M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIA
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(M. ANNAEI) LUCANI

PHARSALIA

EDITED WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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1887
TO

ARTHUR GRAY BUTLER,
FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD,
FORMERLY HEAD MASTER OF HAILEYBURY COLLEGE,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE

BY HIS OLD PUPIL,

C. E. HASKINS.
This edition of Lucan is intended to meet the want which is, I believe, often felt, of an edition with English notes suited for students at the University and the higher forms in Schools. I have not made any attempt to produce a critical text, but have followed for the most part that of Weise; the references in the notes to differences in the readings of the manuscripts are mainly drawn from the edition of Oudendorp (Leyden, 1728). I have also had constantly before me the editio princeps published at Rome in the year 1469, of which there are two copies in the Library of St John's College.

My thanks are above all due to Mr W. E. Heitland, who has had the kindness not only to furnish an Introduction to the book, but also to look through and criticise the proofs of the notes. I am also indebted to the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Professor of Latin in the
University of Cambridge, for many valuable references especially on the sixth book, and to several other friends for various suggestions for which I heartily thank them; finally I desire to thank the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for allowing me to make use of the notes on the first book contained in a little volume edited for them by Mr Heitland and myself in 1875.

C. E. HASKINS.

Cambridge, May 9, 1887.
INTRODUCTION
IOANNI EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR
HOC OPVSCVLMVM DEDICAT
GVILELMVS EMERTON HEITLAND
AMICVS AMICO
LITTERATO LITTERATOR
TO THE READER

When Mr Haskins asked me to write the Introduction to his edition of Lucan I gladly consented to do so, moved by the wish to renew our former association in a small edition of the first book. Little did I think to what a size the work would grow, or how great would be the labour of producing a result still lamentably crude and incomplete.

The literary criticism of the Pharsalia is an eminently interesting problem. From the death of Ovid to the birth of Lucan is barely a quarter of a century: a gap of fifty years or less is all that parts the literature of the Augustan epoch from the Neronian. The few minor poets who wrote in the interval have left but a few small fragments: and the modern reader of Roman poets passes over this period of silence and finds himself at once in the literature of the Annaean circle, the central figure in which is the younger Seneca. It is indeed a startling leap: we are surrounded by writers whose tone motives ideas and canons of composition differ fundamentally from those current in the company we have just left. Into the nature causes and significance of this remarkable change it is part of my business to inquire.

In doing this it is perhaps unfortunate that so little help is to be got from previous writers. The work of Nisard, faulty in parts but on the whole good, stands almost alone in dealing fully and directly with the problem: and it is too much of the nature of popular lectures to serve as a basis for serious study. For Lucan’s life and writings Genthe’s dissertation is of great use. How miserable may be the result of meritorious exertions is shewn by Koerber’s paper on Lucan’s syntax.
A short experience of Weber is enough. Weise's preface is surely one of the worst compositions that ever made pretence to judgment and learning. Most of the remarks on Lucan in standard histories are vague or misleading; and the fact is that if one is to form one's opinions on adequate grounds one must do the whole drudgery oneself.

This may have its compensating advantages. But it necessarily increases the bulk of the work; for, in order not to pretend to an authority to which I can lay no claim, I feel compelled to print a large mass of material in justification of opinions expressed. In the case of two crucial questions, (1) who is the hero of the poem (2) what is Lucan's relation to Vergil, I have ventured into considerable detail, but not I think without some result.

This kind of work brings neither money nor repute. To the very few who will read these pages I look for an indulgent reception. I have had to work under great pressure of various duties and charges, and a series of interruptions tiresome but unavoidable. At the same time there is pleasure in working at literature as literature: and the study of even a second-rate author is not without its reward.

I have omitted a great quantity of matter as irrelevant to my purpose, and have passed over many remarks of Nisard and Genthe on this ground. Some are omitted as having neither authority nor probability.

W E Heitland

March 1887.
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A. ANCIENT AUTHORITIES.

(1) Life of Lucan attributed to Suetonius.\(^1\)

M Annaeus Lucanus Cordubensis poeta in Pisoniana coniuratione deprehensus brachium ad secandas venas medico praebuit......prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus dedit quinquennali certamine, dein civile bellum quod a Pompeio et Caesare gestum est recitavit, ut praefatione quadam aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio comparans ausus sit dicere 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem?' hic initio adulescentiae, cum ob infestum matrimonium patrem suum ruri agere longissime cognovisset......revocatus Athenis a Nerone cohortique amicorum additus atque etiam quaestura honoratus, non tamen permansit in gratia; siquidem aegre ferens recitante se subito ac nulla nisi refrigerandi sui causa indicito senatu recessisse neque verbis adversus principem neque factis extantibus post haec temperavit, adeo ut quondam in latinis publicis clariore cum strepitu ventris missi hemistichium Neronis magna consessorum fuga pronuntiarit 'sub terris tonuisse putes'. sed et famoso carmine cum ipsum tum potentissimos amicorum gravissime proscidit. ad extremum paene signifer Pisonianae coniurationis exstitit\(^2\), multus in gloria tyrannidarum palam praedicanda ac plenus minarum, usque eo intemperans ut Caesaris caput proximo cuique iactaret. verum detecta coniuratione nequaquam parem animi constantiam praestitit; facile enim confessus et ad humillimas devolutas preces matrem quoque innoxiam inter socios nominavit, sperans impetatum sibi apud parricidam principem profuturam. impetrato autem mortis arbitrio libero codicillos ad patrem corrigendis quibusdam versibus suis exaravit, epulatusque largiter brachia ad secandas venas praebuit medico. poemata eius etiam praegeg memini, confici vero ac proponi venalia non tantum operose et diligenter sed inepte quoque\(^3\).

1 See Genthe p 3, Teuffel § 303 note 1. It is now generally admitted to belong to Suetonius.

2 This is not an inference from the P/arsalia, but based on tradition and on verba and facta extantia of Lucan. So too Genthe p 4.

3 This I take it proves a great demand for the work.


(2) Lucanii vita ex commentario antiquissimo. 

M. Annaeus Lucanus patrem habuit M. Annaeum Melam ex provincia Baetica Hispaniae interioris Cordubensem equitem Rom illustrem inter suos notum Romae et propter Senecam fratrem clarum per omnes virtutes virum et propter studium vitae quietiorum; quod sequens magis a turba recedebat minus latebat. matrem habuit et regionis eiusdem et urbis Acilii nomine Acili Lucani filiam oratoris operae apud proconsules frequentis et apud clarissimos viros non nullius ingenii adeo non improbandus ut in scriptis aliquibus hodie quoque duret eius memoria; cuius cognomen huic inditum apparat. natus est IIII non Novemb C Caesare Augusto Germanico II L Caesiano I coss. sed in patria sua non valuit educari; fatorum credo decretis ut id ingenium quod orbem fama sui implecturum cresceret in domina mundi aleretur urbe. octavum enim messem agens Romam translatus est. ac ne dispar eventus in eo narraretur eius qui in Hesiodo refertur, cum opinio tunc non dissimilis maneret, cunas infantis quibus ferebatur apes circumvolarunt osque insidiae complures, aut dulcem iam tum spiritum eius inaurientes aut fecundum et qualem nunc existimamus futurum signi

cantes. praeceptoribus tunc eminentissimis est eruditus eosque intra breve temporis spatium ingenio adaequavit; una vero studentes superavit profec
tibus. declamavit et Graece et Latine cum magna admiratione audientiae. ob quod puerili mutato in senatorium cultum et in notitiam Caesaris Neronis facile pervenit et honore vixdum aetati debito dignus iudicatus est. gessit autem quaeesturam in qua cum collegis more tunc usitato minus gladiatorium edidit secundo populi favore. sacerdotium etiam accepit auguratus. equi
dem hactenus tempora habuit secunda. quaæ autem sequuntur mutata invidia et odio Neronis ipsi exitium domesticis luctum miserabilem atule
runt. inter amicos enim Caesaris quod tam conspicuus feter profectus in poetica frequenter offendebat. quippe et certamine pentaeterico acto in Pompeii theatro laureis recitante Nerone fuerat coronatus; et ex tempore Orphea scriptum in experimentum ingenii ediderat et tres libros quales videmus. quare inimicum sibi fecit imperatorem quo ambitiose imitante non hominem tantum sed et artium sibi principatum vindicante interdictum est ei poetica interdictum est etiam causarum actionibus. hoc factum Caesaris iuvenili aestimans animi calore speransque ultionem a coniuratis in caedem Neronis socius assumptus est sed parum fauste. deceptus est enim a Pisone et consularibus aliisque praetura perfunctis illustribus viris. dum vindictam expetit in mortem irruit. nam sua sponte coactus vita excedere venas sibi praecedit peritique prid kal Maias Attico Vestino et Nerva Syllano coss XXVII aetatis annum agens non sine iactura utilitatis cum patriae quae tantam immature amissi indelem tum studiorum quoque. reliqui enim VIII belli civilis libri locum calumniantibus tamquam mendosi non darent. qui tametsi sub vero crimen non egent patrocinio de iisdem dici quod in Ovidii libris praescribitur potest temendaturus si licuisset erat.  

1 Attributed to Vacca, a grammarian probably of the 6th century. Genthe and Tenfiel.
exstant eis et alii complures ut Iliacon, Saturnalia, Catachthonion, Silvarum, tragoedia Medea imperfecta, Salticae fabulae xiv, et hippamata; prosa oratione in Octavium Sagittam et pro eo, de incendio urbis, epistolam ex Campania; non fastidiendi quidem omnes, tales tamen ut belli civilis videantur accessio.

(3) Statius in preface to book 11 of the Silvae says cludit volumen genethliacon Lucani, quod Polla Argentaria, clarissima uxorum, cum hunc diem forte consecrarentus, imputari sibi voluit. ego non potui maiorem tanti auctoris habere reverentiam quam quod laudes eius dicturus hexametros meos timui. The poem [11 7] is as follows.

Lucani proprium diem frequentet
quisquis collibus Isthmiae Diones
docto pectora concitatus oestro
pendentis bibit ungulae liquorem.
ipsi, quos penes est honor canendi,
vocalis citharae repertor Arcas,
et tu Bassaridum rotator Euhan,
et l'aean et Hyantiae sorores
laetae purpureas novate vittas,
crenem comite, candidamque vestem
perfundant hederae recentiores.
docti largius evagentur amnes,
et plus Aoniae virete silvae,
et si qua patet aut diem recepit
sertis mollibus expleatur umbra.
centum Thespiacis odora lucis
stent altaria victimaeque centum,
quas Dirce lavat aut alit Cithaeron.
Lucanum canimus, favete linguis,
veste est ista dies, favete, Musae,
dum qui vos geminas tullit per artes,
et vincetae pede vocis et solutae,
Romani colitur chori sacerdos.

felicis heu nimis et beata tellus,
quae pronos Hyperionis meatus
summis oceani vides in undis
stridoremque rotae cadentis audis,
quae Tritonide fertiles Athenas
unctis, Baetica, provocas trapetis.
Lucanum potes inputare terris;
hoc plus quam Senecam dedisse mundo
aut dulcem generasse Gallionem.
attollat refiños in astra fontes
Graio nobilior Melete Baetis.
Baetim, Mantua, provocare noli.

35

natum protinus atque humum per ipsam
primo murmure dulce vagi centem
blando Calliope sinu recepit.
tum primum posito remissa luctu
longos Orpheos exuit dolores
et dixit: puer o dicate musis,
longaevos cito transiture vates,
non tu flumina nec greges ferarum
nec plectro Geticas movebis ornos,
sed septem iuga Martiumque Tbrim
et doctos equites et eloquente
cantu purpureum trahes senatum.
octurnas alii Phrygum ruinas
et tarde reducis vias Ulixi
et puppem temerariam Minervae,
trita vatibus orbita, sequantur;
tu carus Latio memorque gentis
carmen fortior exseris togatum.
ac primum teneris adhuc in annis
ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus
et supplex Priami potentis aurum,
et sedes reserabis inferorum.
ingratus Nero dulcibus theatris,
et noster tibi proferetur Orpheus.
dices culminibus Remi vagantis
infandos domini nocentis ignes.
hinc castae titulum decusque Pollae
iocunda dabis allocutione.

35

‘mox coepta generosior iuventa
albos ossibus Italis Philippios
et Pharsalica bella detonabis,
quod fulmen ducis inter arma divi,
libertate gravem pia Catonem
et gratum popularitate Magnum.
tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi
deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta
Pompeio dabis altius sepulcrum.

70

‘haec primo iuvenis canes sub aevo,
ante annos culcis Maroniani.
cedet musa rudis ferosis Enni
et docti furor arduus Lucreti,
et qui per freta duxit Argonautas,
et qui corpora prima transfigurat.
quid mauis loquor? ipsa te Latinis
Aeneis venerabitur canentem.
nec solum dabo carminis nitorem,
se taedis genitalibus dicabo
doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram,
qualem blanda Venus daretque Iuno,
forma, simplicitate, comitate,
censu, sanguine, gratia, decore.
et vestros hymenaeon ante postes
festis cantibus ipsa personabo.
‘o saevae nimium gravesque Parcae!
o numquam data fata longa summis!
cur plus, ardua, casibus patcitis?
cur saeva vice magna non senescunt?
sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis
post ortus obitusque fulminatos
angusto Babylon premit sepulcro.
sic fixum Paridis manu trementi
Peliden Thetis horruit cadentem.
sic ripis ego murmurantis Hebri
non mutum caput Orpheos sequebar.
sic et tu — rabidi nefas tyranni! —
iussus praecepi tem subire Lethen,
dum pungas canis arduaque voce
das solatia grandibus sepulcris,
o dirum scelus! o scelus! tacebis.’
sic fata est leviterque decidentis
abrasit lacrimas nitente plectro.
at tu, seu rapidum poli per axem
famae curribus arduis levatus,
qua surgunt animae potentiores,
terras despicis et sepulcra rides,
seu pacis merito nemus reclusum
felix elysiis tenes in oris,
quo Pharsalica turba congregatur,
et te nobile carmen insonantem
Pompeii comitantur et Catones:—
tu magna sacer et superbus umbra
noscis tartaron et procul nocentum
audis verbere pallidumque visa
matris lampade respicis Neronem,—
adsis lucidus et vocante Polla
unum, quaeso, diem deos silentum
exores: solet hoc patere limen
ad nuptas redeuntibus maritis.
haec te non thyasis procax dolosis falsi numinis induit figura,
ipsam sed colit et frequentat ipsum
imis altius insitum medullis,
ac solatia vana subministrat
vultus, qui simili notatus auro
stratis praenitet, incubatque somno
securae. procul hinc abite mortes,
haec vitae genitalis est origo.
cedat luctus atrox genisque manent
iam dulces lacrimae, dolorque festus
quidquid fleverat ante, nunc adoret.

(4) Martial

1 61
duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum
facunda loquitur Corduba.
The two are the Senecas father and son. In iv 40 the three sons of
the elder Seneca are meant.

VII 21
haec est illa dies quae magni conscia partus
Lucanum populis et tibi, Polla, dedit.
heu Nero crudelis nullaque invisior umbra,
debeat hoc saltem non licuisse tibi.

VII 22
vatis Apollinei magno memorabilis ortu
lux redit; Aonidum turba, favete sacris.
haec meruit cum te terris, Lucane, dedisset
mixtus Castaliae Baetis ut esset aquae.

VII 23
Pheobe veni, sed quantus eras cum bella tonanti
ipse dares Latiae plectra secunda lyrae.
quid tanta pro luce precer? tu, Polla, maritum
saepe colas et se sentiat ille coli.

x 64
contigeris regina meos si Polla libellos,
non tetrica nostros excipe fronte iocos.
ille tuus vates Heliconis gloria nostri
Pieria caneret cum fera bella tuba,
non tamen erubuit lascivo dicere versu
'si nec paedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?'

Genthe pp 60—1 with great probability conjectures that the quotation is
from Lucan's Saturnalia.
(5) Tacitus dial 20

exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam poeticus decor non Accii aut Pacuvii veterno inquinatus sed ex Horatii et Vergilii et Lucani sacrario prolatus. horum igitur auribus et iudiciis obtemperans nostrorum oratorum actas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit.

(6) Petronius 118

multos iuvenes carmen decept. nam ut quisque versum pedibus in- struxit sensumque teneriorem verborum ambitu intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse. sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad carminis tranquillitatem tamquam ad portum feliciorem refugcrunt, credentes facilius poema extrui posse, quam controversiam sententiolis vibran- tibus pictam. ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat, neque concepere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingenti flumine litterarum inundata. refugiendum est ab omni verborum ut ita dicam vilitate et sumendae voces a plebe semotae, ut fiat 'odi profanum vulgus et arcco'.

After this follows the fragment on the civil war, smoother and more elegant than Lucan, but without his fire. It reads like a fair copy written to show Lucan how to do it. See below § 31.

(7) Fronto [fragm de orationibus ad M Antoninum, Naber pp 157—8], after speaking of the rhetoricians’ habit [he names Annaeus Seneca, the younger, it seems] of accumulating incongruous detail and wearing a topic threadbare, goes on to say

unum exempli causa poetae prohoemium commemorabo, poetae eiusdem temporis eiusdemque nominis; fuit acque Annaeus. is initio carminis sui

1 So Servius ad Aen 1382 and Dryden in pre- face to Annus Mirabilis reckon Lucan as an historian in verse rather than a poet. The pas-
sages from Medieval writers to the same effect are collected by Genthe pp 83-4.

A truly admirable piece of critical raillery, worthy of Swift. The interchange of *signa* and *signis* is clearly a transcriber's blunder.

(8) Caesaris [? Domitiani] de libris Lucani. [Baehrens IV 110]

Mantua, da veniam, fama sacrata perenni:
sit fas Thessaliam post Simoenta legi.

Riese anthol 668, Baehrens v p 386. epitaph on Lucan. (from MS saec IX.)

Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, proelia dixi
quae gessere pares hinc gener inde socer.
continuo numquam direxi carmina ductu
quae tractim serpant: plus mihi comma placet.
fulminis in morem quae sint miranda citentur;
haec vere sapiet dictio, quae fertiet.

The first couplet is certainly very ancient; the first line is in a MS of the eighth century. Whether the whole is of the same date has been disputed [Genthe pp 32—3], but it seems now generally thought that it is. Lines 1—2 are an imitation of the epitaph on Vergil Mantua me genuit etc. As a description of Lucan's style lines 3—6 are good.
B. LIFE OF LUCAN.

(9) Table of dates bearing on the life of Lucan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaius</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Lucan born Nov 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Mela migrates with family to Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Seneca sent into banishment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Claudius marries Agrippina. Seneca recalled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudius</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Claudius adopts Nero.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Nero (just 14) takes toga virilis etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Nero marries Octavia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Lucan takes toga virilis and senatoria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Lucan under Cornutus. Poisoning of Britannicus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Lucan goes to Athens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Murder of Agrippina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Lucan quaestor. The Pharsalia begun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Lucan famous as reciter and pleader. Disgrace of Seneca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Fire of Rome.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(10) Pedigree of Lucan.

Annaeus Seneca = Helvia
(about B.C. 53-39 A.D.)

(i) M Annaeus Novatus
(adopted by L Iunius Gallio, and took his name)

L Annaeus Seneca
(4 B.C.-65 A.D.)

M Annaeus Mela = Acilia

Acilius Lucanus

M Annaeus Lucanus = Polla Argentaria
(39-65 A.D.)
MINOR WORKS. CORDOVA

List of Lucan's minor works, with the authorities by whom they are mentioned. [X = Suetonius, Y = Vacca, Z = Statius.]

Verse
- Laudes Neronis (XYZ)
- Iliaca (YZ)
- Catachthonia (YZ)
- Orpheus (YZ)
- Saturnalia (Y)
- Epigrammata (Y)
- Silvarum libri x (Y)
- Medea tragoedia (Y)
- Salticae fabulae (Y)
- Carmen famosum in Neronem (X)

Prose
- De incendio urbis (YZ)
- In Octavium Sagittam (Y)
- Pro Octavio Sagitta (Y)
- Epistulae ex Campania (Y)

Doubtful
- Allocutio ad Pollam (Z)

11 M Annaeus Lucanus was born in the year 39 AD at Corduba in Spain. This important town, centre of a conventus, and capital of the province Baetica, stood on the Baetis [Guadalquivir] at the head of the navigable part of the river. Some time after the conquest of Spain, a colony of Roman veterans was planted there [in 152 BC] by the consul M Claudius Marcellus. Many of the colonists were men of good family, and the name given to the new town was Colonia Patricia or Colonia Patricia Cordubensis. The settlement of Corduba was the first important step towards Romanizing Spain. The Latin tongue soon took root in the district. In 62 BC we hear of natives of Corduba writing poems in Latin, though Cicero affects to detect a certain heaviness and provincialism in their compositions. In 49 BC, after Ilerda, Caesar made the town his headquarters. In 45 BC it was occupied by Sextus Pompeius, and thus dragged into the last struggle of the great civil war. After Munda it fell into the hands of Caesar, whose troops made a terrible

1 See Strabo III 2 §§ 1—3 [pp. 141—2], Pliny nat hist III §§ 7—17, Long's Decline of the Roman Republic v cc 6, 30 with the authorities given, Marquardt i p 256.
2 For inscriptions see index to Willmanns' Exempla under Corduba.
3 Cicero pro Archia § 26 etiam Cordubae natis poetis, pingue quidam sonautibus atque peregrinum, a criticism referred to by the elder Seneca suasor 6 § 27. A Corduban poet is mentioned unfavourably by Martial xii 63, 5 years after Lucan's death. Genthe p 7 points out that the literary school of Cordova lasted on into the Middle Ages.
slaughter, putting to the sword it is said⁴ not less than 22000 men. In 43 B.C. Asinius Pollio⁶ was stationed there as governor of Further Spain. After the establishment of the Empire⁶ by Augustus rest and prosperity returned to the weary world, and the Patrician Colony grew and thrived in the shadow of the Roman Peace. Among its citizens it numbered many families of wealth refinement and local celebrity.

(13) One of the most distinguished of these families was that of the Annaei. Annaeus Seneca [about 53 B.C.—39 A.D.], commonly called the Rhetorician, had passed a great part of his life at Rome. There he made his mark, and became a well-known character in the Roman literary world. He had three sons (1) M Annaeus Novatus, the Gallio⁷ known to readers of the Acts; (2) L Annaeus Seneca, commonly called the Philosopher; (3) M Annaeus Mela⁸. The last-named took to wife Acilia, daughter of Acilius⁹ Lucanus a Corduban orator of some note: and their son Marcus received the cognomen of his maternal grandfather.

(14) Rome was just becoming, in a sense and degree which we can never fully understand, the centre of the civilized world. The fall of the Republic had left her supreme in material power: the Empire had made it possible for a capable and deserving provincial to attain distinction in an official career, or to rise to eminence in the capital without loss of self-respect. The attraction of Rome was irresistible, and to Rome the genius and enterprise of the Provinces was pouring in a ceaseless stream. The elder Seneca had made his name there; the younger was now there following his father's example: and thither Mela also removed with his wife and child. The infant prodigy—for such no doubt the parents deemed him—was to be reared under the

⁴ bell Hispan c 34. It is curious that Seneca in his epigram de se ad patriam [19 Barchens] only says ter funera centum.
⁵ His letters in C. ad fam. x 31, 32, are dated from Corduba.
⁶ In the first century of the Empire Spain produced a number of men distinguished in literature; for instance Seneca [rhetor], Seneca [philosopher], Columella, Pomponius Mela, Quintilian, Herennius Senecio, Martial, and perhaps Valerius Flaccus.
⁷ He was adopted by L Junius Gallio the rhetorician. See Acts xviii 12—17. Statius silvae ii 7 32 calls him dulus Gallio. The prefaces to the books of the elder Seneca's controversiae are headed Seneca Novato Senecae Melae filii satiorem.
⁸ What is known of Mela is collected by Genthe pp 11, 12. From Tac ann. xvi 17 he seems to have been one of the imperial procuratores facti, and to have made a large fortune, which was his ruin.
⁹ That there were Acilii at Corduba is known also from inscriptions.
best masters, and under the eye of his uncle Seneca. Seneca however passed the most part of the next ten years in banishment. Before his return to Rome in 49 A.D. the young Lucan had become a pupil of some grammarian, most probably of Q Rhemnius Fannius Palaemon whose school was then much in vogue. Next he would be put under some rhetorician. When he left this teacher he passed into the hands of Cornutus, a highly respected expounder of the Stoic Philosophy. While under this celebrated master he is said to have formed a friendship with his fellow-pupil Persius, who in his satires speaks of Cornutus with admiring love. Among the many promising pupils in these schools Lucan is said to have been the one whose precocious cleverness attracted most attention.

(15) Rhetoric and Stoic dogma were an essential part of Lucan's family heritage; they were also the staple of his mental training. For a much-petted quick-witted youth, plunged into such a society as that of Rome in the first century of our era, hardly any training could be more mischievous. In most natures the self-conscious morality of Stoicism tended to beget an unwarrantable arrogance and contempt for others: while the rhetoric of the schools, made up of phrase-worrying and devotion to tinsel ornament, was well suited to make young minds mistake words for things and vitiate a man's taste through life. 

In an old man perhaps the evil might have been found corrected, his taste mellowed and his pride abased, by the experience of life and the chastening uses of the world. But

10 Genthe pp 16, 17 well shews that we have two references of Seneca to his infant nephew, (i) ad Helviam natamv § § 4, 5 ab his [fratibus meis] ad nepotes quoque respice: Marcum blan-dissimum puerrum, ad eius conspectum nulla potest durare tristitia. nihil tan magnum nihil tan recens in eius quanfempectore fuerit, quod non circumfusus ille permultaer. eius non itineras illius hilaritas supprimat! eius non contractum sollicitudine animum illius argutiae solvant? quem non in locis eocebit illa lascivia? quem non in se convertet et abducat infamis cogitationibus illa nunein satiatur garrulitas? (ii) the epigram de fratris filio parvo [51 Bachrens], in which, after praying that his elder and younger brother may outlive him, he adds sic dulci Marcus qui nume rume frater quod patrias provocat ore duos [the two are Gallio and Seneca himself].

11 For Palaemon see Mayor on Juvenal vii 215. The Life of Persius names him as teacher of that writer. On what authority the statement of two of the later Lives of Lucan, that he was a pupil of Verginius Flavus the rhetorician, may rest, I know not.

12 He also was an Annaeus. For his honourable boldness and refusal to flatter Nero see epit Dion lxii 29. Conington with great probability suggests that he was a freedman of the Anncean family (Lecture on Persius, p xvi).

13 vita Persii—cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequanum auditorum Cornuti. A statement doubted by Genthe with some reason, as Persius was five years older than Lucan.
in a youth at least this was wellnigh impossible: and young Lucan, puffed up with presumed merits and the applause of the lecture-room, became a shallow rhetorician ‘intoxicated with the exuberance’ of his own fatal fluency, ready to write and declaim on any subject in verse or prose at the shortest notice.

(16) Write and declaim he did, and of such honour as the Roman audiences could confer he had more than enough. If we are to believe what we are told of his fertility\(^\text{14}\), it was simply portentous. A poem on the story of Orpheus, another on the fate of Troy, another on the nether world; plays of various kinds; lighter works, such as epigrams; prose declamations of the type common in the schools of rhetoric, an account of the great fire of Rome, a collection of letters:—such were the productions\(^\text{15}\) of the boyish pen of this youth born in 39 A.D and destined to die in 65. And these in addition to his chief work the \textit{Pharsalia}, the first three books of which are said to have been written early in his brief career. Whether he practised\(^\text{16}\) as a pleader in the courts must remain doubtful, but it is at least probable that he did so. Many of these works may well have been not inferior in merit to much that has come down to us from the writers of imperial Rome; but the loss of the early crudities of the author of the \textit{Pharsalia} will hardly move a keen regret.

(17) The upper classes in Rome, actual or prospective victims of tyranny, looked back on the rule of Tiberius and Gaius with horror: even a reign marked by prosperity and conquest had left Claudius an object of scoffing and contempt. The advent of Nero, the pupil of Seneca, was a moment of not wholly unreasonable hope. For about five years\(^\text{17}\) his govern-

\(^{14}\) The few fragments that remain of Lucan’s miscellaneous works are collected in "Baehrens’ \textit{Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum} [Leipzig 1886] pp 365–8. The fragments of Nero come on pp 368–9.

\(^{15}\) Genthe pp 36–69 sums up all the very meagre evidence relating to these writings and the disputes of scholars concerning them. The result is very small.

\(^{16}\) It is attested by Vacca alone, who records that he was forbidden by Nero to plead.

\(^{17}\) For the \textit{quinquennium Neronis} see Merivale c. 52. The way in which Nero’s advent was regarded is best illustrated by the bucolics of Calpurnius, who was clearly seeking favour at court. The Golden Age is returning in peace plenty grace glory justice mercy splendour and so forth. See in particular \textit{i} 33—94, \textit{iv} 5—8, 46—9, 82—167, \textit{vii} 4—84. The same may be said of the \textit{incerti carmina bucolica} [Baehrens \textit{iii} pp 60–4], which seem certainly to belong to the same period.
ment, if not all that could be wished, was at least tolerable: and with the mob of Rome the young prince was popular. But after the murder of his mother Agrippina he seemed to throw off all restraint. Among the many enormities by which he earned the hatred and loathing of Roman society none more impressed\textsuperscript{18} his contemporaries than the vanity, combined with lack of dignity, which led him to exhibit himself in public on the stage and arena. He loved to appear as the first of harpers and chariot-drivers; and the harpers and chariot-drivers bowed to the necessity of submitting to the claims of one who could and would enforce them. He loved also to write verses and recite them to applauding audiences; and here he became the rival of Lucan.

\textbf{(18)} Lucan, the pet of the first literary circle in Rome, had probably attracted the notice\textsuperscript{19} of the young emperor soon after he came to the throne. But I see no means of determining the exact date of the honours he conferred on Lucan, the quaestorship and the augural priesthood. The quaestorship and entry into the senate\textsuperscript{20} regularly went together, and the legal minimum age was 25 years. This would bring Lucan's quaestorship to AD 64, which is too late; and besides we are told that he was not of the required age. I think that it was probably soon after the festival\textsuperscript{21} Neronia, first held in 60; on which occasion Lucan made his first appearance before the general public of Rome and recited a panegyric on Nero. Therefore I incline to place it in 61, and I find that Genthe had already arrived at the same conclusion. Be this as it may, it seems clear that for some time after the year 60 no open rupture took place. Indeed we should rather infer that the relations between Lucan and the emperor were of as friendly a character as circumstances would permit. But slowly and surely rivalry was leading to jealousy and jealousy to hatred.

\textsuperscript{18} See Merivale c 53.
\textsuperscript{19} From the Suetonian Life we gather that he had been at Athens, and was sent for by Nero. Unhappily just here there is a lacuna in the text of the Life. The residence at Athens, if we accept it as a fact, must be placed about AD 57–8, as Genthe says. Lucan would return to Rome in 59, and the \textit{cohors amicorum} would be the same as that described in Tac ann xiv 16.
\textsuperscript{20} See Mommsen, \textit{Röm Staat-recht} i p 554, ii p 516.
\textsuperscript{21} Merivale c 53. The authorities are Tac ann xiv 20, 21, Suet Nero 22, epip Dion Cassius lxxi 21. It was quinquennial. From Tac ann xvi 2 we learn that it was held again in the year 65. Hence when Suetonius Nero 21 says \textit{Neronem agnum ante praestitutum diem revocavit} he must mean strictly 'before the anniversary'. It was after Lucan's death.
The occasions of offence were such as the peculiar circumstances of the two were sooner or later certain to create.

(19) Literary rivalry and jealousy as between ruler and subject can hardly be serious unless the subject is the better man and knows it. Then the ruler must call in his power to make up for the shortcoming of his genius, and this must be resented by the subject. Such were soon the relative positions of Nero and Lucan. Even the servile audiences of the time must now and then betray their preference for the gifted young Spaniard. They remembered how Augustus had patronized men of letters; and indeed the traditional policy of the Empire had been to leave literature free. Claudius may have been a literary pedant; but at any rate he was an easy-going one. It could hardly be foreseen how dangerous it would prove to dispute the palm of poetic genius with Nero. At last the two met as rivals in a great public contest, and the prize was adjudged to Lucan. This Nero could not endure: he began to slight Lucan by various acts of discourtesy: Lucan replied by ill-concealed or open ridicule, and by straining himself to shew off the fertility and variety of his talent. Then Nero directly interposed by forbidding him to publish poems or recite them. Such are the outlines of the traditional story, which I can see no good reason for doubting.

(20) The prohibition was no doubt secretly resented by many: we can faintly imagine the wounded vanity and bitter rage of Lucan himself. In an enforced retirement—probably in the stately gardens spoken of by Juvenal—he brooded over his wrongs. Unless Nero should relent,—a most unlikely contingency,—he knew that the career for which he had prepared

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22 Merivale c 54.
23 This rests solely on the evidence of Vacca. Genthe p 23 rejects it as quite improbable, citing Martial x1 33 as evidence of the way in which Nero's will was law even in the Circus. I do not agree with him. Suetonius Nero 23—4 shows that Nero himself did not regard victory as a matter of course.
24 How jealous Nero himself was of anything that could be construed into a slight, is seen from Suet Nero 23.
25 It was jealousy, not Lucan's free tongue or pen, that enraged Nero. At least Suet Nero 39, mirum... nihil cum patientius quam maledicta et contumia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorum quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacesissent extitisse, points this way. Here I agree with Genthe.
26 The story is told piecemeal in the Lives and Tac ann xv 49, Dion Cass lxxi 29, where ἐκνευρήθη παρείν means that he was stopped from publishing. To reconstruct the whole according to our views of probability is outrageous. Evidence so definite must be accepted or rejected.
27 Juvenal vii 79—80 contentus fuma lacet Lucanus in hortis marmoris, with Mayor's note.
himself by the most approved methods, the career to which he was devoted alike by his own bent and by the traditions of his family, was closed. It seemed that his only chance lay in the death of the emperor: and an opportunity soon offered of taking part in a scheme which appeared to promise restoration to public life and the gratification of revenge.

(21) To write a narrative of the Pisonian conspiracy of AD 65 is not my purpose. It has been written once for all by Tacitus. It seems to have had its beginnings as far back as the year 62, and the loyalty that kept secret so long a design of such magnitude was the principal merit of the chief conspirators. Nero's conduct had meanwhile become more than ever outrageous and unbearable. In the year 64 came the great fire of Rome, and suspicion pointing to the emperor: then the still more suspicious cruelties against the Christians and other innocent victims: and lastly the building of the Golden House. Early in 65 the conspiracy took a definite form. Its leading incidents, —the weakness of its head Piso, the alleged complicity of Seneca, the combination of a consul-elect and many leading senators and knights with officers of the Imperial Guard, the first abortive betrayal, the second successful one, the heroism of the freedwoman Epicharis and the soldiers, the various theatrical or grovelling deaths of the rest, the alarm of Nero, the number of innocent men and women on whom the conspiracy brought death or ruin,—all these are told by the author of the Annals with his customary graphic vigour and telling contrasts of light and shade. The enterprise was indeed as he forewarns his readers magna moles et inprospera.

(22) Lucan had probably been engaged on the later books of his Pharsalia, parts of which betray a spirit such as must surely have possessed him now more than ever. He fed his

25 Tac ann xv 49 et Lucanus Annaeus Plautinuse Lateranus vivida odia intulere. Lucanum propriis causae accendebant, quod fiamm carminum eius premebat Nero prohiberaturque ostentare, vanus acumulatone.
27 Tac ann xv 48—70, Suet Nero 36, epist Dion lxxii 24—7. From Tac ann xiv 65 we gather that the origin of the conspiracy went back so far as the beginning of 63 or even the end of 62. Its nominal head seems to have been the same Piso to whom the elegant poem known as laus Pisonis [Baehrens i pp 225—36] is addressed.
30 Ann xiv 65.
31 The question of the real significance of Lucan's utterances is discussed below. We must remember that the conspiracy aimed at making Piso (or perhaps Seneca) Emperor, not at abolishing the Empire. A senatorial Emperor was enough.
soul with notions of a Roman constitution, and a Republican liberty in themselves historically untrue and which even as ideals were no better than an idle tale. And while he thus inflated his self-conceit and nursed his wrath he lost the last traces of common sense and power of self-judgment. Blind to his own inexperience of men and his unfitness to conduct a delicate and momentous enterprise, he plunged into the conspiracy with hot vehemence and became one of the leaders of the plot. But while he boasted and fumed the news came upon him that all was discovered and himself betrayed. Then followed a sad scene of abasement and shame. The young Stoic begged for his life. He was ordered to give the names of accomplices. At first he refused: he was then offered his life as the price of betrayal. It was useless to question the good faith of the offer, which could only be tested by accepting it. It was equally useless to name strangers or slight acquaintances: for his previous hesitation would not be accounted for, and further inquiry, probably torture, would follow. Lucan shewed what he thought of his own position when he accused his mother Acilia. We have no reason to think that the charge had any foundation, and we are told that the lady was not molested in consequence. Lucan however did not escape by means of an act almost worthy of the matricide Emperor himself. When he received the order to die, he had his veins opened in the approved fashion and died the theatrical death of a Roman Stoic of those evil days.

(23) So perished Lucan, leaving his revenge unattained, his pretensions to Stoic virtue unjustified, his Pharsalia incomplete. In the wreck of his hopes one alone was destined to fulfilment: the Pharsalia survived and among his own countrymen enjoyed

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22 Tac ann xv 71 Aelia mater Anuaci Lucani sine absolutione sine supplicio dissimulata.
23 The malignant suggestion of Suetonius, that he hoped to work on the fellow-feeling of Nero, is construction, not evidence.
24 Tac ann xvi 17 quae tum promptissima mortis via. As to the lines recited by Lucan as his life ebbed away, the reference is disputed. Three passages are suggested, III 638–41, vii 608–15, ix 811–4. Each has its claims, but none answers exactly to the description of Tac ann xv 70. I am quite unable to decide; and I observe that Tacitus’ words carmen a se composi tum do not prove that the quotation came from the Pharsalia at all.
25 ix 985–6 Pharsalia nostra vivet etc, vii 203–13. I shall not discuss the genuineness of the inscription said to have been found in 1403 by an early scholar, M. ANNAEO • LUCANO • CORDVIESI • POETAE • BENEFICIO • NERONIS • CAESARIS • FAMA • SERVATA [the traditional readings vary], defended by Genthe pp 30–2, but generally suspected.
a great celebrity. Yet its title to the name of a poem was questioned. But the striking vigour of its best passages, the Roman patriotism it breathes, the greatness of its theme, the untimely death of its author and the remembrance of his early popularity,—these and other influences combined were sufficient not to let it die. It was freely criticised from the first, as we see from the words of Petronius Quintilian Martial Fronto and the Life by Vacca. Tacitus speaks of it with respect as a classical work, and it was used as an historical authority by Florus and Appian. There are many traces in the later poets of a more or less conscious imitation of his lines. In Martial and Statius we find passages directly bearing on his memory and his writings. These two seem to have been intimate friends of his widow Polla Argentaria, and to have kept up an observance of his birthday. Statius' poem addressed to Polla, known as genethliacon Lucani, is indeed one of our chief sources of information in regard to Lucan's life and works.

(24) In this sketch of Lucan’s life I have confined myself to matters on the knowledge of which as it seems to me an intelligent criticism of the Pharsalia must primarily rest. It is no part of my plan to speak of the 75 or 80 manuscripts (which I have never seen) or describe the numerous printed editions from 1469 to the present day. Nor do I propose to collect the references allusions and reminiscences in the Mediaeval writers and in most of the great authors since the Revival of Learning, interesting on general grounds though such memorials might be. Suffice it here to say that from Tacitus and Fronto to Macaulay Lucan has never lacked admirers and critics. One fact is of special significance to an Englishman,—the interest taken in the Pharsalia in England during great part of the 17th century. The historian of the Long Parliament, Thomas May, wrote a continuation of Lucan's work in Latin verse to the death of Caesar. He also translated the whole into English heroic couplets. I would add that it is a pity we have no good English

26 Genthe places the marriage of Lucan and Polla in A.D. 64. The story of her subsequent marriage to Statius is I think satisfactorily disposed of by him p. 25. It rests only on the very doubtful testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris.
27 A good collation of these and a critical edition of the text are much needed.
29 Leyden 1640, London 1646, according to Lowndes. It is reprinted in Ondendorp's edition, Leyden, 1728, and is a work of some merit.
version that renders the true force and spirit of Lucan. Marlowe's book is too slow and dignified; Sir Arthur Gorges is too weak and his metre too lowly; May is halting and often tame; and matters are not mended in the pompous dilution of Nicholas Rowe. We may wish that Dryden had turned his talents this way instead of to proving how unlike Vergil a strong translation could be.

C. GENERAL VIEW OF THE PHARSALIA.

(25) In considering the poem generally it is well first to note briefly the contents of the several books, with a few remarks on the structure of the whole.

I. Down to 66 there is nothing to call for special remark, but thence onwards to 182 we have a mere analysis of the causes of the war, after which the action of the poem begins abruptly. To me it seems far too long deferred, and this is why the first book is less effective than some of the later ones. Besides, at the very beginning of the action we are confronted with the supernatural. The vision of Roma is strangely incongruous here, coming just after the cold analytical passage, and the effect very artificial.

The padding of this book consists chiefly of 392–465 (Gaul) and 523–695 (prodigies, sacred rites, etc).

II. The chief figures in this book are Cato, whose character is brought out 234–391, and Caesar driving Pompey out of Italy. Of the lesser figures Domitius is important, for he reappears in book vii. This book is an average one.

The padding consists chiefly of 67–233 (Marius and Sulla) and 399–438 (Italy).

III. The main points are, Caesar's return to Rome and doings there, and the siege of Massalia. The latter of these episodes is so spun out as to break the general course of the action in a miserable manner. There is much foolish matter in the book, and it is certainly the worst of the ten.

The padding is chiefly 169–297 [catalogue of Pompey's allies].

IV. The fourth book is a book of action; 1–401 contain the campaign of Ilerda, 402–580 the affair of Vultcius and his cohort, 661–824 the fatal
expedition of Curio. This is an average book; the apostrophe at the end is famous.

Only 591—660 (story of Antaeus) can be strictly called padding.

v. This book is mainly concerned with the concentration in Epirus. The senate appears in dignity and power; Pompey is hardly heard of till the end, when his parting with Cornelia is well described. Caesar’s figure dominates the book, at one time quelling a mutiny, at another facing his rival with only a part of his forces, at another putting to sea in a small boat and defying the storm. The book is an important one, and in spite of the absurd description of the storm I think it rather above the average in merit.

The padding is 65—236 [Appius and the Delphic oracle].

vi. The movements about Dyrrhachium, including the overdrawn episode of Scaeva, make up all the action of this book. Half of it is devoted to the affair of the witch, which, though irrelevant, is better than the first half. The book is a poor one, and the least essential of the ten.

Padding 333—412 (Thessaly), 438—569 (witches).

vii. The two main themes of the seventh book are (a) the different feelings of the leaders and their armies at the approach of battle, (b) the great battle and its result. It contains a great deal beside this; e.g. the fine lines 185—213 on the forebodings of the battle, 387—459 and 632—46 reflexions on the greatness of the disaster, complaints of slavery, indignation at the gods, etc., 847—72 apostrophe to Thessaly,—all famous passages. In spite of much declamation of a wild sort, irrational remarks, and serious inaccuracy, this is clearly the great book of the Pharsalia. Lucan is elevated by his subject, and it is in this book that the interest culminates and the decision of fate is made known.

Padding is not a suitable word to apply to the digressions of this book.

viii. This book contains little of action, nothing indeed but the flight and death of Pompey. Caesar disappears for the present. We here pass from the decision of fate to its consummation, and at the close of the book the main action of the poem is ended. The extraneous matter is plentiful in this book, and some might deserve the name of padding; I mean e.g. 541—60 [reflexions on Egypt and apostrophe to Ptolemy], 692—711 [reflexions on Pompey’s death], 793—822 [D° on his burial], 823—72 [apostrophe to Egypt]. Such passages seem much more laboured here than when thrown off in the excitement of the death-struggle as in book vii. Much of the book is very irrational and wild. Still it has a distinct interest as containing the catastrophe, and some passages [e.g. 806—22] are really fine.

ix. This book is what Greek editors might have called Kátwos àpósteia. Cato is the hero of the book: he is especially great in the desert and at the oracle of Hammon. At the end Caesar reappears, hastening on Pompey’s track. The book has in it some fine passages, such as 544—86 [Cato at
the temple]; but the catastrophe being now past the effect of the whole is tame. And we are dealing with historical times, and we know that Cato's expedition does not affect the main issue of the war.

Of padding we have 294—318 [Syrtes], 348—67 [Tritonis, garden of the Hesperides], 411—97 [Libya], 619—99 [Medusa], 700—33 [serpents, with deaths of men bitten 732—838].

X. The last book, so far as action is concerned, belongs to a new poem. Caesar in Egypt is the subject, and Cleopatra plays an important part. There is a striking freshness about the book, and some parts are excellent, e.g. 353—98 (message of Pothinus).

The padding is, 20—52 [Alexander], 192—331 [the Nile] both which passages, though irrelevant, are of no mean order. The poem breaks off abruptly.

(26) Such is the incomplete epic of Lucan, rich in clever declamation, which now and then rises into tones so lofty that we forget how unreal are the motives, how artificial the sentiment. Dealing with events hardly more than a century behind, it ventures into the domain of history without being historical, and treats political questions under the influences of an age and a society in which practical politics had ceased to exist. Its flow is broken and its action hindered by tasteless and wearisome digressions. To judge it fairly is difficult indeed, for besides its defects in detail the mere fact of its incompleteness is a serious obstacle. As it stands we have only one catastrophe: Lucan clearly intended it to have two. It was to have been continued 1 to the death of Caesar, and would therefore have included that of Cato. To such themes as these we may be sure Lucan would have done justice with all the resources of his growing powers. He had got Pompey off his hands, and the best was surely yet to come.

(27) But, however much Lucan might have improved upon his earlier work, it is not likely that he would ever have shaken himself free from the influence of the recitations 2 customary in

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1 See v 207, xii 451, 596, 782, x 339—42, 431. The references to Actium v 479 and the loves of Antony and Cleopatra x 70—1 do not seem to promise actual inclusion of those matters in the poem. Genthe would not [p 70] go further than to admit that he might have included Cato's death. I stick to my opinion, based on the nature of the references to Caesar's death. Anyhow vi 814 points to an interview after Cato's death. Thomas May held the same view: his continuation goes down to Caesar's death.

2 Mayor on Juvenal iii 9 exhausts this subject. Drummond of Hawthornden well said of Lucan that he was 'taken in parts excellent, allodlider naught'. It has often been remarked that the recitation literature found its natural consummation in the epigram.
Rome, a fatal influence and one mainly instrumental in destroying then and for centuries to come the higher forms of literary art. To these recitations is due that which all critics admit to be the leading characteristic and great defect of the Pharsalia, —the sacrifice of the whole to the parts, neglect of the matter in an overstudious regard for the manner, a self-conscious tone appealing rather to an audience than to a reader, venting itself in apostrophes, scenes, episodes and epigrams, an unhappy laboriousness that strains itself to be first-rate for a moment, and leaves the poem second-rate for ever.

(28) It is clear enough that Lucan was at a great disadvantage in attempting to compose a poem on historical events of recent occurrence. Where details are well known, there is little scope for imagination save in deviation from truth. Indeed it is far easier to say what Lucan ought not to have done than what he ought to have done. The plan proposed by Petronius for writing a poem on the Civil War would surely produce something radically bad. For instance, how are the Gods to take more part than Lucan gives them? will they help Caesar the freethinker or Pompey the proved failure? The composition must have been a literary monster. Criticism of the Pharsalia must, I repeat, be negative from the nature of the case; and this will serve to explain the tone of much that will be said below.

(29) According to the Life of Lucan attributed to Vacca, only the first three books were published by himself: it is added that the other seven, which are looked upon as faulty, would probably have been corrected by him had he lived to do it. The judgment of the poem implied in this remark is one with which I could not agree if the quality of the later books were concerned. But I rather take it to refer to a few roughnesses\(^3\) of style here and there observabled, and I am glad to find that this is the view of Teuffel.

(30) The title of the poem according to the Lives and some good MSS\(^4\) is de bello civili. Statius silv ii 7 66 speaks of

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\(^3\) See in particular the doubtful lines iv 251, vi 152, 187, 207, 554—5, vii 154, 257—8, 970, 820—2, viii 124, ix 83, 494, 666, 820—1, x 8. Some of these may be cases of duplicates awaiting recension, and not (as Grotius thought) a trace of two editions.

\(^4\) So Genthe. Teuffel simply says, ‘in the MSS’.
Pharsalica bella; but the title Pharsalia now in vogue seems
to come solely from Lucan's own words IX 985 Pharsalia nostra
vivet etc. I do not think that this need mean more than 'my
tale of Pharsalia will live,' and therefore I cannot adopt Teuffel's
bold statement, that this is the authentic title, without reserve.
The other name seems more appropriate, and I am content to
remain in doubt where certainty seems out of reach. I should
add, though without laying much stress on the fact, that Pe-
tronius § 118 in leading up to his poem or fragment on the civil
war says belli civilis ingens opus; and the words are with good
reason held to allude to the poem of Lucan.

(31) I feel bound to say a few words here on this poem of
Petronius, at present a fragment of 295 lines. The purpose of
it is unmistakeable: it is thrown off half in rivalry half in
imitation of Lucan, in fact rather like our well-known 'Rejected
Addresses' though less definitely intended for ridicule. It is
smoother and perhaps more elegant than Lucan; but the im-
portance attached to mere literary tricks and supernatural
machinery is very remarkable, as Petronius' own words shew it
to have been very conscious and deliberate.

(32) Now Teuffel [§ 305] remarks that the reason why we
do not find Lucan's name mentioned by Petronius⁵ in this con-
nexion is that Lucan was then living. With this I fully agree.
But a new point has now to be considered. The poem is full of
obvious reminiscences of the Pharsalia, chiefly of the earlier
part, as is natural. But, if there be also reminiscences of the
later books, then we must believe that the Pharsalia was pub-
lished at its present length (or nearly so) in the lifetime of
Lucan. The evidence of such reminiscences is just strong
enough to make me incline to this view, but not enough to
produce certainty. It is as follows:

Petronius

14—6 quae ris in silvis auro fera et
ultimus Hammon Afrorum excut-
tur, ne desit belua dente ad mortes
pretiosa.

Lucan

IX 796—7 [just after passage about
Hammon] sed quid erit nobis luceri
pudor? inde petuntur hue Libycae
mortes et fecimus aspida mercem.

⁵ Petronius was compelled to death early in 66 AD, Lucan in 65.
64 Iuliuss ingratam perfudit sanguine Romam.

93—7 [Father Dis says the nether world wants some deaths, the Furies are thirsting for blood ever since Sulla]

235—7 [in a storm at sea] non regimen probest,......hic dat vela fugae fortunaeque omnia credit.

My own view of the probabilities of the case is that the words\(^6\) of the earlier (or Suetonian) Life, relating to Lucan’s emendation of some verses just before his death, are the foundation of the notion that the later books are uncorrected. There was some record of the publication of three books, none of the rest. Out of these materials the story in the later Life was made up, and has no authority: though it may for all that be true.

D. MATTER OF THE PHARSALIA.

(33) Relation to Nero and the Empire.

In order to understand clearly the relation of Lucan to the political circumstances of his age it is most necessary to examine in detail his own utterances. The external evidence being meagre, the internal is all the more important. I shall first

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\(^6\) Or perhaps the authority from whom the statement is taken.

II. L.
treat of his relations to Nero and generally to the Imperial government.

In the opening\(^1\) of the poem we meet with the famous passage in which he courts the favour of Nero by the most grovelling flattery. All the horrors of the civil wars may be regarded with calmness or even satisfaction if they were merely the antecedent conditions of the advent of Nero. Nero is in fact a god, and this address fills the place of the invocations customary in epic poems. What Apollo or Bacchus were to the singers of old, that is Nero, the centre of Roman hopes, to Lucan.

The next topic in which we may I think certainly see a reference to Nero is the favourable\(^2\) handling of the character of L Domitius Ahenobarbus. Nero belonged by birth to the Domitian house, and we know\(^3\) that the connexion was not forgotten. This Domitius, great-great-grandfather of the emperor, is mentioned in connexion with the affair of Corfinium; as commanding the Pompeian right wing at Pharsalia; as defying with his latest breath\(^4\) Caesar who had before given him his freedom and his life. He is indeed the most fierce and implacable foe of the Caesarian cause.

Several other passages have been supposed to bear a more or less direct reference to Nero. Such are the following. The description of the *amburbiyum* and other rites is taken to be drawn from the ceremony of purification performed\(^5\) by Nero in A.D. 56, at which Lucan would naturally be present. This inference seems to me probable enough. It has been thought\(^6\) that in the passage where he expresses the Roman abhorrence of the incestuous laxity of Orientals Lucan may have had in his mind the scandalous stories about Nero and his mother Agrippina. This conjecture does not satisfy me. At least, if I accepted this, I should find no difficulty in believing that when he speaks\(^7\) of the Furies pursuing the mother-slayer Orestes

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\(^1\) I 33—66.  
\(^2\) ii 479—525, vii 219—20, 599—616.  
\(^3\) Tacitus, ann xiii 10 with iv 44.  
\(^4\) The account of his death and the unmanly jeer put into the mouth of Caesar are utterly unhistorical.  
\(^5\) i 592 foll. See Tac ann xiii 24 *uritem prin-  

caps instruxit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iovis  
ac Minervae aedes de caelo tactae erant. Merivale c 52.  
\(^6\) viii 397—410. See Suet Nero 28, and Merivale c 53 with authorities there cited, and refer back to the general remarks in c 47.  
\(^7\) vii 776 foll. See Merivale c 53 with authorities.
he is really thinking of the similar story about the mother-slayer Nero. While reading in the spirit of allusion-hunting I once fancied that the description of the *vekvoμαντελα* in the sixth book was inspired by Nero’s failure in a like enterprise: but it seems that the attempt of Nero was after Lucan’s death. The notion would then be absurd, and the introduction of such a passage simply explained by its being drawn from a commonplace-book. Whether the same may not be the case with the passages about incest and matricide I must leave some one more competent or confident to decide.

Much greater importance attaches to the question whether the digression in the ninth book on the site of Troy is in any way connected with Nero’s appearance as patron of the Ilians shortly before the death of Claudius. If it be so connected, then it not only renders the above-mentioned doubtful allusions quite improbable, because a return to complaisance after such hideous insinuations is hardly to be conceived,—but it will also colour our views as to the full significance of some passages which we shall presently discuss. If it be not—and such is my decided opinion, for the Ilian origin of the Julian house was devised before the Aeneid, and the matter would readily suggest itself to a writer fond of digressive description and steeped in Vergil,—then nothing is affected by it, and we proceed unhampered on our way.

I pass on to the consideration of passages where the reference is not to Nero but to the Empire of the Caesars. These lines must be quoted in full.

*iv 691—2* Libyamque auferre tyranno,

dum regnum te, Roma, facit.

*iv 821—3*  

*ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense*  

Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus  

Caesareaeque domus series.

8 *vi 619* foll. See Merivale c 55.
9 *ix 564* foll. Merivale c 50. I do not know if any authority for Caesar’s visit to Troy. But see the story in Suetonius Iul 79 fana.....megetram Alexandream vel ilium (note the alternative, and refer to c 7 above). Then read Arrian tab 111 §§ 7, 8 (of Alexander’s visit), and regret with me that the account probably given by Curtius [Lucan’s recent predecessor] has not survived. I strongly suspect that this passage of Lucan is a mere working up of old matter relating to Alexander in a form suited to the circumstances of Julius Caesar.
v 385—6
  namque omnes voces per quas iam tempore tanto
  mentimur dominis haec primum repperit aetas.
  [and the following lines down to 402]

vi 869 et Romanorum manis cal cate deorum.

vii 432—3
  quod fugiens civile nefas redituraque numquam
  libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit.
  [and so on to the next passage]

vii 442—5
  felices Arabes Medique Eoaque tellus
  quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis:
  ex populis qui regna ferunt sors ultima nostr a est
  quos servire pudet.

vii 455—9
  cladis tamen huius habemus
  vindictam, quantam terris dare nunima fas est.
  bella pares superis facient civilia divos:
  fulminibus manis radiisque ornabit et astris,
  inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.

vii 638—46
  maius ab hac acie quam quod sua saecula ferrent
  volnum habent populi; plus est quam vita salusque
  quod perit; in totum mundi prosterminur aevom:
  vincitur his gladiis omnis quae servit aetas.
  proxima quid subo les aut quid meruere nepotes
  in regnum nasci? pavidi num gessimus arma,
  teximus aut iugulos? alieni poena timoris
  in nostra cervice sedet: post proelia natis
  si dominum, Fortuna, dabas, et bella dedisses.

vii 694—6
  non iam Pompeii nomen populare per orbem
  nec studium belli, sed par quod semper habemus
  libertas et Caesar erunt.

viii 835—9
  tu quoque, cum saevo dederis iam templ a tyranno,
  nondum Pompeii cineres, o Roma, petisti:
  exsul adhuc iacet umbra ducis. si saeul a prima
  victoris timuere minas, nunc excipe saltam
  ossa tui Magni.
  [and so on to end of book]

ix 601—4
  ecce parens verus patriae, dignissimus aris,
  Roma, tuis; per quem numquam iurare pud ebit,
  et quem, si steteris um quam cervice soluta,
  nunc olim factura deum.
In a few passages the direct reference is to tyranny or monarchy in general, touching the Empire indirectly.

1670 cum domino pax ista venit.

1161 uter imperet urbi.

IV 575—9

non tamen ignavae post haec exempla virorum
percipient gentes quam sit non ardua virtus
servitium fugisse manu; sed regna timentur
ob ferrum, et saevis libertas uritur armis
ignoratque datos ne quisquam serviat enses.

IX 566—7

quid quaeri, Labiene, iubes—an liber in armis
occubuisse velim potius quam regna videre?

IX 1108 o bona libertas. [in bitter irony]

X 26—8

non utile mundo
editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
esse viro.

To these and other less notable lines of the same tone add the frequent references to the murder of Caesar and tyrannicide in general, and our body of evidence is pretty complete.

And now—to what conclusions does this evidence lead us? We have flattery of Nero: we have tirades against despotism:—do we infer (a) that he began by liking the Emperor, and as he went on grew to loathe both Emperor and Empire, or (b) that he hated both from the first, and praised Nero in irony, or (c) that he is content with the Emperor throughout, but loathes the Empire? For my part I cannot see any direct evidence of personal hostility to Nero, and I do not think that his praise of Nero is ironical. But I do think that bitter loathing of the Empire is one of the chief, if not the chief, influences that animate the poem. Are we then to conclude that this loathing of the Empire—Tyranny, as he calls it—means that Lucan seriously desired and aimed at the overthrow of the imperial monarchy and the reestablishment of an aristocratic Republic?

10 If we adopt the first of the two suppositions as to the Trojan episode (see above), Lucan is on the contrary still in book IX anxious to please Nero.
I think not, and for two reasons. If there is one thing in which he does believe, it is Fate: and Fate had declared\(^{11}\) for a monarchy. Moreover, crude though Lucan's political notions were, he does shew traces of having learnt that without a manly self-respecting aristocracy and a patriotic commonalty no Republic was possible. Such at least is the inference I draw from his references\(^{12}\) to the servile Senate and mongrel \textit{plebs} of the Imperial days. He had caught the tone of the Stoic circle in which he moved. He acquiesces in the ordinance of Fate. But Fate might soon ordain a further change. Lucan had also caught the tone of the reactionary senatorial cliques. This tone is still prevailing in Tacitus, so great was its vitality. The young provincial, writing as a Roman of the Romans, falls into this tone naturally enough, and probably he is carried away by the flow of declamation and says far more than he seriously means. Of course he had no real\(^{13}\) knowledge of the Roman Republic, and whatever genuine hatred of the Empire had grown up in him from personal experience was probably no more than a youth's impatient desire for greater opportunities of shining in a literary career.

My conclusions therefore are very nearly the same as those at which Dean Merivale\(^{14}\) arrived years ago. I am glad to find that this is the case: so much the better for me. But I cannot agree with him in thinking that Lucan did not 'regard the principate as a tyranny': the evidence to the contrary, the more I examine it, seems only the more overwhelming.

\((34)\) Relation to Philosophy.

\((a)\) That Lucan was brought up as a Stoic we know, for he was the nephew of Seneca and pupil of Cornutus. It is however a study not devoid of profit or interest to note the traces of Stoic influence in the \textit{Pharsalia}. This I proceed to do under several heads, adapting statements of doctrine from Zeller

\(^{11}\) See \textit{iii} 393 \textit{[Fortuna] virum toti propeans imponere mundo}. Merivale \textit{c 54} well remarks that Stoicism became a consolation for inactivity, not a stimulus to action.

\(^{12}\) For Senate see § 40 and in particular \textit{ix} 194—5 \textit{rectoque senatus sed regnantis erat, 266—7 non iam regnare pudet; nec color imperii nec fronte est una senatus}. For \textit{plebs} see \textit{iii} 54—8, vii 404—5, 539—43. In general \textit{I} 351, \textit{670}, \textit{II} 314—22, \textit{v} 382, \textit{ix} 236—54, 261—75.

\(^{13}\) The well known passage \textit{I} 160—82, fine though it is, is mere book-work, the echo of the rhetorical schools. So \textit{Nisard II} p 33.

\(^{14}\) Merivale \textit{c 54}.
[citing by chapters from the English translation], and annotating from Lucan.

(b) The origin of all things is found in a primordial fire: this fire is God, Aether, the all-pervading Soul of the universe, the Universal Law, Nature, Providence, Destiny; bearing these and other names according to the various points of view from which he is at this or that time regarded. He is the founder and maker of the universe. Zeller VI b—c, VIII b.

II 7 foll sive pores rerum, cum primum informia regna materiemque rudem flamma celente recepit, sinxit in aeternum causas, qua cuncta coerceat se quoque lege tenens, et saecula iussa ferentem fatorum immoto divitum limite mundum, x 265 foll [aquis] quasdam compage sub ipsa cum toto coepisse reror, quas ille creator atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coerceat. Add such expressions as II 82 legibus aevi, v 88—9 cursus aeterni, VII I lex aeterna, VIII 568—9 iussu ordinis aeterni, VI 612 causarum series, I 80 foedera mundi, 644 si fata movent [mundum].

The universe therefore has had a beginning: it will also have an end, after which a new order of things will begin, in its turn also to end. Zeller VII a 2.

I 72—80 sic cum compage soluta saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora etc, v 181 non prima dies non ultima mundi, VII 812—5 hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis, uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti; communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra mixturnus. Probably VII 134—7 should be added.

The universe or at least the Earth has already been well nigh destroyed by a great deluge. Zeller VII a 3.

V 75—6 hoc solum fluctus terras mergere cacumen emicuit pontoque fuit discrimen et astris, 612—4 cum mare convoluit gentes, cum litora Tethys noluit ulla pati etc.

The one great all pervading God, the universal Soul, is identified with Zeus or Juppiter and clearly distinguished from the crowd of inferior gods, except in so far as they are regarded as manifestations of the One. Zeller VI b 3, XIII a 2, b 2.

V 93—6 forsae terris inserta regendis, aere libratum vacuo quae sustinet orbem, totius pars magna Iovis Cirrhae a per anta exit et aetherio trahitur connexa Tonanti, ix 578 foll estque dei sedes ubi terra et pontus et aer et caelum et virtus. superos quid quacumque ultra? Juppiter est quodcumque vides quodcumque moveris. In v 86 foll I think Apollo is really a manifestation of Juppiter.

See Manilius II 60 foll.

(c) The great Sun and the lesser lights, the Moon and stars, are fed by evaporation from the sea and other waters. They are living
HEAVENLY BODIES

and divine, animated by the universal Soul. Zeller viii d i, xiii a 3, b 2.

vii 5 contrary to custom the sun attractit nubes, non pabula flammis, ix 313 foll sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens etc, x 258 foll necnon oceano pascit Phoebumque polumque credimus etc, ii 267—8 sicut caelstia semper inconcussa suo volvontur sidera lapsu [compare Manilius i 279—80 sidereus circa medium quem volvitur orbis aetheriosque rotat cursus immotus]

The Earth is likewise animate; she is a globe poised in air, and round her the heavenly bodies in their courses steadily revolve. Zeller viii c, d 1.

i 89—90 dum terra fretum terramque levabit aer, v 94 aere liberatum vacuo quae sustinet orbem, and ix 495 foll, vi 571—2 and other passages imply it. We may note allusions to the Antipodes in viii 159—61, ix 877—8, with which compare Seneca ep 132 § 2. See Manilius i 165—203.

(d) The conception of Universal Law, the absolute necessity on which all things unconditionally depend, is expressed by the term Destiny or Fate [εἰμαρπετη, fatum], and other names, as said above. Zeller vii b i, ix b, xiii b 2, c 2.

When a work is so thoroughly penetrated with the idea of Fate as is the Pharsalia it might seem superfluous to support my remarks by citing passages: still I think it well to do this in order to give some illustration of Lucretian's phraseology in dealing with the notion in question.

i 33—4 fata...invenere viam, 70 invida fatorum series, 94 fatorum exempla, 264 rumpunt fata moras, ii 87—8 vir ferus et Romanum cupiendi perdere fato sufficiens, 287 sed quo fata trahunt virtus secura sequetur, 544—6 [Caesar pervertis his destiny], 581 (of Mithradates) indomitum regem Romanaque fata morantem, 651 (Caesar presses on) ne quid fatis mutare liceret, iii 303 causas non fata sequi, 392 foll quantum est quod fata tenetur quodque virum toti properans imponere mundo hos perdit Fortuna dies, iv 351 nil fata moramur, 361 turba haec sua fata peregit, 496 foll nescio quod nostris magnum et memorabile fatis exemplum, Fortuna, paras, 737—8 leti fortuna propinquiu tradiderat fatis iuvemem, v 41—2 fatorum impellite cursum, spem vestram praestate deis, 48—9 et Magno fatum patriaeque suoqne imposuit, 92—3 [of the god of the oracle] sive canit fatum, seu quod iubet ille canendo fit fatum, 204—5 et adhuc dubitantibus astris Pompeii dammare capit tot fata tenetur, 239—40 cum prope fatorum tantos per prospera cursus avertere deis, 292—3 quicquid gerimus fortuna vocatur: nos fatum sciat esse suum, 482 quid superos et fata tenes, 536 ne cessa prohabere deo tua fata, 729—30 quod nolles stare sub ictu Fortunae quo mundus erat Romanaque fata, vi 5 ... fatis debere recusat, 530—1 fatis debentibus annos mors invita subit, 590—1 populis quae pandere fata, quaeque suae ventura potes divertere cursu, 603 quos tanti praeponderet alea fati (cf 7 sup), 611—5 at simul a prima descendit origine mundi causarum series atque omnia fata laborant si quicquam mutare velis, unoque sub ictu stat genus humanum, tunc Thessala turba fatemur, plus Fortuna potest, vii 46 fatisque trahentibus orbem, 51—2 sua quique ac publica fata praecipitare cupit, 85—6 sensitque deorum esse dolos, et fata suae contraria menti, 88—9 nil ultra fata morabor: involvat populos una Fortuna ruina, 131—2 advenisse
Everything is bound together by an unbroken chain of cause and effect. There must then be signs indicating the existence of causes from which result certain effects. These signs the divine soul of man is now and then able to detect. Hence arises Divination, given to man by the benevolence of the gods. Zeller vii b 3, xiii c.

The references to divination are frequent in Lucan General. ii 1—15, vi 425—30, 615—8. Note that in ii 4—6, 14—5 he complains of the power of foreknowledge and holds ignorance preferable, but in vi 596 foll he makes Sextus say mens dubiis percussa pavet, rursusque parata est certos fata: hoc casibus eripe iuris, ne subiti caecique ruant; vel numina torque, vel tu parce deis et manibus exprime verum.

presages of ill. ii 6, vii 185 foll. In vii 7—24 he finds it hard to explain Pompey's dream, but in iii 9 foll the bearing of the dream is evil.

prodigies and signs. i 522—83, i 1 foll, vii 151 foll.

omens. iii 212, iv 664, vii 340—1.

power of the stars and Astrology. vi 607—10, i 639—72.

haruspicina. i 585—638.

Thessalian magic and νέκτωματεία. vi 434—830.

prophetic instinct of frenzy. i 674—95.

Sibyl. v 137—8, 183—6, viii 824.

Oracles, Delphi. v 71—224.

Ammon. ix 544—86.

Capacity for foreknowledge is not the lot of all: the god will only tell the future to those fitted for it. v 139—40, ix 554 foll. Manilius more strictly assigns the selection of the fit, minima est quae turba per orbem (ii 144), to fate [hoc quoque fatum est, legem perdisere fati, ii 149].

(c) The Soul of man is part of the Universal soul; both are material, and as the latter extends through the whole universe so the former extends through the whole human body. Zeller vii a, ix a, b.
This Stoic doctrine probably made it more easy for Lucan to fall in with the habit, very common in ancient times, of recognizing a body and soul as two separate things and then confusing them together. This confusion as it appears in the *Pharsalia* is indeed particularly harsh.

In vi 719—23 the *umbra* and *cadaver* are present separately at the same time. The body is called the *career* of the *umbra*. The witch compels the soul unwillingly to reenter the body, and after its message has been delivered she in 822 reverses the process and helps the fates *animam sibi roddere*. In viii 759 foll Cordus begs Pompey *manis animamque potentem officiis averte mei*, and it seems that the identity of the dead man is bound up specially with his body. And the words *manes umbra anima* seem distinct from *corpus cadaver cineres* in such passages as vii 779, 776, viii 433, 860, [all notable lines], ix 1 foll, x 336. The soul is however conceived of as material throughout. In ix 640—1 Medusa is described as concealing the *anima* or *umbra* in the human frame. In vi 621—3 we read that the *umbra* of a man newly slain can speak more clearly than that of one who has been some time dead. This well illustrates the extension of the soul throughout the body. In viii 432—3 Crassus' *umbra* is supposed to tell Pompey that it has long hoped for his coming to avenge the *cineres* of a *nuda umbra*, that is, the ashes to which the *umbra* belongs. In a number of passages *manes* and *umbra* are really in sense equal to *corpus*. See for instance viii 434, 696, 747, 751, 834, 837, 841, 844, ix 151, 963, 976, 1092 foll. And in vii 775 *cadaver* perform the ghostly function of *manes*.

These instances of Lucan's usage I think it worth while to give here. For a poet to distinguish clearly between a soul and a body both material was not easy. Vergil felt the difficulty; see Conington on georgics iv 475. And Ovid speaking of the *Feralia* says in fasti ii 565—6 *nunc animae tenues et corpora functa sepulchris errant; nunc posito paschitur umbra cibo*. If any one will read Lucian *περὶ πένθους* he will see the confusion of notions 15 well illustrated. The curious will see that it is very old by turning to Odyssey xi 603 [see Ameis' note on 1 207]. He points out that identity is in the Homeric poems determined by the body. See the Druid view as stated by Lucan i 454—7.

For the connexion between the soul of man and the great God see ix 573 foll. Compare Manilius ii 105 foll.

The souls of the great and good find a place among the stars of heaven, as Pompey in ix 1 foll, with which compare Manilius i 754—7 an *fortes animae dignataque nomina caelo corporibus resoluta suis terraeque remissa hunc migrat ex orbe suumque habitantia caelum aethерios vivunt annos mundoque fruuntur?* and the list of heroes 758 foll.

Though all things are bound by the chain of necessity, still in a certain sense the will of man is free; hence there is moral responsibility. Our actions are the product of universal law and individual character combined. Zeller vii b 3.

Lucan clearly recognizes moral responsibility in spite of destiny. Though fate decrees victory to Caesar, his overthrow of the Senatorial oligarchy is none the less criminal; though Pompey is doomed to die by a treacherous murder, this does not

15 An inscription at York [CIL vii 250] well illustrates my words, *secreti manes, qui regna Achernia Ditis incolitis, quos parea petunt post humana vitae exiguum cinis et simulacrum corporis umbra, etc.*
absolve the vile wretches by whom the deed is done. Fate may render all the virtue and bravery of Cato fruitless, but Cato is in the right, indeed his approval of the lost cause is expressly set against the gods' support of the winning one—victrix causa dei placuit, sed victa Catoni.

(f) Virtue is rational activity conformable to Nature, that is, to the universal law of the world and the essential constitution of the being, which in the case of man is reason. It is rational self-control. Zeller X A 1, B 2.

The Stoic idea of virtue is of course expressed in the character of Cato II 380 foll, and stray touches here and there. Brutus [II 239 foll] admires his serenity, but he enters into the war not under any delusion as to Pompey's ambition [II 319 foll], and after Pompey's death he takes the lead, calm unbiased undeceived as ever [IX 19 foll, 188 foll]. He is unswayed by emotions, the personification of virtus dura [IX 50, 445, 562]: conquest is with him the prelude to mercy of a cool contemptuous kind [IX 208—9]. He knows no fear [IX 371—3], and freely expresses his knowledge of danger and readiness to face it [IX 379 foll]. He sets the example of self-abnegation [IX 500 foll, 587 foll], and self-devotion [IX 604 foll]. He is conscious of his virtue, and talks like an oracle [IX 564 foll]. His bearing and presence inspire his men with wonderful endurance [IX 881 foll].

Good and Bad are absolute notions, admitting no degrees. So the Virtuous Good or Wise man is absolutely good; the Vicious Bad or Foolish man is absolutely bad. There is no mean; for the value of an action depends on the intention, and so virtue admits no degrees. Zeller X B—C.

The true illustration in Lucan of the absence of degrees of Good and Bad is to be found in the characters of Caesar Pompey and Cato. Lucan must have admired Caesar, to judge by the portrait he has drawn of him; but not only was he the overthrower of the Senate, he was known to lean towards the school of Epicurus. Therefore he can do nothing right, and the ceaseless malignity with which Lucan attributes to him the worst of motives seems to us pitiful and childish. As for Pompey, the attempt to make him into a hero actuated only by the very highest motives is perhaps the greatest historical blunder of the Pharsalia. Cato is specially interesting, because into his mouth are put the lines IX 569 foll an nocet vis ulna bono, Fortunaque perdat opposita virtute minas, laudandaque velle sit satis et numquam succesi crescat honestum? scimus, et haec nobis non altius inseret Hammon. See lines 594—5 below.

(g) As the tendency to independence, to live for oneself alone, to dispense with society and cultivate the inner freedom of virtuous life, leads up to the condition of the self-sufficing Wise Man; so the tendency to follow the social instinct and live for the common good, to seek society and cultivate the social virtues, leads up to the condition of the Citizen of the World. Zeller XII B 1, XIV A 1.
Both these tendencies are working in Cato. The former is sufficiently illustrated by what is said above. Cato's devotion to his country is also one of the most conspicuous features in his character. His aim is *patiae impedere vitam*. Rome to him fills the place of wife and child. He makes the bereaved commonwealth his ward [IX 24 foll], and counts death nothing for her sake. His devotion to the service of humanity is complete, it is his part *toti genitum se credere mundo*. But this humanity probably includes Romans only in the first place, the rest of the world in a quite secondary sense.

(4) Life and death are in themselves indifferent. Suicide is sometimes allowed and even enjoined. When it has, owing to circumstances beyond our control, become undesirable that we should live longer, then it is time for us to assert our freedom and depart. Zeller XII c.

Lucan's utterances on the subject of death are specially interesting from the circumstances of his own end.

In 1 459—60 he speaks of the fear of death as *timorum maximus*. In III 39—40 he makes Pompey say aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum, aut mors ipsa nihil, in viii 749 Cordus says si quid sensus post fata relictum est. In viii 632 Pompey says non fit morte miser. In IV 517 foll Vulteius declares that to die is a blessing the greatness of which is only disclosed to those whose end is near, and hidden from, the rest. In his own person he says IV 575—81 non tamen ignavae post hac exempla virorum percipient gentes quam sit non ardua virtus servitium fugisse manu: sed regna timentur ob ferrum et saevis libertas uritur armis, ignoratque datos ne quisquam serviat enes. mors, utinam pavidos vitae subducere nolles, sed virtus te sola dare. Cato says IX 211 scire mori sors prima viris, sed proxima cogi. It is curious to find that in VII 470—1 di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur, sed sensum post fata tuae dent, Crastine, morti, and in viii 395, death is spoken of as a penalty. But in viii 818 libera fortunae mors est it appears again as a relief, and in V 117—8 it is either a penalty or a reward. One of the most striking passages is in Vulteius' speech IV 478 foll, vita brevis nulli super est qui tempus in illa quaerendae sibi mortis habet, nec gloria leti inferior, iuvenes, ad moto succurrere fato. omnibus incerto venturae tempore vitae, par animi laus est et quos speraveris annos perdere et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis accessas dum fata manu: non cogitur ullus velle mori.

(5) After noting the general Stoic tone of Lucan it is necessary to remark that we have no ground for thinking that he was so impregnated with Stoic doctrines as to be a consistent disciple of the Porch. He is or fancies himself deeply impressed with the wrongful predominance of chance and indifference of the gods. Hence the prosperity of the wicked, III 448—9 *servat multos Fortuna nocentis et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt*. Accordingly we find him now and then breaking out into utterances of distinctly Epicurean sound, as when he doubts

16 See § 35 c.
whether Chance be not the arbiter of human destinies, or cries aloud that for us there are no gods—at least none that care for our welfare. All this savours of a young unripe mind, void of clear notions and definite conviction—such a mind in fact as we may on general grounds infer that of Lucan to have been.


At the opening of book IX we have a passage of distinctly Platonic tone describing the apotheosis of Pompey.

(35) Relation to Religion.

After considering the relations of Lucan to contemporary philosophy it may not be out of place to add a few words on the religions of the age and his references to them.

(a) The break-up of the old Roman beliefs in the latter days of the Republic was followed by the great state-directed revival under Augustus. In its outward observances the national religion, a medley of indigenous and imported elements, was to a remarkable extent restored. But the ancient faiths, if they had ever exercised a sway over men's minds and controlled their lives, had long lost this power and could never recover it again. Not only had Greek speculation destroyed the intellectual basis of belief, but the characters attributed to the gods served to disgust the good and furnished an excuse, if such were needed, to the votaries of vice and crime.

No wonder then that Roman society turned to the East and to the West for the satisfaction of its emotional or quasi-spiritual needs. Under the Roman tolerance of alien worships, only interrupted now and then for reasons of state, new gods and new systems of religion were soon domiciled in the great city. From Syria and Asia Minor and above all from Egypt came the Oriental cults of excitement and mystery, with their orgies initiations mutilations and symbolisms: and crowds were drawn after them. The Jews too, worshipping the one and invisible god in sullen scorn, found protection and won not a few proselytes. Rome was even invaded by the horrid divinities and dark superstitions of Britain and Gaul.

Patriotic orthodoxy suppressed the Druidical religion in Rome and eventually, for reasons of policy, crushed it also in its native seats.

17 See for instance Ovid. Metam. IX 554—5 (of proposed incest) quid licet nescimus adhinc, et cuma licere credimus; et sequimur magnorum exempla deorum, x 152—4. That such a tone was revolting to good Romans may be seen from Lucan VIII 494—10.
18 I omit all reference to the Christians here, as not important for my present purpose.
REFERENCES TO RELIGIONS

But it was impossible to suppress the Eastern worships, which had taken so firm a hold of the popular imagination. The truth is that for the time they met to some extent a want with which no philosophy could deal. And under the influence of Oriental ideas the Roman religion underwent a most important modification in the introduction of the worship of deceased emperors.

Still there was one thing wanting. If there was one power in which Romans generally did believe, it was the 'Manifest Destiny' of Rome. Accordingly there was growing up the worship of the great goddess Roma, the personified might fortune and glory of the mistress of the ancient world.

Such are the features that especially draw our attention in reviewing the state of religion at Rome in the age of Nero. But amid all this the ancient worships went on undisturbed. And to some of them, traditionally derived from Troy, a greater importance than ever was now for family reasons attached by the emperors of the Julian line.

(4) I have given the above short sketch in order to supply a grouping for the following references in Lucan.

Egyptian gods are mentioned IX 158–6, X 158–9, their introduction into Rome VIII 831–3, the refusal of Egyptians to worship deified emperors seems alluded to VIII 863.

Jewish gods is spoken of II 592–3 dedita sacrat incerti Judaeae dei.

Gaulish gods and religious tenets usages etc appear I 444–62, III 399–425. Lucan seems to have felt considerable interest in this weird and sanguinary system.

Worship of deceased emperors is often referred to in scornful terms. See VI 809 ct Romanorum manes calcate deorum, VII 455–9, VIII 835, 859–64, IX 601–4.

Roma as a goddess calls for a few remarks. There was not so far as I can discover any temple dedicated to her in Rome till the temple of Venus and Roma built by Hadrian. The worship began among the Asiatic Greeks in the days of the Republic, and it appeared in many provincial towns as time went on. The goddess is represented on coins, like other tutelary goddesses, as wearing a mural crown. Hence Lucan speaking of patriae image appearing to Caesar says I 188 tuurrigero canos effundens vertice crines. He attributes to her a divine character I 199–200 summique o numinis instar Roma, fave coeptis. He also personifies her in other places as VII 373 atque ipsam dominii metuentem occasurere Romam, VIII 322 Roma, fave coeptis. Less striking instances I omit: but I conceive that I have shewn ground for believing that Roma was in Lucan's time recognized as a divinity, though her formal worship had not as yet been established in the city itself. For details concerning dea Roma see Preller's Römische Mythologie II pp 353–8.

For the old Roman worships see especially I 195–9, IX 990–9, where the attachment of the Iulii to the Trojan legend is clearly marked.
(c) As for Lucan's own religious beliefs, we can say little more than that throughout the poem the ruling divinity is the capricious abstraction Fortuna. She is not so much a positive divinity as a negative substitute for one. If I may venture to put forward a rather bold view, it seems to me that the wavering philosophy of Lucan is reflected in his dual religion, meaning by religion his theory of the government of the world. To me it seems that his fatum and Fortuna are as Stoic and Epicurean: fatum is impersonal, but presupposes gods, Fortuna is personified only to dispense with them. Therefore it is natural enough that in the Pharsalia it is seldom or never possible to draw any practical distinction between Fortuna and fatum: they are two different views of the same thing.

It was natural to personify Fortuna: she had been from ancient times a goddess widely worshipped in Italy, and it was only when the old beliefs began to pass away that she came to be regarded as a mere conventional abstraction. See Preller Röm Myth 11 pp 178 foll.

(d) To Lucan the creeds and ceremonies of men are merely details, his knowledge of which he is proud to display. And to the Spanish provincial the old Italian worships were no more or little more than those of Syria or Egypt. To Vergil there was clearly a peculiar glamour about the national religion of Italy, and his mind was of a tender reverent cast. In no respect do the two writers differ more than in their relations to the religions of their respective ages.

(36) Relation to Learning and History.

That learning was one of the most valued qualities in a Roman poet, and that to call him doctus was one of the highest compliments, is become a commonplace of literary history. To this observation Lucan forms no exception. For a youth who died at the age of 26 years his display of learning is prodigious. The Pharsalia teems with historical astronomical geographical and technical details; the similes and epithets reek of them, and everywhere we meet allusions more or less recondite drawn from the vast stores of myth and legend. Like

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19 His angry or contemptuous tone towards the gods in general is very striking. See II 16—7, 36, 44, 93, IV 123, 243—4, 508—9, V 59, 401, VII 657—8, VIII 149, 605.
20 A very few references will suffice. See I 684,
most of his contemporaries, he is interested in the progress of
discovery, and is ever happy to air his knowledge of the natural
philosophy then current. Even in his metaphors a large propor-
tion of the figures are taken from the departments of mechanics,
law, trade, medicine and surgery, religious sacrifice, the amphi-
theatre, and so forth.

On poetry regarded as a work of the imagination this mass
of artificial and conventional appliances weighed as a crushing
burden. But the Roman poets had no choice. They must
write for an urban audience, and urban life was artificial and
hollow. Moreover men will often admire the show of learning
in which they themselves are deficient, but they are indifferent
to fancies and feelings that are foreign to their natures and
to which they are therefore unable to respond.

Learning then overpowered imagination in Lucan: and
unfortunately this learning was of a loose and inaccurate kind.
I propose to give a few instances of blunders inconsistencies
and laxity, chiefly in geography, which will suffice to prove how
shallow was the erudition so ostentatiously displayed.

It is impossible not to mention the well-known confusion between Philippi and Pharsalia, a blunder no doubt arising from the ambiguity of some lines of Vergil, into which many others fell beside Lucan.

Atlas is spoken of in a way which seems to imply that it is a sea-side moun-
tain.

The Dacians and Getae are at one time opposed to each other as coming
from different quarters, at another they are joined. The former passage is very
slipshod.

The description of the river Po is singularly incorrect if, as it seems, he fancies
it to receive no tributaries.

Mount Eryx in the west of Sicily is imagined as cast into the Aegean sea.
With so purposeless a bit of extravagant or careless imagination we could well
dispense.

Alexander the Great is made to turn back from the Ganges, whereas the au-
thorities shew that he never got beyond the Satlej.

The city Phocaea, the mother-state of Massalia, is confounded with the district
of Phocis in Greece proper.

21 See Merivale cc 52, 55, and for antiquarian
tastes c 43.
22 Most of the long catalogue-passages, in
which Lucan delights, teem with inaccuracies.
23 See Merivale, note at end of c 26. Lucan i
24 I 555.
25 See Merivale, iii 95.
26 418—20.
27 Il 665—6. I believe he is simply misled by
having Aen xi 701 quantus Athos aut quantus
Eryx in his head, for Athos would be natural
enough here: only he wants it for 677 below.
28 iii 233—4, x 33.
29 iii 301, 346, 564, 583, 697, 728, v 53, 144.
AND HISTORY

There seems to be a similar confusion\(^{30}\) of the mountains named Ida, in Phrygia and in Crete respectively.

The wild confusion of the geography in the narrative\(^{31}\) of Cato's African expedition is too long a matter to enter on here. Hammon’s temple is hopelessly misplaced. Cato lands in the wrong place and all northern Africa is disarranged.

The Hister is made\(^{32}\) to discharge into the Palus Maeotis. Such is at least the natural inference.

Cicero makes\(^{33}\) a speech at Pharsalia urging Pompey to give battle; but Cicero was not there.

Indians and Aethiopians are confused\(^{34}\) and even the Seres are placed on the upper Nile.

These blunders and many others are quite natural in a prolific writer about 20 years of age; many of them are made by other writers; some are taken from Vergil. On the whole, while we conclude that Lucan's learning was inaccurate and his expressions careless we may well wonder that these deficiencies were not far greater than we find them to be.

It is a piece of astounding audacity or carelessness, when he attributes\(^{35}\) to a Massaliote the exploit which Suetonius Iul 68, Plut Caes 16, Val Max iii 2 § 22, all attribute to Acilius a soldier of Caesar. Surely he cannot be right; but the unwillingness to name an Acilius [his mother's original family] on Caesar's side may possibly account for the perversions.

To enter into a detailed examination of Lucan’s perversions of history is quite unnecessary. I have said enough to shew that he does so pervert it, and the fact is well known and quite beyond dispute.

E. WHO IS THE HERO OF THE PHARSALIA?

(37) Let us first examine carefully the character of Caesar as depicted by Lucan, and observe what opinion of this character Lucan himself holds or thinks fit to profess.

Caesar is introduced as the eager rival of Pompey. He is the soul of 143–50, enterprising ambition. He scorns defeat, laughs at obstacles, and is a stranger to fears scruples and repose. Yet he is a true son of Rome, and his armed presence within her borders by declaring himself her champion. He clearly sees that the time for words is now gone by, and 122–23.

\(^{30}\) IV 322.
\(^{31}\) ix passim, IV 673, with Merivale’s notes 19.
\(^{32}\) v 436–41 (a mixture, I fancy, of Verg’s and Ovid’s foll and II. 10).
\(^{33}\) VII 62–85.
\(^{34}\) ix 517–8, x 291–3.
\(^{35}\) III 609 foll.
that henceforth the sword must decide. Onward he presses with relentless speed. Fortune favours his cause and plays his game for him. In a vigorous speech he explains to his army that both he and they are compelled to fight, that they have a good prospect of victory, and that they will be fighting for the best interests of Rome. The wavering scruples of the men are overcome by a centurion, who declares his intention of following Caesar wherever he may go. All is enthusiasm, and the general calls in the detachments of his great army for the civil war. Panic goes before him, the swift and dreaded conqueror of the North. He thirsts for war and loves to force his way in the teeth of opposition: he will be stopped by nothing, but he will not lose a chance of shewing his magnanimity by mercy. In vain does Pompey retreat from Rome to Capua and from Capua to Brundisium: Caesar follows at his heels with the pitiless speed of a destined conqueror, nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum. When Pompey gives him the slip and puts to sea, he marches back to Rome, first providing with masterly forethought for filling the bellies of the sovereign people. The Italians receive him in fearful silence, but little he recks of that: he can trust them to fear him, he cannot trust them to love him. It is the same at Rome, his own Rome, so weakly abandoned by his rival. He is bent on his main objects, and will brook no opposition from silly dreamers. While Pompey in Epirus is slowly assembling a world in arms to fall before the luck of Caesar, Caesar is off to Spain in order to secure his rear by completing the conquest of the West. His promptness has left him time for doing his work thoroughly, and Massilium delere vacat. No religious scruples or fears are allowed to cause delay: the gods may shift for themselves, but Caesar must be obeyed. Leaving the siege to a lieutenant, he continues his march. The short campaign of Ilerda shews his versatility patience and cool judgment in a most striking manner. Superior alike to the weather and the effect of his own mistakes, to natural obstacles and the temptations of revenge, he plays the game, always as the assailant, up to the inevitable checkmate. It matters little to him that a few men perish in a small naval affair in the Adriatic: and their death by their own swords, refusing quarter, adds a moral strength to his army by the example of their devotion. What though Curio be cut off with his army in Africa? Caesar's wisdom had given him troops representative of Pompey's army rather than his own, and thus suffers little material and no moral loss. On his march back from Spain he is brought into the uttermost danger by a mutiny of his own troops, who are weary of the war. His nerve never fails him, he boldly faces the men, meruitque timere non metuens. He completely overawes them, and the affair ends by leaving him stronger than before.

Halting at Rome, he causes himself to be made consul for the following year, and thus becomes the official representative of Rome on the battle-field. He is at once off to Brundisium, and in spite of the time of year and an untimely calm lands his men safely on the Illyrian shore. The great champions are now face to face, but Caesar must lie quiet till Antony follows him with the rest of the army. His impatience leads him to venture on the wintry sea in a fisherman's boat. With incredible hardihood he dares a terrible storm, cool as ever, though the fruit of all his toils and perils is in jeopardy. He is driven back to shore, and upbraided by his devoted troops.
for his foolhardiness. Soon the tardy Antony joins him, and the campaign of Pharsalia begins. Too much in earnest to waste time on taking the towns of vi 3 foll. Epirus one by one, and unable to bring Pompey to battle, he makes a dash at Dyrachium. Foiled in the attempt—for Pompey has the command of the vi 29 foll. sea—he boldly sets to work to hem in an army more numerous than his own with a series of strongly fortified lines. Both sides suffer, but Caesar’s vi 64 foll. army though starving with hunger, *saturum tamen obsidet hostem*. Pompey vi 118-262. tries to break out, but the Centurion Sceava holds him at bay till the master to whom he is faithful unto death comes up in time to drive back the foe and do honour to his corpse. When Pompey at last breaks out, Caesar vi 263-315. attacks him, is repulsed, and withdraws his forces into Thessaly. Pompey follows, and they face each other on the Pharsalian plain. Caesar’s men are eager for fight, and so is their leader, and they welcome battle. Caesar’s vii 250 foll. speech is unscrupulous stirring and confident, full of trust in his men and his destiny. Both he and they mean victory; war is not play, and they are in earnest. No wonder that fortune is with them in the fray, though she wavers vii 544, 547, for a while. Caesar is in the thick of the fight, cheering on his men to the slaughter and guiding them to the shedding of noble Roman blood. He is jeers at the dying Domitius, whom once he spared. His way is through his country’s vitals, says Lucan. He pushes on, gives quarter to the flying enemy, vii 728 foll. and takes their camp. The ghosts of the slain torment him in dreams, but vii 776 foll. in the morning he visits the ghastly battle-field with unabated zest. The viii 10 foll. flying Pompey credits him with his own contemplated barbarity; Cornelia, viii 640-1, looking on her husband’s murder, lays it to Caesar’s charge, and declares see ix 135. that he has forestalled them on the shores of Nile. Among the scattered ix 30-1, 47-8. remnant of the Pompeians the same opinion of his speed prevails; *praeceps facit omne timendum victor, et in nulla non creditur esse carina*. It is felt ix 244-7. that his fortune now dominates the world. Even the snakes of the desert ix 850-1. with their venom do him service. And indeed he is pressing on in pursuit of ix 930 foll. Pompey, and only stops at Troy to sacrifice to the gods of Rome’s mother ix 937 foll. see i 195-7. city, the sacred cradle of the Julian line. At Alexandria the head of Pompey ix 1010-1108. is presented to him: he affects grief and indignation, and orders his fallen rival an honourable burial. His entrance into the city is beset with dangers, but now as ever dissembling his fears he goes where he will, and visits the tomb of Alexander the Great. He falls under the baneful influence of Cleopatra, but he wisely keeps Ptolemy as a hostage. His greed is inflamed by the display of the royal wealth of Egypt. The priest Achoreus finds the future reformer of the Roman Calendar an intelligent enquirer, and a patient listener to his lengthy discourse on the Nile. Soon he is besieged in the x 439 foll. palace and in the uttermost peril. But he is the same Caesar as of old; when x 480 foll. besieged he is still the assailant, and surprises the Pharos, *sempor feliciter suas præcipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto*. The poem ends leaving him in the direst straits, and almost wishing for death.

Take him on Lucan’s own shewing, this is a man indeed. Cool-headed, clear-sighted, viewing things as they are and suitting means to ends: a man of definite purposes and swift execution: one whose energy no labours can exhaust, whose tenacity no mis-
fortune can relax, whose intrepidity no danger can appal. This
man sees to what the Roman Commonwealth is tending, he aims
at what is possible, and will thus be able to guide its destinies.
Useful forms he adopts, useless ones he discards. No frenzied
priestess, no witch, no watcher of birds or scrutinizer of sheep's
livers influence his judgment; while he calls to Rome and the
great Roman gods for approval, his real trust is in stout hands
and loyal hearts and the ascendency of the Julian star. He
believes in himself and others believe in him. His strategy is
no mere soldier's technical skill; it is an exercise of practical
psychology, and movements directed to the production of par-
ticular moral effects produce those effects with the certainty of
fate. Lucan, blinded by his own prepossessions, sees this but
darkly, and hence is ever harping on the luck of Caesar. Caesar
is ready to use victory with mercy and generosity; but that he
may be generous and merciful the victory must first be won. It
is idle to call him¹ a traitor or a fiend; he is at least as much
of a Roman as any of his contemporaries, and he is not so
foolish as to fancy that men can fight without shedding of blood.
His is the one sane and steady mind among a generation of
dreamers blinded by uncertainty and prejudice. He is even as
the Homeric² seer, τῶν τε φρένες ἐμπεδῶν εἰσιν' τῷ καὶ τεθνητόι
νόου πόρε Περσεφόνεα, ὡς πεπνυσθαί· τοι δὲ σκιαί ἄυσσονον.

(38) Let us now look at the character of Pompey, who is at
all events one of the leading figures on the stage of the
Pharsalia. What sort of a man does he appear as we follow him
through the poem?

We first hear of him as the jealous rival of Caesar. The difference in
age between them is made the most of as a sort of excuse for Pompey.
His weak indolence and love of popularity are noted: he is the shadow
of a great name. His rival scoffs at his staleness ambition and vanity: he
is ever seeking to put himself above the laws; he has learnt civil warfare in
the school of Sulla. His flight from the capital serves to excuse the general
panic. Brutus speaks of him as politically no better than Caesar; and Cæc
admits that he is equally dangerous to the Republic. He continues his
hasty retreat and halts at Capua. The loan of a legion to Caesar and the
restoration of it are referred to in language highly coloured in Pompey's favour
He makes a long speech to his men by way of trying their mettle: it is ful

¹ Lucan's malignity towards Caesar is
² Odyssey x 493—5.
of boastful assurance, but there is a lurking sense of uneasiness about it; he protests far too much. The wished-for enthusiasm is not forthcoming. 

He now retires to Brundisium, and sends off his son Cnaeus to gather the forces of the East. He foils the attacks of Caesar, and puts to sea. Suc. ii 725 foll., cessful in flight, abandoned by Fortune, he is passing away from Italy a mighty exile fondly looking back upon the land he is to see no more. In a iii 8 foll., dream of evil import his lost Julia appears to him, and he shakes off the presage of ill as best he may. We feel with Caesar that the conqueror of iii 65-7, the East has lost his nerve. To emphasize the greatness of his coming fall, v 345- 

a long catalogue of his forces is given: these are being gathered together in Epirus while the series of events crowned by the surrender at Ilerda is wrecking the cause of the senate in the West. Minor affairs have gone well for them; but when the great rivals meet on the eastern shores of the Adriatic the advantage in the great operations is decidedly with Caesar. In the fifth book the curtain rises on the Pompeian camp. Pompey is plainly hampered by the vain nobles, who make him their Commander-in-chief in due form, and to whose foolish interference he is weak enough to submit. On his shoulders is laid the burden of their destinies. The hour of fate now v 48-9, draws near, and he sends away his wife Cornelia to Lesbos for safety: but he does it in an irresolute tearful way, quite unworthy of the situation. We feel that he should have done it before. He foils Caesar’s attempt upon vi 15. 

Dyrrachium, and in the following operations gains an advantage, but neglects to push it. On preparing to follow Caesar into Thessaly, he is urged by his vi 316-29. company to strike at Italy and Rome. He refuses, deprecating the horrors of a forcible return. On the eve of the great battle he is troubled by another vii 7 foll. dream in which he is carried back to the great triumph of his early career. 

Day dawns on the Pompeian camp. All is impatience and clamour for vii 45-84. battle: the delay of their commander is set down to unworthy motives; Cicero conveys the general sentiments to Pompey in an oration. Clearly the truth is that Pompey does not inspire confidence or awe: he has not got his men in hand. And thus, though he well knows that delay is in his favour, vii 85-127. he gives the signal for battle against his own better judgment. Aply is he likened to the desperate skipper who lets his ship drive before a storm. The vii 337 foll. armies are falling into line. Pompey is stricken with boding fears. He delivers another speech, the ring of which is not that of true confidence, for all its boasting. The fight goes on. He sees his army giving ground, and vii 647 foll. placidly gives up all for lost. He is amiably desirous to avoid unnecessary bloodshed: he prays the gods to stay the carnage; he begs his men to cease fighting; he takes to flight himself, partly for their sake, partly through anxiety about his wife. He is not broken in spirit: he bows to fate, and vii 712 foll. eased of the burden of a great destiny retires from the scene. His first thought is to save those who supported him from being involved in his ruin. How dear he was to many he never knew till now. But when we come viii 1-27, upon him later in course of flight he makes a less dignified appearance. 

Trembling at the rustling leaf, he measures the greatness of his danger from the emissaries of Caesar by what his conscience tells him would have been his own action towards a fallen rival. He is filled with the dejection of futile retrospect. Landing in Lesbos, he finds Cornelia in a swoon; when she viii 50 foll.
comes to herself, he treats her to a short oration, upbraiding her in what we should consider an unmanly tone. She replies in a much higher strain, and Pompey weeps. The Lesbians declare their loyalty to him, and he takes leave of them with a blessing. He knows not where to turn, and leaves his destination to chance. His comrades begin to rejoin him, and his first thought is to restore his cause by launching the hordes of Parthia upon Rome, using the claim of old services to stir up the Parthian king. This is Pompey the patriot, the hope of Rome. In a Cilician port he harangues his company, declaring that all is not lost, for they have vast resources left; urges them to seek refuge and succour in the East with the Parthians; he had rather not take this step; but if this fails they must seek some far-off asylum beyond the bounds of the civilized world. Anyhow it is in the East that his name will be most powerful. This pitiful oration finds no favour, and he is at once rebuked by Lentulus in a speech too long by half but good in spirit. He advises a retreat to Egypt, and to Egypt they go. Then comes the treachery of the Egyptian court. Pompey has no plan: he is warned by his friends, but he must do something; so he enters the boat, and his friends are chiefly afraid not of violence from the Egyptians but of a disgraceful submission on the part of Pompey. But he perdiderat iam iura sui, and when struck he bows meekly to his fate uttering to himself a hortatory speech, flabby and vain to the last.

Such is the character, drawn by Lucan himself, of the man on whom he lavishes his warmest admiration and praise. The picture has at least one merit; it explains Pompey’s fall, for it is far more true to the original than Lucan’s comments would lead us to expect,—one may almost say, than Lucan meant it to be.

Its main defects are jealousy vanity and slowness. Pompey is too jealous to be cool-headed, too vain to be clear-headed, too slow to seize opportunities. He cannot bear a rival, he cannot recognize a superior, he cannot justify action by vigour or ambition by daring. His shallow nature cannot work up to a firm decision based on a clear cool judgment of present facts, and then carry out that decision at all costs with the energy of conviction. He is never really convinced himself, and he may be said to aim at persuading others rather than convincing them. His patriotism is at the bottom but vanity and selfishness. Such a man was perhaps fitted to be the leader of an effete aristocracy: his technical skill sufficed for ordinary warfare. But civil war demands a moral force that is born in a man, and is not to be

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3 See the remaining notices viii 663–7, 684–6, 701–8, 793–927, 834–72, ix 190–210. The contrast of Caesar’s generosity is very marked in ix 1664–108. Read the grand outburst in vii 703–11.

4 vii 354–5. non ivatorum populis urbique deorum est Pompeium servare duce, is a good instance of his vanity.
learnt even by the pupil of a Sulla. The man who could against his own judgment put all to the hazard at Pharsalia was no fit match for Caesar and no fit champion for Rome.

(39) It is for many reasons necessary to examine in detail the character of Cato as drawn for us by Lucan: but I need say no more of reasons than to point out that Cato is at once the hero of the Roman Stoics and the champion of the Senate.

We first hear of him as a philosophic court of appeal, whose approval justifies the lost cause. Caesar regards him as an unpractical person, of no account in the struggle. Brutus invades his modest home to seek counsel and comfort. Cato is full of anxiety for the state but careless of his own destiny. He removes the doubts and scruples of Brutus, declaring that it is not his duty or intention to stand aloof from the civil war: he has chosen his side for good reasons, and will abide the issue whatever it may be. Then follows a strange scene. His former wife Marcia, now a widow through the death of Hortensius to whom Cato had transferred her, rushes in and seeks to be reunited to her former husband and bear a share of his toils and dangers. The marriage is conducted with the least possible ceremony,—the absent-minded sternness of Cato is particularly noted,—and is not reconsummated. This introduces the famous character of Cato, so often quoted: his observance of the mean, his adherence to nature's law, his devotion to his country and to all mankind, his abstinence simplicity and self-control, his perfect uprightness and public-spirited virtue. Here he is durus, an epithet repeated elsewhere; other descriptions call him sanctus, non servitus, invicetus, securus, deo plenus, and so forth, according to the point of view from which each passage is written. After this he disappears from the action of the poem till the ninth book. Pompey is dead, and Cato is now the hope and champion of the senatorial cause. Pompey's mantle falls on him, but he is the same Cato: he is no more blinded now than he was at first to the guilty ambition of Pompey, his country's cause is his own, he gathers the scattered forces and prepares to renew the war. With calm dignity he checks his comrades and nerves them to a struggle of duty without hope and without waverings. In their westward course opposition does not rouse him to anger or victory suggest revenge. The Libyan desert appals him not: he plainly tells his men what hardships they must look to encounter: but the way is ad leges patriaeque ruentis amorum; perils are of no account to men qui nunc ire sat est, and besides gaudet patientia duris. His example sustains them in that terrible march: he will not drink while others thirst. When they reach the famous temple of Hammon, he is urged to consult the oracle: to him surely the god will unfold the secrets of Roman destiny, or declare what virtue and duty enjoin. The inspired hero answers like a Stoic oracle: he has no doubts about duty or virtue, no need of oracles while the great God is all around him, no fears of danger or of death. The hero-general leads his army on, his sublime fortitude and self-denial nerving the men to cheerful endurance: he is himself incarnate virtue; it is a Cato whom Rome would deify were she
but free. True to his principles, he is unmoved by the horrid deaths that make the march hideous, sadly and sternly he gives his orders and pushes on: he bears the worst of every peril: in his presence the voice of complaint is hushed, and the tortured victims die in peace. With the end of this march we again lose sight of Cato. If there is one part of Lucan's design the non-completion of which we may justly regret, surely it is the famous death scene at Utica, which the Stoic poet doubtless intended to portray.

Such is Lucan's Cato. Those who are familiar with the contemporary references of Cicero and the speech recorded by Sallust\(^5\) will see that it is in its main outlines a truthful picture. It is true that we miss the cross-grained perversity that moved the mockery and complaints of Cicero. So far the picture seems onesided. But it is to be remembered that it was precisely in a great crisis like that of the civil war that Cato would appear to the best advantage. Of course the portrait is coloured by a loving hand: but it is none the worse for that.

Cato was too much at variance with the corrupt politicians of his age, too deficient in pliability, too little able to employ the best of possible means for the attainment of the best attainable ends, too much in fact of the hard narrow-minded masterful Roman Stoic, to be a successful or practical man in times of comparative peace. But the Cato of Lucan—even if we grant that he is more of a concrete ideal than a human character—is essentially great, and, if we judge him by his own standard, essentially successful. If as a man he has not the true-balanced mind and masterly harmony of Caesar, by the side of poor wordy vacillating Pompey he is simply colossal. It is his 'vain faith and courage vain' that alone lights up the dark hour of the falling Commonwealth. Such men are ever misunderstood in their lifetime; and we may well believe that Cato expected nothing else, and that to him the loving admiration of posterity would have seemed a fitting and sufficient reward. Manilius\(^6\) sets his soul, with the rest of the good and great, among the stars of heaven: there he, \textit{fortunaes victor}, might live a congenial life in his aetherial home in calm enjoyment of the Universe.

\(^{(40)}\) I proceed to examine the part played by the Senate in the \textit{Pharsalia}. The Senate as a powerful governing body was of course a thing of the past: it could only be known to Lucan as such from books or from the prejudiced and inaccurate de-

\(^5\) Sall Cat 52.  \(^6\) Manil 1 793 and the lines quoted § 346.
clamation of political dreamers. Among such people he was no doubt thrown, and often heard them contrasting a dignified and beneficent council, such as their fancy painted it, with that degenerate and servile gang, the Senate of their own times. Thus was Lucan misinformed, and he doubtless regarded the Senate of the latter days of the Republic as possessed of virtues and capacities which it certainly had not. Before however we can accept the view that the Senate is the hero of the poem—a very strong statement—it is necessary to inquire in detail how it is represented.

We first hear of the Senate as trampling on the tribunician rights, and as a 266-76. having been foiled in its attack on Caesar by the influence of the demagogue Curio over the mob. The centurion Laelius speaks of the dominion of the 356. Senate with contempt. Terrified at Caesar's approach, the Fathers quit their 1487-9. post in a most indecent stampede. The frenzied matron foresees Caesar's 301 in murder, impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu. So much for the first 1691. book. In the second book we find one or two stray references in which the importance of the Senate is marked. Also it is directly recognized as the 11 277, 520. power rightfully competent to declare war in the name of the state, and the 11 556-7. supposition that Caesar may possibly conquer in the struggle is rejected as absurd. After the flight of Pompey there are two Senates. The third book presents to us the section still remaining at Rome. The Fathers, drawn forth from their hiding places, meet without due formalities, and are merely a trembling and abject conclave ready to register the decrees of Caesar, be these 801. what they may. The fourth book supplies two or three casual references in which the cause of the senate is marked as the right one, and so on. In 8-65. the fifth book the curtain rises on the true Senate in Epirus, the venerabilis 266-7 ordo, summoned by the consuls: with these Fathers, whether in Rome or in foreign lands, the true imperial power of Rome must rest. They confer the command-in-chief on Pompey and transact other business. The assignment of governments to barbarian kings is spoken of in a tone that seems to me some- 103-11. what sarcastic and indignant. There are besides two other references to the Senate. In the sixth book I find none at all. In the seventh Cicero expresses his full confidence in the Senate's cause as the cause of Heaven. There are 56-7 a few casual references of the usual kind. Caesar marks out the Senators as ancile senatu and follow. See iv 789-93. the life-blood of the empire, and they fall thick in the battle, fighting for their own cause, for the aristocratic Republic of Rome. The eighth book shews us the scattered survivors following Pompey in his flight with unshaken loyalty. They still retain some dignity and self-respect, and when Pompey makes unworthy proposals of flight into the far East, giving up all for lost, they shew their disapproval and declare for the more manly and patriotic scheme of Lentulus. Once more they are referred to, in the speech of Potheinus. In the ninth book we hear incidentally of the Senate as the power ix 22, 194. by which Cato was drawn into the civil war, and as ruled by Pompey in its

7 Merivale c 54.
own ruling days. There is also one hard hit at the slavish senate of later times. The tenth book contains a reference to the murder of Caesar by the Senators in bc 44, and another of no importance.

I confess that to me the part played by the Senate in the 
Pharsalia does not seem on the whole a very great and glorious one. In the fifth and eighth books, and partly also in the seventh, they do shew to advantage. In the first and third they as certainly do not. The references scattered about the poem are mostly mere declamatory party phrases, indifferent in respect of my present inquiry. Therefore I cannot admit that the Senate is the hero of the Pharsalia; I cannot even believe that Lucan consciously intended it to be such. If he did so intend—and all things are possible in a boy poet—he has utterly failed, for the representation of this supposed corporate hero is (if I may so say) only sub-heroic, and meagre to boot.

(41) Wanted, a hero—, such is the position of a critic of the Pharsalia. We are now in a position to sum up the results of our search.

The hero de facto is Caesar. He is the impersonation of power, and in spite of Lucan’s attempts to blacken his character—which fail from being overdone—he has a moral greatness that fits him to be the hero of a greater poem than the Pharsalia.

If Caesar is power, Cato is moral greatness: he is a sort of secondary hero.

Pompey cannot be called a hero in any sense. He is the protagonist of that political and military Rome the utter rottenness of which he only partly understands, and the fall of which he is too timid to hasten.

The senate is legality, and is in effect only part of the foreground of the picture, important in its relation to the chief figures.

It is very characteristic of Lucan that it should be necessary to search after the hero at length. And when we have found him, he is a hero not in virtue of the poet’s efforts, but in spite of them. This is the Nemesis that follows on an attempt to misrepresent history. Lucan is borne on the stream of declamation without knowing8 whither it may bear him. And the fact that he cannot wholly falsify the truth, that Caesar remains (as Teuffel

8 In ix 985 venturi me teque legunt he almost seems to understand what has been the result. The words are probably sarcastic, but I fancy there is a touch of vexation in them too.
says) the ‘negative hero’, helps to explain the popularity of the poem. In no age could men seriously have admired a work the merits of which consisted solely in complete and successful caricature.

F. MANNER OF THE PHARSALIA.

Touches of true poetry

(42) Here and there scattered about the poem we find lines that present us with pictures so natural so clear so tender or so striking that we must admit them to be true poetic touches. They are certainly beyond mere rhetoric, and it is on such passages as these that we must found any opinion of the probable poetic development of Lucan if he had not been cut off in his youth. Opinions differ on this unprofitable question: for myself I can only say that I think Lucan, had he lived to mature age, would have produced more finished work, possibly some really great work.

These better lines take us with them—we stand with Pompey on the deck as he looks fondly back on Italy1 et dubios cernit vanescere montes: we seem to watch the dying father of the dying Argus as his eyes glaze in death2 et miserum cernens agnosce desinit Argum. The flooded river falls and the land once more appearing dries and hardens3 under the eye of day, visisque die durescere valles. Pompeian and Caesarian soldiers meet around their camp fires4 and extrahit insomnes bellorum fabula noctes. Volteius and his faithful few beset by overwhelming odds shew fight till nightfall5, pugna fuit, non longa quidem; nam condidit atra nox lucem dubiam pacemque habuere tenebrae. Surely this is admirably picturesque. Not less so is the comparison of the Pythian priestess, when the prophetic fit is just leaving her and her heart is palpitating, to the sea calming down6 after a storm; sic muta levant suspiria vatem. Caesar comes down to Brundisium; he finds his fleet afraid to put to sea. The scene is vividly pourtrayed thus7 clausas ventis brumalibus undas invenit et pavidas hiberno sidere classes. The

1 III 7. 2 III 736. 3 IV 129. 4 IV 200. 5 IV 472—3. 6 v 218.
personification of the fleet here is excellent. The frequent declamation against the wickedness and horrors of civil war is wearisome; but how vividly is all brought home to the reader when Lucan bears him down to the nether world and shews him the same discord at work stirring up the armies of the Roman dead:

\[
\text{offera Romanos agitat discordia manis,}\\
\text{impiaque infernam ruperunt arma quietem.}
\]

How solemn is the awful gloom that falls upon the armies before the deadly struggle, each startled at the other's appearance:

\[
\text{inque vicem voltus tenebris mirantur opertos,}\\
\text{et pallere diem, galeisque incumbere noctem.}
\]

Striking too is his description of the after-working of the battle-fever on the victors in their broken slumbers:

\[
\text{invigilat cunctis saevom seclus, armaque tota}\\
\text{mente agitant, capulque manus absente moventur.}
\]

Tender is the appeal of Cordus to his departed leader as he lays the corpse on the wretched pyre; 

\[
\text{exignae, quantum potes, accipe flammam, Romana succense manu.}
\]

One of the best touches in the poem is when Cornelia gives to her son the message of his father, a charge by which she has been cheated into surviving her husband:

\[
\text{insidiae valuere tuae, deceptaque vixi,}\\
\text{ne mihi commissas auferrem perfida voces.}
\]

Naturally we read of her below, 

\[
\text{saevomque arte complexa dolorem perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniugе luctum.}
\]

Indeed in painting the love of Pompey and Cornelia Lucan is singularly successful. The parting in Epirus, when Pompey has made up his mind to send away his wife but dares not tell her of his resolve, is truly great:

\[
\text{mentem iam verba paratam}\\
\text{destituent, blandaeque inuat ventura trahentem}\\
\text{indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis.}\\
\text{nocte sub extrema pulso torpore quietis}
\]

8 VI 780—1. 9 VII 177—8. 10 VII 766—7. 11 VIII 766—7. 12 IX 99, 100 (speaking as to Pompey). 13 IX 111—2. 14 Always excepting the abominable speech VIII 72—85. 15 v 731—42.
Surely the lad of twenty-five years who wrote this stands on a height from which the ingenuity of a critic who will venture to determine what he could and could not have done, if he had lived out the ordinary span, may be complacently ignored.

Sententiae.

(43) Lucan is described by Quintilian as sententiis clarissimis: it is therefore part of my business to inquire what is the full meaning of the description, and how far it can be accepted as applicable to our author.

