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ARTORIUS AND CATULUS IN JUVENAL 3

ESTRATTO dalla « RIVISTA DI STUDI CLASSICI »  
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Umbricius prefaces his declamation on the evils of life in Rome with a statement of his *propositum vitae*: there being no place in the city for a man of honorable profession, no return for his labors but eventual poverty, the one recourse is emigration (Juvenal 3.21-29). Following this general statement an invective is launched against men of the sort who *can* survive and even prosper in the city, men whom Umbricius would characterize as vile upstarts (29-40):

vivant Artorius istic

30 et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,  
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

35 perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae  
munera nunc edunt et, verso pollice vulgus  
cum iubet, occidunt populariter; inde reversi  
conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia? cum sint  
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum

40 extollit quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.

Rome has become infested with men of base origin, who once passed their time frivolously in the municipalities, but who now are wealthy enough even to produce shows in the city, enriched through their deceitful involvement in various despicable occupations.<sup>1</sup> The commentators are at variance over the interpretation

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal's audience is not obliged to sympathize fully with Umbricius' characterization of Artorius, Catulus, or any of the men or classes against whom he rails: Umbricius' blustering *indignatio* often leads to a distorting exaggeration intended by Juvenal. Therefore, in an attempt to ascertain the identity of these figures,

one should not feel unduly restricted to examining only the register of Roman villains and rogues—a scoundrel to Umbricius might be a good man to Juvenal and his audience, and vice-versa (cf. the opposite attitudes of Juvenal and Umbricius toward the poet Cordus, *Satires* 1.2 and 3.203-209).

of lines 31-33; but whatever the precise sense of 31f, contracts for public works, including building construction, are certainly among Umbricius' topics.<sup>2</sup>

Though it should not be insisted that Catulus and Artorius are the specific antecedents of *qui* (30) and *quis* (31), they are surely meant as men of the "dishonorable" class Umbricius is upbraiding. F. Strauch believed that Juvenal was referring to real persons here, and argued, contrary to the scholiast, that Catulus was intended as a representative of the upper classes, Artorius the lower.<sup>3</sup> Friedländer also felt that known figures were meant and suggested they were from the Domitianic period.<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to agree that Juvenal here, as so often elsewhere, has employed the names of recognizable individuals to typify a class. Moreover, the silence of the commentators notwithstanding, there are two figures from the Julio-Claudian period who seem to fit the contextual requirements, as the following remarks will suggest.

The gentilicial *Artorius* is frequent in inscriptions, especially of Italy, Africa, and Illyricum.<sup>5</sup> The family, however, is altogether lacking in distinction: none has earned a place in Broughton's *Magistrates*, and of those catalogued in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* and Pauly-Wissowa, none is of consular rank, save perhaps L. Artorius Pius Maximus, city prefect in A.D. 298.<sup>6</sup> Of the known

<sup>2</sup> *Portandum ... cadaver* refers to undertakers (*libitinarii*); line 33 probably contains a reference to the slave trade, and not to fraudulent bankruptcy (so Wilson [ed. 1903]: but cf. the notes of Mayor [ed. 1886], Friedländer [ed. 1895], Duff [ed. 1898], and Peter Green's translation [1967]).

<sup>3</sup> *De personis Iuvenalianis* (Göttingen diss.: 1869) 44; cf. schol.: *per Artorium et Catulum ignobiles et sordidos et malis artibus viventes homines vult intellegi, qui ex sordidis rebus divites sunt facti*.

<sup>4</sup> See his note *ad loc.* (ed. 1895); Wilson (ed. 1903) takes an opposite view (*ad loc.*: "real persons are not necessarily meant"; this is in keeping with his axiom that many of Juvenal's names are "purely fictitious" and "taken at random", pp. xxii of his introduction); cf. Lewis (ed. 1873), "any two scoundrels"; Mayor (ed. 1886) is silent. Lubin calls them *delatores pessimi*, but this is ungrounded (see the *variorum* in Valpy, ed. 1820, vol. 2).

