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Juvenal, Satire 12: On Friendship True and False

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The twelfth satire is both the shortest and, along with the ninth, perhaps the most neglected of Juvenal's satires. One of the main reasons for its being all but ignored is the fact that it is generally considered to be inferior to the rest of the collection. The poem has been described as one of the weakest, if not the weakest, of Juvenal's satires¹ and as a surprising piece that a person would not willingly read a second time.² One scholar has gone so far as to call the poem "one of the strangest productions in Latin literature" which "seems to be a joke, and not a very good one."³

The criticism stems mainly from the form of the satire and from the way in which Juvenal develops his argument. Some have felt a certain discontinuity in style and content, while others find frequent digressions and repeated banalities that leave them distressed. And the satire has also been criticized for being harsh, obscure, confused, confusing, and ambiguous.⁴ It is no wonder, then, that Otto Ribbeck questioned the authenticity of this poem when he rejected a number of the later satires in the Juvenalian corpus.⁵ But Ribbeck's ideas have never found general acceptance—and

¹ L. Friedlaender, *D. Junii Juvenalis saturarum libri V* (Leipzig, 1895) 511; U. Knoche, *Die römische Satire*³ (Göttingen, 1971) 92 (trans. E. S. Ramage, *Roman Satire* [Bloomington, 1975] 149).

² P. de Labriolle, *Les satires de Juvénal* (Paris, 1932) 293, 298.

³ W. C. Helmbold, "Juvenal's Twelfth Satire," *Classical Philology* 51 (1956) 15, 16.

⁴ J. A. Gylling, *De argumenti dispositione in satiris IX-XVI Juvenalis* (Lund, 1889) 78, 79, 81; H. L. Wilson, *D. Junii Juvenalis saturarum libri V* (Boston, 1908) 120; J. de Decker, *Juvenalis declamans* (Ghent, 1913) 81; de Labriolle (above, note 2) 298.

⁵ O. Ribbeck, *Der echte und der unechte Juvenal* (Berlin, 1865).

rightly so—and scholars have tended to accept this piece as being Juvenal's, some with more enthusiasm than others.⁶

The satire has attracted a little attention, then, but thus far there has been no detailed analysis of the poem to determine precisely what Juvenal was trying to do and how he carried out his purposes.⁷ What follows is an attempt to make up for this lack, though it will have to be left to the individual reader to decide for himself whether the poet is successful or not.

There is nothing in the satire that suggests a date. But if Satire 13 can be confidently placed in or shortly after 127 after Christ, then this satire should fall a little earlier.⁸ It is clear from the address to Corvinus in the first line, which is repeated later in the poem (93), that the satire is meant to have the loose epistolary form that other satires of Juvenal also show.⁹ There is no way of knowing who Corvinus was, and it probably does not matter. He does have an important function in the poem, however, since he provides a specific dramatic target for the very personal feelings and observations that Juvenal is about to put forward. The whole thing would be weakened if the satirist unburdened himself to the world at large. Corvinus is a friend to whom the poet is talking with a certain intimacy about friendship.

But a closer look at Satire 12 reveals that it is really a fusion of forms from prose and poetry. It begins as a poem of thanksgiving for the return of a friend and in this respect recalls two poetic types—the speech of welcome that is found in epic, lyric, tragic, and elegiac poetry, and the

⁶ For a recent, quite sympathetic treatment of the satire see G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954) 134–137. Some appreciation of individual passages in the poem has been expressed. Lines 83–92, for example, are praised by D. Nisard, *Études des moeurs et de critique sur les poètes latins de la décadence*⁵ (Paris, 1888) 67–69; de Decker (above, note 4) 94, note 3; E. Malcovati, *Giovenale* (Rome, 1935) 117; A. Serafini, *Studio sulla satira di Giovenale* (Florence, 1957) 192–193. Gylling (above, note 4) 78–82, discusses the problems that the satire presented for himself and for his predecessors.

⁷ There has been a tendency to deal with separate aspects of Satire 12 and to ignore the satire as a whole (e.g., Helmbold [above, note 3]; R. E. Colton, "Echoes of Martial in Juvenal's Twelfth Satire," *Latomus* 31 [1972] 164–173). W. S. Anderson in his article, "The Programs of Juvenal's Later Books" (*Classical Philology* 57 [1962] 145–160) all but omits the twelfth satire from consideration. E. E. Burriss ("The Religious Element in the Satires of Juvenal," *Classical World* 20 [1926] 19–21) makes one reference to the last three lines (p. 20), while ignoring completely the longer passages of religious thanksgiving (lines 1–16; 83–92) and the religious travesty making up the last scene (lines 93–127). Most recently, L. I. Lindo ("The Evolution of Juvenal's Later Satires," *Classical Philology* 69 [1974] 17–27) has skirted Satire 12 almost completely while taking into account both Satire 11 and Satire 13 and most of the later satires.

⁸ E. S. Ramage, D. L. Sigsbee, S. C. Fredericks, *Roman Satirists and Their Satire* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1974) 155, 160. Cf. Highet (above, note 6) 14–15.

⁹ On Juvenal's use of the epistolary form see Lindo (above, note 7).

expression of thanksgiving which was especially popular with the Roman elegists.¹⁰ The last section of the poem, on the other hand, is out-and-out satire (93-130), actually a satire in miniature. At the same time, the whole piece is a study of friendship in which the extremes of altruism and utility are contrasted. As will be noted later, this reminds us of philosophical essays like Cicero's *De amicitia* or a number of Seneca's *Epistulae morales* in which the subject is discussed, at least in part, from a similar point of view. In this satire, then, Juvenal seems to be exploiting a number of forms or types.

