



PROJECT MUSE®

Umbricius' Farewell Tour

Erin Moodie

Classical World, Volume 108, Number 1, Fall 2014, pp. 27-44 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

DOI: [10.1353/clw.2014.0048](https://doi.org/10.1353/clw.2014.0048)



➔ For additional information about this article

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/clw/summary/v108/108.1.moodie.html>

Umbricius' Farewell Tour

ERIN MOODIE

ABSTRACT: Umbricius' speech, which comprises the majority of Juvenal's third satire, should be read as the character's *syntaktikon*, or farewell speech, to Rome, as it provides a totalizing portrait of the city's physical and social topography. The theme of fullness, mixture of influences, and the expansion of satire's generic boundaries allow Juvenal to represent the city, culturally bloated and socially fractured, in verse form while simultaneously reaffirming the genre's urban nature and illustrating its post-Lucilian decline.

Scholars have long recognized that satire is a "capacious" genre that can represent Rome—its birthplace—"in its overflowing multifariousness, in its irrepressible excesses."¹ Moreover, Juvenal's poetry in its turn has been noted for its efforts at fullness and satiety,² even while such efforts at fullness often proceed through compression and may not aim for any sort of "topographical specificity."³ But in fact, it has not yet been recognized that Umbricius' speech—and indeed Juvenal 3 as a whole—manages to contain the entire city of Rome within its confines. Indeed, Juvenal's use of space within the satire renders the poem programmatic: the poem is as much about the genre of satire as it is about the city of Rome. Furthermore,

This piece has benefited from the constructive comments and questions of many readers and listeners. I wish to thank *CW*'s anonymous reviewers in particular for their suggestions, as well as the audience at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on March 29, 2012, which heard an earlier draft of this paper. Any remaining errors are, alas, my own.

¹ C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge 1996) 128; compare her description of Rome as a "kaleidoscopic vision" (28).

² V. Rimell, "The Poor Man's Feast: Juvenal," in K. Freudenburg, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge 2005) 83–84.

³ D. H. J. Larmour, "Holes in the Body: Sites of Abjection in Juvenal's Rome," in D. Larmour and D. Spencer, eds., *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory* (Oxford 2007) 196. Larmour also observes that Juvenal frequently employs "synecdoche, metonymy, allusion, and brevity" (193).

by means of references and allusions to Rome's seven hills,⁴ Umbricius provides a fittingly disordered and disjointed tour of the Roman city as part of his "inverse *syntaktikon*," the speech of a departing traveler.⁵

Juvenal's third satire is framed by the narrator's introduction of the character of Umbricius and description of their meeting just beyond the Porta Capena. Ironically, given the gaps and jumps in Juvenal's portrait of the city as a whole, his portrait of the Porta Capena and nearby Valley of Egeria, where the narrator meets Umbricius, is "the only sustained piece of topographical description of a specific location in the entire *Satires*."⁶

⁴ The hills to which Juvenal refers in *Satire* 3 are the same seven hills whose names Varro etymologizes in *L.* 5.41–56: the Capitoline, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, and Palatine. However, it is clear that there are more than seven elevated areas in Rome, especially if one includes the Janiculum and Vatican hills across the Tiber. Nevertheless, the concept of seven hills was important to the city—Varro lists Septimontium (understanding it to mean "Seven Hills" rather than "Palisaded Hills" as L. A. Holland proposed) as the early name for Rome at *L.* 5.7. See L. A. Holland, "Septimontium or Saeptimontium?" *TAPA* 84 (1953) 16–34. Even if the Romans themselves disagreed regarding which seven hills were canonical, the idea of seven hills (along with the city's other "most obviously fixed and stable elements: the monumental architecture of the Forum and the Colosseum") is often used via synecdoche to represent the city as a whole, as D. Larmour and D. Spencer ("Introduction—*Roma, Recepta: A Topography of the Imagination*," in D. Larmour and D. Spencer, eds., *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory* [Oxford 2007] 14) note. Juvenal himself later uses the hills to represent the entire city of Rome at 6.295–296: *hinc fluxit ad istos / et Sybaris colles* ("From this time Sybaris too flowed to those famous hills"). The text of Persius and Juvenal is that of W. V. Clausen, ed., *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuuenalis Saturae* (Oxford 1992); all translations are my own. Compare Martial 4.64.11–12: *hinc septem dominos videre montis / et totam licet aestimare Romam* ("From here one can see the seven master hills and appraise all of Rome"). The text is that of D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed. *Martial: Epigrams*, Loeb Classical Library 94 (Cambridge, Mass., 1993). One reviewer noted that *Satire* 6 presents a similarly totalizing portrait of Rome, with its references to such a wide variety of locations around the city (which include the imperial *fora* and a theater at 68, the Palatine at 117, a brothel at 121, the sand of the arena at 251, the Vatican hill at 344, a private home at O1, a tomb at O16, the baths at 375, the Capitoline at 387, gates at 409, crossroads at 412, the Tiber at 523, the Campus Martius at 525, a temple of Isis at 528, and a circus at 588).

⁵ F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972) 48; S. M. Braund, *Juvenal: Satires, Book 1* (Cambridge 1996) 230–231. *Syntaktika* normally praise both the point of departure and the people of that city, promising never to forget them, then praise the traveler's destination (especially emphasizing his desire to return home if that is his destination), and finish with prayers for the well-being and safety of the traveler and the people of the city he is about to leave (Cairns 39). Umbricius, as we shall see, often does the exact opposite of what might be expected in a *syntaktikon*, upending all expectations for the genre even as Juvenal himself explodes the boundaries of satire established by Horace. F. Jones (*Juvenal and the Satiric Genre* [London 2007] 41) describes *Satire* 3 as a "jumble of inconsistent liftings from different genres."

⁶ Larmour (above, n.3) 191.

