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JUVENAL'S THIRD SATIRE: UMBRICIUS' ROME, VERGIL'S TROY

Gregory A. Staley, University of Maryland, College Park

iam poscit aquam, iam friuola transfert
Vcalegon. (Satire 3.198–199)

First Ucalegon urgently calls for water, then he rescues his meager possessions.

1. Confused about Umbricius

Juvenal's "old friend" Umbricius, who in Satire 3 denounces the Rome he is preparing to flee, has proven as "confusing" to critics as he did to Juvenal himself:

Quamuis digressu ueteris confusus amici
laudo tamen, uacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum ciuem donare Sibyllae. (3.1–3)

Although "confused" by the departure of an old friend, I praise him nevertheless, because he has made up his mind to make empty Cumae his home and to offer the Sibyl her one (and only) citizen.

Traditionally scholars have read *confusus* here to mean "distressed," a sign that Juvenal sympathizes with his friend's situation and therefore is sorry to lose him.¹ After all, Umbricius shares Juvenal's view (1.30–31) that the *Vrbs* is *iniqua* and condemns it in the same indignant tone for which Juvenal is famous. As S. C. Fredericks has argued, Juvenal's characterization of Rome in the prologue matches Umbricius' in his diatribe: it is a dangerous place, prone to fires and desecrated by foreign influences.² Moreover, in fleeing Rome, Umbricius does what

I dedicate this article to Professor Philip Lockhart, with whom I first studied Juvenal many years ago as an undergraduate at Dickinson College. After completing an early draft of this paper, I happened to look back at my college text of Juvenal and found there, as a note in the margins, Professor Lockhart's suggestion that Juvenal 3 "parallels the second book of the *Aeneid*"; his idea undoubtedly remained buried in my subconscious, only to reemerge later, seemingly as my own insight, in a course I now teach on Roman Satire. I have also received the generous support of several scholars who have read and reacted to my ideas, and I wish to thank them as well: Susanna Braund, R. A. LaFleur, Eva Stehle, and Martin

Winkler. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. Latin quotations of Juvenal's Satires are drawn from *Juvenal Satires Book I*, ed. S. Morton Braund (Cambridge 1996); quotations from the *Aeneid* are drawn from the Oxford text, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford 1969).

¹ Commentators J. E. B. Mayor, E. Courtney, and S. M. Braund translate *confusus* as "troubled," "upset," and "distressed."

² S. C. Fredericks, "The Function of the Prologue (1–20) in the Organization of Juvenal's Third Satire," *Phoenix* 27 (1973) 62–67.

the satirist himself had expressed a wish to do in Satire 2.³ A few critics, however, have argued instead that *confusus* means “puzzled,” a reflection of their sense that Juvenal wishes to distance himself from Umbricius, whom they see as a flawed and inconsistent character, an “unreliable satirist” whose logic is faulty (he flees a Greek Rome for a Greek Cumae) and whose pretensions are grandiose (he emulates Daedalus but travels in a wagon).⁴ For these scholars, it is a telling detail that when Umbricius leaves Rome, Juvenal stays behind; even in the face of Umbricius’ wish to be invited to visit Juvenal at his own country home, Juvenal remains silent.

Susanna Braund has argued in her recent commentary that the poem in fact invites these divergent readings since Umbricius presents himself as a “true Roman who upholds traditional values” yet appears to be a “covetous failure driven away by his lack of success.”⁵ As such, Umbricius is, in fact, an accurate embodiment of the contradictory persona that Juvenal had constructed for the “satirist” in his programmatic first satire. Satire 1 defines satire as an alternative to traditional epic poetry, for it replaces poetry about mythological heroes with poetry in which the satirist is the epic hero and the contemporary world is mythic in its themes.⁶ Umbricius presents himself as a satirist of just this sort; for he imagines that he is a new Aeneas, the embodiment of all things Roman, reenacting book 2 of the *Aeneid* as he condemns a city taken over by Greeks and flees the new Troy, a city once again on fire. Juvenal had been warned in Satire 1.162–163, however, that it was safe to write about Aeneas but dangerous to act like him; Lucilius, the archetypal satirist as hero, had risked regret every time he metaphorically drew his sword. In response, Juvenal chose to be a mock hero instead, dueling only with the dead. In emulating the Aeneas of book 2 of the *Aeneid* in particular, Umbricius likewise aims to be but a mock hero, one who flees (*fugiam*; 3.59) his enemies rather than one who fights them and who feels no shame in the process (*nec pudor obstat*; 3.60). Indeed, he is a “can’t do” kind of man, hardly the stuff of which heroes are made.⁷

In signaling through the word *confusus* his own ambivalent feelings about Umbricius, Juvenal has modeled, I suggest, the reaction he would expect his audiences to have to such a character, who, on my reading, constitutes a portrait of the satirist. By this I do not mean that Umbricius is an alter ego for Juvenal himself, as once was regularly argued, but rather that he is an embodiment of Juvenal’s constructed image of the “satirist.”⁸ The ambiguities readers

³ *Vltra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacielem / Oceanum*; 2.1–2.