There are different ways of viewing the arrangement of the poem, but it is probably simplest and easiest to take it as dividing into four main parts.¹¹ In the first sixteen lines the poet describes a sacrifice of public thanksgiving that he is undertaking for his friend, Catullus, who has returned safely after narrowly escaping disaster at sea. This is followed by a lengthy account of the near shipwreck which Juvenal's friend experienced (17-82). Then comes further description of the poet's sacrifices which includes completion of the public service and his intention to perform a similar ceremony in private at home (83-92). Finally, there is a surprising and sudden hyperbolic attack on legacy-hunters and their motives (93-130). While each of these sections is a clearly delineated unit, a fair reading of the satire shows that they follow naturally from one another and that the poem is a coherent whole.

The satire begins with a surprise, for Juvenal tells Corvinus that this is the happiest day of his life—"sweeter to me than my birthday" (1). This is a little startling, since nowhere else does the satirist begin one of his

¹⁰ Other examples of poems or passages of welcome in Latin literature are Catullus 9; Horace, *Odes* 1.36; Ovid, *Amores* 2.11.37-56; Statius, *Silvae* 3.2.127-143. Poems of thanksgiving include Catullus 44; Horace, *Odes* 2.17 and 3.8; Propertius 2.28.59-62; Tibullus 3.10; Ovid, *Amores* 2.13; Statius, *Silvae* 1.4. In the last 9 lines of the latter poem mention is made of the fates, birthday, Nestor, Clitumnus, bulls, gods, turf altar, and grain (*farra*), all of which are also present in Juvenal 12. F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1972) 20-23, includes Satire 12 in his genre *prophonetikon* ("speech of welcomer") and lists fourteen other examples from Greek and Latin literature. However we may feel about the ideas expressed in this book, the number of examples suggests that welcoming was a recognized convention in the proper literary context. A little later (pp. 73-75) Cairns mentions the genre *soteria* ("thanksgiving"), but does not include this satire among the examples (p. 73), probably because of his rather rigid system of classification. It does seem to belong here as well. See also the introductory note on Horace, *Odes* 1.36 in R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1* (Oxford, 1970) 401-402. I am indebted to B. R. Fredericks, S. C. Fredericks, and J. W. Halporn for drawing my attention to both modern references.

¹¹ This is the arrangement that de Decker finds (above, note 4, p. 80) and the one that Hight follows (above, note 6, p. 280).

poems in such a positive, lyrical way.¹² For that matter, such expressions of joy are rare anywhere in Juvenal. The fact that the thought is complete in the first line also catches the reader's eye; this happens only in one other satire (7.1), and there the statement is relatively neutral in tone.

The first line stands out, then, as an attention-getting topic sentence for the satire, and the subordinate clause which follows (2-3) reinforces this mood and point of view. A festal altar of turf is waiting to receive the sacrifices that the poet has vowed to the gods. The meter also helps provide this reinforcement, for it is identical in the two lines, and three of the four caesuras of the first line have direct parallels in the second line. As if this is not enough, Juvenal has placed *die* at the metrical center of the one line and *deis* at the metrical center of the other. The play on sounds is obvious and draws our attention to "a day for the gods."

But Juvenal provides the seeds of imbalance as well to make the parallels all the more effective. The verb is missing from both lines. In the first it would have been a colorless *est* anyhow, but in the case of the subordinate clause, the sense runs on into the third line where the verb suddenly appears (*expectat*) after an eye-catching enjambment. At the same time this word takes on a special color from the fact that it provides a mild personification for the altar of turf. It should also be noticed that the fourth caesura appears in the last foot of the first line and in the first foot of the second line. The word order is also quite different between lines, though in both cases there are clear intralinear parallels involving nouns and adjectives.

What does Juvenal accomplish with all of this? He certainly catches the attention of the reader with the metrical parallels, diction, and the statement of joy followed immediately by an idyllic picture of religious activity motivated by piety and happiness. No other satire in the Juvenalian corpus begins this way. The satirist also uses these lines to begin creating a suspense. The reader is surprised, and part of this surprise is a curiosity as to why the poet is happy, why the animals have been promised to the gods (2: *promissa deis*), and why the altar "expects" the offerings (3: *expectat*). Something has happened to cause all of this and the reader's appetite is whetted. But Juvenal is just beginning to build the suspense and gives no indication of the reasons for his happiness for another twelve lines.

Instead, he elaborates the religious activities that he has already alluded to. He is going to sacrifice a white lamb to Juno (3) and another to

¹² There may be some significance in the fact that all three occurrences of *dulcis* thus far in the satires (5.139, 6.38, 9.88) resemble this one in that they involve a context of legacy-hunting. There is only one other instance (13.185) where the word is used, appropriately enough, to describe Mount Hymettus.

Minerva (4). Jupiter, however, will get a lively heifer (5-9) which shakes and pulls on his rope and tosses his head. He is ready for sacrifice; he has given up mother's milk and attacks oak trees with the horns that are just beginning to grow on his head. The poet insists that, if his resources matched his feelings, he would be sacrificing a fine bull fattened not on the grass that grows close to town, but on that which is found in the lush fields in the valley of the Clitumnus—a bull so large that only a tall priest could perform the sacrifice (10-14).