The only places mentioned in the narrator's lines (1–20) include the Subura district (*Suburae*, 5), the old arches of the Aqua Marcia and Porta Capena (*ueteres arcus . . . Capenam*, 11), and the Valley of Egeria (*uallem Egeriae*, 17; compare the *sacri fontis nemus et delubra*, “shrines and grove of the sacred spring,” 13), but the movement implied in these lines presages Umbricius' own disjointed tour of the city. Indeed, after the opening frame, the remainder of Juvenal's third satire consists of Umbricius' litany of complaints about the city of Rome. Delivering his speech while in the process of leaving Rome and moving to Cumae, Umbricius complains about Rome's miserable living conditions, the depraved behavior of its residents, the influx of easterners—especially Greeks⁷—and the ability of even the nouveaux riches to purchase power. But Umbricius weaves into his speech explicit mention of, and implicit allusion to, many of the most famous locations within Rome, thus encapsulating the entire “dystopian metropolis” in his scathing farewell.⁸ These locations include the seven hills, the Tiber river, and important buildings both within the old Servian walls and in the much-visited Campus Martius to the west-northwest.

First, Umbricius refers to gladiatorial games (and therefore amphitheaters) in the context of his complaints about the rise of shameless nouveaux riches in business at 36–37 (*munera nunc edunt, et uerso pollice, uulgi / cum iubet, occidunt populariter*, “now they offer games and—with a turned thumb—they kill democratically, when the crowd

⁷ The satire also emphasizes geography beyond Rome, mentioning many locations within the Italian peninsula (2, 4, 5, 169, 171, 190–192, 223–224, 307, 319, 321), but focusing on the exotic origins of many of the city's immigrants, as one of *CW*'s anonymous readers noted. The Other—which includes Greeks (61, 78, 80, 114, 119–120, 136) and Moors, Sarmatians, and Thracians (79), not to mention their works of art (217–218), and language and cultural practices (63–68, among others)—has invaded Rome from Syria (the Orontes river on 62), Sicyon and Amydon (69), Andros, Samos, Tralles, and Alabanda (70), and Tarsus (118). Furthermore, the Tagus river in Lusitania (55), Hercules' contest with Antaeus in Libya (89), and Samothrace (144) serve as points of comparison to events in Rome. Edwards (above, n.1) 125–26 cites the invasion of Egeria's grove by the Jews in lines 12–20 as exemplifying the larger trend. However, this essay is more concerned with Umbricius and his audience's virtual movement around Rome in the course of his diatribe. See N. Shumate, *Nation, Empire, Decline: Studies in Rhetorical Continuity from the Romans to the Modern Era* (London 2006) 19–20 on the construction of Romaness in Juvenal's *Satires* through the defensive rejection of difference and homogenization of all difference between a generic Other. See C. Keane, *Figuring Genre in Roman Satire* (Oxford 2006) 42–72 for more on the satiric attack of figures perceived as Others.

⁸ R. Laurence, “Literature and the Spatial Turn: Movement and Space in Martial's *Epigrams*,” in R. Laurence and D. Newsome, eds., *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (Oxford 2011) 81.

commands”).⁹ During the reign of Domitian, which is usually considered to be the world of Juvenalian satire,¹⁰ the recently built Flavian amphitheater, located between the Palatine, Esquiline, and Caelian hills, held many such spectacles.¹¹ Then, when describing how he is headed to Cumae in order to escape all the Greeks in Rome, Umbricius mentions the Tiber river (*Tiberim*, 62) and soon afterwards refers to the Circus Maximus (*circum*, 65; compare *circensibus*, 223).¹² Still caught up in the theme of the displacement of true Romans by Greeks and other foreigners, Umbricius mentions the Esquiline (*Esquiliās*, 71), the Viminal (*dictumque . . . a uimine collem*, “the hill named from the willow,” 71¹³), and the Aventine (*Auentini*, 85).¹⁴ However, the proximity

⁹ E. Courtney (*A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* [London 1980] 161) provides the following *comparanda* for the newly wealthy putting on games, albeit not specifically in Rome itself: Mart. 3.16, 3.59; Tac. *Ann.* 4.62, 15.34; Pliny *Nat.* 35.32, *ILS* 5186, SG 2.82–85 = 2.102–106.

¹⁰ S. M. Braund, “City and Country in Roman Satire,” in S. Braund, ed., *Satire and Society in Ancient Rome* (Exeter 1989) 38.

¹¹ J. Edmondson (“Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire,” in W. Slater, ed., *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon papers 1* [Ann Arbor 1996] 75, 76, 78) calls the Flavian amphitheater the “permanent home” for *munera* in Rome after its dedication in 80 C.E. Before that time, games had often been held in the Campus Martius in Nero’s and Statilius Taurus’ wooden amphitheaters (at least until they burned down in the fire of 64 C.E.). Temporary wooden structures around the city may have hosted gladiatorial bouts in the meantime and may have continued to do so. The lack of evidence for *munera* sponsored by private individuals after the mid-first century C.E. may indicate that the imperial family were the only people to offer such spectacles to the public by Domitian’s time. However, the absence of evidence may merely indicate bias on the part of Roman historians towards such “low” topics. Juvenal could therefore either be exaggerating the truth for effect or indicating the actual state of affairs, and it is impossible to know which is the case.

¹² According to J. Ferguson (*Juvenal: The Satires* [New York 1979] 140), the Circus Maximus is most likely the referent here; see also Braund (above, n.5) 185; P. A. Miller, *Latin Verse Satire: An Anthology and Critical Reader* (London 2005) 253. Braund (above, n.5) 178 notes the paradoxical nature of Umbricius’ decision to relocate to Magna Graecia in order to escape Greeks.

¹³ Braund (above, n.5) 186 observes that Juvenal must employ periphrasis here since the adjective *Viminālis* cannot fit into a line of hexameter.

