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## MSS. of Persius and Juvenal at Valenciennes

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The Classical Quarterly / Volume 6 / Issue 01 / January 2012, pp 21 - 34  
DOI: 10.1017/S000983880001747X, Published online: 11 February 2009

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### How to cite this article:

S. G. Owen (1912). MSS. of Persius and Juvenal at Valenciennes. The Classical Quarterly, 6, pp 21-34 doi:10.1017/S000983880001747X

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## MSS. OF PERSIUS AND JUVENAL AT VALENCIENNES.

THE MS. 410 of the Bibliothèque publique of Valenciennes consists of 70 leaves of vellum, written in Caroline minuscules in the 11th century.<sup>1</sup> The titles *IUVENALIS LIBER PRIMVS INCIPIT* and *EXPLICIT IUVENALIS. INCIPIT PERSIVS* are in small rustic capitals. The MS. contains Juvenal and Persius in that order. The last leaf but one has been cut out, that containing Pers. vi. 8 *dant*—vi. 71 *extis*. Juvenal, *Sat.* xvi, follows at the end of *Sat.* xiv, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>: then *Sat.* xv follows on *Sat.* xvi, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>, after which comes Persius, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, beginning with the Choliambi, which precede *Sat.* i. The MS. has usually 32, occasionally 34, lines on a page. There are interlinear glosses, but no scholia, and no titles to the Satires, with three exceptions: Pers. iv. 'In hac satira reprehendit illos qui honores cupiebant'; Juv. v. 'Ad trebium loquitur'; xi. 'De uictus comparatione.'

The scribe shows ignorance, e.g. *falsit* for *fallit*, Pers. iv. 12; and carelessness in the omission of lines, of which the following are omitted simply: Pers. i. 46; Juv. vi. 126, 472; viii. 7; xi. 165, 166; xiv. 229. The following are omitted, but added in the margin by a contemporary hand: Juv. iii. 146, 166; vi. 81-84, 230-232; ix. 87; x. 54, 222-223; xii. 51; xiii. 34; xiv. 10, 153, 313; xv. 94-95; xvi. 57. Juv. i. 56, 57 are thus compounded into one line: *Ius nullum doctus uxor spectare lacunar*. The lines recovered in the Oxford MS. after vi. 365 are absent, but the usual shortened version is found at vi. 346: *audio quid—uxor*, with the reading *cohibe*. Also the recovered lines at vi. 373, *mangonum—relicti*, and at vi. 614, *semper aquam—dedisti* do not appear. Confusions of letters are: between *b* and *p*—Juv. vi. 73 *Hisbulla*; 211 *obtandus*; 587 *publica*; vii. 61 *inobs*; x. 289, xiv. 140 *obtat*. Pers. ii. 37 *obtet*; v. 2 *obtate*, 95 *obtaueris*: between *b* and *u*—Juv. v. 134 *birronis*; Pers. v. 138 *uaro*: perhaps this produced the reading *bilis* for *uires*, Juv. xi. 128: between *g* and *c* Juv. v. 84 *gammarus*; vi. 165 *cigno*; 229 *grescit*.

As regards Juvenal, though the manuscript belongs generally to the large vulgate class denoted by the symbol  $\omega$ , as distinguished from that of our best MS. P the Pithoeanus (Montpellier 125), yet in many places it agrees with P as against the  $\omega$  class, and it contains certain peculiar readings which deserve attention. What is especially noticeable is that at viii. 148 it offers the correct reading *subflamine mulio consul*, which was restored by Bücheler from the

<sup>1</sup> It formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Amand.

Florilegium Sangallense in place of the insipid *multo sufflamine consul* of the vulgate text.

The MSS. of Persius fall into two chief families, P and *a*. P is the same above-mentioned, Montpellier MS. 125; while *a* consists of A, Montpellier 212 and B, H. 36 in the Vatican Capitular Archives. Besides these, the best are a 4th century Bobbio palimpsest and L Laurentianus 37. 19, which often approximates to P. The symbol  $\omega$  denotes the large body of MSS. other than Pa, among which I signalize O the Oxford MS. sec. x., and N the Norimbergensis sec. xi.-xii. The readings of O I give from my own collation, those of L I have taken from the edition of Ramorino (Turin, 1905), who discovered the MS., and from Leo's 4th edition of Bücheler's edition (1910), and from the important critical edition of Consoli (Rome, 1911), to which also I owe my information as to N.

As regards Persius, the Valenciennes MS. seems to me to be of considerable importance, not only on account of its close agreement with P, but because it offers in the main the correct readings, and because in certain cases it suggests new readings which may well be correct. I have collated the MS. with the second edition of my Oxford text: pressure of space prevents me from giving the complete collation; I therefore offer a classified selection of the important readings, unimportant deviations being omitted.

## I.

## PERSIUS.

The MS. agrees sometimes with *a*, more often with P: this fluctuating character is illustrated by the readings in iii. 94 *heu bone tu* (*tu* P om. *a*), *palles* ( $\omega$  *fallens* P) *nichil est uideas tamen istud* ( $\omega$  *istuc* P).

1. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the right reading as against *a*:

- i. 7 *quaesiueris*; 14 *quod*; 15 *pexusque*; 22 *tun*; 31 *quid*—*narrent*; 42 *os*; 44 *feci*; 47 *mihi*; 53 *citreis*; 54 *trita*—*lacerna*; 57 *propenso*; 93 *sic*; 96 *cortice*; 104 *summa*; 109 *canina*; 128 *possit*.
- ii. 2 *qui*; 7 *aperto* (*aperito* P *corr.* P<sup>a</sup>); 10 *ebulliat*; 15 *poscas*; 16 *purgas*; 40 *rogarit*; 42 *grandes*; 56 *perducis*; 59 *aurum*; 70 *a*; 74 *honesto*.
- iii. 1 *nempe*; 26 *foci*; 29 *consorem ue tuum*; 37 *mouerit*; 71 *elargiri*; 100 *inter uina subit*; 105 *portam*; 106 *hesterni*.
- iv. 2 *dira*; 33 *figas*; 40 *forcipe*; 46 *dicat*.
- v. 50 *Ioue*; 76 *dama est*; 93 *erat*; 108 *notasti*; 145 *quam*; 150 *peragant*; 167 *depellentibus*.

Choliamb. 5 *lambunt*; 8 *expediuit*; 11 *artifex*; 12 *refulserit*.

2. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the wrong reading as against *a*:

- i. 6 *examenue*. ii. 13 *nam est*. v. 59 *fregerit*; 123 *satiri*. Choliamb. 14 *melos*.

[It agrees with Pa i. 17 in reading *legens*.]

3. Passages in which the MS. agrees with *a* in giving the right reading as against P :

i. 107 uero. v. 61 uitam—relictam; 176 ducit.

4. Passages in which the MS. agrees with *a* in giving the wrong reading as against P :

- i. 19 hic ; 30 pendas ; 32 circa ; 59 imitata est ; 69 uidemus ; 129 sese.
  - ii. 2 apponit ; 10 patruī ; 21 quod ; 37 obtet (optet *aω*) ; 41 poscit ; 48 festo ; 65 haec.
  - iii. 9 dicas ; 45, 46 morituri—Catonis discere ; 60 in quo ; 78 satis est sapio.
  - iv. 5 tacendaque ; 29 ueteris ; 31 farratam—ollam.
  - v. 26 uoces ; 78 temporis ; 84 libuit ; 87 haec reliqua ; 105 ueri specimen ; 112 gluto (glutto *aω*).
- Choliamb. 9 nostra uerba.

5. Passages in which the MS. differs from *Pa*. In this list the symbol *ω* added indicates that such is the reading of all or nearly all MSS. other than *Pa*, *φ* that it is the reading of a portion of them. I note in brackets where the reading given by the MS. appears to be right.

- i. 8 romae quis *φ* (right? so Leo) ; 16 tandem natalicia *φ* ; 24 quid NO*φ* ; 38, 39 non nunc ; 64 effluere ; 74 quem—dictaturam P<sup>2</sup>O<sup>2</sup>*φ* ; 95 sic Bobb. O<sup>2</sup> (right) ; 111 omnes etenim L*ω* ; 114 mingite *φ*.
- ii. 19 cuiquam cuinam *φ* ; 45 arcessis *φ* ; 47 flamma *φ* ; 54 excucias (excucias P<sup>2</sup>*φ*) ; 55 subiit *ω* ; 59 expulit *φ*.
- iii. 7 itane *ω* (itan *a* itan*εç* P. The right reading is itan O) ; 10 bicolor positus *φ* ; 12 and 14 queritur *φ* ; 16 at *ω* ; 23 es L*ω* (right) ; 31 distincti *φ* ; 57 callem LO*ω* (right) ; 89 exuberat *ω* ; 93 loturo *ω* (right).
- iv. 9 puto *ω* ; 13 es L*ω* (right) ; 21 non *φ* ; 26 millius oberrat (miluus oberrat LNO*ω*).
- v. 15 teris P<sup>2</sup>LNO*φ* ; 19 bullatis *φ* ; 21 secreti L*ω* ; 58 putris est sed *φ* ; 130 qui *φ* (right) ; 138 uaro P<sup>2</sup>LO*ω* ; 154 finderis *φ* ; 172 arcessor ; 174 non nunc (so Paris, 8055).
- vi. 6 egregios—senes *ω* ; 79 depinge P<sup>2</sup>*ω*.

6. Unique readings :

- i. 21 ibi (ubi P*aω*) ; 82 insultat (exsultat P*aω*) ; 102 resonabilis (reparabilis P*aω*).
- iii. 13 rarescat (uanescat *aω* ; uanescit P) ; 18 laxare (lallare P*aω*) ; 29 quod tu (uel quod P*aω*) ; 56 diducit (diduxit *φ* deduxit P*aω*).
- iv. 19 hunc (*om.* i) for i nunc ; 37 tu (tunc P*aω*) ; 51 respice (respue PL*ω* ; respuat *a*).
- v. 134 rogat en asperas (rogas en saperdas P*a*) ; 138 praegustatum.

It will be seen from the above classified lists of readings that though, as is the case with all manuscripts, the Valenciennes MS. has many wrong readings, it on the other hand has many which are indisputably correct, and that it is no mean authority for the text of Persius.

I now offer some remarks on certain readings mentioned above which deserve special attention.

v. 176.

ius habet ille sui palpo quem ducit hiantem  
cretata ambitio?

