*Transactions of the American Philological Assocation 119 (1989) 287–298*

# GREED AND SACRIFICE IN JUVENAL'S TWELFTH SATIRE

WARREN S. SMITH
*The University of New Mexico*

The Twelfth Satire of Juvenal presents some unusual problems.[1] To many readers it seems to lack unity; it has been called the "weakest" of Juvenal's efforts, and even "one of the strangest productions in Latin literature."[2] Its loose, discursive style, its surprising shifts in perspective and emphasis, have contributed to the poem's inferior status as one of the least read and discussed of Juvenal's satires. The implications of each part only gradually unfold; much is expected on the part of the reader's critical reaction to its changes. The poem therefore profits from being read according to the principles of changing perspective described by Wolfgang Iser:

> As a rule, there are four main perspectives in narration: those of the narrator, the characters, the plot, and the fictitious reader. Although these may differ in order of importance, none of them on its own is identical to the meaning of the text, which is to be brought about by their constant intertwining through the reader in the reading process. [3]

In our reading of the Twelfth Satire, the meaning of the text will emerge for the attentive reader who notes the emerging roles of the two main characters in the little drama. These are the narrator: pious countryman performing sacrifices; anxious greeter of his returning friend; or apparently isolated from society, and cynical commentator on the greed and luxury of contemporary life. Catullus:

[1] The following studies will be referred to by author's name only: J. Adamietz "Juvenals 12. Satire," *Hommages à Jean Cousin* (Paris 1983) 237–48; F. Cairns *Generic Composition in Greek and Latin Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972); E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (London 1980); J. De Decker, *Juvenalis Declamans* (Gand 1913); G. Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (New York 1961 [1954)]; E. Ramage, "Juvenal Satire 12: On Friendship True and False," *ICS* 3 (1978) 221–37; N. Rudd, *Themes in Roman Satire* (London 1986). I am grateful to Prof. Ramage and the editor and anonymous readers for *TAPA* whose very detailed critiques helped in the preparation of this paper.

[2] Courtney 518 ("weakest"); W. C. Helmbold, *CP* 51 (1956) 15 ("strangest"). H. Wilson, *D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturarum Libri V* (1903): "...weakness, ambiguity and obscurity...." De Decker 81 notes its disproportionate digressions and argues that the length of the second part stifles the true subject of the satire. Ramage, however, finds in the poem "...a cohesive, coherent study of friendship" (237). Similarly D. Wiesen, *Latomus* 22 (1963) 459: "...the purity and altruism of his feeling for his friend dominates the poem and prevents the less inspired portions from becoming oppressive."

[3] W. Iser, "Interaction Between Text and Reader," *The Reader in the Text*, ed. Suleiman and Crosman (Princeton 1980) 113.

affectionate returning friend; timid and ineffectual sailor; businessman and dealer in luxury items; worthless as an object of legacy-hunting. These aspects of the contrasting personalities emerge as the two interact, though they never physically meet.

What then is the "plot," the background against which they interact? The Twelfth Satire, it has been recently argued, formally falls into the genre of prosphonetikon or "speech of a welcomer," as defined in the influential study of "generic criticism" by Francis Cairns.[4] Appropriately for Cairns' analysis, in the opening 16 lines of the poem, and again in lines 85–94, the narrator celebrates the return home of his friend Catullus after a perilous sea voyage (recounted in detail, in lines 17–82). However, the problems of this classification become increasingly evident as the poem progresses. The homecoming and reunion are never presented or developed in an explicit or satisfactory way, though the dangers undergone by the friend at sea, and his narrow escape from them, receive great prominence, as do the details of the sacrifices at home. In the closing section of the poem (95–130) the narrator's sarcastic denunciation of legacy-hunting forces the reader to reassess our initial impression of his personality and of the intent of the poem.

The initial setting of the poem leads us to expect a joyous welcome home for the narrator's friend. Yet Catullus and the narrator are never actually reunited (except insofar as reunion is implied by the bare word *reditu* in 94); though the narrator is glad that Catullus is safe (the poem begins, unequivocally, on a note of joy), he has no eager expectation of meeting his friend again. In fact, the clear implication (37ff.) that Catullus' profession is that of merchant, indeed a trader in luxury goods, creates an incompatibility between his business world and the narrator's old-fashioned Roman values.

