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REMAINS OF
OLD LATIN
LIVIVS ANDRONICUS
NAEVIUS · PACUVIUS
ACCIUS



Translated by
E. H. WARMINGTON

REMAINS OF OLD LATIN

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IUVIUS ANDRONICUS
NAEVIUS, PACUVIUS, ACCIUS

藏书章
EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
E. H. WARMINGTON



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REMAINS OF OLD LATIN

II

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INTRODUCTION

Scope of Volume II

IN this second volume of *Remains of Old Latin* will be found all the fragments of Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius, who are treated in chronological order,* and other fragments of old Roman tragedy which are not assigned to any author; but of these anonymous fragments each one must almost certainly be attributed to one or other of the old poets which are contained in the first and second volumes. Thus these two volumes include all that we know about the writers of Roman tragedy down to Sulla's times. Such anonymous fragments as are recognised, because of their tone, as coming from old writers of comedies have not been included here, for this series of three volumes does not include the old comic poets such as Titinius, Turpilius, Quinctius Atta, Afranius, Novius, and L. Pomponius; though some of the old and anonymous comic fragments may in fact belong to Ennius, Caecilius, Livius, or Naevius.

Our sources for the old poetry contained in this volume are on the whole of the same kind as are

* It should be noted that Ennius and Caecilius, the two authors which have been already dealt with in the first volume, come after Naevius, and before Pacuvius, in order of time.

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those which were drawn upon in order to produce the first volume, though some of them are much less important than they were as sources for Ennius. Nonius is, as before, the main storehouse for fragments; the importance of the other sources varies. Very late and doubtful authorities, who provide a problem for students of Ennius' fragments, are wholly absent from this volume. With regard to the method of quotation from the sources I have seen no reason to depart from the method which was used in the first volume. As there, so here, real fragments of the old poets are shown in a distinctive type; while 'hidden fragments,' though not given in special type, have been put in the most suitable places. For the sources and the method of quotation from them, consult volume I, *Introduction*, pages viii–xvii and xxxii–xxxiii. Further I have retained the system of titles or headings to fragments wherever the presence of such a heading either reveals in few words the context or subject of the fragment, or, where the context is uncertain, as often happens, shows why I have put the fragment where it stands in the text; on this, see volume I, *Introduction*, xvi–xvii. Abbreviations: xxxii–iii.

Life of Livius Andronicus

The tastelessness which is shown in so much of the tradition about the lives of the old Latin poets is deplorable; it is especially so when we try to learn about the life^a of Livius Andronicus; for although

^a For a very sceptical treatment of the tradition in regard to Andronicus, see H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Études sur l'ancienne poésie latine*, pp. 14 ff.

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it is probably true that he wrote nothing great, yet he was a man of great importance in the literary history of Rome. His Latin *cognomen* Andronicus is a translation of Ἀνδρόνικος and suggests that he was by birth a Greek of that name; but the date of his birth is not known. It took place, however, at Taras or Tarentum in southern Italy about the year 284 B.C. After the surrender of that city to the Romans in 272,^a he was brought as a young slave to Rome, and after some years came into the possession of one Lucius Livius. He must have shown that he had a bright and scholarly intellect; and, as a reward for instruction given to Livius' sons, was set free by this man, to whom as patron he became a freedman, and whose *praenomen* he received as his also according to the custom of those days. He thus became known as Lucius Livius Andronicus; ^b and the epithet 'half-Greek' ^c which was applied to him by Romans of later times is thus particularly suitable. He continued, or perhaps now only began, to give, to the children of people other than his patron,^d doubtless good instruction in Greek and perhaps imperfect instruction in Latin, and remained to some extent dependent on his patron. We do not know who this patron was; but

^a Cicero, *Brutus*, xviii, 72-3; cf. W. Beare, *Class. Quarterly*, 1940, 11-19.

^b Jerome, *Chron. ad ann. Abr. 1830* = 187 B.C., wrongly gives Livius Salinator as the patron: the unknown source of this error is the same as that of Accius, for which see pages 586-7. On Andronicus' *praenomen* Lucius, see Gellius, VI, 7, 11; XVII, 21, 42; and other sources. The false *praenomen* Titus, given by some sources, is due to a confusion with the historian Livy.

