

NER 186

# REMAINS OF OLD LATIN

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IN FOUR VOLUMES

III

LUCILIUS

THE TWELVE TABLES



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# LUCILIUS

## LIBER I

### Sat. I.

#### 1

Varro, *L.L.*, V, 17: Lucilius suorum unius et vigin librorum initium fecit hoc—

Aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere tempus.

#### 2

Persius, *Sat.*, I, 1:—

O curas hominum! O quantum est in rebus inane!

Schol., *ad loc.* . . . Hunc versum de Lucili primo transtulit.

#### 3-4

Charisius, *ap. G.L.*, I, 125, 19 K: 'Canes.' Lucilius I—

<r littera . . .>

inritata canes quam homo quam planius dicit.

Cp. Nonius, 31, 25; Donatus *ad Ter.*, *Adelph.*, II, 4, 18  
(. . . Lucilius de littera r).

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Varro: Lucilius S Lucretius *cdd.*

<sup>1</sup> quaerere, tempus M

Schol.: principio Reitzenstein *qui lib. X trib.*

<sup>2</sup> r littera *addidi coll. Donat., l.c.*

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<sup>a</sup> Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius*, 219-220. W. Baehrens, *H.*, LIV, 81 ff., is not convincing. Marx, *proleg.*, XXXV ff. argues for 126 B.C.

# LUCILIUS

## BOOK I

Composed (probably after the death of L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus) in 123<sup>a</sup> B.C., and after Books XXVI-XXX. I distinguish three satires.

*Sat. I. Introduction. Lucilius disclaims physical philosophy.*

#### 1

Varro: Lucilius composed the following as the beginning of his twenty-one books—<sup>b</sup>

To seek the time which generated sky and earth.

#### 2

*He approaches satire:*

Persius:—

Oh, the cares of mankind! Oh, how much emptiness there is in the world!<sup>c</sup>

Schol. on this passage: . . . This line Persius transferred from the first book of Lucilius.

#### 3-4

*The snarl of satire:*

Charisius: 'Canes.' Lucilius in (book) I—

the letter r, which a dog, when it is teased, utters more plainly than a man.

<sup>b</sup> That is, of the separate set of twenty-one books; on this, see *Introduction*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Marx attributes this to a god's speech in the trial of Lupus, for which see below. Mueller and Lachmann give the wrong line of Persius here. Cf. Marx, *ad* 9.

## LUCILIUS

*Sat. II. Concilium Deorum* (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, IV, 3, 12 L. in deorum concilio).

Servius ad *Aen.*, X, 104: . . . Totus hic locus de primo Lucilii translatus est, ubi introducuntur dii habere concilium, et agere primo de interitu Lupi cuiusdam ducis (vel 'iudicis') in re publica, postea sententias dicere.

### 5

Servius, ad *Aen.*, IX, 227: . . . Est Lucilii versus uno tantum sermone mutato; nam ille ait—

Consilium summis hominum de rebus habebant.

### 6-7

Schol. Veron., ad *Aen.*, XII, 680: 'Amplius,' id est diutius, ulterius. Lucil.—

quo populum atque urbem pacto servare potisset amplius Romanam.

Cp. Iul. Rom., ap. Charis., *G.L.*, I, 195, 6 K.

### 8

Nonius, 159, 27: 'Protollere' est differre. Lucilius *Satyrarum lib. I*—

si non amplius, at lustrum hoc protolleret unum.

### 9

Nonius, 497, 4: Accusativus positus pro ablativo . . . —  
munus tamen fungi et muros servare potissint.

<sup>6</sup> pactos *Schol.* pactum p.a.u. potissit *Charis.*  
<sup>9</sup> potissint Mr. potissent Mercier possint *cdd.*

<sup>a</sup> Title of a satire, or even of the whole book; it may be the title given by Lucilius himself.

<sup>b</sup> On Lupus see Marx, proleg. XXXV ff.; Cichor., 77 ff. 219 ff.; Baehrens, *H.*, LIV, 81 ff.

