JUVENAL (c. 50/65-AFTER 130 CE), LATIN SATIRIST. For a brief biography of Juvenal, selections from ‘Satire 6,’ and some comments on Juvenal’s reception, reputation, and translation in early modern translation, see the print anthology, pp. 144-46 and 248-51.

EDITIONS AND CONTEXTS:
For selected early modern and modern translations of Juvenal’s verse, as well as a fuller account of his reception, reputation, and translation in early modern England, see the essay ‘Juvenal’ in “Classical Writers, their Early Modern Reputations and Translations” (Online Companion).

The following three translations of Juvenal’s ‘Satire 2’ vary a great deal, with Biddle’s and Stapylton’s being to various degrees torturous in their syntax and expression. Like most of the translations from Dryden’s collaboratively produced 1693 collection of Juvenal satires, however, Nahum Tate’s version is freer, but also clearer, largely because he deletes many of Juvenal’s contemporary allusions.

JOHN BIDDLE (1615/16-1662), TEACHER, SCHOLAR, AND RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIALIST. An excellent student, Biddle produced his translations of Virgil’s Eclogues and Juvenal’s first two satires while still at school, and they were published in 1634, when he was only nineteen years old age. Four years later he graduated BA from Magdalen Hall, Oxford University, and after the conferring of his MA in 1641, he took up an important post as master of Crypt School, Gloucester. Sometimes called ‘the Father of Unitarianism,’ his unconventional views on Church of England doctrines concerning the Trinity attracted the attention of the authorities and he suffered lengthy and repeated imprisonments, all the while publishing tracts on his convictions.

VIRGIL’S BUCOLICS ENGLISHED. WHEREUNTO IS ADDED […] THE TWO FIRST SATIRES OF JUVENAL (1634)

SATIRE 2

THE ARGUMENT

False glozing Stoics naked stripped,¹
Their tapessed sins unmasked, and whipped;²
Obscene abusèd catamites,³
Soft judges, base hermaphrodites;
Face-farthing Otho ’quip’t; his error
In too much gazing on his mirror;⁴

¹ glozing lying. Stoics members of an ancient Greek philosophic school that counseled self-discipline and self-control in the face of life’s vicissitudes, such as pain, loss and death.
² tapessed concealed or covered, as are bare walls by tapestries; perhaps Biddle also wants the reader to think of the Stoics’ sins as being ornately decorated or adorned by them, just as tapestries were.
³ catamite generally a boy or youth kept to sexually service his master or superior; usually referring specifically to a boy, youth, or man who is the receptive (passive) partner in anal intercourse.
The Gracchi (that notorious pair)\footnote{\textit{Face-farthing Otho} Marcus Salvius Otho (32-69 CE), Roman emperor (reigned, 69 CE); his wife, Poppaea, was one of Nero’s mistresses, and it was rumoured that he was also one of Nero’s lovers. \textit{Face-farthing} perhaps, ‘face-farting,’ given that Juvenal later makes it clear that Otho is a \textit{pathicus} (line 99), a man who plays the receptive (passive) role in male-male anal intercourse. \textit{Quipt} i.e., equipped (with the \textit{mirror}, an emblem of Otho’s effeminacy and vanity, that appears in the next clause and later in the poem).}  
Unvizored and well-scourged are;\footnote{\textit{the Gracchi} The Roman land reformers and brothers, Tiberius Gracchus (163-133 BCE) and Gaius Gracchus (154-121 BCE), for Juvenal the type of the radical revolutionary.}  
The first, for his man-marriage vexed;\footnote{\textit{Unvizored} unmasked.}  
For fencing on the stage, the next.\footnote{\textit{Vexed} reproached; made to feel uncomfortable, accused.}  
He shows the source from whence arise\footnote{\textit{Fencing} in the arena \textit{(on the stage)} was a shameful act for a man of the Roman elites. See nn155-156.}  
All such uncouth impieties\footnote{\textit{Fencing} reproached; made to feel uncomfortable, accused.}  
To be, ’cause men believe no Hell.\footnote{\textit{First are your artless pedants: though at home}}  
Then do’s Rome’s vast ambition tell,\footnote{\textit{Jerk} whips, lashes, scourges.}  
And jerks, with it, her soft-grown state\footnote{\textit{Sauromates} i.e., Sarmatia, a large area at the very limit of the Empire, roughly equivalent to modern-day Russia, Lithuania, etc.; the Samartians were a by-word for savagery and sexual licentiousness.}  
That strangers did effeminate.

\textbf{SATIRE 2}

I hence from Rome will post with speedy motion,\footnote{\textit{The Gracchi} The Roman land reformers and brothers, Tiberius Gracchus (163-133 BCE) and Gaius Gracchus (154-121 BCE), for Juvenal the type of the radical revolutionary.}  
Beyond the Sauromates and frozen ocean,\footnote{\textit{Sauromates} i.e., Sarmatia, a large area at the very limit of the Empire, roughly equivalent to modern-day Russia, Lithuania, etc.; the Samartians were a by-word for savagery and sexual licentiousness.}  
When sacred manners are the chat of those\footnote{\textit{Vexed} reproached; made to feel uncomfortable, accused.}  
Who, seeming Curii, live like Bacchus’ froses.\footnote{\textit{Curii} referring to the family of Manius Curius Dentatus (d. c. 270 BCE), Roman hero, soldier and consul; a type of the ancient values of courage, frugality, incorruptibility, and temperance. \textit{Bacchus} god of wine and revelry; his followers, the Bacchants or Maenads, were known to be periodically possessed by the god, and driven into wild sensual and sexual frenzy. \textit{Froes} whores.}  
First are your artless pedants: though at home\footnote{\textit{First are your artless pedants: though at home}}  
They have Chrysippus’ image made of loam\footnote{\textit{Chrysippus’ image} i.e., a portrait or likeness of Chrysippus (c. 280-207 BCE), the philosopher responsible for developing and systematizing the Stoic doctrines of earlier philosophers. \textit{Loam} plaster, clay.}  
In every creek and corner. For sole he,\footnote{\textit{Jerk} whips, lashes, scourges.}  
Of these men, the exactest fain will be,\footnote{\textit{Exactest} most refined in [his] tastes. \textit{Fain} necessarily.}  
That can the lifelike statues show to us\footnote{\textit{Aristotle} famed Greek philosopher (384-322 BCE), an emblem of learning, wisdom, and reason. \textit{Pittacus} tyrant of Mytilene, elected by his people to solve the country’s factional strife; retiring to a country life after ten years of reforming his society, he was later counted among the Seven Sages, a group of ancient men who exemplified wisdom in the dealing with practical and political matters.}  
Of Aristotle and sage Pittacus.\footnote{\textit{Aristotle} famed Greek philosopher (384-322 BCE), an emblem of learning, wisdom, and reason. \textit{Pittacus} tyrant of Mytilene, elected by his people to solve the country’s factional strife; retiring to a country life after ten years of reforming his society, he was later counted among the Seven Sages, a group of ancient men who exemplified wisdom in the dealing with practical and political matters.}
And (‘s magazine of books to guard) that sets
The front’s a cozening mirror, for what street
Is not with obscene Catos now replete?
None more controls effeminacy than
The most notorious soft Socratian.
Rough limbs and arms all-bristled o’er with hair
Are the plain badges of a mind severe;
But in thy smooth posteriors, full of biles,
The smiling leech doth lance the swelling piles.
These men have sealed-up lips, and take great pride
In silence and demureness; yea, beside
Their knotted hair doth not their eyebrow buss.
And therefore debauched Peribonius
Is in a far more tolerable state;
His nature to malignant stars and fate
I justly do impute, whose very colour,
And lazy gait are symptoms of his dolour.
Such men’s simplicity should us excite
To sympathy and ruth; their passion’s might
Doth plead them guiltless. But far worse are they
Who with Herculean, thund’ring taunts inveigh
’Gainst these delinquents, and of virtue prate
Amid their base venereous cringes. What?
For fear of thy dread presence shall I shiver,

16 ‘s magazine of books his storehouse of books; his library.
17 Cleanthes the successor of Zeno, founder of the school of Stoic philosophy. counterfeits artistic representations (paintings, statues, etc.)
18 front outward appearance; façade. cozening deceitful, lying.
19 Catos i.e., those who adopt the outward garb and behavior of the famously pious and morally upright Marcus Porcius Cato (234-148 BCE) and his great grandson, Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (95-46 BCE), emblems of the aristocratic Roman dedicated to ancient values, such as civic service, patriotism, frugality, and incorruptibility.
20 None ... Socratian referring to the common stereotype of the ancient philosopher as having his primary sexual relationships with men, particularly his young students. Here, in a reversal of the stereotype, such men pretend to be philosophers as a ‘cover’ for their same-sex desires and acts.
21 severe strictly moral and pious.
22 biles i.e., presumably ‘bile cysts’ inside the anus; bile was one of the early modern humours, or governing liquids, of the body. K. Borris notes that cinaedi (effeminate men, those who played the receptive role in male-male anal intercourse) were sometimes thought to have an overabundance of cold/wet humours ('Introduction,' Sciences, p. 19).
23 leech surgeon, physician. piles haemorrhoids or anal tumours.
24 buss kiss. The sense of the Latin original is that the façade of manliness demands taciturnity and short hair.
25 dolour here, painful affliction or disease.
26 simplicity ignorance, folly.
27 ruth pity, compassion.
28 Herculean after the manner of Hercules, the hero and demi-god.
29 prate chatter, prattle.
30 venereous lustful, libidinal. cringes given that cringing is a physical attitude (like bowing or groveling) that acknowledges another’s superiority, ‘cringes’ implies these men’s addiction to being sexually dominated or subordinated by their male partners.
While thy posteriors do obscenely quiver?
‘Or, Sextus, am I one jot worse than thee?’
Quoth loose Varillus of known infamy.
Straight let him be that mocks a wry-legged man;¹¹
White, that derides an Ethiopian.