⁴ J. Sarkissian, “Appreciating Umbricius: The Prologue (1–20) of Juvenal’s Third Satire,” *Classica et Mediaevalia* 42 (1991) 249, remarks: “Commentators often assign *confusus* here a force which makes it consistent with the satirist’s complete agreement with Umbricius’ expatriation. But, given that the satirist is staying, it seems as reasonable to assume that he is puzzled by Umbricius’ decision to leave.” Earlier LaFleur 1976, 399 had also argued for a translation that distances the satirist from Umbricius, of whom the word *amicus*, in his view, is used only ironically: “[*confusus*] seems to connote confusion that is more intellectual than emotional.” LaFleur argues that “treacherous friendship” is a constant theme in Juvenal’s satires and that *amicus* only rarely designates “true” friendship; R. A. LaFleur, “*Amicitia* and the Unity of Juvenal’s First Book,” *Illinois Classical Studies* 4 (1979) 158.

⁵ Braund 1996, 232 and 235.

⁶ On the uses of epic in Juvenal’s Satires, see M. M. Winkler, “The Function of Epic in Juvenal’s Satires,” in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, vol. 5, ed. C. Deroux, Collection Latomus 206 (Brussels 1989) 414–443.

⁷ S. H. Braund, “Umbricius and the Frogs,” *Classical Quarterly* 40 (1990) 502, catalogues the negative words he uses of himself in lines 41–50: *nescio, nequeo, ignoro, nec uolo nec possum, numquam, norunt alii, nemo, nulli, non*.

⁸ G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (New York 1961) 68 epitomizes the autobiographical approach: “Although the ideas are largely Juvenal’s own, although the experience of disappointment, renunciation, and relief was partly his and partly his friend Martial’s, it would have been absurd for a satirist to stay in Rome and recite a dozen reasons for leaving. The monologue is therefore couched as a farewell speech made not by Juvenal himself but by his friend Umbricius.”

have seen in Umbricius are inherent in the very concept of "satirist," as A. Kernan has shown for English satire and W. S. Anderson, following his lead, for Juvenal's satires. Umbricius imagines himself a Roman hero, a *vir bonus*, but he is in fact jealous, unambitious, and ultimately a coward when faced with a fight. The tensions that critics have seen in Umbricius' character are precisely those "tensions in the satirist" which "render him a dramatic character who is . . . sufficiently alien to Roman readers, so that it is incorrect to sympathize entirely with his passions and prejudices," as Anderson has written.⁹

2. The Name "Umbricius"

Divergent though they may be in their evaluations of Umbricius, scholars have agreed on one point: "The clue to Umbricius' character lies in his name."¹⁰ Umbricius himself would have agreed, for his very first words offer his own explanation for the ironic appropriateness of that name:

hic tunc Vmbricius 'quando artibus' inquit 'honestis
nullus in Vrbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum, . . .'
(3.21–22)

Here then Umbricius says, "Since there is no place in the City for respectable arts, no reward for labors . . ."

By juxtaposing *Vmbricius* and *Vrbe locus*, nearly homophonic and each immediately preceding the caesura in adjacent lines, Umbricius suggests that his name should mean Mr. "Place in the City." His etymology makes sense when we notice that he is here alluding to a famous prophecy that Aeneas had received about the future site of Rome; it would be signaled by a white sow with her young:

is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum.
(*Aeneid* 3.393)

This will be the place for the city, this the certain resting place from labors.

Umbricius' explanation for his departure reads like a renunciation of that prophecy: "There is no place in the city, no reward for labors" (3.22). He seems to be saying that "this place" is now "no place," that Rome is not, as predicted, a place where you could rest from your labors but one where you work and still cannot get ahead.¹¹ Literally but ironically Rome is a utopia, a "no place." Umbricius begins, then, by defining himself in relationship to Aeneas, as a successor to the hero but one who has lost his heroic legacy.

Although they did not notice Umbricius' own etymology for his name, A. L. Motto and J. R. Clark were the first to suggest that it was linked not to a real historical figure but to a mythical

⁹ Anderson, 300.

¹⁰ M. M. Winkler, *The Persona in Three Satires of Juvenal* (Hildesheim 1983) 222.

¹¹ Lelièvre 1972, 460 notes a similar rejection of the prom-

ises of the *Aeneid* in Umbricius' characterization of Rome as a "Greek city." Aeneas had been told that his salvation would depend on a Greek city (*uia prima salutis . . . Graia pandetur ab urbe; Aeneid* 6.96–97); by contrast, Umbricius cannot tolerate a *Graecam Urbem* (3.61).

representation of Rome itself: he is “that shade or *umbra* representative of the deceased Eternal City.”¹² In a Rome that was Rome no more, Umbricius embodied the last traces of the city’s Golden Age, transporting them to Cumae, where shades go to die.¹³ Motto and Clark connect this “mythic” Umbricius with Hecate, Artemis, and Astraea, but not with a more obvious mythical “representative of the . . . Eternal City” whose destination had once been Cumae: Aeneas. As we shall see shortly, Umbricius’ use of an epic periphrasis to describe Cumae as the place where “Daedalus took off his wearied wings” is a clear signal that he is emulating Vergil’s Aeneas in choosing that destination. Yet in leaving for Cumae, Umbricius is also following in the footsteps of a degenerate *umbra* of contemporary Rome, who, just thirty-four lines earlier, at the end of Satire 2, was imagined to reenact book 6 of the *Aeneid*.¹⁴ Satire 2 has as its target men who in various ways have failed to meet the masculine and aristocratic norms of Rome, including most notably a certain Gracchus who has “married” another man and donned the garb of a gladiator to fight in the arena. The satirist invites us to imagine how the heroes of a Vergilian underworld would react when a Roman like Gracchus descends to join them:

Curius quid sentit et ambo
Scipiadae, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli,
quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuuentus,
tot bellorum animae, quotiens hinc talis ad illos
umbra uenit? (2.153–157)

What do Curius and the two Scipios feel, what do Fabricius and the shade of Camillus,
what do the legion of Cremera and the young killed at Cannae, the dead of so many wars,
what do they feel whenever a ghost like this comes to them?