## BOOK I

*Sat. II. A Council or Parliament of the Gods.*<sup>a</sup> A meeting of deities who discuss the luxury of Rome and try the chief sinner—  
*Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*,<sup>b</sup> princeps senatus in 131 B.C.

Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* X, 104 ff.: The whole of this passage is transferred from the first book of Lucilius, where gods are brought in as holding a council, and dealing first with the death of one Lupus, a leading man (or judge) in the state, and afterwards giving their decisions.

### 5

Servius, on a line of Virgil: It is a line of Lucilius with only one word changed; for he says—

They were holding parliament on the highest affairs of men.

### 6-7

*Lucilius gives the reason for the assembly:*

A scholiast on Virgil: 'Amplius,' that is longer, further. Lucilius—

by what means<sup>c</sup> he could further save the Roman city and people.

### 8

*A way to put off the ruin of Rome:*

Nonius: 'Protollere' means to put off. Lucilius in the first book of the *Satires*—

if not longer, yet at least to see if he might put this off for one period.<sup>d</sup>

### 9

*Rome need not be punished:*

Nonius: The accusative put instead of the ablativo . . . —  
still they could perform their duty and keep safe the walls.

<sup>c</sup> Or retaining *pactos*—'how he could . . . who had made a pledge.'

<sup>d</sup> i.e. five years. Possibly 'put it off for this one period.'

## LUCILIUS

87-93

Cicero, *de Fin.*, I, 3, 8: Res . . . bonas, verbis electis graviter ornatæque dictas, quis non legat? Nisi qui se plane Graecum dici velit, ut a Scaevola est praetore salutatus Athenis Albucius. Quem quidem locum cum multa venustate et omni sale idem Lucilius, apud quem praeclare Scaevola—

“Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum

municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum, praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque, maluisti dici. Graece ergo praetor Athenis, id quod maluisti te, cum ad me accedis, saluto:

‘chaere’ inquam ‘Tite.’ Lictores, turma omnis chorusque:

‘chaere Tite.’ Hinc hostis mi Albucius, hinc inimicus!”

## LIBER III

This book also, it seems, contained only one satire, in the form of a letter to a friend (Scipio, or Mummius?—Lafaye, *Rev. de Phil.*, XXXV, 22) and describing an outward journey which Lucilius took from Rome between 120 and 116 B.C., probably in order to visit some estates of his in Southern Italy and in Sicily. Cichorius, 251-261 argues that the book

Porphyrio, ad Hor., *S.*, I, 5, 1: Lucilio hac satira aemulatur Horatius iter suum a Roma Brundisium usque describens, quod et ille in tertio libro fecit, primo a Roma Capuam usque, et inde fretum Siciliense.

<sup>92</sup> cohorsque *coni.* Manutius

## BOOK III

87-93

*Albucius a hellenomaniac; joke played on him by Scaevola's cohorts at Athens—cause of Albucius' hatred of him:*

Cicero: As for good themes, spoken with dignity and beauty with choice words, who would not read them? Unless it be one who wants himself to be called downright Greek, just as Albucius was greeted at Athens by Scaevola the praetor. An anecdote indeed which, with much neatness and all wit our same Lucilius gives us; in a passage of his Scaevola speaks thus brilliantly—

(S) “You have preferred to be called a Greek, Albucius, rather than a Roman and a Sabine, a fellow-townsmen of Pontius and Tritanus, of centurions, of famous and foremost men, yes, standard-bearers. Therefore I as praetor greet you at Athens in Greek, when you approach me, just as you preferred. ‘Good-cheer, Titus,’ say I in Greek. ‘Good-cheer, Titus,’ likewise say the attendants, all my troop and band. That’s why Albucius is foe to me; that’s why he’s an enemy!”

## BOOK III

contained not only the account to a friend of the journey actually taken, but also a separate *propempticon* (farewell poem) to the same friend for a future journey as well, the fragments of this being distinguishable by the use of the second person. My view is that this advice to a friend is given by the poet in the course of the narrative of the journey.