In the opening line of the poem, Juvenal's narrator expresses his sense of pleasure (*dulcior haec lux*) at the festive day awaiting him; after a long description of sacrifices, we finally discover (line 15) that the narrator's pleasure is owing to the safe return from sea of his friend Catullus, who is, however, not actually named until line 29. The initial focus is on the narrator's offering to the gods (*deis*, 2) the Capitoline triad: Juno (*reginae*, 3), Minerva ("she who fights with the aegis," 4) and Tarpeian Jove (6). The calf in line 7 is feisty, full of fighting spirit like Minerva; it pulls on a rope and butts, and tries out its horns on a tree. If the narrator had the means (*si res ampla domi*, 10) he would provide a bull "fatter than Hispulla," weighed down by its bulk, from the pastures of Clitumnus. The modest farm supplying all the narrator's needs is like Horace's Sabine farm (Horace *Serm.*2.6.4., *nil amplius oro*). Juvenal's narrator then, has a kind of "Horatian" persona espousing the simple life, and two of Juvenal's typical moods, nostalgia and cultural chauvinism, are here present in understated form, as the poet emphasizes the fighting spirit and simplicity of the past.

There is an obvious analogy in theme to the Eleventh Satire where the narrator is at home, enjoying the pleasures of his farm. There, despite his lack of riches, he lives in the midst of abundance; he has, for example, a kid whose smallness is emphasized by the diminutive form (*haedulus*, 11.66) yet which is distended by milk (*pinguissimus*, 65, cf. 68). The narrator of Satire Eleven prepares to share his food and drink with his friend Persicus; however, his attitude

[4] Cairns 18ff.; Courtney 516. Both of these, however, note the conformity to the genre, not Juvenal's aberrations from or parodies of it. Ramage, 223 n. 10, sees the poem as a fusion of *prosphonetikon* and *soteria* ("thanksgiving").

toward him has an edge of sarcasm and hostility (further discussion below), thus paralleling the attitude toward Catullus in 12. In both satires, the tone of the description of his farm and its animals is earthy and realistic, whereas the doings of the outside world are kept at a distance, looked on with scepticism; this is one of the dichotomies which will continue to inform the rest of the poem. The Twelfth Satire expands on the jaded tone of the eleventh; Catullus, the friend, is never directly addressed, much less welcomed— a reminder of the narrator's detachment from him.

At line 15 the narrator's friend Catullus, though as yet unnamed, abruptly enters the poem shaken and trembling, and amazed that he is still alive: *ob reditum trepidantis adhuc horrendaque passi / nuper et incolumen sese mirantis amici* (15–16). At last we here discover that the narrator's sacrifices are performed in honor of the return of a friend. What is the tone of this passage? *amicus* in its various forms is one of the most common nouns in Juvenal,[5] occurring some 38 times and nearly always, with the single exception of 6.510, at the end of the line. Such a closing position for *amicus* is also normal in Vergil (of 19 instances in the *Aeneid*, 16 at line's end), Horace (36 instances in the *Sermones*, 31 of them at line's end), and Persius (four instances, always at line's end); thus Juvenal adopts what is already a tendency in Latin hexameter, but he gives it a striking effect of his own by regularly using *amicus* for some sardonic antithesis which belies, undercuts, or otherwise stands in contrast to the expected connotation of the word.[6] Significantly, "friendship" is often used by Juvenal of relationships made possible, or necessitated, by the most selfish motives. So in *Sat.* 1. 33, 146; 3. 57, 87, 101, 107, 116, 121; 5.32, 113, 134, 140, 146, 173; 7.74; 10.46; and finally in its second use (line 96) of *Sat.* 12, here under consideration. This ironic connotation of *amicus*, to describe a relationship which, in reality, is merely self-serving, is the most common use of the word in Juvenal. But even in cases where genuine friendship is involved, Juvenal tends to use the word ironically, balancing it by a negative emotion, usually in the same line, and always in close context. This tendency of Juvenal's reinforces our suspicion of an anti-climactic twist to *amici* in 12.16, a suspicion more than justified by the outcome.

We may seek another clue from *Sat.* 14. 64–65. Here the poet mocks a man so obsessed with his friend's sensibilities that he loses track of the needs of his family: *ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino / atria displiceant oculis venientis amici. Trepidus* and *trepido* have a sarcastic tone: in Juvenal these words frequently convey guilty or comical fears experienced by characters whom the

[5] Pointed out by Courtney 26. The peculiar bias of Juvenal is noted by Rudd 156, "In Juvenal, the various aspects of *amicitia* are accomodated within his general framework of complaint." Again: "The *salutatio* and the *cena*, ceremonies designed to express respect and goodwill, are treated by Juvenal as occasions of humiliation." (157). Other varied uses of *amicus* in Juvenal: the word is used sarcastically of relationships between homosexuals (2.134; 9.62, 130) and two other despised characters (8.152). In 6.214, 313, 510 the contrast is between the selfishness or insensitivity of wives and the dignity of friendship. In four other passages (3.112; 13.15, 60; 16.28) supposed friends behave in non-friendly fashion. In other passages sadness is juxtaposed with friendship: 3.1 the narrator is distressed at the departure of his friend; 10.234 the senile victim cannot recognize friends, 15.134 the wretched spectacle of a friend pleading his case in court.