As Braund has noted, this scene is “a perversion of Aeneas’ vision of the future heroes of Rome during his visit to the Underworld.”¹⁵ The ghosts of Rome present simply do not measure up to the heroes of Rome’s past. The satirist of Satire 2, who has already and recently invited us to imagine in contemporary Rome an unworthy sequel to *Aeneid* 6, might understandably have mixed feelings about an Umbricius who presents his departure from Rome as a sequel to *Aeneid* 2. Satire 2, then, predisposes us to be critical when an *umbra* or an Umbricius sets out for a Vergilian underworld.

Umbricius may be, in his own eyes, the ghost of Rome past, but Satires 1 and 2 have already prepared us to view skeptically satirists and moralists with heroic pretensions. If, as M. M. Winkler has suggested, Umbricius’ name bears “close resemblance to the name Fabricius, a great republican hero,” the ending of Satire 2, which juxtaposes Fabricius with a new

¹² Motto and Clark, 275.

¹³ Anderson, 374 seems to accept Motto and Clark’s interpretation; it certainly fits his original assessment of Umbricius as an embodiment of “antique Roman values” (222). Braund 1996, 232–233 likewise is persuaded by Motto and Clark, although she also believes (Braund 1990 [as n. 7]) that Umbricius may be linked with a famous *baruspex* of that name. I suspect, however, that Juvenal created Umbricius’ name in the same way that comic poets created theirs, according to Aristotle (*Poetics* 1451b8–15). The name is created to fit a generic character, not a historical personage.

¹⁴ J. D. Cloud and S. H. Braund, “Juvenal’s *libellus*: A *farrago*?” *Greece & Rome* 2 (1982) 77–85, have argued that Juvenal, like Vergil or Seneca, wrote with the book and not the individual poem as his unit of meaning. Satire 3, the longest satire of Book One (Satires 1–5) and the one at its center, therefore needs to be read within its context. Here I will be able to discuss only its thematic links with Satires 1 and 2; clearly, however, Satire 3 also anticipates Satire 4, which has an explicit epic coloration, including an invocation of Calliope (4.34–36).

¹⁵ Braund 1996, 162.

and degenerate *umbra*, prepares us for an Umbricius who is but a “shadow” of his great namesake. Thus Umbricius reflects in his ambiguous name the dualities in his character: he is both Motto and Clark’s *umbra* of a noble Rome, now lost, and Winkler’s “benighted fool, literally left in the dark,” for he can only mock the hero he aspires to be.¹⁶

3. *Daedalus without Wings*

Those who, following Motto and Clark, have taken Umbricius for a symbol of *Romanitas* have done precisely what the character “Umbricius” wanted readers to do: to see him as a civic hero in the mold of Vergil’s Aeneas. Satire 2 has prepared us for this persona by creating a Vergilian framework for Umbricius’ “descent” (*descendimus*; 3.17) to Cumae. Satire 3 encourages us to maintain this Vergilian framework when Umbricius begins by casting himself in an epic role modeled on Vergil:

proponimus illuc
ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exiit alas. (3.24-25)

We propose to go there, where Daedalus took off his weary wings.

Umbricius’ use of Daedalus has regularly puzzled readers, for the Daedalus whom he here wishes to emulate in fleeing from Greeks is cited about fifty lines later (3.77–80) as the very epitome of “Greekness” in all its most unpleasant aspects. For Anderson, these two appearances of Daedalus embody a “paradox” that “can summarize the Satire”; for Fredericks, “they are an intriguing example of contradiction used for poetic effect.”¹⁷ But the “paradox” and “contradiction” disappear once we see that for Umbricius there is an essential distinction between a Vergilian and an Ovidian Daedalus.

When Umbricius first mentions Daedalus in line 25 (it is noteworthy, I think, that this is the place where he does so by name), it is precisely because of his association with Cumae, an association absent from Ovid’s treatment of Daedalus in the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Metamorphoses* but central to Vergil’s treatment of him in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*.¹⁸ That book opens with Aeneas’ arrival at Cumae, where Daedalus is mentioned as the founder of the temple to Apollo which Aeneas immediately (and piously) visits:

Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo. . . .
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacrauit
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.
(6.14–15, 18–19)

¹⁶ Winkler 1983 (as n. 10) 222–223. LaFleur 1976, 390–391 rejects Motto and Clark’s interpretation of the name as an “extended allegory . . . alien to the poet and his age” and suggests instead that it is “the pastoral associations of *umbra*” that better apply. In leaving Rome for the countryside, Umbricius seeks a life in the “shade.”

¹⁷ Anderson, 231; S. C. Fredericks, “Daedalus in Juvenal’s Third Satire,” *Classical Bulletin* 50 (1972) 11.

