

## THE EVOLUTION OF JUVENAL'S LATER SATIRES

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STUDENTS of Juvenal have observed the differences in tone and technique between the earlier and later books of Juvenal's *Satires*,<sup>1</sup> and have given explanations to account for these differences. Perhaps the most extreme solution was that offered by Otto Ribbeck in 1865, when he suggested that *Satires* 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15 were forgeries, the composition of some rhetorician or *declamator*. Ribbeck's thesis never enjoyed the favor of scholars and is mentioned here only as a convenient starting point. Having rejected this thesis, scholars then had the task of accounting for the fact that the fire and brilliance of the first two books of *Satires* are replaced by a comparative mildness and placidity in the final three. Perhaps the most popular theory is that propounded by Gilbert Highet,<sup>2</sup> who mischievously agrees with Ribbeck that the later *Satires* were indeed forgeries, but by Juvenal himself, "imitating his earlier work after the passion that inspired it had died away." Highet (p. 138) finds that "signs of age were visible in Juvenal's Third and Fourth Books." One scholar explains the differences between the earlier and later books with the theory that Juvenal had amassed a store of material which he published "as soon as the gag which silenced him was removed by Domitian's death," in spite of the nine-year gap between that emperor's assassination and the publication of Juvenal's first work, according to this scholar's computation.<sup>3</sup> The outbreak of indignation which Juvenal, like Tacitus,

suppressed for fifteen years accounts neatly for the initial fury of the early *Satires*, so well summed up in Juvenal's own *facit indignatio versum*. But how are we to account for Highet's observation that "[in] Book V we are surprised to hear the old lion roaring away with a new access of vigour" (p. 138)? Other scholars will deny hearing any roar, referring instead to the "abstract colourless disquisitions of Books IV and V."<sup>4</sup> We are being asked to believe that Juvenal, whose youth had long passed when he began to write, had stored up a great deal of emotional fire which was dissipated in Book 1, and that from some unspecified source he managed to regenerate a similar, though lesser, warmth when he came to write what turned out to be his last book. It is more natural to assume that the change in tone and style of his later works derives not from a failing of his power in later life—on this theory it is difficult to account for *Satire* 10—but from the effect of processes which operate on any poet who composed and published work over a long period. A recent article by W. S. Anderson<sup>5</sup> is of importance in this connection. Anderson undertakes to show that the famous programmatic statement, *facit indignatio versum*, is applicable only to Book 1 and that the satirist intended the initial *Satire* of every subsequent book to fulfill the function of a program. If a poet needs to state his program at various stages of his career, it follows that with time his thoughts about the relative importance of what he has to

1. E. G. Hardy, *The Satires of Juvenal*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1883), p. lii; and J. D. Duff, *Fourteen Satires of Juvenal* (Cambridge, 1898), p. xxxii.

2. Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (Oxford, 1954), p. 4.

3. Hardy, *op cit.* (n. 1), p. 1. For his calculation, see pp. xx, xxxv.

4. *Ibid.*, p. li.

5. "The Program of Juvenal's Later Books," *CP*, LVII (1962), 145–60.

say must undergo some modification. In other words, he would see no necessity to explain his course unless it was indeed a new one. The purpose of this paper is to show that Juvenal, like many other poets who composed works in different genres of poetry, paused at various times in his career to take stock, so to speak, and that his program as subsequently stated contained clues about the nature of the considerations which affected his decision. We can also show that, when his initial indignation and inspiration failed, he experimented with other techniques, finally adopting themes and treatment very similar to those of the Horatian epistle.

The researches of many scholars have established that Juvenal's published works occupied a thirty-year period between A.D. 100 and 130. In this respect he can be compared with Horace (twenty-three years, 35–12 B.C.), Vergil (twenty years, 39–19 B.C.), Propertius (thirteen years, 29–16 B.C.), Ovid (forty-two years, ca. 25 B.C.–A.D. 17), and Martial (twenty years, ca. A.D. 80–100). All these poets, like Juvenal, composed and published their work over a fairly long period, the important feature here being that in most cases some time elapsed between the appearance of a work and the appearance of its successor, giving the poet time to react before publishing, and in some cases even writing, his subsequent work. The poet whose career best exemplifies this process at work is Horace. We are fortunate to have his own references to the various factors which affected him at crucial points of his career. It was his almost invariable practice to give some indication of the thoughts which influenced his decisions, and he did not necessarily do it at the beginning of his new work. We know, for example, that his first published works were the *Epodes* and Book 1 of the *Satires*, published about the same time (35 B.C.), but it was not until