^c Suetonius, *de Grammaticis*, 1.

^d Suetonius, *l.c.*; Jerome, *Chron. ad ann. Abr. 1830*.

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he was probably the father of Livius Salinator who, with C. Claudius, defeated Hasdrubal in 207. Andronicus may or may not have become a schoolmaster; but a teacher he certainly was, interpreting Greek literature, especially poetry, to Roman pupils, and writing commentaries to read to them. Perhaps also it was for his pupils' benefit that he reproduced, in a rough Latin translation and paraphrase, in Saturnian verse, Homer's *Odyssey*;^a in any case this work of Andronicus was apparently regarded by Charisius as the oldest real poem in the Latin language; and it became a book of the class-rooms for some generations to come.^b

But Andronicus had other abilities besides those of a teacher; and he became an actor and stage-manager, and an author of stage-plays. At first he was known only for his *Saturae*, or plotless medleys produced on the stage to the accompaniment of a flute.^c But in 240 B.C. he was given an opportunity to make an important change, and accepted it; for in that year, in order to celebrate the *ludi Romani* on a grander scale than usual because of Rome's victory in the first Punic War, the aediles approached Andronicus, and he replied by himself putting on the stage, and acting in, the first Latin comedy and the first Latin tragedy, both of which

^a Such mistakes as Andronicus is supposed to have made in his reproduction of the Greek would surely be due to imperfect knowledge not of Greek but of Latin; his *Odyssey* might thus be an early work. But the deviations from Homer seem to me to be deliberate on Andronicus' part. See pp. 24 ff.

^b Charisius, ap. *G.L.*, I, 84, 8-9 K. Horace, *Epistles*, II, 1, 69-71.

^c Livy, *Histor. ab urbe condita*, VII, 2, 8.

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he had composed himself; both were adapted from Greek models, and both therefore had a connected plot or *fabula*. From now onwards Andronicus, using the Latin language but Greek metres, continued to translate and adapt Greek plays for the Roman stage; from now onwards such *fabulae* began to displace the old *saturae*, which became instead 'satires' to be read only, not performed on the stage. Andronicus continued to act himself, and spoke his parts on the stage so vigorously and was so often 'encored' that his voice, we are told, became hoarse. This mishap, it was said, caused the institution of a singer or *cantor* to sing the words of the *cantica* in some sort of harmony with the flute-player, the actor doing no more than making the required gestures.^a

Before long, Andronicus found himself a famous man.^b Further honours awaited him. Early in 207 B.C., during the Second Punic War, omens of bad import terrified the Roman people, and, in order to expiate them, the *pontifices* ordained that thrice nine maidens should walk through the city singing a hymn. According to the historian Livy, it was the poet Livius who composed this hymn. While the girls were learning it, the shrine of Juno Regina on the Aventine was struck by lightning. The hymn was therefore sung in honour of Juno. Livy adds

^a See Livy, *l.c.*; Cicero, *Brutus*, xviii, 72 (on Accius' blunder, see pp. 586-7); *de Senectute*, xiv, 50; Cassiodor., *Chron.* ad 239 puts Livius' production of his first plays in 239. Cp. also Gellius, XVII, 21, 42; Cicero, *de Legibus* II, 15, 39; *gloss. Salomon.*, Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, XXVIII, 119; Festus, 492, 22.

^b Jerome, ad ann. 1830, is quite wrong in stating that Andronicus became famous in 187 B.C.

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that the poem was perhaps worthy of praise, according to the ideas of those days, but nowadays would seem rough and unpolished.^a There is no doubt that this intercessory hymn was sung before the Battle of the Metaurus had taken place. But Festus, writing about 'scribae,' says: 'After Livius Andronicus, in the Second Punic War, had written a hymn which was sung by maidens, because the commonwealth of the Roman people began to fare more prosperously, the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was publicly devoted to his honour; in this temple writers (*sc. of plays*) and actors were allowed to hold sittings and present votive gifts; this was done in honour of Livius, because he both wrote plays and acted in them.'^b In this passage it is not clear whether the words 'because . . . prosperously' give the cause of the hymn mentioned here by Festus or of the honour granted to Andronicus. If they give the reason for the hymn, then this hymn is different from the one described by Livy, and would be a second hymn, one of thanksgiving; and it would be natural to conclude that this second hymn was composed, perhaps late in 207, in thanks for the victory of Livius Salinator at the Metaurus.^c It would be natural for Salinator (provided that his father was really that Livius who owned and freed Andronicus) to ask his old tutor to write something

^a Livy, XXVII, 37.