The word sententia is used as the equivalent of ὑπόθεσις, and signifies a maxim or general statement. By the rhetoricians the word is applied only to such general utterances as have a bearing upon human life and action. In this sense I shall use it. From being a staple material of early poetry, and an appliance moderately used by orators in the golden ages of Greek and Roman political life, it had now in the hands of the rhetoricians of the Empire become an artificial embellishment used with little relevance or moderation. Speaking of sententiae Quintilian says nostris temporibus modo carent. The elder Seneca speaking of Porcius Latro says that he would sometimes compose nihil praeter has translaticias quas proprie sententias dicimus, quae nihil habent cum ipsa controversia implicitum sed satis apte et alio transferuntur, tamquam quae de fortuna de crudelitate de sacculo de divitiiis dicuntur: hoc genus sententiarum suppellectilem vocabat.

1 x 1 § 90.
2 See Aristotle rhet ii 20 with Cope's notes, rhet ad Herenn iv § 24, Quintilian viii 5. I should like to extend the meaning to include such lines as iii 111—2, but I dare not put that construction on Quintilian.
3 viii 5 § 2. 4 controversiae i pref § 23.
It remains now to see whether the *sententiae* of Lucan are sufficiently numerous and striking to justify their selection by Quintilian as the single detailed characteristic to which it seemed necessary to refer. To this end I have made as far as I could a complete collection of them, and append it here.

I 32 alta sedent civilis volnra dextrae, 81 in se magna ruunt, 92 nulla fides regni sociis, 281 semper nocuit differre paratis, 331—2 nullus semel ore receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces, 348—9 arma tenenti omnia dat qui iusta negat.

II 287 sed quo fata trahunt virtus secura sequetur.

III 58 nescit plebes ieuna timere, 118—9 usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere auri nescit amor, 152 non sibi sed domino gravis est quae servitegestas, 448—9 servat multos fortuna nocentis et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.

IV 275 vincitur haud gratis iugulo qui provocat hostem, 478—9 vita brevis nulli super est qui tempus in illa quaerenae sibi mortis habet, 702 audendo magnus tegitur timor, 704 variam semper dant oitia mentem, 708 qua stetit, inde favet, 710 odere pares.

V 260 quicquid multis peccatur inultum est, 290 facinus quos inquinat aequat, 692—4 sors ultima rerum in dubios casus et prona pericula mortis praecipitare solet.

VII 104—7 multos in summa pericula misit venturi timor ipse mali; fortissimus ille est qui promptus metuenda pati, si comminus instent, et differre potest, 263 nulla manus belli mutato iudice pura est.

VIII 29—31 nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum adfuisset et celeri praeverit tristia leto, dedecori est fortuna prior, 241 in dubiiis tutum est inopem simulare tyranno, 452—3 nil pudet adsuetus sceptris; mitissimis sors est regnorum sub rege novo, 454—5 quantum spes ultima rerum libertatis habet, 484—7 ipsis et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemaeae, nocentis. dat poenas laudata fides cum sustinet', inquit, 'quos fortuna premit: fatis accede desicque, et cole felices; miseris fuge'.

489—95 sceptrorum vis tota perit si pendere iusta incipit, evertitque arces respectus honesti. libertas scelerum est quae regna invisa tueat sublatusque modus gladiis: facere omnia saeve non impune licet nisi cum facis. exeat aula qui volt esse pius: virtus et summa potestas non coeunt: semper metuet quem saeva pudebunt.

527 metiri sua regna decet viresque fateri, 534—5 adversis non deesse decet, sed laeta secutos: nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos, 631—2 mutantur prospera vitae, non fit morte miser.
I am aware that I may have missed some; but not many, I think. At all events I feel confident of this, that on the score of number there is little to be said. They are not very numerous. I now pass on to the more important question of their quality.

We must remember that Lucan’s mental training had consisted principally of school rhetoric and Stoic philosophy. Both influences tended to develop a taste for *sententiae* and the faculty of composing them. To *sententiae* his uncle Seneca attached no small value, as his practice shews: and he directly defends⁵ their use as an engine of practical ethics. Remembering this, and considering also the enormous mass of sententious utterances existing even now in the works of Lucan’s Greek and Roman predecessors,—and what now exists is doubtless but a small percentage of the total existing in Lucan’s day,—we surely are driven to expect a very high standard of production to justify Quintilian’s praise. Surely the *sententiae* ought to be either original in matter or striking in expression, or both of these, if we are to regard the writer as *sententiiis clarissimus*.

I am of opinion that these requirements are not adequately met by the *sententiae* of the *Pharsalia*. The matter of them is for the most part trite and commonplace, and many of them merely convey the same tone of cynicism over and over again in various forms. The expression is now and then good, but seldom very striking or neat. In short my inquiry leads me to the conclusion that Quintilian is judging by a low standard, and that Lucan has not attained a high one.

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⁵ ep 104 *passim* and in particular §§ 27—8, 43.
Specimens of good lines

(44) Beside the grand passages on which the literary fame of Lucan must mainly rest, there are scattered about the poem a number of lines that catch the attention of a careful reader and lead him to form a high estimate of the writer's power. They are not strictly speaking 'sentences', though many of them could easily be cast into a gnomic form: they are hardly poetic touches, though some of them border closely on poetry. Sometimes it is a powerful metaphor that strikes us; sometimes a good antithesis; sometimes the telling brevity of some bold appeal or touch of scorn. Often it is no more than some happy and forcible expression. Now and then it is not that the meaning is in any way remarkable, but that plain dignity of sense is joined to majesty of sound. Many of the passages referred to elsewhere will illustrate my meaning as well as the following, which I take from a large number of selections.

I
182 et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.
187 clara per obscuram voltu maestissima noctem.
202 Caesar ubique tuus liceat modo nunc quoque miles.
227 utendum est iudice bello.
279 tua nos faciet victoria civies.
301—2 hoc cruor Arctois meruit diffusus in arvis,
vulneraque et mortes, hiemisque sub Alpibus actae?
313 Marcellusque loquax et nomina vana Catones.
338 ultima Pompeio dabitur provincia Caesar.
569—70 tum fragor armorum magnaeque per avia voces
auditae nemorum et venientes comminus umbrae.

II
239 accipient alios, facient te bella nocentem.
313 quicquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores.
382 naturamque sequi, patriaeque impendere vitam.
477 donavit socero Romani sanguinis usum.
515 et nihil hac venia, si viceris ipse, paciscor.
525 lucis rumpe moras et Caesaris effuge munus.

III
169—70 interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem
secum casuras in proelia moverat urbes.
296—7 acciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar
vincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem.
et miseris bellis civilibus eripe terras.
usque adeone times quem tu facis ipse timendum?
paulatim cadit ira ferox mentesque tepescunt.
spectat vicinos sitiens exercitus amnes.
et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus.
vitare instantia nolim.
impare ad letum et fortis virtute coacta.
ordine de tanto quisquis non exsulat hic est.
quia satis est si Roma parum?
sit praeter gladios aliquod sub Caesare fatum.
vincimus, o socii; veniet qui vindicet arces
dum morimur.
inflex, quanta dominum virtute parasti.
civilia bella
gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine vincant?
faciesque simillima fato.
in manibus vestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanaeque labor.
toto simul utimur orbe.
dum fortuna calct, dum conficit omnia terror.
tota, quantum valet, utere Lesbo.]
ius et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemae, nocentis.
ant aciem Emathiam nullis accessimus armis :
Pompeii nunc castra placent, quae describ ortis?
nunc victoris opes et cognita fata lacessis?
letiferae tibi causa morae fuit avia Lesbos,
et prior in Nili pervenit litora Caesar.
iliac quem paci praetulit orbis,
causa nostra perit.
clausa fides miseris, et toto solus in orbe est
qui velit ac possit victis praestare salutem.
steriles nec legit harenas
ut caneret paucis, mersitque hoc pulvere verum.
omibus unus adest fatis.
et multum debentis vatibus umbras.
et quod adhuc nescis, genero secure perempto.
voltus adest precibus faciesque incesta perorat.
quia dignior umquam
hoc fuit auditu, mundique capacior hospes?
interque maritos
discurrens Aegypton habet Romamque meretur.
Speeches and apostrophes

(45) Lucan, says Quintilian\(^1\), is magis oratoribus quam poetis imitandus. This is in a passage where he is passing poets in review and estimating them according to their relative values as 'good reading' for a student of oratory. I take him to mean that the merits of Lucan's treatment and style are rhetorical, not that all the speeches in the Pharsalia are appropriate or judicious. Accepting the criticism in this sense, I go on to examine briefly the speeches, selecting a few for special comment.

Their general characteristic is formality: they are set harangues, without individuality\(^2\) or spontaneousness. Their warmth and spirit—for Lucan is, as Quintilian says, ardens et concitatus,—is the warmth and spirit of a clever young orator, not that of the supposed speakers. The same objection may be taken in a greater or less degree to all speeches written by poets or historians for their characters. In Lucan this general resemblance is made more striking by the extravagance of the arguments used and the excessive ingenuity of the turns of thought. But when all deduction is made on this score we must still admit that some of these compositions are admirable, and I myself think them the best part of the poem. One or two of the best apostrophes take a higher flight; but on the whole the speeches bear examination better than the apostrophes.

Among the best speeches are I 299—351 [Caesar to his troops], IV 212—35 [Petreius to his troops], VI 777—820 [the corpse], VIII 484—535 [Pothinus to Ptolemy], IX 379—406 [Cato to his troops: down to 394 very good], 566—84 [Cato the Stoic], 1064—1104 [Caesar on seeing Pompey's head] X 353—98 [message of Pothinus].

In worse taste are VIII 72—85 [Pompey upbraiding his wife] and IX 55—108 [Cornelia, who says she has only lived to deliver Pompey's message to her sons, laments too loudly and too long with almost ludicrous truth she says of her anima that planctu concussa peribit].

\(^1\) x i § 90.
\(^2\) An instance is the speech given to Cicero was not at Pharsalia.
The influence of the rhetorical schools is very plain to see in V 319—64 [Caesar to mutinous troops], 481—97 [Caesar to Antony], VIII 622—35 [Pompey’s absurd dying soliloquy], IX 1014—32 [Pothinus to Caesar].

That influence may be well illustrated by comparing IV 344—62 with Quintus Curtius VIII 14 § 42, V 682—99 with Curtius IX 6 §§ 6—15, and IX 848—80 with Curtius IX 3 §§ 5—15 and the first suasoria of the elder Seneca: it will be felt that these passages (and scores of others, no doubt) are merely school commonplaces.

It may also be interesting to examine pairs of answering speeches, such as V 739—59, 762—90 [Pompey and Cornelia], VII 250—329, 342—82 [Caesar and Pompey], VIII 262—327, 331—453 [Pompey and Lentulus].

Of Lucan’s apostrophes there is not much to be said. There are in them many fine passages,—some of his very best rhetoric,—but their effect on the poem as a whole is bad. The reason is clear; they are the outcome of an unhealthy self-consciousness. The poet’s business is surely to develop his moral by the simple interaction of characters and circumstances. The reader should be left to judge: half the pleasure and most of the profit of poetry lies in the discovery of the moral significance of the characters and the meaning of the story, not by direct statement, but from the story and characters themselves. Now Lucan is always thrusting himself forward to tell us what it all means: and, whatever Roman audiences may have thought of the practice, on us the effect is simply to destroy the illusions of poetry and bring us face to face with an orator. The apostrophes are particularly dominant in the seventh and eighth books, and their undoubted merit, taken as passages, does not serve to compensate for their destructive effect on the poem generally. A fine instance of this class of writing and the course it naturally follows is IV 799—824, where we begin with an address to Curio 799—804, then turn to party leaders generally 805—6, next we moralize 807—10, then address Curio again 811—3, then return to our moralizing 814—24, and close the book and the passage with an epigram.
Four characteristic defects

(46) Four of the main literary defects of the *Pharsalia* are best grouped together, both because they are of necessity somewhat akin to each other, and because the passages adduced under each head often serve to illustrate what is to be said under others. The following classification has been adopted as convenient.

(a) The clearness of a picture is marred and its effect spoilt by overloading it with detail. It is materialized.

(b) Long lists or enumerations are introduced, which break the flow of narrative and are in themselves wearisome.

(c) Narratives and discussions of a descriptive or moralizing nature are brought in unnecessarily, and often spun out to great length: by these the poem is broken and made heavy, being in fact a vehicle for carrying great quantities of utterly irrelevant matter.

(d) Hyperbole is employed to excess; that is, Lucan endeavours to engage the interest and fire the imagination of the reader by overdrawn description and gigantic machinery: the effect of this is simply to dwarf the human agents who appear on the scene.

(a) The excess of detail is observable throughout the poem.

To take a few instances:

Speaking of the cruel murder of Marius' brother, Lucan thinks fit to enlarge on the ghastly brutality of the deed step by step, quite needlessly.

Marcia returns to be remarried to Cato. The marriage takes 22 lines, 17 of which describe the usages dispensed with by the pair, 3 those complied with; 2 are introductory.

Pompey vaunts the wide area of his military exploits: th

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1 Nisard II pp 34–5.
3 II 350–71.
4 II 583–95. The enumeration in VIII 806—8 is in place where it stands, and is in itself a vast better piece of writing.
words are glibly condensed and read like those of a man speaking from a brief dictionary of biography.

The Massaliots declare that their loyalty will stand the test of enduring the hardships of a siege: they go into particulars in a way that robs their manful declaration of all its dignity.

While the armies are facing each other before Ilerda a severe drought is followed by a disastrous downpour of rain. 40 lines of tasteless overdrawn description bring us to a point where the effect of the rainfall, plus a simile, plus an apostrophe to Juppiter and Neptune, are yet to follow.

Curio is deceived by a stratagem of Juba, and his men are indeed in a desperate position. But 15 lines is too much to devote to a description of the distress of the horses and the embarrassment caused thereby, when the lives of the whole army are in jeopardy.

Caesar on his voyage over the Adriatic is becalmed. We are first told this clearly enough in 6 lines, then comes a simile in 6 more. But the breeze is not yet. Through 14 more lines we have to wait, knowing all the while that it must come. And these lines in effect tell us that Caesar was in a dead calm and wanted a breeze, which we knew before.

The preparations for the great battle move Lucan to compare the scene to the preparations of the gods for battle with the Giants. He then takes 5 gods and works through them saying something appropriate of each. This is meant to be graphic and is miserable.

After the victory, Caesar's men sleep a guilty restless sleep in the Pompeian camp. Down to the words omnes in Caesare manes the description is really fine; but then comes a tasteless double simile, followed by 3 lines harmless in themselves but quite superfluous.

In the course of Cato's march along the African coast the story of the apples of the Hesperides is dragged in on slight pretext. This passage well illustrates the t...
of the same ideas with change of vocabulary, and is worth
reading carefully from this point of view, being eminently
typical of Lucan's manner. As Nisard says, he goes from
the word to the thing, not from the thing to the word.

(b) The plague of catalogues\(^\text{12}\) is found more or less in
every part of the narrative. The age was an age of common-
place-books: it produced Pliny's Natural History. Accordingly
Lucan, ever in excess, when he once begins to speak of this or
that matter, falls into the cataloguing vein and wears the topic
threadbare. For instance:

When Caesar is withdrawing his scattered forces from
Gaul we get a list\(^\text{13}\) of Gaulish places and tribes, in which
two subordinate digressions are imbedded. Pompey's retreat
to Capua leads to an account\(^\text{14}\) of the physical geography of
Italy, with one digression. The forces gathered to support
Pompey are catalogued\(^\text{15}\) at vast and weary length: 125 lines
of it are introduced by 2 good lines of preface and closed by
2 passable lines of summary. The dreary episode\(^\text{16}\) of the
siege of Massalia is spun out to nearly 400 lines of tasteless and
hyperbolical detail; while the main point, the surrender, drops
out altogether. We may be thankful that the realm and forces
of Juba are dismissed\(^\text{17}\) in 16 lines. The topic of the Delphic
oracle\(^\text{18}\) is better handled, but the moralizing discussion is the
best part of it. It takes some 150 lines before we get back to
the subject of the war. The storm in which Caesar is caught
on the Adriatic is so described\(^\text{19}\) that at the end of about 60 lines
we are heartily sick of it; our impressions of the storm are con-
fused by the bombastic language and ingenuity of material
details, and the whole effect is execrable. It takes 80 lines\(^\text{20}\)
to set forth the physical geography and mythical history of

\(^{12}\) Nothing in Lucan is worse than the speech
of the gnat's ghost in the Culex 210—384. But
it is doubted whether the poem so named now
extant be the Culex of Vergil, with which Lucan
boostfully compared his early productions.

\(^{13}\) i 392—465. \(^{14}\) iii 394—438.

\(^{15}\) i 169—997.

\(^{16}\) iii 372—764. It is well that on the great
day of Pharsalia we are spared a list of the deaths
of a number of Romans. See vii 617—31.

\(^{17}\) iv 670—86.

\(^{18}\) v ii 71—224. The description of the priestess
is as Nisard says [ii pp. 142—7] 'tou anatomique',
and the heaping on of detail is disgusting.
Vergil's Sibyl in Aen vi is worthy of the god.

\(^{19}\) v 593—653. Compare ix 319—47. Aeneid
1: it is a wonderful contrast, though even this
is less simple and has far less moral effect than
the fine simple passage Odyssey xii 423—19, as
Nisard ii pp. 147—59 well points out.

\(^{20}\) vi 333—412.
Thessaly; and we could well spare both. After this we have an account\textsuperscript{21} of Thessalian witches in 72 lines. Then the witch of the hour takes up 63 lines\textsuperscript{22} of unspeakable foulness and horror: and Sextus' interview\textsuperscript{23} with her runs to 266 lines more. This horrid scene despite its ghastliness is not without a certain dignity of its own: and the last 3 lines are appropriate and good. The story\textsuperscript{24} of Cato's march along the north of Africa gives an opportunity, not to be missed, of bringing in the real and fabled plagues of Africa: which run into the legend of Medusa and her death at the hands of Perseus. This passage, about 80 lines long, is followed by 34 lines\textsuperscript{25} of a list of the local snakes. Then comes\textsuperscript{26} a list, with names and particulars, of men bitten by various snakes and hence dying various appropriate deaths: this takes more than 100 lines. Caesar feasts with Cleopatra, and we accordingly are treated to 25 lines\textsuperscript{27} detailing the luxurious appliances of the Egyptian queen. Nor is it only in the narrative that these passages occur: the speeches are similarly weighted. The burden is 'any war but a civil war', and we have 8 lines\textsuperscript{28} out of 18 given to a needless catalogue of possible enemies. A speaker descants\textsuperscript{29} on the atrocities of the civil war of Marius and Sulla; but surely it is too much to give 120 lines of his speech to mere butchery, with names and particulars in the cases of the chief victims. Surely we might read of Curio's landing in Africa without 60 lines\textsuperscript{30} devoted to the utterly irrelevant story of Hercules and Antaeus. When Caesar in a great hurry is wanting to put to sea at once, and chafing at delay, it is ludicrous for the fisherman to entertain him with 16 lines\textsuperscript{31} recounting the signs of bad weather to come.

\textbf{(c)} The occurrence of passages, sometimes of great length, in which the author moralizes as a political historian or discusses natural phenomena, strikes every reader of the \textit{Pharsalia}. These

\textsuperscript{21} VI 434–506.  
\textsuperscript{22} VI 507–69.  
\textsuperscript{23} VI 570–830.  
\textsuperscript{24} IX 619–93.  
\textsuperscript{25} IX 700–33.  
\textsuperscript{26} IX 734–838. This is hardly so bad as the list of deaths in the sea fight before Massalia, but in both cases the splitting up the interest of the story into a number of little episodes ruins the effect.  
\textsuperscript{27} X 111–25. Aeneid i 657–42 will serve for contrast.  
\textsuperscript{28} II 43–55.  
\textsuperscript{29} II 101–220.  
\textsuperscript{30} IV 593–603.  
\textsuperscript{31} V 540–56. So in VIII 157–84 when Pompey is leaving Lesbos with Cornelia, he asks the skipper about the stars and navigation, and gets in answer a bewildering enumeration of constellations. This is not so bad as the other, but very illplaced where it comes.
passages are often of considerable merit in themselves, and the objection fairly to be urged against them is that they are unsuited to this poem, some to any poem.

When Lucan discusses\(^{22}\) the causes of the civil war in a passage which, if not original, is certainly a powerful and pointed one, we feel that we are out of the proper domain of epic poetry: it is all cold and analytical.

When Pompey on his way to Brundisium makes a speech of 65 lines\(^{33}\) to his soldiers, the reader feels that if both right and might are really on the side of the speaker the fact ought not to need so lengthy a proof. When the poet desires to say\(^{34}\) that Pompey's success before Dyrrachium, if well followed up, would have saved much unnecessary bloodshed by ending the war then and there, he does not say simply 'Ah, if only Sulla had been in Pompey's place!' he goes on to tell us what would not have happened if he had been. The temptation to moralize in detail is too much for him. The reflexions\(^{35}\) before and after the great battle are so fine in themselves that they disarm criticism: still they are rather fine as declamation than as sense or poetry. The same is true of the noble lines\(^{36}\) the burden of which is 'Better to fall with Pompey than win with Caesar'; and of the ferocious and malignant picture\(^{37}\) of Caesar and his men after the battle, a sort of attempt at literary vengeance in a lost cause.

A melancholy instance of misused opportunities is the description\(^{38}\) of Caesar's visit to the Hellespont and Troy, where the effect of the situation is lost in the attempt to moralize and catalogue at once.

The reflexions\(^{39}\) on Alexander suggested by Caesar's visit to his tomb are another case of the ruinous effect, from a literary point of view, of this tendency to run off at length into a sermon where what was needed was one or two powerful touches, such as stimulate a reader to make the sermon for himself. As instances of the discussion of natural phenomena we may take the digression\(^{40}\) on certain tides in the

\(^{22}\) 198–182. I believe the passage to be in great part a reminiscence of Sallust Catil 9–13.

\(^{33}\) 11 531–95.

\(^{34}\) VI 301–13.


\(^{36}\) VII 698–711.

\(^{37}\) VII 765–824.

\(^{38}\) IX 950–79.

\(^{39}\) x 20–52.

\(^{40}\) 1412–9.
middle of a catalogue, and other such passages: the description of Africa, its geography climate winds sandstorms and so forth: that of Ammon's shrine, the Oasis, and the Tropics: and last and most notable of all the 138 lines delivered by the priest Achoreus on the marvels of the Nile.

(d) I shall give but a few specimens of the ever-present hyperbole of Lucan.

Nero must be careful where he sits, so as not to tilt the heaven but keep it trimmed. In the Sullan massacre the slayers can hardly strike, the corpses will hardly fall, but the dead bodies serve to crush and kill the living: the corpses choke the Tiber, till the stream of blood flushes it. The episode of the siege of Massalia is one mass of absurd hyperbole: it is meant to be very impressive and grand, but its effect is grotesque and unreal. In the rain and storm at Ilerda the clouds are so thick that you cannot see the lightning. When the waters abate and the flood goes down, the water 'leaves the star-level'. In the following drought men squeeze the clods for moisture. When Curio is hard pressed by Juba in the African desert, he cannot see the extent of the disaster till the blood has laid the dust. Caesar is becalmed at sea; 'no chance of shipwreck, worse luck to it'. Soon there is a storm; all the winds blow at once and the consequent equilibrium alone saves the sea from being blown to pieces: vast bodies of water are carried here and there, mountains overwhelmed: the waves are as high as vast cliffs, there is no water between wave and wave: the ship is on her beam ends with one wave, and set on even keel again by the next, and so on, till the resources of absurdity are exhausted. The description of Scæva's gallant fight is so grotesquely overdrawn as to be simply laughable: fancy a man's vital parts being only protected by the spears sticking in his bones! At Pharsalia the

41 IX 411—71. 42 IX 511—43.
43 x 194—331. 44 1 56—8.
45 II 201—6. Compare III 444—5, IV 787, VI 250.
46 II 211—20.
47 III 538—762 passim. IX 734—838 is a passage of much the same character. Treating the case of each man as matter for a separate anecdote is an artistic defect, subdividing the interest miserably. Nisard II p 100.
48 IV 478. 49 IV 126—7.
50 IV 309—10.
51 IV 794—5. 52 V 454—5.
53 V 610—13. In Aen 1 102 foll, III 564 foll, the matter is much more lightly touched, and the hyperbole not nearly so oppressive.
54 VI 169—262, especially 194—5.
din of battle rises to the pure Olympian aether, far above the region of clouds and thunder: the sling-bullets melt with the speed of their flight. Cornelia calls herself Julia's paelex. Cato draws off the fleet: 300 ships are spoken of as 1000. In Africa a waterspout\(^5\) never breaks up; a sandstorm sweeps the sand even from under a man's feet: only the looseness of the surface earth saves the solid earth beneath from sheer destruction by the wind: yet the soldiers are sand-bound by the piling-up of sand round them. After the region of serpents, Cato's men are cheered\(^5\) by the sight of lions. Alexander, who turned back from the Satlej, sheds the blood of Indians on the Ganges.

\((c)\) The truth of the matter is that the old warmth, the human interest, of early poetry was dead. In early poetry, as Nisard\(^6\) well remarks, Man is everything; the scene is merely accessory: even the gods are only superhuman men. Such we find the state of things in the Homeric poems. When we get to Vergil, human interest is still there; but the scene has become more important, the human actors less so. Descriptive passages are introduced with obvious relish, though as yet sparingly: erudition is an important part of the poet's equipment, though as yet it is not ostentatiously displayed. When we reach Lucan, the poetry of the Homeric type is dead. The men are little more than lay figures, the scene is everything. Lucan still tries to draw characters, but the colours are harsh, the touches coarse, the traits inconsistent. The old religious beliefs were no longer able to supply any warmth. There was nothing left for the poet but to describe\(^6\) the material aspects of things, to display erudition, to declaim by the mouths of his characters or in his own person. And it was natural that in the endeavour to awaken by such means

\(^{55}\) vii 477—9, 512—3.

\(^{56}\) viii 194. The word comes well enough from Julia in iii 23.

\(^{57}\) ix 32 foll.

\(^{58}\) ix 457, 465, 466—71. \(^{59}\) ix 946—7.

\(^{60}\) x 33.

\(^{61}\) Nisard ii pp 171—5.

\(^{62}\) See Persius i 70—3, Juvenal i 7—14. After Lucan's time we find whole poems consisting of trivial and minute descriptions. See Statius (silvae) Ausonius and the poetae minores in Baehrens' collection. Silius, remarks Nisard ii pp 180—90, is the type of the student-poet of erudition: Statius (Thebais and Achilleis) and Valerius Flaccus the workers up of second-grade mythology. Lucan is better than these, but he is too raw to control the display of his erudition. A good instance of ill-timed learning is v 232—7.
the interest of jaded audiences he should be led into gross overdrawing of descriptions, into blunders betraying the flimsiness of the learning he so wearisomely parades, into reflexions foolish in his own mouth and inappropriate to the known views or circumstances of the characters by whom they are declared.

(47) Further characteristics in detail

(a) One of the most striking characteristics of Lucan’s style is seen in the forced antitheses which abound in his lines. Sometimes they are felt at once to be a fit and powerful vehicle for expressing a contrast or opposition of notions, which enlivens the narrative or speech, but on which it is unnecessary to dwell at any length. Such a case is II 572 territa quasitis ostendit terga Britannis. But few of them are as good as this: in general they seem to come in merely because Lucan cannot resist the temptation to state a point cleverly; and the effect is strained and artificial. The following instances are of very various merit, and will serve to illustrate my remarks.

I 504 in bellum fugitur, II 15 liceat sperare timenti, 84—5 si libet ulisci delaeae funera gentis, hunc, Cimbris, servate senem, 511 scit Caesar poenamque peti veniamque timeri, 700—1 quam retinere vetas, liceat sibi perdere saltem Italian, III 569—70 navali plurima bello consis agit, 730 exemplum non miles erat, IV 23 qui praestat terris averti tibi nomen Iberus, 362 hoc petimus, victos ne tecum vincere cogas, V 62—3 donata est regia Lagi, accessit Magni ingulus, 176—7 nec tantum prodere vati quantum scire licet, 487—8 ignave, venire te Caesar non ire iubet, VI 117 satrum tamen obsidct hostem, 749 Stygiar qui perierat undas, 825 venit defunctus ad ignis, VII 199 pignare ducem quam vincere malunt, 563—4 quis praestet bella iubenti, quem pignare iuvet, 739—40 neque enim donare vocabo quod sibi quisque dabat, VIII 54 cum possis iam flere, times, 535 nulla fides umquam

63 See III 48—52, 93—7, 118—121, 307—55, VII 48—49 [a long passage lacking sense of proportion and historic truth], 673—5, 689—97, 869—72, VIII 241—3, 314—7, 752, 795—805 inconsistent with 858—72, the former being Lucan’s own, the latter under Stoic influence. Most of these citations are taken from Nisard II pp 83—135, where are many acute criticisms too long for me to reproduce. I should add that in VII 377, when Pompey says that if his position allowed it he would grovel before them with his wife and child, he seems to forget that they were in Lesbos; in VI 813—4, when the corpse tells Sextus that his sire will prophesy to him all things in Sicily (clearly after death) Pompey has still a book and a half to live.
The influence under which this tendency grew up in Lucan is not far to seek: it is simply the school rhetoric. One has only to read a few pages of the *suasoriae* of the elder Seneca, which are simply a collection of flowers of antithetical language, to see this, which is first an ornament of style and then a disease, in its full glory. It suited well the pedantic distinctions of the Stoics, and accordingly we find it dominant in the writings of the younger Seneca, who with free use of antithesis dilutes Stoic philosophy into sermons. And thus it came to Lucan both by school training and by family tradition.

(b) One well known characteristic of the Latin of the Silver Age is the tendency to aim at point and brevity by laying a strained and unnatural emphasis on certain words. This tendency is closely connected with the taste for forced antitheses, and there can be no doubt that to it many of the changes of meaning in the vocabulary of the later Latin are due. It appears very frequently in the *Pharsalia*. I give a few instances.

11 35 *divisere* deos, 60 dum nondum *meruere*, 190—1 *quid perdere* fructum iuvit, 192—3 ut scelus hoc......*placeret, agnosceundus erat, 442 atque ipsum non *perdat* iter, 111 704 tandemque sub acquore *mansit, 706—7 non perdere* letum maxima cura fuit, IV 252 velut occultum *pereat* scelus, 349—50 nos denique bellum *invent* civile duces, 570 et mortem *sentire* iuvat, V 423 iamdudum nubes et saevas *perdimus* undas, 491 in ventos *impendo* vota fretumque, VI 346—7 stagnumque implentibus unum *crescere* cursus erat, 407 [coin invented] divitas *numcere* darum est, 639—40 cadaver *victurum*, 710—1 *infans....victurus* erat, VII 91—2 testor....*Magnum quo cuncta perirent acceptisse* diem, 404 *in nulos* renitura domus, 431 *quod semper* saevas *debet* tibi Parthia poetas, 445 *quos servire pudet, 711 et terras elige* morti, VIII 53 *quid perdis* tempora luctus, 652—3 te fata extrema petente *vita* digna fui, IX 99 deceptaque *vixi, 233 perierunt* tempora vitae, 561 an bellum civile *perit, 637—8 nam rictus oraque monstris quis *timuit, 105* necubi suppressus *pereat* gener, 1087—8 sed parcimus annis *donamusque*
nfas, x 344 exemplumque perit, 370—1 quod fecimus una perdidimusque nfas.

(c) While considering the feats of Lucan in the way of antitheses and emphasis it may be well to call attention to the involved and laboured expression of notions in themselves clear and capable of being expressed simply and clearly. I take the instances collected by Nisard II pp 246—51, as they are good ones and amply sufficient to illustrate this characteristic of Lucan's style.

1 82—6 [it was the submission to a triumvirate, not the power of an enemy, that destroyed Rome], II 177—80 [Marius was killed with cruel slowness], III 437—61 [the motive power of the towers was unseen, and when they shook it seemed like the effect of earthquake], IX 636—41 [Medusa turns to stone all who look upon her face. For the description of instantaneous death of Seneca nat quaeit II 59 § 13].

These examples might be multiplied to any extent.

(d) I append a few stray notes which seem to belong to this place.

The figure hendiadys, so common in Vergil, is very rare in Lucan. See IV 364 usum belli poenamque remittit, and a few more scattered instances.

The figure hypallage is common in Lucan. Instances are VII 623—4 quis pectore tela transmittal, 834—5 numquam tanto se volture caelum induit, III 457 [turres] nihil fixerunt robore terram.

(c) Among the characteristics of Lucan's style we must not forget the careless repetition of words. The effect of this is sometimes very awkward, and has sometimes even caused editors to attempt the emendation of lines which on further consideration seem to be indubitably sound. A few instances will illustrate and justify my words.

I 25 urbibus, 27 urbibus,—80 foedera, 86 foedera,—510 faciles, 513 facilém.

II 22 attonitae, 32 attonitae,—205 strages, 212 strage,—212 pracippites, 216 praccipiti,—249 furentis, 254 furor,—292 fuorom, 295 furor,—299 atris, 301 atras,—677 profundi, 680 profundi.

III 436 silvam, 441 silva, 445 silva,—510 robore, 517 robur, 532 robur, 563 robora, 570 robor, 584 robore,—607 tenet, 622 tenet,—647 carinae, 650 carina, 654 carinae.
REPETITION OF WORDS

IV 29 subita, 32 subito,—245 monstra, 252 monstra,—251 scelerum, 252 scelus,—448 ponto, 450 ponto,—784 tullit, 789 ferat, 796 tullit, 814 tullit, 818 tulerunt.

V 170 ferens, 174 ferens,—348-50 (uses of nec),—546 corn/, —546 corn,—793 sustinet, 796 sustinuit.

VI 257 armis, 259 armis.


VIII 194 dedid, 196 dedid,—474 consilii vix tempus erat, 480 consilii vox prima fuit,—541 monstri, 548 monstra [cf 474],—664 sacrae, 669 sacros, 677 sacrum.

IX 870 solacia, 878 solacia,—953 legens, 954 legit,—973 saxum, 978 saxa.

X 147 ambitione furo [amens], 157 ambitione furens,—312 qua dirimunt, 314 qua dirimunt.

Where Lucan repeats the word in the same sense we are conscious of a certain dullness and monotony, such as a meagre vocabulary is apt to convey. Where the sense of the word is different in lines not far from each other, the attentive reader must I think be conscious of a certain want of skill, an awkwardness of manipulation, quite sufficient to constitute a distinct literary blemish.

The instances given above are worth going through carefully. I do not mean to say that such repetitions are peculiar to Lucan. But I do think that in his declamatory flow of rhetorical Latin verse they are out of place and a mark of great carelessness. It is far otherwise in the simple diction of archaic poetry. But with such Lucan has nothing in common, and therefore this characteristic of his is a defect, and by it much of his attempted word-painting is habitually marred.

(f) One well known characteristic of early poetry is the artless recurrence of the same epithets, the same phrases, even the same lines. The Homeric poems are the stock instance of this, and one notable feature of Vergil’s style is his conscious and delicate imitation of this primitive ballad manner. In Lucan this has wholly disappeared. The inner variety of human life and character is gone, and the outer variety of words and
phrases takes its place. But the effect of this rhetorical variety is monotonous in an epic poem.

At the same time Lucan cannot avoid an occasional repetition of a combination of words. But these rare repetitions are merely casual, not the result of an artless or tasteful readiness to employ the same phrase to express the same idea. They might happen just as well in prose. I give the most notable instances.

In 1 55 in sua templo fuit) 1 200 Roma, fave coeptis)
IX 321 in sua regna furens) VIII 322 Roma, fave coeptis)
I 331–2 nullus semel ore receptus pollutas patitur sanguis
mansuescere fauces
IV 239–41 si torrida parvos venit in ora cruar .................
admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces
II 217–8 nec iam alveus annem nec retinent ripae redditque
cadavera campo
VIII 438–9 et nostra cadavera Tigris detulit in terras ac red-
didit
II 304 sic eat) IV 501–2 sed non maiora supersunt obsessis
V 297 sic eat) IX 865–6 forsan maiora supersunt ingressis
IV 590 Antaei quae regna vocat non vana vetustas
IX 987 ut ducis implevit visus veneranda vetustas
X 239–40 zephyros quoque vana vetustas his adscribit aquis
X 323 hinc Abaton quam nostra vocat veneranda vetustas
V 356 quibus hic non sufficit orbis
X 456 cui Romani spatum non sufficit orbis)
V 692 sors ultima rerum
VII 122 quod sors feret ultima rerum
VIII 11–2 quantum pro Caesaris ipse avolsa cervice daret)
IX 1023–4 quicquid pro Magni cervice dares
VIII 210 qui sparsa ducis vestigia legit
IX 952–3 cuius vestigia frustra terris sparsa legens
VIII 360–2 nunc tantas ille lacesset auditi victoris opes aut iungere
fata tecum, Magne, volet?
VIII 533 nunc victoris opes et cognita fata lacessis?
IX 496 Libycae finitor circulus orae)
X 212 varii mutator circulus anni

In 11 341–2, 378–9, the repetition of foedera prisci tori is probably
an intentional parallelism, of no great merit: and perhaps VIII 360–2; 533;
is the same.
These recurrences are rather signs of a poor vocabulary than of simplicity. They help us but little in forming a judgment of the *Pharsalia* as a work of art, but it is for all that better to examine than to ignore them.

**(48) Similes and Metaphors**

I begin by giving a list of Lucan's similes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thing compared</th>
<th>Compared to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I 72—80 The crash of the civil war</td>
<td>The crash of the world's destruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 100—3 Crassus as an obstacle</td>
<td>The Isthmus of Corinth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 118 Julia as a restraint</td>
<td>The Sabine women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 136—43 Pompey [stationary dignity]</td>
<td>A grand old oak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 151—7 Caesar [restless enterprise]</td>
<td>A thunderbolt [see metaphor x 34—5]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 205—12 Caesar animating himself to war</td>
<td>A lion working himself into fury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 258—61 Silence of the overawed people of Ariminum</td>
<td>Calm in the country at midwinter, or at sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 292—5 Caesar egged on by Curio to war</td>
<td>A race-horse roused by shouts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 327—31 Pompey thirsting for civil war</td>
<td>Tigers thirsting for blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 388—91 Shout of Caesar's army</td>
<td>Sound of a strong wind in woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 498—503 Great panic at Rome</td>
<td>Panic on board a ship in a storm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 543—4 Midday darkness at Rome</td>
<td>Midday darkness at Mycenae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 574—7 Apparition at Rome</td>
<td>Eumenides in Greek myths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I 674—5 Frenzied matron at Rome</td>
<td>A Thracian Bacchante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 21—8 Scene at Rome, impression made by the approach of the great war</td>
<td>A deathbed scene, impression made by the approach of death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 162—5 The numerous victims of Sulla's massacres</td>
<td>The numerous victims of Diomedes Antaeus and Oenomaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 187—90 Marius mutilated by Catulus</td>
<td>Men crushed by the fall of a building, and corpses washed ashore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 267—8 Cato should rest apart in peace</td>
<td>The rest of the quiet stars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thing compared</td>
<td>Compared to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 297—303 Cato chief mourner over Roman freedom</td>
<td>A father chief mourner over dead children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 454—60 Conflict of feelings in Italy</td>
<td>Contending winds at sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 601—7 Pompey sulkily withdrawing from Italy</td>
<td>A bull sulkily withdrawing for a time to prepare for renewing the fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 665—8 Caesar's great mole at Brundisium [mass of material sunk]</td>
<td>Mountains hurled into the sea or a lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 672—7 Caesar's mole again [structure]</td>
<td>The bridge of Xerxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 715—9 Pompey's fleet escaping through a narrow passage with loss of its last two ships</td>
<td>The Argo escaping through the Symplegades with loss of part of its stern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 284—8 The vast host of Pompey</td>
<td>The vast hosts of Xerxes and Agamemnon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 362—5 Caesar needing adversaries</td>
<td>Wind and fire needing obstacles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 470—2 Effect of shot from a ballista</td>
<td>Effect of fall of a rock from a mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 482—3 Effect of shot on a testudo</td>
<td>Effect of hail on a roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III 549—52 Ships beating back one another's wash</td>
<td>Contending waves driven by opposite winds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 106—9 Weather in Spain BC 49 (Ilerda)</td>
<td>The antarctic winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 134—6 Boats of wicker and hide made by Caesar</td>
<td>Similar boats used by various peoples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 237—42 Pompeians recalled to desire of bloodshed by Petreius' taunts</td>
<td>Wild beasts tamed recalled to desire of blood by tasting it again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 285—91 Pompeians, making a despairing rush, foiled of battle and left time to grow cool</td>
<td>Wounded gladiator allowed time to bleed and grow stiff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 297—8 Pompeians digging deep for water</td>
<td>Asturian mining deep for gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 437—44 Stratagem of Octavius not to alarm the Caesarians too soon</td>
<td>Precautions of a hunter not to alarm the game too soon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 549—56 Vulteius' men killing each other</td>
<td>Men sprung from the serpents' teeth killing each other at Thebes and in Colchis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. L.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thing compared</th>
<th>Compared to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV 708—10</td>
<td>Soldiers on the battle field Gladiators in the arena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 724—9</td>
<td>Feint of Juba to delude Curio Feint of ichneumon to delude snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 99—101</td>
<td>Effect of inspiration on the Pythian priestess Effect of volcanic fires on Aetna and Inarime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 183—6</td>
<td>Pythian priestess picking out a particular destiny from a number Cumaean Sibyl picking out Roman destiny from those of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 217—8</td>
<td>After-working of prophetic frenzy on the Pythian priestess After-working of a storm on the sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 336—9</td>
<td>Caesar can afford to neglect the support of his soldiers The sea can afford to disregard the contributions of the rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 436—41</td>
<td>Dead calm in the Adriatic The Euxine ice-bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 620—4</td>
<td>Great storm in the Adriatic The great Deluge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 638—9</td>
<td>Height of great waves Height of Leucadian cliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 707—8</td>
<td>Order of fleet sailing Order of army marching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V 711—6</td>
<td>Sailing order of fleet broken Flying order of cranes broken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 48—53</td>
<td>Caesar's lines round Dyrrachium The walls of Troy, Babylon, Nineveh, Antioch, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 65—8</td>
<td>Pompey unaware of Caesar's lines extending round him A midland Sicilian or Briton unaware of a storm on the island shores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 90—2</td>
<td>Stench from dead bodies Stench from volcano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 166</td>
<td>Effect of Scaeva's appeal Effect of a trumpet peal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 181—3</td>
<td>Scaeva's spring among the enemy A leopard's spring among hunters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 207—13</td>
<td>Scaeva stuck full of darts Elephant stuck full of darts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 220—3</td>
<td>Scaeva pulling out a dart Bear trying to pull out a dart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 265—7</td>
<td>Unwearied efforts of Pompey to break Caesar's blockade Unwearied attacks of the sea on cliffs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 272—8</td>
<td>Pompey breaking Caesar's blockade The Po breaking its banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 286—7</td>
<td>Torquatus drawing in A skipper taking in sail to meet a storm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SIMILES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thing compared</th>
<th>Compared to</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>his men to resist Caesar's attack</td>
<td>coming squall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 293—5</td>
<td>Panic of Catanaeans at an eruption of Actna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI 648—51</td>
<td>The hell-mouth on Taenarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cave of the witch Erichtho</td>
<td>A desperate skipper letting his ship drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 125—7</td>
<td>Personal fears overpowered by the grandeur of a natural convulsion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 134—7</td>
<td>Preparation for fight, the gods against the giants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 144—50</td>
<td>Bellona or Mavors (=Ares before Troy) stirring up fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 568—70</td>
<td>Orestes, Pentheus, Agave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparation for fight, Pompeians against Caesarians</td>
<td>Skilful handling of a chariot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII 777—80</td>
<td>The pastures fired by Apulian shepherds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesar kept the fight alive at Pharsalia</td>
<td>A shepherd recalling his scattering bees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII 199—201</td>
<td>Skilful handling of a ship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral fires on the African shore</td>
<td>The inflow of dust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 182—5</td>
<td>Cato recalling to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column of dust</td>
<td>Stars to travellers in the desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 284—93</td>
<td>Stars to sailors on the sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column of dust</td>
<td>The melting of snow or wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 460—2</td>
<td>The boiling-up of water in a pot, or the swelling of sails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 494</td>
<td>Statues in theatre discharging a shower of saffron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 781—2</td>
<td>Sudden death from poisoning by an anaesthetic drug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The melting-away of a man bitten by a <em>scps</em></td>
<td>Rapid flight of a sling-bullet or an arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 798—800</td>
<td>The testing of the newly hatched eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The inflation of a man bitten by a <em>prester</em></td>
<td>Helen [bane of Greece and Troy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 808—10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man bitten by a <em>haemorrhoids</em> discharging gore from his pores</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 819—21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudden painless death from a highly venomous snake-bite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 826—7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid flight of the snake <em>inculus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX 902—6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The testing of the infant <em>Psyllus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X 60—2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleopatra [bane of Rome]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

g 2
There are thus by my reckoning 79 similes in all, distributed over the books as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lines</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>1108</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similes</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I find it interesting to compare the distribution of the 114 similes in the Aeneid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>XI</th>
<th>XII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lines</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>871</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I proceed to consider briefly the similes of Lucan. It seems to me that we may classify them under three heads according to their sources

(a) Those from life, that is, within the range of the writer's own experience. A very small class, including perhaps a deathbed scene, a street accident, a poisoning, and a few drawn from the amphitheatre and circus.

(b) Those from history, mythology, geography, works of art books of natural history and travel. These may be called the encyclopaedic class, and they are very numerous.
(c) Those borrowed directly from earlier poets, above all from Vergil. These are numerous.

One grave defect which a careful reader will often note in Lucan’s use of similes is that he over-describes that which he is about to illustrate by a comparison. Then, when the simile does come, it falls flat. The reason for which I take to be as follows. A simile expresses similarity of relations, not exact equality of ratios. Its purpose therefore is to furnish a qualitative standard, not a quantitative one. By first over-describing the thing compared, the quality is already sufficiently characterized, and the simile finds its work done. It then has a sort of quantitative effect. Thus, when Pompey and Caesar are severally described by analysing their characters and careers, it is of little use to compare them respectively to an old oak and a thunderbolt. The similes seem to answer the questions ‘how stationary is P? how restless is C?’ not the questions ‘what sort of man is P? what sort is C?’ And the rhetorical simile fails when applied to exact mensuration.

Another defect is the frequent introduction of things not seen or not known or less so to illustrate things seen or known or more so.

Both these defects arise from employing the simile to make the thing compared more interesting rather than more clear. And only a great master can do this with success.

To treat of the metaphors of Lucan exhaustively is quite beyond my reach with the time at my disposal; nor do I greatly regret this. I can do no more than give references for samples of some of the chief metaphors.

First I would observe that Lucan, like most poets, mixes metaphors; and that he does so in a singularly harsh manner. Instances of mixture are the following:

159 [semina...mersere], 262—4 [faces, stimulos, moras]
118—9 [stimulo, fluctu, labat], VI 7—8 [alca...mersura],
603 [praeponderet...alca], VII 504—5 [pondera, torrente].
Nisard II 251 well points out that in II 244—5 we have a good instance of false metaphor: for \textit{labantem dirige, dubium firma}, should strictly be \textit{labantem firma, dubium dirige}.

Metaphors were already becoming conventional in Lucan’s time. Such words as \textit{mergere, stimuli, imputare, momentum, premere}, are worked to death by the writers of the Silver Age. I go on to give references shewing the departments from which some of Lucan’s chief metaphors are drawn.

Gladiators. I 7, 97, 348, IV 710, V 469, VI 3, 63, 191, VII 695.
Sacrifice. II 174, VII 596, IX 132, X 386, 430, 524.
Trade. V 248, VI 262, VII 757, VIII 100—1, 657—8, X 80.

[Digression.] In several passages Lucan speaks of the \textit{cardines}, using them to determine the geographical position of some place or phenomenon; and in one line he employs \textit{cardo} in so bold a phrase that it seems well to devote a short digression to this special point. I do not possess the knowledge required for an exhaustive treatment of the subject, but I think I may do something towards making clear one notable meaning of \textit{cardo} and proving that the isolated bold use of which I have spoken is merely a trace of Stoic astrology.

Leaving aside I 552—3 \textit{cardine tellus subsedit}, where \textit{cardo} has the common sense of ‘axis’, the following are the passages in Lucan:

(a) IV 72—4 [of the congestion of rain-clouds over Spain]

\begin{verbatim}
  hic, ubi iam Zephyri fines et summus Olympi
cardo tenet Tethyn, vetitae transcurrere densos
involvere globos.
\end{verbatim}

\footnote{For \textit{summus} cf. Seneca’s epigram (19 Buch-\textit{ren} de \textit{se ad patriam} 15—6, where he says to Corduba \textit{set grutare tibi, quod te natura supremo addidit Oceano}}.
(β) IV 671—3 [of the territories of Juba]
qua sunt longissima regna,
cardine ab occiduo vicinus Gadibus Atlas
terminat: a medio confinis Syrtibus Hammon.

(γ) V 71—2 [of the position of mount Parnasus]
hesperio tantum quantum submotus eoo
cardine Parnasus gemino petit aethera colle.

(δ) IX 528—9 [of the oasis of Hammon. Though there are
trees,]
sic quoque nil obstat Phoebus, cum cardine summo
stat librata dies.

(e) VII 380—1 [Pompey before the battle imploring his men
not to bring down his old age to disgrace.]
ultima fata
deprecor ac turpes extremi cardinis annos.

I feel certain that in the first four of these passages cardo
means a ‘meridian’, half a ‘great circle’. To this view I am led
by the lines of the Stoic astrologer Manilius [II 785—97]:

ergo age noscendis animum compone sagacem
cardinibus, qui per mundum sunt quattuor omnes
dispositi semper mutantque volantia signa.
unus ab exortu caeli nascentis in orbem,
qui primum terras aequali limite cernit.
alter ab adversa respondens aetheris ora,
undes fugit mundus pracepsque in Tartara tendit.
tertius excelsi signat fastigia caeli,
quo defessus equis Phoebus subsistit anhelis
2 declinatque diem mediasque examinat umbras.
im tenet quartus fundato nobilis orbe,
in quo principium est reditus finisque cadendi
sideribus, pariterque occasus cernit et ortus.

‘Come then prepare your mind for learning the meridians:
they are four in number, their position in the firmament is fixed,
and they modify the influence of the signs as these speed across
them. One is placed where the heaven rises springing up to
form its vault, and this one has the first view of the earth from
the level. The second is placed facing it on the opposite border

2 Bentley emends discernitque diem medium-
que examinat horam, and compares 1 633 (631),
not completely analogous. I keep the vulgate.
of the aether, and from this begins the falling-away of the firmament and its headlong sweep down to the Nether World. The third marks the highest part of the heaven aloft: when Phoebus reaches this he is weary and his horses out of breath; here then he rests a moment while he is giving the downward turn to the day and balancing the shadows of noon. The fourth holds the very bottom of all, and has the glory of being the foundation of the round world: on it the stars cease their sinking and begin their upward course once more: it is equidistant from the setting and the rising.'

It is not my purpose to comment on this passage further than to point out (a) that it assumes not only a fixed North and South, East and West, but also a top and bottom, or in other words it recognizes three dimensions; (b) that the context of Manilius shews that it is cardinal meridians not cardinal points that are meant.

The figure represents a celestial sphere, enclosing within it that of the Earth, and having marked on it two great circles intersecting at right angles and forming four celestial meridians or cardines.

Turning back now to the four passages from Lucan, books IV, V, IX, let us see whether we can get out of cardo any clear and consistent meaning. The reverse order will be best for purposes of inquiry.
(8) (Though there are trees in the oasis) 'even then there is nothing to keep off the sun when the day stands poised on the top of the meridian',—that is, when the sun is at the zenith, he is right over the oasis, and there is thus no shade.

(γ) 'Parnasus, which rises aloft in two peaks, is equidistant from the meridians of East and West',—that is, it is exactly under the upper meridian; or, in modern phrase, the meridian of Delphi is the prime meridian. Surely I need hardly remind the reader that Delphi was called the earth's navel.

(β) 'Where his realm is at its longest, it is bounded, towards the meridian of the West by Atlas, towards the middle by Hammon's oasis',—that is, instead of defining it by West and East, he does so by West and the middle: for Numidia lay wholly to the West of the Delphic or middle meridian.

(a) 'Here, where the ocean is reached [i.e.] held in by the bounds of the West wind and the furthest meridian of Olympus, (the clouds), being forbidden to cross the water, were congested into dense balls (of moisture)'. Olympus is the Heaven of the upper hemisphere, opposed to Tartarus: the West meridian is the furthest [so is the East] because beyond it is the lower hemisphere.

That Lucan clearly and fully thought out the meaning of all these expressions, I do not maintain: but I do maintain that such is the strict meaning and that we need not wonder at his lightly employing as a matter of course the language of Stoic astrology.

I now return to Manilius, who presently goes on to speak of the astrological importance of the cardines. Of the Western he says [II 833—7]:

ultimus, emenso qui condit sidera mundo,
occasumque tenens submersum despicit orbem,
pertinet ad rerum summas finemque laborum
coniugia atque epulas extremaque tempora vitae
otiaque et coctus hominum cultusque deorum.
I now proceed to Pompey’s words in Lucan book VII.

(e) ‘I pray you keep from me that worst of fates, degradation in my declining years’ — that is, in the years of my last meridian, the fourth or Western meridian of Manilius. It is an astrological notion that reminds us of, but is not the same as, our metaphor of ‘life’s sunset’.

That the meaning of cardo in the language of the gromatic writers is closely connected with that discussed above is easy to shew, but I do not see any passage in Lucan to the understanding of which this connexion is a direct help. The Eastern or Western ‘North-and-South-lines’ are nothing more nor less than the Eastern or Western meridians.

(49) Prosody etc.

As the identity of a painter shews itself in certain peculiarities of colouring or manipulation, so does that of a poet in peculiarities of diction and rhythm. But perhaps more attention is nowadays bestowed upon the case of the painter, which appeals to the eye, than upon that of the poet, which must be decided by the ear. Yet that the diction and rhythm of a poem are among its important characteristics will hardly be denied by a careful reader of the Aeneid or Paradise Lost. In the case of Lucan this line of inquiry has special interest: for, though it is easy to note in detail the numerous traces of Vergil’s influence on the writer of the Pharsalia, it is none the less true that the effect of the whole poem is anything but Vergilian. Indeed it cannot be said to bear a general resemblance to any other work in ancient literature that has come down to us. It stands between the old Rome and the new, not only in its subject and spirit but also in its rhythm and diction.

The general effect of Lucan’s verse is one of steady monotony. Looking more closely we observe certain distinct reasons for this effect, which are in the main as follows:
(a) Want of variety in the pauses. What can be done by such variety in Latin had already been shewn by Vergil, no doubt at the cost of enormous but congenial labour.

Two of Lucan's favourite pauses are after the strong penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesuras, as

\[
\begin{align*}
157 & \text{sentiet axis onus.} & 150 & \text{igne vago lustrare iuvet.} \\
58 & \text{orbe tene medio.} & 61 & \text{inque vicem gens omnis amet.} \\
63 & \text{sed mihi iam numen.} & 68 & \text{immensaume aperitur opus.} \\
72 & \text{nec se Roma ferens.} & 82 & \text{insequi modum.} \\
77 & \text{executietque fretum.} & 84 & \text{invidiam Fortuna suam.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

When the ear is trained to notice such things, the constant recurrence of these and other pauses becomes quite painful: such sameness of the rhythmic beat is an artistic crudity that may be excused but cannot be made pleasing.

(b) Want of variety in the rhythm of successive lines. This is a grave defect even when not emphasized by marked pauses; and here too Vergil had shewn the better way. Take such a passage as II 16—42. The matter is such as might have wrought mightily on a Roman poet and found its utterance in memorable words of noble sound. But through weakness of rhythm and diction the passage is dull and commonplace. The same may be said of a great many other passages; and when the matter has no particular interest of its own the effect is of course worse. That Lucan could have given more rhythmic variety than he has done may I think be proved by lines of Vergilian ring that lie here and there imbedded in his work. For instance

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{III 165} & \text{tunc orientis opes captorumque ultima regum...} \\
\text{395} & \text{procumbunt nemora, et spoliantur robore silvae.} \\
\text{IV 198} & \text{instituunt, et permixto libamina Baccho......} \\
\text{VI 265—7} & \text{cum se tollentibus Euris} \\
& \text{frangentem fluctus scopulum ferit aut latus alti} \\
& \text{montis adest seramque sibi parat unda ruinam.}
\end{align*}
\]

1 A hideous instance of the second of these is vii 237—9 corum tibi cura sinistri, Lentule, cum prima, quae tum suit optima bello, et quartae legiones datur. Quoted by Nisard II p. 267.
Here and there we even find a line recalling the stately rhythm of Lucretius. For instance

VI 487 has avidae tigres et nobilis ira leonum......
VII 833 Threicias hiemes, ad mollem serius Austrum......
IX 290 floriferi repetunt, et sparsi mellis amorem.

Sometimes there occurs a variation from his common models without any corresponding advantage, as for instance

VI 701 manibus et mihi sunt tacitae commercia linguae.

or sound and sense are at variance, as in

V 437 cum glacie retinente fretum non impuls Ister.

How far this sameness of rhythmical movement is due to a certain dulness of ear born in the writer, how far to the influence of the false rhetoric of the time, an influence under which the Latin prose period used by Cicero and Caesar was fast perishing, I see no means of guessing. But that it was not peculiar to Lucan I infer from the few surviving fragments of about the same date, and from the ingenious but monotonous volubility of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Ovid's hexameter seems to mark the transition from that of Vergil to that of Lucan,—so far, that is, as we may venture to regard them severally as types. If we compared together Lucan and Ovid only, their differences would strike us more forcibly than their resemblances, and naturally: for between a facile writer on a trivial subject and a nervous declainer on a theme of world-wide interest the difference is likely to be enormous. But when we consider how closely Lucan had studied Vergil, and how little his rhythm is indebted to Vergil, we may I think fairly conclude that the smoother Ovidian versification had taken possession of the Roman poetic

---

2 See Baehrens' *fragmenta poetarum Romanorum* pp 340-63, particularly the lines of Albionius Pedo and Cornelius Severus.
field, and that Lucan could not free himself from its influence. Youth also has probably something to do with the defect of Lucan's verse: and, though the cases are not quite analogous, he reminds us of Oldham in Dryden's lines

O early ripe! to thy abundant store
what could advancing age have added more?
It might (what nature never gives the young)
have taught the numbers of thy native tongue:
but satire needs not those, and wit will shine
through the harsh cadence of a rugged line.
A noble error and but seldom made,
when poets are by too much force betrayed.

(c) Too sparing use of elision. In Vergil's hands elision was a powerful rhythmic appliance: by it he was able to load or roughen lines or parts of lines so as to regulate the movement; and thus he makes sound and sense agree. In this respect Lucan's rhythm is decidedly weak. The same may be said of Ovid and of the post-Vergilian poets generally. I believe that false rhetorical training had a great deal to do with this defect.

(d) Want of variety in the endings of lines. The spondaic ending occurs in the Pharsalia fourteen times only, and in eleven of these fourteen cases the last word is either a Greek word or a proper name or both. Still the number of such endings would not seem so very small were it not that the spondaic is almost the only abnormal ending employed by Lucan. There are only two other cases of variation and the last word is Greek in both cases.

(e) Slovenly assonance of endings. This unhappy jingling is frequent, and mars the sound of some of the best passages in the poem. A few instances will illustrate this defect clearly enough. For brevity's sake I give the endings only.
In such a case as II 143—4 periere nocentes, sed cum iam soli possent superesse nocentes, there is a rhetorical point in the assonance; and there need be little doubt that it is to the fashion of the rhetorical schools that this tendency in Lucan is mainly due. But that mere carelessness or defective ear has something to do with it is I think shewn by such a passage as IX 355—8

quam iuxta Lethon tacitus praelabitur amnis
infernis, ut fama, trahens oblivia venis;
atque insopiti quondam tutela draconis
Hesperidum pauper spoliatus frondibus hortus.

Here are four lines the rhythm of which is pleasantly varied. But,—not to mention that the only elision is that of the que in atque, which is practically none at all,—the recurrence of the termination nis [nís nís nís nís], followed by two words ending in tus separated by one ending in bus, is hideous, let who will say the contrary. While on this subject let me add that Lucan almost rivals the famous O fortunatam natam me consule Romam of Cicero in VII 110 res mihi Romanas dederas, Fortuna, regendas.

(f) Imperfect use of alliteration. Alliteration has a marvellous effect on the sound of a line. But this effect is not strictly rhythmic. It only touches rhythm by reason of the various qualities of the letters. By skilful alliteration special
attention may be called to some part of a line and the idea
dominant in that part. In fact we may almost say that
alliteration is to diction what elision is to rhythm. From Naevius to
Vergil alliteration is regularly employed by the Latin poets as
an aid to the effect of words. Vergil uses it most lavishly and
with consummate skill. As poetic diction under rhetorical in-
fluences grew more mechanical and antithetic, the old simple
engine of alliteration went out of use. In Ovid it begins to fail.
Lucan uses it timidly and seldom well: it generally has a hard
and unnatural effect: sometimes none at all, so far as I can see.
His double alliterations are often ugly, for instance

VII 431 quod semper saevas debet tibi Parthia poenas.
IX 364 robora complexus rutilo curvata metallo.
1075 non tuleram Magnum mecum Romana regentem.

The following are some of the better instances

II 253 hos ferro fugienda fames, 461 dubiamque fidem Fortuna ferebat.
559 qui pacem potuere pati, III 696 mergentesque mori, IV 590 Antaei quae
regna votat non vana vetustas, VII 704 quicquid sub Phario posuit patiere
tyranno, 705 longo fatorum crede favori, 707 lacrimas luctusque remitte,
722 caedis adhuc cumulo patriae per viscera vadis, 835 aut plures presserunt
aera penae 1X 229—31 ille iacet quem paci praetulit orbis, causaque nostra
perit; patrios permitte penates, desertamque domum dulcesque revisere
natos, 360 qui vates ad vera votat, 851 et peragunt civilia bella cerastae.

(g) Sameness in the collocation of words. This is a
point which an attentive reader will not miss. I will merely
take two of Lucan's favourite collocations and illustrate them
from a single book. The letters at the head of the columns
mark the positions of the words that agree together

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<td>nigrae</td>
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<td>metator</td>
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<td>latuisset</td>
<td>[in] acquore</td>
<td>tellus</td>
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<tr>
<td>succensus</td>
<td>tuis</td>
<td>flagrasset</td>
<td>curribus</td>
<td>aether</td>
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# COLLOCATION

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<td>Parthica</td>
<td>Romanos</td>
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<td>[sub] ignotis</td>
<td>extendere</td>
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<td>obscurae</td>
<td>vidcrunt</td>
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<td>fallaci</td>
<td>micuerunt</td>
<td>crebra</td>
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<td>568</td>
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<td>plenae</td>
<td>gemuerunt</td>
<td>ossibus</td>
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<td>581</td>
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<td>Sullani</td>
<td>cecinere</td>
<td>oracula</td>
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<td>613</td>
<td>deposito</td>
<td>victum</td>
<td>praebat</td>
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<td>675</td>
<td>Edonis</td>
<td>Ogygio</td>
<td>decurrit</td>
<td>plena</td>
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<tr>
<td>691</td>
<td>impia [que]</td>
<td>[in] medio</td>
<td>peraguntur</td>
<td>bella</td>
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These instances of two collocations only are surely enough to justify what I have said. Sameness of word-grouping produces monotony of cadence. This sameness is all the more manifest because elision is too little used and the rhythm generally too little varied.

A variety of the second of these, less striking but offensive from its frequency, is the correspondence of an adjective in the second foot with its substantive in the sixth.

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<thead>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>in turbam missi</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>aer et longi</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>fraterno primi</td>
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<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>nec pretium tanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>tunc erat exiguom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Nisard 11 p 267, who quotes vii 524—31.
QUANTITIES

538 iam Phoebe toto
539 terrarum subita
540 ipse caput medio
541 condidit ardentis
544 sole Thyestae
545 ora ferox Siculac

a
fratrem cum redderet orbe
percussa expalluit umbra
Titan cum ferret Olympto
atra caligine currus
noctem duxere Mycenae
laxavit Mulciber Aetnae

A few remarks on quantities may not be out of place.

Shortening of final o occurs in the words leo, Cato, cardo, turbo, pulmo, Curio, Scipio, praedo, virgo, tiro, oblivio, ergo, Carbo.

Short vowel before sm and sp [X 121, IX 574].
Vowel lengthened before st in arsis [V 118].
Short e in third person perf indic [steterunt [IV 771].
Variation in same word [I 689 Pyreuen, IV 83 Pyreanaeae].
sanguis generally but sanguis II 338, VII 635, [see Munro on Lucr I 853, Aetna 100, Conington on Verg A X 487].
Greek forms used for metrical reasons, as I 231 Ariminon,
II 466 Auximon, 402 Ancon, V 375 Hydrus, 376 Taras,
377 Sipus, and so on.

This list of notable quantities is as nearly complete as I can make it. There is very little to note under this head, and it is just this fact that is significant.

(50) Grammar etc.

These notes such as they are may perhaps be of interest to some, and therefore I print them.

[a] Substantives and Adjectives. Verbal substantives in tor are used with great freedom: many of the following are new words, at least in poetry, or used in quite new senses. Some are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

II 423 editor, IV 66 fuscator, 722 simulator, VII 799 humator,
VIII 854, X 212 mutator, IX 496 finitor [Seneca], 591 haustor, 979 monstrator.

H. L.
New adjectives are not very common, and are seldom happy inventions. Specimens are the following, mostly ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

IV 406 bellax, VI 22 quassabilis, VIII 175 inocciduus [Sen epigr 36 Bachehrens], IX 408 irreduct, 941 harenivagus.

Some rare words seem taken from Ovid, such as VII 480 resonus, IX 670 saxificus, 677 colubrifer.

The neuter of the adjective is very commonly treated as a substantive. Vergil does this to a less extent, Horace often. Specimens are


As to the forms of nouns there is little to be said except that the genitive in ii, made popular by Ovid and others, is now regular. Lucan has auxilli, coniugii, consilii, eloquii, imperii, naufragii, servitii, solstitii.

In X 187 we have the unique fastibus [abl of fasti], and in IV 520 felix [acc neut] is so far as I know only supported by the use of the nominative in quod bonum faustum felix...siet, where it does not stand alone. For VII 391 natale [abl] see Roby I §§ 425, 427.

Nothing is more remarkable in Lucan than the extreme fluctuation in the sense of certain substantives. Nisard [II pp 238—45], who holds that metrical convenience has had a great deal to do with this abandonment of the comparative precision observed by the Augustan writers, selects the following specimens:

fides. I 467, II 17, 254, 705, VI 433, VII 192, VIII 688, IX 585, etc.

focdus. I 80, II 378, IV 365, IX 1048, X 471, etc.

mors [with letum].} IX 700—889 passim.

fatn, fortuna. 

See in particular IV 737—8 leti fortuna propinquī tradiderat fatis iuvenem, IX 833—4 quis fata putaret scorpion au
vires maturae mortis habere? 935 extractam mortem exspuit.

To these we may add pignus, pondus, robur, populi, saecula, etc.

We see this tendency beginning in Propertius, but he seems singular among his contemporaries. With Lucan we find it established in Roman literature.

(b) Use of cases.

The so-called ‘accusative of respect’ is much rarer in Lucan than in Vergil. There are however a good many instances such as II 335—6, V 170—1, 518, VI 625, 658, VII 586, VIII 240, 752, IX 171—2, 842—3, X 83, 84, 134, 137, 309.

A few instances of the genitive after adjectives and participles may be worth noting, though they are for the most part not innovations: such as II 578 metuens pelagi, VII 373 domini metuentem, VIII 811 pavidos maris, VI 106 liber terrae, 301 libera legum, VII 118 libera fortunae, 240 aeger morae, IX 373 armorum fidens.

Genitive singular after neuter singular of adjective substantively used.

II 128—9 parvom sanguinis, V 467 minimum terrae, X 253 tacitum mundi.

The dative, especially the so-called dativus commodi and its tribe, is used boldly and sometimes harshly. Examples are necessary.

II 547 ut Catulo iacuit Lepidus [compare Gratius 315 sic et Achaemenio cecidisti, Lydia, Cyro, Cornel Severus fr 13 l 24 nostraeque cadens ferus Hannibal irac], V 343 humanum paucis vivit genus, VII 451—2 astra Thyestae impudit, IX 259 quod tibi non ducibus vivis morerisque, X 115 stabatque sibi non segnis achates (cf VII 697 etc).

In II 126 neglectum violatae dextrac the dative is harsh: the obstruction looks differently when the person and not a limb of him is mentioned, as X 177 non neglecte deis.
A few of Lucan's uses of the ablative are worth noting

IV 380—1....sed gurgite puro vita reedit, VI 140—1 quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto anserret Fortuna locum [Manilius I 780 (of Manlius) et Iove qui meruit caelum is far harsher than these].

VII 798 invidet igne rogi miseris, IX 424—5 (Libya) non aere neque auro excoquitur, are more familiar.

The attributive ablative, so common in Vergil, is rare in Lucan. Instances are IV 814 civem tanta iudole, V 244—5 maesto classica paulum intermissa sono, VII 155 immensoque igne columnas.

The ablative absolute is sometimes strangely used, as in VIII 706—7 felix nullo turbante deorum et nullo parcente miser, which might be called an attributive use.

Lucan prefers to use ab in many places where the plain ablative is more usual, as II 493 prolatus ab ira, VI 208 oppressus ab armis.

The dative of agent is used with the present indicative of a passive verb as

V 260 quicquid multis peccatur, 778—9 si...deis audior,

VII 511 cunctis petitur crur, VIII 300—1 nec pilae timentur ...Parthis.

Dative with notion of movement towards, after a verb.

I 607 terrae condit, III 290 missura ruinae, IV 525 mergere ponto, VI 115 utero demittere, 362 fluit mari, VIII 100 sparge mari.

(c) Verbs and Participles.

New or very rare verbs are III 299 superevolat, IV 133 supernatus.

Verbs are often used in new and strange senses, some of which uses do not seem to have passed into the literary Latin.

IV 411 proscribit [not metaphorical], V 776 assuecetis [here = assuefactis. In Horace sat II 2 109 there is, as Nisard remarks, a reflexive notion in the passage], VIII 3 ne
The strained metaphorical use of verbs is a characteristic of the Silver Age, and is well illustrated by

\[
\text{explicare IV 629, V 81, VI 477, VII 201.}\]

\[
\text{spargere VIII 100, IX 245, 748, X 310.}\]

Well known Silver Age uses of the following verbs are found in Lucan, some of them very frequently:

- \textit{excutere, elidere, damnare, imputare, constare, trahere, tenere, extendere, erigere, rapere, impellere, donare, effundere, quaerere.}

Many of these usages have their beginning in the Augustan writers.

The uses of the infinitive in Lucan are worth some notice. The only instances of the so-called 'historical' use that I can find are in the characters of Pompey and Caesar I 132—5, 147—8.

The 'epexegetic' use, originally modelled on the Greek, is very common in Lucan with adjectives participles and verbs. I give some instances.

1 164—5 \textit{cultus gestare decoros vix nuribus, 463—4 arcere Caycos oppositi, 510—1 faciles dare......tueri difficiles, II 550—1 his te quoque iungere......invideo, III 377 patiens......cingi, 697 eximius......animam servare, IV 519 vivere durent, 753 pugnat non stare, VI 696 avidum confundere, VII 289 dicere non fallar, 481 dedit geminare, 751 seire †volant†, VIII 578 impatiens deesse, 675 vindicat hoc......gestare, IX 190—1 maioribus impar nosse modum iuris, 1001—2 avidus......pensare moras, X 57 corrupto custode Phari laxare catenas.}

More remarkable are IV 615 \textit{parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem [where the sense of contingere is ei quod contingert, in the fact of his touching: Horace epp I 19 44 is quite different], VI 416—7 propius iam fata moveri degeneres trepidant animi [where we have an object clause with perhaps a notion of quod movecantur in it].}
The direct substantival use occurs rarely, as IV 280 *perdant velle mori* [an innovation dating back at least from Ovid, cf metam II 483], and the use in apposition IV 346—7 *sola mihi est orandae causa salutis dignum donanda*, Caesar, *te credere vita* [the feeling that you are worthy, *quod credam*].

The present participle is used in a very lax manner. It is true that Catullus LXIV 8 has *retinens = quae solet retinere*, and (if my memory serves me) there are a few instances of a like kind in Ovid. But these uses are foreign to the genius of the language in its best periods. I give a few instances from Lucan.

III 176 *populisque per acuora mittens Sicanii Alphicos aquas* [qui solet mittere], 282—3 *solve solvens ictunia bellii Massagetes quo fugit equo* [qui solet solvere], IV 815 *aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti* [si secutus esset], VIII 229—30 *tam omnia vincens sustinui nostri vos tantum deesse triumphis* [cum omnia vincerem], IX 27—8 *nec regnum cupiens gessit civilia bella nec servire timens*. [et......
gessit, cum nec......cuperet nec......timeret], 773 *stringens uterum membrana [quae stringit]*.

The use of the future participle to express ‘meaning to’, ‘destined to’, ‘able to’ is very common in Lucan, as in Curtius and indeed in most of the Silver Age writers. See II 332, 449, 499, 505, III 626, VI 790, etc. But Lucan is addicted to a further use of it, expressing a notion of possibility or contingency. Instances of this are III 621 *telaque multorum leto casura suorum*, IV 312—3 *moriensque recepit quas nollet victurus aquas*, V 365—6 *unumque caput tam magna iuventus privatim factura timet*.

(d) A few examples, illustrating the license of diction used by Lucan in handling the Latin tongue, may be worth collecting, though this is not the place to discuss them.

I 520 (to Rome) *nox una tuis non credita muris*, II 574 *expulit armatam patriis e sedibus urbem*, III 112—4 *tamen exit in iram viribus an possent obsistere inuera per unum libertas experta virum*, 641—2 *nullius vita perempti est tanta dimissa via*, 719 *ingentem militis usum*, IV 620 mi-
OBSCURITY. RELATIVE CLAUSES

evii

ranturque habuisse parem, 770—1 nullo dubii discrimine Martis aneipites steterunt casus, VI 134 nimbusque ferens tot tela peribat, 297 caeci trepidus sub nube timoris [cf 625, VII 530—1], VII 811 finemque sui sibi corpora debent, VIII 25 actaque lauriferae damnat Sullana inventae, IX 225—6 unus aperta mente fugac.

These shew license pushed to an excess sometimes grotesque in the extreme, and very characteristic of the literature of this period. Rhetoricians competing in audacity had irreparably injured the language. In the crabbed phrases of Persius and the slovenly style of the elder Pliny we see the natural result.

(e) Into what shapes of obscurity dark and involved Lucan could torture the clearest of languages may be seen by referring to the following passages:

1 86, 98, III 23, 328—9, 410—1, IV 243—5, V 278—82, 473—4, VI 482, VII 1—3, 436—9, 504—5, IX 398—402.

The following references will illustrate the bold or careless way in which Lucan sometimes arranges the words in a sentence. The same sort of thing occurs in the older writers [see Vergil Aen VII 305—6, XII 64—5, etc] but hardly I think to the same extent as in Lucan.


(f) Relative clauses are thrust in very clumsily, breaking the flow of the sentence, and giving a prosaic effect, as for instance I 14 hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae, III 14—5 tenetis Eumenidas quaterent quas vestris lampadas armis, V 520—1 molli consurgit Amyclas, quem dabat alga, toro. And in general we find the relative used in Lucan very freely, as in prose writers, awkward though it is in verse.

Parentheses are sometimes long and clumsy, stopping the flow of a sentence altogether, as IX 305—11, or they break an antithesis, as X 383.

(g) The subject of the verb is sometimes awkwardly changed as IV 34—5, V 371—2, IX 37—8.

Sometimes the object of the verb is omitted, as II 279, 728, IV 353, V 298, and it is sometimes far from easy to supply it.
The following references will illustrate some miscellaneous usages, for the most part very common in Lucan, which I cannot discuss at any length:

(a) omission of the auxiliary verb in an awkward inelegant manner, as VI 616 [in protasis], VII 782 [in relative clause], VIII 211 [in protasis], IX 331, 604 [rel clause],

(β) negative carried on from one clause to another [very frequent], as I 76–7, II 39–40, 235, 355, 372–3, III 409, IV 277–8, V 542, VI 154, IX 389, 590, 1036, X 452.

(γ) nec = et non, as I 72, III 554–5, IV 584, VI 681.

(δ) adversative conjunction dispensed with, as II 86, III 219, 369, 501, V 281, VI 713, 759, VII 511.

(e) que adversative, as I 134, 633, III 569, IV 604, 622, V 605, 618, VI 756, VIII 301, IX 43, 147.

(ξ) nullus employed where all that is meant is a negative qualifying the clause, as VI 644–5, VII 25, 788, VIII 599–600, 619, 649, 805, IX 298, X 17.

(η) iste = ‘this’, as I 342, III 126, V 351, IX 867.

(θ) sponte with a genitive, as I 99, 234, V 136, IX 574.

(ι) ego and tu omitted in antithesis, as IX 1103–4 [rare].

(κ) degener applied to inanimate objects, I 365, IX 4, X 441.

(λ) The use of the abstract for the concrete is comparatively common. See II 324 iuvenis calorem, 510 nobilitas, IV 660 Romana victoria, VII 546 errore vago, IX 31 victoria Caesaris.

G. RELATION TO OTHER WRITERS.

To Vergil.

(51) In the course of his comparison of Lucan and Silius Italicus Dean Merivale remarks1 of the former ‘he had never studied, one is almost tempted to imagine that he had never read, Virgil’. I am always unwilling to differ from so great an

1 Merivale c 64.
authority as the historian of Imperial Rome, but in this matter I am compelled to record my dissent from his view.

I have collected a great number of passages on which the contrary opinion may as I think securely rest. These passages might be classified under three heads

(a) those in which it is quite clear that the words of Lucan are an echo of the words of Vergil.

(b) those in which a word, a turn of phrase, a construction, or the sound of a line, are curiously alike in the two writers. Of these I have only given a selection.

(c) those in which the wonderful correspondence of geographical details, proper names, legendary lore, and other such material, is marked.

I have not so classified them, because many passages would have had to be repeated.

It should be remarked that many of those belonging to (b) would if taken each separately seem to be of no importance. Casual resemblances will ever be found in poems written in the same metre and language. But when the resemblances are very numerous, when the line or lines of the earlier poet occur in or near a passage already proved to have been well known to the later poet and certainly imitated or echoed by him,—then the case is materially altered, and the value of this class of evidence becomes manifest. Now anyone who carefully studies the parallel passages quoted below will see that the most remarkable characteristic of the parallelisms in general is the way in which disproportionately large numbers are furnished by certain parts of Vergil.

I hold therefore that Lucan was steeped in the language of Vergil, and closely familiar with his matter. I think that a priori probability—a poor thing in itself—tends also to this conclusion; for the popularity of Vergil was immediate, and Seneca's frequent quotations from his works suffice to prove that this popularity extended to the circle of society in which Lucan was brought up. Again, we find Lucan's contemporary Calpurnius manifest imitator of the Bucolics. Indeed so universal was the influence of Vergil that the best great division of Roman Literature is that into ante- and post-Vergilian.
That it requires careful and continuous reading to appreciate the influence of Vergil on Lucan, I readily admit. The difference of manner in the two writers is enormous. Vergil, a shy lover of the country, gentle, sympathetic, quiet, contemplative, master of his learning, careful in selection, weaves together his story unobserved and sets his imaginations in subtle harmonies of rhythm and style. Lucan, a young city prodigy, hasty, declamatory, eager to display all his undigested crudition and make telling hits to catch the applause of an audience, harsh in transitions and without sense of proportion, poor in imagination, —how should he give us general effects other than those of rhetoric? His is the hurried result of effort, Vergil's the ripe fruit of loving labour.

If this be so, why does not the influence of Vergil on Lucan strike the eye at once? Because Lucan after all is not weak: he is strong, and when he borrows he alters, sometimes perhaps in wanton\(^2\) rivalry. Besides, many of the parallels do strike the eye even at a cursory glance.

I have now I think said enough by way of opinion and reasons in general. It remains for a reader to examine the evidence in detail and judge whether it bears out my views.

\begin{center}
\textbf{LUCAN}
\end{center}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[1] 1 Emathios......campos
\item[3] in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra
\item[7] pares aquilas
\item[17] bruma rigens et nescia vere remittit
\item[22] totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem
\item[25—6] lapsisque ingentia muris saxa, \textit{IV} 12—3 fundata vetusta surgit Ilerda manus
\item[29] desunque manus poscentibus arvis, 205 squalentibus arvis
\item[34] [fata] inveneris viam
\item[52] quis deus esse velis......etc
\end{enumerate}

\begin{center}
\textbf{VERGIL}
\end{center}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[1] G I 492 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos
\item[2] A VI 833 neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires
\item[3] G I 489 paribus concurrere telis
\item[4] G IV 36 eademque calor liquefacta remittit
\item[5] A IV 231 ac totum sub legesmitteret orbem
\item[6] A VIII 355 duo...disiectis oppida muris
\item[7] G II 156 tot congesta manus praeruptis oppida saxis
\item[8] G I 507 squalent abductis arva colonis
\item[9] A X 113 fata viam inventum
\item[10] G I 24—5 quem mox quaesint habitura deorum concilia incertum est......etc
\end{enumerate}

\(^2\) This rivalry is traced by Nisard in many passages, indeed he makes it one of the main influences at work in Lucan. I cannot go quite so far as he does, and think it wiser not to be so confident of having the clue to Lucan's motive. It is to be remembered that it takes a good poet to borrow judiciously and that this power develops greatly with age.
Lucan and Vergil

Lucan

155 sidere
68 immensusque aperitur opus
80 foedera mundi, ii 2 legesque et
foedera rerum
88—9 orbeque tenere in medium,
v 46 consultae in medium

111 non ecptit fortuna duos
133 plaususque sui gaudere theatri, vi
9—12 ...theatri...et plausu cu-
neos certare sonantis
136—8 quercus sublimis in agro exu-
vias vteres populi sacra taque
gestans dona ducum
144—5 nescia virtus stare loco
153—4 populosoque paventis terruit

158 haec ducibus causae suberant
221—2 molli......vado
229 torto Balearis verbere fundae
307 iussus Caesar agi
314 extremi......clientes

347 tollite iampridem victoriae tollite
signa
355 diro ferri revocantur amore
366 usque adeo miserum est civili vin-
cere bello?
393 fataque ferre videt
425 flexis in gyrum...frenis
465 apertum gentibus orbem
524 manifesta fides
525 foll. prodigies etc

588 monitus volitantis in aere pinnae
651—2 frigida...stella nocens nigros
Saturni accenderet ignes
659 scorpion...chelasque

674 sed maiora premunt
683 quo diversa fero
ii 3 verit [leges et foedera rerum]
151 in fratrum ce ceditora prae mia
fratres
152 permixtaque viva sepultis corpora
156 dissiluit percussus humo

Vergil

B i 47 Caesaris astrum
A iii 275 aperitur Apollo
G i 60—1 has leges aeternaque foedera
certis imposuit natura locis
G i 127 in medium quaer ebant

A ix 644 nec te Troia capit
G ii 508—10 hunc plausus hiantem per
cuneos geminatus enim plebisque
patrunque corripuit
A xi 5—7 ingentem quercum......consti-
tuit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma
Mezenti ducis exu vias
G iii 84 stare loco nescit
G i 330—1 et mortalia corda per gentes
humilis stravit pavor
B iv 31 pauc a tamen priscae suberunt ves-
tigia fraudis
B ix 8 mollique iugum demittere clivo
G i 309 torquem a Balearis verbera
fundae
A vii 481 ut cervom ar dentes agerent
G ii 114 extre mis domitum cultoribus or-
bem
A ii 103 iamdudum sumite poenas

A vii 461 saevit amor ferri
A xii 646 usque adeone mori miserum
est?
A ii 34 seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant
G iii 115 frena......gyrosque
A x 13 Alpes immittet apertas
A ii 309, iii 375 manifesta fides
G i 464 foll (on which the passage of Lu-
can is clearly modelled)
A iii 361 et praepetis omina pinnae
G i 336 frigida Saturni sese quo stella re-
ceptet
G i 33—5 chelasque sequentis......Scor-
pius
A x 375 numina nulla premunt
A v 166 quo diversus abis
G i 505 ubi fas versum atque nefas
G ii 510 gaudent perfusi sanguine fratum
A viii 485 mortua...iungebat corpora vi-
vis
G iii 363 aeraqae dissiliunt volgo
LUCAN AND VERGIL

Lucan

11 213 interruptus aquis
224 hic stabit civilibus exitus armis
268 inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu
290 cum ruat arduus aether
291 mixto coeuntis pondere mundi
294 diductique fretis......rege
297—9 ceu morte parentem natorum
orbatum longum producere funus
ad tumulum iubet ipse dolor
315—6 me solum invadite ferro, me
frustra...tucentem
408—9 quoque magis...Eridanus
frac-
tas devolvit in aequora silvas
435—8 [of Appennine] longior Italia
donec confinia pontus solvent
incumbens terrasque repellert
aequor; at postquam gemino
tellus elisa profundo est extremi
colles Siculo cessere Peloro.
III 60—3 qua mare tellurem
subitis aut obruit undis aut scidit
et medias fecit sibi litora terras.
vis illic ingens pelagi......etc.
438 colles Siculo cessere Peloro
496—7 si tumido me gurgite Ganges
submoveat
557—8 fervidus haec iterum circum
praecordia sanguis incaluit
577 ante bis exactum quam Cynthia
conderet orbum
584 terra...quocumque iacet sub sole
601 foll [simile of bull]
603 in adversis explorat cornua trunci
604—5 nisi cum cervice recepta ex-
cussi placuere tori
616—21 inmissum...portus erat...re-
funderet...etc
631 natum cui firmior aetas

Vergil

A V 821 sternitur aequor aquis
A X 467 stat sua cuique dies
A IV 524 cum medio volvuntur sidera
lapsu
G I 324 ruet arduus aether
B IV 50 convexo mutantem pondere mundum
A III 418—9 urbes litore diductas an-
gusto interluit aestu
A IX 486—7 nec te tua funera mater pro-
duxi......etc
A IX 427 me me, adsum qui feci, in me
convertite ferrum
G I 481—2 proluit insano contorquens
vortice silvas flaviorum rex Eridanus
A III 414—9 haec loca vi quondam et
vasta convola ruina......disillusisse
ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
una foret; venit medio vi pontus et
undis Hesperium Siculo latus ab-
scidit arvaque et urbes litore di-
ductas angusto interluit aestu
A III 297 patrio Andromachen iterum ces-
sisse marito
A VII 225—6 si quem tellus extremo re-
fuso submovet Oceano
G II 484 frigidus obturavit circum prae-
cordia sanguis
A v 46 annuus exactis completur mensi-
bus orbis
G II 512 alio patriam quaraunt sub sole
iacentem
G III 210 foll
G I 175 suspensa focis explorat robora
fumus
A XII 7, 8 gaudetque comantis exuctiens
cervice toros
G II 163—4 refuso......immittitur......
G II 132—3 si non.....iactaret......laurus
erat
A I 159—69 which is in Lucan's mind
throughout the passage
B IV 37 ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit
aetas
Lucan

641 pigra palus Scythici patiens Macotica plaustri

665—6 maris Aegaei medias si celsus
in undas depellatur Eryx

728—30 cum coniuge pulsus et natis
totosque trahens in bella
vadis adhibue ingens populis
comitantibus exsul

37 et dubios cernit vanescere montes

43 tunc...hospita tellus

186 nec cois peior...sagittis

209—10 passaque ab auriferis tellus
exire metallis Pactolon; qua
culta secat non vilior
Hermus

213 Phrygiisque ferens se Caesar Iuli
[see 1 197, IX 995]

216 arbusto palmarum dives Iduum

242 inieicisse manum fatis

246 aethera tangentiis silvas

250—1 quorum deflexus in austrum
aether

282—3 [bleeding a horse for food]

303 tamen ante furorem...

354 volnera miscebunt fratres

358 vana movet Graios nostri fiducia
cursus

393 virum toti properans imponere
mundo, x 377 quae sustulit
illum imposuitque orbis

404 structae diris altaribus arae

406 siga fidem meruit superos mirata
vetustas

402—25 (sacred grove of unknown
gods)

Vergil

G III 349 qua Scythiae gentes Macotiae
unda, 361—2 undaque iam tergo
ferratos sustinet orbes......patulis
nunc hospita plaustri

A XII 701 quantus Athos aut quantus
Eryx [see § 36 note 27]

A III 11, 12 feror exsul in altum cum so-
ciis natoque penatibus et magnis dis

A III 522—3 cum procul obscuros collis
hamilemque videmus Italiam

A III 539 bellum, o terra hospita, portas

A III 291 aerias Phaeacum abscondimus
arces

G II 125 et gens illa quidem sumptis non
tarda pharetris [Indians]

A X 141—2 ubi pinguia culta eXcerptque
viri Pactolusque irrigat auro

A VIII 63 stringentem ripas et pinguia
culta secantem

G II 137 auro turbidus Hermus

A I 288 Iulius a magno demissum nomen
Iulo

G III 12 Idumaea,......palmas

A X 419 inieicere manum Parcae

G II 123—4 aera vincere summum ar-
boris

G I 240—1 mundus......premitur Libyae
deveXus in austros

G III 460—3 ferre...venam...sanguine...
equino

A XII 680 hunc oro sine me furere ante
furorem

A XII 720 illi inter sese multa vi volnra
miserent

A I 131 tantane vos tenuit generis fiducia
vestri

A VI 631 vendidit...patriam dominumque
potentem imposuit

B VII 65—6 en quattuor aras: ecce duas
tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phocho

A X 792 siga fidem tantost operi latura
vetustas

A VIII 348—54 ......silvam saxumque tre-
mehant. hoe nemus......quis deus
incertum est, habitat deus
Lucan

III 432 implicitas magno torpore cohortes

A XII 867 illi membra novum solvit formidine torpor

434 aeriam......quercum
441 silvaque Dodones et fluctibus aptior alus

B I 59 acria......ab ulmo
G II 87 Alcinoi silvae
G I 148—9 glandes......deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret

G I 136 tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cavatas

G II 451 undam levis innatat alnus
G II 399 cui numquam exhausti satis est
A XI 284 quo turbine torqueat hastam
A X 339—40 traiecto...lacerto...hasta fugit servatque cruenta tenorem
G II 331 superat tener omnibus umor
G III 63 superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas

G I 514 neque audit currus habenas

A X 391—3 simillima proles, indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error; at nunc dura dedit vobis discrimina Pallas

A V 437 stat...niscoque immotus codem
A IX 441 ac rotat ensem
G III 449—50 pulsiuis viva Idaesaseque pices et pinguis unguinte ceras

A IX 434—6 cervix collapsa recumbit; purpureus veluti cum flos...languescit moriens lassove papavera collo

Vergil

B VI 86 invito processit vesper Olympo

B I 76 dumosa de rupe procul pendere videbo
G I 427 foll. luna, revertentis quam primum colligit ignis, si nigrum obscurio comprenderit aera cornu, maximus......parabatur imber.
LUCAN AND VERGIL

LUCAN
IV 68 incendere diem nubes

80—1 arcus...oceanumque bibit
91—2 tectarum errore viarum fallitur...populator

106—9 sic mundi pars ima iacet, quam zona nivalis...sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignis

115—6 tellus laxet iter fluviis

123—5 iam rario aer et par Phoebus aquis densas in vellera nubes sparserat

129 visoque die durescere valles

135—6 [boats on Nile-flood]
194 numine fata sinistro

197—8 duro concordes caespite mensas instituunt

201—2 qua lancea dextra exierit [see Mr Haskins' note]
237 desuetae silvis

267 ut leti videre viam

291 sicca rigens adstrinxit volnera sanguis
293 occultos latices abstrusaque fluiminia quaerunt
296 irrigui...fastigia campi

332 miserum undae iiciunia solvant

334 qua nudi Garamantes arant

335 deprensus [inter Sicorim et Hibernum]

361 turba haec sua fata peregit, 392 et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus

380 non auro murraque bibunt

393 felix qui potuit mundi nutante ruina.......

VERGIL
A X 895 clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique

G I 380—1 et bibit ingens arcus
A VII 199 errore viae
A V 590—1 qua signa sequendi falleret.....error

A III 181 deceptum errore locorum

G I 233—6 quinque...zonae,...extreme dextra laevaque trahuntur caerulea glacie concretae atque imbribus atris...also 241 premitur

G II 331 laxant arva sinus
G I 419 densest erant quae rara modo
G I 397 tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri

B VI 53 tum durare solum...etc

G I 72 segnum patiere sita durescere campum

G IV 288—9
B IV 47 concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae

A VII 109—10 instituantque dapes et adorea...liba per herbam subiciunt epulis

B VI 43 Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum clamassent

A VI 814—5 iam desueta triumphis agmina

G I 91 seu durat magis et venas adstringit hiantis

G I 135 ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem

G II 288 scrobibus quae sint fastigia

A XII 867 olli membra novos solvit formidine torpor, cf I 92, XII 951

A III 13, 14 terra.....colitur.....Thraces arant

A V 52 Argolicove mari deprensus

A IV 653 quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi

A III 493—4 felices, quibus est Fortuna peracta iam sua; nos alia ex alis in fata vocamus

G II 506 ut gemma bibat

G II 490 felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
Lucan

IV 435 et taciti praebet miracula cursus
430 missa ratis prono defertur lapsa profundo
431—2 cunctas super ardua turris eminet et tremulis tabulata minantia pinnis
437—8 dum pavidos formidine cervos claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnae
4433 fraudes innectere
435 tacitas sensit sub gurgite fraudes
486—7 decente letum, et metus omnis abest
495 spectabant geminae diverso e litore partes
516 proicii vitam, 568 despectam cremere lucem
565 exegere enses, VIII 656 aliquid Magno dignus comes exigat ensem, X 31—2 gladiumque per omnes exigit gentes
573—4 nullam maiore locuta est ore ratem totam discurrens familia per orbem
581—2 non segnor illo Marte fuit
632 novo laxavit corpore nodos
643 quisquis inest terris...spiritus, v 93 foll forsan terris inserta regendis...etc
657 qui Latiiis revocavit ab arcibus hostem
664 indulsit castris
680 acquaturasque sagittas....
684 et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer

Vergil

G IV 441 omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum
G II 451 alnus missa Pado
G III 477 missusque secundo defluet amni
G I 203 illum....prono rapit alveus amni
A VIII 548—9 pars cetera prona fertur aqua segnisque secundo defluet amni
A II 460—4 turrim in præcipiti stantem summisque sub astra eductam teetis....qua summa labantis iuncturas tabulata dabant
G III 372 puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine pinnae
G III 351 si tantum notas odor attulit auris
A VI 609 fraus innexa clienti
A IV 67 tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus
B III 104—7 dic...et cris mihi magnus Apollo,.....dic.....et Phyllida solus habeo
G III 32—3 et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea, bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes
A VI 435—6 lucemque peros proiecte animas
A X 815 validum namque exiget ensem... etc
G III 294 magno nunc ore sonandum

A VIII 414 nec tempore segnor illo
A II 473 positis novus exuviis
A VI 724—7 spiritus intus alit...etc

G II 172 imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum
G II 276 indulge ordinibus
A IV 51 indulge hospitio
A X 448 et ventos aqueante sagitta
G III 340 et raris habitata mapalicia teets,
343—5 omnia secum armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cress tamque pharetram
A IV 214 dominum Aenean in regna recepit
LANC AND VERGIL

LUCAN

IV 744 simulatae nescius artis
746 tum primum patuere doli
795 compressus sanguine pulvis
820 captus...Caesaris auro, 824 hic vendidit urbem

V 4 ...cadens Atlantis
24 claususque vaporibus axis, 407 clausas ventis brumalibus undas
71 submotus
74 Thebanae referunt trieterica Bacchae
76 pontoque fuit discrimen et astra
86 numen ab aethere pressum
85 foll. oracle scene at Delphi
99. 100 cen Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam undat apex; Campana frenens cum saxa vaporat conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus
110 monstrato fine
116—20 effect of the inspiration on the priestess
152—3 non rupta trementi verba sono
157 tripodas cessare
174—6 stimulis......accipit et frenos
183 in Euboico vates Cumana recessu
193 domita iam virginis
217—8...pontus rauca gestis
226—7 subsidere regnum Chalcidos Euboicae
288—9 nec fas nec vincula iuris hoc audere vetant
313—4 discere sine armis posse pati, IX 262 et necis sine rege pati
414 quis incumbere certos [flatus]

VERGIL

A IV 105 sensit enim simulata mente locutam
A II 309—10 tum vero manifesta fides Danumque patescunt insidiae
G IV 86—7 motus...certamina tanta pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt
A VI 621 vendidit hic auro patriam...etc

G I 231 ante tibi coae Atlantides abscondentur
A I 234 cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clanditur orbis
A VIII 193 hic spelunca fuit vasto submota sub antro
A IV 302—3 ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho orgia
A IX 143 fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva
G II 26 pressos propaginis arcus
A VI 9 foll. oracle scene at Cumae
G I 471—3 Cyclopus effervere in agros vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam, flammarnumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa
A IX 716 Inarime Iovis imperii imposta Typhoeo
G IV 549 monstratas...aras
A IV 636 monstrata piacula
A VI 77—80 fatigat......premendo
A II 416 rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
G I 71 tonsas cessare novalis
A VI 100—1 ca frena furenti concutit et stimulus sub pectore vertit Apollo
A VI 2 Euboicis Cumara adlabitur oris
A VI 86 fera cordis dominans
A IX 124—5...amnis rauca sonans
A XI 268 devictam Asiam subsedit adulter

G I 269 fas et intra sinum
A VII 203 gentem haut vinclo nec legis et aequum
B X 52—3 certum est in silvis inter spe- laea ferarum malle pati
A XII 367 qua venti incumbere
LUCAN AND VERGIL

LUCAN

V 439—41 riding and driving on frozen sea
483—4 sumnam rapti per prospera belli te poscit Fortuna manum
488—9, 493—4 forcing a landing on a hostile coast even at cost of wreck
501—2 temeraria pronum expertus cessisse deo
504 nox languida

513 litora curva legit
540 foll. weather signs
544 orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit
546 non gracili cornu, 548 nec duxit recto tenuata cacumina cornu, 549 ventorumque nota rubuit
553—4 aut siccum quod mergus amat, quodque ausa volare ardea sublimis penae confusa natanti

555—6 quodque...........cornix
[See Mr Haskins’ notes]
561—3 ad quorum [ventorum] motus non solum lapsa per altum aera dispersos traxere cadentia sucos sidera, x 502

564—5 niger inficit horror terga maris
564 foll. great storm
604 et abstrusas penitus vada fecit harenas, 643 non celat harenas, 640 fluctibus e summis
644 [pelagus] exhaustum in cumulos

679 tacita sua castra fuga comitesque fellelit
683 aut quae nos viles animas in fata relinquens, vii 730 ut viles animas
711 foll. flight of cranes
715 temere immixtae glomerantur in orbes

VERGIL

G III 361—2
A vii 572—3 nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello imponit regina manum
A X 295—8

A XII 147—8 Parcaeque sinebant cedere res Latio
A XII 908—9 oculos ubi languida pressit nocte quies
A III 292 litoraque Epiri legimus
G i 424 foll
G i 442 medioque refugerit orbe

G i 428 si nigrum obscura comprenderit aera cornu, 431 vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe, 433 obtusiss...cornibus
G i 361—3 quom...revolant ex aequore mergi...cumque marinae in sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludis descript atque altam supra volat ardea rubem
G i 385—9 [with Conington’s notes]

G i 365—7 saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis praecipites caelo labi noctisque per umbrae flammarum longos a tergo albsere tractus
A ii 697—8 tum longo limite sulcus dat lucem
A III 195 et inhorruit unda tenebris
A i 81 foll in general, also ii 416—9
A i 106—7 hi summo in fluctu pendent, his unda dehiscens terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis
A i 105 insequitur cumulo praecurts a quae mons
A ii 744 et comites natumque virumque fellelit
A xi 372 nos animae viles inhumata infletaque turba
A X 264—6
G iv 79 magnam mixtae glomerantur in orbem
LUCAN AND VERGIL

LUCAN

767—8 sic est tibi cognita, Magne, nostra fides?
784—5 notae sunt litora clari nominis exsilii

VI 45 fluminia tot cursus ilicis exorta fatigi
66 rabidum nescit latrare Pelorum
74—5 sacrata Dianae... nemoralis Aricia

145 ante feras Rhodani gentes
166 quantum [furorem] non primo succendunt classica cantu
198 hunc aut tortilibus vibrata phalarica nervis obruat aut vasti muralia pondera saxi
205 densamque ferens in pectore silvam
210 et haerentis mota cute discutit hastas
214—5 Dictaea procul ecce manu Gortynis harundo tenditur
221 iaculum... aementavit habena
239 fulmineum.....ensem
293—5 Enceladum.....Aetna
296—7 glomerato pulvere victus...... caeci trepidus sub nube timoris
324 dum bella relegem
378—80 Stygis manare paludibus annum......superumque sibi servare timorem [cf 749]
396—9 primus ab aequorea percussis eusipide saxis...sonipes...... exsiluit; primus chalyben frenosque momordit, spumavitque novis Lapithae domitoris habenis
417 degeneres trepidant animi
419 turbae sed mixtus inertis

VERGIL

A II 44 sic notus Vlixes?
G III 35—6 demissaeque ab Iove gentis nomina
A VIII 94 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
A VII 587—8 pelagi rupes......multis circumlatrantibus undis......
A VII 762 mater Aricia misit, 764 pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae, 775 nemorique relegat, 778 templio Tri-viae lucisque sacratiss
G II 536 ante etiam sceprum Dictaei regis
A VI 165 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu
A VII 496 laudis succensus amore
A IX 705 magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit
A XII 921—2 murali concita numquam tormento sic saxa fremunt
A X 887 immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam
A X 715 et tergo decutit hastas
A XI 773 spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu
A IX 665 intendunt acris arcus ammentaque torment
A IX 441—2 ac rotat ensem fulmineum
A III 575—80
A IX 33 subitam nigro glomerari pulvere
G III 212—3 tauros procul atque in sola relegant pascua
A VI 323—4 Stygiamque paludem, di cuius laurate timent et fallere numen
G I 12—14 tuque o, cui prima fremement fudit equom magno tellus percussa tridenti, Neptuni
G III 115—6 frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosequ drede imposit dorso
A IV 13 degeneres animos timor arguit
A IX 55 Teucrum mirantur inertia corda
A XI 732 o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes
LUCAN AND VERGIL

LUCAN
vi. 426—7 primis quid frugibus altrix aere
lovis Dodona sonet

438 foll [power of magic]
455—6 [the hippocampes]
460 [the rhombus]
490 [snake-charming]
499 foll [moon-charming]
619 foll [corpse-raising]
571—2 Titan medium quo tempore
ducit sub nostra tellure diem

621—2 ora plena voce sonent

646—7 pallensque sub antris longa
notque situs
648 non Taenarcs sie faecibus aerc...
658 exanimi defixum lumina voltu
662—5 si vero Stygiosque lacus ripam-
que sonantem ignibus ostendam,
me praesente vident Eumenides posse
illosque collas colubris Cerberus excutiens et
vincti terga Gigantes.......

689 quod trepidus bubo quod strix
nocturna queruntur
699, 700 caelum matremque perosa
Persephone
703—4 repetitaque fila sorores tractu-
rae
704—5 portitor...... senex
721—2 invisaque claustra timentem
carceris antiqui
730 vocisque meae securae
743—4 immittam ruptis Titana cavern-
itis et subito feriere die

780 effera Romanos agitat discordia
manis implaque infernum rupe-
runt arma quietem
785 foll [names of Roman heroes]

VERGIL
G I 148—9 cum iam glandes atque arbuta
saecae deficerent silvae et victum
Dodona negaret
A III 466 Dodonaeosque lebetas
B VIII 64 foll
G III 280—3, A IV 515—6
B VIII 73—8
B VIII 71
B VIII 69
B VIII 98
G I 247—51 [the Antipodes] illic.....aut
redit a nobis Aurora diemque re-
ducit
G I 388 cornix plena pluviam vocat im-
proba voce
A VI 462 per loca senta situ.....noctemque
profundam
G IV 467 Taenarces etiam fauces...
A VI 156 maesto defixus lumina voltu
A VI 134 Stygius innare laecus
A VI 540—1 quae rapidus flamnis ambit
torrentibus amnis Tartareus Phlege-
thon torquetque sonantia saxa
A VI 374—5 tu Stygias inhumatus aquas
annemque severum Eumenidum
aspices ripamve iniussus adibis
A VI 419 [Cerbero]...horrere videns iam
colla colubris
A VI 580 foll [the Giants]
A IV 462—3 solaqua...ferali carmine bubo
visa queri
G I 39 nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina
matrem

A VI 298, 304 portitor......iam senior
A VI 734 clausae tenebris et carcerce caeco

A VII 304 securi pelagi atque mei
A VIII 242—6 et umbrosae penitus patu-
ere cavernae.....non secus ac.........
trepident immisso lumine Manes
G II 496 infidos agitans discordia fratres
A VI 612—3 quiue arma securt impia

A VI 817 foll
CXXI

LUCAN

vi 796 ausosque ingentia Gracchos

814 ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in arvis

828 caelo lucis ducente colorem

VII 4, 5 defectusque pati voluit raptacque labores lucis

129—30 multorum pallor in ore mortis venturre est

131—2 advenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aevom conderet humanis

137—8 non vacat ullos pro se ferre metus

139 foll [preparations for battle]

148 spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit

151 venturos prodere casus

188 Armeniumque libit Romanus Araxes

194 atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timavi

195 venit summa dies

207 apud seras gentes populosque nepotum

209—10 sive aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris nominibus prodesse potest, cum bella legentur

229—30 iluc et Libye Numidas et Creta Cydonas misit; Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis

246 casus audax sponde secundos [mens]

249 hortando melior fiducia volgo

256 vetitos remeare triumphos

VERGIL

A vi 624 ausi omnes immune nefas ausoque potit

A v 731 foll [Anchises tells Aeneas to meet him by way of Avernus when he gets to Italy; then he shall hear all]

B ix 50 duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem

G ii 478 defectus solis varios lunaeque labores

A viii 709 illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura

A vii 145 advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant

A x 35 aut cur nova condere fata

A ix 291 hanc sine me spem ferre tui

A vii 624 foll

A vii 636 recoquent...fornacibus enses

A v 374 et fulva moribundum extendit harena

A x 99 venturos nautis prodentia ventos

B i 62 aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim

A viii 728 pontem indignatus Araxes

A i 242—6 Antenor potuit......et fontem superare Timavi.........etc

A ii 324 venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus Dardanie

G ii 58 seris factura nepotibus umbram

A ix 446 si quid mea carmina possunt

B iv 26—7 facta parentis iam legere

G iii 343—5 Afer...Cressamquepharetram

A xii 855—7 sagitta.....quam....Parthus sive Cydon, telum immediale, torsit [cf B x 59—60]

G ii 448 Ituraeos taxi tormentur in arcus

A ix 296 sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis

G i 286 nona fugae melior

A ii 95 si patrios unquam remeassem victor ad Argos

A xi 793 patrias remeabo inglorius urbes
LUCAN

vii. 272—4 et mixtæ dissona turbæ bar-
baries, non illa tubas non ag-
mine moto clamorem latura

312 Romanusque labor

320 non vos pietatis imago...

328 vallo tendetis in illo

340—1 tantoque duci sic arma timere

ommen erat

350 ipsi tela regent.....

360 primo gentes oriente coactae

409 et damnata diu Romanis Allia

fastis

413 insanamque famem

426 sed retro tua fata tulit par omni-
bus annis Emathiae funesta
dies

433—6 libertas... recessit...... nec re-
spicit ultra Ausonian

438 Romulus infami complevit moenia

luco

475—8 [echo and effect of the bugle
calls] also 489—91

481 Peliasisque dedit rursus geminare
cavernis

492—5 densis acies stipata catervis
iuxerat in seriem nexis umbo-
nibus arma, vixque habitura
locum dextras ac tela movendi
constiterat gladiosque
suos compressa tenebat. [1 fancy
†timebat † is right, see iv. 779—]

497 in densos agitur cuneos

512—3 inde faces et saxa volant, spa-
tioque solutae aeris et calido
liquefactae pondere glandes

519 ferro subtextitur aether

528—9 [wounded horse] in caput ef-
fusi calcavit membra regentis

537—8 non alio mutentur sanguine

fontes

VERGIL

A viii 685 hine ope barbarica variisque

Antonius armis

A vi 592—3 at pater...... telum contorsit,

non ille faces nec fumea taedis lu-

mina...

A ii 11 Troiae supremum andire laborum

A iv 78 Iliacos..... labores

A ix 394 animum patriae strinxit pietatis

imago

A ii 29 hic saevos tendebat Achilles

A vii 173—4 hic sceptra accipere et pri-

mos attollere fasces regibus omen

erat

A ix 409 et rege tela per auras

G i 250 nosque ubi primus equis Orients

affluvit anhelis

A vii 717 quosque secans infaustum in-

teriuit Allia nomen

A ix 346 suadet enim vaesana fames

A xi 169—70 ex illo fluere ac retro sub-
lapsa referri spes Danaum

B i 28 libertas, quae sera tamen respedit

inertem, also 63 Tigrim

A viii 342—3 hinc lucum ingentem quem

Romulus acer Asylum rettulit...

A vii 511—8, also 523—7

A i 319 dederatque comam diffundere

ventis

A x 432—3 extremi addensent acies nec

turba moveri tela manusque sinit.

A xii 574—5 omnes dant cuneum densa-
que ad muros mole feruntur

A i 150 ianque faces et saxa volant

A ix 588—9 et media adversi liquefacto
tempora plumbo diffidit

A iii 583 caelum subtextere fumo

A x 893—4 effusumque equitem super

ipse secutus implicat ejectoque in-

cumbit cernus armo

B iv 43—4 aries iam... murice iam croceo

mutabit vellera luto
LUCAN AND VERGIL

LUCAN

vii 547 fortunaque Caesaris haesit

568 sanguineum veluti quiaties Bellona flagellum, Bistonas aut Mavors agiant

588 o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus

616 densaeque oculos pressere tenebrae

722 patriae per viscera vadis

731 ...permisit vitae

734 dum conficit omnia terror

(see § 53 below)

777—So haud alios..............

Eumenidum vidit voltus Peloppeis Orestes; nec magis...Penteus......etc

787 clara dies Pharsaliae damna rexit

818 libera Fortunae mors est

837 sanguineis stillavit oribus arbor

847 infelix quo tanto crimine tellus...

858—62 [plough turning up bones on the battlefield]

860—1 nullus ab Emathio religavit ab agger claesem

866—7 vel solis iniqui limite

VII 90 me pronuba ducit Erinys

171—2 ...taciti servator Olympi: signifer quaeque cum flant labentia caelo [sidera]

210 qui sparsa ducis vestigia legit

245—6 spumantia parvae radit saxa Sami

265 rebusque novis exordia quaeram

272 mille meae Graio volvontur in aequore pappes

280 mentisque meae quo pondera vergant

304 ...sed multo saturantur tela veneno

[Parthorum] See on VII 229-30

VERGIL

A xi 289—90 Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graio haesit

A viii 700—3 saevit medio in certamine Mavors......cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello

A i 281 o lux Dardanieae, spes o fidissima Teucrum

A xi 824 et tenebris nigrescent omnia circum

A vi 833 neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires

A iv 640 Dardanique rogum capit permittere flammae

A xi 823 [me] nunc volnus acerbum conficit

A iv 469—73 Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Orestes; nec magis...Penteus......etc

A iv 118—9 ubi......ortus extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem, and v 65

A x 154 libera fati [gens Lydia]

A vii 645 sparsi rorabant sanguine venes...

G i 493—7

A vii 106 gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem

A vii 227 plaga solis iniqui

A vii 319 et Bellona manet te pronuba

A iii 515 sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo

A ix 392—3 vestigia retro observata legit

A iii 699, 700 proiectaque saxa Pachyni radimus

A iv 284 quae prima exordia sumat

A vii 40 et primae revocabo exordia pugnae

B ii 21 mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnæ

A xii 727 quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum

A xii 856—8 sagitta, armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni...... torsit
LUCAN

viii 305 fatumque in sanguine summo est
391 ...toto divisus ut orbe
460—1 toto emensus Cypri scopulos
467 tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas, IV 58—9
613 ut vidit comminusenses

698—711 [end of Pompey; his neglected corpse]
717 infaustus Magni fuerat comes
734—5 totus ut ignem proiectis manens exercitus ambiat armis

773 plenos et reddere mortis honores
797—8 qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano
832 semicanesque deos

IX 4 sequitur convexa Tonantis

6 lunaeque meatus
7—9 quos ignea virtus innocuos vita patientis aetheris imi fecit

12—13 stellasque vagas miratur et astra fixa polis, vidit quanta sub nocte iaceret nostras dies
31 rapido victoria Caesaris actu
42—3 ...l'alimur...neque enim aequore tantum Ausonio monumenta tenes
231 dulcisque revisere natos
288 Phrygii sonus increpat aeris
311—2 vel plenior alto olim Syrtis erat pelago penitusque natabat
326 spatium vicere carinae
335—47 [storm scattering ships]

VERGIL

A xii 376 et sumnum degustat volneris corpus
B i 67 pentitus toto divisos orbe Britannos
A v 627—8 toti inhospita saxa sideraque emensus ferimur
G i 208 Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas
A vii 732 falcatus comminus ense
A ix 347—8 totum cui comminus ensim condidit adargenti
A ii 454—8 [same of Priam]

A vi 166 Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes
A xi 92—3 tum maesta phalanx Teucrique sequitur Tyrrenique omnes et versis Arcades armis [see also 184—202, and vii 214—31]
A vi 383 maestos et mortis honore carentis
A vii 225—6 sique metellum extrema refuso summovet oceano
A viii 698 omnigenunque deum monstrat et latrator Anubis

A iv 361 Italian non sponte sequor
A v 629 Italian sequimur fugientem
A iv 451 taelet caeli convexa tueri
A vi 750 supera ut convexa revisant
A vi 849 cadique meatus
A vi 730—2 igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo seminis, quantum non corpora noxia tardant...etc, 746—7 purumque reliquit aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem
B v 56—7 candidus insuetum miratur li- men Olympi sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis
A xii 687 magno mons improbus actu
A vi 380—1 .......aeternunque locus Pal- linuri nomen habebit

G i 414 dulcisque revisere nidos
G iv 64 et Matris quate cymbala circum
G i 371—2 omnia plenis rura natant fossis

G ii 123—4 aera vincere sumnum arbortis
A i 106—23
LUCAN

IX 349 ventosa perflantem murmura concha

426—7 tantum Maurusia genti robora divitiae
454 rabiem totis exercet habenis

511 foll. Garamantes...Hammon......

Indis......

516 splendent donaria gemmis
604 nunc olim factura deum

605—6 et plaga quam nullam superi mortalisbus ultra a medio fecere die

643 Cerberus Orpheo lenivit sibila cantu

787 Cinyphias...pestes
798—9 [simile of swelling water in a boiling pot]

809 Corycii pressura croci
820 stipite quae diro virgas mentita Sabaeas toxica fatigeti carpunt matura +Sabaei+ [? Sabini]

867 et premitur natura poli

893 par lingua potentibus herbis

916 peregrinaque galbana sudant

918 et Thessala centaurea

926—7 et cuius morbus superaverit anguis iam promptum 1Psyllis vel gustu nosse veneni

959 ......Pontus et ostriferam dirimat Chalcedona carso

983—6 nam si quid......aevo

989 votaque turicremos non irrita fu-
dit in ignis

VERGIL

A 1 83 et terras turbine perflant
A VI 171 forte cava dum personat aquora concha

A IV 206—7 cui nunc Maurusia pictis gens epulata toris......
A XII 499 iratumque omnis effundit ha-
benas

A IV 198 Hammone satus, rapta Gara-

mantis nympha
A VI 794 super et Garamantas et Indos
G III 533 alta ad donaria

A IV 627 nunc olim quoqueque dabunt se tempore vires

A VII 226—7 et siquem extenta plagarum quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis ini qui [see also G i 233—9]

G IV 483 tenuitque inhiens tria Cerberus ora......