much later (12 B.C.), when he was writing the *Epistles* to Caesar, that he gave his reason for embarking on a poetic career. Evidently there was some hostile reaction to his first book of *Satires*, for in the prefatory Satire of Book 2 (1. 1–2) we find him referring to this adverse public reaction—"sunt quibus in satira videar nimis acer et ultra / legem tendere opus"—and jocularly, or perhaps seriously, contemplating an end to his career as a satirist. When he did bring this career to an end, one factor seemed also to be at work, the shortage of themes suitable for satire. The fact that in Book 2 *Satire* 8 varies the theme of *Satires* 2 and 4 and *Satire* 7 that of 3 shows that Horace recognized that he was running out of themes. He attempted to repair this deficiency by varying the treatment, making dialogues of all but *Satire* 6.

Adverse public reaction also seems partly responsible for another major decision he made in later life, that he would write no more Odes. His First Epistle proclaims his new program (*Epist.* 1. 1. 10, "nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono: / quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum"). Still another factor influencing this decision is one more essential to poetic success, the ability of the poet to continue writing in the particular genre he has espoused. It is vital that the poet recognize the point at which a particular inspiration has ceased to flow and not transgress beyond it. Horace alludes both to this point and to the folly of transgression (*Epist.* 1. 1. 4, "non eadem est aetas, non mens," and 8–9, "solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne / peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat"). When he is compelled to embark upon his fourth book of *Odes*, he is careful to protect himself against failure by pointing out his utter unsuitability for such themes on the ground that his youth had long

passed and he no longer had the inspiration (*Odes* 4. 1. 3–4, “non sum qualis eram bonae / sub regno Cinarae”). Toward the end of his career, he claims to withdraw from the lists of active poets and confines himself to giving advice to young aspiring poets (*AP* 306, “munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo”).

A similar series of critical junctures can be observed in the career of Ovid, a poet whose activity ranged over a long period and a variety of literary genres. All of the factors mentioned above, which cause a poet to reassess his career, operated in his case, in addition to another, a change for better or worse in the poet's financial and/or social position. Like Horace, Ovid did not necessarily refer at the beginning of a new work to the motives which stimulated him to undertake it. For example, we gain our best insight into the various stages of his career from one of the letters he wrote in exile (*Tr.* 4. 10) when his career was almost at an end. Unlike Horace he did not take up literature to escape poverty: he wrote because he could not help it. In spite of his father's warnings that there was no money in poetry, he embarked on a poetic career because “et quod temptabam dicere, versus erat” (26). At other times during his career, he discusses the step he is taking or is about to take. In *Amores* 3. 15. 2 he bids farewell to love elegy, “raditur hic elegis ultima meta meis.” In the first poem of Book 3 he debates whether or not he should abandon elegy for tragedy. At the moment he does not completely abandon elegy, but adapts it to the form of the poetic letter, the *Heroides*. Even while working on the *Amores*, he is alive to the claims which tragedy has on his powers (*Am.* 3. 1. 29): “nunc habeam per te, Romana tragoedia,

nomen.”<sup>6</sup> In an apostrophe, he asks Tragedy for some time, however, presumably to complete his elegies. As his tragedy does not survive, we cannot say whether or not any clues within this work refer to his subsequent decision to resume the writing of elegy. In any event, it would be unusual for the author of a tragedy—a highly impersonal genre—to refer to his personal affairs. So we cannot know precisely why he abandoned tragedy to resume elegy, though he altered the latter to the didactic mode.