Throughout these lines the positive, idyllic atmosphere is maintained, and as the picture develops we are reminded of similar passages elsewhere in Juvenal's satires. In the satire immediately preceding this one, for example, the poet had already associated himself with the simple country life that was typical of Rome and Italy in the good old days before gluttony and extravagance had invaded society (11.65-116; esp. 65-76).

Parallels for the words and pictures that Juvenal conjures up in the first fourteen lines of Satire 12 are to be found in Horace's *Odes*, Vergil's *Georgics*, and the *Fasti* of Ovid.¹³ White lambs, frisky heifers, fine bulls fattened by the Clitumnus are all commonplace elements of the ideally and serenely simple life. The passage actually divides into two parts—a description of the animals that are being led to sacrifice (3-9) and an account of what the sacrifice would be if the poet had ampler means (10-14). Here Juvenal helps to increase the suspense by directly mentioning the positive feelings (10: *affectibus*) which make him wish that he could present a more elaborate offering.

In these lines we also have the first hint of satire as Juvenal mentions Hispulla in passing (11): the poet's ideal bull is to be fatter than this fat woman. But it is only a touch and may be meant as a gentle reminder that, in spite of the picture presented, the poem is a satire.

At last Juvenal gives the reason for all of this celebration—a friend has been saved (15-16). Important and climactic as this is, it is tacked on to the lines which precede it as a simple subordinate prepositional phrase (*ob reditum*). This in turn has a rather elaborate genitive combination subordinate to it which also conveys crucial information. But even in these two lines the poet maintains his sense of climax. The reason for rejoicing is the return of someone who is still trembling after having such a terrible experience that he wonders that he has survived. Only at the very end of the line, the period, and the section of the poem does the reader learn the

¹³ The following parallels and echoes have been noticed: line 1 = Horace, *Odes* 4.11.17-18; lines 7-9 = Horace, *Odes* 4.2.53-56; line 9 = Vergil, *Georgics* 3.232-33 (cf. *Eclogues* 3.86-87); lines 11-14 = Vergil, *Georgics* 2.146-148; line 13 = Horace, *Odes* 4.4.13; line 14 = Ovid, *Fasti* 4.415. Cf. Horace *Odes*, 2.17.30-32; 3.23.9-20.

identity of this person—he is “a friend” (16: *amici*). The poet makes certain, then, that the word *amicus* is not overlooked. Not only is it in a climactic position, but the satirist still puts off naming his friend. This is Juvenal’s way of drawing attention to the fact that friends and friendship are an important part of the subject matter of this satire.¹⁴

The poet has still not provided complete information. Who is this person? What terrible disaster has he avoided? The identity of the friend has to remain a mystery for another thirteen lines, but in the second section of the satire (17–82) Juvenal immediately provides the answer to the second question as he begins the account of the storm and the near shipwreck of Catullus. In places this episode is as full of action as the passages that precede and follow it are peaceful and idyllic. It should also be noticed that, with the exception of the odd aside and digression, the account proceeds systematically from the clouding of the sky through the trials and tribulations caused by lightning, high seas, and high winds to the final safe landing of the ship at Ostia.

The narrative begins with a topic sentence: Juvenal’s friend has survived the dangers of the sea and even a lightning stroke (17–18). The conjunction *nam* (17) placed at the beginning of the line provides a clear causal relationship between what has preceded and the account of the storm which follows.

The satirist now goes on to deal with both aspects of the storm—first the lightning (18–22) and then the perils of the sea (24–61). The sky becomes quickly overcast with one huge cloud and the ship is suddenly struck by lightning. The elisions and the spondees which predominate in these lines (18–20) contribute to the threatening aspect of the passage. Juvenal makes the picture more vivid by describing the reaction of the sailors to what is going on (20–22) rather than concentrating on the burning ship. Once again the sequence is the natural one: everyone thinks he has been struck by lightning and soon (*mox*) is horrified at the prospect of experiencing fire and shipwreck. Fire at sea, of course, has haunted mariners from earliest times to the present. But there is an unexpected light touch here when Juvenal describes each sailor as being “thunderstruck” by it all (21: *attonitus*).

¹⁴ The poetry of lines 15 and 16 is worth noticing in passing. The dactyls in line 15 combine with the hard and explosive consonants *b*, *d* (4 times), *t* (3 times), and *p* (2 times) to reinforce the fear and apprehension. The combination of vowel sounds, the repetition of the *h*’s, and the *r* and *n* sounds in *adhuc horrendaque* together suggest the awe that is present in the mind of the person having these experiences. In line 16 there is continuing agitation in the dactyls, but these are soon replaced by spondees which combine with the long vowels and the *n* (3 times), *m* (4 times), and *s* (3 times) sounds to produce the sounds and sighs of relief that the friend felt when he found himself safe (*incolumem sese*).

Now the satirist indulges in an editorial comment: everything happened just as terribly as when a storm arises in a poem (22–24). This has been interpreted in various ways. Some have taken the words to be a serious criticism of the methods of contemporary poets, paralleling and extending the comments at the beginning of the first satire, while at the other extreme it has been interpreted as Juvenal's comment on the exaggerated story that Catullus gave him.¹⁵ But such subtle interpretation is probably unnecessary, since the comment can be viewed simply as a gentle reminder that this is not an epic poem, but a satire. It provides a mock-heroic touch to this account of a near shipwreck,¹⁶ performing much the same function as the reference to Hispulla (11) mentioned earlier.