^b Festus, 492, 22.

^c It may be that we have a 'hidden fragment' from one of these hymns; for the augments of Servius, on Virgil's *Aen.*, IV, 37 says that 'Livius Andronicus relates that the Africans (*sc. Carthaginians*) often triumphed over the Romans and adorned their colonnades with spoils taken from the Romans.'

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in celebration of the victory; but we must note that no authority at all, not even Cicero or Livy, or for that matter, Jerome, makes any such suggestion. It would be strange too, if there were two hymns, that Livy should mention one only. At any rate, in honour of Andronicus, after 207 B.C., the Romans founded a *collegium* of playwrights and actors which developed into a *Collegium Poetarum*.^a

We know only one thing more about the life of Andronicus; he survived the adolescence of Cato the elder, who saw Andronicus when Andronicus was an old man.^b Thus he who had created the first Latin epic, the first Latin tragedy, the first Latin comedy (all these in a borrowed form as it were), and the first Latin lyric poetry (this perhaps out of quite original Latin material if not in Latin metre), died about the year 204 B.C.

Although Andronicus' works, popular at first, were, in the eyes of the public and the minds of literary men, soon neglected in favour of more brilliant achievements, yet his *Odyssey*, and perhaps his hymns and parts of his tragedies also, were studied in schools until the end of the Republican period. Thus Cicero looked on Andronicus' *Odyssey* as comparable with an architectural work of Daedalus, that is, impressive but antique and rough, and his plays as not worth a second reading; ^c while Horace,^d though his teacher Orbilius made him study 'Livi

^a Festus, 492, l.c. Cf. B. Kruckiewicz, in *Eos*, I, 127; E. Sihler, in *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, XXVI, 1. Cichorius, *Röm. Stud.*, I ff., tries to show that Livius had already composed a hymn in honour of Proserpine in 249 B.C.; cf. Wissowa, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1924, 51.

^b Cicero, *de Senectute*, xiv, 50. ^c Cicero, *Brutus*, xviii, 71.

^d *Ep.*, II, 1, 69-72.

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carmina,' did not agree with any who believed that Livius' compositions were beautiful and nearly perfect. During the period of the empire his works survived in libraries, but were not often read, except for the interest offered by their archaic character,^a until for this same reason several grammarians, from the fourth to the seventh centuries, drew material from them. After that, Andronicus' fame and then his works were lost.

Life of Naevius^b

When we turn to the life of Cn. Naevius, we are met to a greater degree by the same kind of difficulty as we find in approaching the career of Andronicus; but we have enough scraps of information and enough fragments to reveal in Naevius a true Latin poet who was a Roman citizen, enjoyed more independence of living than Andronicus did, and was endowed with a truly national spirit. He was born about 270 B.C., and belonged to a plebeian *gens* whose name is frequent in Latin records; he was thus at least a Latin and probably a true Roman, though some believe that he was born in Campania, because Gellius^c speaks of Naevius' epitaph (see pp. 154-5) as full of 'Campanian haughtiness.' But Campanian arrogance had become proverbial, and so could be used of any one, whether Campanian or not.

Naevius served as a soldier in the first Punic War (264-241 B.C.), and when he was about forty-five years old began to produce plays in Rome, in 235

^a Gellius, XVIII, 9, 5. Festus (from Verrius Flaccus) gives various passages.

^b E. Marmorale, *Naevius Poeta*, 15 ff.

^c Gellius, I, 24, 2. Cf. H. Rowell, *Mem. of the American Academy in Rome*, 1949, 15 ff.