The Gracchi, ‘plaining sore of garboils near³²
And innovation, who can brook to hear?³³
Who would not, with confusion blending all,
Cry out, ‘Heavens! Earth and Seas!’ when Verres shall³⁴
(The archest land shark) be displeased with thieves;³⁵
At homicides when th’ hackster Milo grieves;³⁶
The most notorious lecher Clodius³⁷
Empleads adulterers; when Cethegus³⁸
The Boutefeu’s accused by Catiline;³⁹
When three like bloody tyrants shall (in fine)⁴⁰
Tax Sulla’s table of proscription⁴¹

In which list was Vespasian’s lustful son,⁴²
Whose coiture and late adultery⁴³
Might be the subject of a tragedy:
Who calling back the Julian Law severe,
All, nay Mars and his leman, thrilled with fear:⁴⁴

¹¹ wry-legged  crooked-legged, crippled.
³² plaining sore  deeply complaining or lamenting. garboils  brawls, tumults, disturbances.
³³ innovation  new-fangled [notion, idea, thing]. brook  endure. For the Gracchi, see n5.
³⁴ Verres  Gaius Verres (d. 43 BCE), notoriously corrupt praetor of Sicilia (bribe-taker, extortionist).
³⁵ archest land shark  cunning person who makes his livelihood preying upon others; a land-grabber.
³⁶ hackster  a cut-throat; hired killer. Milo  The Roman politician Titus Annius Milo (d. 48 BCE) who organized mob violence in Rome in support of Pompey and Cicero; Milo’s killing of the tribune Clodius in 52 BCE led to his arrest and banishment.
³⁷ Publius Clodius (c. 92-52 BCE) was well known for his sexual licentiousness; he put on women’s clothes and entered the house of Julius Caesar, hoping to seduce his wife Pompeia, while she and her guests were celebrating the festival of the Bona Dea, a goddess from whose worship men were rigidly banned. Unsuccessful, he was arrested, but bribed the judges to release him.
³⁸ empleads  pleads for; begs mercy for. Cethegus  famously corrupt Roman tribune, one of Catiline’s co-conspirators against the Republic.
³⁹ Boutefeu  from French: a rabble-rouser, a person who causes conflict and discontent. Catiline  Lucius Sergius Catilina (c. 108-62 BCE), Roman conspirator, whose support of disenfranchised and impoverished Romans was a ploy to gain support for his unsuccessful bid for the consulship; his rebellion in 62 failed and he was killed in battle by Mark Antony.
⁴⁰ in fine  in conclusion.
⁴¹ The three bloody tyrants are the members of the second triumvirate, Octavius Caesar, Mark Antony, and Lepidus. The Roman dictator Sulla (c. 138-78 BCE) consolidated his hold on power after emerging victorious from Rome’s early civil strife (82 BCE) by drawing up proscription lists of those who had opposed him; declared outlaws, those on the proscription lists were hunted down and killed. Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus followed Sulla’s example, preparing a second proscription list during the Civil War (43-42 BCE).
⁴² Vespasian’s lustful son  Titus Caesar Vespasianus, Roman emperor (reigned, 79-81 CE); before he became emperor, Titus had a reputation for sexual and sensual excess of all kinds. Vespasian’s lustful son was Domitian (see nn44-45).
⁴³ coiture  sexual activity, copulation.
From Julia’s fruitful (but too son-laid) womb,
When so many abortives forth did come,
And from her issued (in lieu of son)
(Right like their uncle) shapeless embryos. 45

Therefore, do not the most deboist, by right. 46
Yea, even the vicious in the abstract, slight
These glozing Scauri, who of sin complain, 47
And, bit by their invectives, snap again?
   Late, one of these abuse-controllers proud 48
Laronia brooked not, as he yelled aloud, 49
Retreating, ‘Where art thou, Julian Law?
Fall’n in a lethargy?’ With smiling awe
Who thus accosts him: ‘O thrice-happy age,
‘Whose manners gross are checked by such a sage!
‘Let Rome (earst impudent) now blush t’offend:
‘A third sour Cato doth from Heaven descend!50
‘But whence, sir, do the luscious ungents come?
‘Whence is this odorif’rous balsamum? 51
‘(In thy rough hairy neck that swells so) brought?
   ‘But if the sleep-drowned laws be roused, than, 52
‘Above all, ought the sharp Scantinian. 53
‘First, canvas men in your strict scrutinies; 54
‘More palpable are their enormities, 55
‘But their vast number doth them safely shield,
   ‘And their close files with target fencers steeled. 56

44 Who … fear Julian Law the marriage laws introduced by Emperor Augustus (reigned, 31 BCE- 14 CE) and renewed by Emperor Domitian (reigned, 81-96 CE); these laws encouraged marriage and penalized those who elected to remain bachelors. Mars and Venus, the god of war and goddess of love, were engaged in a famously adulterous relationship.
45 From Julia’s … uncle According the Roman historian Suetonius, Emperor Domitian seduced his niece Julia, but when she became pregnant he forced her to have an abortion. She died of complications.
46 deboist debauched; morally depraved and corrupted.
47 glozing Scauri pretended members of the important and respected Roman family, the Scauri, whose members included statesmen, consuls, and military commanders.
48 Late Recently.
49 brooked endured, put up with.
50 third sour Cato See n19.
51 balsamum balm, a sweet-smelling lotion or perfume.
52 than then.
53 Scantinian the Lex Scantinia or Sodomy Laws; although there is some disagreement among modern critics, the Lex Scantinia, seems to have made sex illegal with a freeborn male minor and also prohibited a male citizen from assuming the receptive role in male-male anal intercourse. See Stapylton, ‘Comment upon the Second Satire,’ vers. 54, below.
54 scrutinies examinations.
55 palpable obvious, plainly observable. enormities instances of monstrous wickedness or depravity.
56 close files tightly closed ranks. target shield. steeled fortified. The image is taken from ancient infantry practices, where an assault would sometimes be repelled by a company who placed their shields edge to edge, creating a bulwark through which weapons could not penetrate.
'Amongst those ribaulds there is great consent,'

‘But no such detestable precedent
‘Shall in our sex be found: Even Taedia
‘(That trull) doth never abuse Cluvia:
‘Nor Flora (that lewd quean) Catulla wrong
‘With th’ obscene actions of her beastly tong.
‘Hispo’s a pathic, and diseased no less
‘With passive, than with active filthiness.

‘Do e’er we women wrangling causes plead?
‘Do we the civil-laws peruse and read?
‘Or in your strife-full courts e’er scold and brawl?
‘Still at your tournies, few (or none at all)
‘Virago-like do combat; few do eat
‘The doughty wrestler’s sole-allotted meat.
‘Ye card wool, and re-carry back in maunds
‘The well-wrought web; ye nimbly with your hands
‘Roll the thread-swelling spindle, quicker yea
‘Than feat Arachne or Penelope,
‘Like to the squalid spinster by her dame
‘Doomed to the clog for being tardy ta’en.

‘Why wealthy Hister made his denizen
‘In’s will sole heir of all his goods, ’tis known;
‘Why with great largesses he, in his life,
‘Rewarded still his untouched virgin-wife.

57 ribaulds foul-mouthed blasphemers; wicked, licentious persons.
58 Taedia … wrong These are all names of female prostitutes, and thus Laronia’s point is that while such women willingly engage in all kinds of sexual acts with a man, they refuse to take women as sexual partners. ‘Trull’ and ‘quean’ are synonyms for prostitute, whore, or harlot.
59 tong i.e., tongue (referring of course to cunnilingus).
60 Hispo’s … filthiness Hispo, in contrast to the female prostitutes (above), engages in same-sex sexual acts, performing both as the passive (receptive) and active (penetrative) partner in anal intercourse with other men. For pathic, see n4.
61 wrangling causes i.e., legal cases that require active argumentation.
62 tournies tournaments.
63 virago-like like a manly-woman, an Amazon or female warrior.
64 few do eat … meat In the original, the Latin ‘colyphium’ refers to the athlete’s meat-ration, and the word was also slang for penis (on account of its relationship to ‘colyphia,’ a long bread roll).
65 maunds woven baskets.
66 web tapestry or woven cloth.
67 feat skilled, quick-handed. The men have taken on traditional woman’s work. Arachne and Penelope were both famous weavers: Arachne challenged the goddess Minerva (Athena) to a weaving contest, and as a punishment for her tapestry that depicted the folly of the gods, Minerva transformed Arachne into a spider; Penelope, the chaste wife of the hero Ulysses, put off choosing a new husband from among a group of persistent suitors, by saying she would choose only after she finished weaving her father-in-law’s shroud; each night she undid her weaving from the day before, convinced that Ulysses would return to her.
68 Like … ta’en spinster one who spins thread to make cloth. In the ancient world, prostitutes would often engage in such work between clients. The ‘dame’ here is the owner or manager of the brothel, and the ‘clog’ is a wooden-soled shoe, rimmed with metal.
69 Hister Pacuvius was a wealthy and sexually corrupt Roman. denizen here, a foreigner who can live in a country and has certain rights, but cannot inherit property or hold public office.
'Raised shall she be to wealth and dignity
‘That in a pathic’s pallet third doth lie.70
‘This way to thrive I thee will only teach:
‘Marry but such a one, and ne’er appeach;71
‘Rich pendants guerdon oft such secrecy.72
    ‘On us a heavy doom is passed, and we73
‘Meanwhile do smart it; the laws partial are
‘That silly doves infest and crows forbear.74
    These daunted Stoics from Laronia stung,
While such apparent truths she boldly sung:
For who can burden her with forgeries?75