Maintaining his systematic approach, the satirist now draws his reader's attention to the second aspect of the shipwreck (24: *genus ecce aliud discriminis audi*), the problems with wind and sea. But before he begins this part of his account, he points out the fact that, terrible as the experience was, it was not unique; many had undergone shipwreck, as the great numbers of votive tablets in the temples prove. "And who doesn't know that painters are supported by Isis?" (24–28). The sequence of thought is quite Juvenalian—the generalization, proof of this, and satiric comment on the proof. There is satire here, of course, and it serves to remind us once again that this poem is not an epic. But even though the painters may be fed like slaves or animals (28: *pasci*), the satire is hardly biting. Actually, it anticipates the stronger criticism of people who take to the sea that comes a little later (57–61).

A similar misfortune befell Catullus, says Juvenal (29), at long last providing us with his friend's name and at the same time underlining the fact of their friendship as he refers to the other man as "my Catullus" (*nostro . . . Catullo*). The story of the near disaster now begins in earnest, and the reader is plunged *in medias res*. The hold is half full of water; the waves are beating now one side and now the other side of the ship; the mast is tottering; the situation has reached the point where even the helmsman with all his years of experience cannot help the situation. The next logical step, then, is to throw things overboard to lighten the ship (30–36). There is a lot packed into these lines and the pile-up of language reflects the mounting problems. The comparison with the beaver who in a crisis jettisons his valuable testicles as Catullus is going to jettison his priceless cargo provides mild satire on a number of levels. There is the obvious and

¹⁵ The latter is J. D. Duff's idea (*D. Iunii Iuvenalis satirae XIV. Fourteen Satires of Juvenal*, [Cambridge, 1898; rev. 1970], note on line 23, p. 382).

¹⁶ The situation is not quite as simple and straightforward as I. G. Scott describes it (*The Grand Style in the Satires of Juvenal* [Northampton, Mass., 1927] 83–87). The parodic and mock-heroic elements in the shipwreck scene are not as all-pervading as she suggests.

grotesque comparison that is to be made between what the beaver is forced to do and what Catullus has to do. Juvenal increases the humor and the irony of the whole thing by first pointing to the fact that the beaver personally makes himself a eunuch to avoid the loss of his testicles and then endowing the animal with an almost human intelligence (36: *intellegit*).¹⁷ The whole story helps contribute to the mock-heroic atmosphere, though once again it is not violently irreverent.

At this point the poet heightens the drama by quoting Catullus directly (37): "Throw my things overboard—all of them!" And overboard they go, one after another for the next ten lines (38–47). Once again Juvenal's methodical approach is obvious. For the first five lines various garments disappear overboard and these are followed by five lines of plates and pots. The garments, in turn, are of two kinds—fine purple clothing destined for fops like Maecenas and also the best wool from Spain. The catalogue of vases is marked by an interesting variety. There are Roman silver plates (43: *lances*) and a Greek urn, also presumably of silver (44: *cratera*), as well as British food baskets (46: *bascaudas*), a thousand food dishes (46: *mille escaria*), and a great deal of engraved or embossed ware (46–47: *multum caelati*). It is impossible to miss the satire here, all of it centering around luxury and excess. The name of Maecenas was by now synonymous with foppish luxury, while the wife of Fuscus, for whom the mixing bowl is destined, was probably a notable inebriate of the time, since she is coupled with the centaur Pholus (45) to suggest excess in drinking. Finally there is an oblique reference to Philip of Macedon who is described as "the clever purchaser of Olynthus" because he managed to capture that city in 347 B.C. by buying off its leaders. But once again, while the whole passage is an ironic treatment of the luxury trade and the people to whom it catered, the satire is telescoped and hardly biting. Much of it, moreover, is implied.

On the other hand, the four lines following the catalogue of objects thrown overboard are pointedly satiric, for they contain clear moral commentary on the situation. What other man is there and where is he who dares to value his life more than his silver and his safety more than his possessions? For there is a certain element of humanity whose purpose is not to make fortunes for living, but to live for making fortunes (48–51).¹⁸

¹⁷ The hiatus in *testiculi* is striking, since this is the only time that it occurs in Juvenal in this position in the line. It may be designed to contribute to the humor with the poetic "gap" reflecting the anatomical "gap" that the beaver has just created.

¹⁸ Lines 50–51 were rejected by Bentley and, though Friedlaender retains them, modern scholars like Knoche and Clausen tend to bracket them. Retention or rejection of them does not seriously affect the interpretation of the passage.

This kind of moral satire that is so obvious and so typical of Juvenal has been completely missing from the poem thus far. And so it is almost with a sense of relief that the reader at last comes upon it. But it is not quite the straightforward satire that we might expect from Juvenal, since he does not proceed to criticize Catullus directly, but actually compliments him (and of course criticizes the others) by implying a contrast between these people and his friend who has decided to throw his valuables overboard. In a way it is a backhanded compliment, since Catullus did this only when the state of the emergency was extreme and for all intent and purposes he still belongs to this group of money-seekers. It is only a few lines later that Juvenal indulges in extended criticism of people like Catullus who have to go trading on the high seas (57–61).