¹⁸ Estévez, 282, in an article that came to my attention only after this paper was complete, independently drew this same conclusion: “[the connection between Daedalus and Cumae] is more than a casual reference to the canonical tale, for the canonical tale even after Virgil involved Sicily not Cumae. It is an absolutely unmistakable and deliberate signpost to Virgil and the *Aeneid*.”

According to tradition, Daedalus, in order to flee the kingdom of Minos, dared to entrust himself to the sky on swift feathers. . . . having first returned to earth he here dedicated to you, Phoebus, his oarage of wings and established a huge temple.

This is Umbricius' Daedalus, the one who *fatigatas . . . exiit alas*, "took off his weary wings" (3.25). Ovid may also describe his Daedalus as "weary," but he never places him at Cumae nor has him shed his wings: *Iamque fatigatum tellus Aetnaea tenebat / Daedalon. . . .*, "Aetna's land now held the weary Daedalus" (*Met.* 8.260–261). It is Vergil's Daedalus who *sacravit / remigium alarum*, who "dedicated his oarage of wings."

R. A. LaFleur speaks for many in his reaction to Umbricius' new home: "The emigrant's destination is a bit puzzling. . . . Cumae is a most peculiar refuge for a man so thoroughly prejudiced as Umbricius. . . . The inescapable Greek associations of Cumae are actually suggested by Umbricius himself, when he describes his destination (in a recollection of Vergil)."¹⁹ The Vergilian recollection, however, is precisely what removes the puzzle; Umbricius is not going to Cumae (tellingly he, unlike Juvenal, does not use that Greek name) but to the "place where Daedalus shed his wings." He chooses it not because of its Greek associations but because of its proto-Roman ones, for here the Trojans first set foot onto a *litus . . . Hesperium* (*Aeneid* 6.6) on their way to the future Rome. Umbricius associates Daedalus with his destination not because he is emulating the inventor in fleeing a now labyrinthine Rome, as Fredericks suggested, but because he is emulating Aeneas, for whom a wingless Daedalus was the signal of his own journey's end.

Viktor Pöschl was the first to appreciate that Daedalus in *Aeneid* 6 "mirror[s] Aeneas' destiny, not literally, but in an aesthetically profound sense. Daedalus . . . is an exile. This alone relates him to Aeneas and connects his fate most intimately with the main theme of the poem—the search for a new home."²⁰ Umbricius associates his destination with Daedalus because Aeneas had done so before him; like his heroic predecessors, Umbricius is an exile in search of a new home, leaving behind the "new" Troy as Aeneas had the old one. Since Daedalus appears at the beginning of *Aeneid* 6, F. J. Lelièvre has argued that Satire 3 has a "special affinity" with that book: "In both works the reader is presented with scenes and sounds from an *Inferno*, literal or metaphorical."²¹ Certainly the link with the descent of the *umbra* to Hades at the end of Satire 2 provides additional support for this parallel. Satire 3, however, is set not at Cumae but at Rome; we do not witness Umbricius' arrival at Cumae but rather his departure from Rome. Therefore it is my contention that it is *Aeneid* 2 with which Satire 3 has its special affinity.²²

4. A "Greek" City

Umbricius may "descend" to the grove of Egeria to deliver his valedictory to Juvenal, but the central act of Satire 3 is flight from a city that has now become "Greek":

¹⁹ LaFleur 1976, 401.

²⁰ V. Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*, trans. G. Seligson (Ann Arbor 1962) 150.

²¹ Lelièvre 1972, 459.

²² Estévez, 282–283 emphasizes this same parallel: "the primary and the richest intertextual relationship . . . lies between Juvenal 3 and *Aeneid* II." As I will show later, however, Estévez draws very different conclusions from my own about the significance of this "intertextual relationship."

quae nunc diuitibus gens acceptissima nostris
 et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
 nec pudor obstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
 Graecam Urbem. (3.58–61)

It is the race which has now become so favored by our rich set that I most wish to flee; I shall hasten to confess it and shame won't stop me. I am unable to endure, my fellow Romans, a Greek City.

In "fleeing" a city taken over by Greeks, Umbricius is following the orders repeatedly given to Aeneas as the Greeks mastered Troy. From Hector (*heu fuge, nate dea*; 2.289), Venus (*eripe, nate, fugam*; 2.619), and Anchises (*uos agitate fugam*; 2.640 and *nate . . . fuge*; 2.733), Aeneas had insistently heard the command, "Flee!" Like Aeneas, Umbricius must flee because Greeks have infiltrated their way into Rome just as they had earlier into Troy:

hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
 hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,
 Esquilias dictumque petunt a uimine collem,
 uiscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
 (3.69–72)

This one comes from lofty Sicyon, but this one left Amydon, this one from Andros, that one from Samos, this one from Tralles or Alabanda, they all head for the Esquiline and the hill named for the willow to become the guts of the great houses and their future masters.

The first two lines here read like an epic catalogue in miniature, a description of the forces drawn up before battle. Commentators have noted the epic language; indeed, the adjective *alta*, "the traditional epic epithet of cities," and the hiatus in *Samo, hic* can be paralleled in the first sixteen lines of the *Aeneid*.²³

These latest Greeks have attacked Rome in the same way as their predecessors attacked Troy, insinuating themselves like Vergil's serpents and the soldiers who were hidden inside the Trojan horse. Umbricius uses the verb *petunt* (they seek; 3.71) here to characterize the Greeks just as Vergil had to characterize the serpents who attacked Laocoon and then the city of Troy itself:

illi agmine certo
 Laocoonta petunt. (2.212–213)

Having formed a column, they head straight for Laocoon.

at gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
 effugiunt saeuaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem.
 (2.225–226)

But the twin serpents escape at a glide to the temples on the summit and head for the stronghold of fierce Minerva.

