridiculous extreme by Horace: bawdy entertainers have no place in a solemn procession—that is, processions through the city that are tied to sites of memory.

But even elite Romans also thought about the role of Rome's landscape in a more expansive way than as an assemblage of monuments that recalled military victories. Varro defines place as the site of motion: *neque motus, ubi non corpus et locus, quod alterum est quod movetur alterum ubi* ("There's no motion, where there is no body and place, because the latter is what is moved, the former is where," *Ling.* 5.12); *ubi agitur, locus* ("Where something is moved, there is a place," *L.* 5.1).⁸⁸ Place can also be a pause in motion, however: *ubi quodque constitit, locus* ("Where anything stands still, that's a place," *L.* 5.15). In his argument on the importance of movement as an organizing principle of the city, David Newsome shows how the

87. See Corbeill 2003: 107-39 on walking as a trope in rhetoric. Corbeill identifies the elite form of walking, which was purposeful, solemn, and measured. As a result, deviations from this pattern were a legitimate form of moral criticism in oratory.

88. Newsome 2011: 21 sees these first two definitions as contradictory, a reading which depends on the meaning of *ubi*. He translates *ubi* in the first passage, in the definition of motion, as "where to," and the second as "where." But *ubi* designates a site in which, not a site to which, and so these are not contradictory: both see *locus* as the site of motion.

Romans valued both places that were the object of movement—places to which movement was directed, and at which movement stopped—and places which were the site of movement.⁸⁹

Paul Allen Miller has interpreted movement through the city in satire as a function of its inherent sadism: movement prompts the reader to a series of grotesque scenes, which the reader can sadistically enjoy behind a framework of reaffirming social hierarchy⁹⁰ Movement, in this sense, is the seam between these scenes, and part of what allows the satirist to juxtapose the high and the low of the city for the readers' delight. In using this framework, Miller seems to be following Yi Fu Tuan's interpretation of the difference between place and space (1977: 6). Tuan argues that movement derives meaning in allowing the reader/narrative to move from one "place" to another. As such, Miller argues that Horace uses movement to transport readers from one site of sadism to another. The satirist's greatest job, by inference, is identifying and connecting these places of sadism in the overarching "space" of the city.⁹¹

But elite Romans assigned meaning to movement per se, a fact which is evident from the rules and values they imposed on walking through the city: walking was a performance of aristocratic identity, and was an inherently social practice. Timothy O'Sullivan, drawing on Walter Benjamin, argues that the solitary flâneur did not exist before Paris; walking in Rome as a cultural practice was always meant to be social.⁹² Partly, this was the result of an overcrowded city, and the prevalence of slave labor, such as Horace's slave attendant in *Satires* 1.6. Even with

89. Newsome 2011 looks specifically at the *locus celeberrimus*, a site designated as "famous" because of how heavily it was frequented, which Horace refers to once (*Ep.* 1.17.28).

90. Miller 2007.

91. Yi Fu Tuan 1977: 6 on the relationship of space and place.

92. O'Sullivan 2011: 6; Benjamin 1999: 417.

these caveats, however, O'Sullivan argues that walking in Rome, for the upper class, was a communal activity because of how much it was a performance of identity: walking implied an audience, and a group contributed to visible status.⁹³

In addition to being attended by a group and clad in the appropriate attire, a proper aristocratic walk in the city had to be conducted at a particular pace. Monica Hellström has discussed swift movement through the city as antithetical to aristocratic ideals. Self-control demanded a plodding pace through the city, abetted by the restrictive toga and a large unwieldy entourage.⁹⁴ Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis has shown how the imperial fora reinforced this cultural practice by being less accessible and useful for passage through the city: the spaces where the elite were most likely to do business were also the spaces that encouraged limited and unhurried movement.⁹⁵

If there is a proper landscape of the city that dictates cultural memory, and especially a proper way to move through the city, then by necessity there have to be people and places that lie outside of and even resist these definitions: the wrong kind of people who move through the city, or do not move through the city, or move through the wrong parts, or in the wrong way. Peter O'Neill's work on *circuli* and *circulatores* shows that references to plebeian culture in literary

93. Compare comedy, in which characters, performed by slaves and low status free people, frequently wander alone through the city, looking for someone. On walking in Plautus's plays, see Panayotakis 2005. On Horace's criticism of comic walking in Plautus's plays, i.e. characters walking in funny shoes, see Freudenberg 2014: 31-33, discussing *Ep.* 2.1.170-74.

94. Hellström 2015 looks at this phenomenon in Cassius Dio and Herodian, but argues that later interpretations of speed in the city were based on Republican ideals. See also Favro 2014: 85-86, and Corbeill 2003: 107-118 for further discussions of movement as a class-defining act.

95. Macaulay-Lewis 2011.

texts frequently reflect an anxiety on the part of the authors about the presence of unauthorized and unmoderated gatherings of the non-elite.⁹⁶ Horace goes a step further in expressing anxiety about the elite partaking in these same activities, and in some cases offers a sterilized form of them that respectable citizens like himself can partake in.

Horace addresses the issue of where in the city male citizens may appropriately go when he mockingly praises the brothel as an outlet for citizen men's lusts (*S.* 1.2.31-35):

quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, "macte
virtute esto," inquit sententia dia Catonis:
"nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido,
huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas
permolere uxores." 35

When a certain famous man left the brothel, "Bravo,
old boy!" said the divine pronouncement of Cato:
"For as soon as foul lust has bloated the veins,
it is proper that young men go down there, and not bang
other men's wives." 35

Although sex work would have been distributed throughout the entire city, the poem still emphasizes the spatial difference between the city of the elite and that of the urban poor: young men "descend" into the brothel (*descendere*). The *fornix* is low by nature; prostitutes are low in status, probably servile; the *fornix* would be low by extension, although all extant archaeological evidence of brothels and *cellae meretriciae* indicates they were at street level.⁹⁷ The *fornix* itself is an archway, as prostitution was associated with the archways of public theaters and stadiums,

96. O'Neill 2003.

97. There is only one purpose-built brothel extant, in Pompeii (V.12.18), although Laurence has argued for other *cellae meretriciae* (1994: 73). McGinn discusses these sites and the difficulties in counting brothels in Pompeii because of the flexible definition of a brothel, and the ease with which sex work was conducted in a variety of places (2004: 198-204).

which were not physically low. Horace mocks the tone of this attitude, but ultimately agrees with it, and assumes knowledge of it in his audience. More superficially, the humor of the joke depends on the juxtaposition of Cato and the brothel; it is incongruous to think of the elder Cato standing outside a *fornix*, congratulating a young man as he comes out. The moral difference between sex with married citizen women and sex with prostitutes is mapped out spatially, even though realistically these spaces and people would have been diffused and mixed throughout the city. The same tension appears with the *popina*, which is often mentioned alongside the brothel. It is a place both by and for the poor; anyone's choice to go there is an example of poor taste, but this is especially true for elite citizens. Horace is both mocking and prescriptive when, in the second book of his satires, he compares his hanger-on Mulvius's predilection for the *popina* with his own desperation for an invitation to dinner (*S.* 2.7.39-42).⁹⁸ Both patronizing a *popina* and begging for a dinner invitation are worthy of condemnation, but the *popina* categorically belongs to slaves and the poor. On the other hand, the food it serves is delicious—elsewhere Horace praises it as good food for heavy drinking (*S.* 2.5.62). He also uses both the *popina* and the brothel to represent the city entirely (*Ep.* 1.14.21-22); both these spaces are categorically inappropriate for respectable Roman citizens, but also have obvious appeal. This tension is managed in satire by imagining these spaces as somehow physically separated from the rest of the city.

Horace's tendency to engage in social policing, as a male author broadly invested in maintaining social hierarchy, has often been noted. But Horace also occasionally envisions himself as a humble member of the urban crowd, and in doing so co-opts the practices of the

98. See above on the *popina*, especially as a site of anxiety about social mixing.

urban poor. At several times he describes himself, for example, going for "solitary walks." In *Satires* 1.9, he claims that is alone in his thoughts (1.9.1-2). In another satire, he also envisions himself going on a solitary walk through the city, participating in explicitly non-elite urban activities (*S.* 1.6.110-15):

hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,	110
milibus atque aliis vivo. quacumque libido est,	
incedo solus, percontor quanti holus ac far,	
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro	
saepe forum, adsisto divinis, inde domum me	
ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum	115

In this way I live more pleasantly than you, distinguished senator,	110
and thousands	
of others. I go by myself, wherever I desire,	
I ask how much vegetables and wheat cost,	
I often wander around the treacherous? beguiling? circus and the twilight forum,	
I stand by the soothsayers, then I take myself home	
to a plate of leeks, chickpeas, and hotcakes.	115

O'Sullivan accounts for this by saying that Horace is differentiating himself from his overly ambitious peers.⁹⁹ In describing himself this way, Horace not only sets himself apart from his aristocratic peers but co-opts poverty as an aesthetic—all the more so because his reader would probably imagine him as accompanied by one or more slaves in both of these instances. This co-optation has been remarked upon as a literary construct, meant to represent the role of satire, or Horace's place in aristocratic literary circles. It has not been discussed as evidence for the complicated relationship between different social groups within the city. In identifying with the poor who walk through and enjoy the city alone, Horace acknowledges them as a culture outside the usual purview of the elite. At the same time, he places them on a kind of spectrum of elite activity. Astrologers were extremely popular at the end of the Republic and early empire, and

99. O'Sullivan 2011: 7.

were consulted for important political decisions—but astrologers available to the poor are dismissed as a quaint or useless version of the same thing.¹⁰⁰

Horace also co-opts the street culture of the non-elite by comparing the role of the satirist to that of the *scurra*.¹⁰¹ The *scurra*, a kind of stand-up comedian, is connected to the urban landscape from his first appearance in Latin literature.¹⁰² Like the parasite, he was dependent on patrons for his livelihood, and is occasionally featured as part of a street scene, such as when Horace satirizes a man who spends money as soon as he gets it (*S.* 2.3.226-30):

edicat piscator uti, pomarius, auceps...
unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia Vici,
cum scurris fartor cum Velabro omne macellum,
mane domum veniant.

He sends out a public decree that the fisherman, the fruit-seller, the bird-catcher, the perfume seller and the wicked bunch from the Vicus Tuscus, the sausage maker with the stand-up comedians, the whole meat market with the Velabrum, should come to his house in the morning.

In satire, the *scurra* is obviously only visible as he is relevant to an elite audience. It makes sense in that light that he is listed with other commodities: jokes are for sale along with meat, poultry, perfume, and sex.¹⁰³ But like the *circulatores* that O'Neill discusses, this may be a part of street culture that was visible but often unrelated to elite circles.

100. Cato, Cicero, Livy, and Juvenal all repeat this trope (Cato, *Ag.* 5, Cic. *Div.* 1.132, Livy 39.16.8, Juv. 6.582-91). On the history of astrology in Rome, see Volk 2009.

101. Gowers discusses the similarity between Horace and the *scurra* in several passages: concerning *S.* 1.23-24 (2012: 68); concerning *S.* 1.4.82-88 (2012: 172); concerning *S.* 1.5.52 (2012: 200). See also Corbett 1986, and Damon 1997: 109-13.

102. See Richlin 2016, and above in Chapter 1 on the *scurra*.

103. See above in Chapter 1 on the Vicus Tuscus.

As seen above, Rome at the end of the Republic had a population of roughly one million, although estimations vary; given the lack of transportation, inhabitants clustered around the city center rather than spreading out as in modern cities.¹⁰⁴ Claire Holleran discusses the reliance on streets as commercial and social gathering places in such a dense city, where housing was probably unstable for much of the population.¹⁰⁵ Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Renia Ehrenfeucht have discussed the modern suppression of sidewalk culture in many Western cities, especially the combination of a cultural emphasis on streets as methods of transportation rather than as places to loiter (itself a weighted term), and of architectural and infrastructural policies against the homeless and other residents of the streets. Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht do not discuss the ancient world in their work, but Jeremy Hartnett's work on the role of obstacles in the Pompeiian street might identify a similar tension in the use of Roman streets.¹⁰⁶ Hartnett emphasizes that modern conceptions about the role of sidewalk shop frontages should not be blindly applied to the streets of Pompeii: unhindered passage through the streets was not an expectation the Romans had, and there is a wealth of evidence to indicate a street culture that thrived on slow and frequently hindered passage through the street.

Hartnett also points out the work of the elite to regulate passage through the street, often at the expense of urban workers. Goods, for instance, could not be displayed outside of shops; exceptions to this rule for tanners and fullers still stipulated that they could not block vehicular

104. See Holleran 2011 for a discussion of street life in ancient Rome.

105. Holleran 2011: 254-55.

106. Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht 2009: 15. They do acknowledge that the Romans had a word for sidewalks (*semita*), but discussion of the Roman tradition of sidewalk culture is brief: it existed, but ended with the sack of Rome. Hartnett 2011 almost directly addresses this gap, although the use of the word "hindrance" suggests the primacy of movement in the streets (136), an emphasis Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht might disagree with.

passage.¹⁰⁷ Hartnett also draws on the *Tabula Heracleensis*, from southern Italy, for evidence of the privileging of passage through the street: city officials are given responsibility for maintaining traversable streets, which includes preventing construction in public spaces and removing standing water.¹⁰⁸ In part these must have been public health measures—the Romans recognized the propensity for disease from standing water, for instance. But the prioritization of passage through the street implies a parallel regulation of street culture—which was largely the domain of the urban poor.

Horace also alludes to non-elite street culture when he describes alternative sites or ways of communicating information. He describes a rumor moving from the Rostra through the *compita* of the city (*S.* 2.6.50-1). Here there does not seem to be any sort of value judgement attached to this kind of movement, except inasmuch as rumors are worthy of condemnation.¹⁰⁹ But the *compita* appear again as the site of gossip when a character named Damasippus recalls that men on streetcorners used to comment on his success in commerce: *frequentia Mercuriali / imposuere mihi cognomen compita* ("The busy streetcorners gave me the nickname 'Mercury Man,'" *S.* 2.3.25-26). Damasippus recalls the practice of proceeding publicly through the city as a performance of elite identity, but inverts that practice by saying proudly that it is the men who hang around in the street who give him this identity. Hanging out in the street was not an elite practice. Horace is not explicit about who these men might have been, but the *compita* appear

107. Hartnett 2011: 139, with reference to *Dig.* 43.10.4, which also forbids fighting, dung-flinging, and leaving dead animals and pelts in the street. Vehicular passage was itself regulated, due to the noise that it caused.

108. Hartnett 2011: 143, with reference to *CIL* XII.593.

109. It is also unclear how fast Horace wants the rumor to be going. The verb he uses is *manat*, which can mean both to "drip" and to "flow."

elsewhere in Horace in connection with freedmen, and the festival of the *compita*, to the *lares compitales*, was also strongly associated with them.¹¹⁰

Horace alludes to this non-elite urban culture in connection with memory in a passing but marked reference at the beginning of *Satires* 1.7, when he introduces a story he says must already be extremely well circulated: *omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse* ("It's known to all the bleary-eyed and barbers," *S.* 1.7.3). The barbers are not located in this satire, but they are elsewhere connected with urban living. They are frequent targets in satire because of their pervasiveness in all rungs of Roman society, and are one of the few instances where a powerful Roman male citizen might find himself helpless. The fact that the story is known to both barbers and the bleary-eyed has been read as the result of barbers' selling medicines in addition to haircuts: the bleary-eyed would know the gossip best. Emily Gowers considers the introduction *Satires* 1.7 to be a disavowal: what he has to offer in the satire is old news, already trickled down to even the most insignificant gossips. But this introduction also serves to contrast Horace's method of preserving and circulating the story—a satire, passed around a small group of readers—with alternative and less elite versions of passing along and retaining memory. The memory in question is of the civil war. The satire describes a courtroom battle between two contemptible characters, an eastern Greek businessman named Persius and the proscribed Praenestine Rupilius Rex, a trial presided over by Marcus Brutus. The satire ends with a quip about the Brutus family's tendency towards tyrannicide (*S.* 1.7.35), a dangerous topic in a city

110. See above in Chapter 1 on the *compita*; as well as Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 259-312 on the *vicomagistri* and their role at the Compitalia (also discussed in chapter 5), as well as Flower 2017: 116-47 for a discussion of the *compita*'s role in Roman religion.

barely recovering from a civil war, and especially because Horace had initially supported Brutus before turning to Augustus.

Gowers goes further and reads Horace's autobiography in the stain of *lippus*.¹¹¹ The bleary-eyed represent people who turn a blind eye, and contrast with barbers, who observe: the two represent two different ways to witness history, and especially to write satire. The bleary-eyed represent the political act of forgetting. Gowers is interested in barbers for their propensity for violence; they stand in for forthright satirists and tyrannicides.¹¹² In reading the barbers this way, she is also following the tradition of reading this passage with the connection the satirist Persius makes between barbers and satirists: both have access to a lot of information, but cannot safely share it (1.119-23). But Horace is contrasting the barbers in this poem with his own role as satirist: both remember and share information, but the barbers have done it quicker, and more freely than Horace, who clouds political commentary with allegory. In comparing his own story to a barber's gossip, Horace alludes to a culture of political memory that both intersects with and functions very differently from his own.

Conclusion: The Art of Loitering

One of Downtown Los Angeles' many recent renovations was the creation of a small park on Spring Street. The park stands sandwiched between two beautiful pre-war buildings, the Rowan Building and the El Dorado, which had themselves been recently renovated and sold as expensive loft apartments. The lofts themselves romanticize Downtown Los Angeles' past, and

111. Gowers 2002: 146-152.

112. Gowers 2002: 159.

the Rowan Building even has pictures from before the building's restoration, like images of relics. The park is only a few blocks from Pershing Square, which was itself completely rebuilt in the 1990s, and which may undergo new renovations in the coming years. Soon after the new park was created, however, complaints began to roll in that maintenance was lacking, and the park was being abused: one tenant in the nearby loft complained that his view included passed out drunk people in the park; another witnessed a woman giving a child a bath in the fountain.¹¹³

Urban spaces ostensibly open to the public tend still to envision a very limited public as their intended users; compare, for instance, the recent trend of adding partitions to benches at bus stops so that it is uncomfortable or even impossible to lie down on them. Los Angeles' light rail line was recently expanded, and a bike path was intended to run parallel to the new line. A stretch of about a mile was excluded from the bike path, however; the local community feared that thieves would bicycle into their neighborhoods, rob them, and pedal away.¹¹⁴ The park on Spring Street is only a few blocks away from Pershing Square, which was famously the site of race-related riots before it was rebuilt, and before that was a popular site of homosexual prostitution, as John Rechy famously recounts in his semi-autobiographical 1963 novel, *City of Night*. The rebuilt Pershing Square addresses those events, and tries hard to forget them, by raising the park away from ground level, and setting it off from the sidewalk around it by a series of walls and steps; more interior walls regulate passage within.¹¹⁵

113. Evans 2015 includes the police response that homeless park goers are not doing anything illegal by being there, even if they are sleeping, yelling, or otherwise making people uncomfortable.

114. Tinoco 2016.

115. Hawthorne 2016 discusses the history of Pershing Square and its redesign, as well as plans for a new design which uses "radical flatness" to integrate the square into the surrounding community.

The Subura is repeatedly associated with prostitution in Roman satire, but Thomas McGinn shows that Rome had no zoning laws for sex work, and there is evidence that prominent Romans lived in the Subura.¹¹⁶ That does not mean, however, that elite Roman builders did not still intend certain usages for public space and plan to limit others. This control has been addressed as a political tactic, especially for the regulation of other wealthy citizens, but less so as a tactic to regulate the movement of the poor through the city. Joshel and Petersen have discussed slaves' use of urban space as a resistance tactic.¹¹⁷ In *Satires* 1.8, Horace addresses this unsanctioned use of space by the poor—the gardens of Maecenas are not technically open to the public the way that other gardens were during this period, but he characterizes them as generally accessible in that people can take walks there. But the witches do not want to use this space as intended; rather, they want to make use of what the space used to be. In doing so they fly in the face of the Augustan program of urban expansion, sanitation, and beautification, a program with both a specific agenda of remembering, and another for forgetting.

In the second half of this chapter, I argued that Horace's satiric works acknowledge more generally a street culture that is categorically different from the elite Roman practice of processions through the city. Horace both mocks this culture and co-opts it. But I want to end this chapter by looking briefly at how Ovid addresses forgetting in the landscape of the *Ars Amatoria*. Commentators have often remarked on the fact that while Horace wrote the bulk of

116. McGinn 2004; notable residents of the Subura included Julius Caesar in the first century BCE (Suetonius, *Caes.* 46), and the consul Stella in the reign of Domitian (Martial, 12.3.9-12, 12.21.5). On the development of zoning sex work in conjunction with shifting philosophies about sexuality, see Harper 2013.

117. Joshel and Petersen 2014: 87-117.

his work at the turbulent beginning of Augustus's reign, Ovid wrote up to and beyond its mostly peaceful end. The *Ars Amatoria* dates probably to 2 AD, when Horace's writing days were behind him and Augustus had been ruling for decades; at this point it might have been easier to ignore or forget the turbulence at the end of the Republic, and Tacitus would later remark on this forgetfulness among the elite (*Ann.* 1.3).¹¹⁸ Ovid's use of the Augustan political landscape for a potential sex romp is usually described in this light: Ovid, who was born in 43 BC, the year of the proscriptions, either has no memory of the violence at the end of the Republic and so would not think to fear it, or believes enough time has passed that he can make light of it, both in general with a treatise on extramarital sex that flew in the face of Augustus's laws on marriage, and by specifically setting that treatise in Augustus's sites of memory.¹¹⁹

In Book 1 of the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid famously uses Augustus's Rome as a series of places to cruise, and includes among them a list of famous sites of cultural memory, as defined by Hölkeskamp: the Porticus of Pompey (67), the Porticus of Octavia (69-70), the Theater of Marcellus (70), the Porticus of Livia (71-2), the Temple of Palatine Apollo (73-4), the Temple of Isis (77), the Forum of Julius Caesar (81-2), the Theater of Pompey (103), the Palatine Hill (105), the Forum Romanum (164), the Forum of Augustus (170, 180-1), the Naumachia of Augustus (171-2), the Circus Maximus (136, 163, 408), and the path through the city traversed during the Roman triumph (1.177-228). All of these sites were part of the monumental landscape that was closely associated with either the Republican past or the Augustan regime, which connected itself closely with Rome's ancient past. Readers of Ovid have identified this

118. See Gibson 2007:93-99 for Ovid's work as a critique of Horace's politics.

119. Holleman 1971: 463-66; Wallace-Hadrill 1989: 162-3; Davis 1995: 186ff.

choice with Ovid's decision to focus on the modern city and practices of Rome, rather than the archaizing trends that characterized Augustus's political program.

In addition to treating the city as one devoid of cultural memory, Ovid also says he is dealing only with certain people in it. He begins with a disclaimer that his text is not meant to be applied to married women; they are warned off from the text as if it were a physical space (1.31-34), a claim he repeats later in the *Ars* (3.483-4, 615-16), and again in the *Tristia* (2.243-50).¹²⁰ But of course, although sometimes the women in the *Ars* act as an elite audience would expect sexually available non-citizen or otherwise non-elite women to act, often they have the trappings and respectability of married citizen women.¹²¹ Roy Gibson argues that in so writing them Ovid rejects the moral and legal categories of *matrona* and *meretrix*: the women he discusses or addresses have all of the sexual availability of freedwomen and/or prostitutes, but all of the trappings and prestige of married citizen women. For Gibson, this is Ovid refusing to acknowledge the categories established by Roman legal tradition, as in Horace *S.* 1.2, and newly reinforced by the *lex Iulia*, as a "moral reality."¹²² Even more immediately, however, this is Ovid insisting on urban reality: these categories overlapped spatially as much as they did morally.

As with Downtown Los Angeles, there are two cities being conflated: in Downtown, there is the version of the city that suggests its previous glory is being renovated and improved

120. Volk 2010: 101 uses these lines, and the fact that Ovid did not face any serious consequences for eight years after the publication of the *Ars*, to conclude that probably the *carmen* had little to do with his exile in DATE.

121. Fulfilling the stereotypes and expectations of non-elite women: 1.399-436, 3.417-24, 3.461-66, 3.479-82, 3.749-68, 3.805-8; as wealthy or married women: 1.351-74, 1.487-90, 2.251-60, 2.295-302, 2.355-72, 2.535-600, 3.483-98, 3.601-10.

122. Gibson 2007: 86-92.

upon, alongside the version that says it encompasses and is adjacent to Skid Row, with a large homeless population and frequent drug use. In Augustan Rome, there is the urban landscape created or heavily influenced by Augustus, which encouraged (male citizen) viewers to recall a specific version of Rome's past—one that did not include the proscriptions, or heads on the rostra, or the displacement of the urban poor. On the other hand, there was the version of the city that that was not interested in this artificially created memory. This city included not only political dissidents, but the displaced urban poor. Ovid conflates these two cities by suggesting that elite male readers use the landscape of political memory in order to pursue sexually available women. His disclaimer should protect him, because, like the brothel in Horace's satires, the regulation of social mixing in urban spaces is also a gendered concern. Men may visit a brothel, and likewise may have sex with women found around the city, without any repercussions, as long as the women are not respectable married citizens. Ovid's insistence on the overlap between appropriate and inappropriate women to have extramarital sex with represents an awareness of—and a satirical delight in—the impossibility of separating one city from another.

Horace and Ovid wrote and were part of a city undergoing its most significant changes to date. Many of the changes to the city at that time were the direct result of the political upheaval of civil war, and the emperor that followed it. Nearly a century after Horace wrote *Satires* 1, Persius and Petronius would write under another dynamic emperor who made sweeping changes to the urban landscape. They traverse the same sites in the city that Horace and Ovid do, and repeat many of the same images and themes: the sexualized nature of the Subura, the availability of the city to elite men, the association between the urban poor and nighttime. Even more than

Horace and Ovid, however, these authors play with their characters' and persona's perspectives.

As I will show, they guide their readers through a kind of tour of the urban slums.

Chapter 3

Slum Tourism in Persius and Petronius

In the 1984 classic comedy *Ghostbusters*, three scientists decide to abandon their academic careers in order to fight paranormal threats to New York City. With no credibility and no funding, they are forced to create headquarters in a run-down firehouse in TriBeCa (see *Fig. 1*). One of the scientists, Egon Spengler (Harold Ramis), says of the firehouse: "I think this building should be condemned ... The neighborhood is like a demilitarized zone." That grit is part of their mission; they will fight even if it means working in terrible conditions. Shots of the building's exterior emphasize it as a degraded relic of old New York. This was a loaded statement in the 1980s, when, as we have seen in chapter 2, the city was split into two versions of itself: one plagued by crime and poverty, the other by wealth and power. In trading academia for ghost-fighting, the scientists have traded one for the other.¹ The building's age gives its inhabitants an air of authority in addition to poverty; both the Ghostbusters and the building are tenacious underdogs, part of the city's gritty underbelly, the "real" city. In her review of the recent adaptation, Alexandra Schwartz of *The New Yorker* notes how closely the Ghostbusters fit in with this version of the city: "New York, in 1984, had a crack problem and a crime problem,

1. Fittingly, they are soon joined by a fourth member, Winston Zeddemore (Ernie Hudson), who most clearly represents the other half of New York. Zeddemore is the only black member of the team, and has no academic background or any other noted expertise; his role seems to be solely to connect the Ghostbusters more firmly to a certain version of New York, and explain the scientists' technobabble to the audience. Initially, Zeddemore was meant to be a former Marine, with multiple PhDs, who was the most capable of the Ghostbusters. According to the actor, changes to the script were made the night before filming was to begin (Hudson 2014).

not to mention the usual rats, roaches, garbage, and corruption. Why shouldn't it have a ghost problem, too?"



[Fig 1. A screenshot from *Ghostbusters* (1984), showing the exterior of the firehouse]

The building used for exterior shots, Hook and Ladder 8, is now one of several icons associated with the *Ghostbusters* franchise; it even has its own lego set.² But Hook and Ladder 8 was a New York City icon long before filming. Located in the Lower West Side, which was the site of the original Dutch colony in Manhattan, it had been a working firehouse for more than a century by the time of filming, and even predates the New York Fire Department. As *Ghostbusters* implies, it has been through a lot. It was once twice its size, but was cut in half to allow for the widening of Varick Street in the 1910s, part of an effort to improve city infrastructure in the cramped Lower West Side.³ But by the 1980s, the effort had more than

2. Johnson 2015.

3. Mason 2009: 101-102 elaborates: the effort cut down more than 200 old Greenwich Village and Lower West Side buildings, a decision which at the time raised protests at the destruction of New York history.

worked: the firehouse sat in the newly formed neighborhood of TriBeCa (Triangle Below Canal Street), which was only a decade old but already recognized as a popular locale for artists.⁴ If the Ghostbusters themselves represented a fantastical version of more plausible urban problems, then so did the building they worked in.

The firehouse appears again in the recent adaptation of *Ghostbusters* (2016), which is set more than thirty years after the original. The three new scientists, now all women, once again find themselves in need of a base camp but with almost no means to secure one. A rental agent shows them the firehouse, and they are charmed by the high ceilings and historic details—but back out when they realize the rent is twenty-one thousand dollars a month. The protagonists relocate to a more fitting apartment above a Chinese restaurant, in an undisclosed location.⁵ At the end of the movie, however, the grateful city offers to pay the exorbitant rent so the Ghostbusters may work in the firehouse. The firehouse had provided the facade of urban grit in the original film, but in the years since then, TriBeCa had become prohibitively expensive, a fact which the movie's heroines have inexplicably missed. In her review, Schwartz appreciates a joke at the expense of a gentrified New York, but wonders: "Which New York have [these characters] been living in?"⁶

The answer to that question has been at the core of much recent work on the way cities like New York are now consumed by wealthy residents and tourists. In his work on more recent development in cities, sociologist John Hannigan identifies the appeal of "riskless risk" in areas

4. Young and Meyers 2016: 91.

5. The restaurant is in Boston, where much of the film was shot.

6. Schwartz 2016.

of the city that maintain a thin film of urban grit over heavily regulated and controlled urban spaces.⁷ Hannigan's prime example for this phenomenon is in the development of Times Square in the 1990s and 2000s. The area, which was once famous for cheap steak and sex work, has now become a tourist- and family-friendly area: corporate flagships dominate the space, with chain restaurants on every corner, and large swathes of the street restricted to pedestrian traffic.⁸ Although Times Square still markets itself as the uncompromising heart of the city, it has been almost completely divorced from its previous appearance. Sharon Zukin, in her work on more recent development in New York, has identified the same principle in the wealthy young people who gentrified what had previously been ethnically and financially mixed areas of the city, while claiming to maintain the neighborhood's "authenticity."⁹ The firehouse of *Ghostbusters* (2016) belongs to a city that is now prohibitively expensive to all but the most extremely wealthy; nevertheless, it continues to stand for an impoverished New York in which daring young risk-takers can take a stand against urban blight. In both movies, the firehouse stood for urban blight; this was a small stretch in 1984, and a ridiculous one in 2016.

Satire, too, is a gentrified genre, despite its authors' claims to be part of an "authentic" city. It was part of a restricted social circle, rather than a broader public community, and, for all

7. Hannigan 1998: 71 ff., who is drawing on Russell Nye's use of the term more broadly.

8. On a personal note, I should add that not all of Times Square has been "reformed," and the area around the Port Authority terminal remains a locus for the city's homeless population. Corporate and vulnerable New York still interact incongruously in this area; I once stepped out of a high rise largely owned by foreign businessmen to find a homeless man vomiting blood onto the sidewalk. At Port Authority in 2010, a block from major tourist attractions and expensive hotels, I found a dead man collapsed in a pool of blood.

9. On this term, and on the subsequent development of the same areas by corporations, see Zukin 2009.

of its whispering, more often attacked the powerless than the powerful.¹⁰ This chapter focuses on two satirists of the Neronian period, Persius and Petronius, and how their satire relates to Roman street culture. Specifically, I identify tactics and choices within these satires that appropriate non-elite practices from the Roman street while at the same time condemning them as worthy of satire. That the Romans considered satire a scourge for the city was obvious to its authors, and that it simultaneously wallowed in the depths of urban muck has been much discussed.¹¹ But how it related to the city more precisely has been a source of debate: satire as a genre has been both used to discuss the experience of the city, and argued as a self-contained metaphor for imperial literary culture, as I have discussed in the previous chapter. In general, I adopt the approach that the satirists were responding both to elite literary circles, and to the greater public urban context in which they wrote. As in the previous chapter, Persius and Petronius represent at best one half of a conversation, and at worst a funhouse mirror for otherwise unrepresented spaces and the practices within those spaces.

In the last chapter, I focused on the city as a site of memory, and especially the way the places and practices of memory in the city differed according to class. Competing concerns and practices in sites of memory certainly continued throughout the empire. But Persius and Petronius wrote a century after Horace and the death of the Republic, in Nero's Rome. Alain Gowing, in his book on memory in imperial epic literature, points out that Nero initiated no

10. On how satire shifted under the empire away from an expression of real criticism of tyranny, see Freudenburg 2001, esp. 125-134 on Persius.

11. Hight 1962 is more generic in his description of what constitutes satire—it mostly requires an attitude, not a place, but at p.16 cites a criticism of the city as one of the oft-revisited tropes of satire, and one which even allows the reader to identify the work as satire. See Ferriss-Hill 2015: 45-61 for a discussion of the satirist as an urban fixture, and how it stems from the Old Comic tradition.

major works devoted to public memory of the Republic, like the Forum of Augustus or the Ara Pacis. If anything, Nero was hostile to the memory of the Republic.¹² The philosopher Seneca, a powerful court adviser in Nero's early rule, is noted for his preference for first-hand experience over memory as the primary source of knowledge.¹³ The writings of Persius and Petronius, along with the work of every other author from this period, have been read as oblique commentaries on Nero.¹⁴ Within this context, urban outgroups become a metaphor for Nero and his court, while the *Satyricon's* Trimalchio has famously been read this way. In this chapter, by contrast, I emphasize the ways in which satire looks down rather than up. If the Neronian period was a dangerous time in which to discuss elite circles in Rome, then the poor were, as often, a safe target. Both Persius and Petronius present themselves as a kind of tour guide for the urban slums. In consuming their works, readers can voyeuristically tour the slums from the safety of their couches.

I begin with Persius, arguing that he looks not only at his mid-Republican predecessor Lucilius for his satiric model, as all satirists claim to, but at the carefully voiced criticisms made by enslaved people, and the less carefully voiced criticisms made by people who excrete in public. Co-opting both of these traditions allows Persius to give his satire a toothier feel: satire under the empire has become defanged, with a more introspective focus, but the adoption of practices associated with the truly oppressed and silenced gives it a veneer of realism. Petronius

12. Gowing 2005: 98-99.

13. Gowing 2005: 74, with reference to Seneca, *Ep.* 33.7-8. Rimell 2015: 113-230 has also contextualized Seneca's writing in the "inward turn" of imperial literature, which increasingly uses imagery of confinement and claustrophobia in the midst of an ever-expanding empire.

14. See, for instance, Gowers 2009, who argues that Neronian literature must be read under the shadow of its ruler more so than literature from any other period in Roman history (174).

too, I argue, is looking at the city while he writes, although street culture here appears in the more diffuse form of the novel's characters, rather than being co-opted by one authorial persona.

Although Persius draws on Horace's work, he wrote in the late 50s to early 60s AD, after nearly a century of Julio-Claudian rule, in a different kind of Rome. Neronian Rome was a sprawling metropolis with an estimated population of one million, large even by modern standards and overwhelming in the ancient world. In the last chapter, I emphasized Rome's transformation under Augustus, whose descendants ruled Rome for fifty-four years after his death in 14 AD. There was comparatively less building, however, between Augustus and Nero. Nero was given an unusual opportunity to shape the city after the disastrous fire of 64 AD, but he was most remembered for covering large swathes of the city with his personal residence, the Domus Aurea. Even Tacitus, however, who is generally censorious of Nero, has to admit that he devoted energy and resources towards rebuilding urban residential structures after the fire (*Hist.* 15.43; cf. Suet., *Nero* 16; *Historia Augusta* 5.1–2). The new buildings were carefully measured to avoid cramped, dangerous alleyways, and were next to wide streets and porticoes (paid for by Nero himself). The use of wood in construction was reduced, as were the number of shared walls.¹⁵ Nero had previously sought to improve urban living conditions, and ingratiate himself to the populace, with the addition of a large outdoor market in 59 AD, the Macellum Magnum. This may have been part of a larger program on Nero's part to improve ancient foodways, since he also oversaw work at the ports of Ostia and Portus, and attempted to connect Rome to Lake Avernus with a large canal (Suet., *Nero* 16; 31). The improvements to the city—and the fire itself—point to a large, potentially overcrowded city, with numerous sprawling public works and

15. On building under Nero, see Beste and Hesberg 2013.

cramped residential quarters, especially for the urban poor living in apartment buildings. In her work on Roman street life, Claire Holleran looks at the cramped and irregular streets of the *Forma Urbis Romae*, created more than a century after Nero's rule, especially in fragments from the Subura, a densely populated residential area. The irregularity of Roman streets is also addressed in the variety of words used to describe city streets: *viae*, *vici*, and *compita*.¹⁶ Nero's measures must have gone some way toward addressing the problems urban crowding posed, but it is clear that they did not have a long-lasting effect: the city burned again in 81 AD, and soon after, Martial addressed problems of urban crowding and Domitian's response to them (7.61).

Recent work on the Roman poor has debated what it means to define "poverty." The urban poor of Roman satire are closely connected to a definition of the poor as "a social group whose lack of resources and/or way of life is regarded as a problem for the 'society' as a whole, an unacceptable state of affairs."¹⁷ The poor as described in satiric literature are a problem, at least inasmuch as they are associated with disgust; when satirists tour the city, they are slumming. Tony Seaton, in his discussion of the literary history of slumming, points out that although the modern definition of slumming emphasizes its philanthropic associations, it has a much more selfish history.¹⁸ For Seaton, the literature of slumming begins with sixteenth century, pre-industrial London. A swelling population of landless poor in search of work resulted in "low life" in the capital, which was described by freelance writers in a new kind of ethnography. Early writers of the genre emphasized three things: their knowledge of the urban

16. Holleran 2011: 246-47. See also above on the vocabulary of Roman streets in satire.

17. Morley 2006: 28.

18. See Frenzel 2012 for a discussion of the ways in which slum tourism is sold as a form of philanthropism.

underworld, the exotic and diverse array of characters to be found in the capitol, and the danger they posed to the traveler. Seaton adds that they probably would have been consumed voyeuristically.

"Low-life travelogues" subsequently declined in the 1630s and 1640s during the chaos of the English Civil War and the reign of Oliver Cromwell, when urban pleasures such as gambling and sex work were heavily suppressed, and with them the literature of the urban grime.¹⁹ Seaton discusses the changes in the genre in the wake of industrialization: as the populations of cities like Paris and London swelled to the millions, city dwellers began to see exponentially increased populations of the urban poor, along with increased social segregation between rich and poor. The urban poor became their own kind of city, and literature concerning these sections on the city began to take on a moralizing tone, aimed at the wealthy reader.²⁰ Crucial in the early development of the genre was the fact that its writers were probably not very wealthy themselves. Although they must have been educated, Seaton calls them "hack writers," and suggests that they wrote pamphlets and books on the topic primarily in order to make a living. Like the Roman satirist's, their position within social hierarchy is liminal—they have access to elite social circles, but are aware of their client-like dependency on a moneyed readership.

Roman satire contains many of the same themes as the low life travelogue. The themes of the dangers of the city, and the satirist's knowledge about them, go back to Lucilius, whose fragments contain allusive comments on urban vice.²¹ In chapter two, I discussed the

19. Seaton 2012: 21-23.

20. Seaton 2012: 26-27.

21. See fragments 264, which suggests urban overcrowding; 322-340, set in an urban environment; 1162-69 and 1252-58 on the crowds of the Forum.

relationship between Horace and the city. Horace both recuses himself from the city and tours its lowest corners—like early English writers of the genre, he wants to explore Rome's hidden vices, but only, of course, to expose its dangers and warn others away from it. Persius follows the same pattern. A major theme of his works is that satire is a form of urban vice, and philosophy indoors is the only cure. His resulting inward turn is particularly apparent in comparison with Horace and Juvenal, who use tours of the city to generate satire (see above on Horace, below on Juvenal). Nevertheless, his satires contain pointed references to the city's low haunts which both compare the satirist's work to other forms of urban pollution and exhibit these street scenes to the reader.

Petronius goes even further: the protagonists of his novel belong to the generic and anonymous spaces of the urban poor, which are satirized for the reader in a kind of parody of impoverished urban living. Some of the episodes of the novel make great use of what Mikhail Bakhtin called the "carnavalesque," which involved the degradation of social norms and human bodies into the material and especially the grotesque (1984). This transformation is both disgusting and productive; carnivalesque scenes combine imagery of death and decay with imagery of birth and rebirth. The inclusion of scenes of poverty in Petronius's novel allows not for a realistic glimpse of city life, but a poeticized version in which poverty sets the scene for triumphant reversals of fortune.

As a final introductory note, throughout this chapter and elsewhere, I use the term *Satyricon* to refer to Petronius's satire (as an abbreviation for *Satyricon libri*). The title identifies the book as an assemblage, episodes connected by theme. Although the fragments are linked by

their characters and satiric theme, the stories within them represent at best a difficult narrative.²² I also by convention refer to the author of the *Satyricon* as Petronius, but stress that this identification only comes long after the initial publication of the text. This lacuna is worth noting because the identification with Petronius has led readers to focus on the texts' supposed connections to the imperial court, at the expense of reading the novel as a story of the non-elite.²³ Lastly, while I acknowledge that the *Satyricon* does not fit comfortably into any clearly defined ancient literary genre, I am for the purposes of this work treating it as a satirical novel.²⁴

Persius: Having Your Cake and Shitting It Too

Persius's corpus is quite small: a prologue and six satires, the longest not even two hundred lines long. His biography is equally short, as is the life it sketches.²⁵ According to the *Vita Persii*, Aulus Persius Flaccus was a wealthy Roman knight from the country who was sent to Rome at a young age for school. There, he met the Stoic philosopher Annaeus Cornutus (the addressee of his fifth satire). He names a number of the Neronian intelligentsia in his poetry, but no patron or ruler. This independence is not surprising given his wealth and important friends, but is at odds with his stance in his poetry as a vulnerable urban poet. He died at thirty, leaving two million sesterces to his mother and sister. According to the *Vita*, he had no enemies.