G III 312 Cinyphii...hirci
A VII 462—6

G IV 127 Corycium vidisse senem
G I 57 India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei

G II 117 solis est tura virga Sabaeis.
[culex 404 herbaque turis opes pris-
cis imitata Sabina.]

G I 240—1 mundus....premitur Libyae de vexus in austros
A VII 19 quos hominum ex facie dea sae-
va potentibus herbis.....
A XII 402 multa manu medica Phoebi-
que potentibus herbis......

G III 415 galbancoque agitate gravis ni-
dore chelydros

G IV 264 hic iam galbancos suadebo in-
cedere odores

G IV 270 et grave olentia centaurea
G II 255—6 promptum est oculis praedi-
scere nigrum, et quis cui color

G I 207 [quibus] Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi
A IX 446—7 ......si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies unquam memoria
vos eximiet acvo

A IV 453 turicremis cum dona imponeret aris
To other Augustan writers.

(52) That Lucan had read most of the chief writers of the Augustan age is abundantly clear from casual reminiscences of their works, of which Mr Haskins has taken notice in his commentary. But the important cases are those of Horace Ovid and Livy.

The reminiscences of Horace are frequent; but, as no important episodes are suggested by imitation or rivalry of passages.
in Horace, the relation between the writers is not worth pursuing at length. It is chiefly in stray phrases and allusions that the resemblance is detected. The influence of Horace on the Pharsalia generally is not observable.

To Ovid Lucan seems to stand in a closer relation. Not only do numberless mythological details seem to come from the Metamorphoses; but (as I have remarked above § 49 b, c) he is in some important characteristics of his rhythm a follower of Ovid. Great though the difference is between the two, it is in Ovid that we begin to trace the growth of the smooth versification which is so unfavourable to the effect of the Pharsalia. In the detailed elaboration of detached episodes we again see a tendency beginning in Ovid and completely established in Lucan. How it grew up I have pointed out above (§ 27).

That Lucan used Livy as an authority is very probable, if not certain, and I wish I had been able to see G Baier's dissertation on this subject. The main items of evidence seem to be these. The name of Crastinus in VII 471 is said to come from Livy. The story of the augur Cornelius VII 192—200 is reported by Plutarch as told by Livy. The affair of the envoy X 468—74 is said by a scholiast to be told by Livy but rather differently. The affair of Ganymedes Arsinoe and Achillas X 519—23 is apparently taken from Livy, according to the same scholiast. Livy (fragm 45 Weissenborn) seems, according to Jerome, to have eulogized Cato. He was used as an authority by Seneca (fragm 41 and 48). In the Periochae of books CXIX—CXII are mentioned a number of incidents which reappear in Lucan with wonderful correspondence of detail so far as these meagre abstracts enable one to judge. Lastly from Tacitus ann IV 34 we learn that Livy greatly eulogized Pompey, so that Augustus called him a Pompeian.

It is worth while to note a few parallels which may prove that Lucan had read and was at a given moment bearing in mind passages from Augustan poets now only known by a line or two. I repeat that I do not press these small resemblances; the point is in no way material to my argument. But it is better to submit the few lines in question to the examination of others from this point of view.
EARLIER POETS

vi 716 [anima] ad manis ventura semel

1 99, 100 nam sola futuri Crassus erat belli
medius mora
vi 208 sic Libycus densis elephas oppres-
sus ab armis......
x 160—1 gemmaeque capaces exceper
erum, sed non Marcotidos uvae...

To these add a case of resemblance in the laus Pisonis [see on § 21], probably of
Claudius' time.

viii 280 mentisque meae quo pondera
vergant

laus Pisonis 56 quis regit ipse suam, nisi
per tua pondera, mentem?

To earlier poets.

(53) How intimate Lucan’s knowledge of the works of the Republican poets was, we shall never know. Here and there we get a slight reminiscence of Lucretius or Catullus, but I do not infer that either of these writers had much influence on the Pharsalia. In the fragments of Ennius are a few passages that bear a curious resemblance in point or diction to lines in Lucan. Whether they prove that Lucan studied Ennius I do not feel sure. It is however to be borne in mind (a) that their small number is a natural consequence of the small remains of Ennius (b) that the Scholiast on one place in book X distinctly refers to Ennius for the matter (c) that it is a priori probable that Lucan would read Ennius.

I subjoin the passages in parallel columns.

vii 810—1 placido natura receptat cuncta
sinu finemque sui sibi corpora de-
bent

Ennius ann i fr 9 terraque corpus quae
dectit ipsa capite neque dispendi facit
hilum

Maecenas fr 7 nec tumulum crevit; sepelit
natura relicto

Ennius ann ii fr 93 volutus in spineto
obitum mandebat hominem: heu
quam crudeli condebat membra sep-
pulcro

Ennius ann viii fr 195 multa dies in bello
conficit unus

vii 841—2 sic quoque non omnis populus
pervenit ad ossa inque feras discerpt-
tus abit

Ennius ann i fr 9 terraque corpus quae
dectit ipsa capite neque dispendi facit
hilum

maecenas fr 7 nec tumulum crevit; sepelit
natura relicto

Ennius ann ii fr 93 volutus in spineto
obitum mandebat hominem: heu
quam crudeli condebat membra sep-
pulcro

Ennius ann viii fr 195 multa dies in bello
conficit unus

vii 734 dum conficit omnia terror
Ennius ann viii fr 200 pila retunduntur venientibus obvia pilis

Scholiast on the passage says Ennius haec de Nilo ait, quod per aëstatem sol ab inferioribus aquam supra revocet et hinc eo tempore Nilus increat.

[Note. Baehrens in his Fragmenta pp 358—9 quotes as incertorum versus Lucan 1 15 unde venit Titan et nos ubi sidera condit, ii 15 licet sperare timenti, iii 751 festinantem animam morti non credidit uni, and a line sanguineum quatisius dextra Bellona flagellum which is vii 568 with quatisius dextra for veluti quatiens. There may be some reason for Baehrens' description of these lines: if so, I am unable to give it.]

To the Senecas.

(54) This topic cannot be treated at length here. It might be made the subject of a complete dissertation. But it would serve little purpose to prove what is manifest on the face of it that to his grandfather and uncle much of Lucan's pointed antithetical manner, half rhetorical half Stoic as it is, is to be traced. Reading no doubt that rhetorician's common-place-book, the suasoriae and controversiae of his grandfather, reading and perhaps often hearing the Stoic sermons of his uncle, he picked up far more of the mannerisms of the Spanish school (if I may so call it) than we shall ever be able to detect. Numberless passages can now be illustrated by quotations from the younger Seneca especially. Resemblances of language (I almost think it was Seneca who crystallized the everlasting tanti of the Silver Age) are very frequent: but this line of inquiry I do not possess either the time or the inclination fully to pursue.

Juvenal's relation to Lucan.

(55) It would be a long undertaking to copy out all the certain or probable reminiscences of Lucan in Juvenal, and quite unnecessary to boot. I content myself with giving a selection of parallels in the writings of these two great declaimers, and reserve my comments to follow them.
Lucan

I 64—5 Cirrhacea......Nysa
97 dominos commissit

494—5 aut iam quatiente ruina mutantis pendere domos, iv 393 mundi mutante ruina

II 18, 28 latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos......cultus matronae priores dispositi
46 Cannarum Trebiaeque iuventus

155—6 se praecipiti iaculatus pondere dura dissiluit percessus humo
193 agnosendus erat
382 patriaegre impendere vitam
672—7 [Xerxes at Hellespont and Athos]

III 233—4 hic ubi Pellaeus......ducor constatit et magno Vinci sessus ab orbis est
v 356 quibus hic non sufficit orbis
x 426 cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis

III 472—3 nec tantum corpora pressa examinan : toto sum sanguine dissipat artus

IV 706 galeae texere pudorem
VI 7, 8 aea fati alterutrum mensura caput
63 aestuat angusta rabies civilis harena

VII 34—6 illa rati semper de te sibi conscia voti......sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni

60 nocituraque poscimus arma
339—40 stat corde gelato attonitus

438 infami complevit moenia luco
493 iuxerat in seriem nexit umboni-bus arma
579 [of Senate] quae viscera rerum
755 quidquid Tagus extulit auri

Juvenal

VII 64 dominis Cirrae Nysaeque
1 161—3 Aenean Rutulumque feroce committas

III 190 quis timet......ruinam
196 pendente iubet dormire ruina

III 212—3 horrida mater, pullati pro-ceres, differt vadimonia praetor

II 155 quid Cremerac legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus

III 271—2 quanto percessum pondere signet et laedant silicem

VIII 206 tota fugit agnosendus harena
IV 91 et vitam impendere vero

X 173—6 velificatus Athos...constratum classibus isdem suppositumque rotis solidum mare
X 168—9 unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficient orbis, aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi

III 259—61 quid superest de corporibus?
quis membra quis ossa invent?obritum volgi perit omne cada-ver more animae

VIII 203 nec galea faciem abscondit

X 57—8 mergit [quosdam] longa atque insignis honorum pagina
X 169 aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi

X 283—6 provida Pompeio......febræ optandas sed multae urbes et publica vota vicerunt: igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis servatum victo caput abstulit
X 8, 9 nocitura toga nocitura petuntur militia
VI 95—6 timent pavidoque gelantur pectore

VIII 273 ab infami gentem deducis Asyro
45—6 sed illos defendit numerus iunctaetque umbone phalanges

II 72 viscera magnarum domum

III 55 omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum
Such are a few out of many instances of a correspondence surely more than casual between the words of Juvenal and Lucan. I do not think it will be disputed that the later poet drew inspiration from the earlier. To what extent he did so, I think no mere comparison of line and line will tell us. Rather we must pass from one to the other in our reading and remark the frequent likeness of manner and tone. Take such lines as the following:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{II 74 } & \quad \text{conul et eversa felix moriturus in urbe.} \\
\text{171 } & \quad \text{omn Sullanae lustrasse cadavera pacis.} \\
\text{III 439 } & \quad \text{...sec expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.} \\
\text{IX 706—7 } & \quad \text{sed quis erit nobis lucri pudor? inde petuntur} \\
& \quad \text{huc Libycae mortes, et secimus aspida mercem.}
\end{align*}
\]

Read too such passages as IV 373—401, V 381—402, VII 539—43, X 136—71, and many more, and it is I think hardly possible to doubt that the satirist had drunk very largely of Lucan’s spring:—naturally and rightly, for the manner and tone of Lucan, though unsuited to an epic poem, find their proper place and function as a vehicle of satire.
M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER PRIMUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

Introduction 1—182. The subject of the poem 1—7. Remonstrance with the citizens 8—32. Flattering address to Nero 33—66. The general causes of the civil war 67—97. Particular causes; the deaths of Crassus and Julia, the rivalry between Pompeius and Caesar 98—128. Comparison between Pompeius and Caesar 129—157. The corruption of the times 158—182. Caesar crosses the Rubicon 183—227, and captures Ariminum 228—260. He is met by the expelled tribunes and Curio 261—295. Caesar addresses his soldiers 296—355; he is answered by the centurion Laelius 356—391. Caesar summons his forces from Gaul 392—465. Terror in Rome at his approach and flight of the senate 466—522. Prodigies 523—583. Expiatory rites and ill-omened sacrifice of Aruns 584—638. The coming disasters are foretold by the astrologer Figulus 639—672, and by a frenzied matron 673—695.

Bella per Emathios plus quam ciuilia campos iusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
in sua uictriici conuersum uiscera dextra,

1. Emathios] Emathia was a part of Macedonia, but the name is loosely applied by the Roman poets not only to Macedonia but also to Thessaly; they often confuse the battle-fields of Pharsalus and Philippi, perhaps from a misunderstanding of Verg. G. i 489—492 ergo inter se Paribus concurrere tellis Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi, nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos; cf. infr. 680, viii 533, 534 ante nous ventient acies sicerique secludo praestabis nonnum siccos hoc sanguine campos. Juv. viii 242 and Prof. Mayor's note.

plus quam ciuilia] not only between citizens but between relatives; probably with special reference to the connexion of Caesar and Pompeius as socer and gener, cf. 289, 290 infr.; Verg. Aen. vi 831, 832; cf. the use of nefas in ii 4 indixitque nefas and vi 78, 79 classica nulla sonant iniussaque tela vagantur, et fit saepo nefas iucundum temptans lacerto.


cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi uribus orbis
in commune nefas, infestisque obuia signis
signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.

quis furo, o cieus, quae tanta licentia ferri
gentibus inuisi Latium praebere cuorem?
cumque superba forct Babylon spolianda
tropacis 10
Ausoniis, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta,
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
heu quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari
hoc quem ciuiles hausurunt sanguine dextrae,
unde ueniit Titan, et nox ubi sidera condit,
quaque dies' medius flagrantibus aestuat horis,
et qua bruma rigens ac nescia uere remitti
adstringit Scythico glacialem frigore pontum.

sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes,
et gens si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.

20 tum, si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi,
totum sub Latias leges cum misericis orbeh,
in te uerte manus: nondum tibi defuit hostis.
at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
urbibus Italicis, lapsisque ingentia muris
sacla iacent, nulloque domus custode tenetur,
rarus et antiquis habitat in urbibus errat,
horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
Hesperia est, desuntque manus poscentibus aruis,
non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, nec tantis cladibus auctor
Poenus erit: nulli penitus descendere ferro
contigit: alta sedent ciuillis uolnera dextrae.
quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni

nata Parthorum sua urb haec perire
dextra.

barbarus Araxes] is equivalent to the
savage tribes on the Araxes. So Verg. G. 11 407 coniurato descendens Dacus ab
Hirsto.

20. et gens] 'the tribe, if such there be, that knows the hidden cradle of the Nile'; cf. Hor. Carm. IV 14, 45; Ouid. cf. Auson. Idyll. VII 2 consciuo nascentis
Bissula Danubii. Lucan' himself v. 89, 90 has mundique futuri conscius.

Hor. Carm. III iii 43—44 triumphantisque
posit Roma ferox dare irura Medis,

23. defir] 'not yet hast thou felt the
want of a foe'.

24. quod] 'for the reason why.....',
anticipative of line 30; see Dr Munro's
note on Lucret. IV 885 id quod proutet,
ilius rei constat image. So also Verg.
Aen. II 180—182 et nunc quod patria scito
petiere Mycenas, arcum ducens parant
comites pelagoque renenso imprompti ade-
rant.

25. urribus] The reading has been
suspected owing to the repetition of the
same word in line 27, but such careless
repetition is not uncommon in Lucret, cf.
infr. 510, 513. Weber would read finibus
in this passage, but if any alteration is
needed perhaps arcibus would be better,
which would stand in either line.

26. saxa] For the massive building of
the old Italian towns cf. Verg. G. I 155—157 addo tot egregios urbes operunque
laborem, tot congrega manu praeruptis oppida
saxis, fluminaque antiquos subter labantia
nuos.

squadent abduelis arua colonis.

30. auctor] I am unable to find any
other instance of the use of auctor with
the simple dative instead of genitive: in
Cic. ad Att. VIII 3 § 3 ille legibus per aim
ac contra suspicica ferentis auctor
the addition of the gerundive gives a different
turn to the sentence.

31. Poenus erit] 'will be found to have
been' sc. olim quarerenti, Weise; cf. Ter.
Phorm. 801. cognatam comperii esse nobis
quid' delivas. sic crit.

32. nulli ferro] sc. externo cf. infr. 82, 93.

280. descendere] From the remark of the
Schofiast nimmquam ad immem peruenire
this seems to have been the reading which
he had before him, and it is confirmed by
alta sedent in the following line: it has
been received by Ould. (following Ilinsius)
exto into the text; cf. VI 216; Liv. i 41
ferrum hau bale corpore descendisse.
Ov. Met. III 67 tota descendit in ilia ferro.
Sen. dial. XII iii § 1 gravissimum est ex
omnibus quae unquam in corpus tuum
descenderunt recens unius, fator. The
common reading is descindere which is
retained by Weise.

32. contig] generally contains
good fortune, cf. Prof. Mayor on
Juuv. VIII 28.

33. quod si] 'if all these evils have
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

inuenere uiam, magnoque aeterna parantur
regna deis, caclumque suo seruire Tonanti
non nisi saeuro tum potuit post bella gigantum,
iam nihil, o superi, querimir: scelera ipsa nefasque
hac mercede placent: diros Pharsalia campos
impleat, et Poeni saturentur sanguine manes;
ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda.

his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores
accedant fatis; et quas premit aspera classes
Leucas; et ardentia serulitella bella sub Actna:
multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis
quod tibi res acta est. te, cum statione peracta
astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
excipient gaudente polo, seu sceptram tenere,
seu te flammigeros Phoebi conscendere currus,
telluremque nihil mutato sole timentem
igne uago lustrare iuuet: tibi numine ab omni
cedetur, iurisque tui natura relinquet,

been endured in order to pave the way for
quidem illud seculo deicus, magnum
rei publicae volnus impression est;...si
tamen hacte sola errat ratio quae te publicae
salutis gubernaculis admoenter, propre est
ut exclamem tanti fuisse.

34. [iam] cf. Verg. Aen. x 113 fata
niam inuenient.
35. regna deis] i.e. Nero would
become a god after his death cf. vii 457
bella paries superis facient ciuilia diuos.
Compare also the words of the dying Vespasian,
Suet. Vesp. 23 iac., puto, deus fo.
37. iam] 'we complain no more'.
39. saturentur] i.e. at the battle of
i 25—38 Tono et doctum quisquis animor
Afris inulta cessat impotentia tellure vic-
torium neglectus retulit inferos fuguriae.
40. ultima] The battle of Munda B.C.
was the last battle of the civil war of
which Pharsalia was the turning-point.
This appears to be a more satisfactory
explanation than Weise's; his note is,
ultima proelia funesta Munda per hypalla-
gen dictum pro funesta proelia apud ulti-
mam Mundaum, hoc est in extrema lliberit
sitam; ea enim figura crebro noster uti-
tur. But of all his references none supports
the double hypallage.
41. Siege of Perusia B.C. 41; cf.

Auszon. Epp. xxii 42 iam iam Perusina
et Saguntina famae Lucanicae lumeb.
Siege of Mutina B.C. 43.
43. Leucas] loosely put for Actium
suriellas bella] alluding to the war with
Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, who filled his
ranks with slaves; cf. Hor. Epod. iv.
17—19 guid attestat tot ora natium gravi
rostrata duci pondere contra latrones atque
serulam manum? Marin. i 917—919
restabant profugio ciuilia milite bella cum
patrios armis imitatus filius hostes accepna
Pompeius cepit defensa parenti.
45. quod tibi] 'since twas for thee
that all was done'.
statione peracta] 'when thy watch is
over'. For the metaphor cf. x 203.
Veel. Pat. ii 131 protegit hunc statum,
hanc pacent, hunc principem, eiqne function
longissima statione mortali destinat
successores quam sereissimso.
46. serus] implies a wish; cf. Hor.
Carm. i ii 45.
praedati] 'preferred to earth'; implying
that death is a matter of choice to Nero.
48. currus] Weber sees in this a covert
allusion to Nero's passion for chariot-
driving.
49. mutato sole] i.e. with Nero instead
of Apollo as driver of the Sun's chariot.
51. iuris tui] Weise reads iuri tuo,
quis deus esse uelis, ubi regnum ponere mundi. sed neque in Arcteo sedem tibi legeris orbe, nec polus aduersi calidus qua uergit tur Austri; unde tuam uides obliquo sidere Romam. aetheris immensi par tem si presseris unam, sentiet axis onus. librati pondera caeli orbe tene medio: pars aetheris illa sereni tota uacet nullaque obstent a Caesare nubes, tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis, inque uicem gens omnis amet: pax missa per orbem ferrea belligeri compescat limina Iani. sed mihi iam numer: nec, si te pectore uates accipio, Cirrhaca uel im secreta mouentem sollicitare deum, Bacchumque auertere Nysa. tu satis ad dandas Romana in carmina uires.

fert animus causas vantaram expromere rerum, immensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem

but cf. VII 55 qui tot simul undique gentes irris habere sui uellet.

52. quis deus? imitated from Verg. G. 1.24 fol. 

54. aduersi] opposite to the north. Ovid. and Weise read with some MSS. aurers i.e. remoti a nostro orbe; but why this should be said of the south more than the north is not clear.

uergit tur] For the passive use of uergere cf. Lucret. II 212 in terras iugiter quaque solis uergit tur ardor. The ancients regarded the earth as rising towards the north and sinking towards the south; cf. Verg. G. 1 240-241 mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhitasque arduas arcus consurgit, prernitur Libyae deexus in austros.

55. obliqua] i.e. to the north or south. Nero is to be seated directly over Rome. The meaning ‘cross’, ‘unpropitious’ is perhaps also glanced at.

sidere] The stars were supposed to affect the fortunes of those beneath them, cf. Verg. Ecl. IX 47-49.


58. orbe medii] ‘on the sphere’s midmost point’, i.e. on the surface of the outer sphere formed by the sky at a point vertically above Rome and equidistant from the horizon in every direction; so summo monte, &c. sereni] anticipates uacet.

59. a Caesare] on Caesar’s side. ‘And let no clouds obstruct our view where Caesar sits.’


62. compescat] ‘keep closed’, the idea being probably suggested by the lines of Ennius (Ann. viii) posquam discordia tecta bell i ferratos postes portusque restregit where we have precisely the opposite sense. For the peace in Nero’s time cf. Suet. Ner. 14 Ianum geminum clausit tam nullo quam residuo bello.

63. sed mihi] to me (who foretell these things) you are already a deity.


64. Cirrhaca] i.e. of Delphi of which Cirrha was the port. For this and Nysa cf. Prof. Mayor’s note to Juv. vii 64 dominis Nysae Cirrhacaque feruntur pectora nostra.

65. deum] sc. Apollo.


68. aperitur] ‘is opening before me’. cf. Verg. Aen. iii 275 foridatus nautis aperitur Apollo.
impulerit populum, quid pacem excuserit orbi.
inuia fatorum series, summisque negatum stare diu; nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus; nec se Roma ferens. sic, cum compage soluta saecula tota mundi suprema coegerit hora, antiquum repetent iterum chaos omnia; mixtis sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum astra potent: tellus extendere litera nolet excutietque fretum: fratri contraria Phoebe ibit, et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem indignata diem posse sibi: totaque discors machina diuolsi turbabit foedera mundi. in se magna ruunt: laetis hunc numina rebus crescendi posuere modum; nec gentibus ullis commodat in populum terrae pelagique potentem

70. series] 'the envious course of destiny'; cf. Cic. de div. i § 15 fatum autem apello ordinem surremique causarum cum causas causa nixa rem ex se dignat. summisque negatum] 'the doom of all that is highest to speedy fall'; cf. Stat. Silv. ii 7, 90—91 o nunquam data festa longa summis, cur plus aeduna casibus patetis? The passage has been imitated by Claudian Epigr. xxxvi (xli) puleris stare diu Parcarum leges negatur. summa cadunt subito; magna repente ruunt.

72. nec se Roma ferens] equivalent to et Roma se non-ferens; cf. Verg. Ecl. ii 49 praeterea duo nec tua mihi ualle reperti caprodi, where nec tua is equivalent to et non-tua; see also 138 infr. where nec-ualidis is equivalent to et non-ualidis. For the sense cf. Liv. Pref. § 4 ut iam magnitudine laborat sua et Hor. Epod. xvi 3 suis et ipsa Roma nivibus ruat. compage] 'frame'; so of the human body, v 119 compages humana labat; of the Roman empire, Tac. Hist. iv 74 octogintorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque compages huc conlati.

73. coegerit] 'when the day of doom shall close many of the ages of the world.' cf. infr. 537 note.

74. antiquum] cp. Ov. Met. ii 299 in chaos antiquum consumdimus. repetens] The reading of most MSS. is repetens: the correction is due to Rutgersius.

mixtis] For the hypallage cf. Verg. Ecl. x 55 interea mixtis lustrabo Maenara

nyphis.


76. tellus] 'the land shall no more seek to advance her shore-line nor throw off the sea.'

77. excutietque fretum] The negative is carried on to the second clause, as is frequently the case in Lucan, cf. e.g. ii 372—373 ille nec horribicam saneto dimo-ruit ab ore casariem duorum admissit gaudia voluit; iv 589—590 nulla uicitur cervera supinus carpenteque sedens. contraria] i.e. ex aduero soli auri-gabantur. ita fict ut ei obvia facta illitaur; quae cum de via decidere noluerint diem sibi arrogabit et solem nocte contentum esse iubebit.

80. dioltri] to be taken as proleptic, 'which will thus be rent asunder'.

foedera mundi] 'laws of the universe'; cf. Verg. G. i 60 continuo has leges aeterno-que foedera certis imposuit natura locis. cf. also 417 infr.

81. in se ruunt] 'are dashed to pieces on themselves,' cf. Sen. dial. x iv § 1 nam ut nihil extra laessat aut quatrat in se ipso fortuna ruat.

83. commodat] 'nor does fortune lend the weapons of her envy to any foreign nations to smite a people the lords of land and sea.' cf. Stat. Theb. iv 75 (Adrasto) cui bella faunet qui commodat
inuidiam Fortuna suam. tu causa malorum, facta tribus dominis communis, Roma, nec umquam 85 in turbam missi feralia foedera regni. o male concordes nimiaque cupidine caeci, quid miscere iuuat uires orbemque tenere in medium? dum terra fretum terramque leuabit acer et longi ulolent Titana laboris, nullas fides regni sociis omnisque potestas impatiens consortis crit. nec gentibus ullis credite, nec longe fatorum exempla petantur. fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri. 95 nec pretium tanti tellus pontusque furoris tune erat: exiguum dominos commissit asylum.

irascuinta cohors; for gentibus, cf. 31 supr. note.

84. in causa] ‘the cause of all these ills was this, that thou Rome wast made the common property of three masters, and that the baleful bond of tyranny was entrusted to a number, as had ne’er been done before.’

85. nec umquam] i.e. regnum had been entrusted to a single person before as in the case of Sulla, cf. 334—335 infr. but this had not proved so ruinous, as there was no opportunity for dissension: for um quam in the sense of ‘never before’ cf. Juv. xii. 74 numquam nisiis triginta clara mammillis (scrofa): or umquam in turbam missa may mean ‘never submitted to popular election,’ i.e. other magistrates were no less despot, but they were tempered by annual election; for turba in this connexion cf. Hor. Carm. i i 7, 8 hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium certat tergeminis tollere honoribus.

86. in turbam missa] turba is applied to Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar: for this use of turba for a small number cf. Ov. Fast. ii 716 where it is used of the two young Tarquinii, and Ov. Fast. v 108 of two Muses; also Ov. Met. i 355 nos duo turba sumus.

87. male] ‘for evil’; cf. 248 infr. Ov. Amor. iii 17, 18 at non invidia nobis Cepheia virgo est pro male formosa insa parente mori.

88. miscere] ‘combine’; cf. ix 286 (the bees) non miscent nexibus alas sed sibi quisque solat.

89. in medium] ‘for use in common’;


91. totidem] ‘as many as the day’, i.e. six.

sigeta] sc. of the zodiac.

92. regni sociis] ‘partners in tyranny.’ Cic. de off. i § 26 quotes from Ennius nulla sancta societas nec fides regni est, and applies it to the case of Caesar; cf. also Tac. Ann. xiii 17 antiquas fratrum discordias et insociabile regnum aestimantes. Ov. A. A. iii 563, 564 effuge ritalem; uincis dum sola tenebis: non bene cum sociis regna Venusque manent. Quint. Curt. x ix § 1 insociabile est regnum.

93. gentibus ullis] cf. supr. 31, 83, notes.

95. fraterno] cf. Hor. Epod. vii 17—30 sic est; acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fratres necis: ut immemoris fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus iuror; Tibull. ii v 24 Romulus acternum nundinum firmareat urbis moenia consorti non habitanda Remo.

temporis angusti mansit concordia discors, paxque fuit non sponte ducum. nam sola futuri Crassus crat bellis mediis mora. qualiter undas 100 qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat, Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeua arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras, Parthica Romanos solucrunt damna furores, plus illa ubis acie quam creditis actum est, Arsacidac: bellum uictis ciuile dedistas. diuiditur ferro regnum: populique potentis quae mare quae terras quae totum continent orbem 110 non cepit fortuna duos. nam pignora iuncti sanguinis et diro ferales omine taceas

98. temporis angusti] There are two possible interpretations of this very difficult line: (a) taking discors as part of the predicate, temporis angusti concordia mansit (sed mansit) discors, 'the short-lived concord ended, but 'twas a jarring concord', or (b) 'the jarring concord of a short space endured', i.e. endured for a short space. The introduction of mansit, which would rather require tempus in angustam would thus seem to have altered the scheme of the line: otherwise temporis angusti concordia would stand for a simple descriptive genitive such as Corn. Nepos Ages. VIII § 2 summ amorum octoginta in Aegyptumisset; see Madvig § 287.


100. mora] For this word used of a person cf. Verg. Aen. x 428 παγνα πολυμύχημα πολιμυς; Liv. xxiii 9 reti-tiuendae Romanis Caprin magna atque impedimentum es.

101. Isthma] sc. of Corinth. called by Pindar Isth. III 38 γέφωραν τοντίδα. 102. patitur] 'and suffers it (mare) not to join its waters', i.e. the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs,

103. frangat] terra is probably the subject of frangat; cf. Hor. Carm. ii 11 vi 10—12, adeptus Hector tradidit fessis lenitara tolli Irvegama Gratis; it is also possible to make Isthmos the subject: cf. Stat. Silv. iv iii 59, 60 his parvis, Lecho nihil notetan, Iunos fretma misuisset Isthmos. For the meaning of frangat cf. v 605, 606 Boreas—suumque in fluctus Caniri frangit mare.

104. dirimens] equivalent to qui dirimbat: for a similar use of the participle cf. Catull. Lxvi 8 dina retenitos in summis urbibus appece.

106. Parthica damna] 'the disasters arising from the Parthians'; cf. II 402 Delmatetis fluctibus, equivalent to 'waves from the Dalmatian side'; v 703 Her-petii aucte, equivalent to 'the leaders in Italy'.


111. cepit] cf. Verg. Aen. ix 644 nec te Treia cepit; Juv. x 148 hic est quem non cepit Africa; Shakspeare, K. Henry IV. pt. I v 4 'When that this body did contain a spirit, A kingdom for it was too small a bound.'

pignora] Perhaps her child which died a few days before its mother; cf. Plut. Caes. xxiii.

112. taedas] 'marriage torches'.
abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeua
intercepta manu. quodsi tibi fata dedissent
maiores in luce moras, tu sola furentem
inde uirum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem,
armatasque manus excusso iungere ferro,
quit generos mediae soceris iuxnere Sabinae.
morte tua discussa fides bellumque mouere
permissum ducibus. stimulos dedit aemula uirtus. 120
tu noua ne ueteres obscurent acta triumphos,
et uictis cedat piratica laurae Gallis,
Magne, times: te iam series ususque laborum
erigit impatientsque loci fortuna secundi.

cec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem
Pompeiusue parem. quis iustius induit arma
seire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur,
uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni.
dec coiere parces: alter uergentibus annis
in senium longoquc togae tranquillior usu

115. furentem] This reading has been objected to on account of the assonance with parentem in the following line, and altered to furentes, but there are other instances of similar carelessness in the poem, e.g. vii 763, 764 nocentes—furentes.

117. excusse] ‘striking the sword from their grasp.’

121. acta] The MSS. vary between acta, facta and fata. Oud. cf. viii 40 quas magis in terras nostrum felicibus actis nomen abit?


125. nec quemquam] cf. Florus iv ii § 14 iam Pompeio spectacae Caesaris oves et Caesar Pompeiana dignitas gravis: nec hic ferebat parem, nec ille superiorem.

126. quis] equivalent to uer; cf. vi 602 et dubium pendet uento cui parent acator of two winds Caurus and Boreas; Pers. ii 20;


128. uictrix causa] cf. ii 288 crimen eituperis et mc fecisse nocentem; Cie. pro Ligar. § 19 causa tum dubia erat quod erat aliquid ut uirago parte quod probari possent: nunc melior ea indicanda est quam etiam di aedivitur. The Stoics regarded the ‘wise man’ as having attained to such an exalted position that they did not shrink from comparing him with the gods themselves. cf. Sen. dial. i vi § 6 fere fortiter: hoc est quod devem antecedatis, ille extra patientiam malorum est, nos supra patientiam. Epp. ix ii 15 impuler quo antecedit uirum homum? diuitios bonus est: sapiens nihil se minoris aestimat quod uirtutes eis spatii breviter eluduntur.

129. parcs] ‘equally matched’, cf. Hor. Sat. ii vi 44 Thraex est Gallina Syro par?

130. senium] ‘deceny’, as usually; cf. iv 812 a quibus omne aeni senium sua fama repetit. Pompeius was at this time only fifty-eight years of age, Caesar being fifty-two.

togae] ‘civil life’; cf. viii 813 die semper ab armis cinedem repussae togam.
dedidicit iam pace ducem; famaeque petitor
multa dare in ulolus; totus popularibus auris
impeili plausaque sui gaudere theatri:
nec reparare nouas uires, multumque priori
credere fortuna. stat magni nominis umbra:
qualis frugifer quercus sublimis in agro
exuuias ueteres populi sacrataque gestans
dona ducem: nec iam ualidis radicibus haerens
pondere fixa suo est: nudosque per aera ramos
effundens truncus non frondibus efficit umbram;
et quamuis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
tot circum siluae firmo se robore tollant,
sola tamen colitur. sed non in Caesare tantum
nomen erat nec fama ducis: sed nescia uirtus
stare loco: solusquc pudor non uincere bello.
acer et indomitus; quo spes quoque ira uocasset
ferre manum, et numquam temerando parcere ferro:
successus urgere suos, instare fauori
numinis: impellens quidquid sibi summa potenti
obstaret, gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina.

132. multa] i. e. games and largesses. 
133. sui theatri] Pompeius had built
the first stone theatre at Rome; vii 9
134. nouas] to be taken as a predicate:
'regain his strength afresh.'
que] may be translated as 'but', cf. 633
infr. vii 756: so oure-te is used in Greek.
135. nominis umbra] 'the shadow of
a mighty name'. Weise, cf. viii 449
quis nominis umbram horreat?
136. exuuias] For this custom of
hanging spoils on trees, cf. Verg. Aen. xi
5—7 ingentem quercum decisis unique
vamis constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit
vi 67.
138. nec—uialidis] See note on 72 supr.
radicibus] cf. the metaphorical expression
in Cic. ad Att. vi 6 § 4 Pompeius,
to robore uir, as radicibus.
139. pondere] 'it stands firm by its
mere weight'. cf. Ov. Met. ix 43 maneat illa
suque est pondere tua.
141. cf] This reading seems to have
the better authority. Oud. with some
MSS. reads at.
143. sola tamen colitur] cf. Quintil.
144. x i § 88 Ennium sicut sacros uetustate
luces aduenum in quibus grandia et ant
iqua robora iam non tantam habent
speciem quantum religionem.
145. tantum] 'not a mere name alone',
referred to line 135 supr.
146. stare loco] Oud. cf. Verg. G. iii
84, stare loco necsit.
pudor] 'and knows no shame except
defeat'. For the infinitive after pudor cf.
Sil. Ital. iv 328 trrepidaque a mente recolit
uertere terga pudor.
148. uurgere] 'press', i. e. make
the most of; cf. Cic. ad fam. vii 8 § 2 quin tu
urges istam occasionem et facultatem qua
melior numquam reperìteris.
instare] 'follow up'; cf. Tac. Hist. v 15
Cuiitis instare fortuna: Agric. xviii non
ignarus instantiam famae.
149. impellere] 'o'erthrowing', cf. iii
440 nodosa impellitrus illex.
150. ruina] Oud. cf. ii 439 Caesar in
arma furens nihil nisi sanguine fus
gaudet habere nias.
qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore emicuit rupitque diem populosque pauentis terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
in sua templu furit: nullaque exire uctante 155 materia, magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.

hae ducibus causae suberant: sed publica bellì semina, quae populos semper mersere potentis.
namque ut opes mundo nimias fortuna subacto 160 intulit et rebus mores cessere secundis,
praedaeque et hostiles luxum suasere rapinae:
non auro tectisque modus: mensasque priores aspernata fames: cultus gestare decoros

151. *expressum*] For the theory that thunder and lightning are caused by the collision of clouds, cf. Sen. Nat. Quæst. 11 § 6 *nubes coniunctae mediocris fulgere* rationes efficat, maiores impetui impulsae fulmina: Id. II 26 foll. Compare also Lucret. VI 96 foll., Aristoph. Nub. 404 foll.


154. *obliquus*] Ouid. cf. Sen. dial. VI 18 § 3 *obliqua fulmina et caeli fragorem.*

155. *sua templu* 'the quarter of the sky whence it came'; cf. IX 321 (Auster) *in suæ regna fures.* This well-known meaning of the word *templum* is explained at length by Varro de Ling. Lat. VII §§ 6, 7, who quotes from the Hecuba of Ennius, *O magna templu caelitum conmixta stellis splendidis, nulla materia* i.e. nothing solid, only clouds.

156. *revertens*] 'Great wast, as forth it sallyes and retires, It makes, and gathers his dispersed fires.'—May.

The lightning was supposed to return again to the sky. Weise cf. Xen. Mem. IV iii 14 (*keraunos*) *drapfai ouv' epitwv ouve katasekýpas ouve ápivov.* Sen. Epp. VI v 8 *quomodo fulmini etiam cum latissime percussit ac fulsit per exiguum foramen est reditus.*


158. *causa suberant* 'were the hidden motives'; cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 31 *paucæ tamen suberant priscæ uestigia fraudis.*

159. *semina*] cf. Cic. de offic. II § 29 *nec uero omnium bellorum civitatum semen et causa decitur.*


161. *mores*] cf. Liv. pref. § 9; Hor. Carm. IV iv 35, 36 *utunque defeecer mores indecorant bene nata culpae; Sall. Cat. 5 corrupti civitatis mores. Id. Hist. frag. 13 ex quo tempore maiorum mores non paulatin. ut aneas. sed tormentis modo praecipitati.*


163. *aspernata fames*] cf. Petron. 119 *ingentiosa gula est. Siculo scaris aspriore mersus ad mensam nius perducitur atque Lucrini cruta littoris usque conchylian conas, ut renouent per damna famem.*
uix nuribus rapuere mares: secundis uirorum 165
paupertas fugit; totoque accessorius orbis
quo gens quaerent perit, tum longos iungere fines
agrum, et quondam duro sulcata Camilli
uomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.
non erat is populus quem pax tranquilla iuaret,
 quem sua libertas immotis pasceret armis.
inde irae faciles; et quod suasisset egestas
toto necas; magnumque decus ferroque petendum
plus patria potuisse sua; mensuraque iuris
uis erat: hinc leges et plebiscita coactae,
et cum consulibus turbantes iura tribuni:
hinc rapti fasces pretio sectorque favoris
ipse sui populus, letalisque ambitus urbi,
annua uenali referens certamina Campo:
hinc usura uorax audiumque in tempora faenus

165. nuribus] 'young matrons'; cf. 
Ov. Met. ii 366 nuribus gestanda Latinis; 
Petron. 119 et laxi crines et tota nova
nominis vestis, quaaque vatum quaerunt.
mares] For the wearing of silk by men
cf. Suet. Calig. 52 vestitu calciatique et
etater habitu neque patrio neque civili, ac
ne virili quidem ac denique humano soper
usus est; sectis decipit gemmatae in-
dutis pauentia, maniletae et armillatae
in publicum processit; aliquando socraticis
et cycladatus.
secunda uirorum] cf. Hor. Carm. i xii
37—44; 111 vi 36 foll.
167. longos] is part of the predicate:
for the vast estates of the Romans cf. Liv.
xxxiv 4 iugens cupidus agros continuando; 
Plin. H. N. xviii § 35 uerneque confluens
latifundia perdiderat Italianum uero
et provincias. Petron. 48; Mart. iv lxiv
31—34; Juv. xiv 159 with Prof. Mayor's
note.
170. ignotis] probably implies
that the estates were so large that the owners
did not know the cultivators; cf. Sen.
dial. vii xvii § 2 turpiter aut tam neglegens
es ut non noneris panculos servos, aut tam
luxurious ut pluris habes quam quorum
notiliae memoria sufficiat; Petron. 57 ipsa
nesci quid habeat, adeo uulatus est...ipsa
Trimalchio fundos habet quia minuit nodant... 
 familia uero, papeae papeae, non mecumque 
puo decimam partem esse quae dominium 
suum nostrit. Id. 48 deorum beneficio
non eno, sed mine quicquid ad salutam
facit in suburbano nascitur quo ego
adhue non noui.
172. pascere] 'for whom its own
freedom would suffice'; cf. Ov. Met. ix
176 eladibus, exclamat, Saturnia, pascere
nostris.
174. uile] 'held light'; cf. Sall. Cat.
xvi fideem fortunas perpetua aitiab habere.

corporata: 'carried through by force'.
177. consulibus—tribunis] i.e. all parties
alike, the consuls being put loosely for the
optimates, the tribunes for the populares.
178. sector favoris] i.e. trafficking in
its own favours without an agent or
broker; cf. Prof. Mayor’s note on Cie.
Phil. 11 § 39 et eius uiri nomine me
insectari audes, cuius me amicem te
179. ambitus] a general term for 'cor-
rupt practices': Suet. Aug. 40 multiplex
poena coercito ambitu. Festus p. 5 m
defines it as crimine deflecti honoris.
180. uenali] cf. Juv. x 77, 78 uam
pridem ex quo sufragia nulli nondum
effudit carus; Petron. 109 nec minor in
campo favor est, emplice Quirites ad
pradam strepituque luceri sufragia
vestunt. uenalis populus, uenalis curia
patrum: est favor in pretio.
sane uetus urbi faciebre malum et se-
et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.

iam gelidas Caesar cursu superauerat Alpes, ingentesque animo motus bellumque futurum ceparat. ut uentum est parui Rubiconis ad undas ingens uisa duci Patriae trepidantis imago clara per obscaram uoluit maestissima noctem turrigero canos effundens uertice crines caesario lacera nudisque adstare lacertis, et gemitu permixta loqui: quo tenditis ultra? quo fertis mea signa, uiri? si iure uenitis, si ciues, hue usque licet. tum perculit horror membra ducis, riguerque coecens languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa, mox ait: o magnae qui moenia prospecis urbis Tarpeia de rupe Tonans Phrygique penates gentis Iulae et rapti secreta Quirini et residens celsa Latialis Iuppiter Alba

ditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.

audibumque in tempora facinus] Of this obscure expression four possible interpretations have been suggested (1) 'greedily looking to the times of payment,' i.e. the Kalends &c. cf. Hor. Sat. [i] iii 87; Epist. [ii] 69—70; (2) 'ever greedier as time goes on,' referring to compound interest: but in this sense auditus would be more natural; (3) 'money lent at usurious interest for stated periods' cf. Cic. ad Att. vi [iii] § 5 remunato in singulis annos faenore; (4) 'greedy to meet critical times' i.e. raised to a high rate on occasion of panics: for this use of the plural tempora cf. Cic ad Att. viii x tempora exposuit, Id. ad fam. v xx § 8. It is always to be remembered that faenus may mean either the interest on money lent, or the money on which interest is payable, or even 'interest' in the abstract.


Vestalesque socii summique o numinis instar
Roma fauæ coeptis; non te furialibus armis
persequor; en adsum uictor terraque marique
Caesar ubique tuus, liceat modo, nunc quoque miles.
ille erit ille nocens qui me tibi fecerit hostem.
inde moras soluit belli tumidumque per annem
signa tulit propere. sicut squalentibus aruis
aestiferæ Libyes uiso leo comminus hoste
subsedib dubius totam dum collikit iram;
max ubi se saeuae stimulavit uerbere caudæ,
erexitque iubas, uasto et graue murmur hiatu
infremuit, tum torta leuis si lancea Mauri
haeracat aut latum subeant uenabula pectus,
per ferrum tanti securus uonneris exit.

fonte cedit modo paruisse impellitur undis
puniceus Rubicon cum feruida canduit aestas;
perque imas serpit ualles et Gallica certus
limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arua colonis.
tum uires praebetat hiemps atque auerat undas
tertia iam grauido pluialis Cynthia cornu,

the feriae Latinæ. cf. Tac. Ann. vi
11 (17).
199. numinis] For the worship of the
goddess Roma cf. Tac. Ann. iv 37. See
also Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 167
foll.
203. hostem] a public enemy, opposed
to cines 192 supr., cf. 682 infr. note.
205. squalidentibus] ‘uncultivated’; cf.
Verg. G. I 407 squalent abductis arua
colonis.
207. colligit] cf. ii 93; Quintil. xi 3 § 53
colligendus est spiritus, and Cicero’s
explanation of se colligere Tusc. D. iv § 78.
208. caudæ] Plin. H. N. viii § 49
refers to this habit of the lion; cf. Hom.
II. xx 170—171 όφρη δε πλευρας τε και
ισχία δυοφοτεράδε μαστίσατα, δε αυτω νπρονεί μαχάσασα. Catull. 
53: 81 age caede terga cauda, tua uolnera patere; see
Darwin’s Expression of the Emotions, pp. 56 and 126.
209. murmur] For the accusative cf.
Verg. Aen. iv 310 ter centum tonat ore
dos.
210. leuis] ‘light-armed’, i.e. active.
212. per ferrum] ‘through the oppo-
posing spears’. Oud. quotes the still
more remarkable expression of Sen. dial.

2 § 6 (barbari) gaudent feriri et instare
ferro et tela corpore urgere et per suum
volnus exire—exire thus is equivalent to
‘force his way through the ring of hunters’. cf. Scott, Rokeby v xxxvi.
214. puniceus] ‘dark-red’, shows that
Lucan derived the name Rubicon from
ruber.
216. limes] The Rubicon and the Macra
formed the boundary between Italy and
Cisalpine Gaul till the time of Augustus,
cf. 404 infr. See Strabo V 10 (227) 
per ἀγρό τούτος τούς τόπους ἐστὶ τα ὅρμα της
Ἰταλίας τῆς πρώταρν καί τῆς Κέλτικας κατά
το ἁρά τη βαλάτη ταῦτη μέρος, καί
cesper metatidnwn polllwvs τῶν ἄγιων,
πρώτων μὲν γε των Λευκων ἐπωυυτὸ δρων,
πάλια δὲ τῶν 'Ῥουβίκων πολτάρων ἐστὶ τῆς
ο μὲν Λευκων μεταξὸς Ἀγκυρων καί 
Σφας, ὅ δὲ
Ῥουβίκων μεταξὸς Ἀρμενῶν καί Παννήνης,
ἀμφο δὲ ἐκπαίξαν εἰς τῶν Ἀδριαν.
218. tertia] Weise explains this as
follows: tertia Cynthia est tertia nox ab
interlunio quod plerumque pluiam affert:
hinc luna pluiam portendens grauido
nocatur, comparing Val. Flac. II 56
grauido surrexit Cynthia cornu: grauido
is equivalent to ‘surcharged with rain’.
et madidis Euri resolueae flatibus Alpes.
primus in obliquum sonipes opponitur annem
excepturus aquas: molli tum cetera rumpit
turba uado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.
Caesar ut aduersam superato gurgite ripam
attigit Hesperiae utitis et constitit aruis:
hic, ait, hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo;
te, Fortuna, sequor. procul hinc iam foedera sunto.
credidimus fatis. utendum est iudice bello.
sic fatus, noctis tenebris rapit agmina ducor
impiger et torto Balearis uerbere fundae
ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta;
uiacumque minax inuadit Ariminum. ignes
solis luciferuo fugiebant astra relictfo,
iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus
exoritur. seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.
constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles
signa foro, stridor lituuo clangorque tubarum
non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
rupta quies populi stratisque excita iuentus
deripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma
quae pax longa dabat: nuda iam crate fluentis

219. Alpes] 'mountains'; a reference
to the map will show that the Rubicon
does not rise in the Alps.

221. molli] 'gentle', 'easy'; cf. Verg.

Ecl. ix 8 mollique imagum demittere clino;
or it may be taken as proleptic, cf. Propert.
1 xx 22 molia composita litora
fronde tegit.

225. temerata] i.e. by Pompeius and
the senatorial party; cf. 277 foll. infr.

227. indice bello] 'the sword must be our
umpire '. Oud. cf. Petron. 122 indice
fortuna cadat aea.

229. uerberae] 'thong'; cf. Verg. G. 1
309 suppeta torquentem Balearis uerbera
fundae.

231. Ariminum] The common reading
is Ariminum; ut ignes, Cortius reads et
igne. Perhaps it is better here to write
the Greek form Ariminon, as in II 46 the
MSS. apparently have Auximon. It would
be unexampled not to have the nun in
Ariminum elided, though monosyllables
in m are often not elided, see Dr Munro's

233. tumultus] This word is perhaps
purposely used on account of the special
sense which it bears of a war in Italy; cf.

Cic. Phil. viii §§ 2-4 especially itaque
maiores nostri tumultum Italicum, quad
erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum,
quad erat Italicae finitimus, praeclara
nullum nominabant.

235. impulerat] Weise reads impulerit
with some MSS., but impulerat seems on
every ground to be preferable, and is the
reading of the Roman edition of 1469.

238. non pia] referring as usual to
civil war. cf. Verg. G. 1 511 saecit toto
Mars impius orbe.

classica] 'alarums' May.

239. iuentus] 'the men of military
age', its usual meaning.

241. dabat] 'supplied'.

nuda] i.e. the wickerwork was left bare
by the decay of the covering of hide; for
crate Weise cf. III 485 perpetum rapit
defesso milite cratem.
inuadunt clupeos curutataque cuspidce pila
et scabros nigrac morsu robiginis enses.

ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaque signa,
et celsus medio conspectus in agramne Caesar,
diriguere metu, gelidus pauor occupat artus,
et tacito mutos voluant in pectore questus:
o male uicinis haece moenia condita Gallis,
o tristi damnata loco, pax alta per omnes
et tranquilla quies populos: nos praeda furentum

primaque castra sumus. melius, Fortuna, dedisses
orbe sub Eoo sedem gelidaque sub Arcto
errantisque domos Latii quam claustra tueri.

nos primi Senonum motus Cimbrumque ruentem
uidimus et Martem Libyes cursumque furoris

Teotonici. quotiens Romam Fortuna laessit,
haec iter est bellis. gemitu sic quisque latenti
non ausus timuisse palam: vox nulla dolori
credita: sed quantum, vulcures cum bruma coerect,
rura silent mediusque tacet sine murmure pontus,

tanta quies. noctis gelidas lux soluerat umbras:

ecce facies belli dubiaeque in proelia menti

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fluens] 'rotting', 'falling to pieces';
cf. H. N. xxvii § 17, 138 of hair falling off.
242. inuadunt] 'seize'; cf. Petron. 15
calum inuaserat pallium,
curutata cuspidel] 'bent at the point'.
245. celsus] 'aloft', i.e. on horseback;
cf. Stat. Theb. viii 563 nunc pedes ense
uago prensis nunc celsius habenis; Verg.
Pen. v 285 sublimes in equis.

247. tacito, pector] 'within their breast',
tacito implies that from fear they
kept back what they might have said, in
forcible juxtaposition with mutas 'unspoken':
for the use of the latter word cf. Soph.
O. C. 131 τό τάς ευφήμου στόμα φροντίδος
ινείς. cf. 257, 258 infr.

248. o male] 'alas! for this town
founded with such evil neighbours as the Gauls'.
For the founding of a Roman
colony at Ariminum cf. Vell. Pat. i 14 § 6,
and for its fidelity to Rome in the second
Punic war, Liv. xxvii 10.

709 foll.; Hor. Carm. iii xxiv 9; Pind.
frag. 72 νομάδεσθαι γάρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀλκατί
Στρατῶν οἱ ἀμαζοφόρητον οἴκων οὐ πέπαται.

claustra] 'guard the keys of Latium';
cf. Liv. viii 32 Sutrium velut claustra
Etruriae erat.

254. Senonum motus] The Senones
were the tribe that captured Rome 390 B.C.
for motus cf. Tac. Hist. v 9; Agric. 25.
255. Martem Libyes] i.e. Hannibal's
army in the second Punic war.

259. credita] 'trusted to express their
grief'; cf. 520 infr.
quantum] used adverbially.

260. silent] silere and facere seem to
be here used indifferently.

medius] It is not easy to see the
point of the epithet: the transition is very
abrupt from the woods and fields to the
open sea. The line is taken from Theocr.
ii 38 ὅπειρα σεβηδ οὖν πύσος αἰγωντι ὑ
ἀρτα, in which there is no word answering
to medius.

262. facies belli] 'the torch that was to
kindle the flame of civil war': the mens
(probably Caesar's cf. 192—194 supr. and
280—281 infr.) is looked upon as fuel
ready for the firing. Cf. Tac. Hist. i 24
flagrantibus iam militum animis velut
facies addidere Mæcenns Publens. Notice
urgentis addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris rumpunt fata moras: iustos Fortuna laborat esse ducis motus et causas inuenit armis. expulit ancipiti discordes urbe tribunos uicto iure minax iactatis curia Gracchis. hos iam mota ducis uicinaque signa petentis audax uenali comitatur Curio lingua: uox quondam populi libertatemque tucri ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentis utque ducem varias uoluentem pectore curas conspexit: dum uoce tuae potuere iuuari, Caesar, ait, partes quamuis nolente senatu traximus imperium tum, cum mihi Rostra tencre ius erat et dubios in te transferre Quirites. sed postquam leges bello siliure coactae, pellimur e patriis laribus patimurque uolentes exsilium: tua nos faciet victoria ciues. dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes, tole moras. semper nocuit diuerre paratis. par labor atque metus pretio maiore petuntur. bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris

the confusion of metaphor: the fates first apply torches, then use the goad, and finally burst the bonds.

263. pudoris] 'the delay caused by shame'.
265. esse For the infinitive after laborare cf. Plin. Epp. I 10 § 2 amari ab eo laboranti.
266. ancipiti 'wavering'.
267. iacto iure 'trampling on their rights'; i.e. because the Tribuneship was a sacrosancta potestas.
269. uenali cf. IV 819, 820 momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum Gallorum captus solipsp et Caesaris auro.
271. miscere 'to bring down armed chiefs to the level of the people'. miscere is equivalent to in ordinem cogere; cf. III 143.
272. Curio had proposed in the senate that Pompeius and Caesar should lay down their arms simultaneously; cf. Appian, Civil Wars II 28–31 (§ 704).
275. traximus 'prolonged', i.e. opposed the proposition to deprive Caesar of his province before the end of his second five-years term.
278. uolentes] If this means anything more than going into voluntary exile, i.e. without being formally banished, it must be explained by the following line: 'we are willing to suffer exile to be restored by you'.
279. tua nos] Notice the order of the words here: the sense is
(1) we can only be restored by your victory.
(2) you may conquer, we shall reap the fruits.
(3) we are sure that you will conquer.
280. robore] cf. II 245.
281. diuerre 'procrastination', paratis] masc. τοις παρεκκενσολων.
282. par labor] the toil and anxiety are no more (i.e. than in the conquest of Gaul), the reward is greater.
pars quota terrarum. facili si proelia pauca
gesseris cunctu tibi Roma subegerit orbem. 285
nunc neque te longi remeanem pompa triumphi
excipit aut sacras poscunt Capitolia lauros.
liuar edax tibi cuncta negat: gentesque subactas
uix impune feres. socerae depellere regno
decretum genero est: partiri non potes orbem: 290
solus habere potes. sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
in bellum prono tantum tamen addidit irac
accendeique ducem quantum clamore iuatur
Eleus sonipes, quamuis iam carere clauso
immincat foribus pronusque repagula laxet. 295
conuocat armatos extempto ad signa maniplos:
ute satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum
composuit, uoltu dextraque silentia iussit:
bellorum o soeii, qui mille pericula Martis
mecon, ait, experti decimo iam uincitis anno,
hoc cruer Arctois meruit diffusus in aruis
uolneraque et mortes hiemesque sub Alpibus actae?
non secus ingenti bellorum Roma tumultu
concutitur quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes
Hannibal. implantur ualido tirone cohortes: 300

284. facili] 'favourable'; cf. Tibull. II iv 19 ad dominam faciles aditus per
carmina quaero, et facillime agere Ter. Adelph. 501: also faciles dei 'propitious
gods', Ov. Heroid. xvi 280 sic habeas faciles in tua uota deos.
285. tibi Roma] 'it will be for you that
Rome has subdued the world'; tibi i.e.
non sibi; Roma i.e. non tu, ut tibi non
fuerit amplius laborandum; orbem i.e. non
Galliam tantum.
287. sacras lauros] Van Jever thinks
that this refers to the ovation as distinct
from the triumph, comparing Suet. Dom. vi de Cattis Dacieque post variar
proelia duplicem triumphum erigit: de Sar-
matis lauream modo Capitolino laui retrallit.
Capitolia] cf. Ov. Met. i 560, 561 tu
ducibus Latios aderis, cum laeta triumphum
nox canet et longas visent Capitolio pompas.
289. impune] 'scarce will you go un-
punished for having subdued so many
nations'; compare the feelings of Tiberius
feres] cf. Ov. Met. ii 474 hand impune

fere. Id. xi 207.
291. ipsi] i.e. 'his leader'. ipse is
often used by slaves of their master: cf.
Plaut. Cas. iv ii 10 ego eo quo me ipsa
misit, and by disciples of their teacher, cf.
Quintil. xi i § 27.
292. tamen] For the position of this
word cf. 378 infr.
293. iuuenus] 'is roused'; cf. Ov. ex
Ponto, i vi 18 alloquioque iuua pectora
nostro tuo.
295. immineat] 'throws himself against
the door, and strives to loose the bolts
with outstretched head'. cf. Ov. Met. ii
155 pedibusque repagula pulsant;
298. dextra] cf. Pers. iv 8 fort animus cali-
dae fecisse silentia turbae matestate manus.
301. Arctois] i.e. in Gaul and Britain.
302. sub Alpibus] used loosely for
Transalpine Gaul.
304. transcenderat] 'were forcing the
passes of the Alps'. Oud. cf. vi 325 ex-
trimum Scythici transcenderam frigoris
orben; Propert. i xiv 19 illa neque Ara-
bium metuit transcendere limen.
Liber I. 284—320.

in classem cadit omne nemus: terraque marique iussus Caesar agi. quid? si mihi signa iacentem Marte sub aduero ruerentque in terga feroes Gallorum populi? nunc, cum Fortuna secundis mecum rebus agat superique ad summa uocantes temptamur. ueinat dux longa pace solutus milite cum subito partescis in bella togatae Marcellusque loquax et nomina uana Catones. scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes continuo per tot sociabunt tempora regno?

ille reget currus nondum patientibus annis?

ille semel raptos numquam dimittit honores?

quid iam rura querar totum suppressa per orbem ac iussam seruire famem? quis castra timenti nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste minantes.

306. in classem] 'to build fleets'. Ouid. cf. Claudian IV cons. Honor. 624 in lintres fregere nemus; cf. also Theocr. v 98, 99 d'λεγώ είς χ'λιαναν μαλακὸν τόκον, ὅποτεκα πείζω τάν οὖν τῶν πελών, Κρατίδας δυρφόμαι αὐτόις.


312. subito] equivalent to tumultuarior. in bella togatae] 'meeting war with the gown of peace', implying that Pompeius was backed by men of words and not of deeds.

313. M. Marcellus, consul b.c. 51, had proposed that Caesar should be superseded in his command before the expiratio of his second five-years term; cf. Appian, Civil Wars ii 26 (§ 703). nomina uana Catones] For the use of the plural cf. vi 794; 795; Verg. G. ii 169.

314. extremi] This must refer to the distant kings in Africa and the East who were under the influence of Pompeius, cf. VI 277 foll., and extremus is similarly used by Virgil G. ii 114, 115 adspice et extremis domitione cultoribus orbon, Eneasque donos Arabum pictosque Geloneis: at the same time it is not easy to see how they could be said to prolong the power (regnum) of Pompeius, which would be done by his partizans at Rome, to whom also the word empti would apply better. However if these are meant extremi appears inexplicable, and extremi and empti are so closely coupled together that they cannot refer to two different classes.

315. continuo regno] referring to the Gabinian and Manilian laws, &c.

316. nondum] Pompeius had triumphed over Hiarkas b.c. 81, at the age of 24: the legal age was 30.

317. dimitter] 'give up', 'let go'; cf. Lucret. v 758, 759 solque suos eliam dimittere languidius ignes tempore cur certo nequit, recrareque lumen.

318. rural] so MSS.; if the reading be sound this must mean crops; cf. Hor. Carm. iv v 18 nutrit rura Ceres alnaque Faustitas; for the reference cf. Cic. ad Quint. frat. ii iii § 2 ille (Codius) furens et exanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipsi quis esset qui plebeum fame neaceret, respondebat operae, Pompeius. Farnab. reads iura.

319. iussam seruire] 'made his instrument'.

320. gladii] For the intimidation practised by Pompeius at the trial of Milo, See Mommsen Bk. v chap. viii.
iudicium insolita trepidum cinxere corona, atque auso medias perrumpere milite leges Pompeianae reum clauserunt signa Milonem? nunc quoque ne lassum teneat priuata senectus bella nefanda parat suetus ciuilibus armis et docilis Sullam sceleris uicisse magistrum. utque ferae tigres numquam posuere fuorem, quas nemore Hyrcano matrum dum lustra sequuntur altus caesorum pauit cruo armentorum, sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum durat, Magne, sitis. nullus semel ore receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces. quem tamen inueniet tam longa potentia finem? quis scelerum modus est? ex hoc te iam, improbe, regno ille tuus saltem doceat discedere Sulla. post Cilicasne uagos et lassi Pontica regis proelia barbarico uix consummata ueneno ultima Pompeio dabitur provincia Caesar, quod non uietrices aquilas deponere iussus paruerim? mihi si merces erepa laborum est . 340 his saltem longi non cum ducce praemia belli

326. uicisse] 'surpass'; cf. Cic. ii in Verrem iv § 112 quod decrepatione est iigiter et reliqua quae indiguitatem servos tenere fugiitios seclere barbaros crudelitatem hostes nicerit?
Sullanum] Even Cicero expresses his fear that Pompeius if victorious will imitate the proscriptions of Sulla; cf. ad Att. ix 10 § 6 hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita sualaturi antiquus eius et proscriptum iam dixi.
328. altus] 'deep streams of blood of slaughtered oxen'; cf. III 572 crur altus in undis spumat.
332. mansuescere] 'to enjoy a bloodless meal'.
333. potentia] i.e. unofficial power, not potestas.
335. discedere] referring to Sulla's abdication of the dictatorship; cf. Appian, Civil Wars i 103 (§ 675).
336. lassi] because conquered before by Sulla and Lucullus.
337. barbarico] Pontus was famous for poisonous herbs; cf. Verg. Ecl. viii 95, 96 has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecia ueneno ipse dedit Moeris; nascuntur plurima Ponto.
338. provincia] No English word exactly represents provincia; 'employment', or 'charge' is perhaps the nearest. cf. Liv. ii 40 Sicinio Volsc, Aquilio Hercisci provincia evenit. Id. xxv 3 praetores provincias, sortiti sunt; P. Cornelius Sulla urbaniem et peregrinam quae duorum ante sors fuerat... Ti. Sempronio Gracco et P. Sempronio Tuditano imperium provinciae Lucani et Galliae cum suis exercitus prorogavat... T. Oticilium classis.

dixerat, at dubium non claro murmure uolgos secum incerta fremit: pictas patriaque penates quamquam caede feras mentes animisque tumentis frangunt; sed diro ferri reuocantur amore ductorisque metu. summi tum munere pili Laelius emeritique genere insignia doni seruati cius referentem praemia quercum: si licet, exclamat, Romani maxime rector nominem et ius est uersa expromere uoces; 360

342. [citations]

343. [citations]

344. [citations]

345. [citations]

346. [citations]

347. [citations]

348. [citations]

351. [citations]

352. [citations]

353. [citations]

354. [citations]

355. [citations]
quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia uires conquerimur. deearatne tibi fiducia nostri? dum mouet hasce calidus spirantia corpora sanguis et dum pila ualent fortes torquere lacerti degenerem patiire togam regnum senatus? usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello? duc age per Scythiae populos per inhospita Syrtis litora per calidas Libyae sitentis harenas: hacc manus ut uictum post terga relinqueret orbem oceani tumidis remo compescuit undas, fregit et Arctoo spumantem uurtice Rhenum. iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est. nec ciuis meas est in quem tua classica, Caesar, audicro. per signa decem felicia castris perque tuos iuro quocumque ex hoste triumphos; pectore si fratriis gladium iugulque parentis condere me iubeas plenaeque in uiscera partu coniugis inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra; si spoliare deos ignemque inmittere templis, numina miscebim castrensis flamma Monetae; castra super Tusci si ponere Tybridis undas Hesperios audax ueniam metator in agros. tu quocumque uoles in planum effundere muros his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis: illa licet penitus tollet quam iussis urbe. Roma sit. his cunctae simul adsensere cohortes, elatasque alte quaecumque ad bella uocaret

366. usque adeo] cf. Verg. Aen. xii 646 usque adeone morti miserrum est?
369. haec manus] This refers to the expeditions of Caesar to Britain, which was regarded as another world; cf. Verg. Ecl. i 66 fenitutatdinis orbe Britannus; Vell. Pat. ii 46 § 1 (of Caesar crossing to Britain) alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quatern orbeum.
370. compescuit] 'has curved'.
371. fregit] If this means anything more than that the Rhine flows towards the north, it must refer to Caesar's passage of the river on the bridge described in the fourth book de bell. Gall.
372. -necesse est] i.e. because we are already regarded as enemies by the senatorial party.
374. decem felicia castris] 'prosperous in ten campaigns', cf. 283 supr. but in v 374 decimis castris means 'in ten days' march'.
378. inuita] 'though with unwilling hand, I will yet fulfil all thy orders'.
382. Hesperios] sc. of Italy.
promisere manus. it tantus ad aethera clamor
quantus pinisferae Boreas cum Thraecius Ossae
rupibus incubuit curutuo robore pressae
fit sonus aut rursus redeuntis in aethera siluæ.

Caesar ut acceptum tam prono milite bellum
fataque ferre uidet, ne quo languore moretur
fortunam, sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes
euocat et Romam motis petit undique signis.

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deseruere cauo tentoria fixa Lemano.
castraque quae Vogesi curuum super ardua rupem
pugnaces pictis cohiebant Lingonas armis,
hi uada liquerunt Isarae qui, gurgite ductus
per tam multa suo, famae maioris in annem
lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.
soluuntur flavi longa statione Rutheni:
mitis Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas,
finis et Hesperiae promoto limite Varus:
quaque sub Heracleo sacrus numine portus
urget rupe caua pelagus: non Caurus in illum
ius habet aut Zephyrus: solus sua litora turbat
Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoei.
quaque iacet litus dubium quod terra fretumque

388. promisere manus] 'promised the help
of their hands.' Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. IV 353
tropidas sine mente sine ira promisere manus.
391. redeuntis] 'springing back skywards'.
392. acceptum tam prono milite] 'welcomed
with such eagerness on his soldiers' part'.
prono milite is not ablative of the
agent, but a kind of ablative absolute, or
ablative of circumstance, cf. Hor. Carm.
I 5, 6 milesne Crassi censure barbara
turpis maritus uixit?
393. ferre] 'were speeding him on':
the metaphor seems to be taken from
a favouring wind; cf. Cic. II in Verr. V
§ 105 ita sui periculi rationes ferre ac
postulare; Verg. Aen. IV 430 expectet
facilemque fugam nentesque feruntis.
397. currum] 'high raised on the
overhanging rocks of the Voges'.
399. gurgite suo] 'with a stream of its
own'.
400. annem] i.e. the Rhone.
402. soluuntur] 'are relieved from'.
stationem] 'garrison'.
403. non ferre] cf. Strabo IV 1 § 14
(180) ek de ἀρπαξομεν οὐπλευται μὲν ἐπὶ
μακρὸν τῷ Ἀτάκε πεζεύται δὲ πλεὺρα τῆς
Ῥαοῦνα ποταμοῦ.
404. promoto] Italy was extended to
the Var by Augustus; cf. Plin. H. N. III
§ 31; Strabo V 1 § 1 (210).
405. portus] sc. portus Herculis
Monoei, now Monaco.
406. urget] 'encroaches on'.
Caurum] Caurus and Zephyrus are,
as Plin. H. N. II § 119 shows, not easily
to be distinguished: so Auster and Notus
are apparently used for the same wind in
II 454—460.
in Narbonensis provincia clarissimus
votum est Circius, nec ullo in violentia
inferior, Ostiam plerunque reto Ligustico
mari perfereb; idem non modo in reliquis
partibus caeli ignotus, sed ne Vietnam
quidem eiusdem provincciae urbem attingens.
stationem] 'roadstead' opposed to portus;
cf. Vell. lat. II 72 § 5 extitalem temperat
fugientibus statio pro portu fores.
409. quaque iacet] Weber says that
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

uindicat alternis uicibus cum funditur ingens oceanus, uel cum refugis se fluctibus aurtet. uentus ab extremo pelagus sic axe uoluet destitutaque ferenes; an sidere mota secundo Tethyos unda uagae lunare aestuet horis; flammiger an Titan ut alentis hauriat undas erigat oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducet, quae uero ssis agitat mundi labor: at mihi semper tu quaccumque moues tam crebros causa meatus ut superi uolucere late. tum rura Nemetis qui tenet, et ripas Aturi qua liteo curuo molliter admissum claudi Tarbellicus aequor, signa mouet, gaudetque amoto Santonous hoste: et Biturix longisque leues Suessones in armis: optimus excusso Leucus Remusque lacerto; optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis; et docilis rector rostrati Belga couinni:

do this refers to the 

Phoebumque polumque credimus. 417. agitat mundi labor] ‘the workings of the universe employ’. 419. Nemetis] unknown. A tribe named Nemetes is mentioned in Tac. Germ. 28, inhabiting the bank of the Rhine, but it is doubtful whether these can be understood here. 421. molliter admissum] ‘where the Tarbellian (i.e. the land of that tribe) shuts in the sea brought in by the gently-flowing tide’. Tarbela was a town in Aquitania. 424. excusso] cf. Ov. Heroid. IV 43 aut trium hulner excau1iulm uibrare lacerto; cf. Tac. Hist. III 23 ut tela uacuo atque aperto excuterentur. 425. optima] ‘most skilful in wheeling their horses with the rein.’ cf. Verg. G. III 115–117 frona Plelethonii Lapithiæ gyroseredecere impositi dorse, atque equtem docuere sub arnus insulare solo et gressum glomerare superbos. 426. rostrati] ‘sycathed’. Columella II 21 speaks of falces rostratae; rostrati is however only due to a conjecture of Gryphius, who is followed by Grotius and Weise; all MSS. apparently read monstrati which Oud. retains. Sulpiicius explains this as monstrati a Britannis et Germaniis, qui plurimum illis utuntur. continuati] ‘a war-chariot’; cf. Sil. Ital. XVII 416 inqua Thules agmina falcefere circumuenit arma continuo; Tac. Agric. 35
Liber I. 410—445.

Aruernique ausi Latios se fingere fratres sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque rebellis /Neriuus et caesi pollutus sanguine Cottae:
et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis

Vangiones: Batauque truces quos aere recuruo

[Pictones immunes subigint sua rura; nec ultra

in necubis Meduana tuis marcere perosus
Andus, iam placida Ligeris recreatur ab unda,
incluta Caesareis Gouabos dissoluitur alis.]

tu quoque laetatus conuerti proelia Treuir:
et nunc tonse Ligur quondam per colla decora
crinibus effusis toti praelate Comatae:
et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro

Teutates horrenques seris altaribus Jesus

coninnarius eques. It was also used at
Rome as a carriage; cf. Mart. XII 22, 1 2.

Lucan seems here to

have confused the Arverni with their
neighbours and rivals the Aedui; cf. Cie. ad Att. I x 9 § 2 Aedui, fratres nostri,
pugnant; Id. ad fam. VII x 9 § 10; Tac.
Ann. XI 23 primi Aedui senatores in
urbe ius adepti sunt; datum id fecerii
antique, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis
nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.

Sidon. Apoll. Epp. VII 7 appears to be
quoted from Lucan. For Latios Oud.
with one MS. reads Latio.

populi] The plural is somewhat
strange referring to the single tribe of
the Arverni, but cf. VIII 207, 436.

Cottae] cf. Caes. B. G. v 36

Cinga] As the only known river
of this name is in Spain, the conjecture
of Weber Sulga (the Sorgue), is highly
probable, since the latter river flows into
the Rhone.

pererrat] apparently equivalent to errat;
the word is used by Plin. VIII § 177 in the
sense of going wrong; quos instead of
qua would however be but a slight altera-
tion, as the former word occurs in the
preceding, the latter in the succeeding line.

434. [fert] The Arar (Saone) being a
very sluggish stream cf. Caes. B. G. i 12;
Lucan vi 475 makes the Thessalian witches
reverse the character of the streams, Rhoda-
numque moraniam praecipiant Arar. So
the elder Pitt compared the coalition of
Newcastle and Fox to the meeting of these
rivers. 'At Lyons I was taken to see the
place where the two rivers meet; the one
gentle, feeble, languid, and though languid
yet of no depth; the other a boisterous
and impetuous torrent; but different as
they are they meet at last'.


436—440. These verses wanting alike
in taste and Latinity are not found in the
old MSS.: hence they are rightly rejected
by Grotius; they are also wanting in the
Roman edition of 1469, and in the Venetian
edition of 1505.

441. conuerit] ex Gallia in Italian
transferre bellum. Weise.

443. Comatae] i.e. transalpine Gaul, as
Plin. H. N. xi 108 Gallia omnis Comata
uno nomine appellatur.

444. diero] 'accursed' equivalent to
humano; cf. III 404 structae diris altarib-
bus arae, omnisque humanis lustrata cru-
x 311 proturba mensas dirum liquor.

445. Teutates] identified by the
et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae. 
uos quoque, qui fortes animas belloque peremptas
laudibus in longum uates dimittitis aeum,
plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.
et uos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.
solis nosse deos et caeli numina uobis
aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
incolitis lucis. uobis auctoribus umbrae
non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
orbe alio: longae canitis si cognita uitae
mors media est. certe populi quos despicit Arctos
felices errore suo quos ille timorun
maximus haud urget leti metus. inde ruendi
in ferrum mens prona uiris animaeque capaces

Romans with Mercurius; Hesus with Mars; Taranis with Jupiter. cf. Mason’s
Caractacus, ‘you central oak whose
holiest stem involves the spirit of high
Taranis’.

446. non mitior] For the omission of
quam after the comparative, cf. Verg.
G. iv 297 neque enim plus septima auctur
aestas; Hor. Carm. iv xiv 13 dicet
acer plus nice simplicei: but the omission
of the second are is remarkable. May
not the true reading be Scythica...Diana,
according to the common σχήμα καθ
οιλοι και μέρος? cf. Juv. iii 74 sevmo
promptus et Isaio torrentior, and Prof.
Mayor’s note. For Diana, Scythica or

448. dimititis] ‘send abroad’: so the
MSS. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. i 185 au-
-gurium seros dimisit ad uisque noctes:
but di and de in composition are often
confused, cf. II 294 and Conington’s note
of Verg. Aen. vii 734.

449. securi] The Romans attempted to
put down Druidism, cf. Merivale, History
of the Romans cap. 51.

Bardi] Weber refers to Strabo iv 4
(197) who makes a distinction between
the Vates and the Bardi, παρά πάσι δ’ ως
επιπα τρια φθα των τιμωμένων δια-
φερόντως εστί, βάρδοι τε και οὐάτες και
ορνιάς· βάρδου μεν ἄνωνται και πνευτα,
οὐάτες δὲ λειπονται και φυσικά, ὁρνιάς
dε πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν φιλο-

450. 3dpoi
cnmora longae
also regit xxviii
promptus ouareis
5e
5i
of
o
ov
the
(197)
of
MSS.
Taurica
according
not
Mayor’s
tur
G.

449.

446.

453. solis nescire] i.e. your opinions
about the gods differ so much from those
of other nations, that either you have
knowledge and no others have it, or vice versa.

cemorua alia] ‘deep glades in sacred
groves far from the haunts of men’; cf.
Propert. v (iv) ix 24 lucus ubi uimbroso
fecrat orbe nemus.

454. lucis] used specially of sacred
groves; cf. III 399 fol.

uobis auctoriibus] ‘according to your
teaching’; cf. Hor. Carm. i xxviii 14
indice te non sordidus auctor naturae
uriue.

457. orbe alio] ‘in a new cycle’; cf.
Verg. Aen. vii 748 ubi mille retam vultere
per annos, and Conington’s note.

canitis si cognita] ‘if you know what
you sing’. For the fact that the more
important idea in the sentence is expressed
by the participle and not the verb, cf.
Thuc. i ii 3 οφτας ἵππαρχον τύραννον
ὅτα ἀποθανεῖν equivalent to ‘think that
Hipparchus was tyrant when he was slain’,
and Mr Shilleto’s note on the passage.

461. prona] cf. Pomponius Mela, III
2 unum ex eis quae praecipiant (Druidae)
in volgus effluxit, uidelicet ut foret ad
mortis et ignauom rediturae parcere uitae. et uos cirrigeros bellis arcere Caycos oppositi petitis Romam Rhenique feroes dexteris ripas et apertum gentibus orbe.

Caesar ut immensa collecto robore uires audendi maiora fidem fecere per omnem spargitur Italiam uicinaque moenia complet. uana quoque ad ueros accessit fama timores irrupitque animos populi elademque futuram intulit et uelox properantis nuntia belli innumerar susit falsa in praeconia linguas. est qui tauriferis ubi se Meuania campis explicat uadaces ruere in certamina turmas adferat, et qua Nar Tiberino illabitur amni barbaricas saeui discurrere Caesaris alas: ipsum omnes aquilas collataque signa ferentem agmine non uno densisque incedere castris.
nec qualem meminere uident: maiorque ferusque mentibus occurrit uictoque immanior hoste.

bellar meliores, aesternas esse animas uitamque alteram ad manes.  
capaces] 'great enough for death'; cf. Shakspere's use of 'capable'; K. John, III. 12 'For I am sick and capable of fears'.  
ignauom] 'the thought that it is a coward's part'; cf. the note on 5 supr.  
Caeyos] apparently the same as the Chauci of Tacitus. For cirrigeros cf. Juv. XIII 164, 165 carula quis stipuit Germani lumina, flaman caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?  
oppositi] 'posted to restrain'; for the infinitive of purpose, cf. Hor. carm. i ii 7, 8 omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos uiere montes.  
feroses] i.e. inhabited by warlike tribes; cf. Catull. LXIII 53, 54 serarum...furi-bunda latibula.  
aperiunt] The meaning is the same as if aperiiit had been written: 'leave the Rhine's untamed banks and the world opened to barbarian hordes', cf. Verg. Aen. x 13 Alpes inmisset aperitas.  
fedem fecere] 'gave him confidence'.  
spargitur] 'spreads himself', i.e. his forces; cf. II 395.  
futuram] 'bore into their minds

the sense of coming disaster', cf. 184 supr. 11 80.

465.  
471.  
472.  
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480.  

Compare the description of the conscience-stricken man, Juv. XIII 221 tna sacra et maior imago humana turbat pauidum.

480.  

victoque immanior hoste] 'more terrible from the conquest of the foe', cf. Hor. carm. III v 40, 41 O magna Kar-thago probrosis alior Italiae ruinis. This seems better than to take it as Weise does, 'more terrible than his conquered foe', i.e. the Gauls.
hunc inter Rhenum populos Alpesque iacentis finibus Arcois patriaque a sede reuolsos pone sequi, iussamque feris a gentibus urbem Romano spectante rapi. sic quisque paendo dat uires famae: nulloque auctore malorum quae finxere timent. nec solum uolgos inani perculsum terrore paue: sed curia et ipsi sedibus exsiluere Patres inuisaque bellii consilubus fugiens mandat decreta scnatus. tum quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquant incerti, quo quemque fugae tuli impetus urgent praccipitum populum, serieque haerentia longa agmina prorumpunt. credas aut tecta nefandas confirm: aut iam quattuor ruina nutantis pendere domos: sic turba per urbem praecipitlymphata gradu, uclut unica rebus speci foret adffictis patrios excedere muros, inconsulta ruit. qualis, cum turbidus Auster reppulit a Libycis immensum Syrtibus aequor fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali, desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister nauitaque et nondum sparsa compage carinae naufragium sibi quisque facit: sic urbe relicta in bellum fugitur. nullum iam languardus acuo e qualuit reuocare parenis coniunxue maritum fletibus aut patrii dubiae dum uota salutis

485. nulloque auctore] 'with none to confirm the ill-tidings'.
488. inuisa] 'hateful'; cf. Florus iv ii 17 ut in hostem decurritur; more fully in Caes. B. C. i 5. decurrir ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum quo, nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperacione omnium salutis, latorum undacia numquam ante discersum est; dent operam consilis praetores tribuni plebis quisque consularum sunt ad urbem ne quid republica detrimenti capiat.
491. urgent] 'they hurry the people into headlong flight'.
493. prorumpunt] Weise takes this actively, comparing Verg. Aen. iii 572 interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem, but it may very well be taken as neuter.

nefandas] i.e. applied to the buildings of Rome.
500. fractaque] 'the huge mast with all its weight of sails comes crashing down'.
504. in bellum fugitur] 'they fly—to war'.
506. dum] 'no not time enough to form vows for the safety they scarce could hope'.
concipere et tenuere Lares: nec limine quisquam haesit et extremo tum forsitan urbs amatae plenus abit usui: ruin irreuocabile uolgus. o faciles dare summa deos cademque tueri difficiles. urbem populis uictisque frequentem gentibus et generis coeit si turba capacet humani faciemsuenturo Caesarem praedam ignauae liquere manus. cum pressus ab hoste claudit extrinsi miles Romanus in oris, es fugit exiguo nocturna pericula uallo, et subitus rapti munimine caespitis agger praebet securos intra tentoria somnos: tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma, desereres; nox una tuis non credit muris. danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum: Pompeio fugiente timent. tum ne qua futuri spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet addita fati peorios manifesta fides superique minaces prodigiis terras implerunt aethera pontum. ignota obscura uiderunt sidera noctes, ardentemque polum flammis, caeloque uolantis obliquas per inane faces, crinemque timendi sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.

508. extre nood] cf. Liv. 129 nunc in liminis tuatent, nunc errabundis domos suas ulteriora illud uisuri pernavarentur. 571. frequentem] cf. the apostrophe to Pharsalia vii 530—543 aut si Romano compleri sanguine maiis, istis parce precor: uisitant Galataeque Syriacae Cappadoces Gallique extr going orbis Hiberi Armenii Cilices: nam post uictoria bella hic populus Romanus erit; Sen. dial. xii 6 §§ 2, 3; also Juv. III 58 foll. in which passages we find the same thing of a later time.

520. nox una] 'thy walls are not trusted with the safety of a single night'. muris] At this time the buildings of Rome had spread far beyond the Servian walls, the course of which it had become difficult to trace, so that Rome was practically an unwalled town. No new walls were built till the time of Aurelian. See Burn, Rome and the Campagna, chapter 5, and the authorities there cited.

523. saltem] to be taken closely with futuri, i.e. they were desperate of the present, and the prodigiis prevented their having any hope of the future either. 574. manifesta fides] 'a clear sign of yet worse doom'; cf. Verg. Aen. 11 309; III 374. 375 nam te maioribus ire per altum auspiciis manifesta fides. Liv. vi xiii 6 § 6 and Dr Munro on Actea 177.

575. prodigiis] It is unnecessary to subjoin here all the similar accounts of prodigies which might be quoted in illustration of this passage: it is sufficient to refer in general to Verg. G. 1 464 foll.; Ov. Met. xv 782 foll.

579. mutantem] i.e. causing war and revolution, cf. Plin. H. N. ii § 92 sol comedes sumquam in occasura parte calidi est, terriflendam magna ex parte sedes atque non leuitor platab, ut ciuile motu Octavio consulo iterumque Pompei et Cacrarius bella, in nostro uero acro circa beneficium quo Claudius Caesar imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni ac deinde principatu eius ad- siduam prope ac saevum. Shakspeare,
fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno, 530
et varias ignis denso dedit acre formas:
nunc iaculum longo nunc sparso lumine lampas
emicit caelo. tacitum sine nubibus ullis
fulmen et Arctois rapiens e partibus ignem
percussit Latiale caput: stellaeque minores
per vaccum solitae noctis decurrere tempus
in medium ucner e diem: cornuque coacto
iam Phoebe toto fratem cum redderet orbe
terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.
ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo
condidit ardentis atra caligine currus
inuoluitque orbem tenebris, gentesque coegit
desperare diem: qualem fugiente per ortus
sole Thyestaeae noctem duxet Mycenae.
ora ferox Siculæ laxuit Mulciber Aetnae;
nec tulit in caelum flammas sed uertice prono
ignis in Hesperium cecidit latus. atra Charybdis
sanguineum fundo torsit mare. fleble saei
latrauere canes. Vestali raptus ab ara
ignis; et ostendens confectas flamma Latinas 550
K. Richard ii ii 4 'These signs forerun
the death or fall of kings'. Weise reads
nutantem with one MS. which he inter-
prets minitantem terris imperia: but he
quotes no passage to illustrate this usage of
nutare, and I can find none that in
any way supports it.
530. sereno] For the substantival use cf.
Stat. Silu. 111 i 81 laesiqueides veditura
sereni. As to the evil nature of this por-
tent cf. Verg. G. 1.487; but in Aen. 1ix 627
it appears as a good omen.
VII 21 § 1 placet ergo nostris cometas...
denso aere creari.
534. Arctois] Weise remarks that light-
ning was supposed to appear more com-
monly from the south, whereas on this
occasion it portended the coming of Caesar
from the north.
535. Latiale caput] i.e. the summit of
the Alban mount where the Latin festival
was celebrated.
536. vacuov] i.e. in the absence of
the sun.
decurreo] 'to run their courses', a
metaphor from the races e.g. at funerals
cf. Verg. Aen. x1 188, 189 ter circum ac-
cesus cineti fulgentibus armis decurrere
537. coacto] 'with horns brought to-
gether', i.e. completing the disc; cf. Ov.
Met. vii 179 tres aperant noctes ut cornua
tota coirent efficienque orbem.
538. reddere] i.e. reflect the light of
the sun.
543. per ortus] sc. per quos solet oriri
et per occasus fugere; cf. Ov. ex Ponto iv
vi 47, 48 atque Thyestaeae redacti si tem-
pora mensae solis ad eos currus agenter aquas.
544. Mycenae] the home of Thyestes;
cf. vi 541, 542 astra Thyestaeae impulit
et subitis damnatibus noctibus Argo.
546. uertice prono] 'eddying down-
wards', this probably means that it was
blown by the wind on to the shore of
Italy.
548. funo] equivalent to stasëbæer.
sanguineum] is part of the predicate.
549. Vestali] It would be considered
the worst of omens for the fire of Vesta to
be extinguished.
550. confectas] 'completed'; cf. v 402
scinditur in partes geminoque cacumine surgit
Thebanos imitata rogos. tum cardine tellus
subedit, ueteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discissere niuem. Tethys maioribus undis
Hesperiam Calpen summumque impleuit Atlanta. 555
indigetes fleuisse deos orbisque laborem
testatos sudore Lares delapsaque templis
dona suis dirasque diem foedasse ululuces
accipimus; siluisque feras sub nocte relictis
audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma.

tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae,
monstrosisque hominum partus numeroque modoque
membrorum, matremque suus conterruit infans:
diraque per populum Cumanae carmina uatis
uolgantur. tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis 565
saeua mouet cecinere deos: crinemque rotantes
sanguineum populis ulularunt tristia Galli.
compositis plenae gemuerunt ossibus urae.
tum fragor armorum magnaeque per aula uoces

uidit flammiferisa confectas nocte Latinas,
For an account of the fereae Latinae see
Dict. of Antiq.

552. Thebanos] When Eteocles and
Polyneices were being burned on the same
pyre the flame shot up in two separate
tongues, showing that they could not be
reconciled even in death. Sulpicius cf.
Stat. Theb. xi. 429—432 ece iterum frares:
primis ut contigit artus ignis exad
tremuere rogi et nojud aduena bastis pellit:
exundant ditius verte flamnae,
alternosque apices abrupta luce coruscant;
 cf. also Aetna 557 where Dr Munro refers
6 Pausanias ix. xviii § 3.

553. substulit] 'stopped': this sudden
check caused the Alps to rock, and thus
shook the snow from their summits;
so much seems to be Lucan's idea.

555. Atlanta] It is somewhat strange
that Lucan should speak of Mount Atlas
us if it were on the sea shore, in the same
way as Calpe (Gibraltar), but Strabo xvi
3 (825) seems to imply that it is visible
from the sea; ξεω δε περιελθωτι του κατα
τις στηλα πορθοι την Λυστην εν άρσε
τερ εχωτε δρος οτιν, δη και μεν 'Ελληνς
Αθλατα καλοδαυ οi δε βαρβαρο Δύνη.

556. laborem] 'distress'.

560. media] Compare Shakspeare,
Julius Caesar ii. ii 17 'A lioness hath
whelped in the streets'.

561. pecudum] i.e. the well-known
prodigy, bos locutus est.

563. matrem] cf. Shakspeare K.
Richard III, act i, sc. ii 'If ever he have
a child, abortive be it, Prodigious and
untimely brought to light, Whose ugly and
unnatural aspect May fright the hopeful
mother at the view'.

45—50 haec, ubi Bellona motu est agitata,
necc acem flammam non amens nervera
torta timeat: ipsa bipenne suos caelit uiol-
enta lacertos, sanguineque effuso spargit
inulta deam: statque latus praefixa uetu,
stat saucia spectat, et canit euentus quos dea
magis monet. These priests were called
Bellonarii; Commodus ordered that they
should really gash their arms, from which
it appears that they were usually mere
jugglers who pretended to do so. cf.
Lamprid. ut. Com. 9.

566. cecinere deos] i.e. oracula deorum.
Omnibonus.

567. Gall] the eunuch priests of
Cybele; cf. ov. fast. i. iv 223 foll.

568. compositis] 'laid to rest'. Cf.
Hor. Sat. i. ix 373 omnes composu.
auditac nemorum, et uenientes comminus umbrae. 570
quiique colunt iunctos extremis moenibus agros
diffugiunt: ingens urbem cingebat Erinys
excutiens pronam flagranti uertice pinum
stridentisque comas: Thebanam qualis Agauen
impulit aut saeui contorsit tela Lycurgi
Eumenis: aut qualem iussu Iunonis iniquae
horruit Alcides uiso iam Dite Megaeram.
insonuere tubae et quanto clamore cohortes
miscentur tantum nox atra silentibus umbris
edidit: et medio uisi consurgere Campo
tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes:
tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas
agricolae facto Marium fugere sepulchro.
haec propter placuit Tuscos de more uetusto
acciri uates. quorum qui maximus aeuo
Aruns incoluit desertae moenia Lucae,
fulminis edoctus motus uenasque calentis
fibrarum et monitus uolitantis in aere pennae,
monstra uibet primum nullo quae semem discors
protulerat natura rapi sterilique nefandos
ex utero fetus infausitis usque flammis,
mox uibet et totam pavidis a ciuibus urbem
ambiri, et festo purgantis moenia lustro
longa per extremos pomoeia cingere fines

570. uenientes comminus] 'meeting in
the shock of battle'.
572. cingebat] 'made the circuit of the
city'; cf. 594 inf. IX 373 terea cingere
Syrtim.
H. N. x 116 gallinae inhorrescent edito
ovo excitinque sece.
pronam] 'turned downwards'.
574. stridentis] 'hissing' i.e. equiva-
lent to anguinas.
577. Megaeram] In the Hercules Furens
of Euripides it is Lyssa, Madness personi-
fied, whom Hercules sees, but she might
be easily identified with one of the Furies.
580. Campo] Sulla was buried in the
Campus Martius; cf. I. 222 his meritum
tum illum sibi tollere Campo?
582. Anienis] The corpse of Marius
was disinterred by order of Sulla and
thrown into the Anio.

584. pomeia] a space left vacant on
praefitas omina penna.
590. stiili] This is to be understood
of a mule according to the scholiast.
591. infautis] Brouk ap. Oud. under-
stands this of certain unlucky kinds of
wood; cf. Catull. XXXVI 8 infelicitus
ustulanda lignis. So Cic. pro Milone § 33
speaks of the corpse of Clodius as infelici-
cissimus lignis seminestulatum; cf. also
593. ambiri] This description is proba-
bly taken from the lustration of the city
in the time of Nero; cf. Tac. Ann. XIII 24
urbem principes lustravit ex response
haruspicum, quod Iouis ac Minervae aedes
de caelo tacent erant. In an amburbium
the victims were led round the city's bound-
daries as we know from Festus, p. 5 M.
594. pomeia] space left vacant on
pontifices sacri quibus est permessa potestas.

turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Gabino,
Vestalemque chorum ducit uittata sacerdos
Troianam soli cui fas uidisse Mineruam.
tum qui fata deum secretaque carmina servant
et lotam paruo reuocant Almone Cybeben,
et doctus uolucres augur seruare sinistras,
septemuirque epulis festis, Titiique sodales,
et Salii laeto portans ancilia collo,
attollensque apicem generoso uertice Flamen.
dunque illi effusam longis anfractibus urbem
circueunt, Aruns dispersos fulminis ignes
colligit et terrae maesto cum murmurre condit,
datque locis nomen sacris. tunc admuuet aris
electa ceruice maren. iam fundere Bacchum
cooperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro:
impatiensque diu non grati uictima sacri, 
cornua succincti premerent cum torua ministri, 
deposito uictum praebebat poplite collum. 
nec cuor emicuit solitus: sed uolnere largo 
diffusum rutilo nigrum pro sanguine uirus. 
palluit adtonitus sacris feralibus Aruns 
atqueiram superum raptis quae siuit in extis. 
terruit ipse color uatem: nam pallida tectris 
uiscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cuore 
plurimus adperso uariatb sanguine liuer. 
cernit tabe iccur madidum: uenasque minaces 
hostili de parte uident. pulmonis anheli 
fibra latet parusque secat uitalia limes. 
cor iacet: ct saniem per hiantis uiscera rimas 
emittunt: produntque suas omenta latebras. 
fluidique—nfas—nullis impune apparuit extis 
eece uident capiti fibrarum increscere molem 
alterius capitis: pars aegra et marcida pendet, 
pars micat et celeri uenas mouet improb pulsu.

611. non grati] i.e. the struggles of 
the victims were interpreted as showing 
the anger of the gods; cf. Tac. Hist. III 
56.
612. premerent] 'were holding down'. 
ministri] sc. the popae, cf. Propert. V 
(iv) 3 ii 3 succinctique calent ad nonu lucra popae.
613. deposito] i.e. the victim sank on its 
knees'; cf. Eur. Hee. 561 kathesa prós 
γαϊν γ'νου.
614. feralibus] 'ill-omened'; cf. 112 
supr.
615 color] cf. Aesch. Prom. 493—495 
σπλάγχνων τε λεωτητα καὶ χροιαν πίνα 
ἔχοντ ἀν εἰ ἄδικους πρός ἡδονήν χολής 
λοβοί τε ποικίλην εὑμορφίαι.
616. gelidoque] 'and steeped as they 
were with lukewarm gore many a dark 
stain mottled them with cots of blood,' 
The distinction between cuor and sanguis 
does not appear to be maintained in this 
passage: cuor is properly confined to 
blood that has been already split; cf. 
Lucret. II 194, 195 e nostro cum missus 
corpores sanguis enuicat eussultans late 
spargitique curom.
617. hostili de parte] Two parts of 
the liver were called hostilis and familiaris 
pars: here the hostilis pars is that of 
Caesar, the other that of Pompeius. 
Weise cf. Cic. de div. § 28 quomodo est 
collata inter ïpsos, quae pars iniici, quae 
pars familiaris est? Liv. VIII 9 Decio 
capit uicturis a familiar parte caesum 
haruspex dicitur ostendisse.
618. fibrarum] appears to mean one 
extremity of the lungs. 
later] 'is invisible', i.e. the lung was 
imperfect; cf. Eur. Elect. 827—829 καὶ 
λοβοὶ μὲν οὐ προσή να πλάγχνοι πύλαι δὲ 
καὶ δοχαὶ χολῆς πέλας κακὰς ἐφαινὸν τῇ 
σκοτώτῳ προσβολάς.
619. lines] That lines means some membrane 
is clear, but whether the diaphragm 
or some other it is not easy to decide. 'The 
membrane which divides the vitals is 
under-sized.'
620. iacet] 'does not throb'.
621. produnt] 'the caul exposes the 
intestines it should hide', i.e. it was split.
622. impune] 'without ill consequence'.
623. increscere] i.e. of the two lobes, 
probably of the liver, one was swollen 
and had overgrown the other; cf. Pers. 
III 32 fibris increcit optimum pingue.
624. aegra et marcida] 'sickly and 
flabby'.
625. micat] 'the other beats and keeps
his ubi conцепit magnorum fata malorum
exclamat: uix fas, superi, quae cumque monetis
prodere me populis: neque enim tibi summe distui
Iuppiter hoc sacræm: caesique in pectora tauri
inferni uenere dei. non fanda timemus:
sed uenient maiora metu. di uisa secundent
et fibris sit nulla fides; sed conditor artis
finxerit ista Tages. flexa sic omina Tuscar
involuentes multaque tegens ambage canebat.

at Figulus cui cura deos secretaque caeli
nose fuit, quem non stellarum Aegyptia Memphs
acquaret uisum numerisque mouentibus astra,
aud hic errat, ait, nulla cum lege per aeum
mundus et incerto discurret sidera motu:
aut si fata mouent urbi generique paratur
humano matura lues. terrae nec dehisent
subsidentque urbis? an tolett feruidus acer
temperiem? segetes tellus infida negabit?
onnis an infusionis miscibitur unda uenenis?
quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis
sacuitiam? extremi multorum tempus in unum
conuencere dies. summo si frigida caelo

the veins astir with rapid throb, as if possessed'.

630. fata] 'the destined approach'.

633. caesique] 'but the infernal gods
have found their way into the body of the
slaughtered bull'. *que is equivalent to
sed:* cf. 1.34 supr. VI 756 where we have
nequaque in the same way.

636. fides] 'truth'.

637. Tages] The founder of the art of
divination in Etruria. Weise cf. Cic. de
div. ii §§ 50, 51; Ov. Met. xv 558 foll.
See also Mommsen History of Rome Bk.
chap. ii.

639. P. Nigidius Figulus was a
Pythagorean philosopher and astrologer
of Cicero's times: from the circumstances
of the birth of Octavius he is said to have
predicted his future greatness. Weise refers
to Suet. Aug. 94.

640. stellarum usque] 'astronomy'.

641. numeris] 'the harmonies that
uide the stars'. Perhaps this refers to the
relative heights of the heavenly bodies
in their orbits, which the ancient astronomers
believed themselves able to ascertain
by computation: these differences in speed
produced the different notes in the music
of the spheres; cf. Cic. de Rep. vi § 18
where numeris refers to the seven notes
mentioned above.

642. nulla cum lege] This is the
Epicurean theory; cf. Hor. Epp. i xii 17
stellarum usque sua iussae nagentur et
errent.

cum] cf. Verg. Aen. vi 359 madida
cum ueste graminum.

644. si fata mouent] This is the Stoic
view; cf. Manil. IV 49 hoc nisi fata darent
numquam fortuna tulissent.

646. an toller] 'will the air grow hot
and banish all coolness?'

650. extremi] 'many men's days of
doom have met at one point of time', i.e.
many are doomed to die at once in this
war.

651. summo si] 'had the baleful star
of Saturn, cold in the height of heaven,
kindled its deadly fires'.

frigida] cf. Verg. G. i 336 frigida
Saturni sese quo Stella receptet.

terruerant satis haec pauidam præsagia plebem:

652. nigos] 'lurid', cf. Hor. carm. iv xii 26 nigrorumque menor dum licet ignium, where it refers to the funeral pile.
656. premeres] 'if thou Wert now close upon': i.e. if thou Wert in the constellation Leo.
flucent] 'would overrun the whole world'.
658. cessant] 'are at peace', i.e. portend no ill.
tu qui] 'thou who kindlest the Scorpion menacing with his fiery tail, and scorchest his claws with heat'; cf. Verg. G. iii 33.
660. nam mitis] 'kindly' Jupiter is sunk deep below the horizon'.
mitis] Weise takes this as equivalent to placatus; cf. Hor. carm. saec. 33, 34 condito mitis placidasque telo supplyis audi pueros Apollo.
664. feruntur] 'journey through the sky invisible'.
mundo mundus] here used for aether: see Dr Munro's note on Lucret. i 733; cf. also Verg. Ecl. vi 34. In other passages Lucan uses mundus for 'the world' or 'the universe'. For the local ablative, cf. supr. 91; Verg. G. iii 430 si virgingentis succideret ore ruborem. Id. Aen. vi 187 si nunc se nobis illae arvens arbore ramius ostendet; Hor. carm. iii v 1 caelo tonantem credidimus tonem reguare.
668. nomen erit] cf. 174—175 supr.; Thuc. iii 82.
exibit] 'shall have free course for many a year'; cf. Plin. Epp. ii xi 18 in tertium diem probationes exteruuit.
676. pax ista] 'the peace we seek'; cf. Cle. ad Att. vii v 8 4 pace opus est: ex victoria eum multa mala, tum certe tyrannus existat; Liv. vii 9 ne Romana plebs metu percursa receptis in urbem regibus uel cum seruitute facem acciperet. duc] 'draw out an unbroken chain of miseries'.
672. ciuili] 'free henceforth through civil war alone'; cf. vii 645, 646 post proelia natis si dominum Fortuna dabas et bella dedisses.
sed maiora premunt. nam qualis uertice Pindi Edonis Ogygio decurrerit plena Lyaeo,
talis et attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem uocibus his prodens urgentem pectora Phoebum:
quo feror, o Pacan? qua me super aethera raptam
constituis terra? uideo Pangaea niuosis
cana iugis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos. quis furor hic, o Phoebe, doce: quo tela manusque
Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est?
quo diuersa feror? primos me ducis in ortus
qua mare Lagei mutat gurgite Nili.
hunc ego fluminea deformis truncus harena
qui iacet agnosco: dubiam super aequora Syrtin
arentemque feror Libyen quo tristis Erinys
transtulit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpis
nubiferae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen
abripimur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis
impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.
consurgunt partes iterum totumque per orbem
rursus co. nova da mihi cernere Iitora Ponti
telluremque nouam: uidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos.
haec ait et lasso iacuit defecta furore.

674. premunt] 'are upon them'; cf. Verg. Aen. x 375 numina nulla premunt.
680. Philippus] cf. notes on i supr. and 693 infr.
681. quo] 'to what purpose? ' cf. Hor. Sat. i 1 73 nescis quo ulcat nummus quem praebat usum? see also Mr Roby's Grammar vol. ii preface, page xxx ('of the predicative dative' § 5).
682. hoste] 'a foreign foe'; cf. Cic. de off. i § 37 hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicatuv quem uunc peregrinum dicimus.
683. diversa] cf. Verg. Aen. xii 855 cur, inquit, diversus abis?
684. mutatur] 'is dyed'. cf. Catull. xi 7 sine qua septemgeminis colorat aequora Nilus.
686. dubiam Syrthin] 'the shifting Syrtis': for the accusative of motion to with-
out a preposition see Madv. § 222, obs. 4.
691. bella] i. e. the murder of Caesar.
692. iturum] i.e. under Octavian.
693. nova da] 'grant me to see new shores of Pontus and a new land: I have
already seen Philippis'; i.e. having seen with the eye of prophecy the battle-field of
Philippi (cf. 680 supr.), I am shocked to think that it will be again the scene of
civil war. Lucan confuses Philippi and Pharsalus, and apparently imagines that
both are situated on the shores of the
Pontus Euxinus; cf. Verg. G. i 491, 492
nee fuit indignum superis bis sanguine
nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pingues-
cere canos. Some editors read ponti:
the meaning would then be, 'some fresh
sea-shore in some fresh land', i.e. other
than the coast of Thessaly: in either case
the general drift of the expression is horror
at the same land Thessaly being twice the
scene of civil war; cf. VII 847—854.
695. defecta] 'exhausted'. Oud. cf. III 625 defectis robore membris: IV 600
defecta membra. See also Aen. 617 defec-
tum raptis illum sua carmina tardat.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.


Iamque irae patuere deum manifestaque belli signa dedit mundus: legesque et foedera rerum praesidia monstriferus uertit natura tumultu indixitque nefas. cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi, sollicitis uisum mortalibus addere curam nōscant uenturas ut dira per omina clades? siue parens rerum, cum primum informia regna

2. leges] cf. Verg. G. 1. 60 continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis.  
4. indixitque nefas] 'made proclamation of civil war', cf. Cic. in Cat. II § 14 Manlius...bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit. For the special sense of nefas cf. note on 1.493.  
5. addere curam] 'inflict this further trouble', i.e. the knowledge of the future derived from omens in addition to their natural anxiety concerning it.  
materiemque rudem flamma cedente recepit, fixit in aeternum causas, qua cuncta coerced se quoque leges tenens, et saccula iussa ferentem fatorum immoto diuisit limite mundum: siue nihil positum est sed Fors incerta uagatur fertque referisque uices est habet mortalia casus: sit subitum quodcumque paras: sit caeca futuri mens hominum fati: licet sperare timenti. ergo ubi concipient quantis sit cladibus orbi constatura fides superum ferale per urbem iustitiam: latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos: nullos comitata est purpura fasces. tum questus tenuere suos magnusque per omnes erratut sine uoce dolor. sic funere primo

8. rudem] cf. Ov. Met. 1 7 multis indigestaque molis. flamma cedente] diuisa enim flamma, elementa se quoque singula separatur. Schol. cf. Ov. Met. 1. 26—31 ignea conexiatis et sine pandere caeli emicuit summique locum sibi legit in arce: proximus est aer illi levitata locuque: densior his tellus elementaque gravidita traxit et pressa est grandat sui: circumflatus unus ultima possit solidecumque coecrit orbem. recepit] 'took to himself', cf. Verg. Aen. 11 524, 525 recepist ad se se et sacra longaevum in sele locavit. Id. vii iii medique ex hoste recepi. Compare also the use of 'reunion' in French. 9. fixit] This is the reading of Oud. and has apparently the better authority: Sulpitius followed by Weise reads fixit: the two words are commonly confused. causas] cf. Tac. Ann. vii 28 (22) contra alii satum guidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e uagis stellis, neum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum. se quoque] 'binding himself too by the law by which he orders all things', cf. Sen. dial. 1 v § 8 ille ipse omnem conditor ac rector scripti guidem fata, sed sequitur, semper parvit, semtel insitit; cf. also Cic. N. D. ii 75. saccula] 'and portioned out the world by the fixed line of destiny, bringing with it, as it rolls, its appointed ages'. ferentem] is nearly equivalent to qui ferret. ferre is used for affere, cf. the use of agrae in Hor. carm. iii 6 43, 44 amicum tempos agens abeunte currum. 13. fertque referisque uices] 'and brings round a cycle of changes'. habet] 'change sways the affairs of men'; cf. Sall. Jug. 2 animus incorruptus agit alque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Oud. with some MSS. reads habent mortalia casum, i.e. 'are subject to accident', for which cf. Stat. Silv. iii 53 sed habent et numina legem. 14. caeca futuri] The construction is imitated by Claudian, Pros. i 138. 15. liceat] 'let man have hope even amidst his fears'; cf. Aesch. Prom. 248—251 θυητοις ετανα αμ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον. το τοιων ευρων πρόδε φαιρμακον νόσου; τυφλός εν αυτοις εκπιδευα κατφίκια. μεγάωβελημα τονωσ ενυρησ αντιος. 16. quantis] 'what disasters the truthfulness of the gods is destined to cost the world'; for fides cf. i 636. 18. iustitium] For an explanation of the term cf. Gallius xx cap. 1. 19. nulos] 'not at all', cf. vili 25 note. 21. sine voc] 'without finding expression', mutus erat iste dolor, Weise; cf. i 247. funere primo] 'at the beginning of death', i.e. when life is on the point of departing, and the bystanders cannot tell whether death has come or not; cf. Hood's lines, 'Our very hopes belied our fears, Our fears our hopes belied; We thought her dying when she slept, And sleeping when she died'.
attonitae tacuere domus, cum corpora nondum conclamata iacent nec mater crine soluto exigit ad saevo famularum brachia planetus: sed cum membra premit fugiente rigentia uita uoltusque examines oculosque in morte micantis neeum est ille dolor sed iam metus: incubat amens miraturque malum. cultus matrona priores depositus: maestacque tenent delubra cateruca. hae lacrimis sparsere deos, hae pectora duro adfixere solo: lacerasque in limine sacro attonitae pudere comas: uotisque uocari adsuetae crebris ferient ululatibus aures. nec cunctae summi templo iacuere Tonantis: diuisere deos: et nullis defuit aris inuidiam factura pares: quaram una madentis scissa genas planetu liuentis atra lacertos, nunc, ait, o miserae contundite pectora matres, nunc laniate comas, neue hunc differte dolorem et summis seruate malis: nunc flere potestas dumd pendet fortuna ducum: cum uicerit alter gaudendum est: his se stimuli dolor ipse lacessit.


23. conclamata] 'mourned as dead', 'given up'. So in Ter. Eun. ii 3 56 conclamatum est, 'it is all over'.

24. exigit] 'compels her handmaids' arms to inflict cruel blows upon themselves', compare Hom. ii. xix 301, 302 ἐπὶ δὲ στενάζοντο γυναῖκες Πάτροκλον πρόφαιν, ὑφὼν ὁ αὐτῶν κήθες ἐκάση.

25. sed cum] 'but when she hangs over the limbs stiffening as life departs'.

26. micantis] This is Oudenop's conjecture for the minaces of the MSS. He refers to Stat. Theb. v 216, where oculus tremens is used of a dying man. Bersmannus with one MS. reads iacentis, Weise uanatantis after Cortius.

27. dolor] i.e. for the dead: metus, for the dying. Oud. cf. viii 53, 54 quid perdis tempora luctus? cum possit iam flere times. Val. Flacc. 1 326 miserere parentem, morbus, dum metus est nee adhibe dolor.

sed iam] iam is here almost equivalent to adhibe, 'as yet', i.e. at the point we have reached.

31. adfixere] so most MSS., others read adfissere.

32. uotisque uocari] 'the ears of gods accustomed to be invoked with prayer they assail with wailing cries'; cf. Aesch. Agam. 1078, 1079 ἐν 'αὐτῷ δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεόν καλεῖ οὐδὲν προσθηκὼν ἐν γόοις παρασταῖν.

36. inuidiam factura pares] 'a mother destined to bring odium on the gods' i.e. in case they should refuse to hear her prayers. Oud. cf. ix 65 Pompeio contigit ignis inuidia maiore deum.


40. et summis] 'nor reserve it': the negation is to be carried on from the preceding nee, cf. i 76, infr. 235, 449, &c. potestas]: For the use of this word with an infinitive cf. Stat. Theb. iii 296—298 soli cui tanta potestas diuinarumque hominumque maiestas non occurreat telis impune.

41. pendet] 'hangs in the balance'; so in pendente est is used in the legal writers of an undecided suit.

42. gaudendum est] 'then we shall have
nec non bella uiri diuersaque castra petentes effundunt iustas in numina sacra querelas:
o miserae sortis quod non in Punica nati
tempora Cannarum fuimus Trebiaeque iuuentus.
non pacem petimus, superi: date gentibus iras:
nunc urbes excite feras: coniurct in arma
mundus: Achaemeniis decurrant Medica Susis
agmina: Massageten Scythicus non adliget Hister:
fundat ab extremo flauos Aquilone Sueuos
Albis et inditum Rheni caput: omnibus hostes
reddite nos populis: ciuile auertite bellum:
hinc Dacus premat inde Getes: occurrat Hiberis
alter, ad Eoas hic uertat signa pharestras.
nulla uacet tibi, Roma, manus. uel perdere nomen
si placet Hesperium, superi, collapsus in ignem
plurimus ad terram per fulminas decidat aether.
saeue pares, utrasque simul partesque ducesque
dum nondum meruere feri. tantone nouorum
60
proventu scelerum quae rerunt uter imperet urbi?
ux tanti fuerat ciuilia bella mouere
ut neuter. tales pietas peritura querelas

speaks of the Getae and Dacians as two
divisions of the same people, and as such
they are apparently regarded by Lucan in
Lucan 95 Dacisque Getes admixtus: although
here they are opposed to one another by
hinc and inde.

ad Eoas] 'to meet the arrows of the East'.
56. uacet] 'be idle', i.e. so that it
could be employed in civil war.
57. collapsus in ignem] 'sinking into
flames', cf. Verg. Aen. 624 tum uero
omne nihii uiaum considerde in ignes IIiunm.
58. plurimus] 'in a mass': cf. Ov.
Ibis 600 plurima qua flammas Sicanis
Adna uovit.
59. saeue pares] i.e. Iuppiter: cf.
Hor. Carm. 1 xii 13 quid prius dicam
solitis parentis laudibus? see also Hom.
Od. xx. 201, 202 θεο πατερ οδ τις σειο
καιρου διστερος αλαος σωθη ενεαρις άνδρας,
καιρη δε γελειιν αυτος.
60. tantone] 'do they need such a
crop of fresh horrors to find out which is
to be lord of the capital'.
65. ut neuter] 'to prevent them both'.
pietas peritura] 'patriotism doomed
egerit. at miseror angit sua cura parentes, oderuntque grauis uiuacia fata senectae seruatosque iterum bellis ciuilibus annos. atque aliquis magno quacrens exempla timori, non alios, inquit, motus tum fata parabant, cum post Teutonicos uictor Libycosque triumphos exsul limosa Marius caput abdidit ulua. stagna auidi texere soli laxaeque paludes depositum, Fortuna, tuum: mox uincula ferri exedere senem longusque in carcere paedor. consul et euersa felix moriturus in urbe poenas ante dabat scelerum. mors ipsa refugit saepe uirum, frustraque hosti concessa potestas sanguinis inuisi: primo qui caedis in iuctu diriguit ferrumque manu torpente remisit; uiderat immensum tenebroso in carcere lumen terriblesque deas scelerum Mariumque futurum audieratque pauens: fas haec contingere non est colla tibi: debet multas hic legibus acui ante suam mortes: uanum depone fuorem.

soon to fade away', i.e. as men become accustomed to civil war.

67. exempla timori] ‘precedents to bear out his fears'.

68. motus] used specially of civil disturbances, cf. Hor. carm. ii 1 motum ex Metello consule ciciunum; see also note on i 184.


