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Thirteen Satires of Juvenal, with a Commentary by John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Vol. I. Fourth edition, revised, vol. ii. Third edition, revised. Macmillan, 1886.

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to raise prices where corn was cheap, but to lower them where it was dear; this is *συντάμνω*, 'to bring prices to a level, produce an equilibrium.' This did not suit the Athenians, who wanted an artificial cheapness at the expense of speculators, and made, not only the exportation of corn, but its consignment to any other port than Athens a capital offence (*Adv. Pharm.* p. 918, § 37, with Sandys' note). The law was of course disregarded in the pursuit of gain, as the references show: and the present passage is interesting as a proof of greater talent for business on the part of the Greeks than they have sometimes been credited with. Again, we are not disposed to agree with Mr. Sandys (*Introd.* p. lxi. and note on p. 1270 § 41) that the case of Conon was probably tried before the Forty, sitting as a jury. We conceive that the *τετταράκοντα* were petty magistrates, not dicasts in the ordinary sense; and that a case in which the plaintiff Ariston had been half-killed must have gone before a regular heliastic court, with at least 201, more probably 501, jurors.

W. WAYTE.

Thirteen Satires of Juvenal, with a Commentary by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M.A. Vol. I. Fourth edition, revised, vol. ii. Third edition, revised. Macmillan, 1886.

It is no exaggeration to say that since Casaubon no scholar has presented so remarkable a combination as Prof. John Mayor of two qualities seldom found in the same person, wealth of learning and freshness of interest. His commentary on Juvenal, long so justly admired for its abundance of illustration, is a work whose importance extends far beyond the limits imposed by the requirements of textual or explanatory criticism of his author. Just as one learns far more of ancient life from Casaubon's Persius than from Persius himself, so the present writer has often felt that he has learned more of Juvenal's age from Mr. Mayor's commentary than from Juvenal.

The new edition before us contains a large number of new notes; a new index of phrases printed at the end of the first volume; and a new preface, in which the author notices (among other things), the chief additions recently made to our knowledge of the text, notably under the auspices of Beer and Bücheler. The new index, which has evidently cost its author immense pains, will prove of great value. In the preface, Mr. Mayor, as though drawn into the spirit of a

writer whose motto is *quicquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas, Gaudia, discursus*, has a good deal of miscellaneous discourse, ranging over temperance, vegetarianism, vivisection, and the management of college estates. The intention of the author is admirable, nay noble, and he only emphasizes teaching now heard on all hands. Yet, amid the thousand calls upon us, so specious, so popular, to attend (for moral reasons) to bodily health, one is occasionally tempted to ask whether, after all, we have not forgotten a once familiar text, *Ideo dico vobis ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae, quid manducetis*.

But apart from its discursiveness, few things can be imagined more inspiring and suggestive than this preface. For, while Mr. Mayor is a scholar of the first order, the moral elevation of his character prevents him from being a self-isolating student. In the light of his almost prophetic enthusiasm, the advance of knowledge is seen to be what it really is, and what we hope it may one day be generally thought in England, an element of moral advancement. Philology and natural science belong, of course, to all countries; yet in view of the wide diffusion of the English language, it is most important that we should have original works in both departments of knowledge written in English and from an English point of view. Our debt to Germany, it is true, can never be repaid. But there is much in what Jacob Bernays once said to the writer of this article; "Do not translate our books, write afresh in your own language, and from within your own circle of ideas." No one has done more than Mr. Mayor to aid us towards the realization of this object.

Mr. Mayor's book still suffers from the imperfection of its form. The pages on the life of Juvenal (vol. ii. pp. xi.—xx.) should have been transposed to the beginning of the first volume, and the new index to the end of the second.

The new readings, catalogued p. xlviii. and onwards, will have to be carefully studied by all Latin scholars. The most important and interesting one, proved beyond all doubt by ancient evidence, is in 8, 148, *ipse rotam adstringit sufflamine mulio consul* for *multo sufflamine consul*. But *auditor saturarum* for *admirator* (3, 322): *perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus for petit* (7, 99): *inde Dolabellae atque istinc Antonius* for *hinc* (8, 105) are also, in their several ways, great improvements.