¹⁴ Umbricius claims that his own childhood on the Aventine was nourished by the olive, the “Sabine berry”: *nostra infantia caelum / hausit Auentini baca nutrita Sabina*. Braund (above, n.5) 189 asserts that the “periphrasis evokes the Sabines’ reputation for an austere life-style” (in contrast with the invading Greeks and wealthy modern Romans). Indeed the Sabines were not associated with the Aventine per se—Livy 1.33 declares that they first settled on the Capitoline, and that the Aventine was then given by Ancus Martius to the recently conquered inhabitants of Politorium. Regardless, the Sabine allusion does remind the audience that “la Rome primitive reste toujours présente à l’esprit”; see M.

of *Quirine* at 67 to the names of these hills suggests that we should read an allusion to the Quirinal in Romulus' other name as well.¹⁵ Similarly, the periphrastic reference to the Viminal may provide a clue to be alert for the names of other hills not explicitly mentioned. In fact the phrase *in caelum iusseris ibit* ("he will go into the sky should you command it," 78), which appears just seven lines after the Quirinal-Esquiline-Viminal cluster at 67–71, would sound, when read aloud, very much like the Latin name for the Caelian hill: *Caelius*.¹⁶ Next, in the context of portraying Greeks as skillful liars and actors, Umbricius alludes to the theater in lines 93–100.¹⁷ During Domitian's reign, the three theaters in Rome (those of Marcellus, Pompey, and Balbus) were all located in the Campus Martius, with the Theater of Marcellus directly to the west of, and below, the Capitoline hill. Thus, the first eighty lines of Umbricius' tirade contain allusions to Rome's amphitheatres, circuses, theaters, and five of its hills.

Umbricius next decries the fact that money is prized above all other things in Rome and that poverty is now despised, so that rich upstarts supplant poor Roman clients. Lamenting that morality counts for nothing these days, Umbricius declares that even the most pious of Romans past would now be interrogated first about his wealth, even were he as

Royo and B. Gruet, "Décrire Rome: fragment et totalité, la ville ancienne au risque du paysage," in P. Fleury and O. Desbordes, eds., *Roma illustrata: Représentations de la ville. Actes du colloque international de Caen 6–8 octobre 2005* (Caen 2008) 389.

¹⁵ Compare Var. *L.* 5.51, which derives *Quirinalis* from either *Quirinus* or *Quirites*. There may also be additional reminders of the hill in *Quirites* at Juvenal 3.60 and 163. The first of these references appears in the context of Umbricius' declaration that "I cannot, Quirites, endure a Greek city" (*non possum ferre, Quirites, / Graecam urbem*, 60–61). Ironically, the word *Quirites* derives from the name of the Sabine town *Cures*, and thus Umbricius alludes to Rome's originally hybrid creation in the course of an anti-immigrant rant!

¹⁶ See W. S. Allen, *Vox Latina: A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin* (Cambridge 1965) 30–31 for a discussion of why final *m* was pronounced as a "nasalization of the preceding vowel."

¹⁷ Specific references to the theater include *Thaida sustinet* ("he maintains the role of Thais") at 93; *uxorem comoedus agit uel Dorida* ("the comic actor acts the role of the wife or Doris") at 94; *palliolo* ("little Greek cloak") at 95; *persona* ("mask") at 96; *ne tamen Antiochus nec erit mirabilis illic / aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo: natio comoeda est* ("nor will Antiochus or Stratocles or Demetrius with the role of soft Haemus be noteworthy there: it's a nation of comic actors," 98–100). Umbricius thus refers to well-known stock roles of the prostitute, wife, and slave (93–94), the costume and mask of a performer of the *fabula palliata* (95–96), and lists four Greek actors who performed comedies in Rome (98–99) before finishing with the Greek term for a comic actor (100). See further Braund (above, n.5) 191.

holy as the host of the Magna Mater (*hospes / numinis Idaei*, “the host of the Idaean deity,” 137–138), Numa, or the man who “rescued the fearful Palladium from the burning temple”—that of Vesta in the Forum Romanum (*seruauit trepidam flagranti ex aede Mineruam*, 139).¹⁸ The succeeding mention of Vesta’s temple promotes the connection of the Magna Mater with her own impressive temple on the Palatine hill.¹⁹ Umbricius next touches upon the theaters of the Campus Martius again with *puluino . . . equestri* (“equestrian seat”) at 154.

Then, amidst a lengthy digression on how life in small Italian towns is both cheaper and safer than life in Rome, Umbricius returns to the theme of the privileging of wealth over morality, declaring that the praetor will “postpone his appointments [court cases]” in order to offer assistance to a wealthy man whose house has burned (*differt uadimonia praetor*, 213; compare 298).²⁰ Umbricius next claims that one of the primary dangers in Rome arises from the poor man’s inability to sleep amidst the clamor and crowding. Even the emperor Claudius himself would not be able to sleep here due to the noise of the people and vehicles in the streets:

. . . raedarum transitus arto
uicorum in flexu et stantis conuicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso. . .

(3.236–238)

The passing of carriages in the narrow bend of the streets and the clamor of the standing herd of cattle will snatch sleep away from Drusus.²¹

¹⁸ Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica accompanied the meteorite representing Cybele from Phrygia to Rome in 204 B.C.E., while Lucius Caecilius Metellus rescued the famous statue of Minerva in 241 B.C.E.

¹⁹ The Magna Mater was also associated with several other spots around the city: the Almo brook along the Via Appia, and perhaps a small tholos temple near the Clivus Palatinus and Arch of Titus. See S. Takacs, “Cybele,” in H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*, Vol. 3 (Leiden 2003) 1038; S. Takacs, “Mater Magna,” in H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: Antiquity*, Vol. 8 (Leiden 2006) 459.

²⁰ It is unclear whether this reference to the *praetor* and his court of law (through *uadimonia*—surety to ensure the defendant’s appearance in court—at 213 and 298) refers to a specific location within Rome. The city’s major courts were in the Forum Romanum, but since the *praetor* could hear minor cases wherever he happened to be found, *uadimonia* need not remind the reader of any particular location within the city (Gaius, *Inst.*).

