hypothesis, is opposed to Ps.-Acro. But this uncertainty itself, probably dating back to the earliest stages of Horatian exegesis, may have stimulated the addition of the seventh spurious stanza.

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JUVENAL 2.39: *PUDOR* MISREAD?*

The sanctimonious rant of a hypocritical male draws from one Laronia this retort:

> felicia tempora quae te
> moribus opponunt! habeat iam Roma pudorem: 39
> tertius e caelo cecidit Cato.

Commentators since the fifteenth century who have glossed *habeat iam Roma pudorem* all take it to mean 'it's time Rome stopped behaving disgracefully'. As Laronia turns out to be no crusader for moral reform, Ascensius (Lyon, 1498) and Britannicus (Brescia, 1501) were right to say that it must then continue the sarcasm of *felicia tempora*. Both elements of this interpretation can already be found in medieval glosses, for instance one written above *habeat iam Roma pudorem* by a later hand (p or P^2, s. x/xi) in the Pithoeanus (P, Montpellier 125, s. ix^1): *servet castitatem, yronice.*[1]

I see no decisive objection, but surely instead Laronia means 'it's time Rome called it a day: this is the third Cato that has landed on us'. To borrow an expression from Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 87.1), *contenta sit his Catonibus*. Martial complains that his Muse is driving him too hard (8.3.1–4):

> quinque satis fuerant; nam sex septemve libelli
> est nimium. quid adhuc ludere, Musa, iuvat ?
> sit pudor et finis. iam plus nihil addere nobis
> fama potest: teritur noster ubique liber.

* For discussion I thank Chris Whitton, John Henderson, Gian Biagio Conte, Silvia Rizzo and the referee.

[1] E. Lommatzsch, *Quaestiones Iuvenalianae* (Leipzig, 1895), 29 = *Jahrb. für class. Philol.* Supp. 22 (1896), 399. As he showed, pp. 6–9 = 376–9, p used the collection of glosses transmitted in the families later called ϕ and χ by P. Wessner, *Scholia in Iuvenalem vetustiora* (Leipzig, 1931), xxiii–xxxii, who associated it with Heiric of Auxerre by way of Remigius; Stefano Grazzini is editing it, and I thank him for confirming that most of Wessner's manuscripts agree with p except that they have *yronicos* for *yronice*. Veronika von Büren kindly tells me that the earliest witness to many of the glosses may be Cambridge King's 52, once Phillipps 16395 (s. ix^2); at 2.39 it has *quod inpossibile est id est servat* [sic] *castitatem yronicae*.

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Clytus, who invents eight or nine birthdays a year for the sake of the presents (8.64.1–4), receives a warning (15–18):

> sit tandem pudor et modus rapinis.
> quod si ludis adhuc semelque nasci
> uno iam tibi non sat est in anno,
> natum te, Clyte, nec semel putabo.

The entry on *pudor* in *TLL* rightly cites the first passage of Martial as one where 'respicitur excessus vitandus' (2494.13–17), but admittedly the pairing with *finis* or *modus*, which already occurs in Seneca, *Thyestes* 26–7 *nec sit irarum modus pudorve*, and Horace, *Odes* 1.24.1–2 *quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?*, helps to narrow down the meaning. Without such reinforcement, *pudor* is apt to divide translators or commentators, for instance at *Ecl.* 7.44 *ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuvenci*, where some modern commentators embellish or even abandon Servius' explanation that the *iuvenci* have had enough to eat ('quia ad pascendum avidissimi sunt'). If Servius was right, *Ecl.* 7.44 comes nearer to meeting the definition 'sense of restraint' than any of the other passages that the *OLD* cites in its category 2a, 'consciousness of what is seemly, sense of propriety or restraint, decency, scrupulousness, etc.', except *Odes* 1.24.1, which it mysteriously labels as poetic, and perhaps Cicero, *De finibus* 2.113 *inest* (in the *animus*) *moderator cupiditatis pudor*; at Curtius 10.6.18 on the other hand, where Perdiccas, unsure about succeeding Alexander, *haerebat inter cupiditatem pudoremque*, 'modesty' seems intended, because *modestius* follows. By the time that the *OLD* reaches *Ecl.* 7.44, it has become more interested in labelling phrases like *si pudor est* as colloquial, and perhaps indeed Juvenal's *habeat pudorem* had a colloquial flavour, even if a less marked one than *e caelo cecidit*. In any event, while Martial laughs at himself by taking a moral line on publishing more books, Laronia unleashes her wit by taking a moral line on an excess of moralists.

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THE HISTORIAN PHILOSTRATUS OF ATHENS

A historian called Philostratus the Athenian is known only from one or two citations. He is not in Müller's collection of the fragmentary Greek historians, nor apparently in Pauly-Wissowa, though he earns a passing mention in Schmid-Stählin's history of Greek literature (2⁶.1039). John Malalas in the sixth century cites him for his detailed account of Sapor I's invasion of Syria and Asia Minor in 260:[1] ὁ

[1] Mal. 297.10 Bonn (*FGrH* 99 F 2), translated by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (Melbourne, 1986), 163; I have made some modifications, in particular by taking ἀπήντησεν in a hostile sense (LSJ s.v. ἀπαντάω I 2). Cf. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), 373–6.

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