With regard to the life of Juvenal, the new edition adds nothing to the pages printed in the previous edition at the beginning of

vol. ii., in which the evidence is collected, but not sifted. It may be worth while briefly to indicate the present position of the question. First, we have the inconsistent tradition given by the manuscript biographies, which agree that Juvenal practised declamation till middle age, but leave us in doubt whether he was born in the reign of Claudius or of Nero, and which, while saying that he was banished from Rome, differ as to the time and place of banishment: one account relegating him to Britain and another to Egypt: one dating the event in Domitian's reign, and assigning it to the anger of the *pantomimus* Paris, the other deferring it to the age of Trajan.

The story of the offence given by Juvenal to Paris may well have arisen from the text of the seventh satire (vv. 87—90), though it seems to derive some support from the lines of Sidonius Apollinaris; *Nec qui consimili deinde casu. Ad vulgi tenuem stupentes auram Irati fuit histrionis exul.* But, secondly, the often-quoted inscription of Aquinum is cited as adding to the probability of Juvenal's banishment to Britain. Why? Because the Decimus Junius Juvenalis there mentioned was *tribunus* or *praefectus* (the word is lost and we cannot therefore ascertain which) of a *cohors Delmatarum*. Now in 103, 105, and 124 A.D., we know that there were *cohortes Delmatarum* in Britain. But, before we infer anything from this, we must remember that there is no positive evidence that the Juvenalis of the inscription is our Juvenal at all: and also that there was a *cohors Delmatarum* (the fifth) in Germany in 116 A.D., with which the *cohors* mentioned in the inscription may be identified on just as good grounds as with those in Britain.

It would seem then that neither the inscription nor the biographies help us much. What then do we know? We know that Juvenal wrote his thirteenth satire either in 107 or in 119 A.D. For the consulship of Fonteius is there dated sixty years back, and Fonteius must be the consul either of 67 or of 59 A.D. The second satire was written not very long after Agricola's British campaigns, and probably after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96). Thus we get a space of thirty-one or at least of twenty-three years between the second and thirteenth satires: and there are allusions in the first, sixth, and eighth satires to events occurring from 100 to 116 A.D.

The evidence is not complete without a consideration of the relation between Juvenal and Martial. That they were intimate friends we know from Martial himself; more than this, it can easily be shown that they sym-

pathize in their views of literature, they describe the same world, they talk of the same persons, or (if this be denied) they largely employ the same fictitious names; and, finally, their diction and turns of expression correspond in a remarkable manner. These points will, I hope, be made good with chapter and verse in a future number of the *Journal of Philology*; meanwhile it should be observed that there seems to have been the same kind of personal and literary intimacy between Juvenal and Martial as existed between Vergil and Horace, Calvus and Catullus. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Juvenal must have begun to write, if not to publish, satires at least as early as the late years of Domitian's reign. It is urged that the biographies make Juvenal a *declamator* up to middle age, and that Martial, writing as late as 92 A.D., calls him *facundus*; Martial therefore, it is inferred, only knew Juvenal as a *declamator*. But the word *facundus* proves nothing. It is several times used, by good writers, of literary eloquence (Horace, *A.P.* 41, Statius *Silvae*, 1, 4, 28—30, Martial, 5, 30, 3: 14, 185). The most natural conclusion seems to be, taking into consideration all the facts, that Juvenal wrote his earlier satires in the later years of Domitian's reign, and retouched them after the emperor's death.

And now comes the really interesting question. Do Juvenal's satires give a faithful representation of his social surroundings? Mr. Mayor would, it seems, be inclined to answer yes. 'Not in Seneca,' he says, 'not in Martial, not in Plutarch, Lucian, the younger Pliny, the anthology, do we find such a panorama of the world under the empire, its beliefs, traditions, education, fashions, hopes and fears.' No doubt Mr. Mayor is right in maintaining, as against the exaggerations of Boissier, that Juvenal is honest. But surely the satires (like other satires since his time) are not so much a panorama of the world as a chamber of horrors filled with figures notorious in the society of the capital, the exhibitor being, let us remember, a provincial whose means did not allow him to move in the highest society on equal terms. An honest moralist might, at the present day, easily make up an exciting novel out of the reports of trials in the Central Criminal Court or the Divorce Court. He might dignify his proceeding with the name of realism. But who, except the realists, would accept his work as a faithful picture of life?