What will not others dare to enterprise,
When thou enveloped art, soft Creticus,
In robes of taffeta diaphanous?76
And (though the rout doth fleer at this thy vest)77
In it to death thou harlots sentencest,
As poor Polinea and Procula.
A whore’s Fabulla, and Carfinia:
Condemn ’em (if thou list;) yet ne’er will they,
Condemned, invest themselves in such array.78
    ‘But sun-burnt July, sir, most torrid is,
And I even swelt with heat!’ I grant you this:79
Then plead stark-naked! ’Tis a seemlier thing80
To be a madman than a wantonling!81
    A garb past all compare! in which thee clad,
And promulgating laws (so life they had)
E’en deign to hear the ancient Romans might,
Returning victors from some horrid fight
All gashed and mangled; and those mountaineers,
Their ploughs forsaking and their tillage-cares!
    What would you not exclaim, a judge to see82
So trapped? I demand if a taffetie83

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70 pathic See n4. pallet bed.
71 appeach accuse, inform against.
72 guerdon as a verb, ‘reward.’
73 doom judgement.
74 That … forbear The crow or raven was believed to conceive its young through fellatio, and also to give birth orally. See Pliny, *Natural History* (trans. P. Holland), 10.12.
75 burden … forgeries accuse her of telling lies.
76 taffeta a light, thin silk.
77 rout crowd, mob. fleer jeer, sneer, express contempt [for].
78 invest dress, clothe.
79 swelt swelter, melt, am overcome.
80 plead in the judicial sense.
81 wantonling lascivious or lewd person (the insult is intensified by the sneering diminutive suffix, ‘ling’).
82 you i.e., the ancient Romans and honest ploughmen.
83 trapped i.e., dressed, tricked out. taffetie See n76, above. Juvenal’s Latin original (line 76) has: *quaero an decent multicia testem* (I ask whether transparent clothing would be fitting for a witness?).
Become a witness? Thou undaunted art,
A patriot stout; yet every limb and part
May be discerned (to thy great disgrace)
Through the small crannies of thy pory case.  

'Tis other loose men’s foul contagion
Hath stench’d thy life, and further yet will run,
Like as one scabbed sheep a flock infects,
One scurvy swine a whole herd’s health rejects,
And from sight of one perished grape that’s blue
Another grape contracts the self-same hue.

Ere long thou’lt villainies attempt and dare
Than those soft vestments more flagitious far.
None forthwith e’er extremely wicked grew.
Thee, by degrees, into their filthy crew,
The throng of dapper softlings will admit,
Who ’bout their fronts at home do bonnets knit,
Their necks adorning with deft carcanets;
And (like the froes, that with sow’s tender tears
Appease their Bona Dea) screened in night’s
Black-collied mantle, do their beastly rites
To the Virago; but invert the guise,
And women thence cashier, and chase with cries.
Who dare not to the guarded lobby venture!
This sacred temple may men only enter;
‘Hence, profane women, hence!’ they loudly bawl.
No cornets clangor howleth here at all.

Such orgies did those priests effeminate
Earst with night-burning tapers celebrate,
Wont with their antique rounds (obscenely merry)
Cecropian Cotytto even to weary.

84 become is fitting or appropriate for.
85 pory case porous or see-through covering.
86 stench’d made stinking or putrid.
87 scabbed afflicted with the scab, a skin disease like mange.
88 flagitious disgraceful, criminal, infamous.
89 None ... grew i.e., No one has ever become extremely wicked overnight.
90 dapper softlings fashionably dressed, effeminate men.
91 fronts foreheads.
92 deft carcanets well-made, ornate collars or necklaces (often made of gold and set with jewels).
93 sow’s tender tears presumably, the sow weeps as she is prepared for sacrifice.
94 black-collied black-begrimed.
95 And ... to the Virago The Virago is the goddess known as the Bona Dea, a goddess variously identified with Cybele and Rhea; she was originally a chastity goddess, said to be so pure that she was seen by no one except her husband after her marriage. Her festivals and rites, celebrated at night, were closed to men, perhaps giving rise to later rumours that sexual activity was central to them. See Juvenal, ‘Satire 6’ (print anthology, pp. 249-51), for an account of a lesbian orgy at one such celebration.
96 cashier banish, dismiss, get rid of.
97 Earst First.
He with wet coal-slick all his eyebrow smears,
Then curls in curious sort the collowed hairs
With a neat crisping pin, and lifting up
His twinkling eyes, doth fard 'em. In a cup
Of glass, proportioned like a virile wand
He drinks, and in a caul (with curious hand)
Made all of ductil gold, his head he dresses,
Farced with the trammels of his braided tresses;
In watchet robes invested, finely wrought
With cobweb-work, and in a whitish coat
Smooth-shorn, and thin, his very groom (beside)
Swearing by Juno in a wanton pride.

In's hand another carr's a looking-glass,
(Earst Otho's, borne in lieu of royal mace)
And it, no less triumphing, doth advance,
Than Turnus, when he brandished Actor's lance.
In which he viewed himself in harness standing,
And his the standards to erect commanding.

In new-made registers, and a fresh story
To be recorded is this mirror's glory,
Part of the baggage of the civil war!
Galba to stay, was like a chieftain rare,
And woman-like (forsooth) with curious art
His skin to fucus was a hero's part!

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98 Cecropian Cotytto  The goddess of sexual license and debauchery, Cotytto (sometimes identified with Proserpina, goddess of the Underworld, or Ceres, goddess of the harvest) was worshipped with nighttime rites that involved sexual acts; her priests were known as the Baptae.  Cecropian  Athenian.

99 *cole-slick*  a black cosmetic pencil (perhaps using actual coal?).

100 *collowed*  blackened.

101 *crisping pin*  curling iron.

102 *fard 'em*  i.e., use cosmetics on them to hide their defects and set off their beauty.

103 *virile wand*  erect penis.

104 *caul*  a net or circlet [for confining the hair]; a woman's accessory.  *curious hand*  skillful or adept hand ('curious' usually has negative connotations: being fussily concerned about details).

105 *ductil*  hammered out thinly so as to be pliable.

106 *watchet*  a light-blue cloth.

107 *fine*  intricately created with fine embroidery.

108 *finely wrought*  intricately created with fine embroidery.

109 *Juno*  queen of the gods and patron of childbirth, was a deity exclusively called upon by women.

110 *carr's*  i.e., carries

111 Earst  Earlier. In a former time.

112 In's ... lance  In contrast to the ancient warrior king Turnus, Otho (see n4) holds a mirror instead of a spear, signifying the latter's effeminacy and degeneration from the warrior ideal.  Actor  In the original Latin, Juvenal quotes here from Virgil's *Aeneid* (12.94). There the *Actoris Aurunci* (the Auruncan Actor) is the soldier Actor; Turnus captured Actor's spear as a trophy of war.

113 *harness*  war gear.

114 *standards*  battles flags or ensigns.

115 *stay*  stop, oppose (perhaps, an error for 'slay'); G.G. Ramsay has here "It need, in truth, a mighty general to slay Galba, and keep his own skin sleek" (Loeb edition, 1957, pp. 25-7).

116 *fucus*  beautify with cosmetics.
To bicker sharply at Brebriacum,
For empire of great palace-famed Rome,\(^{117}\)
And spread on ’s face bread soaked in asses' milk,\(^{118}\)
To sleek the skin and make ’t as soft as silk,
When quiver-wearing, loose Semiramis
Did never in Assyria practise this,\(^{119}\)
Nor Cleopatra, in her base retreat
From fatal Actium, sad for her defeat.\(^{120}\)

All kind of ribald talk and filthy words\(^{121}\)
Are here the parley at their very boards.
To speak obscurely here and make a noise,\(^{122}\)
With an affected, wanton, lisping voice,
Hath the same liberty as earst among
Base Phrygian Cybele’s lascivious throng;\(^{123}\)
And the old dotard, with a hoary head,
Their Arch-Priest, spirit-rapt, and extased,\(^{124}\)
May for his rav’ning paunch (ne’er cloyed with meat)\(^{125}\)
Of gormandizers be sole termed the GREAT,
And is well worthy to be hired to be
Their provost with an ample salary.\(^{126}\)

But why yet linger these, and daily thus,
Whom (like those Phrygian priests venereous)
It is high time themselves to evirate,\(^{127}\)
Sith they are now grown quite effeminate?

The pathic Gracchus (like a virgin-bride)
(As I think) to a fluter earst affied,\(^{128}\)
A trumpeter he was else (I assure ye)
Gave forty sesterces to him for dowry.\(^{129}\)

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\(^{117}\) To ... Rome Otho (see n4) was defeated at this battle by Vitellius (15-69 CE), who briefly became emperor before being ousted in turn by Vespasian. \(\text{empire}\) as a verb, ‘control.’

\(^{118}\) bread soaked in asses’ milk Ass’ milk was long used as a luxurious face-wash in the ancient world, most famously by Queen Cleopatra of Egypt.