<sup>5</sup> The vulgate mss. at Juv. 3.29 have *Arcturius* or *Arturius*; but cf. Heinrich, *ad loc.* (ed. 1839), and Knoche, *Handschriftliche Grundlagen des Juvenaltexes* (Leipzig: 1940) 303, 311. For epigraphic evidence, see *TLL* 2.545. 6ff; cf. Forcellini's *Lexicon* 5.181; the name appears only here in Latin verse; see Schulze *Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin: 1904) 72, 171, 174, 254, 335, 339, 347.

<sup>6</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup>A1187 (*RE* Suppl. 12.99); other notable members

of the gens *Artoria* in the first and early second centuries include *PIR*<sup>2</sup>A1180 (*RE* "Artorius" no. 3): Artorius, *leg. Aug. pro praet.* in Moesia Inferior, A.D. 120; A1181 (*RE* Suppl. 1, no. a): soldier under Titus, A.D. 70 (Joseph. *BJ* 6.188f); A1182: Juv. 3.29 (*RE* ~~no. a~~: "Beispiel eines Mannes, der schmutzigen Erwerb nicht verschmählt"); A1183 (*RE* no. 4; Crook *Consilium Principis* [Cambridge: 1955] no. 35): M. Artorius Asclepiades, friend and physician of Octavian; A1186 (*RE* no. 5): M. Artorius Geminus, *leg. Aug. and praef. aerar. milit.*; A1189 (*RE* no. 10, cf. no. 1): C. Artorius Proculus, a grammarian mentioned by Quintilian (= a rhetor in Festus, 252, 482, 500L?); A1190: Artorius Rufus, honored in the dedication to Festus' *De significatu verborum*; A1191 (*RE* no. 11): Artoria Flacilla, followed her husband Novius Priscus (cos. 78) into exile in 65 (Tac. *Ann.* 15.71); *RE* no. 6: C. Art(orius?) Germanianus, senator. To the sources for the career of M. Artorius Priscillus Vicasius Sabidianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>A1188; *RE* no. 9 and Suppl. 1) should be added *P. Brem.* 11.15 and *P. Giss.* 84, 21 (see Pflaum *Les carrières procuratoriennes* [Paris: 1960] no. 88): this figure was a contemporary of Juvenal, and held the office of *epistrategus Thebaidos* sometime before 115-7; his typical equestrian *cursus* is known principally from a dedicatory inscription found at Puteoli, near Cumae (*CIL* 6.32929/*ILS* 2700). May he be related to the Artorius Primus from nearby Pompeii discussed in the text below? Another equestrian procurator, also probably from the 2nd century, is L. Artorius Castus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>A1184; *RE* no. 7 and Suppl. 1 and 7, no. 4a; Pflaum no. 196).

no. 2a

Artorii, M. Artorius M. I(berthus) Primus seems quite possibly the man Umbricius (and Juvenal) had in mind.<sup>7</sup> Known to us from two inscriptions (*CIL* 10.807 and 841/*ILS* 5638a), this Artorius, though a freedman, became a municipal architect of some ability: Artorius' work included the Great Theatre and other buildings at Pompeii dating to the first century of the Empire.<sup>8</sup> Probably the man was known at Rome; and it is not unlikely that, encouraged by his successes, he moved there. Artorius can certainly represent the class of which Umbricius is so violently resentful: from slave to famous architect—damned upstart! Furthermore, in naming Artorius, Juvenal has intensified the paradox of Umbricius' immigration to Campania since he will be leaving Rome to men like Artorius, an emigrant from Campania.<sup>9</sup>

The cognomen *Catulus* occurs elsewhere in Juvenal at 2.146 in a reference to the illustrious Lutatii Catuli, a family politically defunct by the end of the Republic.<sup>10</sup> At 3.30, however, the context does not call for an allusion to one of the fine, old republican families.<sup>11</sup> Catulus, like Artorius, seems to be one of those deceivers whom Fortune has raised to enrich themselves on public funds: *quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus, | siccandam eluviem ...* As suggested above, *aedem conducere* may allude specifically to the architect Artorius. Ruperti and Friedländer mention the *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis* in their notes on *siccandam eluviem*; Mayor regards *flumina ... eluviem* as a sure reference to that commission, and Duff adds that while the *curatores* themselves were of senatorial rank, they might often be in collusion with the

<sup>7</sup> *RE* "Artorius" no. 8; lacking in *PIR*.