²¹ J. Mayor (*Thirteen Satires of Juvenal* [London 1889]), Ferguson (above, n.12), Courtney (above, n.9), Braund, (above, n.5), and Miller, *Latin* (above, n.12) also prefer the reading *Druso*, while J. D. Duff (*D. Iunii Iuuenalis Saturae XIV: Fourteen Satires of*

This reference to the emperor brings to mind the imperial residence on the Palatine, which suits the contexts in which his drowsiness was most frequently observed.²² Finally, Umbricius remarks that the residents of Rome in its early days “under kings and military tribunes” (*quondam sub regibus atque tribunis*, 313), when “Rome was content with only a single prison” (*uno contentam carcere Romam*, 314), were the lucky ones. He thus closes his speech with allusions to the city’s earliest regions, the Palatine and Forum Romanum, and to the Capitoline hill, which held Rome’s first prison, the Mamertine.²³

Thus, if we look at the specific hills and districts to which Juvenal alludes in the poem we see that his portrayal of the city is disjointed, but nevertheless complete: he touches on every area of the city within the Servian Walls, as well as many locations in the Campus Martius. This is the “fragmentation” half of the “fragmentation and juxtaposition” that, according to Ray Laurence, is the best way for Martial and Juvenal to portray Rome itself.²⁴

Juvenal also employs juxtaposition frequently in *Satire 3*, contrasting the privies (*foricas*) of line 38 with the lofty pediments (*fastigia*) in the following line, or the equestrian seats (*puluino . . . equestri*) of line 154 with the brothel (*fornice*) of line 156. The lengthier contrast between his treatment of the poor victim of a fire at 203–211 and that of the wealthy yet greedy arsonist himself at 212–222 is also instructive. So too is the difference between the wretched soul of the victim of a collapsed wagon and his bustling household, whose preparations for his return are all in vain (259–267). Aside from these contrasting locations, however, the breadth of nonspecific locations to which Juvenal refers in his third satire also provides a sense of fullness. There are the buildings (*tectorum*, 8) and temple, rivers, and ports (*aedem . . . flumina, portus*,

Juvenal [Cambridge 1970]) prints *Druso* but notes on 165 that *surdo* is quite probably correct.

²² Claudius habitually fell asleep immediately after dinner and also slept through court cases, according to Suet. *Cl.* 8. Less likely referents are Claudius’ temple on the Caelian and his aqueduct, which delivered water to the Caelian hill. Suet. *Cl.* 25 also reports that Claudius “executed immigrants who tried to pass as Roman citizens” on the Esquiline, though “presumably outside the walls”; see Ferguson (above, n.12) 141.

²³ These allusions and references to all seven of Rome’s hills do provide some closure to Umbricius’ speech, if not to the poem as a whole, despite the fact that satirists often have difficulty with endings, and satire tends to avoid or even subvert formal closure; see D. Griffin, *Satire: A Critical Reintroduction* (Lexington, Ky., 1994) 96, 98.

²⁴ Laurence (above, n.8) 81.

31), for example, or the gymnasia (*gymnasia*) and forges (via *fornace* . . . *incude*, “furnace” and “anvil”) at 115 and 309, respectively. The generic nature of these sites does not mean they are unimportant for the poem’s overall scheme, however. We hear of homes big and small (*magnarum domuum*, 72, plain *domus* at 187 and 303), less desirable lodgings (*hospitium miserabile* “wretched lodging” at 166, *hospitio tectoque* “lodging and a roof” at 211, *tenebras* “shadows” at 225, *meritoria* “short-term room rentals” at 234), decrepit buildings (*lapsus / tectorum* “collapses of buildings” at 7–8, *pendente* . . . *ruina* “while collapse is imminent” at 196), and an inn (*tabernae* at 304). And the terms *limine* (“threshold,” 124) and *sportula* (“dole,” 249) refer to the doorstep of a wealthy man’s house and the daily distribution of food to his clients. Umbricius also complains about narrow streets at 236–237 (*arto / uicorum in flexu*) and the pavement (*silicem*) and muddy lack thereof (*luto*) at 272 and 247. As David Larmour has noted, such generalized settings allow Juvenal to imply that similar scenes extend throughout Rome,²⁵ but the variety of locations depicted in the poem also mirrors the diverse, crowded city.

The space comprised within *Satire 3* includes not only the streets and paving stones, as mentioned above (236–237, 247, 272), but also extends vertically into the sewers below the city (see at 32 and 38 *eluuiem*—“out-flow, discharge”—and *foricas*—“privies”) and to the very top of the tallest buildings, the *insulae* (see *tegula* “roof tiles” at 201, *tectis sublimibus* “lofty roofs” at 269, and compare “pediments,” *fastigia*, at 39). One could even argue that Roman space extends even further in either direction. For example, the poor, unfortunate soul of the man crushed by stones sits “on the bank” of the Styx, here called “a muddy stream” in the underworld at 265–266 (*in ripa . . . caenosi gurgitis*). At the opposite end of Rome’s vertical axis are the stars (*astrorum*, 43), the sky (see especially line 84, where it is specifically the sky above the Aventine hill: *caelum / Auentini*), and the moon that lights a poor man’s way home at 286. Juvenal’s third satire, like the genre of satire itself, contains everything between heaven and hell, but rather more of the latter.²⁶

²⁵ Larmour (above, n.3) 181.

²⁶ In addition to the spatial comprehensiveness of Juvenal 3, the satire is socially comprehensive as well. The houses of the wealthy men on the Esquiline and Viminal (71–72), the serene interior of the wealthy man’s enormous litter at 240–242, and the *praetor* himself (128, 213, 299) can be contrasted with references to the Subura (5), poverty (145,

Furthermore, the satire contains everything from the founding of Rome, up through the Republic, and on to the somewhat indistinct “present day” of the satire’s setting. Umbricius signals the temporal comprehensiveness of his speech from the start with *hodie . . . here . . . cras* (“today, yesterday, tomorrow”) at line 23. He recalls Rome’s past glory days with a mention of Numa at 138 and kings and tribunes at 313 (*quondam sub regibus atque tribunis*), for example, and uses the term *olim* (“once upon a time”) to refer to a nonspecific past at 163.²⁷ In contrast, the satire’s present day is marked by the use of *nunc* (“now”) five times, at 13, 36, 49, 58, 225. Thus, Juvenal 3 (and hence satire as well) can claim temporal comprehensiveness too. Larmour has noted that Juvenal’s first satire “encode[s]” many different time spans: “of human life from birth to death, of Roman History from its beginnings through the Republic and into the Empire, of the growth and expansion of the city, and of the genre of satire from Lucilius through Horace to Juvenal.”²⁸ Similarly, Juvenal 3 encodes several methods for describing time. For example, Umbricius refers to his own infancy (*nostra infantia*, 84), but often emphasizes Rome as the city of the dead and the about-to-die: see the tombs (*busta*, 32), a father’s funeral procession (*funus . . . patris*, 43), the legacy hunters pursuing the childless wealthy (*orbis* at 129, *orborum* at 221), the poor man crushed by an overturned wagon-load of stone (257–267), the need to have written a will before leaving the house at night (272–275), and the murderer and his sword lying in wait at 305. Likewise, although there are references to the daytime (see *omni/nocte dieque* “every night and day” at 104–105, to the client rising before dawn with *nocte* at 127, and the implied morning hour of the *sportula* on 249), Umbricius emphasizes the nocturnal setting of many of Rome’s dangers: forms of *nox* appear at 268, 275, and 279, the

152, 299), begging (*frusta rogantem* “asking for scraps,” 210), and the reference to a beggar’s ‘pitch’ (*ubi consistas*, “where do you set yourself?”) in line 296. Juvenal 3 thus provides the reader with a complete picture of both the city’s physical and social topography.