Porphyrio on a satire of Horace: Horace in this satire tries to rival Lucilius by describing his journey from Rome to Brundisium, which the latter satirist also did in his third book, first from Rome as far as Capua, and thence to the Sicilian Strait.

## LUCILIUS

519

Nonius, 22, 7: 'Cerebrosi' dicuntur ad insaniam faciles, quibus frequenter cerebrum moveatur . . . —  
te primum cum istis, insanum hominem et cerebrosum.

520-3

Nonius, 533, 11: 'Corbita' est genus navigii tardum et grande . . . —

Multa homines portenta in Homeri versibus ficta monstra putant; quorum in primis Polyphemus ducentos

Cyclops longus pedes; et porro huic maius bacillum quam malus navi in corbita maximus ulla.

524-9

Lactantius, *Div. Instit.*, I, 22, 13: Lucilius eorum stultitiam, qui simulacra deos putant esse, deridet his versibus (*epit.*, 22)—

Terriculas Lamias, Fauni quas Pompiliique instituere Numae, tremit has hic omnia ponit.  
Ut pueri infantes credunt signa omnia aena vivere et esse homines, sic isti somnia ficta vera putant, credunt signis cor inesse in aenis.  
Pergula pictorum, veri nil, omnia ficta.

Cp. Nonius, 56, 7 (526-7).

530

Nonius, 124, 17: 'Inuncare' quasi unco invadere et adripere . . . —

at qui nummos tristis inuncat.

<sup>523</sup> navi in corbita D (I.) navis in . . . ulla *cdd.*  
navi e . . . ullast *opus musiv. Tunis. ubi v. 523 citatur; v. pp. 421-2*

<sup>527</sup> somnia L omnia *cdd.* istic omnia Mr.

<sup>529</sup> pictorum *Lactant.* fictorum M

166

## BOOK XV

(B) *Philosophy cures superstition:*

519

Nonius: 'Cerebrosi' is a term applied to those who are easily made mad, whose brain is often disturbed . . . —

and with them you first, you crack-brained man.

520-3

Nonius: 'Corbita' is a slow and massive kind of ship . . . —

People think that in the poetry of Homer there are many prodigies which are make-believe monstrosities, among the chief of which is Polyphemus the Cyclops, two hundred feet tall; and further his little walking-stick, bigger than the biggest mast of any cargo-boat.

524-9

Lactantius: Lucilius, in the following lines,<sup>a</sup> laughs at the silliness of those who think that images are gods—

As for scarecrows and witches, which our Fauns and Numa Pompiliuses established—he trembles at them, and thinks them all-important. As baby children believe that all bronze statues are alive and are men, so these (*superstitious grown-ups*) think the fictions of dreams are real, and believe that bronze statues have a living heart inside. These things are a painters' gallery, nothing real, all make-believe.

530

(C) *Philosophy cures avarice and teaches the simple life:*

*The miser:*

Nonius: 'Inuncare,' to attack and pull in sharply as with an 'unca,' a hook . . . —

and one who, gloomy of visage, hooks in his coins.

<sup>a</sup> given in the *epit.*

167



## LUCILIUS

531-2

Nonius, 2, 14: 'Senium' . . . —

In numero quorum nunc primus Trebellius multost  
Lucius, nam arcessit febris senium vomitum pus.

533

Charisius, ap. *G.L.*, I, 96, 9 K: 'Alicam' sine aspiratione  
dictam Verrius tradit, et sic multi dixerunt; quamvis Luci-  
lius XV—

“ Nemo est halicarius posterior te,”  
cum asperatione dixerit.

534-5

Nonius, 537, 32: 'Palla' est honestae mulieris vesti-  
mentum . . . —

“ Cum tecum est, quidvis satis est; visuri alieni  
sint homines, spiram pallas redimicula promit.”

536-7

Nonius, 445, 14: 'Acerosum' . . . panem farre minus  
purgato nec sordibus a candido separatim dicendum veteres  
putaverunt . . . —

“ quae gallam bibere ac rugas conducere ventris  
farre aceroso oleis decumano pane coegit.”

Cp. Paul., ex Fest., 96.