\(^{119}\) When ... Semiramis ... this Queen of Assyria, Semiramis was infamous for her sexual licentiousness and her incestuous passion for her son Ninyas led to his murdering of her. She is wearing a \(\text{quiver}\) because she was equally famous as a highly successful warrior and general. See n202.

\(^{120}\) Nor Cleopatra ... defeat Antony and Cleopatra were defeated in their bid for control of the Roman Empire at the sea battle at Actium (31 BCE); Cleopatra was popularly believed to have fled from the battle out of womanly cowardice, sealing her fate and that of her lover Antony.

\(^{121}\) ribald sexually explicit, obscene, vulgar.

\(^{122}\) obscurely indistinctly.

\(^{123}\) Cybele ancient fertility goddess, sometimes identified with the Bona Dea, whose priests (the \(\text{lascivious throng}\)) were ritually castrated, but whose rites were popularly represented as characterized by wild sensual and sexual excess. See n95.

\(^{124}\) extased ecstasied: enraptured

\(^{125}\) paunch belly. \(\text{cloyed}\) filled to the point of excess or nausea.

\(^{126}\) provost the head or president of a religious community

\(^{127}\) evirate i.e., castrate (see n123).

\(^{128}\) fluter flautist, flute-player. Flute-players in the ancient world were usually slaves. \(\text{earst}\) first. \(\text{affied}\) betrothed, affianced, engaged.
In short, the nuptial tables both were signed;\textsuperscript{130}
To this, great volleys of loud shouts were joined,
All crying out to both, ‘God give ye joy!’\textsuperscript{131}
Large dishes, charged with viands, in array\textsuperscript{132}
Were set upon the table; this new bride
Lay dandling in her husband’s lap beside.\textsuperscript{133}

O Peers! Of censors, to reform with speed,
Or of soothsayers have we greater need
T’ atone such foul portentous crimes as this?\textsuperscript{134}
Wouldst think ’em more stupendous prodigies,
And shudder more, to see a cow to a lamb,
Or to a calf a woman prove a dam?\textsuperscript{135}

Long purfled stoles and scarfs of crimson dye\textsuperscript{136}
Now habit him, whose neck beseemingly
With short round scutcheons was still charged of yore,\textsuperscript{137}
Which thong-tied, nodding with the weight he bore,
And the morisco danced, till (chafed with heat)\textsuperscript{138}
He parboiled all his limbs in scalding sweat.

O Mars, dread Father of all-crushing Rome!
Whence have the Latian upland shepherds come
To this stupendous height of wickedness?\textsuperscript{139}
Whence hath such tickling lust (like nettles) these
Thy bastardizing nephews touched and stung?
For lo a man, whose fame for riches rung,
Who was ennobled by his royal line,
Doth (against nature) with a man combine!
And dost not (for all this) thy murrian shake,\textsuperscript{141}
Nor cause the earth, struck with thy lance, to quake
And, nettled with most horrid indignation,
To thy sire Jove complain in furious fashion?\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{129} forty sesterces Modern Latin editions indicate that Juvenal’s original refers to \textit{quadringenta ... sestertia}, understood now as referring to 400,000 sesterces (a colossal sum).
\textsuperscript{130} nuptial tables marriage documents.
\textsuperscript{131} ‘God give ye joy’ ritual wish bestowed on a bride and groom by family, friends, and other well-wishers.
\textsuperscript{132} charged with viands loaded with food.
\textsuperscript{133} her Stapyllton has the correct gender of the Latin pronoun here: ‘his’ (see n203). Biddle may be seeking to emphasize the effeminacy of Gracchus as the ‘virgin-bride’ by calling him a ‘her,’ or perhaps this is a compositor’s error.
\textsuperscript{134} T’ atone \ i.e., To atone.
\textsuperscript{135} Wouldst ... dam stupendous causing utter astonishment or stunned amazement (here, not in a positive sense).
\textsuperscript{136} dam mother.
\textsuperscript{137} purfled stoles richly ornamented gowns or robes.
\textsuperscript{138} scutcheons here, perhaps, medals bearing his coat of arms?
\textsuperscript{139} morisco a Moorish dance; perhaps, a morris dance (a vigorous native English dance).
\textsuperscript{140} lo behold.
\textsuperscript{141} murrian brimmed helmet, used by foot soldiers.
\textsuperscript{142} sire Jove Mars’ father was Jove or Jupiter, king of the gods.
Avaunt then; leave thy tiltyard (earst severe)\textsuperscript{143}
Which thou neglectest now, devoid of care.

Tomorrow, when Sol first shall mount his car,
And Heaven’s career to gallop him prepare,\textsuperscript{144}
I must unto Quirinus Temple wend:\textsuperscript{145}
For I’ve engaged my service to a friend.

‘Pray, what’s the cause,’ quoth one, ‘of your vagary?’\textsuperscript{146}
When straight another, ‘Why d’ ye make enquiry
As though you know not? His friend married is
Unto a man, and with a few, (for this)\textsuperscript{147}
’Tis shuffled up. But, if you live, you’ll see
Such nuptials solemnized openly,
And in the public registers enrolled.’

Meanwhile great teen these male-brides’ hearts doth hold,\textsuperscript{148}
Because they cannot (be they ne’er so fain)\textsuperscript{149}
Bring forth, and so their husbands still retain.\textsuperscript{150}
But nature well provided that our minds
Should not our bodies change to other kinds.
These cannot be with-childed, therefore they
Must barren die, and ne’er their bellies lay;
Nor yet no pouting huff puffed Lydian dame\textsuperscript{151}
With her receipts can remedy the same:\textsuperscript{152}
Nor would it profit, though their palms they had
By Pan’s yare running Priests well ferula’d.\textsuperscript{153}

But Gracchus—in a sleeveless coat bedight,\textsuperscript{154}
(His gown discarded) hath outstripped quite
This uncouth monster with his trident, and\textsuperscript{155}
Turned fencer, earst did scour the spacious sand,

\textsuperscript{143} Avaunt Be off! tiltyard an enclosed space where tournaments (martial contests, including activities like jousting) were held.
\textsuperscript{144} Tomorrow ... prepare i.e., when the sun first rises (at dawn).
\textsuperscript{145} Quirinus the ancient Roman god, whose temple on the Quirinal Hill was built around 293 BCE; sometimes identified with Romulus, legendary founder of Rome. wend make [my] way.
\textsuperscript{146} vagary excursion, stroll.
\textsuperscript{147} with a few i.e., with only a few witnesses attending the ceremony? (for this) for this time, at present and for a little while after?
\textsuperscript{148} teen vexation, anger.
\textsuperscript{149} fain willing, eager.
\textsuperscript{150} bring forth i.e., conceive and bear children. retain keep [their husbands’ affections].
\textsuperscript{151} huff puffed inflated [with a sense of her own power and self-importance]; swollen with pride. Lydian dame
In modern Latin editions, Juvenal employs here a proper name, ‘Lyde,’ referring to a woman herbalist in Juvenal’s Rome, who apparently claimed her medicines could cure barrenness.
\textsuperscript{152} receipts i.e., recipes for medical treatments (here, to encourage conception).
\textsuperscript{153} yare nimbly, quickly. ferula’d beaten with a ferule, a flat rod of wood. For an explanation of this custom, see n208.
\textsuperscript{154} bedight clad, arrayed. For the shameful significance of the sleeveless coat, see nn155-156, below.
\textsuperscript{155} uncouth monster with his trident A trident was a three-pronged weapon, used by some of the professional fighters called gladiators in the deadly combats featured in the Roman arena games, a popular entertainment; gladiators were often slaves or prisoners of war. See n156.
O'ercome, and chased by his pursuing foeman—
(I say) the scoundrel Gracchus, now a common
Net-casting fencer, whose high royal strain\textsuperscript{156}
Dimmed with its lustre all the clinquant train\textsuperscript{157}
Of Capitol-preserving Manlius,\textsuperscript{158}
The stout Marcelli, great-souled Catulus,
And life-contemning Paullus’ doughty brood,
Th’ heroic Fabies all of noble blood,\textsuperscript{159}
And all the senators, with every peer
Placed in the fore-rank of the theater;
Though I should add to these the praetor too,\textsuperscript{160}
The fencing-nets to cast that hired him though.

That there are any grizzly, hideous ghosts,
Realms underground in Hell’s black ebon coasts,
And a long shoving pole (grim Charon’s oar)
And black frogs swimming in the Stygian Moor,
And that so many thousand souls do float,
And stem that sable sound in one small boat:\textsuperscript{161}
Men, nay even boys themselves (unless they be
No higher than three horse-loaves, nor a fee\textsuperscript{162}
Ere to the bath-guide did for bathing pay)\textsuperscript{163}
Are so far from believing now, that they
But silly old wives’ fables do esteem ’em,
And children’s bugs and scarecrows only deem ’em.\textsuperscript{164}

But do thou count ’em true; what dost suppose

\textsuperscript{156} net-casting fencer the lowest of the gladiatorial types, called the retiarius, who was skimpily clad (usually in a sleeveless tunic) and fought with a trident, dagger, and net; Juvenal elsewhere represents this type of gladiator as being despised by his fellows. For an aristocrat like Gracchus to appear in the arena (stripping off his gown, the symbol of his aristocratic rank, for the short-sleeved fighting garb of the retiarius) was unthinkable; in addition the arena and its gladiators are generally linked elsewhere in Roman literature with male same-sex sexual acts and desires.