²³ Courtney, 166; LaFleur 1976, 422–423.

Bernard Knox has shown that these serpents symbolize the Greeks and the modes of deceit and concealment by which they insinuate themselves into the city.²⁴ The serpents are also linked metaphorically to the Trojan horse, which likewise slips into Troy and brings destruction out of concealment. Just as once Vergil's Greeks were in the *uterus* (2.20, 2.243) of the horse and later emerged as masters of the city (*incensa Danai dominantur in urbe*, "The Greeks are masters in the flaming city"; 2.327), so now, in Umbricius' epic scenario, they are the "innards," the *uiscera* of the great houses of Rome and from that vital position they, too, will emerge as masters (*domini . . . futuri*) of the city. As LaFleur has noted, "In Umbricius' heroic imagination, this can easily constitute a latter-day and equally pernicious assault on the *Troiugenaë*."²⁵

Umbricius' diatribe against the Greeks recalls in its vehemence and tone the famous speech in *Aeneid* 2 of Laocoon, who warned his fellow Trojans not to trust Greeks, "even when they bear gifts" (2.48–49). If, as I am suggesting, Umbricius is trying to embody Juvenal's ideal "satirist," he would naturally have seen Laocoon as an appropriate role model. In Satire 1 Juvenal had characterized Lucilius, the founder of his chosen genre, as an epic hero on the battlefield:

cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,
per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si uacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
(1.19–21)

Let me explain why nevertheless it is pleasing to race in this field through which the great son of Auruncae guided his horses, if you have time to listen calmly to my explanation.

Later in this same satire Lucilius is presented as a passionate warrior against vice, with his "sword" drawn: *ense uelut stricto . . . Lucilius ardens* (1.165). Vergil uses similar language to characterize Laocoon, who fulfills literally in an epic setting what Juvenal would have the satirist do metaphorically: he is "passionate" (*ardens*) as he "races" (*decurrere*) to confront foolhardy behavior, weapon in hand: *Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce*, "Filled with passionate intensity Laocoon races down from the top of the citadel" (2.41). Laocoon uses the same indignant tone and rhetorical questions that are a hallmark of Juvenal's "satirist." Since he is staging his departure from Rome as a reenactment of *Aeneid* 2, Umbricius naturally begins with a diatribe against Greeks in the tradition of Laocoon's.

5. The "Fall" of Rome

The second half of Umbricius' valedictory, which enumerates the *incendia, lapsus / tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saeuae / Urbis*, "fires, the unending collapse of buildings, and the thousand dangers of a cruel City" (3.7–9), presents each night in Rome as if it were Troy's last. Umbricius signals this clearly when he moves Ucalegon from Vergil's Troy into his Rome, just as Vergil had earlier moved him into his epic from Homer's Troy: *iam poscit aquam, iam*

²⁴ B. Knox, "The Serpent and the Flame," *American Journal of Philology* 71 (1950) 380.

²⁵ LaFleur 1976, 423, who argues that Juvenal 3.69–72

also recalls *Aeneid* 2.27–30, because Juvenal means to show that it is an illusion to think that the Greeks have ever gone home. They returned to take over Troy and now they have taken over Rome.

friuola transfert / Vcalegon, “First Ucalegon urgently calls for water, then he rescues his meager possessions” (3.198–199). Once again Ucalegon’s house is on fire, something that Umbricius should know if he is now “Aeneas,” since Ucalegon was Aeneas’ neighbor.²⁶ Umbricius’ complaints about the city feature the perils of the night as if to emphasize the parallel between the Fall of Rome and the Fall of Troy. To be sure, this second half of the satire presents events chronologically, documenting a full twenty-four hours, as Braund has shown.²⁷ Yet Umbricius begins with night and ultimately mentions it four times (198, 268, 275, 279). When Umbricius introduces the theme of *ruina* (190), he has the night in mind; a Roman landlord urges his tenants to sleep secure (*securos pendente iubet dormire ruina*; 3.196) even while ruin hangs over them. Buildings could, of course, collapse during the day as well; but it was at night, while the Trojans were sleeping secure in the thought that their long war was over, that their impending ruin struck. Hence Umbricius’ juxtaposition of fires and the fears of the night: *uiuendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli / nocte metus*, “One must live there, where there are no fires, no fears during the night” (3.197–198).²⁸

Umbricius’ description of the dangerous city is full of epic allusions, not all of them to Vergil or to the second book of the *Aeneid*; his organization of ideas and narrative framework, however, fit that book in particular. Just as the allusion to Daedalus at the beginning of the first half of his speech characterizes Umbricius as a new Aeneas, so too the allusion to Ucalegon at the beginning of the second half characterizes his Rome as a new Troy. Umbricius’ narrative moves from the dangers of fire (197–231), to the commotion of the city which rouses men from sleep (232–243), and then to “epic” battles in the streets (243–314), ending finally in his departure from the city which is now “Greek.” In a similar progression, Aeneas learns of the fire destroying Troy in a dream, as Hector appears before him, and then is roused from sleep (*excitior somno*; 2.302) by the noise of battle to discover that Ucalegon’s house is already aflame:

iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam
Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet
Vcalegon. (2.310–312)

At one moment the spacious home of Deiphobus collapses, overcome by fire, at the next Ucalegon’s house next door begins to burn.