<sup>8</sup> Groag, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>A1186, suggests Primus was a freedman of M. Artorius Geminus (see above, n. 6). Authorship of the Great Theatre dates him to the Augustan Age (A. Mau *Pompeii: Its Life and Art* [New York: 1902] 149f). *Artorius* is not uncommon in Pompeii: several inscriptions attest a M. Artorius, duumvir (*CIL* 4.8, 16, and 6602).

<sup>9</sup> There is intentional irony in having this Greek-hater (3.60f: *non possum ferre ... | Graecam urbem*) move to the oldest Greek city in Italy, in a region that, even in the imperial period, was the most thoroughly Hellenized in the country (see the epilogue to John D'Arms' *Romans on the Bay of Naples* [Cambridge, Mass.: 1970]). The existence of this paradox has been noticed before (cf. Anderson, "Studies in Book I of Juvenal", *YCS* 15 [1957] 60-68), but it has not been sufficiently recognized as an element designed by Juvenal to illuminate somewhat the absurdity and irrationality of Umbricius' flight. It is perhaps worth noting that a

M. Artorius M. 1. *Secundus* is known from a funerary inscription at Rome (*CIL* 6.12479-80).

<sup>10</sup> See *MRR* 2, p. 583; Q. Lutatius Catulus, cos. 102 B.C., is alluded to in Juv. 8.253 (cf. Luc. 2.174, 547; Mart. 5.10.6). Eight Catuli in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> (no Lutatii Catuli: but see I836); frequent in inscriptions (see *TLL* Suppl. 2.275-77). The name may derive from *catulus*, "pup"; or it could be a diminutive from *Catus/catus*, related to *Cato*, and denoting prudence or cunning (see Schulze [cited above, n. 5] 310 n. 11, 313 n. 4, 418 n. 3; Forcellini *Lexicon* 5.348; Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* [Helsinki: 1965] 249f, 326; cf. Varro *LL* 5.99, Cic. *De Or.* 2.220). If the latter was felt to be true, Juvenal may have intended an etymological pun ("Master Shrewd") at 3.30, where the name is juxtaposed to the phrase, *maneat qui nigrum in candida vertunt*; in any case, such a pun would have been only of secondary importance to the specific personal reference.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Stein, *PIR*<sup>2</sup>C584, "publicanus videtur"; Groag, *RE* "Catulus" no. 2, "geldgieriger Mensch".

actual contractors.<sup>12</sup> This interpretation I believe to be correct. Moreover, I should suggest that the Catulus of this passage is the L. Volusenus Catulus f(ilius) whose name appears second in a list of the five *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* in an inscription found at the base of the pons Cestius in Rome, datable to A.D. 15-24 (*CIL* 6.31543/*ILS* 5893).<sup>13</sup> This Catulus is also listed in boundary-stone inscriptions of the same period in fourth place (*CIL* 6.1267 a, b, and 31573/*ILS* 5940) and third (*CIL* 6.31574/*ILS* 5941, and *CIL* 6.37037) among the *curatores locorum publicorum iudicandorum*, a five man commission established by Tiberius and charged with adjudicating boundary disputes in which public land was involved.<sup>14</sup> Volusenus Catulus is further known from Quintilian 10.1.24 as a defendant whose case was argued by a panel of three celebrated attorneys, including at least one of questioned integrity.<sup>15</sup> The charge Catulus faced is unknown: might it have involved graft in some public works project? Quintilian, whose *Institutio* appeared perhaps only ten years before the publication of the *Satires*, speaks of these defense orations as *insignes* during his childhood (he was born during the latter part of Tiberius' reign): the case thus would have been sufficiently well-known to the educated in Juvenal's audience. The *gens Volusena* is remarkably obscure, and Catulus' rise to a senatorial position and an imperial