[6] See further De Decker 160–64: "Sententiae antithétiques."

poet ridicules, cf. 1.36, 2.64, 9.130 (where note *amicus* ironically used at line's end), 13.106, 13.223. Thus 14.64–65, especially when read in the light of these other passages, contains two clues which may inform our reading of 12.15–16: Juvenal's sympathy for an underdog is often mixed with scorn; the "trembling" character is mocked for his very weakness, and often has guilty reasons for his fear; the mention of a "friend" in Juvenal is hardly ever unambivalent, but calls attention to an incongruity.

Let us return now to 12.15–16. *Amici* is long separated from the noun which governs it (*reditum*, 10 words earlier); in between the two nouns, the words of fearing and danger pile up; *amici* becomes an almost comic anticlimax. For fifteen lines we have been waiting for an explanation of the sacrifices, and thus the word *amici* claims all our attention; at this friend's late entry we smile, as we do at the introduction of the "mouse" in Horace's famous phrase (*A. P.* 139) or in Juvenal, at surprises like 6.022 (*adulter*) or 5.146 (*amicis*).

The poet consistently maintains a tongue-in-cheek attitude toward Catullus' fearfulness, which stands in amusing contrast with the fighting spirit of the deities and animals in the opening lines (cf. *pugnanti*, 4, *petulans*, 5, *coruscat*, 6, *ferox*, 7, *vexat*, 9). Animals, in particular, keep up their fighting spirit even though they are doomed to die (*spargendus*, 8, picked up by *ferienda*, 14), whereas the man threatened at sea is terrified at the prospect of death (*horrendaque*, 15, balancing *ferienda* in a similar position in the previous line, inviting parallelism of thought, cf. *attonitus*, 21, *spes vitae...redit*, 70).

Most often, the narrator at home awaiting his friend fears that he may be in danger on the road or at sea, and prays for the reunion; then the reunion is actually envisioned, with drinking, dancing, and embracing.[7] Where are such elements in Juvenal? Courtney finds "expressions of affection" between the two men in lines 16 and 29, and Cairns in 1, 16, 93–95; but all these "expressions" pay the merest lip-service to friendship and lack any emphasis. Moreover, the few words which suggest intimacy co-exist uneasily with the subtly sardonic, mocking tone with which Catullus is described in the remainder of the poem. Consider some examples. *Dulcior* in line 1, as I have argued, indicates the narrator's delight in the festive day, which is in honor of his friend's return; yet such delight is quickly buried in the concerns of the rest of the poem. Again, as I argue, the position of *amici* in line 16, while certainly emphatic, has rather a comic force, seemingly to deflate Catullus rather than impress us with his status as a close friend. In line 29, *nostro...Catullo* is as close as Juvenal's narrator comes in the poem to an affectionate epithet for his friend, though since this phrase immediately follows a digression, *nostro* is deprived of its full emphasis by the syntactical need for it to convey the additional neutral meaning of "Catullus who is the subject of our poem" (as opposed to the generalized *multis* of 26).[8]

Later, in lines 93–95, the narrator teases us by implying that he has pure motives in welcoming his friend home, yet he so emphasizes the negative as to seem to downgrade Catullus' worth, assuring us that he is not about to fleece Catullus out of his fortune (which is already committed to his family) and that

[7] "The normal welcomer expects to embrace and kiss the returned traveller," Cairns 29. For further examples see R. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book I* (Oxford 1975 [1970]) 401–2; also A *Commentary on Horace Odes Book II* (Oxford 1978) 287.

[8] So Ferguson, *Juvenal: The Satires*, (New York 1979) 294.

there is no profit in friendship with such a man. This last point is of course made sarcastically, as a judgment on the manipulative ways of legacy-hunters, but the sarcasm has a kind of double edge since Catullus' character, his intrinsic desirability as a friend, is not introduced as a balance to correct the negative impression left by this remark.[9]

Thirdly, though clearly in some sense Catullus does return home (*reditum*, 15, *reditu*, 94) the word is confined to the strict sense of a return to dry land after the perils at sea, and never clearly emcompasses a reunion. The narrator's sacrifices and setting up of altars celebrate Catullus' return not in the flesh, but only as an abstract fact; there is no explicit mention of any *cena adventicia* for the arriving Catullus, no "wine, dancing, flowers, girls" which are often a part of symposia;[10] or any prospect of even such simple entertainment as he offers Persicus in 11.56ff.. The farthest announced goal reached by Catullus and his fellow-travellers is the port of Ostia (75–82) where they shave their heads and rejoice in long-winded tales. There the narrator leaves them as he busies himself with his work on the farm (83ff.).