Our MS. agrees with *aw* in reading *ducit*: P has *tollit*, which I accepted in my edition, following Bücheler. The passage is usually explained: 'Is yonder smooth-spoken man, whom white-robed canvassing leads about with mouth agape, the master of himself?' The key to the passage lies in the word *palpo*, which is generally regarded as a nominative substantive, not found elsewhere, similar in form to *cachinno* (i. 12), *lurco*, *comoedo*, *catillo*, *mando*. But it is safer with Bücheler (*Rh. Mus.* xlii. 472) to take *palpo* as ablative of the existing word *palpus*, the meaning being 'whom canvassing leads by the hand,' i.e. drags on his course. This being so, *ducit* is clearly superior to *tollit*: electioneering being the man's ruling passion may be said to lead him; it does not necessarily exalt (*tollit*) him, for he may fail.

ii. 47.

tot tibi cum in flamma iunicum omenta liquescant.

So our MS., which I shall call Val., and a few others. *flammas* LOαφ; *flammis* Pφ. Any of the three readings is possible: *flammis* is now generally adopted. But *flamma* seems clearly right, as Persius is imitating Catullus 90. 6 *omentum in flamma pingue liquefaciens*. *In flamma* means 'on the altar of sacrifice.'

ii. 59.

aurum uasa Numae Saturniaque expulit aera.

So Val. and a few others. *Impulit* PLαω. *Impulit*, which is generally accepted, is supposed to mean 'has pushed out,' driven out; but the word means to push, to push over, overthrow, not to push out. The passages produced by Jahn and Némethy to support the latter meaning break down. Lucan i. 149 *impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti obstaret* means 'overthrowing all that stood in the way of his ambition.' Tac. *H.* iv. 34 *castra in hostem mouit, quem si statim impellere maturasset, soluere obsidium legionum potuit* means 'he advanced against the enemy, and if he had hastened immediately to drive them before him, he might have raised the siege.' Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 149 *immenso Achaiae momento ad impellendos mores* means 'Greece had great influence in giving a shock to, i.e. overthrowing morality.'

The word required is *expulit*, which I am inclined to accept.

iii. 10.

iam liber et positis bicolor membrana capillis  
inque manus chartae nodosaeque uenit harundo:  
tunc queritur, crassus calamo quod pendeat umor.  
nigra sed infusa rarescat sepia lympha,  
dilutas queritur geminet quod fistula guttas.

*Queritur* Val. and a few others; *querimur* POω; *querimus* αN. The reading *rarescat* is found in Val. alone; *uanescat* αω; *uanescit* P.

Editors usually accept *querimur*, but the third person, *queritur*, is required by the sense, which is that when the student takes his pen he first grumbles that the thick liquid clogs and dribbles from it, but if the black ink is weakened (*rarescat*) by dilution with water, he grumbles because the pen makes two washy drops instead of one. Though the interlocutor at the beginning of the satire (l. 3 *stertimus*) identifies himself with the lazy student by speaking in the first person, using an effective rhetorical device, it is flat and tasteless to retain the first person in lines 12, 14. The reading *queritur* of Val. is more pointed, as it vividly describes the student's behaviour in the third person. *Rarescat* (= *si rarescat*) is the protasis to *queritur* apodosis. The word means 'if the ink becomes faint' by dilution, and is preferable to *uanescat* or *uanescit* usually adopted, for, as *uanescere* means 'to disappear,' these words mean 'if the ink disappears.' But as the ink when diluted does not disappear, but becomes weak or faint, *rarescat* rather than *uanescat* or *uanescit* expresses the required meaning.

v. 57.

hunc alea decoquit, ille  
in uenerem putris est; sed cum lapidosa cheragra  
fecerit articulos ueteris ramalia fagi,  
tunc crassos transisse dies lucemque palustrem  
et sibi iam seri uitam ingemuere relictam.

Here is great divergence: *putriset sed P*; *putrit et sed P<sup>2</sup>*; *putris sed Oφ*; *putris et a*. Val. has *putris est sed* with a few of Jahn's MSS., which reading is clearly right, and explains the variations. The reading *fecerit* is due to *a*. Val. with *Pω* has *fregerit*, which is supposed, wrongly I think, to be a reminiscence of Hor. Sat. II. 7. 15 *postquam illi iusta cheragra contudit articulos*. But *contudit* is natural in the sense of 'disabled,' hardly so *fregerit*. I now accept *fecerit*, and explain 'when gout in the hand has produced knuckles which are as knotty as the branches of an old beech tree,' viz. chalk-stones.

iii. 28.

stemmate quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis,  
censoremue tuum quod tu trabeate salutas.

*Quod tu* is found in Val. and Consoli's Veronensis (sec. xiii.). The rest have *uel quod*, which is usually accepted. The difficulty as to the use of *ue* followed by *uel* is well known. The usual explanation is, 'Or (*ue*) because you have a censor in your family, or (*uel*) are a knight yourself and wear a trabea when you salute him' (Bücheler). This may be so. But if *quod tu* be accepted all difficulty vanishes; and it is noticeable that the meaning obtained is that given by the scholiast, 'uel quod in equitum Romanorum recognitione donis militaribus insignis censorem tuum salutes.' The *uel* of *Pω* probably arose from a gloss, *uel* being written above the less usual form *ue* thus:

uel  
censorem ue tuum quod tu trabeate salutas.

Then *uel* was incorporated into the line before *quod*, and *tu* expelled for the sake of the metre.

iii. 56.

et tibi quae Samios diducit littera ramos,  
surgentem dextro monstrauit limite callem.