²⁷ Compare the narrator’s description of the Aqua Marcia as *ueteres arcus* “old arches” at 11 and his description of how Numa used to meet Egeria with the imperfect *constituebat* at 12. Umbricius also refers to the past in his criticism of onetime (*quondam*) amphitheater horn players at 34 and to the use of the present tense in many of his complaints, such as *rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna* (“that rustic of yours puts on a Greek slipper”) at 67.

²⁸ Larmour (above, n.3) 191.

moon at 286.²⁹ Thus the third satire in fact encompasses the entire city of Rome (either explicitly or by association) within its bounds. It does so socially, temporally, and physically, both horizontally across the surface of the city and vertically from the sewers to the rooftops and beyond.³⁰

Juvenal's inclusive portrait of Rome is unique, as becomes clear through a comparison with several other poetic descriptions of the city, which differ from Juvenal 3 in various instructive ways. First, perhaps the most famous poetic tour of Rome is that offered by Evander to Aeneas in book 8 of the *Aeneid* (lines 337–361). This tour is a necessary *comparandum* for Juvenal because of satire's general parodic competition with epic,³¹ and because of specific allusions to the *Aeneid*'s version of the fall of Troy elsewhere in Juvenal's poem.³² Evander points out various sites around what will one day be the Roman Forum (361), including the Porta Carmentalis (338), Romulus' Asylum (342), and the Tarpeian Rock (347) in and around the citadel of Saturn (357), which will come to be called the Capitoline Hill. Evander also leads Aeneas to, or gestures towards, the Janiculum (358), the Argiletum (345), the Lupercal (343), and the future neighborhood of Carinae (361). As Diana Spencer has recently argued, Evander's tour emphasizes "gestural axes and conceptual isovists rather

²⁹ See too *cenam* at 273. Juvenal also mentions longer time spans: months (*Augusto . . . mense*, 9), seasons (*brumae* "winter," 102), and the year (*annum*, 225). Similarly, while H. Vincent ("Passing By or Bypassing the Ancient Altar: Principles of Transgression in Satire," presentation, Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, Seattle, January 5, 2013) observes that temporal and spatial compression and distortion are common across Juvenal's corpus, she notes that Juvenal 3 does display more "temporal coherence" than most of the poems.

³⁰ Pace W. S. Anderson (*Essays on Roman Satire* [Princeton 1982] 223), who declares the Rome portrayed in Juvenal 3 as "un-Roman." Compare Griffin (above, n.23) 55 and P. A. Miller, "'I Get Around': Sadism, Desire, and Metonymy on the Streets of Rome with Horace, Ovid, and Juvenal," in D. Larmour and D. Spencer, eds., *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory* (Oxford 2007) 165.

³¹ For the general connection between epic and satire—especially Juvenal's satire—see Jones (above, n.5) esp. 111–16. The scene in which a bully (who is compared to Achilles at 3.280) accosts a poor man has also been read—at least in part—as a parody of an epic battle by Braund (above, n.5) 222, among others. V. Baines ("Umbricius' *Bellum Ciuile*: Juvenal, *Satire 3*," *G&R* 50 [2003] 220–37) discusses the allusions to several different epic poems in the third satire, as well as the satiric genre as a "successor" of epic (233). For more on the links between satire and epic in Juvenal 3, see R. A. LaFleur, "Umbricius and Juvenal Three," *Ziva Antika* 26 (1976) 420–24; V. Estévez, "Umbricius and Aeneas: A Reading of Juvenal III," *Maia* 48 (1996) 281–99.

³² G. Staley, "Umbricius' Rome, Vergil's Troy," *MAAR* 45 (2000) 281–99.

than uninterrupted sightlines or proximity.”³³ It is not a practical tour of the center of pre-urban Rome, but a list of locations that carry meaning for Rome and Vergil’s overall poetic project.³⁴ With the mention of the Porta Carmentalis, for example, Vergil emphasizes the glorious future of Aeneas’ descendants,³⁵ while the story of Argus’ death raises the issue of the proper relationship between guests and hosts.³⁶ Evander’s tour, says Spencer, allows Vergil to demonstrate that Roman places and names “are autochthonic and inevitable: intrinsic to and inextricably embedded within this space.”³⁷ Evander shows Aeneas a Rome just waiting to spring into being, with the promise of empire hidden only by the thriving undergrowth. Understandably, the Capitoline Hill, the later site of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and therefore at the center of Roman state religious practice, features heavily in Evander’s tour. Note that Juvenal alludes to the hill only indirectly (via the degraded image of Rome’s earliest prison in 314) in his depiction of Rome. Instead of Rome’s noble origins, Juvenal emphasizes the invasion of the Other and the moral and physical

³³ D. Spencer, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity* (Cambridge 2010) 52.

³⁴ Similarly, Propertius 4.1 refers—or more frequently alludes periphrastically—to a few specific locations around Rome in the course of its account of early Roman history and prehistory: the Palatine (*Palatia*, 3), Capitoline (*Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat* “the Tarpeian father thundering from the naked cliff,” 7), Tiber (*Tiberis*, 8), and Aventine (*gradibus domus ista Remi se sustulit* “at the steps that house of Remus raised itself,” 9), plus the Curia (*curia*, 11), the theater (*theatro*, 15), and a series of religious festivals (the Vestalia—and thus Vesta’s temple—via *Vesta* at 21, the Compitalia via *compita* “cross-roads” at 23, the Lupercalia—and thus the Lupercal—via *Lupercus* at 26), and perhaps the Quirinal (via *Quirites* “the Romans” 13). The text is that of S. J. Heyworth, *Sexti Properti Elegi* (Oxford 2007.) While Propertius, like Juvenal, emphasizes the purity and upright morals of these early Romans and proto-Romans, he does so without explicitly contrasting modern behavior. The number of topographical references compressed into these few lines is striking, and reminds us that elegy—like satire, epigram, and pastoral—is an urban genre par excellence; see Larmour and Spencer (above, n.4) 27.