\textsuperscript{157} clinquant train glittering descendants (‘clinquant’ has consistently negative connotations of falsity and cheap glitter).

\textsuperscript{158} Capitol-preserving Manlius Marcus Manlius Capitolinus (d. 384 BCE), legendary hero who saved the Capitol, Rome’s religious and civic centre, from the attack of a Gallic chieftain, Brennus.

\textsuperscript{159} The ... blood Marcelli the family of the eminent Roman general Marcus Claudius Marcellus (271-208 BCE), famed in antiquity for his private and public virtues. Quintus Lutatius Catulus Livy recounts Catulus’ victories in the First Punic War (264-241 BCE). Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus (228-160 BCE), Roman general, and father of Scipio Aemilianus (see n165). The Fabies refers to the ancient Roman family, the Fabii, who made war on the Veientes, and who were exterminated almost to the last man at the battle of Cremera, c. 477 BCE.

\textsuperscript{160} praetor the high Roman official and nobleman who funded these gladiatorial games.

\textsuperscript{161} That there are gizzly ... in one small boat A word picture of the Underworld of classical antiquity: the souls of the dead would descend to the Underworld, and there they would board a small boat and would be rowed across the River Styx to Hades by the infernal ferryman, Charon.

\textsuperscript{162} three horse-loaves Biddle’s addition: a horse-loaf or horse-bread was a loaf made of coarse materials like beans and bran, meant for the consumption of horses.

\textsuperscript{163} nor a fee ... paid Young children were not charged a fee to use the public baths in Rome.

\textsuperscript{164} children’s bugs and scarecrows i.e., objects created to frighten children (the modern day ‘bogeyman’ or ‘monster under the bed’).
Stern Curius thinks, and the two Scipios?
What grave Fabricius, and Camillus’ ghost?
What all the Fabies, that patrician host,
Quite routed at the verge of Cremera?\footnote{165}
And all the Roman fry, whose corpses lay\footnote{166}
So thick that Cannae’s field was paved quite?\footnote{167}
What the souls of so many slain in fight,
As oft as any such polluted ghost
As this, descends hence to their hallowed coast?
Sure they would eftsoons to be purged desire\footnote{168}
With sulphur (might they have ’t) and sacred fire,
With fat pine-tapers and a cleansing spray,
To sprinkle holy-water, made of bay.

Alas, we (whether we believe ’t, or no)
To the infernal kingdoms needs must go\footnote{169}
We have (indeed) our guidons born beyond
The late-ta’en Orcads and Hibernian strond;\footnote{170}
And sea-clapped Britons whose light hemisphere
Is with night’s sable shrouds scarce curtained e’er.
But the prodigious sins, which we, at home,
(Triumphant victors) do commit in Rome,
Those whom we have surprised and triumph o’er
(Sole conquerors indeed) to do abhor.

But yet one, loose Armenian Zalates,
Softer than striplings all unnerved by ease,
Was (as ’twas bruited, and by all men said)\footnote{171}
The lust-inflamed tribune’s Ganymed.\footnote{172}

See what commerce will do! He came to Rome
As a good, simple hostage did become.\footnote{173}
Here they are made men! But if longer stay

\footnote{165} *What ... Cremera* For Manius Curius Dentatus, see n11. *Scipios* Scipio Africanus (236-183 BCE), one of Rome’s most famous and successful generals; and Scipio Aemilianus (c. 185-129 BCE), Roman general and statesman, adopted son of Africanus. *Fabricius* Lucius (3rd c. BCE), Roman commander and hero, a consul of great rectitude; another type of ancient Roman virtues, such as temperance, frugality and incorruptibility. Marcus Furius *Camillus* (fl. 401-367 BCE), semi-legendary Roman hero and general; another type of ancient Roman virtues. For the *Fabies*, see n159.
\footnote{166} *fry* youths.
\footnote{167} *Cannae’s field* At the battle of Cannae (216 BCE), two Roman armies (commanded by Terentius Varro and Aemilius Paulus, see n159) were soundly defeated by Hannibal, their men decimated; the worst military defeat in Roman history.
\footnote{168} *eftsoons* soon after.
\footnote{169} *needs* are required or forced; necessitated.
\footnote{170} *guidons* standards, military flags. *Orcads* i.e., the Orkneys, islands on Britain’s north coast. *Hibernian strond* Irish coast.
\footnote{171} *bruited* rumoured.
\footnote{172} *Ganymed* See ‘Ganymede,’ Glossary (print anthology).
\footnote{173} *He ... become* It was a common practice for Roman generals to take hostages from among the leading families of conquered peoples, taking them to Rome to be educated and assimilated into Roman values.
These foreign lands make in our city, they
Shall n’er want a corrupting paramour.174
Their slops, knives, bridles, switches swopped with our
Loose garbles, the praetext manners soft away175
They will bear with them to Artaxata.176

SIR ROBERT STAPYLTON (1607X9?-1669), TRANSLATOR AND DRAMATIST. A younger son from staunchly Roman Catholic Yorkshire family, Stapylton received his early education abroad, at a monastery school in Douai, France. Although he took early vows as a Benedictine monk, during a sojourn in England he claimed that he had been unduly pressured to make his profession. Rejecting an order to return to the Benedictines, Stapylton remained in England, and supported both the Church of England and the royalist cause for the rest of his life. An active soldier during the Civil War, he was later made a gentleman usher to the privy chamber of Charles II. His works include translations of Book 4 of Virgil’s Aeneid, Pliny’s panegyric on the Emperor Trajan, Musaeus’ ‘Hero and Leander,’ selections from Ovid’s Heroides, and most importantly the first English translation of Juvenal’s satires (1644). His four plays do not seem to have ever been very popular, and have never been printed in modern editions.

Mores Hominum, The Manners of Men, Described in Sixteen Satires by Juvenal (1660)  

Satire 2

The Argument

Men are not what their looks avere:
Vice taints the grave philosopher,
The judge the bench’s honour stains,
The mock-priest holy rites profanes.
The armed general paints his face,
The nobly-born foul acts debase.
The reason babes that speak may tell
For, none but they believe a hell.

174 paramour lover (the term is usually applied to women).
175 slop outer garment: tunic or loose jacket. switches whips. garbles unclear: perhaps, ‘refuse, worthless leavings.’ praetext manners boyish or unmanly manners; after the manners of boys and youths who were restricted to wearing the juvenile garment, the toga pratexta; only when they became men could they don the toga virilis.
176 Artaxata a town in present-day Armenia, taken by the Romans (like Britain, an emblem of the outer limits of the Empire).
177 For the proper names and contemporary allusions, see the notes to Biddle’s translation, above.
178 bench representing the office and authority of the judge.
Beyond Sarmatia, and the frozen sea,
I could fly hence, when to teach manners they
Presume that Curian temperance profess,
And live like Bacchanals in lewd excess.
Th’ unlearned first, though you Chrysippus see
Carved in all studies; for, a great man’s he
That can buy Aristotle’s counterfeit
Or Pittacus’s statue copied get,
And bids Cleanthes, done by a master’s hand,
There, as his grave library-keeper, stand.
No trust to faces, for what streets but fill
With reverend vices? Thou sayst, we are ill,
When thou thyself art known to be so right,
So perfect a Socratic catamite.
Indeed, rough hairy limbs and arms that bear
Stiff bristles, promise minds extreme severe,
But, from their smooth posteriors when he files
Unnatural tumours off, the surgeon smiles.
They dote on silence, speech with them is rare,
Shorter than eyebrows too they wear their hair.
More ingenuity Peribonius shows:
In such a man whose face and mien disclose
His foul debauchery, I hold it fate:
Simplicity we should commiserate,
Plain madness speaks in his excuse. But them
As far the baser persons I contemn
That with Herculean language vice assail,
And magnifying virtue, wag the tail.
‘Shall I,’ says infamous Varillus, ‘fear
Thee, bouger Sextus?’ Make the odds appear?
The straight may cripples, white-men Negroes, jeer.
But who’ll endure to hear a mutineer
Complained of by the Gracchi? Who’d not cry
Till earth confused the sea, the sea the sky,
If Milo should a murderer reprove?
Verres a thief, Clodius adult’rous love,
Catiline treason in Cethegus blame,
Sylla’s three scholars ’gainst his roll declaim?
One lately married his own niece, and then
Revived a law, a bitter law to men,
That might have frightened Mars and Venus too,
Whilst Julia with abortives did undo