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<sup>531-2</sup> multos titos lucios *cdd.* multost Lucius L nam  
(L) arcessit Mr. marcebat Dacier nam sanat L γάρκη  
Onions narce saeva i(s) M alii alia narces(s)ibai  
*cdd.* plus *cdd.* pus *Ald.*

<sup>536</sup> spiras pallam D (I.)

<sup>536</sup> ventri *cdd.* Paul.

<sup>537</sup> oleis Linds (*qui et Olei = Auli coni.*) oleo Iun.  
olei *cdd.* decumano pane coegit T d. p. cumano  
c. *cdd.*

## BOOK XV

531-2

*The miserly Trebellius:*

Nonius: 'Senium' . . . —

Among this crowd Lucius Trebellius now comes  
easily first, for he calls up fevers in a man, and  
vexation, and retching, and festering.

533

Charisius: Verrius relates that 'alica' was pronounced  
thus without an 'h,' and many have pronounced it so; yet  
Lucilius, in the fifteenth book pronounced it 'halicarius',  
with an 'h'—

“ No groats-eater <sup>a</sup> comes second to you,”

534-5

*The miser's wife? :*

Nonius: 'Palla' (mantle) is a garment worn by a modest  
woman . . . —

When she is with you, anything will do; should  
other men be coming to see her, she brings out her  
chin-ribbons,<sup>b</sup> her mantles, her headbands.

536-7

Nonius . . . Old writers thought that 'acerosus' was a  
term to be used for bread not well cleared of coarse meal, when  
the orts have not been separated from the pure . . . —

“ who <sup>c</sup> forced them to drink gall-wine, and their  
bellies to contract in wrinkles through feeding with  
coarse wholemeal, with olives, and hunks of bread  
number ten in size.”

<sup>a</sup> So Cichor., 294.

<sup>b</sup> Thus in Juv., III, 208. Or possibly braids of hair—  
Pliny, IX, 117; Val. Flacc., VI, 396.

<sup>c</sup> It is uncertain what the antecedent of *quae* is; it might  
be *fames*, *paupertas*, *egestas* or *parsimonia*, to judge from the  
remark of Paulus, from Fest., 96, 3, on part of this fr. For  
*decumanus*, see pp. 64, 168, 186-7, 192, 396-7.

Sit me scire volo Decimus mihi conscius Sura  
ne damnum faciam.

Scire hoc se nescit nisi alios id scire scierit.

1144

Festus, 574, 16: 'Vindiciae' appellantur res eae de quibus  
controversia est. . . . Lucilius—

Nemo hic vindicias neque sacramenta veretur.

1145-51

Lactant., *Div. Instit.*, V, 9, 20: Lucilius tenebrosam istam  
vitam circumscripte breviterque depinxit his versibus—

Nunc vero a mani ad noctem festo atque profesto  
totus item pariterque die populusque patresque  
iactare indu foro se omnes, decedere nusquam;  
uni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere et arti—  
verba dare ut caute possint, pugnare dolose,  
blanditia certare, bonum simulare virum se,  
insidias facere ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.

1152

Charisius, ap. *G.L.*, I, 71, 27 K: Forum' neutro genere  
dicimus locum rebus agendis destinatum. Lucilius—

cum illi fora † irant †

<sup>1142</sup> sit me H, *C.Q.*, I, 158-9 VI me B moechum Mr.  
ut me *cdd.* (ut mecum *Monac.*) Decimus mihi H dum  
mimi M dicemus Mr. dici mihi Buecheler mimi  
vel dicimus mimi *cdd.* Sura H si sum Buecheler  
summum M sum mi; at Mr. sum *cdd.* scire hoc  
se nescit fortasse *Lucilio tribuenda* (M)

<sup>1144</sup> sacramenta Huschke sacra omenve Mr. sacra\*  
(*sign. hiat.?*) veretur *Polit.* sacra etiam *Par. sched.*  
s. et *Vat. Lat.* 1549, 2731 sacra . . . en vel sacra  
neque numen veretur *rell.* sacra veretur M *trib. lib. I B*

<sup>1152</sup> mirant L tunc illi fora erant D (I.) transierant  
*coni.* M cum illic Mr. cum illi fora irant *Neapolit.*  
erat *cd. Colon. Dousae*

I want Decimus Sura to know with me that I  
know, lest I be a loser.<sup>a</sup>

He does not know that he knows this unless he knows that  
others know it.