71. auidi] i.e. which is ready to swallow up everything, ‘treacherous,' cf. Hor. carm. i xxviii 18 exitio est auidum mare maritis'. Some MSS. and the Roman edition of 1469 read auidi from which Grotius conjectured uidi.

laxae] Weise explains this word as equivalent to amplae, spatiaae, for which sense one might compare Mart. ii xxx 4 et euis laxas area flagellat opes: but it seems better to take it as ‘yielding', ‘loose,' cf. Verg. G. iv 247 laxos in foribus suspendit aranua casae.

72. depositum] ‘the charge entrusted to them'; cf. Juv. xiii 60 si depositum non infistitur amicus.

Fortuna] i.e. the evil destiny of Rome is regarded as entrusting Marius to the safe keeping of the marsh until she can use him for the ruin of Rome.

73. exedere senem] ‘wore out the old man's strength'.

longus] From the account given by Plutarch in his life of Marius cap. 38 it does not appear that he was long detained in prison by the magistrates of Minturnae.


74. consul] ‘destined to die as consul (i.e. for the seventh time) and prosperous'.


77. primo] ‘in the very act of aiming his murderous blow', cf. supr. 21.

79. lumen] i.e. the light flashing from the eyes of Marius.

80. Mariumque futurum] ‘Marius as he was destined to be', i.e. as consul.

82. legibus aequi] ‘the laws that govern time', equivalent to fatis.
si libet ulcisci deletae funera gentis
hunc, Cimbri, seruata semem. non ille fauore
numinis, ingenti superum protectus ab ira,
uir ferus et Romam cupiente perdere fato
sufficiens. idem pelago delatus iniquo
hostilem in terram uaeuisque mapalibus actus
nuda triumphati iacuit per regna Iugurthae
et Poenos pressit cineres. solacia fati
Karthago Mariusque tulit: pariterque iacentes
ignouere dei. Libycas ibi colligit iras.
ut primum fortuna redit seruilia soluit
agmina: conflato saeas ergastula ferro
exseruere manus. nulli gestanda dabantur
signa lucis, nisi qui scelerum iam fecerat usum
attuleratque in castra nefas. pro fata: quis ille,
quis fuit ille dies, Marius quo moenia uictor
corripuit: quoante gradu mors saeas cucurrit.
nobilitas cum plebe perit: lateaque uagatur ensis et a nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum. stat cruer in templis: multaque rubentia caede lubrica saxa madent. nulli sua profuit aetas. non sensis extremum piguit uergentibus annis praecipitasse diem: nec primo in limine uitae infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata. crimine quo parui caedem potuere mereri? sed satis est iam posse mori. trahit ipse furoris impetus: et uisum lentii quaesisse nocentem. in numerum pars magna perit: rapuitque cruentus victor ab ignota uoltus ceruice recisos dum uacua pudet ire manu. spes una salutis oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae.

mille licet gladii mortis noua signa sequantur, degener o populus, uix saecula longa decorum sic meruisset uiris, nedum breue dedecus aerii et uitam dum Sulla redit. cui funera uolgi flere uacet? uix te sparsum per uiscera, Baebi,
innumeras inter carpentis membra coronae discississe manus: aut te, prae sage malorum Antoni, cuius laceris pendentia canis ora ferens miles festae ro rantia mensae imposuit: truncos laceru uit Fimbria Crassos. saeua tribunicio maduerunt robora tabo. te quoque neglectum uiolatae, Scaeuola, dextrae ante ipsum penetr ale deae semperque calentis maactuere focos: paruom sed fessa senectus sanguinis effudit iugulo flammisque peperit. septimus haec sequitur repetitis fascibus annus: ille fuit iuitae Mario modus, omnia passo quae peior fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso

121. discississe] discerpsisse is the reading of most MSS. and is retained by Weise, who also writes inter carpentis as one word, and this is the reading which the Scholast explains. The occurrence of two compounds of carpere in two following lines is exceedingly awkward, and there appears to be no authority elsewhere for the form inter carpere, which must be read if we retain discerpsisse as innumeras manus is then the subject of the sentence: the reading may have arisen from the carpentis in line 120 being carelessly repeated in copying. discississe is read by Cortius, Grotius and Oudendorp. Grotius refers to III 65, IX 785. For the sense cf. Juv. III 259—261 quid supere st cor poritis? quis membra quis ossa inuenit? obtritionem no/ perg omen caudar more animae.


124. Fimbria] cf. Florus II 9 § 14 Caecares a Fimbria in penatibus domum suarnrn trucidatur; Crass i pater et filius in mutuo alter alterius aspectum.

125. robora] i.e. robor Tullianum, the prison. For the use of the plural cf. supr. 22.

126. neglectum uiolatae dextrae] If the reading be genuine we must interpret this as Weise does, 'passed over by that blood-stained hand', referring to the mortis nova signa of line 115: but this use of the dative for the ablative is exceed ingly rare except in the case of persons. Bentley and Cortius read neglectu—uiolatae Vestae. The Scholast appears to have read Vestae. According to Florus I. c. Scaevola was put to death by the younger Marius after the death of the elder. Mucius Scaevola pontifex Vestalis amplexus aras tantum non eodem igne sepelitur. uiolatae] For uiolare in the sense of staining, equivalent to Greek μιαδεω, cf. Virg. Aen. xii 67 Indum sanguineo veluti uiolauerit ostro si quis ebur: but here the addition of ostro makes a difference, and I can find no instance of uiolare by itself thus used.

128. paruom] i.e. there was not enough blood in the aged body of Scaevola to put out the sacred fire. cf. Shakspere, Macbeth, Act. v Sc. 1, 'Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?' I can find no other instance of a partitive genitive after parum, but compare exiguum sanguinis infr. 140 and parum crnrn iv 239, 240.

130. annus] 'year of office', 'consulship'. Thirteen years had elapsed since his sixth consulship.

131. modus] Marius died during the first month of his consulship.

omnia passa] 'having endured all that evil fortune can force men to endure, enjoyed all that good fortune can give them to enjoy'. Oud. cf. Val. Max. vi 9 § 14 quid huius condicione inconstantias aut mutabiliti? quem si inter misceros posueris miserrimus, inter felices felicissimus reperietur.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

quaes melior, mensaque homini quid fata pararent.

iam quot apud Sacri cecidere cadauera portum aut Collina tulit stratas quot porta catervas

tum cum paene caput mundi rerumque potestas mutavit translata locum, Romanaque Samnis ultra Caudinas speravit uolnera Furcas.

Sulla quoque immensis accessit cladibus ultor.

ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi

hausit: dumque nimis iam putria membra recidit

excessit medicina modum nimiumque secuta est qua morbi duxere manus. periere nocentes;

sed cum iam soli possent superesse nocentes.

tum data libertas odiis resolutaque legum

frenis ira ruit. non uni cuncta dabantar,

sed fecit sibi quisque nefas: semel omnia uictor iusserat.

infandum domini per uiscera ferrum

exegit famulus: nati maduere paterno

sanguine: certatum est cui cerui caesa parentis

cederet: in fratrum ceciderunt praemia fratres.

133. mensu] ‘measured what fate could
destine for a man’, i.e. found out by passing through it.


135. paene] is out of place and is to be taken with mutavit, cf. Hor. Carm. iii vi 9—10 paene occupatam seditionibus deluit urbem Dacus et Athiops. See also v 242.

136. caput] The revolted allies in the Social war had chosen Corfinium as their capital. cf. Vell. Pat. ii xvi § 3.


139. Sulla quoque] ‘Sulla too in his vengeance came to crown these fearful disasters.’

140. nimis iam putria] ‘now too rotten to be left’. Sulla is compared to a surgeon who in too great haste to remove the mortified flesh cuts away the sound flesh also. Oud. cf. Sen. de benef. v xvi § 3 ingratus L. Sulla, qui patriam durioribus remediiis quam pecunia erant sanatuit.


142. medicina] Plin. H. N. xvii 22 applies this word to the pruning of vines.

143. semel] ‘once for all’, cf. Sen. dial. i v § 8 semper parat, semel iussiit.

144. soli] i.e. it is true that those who perished were guilty, but, as guilt was universal, if any were to be left alive, they must still be guilty men.

145. odiis] ‘private enmity’.

146. non uni] ‘all crimes were not committed for one man’s sake’, i.e. to please Sulla. cf. Trebon. apud Cic. ad fam. xii xvi § 1 non putare, me Civiter, me hoc auribus latis dare. See also note on iv 688.

147. semel] ‘once for all’, cf. Sen. dial. i v § 8 semper parat, semel iussit.
busta repleta fuga permixtaque uiua sepultis corpora: nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum. hic laqueo fauces elisaque guttura fregit: hic se praecepti iaculatus pondere dura dissiluit percussus humo; mortesque cruento uictori rapuere suas: hic robora busti exstruit ipse sui, necdum omni sanguine fusò desilìt in flammas et, dum licet, occupat ignes. colla ducum pilò trepidam gestata per urbem et medio congesta foro: cognoscitur illic quidquid ubique iacet scelerum. non Thracia tantum uidit Bistonii stabulis pendere tyranni; postibus Antaei Libye: nec Graecia maerens tot laceros artus Pisaca fleuit in aula. cum iam tabe fluent confusaque tempore multò amisere notas, miserorum dextra parentum colligt et pauido subdicit cognita furto. meque ipsum memini caesi deformia fratris ora rogo cupidum uetitisque imponere flammis omnia Sullanae ustrasse caduera pacis:

152. busta] here used simply for sepulcre, cf. Cic. Tusc. v § 100 (Sardanapalus) qui incidi in suis in busto, hacc habeò, &c. Here it probably refers to the catacombs. uiua] Perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. VIII 485 mortua quin etiam iungebat corpora ninis.

153. populum] 'nor could the wild beasts' dens contain the crowd of fugitives': for populus cf. III 665; for cepere cf. i 111.


mortesque] 'snatched from the bloodstained conquor their own deaths', i.e. anticipated him by putting themselves to death.


162. iacet] here simply equivalent to sit, cf. i 20 et gens si qua iacet nascendi onscia Nilo. Weise cf. also VIII 102 ubiunque iaces equivalent to ubiunque versaris. Sen. Epp. VIII ii § 37 si quid ultra Dalias bellicosum iacet. Oud. reads latet after Grotius, making it opposed to cognoscitur. 'There whatever horrors are anywhere concealed see the light of day.' For latet one might compare Psalm LXXIV. 20 'The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty'.

163. Bistonii i.e. of Diomedes, who fed his horses on human flesh. pondere] i.e. the heads would be fixed on the posts of the stall.

164. Antae] cf. IV 605, where it is implied that Antaeus murdered all who came into his power.

165. Pisaca i.e. of Oenomaus, who put to death the suitors of his daughter.

166. tabe fluent] 'grown rotten with corruption'. cf. note on i 244.

confusa] i.e. made unrecognisable, cf. infr. 191.


pacis] ironical: cf. what Calgacus says in Tac. Agric. 30 of the conduct of the
perque omnes truncos cum qua ceruice recisum conueniat quaeissse caput. quid sanguine manes placatos Catuli referam? cum victima tristes inferrias Marius forsan nolentibus umbrys pendit inexpleto non fanda piacula busto: cum laceros artus acqutaque ulniera membris uidimus, et toto quamuis in corpore caeso nil animae letatum, moremque nefandae dirum saeuitiae pereuntis parcere morti.

auolsae cecidere manus exsectaque lingua palpitat et muto uacuom ferit acra motu. hic aures alius spiramina naris aduncac amputat: ille causis euoluit sedibus orbes ultimaque effundit spectatis lumina membris. uix erit ulla fides tam sacri criminis unum tot poenas cepisse caput. sic mole ruinae fracta sub ingenti miscentur pondere membra: nec magis informes uenient ad litora trunci qui medio periere freto. quid perdere fructum iuuit et ut uilem Marii confundere uoltum?

Romans, ubi solitudinem faciunt paccen appellat. 172. cum qua ceruicei 'sought a neck with which the amputated head would fit', i.e. as the only means by which he could now recognise his brother.


174. Catuli] The brother of Marius was tortured to death at the tomb of Catulus by Sulla's order. cf. Florus ii 9 § 26 Marium ducis ipsius fratrem apud Catuli sepulcrum oculis effossis manibus cruribusque effractis sternatum aliquamdiu ut per singula membra moreretur. cum victima] 'when Marius slaughtered as a victim paid a fearful penalty to the shade perhaps unwilling to receive it'.

175. inferrias pendit] seems to be a shortened expression for poenas pendit ut inferriae. cf. infr. 642.

176. inexpleto] 'yet unsatisfied'.


178. caesa] 'mangled'.

179. nil animae] 'nought inflicted fatal to the life'.


180. pereuntis parcere morti] 'to forbear to kill the dying'. cf. sternatum aliquamdiu in the passage of Florus cited on line 174.


185. spectatis] i.e. after seeing the other members tortured.

186. uix erit] 'scarcely will such an atrocious crime ever be believed in, as that one life should have had to endure so many tortures'. Weise puts the comma after fides and makes tam sacri crimini depend on tot poenas, explaining crimini of the death of Catulus; but the cruelty which Lucan is dwelling on here is the death of Marius, not that of Catulus.

188. miscentur] 'are crushed'. cf. note on 1380.

189. nec magis informes] 'nor more shapeless are the bodies when washed ashore of those who have perished in mid ocean'.

190. perdere fructum] 'spoil thy enjoyment', i.e. of the sight of Marius' head.

191. confundere] mutilate so that it
ut scelus hoc Sullae caedesque ostensa placeret
agnoscendus erat. | udit Fortuna colonos
Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense recisos,
unius populum percutente tempore mortis.
tum flos Hesperiae Latii iam sola iuuentus
concitit et miserae maculuit ouilia Romae.
tot simul infesto iuuenes occumbere leto
saepe fames pelagique furor subitaecue ruinae
aut caeli terraeque lues aut bellica clades,
numquam poena fuit. densi uix agmina uolgi
inter et exsangues immissa morte cateruas
uictores mouere manus. uix caede peracta
procumbunt dubiaque labant ceruice: sed illos
magna premit strages: peraguntque cadauera partem
caedis: uix graues elidunt corpora trunci.
intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto
spectator sceleris: miserit tot milia uolgi
non piguit iussisse mori. congesta recepit
omnia Tyrrenhus Sullana cadauera gurges.
in fluuium primi eccidere, in corpora summi.
praecipites haesere rates et strage cruenta
interruptus aquis fluxit prior amnus in aequor:
could not be recognised; opposed to ag-
noscendus, for which cf. Juv. VIII 206

tota fugit aenoscedus harena.
193. Fortuna | For the temple of Fortu-
tuna at Praeneste in which were kept the
famous sortes Praestiniae cf. Cic. de div. II §§ 85, 86.
The younger Marius took
refuge in Praeneste, the inhabitants of
which were massacred when the town
was captured by Sulla.
195. unius populi | a whole people
perishing in one death-moment.
196. Latii | is put here loosely for
Italy, as most of the soldiers slaughtered
in the Septa were Samnites. cf. infr.
342, 447.
197. ouilia | i.e. the voting place in
the Campus Martius, otherwise called Septa.
cf. Florus II 9 § 24 quattuor milia dedi-
torum inermium ciuitum in uilla publica
interficit iussis.
198. infesta—leto | a violent death.
cf. Cic. pro Cluent. § 188 quod tam in-
festum sedet et immans?
202. immissa morte | when death was
thus let slip: a metaphor from hunting,
ad molem stetit unda sequens, dum sanguinis alti
uis sibi fecit iter campumque effusa per omnem 215
praeptique ruens Tiberina ad flumina riuo
haarentis adiuuit aquas: nec iam alucus amnem
nec retinent ripae redditique cadauerà campo:
tandum Tyrrenhas uix electatus in undas
sanguine caeruleum torrenti diuidit aequor.

hisne Salus rerum Felix his Sulla uocari
his meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo?
haec rursus patienda manent: hoc ordine belli
ibitur: hic stabit ciuilibus exitus armis.

quamquam agitant grauiora metus multumque coitur 225
humani generis maiore in proelia damno.
exsulibus Mariis bellorum maxima merces
Roma recepta fuit: nec plus victoria Sullae
praestitit inuisas penitus quam tollere partes.

hos alio, Fortuna, uocas: olimque potentes
concurrunt. neuter ciuilia bella moureret
contentus quo Sulla fuit. sic maesta senectus

214. sanguinis alti] i.e. the deep rivers
of blood pouring down into the Tiber
from the streets.

218. redditi] 'casts up again the corpses
on the plain'. Oud. cf. viii 438 nostra
cadauera Tigris detulit in terras ad red-
dedit.

220. sanguine torrenti] i.e. a torrent of
blood, instead of water discoloured
with yellow sand, cf. Verg. Aen. vii
30—32 hunc inter fluenta Tiberinus amoeno
vorticibus rapidis et multa flaus harena
in mare prorumpit.

221. Salus rerum] 'The Saviour of
Society'.

Felix] Sulla believed that he was
under the special patronage of Venus,
and adopted Felix, which he rendered in
Greek by Ἐπαφρόδιτος, as a surname: he
also gave his children the before unknown
names of Faustus and Fausta, cf. Plut.
Sull. 34 καὶ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς τροπαιοῖς
οὕτως ἀναγεγέρται: ΛΕΤΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΝΗ-
ΛΙΟΣ ΣΤΑΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ. 


223. hoc ordine] 'in this course of war
events will move', i.e. first one side and
then the other will be victorious and
massacre its opponents.

224. hic stabit] 'this will be the result
ordained for civil strife'. cf. Verg. Aen. x
467 stat sua eunike dies.

225. quamquam agitant] 'and yet our
fears suggest yet worse disaster, and
with far greater damage to the human race do
they now meet for battle'.

227. exsulibus] The three steps of the
climax are:

(1) The recovery of Rome, with which
Marius was satisfied.

(2) The annihilation of the opposing
party, which was all that Sulla gained by
his victory.

(3) What Pompeius and Caesar are
now aiming at.

230. alio] sc. ad maiora facinora.

Bersmannus.

olim potentes] 'now long powerful'.
This silver age use of olim for dudum
occurs perhaps first in Seneca Lucan and
Petronius: cf. Sen. Epist. LXVII (x 1)
§ 3 olim iam nec petit quidquam mini
nec adquiritur; Petron. § 22 stetor tan-
quam olim dormientes coeperunt.

232. quo Sulla fuit] sc. contentus: 'if
content with what contented Sulla'.
prateritique memor flebat metuensque futurii.

at non magnanimi percussit pectora Bruti
terror et in tanta pauidi formidine motus
pars populi lugentis crat: sed nocte sopora,
Parrhasis obliquos Helice cum uerteret axes,
atria cognati pulsat non ampla Catonis.
inuenit insomni uoluentem publica cura
fata uirum casusque urbis cunctisque timentem
securnque sui, farique his uocibus orsus:
omnia expulsae terris olimque fugatae
virtutis iam sola fides, quam turbine nullo
excutiet Fortuna tibi; tu mente labantem
dirige me, dubium certo tu robore firma.

namque alii Magnum uel Caesaris arma sequuntur:
dux Bruto Cato solus crit. pacemne tueris
inconcussa tenens dubio uestigia mundo?
an placuit ducibus scelerum populique furentis
cladibus immixtum ciuile absoluere bellum?

quamque suae rapiunt scelerata in proelia causae:
hos polluta domus legesque in pace timendae;

235. cf] i.e. neque, the negative being
carried on.
pauidi] is perhaps best taken in active

236. pars populi] 'was he a mere
member of the grieving populace', i.e.
he was not content like others merely to
grieve, but desired to act.
Parrhasis—Helice] sc. Arcadian
Helice, who was changed into a bear, and
became the constellation Ursa maior. cf.
Ov. Fast. iii 107, 108.

uerteret] sc. perl áρκτου τροπάς.
cognati] i.e. his maternal uncle,
his mother being the sister of Cato. cf.
Plut. Brut. 2.
pulsat] cf. Hor. Sat. i 10 sub galli
cannum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
inomni] Oud. cf. Hom. ii 61 oι χρη
pauvχιων ευθεῖων βουλήφοροιν ἀνδρα.

publica—fata uirum] 'the general for-
tunes of the citizens.'

238. expulsae] cf. Hes. Works and
Days 107—200 καὶ τότε ὄν ὁ πρὸς Ωλυμπον
ἀπὸ χθόνος εὐφοβείας λευκάσα φαρέσσα
καλυψαμένω χρία καλὸν ἀδανάτων μετὰ

239. insomni] cf. Hom. ii 61 oι χρη
pauvχιων ευθεῖων βουλήφοροιν ἀνδρα.

publica—fata uirum] 'the general for-
tunes of the citizens.'

240. immixtum] sc. te; the dative
immixto would have been a simpler con-
struction.

absolue] 'to free from guilt', i.e. by
joining in it. The Scholiast's explanation
is, innocens facere; et est defensio ommi-
nad haec bella uententium, si idem
fecerit Cato'. Weise cf. vii 870 quid
totum promitis, quid totum soluitis orben?
polluta domus] Sulpitius explains
this as, 'supra quae in familias exercuere'.

in pace] i.e. because 'inter arma silent
leges'.
hos ferro fugienda fames mundique ruinae permiscenda fides. nullum furor egit in arma; castra petunt magna uicti mercede: tibi uni per se bella placent? quid tot durasse per annos profuit immunem corrupti moribus aeui? hoc solum longae pretium uirutitis habebis, accipient alios facient te bella nocentem. ne tantum, o superi, liceat feralibus armis has etiam mouisse manus: ncc pila lacertis missa tuis caeca telorum in nube ferantur: ncc tanta incassum uirutus eat. ingeret omnis se belli fortuna tibi. quis nolet in isto ense mori quamuis alieno uolnere labens et scelus esse tuum? melius tranquilla sine armis oitia solus ages, sicut caelestia semper inconcassa suo uoluuntur sidera lapsu; fulminibus propior terrae succenditur aer imaque telluris uentos tractusque coruscos flammarum accipient: nubes excedit Olympus lege deum. minimas rerum discordia turbat,
Liber II. 253—291.

pacem summa tenet. quam laetae Caesaris aures accipient tantum uenisce in proelia ciuem? nam praelata suis numquam diuersa dolebit 275 castra ducis Magni. ninium placet ipse Catoni, si bellum ciuile placet. pars magna senatus et duce priuato gesturus proelia consul sollicitant procerisque alii, quibus adde Catonem sub iuga Pompeii, toto iam liber in orbe 280 solus Caesar erit. quod si pro legibus arma ferre iuuet patris libertatemque tueri, nunc neque Pompeii Brutum nec Caesaris hostem post bellum uictoris habes. sic fatur: at illi arcano sacras reddit Cato pectore uoces: 285 summum, Brute, nefas ciuilia bella fatemur; sed quo fata trahunt uirtus secura sequetur. crimen erit superis et me fecisse nocentem. sidera quis mundumque ualet spectare cadentem expres ipse metus? quis cum ruat arduus aether 290 terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi

hitur, modestus et uenerabilis est et disposition, quorum uihil iniuries in iatro. For the construction cf. Hor. Epod. ii 37, 38 quis non malum quas amor curas habet hacre inter obtiusituir?


276. ninium placet] ‘Caesar’s own conduct fully approves itself to Cato if civil war approves itself’, i.e. Cato by joining in the war absolves Caesar from guilt. cf. supr. 250. Weise puts a comma after ipse and interprets placet as alis se placere probabile existimat, i.e. thinks his cause sufficiently popular.

278. priuato] Pompeius held no legal office.

279. sollicitant] sc. me, ‘rouse me’, i.e. to join in the war; cf. Ov. Amor. iii vii 74. Weise regards sollicitant as equivalent to excruciaut me, for which he compares Cie. de fin. i § 50 temeritas et libido et ignorantiam sequitur animum excruciunt et sequer sollicitant turbiduetaque sunt. quibus addes] ‘in addition to whom bring Cato beneath Pompeius’ yoke’. For addere with a preposition implying motion cf. Ov. Amor. i vii 1 addes munus in vincla meas.


281. quod est? ‘but if it be your pleasure to take up arms only on behalf of our country’s laws and to defend liberty, now in Brutus you have a foe neither to Pompeius nor to Caesar; when the war is finished he will be the victor’s foe’, i.e. if the cause of freedom is the only one in which Cato is prepared to fight, Brutus will remain neutral in the war between Pompeius and Caesar, and when that is decided join Cato in opposing the conqueror. pro legibus] sc. and in no other cause.


287. secura] ‘careless of the consequence’.

288. crimen] i.e. the blame for my guilt will rest with the gods, not with me.


291. mixto coeuntis pondere mundi] ‘involved in the collapse of the massive globe’. For the hypallage cf. note on i 74. The line is perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. Ecl. iv 50 adipisci connexo mutatem pondere mundum.
compressas tenuisse manus? gentes nec furorem
Hesperium ignotae Romanaque bella sequuntur
diductique fretis alio sub sidere reges,
otia solus agam? procul hunc arcete furorem, 295
o superi, motura Dahus ut clade Getasque
seculo me Roma cadat. ceu morte parentem
natorum obatum longum producere funus
ad tumulum iubet ipse dolor: iuuat ignibus abris
inseruisse manus constructoque aggere busti
ipsum atras tenuisse faces: non ante reuellar
exanimem quam te complectar, Roma, tuomque
nomen, Libertas, et inanem proseguar umbram.
sic eat: immittes Romana piacula diui
plena ferant: nullo fraudemus sanguine bellum. 305
o utinam caeleque deis Erebique liceret
hoc caput in cunctas damnatum exponere poenas?
deuotum hostiles Decium pressere cateruae:
me geminae figant acies me barbaras telis
Rheni turba petat: cunctis ego perius hastis
excipiam medius totius uolnera belli.

hic redimat sanguis populos: hac caede luatur
quidquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores.
ad iuga cur facile populi cur saecu uolentes

292. compressas] 'to fold his hands
and hold them still'. cf. Liv. vii 13
compressis manus sidere.

294. deducti] 'separated from us'.
Weise reads deducti which would imply
that the kings were colonists from Rome:
for the common confusion between de and
di in composition cf. note on 1448.

atio sub sidere] 'under another clime'.
cf. Juv. xii 103 nec Latio aut sequam
noster sub sidere talis beata concipitur.

296. motura] cf. Hor. carm. ii 1
31, 32 auditaque Melis Hesperiae sonitum ruinæ.

298. longum produce] 'marshal the
ix 486, 487 nee te tua funerae water produxi
pressum uacios aut uolnera lani.

299. abris] specially used of things
funereal, cf. Verg. Aen. iii 64, 65 stant
manibus arac caerulis moestae uittis atræque
cupresa.

303. proseguar] 'follow to the grave'.
cf. Ov. Heroid. xi 119 ipsa quoque in-

fantes cum uolnere proseguar umbras.

umbra] cf. Plin. Epp. i 23 § 1
plurimum referit quid esse tribunatum
putes, inanem uolnraet et sine honore no-
men an poletatem sacrosanctam.

304. sic eat] Oud. cf. v 297 sic eat,
o superi, quando pietasque fidesque des-
stituunt. Sen. Epp. i v 8 nec miror
ista sic ire.

305. nullo] sc. neca meo. Weise.

306. liceret] sc. mihi. des depends
on damnatum, i.e. 'devoted to the gods
of heaven and hell'. cf. Stat. Theb. vii
238, 239 subuent campo qui proximus
urbi damnatus bellis parent. The scholiast
takes des as dependent on liceret: uult
hoc fieri quia fata iusserunt.

and Prof. Mayor's note.

310. perius] 'yielding a path to all
the spears', i.e. through my body. cf.
perius membra sunt.

314. ad iuga] 'why perish peoples
regna pati peruert? me solum inaudite ferro, 315
me frustra leges et inania iura tuentem:
hic dabit hic pacem iugulus finemque laborum
gentibus Hesperiis: post me regnare ulienti
non opus est bello. quin publica signa ducemque
Pompeium sequinur? nec si fortuna faebit 320
hunc quoque totius sibi ius promittere mundi
non bene compertum est: ideo me militae uinca
ne sibi se uicisse putet. sic fatur, et aeres
irarum mouit stimuli, iuuenisque calorem
excitat in nimios belli ciuilis amores.
interea Phoebô gelidas pellente tenebras
pulsatae sonuere fores: quas sancta relictó
Hortensi maerens irruptit Marcia busto,
quondam urgo toris melioris iunctâ mariti:
mox ubi conubii pretium mercesque soluta est 330
tertia iam soboles alios secunda penates
implustria datur, geminas ex sanguine matris
permixtura domos. sed postquam condidit urna
supremos cineres miserando concita uoltu
effusas laniata comas concussaque pectus
uerberibus crebris cineresque ingesta sepulcri,
non alter placitura uiro, sic maesta profatur.

yielding to the yoke and willing to endure
tyrants' cruelty? *populi* in this pas-
sage and in several others in the poem,
seems to have special reference to the
tribes of Italy, cf. VII 185, 436.
316. *me* For the repetition cf. Verg.
Aen. IX 427 me me, adsum qui feci, in me
conuertere forum o Rutuli.
318. *post me* 'when I am dead'.
319. *publica* i.e. because the consuls
and senate were on that side, cf. infr.
533.
320. *ne—non* 'not but that I clearly
'see'.
321. *ix* 'sway over the whole world',
cf. note on I 2.
323. *sibi* 'for himself alone', Oud.
cf. the epitaph of Verginius Rufus in Plin.
Epp. VI x § 4 hic situs est Rufus pulso qui
Vindicis quondam imperium asseruit non
ubi sed patriae.
324. *irarum* 'warlike fury', cf. supr.
47, 93.
325. *nimios* because leading to the
murder of Caesar and the battle of Phi-
lipi.
XI 158 sanctissima contamin.
328. *Marcia* daughter of Marcus
Philippus was married first to Cato, and
after the birth of three children yielded by
him to his friend Hortensius, after whose
death she now returns to Cato.
331. *secunda* 'by her fruitfulness', cf.
note on 206 supr.; this seems simpler
than the explanation given by Weise, nam
gravida erat cum Hortensio concessa est
roganti.
II 431 III ciuies et flammea extrema
mcorum.
336. *ingesta* Weise cf. IX 172 in
volitis effusa comas, X 84 laecri dispersa
capillos.
337. *non aliter* 'in no other guise'.
inculta neglecta et maerens placitura in-
culto et rigido Catoni. Weise.
dum sanguis inerat dum uis materna, peregi
uis materna] Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. 11
325 dum uires utero maternaque sufficient actas.

xxi § 1 uque enim quasi lassa et effecta
natura nihil iam laudabile parit.
341. da foedera] concede coniugium
pudicum et absque uenere. Sulpiius. cf.
infr. 378.
342. illibata] cf. Val. Max. vi i § 4
illibata virginitas. It is equivalent to ita
ut illibata sint, cf. note on i1 i 132.
343. scripsisse] cf. Propert. vii 36 in
lapide huic ini nupta fuisse legar.
345. expulsa an tradita] ‘divorced or
given by agreement’.
349. propior] ‘more concerned in civil
war’.
Cornelia] daughter of Metellus Scipio,
whom Pompeius married after the death
of Julia.
352. foedera] ‘the mere bond and
marriage rites free from all empty show’.
354. serta] cf. Juv. vi 51, 52 nec
coronam postibus et densos per limina
tende corymbos.
355. infulaque] In this and the follow-
ing line, and continually throughout
this passage the negative is carried on in
Lucan’s favourite manner. cf. note on
177. infuso was a garland with festoons
of wool (candida) sometimes worn on the
head. cf. Lucret. 187.
356. legitimae] faces in nuptius quin-
que adhibebantur. Weise.
LXIV 47—51 pulvinar negro Dinae genile
Theb. ii 561, 562 dein toto sanguine
nixus sustinet innumen quaeens librare
ruinam. See also iii 678.
345. 501, 502 dum et giminos expecti
iam nulli tradenda uiro. da foedera prisci
illibata tori: da tantum nomen inane
conubii: liceat tumulo scripsisse, CATONIS
MARCA; nec dubium longo quaeratur in aequo
mutarim primas expulsa an tradita taedas.
non me laetorum comitem rebusque secundis
accipis: in curas uenio partemque laborum.
da mihi castra sequi: cur tuta in pace relinquer
et sit ciuili propior Cornelia bello?
hae flexere uirum uoces, et temporas quamquam
sint aliena toris iam fato in bella uocante,
foedera sola tamen uanaque carentia pompam
iura placent sacrisce deos admittere testes.
festa coronato non pendent limine serta,
infulaque in geminos discurrir candida postes,
legitimaeque faces, gradibusque adelinis eburnis
stat torus et picto uestes discriminat auro:
turritaque premens frontem matrona corona translatA uctet contingere limina planta.
non timidum nuptae leviter tectura pudorem
lutea demissos uelanunt flammae uoltus:
balteus haud fluxus gemmis adstrinxit amictus,
colla monile decens, umerisque haerentia primis
suppara nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.
sic ut erat maesti seruat lugubria cultus,
quoque modo natos hoc est amplexa maritus.
obsita funeræa celatur purpura lana;
non soliti lusere sales: nec more Sabino
except tristis conوicia festa maritus:
pignora nulla domus nulli coiere propinqui:
iiunguntur taciti contententique auspice Bruto.
ille nec horrificam sancto dimouit ab ore
caesariem duroque admisit gaudia uoltu:
ut primum tolli feralia uiderat arma,
intonsus rigidam in frontem descendere canos

Liber II. 338—375.

57

locatur sedibus in medii, Indo quod dente
politan tumi tegit rosco conchylia purpura
fuso: hae uestis priscis hominum uariata
figuris herum mira uirtutes indicat arte.

discriminat] ‘marks out the coverlets
with gold embroidery’, i.e. the coverlets
on the bed are marked out with embroidery,
the bed itself being said to do what
is done to the things resting on it. cf.
Claudian in consul. Prob. et Olybr. 89
nodus qui subleuat ense malum puniceo
pectus discriminat ostro.

358. turrita] ‘towering’, ‘built up
high’: for this fashion of wearing the hair

cf. Juv. vi 502—504 tot premit ordinibus
tot adhue compagibus altum aedicata caput:

Andromachae a fronte sidebis; post minor
est, credas aliam. Forc. refers to Hieron.

Ep. 130 ad Demetriad. § 7 cerussa ora
depingere, ouerae crinem et alienis capilis
	urritum uerticem struere. Prudent.
in Psych. 183 turritiam tortis caput
accomunarat in altum obibus.

matrona] sc. pronuba: frontem sc. suam.
Oud. reading uitas in the next line takes
matrona as referring to the bride.

359. translatA] cf. Catull. LX I 166—
168 transfer amine cum bono limen aureolos pedes rasiemque subi forem. The
bride was carried over the threshold of
her new house to avoid the evil omen

which would be caused by her stumbling.

360. leviter] ‘slightly’, referring to its
transparent texture.

361. demissos] ‘modestly cast down’.

363. umeris primis] sc. the extremity
of the shoulders, almost on the upper part
of the arm.

364. suppara] supparum tunicae gen-
erus et pectus complexum, subuclula,
camisa: id angustum i.e. aegre uelans pectora
aut lacertos, ita ut pars eorum nuda
appareat. Weise.

368. sales] sc. the fescennina locutio
Med. 113 feta dicae fundat conuiicia fesc-
ninnus, solutu tura locos. On the sub-
ject of coarse railery on festal occasions
in general see Dr Munro on Catull. xxix.

369. except] ‘took up’ i.e. joined in.

370. pignora] connexions, generally;

cf. note on III 33.

371. auspice] The presence of an
auspex was necessary at a marriage, cf.
Cic. de div. 1 § 28 nihil fore quondam
majoris rei nisi auspiciato ne priuati qui-
dem gereratur: quod etiam nunc uipirit-
arum auspices declarant, qui re omissa
nomen tantum tenent. Juv. x 336 neniet
cum signatoribus auspex.

373. duroque] ‘nor suffered joy to
appear’. 
passus erat maestamque genus increscere barbam. uni quippe uacat studiisque odissique carenti humanum lugere genus: nec soedera prisci sunt tentata tori: iusto quoque robur anori restitit. hi mores haec duri immota Catonis secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere naturamque sequi patriae quaque impendere uitam, nec sibi sed toti genitum se cedere mundo. huic epulae uicisse famem; magnique penates submouisse hiemem tecto: pretiosoque uestis hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis induxisse togam: uenerisque huic maximus usus progenes; urbi pater est urbeque maritus, cum ex isdem et in eadem gigneret. hae nobis amorem indidit mutuo et sociabiles fecit. illa acuam uastamque compositi. ex illius constitutione miseris est nocere quam laeti. ex illius imperio paratae sint in uantis manus. ille uersus et in pector et in ore sit: homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum putu. habeamus in commune quod nati sumus. societas nostra lapidum fornicationi simulima est, qua casura, nisi inuicem obstant, hoc ipsa substant.

376. maestam [‘in token of mourning’].
377. uit] sc. Catoni, as the only true representative of the wise man of the Stoics.

studiisque odissique carenti] i.e. imperturbato, showing the Stoic ἀπαθεα, for which cf. Sen. Epp. xii iii § 3 froll.


381. secta] sc. disciplina, cf. Cic. pro Caelio § 40 qui hanc sectam rationemque uitae re magis quam uerbis secuti sumus.

seruare modum] This and the following expressions are Stoic formules. cf. Sen. Epist. xxiii (iii 3) § 6 ita dico: in praecepti noluptas: ad dolorem uergit nisi modum teneat. modum autem tenere in eo difficile est quod bonum esse credideris. finem not the ‘end’, but the ‘limit’, nearly equivalent to modum. cf. Hor. Sat. 1 ii 107, 108 est modus in rebus sunt certi denique fines quos ultra ciriaco nequit consistere rectum.


385. submouisse] This word is properly used of the licentors clearing away a crowd, cf. Liv. iii 148: for the metaphorical use cf. Hor. carm. ii 17, 18 informes hisem reducit Jupiter idem submouit.

386. hirtam] ‘a coarse toga’, i.e. with no under-garment, cf. Plut. Cat. 4 pol- lakis δ’ αυπτόδροτος καί αχίστον εἰς το δημό- σιον προφέ μετ’ ἀραστῶν.


iustitiae cultor, rigidi scrutator honesti, in commune bonus: nulloque Catonis in actus subrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata uoluptas. interea trepido discedens agmine Magnus moenia Dardanii tenuit Campana coloni. haece placuit belli sedes, hinc summa mouenti hostis in occurrsum sparsas extendere partes; umbrosis mediam qua collibus Appenninus erigit Italiam, nullo qua uertice tellus altius intumuit propiusque accessit Olympo. mons inter geminas medius se porrigit undas inferni superique maris: collesque coercent hinc Tyrrhena uado frangentes acquora Pisae, illinc Delmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon. fontibus hic uastis immensos concipit amnes, fluminaque in gemini spargit diuortia ponti. in lacum ce cidere latus ueloxque Metaurus Crustumiumque rapax et iunctus Sapis Isauro Senaque et Hadriacas qui uerberat Aufidus undas: quoque magis nullum tellus se soluit in annem

Philegraeus is a different matter from that of a word like nullus. Cortius reads quo, i.e. ‘than which the earth rises higher with no other peak’. In any case Lucan means that the Appennines are as high as any mountains in the world, just as below he exaggerates the size of the Po.

Olympos] sc. the sky. cf. 1 140.

collesque coercent] ‘the hills are hemmed in, on one side by Pisae that with its shallows breaks the force of the Tyrrhenian waves’.


corpit] ‘gathers the source of’, cf. Lucret. VI 503 concipiunt etiam nullum quoque saepo marimum unorem (unibis).


quoque magis] ‘a river than which
Lucani Pharsaliae

Eridanus fractas deouluit in acquora siluas Hesperiamque exaurit aquis. hunc fabula primum populae fluuiium ripas umbrasse corona: cumque diem pronom transuerso limite ducens succedidit Phaethon flagrantibus aethera loris, gurgitibus raptis penitus tellure perusta, hunc habuisse pares Phoebis ignibus undas. non minor hic Nilo, si non per plana iacentis Aegypti Libycas Nilus stagnaret harenas. nec minor hic Histro, nisi quod dum permeat orbem Hister casuros in quaelibet aequora fontes accipit et Scythicas exit non solus in undas. dextiora petens montis decliuit Tybrim unda facit Rutubamque cauom. delabitur inde Volturnusque celer nocturnaeque editor aurae Sarnus et umbrosae Liris per regna Maricae Vestinis impulsus aquis radensque Salerni culta Siler nullasque uado qui Macra moratus

culta Siler nullasque uado qui Macra moratus

there is none into which the earth more dissolves itself', i.e. than which none

400. siluas] cf. Verg. G. 1 481 proluit insano contortquens vertice siluas flu-

401. exhaustit aquis] 'drains Italy of its waters'. cf. IV 638.


411. diem pronom] 'the waning day'. cf. Ov. Met. xi 257 prons erat Titan. Propert. i xvi 23 me medias noctes me sidera prona iacenton, frigidaque evo me dolet aura gelu.

transuerso limite] sc. out of its proper
course, cf. IV 818 transuerso mentem du-
biam torrente iuluent.

loris] pro curribus, parte pro toto.

413. raptis] i.e. evaporated. Weise.

415. pares] 'a match for the fires of Phoebus'. cf. Caes. B. G. IV 7 secu sis Stuevis concede, quibus ne di quidem im-
nor males pares esse possint.

416. non minor] i.e. it is no less than the Nile, only the latter floods Egypt, and so appears greater than it really is.

Weise cf. III 253.

417. stagnaret] 'inundate', cf. Tac. Ann. i 76 Tibiris plana uiris stagnauerat. "casuros] 'the springs which might flow into any seas'. Lucan seems strangely to imply that the Po does not receive any affluents.

422. cauom] i.e. running in a gorge.

423. nocturnae] i.e. which gives out exhalations at night. It seems best to connect these words with the Volturnus in accordance with the passage which Oue.


425. Vestinis impulsus aquis] 'sped on its course by streams from the Vestinian land'.

426. moratus] 'not concerning itself
alnos uicinae percurrit in aequora Lunae.
longior educto qua surgit in aera dorso
Gallica rura uidet deuexasque aspicit Alpes.
tunc Vmbris Marsisque ferax domitusque Sabello
uomere piniferis amplexus rupibus omnes
indigenas Latii populos, non deserit ante
Hesperiam quam cum Scyllaeis clauditur undis,
extenditque suas in templas Lacinia rupes,
longior Italia donec confinia pontus
soluteret incumbens terrasque repelleret aequor:
at postquam gemino tellus elisa profundo est
extremi colles Siculo cessere Peloro.
Caesar in arma furens nullas nisi sanguine fuso
gaudet habere uias, quod non terat hoste uacantis
Hesperiae fines uacuosque irrrupat in agros,
ataque ipsum non perdat iter consertaque bellis
bella gerat. non tam portas intrare patentis
quam fregisse iuuat: nec tam patiente colono

with any boats', i.e. not being navigable.
cf. Hor. Epp. I xvi 16 nam uina nihil
moror illius orae.
427. alnos 'boats'. cf. Verg. G. I 136
tunc alnos primum flumii sensere cauatas.
428. longior] sc. Appenninus; 'extending
further', i.e. beyond the boundaries of
Italy (the Maera and the Rubicon)
northwards.
429. deuexas] 'looks on the slope
of the Alps'.
430. Latit] sc. Italy. cf. supr. 196,
infra. 447.
431. Scyllaeis] sc. the strait of
Messana.
432. longior Italia] 'once extending
beyond Italy'.
donec] cf. Verg. Aen. III 414—419,
aeae loca ut quondam et uasta conuolsa
ruina, tantum acu longinqua ualet mutare
ueltas, dissiluisse ferant, cum profinus
uraga tellus una foro; venit medio ui
pontus et undis Hesperium Siculo latos
abscidit, arnaque et uires litora diductas
angusto interiit aest. Oud. cf. Claudian
de rap. Pros. I 140—144
Trinacria quondam
Italiam pars una fuit, sed pontus et
aestus mutauere situm: rupit confinia
Nerus uictor et excessus interiit aqueae
montes, parauque cognatae prohibent
discrimina terrae.

amnis ut incumbens longaue robora
pontis assiduis oppugnat aquis.
terrasque repelleret aequor] i.e. instead
of the land driving back the sea.
438. essere] 'fell to the share of
Sicilian Pelorus' i.e. when Italy and Sicily
were parted the extremity of the Appen
ines became part of the latter; cf. Verg.
Aen. III 333, 334 morte Neoptolemi
reg norum reddita esseet pars Heleno.
439. nullas nisi sanguine fuso] 'Caes
rushing with fury to war rejoices to
find no path except by bloodshed; he is
glad that the land of Italy on which he
tramples is not clear of foes, that the
fields over which he sweeps are not de
serted; that he does not waste his march,
but wages war joined to war without a
break.' It is true that Caesar scarcely
met with any resistance in Italy and did
not ravage the country, but it is in ac
cordance with Lucan's custom to describe
him as a bloodthirsty destroyer cf. I 144
foll., 534 infra., VII 557 foll.
consorta] cf. Auson. Ep. xx 13,
14 uiue uile et totidem venturos congere
lanos quod tuus aut noster conservere
patres.' For the adversative que cf. note
on I 134.
446. concessa] 'lawful', cf. Hor. Sat. 1 iv 113 ne sequerur moechas concessa cum Venere uiti possem: Weise takes it as sibi concessa a Pompeio.

449. cessurae] 'ready to yield'.
451. super] i.e. desuper, 'from above', cf. vi 291.

454. fides] 'loyalty'.


459. nubiferaque] 'and when the sky has yielded to the East that brings the clouds, the waves maintain their claim to the West'. Weise cf. v 571 foll. See also Ov. Met. VIII 470—472 utque carina, quam uentus uentique rapid contrarius acce, uim geniun sentit, parecque incerta duobus.

460. Notum] i.e. the same as the Auster of line 454., cf. note on I 406.
461. fuerat] equivalent to auferbat: so infr. 487.

463. ius sui] sc. the power to dispose of themselves, cf. VIII 611, 612 Pharamique ablatus in alium perdiderat iam iura sui.

465. conversus] 'turned to flight'.

467. per diuersa] sc. through the walls on the opposite side of the town.

468. qua siluae'] flies where are found woods and rocks, i.e. to their protection.
Lentulus Ascula. uictor cedentibus instat diuertitque acies: solusque ex agmine tanto dux fugit et nullas ducentia signa cohortes.

tu quoque commissae nudatam deseris arcem, Scipio, Nuceriae: quamquam firmissima pubes his sedeat castris iampridem Caesaris armis Parthorum seducta metu; qua Gallica damna suppleuit Magnus, dumque ipse ad bella uocaret, donauit socero Romani sanguinis usum.

at te Corfini uadidis circumdata muris tecta tenent, pugnax Domiti: tua classica seruat oppositus quondam polluto tiro Miloni. ut procul immensam campo consurgere nubem ardentisque acies percussis sole coruscum conspexit telis, socii decurrite, dixit, fluminis ad ripas undaeque immergite pontem; et tu montanis totus nunc fontibus exi atque omnes trahes, gurges, aquas ut spumeus alnos discussa compage feras. hoc limite bellum haereat, hac hostis lentus terat otia ripa. praecipitem cohbite ducem: uictoria nobis hic primum stans Caesar erit. nec plura locutus, 490

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470. *divertit*] *brings over to his own side*.
473. *Nuceriae* in Umbria. *Nuceriae* is the correction of Micillus for the *Luceriae* of the MSS.: from Caesar B.C. 1 24 it appears that Pompeius was at Luceria in Apulia when he heard the news of the capture of Corfinium. Luceria cannot therefore at this time have been lost by Scipio.
475. *Gallica damna* After the defeat of Cotta and Sabinus by the Nervii Pompeius had lent a legion to Caesar to make up for his losses: when the Senate required that Pompeius and Caesar should each supply a legion for the Parthian war, Pompeius demanded that this legion should be restored, and another besides sent from Caesar's own forces: on their arrival in Italy they were retained there and not forwarded to Asia. cf. Caes. B.G. vi 1, B.C. 1 4.
476. *dumquae*] *till he should recall them for war*.
477. *usum*] *the loan of Roman blood*.
479. *Domiti]. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, selected for praise as the ancestor of Nero: for his death cf. vii 599—616.
480. *oppositus*] *arrayed against*, i.e. these were the troops which when newly levied had been employed by Pompeius to overawe the court at the trial of Milo. cf. note on 1 326.
484. *fluminis*] *sc. the Aternus*.
485. *totus*] *with all thy force*. cf. Hor. carm. 1 xix 9 in me teta ruens Venus Cyprum deservit.
486. *alinos*] *sc. the timber of the bridge*.
488. *terat otia*] *waste his time in idleness*. A mixture of *terat tempus* and *otia agat*. cf. L. 4, 571.
489. *victoria*] *cf. inf. 703 exiguus est fugiens victoria Magnus*.
lucanii 500
betray even, the crebroque V 507.
ruiturum non, to 514.
uel, 510
spes]

This seems destroyed. 492
ruiturum]

Caesar poenamque peti ueniamque timeri.
uiae licet nolis et nostro munere, dixit,
cerne diem. uictis iam spes bona partibus esto
exemplumque mei: uel, si libet, arma retempta;
et nihil hac uenia, si uiceris ipse, paciscor.

491. deoluit rapidum nequidquam moenibus agmen.
nam prior e campis ut conspicit amne soluto
rumpi Caesar iter calida prolatus ab ira:
non satiis est muros latebras quaesisse pauori?

obstructis campos fluuiisque arcre paratis,
ignau? non, si tumido me gurgite Ganges
submoucat, stabit iam flumine Caesar in ullo
post Rubiconis aquas. equitum properate cateruae:

ite simul pedites: ruiturum adscendite pontem.
haec ubi dicta, leuis totas accepit habenas
in campum sonipes: crebroque simillima nimbo
trans ripam ualidi torserunt tela lacerti.
ingreditur pulsa fluuiium statione uacantem
Caesar et ad tutas hostis compellitur arces.
et iam moturas ingentia pondera turre

492. soluto] i.e. freed from the bridge,
which is regarded as fettering the river.
cf Verg. Aen. viii 728 pontem indignatus
Araxes.

493. ab ira] cf. note on 86 supr.

495. arcre] For the omission of the
me after arcre cf. note on 738 infr.

497. submouac] cf. Verg. Aen. vii
225, 226 auditi et si quem tellus extrema
refuso submouet Oceanu.


This seems not to agree with what was
said in 492 infr. viz. that the bridge was already
destroyed.

xiv 8 Antecetus uillam statione circumdat.

504. ad tutas] 'to the protection of
the citadel'.

505. moturas] sc. to discharge.

506. uinea] 'pent-house': for a de-
scription of it cf. Veget. de re mil. iv 15.

507. nefas bell]] 'a military crime',
i.e. it is a crime on the part of soldiers to
betray their general.

508. civisque superbi] 'his insolent
fellow-citizen', sc. Caesar.

2 recto inutique muriendum est.

513. uictis] 'be now a cause of hope
to the conquered faction, and an example
of my clemency'. uictis implies that
Caesar regards his enemies as certain to be conquered.

spe]] For spes used of a person cf. Verg.
Aen. ii 581 o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidis-
sima Teumerum.

514. uel st libet] 'even, if you will, try
the fortune of war again'. cf. Ov. Trist.
v xii 51 si demens studium fatale retempt-
em.

necscius intere capiti ducis arma parabat Magnus ut immixto firmaret robore partes. iamque secuturo iussurus classica Phoebus temptandasque ratus moturi militis iras adloquitur tacitas ueneranda uoce cohortes:

§

o scelerum ulores melioraque signa seuti, o uere Romana manus, quibus arma senatus non priuata dedit, uotis deposite pugnam, ardent Hesperii saeuis populatibus agri:

Gallica per gelidas rabies effunditur Alpes:

iam tetigit sanguis pollutos Caesaris ense.

di melius bellii tulimus quod damna priores: coeperit inde nefas. iamiam, me praeside, Roma

519. poenarum] 'for which it is the worst of punishments to be pardoned for having followed the camp of their country &c.'

cui fit] This is the reading which Sulpicius gives: the reading cui which is found in most mss. is supposed by Weise to have arisen from a mistake in writing from dictation.

524. iamdudum] perhaps best taken with paras; cf. IV 545; Ov. A. A. 1 317 ingenti iamdudum de gregi duci iussit; but it may be taken with moriture, cf. Stat. Theb. vi 857 iamdudum aetherias eadem radiatura sub auras. See also note on I 347.

certus] 'sure of thy fate'.

525. lucis...moras] 'the ties that hold thee to life', cf. Plin. Epp. 1 xii § 8 multa illa vitae sed minora reinaucta abruptit. Val. Flacc. vi 733 saeua quidem lucis misiris mora.

527. robore] sc. valido tiro ne ut est 1 305. Weise.

528. iussurus classica] 'intending to bid his trumpets sound'.

529. moturi] sc. castra. cf. Cic. ad Att. ix 1 § 1 postquam ille Curnusio moue- rat. Liv. xxiv 44 consules legionibus scriptis priusquam ab urbe mouerunt pro- digia procurarunt.

530. meliora] 'of the better side'.

cf. VII 349 causa iubet melior superos se- rare secundos.

531. uere Romana] cf. Tac. Hist. 1 84 uille Italiae aluini et Romana uere in- nentus ad sanguinem et caedem depopose- rint ordinem, in which passage Otho is addressing the Praetorian guards.

532. non priuata] cf. supr. 319.

533. effunditur] 'the flood of Gallic fury is pouring'.


prieres] innocentior enim est qui prior acceperit iniuriam. Schol.

538. inde] 'on his side'.
supplicium poenamque petat. necque enim ista uocari proelia iusta decet patriae sed uindicis iram. nec magis hoc bellum est quam cum Catilina parauit arsuras in tecta faces sociusque furoris Lentulus exsertique manus uaesana Cethegi. o rabies miseranda ducis, cum fata Camillis te, Caesar, magnisque uelint miscere Metellis, ad Cinnas Mariosque uenis? sternere profecto, ut Catulo iacuit Lepidus, nostrasque secures passus Sicanio tegitur qui Carbo sepulcro, quiue feros mouit Sertorius exsul Hiberos. quamquam, si qua fides, his te quoque iungere, Caesar inuideo, nostrasque manus quod Roma furenti opposuit. Parthorum utinam post proelia sospes et Scythicis Crassus uictor remeasset ab oris, ut simili causa caderis qua Spartacus hostis. te quoque si superi titulis accedere nostris iusserunt, uael in torquendo dextera pilo: feruidus haec iterum circum praecordia sanguis incaulit: disces non esse ad bella fugaces

me praeside] 'with me at her head'; praeside does not appear to be used in any technical sense; Forc. quotes from the Digest tit. 1 18 praesidis nonum generale est, eo quod et proconsules et legati Caesarian et omnes provinciae regentes praesides appellentur. See also Ov. Met. xv. 758.


543. exserti] 'bare-armed'; cf. vi 794, Hor. A.P. 50 dicere coetutus non exaudita Cethegi and Orelli's note.

545. miscer] 'to raise thee to the level of'; similarly it is used of bringing down to the level of another 1 271. 'This is taken from a letter of Brutus to Atticus in which a similar expression is used of M. Antonius: the words are used in Plutarch's life of Brutus 29: Мάρκον δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἀξίαν φοίτης ἀνίκας δεδομένα δίκης, οἱ ἐν Βραυνοῖσι καὶ Καστιοῖσι καὶ Κάτωσι συναφέιαι διακόρειν, προσηκόν εἰσαυὸν Ὀξυταβίλις δεδομένον.' Rutgersius.

547. ut Catulo] 'as Lepidus fell before Catulus'. cf. Florus ii 11, who however says that Lepidus fled to Sardinia and died there.


549. quique] sc. utque iacuit Sertorius qui &c. Sertorius was not put to death by Pompeius, but murdered by his lieutenant Perperna. cf. Florus ii 8 § 9. Vell. Pat. i 60.

550. si qua fides] 'if thou wilt believe me';

551. inuideo] 'I grudge ranking thee too with these, and regret that Rome has set my hand the task of resisting thy frenzy'; i.e. Caesar is not worthy of being ranked with Marius and Cinna, but rather with Spartacus. For inuideo with infinitive cf. Persius iii 73 discere inuidios (i.e. discere) and Conington's note; for the change in construction cf. vii 427—433.

554. similis causa] sc. by the hand of Crassus. cf. Vell. Pat. i 60 xxx § 5.


559. solutum] 'enfeebled'. cf. 1. 311. note.
560. defectum] 'worn out'. cf. 1. 695.

561. senior] This is a glaring sophism which is put into the mouth of Pompeius, as in the Roman system of fighting a small body of veteran troops was more than a match for many times their number of untrained recruits. cf. 1. 312 where Caesar speaks of his opponent’s troops as miles subitus.

562. liber] emphatic, ‘yet remaining free’.
566. ducum] i.e. procerum. Weise.
568. teque nihil] ‘nor art thou, Fortune, so utterly lost to shame’.
570. Rheni] This refers to Caesar’s retreat from Germany into Gaul. cf. B.G. IV 19.


572. quaesitis] ‘attacked by him unprovoked’.
574. expulit] ‘has driven the city forth in arms from its native home’, i.e. the citizens, who are identified with the city. Compare the language of the Athenian democratic party at Samos in Thuc. VIII 76 των δει ἄνθρωπων δέ τι πόλις αὐτῶν αὐτῇς ἀφέσητε. The expression is a strange one as patria is often used of the city of Rome, cf. I 186, III 73,Tac. Ann. VI 21 (15) deiniis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.


578. metuens pelagi] to be taken toge.
angustaque domum terrarum in sede poposcit. idem ego per Scythici profugum diuortia Ponti 580
indomitum regem Romanaque fata morantem
ad mortem Sulla felicior ire coegi.

pars mundi mihi nulla uacat: sed tota tenetur
terra meis quocumque iacet sub sole tropaeis.

hinc me uictorem gelidas ad Phasidos undas
Arctos habet: calida mediuss mihi cognitus axis
Aegypto atque umbrae nusquam flecentente Syene.
occasus mea iura timent Tethynque fugacem
qui ferit Hesperius post omnia flumina Baetis.
me domitus cognouit Arabs me Marte feroces
Heniochi notique eretpuo uellere Colchi.
Cappadoces mea signa timent, et dedita sacris
incerti Iudaea dei mollisique Sophene.

Armenios Cilicasque feros Taurosque subegi.
quod socero bellum praeter ciuile reliqui?
	
ucerva ducis nullo partes clamore sequuntur,
nec matura petunt promissae classica pugnae.
sensit et ipse metum Magnus; placuitque referri
signa nec in tantae discrimina mittere pugnae

ther, 'shrinking from the open sea'. cf.
viii 811 pauidos Cilicas maris.
579. terrarum] 'on land', i.e. at Soi
in Cilicia and elsewhere. cf. note on 1 346.
580. Scythici diuortia Ponti] 'the distant
recesses of the Scythian sea' i.e. the
kingdom of Bosphorus or Panticapaeum
over which he had set his son Maches.
For diuortia cf. 404 supr. and Tac. Agric.
19 diuortia itinerum.

581. Romanaque fata morantem] 'who
delayed the march of Rome's destiny'.
cf. Hor. carm. iii xxvii 50 impudens
Orcum moror.
582. ad mortem] 'to go to meet his
death'.
felicior] cf. note on 221 supr.
584. sole] cf. Hor. carm. ii xvi 18, 19
quid terras alto calente sole mutamus?
Verg. G. II 512 atque alto patriam quaerunt
sub sole inaequem.
586. mediuss axis] sc. the southern
quarter. cf. iii 359 Hesperium...in axem.
Juv. XIV 42 quocunque sub axem.
587. umbras] i.e. Syene is exactly
under the equator, so that the midday sun
being vertically overhead casts no shadow.

musquam] sc. neither to right nor left.
cf. iii 248.
588. fugacem] i.e. because of the
tides.

589. post omnia flumina] 'furthest of
all rivers'. There are however several
Spanish rivers whose mouths lie further
west than that of the Baets, e.g. the
Anas, the Tagus and the Duries.
593. incerti] cf. Juv. xiv 96, 97 qui-
dam sortiti metentem sola patrem nil
practer tides et eelii numen adorant. Tac.
Hist. v 5 Iudaei mente sola unumque
numen intellegunt.
1 220 in merium veniunt Cilicas Iudaeas
Sophenae, Romanusque labor Pompeianique
triumpfi.

596. partes] i.e. the soldiers of his
side. cf. supr. 395.
597. natural] 'the immediate signal'.
598. senskt et ervice] 'felt fear in his own
person', i.e. was himself afraid; so sen-
tive calorem is used for 'to be hot'; cf.
Juv. xii 98.
599. in tantae discrimina pugnae
according to Weise is equivalent to in
iam uictam fama non uisi Caesaris agmen. pulsus ut armentis primo certamine taurus siluaram secreta petit uacuosque per agros exsul in aduersi explorat cornua trunciis; nec redit in pastus, nisi cum ceruice recepta excussi placuere tori: mox reddita uictor quoslibet in saltus comitantibus agmina taurus inuito pastore trahit: sic uiribus impar tradidit Hesperiam, profugusque per Apula rura Brundisii tutas conscendit Magnus in arcs. urbs est Dictaeis olim possessa colononis, quos profugos Creta uexere per aequora puppes Cecropiae uictum mentitis Thesea uelis. hac latus angustum iam se cogentis in arcum Hesperiae tenuem producit in aequora linguam Hadriacas flexis claudit quae cornibus undas. nec tamen hoc artis immissum faucibus aequor portus erat, si non violentos insula Cauros exciperet saxis lassasque refunderet undas. hinc illinc montes scoplusae rupis aperto tantum pugnae discriment; he refers to IX 656 Phlegareo stantes serpente gigantas, Bentley cf. Tac. Hist. v 15 et proeli eventus utrimque dicem ad naturandum summam rei discriment erexit. 601. pulsus] For the simile cf. Verg. G. III 210 foll. Weise also refers to Soph. O.T. 481 foll. fonta ydrp or ygrylav yvav avva yrtva kai petra wte tawros melos melow poii xerewn. 603. explorat] 'tests the strength of', cf. Verg. G. i 175 et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus. 604. ceruice] i.e. the strength of his neck. cf. note on I 609. 605. excussi] i.e. the muscles that stand out. cf. Verg. Aen. XII 7, 8 gaudeteque (lo) comantes excutientes ceruice toras. placuere] Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. II 326 cum profugo placuere tori ceruixque recepta saepe magna reddit. 606. comitantibus...tauris] i.e. accompanied by the other bulls whom he has reduced to subjection. 611. Creta] Weise cf. Strabo VI 6 (281). 612. uictum] 'with sails that falsely told of the defeat of Theseus'. cf. Catull. LXIV 211 foll. 613. hac latus] 'here the side of Italy, where it begins to contract into a narrow bow, throws out a slender tongue of land into the waves', i.e. the southern part of Italy narrows and becomes bow-shaped, and from the eastern side there extends a peninsula which with the island mentioned below forms the harbour of Brundusium. 615. claudit] 'encloses', cf. I 421. 616. immissum] cf. Verg. G. II 163, 164 Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso, (cf. infr. VI 62) Tyrrenhusque fretis immittitur aestus Auenis. 617. erat] cf. Verg. G. II 132, 133 et si non alium longe iactaret odorem laurus erat. 618. lassas] This is the reading of Grosius for laxas, which is found in most MSS. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. IX 56 qui lassas in se sape retorquet aquas. Weise following Sulpitius reads lapsas, sc. adlapsas. 619. hinc illinc] cf. Verg. Aen. I 162 foll. a passage which seems to have been in Luces mind when he wrote this passage.
opposituit natura mari flatusque removit, 620
ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae.
hinc late patet omne fretum, seu uela ferantur in portus, Corcyra, tuos, seu lacua petatur Illyris Ionias uergens Epidamnos in undas.
huc fuga nautarum, cum totas Hadria uires mouit, et in nubes abiere Ceraunia, cumque
spumoso Calaber perfunditur acquore Sason.

ergo ubi nulla fides rebus post terga relictis
nec licet ad duros Martem convertere Hiberos,
cum mediae iacent immensis tractibus Alpes:
tum subole ex tanta natum cui firmior aetas
adfatur: mundi inbeo temptare recessus:
Euphratem Nilumque moue, quo nominis usque
nostri fama ueint, quas est uolgata per urbes
post me Roma ducem: sparsos per rura colonos 635
redde mari Cilicas: Pharios hinc concute reges
Tigranemque meum. nec Pharmacis arma relinquuas
admoneo nec tu populos utraque uagantis
Armenia Pontique feras per litora gentes
Ripaeasque manus, et quas tenet acquore denso 640

621. ut tremulo] tremulo and starent are the two emphatic words: the water in the harbour was so still that the ropes by which the ship was fastened remained slack and quivered at the slightest motion of the vessel, caused for instance by the crew moving about on deck, while at the same time the ship remained steady in its place.

tremulo] because slack.
contentae] i.e. they did not require the ropes, either the anchor's cable or ropes stretched from the shore, to be taut.

624. Illyris] Illyria is extended southwards so as to include Epirus.


626. in nubes abiere] 'are lost in clouds'. cf. IV 491 in medium nars omnis ubi.


628. rebus] sc. his fortunes in Italy and Spain.

629. convertere] 'to transfer the scene of war'. cf. I 441 tu quoque laetatus converti proelia Treuir.

630. mediae] i.e. between him and them.

631. tantae] i.e. nobilissima. Weise.
cui firmior aetas] i.e. simply 'the elder'. cf. Verg. Ecl. iv 37 hinc ubi iam firmata uiris te fecerit actas.

634. quas est] 'the cities through which the name of Rome has been a household word since my command'.

635. post me ducem] cf. Cic. Phil. II
§ 97 statuitur ne post M. Brutum proconsule sit Creta provincia.

636. Cilicas] i.e. the pirates whom Pompeius had settled in various towns, cf. I 346.


638. nec tu] 'nor yet': the emphasis is not really on the tu but on what follows it. cf. Hor. carm. 1 ii 15 nec dulces amores sperne fuerit nque tu choraeas. Id. Epp. i ii 63 huc fremis hunc tu compessae calenas.

utraque] sc. the greater and lesser Armenia.

640. denso] 'frozen'.
pigra palus Scythici patientis Macotica plaustria. sed quid plura moror? totos mea, nate, per ortus bella feres totoque urbes agitabis in orbe perdomitas: omnes redecant in castra triumphi. et us, qui Latios signatis nomine fastos, primus in Epirum Boreas agat: inde per arua Graiorum Macetunque nouas adquirite uires, dum paci dat tempus hiemps. sic fatur et omnes iussa gerunt soluuntque cauas a litore puppes, at numquam patiens pacis longaeque quietis armorum, ne quid fatis mutare liceret, adsequitur generique premite uestigia Caesar. sufficient alis primo tot moenia cursu rapta, tot oppressae depulsis hostibus arces, ipsa caput mundi bellorum maxima merces Roma capi facilis. sed Caesar in omnia praeceps, nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum, instat atroxo: et adhuc, quamuis possederit omnem Italianum, extremo sedeat quod litore Magnus communem tamen esse dolet: nec rursus aperto uolt hostes errare freto, sed molibus undas obstruit et latum deiectis rupibus acuor. cedit in immensum cassus labor: omnia pontus


644. *triumphi* i.e. *populi triumphati.* cf. Claudia, in Eutrop. i 221 Pompelianii triumphi.

645. *qui Latios* sc. *nos consules.*

648. *pace* i.e. for undisturbed operations, *hiemps.* From this passage and also from 691, 692, on which see note, it appears that Lucan makes Pompeius leave Italy in the autumn, whereas from Cicero's letters it is clear that he really crossed the Adriatic in March. cf. Cic. ad Att. ix i 8 1, iii 8 2.

651. *ne quid fatis* ['to allow no time for the fates to make any change'. *liceret* is in the past tense, because it is dependent on the historic present *adsequitur*.

656. *capi facilis*] The supine is the more common construction with *facilis*, but cf. Tac. Hist. iv 39 *ne paratis quidem corrupti facili.* See also 1 510. *in omnia praeceps*] cf. the character of Caesar i 143 foll.

658. *adhuc* to be taken with *sedecat.*

660. *communem* ['grieves that he has to share it with him'. *rursus* ['on the contrary'. cf. Tac. Agric. 29 quem casum necue ut plerique fortium uiorum ambitiiue necue per laemata rursus ac macorem multibriter tuit.*

663. *cedit in immensum*] *eis ἀπευθεῖν.* *cedit* is equivalent to *precedit.* Weise. *cassus* ['all in vain'.

71
haurit saxa uorax montesque immiscet harenis. ut maris Aegaei medias si celsius in undas
depellatur Eryx, nullae tamen aequore rupes
emincant, uel si conuolso uertice Gaurus
decidat in fundum penitus stagnantis Auerni.
ergo ubi nulla uado tenuit sua pondera moles,
tum placuit caesis innectere uincula siluis
roboraque immensis late religare catenis.
tales fama canit tumidum super aequora Xerxes
construxisse uias, mutilum cum pontibus ausus
Europanque Asiae Sestonque admouit Abydo,
incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti,
non Eurum Zephyrumque timens, cum uela ratesque
in medium deferret Athon. sic ora profundi
artantur casu nemorum: tunc aggere molto
surgit opus longaeque tremunt super aequora turres.
Pompeius tellure noua compressa profundi
ora uidens curis animum mordacibus angit,
ut reseret pelagus spargatque per aequora bellum.
saepe Noto plenae tensisque rudentibus actae
ipsa maris per claustra rates fastigia molis

666. Eryx] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 701 quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx. The difficulty here is that Eryx being in the west of Sicily is a long way from the Aegean sea: probably Eryx is put for any high mountain, the Aegean for any sea. cf. Verg. Ecl. x 29 libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu spicula. Id. G. III 343—345 omnia secum armentarius Afer asit, tectumque laremuque armaque Amymacumque canem Cressamque pharetum.
668. in fundum penitus] 'to the lowest depths'.
669. ergo ubi] 'accordingly when no mass could keep its weight upon the bottom', i.e. could retain its position however heavy it was: for the use of pondus in the sense of equilibrium see Dr Munro's note on Aetna 324.
670. caesis &c.] i.e. to cut down the woods, and with the timber build ships and fasten them together to form a floating mass. cf. Caes. B. C. I 25.
674. admoit] 'brought nearer', sc. by joining them by a bridge.
678. casu nemorum] i.e. caesis nemo-
ribus.
679. tremunt] 'nod above the waves', i.e. being on board the ships they would shake with the movement of the ships.
682. ut reseret] dependent on curis, 'with anxiety to open up the sea'.
spargatque] i.e. instead of concentrating the war in Italy, cf. III 64 bellaque Saroios etiam sparguntur in oras; Tac. Ann. III 21 sed Tacfarinas perseculus Nu-
imidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargit bellum, ubi instaretur codens, ac nursum in terga remans.
683. rudentibus] 'the sheets', 'the ropes of the sails', not as Weise takes it 'towing lines', for Caesar's troops occupied the shore. cf. 698 infr., III 44.
684. maris per claustra] 'the boom that barred them from the sea'. cf. Caes.
discussere salo spatiumque dedere carinis:
tortaque per tenebras usulidis ballista lacertis
multifidas iaculata faces. ut temporae tandem
furtiuæ placuere fugae, ne litora clamor
nauticus exagitet, neu buccia diuidat horas,
neu tube præmonitos perducat ad aquora nautæ, 690
præcepit sociis. iam coeperat ultima Virgo
Phœbæm laturas ortu praecedere Chelas
cum taciti soluere rates. non ancora uoces
mouit dum spissis auellitur uncus harenis:
dum iuga curuantur mali dumque ardua pinus
erigitur pauidi classis siluere magistri:
strictaque pendentes deducunt carbasæ nautæ,
 nec quatiunt ualidos, ne sibilet aura, rudentes.
dux etiam uotis hoc te, Fortuna, precatur,
quam retinere uetas liceat sibi perdere saltem

B. C. I 25 longius progressus, cum agger
altiore aqua contineri non posset, rates
duxit, quoqueuersus spenum triginta, e
regione altiore the nam lucent.
fastigia motis] 'lashed down into the
sea the towering mole' cf. Caes. B. C. I 26 contra hac Pompeius non muros
oncarius, quae in portu Brundisino de
prendere, deornabant. ibi turres cum termis
bulatatis crigebat easque multis tormentis
et omni genere telorum completas ad opera
Cæsaris appellati, ut rates ferrumferat
aegae opera diuturbarat.
685. salo] sc. in salum. Oud. cf. vii
362 Iono fluit inde mari.
multifidás facies ramalique arida testo
dedit.
689. buccin diuidat] cf. Propert. v iv
63 et iam quartá canút nenturam buccin
tunc. Liv. xxvi 15 ut ad tortum buccin
nautae praecipit essent.
691. iam coeperat] 'the fullest stars
in the Virgin were just beginning to
precede in their rising the Scorpion's claws
which would bring the sun with them',
i.e. which would rise at the same time as
the sun. For the following information
I am indebted to Mr K. Pendlebury of
St John's College. If the sun rises with
Scorpio the time must be seven months
after the vernal equinox, that is, one month
after the autumnal equinox. The pre-
cession of the equinox since B.C. 49 would
not make a difference of more than two
or three weeks. Hence it appears that
Lucan wrongly makes Pompeius cross the
Adriatic in the autumn. See note on 648
supr. He also apparently implies that
Pompeius started at day-break, but cf.
Caes. B. C. I 28 Pompeius sub noctem
navae soluit.
qua locus Erigonæ inter Chelase sequentis
pantitur: ipsa tibi iam brachia
contrahit ardens Scyllis, ct caelestia
plus parte reliquit.
693. naves] sc. the Greek πόταμα,
694. spissis] 'clinging'.
695. inäs] i.e. the yards, antænas, in
position like the beam of a balance. inäs
used in connexion with a ship generally
means the rowsers' benches. cf. Verg.
Aen. vi 411.
curruntur] 'are bent down', i.e. to
have the sails fastened on them. See note
on iv 38.
697. pendentes] 'hanging to the ropes'.
Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. iii 129 pendentibus
arbore nautis.
deducunt] 'let down (i.e. unfurl) the
tied up sails'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. iii 633.
Val. Flacc. ii 493 iamne placet primo
deducere uela sereno?
700. quam retinere] 'to be allowed at
least to lose (i.e. escape from) the Italy
you forbid him to retain'.
Italiam. uix fata sinunt: nam murmur roseo uasto impulsum rostris sonuit mare, fluctuavit unda, totque carinarum permixtis aquorua sulcis.

ergo hostes portis, quas omnes soluerat urbis
cum fato transversa fides, murisque recepti,
prompiti cursu flexi per cornua portus
ora petunt pelagusque dolent contingere classes.
heu pudor: exigua est fugiens uictoria Magnus.
angustus puppes mittebat in aquorua limes
artior Euboica qua Chalcida uerberat unda.
hic haesere rates geminae classique paratas
exceptere manus: tractoque in litora bello
hie primum rubuit ciuili sanguine Nereus.
ecetera classis abit summissi spoliata carinis:
ut Pagasaeae ratis pector cum Phasidos undas
Cyaneas tellus emisit in aquorua cautes;
rapta puppe minor subducta est montibus Argo,
uanaque percussit pontum Symplegas inanem
et statura redit. iam Phoebum urgere monebat
non idem Eoi color aetheris, albaque nondum
lux rubet et flammis propioribus eripit astris:
et iam Pleias hebet, flexi iam plaustra Bootae
in faciem puri redeunt languentia caeli,
maioresque latent stellae, calidumque refugit
Lucifer ipse diem. pelagus iam, Magne, tenebas

703. sulcis] 'the mingling wakes of so
many ships'.
704. quas omnes] 'all of which the
citizens had thrown open, changing their
allegiance with the turn of fortune'.
707. ora] i.e. the entrance of the
harbour.
708. fugiens Magnus] is equivalent to
fuga Magni. cf. supra 490.
709. mittebat] 'allowed to pass'. cf.
Plin. Epp. viii viii § 3 quas (naves) ob-
utias quoque et contrario nisu in diversa
tendentes transmittit et perfert.
710. Euboiae] The Euripus was bridged
over. cf. Strabo ix 8 (c. 447).
712. exceptere manus] 'were grasped
by the hooks (i.e. grapnel) prepared to
stop the fleet'. cf. III 635; Caes. B. C. 157.
tractoque in litora bello] 'and the fight-
ing being thus extended to the shore'.
714. summis] i.e. these two last ships.
717. rapta puppe minor] 'lessened by
604 ἐμπς ἀφλάστοι παρέθυσαν ἄκρα κό-
rυμβα.
719. et statura] 'and returns to its place
i 607 πέτρας δ' εἰς ένα χώρον ἐπισχέον
ἀλληγον νωλεῖμες ἔπρεπον.
uergere] 'was at hand'.
720. non idem] 'the changing hue of
the eastern sky'.
721. propioribus] nearer to the sun,
and so to the horizon, which would be the
first to lose their brightness.
723. in faciem &c.] 'pale and vanish
into the face of the heavens free from stars'.
Compare the expression in Wordsworth's
Ode on the intimations of Immortality
'fade into the light of common day'.
LIBER II. 701—736.

non ea fata ferens quae cum super aequora toto praedonem sequerere mari. lassata triumphis destituit Fortuna tuis. cum coniuge pulsus et natis totoque trahens in bella penates uadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exsul. 730 quacritur indignae sedes longinquae ruinae. non quia te superi patrio priuare sepulchro maluerint Phariae busto damnantur harenae: parcitur Hesperiae; procul hoc ut in orbe remoto abscondat Fortuna nefas Romanaque tellus 735 immaculata sui seructur sanguine Magni.

736. super aequora] means simply ‘on ship-board’.
738. destituit] sc. te. Weise defends this construction, referring to v. 302 sic cat o superi, quando piasaque fidesque destituent. Liv. v. 25 quando socialis exercitus desereret; also the use of arcere supr. 495. Grotius reads descinit, but this would require a te.
739. exsul] cf. Verg. Aen. i. 11, i. 12 fove exsul in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis.
731. quacritur] sc. a fatis. Weise.
732. non quia] ‘tis not because the gods have chosen to rob thee of burial in thy native land, that the sands of Egypt are condemned to be thy tomb: ’tis in mercy to Italy’.
734. hoc] to be taken with nefas.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.


Propulit ut classem ulcis cedentibus Auster incumbens mediumque rates mouere profundum omnis in Ionios spectabat nauita fluctus: solus ab Hesperia non flexit lumina terra Magnus, dum patrios portus, dum litora numquam ad uisus reeditura suos, tectumque cacumen nubibus, et dubios cernit uanescere montes. inde soporiferō cesserit languida somno membra ducis. diri tum plena horroris imago

1. *ulcis cedentibus*] 'the sails which give way before it', i.e. as the ship sails before the wind: on the other hand when the sails are taken alack they are said *redire*, for which Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. i. 113 *flumineo calpe redcantia vento uela legant.*

2. *mouere*] This, which is the reading of most mss., is retained by Weise: Oud. reads *tenvere.*

7. *dubios*] 'the mountains melting away in the haze'. cf. Verg. Aen. iii 522 *cum praeful obscurós montés humilémque uidentes Itáliam,* where the Trojans catch their first glimpse of Italy.

8. *soporiferō*] Probably a customary epithet like the *mare navigérum &c.* of Lucretius. Bentley, in order to avoid the tautology, would write *Somno* with a capital, i.e. the god of sleep.

uisa caput maestum per hiantis Iulia terras
tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro.
sedibus Elysii campoque expulsa piorum
ad Stygiis, inquit, tenebras manesque nocentis
post bellum ciuile trahor. uidi ipsa tenentis
Eumenidas quaterent quas uestrís lampadas armis: 15
praeparat innumerás puppes Acherontis adusti
portitor: in multas laxantur Tartara poenas.
uix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores
sufficiunt: lassant rumpentis stamina Parcas.
coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos:
fortuna est mutata toris: semperque potens
detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos
innupsit tepido paclex Cornelia busto.

10. *per hiantis* i.e. Pompeius sees the
shade of Julia rise through an opening in
the ground at the spot where she was
burnt on the funeral pile: so in 1568 the
shade of Sulla rises in the Campus.
11. *accenso* 'and take her stand in
fury-gaise at her kindled funeral pile', i.e.
she is probably intended to be represented
as appearing with the marks of the fire
upon her. cf. Propert. v vii 7—9, where
the shade of Cynthia appears, *cosodem
habuit secum quibus est elata capillus, cosodem
ecudos; lateri uestrís adustá fuit, et solitum
digitò beryllon adederat ignis.*

*furialis* nam et minatur in sequentibus
se eum persecutaram ubique uncinque sit futurus.
Weise.
12. *expulsa* according to Weise, not
driven away by the good as polluted, but
*excita quasi per furias*, at the outbreak of
civil war, and seeking the Eumenides of
her own accord to obtain permission to
haunt Pompeius: this however seems an
unnecessary refinement, and it is doubtful
whether *expulsa* could bear this meaning.
In Suet. Calig. 1 prinsquam honorem ini-territ ad componentum Orientis statum ex-
pulsus, the word implies that the mission
of Germanicus was really intended as
banishment by Tiberius.
14. *post bellum ciuile* cf. note on ii
635.

*tenentis* 'holding torches to brandish'.
For the order cf. note on i
14.

16. *innupsae* cf. Petron. 121 *uix na-
mita Porthmus sufficiet simulacra viirem
transducere ciuumb; classe opus est.*

17. *laxantur* 'are being enlarged'.

18. *inuersae* cf. Isaiah v. 14 'Therefore hell hath
enlarged herself and opened her mouth with-
677,678 *hine ampla uacuis spatia laxantur
locis, in quae omne mensum percut huma-
num genus.*
19. *lassant* 'the threads weave the
Parcae as they snap them'. Oud. cf. Sen.
Herc. Oet. 566, 567 *prolata uis est quaeque
Palladia colu laissat omnem texta familia-
larum munus.*
20. *laetos* i.e. because over foreign
enemies.
21. *toris* i.e. *mutatis,*
22. *fato damnata* i.e. because she had
before been the wife of the younger Cras-
sus, killed at Carrae.
23. *innupsit* It is difficult to see what
meaning can be attached to the expression
*innuhere busto*: the natural sense would
be 'to pass by marriage into the tomb':
but Cornelia cannot in any way be said to
have done so. Bentley conjectures *lecto,*
comparing Ov. Met. vii 852—856 *per
nostri foederar lecti...ne thalamis Aurum
pataire innuhere nostris.* Quintil. Declam.
338 in *tornum aduue prerior uxoris vestigio
calcentem adducta est nona nupta.* Weise
with most of the earlier editions reads *en
inuptit,* from the MSS, *enuptit.* It is how-
ever perhaps possible that *inuptit* may
haecrat illa tuis per bella per acquora signis, dum non securos liccat mihi rumpere somnos, et nullum uestro uacuom sit tempus amori, sed teneat Caesarque dies et Julia noctes. me non Lethaeae, coniunx, obliuia ripae immemorem fecere tui, regesque silentum permisere sequi. ueniam te bella gerente in medias acies. numquam tibi, Magne, per umbras perque meos manes generum non esse licebit. abscidis frustra ferro tua pignora: bellum te faciet ciuile meum. sic fata, refugit umbra per ampexus trepidi dilapsa mariti. 

ille, dei quamuis cladem manesque minentur, maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum. et, quid, ait, uani terremur imagine uius? aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum, aut mors ipsa nihil. Titan iam pronus in undas.

merely mean ‘has married into the family’, i.e. of Pompeius, tepido busto being ablative absolute.

tepido] Bentley cf. Mart. v xxxvii 14 adhuc recenti tepet Erotion busto. The scholiasts’ explanation is adhuc recenti, siue Crassi, siue meo, quod maioris iniudiae est: the latter alternative is doubtless right, otherwise there would be no force in the word paedar. i.e. ‘my rival’, cf. vili 104. ‘has married my husband ere my funeral pile is cold’. The real interval between the death of Julia and the marriage of Pompeius with Cornelia was two years.


non securos] proleptic, ‘and make it not untroubled’. nacuon] ‘free for the enjoyment of your love’.

sed teneat] ‘but Caesar haunt your thoughts all day, Julia all the night’.

numquam] ‘the shades and my spirit will never suffer thee to forget thou art his son-in-law’.


trepidi] ‘eager’, i.e. to embrace her, Weise: but it may here very well mean ‘shuddering’: for the fear of Pompeius would not necessarily prevent him from trying to embrace Julia’s shade. 


36. dei quamuis] ‘although gods and shades threaten him with ruin’. Weise says that manes is accusative and is equivalent to mortem: but I can find no similar use of the word, and there is no difficulty in taking the passage as translated above: manes refers to the ghost of Julia, dei to the reges silentum who have allowed her to return to haunt Pompeius.

37. maior] ‘with higher spirit’.


ibat, et igniferi tantum demerserat orbis 
quanto deesse solet lunae seu plena futura est 
seu iam plena fuit: tunc obtulit hospita tellus 
puppibus accessus faciles: legere rudentes 
et posito remis petierunt litora malo. 

Caesar ut emissas uenti rapuere carinas, 
abscenditque fretum classes, et litore solus 
dux stetit Hesperio, non illum gloria pulsi 
lactificat Magni: queritur quod tuta per aqueor 
terga ferant hostes, neque enim iam sufficit ulla 
praecipiti fortuna uiro: nce uincere tanti 
ut bellum differret erat. tum pectore curas 
expulit armorum pacisque intentus agebat, 
quoque modo uanos populi conciunct amores, 
gnarus et irarum causas et summa favoris 
annona momenta trahi. namque adserit urbes 
sola fames, emiturque metus cum segne potentes 
uolgus alunt: nescit plebes ieiuna timere. 
Curio Sicanias transcendere iussus in urbes, 
qua mare tellurem subitis aut obruit undis 
aut scidit et medias fecit sibi litora terras. 
uis illic ingens pelagi semperque laborant 
equora ne rupti repetant confinia montes: 

42. *seu plena*] sc. immediately before 
or after full moon. 
III 539 bellum o terra hospita portas. 
44. *legere rudentes*] 'they gathered in 
(i.e. coiled) the sheets'. cf. Flacc. 
1 314 prora fumem legit Argus ab alta, 
where it is preparatory to setting sail. 
46. *Caesar*] The sentence begins as 
if non gaudet were to follow, for which 
non illum gloria—lactificat is afterwards 
substituted. 
47. *abscondit*] cf. the use of *abscondere* 
in Verg. Aen. III 291 protinus acrius 
Phaencom abscondimini arces. 
48. *non illum*] cf. Verg. Aen. 1 3 and 
Conington’s note. 
51. *nec uincere tantis*] 'nor was it worth 
while in his eyes to conquer only to put 
off the war', i.e. unless he could follow up 
his victory and finish the war at one stroke. 
53. *agebat*] 'bore himself'; for *ager* 
used absolutely cf. Tac. Ann. 111 19 apud 
illos homines qui tunc agebant. 
54. *quoque modo*] sc. intentusque quo 
modo. 
56. *momenta trahi*] A metaphor from 
the scales; 'the balance of popularity is 
turned by the price of corn'. 
57. *emitterque metus*] 'and respect is 
bought when chieftains support the mob 
in idleness'. 
dial. xvi 8 § 5 cum ventre tibi humano 
notitionem est; nec rationem patitur nec aequi-
tate mitigatur nec ulla prece flectitur popul 
curiosus. 
61. *aut scidit*] Compare Waller’s Ode 
to the Protector ‘Whether this portion of 
the world were rent, By the rude Ocean 
from the continent, Or thus created, it 
was sure designed To be the sacred refuge 
of mankind’; 
62. *medius*] ‘intervening’, i.e. the land 
which once joined Italy to Sicily. cf. 
Tac. Ann. VI 23 (29) medio triennio. 
63. *ne rupti*] 'to prevent the cleft
bellaque Sardoas etiam sparguntur in oras, utraque frugiferis est insula nobilis aruis, nec plus Hesperiam longinquis messibus ullae nec Romana magis compleverunt horrea terrae: ubere uix glaebac superat cessantibus Austrisi cum medium nubes Borea cogente sub axem effusis magnus Libye tuit imbris annum.

haec ubi sunt prouisa duci tunc agmina victor non armata trahens sed pacis habentia uoltum tecta petit patriae. pro si remeasset in urbem Gallorum tantum populis Arctoque subacta, quam scriem rerum longa praemittere pompa, quas potuit belli facies; ut uincula Rheno oceanoque daret; celsos ut Gallia currus nobilis et flavis sequeretur mixta Britannis. perdidit o qualem uincento plura triumphum. non illum lactis uadentem coctibus urbes sed tacitae uidere metu. non constitit usquam obvia turba duci. gaudent tamen esse timori tam magni populis et se non mallet amari.

iamque et praecipites superauerat Anxuris arces,
et quia Perseus nec dimitur adee paludes. 83
que nobilissima sequitur. Scipioque quae regna. Quanta-
quaeque in est Lachis ad summum fatusque Albano, 
ecectiva de rupe possidemiam sibi promisit urbem. 
Arceu nas non austri lusitania bello: 
magnificentissime scias. Jacet, ametum Romae-
terne, deorum sedes, non alta Marte novis 
deseruant oriis quaeque uterque utile? 
di intense quondam non Lachis Eos in aequa 
sern fuerit incolam, nec hunc Saemnate velitur.

Passionisque Eneas admittere: Hanc enim 
tam passionis, ut haec, ductum Fortuna, perpetum 
quod bellum cumque sunt. hic fontem, et uestrum 
adoramentum tenebat nuncupit namque ignaram us 
credere et captis sagittis tenuitiam Romanum 
sparsitque desum saepe nee maior manu cursum, 
veste potest quae susurroque potest, non quam frusta 
nona facta lacte aquae simulata cumulata, 
aux ocellae satus: Procerum palam fullumque 
parva. Procerum nullius pagusditi nigrae 
Laciniis educata sunt: non auscula manue 
fulminat sedes: non periculosa longa potestas

SIX. LIBER III. 54—106.
praetor adest: uacuaeque loco cessere curules. omnia Caesar erat. priuatae curia uocis testis adest. sedere Patres censere parati, si regnum, si templum sibi, iugulumque senatus exsiliuitque petat. melius quod plura iubere erubuit quam Roma pati. tamen exit in iram uiribus an possent obsistere iure per unum libertas experta uirum: pugnaque Metellus ut uidet ingenti Saturnia templo reuelli mole, rapit pressus, et Caesaris agmina rumpens ante fores nondum reseratae constituit acdis. usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere auri nescit amor. percutunt discrimine nullo amissae leges: sed pars uilissima rerum certamen mouistis opes: prohibensque rapina uictorem clara testatur uoce tribunus: non nisi per nostrum uobis percussa patebunt templo latus nullasque feres nisi sanguine sacro sparsas, raptor, opes. certe uiolata potestas inuenit ista deos: Crassumque in bella secutae saea tribuniciae uouerunt proelia dirae.

105. loco cessere] 'were removed from their place as there was none to fill them'.
111. melius] sc. actum est.
Tamen exit in iram] i.e. though all others yielded, 'still Freedom, trying by one man's means whether right could resist might, ends by causing a dispute'. cf. Plin. H. N. vii § 79 exit hic animi tenor aliquando in rigore quemdam territatemque nature. For the tense of possent cf. note on II 651.
110. auri nescit amor] cf. Verg. Aen. i 56 quid non mortalitatem pectoris cecis auri sacra fames?
Discrimine nullo] 'indiscriminately' cf. Verg. Aen. i 578 Tros Tyrrinois mihi nullo discrimine agitur: or it might be taken as 'with no danger', i.e. no one runs the risk of fighting for law.
123. non nisi] 'the temple shall not be opened for you unless the blows have first pierced my side'.
124. sanguine sacro] sc. tribunicio.
126. inuenit—deos] 'finds gods to avenge it'.
Isto] i.e. this of mine. cf. v 351.
127. sacra] 'the tribesmen's curses called down on him in disaster in battle'. cf. Florus, i 46 § 3 tribunus plbi Ateius exeuntum ducom hostilibus diris denoncerat. I cannot find any exact parallel to this use of uouere, but compare Hor. Ep. i 48 quid uocat dulci iuniora maius alumn? Ov. Met. xii 128 qua modo uouerat edit, Id. Met. XIII 58, 89 soltemque manu uouisset. Achill, et nostre valuer poss. In the passage quoted by Oud. from Statius the meaning is different. Grotius with some MSS. reads uouerunt; Oud. says that uouerunt is found in two MSS. and in support of it he quotes Hor. carm. i xv 10 quanta mones funera Dardanae genti.
ducet iam ferrum: neque enim tibi turba uerenda est spectatrix scelerum: deserta stamus in urbe. non feret e nostro sceleratus praemia miles: 130 sunt quos prosternas populi, quae moenia dones: pacis ad exhaustae spolium non cogit egestas: bellum, Caesar, habes. his magnam uictor in iram uocibus accensus: uanam spem mortis honestae concipis: haud, inquit, iugulo se pollut isto nostra, Metelle, manus. dignum te Caesaris ira nullus honos faciet. te uindice tuta relictus est libertas? non usque adeo permiscuit imis longus summa dies, ut non, si uoce Metelli seruentur leges, malint a Caesarre tolli.

dixerat, et nondum foribus cedente tribuno acrior ira subit: saecus circumspicit enses oblitus simulare togam. tum Cotta Metellum compulsit audaci nimium desistere coepo. libertas, inquit, populi quem regna coercent libertate perit; cuius seruaueris umbram, si quidquid iubeare uelis. tot rebus iniquis paruimus uicti: uenia est haece sola pudoris

129. deserta] i.e. and so there is no one to hinder you from killing me.

130. e nostro] 'from our treasury'.

131. suntquos] 'there are other nations for you to overthrow, other walls for you to give to your soldiers'. cf. note on 1 82.

132. paucis] 'poverty does not compel you to drain peace (i.e. the state now free from foreign war) for spoil'. exhaustae is proleptic i.e. ita ut exhausta fiat. Weise cf. 11 342 da foedera prisci illibata tori. For tax used for what is in a state of peace cf. Stat. Theb. vii 86, 87 ut si quando uuit dubellatasque reliquit Eurus aquas, pax ipsa tumet.

133. bellum] 'you have war before you Caesar' i.e. as a means of recruiting your finances.

134. nullus honos] i.e. not even the Tribunate.

135. uindice] 'think you freedom is left behind in safety under protection'.


139. ut non] 'but that the laws, if preserved by Metellus' voice, would rather be destroyed by Caesar'.


145. libertas] 'the freedom of a people bound down by tyranny perishes by freedom' i.e. by the assertion of it, i.e. adda pophonia. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. IX v 3 (Socrates) qui tuo insultauere agmini tyrannorum civis, eius libertatem libertas non tulit. cf. also Ov. Heroid. xv 67, 68 me quoque, quad monui bene multa fideler, odio: hoc mihi libertas hoc pia lingua dedit.

146. cuius] 'but you will preserve its shadow, if, what'er you are hidden, that you wish to do'.

148. paruimus] 'we have submitted to'. cf. Caes. B. C. iii 81 nulla Thessalica fuit civitas praeter Larissaes quin Caesar portaret.

uencia] 'this is the sole excuse for our shame and our ignoble fear that nothing could now have been refused him'.
degenerisque metus nil iam potuisse negari. ocius auertat diri mala semina belli. 150

damna mouent populos, si quos sua iura tuentur. non sibi sed domino grauis est quae script egas. protinus abducto patuerunt templo Metello. tum rupes Tarpeia sonat magnoque reclusas testatur striodore fores: tum conditus imo eruitur templo multis intactus ab annis Romani census populi, quem Punica bella, quem dederat Perses, quem uicti praeda Philippi: quod tibi, Roma, fugta Pyrrhus trepidante reliquit, quo te Fabricius regi non uendidit auro, 155 quidquid parcorum mores seruastis auorum, quod dites Asiae populi misere tributum, uictorique dedit Minoia Creta Metello, quod Cato longinquua uexit super aequora Cypro. tunc Orientis opes captorumque ultima regum 160 quae Pompeianis praelata est gaza triumphis egeritur: tristi spoliuantur templo rapina; pauperiorque fuit tum primum Caesare Roma. interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem secum casuras in proelia mouerat urbes. 170 proxima uicino uires dat Graecia bello.

Phocaicas Amphissa manus scopulosaque Cyrrha,

 pudoris] i.e. dedcoris pudorem affercntis. cf. Ov. Heroid. xi 79 irriguit et nostrum vulgat clamore pudorem.


151. damnat] ‘losses stir the wrath of nations protected by laws of their own passing; the poverty of slaves is dangerous not to themselves but to their master’.

156. ab annis] cf. note on 399 infr.


217 nunc est in pretio pretium, dat census honoros, census amicitias.

160. quos te] i.e. the gold which having been refused by Fabricius, remained in the possession of Pyrrhus and together with his other spoils passed into the Roman treasury after his defeat by Manius Curius. For the attraction Oud. cf. vi 663 et quibus os dirum nascentibus inspuit her-bis.


165. ultima] ‘from the ends of the earth’. cf. i 314

168. pauperior] Weise thinks that this is a reference to Caesar’s former debts.

170. secund] sc. cum ipsa fortuna.
Liber III. 149—190.

Parnasusque iugo misit desertus utroque. Boeoti coiere duces, quos impiger ambit fatidica Cephisos aqua, Cadmeaque Dircce, Pisaeaque manus, populisque per aquora mittens Sicaniiis Alpheos aquas. tum Maenala liquit Arcas et Herculeam miles Trachinius Oeten. Thesproti Dryopesque ruunt, quercusque silentis Chaonio ueteres liquerunt urchte Selloc. exhaustis totas quamuis delectus Athenas exigusae Phoebea tenent nuaalilia puppes tresque petunt ueram credi Salamina carinae. iam dilecta Ioui centenis uenit in arma Creta uctus populis, Gnososque agitare pharetras 185 docta nec Eois pei Gortyna saigitis; tum qui Dardaniam tenen Oron, et uagus altis dispersus siluis Athamas, et nomine prisco Encheliae uersi testantes funera Cadmi, Colchis et Hadriacas spumans Absytius in undas, 190

176. per aquora] cf. Verg. Ecl. X 4, 5 sic tibi cum fuitus subter labere Sicanos Doris auras quam non intermiscat undam.
181. exhaustis] although the levy drained all the strength of Athens, but a few vessels are found to occupy the dockyard of Phoebus, and three ships seek to gain credit for the tale of Salamis", i.e. although Athens sent all her naval forces, these only amount to three ships, i.e. in all probability the three state galleys Salaminia, Paralus and Theoris. Weise appears to think that what is meant is that three ships still remained in the harbour of Athens after the rest had joined Pompeius, but this would imply that the naval forces of Athens were large at this time, whereas a contrast is evidently intended between their present condition and their condition at the time of the Persian wars. If the reading Phoebus is genuine it is difficult to say what is referred to: Hortensius says, without giving his authority, that the dockyard of Piraes was consecrated to Apollo: Grotius conjectures Piraea. Gronovius thinks that the harbour of Actium is referred to, as the mustering place of Pompeins' naval forces, taking tenent as 'arrive at': but this appears to be unsatisfactory.
184. dilecta Ioui] i.e. because according to the legend he was brought up in Crete. cf. Verg. G. IV 149—152.
189. Encheliae] 'the Encheliae who by their ancient name bear witness to the death of transformed Cadmus', i.e. Cadmus before his death was transformed into a serpent [cf. Eur. Bacch. 1331 foll. Od. Met. IV 562 foll.] and the name Encheliae is derived from Ἐχέλω which means an eel, which was regarded as a kind of serpent, cf. Juv. V 103 nos anguilla manet longae cognata cobrae.
190. Absytius] Apparently a river in Illyria, called Colchian because from its name supposed to be the scene of the murder of Absytius by his sister Medea, which was generally said to have taken place at Tomi on the Euxine; see Od. Trist. III ix. Some islands named Absyrtides, off the Illyrian coast, are mentioned by Pliny II. N. III § 151.
et Penei qui rura colunt, quorumque labore
Thessalus Haemoniam uomer proscindit Iolcon.
inde lacessitum primo mare, cum rudis Argo
miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes,
primaque cum uentis pelagique furentibus undis
compositum mortale genus, fatisque per illam
accessit mors una ratem. tum linquitur Haemus
Thraciuss et populum Pholoc mentita biformem.
deseritur Strymon tepido committere Nilo
Bistonias consuetus aues, et Barbara Cone
Sarmaticas ubi perdit aquas sparsamque profundo
multifidi Peucen unum caput adluait Histri:
Mysiaque, et gelido tellus perfusa Caico
Idalis, et nimium glabris exilis Arisbe.
quique colunt Pitanen, et quae tua munera, Pallas,
lugen damnatae Phoebu uictore Celaenae: 
Strymonaque gruus. Aristoph. Aves 710
oMepertw mew uoxt 'yrapos kpaqosu' ex tio
Abvnon metaxorpos. 200
Cone] unknown.
201. Sarmaticas] loses in the sea the waters that flow from Sarmatia'. cf. notes on I 106, II 402.
sprasamqu] c'and one mouth of much
eclat Hister bathes Peuce besprinkled by the sea'. According to Strabo VII 15
(305) Peuce is a large island lying in the
southernmost mouth of the Hister at a
distance of 120 stadia from the sea: Lucan
apparently means that the salt water runs up
as far as Peuce.
202. caput] more often used of the
source of a river, but cf. note on II 54.
Liv. XXXII 41 and Orelli's note on Hor.
Sat. I x 37.
204. exilis] cf. Cic. de leg. agrar. II
§ 67 quot solum tam exile et macrum et,
quo aratro praestringit non possit?
H. N. v § 121.
205. tua munera] Weise says that this
refers to the story that Marsyas picked up
the flute which had been invented and
thrown away by Pallas, and then challenged
Apollo to a musical contest: cf. Ov.
Fast. vi 693-710: Oudendorp that it
refers to the olive trees which Pallas
withered up because the people of Celaenae
took the side of Apollo in a contest with her.
 cf. Verg. G. i 118.
qua celer et ripis descendens Marsya rectis errantem Macandron adit mixtusque refertur: passaque ab auriferis tellus exire metallis Pactolon: qua culta secat non uilior Hermus. Iliaca quoque signa manus perituraque castra ominibus petiere suis: nec fabula Troiae continuit Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli. accedunt Syriaca populi, desertus Orontes, et felix, sic fama, Ninos: uentosa Damascos, Gazaque et arbusto palmarum diues Idume, et Tyros instabilis, pretiosaque murice Sidon. has ad bella rates non flexo limite ponti, certior hau dulles duxit Cynosura carinis. Phoenices primi, fanae si creditur, ausi mansuram rudibus uocem signasse figuris. nondum flumineas Memphis contextere biblos nouerat: et saxis tantum uolucresque feraeque sculptaque seruabant magicas animalia lingus. deserrit Taurique nemus, Perseaque Tarsos,
Lucani Pharsaliae

Coryciumque patens excisis rupibus antrum:
Mallos et extremae resonant naualibus Aegae,
itque Cilix ista iam non pirata carina.
mouet et Eos bellorum fama recessus,
qua colitur Ganges, toto qui solus in orbe
ostia nascentia contraria solvere Phoebi
audet et aduersum fluctus impellit in Eorum:
hic ubi Pellaeus post Tethyos acuora dactor
constitit, et magno uinci se fassus ab orbe est.
quaque serens rapidum diiiso gurgite fontem
uastis Indus aquis mixtum non sentit Hydaspen.
quique bibunt tenera dulces ab harundine sucos,
et qui tinguentes crocco medicamine crinem
fluxa coloratis adstringunt carbas gemmis.
quique suas struxere pyras uiuique calentis
conscendere rogos pro quanta est gloria genti
iniecisse manum fatis uitaeque repletos

est pinna caballi, and as Pegasus sprang
from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa
when Persens cut off her head, cf. Od.
Fast. i. 450—458, Tarsus indirectly owed
its origin to Persens.

227. Mallos] Mallos and Aegae were
both towns in Cilicia.

extremae] 'distant', cf. i. 314.
resonant naualibus] 'ring with the
bustle of the dockyard'. cf. Aristoph.
Ach. 553—554 έν ηεόρον δ’ α’ κωτέων
πλατυμένων, τόκω ψυχρότων, βαλαμών
tρεπομένων, αυλών κελευτών, νεγάρων,
eυρεγών.

228. insta] 'lawful', cf. II. 379.

229. quae colitu] 'where men dwell
on Ganges' banks'; or it might be deemed,
'where Ganges is worshipped', alluding
to the honour in which the river is held
by the Indians.

231. ostia] 'dares to discharge its
mouth in the face of the rising sun'.

233. hic] This word must not be
pressed too closely, but taken as meaning
only generally 'in India', as Alexander
did not reach the Ganges, but turned back
from the banks of the Hyphasis (the Satlej).

post Tethyos acuora] 'after reaching the
ocean'.

234. magno uinci] 'confessed himself
vanquished by the vastness of the world'.
cf. Juv. x. 168, 169 unus Pelaku iunicui
non sufficit orbis, actuat infelix angusto
limite mundi.

235. diiiso gurgite] duoibus enim ostii
influit in mare et quo loco diuiditur
insulam facta Paralen dictam. Weise.

237. sucos] i.e. the juice of the sugar-
cane.

238. et qui] cf. Quint. Curt. viii ix
§§ 21, 24 corpora usque pedes carbaso uel-
tant, soleis pedes, capita linteis uincent,
lapilli ex auribus pendent, brachia quoque
et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter popu-
lares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent...di-
tincta sunt auro et purpura carbas quae
induitus est (vex).

239. fluxa] 'girdle their flowing robes
with strings of coloured gins'. coloratus
generally means 'dark-coloured', and is
used of the Indians themselves Verg. G.
iv 293 usque coloratis annis deuenxus ab
Indis.

240. quiue] cf. Quint. Curt. viii ix
§ 32 aqpd hos occupare dati diem pulcherum,
et uinos se cremari subven, quibus aut se-
nis actas aut incommoda valitudine est:
exspectatm mortem pro delectoribus habent,
nee uulos corporibus, quae seneat solvit,
honos redituri; inquinari putant ignem,
nisi qui spirantis recipit. Compare also
the account of the Indian philosopher
Calanus, who had himself burnt alive at
Susa. cf. Diodorus xvii 107, Arrian vii
3. Thirlwall's History of Greece, chap-
ter lv.

242. iniecisse manum fatis] 'to lay
hands on destiny', i.e. compel it to do as
quod superest, donasse déis. uencre ferox Cappadoces, duri populus nunc cultor Amanis, Armeniusque tenens uoluuentem saxa Niphaten: aethera tangentiis siluas liquere Coartae. ignotum ubis, Arabes, uenistis in orbe umbras mirati nemorum non ire sinistras. tum furor extremos mouit Romanus Oretas, Carmanosque duces, quorum deslensus in Austrum aetherna non totam mergi tamen adspicit Arcton, luctet et exigua uel ox ibi nocte Bootes; Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso ultima curati procederet ungula Tauri.

quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus Euphrates, quos non diuersis fontibus edit Persis, et incertum, tellus si misceat amnes, quod potius sit nomen aquis. sed sparsus in agros fertilis Euphrates Phariae uice fungitur undae: you please, the reverse of what is usually the case. cf. Verg. Aen. x 419 in uincere manum Parcae telique sacrarunt Eudntri: repletos satel", for the metaphor cf. Lucret. iii 958 cur non plenus uiae conmine recedis? id. 973 quam uatur ac plenus possis discedere revem.

243. donasses] *to sacrifice*, πολεθαυ. 244. nunc cultor] *who now till rugged Amanus*, i.e. since Pompeius' conquest; they now cultivate the soil instead of being pirates.

245. Niphaten] In Virgil and Horace this seems to be the name of a mountain.


248. non ire sinistras] i.e. if they looked towards the West. Lucan means that they came from beyond the equator; compare the account in Herodotus iv 42 of the circumnavigators of Africa, καλελευον, ερικ μοι νυ πιστα πληρο λευχο  δε υγε συν υπ πελλωντες την Λιβυν των ουλον ευχον ες τα δεξια, and what Pliny H. N. vi 87 says of the ambassadors who came to Rome from Taprobane (Ceylon) in the reign of Claudius, sed maxime mirum erat uisum uinas in nostrum caudum cadere, solenne a uacua oriri et in dextram occidere potius quam e diverse.


258. incertum] cf. notes on 1 5402. si misceat] *suffered them to mix*, i.e. did not prevent their mixing. cf. note on 1 102 si terra recedat Ionium Aegaeo franget occ盧. As a matter of fact the rivers do join before flowing into the Persian Gulf.

at Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu occultosque tegit cursus rursusque renatum fonte nouo flumagi non abnegat undis. inter Caesarcas acies diuersaque signa pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuere fauorem, contenti fecisse duos. tinxere sagittas errantes Scythiae populi, quos gurgite Bactros includit gelido uastisque Hyrcania siluis. hinc Lacedaemonii moto gens aspera freno Heniochi, saecusque affinis Sarmata Moschis. Colchorum qua rura secat ditissima Phasis: qua Croeso fatalis Halys, qua ueste lapsus Ripaeo Tanais diuersi nomina mundi imposuit ripis, Asiaceque et terminus idem Europae, mediae dirimens confinia terrae, nunc hue nunc illuc qua lectitatur ampliat orbem. quaque fretum torrens Maeotidos egredit undas Pontus et Hercules, aufertur gloria metis.

265. diuersi mundi] ‘of different quarters of the world’.
266. nunc hue] ‘now on this side. now on that, according as it winds, it enlarges a quarter of the world’, i.e. Europe or Asia as the case may be. Compare the description of the floating islands in Lake Vadinonis, Plin. Epp. VIII 29 § 7 rursus omnes in eundem locum appulsae, qua ste- terunt, proutnuent terranu, et modo hac, modo illa, locum reddunt asperique; ac tuam demique eum medium tenuere non contrahunt. orbum] cf. Hor. Carm. III xxvii 75 tua sectus orbis nomina ducet.

270. Pontus] ‘and Pontus is so much more glorified from the pillars of Hercules, and denies that Gades alone admits the ocean’, i.e. into the Mediterranean Sea. The meaning appears to be that the glory of the Straits of Gibraltar is diminished in so far as water from the ocean enters the Mediterranean by way of the Euxine from the Maeotian lake (sea of Azov), which latter is conceived as having a connexion with the outer ocean. Mr Postgate has suggested to me that all difficulty might be removed from this passage by transposing the order of vv. 278, 279, thus
oceanumque negat solas admittere Gades. hinc Essedoniae gentes, auroque ligatas sub徨ingens, Arimaspe, comas: hinc fortis Arius longaqa Sarmatici soluens iewia bell[i Massagetes quo fugit equo, uolucreaque Gelon[i non cum Memnonis deducens agmina regnis Cyrus, et effusi numero milite telis descendit Perses, fraternalque utor amoris aequora cum tantis percussit classibus, unum tot reges hubuerre ducem; coiere nec umquam tam uariae cultu gentes tam dissonna uolgi ora. tot immensae comites missura ruinae exciuit populos et dignas funere Magni exsequias Fortuna dedit. non corniger Hammon mittere Marmaridas cessauit in arma cateruas: quidquid ab occiduis Libye patet arida Maur[i usque Paraetonias Eoa ad litora Syrtes. acciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar uincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem. ille ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae agmine nubiferam rapto supereuolat Alpem. cunctum alii famae populi terrore pauerent, making Pontus the subject of negat: 'and Pontus denies that Gades alone admits the ocean, and thus the glory of the pillars of Hercules is lessened'.

*281. Arimaspe* cf. note on 161 supr.

*282. longaque* 'who relieves the long fasts of the Sarmatian war by the horse on which he flies', i.e. by opening a vein and drinking the blood. cf. Verg. G. III 459—463 inter ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine uenam: Bisalae quo more solent accerque Gelonus, cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta Getarum, et lac concretum cum sanguine potat aquino. Oud. cf. Claudian. in Rufin. I 311 qui cornpedes in poucha voluerat audax Massagetes.

*284. Memnonis* Eastern, as Memnon was the son of Eos.

*285. e*] 'nor when'.

*effusi* cf. Herod. VII 60 where however the counting of the troops is said to have been done differently, viz. by building a wall round a certain number of men.

*286. fraternalque utor amoris* sc. Agamemnon.

*289. tam dissonna* Oud. cf. Claudian. in Rufin. II 160 numquam tantae ditione sub una convenerer manus nec tot discrimina nocum.

*290. ruinae*] may be either genitive after comites or dative after missura: for the former cf. I 346, for the latter Verg. G. IV 90 docet neci.

*292. exsequias*] 'train of mourners'. cf. Tac. Hist. IV 62 silens agmen et solut longae exsequiae.

*294. quidquid*] 'all the extent of Libya from the Moors in the west to the Parae-tonian Syrtes on the eastern shore', i.e. to the borders of Egypt.

*296. semel*] 'once for all'. cf. I 317, II 147.


Phocais in dubii ausa est seruare iuuentus
et causas non fata sequi. tamen ante furorem
indomitiurn duramque uiri deflectere mentem
pacifico sermone parant, hostemque propinquum
orant, Cecropiae praclata fonde Minuerae:
semper in externis populo communia uestro
Massiliam bellis testatur fata tulisse
compensa est Latiiis quaecumque annalibus actas.
et nunc, ignoto si quos petis orbe triumphos,
accipe deuotas externa in proelia dextras.
at si funestas acies, si dira paratis
proelia discordes, lacrimas ciuilibus armis
secretumque damus. tractentur uolnera nulla
sacra manu. si caeleolis furor arma dedisset,
aut si terrigenae temptarent astra Gigantes,
non tamen auderet Pietas humana uel armis
ueI uotis prodisse Iou; sortisque deorum

301. Phocais] Massilia was founded by the people of Phocaea in Asia Minor about 597 B.C., sixty years before the capture of Phocaea by Harpagus the general of Cyrus, when most of the inhabitants retired first to Corsica and then to Velia in southern Italy. cf. Herod. i 165—
167. Lucan appears to think that Massilia was founded by the fugitives cf. v 313; see Grote's History of Greece, part II chapter xxiii.

302. Graia leuitate.] Compare Cicero's estimate of the character of the Greeks, pro Flacc. cap. iv 9 uerum tamen hoc dico de tuto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis litteras, de multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique si qua sibi alia sunt non repugnent: testimoniornon religionem et fidem munquam ista natio coluit, totiuisque huiusce rei qua sit sui, quas autoritas, quod pondus igno-

309. compreta] cf. Hor. Carm. iv xiii 14—16 tempora quae semel notis condita fastis inclusid uocem, 


315. sacra] may mean either 'divine' as explained by the following line, or 'ac-
sectur' because inflicted in civil war.

ignarum mortale genus per fulmina tantum sciret adhuc caclo solum regnare Tonantem. 

adde quod innumeræ concurrunt undique gentes, nec sic horret iners scelerum contagia mundus ut gladiis egeant ciuilia bella coactis.

sit mens ista quidem cunctis ut uestra recusent fata nec haec alius committat proelia miles. cui non conspecto languebit dextra parente? telaque diversi prohibebunt spargere fratres.

finis adest rerum, si non committitis illis arma quibus fas est. nobis haec summa precandi: terribiles aquilas infestaque signa relinquas urbe procul nostrisque uelis te credere muris, excludique sinas admisso Caesare bellum.

sit locus exceptus sceleri Magnoque tibique tutus, ut inuctae fatum si consulat urbi foedera si placeant sit quo ueniatis inermes.

uei cum tanta uocent discrimina Martis Hiberi quid rapidum deflectis iter? non pondera rerum to take rerum as equivalent to πραγμάτων 'troubles', viz. the civil wars: 'the end of our troubles is at hand unless ye entrust arms to those who may lawfully use them', i.e. if only Romans engage in the civil war they will be so much shocked at finding themselves fighting with their kinsmen that they will insist on bringing about peace; and this seems to follow naturally on what was said in the two preceding lines: but I can find no instance of res used in this sense without some qualifying adjective, e.g. malae, aduersae.