22. See Slater 1990 for a discussion of the theme of the unresolved narrative in Petronius.

23. On the dating of the *Satyricon* and the identification of Petronius as its author, see Sullivan 1968: 27-33.

24. See Rimell 2005 for a discussion of the various genres and influences included in the novel.

25. On the *Vita Persii*, see n. 35.

His satires show a consistent connection to Stoicism, although its extent has been a source of debate.²⁶ Nevertheless, he is noted amongst the extant satirists for being the only one for whom philosophy is consistently the source of wisdom, not the butt of a joke. After a prologue in which he rejects the traditional sources of inspiration for poetry, Persius's first satire launches a criticism, in the form of a dialogue, of Rome's bad taste in literature and morals. The second satire goes after people's prayers, arguing that people pray for selfish reasons rather than out of piety. The third satire, framed by the narrator waking up hungover and unable to write, takes aim at people who make bad choices even though they know better. In the fourth, Socrates and Alcibiades argue about Alcibiades' fitness to rule, and about who is better equipped to determine that fitness: philosophers or the crowd. The fifth, the longest satire at 191 lines, is dedicated to Annaeus Cornutus as Persius's teacher and mentor, and debates whether free men who do not study philosophy can really be considered free. In the sixth, Persius has left the city for Luna, a northern Italian city by the coast, and defends his choice to enjoy there what wealth he has.

Like the other satirists, Persius acknowledges the city as both necessary for satire and morally inferior to the country. In his last satire, he will leave for the country. In her book on the connection between satire and the Old Comic tradition, Jennifer Ferriss-Hill first identifies the city as integral to both genres, but then explains that Persius bucks the trend in avoiding the "traditional clichés of city and country life."²⁷ Persius is perhaps best known for privileging the body as the site of satiric (and philosophical) discourse, rather than the city. Shadi Bartsch has

26. On Persius's relationship with Stoicism, especially compared to other satiric authors, see Bartsch 2012.

27. Ferriss-Hill 2015: 54-55.

investigated the language of the body as metaphor for satire in Persius's corpus, focusing on this metaphor's ability to reconcile poetry and philosophy.²⁸ Paul Allen Miller and Francesco d'Alessandro Behr have discussed how closely the bodies of Persius's poetry are aligned with Bakhtin's theory of the grotesque. Miller has argued that, in satirizing the penetrable and incontinent body, satire implicitly praises boundaries and self-control.²⁹ Behr sees exceptions to that rule in Persius, by looking at the poetry itself as a kind of body.³⁰ For my own part, I emphasize the connection between body and city. The language of Rome's topography and even urban planning as a discipline frequently borrowed metaphors from the body.³¹ Persius theorizes satire not just as a body, but as a body in relationship to space. This is evident from the very beginning of the prologue (*prol.*1-3):

Nec fonte labra prolui caballino
nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem.

I didn't wet my lips at Hack Horse Fountain
and I don't remember dreaming on the twin summits of Parnassus,
so that I'd suddenly show forth as a poet.

The first action described conjures space and body simultaneously: the narrator's lips, Mt. Parnassus. The language used to describe Mt. Parnassus and the Hippocrene spring is mocking; Pegasus himself is a *caballus*, a term used elsewhere in satire and other genres to describe not only horses of poor quality but ones used out in the country. Half of the prologue is a rejection

28. Bartsch 2015.

29. Miller 2009; his evidence focuses on Juvenal, but as representative of trends in satire more generally.

30. Behr 2009.

31. See Gowers 1995; Tilburg 2015: 3-20. Vitruvius frequently uses anatomical terms to describe aspects of urban planning, and even suggests that students of architecture study medicine (1.3, 1.10).

of the traditional spaces of poetry, associated with myth and epic (*prol.* 1-6); the other half is incredulous of the traditional source of poetry, divine inspiration, which Persius reveals to be, in fact, hunger, in the bodily form of the belly (*venter, prol.*11). Persius himself sits uncomfortably in the middle: *semipaganus* ("half-redneck," *prol.*6). *Paganus* sits at the end of two spectrums: rustic-urban and unlearned-learned. The puzzling word, which does not appear before its use in Persius, has been interpreted many ways, and especially in terms of Persius's genre and literary style.³² Interpretation hinges on what *paganus* implies, and whether being only "half" of it is a good thing or a bad thing. But the primary impact of this word is to straddle two places, which Persius continues to do.

When Persius launches into his first satire, the problem of the location of satire remains unresolved. The satire is a dialogue, and written in a cramped style with multiple speaker-changes per line, e.g. 1.2-3: *'quis leget haec?' min tu istud ais? nemo hercule. 'nemo?' / vel duo vel nemo. 'turpe et miserabile.' quare?* ("Who's going to read this?" "You talking to me? Nobody, honestly." "No one?" "Well, maybe two people—or nobody." "How gross, and pathetic." "Why's that?") Roland Mayer has seen the influence of philosophical dialogue in this style, but the rapid repartee seems more reminiscent of comedy.³³ Either way, the dialogue itself implies a kind of performance: multiple people, a live reading, an audience. When the main narrator of the satire censors himself, satire is a speech act, with the whole city in mind: *nam Romae quis non—ah, si fas dicere* ("Because who at Rome isn't—ugh, if only I were allowed to

32. See Bellandi 1988: 33-71, Braund 2004: 5, Reckford 2009: 54.

33. See Meyer 2005: 156-157.

say it!" 1.8-9). He then goes on to envision, while addressing himself, reading his work to the public (1.13-21):

Scribimus inclusi, numeros ille, hic pede liber
grande aliquid, quod pulmo animae praelargus anhelet. 15
scilicet haec populo pexusque togaque recenti
et natalicia tandem cum sardonyche albus
sede leges celsa, liquido cum plasmate guttur
mobile conlueris, patranti fractus ocello.
tunc neque more probo videas nec voce serena
ingentis trepidare Titos, cum carmina lumbum 20
intran et tremulo scalpuntur ubi intima versu.

We write indoors—this one in meter, that one in prose
something huge, which you'd need a big bag of wind to get out.
Of course eventually you'll read this to the people from your lofty chair, 15
with a new toga on, all combed, pale, with your birthday sardonyx on,
and you'll smooth out your flowing voice first with a gargle—
ruined by your bedroom eye.
Then you'll see these big Dicks quivering
in no seemly fashion, and with inappropriate words, 20
as the songs enter their groins, and when their privates are scraped by your trembling
verse.

The lines are funnier the closer they are to reality: if Persius is reading them to a crowd, if he is wearing the right stuff and leering on cue. Later in the first satire, Persius refers to sated guests at a dinner party as people who discuss poetry (1.30-35). In satire three, for instance, the narrator begins indoors and stays there, hungover after a party (3.1-4). Some examples within that satire of those who reject self-improvement in favor of continuing self-destructive habits allude to urban settings, but are not definitively located. The imagined setting in the lines above is a reading, which implies a comparatively intimate party, but Persius imagines a crowd (*populo*, 15), as if his work were to be performed to a large group.³⁴ At the same time, Persius

34. Parker 2009 argues that public recitations and readings at *convivia* were at best supplementary to the intended consumption of published works by private reading—and Persius does, as discussed above, mean for his work to be

has already insisted that his work is a text to be read (*leges*, 1.2), and all the writing is done indoors (*scribimus inclusi*, 1.13). A worthwhile writer is one who has spoken words that can then be stored away in a cedar chest (*cedro digna locutus*, 1.42); the verb *loquor* implies speech, but the result is a text, and one locked away from the public eye. But when he cites Lucilius as part of satire's destructive past, the setting is explicitly urban: *secuit Lucilius urbem, / te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis* ("Lucilius cut the city up—you, Lupus, you, Mucius, and he broke his jaw on them," 1.114-15).

Andrea Cucchiarelli has argued that Persius's two major influences—Horatian satire and Stoic philosophy—are at odds with each other, and result in poetry that seems at once to embrace satire and to explicitly shut it out at the same time.³⁵ Cucchiarelli focuses on Persius's stylistic choices, but the city can be mapped out onto this paradox as well. Persius's style imitates Horace's, while at the same time embracing a Stoic brevity at odds with him; so too does he embrace the city as necessary for satire, while arguing that writers are "shut away," even if they long to recite in front of others. As with Horace, the city is a tangled object of satire. Persius seems to consider satire one of the pleasures of city living, while Stoicism requires that he give up all pleasures, including those the city offers. Even more than Horace, Persius seems to consider satire as another form of urban muck. He compares satire to public excretion, especially as a form of criticism that belongs to the otherwise voiceless (1.112-14; see further below). Persius consistently frames himself—and by extension satire—as a powerless speaker trying to safely criticize tyranny.

read. The references to public readings become more pointed if Persius could safely assume his poetry would be silently and privately read than publicly read aloud.

35. Cucchiarelli 2005: 75.

Despite his Stoic leanings, Persius clearly also considers it the prerogative of the satirist to remain in dialogue with these parts of the city: he frames Lucilius's early cutting satire as an attack on the city (1.114-15). His own need to find an outlet for such criticism is then framed as a need to find a physical place to whisper into: *me muttire nefas? nec clam? nec cum scrobe? nusquam?* ("Is it forbidden for me to mutter? Not even in secret? Not even in a ditch? Never?" 1.119). The mutter of satire has a precedent in Lucilius, who warns twice against it in disconnected fragments: *non laudare hominem quemquam neque mu facere / umquam* ("Neither to praise any man nor mutter about him," 11.426); *clandestino tibi quod commissum foret, / neu muttires quicquam, neu mysteria efferres foras* ("What was entrusted to you in private, you should not mutter anywhere, nor take secrets outdoors," 26.651-52). Here, too, the mutter is located in terms of space: secrets should never be uttered "outdoors" (*foras*).

Most discussion of this line has focused, unsurprisingly, on Persius's choice of the ditch, a reference to King Midas's barber, who could not resist sharing the secret that the king had ass's ears, and so whispered it into the ground. According to the *Vita Persii*, Persius initially attacked Nero semi-explicit by identifying the line he spoke into the ditch as: *auriculas asini Mida rex habet* ("King Midas has an ass's ears," 1.121).³⁶ The *Vita* then says that Cornutus changed this to the less politically pointed: *auriculas asini quis non habet* ("Who does not have an ass's ears?"). Midas got the ears as punishment for his poor judgement in a lyric poetry contest; this passage has, as a result, been read as a cautious criticism of Nero, the wannabe musician/king with ass's

36. The *Vita* was for a long time attributed to the Flavian grammarian Marcus Valerius Probus, who published on Republican authors, and whose name subsequently became attached to various grammatical works. The *Vita* is now thought to be more reminiscent of Suetonius's work. On the history and authorship of the *Vita*, see Parker and Braund 2012: 438-39.

ears.³⁷ Whether or not this was ever intended as a criticism of the emperor, Persius is careful to frame his work as something that could criticize a ruler, and himself as only a barber.

Fritz Graf has located satire in the context of public rituals: cursing, public shaming, and mocking public verse (*versus Fescennini*). In doing so, Graf rejects earlier theorized models for satire: magical rituals, and physical violence that has now been transformed into poetry.³⁸ While Lucilius, and Ennius before him, may have developed his genre from these genres, and satire as a genre overlaps with all of these models, none of them fit well for satire after him. Curse poetry and public shaming rituals both attempt to punish someone by delivering them to a more powerful judge: the gods or a public audience. But satire never publicly delivers anything, and all of the verse satirists after Horace go out of their way to avoid shaming contemporary individuals. As Graf himself also notes, these models—especially *versus Fescennini*, the mocking poetry sung at weddings, and soldiers' songs sung at triumphs—attempt to reconcile an outstanding individual to the group. Satire, however, more commonly goes after whole sections of society.

But the models Graf suggests do overlap with satire in that all three genres are the resort of the powerless: to rely upon a higher power or to criticize without naming are both predicated on the author's lack of individual power. As such, the most natural models for satire, and so for Persius, are other resorts of the powerless: safe criticism, either with an identifiable author and an obscured object, or an identifiable object and an obscured author. In both cases, Persius, like the other verse satirists, draw on forms of criticism or acts of resistance from Rome's most

37. See Sullivan 1978.

38. Graf 2005: 192, with reference to Elliott 1960 and Seidel 1979. Graf also mentions plays and mimes as the natural models for satire, but only in form, rather than content.

marginalized populations: poor and enslaved people. The characterization of satire as *muttire* makes this inspiration explicit: while the word generally means "muttering," its most consistent context was muttered resentment or disagreement, especially the muttering of slaves who feared punishment. Even the allusion to King Midas strengthens this comparison: barbers were generally enslaved men or freedmen in the Roman world, as well as a source of fear and disdain.³⁹

The word has a long history outside of satire, as well. Before Lucilius, it appears in a tragedy by Ennius: *palam muttire plebeio piaculum est* ("It's an offense for a plebeian person to mutter openly," *Telephus*, 240, via Festus 128L, in his second-century AD dictionary). Writing after the reign of Tiberius, probably in the generation before Persius, the fabulist Phaedrus quotes Ennius's line at the end of his third book of fables (3.ep.29-35):

Sed difficulter continetur spiritus, integritatis qui sinceræ conscius a noxiorum premitur insolentiis. Qui sint, requiris; apparebunt tempore. Ego, quondam legi quam puer sententiam, "Palam muttire plebeio piaculum est," dum sanitas constabit, pulchre meminero.	30 35
--	------------------------------

But the spirit is contained with difficulty, which, aware of its own genuine integrity, is held back by the arrogance of those who cause harm. Who are they, you ask? They'll appear with time. When I was a boy I read the maxim: "It's an offense for a plebeian person to mutter openly." While my sanity persists, I'll remember that well.	30 35
---	------------------------------

39. See above in chapter 1 on the barber in satire, as well as Richlin 2017: 248-50 on the barbershop, and 331-40 for *muttire* and other forms of grumbling.

This sentiment recalls the prologue of the same book, where Phaedrus explains that fables are a way for slaves to discuss or criticize slavery, which is necessary because slaves are subject to harm (3.pr.33-37):

Nunc fabularum cur sit inventum genus
brevis docebo. Servitus obnoxia,
quia quae volebat non audebat dicere, 35
affectus proprios in fabellas transtulit
calumniamque fictis elusit iocis.

Now why the genre of fables was invented, I'll briefly explain.
Slavery, which is vulnerable to harm,
since it did not dare to say what it wanted, 35
transferred its proper feelings into fables,
and avoided a charge of slander with made-up jokes.

The threat of the *noxii* lurks in both passages, and Phaedrus makes it clear that fables are a safe form of criticism, but anything more direct—*palam muttire*—invites punishment.⁴⁰ The connection between *muttire* and slave speech is made most explicit in the comedies of the mid-Republican playwright Plautus, where the word appears most often, and where it is used to describe slaves' muttered resentment.

Finally, the word also appears with similar negative connotations once in the *Satyricon*, probably written at around the same time as Persius's satires. Trimalchio urges another freedman, Niceros, to tell him and his fellow guests a story: '*solebas*' inquit '*suavius esse in convictu; nescio quid nunc taces nec muttis*' ('"You used to be,' he said, 'more pleasant in

40. On the prologue as a form of double speech, see Richlin 2017: 338-39, as well as Henderson 2001: 57-96 for a discussion of the prologue in the context of Phaedrus's political and literary milieu. Champlin 2005 argues that Phaedrus's freedman civil status is a lie, and that Phaedrus, like Persius, is another member of the elite playing at being powerless.

company; for some reason now you're silent and don't even mutter," *Sat.* 61.2).⁴¹ Even in this context, *muttire* implies resentment: Trimalchio would like to be entertained, and is suspicious of the fact that Niceros is not even muttering something. Niceros used to be a slave, and the story he eventually tells took place while he was enslaved; there may even be an implication in Trimalchio's statement that Niceros used to be better company—because he used to *muttire* more often—when he was enslaved.

Satirists show a consistent awareness of the emperor's power, and satire's nominally unsafe position within their court. In this light, Persius's decision to frame himself as powerless and his speech as slave speech, or the resort of the disenfranchised, is unsurprising; everyone is a slave before the emperor. But Persius goes even further, locating himself not only within Roman power structures generally, but within power structures as manifested in urban space. When he describes the possible consequences of writing satire, he frames them spatially: *vide sis, ne maiorum tibi forte / limina frigescant: sonat hic de nare canina / littera* ("Watch out, lest by chance the doorways of great men become cold for you: here sounds the canine letter, growled out from the nose," 1.108-9). If Persius writes the wrong kind of satire, he will find himself trapped in the streets satire allows him to move through and abuse; his place in the city is tenuous and literally liminal. Persius pushes the client-patron scenario to its limit: more than rejection (*frigescant*) from his powerful audience, Persius suggests that he will be treated as a threat a dog would growl at.⁴²

41. See Schmeling 2011: 252, on this line.

42. See Damon 1997: 210-211 and *passim* for comparisons between parasites and dogs. Here, Persius reverses that metaphor by making the patrons dogs. See also below for a similar scenario in the *Satyricon*, and the protagonist's reaction to them.

Persius makes several references in his fourth satire to the dangers of being stuck outside in the city, especially at the whims of the urban public. The poem, which shows clear inspiration by Plato's *Symposium* and the pseudo-Platonic *First Alcibiades*, should be set in Athens, but, like early comedy, has Roman landmarks; it depicts Socrates' diatribe against an arrogant Alcibiades. Socrates attempts to convince him of his moral failings and how unfit he is to rule. The narrator refers to the "anger of the feverish crowd" (*animus calidae... turbae*, 4.7). A few lines later, they are fawning (*blando... popello*, 4.15) as Alcibiades charms them. But the narrator explains that all of Alcibiades' tricks are no better than a woman selling herbs: *dum ne deterius sapiat pannucia Baucis, / cum bene discincto cantaverit ocima verna* ("Since wrinkly Baucis is no less wise, / when she sings basil's praise well to a slovenly slave," 4.21-22). Baucis is not located in the text, and her name recalls the Baucis of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, an elderly woman who lived with her elderly husband Philemon in a rural village (*Met.* 8.640ff). The old woman selling vegetables, however, seems to be a contemptible urban fixture (see chapter 2 on old women in the city, and below for a vegetable seller in Petronius). Even Alcibiades can be reduced to just another street vendor hawking her wares. The narrator then argues that even if you pursue luxury, there is still always some stranger nearby, ready to elbow you in the side and spit upon your depraved sexual practices (*est prope te ignotus, cubito qui tangat et acre / despuat*, 4.34-35). The possibility of someone unknown nearby, especially close enough to elbow you in the side, is distinctly urban—and later part of Juvenal's complaint about trying to walk through the city (see chapter 5).

Towards the end of the satire, Alcibiades counters Socrates with the argument that the whole neighborhood (*vicinia*) praises him (4.46-47), and it would be silly not to believe his neighbors. His response seems to fit his characterization, and Socrates' argument, that he is

overly reliant on the uneducated masses. At the same time, he frames his argument in a specific organization within the city. The *vicinia* is an abstract form of *vicus*, one of the institutionally recognized neighborhoods in the city, which had its own local government (*vicomagistri*) and religious activities (*Compitalia*).⁴³ Socrates responds with a comment that generalizes this crowd into the entire city, but Alcibiades' comment actually points to specific political organizations within the city's populace.

It is explicitly a Roman populace, addressed as *Quirites* (4.8): Roman citizens; likewise, the satire ends with Socrates' warning about the fickle love of the crowd (4.48-52):

...amarum
si Puteal multa cautus vibice flagellas
neququam populo bibulas donaveris aures
respue quod non es, tollat sua munera cerdo.
tecum habita.

If, even after my warning, you flog the bitter Puteal with many a whipmark,⁴⁴
you'll hand over your thirsty ears to the crowd in vain.
Spit out what you're not, let the tradesman take what belongs to him.
Live with yourself.

In emphasizing the fickle nature of reception by the urban public, and even the potential for violence, Persius further emphasizes his vulnerability. If even the powerful can be torn down by the public, what chance does he stand if he finds himself shut out? According to the *Vita Persii*, Persius was an equestrian, with connections to the senatorial order; as seen above, he left a

43. The *vici* had existed since the founding of the city, but were radically reorganized under Augustus. On his policies and changes, including the *vicomagistri*, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 259-312 and Flower 2017: 255-347.

44. A *puteal* was a stone wellhead, built around the entrance to a well to prevent people from falling in. The one in the Forum Romanum referred to stemmed from the story of an augur, Attus Navius, under the reign of the Roman king, Tarquinius Priscus. According to Livy, Attus Navius was challenged by the king to prove his powers of augury by cutting a whetstone with a razor. After Attus did so, the stone and razor were placed by the Comitium and covered over with a *puteal*, next to a statue of Attus himself (1.36). Subsequently financial transactions were carried out there.

considerable fortune when he died (1, 7). Even if this is an exaggeration, Persius's vulnerability would not be based on his poverty.

Persius emphasizes his vulnerability to the urban crowd elsewhere. Back in the first satire, Persius addresses his interlocutor, after explaining that he has made him up (*quem ex adverso dicere feci*, 44), with his concerns about his ability to do satire properly. Although his audience may seem generous and may claim to want the ugly truth, Persius is concerned about what would happen if he really offered it (1.58-63):

O Iane, a tergo quem nulla ciconia pinsit
nec manus auriculas imitari mobilis albas
nec linguae quantum sitiatis canis Apula tantae. 60
uos, o patricius sanguis, quos uiuere fas est
occipiti caeco, posticae occurrite sannae.
quis populi sermo est?

O Janus, whose back no stork has pecked at,
nor a hand talented at imitating white ears,
nor a tongue, out like a thirsty Apulian dog's. 60
You, O blue-blooded nobleman, who have the right to live
with a blind back of your head, meet the mocking grin at your back door.
What do the people say?

From there, Persius moves on to questions of style. But the emphasis on what goes on behind one's back—a rude gesture reminiscent of a bird, rabbit (here donkey) ears, and a stuck out tongue—all imply a crowded public space, as does the "talk of the people" (*sermo populi*).⁴⁵ Wealthy noblemen would not have had to "watch their back" as much, as they would have been surrounded by a crowd of friends, clients, hangers-on, and slaves. Persius addresses the nobility with *vos*, seeming to imply that he, by contrast, is part of the general *populus*.

45. The *sermo populi* here is also reminiscent of Horace's satires, entitled *Sermones*.

In satire five, Persius implies that not just satirists but anyone who lives without philosophy is essentially a slave, running powerlessly around the city (5.124-29):

'Liber ego.' unde datum hoc sumis, tot subdite rebus?
an dominum ignoras nisi quem uindicta relaxat? 125
'i, puer, et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.'
si increpuit, 'cessas nugator?', seruitium acre
te nihil inpellit nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat
quod neruos agitet.

"But I'm free." Where are you getting that from, when you are subjected to so many things?
Or do you not know an owner unless it's the one whom the liberating rod softens? 125
"Go, slave, and bring Crispinus's strigils to the baths."
If he's yelled, "Why are you delaying, idiot?" no bitter slavery compels you, nor does anything from the outside go in which would urge your muscles.

The interlocutor is considered naive for thinking that he is free, when living without philosophy, even if legally free, is not significantly different from being a slave afraid of a beating. At key points, Persius uses imagery of the enslaved, powerless, and marginalized to frame and flavor his satires. The image of an outside force coming in (*extrinsecus intrat*), which would "urge your muscles" (*nervos agitet*), a phrase with sexual undertones, has parallels with Persius's description of the writing process. He describes authors, as seen above, as writing "shut up inside" (*scribimus inclusi*, 1.13), and the effect of a public reading as entering the audience members and stimulating their groins (*lumbum... intrant*, 20-21). Although Persius frames himself as vulnerable in places, here his work has the same effect as slavery, or living without philosophy.

Persius's framework for satire in the city is most extreme when the interlocutor of the first satire decides not to write satire. Here, he uses the metaphor of public excretion to programmatically describe his work and its reception. Just before he brings up Lucilius cutting

up the city, he describes an interlocutor forbidding him from his traditional "place" of satire (*hic*), and turns outside to do it instead (1.112-14):

"hic," inquis, "veto quisquam faxit oletum."
pinge duos anguis: "pueri, sacer est locus, extra
meite!" discedo.

"Here," you say, "I forbid anyone from making a smelly."
Paint two snakes: "This place is sacred, boys,
piss outside!" I'm leaving.

The urban setting is made even more obvious by Persius's theatricality: he begins by ventriloquizing another interlocutor, who is voicing a common public notice. Then, the description of the two painted snakes, who themselves seem to speak. Finally, the primary interlocutor of the satire responds to them both. This passage is typical of the abrupt and condensed style Persius favors (*decoctius*, 1.125), but also cannot be understood without at least the mental recreation of a public scene: there are two main interlocutors, the semi-public location of the snakes, and the crowd of *pueri* addressed by the painting.

Previous commentators have noted that the language partially recalls Horace's discussion of the mad poet in the *Ars Poetica* (470-472):

nec satis apparet cur versus factitet, utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus. certe furit.

Nor is it really clear why he keeps writing poetry, whether he pissed on his ancestor's ashes, or he's disturbed a grim shrine to lightning in sacrilege. At any rate, he's crazy.

Daniel Hooley interprets this parallel as Persius's adoption of a mad poet persona, in that he, like the mad poet, is driven to violate sacred spaces, especially with his own bodily excretions.⁴⁶ Persius does align himself with the mad poet in the etiology of his writing: like him, he wants to piss in the wrong places. But Persius's scene, although compressed, seems to imply an order of events, and a more nuanced interpretation of what satire does: Persius finds himself limited in the scope of his satire (here public urination) by petty restrictions. Resentfully, he gives in to them (*discedo*, 1.114). More than being associated with the mad poet, the two painted spaces are explicitly associated with two kinds of spaces: the *lararium* of a house, which often had two painted snakes next to a small shrine, and painted images outside, often with the explicit prohibition of public excretion.⁴⁷ Persius may be playing with the idea of leaving the house to write satire, as *extra* would refer most simply to the indoor/outdoor division, but the metaphor corresponds more directly with signs posted in public spaces in Pompeii, often to the side of major thoroughfares, that were paired with threats of divine punishment if the passerby excreted at their location.



(Fig 2. A *lararium* from Pompeii, now at the Naples Archaeological Museum.)

46. Hooley 1997: 58-59.

47. Milnor 2014: 56-57 uses this passage to argue that the motif of the snakes would have to have been widespread in order to be recognizable to Persius's audience.

(Fig. 3: A painted warning against *cacatores*, also now at the Naples Archaeological Museum.)



In framing his satire as a kind of excretion, Persius aligns himself with other anonymous public communications that do. We have evidence of this practice not only from the painted signs, but in graffiti. Sarah Levin-Richardson has recently examined a corpus of twenty-three graffiti from Pompeii that address public defecation.⁴⁸ She focuses on the majority of the graffiti that are concerned with the control of bodily waste, i.e. that warn passersby not to defecate where the graffiti has been posted, and that conflate

bodily processes: eating and sex.⁴⁹ Levin-Richardson's reading of these graffiti is that they reflect an assumption in Pompeii that bodily waste should only be expelled in specified and private locations. She points to the public latrines found in the city that had walls and doors that separated them from the street, although there were no internal divisions within the latrine itself.⁵⁰ The graffiti as a corpus manifest a preoccupation with urban and physical boundaries

48. Levin-Richardson 2015.

49. See also Richlin 1992: 150-151.

50. Levin-Richardson 2015: 239, with reference to Hobson 2009: 82.

that waste has the ability to transgress, and so the regulation of waste within the city is metonymic for the city's ability as a whole to enforce social norms. Levin-Richardson points out that some of the graffiti were written close to the city's gates. She refers, for instance, to a graffito posted a block from the Vesuvian gate: *stercorari / ad murum progredere si / pre[n]sus fueris poena / patiare necese / est cave* ("Dung-bearer / go to the wall; if / you are caught, it is necessary / to pay the penalty, / beware," *CIL* IV.7038).⁵¹ I propose instead that this graffito is meant for a *stercorarius* who has been charged with removing waste—from a cesspit or garbage heap—from the city; he must get it all the way out. The graffito warns not foreign visitors, but internal workers that the city's norms must be obeyed. Two other graffiti written on both sides of the Vesuvian gate refer to *cacatores*: *Cacator cave malum* ("Shitter, beware a beating," *CIL* IV.5438) on the outside of the gate, and on the inside *cacator sic valeas / ut tu hoc locum transea* ("Shitter, you'll do well, to pass by this place," *CIL* IV.6641), painted on a lararium in an *insula* directly next to the city's gate. By placing himself within this practice, Persius inserts himself into a larger conversation about the control of urban space—especially the ability of property-owners and law-makers to control it.

The *cacatores* are typically told to beware a *malum*, generically a "bad thing" but usually a beating. Another warning from Herculaneum specifies the different *poenae* that will be incurred by those who defecate in public: *[si qu]is velit in hunc locum stercus abicere monetur n[on] iacere siquis adver[sus ea] (n)i[u]dicium fecerit liberi dent [denar]ium n[on] servi*

51. Levin-Richardson interprets this as a warning to those coming in from the gate that they cannot defecate in public, and takes *stercorari* to mean a potential defecator, although the word usually means someone who is responsible for removing waste from the city, and *cacator* typically is used in graffiti to denote a defecator. Milnor 2014: 58 points out that the second half of this inscription is in verse, which has the effect of formalizing the graffito and giving it increased authority.

verberibus in sedibus atmonentur ("Anyone who would wish to throw dung in this location is warned that it should not stay here; if anyone makes a decision contrary to that, let free people pay a fee in *denarii*; slaves are warned that they will pay with a beating on their behind," *CIL* IV.10488). This distinction is especially significant if we use Levin-Richardson's social framework for public defecation: the stakes for resisting these social norms are especially high for the enslaved, who also would have had far more limited resources for resisting more generally. The lower Persius's social status, as he frames it within the satires, the more he risks. Persius may be similarly implying that he will be subject to violence because he writes satire, which fits with his other references to the dangers of writing criticism.

There are only a few extant graffiti where the speaker brags about defecating, all from Pompeii and Herculaneum, although the prevalence of warnings against it suggests that it was a widespread practice.⁵² The graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum are from towns much smaller than Rome, and were probably written during or soon before 79 AD. But nothing suggests that the graffiti culture at either of these cities was unique, or new. It is likely that they were a local iteration of a widespread and longstanding tradition, one which would have been ubiquitous in Rome.

52. There are also several graffiti in latrines where the speaker brags or discusses his excretion, such as in Herculaneum: *Apollinaris medicus Titi Imp(eratoris) / hic cacavit bene* ("Apollinaris, the doctor of emperor Titus, shat well here," *CIL* IV.10619). In a latrine in the house of T. Terentius Nero in Pompeii (VII.2.6), Secundus brags: *Secundus / hic (c)acat / hi[c cac]at / hic cacat* ("Secundus shits here, shits here, shits here," *CIL* IV.03146). In another latrine in Pompeii, at the House of the Centenary (the same latrine in which the graffiti concerning Martha was written, IX.8.a, below), an unidentified speaker warns: *Quodam quidem testis eris quid senserim / ubi cacaturiero veniam / cacatum* ("At some point you will be witness to what I felt, / when I want to shit, I will come to shit," *CIL* IV.05424). This trend may also have partly inspired the excretion-obsessed philosophers in the Baths of the Seven Sages in Ostia, who offer parodies of philosophical wisdom which include: *ut bene cacaret ventrem palpavit Solon* ("Solon rubbed his belly to shit well," *AE* 1939, 00162b).

If so, then Persius implies that he is part of a silent minority with limited means to protest. At the same time, he must have been cognizant of the potential shame of public excretion. Some of the graffiti describing excretion are in the second person, and accuse the addressee of loss of self-control: *Lesbiane cacas scribisque [sa]lute(m)* ("Lesbianus, you shit and you write 'hi,'" *CIL* IV.10070, written on the exterior of the House of Lesbianus, I.13.9); *felixs cacas* ("Happily you shit," *CIL* IV.02075, written on the wall of a shop along the facade of the Stabian baths, VII.1.3). Another inscription, from the latrine at the House of the Centenary (IX.8.a, and see below), accuses a woman named Martha of defecating elsewhere in the house: *Marthae hoc tric{hi}linium est nam in tric{hi}linio / cacat* ("This is Martha's dining room, because she shits in the dining room," *CIL* IV.05244). Another graffito, from the rear corridor of the Stabian Baths (VII.1.51), may also be accusatory, if Rome is a name of a person: *Rome cum Fructo Rome cacatris* ("Rome with Fructus, Rome the shittress," *CIL* IV.02125). Persius may have chosen this metaphor for satire in large part because of how disgusting it is, and how easily it can be used as an insult, given that, in an important reminiscence in satire 5, he rejects urban space (and the satire it generates) as an obstacle to philosophy.

As a Stoic, Persius's attitude is that, generally, the city is to be rejected as representative of the opposite of Stoicism. In a satire that thanks his Stoic mentor Annaeus Cornutus, Persius describes donning the *toga virilis* for the first time, and explains the power this ritual grants him in terms of movement through the city (5.32-6):

Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit
 bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit;
 cum blandi comites, totaque inpune Subura
 permisit sparsisse oculos iam candidus umbo;
 cumque iter ambiguum est et vitae nescius error
 deducit trepidas ramosa in compita mentes,
 me tibi supposui.

35

When my guardian purple first left me, trembling,
and my childhood charm hung as a gift to the Lares with their tunics belted up;
when my friends were charming, and my now-white toga let me scatter my glance 35
through the whole Subura with no consequences;
and when my journey is uncertain and my inexperienced wandering
leads my timid mind to the branching crossroads—
I put myself under you.

The *Liberalia* festival, in which a young free Roman man went to the Forum of Augustus, offered his bulla at the temple of Mars Ultor, and exchanged the *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis*, marked him as suitable for military and government services in the eyes of the Roman state.⁵³ Persius could have framed this ritual as one which prompted him to realize the responsibilities implied in *virtus*, which subsequently pushed him to Cornutus, but instead says that the *Liberalia* funnels young men directly to the Subura. As a description of the Subura, this passage picks up on and develops several themes that have already appeared in the previous chapters. Persius designates certain parts of the city as both polluted and associated with pleasure. His new status, as well as his friends, allows Persius to gaze upon those parts of the city with no consequences (*impune*)—the danger is only in straying from Stoic principles. Manhood gives him the power to go wherever he wants in the city, although Persius ultimately claims to have left low haunts for Cornutus's companionship.

This passage is also part of the cultural concept of the Subura as the home of Roman vice, especially prostitution. As often, Persius is allusive. He does not explicitly name sex or sex work as one of the promises of the Subura. Instead, he tantalizes the reader with *totaque impune*

53. On the role of the Forum of Augustus in coming-of-age rituals of Roman masculinity, see Kellum 1996. Kellum's reconstruction of the forum as built in the shape of a phallus has since been disproved by the discovery of two additional exhedrae towards the south end of the forum, but the ritualistic importance remains the same.

Subura, "the whole Subura with no consequences," with *inpune*, "no consequences," fittingly placed within "*tota Subura*." The next line begins even more forcefully with *permisit*, although it is not explicitly clear what it is being permitted. A sexual meaning may be implied in "to scatter my glance," since *sparsisse* is used of planting seeds. By now it is clear that what Persius's newfound, institutionally approved manhood allows him to do is "look," but what he can see remains vague. By the next line, he is already turning away from the Subura, to his teacher. In the absence of other details, and with the presence of previous references to the Subura as the haunt of adulterous lovers and prostitutes (see above), it is easy to read sexual innuendo into Persius's description. At the same time, archaeological evidence has shown that sex work was not zoned in the city. Persius chooses to impose this reputation on the Subura, which was a densely populated and socially mixed area but not one that had an exclusive hold on sex work.⁵⁴

Seneca, Nero's philosophical adviser, describes a similar geography. Certain places in the city are associated with pleasure, and should therefore be disgusting to the discerning Roman citizen, although all of them would be accessible to him. Seneca explains that one might find either virtue or pleasure, and compares the places and practices associated with each (*de Vit. beat.* 7.3):

Altum quiddam est virtus, excelsum et regale, invictum infatigabile: voluptas humile servile, inbecillum caducum, cuius statio ac domicilium fornices et popinae sunt. Virtutem in templo convenies, in foro, in curia, pro muris stantem, pulverulentam coloratam, callosas habentem manus: voluptatem latitantem saepius ac tenebras captantem circa balinea ac sudatoria ac loca aedilem metuentia, mollem enervem, mero atque unguento madentem, pallidam aut fucatam et medicamentis pollinctam.

54. On the Subura's reputation, see above with reference to Horace, and McGinn 2004, who argues convincingly that sex work could be found all over the city.

Virtue on the one hand is a lofty, elevated and regal thing, unconquered, and tireless; pleasure is a low thing, like a slave, weak and wobbly, whose place and home are brothels and dive bars. You'll find manliness in a temple, in the forum, in the Curia, standing protectively before the walls, dusty and flushed, with callused hands: pleasure you'll find more often hidden and hunting shadows around the baths and the sweat lodges and the places that are afraid of the aedile, soft and dickless, dripping in wine and oil, pale and painted and embalmed with potions.

Seneca's divisions of the city are unsurprising, and heavily gendered: manliness is found in places which allow for traditional Roman military excellence and service to the state, like the Campus Martius, outside the walls, where men gathered for military exercises; its opposite—effeminate and powerless—lurks in public spaces devoted to pleasure, or spaces where the poor and enslaved might hide. For Persius, however, there do not seem to be any safe parts of the city: the Forum of Augustus, which had been central to Roman civic life since its inception, and which displayed paragons of Roman manhood throughout its colonnaded walls, is now seemingly nothing but a gateway to the Subura, itself a den of iniquity.⁵⁵ As seen in chapter 2, the Subura was directly behind a large firewall at the back of the Forum; two staircases led from the forum to the neighborhood. Whereas the divisions in Seneca's city are largely obvious, the city offers no signs to a young Persius standing at the crossroads. Both Persius and Seneca imply that "reading" the city this way has to be taught, that alternative readings exist, and that this teaching must be actively reproduced between generations in order to maintain Roman *virtus*.

The theme of public and private speech, as well as the inappropriate reading of the city, appears in the second satire, which uses the occasion of a friend's birthday to address the theme

55. On the landscape of violence in the Roman city more generally, see Fagan 2016, who begins with a story about Nero slumming in the city, dressing as a slave and prowling the city at night, stealing and starting fights (231; Tac. *Ann.* 13.2.5.1-3, Suet. *Nero* 26).

of prayers and offerings to the gods: some are the kind you offer in front of people, others are the kind you mutter under your breath (2.3-10, 15-16):

...Non tu prece poscis emaci
quae nisi seductis nequeas committere divis.
at bona pars procerum tacita libabit acerra: 5
haut cuivis promptum est murmurque humilesque susurros
tollere de templis et aperto vivere voto.
"mens bona, fama, fides," haec clare et ut audiat hospes;
illa sibi introrsum et sub lingua murmurat: "o si
ebulliat patruus, praeclarum funus!"... 10
haec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgite mergis
mane caput bis terque et noctem flumine purgas?

...*You* don't make demands with a bribe as prayer,
which you wouldn't offer to the gods except in private.
But a large portion of our esteemed citizens offer sacrifice from a silent incense box: 5
it's not everyone who is ready to take away the muttering and the humble whispers from
the temples
and to live with their prayer in the open.
"A good mind, reputation, credit," all that clearly and for a stranger to hear;
but to themselves and under their tongue they mutter: "If only my uncle would die,
a splendid funeral!"... 10
And is it to ask this stuff piously, that every morning you dunk your head in the Tiber's
whirlpool,
twice and three times, and use the river to purge yourself of what happened last night?

As in the first satire, dangerous criticisms are the kind you mutter, especially if you are in public. And as Persius nearly does as a young man, the potential supplicant misreads the cityscape and misuses the river. The purification offered by moving water should obviously not be used to purify selfish and destructive prayers. Criticism is impossible not to voice, but it must be done carefully, and the cityscape offers unique opportunities to do so in shameful ways.

This stance, too, has parallels in graffiti. An elegiac graffito perhaps from the exterior of a house on the Vicolo delle Pareti Rosse (VIII.6.7, but this origin is disputed) also concerns excretion outside of designated areas, but here the authors are also the agents, and are largely

unapologetic: *Miximus in lecto fateor peccavimus hospes / si dices quare nulla matella fuit* ("We pissed in the bed, I admit, we made a mistake, host. / If you ask why—there was no chamberpot," *CIL* IV.04957). Another author, from the back wall of the Caupona of Julia Felix (II.4.7), is even less apologetic about their actions: *[felici?]ter filia cacamus* ("Happily, daughter, we shit," *CIL* IV.10149). In Regio IX, in an alleyway between *insulae* 5 and 6, was found a carved phallus jutting out from the wall, painted red, and with the following plaque inscribed below: *ego hanc cacavi* ("I shat this out," *CIL* X.08145). John Clarke suggests that the inscription was a joke on whoever was standing next to the phallus (perhaps to excrete there), contra A. E. Housman, who suggests that the speaker was bragging about his sexual activity.⁵⁶

Although these graffiti may be a small corpus, nevertheless they suggest a framework in which Persius is locating himself. Publicly posted graffiti, as Levin-Richardson explains, form a regulating force on residents of and visitors to the city. Persius's satirical persona reacts to these graffiti and sets himself outside of them. There are various graffiti that also react to these norms. Some boast about the fact that they occurred within the suggested location (latrines), or accuse others of having done so. At the heart of these graffiti seems to be a discussion of self-control: real Romans wait for the toilet. At the same time, the graffiti concerning Miccio's father suggests that excretion is a time of vulnerability for a Roman man, as does another painted threat to sexually assault would-be *cacatores*: *Hospes adhuc tumuli ne meias ossa prec[antur] / nam si*

56. Clarke 2007: 71; Housman 1931: 404. This expectation of both an audience and a person standing nearby the inscription appears in another graffiti having to do with excretion, written on a corridor leading to the theater complex from the Via Stabiana (VIII.7.20): *Miccio Coco [3]u tuo patri cacanti confregisti peram / Miccionis statum co(n)siderate / Miccionis statum considerate* ("Miccio, you broke your father's wallet while he was shitting, you cheat. / Reflect on the position of Miccio / Reflect on the position of Miccio," *CIL* IV.02146). The second line is written in a different hand from the first. Miccio may have been publicly humiliated as punishment for stealing his father's wallet.

vis (h)uic gratior esse caca / Urticae monumenta vides discede cacator / non est hic tutum culu(m) aperire tibi ("Visitor, my bones pray that you do not piss here at this tomb, for if you want to be more pleasant to this tomb: shit! Defecator, see that you leave the monuments of Nettle-Prick; it's not safe for you to open your asshole here," *CIL* IV.08899, written on the exterior of a house on the Via dell'Abondanza, III.5.4). Other inscriptions warn of less personal punishments for public defecation, but these would still have included physical violence for slaves. Within this framework, public defecation becomes an act of resistance, and a possible tactic for slaves or other disenfranchised people in the city looking for a way to express power and ownership, or perhaps to resist norms concerning Roman manliness wholesale (if we agree with Housman). As such, this might have been an especially attractive metaphor for a satirist like Persius, who at times adopts as model for his satire examples of the powerless looking for ways to voice their subjectivity or agency.