³⁵ *Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram / et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam / quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem, / uatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros / Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum* (“When he had scarcely finished speaking, after stepping forward he shows both the altar and the gate which the Romans call Carmentalis by name, an ancient honor for the nymph Carmentis, the future-telling prophet, who first sang of the great descendants of Aeneas who would come to be and of renowned Pallanteum,” 337–341). The text is that of R. A. B. Mynors, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford 1969).

³⁶ *nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti / testaturque locum et letum docet hospitibus Argi* (“And he also points out the grove of sacred Argiletum, and calling on the spot as witness he teaches about the place and the death of his guest Argus,” 345–346).

³⁷ Spencer (above, n.33) 51.

disintegration of the city. Furthermore, whereas Vergil portrays Evander as living in noble simplicity—he is described as *pauper* (“impoverished”) at 360³⁸—there is nothing noble about poverty in Juvenal 3. In fact, Umbricius asserts, *nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se / quam quod ridiculos homines facit* (“unlucky poverty has nothing harsher in itself than that it makes men ridiculous,” 152–153).³⁹ Nevertheless, Vergil is similar to Juvenal in that the physical fabric of Rome also represents the inspiration for his poetry in this passage.

In contrast, in *Epistle* 2.2.65–80 (19 or 11 B.C.E.), Horace declares that Rome and poetry are incompatible, since it is difficult to write in the tumultuous city.⁴⁰ Furthermore, many of the elements of Horace’s depiction of Rome actually overlap with those in Juvenal 3, including the mention of the Quirinal and Aventine hills in lines 68 and 69, although here the hills are named as part of a complaint about the difficulty of traveling between the two distant locations:

. . . cubat hic in colle Quirini,
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;
intervalla vides humane commoda.

(*Ep.* 2.2.68–70)

This man lies sick on the Quirinal hill, this one on the farthest part of the Aventine, both must be visited; you see the distances are pleasantly easy.

Horace then describes streets filled with bustling contractors and their mules and workmen (72), cranes lifting stone and timber for construction

³⁸ *talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant / pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant / Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis* (“With such words between themselves they approached the house of impoverished Evander, and saw here and there cattle lowing in the Roman Forum and the elegant Keels neighborhood [between the Caelian and Esquiline Hills],” 359–361).

³⁹ Compare the luckless plight of the poor man at Juvenal 3.127–129, where his service to any childless patron involves rising before dawn only to be preceded there by a praetor and his lictors; at 145–146, where his oaths to the gods are always considered false; at 161, where he will never be named an heir; and at 299–301, where his freedom only allows him to beg to return home from a pummeling with a few of his teeth.

⁴⁰ See lines 65–66: *praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes / scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?* (“Unless you think that I can write the other poems among so many concerns and so many tasks”). Compare line 76: *i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros* (“Go now and muse with yourself over your harmonious verses!”). The text of Horace is that of E. C. Wickham and H. W. Garrod, *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963/1975).

projects (73), funeral processions competing with large wagons (74), and the occasional free-roaming animal (a rabid dog and a muddy pig appear in line 75). Finally, he may also allude to unpleasant listening obligations, which would parallel the narrator's complaint about poets who recite in the month of August at Juvenal 3.9.⁴¹ Both poems are, on some level, about the act of writing poetry. However, while both Horace and Juvenal play with the traditional components of the longstanding rhetorical debate between the merits of the city and the country, their basic premise differs: for Horace, the country—not the city—is the place for poetic creation.⁴² In contrast, Juvenal opens his collection of *Satires* by indicating the importance of the city for his poetry (1.31, 63–67).⁴³

Compare Horace's earlier *Sermones* 1.9 (35–34 B.C.E.), featuring the narrator's encounter with Rome's most annoying social climber. In this satire Horace refers to several specific locations around the city, including the *via Sacra* (1), the Tiber and the Transtiberine area (18), the Gardens of Caesar (18), and the Temple of Vesta (35). He also mentions the streets of the city in general (13) and Rome's crossroads (59) before Apollo comes to the narrator's rescue and ends the poem. Here too (lines 23–24) the attentions of a prolific (and hence unskilled) poet are something to be avoided.⁴⁴ While Horace's poem starts in the center of the city, near the Roman Forum, the focus of this poem is entirely different from that of Juvenal 3. Horace is concerned with the interaction between the narrator and the pest, and with his own relationship to Maecenas, and the landmarks around the city serve more as a backdrop to the action, and—as in *Epistle* 2.2—to mark the inconvenience of such a long journey with a social climbing bore in tow. Nevertheless, *Sermones* 1.9

⁴¹ See line 67: *hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta* (“this man invites me as his sponsor, this one to hear what he's written”). Other parallels between *Ep.* 2.2 and Juvenal 3 suggest that it may have been an important intertext for Juvenal. See E. Moodie, “The Bully as Satirist in Juvenal's Third Satire,” *AJPh* 133 (2012) 93–115.

⁴² See too *S.* 1.5, 2.3, and 2.6.

⁴³ 1.30–31: *difficile est saturam non scribere. nam quis iniquae / tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se . . .* (“It is difficult not to write satire. For who is so enduring of an unjust city, so unfeeling, that he holds himself back . . .”). Compare 1.63–67: *nonne libet medio ceras inplere capaces / quadriuo, cum iam sexta ceruice feratur / hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra / et multum referens de Maecenate supino / signator falsi* (“Isn't it pleasing to fill roomy tablets in the middle of the crossroads, when already a forger is carried by, lying exposed from this side and that, in a nearly uncovered sedan chair, on six necks, calling to mind a reclining Maecenas”).