He then journeys out into the city (*mediaeque tenemus / urbis iter*; 2.359–360) to join battle

²⁶ J. N. O’Sullivan, “Parody and Sense in Juvenal 3.198–202,” *American Journal of Philology* 99 (1978) 457, has argued that Juvenal’s Ucalegon is presented not just as “neighbor” but as “the neighbor who doesn’t care (οὐκ ἀλέγον) for anyone but himself.” In Vergil Ucalegon’s home is the “next” to burn; but Umbricius’ Ucalegon escapes. The one who burns is the fellow at the top of the stairs, for the selfish Ucalegon fails to warn him. On O’Sullivan’s reading, Ucalegon is for Umbricius yet another example of the perfidious character of all Greeks. Anderson, 376–377 argues that the “Aeneas” in Umbricius’ allusion to the *Aeneid* is not Umbricius himself but the “you” of Umbricius’ rant (*tu nescis*; 3.200), the person who lives above Ucalegon and who receives no warning from him of the impending disaster. Since, however, it is Aeneas as Ucalegon’s neighbor at Troy who reports his plight, Umbricius, in telling us about

“Ucalegon’s” renewed peril, is himself here playing the role of the epic hero.

²⁷ S. H. Braund, “City and Country in Roman Satire,” in *Satire and Society in Ancient Rome*, ed. S. H. Braund (Exeter 1989) 34. Cf. Courtney, 152: the dangers of the city “are arranged to show the events of a whole day; night 232–238, morning 239–248, main part of the day 249–261, late afternoon 261–267, evening 268–301, night 302 sqq.”

²⁸ Umbricius’ emphasis on night becomes clear when we contrast his chronicle of a typical day with that of the satirist in Satire 1, who never mentions night: *ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum* (1.127). Braund 1996, 34 notes how book one of the Satires moves from morning in Satire 1 to evening in Satire 5.

there with the enemy before deciding, persuaded by Venus, that he must take his family and flee.

In presenting Rome as a place of “epic” battles in the streets, Umbricius draws on several poetic sources, borrowing his vocabulary from Lucretius, Vergil, Lucan, and Statius and presenting a bully in the streets as the latest incarnation of Homer’s Achilles.²⁹ Scholars have long recognized, however, that Umbricius has Vergil and *Aeneid* 2 specifically in mind when he borrows the language of a famous Vergilian simile to characterize a typical traffic accident in the streets of Rome:

longa coruscat
serraco ueniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra uehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur.
(3.254–256)

A long fir tree bounces about on an approaching wagon, and other carts transport pine.
They totter above our heads and threaten the people.

Beginning with J. E. B. Mayor’s commentary more than a century ago, scholars have noticed that Aeneas also used the words *nutare* and *minari* in his simile comparing the fall of Troy to the fall of an ash tree, felled by farmers’ axes:³⁰

Tum uero omne mihi uisum considerare in ignis
Ilium et ex imo uerti Neptunia Troia:
ac ueluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur
et tremefacta comam concusso uertice nutat,
uulneribus donec paulatim euicta supremum
congemuit traxitque iugis auulsa ruinam.
(2.624–631)

Then all of Ilium seemed to me to collapse in flames and Neptune’s Troy to be uprooted,
just like an ancient ash, high in the mountains, cut down by farmers competing to fell it
with frequent blows of axe and iron. The tree tottering threatens to fall and shakes its
leafy crown until, little by little, overcome by wounds, it groans one final time and torn
from the hills drags ruin in its wake.

It is characteristic of Umbricius’ use of Vergil that what is only a simile for the collapse of Troy in the *Aeneid* becomes for him a literal and prosaic reality in Rome; the fall of Troy is like the felling of a great and noble tree, but the fall of Rome results from trees (or stones)

²⁹ Braund in her commentary notes parallels with or allusions to Lucan, Statius, and Homer. Lines 243–248 depict a poor man’s commute through the streets with “vocabulary . . . [that] would fit a military context” and that “creates a mock-epic tone” (Braund 1996, 217). The contemporary “Achilles” (3.280), unable to sleep until he has a fight, attacks poor Umbricius. True to his epic persona, Umbricius alerts his listener, Juvenal, to the genre in which he is working as he narrates his “mugging”: *miseræ cognosce proboemia rixae*, “Recognize the prelude to a pitiful fight”; *proboemium* was

used on occasion to denote the prelude to an epic poem (*OLD*, s.v.).

³⁰ Mayor, Friedländer, Courtney, and Braund all note the borrowing. I. G. Scott, *The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal* (Northampton 1927) 76 and Lelièvre 1972, 459 also argue that Juvenal “parodies” Vergil here. Estévez, 287–288 offers the most extensive discussion of the link, which he extends beyond Vergil’s simile of the tree to include as well an allusion to the tower of Priam’s palace (2.460–467).

falling from wagons as they pass through the city. Nonetheless, by alluding to what is Aeneas' final and most vivid image of Troy's demise, Umbricius announces that the *ruina* (3.190, 196) of Rome is the contemporary equivalent of Troy's own (2.631).