The reading *diducit* is found in Val. and in a Laurentianus (sec. xi.). Pa and most MSS. have *deduxit*. Editors accept *diduxit*, found in a few MSS. But the present *diducit* is preferable to the perfect, as is shown by the fact that Conington found it necessary to translate the perfect (*diduxit*) of his text as if it were a present: 'and the letter which spreads into Pythagorean ramifications has set your face towards the steep path which rises to the right.' Our MS. has *callem* with  $\omega$ , which is clearly better than *collem* Pa.

iv. 37.

tu cum maxillis balanatum gausape pectas,  
inguinibus quare detonsus gurgulio extat.'

*Tu* is found in Val., and apparently in a few others, though none are named by Jahn or Consoli. The reading *tunc cum* (PLNO $\omega$ ), introduced by Bücheler, I now see to be wrong. *Tunc cum*, 'at the time when' (cp. i. 9, 19, 20), would require *pectis*: *tu cum pectas* is clearly right, *cum* meaning 'though'; 'why though you allow your beard to grow do you depilate your waist?' Persius is fond of *tu*: v. 157 *nec tu cum obstiteris*: ii. 21, v. 10, 115. Other instances will be found in any index.

The readings i. 82 *insultat*, iii. 18 *laxare*, iv. 51 *respice* appear to be interpolations.

## II.

### JUVENAL.

In Juvenal also this MS. is fluctuating in the nature of its readings. Though it coincides mainly with the vulgate group of MSS. ( $\omega$ ) rather than with the Montpellier MS. (P) and its cognates the Aarau fragments (A) Parisinus 8072 (B), whose readings are published by C. E. Stuart Class. Qu. III. 1, and the St. Gallen florilegium (C), yet, as is the case with Parisinus 7900 (G) and Urbinas (V), it diverges at times from the ruck of MSS. ( $\omega$ ), and either agrees with P or offers peculiar readings, some of which it shares with a few other MSS. while others are unique.<sup>1</sup> What is especially remarkable is that at viii. 148 it presents the line thus:

ipse rotam stringit subflamine mulio consul,

which was altered by the second hand into *multo subflamine*. The true reading *sufflamine mulio* was first restored to the text by Bücheler from C: the reading

<sup>1</sup> As to the letters used to indicate the MSS., I follow Leo's revision of Bücheler's edition, ed. 4, 1910, except that I use V as the symbol

for the Urbinas. I also adopt from Leo the symbol  $\phi$  to indicate the reading of a few ancient MSS.

of P is erased, P<sup>2</sup> has *multo sufflamine*, indicating that P also had *sufflamine mulio*.

I proceed to give the readings of the Valenciennes MS. classified under heads:

1. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P, or, in a few cases, with  $\phi$ , in giving the right reading against  $\omega$ :

- i. 98 ac; 110 ne; 158 uehatur; 169 animo ante.
- ii. 116 abrunpere *sic*; 140 moriuntur.
- iii. 82 recumbet (-it *m.* 2); 134 aut.
- iv. 34 et.
- v. 13 solidam.
- vi. 28 ducis; 120 set (sed PBGV); 280 dic—hic; 474 pretium curae; 592 haec.
- vii. 69 deesset; 139 fidimus eloquio; 146 producere; 201 triumphum; 236 siculi.
- viii. 17 traducit; 40 stemmate; 49 plebe; 66 trito ducunt; 148 subflamine mulio consul; 174 et—ac; 256 pube.
- ix. 33 cessant; 46 quam—tenerum; 103 locuntur (loquentur P<sup>2</sup> $\omega$  loquuntur P. *It is clear that P had loquentur, which, or locuntur, should be restored to the text*); 119 occurs here as in P, in  $\omega$  after 123; 136 gaudent.
- x. 73 remi *erased*, tremens *man. 2* as P<sup>2</sup> $\omega$ ; 145 fixi (fici PG); 300 modesto.
- xi. 6 ardenti (ardent *Barth*); 62 contingens; 113 oceani; 195 Praeda.
- xii. 110 belli et.
- xiii. 65 puero et; 131 dolorem.
- xiv. 51 quandoque; 52 et qui; 120 miratur opes qui; 121 putat; 139 pecunia creuit; 147 mittentur; 152 foede; 158 post hac; 165 aut; 176 inmodici.

2. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P in giving the wrong reading:

- iii. 302 quis spoliet (quis polliet P).
- iv. 33 facta; 604 alios.
- xi. 94 oceano.
- xii. 33 conferret (*so* P<sup>2</sup> comferet P); 77 currunt.
- xiii. 208 uoluptas.
- xiv. 128 frustra (*corr. m.* 2).
- xvi. atque emo lumenta; 48 illi.

3. Passages in which the MS. agrees with P $\omega$  in giving the right, or probably right, reading as against a few MS., or a conjecture:

- i. 24, 25 *are found (om.  $\phi$ )*; 70 rubetam.
- iii. 238 druso.
- v. 41 acutos; 137 fratres.
- vi. 52 tende (*so* B nocte P<sup>2</sup>. *P is here erased*); 468 illo lacte; 585 inde.
- vii. 15 equitesque bitini; 185 condit.
- viii. 27 alio; 123 relinques; 195 Filige (*n sub ras.*).
- ix. 120 cauis.
- x. 70 indicibus; 114 aut C. *with* ac C. *above by m. 2, so  $\phi$* ; 170 giare; 189 hoc recto uultu solum hoc (et *om.*) pallidus optas.
- xii. 46 escaria.
- xiii. 5 omnes; 18 usu; 97 nec; 226 iudicet.
- xiv. 45 pater; 48 nec; 85 gustauerat; 315 habes.
- xvi. 3 excipiat.