Ultimately, it may be just that gutters are good to think with; Persius's choice of metaphors does not necessarily reflect the attitudes or lived realities of people in the city. Amongst other things, satire lets Persius discuss possible relations to the city. As a Roman man—especially as a young man—it is Persius's (mistaken) prerogative to consider the city as a locus for pleasure, especially unRoman and unmanly pleasure. As a Stoic, it is Persius's responsibility to reject that city (5.36-38). As a satirist, however, Persius's relationship to the city is less defined: he chooses to frame himself as a man with few resources or opportunities, dependent on the whim of a powerful audience, and claims satire itself is a form of marring the city. In doing so, Persius is potentially drawing on traditions from street culture—especially those associated with people who had few resources for effective voicing of their power, e.g. poor free and freed people, as well as slaves. Satirical or philosophical descriptions of street

culture do not necessarily tell us anything about what it was like to live there. But it is important to recognize how satire co-opts aspects of street culture that may have been particularly attractive to enslaved or otherwise disenfranchised people.

In his sixth and final satire, addressed to his friend and editor Caesius Bassus, Persius has left Rome for Luna (modern Luni) in northern Italy, and asks Caesius whether he has already retired to his Sabine estate (6.1-2). Persius praises his retreat, especially because it is free of the city crowds (*securus volgi*, 6.12). As with Horace, discussed above, the country is morally superior to the city, and the only completely secure place to avoid urban vices. But the distinction between satire and philosophy and city and country is nuanced in this final satire; it is just as possible to fall prey to distractions and unproductive worries in the country as in the city, as Persius warns his addressee. After indulging in his tour of the slums, and putting on the costume of a vulnerable urban worker, Persius now reveals the fiction of it all.

Petronius: Touring Social Ooze

We pass over some, and not the worst of them. These names have faces attached. They do not express merely beings, but species. Each one of these names corresponds to a variety of those misshapen fungi from the underside of civilization. Those beings, who were not very lavish with their countenances, were not among the men whom one sees passing along the streets. Fatigued by the wild nights which they passed, they went off by day to sleep, sometimes in the lime-kilns, sometimes in the abandoned quarries of Montmartre or Montrouge, sometimes in the sewers. They ran to earth. What became of these men? They still exist. They have always existed. Horace speaks of them: *ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae, mendici, mimae*; and so long as society remains what it is, they will remain what they are. Beneath the obscure roof of their cavern, they are continually born again from the social ooze.

— Victor Hugo, trans. Isabel F. Hapgood, *Les Misérables* p. 174

The *Satyricon* takes place nowhere. Although this is in part due to the fragmentary nature of the text, and the characters are nominally located at various times, many of the episodes take place within generic and anonymous spaces that could be found anywhere within any city of a certain size. To the extent to which the novel satirizes Nero's court, the novel focuses on a social circle in Rome and elite villas around Italy and the empire. In fact, the lack of location has been part of what has been used to read the novel as a satire of Nero's court: the forgettable settings and otherwise unknown characters are covers for the imperial court at Rome.⁵⁷ The setting has also been understood as part of the picaresque nature of the novel, which jumps frenetically from episode to episode.⁵⁸ In his book on the audience and expected reader of the *Satyricon*, Niall Slater explains the work as a form of parody. Parody by its nature expects its audience to understand a wide array of references. Slater is interested in the literary forms and references that the satire draws on, but emphasizes that parody needs only be recognizable as such in order to be enjoyable, because parody tends to include the norms from which it deviates in the text itself.⁵⁹ So although the *Satyricon* includes both widely recognizable parodied texts within it, such as Greek and Roman epic, even its more obscure references could have been enjoyed by a less widely-read audience. I am similarly interested in the novel as a parody, but one of place, instead of genre or the contemporary elite.

As with parodies of texts and people, the reader may reap more with a greater understanding of the source material for the parody, but does not need it in order to enjoy the

57. See Boissier 1875: 275-87 for the initial discussion, as well as Sullivan 1985: 160-61.

58. See Zeitlin 1971: 650ff. and Slater 1990: 241-250 on the picaresque nature of the novel and how its episodes fit together.

59. Slater 1990: 19-20.

show. The reader who recognizes certain kinds of urban settings and people within them—a threshold with a painting or mosaic of a dog on it, or a brothel—may have a more specific understanding of the nature of the parody, but it is not necessary. This distinction is important because it supplements an understanding of the novel as parody of the Neronian court or other literary genres. Readings of the novel as a coded exposé of the Neronian court cannot explain the aspects of the novel that do not address wealth or corruption. Readings of the novel as a parody of epic cannot account for every scene and action within the novel.⁶⁰ Understanding the framework of the novel—the misadventures of low protagonists who inhabit low places—as essential to the parody helps explain why Petronius might have chosen to frame it this way, and what role low urban culture played in the minds of him and his readers. Not only is it funny to see the adventures of epic taken to the streets, but the streets themselves are funny.

The civil status of the protagonists can seem unclear, and dynamics amongst the three main protagonists—Encolpius, Ascyltos, and Giton—can shift from scene to scene. But their social status is clearly low, as with most of the characters of the book. Even Trimalchio's wealth only emphasizes his gauche taste. If the novel were written for an elite, literary audience, it represents a voyeuristic fantasy of "social ooze." Like Persius, Petronius is a slum tour guide. Other readings of the novel have emphasized the role of voyeurism in the *Satyricon* in its exploration and subversion of typical sex norms: characters watch each other, or present whole scenes reminiscent of mime.⁶¹ Even so, the generic settings of the novel can be read as a reflection of the spaces and places that slaves and other marginalized people would inhabit. My

60. On the difficulty of constructing one unifying perspective for the novel, see Slater 1990: 1-27.

61. See Sullivan 1968: 219-224, Slater 1990: 115-16, Rimell 2002: 32-48, and Richlin 2009b, esp. 92-96, as well as for a discussion of the novel's theatricality.

previous chapter emphasized the commonality between spaces of the poor and the elite within Roman society: much of Roman society was conducted not just in public but in a crowded public, and Horace can peruse all sorts of social registers as he walks through the city. This can lead to conflicts over definitions and control of urban space, as with the gardens of Maecenas and their previous use as a mass grave. In this section of the chapter, I focus on the kinds of spaces that seem to be explicitly associated with the low city, and how the satirist views them from a voyeuristic distance. This includes a poor urban lodging, which is the setting of some of the episodes. But it also includes fuzzier definitions of urban space, such as the city at night, or non-elite perceptions of elite space.

In their book on the material remains of slave's lives, Sandra Joshel and Lauren Petersen point out that slaves looking for spaces in which to express agency would have preferred hidden spaces in the city, and especially the city at night.⁶² In chapter 2, I discussed the role of nighttime, and the darkness it provides, in the witches' ability to invade the garden. Not only does it provide pragmatic cover for the women as they sneak into private property, it erases the differences between the landscapes' previous iteration, and its current state as a garden. In his semi-autobiographical novel *City of Night*, John Rechy recounts traveling through large cities around the United States to find gay subcultures in each of these cities. Although the character of each was unique to each city, all shared some common features: they primarily took place at night, and in less visible corners of otherwise hyper-visible parts of the city.⁶³ One of the themes of the book is the continuity between these places in the city. In the passage above from *Les*

62. Joshel and Petersen 2014: 115-117, with reference to *Sat.* 95-96, discussed below.

63. See chapter 2 on Rechy 1963 and Ovid, with a discussion of Pershing Square Park.

Misérables, Hugo implies a continuity of urban spaces, although through a lens of disgust, that goes back to Horace. As with the characters of the *Satyricon*, the people Hugo describes are poor, seem primarily to operate at night, and have no direct connection with "normal" or productive society.

The author of the *Satyricon* projects a similar kind of disgust: the protagonists are often foolish, cowardly, stupid, and laughable, and fundamentally misunderstand basic tenets of Roman manhood and social structure. Here, I examine how the characters are located or dislocated within the city—they haunt the city at night, in its most generic and anonymous places, and may seem disoriented or confused about where they are. The protagonists seem dislocated; they belong to a recognizable but intentionally anonymous part of town, part of the "social ooze" that Hugo describes above. The effect of this confusion is that the reader is often called upon to recognize places and imagery before the protagonists do. When Encolpius comes to Trimalchio's house, for instance, he is initially shocked by a picture on the wall: *Ceterum ego dum omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi. Ad sinistram enim intransibus non longe ab ostiarii cella canis ingens, catena vinctus, in pariete erat pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum CAVE CANEM. Et collegae quidem mei riserunt.* ("Meanwhile, while I was gaping at everything, I fell backwards and nearly broke my legs. Because, at the left side as you enter, not far from the door-keeper's room, was a big dog, held back by a chain—it had been painted on the wall, and above it was written in square letters: BEWARE OF DOG. And my friends really laughed at me," *Sat.* 29). The verb that reveals the picture's true nature is delayed, as if to catch the reader up in Encolpius's confusion: the dog, the chain, the wall, and only then the fact that the dog is a painted image (*erat pictus*). But Encolpius has already begun to describe the decoration of the house by the time he comes to the dog, and has already primed the reader to expect hilarity

by giving away the punchline: that he fell over, not that he narrowly saved himself from certain harm. The joke is twofold: that the dog is really a painting, and that Encolpius would mistake a painting for a real dog.

In her work on Roman laughter, Maria Plaza reads the entire genre of satire in this image, drawing on other comparisons between satire and dogs.⁶⁴ She notes also the parallel between this confrontation with a painted dog at the beginning of the *cena*, and the real dog that the protagonists encounter after they leave, as representative of the transformative quality of the party. Both interactions with dogs recall the entrance to the underworld, and especially Aeneas's journey to it in the *Aeneid* (6.419-23).⁶⁵ In addition to literary spaces, however, this reference must have drawn on real thresholds with a similar kind of decoration. There are several extant mosaics from entryways in Pompeii that show dogs, as well as one painted wall that has a seated dog (see *Figs. 4-7*). John Clarke interprets these within an apotropaic context: being surprised is funny, and laughing while crossing a liminal space, like the entryway to a house, is good luck.⁶⁶ Clarke focuses on the shock of these animals: some of them even seem to be approaching the viewer, especially as the viewer moves towards or over them. But if even one comparatively small Roman town has several examples of them, they could easily have been a trope of Roman decorating. The learned guest might be tickled, but would probably become cynical and less

64. Plaza 2000: 98-99, with reference to Lucilius 2, 1095; Horace, *Ep.* 6.1-10, *S.* 1.4.93, 2.1.84-85, and Persius 1.107-110, who notes that if he writes the wrong kind of satire, the thresholds of potential patrons will grow cold and he will hear growling. See above for a discussion of this passage in Persius.

65. Plaza 2000: 101-103, drawing on Collignon 1892: 119-20 for the original interpretation of Trimalchio's dinner-party as a kind of underworld; Bodel 1994b. See also Rimell 2002: 152-57 for other "spectral spaces" within the *Satyricon*.

66. Clarke 2007: 53-56.

easy to surprise; potentially the images were in bad taste.⁶⁷ When Encolpius falls for the joke, the suspense is written into the novel's phrasing, but the traveled reader would probably suspect a joke more quickly. The reader experiences the scene in two ways: as Encolpius, watching the dog transform from animal to image, and as a spectator of Encolpius, comparing their experiences to his ignorance.



[Fig. 4: A painted guard dog from the Tavern of Sotericus in Pompeii, I.12.3, image and detail, via Clarke 2007: 53]

67. On the images being an object of derision, see Veyne 1963, who sees Trimalchio as the real object of mockery in this scene, rather than Encolpius.



[Fig. 5: A mosaic of a sleeping dog from the entrance of the house of Caecilius Iucundus in Pompeii, V.1.26, via Clarke 2007: 55]

[Fig. 6: A mosaic of a guard dog from the entrance of the house of P. Paquius Proculus in Pompeii, I.8.1, via Clarke 2007: 55]





[Fig. 7: A mosaic of a guard dog with the caption *cave canem* from the entrance to the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii, VI.8.5, via Clarke 2007: 56]

Scholarly discussions of space in the *Satyricon*, however, tend to emphasize the domestic space the dog-mosaic guards. This choice is unsurprising, given the centrality of the *cena Trimalchionis* in the extant fragments, which takes place in Trimalchio's gauche and richly symbolic *domus*.⁶⁸ But the novel parodies a much broader array of spaces—and ridiculous ways of interacting with them—than just the freedman's *domus* and its poorly chosen decoration. The

68. See Hales 2009 for a discussion of the importance of domestic space in the novel.

same kind of joke, for instance, may be at play earlier in the novel, but with a much different kind of urban space. Encolpius is searching for his friend Ascyltos, and becomes lost (*Sat.* 6-7):

Sed nec viam diligenter tenebam [quia] nec quod stabulum esset sciebam. Itaque quocumque ieram, eodem revertabar, donec et cursu fatigatus et sudore iam madens accedo aniculam quandam, quae agreste holus vendebat et: "Rogo," inquam, "Mater, numquid scis ubi ego habitem?" Delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta et: "Quidni sciam?" inquit, consurrexitque et coepit me praecedere. Divinam ego putabam et subinde ut in locum secretiorem venimus, centonem anus urbana reiecit et: "Hic," inquit, "Debes habitare." Cum ego negarem me agnoscere domum, video quosdam inter titulos nudasque meretrices furtim spatiantes. Tarde, immo iam sero intellexi me in fornicem esse deductum.

But I wasn't sticking to the path correctly and I didn't know where the lodging was. And so wherever I went, I kept coming back to the same spot, until worn out by my wandering and now dripping with sweat, I come across some little old lady, who was selling country vegetables, and said: "Please, lady, surely you know where I might dwell?" She was delighted by such frivolous urbane charm and said: "Why wouldn't I know?" And she got up and began to lead me. I thought she must be divine – and then just as we came to a more hidden location, the old city woman drew back the ragged curtain and said: "Here's where you should dwell." While I was denying that I recognized the house, I see placards advertising sex acts, and men, and naked prostitutes walking around discreetly. Finally, now too late I realized I had been led to a brothel.

The scene begins with Encolpius already lost—he cannot even seem to identify what *kind* of urban space he is standing in, although previously he had been listening to oratory in a colonnade (*in porticu*, 3), and afterwards paces in a garden (*in hortis*, 6). The characters' tendency to get lost has been interpreted in a mythological framework, as references to the labyrinth of Daedalus and the wanderings of Odysseus.⁶⁹ But it is important not to gloss over the characters' wanderings, and of the brothel episode in particular, as satires of real urban spaces and the people who populate them.

69. On the labyrinthine quality of the protagonists' wandering, see Courtney 2001: 227-28. On the numerous Homeric references in the novel, see Sullivan 1968: 92-98, Walsh 1970: 28-30, Morgan 2009: 32-38.

The old woman selling vegetables plays on the stock comic value of old women, popular figures in Roman comedy and satire (see above on Horace and Persius, and below on Martial and Juvenal), as well as Roman humor concerning low food (see above in the lexicon). But there is also evidence that women selling food were numerous in the city, and that this kind of work was a way for women to become economically successful. A well-known relief from Ostia (*fig. 8*) shows a woman as the sole proprietor of a lively food stand, while another shows a woman selling vegetables (*fig. 9*). Natalie Kampen and John Clarke have discussed these reliefs in the context of women's economic role in food vending and the Roman economy more broadly.⁷⁰ In picking the old woman selling vegetables, Petronius chooses not just a stock comic archetype, but one that would actually have been ubiquitous in the Roman street: finding an old woman selling vegetables would not have given you much indication of where you were. This satiric perspective on the vegetable-seller also inverts how the urban poor might have seen her: to Petronius, she is not a potentially economically independent saleswoman, but a laughingstock.⁷¹

70. Kampen 1981; Clarke 2006: 123-25. Kampen in particular has argued for the prevalence of women in sales, and that selling food may have been an avenue for economic success. See also Joshel and Petersen 2014: 90-94 for this image contextualized in terms of busy city streets and the street culture they engendered, as well as Holleran 2012: 194-231 for a discussion of street sellers more broadly.

71. It is important to note that this woman would not necessarily have been free.



[Fig. 8: Relief from Ostia of woman selling food, Ostia Museum, inv. 134, via Clarke 2006: 124]



[Fig. 9: Episcopo relief depicting a woman selling vegetables, Ostia, via Kampen 1981: 40]

As with the mosaic of the dog, the explicit "reveal" of the brothel is delayed until the end of the paragraph. The scene has a riddling format. The revealing sentence begins with *video*, and only towards the end of the sentence are the naked

women described. The label of *fornicem* only comes in the next sentence, after Encolpius explains his belated epiphany. A less credulous reader, however, might have begun to suspect foul play much earlier in the scene. Petronius could be satirizing recognizable sites for sex work,

especially given their reputation for reeking.⁷² There does not seem to have been any typical site for sex work, since there is only one purpose-built brothel in Pompeii and a handful of other rooms off of alleyways identified as *cellae meretriciae* because they have concrete beds in them.⁷³ Sites for sex work may as a result have been identified not by their architecture, which was variable, but by other factors: placement within the layout or building, site within the city, privacy, poverty, smell. Even if readers had no familiarity with urban sex work, however, they might still have recognized this passage as a satire of a particular kind of place. As with literary parodies, the reader need not be familiar with the source material in order to get the joke. It is also important to recognize that this kind of space need not have existed at all in order for the joke to work. Petronius or his readers might have merely assumed that there was sex work going on in the private, ragged corners of the city.

This scene also offers another riskless risk to the reader. Encolpius begins with the upper hand, as he (seemingly) charms the old woman into showing him where he needs to go. By the time he is in the brothel, however, he has lost all control, and is close to being forcibly sex trafficked. Inversion of social hierarchy is a standard trope in Roman comedy, but this particular scenario touches on what must have been a real threat to vulnerable residents of the city: kidnapping and sex trafficking.⁷⁴ Petronius plays the scene just to the point that the protagonist

72. On the brothel's reek, see above in Chapter 1.

73. On brothel identification and placement within Pompeii, see Laurence 1994: 70-87 and McGinn 2004: 15-30. Strong 2016: 164-65 also argues that sites for sex work would have been near a water source.

74. See Parker 1989 for a discussion of the brutal realities of slavery that are performed in Roman comedy as a form of riskless risk to slaveowners in the audience; Marshall 2013 for a discussion of sex slaves in Greek New Comedy and their connection to slaves' lived experiences as enslaved sex workers; Richlin 2014b for a discussion of the realities of slaves' lives as presented in Roman comedy.

begins to recognize how much trouble he has gotten into, and then immediately backs away from real danger (*Sat. 7*):

Execratus itaque aniculae insidias operui caput et per medium lupanar fugere coepi in alteram partem, cum ecce in ipso aditu occurrit mihi aequo lassus ac moriens Ascyltos; putares ab eadem anicula esse deductum. Itaque ut ridens eum consalutavi, quid in loco tam deformi faceret quaesivi.

So I cursed the old woman's treachery and covered my head and started to run through the middle of the brothel into another part, when look, in that same entrance Ascyltos, just as tired and half-dead as I was, ran into me; you'd think he'd been led there by the same old woman. So I said hello to him as I was laughing, and I asked what he was doing in such an ugly place.

Upon recognizing the brothel and his situation for what it is, Encolpius is angry and scared, and appears even more lost in the brothel as he runs from one room to another (*in alteram partem*).

Just as things begin to look dire, however, he finds a friend. Immediately, all danger seems to be gone, even though Ascyltos is exhausted and also lost. The scene ends with laughter (*ridens*), revealing the scene to be the joke that it is and dispelling all fear with apotropaic joy.

The characters' tendency to get lost also represents a satire of movement within urban space. Richard Jenkyns has discussed the contempt Roman writers showed for people who rushed or wandered aimlessly through the city, especially at night.⁷⁵ The characters tend to get lost at night, as they do immediately after leaving Trimalchio's dinner: *neque fax ulla in praesidio erat, quae iter aperiret errantibus, nec silentium noctis iam mediae promittebat occurrentium lumen. Accedebat huc ebrietas et imprudentia locorum etiam interdiu obscura. Itaque cum hora paene tota per omnes scrupos gastrarumque eminentium fragmenta traxissemus cruentos pedes.* ("There was no torch at all for help, which could show us our journey as we

75. Jenkyns 2013: 153-55.

wandered, and the silence of the already late night wasn't offering up any light from people we ran into. Add to this our drunkenness and inexperience with places murky even during the day. And so when we had dragged our bleeding feet for nearly a whole hour through all the rocks and the bits of shards sticking out ..." 79.1). Although this tendency to get lost is clearly meant to be indicative of the protagonists' general foolishness and disorientation, it is hard to blame them too much, since ancient cities must have been exceptionally difficult to navigate at night—especially for a visitor.⁷⁶ The privacy nighttime offers is exploited in satire and other kinds of invective against upper-class people with poor character (see above for the night city in the works of Horace, and below in the works of Juvenal). In the Neronian period, Seneca included nocturnal debauchery amongst the reasons Augustus had exiled Julia (*Ben.* 6.3.2), and detailed Caligula's senseless executions by torchlight during an evening walk (*Ira* 3.18).

John Urry has theorized two forms of what he calls the "tourist gaze," drawing on Foucault's understanding of the gaze as a form of surveillance and control.⁷⁷ The first is a kind of collective gaze, that imagines paradisiac landscapes of sand, sea, and sun, forming an uninhabited retreat for tourists. The second romanticizes interactions with the Other, ultimately drawing on colonialist fantasies. Although Petronius was not operating within a colonialist framework, this literary slum tourism could have had a similar aim and effect: a safe interaction with the Other, one which ultimately reinforces social hierarchies.⁷⁸ The night-scenes of the

76. Hugo wrote about the dark world of Paris during a revolution in urban lighting. Over the course of the nineteenth century, advances in technology and production transformed the city; lamps changed from individual markers of place and importance into a flood of light. On the development of lighting technology during this time, see Schivelbusch 1995.

77. Urry 2002; Foucault 1979.

78. Elite men were encouraged to stay up at night, if not venture outside, in the service of practicing oratory. Quintilian recommends aspiring orators write at night (*lucubratio*, "working by lamplight") in their bedroom (*cubiculum*), after one has dismissed the slaves there (10.3.22). Working at night is in part better because it does not

Satyricon suggest the fantasy of taking part in the city at night. They allow the reader to experience the "riskless risk" of the city at night.

The fantasy continues in chapter 12-15, when the protagonists stumble upon a night market in the forum, where they attempt to sell a cloak they have stolen (*Sat.* 12):

veniebamus in forum deficiente iam die, in quo notavimus frequentiam rerum venalium, non quidem pretiosarum sed tamen quarum fidem male ambulanti obscuritas temporis facillime tegetet. Cum ergo et ipsi raptum latrocinio pallium detulisset, uti occasione opportunissima coepimus atque in quodam angulo laciniam extremam concutere, si quem forte emptorem splendor vestis posset adducere.

We came now to the forum as daylight was already dying, in which we noticed a number of things for sale, not really worth a lot but yet the kind for which the darkness of the time of day would most easily cover their skulking untrustworthiness. Since we ourselves had brought the stolen cloak there, too, we started to make use of this most opportune chance and to show off the hem of it in a certain quiet corner, to see if the glamor of the garment could by chance attract a buyer.

As things develop, the scene fetishizes the topsy-turvy nature of the night market, presenting several reversals and paradoxes: objects are both less visible in the dying light and hyper-visible; the law offers no protection and should even be avoided; a cloak of good quality and a ragged tunic have the same value. Even the aspect of the goods on sale that should produce confidence is deceptive: *fidem male ambulanti*, literally "trustworthiness walking badly," as if it were skulking or even limping. The darkness of the encroaching night covers the poor quality of the goods for sale, but the very fact that they are being sold then exposes their poor quality; at the

allow for distraction, but Quintilian emphasizes that working alone at night is the only time and place free from expectation or judgment: *nam in stilo quidem quamlibet properato dat aliquam cogitationi moram non consequens celeritatem eius manus: ille cui dictamus urget, atque interim pudet etiam dubitare aut resistere aut mutare quasi conscium infirmitatis nostrae timentis* ("Because even if your pen is really hurried along, as much as you like, it gives a certain delay to your thoughts, because it doesn't keep up with the rapidity of your thinking: the person we're dictating to urges us along, and meanwhile it shames us even to hesitate or pause or change, as if we were acknowledging our cowardly weakness," 10.3.19). Writing at night and alone allows the writer to make gestures that would seem stupid to an observer (10.3.21). See Ker 2004 for *lucubratio* contextualized in a larger imperial writing culture.

same time, the value of the stolen cloak is plainly visible, and the men depend on its visibility to sell it, even in their secluded corner of an already secluded space.

While the protagonists stand around offering their stolen cloak for sale, they see that their previously lost tunic has miraculously (*O lusum fortunae mirabilem!*) come back, seemingly still with the money sewn into its hem (*Sat.* 13). They consider asking the law for help, but Ascyltos advises against it, because he fears it will be turned against him: *contra Ascyltos leges timebat et: "Quis, aiebat, hoc loco nos novit, aut quis habebit dicentibus fidem?* ("Ascyltos, who was afraid of the law, said in response: "Who knows us in this place, or who is going to trust us when we explain?" *Sat.* 13). As their cloak is recognized as stolen, the men in turn insist on reclaiming their stolen tunic (*Sat.* 14):

Contra nos perturbati, ne videremur nihil agere, et ipsi scissam et sordidam tenere coepimus tunicam atque eadem invidia proclamare, nostra esse spolia quae illi possiderent. Sed nullo genere par erat causa, et cociones qui ad clamorem confluerant, nostram scilicet de more ridebant invidiam, quod pro illa parte vindicabant pretiosissimam vestem, pro hac pannuciam ne centonibus quidem bonis dignam.

We were in turn upset at this, and so we wouldn't seem to be doing nothing, we ourselves also began to hold onto the torn and filthy tunic and shout with the same ill-will, that the goods they had were ours. But the argument was in no way equal, and the brokers, who had gathered around at the shouting, were laughing—and who wouldn't—at our ill-will, because they on their part were asserting a claim to a most precious piece of clothing, but on our part we wanted a ragged piece of clothing not even worth making into a good patchwork quilt.

The scene connects the contemptible aspects of the night-market—goods there might have been stolen, there is no legal protection—with the generative powers of the carnivalesque. Goods of great value may be exchanged for goods of very little value, which may in turn be of great value—the characters believe that the tunic still has money sewn into its hem. The night-market is toured in a kind of fantasy, in which poverty and legal vulnerability are seen not as real threats but as chaotic opportunities for marvels.

One final scene, much later in the narrative, also demonstrates this phenomenon very well. The protagonists Encolpius and Giton (now with Eumolpus, rather than Ascyltos) find themselves at a cheap hotel. A fight breaks out among the three of them, which causes the keeper of the hotel to come investigate, and the scene quickly devolves into further violence (*Sat.* 95):

Dum haec fabula inter amantes luditur, deversitor cum parte cenulae intervenit, contemplatusque foedissimam volutationem iacentium: "Rogo, inquit, ebrii estis, an fugitivi, an utrumque? Quis autem grabatum illum erexit, aut quid sibi vult tam furtiva molitio? Vos mehercules ne mercedem cellae daretis, fugere nocte in publicum voluistis. Sed non impune. Iam enim faxo sciatis non viduae hanc insulam esse sed Marci Mannicii." Exclamat Eumolpus: "Etiam minaris?"; simulque os hominis palma excussissima pulsat. Ille tot hospitum potionibus †liber urceolum fictilem† in Eumolpi caput iaculatus est, soluitque clamantis frontem, et de cella se proripuit, Eumolpus contumeliae impatiens rapit ligneum candelabrum, sequiturque abeuntem, et creberrimis ictibus supercilium suum vindicat. Fit concursus familiae hospitumque ebriorum frequentia.

While this argument was being played out amongst the lovers, the keeper of the hotel showed up with part of the dinner, and after he had observed our utterly filthy wallowing as we lay on the floor, said: "I wonder whether you're drunk or runaways, or both? But who put that bed up like that—or what did such secretive digging around mean? By god, you didn't want to give the fee for the room, and were going to run outside under the cover of night—but you won't get away with it! Because I'm going to make it so that you know that this block doesn't belong to some widow but to Marcus Mannicius! Eumolpus shouted, "You're still threatening me?" And while he did that he whacks the man's face with his palm really stiff. The guy then threw a clay jar, empty from so many guests drinking from it, at Eumolpus's head, and cut his face as he was shouting, and hustled himself from the room—Eumolpus, furious at the insult, snatches a wooden lamp-stand, and follows the man as he's leaving, and avenges his own wounded eyebrow with any number of blows. A mob forms from the crowd of the household-members and drunk guests.

Encolpius seizes the opportunity not to join the fight and help his companion, but to lock him out, in order to get revenge on him and have some time for private relaxation in their room for himself and his beloved Giton: *cella utor et nocte* ("I enjoy the room, and the night," *Sat.* 95). Encolpius's decision emphasizes his cowardice and stupidity: with a riot forming outside the

room, it is unlikely he will enjoy any peace. At the same time, it preserves the fragile fiction that the night should be properly enjoyed inside, quietly and in peace. The focus of the novel, however, immediately moves back outside of the locked room, where Eumolpus faces the entire cast of the residential block (*Sat.* 95):

interim coctores insulariique mulcant exclusum, et alius veru extis stridentibus plenum in oculos eius intentat, alius furca de carnario rapta statum proeliantis componit. Anus praecipue lippa, sordidissimo praecincta linteo, soleis ligneis imparibus imposita, canem ingentis magnitudinis catena trahit instigatque in Eumolpon.

Meanwhile the cooks and the residents of the apartment block are attacking the guy who was shut out, and one points a spit full of hissing guts at his eyes, another, having stolen a fork from the meat rack, takes up a fighting stance. Up front an old woman with pinkeye, wrapped up in the filthiest linen, propped up on an uneven pair of wooden sandals, drags an enormous dog by its chain and sets it on Eumolpus.

Here is the social ooze: people with low or no professions, violent, dirty and riddled with infection, their weapons closely connected to the grotesque, their very bodies a source of disgust. Petronius begins with the cooks and "apartment-dwellers," *insularii*. Cooks were of varying social status, depending on what kind of food they worked with, but in general their profession was not well-respected, and in this context their close contact with the lower bodily strata is emphasized.⁷⁹ An *insula* was a form of mixed dwelling: wealthier residents might have a larger home on a lower floor, which had easier access to the street and a more secure foundation, while the poor would reside higher up, in the less supported floors that would be more difficult to flee if a fire broke out (a scene which Juvenal describes at some length, discussed in chapter 5). Here, in the context of the cheap hotel, the *insularii* are other poor tenants.

79. On the social status of different kinds of cooks, see Bond 2016: 147-59.

Petronius then goes on to linger on the sordid details of the angry mob. Two specific attackers grab weapons from the kitchen explicitly connected with disgusting aspects of the body, the lower bodily strata, and violence. The first aims for the eyes with a "spit full of hissing guts" (*veru extis stridentibus plenum*). The weapon is not just a recently used kitchen implement, but a currently used one, which insists on its mundane usage: the spit is "full" (*plenum*), and the guts are "hissing" (*stridentibus*). The "fork from the meat rack" (*furca de carnario rapta*) combines the low implications of food preparations with the violence of butchery. Last comes the old woman. Old women have already been treated as a source of disgust, but she is carefully described in even more disgusting detail: she has pinkeye (*lippa*), is wearing not dirty clothes but the "dirtiest" clothes (*sordidissimo*), and totters along on a pair of cheap and uneven clogs (*soleis ligneis imparibus*). The big dog she has on the chain is threatening, but also ridiculous when paired with an old woman, presumably small, who can barely see or stand. This dog is the reverse of the earlier one, who appeared threatening but was actually only a silly picture; here, the dog may appear ridiculous, but is actually threatening.

This circus of the night city is all the more pointed because it is all part of a parody of epic. More attackers show up, including men searching for Giton. He is advised to hide by holding onto the underside of the bed, like Odysseus hiding under the belly of a ram in order to escape Polyphemus (*ut olim Vlixes pro arieti adhaesisset, Sat. 97*). As with the scene of the theft of the cloak and its subsequent sale, the scene has clear carnivalesque elements, and is explicitly a grotesque version of the *Odyssey*. But in the same way that the *Odyssey* fictionalized real fears of interaction with the Other, this scene presents a fantastical version of what would have been a frightening and dangerous encounter with the Othered urban poor.

Like Horace in the previous chapter, Persius and Petronius are "slippery witnesses" to urban slums and the lived experiences of the people who lived in them. One final relevant comparison for the ways in which they both witness and obscure the lived experiences of the urban poor can be found in tours of Bangkok. Ross King and Kim Dovey have explored sites there as illustrative of the effect of the tourist gaze. One such site is Khlong Bangkok Noi, where visitors are presented with a facade of slum living (2012: 161):

Visitors to Thailand are also likely to take a boat trip through the labyrinthine canals or 'khlong' that intersect the main river, lined with informal housing extending over the water with a visible social life on the water's edge. Such waterfront communities are seen as remnants of a traditional Thai authenticity that is no longer found in the streets; one can hear the tourists say: 'this is the real Bangkok.' The 'authentic' Thai lifestyle is consumed from the safe distance of the boat as the locals bathe and hang out in the traditional open pavilions ('sala') over the water, and floating shops ply their trade. While dilapidation is often evident and even severe, the crowding and the 'real' slum remain hidden behind the more commercial and partly tourist-focused informal activity at the water's edge.

Viewers are presented with what appears to be an "authentic" version of the city. Although they are careful not to interact with it in any meaningful way, this experience nevertheless validates the rest of their trip and sets them apart from other tourists, who do not know "the real Bangkok." As with the firehouse of the original *Ghostbusters*, the slums they are looking at are ultimately only a commercialized version of the true living conditions, for Bangkok's poorest residents remain out of sight. The slum scenes of the *Satyricon* provide the same kind of facade: a literary, stylized, and mythologized version of living conditions the *Satyricon's* readers had either seen or fantasized about. As with the quest for the authentic New York, both Persius and Petronius represent a kind of riskless risk in their fragmented tableaux of the urban underbelly.

Chapter 4

Martial's Fear City

Fun City/Fear City

Don't look now, but that place they call The Big Apple, the one they were writing off a couple of years back, where tourist muggings got to be more prominent than Broadway shows, has staged an amazing comeback. With city fathers still crying for financial aid from Washington and many parts of the city still looking like the aftermath of a bombing raid, it can hardly be said that New York is booming. But from the standpoint of the out-of-towner, New York apparently once again is the place to visit. Getting a hotel room can be even worse than it was before "Fun City" was renamed "Fundless City." Broadway, which seemed on its last legs a few years ago, is having its best years ever. And nightlife generally is picking up. Somebody has even coined a new slogan—"I love New York."

— Richard Dallos, *Los Angeles Times*, 1978

In 1978, New York City's unemployment rate was among the highest in the country, a quarter of its residents lived at or below the poverty line, and schools and hospitals had been slashed by lay-offs and budget cuts. A year earlier, during Game 2 of the 1977 World Series, a helicopter shot of the exterior of Yankee Stadium had shown arson fires raging through the South Bronx, which had become especially susceptible to fire after a decade of depopulation and urban decay. At the sight, sports commentator Howard Cosell famously remarked: "There it is, ladies and gentlemen, the Bronx is burning." In 1978, many parts of the city were "still looking

like the aftermath of a bombing raid." That same year, David Berkowitz, known as "The Son of Sam," pled guilty to eight serial murders that had terrorized the city. The dominant image of the city for the past few decades had been a concrete jungle, teeming with diverse populations seen as ungovernable. Corporations and middle-class families had fled Manhattan, feeding a rising conservative, suburban population. The city had a thriving counter-cultural and political scene, which drew on long ties to the working class, 1960s counter-culture, and the growing scenes of hip-hop, punk, and subway graffiti; all of these were considered yet more reasons to leave by the wealthy or conservative. Media coverage sensationalized the city's decline.

Miriam Greenberg has investigated why, in 1978, Richard Dallos would be one of a number of "out-of-towners" showing a renewed interest in New York City tourism (2009). She argues that the city's leaders in finance, real estate, and tourism side-stepped the financial crisis of the city by focusing on its image crisis, and through public-private partnerships with the government re-invested in the city's global perception. These efforts competed with and often replaced investments in urban housing, education, and healthcare. Rebranding the city meant reducing it to a limited number of easy digestible sites and images, as bland as "I love New York," and ignoring or excluding sites within the city that did not fit its image, except as potential opportunities for entertainment or shopping. This split resulted in descriptions like that of Dallos, in which the city was at once glimmering and degraded.

Part of the city's efforts to attract investors was the Mayor's Office of Film, Theater, and Broadcasting (MOFTB), which was created in order to streamline the process of media-making in New York City. Despite the chokehold unionized workers had on film production in New York, which meant that filming on location was hardly cheaper than filming on set in Hollywood, the city experienced a boom in local production throughout the decade. The drive

behind the increased production was the city's reputation as the capital of urban crisis. Sensationalized coverage of the city's financial and social problems led to a hankering to see "realistic" depictions of urban vice. In 1975, Steve Kesten, assistant director of the movie *Marathon Man*, which was shot in Manhattan in 1975, said glibly of the city: "It's always in the headlines, whether it's the muggings or the arts."¹

City officials sold this image of the city for the sake of the money it brought in, to a startling degree. When Sam Weisman, the director of the 1970 film *The Out-of-Towners*, wanted the film's protagonist to run into a sanitation strike, the Department of Sanitation was ordered to dump garbage in the city streets. Subway writers were hired to cover a city subway with tags for *The Taking of Pelham One Two Three* in 1974, and less artfully produced graffiti covered the subway cars of *Death Wish* the same year.² In 1974, the film critic Vincent Canby said: "[In today's movies] New York has become a metaphor for what looks like the last days of American civilization... It's run by fools. Its citizenry are at the mercy of animals... The air is foul. The traffic is impossible. Services are diminishing and the morale is such that ordering a cup of coffee in a diner can turn into a request for a fat lip."³ By the late 1970s, this image had reached almost manic heights. Implicit in all of these films was a fear of subcultures associated with the city, and of the urban poor. In 1978, the cult classic *The Warriors* was being filmed, in which members of one urban gang must fight dozens of other gangs from the Bronx to Coney Island, in a loose adaptation of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. The gangs initially come together to enter into

1. Quoted in Stern 1975: 55.

2. Greenberg 2008: 151.

3. Canby 1974.

peace talks, and even a few representatives of each gang flood the meeting place with hundreds of members. The tagline for the movie: "They could run New York City."



[Fig 1. In "The Out-of-Towners," characters confront a sanitation strike with garbage that was delivered by the Department of Sanitation]

At the same time as they were bending over backwards to let Hollywood produce apocalyptic visions of the city for mass entertainment, city officials were also cracking down heavily on grassroots campaigns to expose real urban corruption. The most famous of these movements was "Fear City," a reaction to the austerity measures by Mayor Abe Beam in 1975, which terminated the contracts of 50,000 city workers, the largest layoff in New York history. City workers began a radical campaign meant to expose the disastrous impact this would have on urban infrastructure by publishing apocalyptic visions of the city in various media.⁴ The result

4. Greenberg 2008: 134-140.

was a city split even further between politicized grassroots images of urban blight and sensationalized Hollywood ones.

The split city is the focus of this chapter, which leaps forward from the reign of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors, to the reign of Domitian, the last of the Flavian ones. During that time, like the South Bronx, Rome was burning. Nero's assassination led to eighteen months of chaos and civil war, which Martial would have witnessed. He arrived in Rome in 64 AD (10.103), the year of another great fire in the city. Much of the violence of the year 69 AD took place in the streets of the city itself, an unsettling reiteration of the violence that had wracked the city a century earlier as Augustus rose to power. Unlike Augustus, who could claim a direct relation to Julius Caesar, Vespasian and his sons were outsiders. They obtained power through a bloody military coup. Like Augustus, they attempted to retroactively justify this violence by framing themselves as liberators of the city's people and public works. Nero's sprawling private residence was torn down and replaced with an immense investment in public spaces and works.⁵ The centerpiece of this program was the Flavian amphitheater, which is where Martial himself begins. In 81 AD, Rome was consumed by another city-wide fire, whose effects were still felt in the latter half of the 80s, which is when Martial began writing. He, too, was an out-of-towner, who moved to Rome from Spain, where he would eventually return.

This chapter picks up on several themes of the previous chapters: the locations of the city most associated with disgust in satiric texts and why that is; the integral role that street culture plays in the persona and praxis of satire; and satire's potent ability to witness street culture in turn. This chapter and the next focus on the late first century authors Martial and Juvenal, who

5. On developments in Rome during this period, see Packer 2003.

wrote a generation after Persius and Petronius, at the end of the Flavian dynasty and the beginning of the adoptive emperors. This transition dominates Martial's works: books of satiric epigrams published before the emperor Domitian's assassination, which include the *Liber Spectaculorum* and books 1-9, are self-consciously aware of him. Book 10 was set to be published just as Domitian was assassinated in 96, and so was withdrawn from publication (10.1, 10. 2); ultimately a revised version was put out after the publication of Book 11, the first to cautiously address Nerva as the new emperor. It is at this time that Martial retreats from the city to return home to Augusta Bilbilis, Spain.⁶ Martial's epigrams are peppered with autobiographical references, which follow his final years of publication through 101 AD, after Nerva had been succeeded by the emperor Trajan. If anything, Martial has been historically derided for being too invested in image-making, and especially for writing himself into friendship with Domitian—words he would hastily eat after Domitian's assassination.