It was probably because he lacked opportunity for a personal statement in his tragedy that he makes sure to announce, at the outset of the *Ars amatoria*, his next work, his intention to enter the field of didactic poetry. Experience, he says, has fitted him for the task of teaching the ways of love: “usus opus movet hoc. vati parete perito. / vera canam” (*Ars am.* 1. 29–30). Unfavorable public reaction to his *Ars amatoria* undoubtedly acted as a spur to the composition of the *Remedia amoris*. “Nuper enim nostros quidam carpsere libellos / quorum censura Musa proterva mea est” (*Rem. am.* 361–62) is his complaint in this book. A more basic and compelling reason was the fact that Ovid was now tiring of the subject of love<sup>7</sup> and that he recognized that he had nearly exhausted its possibilities. We have seen that he had once before abandoned elegy to become a playwright. Of interest to us here is the fact that the language in which Ovid couches his withdrawal from the service of love emphasizes his services to love—“saepe tepent alii iuvenes: ego semper amavi” (*Rem. am.* 7). This emphasis on past services is reminiscent of Horace's words in a similar situation, when he marked his retirement from writing Odes—

6. For a discussion of Ovid's *Medea*, see H. Fränkel, *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), p. 46.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

love poems, in his own view—"spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris, / Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo" (*Epist.* 1. 1. 2-3). Both poets mark a turning point in their careers with almost identical imagery.

In the back of Ovid's mind was the nagging feeling that he should devote his poetic powers to something more permanent and elevating than light poems about love. He mentions such a commitment earlier (*Am.* 3. 1. 25) and alludes to it again in his *Remedia amoris* (389 ff.). Having tried tragedy, he was now prepared to undertake epic, the other genre in which he could "sing of the deeds of men." He admits that his ambition has grown, and his mention of Vergilian epic is probably a strong indication of this enhanced ambition (*Rem. am.* 393, 395-96, "et studium famae mihi crevit honore . . . tantum se nobis elegi debere fatentur / quantum Vergilio nobile debet opus").

This apparent digression on the poetic careers of Horace and Ovid is an attempt to establish two hypotheses crucial to the success of the basic argument of this paper: (1) that poets composing over a long period of time find their careers affected by several factors; and (2) that they allude to these factors in their work, explicitly or otherwise, depending on the personality of the poet and the extent to which his chosen poetic genre admits personal references. Thus we may expect to find many personal references in elegy, lyric, and satire, but few in tragedy and epic.

It would seem that there are four or perhaps five main factors which affect a poet's career: changes in his abilities; recognition of the suitability or unsuitability of form to substance; public reaction; improvement or deterioration in the

poet's personal situation, whether financial or social; and changes in the political climate. The first two are wholly within, the last three more or less outside, the poet's competence or control. We have already seen some of these factors at work in the careers of Horace and Ovid. It is possible to illustrate, with instances taken from their works, that these same factors were at work in the careers of Vergil, Propertius, and Martial.

Perhaps the clearest statement<sup>8</sup> by Vergil on his own career, with reference to an earlier part of it, is to be found in *Eclogues* 6. 3-5: "cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem / vellit et admonuit: 'Pastorem, Tityre, pinguis / pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.'" The poet here rejects epic, recognizing his lack of ability—or of a suitable subject—at the time. The possibility of writing epic never remained far below the surface of his mind. It emerges again in the First Eclogue (9-10), where the poet gives a hint of the trifling nature of his work.<sup>9</sup> This hint is further amplified at the end of the *Georgics* (4. 565-66), where the poet says of his own poetic career, "carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa, / Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi." Again we notice the significant use of the word *lusi*, suggesting that the subject of his poetry, especially the *Eclogues*, is lighthearted. One has the decided feeling that even at this time Vergil was aware of pressures, both external and internal, pushing him toward composing in a more serious vein. The perfect tense of *lusi* coupled with the term *audax iuventa* suggests that the poet is aware that one phase of his career—that of carefree youth—had passed with the writing of the *Eclogues*; and his placing

8. For a reconstruction of the earlier years of Vergil's career, see T. R. Glover, *Vergil* (New York and London, 1904), pp. 26 ff.

9. This seems to be conventional. Cf. Catullus 1. 4 *nugas*, 50. 2 *lusimus*; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 1. 10 *ludicra*, 2. 2. 214 *lusisti*, *Odes* 1. 32. 2 *lusimus*.

these lines at the end of another work is strongly indicative of his awareness of the end of another phase in his career.

Thus Vergil marks the recognition of his poetic abilities and responsibilities. That he knew that a poetic career could be affected by the exhaustion of subject matter is clear from a perusal of the beginning of the Third Georgic. In verses 3-4 we read, "cetera, quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes, / omnia iam volgata"; and the poet continues with a discussion of contemporary poetry, particularly legendary epic, in a manner highly similar to the famous denunciation of contemporary poetry in Juvenal's First Satire. The poet realizes that he must build his own road to fame and concludes by stating his program. It is clear from verses 47-48 that his thoughts still turn to the possibility of writing an epic in honor of Caesar, and it is also apparent that the story of Troy has already begun to exercise its fascination for the poet.