⁴⁴ *nam quis me scribere pluris / aut citius possit versus* (“for who could write more verses than I, or more quickly?”), asks the pest (1.9.23–24).

demonstrates that the city of Rome does provide material for the composition of satire. The poem simply offers a fuller portrait of the Horatian persona than of Rome itself.

Similarly, Rome's physical topography is less important to Ovid than it is to Juvenal. In Ovid's guide to finding and seducing women in Rome, he focuses on the constructed spaces and contexts that allow for the easy mixing of the sexes: porticos (*Ars* 1.67–74), religious rites and temples (1.75–78), the Forum Julium and the law courts (1.79–88), theaters (1.89–134), the Circus Maximus (1.135–162), gladiatorial bouts at an arena (1.163–170), mock naval battles (1.171–176), and triumphal processions (1.177–228). As Miller has noted, many of these same locations surface in *Tristia* 2, Ovid's defense of the *Ars*: he mentions theaters (279–280), gladiatorial bouts (281–282), the circus (283–284), porticoes (285–286), and temples (287–300).⁴⁵ Ovid's Rome is a city of man-made locations and spectacles, where the crowds provide anonymity and a selection of targets, and myth, history, religion, and politics all promote the pursuit of love. Juvenal, on the other hand, emphasizes the size and extent of the city in an effort to demonstrate Rome's connection with the satirical genre and to emphasize the physical demands it places on its residents—especially those (clients, for example) attempting to travel from one side to another.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Juvenal may even be parodying the *Tristia*'s “idealized” longing for Rome in *Satire* 3.⁴⁷

These *comparanda* demonstrate how unusual Juvenal's comprehensive satiric portrait is. We can interpret this comprehensiveness in several ways. First, by stuffing the entire city into the central (and longest) poem of his first book of satires, Juvenal certainly alludes to the genre's claims

⁴⁵ Miller (above, n.50) 152–55, 158.

⁴⁶ Horace (see above) also emphasizes the size of the city and the difficulty of crossing it. Regarding clients, see Laurence (above, n.8) on Martial, esp. 83, 94, 95, 99. Among prose writers, on the other hand, Strabo's portrait of Rome (5.3.8) focuses on the Campus Martius and the recent building program there rather than on the portion of the city within the Servian walls. Royo and Gruet (above, n.14) 382 argue that, to Strabo, the organization of the monuments in Campus Martius offers an ideal image of a beautiful Hellenistic cityscape. Rome's buildings also fascinate Pliny the Elder, who digresses at length on the city's wondrous buildings and infrastructure in the course of his natural history of stones (*Nat.* 36.24). He seems especially impressed by the aqueducts, in particular the engineering and expenditure required to build them (*Nat.* 36.24.121–23). In contrast, to Juvenal the Aqua Marcia is just leaky (*madidamque Capenam*, 3.11)!

⁴⁷ Edwards (above, n.1) 127 suggests that we see “the idealised longing for Rome of Ovid's exile poetry as the specific object of parody in Juvenal's negative representation of the city.”

of completeness or what Gowers calls “fullness and mixture.”⁴⁸ Satire is in fact the only genre able to contain the entire city of Rome. Juvenal thus nods to his definition of the genre as *farrago*—a mixed mash, like the stuffing of a sausage—in his first satire.⁴⁹ Indeed the poem’s presentational style—“a series of images, which form a montage”⁵⁰—replicates the farraginous composition of the genre in general: various discrete ingredients stuffed into a framework. Juvenal also repeats his own initial claim, cited above, that Rome serves as the inspiration and material for satire, and thus amends Horace’s portrayal of satire as a product of the countryside in *Sermones* 1.5, 2.3, and 2.6. Indeed, Rome creates satire both in the narrow sense, because Rome is the very building material of Juvenal’s poems, and in the broad sense, because Rome invented the genre—hence Quintilian’s claim that “satire is indeed entirely ours.”⁵¹

By squeezing a metaphorical tour of the seven hills of Rome into Umbricius’ speech, Juvenal also underscores its connections to the rhetorical genre known as the *syntaktikon*.⁵² As Cairns notes, Umbricius inverts usual practice, which calls for sorrowfully praising the city one is leaving for its people and notable aspects; for praising the speaker’s destination (often his home) and emphasizing the necessity for departing while promising to return in the future; and finally, for praying for one’s own well-being along with the well-being of the people of the departure city,

⁴⁸ E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature* (Oxford 1993) 115. M. Plaza (*The Function of Humour in Roman Verse Satire: Laughing and Lying* [Oxford 2006] 338–41) argues that Juvenal’s satire eventually becomes self-destructive and feeds upon itself (based upon the image of cannibalism at 15.79–83). The fullness and comprehensiveness of Juvenal 3 shows that the process of self-destruction has already begun.

⁴⁹ *quidquid agunt homines, uotum, timor, ira, uoluptas / gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli est* (“Whatever men do, prayers, fear, anger, desire, joys, running about, is the stuffing of my little book,” 1.85–86).

⁵⁰ R. Laurence, “Writing the Roman Metropolis,” in H. Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City* (London 1997) 15. Compare Jones (above, n.5) 150 on Juvenal’s “cinematic focus.”

⁵¹ *satura quidem tota nostra est . . .* (“indeed satire is all ours,” *Inst.* 10.1.95).

⁵² Apart from its *syntaktikon* elements. Braund (above, n.5) 230 observes that Juvenal’s third satire has been labeled as one of the poet’s “particularly ‘rhetorical’ satires” because of the number and variety of rhetorical devices and tropes it employs, and because of how it revives “standard elements in the rhetorical education received by young men of the Roman élite,” namely the debate over the “relative merits of city life and country life” and the act of locating morality in the country. Compare Braund (above, n.10) 23, who cites Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.24 and Sen. *Con.* 1.6.4, 2.1.8, contrasting with Sen. *Con.* 2.1.11–12, 5.5. On rhetorical elements in Juvenal 3, see also Jones (above, n.5) 85–86, 113–14.

and promising not to forget them.⁵⁵ Umbricius instead attacks Rome (his home!), compares it unfavorably to other Italian towns, asks the narrator not to forget him, and implies that he will never return to Rome.⁵⁴

Juvenal's predecessor Horace provides another model for *Satire* 3. Hooley notes that the poem "begins conventionally, locating itself within the tradition of Horace's dialogue satires of the second book, where Horace's exchanges with interlocutors turn into diatribes (conspicuously against Horace)."⁵⁵ But, adds Hooley, the poem's "larger appeal lies in its beginning . . . well within the ordinary purview of satire as a reader of Horace would understand it—and then moving beyond the old limits."⁵⁶ By exploding the boundaries of his genre while simultaneously affirming the traditional boundaries of the city, Juvenal creates a productive tension between his muse and his method that underscores the centrality of Rome in the satirical project.