Both Martial and Juvenal rely not just on the content of the city for the content of their satire, but on the form of the city's content for the form of their satiric content. In their satiric send-ups of the city, both Martial and Juvenal rely on frenetic and garrulous descriptions of the city, exactly the kind of oration they assign, pejoratively, to street peddlers. Their lists of elements and people within the city are displayed like goods for auction. They distance themselves from the unsavory aspects of the city, but do so by importing them at length into their own poetry. They juxtapose high and low in a mime of urban social jostling. Like Persius and Petronius, they are slum tour guides, and like Horace, they are slippery witnesses to an otherwise largely lost street culture. More than any of their predecessors, however, Juvenal and Martial are

6. For a thorough discussion of Martial's biography, see Sullivan 1978.

interested in capturing the ephemeral stuff of the city, in a fragmented manner. These choices have previously been explained as experiments with the limits of the genre—satire's capacity for endlessness, and epigram's capacity for variety—but so too could they be reflections of the source of satire: the city street.

The relationship between satire and the reality of the urban street has been debated, and for no satiric authors more so than Martial and Juvenal, who wrote the most consistently and prolifically about various street tableaux.⁷ This has been read in part as a reaction to Rome's role as the capital of an increasingly global empire. Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf begin with Martial in their outline of Rome's status as a "world city," a city that grew not only to reflect a growing empire but to serve as a kind of justification for its expanse.⁸ Although Rome was increasingly fixed as a point in the cosmos itself, beginning with Julius Caesar and Augustus's reforms to the calendar, it remained a symbol that needed to be remade over and over. The city and its image were susceptible not just to flood and fire, but to the chaos of political upheaval and shifting populations. The violence of the period before and during the Flavian period had long echoes in the literature that came afterward, as Kirk Freudenburg has discussed in his work on the context of satire.⁹ Along with Martial and Juvenal, Freudenburg includes Pliny and especially Tacitus as authors who retroactively witness violence in Rome once the danger has passed. When he was describing Rome's civil wars, Tacitus's account of the city shares many themes with the satirists' city (*Hist.* 3.83):

7. See Scobie 1986, Laurence 1994, Scheidel 2003, and Woolf 2006.

8. Edwards and Woolf 2006.

9. Freudenburg 2001: 215-33.

saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi balneae popinaeque: simul cruor et strues corporum, iuxta scorta et scorti similes. Quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire.

The whole face of the city was savage and ugly: here battles and trauma, there baths and fast food places; at the same time there was gore and heaps of bodies, together with whores and people like whores. There was as much lust as there is in a time of profligate leisure, alongside whatever atrocities take place under the bitterest conditions after a city is taken, to the point that you'd think the city was at once raving mad and pampering itself.

Violence and hedonism are juxtaposed, both are far beyond the pale, and all of Rome's political chaos is manifested in its city streets and architecture. The city is in the headlines, whether it is the muggings or the arts.

Violence was not only a function of political upheaval, but seems to have been a stable feature in urban spaces, and even a form of street entertainment. Garrett Fagan has discussed the prevalence of public gathering spaces—the street, the forum, the baths, the circus, and the theater—as sites of violence in anecdotes about urban violence. Although statistical data about street violence are impossible to gather, and many anecdotes come from indulgent accounts of imperial vice, streets and other public urban spaces certainly had a reputation for violence. Often it is the emperors themselves who contribute to this violence, but in doing so they are partaking in or overtaking street violence associated with lower class citizens. According to Suetonius, Augustus enjoyed watching traditionally organized matches in the arena, but preferred street brawlers more: *spectavit autem studiosissime pugiles et maxime Latinos, non legitimos atque ordinarios modo, quos etiam committere cum Graecis solebat, sed et catervarios oppidanos inter angustias vicorum pugnantis temere ac sine arte. Universum denique genus operas aliquas publico spectaculo praebentium etiam cura sua dignatus est* ("But he was an extreme fan of

boxers, especially Latin ones; not just usual lawful ones, whom he even used to match with Greek fighters, but even the city gangs fighting in the alleyways of neighborhoods, brashly and artlessly. In sum he considered worth his time and attention every kind of fighter offering some sort of work for a public spectacle," *Aug.* 45.1). Fagan notes that *catervarios* can imply both a mob formation and a more organized group, like a military unit, and suggests that the fights were staged ahead of time, and may have included bets.¹⁰ This reading is strengthened by the next sentence, in which back alley fighters are included in a blanket statement concerning "public spectacles" (*publico spectaculo*). Fagan's focus is on the prevalence of violence, especially in the Roman street, but the passage also implies competing levels of entertainment: the state-sanctioned and the popular. It is difficult to discern from this passage the prevalence of these kinds of back-alley fights, but Suetonius implies that one could be in the habit of watching them (*spectavit studiossime*). Fagan points to a general association between bars and fighting, and a geographical association between bars and alleyways. The *Digest* records punishments for those who fight in the course of gambling (*Dig.* 11.5.1); such people are joked about in a famous series of captioned wall-paintings from Pompeii (*CIL* IV.3494). In one of the three panels, two men begin to fight over a dice game, and are thrown out by the waiter (*Fig. 2*):

10. Fagan 2016: 234. Suetonius also refers to *catervae pugilum* in his biography of Caligula (18).



[Fig.2: Wall-painting from a taberna in Pompeii (Tavern of Salvias, VI.14.36), which depicts two men who have gotten into a fight over a game of dice, and are being directed out by someone who works at the tavern; image from Clarke 2007: 124]

The question of the public nature of these alleyway fights is more fraught. Suetonius refers to narrow streets (*angustias*), which Fagan interprets in a moralized urban topography, in which acts that would have been considered disreputable by the elite "cluster in the backstreet."¹¹ Fagan points to the fact that a few elite houses in Pompeii share a block with potential prostitute cells, but these are kept away from the main entrance of the house. In doing so, he draws on Ray Laurence's work on the streets of Pompeii. Laurence imposes a moral topography on the urban layout of Pompeii, based on the assumption that the planning and location of *cellae meretriciae*,

11. Fagan 2016: 234.

like other dens of iniquity, would have to be out of the elite eye in order to be successful.¹² It is likely that the opinions of the local wealthy and nobility were of some concern, but surely there would have been other factors dictating the placement of brothels. This distinction is important because much of the assumption of a morally zoned city comes from satirical criticism of social mixing in the city which is not reflected in law. Martial and Juvenal import street culture's propensity for social mixing into their work, through the critical lens of satire. Like Persius and Horace, Martial incorporates the same practices he condemns.

Looking at the Street with Martial

After years of writing and careful attendance to the particulars of patronage, Martial's first real success came in 80 AD, with the publication of the *Liber de Spectaculis*. Two books detailing gifts (*Xenia* and *Apophoreta*) appeared in 85 AD, and were followed the next year by his first books of diverse epigrams. His third book of epigrams was published in 87 AD, from Forum Cornelia (3.4), in modern Lombardy; his book comes to Rome in his place, as a kind of tourist (*Romam uade, liber, 3.4.1*). Two years later, in 89, he was back in Rome and publishing with more political awareness than ever before, with more references to Domitian (4.1, 2, 3, 11, 27, 30) and references to new patrons. This dedication to Domitian is particularly marked after 88 AD, when L. Antonius Saturninus led a revolt against Domitian that was serious enough to call Domitian out to deal with it directly. Although acknowledged amongst senatorial circles as a civil war, it was afterwards publicly remembered as "the German War." Martial was obviously

12. Laurence 1994: 70-87, 73-74. Compare McGinn 2006, whose study on the economy of prostitution suggests that there was no zoning for commercial sexual activity. See also Strong 2016: 118-141 for a discussion of the integration of prostitutes and *matronae* in the urban landscape.

aware of the growing resentment of the emperor, and even angrily and directly addresses Saturninus in one of his epigrams (4.11). Books 5 through 9 were published with an increasing sensitivity to Domitian, including his effect on the city. Book 10, as seen above, was intended for December 95, but was pulled and then delayed after Domitian's assassination (10.2.3), and would ultimately be published in its second edition in 98 AD. Book 11 was published before it, then, in December 96, only months after Nerva's ascension to the throne. Martial's caution in this new political world is marked, and prudent: his later works mention no gifts from either Nerva or Trajan. In 97 AD his close friend Parthenius, whom Martial had relied on for access to the emperor, was executed (Dio 63.3.81, and Martial 12.11). In the wake of the political shift, Martial moved back to Spain, where he remained until his death, around 103 AD. His final book of poetry may have been put together by an editor after his death.

From the very beginning, Martial's poetry has a direct relationship with the urban landscape, although his position, like his poetry, differs slightly from Juvenal's. He cements himself more firmly within the urban landscape, and his entire first book aims to commemorate the Flavian amphitheater (*de Spectaculis*), completed under Titus, who would quickly be replaced by Domitian after his early death. The amphitheater had been built to replace the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus, which had burned down. After contextualizing Rome on the world stage (*Spect.* 1), and then the amphitheater in Rome (*Spect.* 2), Martial turns his attention for the rest of the book to the spectacles themselves, both in the arena and the audience, itself metonymous for the city, and a spectacle in its own right: *quae tam seposita est, quae gens tam barbara, Caesar / ex qua spectator non sit in urbe tua* ("What people are so remote, so uncivilized, Caesar, / that someone of their tribe doesn't appear in your city?" *Spect.* 3). Martial's focus on the emperor's accomplishments in Rome, and his fixation on Rome as a capital of an

increasingly global empire, have made him a favorite slippery witness for developments in Rome as a Flavian city.¹³ Luke Roman, in his examination of the role of the city in Martial's epigrams, begins with a discussion of Martial's treatment of Rome as a "world city," reminiscent of New York in the latter half of the twentieth century (2010: 90-93). This description of the city is closely tied to the *Liber Spectaculorum*, in which the Flavian emperors, their plans for the city, and Rome's place in the world are all focalized through the Flavian amphitheater.

Even though Martial frequently presents himself as a witness to the city streets, he has been read by scholars as writing about writing, even when he is writing about Rome. Although Martial, even more than Juvenal, relies on descriptions of urban street life for his work, his work is read as the insular perspective of a man on a *triclinium* at a party, fantasizing about the outside world. Ray Laurence sees Martial's visions of the city as piecemeal evidence of Domitian's building program (especially in Books 1-3, as well as 8 and 9), as well as of the commodification of movement within the city.¹⁴ In doing so he draws on Martial's references to traversing the city (1.108, 3.46, 4.48, 4.78, 5.22), as well as the mobility of his own books, which are themselves located at *tabernae* near the Argiletum (1.117, 1.2.7-8), and which travel (1.70, 1.108, 3.5, 3.31, 5.16). Laurence sees these references as generalized evidence of the Roman elites' commodification of movement, and of how Martial's (and Juvenal's) construction of their poetic subjectivity was inflected by their surroundings. The urban street, and especially the urban poor, remain so much undifferentiated mass. Greg Woolf uses a similar argument in reading Martial's

13. See Fearnley 2003, Gunderson 2003, Roman 2010, Laurence 2011.

14. Laurence 2011. See also Macaulay-Lewis 2011 on the different spaces assigned for walking for leisure and walking to carry out business (especially physical labor); see also Joshel and Petersen 2014: 87-117 for their discussion of the spaces for slaves' activity within the city. Joshel and Petersen include in their chapter the possibility that slaves used space contrary to its intended purpose, as a form of resistance; see chapter 3 for their discussion of slaves in the night city.

engagement with the city street, and especially the urban poor (2006, discussed below). By focusing on the role of epigram in wealthy, literary circles, Woolf sees Martial's epigrams as almost completely divorced from the reality of the city streets. He also goes further by arguing that Martial's audience, some of the city's wealthiest members, would have had almost no unmediated contact with the culture of the urban poor.

Victoria Rimell has gone even further in distancing Martial from the street. When she discusses how Martial imports the business of the Roman street into his poetry, especially aspects of the street that are dislocated from specific places in the city, she reads these references as a comment on the hoarding tendency of epigram (2008: 51-93). References to the city in Martial become reduced to incidental commentary, or a circular metaphor for writing. But Martial was also looking at the street. He begins by contextualizing his work in a public festival (*meum theatrum*, 1.*Prol.* 7), and imagines his literary rivals are public entertainers, whom he denigrates as hucksters. The people and culture of the Roman street that he refers to, as with Persius and Petronius, serve as the setting for a form of slum tourism, in that Martial does not just describe the tropes of the urban street, but imports specific people and places. It is certainly important to acknowledge that Martial wrote for and considered himself to some extent part of a social circle that could afford to fantasize about poverty, and discuss it in hypothetical and rhetorical terms. At the same time, Martial consistently places himself within the street, and even the culture of the street. He also consciously goes further than other authors, especially Catullus, his frequent model, in drawing on specific examples from the city streets. Although aware of tropes of city life and poverty, Martial is interested in the city street as a landscape of individuals, rather than a faceless mass. His explicit commentary on the programmatic changes to the city results in work that, like a New York film from the 1960s and 1970s, both praises

urban administration for "cleaning up the streets," and expresses a kind of nostalgia for the crowded gutter. The image of the city as an urban crisis seems to become most popular just as the city is being heavily reformed and rebuilt, as a reaction to an intense period of urban destruction.

Martial begins his first book of epigrams after the *de Spectaculis* by marking out a space for his poetry (1.*Prol.* 2-7):

Mihi fama uilius constet et probetur in me nouissimum ingenium. Absit a iocorum nostrorum simplicitate malignus interpretes nec epigrammata mea scribat: inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est. Lasciuam uerborum ueritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam, excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur. Si quis tamen tam ambitiose tristis est ut apud illum in nulla pagina latine loqui fas sit, potest epistola uel potius titulo contentus esse. Epigrammata illis scribuntur qui solent spectare Florales. Non intret Cato theatrum meum, aut si intrauerit, spectet.

May fame come more cheaply for me, and may my cutting-edge cleverness be approved. May the malicious critic stand far off from the simplicity of my jokes, nor author any of my jokes: anyone who's too clever in another man's book is up to no good. I'd apologize for the saucy truthfulness of my words, that is the language of epigrams, if mine were the first model: but Catullus writes this way, and Marsus, and Pedo, and Gaeticulus, and anyone whose work is read all the way through. If anyone, however, is so determined to be severe that it's not all right with him to speak in plain Latin on any page—he can be happy with this introduction, or even just the title. Epigrams are written for people who like to watch the Floralia. May Cato not come into my theater—or, if he comes in, let him watch.

Martial's warning (*absit*) recalls Ovid's introduction to the *Ars Amatoria* (*este procul*, 1.1, see above, in chapter 2), in which marking out a genre and marking out space overlap, using the language of demarcating sacred ritual. Martial begins with the question of readership (*perlegitur*), and a tradition of authors, but ends with a question of viewership (*spectet*), and a tradition of spectacle. The event in question is the Floralia of 55 BC, at which Cato the Younger, according to Valerius Maximus, chose to walk out rather than watch the actresses strip onstage

(2.10.8). Martial is explicit about the written nature of his texts (*in nulla pagina... epistola... titulo*). But this should not undermine Martial's choice to locate his poetry within the context of a public festival.

He does so again, at the beginning of his eleventh book, which was the first published after Domitian's death and Nerva's subsequent ascent (11.5):

sunt chartae mihi quas Catonis uxor
et quas horribiles legant Sabinae:
hic totus uolo rideat libellus
et sit nequior omnibus libellis,
qui uino madeat nec erubescat 5
pingui sordidus esse Cosmiano,
ludat cum pueris, amet puellas,
nec per circuitus loquatur illam,
ex qua nascimur, omnium parentem,
quam sanctus Numa mentulam uocabat. 10
uersus hos tamen esse tu memento
Saturnalicios, Apollinaris:
mores non habet hic meos libellus.

I do have pages such as Cato's wife
and the shaggy Sabine women might read:
I want *this* whole book to be full of laughter
and be naughtier than any other book,
the kind of book that drips with wine and doesn't blush 5
to get dirty with thick Cosmian oil,
the kind that would fool around with boys, love girls,
and doesn't beat around the bush when it comes to that thing,
from which we're born, everyone's ancestor,
which sacred Numa used to call: his prick. 10
You, meanwhile, keep in mind that these verses
belong to the Saturnalia, Apollinaris:
this book of mine does not have my morals.

The epigram has an obvious precedent in Catullus's poem on the same theme (16.1-6), and is in keeping with Martial's other disclaimer poems. Allen Miller has noted the binding effect of this poem: it allows Martial to transgress certain boundaries, and even alludes to the fecundity of the

carnival (*omnium parentem*), but within a carefully delineated social niche (2012: 327).

Festivals like the Saturnalia, and the Floralia, were an acceptable time for license; they were also by definition city-wide. Both the Floralia and the Saturnalia were festivals in which social norms were flouted for the sake of communal cohesion. Martial's use of these rituals invokes not just a time of year or an attitude but a broad audience and context for his work. The Floralia and Saturnalia were celebrated both at home and in public; as such, they offer not only a license to Martial's works, but a way to read them with both a private audience and a public context.

In addition to the setting of a festival, Martial imagines himself in competition with other forms of public entertainment, including the *circuli*. Peter O'Neill (2003) has investigated literary representations of the *circulus*, informal social gatherings for conversation or other diversions. They are often associated with *circulatores*, who are presented as trickster performers, including fortune-tellers, snake-charmers, and sword-swallowers. Descriptions of *circulatores*, O'Neill argues, say more about elite discourse concerning the *plebs* than they say about actual evidence of the culture of the *circuli* itself. It was in the interests of the elite to dismiss *circuli* as trivial, rather than meaningful or potentially politicized gatherings, and so references to *circuli* may be trivializing more meaningful gatherings by painting them as credulous crowds entranced by fraudulent performers and snake charmers. References to *circuli* at once imply a diverse public and political culture, and at the same time impose a hierarchy on that diversity. For O'Neill, references to the *circuli* ultimately say the most about how a political elite retained its hegemony by discrediting alternative and popular avenues to power. Pliny and Quintilian, along with Cicero and Livy, the other primary authors O'Neill refers to, are preoccupied with the potential for *circulatores* to project authority; as a result, elite speakers who sound like *circulatores* are also denigrated, as a way to further delegitimize *circuli*. In a letter to

Catius Lepidus, for instance, Pliny makes fun of their mutual acquaintance Regulus, who has nothing to recommend him as an orator except a shameless willingness to indulge his whims and the ability to shout. Regulus has recently written a book of mourning for his son, which he is sending copies of everywhere, and also arranging public readings (*Ep.* 4.7.3-6):

Quamquam minor vis bonis quam malis inest, ac sicut ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει, ita recta ingenia debilitat verecundia, perversa confirmat audacia. Exemplo est Regulus. Imbecillum latus, os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum, et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit, ut orator habeatur... Habesne quo tali epistulae parem gratiam referas? Habes, si scripseris num aliquis in municipio vestro ex sodalibus meis, num etiam ipse tu hunc luctuosum Reguli librum ut *circulator* in foro legeris, ἐπάρας scilicet, ut ait Demosthenes, τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθῶς καὶ λαρυγγίζων.

Although how much less strength good men have than wicked ones; as the Greeks say: "Ignorance gives people boldness, but cleverness makes them pause." So a sense of restraint holds straight minds back, but licentiousness strengthens crooked ones. Regulus is a good example: weak lungs, a confused face, a stumbling tongue, the laziest habit of creativity, no memory, nothing other than an insane mind, and yet he has gotten so far by means of his shamelessness and even just by that madness itself, that he's considered an orator... Do you have anything equal to this letter to send back in return? You do, if you'll write whether anyone in your town among my friends, or whether even you yourself have read this mourning book of Regulus, like a *circulator* in the forum, as Demosthenes says: "raising your voice and taking pleasure in bellowing your head off."

The *circulator* is, to Pliny, the perfect comparison for Regulus's faults: a complete lack of the self-restraint and training necessary for good oratory, excessiveness in his public displays, and success that relies on nothing so much as insisting on attention.

In his discussion of the teaching and technique of oratory, Quintilian makes several pointed comparisons to the work of the *circulator*. The first emphasizes the improvisatory nature of the *circulator*: *ita cum iam formam rectae atque emendatae orationis accipient, extemporalis garrulitas nec expectata cogitatio et uix surgendi mora circulatoriae uere iactationis est* ("So when [students] are just learning the protocols for correct and polished

speech, their improvised chattiness and thoughts barely considered before they rise to their feet are typical of the boastful displays of the *circulator*," 2.4.15-16). The second refers to the *circulator's* tendency to garrulousness: *nobis autem copia cum iudicio paranda est, vim orandi, non circulatoriam volubilitatem spectantibus* ("But we must work on abundance while using selection, for those aiming for forcefulness of speaking, not the overflow of the *circulator*," *Inst.* 10.1.8). O'Neill emphasizes the anxiety Quintilian feels for natural talent in oratory that arises outside of traditional rhetorical training; even women, for instance, can become forceful and convincing in arguments, but they should not be given credit or authority (10.7.13).

Circuli and *circulatores* are mentioned only twice in Martial's work, but both times are part of a direct discussion of his own work and how it relates to theirs. The first is in his second book, when Martial attacks a rival for writing popular poems (2.86):

Quod nec carmine glorior supino nec retro lego Sotaden cinaedum, nusquam Graecula quod recantat echo nec dictat mihi luculentus Attis mollem debilitate galliambon,	5
non sum, Classice, tam malus poeta. Quid si per gracilis uias petauri inuitum iubeas subire Ladan? Turpe est difficiles habere nugas et stultus labor est ineptiarum.	10
Scribat carmina circulis Palaemon, me raris iuuat auribus placere.	

Because I don't brag about my verses bending backwards and I don't read backwards like Sotades the fag, because the little Greek echo never sings in answer nor does splendid Attis tell me over and over galliambic verse, effeminate in its weakness, I am not, Classicus, such a bad poet.	5
Why, would you ask the unwilling Ladas to approach the paths of the delicate springboard?	

It's disgusting to make light verse a burden
and putting effort into worthless things is stupid.
Let Palaemon write poems for the *circuli*;
it pleases me to suit uncommon ears.

10

Martial's pose seems to be that he would prefer to write for a small, refined audience (*raris... auribus*), rather than the undifferentiated crowd (*circuli*), a stance that privileges restricted literary circles over public *circuli*. But Martial is in fact defending not the over-refinement of his poetry, which would not suit any but the most cultured ear, but its crudeness: he is too manly to refine his verse, and also working too hard on something like poetry is stupid (*turpe... stultus*). Martial begins by comparing his work to others on the basis of meter, defending the rough nature of his works by saying that they are not effeminate, like sotadeans (*retro... cinaedum*), a certain kind of Greek verse (*Graecula*), or galliambics (*mollem*). The complexity of these meters is, in this poem, translated into effeminacy, as Martial adds the cultural connotations of each verse to each in his list. The first, catalectic sotadeans, were invented by the Hellenistic poet Sotades of Maronea, and were associated with *kinaidos* songs, which were lascivious and may have been accompanied by dancing. Thomas Habinek, drawing on Maurizio Bettini's study of Sotadeans, has argued that using sotadean meter may have given sexual connotations to lines of Plautus.¹⁵ Pliny the Elder, writing closer to Martial's own time, also refers to sotadeans in a way that implies they have something to hide: *et comoedas audio et specto mimos et lyricos lego et sotadicos intellego* ("And I listen to comedies and watch mimes and read lyric and understand sotadeans," *HN* 5.32). As Habinek has pointed out, the verb "understand" (*intellego*) implies that

15. Habinek 2005: 182, concerning Plautus's *Amphitruo*, ll. 168-69. Bettini 1982 traces the development of the meter in Greek and Roman work, and is the first to argue that sotadean meter had a general association with sex, and sex as performance, because of its historical association with *kinaidos* songs. See also Morgan 2010: 40-48 on Martial's use of sotadean meter in 3.29, and Moore 2012: 106-134 on *kinaidos* songs.

the genre had a potentially hidden sexual nature (2005: 182). Juvenal, Martial's close contemporary, would describe the *cinaedus* as a rich woman's dance instructor (6.O.1-29). Amy Richlin connects this role to the history of *kinaidoi* and *kinaidologoi* as performers, evidently undergoing a revival in Martial's lifetime (2017b: 127-29). Centuries earlier, Lucilius referred to the *cinaedus* as a figure of the public street (1140-1). Martial may be picking up on this aspect of the *cinaedus* as well as the sexual nature of his work when he makes this reference to meter.

Martial then refers to a meter with a "little Greek echo" (*Graecula echo*), whose referent is unclear. The references to moving backward and downward in the sotadean meter, however, may have connotations of effeminacy, especially in the context of the *cinaedus*, an effeminately sexual figure. Martial may be implying the same kind of sexual effeminacy with the Greek echo.¹⁶ Similarly, Martial frames galliambic meter with the language of the people and practices associated with it, placing it in a broader performative context. He brings it to mind using the figure of Attis, the mythological castrated priest of Cybele, and describes the meter with the adjective "soft" (*mollem*). Both terms would recall the castrated priests of Cybele, the Galli, who are mentioned in Juvenal as figures of the Roman street (2.111-14, 6.511-21, and see below in chapter 5).¹⁷

Martial continues by comparing himself to Ladas, and other forms of verse and poetry to the acrobat's springboard (*petauro*). Ladas appears to have been an athlete. He is mentioned again in Martial's tenth book, in which Martial excoriates a man who has plagiarized Martial's

16. Williams 2004: 262-63 suggests that Martial may be rejecting Greek wordplay involving the repeating of words at the beginning of consecutive lines.

17. The story of Attis, including his castration, was the topic of Catullus 63. As Catullus was a frequent model for Martial's work, he is certainly referring to Catullus 63 here.

work: *habeas licebit alterum pedem Ladae, / inepte, frustra crure ligneo curres* ("Even if you had one of Ladas's legs, / fool, you'd run in vain with another one of wood," 10.100.5-6). By comparing himself and his meter to Ladas, Martial compares himself to another public entertainer—just a more masculine one, who would not be comfortable with the "delicate springboard" (*gracilis... petauri*). Fittingly, the trapeze artist's springboard appears again in Martial's eleventh book, as part of a list of ugly comparisons for a woman named Lydia (11.21):

Lydia tam laxa est equitis quam culus aeni,
 quam celer arguto qui sonat aere trochus,
 quam rota transmisso totiens inpacta petauro,
 quam vetus a crassa calceus udus aqua,
 quam quae rara vagos expectant retia turdos, 5
 quam Pompeiano vela negata Noto,
 quam quae de pthisico lapsa est armilla cinaedo,
 culcita Leuconico quam viduata suo,
 quam veteres braciae Brittonis pauperis, et quam
 turpe Ravennatis guttur onocrotali. 10
 Hanc in piscina dicor futuisse marina.
 Nescio; piscinam me futuisse puto.

Lydia is as wide open as the ass of the bronze horseman,
 as the swift hoop which resounds with its clattering bronze,
 as the wheel whacked so many times by the acrobat's springboard as he goes across.
 as an old shoe wet from a muddy puddle,
 as the thin nets that wait for wandering thrushes, 5
 as the awnings at Pompey's theater, closed to the south wind,
 as a bracelet slipped from the sickly *cinaedus*,
 as the mattress deprived of its Gaulish wool,
 as the ancient trousers of the British beggar, and as
 the disgusting throat of the pelican at Ravenna. 10
 I am said to have fucked this woman in a saltwater fish pool.
 I don't know; I think I fucked the pool.

The wheel, like the other items in the list, is both ignominious and further degraded by its association with the *laxa* Lydia. The list includes parts of the city that are literally high and low, from wet shoes to limp awnings, but all are at best menial and at worst culturally low. Even the

equestrian statue is referred to by its rider's anus, transforming the statue from high to low. The *cinaedus*'s bracelet is both worthy of a Roman man's contempt as effeminate, and even ineffective, as it slips from his consumptive wrist. Likewise, the Briton's trousers are both foreign and not even functional. The flapping awnings and the acrobat's paraphernalia might not be disgusting in a different context, but here take on the unnaturally soft quality of the sagging mattress and the pelican's throat. Crucially, Martial puts himself within this context, a tactic he clearly thinks will be surprising. After attacking Lydia, he explains that there is a rumor that he has had sex with her. His insults about her lead the reader to expect a denial: he would never have sex with someone like this. He increases the tension with *nescio*, as if he cannot remember. Then, he makes himself appear ridiculous, although at Lydia's expense: the final, surprising image is of him trying to fuck a fish pool. As in 2.86, Martial contextualizes himself with the entertaining but disgusting parts of the city, even as he claims to distance himself from them, and seems aware of the potential for humor and even controversy in this. This model complicates the hierarchy O'Neill establishes. *Circuli* and the entertainers associated with them are beneath a Roman's notice, and Martial distances himself from them. At the same time, he is clearly fascinated by them, does not completely reject an image of himself as a public performer, and plays with what it means to place himself in the context of performers and other detritus of the city.

Martial's other reference to the *circuli* is similarly ironic, and involves another wide-ranging listing format, a favorite technique of Martial's. In his tenth book, Martial pretends to be outraged that his work is associated with the disgraceful culture and ephemera of the city (10.3):

Vernaculorum dicta, sordidum dentem,
et foeda linguae probra circulatricis,

quae sulphurato nolit empta ramento
 vatiniorem proxeneta fractorum,
 poeta quidam clancularius spargit 5
 et volt videri nostra. Credis hoc, Prisce?
 Voce ut loquatur psittacus coturnicis
 et concupiscat esse Canus ascaules?
 Procul a libellis nigra sit meis fama,
 quos rumor alba gemmeus vehit pinna: 10
 cur ego laborem notus esse tam prave,
 constare gratis cum silentium possit?

The jokes of little homegrown slaves, the dirty tooth,
 and the filthy insults of the tongue of the *circulatrix*,
 the sorts of things which even the dealer in broken drinking cups
 wouldn't want in exchange for sulphur chips,
 some sneaky poet scatters this kind of stuff around, 5
 and hopes it looks like my work. Do you believe this, Priscus?
 That the parrot would speak in the voice of a quail,
 and that Canus would want to play the bagpipes?
 May such dark renown stay far away from my little books,
 which a jewel-bright reputation carries on white wing: 10
 why would I try to be famous to the point of perversion,
 when it's possible to be silent for free?

The object of the poem is ostensibly to rescue Martial from any sordid associations, and the wry comment on the safety of silence is pointed in light of Martial's retraction and delayed publication of this volume.¹⁸ But outside of the imperial context, Martial's distinction between his own work and that of his rival seems deeply ironic. Martial begins with a lengthy list of urban filth that he only later reveals does not belong to his work.¹⁹ As in 1.41, the attack on a rival includes a list of people and materials associated with the disgusting city, which in turn make up much of the color and variety of his poem. The *sordidum dentem* and *foeda linguae*

18. See above, and Fearnley 2003 for a discussion of the impact of the revolution on Martial's writing in Book 10. Martial is leery of discussing the city as affected by the emperor, and of placing himself in Rome more generally.

19. The image of the broken drinking cup, also mentioned in 1.41, discussed below, also appears in Juvenal's fifth satire (5.46-48), where it is similarly described as not worth sulphur chips.

probra of the *circulatrix* are listed in the context of street entertainment and jokes (*vernaculorum dicta*).²⁰ The listing of the jokes themselves, along with the people and objects, starts to take on the characteristics denigrated elsewhere in Roman literature amongst *circulatores* and other public sellers: sprawling, low in theme, seemingly spat out on the spot. Martial seems to be mocking or even imitating the style of *circulatores*.

Martial uses this kind of joke-rhetoric even when he does not explicitly name *circulatores*, as in an epigram from his first book, when he attacks a rival poet by comparing him to fixtures from the urban commercial scene (1.41):

Urbanus tibi, Caecili, uideris: non es, crede mihi. Quid ergo? uerna, hoc quod Transtiberinus ambulator qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat uitreis, quod otiosae	5
uendit qui madidum cicer coronae, quod custos dominusque uiperarum, quod uiles pueri salariorum, quod fumantia qui tomacla raucus circumfert tepidis cocus popinis,	10
quod non optimus urbicus poeta, quod de Gadibus improbus magister, quod bucca est uetuli dicax cinaedi. Quare desine iam tibi uideri, quod soli tibi, Caecili, uideris,	15
qui Gabbam salibus tuis et ipsum posses uincere Tettium Caballum. Non cuicumque datum est habere nasum: ludit qui stolidi procacitate, non est Tettius ille, sed caballus.	

You see yourself as urbane, Caecilius— you're not, believe me. What are you, then? A homegrown slave, whatever the hawker from across the Tiber is, who trades pale sulphur for broken glass, what the guy who	5
--	---

20. In reading *circulatrix* literally, rather than an attributive modifier for *lingua*, I follow *Pr.* 19.1.

sells soggy chickpeas to the lazy crowd,
 whatever the lord and guardian of snakes is,
 what the cheap boys of the salt-fish sellers are,
 what the shouting cook who drags around his smoking sausages
 from the lukewarm dive bars, 10
 whatever the second best city poet is,
 whatever the wicked teacher from Gades is,
 the babbling jaw of the old fag.
 So stop trying to seem to yourself already,
 what you seem to be only to yourself, Caecilius,
 as someone who could outdo Gabba with your wit 15
 and Tettius the Hack himself.
 Not everyone can have good taste:
 someone who makes boring shock jokes
 isn't the famous Tettius himself, just a hack.

The poem begins with a play on the meaning of *urbanus*, which begins the poem, and ends with a play on *caballus*, which ends it. Both jokes depend on deconstructing the elite meaning of each word. Caecilius seems *urbanus* to himself (1), an association of the city (*urbs*) with polish and learning.²¹ But Martial rejects this meaning and instead reframes it with a more literal picture of the city, things urbane. The collection of urban fragments that Martial compares Caecilius to is diverse, but united in several ways: the lower bodily strata and the commercial activity of the poor. Martial even repeats imagery in these poems. The image of sulphur chips appears in both 1.41 (*sulphurato... ramento*, 4) and 10.3 (*pallentia sulphurata*, 3). They would have been used as cheap matches, and must have smelled bad. At the end of the poem, Martial returns to the literary scene in which this poem should be read and delivered, but brings back the culture of the uncultured: Caecilius is not Tettius Caballus, well known for his wit (*sal*, which

21. Compare 1.53.4-5, when Martial praises his own work as a purple city cloak, and a plagiarizer's as a greasy foreign garment: *sic interpositus uillo contaminat uncto / urbica Lingonicus Tyrianthina bardocucullus* ("So a Lingonian poncho stains a purple Roman cloak with its oily fleece, when it's come into contact with it"). The *bardocucullus* is a variant of the *cucullus*, discussed below. It is common to both Martial and Juvenal's work, and often used to indicate a juxtaposition of high and low culture.

recalls the actual salt-fish sellers of line 8), but just a *caballus*, a provincial word for "horse" that grew to have pejorative connotations. In this usage, Martial recalls Persius, who begins his book of satires with a sardonic reference to Pegasus, a winged *caballus* (Prol. 1, see above).²² Unlike Persius, Martial is not destabilizing his own work but that of someone else; in doing so, however, he imports the pejorative aspects of the urban scene into his own poetry. Caecilius may be like men who trade sulphur matches and peddle sausages, who are themselves contemptible, but Martial is the one writing about them.

The public nature of Martial's poem is a fiction, but that fact has become overemphasized. Greg Woolf writes that for those of an elite social milieu who write about poverty, "the poor must have seemed a distant and largely undifferentiated mass, the diachrony of their individual tragedies blurring into a static background of endemic misery" (Woolf 2006: 84). He argues, as discussed above, that the wealthy, with their circles of slaves, would never have had an unmediated encounter with the urban poor. Woolf stresses the point that when descriptions of poverty appear in epigram, including Martial, they are deployed in multiple ways. Martial is, for instance, happy to use poverty as a form of invective against a rival (10.5). He also describes himself as impoverished (*pauper poeta* 6.13, 11.3), although other epigrams indicate that he owned property in Spain, lived on the Janiculum, and enjoyed other moneyed privileges under Domitian. For Woolf, explaining these references as delineating a kind of persona alleviates the tension between poverty as invective and poverty as pitiable, as well as the disparate pictures of Martial as a well-educated and successful poet, and a "bad poet" stuck in a "bad cloak" (*mala lacerna... malus poeta*, 6.82.9-10). Ultimately, Woolf suggests that Martial

22. Martial is also clearly using Catullus as a model in his use of hendecasyllabic meter and the listing format.

might play at poverty for a number of reasons: to excuse himself from the obligations of his own wealth; to encourage generosity in his own patrons; and to playfully criticize wealth, within the confines of the elite dinner party, in order to relieve his patrons' anxiety about their own success.

If we follow Woolf's argument, descriptions of poverty become almost completely divorced from the reality of the urban street, especially since Woolf imagines an unbreachable gulf between the urban elite and the masses of the poor. He reads the production and reception of these images of the urban street as taking place indoors, and especially at dinner parties, and so as especially closed off from the reality of the urban street. In this light, poverty can naturally be read as a trope, either a virtuous absence of wealth or the contemptible mishandling of it, as it frequently appears in Roman oratory and philosophy. Martial, however, is a case study in the exceptions to these generalizations. He makes casual references to owning property and having wealthy friends, but considers himself outside of the narrow circle of the truly elite.²³ He also consistently engages with the urban street for his work, in a way that implies that he did not see the urban poor as an "undifferentiated mass."

This is not to suggest that Martial does not use poverty as a trope and a tool of rhetoric. He does consistently imply that poverty is caused by a moral failing, and relies on somewhat generic tropes associated with poverty when he condemns his rivals.²⁴ In Book 10, for instance, Martial condemns a rival to a life of the lowest poverty (10.5.2-9):

Erret per urbem pontis exul et clivi,
interque raucos ultimus rogatores

23. See also Larsen 2015 for a more thorough discussion of representations of poverty in the Roman world. Larsen argues that although both Martial and Juvenal construct their personas as eye witnesses to poverty, Juvenal differs in that he shows real compassion towards the poor.

24. Poverty appears as the result of a moral failing or otherwise worthy of ridicule at 1.92; 2.51; 3.28, 48, 82; 6.77; 10.31; 11.21, 32; 12.76, 87, 88.

oret caninas panis improbi buccas;
illi December longus et madens bruma
clususque fornix triste frigus extendat:
vocet beatos clamitetque felices,
Orciniana qui feruntur in sponda.

5

May he wander through the city as an exile from the beggars' bridge and hill,
and last amongst the noisy beggars
may he beg the dogs' jaws for their disgusting bread;
May a long winter and a wet winter storm
and the shut-up arches offer a wretched cold:
May he call blessed and hail as lucky
the people who are carried out on their death bed.

5

Woolf notes the literal dehumanization of the poor here, who fight for scraps with dogs.²⁵ The proverbial phrase "beggars' bridge and hill" is used as a shorthand for poverty elsewhere by Martial, as in 12.32, when he compares a man's belongings to Aricia's slope (*clivum... Aricinum*, 12.32.10), the hill where beggars lived in that town in Latium, and ends by saying that all of his belongings are "fit for a bridge" (*convenit ponti*, 12.32.25). Nor is comparison of the poor with animals, especially with dogs, unique to this epigram. Martial similarly accuses a rival in love of poverty: *et bibis inmundam cum cane pronus aquam: / non culum, neque enim est culus, qui non cacat olim* ("And you drink filthy water lying on your belly next to a dog: you don't have an asshole, because it's not an asshole if it doesn't ever shit," 1.92.10-11). Martial's ultimate model for this practice, along with his choice of meter, is Catullus, who also condemns his poetic rival Furius to the depths of poverty. Martial's reference to the excreta of the poor also has its model

25. See also 5.60, in which Martial compares an enemy's invective to barking, and promises that after the man has died, there will probably be a few people who will gnaw his canine hide (*pellem rodere qui uelint caninam*, 10), although Martial will not lower himself to do so.

in Catullus: *quod culus tibi purior salillo est, / nec toto decies cacas in anno* ("Because your asshole is cleaner than a saltcellar, and you don't shit ten times in a year," 23).²⁶

But in another epigram on the same theme, Martial shows a more specific awareness of poverty. In 4.53, he describes a man who could be mistaken for a Cynic who has taken a vow of poverty, but is actually just poor:

Hunc, quem saepe uides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, noui
cum baculo peraque senem, cui cana putrisque
stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit,
cerea quem nudi tegit uxor abolla grabati, 5
cui dat latratos obuia turba cibos,
esse putas Cynicum deceptus imagine ficta:
non est hic Cynicus, Cosme: quid ergo? Canis.

This man, whom you see often within the innermost chambers of our
temple of Minerva and inside the threshold of the new temple, Cosmus,
an old man with a stick and a money-sack, whose hair sticks up white and gross
and whose dirty beard falls to his chest,
who is covered by his wax-colored cloak like a wife on his bare mattress, 5
to whom the crowd, when it runs into him, gives barked-over food—
you think he's a Cynic philosopher, fooled by a false appearance:
he's not a Cynic, Cosmus: what is he then? A dog.

As with the other epigrams, this one turns on a dramatic reveal: like Martial's rivals in love and poetry, the philosopher is reduced to an animal, one of the urban poor. The othering of the urban poor here, as well as the callousness with which Martial snatches away the curtain of philosophy to reveal abject poverty, is worth noting. But so too is the specificity of Martial's description: this man is not one of an undifferentiated mass, in the usual places known for beggars and others

26. On Martial's use of Catullus as a model for his choice of meter, see Morgan 2010: 114-24. On Catullus's and Martial's use of poverty as an accusation against their rivals, see Marsilio and Podlesney 2006. On Martial's relationship with Catullus, see Lorenz 2011, who argues that Martial draws on Catullus for both the form and content of his epigrams, and that his poetry includes obvious parodies of Catullus's work, e.g. Martial 1.32 and Catullus 85.

in poverty, but inside Domitian's new temple to Minerva. It seems likely that this joke is actually about a real person, recognized by both Martial and Cosmus (*saepe vides*), and potentially other readers. Martial lingers on the details of the man's hair, which is short and dirty enough to stand up, and his beard, which falls to his chest; the man's hairiness looks forward to his comparison to a dog. The kind of cloak (*abolla*) that the man wears is most frequently referred to by Martial and Juvenal, although it can be traced back to the republican era.²⁷ Elsewhere, it is satirized by Martial as an excessive luxury. Like a wife (*uxor*), it would ordinarily have been a symbol of status or success for a man. Together, the two words only further emphasize the man's particular form of poverty. Martial, then, uses not just the tropes of poverty but the specifics of it too, and in doing so records how poets, and even their ultra-elite readers, might have noticed poverty on the city streets. The joke includes enough description for firsthand experience not to be necessary to understand it; but it would have been sharper if the figure were well-known. More than that, Martial places himself and Cosmus in the street. The poem begins with a deictic *hunc*—there he is—and followed by an emphatic present *vides*, only slightly softened by its repetition (*saepe*). Martial locates the poor man specifically, within a particular temple, which gives the epigram the feel of a conversation held in the street, as if Martial were pointing out the man himself and revealing his true nature.