Even Propertius, obsessed as he was by the single theme of Cynthia, recognized its limitations and, on more than one occasion, showed his awareness of them. Thus in 2. 10. 7-8 he outlines a program which promises to undertake the writing of epic as soon as he has exhausted the theme of Cynthia. Butler and Barber<sup>10</sup> note a "sudden and violent change in the last two poems" of Book 3, which is where one would normally expect some indication of any changes in the poet's program or career. The change in emphasis which comes in Book 4 is heralded by the programmatic statement of 4. 1. 69, "sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum," and is marked by the fact that at least five of the poems of Book 4 (2, 4, 6, 9, 10) are about Rome, while *Elegy* 3 is

cast in the form of an epistle, probably foreshadowing the *Heroides* of Ovid.

Martial's career almost foundered before it was properly launched owing to his association with the Senecas who were affected by the Pisonian conspiracy of A.D. 65. His first success came with the publication of his *Liber spectaculorum* in 80 followed by his *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* in 84 or 85. He too marked the beginning of a new phase in his program, and repeated it at the beginning of Book 2. His temporary withdrawal to Cisalpine Gaul gave further point to his complaint about the poor rewards of literature (3. 4), but he was not induced to make any major changes in the pattern of his poetic career, although a change of outlook is perhaps shown in his palinode (10. 72) after the death of Domitian.

Before we consider how the various factors illustrated thus far affected the career of Juvenal, it would be profitable to have a brief look at a few general contexts which indicate that a poet is contemplating some modification of his program. The first is the *recusatio*. The style of *recusationes* had become conventional, but nevertheless they indicated, at least, that the poet was subjecting his career to some assessment. Another clue to the presence of self-assessment is the *apologia pro vita sua*. The *apologia* is found in the passages from Martial mentioned above and often in the works of Horace and Ovid particularly. The third general context is a review of literature, whether previous or contemporary.<sup>11</sup> This review of literature seems to mark a stage in a poet's career when it is convenient and desirable to summarize the literary achievements of his countrymen or contemporaries, especially before setting out on a career of his own.

10. H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933), p. xiii.

11. In his *Greek Lyric Poetry*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1961), p. 252,

C. M. Bowra says of Ibycus, "The rapid survey of epic poetic themes is a kind of leave-taking by a poet who has decided to adopt a other style."

Two representative instances may be cited. Horace *Satires* 1. 10 contains a review of literature, as well as an *apologia*, both leading to a statement of some of the reasons for the poet's decision to write satire. At a later stage in his career, when he has decided to abandon active writing himself and has turned to criticism (*AP* 306), he embarks upon an elaborate review of literature and an *apologia* on behalf of Latin writers (*AP passim*, especially 48 ff.). Similarly, Vergil (*Georg.* 3. 1–47) finds time to criticize the excessive reliance on legend in contemporary literature while outlining his program and defending his chosen course. Here a review of contemporary literature is once more connected to a poet's program, an *apologia*, and, as demonstrated above, a turning point in a poet's career.<sup>12</sup>

In Juvenal's works we find two separate instances in which he indulges in a review of literature. The first marks a very important stage of his poetic career, the time when he decided to embark upon it. The famous programmatic statement of *Satire* 1. 1–21 has been so often analyzed that there is no need to do it here again. It will be sufficient to draw attention to the striking resemblance of verses 4–11, on the trite subjects of epic and tragedy, to Vergil *Georgics* 3. 3–9. Both Juvenal and Vergil recognize the limitations of the conventional themes of contemporary literature and the need to strike out in a new direction. The reminiscence of Ennius in Vergil's *virum volitare per ora* (9) probably indicates his leaning toward epic, while Juvenal chooses to travel along the Lucilian path. Both Vergil and Juvenal have employed the literary review as a convenient

context for recording their dissatisfaction with certain emphases in contemporary literature and for making their decision to turn in a new direction. Juvenal also uses a reminiscence of Horace to underscore his determination to pursue a new type of poetry. Highet<sup>13</sup> has shown that Juvenal's famous "*si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*" (1. 79) probably owes some inspiration to Horace *Satires* 1. 10. 56–59. Highet uses as his main point of similarity the fact that both poets are in their respective contexts discussing Lucilius, Horace criticizing him for carelessness and Juvenal telling why he followed him.