179 contemn despise.
180 wag the tail present their bottoms as objects of sexual desire.
181 bouger i.e., bugger or sodomite (from the French, ‘bougre,’ meaning literally ‘heretic’).
182 1644: What foul incestuous coupling one contrived,
Her fruitful womb: lump after lump she teemed
That e’en the pictures of her uncle seemed.
Such Scaur on counterfeits, who would not slight
Though ne’er so bad, and rated turn and bite?\textsuperscript{183}
‘Where’s now the Julian Law,’ a sour-sir cried,
Sleeps it?’ Laronia with a smile replied,
‘Blest times that make thee censor, chastely giv’n
Rome now’ll be, a third Catos dropped from heav’n!
But, sir, your hairy neck’s perfumed, let’s know
Whence th’ essence comes? Blush not: your drugster show.
If you’ll needs wake the statues, reinforce
The Law Scantinian; note, men, you do worse,
But your strong phalanx multitude defends
And close-joined shields: loose livers are fast friends.\textsuperscript{184}
Our sex hath none of your detested tricks.
Tedia, Cluvia, Flora never licks
Catull. His passive pleasure knows,
And pale with doing and with suff’ring grows.\textsuperscript{185}
Do we plead? Study we your civil laws?
Shake we your courts with bawling in a cause?
Some few of us fence, diet-bread some use,\textsuperscript{186}
You spin wool, and in baskets bear your clews,\textsuperscript{187}
Thread from the pregnant spindle you can twine
More nimble than Arachne, and more fine
Than chaste Penelope or she that spins
Shiv’ring i’ the’ stocks, a penance for her sins.
’Tis known why Hyster made his freedman heir,
And living gave his wife so large a share.
She’s rich that in a great man’s bed lies third.
Secrets bring jewels; marry, not a word.
Yet for a law that’s death to us you move.
Censure acquits the crow, condemns the dove.’
Shamed by Laronia, our soft Stoics fly,
For what delivered she they could deny?
But what in others can deformed appear,
When thou, grave judge, dost mingled sarcenet wear?
Nay, sit’st in those thin silks, amazing Rome,
And dost our Proculas and Pollineas doom?\textsuperscript{188}
\textsuperscript{183} rated reproached, criticized.
\textsuperscript{184} But your strong phalanx … close-joined shields See n56.
\textsuperscript{185} pale with doing and with suff’ring grows i.e., his complexion becomes pale and pasty-looking, an acknowledged effect in ancient satire especially on men who allowed themselves to be anally penetrated by their male partners. doing engaging [in some activity]. suff’ring i.e., allowing (in the sense of being acted upon by some other person or force).
\textsuperscript{186} diet-bread a ration for athletes and fighters. See n64.
\textsuperscript{187} clews balls of thread or yarn.
\textsuperscript{188} doom as a verb, ‘judge; sentence.’
Fabulla will the deed you wot of do,\(^{189}\)
Let her be punished for’t; Carfinia too,
Against her be, whate’er thou wilt, decreed,
She will not, though condemned, wear such a weed.\(^{190}\)
‘But July’s hot, I sweat!’ Then naked go,
For madness will not half disgrace thee so.
This robe had our victorious fathers seen
Thee passing laws in, when their wounds were green,
Or had our mountaineers beheld it, how
Would they have heared thee when they came from plough?\(^{191}\)
Heav’n! That a judge should put on such a vest!
Were ’t handsome if a witness were so dressed?
Stern legislative Cretan, thou art now
Transparent; this disease was caught, and thou
Wilt spread it further, as the scab but got
By one sheep, the whole flock will have the rot;
Hogs catch the measles, and the grape that sees
A tainted grape sucks poison by degrees.

This shameless habit will not be thy worst,
In time; none ever was stark-naught at first.\(^{192}\)
Thou wilt ere long turn hedge-priest, join with them\(^{193}\)
That fillets wear, whose necks are all one gem;\(^{194}\)
That with great bowls, and sows’ fat paunches pray
To our Good Goddess by the contrary way.\(^{195}\)
For men perform these rites, no female by:
‘You profane women, get you gone!’ they cry.
None sounds a call with her loud cornet here.
At Athens, such the Baptists’ orgies were,
When they their private torches did advance
And tired out their Cotyt tus in a dance.
He with an oblique steel his eyebrows dyes,\(^{196}\)
Touched with moist soot, and paints his trembling eyes.
A glass-priapus one man’s wine must hold,\(^{197}\)
Another’s huge long locks a caul of gold.
Blue shield-work this, or raised white satin wears,\(^{198}\)

\(^{189}\) *wot* know.
\(^{190}\) *weed* garment; outfit.
\(^{191}\) *heared* gave ear to.
\(^{192}\) *stark-naught* completely worthless or corrupted.
\(^{193}\) *hedge-priest* a priest who is illiterate or from a lowly social rank; according to Stapylton, a ‘mock-priest.’ Juvénal calls them ‘house-priests to distinguish them from priests belonging to the Temples, appointed to sacrifice by public authority; to which he adds the wearing of fillets and jewels to distinguish them from men, their effeminacy disowning of their sex’ (‘Comment on the Second Satire,’ p. 60).
\(^{194}\) *fillets* ornamental ribbons or headbands.
\(^{195}\) *Good Goddess* the literal translation of *Bona Dea*.
\(^{196}\) *oblique steel* a slanted stylus, used for applying cosmetics.
\(^{197}\) *glass-priapus* a wine glass in the shape of a penis. For ‘Priapus,’ see Glossary (print anthology).
\(^{198}\) *raised white satin* satin that has had the pile cut away to leave an ornamental, raised pattern.
His man too by his master’s Juno swears.
He holds the mirror pathic Otho bore,
(Auruncane Actor’s spoils) that when he wore
His arms he viewed himself in, when he gave
The battle’s signal, and bad the ensigns wave,¹⁹⁹
A gallant subject, for new annals fit,²⁰⁰
And should in our time’s history be writ,
A looking-glass did load the general’s car,
And was the baggage of a civil war.
Oh, ’twas done like a general to kill
Old Galba; like a Roman plaits to fill;²⁰¹
To hope spoils from the Bedriack field would grace
The Capitol; to grease and paint the face!
Which proud Semiramis, when she put on
Her quiver, would not do at Babylon;²⁰²
Nor did the pensive Cleopatra dip
Her pencil when aboard her Actium ship.
Here’s lewd discourse, at table no respect,
Foul Phrygian talk, the lisping dialect
Taught by th’ old white-haired man, the man of note
For his so spacious and authentic throat,
The chief priest, most fanatically inspired,
A master for the gusto to be hired.
Why do not these with Phrygian razors take
That flesh away of which no use they make?
A piper or a trumpeter had four
Hundred sestertia, Gracchus, for thy dower;
Deeds were drawn, joy giv’n, a great supper made;
The bride was in his bridegroom’s bosom laid;²⁰³
Do we the Censor or the Aruspex need,²⁰⁴
You lords? Do not these horrid sights exceed
All monsters, though a woman should be dam
Unto a calf, or a cow calve a lamb?
Th’ Ancilian shields by leathers unperceived,²⁰⁵
Now wears a bride’s gown, petticoat and veil.

¹⁹⁹ bad ordered.
²⁰⁰ annals chronicle histories.
²⁰¹ plaits braids of hair, elaborately coiffured hair.
²⁰² Specifically, when Semiramis, queen of Assyria, was told that Babylon was revolting against her, she sprang up from her toilette, leaving her hair a mess, and herself half-dressed; she took to the field, and with her army defeated the Babylonians.
²⁰³ his in contrast, Biddle has ‘her’ instead of ‘his.’ See n133.
²⁰⁴ Censor or Aruspex The Censor was the secular official who was responsible for keeping the citizenship rolls, and overseeing public morality; the Aruspex was an ancient Roman priest and soothsayer, famous for his predictions based in examining the entrails of sacrificed animals. In other words, Juvenal asks, should we send for the secular or religious authorities?
²⁰⁵ Ancilian shields the sacred shields of Mars, god of war; these would be carried ritually through the streets by Mars’ priests, the Salii, of whom Gracchus was one.
O God of War! Whence did these crimes assail
Thy Latian shepherds? How, Rome’s father, sprung
These nettles up that have thy children stung?
Behold a man great both in wealth and birth
Maries a man! Yet thou into the earth
Run’st not thy spear, nor thy plumed helmet shak’st,
Nor a complaint to Jove thy father mak’st.
Go, Mars, and to some other god assign
Those sacred fields, not looked upon as thine.206
Tomorrow morning early on my friend
I, in Quirine valley, must attend.
Why thither? Cannot your own guess decide
That question? My he-friend’s to be a bride.
They bid few now, but notice they will give
To all men, and record it if they live.
Meantime, the female’s troubled much, she can207
No issue have so to oblige the man.
The best is, Nature to such minds denies
Powr’t to change sexes: the wife barren dies;
Swol’n Lyde’s salve-box helps not, nor to stand
Where th’active Luperci may clap her hand.208
More monstrous fencer-Gracchus did appear
In ’s cassock, armed with his three-forked spear,209
And viewed the lists round, as he fled the chase;210
Born nobler than the whole Capitoline race,
Marcelli, Cutuli, the Fabian name,
Those who their pedigree from Paullus claim,
And all that from the scaffolds saw the sport
He made, not bating that paid him for’t.211
That there be ghosts and regions underground,
And th’oar and black toads in the Stygian sound,
And thousands rowed in one boat finds not faith
With boys, but such as pay not for their bath.
Believe thou. What Camillus, what now knows
Fabricius, Curius, both the Scipios,

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206 sacred fields the Campus Martius or Martialis, a large field outside the city walls, used for mustering the Roman army in preparation for war, as well as for martial exercises; its name derives from an ancient altar to Mars that had been erected there. By the time Juvenal was writing, the Campus Martius had been ‘in-filled’ with buildings of various kinds.
207 the female’s i.e., the man assuming the woman’s role in this same-sex marriage.
208 active Luperci During the festival known as the Lupercalia, a group of young men (the Luperci) would dress themselves in the skins of sacrificed goats and then run around the city striking any woman they came across with goat-skin thongs, a treatment thought to encourage fertility and conception. clap strike.
209 cassock a cloak or coat worn by 16th and 17th century soldiers.
210 lists the array of warriors (gladiators). See nn155-156.
211 not bating that paid him for’t i.e., not excepting the man who had actually paid for this particular gladiatorial game to be staged. Wealthy men would stage such games to gain influence and popularity. Domitian abolished this practice, making such staging the emperor’s sole prerogative.
The legion that fell upon the train\textsuperscript{212}  
At Cremera, the youth at Cannae slain,  
Souls of so many battles? Ever when  
Our ghosts descend, the spirits of these men  
Would purify themselves, if they could get  
Sulphur and torches, and a laurel wet.  
To them poor we must go. Indeed we boast  
Our conquests, stretched beyond the Irish coast  
And th’ Orcades, which lately we have seized,  
And Britain with no night in summer pleased;  
But what we do, that makes the world our own,  
The conquered do not. Zalates alone  
One of th’ Armenian youths, more lewd (they say)  
Than all ours, to the Tribune’s flame gave way.\textsuperscript{213}  
See how commerce with Rome breeds our allies!\textsuperscript{214}  
He came a hostage: men we womanize,  
For had these boys stayed, all had lovers took,  
Their country clothes, whips, bridles, knives forsook.  
Thus back to their Artaxata they bear  
The manners of the loose young gentry here.