Another good example of this imported street scene appears in one of his early books, written under Domitian. Martial makes a joke about a woman in public (2.17):

tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis,

27. The *abolla* is referred to by Varro once (*Men.* 223.1), where it is compared to the toga as a military counterpart to that civil garment; by Martial twice (4.53.5, 8.84.1, 4, where it is a handsome gift); by Juvenal twice (3.115, 4.76, where it is a cloak worn by slaves and foreigners); and once by Suetonius, who refers to Ptolemy's "purple cloak," which incites jealousy in the emperor Caligula (*Cal.* 35.2).

cruenta pendent qua flagella tortorum
Argique Letum multus obsidet sutor:
sed ista tonstrix, Ammiane, non tondet,
non tondet, inquam. quid igitur facit? Radit.

A barber girl sits at the foremost gates of the Subura,
where the bloody whips of the torturers hang
and many a cobbler occupies the Argiletum:
but that barber girl, Ammianus, she doesn't clip you,
she doesn't clip, I'm telling you. What does she do, then? She scrapes.

The joke depends on *radit*, which could describe the work of either a barber or an abrasive prostitute. In 6.57, Martial makes fun of a bald man by joking that a sponge could shave him better: *tonsorem capiti non est adhibere necesse: / radere te melius spongia, Phoebe, potest* ("There's no need for a barber to attend to your head: a sponge can shave you better, Phoebus," 6.57.3-4). Later, in 11.100, Martial mocks a too-skinny woman who "rubs" him with her naked butt cheeks (*quae clune nudo radat*, 11.100.3). This kind of joke is also typical of Martial, who almost obsessively loves revealing hidden vices in people who look or act unusual.²⁸

By sitting in public, the woman must be hiding something—according to Martial, it is that she is a prostitute. She is not just in public, however; she is near the north end of the Argiletum, a muddy stretch of road and loosely defined urban area that ran on top of the Cloaca Maxima and connected the Forum Romanum to the Subura. Again, as in previous chapters, the Subura is associated with the disgusting city, and this is not the only time it runs through Martial's poems (5.22, 6.66, 9.37, 11.61, 12.18; see above in chapter 1 on the Subura and the Argiletum). Significantly, the woman described is not sitting in it but adjacent to it. She is also

28. See 1.24, 65, 77, 83, 87, 90, 94, 96; 2.28, 33, 36, 39, 42; 3.3, 28, 43, 72, 82, 89; 4.36, 39, 65; 5.45; 6.56, 67, 74; 7.35, 71; 8.19, 47; 9.47, 57, 62; 10.22; 12.22, 23, 83. The orality of these jokes is evident through the frequency with which they depend on the last line, or even the last word of the poem. The impact of the punchline would have been greater with an oral delivery.

not in the Argiletum, another disgusting space: here Martial associates it with cobblers, one of the many professions Martial considers disgusting (discussed above, in chapter 1). The Argiletum and passage through it were highly scrutinized at the time of Martial's writing: Domitian was at the time in the process of building the Forum Transitorium over it, a forum which was then finished by Nerva after Domitian's assassination in 96 AD. The Forum, once built, would be unique amongst the imperial forums for co-opting a major thoroughfare rather than, according to the standard set by Augustus, being set ostentatiously apart.

Eve D'Ambra has discussed the Forum Transitorium's unique shape and location, and the way it regulated passage through the city, particularly from the Subura into the Forum Romanum (1993: 19-46). Her work also explores the fragmentary remains of the friezes of the forum, which show the story of Arachne and Minerva. It is clear, even from these fragmentary remains, that the forum would have made a clear comment on women's work, especially their role in domestic work. As a woman sitting in public, the *tonstrix* addresses both the regulated nature of women's work, and the strange shape and placement of the Forum Transitorium. A forum is ostensibly a good place to sit, but not for a woman by herself, and perhaps not in the uniquely positioned Forum Transitorium.

Movement within the city, for men and women, is more generally a concern for Martial. Movement is commodified in Martial's poetry, as Laurence and Roman have argued in their work on Martial and the city of Rome (Laurence 2011, Roman 2010). As a client, Martial says he is forced to trek around the city for his patrons; but as an epigrammatist and man of some means, he has the privilege to do so. Lowest on the totem pole are the people who cannot leave the low parts of the city, like a poor man in a temple or a woman sitting outside. Within the constraints of his relationship with his patrons, Martial is free to peruse and report back on these

people. John Berger, in his work on visual theory, explains that the artist relates the subject to both himself and the viewer (1972). Here, Martial recreates the location of the hairdresser in this epigram in a way that conveys how he sees her, by using details about the space around her that allude to what she really is—that is, what he decides she is. Her first identification is as a woman sitting in public, available for men's gaze. The sordid implications of this position are compounded by her connection to the Subura, which Martial goes the furthest of the satiric authors in developing as a site associated with prostitution. Next, he connects her spatially and thematically with physical violence. Equally damning is her proximity to cobblers, whom Martial elsewhere condemns as nearly as degraded as prostitutes. He describes them as chewing leather (9.73); like people who practice oral sex, they are symbolically stained and therefore unpleasant to kiss (12.59). Anyone reading the epigram is encouraged to see the hairdresser as Martial does, and privately come to the same conclusion, even before Martial introduces any sort of punchline.

But, of course, the poem doesn't end with this allusive description of the hairdresser at this particular intersection. When he makes his pun about the hairdresser's profession, he emphasizes it as a spoken insult: he addresses a sudden third party, Ammianus, and repeats his premise (*non tondet / non tondet*).²⁹ This repetition itself recalls Roman practices of verbal public shaming, such as *flagitatio*. In this practice Martial again has a model in Catullus, who famously calls on his poetry to orally harass a woman who has taken his poems (42.10-12):

circumsistite eam, et reflagitate,
'moecha putida, redde codicillos,
redde putida moecha, codicillos!'

29. Ammianus is mentioned in 2.4, where he is made fun of for incest with his mother; Friedländer thought that this means Martial is implying that Ammianus has visited a prostitute, but Williams disagrees (2004: 82). I agree with Williams that a Roman reader would not have connected incest with prostitution.

Stand around her, and shout over and over,
"Rotten slut, return the tablets,
return, you rotten slut, the tablets!"

Unlike Catullus, Martial does not use his poem to encourage forms of public harassment, but imports them. He follows the repetition of the verb with *inquam*, "I'm telling you," which he only uses one other time: *et tibi permittis felicitis carpere nugas, / has, inquam, nugas, quibus aurem advertere totam / non aspernantur proceres urbisque forique* ("And you allow yourself to pick at these happy trifles—these trifles, I'm telling you, which the leaders of the city and the forum do not disdain to lend a complete ear to," 6.64.6-9). As with 2.17, *inquam* draws attention to a repeated word. It also emphasizes the deictic force of Martial's repetition. The repetition and *inquam* formula of 2.17 ground Martial's words in the real world in the same way. The emphasis on both location and conversation in this joke implies that Martial is importing the structure of street harassment into this epigram. If there was a woman standing at that street corner, this is the kind of thing he would say about her. If he or someone else read this poem aloud to their friends at a party, they would be transported to that particular street corner, which Martial has taken care to slant for them in his description of who and what occupy that space.

Both 4.53 and 2.17 begin with passing praise for Domitian's ambitious building program, but ultimately focus on the urban poor who occupy the space. As in descriptions of the rapidly changing New York City of the 1960s and 1970s, developments in urban space seem to fuel in Martial an increased voyeuristic focus on the culture of the urban poor. This focus takes on a tone of nostalgia in his seventh book, when Martial praises Domitian for clearing the city streets (7.62):

Abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem
 inque suo nullum limine limen erat.
 Iussisti tenuis, Germanice, crescere uicos,
 et modo quae fuerat semita, facta uia est.
 Nulla catenatis pila est praecineta lagonis 5
 nec praetor medio cogitur ire luto,
 stringitur in densa nec caeca nouacula turba
 occupat aut totas nigra popina uias.
 Tonsor, copo, cocus, lanius sua limina seruant.
 Nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit.

The shameless huckster had stolen away the whole city
 And in his threshold there was no boundary line.
 But you ordered that the narrow streets grow bigger, Germanicus,
 And what had recently been a footpath has now been made a proper road.
 No pillar is covered in chained up bottles 5
 and the praetor isn't forced to trudge through the middle of the mud,
 and the unseeing razor isn't drawn in the thick crowd
 and the dark dive bar isn't taking over whole streets.
 The barber, the bartender, the cook, the butcher keep to their own thresholds.
 Now Rome exists, where once there was a big shop.

Here, the purpose of the poem is to thank Domitian for clearing the streets, but the effect of the poem is to dirty them up again, by painting a vivid picture of what they used to look like.

Martial even mirrors the crowded streets with the crowded goods tumbled together on pillars (*catenatis pila... praecineta lagonis*). The mud that the praetor is forced to trudge through recalls Martial's own pessimistic description of his struggle to attend important patrons in the city: *per mediumque trahat me tua sella lutum* ("Your litter drags me through the middle of the mud," 3.36.4). It appears again on the way to greet an important friend at home: *alta Suburani vincenda est semita clivi / et numquam sicco sordida saxa gradu* ("The lofty path of the Suburan slope must be overcome, and the dirty paving stones that never allow for a dry step," 5.22.5-6). The complaint will be picked up in Juvenal's vignette of the man who steps in his own wife's urine on the way to see important men (6.313, discussed in chapter 5). Like Juvenal, Martial

briefly delights in the image of the powerful praetor forced to trudge through mud, as he often describes himself in more humble terms. If the poem is a before and after, the after is figured only as a negative of the before (*nulla, nec, nec*). Even the description of the shop-owners taking care that their stores do not spill out onto the streets serves as a jumbled list of different kinds of shops (*tonsor, copo, cocus, lanius*). The poem itself is a *magna taberna*, and as a whole expresses a kind of nostalgia for what he saw as the chaotic and mud-covered parts of the city that have now been cleaned up.

Martial was not alone in this obsession. In my next chapter, I address the role of the city in Juvenal, one of Martial's contemporaries. Juvenal's identity has been disputed, as I will discuss, but Martial refers to a friend named Juvenal, whom he places in the city (7.24, 7.91, 12.18). It is likely that this is the same Juvenal who wrote the *Satires*, and it seems that he and Martial were of the same literary milieu. Like Martial, Juvenal wrote satiric literature soon after the death of Domitian. Unlike Martial, however, Juvenal's satiric career was only beginning with Domitian's death.

Chapter 5

Juvenal at the Crossroads

Listen, you fuckers, you screwheads. Here is a man who would not take it anymore. A man who stood up against the scum, the cunts, the dogs, the filth, the shit. Here is a man who stood up.

— *Taxi Driver*

In Martin Scorsese's 1976 film *Taxi Driver*, a former Marine named Travis Bickle (Robert De Niro) becomes a taxi driver in New York City. He is obsessively sickened by the city's underbelly, and although he prides himself on driving all over the city and refusing no customers, his hatred is concentrated on social ooze: "all the animals [that] come out at night: whores, skunk pussies, buggers, queens, fairies, dopers, junkies, sick, venal." His anger is also directed towards New York's government, but only in connection to his misogyny, when he attempts to assassinate a New York senator after one of the senator's female employees rejects him. By the time he attempts the assassination, he has already shaved his hair into a mohawk; the more he rages at urban filth, the movie suggests, the more grotesque he becomes. Scorsese reported that he imagined Bickle as a kind of "avenging angel" floating through the city, that New York stood for all cities everywhere. He also wanted the film to feel like a state of limbo or a dream, as a commentary on both the genre of film and the disconnected subcultures of the city.¹ As in other films of New York's crisis from the 1970s, the film invites the viewer to sadistically gaze at urban poverty and street culture from the perspective of a raging white male

1. Quoted in Thompson and Christie 1989: 98.

protagonist, and condemns urban poverty without either connecting it to systemic problems in New York or acknowledging the film industry's reliance on the increasingly disappearing "Fear City" for this particular kind of film. This is most evident in Bickle's treatment of Iris (Jodie Foster), a child sex slave whom Bickle treats as if she were a poor decision-maker rather than a victim of sex trafficking. Scorsese suggests parallels between Bickle's profession of taxi driver, taking on customers "from all over," and Iris's child prostitution.

Placing Juvenal

Juvenal's similarities to other urban artists have been touched on before; when David Larmour looked for sites of abjection in Juvenal's work, he began by comparing it with similar artistic critiques of the city from St. Petersburg, Berlin, and New York (2007). Other authors have also discussed the necessity of the urban setting for Juvenal's aims as a satirist. Amy Richlin has discussed Juvenal's writing as actively hostile, rather than reactively indignant, and even more as an act of hate itself; the imagery of the street is useful because it brings Juvenal closer to the intended objects of his invective.² Paul Allen Miller has incorporated movement within the city into an overarching series of movements within satire, from street to street and from image to image, whose purpose is sadistic, and intended to produce disgust in the reader.³ These readings either generalize the satirist's role as representative of the hegemonic elite male, or pass over him in favor of focusing on the reader's relationship to the landscape Juvenal presents—a reading Juvenal encourages by rarely locating himself in the street after his first

2. Richlin 2009a, drawing on Richlin 1992: 195-209.

3. Miller 2007. Miller downplays the satires' relationship to the physical streets, draws on Lacan 1961 for an understanding of movement as metonymic for desire, rather than reproducing actual movement through the city.

satire. The greatest difference between Bickle and Juvenal is that Bickle, despite the film's dreamlike qualities, is easy to locate within the city and the story—Juvenal is less so.⁴ I am interested in the relationship between city and satirist, and especially in the ways in which Juvenal is dependent on the city for satire. Like his predecessors, Juvenal incorporates aspects of the city that he satirizes as part of his satirical persona.

The uncertainty surrounding Juvenal as author is combined with an insistent authorial persona. Unlike Persius, who condenses satire almost to the point of illegibility, and Horace, who claims to be disgusted by Lucilius's unending river of satire (*S.* 1.4.11), Juvenal seems fascinated by satire's potential for endlessness. Satire 6, on women, is more than 600 lines long, and best exemplifies what scholars have noted as Juvenal's propensity for self-contradiction. These contradictions have led scholars to read the satires as a parody of anger, or as a subtle negotiation of the ways to safely witness and criticize other trends in genre or amongst literary circles in Rome under the adoptive emperors.⁵ Like Persius, Juvenal makes much of the danger of satire as a way to speak truth to power, and of Lucilius's bold precedent (1.165-167), but ultimately backs away from it: *experiar quid concedatur in illos / quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina* ("I'll see what I can get away with against those / whose ash is covered by the Flaminian and Latin roads," 1.170-171). At the same time, Juvenal includes the greatest number of names and places amongst satiric authors, especially generic names associated with stock characters, but differs from Horace most substantially in what he does not name: a patron, or any

4. On Juvenal's invisibility in his satires, see Uden 2015, discussed below.

5. On Juvenal as a parody of anger, see Braund 2006. On Juvenal's contradictions as programmatic, see Uden 2015.

friends.⁶ Juvenal's alternation between rage and silence has been interpreted mainly in four ways: as a long-awaited criticism of Domitianic Rome after years of dammed-up silence; as a more careful criticism of the adoptive emperors and their world; as a hegemonic stance only incidentally inflected by its historical circumstances; and as a commentary more on the genre of satire than anything else.

Susanna Braund has argued that the anger Juvenal's poetry expresses is in effect a commentary on anger and its expression (1988). The first satire establishes an angry persona immediately, but at the same time its inconsistent treatments of different topics suggest that its speaker is "practically berserk, or at least unhinged" (1988: 8). As a result, any claims on the narrator's part to legitimacy or grandeur only further expose the narrator as unreliable and unaware. Satires 2 and 3 also maintain a persona of *indignatio*, but introduce other speakers, Laronia and Umbricius, who offer more subtly ironic or even more laughably blinkered perspectives respectively. Their speeches ultimately offer a contrast to the monomania of the main speaker, and suggest that the reader should not take him seriously. By Satire 4, Braund sees Juvenal as moving on to parody rather than indignation. When he returns to indignation in satire 5, Braund reads the narrator's suggestion that the abused client deserves his treatment if he puts up with it as an indictment of the hypocrisy of anger. The length and variety of Satire 6 becomes a comment on the incoherence of the speaker's misogyny. By the third book, Braund sees irony as the predominant mode of satire, with only brief interruptions of *indignatio*. In all of these readings, Braund leans on the idea that the poems' satiric hyperbole would be read as ridiculous by Juvenal's contemporaries, rather than relatable, and would subvert the *prima facie*

6. Jones 2007: 58. He compares Lucilius, Catullus, Horace, Persius, Martial, and Juvenal.

meaning of the anger in Juvenal's works. This reading is followed by Maria Plaza (2006), whose work I discuss in more detail below. Plaza explores the forms of humor that Juvenal deploys, with a similar focus on the ways in which Juvenal's humor is separate from his subject matter; the anger expressed in his satires, especially towards marginalized people, becomes incidental to his interest in juxtaposition and irony. Like Braund, Plaza argues that the reader does not need to identify with the perspectives expressed in Juvenal's work to find it entertaining. I argue that, even if Juvenal does present perspectives that are contradictory or self-defeating, he nevertheless invites the reader to identify unironically with his speakers' anger.

Catherine Keane has contrasted the intensity of emotion in Juvenal's early satires, *Satires* 1-6, with the more "philosophical" and contemplative bent of his later works (2015). Keane sees an intentional multiplicity in Juvenal's work, and argues for Juvenal's programmatic interest in what a satiric persona is, as well as a number of literary and philosophical traditions in his work. She is particularly interested in the changes to the satiric persona that occur in books 3 through 5, and argues that rather than a simple cooling down of the satiric persona's anger, these represent a more engaged and nuanced discussion of what social criticism should look like. In the final two books, Keane sees Juvenal exploring the persona of the *senex*, and old age itself. Keane's point that Juvenal engages with a range of emotions over time is important, and especially that both his engagement and these emotions are dynamic and changing.

At the same time, Keane's focus on emotional themes can mean that the subject matter seems incidental to a larger preoccupation with emotion. Keane reads Satire 15, for instance, as a commentary on the satirist's own outsider perspective.⁷ The shift from Rome as the locus of

7. 2015: 195-205. This reading follows on readings of satires 13 and 14 as discussions of the satirist as *senex*.

satire to the fringes of the empire results in a narrator that feels at odds with both foreign cultures and Rome itself, and the anger of the Egyptian villagers as they commit cannibalism indicates that the satirical narrator may even be at odds with anger itself (2015: 196). Although Juvenal may be offering a commentary on the development of his persona, or even on the marginalization of the elderly, this reading deprioritizes the disgust expressed for Egyptians in this satire. When Keane does address this poem as an invective against Egyptians, it is as an example of the rhetorical hand-waving that Romans engaged in in order to reserve anger for themselves while denying it to their (foreign) enemies.⁸ But this remains an abstract relationship for Keane, with only a passing reference to the tantalizing remark Juvenal begins with: *quantum ipse notavi* ("What I myself have seen," 15.45). Juvenal's satirical world may be an ouroboros, and he intentionally backs away from named criticism of his contemporaries. At the same time, he places his narrators as men on the ground, in direct, specific, and often disgusting engagement with the objects of their satire. My chapter brings this framework to the forefront.

Bound up in his work is Juvenal's relationship with political and literary trends: the outburst of "free speech" after Domitian's death, the subsequent political shift under the emperors from Nerva to the Antonines, and the rising popularity of rhetoric and persuasion as forms of entertainment. Kirk Freudenburg sees Juvenal's ranting at the dead as a form of long memory: Domitian and his court may be both dead and no longer in vogue, but unstoppering silence after twenty years has resulted in a flood of pent-up rage. Like Tacitus's, Juvenal's history stops with Domitian, although both wrote under Nerva and Trajan (2001: 214-242). James Uden has argued

8. 2015: 201-202. Keane uses an example of a partially surviving letter by the emperor Claudius, from 41 AD, in which Claudius calls the anger of the Alexandrians "destructive" (ὀργὴν ὀλέθριον) but his own "just" (ὀργὴν δίκαιαν, P. Lond. VI). She speculates that Claudius's reputation for anger, and his characterization as a kind of perpetual *senex*, may have influenced Juvenal's own project.

that Juvenal does comment on his contemporary political surroundings, but through intentional silence and a lack of cohesion, which reflects political upheaval at the end of the Flavian dynasty as well as the increased and increasingly redefined Roman empire (2015). Marcus Wilson has discussed the pains Juvenal's contemporaries under Nerva and Trajan took to condemn the Flavian emperors, but cautions that they should not all be read as panegyrics by implication (2003: 526-530). Although Juvenal claims that he will only attack the dead, the city of Rome offers more material than ever for satire: *et quando uberior vitiorum copia* ("And when has there ever been a richer crop of vices?" 4.87).

Although these scholars are wide-ranging in their search for Juvenal's literary context and political aims, they ultimately take the purview of Juvenal's work to be restricted. They treat Juvenal's wide-ranging satires, which insist more than those of any of his extant predecessors on the gory details of satire, the materiality of its subject matter, in the context of a limited audience whose reference points are literary, philosophical, and frequently abstract. For these critics, analyses of Juvenal that acknowledge the hierarchical slant of his work—his invective against foreigners, women, and sexual deviants—are too reductive in that they zoom in on the anger of Juvenal's authorial persona, or ignore the ways Juvenal plays with or subverts the moralizing tone of satire.

Ray Laurence and Barbara Gold have both argued that the fragmented urban landscapes that appear in Juvenal and Martial should not be mined for urban social history; rather, these landscapes constitute the role of the city in the poets' self-representation.⁹ David Larmour's recent analysis of Juvenal begins with the arena as a physical space in the city that must have had

9. Laurence 2011: 82; Gold 2003: 596-7.

a deep impact on Juvenal's own theatrical work, but ultimately considers it most useful as a metaphor (2016: 173). Jennifer Ferriss-Hill identifies the obsessive urban focus of Juvenal's poetry as a function of Old Comedy's influence: Juvenal's third satire on the vices of the city is not only a rewriting of Horace *S.* 1.5 or Lucilius's *Iter Siculum* but a positive rewriting of Aristophanes' *Birds*. As such, the satire is not so much a commentary on the city as it is a commentary on the commentary on cities; the urban landscape that so pervades Juvenal's poetry becomes metonymic for anything except actual physical space. By contrast, I will focus on Juvenal's interaction with the physical landscape of the city, and the people and practices of its streets. Although Juvenal may be writing about the city as symbol, his work also has a lot to say about the city itself, and especially about the relationship between author and real physical space. Although it is important to acknowledge that Juvenal's narrators, like Travis Bickle, are not an impartial vehicle for our view of the city, Juvenal's work—like that of Horace—is still a slippery witness to parts of it that have not been well recorded elsewhere.

Osman Umurhan has recently considered Juvenal's observations on the city of Rome as the local effects of globalization (2018). Umurhan looks specifically at Juvenal's treatment of circulation—of goods, people, and information—through the empire as both destabilizing to a conservative understanding of Roman identity and inextricable from the experience of empire. Although in many ways Juvenal rehearses satiric tropes about the lapsed state of Roman masculinity, Umurhan sees Juvenal's version as specifically inflected by the shrinking world of the second century AD. Juvenal is particularly concerned with the uncontrolled circulation afforded by empire. Umurhan traces this anxiety back to Lucilius, who wrote during another period of Roman expansion, in the second half of the second century BC. He draws on two Lucilian passages: one which satirizes Rome's increasing use of Greek language and culture (87-

93, in which a Titus Albucius is mocked for his use of Greek), and another which satirizes activity in the forum (1145-1151):

nunc uero a mani ad noctem, festo atque profesto
totus item pariterque die populusque patresque
iactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam,
uni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere et arti,
uerba dare ut caute possint, pugnare dolose
blanditia certare, 'bonum' simulare 'uirum' se,
insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.

But now, from morning to night, on holidays and workdays
equally and on the same day, the plebs and the patricians alike
they all throw themselves into the forum, they never leave,
and together they dedicate themselves to the same pursuit and skill,
so they can cheat people with care, fight with tricks
and win with charm, pretend that they're a "good man,"
and make traps, as if they were all enemies to each other.

Umurhan notes that anxieties about increased cultural interaction are not included in this description of the forum, although it includes other social mixing. Lucilius, according to Umurhan, presents a model on which Juvenal would expand, as Rome's control over and interaction with the rest of the Mediterranean expanded. But it is worth noting that the circulation and boundary-crossing Lucilius comments on are entirely internal to the city. Umurhan draws on Doreen Massey's discussion of place as a site of "stasis and nostalgia, and an enclosed security" (1994: 167), and reads Lucilius as satirizing the concept of the city as a place where common bonds should be reinforced rather than erased. But this fragment shows Lucilius arguing that it is the city *per se* that causes dangerous social mixing and the degradation of moral values, rather than the city as the result of military expansion, cultural interaction, or threatened by some foreign other. Juvenal's satires pick up on many of the same themes that appear in this short passage: the violation of natural rhythms (day and night), and the usual ordering of time

(holidays and workdays), distinctions of rank (patricians and plebeians), relationships amongst equals (friends and enemies), and proper behavior in public life. Although Umurhan's point that Juvenal's version of the city in particular cannot be understood without a background of the rest of the empire is an important one, the city clearly does not require empire in order to engender anxieties about social mixing and the disruption of "natural" habits and values. If anything, empire is a city on a massive scale: a way to bring together people, goods, and information that would not ordinarily mix.

The City at the Bottom

Umurhan is right to see a "global sensibility" in Juvenal's works (2018: 52). One of the pervading themes of Juvenal's satires is Rome's inability to maintain its cultural borders as it comes into contact with an increasing number and variety of cultures. But Juvenal also includes references to Roman society as corrupt without foreign influence. The most telling of these passages, and one Umurhan does not discuss in his book, comes at the beginning of Satire 6, when the narrator explains how women's sexual mores have become so degraded (6.1-18):

Credo Pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam in terris uisamque diu, cum frigida paruas praeberet spelunca domos ignemque laremque et pecus et dominos communi clauderet umbra, siluestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor	5
frondibus et culmo uicinarumque ferarum pellibus, haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius turbauit nitidos extinctus passer ocellos, sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis et saepe horridior glandem ructante marito.	10
quippe aliter tunc orbe nouo caeloque recenti uiuiebant homines, qui rupto robore nati compositiue luto nullos habuere parentes. multa Pudicitiae ueteris uestigia forsitan aut aliqua exstiterint et sub Ioue, sed Ioue nondum	15

barbato, nondum Graecis iurare paratis
per caput alterius, cum furem nemo timeret
caulibus ac pomis et aperto uiueret horto.

I think that Chastity lingered when Saturn was king
and was seen on earth for a while, when a frigid cave
would offer tiny homes, fire, hearth,
and would shut up both the flock and the owners in one communal darkness, 5
when some mountain wife would lay out the sylvan bed
with leaves and straw and the skins of beasts, their neighbors,
not like you, Cynthia, and not like you, whose
dead sparrow vexed your shining eyes,
but offering her breasts to be drunk by large babes 10
and often hairier than her husband, who's burping up acorns.
Truly, men used to live differently then,
when the world and heaven were new, men who, born from the broken oak
and made from mud, had no ancestors.
Many traces of Chastity remained even under Jupiter, maybe, 15
or at least some—but when Jupiter still had
no beard, with no Greeks yet prepared to swear
on someone else's head, when no one was scared of a thief
for their apples and cabbages, and lived with unfenced garden.

The problem of this satire is not foreign influence but women, whose presence in Rome pre-dates Rome's empire and even the city itself. The references to landscape in this passage are a mock Golden Age: pointedly pastoral, even anti-urban. The most basic element of the city is walls, either literal or the figurative *pomerium*, to distinguish it from the rest of the world; here, women had chastity in a golden age when the world had no walls.¹⁰ Even in the modern day, women do not need to be in a world city in order to show their true colors. In response to an imagined suggestion that a woman who lives in the country is still chaste, Juvenal's narrator suggest she be tested not abroad or in the heart of the empire, but in small cities already past their prime: *uiuat*

10. Compare Latin epic, which returns to the city as a site of safety and civilization. The *Aeneid* famously compares Aeneas's travels through the boundless sea with the walls of Rome (*altae moenia Romae*, 1.7), a narrative repeated with Dido (1.366-68). See also Ovid's story of Pomona and Vertumnus, in which a garden wall transforms what would have been a story of rape into one of consensual romance (14.626-71).

Gabiis ut uixit in agro, / uiuat Fidenis, et agello cedo paterno ("Let her live at Gabii like she did in the country, / let her live at Fidenae, and then I'll acknowledge the power of the family farm," 6.56-57).

Like Travis Bickle, Juvenal's narrators claim to be out in the city, staring at the gutter. Like Horace, Juvenal takes up the ironic complaint that the city is bad for writing, even though it is necessary for satire: poets in the city are terrible (3.9, 3.41-42), which is what prompts him to break his silence in the first place (1.1-6), but the city does not allow for sleep (3.236-8), and trying to make a living by writing is akin to farming sand (7.48-52). Despite his complaints, and the varied subjects of his satires, his focus persistently comes back to the city. James Uden has discussed the broadening perspective of Juvenal's works by comparing the opening of the first book, in which Juvenal imagines himself in a Roman recitation hall, to the opening of the third book, in which all hope is placed in the emperor (*et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum*, 7.1), and then with the expansive opening of the fourth book (10.1-4):

omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
uera bona atque illis multum diuersa, remota
erroris nebula.

In all the lands that exist from Gades all the way
to Aurora and the Ganges, few can distinguish
truly good things from those that differ significantly from them, once the
cloud of misjudgment has been taken away.

Uden is careful to note, however, that even as Juvenal's examples wander through Roman, Greek, and barbarian *loci* (*Romanus Graiusque et barbarus*, 10.138), Juvenal ultimately considers Roman examples the most important: *festino ad nostros* ("I'll hurry to our own examples," 10.273, in Uden 2015: 146). A few lines later, Rome and the rest of the world are

juxtaposed in the case of Marius, whose long life led him to experience exile from Rome, even being forced to hide in the Pontine Marshes. It would have been better if he had died in Rome, during his triumph (10.278-282):

...quid illo ciue tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captiuorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset optimam,
cum de Teutonico uellet descendere curru? 280

...What could nature ever offer in all the lands,
what could Rome ever offer more fortunate, than if,
as the line of war-prisoners was being marched around him, and amidst all 280
of the military parade, he had breathed out his last breath,
as he was about to descend from the Teutonic chariot?

Pompey, likewise, lives too long and dies shamefully: far from Rome, in defeat, at the hands of Egyptians (10.283-286):

prouida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica uota
uicerunt; igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
seruatam uicto caput abstulit. 285

Thoughtful Campania had given Pompey a fever,
the kind you should hope for, but many cities and public prayers
won out; with the result that his own Fortune and the city's 285
once his head was saved, took it from him when he was defeated.

Rome may be compared with the rest of the world, but is ultimately separate from it and more deserving of Roman attention; the pinnacle of life is tied to the physical city of Rome, and the loss of its lauded citizens abroad is ultimately a loss for the city. Rome is so central to Juvenal's work that he often calls it just "the city," *urbs*. Although this is a common sense for *urbs*, Juvenal uses it almost exclusively. Of the thirty times he uses the singular *urbs* in his works, all

but one of them means Rome.¹¹ The exception is Babylon, from a description of Alexander the Great's life (10.168-72):

unus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis,
aestuatur infelix angusto limite mundi
ut Gyarae clausus scopulis paruaque Seripho; 170
cum tamen a figulis munitam intrauerit urbem,
sarcophago contentus erit.

The whole world was not enough for the young man from Pella,
unhappily he grows feverish from the narrow limits of his world,
as if he were shut up on the rocks of Gyara or tiny Seriphus; 170
but as soon as he's entered the city that's fortified by brickmakers,
he'll be content with a grave.

Only Alexander the Great's place of death can challenge Rome's primacy in the mind of his readers, and even then, the city is given an exoticizing epithet (*a figulis munitam... urbem*, 171).

Even Satire 15, which takes place in Egypt, is ultimately a reflection of the heart of the empire rather than its fringe. Uden reads this poem, published under Hadrian's rule, as reflecting a more diffuse sense of Roman identity, less tied to Rome. Uden emphasizes that the empire under Hadrian was more dislocated from Rome than ever before. Hadrian himself, who was a renowned philhellene, traveled extensively, and spent only half of his time in Rome—although, as will be discussed below, an important half. The solidification of borders expanded or contested under Trajan meant that Romans had a more stable sense of empire, and a slowly broadening sense of Roman identity (2015: 206-208). Uden thus reads the fifteenth satire, with its tale of cannibalism in Egypt and its reflections on the ultimate lack of compassion in human nature, as a reflection of the blurring lines between "difference" and "sameness" under Hadrian. But Juvenal uses the edges of the world as at best a smoky mirror for human nature, ultimately

11. The following use *urbs* to refer to Rome: 1.31, 111; 2.126, 162, 167; 3.9, 22, 61, 193, 214, 235; 4.77, 151; 6.84, 290, 398; 7.83, 162; 8.118, 200, 250; 10.34, 171, 285, 341; 11.55, 112, 200; 13.157; 16.25.

located in Rome and dated by its consuls (*consule Iunco*, 15.27). Even as he flings the poem into the depths of Egypt, Juvenal wonders: "Who doesn't know about this?" (*quis nescit*, 1.1). A story about cannibalism amongst Egyptians at the end of the world (15.35), with references to the fantastical landscape of the *Odyssey* (15.14-23), as well as the Germans, Britons, Gauls, Sarmatians and Scythians (15.124-125), moves into a more generalizing discussion of human nature and compassion, which centralizes the city as the locus for civilization and its collapse. Towards the end of the satire, Juvenal explains that the powers that be had created humans alone to create community and mutual protection (15.147-158):

... mundi
 principio indulsit communis conditor illis
 tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
 adfectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet, 150
 dispersos trahere in populum, migrare uetusto
 de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere siluas,
 aedificare domos, laribus coniungere nostris
 tectum aliud, tutos uicino limine somnos
 ut conlata daret fiducia, protegere armis 155
 lapsum aut ingenti nutantem uolnere ciuem,
 communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
 turribus atque una portarum claue teneri.

... In the beginning,
 the common creator of the world granted animals
 only life, but us souls as well, so that a natural inclination
 would command us to look for help and offer it to each other, 150
 to gather scattered peoples into one populace, to move out of the ancient wood
 and to abandon the forests inhabited by our great-grandfathers,
 to build houses, to join someone else's roof to our hearth,
 so that a shared trust would offer safe slumber, with a joint threshold,
 to protect with arms the citizen 155
 who has fallen or is tottering from a massive wound,
 to give the signal for battle with a common horn, to be defended
 by the same turrets and to be kept by one key for the gates.

The story of the creation of common good, and the example of early signs of human compassion, is the creation of a city. By the end of the poem, Juvenal has switched from describing the alien nature of the Egyptians, who worship animals (15.2-4), to a much more inclusive *nos* (15.149), and scenes that conjure Italy and Rome (15.134-42). Without naming Rome or even Romans, Juvenal conjures the city.

Juvenal's works were published over a period of twenty to thirty years (see below on dating). Even over such a long period of time, his themes remain remarkably consistent.¹² Twelve of the sixteen poems deal with problems in contemporary Roman society, and especially in the ways social hierarchy has broken down and relationships that were once the bedrock of society have become corrupted: marriage, men and women, familial relationships, patron and client, civilian and soldiers, freeborn citizens and slaves and freedmen, Romans and foreigners. He includes a satire on recent historical events in his first book (Satire 4), and then returns to a historical theme later in his corpus (Satire 15). There are two later satires, 10 and 13, that seem to deal in a more generalizing and philosophical way with their themes: the relationship between ambition and the realities of life, and crimes and punishment. This turn towards a more philosophical approach in his later satires is contrasted with a sense of damless anger from the first two books of satires, beginning with the first satire when Juvenal asks: *semper ego auditor tantum?* ("Will I always only listen?" 1.1), and continuing through the second book, which contains only the poem about women, more than six hundred lines long. But, as Keane has recently argued (2015), it would be overgeneralizing to say that Juvenal's persona becomes tranquilly philosophical; his last satire cuts off with a trembling old man begging his soldier son

12. This consistency is especially pointed when compared with some of Juvenal's sophistic contemporaries, like Aulus Gellius or Apuleius. On Juvenal's historical literary milieu, see Uden 2015.

for money (16.55-56), and what seems to be the set-up for a snide joke about why generals should give their bravest soldiers medals (16.59-60). At its core, Juvenal's anger seems oddly disconnected from its author's circumstances. Gilbert Highet attributes this anger to Juvenal's displaced rage at a curated few of the inequities of empire. Even if his resentment of the dead Domitian's abuses are anachronistic, Highet argues, there was always plenty to be angry about even under the praised adoptive emperors (2009: 283-84).

But even when Juvenal was thinking about the empire holistically, he was writing in his own times. He also spent a fair amount of his energy describing specific details of the people and places in Rome during a period when the city was undergoing major changes. Locating the exact period of his publication has been difficult, and recently contested. References to Domitian's death give the first book, satires 1-5, a *terminus post quem* of 96, and a reference to a Marius in exile (*exul ... Marius* 1.49) is taken as a reference to the prosecution of Marius Priscus in 100, a second *terminus post quem*. But Juvenal's work has been dated to 116-117 based on a third, more oblique reference from the second satire: *res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti / historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli* ("Something worth being recorded in new annals and fresh / history: a mirror as the baggage for civil war," 2.102-103). This line has been surprisingly widely accepted as a reference to Tacitus's *Annals* and *Histories*, with the implication that even the first book of the *Satires* could not have been published before 106-107, and more probably 116-117, around Hadrian's accession, since Tacitus was still writing the *Annales* in 115.¹³ Uden has convincingly argued against this later date, however. He points out that it is unlikely that Juvenal's readers would have heard a reference to Tacitus in these lines,

13. Goodyear 1981: 387-93. On the traditional dating of the first book, see Friedländer 1895: 13; Highet 1954: 12; Syme 1979: 260; Courtney 1980: 77; Braund 1996: 16; Stramaglia 2008: 13.

especially since Tacitus does not include this anecdote about Otho, and the words *historia* and *annales* are used more commonly to refer to a genre of writing than as the names of specific works.¹⁴ Without this later *terminus post quem* of Tacitus's writing, Uden actually looks to Martial's references to Juvenal (7.21, 94; 12.18, dated to 101) for an earlier publication date of 100-101. Uden even reads Martial 12.18, an idealizing description of life in rustic Bilbilis, as a response to Juvenal's third satire. The latest *terminus post quem* for the later satires is 127, from *Satires* 15, which gives Juvenal a long publishing career. But Uden points out that Martial already calls Juvenal "eloquent" in 92 (*facunde*, 7.91.1); a work of poetry published ten years later does not seem out of place. This would give Juvenal a publishing career as long as Horace's, but not as long as Ovid's (2015: 222-25).

If Juvenal's first work was published in 100-101, then he was writing only a handful of years after Domitian had died, which may explain the explosive anger of the first book of satires, and his insistence on dealing only with the dead. It also means that he was dealing with a city much more in transition than it would be even ten years later. Domitian's court lurked behind many of the imperial projects that resumed or began after his death, which were changed or adapted as necessary. Domitian left the city with a number of unfinished and even planned but unstarted projects. The most obvious was the intended forum of Domitian, which took over the narrow and crowded road between the Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Peace created by Vespasian. It was close to completion, and appears in Martial's poetry before Domitian's death and the forum's technical completion. Like Martial's poetry, it was hastily edited after Domitian's assassination and named the Forum of Nerva, or the Forum Transitorium. The

14. Uden 2015: 219-20. Uden thus accounts for authors who refer to Tacitus's "histories" (Pliny *Ep.* 7.33.1, Tertullian *Apol.* 16.2, 3).

imperial palace built by the Flavians was also completed under Nerva, with new rooms open to the public, although much of the palace had already been publicly accessible as the administrative center of the empire. The Circus Maximus had been damaged by fires in 64, and was only completely restored under Trajan. Domitian had begun to repair the Forum of Caesar and the temple of Venus it contained, a repair which was also only completed during Trajan's rule, in 113. The intended forum of Domitian was close enough to completion to have Nerva's name stamped on it within two years, but Trajan's forum and markets took advantage of land that Domitian had begun to clear and prepare. There is also some evidence that the Baths of Trajan were begun under Titus, with some work done under Domitian and subsequently Nerva, although they were ultimately finished in 109. Much of the dating of these works comes from Domitianic brickstamps around the foundations of these buildings, which only give a *terminus post quem*. Roman bricks are usually more or less contemporary with their structures, however, and production did not produce large stockpiles (Grainger 2003: 55). Like the poems, then, the constructed city had Domitian at the bottom.

Juvenal's long publishing career also means that his last works were published under Hadrian, whose work on the city of Rome was the most thorough since Augustus; this work may have been undertaken in part to emulate Trajan, who also built extensively.¹⁵ Hadrian's presence and heavy hand in shaping and running the city are notable because of how frequently he is

15. For a more thorough discussion of Hadrian's changes to the city of Rome, see Boatwright 1987. See also Uden 2015: 178-202, who sees in Juvenal's twelfth satire Horatian allusions that imply a parallel between Horace's relationship with Augustus and Juvenal's with Hadrian. Hadrian popularized himself as a new Augustus, and renewed many of the buildings and structures created under Augustus in the Campus Martius (Boatwright 1987: 72-73), and reinstated the *pomerium* in 121, as Augustus had done. Juvenal's preoccupation with the limits of the empire become more directly topical in this light, as does his interest in Egypt in Satire 15, if it was composed around the same time Hadrian and his entourage visited Egypt in 130 AD.

portrayed as an emperor abroad—and just to visit, not to invade. He is remembered for his love of Greek culture, which included a building program in Athens, and for the fact that he spent more than half of his rule outside of the city. But the *Historia Augusta*, admittedly a source that is frequently hostile to Hadrian, says that he was often out and about in the city and even liked to bathe in public baths (*HA, Hadr.* 17.5).