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B.C.^a There is no evidence that he ever became an actor; his dramatic career therefore would be independent of the actor's profession. He showed a preference for comedies, which were mostly *fabulae palliatae* modelled upon Greek sources, though some were *togatae*, the subject-matter of these being Roman or Italian, not Greek. Soon after 222 B.C. he invented a new kind of play—the *fabula praetexta* or historical Roman play—by composing one (*Clastidium*) which dealt with the victory won at Clastidium by M. Marcellus in 222 B.C.; another one, *Romulus*, perhaps followed soon afterwards. This kind of play, though it was attempted by successors of Naevius, never became popular. For *palliatae* Naevius was especially famous, being by some critics placed third in order of merit among comic poets; some of the *palliatae* have Latin titles, which may indicate plays composed later than those which have Greek titles. He sometimes practised *contaminatio* or fusion of two Greek plays into one Latin.^b

In his *togatae*, and possibly also in his *palliatae* (thus deviating widely from the Greek originals), Naevius boldly and pointedly attacked famous statesmen living in Rome; some of his attacks were possibly made in a *Satura*,^c but this could well be the title of a single comedy. Even the great Scipio Africanus suffered from the poet's rancour (see pp. 138–9). Further, the *gens* of the Caecilii Metelli was so greatly irritated by Naevius that in ^d206 Q. Caecilius Metellus threatened retaliation

^a Gellius, XVII, 21, 44.

^b Volcacius Sedigitus puts Naevius third: Gellius, XV, 24; *contaminatio*: Terence, *Andria*, prol., 15–19.

^c Festus, 340, 27 ff.

^d See p. 156.

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upon him.^a In the end, 'because of constant insults and jibes uttered against leading men of the state in the manner of Greek poets' (*sc.* of the 'Old Comedy'), he was thrown into prison^b at Rome by the *triumviri capitales*. There he called forth the sympathy of his fellow-playwright Plautus.^c While he was in prison Naevius wrote two plays, *Ariolus* and *Leon*, in which he apologised for his misdoings and 'petulantia' which had hurt so many people. He was then set free by the tribunes of the plebs.^d But either he resumed his attacks or his old enemies were unforgiving, because he was almost at once, through the activities of the nobles, and especially the Metelli, exiled from Rome and Italy.^e He went to Utica in northern Africa, doubtless after the end of the siege of that place by Scipio in 202, and soon afterwards died there, in 201, according to Jerome,^f though he may have died a year or two later than this.

One of Naevius' most important achievements—indeed perhaps the most important if not the most poetic—has not been mentioned yet. This is the *Punic War*, that is to say an epic poem on the first Punic War, in which he had served. It was published and apparently also composed by Naevius in his old age,^g and his strong national spirit caused him to use the old native Saturnian metre. The result was prosy, and it may be that it had been begun

^a Pseudo-Ascon. ad Cic., *Verr.*, I, 10, 29; see pp. 154-5.

^b Gellius, III, 3, 15. ^c Plaut., *Mil. Glor.*, 211-2.

^d Gellius, III, 3, 15. ^e Jerome, ad ann. 1816 = 201.

^f *l.c.* Cicero, *Brutus*, xv, 60 shows that 'ancient commentaries' recorded Naevius' death in 204, but points out that Varro distrusted this date and put Naevius' death later.

^g Cicero, *de Senectute*, xiv, 50. But cf. W. Beare, *Class. Rev.*, 1949, 48.

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soon after 240 B.C., and was continued and completed at intervals. The work was important because though it was not the first epic poem written in Latin, it was the first *national* or really Roman epic. Herein Naevius traced the legendary origins of Rome and Carthage, bringing in stories of heroes and gods, and putting into Latin verse the already accepted but fictitious connexion between Rome and Troy. The influence of the poem on Ennius and Virgil was undoubtedly great (see *e.g.* Vol. I, pp. xxii and 64-5, 82-3; and this volume, pp. 49, 53). Written by Naevius as one uninterrupted whole, it was divided into seven books by C. Octavius Lampadio c. 165 B.C.^a Other commentators also worked upon it.^b Admiration felt for it by the Romans is doubtless due largely to the fact that it was their own first epic about themselves, dealing with a terrible war which had a victorious ending for Rome. However, the defects of the poem were not ignored. It pleased Cicero as might a work of the sculptor Myron, and he admits that, splendidly as Naevius had acquitted himself, Ennius wrote more polished epic poetry.^c

Life of Pacuvius

At Brundisium ^d in Calabria, in or about 220 B.C., was born M. Pacuvius, a son of the sister ^e of the poet

^a Suetonius, *de Grammat.*, 2; cp. Nonius, 170, 17.