\textbf{THE COMMENT UPON THE SECOND SATIRE}

[The following offers only the very few comments on those sections of the text that deal directly with male same-sex intercourse and erotic desires.]

[After offering a fairly standard and brief biography of Socrates, Stapylton take up what he considers to be the slanderous charge that Socrates engaged in male-same-sex erotic relationships and sexual acts].  
[...] others, many ages after, took occasion to abuse Socrates, especially Porphyrius observed by Nicephorus to be more malicious than were his accusers, Anytus and Melitus. But I do not believe that my author [Juvenal] intended to cast dirt upon him in this place, where Socratic catamite cannot be otherwise interpreted than one of those censorious persons that would be thought as learned and virtuous as Socrates, when they were really as vicious as men could be, and as unlearned as the very statues of the philosophers, the purchase whereof was all the proof they could make of their learning [...]  

[...]

\textsuperscript{212} \textit{upon the train} on account of the deception or trap (laid for the 300 Romans by their enemies the Veii; in Biddle, the Veientes: see n159).  
\textsuperscript{213} \textit{flame} sexual passion, desire.  
\textsuperscript{214} \textit{breeds} civilizes (said with obvious and heavy irony)
Verse 54. *The Law Scantinian.* Caius Scantinius, being accused by Caius Marcellus, for offering to force [i.e., rape] his son; a law passed in Senate that set a fine of 10,000 H.S. upon the like attempt, and the foul offender was either to pay the whole sum or his life.

[…] 

Verse 142. *Gracchus for thy dower.* This Gracchus, a prodigy [i.e., descendant] of that noble house of the Gracchi, that being descended from Gracchus Sempronius, the proconsul of Spain, to whom the Celtiberians rendered themselves, and from Scipio that defeated Hannibal, to the dishonour of his family and nation, basely married himself as a bride to a trumpeter, out of a mere wanton humour, for he was able to subsist of himself, as appears by the dower which he brought to the trumpeter, being 4,000 sestertia, about £3,125 sterling, the Census Equestris, or legal estate of a Roman knight; yet was this very Gracchus one of the four and twenty Salian priests, of which were twelve, being the first number, instituted by Numa Pompilius in the honour of Mars […] This stupendous marriage of a priest of Mars makes my author cry out upon the god, that revenged not upon his priest this profanation of his deity […]

Nahum Tate (c. 1652-1715), Translator, Poet, and Playwright. A younger son in a devoutly puritan family, Nahum Tate attended Trinity College, Dublin, taking his BA in 1672. Shortly after, he arrived in London, the city where he developed his successful career as a professional writer, and where he lived for the rest of his life. Appointed poet laureate in 1692, Tate produced a wide variety of works, ranging from his translations of Ovid’s *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* to occasional verse to drama.

**The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis (1693)**

**Satire**

**The Argument of the Second Satire**

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215 *stupendous* See n135.
216 The title continues, “translated into English verse by Mr. Dryden and several other eminent hands; together with the satires of Aulus Persius Flaccus, made English by Mr. Dryden; with explanatory notes at the end of each satire; to which is prefixed a discourse concerning the original and progress of satire […] by Mr. Dryden.”
217 For the proper names and contemporary allusions, see the notes to Biddle’s translation, above.
The poet, in this satire, inveighs against the hypocrisy of the philosophers and priests of his time, the effeminacy of military officers and magistrates, which corruption of manners in general, and more particularly of unnatural vices, he imputes to the atheistical principle that then prevailed.

SATIRE 2

I’m sick of Rome, and wish myself conveyed
Where freezing seas obstruct the merchants’ trade,
When hypocrites read lectures, and a sot,
Because into a gown and pulpit got,
Though surfeit-gorged, and reeking from the stews,218
Nothing but abstinence for ’s theme will choose,
The rakehells too pretend to learning—Why?219
Chrysippus’ statue decks their library.
Who makes his closet finest is most read;220
The dolt that with an Aristotle’s head,
Carved to the life, has once adorned his shelf,
Straight sets up for a Stagirite himself.221
Precise their look, but to the brothel come,222
You’ll know the price of philosophic bum.
You’d swear, if you their bristled hides surveyed,
That for a bear’s caresses they are made;
Yet of their obscene part they take such care,
That (like baboons) they still keep podex bare;223
To see ’t so sleek and trimmed the surgeon smiles,
And scarcely can for laughing lance the piles.
Since silence seems to carry wisdom’s pow’r,
Th’ affected rogues, like clocks, speak once an hour.
Those grizzled locks which Nature did provide,
In plenteous growth, their asses’ ears to hide,
The formal slaves reduce to a degree224
Short of their eyebrows. — Now, I honour thee,
Thee, Peribonius, thou professed he-whore,
And all thy crimes impute to Nature’s score.225
Thou, as in harlot’s dress thou art attired,
For ought I know, with harlot’s itch art fired;
Thy form seems for the pathic trade designed,226

218 stews brothels.
219 rakehells immoral, dissolute, or depraved individuals.
220 closet private study. read learned.
221 Stagirite i.e., an Aristotelian philosopher.
222 precise disciplined, restrained, ascetic.
223 podex buttocks.
224 formal prim in their approach to their physical appearance?
225 tally account.
226 pathic See n4 and 60.
And generously thou dost own thy kind.227
But what of those lewd miscreants must become,
Who preach morality and shake the bum?
Varillus cries, ‘Shall I fear Sextus’ doom?’228
Whose haunches are the common sink of Rome?229
Let him cry blackmoor-devil, whose skin is white,
And bandy-legs, who treads himself upright;
Let him reprove that’s innocent—in vain
The Gracchi of sedition must complain.
’T would make you swear the planets from their spheres,230
Should Verres peach thieves, Milo murderers,231
Clodius tax bawds, Catiline.232
Or Sulla’s pupils Sulla’s rules decline.
Yet we have seen a modern magistrate233
Restore those rigid laws that did create
In Mars and Venus dread; himself, the while,
With impious drugs and potions did beguile
The teeming Julia’s womb, and thence did wrest234
Crude births, that yet ‘th’ incestuous sire confessed.
How shall such hypocrites reform the state,
On whom the brothels can recriminate?
Of this we have an instance great and new
In a cock-zealot of this preaching crew,235
Whose late harangue the gaping rabble drew.
His theme, as fate would ‘t, was fornication,
And as i’ th’ fury of his declamation,
He cried, ‘Why sleeps the Julian Law, that awed
This vice?’—Laronia, an industrious bawd,
(As bawds will run to lectures) nettled much
To have her copyhold so nearly touched,236
With a disdainful smile, replied, ‘Blest times
That made thee censor of the age’s crimes!
Rome now must needs reform, and vice be stopped,237
Since a third Cato from the clouds is dropped!
But tell me, sir, what perfume strikes the air

227 *own thy kind* admit to being what you are.
228 *doom* judgement.
229 *haunches* here, buttocks. *sink* sewer, cesspool.
230 *swear ... spheres* a reference to the ancient conception of the cosmos as a set of concentric spheres, each containing a planet or stars.
231 *peach* inform on.
232 *bawds* pimps, procurers, brothel-owners.
233 *modern magistrate* the emperor Domitian. See nn42 and 44-45.
234 *teeming* pregnant.
235 *cock-zealot* head or chief zealot or impassioned advocate.
236 *copyhold* a type of land tenure or possession characterized by absolute rights of ownership (the zealot is encroaching on Laronia’s ‘territory’).
237 *must needs* will be forced to (said with obvious heavy irony)
From your most rev’rend neck o’ergrown with hair?
For modestly we may presume, I trow,\(^{238}\)
’Tis not your nat’ral grain—the price I’d know;\(^{239}\)
And where ’tis sold; direct me to the street
And shop, for I with no such essence meet.
Let me entreat you, sir, for your own sake,
Use caution, and permit the laws to take
A harmless nap, lest the Scantinian wake.
Our wise forefathers took their measures right,
Nor wreaked on fornicators all their spite,
But left a limbo for the sodomite.\(^{240}\)
If you commission-courts must needs erect\(^{241}\)
For manners, put the test to your own sect.\(^{242}\)
But you by number think yourselves secure,
While our thin squadron must the brunt endure.
With grief I must confess our muster’s few,
And much with civil broils impaired, while you
Are to the Devil and to each other true.
Your penal laws against us are enlarged,
On whom no crimes like what you act are charged.
Flavia may now and then turn up for bread,\(^{243}\)
But chastely with Catulla lies abed.
Your Hispo acts both sexes’ parts, before
A fornicator, and behind a whore.\(^{244}\)
We ne’er invade your walks; the client’s cause
We leave to your confounding and the laws.
If now and then an Amazonian dame
Dares fight a public prize, ’tis sure less shame
Than to behold your unnerved sex set in
To needlework, and like a damsels spin.
How Hister’s bondman his sole heir became,
And his conniving spouse so rich a dame,
Is known; that wife with wealth must needs be sped,\(^{245}\)
Who is content to make a third in bed.