4. Passages in which the MS. agrees with  $P\omega$  in giving the wrong reading :

- i. 157 deducit.
- iv. 13 serioque.
- vi. 172 depone; 527 calida||q (s *sub. ras.*); 554 fronte.
- vii. 177 scindens; 235 Archemori; 242 curas (s *del. m. 2*) et.
- viii. 31 sis; 68 primum; 105 dolabella atque; 223 quid.
- xi. 55 effugientem.
- xiv. 149 habeant; 165 nullis; 268 choro.
- xv. 20 cianis; 64 seditione.
- xvi. 24 gcaligatos *sic*; 56 labor.

5. Passages in which the MS. agrees with  $\omega$  in giving the right reading :

- i. 25 iuueni; 47 prostantis; 55 si; 73 carcere; 90 ad; 131 meiere; 155 lucebis.
- ii. 80 porrigine; 150 contum.
- iii. 154 et de; 164 emergunt.
- v. 91 *occurs.*
- vi. 35 exigit a te; 36 nec; 73 comedi (*P has comoedis, which I wrongly printed in my text*); 159 mero; 569 haec; 603 atque.
- vii. 197 fies; 217 autem.
- viii. 61 puluis; 270 uulcaniaque.
- ix. 133 altera maior spes super est (*om. tu*) tantum herucis inprime dentem; 139 figam.
- x. 93 angusta; 114 ac famam (*rightly, I now think*); 150 aliosque; 155 acti; 232 mater ieiuna; 295 atq' || sutile (what is under the erasure I failed to decipher).
- xi. 85 carne.
- xii. 14 iret et a grandi; 116 magna et pulcherrima.
- xiii. 29 ipsa; 208 sola.
- xiv. 113 fortunas; 134 negabit.
- xv. 22 et cum.

6. Passages in which the MS. agrees with  $\omega$  in giving the wrong reading :

- i. 2 codri; 21 uacat et; 44 lugdunensem; 47 at; 52 herculeias; 67 falso; 68 fecerat; 86 nostri est farrago libelli; 114 habitas; 126 quiescit; 134 caules; 143 crudum; 145 it; 150 dicas; 156 gutture.
- ii. 5 horum est; 30 reuocarat; 45 hii plura; 49 Tedia; 68 polliucas; 106 Bebriaci campo; 146 catulis paulisque; 168 umquam.
- iii. 18 praestancius; 19 aquae; 29 arturius; 37 quemlibet; 58 non; 61 achiue *ex* achiui; 78 iusseris; 105 alienum; 112 aulam; 156 in fornice; 168 negauit; 188 praestant; 210 est *om.*; 212 asturi; 218 Fecasiannorum (*-anorum m. 2*); 224 paretur; 240 liburno; 246 lignum; 259 de; 293 concha; 321 Conuelle; 322 Adiutor.
- iv. 3 eger—fortis; 4 Delicias uidue aspernatur; 18 in munere; 25 pretium; 31 ructaret; 43 torpentis; 63 Et; 67 saginis; 85 ferre; 96 iam destinata; 120 leuū; 148 ex *om.*
- v. 4 galba; 10 possis; 38 berillos; 42 illic; 63 uocatus; 72 artocopi; 80 distendat; 116 Fumat; 142 simul; 169 tacetis.
- vi. 13 Compositique; 46 mediam; 65 subitum; 109 sepe; 123 Constitit; 137 quingenta; 183 dies; 222 feceris; 238 pauet—ducit; 248 sudibus; 276 tunc curuca; 295 istros; 316 ululante priapo; 321 et; 323 Palmam—