Juvenal structures his poem so that lines 15–29, dealing with Catullus' fears at sea (the general reflection at 29 bridges this section and the next) exactly balance the opening 14 lines of the poem, which record the narrator's delight in his sacrifices; this creates a natural antithesis which invites the reader to compare the two characters. Juvenal's narrator catalogues the fears of Catullus and his fellow-sailors with biased asides which diminish the urgency of the crisis by encouraging the reader to share the narrator's detachment from it. *Poetica...tempestas* in 23–24 suggests that the victims are exaggerating their account, cf. 6.634–40; *crederet*, 20, and *putaret*, 21, smile at the ignorance of the amateur sailors who supposed that they were "as good as dead" (*percussum*, 20) and that no one had ever been through such an ordeal (21–22). The exhortation to "take pity" on Catullus, line 25, is qualified at once by *quamquam*: there is no need for us to share in the horror felt by these wretches, considering how commonplace such adventures at sea really are. The narrator cynically shrugs off his friend's concern about his safety: if you are fool enough to risk a sea-voyage, this kind of thing is bound to happen.[11] Such double-edged messages typify the poet whose narrator, in *Sat.* 11.183–92, can urge Persicus to come over to his house and relax, then seems deliberately to needle Persicus by suggesting that he is in debt, that his wife is unfaithful, that his slaves break and lose things, and that his friends are ungrateful. In both satires the farm is a haven from the corruption of the outside world; outsiders threaten to disrupt that haven by bringing with them their problems (Persicus in 11) and tainted values (Catullus in 12).

Poems of welcome, as Cairns has noted, sometimes include a humorous hint that the returning friend's tales of danger are exaggerated (Ovid, *Amores* 2.11.53, Propertius 1.8.5–6, Catullus 9.8).[12] The skepticism of Juvenal's

[9] I find unacceptable the view of Adamietz (243) that the two men are kindred spirits: "Der reiche Catullus, der sich von seinem Vermögen zu lösen vermag, findet seine Entsprechung im Dichter."

[10] Nisbet and Hubbard 1975 (above, note 7) 402.

[11] On Juvenal's attitude toward Catullus and the storm I agree with Highet (135) against Adamietz (240–41) who thinks J. praises C. sincerely for his sacrifice: "...die Erhaltung des Lebens ist ihm das wichtigste Gut" (241).

[12] Cairns p. 22 category 13.

narrator toward Catullus lacks the affectionate tone of the earlier writers as, after his initial joy at his return, he starts to build up a case against him.[13] Moreover, as part of the convention, one expects panic from the *puellae* of the elegists when they first go to sea (cf. Juvenal's amusing variation on this in 6.98ff. *si iubeat coniunx, durum est conscendere navem...*); such panic, when applied to men, is the cause for derision rather than affection: the seemingly inexperienced, even effeminate crew have an exaggerated fear, perhaps a sign of their guilty conscience, as with the wrongdoers of *Sat.* 13.223ff. who think that every flash of lightning is a prelude to divine punishment. The sailors empty their ship of its luxury goods and then, having discarded their entire "floating department store," strip off their own clothes as well, to make a sail (*vestibus extentis,* 68). The realism of the crisis at sea in Tacitus' *Annals* 2.23 should be contrasted with Juvenal's self-described *poetica tempestas.* In Tacitus, the rough soldiers discard not jars and fine clothes but *equi, iumenta, sarcinae, etiam arma,* masculine-sounding baggage as one might expect on a military transport, and heavy enough so that the loss would serve a practical purpose. In Juvenal the jettisoning of baggage seems not so much practical as dragged in to serve a moral lesson: human life is worth more than fine clothes. Yet there is something absurd and incongruous in pondering this choice at such a desperate moment; Catullus the obsessed merchant is surely no philosopher; he is more reminiscent of Eumolpus, the incurable verse-maker in Petronius *Satyricon* 115.6–8, reluctant to abandon ship in a crisis until he can polish the last lines of his poem. In lines 33–34 Catullus *decidere iactu coepit / cum ventis*; the winds appear as cruel creditors, demanding total sacrifice from Catullus in order to let him off in court. Such depiction of the winds pitted against the hapless sailor suggests a rhetorical topos,and indeed in [Quintilian] *Declamatio* 12.23 we find a similar conceit: the winds are prejudiced against the sailor who pleads for mercy, and who then is exhorted, if nothing else is possible, *decidere cum tempestate* (23), to escape from the hostile winds by "settling" with them (cf. also Seneca, *Controversia* 8.6., *quantum sibi iratum redderet mare*) [14]. Here and more explicitly below (48–49), Catullus, the shrewd businessman, is praised for his supposedly unique willingness to give up his wealth in exchange for his life; yet apparently if the stakes had been any less desperate, he would have made no sacrifice. He is compared to a beaver who cuts off his own testicles, i.e. that part of him which contains "castor oil,"[15] in order to avoid his pursuers (another