335. inermes] Oudendorp refers to a custom at Massilia to allow no one to enter the gates in arms. cf. Val. Max. II vi § 9 intrare oppidi cum nulli cum telo licet, praestoque est qui id custodiat gratia acceptum exituro reddat, ut hospitia sua, quem ad modum aduentes iuris humana sunt, ita ipsis quoque tuta sint. Compare the account of Emporae, also a colony from Phocaean, in Liv. XXXIV 9.

336. discrimina] 'such important struggles in the Spanish war'.

non momenta sumus: numquam felicibus armis
usa manus, patriae primis a sedibus exsul,
et post translatas exustae Phocidos arces,
moenibus exiguus alieno in litore tuti,
illustrat quos sola fides. si claudere muros
obsidione paras et ui perfringere portas,
excepsse faces tectis et tela parati,
undarum raptos auersis fontibus haustus
quaerere et effossam sitientes lambere terram.
et, desit si larga Ceres, tunc horrida cerni
foedaque contingi maculato carpere morsu.
nec pauet hic populus pro libertate subire
obsessum Poeno gessit quod Marte Saguntum.
pektoribus rapti matrum frustraque trahentes
ubera sicca fame medios mittentur in ignes;
uxor et a caro poscet sibi fata marito.
uloanna miscebunt fratres bellumque coacti
hoc potius ciule gerent. sic Graia iuuentus
finerat: cum turbato iam prodira uoltu
ira ducis tandem testata est uoce dolorem:
una mouet Graios nostri fiducia cursus:
quamuis Hesperium mundi properemus ad axem
Massiliam delere uaeat. gaudete cohortes:
obuia praebentur fatorum munere bella.
uentus ut amittit uiores, nisi robore densae

338. momenta] cf. IV 819 momentumque fiuit mutatus Curio rerum.
345. undarum] ‘ready to seek new draughts of water if they are snatched from us by the diversion of the springs’.
346. effossam] cf. IV 309 foll.
350. Saguntum] cf. Liv. XXI 14 cui enim parei potuit ex his qui ant inclusi cum contingibus ac liberis domos super se ipos concernauerunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?
351. frustraque trahentes] ‘tugging in vain at’.
354. miscebunt] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 729 illi inter se multis ui uolnera miscent. coacti] ‘if driven to it will wage by preference this kind of civil war’.
357. dolorum] ‘indignation’. cf. Verg. Aen. XI 733, 735 quis metus o numquam dolituri o semper inerces Tyrheni, quae tanta animas ignavia unuit?
359. quamuis properemus] ‘however great my haste to reach’.
362. robore densae] ‘thickly timbered’.
occurrant siluae, spatio diffusus inani, utque perit magnus nullis obstantibus ignis, sic hostes mihi deesse nocet: damnunquae putamus 365 armorum, nisi qui uinci potuere rebellent. sed si solus eam dimissis degener armis tum mihi tecta patent. iam non excludere tantum, inclusisse uolunt. at enim contagia belli dira fugant. dabitis poenas pro pace petita: 370 et nihil esse meo discetis tutius acuo quam duce me bellum. sic postquam fatus, ad urbem haud trepidam convertit iter: tum moenia clausa conspicit et densa iuuenum uallata corona. haud procul a muris tumulus surgentis in altum 375 telluris paruum diffuso vertice campum explicat: haec patiens longo munimine cingi uisa duci rupes tutisque aptissima castris. proxima pars urbis celsam consurgit in arcem, par tumulo, mediisque sedent conuallibus arua. 380 tum res immenso placuit statura labore aggere diversos uasto committere colles. sed prius ut totam qua terra cingitur urbem clauderet, a summis perduxit ad aquora castris longum Caesar opus, fontesque et pabula campi 385 amplexus fossa, densas tollentia pinnas castris caespitibus crudaque extruxit bracchia terra.

iam satis hoc Graiae memorandum contigit urbi acternunque deus, quod non impulsa nec ipso strata metu tenuit flagrantis in omnia belli praecipitem cursum, raptisque a Caesare cunctis uincitur una mora. quantum est quod fata tenetur, quoque uirum toti properans imponere mundo hos perdit Fortuna dies. tunc omnia late procumbunt nemora et spoliabant robore siluae:

lucus erat longo numquam uiolatus ab acuo obscurum cingens conexis aera ramis et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.
hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes Siluani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbari ritu sacra deum, structae diris altaribus arae,
omnisque humanis lustrata cruroibus arbos.

si qua fidem meruit superos mirata uctustas,
illis et uolucres metuunt insistere ramis
et lustris recubare ferae: necuentus in illas
incubuit siluas excussaque nubibus atri
fulgura: non ullis frondem praebentibus auris
arboribus suus horror inest. tum plurima nigris
fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque maesta deorum
arte carent caesisque exstant informia truncis.
ipse situs putrique facit iam robore pallor
attonitos: non uolgatis sacrata figuris
numina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit
quos timeant non nosse deos. iam fama ferebat
saepe cauas motu terrae mugire cauernas,
et procumbentis iterum consurgere taxos,
et non ardentis fulgere incendia siluac,
roboreaque amplexos circumfluxisse dracones.

aqua ter subpiae lustrat.
406. si qua] 'if antiquity marvelling
at the gods has deserved credit', i.e. if any ancient miraculous story is to be
believed. cf. Verg. Aen. X 792 si qua
fidem tanta est operi latura actustas and
Conington's note. Weise cf. iv 654, 655
hinc autem uetustas custos famosa uctustas
miratursque qui signauit nomine terras.
409. excussa] cf. note on I 151 expres-
siuncis per nubila fulmen.
410. non ullis] 'and the trees while
offering their foliage to no breezes have a
rustling of their own'. Both aruis and
arboribus are datives.
Flac. III 402, 403 slant tacitae frondes
immotaque silua comanti hortae Aenara
ingo.
414. ipse situs] 'the very neglect and
paleness of the now rotting wood strikes
men with dismay'.
415. uolgatis] 'dedicated under com-
mon shapes'.
417. quos timeant] 'not to know what
gods they have to dread'. cf. Verg. Aen.
VIII 349—352 iam tum religio pauidos
terebat agrestes dira loci, iam tum siluam
sacrumque tremebant. hoc nemus, hunc,
puaut, frondoso uertice collem, quis Deus
in terrum est, habitar Deus. Tac. Germ. 9
esterum nec coibiere patribus deos neque
in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare
ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur:
lucos ac nemora consecratio deorumque
nominium appellant sacratam illud quod
sola reverentia uident.
419. iterum consurgere] According to
Weise the yew and eypress, the funeral
trees, when once cut down not shoot up
again, and so iterum consurgere is
equivalent to regerminare. cf. Tac. Hist.
Ii 78 recursabant autimo uetera uomina;
cupressus arbor in agris eius conspicua
altitudine repente prociderat ac postera dicta
domum neesitio resurgens procrea et latior
uirebat.
421. circumfluxisse] 'twined round'.
cf. Stat. Theb. VI 540 chlamys circumflua
limbo Maconio.
non illum cultu populi propriore frequentant, sed cessere deis. medio cum Phoebus in axe est, aut caelum nox atra tenet, paeut ipse sacerdos accessum dominumque timet deprendere luci.

...nec silita...  

...etバル...  

...in sua credebat redituras membra secures...  

...implicitas magno Caesar torpore cohortes ut uidit, primus raptam uibrare bipennem ausus et aceram ferro proscindere quercum effatur merso violata in robora ferro:  

iam ne quis uestrum dubitet subuertere siluan credere me fecisse nefas. tum paruit omnis imperiis non sublato secura pauore turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira. procumbunt orni, nodosa impellitur ilex, siluaque Dodones et fluctibus aptior alnus et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus tum primum posuere comas et fronde carentes admiser ad diem: propulsaque robore denso


cf. Theocr. i 15—18, 15 XX 16 om omne coram uo et tympanum seca meae:  

cf. Quint.-xvii 26 est...  

cf. Verg.-ecl. 1 89 et...  

cf. Verg. Aen. XII 867 illi membra nouam soluit formidine torpa...  

cf. Verg. Ecl. 1 59 nec...  

cf. Verg. Ecl. 1 59 nec...  

cf. Cic. de orat. 11 § 309...  


cf. Verg. Aen. XII 867 illi membra nouam soluit formidine torpor.  

cf. Verg. Ecl. 1 59 nec...  

cf. Verg. Ecl. 1 59 nec...  

cf. Cic. de orat. 11 § 309...  


sustinuit se silua cadens. gemuere uidentes
Gallorum populi: muris sed clausa iuuentus
exsultat. quis enim laesos impune putaret
esse decos? seruat multos Fortuna nocentis,
et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt:
ute satis caesi nemoris, quaesita per agros
plaustra ferunt: curuoque soli cessantis aratro
agricolae raptis annum fleuere iuuenicis.

dux tamen impatiens haesuri ad moenia Martis
uersus ad Hispanas acies extremaque mundi
iussit bella geri. stellatis axibus agger
erigitur geminasque aequantis moenia turres
accipit: hae nullo fixerunt robore terram,
sed per iter longum causa repserc latenti.
cum tantum nutaret onus, telluris inanes
concussisse sinun quaerentem erumpere uentum
credidit et muros mirata est stare iuuentus.
illinc tela cadunt excelsas urbis in arces.
sed maior Graio Romana in corpora ferro
uis inerat. neque enim solis excussa lacertis.

450. utque satis] 'when enough wood
had been cut'. cf. Verg. G. II 399 cui
numquam exhausiti satii est.
quae satis] 'requisitioned'.
451. curuoque soli cessantis aratro] 'and
the husbandmen wept for the year’s pro-
duce of the soil now resting from the
curved plough, as their oxen had been
swept away'. For cessare Weise cf. IV 24
prima dies belli cessavit Marte cruento.
452. annum] cf. note on 70 supr.
455. stellatis axibus] 'with planks set at
intervals like stars', or perhaps 'radiating
from one centre': the meaning of stellatis
is obscure, nor is any light thrown upon it
by the passage in Sil. Ital. XIII 109 hic latera
intestus stellatis axibus agger, hic grauidaque
armato surgente tinea dorso, which is
obviously an imitation of this line. For
axes in the sense of planks cf. Caes.
B. C. II 9 supraque ea ligna directo trans-
versas trales iniecerunt casque axibus
relinquenter. Catull. XVII 3 aesculis in
reduiinis and Mr Ellis' note.

456. aequantis] 'equalling the walls in
height'. cf. Quint. Curt. IV iv § 15
cuius (Tigris) altitudo primo summa equo-
rum pectora, max ut in medium alenum
ventum est, cervices guque aequabat.
457. nullo fixerunt] 'were not fasten-
ed into the ground by any woodwork',
literally 'did not pierce the earth', i.e.
they were moveable. cf. Persius III 80
ficientes lumine terram. Stat. Silu. v i
140 dominum torio quam non haec lumine
figat.
458. causa latenti] i.e. by concealed
wheels.
459. cum tantum] i.e. the towns-
people seeing such a mass shaking from
the inequalities of the ground, fancied
rather that the ground itself was being
shaken by an earthquake, and were sur-
prised that their own walls were not over-
thrown.
VI xxv § 1 cum spiritus magna ut
vacuo mum terrarum locum penitus oppleuit
copitique rixari et de exitu cogitare,
latera ipsa inter quae latei saepius per-
cutit &c.
lancea sed tenso ballistae turbine rapta:

465. \textit{tenso} 'swept along with all the strained force of the ballista'. cf. Verg. Aen. x 284 \textit{quo turbinis torquet hastam.}


467. \textit{relictà morte} 'leaving death behind it'.

468. \textit{superest—cursus} 'still flies on'.

469. \textit{uerberis} 'thong'. cf. Verg. G. 309 \textit{stuppea torquentem Balaenis usbera functae,}

\textit{actu} 'impulse'.

470. \textit{qualis rupeu} cf. Val. Flacc. ii 528—530 \textit{quantum vectis adiuitia uctustas impulerit pontie frangor, tantum abscedit ini consciuntus a sede maris.}


475. \textit{uirtus} sc. milites fortes.

\textit{armisique} 'and the front rank carry shields close wedged with shields', arma which Varro L. L. iv 24 derives \textit{ab arcen-}

\textit{do means specially defensive armour}. cf. Verg. Aen. x 841 \textit{at Lausum sociis examinati super arma ferabant.}

476. \textit{nullo} Properly the boss in the centre of the shield, and then the shield generally. cf. Juv. ii 45, 46 illos de-

\textit{fendit numerus innuque uncione phalanges.}

477. \textit{recessu} 'from a long way back'.

cf. Val. Max. iii v § i ugeta el strenuia ingenia quo plus recessui sumunt hoc nehelementiores inpetus edunt.

478. \textit{flectere iactum} 'change the aim'.

480. \textit{mutare modum} 'alter the range'.

481. \textit{nudis laceris} 'with their arms alone', cf. Ov. Trist. iii ii 17—18 ut mala nulla feram nisi nudam Caesaris iaram, nuda parum nobis Caesaris ira mali est? Sen. de benef. iii xviii § 2 uirtus...

\textit{non eligit domum nec censum, nudo homin contenta est.}

482. \textit{series} 'linkage'. cf. Tibull. i iii 63 hic iacuque series tenebris innuixta puellis ludit, used of dancers.

\textit{fuit} 'lasted', cf. Propert. iii xvii 34 \textit{inuidiam quod habet non solut esse dictum.}

485. \textit{perpetuam—cratem} 'the con-
singula continuos cesserunt ictibus arma. 490

tunc adoperta leui procedit uinca terra, 495
sub cuius pluteis et tecta fronte latentes
molirii nunc ima parant et uterere ferro
moenia: nunc aries suspenso fortior ictu
incussus densi compagem soluere muri
temptat et impositis unum subducere saxis.

sed super et flammis et magnae fragmine molis
et sudibus crebris et adusti roboris ictu
percussae cedunt crates, frustraque labore
exhausto fessus repetit tentoria miles.

summa fuit Grais starent ut moenia uoti:
ultra acies inferre parant: armisque coruscas
noturni texere faces: audaxque iuuentus
erupit: non hasta uiris non letifer arcus,
telum flamma fuit, rapiensque incendia uentus
per Romana tulit celeri munimina cursu.

nec, quamuis uiridi luctetur robore, lentas
ignis agit uires: taeda sed raptus ab omni
consequitur nigri spatiosa uolumina fumi:

nec solum siluas sed saxa ingentia soluit,

crushing it as there is no mention here of
any instrument for pulling stones out of
the wall such as the 

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Continous framework'. See note on 1 241.
Oud. cf. Tac. Hist. III 27 pondera saxorum
Vitelliani pronovulant, dieris et fluenten-
que testudinum lanceis contineque scrutantur,
done soluta compagempum exangues
at laceros posternent.

486. singula] i.e. of each soldier when
separated from his fellows.

487. adoperta] 'covered with a thin
coating of turf', i.e. to prevent its being
set on fire.

488. pluteis] 'mantlets'.

489. moliri] 'to overthrow'. Liv. XXIV
46 solutique primo largioris procnelle stre-
pitum molimentum portam exaudiri prohi-
buit. Id. xxv 36 exstitis foribus quas
 nulla moliri paterant ui. Tac. Ann. I 39
concursu ad ianuam facto molimentur forae.

490. suspes] 'the more powerful
because its blow is hold back for a time'.

491. suspunds] i.e. after their place upon it', i.e. so

492. unum subducere] 'to remove one
stone from those placed upon it', i.e. so
as to cause the upper part of the wall to
fall: this was apparently to be done by

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et crudae putri fluxerunt puluere cautes.
procubuit maiorque iacens adparuit agger.
spes uictis telluris abit placuitque profundo
fortunam temptare mari. non robore picto
ornatas decuit fulgens tutela carinas,
sed rudis et qualis procumbit montibus arbor
conseritur, stabilis naualibus area bellis.
et iam turrigeram Bruti comitata carinam
ucnerat in fluctus Rhodani cum gurgite classis
Stoechados arua tenens. nec non et Graia iuuentus
omne suum fatis uluit committere robur,
grandaeuquesque senes mixtis armauit ephebis.
accept non sola uiros quae stabat in undis
classis; et emeritas repetunt naualibus alnos.

ut matutinos spargens super aequora Phoebus
fregit aquis radios, et liber nubibus aether,
et posito Borea pacemque tenentibus Austris
seruatum bello iacuit mare, mouit ab omni
quisque suam statione ratem, paribusque lacertis
Caesaris hinc pubes, hinc Graio remige classis
tollit: impulsa tensis tremuere carinae
crebraque sublices concullunt uerbera puppes.

507. crudae] 'rough'. cf. Sil. Ital. III 514 crudisque locorum ferre pedem ac
proprium turnas cadere calle.
509. spes telluris] 'hope of success on
land'. cf. supr. 358.
511. decuit] 'adorned'; for this tran-
sitive use of decere cf. Ov. Past. II 105,
106 capit ille coronam quae possit crines
Phoebis decere duos.
tutela] i.e. the image of the protecting
deity set up in the ship's stern. cf. Sen.
Epp. ix v (76) § 13 nausis bona dicitur non
guae pretiosis coloribus picta est nec cuia
argentum aut aurorum rostrum est nec cuius
tutela eobre caclata est.
513. consortur] 'is fastened together
to make a firm platform for naval warfare'.
cf. IV 136 consortur biblia Memphitis
cumbo papyro.
515. Rhodani cum gurgite] 'down the
current of the Rhone'. cf. Caes. B. G. 1
36 naus longas Arlate numero duodecim
facer e instituit.
516. Stoechados] The Stoechades were
three small islands in a row, whence their
name, off the Ligurian coast. Weise.
tenens] 'making their station';
517. robur] 'all their forces', cf. 584
infr.
518. senes...ephebis] sc. those who had
passed and those who had not yet reached
military age.
519. accept uiros] 'was manned'.
520. et emeritas] 'those past service
also'. cf. Mart. X 1xxxv 5 emeritas papp
ripa quae stabat in alta.
522. fregit] 'refracted'. Compare the
use of frangere in Quintil. 1 § 44 comam
in gradus frangere. See also note on 554
infr.
524. servatum bello iaucit] 'lay calm
and ready for warfare'. cf. X 328 quos
inter in alta it consecallae iacens iam molibius
unda receptis.
525. paribus] 'in rivalry'.
527. tollit] 'is lifted'. Oud. cf. Val.
Flac. I 340 concussoque ratem gauderem
tollerem reno.
528. crebraque] 'and frequent strokes
of the oars tear the ships along'.
cornua Romanae classis ualidaeae triremes quaque quater surgens exstructi remigis ordo commouet et plures quae mergunt aquore pinus multiplices cinxere rates. hoc robur aperto oppositum pelago. Lunata fronte recedunt ordine contentae gemino creuisse Liburnae. celsior at cunctis Bruti practoria puddis uerberibus senis agitur molemque profundo inuehit et summis longe petit acquora remis.

ut tantum medi fuerat maris utraque classis quod semel excussis posset transcurrere tonsis, innumerae uasto miscentur in aethere uoces, remorumque sonus premitur clamore, nec ullae audiri potuere tubae. Tum caerula uerrunt atque in transtra cadunt et remis pectora pulsant. ut primum rostris crepuerunt obuia rostra, in puppim redire rates, emissaque tela aera texerunt uacuomque cadentia pontum. et iam diductis extendunt cornua proris diuersaeque rates laxata classe receptae.

539. cornua] i.e. the triremes quadriremes and larger ships formed the wings of the fleet, which was drawn up in the form of a concave crescent with the smaller vessels in the centre.

530. quasque] 'and those driven by ranks of rowers rising four times in layers above each other'.

531. et plures] 'and those which dip more than four banks of oars in the sea'.

532. multiplices—rates] 'ships of many kinds' or perhaps merely 'numerous ships': the words are in apposition to triremes &c.

534. ordine] 'to have reached such a size as to have one bank of oars'. cf. IX 842 nec culmis cre borne tori. Sil. Ital. XIV 301 tabulata decem cui crescre Graius fecerat. Ov. Met. VIII 189—191 nam pontit in ordine pennas, a minima coepit longam breviter sequenti, ut elio creuisse pates. Liburnae] were small and light galleys. cf. Hor. Epod. 1 1, 2 ibis Liburnis inter alta nauium, anices, propugnacula.

536. uerberibus senis] i.e. the strokes of six banks of oars. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. XIV 486 senis Rheteius ibat pulsibus.

537. summis longe] i.e. because the oars of the topmost rank would be longer than any of the others, and would strike the water at a greater distance from the side of the vessel.

538. tantum] 'only so much'. cf. Caes. B. G. VI 34 praecidit tantum est ut ne murus quidem cingi possit.

539. quod semel] 'as both fleets could hasten across with a single stroke of their oars', cf. Ov. Met. V 596 excussaque brachia iacto, used of a swimmer.

541. premitur] 'is drowned'.

543. in transtra cadunt] ita inclinationi ut proni cadere uideantur, uel, cum resi
dant, cecidisse uideantur: nam gestum expressit nauigantium qui quanto magis accelerat tanto magis inclinationi. Schol.

545. in puppim redire] 'bounded backwards'.

546. aera] cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 1084 uto de tov toxeumatiov oivy iN idiev tov oIfanav. uacuom] i.e. where there were no ships.

548. diuersaeque rates] 'and as the fleet opened out, the enemies’ ships were admitted’, i.e. into the crescent.
ut quotiens aestus Zephyris Eurisque repugnat
huc abeunt fluctus illuc marc: sic, ubi puppes
sulcato uarios duexerunt gurgite tractus,
quod tutil illa ratis remis haec reppulit acuor.
secl Graiiis habiles pugnamque laessere pinus
et temptare fugam nec longo frangere gyro
cursum nec tarde flectenti cedere clauo.
at Romana ratis stabilem praebere carinam
certior et terrae similim bellantibus usum.
tunc in signifera residenti puppe magistro
Brutus ait: paterisne acies errare profundo,
artibus et certas pelagi? iam consere bellum:
Phocaicus medias rostris oppone carinas.
paruit obliquas et praebuat hostibus alnos.
tum quacumque ratis temptatit robora Bruti
ictu uicta suo percussa et capta cohaesit.
ast alias manicaeque ligant teretesque catenaec
seque tenent remis: tecto stetit acquore bellum.
iam non excissus torquentur tela lacertis
nec longinqua cadunt iaculato uolnera ferro,
miscen turque manus. nauali plurima bello
ensis agit. stat quisque suae de robore puppis pronus in aduersos ictus: nullique perempti in ratibus ceccidere suis. cruor altus in undis spumat et obducti concreto sanguine fluctus, et quas immissi traxerunt uincula ferri has prohibit iungi conserta cadauera puppes. semianimes alii uastum subicre profundum hauseruntque suo permixtum sanguine pontum. hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes fractarum subita ratium pericre ruina. irrita tela suas peragunt in gurgite caedes: et quodcumque cadit frustrato pondere ferrum exceptum mediis inuenit ulnus in undis. Phocaicis Romana ratis uallata carinis robore diducto dextrum laeumque tuitur acquo Marte latus: cuius dum pugnat ab alta puppe Tagus Graiumque audax expulit hastas, nullique perempti in undis ccciderc suis. cruor altus in undis sanguis fluctus. et quas immissi traxerunt uincula ferri has prohibent iungi conserta cadauera puppes. semianimes alii uastum subicre profundum hauseruntque suo permixtum sanguine pontum. hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes fractarum subita ratium pericre ruina. irrita tela suas peragunt in gurgite caedes: et quodcumque cadit frustrato pondere ferrum exceptum medius inuenit ulnus in undis.

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audiuere manum: nec lux est notior ulli
crustina, seu l’hocum uideat, seu cornua lunae, 595
semper uenturis componere carbasae uentis.
hic Latiae rostro compagem ruperat alni:
pila sed in medium uenere trementia pectus,
aucertitque ratem morientis dextrae magistri.
dum cupit in sociam Gy reus ercpere puppim, 600
excipit inmissum suspensa per ilia ferrum,
adfixusque rati telo retinente pependsit.

stant gemini fratres fecundae gloria matris,
quos cadem uariis genuerunt uiscera fatis.
discreuit mors saecua uiros, unumque relictum
agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes,
acernis causam lacrimis: tenet ille dolorem
semper et amissum fratrem lugentibus offert.
quorum alter mixtis obliquo pectine remis
ausus Romanae Graia de puppe carinac
infectare manum: sed cam grauis insuper ictus
amputat: illa tamen nisu quo prenderat haesit,
deriguitque tenens strictis immortua neriis.
creuit in aduersis uirtus: plus nobilis irae

594. audiuere] cf. Verg. G. 1 514
eque auditi currus habenas.
596. componere] The infinitive depends
on the general sense of the preceding
lines: ‘than whom none was more skilful
always to adapt his canvas to the coming
winds’.
597. ruperat] ‘had shattered’, cf. Hor.
Epod. x 19, 20 Ionius udo cum remugient
sinus Noto carinam ruperit.
599. auertitque ratem] ‘made the ship
change her course’.
600. in sociam] ut pro illo (Telone)
nauem gubernaret. Schol.
601. suspensa] sc. eius suspensi, ‘as he
hung in the air’, i.e. from the rope.
602. adfixusque rati] ‘nailed to the
ship’s side’.
605. discreuit] ‘at last distinguished
them’, i.e. so long as they were both alive
even their parents did not know them
apart.
606. errore] cf. Verg. Aen. x 391—
393 simillima proles indiscreta suis gra-
tusque parentibus errore: at mine dura dedit
nobis discrimina Pallas. Stat. Theb. ix
295 solus abi miseros non decepserunt parentes.
607. tenet] ‘keeps fresh’: equivalent
to retinet. I cannot find any passage
where tenere is used quite in the same
sense, but compare Cic. N. D. ii § 134
cum ibrus rebus animantium nita tenes-
tur, cibo, polione, spiritu.
609. quorum alter] Suetonius Jul. 68
tells this story of one of Caesar’s soldiers.
Acilii navali ad Massilian proelio in-
jecta in puppim hostium dextera et absica,
memorabilis illud apud Graecos Cynaegiri
exemplum imitatus, transitut in nauem
umbone obtusos agens.
610. mixtis obliquo pectine] ‘when the oars
were locked like a comb by crossing’. cf.
Ov. Met. ix 299 digitis inter se pectine
unctis.
611. insuper] ‘coming down from
above’, equivalent to desuper.
v 437 stat gravis Entellus nisuque immo-
tus codem.
613. strictis immortua neriis] ‘dead
in the act (i.e. of grasping) with contracted
muscles’.
truncus habet: fortique instaurat proelia laeua, rapturusque suam procumbit in aequora dextram. haec quoque cum toto manus est absissa lacerto. iam clupeo telisque carens non conditur ima puppe; sed expositus fraternaque pectore nudo arma tegens crebra confixus cuspide perstat: telaque multorum leta casura suorum emerita iam morte tenet. tum uolnere multo effugientem animam lassos collcgit in artus, membraque contendit toto quicumque mancat sanguine, ct hostilem defectis robore membris insiluit, solo nociturus pondere, puppim.

strage uirum cumulata ratis multoque cruore plena per obliquom cecrbs latus accipit ictus, at postquam ruptis pelagus compagibus hausit ad summos replcta foros, descendit in undas uicinum inuoluens contorto uertice pontum. aequora discedunt mensa diducta carina inque locum puppis cecidit mare, multaque ponto praebuit illa dies uarii miracula fati.

ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncos adfixit Lycidam. mersus foret illa profundo, sed prohibent socii suspensaque crura retentant. scinditur auolsus: nec sicut uolnere sanguis

616. procumbit] 'stretches out over the sea'.
618. clupeo telisque carens] i.e. having lost both left and right arm. Compare the Greek for 'right wheel' and 'left wheel' Theophrast. Charac. VIII (xxvii) τὸ ἑπὶ ὁμοι ὡς ἑπὶ ἀσωδος.
620. arma tegens] i.e. protecting his brother's shield with his body, instead of having his body protected by his brother's shield.
621. leta casura] 'which would have brought death to many in their fall'.
622. emerita] 'well earned'. cf. note I 358.
625. sanguine] i.e. strength. cf. note II 338.
632. ponto] 'on the sea'. Weise takes ponto as dative with praebuit: 'that day furnished many varied deaths for the sea to wonder at': but it seems simpler to take ponto as ablative.
635. rapidos] 'snatching', cf. Lucret. IV 712 rapidi...leones.
636. adfixit Lycidam] i.e. it grasped Lycidas instead of the ship.
638. nec sicut uolnere] According to Sulpitius these are the lines recited by Lucan while bleeding to death: others say IX 811 foll.
emicuit lentus: ruptis cadit undique uenis:
discursusque animae diuera in membra meantis 640
interceptus aquis. nullius uita perempti
est tanta dimissa uia: pars ultima trunci
tradidit in letum uacuos uitalibus artus;
at tumidus qua pulmo iacet qua uiscera feruent
haeserunt ibi fata diu:
luctataque multum
hac cum parte uiri uix omnia membra tulerunt.
dum nimium pugnax unius turba carinæ
incumbit prono lateri uacuamque relinquit
qua caret hoste ratem:
icio atque in membrâ membris 645
interceptus aquis. nullius uita
perempti est
tanta dimissa uia:
pars ultima trunci tradidit in letum
uacuos uitalibus artus;
at tumidus qua pulmo iacet qua uiscera feruent
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tanta dimissa uia:
pars ultima trunci tradidit in letum
uacuos uitalibus artus;
at tumidus qua pulmo iacet qua uiscera feruent
haeserunt ibi fata diu:
luctataque multum
hac cum parte uiri uix omnia membra tulerunt.
dum nimium pugnax unius turba carinæ
incumbit prono lateri uacuamque relinquit
qua caret hoste ratem:
icio atque in membrâ membris 645
interceptus aquis. nullius uita
perempti est
tanta dimissa uia:
pars ultima trunci tradidit in letum
uacuos uitalibus artus;
at tumidus qua pulmo iacet qua uiscera feruent
haeserunt ibi fata diu:
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at tumidus qua pulmo iacet qua uiscera feruent
haeserunt ibi fata diu:
luctataque multum
hac cum parte uiri uix omnia membra tulerunt.

640. animae] 'life blood'.
642. tanta—uia] 'by so wide a path',
   i.e. by so vast a wound.
644. tumidus] is merely a customary
   epithet, i.e. swelling with the air inhaled.
645. luctataque] 'and after a pro-
   longed struggle with this part of the man,
   scarce succeeded in carrying off all his
   limbs'.
648. prono] 'sloping'.
649. congesto ponderæ] 'by the weight
   piled in one place'.
652. unica] 'remarkable'.
   cf. Vell.
655. discessit] 'disappeared'.
   cf. note
   on II 121.
659. inhibent remis] 'back water'.
Greek προμαυραν κρονεσθαι. Cicero seems
to have thought at one time that inhibere
remis meant to cease rowing, in which
sense he uses it de orat. 1 § 153 ut con-
clutato nauigio, cum remiges inhiberunt,
retinet tanem ipsa nautis motum et cursum
sumum, intermisso impetu pulsi et cursum
remum; but cf. ad Att. xii xxii § 3 inhibere
illud tumum quod ualde mihi arriserat
ueterum dislpecit. est enim verbum
totum nauticam: quamquam id quidem
sebebam; sed arbitrarum sustineri remos
cum inhibere essent iussi remiges. id non
esse ciususdi didici heri, cum ad uillam
nostram nautis appellaverit; non enim
sustinerit sed allo modo remigerat; id ab
εὐθυμεῖ remolitum est...inhibito autem
remigium motum habet et ueterem
remigationis nauem convertens
ad uippim.
661. transmisit aquas] 'let the water
flow through', ὑδρὸς διέβηρος.
turbae] 'crew'.
puppis ad auxilium sociae concurrit: at illi robora cum uetitis præsarent altius ulnis, nutaretque ratis populo peritura recepto, impia turba super mediös ferit ense lacertos: brachia linquentes Graia pendentia puppi a manibus ecidere suis: non amplius undae sustinuere graues in summo gurgite trucos.

iamque omni fusiis nudato milite telis inuenit arma furor: remum contorsit in hostem alter: at hi tortum ualidis aplustre lacertis, auolsase rotant excusso remige sedes. in pugnam fregere rates. sidentia pessum corpora caesa tenent spoliantque cadauera ferro. multi inopes teli iaculum letale reuolum uolneribus traxere suis, et uiscera laeua oppressere manu, ualidos dum praebat ictus sanguis, et hostilem cum torserit, exeat, hastam.

nulla tamen plures hoc edidit acquore clades quam pelago diuersa lues. nam pinguibus ignis adfixus taedis et tecto sulphure uiuax spargitur: at faciles praebere alimenta carinæ nunc pice nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera.

663. *puppis ad auxilium*] 'to get help from a friendly ship'.
664. *præsarent altius ulnis*] i.e. when instead of merely holding on with their hands they tried to get their elbows over the side of the boat, in order to drag themselves on board.
665. *populo recepto*] 'if such numbers were received on board': cf. Ov. Met. IV 441, 442 nec uili exiguus populo est turguius accedere sentit.
666. *a manibus*] 'fell parted from their hands'.
667. *non amplius*] sc. they sank, having no arms to use for swimming.
674. *in pugnam*] 'to fight with', cf. Pers. v 2 linguis optare in carmina centum, i.e. to sing with.
676. *sidentia pessum*] cf. Lucret. vi 588 multae per mare pessum subsedere suis pater cum cinibus urbés. So in IV 206 tra-

dita uenam.
675. *ferro*] i.e. that by which they have been killed.
678. *dum praebat*] 'so long as their life-blood gives them strength to deal sturdy blows'. cf. IV 286, 287 mobile nersis conamen calidus praebet crier.
679. *et hostilem*] 'and only flows out after hurling back the foeman's spear'.

For the order cf. i. 14, v 387, vi 710, 711.
681. *pelago diuersa lues*] 'the plague most opposite to the sea', i.e. fire, cf. Aesch. Agam. 650—652 ἐνφώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθατο τὸ πρὸν πῦρ καὶ βάλασα καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἐδειξαντοι φεῦρον τὸν δύστηρον Ἀργείων στρατοῦ.

684. *pie—cera*] i.e. the pitch and wax used in the rigging and for caulking the deck.
nec flammata superant undae: sparsisque per acquor 685
iam ratibus fragmenta ferus sibi uindicat ignis.
hic recipit fluctus extinguat ut aquore flammata
hi ne mergantur tabulis ardentibus haerent.
mille modos inter leti mors una timori est
qua coeperc mori. nec cessat naufraga uirtus:
tela legunt deiecta mari ratibusque ministrant:
incertasque manus ictu languente per undas
exercet. nunc rara datur si copia ferri
utuntur pelago. sacius complectitur hostem
hostis, et implicitis gaudent subsidere membris,
mergentesque mori.—pugna fuit unus in illa
eximius Phoecus animam servare sub undis,
scrutarique fretum, si quid mersisset harenis,
et nimis adfixos unci conuelle morsus,
adductum quotiens non senserat ancora funem.
hic ubi compressum penitus deduxerat hostem,
uictor et incolmis summas remeabat ad undas.
sed se per uacuos credit dum surgere fluctus,
puppibus occurrit tandemque sub aquore mansit.
hi super hostiles iecerunt braccia remos
et ratium tenuere fugam. non perdere letum
maxima cura fuit; multus sua uolnera puppi
adfixit moriens et rostris abstulit ictus.
stantem sublimi Tyrhenum culmine prorac

685. superant] 'get the better of the
flames'.
687. recipit] se. in nauem.
688. moris una] 'each fears that form
of death alone by which he has begun to
die', e.g. if he is drowning he is not afraid
of the fire, if he is burning he is not afraid
of the water.
694. utuntur pelago] 'they make the
sea their weapon'.
696. mergentesque mori] 'and die car-
rying down a foe'.
unus eximius] 'one conspicuous above
all'. cf. Cic. in L. Caec. div. § 32 neque
cenim uiserimus, cum omnibus Siculis
facerei iniurias, te illi uiam eximium,
cui consideret, fuisse; Liv. IX 34 tu unus
eximius es in quo hoc praecipuam et singu-
larem ualeat. eximius is equivalent to a
superlative. cf. Verg. Aen. 11 426 inus-
tissimus unus qui fuit e Teuceris et servo-
tissimus aquu.
697. animam servare] 'to keep his
breath'.
699. nimis adfixos] 'too firmly fas-
tened', i.e. anchors which could not
be drawn up in the ordinary way, and
so would require to be cleared by a diver.
700. adductum] 'strained'. Oud. cf.
Caes. B.G. III 14 cum funes qui antennas
ad malos destinabant comprehensi adducti-
ique erant.
703. uacuos] cf. note on 546 supr.
706. perdere letum] 'to waste, throw
away their death'. So also ἀπολείπει
is used in Greek, cf. Demos. adv. Lept. 480
ov σπαραγων ἀπωλέσων οὐδένα (ὁ Ἀκ-
βίλης).
707. sua uolnera] sc. suum corpus
uolneratum.
Lygdamus excussa Balearis tortor habenae glande petens solido fregit caua temporas plumbo. sedibus expulsi, postquam crur omnia rupit uincula, procumbunt oculi: stat lumine rapto adtonitus mortisque illas putat esse tenebras. at postquam membris sensit constare uigorem, uos, ait, o socii, sicut tormenta soletis, me quoque mittendis rectum componite telis. egere quod superest animae, Tyrrhene, per omnes bellorum casus. ingentem militis usum hoc habet ex magna defunctum parte cadauer: uiuentis feriere loco. sic fatus in hostem caeca tela manu sed non tamen irrita mittit. excipit haec iuuenis generosi sanguinis Argus qua iam non medius descendit in illia uenter, adiuitque suo procumbens pondere ferrum. stabant diversa uictae iam parte carinae infelix Argi genitor; non ille iuuentae tempore Phocaicus uilli cessurus in armis: uictum aeuo robur ecidit, fessusque senecta exemplum non miles erat; qui funere uiso saepe cadens longae senior per transtra carinae peruenit ad puppim spirantisque iuuenis.artus. non lacrimalae cecidere genis non pectora tundit, distantis toto riguit sed corpore palmis. nox subit atque oculos uastae obduxere tenebrae.
et miserum cernens agnoscere desinit Argum.
ille caput labens et iam languentia colla
uiso patre leuat: uox fauces nulla solutas
prosequitur: tacito tantum petit oscula uoltu
inuitatque patris claudenda ad lumina dextram. 740
ut torpor se Nex caruit uiresque cruentus
coeptit habere dolor, non perdam tempora, dixit,
a saeuis permissa deis iugulumque senilem
confodiam. ueniam misero concede parenti,
Arge, quod amplexus, extrema quod oscula fugi. 745
nondum destituit calidus tua uolnera
sanguis, semianimusque iaccs et adhuc
potes esse superstes.
sic fatus, quamuis capulum per uiscera
missi polluerat gladii, 
tamen alta sub acquora
tendit praecipiti saltu. 750
letum praecedere nati
festinantem animam morti non credidit uni.

inclinant iam fata ducum: nec iam amplius anecep
belli casus erat: Graiae pars maxima classis
mergitur: ast aliae mutato remige puppes
victores uexere suos:
praecipiti tenuere fuga.

quis in urbe parentum
fletus erat: quanti matrum
per litora planctus.

coniunx saepe sui
credidit ora uiri
amplexa cadaver:
accensisque rogis
miseri de
corpore trunco

certauere patres. at Brutus in acquore uictor
primus Caesareis pelagi decus addidit armis.

737. [languentia] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 436,
purpureus ueluti cum flores successus
aratro languentem moriens.
741. [torpor...caruit] ‘recovered from
his swoon’. For this use of carere cf. Juv. VI 564 parum tandem caruisse Scripho.
[cruentus] ‘ruthless’. cf. Hor. carm. III ii 11, 12 quem cruenta per medias rapid
tira caedes.
747. [superstes] The Romans regarded
it as the greatest of misfortunes for the
to die before the parent. cf. Hor. Epod. V 101, 102
michi superstes, effugerit spectaculum.
See also Cicero’s explanation of superstites

Nat. D. II § 72 nam qui totos dies preca-
bantur et immolabant ut sui liberi sibi
superstes essent superstitione appellabant;
quod nomen posta latius patuit.
755. [letum] ‘he did not trust to a sin-
gle form of death his breath in its haste
to anticipate the death of his son’.
753. [belli] i.e. pugnae, not the general
issue of the war. Weise.
755. [victores suos] i.e. the Roman con-
querrors.
758. [confusis] ‘disfigured’. cf. note
on II 191.
762. [pelagi decus] ‘glory at sea’.
The war in Spain: Caesar fights with Afranius and Petreius near Ilerda 1—47: his troops are surrounded by floods, and suffer from famine 48—120. The floods subside: Caesar crosses the Sicoris; the Pompeians retreat 121—156. Caesar pursues them: the soldiers of the two armies hold friendly intercourse 157—204, until Petreius puts a stop to it and massacres those of Caesar's soldiers who are found in his camp 205—253. Caesar cuts off the enemy from water 254—336. Afranius and his soldiers surrender and are dismissed in safety 337—401. Antonius, besieged by the Pompeians in Illyria, tries to escape with his soldiers on board three rafts 402—452, one of which is prevented from escaping; the soldiers on board, by the persuasion of Vulteius, kill themselves 453—580. Curio crosses to Africa; the legend of Antaeus 581—660. Curio defeats Varus 661—714, but is surprised and defeated by Juba 715—792. His death and character 793—824.

At procul extremis terrarum Caesar in oris Martem saeuous agit, non multa caede nocentem, maxima sed fati ducibus momenta daturum.

iure pari rector castris Afranius illis ac Petreius erat: concordia duxit in aequas

imperium commune uices, tutelaque ualli

2. Martem] 'savagely wages war, not stained with the guilt of much bloodshed', i.e. because the Pompeians were conquered rather by thirst than by fighting.

3. maxima] 'but destined more than aught else to give the turn to the scales of fate for the leaders', sc. Caesari ad victoriam, Pompeio ad exitium. Weise.

5. concordia] 'their harmony led them to divide between them equally by turns their common command', i.e. instead of each commanding a portion of the forces, they alternately commanded the whole, and that for equal lengths of time. See however Caes. B. C. I 39 whence it appears that Petreius had three legions, Afranius two.

6. tutelaque ualli pertigil—custodia] 'the watchful sentinels that protect the encampment'.

H. L.
peruigil alterno paret custodia signo.

his praeter Latias acies erat impiger Astur,

Vettonensesque leues, profugique a gente uctusta
gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Hiberis.

colle tumet modico lenique excreuit in altum

pinge solum tumulo: super hunc fundata uctusta

surgit Ilerda manu. placidis praclabitur undis

Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnes,
saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu

hibernas passurus aquas. at proxima rupes

signa tenet Magni: nec Caesar colle minore

castra leuat: medius dirimit tentoria gurges.

explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentis

uix oculo prendente modum; camposque coerces,

Cinga rapax, uetitus fluctus et litora cursu

oceani pepulisse tuo: nam gurgite mixto

qui praestat terris auert tibi nomen Hiberus.

prima dies belli cessauit Marte cruento,

spectandasque ducum uires numerosaque signa

exposuit. piguit sceleris; pudor arma furentum

continuit; patriaevque et ruptis legibus unum
donauere diem. prono tum Caesar Olympo


uiriles leni ter acclini constitutque incho.

manc] cf. Verg. G. II 156 tot congesta

manu praeruptis oppida saxis.

17. nec Caesar] ‘and Caesar raises his camp aloft on a hill of equal height’.
18. lena] cf. Plin. ii. N. ii § 69

ignea ui levantur in sublime.

medius dirimit] Lucan seems here to have fallen into an error: it appears from

Caesar B.C. 1 that the camps both of Caesar and of the Pompeians, as well as the town of Ilerda, were on the right bank of the Sicoris, the bridge over which lay behind the town. Glareanus.

20. uix oculo] ‘while the eye can scarcely grasp their limit’, i.e. the plains extend to the horizon on all sides.

21. Cinga] cf. note on 1432. uetitus] i.e. it falls into the Hiberus and so loses its name. cf. i 399.

23. qui praestat terris] ‘which gives its name to the land’, i.e. Hiberia;

24. cessauit] ‘was free from’, cf. note on iii 451. Add Florus i iv (x) § 7 sic guidum miri; sed ne quis sexus a laude cessaret, cece et uirginum virtus.


numerosus Horatius.

28. donauere diem] ‘they sacrificed a day’, cf. Cic. ad fam. iv v § 2 tuas

inimicitias ut rei publicae donares te

nicisti.

prono—Olympo in noctem] ‘as the sky
in noctem subita circumdedit agmina fossa,
dum primae perstant acies, hostemque sefellit,
et prope consertis obduxit castra maniplis.
luce nova collem subito conscendere cursu
qui medius tutam castris dirimebat Ilerdam
imperat. huc hostem pariter terrorque pudorque
impulit; et rapto tumulum prior agmine cepit.
his uirtus ferrumque locum promittit, at illis
ipse locus. miles rupes oneratus in altas
niritur: aduerso acies in monte supina
haeret et in tergum casura umbone sequentis
erigitur. nulli telum uibrare uacabat,
dum labat, et fixo firmat uestigia pilo,
dum scopulos stirpesque tenent atque hoste relicto
caedunt ense uiam. uidit lapsuma ruina
agmina dux equitemque iuabet succedere bello,
munitumque latus laeuo producere gyro.
sic pedes ex facili nulloque urgente receptus,
irritus et uictor subdacto Marte pependit.

was hastening toward nightfall'. cf. Verg.
Ecl. vi 86 iunio processit uesper Olympo.
30. subita] 'hastily made'. cf. note
on i 312. cf. Ov. Met. viii 180 dunque
uosal gemmae subitos uertentur in ignes.
30. perstant] 'keep their position', i.e.
vi 23 philosophs eorum, quos gymnosophistias nocant, ab e{x}to ad occasum
perstare continentes solami immobillitatem.
Oud. cf. Liv. xxxiv 47 pars certaminis
studio et spe potiendi castris hostium per-
stitit ad uallum. This, which is the reading
of many MSS., is also found in the
Roman edition of 1469. Oud. with some
MSS. reads praestant, i.e. stand in front
not to conceal the rest while they are digging,
but praestare in this literal sense does not
appear to be found elsewhere.
31. prope consertis] 'closely massed',
obduxit castra] i.e. he concealed the
fact that he was having a camp raised
behind his troops.
32. qui medius] 'which lying between
separated Ilerda from his camp and kept
it safe'.
33. terrorque pudorque] i.e. the fear
of being cut off from the town, and the
shame of letting the enemy be beforehand
with them.
34. promittit] 'gives hopes of occup-
ing'. cf. Sen. Phaed. 577 et amica rati-
bus ante promittit nada incerta Syrtes.
35. supinal] 'looking upwards'.
36. casural] 'ready to fall backwards'.
37. caedunt ense uiam] i.e. they use
their swords to clear their pathway for
themselves, instead of striking the enemy.
38. succedere] 'to come up to join the
fight'.
39. munitumque latus] 'and by a cir-
cuit to the left to interpose before the
infantry their protected side', i.e. their left
side on which they would carry their
shields. See note on ii 618. Thuc. v
43. i 71 § 1. Caesar B. C. 1 44—45 describes
two distinct operations, (1) the relief of
the soldiers who were attempting to occupy
the mound by the ninth legion, not by
cavalry: (2) the relief of the soldiers of
the ninth legion when trying to win the
hill on which Ilerda was situated by
cavalry: these two are confounded by
Lucan.
44. subdacto Marte] i.e. as the enemy
were withdrawn.
45. pependit] 'remained aloft'. Weise cf.
Verg. Eel. i 76 (capellas) dumosa de rupe
procul pendere uidebis.
hactenus armorum discrimina: cetera bello 
fata dedit uaruis incertus motibus aer. 
pigro bruma gelu siccis Aquilonibus haerens 
acthere consticto pluuias in nube tenebat. 
urebant montana niues camposque iacentis 
non duraturae conspecto sole pruiniae: 
atque omnis propior mergenti sidera caelo 
aruerat tellus hiberno dura sereno. 
sed postquam uernus calidum Titana recept 
sidera respiciens delapsae portitor Helles, 
atque iterum aequatis ad iustae pondera Librae 
temporibus uicere dies: tum sole relicto, 
Cynthia quo primum cornu dubitanda refulsit, 
exclusit Borcam flammmasque accepit ab Euro. 
ille suo nubes quascumque inuenit in axe 
torsit in occiduom Nabataeis flatibus orbem: 
et quas sentit Arabs, et quas Gangetica tellus 
exhalat nebula, quidquid concrescere primus 
sol patitur, quidquid caeli fuscator Eoi 
tuiterat Caurus, quidquid defenderat Indos. 
incendere diem nubes oriente remotae;

48. cetera bello] 'the remaining for-
tune of the war was decided by the air 
shifting with changeful movements'.
50. haerens] 'retarded'. Oud. cf. 
Sen. Herc. Fur. 768 immolent aer haeret 
et pigro sedet nox altera mundi.
51. in nube tenebat] 'kept the rain in 
the clouds', i.e. so that it did not fall 
except as snow on the mountains.
52. urebant] cf. Val. Flac. 11 287 
canis urebat luna prunis.
53. non duraturae] 'destined to vanish 
at the first sight of the sun'.
54. mergenti sidera caelo] i.e. the west-
ern sky, cf. Sen. Thyst. 776—778 o 
Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro loci medique 
rupthin mersris caelo diem, sero occidisti. 
See also note on 525 infr.
55. seren] cf. 1 530.
56. sed postquam] i.e. when the sun 
entered Aries, in March.
57. respiciens] fingitur enim Aries 
auro capite respiciens. Weise.
58. iterum] may be taken either with 
aequatis referring to the autumal and 
vernal equinoxes, or with uicere. 
aequatis] cf. Verg. G. 1 208 Libra die 
sonique pares ubi fecerit horas.
59. sole relicto] quia cum sole oritur 
recedens de eo signo in quo sole fuerat. 
Schol. tune lunae a coitu nonae recessentis 
a sole cornua nondum apparent. 
60. dimitanda] i.e. because her increase 
is as yet scarcely visible.
61. exclusit—flammas accepit] uerta 
amator. Weise. cf. Lucret. iv 1173 at 
lacrimans exclusus amator.
62. suo—in axe] i.e. in the quarter of 
the world where he rises, sc. the east.
63. Nabataeis] merely ornamental for 
Eastern. cf. Ov. Met. 1 61 Eurus ad 
Aurorum Nabataeaeque regna recessit.
65. concrescere] cf. Lucret. vi 494 quo 
pacto pluuias concrescat in altis nubibus 
umor.
66. fuscator] 'darkener', i.e. by bring-
ing the clouds together. cf. Val. Flac. 
1 395. 396 innumeram nam claudit apes, 
longaque superbus fuscate nube diem.
67. defenderat] sc. all the clouds which 
had protected the Indians from the sun.
68. incendere] 'made tempestuous' 
used metaphorically of any violent action
nec medio potuere graues incumbere mundo
sed nimbos rapuere fuga. uacat imribus Arctos 70
et Notus; in solam Calpen fluit umidis aer.
hic ubi iam Zephyri fines et summus Olympi
cardo tenet Tethyn uctitae transcurrire densos
inuolure globos; congestumque aeris atri
uix recipit spatium quod separat aethere terram. 75
iamque polo pressae largos densantur in imbres
spissataeque fluent: nec servat fulmina flammas
quamuis erebra micent: moriuntur fulgura nimbis.
hinc imperfecto complcticur aera gyro
arcus, uix ualla uariatos luce colorem,

Liber IV. 48—85. 117

oceanumque bibit, raptosque ad nubila fluctus
pertulit, et caelo diffusum reddidit acquir.
iamque Pyrenaeae quas numquam soluere Titan
eualuit fluxere niues, fractoque madescunt
saxa gelu. tum qua solitis e fontibus exit 80

cf. Verg. Aen. x 895 elamore incendunt
caelum. Justin. XXXVIII 8 ut regia omnis
repentiro luctu incendetur.
60. graues] sc. grauidae, full of water.
71. Calpen] Calpe (Gibraltar) is ap-
parently put for Spain generally: Ilerda,
being in the north of Spain, was at a
considerable distance from Calpe.
72. summus cardo] sc. axis extremus,
the furthest limit of the sky'. cf. v 71,
72; vii 381. Liv. xxxvii 54 terminus
est nunc interi exitri mons Taurus; quid-
quid intra cum cardinal est, nihil longin-
quum nobis uideri debet. In mensuration
cardo is the technical term for the line
running from north to south, decumanus
for that running from east to west. See
Dict. of Antiquities s.v. Agrimensores.
cardo being regarded as the most important
line, the meaning of it was extended and
used for limit generally.
73. tenet] 'holds back', and so
'bounding'.
uctitae transcurrire] 'forbidden to pass
beyond'.
74. congestumque] 'and the space which
separates earth from sky (i.e. the air)
can scarce contain the close-packed mass of
mucky air'. cf. Lucret. vi 725 magnus
congestus harenea.
75. polo pressae] 'compressed by the
weight of the sky'.
non habet unde uias: tam largas alueus omnis a ripis accept aquas. iam naufraga campo
Caesaris arma natant impulsaque gurgite multo castra labant: alto restant quae flumina ullo.
non pecorum raptus faciles non pabula mersi
ulla ferunt sulci: tectarum errore uiarum
fallitur occultis sparsus populator in agris.
iamque comes semper magnorum prima malorum
sacrae fames aederat: nulloque obsessus ab hospite
miles eget; toto censu non prodigus emit
exiguam Cererem. pro luci pallida tabes:
non deest prolato ieiunus uenditor auro.
iam tumuli collesque latent: iam flumina cuncta
condidit una palus uastaque uoragine mersit:
absorpsit penitus rupe ac tecta ferarum
detulit atque ipsas hauis subitisque frementis
uorticibus contorsit aquas et reppulit aestus
fortior oceani. nec Phoebum surgere sentit
nox subiecta polo; rerum discrimina misset
deformis caeli facies iunctaeque tenebrae.
sic mundi pars ima iacet quam zona nivalis
perpetuaeque premunt hiemes; non sidera caelo
ulla uided, sterili non quicquam frigore gignit,

86. omnis] for umius quies. cf-vIII
728; IX 886.
87. a ripis] i.e. it received water from
the very banks which ought to have checked it.
89. alto 'high as is the mound the
erivers overlool it'. uallo is probably
dative, a kind of dativus incommo-
di.
91. tectarum errore uiarum] 'the mis-
takes caused by the inundated roads'.
cf. Verg. Aen. v 590 qua signa sequendi
falleret indeplens et irremeabilis er-
ror.
95. toto consu] 'all his property'. cf.
 note on III 157.
 non prodigus] sc. diem parcas, 'one
who is no spendthrift'. Compare the
Book of Job II. 4 "yea, all that a man hath
will he give for his life'.
96. pallida] cf. Pers. IV 47 uis si
palles improbe nummo.
97. prolato] 'when gold is proffered'.

90. Asinar. 651 sed tibi si uiginiti
minae argenti proferentur.
101. ipsas] sc. feras.
102. aquas] Another reading of ap-
parently equal authority is equs.
reppulit aestival] Compare Byron, The
Giaour, As rolls the river into ocean, In
sable torrent wildly streaming; As the
sea-tide's opposing motion, In azure
column proudly gleaming, Beats back the
current many a rood, In curling foam and
mingling flood, While eddying whirl, and
breaking wave, Roused by the blast of
winter rave.
104. subiecta polo] 'spread beneath the
sky'. Grotius conjectures subtexta from a
reading sublecta found in some MSS.
105. iunctaeque tenebrae'] and unbroken
anhelabat tuncdo supere molantes Mars
impeiti equs.
sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignes.
sic o summe pares mundi sic sorte secunda
acquorei rector facias, Neptune, tridentis:
et tu perpetuis impendias aera nimbis;
tu remeare utes quoscumque emiseris aestus.
non habext anmes decliiuem ad litora cursum
sed pelagi referantur aquis, concussaque tellus
laxet iter fluidus. hos campos Rhenus inundet,
hos Rhodanus: uastos obliquent flumina fontes:
Rhipacas hue solue niues, hue stagna lacusque
et pigras ubicumque iccent effunde paludes:
et miseras bellis ciuilibus cripe terras.
sed paruo Fortuna uiri contenta pauro
plena redit, solitoque magis fauere secundi
et ueniam meruere dei. iam rarior aer
et par Phoebus aquis densas in uellera nubes
sparsaritat, et noctes uentura luce rubebant:
seruatoque loco rerum discessit ab astris

109. medi[ ]i.e. it moderates the equa-
torial heat. Weise cf. Tibull. iv i 167,
168 quas utrimum temens similis uicinia
cadis temperat, alter et alterius uires necat
aer.
110. sorte secunda[ ]'in the second con-
tion', i.e. thou who art next in power
to Jove. cf. Hor. Carm. iv xi 22 non
uiae sortis iuuenem. Suet. Aug. 19 nam
ue ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspi-
ratione et periculo caruit. ov. Met. viii
594—596 o proxima eae regna uagae,
dixi, sortile, Tridentifer, unde, in quo
desinimus, quo sacri currinnum annus. See
also V 622.
111. tridentis[ ]cf. Aesch. Prom. 924
θαλασσιν τε γῆσ τριάκτερας νῦνον τριάνα
αλχυρ την Ηδονῶν σκεδα.
Theb. vii 215 est ego non proprio diros
impendo deloro Oedipodionidas.
113. tu remeare uetes[ ]'may'st thou,
Neptune, forbid to return whatsoever
floods thou hast parted with', i.e. by
blocking up the rivers' mouths prevent
the return to the sea of the water which
has been drawn from it by evaporation.
114. referantur aquis[ ]'be borne back
by the waters of the sea'.
115. laxet iter[ ]'open up a path for'.
hos—hos[ ]not 'these' and 'those', but
referring in both cases to the plains of
Hiberia. cf. Hor. Epp. i ii 63 hunc
frenis, hunc tu compesse catena. See note
on viii 156.
117. obliquent[ ]'turn from their course'.
Weise cf. Stat. Theb. xii 748 ille
paonent obliquavit equos.
120. et miserat[ ]'and thus save these
luckless lands from civil strife', i.e. by
flooding them.
122. plena[ ]'in full force'. cf. V 166.
Ov. ex Ponto ii vii 77 sustines ut onus
nitemundum aertice pleno est.
123. ueniam meruere[ ]'deserved by their
favour pardon for the injury they had
before inflicted'.
124. ueniam meruere[ ]'deserved by their
favour pardon for the injury they had
before inflicted'.
rarior[ ]i.e. less misty. cf. Verg. G. 1
419 denset erant quae rara modo et quae
densa relaxat. Oud. cf. Stat. Silv. 1 ii 186
cam plunuis rarescant nobila.
124. paret[ ]'a match for'. cf. note on
11 415.
televata[ ]'fleezy clouds'. cf. Verg. G.
1 397 tenet ne lanae per caelum uella
ferri.
125. rbubant[ ]'the darkness began to
flush at the approach of day-light', i.e.
the return of day-light after this unnatual
darkness was like the dawn after the
night.
126. astris[ ]tanta enim cogitaturuisse
inundatio ut aquae astra tangerent, hyper-
umor et ima petit quidquid pendebat aquarum. tollere silua comas stagnis emergere colles incipient uisque die dulescere ualles, utque habuit ripas Sicoris camposque reliquit, primum cana salix madefacto uimine paruam texitur in puppim, caesoque inducta iuuenco uectoris patiens tumidum superenatam annem. sic Venetus stagnante Pado fusque Britannus navigat ocano: sic cum tenet omnia Nilus conserit bibula Memphitis cumba papyro. his ratibus transicta manus festinat utrimque succisum curuare nemus; fluuiique ferox incrementa timens, non primis robora ripis imposuit: medios pontem distendit in agros. ac ne quid Sicoris repetitis audeat undis, spargitur in sulcos et scisso gurgite riuis

bolice. Weise. cf. v 642, Ov. Met. xi 517, 518 inque fretum totum credas descender cadum, inque plagas caeli tumfacium ascedere pontum. 127. pendebat 'was aloft'. cf. supr. 47.

128. tollere silua. Compare the account of the subsidence of Deucalion's flood in Ov. Met. i 343—348 iam mare litus habet; plenos capit alues annos; flumina subsidunt; colles exire uidentur. surgit humus; crescent loca decrecentibus undis. postque dientes longam nudat calmina silucae ostendunt liminique tenent in fronde velictum.

129. dulescere] cf. Verg. Ecl. vi 53 tum duvare solum et discludere Nerea pontio. ualles] i.e. after the hills. Another reading which seems to have less authority is calles, which would also be intolerable after colles at the end of the preceding line.

131. primum] i.e. first boats are made, then (132) a bridge is built, lastly (141) the river is drained.


134. fusio] Weise takes this as equivalent to late ossio, 'wide-spread', comparing 670 infr. non fusio uti terra fuit domino; but in that passage the presence of the word domino prevents any ambiguity of meaning in fusio. Here it seems better to interpret fusio as 'poured into the land', almost equivalent to infuso, referring to the creeks and estuaries on the coast of Britain, which are thus contrasted with the open sea on which the Britons would not venture in their coracles. See the description of the British coast in Tac. Agric. 10 naturam oceani atque aestus neque quacere huius operis est ac multi uelutedere: unam addididerunt, musquam latius dominiari multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore uenire ad uersare aut rossorberi, sed infereuent pentitus atque ambire, et inguis etiam ac montibus inscri uelut in suo. Britannus] cf. Caes. B. C. i 54. Plin. H. N. iv § 104. 136. bibula] i.e. because it is a plant which grows in marshy ground. cf. Plin. H. N. xiii §§ 71—73. Verg. G. i 287 foll.

137. utrimque] 'on both banks'.

138. succisum curuare nemus] 'to hack and bend down trees'; this probably means that they first cut the trunk half through with the axe and then break it off by bending it over by ropes. cf. Verg. Aen. ii 626—628 ac ueluti summis antiquam in montibus ornun tum ferro accisam erebrique bipennisuus instant crure agricultae certa. 142. scisso] 'with its stream cut up into channels'.
dat poenas maioris aquae. postquam omnia fatis Caesaris ire uident celsam Petreius Hideram descripit: et noti diffusi uribus orbis, indomitos quaerit populos et semper in arma mortis amore feros, et tendit in ultima mundi.
nudatos Caesar colles desertaque castra conspiciens capere arma iubet: nec quaerere pontem nec uada sed duris fluvium superare lacertis. paretur: rapuitque ruens in proelia miles quod fugiens timuisset iter. mox uada receptis membra fouent armis gelidosque a gurgite cursu restituunt artus, donec decresceret umbra in medium surgente die. iamque agmina summa carpit eques dubique fugae pugnaceque tenetur.
ad tollunt campo geminae iuga saxea rupes ualle caua media. tellus hinc ardua celsos continuat colles: tutae quos inter opaco anfractu latuere uiae: quibus hoste potito faucibus emitti terrarum in deuia Martem inque feras gentes Caesar uident. ite sine ullo ordine, ait, raptumque fuga convertite bellum, et faciem pugnae uoltusque inferte minaces:

fatis—ire] ire is equivalent to ferri, i.e. 'that Caesar's destiny is sweeping all before it'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 34 seu iam Troiae sic fata forebant.
151. rapuit] 'took with eagerness when rushing to the flight a path which he would have shrunken from in flight'.
152. receptis] i.e. their arms had been previously carried across the river in boats.
153. cursu] 'by running'.
155. agmina summa] 'the hindmost ranks'.
156. carpit] 'harasses'.
dubit] 'halting between flight and battle'. cf. VII 611 dubium fati; so medius also is used with two genitives cf. Ov. Met. V 564 medius fratrisque sui maestaque sororis Lupserit.
tenetur] equivalent to detinentur, cf. Cic. ad fam. XVI vii § 1 septimum iam diem Coreyras tenebamur.
158. ualle caua motio] 'with a hollow valley between'. Oud. cf. Liv. vili 34 exercitum in caenae in saltum caua ualle peritum...induxit.
tellus hinc] 'from this point the ground rising aloft exhibits a continuous line of hills'.
160. guibus hoste] uident Caesar quod, si angustias ipsas Pompeiani occupasset, Mars emitteretur in terrarum deuia et in feras gentes, i.e. ad barbaros, ad quos si peruenisset hostis, non posset superari a Caesare. Schol.
163. raptumque fuga] 'turn back the war which is hastening its flight', i.e. by heading the flying enemy compel them to change their course. For bellum cf. III 64, VII 651.
nec liceat pauditis ignaua occumbere morte: 165
excipiant recto fugientes pectore ferruin.
dixit, et ad montes tendentem praeuenit hostem.
illic exiguo paulum distantia ullo
casta locant. postquam spatio languentia nullo
mutua conspicuos habuerunt lumina uoltus,
et fratres natosque suos uidere patresque,
depresum est ciule nefas: tenuere parumper
ora metu: tantum nutu motoque salutant
ense suos. mox ut stimulus maioribus ardens
rupit amor leges, audet transcendere uallum
miles, in amplexus effusas tendere palmas.
hospitis ille ciet nomen; vocat ille propinquum:
admonet hunc studiis consors puerilibus actas:
nec Romanus erat qui non agnouerat hostem.
arma rigant lacrimis, singultibus oscula rumpunt: 180
et quamuis nullo maculatus sanguine miles
quae potuit fecisse timet. quid pectora pulsas?
quid, uaesane, gemis? fletus quid fundis inanes,
nec te sponte tua sceleri parere lateris?
usque adeone times quem tu facis ipse timendum? 185
classica dent bellum; saeuos tu neglige cantus:

165. ignaua] sc. by wounds from behind,
166. recto—pectore] 'full in their
breasts'; an antithesis to fugientes. cf.
IX 638 quem qui recto se limine vidit
passa Medusa mori est? also IX 904.
168. exiguo distantia ullo] 'separated
by a slight rampart', sc. and by nothing
else. cf. I 516.
169. spatio languentia nullo] equivalent
to non ob spatium languentia 'not falling
away to the distance', i.e. they were
so near that they could not fail to
recognise one another. See notes on II 19,
vii 25.
170. mutua] i.e. looking at one an-
other. cf. Ov. Met. I 655 retices nec mu-
tua nostris dicta refers.
171. et fratres] This line is omitted
in some MSS. and editions.
172. depressum est] 'they grasped the
wickedness of civil strife'. cf. Ov. A. A.
II 313 si latet ars, protest; effert depresna
pudorem.
175. rupit—leges] 'burst the bonds of
discipline'.
transcendere] See note on I 304.
178. admonet hunc] 'one is reminded
of his friend by the time passed together
in boyhood's pursuits'.
179. Romanus] is emphatic, excluding
the auxiliaries on either side: 'and he
who had not recognised a foe, was sure
not to be a Roman'; not merely 'there
was no Roman who failed to recognise a
foe', which would require qui non agno-
seret.
181. quae potuit fecisse timet] 'shrinks
at the thought of all the guilt he might
have incurred'. fecisse is specially used
in the sense of being guilty, cf. Verg.
Aen. IX 427, 428 me me, adsum qui faci,
in me convertite ferrum, o Rutuli, mea
fratrum onas. Mart. IX 16 inscripsit tu-
nulis septem scelebarum omnium se fecisse
Chloe; quid pote simplicitus?
quum] sc. duceam, praesertim Caesarem.
186. dent bellum] 'give the signal for
battle'.
signa ferant; cessa: iamiam ciuillis Eriny
concident et Caesar generum priuatus amabit.
nunc ades acterno complectens omnia nexu
o rerum mixtique salus, Concordia, mundi,
et sacer orbis amor: magnum nunc saecula nostra
uenturi discernen habent. periere latebrac
tot scelerum: populn uenia est crepta nocenti:
agnouere suos, pro numine fata sinistro
exigua requie tantas augentia clades.

pax erat, et miles castra permixtus utrisque
erabat: duro concordes caespitse mensas
instituunt, et permixto libamina Baccho
gramineis fluxere focis: iunctoque cubili
exerit insomnesbellorum fabula noctes:
quo primum steterint campo, qua lancea dextra
exierit. dum quae gesserunt fortia iactant,
et dum multa negant, quod solum fata petebant,
_ is miseric renouata fides, atque omne futurum_

188. concidet] ‘will cease’. cf. Tac.
Hist. 11 57 morte Othonis concidisse bellum
accipit.

190. mixti—mundi] _sc. qui per te mis-
cetur et sic seruatur; for the use of the
participle cf. notes on ii 342, iii 132. See
also Verg. G. ii 141, Aen. ii 731, and
Conington’s notes.

_concordis] Compare the φιλία of Empe-
docles, and Aristoph. Aes 700—702
πρότερον δ’ οὐκ ἢ γένος αἰθάνατόν πριν
‘Eros ξυνείμιζεν ἀπατα’ ξυνείμιμεν δ’
ἐτέρων ἐτέρου γένετ’ οὐρανὸς ὕπανδρο
τε καὶ
γῆς πάντων τε θεών μακάρων γένος ἀφθιτον.

191. sacer orbis amor] ‘holy love that
dost sway the world’, i.e. the love which
mankind feels, or should feel, for one
another, as being portions of one orbis,
cf. i 61 inque uicem gens omnis amet. For
orbis in the sense of mankind, cf. Cic. ad
fam. vii § 3 sed scito ca, quae nos pro
salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae indicio
as testimonia comprobari.

saecula nostra] ‘our age is now at the
_ crisis of its destined course’. By saecula
nostra I understand the time at which
Lucan is writing, not, as Weise does, ‘the
actual moment of reconciliation between
the soldiers of Pompeius and of Caesar,
at which the poet feigns himself present’.

192. laterne] ‘all that concealed so
many crimes’.

193. uenia] ‘the guilty people are
robbed of all excuse’.

194. numine] cf. Verg. Ecl. iv 47
concordes stabili fatorum numine Paraeae.

195. exigua requie] ‘which by this
brief repose only make worse our dread
disasters’, i.e. because men’s eyes are
now opened to what they are doing, and
therefore their guilt is greater.

196. castris] to be taken with errabat.

197. duro concordes] ‘they set out
friendly banquets on the hard turf’.

Weise cf. Verg. Aen. vii 109 insituum-
quie dapes.

199. gramineis—focis] ‘turf-built al-
tars’.

200. extrahit] ‘talk about wars whiles
away the sleepless night’. cf. Val.
Flacc. 1 277, 278 Thraces hic noctem
dulei testudine notae extrahit.

201. qua—dextra] ‘how the lance sped
from their hand’. cf. Verg. Ecl. vi 43 his
adiungit Hylan nautae quo forne relictum
damassent, i.e. how the sailors left Hylas
at the spring and shouted his name.

203. quod solutum] sc. renouata fides est,
‘their mutual confidence was renewed
_ and that was all that fate desired’_. For
the position of the relative clause cf. ix 258—

261.
creuit amore nefas. nam postquam foedere pacis cognita Petreo seque et sua tradita uenum castra uidet, famulas scelerata ad proelia dextra excitat, atque hostes turba stipatus inermes pracepitat castris, iunctosque amplexibus ense separat, et multo disturbat sanguine pacem.

addidit ira ferox moturas proelia uoces:

immemor o patriae, signorum oblite tuorum, non potes hoc causae, miles, praestare senatus adseror uicto redeas ut Caesare? certe ut uincare potes. dum ferrum incertaque fata quique fluat multo non de-erit uolnere sanguis, ibitis ad dominum, damnataque signa fercis?

utque habeat famulos nullo discriminate Caesar exorandus erit? ducibus quoque uita petenda est?

numquam nostra salus pretium mercesque nefandae proditionis erit: non hoc ciuilia bella ut uiuamus agunt. trahimur sub nomine pacis, non chalybem gentes penitus fugiente metallo cruerent, nulli uallarent oppida muri, non sonipes in bella ferox non iret in aequor. turrigeras classis pelago sparsura carinas,

207. famulas] i.e. the hands of his personal attendants, probably a Spanish body-guard. For the adjectival use of famulus cf. Ov. Fast. 1 286 tradiderat famulosiam tibi Rheus aquas.

210. disturbat] 'makes an end of', stronger than the English 'disturb'; see Dr Reid's note on Cic. pro Sulla § 15 ille ambitus iudicium tollere ac disturbare... uoluit.

211. moturas] final, equivalent to quae monusercontent.

214. adseror] 'recoverer of freedom'. adserere in libertatem is a legal phrase; for the use of the simple adserere cf. Ov. Amor. III xi 3 scilicet adserui iam me fugique cutenas.

215. ut uincars] sc. if you cannot insure victory over Caesar, you can at least be conquered, i.e. not yield without fighting. dum ferrum] sc. erit, while you have swords, and the future is yet uncertain.

217. damnataque] 'and bear with you your standards in despair?' i.e. will you be in such haste to despair of the success of the Pompeians? signa refers to their own standards. For damnata cf. 356 infr.

218. nullo discriminate] 'with no distinction', i.e. either as Weise takes it, between you and us your generals, or better, as Grotius, between you and his former partizans, cf. note on 111 119.

219. ducibus] 'shall you have to beg for the lives of your leaders too? no, never shall our safety be the price paid for impious treachery'.

221. non hoc] 'the object of civil war is not our life', i.e. but freedom.

222. trahimur] 'we are being dragged to slavery'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 493 ece trahebatur passis Priameia virgo crinium a templo Cassandra adytisque Minervae.

223. chalybem] 'iron'.

225. damnumbudget] 'from the mine that seeks to elude them by its depth'. Compare Shakspeare K. Henry IV., part I i 3 "And that it was great pity, so it was, This villainous salt-petre should be digg'd Out of the bowels of the harmless earth".

226. sparsura] cf. II 682, III 64.
Liber IV. 205—249.

si bene libertas umquam pro pace daretur. hostes nempe meos sceleri iurata nefando sacramenta tenent: at uobis ulior hoc est uestra fides quod pro causa pugnantibus aqua 230 et ueniam sperare licet. pro dira pudoris foedera, nunc toto fatorum ignarus in orbe, Magne, paras acies, mundique extrema tenentis sollicitas reges, cum forsan foedere nostro iam tibi sit promissa salus. sic fatur, et omnes 235 concussit mentes scelerumque reduxit amorem.
sic ubi desuetae siluis in carceri clauso mansueuere ferae et uoluit posuere minaces, atque hominem didicere pati: si torrida paruus uenit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque, 240 admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces: feruet et a tremido uix abstinet ira magistro. itur in omne nefas: et quae Fortuna deorum inuidia caeca bellorum in nocte tulisset fecit monstra fides: inter mensasque torosque quae modo complexu fourunt pectora caedunt. et quamuis primo ferrum strinxere gementes, ut dextrae iusti gladius dissuasor adhaesit, dum feriunt odere suos, animosque labantis.

227. *si bene* | were it ever well to
barter liberty for peace*.

228. *nempe* | is equivalent to *at enim*,
*but you say my enemies are bound by a*
sworn oath to accursed crime*, i.e. to war
against their country.

229. *at uobis* | *but by your own*
honour is held of less account for this
reason, in that fighting for a just cause
you may even hope for mercy* i.e. if you
are defeated: Caesar’s soldiers owing to the
badness of their cause could not hope for it.

232. *nunc toto* | sarcastic; while Pom-
peius is exerting himself in the East, his
safety has been bargained for by us.

234. *nistro* | including himself with
his soldiers.

237. *desuetae siluis* | ‘grown strange
to the woods’*. cf. Verg. Aen. vi 814
et iam desueta triumphis agmina.

238. *mansueuer* | cf. i.327 foll.: Aesch.
Agam. 717—734.


11.184 hominemque uceri edidit nullas-
que rapi nisi iussus in iras.

241. *admonitae* | i.e. reminded of their
former feasts.

242. *magistro* | ‘keeper’.

243. *et quae* | ‘and acts, such that had
fortune brought them to pass in the blind
obscenity of battle they would have
brought odium on the gods, were made
prodiges of crime by the trustfulness of
peace’, i.e. the slaughter of kinsmen by
one another would have been bad enough
in the confusion of battle, but became
more horrible when done in time of truce,
and when they could recognise each other.

244. *inuidia* | cf. i.316.

248. *dissuasor* | cf. 705—710 infra. For
the use of the word *dissuasor* cf. Cic. ad
Brat. i xv § 5 cum desiderum diobus Auster
me in Italian quasi consili mei dissuasor retulisset.

249. *dum feriant* | ‘in the act of strik-
ing they learn to hate their kinsmen’.
confirmant ictu, feruent iam castra tumultu
[et scelerum turba: rapiuntur colla parentum.]
ac uclut occultum percat scelus. omnia monstrata
in faciem posuere ducum: iuuat esse nocentis.
tu Caesar quamuis spoliatus milite multo
agnoscis superos. neque enim tibi maior in aruis
Emathii fortuna fuit, nec Phocidos undis
Massiliae, Phario nec tantum est acquare gestum.
hoc siquidem solo cuilliis crimine belli
dux causae melioris eris. polluta nefanda
agmina caede duces iunctis committere castris
nen audent, altaque ad moenia rursus Ilerdae
intendere fugam. campos eques obuius omnes
abstulit et siccis inclusit collibus hostem.
tunc inopes undae praerupta cingere fossa
Caesar aut nec castra pati contingere ripas,
aucta circum largos cururi braschia fontes.
ut leti uidere uiam conuersus in iram
praecipitatem timor est. miles non utile clausiss
auxilia mactavit equos: tandemque coactus
spe posita damnare fugam casurus in hostes
fertur. et effuso Caesar decurrere passu
uidit et ad certam deutos tendere mortem:
tela tene iam, miles, ait, ferrumque ruenti

251. et scelerum] This line is omitted in
many MSS.: the repetition of scelus in the
succeeding line would be very awkward.
253. percat] 'went for nothing', i.e.
were no crime.
253. in faciem] 'they paraded them
before their leaders' eyes'. cf. Caes. B.
C. 1 75 productos palam in pradorio inter-
ficiunt.
255. agnoscis] 'dost recognize the
favour of heaven', i.e. shown by making
his enemies guilty, cf. 11 537 di melius
bello tulimus quod damnas priores. The
words also probably imply, 'dost show
thy respect for the gods', i.e. by not
inflicting similar cruelties on the Pon-
pelians. cf. Cic. de div. 1 § 132 nunc
illa testator non me sortilegos neque cos
qui quaeestus causa harrotentr ne psy-
chomauelt quidem, quibus Appius amicus
tus uti solebat, agnoscre.
257. nec tantum] 'nor didst thou gain
such an advantage', i.e. as putting the
enemy in the wrong.
259. eris] 'thou wilt be found to be',
cf. note on 1 31.
260. iunctis] i.e. a camp adjoining
Caesar's.
262. intendere] 'they directed their
flight'.
266. aut circum] 'nor to embrace with-
in its winding lines abundant springs'.
267. leti—uiam] 'the path by which
death approached', i.e. the kind of death
which threatened them. cf. Verg. G. 111
43 nec uia mortis erat simplex.
270. damnare] 'in their despair to
reject the thought of flight'. cf. VIII 328,
Plin. H. N. VIII § 179 (bones) nigri coloris
candidiss ad laborem dannantur.
casurus] 'to certain death'.
271. effuso passu] 'with hasty steps'.
273. ferrumque ruenti subtraho] 'with-

substrahe: non ullo constet mihi sanguine bellum:
unciaur haud gratis iugulo qui prouocat hostem. 275
en sibi uilis adest inuisa luce iuuentus
iam damno peritura meo. non sentiet ictus,
incumbeit gladiis, gaudebit sanguine fuso.
dercerat hic feruor mentes, cadat impetus amens:
perdent uelle mori. sic deflagrare minaces 280
incassum et uetito passus languescere bello,
substituit merso dum nox sua lumina Phoebi.
inde ubi nulla data est miscendi copia Martis
paulatim cadit ira ferox mentesque tepescunt:
saucia maiores animos ut pectora gestant 285
dum dolor est ictusque recens et mobile neruis
conamen calidus praebyt cruos ossaque nondum
adduxere cutem: si conscius enis adacti
stat uictor tenuitque manus, tum frigidus artus
adligat atque animum subducto robore torpor, 290
postquam sicca rigens adstrinxit ulnera sanguis.

iamque inopes undae primum tellure refossa

draw your sword from the foe who is
rushing upon its point'.
275. vincitur haud gratis] 'he is not
vanquished without cost who challenges
the foe with his life-blood'.
276. sibi uilis] 'worthless in their own
eyes'; cf. VIII 744.
277. damno peritura meo] i.e. either
because they are already in Caesar's power
and will join him if they survive; or because
if they die themselves they will first
kill many of Caesar's soldiers.

non sentiet ictus] 'they will not heed
our blows, they will throw themselves
upon our swords &c.' This seems to be
simpler and to give a clearer and more
satisfactory sense to hic feroor in the
following line than Weise's interpretation,
who would carry on the negative and translate,
'they shall not feel our blows, they shall not fall upon our swords &c.'

280. perdant uelle morti] 'let them lose
their wish for death', i.e. as they will do
if we refuse to fight them: for this
use of the infinitive cf. Pers. i 27 scire
tuum nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?
deflagràre] cf. Tac. Hist. ii 29 deflagrante
 Paulatim saulitone.
282. substituit] 'till night substituted her
own lights (i.e. the stars) for the set sun'.

Marc. xxviii 1 § 9 nerum negotio
tepescente propter diuinternam nubberum
aspiratam, quia tenebatur Olybrius: else-
where tepescere usually means 'to grow
warm': but in Tac. Hist. iii 32 fepor is
used for coolness, excepta nox est, cum
teporem incusaret, statum futurum ut in-
cal descrincr.

285. saucia] metaphor a gladiatoribus
translata est. Schol.
286. et mobile neruis] 'and the warm
blood allows the sinews free exercise'.
 cf. Lucret. vi 326 magnum conamen
sumit cundi.

287. praebet] cf. note on iii 678.
ossae] 'and the bones have not yet
drawn the skin tightly over them'; i.e.
as a wound ceases to bleed, the flesh
shrinks and draws in the skin towards
the bones. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. iii 397 adducitque cutem magicas. Id. Heroid. xi 27
fugaret ore cruro; magies adduxerat artus.
288. conscius enis adacti] 'knowing
his sword has been driven home'.

290. torpor] 'fainting'. cf. iii 741.
291. adstrinxit ulnera] 'closes the
wounds'. cf. Verg. G. i 91 seu durat
magis et neras adstringit hiantes.

occultos latices abstrusaque flumina quae runt: nect solum rastris durisque ligonibus arua sed gladiis rodere suis: putusque cauati montis ad irrigui premitur fastigia campi. non se tam penitus, tam longe luce relict, merserit Asturii scrutator pallidus auri. non tamen aut tectis sonuerunt cursibus amnes, aut micuere noui percusso pumice fontes: antra nec exiguo stillant sudantia rore, aut impulsa leui turbatur glarea uena. tunc exhausta super multo sudore iuuentus extrahitur duris silicum lassata metallis. quoque minus possent siccus tolerare uapores quacsitae fecistis aquae. nec languida fessi corpora sustentant epulis, mensasque perosi auxilium fecere famem. si mollius aruem prodidit umorem, pingues manus utraque glebas exprimit ora super. nigro si turbida limo colluiues immota iacet, cadit omnis in haustus certatim obscenos miles: moriensque recepit quas nollet uitcurtas aquas: rituque ferarum distantas siccunt pecudes, et lacte negato sordibus exhausto sorbetur ab ubere sanguis. tunc herbas frondesque terunt et rore madentis destringunt ramos: ac si quos palmite crudo

si ueli osten inferi ian profecto illos avaritia atque luxuriae cuniculi refodissent.


295. putusque cauati] 'and the well in the hollowed-out mountain is sunk to the level of the well-watered plain'.

296. irrigui] cf. Hor. Sat. 11 iv 16 irrigo nihil est elitus horto.


300. pumice] i.e. porous stone, which would hold no water.

302. uena] 'spring of water'. cf. IX 500, 501, Ov. Met. 1 410 quod modo uena fuit sub oculis nomine mausit.

303. super] 'thereover'. Weise takes it with extrahitur in the sense of 'upwards', but I can find no authority for this use of the word; or it may mean 'further', 'besides'. cf. Verg. Aen. 11 71.

305. quoque minus] 'made them less able to endure the dry heat'.

308. auxilium] sc. contra siuin.

309. prodidit] 'showed signs of moisture'.

313. quas nollet] 'which he would not have drunk with hope of life'.

314. distantas] The epithet is transferred to pecudes from the notion of ubera implied therein.

317. ac si quos] 'and squeezed out what juice they could from the young shoots of trees and their tender pith'.
arboris aut tenera sucos pressere medulla.

o fortunati, fugiens quos barbarus hostis fontibus immixto struit per rura ueneno.

hos licet in fluvios saniem tabemque serarum pallida Dictaeis, Caesar, nascentia saxis infundas aconita palam, Romana iuuenus non decepta bibet. torrentur uiscera flamma oraque sicca rigent squamosis aspera linguis.

iam marcent uenae nulloque umore rigatus aeris alternos angustat pulmo meatus, rescisisque nocent suspuria dura palato:

pandunt ora tamen nocturnumque aera captant.

exspectant imbræ quorum modo cuncta natabant impulsu, et siccis uoluit in nubibus haerent.

quoque magis misceros undae ieiunia soluant, non super arentem Meroen Cancrique sub axe qua nudi Garamantes arant sedere: sed inter stagnantem Sicorim et rapidum deprehensus Hiberum spectat uicinos sieniens exercitus amnes.

crudo] Compare the metaphorical use of crudus in Sil. Ital. v 568—570 immo

mor annorum seniumque obitus in arma

ille quidem cruda mente et nitridissimus ictus ibat.

129. o fortunati] i.e. it is better to die by poison than by thirst.

321. tabemque serarum] So frogs' blood was held to be poisonous, cf. Juven. i 69, 70 occurrit matrona potens quae molli Caelum porrectura uiro misset sitiente rubetam, and Prof. Mayor's note. Also there was a tradition that Themistocles committed suicide by drinking bull's blood, cf. Aristoph. Equ. 83, 84 βελτιστον ημα

αμα ταφρον πιειν ο δεμοσκλεος γαρ

θανατοιαιρετωτερος.

322. pallida] i.e. pallorem facientia, cf. Hor. Epp. 1 xix 18 hiberent exanguem cuminum; Pers. v 55 pallentis grana cuminsi.

Dictaeis] Oud. remarks that no other author speaks of Crete as producing poisons, but only medicinal herbs, cf. Propert. ii i 61, 62 et datus exstinctum Cressis Epidaurius herbis restituit patriis Andracona focis, but that aconite is said to grow on Phrygian Ida and is here transferred to Ida in Crete, comparing the similar confusion in Propert. iii i 27 Idacum Sinoenca Ioanis cunabula paruit.

324. non decepta] 'open-eyed'; cf. Lucret. i 940 decepitoque non capiatur.

325. squamosis] 'rugged by their scaly tongues'.

327. aeris] 'the lungs narrow the passage through which the air comes and goes by turns', i.e. impede the respiration.

328. rescisso] 'cracked'.

331. impulsu] 'by whose onward rush the whole country was but lately flooded'.

332. soluant] 'destroy their strength'. cf. Verg. Aen. XII 951 aste illi solvantur frigere membra. Petron. 111 quid pro-

derit hoc ubi si soluta inedia fueris?

333. super] 'beyond'.

Cancrique] 'or beneath the Crab'. que is disjunctive.


iam domiti cessere duces: pacisque petendae auctor damnatis supplex Afranius armis, semianimes in castra trahens hostilia turmas, uictoris stetit ante pedes. seruata precanti maiestas non fracta malis, interque priorem fortunam casusque nouos gerit omnia uicti sed ducis, et ueniarn securro pectore poscit:
si me degeneri strauissent fata sub hoste, non decreat fortis rapiendo dextera leto:
at nunc sola mihi est orandae causa salutis. 
dignum donanda, Caesar, te credere uitl. 
non partis studiis agimur nee sumpsimus arma consiliis inimica tuis. nos denique bellum inuenit ciuile duces, causaeque priori dum potuit seruata fides, nil fata moramur: 
tradimus Hesperias gentes aperimus Eoas, securumque orbis patimur post terga relicti. 
nee cruor effusus campis tibi bella peregit nee ferrum lassaeque manus. hoc hostibus unum quod uincas ignosce tuis. nee magna petuntur: otia des fessis, uitam patiaris inermes:
decere quam tribuis: campis prostrata iacere agmina nostra putes: neque enim felicibus armis miseri damnata decet partemque triumphi captos ferre tui: turba haec sua fata peregit. hoc petimus uictos ne tecum uincere cogas.

338. damnatis...armis] 'despairing of success in war'. cf. sup. 217.
341. interque priorum] 'and between his former fortune and his new mishaps, he in all things acts the part of a conquered man, but still a general'.
343. sed ducis] equivalent to sed tamen ducis.
347. te credere] 'my belief that thou Caesar art worthy to grant me life'. For the infinitive cf. supr. 280.
348. non partis] 'we are not hurried away by party-spirit'. For the use of pars in the singular cf. Cic. post redit. ad Quirit. § 13 cum uiderem ex ea parte homines, eum partis nos uel principes numerabamur.
350. sumpsimus] emphatic; we were in arms before the civil war began.
351. inuenit] cf. II 259.
352. sequumque] sc. te esse, 'and leave thee free from anxiety about the quarter of the world that thou dost leave behind thee'. cf. I 369.
355. hoc hostibus unum] 'pardon thy enemies this solitary crime—that, thou art conqueror'.
358. campis prostrata] 'think of our armies as lying fallen on the field', i.e. put them out of account, as if they were dead.
dixerat: at Caesar facilis uoltuque serenus
flectitur atque usum belli poenamque remittit.
ut primum iustae placuerunt foedera pacis,
icustoditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
incumbit ripis permissaqua flumina turbat.
continuus multis subitarum tractus aquarum
aera non passus uacuis discurrere ueni:
arte clausitque animam: nec feruida pestis
cedit adhuc: sed morbus egens iam gurgite
incustoditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
continuus multis subitarum tractus aquarum
aera non passus uacuis discurrere ueniam.
artauit clausitque animam: nee feruida pestis
cedit adhuc: sed morbus egens iam gurgite
incustoditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
continuus multis subitarum tractus aquarum
aera non passus uacuis discurrere ueniam.
artauit clausitque animam: nee feruida pestis
cedit adhuc: sed morbus egens iam gurgite
incustoditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
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artauit clausitque animam: nee feruida pestis
cedit adhuc: sed morbus egens iam gurgite
incustoditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
continuus multis subitarum tractus aquarum
aera non passus uacuis discurrere ueniam.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

poenituit, tolerasse sitim frustraque rogasse
prospera bella deos. nempe usis Marte secundo
tot dubiae restant acies tot in orbe laboros:
ut numquam fortuna labet successibus anceps 390
uincendum totiens, terras fundendus in omnes
est crur et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus.
felix qui potuit mundi nutante ruina
quo iaceat iam scire loco. non proelia fessos
ulla uocant, certos non rumpunt classica somnos. 395
iam coniunx natique rudes et sordida tecta
et non deductos recipit sua terra colonos.
hoc quoque securis oneris Fortuna remisit
solicitus menti quod abest favor: ille salutis
est auctor, dux ille fuit. sic proelia soli
felices nullo spectant ciuilia uoto.
non eadem bellii totum Fortuna per orbem
constitit, in partes aliquid sed Caesaris ausa est,
qua maris Hadriaci longas ferit unda Salonas
et tepidum in molles Zephyros excurrit Iader. 400
illis bellaci coniusus gente Curictum,
quo alit Hadriaco tellus circumfluam ponto,

390. ut] 'though', cf. Juv. xiii 100
ut sit magna tamen corte lenta era decorum est.
anceps] cf. Cic. pro Marcello § 15 in
certus exitus et anceps fortuna bellii.
391. fundendus in omnes] cf. Hor.
carm. ii 33–36 qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris ignara bellii? quod mare Dauniae non
decolorauere caedes? quae carat ora crure nostro?
392. per tot sua fata] 'through all the
many chances that await him'.
393. felix qui potuit] This line is an
echo of Verg. G. ii 190 felix qui potuit
rerum cognoscere causas,
nuante ruina] cf. Juv. iii 196 securos
pendentibus ilbet dormire ruina.
394. iacat] sc. casus sit, 'where he
is doomed to lie';
397. non deductos] 'and their own
land welcomed them, not established as
colonists elsewhere', i.e. Caesar's
soldiers would be formed into military colonies
after the end of the war (cf. i 341 foll.),
but these men were dispersed to their
former homes.
398. hoc quoque] 'relieved them from
this burden too, in that harassing fear is
absent from their minds', i.e. fear of what
may happen to their leader. Another
reading, which Weise adopts, is pauor,
ike anxiety for the success of either side.
399. ille...ille] Caesar...Pompeius.
400. est] still is; fuit, was, but has
cased to be.
403. in partes] cf. Florus ii xiii § 3c
aliquid tamen aduersus absentem ausa
Fortuna est circa Illyricam et Afri
canoram quam de industria prospera diu
adversus radiaret. Caesar gives no ac
count of his reverses in Illyria.
404. longus] Probably 'straggling,'
i.e. with a long front to the sea. cf. M
Freeman's, 'Subject and Neighbour Land
of Venice', p. 159: it may however mean
merely 'distant'.
405. Iader] A town, and also ap
rently in this passage a river.
406. Curictum] The Curictae
mentioned as the inhabitants of an an
off the Illyrian coast by Plin. H. N. i
§ 139. (21.)
407. circumfluam] phereos, cf. x 41
gelido circumfluans orbis Hibero.

Liber IV. 387—430.

clauditur extrema residens Antonius ora, cautus ab incursu belli si sola recedat expugnat quae tuta fames. non habul ante 410
cardendis submittit equis non proserit ullam flaua Ceres segetem: spoliabat gramineum campum miles et adtonso miseris iam dentibus aruo castrorum siccas de caespite uolserat herbas.
ut primum aduersae socios in litore terrae et Basilum uidere ducem, noua forta per acqor exquisita fugae. neque enim de more carinas extendunt puppesque leuant, sed firma gerendis molibus insolito contextum robora ductu.
namque ratem uaqua sustentant undique cuppae 420
quorum portrectis series constrieta catenis ordinibus geminis obliquas excipit alnos.
nec gerit expositum telis in fronte patenti remigium: sed quod trabibus circumdedidit acqor hoc ferit et taciti praebet miracula cursus 425
quod nec uela ferat nec apertas uerberet undas, tum freta seruantur, dum se decliibus undis aestus agat refluque mari nudentur harenac.
iamque relabenti crescebant litora ponto; missa ratis prono defertur lapsa profundo

409. caurus] 'safe', cf. Cie. pro Rosc. Amer. § 56 in cam partem potius peccant quae est cautor. Mart. i 11 esse tibi tanta catus breuitate uidiris?
413. ordinibus] 'received timbers placed sideways on them in double rows'.
414. nec gerit] i.e. room was left inside for the ears, so that the rowers were not exposed to the missiles of the enemy.
415. aduersae] i.e. the main land of Illyria.
416. forta...uacae] 'secret flight'. cf. Cie. ad fam. XVI xxvi § 2 sie tu, etiam si quod scribas non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesiuisse videaris.
417. extendunt] 'nor do they build long keels (cf. Greek πης μακρατ) with lofty siens'.
418. ductr] 'figure', 'shape', cf. Luc.
419. cret. IV 420 porticus aequali quamuis est denique ductu.
421. ordinibus] 'received timbers placed sideways on them in double rows'.
422. nec gerit] i.e. room was left inside for the ears, so that the rowers were not exposed to the missiles of the enemy.
423. miraculal] 'the strange spectacle'.
et geminae comites. cunctas super ardua turris eminet et tremulis tabulata minantia pinnis. noluit Illyricae custos Octavius undae confestim temptare ratem, celerisque carinis continuat cursu crescat dum praeda secundo: et temere ingressos repetendum inuitat ad acquer pace maris. sic dum pauidos formidine ceruos claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnæ, aut dum dispositis adtollat retia uaris uenator, tenet ora leuis clamosa Molossi, Spartanos Cretasque ligat: nec creditur ulli silua cani, nisi qui presso uestigia rostro colliget et praeda nescit latrare reperta, contentus tremulo monstrasse cubilia loro. nec mora: complentur moles auideque petitis insula descriitur ratibus, quo tempore primas impedit ad noctem iam lux extrema tenebras. at Pompeianus fraudes innectere ponto

432. tremulis] 'battlements threatening with quivering pinnacles'.

tremulis because on shipboard, cf. I. 621, 679.

435. cursu crescat] 'until the booty becomes greater through the success of their voyage', i.e. having been successful in carrying off the first instalment of soldiers, they would be emboldened to embark a larger number for the second trip.

secundo] may be taken as above, or as 'second', i.e. 'on the second trip'.

436. inuitat] se Octavius.

437. pace marii] i.e. by leaving the sea clear. cf. 473 infr. I. 648.


Weise cf. Sen. dial. iv xi § 5 nec mirum est cum maximos ferarum grages linea pinnis distincta confinat et in insidias agat, ab ipso adjecta dicta formido.

438. aeræ] 'the tainted air', i.e. either from the red dye of the feather, or from its being handled. cf. Verg. G. i. 251 si tantum notas odor attulit uaræs: some take aeræ as 'the fluttering'.

439. uaræ] 'forks', for extending the nets.

tempus cum latratu cava saxa sonent, nume domissi nare sagaci captant auræ lustraque presa quercant rostro dum lux dubia est dum signa pedem roseida tellus impressa tenet. alius raras cernite gratu portare flagus, alius teretes proferet laqueos, picta rubentis linea penna nano cludit terrae ferar. See also Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream, Act iv sc. 1.

441. nec creditur] 'nor is the wood trusted to any hound', i.e. no hound is allowed to enter the wood. cf. I. 520.

442. presse] 'hunts out the tracks with nose close to the ground'.

443. nescit latrare] equivalent to seic non latrare; i.e. 'knows how to refrain from barking'. See note on I. 72.

444. tremulo...loro] 'by shaking the leash'. Oud. cf. Plin. H. n. viii § 147 scrutatur uestigia atque persequitur, comitantem ad feram inquisitorum loratrans, qua usis quam silens et occulta, sed quam significans demonstratio est causa primum deinde vostro.

446. quo tempore] 'what time the last dying light delays the first approach of darkness at night-fall'.

448. Pompeianus] i.e. now on Pompeius' side, although his old enemies. cf. Mart. xi v 14 si Cato reddatur Caesarianus erit.

ponto] 'on the sea'.

antiqua parat arte Cilix, passusque uacare
summa freti, medio suspendit uincula ponto,
et laxas fluitare sinit religatque catenas
rupis ab Illyricae scopulis. nec prima neque illa
quae sequitur tardata ratis: sed tertia moles
haesit et ad cautes adducto fune secuta est.
impendent caua saxa mari: ruituraque semper
stat, mirum, moles: et siluis aequor inumbrat.
huc fractas Aquilone rates submersaue pontus
corpora saepe tutil caecisque abscondit in antris:
restituit raptus tectum mare: cunquae cauernae
euomuere fretum contorti uerticis undae
tauromenitanam uincunt feroorc Charybdin.
hic Opiterginis moles onerata colonis
constitit: hanc omni puppes statione solutae
circueunt: alii rupe ac litora complent.
Volteius tacitas sensit sub gurgite fraudes,
dux erat ille ratis, frustra qui uincula ferro
rumpere conatus poscit spe proelia nulla,
incertus qua terga daret qua pectora bello.
huc tamen in casu quantum deprensa ualebat
efsecit uirtus: inter tot milia captae
circumsusa rati et plenam uix inde cohortem
pugna fuit; non longa quidem; nam condidit atra
nox lucem dubiam pacemque habuere tenebrae.
tum sic adtonitam uenturaque fata paunentem
449. passusque] ‘and leaving the surface clear’.
450. medio] i.e. under water: the repetition of ponto is awkward.
454. secuta est] ‘as the rope was hauled in followed it to the rocks’, i.e. of the island.
455. ruitura] ‘seeming ever on the point to fall’.
459. restituuit] ‘then the o’er-arched sea renders back its spoils’. Ould. cf. Sil. Ital. ii 306—308 nos ratibus laceris Scyllae recluentes antra, classibus et refluo spectantium aequore raptis contorta
469. quantum] ‘all that it could, when thus entraped’.
471. inde] se. e rate, ‘fighting from the raft’. cohoretm] There were ten cohortes in a legion.
libera non ultra parua quam nocte iuuentus
consulite extremis angusto tempore rebus.
uita breuis nulli superest qui tempus in illa
quaerendae sibi mortis habet: nec gloria leti
inferior, iuuenes, admoto occurrere fato,
 omnibus incerto uenturae tempore uitae.
par animi laus est et quos speraueris annos
perdere et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis
accessas dum fata manu. non cogitur ullus
uelle mori: fuga nulla patet: stant undique nostris
intenti jugulis ciues. decernite letum,
et metus omnis abest: cupias quodcumque necesse est.
non tamen in caeca bellorum nube cadendum est,
ant, cum permixtis acies sua tela tenebris
inouluunt, conserta iacent cum corpora campo,
in medium mors omnis abit, perit obruta uirtus.
nos in conspicua sociis hostique carina

Apollo, tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. die quibus in terris inscripti
nomina regum nascantur fl ores; et Phyllida solus habeto. Hor. Epp. i xviii 107,
108 sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus,
et mihi uinam quod superstci acui, si givid
supercse motuoti di.

cupias cf. III 147 si quidquid inuice melis.

non tamen 'still we must not fall
amidst the blind cloud of war'.

aut 'or else'. cf. Öv. Met. x 50-52
hanc simul ut legem Rhodopeus
acceptis heros ne flecat retro sua lumina
donec Auernas exerit walles; aut irrita
dona futura. Mart. xi 16 nec Musis vacat
aut suis iuvert. Grotius gives ut, i.e.
'seeing that', as an emendation, and ac
cording to Oud. it is confirmed by one
MS.

conserta 'in close ranks'.

in medium 'every death goes to
the common account', i.e. to make up the
common stock of glory; one man’s death
is not more glorious than another’s. cf.
I 89, Liv. vi 6 laudemque conferentes potius
in medium quam ex communis ad se trahentes.

perit 'is thrown away'. Oud. cf. Val.
Flacc. vi 200 mixta petit uritus; nescit
qui debet Oebreus aut cui fata Tyres.
constituere dei. praebebunt acquora testes, praebebunt terrae, summis dabit insula saxis: spectabunt geminae divero e litore partes. 495 nescio quod nostris magnum et memorabile fatis exemplum, Fortuna, paras. quaecumque per aequum exhibuit monumenta fides seruataque ferro militiae pictas, transibit nostra iuuentus; namque suis pro te gladiis incumbere, Caesar, esse parum scimus: sed non maiora superunt obsessis tanti quae pignora demus amoris. abscedit nostrae multum sors inuida laudi quod non cum senibus capti natisque tenemur. indomitos sciat esse uiros timeatque furentis et morti faciles animos, et gaudeat hostis non plures haesisse rates. temptare parabunt foedercibus turpique ulolent corrumpere uita. o utinam, quo plus habeat mors unica famae, promittant ueniam iubeant sperare salutem, ne nos, cum calido fodiemus uisiera ferro, desperasse putent. magna uirtute merendum est, Caesar ut amissis inter tot milia paucis hoc damnum clademque uocet. dent fata recessum emittantque licet, uitare instantia nolim. 515 proieci uitam, comites, totusque futurae mortis agor stimulis: furor est. agnos cere solis

495. divero] i.e. both the enemy from the shores of the island, and our comrades, who have escaped, from the main land. cf. Verg. G. III 32, 33 et duo rapta manu divero ex hoste tropaee bisque triumphatas utroque ab illo gente.

498. seruataque ferro] 'military fidelity maintained by the sword', i.e. soldiers usually prove their fidelity to their leaders by using their swords against the enemy, we shall do so more signaly by using them against each other.

499. transibit] 'will surpass'. cf. 11 505.


501. sed non] 'but blockaded as we are have no greater pledges left to give of our exceeding love'.

506. morti faciles] 'ready to welcome death'. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. XV 718 nec soli faciles, used of the Celts.

508. turpe...uita] 'by the offer of a dishonoured life'.

511. calido] 'fiery', 'spirited'. cf. Sil. Ital. XV 337 calidique habitata Gradino pectora, or it may be taken proleptically 'recking'.

514. recessum] 'means of retreat'.


517. furor est] 'tis inspired frenzy'. cf. Cic. de div. i § 66 inest iigitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus infecta atque
permissum est quos iam tangit uicinia fati, uicturosque dei celant ut uiuere durent, felix esse mori. sic cunctas sustulit ardo
nobilium mentes iuuenum: cum sidera caeli ante ducis uoces oculis umentibus omnes
adspicercnt flexoque Vrsae temone pauerent:
idem cum fortes animos pracepta subissent
optauere diem. nec segnis mergere ponto
tunc erat astra polus: nam sol Ledaca tenebat
sidera uicino cum lux altissima Cancro est:
nox tum Thessalicas urgebat parua sagittas.

detcgit orta dies stantis in ripibus Histros
pugnacesque mari Graia cum classe Liburnos.
temptauere prius suspenso uincere bello
foceribus, fieret captis si dulcior ipsa
mortis uita mora. stabat deuota iuuentus
damnata iam luce ferox securaque pugnae
promesso sibi fine manu: nullique tumultus
excussere uiris mentes ad summa paratas:
innumerisque simul pauci terraque marique
sustinuere manus: tanta est fiducia mortis.

inclusa diuinitus; ca si exarit aceris
fuvor appellatur, cum a corpore animus
abstractus dinito instinctor concitat.
510. uicturosque 'while the gods hide
from those destined to live the happiness
of death, that they may put up with life'.
que here as often has an adversative force.
For the sentiment cf. IX 211 seire mori
sors prima uiris, sed proxima cogi.
521. cum sidera] 'though before their
leader spoke they all watched with tear-
ful eyes the stars in heaven, and shuddered
as Ursa's pole came wheeling round', i.e.
when they saw it was past midnight. Oud.
cf. Pseudo-Anacreon μεσοντικαι ποι
ωραν τρέφεται 0τ' 'Αρκτος ήδη κατά χείρα
την Βοώτων.
524. subissent] 'had sunk into'.
525. nec segnis] i.e. it was about the
time when the night is shortest. The sky
is said to make the stars set because it
carries them with it in its apparent revo-
lution. cf. 54 supr.
526. nam sol] i.e. the sun was in the
constellation Gemini, when at midday it
is nearest to Cancer, and at midnight to
Sagittarius. Sagittarius autem est Chiro
Thisalus; is tum urgetur nocte, hoc est,
proxime praeedit noctem medium, ut
Cancer solem. cf. 1 491. Hor. Epod.
XVII 25 urget diem nox et dies noctem.
Weise.
527. uicino] when the light (i.e. the
sun) at its highest has Cancer for a neigh-
bour; uicino Cancro is ablative absolute,
cf. 1 248 o male uicinis hace moenia con-
dita Gallis.
533. fieret captis] 'in the hope that
life would become sweeter to the captured
soldiers by the very delay of death'.
534. damnata] cf. supr. 338.
securaque pugnae] 'and careless how
the battle ended, as they had promised
themselves death by their own hand'.
536. ad summa paratas] 'prepared for
the worst'.
538. sustinuere] 'they bore up against',
'endured the attack of'. cf. Ov. Met.
XIII 384—385 Hectora qui solus qui fer-
rum ignemque Iouemque sustinuit totiens
unam non sustinist iram.
tanta est] 'so great is the confidence
inspired by death'. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. X
219 animos iam sola dabat fiducia mortis.
utque satis bello usum est fluxisse croris, uersus ab hoste furor: primus dux ipse carinae Volteius iugulo poscens iam fata retecto, equis, ait, iuvenum est cuius sit dextra crure digna meo certaque fide per uolnera nostra testetur se uelle mori? nec plura locuto uiscera non unus iamdudum transigit ensis. collaudat cunctos: sed cum cui uolnera prima debeat grato moriens interficit icu. concurrunt alii totumque in partibus unis bellorum fecere nefas. sic semine Cadmi emicuit Diracea cohors ceciditque suorum uolneribus, dirum Thebanis fratibus omen; Phasidos et campis insomni dente creati terrigenae missa magicis e cantibus ira cognato tantos complerunt sanguine sulcos: ipsaque inexpertis quod primum fecerat herbis expauit Medea nefas. sic mutua pacti fata cadunt iuuenes: minimumque in morte uiorum mors uirtutis habet: pariter sternuntque caduntes uolnere letali: nec quemquam dextra fefellit cum feriat moriente manu. nec uolnus adactis

540. ab hoste] i.e. in sese.
543. certaque fide] qui must be supplied; 'and who will testify his readiness for death by the sure bond of smiting me'.
545. iamdudum transigit] 'pierces at once', cf. note on 524.
547. grato moriens] i.e. he shows his gratitude by using his dying strength in killing him.
548. totumque] 'and wreaked all the horrors of war on the soldiers of one side'.
549. semine Cadmi] 'from the seed sown by Cadmus'. cf. Ov. Met. 11.100 foll.
553. insomni dente] i.e. the teeth of the sleepless dragon. cf. Ov. Met. 71.36 foll.
553. missa] i.e. inmissa, 'with fury inspired by Medea's magic spells'.
554. tantos] 'filled with kinsmen's blood the furrows vast as they were', i.e. as having been made by a great hero with a great plough.
555. inexpertis] 'untried before'.
557. minimumque] 'and in these heroes' deaths death itself shows least bravery', i.e. it was not in meeting death that they showed their bravery most, but in still fighting while in the act of dying: such is the interpretation of Grotius, which appears to be correct. Weise, following Cortius, reads nimimumque, which seems to have less MSS. authority: this would mean 'death exceeds the due limit of bravery', i.e. because each wounded man not only dies himself, but also at the same time kills another.
560. cum feriat] 'though striking with dying hand'.
561. adactis] is emphatic, i.e. if the sword did not strike them they struck the sword.
debetur gladiis: percussum est pectore ferrum et iugulis pressere manum. cum sorte cruenta fratribus incurrant fratres natusque parenti, haud trepidante tamen toto cum pondere dextra exegere ense. pietas ferentiibus una non repetisse fuit: iam latis uiseca lapsa semianimes traxere foris multumque cruoris infudere mari. despectam cernere lucem uictoresque suos uoltu spectare superbo et mortem sentire iuuat. iam strage crucnta conspicitur cumulata ratis: bustisque remittunt corpora uictores, ducibus mirantibus ulli esse ducem tanti. nullam maiore locuta est ore ratem totum discurrens fama per orbem. non tamen ignauae post haec exempla uirorum percipient gentes quam sit non ardua uirtus servitium fugisse manu; sed regna timentur ob ferrum et saeuis libertas uritur armis, ignoratque datos ne quisquam seruiat ense. norns, utinam pauidos uitae subducere nolles sed uirtus te sola daret. non segnior illo Marte fuit qui tum Libycis exarsit in aruis: namque rates audax Lilybaco litore soluit Curio: nec forti uelis Aquilone recepto inter semirutas magnae Karthagarinis arces.

562. ingulis] ‘with their throats they pressed upon their slayer’s hand’, i.e. they rushed upon the sword with such force as to drive it through their throats up to the hilt.
pietas] ‘the one proof of affection was not to repeat the blow’, i.e. to kill their kinsman at one blow.
567. foris] dative, ‘they dragged to the wide gangways’.
570. mortem sentire] ‘feel the approach of death’.
576. quam sit] ‘how easy an act of valour it is’.
577. sed regna] ‘but tyranny is feared on account of the sword’, i.e. because tyrants put men to death.
579. ignorantque] i.e. libertas. Oud. with some MSS. reads ignorantque.
580. uitae subducere] ‘to withdraw from life’.
581. non segnior] ‘no less severe than this war was that which blazed up in the fields of Libya’.
584. nec forti] i.e. et non forti, ‘with the north wind blowing gently on his sails’. cf. note on I 72.
et Clupeam tenuit stationis litora notae:
primaque castra locat cano procul aequore qua se
Bagrada lentus agit siccae sulcator harenae.
inde petit tumulos exesasque undique rupes,
Antaci quae regna uocat non uana uetustas.
590
nominis antiqui copientem noscere causas
cognita per multos ducit rudis incola patres.
nondum post genitos Tellus effeta Gigantas
terriblem Libycis partum concepit in antris.
595
nec tam iusta fuit terrarum gloria Typhon
aut Tityos Briareusque ferox: caeloque pepercit
quod non Phlegraeis Antaeum sustulit amis.
600
hoc quoque tam uastas cumulauit munere uires
terra sui fetus, quod cum tetigerc parentem
iam defecta uigent renouato robore membri.
605
haec i11 spelunca domus: latuisse sub alta
rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.
ad somnos non terga praebere cubile
uiresque resumit in nuda tellure
periere coloni aruorum Libyes: perenunt quos adpulit aequor:
auxilioque diu virtus non usa cadendi
terraes spernit opes: invictus robore cunctis
quamuis staret erat. tandem uolgata cruenti

586. stationis] The place is called
Aquilaria by Caesar B. C. ii 23.
587. prima] Caesar l.e. says triduique
iter progressus ad flumen Bagradam per-
nunt.
procui] 'at a short distance from', cf.
Verg. Aen. iii 13 terra procul uastis colit-
tur Maurtia campis, and Conington's
note.
588. lentus] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. vi 140
turbidus orentes lento pede sulcat harenas
Bagrada.
589. tumulos] probably 'hills'. Mi-
cyllus thinks that it refers to the tomb
of Antaeus mentioned by Strabo xvii 8
(829), in which Sertorius was said
to have discovered a skeleton sixty cubits
long.
590. uetustas] cf. Ov. Met. i 400 quis
hoc credat nisi sit pro teste uetustas?
592. cognita] 'the tale he had learned
handed down through many generations
of his sires'.
595. nec tam insta] 'nor was Typhon
so justly the pride of the earth'.
596. caeloque pepercit] 'and was mer-
ciful to heaven in that she did not raise
up Anteus in the Phlegraean plains', i.e.
but in Libya, not where the giants fought
with the gods. cf. vii 145.
598. cumulauit] 'crowned such vast
strength in her offspring with this further
gift'. cf. Cic. de off. i § 116 Africanus
elloquentia cumulauit bellicam gloriam.
601. haec] 'yonder cavern was his
home'.
v 404 tantorum ingentia septem terga
boum.
604. silna] i.e. beds of leaves.
605. quamuis staret] 'however much
he kept his footing'.
fama mali terras monstris acquiroque leuantem
magnanimum Alciden Libycas exciuit in oras.
ille Cleonaei proiccit terga leonis,
Antaeus Libyce. perfudit membra liquore
hospes Olympiacaee scruato more palaestrae.
ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem
auxilium membris calidas infundit harenas.
conseruere manus et multo brachia nexu,
colla diu grauibus frustra temptata lacertis:
immotumque caput fixa cum fronte tenetur:
miranturque habuisse parem. nec uiribus uti
Alcides primo uoluit certamine totis,
exhausitque uirum: quod creber anhelitus illi
prodidit et gelidus fesso de corpore sudor.
tum ceruix lassata quati: tum pectore pectus
urgeri: tune obliqua percussa labare
crura manu. iam terga uiri cedentia uictor
adligat et medium compressis ilibus artat:
inguinaque insertis pedibus distendit et omnem

πεδῶς. οὖθ᾽ ἐγγενῆς στρατὸς θυρεως οὕτων ὑστερως βία, οὖθ᾽ ἀκαλλάοντα
οὖθ᾽ ὄςον ἐγώ γαλαν καθαρων ἱκόμην, ἔδρασος τω.
612. proiccit] ‘threw on the ground
before him’, i.e. as they stripped for the
encounter.
613. ligere] i.e. olive, ‘oil’.
614. more] cf. Hor. Epp. ii 133 luc-
tamur Achimis doctius nuncis. The Olympic
pian games were said to have been insti-
tuted by Hercules. cf. Pind. Olymp. iii
6—34.
615. parum fidens] ‘not feeling enough
confidence in touching his mother earth
with his feet only’.
contingere] is equivalent to quod con-
tingere.
vi 242 et iam contulerant arto lactantia
nexu pectora pectoribus.
618. colla dixit] ‘long time in vain they
tried the strength of each other's necks
with strained arms’. cf. Val. Flacc. iv
309—311 uitalia donec uincula, qua primo
ceruix committitur artu, soluit dextra
grauis.