^b One Vergilius and one Cornelius—Varro, *L.L.*, VII, 39.

^c Cicero, *Brutus*, 75. Caesius Bassus (Atil. Fortunat.), ap. *G.L.*, VI, 255, in Nero's time found the metre of the *Punic War* very formless.

^d Jerome, ad ann. 1863.

^e So Pliny, XXXV, 19; son of Ennius' daughter, says Jerome wrongly.

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Ennius; his ancestry^a on his father's side was of 'Romanised' or 'Latinised' Oscan stock. He came to Rome, and, having joined the literary circle of Laelius, spent most of his long life in painting and in writing tragedies. One at least of his paintings, in the temple of Hercules in the *forum boarium*, was still noted in the time of the elder Pliny,^b who testifies to the fame of Pacuvius as a painter; but his chief claim to renown lay probably in his tragedies, which he seems not to have composed until he was well on in years. He was inspired by the tragedies of Ennius, but can hardly have been a 'pupil' of that poet.^c His year of fame is stated by Jerome to have been 154 B.C.^d Pacuvius in turn inspired one Pompilius, who claimed to be a *discipulus* of Pacuvius.^e

Pacuvius became a friend of Accius, his contemporary and successor in Roman tragedy, and, in 140 B.C., when Pacuvius was eighty years old and Accius forty, both produced a play for the same occasion.^f Being now an old man, and afflicted by some long-lasting disease of the body, he retired soon afterwards to Tarentum. There he was visited one day by Accius, who was on a journey to Asia. Accius was welcomed by Pacuvius, stayed a few days, and at Pacuvius' earnest request read to him his tragedy *Atreus*.^g Pacuvius said what Accius had written was grand and sonorous, but seemed rather harsh

^a Other forms of the gentile name Pacuvius are Pacuius, Pacvius, and Paquius.

^b Pliny, *l.c.*; cp. Jerome, *l.c.*

^c Pompilius ap. Varr., in Nonius, 88, 5.

^d Jerome, *ad ann.* 600 = 154.

^e Pompilius, *l.c.*

^f Cicero, *Brutus*, lxiv, 229.

^g Not A.'s first play: E. Penninck, *Latomus*, 1939, 95.

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and rugged. Accius admitted this criticism, and hoped to do better.^a When he was nearly ninety years old, Pacuvius died at Tarentum, about the years 132-130 B.C.

Besides writing a few famous tragedies, Pacuvius wrote one *fabula praetexta*, called *Paulus*, probably on Aemilius Paulus, victor at Pydna in 168 B.C. He also wrote *Satura*.^b A man of two professions, a painter before he was a tragic poet, he had but a small literary output. Cicero and others put him at the head of Roman tragic writers; others thought him excellent in some things,^c faulty in others.^d There can be no doubt that in the first century B.C. some of his plays enjoyed great popularity (cf. pp. 239, 286, 291).

Life of Accius

Lucius Accius^e was born in 170 B.C. at Pisaurum, his parents being freedmen. His father had been included amongst the colonists which the Romans had sent out to Pisaurum in 184; and a *fundus* close to that town was always called Accianus.^f Lucius came to Rome and there spent a long life in literary pursuits, especially in the production of tragedies, of which he composed a good number. We have

^a Gellius, XIII, 2, 1-4; Jerome, *l.c.*

^b Diomedes, ap. *G.L.*, I, 485, 32 K; Porphyrio, ad Hor., *S.*, I, 10, 46.

^c Cicero, *de opt. gen. or.*, 1; cp. 'auct.,' ad *Herenn.*, IV, 7; Gellius, VI, 14, 6.

^d Lucilius, ap. Non., 30, 28; Cicero, *Brutus*, lxxiv, 258; Persius, *S.*, I, 77; *et al.*

^e In inscriptions (including some from Pisaurum), the commoner spelling is Attius; in manuscripts, Accius.

^f Jerome, ad ann. 1878, 139. Pliny, VII, 128.