- aequat; 329 dormitat; 332 ueniet conductus; 364 semper tollatur; 371 expectatos; 373 tantum damno; 386 Cum; 404 decipatur; 415 exorata; 429 terram luto; 430 aut lata; 442 atque aera; 479 flagellis; 486 Profectura domo; 490 Conponit; 497 matrona; 501 tanti; 537 caduceo; 539 lacrimis; 551 rimatur et; 561 longo; 569 ignorat; 606 omnes; 623 longam—saliuam; 643 magicis; 647 nocentem; 648 et rabie; 660 praegustaret.
- vii. 8 archa; 16 gallia; 20 nos; 22 expectanda; 23, 24 crocee—impletur; 25 Conscribis; 27 calamos; 39 aut; 40 maculonus; 41 Ac; 60 sana; 80 salino; 89 uatum digitis (-os *suprascr.*); 99 petit; 100 Namque oblita modi; 108 tunc; 120 affrorum; 123 in foedere; 124 petet; 144 cossus; 154 cambre; 156 diuersa parte; 159 leua in; 198 fies; 204 tressimachi; 214 qui; 215 enceladi; 219 franget; 223 sedebat; 235 annos.
- viii. 4 nasumque; 5 Coruini; 7 *om.*; 8 famosos; 11 ortus; 27 Sillanus; 33 paruam; 62 corite; 88 accipiet; 90 regum; 93 tutor; 125 est *om.*; 135 ambitus; 147, 151, 167 damasippus; 155 toruumque; 157 iponam; 159 udus; 198 natus; 202 et damnat; 229 antigones tu personam melhippes (menalippes *m. 2*); 233 parastis; 239 gente; 241 quantum non; 266 eduxit.
- ix. 6 erat; 25 celebrare; 26 Quod taceo atque; 40 atque cauet; 41 numera; 53 tractas; 62 legatus; 68 seruorum mense; 100 careas; 106 clament; 117 laufela; 118 recte (*om. est*); 121 nam; 132 Conueniunt; 146 pingat; 148 rogatur; 149 Adfigit.
- x. 9 et torrens; 21 mote—umbras; 29 a; 30 alter; 35 Praetexta et trabee; 46 loculis; 61 stridunt; 64 patelle; 74 nursia; 78 effugit; 88 adstricta; 91 sellas; 97 tantum; 116 partam; 131 parante; 160 abit; 184 Crederet; 214 exaudiat; 299 sabinas; 304 uiris; 308 loripedem uel; 310 Nunc ergo specie iuuenis; 312 metuert; 313 irati debent; 327 et se; 344 melius leuiusque; 354 At tamen ut.
- xi. 16 emuntur; 34 an M.; 37 Nec; 57 uita nec; 58 Sed; 85 daret; 91 fabricios rigidique; 118 in usus; 128 bilis; 148 et magno poscis; 151 hic est; 156 pugillares; 163 incipiat; 184 licebit; 191 illic.
- xii. 17 fulguris ictum; 32 incerto; 59 teda; 68 extensis; 73 mirabile; 81 Tunc stagnante lacu; 113 sacra.
- xiii. 4 fallacis—urnam; 18 proficis; 26 numero; 28 Nona; 54 quod; 57 farra; 65 Vt; 86 Sunt qui in fortunae iam casibus; 132 occasu; 140 Te nunc; 142 uilis populus; 189 docens.
- xiv. 1 *after this line follows* Et qd maiorum uitia sequitur que minores (*del. m. 2*); 2 ac rugam (hesuram *suprascr. m. 2*); 7 Concedit; 11 puero; 33 subeant; 62 lauert; 63 fremat (-it *m. ead. suprascr.*); 71 patrie; 82 tunc; 86 cetrionius; 111 laudatur; 115 atque ueredi; 121, 122 illam—uiam; 131 concam estiui; 145 dominus pretio; 153 *om. add. mg. m. 2 with the reading* hoc.; 164 ea; 199 trepido; 208 pueris uetulae; 216 Nature—nequitie; 217 longi; 219 et *om.*; 229 *om.*; 247 caueam; 255 aut pater aut; 269 a siculis; 295 an.
- xv. 7 cereuleos; 25 deduxerat; 46 rippa *sic*; 61 quod; 65 quali se; 75 praestantibus omnibus instant; 93 ut fama . . . olim *m. 2 in ras . . . (m. 1 had no doubt* usi); 104 Viribus; 107 quaedam; 114 saguntos; 142 credat; 145 capiendis; 166 ac; 168 extundere.
- xvi. 12 oculos—relictos; 21 efficiunt; 22 et *om.*; 23 mutinensi; 29 quem; 38 Aut; 39 uetulo.

7. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few others in giving the right reading against P $\omega$  :

- ii. 159 Illic heu.
- iii. 187 libis.
- viii. 133 ponas (po||nas P); 196 sic.
- ix. 105 tollito.
- xiii. 95 phthisis; 107 Confirmat.
- xiv. 83 leuauit.

8. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few in giving what is probably the right reading against P $\omega$  :

- vii. 193 ioculator.
- x. 245 pula (*i.e.*, pulla).
- xii. 93 Ne (*So Lachmann*).

To this class may be added ix. 14, where the reading of the first hand of this MS. is that accepted by Leo :

Bruttia prestabat calidi tibi fascia uisci, *m.* 1.  
Prestabat calidi circumlita fascia uisci, *m.* 2.

9. Passages in which the MS. agrees with a few in giving the wrong reading against P $\omega$  :

- i. 6 nondum; 106 maius; 161; uexū (*i.e.*, uexum *altered to uerum*); 168 ira.
- ii. 65 latronia.
- iii. 109 est uel ab (est uel *in ras*); 120 erimantus; 286 et breue.
- v. 68 frustra; 116 traduntur.
- vi. 322 fructum (frictum *m.* 2); 341 figura est; 357 domi est; 531 loquuntur; 560 arti.
- vii. 30 nam; 87 uendat; 135 ipsis.
- viii. 82 amoto; 109 eripiat (-etur *m.* 2); 148 stringit; 166 reseantur; 182 brutosque; 208 longe.
- ix. 83 aut filia.
- x. 87 pauidum huius; 326 Erubuit certe.
- xi. 106 Et; 185 totam.
- xiii. 18 At; 105 pretium sceleris; 119 batilli.
- xiv. 184 homines; 211 possim; 287 lacertis; 289 una; 295 an.
- xv. 27 iuno; 35 cāpos; 43 luce ac nocte; 53 Dehinc.
- xvi. 8 te *om.*; 43 tum; 49 illis.

10. Passages where the reading of the MS., either unique or given also by a few others, shows probably corruption due to gloss interpolation or attempt to substitute a various reading :

- ii. 38 Ad quem subridens. So a few of Ruperti's MSS., interpolated from Aen. x. 742 *ad quae subridens*.
- iii. 318 Innuat. So some of Ruperti's MSS. Due to gloss. '*Innuat mulio raedae.*' Schol.
- iv. 129 Patricio. Due to gloss on Fabricio.
- vi. 519 Xerampelinas uestes. So three of Hosius' MSS. *Vestes* is a gloss on *xerampelinas*.
- vi. 533 lanifero. Unique; an attempt to explain *linigero*.
- viii. 116 Gallicus ensis. *Ensis* substituted for the harder *axis*;

- x. 316 *necat* ille cruentis uerberibus. So also two of Ruperti's MSS. *Necat*, for *secat*, is suggested by Hor. *Sat.* I. 2. 41 *ille flagellis ad mortem caesus*. But with *necat* less point is given to the epithet *cruentis*.
- xi. 23.

illum ego iure  
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlans  
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem  
ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca  
sacculus.