[13] A point obscured by Highet, who makes the curious remark in summarizing this poem: "it is a relief to see the old man—though still a pessimist—mellowing a little and sitting at his ease with a few disillusioned but faithful friends" (137). The unfolding perspective on Catullus corresponds to what Iser calls "reciprocal modification...that ultimately transforms the textual perspectives..." "Interaction" (above, note 3) 115.

[14] See De Decker, 64–65, who includes this passage from *Sat.* 12 as an example of a rhetorical device whereby human weakness is excused by external compulsion.

[15] In Persius 5.135, *castoreum* is actually listed as one of the luxury items which *Avaritia* urges the lazy man to import. (Compare also the attitude of the sage Bias in Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 1.8). Juvenal's climactic surprise in 36: *Adeo medicatum intelligit inguen,* suggests 1.41 *partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.* There, to have a large sexual tool earns one a large income. In

possible Petronian reminiscence: Giton's attempt at self-castration at sea in *Satyricon* 108). In a famous radio skit, Jack Benny hesitated when a stick-up man demanded, "Your money or your life." Like Jack Benny, Catullus chooses life, but the loss of his goods is like losing a vital part of his anatomy.

Catullus is now quoted, for the first and only time in the poem: *'fundite quae mea sunt' dicebat 'cuncta' Catullus* (37). The position of *cuncta* has a comic effect: Juvenal makes him hesitate slightly before he blurts out his willingness to part with "everything." *Quae mea sunt* is emphatic and seems to echo Persius 5.113–14, on the meaning of true liberty: *'haec mea sunt, teneo' cum vere dixeris, esto / liberque ac sapiens praetoribus ac Iove dextro.* Persius, unlike Juvenal's Catullus, scorns luxury items as not personal, as not being a "true" part of the real human being.

The goods thrown away by Catullus include purple clothing *teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam* (39) fit for Maecenas, patron of Vergil and Horace, who was famous for his effeminacy, luxury, and hypochondria, and also for his cowardly prayer that he might cling to life though it be in a deformed, maimed, or tortured position—a prayer which much aroused the scorn of Seneca (Ep. 101.11).[16] The reference to Maecenas also calls attention to the analogy in theme betwen this satire and Horace *Carm.* 1.20, in which the poet invites Maecenas over to celebrate his return from a dangerous illness (while apologizing for the moderate fare which he will serve his friend the *eques*). The contrast with Horace is also evident; Juvenal's narrator, a seemingly "Horatian" figure, yet will not make accomodations to people like Maecenas.

The closely juxtaposed eunuch beaver and effeminate Maecenas suggest both sexual abnormality and refinement, with luxury further suggested by Spanish wool (40–42) and jars big enough to satisfy the thirst of Pholus or the wife of Fuscus; moreover there were other jars (47) "from which the clever briber of Olynthus had drunk," a line which recalls King Philip in two capacities: as heavy drinker and as cynical, crafty manipulator. These hits at heavy drinking (compare the alcoholic wives derided in *Sat.* 6.298–305, 425–32) are a humorous substitution for what never occurs in *Sat.* 12: drinking as a token of celebration over the reunion of the two friends. Instead the goods of Catullus, the loss of which turns him into a eunuch beaver, serve merely as a reminder of the corruption from which the narrator, busy with sacrifices, seems so remote: effeminacy, luxury, conspicuous consumption, and bribery (the reference to Philip's bribery also looks ahead to the cynicism of legacy-hunters derided below).

All of Catullus' desperate efforts in jettisoning the cargo appear to be insufficient: *iactatur rerum utilium pars maxima, sed nec / damna levant* (52–53). The luxury items, hardly "useful" (*utilium*) goods in any case, are useless in saving his life, yet even their loss does not help. The winds are after all like pitiless creditors ready to accept only a total sacrifice, i.e. of the ship itself: *tunc adversis urguentibus illuc/ reccidit ut malum ferro summitteret...*(53b–54a) (cf. Quintilian 6.4.17 *instant enim [adversarii] et saepe discrimen omne committunt, quod deesse nobis putant....*where the opposing lawyers in court press their advantage). Catullus faces the ultimate adversary, winds which will listen to no

*Sat.* 12, the beaver's sexual organs bring ready cash. Ironically, without his property Catullus becomes incomplete, a sort of eunuch beaver.