1144

(c) *Degeneration of political life:*

Festus: 'Vindiciae' is a name given to those things about  
which there is a controversy. . . . Lucilius—

No one here has respect for legal claims or for  
sums deposited.<sup>b</sup>

1145-51

*Bustle of the fora:*

Lactantius: Lucilius portrayed that dark way of life  
summarily and shortly in the following lines—

But, as it is, from morning till night, on holiday  
and workday, the whole commons and the senators  
too, all alike go bustling about in the Forum and  
nowhere leave it; all give themselves over to one and  
the same interest and artifices—namely to be able to  
swindle with impunity,<sup>c</sup> to fight cunningly, to strive,  
using soft words as weapons,<sup>d</sup> to act the 'fine fellow,'  
to lie in wait, as though all of them were enemies of  
all men.

1152

Charisius: 'Forum' in the neuter gender is a term we  
use for a place destined for conducting business. Lucilius—

when they . . . the fora.

<sup>a</sup> In the absence of any better reading and interpretation  
I have followed Housman, *C.Q.*, I, 158.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. with the *tresviri capitales* by the parties in a suit;  
the loser forfeited his deposit. On this and *vindiciae*, see below,  
*Laws of the Twelve Tables*, pp. 432, 438, 508-9.

<sup>c</sup> 'within the letter of the law.' 'if it's safe.'—

<sup>d</sup> or, 'to vie with each other in flattery.'

## LUCILIUS

1193

Festus, 164, 11 (cp. Paul., 165, 3):—

Nequam aurum est; auris quovis vehementius  
ambit.

Hoc versu Lucili significari ait Sinius Capito nequam esse aurum quod auris laedat, vel pondere inaurium, cum molissima pars auris inciditur; vel ex auro intellegi pecuniam, cuius respectu et nimia cupiditate homines ad peccandum adduci.

1194-5

Scholiasta ad Iuv., III, 143 (cp. ad I, 106): Lucilius—

Aurum atque ambitio specimen virtutis virique est.  
Tantum habeas tantum ipse sies tantique habearis.

1196-1208

Lactant., *Div. Instit.*, VI, 5, 2: Quaecunque autem in definitionem virtutis solent dicere, paucis versibus colligit et enarrat Lucilius . . . —

Virtus, Albine, est pretium persolvere verum  
quis in versamur quis vivimus rebus potesse;  
virtus est homini scire id quod quaeque habeat res;  
virtus scire homini rectum utile quid sit honestum,  
1200 quae bona quae mala item, quid inutile turpe in-  
honestum;

<sup>1193</sup> quovis B quodvis M quovis L quod vi  
D (F.) nequam est aurum aures quovis S quod vis *cdd.*  
<sup>1194</sup> virique Bergk, *Philol.*, XIV, 390 utrimque L  
utrumque D (I.) ubique Schurzfleisch utriusque *sch.*  
*trib. lib. XIX* Fiske

<sup>1195</sup> tantum habeas *sch.* quantum habeas D (F.)  
<sup>1196-1208</sup> *trib. lib. XVII* Corpet XXX Fiske

## UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

1193

*The value of gold:*

Festus:—

Gold is a rascal; it goes the rounds of our ears,<sup>a</sup>  
demanding our votes more earnestly than anything.

Sinius Capito says that in this line of Lucilius the meaning is that gold is a rascal because it hurts the ears, for example, by weight of ear-rings, when the softest part of the ear is cut into; or it may be that by 'gold' we are to understand 'money' with a view to which, and with undue lust for it, men are led to do wrong.

1194-5

A Scholiast: Lucilius—

Gold and going the rounds for votes are a token of a man and his manliness.<sup>b</sup> See that you hold so much, are yourself so much, and are held to be worth so much.