It will not escape the reader's notice that the larger context of Juvenal 1 and Horace *Satires* 1. 10 includes discussions of literature and that both discussions occur at turning points in the respective poets' careers, Horace's as he is on the verge of abandoning satire altogether<sup>14</sup> and Juvenal's as he is about to start his career.

Juvenal's *Satire* 7 contains the other discussion of the state of literature (1–97), concentrating in typical and practical fashion on the rewards—or lack of them—of the profession of poet. Whether or not this poem was intended to welcome a new imperial regime is beside the point here:<sup>15</sup> our interest lies in the evidence which the poem offers of an assessment by Juvenal of his own career, with the possibility that he might have been contemplating some change in the direction, mood, or emphasis of his satire. Consider first the statement which closes the first part of the *Satire*: "*sed defluit aetas / et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis. / taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque / Terpsichoren odit facunda et*

12. Cf. Ovid *Tr.* 4. 10, where he justifies his career by referring it to its place in a historical scheme.

13. "Juvenal's Bookcase," *AJP*, LXXII (1951), 379.

14. Cf. *Sat.* 2. 1. 5–6, "*ne faciam inquis / omnino versus?*" where the *omnino* is significant. He did in fact abandon the more acrimonious type of satire.

15. See W. C. Helmbold and E. N. O'Neil, "The Form and Purpose of Juvenal's Seventh Satire," *CP*, LIV (1959), 100 ff., who show that Juvenal has given up hope of patronage.

nuda senectus" (32–35). Here we note, among other things, the first obvious dent in the poet's self-assurance. After publishing two books and failing to get either the public support or patronage he thought he deserved (as the rest of the *Satire* overwhelmingly indicates), he now wonders if another career—merchant, soldier or farmer—would have been more worth following. Mayor<sup>16</sup> in his note to this passage cites Martial 3. 38, where that poet is advising Sextus against embarking on a poet's career, among others. Juvenal's complaint (in 7. 3–7) that poets now have to manage baths or become auctioneers is a distinct echo of Martial's, in the address to his book (3. 4), that he will return from self-imposed exile only when he has become a harp player. The striking feature of Juvenal's reminiscence here is that it should come from an Epigram written at a time when Martial was obviously considering the relative merits, as far as making a living was concerned, of poetry and professional musicianship. Appearing also in this *Satire* of Juvenal (7. 27) in a related context is another reminiscence of Martial (9. 73. 9), where Martial compares the rewards of shoemaking to those of writing poetry, again to the disadvantage of the latter. There is nothing here, however, to indicate any contemplated change in Martial's poetic career. In language remarkably similar to Juvenal 7. 35 (see above), Ovid (*Tr.* 2. 13, "si saperem, doctas odissem iure sorores") in despair contemplates the trouble his poetry has brought on him. Given Juvenal's familiarity with the works of Ovid and Martial and his skill in adapting their phrases and figures to evoke a specific atmosphere,<sup>17</sup> it is not farfetched to conclude that his

mood might easily have matched that of his originals.

Faint echoes, in *Satire* 7, of those Horatian poems in which we have shown that the Augustan poet actually and actively contemplated some shift in his poetic course tend to confirm the impression of a Juvenalian self-assessment. In *Epistle* 2. 1, where Horace's letter to Augustus indicates his entry upon a career of literary criticism,<sup>18</sup> we find a passage where the superiority of Homer is conceded primarily on the score of age. Juvenal (7. 38) alludes to the same idea. We find Juvenal's incurable *scribendi cacoethes* (52) recalling Horace's irresistible *amor scribendi* (*Sat.* 2. 1. 10); we see Juvenal's discussion of poetic inspiration in 53 ff. cast in almost the same terms as Horace's similar discussions (*Sat.* 1. 4. 39–44 and *AP* 409–10)<sup>19</sup> and crowned by Juvenal's specific mention of Horace by name (62). Can we resist the conclusion that in this passage at least Horace's thoughts on the possibility of shifts in career were very much on Juvenal's mind?