[16] For a full account of Maecenas, K. Reckford, "Horace and Maecenas," *TAPA* 90 (1959) 195–208, esp. 198 (on his hypochondria).

compromise but demand total sacrifice; *ferro summitteret* (54) makes the cutting of the mast seem almost like a castration or sexual violation (cf. the "eunuch beaver" of 33–36 and the connotations suggested in Juvenal's other uses of *summitto*, 1.36, 6.207 and 6.334).

The *discrimen* given so much emphasis in the travails of Catullus (*genus ecce aliud discriminis audi*, 24; *discriminis ultima*, 55) neatly alludes both to the crisis or turning point in which the storm places him, as well as to the crucial "test" in which he finds himself, as though on trial, pitted against the merciless winds as adversaries.[17] Ironically, the winds give up their case only after Catullus has completely run out of ammunition to use against them (*inopi miserabilis arte*, 67); the "skill" with which he puts up his final defence is actually completely "artless" (*inopi*), and helpless as he is, he wins their pity (*miserabilis*) by throwing himself on the mercy of the court. Thereupon the winds "run out of resources, are beaten," (*deficientibus austris*, 69: cf. *Sat.* 11.199, 7.129). The humor of these legal overtones is subtle and understated. Catullus "bargaining" with the winds befits a man whose sea voyage is part of a business proposition. He is so enmeshed in his role that he deals with the very elements as though they were competitors whom he was facing in court. Though his dangers are real enough, he is not a man whose struggles arouse pity and fear; rather we chuckle at his frantic efforts; the mood is Petronian, recalling the struggles of Encolpius and his companions at sea in *Satyricon* 114.

After the worst of the sailors' crisis is over (55) the narrator draws back to draw a moral (57–61): go ahead and commit your life to a narrow, frail ship, but along with the provisions you had better bring along some axes for use in a tempest (*accipe sumendas in tempestate secures*, 61). These lines insist on the paradox so central to the storm-narrative: be willing to jettison and lose all, even chop up the ship itself, if you wish to have hope of retaining what is important. The ironic tone is exactly parallel to the more concise passage in 10.310–11: *i nunc et iuvenis specie laetare tui, quem / maiora expectant discrimina*. Sexual attractiveness puts one at tremendous risk, as much as the risk of trying to win a quick fortune at sea.

And now that the storm is indeed over, (*sed postquam iacuit planum mare*, 62), this wonderful change in fortune is so hammered home by the poet as to turn into mockery: he strings out the miracle over six lines of cliches which examinine it from various angles (62–67); the sea, seasons, fate, Parcae, and winds are all depicted coming round to Catullus' side as though by some cataclysmic shifting of the cosmos.[18] The narrator expresses no relief at the safe homecoming, but transfers this feeling to Catullus himself, thereby suggesting that relief itself is the reaction of a coward.

In 70b–82 we have Catullus' slow progress in a crippled ship past Mt. Alba into the port of Ostia. Heroic references are introduced comically as the wonderful sow which welcomes the Trojans in *Aeneid* 3.390, with its thirty offspring, becomes in Juvenal a *sumen* (a low word, cf. Courtney 525) with thirty teats which are *numquam visis*, 74 ("never seen before" probably with the double meaning, "figments of the imagination," reflecting Juvenal's skepticism about the wonders reported in myth, cf. *Sat.* 10.173–75; 15.13–26). The wretched sailors are effectively distanced from the heroic deeds of the past, and

[17] *OLD discrimen* 3b, 4 and 5; *deficere* B9c; *urgeo* 8 (to press hard) and 9 (to press with objections, to press one's point in an argument).

[18] Courtney's comment: "Juvenal piles on the heavy irony" (524).

their ruined hulk also is seen in ludicrous contrast with the pleasure boats which frequent the renovated harbor (79–80). The *nautae* (82) shave their heads and tell long-winded stories (*garrula...pericula*, 82, one final sneer at the whole fiasco of the voyage.) Lines 83–92 switch back to the narrator, as he sets up altars and wreaths, pours libations, and lights lamps. One presumes that these are preparations for a *cena* to follow, yet the details of the preliminary ceremony are lingered over as though for their own sake.

Catullus will talk over his harrowing experiences not with the narrator but with his fellow-sailors, presumably over the drinks which are never said to await him at the narrator's home. The narrator's own feelings of relief and joy, implied at the start of the poem, have long since faded away; the harrowing dangers undergone by a trader in luxury goods, dangers which are the direct result of his choice of how to live, have changed the poem's perspective completely.