Juvenal's honesty need not be denied: but it is impossible to deny either that his pictures are incoherent and strongly rhetorical,

or that his morality is largely tinged with social prejudice. A nobleman fighting as a gladiator is to him a more monstrous spectacle than a flagrant case of unnatural vice (2, 143). Nero's crimes in the eighth satire begin with the murder of his mother and relations, and end with his love of music and the drama. Again, Juvenal (unlike Seneca) has nothing to say against slavery or against the games of the amphitheatre: and for philosophy he seems to have a feeling not very unlike contempt.

Space compels us to conclude with these remarks a very scanty and inadequate notice of a great book. It only remains to express the hope that Mr. Mayor may soon complete his commentary on the second, sixth, and ninth satires. Unquestionably the sixth is Juvenal's greatest effort; and Mr. Mayor is not writing for the young.

H. NETTLESHIP.

A. Persii Flacci D. Iunii Iuvenalis Sulpiciae Saturae. Recognovit OTTO IAHN. Editio altera curata a FRANCISCO BÜCHELER. Berolini: 1886.

THIS edition of the Roman Satirists is a reprint of the Otto Iahn of 1868, but a reprint with such material additions and working in the results of so much new research, as almost to claim the title of a new book. Not that Prof. Bücheler has deserted the lines or the external form of his predecessor; for the *apparatus criticus* is still simple and the new editor's personality is rarely obtruded on the reader. Notwithstanding which, the extra matter is of such first-rate importance, as to make a brief notice of it necessary as well as useful.

And first, it contains the scholia both to Persius and Juvenal. What a gain this is will be felt when it is remembered that the editions in which these appear are all more or less difficult to procure. Otto Iahn's larger *Persius* contains the Persius scholia; but it has long been out of print, and sells for fancy prices. His first and larger Juvenal which similarly contains the Juvenal scholia is equally rare. Cramer's separate edition of these latter scholia (it is still the most valuable) is procurable by application to German booksellers, but very rare in England; Heinrich's involves the purchase of an excellent commentary on the Satires, but written in German, and therefore not so useful to ordinary English students. Our thanks are therefore due, nationally, to Prof. Bücheler

for putting within easy reach of the most modest purses this valuable collection of ancient interpretations of two writers among the most obscure in the Latin language. It is certainly true that these obscurities are often left quite unsolved by the scholiasts, and that without the erudite commentaries which modern scholars have ever since the Renaissance been continually producing, we should very often be in complete uncertainty as to the real meaning of Persius or Juvenal: but this is true of all scholia. Meanwhile I may remark that the interest of them is by no means confined to the pure elucidation of difficulties of meaning. They not rarely contain valuable suggestions for the constitution of the text of the Satires, as well as out-of-the-way information, and occasional quotations from lost writers.

To come to the sources of the text. In Persius Iahn's two primary codices were *A*, a Montpellier MS., No. 212, *B*, a Vatican MS., No. 36 H. Bücheler in no way alters this selection of his predecessor: but in 1879 an American Ph.D. of Bonn, by name J. H. Wheeler of Massachusetts, re-examined the MS. carefully at Rome, and placed the results at Bücheler's disposal. They confirm the opinion of Iahn as stated in his *Praefatio* (which is reprinted in this new edition). The third basis for Persius' text, *C*, is the celebrated Montpellier codex Pitheaeus, which (as I have stated in the *Academy*) has within the last few years been submitted to a microscopic examination by another Bonn doctor, Rudolf Beer, whose *Specilegium Iuvenalianum*, published by Teubner in 1885, a short pamphlet of eighty-two pages, is quite indispensable to every student of both satirists. Beer also has placed his collation in Bücheler's hands; and we are now able to speak with certainty of the readings of this MS., which has never before been possible, as Iahn's readings were not drawn from a personal inspection; nor was the period when he published them so exacting in respect of minuteness as the present. It is in Juvenal that *P* is of most importance. Here Iahn is followed by Bücheler in making *P* generally the basis of his text; but since Iahn's days research has brought to light some other *fontes* which are of first-rate importance. These are (1) the *schedae Arovienses* or Aarau fragments, five leaves which were used as the bindings of books belonging to the library of some Aarau nuns. The whole amount contained is between 420—430 verses, a small fraction of the whole number of lines in Juvenal, but interesting as representing the same