Did the five factors which were shown above to affect other poets indeed exercise some influence on Juvenal, and, more importantly, does he allude in any way to them in his writing? In this connection a brief passage from *Satire* 6 (634–37) is worth examining:

fingimus haec altum satura sumente coturnum  
scilicet, et finem egressi legemque priorum  
grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu  
montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino.

It is no overstatement to say that here we have a clear reply to criticism. It is indeed ironic that Juvenal, who vigorously criticized tragedy as not worth writing because it bore no relation to the truth, should find

16. J. E. B. Mayor, *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, I (London and Cambridge, 1881), 281.

17. Highet, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 370, 375, 377.

18. We should note that Book 1 of the *Epistles* ends with an *apologia pro vita sua*.

19. See also Hor. *Odes* 2. 8. 10. The fact that *vena* here has its only metaphorical use in Juvenal lends support to the hypothesis. See n. 24.

his own *Satires* similarly criticized. He could well be assuming for his work the high moral fervor of Sophoclean drama, thus making satire do work of which his predecessors had not conceived. Of interest also is the fact that Juvenal uses words and phrases remarkably similar to those of Horace, who also had to reply to his critics. Juvenal's *finem egressi legemque priorum* is an echo of Horace's *ultra legem tendere opus* (*Sat.* 2. 1. 1–2).<sup>20</sup> In any case, this concession by Juvenal to public opinion is very rare and ought to be given great weight.<sup>21</sup> Though this rejoinder to criticism was intended to apply particularly to the exposure of the scandalous details of *Satire* 6, it is likely to refer equally to the five *Satires* of Book 1, which were published, according to most computations,<sup>22</sup> at least five years earlier. If this is the case, it would give point to Juvenal's own anticipation of adverse public reaction as shown in *Sat.* 1. 150 ff., especially 166: "rubet auditor cui frigida mens est / criminibus." His disarming promise to confine his attacks to the dead is also on the surface a concession to public opinion.<sup>23</sup>

Though Juvenal entertained no real doubts as to his poetic abilities—he too, after all, went to school (*Sat.* 1. 15–16)—he knew that optimum conditions were desirable for the enhancement of a poetic, or for that matter any academic or professional, career. His discussion (*Sat.* 7. 53–65) of the role played by genius ("cui non sit publica vena") and by freedom from anxiety on the poet's part ("vatem egregium . . . anxietate carens animus facit") gives powerful support to such a conclusion. Here also there is verbal

correspondence with a passage in Horace (*AP* 409, *studium sine divite vena*), where he discusses the relative contributions of native intelligence (*natura*) and practice (*ars*).<sup>24</sup>

Juvenal's assurance of his poetic powers might not have permitted him to admit doubts so explicitly as Horace (*Epist.* 1. 1, *Odes* 1. 6), but this discussion betrays a mind which has given serious thought to the problems of poetic endeavor. There can be no doubt that this discussion indicates a period of reassessment, probably at a convenient point after the publication of two books, even if there is no obvious indication of the poet's future direction.

Juvenal tells us so little of himself that it is difficult to say with certainty what changes, if any, occurred in his financial and social position during his period of writing and publishing, and even more difficult to refer any such changes to particular contexts in his own works. Perhaps the clearest reference to his personal situation comes late in his works, in *Satire* 11, where in the course of his dinner invitation to Persicus he mentions his farm at Tibur (65). His affectionate tone when he refers to his slaves (152–55) betrays a mood of contentment and repose far different from what can be inferred from his earlier *Satires*, especially Book 1. The mood of poverty and dispossession which pervades the first book contrasts markedly with the comparative serenity of *Satire* 11, and one cannot help agreeing with Highet that at last the old man "has enough to live on in a modest way, instead of sinking deeper into poverty as he grows older."<sup>25</sup> Because Juvenal does not mention how or when he acquired his

20. Cf. J. D. Duff, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. xxxiii.

21. See Highet, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 290–94, on Juvenal's use of proper names in his *Satires*.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 294.

24. Is Juvenal embarking here on a career as literary critic

like his predecessor Horace? His discussion of literature in the first part of this *Satire* and the fact that he introduces his own career with a review of contemporary literature (1. 1–14) lend a certain plausibility to the hypothesis.