In the meantime, however, Juvenal completes his description of the attempts to avoid shipwreck. Neither jettisoning the luxury items nor getting rid of most of the stores and gear (“the useful things”) relieves the situation, so that as a last resort (55: *discriminis ultima*) the mast has to be cut down (52–56). Once again Juvenal keeps the events in sequence and even stresses the fact that cutting down the mast was the last step.¹⁹

At this point in the satire, with Catullus on the brink of drowning, Juvenal chooses to develop the aside already mentioned as containing criticism of those who entrust their lives to sailing ships (57–61). Even though he uses an imperative singular (57: *i nunc . . . committe*), it is a rhetorical and satiric formula directed at a person like Catullus rather than at him directly. In its obliqueness it resembles the criticism of the money-seekers (48–51) mentioned earlier where Catullus could be included in the criticism. Juvenal does not criticize his friend directly anywhere in the satire, in spite of the fact that his vocation does make him vulnerable to attack. But the reader is left in no doubt as to how Juvenal feels about the sailing and trading that men like Catullus do. They rely on a plank of wood that puts a quarter of an inch between them and death. And so Juvenal tells them not only to take the usual provisions but also to supply themselves with axes to be used when the storm comes. This is the most pointed satire thus far in the poem and it is the last until the legacy-hunter makes his appearance.

Now the storm abates, and it takes Juvenal nearly ten lines to describe what happens (62–70). He has been criticized for dwelling on this description,²⁰ and the three clauses introduced by *postquam* (62, 64) might indeed

¹⁹ This part of the near shipwreck began with *genus . . . aliud discriminis* (24) and *discriminis ultima* ends it. *Damna* (53) also recalls the ablative *damno* used earlier (35) to describe the beaver's loss. The ship is “self-castrated,” then, just as the beaver was.

²⁰ Gylling (above, note 4) 83, 90.

be considered redundant and repetitious. Certainly it is wrong to blindly defend a poet like Juvenal at every juncture, and it may be that this is not a particularly good part of the satire. But it is at least possible that the repetition, disproportion, and disorder that are evident here reflect an attempt on Juvenal's part to portray the sudden, confused, unrestrained relief that Catullus and his fellow travelers felt as they came to realize that the storm was subsiding.²¹ The scene had begun with the sky clouding over (18-19) and it now ends with the sun coming out as the winds die down (69-70).

The happy return is now described in a relatively few lines to end this part of the satire (70-82). Once again Juvenal is careful to keep strictly to the sequence of events. After the sun has appeared, the travelers "next" (70: *tum*) catch sight of the Alban height, and this brings thoughts of Iulus, Lavinia, and the experiences of the Trojans (70-74). The connection is obvious. Just as Aeneas and his happy crew finally arrived at their destination in Italy allotted by fate after sailing through many trials and tribulations, so Catullus and his happy fellow travelers finally arrive in Italy with the help of fate (64-66) after experiencing their share of troubles. The happiness that Catullus and his companions feel is not only brought out by the mention of the Trojans, but it is also mirrored in the language that the satirist uses. Everything is "pleasing," "lofty," "white and shining," "happy," "marvelous," and the like.²²

Finally (75: *tandem*) they arrive at Ostia, and the travelers' reactions once again are made clear in Juvenal's description. All the protective aspects of the harbor are carefully noted—breakwater, lighthouse, and piers. The latter are "arms that run out in the middle of the sea and leave Italy far behind" (76-78). They reach out, then, to embrace the survivors. The aside at this point (78-79) in which Juvenal says that no natural harbor is as marvelous as this one may serve as a compliment to Trajan for his reconstruction of the harbor at Ostia, but it can be taken as well as a reflection of the feelings that the survivors would naturally have as they at last entered the safe harbor.

²¹ The passage is not without its merits. Meter and sound combine in the first two lines (62-63) to reinforce the calm and quiet that is described. The line immediately preceding (61) is full of harsh consonants (especially *c*'s, *t*'s, and *s*'s) and clipped vowels (especially *e*). In these lines by contrast soft consonants (*m*, *n*, *l*, *r*) and more open vowels (*o*, *a*, *u*) predominate and combine with a careful choice of diction throughout the passage (*iacuit*, *planum*, *prospera*, *fatumque*, *valentius*, *meliora*, *benigna*, *hilares*, *albi*, *modica*, *aura*) to leave an impression of smoothness, serenity, and relief.

²² The adjectives in this passage carry these connotations: 70: *gratus* = pleasing; 71: *praelata* = preferred; 72: *sublimis* = lofty; *candida* = white and shining; 73: *laetis* = happy; *mirabile* = marvelous; 74: *numquam visis* = unique; *clara* = famous, outstanding.

It should also be noted that the captain "seeks out" (80: *petit*) the innermost part of the harbor (80: *interiora*), which is described as a "pond in a safe bay" (81: *tuti stagna sinus*), where even small pleasure craft are safe.

The final touch is a pleasant and natural cap to the whole episode: now safe, the sailors have their heads shaved to fulfil their vows and then start chattering about the troubles they have just been through. This is a thoroughly human reaction and a far cry from the equally human stupefaction and fear that they all felt as the storm began (20-22).