6. *Epic Satire*

Frederick J. Stopp has argued that "satire has always borrowed its ground-plan, parasitically and by ironic inversion, from other forms of ordered exposition in art or in life."³¹ I have sought to show that this "ground-plan" for Juvenal's Third Satire is borrowed from the second book of Vergil's *Aeneid* by an Umbricius who wishes us to see him as a new Aeneas. It has long been acknowledged, beginning with Inez Gertrude Scott's *The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal*, that Juvenal's satires are marked by a self-conscious epic style and tone, and several scholars have noted to varying degrees the influence of Vergil and of *Aeneid* 2 on Satire 3. In an influential article, H. A. Mason argued that "the whole interpretation of Juvenal's poem depends on how we take the ground tone, which is indeed a solemn and sonorous hexameter."³² Critics have remained as confused about how to take that "ground tone," however, as they have about Umbricius' own character.

In the most recent article on Vergil and Satire 3, Victor Estévez sees Umbricius as Juvenal's mouthpiece, voicing the moralist's condemnation of a fallen world: "What has happened to Rome, he is telling us, its collapse as a city and the collapse of the old Roman heroic ideal, is of the same mythic stature as the great destructive event in which lay its heroic beginnings."³³ Estévez follows the lead here of Lelièvre, who had argued that Juvenal used literary parody in support of "his principal purpose, the satire of morals. . . . [I]t is intended to provide an unspoken comment on the contrast in moral values between the two worlds that Juvenal has juxtaposed, that of literature or legend and that of real life."³⁴ As we have seen, however, Juvenal used just such a juxtaposition at the end of Satire 2, where he mocked a modern Roman *umbra* hoping to join the Vergilian roll of heroes in Hades. The "satirist" of Satire 3, however, is not Juvenal himself but an Umbricius in some ways like that degenerate *umbra*, a man unworthy of Vergilian associations. The literary parody here seems to be embodied not in the message but in the messenger.

LaFleur would agree that Umbricius is the object rather than the subject of this satire, but for LaFleur it is not just Umbricius' morals but also his poetic manner that is the issue: "Indeed, one of the satirist's chief aims in this poem may well have been to poke fun at Umbricius' fustian *poesis*."³⁵ LaFleur argues that Umbricius is presented as a poet: he refuses to praise bad books (3.41–42), is sympathetic to Cordus (3.203–209), probably the same epic poet by whom Juvenal had been vexed in Satire 1 (1.2), offers to "help" Juvenal with his own satires (3.322), and uses the Grand Style more than any other speaker in the satires.³⁶ When,

³¹ Quoted by R. Paulson, *The Fictions of Satire* (Baltimore 1967) 4–5 from F. J. Stopp, *Evelyn Waugh: Portrait of an Artist* (London 1958) 201.

³⁴ F. J. Lelièvre, "Parody in Juvenal and T. S. Eliot," *Classical Philology* 53 (1958) 22.

³⁵ LaFleur 1976, 416.

³² H. A. Mason, "Is Juvenal a Classic?" in *Critical Essays on Roman Literature: Satire*, ed. J. P. Sullivan (London 1963) 134.

³⁶ Umbricius' sympathy for Cordus could well derive from a shared love of poetry. The explicit cause, however, is economic. Compare 3.152–153 and 208–209, where both Cordus and Poverty are *infelix* and "have

³³ Estévez, 299.

in the prologue to Umbricius' declamation, Juvenal caps his list of the city's ills with "poets reciting even in the month of August" (3.9), he foreshadows, LaFleur argues, the "poet" Umbricius whom we are soon to meet.

Indeed, Umbricius is, LaFleur suggests, precisely "the sort of Daedalus-poet scorned by Juvenal in Satire 1.52–54":³⁷

haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
 haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas
 aut Diomedea aut mugitum labyrinthi
 et mare percussum puero fabrumque uolantem.

(1.51–54)

Should I not consider these things worthy of Horace's Venusine lamp? Should I not attack these things? What would you have me treat instead? The labors of Hercules or the tale of Diomedes or the bellowing beast inside the labyrinth, the sea struck by the boy and the flying inventor?

Juvenal contrasts his satiric attacks with the trite mythological themes of traditional epic poetry, the kind that tells the story of a "flying" Daedalus. The poets who write about such themes are the ones Juvenal condemned earlier in Satire 1.1–14 in proclaiming his intention to respond with a new kind of poetry, one in which what is epic is not the subject matter but the heroic persona of the poet himself. LaFleur asserts that Umbricius, by invoking Daedalus as his model in Satire 3.25, is showing himself to be the sort of poet Juvenal mocks and rejects.

As I argued earlier, however, Umbricius makes a clear distinction between the two different Daedaluses to whom he alludes. In associating Daedalus with Cumae in 3.25, Umbricius is singling out the Vergilian Daedalus, who does not fly, but removes his wings, and who portrays in his life story on the doors of Apollo's temple everything *but* "the sea struck by the boy." The "flying inventor" whom Juvenal associates with outmoded epic is the same Daedalus whom Umbricius likewise condemns as the epitome of Greek versatility and duplicity:

grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
 augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus, omnia nouit
 Graeculus esuriens: in caelum iusseris ibit.
 in summa non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax
 qui sumpsit pinna, mediis sed natus Athenis.