Hadrian's building program began with his ascension and continued until his death, and included sites in the Campus Martius, the imperial fora and Forum Romanum, the imperial residences, and his mausoleum, which lay outside city limits but in a direct relationship with Augustus's own mausoleum, which in its day had helped reshape the Campus Martius. That Hadrian thought of his building work as programmatic and strategic may be indicated by references in the *Suda* to an otherwise lost work by one of his freedmen who worked closely with him, Phlegon of Tralles, on buildings in Rome and their meanings (*Suda*, s.v. Phlegon IV, 527 Adler). Mary Boatwright, in her work on Hadrian and the city of Rome, speculates that this work might have been useful to Hadrian if he was looking for sites and buildings in the city that would allude to Rome's past greatness and strengthen his relationship with the senatorial class.¹⁶ Hadrian also was directly involved in or oversaw changes in urban administration. He himself assumed the role of granting permission to restore shrines at urban crossroads for the imperial cult, assisted by the prefect of the *vigiles*, a small but symbolic change that would have indicated increased interest on the emperor's part in direct involvement in urban administration. Hadrianic legislation included stiffer laws against heavy wheeled traffic, which had increased urban

16. Boatwright 1987: 27-29. This previously had been the concern of the *vicomagistri*, along with the praetors and aediles. On the *vicomagistri* and their role in the development and reorganization of the Augustan city, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 259-312. On the relationship between imperial building and memory, see Gowing 2005.

congestion since it was first banned in the late republic, and stiffer penalties for burying the dead within city limits.¹⁷ This legislation suggests that, in addition to securing connections with the senatorial class and inviting comparisons with Trajan and Augustus, Hadrian and his administration were dealing with a city that was larger and more densely populated. Horace had written about the stubborn dead beneath his feet at the beginning of the empire; more than one hundred years later, there were more than ever before.

The Satirist in the Street

Fittingly, when Juvenal's narrator gazes at the city, however, it is not imperial building programs so much as urban dregs that he is staring at. In his programmatic first satire, Juvenal imagines himself in the street, staring at the urban undesirables who jostle him (1.30-39):

...nam quis iniquae	30
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se, causidici noua cum ueniat lectica Mathonis plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat	35
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino; cum te summoueant qui testamenta merentur noctibus, in caelum quos euehit optima summi nunc uia processus, uetulae uesica beatae?	

...For who is so submissive	30
to the unjust city, who so iron-willed, that he could keep control of himself, when hack lawyer Matho's new litter comes along full of himself, and after him the man who informed on a powerful friend	

17. On the legislation against wagons, see *HA, Hadr.* 22.6; on fines against burying cadavers within city limits, see *Dig.* 47.12.3.5. The problem of wheeled traffic in the city had been a concern since at least the time of Julius Caesar, who banned it during the day, with exceptions that sound satirical themselves: wagons necessary for sacrifices, triumphs, and games, and for the removal of feces from the city (*Tabula Heracleensis* 56-61). Fittingly, the law was found among a number of others discovered by Antony after Caesar's death, and published as part of an omnibus act, a *lex saturna*. The problem of burying the dead within the city appears as early as the Twelve Tables (X.1). Horace appears to be thinking of the Twelve Tables' ban on *mala carmina* (VIII.2) when he defends his own satire (*mala... carmina* S. 2.1.82).

and who is about to quickly devour whatever remains of the chewed up nobility,
 whom Massa is afraid of, whom Carus flatters with a gift, 35
 and Thymele, sent by nervous Latinus;
 when they push you aside who earn their inheritance
 every night, whom now the best path of the highest advancement
 has now raised to heaven, the crotch of a rich old lady?

A few lines later, Juvenal goes even further and imagines himself actually writing in the street
 (1.63-72):

nonne libet medio ceras inplere capaces
 quadriuo, cum iam sexta ceruice feratur
 hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra 65
 et multum referens de Maecenate supino
 signator falsi, qui se lautum atque beatum
 exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?
 occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
 porrectura uiro miscet sitiente rubetam 70
 instituitque rudes melior Lucusta propinquas
 per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.

Don't you want to fill up a big fat notebook
 in the middle of the crossroads, when now, carried on six necks,
 here and there freely visible, with his litter almost completely uncovered, 65
 and looking a lot like Maecenas on his back,
 the witness to false testimony, who has made himself praised and rich
 through one little affidavit and a lick of his signet ring?
 Then comes the powerful matron, who as she's about to offer some gentle
 Calenian wine, since her husband is thirsty, will mix in toad venom 70
 and has taught the unsophisticated neighbor women, a better Lucusta,
 how to bury their blackened husbands in the teeth of rumor and public opinion.

The passage is much celebrated as the most direct description of satirists' engagement with the urban landscape, and Juvenal himself gives the image a tremendous amount of weight. He begins with a neatly balanced line, with a vague "middle" in the middle (*medio*, 1.63), and the word "fill up" already enclosed by "wax" and "tablets" (*ceras inplere capaces*, 1.63). The

crossroads themselves are delayed pointedly to the next line, as if being revealed theatrically.¹⁸ They are then followed by the scene-setting "when now" (*cum iam*, 1.64), to transition fully from writing to standing in the street. The scene he witnesses repeats aspects of his first prompt to write satire: Matho and the unnamed false witness float by aloft, literally looking down on the rest of the city. Juvenal makes this disdain explicit towards the end of the satire, when he mentions a third traveler in a litter as part of his reason for only naming the dead in the satiric attacks: *qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, uehatur / pensilibus plumis atque illinc despiciat nos?* ("So then the one who has given poison to three of his fathers' brothers, is he to be carried / with hanging cushions and from there look down on us?", 1.158-59).

Maria Plaza reads the litter of the false witness as reminiscent of a dish displayed at a dinner party, his open litter a grotesque inversion of a loaded platter (2006: 106). She compares the lofty lobster of Juvenal's fifth satire, which literally looks down on its guests (2006: 109; 5.80-83):

aspice quam longo distinguat pectore lancem
quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta
asparagis qua despiciat conuiuia cauda,
dum uenit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.

Look with how long a belly it adorns the platter—
carried in for the host—a lobster!, and by what stalks of asparagus
it's surrounded, from what a tail it looks down on its guests,
when it comes held aloft by the hands of the puffed up waiter.

The lobster looks down on the guests, like the poisoner of the first satire (*despiciat nos*, 1.159). But if anything, the dish of the fifth satire recalls the earlier procession rather than the other way

18 On enjambment in Juvenal, see Courtney 1980: 41-42.

around. Juvenal plays with this in the passage describing the lobster, delaying the identifying "platter" until the end of the line (*lancem*, 5.80), and the actual name of the dish until the next line (*squilla*, 5.81). Plaza's ultimate concern is a more abstract framework for the ways in which satiric humor functions. Litters are part of a more general trend of heightening and enlarging the objects of satire, so that the satirist may seem more impressive for tearing them down (2006: 110-112). By contrast, I argue that Juvenal's use of high and low is driven by the city scene, rather than vice versa.

The last figure lifted through the streets in these passages is the corpse of the murdered husband, a victim of Rome's corruption but just as visible as the people profiting from it, and even carried in a similar way: the poisoner, improving on the historical and notorious Lucusta, teaches her neighbors to have their husbands carried out (*efferre maritos*, 1.72), that is, to have them carried out for burial. The Amiternum relief, which depicts a funeral procession, shows the corpse as a reclining figure on a couch-like litter, carried by eight litter-bearers.¹⁹ The only blameless way to achieve the kind of visibility and elevation above the crowd owed to virtuous Romans, Juvenal suggests, is death, and at that the mark of the wife's guilt is manifest in the husband's face, black with her poison. The other witnessed processions feature those who are wealthy but only because of the morally repugnant things they have done; properly, all of these people belong to the urban masses, or at least the unrecognized. Juvenal's phrasing of his rage in all of these passages suggests an overflow in his anger and his writing.

19. See below on Martial's joking comparisons between litters and cheap coffins, *sandapilae*. Compare also Horace's commentary on the bodies of the poor and unclaimed, *S.* 1.8.8-9. On the Amiternum relief, see Hope 2017. On the image of the corpse in the funeral, see Corbeill 2004: 95-97.

Like other authors, Juvenal suggests that it is potentially dangerous to write satire because it involves attacking the powerful, who are in a position to harm him: satire causes their anger, their retaliation causes the writer's tears (*inde ira et lacrimae*, 1.168). At the same time, he explains that he cannot stop himself. In a passage that directly recalls Persius's characterization of satire, Juvenal even goes so far as to frame satire as public excretion (1.128-31):

... deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
 atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
 nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches, 130
 cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.

...Then [you go] to the forum and Apollo, a legal expert,
 and the triumphal monuments, amongst which some Egyptian,
 some Arabarch, has dared to put his memorial tablet, 130
 at whose likeness it's right not just to piss.

As with the figures in the litter, the statue is literally lifted above the satirist, who suggests its base should be surrounded by feces. Here, Juvenal's response is more visceral than writing in wax tablets. Like Bickle, he seems to view his anger as both legitimate (*fas*, 1.131), and another form of sabotaging the city. Like Bickle, Juvenal imagine himself as both gazing at urban vice and, in his anger, righteously contributing to it. Bickle adopts street justice, and Juvenal apparently does too, urging his audience to accompany him.

These similarities are significant not just because they point to a long tradition of resentful male anger, but also because they suggest that Juvenal may have been working in a city similar to that to Scorsese's New York: a split city, in the midst of immense cultural and financial growth, coming out of a city-wide crisis; a city of writers who reflect on that upheaval with increasingly formulaic tropes of urban decay. Juvenal constantly acknowledges the Rome of his

times as a site of power and growth, but sees this success as only further fueling its destructiveness. The numerous building projects that took place during Juvenal's writing, for instance, are summed up by the hazardous transport of building materials (3.254-61):

... longa coruscat
 serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum 255
 plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur.
 nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
 axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
 quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
 invenit? obtritum volgi perit omne cadaver 260
 more animae.

... The fir-beam shakes
 as its wagon comes by, and other vehicles carry 255
 a pine tree; they nod from on high and threaten the people.
 Because if the axle that carries the Ligurian marble
 breaks and pours out its toppled mountain on the ranks,
 What's left of the bodies? Who finds their limbs,
 their bones? Every trodden-on body of the crowd dies 260
 in the same way as his soul.

The language and imagery alludes to and inverts epic language. The rattling wooden beams in the wagon that "nod" (*nutant*) and "threaten" the people (*minantur*) echo a simile in the *Aeneid*, when the collapse of Troy is compared to the felling of a tree in the woods: *illa usque minatur / et tremefacta comam concusso uertice nutat* ("[The tree] continuously threatens to fall and, as its trunk is struck, nods its foliage, trembling," 2.628-69). Vergil uses the towering tree to momentarily bring the reader away from the city, and emphasize the great heights from which Troy is falling. Juvenal puts the lofty trees in the city, already felled and converted to beams, still threatening to topple, here by rolling off the wagon. The trees are carried aloft horizontally, like the undeservingly wealthy in their litters (*alte*, Juv. 3.256). *Abies* is also used by Vergil to mean "spear" (11.667), now a humble beam but no less threatening. In light of the epic imagery,

montem and *ossa* read as nods to Mt. Pelion and Mt. Ossa, now transformed into the sad carnage of the wagon wreck. With Mt. Pelion, Juvenal refers to a commonplace on the evils of technology, as the trees used to build the *Argo*, the first ship, were cut down from that mountain. Here, Juvenal has translated that trope for the city.

Behind this entire scene is the fact that marble transport in this manner seems to have been banned by Trajan and Hadrian.²⁰ Juvenal uses epic language to explain how different his city is from the landscape of epic, but at the same time the scenes he describes start to become distanced from the reality of the city. The man who is threatened by the perilous imports is a humble member of the crowd (*obtritum volgi... cadaver*, 3.260). This description itself is a sendup of philosophical discussions of the soul and body after death.²¹ But when Juvenal describes the man's household after he has been crushed, it is populated by busy slaves who are making industrious preparations for a massage and a meal, compared with their owner's idleness at the banks of the Styx (3.261-67). Again, Juvenal uses a character with an ambiguous class position; the man, seemingly part of the *volgus*, is revealed to have a whole household of slaves.

In his second satire, Juvenal's narrator rants at the hypocrisy of moralizers: *ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale / Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent / qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia uiuunt* ("I feel like running away from here to beyond the Sarmatians and the frozen Ocean, as long as those people dare to pretend to have something of morals, the ones who pretend to be Curii and actually live life as a series of Bacchanals," 2.1-3).

20. Pliny praises this very thing: *non, ut ante, immanium transvectione saxorum urbis tecta quatuntur* ("Nor, as before, are the houses of the city rattled by the passage of enormous rocks," *Pan.* 51.1).

21. See Seneca (*Ep.* 57.6), and Lucretius (3.892-99), who even uses some of the same words as Juvenal in these lines (*obtritum... domus*, 3.893-94). I owe this reading to Amy Richlin.

The narrator suggests that the proper response to this kind of vice is to leave the city—for the edge of the world, if possible. Even remaining in the city amounts to complicity, since nowhere in the city is safe: *quis enim non uicus abundat / tristibus obscenis?* ("Because what neighborhood is not full of sad perverts?" 2.8-9). Yet the narrator does not leave, and even the verb for wanting to leave at the beginning of the satire (*libet*) is comparatively weak. This choice is especially marked because the third satire is framed by the narrator's decision to leave the city. The narrator of the second satire seems to choose to remain, despite the shame, in order to fight the good fight and expose urban corruption. In the process, he lingers on its gory details: the wedding of two men in the city (2.117-36), the aristocrat in the Colosseum (2.143-48), the Armenian who has come to Rome, where his barbarian virtue is corrupted by Rome (2.163-70).²²

Juvenal meanders towards street justice in the eighth satire, when his narrator castigates the nobility for resting on the family laurels and for spending their time gambling instead of upholding the family's good name. Before arriving at the nobility, the narrator emphasizes that it is the urban masses that are doing the dirty work of Roman virtue. They are contrasted with a conceited noble who calls himself Cecropides, the son of the founding king of Athens (8.47-53):

... tamen ima plebe Quiritem
 facundum inuenies, solet hic defendere causas
 nobilis indocti; ueniet de plebe togata
 qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata soluat;
 hinc petit Euphraten iuuenis domitique Bataui
 custodes aquilas armis industrius; at tu
 nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae.

50

...From the lowest plebs, however, you'll find your clever Roman;
 this one is used to defending the cases

22. Satire 9 ends with a similar image of sexual perversion framed by the city: *ne trepida, numquam pathicus tibi derit amicus / stantibus et saluis his collibus* ("Don't worry, you'll never lack a sexually submissive friend, as long as these hills are standing," 130-31).

of the unlearned noble; from amongst the crowd in togas
will come one to untie the knots of law and solve legal riddles; 50
from the plebs comes the young man, practiced in arms, who seeks out the
Euphrates
and the eagles that guard the conquered Batavians;
—but you are nothing but a Greek king's son, much like a castrated Herm.

In the first satire, the narrator is exasperated that a hack lawyer can make it in the city (1.32-33); now, humble lawyers are Rome's true heroes. In the first satire the scions of Troy (*Troiugenas*, 1.100), i.e. Roman aristocrats with ancient bloodlines, are humiliated when a foreign freedman, who has made a fortune in sales, takes pride of place as a guest (1.99-106):

... iubet a praecone uocari
ipsum Troiugenas, nam uexant limen et ipsi 100
nobiscum. 'da praetori, da deinde tribuno.'
sed libertinus prior est. 'prior' inquit 'ego adsum.
cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamuis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae 105
quadringenta parant.

...He instructs the herald to call
even the heirs of Troy, because even they crowd the threshold 100
with us. "Give way to the praetor, then give way to the tribune."
But the freedman is there first. "I'm here first," he says.
"Why should I be afraid or hesitate to defend my place, even though I was born
at the Euphrates, which these soft windows in my ear would
show, even if I denied it? But five shops give me 105
four hundred thousand a year."

Here, mythic descent from mythic Troy (*Troiugenas*), in Asia Minor, despises actual birth in actual Asia Minor (*Euphraten*). In the eighth satire, however, the heirs of Troy (*Troiugena*, 8.56) are unbearable for their double standards when it comes to judging the nobility versus the common people: *at uos, Troiugena, uobis ignoscitis et quae / turpia cerdoni Volesos Brutumque decebunt* ("But you, the heirs of Troy, you pardon your own flaws, and what's / shameful for a

cobbler will be just fine for men like Volesus and for Brutus," 8.181-82). Ultimately, Juvenal moves these matters of heritage and merit to the Circus Maximus, the great equalizer: talent is what matters in a good horse, not lineage (8.57-61).

The eighth satire will begin to make the rough justice that has been key from the outset of the satires more explicit. This allows Juvenal, like Martial, to linger in the streets while at the same time claiming a moral distance from them. Like Travis Bickle, the narrator of Satire 8 can drive around the city, picking up examples of vice, and yet claim to be standing up to them at the same time. He describes an adulterer wandering around at night (8.144-145). The adulterer hides under a Gallic cloak (*Santonico cucullo*, 8.145). The *cucullus* appears almost exclusively in Juvenal and Martial, where it is consistently connected with the adulterer wandering around the city at night (6.118, 6.330; Martial 5.14.6, 19.76.8, 11.98.10).²³ Whether the Gallic cloak was the exclusive costume of furtive adulterers in this period or not, there is a set costume associated with it; as in exploitation films of New York City, the scenes become formulaic.

Juvenal then goes on to describe a man named Lateranus, who humiliates his ancestors by careening around in a chariot.²⁴ At first he takes care to do it at night, out of shame, but the moon still witnesses him: *sed Luna uidet, sed sidera testes / intendunt oculos* ("But the moon

23. The word *cucullus* appears before Martial and Juvenal, as far back as Cato and Columella, but as a spelling variation of *cuculus*, meaning "cuckoo." The consensus, repeated in Courtney 1980: 356, is that the word meaning "hood" is Gallic. Compare also Cic. *Phil.* 2.76, in which Mark Antony sneaks back into town to see Fulvia and has the temerity to do so in a toga, rather than in a cloak and "Gallic shoes" (*nec Gallicis nec lacerna*). See also Cic. *Phil.* 2.45 in which Mark Antony engages in a similar kind of nighttime debauchery with Curio, *nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede* ("With night as your friend, lust as your cheerleader, and money as your goad") and Hor. *Epod.* 5.57-58 for a type scene of an adulterer wandering the Subura at night.

24. See also 1.58-62: *cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis / qui bona donauit praesepibus et caret omni / maiorum censu, dum peruolat axe citato / Flaminiam puer Automedon? nam lora tenebat / ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae* ("[Why shouldn't I write satire,] when now he thinks it's right to hope for the command of a cohort, / the boy who has given all of his wealth to the stables, and has lost the entire / estate of his ancestors, while he flies in a speedy chariot / along the Flaminian way, the boy Automedon? Because he himself was holding the reins / as he was showing himself off to his blanket-wrapped girlfriend").

sees, but the stars turn their eyes toward him as witnesses," 8.149-150). The night setting for the city's vices is by now well developed, and the moon as witness recalls a similar phrase in the sixth satire, when the moon watches women have sex with each other in the street (*Luna teste*, 6.311), as well as Horace's satire on witches in Maecenas's gardens (*S.* 1.8.21-22, 35-36, discussed above). As in Horace, and in *Taxi Driver*, witnessing is the first step to standing up to corruption, occasionally the only form of justice left to those without institutional power. Juvenal presents satire as a kind of rough justice, as discussed above, a speech act comparable to urinating on a public statue. This kind of aggressive speech act is the most recent in a long tradition of verbal shaming in Roman culture, but in a form that is unique to satire.²⁵

After a brief bout of piety during the daylight, Lateranus next shames himself by staying up all night (*pervigiles*, 8.158) at dive bars (*popinas*, 8.158), which he enjoys with a foreigner: *adsiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo* ("a Syrophoenician, dripping in endless perfume," 8.159).²⁶ The narrator of the eighth satire recommends that Lateranus, who is no longer just a boy, be sent off on a military campaign for the emperor, but explains that Lateranus will have to be dragged out of the depths of the city's dives first (8.171-80):

25. On *flagitatio* and other forms of public verbal shaming, see Richlin 2017: 171-184, especially for a discussion of Roman comedy's use of this concept, and its connection to Italian *charivari* and the English equivalent, "rough music," as outlined by Thompson 1992.

26. Later in the same satire, *adsiduus* and *udus* appear together in a more violent context: *Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo / caedibus adsiduis gladio* ("Octavius snatched [glory] on the fields of Thessaly / with a sword wet with endless slaughter," 8.242-43). Like civil war, foreigners in Rome's dive bars are destructive, wet, and endless. *Adsiduus* appears in eight of Juvenal's satires, from four of his five books, and always with the sense of endlessness that signals literal or figurative collapse: relentless reciters cause columns to collapse (*adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae*, 1.13); building collapse is an endless problem in Rome (*lapsus / tectorum adsiduos*, 3.8); the Mediterranean devoid of fish because of endless nets (*retibus adsiduis*, 5.95), driven by the gluttony of the wealthy; the female gladiator who practices with endless blows to the training post (*adsiduis rudibus*, 6.248); an effeminate Roman man pesters a man endlessly with love letters (*blandae adsidue densaeque tabellae*, 9.36); the endless battles against the cranes witnessed by the Pygmies (*adsidue spectentur proelia*, 13.172), which is horrible for the Pygmies but only a joke to the Romans; and the relentless anvil on which the miserly forge their ever-growing wealth (*incude adsidua*, 14.118).

... sed in magna legatum quaere popina:
 inuenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
 permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitiuis,
 inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum 175
 et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.
 aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
 non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
 quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, seruum?
 nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas. 180

But look for your legate in the big dive bar:
 You'll find him lying next to some thug,
 all mixed up with sailors and thieves and runaway slaves,
 amongst the executioners and the coffin makers 175
 and the drums, now silent, of the eunuch priest flat on his back.
 There, everyone has the same freedom, all of the cups are shared, no one
 gets an individual couch, and the table is equally accessible to all.
 What would you do, Ponticus, if by chance you'd found there a slave you owned?
 Surely you'd send him to the chain gangs in Lucania or Tuscany. 180

The anxiety about the *popina* echoes Martial's description of the streets being cleaned up under Domitian (7.62, discussed above). There, the existence of so many shops is at best a necessary evil, but the real problem is that they force the nobility and city officials to interact with them. Here, the problem is getting the potential officer out of them. At the same time, Juvenal's harangue against the *popina* is nothing so much as a vivid and even loving description of it: the colorful characters, the taboo license, the night drinking. It is also a type scene of the kind of social mixing that goes on in local eateries and brothels.²⁷ Like Martial, Juvenal adds period

27. On the *popina* and the brothel, see chapter one above. Juvenal's scene is remarkably similar to the description of a brothel-house by Syncerastus, a slave in Plautus's *Poenulus*: *quodvis genus ibi hominum videas, quasi Acheruntem veneris, / equitem peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitivom velis, / verberatum, vinctum, addictum: qui habet quod det, utut homo est, / omnia genera recipiuntur; itaque in totis aedibus / tenebrae latebrae, bibitur estur quasi in popina, hau secus* ("You'd see every sort of person there, as if you've come to the underworld, / you'd find cavalry and infantry, freedman, thief or runaway, / beaten, chained, a debtor slave: whoever has money to buy, is considered a person, / all kinds are taken in; and so there's darkness and hideaways / all over the house, drinking and eating like you're in a dive bar, no different," 829-835). On this scene and its relation to reality for actors and audience in Plautine performance, see Richlin 2017: 124-25.

touches to the type scene of the crowded tavern. The *sandapilae*, "poor people's coffins," are only attested in Martial, Juvenal, and Suetonius, and always to juxtapose high and low.²⁸

Juvenal ends the description by implying that Lateranus, if there were any justice, would be subjected to the same punishment that a slave found there would be. In order to maintain social order, the moral reader must go to the *popina*, just like the other morally corrupt patrons—but he is only there, of course, to dispense justice.

The Satirist in the World of Things

Satire's tendency towards the grotesque, the lower bodily strata, and the pleasure of transgression has led to comparisons between it and the carnivalesque texts and traditions outlined by Mikhail Bakhtin (1984). Paul Allen Miller has criticized this association between satire and the carnivalesque because satire, crucially, serves to uphold power rather than meaningfully question it (2009). In doing so, he also draws on Victor Turner's theory that rituals of reversal are ultimately conservative. This conservative view of satire appears in Amy

28. Other instances of *sandapila*: Martial 2.81.2, 8.75.14, 9.2.12; Suetonius *Dom.* 17.3.3. Like Juvenal, Martial and Suetonius use the word to mix high with low. In 2.81, Martial compares a fancy litter to a coffin because of the nature of its occupant: *Laxior hexaphoris tua sit lectica licebit: / cum tamen haec tua sit, Zoile, sandapila est* ("Your six-man litter may be roomier than others, / but because it's yours, Zoilus, it's a cheap coffin," 2.81.1-2). In 8.75, a Gallus-type gladiator returning home late at night (*sera... nocte*, 8.75.1) falls and twists his ankle. Stranded, his slave convinces local undertakers, slaves themselves, to take the corpse out of their *sandapila* and carry the gladiator instead, which results in his new nickname: *mortue Galle* (8.75.16), a play on the taunt of the *retiaris* to the *murmillo* (Festus 358L). Different Galli appear in connection with the *sandapila* again in 9.2, in which Martial chastises a friend for treating his mistress much better than his friends: the mistress gets a litter, while the friends are carried out on a *sandapila* (9.2.12). Martial ends the epigram by suggesting that Cybele go after these kinds of men, since they deserve castration (9.2.13-14). Suetonius describes how, after his assassination, Domitian is buried like a member of the urban masses rather than an emperor: *cadaver eius populari sandapila per uispillones exportatum* ("His body was carried out in a coffin used by the poor, by undertakers for the poor," 17.3).

Richlin's foundational work on the role of satire and similar genres.²⁹ Richlin has argued that the speaker in satire, and other roles of humorous outrage, may be in turns outrageous and the object of ridicule himself, but ultimately represents a common denominator in the audience who was aggressively interested in defending the *status quo*. This, she has more recently argued, stands in contrast to other forms of Roman entertainment, especially Roman comedy, which was written and performed by enslaved people, and could represent what James C. Scott calls a "hidden transcript:" a secondary, subversive meaning to a text that nominally upholds social hierarchy.³⁰

Although Juvenal's interest in the culture of the urban masses may give him a superficial similarity to public performances like those of Plautus, his perspective differs in crucial ways. The distance between Juvenal's text and public performance and ritual becomes more apparent when Juvenal inscribes urban theater and ritual into his work, and especially when he plays with his narrator's and the readers' relationship to these performances. He can be read as a hostile witness to the carnivalesque, like Travis Bickle, whose pessimistic versions of the grotesque are inextricably entwined with the culture of the urban crowd. In his tenth satire, on the pointlessness of coveting things, Juvenal includes a stark image of Sejanus's memory destroyed, an example of *damnatio memoriae* (10.58-67):

... descendunt statuae restemque secuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis.
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda

60

29. Richlin 1992, which also discusses more theatrical institutions that could have had the same function, such as soldiers' abusive songs at triumphs, or the Floralia, discussed above (10-11, 75-76, 228-30). See also Nappa 2018 on the satires as an expression of Juvenal's conservative anxiety over masculinity.

30. On the use of hidden transcripts in Roman comedy, see Richlin 2014b and 2017.

fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, matellae.
pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bouem: Seianus ducitur unco
spectandus, gaudent omnes. 65

...The statues fall down and follow the rope,
then the axe strikes and splits the wheels of the chariot themselves
and the legs of the poor nags are broken. 60

Now the fires are shrieking, now the head, adored by the people,
burns in the bellows and furnaces, and the giant
Sejanus crackles, and then from the face that was second most powerful in the whole
world
arise pitchers, basins, a frying pan, and pisspots.
Put up laurel at home, lead the big bull, covered in chalk, 65
onto the Capitoline: Sejanus is led by the hook,
a spectacle, and everyone is making merry.

Miller has noted how, rather than seeing the destruction of memory and authority as an opportunity for renewal, Juvenal is interested only in the crowd's capacity for destruction.³¹ The physical manifestation of memory is torn down, turned into mundane household goods, and replaced with nothing. Even the sacrifice for a sacred ritual is considered only in terms of death and destruction; the joy that accompanies religious festivals becomes sadistic. Miller concentrates on the critical gaze inherent in satire as an explanation for this sterile version of the carnivalesque; in satire, there is no room for rebirth. But in addition to a generally pessimistic view of the cycle of life and death, this passage makes a specific comment on urban crowds' potential for collective destruction, especially in the context of a state-sanctioned purge of images and references to enemies of the state. The point of view in this passage is cinematic: both intimate and removed at the same time. The sounds of the scene, such as the shrieking fires of the forges and the head of Sejanus's statue that crackles within them, imply a close

31. Miller 2009: 331.

perspective, as do the violent verbs placed urgently at the beginning of the line (*caedit* and *ardet*, with an attention-getting *iam* in between), but the comment on the head that was "once adored" (*adoratum*, 62) implies a satiric distance. Then there is the directorial theatricality in the reveal that it is Sejanus, his name only given six lines after the scene begins and then repeated gleefully three lines later, who has been reduced to common things, especially since Sejanus had been dead for decades. The setting of this scene may even have been a theater, since, according to Tacitus, Tiberius had ordered a statue of Sejanus to be set up after he had successfully contained a fire in the theater of Pompey (*A.* 3.72).³²

Ultimately, the scene lingers on the crowd's ability to transform. Sejanus himself is transformed from statue (*ingens / Seianus* 10.62) to a corpse (*Seianus*, 10.66) dragged out by a hook from the prison to the Gemonian steps, where it would be thrown. At the same time, the crowd transforms the memorabilia of the nobility into so much stuff. Juvenal's list of things that Sejanus's statues will become—buckets, cooking ware, and chamber pots—are both abject and everyday, presented in a list as if up for sale. The *matellae* at the end of the list are certainly the most insulting, but the *sartago* before them is also jarring as a singular in a list of plural nouns; this noun appears elsewhere in Juvenal but is not common.³³ Both words arrest the reader's attention and insist on the insulting, mundane materiality of the objects.

Juvenal's propensity for listing is generally hard to ignore. Lists fuel the sense of endless outrage in his satires, and have been interpreted as a commentary on the nature of satire or even

32. See also Tacitus *A.* 4.2, 7, on images of Sejanus in theaters, and Seneca *Marc.* 22.4-8 on Cordus's complaints about the statue of Sejanus in the theater of Pompey. See Mayor 2007b: 87-88.

33. It appears also at 2.169, 7.11, 9.109.

of anger.³⁴ But the citizens and city's instantiation as a list of items should also be read as a commentary on the city itself. Juvenal suggests this reading at the beginning of his seventh satire, on the difficulty of finding patrons, with an image of the depths some poets must sink to (7.2-12):

<p>... cum iam celebres notique poetae balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes uallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio. nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra ostendatur, ames nomen uictumque Machaerae et uendas potius commissa quod auctio uendit stantibus, oenophorum, tripodes, armaria, cistas, Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>10</p>
--	--------------------

<p>When now even lauded and well-known poets try to rent out a bath at Gabii, a bakery in Rome, and others don't think it's disgusting or shameful to become auctioneers, when starving Clio travels from the abandoned valleys of Aganippe to the sale-rooms. Because if not a penny is forthcoming in the Pierian shade, you'd prefer the name and livelihood of Machaera and you'd rather sell the consigned goods which the auction sells to the crowd, a wine-jug, tripods, chests, bookcases, Paccius's <i>Alcithoe</i>, Faustus's <i>Thebes</i> and <i>Tereus</i>.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>10</p>
--	--------------------

The thrust of Juvenal's lament is the undeserved depths to which poets must sink in order to survive: auctioneers stand at the nadir of a list of kinds of work poets must dirty their hands with. But the effect is to place poetry and auctioneer work on a kind of spectrum, a tradition that goes back in satire at least as far as Horace, who in his sixth satire compares the humble work and life of his father with the life he has been able to provide for Horace: an education, and a life as a

34. See Braund 2007: 28-29.

poet. Horace's father, he says, was a *praeco* (*S.* 1.6.86), and a freedman.³⁵ Horace may even attest to the grief this caused him by importing the oral insults hurled at him into his poetry: *nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, / quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum* ("Now I come back to myself, 'born from a freedman father,' the one they all call 'born from a freedman father,'" *S.* 1.6.45-46).³⁶

In Satire 7, Juvenal promptly closes the distance between poets and auctioneers by including his own list of goods (*oenophorum, tripodes, armaria, cistas*) for the audience; even the list of kinds of work becomes a kind of meta-auction. He ends the list with the image of tragic poetry itself up for public sale, a theme tied closely to the plight of writers that is the focus of Satire 7.

Juvenal played with the reverse earlier in the *Satires*, where Umbricius focuses on auctioneers and other public salesman in his satiric list of who ought to stay in Rome (3.30-38):

maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,	30
quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,	
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,	
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.	
quondam hi cornicines et municipalis harenae	
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae	35
munera nunc edunt et, verso pollice vulgus	
cum iubet, occidunt populariter; inde reversi	
conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia?	

Let those remain who can turn black into white,	30
for whom it is easy to get contracts for a temple, rivers, harbors,	
draining sewers, carrying a body to the fire,	

35. See also Volteius Mena, in *Ep.* 1.7, an auctioneer from the city who is given a farm, and so the chance to enjoy the country life, but ultimately finds that his skills do not translate, and longs to return to the city and his old, less wholesome work.

36. The phrase also appears at *S.* 1.6.6. On this phrase as the echo of a taunt, see Hight 1973, who discusses potential biographies for Horace's father, and Gowers 2012: 222. The lived experience behind this phrase is controversial, and disputed; see Williams 1995, who argues that it is a fiction.

and to offer a head for sale under the ruling spear.

These men, who were once trumpet players and well known friends of the provincial
arena and a set of cheeks well known through every township— 35
now they put on games, and when the crowd orders it with their thumb reversed
they kill by the people's will; then after they've left
they get contracts for public latrines, and why not everything?

If the poets are forced to become auctioneers and other salesmen, then the salesmen may become anything they want in Rome. The reference to a contract for carrying bodies to the fire recalls Horace's *S.* 1.8, on the transformation of a site on the Esquiline from a dumping ground for the bodies of the poor to the elite gardens of Maecenas's expansive *pied à terre*: *huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis / conservus vili portanda locabat in arca* ("Here a fellow slave used to contract for the bodies, thrown out from their narrow cells, / to be carried out in a cheap box," *S.* 1.8.8-9). Horace's satire comments both on the dramatic change in how the site looks and is used, and on the difficulty in enacting that change: although gardens have been planted on top of the burial ground, by night the cosmetic changes disappear, and two women slip in to dig for bones and other magic ingredients. In Juvenal's satire, by contrast, there is no question that the burial ground will ever be covered over, and the job of burying unclaimed bodies is necessary drudge work for staying in the city. Here, the unclaimed dead return as the second to last on a list that begins with the gods in their temples at the heart of the city, descends to the river, then the sewers, and then either drags bodies out to burn or sells them as more objects up for auction.

All of these contract jobs are worthy of disdain, at best mundane and at worst taboo, and Juvenal at once groups them all together and creates a neat hierarchy within them: anyone who can stay in Rome is low, but there are deeper depths one can sink to. As Juvenal goes on to describe people who pour into the city after doing low work in forgettable towns, the peak of the *cursus honorum* they rise to is renting out public latrines, like the *matellae* from Sejanus's statue.

The mundane everyday reality of excretion, never more present than in the densest and most crowded city in the Mediterranean world, is Juvenal's chosen metonym for the city. It is clear that Juvenal locates himself within this crowd, too, given his comparison of writing satire to righteous excretion (1.131). *Et cur non omnia*, Juvenal asks at the end of the scene, but again he leaves *omnia* unspoken and returns to the lower bodily strata as the picture of city living. This commentary becomes more damning by the end of the poem, when the reader remembers that it is Umbricius speaking. Umbricius's perspective shades into the narrator's for most of the poem, but at the end of it, he leaves, while the narrator—like the reader—remains.

In playing with these themes, Juvenal draws on a long tradition of hating auctioneers, railing at the fickleness of patrons who leave the artist impoverished, and importing the auction into one's work. This tradition goes back at least as far as Roman comedy, as Amy Richlin has discussed.³⁷ Even without explicit references to sales or prostitutes onstage, the audience was encouraged to view the actors as one might a slave or prostitute for sale. At the beginning of *Poenulus*, the *imperator histricus* insults anyone who might have been edging onto the stage: *scortum exoletum ne quis in proscaenio / sedeat* ("May no used up whore sit on the stage," 17-18). As Richlin explains, the line reinforces the stage as a site of public display—anyone onstage might be considered for sale. Roman actors themselves may have been for sale, and the line between the display of actors to the audience and goods to buyers was frequently blurred. Juvenal too associates public display with sale. In the third satire, Juvenal's narrator complains

37. Richlin 2017: 114, and 71-136 for a more general discussion of the vulnerability of actors onstage. Slavery and the violence it entails are insistently present throughout Plautus's works, as is the vulnerability entailed by being poor and starving. Gelasimus, discussed below, may be free, but is forced to sell himself because he has no other recourse. Richlin 2017: 134 discusses the auction of one's goods as a form of public shaming, which was part of why the *praeco* was a hated figure. See also Cicero, who quotes Lucilius as mocking a *praeco* Granius (*Brut.* 160).

about Greek immigrants who bring with them their loathsome customs and the girls they tell to stand for sale at the circus (*ad circum iussas prostare puellas*, 3.65). His own satiric persona imagines himself standing out in public, at the crossroads, writing (1.63-64), but is curiously silent about his own self-display and its implications, which must have been all the more potent when the poem was read aloud, with all eyes on the author. Juvenal's narrators both witness and place themselves in the milieu of people in the public who are for sale.

In Plautus's plays, the most elaborate meta-auction takes place in *Stichus*, in which the parasite Gelasimus auctions his meager belongings, himself, and his jokes (*St.* 221-231):

logos ridiculos vendo. age licemini.
 qui cena poscit? ecqui poscit prandio?
 hercle aestumavi prandio, cena tibi.
 ehem, adnuistin? nemo meliores dabit.
 [nulli meliores esse parasito sinam.] 225
 vel unctioes Graecas sudatorias
 vendo vel alias malacas, crapularias;
 cavillationes, adsentatiunculas
 ac perieratiunculas parasiticas;
 robiginosam strigilem, ampullam rubidam, 230
 parasitum inanem quo recondas reliquias.

I'm selling funny stories. Come on, make a bid.
 Who bids a dinner? And does someone bid a lunch?
 By god, I've calculated it's worth a lunch, a dinner to you.
 Hey, did you nod? No one will offer better—
 [I won't let it be said that any parasite has better.] 225
 I'm selling Greek ointments for sweating
 along with other luxurious ointments, other ones for drunkenness;
 little mockeries, petty flatteries,
 and the parasite's little perjuries;
 a rusty strigil, a little red bottle, 230
 a cheap parasite where you can store your scraps.

In a typical Plautine explosion of the fourth wall, Gelasimus turns to the audience and begins to address members as potential bidders. The play becomes an auction, the actor both auctioneer

and up for sale; the sing-song jokes become things for sale, and the physical objects he lists for sale become jokes. The scene is certainly a commentary on the nature of theatrical performance, but so too is it a slippery witness for the process of auction and the fear of being sold—an especially poignant fear for actors, who might be slaves who had experienced or would experience being sold. The auction scene is prompted within the play because of the character's starvation; he has lost his patron and is reduced to selling what he has in order to eat. The Plautine auction is a more direct example of how the culture of the public street—public sales, public joke-telling, and publicly visible urban poverty—is adopted by more institutionalized forms of performance. Juvenal's appropriation is less direct, and much more condemning. Auctioneers, at least from the time of Lucilius onward, were widely disdained by the moneyed elite, but this seems to have been in part because of their potential for lucrative success, especially at the expense of bankrupt citizens forced to sell their belongings.³⁸ Auctioneers would have been ubiquitous in the Roman street. Auctioneer work and public sales seem to have started with the distribution of war-booty, but developed into a more widespread practice by the late republic and onward, covering sales of cattle, property, and land.³⁹ Many cheaper and non-luxury items were sold by auction as well, which Juvenal uses in a quip: *praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis* ("Look around for an auctioneer, Chaerippus, so you can sell your rags," 8.95).⁴⁰ In her work on retail and shops in Rome, Claire Holleran begins with modern

38. On the reputation of auctioneers, see above, as well as Rauh 1989, Holleran 2012: 252-255, and Richlin 2017: 134-35.

39. Cattle: Cato *Agr.* 2.7.1; Apul. *Met.* 8.23-25, 9, 10. Land and property: Plaut. *Men.* 1153-61, *Poen.* 1419-21; Ter. *Hau.* 140-46; Cic. *Quinct.* 15-16, 50, 76, *Off.* 3.55; Liv. 26, 11.7; Fron. *Str.* 3, 18.2; Mart. 1.85; Scaev. *Dig.* 46.3.88.

40. See also Horace's Volteius Mena, who sells *vilia scruta* ("cheap stuff") to people in tunics, *Ep.* 1.7.64-6. On Volteius Mena, see Horsfall 2003: 67-69.

hierarchies of retail: a prevalence of street traders indicates the scale of poverty in the city, and retail shops are to be preferred by those who can afford them. Holleran sees a similar hierarchy in the ancient world, which the satirists contributed to—but in showing contempt for these professions, Juvenal also incorporates the tricks of their trade.

When Juvenal's narrators discuss their personal relationship with the physical and moral fabric of the city, it is as witnesses who are at once in the thick of things, as in Satire 1 above: as a moralizing witness, or as a victim of the city streets. This stance involves Juvenal adopting the perspective of one of the urban poor, in order to distance himself morally from the failings of the urban nobility and nouveau riche, while at the same time implying that it is ultimately the urban masses who are responsible for the city's problems on a broad scale.⁴¹ At the beginning of the third satire, for instance, Juvenal's narrator explains why he would like to leave, himself (3.5-9):

ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae; 5
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?

I'd even prefer Prochyta to the Subura; 5
for what have I seen that is so pathetic, so lonely,
that you wouldn't think shivering in fear of fires is worse, the constant
collapse of buildings and the thousand dangers of the savage
city—and the poets reciting in the month of August?