At this point, Juvenal shifts the scene back to himself and the religious celebration of thanksgiving (83-92), and as he does so, he adds a new dramatic element by addressing his slaves who are to prepare the sacrifices mentioned at the beginning of the poem. Once again the relationship between this new scene and the one preceding it is carefully made clear in the use of the postpositive *igitur* (83: "and so") which reinforces the causal relationship between the sacrifice and the near shipwreck. The atmosphere here returns to what it had been in the opening scene—happy and idyllic. As Juvenal turns to tell his reader that he is also going to make offerings at home, the meter suddenly becomes predominantly dactylic (87-88), apparently to reflect the poet's eagerness and enthusiasm. Just as he is going to perform his public sacrifices in the proper way (86: *sacro . . . rite peracto*), so at home all the necessary trappings will be arranged and all the rites duly performed—wreaths, incense, flowers, the decorated house door, lamps. In its own way, then, this is going to be just as festive an occasion as the sacrifice to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. And just as that began from a "festal altar of turf" (2: *festus . . . caespes*), so this ends with a "festal doorway" (91-92: *ianua . . . festa*). Each is symbolic. The altar stands for public sacrifice, while the poet goes through the doorway and into his house to perform the private ceremony.

It is important to notice first that Juvenal carries out both kinds of religious services and secondly that, except for the rather mild reference to Hispulla, there is no hint of satire in either religious scene. Both help to underscore the sincerity of Juvenal's feelings and his close attachment to his friend. He depicts himself, then, as observing all due process, and at the same time he avoids the irreverence of satire. It is all part of a contrast, for his activities here are the diametrical opposite of the legacy-hunter's as he is described in the next and final scene of the satire.

Thus far the poet has presented a poem of thanksgiving, and for all intents and purposes the piece could easily end at this point (92). Juvenal, however, is not an epic, lyric, or dramatic poet, but a satirist with his own purposes, and it is not long until these satiric intentions become clear.

The satire suddenly bursts upon us, though not before Juvenal has given his reason for going on with the subject (93-98): he wants to allay any suspicion Corvinus (and the world at large) might have about his motives in offering thanks. The simple fact of the matter is that Catullus has three heirs, and all young ones, so that the poet cannot expect to profit from his show of thanksgiving. His motives, then, are thoroughly honest; people just do not waste money on friends with heirs.

The apparent discontinuity between this last scene and the one that precedes it may be a little bothersome at first sight, but even a quick reading of the first two lines (93-94) shows that there is no reason for this. Not only does the question of motives arise naturally from the preceding narrative, but Juvenal also provides a connection in the language he uses. The first word, whether it be *neu* or *nec*, is clearly transitional and linking, and so is the poet's use of *haec* (93: "these things") to refer to what has gone before. Juvenal even goes so far as to summarize the action to this point as he speaks of "Catullus for whose return I am setting up so many altars" (93-94).

His mention of Corvinus in the first line of this last scene serves a number of purposes. It, of course, reminds the reader of the immediate dramatic situation in which the satire is being presented. The vocative *Corvine* also recalls the same form as it appears in the first line of the poem and so provides a connection. But it also serves a disjunctive function, since it suggests a new beginning. It signals a new scene and subject, then, but one that follows logically from what has gone before.

With mention of the person who would not spend money on a dying chicken for a friend who has heirs and, even more extreme, the person who would not sacrifice a cheap pheasant for a man who is a father (95-98), Juvenal has moved in two steps from himself as a friend to legacy-hunters as friends, and the hyperbolic description now begins. The subject is not new; it was a commonplace of satire and a favorite subject for Juvenal's attack, as we shall see. What is important here is not the fact of his satirizing legacy-hunters, but the way in which he develops his attack and its relationship to the theme of the satire.

Juvenal has begun with what is in essence a negative topic sentence. No one ever courts a person who has heirs. But he develops his argument against legacy-hunters by showing what they really do and what success they really have (98-130). Not only is this natural, but it also makes the comparison with *his* feelings and activities that have been described more direct. In typical satiric fashion he names his names, preferring to deal with examples rather than with the type. First it is a case of two-on-two, with Gallitta and Pacius being the hunted (99) and Novius and Pacuvius

Hister the hunters (111-112). Pacius, however, disappears immediately and Novius also fades away, perhaps shouldered aside by Pacuvius (115). Soon, too, Gallitta's presence is barely felt as she becomes a typical invalid (122: *aeger*), and Pacuvius holds the center stage. And so the reader's attention is concentrated on Pacuvius as it was earlier on Juvenal, and Gallitta is the same shadowy, but necessary, character that Catullus was.

The antithesis between the actions of the legacy-hunter and those of Juvenal, the sincerely thankful friend, is implicit throughout the account of Pacuvius' activities. Gallitta and Pacius just have to begin to feel a little hot (98-99: *sentire calorem/ si coepit locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi*) and the legacy-hunter goes to work with his insincere show of friendship. By contrast, it was a terrible experience of a friend that motivated Juvenal's sacrifices. The offerings made for Gallitta and Pacius grow from mere extravagance to the ultimate in folly—from a whole portico filled with votive tablets (100-101) through a hecatomb (101) and sacrifices of elephants (102-114) and slaves (115-118) to a ceremony in which a daughter is the victim (118-120). Juvenal's offerings, on the other hand, are unpretentious to begin with and become even less elaborate. In fact, everything about the poet's show of thanksgiving is simple and idyllic, while the legacy-hunter's position becomes increasingly more grotesque and the hyperbole grows. It is difficult enough to visualize a "whole portico" covered with tablets, but this is just the beginning. A hecatomb is not only gross, it is Greek! Elephants are in themselves grotesque, but Juvenal also dwells on other unnatural aspects of these animals: they are not native to Latium and will not breed there (103-104); they are foreign (104) and were used by foreigners like Hannibal and Pyrrhus (107-108); they served as unnatural towers of war moving into battle (110). The contrast between the Emperor's elephants grazing in the Rutulian forest and the country of Turnus (105-106) and the poet's ideal sacrificial bull fattened in the field by the Clitumnus (11-13) leaps to mind.²³