\(^{238}\) trow  believe, assume.
\(^{239}\) grain  texture, quality.
\(^{240}\) limbo  here, a place of punishment; sometimes, used as the equivalent of Hell or Hades.
\(^{241}\) commission-courts  courts patterned after the Court of High Commission, the highest ecclesiastical court in England, with almost unlimited power. Established under Elizabeth I to try cases involving opposition to the Church of England and the monarch’s supreme authority over it, it was used extensively during the reigns of her successors, particularly by Charles II. The court was widely perceived as an ‘un-English’ violation of common law principles in favour of procedures smacking of the Catholic Inquisition, particularly the rejection of the right not to incriminate oneself during a trial; it was abolished in 1641.
\(^{242}\) sect  i.e., of sodomites.
\(^{243}\) turn up  have sex.
\(^{244}\) before a fornicator, and behind a whore  i.e., because Hispo penetrates women vaginally using his penis that hangs in the front (before), but allows himself to be penetrated anally in the back (behind).
\(^{245}\) sped  successful.
You nymphs that would to coach and six arrive,\footnote{coach and six a coach drawn by six horses, an emblem of wealth and status.}
Marry, keep counsel, and y’ are sure to thrive!\footnote{Marry an exclamation expressing, here, contempt. keep counsel do not reveal [your husband’s] secrets.}
Yet these obnoxious men, without remorse,
Against our tribe will put the laws in force,
Clip the dove’s wing, and give the vulture course.’

Thus spoke the matron—the convicted crew\footnote{crew disreputable group or gang.}
From so direct a charge like lightning flew.
It must be so—Nor, vain Metellus, shall
From Rome’s tribunal, thy harangues prevail
’Gainst harlotry, while thou art clad so thin,
That through thy cobweb-robe we see thy skin
As thou declaim’st—Fabulla is, you say,
A whore—I own it; so’s Carfinia—
Rank prostitutes! Therefore, without remorse
Punish the strumpets; give the law its course.
But when y’ ’ave sentenced them, Metellus, know
They’d blush t’appear so loosely dressed as you.\footnote{loosely immodestly, licentiously.}
You say the dog-star reigns, whose sultry fire\footnote{dog-star Sirius, whose influence was thought to cause terrible heat.}
Melts you to death e’en in that light attire.
Go naked, then! ’Twere better to be mad,
(Which has a privilege) than so lewdly clad!
How would our mountain sires, returned from plough
Or battle, such a silken judge allow?
Canst thou restore old manners or retrench
Rome’s pride, who com’st transparent to the bench?\footnote{com’s transparent i.e., in clothing so diaphanous or sheer it is see-through.}
This mode in which thou singly dost appear,
By thy example shall get footing here,
’Till it has quite depraved the Roman stock,
As one infected sheep confounds the flock.
Nor will this crime, Metellus, be thy worst:
No man e’er reached the heights of vice at first,
For vice like virtue by degrees must grow;
Thus, from this wanton dress, Metellus, thou
With those polluted priests at last shall join,
Who female chaplets round their temples twine,\footnote{chaplets wreaths.}
And with perverted rites profane the Goddess’ shrine.
Where such vile practices ’twixt males are passed,
As makes our matrons’ lewd nocturnals chast.\footnote{chast i.e., chaste, pure.}
Cotyttus’ orgies scarce are more obscene,
For thus th’ effeminate priests themselves demean:
With jet-black pencils one his eyebrows dyes,
And adds new fire to his lascivious eyes;
Another in a glass-Priapus swills,
While twisted gold his platted tresses fills;
A female robe, and to complete the farce,
His servant not by Jove but Juno swears;
One holds a mirror, pathic Otho’s shield,
In which he viewed before he marched to field,
Nor Ajax with more pride his seven-fold targe did wield. 254
Oh, noble subject for new annals fit,
In musty fame’s records unmentioned yet!
A looking-glass must load th’ imperial car, 255
The most important carriage of the war!
Galba to kill he thought a gen’ral’s part, 256
But, as a courtier, used the nicest art
To keep his skin from tan: before the fight
Would paint, and set his soiled complexion right,
A softness which Semiramis ne’er knew,
When once she had the field and foe in view,
Nor Egypt’s Queen, when she from Actium flew.

No chaste discourse their festivals afford;
Obsceneness is the language of their board,
Soft lisping tones, taught by some bald-pate priest, 257
For skillful palate, master of the feast.
A pack of prostitutes, unnerved, and rife 258
For th’ operation of a Phrygian knife,
For from such pathics ’twere but just to take
Those manly parts, of which no use they make.
Gracchus, ’tis said, gave to his trumpeter
Four hundred sesterces—For what?—In dow’r.
The motion’s liked, the parties are agreed,
And for performance seal a formal deed;
Guests are bespoke, a wedding supper made, 259
The wonted joy is wished, that done— 260
The he-bride in his bridegroom’s arms is laid!

O peers of Rome! Need these stupendous times 261
A censor or aruspex for such crimes?
The prodigy less monstrous would appear,
If women calves, or heifers lambs should bear!
In bridal robe and veil the pathic’s dressed,²⁶²
Who bore the pond’rous shield at Mars his feast.
Father of Rome, say what detested clime
Taught Latian shepherds so abhorred a crime?
Say, thund’ring Mars, from whence the nettle sprung,
Whose venom first thy noble offspring stung?
Behold! a man by birth and fortune great
Weds with a man! Yet from th’ aetherial seat²⁶³
No rattling of thy brazen wheels we hear,
Nor is earth pierced with thy avenging spear!
Oh! if thy jurisdiction (Mars) falls short
To punish mischiefs of so vast import,
Complain to Jove, and move the higher court.
For shame, redress this scandal or resign
Thy province to some pow’r that’s more divine!²⁶⁴
Tomorrow early in Quirinus Vale
I must attend—Why?—Thereby hangs a tale,
A male-friend’s to be married to a male.
’Tis true the wedding’s carried privately,
The parties being at present somewhat shy;
But that they own the match, ere long you’ll hear,²⁶⁵
And see it in the Public Register.
But one sore grief does these he-brides perplex:
Though they debase, they cannot change their sex,
Nor yet, by help of all their wicked art,
Bring offspring to secure their husband’s heart.
Nature too much i’ th’ dire embrace is forced,
But ne’er joins influence with desires so cursed:
Incestuous births and monsters may appear,
But teeming males not Earth nor Hell can bear.²⁶⁶
Yet Gracchus, thou degen’rate son of Fame,
Thy pranks are stigmatized with greater blame:
Their’s was a private, thine an open shame,
Who like a fencer on a public stage,
Hast made thyself the scandal of the age.
Nor can Rome’s noblest blood with thine compare,
While thou mak’st pastime for the theatre.²⁶⁷

To what dire cause can we assign these crimes
But to that reigning atheism of the times?

²⁶² pathic  See n4 and n60.
²⁶³ th’ aetherial seat  Olympus, heavenly dwelling-place of the gods.
²⁶⁴ province  sphere of authority.
²⁶⁵ own  admit (publically to).
²⁶⁶ teeming  pregnant.
²⁶⁷ While … theatre  i.e., while you are an object of spectacle or entertainment for audiences at the theatre or arena. See nn155-156.
Ghosts, Stygian lakes, and frogs with croaking note,
And Charon wafting souls in leaky boat
Are now thought fables, to fright fools conceived,
Or children, and by children scarce believed.
Yet give thou credit. What can we suppose
The temperate Curii, and the Scipios;
What will Fabricius or Camillus think,
When they behold, from their Elysium’s brink,
An atheist’s soul to last perdition sink?
How will they from th’ assaulted banks rebound,
And wish for sacred rites to purge th’ unhallowed ground.
In vain, O Rome, thou dost thy conquest boast
Beyond the Orcades’ short-nighted coast,
Since free the conquered provinces remain
From crimes that thy Imperial City stain!
Yet rumour speaks, if we may credit fame, 268
Of one Armenian youth, who since he came
Has learned the impious trade, and does exceed
The lewdest pathics of our Roman breed. 269
Blessings of commerce! He was sent, ’tis said,
For breeding hither, and he’s fairly bred.
Fly, foreign youths, from our polluted streets,
And, ere unmanned, regain your native seats! 270
Lest, while for traffic here too long you stay, 271
You learn at last to trade th’ Italian way, 272
And, with cursed merchandise returning home,
Stock all your country with the figs of Rome. 273

268 fame report.
269 pathics See n4 and n60.
270 ere unmanned before you are effeminated. seats habitations, settlements (perhaps with a play on the sexual slang meaning of ‘seat’: the vulva).
271 traffic trade, economic activities.
272 th’Italian way a reference to the early modern conviction that Italy was the birthplace and hotbed of sodomy.
273 figs of Rome Although the fig has many sexual connotations in the early modern period (aphrodisiac; a slang term for the vagina), here, it refers to the piles or anal ulcers that were elsewhere represented as the result of male-male anal intercourse.