(3.76–80)

Philologist, rhetorician, mathematician, painter, wrestler, soothsayer, rope-dancer, doctor, magician, your greedy little Greek knows it all. If you order him to, he'll go up in the sky. In short, the man who put on wings was neither a Moor, nor a Sarmatian, nor a Thracian, but a fellow born in downtown Athens.

This winged, artistic Daedalus is Ovid's legacy, the *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis*, "Daedalus, world-famous for his talent in the craftsman's art," whom we meet in the

nothing" (*nil habet*). LaFleur parts ways with most recent editors in reading *adiutor* instead of *auditor* in the last line of the satire: *saturarum ego (ni pudet illas) / adiutor gelidos ueniam caligatus in agros* (3.321–322), "As to your satires, I—unless it shames them—I shall

come, clodhopping into the chilly fields, to *help you write them!*" (LaFleur's trans. and emphasis, 1976, 430).

³⁷ LaFleur 1976, 420.

Metamorphoses (8.159). James Joyce understood what Daedalus meant to Ovid when he chose as the epigraph for *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* an excerpt from Ovid's description of Daedalus: *ignotas animum dimittit in artes*, "he turned his attention to arts not yet known." The very next line (which Joyce does not quote) makes Daedalus' construction of "feathers" the model case for his artistry: *naturamque novat. nam ponit in ordine pennas*, "he changed the form of nature, for he set feathers in a row" (*Met.* 8.188–189). As C. F. Ahern has shown, "wings and flight, from the time of winged words in Homer, were anciently associated . . . with speech, and especially with poetry and the Muses."³⁸ Or, as A. Sharrock has noted, "it is difficult to fly and not be a poet."³⁹ When Umbricius, therefore, praises a Daedalus who "has removed his wearied wings," he is not praising the kind of Ovidian epic Juvenal rejected nor aiming to be such a poet himself.⁴⁰

It is a telling sign that for Umbricius *ars* is a positive word only when it is qualified as *honesta* (3.21). The Daedalus "who took up wings" (*qui sumpsit pennas*; 3.80) is therefore quite different from Daedalus "when he took off the wings" (*ubi . . . exiit alas*; 3.25). For Umbricius, Daedalus represents the alien Greeks when he is winged, artistic, and Ovidian, but he is the model for a Roman hero once he has put off his wings and become Vergilian. Umbricius' performance is epic and mythologized not because he is, like the epic poets Juvenal rejects, writing *about* Greek heroes but because he seeks to *be* a Roman hero. In so doing, Umbricius was trying, I argue, to be Juvenal's kind of satirist. H. A. Mason came close to seeing this when he wrote, "Umbricius is not Martial, but Juvenal himself recalling in verse the recitations he had so often delivered in prose and laughing both at himself in that role and at the attempt by contemporary writers of solemn hexameters to take themselves seriously."⁴¹ What Mason saw as Juvenal's *lasciuita*, however, Anderson believed was the satirist's *ira*. Yet Anderson shows that anger generated from a Roman audience is a complex response, including the very same laughter postulated by Mason: "there is no doubt whatsoever that the sophisticated Roman audience repeatedly smiled and applauded at this superb display of 'honest indignation.'"⁴²

The ending of Satire 3 indicates, just as does its opening, that Juvenal constitutes a "sophisticated audience . . . prepared to respond intelligently, not with identically sympathetic passion" to the satirist Umbricius to whom he has just been listening.⁴³ Indeed, Umbricius' final words characterize Juvenal's role here as that of "audience for satire":

saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos ueniam caligatus in agros. (3.321–322)

³⁸ C. F. Ahern, Jr., "Daedalus and Icarus in the *Ars Amatoria*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 92 (1989) 292.

³⁹ A. Sharrock, *Seduction and Repetition in Ovid's Ars Amatoria* 2 (Oxford 1994) 103.

⁴⁰ B. Pavlock, "Daedalus in the Labyrinth of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," *Classical World* 92 (1998) 141, writing in agreement with Sharrock (as n. 39), has suggested that "Horace in the *Odes* uses the flight of Daedalus and Icarus as an image of artistic hubris, in particular aspiring to the high genre of epic." Although Sharrock argues persua-

sively that Ovid uses the story of Daedalus and Icarus in the *Ars Amatoria* precisely to suggest that he is *not* one of those hubristic epic poets but an artist who seeks a middle way between high and low, as poet of the *Metamorphoses*, where the story of Daedalus is reprised, Ovid could easily have been mistaken by both Juvenal and Umbricius for one of those epic "high-fliers."

⁴¹ Mason (as n. 32) 135.

⁴² Anderson, 390.

⁴³ Anderson, 392.

Of your satires (unless it would embarrass them) as a listener I'll come, wearing my boots,
into the cool fields.

Umbricius offers to return Juvenal's favor, reversing roles the next time they meet to become for Juvenal what Juvenal has been for him this time, an *auditor . . . saturarum*. By placing a qualifying clause, however, between "satires" and "listener," Umbricius voices a telling sense that Juvenal has not entirely approved of Umbricius' own performance as satirist: *ni pudet illas*, "unless it would embarrass those satires (i.e., Juvenal's)." "Confused" at the beginning, "embarrassed" at the end, Juvenal shows that he understands the liabilities embodied in the angry satirist who, like Umbricius, wishes to be viewed as an epic hero.

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