We should also notice that in these lines Juvenal plays on the theme of past and present that was so popular in the rhetorical and satiric traditions. Turnus and the Rutulians of the ideal and heroic past are balanced

²³ A kind of tribrach antithesis between what is Italian and what is foreign is carefully maintained throughout these lines: Latium (103)—the "dark tribe" (104)—the Rutulian forest and the land of Turnus (105); Caesar (106)—Hannibal and Pyrrhus (108)—"our [i.e., Roman] leaders" (108).

This contrast between what is Roman and what is foreign appears frequently in Latin literature. Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.58-125; E. S. Ramage, *Urbanitas: Ancient Sophistication and Refinement* (Norman, Okla., 1973) 72-76; 98-100; 116-118.

against Caesar of the luxury-ridden present. Then come Hannibal, Pyrrhus, and earlier Romans from the practical past. As if to underline this contrast, Juvenal speaks of the "herd of Caesar" (106) in contemporary Italy and of the "ancestors" of these elephants (109: *horum maiores*) and their part in earlier wars. Roman ancestral tradition, then, has been transferred to the elephants with a delightfully grotesque touch which suits the mood of the passage perfectly.²⁴

But Juvenal saves the most striking irony for the end of the period as he wrenches his reader back to the present (113-114). The elephant—or more probably elephants—would fall as a sacrificial victim before Gallitta's *household gods*. Here the antithesis with his own actions is made clear by the language Juvenal uses. The poet had performed a private ceremony before the household gods of his ancestors (89: *Laribus paternis*), while Pacuvius indulges in a grotesque, relatively public ceremony before someone else's household gods (113: *Lares Gallittae*). Juvenal's motives are sincere and personal; Pacuvius' ulterior motives lead him to a thoroughly unnatural display designed to catch Gallitta's eye.

The grotesqueness and hyperbole increase as Juvenal suggests that, if it were allowed (115: *si concedas*), a man like Pacuvius would even sacrifice a slave or two or actually go so far as to sacrifice his own daughter (115-120). This is the ultimate folly, the supreme tragedy, and the most extravagant perversion, since there is no hope for a secret substitution such as the gods made for Iphigenia (120).

And with this Juvenal passes on to the rewards for legacy-hunting. In a passage full of irony he praises his fellow citizen, since offering sacrifice for a successful expedition to Troy is not at all to be compared with sacrificing to obtain a place in a will (121-122). For if the hunted person escapes death, he will be caught like a fish in a net.²⁵ Pacuvius will perhaps get everything and will then strut proudly among his vanquished rivals. "And so you see," says the satirist, "how well worthwhile it was to slaughter the girl at Mycenae" (126-127). The world is upside down! Whole expeditions are worth less than a single will; because a "pigeon" escapes, it is caught; the undeserving are rewarded; we should all go out and sacrifice a daughter. The ultimate folly has become the ultimate irony.

It has been pointed out often enough that legacy-hunting comes up fairly frequently in Juvenal's satires. But nowhere else is it treated in such

²⁴ On the contrast between past and present see Juvenal, *Sat.* 6.286-300; 11.77-127. Cf. Ramage, Sigsbee, Fredericks (above, note 8) 61 for the "then-now dichotomy" in Varro's Menippean satires.

²⁵ Cf. Horace, *Satires* 2.5.44.

detail or, for that matter, even from the same point of view as it is in the twelfth satire. Usually it is part of a broader theme. In Juvenal's programmatic satire, for example, it is just one element that contributes to a perverted world (1.37-44), while in his satire on Rome it is brought up as an example of the kind of thing to which people holding the highest offices in the city have prostrated themselves (3.128-130). Again, Juvenal uses the theme to make points about selfishness (4.18-19), gluttony (5.97-98), old age (10.202), the military (16.54-56), or a gallant taking a wife (6.38-40).

But in Satire 5, as the satirist turns to describe Virro's treatment of his clients, there is a brief passage on legacy-hunting (137-140) which has overtones similar to those in this passage of the twelfth satire. The poet says that, if a person wants to be courted by Virro, he should be without a son or daughter and have a barren wife, for "a sterile wife makes [Virro] a dear and close friend" (*iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum*). Friendship and legacy-hunting, then, come together in the fifth satire as they do in Satire Twelve. But even in the earlier poem the description is brief and is part of a larger context.

Juvenal's treatment of Pacuvius is different from these other occurrences in another respect: it is really only the climactic part of such an attack. The actions described are extreme, and there is no buildup to them through the use of realistic activity. Juvenal begins with a whole portico full of votive tablets and moves on up to the most extreme human sacrifice. This is effective criticism, of course, but it serves another purpose as well. It contributes to the violent antithesis that Juvenal is trying to develop between his concept of friendship and the legacy-hunter's idea of what it should be. He has already portrayed himself at the one extreme as engaged in the simplest and purest act of friendship possible. The legacy-hunter is portrayed as falling at the opposite extreme, since he engages in the grossest and most grotesque acts under the guise of friendship. To put it another way, it is a case of pure sincerity balanced against extreme hypocrisy.