<sup>12</sup> Ruperti, ed. 1820; Friedländer, ed. 1895; Mayor, ed. 1886; Duff, ed. 1898; cf. Wilson, ed. 1903, and Green, trans. 1967. On this and other public works curatorships instituted by Augustus and Tiberius, see Tac. *Ann.* 1.76, Dio 57.14, and Suet. *Aug.* 37, and cf. the discussions by Huelsen in *CIL* 6.4.2, p. 3109f, and Platner-Ashby, s.v. *Tiberis*. Senatorial curators might well be scorned, as Catulus is here by Umbricius, if suspected of conniving for personal gain with private contractors—the contractors themselves and their laborers were generally despised (Mayor cites Plin. *Ep.* 10.32.2 and Fronto *Ep.* 189.3 [Haines]).

<sup>13</sup> The designation *f(ilius)* is the equivalent of *iunior* and indicates that Catulus was named after his father, probably still living. In the inscription Catulus follows L. Caninius Gallus, *cos.* 2 B.C. and president of the commission sometime before A.D. 24 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>C390), and precedes C. Caedicius Agrippa, M. Acilius Memmius Glabrio (certainly a relative of the Acilii Glabrones of Juv. 4.94f), and Q. Fabius Balbus, three men otherwise unknown (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>C114, A75, and F22). The inscription has been republished, no. 54 in A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (Berkeley: 1958), q.v. for a full bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> In the former group of inscriptions Catulus follows L. Asprenas (L. Nonius Asprenas? *cos. suff.* A.D. 6, living as late as A.D. 20: *PIR*<sup>1</sup>N93), P. Viriasius Naso, *tr. pl.* in the same year as curator, *procos.* Crete after A.D. 31 (*PIR*<sup>1</sup>V475), and M. Caecilius Cornutus, *praet.* before A.D. 24 (Cornutus committed suicide in

24 after being implicated by Vibius Serenus the younger in a plot against Tiberius, Tac. *Ann.* 4.28 and 30: *PIR*<sup>2</sup>C35); Catulus' name precedes that of P. Licinius Stolo, probably an ex-quaestor (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>L252). In the latter pair of inscriptions (37037 = no. 55 in Gordon [cited above, n. 13]) the composition of the board differs from that of the former in that Viriasius is no longer a member, and in fifth position has been added C. Pontius Paelignus, elsewhere attested in this capacity, and known also as *quaest.*, *aed. cur.*, and *leg. pro praet.* under Tiberius (*PIR*<sup>1</sup>P605). That the same Volusenus Catulus is meant in both sets of inscriptions, i.e. as *curator riparum ...* and *curator locorum ...*, was suggested by Dessau in *PIR*<sup>1</sup> (though separate entries were employed, V647 and 648) and accepted by Hanslik in *RE* Suppl. 9, "Volusenus" no. 4. All five inscriptions have been dated by Groag to A.D. 15-20 (*RE* "Licinius" no. 165).

<sup>15</sup> Decimus Laelius Balbus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup>L48), who accused an Acutia of *maiestas* in A.D. 37 and shortly afterward suffered expulsion from the senate and *deportatio in insulam*, is described by Tacitus as *truci eloquentia ... promptus adversum insontis* (*Ann.* 6.48.6). Catulus' other defense attorneys were Domitius Afer (a leading orator under Tiberius and his successors, d. 59: *PIR*<sup>2</sup>D126) and Crispus Passienus (orator and stepfather of Nero, d. ca. 48, confused by the schol. on Juv. 4.81 with Vibius Crispus: *PIR*<sup>1</sup>P109). Catulus' trial, therefore, took place probably before A.D. 37 (there is no evidence that Balbus was ever recalled), certainly before 48.

curatorship, followed by the scandal of indictment and court trial, would have been enough to feed Umbricius' resentment.<sup>16</sup> If this identification is correct, the Catulus and Artorius of Juvenal 3.29f were almost precise contemporaries, flourishing under Augustus and Tiberius, a period that supplied many characters for the *Satires*.

