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ON JUVENAL I. 157 AND TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XV. 44.

IN the first satire Juvenal illustrates his complaint that the times are out of joint by the introduction of sundry pictures and personages which confront him in the streets of Rome. The persons belong largely to the age of Nero; and suggest to some extent at any rate vivid personal recollection. The ruthless favourite of that emperor, Tigellinus, the rich freedmen Pallas and Licinus, the energetic official Ti. Claudius Alexander, the female poisoner Lucusta, were all upon the scene during Nero's reign, and in the passage i. 157 it may be supposed that we have an allusion to the 'living torches' of Nero (see Dürre, *Die zeitgeschichtlichen Beziehungen in den Satiren Juvenals*, p. 6). The story of the tortures inflicted on the Christians by Nero is well known, how, amongst other torments, some were condemned to be burnt at the stake in such a way that by a refinement of cruelty their flaming bodies served to give light at night. Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44, 'et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis connecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi aut *flammando*, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur.' In this passage I venture to read *flammando* 'by being set on fire,' which is nearer to the untranslatable *flammandi* of the MSS. than Nipperdey's *flammati*; and gives the same meaning as the parallel expression of Sulpicius Severus, *hist.* ii. 29, 'flamma usti.'

The horror of the thing, those sufferers clad in the flaming pitchy shirt of little ease (*tunica molesta*), did not go unnoticed by Seneca, who enumerates it among the devices of the torturer (*ep.* 14. 5, 'illam tunicam alimentis ignium et illitam et textam'); and who refers to it in the sarcastic words, which read like a satire on the motive alleged time without number by torturers in the interest of religion (*cons. ad Marciam*, 10. 6, 'alios ignibus peruret vel in poenam admotis vel in remedium'). Similarly he speaks of bodies planted in the ground and burnt (*de ira*, iii. 3. 6, 'circumdatis defossis corporibus ignes'); and when he declares that the good conscience of the virtuous man is the one stand-by which does not desert him at the moment of such torment, it is scarcely

fanciful to suppose that the philosopher was thinking of the Christians and their creed, which had so much in common with his own stoicism (*de. ben.* iv. 21. 6, 'quid nunc mihi prodest bona voluntas? prodest et in eculeo, prodest et in igne. qui si singulis membris admoveatur et paullatim vivum corpus circumeat, licet ipsum cor plenum bona conscientia stillet: placebit illi ignis, per quem bona fides collecebit'). See also Pliny, *paneg.* 33. I think it more than probable that in the passage in question Juvenal is registering a similar reminiscence.

Therefore in the new edition of my Oxford text I read

Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
ut latum media sulcum dent lucis harena.

The reading *ut sulcum dent lucis* was suggested to me primarily by the difficulty of explaining *sulcum* here as 'a furrow,' to which I drew attention *C. R.* xi. 401; where following Maguire I interpreted *sulcus* as a 'streak of light': cp. Verg. *Aen.* ii. 697, Lucan, v. 527, to which passages I now add Sil. Ital. i. 357, 'sulcutum tremula secat aera flamma'; xv. 141, 'ardenti radiare per aera sulco.' Some few years ago Mr. John Jackson, who attended my lectures, influenced no doubt by the above consideration, cleverly proposed, in a college dissertation, to read *ut sulcum des lucis*. This bold method of dealing with the text had been in part anticipated by the conjecture *et sulcum dant lucis*, cited as due to 'adollescens quidam' by Dobree, *Adversaria*, ii. 387, mentioned in Mayor's additional note, and by Jahn wrongly ascribed to Dobree himself.

Judged palaeographically *dētlucis* = *dent lucis* is simple. The meaning will then be: 'If you portray Tigellinus, you will blaze among those faggots, where the wretches burn erect fastened by the chest, that they may provide a broad gleam of light in the middle of the sand.' This seems to me more effective than to make the poet say, 'and they provide, etc.' (Dobree), or 'that you may provide, etc.' (Jackson), because Juvenal thus states in the first line what the outspoken satirist has to expect, burning at the

stake; and in the relative sentence contained in the two following lines he amplifies with characteristic irony the grim utilitarian purpose which the victims were made to serve, the final clause *ut dent*, etc., being closely parallel to the language of Tacitus, where the purpose is conveyed by the words *in usum nocturnis luminis*. I may be permitted

to add that I am glad to find that my conjecture has been approved by so able a critic as Dr. Julius Ziehen in a review of my second edition in the *Philologische Wochenschrift f. kl. Philologie*, Nov. 20, 1908.

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VARIA.

1. Plato Rep. i. 331 A.

γλυκεῖά οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλλοισα γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ ἔλπις, ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνῶμαν κυβερνᾷ.

Davies and Vaughan translate *πολύστροφον* by 'capricious'; Jowett by 'eager'; and Liddell and Scott by 'versatile.'

The word means 'much-turning,' and the picture is surely that of a ship whirled about among dangerous eddies and guided into safety by the helmsman's skill.

Cephalus is quoting a psalm of comfort for the aged whose hearts are torn to and fro (*πολύστροφον*) by fears of death (*θνατῶν* contains a point) until hope steers them into the haven of resignation.

In 328 B has it been pointed out that Thrasymachus' presence is explained by a natural desire to see the procession of his compatriots? His native town, Kalchedon, was in Bithynia, and the Bithynians were a Thracian stock.

2. Juvenal 15. 145.

Atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti.

This is the reading of p and w. Duff after Bücheler has *pariendis*. Dr. Leeper, apparently reading *capiendis*, translates: 'fitted to practise and understand the arts of life.' This I suspect to be the sense, but why has corruption arisen? If we assume that the original ran *exercendis sapiendis* the source of error is obvious. P found an unintelligible *apiendis*, gave it up and recorded only *iendis*; whereas p and w 'corrected' to *capiendis*.

For *sapere*, with other than general objects, = understand cp. Cic. Div. 1. 58. 132. The antithesis is between artists, poets, orators, (*qui exercent*) and their public (*qui sapiunt*).

3. Horace Epist. 1. 16. 30.

cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine?

Schütz (followed by Wilkins) holds that *ne* = *nonne*. But this is to overlook the stress on *tuo* by separation from *nomine*. The sense is: in allowing yourself to be called wise . . . are you answering to *your* name or some one else's? As if *utrum tuo an alieno respondes nomine?*

We may conjecture that the young soldier at roll-call, like the young student, was wont to answer to other names than his own in order to save a defaulting comrade. Horace says: when the name *sapiens emendatusque* is called, and you cry 'Adsum,' are you answering to your own name?

4. Vergil Aen. vi. 452-454.

ut primum iuxta stetit adgnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam.

The construction of *qui* is so harsh that it seems better to read *quis*, cp. vi. 568 and *passim*. The 's' has dropped out by haplography.

5. Vergil Aen. vi. 567.

Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri . . .

Page has long ago exploded the *ὑστερον πρότερον* hypothesis, but it might be pointed out that Conington's interpretation entails the further assumption that '*dolos* seems to be put generally for crime.' By *dolos* are meant the evasive accounts to which the torturer listens. He is not, however, so easily deceived, and forces confession of the whole truth.

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