But Juvenal is not finished. He has caricatured Pacuvius' motives and actions and has ridiculed his "success," and now he adds a final editorial comment (128-130): may this creature have a life as long as Nestor's, a fortune as great as all the wealth that Nero stole—gold piled as high as mountains—and may he have a complete lack of friends. The ending is bold, to say the least. It may not be surprising to find this kind of thought following the exaggerated attack on Pacuvius and his cohorts, but within the context of the poem as a whole, the last three lines represent a complete

reversal of form. For as we finish reading them we suddenly realize that this poem which began as a happy statement of thanksgiving has ended at the opposite extreme with a curse. There is an analogy to be drawn with Satire 13 where the poet leads the reader to expect a poem of consolation and instead produces what has been called a "false consolation."²⁶ The process is a little different in Satire 12, but here as in 13 Juvenal raises certain literary expectations for the reader and then produces something quite different. What results is not a poem of consolation or a poem of thanksgiving, but a satire.²⁷

And there can be no doubt that old age, wealth, and a lack of friends are curses. In a long and vivid passage of Satire 10, the first satire in this book, Juvenal speaks at length about the distasteful aspects of old age. While people think this is something to wish for, it is actually a bane (10.188–288). And Nestor is mentioned there, too, as the proverbial example of a man who has lived a long life (10.246–255). In the tenth satire Juvenal also dwells on wealth and the problems it brings (10.12–53), where once again Nero is introduced as the type that is to be rejected (15). When we consider the negative role that wealth and extravagance play in the eleventh satire and the statement made there that luxury and old age do not mix (45), it is tempting to imagine that the poet has purposely picked up the two topics of old age and wealth at the end of Satire 12 and added friendship, the subject of this satire, to them. This is just the kind of clever twist that can be expected of Juvenal—to wish for Pacuvius two "blessings" that he has shown to be curses and to deny him what has just been shown to be a real blessing.²⁸

The last line serves to remind the reader of the point that Juvenal wants to make in this satire. There are two kinds of friendship, sincere and insincere. Or, to put it another way, friendships are based either on altruism or on what can be gained from them. This was really a philosophical commonplace, and it is quite likely that Juvenal had Cicero's

²⁶ A. D. Pryor, "Juvenal's False Consolation," *AUMLA, Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association* 18 (1962) 167–180; S. C. Fredericks, "Calvinus in Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire," *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 219–231. Cf. M. Morford, "Juvenal's Thirteenth Satire," *American Journal of Philology* 94 (1973) 26–36.

²⁷ Cf. Persius' Satire 2 which begins ostensibly as a birthday poem, but soon becomes a satire on right and wrong prayers. Similarly, Persius 5 starts out as a tribute to Cornutus, but ends on a far different note.

²⁸ The connections between Satires 10, 11, and 12 outlined here are hardly fortuitous. It is also significant that elephants appear in all three of these satires (10.150; 11.126) and that in all three contexts they are referred to as *belua* (10.158; 11.126; 12.104). The parallels between these three satires suggest that Juvenal had a fairly clear concept of the unity of this book.

De amicitia in mind as he wrote, for there (52) Cicero says quite emphatically:

Gods above and men below! Who is there who would want to abound in all material things and live amid an abundance of everything, though he love no one and is himself loved by no one?²⁹

In spite of the fact that Juvenal has substituted subjunctive forms of *amo* for the corresponding forms of *diligo* that Cicero uses, the wording of the last line of the satire and of the concessive clause in the passage from the *De amicitia* are so similar that it is difficult not to believe that the satirist was drawing on his predecessor.

And so perhaps we can see a little more clearly what Juvenal was attempting to do in the twelfth satire. Writing in a loose epistolary manner, he actually produced a blend of forms—the poem of thanksgiving, the poem celebrating the safe return of a hero or loved one, straightforward satire, and the philosophic essay. Corresponding to each of these forms is a thematic element—the poet's worship of the gods, the near-shipwreck, criticism of legacy-hunters, the essence of true friendship, with the latter uniting the poem thematically. If we remember that Roman satire began as a medley and could still be called a *farrago* or hotch-potch by Juvenal (1.86), we can see in the structure and subject matter of Satire 12 the continuing importance of the miscellaneous element. But it is worth making the point once again that Juvenal carefully binds all of these elements together to produce a cohesive, coherent study of friendship, true or false.³⁰

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²⁹ Cicero's words are *Nam quis est . . . qui velit, ut neque diligit quemquam nec ipse ab ullo diligatur, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque in omnium rerum abundantia vivere?* Cicero spends some time discussing the problem (27–55) and says, among other things, that hope of gain is not the proper basis for friendship, even though the majority of men believe that its essence lies in a desire for wealth. He deals with flattery a little later (97–98). The theme of expediency and friendship appears in other philosophic contexts as well (Horace, *Satires* 2.6.75; Seneca, *Moral Epistles* 3, 9, and 35).

³⁰ It should be pointed out that Juvenal is not finished with his examination of friendship, for he goes on in Satire 13 to look at an example of a false friend who has refused to pay back a deposit of money left with him.