With his comprehensive portrait of the city Juvenal thus also stakes a claim to a place in the satiric pantheon—certainly his predecessor Horace never portrayed the city in such detail. Furthermore, Juvenal also asserts satire's superiority over other genres, which cannot hope to incorporate and encompass all that satire can. Nevertheless, Juvenal's pessimistically disjointed presentation of Rome's physical geography, filled with leaps across the city and pointed juxtaposition of divergent locations, depicts a Rome that is fragmented physically (the buildings are falling apart at 7–8 and 196), religiously (it has been invaded by Jews, 14), culturally (the rustic Roman now wears Greek-style slippers, 67), politically (the praetors we hear about are corrupt or greedily pursuing legacies from the wealthy at 128–130 and 212–213), and socially

⁵⁵ Cairns (above, n.5) 39.

⁵⁴ Cairns (above, n.5) 47–48. Pace Courtney (above, n.9) 151, who asserts that the *syntaktikon* aspect of the poem was not "prominent in Juvenal's mind," Umbricius' allusion to all seven of Varro's hills and to other notable Roman locations, which thus provides a final tour of the city, affirms the importance of the model for Juvenal. Apart from Juvenal 3's rhetorical parodies and its parody of Ovidian exile poetry (above, n. 47), others, including C. Witke (*Latin Satire: The Structure of Persuasion* [Leiden 1970] 133–134) and J. R. G. Wright ("Virgil's Pastoral Programme: Theocritus, Callimachus, and *Eclogue* 1," in P. Hardie, ed., *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors I* [London 1999] 157–59), see the third satire as parodying the pastoral world in general, and—in select locations—Virgil's first, ninth, and tenth *Eclogues* in particular. These options are not, however, mutually exclusive.

⁵⁵ D. Hooley, "Rhetoric and Satire: Horace, Persius, and Juvenal," in W. Dominik and J. Hall, eds., *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric* (Malden, Mass. 2010) 407, 410.

⁵⁶ Hooley (above, n.55) 410.

(patrons no longer understand or fulfill their role towards their clients, 122–125). Likewise, while Juvenal might claim superiority over his predecessors for the grand sweep of his third satire, nevertheless satiric poets are always aware, as Kirk Freudenburg and others have pointed out, of the difference between their own version of the genre and the satire of Lucilius, who established the genre and practiced it with—according to his successors—unmitigated harshness and complete freedom of speech.⁵⁷ This is what Freudenburg calls satire's "Lucilius problem," and what Catherine Keane refers to as the satirists' problem of "belated and derivative poetics."⁵⁸ Juvenal's Rome is not the Republican Rome of Lucilius, nor can Juvenal replicate Lucilius' *libertas*, his freedom of speech. Juvenal never actually attacks anyone dangerous or powerful! His third satire thus depicts a city—and a genre—that has lost, and may never regain, the "potency" it once enjoyed.⁵⁹

Finally, we can also see in Juvenal's comprehensive third satire the same "contrived Romanness," that James Uden sees elsewhere in Juvenal's corpus. Uden declares that the

parochial and anachronistic culture of Latin poetic *recitatio* in which Juvenal situates his first *Satire*, and his very choice to write in the genre of hexametric verse satire, is not unaffected by the cultural trends of the early second century. Rather, the very contrived Romanness of his poetry is a response to the cultural fluidity of the world around him, very much akin to the willful cultural blindness to Rome exemplified in many Second Sophistic Greek authors.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See Pers. 1.114–115: *secuit Lucilius urbem, / te Lupe, te Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis* ("Lucilius cut up the city, and you, Lupus and Mucius, and broke his jaw-tooth on them"). And compare Juvenal's first satire: *cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo, / per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus, / . . . edam* ("Nevertheless why it pleases rather to run along this field, through which the great foster-son of Aurunca turned his horses, I shall relate," 1.19–21), and *ense uelut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens / infremuit . . .* ("just as so often burning Lucilius raged with his drawn sword," 1.165–166).

⁵⁸ K. Freudenburg, *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal* (Cambridge 2001) 2; J. Henderson, "Pump Up the Volume: Juvenal *Satires* 1.1–21," *PCPhS* 41 (1995) 128; C. Keane, "Theatre, Spectacle, and the Satirist in Juvenal," *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 258.

⁵⁹ C. Keane, "Defining the Art of Blame: Classical Satire," in R. Quintero, ed., *A Companion to Satire* (Malden, Mass., 2007) 50.

⁶⁰ J. Uden, "The Invisibility of Juvenal" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York 2011 [<http://hdl.handle.net/10022/AC:P:10339>]) ix.

The *syntaktikon* may be a traditionally Greek speech type,⁶¹ but Juvenal's inversion of the type, along with his intensive focus on Rome's sights and sounds, and the experience of its inhabitants, can also be read as a reaction to the growing influence of Greek literature in the early second century.

In conclusion, I must disagree somewhat with Larmour, who argues that "topographical specificity is not the main aim of satirical discourse; it is, rather, to milk the historical and ideological associations of these places for all they are worth."⁶² On the contrary, in the case of Juvenal's third satire we can see such "topographical specificity" put to good use with the insertion of the entire city of Rome into Umbricius' speech. Such specificity allows Juvenal to reassert satire's connection with urban life, stake out his own territory in and for the genre, and metaphorically demonstrate the disintegration of the very fabric of Rome.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
emoodie@purdue.edu

⁶¹ Menander Rhetor prescribed the necessary components of a *syntaktikon* and recognized the peripatetic rhetor as one type of speaker requiring a specific adaptation of theme; see Cairns (above, n.5) 38.

⁶² Larmour (above, n.3) 196.