619. fixa cum fronte] cf. Theocr. xxii
66 άμωτα δ' ὀρθά.
620. miranturque] ‘and they both
wonder to have found a match’.
622. exhaustisse uirum] ‘but wearied
out his opponent’.
625. tune obliqua] ‘then his legs began
to totter smitten by sidelong blows of
his opponent’s hand’. There seems here to
be a confusion between wrestling and
boxing, but even if the latter is intended
to be described why should Hercules
strike Antaeus on the legs, by doing which
he would certainly expose his own body?
In the account of the boxing match be-
tween Pollex and Amycus in Theocritus
xxii all the blows are directed at the
face and chest. For obliqua cf. 422 supr.
626. iam tergo] ‘then victorious he
encircles his foe’s yielding back, and
squeezing in his sides, narrows him at the
waist’.
628. inguinaque] ‘and placing his feet
between separates his thighs, and laid him
low entirely for all his sturdy limbs’. cf.
v 80.
per membram] to be taken closely with
omnem, ‘the whole of him from head to
foot’, implying that his stature was great.
explicit per membra uirum. rapit arida tellus sudorem: calido complentur sanguine uenae. intumuere tori totosque induruit artus, Herculeosque nouo laxauit corpore nodos. constitit Alcides stupefactus robre tanto: nec sic Inachiis quamuis rudis esset in undis despectum timuit reparatoris anguibus hydram. conlixere pares, telluris uiribus ille, ille suas. numquam saecae sperare nouercae plus licuit. uidet exhaustos sudoribus artus ceruicemque uiri, siccam cum ferret Olympum. utque iterum fessis iniecit bracchia membris, non exspectatis Antaeus uiribus hostis sponte cadit, maiorque accepto robre surgit. quisquis inest terris in fessos spiritus artus egeritur; tellusque uiro luctante laborat. ut tandem auxilium tactac prodesse parentis Alcides sensit: standum est tibi, dixit, et ultra non credere solo sternique ubetabere terra: haerebis pressis intra mea pectora membris:

630. sanguine[cf. note on 11 338.]
uinis uidisquisiuenta.
632. quae uis rudas esset] 'however
new to fighting'.
633. hydram[cf. Hor. Carm. iv iv 61
non hydra secto corpore firmior uini do-
tentem cruent in Herculem.
634. numquand] 'never could his cruel
stepdame (i.e. Juno) have had higher
hopes', i.e. of his destruction.
635. uidet[ 'she sees his limbs worn
out with toil and his neck too, which
dry (i.e. did not feel the labour) when he
supported Olympus'. Oud. cf. Ov. Her-
oud. ix 57, 58 uidit in Herculeo suspensa
monilia collo illo cui cadum sarcina parua
fuit. See also Ov. Met. ix 198 hac
cadum ceruice tuli? This reading ap-
pears to have the better MSS. authority
and is the one explained by the Scholiast.
The Roman edition of 1469 reads qua
ferret, which Weise adopts taking Her-
cules as the predicate to uidet, 'he (Her-
cules) sees his opponent's limbs cleared
from sweat, and his neck dry, a neck
strong enough to support Olympus', but
it is doubtful whether qua ferret could be
equivalent to qua ferre posset; besides it
is probable that a reference is intended to
the legend of Hercules supporting the
heaven. For exhaustos sudoribus in this
sense cf. note on 11 409.
636. non exspectatis] 'without waiting
to feel his foe's full strength'.
637. spiritus[cf. Verg. Aen. VI 724—
727 princiupuo cadum ac terras camposque
liguentes incenemque globum lunae Tita-
niaeque astra spiritus in tus alit, totamque
infusa per artus mens agitat molem et
magno se corpore miscet.
638. egeritur] 'rises from it', i.e. into
his body.
laborat] 'labours to assist him'.
639. standum est tibi] 'stand you
must'.
640. intra] 'within my embrace'.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

huc Antaeae cades. sic fatus, sustulit alte
nitentem in terras iuenem. morientis in artus
non potuit nati Tellus submittere uires.
Alcides medium tenuit: iam pectora pigro
stricta gelu: terrisque diu non credidit hostem.
hinc acui ueteris custos famosa uetustas
miratrixque sui signauit nomine terras.

sed maiora dedit cognomina collibus istis
Poenum qui Latiis reuocauit ab arcibus hostem
Scipio. nam sedes Libyca tellure potito
haec fuit. en ueteris cernis vesticia ualli.
Romana hos primum tenuit uictoria campos.
Curio laetatus tamquam fortuna locorum
bella gerat seruetque ducum sibi fata
felici non fausta loco tentoria ponens
indulsit castris et collibus abstulit omen,
sollicitatque feros non acquis uiribus hostes.

omnis Romanis quae cessarer Africa signis
tum Vari sub iure fuit: qui robore quamquam
confus Latio regis tamen undique uires
exciuit Libycae gentis extremaque mundi
signa suom comitata Iubam. non fusior uilli
terra fuit domino: qua sunt longissima regna
cardine ab occiduo uicinus Gadibus Atlas
terminat: a medio confinis Syrtibus Hammon.

Equ. 387 vûv γαρ ἔσται μέσας.
654. famosa] 'full of rumours', equi-
valent to loquax.
655. miratrixque sui] 'marvelling at
its own exploits', cf. l11 406.
656. cognomina] sc. castra Corneliana.
657. qui Latiis] sc. Hannibal was
recalled from Italy to defend Africa against
Scipio, B.C. 203.
arcibus] cf. Verg. G. ii 173 imbellem
auertis Romanis arcibus Indum.
660. Romana...victoria] 'Rome's vic-
torious host'.


653. cf. Aristoph.
606. indulsit castris] castra lata po-
suit Schol. cf. Verg. G. ii 276 indulge
ordinibus.
665. sollicitat] 'challenges'.
668. regis...uieres...Libycae gentis] 'the
power of the king of the Libyan tribes',
i.e. Juba. Grotius suggests Libyae gentes
in apposition to uieres, a reading which
according to Oud. is supported by some
MSS.
670. fusior] 'more widely spread',
cf. Verg. Aen. vi 440 nec procil hine
partem fusi monstrantur in omnem lu-
gentes campi.
673. a medio] sc. cardine. This would
naturally mean 'on the south', cf. vi 337,
X 287; but in the following lines Juba's
kingdom is said to extend in that direc-
tion to the ocean. Weise explains it as
a meridic Romanorum (i.e. of the Roman
at qua lata iacet uasti plaga feruida regni, distant oceanum zonaeque exusta calentis sufficiunt spatio. populi tot castra sequuntur, Autololes Numidaeque uagi semperque paratus inculto Gaetulus equo: tum concolor Indo Maurus, inops Nasamon, mixti Garamante perusto Marmaridae uolucres, aquaturusque sagittas Medorum tremulum cum torsit missile Mazax, et quae nudo residens Massylia dorso ora leui flectit frenorum nescia uirga: et solitus uacuis errare mapalibus Afer uenator, ferrique simul fiducia non est uestibus iratos laxis operire leones.

nec solum studiis ciuilibus arma parabat priuatae sed bella dabat Iuba concitus irac. hunc quoque quo superos humanaque polluit anno lege tribunicia solio depellere auorum Curio temptarat Libyamque auferre tyranno, dum regnum te, Roma, facit. memor ille doloris hoc bellum sceptri fructum putat esse retenti. hac igitur regis trepidat iam Curio fama,
et quod Caesareis numquam deventa iuuentus
illa nimis castris nec Rheni miles in undis
exploratus erat, Corfini captus in arce,
infidusque nouis ducibus dubiusque priori,
of ustrumque putat. sed postquam languida segni
cernit cuncta metu nocturnaque munia ualli
desolata fuga trepida sic mente profatur:

audendo magnus tegitur timor: arma capessam
ipse prior: campum miles descendat in aquam
dum meus est: uarium semper danto otia mentem:
cripe consilium pugna: cum dira voluntas
ense subit presso, galeae texere pudorem:
quis conferre duces meminît? quis pendere causas?
quæ statit inde fauc: ueluti fatalis harenæ
muneribus non ira uctus concurret cogit
productos; odere pares. sic fatus, apertis
instructus campis acies: quem blandâ futuris
deciptrâ malis belli fortuna recepit.
nam pepulit Varum campo nuda tace foeda
terga fuga donec uctuerunt castra ceedit.

695. et quod 1 and he fears (trepidat)
because this soldiery had never been tho-
roughly devoted to warfare on Caesar’s
side, nor had these troops been tested in the
waves of Rhine, but captured in the
caesel of Corfinium, faithlessly to their
new leaders and treacherous to their for-
mer one (i.e. Domitius), they think both
sides equally lawful’.

696. nimis] i.e. ualde. cf. Caes. B. G.
VII 36 is locus praestidio ab eis non nimis
forno tenebatur.

700. nocturnaque] ‘and the duties of
the watch at night abandoned by deser-
tion’.

702. audendo] ‘tis by daring that
great terror is concealed’.

703. descendat] A metaphor from the
public games, cf. Cic. Tusc. disp. 11 § 62
uidemuisse apud quos magistros eorum lu-
dorum qui gymnici nominantur magnus
honos sit, nullum ab eis qui in id certa-
men descendens deutiari dolorem?

704. uarium] ‘illleness is ever the
parent of vacillation’.

705. uoluntas] ‘eagerness for blood-
shed’, cf. note on 1 355.

706. ens...presso] ‘when the sword is
Ov. Met. VIII 37 quaque manu promeu
felicia iœna vocabat. Sil. Ital. II 615
pressit ovans capulum. Id. V 670 premi
omnis dextera ferox.
galeae] cf. Juv. VIII 203 nec galea fa-
ciem abscondit.

707. quis conferre] ‘who thinks of
comparing the leaders? who of balancing
the causes?’

708. qua statit] ‘each favours the side
on which he stands’.

36 numerā mune edunt et uero pollice vol-
gus quem inuit occident popularier.

Romanos ad aedem munium prodixit
in scaenam.
edere pares] ‘they hate those matched
against them’.

711. quem blandâ] ‘whom the fortune
of war welcomed with flattering face, in-
tending to cheat him with disasters in the
future’. For blandâ cf. Tac. Hist. II 12
blandiebatur coepitis fortuna: for recipere
IV 214 dominum Ænean in regna recepit.
tristia sed postquam superati proelia Var
sunt audita Iubae: lactus quod gloria belli
sit rebus seruata suis, rapit agmina furtim,
obscuratque suam per iussa silentia famam,
hoc solum metuens incautus ab hoste timeri.
mittitur exigua qui proelia prima lacesat
elicatque manu Numidis a rege secundus
ut sibi commissi simulator Sabura belli.
ipse caua regni uires in ualle retenetat:
apsidas ut Pharias cauda sollertior hostis
ludit et iratas incerta prouocat umbra:
obliquusque caput uanas serpentis in auras
effusae tuto comprehendit guttura morsu
letiferam citra saniem: tunc irrita pestis
exprimitur faucesque flunt poruente uceno.

fraudibus cuentum dederat Fortuna: ferroxque
non exploratis occulti uiribus hostis
Curio nocturnum castris erumpere cogit
ignotisque equitem late discurrere campis.
ipse sub Aurorae primos excedere motus
signa iubet castris multum frustraque rogatus
ut Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper
Punica bella dolis. leti fortuna propinqui
tradiderat fatis iuuenem: bellumque trahebat

Tac. Ann. xi 23 quorum aut...exortus nostris ferro uique occidentur.
719. hoc solum] 'fearing only this that
through want of caution on his own part
the enemy should be struck with fear of
him', i.e. should hear of his approach in
force and so retreat.
722. ut sibi] 'pretending that the war
has been entrusted to him to wage'.
724. hostis [i.e. the ichneumon. cf. Plin.
H. N. viii § 88 deinde intercunctum bel-
sum cum ichneumone; notum est animal
hac gloria maxime in cadem natum Ae-
gypto, merget se limo saepius siccatique
sole; mox ubi pluribus codem modo se
coritis foriscuit in dimictationem pergat;
in ea caudam attollens ictus inrintus or-
sus excipit, donec obliquo capite specalatus
inmodat in fauces.
725. incerta...umbra] 'with the wav-
ing of its bushy tail', cf. the Greek oxia-
pos, whence our word squirrel through the

Lat. diminutive scirulus.
726. unax] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. vii
728. letiferam] 'seizes its throat so as
to keep clear of the deadly venom', cf. vi
211. Ov. Trist. v vii 23 pessati citra
sclerus.
729. faucesque] 'and the jaws are
drenched with wasted poison'.
v xx § 2 cui pro Vareno quo non sine
uuentu. Juv. xi 196 cuentum uiridis quo colligo
panni.
733. discurre] cf. i 476.
734. motus] 'at the first break of
dawn'.
plus quam Punica.
lett] 'the doom of his impending death'.
The genitive is dependent on fortuna, not
on fatis, as Weise would have it.
738. trahebat] 'was dragging to de-
auctorem ciule suum. super ardua ducit saxa super cautes abrupto limite signa:
cum procul e summis conspecti collibus hostes
fraude sua cessere parum, dum colle relictlo
effusam patulis aciem committeret aruis:
ille fugam credens, simulatae nescius artis,
ut uictor medios aciem proiecit in agros.
tum primum patuere doli Numidacque fugaces
undique completis clauscrunt montibus agmen.
oblupuit dux ipse simul perituraque turba,
non timidi petiere fugam non proelia fortes:
quipple ubi non sonipes motus clangere tubarum
saxa quatit pulsus, rigidos uexantia frenos
ora terens, spargitque iubas et subrigit aures
incertoque pedum pugnat non stare tumultu:
fessa iacet ceruix: fumant sudoribus artus
oraque proiecta squalent arentia lingua:
pectora raucha gemunt quae creber anhelitus urget,
et defecta grauis longe trahit ilia pulsus,
siccaque sanguineis durescit spuma lupatis.
iamque gradum neque uberibus stimulisque coacti,
nesc, quamuis crebris iussi calcaribus, addunt:

struction', cf. VII 346 Ov. Met. 1 190,
191 sed immediabile volitus ens recidendo
sum ne pars sincera tra hateful.
740. abrupto limite] 'by a rugged
path', cf. III 218.
742. parum] 'a little'. parum generally
means 'too little', but by post-
Augustan writers is sometimes used with
XIX vii (116) § 7 dolebimus, sed parum:
concupiscemus, sed temperate; irascemur,
sed placabimus. Quintil. IX 4 § 40 atqui
cadem illa littera, quotiens ultima est et
nuncalum verbi sequentis iia contingit, ut in
can transire possit, etiamus scriptur,
tamen parum exprimitur.
744. simulatae] pretending to be other
than it really is, and so 'treacherous'.
cf. Verg. Aen. IV 105 sensim enim simulata
mente locutam.
746. patuere] cf. Verg. Aen. II 309,
310 tum nero manifesta fides Donatumque
patecant insidiae.
750. quipple ubi] 'since there no longer
does the steed, roused by the trumpet's
blare, shake the rocks with stamping
foot'.
751. rigidos] 'wearing away his mouth
as it worries the stiff curb'. Oud. cf. Sil.
Ital. v. 147 stat sonitum uexatque ferox
spumantia frena. More often the horse
is said frena torere, cf. Ov. A. A. 1 2
frenisque magnanimi dente territur equit.
753. incortoque] 'and shifting his fee
restlessly fights against standing still'
pugnat] For pugnare with infinitive cf.
Ov. Amor. I v 14 pugnabat tunica se
tamen illa tegi.
narisque per artes instimulantes docto
languietia membrum tumultu.
755. proiecta] 'protruding'.
longi suspendunt illia flavus.
758. siccaque] 'and the froth drik
and hardens on their blood-stained bits'.
759. gradum...addunt] 'increase the
pace'. cf. Verg. G. I 513 addunt in spati
and Conington's note.
uolneribus coguntur equi. nec profuit ulli cornipedis rupisse moras: neque enim impetus illis incursusque fuit: tantum profertur ad hostes et spatium iaculis oblato uolnerere donat.


ancipites steterunt casus sed tempora pugnae mors tenuit. neque enim licuit procurrere contra et miscere manus. sic undique saepa iuuentus comminus obliquis et rectis eminus hastis obruitur: non uolneribus nec sanguine, solum membrorumque uidet lapsum et ferientia terram.

761. uolneribus] i.e. as the spurs are no use, they try to stir up their horses with their swords.
762. neque enim] 'for they had no power to rush and charge the foe'.
766. terraque soluta] 'as the earth was broken up'. cf. Verg. G. I 44 putris se glacha resolvit.
770. nullo dubii] 'doubtful chances did not hang balanced at all in the hazard of war', i.e. it was a massacre rather than a battle.
774. comminus] 'by sidelong sword-blows at close quarters and spears hurled straight from a distance'.
775. non uolneribus] 'sure to perish not only by wounds and bloodshed, but by the cloud of missiles and the mere weight of iron', i.e. falling on their heads. Ovid. cf. Stat. Theb. VIII 419 nec locus ad terram telis: in corpora ferrum onere cedit.
779. suos] i.e. suorum.
780. quantum] 'the more the front rank as it retired drew close the circle'.
784. non tam lacta] 'the conquering Moors did not see such a joyful spectacle as Fortune really gave'.

LUCANI PHARSALIAE

corpora: compressum turba stetit omne cadasuer.
excitent inuisas dirae Karthaginis umbras
inferiis Fortuna nouis: ferat ista cruentus
Hannibal et Pocni tam dira piacula manes.
Romanam, superi, Libyca tellure ruinam
Pompeio prodasse nefas uotisque senatus:
Africa nos potius uincat sibi. Curio fusus
ut uidit campis acies, et cernere tantas
permisit clades compressus sanguine puluis,
non tulit adfictis animam producere rebus
aut sperare fugam, ceciditque in strage suorum
impiger ad letum et fortis uirtute coacta.
quid nunc rostra tibi prosunt turbata forumque
unde tribunicia plebeius signifer arte
arma dabas populis? quid prodita iura senatus,
et gener atque socer bello concurrere iussi?
ante iacess quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,
spectandumque tibi bellum ciuile negatum est.
has urbi miserae uestro de sanguine poenas
nempe datis: luitis iugulo sic arma, potentes?
 Felix Roma quidem ciuesque habitura beatos,
si libertatis superis tam cura placerc
quam uindicta placet. Libycas en nobile corpus

787. stetit] 'stood upright'. cf. 111
444. inferiiis] cf. Hor. Carm. II i 27
789. Africa] stands here not as usual
for the Roman province of Africa, but
for the continent, equivalent to Libya. cf.
9 729, 823.
sibi] sc. potius quam Pompeio uel senatui.
795. permisit] 'and the dust laid by
streams of blood suffered him to see
the extent of the disaster'. cf. Verg. G. IV
86, 87 hi notus animorum atque haec certamina
tanta pulvis exigu iactu compressa quiescunt.
796. non tulit] For the account of
Curio's death see Caes. B. C. II 42.
798. uirtute coacta] 'with valour forced
upon him', cf. note on VII 395.
800. tribunicia...arte] 'with a true tri-
bune's skill in speaking'. Cortius followed
by Oud. reads arce, which would be in
apposition with unde. Oud. cf. Liv. III
45 si tribuniciam auxilium et pronocatio-
non plebi Romanae...duas arces libertatis
tuenda...ademissis.
790
signifer] cf. Cie. pro Muren. § 50 minime
timidum et ualde calamitosum esse oportere
eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer
calamitosorum.
801. quid prodita] 'what the betrayal
of the senate's rights?' i.e. their right to
appoint governors of the provinces.
802. et gener] Compare the words
put into Curio's mouth 1 289 socerum
depellere regno decretem genero est.
gener atque socer] cf. Ov. Met. I 144,
145 non hospes ab hospite tutus, non socer
a genero.
803. confert] equivalent to committit,
'matches against each other'.
806. nempe datis] 'such no doubt is
the penalty ye pay'. Cortius followed
by Oud. reads ferre datis, comparing IX 104
poenas animae uinacis ab ipsa ante feram.
1 3 nec enim unquam atrocierribus populi
pascit aues nullo contectus Curio busto.

at tibi nos, quando non proderit ista silere
a quibus omne acui senium sua fama repellit,
digna damus, iuuenis, meritae praeconia uitae.
haud alium tanta cuiem tulit indele Roma,
aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti.

perdita tunc urbi nocierunt saecula, postquam
ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas
transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt:
momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum
Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro.

ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit
saeve Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus
Caesareaeque domus series: cui tanta potestas
concessa est? emere omnes hic uendidit urbem.

Romani cladibus magisue iustis
adprobatum non esse curae deis
supr. 'swept away his wavering mind with sidelong flood'.
cf. II 412.

811. at tibi nos] Both tibi and nos from their position are emphatic: I, though a partizan of the senate, will not refuse to give his due to Curio who betrayed it.

quando non proderit] 'since it will not avail to pass by in silence those deeds which their own glory defends against all the decay of time'.


813. digna] 'such a panegyric as thy life deserves'.

815. recta sequenti] 'had he followed the path of right'.


818. transverso] opposed to recta 815, supr. 'swept away his wavering mind with sidelong flood'.

819. momentumque] 'and the change of Curio was that which turned the scale of history'. cf. III 337.

821. ius licet] 'won with his sword power over our lives'.

823. Caesareaeque] 'and all the line of Caesar's house'.

824. concessa est?] 'yet to whom was e'er such power granted? all others bought, he alone sold the state'. Some put no interrogation after concessa est, thus distinguishing the legal power of the later emperors, but Sulla's dictatorship at all events was equally legal in form.

uendidit] According to the Scholiast Curio is referred to by Verg. Aen. vi 621, 622 uendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refinxit.
The consuls call a meeting of the Senate in Epirus 1—14. Lentulus proposes that Pompeius should be appointed to the command of the war 15—48; the allies are thanked and rewarded 49—64. Appius goes to consult the oracle of Delphi; description of the spot 65—85. Origin and character of the oracle 86—120. Appius compels the priestess to prophesy 120—236. Caesar’s troops mutiny 237—315; he quells the mutiny 316—373. Caesar collects a fleet, returns to Rome and assumes the dictatorship 374—402; he crosses over from Brundusium to Epirus 403—461, and encamps opposite Pompeius 462—475. As Antonius delays to follow, Caesar crosses over in a small boat to fetch him on a stormy night 476—677; his soldiers remonstrate with him on his return 678—702. Antonius crosses with the rest of Caesar’s troops 703—721. Pompeius sends away his wife Cornelia to Lesbos for safety 722—815.

Sic altera duces bellorum uolnera passos
in Maccetum terras miscens aduersa secundis
seruauit Fortuna pares,
iam sparserat Haemo
bruma niues gelidoque cadens Atlantis Olympo:
instabatque dies qui dat noua nomina fastis
quiique colit primus ducentem tempora Ianum.
dum tamen emeriti remanet pars ultima iuris,
consul uterque uagos belli per munia Patres elicit Epirum. peregrina ac sordida sedes Romans cepit procescus: secretaque rerum hospes in externis auduit curia tectis.

nam quis castra uocet tot strictas iure secures tot fasces? docuit populos uenerabilis ordo non Magni partes sed Magnum in partibus esse. ut primum maestum tenuere silentia coetum, Lentulus excelsa sublimis sede profatur:

inde si dignum Latia, si sanguine prisco robur inest animis, non qua tellure coacti, quamque procul tectis captae sedecamus ab urbis, cernite: sed uestrae faciem cognoscite turbae:

cunctaeque iussuri primum hoc decernite, Patres, quod regnis populisque liquet, nos esse senatum.

nam uel Hyperboreae plastrum glaciale sub Vrsae, uel plaga qua torrens clasususque uaporibus axis nec patitur noctes nec iniquos crescere soles, si fortuna ferat, rerum nos summa sequetur imperiumque comes. Tarpeia sede perusta Gallorum facibus Veiosque habitante Camillo illic Roma fuit. non umquam perdidit ordo mutato sua iura solo maerentia tecta

Caesar habet uaucasque domos legesque silentis

8. uagos belli per munia] 'dispersed for various warlike duties'.
9. elicit] i.e. calls away from their posts to Epirus.
11. hospes] 'a foreign senate house'. curia is the place of meeting, not, as Weise takes it, the body of senators: for the adjectival use of hospes cf. Stat. Silu. v i 252 manes placidus locus hospitie cumba.
12. iire] in opposition to bello.
14. non Magnus] 'that they were not Magnus' partizans, but he was theirs'. Ouid. cf. Vell. Pat. ii xlix § 2 consules senatusque causae non Pompeio summam imperii detulerunt.


18. non] is written here instead of ne as if referre or something to that effect was to follow and not an imperative: the use of non for ne is reckoned by Quintilian i v § 50 as an instance of solecismus.

coacti] cf. note on III 104.
21. cunctaeque iussuri] 'ye who will issue orders on all things', implying that their orders would be obeyed.


25. nec patitur] 'suffers neither nights nor days to lengthen and become unequal'. iniquus is part of the predicate and is to be taken with both noctes and solcs.

26. si fortuna ferat] 'should fortune sweep us thither'. sequetur] 'will attend us'.


32. iustitio] cf. note on II 17.
33. plena quos] 'whom it drove from the city ere it was deserted', i.e. whom it declared public enemies.
34. quisquis non exsultat] i.e. implying that the senators who had submitted to Caesar were the real exiles, as having lost their rights; compare the language of the democratic party at Samos during the usurpation of the four hundred at Athens, Thuc. viii 76 ως οι δει ἄνθρωποι δοτη ἢ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε. cf. also Ov. Trist. v x 37 barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ulli.
35. ignaros sceierum] 'ignorant of civil war' and so unprepared for it.
36. loco] dative, 'to their place'.
37. Hesperiam pensant] 'make up for the loss of Italy', not 'of Spain' as Weise takes it.
40. spem nestrum] 'give the gods a warrant for your hopes', i.e. by following them up in action.
41. causa] 'the justice of your cause'.
42. exhausto...anno] 'at the close of the year'. cf. Tac. Hist. iv 29 sic exsulta nocte nouam aciem dies aperuit.
43. non est sensura] 'will not be subject to'. cf. Plin. H. N. viii 68 rabiem et ipsae (camelii) sentiunt. See also note on II 598.
44. in medium] 'for the common weal', cf. Verg. G. i 127 in medium quaerabant. cf. note on I 89.
45. imposuerit] 'laid on Pompeius the burden of their own and their country's fate', a stronger word than commissit. cf. Cic. pro Sest. § 60 nec illi committendum illud negotium sed imponendum putaverunt.
46. honos] 'honorary votes'.
47. Phoebeia] Rhodes was sacred to the sun with whom Apollo was identified in later times. cf. Pindar Olyn. vii 54 foll.
48. incultus] 'rugged': the Laconians are meant.
49. fama ueteres] 'of ancient renown'.
50. Massiliaeque suae] 'and the free-
tum Sadalen, fortemque Cotyn, fidumque per arma Deiotarum, et gelidae dominum Rhasipolin orae collaudant: Libyamque iubent auctore senatu sceptrifero parere Iubaec. pro tristia fata: en tibi, non fidae gentis dignissime regno, Fortunae, Ptolemaeae, pudor crimineque deorum, cingere Pellaeo pressos diademate crines permissum. saecum in populos, puer, accipis ense: atque utinam in populos. donata est regia Lagi, accessit Magni iugulus: regnumque sorori creptum est soceroque nefas. iam turba soluto arma petit coetu. quae cum populique ducesque casibus incertis et caeca sorte pararent, solus in anicipites metuit descendere Martis Appius euentus: finemque expromere rerum sollicitat superos, multosque obducta per annos Delphica fatidici reserat penetralia Phoebi.

Hesperio tantum quantum submotus Eoo cardine Parnasus geminit petit aethera colle, mons Phoebos Bromioque sacer: cui numine mixto dom of Phocis is granted as a reward to her colony Massilia’. For the confusion between Phocis and Phocaea cf. III 340. 

57. 

58. non fidae] cf. Propert. III xi 33 noxia Alexandriae delis aptissima tellus, also the letter of Hadrian (which is of doubtful authenticity) quoted in Vopiscus’ Life of Firmius Saturninus, cap. VIII Aegyptum quam mihi laudabas, Seruiane carissime, totam didici leuem pendulum et ad omnia famae momenta solitament. 

59. 

Fortunae...pudor] ‘scandal of Fortune’. 

60. Ptoleae] sc. Alexander’s diadem. 

pressos] may perhaps be taken with diademate, i.e. cingere et premere, but it seems better to explain it as ‘piled in layers’ as a mark of effeminacy, cf. Juv. VI 562 tot premit ordinibus tot adhuc compagibus altum aedificat caput. 

61. in populos] i.e. in populos solum. 

62. sorori] sc. Cleopatra, who had been appointed joint sovereign of Egypt with her brother by the will of their father Ptolemaeus Auletes. 

64. sociro] i.e. Caesar, who would have killed Pompeius had not Ptolemaeus done so. 

66. casibus] ‘ignorant of the result and blind to their future fate’. 


72. cardine] cf. note on IV 73. 

73. Bromio] i.e. Baccho. 

cui] i.e. monti, ‘whereto the Baccae bring back their triennial festivals’, i.e. whereon they celebrate their festivals every third year. 

numine mixto] ‘in honour of the two gods combined’. 
Delphica Thebanae referunt trieterica Bacchae,
hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen
emicit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.
tu quoque uix summam seductus ab aquore rupem
extuleras unoque iugo, Parnase, latebas.
ultor ibi expulsae premeret cum uiscera partus
matris adhuc rudibus Paean Pythona sagittis
80 explicuit, cum regna Themis tripodasque teneret.
ut uidit Paean uastos telluris hiatus
diuinam spirare fidem uentosque loquaces
exhalare solum, sacris se condidit antris,
icubuitque adyto uates ibi factus Apollo.
85 quis latet hic superum? quod numen ab aethere pressum
dignatur caecas inclusum habitate caernas?
quis terram caeli patitur deus, omnia cursus
aeterni secreta tenens mundique futuri
conscius, ac populis sese proferre paratus,
90 contactusque ferens hominum magnusque potensque,
siue canit fatum, seu quod iubet ille canendo
fit fatum? forsan terris inserta regendis

75. hoc solum] cf. Ov. Met. 1 316—
319 mons ibi uercetricus petit arduus astra
dvobus, nomine Parnassus, superatque ca-
cumine nubes. hic ibi Deiudion, nam
cetera texerat aequor, cum consortae teri
parua rate sectus adhaesit.
76. emicit] ‘shot up’.
discrimen] ‘and was all that separated
ix 142—144 quibus haec medii fiducia
nalli fossarumque morae leti discrimina
parva dant animos. Ov. ex Ponto i xii
61, 62 unde sed hoc nobis, minimum
quis inter et hostem discrimen murus
clausaque portam facit?
77. tu quoque] i.e. yet even Parnassus
scarcely raised its peak above the waves,
and then only one of the two.
79. expulsae premeret] ‘driven out
when on the verge of childbirth’.
80. rudibus] ‘unpractised’.
81. explicuit] ‘laid low’. cf. note on
iv 629.
Theomis] cf. Aesch. Eumen. 2—4 ἐκ
ἀπὸ τῆς θεμέων ὑπὸ τὸ μνήσος δευτέρα τόδ’
ἐξετο μαντεῖον.
83. diuinam] ‘breathed forth god-
given certainty, and that the ground ex-
haled speaking airs’. cf. Strabo ix iii § 5
(419) φασὶ δὲ οὗ τὸ μαντεῖον ὄντος κόλπων
κατὰ βάθους οὐ μᾶλλα εὐρύστομων, ἀναφέρεισθαι
d νείαν πνεύμα ἐνθυθειστικὸν.
85. uates ibi factus] ‘and there became
a seer’.
86. pressum] ‘forced down from
heaven’. cf. Verg. G. ii 26 silvarumque
alie pressos propaginis arcus expectant.
88. omnia cursus] ‘comprehending all
the secrets of the eternal course of things,
and conscious of the future of the world’.
de benefici. iv xix § 2 hinc igitur insipientem
intenti quidem et inexplicabili muro diui-
sarumque a contactu et a conspectu morta-
litum non habes quare nevearis, in which
passage Seneca is arguing against the Epi-
cureans.
93. forsan] ‘maybe some great por-
tion of entire Jove, enclosed in the earth
to guide it, which holds the round world
balanced in the empty air, finds an exit
through the caves of Cirrha and is drawn
forth still united to the Thunderer on
high’. The reference is to the Stoic
docline of the anima mundi, cf. ix 578
aere libratum uacuo quae sustinet orbum
totius pars magna Iouis Cirrhaeae per antra
exit et aetherio trahitur conexa Tonanti.
hoc ubi urigineo conceptum est pectore numen
humanam feriens animam sonat oraque uatis
solut; ceu Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam
undat apex: Campana fremens ceu saxa uaporat 100
conditus Inarimes acterna mole Typhoeus.
hoc tamen expositum cunctis nullique negatum
numen ab humano solum se labe furoris
uindicat. haud illic tacito mala uotus susurro
concipiant. nam fixa canens mutandaque nulli, 105
mortales optare uetat: iustisque benignus
saepc dedit sedem totas mutantibus urbes,
ut Tyriis: dedit ille minas impellere belli,
ut Salaminiacum meminit marc: sustulit iras.
telluris sterilis monstrato fine: resolutit acra tabificum. non ullo saecula dono nostra carent maiore deum quam Delphica sedes quod siluit, postquam reges timuere futura et superos uetuere loqui. nec uoce negata Cirrhæac maerent uates, templique fruuntur iustitio. nam si qua deus sub pectora uenit, numinis aut poena est mors immatura recepti aut pretium: quippe stimulo fluctuque furoris compages humana labat pulsusque deorum concutiant fragiles animas. sic tempore longo immotos tripodas uastaeque silentia rupis Appius Hesperii scrutator ad ultima fati sollicitat. iussus sedes laxare uerendas 'antistes pauidamque deis immittere uatem Castalios circum latices nemorumque recessus Phemonoen errore uagam curisque uacantem corripuit cogitque fores irrumpere templi. limine terrifico metuens consistere Phoebas absterre derecum noscendi ardore futura cassa fraude parat. quid spes, ait, improba ueri

fine] cf. Hor. Epod. xvii 36 quae finis aut quod me manet stipendum?
resolutit] 'has dispersed unwholesome air'.
111. non ullo] 'in no way has our age lost a greater gift of heaven than in the fact that the Delphic temple has been silent'.
112. nec uoce] 'nor do Cirra's priestesses grieve that utterance is forbidden, but enjoy the temple's idleness'. que is here disjunctive.
113. sub pectora] cf. Verg. Aen. vi 77—80 at Phoebi nondum patiens in manus in antro bachatur uates, magnum si pectori possit excusse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat os validum fera corda domans fingeque domando.
114. aut pretium] referring to the story of Cleobis and Biton in Herod. i 31.
quippe stimulo] For the lengthening of the short e before st cf. Catul. lxiv 186 nulla fugae ratio, nulla spes, omnia nata.
116. compages] 'the human frame is shaken'. cf. the use of crates in Verg. Aen. xii 508 transadigit costas et crates pectoris ensens.
117. concutient] 'shatter', the metaphor is apparently from the wind breaking the branches of a tree.
118. ad ultima] is to be taken with scrutator, 'prying into the fate of Italy to the furthest point'.
120. Phemonoen] This was said to have been the name of the first Pythian priestess, cf. Sirabo ix iii § 5 (419).
nuagam curisque uacantem] cf. Hor. Carm. i xii 10, 11 ultra terminum curis uagor expeditis.
121. improba] 'excessive', 'unprincipled'. 
te, Romane, trahit? muto Parnasus hiatus conticuit pressitque deum: seu spiritus istas destituit fauces mundique in deuia uersum duxit iter: seu barbarica cum lampade Python arsit in immensas cineres abiere cauerneas et Phoebi tenuere uiam: seu sponte deorum Cirtha silet, fatique sat est arcana futuri carne longaeae uobis commissa Sibyllae: seu Paean solitus templis arcere noccetis ora quibus solutat nostro non inuentit acuo. uriginei patuere doli fecitque negatis numinibus metus ipse fidem. tum torta priores stringit uitta comas crinesque in terga solutos candida Phoacaica complectitur infula lauro. haerentem dubiamque premens in templia sacerdos impulsit. illa pauens adyti penetrale remoti fatidicum prima templorum in parte resistit: atque deum simulans sub pectore ficta quieto

132. pressitque deum] 'and has stifled the god'.
133. mundique in deuia] Weise quotes from Marcianus Capella I 12.12 (ex Phoide) quoque ad Indii montis secretum obumbratumque scopulum uide perfuta posteriorius migrasse (Apollinen) perhibebant.
134. barbarica] i.e. when the temple was plundered by the Gauls under Brennus, according to Grotius; but it appears from Pausanias I § 11 that they were not successful in their attack on the temple. Micyllus suggests that the temple may have suffered in the Mithridatic war. Weise suggests that it had been last burnt by the Thracians.
135. abierc] 'penetrated'.
136. et Phoebi] 'and so choked Phoebe's passage'.
137. fatique sat est] 'and it suffices that the secrets of future destiny have been entrusted to you in the aged Sibyl's strains'.
138. esse is omitted after commissa, as the Scholast explains. Most MSS. read carmina, which would have to be taken as arcana carmina commissa esse; but as Weise remarks, arcana committuntur non carmina. For sat est Oud. cf. Verg. Ecl. VII 33, 34 sinum lactis et haec telibo Priape quotannis expectare sat est.
139. arcere noccetis] Compare the complaint of the Furies against Apollo in Aesch. Enn. 169 εφεστις δὲ μάτις δν μυσάματι μιχὴν ἑρπανα αὐτῆς τοιάκι
140. ora quibus solutat] i.e. homines quibus ora sua solutat, 'men who deserve that he should unlock his lips to answer them'. cf. IX 554—557.
141. uriginei] i.e. uriginis Phoemo- nes, not 'maidely' generally; compare the use of uritis in Ov. Met. III 189 not- tunque nirelim perfudit i.e. uriri Actaeo-nis mentioned before.
142. fecitque] 'the fear which she betrayed caused belief in the gods whose power she denied', i.e. showed that she herself did not believe in the cessation of the oracle. Weise's explanation, extorsit oraculum is clearly wrong.
143. insula] cf. Verg. Aen. X 537, 538 Phoebi Triaiaque saceros, insula cui sacra reclinibat tempora uita, on which Servius remarks, insula, fascia in medium diadematis a qua uittae ab uirgine parte dependenti, quae plerunque lata est, ple- runque tortilis, ex albo et coco.
144. pauens] 'shrinking from the oracular recess in the inmost shrine'.
145. sub pector] 'invented in the depths of an uninspired breast'.
uerba refert nullo confusae murmure uocis
instinctam sacro mentem testata furore,
haud aque laesura ducem cui falsa canebat
quam tripodas Phoebique fidem. non rupta trementi
uerba sono, nec uox antri compleere capacis
sufficiens spatium, nulloque horrore comarum
excussae laurus immotaque culmina templi
securumque nemus ueritam se credere Phoebus
prodiderant. sentit tripodas cessare, furensque
Appius, et nobis meritas dabis, impia, poenas,
et superis quos fings, ait, nisi mergeris antris,
deque orbis trepidi tanto consulta tumultu
denisis ipsa loqui. tandem conterrita uirgo
confugit ad tripodas uastisque abducta cauernis
haesit et insueto concepit pectore numen,
quod non exhaustae per tot iam saecula rupis
spiritus ingressit uati; tandemque potitus
pectore Cirrhaeo non umquam plenior artus
Phoebados irruptit Paean: mentemque priorem
expulit atque hominem toto sibi cedere iussit
pectore. bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
colla ferens, uittasque dei Phoebaeque serta
erectis discussa comis per inania templi

149. *nullo confusae*] 'which do not by
their muttering and indistinct utterance bear witness that her mind is inspired with
sacred frenzy'.

150. *testata*] This word and laesura
might be taken either as accusative referring
to *uerba*, or as nominative referring
to the priestess: the former seems preferable.

151. *haud aque laesura*] i.e. which
would cause less damage to Appius than
discredit to Apollo.

152. *non rupta*] 'did not burst forth'.
cf. Verg. Aen. II 416 *adversi rupto ceu
quondam turbine nunti conjunxit*.

154. *nulloque horrore*] 'nor were the
wraths of bay shaken off by the bristling
of her hair'.

155. *cessare*] 'lay idle', 'were unused'.
Weise compares the use of *cessare* as applied
to land, 'to lie fallow'. cf. Verg. G. I 71 *alternis idem tonsas cessare no-
valis*.

156. *ipsa*] 'of thine own motion', tua
ipsius inuenta, non dei. Weise.

157. *haesit*] 'remained there'.
*insueta*] not equivalent to *desueto* as she
had never been inspired before. cf. supr.

158. *quod non—uati*] 'which the va-
pour of the rock...breathed into the priest-
ness' frame'.

159. *pectore Cirrhace*] i.e. 'worthy of
Apollo'.

160. *non umquam*] 'never with fuller strength
forced a way into the priestess' frame'. cf.

Verg. Aen. II 591 *confessa deam*.

162. *alienus*] i.e. not under her own
control. cf. Hor. Sat. III 72 *malls rident-
tem alienus* according to one interpretation.

163. *uittasque dei*] 'and with the fil-
lets of the god and Phoebus' garlands
shaken off as her hair stood on end'. cf. II
336 *cineresque ingesta seplueri*. 
ancipiti ceruice rotat, spargitque uaganti obstantis tripodas, magnoque exaestuat igni, iratum te, Phoebe, fercens. nec uerbere solo uteris et stimulus flammisque in uiscera mergis: 175 accipit et frenos: nec tantum prodere uati quantum scire licet. uenit actas omnis in unam congeriem: miserumque premunt tot saccula pectus. tanta patet rerum series atque omne futurum nititur in lucem: uocemque petentia fata 180 luctantur: non prima dies non ultima mundi non modus oceani numeros non deear harenae. talis in Euboico uates Cumana recessu, indignata suom multis seruire furorem gentibus, ex tanta fatorum strage superba 185 excerpsit Romana manu. sic plena laborat Phemonoe Phoebo, dum te, consultor operti Castalia tellure dei, uix inuenit, Appi, inter fata diu quaerens tam magna latentem. spumea tum primum rabies uaesana per ora 190 effuit, et gemitus, et anhelo clara meatu murmura: tum maestus uastis ululatus in antris, extremaeque sonant domita iam uirgine uoce:

172. rotat] cf. 1 566, Val. Flac. i 208, 209 uittamque comamque por auras surgentem laurusque rotat.
174. fercens] intra se habens. Weise. nec uerbere solo] 'nor dost thou ply the lash alone and goad, and plunge thy fires deep into her breast; she has to bear the curb as well'. cf. Verg. Aen. vi 100, 101 ca frene surnent concutit et stimulos sub postere uertit Apollo.
176. nec tantum] 'nor is the priestess suffered to reveal all she is suffered to know'.
177. uenit actas] 'all future time gathereth into one vast heap'.
182. modus occani] 'the compass of the ocean'.
183. talis] The point of comparison is not obvious, but probably talis implies 'after such a struggle'. The simile is a very strange one, as one prophetess is compared to another. Euboico] Cumae was founded by settlers from Cyme in Acolis and from Chalès in Euboea. cf. Strabo v 4 (243). See also Verg. Aen. vi 2.
184. indignata] 'disdaining that her frenzy should be at the service of many nations'. cf. 1 319 iussam seruire famem. 185. ex tanta] 'out of so great a heap of destinies she picked out those of Rome with prideful hand'.
187. te] sc. tua fata.
189. inter fata] 'long searching for the concealed amid so many mighty fates'.
190. tum] i.e. when she had found the fate of Appius.
191. anhelo clara] 'murmurs uttered loudly with panting breath'.
193. extremae] 'at last'.

H. L.
effugis ingentis tanti discriminis expers bellorum, o Romane, minas: solusque quietem Euboici uasta lateris conuallc tenebis.
cetera subpressit faucesque obstruxit Apollo.
custodes tripodes fatorum arcanaque mundi, tuque potens ueri, Paean, nullumque futuri a superis celate diem, supreme ruentis imperii caesosque duces et funera regum et tot in Hesperio collapsas sanguine gentes cur aperire times? an nondum numina tantum decreuere nefas? et adhuc dubitantibus astris Pompeii damnare caput tot fata tenentur?
uiu dicis an gladii facinus poenasque furoris regnaque ad uliores iterum redeuntia Brutus ut peragat Fortuna, taces? tum pectore uatis impactae cessere fores expulsaque templis prosiluit: perstat rabies; nec cuncta locutae, quem non emisit, superest deus. ille feroces torquet adhuc oculos totoque uagantia caelo lumina, nunc uoltu pauido nunc torua minaci: stat numquam facies: rubor igneus inficit ora liuentisque genas: nec qui solet esse timenti terribilis sed pallor inest: nec fessa quiescunt corda, sed ut tumidus Boreae post flamina pontus silent in order that fate may carry out the deed of the avenging sword, the punishment for civil strife, and tyranny again coming round to find its avenger in the line of Brutus?’ i.e. lest if the deed of Brutus were known beforehand it should be prevented.
210. nec i.e. et non, ‘as she had not uttered all she knew’.
211. icle] So Oud. with most MSS., and the Scholiast, who explains it as Apollo, who had taken complete possession of the priestess. Weise reads illa.
212. totoque] ‘and her eyes which now wander vaguely over the whole sky as she looks terrified, now glare as she looks threatening’.
216. nec fessa] ‘nor can her wearied heart find any rest’, i.e. from throbbing.
rauca gemit; sic muta leuant suspiria uatem.
dumque a luce sacra, qua uidit fata, refertur
ad uolgare iubar mediae uenere tenebrac.
immisit Stygiam Paean in uisera Lethen,
qua raperet secreta deum. tum pectore uerum
fugit et ad Phoebi tripodas rediere futura:
uique resecta cadit. nec te uicinia leti
territat ambiguis frustratum sortibus, Appi:
iure sed incerto mundi subsidere regnum
Chalcidos Euboiaeae, uana spe rapte, parbas.
heu demens, nullum belli sentire fragorem,
tot mundi caruisse malis, praestare deorum
excepta quis morte potest? secreta tenebis
litoris Euboici, memorando condite busto,
qua maris angustat fauces saxosa Carystos,
et tumidis infesta colit qua numina Rhamnus,
artatus rapido feruet qua gurgite pontus,
Euripusque trahit cursum mutantibus undis
Chalcidicas puppes ad iniquam classibus Aulin.
interea domitis Caesar renebat Hiberis
uictrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem:
cum prope fatorum tantos per prospera cursus
auertere dei. nullo nam Marte subactus
intra castrorum timuit tentoria ductor
perdere successus scelerum: cum paene fideles

218. rauca gemit | ‘booms hoarsely’.
cf. Verg. Aen. ix 124 cunctatur et annis
rauca sonans.
muta | ‘inarticulate’ not ‘silent’, cf. Hor.
Sat. 1 iii 99, 100 cum propterperum primis
animalia terris mutum ac turpe pecus.
volgare iubar | ‘the light of common day’.
mediae | i.e. inter statum furoris diuini
et receptae mentis humanae. Weise.
futura | i.e. the knowledge of the future.

224. uicinia leti | ‘the near approach of death’.
cf. iv 518, Petron. 115 mirati quod
iliu sacaret in uicinia mortis poema facere.
iure sed incerto | ‘but while it was
uncertain who should rule the world’.
Aen. xi 268 devictam Asiam subsedit adulter.
Sil. Ital. xiii 221 subsidere sacpe temem.

229. praestare | ‘what god can ensure
thee this save death alone?’
cf. Verg. Aen. iv 672, Sen. de benef. xi vi
§ 2 tumidissimum animal (Alexander).
numina | i.e. Nemesis. cf. Catul. lxv 71
pace tua fari habe licet Rhamnusia nigro.
cursum | The titles in the Euripus
were said to ebb and flow seven times in
the twenty-four hours. cf. Plin. H. N. xi
§ 219.

240. auertere | ‘turned aside’, i.e. from
their prosperous course to a worse, cf.
Verg. Ecl. viii 66 contingis ut magis
canos auertere sacris experiar sensus.
pacae | to be taken with destituere;
for the position of this word cf. note on
ii 136.
per tot bella manus satiatae sanguine tandem destituere ducem: seu maesto classica paulum intermissa sono claususque et frigidus ensis expulerat belli furias: seu praemia miles dum maiora petit damnat causamque duemque, et scelere imbutos etiam nunc uenditat enses. haud magis expertus discriminate Caesar in ullo est quam non e stabili tremulo sed culmine cuncta despiceret, starctque super titubantia fultus: tot raptis truncus manibus gladioque relictus paene suo, qui tot gentes in bella trahebat, scit non esse ducis strictos sed militis enses. non pauidum iam murmur erat nec pectore tecto ira latens: nam quae dubias constringere mentes causa solet, dum quisque paeut quibus ipse timori est, seque putat solum regnorum iniusta grauari, haud retinet. quippe ipsa metus exsoluerat audax turba suos. quidquid multis peccatur inultum est. effudere minas: liceat discedere, Caesar, a rabie scelerum. quacris terraque marique his ferrum iugulis animasque effundere uiles quolibet hoste paras: partem tibi Gallia nostri eripuit: partem duris Hispania bellis:

244. *maesto* [because in civil war.]
245. *frigidus* [nullo sanguine calefactus. Schol.]
249. *hanc magis* [‘never in any crisis did Caesar more surely experience how he looked down on all the world from no secure position, but with the height trembling beneath his feet, while he stood supported upon a rocking platform’.]
250. *culmine* [i.e. the height to which he had mounted, cf. vii 594.
252. *truncus* [‘maimed’; the soldiers are regarded as the hands of the general. cf. infr. 311.
254. *strictos* [‘learns that swords when once drawn are not the general’s but the soldier’s’.]
255. *constringere* [‘to curb’.
257. *dum quiesque* [‘while each fears those to whom he is himself a terror’, i.e. his comrades owing to their mutual distrust, cf. Thuc. viii 66.
258. *seque putat* [‘and thinks that he alone is indignant at the injustice of tyranny, cf. vii 284.
259. *quippe ipsa* [in fact the very number of the daring multitude had dispelled their fears’.
260. *quidquid multis* [Oud. cf. Sen. dial. iv x § 4 in singulis securitatis imperatoris distringitur; at necessaria uenia est uti totus deservit exercitus. quid tollit iram sapientis turbis peccantium. intelligit quam et imiquum sit et periculosum irasce publico uito.
263. *his ferrum iugulis* [‘a sword to pierce these throats’, i.e. and nothing else.
265. *uiles* [‘worthless in your eyes’.
pars iacet Hesperia: totoque exercitus orbe
te uincente perit. terris fudisse crurem
quid iuuat Arctois Rhodano Rhenoque subactis?
tot mili pro bellis bellum ciuile decisti.
cepimus expulso patriae cum tecta senatu,
quos hominum uel quos licuit spoliare deorum?
imus in omne nefas manibus ferroque nocentes,
paupertate pii. finis quis quaeritur armis?
quid satis est si Roma parum? iam respice canos
inualidasque manus et inanes cerne lacertos.

usus abit uitae; bellis consumpsimus aeuom:
ad mortem dimitte senes. en improba uota:
non duro liceat morientia caespite membra
ponere, non anima glaebam fugiente ferire,
atque oculos morti clausuram quaerere dextram,
coniugis illabi lacrimis, unique paratum
scire rogum. liceat morbis finire senectam:
sit praeter gladios aliquod sub Caesare fatum.
quid uelut ignaros ad quae portenta paremur
spe trahis? usque adeo soli ciuilibus armis

269. tot mili] ‘as the reward for so many wars you have given me civil war’.
271. quos hominum] i.e. Caesar had not allowed any plundering on the part of the soldiers when Rome submitted to him.
273. paupertate pii] ‘absolved from guilt by our poverty’, i.e. ‘though we are guilty of bloodshed yet as we have gained nothing by it we are so in a measure innocent’.
275. inanes] ‘thin’, ‘feeble’. cf. Ov. Met. xv 229—231 flectque Milon senior cum spectat inanes illos, qui fuerant solidorum mole tororum Herculis similes, fluidos penderacertos. Cortius suggested carne for cern: this reading is defended by Mr Robinson Ellis in the Journal of Philology, Vol. xiv p. 89, but the passage quoted above from Ovid seems to me to confirm the received text, and tautologies such as respice and cern are sufficiently common in Lucan.
277. senes] Compare the account of the mutiny of Germanicus’ soldiers in Tac. Ann. i 34 et quidam pressa manu cius per speciem exosculandis inseruerunt digitos, ut inacua dentibus ora contingere; aliis curvata senio membra ostendebant.
280. morti] ‘for our death’, i.e. when dying.
282. quaerere] ‘to look in vain for’; cf. Cic. in Verrem act ii lib. iii § 47 campus Leotinus...se erat deformis atque horridus ut in uberrima Sicilie parte Sicilium quarem conos.
284. portenta] ‘horrors’.
nescimus cuius sceleris sit maxima merces?
nil actum est bellis si nondum comperit istas
omnia posse manus. nec fas nec uincola iuris
hoc audere uetant. Rheni mihi Caesar in undis
dux erat, hic socius. facinus quos inquinat aequat.
adde quod ingrato meritorum iudice uirtus
nostra perit. quidquid gerimus fortuna uocatur.
nos fatum sciimus esse suum. licet omne deorum
obsequium speres: irato milite, Caesar,
pax eum. haec fatus, totis discurrere castris
coeperat infestoque ducem deposecere uoltu.
sic eat, o superi, quando pietasq
destituunt moresque malos sperare relictum est;
finem ciuili faciat discordia bello.
quern non ille ducem potuit terrere tumultus?
fata sed in praeceps solitus
demittere Caesar
fortunamque suam per summa
pericula gaudens
exercere uenit:
nec dum desaeuiat
ira
exspectat: medios prope
ratatem furores,
non illis urbes spoliandaque
templa negasset
Tarpeiamque Iouis sedem
matresque senatus
passurasque
nurus.
omnia certe
a se saeua peti,
uolt praemia
Martis amari:
imperii tantum
mens
sana
timetur.
non pudet
heu,
Caesar,
soli
bella
placere
iam manibus
damnata tuis?
hos ante pigebit
sanguinis? his ferri graue ius erit?
ipsa omne

286. cuinis sceleris] i.e. the murder of Caesar, their own leader.
287. comperit] i.e. miles qui bella gerit, istas] 'these hands of his'.
291. ingrato] 'our valour is wasted through the ingratitude of him who judges our services'.
293. nos fatum] 'let Caesar learn that we are his destiny'.
onne deorum] 'entire compliance on the part of heaven'.
quando] 'since loyalty and honour fall us, and all we have left to hope for is wickedness', i.e. insubordination on the part of the soldiers.
298. destituent'] For the absence of the object cf. note on 11 728.
301. in praeceps demittere] 'to venture into the utmost peril', a metaphor from the arena, cf. Cic. ad fam. x vii § 2 cum in cum castrum me fortuna demisisset ut &c. Oud. cf. Id. ix i 3 cum me in res turba
nettissimus infidelissimis socii demississe.
303. uenit] i.e. instead of fugit as might have been expected.
312. his ferri graue ius erit?] 'shall the license of the sword be grievous in their eyes?' i.e. sooner than in yours.
fasque nefasque rues? lassare et disce sine armis posse pati: liccat scelerum tibi ponere finem. sacue, quid insequeris? quid iam nolentibus instas? bellum te ciule fugit. stetit aggere fulti caespitis intrepidus uoltu meruitque timeri non metuens: atque haec ira dictante profatur:

qui modo in absentem uoltu dextraque furebas, miles, habes nudum promptumque ad uolnera pectus. hic fuge, si belli finis placet, ense relictto. detegit imbelms animos nil fortiter ausa seditio tantumque fugam meditata iuuentus ac ducis inuicti rebus lassata secundis. uadite meque meis ad bella relinquite fatis: inuicent haec arma manus, uobisque repulsis tot reddet Fortuná uiros quot tela uacabunt. anne fugam Magni tanta cum classe sequuntur Hesperiae gentes, nobis victoria turbam non dabit, impulsi tantum quae praemia bellii auferat, et uestri rapta mercede laboris lauriferos nullo comitetur uolnere currus?

uos despecta, senes, exhaustaque sanguine turba

313. lassare] 'grow weary', i.e. give up the contest.
314. posse pati] 'to be able to endure existence'; cf. x 362, Verg. Ecl. x 53, 54 certum est in siluis inter spelaia ferarum male pati, Ov. Met. x 25 posse pati uoltu. Sen. Thyest. 470 inuine regnum est posse sine regno pati.
316. fugit] 'is slipping from your grasp'.
fulti] This reading which is found in nearly all MSS., is adopted by Weise, who explains it as equivalent to extructi, i.e. propped up against each other. Oud. following Gryphius reads fullus, cf. supra.
251.
321. hic] i.e. in my breast, to be taken with ense relictto: 'if you wish the war ended, leave your sword in my breast, and take to flight'.
322. detegiti] 'the fact that your mutiny has ventured on no deed of daring proves your unwarlike spirit'. cf. Verg. Aen. iv 13 degeneres animos timor arguit.
324. secundis] emphatic, 'you have not the excuse of ill-success'.
325. ad bella] 'for the means of waging war'.
326. repulsis] 'rejected', i.e. by me as unworthy.
328. anne fugam] 'do so many nations accompany the flight of Magnus with so vast a fleet? and shall not victory supply me with multitudes?
330. impulsi tantum] 'the reward for merely bringing the war to a close', i.e. they will reap the reward of victory by only giving the last impulse to Caesar's success without going through the previous toil.'
332. nullo...volnere] 'without having suffered a wound'.
333. despecta] 'despicable'; some MSS. read despecta.
cernetis nostros iam plebs Romana triumphos. 
Caesaris an cursus uestrae sentire putatis 
damnum posse fugae? ueluti si cuncta minentur 
flumina quos miscent pelago subducere fontes, 
non magis ablatis umquam descenderet acquer, 
quam nunc crescit, aquis. an uos momenta putatis 
ulla dedisse mihi? numquam sic cura deorum 
se premite ut uestrae morti uestraeque saluti 
fata uacent. procerum motus hacc cuncta sequuntur. 
humanum paucis uiuit genus. orbis Hiberi 
horror et Arctoi nostro sub nomine miles, 
Pompeio certe fugeres duce. fortis in armis 
Caesareis Labienus erat: nunc transfuga uilis 
cum duce praelato terras atque acquora lustrat. 
nec melior mihi uestra fides, si bella nec hoste 
nec duce me geritis. quisquis mea signa relinquit, 
nec Pompeianis tradit sua partibus arma, 
hic numquam uolt esse meus. sunt ista profecto 
curae castra dei, qui me committere tantis 
non nisi mutato uoluerunt milite bellis. 
heu quantum Fortuna uemeris iam pondere fessis 
amolitur onus. sperantis omnia dextras 
examare datur quibus hic non sufficit orbis. 
iam certe mihi bella geram: discedite castris, 
tradite nostra uiris ignau signa Quirites.

334. plebs Romana] i.e. no longer soldiers, cf. infr. 358.
335. cursus] 'career of success'.
337. subducere] 'withdraw'.
338. non magis] 'no more would the sea's level sink by the removal of these waters, than it now rises', i.e. by their influx. Oud. reads decrescere from decrecere which is found in some MSS.; the latter is probably an explanatory gloss on descenderit.
341. se premite] 'stoops so low'.
343. paucis] 'for the benefit of a few'.
345. horror] 'the terror of the Spanish and the northern world'. cf. Lucret. III 1047 Scipiiades belli fulmen Karthaginis horror.
347. duce praelato] 'the chief he has preferred to me', cf. 46.
348. nec hoste] i.e. if you remain neutral and fight on neither side.
350. nec tradit] 'without transferring'.
351. numquam] i.e. nec post victoriam reportatum. 'Weise.
ista] 'this camp of mine', cf. I 342.
onus] i.e. the burden of trying to satisfy the insatiable veterans.
357. mihi] sc. mihi soli, non uobis.
at paucos quibus haec rabiès auctoribus arsit
non Caesar, sed poena tenet. procumbite terrae: 360
infidumque caput feriendaque tendite colla.
et tu, quo solo stabunt iam roborè castra,
tiro rudis, specta poenas, et discè ferire,
discè morti. tremuit sæuæ sub uoce minantis
uolgor inçers: unumque caput tam magna iuentus 365
priuatum factura timet, uelut ensibus ipsis
imperfect inuito moturus militè ferrum.
ipse paucè ne tela sibi dextrèque negentur
ad scelus hoc Caesar: uicit patientia sæuæ
spem ducis, et iugulos non tantum praestitit enses: 370
nil magis adsuætas sceleri quam perdere mentes
atque perire timet. tam dirò foederis iactus
parta quies poenaque redit placata iuentus.

Brundisium decimis iubct hanc adtingere castris,
et cunctas reuocare rates quas auius Hydrus
antiquæque Taras secretæque litora Leucae
quas recipit Salapina palus et subdita Sipus.

Seuerus 52 seueritatis autem tantæ fuit
in milites ut saepe legiones integras ex-
auctorærit ex militibus Quirites appellātus.
360. non Caesar] i.e. as your general;
you are detained not to serve under
Caesar, but to be punished, while the rest
are disbanded.
362. quo solo] 'on whose strength alone
my camp will now depend'.
638 sta miles et acres discè ex me pugnas,
uel, si pugnare negatum est, discè mori.
366. priuatum factura] 'whom they
could depose from his command'.
enisbus ipsis] 'the swords by them-
selves'.
369. patientia] 'their obedience sur-
passed their leader's hopes', cf. Tac.
Agric. 16 Britanniam uno proelio ueteri
patientiæ restitiuit.
371. nil magis] Weise explains this
difficult passage as follows, 'there is noth-
ing that he dreads more than to lose
hearts inured to guilt, and that they
should be wasted', thus making the sub-
ject of perire different from that of per-
dere: although this alone is the common
meaning of perire in Lucan, cf. IV 252,
the change of subject seems to me too
harsh to be admitted: I should prefer to
render atque perire, 'and so be ruined',
as he would in fact have been by the loss
of his veterans, notwithstanding his con-
fident language to them. cf. Verg. G. i
291—293, Liv. xxvi 39 hic Quinctium
simul pugnantem horantemque suas in-
cautæm hasta transfigit atque ille praceps
cum armis precidit ante proram; so too
et is used, cf. iv 34; 35. Bentley con-
jectures tenet instead of timet 'nothing
is a surer bond to hearts inured to guilt
than to destroy and be destroyed', i.e. sup-
plicium sumere et pati.
372. tam dirò foederis] 'by an agree-
ment sealed in blood', cf. note on 1 355.
373. redit] 'return to their ranks'.
374. decimis...castris] 'in ten days
march'; in 1 374 the same words are used
for ten campaigns.
375. reuocare] 'to call in', sc. pelago.
Hydrus] The Latin form is Hydruntum,
now Otranto.
376. Leucae] Leuca is now Lecce.
377. quas recipi?] 'of which...is the
harbour'.
Salapina] cf. Cic. de leg. agr. 11 § 71
nisi forte manovitis, relictis his rebus atque
haec luce repulitque, in Sipontina siculatæ
aut in Salapinarum pestilentiae finibus,
Rullo duce, colluvat.
montibus: Ausoniam qua torquens frugifer oram Delmatico Borae Calabroque obnoxius Austro Apulus Hadriacas exit Garganus in undas.

ipse petit trepidam tutus sine milite Romam iam doctam seruire togac: populoque precanti scilicet indulgens summum dictator honorem contigit et laetos fecit se consule fastos.

namque omnes uoces per quas iam tempore tanto mentimur dominis hacc primum repperit aetas, qua sibi ne ferri ius  ullam Caesar absset Ausonias uoluit gladiis miscere secures. addidit et fasces aquilis, et nomen inane imperii rapiens signauit tempora digna maesta nota. nam quo melius Pharsalicus annus consule notus erit? fingit sollemnia Campus, et non admissae dirimit suffragia plebis, decantatque tribus et uana uersat in urna.

nec caelum seruare licet: tonat augure surdo, et laetae iurantur aues bubone sinistro.

378. torquens...oram] 'giving a curve to the shore', i.e. forming a bay.
382. togac] This is more emphatic than if Lucan had said ferro: Rome had submitted to Caesar before when he came accompanied by soldiers, cf. iii. 71 foll., but now he had no need of them.
383. summum] 'he reached the highest office as dictator and gladdened the fasti with his name as consul'. cf. Caes. B. C. III. i.
385. uoces] 'titles'.
386. mentimur dominis] 'by which we seek to impose upon our masters'.
387. qua sibi] 'wherein Caesar, that no right to wield the sword might be lacking to him, desired to mingle with his swords the Ausonian axes', i.e. to combine civil and military power in his own person.
Caesar] For the position of this word, Weise cf. iii. 679, vi. 710, 711.
389. nomen inane imperii] 'an office which was now an empty name', i.e. the consulship.
391. nam quo] 'for by whose consulship will the year of Pharsalia be more fitly known?'
392. fingit sollemnia] 'the Campus Martius goes through the pretence of its routine, and distributes the voting tablets of the people who are not admitted (i.e. to the Septa) and proclaims the tribes in order, and shakes up names in the deceitful lot-box', i.e. to determine which is to be the centuria praerogatia. Campus is personified and is said to do what is done in it by the presiding magistrate. See note on ii. 357.
393. decantat] cf. Cic. de diu. i § 105
394. decantat] cf. Cic. phil. ii § 81
396. et laetae] 'and the birds are sworn to be propitious, though an owl appears upon the left'. For laetae Oud. cf. Suet. Jul. 77 co adrogantiae progressus est ut haruspice tristia et sine corde exa sacro quolam muntiante, futura dicet laetiora cum nullis.

iurantur] cf. Cic. ad Att. XII. xiii § 2
inde perit primum quondam ueneranda potestas iuris inops: careat tantum ne nomine tempus menstruus in fastos distinguat saecula consult.
nec non Iliacae numen quod praesidet Albae haud meritus Latio sollemnia sacra subacto uidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas.

inde rapit cursus, et quae piper Apulus arua deseruit rastris et inerti tradidit herbae, oior et caeli flammis et tigride feta, transcurrit: curuique tenens Minoia tecto Brundisi, clausas uenti brumalibus undas inuenit et pauidas hiberno sidere classes. turpe duci uisum rapiendi tempora belli in segnes exisse moras, portuque teneri cum pateat tutum uel non felicibus aequor. expertes animos pelagi sic robore complect: fortius hiberni flatus caelumque fretumque,

uciam et ipse perpetuum morbum iurabo, i.e. ‘will swear to my constant ill-health’. iurari is generally used of that by which an oath is sworn, cf. Claudian de quart. Cons. Honor. 447 iuratur Honorius absens.

perit ...iuris inops ‘is ruined and loses its rights’.
potestas i.e. the consulship.
menstruus ‘a consul appointed for a month marks off the years upon the record-roll’. in fastos is best taken with distinguuit.

Iliacae cf. Juv. iv 60, 61 utque lacus suberant ubi quamquam diruta ser-

uatu ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba
tuinomen.
numen] sc. Iuppiter Latiaris. cf. 1 196

hau d meritus ‘who did not deserve his usual festival now Latium was subdued’, i.e. as the protector of Latium he ought to have been punished by the cessation of his festival for allowing it to be conquered.


et quae piper] On the whole it seems most probable that this passage refers to the fact that the lands of southern Italy were thrown out of cultivation and reduced to pasturage for the purpose of rearing cattle, notwithstanding the words of Horace carm. iii xvi 27 quidquid arat

impiger Apulus; the difficulty lies in the words deseruit rastris which appear to be equivalent to desertum fecit rastris, i.e. ‘left unharrowed’. Oud. takes rastris as dative in the sense of rakes for collecting hay, but I can find no instance of such a use of the word. Weise thinks that only a temporary cessation of agriculture is referred to, taking piper as thrown out of employment by the war, and herbae as ‘weeds’, ‘lolio alisique’.


Minoia] cf. ii 610 foll.

pauidas] ‘afraid to put to sea during the winter season’. It is disputed what particular sidus is referred to, Cortius says the setting of the Kids.

existe] ‘should have been pro-

tracted’, cf. Sen. dial. x vi § 4 uestra mehercle uita, licet supra annos exeat, in artissimum contraebetur. Quintil. iv ii § 51 si tamen adhibitis his quoque artibus in longum exercit ordo verum.

ucel non felicibus] sc. Pompeianis.


fortius] ‘keep a firmer hold upon
cum coeptere, tenet, quam quos incumbere certos perfida nubiferi ucetat inconstantia uceris.

nece maris anfractus lustrandaque litora nobis, sed recti fluctus soloque Aquilone secandi.

hic utinam summi curucet carchesia mali, incumbatque furens et Graia ad moenia perflet,

ne Pompeiani Phaeacum e litore toto

languida iactatis comprehendant carbasae remis:

rumpite quaeq retinent felices uincula proras.

iamdudum nubes et saeuaus perdimus undas.

sidera prima poli Phoebus labente sub undas exierant, et luna suas iam fecerat umbras:

cum pariter soluere rates tortosque rudentes laxauere sinus: et flexo nauita cornu

obliquat laevo pede carbasae, summaque pandens

suppara uelorum perituras colligit auras.

ut primum leuior propellere lintea uentus

incipit exiguomque tument, mox reddita malo

in median cecidere ratem: terraque relictia

non ualet ipsa sequi puppes quae uexerat aura.

eaquora lenta iacent: alto torpete ligaetae

pigrius immotis haesere paludibus undae.

sic stat iners Scythicas adstringens Bosporus undas

the sky and sea, than those which the

treacherous uncertainty of cloudy spring

forbids to come down with steady sweep'.


tempestas a uertice silius incubuit.

416. *maris anfractus* 'the windings of the sea-coast'.

417. *sed recti* 'but we must cleave the waves in a straight course driven by the north wind alone'. The words of Lucan would be more suitable to a wind blowing abaft, whereas to sail from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium with *Aquilone* they would require to sail very close to the wind.

418. *carchesia* correspond to the

'tops' of modern times.

420. *Phaeacum e litore* i.e. from

Dyrrhachium, formerly Epidamnus, founded by the Corecyreans (cf. Thuc. i 24),

with whom the Homeric Phaeacians were identified.

421. *languida* 'by plying their oars should catch our flagging sails', i.e. Cae-
sar's ships were *onerariae*, which depended entirely on their sails, those of Pompeius war-galleys.

422. *iamdudum perdimus* 'we have long been wasting', i.e. not making use of the opportunity afforded us by the stormy weather.

425. *suas* i.e. as distinguished from those cast by the sun.

427. *cornua* were the ends of the yard-arms, *antennae*, cf. Verg. *Aen.*

11 549 *cornua velatarum obuertimus antennarum.*

428. *obliquat* 'slackening the left sheet turns the sails sideways to the wind'.

429. *suppara* 'the top-sails'.

430. *perturas* 'that would else be lost'.

431. *reddita malo* 'flapping against the mast'.

433. *sequi* 'to keep up with', so

*ἀκολωθεῖν* is used in Greek, cf. Aristoph.

Ach. 215 ἄκολουθων Πάιλορ τρέχων.

436. *Bosporus* i.e. Cimmerius.
cum glacie retinente fretum non impulit Hister, immensumque gelu tegitur mare: comprimit unda dependit quasquaque rates: nec perua uelis aequora frangit eques, fluctuque latente sonantem orbis migrantis scindit Maeotida Bessi.

saecua quies pelagi maestique ignava profundo stagna iacentis aquae: ueluti deserta rigente aequora natura cessant, pontusque uctustas oblivus seruare uices non commeat aestu, non horrore tremit, non solis imagine uibrat. casibus innumeris fixae patuere carinae. illinc infestae classes et inertia tonsis aequora moturae, grauis hinc langueore profundi obsessis uenturae fames. noua uota timori sunt inuenta nouo, fluctus nimiasque precari uentorum uires, dum se torpential unda excutiat stagnis et sit mare. nubila nusquam undarumque minae: caelo languente fretoque naufragii spes omnis abit. sed nocte fugata laesium nube diem iubar extulit imaque sensim concussit pelagi moutique Ceraunia nautis.
inde rapi coehere rates atque aequora classem cura sequi, quae iam uento fluctuque secundo lapsa Palaestinas uncis confexit harena.

prima duces uidit iunctis consistere castris tellus, quam uolucrum Genusus, quam mollior Apsus circu remot ripis. Apso gestare carinas causa palus leni quam fallens egerit unda.
at Genusum nunc sole niues nunc imbre solutae praecepitum: neuter longo se gurgite lassat, sed minimum terrae uicino litore nouit. hoc Fortuna loco tantae duo nomina famae compositum: miserique fuit spes irrida mundi posse duces parua campi statione diremptas admotum damnare nefas. nam cernere uoltus et uocos audire datur: multosque per annos dilectus tibi, Magne, socer post pignora tanta sanguinis infausti subolem mortemque nepotis, te nisi Niliaca proprius non uidit harena.

towards the sailors', i.e. because the land appears to move and not the ship, cf. Verg. Aen. iii 126 proculnun portu; terraque urbesque recedunt.

458. atque aequora] 'and the ridged seas to follow the course of the fleet', i.e. and so help it on his way. Oud. cf. Verg. Aen. iii 130 prosequitur surgens a pupi neutus uentes.

460. Palaestinas] 'pierced the sands of Palaestra with its anchors'.

461. iunctis] i.e. pitched close to each other, cf. IV 260. Liv. xxvii 47 ut ubi dux ubi exercitus esset, cum quo castra collata habuerit, ignorant.

464. leni quam] 'which it drains with gentle current escaping the eye', i.e. flowing so slowly that its motion is scarcely perceptible. cf. Hor. Epw. i xvi 193 an secretum et ror et fallentis semita uita. Weise cf. Plin. Epw. v vi § 14 ita sequer et sensim clino fallente consurgit ut cum ascendere te non posset semitas ascendisse.

466. praecepitum] 'make a torrent'. cf. VI 475, 476 Rhodanumque morament praepitum Arar.

469. compostulum] 'pitted against each other'. cf. Hor. Sat. i vii 19, 20: Rupli et Persi par pugnat ubi non compostum melius cum Bitha Bacchius.

471. admotum] 'brought near, and so brought home to them'.

472. multosque per annos] 'thy father-in-law, beloved by thee through so many years, saw thee not nearer than now after so close a pledge of kinship, after the birth of the scion of a hapless stock and thy grandchild's death, save only on the shore of Nile'. On the whole this seems to be the best way of taking this passage. Weise connects post pignora etc. with dilectus, but in that case it would be difficult to explain the meaning of multos annos, whereas owing to Caesar's absence in Gaul he had not seen Pompeius since the latter's marriage with Julia, which is alluded to in pignora tantae, cf. note on i 111.

474. subolem] according to Weise is equivalent to partum, and he puts a comma after sanguinis connecting that word with pignora tanta and subolem with nepotis, but I can find no other passage which would support this usage: on the other hand post sanguinis infausti subolem might mean 'after the existence of the scion of a hapless race', nepotis being added as explanatory, cf. VI 145 and the common expression post hominum memoriam. Oudendorp takes sanguinis infausti subolem as referring to Julia, which seems less probable.
Caesaris adtonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem
ferre moras scelerum partes iussere relictae.
ductor erat cunctis audax Antonius armis,
iam tum ciuili meditatus Leucada bello.
illum saepe minis Caesar precibusque morantem 480
cuocat: o mundi tantorum causa malorum,
quit superos et fata tenes? sunt cetera cursu
acta meo: summam rapti per prospera belli
pe poscit Fortuna manum. num rupta uadosis
Syrtibus incerto Libye nos diuidit aestu?
numquid inexperto tua credimus arma profundo
inque novos traheris casus? ignaue, uenire
te Caesar, non ire iuabet. prior ipse per hostes
percussi medias alieni iuris harenas.
tu mea castra times? pereuntia tempora fati
conqueror: in uentos impendo uota fretumque.
ne retine dubium cupientis ire per aequor:
si bene nota mihi est ad Caesaris arma iuuentus
naufragio uenisse uolet. iam uoce doloris
utendum est: non ex aequo diuisimis orbem. 495
Epirum Caesarque tenet totusque senatus:
Ausoniam tu solus habes. his terque quaterque
ucibos excitum postquam cessare uidebat,

476. adtonitam] 'urged by frenzy to
573 adtonitus subita iuuenis Macedonius
ira.
477. ferre moras scelerum] sc. differre
bellum ciuile.
479. meditatus Leucada] 'rehearsing
Actium', 'practising for Actium'. cf. Plin. H.N. viii § 113 (cerni) editis partus
exercet cursu et fugam meditari docet.
481. causa malorum] i.e. by delaying
Caesar's victory: Weise suggests that
these words may also be intended to hint
at the mischief which Antonius was
designed to cause in the future.
482. cursu...med] 'by the speed of
march'.
483. summam] 'from thee Fortune
demands the finishing touch'. cf. Verg.
Aen. vii 572, 573 nec minus interea ex-
tremam Saturnia bello imponit regina
manum. Ov. Met. viii 200 postquam
manus ultima coepitis imposita est.
485. numquid inexperto] 'are we en-
trusting your arms to an untried sea?' i.e.
we have already ourselves crossed the sea
which we bid you cross.
487. uenire] uenitur ad amicos, itur
ad hostes aut in uacua. Grotius.
489. percussi] 'I have run my ships
ashore upon'. cf. Verg. Aen. x 295, 296
tollite forte rates, inimicam findite
rostris hanc terram subcumbque sibi premat
ipsa carina.
490. uenire] 'occupied by the foe'.
490. persecutia] 'I complain of the
waste of a season of good fortune'.
491. in uentos] 'I am spending my
prayers on the winds and waves', i.e.
instead of on success in war.
494. naufragio] 'at the cost of ship-
wreck'. cf. Verg. Aen. x 297, 298 fran-
gere nec tali puppim statione recuso ar-
cepta tellure semel.
498. cessare] 'still lingering'.

476. adtonitam] 'urged by frenzy to
engage in battle'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. ix
573 adtonitus subita iuuenis Macedonius
ira.
477. ferre moras scelerum] sc. differre
bellum ciuile.
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manum. Ov. Met. viii 200 postquam
manus ultima coepitis imposita est.
Lucani Pharsaliae

dum se deesse deis ac non sibi numina credit, sponte per incautas audet temptare tenebras quod iussi timuere fretum, temeraria prono expertus cessisse deo: fluctusque uercendos classibus exigua sperat superare carina.

solerat armorum fessas nox languida curas: parta quies miseris in quorum pectora somno dat uires fortuna minor. iam castra silebant, tertia iam uigiles commouerat hora secundos: Caesar sollicito per uasta silentia gressu uix famulis audenda parat: cunctisque relictis sola placet Fortuna comes. tentoria postquam egressus, uigilium somno cedentia membra transiluit, questus tacite quod fallere posset. litora curua legit, primisqure inuenit in undis rupibus exesis haerentem fune carinam.

rectorem dominumque ratis secura tenebat haud procul inde domus, non ullo robore fulta, sed sterili iunco cannaque intexa palustris, et latus inuersa nudum munita phaselo.

499. *dum se* i.e. thinking that he is himself to blame for not taking advantage of the favour of the gods, rather than the gods for not assisting him.

500. *incautas* 'dangerous', i.e. which cannot be foreseen and provided against, cf. Propert. II iv 14 *sic est incautum quid-quid habetur amor.*

501. *iussi* sc. Antonius and his troops; the word is opposed to *sponte* in the preceding line.


506. *fortuna minor* 'inferior fortune', i.e. lower rank, cf. Hom. II 112 24 οὐχὶ παννυχῶν εἴδετι βουληθόρον ἄνθρωπ. Shakspere, K. Henry IV, part II. act III. sc. i. *How many thousand of my poorest subjects are at this hour asleep, &c.*

507. *tertia* i.e. it was the third hour of the night when the second watch began, as rightly explained by the Scholiast, una parte noctis peracta secunda uigilia incohabet, quia primi per tres horas uigilae-rant.

509. *nix famulis* 'scarce fit even for slaves (i.e. whose life was worthless) to venture on'.

510. *sola* i.e. he would have no attendant but fortune.

512. *quod fallere* i.e. of their want of vigilance.


516. *fulla* cf. note on 316 supr.

517. *sterili iunco* Compare the description of the fishermen in Theocritus XXI 7 *προσδικεσθαι βἄρσιν ὥσπερ πλεκτάς καλοτομαί κεκλυμένων τοῖχῳ τῷ φυλάξῳ.*

518. *latus* 'with its exposed side sheltered by an upturned boat'.

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haec Caesar bis terque manu quassantia tectum limina commouit. molli consurgit Amyclas quem dabat alga toro. quisnam mea naufragus, inquit, tecta petit? aut quem nostrae Fortuna coegit auxilium sperare casae? sic fatus, ab alto aggere iam tepidae sublato fune faullae, scintillam tenuem commotos pauit in ignes: securus belli: prædam ciuilibus armis scit non esse casas. o uitae tuta facultas pauperis angustique lares. o munera nondum intellecta deum. quibus hoc contingere templis aut potuit muris nullo trepidare tumultu Casareae pulsante manu? tum poste recluso dux ait: exspecta uotis maiora modestis, spesque tuas laxa, iuuenis. si iussa secutus me uchis Hesperiam, non ultra cuncta carinae debebis manibusue inopem duxisse senectam. ne cessa praebere deo tua fata volenti angustos opibus subitis implere penates. sic fatur, quamquam plebeio tectus amictu indocilis priuata loqui. tum pauper Amyclas: multa quidem prohibent nocturno credere ponto. nam sol non rutilas deduxit in acquora nubes concordesque tuit radios: Noton altera Phoebi,

519. *quassantia*] 'which made the roof shake with it'  
524. *aggere*] 'lifting the rope's end from the high-piled heap of still warm ashes', i.e. a piece of tow or old rope was put under a heap of ashes to smoulder away gradually and keep the fire from going out altogether. Weise takes *fune faullae* together and *aggere* as equivalent to *caespiticio foco*, but the former seems the simpler explanation. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. VIII 641—643 inde foco tepidum eternum dimouit et ignes suscitat hesternos, folisique et corticis sico nutrit.  
525. *commotos pauit in ignes*] 'fed till he raised a flame'.  
527. *casas*] cf. Iuv. x 18 rarus nonit in cunicula miles. *tuta faculatas*] 'the poor man's power to live in security'.  
529. *quibus hoc contingere templi*] 'what temple could enjoy this blessing?'  

H. L.
altera pars Borean diducta luce uocabat. orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit, spectantis oculos infirmo lumine passus: lunaque non gracili surrexit lucida cornu, aut orbis medii puros excsa recessus: nec duxit recto tenuata cacumina cornu, uentorumque nota rubuit: tum lurida pallens ora tulit uestu sub nubem tristis ituro.

sed mihi nec motus nemorum nec litoris ictus, nec placet incertus qui prouocat acquora delphin: aut siccum quod mergus amat, quodque aua ulolare ardea sublimis pennae confisa natanti; quodque caput spargens undis uelut occupet imbrem instabili gressu metitur litora cornix.

haec fatus, soluensque ratem dat carbasu uentis: quorum motus non solum lapsa per altum aera dispersos traxere cadentia sulcos sidera: sed summis etiam quae fixa tenentur astra polis sunt uisa quati.

niger inficit horror to anticipate the coming rain'. Seeing that the whole of this passage is imitated from the first book of the Georgics it appears to me that this line gives some slight support to the genuineness of the line found in the margin of some MSS. of Virgil at G. I 389, aut caput obiectat quel- rulumvenientibus undis: see Conington's note on the passage.

praebere manus] 'to lend the service of my hands'.


quorum] sc. uentorum, 'at whose stirring not only the stars that glide through the upper air (i.e. meteors) drew after them in their fall trains of scattered light'. cf. Verg. G. I 367 flammarum longos a tergo albescre tractus, Id. Aen. II 695 tum longo limite suble dat lucem.

terga maris: longo per multa uolumina tractu 565
eaestuat unda minax flatusque incerta futuri:
turbida testantur conceptos aequora uentos.
tum rector trepidae fatur ratis: adspice saeuom
quanta paret pelagus. Zephyros intendat an Euros
incertum est. puppin dubius ferit undique pontus. 570
nubibus et caelo Notus est: si murmura ponti
consulimus, Cauri uerrunt mare. gurgite tanto
 nec ratis Hesperias tanget nec naufragus oras.
desperare uiam et uetitos convuertere cursus
sola salus. liceat uexata litora puppe
prendere, ne longe nimium sit proxima tellus.

fisus cuncta sibi cessura pericula Caesar,
sperne minas, inquit, pelagi uentoque furenti
trade sinum. Italian si caelo auctore recusas,
me pete. sola tibi causa haec est iusta timoris 580
uectorem non nosse tuum, quem numina numquam
destituunt, de quo male tum Fortuna meretur,
cum post uota uenit. medias perrumpe procellas
tutela secure mea. caeli iste fretique
non puppis nostrae labor est: hanc Caesare pressam
a fluctu defendet onus. nec longa furori
586
uentorum saeuo dabitur mora: pröderit undis
tum mihi caerules supra caput adstitit
imber, nociem hienmenque ferens, et in-
horruit unda tenébris.

565. longo per multa] ‘with many a
curl over a wide expanse the threatening
waves boil, uncertain whence the wind
intends to blow’. cf. Hom. II. xiv 16—
19 οδ οτε πορφυρ πέλαγος μέγα κύματι
κωφ δόσιμοι σελένεϊ κύμων διστάμενος
κεφαλά πεπλεκότας, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλλόμεται
όδητρωσε πρῶτα τυτ κεκρημένον καταβήμεναν
ἐκ Δίὸς ὕδωρ.

567. turbida testantur] ‘the swelling
seas attest that they have caught the force
of the winds’, cf. Val. Flacc. v 522 eeu
tunet atque immo sub gurgite concipit A
stros unda silens.

571. nubibus et caelo] cf. 11 459 foll.
573. nec ratis] nec salua uaiu nec
naufragi Italian oram tangermus. Weisc.
575. liceat] ‘let us gain the shore with
our storm-tossed bark’.

577. cessura] ‘would give way before
him’.

579. Italian] This sentence in full would
be, Italian si caelo auctore petere recusas,
pete me auctore, ‘if in obedience to the sky
you refuse to make for Italy, do so in
obedience to me’.

§ 107 omnis uectore nihil prītis quaerit quam
cuius se dilegentia credat.

582. de quo] ‘whom Fortune then deals
hardly with when she comes after my
prayers’, i.e. Fortune usually anticipates
my prayers.

584. caeli iste] ‘yonder troubles affect
the sky and sea but do not concern our
bark’.

586. defender] cf. Plut. Caes. 38 116,
ἐφι γεγέναιε, τόλυμα καὶ δύδιθι μοθέν
Καλάφαρα φέρει καὶ τὴν Κάλαφας τύχην συμ-
πολυμασα.

587. mora] ‘continuation’, ‘nor will

12—2
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ista ratis. ne flecte manus: fuge proxima uelis litora: tum Calabro portu te crede potitum, cum iam non poterit puppi nostracque saluti altera terra dari. quid tanta strage paretur ignoras? quacerit pelagi caelique tumultu quid praestet Fortuna mihi. non plura locuto auolsit laceros percussa puppe rudentes turbo rapax fragilemque super uolitantia malum uela tulit: sonuit uictis compagibus alnus. inde ruunt toto congesta pericula mundo. primus ab oceano caput exseris Atlanteo, Caure, mouens aestus: iam te tollente furebat pontus et in scopulos totas erexerat undas. occurrit gelidus Boreas pelagusque retundit: et dubium pendet uento cui pareat aequor. sed Scythici uicit rabies Aquilonis et undas torsit, et abstrusas penitus uada fecit harenas. nec perfert pontum Boreas ad saxa suomque in fluctus Cauri frangit mare: motaque possunt aequora subductis etiam concurrere uentis. non Euri cessasse minas, non imbribus atrum Aeolii iacuisse Notum sub carcere saxi crediderim: cunctos solita de parte ruentis defendisse suas uolento turbine terras, sic pelagus mansisse loco. non parua procellis aequora rapta ferunt: Aegeas transit in undas Tyrrhenum; sonat Ionio uagus Hadria ponto.

the frantic raving of the sea be suffered to continue long'. cf. Val. Flacc. vi 733 saea quidem lucis miertis mora.

proderit undis] quia propter me uenti qui eas commouent sedabuntur. Schol. 593. quid praestet 'what boon she can confer on me'; 595. fragilemque 'and swept the fluttering sails down upon the waves raised by Caurus'.
sonuit 'creaked as its joints gave way'.
599. tollente] cf. Hor. Carm. i iii 14—16 quo non arbiter Hadriae maior tollere seu ponere uolit freta. 600. erexerat] i.e. would have raised, had not Boreas met it.
602. cui] for utri, see note on 1 126.
a quotiens frustra pulsatos aequore montes

615

obruit illa dies, quam celsa cacumina pessum
tellus uicta dedit. non illo litore surgunt
tam ualidi fluctus, aliquo ex orbe uoluti
a magno ucenere mari, mundumque coeरens
monstriferos agit unda sinus. sic ructor Olympi
620
cuspide fraterna lassatum in saecula fulmen
adiuuit regnoque accessit terra secundo,
cum mare conuoluit gentes, cum litora Tethys
noluit ualla pati caelo contenta teneri.
nunc quoque tanta maris moles creuisset in astra

625

ni superum ructor pressisset nubibus undas.
non caeli nox illa fuit: latet obstus aer
infernac pallore domus nimbisque grauatus
deprimitur, fluctusque in nubibus accipit imbrem.
lux etiam metuenda perit, nec fulgura currunt

630

clara, sed obscurum nimbosus dissilit aer.
tum superum conuexa fremunt atque arduus
axis insonuit motaque poli compage laborant.

635

extimuit natura chaos: rupisse uidentur
cordones elementa moras rursusque redire
nox manes mixtura deis. spes una salutis

615. frustra pulsatos] 'battered in vain before'.

617. non illo] So Weise with some MSS., and this seems to have been the reading of the Scholiast, rather than illo which is the common reading. 'Such mighty waves do not take their rise on that coast but rolled from another quarter of the world come from the vast ocean, and it is the flood which encircles the earth that drives these portentous billows'. For coeरens cf. II 1140. Cic. N. D. II § 101 restat ultimus et a domo illius nostris astra allissimus omnia cingens et coeरens caeli complexus,

621. cuspide] 'trident' adiuv.
in saeculo] is perhaps best taken with lassatum 'worn out with punishing many generations', or it might be taken with adiuit, i.e. 'aided against the world'.

622. regno...secundo] sc. the ocean, the realm of Neptune. See note on IV 110.

624. caelo contenta tenet] 'content to be bounded by the sky alone'.

625. creuisset in astra] 'would have mounted to the stars', cf. Stat. Silu. III

iii 52 max crescit in illos imperium superi.

627. non caeli] i.e. not the common darkness of the sky, but unnatural darkness, sc. ex Acheronte.

629. fluctusque in nubibus] i.e. sky and sea are so closely mingled that the sea receives the rain in the midst of the clouds, instead of fallen from them.

630. lux] sc. fulgurum.

631. obscurum...dissilit] 'is darkly cloaked', i.e. the lightning can scarcely be seen. For the neuter adjective used adverbially, cf. Hor. carn. II xix 6, 7 turbidum lactatur.

633. mota...compage] 'with their framework strained'.

635. concordes...moras] 'their harmonious checks', i.e. the laws which keep them in harmony.

636. nox manes] cf. Plin. Epp. VI 20 multi ad dies manus tollere, plures mus-
quam iam dos ullos, aeterinaque illam et nonissimam noctem mundo interpre-
bantur, in the account of the eruption of Vesuvius.
quod tanta mundi nondum periere ruina.
quants Leucadio placidus de uertice pontus
despicitur; tantum nautae uidere trementes
fluctibus e summis praceeps mare: cumque tumentes
rursus hiunt undae uix eminet aequore malus. 641
nubila tanguntur uelis et terra carina.
nam pelagus qua parte sedet non celat harenas
exhaustum in cumulos omnisque in fluctibus unda est.
artis opem uiceret metus: nescitque magister 645
quam frangat, cui cedat aquae, discordia ponti
succurrit miscris fluctusque euertere
non ualet in fluctus: uictum latus unda
repellens erigit atque omni
surgit ratis
artis opem uiceret metus:
nescitque magister 646
quam frangat, cui cedat aquae, discordia ponti
succurrit miscris fluctusque euertere
non ualet in fluctus: uictum latus unda
repellens erigit atque omni
surgit ratis ardua
quanta
Leucadio placidus ducit
pontus descipit;
tantum nautae uidere
truncum: summis
praeceps mare:
cumque tumcntcs rursus
hiant undae uix eminet aequore malus.
641
nubila tanguntur uelis et terra carina.
nam pelagus qua parte sedet non celat harenas
exhaustum in cumulos omnisque in fluctibus unda est.
artis opem uiceret metus: nescitque magister 645
quam frangat, cui cedat aquae, discordia ponti
succurrit miscris fluctusque euertere
non ualet in fluctus: uictum latus unda
repellens erigit atque omni
surgit ratis ardua uento.
non humilem Sasona uadis non litora curuae
650
Thessaliae saxosa pauent oraeque malignos
Ambraciae portus: scopolosa Ceraunia nautae
summa timent. credit iam digna pericula Caesar
fatis esse suis. tantusne euertere, dixit,
me superis labor est: parua quern puppe sedentem
tam magno petiere mari? si gloria leti
656
est pelago donata mei bellisque negamur,
intrepidus quamquae datis mihi, numina, mortem
accipiam. licet ingentes abruperit actus
festinata dies fatis, sat magna peregi:
Arctoas domui gentes: inimica subegi
arma metu: uidit Magnum mihi Roma secundum:

638. *quantus Leucadio* 'wide as is
the calm sea looked down upon from the
Leucadian height, so wide an extent of
dashing billows do the trembling sailors
see from the top of the waves', i.e. the
waves carry the boat as high as the sum-
mit of the Leucadian promontory.
643. *qua parte sedet* 'where it sinks
discloses the sands'. For *sedere* cf.111 380.
644. *exhaustum in cumulos* 'used up
to make the billows'. Weise with some
MSS. reads *tumulos* but *cumulus* is else-
where used of waves, cf. Verg. Aen. 1 103
*insequitur cumulo praeeruptus aquae mens.
onnisique* i.e. so that there is no water
left to hide the bottom.
646. *quam frangat* 'which wave to
meet'.
649. *ardua* 'kept upright by every
wind'.
651. *oraeque malignos* 'the scanty har-
bours of the Ambracian coast'.
653. *summa* i.e. because they are
lifted as high as the summit of Ceraunia.
656. *tam magno* 'they have assailed
with so stormy a sea'.
657. *bellis* ut illis potius occumbam.
Schol.
659. *licet ingentes* 'though my death-
day hurried on by destiny have interrupted
a glorious course of action'. *actus* means a
course of action, *acta*, single exploits.
et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.
662. *metu* 'by fear alone'.
iussa plebe tuli fasces per bella negatos.
nulla meis aberit titulis Romana potestas.
nec sciet hoc quisquam, nisi tu quae sola meorum 665
conscia uotorum es, me, quamuis plenus honorum
et dictator em cam Stygias et consul ad umbras,
priuatum, Fortuna, mori. mihi funere nullo
est opus, o superi: lacerum retinet cadauer
fluctibus in mediis: desint mihi busta rogusque,
dum metuar semper terraque exspecter ab omni
haec fatum decimus, dictu mirabile, fluctus
inalida cum puppe leuat; nec rursus ab alto
aggere deiecit pelagi sed pertulit unda,
scruposisque angusta uacant ubi litora saxis
imposuit terrae. pariter tot regna tot urbes
fortunamque suam tacta tellure receptit.

sed non tam remeans Caesar iam luce propinqua
quam tacita sua castra fuga comitesque fefellit.
circumfusa duci fleuit gemituque suorum
et non ingratis incessit turba querelis:
quo te, dure, tulit uirtus temeraria, Caesar?
aut quae nos uiles animas in fata relinquens
inuitis spargenda dabas tua membra procellis?
cum tot in hac anima populorum uita salusque

663. iussa] equivalent to coacta.
tuli] 'I have won as a prize', like the Greek φέρεσα, cf. Iuv. xiii 195 ille cru-
com pretium scleris tulit, hic diadema.
664. Romana] i.e. no office except
that of rex.
668. priuatum] i.e. in my own eyes,
inasmuch as I am not yet a king. cf. ii
654 non priuata cupit Romana quisquis
in urbe Pontesium transire parat. Grotius
compares l'utarch. Marius xlv where a
similar sentiment is put into the mouth of
Marius.

670. terra...ab omni] i.e. to come from
every land.
672. decimus] equivalent to decumanus
and so simply 'huge'. cf. Ov. Trist. i ii
49, 50 qui uidit hic fluctus fluctus super-
minst omnes; posterior non est undecimo-
que prior. Id. Met. xi 530 nastius insur-
gens decimae vuit impetus undae.
675. scruposique] 'and where a nar-
row belt of shore is clear of rugged rocks'.
678. remeans] sc. to Epirus: he start-
ed to return the same night and arrived
eylor the next morning; his actions at
Brundisium are not recounted. Weise.
comites naturum uirunque fefellit.
680. suorum] is dependent on turba,
and so simply 'come'.
681. non ingratis] 'welcome to his
cars'.
684. inuitis] 'did you expose your
limbs to be scattered by the storms that
had no will to harm you', i.e. as they had
shown by preserving him notwithstanding
his rashness.
pendeat et tantus caput hoc sibi fecerit orbis, sacuitia est uoluisse mori. nullusne tuorum emeruit comitum fatis non posse superstes esse tuis? cum te raperet mare corpora segnis nostrae sopor tenuit: pudet, heu, tibi causa petendae hacc fuit Hesperiae: uisum est committere quemquam tam sacuo crudeline mari. sors ultima rerum in dubios casus et prona periculi mortis praccipitare solet: mundi iam summa tenentem permisisse mari. tantum quid numina lassas? sufficit ad belli summam favor iste laborque Fortunae quod te nostris impedit harenis? hine usus placuere deum, non rector ut orbis, nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esse?

tal a iactantis discussa nocte serene

oppressit cum sole dies, fessumque timentis compositum pelagum uentis patientibus undis. nec non Hesperii lassatum fluctibus aequor ut uidere duces purumque insurgere caelo fracturum pelagum Boream, soluere carinas, quas uentus doctaeque pari moderamine dextrae

686. *pendeat*] equivalent to *uertatur*; the usual construction is *pendere ab or ex*, cf. 769 infr. but see Cic. in Pison. § 98 neque in tabellis paucorum indicum, sed in sententiis omnium ciuium famam nostram fortunamque pendere. *tantus* 'so great a portion of the world has made you its head'.

690. *tibi causa* 'your reason for seeking Italy was that you thought it cruel to expose any to so fierce a sea', i.e. any other, and so you went yourself.

692. *sors ultima rerum* 'the extreme of misery'. See note on VII 122; here it is opposed to *mundi summa tenentem*. See also Ov. Met. XIV 489 *sors autem ubi pessima rerum*.

693. *mortis*] 'headlong risks of death'. Oud. with one MS. reads morti, 'risks leading down to death'.

695. *permisisse*] This is to be taken as an exclamatory infinitive, 'to think of having exposed to the risks of the sea one who is already ruler of the world'.

696. *sufficit*] 'is it enough for the favour of Fortune and her toil on your back to have done for the completion of the war, that she has driven you upon our shores?' i.e. the favour of Fortune should not be wasted on such a matter as your safe passage.

698. *hine usus*] 'is this the way you would employ the favour of the gods?'

702. *compositum*] 'the weary sea calmed its swelling billows, the winds allowing it'. Here the sea is said to calm the waves, more often the winds themselves are said to do so, cf. Hor. Carm. I ii 16; Soph. Ajax 674 διενώ ρ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίματε στέφανον. τότον. 

703. *Hesperii...duces*] 'the chieftains in Italy', sc. Antonius and Calenus. See note on I 106.

705. *fracturum*] 'ready to break the sea's force', i.e. by blowing continuously in one direction.

*Boream*] Caesar B. C. III 26 says nacti Austrum naves solunt. Auster is mentioned below 721 as succeeding to Boreas.


*doctae*] 'the skilled hands', i.e. of the
permitxtas habuere diu: latumque per aequor,
ut terrestre coit convertis puppibus agmen.
sed nox saea modum venti uelique tenorem
eripuit nautis excussisque ordine puppes.
Strymona sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquent
poturae te, Nile, grus, primoque ulatu
effingunt uarious casu monstrante figuras.
mox ubi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,
confusos temere immixtae glomerantur in orbes,
et turbata perit dispersis littera pennis.
cum primum redeunte die violentior aer
puppibus incubuit Phoebeo concitus ortu,
practereunt frustra temptati litora Lissi,
Nymphaeumque tenant. nudas Aquilonibus undas
sucedens Boreae iam portum fecerat Auster.
undique collatis in robur Caesaris armis,
summa uidens duri Magnus discrimina Martis
iam castris instare suis, seponere tutum
coniugii decreuit onus, Lesboque remota
te procul a saeui strepitu, Cornelia, belli

pilots. Weise adopts ductae, an emenda-
tion of Gronovius which seems unneces-
sary.

pari moderamine] 'with even guidance'.

707. permixtas habuerit] 'kept united'.

709. nox saea] There is a difficulty
about this expression: it appears from
line 717 that the night was calm, and that
this caused the order of the ships to be
disturbed, on which account the night
is called saea as causing delay to their pas-
sage: but the simile which follows would
seem to suit better with a disturbance
brought about by contrary winds. Weise.
modum venti uelique tenorem] 'the suit-
able amount of wind and the even course
of the sails'.


σπείρειν µὲν ἄταν γέρανος κρύφου' et τὴν
Ληβυν μεταχωρ. 

713. casus] 'chance instinct', sc. non
ratione.

figuras] i.e. the shapes of letters V or Α;
cf. Milton's Paradise Lost VII 425 foll.
'Part more wise In common, ranged in
figure, wedge their way, Intelligent of
seasons, and set forth Their airy caravan,
high over seas Flying, and over lands, with
mutual wing Easing their flight'.

715. confusos] 'are gathered into
huddled masses'.

716. littera] sc. figura, Oud. cf. Clau-
dian B. Gild. 476, 477 ordinibus nariis
per nubila texitur alas littera, pennarum-
que nodis inscribitur aer. See also Mart.
XIII 75 turbabis versus nec littera tota
volabit, unam perdideris si Palamedis
anem. Cic. N. D. II § 125.

719. frustra temptati] 'where they in
vain essay to land'.

720. undas] 'Auster succeeding to
Borcas had now made the waters exposed
to the north winds a safe harbour'. cf.
the use of in portu esse uel navigare for 'to be
safe' Ter. Andr. III 12 (480) nunc
huius periculo fit, ego in portu navigo. Cic. ad
fam. IX vi § 4 his tempestationes es prope
solus in portu.

722. collatis in robur] 'gathered to
their full strength'.

725. remotar] Grotius and Weise with
some MSS. read remotam, but remota
appears to have the better authority.
occulere. heu quantum mentes dominatur in aequas iusta Venus. dubium trepidumque ad proelia, Magne, te quoque fecit amor: quod nolles stare sub ictu Fortunae quo mundus erat Romanaque fata coniunx sola fuit. mentem iam uerba paratam destituunt, blandaeque iuuet ventura trahentem indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis. nocte sub extrema pulso torpore quietis dum fuet amplexu grauidum Cornelia curis pectus et auersi petit oscula grata mariti: uementis mirata genas percussaque caeco uolnere, non audet flentem depredere Magnum. ille gemens, uita non nunc mihi dulcior, inquit, cum tacent uitae, laeto sed tempore, coniunx, uenit maesta dies et quam nimiumque parumque distulimus: iam totus adest in proelia Caesar. cedendum est bellis: quorum tibi tuta latebra Lesbos erit. desiste preces temptare: negauqi iam mihi: non longos a me patiere recessus. praecipites aderunt casus: properante ruina summa cadunt. satis est audisse pericula Magni: meque tuus decept amor ciiilia bella si spectare potes. nam me iam Marte parato securos cepisse pudet cum coniuge somnos, eque tuo, miserum quatiunt cum classica mundum,

727. aequas] bocas, pias Grotius: but it might also be taken as equivalent to constantis, i.e. generally firm, cf. Hor. carm. ii iii 1.
729. quod] is the relative, ‘the reason why you were unwilling’, cf. note on i 24 Verg. Aen. ii 180, Lucret. iv 885 with Dr Munro’s note.
sub ictu] ‘exposed to fortune’s blow’.
732. blandaeque iuuet] ‘indulging in tempting delay to put off what must come, and steal some moments from destiny’.
736. auersi] ‘who turns away from her’.
737. caeco] i.e. whose cause is hidden from her.
739. uita non nunc] ‘dearer to me than life, I say not now when life is a burden to me, but in times of happiness’.
741. ninfo] ad belli rationem; parum, ad affectum. Scholiaest.
742. totus] ‘with all his force’, cf. ii 485. Hor. carm. i xix 9 in me tota mans Venus.
744. negauqi iam mihi] ‘I have already said ‘no’ to myself’ sc. cupiunt te retinere.
747. sumnia] cf. i 70 summisque negatum stare dieu.
748. meque tuus] ‘I have been deceived in your love of me if you can endure the spectacle of civil war’.
surrexisse sinu. uereor ciuilibus armis Pompeium nullo tristem committere damno. tutior interca populis et tutior omni rege late, positamque procul fortuna mariti non tota te mole premat. si numina nostras impulerint acies, maneant pars optima nostri; sitque mihi, si fata premant uictorque cruentus, quo fugisse uelim. uix tantum infirma dolorem cepit et adtonito cessere e pectore sensus. tandem uix maestas potuit proferre quercelas: nil mihi de fatis thalami superisque relictum est, Magne, queri: nostros non rumpit funus amores nec diri fax summa rogi; sed sortc frequenti plebeiaque nimis carco dimissa marito. hostis ad adventum rumpamus foedera taedae: placemus socerum. sic est tibi cognita, Magne, nostra fides? credisne aliiquid mihi tutius esse quam tibi? non olim casu pendemus ab uno? fulminibus me, saeue, iubes tantaque ruinae absentem praestare caput? secura uidetur sors tibi, cum facias etiam nunc uota, perisse? ut nolim seruire malis, sed morte parata te sequar ad manes; feriat dum maesta remotas

753. *uereor ciuilibus armis*] 'I fear to engage Pompeius in civil strife unsaddened by any loss', pudent me in hoc ciuili bello, quo omnes coniugibus ac liberis carere debent, lactum ob uxoris praesentiam conspici. Grotius.

757. *impulerint*] 'shall dash to ruin', cf. note on 108 supr.


765. *nostros non rumpit*] 'it is not death that breaks off our love'.

764. *sed sorte* hoc est quod ulgo fit et quod ignobilibus contingit, repudio a te discedo. Schol.


766. *hostis ad adventum*] ironical: as if Caesar were angry at his daughter's place being taken by another wife.

767. *sic est tibi cognita*] cf. Verg. Aen. 11 44 *sic notus Vixes*?

769. *non olim*] 'have we not long been dependent on one and the same fortune?'

771. *absentem*] 'apart from you'.

773. *mali*] neuter, not, as Weise takes it, equivalent to hostibus; 'though I should refuse to yield slavishly to misfortune, but by a self-sought death follow you to the shades, still I am to survive you till the sad news of your death reach those distant shores'; for morte parata, cf. viii 32.
fama procul terras, uiuam tibi nempe superstes. 

adde quod adsperscis fatis tantumque dolorem, crudelis, me ferre doces. ignoscet fatenti: posse pati timeo. quod si sunt uota desique audior, eventus rerum sciet ultima coniunx.
solicitam rupes iam te uictore tenebunt, et puppid quae fata ferat tam laeta timebo. nec soluent audita metus mihi prospera belli, cum uacuis proiecta locis a Caesar possim uel fugiente capi. notescunt litora clari:
nominis exsilio, positaque ibi coniuge Magni quis Mitylenio poterit nescire latebras?
hoc precor extremum, si nil tibi uicta relinquent tutius arma fuga, cum te commiseris undis, quolibet infaustam potius deflecte carinam: litoribus quaerere meis. sic fata, relictis
exsiluit stratis amens, tormentaque nulla uolt differre mora. non maesti pectora Magni sustinet amplexu dulci non colla tenere:
extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris:
praeipitanteque suos luctus: neuterque recedens sustinuit dixisse uale: uitamque per omnem nulla fuit tam maesta dies. nam cetera damna durata iam mente malis firmaque tulerunt.
labitur infelix manibusque excepta suorum fertur ad aequorae, ac se proternit, harenas,
litoraque ipsa tenet tandemque illata carinae est. non sic infelix patriam portusque reliquit
Hesperios, sauci premerent cum Caesaris arma.
fida comes Magni uadit duce sola relictum
Pompeiumque fugit. quae nox sibi proxima uenit
insomnis. uiduo tum primum frigida lecto 806
atque insucta quies uni nudumque marito
non haerente latus. somno quam saepe grauata
deceptis uacuum manibus complexa cubile est,
atque oblita fugae quaesiuit nocte maritum. 810
nam flamma quamuis tacitas urgete medullas
non iuuat in toto corpus iactare cubili:
sreratur pars illa tori. caruissce timebat
Pompeio: sed non superi tam lacta parabatur.
instabat miscrae Magnum quae redderet hora. 815

801. carinae est] Weise is of opinion that the book ended with these words, and that the remainder is spurious: his words are 'arguunt v. 804 uadit, v. 805 sibi, 807 frigida ques, deinde illa inepta v. 811 nam flamma &c. non iuuat &c., ut non dubitauierim totum hunc locum includere, adiectum ab alioo eui nimis uideretur abruptus finis in uersu 801'.
804. uadit| 'departs'. Weise objects to this use of the word, but cf. vii 33 tu velut Ausonia uadis morituros in urbe.
805. sibi] for illi seems indefensible, though Oud. tries to defend it. tibi is found in some MSS., and though the transition is abrupt, this is possibly right, see note on iii 281.
806. frigida] cf. Ov. Heroid. xix 69 cur ego tot nudus ege frigida noces?
807. nudum] 'deserted', 'unprotected'.
809. deceptis] cf. Ov. Met. xi 674, 675
811. nam flamma quamuis tacitas urgente medullas
non iuuat et toto corpus iactare cubili:
sreratur pars illa tori. caruissce timebat
Pompeio: sed non superi tam lecta parabatur.
instabat miscrae Magnum quae redderet hora. 815
Caesar attempts to capture Dyrrhachium, but is anticipated by Pompeius: description of the place 1—28. Caesar builds a wall of circumvallation: pestilence in Pompeius’ camp, and famine in Caesar’s 29—117. Pompeius attacks one of Caesar’s outworks, and is repulsed by the centurion Scaeva 118—262, but is successful in attacking another, and escapes from the blockade 263—313. Caesar marches into Thessaly and is followed by Pompeius 314—332: description of Thessaly 333—412. Sextus Pompeius determines to consult the Thessalian witches 413—451, description of their magic arts 452—506. Account of Erichtho 507—569. Sextus enquires of her about the future; she promises her aid 570—623. Erichtho brings to life a corpse, who answers her questions and again dies 624—830.

Postquam castra duces pugnae iam mente propinqui imposuere iugis admotaque comminus arma, parque suom uidere dei, capere omnia Caesar moenia Graiorum spernit, Martemque secundum iam nisi de genero fatis debere recusat. 5 funestam mundo uotis petit omnibus horam in casum quae cuncta ferat: placet alea fati alterutrum mersura caput. ter collibus omnes explicuit turmas et signa minantia pugnam,
military term, cf. Verg. G. II 280 ut sacpe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes explicuit lodo. ut uidet ad nullos exciri posse tumultus in pugnam generum sed clauso fidere uallo, signa mouet, tectusque uia dumosa per arua Dyrrhachii praeceps rapiendas tendit ad arces. hoc iter acuoreco praecepsit limite Magnus, quemque uocat collem Taulantius incola Petram insedit castris Ephyraeaco moenia scrutat defendens tutam uel solis turribus urbam. non opus hanc ueterum nec moles structa tuctur humanusque labor, facilis, licet ardua tollat, cedere uel bellis uel cuncta mouentibus annis: sed munimen habet nullo quassabile ferro naturam sedemque loci. nam clausa profundo undique praecipiti scopolisque uomentibus acuor exiguo debit quod non est insula colli. terribiles ratibus sustentant moenia cautes, Ioniumque uoren rapido cum tollitur Austro, templa domosque quotid spumatque in culmina pontus, huc auxilium bellis rapuit spes improba mentem

LIBER VI. 1—29. 191
testatus numquam Latiae se dcesse ruinae.

ut uidet ad nullos exciri posse tumultus
in pugnam generum sed clauso fidere uallo,
signa mouet, tectusque uia dumosa per arua
Dyrrhachii praeceps rapiendas tendit ad arces.
hoc iter acuoreco praecepsit limite Magnus,
quemque uocat collem Taulantius incola Petram
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defendens tutam uel solis turribus urbam.

non opus hanc ueterum nec moles structa tuctur
humanusque labor, facilis, licet ardua tollat,
cedere uel bellis uel cuncta mouentibus annis:

sed munimen habet nullo quassabile ferro
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terribiles ratibus sustentant moenia cautes,
Ioniumque uoren rapido cum tollitur Austro,
templa domosque quotid spumatque in culmina pontus,
huc auxilium bellis rapuit spes improba mentem
Caesar, ut uastis diffusum collibus hostem cingeret ignarum ducto procul aggere ualli. metitur terras oculis: nec caespite tantum contentus fragili subitos adtollere muros, ingentes cautes auolsaque saxa metallis Graiorumque domos direptaque moenia transfert. extruitur, quod non aries impellere sacuus, quod non ulla queat uiolenti machina belli. franguntur montes planumque per ardua Caesar ducit opus: pandit fossas turritaque summis destinat castella iugis, magnoque recursu amplexus finis saltus nemorosaque et siuas uastaque fras indagine claudit. non desunt campi non desunt pabula Magni, castraque Caesar circumdatus aggere mutat. flumina tot cursus illic exorta fatigant operumque ut summa reuisat Caesar mediis intermanet agris. nunc uetus Iliacos adtollat fabula muros adscribatque deis: fragili circndata testa moenia mirentur refugi Babylonia Parthi. en quantum Tigris, quantum celer ambit Orontes, Assyriis quantum populis telluris Eoae sufficit in regnum, subitum bellique tumultu

31. [procul] i.e. so as to escape the notice of Pompeius. 
32. [subitos] 'hastily built', equivalent to [subitarios], cf. I 517. 
33. [metallis] ' quarries', cf. IV 304. 
34. [planumque per ardua] ' draws a rampart of even height across the hills'. editoribus locis defectis, atque humilibus exaltatis aequavit opus. Farnabius. 
35. [magnusque recursu] ' and in a vast sweep embraces territories &c.' Oud. with some MSS. reads [recessu]. 
37. [mutat] ' has room to shift his camp'. 
38. [flumina tol] i.e. there is room within Caesar's lines for rivers to rise, run their whole course and fall into the sea. 
39. [cursus fatigant] 'exhaust their course', i.e. ' run all their course', cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 94 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant. 
40. [mersa] i.e. in mare. 
41. [summa] ' the furthest point'. 
42. [intermanet] i.e. for the night; there is not time to visit both ends in one day. 
44. [testa] cf. Ov. Met. IV 57, 58 dictur altam coctilium muris einxisse Seniramis urben. 
45. [refugi] quia post se sagittas iacent in bello fugientes. Schol. 
46. [Parthi] The site of Babylon was included in the Parthian kingdom, but it is not improbable that Lucan confounds Babylon with Ctesiphon, cf. note on 1 10. 
47. [Tigris] refers probably to Ctesiphon, Orontes to Antioch, Assyrio to Nineveh.
raptum clausit opus. tanti periere labores. tot potuere manus adiungere Seston Abydo, ingestoque solo Phryxeum elidere pontum, aut Pelopis latis Ephyren abrumpere regnis, et ratibus longae flexus donare Maleae, aut aliquem mundi, quamuis natura negasset, in melius mutare locum. coit area belli:

hic alitur sanguis terras fluxurus in omnes: hic et Thessalicae clades Libycaeqve tenentur.

ac tantum saepti uallo sibi uindicat agri,

54. raptum] properatum Weise. periere] 'were wasted', because the blockade was unsuccessful.