Significantly, at this very point in the poem (93) Corvinus (his name, recalling a carrion crow, perhaps suggests that he is himself a legacy-hunter, cf. Horace's *corvum hiantem* in *Serm.* 2.5.56, and Courtney 517) is thought likely to raise the possibility that the narrator, in cultivating the friendship of Catullus, has an ulterior motive. Juvenal, in his self-conscious way (compare the objections of the interlocutors at 1.150ff., 5.156, 6.161, 13.174–75) seems, in allowing this objection, to acknowledge that his argument is somehow flawed or incomplete, in other words, that his narrator's friendship with Catullus fails to convince; he has given no plausible reasons for it. Though thus challenged to defend his attitude, he chooses to pledge loyalty to Catullus only in the most understated way. Thus in 95 Catullus has three little children: consequently no one would sacrifice so much as a sick hen to such a "sterile friend," *amico / tam sterili*, 96–97. There is certainly an implied contrast here with the narrator's own sacrifices in the opening lines of the poem, which (we are reassured) were not prompted by mercenary motives; though once again, this point is curiously blunted, removed from any prominence by the *quis* of line 95 (compare the syntactically clearer *quis...alius* of 48). Such a negative, backhanded pledge of loyalty to his friend is quite consistent with the attitude in the remainder of the poem.

Once Catullus reaches land and the narrator completes his sacrifices, the narrative persona takes an unexpected turn: his understated wit gives way to a more openly sarcastic diatribe as he turns to a denunciation of legacy-hunters (who would have no interest in Catullus), the "unrepentant" city-dwelling cynical manipulators of their fellow-man, who are blantantly after money, and whose value-system stands completely outside of the world which the poem has set up so far as an attainable and desirable goal.

The denunciation of Hister Pacuvius and other legacy-hunters, beginning in line 98, is a topos here evidently introduced as a variation on the exposure of the greed of traders in luxury goods. The slippery role of Catullus in this poem becomes increasingly evident once the narrator denounces, in the latter part of the poem, those who would manipulate and exploit innocent victims such as Catullus—the very man whose innocence and uprightness have already been rendered so suspect due to the poet's ironic barbs against his *luxuria*, accompanied by ironic congratulations to Catullus for his moral reform under pressure at sea. The perspective of the poem widens as Catullus's role is fleshed out. Initially he is the timid friend whose homecoming provides the poet with a reason to focus on the narrator's sacrifices, giving us glimpses of his simple, seemingly rustic life; framed in between the two descriptions of the narrator at home, Catullus' harrowing adventures at sea motivate a subtle and ironic attack on luxury; and

finally, because he has children, no one save the (apparently altruistic) narrator has any interest in pursuing his friendship. The existence of his children, who would welcome their father home and whose presence might, in other circumstances, be an occasion for joy, isolates him from his contemporaries, and this isolation points up the hollowness and cynicism of the age.

Legacy-hunters show such lack of restraint that they would even sacrifice elephants (102) as a way of winning their victims, if such beasts were for sale in Latium or anywhere nearby (*venales*, 102). Yet they are available in the Rutulian forest and the field of Turnus, ready to obey none save Caesar alone, having previously served Hannibal and the Molossian king (108). In a sense the elephants are introduced as freaks, alien to the good old Roman ways (with *belua*, 104, cf. 11.126);[19] the judgement is against those who would use such a huge animal in sacrifice. (A close parallel is 11.125–27, where their tusks are eagerly sought.) Ancient writers rather glorified elephants, sometimes ascribing tender human feelings to them; Juvenal's tone in *Sat.* 12 is complex, as it includes admiration, even awe, for the nobility of these gigantic beasts, not subject to any man save only Caesar (with *non venales elephanti*, 102, contrast the corrupt situation of Rome in *Sat.* 3. 183–84, *omnia Romae/ cum pretio)*; their gigantic size matches the unbridled ruthlessness of the crooks who dominate contemporary society, and one might compare the giant fish caught in *Sat.* 4, also a foreign *belua*, 4.127. The elephants may fascinate, but they are not Roman; indeed Juvenal associates them here with the enemies of Rome including Turnus and the Rutulians (1056), Hannibal and Pyrrhus (108), incidentally suggesting a link between Rome's enemies and the *captatores* to whom the elephants are merely one more object to be bought and manipulated.