Val. has the indic. *ignorat*, found also in three of Hosius' MSS. *Ignorat* has been adopted by Mr. Housman from a mistaken idea that copyists, thinking a subjunctive after *qui* more normal, altered the indic. to the subj. where the metre allowed. That copyists did constantly alter indicatives to subjunctives, and conversely subjunctives to indicatives, is a known fact (Prolegg. to *Tristia*, p. lxxvii). But here it is clear that *ignoret* was altered to *ignorat*, in order to conform to the indic. *scit*. But the truth is that the better supported subj. *ignoret* is more forcible, since it is conditional, equivalent to *si hic tamen ignoret*. The meaning is: 'Therefore I shall rightly despise the man who knows how much higher Atlas is than all the mountains in Libya, if he also, in spite of this, is ignorant of the difference between a slender and a large income.' *Scit* is indic. because it states a fact, *ignoret* subj. because it supposes a condition.

- xi. 169 *ille ostenditur*. This reading of our MS. for *extenditur* is unique, and is due to misunderstanding of the meaning of *extenditur* (P $\omega$ ).

## II. Passages where the MS. has a unique reading :

- iii. 67 *rechedigna*; 142 *paraside*.  
iv. 54 *et equore toto est*.  
v. 2 *Et—potes* (*putes m. 2*).  
vi. 88 *in om.*; 167 *Venustinam* (*So Bücheler conjectured, perhaps rightly*); 635 *Scilicet egressi finem*; 640 *depressa*.  
vii. 3 *multi* (*suprascr. noti*) *celebresque*; 218 *achonoetes* (*n del. m. 2*).  
viii. 2 *ostendere currus*; 192 *quantum*.  
ix. 84 *auctoris*; 109 *librarius om. add. mg. m. 2*; 118 *tumque his* (*refreshed*).  
x. 54 *om.* (*So Leo*); 211 *Sit licet et hunius citharedus situe seleucus*; 271 *Exitus ut cūq; hic hominis*; 287 *ac*; 312 *marita*.  
xi. 191 *illic*.  
xii. 117 *sed pueris*.  
xiii. 70 *muris*; 80 *uenatricis calamos*; 164 *fuluam*; 176 *in nostro*; 195 *quatiens*.  
xiv. 160 *araut*; 202 *allegandae*; 254 *est om.*; 276 *est om.*; 292 *funes*.

I conclude with some remarks on a few passages which require particular attention :

- vi. 332.

abstuleris spem  
seruorum, uenit et conductus aquarius.

Val., with  $\omega$ , has *ueniet*, which is accepted by some editors; but *uenit et* (PB) is more forcible: 'If there is no hope of slaves, even (*et=etiam*) the water-carrier is enlisted.'

vii. 22.

siqua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum  
praesidia.

So P. Val., with  $\omega$ , has *expectanda*, which many editors accept because, it is asserted, *spectare* is not used for *expectare*. But in later Latin *spectare* is so used, as in Ennodius, p. 479, 17 (Hartel), *esset plectenda neglegentia et spectaret de illis poenam iudicibus* (Wilson). I see here a trace of the vulgar Latin, with which Juvenal's vocabulary is strongly tinged. The vulgar language was influenced in this case by poetic diction, which affected simple for compound verbs. Thus I explain the archaic *spernatur* (iv. 4), preserved by P, for which other MSS. have *aspernatur* or *aspernatus*, which latter is wrongly adopted by Mr. Housman. So we find *ponit* used for *apponit* (i. 141), *turbauit* for *conturbauit* (xiv. 94 cp. Cic. *Fam.* VIII. 8. 2) and *posita est* for *disposita est* (vii. 47).

vii. 193.

felix orator quoque maximus et ioculator,  
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene.

The reading *ioculator*, given by Val., is found also in O, the Oxford MS., in one of the Venice MSS., which I examined, and in one of Rupert's MSS. P, with the rest, has *iaculator*. Editors accept *iaculator*, but there is considerable doubt as to its meaning. Some understand it metaphorically, 'a dialectician'; others a thrower of *iacula* in the sports of the Campus Martius, 'a marksman'; or, which seems preferable, a thrower of *iacula* in the sense of hunting spears (Ov. *F.* VI. 109), 'a sportsman.' The very doubt as to the meaning suggests doubt as to the reading. I am inclined to accept *ioculator*: the word is found in Cic. *Att.* IV. 16. 3 *huic ioculatorem senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui*. The sense then obtained is excellent. The fortunate man excels in all matters of the tongue, in oratory, in humour, in singing.

ix. 104.

claude fenestras,  
uela tegant rimas, iunge ostia, tollito lumen,  
e medio fac eant omnes, prope nemo recumbat.

Here editors generally adopt *tollite*, the original reading of P, which is found also in most MSS. P<sup>2</sup> has *tollita*, altered into *tollito*. The reading *tollito*, found in Val. and in GV, is an improvement on *tollite*, for the imperative in the second person then conforms to the person of the other imperatives *claude*, *iunge*, *fac*, whereas if *tollite* be accepted, it is hard to see why the imperative should suddenly pass from the singular into the plural. The dactylic *tollito* is paralleled by *sumito*, viii. 134:

de quocumque uoles proauum tibi sumito libro.

x. 155.