59. aliquem] 'some considerable portion of the world', cf. Iuv. 1 723, 74 and aliquid brevius Gyaris et careere dignum si nis esse aliquis. Id. ii 149 esse aliquid

manes.

60. in melius] 'for the better', e.g. by draining, cf. Hor. A. P. 65 foll. coit] 'the field of war is contracted'. area] equivalent to campus, cf. Ov. Amor. iii.i 25, 26 cause facta uirorum; hae animo, dice, area digna meo.

61. alitur] 'is kept alive'.

62. clades] 'herein are enclosed the massacres of Thessaly and Libya', i.e. all who are destined to fall in the battles of Pharsalia and Thapsus. Compare the use of egestas in ii 152.

63. aestuat] cf. Iuv. x 169 aestuat in felix angusto limite mundi.


71. ut Caesaris arma] 'to loosen Caesar's array, and make him extend his enclosing line by dispersing his troops'.

72. claudentem] sc. Caesarum, identified with his troops, cf. vii 653 ac se tam mile perenunt sanguine uillt.
parua Mycenaeac quantum sacrata Dianae distat ab excelsa nemoralis Aricia Roma:
quoque modo Romae praeflatus moenia Tybrisin mare descendit, si nusquam torquetat amnem.
classica nulla sonant iniussaque tela uagantur:
et fit saepe nefas iaculum temptante lacerto.
maior cura duces miscendis abstrahit armis:
Pompeium exhaustae praebenda ad pabula terrae,
quae currens obtuuit eques, gradibusque citatis
ungula frondentem discussit cornea campus.
belliger adtonsis sonipes defessus in aruis,
aductos cum plena ferant praesepia culmos,
ore nouas poscens moriendum labitur herbas,
et tremulo medios abrupit poplite gyros.
corpora dum soluit tabes et digerit artus,
traxit iners caelum fluidae contagia pestis
obscurem in nubem. tali spiramine Nesis
emittit Stygium nebulosis aera saxis,
antraque letiferi rabiem Typhonis anhelant.
inde labant populi caeloque parator unda
omne pati uirus durauit uiscera caeno.

LUCANI PHARSALIAE

74. Mycenaeac] because the image of
Diana Taurica was said to have been
brought by Orestes to Mycenae. cf. I 446, 75 86.
III 86.
75. Aricia] cf. Strabo v 12 (230) metá
dē τὸ Ἀλβανὸν 'Ἀρκια ἠτίὸν σάλς ἐπὶ τῷ ὀξὼ
τῷ 'Απόλι' σάλδων δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ τῆς 'Ῥώμης
ἐκατὸν ἀεικοινα.
76. quiuoque modo] i.e. modum quo: 'the
distance at which'. quantum Roma distat
ab ostio Tiberis, recta linea. Weise.
77. descendit] For this rhetorical use
of the indicative, cf. Verg. G. i 133 and
Conington's note.
78. iniussa] i.e. the darts that fly are
counter to orders.
79. nefas] i.e. the slaughter of a fellow-
citizen or even of a relative. cf. notes on
11, II 4.

templiche] 'practising', i.e. not in inten-
tional combat, but accidentally.
81. Pompeium] i.e. abstrahunt bellis
terrae exhaustae 'the land drained of its
supply of fodder'.
84. belliger] Grotius rightly explains
this passage as follows, sensus uidetur esse
culmorum aridorum satis fuisse in prae-
pibus, sed ab equis desideratas herbas ui-
rides.
85. adtonsis] 'close-mown', cf. Verg. G. i
71 tonsas cassare nuaeas.
86. aductos—culmos] 'imported straw'.
87. tremulo] 'with quivering haunches
breaks off its wheelings in the midst'.
88. digerit] 'disperses'.
89. traxit] 'the stagnant air gathered
the contagion of a spreading plague into
a murky cloud'.

autem doctrina cum longe lateque fluere.
90. spiramine] cf. Verg. Aen. vii 568
hic specus horrendum saeui spiracula Dilis.
Nesis] An island in the bay of Puteoli,
92. antraque] sc. tali spiramine.
anhelant] 'breathe out', cf. Mart. vi
xii 14 sicus pinguis onyx anhelat aestus,
93. caeloque parator] 'the water al-
ways more readily affected by poison than
the air'.
94. durauit uiscera] i.e. constrinxit
alum.
iam riget atra cutis distentaque lumina rumpit: 95
igneaque in uoltus et sacro seruida morbo
pestis abit, fessumque caput se ferre recusat.
iam magis atque magis praeceps agit omnia fatum:
nec medii dirimunt morbi uitamque necemque,
sed languor cum morte uenit: turbaque cadentum 100
aucta luces, dum mixta iacent incondita uiuis
corpora. nam miseros ultra tentoria ciues
spargere funus erat. tamen hos minuere labores
a tergo pelagus, pulsusque Aquilonibus aer,
litoraque, et plenae peregrina messe carinæ. 105
at liber terrae spatiosis collibus hostis
aere non pigro nec inertibus angitur undis:
sed patitur saeua ueluti circumdatus arta
obsidione famem. nondum surgentibus altam
in segetem culmis cernit miserabile uolgo
in pecudum cecidisse cibos et carpere dumos,
et foliis spoliare nemus, letumque minantis
ucellere ab ignotis dubias radicibus herbas.
quae mollire queunt flamma, quae frangere morsu,
quaeque per abrasas utero demittere fauces, 110
plurimaque humanis ante hoc incognita mensis
diripiens miles, saturnum tamen obsidet hostem.

ut primum libit ruptis euadere claustris

95. *iam riget*] 'the skin grows hard and black, and bursts the starting eyes'.
96. *sacro—morbo*] *erysipelas*, cf. Verg. G. III 566. Weise refers to the
description of the plague in Sen. Oedip.
97. *sacrum* refer alquinc to *sacrum* in *littera* &c.
98. *praeceps*] 'to be taken as an adjec-
tive with *fatum*, not adverbially, which
seems to be a later use, cf. Amm. Marc.
99. *medii—morbo*] 'an interval of sick-
ness'.
100. *incondito*] 'unburied'. I can
find no other instance of this use of the
word, but cf. Columel. I cap. 5 *situs in-
conditos conditosque fructus corrumpit*,
i.e. 'whether put in the storehouse or
not'.
101. *funus erat*] 'was all the burial
rites they had'.
102. *pulsus*] 'set in motion', so that
it ceased to be *ineris*, cf. 89. supr.
103. *liber terrae*] 'with free range
over the land', cf. Stat. Silv. iv ii 24
*liberum campum*.
105. *in pecudum*] 'had thrown them-
selves on the ground to eat the food of
beasts'.
106. *dubias*] 'doubtfully wholesome';
sorance is used by Iuv. v 146 *uillibus
ancipitibus fungi ponentur amicis*.
107. *in conditosque*] 'had thrown
them (but the singular *miles* is put carelessless in
line 117), 'whatever they can soften by
roasting'.
108. *abrasas*] 'made sore', i.e. by the
hardness of the food, cf. Pers. III 113, 114
tenero latet ideus in ore putre quod hand
deciat plebeia radere beta.
Pompeio cunctasque sibi permittere terras:
non obscura petit latebrosae tempora noctis, et raptum furto soceri cessantibus armis
designatur iter: latis exire ruinis
quae rit et impulso turres confringere ulallo,
perque omnes gladios et qua uia caede paranda est.
opportuna tamen ualli pars uisa propinqui,
quam Minuci castella uocant, et confraga densis
aboribus dumeta tegunt. hoc puluere nullo
proditus agit subitusque ad moenia uenit.
tot simul e campis Latiae fulsero uolucres:
tot cecincere tubae. ne quid victoria ferro
deberet, pauor adtonitos confecerat hostes.
quod solum ualuit uirtus, iacuere perempti
deberant quo stare loco: qui uolnera ferrent
iam deerrant, nimbusque ferens tot tela peribat.
tum piceos uoluunt immiscac lampades ignes:
tum quassae nutant turres lapsumque minuntur:
roboris impacti crebros gemit agger ad iuctus.
iam Pompeianae celsi super ardua ualli
exierant aquilae: iam mundi iura patebant.
quam non mille simul tumnis nec Caesare toto
auferret Fortuna locum, uictoribus unus
eripuit uetuitque capi: seque arma tenente
ac nondum strato Magnum uicisse negauit.
Scaeua uiro nomen: castrorum in plebe merebat

119. *sibi permettere* 'give himself free
range over all the country'.
120. *latis...ruinis* 'by a broad breach'.
121. *impulso* 'to break down the
towers and level the earthworks'.
122. *Minuci castella* From Appian
B. C. II § 60 it appears that the full name
of the Scaeva mentioned below was Minu-
cius Scaeva, and this place was probably
called after him: see Weise's note.
494 Gaetulae stabulantem ad confraga
situae.
124. *uolucres* i.e. *aquilae.*
125. *confecerat* 'had ruined', or it may be
taken with *adtonitos*, 'had thrown into
panic', cf. Cic. de inuent. I § 106 in hac
primum animum auditoris mitem et mis-
ricordem conficere oportet.
126. *quod solum* 'the only thing that
valour could effect'.
127. *nimbus ferens tot tela* is equiva-
 lent to *tot telorum nimbus.
128. *terebas* 'was wasted', because there
were none left to be slain.
129. *roboris* i.e. timber used as a bat-
tering ram.
130. *iam mundi* 'already the world
was all before them', i.e. they could
march where they chose.
131. *Caesare toto* 'by all Caesar's
forces'. cf. v 742.
132. *sequae* 'and so long as he could
wield his arms'.
ante feras Rhodani gentes: ibi sanguine multo promotus Latiam longo gerit ordine uitem. pronus ad omne nefas, et qui nesciret in armis quam magnum uirtus crimen ciuilibus esset. hic ubi quaerentis socios iam Marte relictu tuta fugae cernit, quo uos pauor, inquit, abegit impius et cunctis ignotus Caesaris armis?

[o famuli turpes, seruom pecus, absque cruore] terga datis morti? cumulo uos deesse uiorum non pudet et bustis interque cadauera quae? non ira saltem, iuuenes, pietate remota stabitis? e cunctis per quos erumperet hostis nos sumus electi. non paruo sanguine Magni ista dies ierit. peterem feliciar uembras Caesaris in uoltu: testem hunc Fortuna neguait, Pompeio laudante cadam. confringite tela pectoris incursu iugulisque retundite ferrum. iam longinquae petit puluís sonitusque ruinae

secureaque fragor concussit Caesaris aures. uincimus, o socii; ueniet qui uindicet arces dum morimur. mouit tantum uox illa furorem,

145. ante feras] 'before the war with the fierce tribes of Rhine', cf. III 233, v 473 note.
sanguine multo] 'at the cost of much blood', cf. VII 269.

146. longo ordine] 'in the company marshalled in line'. ordines ducere is the technical term for holding the rank of a centurion. cf. Cic. Phil. I § 20.

uitem] The vinewood staff was the badge of a centurion, cf. Mart. x xvi Vare Parac- tonias Latia modo site per urbes nobilis, et centum dux memoranda viris, Ivx. VIII 247, XIV 193.

149. iam Marte relicito] 'abandoning the war and seeking safety in flight'.

cunctis] 'utterly unknown to Caesar's arms'.

150. o famuli] This line is omitted in many MSS. and seems to be made up partly from ix 274, partly from Hor. Ep. ix xix 16. absque cruore, 'without bloodshed', is a strange expression, and the term absque does not appear to be found elsewhere in poetry, though common in the comedians.

151. et bustis] 'and are you not ashamed to be sought in vain at the burial place and amidst the corpses?' For the coupling of bustis and inter cadauera Oud. cf. II 346 non me lactorum comitem rebusque secundis accipis. For quaerere cf. IX 965.

152. cumulo...uiorum] 'the heap of slaughtered heroes'.

153. pietate] 'loyalty to Caesar'.


155. ierit] 'psych', i.e. constabat, 'with cost of no little blood to Magnus will this day pass'.

156. Pompeio] i.e. the next best thing to having Caesar as witness of my valour.

157. retundite] 'blunt the sword upon your throats'. Weise cf. IV 361 percussum est pectore ferrum et ingulis pressere magnum.

158. ueniet] 'he will come to seize the towers as his own': this explains uincimus i.e. we are the conquerors because the delay caused by killing us will give Caesar time to come up.
quantum non primo succendunt classica cantu:
mirantesque uirum atque auidi spectare sequuntur
scituri iuuenes numero depensa locoque
an plus quam mortem uirtus daret. ille ruenti
aggere consistit, primumque cadauera plenis
purribus cuoluit, subeuntisque obruit hostes
corporibus: totaeque uiro dant tela ruinae:
roboraque et moles hosti seque ipse minatur.
nunc sunde nunc duro contraria pectora conto
detrudit muris, et ualli summa tenentis
amputat ense manus: caput obterit osaque saxo,
ac male defensum fragili compage cerebrum
dissipat: alterius flamma crinesque genasque
succendit; strident oculis ardentibus ignes.
ut primum cumulo crescente cadauera murum
acquauere solo: non segnior extulit illum
saltus et in medias iccit super arma cateruas,
quam per summa rapit celerem uenabula pardum.
tum densos inter cuneos compressus et omni
uallatus bello uincit quem respicit hostem.
iamque hebes et crasso non asper sanguine mucro
[percussum Scaeuæ frangit, non uolnerat hostem.]
perdidit ensis opus, frangit sine uolnere membra.
illum tota petit moles illum omnia tela:
nulla fuit non certa manus non lancea felix,
parque nouom Fortuna uidet concurrere bellum atque urum. fortis crebris sonat ictibus umbo, et galeae fragmenta caucae compressa perurunt tempora: nec quicquam nudis uitalibus obstat iam praeter stantis in summis ossibus hastas. 195 quid nunc, uaesani, iaculis leuibusque sagittis perditis haecuros numquam uitalibus ictus? hunc aut tortilibus uibrata phalarica neruis obruat aut uasti muralia ponders saxi: hunc aries ferro ballistaque limine portae 200 summoucat. stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus, Pompeiumque tenet. iam pectora non tegit armis, ac ueritus credi clipeo laeuaque uacasse, aut culpa uixisse sua, tot uolnera bellii solus obit, densamque ferens in pectore siluam 205 iam gradibus fessis, in quem cadat, eligit hostem. [par pelagi monstris. Libycae sic belua terrae,] sic Libybus densis elephas oppressus ab armis omne repercussum squalenti missile tergo frangit, et haerentis mota cute discutit hastas: 210 uiscera tuta latent penitus citraque cruorem

191. *par* cf. supr. 3.  *bellum* 'a whole warring army and a single man'.
193. *et galeae* 'and his helmet battered into fragments galls the brow on which it presses'.
194. *nudis* 'exposed'.
195. *praeter stantis* i.e. the spears sticking on the surface of his bones make a kind of shield to protect his vitals.
199. *nasti* i.e. uasta pondera muralis saxi.
201. *murus* cf. Verg. Aen. 9 677 *ipsi intus dextra ac laeua pro torribus adstant*.  *muralia* i.e. used for battering walls, cf. Verg. Aen. XII 921 *murali concuta numquam tormento sic saxa fremunt*.
202. *tenet* 'holds in check'.
203. *credis clipeo* 'that trust should be put in his shield, and his left hand be idle', i.e. clipeo se protexisse cum potius laeu quoque pugnare deberet. Weise.
204. *culpa sua* sc. because he had avoided danger by using his shield.
206. *in quem cadat* i.e. to crush him.
207. *par pelagi* This line is found in most MSS., but the latter part of it seems to be only another version of the following one, and the former part is very obscure. Farnab. explains it as referring to line 206: *balaenae enim se imnittentes nauibus cas deprimunt*. Sulpitius to line 205, *par cetis, in quorum tergis frutices et arbores oriuntur; eminent enim supra mare in formam scopulorum*.  *sic Libycus*] Some MSS. read Gaetalus, which is doubtless right if line 207 is genuine.
208. *repercussum* 'rebonding from his horn hide'.
210. *citraque cruorem* 'not deeply enough to draw blood', cf. note on IV 728.
confixae stant tela ferae: tot facta sagittis
tot iaculis unam non explent uolnera mortem.

Dictaea procul ecce manu Gortynis harundo
tenditur in Scaeuam, quae uoto certior omni
in caput atque oculi laeum descendit in orbem.
ille moras ferri neroorum et uincula rumpit,
adsfixam uellens oculo pendente sagittam
intrepidus, telumque suo cum lumine calcat.
Pannonis haud aliter post ictum saeuior ursa,
cum iaculum parua Libys amentaught habena,
se rotat in uolnus: telumque irata receptum
impetit et secum fugientem circuit hastam.
perdiderat uolntum rabies: stetit imbre cruento
informis facies: laetus fragor aethera pulsat
uictorum: maiora uiris e sanguine paruo
gaudia non faceret conspectum in Caesare uolnus.
ille tegens alta suppressum mente dolorem
mitis, et a uolntu penitus uirtute remota,
parcite, ait, ciues: procul hinc auertite bellum.
collatura meae nil iam sunt uolnera morti:
non eget ingestis sed uolsis pectore telis.
tollite et in Magni uiuuentem ponite castris:
hoc uestro praestate duci: sit Scaeu a relieti

213. non explent] 'do not complete a
single man’s death'. cf. Stat. Th eb. ix
753, 754. also geminatum lumine uolnus
expluit tensbras, i.e. ‘completed his
blindness’.

214. Dictaea...Gortynis] The Cretans
were famous as archers, cf. Verg. Ecl. x
59.

215. uoto certior omni] ‘more truly
aimed than any could desire’. cf. Ov. A. A.
1 90 haec loca sunt uoto fertiliora
tuo.

217. moras] ‘the steel that hinders
him, and with it the ligaments of the
nerves’.

221. cum iaculum] ‘when the Libyan
has hurled his javelin with a slender thong’;
for amentum, cf. Verg. Aen. ix 665. The
Libyan seems somewhat out of place
hunting a Pannonian bear, but perhaps,
as Oud. suggests, Lucan thought there
were no bears in Africa, cf. Phil. H. N.
VIII 8 131: not so Virgil, cf. Aen. v 37
pelle Libystidis ursae. In reality bears are
found in the Atlas mountains, but not
south of the Sahara desert: see Wallace’s
Geographical Distribution of Animals,

223. impetit] ‘tries to seize the weapon
and purses in a circle the spear that flies
along with her’, i.e. like a kitten running
after its own tail.

224. perdiderat uolntum] ‘had destroyed
all semblance of a face’, i.e. by tearing
the arrow from his eye.

226. e sanguine paruo] ‘by reason of a
little blood’.


231. collatura] ‘more wounds will not
contribute anything towards my death’
i.e. I am already mortally wounded.

232. non eget] sc. moris, i.e. the shortest
way of killing me is not to hurl more
weapons at me but to pull out those which
are now sticking in me.

234. relieti] ‘of desertion from Caesar’.
Caesaris exemplum potius quam mortis honestae. 235
creditid infelix simulatis uocibus Aulus
nec uidit recto gladium mucrone tenentem:
membraque captiui pariter laturus et arma,
fulmecnum mediis exceptit faucibus enseem,
incaluit uirtus: atque una caede refection
solutat, ait, poenas Scaevam quicumque subactum
sperrauit: pacem gladio si quaret ab isto
Magnus adorato submittat Caesare signa.
an similem uestri segnemque ad fata putastis?
Pompeii uobis minor est causaeque senatus
quam mihi mortis amor. simul haece effatur, et altus
Caesareas puluis testatur adesse cohortes.
dedecus hic belli Magno crimeneque remisit,
ne solum totae fugerent te, Scaeva, cateruae,
subducto qui Marte ruis: nam sanguine fus
uires pugna dabat. labentem turba suorum
excipit atque uemeris defectum imponere gaudet:
ac ueluti inclusum perfosso in pectore numen
et uiuam magna speciem uirtutis adorant:
telaque confixis certant euellere membris,
exornantque deos ac nudum pectore Martem
armis, Scaeva, tu.is. felix hoc nomine famae,
si tibi durus Hiber, aut si tibi terga dedisset
Cantaber exiguus aut longis Teutonus armis.

237. recto mucrone]  'with its point
raised', i.e. ready to strike, cf. Stat. Theb.
v 664, 665 acerque redacto adfixit Hippo-
medon rectique Erymanthius ense.
239. fulmineum] cf. Verg. Aen. ix 811
rotat ensem fulmineum.
240. sisto] i.e. meo.
243. submittat signa] 'let him lower
his standard', cf. Plin. H. N. viii § 3
(elephant) regem adorant, genua submit-
tunt, coronas porrigunt.
245. Pompeii] 'you have less love for
Pompeius and the Senate's cause than I
have for this'.
246. mortis amor] cf. iv 146, viii 364.
248. hic] sc. puluis, which showed the
approach of reinforcements.
remisit] 'relieved Pompeius of shame
and disgrace in warfare'.
250. subducto] 'you (Scaeva) who fall
when the battle is withdrawn, for the act
of fighting gave you vigour as your blood
poured forth', i.e. the sight of the blood
pouring from his wounds had roused the
spirit of Scaeva. For the use of the
participle cf. Verg. G. ii 141, Aen. ii 721
and Conington's notes.
256. deos] quorum erant in castello
imagines positae. Sulpitius.
nudum] simulacrum Martis, quod ita
pingitur. Schol. cf. iuv. xi 106 ac
nudam effigiem clipeo ueniens et hasta
pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.
duo quosque Alpina coriscant gaesu manu
scitis protecti corpora longis.
x 844 at Lausum socii examinem super
arma ferabant. Varro L. L. iv 24 derives
the word ab arcendo.
non tu bellorum spoliis ornarc Tonantis templa potes, non tu lactis ululare triumphis. infelix quanta dominum uirtute parasti.

nec magis hac Magnus castrorum parte repulsus intra claustra piger dilato Marte quieuit, quam marc lassatur, cum se tollentibus Euris frangentem fluctus scopulum ferit, aut latus alti montis adest seramque sibi parat unda ruinam. hinc uicina petens placido castella profundo incurrit gemini Martis rapit: armaque late spargit et effuso laxat tentoria campo:

mutandaeque iuuat permissa Hcentia terrae. sic pleno Padus ore tumens super aggere tutas excurrit ripas et totos concutit agros: succubuit si qua tellus cumulumque furentem undarum non passa ruit: tum flumine toto transit et ignotos aperit sibi gurgite campos. illos terra fugit dominos: his rura colonis accedunt donante Pado. uix proelia Caesar senserat elatus specta quae prodidit ignis. inuenit impulsos presso iam puluere muros: frigidaque ut ueteris depredit signa ruinam, accendit pax ipsa loci mouitque furorem Pompeiana quies et uicto Caesare somnus.

260. *non tu* cf. note on 1 12.


265. *se tollentibus* merely equivalent to *surgentibus*.

266. *frangentem* ‘the cliff that breaks its force’.

267. *adest* ‘gnaws away’.

seramque] ‘and prepares a crash to fall in distant times upon itself’. Weise takes ruinam of the wave, *sero demum concidit*, but the former explanation is to be preferred.

269. *incursu gemini Martis* i.e. attacking them by both land and sea.

270. *effuso laxat* ‘spreads his encampment far and wide upon the spacious plain’. cf. Tac. Germ. 30 *non ita effusis ac palatribus locis*.

272. *aggere tutas* ‘defended by an embankment’.

275. *ruit* ‘has broken down’, ‘collapsed’.

277. *illos terra fugit* ‘their land is lost by one set of owners’.


280. *inuenit* ‘he finds the walls overthrown and the dust already laid’.

281. *ut* when.

ueteris] i.e. which he was too late to prevent.
ire uel in clades properat dum gaudia turbet. Torquato ruit inde minax: qui Caesaris arma segnius haud uidit quam malo nauta tremente omnia Circeae subducit uela procellae: agminaque interius muro breuiore receptit densius ut parua dispenser arma corona. transicrat primi Caesar munimina ualli, cum super e totis emisit collibus agmen effuditque acies obsaepsum Magnus in hostem. non sic Aetnaeis habitans in uallibus horret Enceladum spirante Noto, cum tota cauernas egerit et torrens in campos defluat Aetna: Caesaris ut miles glomerato puluere uictus ante aciem, caeci trepidus sub nube timoris hostibus occurrit fugiens inque ipsa pauedo fata ruit. totus mitti ciuilibus armis usque uel in pacem potuit crur: ipse furentis dux tenuit gladios. felix ac libera legum Roma fores iurisque tui uicisset in illo

284. uel in clades] 'even to defeat'.
286. segnius haud uidit] i.e. acted with no less energy when he saw Caesar's forces.
288. muro breuiore] 'within a narrower walled compass'.
299. mitti] A metaphor from surgical bleeding: 'civil war might have been drained of all its blood, so as even to lead to peace', i.e. the war might have been finished on the spot, had not Pompeius recalled his troops. cf. Cic. ad Att. I xvi § 11 missus est sangnis inimicis sine dolore.
301. libera legum] 'free in respect of law', i.e. able to make what laws you please: so Weise, probably rightly; he refers to Sil. Ital. II 441 it liber campi pastor, cf. also 106 supr. Oud. connects legum with what follows iurisque tui, i.e. legum tueram iurisque tui, comparing X 384 ingentis fati sumus.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

si tibi Sulla loco. dolet heu semperque dolebit quod scelerum, Caesar, prodest tibi summa tuorum cum genero pugnas esse pio. pro tristia fata:

305 non Vticae Libye clades Hispania Mundae flesset, et infando pollutus sanguine Nilus nobilius Phario gestasset rege cadaver:
nec Iuba Marmaricas nudus pressisset harenas, Poenorumque umbras placasset sanguine fusum Scipio, nec sancto carissiset uita Catone:

ultimus esse dies potuit tibi, Roma, malorum:

310 exire e mediis potuit Pharsalia fatis.

deserit aduerso possessam numine sedem Caesar et Emathias lacero petit agmine terras.

arma secuturum soceri, quacumque fugasset, temptauere suo comites deuertere Magnum hortatu: patrias sedes atque hoste carentem Ausonium peteret.

315 non Vticae Libye clades Hispania Mundae flesset, et infando pollutus sanguine Nilus nobilius Phario gestasset rege cadaeum:
nec Iuba Marmaricas nudus pressisset harenas, Pocnorumque umbras placasset sanguine fusum:

Scipio, nec sancto carissiset uita Catone:

ultimus esse dies potuit tibi, Roma, malorum:

320 exire e mediis potuit Pharsalia fatis.

deserit aduerso possessam numine sedem Caesar et Emathias lacero petit agmine terras.

arma secuturum soceri, quacumque fugasset, temptauere suo comites deuertere Magnum hortatu: patrias sedes atque hoste carentem Ausonium peteret.

325 thắngce sororibus. uictor tibi, Roma, quietem
a potius, bello ne quid patiaris in isto,
te Caesar putet esse suam. sic fatus in ortus Phoebeos convuertit iter, terraque secutus
deuia, qua uastos aperit Candauia saltus, contigit Emathiam, bello quam fata parabant.
Thessaliam, qua parte diem brumalibus horis
adtollit Titan, rupes Ossa caeret.
cum per summa poli Phoebum trahit altior aestas
Pelion opponit radiis nascentibus umbras.
at medios ignes caeli rabidique Leonis
solstitiale caput nemorosus submouet Othrys.
excipit adversos Zephyros et Iapyga
et maturato praecidit uespere lucem.
nec metuens imi Borean habitator Olympi
lucentem totis ignorant noctibus
hos inter montes media qui ualle premuntur
perpetuis quondam latuere paludibus
flumina dum campi retinent, nec peruia Tempe
'dant aditus pelagi: stagnumque implicantibus unum
crescere cursus erat. postquam discessit Olympo
Herculea gravis Ossa manu
sensit aquae Nereus:
melius mansura sub undis
Emathis, aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis,
eminet, et prima Rhoeteia litora
qua tetigit Phylace, Pteleosque, et Dorion

332. Thessaliam] The following description of Thessaly is apparently drawn from Herodotus vii. 129.
333. quae parte] i.e. the quarter where the sun rises in winter, i.e. S.E.
334. nascentibus] i.e. on the N.E.
335. at medius] ad meridiem situs est
mons Othrys. Weise.
336. maturato] 'cuts short the light by hastening on the evening', i.e. the sun sets earlier behind the mountains.
337. nec metuens] i.e. those who dwell at the foot of Olympus are sheltered from the north wind, and are cut off by the mountain to the north of them from the sight of the Great Bear.
339. Rhipacasque arduus arces consurgit premi-
tur Libyae deuenus in Austros.
340. stagnumque] 'and as the rivers filled a single lake, their onward flow was only to grow deeper', i.e. non currebant amplius sed crescebant tantum. Weise.
341. crescere cursus erat] cf. 103 supr. spargere funus erat.
342. subita] 'the rush of sudden waters', i.e. their sudden fall into the sea.
343. aequorei] as the son of the sea-
goddess Thetis.
344. prima] i.e. whence came Protes-
lus, who was the first to land on the
Trojan shore.
345. Dorion ira] cf. Hom. II. ii 594
Δόριον ἐν τῇ Μοῖρᾳ ἀντόμεναι Θάμυροι τῶν Θρῆνων παῖσαν δυσδή, where it appears as a town in the Peloponnesus subject to Nestor.
flebile Picridum; Trachin, pretioque nefandae lampados Herculeis fortis Meliboca pharetris: atque olim Larissa potens: ubi nobile quondam nunc super Argos arant: ueteres ubi fabula Thebas monstrat Echionias: ubi quondam Pentheos exsul colla caputque ferens supremo tradidit igni, questa quod hoc solum nato rapiisset Agaue. ergo abrupta palus multos discessit in amnes. purus in occasus, parui sed gurgitis, Aenas Ionio fluit inde mari: nec fortior undis labitur aucetae pater Isidis, et tuus, Oeneus, paene gener crassis oblimat Echinadas undis: et Meleagream maculatus sanguine Nessi Euenos Calydonia secat. ferit amne citato Maliacas Sperchios aquas: et flumine puro irrigat Amphryzos famulantis pascua Phoebi; quique nec uementis nebulas nec rore madentem aera nec tenues uentos suspirat Anauros; et quisquis pelago per se non cognitus amnis Peneo donavit aquas: it gurgit e rapto Apidanos: numquamque celer, nisi mixtus, Enipeus. accipit Asapos cursus Phoenixque Melasque. solus in alterius nomen cum uenerit undae

353. pretio] i.e. the arrows given by Hercules to Philoctetes as the reward for kindling his funeral pile.
357. ubi quondam] 'where once Agave now in exile bore the head and neck of Pentheus and gave them to the funeral flames, lamenting that this was all of her son that she had carried off', i.e. if she had carried off more, she would have had more to burn on the funeral pile.
362. nec fortior undis] 'with no stronger current'.
363. pater] sc. Inachus father of Io who was identified with the Egyptian Isis, cf. Propert. III xx 17, 18 Io uersa caput primos muginerat annos; nunc dea, quae Nili flumina uacca bibit.
364. gener] sc. Achelous, the rival of Hercules for the hand of Deianira daughter of Oeneus.
oblimat] The silt carried down by the Achelous has now joined the Echinades to the mainland.
371. pelago per se] 'not known to the sea on its own account', i.e. as a separate stream.
373. numquamque celer] Ovid on the contrary, Met. I 579, speaks of irrequietus Enipeus.
376. defendit] 'Titaresos protects its own waters, and gliding on the surface
defendit Titaresos aquas, lapsusque superne gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur aruis.
hunc fama est Stygiis manare paludibus amnem, et capitis memorem fluuii contagia uilis
nolle pati, superumque sibi seruare timorem.

380 ut primum emissis patuerunt amnibus arua, pinguis Boebicio discessit uomere sulcus:
mox Lelegum dextra pressum descendit aratum.
Aeolidae Dolopesque solum fregere coloni,
et Magnetes equis, Minyae gens cognita remis.

385 illic semiperros Ixionidas Centauros
feta Pelethronii nubes effudit in antris.
aspera te Pholoes frangentem, Monyche, saxa,
teque sub Octaeo torquentem uertice uolsas,
Rhoeo ferox, quas uix Boreas inuerteret, ornos:
shespes et Alcidae magni, Phole: teque per amnem
improbe Lernaeas uector passure sagittas:

390 teque senex Chiron, gelido qui sidere fulgens
impetis Haemonio maiorem Scorpion arcu.
hac tellure feri micuerunt semina Martis.

395 primus ab aequorea percussis cuspide saxis
Thessalicus sonipes bellis feralibus omen
exsiluit; primus chalyben frenosque momordit,
spumauitque nouis Lapithae donitoris.

frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyroque dedere
impositi dorso.

400. [prima fretum] cf. 111 193 foll.
terrenum ignotas hominem proiecit in undas. 
primus Thessalicae rector telluris Itonos 
in formam calidae percussit pondera massae, 
fudit et argentum flammis, aurumque moneta 
fregit, et immensis coxit fornacibus aera. 
illic quod populos scelerata impedit in arma 
diuittias numerare datum est. hinc maxima serpens 
descendit Python Cirrhaeaeque fluxit in arua: 
unde et Thessalicae ueniunt ad Pythia laurus. 
impius hinc prolem superis immisit Aloeus, 
isernuit celsis prope se cum Pelion astris, 
sideribusque uias incurrens abstulit Ossa. 

hac ubi damnata fatis tellure locarunt 
castra duces; cunctos bellorum praesaga futuri 
mens agitat, summique grauem discriminis horam 
aduentare palam est. proprius iam fata moueri 
degeneres trepidans animi peioraque uersant: 
ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus 
spemque mutumque ferunt. turbae sed mixtus inerti 
Sextus erat Magno proles indigna parente, 
qui mox Scyllaeis exsil grassatus in undis 
polluit acquerocos Siculos pirata triumphos; 
qui stimulante metu fati praenescere cursus,
impatiensque morae uenturisque omnibus aegor, non tripodas Deli non Pythia consultit antra, nec quaesisse libet primis quid frugibus altrix aere Iouis Dodona sonet, quis noscere fibra fata queat, quis prodat aues, quis fulgura caeli seruet et Assyria scrutetur sidera cura, aut si quid tacitum sed fas erat. ille supernis detestanda dei saeurom arcana magorum nouerat et tristes sacris feralibus aras, umbrarum Ditisque fidem: miserque liquebat, scire parum superos. uanum saeuomque furorem adiuuat ipse locus uicinaque moenia castris Haemonidum, ficti quas nulla licentia monstri transierit; quarum quidquid non creditur ars est. Thessala quin etiam tellus herbasque nocentis rupibus ingenuit sensuraque saxa canentis arcanum ferale Magos. ibi plurima surgunt uim factura deis. et terris hospita Colchis legit in Haemoniis quas non aduexerat herbas. impia tot populis tot surdas gentibus aures caelicolum dirae conuertunt carmina gentis. una per aethereos exit uox illa recessus, herbaque ad inuitum perfert cognentia numer.

426. primis frugibus] i.e. acorns; cf. Verg. G. I 148 cum iam glandes atque arbita sacrarum deficerent situae et uictum Dodona negaret.


428. prodal] 'interprets'.


433. fidem] in apposition with aras, i.e. which procure credit for the shades. 'liquebat' 'the poor wretch was persuaded that the gods of heaven knew too little'.

435. moenia—Haemonidum] the towns where dwell 'Thessalian witches'.

446. ficti quas nulla licentia mensol] 'whom no flight of imagination in inventing horrors could surpass'. ficti is almost equivalent to fungendi, cf. Verg. G. I 141 saitis immanis dentibus hydri. Id. Aen. II 721. See also note on 250 supr.

447. ars est] quam profuntem. Sulpi- tius.

439. sensuraque saxa] 'rocks that can hear magicians' when they chant their deadly spells'; according to the Scholiast this refers to the magnet.

441. uim factura] 'that can put compulsion on the gods'.

Colchis i.e. Medea.

442. legit] i.e. although as Vergil says Ecl. viii 97 nacentur plurima Ponto, in which passage Pontus probably stands for Colchis.

443. tot surdas] 'deaf to so many nations' prayers'.

445. nasa—exit] 'alone finds a way through the most depths of heaven'.

446. herbaque] 'and carries through
quod non cura poli caelique uolubilis umquam
auocat. infandum tetigit cum sidera murmur,
tum Babylon Persca licet secretaque Memphis
omne uetustarum solut penetrale Magorum,
abducit superos alienis Thessalis aris.

carmine Thessalidum dura in praeccordia fluxit
non fatis adductus amor: flammisque seueri
illicitis arsere scenae. nec noxia tantum
pocula proficiunt, aut cum turgentia suco
frontis amaturae subducent pignora fetae.

mens hausti nulla sanie polluta ueneni
excantata perit. quos non concordia mixti
adligat ulla tori blandaeque potentia formae,
traxerunt torti magica uertigine fili.
cessaucre uices rerum: dilataque longa
haesit nocte dies: legi non paruit aether:
torpuit et praeeeps audito carmine mundus:
axibus et rapidis impulsos Iuppiter urgens
miratur non ire polos. nunc omnia complent
imbribus et calido producunt nubila Phoebos,
et tonat ignaro caelum Ioae. uocibus isdem
umentis late nebulas nimbosque solutis

the words of might to the unwilling deity,
whom never does the care of the pole and
revolving heaven distract from attention
to them'.

auocat] quin adsit sagis Thessalicis.
Weise.
449. tum Babylon] 'then though Per-
sian Babylon and mysterious Memphis
throw open every shrine of the magicians of
old time', i.e. though they employ all
their arts to attract the attention of
the gods.

Thb. 1 719, 720 seu Persae sub rupibus
entri indignata sequi tormentum cornua
Miheram.
453. non fatis adductus] contra natur-
ram et aetatem. Weise.
455. aut cum] 'or when they steal
from the dam about to love her foal the
pledge of affection swelling with juice that
grows upon its forehead'. hippocampus
was supposed to be an excrescence on
the head of the new-born foal which was bit-
ten off and eaten by its mother: if she
failed to do this, she had no affection for
her foal and refused to rear it. cf. Verg.
Aen. IV 515, 516 quaeritur et nascentis
equi de fronte revolus, et matri praecipuit
458. excantata] 'perverted by spells
alone', cf. Propert. III ii 49 ut per le
clausas sciet excantare puellas.
460. uertigine] 'by the magic twirling
of the twisted thread', cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII
74-79. Oud. cf. Propert. II xxviii 35
deficient magico torti sub carmine rhombi.
Id. IV vi 26 staminea rhombi ductur ille
reta.
461. uices rerum] 'the changes of na-
ture', cf. Hor. Carm. IV vii 3 mutat terra
uices.
464. rapidis] 'Jupiter as he drives on
the poles sped on their swiftly turning
hinges, marvels that they move not'.
466. calido Phoebos] 'in the full blaze
of the sun'.
excussere comis. uentiis cessantibus acquiruntumuit: rursus uctum tumentircerefentes in uentum tumuerunt sinus. de rupe pependit abscisafixus torrens: amnisque cucurrunt non qua pronus erat. Nilum non extulit aetas:

Maeander direxit aquas: Rhodanumque morantem praecipitauit Arar: submisso uertice montes explicuere iugum: nubes suspexit Olympia: solibus et nullis Scythicae, cum bruma rigeret, dimaduere niues. impulsa sidere Tethyn repulit Haemonidum defenso litore carmen.

terra quoque immoti concussit ponderis axem, et medium uergens titubauit niusus in orbe. tantae molis onus percussum uoce recessit, prospectumque dedit circumlabentis Olympi, omne animal leti genitumque nocere et paent Haemonias et mortibus instruit artes.

469. excussere comis] 'they shake from their loosened locks'.
471. turbanate Nota] i.e. turbare conante or it might be taken intransitively, 'for all the clustering of Notus', cf. Lucr. II 125, Verg. Aen. VI 801.
472. in uentum] 'swell against the wind'.
475. direxit] 'has straightened', cf. Sen. N. Q. 1 x § 1 coronam si diluteris, uercs erit, si direxeris, uirga.
Rhodanumque] 'the Arar has swept down with it the lingering Rhone', thus inverting the characters of the two rivers, cf. note on I 434.
476. submisso uertice] 'lowering their summits'.
478. suspexit] i.e. instead of despectit, cf. II 71.
479. sider] i.e. the moon, cf. I 413.
480. repulit] i.e. has prevented the tide from rising.
481. terra quoque] 'the earth too has shaken the axle of her steady weight', i.e. the line passing through the centre of the earth on which her weight is usually balanced steadily.
482. titubuit niusus] The reading in the text is that of most MSS. and of the Roman edition of 1469. niusus is best taken as a substantive, i.e. 'gravitation'. Translate, 'the force which ever inclines to the centre of the circle tottered', i.e. ceased to act. cf. Cic. N.D. II § 117 in aethere autem astra volvantur; quae se et nius suoaconglobata continent, et forma ipsa figurans sua momenta sustentat. Lucr. I 1052—1055. Weise adopting a conjecture of Sulpius reads niusu titubuit.
483. recessit] 'has parted asunder'.
486. et paeut] 'both fears the Haemo-
Lucani Pharsaliae

has auidae tigres et nobilis ira leonum
ore fuent blandō: gelidos his explicat orbes
inque pruinoso coluber distenditur aruo.
uipercen coeunt abrupto corpore nodi:
humanique cadit serpens adflata ueneno.

quis labor hic superos cantus herbasque sequendi
sprenendique timor? cuius commercia pacti
obstrictos habuere deos? parere necesse est,
an iuuat? ignota tantum pietate merentur,
an tacitis ualure minis? hoc iuris in omnes
est illis superos, an habent hac carmina certum
imperiosa deum, qui mundum cogere quidquid
cogit ipse potest? illic et sidera primum
praecepiti deducta polo: Phoebique serena
non aliter diris uerborum obsessa uenenis
palluit, et nigris terrenisque ignibus arsit,
quam si fraterna prohiberet imagine tellus,
inereretque suas flammis cælestibus umbras.
et patitur tantos cantu deprensas labores
donec suppositas propior despumet in herbas.

hos scleris ritus haec dirae carmina gentis


489. inque pruinoso cum in frigidō loco colligere se angues solent hinc se extendunt carminum potestate. Schol.

490. eunum] i.e. their spells can first break a viper in two and then make it join again. cf. Verg. Ecl. vii 72 frigidas in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

491. quis labor] 'what means this failing in the gods above, their obedience to spells and magic herbs, and their dread of neglecting them?'


493. cuitur] 'the bonds of what agreement?'

495. ignota] 'is it by some unknown form of piety that they [i.e. the witches] deserve so great a boon?'


744 infr.

498. quis mundum] 'who can compel the world to do what'er he is compelled
to do himself?'

499. illic] sc. in Thessaly: some MSS. have illis sc. carminibus.


501. obsessa] 'beset'.

502. palluit] 'has lost her lustre', cf. Propert. v vii 82 et numquam Herculeo nunnine palleat chor.

503. quam si] 'than if the earth cut her off from the reflection of her brother's light', cf. Verg. G. i 296 nec fratris radit obnoxia surgere luna.

505. desponsa] 'overcome'. Oud., with some MSS, reads desponsa 'brought down', which is perhaps confirmed by proprius; 'nearer to the earth'.

effera damnarat nimiae pictatis Erichtho, inque nouos ritus pollutam duxerat artem. illi namque nefas urbis submittere tecto aut laribus feralis caput: desertaque busta incollit et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbiris, grata deiis Erebi. coctus audire silentum nosse domos Stygias arcanaque Ditis operti non superi non uita uetat. tenet ora profanae 510

semia fecundae segetis calcata perussit, et non letiferas spirando perdidit auras. nec superos orat, nec cantu supplice numen auxiliare uocat, nec fibras illa litantis nouit: funereas aris imponere flammas 515
gaudet et accenso rapuit quae tura sepulcro. omne nefas superi prima iam uoce precantis concedunt carmenque timent audire secundum. uiuentis animas et adhuc sua membra regentis infodit busto: fatis debentibus annos mors inuita subit: peruersa funera pompa

508. damnarat] 'had convicted of too much piety', i.e. had rejected as too innocent. cf. Ov. remed. amor. 3. parce tuum uatum sceleris damnare Cupido, Quintil. xii § 8 damnamus tempora nostra infelicitatis huius ut nunc demum nihil rexiat.

Erichtho] The same name occurs in Ovid, Heroid. xv 139, 140 ilius mentis nups, ut quam furialis Erichtho impulit, in collo crine incerte foro.

509. duxerat] 'had advanced'.

510. damnaret nimiae pictatis] 'had convicted of too much piety', i.e. had rejected as too innocent. cf. Ov. remed. amor. 3. parce tuum uatum sceleris damnare Cupido, Quintil. xii § 8 damnamus tempora nostra infelicitatis huius ut nunc demum nihil rexiat.

511. obtinet] 'occupies'.

512. silentium] 'the dead', but it is a somewhat strange word to be used with morti.

513. non vita] 'nor the fact that she is yet alive', non enim uientium esse solet aperi scire secreta. Schol.

514. granatur] 'is afflicted'.

515. decus] 'deserted', i.e. by their inmates, cf. 512 supr.

516. caluta perussit] 'she blights by treading on them'.

517. perdidit] equivalent to corrupeit, cf. Hor. carm. 1 vii 2 Sybaris cur properas amando perdere?

518. litantis] transferred from the sacrificer to the offering, cf. Mart. x lxiii 6 non quacunque manu uitima causa sitat.


520. fatis] 'when the fates still owe men years of life, death comes upon them against its will'.

521. peruersa] i.e. changing the direction of the funeral procession, a tumulus instead of ad tumulos.
rettulit a tumulis: fugere cadauera letum. fumantis iuuenum cineres ardentiaque ossae mediiis rapit illa regis ipsamque parentes quam tenuere facem: nigroque volantia fumo feralis fragmenta tori uestesque fluentis colligit in cineres et olentis membra fauillas. ast ubi seruantur saxis, quibus intimus umor ducitur et tracta durescunt tabe medullae corpora; tune omnes auide desaeuit in artus, immersitque manus oculis, gaudetque gelatos effodisse orbis, et siccae pallida rodit excrementa manus: laqueum nodosque nocentis ore suo rupit: pendentia corpora carpisit, abrasitque cruces: percussaque uiscera nimbis uolsit et incoetas admisso sole medullas. insertum manibus chalybem, nigrumque per artus stillantis tabi saniem, uirusque coactum sustulit, et neruo morsus retinente pependit. et quodcumque iacet nuda tellure cadauer ante feras uolucreisque sedet: nec carpere membra uolt ferro manibusque suis, morsusque luporum exspectat siccis raptura a faucibus artus. [nee cessant a caede manus, si sanguine uiuo est opus, crumpat iugulo qui primus aperto.]

532. letum] Oud. following Bersmann reads lectum, i.e. the bier.
535. nigroque volantia] 'the fragments of the bier that fly about in the black smoke'.
536. uestes] either the coverings of the feretrum, or those in which the corpse is wrapped.
      fluentis in cineres] 'crumbling into ashes', cf. note on 1 241.
537. olentis membra] 'smelling of the burnt limbs'.
538. saxis] i.e. in a sarcophagus, cf. Lucret. III 904, 905 aut in melie situm suffocari, atque rigore frigore, cum summo gelidi cubat aquore saxi.
539. tracta tabe i.e. extracta sanie.
nec refugit caedes uiuom si sacra cruorem
extaque funercae poscunt trepidantia mensae:
unlere sic uentris, non qua natura uocabat,
extrahitur partus, calidis ponendus in aris,
et quotiens sacuis opus est ac fortibus umbris,
ipsa facit manes: hominum mors omnis in usu est.
illa genae florem primum corpore uolsit,
illa comam laeua morienti abscidit ephebo.
saepe etiam caris cognato in funere dira
Thessalis incubuit membris: atque oscula figens
truncuitque caput compressaque dentibus
laxauit: siccoque haerentem gutture linguam
praemordens gelidis infudit murmura,
arcanumque nefas Stygias mandauit ad umbras.
hanc ut fama loci Pompeio prodidit, alta
nocte poli, Titan medium quo tempore ducit
sub nostra tellure diem, deserta per arua
carpit iter. fidi scelerum suetique ministri
effectos circum tumulos ac busta uagati
conspexere procul praerupta in caute sedentem,
quaque uiga deuexus Pharsalica porrigit Haemus.
illa magis magicisque dies incognita uerba
temptabat carmenque novos fingebat in usus.
namque timens ne Mars alium uagus iret in orbem,
Emathis et tellus tam multa caede careret,
pollutos cantu dirisque uenifica sucis

561. facit manes] i.e. hominem occidenti.
mors omnis] ‘every kind of human death’, i.e. whether natural or violent. Weise takes it as ‘death at any age’ connecting it with what follows.
563. lacu] The left hand was used in magic rites.
cognato] i.e. of some kinsman of her own.
figens] ‘imprinting kisses’, Oud. with some MSS. reads fingens.
571. Titan medium] i.e. when it is midday with the Antipodes, cf. Verg. G. 1.249—251.
effectos] ‘broken open’, i.e. by Erichtho.
quae uiga] ‘where Haemus sloping downwards extends its range towards Pharsalia’.
579. alium in orbem] ‘to another quarter’.
conspersos uctuit transmittere bella Philippos, tot mortes habitura suas usuraque mundi sanguine: caesorum truncare cadauera regum sperat et Hesperiae cineres auertere gentis, ossaque nobilium, tantosque adquirere manus. hic arder solusque labor, quid corpore Magni proiecto rapiat, quos Caesaris inuolet artus. quam prior adsatur Pompeii ignaua propago: o decus Haemonidum, populis quae pandere fata, quacque suo uentura potes auertere cursu, te precor, ut certum liceat mihi noscere finem quem belli fortuna paret. non ultima turbae pars ego Romanae: Magni clarissima proles, uel dominus rerum uel tanti funeris heres. mens dubii percursa paucet rursusque parata est certos ferre metus. hoc casibus cripe iuris, ne subiti caecique ruant. uel numina torque, uel tu parce deis et manibus exprime uerum. Elysias resera sedes ipsamque uocatam quos petat e nobis Mortem tibi coge fateri. non humilis labor est: dignum quod queraere cures, uel tibi, quo tanti praeponderet alca fati. impia uolgatae laetatur nomine famae Thessalis, ct contra: si fata minora moueres, pronum erat, o iuuenis, quos ulles, inquit, in actus the elder.

592. conspersos] 'forbade Philippi, tainted by her spells and sprinkled with her noxious drugs, to let the war pass on'; i.e. altum in orae, cf. Liv. XXI 20 ne in Italiani Galli transmitant bellum; for Philippi, cf. note on 1 680.
588. inuolct] 'pounce upon' and so 'carry off', cf. Catul. XXV 6 remittte pallium mihi neum quod inuolasti, Petron. 43 hereditatem accepti ex qua plus inuolasti quam illi reliquit est.
592. certum] to be taken with noscere, 'to learn for certain'.
593. non ultima] cf. Iuv. IV 44 nos humiles, inquit, uolgi pars ultima nostri.
595. heres] Sextus was however the second son of Pompeius, Gnaeus being the elder.

596. rursus] 'on the contrary'. cf. Tac. Agric. 29 quem casum neque ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus et macorem miliebriter talit.
597. hoc casibus] 'do thou snatch this power from events'.
603. quo tant] 'which way the hazard of destines so great inclines', the metaphors of the dice and the balance are here mixed.
605. moueres] 'were you dealing with less important destines', i.e. of individual men, not of nations.
inuitos praebere deos: conceditur arti, unam cum radiis presserunt sidera mortem, inseruisse moras: et quamuis fecerit omnis stella senem medios herbis abrumpimus annos. 610 at simul a prima descendit origine mundi causarum series, atque omnia fata laborant si quicquam mutare uelis, unoque sub ictu stat genus humanum: tum Thessala turba fatemur plus Fortuna potest. sed si praenoscere casus 615 contentus, facilesque aditus multique patebunt ad uerum: tellus nobis aetherque chaosque aequoraeque et campi Rhodopeiae saxa loquentur. sed pronum, cum tanta nouae sit copia mortis, Emathiiis unum campis adtollere corpus, 620 ut modo defuncti tepidique cadaveris ora plena uoce sonent: nec membris sole perustis auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra. 625 dixerat: et noctis geminatis arte tenebris, maestum tecta caput squalenti nube, pererrat corpora caesorum tumulis proiecta negatis. continuo fugere lupi fugere reuolsis unguibus impastae uolucre, dum Thessala uatem

*quos uoluerat*] 'to force the gods against their will to any course of action that you chose'.

608. *unam*] sc. unius hominis. *presserunt*] 'have urged on'.

610. *senem fecerit*] 'have promised him old age'.

611. *simul*] i.e. *simul ac*, 'when it comes to this that...'.

612. *causarum series*] cf. Tac. Ann. vi (22) 28 contra aliis fatum quidem con- 
gruere reus putant, sed non e nagis stellis, uerum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum.

laborant] 'are disturbed', i.e. in cases where a single change involves the change of many other destinies.

613. *plus*] 'Fortune is stronger than we are'.

616. *contentus*] sc. ex. cf. ix 604.

619. *nouae...mortis*] i.e. of newly slain corpses, cf. vii 471.

620. *adtollere*] In the Aethiopica of Heliodorus Bk. vi chapters 14 and 15 there is a similar account of the bringing to life of a corpse to answer questions.


623. *incertum...stridoe*] 'gibber unintelligibly', cf. Plin. H. N. v § 45 Tro- 
godytae specus excauant: haec illis domus, uictus serpentinum carnes, stridore non

625. *squalenti nube*] It is doubtful what is the meaning of these words: if a literal cloud is meant the epithet is a strange one, and, as Oud. remarks, witches are nowhere else introduced wearing a cloud, as gods and goddesses are. Probably it is best to understand by *nubes* the matted hair hanging over her face, cf. supr. 518 *impexis ovorata comis*, Stat. Theb. vi 586, 587 *descripserit genus nce se lanugo falcem inter is sub nube conae*.

627. *reusolis*] 'tearing their talons from the prey'.
eligit et gelidas leto scrutata medullas
pulmonis rigidi stantis sine uolnere fibras

inquenit et uocem defuncto in corpore quaerit.
fata peremptorum pendent iam multa uiorum,
quem superis reuocasse uclit. si tollere tolas
emptasset campis acies et reddere bello,
cessissent leges Erebi: monstroque potenti
extractus Stygio populus pugnasset Auerno.
electum tandem traiecto guttura corpus
ducit, et inserto laqueis feralibus unco
per scopulos miserum trahitur per saxa cadauer
uicturum: monstisque caui quem tristis Erichtho
damnarat saeris alta sub rupe locatur.

maerentes intus tenebrae pallensque sub antris
longa nocte situs; numquam nisi carmine factum
lumen habet. non Taenareis sic faucibus aer
sedit iners, maestum mundi confine latentis
ac nostri: quo non metuant emittere manes
Tartarei reges. nam quamuis Thessala uates
uim faciat fatis, dubium est, quod traxerit illuc

629. medullas] put for all the interior
of the body.
630. pulmonis] 'finds the lobes of the
stiffened lung firm and unwounded'.
631. uocem] 'power of speech': the
corpse is not actually made to speak till it
has been dragged to Erichtho's cave.
632. pendet] 'hang in the balance'.
633. monstro potenti] sc. Erichtho, the
dative of the agent.
Stygiis auditus Aeurnis.
635. traiecto] 'with its throat pierced',
i.e. killed by a wound in the throat. cf.
Plin. H. N. xii 198 ob hoc in proeliis
gladiatorumque spectaculis mortem cum
risu traecta praccordia attulerunt.
636. unco] i.e. the body is treated as
that of a criminal, cf. Iuv. x 66 Seianus
ducitur unco spectandus.
640. uicturum] 'to new life'. For
the unexpected turn of the sentence cf.
1 504 in bellum fugitur.
642. hand procul] 'sunk down to the
depth of Pluto's gloomy caverns'.
643. pallida pronis] i.e. owing to the
darkness the leaves have no colour, and
the branches hang down instead of shoot-
ing upwards.
644. nullo] sc. omnino non, cf. note
on vii 25.
Taenararum etiam faucies, alta ostia Ditis.
649. confine] This word is very rarely
found in the singular, cf. Val. Flacc. vii
373 inde Lycei serit ad confine papillae.
650. non metuant] i.e. because it is as
dark as Tartarus itself.
652. dubium est] 'it is doubtful whether
she sees the infernal ghosts because she
has dragged them thither, or because she
has gone down to hell herself', i.e. because
adspiciat Stygiás, an quod descenderit, umbras. 654

discoleet uario furialis cultus amictu
induitur, uoltusque aperitur crine remoto,
et coma uiperceis substringitur horrída sertis.
655
ut pauídos iueenis comites ipsumque trementem
consipicit examíni defíxum lúminá uoltu:
ponite, ait, trepída conceptos mcnte timores:
iam noua iam uera reddetur uita figura,
ut quamuis pauídi possint audire loquentem.
si uero Stygiósque lácus ripamque sonantem
ignibus ostendam, si me praesente uideri
Eumenides posseint uillosaque colla colubris
Cerberus excutiens et uincti terga Gigan tes;
quis timor, ignauì, metuentís cernere manes?
665
pectora tún primum feruenci sanguíne supplet
uolneribus laxata nouis: taboque medullas
abluít: et uirus large lunare ministrat.
huc quidquid fetu genuít natura sinistro
666
miscetur. non spu ma canum quibus unda timori est,
uiscera non lyncis, non diræ nodus hyaenae
defuit, et cerui pasti serpente medulla :
non puppim retínen s Euro tendente rudentes
in mediís echeneís aquis, oculique draconum,
quaque sonant feta tepefacta sub alite saxa:
non Arabum uolucr serpens, innataque rubris
acquoribus custos pretiosae uipera conchae:
aut uiuscentis adhue Libyci membrana cerastae,
aut cinis Eoa positi Phoenicis in ara.
quo postquam uiles nec habentis nomina pestes
contulit: infando saturatas carmine frondes,
et quibus os dirum nascentibus inspuit herbas
addidit, et quidquid mundo dedit ipsa uenen:
tum uox Lethacos cunctis pollutior herbis
excantare deos confudit murmura primum
dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae.
latratus habet ilia canum gemitumque luporum:
quod trepidus bubo quod strix nocturna queruntur,
quod stridunt ululantque faeae, quod sibilat anguis,
exprimit, et planetus illias cautibus undae,
siluarumque sonum, fractaeque tonitrua nubis:
tot rerum uox una fuit. mox cetera cantu
explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingu:
Eumenides, Stygiumque nefas, poenaque nescemtum
et Chaos innumeros avidum confundere mundos:
et rector terrae quem longa in saecula torquet
mors dilata deum: Styx et quos nulla meretur
Thessalis Elysios: caelum matremque perosa.
Persephone, nostraeque Hecates pars ultima, per quam manibus et mihi sunt tacitae commercia linguae: ianitor et sedis laxae, qui uiscera sacu spargis nostra cani: repetitaque fila sorores tracturae: tuque o flagrantis portitor undae iam lassate senex ad me redeuntibus umbris: 705 exaudite preces, si uos satìs ore nefando pollutoque uoco, si numquam haece carmina fibris humanis ìciuna cano, si pectora plena saepe dedi et laui calido prosecta cerebro: si quís, cum uestris caput extaque lancibus, infans, 710 imposuit, uicturus erat: parte precenti.

non in Tartareo latitantem poscimus antro, adsuetamque diu tenebris, modo luce fugata

700. nostrae] 'our patroness'.
701. pars ultima] 'the lowest form', the same goddess being Luna in heaven.
702. ianitor] This would naturally be understood to mean Cerberus, cf. Hor. carm. 11 xvi 15—17 cessit immanius tibi blandienti ianitor anlæ Cærberæ: but if ianitor be Cerberus, what is meant by saevo cani? The Scholiast refers to Servius on Verg. Aen. vi 400 foll., and explains saevo cani as equivalent to tibi ipsi, which is impossible. Weise says saeus canis pro uenter canino: sensus est, qui uiscera mortuorum quæ ego comedere cupio in caninum tnuem tntrem spargis, hoc est, demittis. This however seems to be a very far-fetched explanation. Oud., following a suggestion of Quevedo, understands Mercury by ianitor, as I think rightly. Quevedo refers to Diog. Laert. Pyth. viii § 31 where Hermes is spoken of as πυλαώος, and in his capacity of ψυχο-πους he would naturally be introduced among the infernal deities.

703. nostra] may mean as Weise takes it 'what we witches desire', or as the Scholiast takes it, it may be equivalent to humanæ, meaning that the bodies of the dead are devoured by Cerberus, tune enim animae locum suum acquirunt, cum fuerit corpus absuntum.

704. tractaræ] 'about to spin', cf. Hor. carm. 11 viii 8 trahunt honestas purpuras clientae.
705. si uos] The prayers of Erichtho are expressed in a manner directly contrary to those of others. cf. Hom. Il. 1 37—42.
706. si numquam] i.e. if I never utter these spells without the accompaniment of human sacrifice.
707. iemia] cf. Lucret. 11 844 corpora suo iemia.
708. pectora plena] Weise understands by these words, corpus granitae muricis, but more probably they mean 'full of blood', cf. Ov. Heroid. 11 69 sanguinis atque animi pectus inane fact, which he quotes.
710. si quis] 'if any infant would have lived at the time when &c.': for the order of the words Weise cf. 11 vii 679, v 387, 680, 800.
711. imposuit] The infant is said to lay its own head in the dish when this is done by another, cf. note on 11 387. Weise conjectures imposuit considering that the former construction is 'nimis dura catachresis'.
713. modo luce] i.e. sed modo; for the ellipse cf. 11 86, 759 infr.
descendentem animam: primo pallentis hiatu haeret adhuc Orci. licet has exaudiat herbas ad manesuentura semel. ducis omina nato Pompeiana canat nostri modo militis umbra, si bene de ubis ciuilia bella merentur.

haec ubi fata caput spumantiaque ora leuauit adspicit adstantem proiect corporis umbram, exanimes artus, inuisaque claustra timentem carceris antiqui. paue ire in pectus apertum usceraque et ruptas letali uolnere fibras.
a miser, extremum cui mortis munus inique eripitur, non posse mori. miratur Erichtho has fatis licuisse moras, irataque morti uerberat immotum uiuo serpentecadauer: perque cauas terrae, quas egit carmine, rimas manibus illatrat, regnique silentia rupit:
Tisiphone, uocisque meae secura Megaera, non agitis saeuis Erebi per inane flagellis infelicem animam? iam uos ego nomine uero eliciam, Stygiisque canes in luce superna destituum; per busta sequar per funera custos: expellam tumulis abigam uos omnibus urnis.
teque deis, ad quos alio procedere uolui ficta soles, Hecate, pallenti tabida forma,
LIBER VI. 714—758.

ostendam, faciemque Erebi mutare uetabo. 
eloquar immenso terrae sub pondere quae te 
contineant, Ennaea, dapes, quo foedere maestum 
regem noctis ames, quae te contagia passam 
noluerit reuocare parens. tibi, pessime mundi 
arbiter, immittam ruptis Titana cauernis, 
et subito feriere die. paretis? an ille 
compellandus erit, quo numquam terra uocato 
non concussa temret, qui Gorgona cernit apertam, 
uerberibusque suis trepidam castigat Erinyn, 
indespecta tenet uobis qui Tartara; cuius 
uos estis superi; Stygias qui peierat undas? 
protinus adstrictus caluit cruor atraque fouit 
ulnera et in uenas extremaque membra ecurret. 
percussae gelido trepidant sub pectore fibrae: 
et noua desuetis subrepens uita medullis 
misce tur mori. tunc omnis palpitat artus: 
tenduntur nerui: nec se tellure cadauer 
55 paulatin per membra leuat, terrae repulsum est 
erectumque simul. distento lumina rictu 
nudantur. nondum facies uiuentis in illo,
tive cf. Verg. Aen. 1 72, 73 quaram, qua 
forma pulcherrima, Deiopianum conubio 
iumgam stabili propriamque dicabo et 
Conington's note.
740. dapes] i.e. pomegranate seeds ac-
cording to the legend. cf. Ov. Met. v 534 
foll.
743. arbiter] 'ruler', i.e. Pluto.
immittam...Titana] 'I will let in the 
sunlight', cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 246 trepi-
denque inmiso lumine manes.
744. paretis] For this idiomatic use of 
the present indicative cf. Inv. IV 130 quid-
nam ugitur caesae? uociditum? and Prof. 
Mayor's note.
ille] This is a reference to the mystic 
deity Demogorgon or Demiurgus, cf. Stat. 
Theb. IV 516 et triplicis mundi summum 
quem scire nefastum est; illem sed taceo.
745. quo numquam] 'at the summons 
of whose name the earth ever shakes and 
trembles'.
746. Gorgona] i.e. the sight of which 
is fatal to all beside.
747. suis] ipsius Erinny: quibus cast-
tigare ipsa consueuit, his caeditur. Schol.
748. indespecta] cf. Prof. Mayor's note on 
exsecration Cic. Phil. II § 65.
749. nos estis superi] 'to whom ye 
(of the infernal powers) are the gods above', 
i.e. because he dwells in a lower depth of 
Tartarus.
peierat] i.e. impune, cf. Verg. Aen. VI 
323, 324 Stygiamque paludem di cuuis 
irare timenti et fallere numer. Id. XII 
816, 817 adiutro Stygiis caput implacabile 
fontis, una superstio superis quae reddita 
diuis.
750. fouit] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 420 
fouit ea ulnus lympha longacuus Iapyx.
751. trepidant] 'throb'.
754. miscetur morti] 'mingles with 
death', i.e. both life and death are, for a 
time, present in the same body struggling 
for the mastery.
756. per membrum] i.e. membratim, 
'limb by limb'.
terragae] 'but bounds up from the earth 
and is on its feet at once'. quo is disjunctive.
758. nudantur] i.e. are not covered 
by the eyelids.
iam morientis erat. remanet pallorque rigorque; et stupet illatus mundo. sed murmur e nullo ora adstricta sonant. uox illi linguaque tantum responsura datur. dic, inquit Thessala, magna, quod iubeco, mercede mihi: nam uera locutum immunem totu mundi praestabimus acuo artibus Haemoniis: tali tua membra sepulcro, talibus exuram Stygio cum carmine siluis, ut nullos cantata magos exaudiat umbra.
sit tanti uixisse iterum: nec uerba nec herbae audebunt longaee somnum tibi soluere Lethes a me morte data. tripodas uatesque deorum sors obscura decet: certus discedat, ab umbris quisquis uera petit duraeque oracula mortis fortis adit. ne parce, precor. da nomina rebus, da loca, da uocem, qua mecum fata loquantur. addidit et carmen, quo, quidquid consulit, umbram scire dedit. maestum fletu manante cadauer, tristia non equidem Parcarum stamina, dixit, adspexi tacitae reucutos ab aggere ripae: quod tamen e cunctis mihi noscere contigit umbris, effera Romanos agitat discordia manes, impiaque infernum ruperunt arma quietem. Elysias aliis sedes ac Tartara maesta diuersi liquere duces: quid fata pararent hi fecere palam. tristis felicibus umbris

759. *iam morientis* [‘but of one just at the point of death’; cf. supr. 713].
760. *adstricta* [‘tightly curbed’].
761. *tantum responsura* [‘only to answer questions’, i.e. he had not the power of speaking of his own accord. cf. Hom. Oid. XI 147–149].
762. *magna...mercede* [‘and great shall be thy reward’].
763. *immunem* [‘exempt from the power of Thessalian magic’, cf. ii 257; Sen. Epist. xi iii (83) § 3 alieus animus imm- munem esse tristitiam immunit in Virgil and Ovid is constructed with the genitive].
764. *siluis* [i.e. lignis, cf. note on i 591].
765. *sit tanti* [‘think it worth the cost’].
766. *sors obscura* [‘a riddling answer’; for the use of the singular *sors* cf. Cic. de div. ii § 115 nam cum sors illa edita est opulentissimo regi Asiae, Croesus Halym penetrans magnam quam perueret opum uim.]
767. *quidquid consulit* cf. Cic. ad Att. vii xx § 2 nec te id consul.
768. *adspexit* [‘I have not seen the threads of the fates’, i.e. I have no certain knowledge of the future, but only speak from conjecture].
770. *impiaque* [i.e. of civil war, as usual.
771. *diuersi* [‘to opposite camps’.]
772. *sors obscura* [‘a riddling answer’].

785. Decios] sc. fientis.
786. lustrales] 'souls that expiated war', cf. Iuv. VIII 254 foll.
787. Fortuna] Sulla in his lifetime considered himself the favourite of Fortune, cf. note on II 221.
788. Libycis—terriss] i.e. where he won his own victories.
789. subolem] i.e. Metellus Scipio.
maior] i.e. Cato the censor.
794. nudis] cf. note on II 543 exercitique manus uaesana Cethegi.
Drusos] This refers to M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the people B.C. 90. See Mommsen Bk. iv, chapter vi.
796. ausos] cf. Verg. Aen. vi 624 ausi

H. I.

omnes immane nefas, ausoque potuisti.
797. chalybum] i.e. of iron.
803. placido—sine] 'in a peaceful retreat'.
805. nec gloria] 'and let not the glory of a short life trouble thee', i.e. the short time Caesar is destined to survive his victory.
807. magnoque superbi] 'and gloating in your greatness of soul descend to the shades from tombs however humble'.
809. et Romanorum] 'and tread under foot the shades of the gods of Rome', i.e. of Caesar and his deified successors.
calcate] i.e. because they will be in the depths of Tartarus, while you are above them in Elysium.
 quem tumulum Nili, quem Tybridis abluat unda, 810 quacritur, et ducibus tantum de funere pugna est. 
tu fatum ne quare tuum cognoscere: Parcae 
me reticente dabunt: tibi certior omnia uates 
ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in aruis: 
ille quoque incertus, quo te uocct, unde repellat, 815 
quas iubeat uitare plagas, quae sidera mundi. 
Europam, miseri, Libynamque Asiarnque timete: 
distribuit tumulos uestrus Fortuna triumphis. 
o miseranda domus, toto nihil orbe uidebis 
tutius Emathia. sic postquam fata peregit, 820 
stat uoltu maestus tacito mortemque reposit.
carminibus magicis opus est herbisque cadauer 
ut cadat et nequeunt animam sibi reddere fata 
consumpto iam iure semel. tum. robore multo 
exstruit illa rogum: uenit defunctus ad ignes: 825 
accensa iuenem positum strue linquit Erichtho 
tandem passa mori: Sextoqae ad castra parentis 
it comes: et caelo lucis ducente colorem, 
dum ferrent tutos intra tentoria gressus, 
iussa tenere diem densas nox praestitit umbras. 830

810. quem] equivalent to utrum, cf. note on I 126.
811. quacritur] 'the only question is'.
814. ipse canet] No doubt this refers 
to some episode which Lucan intended to 
introduce into a later book, in which the 
shade of Pompeius would foretell his fate 
to Sextus, as Anchises to Aeneas. Weise.
815. ille quae] 'nay, he too is un-
certain'.
Ixv Pompeis iunones Asia atque Eu-
rpa sed ipsum terra tegit Libyes, si tamen 
illa tegit, quid mirum toto si spargitur 
orbe? iacere uno non poterat tanta ruina 
teo. Gnaeus was killed in Spain, Sextus 
at Mile tus.
818. distribuit] 'Fortune has divided 
your tombs among the lands ye triumphed 
over'.
820. tutius] i.e. every quarter of the 
world is equally fatal to you. cf. vii 870

810. quid totum premitis, quid totum soluitis 
orbem? These words may also, as the 
Scholiast thinks, refer to the fact that 
Pompeius and his sons escaped in safety 
from Pharsalia.

peregit] cf. Iuv. v 122 donec peragat 
dictata magistri omnia.
824. consumpto] 'as their power has 
been used up once for all'.
825. uenit] 'walked', qui conueuit 
aderri. Schol.
Aen. iv 681 sic te ut posita, crudelis, ab-
ecessm?
828. lucis ducente colorem] albescent 
iam die. Schol. cf. Verg. Ecl. ix 49, 50 
astrum quo segetes grauerent frugibus, et 
quod ducet aperit in collibus uua colorem. 
Iuv. ii 81 uuaque conspecta iuorem ducti 
ad uua.
830. tener] 'to hold back'.

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M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK VII.

The eve of the battle of Pharsalia; Pompeius’ dream 1—44. At sunrise Pompeius’ troops clamour for battle: Cicero urges their case 45—85. Pompeius answers, and against his better judgment gives the signal for battle 85—150. Prodigies 150—213. Pompeius’ battle array 214—234. Caesar, rejoicing that the day of battle has come, addresses his soldiers 236—336. The feelings of Pompeius: he soliloquizes 337—384. Reflections on the result of the battle 385—459. The fighting begins: the allies of Pompeius are defeated 460—544, and after a severe struggle his Roman troops 545—585. Apostrophe to Brutus 586—596. Death of Domitius 597—616. Lamentation over the result of the battle 617—646. Pompeius flies 647—727. Caesar occupies Pompeius’ camp, and leaves the bodies of the enemy unburied 728—824 which are devoured by beasts and birds 825—846. Apostrophe to Thessaly 847—872.

Segnior Oceano quam lex acterna uocabat
luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra
egit equos currumque polo rapiente retorsit:
defectusque pati uoluit raptaeque labores
lucis: et adtraxit nubes, non pabula flammis,
sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe.

at nox, felicis Magno pars ultima uitae, sollicitos uana decepit imagine somnos.
nam Pompeiani usus sibi sede theatri innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis,
adtollique suum laetis ad sidera nomen uocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantis.
qualis erat populi facies clamorque fauentis, olim cum iuuenis primique acetate triumphi,
post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus, et quaecumque fugax Sertorius impulit arma,
uespere pacato, pura uenerabilis aequae quam currus ornante toga, plaudente senatu,
sedit adhuc Romanus eques. seu fine bonorum
anxiauenturis ad temporae laeta refugit:
siue per ambages solitiae contraria uisis
uaticinata quies magni tulit omnia planctus:
seu uetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes
sic Romam Fortuna dedit. ne rumpite somnos,
castrorum uigiles, nullas tuba uerberet aures.
crustina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna

6. purus] 'in full lustre'.
9. Pompeiani...theatri] see note on i
10. innumeram] The epithet which
properly belongs to plebis is transferred to
effigiem, 'the image of the countless Roman
people', not 'countless images' as in Ov.
Heroid. XVI 366 inus is innumeris militis
instar habet.
hunc planus iacentem per cuneos gemina-
tus enim plebisque patrioque corripuit.
14. primi] His first triumph was
over Africa B. C. 79, when he was only
twenty-four years of age; it was not until
B. C. 71 that he triumphed over Spain,
after the death of Sertorius.
16. impulit] 'set in motion'.
17. uespere pacato] 'having pacified
the west', i.e. Spain.
pura uenerabilis] 'no less worshipful in
pure white gown than (he would have)
been) in that which usually adorns the car
of triumph', i.e. the toga picta.
20. auxi] see, quies 'his repose full of
X 324 fors illi praesaga quies.
21. contraria uisis] 'foretelling
the opposite of his visions', i.e. by the
plausus of which he dreamed the planctus
which was in store for him was foreshadowed.
Compare Plin. Epp. I xviii § 2 referi
tamen eunctura soles an contraria som-
niare.
Aen. IX 782 quos alios muros, quae iam
ultra moenia habetis?
24. sic] i.e. in dreams.
25. nullas] 'let not the trumpet strike
his ears at all', cf. Catull. VIII 14 at tu
dolebis cum rogaberis nulla; Propert. I
xvii 11, 12 an poteris siccis moa fata
reponere ocellis, assaque nulla tuo nostro
tenne sinu? so too commonly nullus
nonit, 'he never came'. Cic. ad Att. XV
xxii ego autem scripsi Sextum aduentare,
non quo iam adisset, sed quia certe id
agret ab armisque nullus discendet.
26. crustina] 'to-morrow's night of
horror haunted by the sad image of
the day's events'.
undique funestas acies feret undique bellum.
unde pares somnos populi noctemque beatam?
o felix, si te uel sic tua Roma uideret.
donassent utinam superi patriaeque tibique
unum, Magne, diem, quo fati certus uterque
extremum tanti fructum caperetis amoris.
tu uelut Ausonia uadis moriturus in urbe:
illa rati semper de te sibi conscia uoti
hoc scelus haud umquam fatis haerere putauit
sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni.
te mixto flesset luctu iuuenisque senexque
inuissusque puere: lacerasset crine soluto
pectora femineum ceu Bruti funere uolgu.
nunc quoque, tela licet paueant uictoris iniqui,
nuntiet ipse licet Caesar tua funera, flebunt:
udem tura ferunt dum laurea serta Tonanti.
o miseri, quorum gemitus edere dolorem,
qui te non pleno pariter planxere theatro.
uiuerat astra iubar, cum mixto murmur turba
castrorum fremuit, fatisque trahentibus orbem,
signa petit pugnae. miseri pars maxima uolgi
non totum usura diem, tentoria circum
ipsa ducis queritur, magnoque accensa tumultu
mortis uiciniae properantis admouet horas.
dira subit rabies: sua quisque ac publica fata
practipitare cupit: segnis pauidusque uocatur
ac nimium patiens soceri Pompeius, et orbis
indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentes
iuris habere sui uellet pacemque timeret.

dir. non et reges populique queruntur Eoi
bella trahi patriaque procul tellure teneri.
hoc placet, o superi, cum uobis uertere cuncta
propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
cladibus irruius noctiuraque poscimus arma:
in Pompeianis uotum est Pharsalia castris.
cunctorum uoces Romani maximus auctor
Tullius eloqui, cuius sub iure togaque
pacificas saeue tremuit Catilina secures,
pertulit, iratus bellis, cum rostra forumque
optaret passus tam longa silentia miles.
addidit inualidae robur facundia causae:
 hoc pro tot meritis solum te, Magne, precatur
uti se Fortuna uelis: proceresque tuorum

48. non totum] i.e. destined to die before the day was done.
50. morti] 'brings nearer the already hastening hour of approaching death', cf. 591 infr. iv 481: cf. the use of semouere in HOr. Carm. i iii 32, 33 semotique prius tarda necessitas leti corripit gradum.
54. indulgens] 'seeking to prolong his sway over the world'.
57. teneri] sc. se teneri.
59. nostris erroribus] 'to add guilt on our part to our mistakes' ut quod perimus nobis imputetur non fatis, Oud. 'i.e. because by our own wicked wishes for battle with our countrymen, we deserve what might otherwise be considered as a misfortune.
60. irruius] 'we rush upon disasters', irruer generally takes the accusative with in, but cf. Claudian de cons. Mall. Theod.
194 irruct intrepidus flammis.
 noctu[u]a] cf. Iuv. x 8 nocturta toga noctura petuntur militia.
61. in Pompeianis] 'Pharsalia's field is prayed for in Pompeius' camp'. cf. Ov. A. A. 1 737 ut uoto poliare tuo miserabilis esto.
62. auctor] 'master' cf. Hor. Carm. i xxviii 14, 15 iudice te non sordidus auctor naturae ureique.
63. Tullius] Oud, remarks that Lucan has made a great mistake in introducing Cicero as urging Pompeius to risk a battle, when according to his own letters he did precisely the opposite, cf. ad fam. vii iii § 2 suadere instiuit ut bellum duceret. iure togague 'civil sway'.
65. pertulit] 'conveyed to Pompeius' ears'.
68. pro tot meritis] 'in return for her many kindnesses'.
69. uti se] 'to make full use of her'.
castrorum regesque tui cum supplice mundo 

adfusi unici socerum patiare rogamus. 

humano generi tam longo tempore bellum 

Caesar erit? merito Pompeium uincente lente 

gentibus indignum est a transcurrente subactis. 

quo tibi feruor abit? aut quo fiducia fati? 

de superis, ingrate, times? causamque senatus 

erogamus. 

credere dis dubitas? ipsae tua signa reuelent 

prosilientque acies. pudeat uicisse coactum. 

si duce te iusso, si nobis bella geruntur, 

sit iuris, quocumque uelint, concurrere campo. 

quid mundi gladios a sanguine Caesaris arces? 

uibrant tela manus: uix signa morantia quisquam 

exspectat: propera, ne te tua classica linquant. 

si placet hoc, inquit, cunctis, si milite Magno 

non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor. 

inuoluat populos una Fortuna ruina, 

sitque hominum magnae lux ista nouissima parti. 

testor, Roma, tamen: Magnus, quo cuncta perirent, 

accipisse diem. potuit tibi uolnere nullo 

stare labor belli: potuit sine caede subactum 

capitumque ducem uiolatae tradere paci.

71. adfusi] 'prostrate before you', cf. 

Ov. Met. ix 60s amplectique pedes adfusaque 
poscere nitam. 

72. bellum] i.e. the cause of war. 

74. a transcurrente] 'subdued by him 
hasty march across their lands'. 

76. de superis] 'on the score of the 
gods'. 

79. duce te iusso] non iubente: si tibi 

senatus non tu senatui imperas. Grotius. 

cf. v 21 cunctaque iussuri primum hoc 
decernite patres v 46 Magnumque iubete 
esse ducem. 

nobil] for us, the senate, non tibi. 

80. sit iuris] sc. militibus, 'let them 
have the right'. 

83. uix...quisquam] 'scarce any one', 
quisquam can be used with uix as it is 
equivalent to a negative.

87. si militet] 'needs that Magnus act 
the soldier rather than the general'.

90. lux ista] 'this light we see'. 

92. accipisse] non advocasse sed iussum 
accepisse. Weise. ad proelium non 
cogo sed cogor. Schol. 
potuit tibi] 'might have cost you not a 
single wound'.

94. uiolatae] 'might have consigned to
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

quis furor, o caci, scelerum? cuilia bella 95
gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant?
abstulimus terras, exclusimus aequore toto,
ad praematuras segetum iciuna rapinas 100
agmina compulsimur, uotumque effeclimus hosti
ut mallet sterni gladiis mortesque suorum
permiscere meis. belli pars magna peracta est
his quibus effectum est ne pugniam tiro paucret:
si modo uirtutis stimulis iraque calore
signa petunt. multos in summa pericula misit
uenturi timor ipse mali. fortissimus ille est,
qui promptus metuenda pati si comminus instent
et differre potest. placet haec tam prospera rerum
tradere Fortunae? gladio permettere mundi
discrimen? pugnare ducem quam uincere malunt.
res mihi Romanas dederas, Fortuna, regendas: 110
accipe maiores et caeco in Marte tuere.
Pompeii nec crimen erit nec gloria bellum.
uincis apud superos uotis me, Caesar, iniquis:
pugnatur. quantum scelerum quantumque malorum
in populos lux ista feret: quot regna iacebunt: 115
sanguine Romano quam turbidus ibit Enipeus.
prima uelim caput hoc funesti lancea belli,
si sine momento rerum partisque ruina

the peace he was the first to break’, i.e.
by reducing him again to a private station.
Oud. following some MSS. reads Romanae
tradere paci, but this, as he himself says,
probably arose from a gloss Roman on
tibi in line 92.

97. terras] ‘the land’, as the Scholiast
says, de duobus elementis dicit exclusum
Caesarem in quibus homo potest esse.
Weise unnecessarily understands by it,
terras Orientales, sine quibus imperium
Romanum esse non poterat.
101. meis] sc. morum mortibus.
belli pars] ‘I grant the war is half
finished’.

103. iacere] i.e. eagerness to fight, Weise.
cf. I 207, 292 II 92, 529.
104. modus] i.e. but the same result
may arise from despair.
108. mundi discrimen] ‘the decision
of the whole world’s fate’, cf. Cic. Phil.
xiv § 3 huius totius belli in unius uiri
fortissimi et maximi uita positum esse
discrimen.
111. accipere] quasi depositum, ‘take
them back enlarged and protect them thy-
self in the blind chance of war’, i.e. I
disclaim all further responsibility and
leave that to Fortune.
113. vincere] i.e. because Caesar has
prayed for battle, and now it has come,
cf. 238 infr.
117. prima] ‘the first dart hurled in
this lamentable war’.
118. sine momento] ‘without giving the
debthlow to our fortunes’.

partis] ‘party’; for this use of pars in
the singular, cf. Cic. ad fam. x xxxi § 2 cum
uero non licet mithi nullius partis esse,
Id. post rediv. ad Quirit. § 13 cum uiderem
ex ea parte homines cuius partis nos uel
principes numerabamur.
Liber VII. 95—138.

Casurum est, feriat: neque enim victoria Magno laetior. aut populis inuisum, hac clade peracta, aut hodie Pompeius erit miserabile nomen. omne malum uicti, quod sors feret ultima rerum, omne nefas uictoris erit. sic fatur, et arma permittit populos frenosque furentibus ira laxat: et ut uictus uiolento nauita Cauro dat regimen uentis, ignauomque arte relicta puppis onus trahitur. tremido confusa tumultu castra fremunt, animique truces sua pectora pulsant icibus incertis. multorum pallor in ore mortis uenturae est faciesque simillima fato. aduenisse diem qui fatum rebus in acucom condet humanis, et quaequ Roma quid esset illo Marte, palam est. sua quisque pericula nescit adtonitus maiore metu. quis litora punto obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus aequor, actheraque in terras deieci sole cadentem, tot rerum finem, timeat sibi? non uacat ullos pro se ferre metus: urbi Magnoque timetur.

130. laetior] i.e. than such a death.
125. et ut uictus] If the reading be sound we must supply mentally after et 'dat regimen populis', but to read ut instead of et would do away with all difficulty.
126. regimen] 'the direction' cf. Hom. Od. xi 10 την δ' ανεμός τε κυβερνήσα τ' θωνερ. regimen is also used of the rudder itself, cf. Ov. Met. iii 193 addidici regimen dextra moderante carinae flectere.
ignauomque'] 'is swept along as a useless burden of the ship': this seems better than to take puppis as the nominative, as Weise does, 'the ship is swept along as an unresisting weight', as this involves a change of subject; cf. Hom. II. xviii 104 ἔτασιν ἄχοις ἄροιρας.
arte relieta] 'abandoning the pilot's art'.
128. animique truces'] 'and fierce hearts beat with uncertain throbings against the bosoms that contain them'. cf. Aesch. Ag. 995—997 σπλάγχνα δ' οἴτι ματάξει πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσίν τελεσφόρους δίναις κυκλῳμένον κέρασ.
129. pallor] cf. Verg. Aen. viii 709 illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura fecerat ignipotens. See also Ben Jonson, Catiline Act v sc. 6 'His countenance was a civil war itself, And all his host had standing in their looks The paleness of the death that was to come'.
130. faciesque'] 'a look that matches well their doom', i.e. they look 'fey', to use a Scotch expression.
132. condere] cf. Verg. Aen. x 35 nona condere fata, which Conington explains as 'to compose', fate being regarded as a book: but the metaphor may be drawn from 'building up', 'establishing'.
quid esse?] i.e. free or enslaved.
134. adtonitus] 'overpowered', so confusus in iuv. iii 1 quannus digressus ueteris confusus amici. cf. ii 22.
nec gladiis habuere fidem nisi cautibus asper
exarit mucro: tunc omnis lancea saxo
erigitur: tendunt neruis melioribus arcus:
cura fuit lectis pharetras implere sagittis.
auget eques stimulus frenorumque aptat habenas.
liuca superis hominum conferre labores,
non aliter Phlegra rabidos tollente Gigantas
Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis:
et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis,
spiculique extenso Pacan Pythone recoxit,
Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines,
Pallenaea Ioui mutavit fulmina Cyclops.
non tamen abstinuit uenturos prodere casus
per uarias Fortuna notas. nam Thessala rura
cum paterent, totus uenientibus obstitit aether
[inque oculis hominum frererunt fulmina nubes:]
aduersaque faces, immensoque igne columnas,
et trabibus mixtis auidos Pythonas aquarum
detu1it, atque oculos ingesto sulpure clausit.

139. asper] cf. Tac. Ann. xv 54 prompt-
tum uagina fugi6tore...metu6tate obtusum
increpans, asperrari saxo et in mucronem
ardescere iussit.
140. exaritis 'flashed into sparks'.
Oud. cf. Hor. carm. ii viii 15, 16 semper
ardentis acuens sagittis cote cruenta.
141. erigitur] 'is straightened' cf. i
242 carnutaque cupside pila.
143. auget—stimulos] 'prepares larger
spurs'.

frenorum—habenas] 'the reins that guide
the bit'. For the whole passage cf. Verg.
Aen. vii 624—640.
144. superis] sc. superorum laboribus;
σχήμα καθ' δόνο και μέρες.
tolli6t] 'upreared', perhaps with a
reference to the birth of the giants from the
earth.
146. Martius] For this list of the weap-
ons of the gods cf. Iuv. xiii 78—83.
147. cuspis] i.e. ὀίχυρα, 'trident'.
148. spiculique] 'forged afresh his
arrows after laying Python low'; cf. Verg.
Aen. vii 636 recoquint patrios fornacibus
cens.

extenso] cf. Verg. Aen. v 374 perculit et
multa moribundum extendit harena.

150. Palleneae] 'made fresh thunder-
bolts for use at Pallenae' i.e. at Phlegra.
Oud. cf. Stat. Silv. iv ii 55, 56 dux
superum secretu subet dare carmina Musas
et Palleneos Phoebum laudare triumphos.
151. prodere] 'to foretell', cf. Verg.
Aen. x 99 micrura uenturos nautis
prodentia uentos.
153. aether] i.e. caeli, cf. 160 infr.
154. inque oculis] This line is not found
in most MSS. and seems to be made up
from line 157: it also breaks the sense, as
aether is required as the subject of detulit.
cf. Val. Max. i vi § 12 egresso a Dyrrhachio
aduera agnini eius fulmina iacens.
156. mixtis] cf. Verg. Ecl. x 55 in-
terea mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis,
Pythonas] This, which according to Gro-
tius is the reading of the best MSS., is
re
tained by Weise. sc. 'fiery serpents': the
Scholiast reads typhonas in the sense of
'fiery eddies': Grotius suggests siphonas,
which Oud. adopts. as a possible reading,
meaning 'water-spouts', and supports the
use of ὀίχυρα in this sense in Greek by a
passage in Olympiodorus.
157. clausit] i.e. compelled them to
close their eyes.
excussit cristas galeis, capulosque solutis
perfudit gladiis, ereptaque pila liquauit,
aethereoque nocens fumauit sulphure ferrum.
nec non innumerò cooperta examine signa
uixque reuolsa solo, maiori pondere pressum
signiferi mersere caput rorantia fletu,
usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa.
admotus superis discussa fugit ab ara
taurus et Emathios praeceps se iecit in agros;
nullaque funestis inuenta est uictima sacris.

at tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite uocasti
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni,
infernunque nefas, et mersos nocte furores?

impia tam saeue gesturus bella litasti.
iam dubium monstrisne deum nimione pauri
crediderint: multis concurrenre uisus Olympo
Pindus, et abruptis mergi conuallibus Haemus,
edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia uoces,

ire per Ossaem rapidus Boebeida sanguis:
inque uicem uoluit tenebris mirantur opertos,
et pallere diem, galeisque incumbere noctem, 180
defunctosque patres et cunctas sanguinis umbras 185
ante oculos uolitare suos. sed mentibus unum
hoc solamen erat quod uoti turba nefandi
conscia, quae patrum iugulos quae pectora fratrum sperabat, gaudet monstris mentisque tumultu,
atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furores.

quid mirum populos quos lux extrema manebat
lymphato trepidasse metu, praesaga malorum
si data mens homini est. Tyriis qui Gadibus hospes
adiacet Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxen,
sub quocumque die quocumque est sidere mundi,
maeet, et ignorat causas, animumque dolentem
corripit, Emathii quid perdat nescit in aruis.
Euganeo, si uera fides memorantibus, augur
colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit,
atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timau,
uenit summa dies, geritur res maxima, dixit:

foll. a deelo ti kakow tiide pasxetes; vniko
mein imo eilvatai kefalai te prosowta te
nere te gyroa oimaghe te dehde, deidakron-
tai te pareiai; eidoive te ploiv pirotove
plei te to kai alye yeoim orefebose upo cho-
foi, hilo to ouvrai ekapwolos kakh' eti
epitbeirmov axlois.

178. pallerere 'lose its lustre', cf. note
on vi 502.
179. sanguinis 'of their kindred', cf.
Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. § 66 magnam possi-
det religionem paternus maternisque san-
guis.
181. uotl 'conscious of the guiltiness
of their prayers'.
183. monstris mentisque tumulti 'the
horrors seething in their hearts'.
184. omen scelerum i.e. 'they look on
these as an omen that their guilty wishes
will be accomplished'.
185. populus] appears to refer to Ro-
mans living abroad, cf. 436 infr.
lux extrema i.e. the last day worth
living.
manebat] cf. Verg. Aen. vii 596 te
Turne nefas te triste manchit supplecium.
praesaga] 'since the mind of man
is prone to presentiment of ill'.
bibit] cf. Verg. Ecl. 1 62 aut
Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Ti-
grim. Id. Aen. vii 715 qui Tiberim Fa-
barimque bibunt.
189. die] cf. notes on i 153, viii 217,
mundi is here equivalent to caeli as in
Lucreius and Virgil.
191. corripit] 'rebukes', i.e. for its
sadness, cf. Ov. ex Ponto ii 5 corripis
ut debes stulti peccata sodalis. Iuv. x
291, 292 cur tamen, inguit, corripias?
pulera gaudent Latona Diana.
192. Euganeo] The Euganean hills
are in the neighbourhood of Patavium:
this story about the augur Cornelius is
told by Plutarch, Caes. 47, on the au-
thority of Livy.
194. Antenorei] Antenor was said to
have founded Patavium, cf. Verg. Aen. i
242 foll. Antenor potuit mediis elapsus
Achinis Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque
intima tutus regna Liiburnorum et fontem
superae Timau: unde per ora nouem
nasto cum murmure montis it mare prorup-
tum, et pelago premit arma sonantii; hic
tamen ille urbem Pataui sedesque locuit
Teucorum.
dispergitur] refers to the several under-
ground channels by which the river reached
the sea, see Conington's note on Verg.
loc. cit.
ii 324.
impia concurrunt Pompeii et Caesaris arma; seu tonitrus ac tela Iouis praesagia notavit, aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo perspexitque polos: seu lumen in aethere maestum solis in obsuco pugnam pallore notavit. 200
dissimilem certe cunctis quos explicat egit Thessalicum natura diem: si cuncta perito augure mens hominum caeli noua signa notasset, spectari toto potuit Pharsalia mundo.
o summos hominum, quorum Fortuna per orbem 205
signa dedit, quorum fatis caelum omne uacuit, haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum, siue sua tantum uenient in saecula fama, siue aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris nominibus pro desse potest, cum bella legentur, * 210
spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt: adtonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata, non transmissa legent, et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

miles ut aduerso Phoebi radiatus ab ictu

198. aethera totum] omnia sidera Weise. discordi] proleptic; 'break the laws of the sky and spoil its harmony'.

200. solis in obscur] 'marked the battle by way of the sun's paleness'. The repetition of notavit within four lines is worth noticing, the meaning being somewhat different in the two cases.

201. quos explicat] 'which she unfolds to the world'; the metaphor is that of rolling back the pall of night, cf. Hor. Sat. i 9 iam nos induere terris umbras; or, less probably, 'which she brings to a conclusion', cf. Florus i xxi § 5 sic Fabius Maximus periculosissimum bellum siue periculo explicavit.

egit] 'made to pass'.

202. cuncta—mens hominum] is probably equivalent to mens cunctorum hominum: perito augure 'under the guidance of a skilful augur'; but it is possible that cuncta perito should be taken together as 'skilled in all things', cf. Auson. Ep. cxxvii 1 arma virumque docens atque arma virumque peritus.

203. spectavit] i.e. all the world might have known that the battle of Pharsalia was being fought.

206. signa dedit] cf. note on i 539.

quorum fatis] 'for whose destinies all heaven found room', cf. Ov. Trist. 216 non uacat exiguis rebus adesse Ioui.


208. in saecula] cf. x 533 Plin. paneg. 55 ibit in saecula fuisse principem cui florenti et incolumi uinuum quin modici honores decernentur.


210. legentur] 'when the tale of war shall be read', cf. Verg. Ecl. iv 26 fata parentis iam legere.

211. peritura] 'doomed to be thrown away', i.e. wasted on what is past and cannot be remedied, cf. Cic. ad Att. ii xvii § 1 ne et opera et olemen philologiae nostrae perierit.

212. adtonit] 'in dismay', cf. 134 supr.


ab iicto] cf. note on ii 493.
descendens totos perfudit lumine colles
non temere immissus campis: stetit ordine certo
infelix acies. cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum prima, quae tum fuit optima bello,
et quarta legione datur: tibi, numine pugnax
aduerso, Domiti, dextri frons tradita Martis.
at medii robur belli fortissima densant
agmina, quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat
Scipio, miles in hoc, Libyco dux primus in orbe.
at iuxta fluentes et stagna undantis Enipei
Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenae
Ponticus ibat eques. sicci sed plurima campi
tetrarchae regesque tenent magnique tyranni,
atque omnis Latio quae seruit purpura ferro.
illuc et Libye Numidas et Creta Cydonas
misit: Ituracis cursus fuit inde sagittis:
inde, truces Galli, solitum prodistis in hostem:
illic pugnaces commouit Hiberia cetras.
cripe uictori gentes, et sanguine mundi
fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos.
ili forte die Caesar statione relictas
ad segetum raptus moturus signa, repente
consipicit in planos hostem descendere campos,
oblatumque uidet uotis sibi mille petitum
tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus.
aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni

215. *perfudit* 'spread the glitter of
their arms over all the hills'.
216. *immissus* is best taken as a par-
ticiple, not as a verb, although the three
participles agreeing with *miles* make the
sentence somewhat awkward.
219. *numine pugnas* 'ever ready to
fight although the gods be unpropitious'.
223. *Libyco* sc. after Pompeius' death,
at the battle of Thapsus.
225. *largus habenae* 'giving free rein
to their steeds'. Oud. cf. IX 611 Sil. Ital.
VII 601 largumque comae prosternit Ad-
herben. Id. VIII 249 largusque rapiuae.
227. *tetrarchae* The special title of the
chieftains of Galatia, but used generally,
cf. Hor. Sat. i iii 12 modo reges atque
tetrarchas omnia magna loquens.
228. *ferro* cf. X 5 regnum Lagi Roma-
na sub arma iret.
230. *cursus fuit* 'winged their flight'.
231. *Galli* i.e. the Allobroges, who
had deserted from Caesar to Pompeius,
233. *cripe* occidantur, inquit, omnes,
ne sint quibus uictor imperet rex aut de
quibus triumphet. Schol.
240. *aeger—morae* cf. Sil. Ital. XIII
52 aeger delicti: aeger is used in a some-
what different way with the genitive in
Sil. Ital. III 72 aepro timoris Roma.
cooperat exiguus tractu ciuilia bella
ut lentum damnare nefas. discrimina postquam
aduentare ducum supremaque proelia uidit,
casuram et fatis sensit nutare ruinam,
illa quoque in ferrum rabies promptissima paulum
languit, et casus audax spondere secundos
mens stetit in dubio, quam nec sua fata timere,
nec Magni sperare sinunt. formidine mersit
prosilit hortando melior fiducia ulgo:
o domitor mundi, rerum fortuna mearum,
in manibus uestrís, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas
promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma,
in quam distulimus uetitos remeare triumphos.
haec cadem est hodie quae pignora quaeque penates
reddat, et emerito faciat uos Marte colonos.
haec fato quae teste probet, quis iustiuis arma
sumperit: haec acies uictum factura nocentem est.
si pro me patriam ferro flammisque petitis,
nunc pugnate truces gladiosque exsoluite culpa. nulla manus belli mutato iudice pura est. non mihi res agitur, sed uos ut libera sitis turba precor, gentes ut ius habeatis in omnes. 265 ipse ego priuatae cupidus me reddere uitae, plebciaque toga modicum componere cium, omnia dum uobis liceant nihil esse recuso. inuidia regnate mea. nec sanguine multo spem mundi petitis: Graiiis delecta iuentus gymnasii aderit studioque ignaua palaestrae, et uix arma ferens, et mixtæ dissona turbae barbaries; non illa tubas non agmine moto clamorem latura suum. ciuilia paucæ bella manus facient: pugnae pars magna leuabit 275 his orbem populis Romanumque obteret hostem. ite per ignauas gentes famosaque regna, et primo ferri motu prostermite mundum:


263. *mutate* Grotiue compares the answer of Philocles, the Athenian general, to Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, Plut. Lygan. 13 6 de oœch ti prôs tív συμφοράν ενδοι εκλευε μη κατηγορεῖν ὧν oœchi esti δικαστή, αλλα νικάτα πράττειν ἀπεὶ αὐτὸι εταγχειν.

267. *modicum componere cium* modicum compositumque cium agere. Weise. 'to settle down as an ordinary citizen'. cf. Tac. Ann. i 73 modici equitis Romani; Id. xi 7 se modicos senatores qui quieta re publica nulla nisi pacis emolumenta peterent.

268. *omnia* There are two possible interpretations of this line: (1) which seems to me preferable, 'until all things are lawful for you, I refuse to be made a cipher'. cf. Cic. ad fam. vii xxxii § 1 nos enim plane...aut nihil sumus, aut nobis quidem ipsius displicium: or (2) 'there is nothing which I refuse to be, so long as you are all powerful', i.e. I am ready to take any part.

269. *inuidia* 'be yours the power, mine the blame'.


271. *gymnasiis* The training of athletes was considered incompatible with that of soldiers. cf. Plat. Rep. iii 410 b. foll. Plat. Philopoemen 3 ἀθλητικον στρατιωτικον σῶμα καὶ μίαν διαφέρειν τοίς πάσι. Quintil. X i 33 non athletarum loros sed militiam lacerios esse.

272. *mixtae* 'a motley horde of various-tongued barbarians': for this 'genitive of apposition' cf. Hor. Sat. i 79 vitium irae. Liv. xxiv 3 lucus...proceris abietis arboribus saepius.


274. *ciuilia* emphatic, few of the enemy are Romans. *panae manus* 'but few of your hands'.

276. *populis* 'foreign nations', cf. 1 82, 93.

277. *famosa* probably 'of evil repute', cf. Hor. carm. iii 36, Sat. i 4 5, 6: the word is also often used in a good sense, cf. Tac. Hist. v 2 quia famosae urbis supremam diem tradituri sumus, speaking of Jerusalem.
sitque palam quas tot duxit Pompeius in urbem
curribus unius gentes non esse triumphi.

Arménios ne mouet Romana potentia cuius
sit ducis? aut emptum minimo uolt sanguine quisquam
barbarus Hcspcriis Magnum praeponere rebus?
Romanos odere omnes dominosque grauantur;
quos nouere, magis. sed me Fortuna meorum
commissit manibus, quorum me Gallia testem
tot fecit bellis. cuius non militis ensem
agnoscam? caclumque tremens cum lancea transit,
dicere non fallar quo sit uibrata lacerto.

quod si signa ducem numquam fallentia uestrum
conspicio faciesque truces oculosque minaces,
uicistis. uideor fluuios spectare cruioris,
calcatosque simul reges, sparsumque senatus
corpus, et immensa populos in caede natantis.

sed mea fata moror, qui uos in tela uentis
uoecibus his teneo. ueniam date bella trahenti:
spe trepido: haud umquam uidi tam magna daturos
tam prope me: superos: camporum limite paruo
absumus a uotis: ego sum cui Marte peracto
quae populi regesque tenent donare iICEBIT.

quone poli motu, quo caeli sidere uerso,
TheSSALICae tantum, superi, permittitis orae?
aut merces hodie bellorum aut poena paratur.

279. in urbem] cf. Petron. 122 quam-
quam quos gloria territ? aut qui sunt qui bella ciet? mercedibus emplae ac uiles
operae quislibet est mea Roma nouera.

280. curribus] 'in so many triumphs'.

281. monē] cf. Hor. Sat. I x 78 men
monuicat eximiae Pantilisus?

282. sit ducis] Compare the language
of Civilis in Tae. Hist. IV 17 dum ali
Vespasianum ali Villitium suoE tum pa-
tere locum adversus utrumque.

284. grauandur] 'loathé', cf. v 281,
Suet. Aug. 72 empla et operosa praetoria
grauabantur. Plin. Paneg. 43 §3 seis, ut
sunt diversa natura dominatio et prin-
cipatius, ita non alius esse principem grati-
orem quam qui maxime dominum grauen-
tur.

285. quos nouer.] i.e. Pompeius, the
conqueror of the East.

286. agnoscam] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. IX
246—248 se cognoscere iactat qua dextra
veniant stridentis sibilla telli, promittitique
uiris nulli se defore testem.

289. signa] i.e. faciesque truces oculos-
quem inacles.

291. uider] cf. Hor. Carm. II i 21,
22 audire magnos tam uideror duces non
indecoro patucre sordidos.

292. tam prope mel] cf. Verg. Ec. 142
nee tam praecentis alibi cognoscere dinos.

293. limite] 'dividing line' and so 'in-
terval'.

301. quone] 'by what shifting of the
pole, by the revolution of what star in
heaven?' For the double interrogative cf.
X 99, Hor. Sat. II III 295 quone malo me-
tem perfessa? timove deorum.
Caesareas spectate cruces spectate catenas, et caput hoc positum rostris, effusaque membra, Septorumque nefas, et clausi proelia Campi. cum duce Sullano gerimus ciuilia bella. uestri cura mouet: nam me secura manebit sors quaesita manu: fodiuntem uiscera cernet me mea qui nondum uicto respexerit hoste. di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus Romanusque labor, uincat quicumque ncessse non putat in uictos saeolum destringere ferrum, quique suos ciues, quod signa aduersa tulerunt, non credit fecisse nefas. Pompeius in arto agmina uestra loco uetita uirtute moueri cum tequit, quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum. uos tamen hoc oro, iuuenes, ne caedere quisquam hostis terga uelit: ciues qui fugaerit esto. sed dum tela micant, non uos pietatis imago uella nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes commoueant: uoltus gladio turbate uerendos. siue quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro ibit, seu nullum uiolabit uolnere pignus, ignoti iugulum tamquam scelus imputat hostis.
sternite iam uallum fossasqueimplete ruina, 
exeat ut plenis acies non sparsa maniplis;
parcite ne castris: uallo tendetis in illo 
unde acies peritura ucnit. uix cuncta locuto 
Caesare quemque suum munus trahit, armaque raptim 
sumpta Ceresque uiris. capiunt praesagia belli, 
calcatisque ruunt castris: stant ordine nullo, 
arte ducis nulla; permittunt omnia fatis. 
si totidem Magni socios totidemque potentis 
urbis regna suae funesto in Marte locasses, 
uidit ut hostiles in rectum exire cateruas 
Pompeius nullasque moras permettere bello 
sed superis placuisse diem: stat corde gelato 
adtonitus: tantoque duci sic arma timere 

no mercy even if we shall spare our relatives.

imputat] The MSS. seem to vary 
between imputat and imputet: the 
following is the explanation given by Sul
pitius of the former: ea atrocitate hostem 
ignotum inuadat, qua inuaderet necessa
rion et cognatum 'let him assail the 
throat of an unknown foe as though it 
were an accursed thing', i.e. a kinsman's 
throat, which would bring a curse upon 
him. Oud. with many MSS. reads im
putet, explaining it thus: imputate mihi 
mortes etiam uilium et ignotorum, tan
quam interfeceritis cognatos et seclus 
propter me feceritis, cf. III 436. 437 iam 
ne quis uestrum dignitet subuertere situam 
credite me fiesse nefas. Weise's note 
gives no explanation of tamquam seclus. 
As neither imputet nor imputat appears 
to admit of any satisfactory explanation, 
I have ventured to read imputat, which is 
a combination of the two, and can, I 
think, be interpreted as above.

336. sternite] In the American Journal of 
Philology, Vol. 5, pp. 325—330 Mr 
Perrin shows that this order of Caesar's, 
in itself most improbable, is mentioned 
by no authority except Appian Civil 
Wars II 74; 75, and is in fact contradicted 
by Caesar, who says, B. C. III 89 cohorte
s septem castris praesidio reliquerat. He 
concludes that Appian founded his state
ment on this passage in Lucan.

337. plenis] 'not divided but with 
companies complete', i.e. leaving no re
serve to guard the camp.

328. tendetis] 'you shall encamp', cf. 
Verg. Aen. II 29 hic Doloquam manus, hic 
sacius tendebat Achilles.

331. sumpta Ceresque uiris] This is 
the reading of the Roman edition of 1469; 
according to Oud. sumpta uirisque Ceses 
is found in MSS. The Schol. explains 
frumentum singuli et arma sumpserunt. 
celsa socios deprimere puppi, dona dece
Bacchi casius qui firmet in omnes; rapta 
Ceres, uirisque premunt longo ordine 
ripis. Grotius with some MSS. reads 
sumpta uiris; celeres... and is followed 
by Weise.

captivat praesagia] 'they seize on this 
omen of the war's result', i.e. Caesar's 
words, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1652, 1653, Al. 
ālla μην κάγω πρόκοποι oúk ἁγιωμαι 
θανεῖν. Ἱο. δεχομένων Λέγεις θανεῖν σε
τίν τύχην δ' αἴροιμελα.

335. locasses] An emendation of Gro
tius for locasst of MSS. Oud. ingeniously 
suggests that funesto on the other 
hand should be changed into fortuna, 
leaving locasset, but does not admit the 
change into his text.

336. non tam] i.e. had they been all 
Caesars they would not have been so eager 
to fight.

337. in rectum] 'straightforward', 
cf. Ov. Met. II 714, 715 itaque non agit 
in rectum sed in orbem curvat eundem.

339. corde gelato] cf. Iuv. VI 95 timent 
paudique gelantur pector.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

omen erat. premit inde metus totumque per agmen sublimi praecunctus equo: quem flagitat, inquit, uestra diem uirtus, finis ciuilibus armis quem quaesistis, adest. totas effundite uires; extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentes hora trahit. quisquis patriam carosque penates, qui subolem ac thalamos desertaque pignora quaerit, ense petat: medio posuit deus omnia campo. causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos: ipsi tela regna per uiscera Caesaris, ipsi Romanas sancire uolent hoc sanguine leges. si socero dare regna meo mundumque pararent, praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam. non iratorum populis urbiue deorum est Pompeium seruare ducem. quae uincere possent omnia contulimus. subiere pericula clari sponte uiri, sacraque antiquus imagine miles. si Curios his fata darent reducesque Camillos temporibus Deciosque caput fatale uouentis, hinc starent. primo gentes oriente coactae, innumeraeque urbes, quantas in proelia numquam exciueru manus. toto simul utimur orbe.

342. praecunctus] 'riding along the line'.
344. trahit] 'drags to ruin', cf. Verg. Aen. v 709 quia fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur. See also note on IV 222.
345. medio-campo] i.e. as the prize, cf. Hom. Il. xxii 704 ἀνδρὶ δὲ προεδρίᾳ γυναῖκι εἰς μέσῳ ἔθερεν.
347. hoc sanguine] apud Romanos mos erat ut ubi foedus fiebat ibi porca occidetur. Schol. Caesar's blood is thus on this occasion to take the place of the victim's: cf. Cic. ad Quirit. post redit. § 13 cum omnia cum omnibus foederis, re-conciliationes gratiarum, sanguine meo sancirentur.
348. praecipitare] 'they might have brought my old age to a speedy end by a natural death'. cf. Tac. Ann. vi 16 (10) per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.
349. clari] clari or clarissimi became under the empire the technical title of senators, cf. Vopisc. Aurel. 18 libros inspici clarissimi ordinis iussit auctoritas, Lamprid. Heliogab. 4 matres suam in senatum rogari iussit... solusque omnium imperatorum fuit sub quo mulier, quasi clarissima, leoa uiri senatum ingessu est.
350. sacrare] 'soldiers who show their ancient blood by hallowed busts' i.e. of their ancestors.
351. primo-oriente] 'the furthest East' i.e. where the sun first appears.
352. quantas] 'have summoned to battle more hands than they have ever done before'.
quidquid signiferi comprensurn limite caeli sub Noton et Borean hominum sumus arma mouemus. nonne superfusis collectum cornibus hostem in medium dabinus? paucas uictoria dextrae exigite: at plures tantum clamore cateruæ bella gerent. Caesar nostris non sufficit armis. credite pendentis e summis moenibus urbis crinibus effusis hortari in proelia matres. credite grandaeuom uetitumque actate senatum arma sequi sacros pedibus prosterne canos: atque ipsam domini metuentem occurrere Romam, credite qui nunc est populus populumque futurum permixtas adferre preces. hacc libera nasci, hacc uolt turba mori. si quis post pignora tanta Pompeio locus est, cum prole et coniuge supplex, imperii salua si maiestate liceret, uoluerer ante pedes. Magnus, nisi uincitis, exsul, ludibrium socieri, uester pudor, ultima fata deprecor, ac turpes extremi cardinis annos, ne discam seruire senex. tam maesta locuti uoce ducis flagrant animi Romanaque uirtus erigit; placuitque mori, si uera timeret.

ergo utrimque pari concurrent agmina motu irarum: metus hos regni spes excitat illos.