<sup>16</sup> The name itself is related to the praenomen *Volusus*, the gentilicials *Volusus* and *Volusienus* (also a ms. variant for *Volusenus*), and the cognomen *Volusianus*: perhaps a Latinization of an Etruscan form in *-na* (so Schulze [cited above, n. 6] 104f; cf. Forcellini *Lexicon* 5.777). See esp. *CIL* 11.6700.821-31, 7086 (Arretium: L. Volusenus haruspex), 8.8385 (Volusenna Earinus), and the *index nominum* to *CIL* 11.

Two members of the family held minor military posts under Caesar in Gaul and during the civil war (see *MRR* 2, pp. 212, 239, 284, and 636; *RE* "Volusenus" nos. 1 and 3). Inscriptions from Rome (*CIL* 6) reveal an unrespectable lot of cognomina: Maximus (9701), Eutyches (20054), Victor, Restituta, Hilara, Ithace (29513-15), Pietas (32520II, 22), Eumenes, Melenis (39074a). Cf. in the *gens Volusiena*: Zmaragdus (975V, 42), Niger (29517), Lysimachus (34670); see also Cic. *Clu.* 198 (= *RE* "Volusenus" no. 2). A funerary inscription from Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul is dedicated to a Thracian gladiator named Volusenus (*CIL* 5.4511/*ILS* 5086). *PIR*<sup>1</sup> catalogs only three Voluseni besides Catulus (V649-651), and these three are brothers: L. Volusenus Clemens (*RE* Suppl. 9 "Volusenus" no. 5), C. Volusenus Curio (*RE* Suppl. 9, no. 6), and T. Volusenus Macedo (*RE* Suppl. 9, no. 7; the cognomen would ordinarily suggest freedman status). They are known from several inscriptions found at Sestinum in Umbria, Clemens and Macedo from a *titulus cretaeus* (*CIL* 11.6689.264), and Macedo from a funerary inscription to his wife, Anteia L. f. Procula (*CIL* 11.6019: 6018 is fragmentary, but also contains the name *Volusenus*). It is important to note that all three brothers were curators of at least one local public works project at Sestinum: C.L.T.

VOLUSENI.L.F. CURIO.CLEMENS MACEDO. AQUAM ADDUCENDAM EX.D.D.C. (*ex decreto decurionum curaverunt*: *CIL* 11.6016/*ILS* 5758). Clemens emerged from the local scene to become *tr. mil.*, *praef. eq.*, and *praef. tiron. Gall. Narb.*, under Augustus and Tiberius; before assuming a juridical post in Egypt offered him by Tiberius, Clemens died in Aquitania (*CIL* 11.6011/*ILS* 2691). Another Volusenus, a member of the same tribe as the three brothers and almost certainly a relative, is known to have been involved in local politics also at Sestinum and nearby Ariminum: C. VOLUSENO L.F. CLU. IUSTO AEDIL.QUAEST SESTINI DECUR.ARIM TITINIA.M.F. IUSTA MATER L.D.D.D (*locus datus decreto decurionum*: *CIL* 11.422; cf. 6017). It seems to me not unlikely that L. Volusenus Catulus is in some way related to all four of these men from Sestinum. The possibility of a connection is strengthened by the rarity of the name, the involvement of Iustus in hometown politics, of Clemens in the imperial service, and of the three brothers in local public works projects, by the fact that the brothers and Catulus are roughly contemporaries, and perhaps even by the exhibited fondness for the praenomen *Lucius* (belonging to Catulus and Clemens, and to the fathers of Catulus, Iustus and the three brothers). Very likely L. Volusenus Catulus was a fellow from Sestinum, who, encouraged by his family's local successes, moved to Rome and made his way into the senate, into the imperial bureaucracy, only to be involved (or suspected of involvement) in some political scandal. After Catulus the *gens Volusena* submerged once more and finally into obscurity.