'acti' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas  
frangimus.'

Here *acti* is found in Val.  $\omega$ , *actum* (the reading of most editions since Jahn) in PT and Paris 9345.

The Latinity of *actum* is unimpeachable, see Lucan II. 657 *nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum*. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 227 *nil omnibus actum tantorum impensis operum*. Val. Flacc. V. 299 *nil domitis actum Symplegados undis*. Liv. XXXIV. 61. 6 *nil actum esse exilio Hannibalis*. But the more idiomatic construction with the partitive genitive *acti nihil* seems to be preferable. It was advocated with many illustrations by N. Heinsius on Ov. *Her.* viii. 104, and is accepted by Mr. Housman and Leo. The less familiar construction *acti* is more likely to have been altered into the more familiar *actum* than the converse. Mr. Housman pertinently refers to Sen. *Med.* 993 *nihil adhuc facti reor*, where *facti*, which is preserved in the cod. Etruscus only, has been altered in the other MSS. into *factum*. At the same time it must not be forgotten that the case with Juvenal is different from that of Seneca. The Etruscus (sacc. xi-xii) is the only early MS. of Seneca; the vulgate MSS. are late and corrupt. Thus the alteration of *facti* to *factum* would appear to be of mediaeval origin. But the Pithoeanus of Juvenal is an early MS. (circ. 900), and is itself a close reproduction of a still earlier MS., going back to the fourth or fifth century. Thus the reading *actum* dates from classical times, when Latin was still the spoken tongue, and when accordingly the doctrine of the tendency to alter the less to the more familiar construction is clearly not equally applicable, since neither construction was unfamiliar then. It is therefore very possible that, while *actum* was given in one of the ancient editions through which Juvenal's satires passed in classical times, the reading *acti* appeared in the other. In this, as in many cases, the theory of a double recension, ably expounded by Leo (*Hermes* XLIV. pp. 600 sqq. *Doppelfassungen bei Juvenal*), seems to provide a solution of a problem. According to that theory Juvenal's executors issued after his death a posthumous second edition of the Satires containing alterations drawn from the poet's manuscript corrections. I am inclined to think that this theory is more widely applicable to the variations in Juvenal's MSS. than its author has ventured to assert. In fixing Juvenal's text we have to choose continually between two divergent readings, which are equally or pretty nearly equally good in themselves. This bifurcation into two is significant, and leads me to suggest that these divergencies may be due not to alterations of grammarians or copyists but to the differences which existed between the earlier and posthumous edition of the Satires. This is perhaps the reason why the horse-loving consul appears as Lateranus in some MSS. and Damasippus in others (viii. 147, 151, 167), a variation of the name which was very ancient, since it is known to the scholiast (schol. Pithoean. viii. 167 *Lateranus sive Damasippus*). This may account for such longer discrepancies as between *pretium curae* and *operae pretium* vi. 474, *nullo quippe modo* and *namque oblita modi* vii. 100, *fidimus eloquio* and *ut redeant ueteres* vii. 139, *diuersae forte* and *diuersa parte* vii. 156, *i nunc et* and *nunc ergo* x. 310; and it may account for variants of single words, such as *tignum* and *lignum* iii. 246, *spumat* and *fumat* v. 116, *Remi* and *tremens* x. 73, *docet* and *docens* xiii. 186, *olim* and *usi* xv. 93. Thus while in Martial's

text we are confronted by the three editions of three early editors (Lindsay, *Ancient editions of Martial*, Oxford 1903), in that of Juvenal it seems probable that we encounter two editions each emanating from the poet himself.

x. 245.

perpetuo maerore et pulla ueste senescant.

Val. has *pula*, i.e. *pulla*. The rest of the MSS. have *nigra*. I am inclined to accept *pulla*. It is more idiomatic than *nigra*, which may have originated in a gloss on it. Cp. iii. 213 *pullati proceres*. The edition of Lubinus (1619) has *pulla* in the text.

xi. 94.

qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret.

Val. agrees with P in reading *oceano*; P<sup>2</sup>ω have *oceani*, which I now accept. Mr. Housman justly remarks that though the sea, which is called *Oceanus*, can be described as *mare Oceanus* (Tac. *H.* IV. 12), the surge upon the surface of the sea (*fluctus*) cannot be called *Oceanus*. In l. 113 Juvenal says: *litore ab Oceani*.

There is also at Valenciennes, forming part of another MS. n. 406, a fragment of an eleventh-century vellum MS., also written in Caroline minuscules, consisting of two leaves, which contain iii. 308 *sic inde*—iv. 108 *amomo*. It is similar to n. 410, but not quite identical in the character of its readings. I give its readings collated with my second edition:

- iii. 314 contemptam; 315 plures; 317 am (*space left for rubrication*); 318 Annuit; 319 reddit; 320 eluinā cerere; 321 Conuelle; 322 Adiutor.
- iv. 3 eger—fortis; 4 Delitias uiduae . . . aspernatur; 13 serioque; 17 locuntur *sic*; 18 si in numere *sic*; 25 pretium; 28 quales; 31 ructaret; 33 facta; 41 neq.; 43 torpentis; 47 et *om.*; 53 par furio; 54 pulchrumque ex equore toto; 63 Et cessit; 67 saginis; 81 iocunda; 85 ferre; 87 tiranni est; 92 octogesima; 96 iam destinata.

S. G. OWEN.