1196-1208

*Virtue:*

Lactantius: But whatever men are wont to say towards making a definition of virtue Lucilius brings together and tells in a few verses . . . —

Manliness or virtue, my dear Albinus, is being able to pay in full a fair price in our business dealings and in the affairs which life brings us; virtue is knowing what each affair has within it for a man; virtue is knowing what is right and useful and honourable for a man and what things are good and again what are bad, what is shameful, useless,

<sup>a</sup> There is a pun on *aurum* and *auris. ambit*, 'canvasses.' Notice the assonances in this and the next fr.

<sup>b</sup> 'ambitio,' canvassing. Those who read *utrique est* see an allusion to the brothers Postumii (see next fr.)—cf. Marx, and Cichor., 333 ff. The readings of both lines are disputed.



## LUCILIUS

virtus quaerendae finem re scire modumque;  
 virtus divitiis pretium persolvere posse;  
 virtus id dare quod re ipsa debetur honori,  
 hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque  
 malorum

1205 contra defensorem hominum morumque bonorum,  
 hos magni facere, his bene velle, his vivere amicum,  
 commoda praeterea patriai prima putare,  
 deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra.

Cp. *Div. Instit.*, VI, 6, 7 (v. 1201); 6, 10 (v. 1202); 6, 18 (v. 1207).

1209

Festus, ap. *C.G.L.*, IV, XVIII: 'Pipatio' est clamor  
 plorantis acerba voce. Lucilius—

"Petis pipas? Da." "Libet" <inquit>.

Id est, "petis clamas? Da." "Iuvat," inquit.

Cp. Paul., ex F., 263, 4 (pipatio clamor plorantis lingua  
 Oscorum).

1210

Donatus, ad Ter., *Eun.*, II, 3, 11 ('senium'): 'Senex' ad  
 aetatem refertur, 'senium' ad convicium; sic Lucilius—

† aes † ait quidam "senium atque insulse sophista."

<sup>1201</sup> re L rei *cdd.*

<sup>1207</sup> patriai Burmann patriae *cdd.*

<sup>1209</sup> <quare me insidiis petis> *coni.* M curve palam  
 nunc me pētīt pipans *coni.* Sto., *W. St.* XXVII, 224-6 petit  
 pipas *cla cd.*

<sup>1210</sup> es ait M ast ait Schoell atqui dei male te Mr.  
 aes ait *cd.* V at *sait cd.* B at ait *cd.* T quidam M  
 quid iam Schoell quidam (*vel* quidem) the (*vel* te) *cdd.*  
*trib. lib.* XV Mr.

392

## UNASSIGNED FRAGMENTS

dishonourable; virtue is knowing the limit and  
 the end of seeking a thing, virtue is being able to  
 pay in full the price from our store; virtue is giving  
 that which in all truth is due to honour, being an  
 enemy and no friend of bad men and manners, and  
 on the other hand being a defender of good men  
 and manners; prizing greatly the latter, wishing  
 them well and being a life-long friend to them;  
 and besides all this, thinking our country's interests  
 to be foremost of all, our parents' next, and then  
 thirdly and lastly our own.<sup>a</sup>

1209

*Invective* :

Festus: 'Pipatio' <sup>b</sup> is the noise of one bewailing in a shrill  
 voice. Lucilius—

"Do you ask it, do you cheep? Out with it!"  
 "With pleasure," said he.

That is, "do you ask it, do you cry? Out with it." "That  
 suits me" said he.

1210

Donatus: 'Senex' is used with reference to age, 'senium'  
 with reference to a sneer; thus Lucilius—

Says someone, "you old dotard, you fool of a  
 quibbler."

<sup>a</sup> These awkward Latin sentences give the Stoic idea  
 adapted to human needs. Albinus may be Spurius Postumius,  
 consul in 110, or more likely his brother Aulus who was defeated  
 by Jugurtha in the same year. But see Cichor., 350-4.

<sup>b</sup> *Pipatio* was an Oscan word (Paul., ex F., 263, 4).

393