Catullus parts with his goods, but not necessarily his perilous life of trade; indeed the narrator looks at his action skeptically, since it was done not so much out of real desire to reform as in a desperate move to save his own skin. But he reserves his open scorn for the self-centered legacy-hunters, whose religious feeling is the most blatant sham, and and would perform gigantic and exotic sacrifices at the *Lares* of the sick Gallitta (113). The unscrupulousness of the legacy-hunters is progressively described in a passage paralleling the degeneracy of the adulterous wives in 6.329ff. (with *nulla igitur mora per Novium*, 111, compare *mora nulla per ipsam*, 6.333); these women would even sleep with a slave if no other adulterer happens by when they fling open their doors; failing a slave or a hired water-carrier they would submit to intercourse with an ass (*clunem summittat asello*, 334). Note the similar progression in *Sat.* 12: Pacuvius would place an elephant on the altar, the other would place a slave, a child, or Iphigenia i.e. his own daughter on the altar (119). The initial element of each

[19] Ramage argues (233) that the elephants are "grotesque" and "unnatural" and moreover, of non-Roman origin; (Adamietz [244] similarly calls the elephant a *monstrum*). I can accept this view to some extent, while stressing that Juvenal regards the *captatores* themselves as the real monstrosity, perverting old Roman values. On the dignity and strength of elephants see citations in H. Scullard, *The Elephant in the Greco-Roman World* (Cornell 1974) esp. 208–34. *Sat.* 11. 122–27 attacks the greed of those of those who search for elephant tusks in exotic places—a topic with relevance for the 1980s. *Belua* (11.126, 12.104) stresses the "abnormal size or strangeness" (*OLD*) of these beasts; when the word is used of the giant fish served Domitian, 4.127, again the emphasis is on the outlandish appetite of those who hunt such a beast.

series is already hyperbolic, while the additional progression moves us to an unbelievable height of audacity and crime, with a "slave" each time one of the intermediate phases between man and beast. Self-serving exploitation pulls contemporary man down to a monstrous level.

In *Sat.* 6.286ff. Juvenal blames contemporary Roman moral degeneracy on the influence of *luxuria* (293) and *pecunia* (298) which first introduced unnatural foreign ways to Rome. Wealth and manipulation of one's spouse, forces which rush in to fill the vacuum in the absence of love, are closely juxtaposed in his mind, and this theme closely informs *Sat.* 12 as well, where the tricks of the legacy-hunters to gain money are an obscene parody of a mating ritual (*victis rivalibus*, 12. 126, cf. the bulls competing for the favors of females in Vergil's *Georgic* 3.226–27, *plagasque superbi / victoris*) and any protestation of love is the merest sham. The simplicity and nobility of the older days, seemingly gone forever when viewed from the perspective of *Sat.* 6, are more real and closer in the Twelfth Satire where the scene on the farm, the feisty fighting animals, present us with a more extended look at old-fashioned Roman virtues which, after all, are still around, as an alternative to the corruption of the modern city-dwellers.

There are further parallels between the greedy legacy-hunters and the adulterous wives of *Sat.* 6. Structurally each group closes its poem by "winning," as vice and manipulation of one's fellow man triumph over virtue. The modern-day Clytemnestras at the close of *Sat.* 6 have progressed from axes to poison as a weapon, but they are prepared to switch back to the axe again if their husbands acquire toxic immunity. The effectiveness of legacy-hunting as an updated version of mythology similarly rounds out *Sat.* 12: *laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento / mille rates...* (121–22a). A will is worth more than a thousand ships (on *mille rates* see Mayor ad loc.); the up-to-date Roman will not seek booty by launching a new Trojan expedition. This mythological sneer also glances at the activities of Catullus the merchant who, it is cynically implied, might find safety and profit in legacy-hunting in preference to launching a "thousand ships" to seek money in trade. (Lines 127–28 likewise juxtapose a mythological example, Nestor, with one from the harsh reality of the near-present, Nero.) Lines 126b–27 return to the point: cut your daughter's throat (in sacrifice) and you will make a big profit. Thus the two major sections of the poem, on sea-voyages and legacy-hunting, ultimately merge; as profitable activities each draws a sneer.

In the Twelfth Satire, a basically non-satiric theme (the welcome home) is surprisingly used to launch satiric attacks on greed and corruption. The friend is a greedy merchant, an urban type from whom the (apparently rustic) narrator increasingly distances himself. The other urban type at issue is the *captator*, a soulless manipulator who, like the merchant, seeks only money. The poet has finally managed to distance himself, physically and spiritually, from the big-city corruption denounced in the third satire. Yet the themes of "love" and "friendship," which some have seen as central to the Twelfth Satire, are introduced haltingly and unconvincingly; significantly, the last line of the poem, while insisting on the importance of "love" (*amet...ametur*) continues to be couched in the negative, as the lack of love is thrown out derisively, in the form of a curse. As a parallel for the progress in feeling one can compare the seventh satire which similarly begins on an optimistic note, while ending with bitterness and

anger.[20] Such passages remind us again that this satirist is most comfortable when on the attack.

[20] On these last points I agree completely with Ramage, 236, who compares the way Juvenal appears to reverse his initial intentions in *Sat.* 13.