25. Highet, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 17.



farm, we cannot say with certainty how it affected his poetic career. But in light of the change of attitude which Horace experienced after obtaining his farm through the generosity of Maecenas, it is highly unlikely that freedom from anxiety (Juvenal's own words) did not at least mitigate the bitterness which characterized the early Satires of Juvenal. While his new sense of security might not have made him shout *euhoë* like Horace (7. 62), it would certainly provide a base for the more positive outlook which has been seen to pervade his later Satires, especially *Satire* 8.<sup>26</sup>

*Satire* 7. 48 ff., quoted above in another connection, can bear further examination as a pointer to the future direction of Juvenal's concern. It is instructive to compare verses 48-49, "nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos / ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro," with the indignant outburst which begins *Satire* 1 (1-2), "semper ego auditor tantum? Numquamne reponam / vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?" The change in Juvenal's attitude to his fellow poets is striking. In the First *Satire* Juvenal is an outsider, merely a listener preparing to take his revenge for hours of boredom at their hands, and contemptuously dismissing their work as destructive of paper (18). The suffering and futility he has experienced in common with his fellow poets at the hands of inadequate patrons (*Sat.* 7 *passim*) make him more sympathetic to his associate craftsmen.<sup>27</sup> There is no evidence in Juvenal's *Satires* that he belonged to a school of poets such as Martial mentions more than once (3. 20. 8, 4. 61. 3), but it is likely that he knew

of the existence of such schools. His *o iuvenes* (7. 20) must refer to some coterie of aspiring poets, and it would be the most natural thing for Juvenal to give some advice, sincere or ironic, to such a group, as Vergil, Horace, and Martial sometimes did to their younger friends.<sup>28</sup> Juvenal, after all, was acutely aware of the passage of time which might have been profitably spent in some more lucrative pursuits, and it is possible that much of his advice to poets in *Satire* 7 stemmed from a desire to warn young aspirants of the critical lack of opportunities open to an intellectual career. His discussion of the optimum conditions for poetic production (7. 53 ff.) is one of the earliest passages to foreshadow his new mood. For the first time, he offers positive recommendations based on the realities of the contemporary situation.<sup>29</sup>

One other remarkable feature of *Satire* 7 is a significant clue to the scope of Juvenal's new interest. Throughout the *Satire* we find specific groups being addressed, some directly (*o iuvenes* [20], *historiarum scriptores* [98-99]), others indirectly ("dic igitur quid causidicis civilia praestent / officia" [106], *fidimus eloquio?* [139], *declamare doces?* [150]), as Juvenal deals individually with groups in which he has a special interest. The contrast with the first four Satires of Book 1, where he declaims to the world at large, is marked.<sup>30</sup> Among the poems of Book 1, we come closest in *Satire* 5 to the device of an individual addressee, while in *Satire* 6, which purports to be inspired by the impending marriage of Postumus, the apparent addressee, Juvenal very soon abandons that fiction. On the other hand,

26. *Ibid.*, p. 114. Cf. also Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 155.

27. Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 153, states, "... this satirist of Book 3 expresses so much sympathy for the formal poets that in one instance he even identifies himself with them (48-49)."

28. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 54-55 (encouragement from Vergil),

*Epist.* 2. 2 and *AP passim*, *Epist.* 1. 3, 1. 4; Martial 1. 25, 3. 38, 5. 56.

29. Anderson, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 155.

30. In *Sat.* 3 the voice is Umbricius' but the sentiments are Juvenal's. Other apostrophes, e.g., *Gradive* (2. 128) and *Crispine* (3. 24), are merely rhetorical.

a quick glance at Book 5 will show all four *Satires* having definite addressees mentioned within the first few verses (in 14, 15, and 16 in the very first verse), while the fiction of discussing a matter with a specific individual is more or less kept up throughout these *Satires*. It appears that in Book 5 we see the culmination of a process which started about the time when Juvenal began Book 3 of the *Satires*, a gradual evolution of a satiric form which bears an uncanny resemblance to a Horatian epistle.

The resemblance of *Satire* 8 to a Horatian epistle has already been observed. Anderson<sup>31</sup> notes the dedication to an "unknown Ponticus and discussion of a principle presumably dear to that august-sounding name" and notes too the fact that the satirist deals with a positive doctrine, the true meaning of *nobilitas*. He also cites with approval those critics who refer to Juvenal 11 as the most Horatian of Juvenal's works. It can be shown that most of the *Satires* of the last three books reproduce the form, tone, and spirit of a Horatian epistle. Without examining all the *Satires* in detail, it will be sufficient to look at a few features common to Juvenal's later *Satires* and to the Horatian epistle.