The first four fears imply that the narrator, whose position here prefigures Umbricius's own, is a vulnerable member of the city without access to money or other resources. But the climax of the horrors of the city is that poets recite in August, a cultured concern that comes as an ironic twist

41. On other representations of poverty in the Roman empire, see Larsen 2015.

after the first four items on the list: the Subura, the fires, the collapsing buildings, and the danger of the city streets. Plaza reads these anti-climactic poets as ultimately a dig at the narrator's and Umbricius's credibility, and a way to muddy the poem's waters more generally, since the anticlimax "seems to disqualify the whole statement" (2006: 247-48). But a nudge to the fourth wall of the poem does not have to destroy the fictional premise of the satire; it was already read from within the safety of a literary home, rather than in the street-corners it claims to take place in. The reference to recitation recalls the furious first words of the first satire: *semper ego auditor tantum* ("Will I be stuck in the audience forever?" 1.1). One of Juvenal's first complaints is that he must listen to endless bad poetry (1.4-6), before he moves on to more public concerns with life in the city. Juvenal may even have been reciting in August. To read these nods as evidence of the poem's essential ambivalence is to trivialize the anger that fuels this satire.

Umbricius goes on to imply that he too is a vulnerable member of urban society. He complains that others are better at being clients than him, especially Greeks, who are upsettingly good liars (3.119-125):

non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus, qui gentis vitio numquam partitur amicum, solus habet. nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno, limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi servitii.	120 125
--	--------------------------------

There's no place here for a Roman, when some Protogenes is king or Diphilus or Hermarchus, who never shares a friend, by defect of his ethnicity, but has him for himself. Because when he has dripped a little bit from the poison typical of his character and his people into an unsuspecting ear, I'm cleared away from the door, and my years of long slavery have gone to waste.	120 125
--	--------------------------------

Cynthia Damon has read this passage as part of a commentary by Juvenal on the trope of the *parasitus*, who flatters and begs for food and other favors. Umbricius is ultimately, Damon argues, a commentary on critiques of the *parasitus*, because Umbricius's anger is revealed to be ridiculous: he is angry not at the Greeks' presence, but because they are better at it than he is (Damon 1997: 179). But Umbricius's anger is also reminiscent of Travis Bickle's, in that it critiques the system by angrily participating in it.

The narrator prefers Prochyta to the Subura (3.5). As in the poetry of Horace and Persius, the Subura comes to stand for the entire city, especially for the results of urban density, in contrast to Prochyta, east of nowhere. Elsewhere in Juvenal, the Subura is known as a site for workshops and other forms of labor, and seems in that sense to be associated with the working poor (11.51, 11.141). Fires and collapsing buildings are referred to later in the same satire as disproportionately affecting the poor of the city, addressed as *tu* (3.193-202):

nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus obstat vilicus et, veteris rimae cum textit hiatum,	195
securus pendente iubet dormire ruina. vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant:	
tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis, ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.	200

We inhabit a city propped up for the most part on a slender stilt; because that's how the landlord's agent stops us from slipping and, when he's covered the gape of the ancient crack,	195
he tells us to sleep secure, while the threat of collapse hangs over our head. You should live somewhere, where there are no fires, no fear in the night. Now Ucalegon is asking for water, now he's moving his worthless stuff, now your floor, three stories up, is smoking:	
you don't even know; because if there's an alarm from the lowest floors, the last to burn will be the one protected by a mere roof tile	200

from the rain, where the gentle doves hand over their eggs.

Tu is both Umbricius's interlocutor and the reader: addressed as if he were standing at the Porta Capena at sunset, with Umbricius and his friend. Here, the reader is located in the attic, and thereby class-located as poor. He is also framed in mock epic terms, like the man buried under logs. The name Ucalegon and the description of the poorest man's apartment burning (*ultimus ardebit*) is a reference to the destruction of Troy in the second book of the *Aeneid*, in which Ucalegon burns along with his neighbors: *iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam / Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet / Ucalegon; Sigea igni freta lata relucent* ("Already now the spacious house of Deiphobus has given over to ruin / as Vulcan towers over it, already now Ucalegon burns next door; / the wide Sigean straits reflect the flames," 2.310-312).⁴² The reference is certainly a comment on genre: in epic, Ucalegon burns in the majestic citadel of Troy, while in satire he and his useless trash burn in an apartment building. But it is also a comment on urban spaces. The building itself is of mixed residency, with the wealthier Ucalegon on the first floors, and the very poorest at the top. Juvenal plays with proximity: in the *Aeneid*, Ucalegon is near (*proximus*) but burns far away from the viewer, Aeneas; in Juvenal's satire, Ucalegon and the poor man burn nearby, although the poor man is furthest away as well as last to burn (*ultimus*).

In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is explicitly far away from the fire and violence of the city when he first witnesses its destruction (2.298-301):

diverso interea miscentur moenia luctu,
et magis atque magis, quamquam secreta parentis

42. The reference is ultimately Homeric (*Il.* 3.148). Ucalegon's name in Greek means "Mr. Has-no-cares," a pun on which Juvenal here lays additional emphasis.

Anchisae domus arboribusque obiecta recessit, 300
clarescunt sonitus armorumque ingruit horror.

Meanwhile the walls are embroiled with anguish of all kinds,
more and more all the time, and although my father Anchises' house
lay hidden away, covered by trees, 300
the sounds grow clearer and the bristle of arms grew near.

Aeneas hears the turmoil of Troy's destruction, but notes it is only because the horror has grown so loud that even he can hear it, despite being insulated by his father's house, away from the rest of the city. In order to better witness the chaos of the city, Aeneas must go to the top of the roof and strain his ears (*summi fastigia tecti / ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto*, 2.302-303). Juvenal, by contrast, puts both Umbricius and the reader right in *ruina* with *nos* (3.193). Our role in the passage is highlighted in the next line with the plural *labentibus* (194)—we are slipping in the house, while the landlord's agent (a *vilicus*, himself potentially a slave or freedman) stands in front of us to conceal the building's cracks (*obstat*, 194). Then Ucalegon's house is on fire, and the top floor catches (199); person becomes even more pointed in the next line: *tu nescis* ("you don't even know," 3.200). Both Aeneas and the addressee are on the very top of their houses, but Aeneas recognizes his city's destruction even though he is far away from it, while the narrator/reader has no idea they are burning, even while they are in the very building on fire. Juvenal uses the reference to Troy and to the *Iliad* to comment on genre, and on the cities, to Rome's detriment: Troy is an epic city, where death is from noble invaders, while Rome is a city in satire, burning because of Greek freedmen and cheap housing. But the comparison also gives the satire the veneer of grit: in "real life," Ucalegon is just another man in the urban masses, frantically trying to save his things, while the equivalent of Aeneas is the city's most vulnerable, on top of an apartment building.

The Satirist in the Crowd

After the fire, the wealthy are overwhelmed with generous help towards rebuilding and resettling (3.203-207), while the poor become absolutely destitute, reduced to nakedness and begging for bread (*nudum et frusta rogantem*, 3.210), a trope of urban poverty that Martial also uses (see chapter 4). Juvenal also emphasizes the contrast between the wealthy and the penniless in their experience of the city street (3.238-48):

si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburna 240
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus;
namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus obstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro 245
alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.

If duty calls, the rich man will be carried while the crowd gives way
and races along above their faces in a giant Liburnian litter 240
and on the way he'll read or write or sleep inside;
because he can sleep with the litter's window closed.
He, however, will go ahead; for us a wave stands in the way while we're in a hurry,
the people in the wave who follow press on our butts in a great line;
this one hits you with his elbow, another with a hard pole, 245
and this one knocks you on the head with lumber, that one with a big cask.
Your shins get thick with mud, soon I'm stepped on by a big foot
all over, and the soldier's hobnail sticks on my toe.

Umbricius begins with the disparity between the lives of rich and poor, but does not follow through on its implications: that the rich are responsible for at least some of the physical unpleasantness of the city. He begins by resenting the ease with which the wealthy man can

navigate the city on a litter, but litter traffic is not part of the *unda* that holds Umbricius up.⁴³

When a slave hits the speaker with the beam of the litter, the slave is treated as separate from the wealthy man inside. The biggest source of danger is not from the wealthy, but from other members of the urban masses. All of them are on the ground, literally looked down upon by the wealthy man in the litter. Juvenal also echoes some of his earlier wording that put the reader in a burning building with the rest of the urban poor. Where previously the landlord's agent had stood in front of us as we slipped (*labentibus obstat*, 3.194), now the great wave of the crowd stands in front of us as we hurry: *nobis properantibus obstat* (3.243). In the burning building, it is the *vilicus*, the agent of the landowner, and a position often held by slaves and freedmen, who blocks the inhabitants from moving or recognizing the danger of their fragile home. In the streets, it is the wave of the masses that blocks the traveler, rather than the man in the litter.

This idea that, despite the inequities of the city, it is ultimately the marginalized of the city who are responsible for its vices, is repeated later in the same satire, when Umbricius discusses traveling the city by night, where a lone man on foot risks running into a sleepless drunk looking for a fight (*ebrius ac petulans*, 278). No one, however, would attack a rich man on the move (3.282-288):

... sed quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens cavet hunc quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas.
me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,

285

43. This man in the litter also differs significantly from the travelers of the first satire in that he is pointedly not visible (*clausa fenestra*, 3.242), while Matho is recognizable enough that Juvenal can "name" him, and the false witness is easy to see (*patens*, 1.65). Plaza 2006: 111:12 discusses this passage in the context of Juvenal's repeated image of the disdainful man in the litter, but does not compare the images, and does not distinguish between the man in the litter and the rest of the crowd.

contemnit.

285

...Although he's shameless in his youth
and burning up from unmixed wine, he's still afraid of that man whom the red cloak
orders him to avoid, along with the man's most lengthy procession of friends,
as well as many a torch and even a bronze lamp.
But me, whom the moon is used to leading, or the small light
of a candle, whose wick I ration and save—
he despises me.

Juvenal begins the passage with what must have been a familiar perspective on the nocturnal city for many of his readers: streets defined by pools of light. Greg Woolf, in his work on the literary tropes of poverty and their distance from real experiences of it, describes a readership who would have moved through the city at night with a number of lamps and guards, if at all.⁴⁴ Like Petronius and Horace, Juvenal is interested in imagining what the city is like outside of these narrow circles of visibility. Like other satirists, he presents himself as a kind of tour guide of the urban slum, assuming an expert knowledge of the city's streets. At the same time, this positioning does not lead him to mount a meaningful criticism of the institutional inequities that motivate this scene. It is ultimately not the wealthy man and his posse, but the drunk who causes trouble for Umbricius. When he attacks Umbricius, he accuses Umbricius of being even more marginalized than he is—a beggar, and Jewish (3.296)—as a way to humiliate him. At the same time, Juvenal preserves the fiction of the narrator's vulnerability to the powers that be, without directly accosting the city's truly powerful.

This same kind of positioning and bet-hedging appears again in the fifth satire, which addresses the petty cruelties of a patron, Virro, when he invites his client, Trebius, to a dinner

44. Woolf 2006, discussed above.

party.⁴⁵ In describing the inequities of the dinner party, Juvenal returns at pointed instances to the image of the city street. At the beginning of the satire, Juvenal presents Trebius, and by extension the reader, with the choice between the dinner party and the gutter (5.8-11):

 nulla crepido uacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
 dimidia breuior? tantine iniuria cenae,
 tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
 et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini? 10

Is there no sidewalk empty? No bridge, or the smaller half
of a beggar's mat? Is the affront of dinner worth so much,
is your starvation extreme enough, when it would be more honorable 10
to tremble there and gnaw on a dog's dirty bread?

As in other satires, the reader is invited to identify with a vulnerable resident of the urban slums. With typical satirical hyperbole, there are only two options and both of them are abhorrent: the party or the street. Juvenal is insistent on the street as the alternative, first naming sites for beggars and then referring back to them with a forceful "there" (*illic*, 5.10) when he describes the act of starving. The details of the beggar's haunts are allusive, part of a set scene. The *crepido* appears in the night city of Petronius, when Encolpius finds Giton lost there (*vidi Gitona in crepidine semitae stantem, Sat. 9*, see chapter 3).⁴⁶ The description of the beggar's mat, and especially his competition with dogs for food, is repeated in Martial (see chapter 4). Bridges too are a repeated locus for urban beggars, repeated both within Juvenal (4.116) and elsewhere.⁴⁷

45. Virro appears again, in Satire 9, as a rich man who wants a dominant male partner (9.35-37).

46. Valerius Maximus puts Diogenes on the *crepido* (4.3.4).

47. Seneca names the *pons Sublicius* specifically: *in Sublicium pontem me transfer et inter egentes abice* ("Put me on the Sublician bridge and cast me among the beggars," *Vit. Beat.* 25.1).

Even after Trebius has chosen dinner over begging in the street, Juvenal implies that the streets are inescapable for him. While Virro is served by a beautiful slave, Trebius is served by someone who could belong to the city's meanest streets (5.52-55):

... tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
cliuosae ueheris dum per monumenta Latinae. 55

... Some Gaetulian footman will give you
your cup, or the bony hands of a black Moroccan
and the kind of person you wouldn't want to run into in the middle of the night
while you're carried through the monuments of the hilly Via Latina. 55

Here Juvenal plays with the fiction of the reader's poverty. Juvenal returns to his idea that begging in the streets is better than attending an abusive dinner party by implying that the party itself is a series of repulsive street scenes. The reader, as guest, is flung to the fringes of the city, as being served by a slave is compared to running into a robber hiding out in extra-urban tombs. But Juvenal includes in passing that the guest is being carried (*ueheris*, 5.55), rather than walking. Later, in the tenth satire, Juvenal remarks that it is only people with money who have anything to fear from robbers in the night as they travel (10.19-22):

pauca licet portes argenti uascula puri
nocte iter ingressus, gladium contumque timebis 20
et mota ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbra:
cantabit uacuuus coram latrone uiator.

Even though you're carrying only a few little vases of pure silver,
having set out on a journey by night, you'll be afraid of the sword and pike 20
and you'll tremble at the moving shadow of the reed in the moonlight:
The empty-handed traveler sings in the face of a robber.

Here, the *tu* of Juvenal's audience fluctuates. Juvenal begins by addressing the members of the audience who are poor enough not to travel guarded and well lit, like the wealthy of Satire 3. At the same time, they are not empty-handed. Even while imagining the reader to be one of the urban poor, Juvenal uses a wealthier frame of reference: worrying about one's valuables, even if they are comparatively few. But the last line could speak to a poor reader as well, or to such an audience member in a reading, if it was read with a wink and a nod. Even readers of Juvenal's works who were not so poor as to travel with nothing might still think of themselves that way.

When he ventriloquizes Trebius's growing regret at attending the party, Juvenal returns to the image of the guest as a vulnerable resident of the city (5.76-79):

scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relictā
coniuge per montem aduersum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilinas, fremeret saeua cum grandine uernus
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo?

Was it for this, that often with my wife abandoned at home
I ran up the mountain facing me and the freezing Esquiline,
when a winter storm would roar with savage hail
and my cloak would drip from many a cloud?

Now back on foot, Trebius is coming from the Subura, pointedly below the wealthy on their hills. This reference echoes an earlier description of his predawn journeys to pay his respects to Virro (*sideribus dubiis*, 5.22). The unlit, low city lurks behind the ostensible pleasantness of the dinner.

Even in his descriptions of the food, Juvenal includes imagery of the city street, and implies that accepting poor food is the same as eating out of the city gutter. The host is served lobster, which is carried into the dinner party as if on a litter, looking down on all of its guests

(5.80-83, discussed above). Trebius, on the other hand, is served a fish which swam up from the city sewer (5.103-5):

aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
uernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca 105
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.

Or some Tiber fish spattered with spots from the ice and itself
a homegrown slave of the riverbanks, and, fat from the raging sewer, 105
accustomed to going all the way into the depths of the middle of the Subura.

While Trebius has climbed from the Subura up the Esquiline, the fish's highest goal was the Subura. Both Trebius and the fish are wet: Trebius from the rain, and the fish from the sewer, which seems to provide a better meal than the dinner party it ultimately contributes to (*pinguis torrente cloaca*, 5.105). By going to the dinner party in a loftier part of the city, Juvenal implies, Trebius is actually descending to its most disgusting depths.

All of these street scenes are imagined as part of or the result of the dinner party, which is completely controlled by Virro, its wealthy host. Juvenal begins his first book of satires with the idea that one must not be silent in the face of injustice (1.1), and that even otherwise repulsive reactions, like defecating in front of a statue, are warranted in the face of it (1.131). But at the end of the fifth satire, Juvenal has remained conservative in his suggestions for what the guest should do. He is frank about the fact that the host is motivated by petty cruelty rather than thrift (*hoc agit, ut doleas*; 5.157), but the responsibility still rests with the impoverished guest to refuse this treatment. Juvenal mocks his readers for being slaves to their stomachs (*captum ... nidore... culinae*, "made captive by the smell of the kitchen," 5.161).⁴⁸ He suggests that real, free-born

48. Cf. Plautus *Mos. 5 nidoricupi*. Hunger is a driving force and constant reality in Roman comedy, acted by and about slaves. On the prevalence of hunger in Roman comedy's discussion of slaves, see Richlin 2017: 126-35.

Romans would never endure this kind of treatment in exchange for something as petty as food: *quis enim tam nudus, ut illum / bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum / uel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro* ("Who is so nakedly desperate that he would put up with / him twice, if Etruscan gold protected him as a boy, / or even only the knot and token from the poor leather thong," 5.163-66)—that is, if he wore the locket that marked a freeborn boy, here differentiated from the locketless thong of a poor boy.⁴⁹ Although it is the wealthy man who is being so cruel, Juvenal explains that the blame is ultimately the poor guest's: *omnia ferre / si potes, et debes* ("If you're able to endure all of this, then you deserve to," 5.170-71). Like Bickle, Juvenal suggests that it is the responsibility of the individual, rather than the collective, to address social wrongs. But Juvenal does not encourage violence as a response in this satire, or other kinds of retribution. His only recommendation—a further insult—is to beg in the streets.

The Satirist Watches Women

From the fifth to the sixth satire, Juvenal moves from his first to his second book, from the dinner party to the streets, and from men to women. Similar kinds of criticism appear in the sixth satire as in his others, in which abuse of power is critiqued, but crucially this abuse is now embodied by women. Their crimes escalate from hyperbole to the purely fantastical. As in the third and fourth satires, the problems of the urban landscape are caused not by those with institutional power, but those who inappropriately benefit from it—here, women. Juvenal even situates this simultaneous indictment of rich and poor within urban space: *nec melior silicem*

⁴⁹ The difference between different kinds of *bullae* was usually framed in terms of civil status, not wealth (Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.152, Asconius, and Macrobius *Sat.* 1.6.8-14), so Juvenal's contrast is especially marked as a class commentary.

pedibus quae conterit atrum / quam quae longorum uehitur ceruice Syrorum ("Nor is the woman any better who wears out the dark pavement with her feet / than one who is carried on the necks of tall Syrians," 6.350-51). Some of the women Juvenal criticizes even appear to be aping the same practices Juvenal uses as representative of satire: standing in the street, witnessing, or publicly excreting. For them, this is out of bounds.

In figuring women as abusive powerful figures, Juvenal turns frequently to the theme of respectable, even wealthy women who take up urban space improperly. Ordinary women's passion for actors is framed as an overindulgence in public spectatorship, and ultimately an abuse of public space (6.60-65):

porticibusne tibi monstratur femina uoto digna tuo? cuneis an habent spectacula totis quod securus ames quodque inde excerpere possis? chironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo Tuccia uesicae non imperat, Apula gannit, attendit Thymele: Thymele tunc rustica discit.	60 65
Is any woman pointed out to you in the porticoes who is worthy for you to wish for? Or do the games have in any seating section something you could safely love and which you could safely take home with you? When girly Bathyllus dances the Leda part Tuccia can't control her bladder, Apula yelps, Thymele watches: then country girl Thymele learns.	60 65

The scene echoes the third satire in its description of the corrupting influence of the city. Apula's name implies that she is from rustic Apulia, and Thymele, here explicitly *rustica* (6.65), is elsewhere the name of a character in an adultery mime; she features in the introduction of Juvenal's first satire (1.36).⁵⁰ David Larmour has discussed the usefulness of the Roman arena as

50. She also appears at 8.197.

a metaphor for the work of satire, in part because of their shared preoccupation for reinforcing borders and hierarchy (2016: 168-71). Although not as violent as the gladiatorial arena, theaters were meant to produce the same differences and borders.⁵¹ With his typical anxiety concerning permeability, Juvenal describes a play in which borders are ignored or erased: the women are overly affected by the play, take notes on gender from an effeminate man, and the audience includes a character from a different performance.

Tuccia cannot control her bladder (*vesicae*) because she is so aroused, which recalls the old woman's bladder of the first satire (1.39), where it stands in for the woman's genitalia. In the first satire, Juvenal expresses male dominance through his bladder and bodily excretions (1.131). Here it indicates the woman's loss of control. A major theme of the rest of the satire is women who face some of the same choices Juvenal envisions for himself or his (male) readers, but who make different choices in light of them. They are shown as aping the urban practices of satire. This comparison has implications for Juvenal not only as the only legitimate author of satire, but also as the only true reader of urban space.

As in other satires, issues of class and wealth appear frequently in his scenes of urban abuse, but stop short of meaningfully critiquing the powers that be. Juvenal echoes Satires 3 and 5 when he discusses wealthy women who choose to indulge in the kind of "low" sex that the night city can offer. In one of the most famous passages from the satire, he describes the empress Messalina sneaking out of the palace at night to work in a brothel (6.116-32):

...dormire uirum cum senserat uxor,
sumere nocturnos meretrix Augusta cucullos

51. Calpurnius Siculus, for instance, mentions "women's seats" (*femineas...cathedras*, *Ecl.* 7.27). Ovid, however, suggests flirting with women in theaters, clearly in mixed seating, as he tells the tale of the rape of the Sabine women at a public spectacle (*Ars* 1.89-133).

ausa Palatino et tegetem praeferre cubili
 linquebat comite ancilla non amplius una. 120
 sed nigrum flauo crinem abscondente galero
 intrauit calidum ueteri centone lupanar
 et cellam uacuam atque suam; tunc nuda papillis
 prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lyciscae
 ostenditque tuum, generose Britannice, uentrem.
 excepit blanda intrantis atque aera poposcit, 125
 continueque iacens cunctorum absorbit ictus.
 mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas
 tristis abit, et quod potuit tamen ultima cellam
 clausit, adhuc ardens rigidae tentigine uoluae,
 et lassata uiris necdum satiata recessit, 130
 obscurisque genis turpis fumoque lucernae
 foeda lupanaris tulit ad puluinar odorem.

When the wife saw that her husband was asleep,
 the whore Empress, daring to put on the night cloak
 and to prefer the beggar's mat to the Palatine bed,
 left with no more than one slave girl as her company.
 But, hiding her black hair with a blonde wig, 120
 she entered the sultry brothel, with its ancient curtain,
 and her very own empty cell; then she displayed herself
 naked, with gilded nipples, pretending her name was Wolf Woman,
 and exposed the stomach that bore you, noble Britannicus.
 She receives all comers with a smile and demands payment, 125
 and lying there all night she absorbed the blows of all.
 Soon, as the pimp is sending off his own girls,
 she leaves sadly, and (the best she could do) at least she closed her cell last,
 and still burning from the erection of her stiff vulva,
 and tired but not yet sated from her men she left, 130
 and ugly with her darkened cheeks and from the smoke of the lantern,
 filthy she brought the reek of the brothel to the imperial bed.

As with the description of the *popina* in 8.171-80, Juvenal includes the sensory details of the brothel, especially in juxtaposition with the refinement of the imperial household. Here, too, the anxiety seems largely to be caused by social mixing: the brothel, like the *popina*, should be

reserved for the denizens of the urban slums.⁵² The empress's enjoyment of it, and as a prostitute rather than a client, is worthy of the utmost contempt. The scene is also a critique of the city's wealthy, but critically its object is dead, and a woman. Her abuse of power lies not in perpetuating the injustice of empire, but in abusing the office of the emperor by inappropriately enjoying the night city. As in the fifth satire, Juvenal presents the choice between the *teges*, the beggar's mat (5.8, 6.117) and the houses of the wealthy, only reversed: Messalina ought to prefer wealth, but instead chooses squalor. Like the adulterer of Satire 8 (8.145), she hides her identity in a *cucullus*.

This reversal appears later in the same satire, when Juvenal describes an orgy of noblewomen, who first compete with prostitutes in sexual games and then have sex, first with free men (*viros*, 6.330), who might appear in a *cucullus* as they hurry over by night (*cucullo*, 3.330); then slaves (*servis*, 6.331), then specifically low slaves (*aquarius*, "a water carrier," 6.332), and finally with a donkey, itself a frequent metaphor for the vulnerability of slaves (*asello*, 3.334).⁵³ The women's abuse of power is clear within the scene, but the reader's disgust rests on their shameless preference for partners who should be worthy of contempt, even subhuman.

By contrast, the interlocutor, Postumus, and by extension the reader, is imagined to be a lowly plebeian within the urban melee. The poem begins with a suggestion that suicide should

52. Compare Bickle's particular disgust that Iris (Jodie Foster), a child prostitute, has "chosen" this line of work.

53. The *aquarius* performed manual labor, and also seems to have been associated with prostitutes' washing up after their work (Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.84; Festus 22). On donkeys as a metaphor for slavery, and especially for slaves' vulnerability in the face of abuse, see Bradley 2000. See also Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, in which the protagonist Lucius, who has been transformed with a donkey, is brought to Corinth to have sex with a woman as a kind of spectacle (10.29-32). Jokes about the large size of the donkey's penis recur.

be preferable to marriage: *ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam / cum pateant altae caligantesque fenestras, / cum tibi uicinum se praebeat Aemilius pons?* ("You can bear any wife when so many ropes are sound, / when dizzyingly high windows lie open, / when the Aemilian bridge offers itself as a neighbor to you?" 6.31-32). Although suicide in the face of the unendurable was an admired act, the forms of suicide Juvenal suggests are not the typical ones associated with Roman martyrs: self-inflicted sword wounds, or cutting open veins. Hanging and suicide by jumping are commonly associated with slaves.⁵⁴

The narrator lingers on other examples of husbands with wives, but returns to Postumus's position within the city towards the middle of the satire. In a passage which recalls Juvenal's programmatic statement that satire is equivalent to excreting at public statues (1.128-31, discussed above), he criticizes rich women who go out to degrade the city (6.309-13):

noctibus hic ponunt lecticas, micturiunt hic
 effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent 310
 inque uices equitant ac Luna teste mouentur,
 inde domos abeunt: tu calcas luce reuersa
 coniugis urinam magnos uisurus amicos.

By nights they place their litters here, they like to piss here
 and fill the statue of the goddess with long streams 310
 and in turns they ride each other and are moved with the moon as witness,
 then they go back to their homes: in the light of day, you tread
 on your wife's piss on your way to see your important friends.

This description is at odds with the privileged movement of the wealthy described in Juvenal's third satire, where the wealthy are insulated by their litters and attendants and lamps from all of

54. The *Digest* even specifically mentions leaping from a bridge into the Tiber as a form of slaves' suicide (*Dig.* 21.1.17.6). See also *Dig.* 21.1.17.4 on suicide by leaping, and Bradley 1994: 111-14 for suicide as a form of resistance amongst slaves.

the night city's insults. These women are disgusting because they pee on Chastity and have sex with each other, but first because they are urinating publicly; in doing so they are betraying their supposed nobility and instead acting like the poor. Their movement through the city on litters is the insult, rather than the injury. In fact, the enslaved litter-bearers are completely erased from the scene, as in Horace's description of walking through the city "alone," with slaves (see chapter 2). Like Persius, who also uses the metaphor of excretion for satire, Juvenal adopts the tactics of the urban poor as a framework for satire, although he goes further than Persius in criticizing this decision in others. The gendered nature of this criticism should not be overlooked: men can administer street justice, but women will only perpetuate the city's problems. Men can write satire, but women cannot. But this is also a class criticism. The powerless and voiceless cannot help but do it, and it is even *fas* to excrete on transgressors (1.131), but the elite cannot criticize city space properly. In framing his satires this way, Juvenal adopts the stance and practices of an urban population whose voice is harder for us to hear. He takes on their voices and their tactics not to meaningfully criticize the powerful but to reinforce a rhetoric of blame and difference against other members of the city street. Again here, Juvenal places the reader on the ground, and on the lowest part of the totem pole: unlike the women, or the wealthy travelers in litters earlier in the poem, the reader must walk where he wants to go. Juvenal also implies that the reader, again, is among the urban masses, out to visit *magnos amicos* as a humble client. This difference in social status is especially striking given that the traveler, addressed with a generalizing *tu*, is the woman's husband. Again, Juvenal plays with the fiction of Postumus's poverty. His financial status is split: his wife can afford to travel by litter, but he apparently cannot.

This *tu* is also universalizing, since anyone can walk over this urine during their business in the city. It invites the reader into the city scene, and shows how Juvenal extends the fiction of poverty and vulnerability to anyone who reads the satire. Again, Juvenal presents himself as a literary tour guide of the urban slums—what Richlin calls the "all-seeing satirist," who can explain to the reader things he does not know about the city or even his wife (2009: 322-23). As in Petronius's novel, and Horace's *Satires* 1.8, the night city is imagined as a lawless underworld in which the normal boundaries of decency and urban space are ignored or unknowable. Juvenal even echoes Horace *S.* 1.8.35-36 with the reference to the "moon as witness" (*Luna teste*, 311). In Horace's satire, the witches who steal into Maecenas's garden at night are so detestable that not even the moon can stand to watch them: *Lunamque rubentem, / ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra* ("and the blushing Moon, / so she would not have to be a witness to this, hides behind the great tombs," *S.* 1.8.35-36). In both cases, the moon refuses to watch women who ignore the city's boundaries, who insist on heinous love magic or perverted sex. In both of these passages, the satirist presents himself as the true witness, when even the moon might look away.

Juvenal returns to the theme of women acting out satire in the city inappropriately later in the satire. When he describes a woman who overflows with gossip, both her report and her telling of it are framed in terms of urban space (6.407-12):

instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen
 prima uidet, famam rumoresque illa recentis
 excipit ad portas, quosdam facit; isse Niphaten
 in populos magnoque illic cuncta arua teneri
 diluuiio, nutare urbes, subsidere terras,
 quocumque in triuio, cuicumque est obuia, narrat.

410

She's the first to see the comet pressing on the Armenian

and Parthian king, and she picks up gossip and fresh rumors
at the gates, others she makes up herself; that the river Niphates
has overflowed onto the populace and that there whole fields are covered
by a big flood, that cities are crumbling, that the ground is sinking,
she tells in any crossroad at all, whoever she runs into. 410

Like Juvenal of the first satire, the woman stands at the street-corner, notices what happens, and cannot keep silent (*semper ego auditor tantum?* 1.1). But, as before, women do urban satire wrong: she talks not about real problems within the city but about foreign ones, which may be fake (*quosdam facit*, 6.409). Ultimately, in talking about the problem of the overflowing river she resembles one herself, a comparison Juvenal encourages with his breathless listing of the damages the river causes, and the boundlessness implied in his description of her talk (*quocumque... cuicumque*, 412). Where Juvenal's overflowing emotion in the city street is justified and righteous, the woman's is inappropriate, like the public urination by the two rich women, and worthy of contempt. The effect is not only to preserve the fiction Juvenal has created in which he and the readers are members of the urban crowd daring to call out corruption, but also to make this club even more exclusive. Only he and his readers understand how to properly use these tactics of resistance.

Juvenal recalls his first programmatic description of satire as excretion (1.130-31) again when he describes women who worship the goddess Isis, by invoking an inverted image of it in the women's abuse of the city. Towards the end of the satire, he describes the rituals of Isis's worshippers (6.523-29):

hibernum fracta glacie descendet in amnem,
ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis
uerticibus timidum caput abluet, inde superbi
totum regis agrum nuda ac tremibunda cruentis
erepet genibus; si candida iusserit Io, 525

ibit ad Aegypti finem calidaque petitas
a Meroe portabit aquas, ut spargat in aede
Isidis, antiquo quae proxima surgit ouili.

After breaking the ice, she descends into the river in winter,
and three times in the morning Tiber is submerged, and
washes her nervous head up to the neck,
then naked and trembling crawls on bloody knees
through the whole field of the proud king; if shining Io has ordered it,
she will go to the border of Egypt and will bring the waters
she's sought from sultry Meroe, so that she might scatter them
in the temple of Isis, which rises next to the ancient sheep pen.

525

Their worship is a kind of mirrored image of Juvenal's early disgust at the Arabarches in the forum. In that brief scene, he contrasts the forum, law courts, and triumphal monuments with the intrusive statue of the Egyptian official. Here, Roman and Egyptian monuments are again juxtaposed: the temple of Isis, a foreign import that was the result of imperial expansion, and the traditional space for voting, a nostalgic relic of the city's Republican past. The water that the woman brings from Egypt to scatter at the temple of Isis recalls the narrator's excretions at the statue of the Arabarches (1.131), but with an opposite effect. It is foreign in origin, and serves to confirm the legitimacy of these intrusive monuments rather than to reject them. Again, women are presented as unable to write satire, unable to appropriately interact with the urban landscape, even if they use the same kinds of tactics. Juvenal's reading of and participation in the city is confirmed by comparison, and his expertise as tour guide of the urban slums is reinforced.

In this scene, as often, Juvenal also heightens contrasts: new and ancient traditions, foreign and Roman, female and male, the personal work of a savior cult and the collective work of government. An urban landscape as dense as Rome must have engendered this kind of juxtaposition, and Juvenal brings it into even more vivid relief in his work. When he ends the satire with a defense of his zeal, against an imaginary accusation that he has made his satire

sound too much like tragedy, it is framed again in terms of place: ("We're making these things by having satire put on the platform shoes of tragic actors? / Okay, sure—and having gone beyond the limit and the law of our predecessors / we rave a lofty song with a Sophoclean gape, / something unknown to the Rutulian mountains and the Latin sky?" 6.634-36). The conservative, restrained character of the Roman world is summed up by extra-urban landscapes. He ends his defense, and the poem, by insisting that the whole city is filled with women straight out of Greek tragedy: *Clytemestram nullus non uicus habebit* ("No neighborhood will lack its Clytemnestra," 6.656).⁵⁵ As in the third satire, Juvenal juxtaposes genres through the urban landscape, with a resulting commentary on urban space through genre. Although it may seem to the skeptical reader that the urban tableaux that Juvenal sketches do not correspond with reality, Juvenal insists that his version is the real city.

Shadowman

In 1979, an artist named Richard Hambleton moved to the Lower East Side of New York City. A Vancouver native, he had already toured fifteen major cities across the United States and Canada to create "Image Mass Murder" art, in which he drew crime scene outlines of volunteers on city streets, and then splashed fake blood on them to create a fake crime scene. These images could be so realistic that even the police had to be reassured that no one had died there (Dixon 2017). In the early 1980s, Hambleton began a new campaign of what came to be called

55. Compare 9.112-13, in which the narrator insists that every crossroad has a slave, or some other informant, who will give the reader unwanted gossip about a rich man's sexual perversions: *nec derit qui te per compita quaerat / nolentem et miseram uinosus inebriet aurem* ("You'll never lack someone who will seek you out at the crossroads / and whisper drunkenly into your unwilling and wretched ear").

"Shadowman" paintings, which were figures in black paint, usually painted in alleyways or at corners, to resemble threatening lurkers (see Fig. 1). In one sense, the figures exposed the fiction of a threatening city, especially the lurking bogeyman of the dark alleyway (a fear Juvenal himself exploits, 3.278-301). But at the same time, the Shadowman would have contributed to a landscape of fear by frightening people. Hambleton himself became a lurking figure in the dark, in order to commit the technically criminal act of painting a Shadowman on public property—a tactic he would have learned from homegrown graffiti movements, which used art as a form of resistance and a way to reclaim the city.⁵⁶ In the early 1980s, these images also evinced an early nostalgia for what was considered the golden age of "Fear City," New York as the capital of urban crisis.

56. On graffiti as a form of resistance, see David and Wilson 2002: 42-60, as well as Milnor 2014: 1-44 for a comparison of ancient and modern graffiti.



[Fig. 1: Shadowman, Richard Hambleton, Downtown New York City, 1980; image via Wikimedia Commons]

As satiric authors, Juvenal and Martial make Shadowmen. Like Hambleton, Martial and Juvenal both sketch figures from the city's murky streets and pose as them in their role as street satirists. Like Hambleton's work, their images of the city are both faceless and specific: figures are detailed enough to seem recognizable, but on closer inspection are revealed to be only figments and shadows, which must be brought to life by the reader. Juvenal even names one of his narrators "Umbricius," *Shadowman*. These figures are a response to the culture of the street, and represent an indirect form of witnessing. At the same time, they are reflections of other

reflections of the street, in their use of type scenes and tropes of satiric literature about the city street. In creating their work, Martial and Juvenal also adopt some of the practices of the very populations they aim to denigrate: the largely oral culture of the urban street.

Nicholas Horsfall has outlined the difficulties in looking for the culture of the Roman plebs, which was alternatively considered the backbone of Roman society and its dregs. Horsfall discusses the prevalence of the mundane in even the loftiest works of what is now considered the ancient canon, beginning with Homer, who was "not shocked by pigs and puddings" (Horsfall 2003: 21). Realism became especially trendy in Alexandrian literature, which heavily influenced Roman literature of the late Republic and onward. But Horsfall stresses that it was frequently the menial details of the farm and pastoral hills that are imported and romanticized in Latin literature. There is no urban equivalent for the *Eclogues* or the *Georgics*, and no *Res Urbana*, corresponding to the *Res Rustica*, for the modern slumlord. Ultimately, Martial and Juvenal's cinematic images of the city continue to define it in the popular imagination. Martial and Juvenal go further than any other author of the Roman street in capturing it, and two thousand years later their versions of the city continue to endure in even the popular conception of it. In 2001's Oscar-nominated *Gladiator*, the empress of Rome appears in the cell of a gladiator and says, almost quoting Juvenal 6.100-110: "Rich matrons pay well to be pleased by the bravest champions."⁵⁷ HBO's *Rome* (2005-2007) begins with credits that traipse through the back alleyways of the city. The camera lingers on graffiti that come to life, as if to suggest that, like Martial and Juvenal, the program will capture the otherwise lost ephemera of the city. Like *Taxi Driver*, their work, which was a commentary on and murky reflection of the city streets,

57. This trope also appears with enthusiastic frequency in the recent *Spartacus* series (Starz, 2010-2013), although it was not set in Rome.

crystallized in the popular imagination. Half a century after Fear City, the representations of New York City generated by that time continue to dominate popular conceptions of it: *You talkin' to me?*

Conclusion

The Sewer in the City of God

In his seventh satire, Juvenal describes the pain of writing under the aegis of a patron who will never reward a good writer for his efforts. If he pays for a space where the writer can give a public recitation, it is a rundown house with its doors covered in security bars (compared to a slave in fetters), nor will the patron pay for the rental of seating; he sends his freedmen and clients to applaud, but does not come himself (7.41-47). Praise is framed in terms of space, and the most obviously insulting is the humiliation of receiving nothing in an urban, public gathering place, like a recitation hall. This commentary is all the more biting if it were ever recited in a recitation hall. When the narrator explains his insistence on continuing to write, however, he leaves the city: *nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos / ducimus et litus sterili uersamus aratro* ("But we do this and we make our furrows in the thin dust / and we turn the shore with our barren plough," 7.48-49).

Here, Juvenal, like other authors of satiric literature, frames his writing as anti-urban (although still preoccupied with what he considers fruitless dirt). I have shown in these chapters the ways in which the culture of the city street is integral to the satirist's stance and agenda. But satire, like the city itself, is multivalent. The importance of the city in satire, especially the city as a locus for disgust, does not supplant other readings of satire as self-referential, or representative of a relatively unchanging hegemonic perspective. The aim of my argument has been threefold. The first is to show how Roman satirists depend on the culture of the urban poor for their work. The sites, people, and practices of the city streets become translated into objects

of disgust for the satirist, even as he imports them into his work. The second is to show how satirists, even when they repeat themes from earlier authors, are inflected by the specifics of the city's development. Finally, I have shown how the choices of Roman satirists are part of a much longer tradition of co-optation, erasure, and exploitative misrepresentations of the culture of the urban poor.

To make this tradition clearer, I have compared the choices of Roman satirists with practices and fiction of the nineteenth and twentieth century. These recent examples are easily recognizable and more heavily documented, but there are many others in between, some following soon after the Roman satirists.¹ In the late second century, Tertullian, a Christian author from Carthage, wrote against pagan public performances (*De Spectaculis*). Near the end of his polemic, Tertullian argues against an interlocutor who suggests that it is not a bad thing to watch gladiatorial spectacles if God can do it (*Spect.* 20.2-5):

novam proxime defensionem suaviludii cuiusdam audivi. sol, inquit, immo ipse etiam deus de caelo spectat nec contaminatur. sane, sol et in cloacam radios suos defert nec inquinatur. utinam autem deus nulla flagitia hominum spectaret, ut omnes iudicium evaderemus. sed spectat et latrocinia, spectat et falsa et adulteria et fraudes et idololatrias et spectacula ipsa. et idcirco ergo nos non spectabimus, ne videamur ab illo, qui spectat omnia. comparas, homo, reum et iudicem, reum, qui, quia videtur, reus est, iudicem, qui, quia videt, iudex est. numquid ergo et extra limites circi furori studemus et extra cardines theatri impudicitiae intendimus et insolentiae extra stadium et immisericordiae extra amphitheatrum, quoniam deus etiam extra cameras et gradus et †apulias† oculos habet?