First, the addressee. All the *Satires* of Juvenal's Book 5 have an addressee introduced by name in the first verse, except 13, certainly an unusual and unique beginning for what purports to be satire. Of the six *Satires* of Books 3 and 4, four are directed at a specific addressee, three of these named in the first verse, the fourth deferred (11. 57). Of the other two, *Satire* 7 we have seen was directed to various groups, while *Satire* 10 briefly reverts to the form of the diatribe.

Second, the opening format. The eight epistolary *Satires* (8–16, omitting 10),

have either a rhetorical question (8, 13, 15, and 16) or a proposition advanced for the sake of argument. The fact that many of Juvenal's addressees cannot now be identified should not be seriously advanced as proof of their nonexistence. The proposal of a subject for rational discussion is a strong contrast in tone to the blanket condemnation of almost any topic as exemplified in Books 1 and 2 and is more in keeping with the mood of calm deliberation associated with Horace's *Epistles* than with Juvenal's early *Satires*. Thus we find Juvenal calmly discussing the value of pedigrees, true nobility, crime and conscience, education by example, and pity as a human quality, a list of philosophic themes which agrees well with what Horace declares more than once (*Epist.* 1. 1. 11, 1. 2. 3) to be his main concern. It is characteristic of Juvenal to concentrate on practical effects rather than theory, a habit which, combined with his rhetorical techniques, tends to overshadow the theoretical content.

A major characteristic of the epistolary form is the author's tendency to maintain the fiction of a personal letter by small touches designed to emphasize the individuality of the supposed recipient. Among these touches are references to the age, personal preferences, social circumstances, and special interests of the addressee. Thus in *Satire* 8 we find references to the social and family circumstances of Rubellius Blandus (*tumes alto Drusorum stemmate*, 40) and to the bond of interest between Juvenal as mentor and Ponticus as ward ("sed te censeri laude tuorum, / Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae / laudis agas," 74–76). So too in *Satire* 11. 183–85 we have an insight into the friendly relations which existed between Juvenal and Persicus, relations similar to those between Horace

31. See n. 29.

and Torquatus (*Epist.* 1. 5. 9–11) and expressed in similar language. Indeed the entire final section of Juvenal's Eleventh Satire is devoted to the interests of the addressee, showing the poet's concern for Persicus' mental state, his need for relaxation, and his wife's and slaves' behavior. *Satire* 13 is even more replete with instances of that particularization which belongs to the epistolary form. Thus we have references to Calvinus' wealth ("sed nec / tam tenuis census tibi contigit," 6–7; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1. 4. 7, "di tibi divitias dederunt"), his temperament (13–15), and his age (17). In fact the entire opening section, like the closing section of *Satire* 11, deals with the special circumstances of the addressee.

The final and most striking link between Horace's *Epistles* and Juvenal's later Satires is the correspondence in the attitudes of the authors, as shown by the similarity of language in certain significant passages. Compare, for example, Horace

*Epistle* 1. 2. 59–63, "qui non moderabitur irae . . . ira furor brevis est; animum rege, qui nisi paret, / imperat: hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena," with Juvenal 8. 88–89, "pone irae frena modumque / pone et avaritiae."<sup>32</sup> In other places, the thought is similar, though the language may differ: for example, Juvenal (7. 190 ff.) appropriates for the lucky man Horace's ironic description of the *sapiens* (*Epist.* 1. 1. 106–108). At Juvenal 11. 35–36 we also have in "noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus / in summis minimisque" a reminiscence of Horace's sentiment, "metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est" (*Epist.* 1. 7. 98). This is followed by a strong verbal recollection of Horace's "mundus victus non deficiente crumina" (*Epist.* 1. 4. 11). These verbal correspondences and the attitude of mind they imply tend to give strong support to the argument of this essay.

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32. Other significant verbal similarities are: Juvenal 10. 50–*Epist.* 2. 1. 244, Juvenal 11. 38–*Epist.* 1. 4. 11, and Juvenal 14. 25–*Epist.* 1. 2. 42.