I heard recently a fresh defense by someone who loves games. "The sun," he said, "and even God himself watches [the games] from the heavens and is not polluted." Of course, the sun even shines its rays into the sewer and is not stained. Would that, truly, God would look down on none of the crimes of men, so that we'd all escape judgement. But he watches theft as well, and he watches lies and adultery and deception and idolatry and the spectacles themselves. And so, therefore, we will not watch them, lest we are seen by

1. See Morley 2014 for a more thorough overview of trends in discussing the ancient city as compared with more modern cities.

him, who watches all things. You compare, my friend, the criminal and the judge: the criminal, who, because he is seen, is a criminal; the judge, who, because he sees, is the judge. I don't suppose, then, that we practice frenzy outside the boundaries of the race course, or that we are intent on sexual license outside the doors of the theater, or arrogance outside the stadium, or pitilessness outside the amphitheater, since God has eyes even outside the vaults, the tiers, and the curtains?²

Tertullian owes much of his fire and brimstone to the pagan satirists, and overlaps with them in subject matter.³ Now, it is God who has taken the place of the all-seeing satirist, judging the city from circus to sewer. The reader is again called to separate himself from the vices of the city, although now on the basis of Christian principles rather than traditionalist *mores*.⁴ Like the satirists, Tertullian imports the pollution of the city into his work in order to rail against it. He even admits, just before the passage quoted above, that he himself is in the best position to judge what the spectacles are like. He reminds his Christian readers that they should not need many details of the games to understand why they should attend (*Spect.* 19.4). Then he defends his own work: *quamquam nemo haec omnia plenius exprimere potest nisi qui adhuc spectat. malo non implere quam meminisse* ("Although no one is able to describe these things more fully, unless he is still watching the games. I prefer to be incomplete on the subject than remember it fully," *Spect.* 19.5). The only one who could explain the games more fully is someone who is *still* attending them (*adhuc*)—unlike Tertullian, who has, by implication, stopped. Then he

2. I follow T. R. Glover's 1931 Loeb translation in reading *aulaeas*, "curtains," for †*apulias*†.

3. On the overlaps between satirists and Christian moralists generally, see O'Daly 1999: 41-44.

4. In the fourth century, the Syrian historian Ammianus Marcellinus blames Rome's wealth and size for its people's faults (14.6), even producing a satiric set piece on the vices of Rome (28.4), clearly based on Juvenal 3, while expressing disapproval of the fad for reading Juvenal (28.4.14). In the fifth century, Salvian, a Christian writer from Gaul, would make similar accusations about pagan worship in urban sites like the circus and the theater (*de Gub.* 6.2-8). For Salvian, Rome and Carthage are the prime examples for pagan vice (6-7). He marvels that the Vandals do not give into these vices once they have entered these spaces (7.20-21).

switches to the first person and defends his choice not to remember his previous attendances as fully as he might. Before he wrote against the games, Tertullian seems to have been a fan.⁵ Like Horace, he is now a slippery witness to the culture of public performances in the second century. Like Petronius and Persius, he offers a form of slum tourism, now with a Christian bent.⁶

The sewer and its goddess become a metonym for disgusting pagan practices in other Christian authors. The Cloaca Maxima had a goddess associated with her, Cloacina, whose statue stood in the Forum Romanum.⁷ In the fourth century, the Spanish Christian poet Prudentius named Cloacina as one of the most obvious examples of a worthless pagan god (*Apoth.* 197-99):

nemo Cloacinae aut Eponae super astra deabus
dat solium, quamvis olidam persolvat acerram
sacrilegisque molam manibus rimetur et exta.

No one grants a throne over the stars to the goddesses
Cloacina or Epona, although he may offer reeking incense
and, with his sacrilegious hands, grub through holy grain, even guts.

Cloacina is mentioned along with Epona, goddess of horses and stables. As in Juvenal's description of the destruction of Sejanus's statues (10.58-67), subsequently made into chamberpots, Prudentius juxtaposes high and low with loving disgust. "Above the stars" (*super astra*) lies in the middle of the phrase "Cloacina or Epona, the goddesses," heightening the vast

5. Even after Tertullian's polemic, some people remained fans of the circus. In the sixth century, the poet Luxorius, writing in Carthage during the Vandal occupation, praised the circus and amphitheater in his epigrams (20, 26, 34, 38, 42, 50, 87). The epigrams are modeled on Martial's, and import many of the same themes.

6. See Trout 2016 for a discussion of this trend in Prudentius's work.

7. On the importance of the Cloaca Maxima in Roman religion, see Hopkins 2012. The sewer, initially a running stream, was considered a purifying force for the city, and running water is an important part of Roman religion.

distance between them. The incense offered to them is described as *olidam*, which technically says only that the incense has a smell, not necessarily a bad one—but as an offering to the goddess of sewers, the incense seems to reek. Prudentius then describes pagan ritual, here extispicy, as a form of getting one's hands dirty. He ends the description of pagan rites with a contemptuous *exta*: "guts." Like Tertullian, Juvenal, and Martial, he incorporates the practices he claims to distance himself from into his poetry with lurid detail.

In the early fifth century, Augustine mentioned Cloacina again in his foundational work of Christian philosophy, *De Civitate Dei*, "The City of God." In a list of gods who could not possibly be entrusted with the safety of the Roman empire, Cloacina heads the list, followed by Volupia (voluptuousness), Lubentina (lust), Vaticanus (crying infants), and Cunina (goddess of cradles, *Civ.* 4.8). Of all the deities listed, Cloacina is the only one not given an epithet or explanation of her powers, presumably because that goddess is the most notorious of the group.⁸

According to the *Historia Augusta*, a history of Roman emperors written around the same time as *De Civitate Dei*, Rome's sewer was part of the fitting end of the emperor Heliogabalus. According to the biography, impelled by his history of senseless decadence and violence, a group of soldiers decided that they would kill the emperor before he could murder his adopted son, Severus Alexander (*Ant. Heliog.* 16.5-17.3):

primum conscios... genere mortis, cum alios vitalibus exemptis necarent, alios ab ima parte perfoderent, ut mors esset vitae consentiens; post hoc in eum impetus factus est atque in latrina, ad quam confugerat, occisus. tractus deinde per publicum. addita iniuria cadaveri est, ut id in cloacam milites mitterent. sed cum non cepisset cloaca fortuito, per pontem Aemilium adnexo pondere, ne fluitaret, in Tiberim abiectum est, ne umquam sepeliri posset. tractum est cadaver eius etiam per circi spatia, priusquam in Tiberim praecipitaretur.

8. Elsewhere in the text, Augustine again connects pagan worship with the lower bodily strata. He argues that the pagan god Saturn was actually initially named Stercus, because he discovered that fields could be fertilized with animal manure (*Civ.* 18.15).

First they killed the accomplices in various ways, since they did away with some by ripping out their innards, others they stabbed in the lowest part, so that their death would benefit their life; after this an attack was made on him [Heliogabalus], and he was killed in his latrine, to which he had fled. Then he was dragged in public. An insult to his dead body was added: the soldiers put it in the sewer. But when by chance the sewer did not accept it, it was thrown into the Tiber from the Aemilian bridge, with a weight attached, so it wouldn't float—so that the body would never be able to be buried. His body was also dragged around the lengths of the Circus, before it was thrown into the Tiber.

The passage reads as a voyeuristic tour of the urban underbelly. First, the accomplices are killed through their lower bodily strata: with their guts removed, or stabbed through the genitals (*ab ima parte*). Heliogabalus himself is killed in the latrine, his corpse dragged through the highly visible streets (*per publicum*) as criminals' bodies were dragged by the hook, and then fittingly thrown into the sewer. Here, whether by fate or the author's artistic license, the body cannot be successfully put into the sewer. As a result, the body also suffers being thrown from the bridge, an act reminiscent of ignominious suicides.⁹ Finally, as if the author had forgotten or could not let such an interesting topic be finished already, there is the final detail that the body was also dragged around the Circus Maximus before it was thrown into the Tiber. Near the end of the biography, Heliogabalus's death is brought up again, with a slightly different narrative: *nam, ut diximus, et occisus est per scutarios et per plateas tractus est sordidissime per cloacas ductus et in Tiberim submissus est* ("For, as we said, he was killed by the guards, and dragged through the streets and drawn through the sewer in the filthiest fashion and committed to the Tiber," *Ant. Heliog.* 33.7). Here, the story has shifted so that the body was successfully put through the

9. On leaping from a bridge as a form of suicide especially associated with slaves, see above. See also Festus 450L on the expression *sexagenarios de ponte*, associated with a supposed ancient tradition of throwing men over sixty off a bridge, as well as Catullus 17, in which Catullus hopes to throw a rival off a bridge.

sewer (*per cloacas ductus*), and indeed this is one of the defining events the author chooses, from a wealth of details concerning Heliogabalus's death and the treatment of his body.

If immoral pagan emperors are fittingly thrown into the Cloaca Maxima, saints suffer it undeservingly. Saint Sebastian, a martyr who was killed during the reign of Diocletian, was said to have been thrown into the sewer after his execution. According to one fifth century account, Sebastian's body was eventually found in the sewer next to the Circus Maximus (*Acta San Sebastiani* 88).¹⁰ The sewer, in satire and afterwards, is never very far from the rest of the city, especially the city as a site for the urban masses and a locus for disgust.

Just as Aristotle would affect modern sexuality because Thomas Aquinas loved him, the satirists affected the idea of the city because they were in continuous use as school texts from late antiquity onward.¹¹ As I have shown, the satirists' works would have offered a very specific version of the city. Beginning with Lucilius, urban vices took pride of place in satire. As I have shown with Horace, this focus can act as a form of witnessing of the effects of gentrification and other elite control of urban spaces. Although Persius does not spend as much time in the street as Horace, he too gazes on the city streets satirically, and even compares his work to a form of desecration of urban space. Petronius, more than any of the other authors, offers a form of slum tourism in his satiric novel, guiding the reader through fantastical versions of the city streets and the haunts of the urban poor. Martial and Juvenal import the practices and vices of the street into their own work, even as they claim to distance themselves from them. This image of the city

10. Lapidge 2018: 143-44 argues that this hagiography was written by Arnobius the Younger, a North African Christian commentator of the fifth century.

11. Jerome even compares pagan texts to a captive woman who may be taken as a wife if she is shaved (*Ep.* 70.2). On the use of Roman satire in school texts, see Richlin 2012.

persisted, even as the circumstances changed: to Ammianus Marcellinus's and the *Historia Augusta's* Rome; to Tertullian's Carthage; and on to Procopius's Byzantium. All of these cities have been described with loving disgust, from authors who, in one form or another, claimed to be writing in the streets.

Bibliography

- Adams, J. N. 1983. "Word for 'Prostitute' in Latin." *RhM* 126: 321–58.
- Adams, J.N. 1982. *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Anderson, W.S. 1982. *Essays on Roman Satire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Assmann, Jan, and John Czaplicka. 1995. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." *New German Critique*, no. 65: 125–33.
- Atkins, Margaret, and Robin Osborne, eds. 2006. *Poverty in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhaïlovich. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Translated by Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Barnes, David S. 2005. "Confronting Sensory Crisis in the Great Stinks of London and Paris." In *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, edited by William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson, 103–32. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bartsch, Shadi. 2012. "Persius, Juvenal, and Stoicism." In *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal*, edited by Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood, 217–38. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2015. *Persius: A Study in Food, Philosophy, and the Figural*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beard, Mary. 2007. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Behr, Francesco d'Alessandro. 2009. "Open Bodies and Closed Minds? Persius' *Saturae* in Light of Bakhtin and Voloshinov." In *Persius and Juvenal: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, edited by Maria Plaza, 222–256. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1999. *The Arcades Project*. Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Berger, John. 1972. *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books Ltd.
- Beste, Heinz-Jürgen, and Henner von Hesberg. 2013. "Buildings of an Emperor—How Nero Transformed Rome." In *A Companion to the Neronian Age*, edited by Emma Buckley and Martin Dinter, 314–31. West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Bettini, Maurizio. 1982. "A proposito dei versi Sotadei Greci e Romani: con alcuni capitoli di 'analisi metrica lineare.'" *MD* 9: 59–115.
- Boatwright, Mary Taliaferro. 1987. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bodel, John. 1994a. *Graveyards and Groves: A Study of the Lex Lucerina (American Journal of Ancient History 11)*. Cambridge, MA: American Journal of Ancient History.
- . 1994b. "Trimalchio's Underworld." In *The Search for the Ancient Novel*, edited by James Tatum, 237–59. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- . 2000. "Dealing with the Dead: Undertakers, Executioners, and Potter's Fields in Ancient Rome." In *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*, edited by Valerie Hope and Eireann Marshall, 128–51. New York: Routledge.
- Boissier, Gaston. 1875. *L'Opposition Sou Les Césars*. Paris: Hachette.
- Bond, Sarah. 2016. *Trade and Taboo: Disreputable Professions in the Roman Mediterranean*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Boyce, B. 1991. *The Language of the Freedman in Petronius's Cena Trimalchionis*. Leiden: Brill.
- Boyle, A. J., and William J. Dominik, eds. 2003. *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bradley, Keith. 1986. "Wet-Nursing at Rome a Study in Social Relations." In *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, edited by Beryl Rawson, 201–29. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1994. *Slavery and Society at Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2000. "Animalizing the Slave: The Truth of Fiction." *Journal of Roman Studies* 90: 110–25.
- Bragantini, Irene, and Valeria Sampaulo. 2013. *La Pittura Pompeiana*. Napoli: Electa.
- Braund, Susanna, ed. 1996. *Juvenal: Satires*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2004. *Juvenal and Persius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 2007. *Beyond Anger: A Study of Juvenal's Third Book of Satires*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Braund, Susanna, and Josiah Osgood, eds. 2012. *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Canby, Vincent. 1974. "New York's Woes Are Good Box Office." *The New York Times*, November 10, 1974, sec. Archives. <https://www.nytimes.com/1974/11/10/archives/new-yorks-woes-are-good-box-office-film-view-film-view-new-yorks.html>.
- Carson, Anne. 1990. "Putting Her in Her Place: Women, Dirt, and Desire." In *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World.*, edited by David Halperin, John Winkler, and Froma Zeitlin, 135–70. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Castagnoli, F. 1952. "Note di topografia Romana." *BCAR* 74: 52–54.
- Certeau, Michel de. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Champlin, Edward. 2005. "Phaedrus the Fabulous." *Journal of Roman Studies* 95: 97–123.
- Clarke, John R. 2006. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2007. *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture, 100 B.C.- A.D. 250*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coarelli, Filippo. 1999a. "Pagus Montanus." In *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae 4*, edited by E. M. Steinby, 10. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- . 1999b. "Puticuli." In *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae 4*, edited by E. M. Steinby, 264–65. Rome: Edizioni Quasar.
- Collignon, Albert. 1892. *Étude sur Pétrone: la Critique Littéraire, L'imitation et la Parodie dans le Satiricon*. Paris: Hachette.
- Collins, Glenn. 2009. "50 Years In, Lincoln Center's Name Is Still a Mystery." *New York Times*, May 11, 2009. <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/05/11/50-years-in-lincoln-centers-name-is-still-a-mystery/>.
- Corbeill, Anthony. 2004. *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 2015a. "'A Shouting and Bustling on All Sides' (Hor. Sat. 1.9.77-8): Everyday Justice in the Streets of Republican Rome." In *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and*

- Promenades in Ancient Rome*, edited by Ida Oestenberg, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjornebye, 89–98. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- . 2015b. *Sexing the World: Grammatical Gender and Biological Sex in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Corbett, Philip. 1986. *The Scurra*. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Courtney, Edward. 1980. *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*. London: Athlone Press.
- Crook, John Anthony. 1967. *Law and Life of Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Cucchiarelli, Andrea, and Kirk Freudenburg. 2005. “Speaking from Silence: The Stoic Paradoxes of Persius.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, 62–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dallos, Robert. 1978. “NY Comeback: The Big Apple Taking Bigger Tourism Bite.” *Los Angeles Times*, July 14, 1978.
- D’Ambra, Eve. 1993. *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues: The Frieze of the Forum Transitorium in Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Damon, Cynthia. 1997. *The Mask of the Parasite*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Dang, Karen. 2010. “Rome and the Sabine ‘farm’: Aestheticism, Topography, and the Landscape of Production.” *Phoenix* 64 (1/2): 102–27.
- David, Bruno, and Meredith Wilson. 2002. *Inscribed Landscapes: Marking and Making Place*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Davies, Penelope J.E. 2012. “Pollution, Propriety and Urbanism in Republican Rome.” In *Rome, Pollution, and Propriety: Dirt, Disease, and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity. British School at Rome Studies*, edited by Mark Bradley and Kenneth Stow, 67–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davis, P. J. 1995. “*Praeceptor Amoris*: Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* and the Augustan Idea of Rome.” *Ramus* 24: 181–95.
- Dixon, Glenn. 2017. “How Richard Hambleton’s ‘Shadowmen’ Exploited Fear in 1980s New York.” CityLab. November 10, 2017.
- Dosse, François. 2010. *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*. Translated by Deborah Glassman. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Routledge.
- Dyson, Stephen L., and Richard Prior. 1995. "Horace, Martial, and Rome." *Arethusa* 28: 245–64.
- Edwards, Catharine. 1996. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1997. "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome." In *Roman Sexualities*, edited by Judith Hallett and Marilyn Skinner, 66–95. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Edwards, Catharine, and Greg Woolf, eds. 2006. *Rome the Cosmopolis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elliott, Robert C. 1960. *The Power of Satire: Magic, Ritual, Art*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Evans, Donna. 2015. "Decline of Spring Street Park Frustrates Neighbors." *Los Angeles Downtown News*, March 30, 2015. http://www.ladowntownnews.com/news/decline-of-spring-street-park-frustrates-neighbors/article_42a92268-d4bf-11e4-87ab-935318930be2.html.
- Evans, Jane DeRose, ed. 2013. *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fagan, Garrett G. 2016. "Urban Violence: Street, Forum, Bath, Circus, and Theater." In *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World*, edited by Garrett G. Fagan and Werner Riess, 231–47. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Farrell, Joseph. 2014. "The Roman Suburbium and the Roman Past." In *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World: Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Vallues VII*, edited by James Ker and Christopher Pieper, 85–108. Leiden: Brill.
- Favro, Diane. 1996. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fearnley, Hannah. 2003. "Reading the Imperial Revolution: Martial, Epigrams 10." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and William J. Dominik, 613–35. Leiden: Brill.
- Ferriss-Hill, Jennifer L. 2015. *Roman Satire and the Old Comic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fitzgerald, William. 2007. *Martial: The World of the Epigram*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Flower, Harriet. 2017. *The Dancing Lares and the Serpent in the Garden: Religion at the Roman Street Corner*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Forsdyke, Sara. 2012. *Slaves Tell Tales: And Other Episodes in the Politics of Popular Culture in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1986. "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias." Translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Diacritics* 16: 22–27.
- . 1995. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fraenkel, Eduard. 1957. *Horace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frenzel, Fabian. 2012. "Beyond Othering: The Political Roots of Slum Tourism." In *Slum Tourism: Power, Poverty, and Ethics*, edited by Fabian Frenzel, Ko Koens, and Malte Steinbrink, 49–82. London: Routledge.
- Frenzel, Fabian, Ko Koens, and Malte Steinbrink. 2012. *Slum Tourism: Poverty, Power and Ethics*. New York: Routledge.
- Freudenburg, Kirk. 2001. *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . ed. 2005. *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2014. *The Walking Muse: Horace on the Theory of Satire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Friedländer, Ludwig. 1895. *D. Junii Juvenalis Saturarum Libri V*. Leipzig: S. Herzel.
- Frier, Bruce W. 1989. *A Casebook on the Roman Law of Delict*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Galinsky, Karl, ed. 2014. *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Gibson, R. K. 2007. *Excess and Restraint: Propertius, Horace, and Ovid's Ars Amatoria*. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

- Gold, Barbara. 2003. "Accipe Divitias et Vatum: Money, Poetry, Mendicacy and Patronage in Martial." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and William J. Dominik, 519–612. Leiden: Brill.
- Goodyear, F. R. D. 1981. *The Annals of Tacitus: Books 1-6*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gowers, Emily. 1995. "The Anatomy of Rome from Capitol to Cloaca." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 85: 23–32.
- . 2002. "Blind Eyes and Cut Throats: Amnesia and Silence in Horace Satires 1.7." *Classical Philology* 97 (2): 145–61.
- . 2003. "Fragments of Autobiography in Horace, Satires I." *Classical Antiquity* 22: 55–92.
- . 2009. "Persius and the Decoction of Nero." In *Persius and Juvenal: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, edited by Maria Plaza, 173–98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . ed. 2012. *Horace: Satires, Book 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gowing, Alain. 2005. *Empire and Memory. The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graf, Fritz. 2005. "Satire in a Ritual Context." In *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, edited by Kirk Freudenburg, 192–206. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greenberg, Miriam. 2009. *Branding New York: How a City in Crisis Was Sold to the World*. New York: Routledge.
- Gunderson, Erik. 2003. "The Flavian Amphitheatre: All the World as Stage." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and William J. Dominik, 637–58. Leiden: Brill.
- Habinek, Thomas N. 2005. *The World of Roman Song: From Ritualized Speech to Social Order*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hales, Shelley. 2009. "Freedmen's Cribs: Domestic Vulgarly on the Bay of Naples." In *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by Jonathan Prag and Ian Repath, 161–80. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hannigan, John. 1998. *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis*. London: Taylor & Francis.

- Harley, J. B. 2001. *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*. Edited by Paul Laxton. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Harper, Kyle. 2013. *From Shame to Sin*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hartnett, Jeremy. 2011. "The Power of Nuisance on the Roman Street." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by David J. Newsome and Ray Laurence, 135–59. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Häuber, Chrystina. 1990. "The Esquiline Horti: New Research." In *The Roman Villa: Villa Urbana*, edited by Alfred Frazer, 55–64. Philadelphia, PA: The University Museum.
- . 2011. *The Horti of Maecenas on the Esquiline Hill in Rome*. Leibniz-Rechenzentrum der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. <http://www.rom.geographie.uni-muenchen.de/>.
- Häuber, Chrystina, and Helga Stöcker. 1990. "Zur Topographie der Horti Maecenatis und der Horti Lamiani auf dem Esquilin in Rom." *KoelnJb* 23: 11–107.
- Hawthorne, Christopher. 2016. "French Landscape Firm Wins Pershing Square Competition with Call for 'Radical Flatness.'" *LA Times*, May 16, 2016. <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-pershing-square-winner-20160512-snap-story.html>.
- Hellström, Monica. 2015. "Fast Movement through the City: Ideals, Stereotypes and City Planning." In *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome*, edited by Ida Oestenberg, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjornebye, 47–58. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hemelrijk, Emily, and Greg Woolf, eds. 2013. *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*. Leiden: Brill.
- Henderson, Jeffrey. 1991. *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Henderson, John. 1998. *Fighting for Rome: Poets and Caesars, History and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hightet, Gilbert. 1954. *Juvenal the Satirist: A Study*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . 1962. *Anatomy of Satire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- . 1973. "Libertino Patre Natus." *American Journal of Philology* 94 (3): 268–81.

- . 2009. “Survey.” In *Persius and Juvenal*, edited by Maria Plaza, 278–304. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hobson, Barry. 2009. *Latrinae et Foricae: Toilets in the Roman World*. London: Bristol Classical Press.
- Hölkeskamp, K.J. 2006. “History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic.” In *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, edited by N. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx, 478–95. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2014. “In Defense of Concepts, Categories, and Other Abstractions: Remarks on a Theory of Memory (in the Making).” In *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*, edited by Karl Galinsky, 63–70. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Holleman, A. W. J. 1971. “Ovid and Politics.” *Historia* 20: 458–66.
- Holleran, Claire. 2011. “The Street Life of Ancient Rome.” In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome, 245–61. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2012. *Shopping in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Holloway, R. Ross. 1994. *The Archaeology of Early Rome and Latium*. New York: Routledge.
- Hooley, Daniel M. 1997. *The Knotted Thong: Structures of Mimesis in Persius*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Hope, Valerie. 2017. “A Sense of Grief: The Role of the Senses in the Performance of Roman Mourning.” In *Senses of the Empire: Multisensory Approaches to Roman Culture*, edited by Eleanor Betts. New York: Routledge.
- Hope, Valerie, and Eireann Marshall, eds. 2000. *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hopkins, John. 2012. “The ‘Sacred Sewer’: Tradition and Religion in the Cloaca Maxima.” In *Rome, Pollution, and Propriety: Dirt, Disease and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by Mark Bradley and Kenneth Stow, 81–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. 2003. *The Culture of the Roman Plebs*. London: Duckworth.
- Housman, A. E. 1931. “Praefanda.” *Hermes* 66: 402–12.

- Hudson, Ernie. 2014. "The Painful What-If That Haunts 'Ghostbuster' Ernie Hudson." *EW.com* (blog). November 5, 2014. <http://ew.com/article/2014/11/05/ghostbusters-ernie-hudson/>.
- Hugo, Victor. 1908. *Les Misérables*. Translated by Isabel Florence Hapgood. London: Walter Scott Publishing.
- Jaeger, Mary. 1997. *Livy's Written Rome*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Jashemski, Wilhelmina F., and Elisabeth B. MacDougall, eds. 1981. *Ancient Roman Gardens*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Jenkyns, Richard. 2013. *God, Space, and City in the Roman Imagination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, Charity. 2015. "Here's Your First Look At The Official Lego Ghostbusters Firehouse Headquarters Due In Stores In January 2016." *Tech Times*. October 28, 2015. <http://www.techtimes.com/articles/100429/20151028/heres-your-first-look-at-the-official-lego-ghostbusters-firehouse-headquarters-due-in-stores-in-january-2016.htm>.
- Johnson, Richard, and Graham Dawson. 1982. "Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method." In *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*, edited by Richard Johnson, 205–52. London: Hutchinson.
- Jones, F. 1987. "The Narrator and the Narrative of the 'Satyrice.'" *Latomus* 46 (4): 810–19.
- Jones, Frederick. 2007. *Juvenal and the Satiric Genre*. London: Duckworth.
- Joshel, Sandra R., and Lauren Hackworth Petersen. 2014. *The Material Life of Roman Slaves*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kampen, Natalie. 1981. *Image and Status: Roman Working Women at Ostia*. Berlin: Mann.
- Kaster, Robert. 2001. "The Dynamics of Fastidium and the Ideology of Disgust." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113: 143–89.
- . 2005. *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keane, Catherine. 2015. *Juvenal and the Satiric Emotions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kellum, Barbara. 1996. "The Phallus as Signifier: The Forum of Augustus and Rituals of Masculinity." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art*, edited by Natalie Kampen, 170–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ker, James. 2004. "Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of *Lucubratio*." *Classical Philology* 99 (3): 209–42.
- Kernans, Alvin. 1959. *The Cankered Muse*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- King, Ross, and Kim Dovey. 2012. "Reading the Bangkok Slum." In *Slum Tourism: Power, Poverty, and Ethics*, edited by Fabian Frenzel, Ko Koens, and Malte Steinbrink, 159–72. London and New York: Routledge.
- Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga. 2015. *The Archaeology of Sanitation in Roman Italy: Toilets, Sewers, and Water Systems*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kristeva, Julia. 1982. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Translated by Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lanciani, R. A. 1874. "Puticoli." *Bullettino della Commissione Archaeologia Municipale* 2 (1): 42–53.
- Lapidge, Michael. 2018. *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Larmour, David H. J. 2007. "Holes in the Body: Sites of Abjection in Juvenal's Rome." In *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*, edited by David H. J. Larmour and Diana Spencer, 168–210. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2016. *The Arena of Satire: Juvenal's Search for Rome*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Larmour, David H. J., and Diana Spencer, eds. 2007. *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Larsen, Mik Robert. 2015. "The Representation of Poverty in the Roman Empire." UCLA.
- Laurence, Ray. 1994. *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2011. "Movement and Space in Martial's Epigrams." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome, 81–99. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laurence, Ray, and David J. Newsome, eds. 2011. *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donaldson Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Leiwo, Martti. 2010. "Petronius' Linguistic Resources." In *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, edited by Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud, 281–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lennon, Jack. 2012. "Pollution, Religion, and Society in the Roman World." In *Rome, Pollution and Propriety*, edited by Mark Bradley and Kenneth Stow, 43–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2013. *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levin-Richardson, Sarah. 2011. "Facilis Hic Futuit: Graffiti and Masculinity in Pompeii's 'Purpose Built' Brothel." *Helios* 38 (1): 59–78.
- . 2015. "Bodily Waste and Boundaries in Pompeian Graffiti." In *Ancient Obscenities*, edited by Dorota Dutsch and Ann Suter, 225–54. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Lintott, Andrew William. 1999. *Violence in Republican Rome*. Oxford University Press.
- Lorenz, Sven. 2011. "Catullus and Martial." In *A Companion to Catullus*, edited by Marilyn B. Skinner, 418–38. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Loukaitou-Sideris, Anastasia, and Renia Ehrenfeucht. 2009. *Sidewalks: Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Macaulay-Lewis, Elizabeth. 2011. "The City in Motion: Walking for Transport and Leisure in the City of Rome." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome, 262–89. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacDonald, William Lloyd. 1988. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- MacMullen, Ramsey. 1974. *Roman Social Relations: 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Malmberg, Simon, and Hans Bjur. 2011. "Movement and Urban Development at Two City Gates in Rome: The Porta Esquilina and Porta Tiburtina." In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome, 361–87. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Malnati, T.P. 1988. "Juvenal and Martial on Social Mobility." *The Classical Journal* 83 (2): 133–41.
- Mankin, David. 2010. "The Epodes: Genre, Themes, and Arrangement." In *A Companion to Horace*, edited by Gregson Davis, 93–104. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Marshall, CW. 2006. *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2013. “Sex Slaves in New Comedy.” In *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama*, edited by Ben Akrigg and Rob Tordoff, 173–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marsilio, Maria, and Kate Podlesney. 2006. “Poverty and Poetic Rivalry in Catullus (C. 23, 13, 16, 24, 81).” *Acta Classica* 49: 167–81.
- Marx, Friedrich. 1905. *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Mason, Randall. 2009. *The Once and Future New York: Historic Preservation and the Modern City*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mayer, Roland, ed. 1994. *Horace: Epistles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2005. “Sleeping with the Enemy: Satire and Philosophy.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, edited by Kirk Freudenburg, 146–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayor, J. E. B. 2007a. *Juvenal: Thirteen Satires*. Edited by John Henderson. Vol. 1. Bristol: Phoenix Press.
- . 2007b. *Juvenal: Thirteen Satires*. Edited by John Henderson. Vol. 2. Bristol: Phoenix Press.
- McGinn, Thomas A. 2004. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History & the Brothel*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- McGlathery, Daniel B. 1998. “Reversals of Platonic Love in Petronius’ Satyricon.” In *Rethinking Sexuality: Foucault and Classical Antiquity*, edited by David H. J. Larmour, Paul Allen Miller, and Charles Platter, 204–28. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Merli, Elena. 2006. “Martial Between Rome and Bilbilis.” In *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, edited by Ralph Rosen and Ineke Sluiter. Boston: Brill.
- Meyer, Roland. 1994. *Horace: Epistles I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Paul Allen. 2007. “‘I Get around’: Sadism, Desire, and Metonymy on the Streets of Rome with Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal.” In *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory*, edited by David H. J. Larmour and Diana Spencer, 138–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- . 2009. “The Bodily Grotesque in Roman Satire: Images of Sterility.” In *Persius and Juvenal: Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*, edited by Maria Plaza, 327–48. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milnor, Kristina. 2014. *Graffiti and the Literary Landscape in Roman Pompeii*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgan, J. R. 2009. “Petronius and Greek Literature.” In *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by Jonathan Prag and Ian Repath, 32–48. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Morgan, Llewelyn. 2010. *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgan, M. Gwyn. 1980. “Catullus and the ‘*Annales Volusi*.’” *Quaderni Urbinati Di Cultura Classica* 4: 59–67.
- Morley, Neville. 2006. “The Poor in the City of Rome.” In *Poverty in the Roman World*, edited by Margaret Atkins and Robin Osborne, 21–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2014. “Urban Smells and Roman Noses.” In *Smell and the Ancient Senses*, edited by Mark Bradley, 110–19. New York: Routledge.
- Moses, Robert. 1977. The Master Builder Television.
<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/blueprintamerica/video/the-dig-web-video-the-master-builder-1977/925/>.
- Mouritsen, Henrik. 2004. “Freedmen and Freeborn in the Necropolis of Imperial Ostia.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150: 281–304.
- Muecke, Frances, ed. 1993. *Horace: Satires II*. Warminster, England: Aris & Philips.
- Nappa, Christopher. 2018. *Making Men Ridiculous: Juvenal and the Anxieties of the Individual*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Newsome, David J. 2011a. “Introduction: Making Movement Meaningful.” In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by David J. Newsome and Ray Laurence, 1–54. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2011b. “Movement and Fora in Rome (the Late Republic to the First Century CE).” In *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome, 290–311. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nora, Pierre. 1989. “Between Memory and History: les Lieux de Mémoire.” *Representations* 26: 7–24.

- O'Daly, Gerard. 1999. *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ogilvie, Robert Maxwell. 1965. *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1-5*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oliensis, Ellen. 1991. "Canidia, Canicula, and the Decorum of Horace's *Epodes*." *Arethusa* 24 (1): 107–38.
- . 1998. *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olson, Kelly. 2009. "Cosmetics in Roman Antiquity: Substance, Remedy, Poison." *The Classical World* 102 (3): 291–310.
- O'Neill, Peter. 2003. "Going Round in Circles: Popular Speech in Ancient Rome." *Classical Antiquity* 22 (1): 135–76.
- Östenberg, Ida, Simon Malmberg, and Jonas Bjornebye, eds. 2015. *The Moving City: Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- O'Sullivan, Timothy M. 2011. *Walking in Roman Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Packer, James E. 2003. "Plurima et Amplissima Opera: Parsing Flavian Rome." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and William J. Dominik, 167–98. Boston: Leiden.
- Palombi, Domenico. 2005. "Morfologia, toponomastica, e viabilità prima dei fori imperiali." In *Théorie et Pratique de L'architecture Romaine: Études Offertes À Pierre Gros*, edited by Xavier Lafon and Gilles Sauron, 81–92. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence.
- Panayotakis, Costas. 2005. "Non-Verbal Behaviour on the Roman Comic Stage." In *Body Language in the Greek and Roman World*, edited by Douglas Cairns, 175–94. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales.
- Parker, Holt. 2009. "Books and Reading Latin Poetry." In *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*, edited by William A. Johnson and Holt Parker, 186–232. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Parker, Holt, and Susanna Braund. 2012. "Imperial Satire and the Scholars." In *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal.*, edited by Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood, 436–64. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Patterson, John R. 2000. "On the Margins of the City of Rome." In *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*, edited by Valerie Hope and Eireann Marshall, 85–103. London and New York: Routledge.
- Paule, Maxwell Teitel. 2017. *Canidia, Rome's First Witch*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Petersen, Lauren Hackworth. 2011. *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Platner, Samuel Ball, and Thomas Ashby. 1929. *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Plaza, Maria. 2000. *Laughter and Derision in Petronius' Satyrice: A Literary Study*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- . 2006. *The Function of Humour in Roman Verse Satire: Laughing and Lying*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rauh, Nicholas K. 1989. "Auctioneers and the Roman Economy." *Historia* 38: 451–71.
- Rechy, John. 1963. *City of Night*. New York: Grove Press.
- Reckford, Kenneth J. 2009. *Recognizing Persius*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Richardson, L. 1992. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Richardson, T. Wade. 1984. "Homosexuality in the *Satyricon*." *Classica et Mediaevalia* 35: 105–27.
- Richlin, Amy. 1992. *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*. Rev. New York: Oxford University Press.
- . ed. 2005. *Rome and the Mysterious Orient: Three Plays by Plautus*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2009a. "Juvenal and Priapus." In *Persius and Juvenal*, edited by Maria Plaza, 305–26. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2009b. "Sex in the *Satyrice*: Outlaws in Literatureland." In *Petronius: A Handbook*, edited by Jonathan Prag and Ian Repath, 82–100. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2012. "School Texts of Juvenal and Persius." In *A Companion to Persius and Juvenal*, edited by Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood, 465–85. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

- . 2014a. *Arguments with Silence: Writing the History of Roman Women*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- . 2014b. “Talking to Slaves in the Plautine Audience.” *Classical Antiquity* 33 (1): 174–226.
- . 2016. “The Kings of Comedy.” In *Roman Drama and Its Contexts*, edited by Stavros Frangoulidis, S. J. Harrison, and Gesine Manuwald, 34:67–95. Trends in Classics—Supplementary Volumes. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- . 2017. *Slave Theater in the Roman Republic: Plautus and Popular Comedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richter, Daniel S., and William A. Johnson, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Riess, Werner, and Garrett G. Fagan, eds. 2016. *The Topography of Violence in the Greco-Roman World*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Rimell, Victoria. 2005. “The Satiric Maze: Petronius, the Satire, and the Novel.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire*, edited by Kirk Freudenburg, 160–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2008. *Martial’s Rome: Empire and the Ideology of Epigram*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2015. *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics: Empire’s Inward Turn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roman, Luke. 2010. “Martial and the City of Rome.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 100: 88–117.
- . 2014. *Poetic Autonomy in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosen, Ralph, and Ineke Sluiter, eds. 2006. *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*. Boston: Brill.
- Russell, Amy. 2014. “Memory and Movement in the Rome Fora from Antiquity to Metro C.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73 (4): 478–506.
- . 2015. *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, Marcy S. 2006. *Before Harlem: The Black Experience in New York City Before World War I*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Salmon, E. T. 1952. "Horace's Ninth Satire in Its Setting." In *Studies in Honor of Gilbert Norwood*, edited by Mary White, 184–93. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Scheidel, Walter. 2003. "Germes for Rome." In *Rome the Cosmopolis*, edited by Catharine Edwards and Greg Woolf, 158–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. 1995. *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schmeling, Gareth. 2011. *A Commentary on the Satyrical of Petronius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmitzer, Ulrich. 1994. "Vom Esquilin nach Trastevere: Hor. *Sat.* 1,9 im Kontext Zeitgenössischen Verstehens." In *Horaz-Studien*, edited by Severin Koster, 9–30. Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg.
- Schwartz, Alexandra. 2016. "The Gentrified Ghostbusters of 2016." *The New Yorker*, July 28, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/the-gentrified-ghostbusters-of-2016>.
- Scobie, Alexander. 1986. "Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World." *Klio* 68: 399–433.
- Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Seaton, Tony. 2012. "Wanting to Live with Common People? The Literary Evolution of Slumming." In *Slum Tourism: Power, Poverty, and Ethics*, edited by Fabian Frenzel, Ko Koens, and Malte Steinbrink, 21–49. New York: Routledge.
- Seidel, Michael A. 1979. *Satiric Inheritance: Rabelais to Sterne*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Serena Witzke. 2015. "Harlots, Tarts, and Hussies? A Problem of Terminology for Sex Labor in Roman Comedy." *Helios* 42 (1): 7–27.
- Slater, Niall W. 1990. *Reading Petronius*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Spencer, Diana. 2006. "Horace's Garden Thoughts: Rural Retreats and the Urban Imagination." In *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, edited by Ralph Rosen and Ineke Sluiter, 239–74. Boston: Brill.
- Stern, Ellen. 1975. "How to Make a Movie in New York." *New York*, December 30, 1975.

- Stramaglia, A. 2008. *Giovenale, Satire 1, 7, 12, 16: Storia di una Poeta*. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Stratton, Kimberly B. 2014. "Magic, Abjection and Gender in Roman Literature." In *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*, edited by Kimberly B. Stratton and Dayna S. Kalleres, 152–82. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strausbaugh, John. 2008. "Weekend Explorer - Lincoln Center Area." *The New York Times*, February 1, 2008. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/02/01/arts/01expl.html>.
- Strong, Anise K. 2016. *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sullivan, J. P. 1985. *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- . 1991. *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sullivan, John Patrick. 1968. *The Satyricon of Petronius: A Literary Study*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Syme, Ronald. 1979. "Juvenal, Pliny, Tacitus." *AJPh* 100: 250–78.
- Thompson, David, and Ian Christie, eds. 1989. *Scorsese on Scorsese*. Boston: Faber and Faber.
- Thompson, E. P. 1992. "Rough Music Reconsidered." *Folklore* 103 (1): 3–26.
- Tilburg, Cornelis van. 2015. *Streets and Streams: Health Conditions and City Planning in the Graeco-Roman World*. Leiden: Primavera Perss.
- Tinoco, Matt. 2016. "L.A.'s Newest Bike Path Has Nearly A Mile Gap Thanks To Westside NIMBYs." *LAist*, January 11, 2016. http://laist.com/2016/01/11/westside_nimbys.php.
- Tonkiss, Fran. 2004. "Urban Cultures: Spatial Tactics." In *Urban Culture: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, III:236–48. London and New York: Routledge.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. 1971. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Trout, Dennis. 2016. "Napkin Art: *Carmina Contra Paganos* and the Difference Satire Made in Fourth-Century Rome." In *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome*, edited by Michele Renee Salzman, Marianne Sághy, and Rita Lizzi Testa, 213–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tuan, Yi Fu. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

- Turner, Victor. 1969. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Uden, James. 2015. *The Invisible Satirist: Juvenal and Second-Century Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Umurhan, Osman. 2017. *Juvenal's Global Awareness: Circulation, Connectivity, and Empire*. New York: Routledge.
- Urry, John, and Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Veyne, Paul. 1963. "Cave Canem." *Mélanges D'archéologie et D'histoire* 75 (1): 59–66.
- Vlassopoulos, Kostas. 2007. "Free Spaces: Identity, Experience and Democracy in Classical Athens." *Classical Quarterly* 57 (1): 33–52.
- Volk, Katharina. 2009. *Manilius and His Intellectual Background*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010. *Ovid*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Von Stackelberg, Katharine. 2009. *The Roman Garden: Space, Sense, and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew. 1989. "Rome's Cultural Revolution." *JRS* 79: 157–64.
- . 2008. *Rome's Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walsh, P. G. 1970. *The Roman Novel: The "Satyricon" of Petronius and the "Metamorphoses" of Apuleius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Welch, Tara. 2001. "Est Locus Uni Cuique Locus: City and Status in Horace's *Satires* 1.8 and 1.9." *Classical Antiquity* 20 (1): 165–92.
- Williams, Craig. 2004. *Martial's Epigrams Book Two*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Gordon. 1995. "Libertino Patre Natus: True or False?" In *Homage to Horace: A Bimillenary Celebration*, edited by S. J. Harrison, 296–313. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wilson, Marcus. 2003. "After the Silence: Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal." In *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, edited by A. J. Boyle and William J. Dominik, 523–42. Leiden: Brill.

- Wiseman, T. P. 1998. "A Stroll on the Rampart." In *Horti Romani. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, BCAR Suppl. 6*, edited by M. Cima and E. La Rocca, 13–22. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- . 2014. "Popular Memory." In *Memoria Romana: Memory in Rome and Rome in Memory*, edited by Karl Galinsky, 43–62. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Woolf, Greg. 2006. "Writing Poverty in Rome." In *Poverty in the Roman World*, edited by Margaret Atkins and Robin Osborne, 83–99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zanker, Paul. 2010. "By the Emperor, for the people: 'Popular' architecture in Rome." In *The Emperor and Rome*, edited by Björn C. Ewald and Carlos F. Noreña, 35:45–88. Yale Classical Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zeitlin, Froma. 1971. "Petronius as Paradox: Anarchy and Artistic Integrity." *TAPA* 102: 631–84.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2009. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.