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hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expleat actas
ulla nec humanum reparet genus omnibus annis,
ut uacet a ferro. gentes Mars iste futuras
obruct, et populos acui uinctitos in orbem
creppto natale feret. tunc omne Latinum
fabula nomen erit: Gabios Veiosque Coramque
pulvere uix tectae poterunt monstrare ruiniae,
Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates
rus uacuom, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta,
inuitus, questusque Numam iussisse, senator.
non actas haec carpisit edax monumentaque rerum
putria destituit: crimen ciuile uidemus
tot uacuas urbes. generis quo turba redacta est
human? toto populi qui nascimur orbe,
nec muros implere uiris nec possusmus agros:
urbs nos una capit: uincto fossore coluntur
Hesperiae segetes: stat tectis putris autis
in nullo ruitura domus: nulloque frequentem
ciue suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam,

387. quidquid] almost equivalent to
quantum: ‘all the slaughter that no
future age can make up for’, cf. VIII
365. Catull. LVI 3 ride quidquid anas
Cato Catullum. For explore, cf. infr. 415.
389. ut uacer] ‘though it be free from
the sword’.
390. uicientis in orbem] ‘next coming
into the world’; orbis by itself is rarely
found in this sense; but ‘recurring in a
cycle’ cannot well be the meaning in this
passage.
391. crepto natale] ‘depriving them of
birth’, i.e. by the slaughter of those who
might have been their fathers.
fert] ‘will sweep away’.
392. fabula] cf. Hor.iam te premest nos fabulaeque mones. For
the desolation of the cities of the Latin
league, cf. Hor. Ep. I xi 7, 8 seis Lebedi
quid sit; Gabii desertor atque Fidenis
tuces. Propert. V i 34 et qui nunc nulli
maxima turba Gabi.
393. puliere] of Gabii, Veii and Cora
scarce will their dust-covered ruins show
the site’.
395. rus uacuom] nominative, sc. uix
poterit monstrare: for uacuam cf. Verg. G.
11 225 uacuis Clanius non aequus Acerri.
396. Numam] According to Dionys-
sius of Halicarnassus Bk iv it was Tar-
quinius Superbus who instituted the feriae
Latinae; but the Romans ascribed to
Numa all their religious ceremonies and
particularly the rules to be observed on
398. patria destituit] ‘has abandoned
to decay the monuments of the past’.
crimen ciuile] ‘the guilty result of civil
nam nec ipse usquam uinctos habet nec ibi
quisquam, referring to Italy north of the
Po. On the subject of the depopulation
of Italy cf. Appian, Civil Wars I cap.
VII.
404. in nullo] ‘ready to fall, but on
the heads of none’.
405. faece] cf. Liv. III 61 foll. quam-
us quod portio faeci Achaei? iampridem
Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Oronites &c.
Tac. Ann. XV 44 quo cuncta undique atro-
elis co dedimus, ne tanto in tempore bellum iam posset ciule geri. Pharsalia tanti causa mali. cedant feralia nomina Cannae; et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis. tempora signuit leuiorum Roma malorum, hunc uoluit nescire diem. pro tristia fata. aera pestiferum tractu, morbosque fluentis, insanamque famem, permissaque ignibus urbes, moeniaque in praeces laturos plena tremores hi possent explere uiri, quos undique traxit in miseram Fortuna necem, dum munera longi explicat eripiens acui, populosque ducesque constituit campis: per quos tibi, Roma, ruenti ostendat quam magna cadas. quo latius orbem possedit citius per prospera fata cucurrit.

omne tibi bellum gentes dedit omnibus annis: te geminum Titan procedere uidit in axem. haud multum terrae spatium restabat Eoae, ut tibi nox tibi tota dies tibi curreret aether, would hurl to ruin crowded cities'.

et [explore] 'make up for', cf. supr. 387. Liv. iii 68 iam uniuicque ex agris sua damna multitudintur; quid est tamen domi, unde ea explicatis? Justin vi. 4 expelt contumelas honoribus, detrimenta numerosibus, execrationes precibus.

dum [while she displays the gifts of long ages in the act of snatching them away'.

numera] sc. multitudinem hominum qui ad tantum numerum munere longi acui excreuerant. Omnibus.

explicit] A military metaphor, displays them as in a review, cf. note on vi. 9.

quam magna cadas] 'how great thou art in thy fall'; for the contrast between the Latin and English idioms cf. note on i. 457.

gentes] 'conquered nations'.

geminum] 'advancing towards both poles', i.e. northward and southward.

nox—dies] These words show the extension of the Roman power eastward and westward, completing line 422. tibi curreret aether] 'for thee heaven should revolve'.
omniaque errantes stellae Romana uident. sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis Emathiae funesta dies. Hae luce cruenta effectum ut Latios non horreat India fasces, nec uietitos errare Dahas in moenia ducat Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum: quod semper sacuas debet tibi Parthia poenas, quod fugiens ciule nefas reditutique nunquam libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit, ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita uagatur, Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra Ausoniam, uellem, populis incognita nostris. uolturis ut primum lacuo fundata uolatu Romulus infami complevit moenia luco.

425. omniaque] 'and that the planets should look down on nought that was not Rome's', cf. Hor. Epp. i. xviii. 57 si quid abest Italis odiiudicat armis, Ox. A. A. i. 177 ecce parat Caesar domito quod definit orbis addere, Id. Fast. i. 55, 86, Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectat in orborum nini Romanum quod tueatur habet.


par] 'a match for all bygone years'.


succinctus] The ancient fashion of wearing the toga was kept up in religious ceremonies, cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 187, 188 ipse Quirinali lituo parraque sedebat succinctus trabet, and note on 1. 596.


431. quod semper] These words also depend on effectum, though the change from ut with subjunctive to quod with indicative is somewhat strange. The punctuation of the passage given by Weise makes it quite unintelligible.

debet] i.e. has not yet paid the penalty.

433. Tigrim] Grotius would change this to Timaim (1) because the Scythians not the Parthians, are mentioned below, (2) because the Parthians were not free, but under a despotism: the alteration however is unnecessary, for Lucan is regarding freedom as exemption from the way of the Caesars, and is probably thinking of the lines in Verg. Ecl. i. 162, 63 ante, pererratis amborum fuitis, exsul aut Avarim Parthis biect aut Germania Tigrim, cf. note on 435 infr.

434. iugulo] 'at the risk of our life-blood'.

uagatur] 'wanders free', Oud. cf. Claudiun in Rufin. i. 53, 54 Concordia Virtus cumque Fide Ficis alta ceruite uagantur.

435. respicit] This appears to be also taken from Verg. Ecl. i. 28 libertas, quae sera tamen respexit iurem.

436. uellem] 'and would she had never been known to our tribes', i.e. the tribes of Italy, cf. note on 185 supr.


laena] 'inauspicious', i.e. because slavery has in the end been the fate of Rome.

438. complaudit] 'filled with inhabitants'.

luco] 'by means of the dishonourable grove', i.e. by making it an asylum for criminals, &c., cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 342 hinc locum ingentem quem Romulus acer asyam reuit, Iuv. viii. 272—275 et tamen, ut longe repetas longque revolutas nomen, ab infami gentem deductis asylo: majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nole.
usque ad Thessalicas seruisses, Roma, ruinas.
de Brutis, Fortuna, quoror. quid tempora legum 440
egimus aut annos a consule nomen habentis?
felices Arabes Medique Eoaque tellus,
quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis.
ex populis qui regna ferunt sors ultima nostra est,
quos seruire pudet. sunt nobis nulla profecto 445
numina: cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu,
mentimur regnare Iouem. spectabit ab alto
aethere Thessalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?
scilicet ipse petet Pholoen petet ignibus Oeten
immitteraque nemus Rhodopes pinusque Mimantis:
Cassius hoc potius feriet caput? astra Thyestae 451
impulit et subitis damnauit noctibus Argos:
tot similis fratrum gladios patrumque gerenti
Thessaliae dabit ille diem? mortalia nulli
sunt curata deo. cladis tamen huius habemus 455
undictam, quantam terris dare numina fas est. bella parces superis facient ciuilia diuos:
fulminibus manes radiisque ornabat et astris,
inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras,
ut rapido cursu fati suprema moram
cumpserat locum, parua tellure dirempit,
inde manus spectant ulotusque agnoscre quaeunt,
quo sua pila cadant, aut quae sibi fats minetur,
fecturi quae monstra forent. uidere parentes
frontibus aduersis fraternaque conminus arma,
nec libuit mutare locum: tamen omnia torpor
pectora constrinxit: gelidusque in uiscera sanguis
percusla pietate coit: totaegce cohortes
pila parata diu tensuere lacertis.
di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur, sed
senum post fata tuae dent, Crastine, morti,
cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum,
the insult done to them in defying the
Caesars.
457. pares superis] 'civil wars will raise
deaf Caesars to the level of the gods above'.
458. fulminibus] Rome will deck
the dead with thunderbolts and rays and
stars, and in the very temples of the gods
swear by the shades of men'. There is
at Rome a statue of Claudius representing
him as grasping the thunderbolts, the
Aen. xii 162—164 cui tempor circun
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt, solis
aut specimen, and Conington's note.
manes] cf. vi 809.
460. consumpsere] 'when they got over
all the space that yet delayed the final
decision of destiny', cf. Catull. xxxv 7
quar si sapid miuan iurabit. See also
Manil. v 585 ergaque consumunt pelagus,
i.e. cover all the sea.
461. inde manus] 'then they gaze
upon their foesmen's hands and seek to
recognise their faces, to see where their
own javelins are to light, or what javelins
(i.e. whose) threaten them with death,
while on the point of doing all that were
horrible': for the indirect interrogation
depending on the general sense of the
preceding sentence, cf. Verg. Aen. ii 120,
121 obstituere omnes gelidusque per ima
cucurrit ossa tremor; cui fatum parent, quem
poscat Apollo.
464. forent] is in the past tense following
the historic present; see note on ii 651.
466. nec libuit] 'nor yet did they care
to shift their ground'. cf. Tac. Hist. iii
25 nec eo sequius propinquos adfines fra-
tres truncatos spoliat; factum esse sedul
loquitur faciuntque.
467. in uiscera] 'to their heart', cf.
Verg. G. i 484 frigidus obtenderit circum
pracaducia sanguis.
468. percusla pietate] sc. pis animis
perculs.
469. tensus] 'held back with outstretched
arms'.
470. poena] This is one of the very
few passages in which among the ancients
death is regarded in the light of a penalty:
 cf. Sen. dial. xii xiii § 2 si ultimam diem
non quasi poenam, sed quasi naturae legem
adipicis, ex quo pectore metum cicicieris,
in id nullius rer timor audiet intrare. See
Lecky's History of European Morals, vol.
1, chap. ii, p. 219 foll.
471. sed sensum] 'but may they give
sensation after death to thee when dead',
for this use of mors, cf. Cic. pro Milone
§ 86 non fuisse credo fas...necque ulla in
loco potius mortem eius lacerari quam in
quo uita esse damnata. Propert. ii x 22
nec sit in Atalico mors nec nixix toro.
Crastine] For an account of Crastinus,
primaque Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit.

o praeeeps rabies, cum Caesar tela teneret,

inuentae est prior ulla manus? tum stridulus aer elisis lituis conceptaque classica cornu:

tunc ausae dare signa tubae: tunc acthera tendit extremae fragor conuexa irripit Olympi,

unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant.

exceptit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus,
Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis:
Pindus agit fremitus, Pangenaeaque saxa resultant,

Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes: uocesque furoris

expauere sui tota tellure relatas.

spargitur innumerum diuersis missile utotis.

uoelnera pars optat, pars terrae figere tela

ac puras seruare manus. rapit omnia casus,
atque incerta facit quos uolt Fortuna nocentis.

sed quota pars eladis iaculis ferroque uolanti

exacta est. odiis solus ciuilibus ensis

sufficit et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit.
Pompeii densis acies stipata cateruis

iuuuxerat in seriem nexus uombonibus arma,

uixque habitura locum dextras ac tela mouendi

constiterat gladiosque suos compressa tenebat.

praccipiti cursu uaesanum Caesaris agmen

—

LIBER VII. 456—496. 251

cf. Caes. B.C. III 91, Appian, Civil Wars II 82.

475. *prior* 'to anticipate him'.


477. *acthera tendit* 'mounts skyward'.

479. *unde procu* i.e. the upper heaven above the clouds and thunderstorms.


486. *resonis* A rare word used by Ov. Met. III 495: 496, quotiensque puere misera-

—


484. *relatas* 'reechoed from the whole land'.


486. *uolueru* i.e. to inflict wounds.

488. *incerta facil* 'uncertain Fortune makes guilty whom she will', i.e. by causing their darts to strike a kinsman.

489. *nexis uombonibus* cf. Iuv. II 45 sed illos defendit numeros inuectaque uom- bone phalanges.

495. *tenebat* 'held back'. The Scholarist with some MSS. reads *timebat*, i.e. 'fearcd to hurt each other with their swords' for which Oud. cf. IV 179 uix impune suos inter concubitur enes.
in densos agitur cuneos: perque arma, per hostem quae rit iter. qua torta graues lorica catenas opponit tutoque latet sub tegmine pectus, hae quoque peruentum est ad uiscera: totque per arma extremum est quod quisque ferit. ciulia bella una acies patitur, gerit altera: frigidus inde stat gladius; calet omne nocens a Caesare ferrum. nec Fortuna diu rerum tot pondera uertens abstulit ingentes fato torrente ruinas.

ut primum toto diduxit cornua campo Pompeianus eques bellique per ultima fudit, sparsa per extremos leuis armatura maniplos insequitur saevasque manus immittit in hostem. illic quaeque suo miscet gens proelia telo:

Romanus cunctis petitur crur: inde sagittae, inde faces et saxa ulant, spatioque solutae aeris et calido liquefactae pondere glandes.

497. cuneos] 'columns' i.e. of the Pompeians.

perque—per] For the repetition of the preposition instead of a second que cf. Verg. Aen. x 370, 371 and Conington's note.

498. catenas] probably the lacings by which the armour was fastened together across the chest, cf. Verg. Aen. VII. 467 loricam consortam manis auquoe trilicem.

501. extremum est] 'the last thing reached', i.e. uiscera.

503. a Caesare] 'on Caesar's side', cf. 1 59.

504. nec Fortuna] The reading in the text is that found in almost all MSS. and in the Roman edition of 1460, and is, I believe, capable of defence. Grotius following a few MSS. changed uertens into uergens, which is adopted by Ould. and Weise. Lucan is here giving a summary of the battle before proceeding to describe the particular incidents, which he ends by saying 'and Fortune, taking but a short time to overthrow such weighty interests, swept away the ruins with the flood of doom'. nec diu is equivalent to et non diu as in 1 72 nec se fereus to et non se fereus, cf. note ad loc. The use of diu in this sense with the present participle may, I think, be defended by a reference to VIII 672, 673 nodosque frangit ossa diu i.e. 'takes a long time in breaking the knotty bones'. For abstulit cf. Tac. Ann. iv 13 claritutio infantis generis et paloris aduersis for est abdextrus. The Scholast explains abstulit by distulit, but the word could not bear this signification. Mr Postgate, besides adopting the uergens of Grotius, proposes to read pondere for pontera and abstinet for abstulit: if nec diu must be taken with the verb some such change seems necessary, but I believe the explanation given above of the MSS. reading to be a possible one. In any case the distinction apparently drawn between Fortuna and fatum is remarkable.

506. diduxit] 'of the warring host', compare the use of 'battle' in old English.

508. sparsa] equivalent to enissa, Weise.

510. quaeque] not as Weise says equivalent to quaequaque; the sentence is an asyndeton: 'each race joins battle with its own weapon; what all aim at is the blood of Romans'.


513. aeris] 'melted by the distance through the air they traverse, and made fluid by their heated weight', i.e. by the
heat their weight evolves, because Lucan supposes that the heavier they are the more resistance does the air offer, and so there is more friction and more heat evolved.


514. solutu] equivalent to distincti, molles. Oud. cf. ii 259. The Schol. explains solutus as qui sine imperatore sunt liberi, but the former is probably right. Weise reads soluto, apparently intending it to be taken as equivalent to expedito, but arcus solutus would naturally mean 'a slackened bow'.

515. nusquam] 'nowhere aimed their arrows at a mark'. Compare the account of the Norman archers at the battle of Hastings, Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. iii, chapter xv, p. 497.


sclerisu] i.e. it involved no scelus for the foreign troops to kill Romans.

518. coactum] 'gathered to a head'.


520. nox—telis conserta] 'a night of interlacing darts'.

521. tum Caesar] For these manoeuvres cf. Caes. B. C. iii 92, 93.

522. tenet] 'holds back his infantry ranged transversely behind the standards'.

524. subitum—agmen] i.e. the cohorts mentioned in v. 522.

525. immemores pugnae] 'regardless of the fight', cf. Hom. Il. vi 112 ἀπέρε ὡστε, φίλαι, μην ἐσπαθεῖ δὲ θυρίδος ἀληθίνου loco, nulloque pudorifice timendi] 'with no shame for their cowardice': this seems a simpler explanation than Weise's, viz. 'not to be feared from any sense of honour', for which cf. Thuc. i 84 πολεμικὰ τε καὶ ἐξοθολία διὰ τὸ εὐκοσμον γεγονότα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰώνω ἀρχομενον ἀργυρον πλείονον μετέξει, aἰσχύνης δὲ ἐφαινετα.

526. facere palam] 'showed plainly by their headlong flight that the conduct of civil war was never safely entrusted to barbaric hordes'.


530. nubes] This is the reading of the Schol. and according to Oud. of the best MSS. cf. Liv. xxxv 49 rex peditem equitumque nubes iactat. Weise reads rubes.
in sua conversis praeceps ruit agmina frenis. perdidit inde modum caedes ac nulla secuta est pugna, sed hinc iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur. nec ualet hae acies tantum prosterne quantum inde perire postest. utinam, Pharsalia, campis sufficiat crur iste tuis, quem barbara fundunt pectora; non alio mutentur sanguine fontes; hic numerus toto est ossibus agros: aut si Romano complectori sanguine maulis, istis parce precor: uiuant Galataeque, Syrique, Cappadoces, Gallique, extremique orbis Hiberi, Armeni, Cilices: nam post ciuilia bella hic populus Romanus erit. semel ortus in omnes it timor et fatis datus est pro Caesare cursus. uentum erat ad robur Magni mediasque cateruas. quod toto erro uago perfuderat agros, constitit hic bellum fortunaque Caesaris haesit. illic non regum auxiliis collecta iuentus bella gerit ferrumque manus mouere rogatae: ille locus fratres habuit locus ille parentes. hic furoh hic rabies hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar. hanc fuge, mens, belli partem tenebrisque relinque,
nullaque tantorum discat me ute malorum quam multum bellis liceat ciuilibus actas. hae potius pererant lacrimae pererantque querelae. 555 quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo. hic Caesar rabies populis stimulusque furorum, ne qua parte sui pererat scelus, agmina circum it uagus, atque animis ignes flagrantibus addit; inspict et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent, 560 qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti, quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela, quis contenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti, quem pugnare iuuet, quis uoluit ciue perempto mutet: obit latis proiecta cadauera campis: 565 uolnerea multorum totum fusura cruorem opposita premit ipse manu. quacumque uagatur, sanguineum uelut quatiens Bellona flagellum, Bistonas aut Mauors agitans, si uerbere saeuo Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus, 570 nox ingens scelerum et caedem orientur, et instar immensae uociis gemitus, et pondere lapsi

quanquam animus meminisse korret lac-
taque refugit.

553. tantorum—me ute] 'by my re-
cord in song of such great disasters': cf. Hor. Epod. xvi 65, 66 quorum pis secunda ute me datur fuga.

555. hae—lacrimae] i.e. the tears shed for this, cf. Tac. Ann. vi 31 (25) nondum is dolor exoleuerat, i.e. 'the grief caused by that'.


558. ne qua parte sur] 'lest in any part of his forces wicked war should be wasted'. Caesar is identified with his soldiers cf. infr. 653. For perire cf. notes on iv 252, ix 501.

560. qui toti] 'to see which reek from point to hilt with gore'. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. iv 133, 134 pater ipse cruentis in foribus landatque nefas atque inspict enses.


563. contenta] 'strained to the full', i.e. plied in earnest.

quis praestet] i.e. who fights only at his leader's bidding.


Verg. Aen. vi 801 nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obuit.

566. fusura] 'that would else let out all their blood'.

567. premit] cf. Tac. Ann. xv 64 obli-
gare uenas, premere sanguinem.

568. ueluti] sc. uagatur.


569. si] equivalent to siuebi, 'when he would hurry on his team, terrified by Pallas' aegis', i.e. displayed in the ranks of the enemy. The reference is to the beoxia in Hom. ii. xx 54 foll.


572. immense] 'a groan like one vast cry'.

pondere lapsi] 'and arms ring with his
LUCANI PHARSALEI

pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses. ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat, aduercosque iubet ferro confundere voltus.

promouet ipse acies: impellit terga suorum: uerberc concursae cessantis excitat hastae.
in plebeum ucat ire manus monstratque senatum. scit cruor imperii qui sit quae uiscera rerum, unde petat Romam, libertas ultima mundi quo steterit ferienda loco. permixta secundo ordine nobilitas uenerandaque corpora ferro urgentur: caedunt Lepidus, caeduntque Metellos, Coruinosque simul, Torquataque nominate, regum saepe duces, summosque hominum te, Magne, remoto. illic plebeia contactus casside voltus, ignotusque hosti, quod ferrum, Brute, tenebas. o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus, extremon tanti generis per saecula nomen, nec rue per medios nium temerarius hostes, nec tibi fatales admoueris ante Philippus, Thessalia periture tua. nil proficis istic Caesaris intentus iugulo: nondum attigit arcem iuris, et humanum culmen, quo cuncta premuntur, egressus meruit fatis tam nobile letum.

uiuat et ut Bruti procumbat uictima regnet.

hic patriae perit omne decus: iacet aggere magno
matriaeuia pmiciuui campuis non mixta plebe cadauer.

mors tamen eminiit clarorum in strage uiuorum
pugnacis Domiti; quem elades fata per omnes 600
ducebant. nesquam Magni Fortuna sine illo
succubuit: uictus totiens a Caesare salua
libertate perit: tum mille in uolnera laetus
labitur ac uenia gaudet caruisse secunda.

uiderat in crasso uoluentem sanguine membra
Caesare, et increpans; iam Magni deseris arma,
successor Domiti; sine te iam bella geruntur.
dixerat: ast illi uerit uictis pectora pulsans
spiritus in uocem morientiaque ora resoluit.
non te funesta scelerum mercede potitum,
HNSError graues poenas nobisique daturum,
Cum morior, sperare licet. non plura locutum
uita fugit, densaeque oculos pressere tenebrae.

ness'. cf. v 250 Claudian vi Consul. Ho-
or. 64 inclinat populo regale modestia
cuium.

quo cuncta premuntur] 'by which all
things are overtopped' or 'dwarfed'. cf. Öv. Met. vi
447–448 si titulos annosque
tuos numerare uelinus facta premant
annos. Stat. Silu. iii 165, 166 quantum
Latonia nymphas virgo premit. Id. Silu.
iii 50 premuit felix regum diademata Roma.
Weise understands the words somewhat
differently viz. 'by which all things are
swayed', comparing Verg. Aen. x 53, 54
magna ditione inueto Karthago premit
Auniam. See also x 49.

596. uictima] rarely used metaphori-
cally, but cf. Sen. Herc. Oct. 351 me nupti-
tiali uictiama feriat die. See also ix 132,
x 386, 524.

598. non mixta] i.e. all the dead are
patricians. Oud. following Sulpitius reads
imixita.

600. Domiti] cf. ii 479 foll. This eu-
logy of Domitius is intended as a compli-
ment to his descendant Nero.

601. nesquam] 'nowhere did Magnus'
fortune succumb without his presence'.

H. L.

604. carneisse] 'to have escaped a se-
cond pardon', cf. ii 511.

607. successor] i.e. my would-be suc-
cessor: he had been appointed by the
 senate to succeed Caesar in the govern-
ment of Gaul, Caes. B. C. i 6. With this use of
successor for one who had not actually
become so compare the use of gener in
Verg. Aen. ii 341—344 iuuenisque Coro-
bus Mygdonides: illis ad Troiam forte
debusu generat insano Cassandrace incensus
amore, et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygi-
busque feret.

608. ast illi] 'but the breath that
heaved his chest was yet enough to suffer
him to speak'.

611. dubium fati] 'doubtful of thy
future fate', cf. Öv. Trist. iii 25 sum
uitae dubius.

613. te saeuo] 'at the moment of my
death I yet may hope that thou subdued
in cruel war wilt pay a heavy penalty
to Pompeius and to me'.

616. densaeque] cf. Hom. II. v 659 τὸν
dὲ καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν ἐρεβόν τιν ἐκάλυψεν,
tenebrae] cf. Verg. Aen. xi 824 tene-
bris nigriscunt omnia circum.
pudet lacrinas in funere mundi mortibus innumeris, ac singula fata sequentem quaerere, lectiferum per cuitus uiscera ulnus exierit; quis fusa solo uitalia calcet;

ore quis adverso demisso faucibus ense expulerit moriens animam; quis corruat ictu, quis steterit, dum membra cadunt: quis pectore tela transmittat, uel quos campis affixerit hasta:

quis cruor emissus perruperit aera uenis

inque hostis cadat arma sui: quis pectora fratris caedat, et, ut notum possit spoliare cadaucr, abscisum longe mittat caput: ora parentis quis laceret, nimiique probet spectantibus ira,

quem iugulat non esse patrem. mors nulla querela digna sua est, nulloque hominum lugere uacamus. non istas habuit pugnae Pharsalia partes quas aliae clades: illic per fata uirorum, per populos hic Roma perit: quae militis illic, mors hic gentis erat: sanguis ibi fluxit Achaeus, Ponticus, Assyrius: cunctos haere cre cruores Romanus campisque uetat consistere torrens.

maius ab hac acie quam quod sua saecula ferrent ulnus habent populi: plus est quam uita salusque

617. in funere mundi] 'when the world is perishing'.
620. quis fusa] 'who treads upon his vitals trailing on the ground'.
621. ore quis adverso] 'who standing face to face with the foe exhaled his breath, when the sword was struck deep into his throat'. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. xiv 5. 6 quod manus extimuit ingulu demittere ferrum suum rea'.
623. membra] i.e. his arms.
624. transmittat] 'allows the weapons to pass through his breast', cf. note on iii 660.
625. quis] is probably dative plural in this line.

perruperit] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. iv 121

—124 ut iacuit resupinus humi crur emicat alte, non aliter quam cum utiitato fistula plumbo scinditur, et tennes stridente foramine longe eiaculatur aquas atque ictibus aera rumpit.

626. inque hostis] cf. Lucret. iv 1045
—1047 namque omnes plerumque cadunt in ulnus et illum emicat in partem sanguis unde icirmur icu: et si comminus est hostem ruber occupat umor.
630. mors nulla] 'no death deserves a lamentation of its own', i.e. peculiar to it.
631. hominum] 'no individuals', i.e. we have no time for special, only for general mourning.
632. non istas] 'had not the same character of fighting'.
636. cunctos] sc. exterorum: 'the torrent of Roman blood forbids all the rest to linger and to stagnate on the plains'.
639. ulnus] 'a greater blow', cf. v 1 Tac. Agric. vii sequens annus grani uulnere animum domumque eius adflxit.

iam Magnus transisse deos Romanique fata senserat infelix: tota uix clade coactus fortunam damnare suam. stetit aggere campi eminus, unde omnes sparsas per Thessala rura adspiceret clades quae bello obstante latebant. tot telis sua fata peti, tot corpora fusa, ae se tam multo perceuntem sanguine uidit. nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum mersa iuuat gentesque suae miscere ruinae:
ut Latiae post se iuuat pars maxima turbae, sustinuit dignos etiam nunc credere uotis caelicolas, ouuique sui solacia casus: parcite, ait, superi, cunctas prostrernere gentes: stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus esse miser. si plura iuuant mea uolnera, coniunx

640. in totum] 'to all the future ages of the world'.
641. quae seruict] 'which shall ever live in slavery'.
642. proxima suboles] 'the next generation'.
643. seder] 'is planted', a metaphor from the yoke under which defeated armies were compelled to pass.
644. dedisses] i.e. dare debbas, cf. note on 439 supr.
645. bella] i.e. the chance of fighting for our freedom.
647. tota uix clade] 'scarcely induced by the whole disaster to be discontented with his fortune', i.e. still thinking that his life had been on the whole prosperous: this seems better than the explanation of the Scholiast, uix poenit de nota felicitate diffidere, seeing that in the preceding line it was said that Pompeius had perceived that Fortune had changed sides.
648. bello obstante] 'while the warring hosts stood in his way', cf. Stat. Theb. ix 490 quid faciat bellis obsessus et undis?
652. sustinuit] 'endured still to think the gods worthy of his prayers', i.e. notwithstanding their injustice to him.
653. uouitque] 'prayed for something to comfort him in his fall'. uouit appears to be the reading of the best MSS., but is rejected by Weise on account of the preceding notis: he reads uoluit. For uonere cf. note on iii 127.
est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fatis. 
ciuline parum est bello si meque meosque 
obrais? exiguae clades sumus orbe remoto? 
omnia quid laceras? quid perdere cuncta laboras? 665
iam nihil est, Fortuna, meum. sic fatur: et arma 
signaque et adflictas omni iam parte catheras 
circuit, et reuocat matura in fata ruentis, 
seque negat tanti. nec deerat robur in enses 
ire duci, iuguloque pati uel pectore letum: 670
sed timuit strato miles ne corpore Magni 
non fugeret supraque ducem procumberet orbis:
Caesaris aut oculis uoluit subducere mortem, 
nequidquam. infelix, socero spectare uolenti 
praestandum est ubicumque caput. sed tu quoque, coniunx, 
causa fugae uoltusque tui: fatisque negatum 
te praesente mori. tum Magnum consitus afert 
a bello sonipes non tergo tela pauentem 
ingentesque animos extrema in fata ferentem. 
non gemitus non fletus erat saluaque uerendus 680
maiestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebant 
Romanis praestare malis. non impare uoluit 
adspicis Emathiam: nec te uidere superbum 
prospera bellorum nec factum aduersa uidebant. 
quamque fuit laeto per tres infida triumphos, 685

662. tot pignora] sc. in quae saeuenti 
si meo sanguine delectantu. Schol.
664. obruis] So Sulpitius reads with 
some MSS. making the words an apo-
striphe to Fortune: ulgo obruat.
ciades sumus] cf. 11 708 exigua est fungi-
ens victoria Magnus.
menum] cf. 585 supr.
666. meum] facta enim sunt cuncta 
uictoris. Schol.
669. sequa negat tant] sc. pretti esse 
ut pro se omnes morte debant. Schol.
671. ne...non fugere] 'should refuse 
to fly'.
674. spectare volution] 'eager for the 
sight'.
675. ubicumque] 'wheresoever it be'. 
Oud. cf. Ov. Amor. 111 x 5 te dea manifi-
cam gentes ubicumque loquitur.
676. uoltusque tui] 'the thought of 
thy face', or perhaps 'the desire to see 
thy face'.
679. ingentesque] 'but carrying high 
courage to meet his final doom'.
680. saluaque] 'grief that deserved 
respect with dignity unimpaired'.
682. non impare] 'unaltered'.
685. quamque] sc. quamque minor 
uit, i.e. as much as thou wast superior to 
fickle Fortune when prosperous in the 
midst of thy three triumphs, so much art 
thou still superior to her in adversity.'
tam misero Fortuna minor. iam pondere fatis deposito securus abs: nunc tempora lacta respexisse uacat: spes numquam implenda recessit. quis fueris nunc scire licet. fuge proelia dira, ac testare deos nullum qui perstet in armis iam tibi, Magne, mori: ceu flebilis Africa damnis, et ceu Munda nocens, Pharioque a gurgite clades, sic et Thessalicae post te pars maxima pugnac. non iam Pompeji nomen populare per orbem nec studium belli: sed par quod semper habemus libertas et Caesar curt: teque inde fugato ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.

nonne iuuat pulsum bellis cessisse nec istud perspectasse nefas, spumantis caede ceteruas? respice turbatos incursu sanguinis amnes, et soceri miserere tui. quo pectore Romam intrabit factus campis felicior istis? quidquid in ignotis solus regionibus excusl, quidquid sub Phario positus patiere tyranno, crede deis, longo fatorum crede favori, uincere peius erat. prohibe lamenta sonare, flere ueta populos, lacrimas luctusque remitte. tam mala Pompeii quam prospera mundus adoret. adspice secures uolue non supplice reges:

687. mirer in hoc igitur tantarum pondere rerum numquam te nostros coeltnisse tocos?
688. numquam implenda] 'thy hopes which could never be fulfilled'.
692. Pharioque] 'the disasters arising from the Pharian wave', i.e. the losses sustained by Caesar in his contest with the Alexandrian populace.
693. non iam] 'it will not now be Pompeius' name that will be popular throughout the world, nor eagerness to fight for him: but the pitted pair, we ever have with us, will be Liberty and Caesar'.
695. par] cf. note on VI 3.
697. sibi] sc. non tibi.
698. nec istud] 'and to have escaped the full sight of these horrors'.
700. felicius] cf. II 221.
701. ignotis] cf. notes on I 170, X 32.
707. remitte] 'dispense with', i.e. although they are thy due. cf. VI 248.
adspice possessas urbes donataque regna,
Aegyptum Libyamque: et terras elige morti.
uidit prima tuae testis Larissa ruinae
nobile nec uictum fatis caput. omnibus illa
ciuibus effudit totas per moenia uires:
obua, ceu lacto, praemittunt munera flentes:
pandunt tempula domos; socios se cladibus optant.
scilicet immenso superest ex nomine multum:
teque minor solo, cunctas impellere gentes
rursus in arma potes, rursusque in fata redire.
sed, quid opus uicto populis aut uribus? inquit: uictori praestate fidem. tu, Caesar, in alto
ciaedis adhuc cumulo patriae per uiscera uadis:
at tibi iam populos donat gener. auehit inde
Pompeium sonipes: gemitus lacrimaeque sequuntur,
plurimaque in saeuos populi conuicia diuos.
Caesar ut Hesperio uidit satis arua natare
sanguine, parcendum ferro manibusque suorum
iam ratus, ut uiles animas perituraque frustra
tagmina permissit uitae. sed castra fugatos
ne reuocent pellatque quies nocturna pauorem,
protinus hostili statuit succedere uallo,
dum Fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror,
non ueritus, graue ne fessis ac Marte subactis
hoc foret imperium. non magno hortamine miles
in praedam ducendus erat: uictoria nobis
plena, uiri, dixit: superest pro sanguine merces, quam monstrare meum est: neque enim donare vocabo quod sibi quisque dabit. cunctis en plena metallis 740 casta patent: raptum Hesperis e gentibus aurum hic iacet, Eoasque premunt tentoria gazas.

tot regum Fortuna simul Magnique coacta exspectat dominos: propera praeceedere, miles, quos sequiris: quascumque tuas Pharsalia fecit, 745 a uictis rapiuntur opes. nec plura locutus

impulit amentes aurique cupidine caecos

ire super gladios suprapaque cadauera patrum, et caesos calcare duces. quae fossa, quis agger sustineat pretium bellii scelerumque petentis? 750

scire ulolant quanta fuerint mercede nocentes.
inuenere quidem spoliato plurima mundo belligera in sumptus congrastae pondera massae:

sed non impieuit cupientis omnia mentes.

quidquid fudit Hiber quidquid Tagus extulit aurì, 755 quod legit diues summis Arimaspus harenis

ut rapiant, paruo scelus hoc uenisse putabant:

cum sibi Tarpeias uictor desponderit arces,
cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae:

decipitur quod castra rapit. capite impia plebes. 760 caespitie patricio somnos: uacuumque cubile
regibus inandus miles premit: inque parentum

740. metallis] i.e. wealth, cf. Hor.

Epp. 1 x 39 potiore metallis libertate caret.

742. premunt] 'cover', 'contain', cf.

viii 757, Mart. iii 2 ex opibus tantis quas gravis area premit.

744. propera] 'haste to anticipate

those whom you are pursuing'.

746. rapiuntur] 'are being plundered

by the vanquished'. rapiuntur, according to Grotius, is the reading of the best MSS. Weise retains rapiuntur which is the reading of most editions, i.e. 'let...

be snatched from the vanquished'.

750. sustineat] 'could hold out a-

gain', cf. Ov. Met. XIII 384, 385

Hectora qui solus qui ferrum ignemque

touenequ sustinuit totiens uam non

sustinet iram.

751. nolunt] Most MSS. have nolunt, some rure: the Scholiast's explanation

is festinat: from the combination of these readings nolant has been conjectured and is adopted by Weise.

754. non impieuit] sc. massa, 'it could not satisfy their minds which were greedy for all the world'.

755. fodit] equivalent to effodit cf.

Liv. xxviii 3 argentum etiam incolae fo-
dium.

Tagus] cf. Iuv. iii 54. 55 tanti tibi

non sit opaci omnis harenae Tagi quodque

in mare solutiur aurum. Id. XIV 299.


757. ut] 'though',

parvo—ueneisse] 'they will think their

guilt has been cheaply sold', i.e. that they have been insufficiently paid for their guilty warfare.

760. castra] sc. non Romam Schol.

inquæ toris fratrum posuerunt membra nocentes: quos agitat uaesana quies somnique furentes; Thessaliam miseri uersant in pectore pugnam. 765
inuigilat cunctis saevo scelus, armaque tota mente agitant, capuloque manus absente mouentur. ingenuisse putes campos terramque nocentem inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem. 770
exiguit a miseri tristes victoria poenas, sibilaque et flammas infert sopor: umbra perempti ciuis adest: sua quemque premit terroris imago. ille senum uolts iuuenum uidet ille figuræ:
hunc agitant totis fratrena cadauera somnis: 775
pectore in hoc pater est: omnes in Caesaare manes. haud alios, nondum Scythica purgatus in ara, Eumenidum uidit uolts Pelopeius Orestes:
 nec magis adtonitos animi sensere tumultus, cum fureret, Pentheus, aut, cum desisset, Agae. 780
hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia uidit, aut ultrix uisura dies stringente senatu, illa nocte premunt: hunc uisera monstra flagellant. 
heu quantum poenae misero mens conscia donat, quod Styga, quod manes, ingestaque Tartara somnis

764. quos] sc. at cos. cf. Hor. Sat. 1 i 32—36 sicut parvula nam exemplo est magni formica laboris ore tradit quodcen-que potest atque addit acerno quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri: quae simul inuersum contristat Aquarius annum non usquam prorept. Id. id. 41—43 quid tuat immensum te argentii pondus et aurii furtim defossa timidum depunere terra? quod si comminuas uilem redigatur ad assem. 
767. mouentur] i.e. feeling for the sword. cf. Hom. Od. XI 531 ἐξιθέος δ’ ἐπε- ματο νεκτῷρ. 
768. inspissasse] 'had breathed into them the souls of the slain'. 
769. superam—noctem] 'the night on earth' i.e. infectam esse. 


780. cum desisset] sc. furerer, i.e. when she discovered that it was her son whom she had slain. cf. Eur. Bacch. 1270—1285. 
782. ultrix—dies] i.e. the Ides of March B.C. 44. 
stringente senatu] 'when the senate drew the sword'.

784. donar] equivalent to remittit, 'ex- empts from', 'spares', cf. IX 1016. Pe- tron. 18 contemni turpe est, legem donare superbum. The meaning of the passage is that Caesar gets off cheaply now while Pompeius is yet alive, as he will have to suffer far worse pangs of conscience after the death of the latter.

Pompeio uiuente uidet. tamen omnia passo postquam clara dies Pharsalica damna reteexit nulla loci facies reuocat feralibus aruis haerentis oculos. cernit propulsa cruore flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat acerus, et Magni numerat populos: epulisque paratur ille locus, uoltus ex quo faciesque iacentum agnoscat. iuuat Emathiam non cernere terram et lustrare oculis campos sub clade latentis: fortunam superosque suos in sanguine cernit. ac ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat, inuidet igne rogii miseris, caeloque nocenti ingerit Emathiam. non ilium Poenus humator consulis, et Libyca succensae lampade Cannae, compellunt hominum ritus ut seruet in hostes. sed meminit nondum satiata caedibus ira ciues esse suos. petimus non singula busta discreetoque rogos: unum da gentibus ignem: non interpositis urantur corpora flammis. aut generi si poena iuuat, nemus exstrue Pindi, erige congestas Oetaeo robore siluas, Thessalicam uideat Pompeius ab aequore flammam. nil agis hac ira: tabesne cadavera soluat an rogus haud refert: placido natura receptat

789. propulsa] 'driven down in flood'.
790. sidentis] 'settling down', so the MSS. Weise reads depressos which is apparently an explanatory gloss.
791. numerat] According to Caes. B.C. III 99 the number of Pompeians killed at Pharsalia was fifteen thousand.
792. non cernere] i.e. because of the heaps of corpses. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. xi 522 hic flumium et campos abscondit caede uironum.
793. fortunam] Many MSS. omit this line, which is awkwardly introduced: the repetition of cernere is objectionable.
794. This construction of inuidere with the ablative is very rare: cf. Tac. Ann. i 22 ne hostes quidem sepultura inuidet.
795. ingerit] 'casts Emathia in the face of guilty heaven'.
796. null—reuocat] 'does not at all withdraw', cf. note on 25 supr.
797. propulsa] 'driven down in flood'.
798. sidentis] 'settling down', so the MSS. Weise reads depressos which is apparently an explanatory gloss.
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803. cernere] i.e. non hostes: to them he would not have refused burial. Compare the language attributed to Vitellius by Suetonius, Vit. 10 optime olere occisum hostem, et melius cittern.
804. non interpositis] i.e. continuus, 'with no gaps between them'.
805. non interpositis] i.e. if you wish to cause greater pain to Pompeius.
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809. ingerit] i.e. non hostes: to them he would not have refused burial. Compare the language attributed to Vitellius by Suetonius, Vit. 10 optime olere occisum hostem, et melius cittern.
cuncta sinu finemque sui sibi corpora debent.
hoi, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis,
uret cum terris, uret cum fugitique ponti.
communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra
mixturis. quocumque tuam Fortuna uocabit, 815
hae quoque eunt animae. non altius ibis in auras,
non meliore loco Stygia sub nocte iacebis.
libera Fortunae mors est: capit omnia tellus
quae genuit: caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam.
tu, cui dant poenas inhumato funere gentes, 820
quid fugis hanc cladem? quid olentis deseris agros?
has trahe, Caesar, aquas: hoc, si potes, utere caelo.
seb tibi tabentes populi Pharsalica rura
eripiant camposque tenent uictore fugato.
non solum Haemonii funesta ad pabula belli 825
Bistonii uenere lupi, tabemque cruentae
cadis odorati Pholoen liquere leones.
tunc ursi latebras, obsceni tecta domosque
deseruere canes, et quidquid nare sagaci
aera non sanum motumque cadauere sensit.
830
iamque diu uolucres ciuilia castra secutae
conueniunt. uos, quae Nilo mutare soletis
Threicias hiemes, ad mollem serius Austrum

811. fineaque suij owe to themselves
their own end, i.e. naturally decay.
814. communis] This was the doctrine of
the Stoics, cf. Sen. dial. vi xxvi § 6
cum tempus adueniret quo se mundus renova-

turatus extinguit viribus ista se suis
cadent et sidera sideribus incurrunt et
omni flagrante materia uno igne quidquid
nunc ex disponent lucet ardebit. Id. N. Q.
III xiii § 2 ita ignis exitus mundi, tumor
primordium.
815. tuam] sc. animam.
818. libera] 'death is free from Fort-
une's sway', i.e. Fortune has no power
over the dead: for liber with genitive cf.
177, 128 et 82a et iuvenum nec tumulum curvo;
seb uerit natura rectit.
820—822. These three lines are not
found in some of the best MSS., and are
not commented on by the Scholiast. in-

humatto funere seems a strange expres-
sion.
812. trah] 'drink', utere 'breathe'.
825. Haemonii] to be taken with
belli, not, as Weise punctuates, with lupi.
837. Pholoen] A mountain in Arcadia:
the geography is vague.
v vi 23—25 non adeo toti fatis urgenmup

inquiniut ut mea sit longis mens quoque mota
natis. fungere tamet motam.
832. nos] sc. grus, 'cranes', cf. v
711 foll.: these birds are wrongly sup-
posed by Lucan to feed on carrion.
istis, aues. numquam tanto uolture caelum
induit aut plures presserunt aera pennae;
835
omne nemus misit uolucres omnisque cruenta
alite sanguineis stillauit roribus arbor.
saepe super uoltus victoris et impia signa
aut cruer aut alto defluxit ab aethere tabes,
membrabae diecit iam lassis unguibus ales.
840
sic quoque non omnis populus peruenit ad ossa,
inque feras discerptus abit: non intima curant
uiscera nee totas auidae sorbere medullas:
degustant artus.
845
Thessalia infelix quo tanto crimine tellus
laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit acuom
immemor ut donet belli tibi damna uetustas?
quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
850
267
834.  tanto uolture] 'with such a cloud
of vultures'.
835.  presserunt] 'burdened', 'weighed
down'.
sparsi rorabant sanguine ucres.
844.  nimmib] cf. Hom. Od. i 161 ov δη λεοκ'
δοτα πυθετα βυθοι.
o miseri quae tanta insania cines?
849.  scelerum fatis] 'fated crimes', 'sufficient' 'is long enough'.
850.  immemor—donet] 'forget and
forgive'. cf. ix 144, 1088. Cic. ad fam. v iv § 2 tuas inimicitias ut repubicae
donares te uicisti.
851.  infecta—herba] Compare the ac-
count of the field of Landen in Macaulay's
853.  nouae] The usual confusion be-
tween Pharsalia and Philippi, cf. note on i
1694.
856.  et—et] 'both—and'.
radice—uetusta] 'ancient tree-roots',
146 tituli-
ique cupidia hausuri saxis cinerum custodi-
bis, ad quae discurtienda ualent sterilis
mala robora ficus; quandoqueuim data
sunt ipsi quoque fata sepulcris.
pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus osa. 
nullus ab Emathio religasset litore funem 
nauita, nec terram quisquam mouisset arator 
Romani bustum populi: fugerentque coloni 
umbrarum campos, gregibus dumeta carerent: 
nullusque audebat pecori permittente pastor 
uellere suelerem de nostris ossibus herbam: 
ac uelut impatiens hominum uel solis iniqui 
limite uel glacie, nuda atque ignata iaceres, 
si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses. 
860 
o superi, liceat terras odisse nocentis. 
quid totum premitis, quid totum soluitis orbem? 
865 
Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni 
et Mutina et Leucas puros fecere Philippos.

scilicet et tempus ueniet cum finibus illis 
agricola in eiruo terram molitus aratro 
exsa inueniet seabra robigine pila, aut 
grauibus rastris Galeas pulsabit inanes, 
grandiaque effossis mirabitur osa secul-
cris.

860. *religasset*] *would have fastened to*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii 166 gramineo ripae 
reliquit ab aggere classem. religare more 
commonly takes the ablative without ab.  
cf. Hor. *carm.* i xxxii 7, 8 sine iactatam 
reliquat udo litore nauium. Id. Sat. i v 
18, 19 missae pastum retinacula mulae 
nauta piger saxo reliquit.

863. *umbrarum campos*] *the spectre-
haunted plains*.

866. *impatiens hominuni*] *made un-
inhabitable by the zone of the scorching 
sun or by ice*, cf. Hor. *carm.* i xxxii 21, 
22 ponc sub curru nimium propinqu solis 
in terra donibus negata.

868. *si non prima*] *hadst thou been, 
not the first, but the only land to endure 
the curse of civil war*.

869. *odisse*] i.e. which we cannot now 
do, as all the world is equally guilty.

870. *premitis*] *weigh down with 
guilt*, *soluitis, *free from guilt*. nam 
alter locus alterum liberat culpa. Weise.

871. *Hesperiae*] sc. at Munda, cf. note 
on i 40.

872. *puros*] respectu maiorum etiam 
cladium. Schol.
Pompeius flies to Lesbos: he consoles his wife 1—85; her answer 86—108. The people of Mitylene offer him shelter, which he declines 109—121. He sails from Lesbos 122—201, meets his son Sextus, and sends Deiotarus to rouse the East 202—243. Pompeius proceeds to Phaselis in Cilicia, holds a council and proposes to seek the aid of the Parthians 244—325. Lentulus opposes this plan, and recommends Egypt as a refuge 325—455, to which they sail 456—471. In the council of King Ptolemaeus Pothinus persuade him to murder Pompeius 472—540. Apostrophe to Egypt and Ptolemaeus 541—560. Pompeius is induced to enter a small boat, and is murdered by Septimius 560—636. Laments of Cornelia 637—662. The head of Pompeius is cut off and embalmed 663—691, reflexions on his death 692—711. His body is buried by Cordus 712—793, reflexions on his burial 793—828. Apostrophe to Egypt 823—872.

Iam super Herculeas fauces nemorosaque Tempe,
Haemoniae desertae pedem dispensia siluae,
cornipedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem
Magnus agens incerta fugae uestigia turbat
implicitasque errore uias. paeuit ille fragorem

1. *Herculeas fauces* i.e. the pass of Tempe, said to have been made by Hercules, cf. vi 347.
2. *dispensia*] loss of time, and so what causes it, viz. circuitous paths. cf. Mart. ix c 5 *tu qui longa potes dispensia ferre uiarum.* Compare also Ov. Met. iii 234 *sed per compendia montis anticipata via est.*
4. *incerta*] proleptic, ‘confounds his footsteps so that they may not be recognised’.
5. *implicitas errore uias*] ‘paths made involved by following winding courses’. cf. Verg. Aen. v 589, 591, of the Laby-
motorum uentiis nemorum, comitumque suorum, qui post terga ferit, trepidum laterique timentem exanimat. quamuis summo de culmine lapsus, nondum uile sui pretium scit sanguinis esse, seque memor fati tantae mercedis habere credit adhuc iugulum, quantum pro Caesaris ipse auolsa ceruice dare. deserta sequentem non patitur tutis fatum celare latebris clara uiri facies. multi Pharsalica castra cum penterent, nondum fama prodente ruinas, occursu stupuere ducis uertigine rerum adtoniti: cladisque suae uix ipse fidelis auctor erat. grauis est Magno quicumque malorum testis adest. cunctis ignotus gentibus esse mallet et obscuo tutus transire per orben nomine: sed longi poenas Fortuna fauoris exigit a misero, quae tanto pondere famae res premit aduersas fatisque prioribus urget. nunc festinatos nimium sibi sentit honores, actaque lauriferae damnat Sullana iuentae: nunc et Corycias classes et Pontica signa


6. comitum] sc. fragor.
7. ferit] sc. cum: so Weise. Oud. with some MSS. reads redit 'comes echoing behind his back'. As Oud. remarks Lucan here contradicts what he had said about the fearlessness of Pompeius in the seventh book, cf. VII 677 foll. later] 'for his side' sc. fearing a flank attack. The passage is apparently suggested by Verg. Aen. II 728, 729 sonus excitat omnis suspensum et pariter comiti-que uerti timentem.

9. nondum uile] 'he knows that the price of his blood is not yet slight'.

10. fati] i.e. cuius fuit ante bella ciulia Schol. sc. 'his rank'. cf. 158 infr. tantae mercedis—iugulum] 'as valuable a throat'.

14. clara] equivalent to cognita 'well-known'.
16. uertigine] 'revolution'. Ammian. Marc. XXXI 10 § 22 remotusque in ipsa uertigine pereuntium rerum dux cautus et diligens. The word is used properly of the movements of the heavenly bodies. cf. Ov. Met. II 70 adde quod adsidue rapitur uertigine caelum.

17. fidelis auctor] 'scarce a trustworthy beare of ill-tidings', cf. I 485 nuileque autore malorum.
26. Corycias] Corycus was a moun-
deiectum meminisse piget. sic longius aeum destruit ingentes animos et uita superstes imperio. nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum adfuit et celeri praevortit tristia leto, dedecori est Fortuna prior. quisquamne secundis tradere se fatis audet, nisi morte parata?

litora contigerat per quae, Pencius amnis, Emathia iam clade rubens, exibat in aequor. inde ratis trepidum uentis et fluctibus impar flumineis uix tuta uadis exuit in altum, cuius adhuc remis quatit Hor Corcyra sinusque Leucadii. Cilicum dominus terraque Liburnae exiguum uector pauidus correpsit in alnum. conscia curarum secretas in litora Lesbi flectere uela iubes, qua tum tellure latebas maestor, in medii quam si, Cornelia, campis Emathiae stares. tristes praesagia curas exagitans: trepida quatitum formidine somnus: Thessalam nox omnis habet: tenebrisque remotis 45 rupis in abruptae scopolus extremaque curris

tain in Cilicia, cf. Verg. G. iv 127, and Conington's note. Pontica refers to his triumph over Mithridates. 27. deiectum] 'now fallen from his high estate'. longius] 'the lapse of time'. destruction] 'brings low a haughty spirit'. 30. praevortit] 'has anticipated', cf. Verg. Aen. 1 720—722 paulatim abolere Sichaeum incipit et ueniam tempus praevortere amore iam pridem residi animos desuetaque corda. quisquamne secundis] 'does any venture to trust himself to prosperity save when death is ready to his hand?' So Sulpitius rightly: Weise objects to this interpretation and takes secundis as equivalent to deterioribus, comparing infr. 288 nidique loco Romana secundo, but the best commentary is to be found in the lines of Juvenal x 283—356 prouta Pompeio declarat Campania sebres optandas; sol multis urbes et publica nota uacuit, igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis servatum uicto caput abstulit. It is the common thought that none can be termed happy till he is dead. For morte parata cf. v 773.


36. flumineis] i.e. scarce safe even in the shallows of the river.

37. Corcyra] i.e. where the fleet of Pompeius was stationed.


40. conscia curarum] 'thou Cornelia, partaker in his sorrows, dost bid him, &c.' cf. v 723 foll.


45. Thessalam] 'the whole night dwells on Thessaly', i.e. is haunted by the thought of Thessaly.

46. rupis in abruptae] cf. Catull. lxiv 126, 127 ac tum praecruptos tristem con-
litora prospeciens fluctus: nutantia longe semper prima uides uenientis uela carinae, quaerere nec quicquam de fato coniugis aude.

en ratis, ad uestros quae tendit carbasu portus, quid ferat ignoras: et nunc tibi summa pauoris nuntius armorum tristis rumorque sinister.

uictus adest coniunx: quid perdis tempora luctus? cum possis iam flere times. tum puppe propinqua prosiluit, crimenque deum crudele notauit, deformem pallore ducem uoltusque prementem canitie, atque atro squalentis puluere uestes. obvia nox miserae caelum lucemque tenebris abstulit, atque animam clausit dolor: omnia neruis membra relicta labant: riguerunt corda diuue spe mortis decepta iacet. iam fune ligato litoribus lustrat uaucuas Pompeius harenas. quem postquam famulae propius uidere fideles, non ultra gemitus tacitos incessere fata permisere sibi, frustraque adtollere terra semianinem conantur eran: quam pectore Magnus ambit et adstrictos refouet complexibus artus. coeperat in sumnum reuocato sanguine corpus Pompeii sentire manus, maestamque mariti

scendere montes unde aciem in pelagi nastos pretenderet aestus, of Ariadne looking for the return of Theseus.


49. nac] equivalent to nac tamen.

50. uestros] Cornelia is identified with the people of Lesbos. uos, uester, are never used for tu, tuus in classical Latin.

51. et nunc] 'still the worst that thou dost fear is evil tidings of the war etc.'

53. quid perdis] 'why waste the season for grief?' i.e. by mere fear; non debes lugendi tempora metu consumere. Grotius. For the contrast between dolor and metus, cf. II 26. See also Plin. Epp. VII xix § 3, VIII xvii § 6.

55. crimenque] cf. II 288 crimen erit superis et me facias uocentem. infr. 590.


56. prementem] 'covering'. cf. Hor. Carm. III iv 18 ut premerer sacra lauroque collataque myrto. See also VII 742, 757 infr.

58. obvia] 'coming over her'.

59. animam] 'her breath'.

60. relicta] 'abandoned by their strength'.

61. spe mortis] 'deceived in her hope of death', i.e. she wished to die but could not: for a similar use of spes Oud. cf. V 452 nansfragii spes omnis obt.


64. non ultra] 'ut ad quas non tantus dolor quanton ad Corneliam pertinebat'.


68. in sumnum] 'as the blood returned to the surface of her body', i.e. instead of all rushing to her heart. cf. Verg. G. II 484 frigidus obtulerit circum praecordia sanguis.
posse pati faciem: prohibet succumbere fatis
Magnus et immodicos castigat uoce dolores:
nobile cur robur Fortunae uolnere primo,
femina tantorum titulis insignis auorum,
frangis? habes aditum mansurae in saecula famae:
laudis in hoc sexu non legum iura nec arma,
unica materia est coniunx miser. erige mentem,
et tua cum fatis pietas decertet, et ipsum,
quod sum uictus, ama: nunc sum tibi gloria maior,
a me quod fasces et quod pia turba senatus
tantaque discessit regum manus: incipe Magnum 80
sola sequi. deformis adhuc uiuente marito
summus et augeri uctitus dolor: ultima debet
esse fides lugere uirum. tu nulla tulisti
bello damna meo. uiuit post proelia Magnus,
sed Fortuna perit: quod defles, illud amasti.
uocibus his correpta uiri uix aegra leuauit
membra solo tales gemitu rumpente querelas:
o utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem
infelix coniunx et nulli lacta marito.
bis nociu mundo: me pronuba ducit Erinys,

72. nobile robur] 'the firmness of noble
blood'.
73. auorum] sc. as the descendant of
the Scipios.
74. frangis?] 'break down', 'enfeeble',
cf. Cic. in Cat. i § 22 te ut uilla res fran-
gat? tu ut unquam te corrugas?
habes'] you have an avenue to everlasting
fame', cf. Cic. ad fam. vi x § 2 si qui
nihil erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est de tua
incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, agendi.
75. legum iura] 'administration of the
law'. So dare iura means to administer
justice, cf. Verg. G. iv 562 and Coning-
ton's note.
76. materia est] Bersmann cf. Ov.
Trist. v v 49, so scilicet aduersis probitas
exercita rebus tristi materiam tempore lau-
dis habet. For a similar sentiment Oud.
cf. Stat. Theb. iii 704, 705 nescis, pater
optime, nescis quantus amor causae misero
nutrisse marito.
77. pietas'] 'affection'.
78. sola sequi] 'to be the only follower
left to Magnus'.

II. L.

deformis] 'ignominious', unsightly in the
eyes of the world. cf. Liv. XLV 44 orationem
ton tam honorificam audientibus quam si
debus déformem.
81. augeri uctitus] 'admitting of no
increase', cf. vii 371 uctitusque actae
scuapius arma sequi.
82. lugere] sc. when dead. cf. supr. 53.
83. quod defles] i.e. if you mourn
now it shows that your love was for the
position, not for the person, of Pompeius.
86. correpta] 'rebuked', cf. note on vii
191.
89. infelix coniunx] 'a wife who brings
ill fortune'.
92. bis] twice i.e. once as the wife of
the younger Crassus killed at Carrhae,
now a second time as the wife of Pom-
peius.
pronuba ducit Erinys] sc. instead of
pronuba Iuno. cf. Verg. Aen. vii 319 et
Belluna manet et pronuba: Oud. cf. also
Ov. Heroid. i 117 pronuba Tisiphone
thalamis ituluit in illis. ducit is equi-

tivalent to deducit se ad sponsam. cf. note
on II 358.
Crassorumque umbrae, deuotaque manibus illis
Assyrios in castra tuli ciuilia casus:
praccipitesque dedi populos cunctosque fugavi
a causa meliore deos. o maxime coniunx,
o thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat
in tantum Fortuna caput? cur impia nupsi,
si miserum factura fui? nunc accipe poenas,
sed quas sponte luam. quo sit tibi mollius aequor,
certa fides regum, totusque paratior orbis,
sparge mari comitem. mallem felicibus armis
dependisse caput: nunc clades denique
Magne, tuas. ubicumque iaces ciuilibus armis
nostros ulta toros, ades hue atque
exige poenas, Iulia crudelis, placataque paelice caesa
Magno parce tuo. sic fata iterumque refusa
coniugis in gremium cunctorum lumina soluit
in lacrimas. duri flectuntur pectora
Magni, siccaque Thessalia confundit
lampas. turn Mitylenaeum pleno
iam litore uolgus adfatur Magnum: si maxima
semper erit tanti pignus seruasse mariti,
tu quoque deuotos sacro tibi foedere
oramus, sociosque lares dignare
105
101. lustra] ‘expiate (i.e. by my blood)
your disasters’.
102. iaces] is equivalent to nersaris,
for there was no doubt about the place of
her burial, cf. note on II 162 quidquid
ubique iacet iacet scelerum.
103. paelice] ‘rival’. cf. the words
of Julia’s shade III 21—23 fortuna est mutata
toris: semperque potentes detrahere in
cladem fato damnata maritos, innupsit
tepido paelex Cornelia busto.
105. refusa] ‘sinking back’.
108. siccaque] ‘Lesbos brings tears to
those eyes that were dry in Thessaly’, i.e.
that looked on the disasters at Pharsalia
without weeping.
110. si maxima] ‘since it will ever be
our greatest glory’.
111. pignus] sc. uxorem, ‘to have
guarded the pledge committed to us by so
great a husband’.
nocte tua: fac, Magne, locum, quem cuncta reuisant saecula, quem ueniens hospes Romanus adoret. 115 nulla tibi subeunda magis sunt moenia uicto.

omnia victoris possunt sperare fauorem:

haec iam crimen habent. quid quod iacet insula ponto?

Caesar eget ratibus. procerum pars magna coibit certa loci. noto reparandum est litore bellum. 120 accipe templorum cultus aurumque deorum:

accipe, si terris, si puppibus ista iuuentus aptior est: tota, quantum ualet, utere Lesbo. [accipe: ne Caesar-rapiat, tu uictus habeto.]

hoc solum crimen merita bene detracte terrae, 125 ne nostram uideare fidem felixque secutus et damnasse miser. tali pietate uirorum lactus in aduersis, et mundi nomine gaudens esse fidem, nullum toto mihi, dixit, in orbe gratius esse solum non paruo pignore uobis ostendi. tenuit nostros hac obside Lesbos adfectus: hic sacra domus carique penates, hic mihi Roma fuit. non ulla in litora puppim ante dedi fugiens, saeui cum Caesaris iram iam scirem meritam seruata coniuge Lesbon, 130 non ueritus tantum ueniae committere uobis

cf. Plaut. Curc. i 1 4 (4) si media nox est, sive est prima uespera.

ista 'this of ours': cf. note on vi 242.

accipe] This line is probably spurious and is omitted in many MSS. and the earlier editions.

ne nostram] 'that you may not seem to have embraced our loyalty when prosperous and rejected it in misfortune'; for damnare cf. vi 508.

in aduersis] iunge pietate in aduersis, Weise: this is unnecessary: rather, lactus in aduersis: 'rejoicing in the midst of misfortune'.

mundi nomine] 'for the credit of the world'.

esse] emphatic: i.e. 'still existed'.

iam to be taken with meritam 'knowing that Lesbos had already earned Caesar's anger by keeping safe my wife'.

tantum ueniae materiem] 'such a means of earning pardon' sc. se ipsum, by giving up whom the Lesbians could obtain
pardon from Caesar for protecting Cornelia.

138. *agitanda*] 'I must follow up my destiny throughout all the world', so *agitare uitam, avem* &c. cf. Verg. G. iv

140. *adhauc mecum es*] For the bodily presence so to speak of the deity, cf. Verg. Aen. ii 178, 179 *numenque reducant quod pelago et curvis secum auxere carinis*.

See also VII 208, 308 infr.

146. *exit*] nam intarre etiam inimici patiantur ut capiant. Schol.

147. *mutaret*] 'were going into exile from their land and native soil', cf. Cic. Parad. iv § 31 *omnes scelerati atque impii...quos exsilio officii volunt essuile sunt etiam si solum non mutaran; so too vertere luv. xi 49 qui vertere solum Baias et ad ostrea currunt*.

149. *infestae*] sc. in anger at the gods, cf. II 44, IX 187.

150. *minus*] i.e. less than Cornelia: in the case of Pompeius it is only grief for the fall of so great a man, in that of Cornelia it is personal affection.

156. *hos—hor*] These words are not intended to distinguish two classes but are only put more emphatically for *hos pudor hos probitas castique modestia uoltus, quod submissa nimis nulli grauis hospita turbae stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.*
iam pelago medios Titan demissus ad ignes, nec quibus abscendit, nec si quibus exserit orbum, totus erat: uigiles Pompeii in pectore curac nunc socias adeunt Romani foederis urbes et varias regum mentes, nunc inuia mundi arua super nimios soles Austrumque iacentis. saepe labor maestus curarum odiumque futuri proiecit fessos incerti pectoris aestus, rectoremque ratis de cunctis consultit astris: unde notet terras; quae sit mensura secandi acquiris in caelo; Syriam quo sidere seruet: aut quotus in plastro Libyam bene dirigat ignis. doctus ad haec fatur taciti seruator Olympi: signifero quae cumque fluunt labentia caelo, numquam stante polo, miseris fallentia nautas sidera non sequimur: sed qui non mergitur undis axis inocciduus gemina clarissimus Arcto ille regit puppes. hic cum mihi semper in altum surget et instabit summis minor Vrsa ceruchis,

159. medios demissus ad ignes] 'sunk to the extent of half his fiery orb'.
160. si quibus] to those, if such there be' i.e. the Antipodes, the existence of whom was considered doubtful, cf. I 29 gens si quia iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.
162. Romani foederis] 'of the Roman alliance'.
165. saepe labor] 'oft the sad trouble of his thoughts and disgust at the future made him throw off (i.e. fling away for a time) the weary doubts that surged within his wavering breast', i.e. he tried to divert his thoughts by talking to the pilot about navigation.
168. unde notet] 'by means of which star he marks the land: what is his standard (i.e. guiding point) in heaven for clearing the sea'.
169. quo sidere] 'by what star he keeps his course for Syria'. Weise cf. III 129.
170. quotus ignis] 'which star in the wain', literally, the how manyeth sc. which in order, the fourth e.g. or the fifth. Compare the use of quota for 'at what hour?' cf. Hor. carm. III xix 7.
173. numquam stante polo] 'where the heavens never stand still'.
175. axis inocciduus] 'the pole that never sets': the word is used metaphorically by Stat. Theb. vi 277 spectat inocciduus stellatum uisibus Argum.
177. summis] 'stands above the topmost sail-yards', ceruchis seems to mean the ropes attaching the yard-arms (antennae) to the mast.
Bosporon et Scythiae curabantem litora pontum spectamus. quidquid descendit ab arbore summa Arctophylax propiorque mari Cynosura feretur, 180 in Syriæ portus tendit ratis. inde Canopos excipit Australi caelo contenta uagari stella timens Borean: illa quoque perge sinistra trans Pharon, in medio tanget ratis aequore Syrtes. sed quo uela dari, quo nunc pede carbasæ tendi 185 nostra iubes? dubio contra cui pectore Magnus, hoc solum toto, respondit, in aequore serua, ut sit ab Emathii semper tua longius oris puppis et Hesperiam pelago caeloque relinquis: cetera da uentis. comitem pignusque recepi 190 depositum: tum certus eram quae litora uellem; nunc portum Fortuna dabíti. sic fatur: at ille iusto uela modo pendentia cornibus acquis torsiit et in laeuom puppim dedit, utque secaret, quas Samiae cautes et quas Chios asperat undas, 195 hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppet rudentes. acquora sensorunt motus aliterque secante iam pelagus rostro nec idem spectante carina mutauere sonum. non sic moderator equorum,

179. quidquid] 'however much Arctophylax (i.e. Bootes) descends from the top of the mast', i.e. the lower it sinks towards the horizon: for this use of quidquid, cf. VII 387 infr. 365.
182. excipit] 'takes up the guidance', 'succeeds'.
183. illa quoque] 'go on keeping that too on your left past Pharos, and your ship will reach the Syrtes in mid ocean', i.e. not that the Syrtes lie in the midst of the sea, but that the ship will reach them by a course over the open sea without coasting.
185. quo pede] 'with which sheet' sc. port or starboard.
187. hoc solum] 'observe this alone in our whole course over the sea'.
188. pelago caeloque] 'by your observation of sea and sky'.
193. uela] 'but he turned round the sails as they hung trimly from the level yard-arms, and directed the ship towards the left, and that she might cleave the waves roughened by the Samian rocks and by Chios, slackened these ropes toward the prow, held taut those in the stern'. This seems the best interpretation: puppis in line 194 meaning the ship generally, in line 196 the stern.
195. Samiae] Some MSS. read Asiae, most Asinæ, which is impossible, as that is a town in the Peloponnese.
197. motus] 'the altered movement'. Oud. reads motos sc. rudentes.
199. non sic] 'not so skilfully'
dexteriores rotas laevo cum circuit axem, 
cogit inoffensae currus accedere metae.

ostendit terras Titan et sidera textit.

sparsus ab Emathia fugit quicumque procella 
adsequitur Magnum: primusque a litore Lesbi 
occurrat natus, procerum mox turba fidelis.
nam neque deiecto fatis acieque fugato 
abstulerat Magno reges Fortuna ministros: 
terrarum dominos et sceptra Eoa tenentinis 
ексул habet comites. iubet ırce in deuia mundi 
Deiotarum, qui sparsa ducis uestigia legit.
quando, ait, Emathis amissus cladibus orbis 
quae Romanus erat, superest, fidissime regum, 
Eoam temptare fidem populosque bibentis 
Euphraten, et adhuc securum a Caesare Tigrim. 
ne pigeat Magno quaerentem fata remotas 
Medorum penetrare domos Scythicosque recessus, 
et totum mutare diem, uocesque superbo 
Arsacidae perferre meas: si foedera nobis 
prisca manent, mihi per Latium iurata Tonantem, 
per uestros adstricta magos, implete pharetras

200. dexteriores rotas] 'while with his 
right hand wheel sweeping round the left 
extremity of the axle-tree', i.e. the left 
wheel at that end of the axle-tree remains 
almost stationary and so acts as a pivot on 
which the axle-tree turns.

201. inoffensae] 'leaving it still un-
touched'.

203. procella] metaphorically, cf. Florus i 
xvii § 12 Ticino Trebia succedit: hic 
secunda belli Punicib procella desaecuit Sempronii consule.

205. natus] sc. Sextus, who had probably 
been in Lesbos all the time, though 
Lucan had in Book vi introduced him as 
consulting the witch in Thessaly. cf. Plat. 
Pomp. 74.

206. neque] equivalent to ne quidem, 
a silver age use, cf. Madvig's third excursus 
to Cic. de finibus. cf. Infr. 497, 1x 681, 
Mart. v lxx 5, 6 o quanta est gula 
contina comites, quanto maior adhuc ne 
accubare.

208. terrarum domino] 'the lords of 
earth', cf. Hor. car. i 1 i 6.

209. comites] 'in his train': this word 
is commonly used of the personal suite of 
a Roman governor.

210. Deiotarum] Deiotarus was tetrarch 
of Galatia, and had been made by Pompeius 
king of Lesser Armenia.

215. Medorum penetrae domos Scythicose 
recessus, et totum mutare diem, uocesque superbo 
Arsacidae perferre meas: si foedera nobis 
prisca manent, mihi per Latium iurata Tonantem, 
per uestros adstricta magos, implete pharetras

216. Deiotarum] Deiotarus was tetrarch 
of Galatia, and had been made by Pompeius 
king of Lesser Armenia.

217. totum mutare diem] 'change your 
clime entirely'; for this use of dies cf. vii 
189 Stat. Theb. 1 200 effusa sub omni terra 
atque unda die: so Hor. Epp. i xi 27 caelum 
non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

218. Arsacidae] i.e. the king of the Arthia, 
cf. i 108.

Heroid. vi 319. 320 tum ego iurabo 
quaeris tibi numina, neque adstringam 
verbis in sacra iura suis.
Armeniosque arcus Geticis intrepidite neruis: si uos, o Parthi, peterem cum Caspia claustra, et sequerer duros aeterni Martis Alanos, passus Achaemeniis late discurrere campis in tutam trepidos numquam Babylona coegi: arua super Cyri Chaldæique ultima regni, qua rapidus Ganges et qua Nysaeus Hydaspes accedunt pelago, Phoebi surgentis ab igne iam propri quam Persis eram: tamen omnia uincens sustinui nostris uos tantum deesse triumphis: solus et e numero regum telluris Eoeae ex acquo me Parthus adit. nec munere Magni stant semel Arsacidæ. quis enim post uolnera cladis Assyriae iustas Latii compescuit iras? tot meritis obstricta meis nunc Parthia ruptis excedat claustris uetitam per sæcula ripam Zeugmaque Pellæum. Pompeio uincite, Parthi; uinci Roma uolent. regem parere iubenti ardua non piguit, positisque insignibus aulæ egreditur famuli raptos indutus amictus. in dubiiis tutum est inopem simulare tyranno. quanto igitur mundi dominis securius acuom


222. peterem] i.e. in the Mithridatic war: Caspia claustra, the Caspian gates, cf. 291 infr.

223. aeterni Martis Alanos] 'the ever-warring Alanî', imitated by Sidon. Apoll. ii 364 Vandalicas turmas & inuicti Martis Alanos. cf. also 158 supr. 245 infr.; the Alanî are here probably to be identified with the Albanî who dwelt in the Caucasus.

224. passus] 'suffering you to scour far and wide the Persian plains', cf. for the opposite Hor. carm. ii ix 23 intraque praescriptum Geloni exiguís equitare campi.

225. tutum—Babylona] 'the protection of the walls of Babylon'. For tutus cf. ii 504; for Babylon cf. i 10, vi 50, 300 infr.


228. ab igne] 'I was nearer the fires of the rising sun, than Persia is', the usual construction with prope, cf. Sen. Epist. iv xii (41) § i prope est a te deus, tecum est, itus est.

229. omnia uincens] παντοκράτωρ.

232. ex aquo] 'approached me as an equal', i.e. non supplex ut ceteri.

nee munere] 'nor is it once alone that Parthia has stood uninjured by the gift of Magnus'. Pompeius had dissuaded the Senate from renewing the Parthian war on the plea of the war in Gaul.

236. claustris] 'bounds', sc. of the Parthian and Roman empires.


230. raptos] equivalent to arreptos Weise.
uerus pauper agit. dimisso in litora rege, ipse per Icariæ scopulos, Ephesonque relinquens et placidi Colophona maris, spumantia paruaec radit saxa Sami: spirat de litore Coo aura fluens: Gnidon inde fugit, claramque relinquit sole Rhodon, magnosque sinus Telmessidos undae compensat medio pelago. Pamphylia puppi occurrit tellus: nec se committere muris ausus adhuc ullis te primum, parua Phaseli, Magnus adit. nam te metui utet incola rarus exhaustaeque domus populis; maiorque carinae, quam tua, turba fuit. tendens hinc carbasar rursus iam Taurum Tauroque uidet Dipsunta cadentem. crederet hoc Magnus pacem cum praestitus undis et sibi consultum? Cilicum per litora tutus parua puppe fugit: sequitur pars magna senatus ad profugum collecta ducem: paruisque Celendris, qua portu mittitque rates recipitque Selinus, in procerum coetu tandem maesta ora resoluit vocibus his Magnus: comites bellique fugaeque, atque instar patriae, quamuis in litore nudo, in Cilicum terra, nullis circumdatus armis consultem rebusque nouis exordia quaeram, ingentes praestate animos: non omnis in aruis Emathiiis cecidi, nec sic mea fata premuntur.
ut nequeam releuare caput cladesque receptas excutere. an Libycae Marium potuere ruinac erigere in fasces plenis et reddere fastis: me pressum leuiores manu Fortuna tenebit? mille meac Graio uoluntur in aequore puppes, mille duces: sparsit potius Pharsalia nostras, quam subuerit, opes. sed me uel sola tuci fama potest rerum toto quas gessimus orbe, et nomen quod mundus amat, us pendite regna uiribus atque fide, -Libyen, Parthosque, Pharonque, quaenam Romanis deceat succurrere rebus. ast ego curarum, proceres, arcana mearam expromam mentisque meae quo pondera uergant. 280 aetas Niliaci nobis suspecta tyranni est; ardua quippe fides robustos exigat annos. hinc anceps dubii terret sollertia Mauri: namque memor generis Karthaginis impia proles imminct Hesperiae, multusque in pectore uano est 285 Hannibal; obliquo maculat qui sanguine regnum,


270. *in fascer* 'to the consulship'.

271. *me pressum* 'shall Fortune hold me down whom she has crushed with less heavy hand?' *pressum* should be taken with both *leuiores manu* and *tenebit*. Many MSS. read *pulsurn*.


277. *curarum arcana* 'my secret thoughts'.


281. *aetas* Ptolemaeus was only thirteen years old.

282. *arduæ fidei* 'faith that is hard to keep', i.e. in cases where the temptation to break it is strong, as now.

283. *anceps sollertiae* 'dangerous cunning'.

284. *generis* According to the Scholiast Juba was descended from a sister of Hannibal: there does not seem to be any authority for this statement, and Lucan probably regards both Carthaginians and Numidians simply as Africans. cf. Hor. Carm. II 1 25, 29 *Juno et deorum quisquis amicior Afris inulta cesserat impota tens tellure victorum nepotes rectulli inferrias fugurthac*. cf. I 39, II 88–93, IV 788.


286. *obliqua* Some think that this is a suggestion that Juba was illegitimate: others that it refers to his supposed collateral descent from the family of Hannibal.
et Numidas contingit auos, iam supplice Varo intumuit uiditique loco Romana secundo.

quare agite Eoum, comites, properemus in orbem, diuidit Euphrates ingentem gargite mundum, 290 Caspiaque immensos seducunt castra recessus, et polus Assyrias alter noctesque diesque uertit, et abruptum est nostro mare discolor unda, oceanusque suus. regnandi sola uoluntas, celsior in campis sonipes et fortior arcus; 295 nec puere aut senior letales tendere neroos signis, et a nulla mors est incerta sagitta. 

primi Pellacas arcu fregere sarisas, Bactraque Medorum sedem, murisque superbam Assyrias Babylona domos. nec pila timentur 300 nostra nimis Parthis, audentque in bella uenire experti Scythicas Crasso percunte sagittas. spicula nec solo spargunt fidentia ferro, stridula sed mutto saturantur tela ueneno. 

uoüera parua noceñt fatumque in sanguine summo est.

describes their plains and stronger is their bow'.

297. **sensis** cf. Verg. *G. II* 125 *et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetis.*

298. **sarisas** These were the national weapons of the Macedonians as *pila* of the Romans, cf. *X* 47, 48 *Eoi propius timnere sarisas quam nec pila timent populi.*

299. **Bactra** This refers to the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom founded by Alexander's generals, for the history of which see Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I pp. 212 foll.

300. **Assyrias—domos** in apposition with *Babylona*: the home of 'Assyrian empire'. For the walls of Babylon cf. *VI* 50 11erod. I 178, 179.

302. **experti** 'having proved the power of the Scythian arrows, when Crassus fell'. cf. Verg. *Aen. VII* 234, 235 *sita per Aeaeae iuro dextranque potentes siue fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis.*


305. **in sanguine summo est** 'death is in the blood on the very surface of the body', i.e. the slightest graze is fatal, cf. suppl. 68 cf. also *Actua I* 58 *sed summis si*
o utinam non tanta mihi fiducia saeuis esset in Arsacidis. fatis nimis aemula nostris fata mouent Medos multumque in gente deorum est. effundam populos alia tellure reuolos, excitosque suis immittam sedibus ortus, quod si nos Eoa fides et barbara fallunt foedera; uolgati supra commercia mundi naufragium Fortuna ferat. non regna precabor quae feci; sed magna feram solacia mortis orbe iacinis ailo, nihil haec in membra cruenta, nil socerum fecisse pie. sed cuncta reuolens uitae fata meae semper uenerabilis illa orbis parte fui: quantus Maeotida supra: quantus apud Tanaim toto conspectus in ortu. quas magis in terras nostrum felicibus actis nomen abit aut unde redit maiore triumpho? Roma, faue coeptis: quid enim tibi laetius umquam praestiterint superi, quam, si ciuilia Partho milite bella geras, tantam consumere gentem et nostris miscere malis? cum Caesaris arma concurrant Medis, aut me Fortuna necesse est uindicet aut Crassos. sic fatus, murmure sentit consilium damnasse uiros: quos Lentulus omnes uirtutis stimuli et nobilitate dolendi forte putas concrescere causis tantum opus, and Dr. Munro's note.

306. utinam] 'would I did not re-
pose such confidence in &c.' but cf. Inv. X 306 tanta in numeribus fiducia and Prof. Mayor's note.
308. durum est] 'and greatly do the gods favour the nation'. cf. 143 supr.
312. volgati] 'beyond the intercourse of the commonly known world'.
313. naufragium] 'our shipwrecked fortunes'. cf. Ov. ex Ponto II ix 9 ex-
cipe naufragium non duro liteore nostrum.
314. feram] 'shall carry off', i.e. as a prize.
315. nihil] 'nec parcendi, nec puni-
endi in me habebit potestatem'. Schol.
317. uenerabilis] 'respected'.
318. quantus] 'how mighty' sc. when in pursuit of Mithridates who took refuge
with his son Pharnaces king of Bosporus, cf. 11 637, X 476.
320. magis abit] 'has my name spread
more widely?'
322. quam si] 'than by employing
Parthian soldiers in thy civil wars, to waste the strength of that mighty nation
and involve it in common disasters with
ourselves'.
329. uirtutis stimulis] 'in urging
them to valour and in his generous indig-
praecessit dignasque tulit modo consule uoces: 330
siccine Thessalicae mentem fregere ruinae? 331
una dies mundi damnaut fata? secundum
Emathiam lis tanta datur? iacet omne cruenti
uolneris auxilium? solos tibi, Magne, reliquit
l'arthorum Fortuna pedes? quid, transfuga mundi,
terrarum notos tractus caelumque perosus,
aduersosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris,
Chaldaeos culture focos et barbara sacra,
Parthorum famulus? quid causa obtenditur armis
libertatis amor? miserum quid decipis orbem, 340
si seruire potes? te, quem Romanam regement
horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
uidit ab Hyrcanis, Indoque a litore, siluis,
decetum fatis humilem fractunque uidebit,
extolletque animos Latium uaesanu in orbem,
se simul et Romam Pompeio supplice mensu?
nil animis fatisque tuis effabere dignum:
exiget ignorans Latiae commercia linguae

nation', cf. supr. II 324 ares irarum mo-
vit stimulos.

330. modo consule} 'of one lately con-
sul'. 308 οπι ὑπὰ υπαρθενατος. For a similar
use of the adverb cf. IX 283.
331. mentem fregere} 'broken our spi-
rit', cf. Hor. Epist. ii 35, 36 horari
copiit eundem uerbis quas tundit quoque
possent addere mentem.
332. secundum} 'is so vast a contest
decided in accordance with the verdict of
Thessaly?' i.e. by the result of the one
battle of Pharsalia.
333. iacet} 'is all powerless that could
avail to heal this bloody wound?' cf. Cic.
Cic. Parad. IV § 27 cum leges in illa nihil
ualebant, cum indicia iacebant.
334. solos—pedes} 'nothing save to
fall at the Parthians' feet'.
335. transfuga mundi} 'a deserter from
the (known) world', cf. supr. 290: for the
expression cf. Stat. Silv. i ii 203—205
tumidae sic transfuga Pisaev annuis in
externus longe flammatos amores, flamina
demorsa trahit intermorta canali, with re-
ference to Arethusa.
336. terrarum} sc. nostrarum, omitted
as externus so often is, cf. note on I 31.
337. focos} referring to the fire-worship
of the Persians, between whom and the
Parthians there is constant confusion. deos,
the reading adopted by Weise, probably
arose from an explanatory marginal gloss.
338. transfuga mundi] 'and madly
gather courage to assail the Roman world',
cf. Tac. Ann. vi 42 (36) sustulerunt an-
num.
339. mensu} 'measuring his own
strength and that of Rome by the fact of
Pompeius being a suppliant'.
340. secundum] 'why is the love of free-
dom alleged as our plea for war? i.e. if
we are to be slaves, it is better we should
be the slaves of Caesar than of the Par-
thians.'
ut lacrimis sc, Magne, roges. patimurne pudor is
hoc uolnus clades ut Parthia uindicet ante
Hesperias quam Roma suas? ciuiilibus ammis
elegit te nempe ducem. quid uolnera nostra
in Scythicos spargis populos cladesque latentis?
quid Parthos transire doces? solacia tanti
perdit Roma mali, nullos admittere reges
sed ciuii seruire suo. iuuat ire per orbem
ducentem sacuas Romana in moenia gentes,
signaque ab Euphrate cum Crassis capta sequentem?
qui solus regum fato celante fauorem
defuit Emathiae, nunc tantas ille lacesset
audiit victoris opes aut iungere fata
tecum, Magne, uolet? non haec fiducia genti est.
omnis in Arctois populus quicumque pruinis
nascitur, indomitus bellis et mortis amator.
quidquid ad Eos tractus mundique teporem
labitur, emollit gentes clementia caeli.
illic et laxas uestes et fluxa uiuorum
uclamenta uides. Parthus per Medica rura
Sarmaticos inter campos effusaque plano
Tigridis arua solo nulli superabiliis hosti est

350. mortis) This is the reading of
the best MSS. and of the Roman edition
of 1469, cf. I 461, 462 anima qua capas mortis et ignoum redituiteru pareu illae, 1461, 147. semper in arma mortis amore
fero, vi 246. Grotius with some MSS.
reads Martis.
355. quidquid') 'however much', i.e.
in proportion as the sky sinks down', cf.
notes on vii 387, 179 supr.
I 249, 241 mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhi-
paeaque arduus arces consurgit, premi-
turn Libyae deuexus in Austros.
357. illic] cf. Tac. Ann. vi 40 (34)
sinul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro
Medorum agmina, hinc iuores, in de praec-
dam ostendere, in which passage Medi
means the Parthians.
359. effusa) 'spreading out in level
ground', cf. Tac. Germ. 30 non ita effusi
ad palustribus locis, ut eeterae ciuitate in
quas Germania patescit, durans.
libertate fugae: sed non, ubi terra tumebit, aspera conscendet montis iuga; nec per opacas bella geret tenebras incerto debilis arcu, nec franget nando violenti uorticiis annem, nec tota in pugna perfusus sanguine membra exiget aestiuum calido sub puluere solem. non aries illis non uilla est machina belli; haud fossas implere ualent: Parthoque sequente muris erit quodcumque potest obstare sagittae. pugna leuis bellumque fugax tumvaeque uagantes, et melior cessisse loco quam pellere miles; illita tela dolis, nec Martem comminus umquam ausa pati uirtus, sed longe tendere nerus, et quo ferre uelint permettere uolnera uentis. ensis habet uires, et gens quae cumque uiorum est bella gerit gladii; nam Medos proelia prima exarmant uacuaque iubent remeare pharetrae. nulla manus illis fiducia tota uenei est. credis, Magne, uiros quos in discrimina belli cum ferro uenisse parum est? temptare pudendum auxilium tanti est, tuto diuisus ut orbe a terra moriare tua? tibi Barbara tellus incumbat, te parua tegant ac uiliausta, inuidiosa tamen Crasso quaerente sepulcrum?

371. libertate fugae] 'by his free power of flight'.
373. frangat] cf. 1 222; for the generic cf. supr. 223.
375. murus crit] 'will prove a wall', i.e. will be equally defensible, cf. vi. 201. For crit cf. note on § 31.
376. pugna leuis] 'they fight lightly armed'.
377. pellere] sc. hostem.
378. uelint] sc. uenti. permettere] 'to leave their blows to the winds to carry whither they will'.
379. uiorum est] Grotius refers to the saying of Pyrrhus that 'he had fallen on the man's chamber, Alexander on the women's'.
380. manus] 'confidence in their hands', cf. Prof. Mayor's note on Iuv. x. 306.
381. cum ferro] i.e. unless poison is added.
382. tantae] cf. iii. 51. nec uincere tanti ut bellum differet erat. toto orbe] 'The Scholiast refers to Verg. Ecl. i. 67. penitus ito diuisis orbe Britannus, but in the present passage the meaning is 'by the whole width of the world'.
383. inuidiosa] 'but which still will bring odium on thee while Crassus seeks a sepulchre in vain'; for quaerere, cf. vi. 154. ix. 965. Phoebi quaerit nestigia muri.
sed tua sors leuior, quoniam mors ultima poena est
nec metuenda uiris, at non Cornelia letum
infando sub rege timet. num barbaro nobis
est ignota uenus, quae ritu cacka ferarum
polluit innumeris leges et foedera taedae
coniugibus? thalamique patent secreta nefandi.
inter mille nurus epulis uaesana meroque
regia non ullos exceptos legibus horret
concubitus: tot feminceis complexibus unum
non lassat nox una mare. iacuere sorores
in fratum thalamis sacrataque pignora matrum.
405
damnat apud gentes sccleris non sponte peracti
Oedipodonias infelix fabula Thebas:
Parthorum dominus quotiens sic sanguine mixto
nascitur Arsacides? cui fas implere parentem,
quid rear esse nefas? proles tam clara Metelli
410
stabit barbarico coniunx millesima lecto:
quamquam non ulli plus regia, Magne, uacabit
saeuitia stimulante uenus titulisque uiorum.
411 nam quo quara iiuent Parthum portenta fuisse
hanc sciet et Crassi: ceu pridem debita fatis
Assyriis, trahitur cladis captiua uctustae.
haereat Eoae uolnus miserabili sortis; non solum auxilium funesto a rege petisse, sed gessisse prius bellum ciuile pudcit. nam quod apud populos crimen socerique tuomque maius erit, quam quod nobis miscentibus arma Crassorum uindicta perit? incurrere cuncti debuerant in Bactra duces, et, ne qua uacarent arma, uel Arctoum Dacis Rhenique cateruis imperii nudare latus, dum perfida Susa in tumulos prolapsa uirum Baiylonque iacerent. Assyriae paci finem, Fortuna, precamur: et si Thessalae bellum ciuile peractum est, ad Parthos qui uicit cat. gens unica mundi est de qua Caesareis possim gaudere triumphis. non tibi, cum gelidum primum transibis Araxen, umbra senis maesti Scythicis confixa sagittis uingeret haec: tu, quern post funera nostra ultorem cinerum nudae sperauimus umbrae, ad foedus pacemque uenis? turn plurima cladis 435 occurrent monumenta tibi: quae moenia trunci lustrarunt ciuile duces, ubi nomina tanta obruit Euphrates, et nostra cadauera Tigris detulit in terras ac reddidit. ire per ista si potes, in media socerum quoque, Magne, sedentem

Thessalia placare potes. quin respicis orbem Romanum? si regna times proiecta sub Austro infidumque Iubam, petimus Pharon aruaque Lagi. Syrtibus hinc Libycis tuta est Aegyptus: at inde gurgite septeno rapidus mare submouet amnis: terra suis contenta bonis non indiga mercis aut Iouis; in sola tanta est fiducia Nilo. sceptra puerr Ptolemaeus habet tibi debita, Magne, tutelae commissa tuae. quis nominis umbram horreat? innocua est aetas: nec iura fidemque respectumque deum ueteris speraueris aulae. nil pudet adsuetos sceptris: mitissima sors est regnorum sub rege nouo. non plura locutus impulit hue animos: quantum spes ultima rerum libertatis habet. uicta est sententia Magni.

tum Cilicum liquere solum Cyproque citatas immisere rates, nullas cui praetulit aras undae diua memor Paphiae, si numina nasci credimus aut quemquam fas est coepisse deorum. haec ubi deseruit Pompeius litora, totos emensus Cypri scopulos, quibus exit in Austrum, inde maris uasti transuero urtitur aestu:

442. Romanum] 'the Roman world', as opposed to the Eastern world. proiecta 'stretched out', 'extending far'.
443. petimus] 'our course is for Pharos'.
445. submouet] 'drives back'.
447. Iouis] sc. rain; cf. Verg. G 1
448. tibi debita] Ptolemaeus had been set on the throne by Aulus Gabinius, the creature of Pompeius. tutelae] M. Lepidus had really been appointed by the Senate as Ptolemaeus' guardian.
450. nec iuva] 'nor look for...in an old king's court'.
452. mitissima] 'the lot of kingdoms is mildest under a new monarch'; cf. Dryden, The Hind and the Panther, Part I 271 'and kind as kings upon their corona- tion day'.
454. quantum] 'how much freedom of speech is there in despair!': for libertas cf. note on III 145.
456. Cypri immisere] 'directed towards Cyprus', Cyprio being dative; for immittere cf. Cic. ad fam. x xxx § 3 repente egrom immisi ad cam legionem tironum quae meirichal ex castris scito reiecto.
458. undae] sc. whence she sprang.
459. coepisse] 'or it is lawful for any god to have a beginning'. cf. x 266.
462. inde maris] 'thence he turns off crossing obliquely the vast ocean's tides', i.e. instead of coasting crosses the open sea to Egypt.
nec tenuit gratum nocturno lumine montem, infimaque Aegypti pugnaci litora uelo uix tetigit, qua diuidui pars maxima Nili in uada decurrit Pelusia, septimus amnis. tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas non uno plus aqua die, noctique rependit lux minor hibernae uerni solacia damni. comperit ut regem Casio se monte tenere, flectit iter: nec Phoebus adhuc nec carbasas languent. iam rapido speculator eques per litora cursu hospitis aduentu pauidam compleuerat aulam. consiliui uix tempus erat: tamen omnia monstra Pellaecae coiere domus: quos inter Achoreus iam placidus senio fractisque modestior annis, (hunc genuit custos Nili crescentis in arua Memphis uana sacriss; illo cultore deorum lustra suae Phoebece non unus uixerat Apis) consiliui uox prima fuit, meritumque fidemque.

463. nec tenuit] i.e. non adpulit ad, 'did not strike'.
464. gratum] 'the mountain that cheers men with nightly blaze', sc. Pharos.
466. in uada] 'flows into the shallows of Pelusium, the last (i.e. most Eastern) of seven streams'.
467. pares examinat] 'weighs the level hours in her scale', i.e. it was the autumnal equinox, cf. x 127. Verg. G. 1 208 Libra die somnique pares ubi fexerit horas.
468. non uno] i.e. it is only on one day during each equinox that the day and night are of equal length.
469. noctique rependit] 'and the diminishing light pays back to the night of winter consolation for its losses in the springtime'.
470. nec Phoebus] 'neither does the sun, nor yet the canvass flag', i.e. the sun was not yet setting, and the wind continued.
471. compleuerat] 'had filled with the news of their guests' arrival'.
475. meritorum] see also Plin. H. N. xvIII § 184 bos in Aegypto etiam numeris uice colitur: Apis uocant, insigni ei in dextro latere candidus macula cornibus lunae crescere incipientis, nudi sub lingua quem cantharum appellant. non est fas eum certos uitaex uiserit annos, mersumque in sacroamone fonte necant, quassturici lactu aliuin quem substituant, et donec inciertum maereat desaris eius temporis. See also Herod. III 27, 28.
sacraque defuncti iactauit pignora patris. 481. sed melior suadere malis et nosse tyrannos ausus Pompeium leto damnasse Pothinus:

ius et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemaeae, necentis. 483. dat poenas laudata fides, cum sustinet, inquit, quos Fortuna premit. fatis accede diseque, et cole felices; miseris fuge. sidera terra ut distant, ut flamma mari, sic utile recto. sceptrorum uis tota perit, ut perdere iusta incipit: cuuertitque arces respectus honesti. 490. libertas scelerum est quae regna inuisa tuetur, sublatusque modus gladiis. facere omnia saeue non impune licet, nisi cum facis. exeat aula qui uolt esse pius. uirtus et summa potestas non coeunt: semper metuet quem saeua pudebunt. non impune tuos Magnus contemperserit annos; 496 qui te nec uictos arerce a litore nostro posse putat. neu te sceptris priuauerit hospes; pignora sunt propiora tibi: Nilonque Pharonque, si regnare piget, damnatae reddre sorori. 500 Aegyptum certe Latiiis tueamur ab armis. quidquid non fuerit Magni dum bella geruntur,

481. patris] sc. of Ptolemaeus' father.
482. suadere malis] 'to give advice to wicked men', i.e. to give such advice as they would be likely to follow.
483. ius et fas] cf. Verg. G. 1 269
tas et iura simunt.
484. sustinet] 'tries to support', 'upholds'.
485. sustinet] 'tries to support', 'upholds'.
486. deis] cf. 1 138.
488. praemium ueneruntẳng cum uirtute nostro, ut
prius una kai thalasse.
489. arcis] of the despot's stronghold: cf. Iuv. x 306 nullus epohum deformem saeva castravit in arcis tyrannis
and Prof. Mayor's note; cf. also Id. 14 quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem traxerat.
490. libertas scelerum est] 'tis the freedom to commit crimes which is the defence of hated tyrannies, and the unsparing use of the sword'.
491. libertas scelerum est] 'tis the freedom to commit crimes which is the defence of hated tyrannies, and the unsparing use of the sword'.
nec victoris erit. toto iam pulsus ab orbe, postquam nulla manet rerum fiducia, quae, cum qua gente cadat: rapitur ciuiilibus umbris. nec soceri tantum arma fugit: fugit ora senatus, cuius Thessalicas saturat pars magna uolucres: et metuit gentes quas uno in sanguine mixtas deseruit: regesque timet quorum omnia mersit: Thessaliaeque reus nulla tellure receptus sollicitat nostrum quem nondum prodidit orbem. iustior in Magnum nobis, Ptolemaeae, querelae causa data est. quid sepositam semperque quietam crimine bellorum maculas Pharon, aruaque nostra victori suspecta facis? cur sola cadenti haec placuit tellus, in quam Pharsalica fata conferres ponasque tuas? iam crimen habemus purgandum gladio, quod nobis sceptra senatus te suadente dedit. uotis tua fouimus arma. hoc ferrum, quod fata iubent proferre, paraui non tibi, sed uicto. feriam tua uiscera, Magne: malueram soceri: rapimur quo cuncta seruntur. tene mihi dubitas an sit violare necesse, cum liceat? nostri quae te fiducia regni huc agit, infelix? populum non cernis inermem aruaque uix refluò fodiéntem mollia Nilo?

503. nec victoris] 'will not be the conqueror's either', ὅδε τοῦ μικρότατον.
505. umbris] Many MSS. read armis, but all editors agree in umbris which is explained by the following lines. Oud. cf. x 336.
508. uno in sanguine] 'piled in one bloodstained heap'.
510. Thessaliaeque reus] 'and charged with Thessaly's disaster, refused admission in every land'.
511. prodidit] 'betrayed to ruin'.
512. iustior] i.e. than others have.
538, 339 partemque metus fieri nostri mare sepositum. See also ix 1071.
516. in quam] 'on which to lay the burden of Pompeius' destiny'.
517. crimen] sc. in Caesar's eyes.
518. purgandum gladio] 'which we must wipe out by the sword', i.e. by killing Pompeius.
519. metis] sc. licet non armis.
521. sed uicto] i.e. for the vanquished, whichever it might be.
522. rapimur] 'we are swept away, whither all things tend', sc. to Caesar's side.
523. tene mihi dubitas] 'canst thou doubt that it is necessary for me to murder thee, since I have the power?' i.e. the very fact that you have fallen so low as to be in my power obliges me to make away with you, for fear of incurring the anger of your powerful enemy Caesar. Grotius, not seeing the point, wishes to transpose an and cum.
526. mollia] 'softened by the retreating Nile', i.e. yet soft as the soil is, the Egyptians are scarcely strong enough to till it.
metiri sua regna decent uiresque fateri. 

tu, Ptolemaee, potes Magni fulcire ruinam, 
sub qua Roma iacet? bustum cineresque mouere 
Thessalicos audes, bellumque in regna uocare? 
ante aciem Emathiam nullis accessimus armis: 
Pompeii nunc castra placent quae deserit orbis? 
nunc uictoris opes et cognita fata lacessis? 
aduersis non deesse decent, sed lacta secutos, 
nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos. 

adsensere omnes sceleri. lactatur honore 
rex puere insueto, quod iam sibi tanta licere 
permittant famuli. sceleri deletus Achillas. 
perfida quâ tellus Casii excurrirt harenis, 
et uada testantur iunctas Aegyptia Syrtes, 
exiguam sociis monstris gladiisque carinam 
instruit. o superi, Nilusne et barbara Memphis 
et Pelusiaci tam mollis turba Canopi 
hos animos? sic fata premunt ciuilia mundum? 
sic Romana iacent? ullusne in cladibus istis 
est locus Aegypto Phariusque admittitur ensis? 
hanc certe seruare fidem, ciuilia bella: 
cognatas praestate manus exernaquae monstr 
pellite, si meruit tam claro nomine Magnus.

528. *Magni ruinam*] 'Magnus in his 
downfall'; for ruina used of what is ready 
to fall, cf. Iuv. III 196 securus pendente 
iubet dormire ruina. 

531. *nullis accessimus armis*] 'we 
joined neither warring host'. *nullis* is 
here equivalent to *neutris* as quis to eter 
in I 126 and elsewhere. 

533. *lacessis*] 'dost thou now challenge 
the conqueror's power and proud success?' 

534. *sed lacta secutos*] sc. *sed solos lacta 
secutos docet*, 'tis becoming to support 
adversity, but only for those who have 
attracted on prosperity'. 

535. *elegit*] 'made deliberate choice of'. 

537. *sibi tanta*] 'that now his servants 
allow him so much power'. 

539. *perfida*] probably referring to the 
character of the inhabitans, not to quicksands as some take it. 

excurrit] sc. *in mare*. Oud. with many 

MSS. reads *exsultat*, which he explains 
by *ascendit*, but if the reading be right it 
more likely means 'boils up', referring to the *uada* mentioned in the following line, 

cf. Verg. Aen. III 557 *exsaltantique uada* 
which Oud. refers to. 

540. *testantur iunctas Syrtes*] 'wit- 
ness to the nearness of the Syrtes'. 

541. *sociis monstris*] 'with partners 
in the horrid deed', i.e. others besides 
Achillas himself. 

Verg. G. I 228. 

Cic. Philipp. I 1 74 *tam bonus gladiator 
rudum tam cito?* and Prof. Mayor's note 
ad loc. cf. also Iuv. I 89 *alea quando 
hos animos?* 

546. *admittitur*] 'is allowed to inter- 
fere?' cf. 356 supr. 

547. *hanc fidem*] 'this obligation'. 

548. *praestate*] 'employ'. For monstra 
cf. 474 supr.
Caesaris esse nefas. tanti, Ptolomaece, ruinam nominis haud metuis? caeloque tonante profanas inseruisse manus, impure ac semius, audes? non domitor mundi nec ter Capitolia curru inuectus regumque potens uindexque senatus victorisque gener: Phario satis esse tyranno quod poterat, Romanus erat. quid uscera nostra scrutaris gladio? nescis, puer improbe, nescis, quo tua sit Fortuna loco: iam iure sine ullo Nili sceptra tenes: cecidit ciuilibus armis qui tibi regna dedit. iam uento uela negarat Magnus, et auxilio remorum infanda petebat litora: quem contra non longa uecta biremi adpulerat scelerata manus: Magnoque patere fingens regna Phari celsae de puppe carinace in paruam iubet ire ratem litusque malignum incusat bimaremque uadis frangentibus auestum, qui ucet externas terris aduertere classes. quod nisi fatorum leges intentaque iussu ordinis aeterni miserae uicinia mortis

550. Caesaris esse nefas] ab ipso Caesar occidi. Grotius. i.e. since Magnus has deserved to be the victim of Caesar's crime, and not of that of any lesser man.

551. caeloque] Oud. refers to III 314

537. non domitor] 'had he not been &c.'

ter Capitolia] For Pompeius' triple triumph cf. I 316: the three triumphs were 1st b.c. 81 over Hiargas, 2nd b.c. 79 over Spain and the adherents of Sertorius, 3rd b.c. 61 over Mithridates.

554. uindexque senatus] 'the champion of the senate'.

555. satis esse] 'still he was a Roman and that might have been enough for an Egyptian tyrant'.


558. quo...loco] cf. Verg. Aen. II 322 quo res summa loco Pantheu?

559. iure sine ullo] i.e. because his right to the throne depended on Pompeius and the senate.

560. uento uela negarat] opposed to the common uento uela dare; 'had fused his sails to the wind', i.e. had furled his sails. cf. ix 336. Ov. Met. XI 487 pars munire latus; pars uentis uela negare.


565. litusque malignum incusat] 'blames the scantiness of the beach and the tides from two seas setting upon the shoals that break them', i.e. the tide flowing from both sides of the Casian promontory and made rough by shallow water off the point.

567. classes] 'fleets', i.e. ships of war opposed to the small biremis. cf. v 503.


569. ordinis] For ordo used of fate cf. Cic. de div. I § 125 fatum autem id appare, quod Graeci et quos, id est ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causa cau-
damnatum leto traherent ad litora Magnum, non ulli comitum scleris praesagia decerant. quippe, fides si pura foret, si regia Magno sceptrorum auctori uera pictet pateret, uenturum tota Pharium cum classe tyrannum. sed cedit fatis, classemque relinquere iussus obsequitur, letumque iuuat praecedere timori. ibat in hostilem praeceps Cornelia puppim, hoc magis impatiens egresso deesse marito, quod metuit clades. remanet, temeraria coniunx, et tu, nate, precor, longeque e litore casus exspectate meos, et in hac ceruice tyranni explorate fidem, dixit. sed dura uetanti tendebat geminas amens Cornelia palmas: quo sine me, crudelis, abis? iterumne relinquor Thessalicis submota malis? numquam omne laeto distrahimur miseri. poteras non flectere puppim, cum fugeres, alio, latebrisque relinquere Lesbi, omnibus a terris si nos arcere parabas.

sed ne submissis precibus Pompeius adoret
sceptra sua donata manu. transire parantem
Romanus Pharia miles de puppe salutat
Septimius: qui, pro superum pudor, arma satelles
regia gestabat posito deformia pilo:
immanis uiolentus atroxa nullaque ferarum
mitior in caedes. quis non, Fortuna, putasset
parcere te populis, quod bello haec dextra uacasset,
Thessaliaque procul tam noxia tela fuggasse?
disponis gladios, ne quo non fiat in orbe,
heu, facinus ciuile tibi. uictoribus ipsis
dedecus et numquam superum caritura pudore
fabula; Romanus regi sic paruit ensis,
Pellaeusque uer gladio tibi colla recidit,
Magne, tuo. qua posteritas in saecula mittet
Septimium fama? scelus hoc quo nomine dicent
qui Bruti dixere nefas? iam uenerat horae
terminus extremae, Phariaique ablatus in alnum
perdiderat iam iura sui. tum stringere ferrum
regia monstra parant. ut uidit comminster enses,
inuoluit uoltus, atque indignatus apertum
Fortuna praestare caput, tum lumina pressit,
continuuitque animam, ne quas effundere uoces
posset et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam.

595. transire] i.e. into the small boat.
597. arma regia] i.e. probably the
dsarisa, cf. notes on i 7, VII 519.
598. satelles] cf. Hor. Epod. 1 X 11—16
Romanus, euen, posteri negabilitis, emanci-
patus feminae furt vallum et arma miles
et spadonibus servire rugosis potest; inter-
quae signa turpe turpe militaria sol adspectit cono-
pium.
599. nullaque] "in no way milder than
a wild beast", cf. note on VII 25.
600. mitior] "less fierce for slaughter".
601. parcere] "that it was in mercy to
the world", cf. II 754.
602. uacasset] "had been kept clear of
the war".
603. disponis gladios] "thou dost so
distribute thy swords".
605. numquam] "a tale that will ever
reflect disgrace upon the gods". For the
sense cf. Hom. Od. xx 201—203 Zeo
at postquam mucrone latus funestus Achillas perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ic tum, despexitque nefas, seruatque immobile corpus, sequae probat moriens, atque haec in pectore uluit: saeccula Romanos numquam tacitura labores attendunt, acuemque sequens speculatur ab omni orbe ratem Phariamque fidem. nunc consulate famae. fata tibi longae fluxerunt prospera uiae: 625 ignorant populi, si non in morte probaris, an scieris aduersa pati. ne cede pudori, auctoremque dole fati. quacumque feriris, crede manum socior. spargant lacerentque licebit, sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas 630 hoc auferre deo. mutatur prospera uiae: non fit morte miser. uidet hanc Cornelia caedem Pompeiusque meus. tanto patientius oro clade, dolor, gemitus: natus coniunxque peremptum si miratrix amant. talis custodia Magno 635 mentis erat: ius hoc animi morientis habebat.

619. *nullo gemitu*] uttering not a groan he yielded patiently to the blow'.

620. *despexit*] 'showed his contempt for the crime'. Oud. with many MSS. reads *respexit*, i.e. *neque respexit* the negative being carried on from *nullo*, cf. supr. 177 note.


622. *saecula*] 'generations that will ever ring with the tale of the troubles of Rome'.

623. *attendunt*] 'are witnesses'.

624. *ab omni orbe*] 'from every quarter of the world'.

625. *prospera*] to be taken with *fluxerunt* as the predicate.

626. *in morte*] i.e. because all my life I have been fortunate, only my death is otherwise.

627. *ne cede pudori*] *ne te pudeat quod iussu pueri, decreto spadonum, manu desertoris occideris: non illis adscribenda mors tua sed Caesari.* Grotius.

628. *que*] i.e. *neue*, cf. supr. 620.


631. *mutantur*] 'the blessings of life are subject to change'.

632. *non fit*] 'a man does not become unhappy by his death', i.e. if he has been happy in his lifetime.

633. *uidet*] For the consolation of dying before the eyes of one's relations, cf. Verg. Aen. 194—96 terque quaterque beati quaeis ante ora patrum Troiae sub noebis altis contiguì oppetere.

635. *si miratrix amant*] 'truly love me if they admire me in death', i.e. they will show their love more by admiration of my fortitude, than by grief at my death. *talis custodia*] 'so close a guard did Magnus keep over his thoughts, such control of his mind he exercised in his death'. *morientis* is transferred from Pompeius to animi.
at non tam patiens Cornelia cernere saeum quam perferre nefas miserrandis aethera complect
ucibus: o coniunx, ego te scelerata peremis:
letiferae tibi causa morae fuit auia Lesbos,
et prior in Nili peruenit litora Caesar.
nam cui ius aliis sceleris? sed quisquis in istud
a superis immisce caput, uel Caesaris irae
uei tibi prospeciens, nescis crudelis ubi ipsa
uiscera sint Magni: properas atque ingeris ictus
qua uotum est uicto. poenas non morte minores
pendat, et ante meum uideat caput. haud ego culpa
libera bellorum, quae matrum sola per undas
et per castra comes nullis absterrita fatis
uictum, quod reges etiam timuere, recepi.
hoc merui coniunx in tuta puppe relinqui?
perfide, parcebas? te fata extrema petente
uita digna fui? moriar, nec munere regis.
aut mihi praecipitem, nautae, permittite saltum,
aut laqueum collo tortosque aptare rudentes:
aut aliquis Magno dignus comes exigat ensem.
Pompeio praestare potest quod Caesaris armis
imputet. o saeui, properantem in fata tenetis?
uiuis adhuc, coniunx, et iam Cornelia non est
iuris, Magne, sui. prohibent accersere mortem:
servor victori. sic fata interque suorum

638. quam perferre] sc. patiens fuisset.
640. auia Lesbos| i.e. to which you
went out of your way to follow me.
642. quisquis] 'who'er thou art who
hast been despatched by the gods to take
this life'.
643. uel...nul] equivalent to sine...sine.
644. prospeciens] 'having regard to',
cf. Cic. in Cat. IV § 3 consulte nobis,
prospecie patriae.
646. qua notum] 'where the van-
quished would pray that blows should fall'.
poenas] 'let him pay a penalty not less
than death, by first seeing my head cut
off'; for ante cf. Verg. Aen. XII 630
hunc, ore, sine me furere ante furorem.
649. nullis] equivalent to omnino non,
cf. note on vii 25.
650. quod] sc. te recipere.

651. hoc] 'in this'.
655. aptare] dependent on permittite
and coupled with saltum.
656. exigat] 'drive through me', cf.
Verg. Aen. x 815, 816 ualidum namque
exigt ensem per medium Aeneas inuen-
em.
657. praestare] 'to do a favour to'.
658. imputat] 'which he may reckon
as a service done to Caesar's arms', i.e.
the killing of his enemy's wife. So the
Schol.: and this is the usual meaning of
imputare in silver-age Latin, cf. Tac.
Hist. IV 14 ne Romanis quidem ingratum
id bellum cuius ambiguam fortunam Vesp-
asio no imputaturus, Iuv. V 14, 15 fructus
amicitiae magnae eibus, imputat hunic rex,
et quamuis rarum tamen imputat, and
Prof. Mayor's note.
lapsa manus rapitur trepida fugiente carina.

at Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro,
permansisse decus sacrae uenerabile formae,
iratamque dei faciem, nil ultima mortis
ex habitu uoltuque uiri mutasse, fatentur
qui lacerum uidere caput. nam saeua in ipso
Septimius sceleris maius scelus inuenit actu:
ac retegit sacros scisso uelamine uoltus
semanimis Magni, spirantiaque occupat ora,
collaque in obliquo ponit languentia transtro.
tum neruos uenasque secat nodosaque frangit
ossa diu: nondum artis erat caput ense rotare.
at postquam truncus ceruix abscoma recessit,
uindicat hoc Pharius dextra gestare satelles.
degener atque operae miles Romane secundae,
Pompii diro sacrum caput ense recidis,
ut non ipse feras? pro summi fata pudoris.
impius ut Magnum nosset puer, illa uerendia
regibus hirta coma et generosa fronte decora
caesaries comprensa manu est, Pharioque ueruto,
dum uiiuent uoltus atque os in murmura pulsant
singultus animae, dum lumina nuda rigescunt,

663. sonent ferro] 'resound with the
blows of the sword'. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital.
1. 402 perque ipsum tegimos crepitiantia
dissipat ossa.
665. iratam] 'his look of indignation
at the gods'.
669. uelamine] i.e. the toga he had
drawn over his head, cf. 614.
670. occupat] 'seizes on'.
671. in obliquo transtro] 'crosswise
upon a bench', cf. note on 1. 220.
672. frangit diu] i.e. 'takes a long
time in breaking'. See note on vn. 564.
673. caput ense rotare] 'to whip off a
head at a stroke'. Oud. refers to Suet.
Calig. 32 saepe in conspectu prandontis uel
comissantis scriae quaestiones per tormenta
habeantur, miles decollandi artifex quibus-
cunque e custodia capita ampluabat; cf.
also Ov. A. A. 11. 373, 374 sed neque ful-
uus aper media tam sacius in tra, fulmi-
neo rabidos cum rotat ore eanes.
675. uindicat hoc gestare] equivalent to
uindicat hoc gestandum: a Graecism, cf.5
Hor. carm. 1. xxvi 1—3 Musis amicus tri-
stitiam et metus tradam proteruis in mare
Creticum portare uentis.
Pharius satelles] i.e. Achillas.
676. operae secundae] 'playing a second
part', a metaphor from the stage; cf.
Dem. de corona § 212, where Demosthenes
taunts Aeschines with having been brought
up to be a τρηταγωνιστής.
Ov. Met. XIII 850 barba utros hirta
acdecent in corpore setae.
681. manu] sc. of an Egyptian.
682. uerute] 'spear', cf. Verg. G. II 164
Volscosque uerutos.
682. os in murmura] 'and while his
gasping breath still moves his tongue to
utter murmurs': pulsant is equivalent to
mouent, impellunt.
683. diu lumina nuda] 'while the
unclosed eyes are stiffening'.

suffixum caput est, quo numquam bella iubente pax fuit: hoc leges Campumque et rostra mouebat: 
haec facie Fortuna tibi Romana placebas. 686  
nec satis infando fuit hoc uidisse tyranno: 
ulto sceleri superesse fidem. tunc arte nefanda 
submota est capiti tabes: raptoque cerebro 
exsicata cutis, putrisque effluxit ab alto 
umor, et infuso facies solidata ueneno est. 
ultima Lageae stirpis perituraque proles, 
degener, incestae sceptris cesse sororis, 
cum tibi sacratō Macedon seruetur in antro, 
et regum cineres extructo monte quiescant, 
cum Ptolemacorum manes seriemque pudendam 
Pyramids claudant indignaque Mausolea: 
litora Pompeium feriunt truncusque uadosis 
huc illuc iactatur aquis? adeone moesta 
totum cura fuit socero seruare cadauer? 700  
hac Fortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata 
pertulit: hac illum summo de culmine rerum 
morte petit, cladesque omnes exegit in uno 
sacua die quibus immunes tot praestitit annos: 
Pompeiusque fuit qui numquam mixta uideret 705

684. quo numquam] ordo est; quo 
iubente bella numquam pax fuit. Schol.  
685. leges mouebat] which Oud. objects 
to, proposing reges as a substitute, is not a 
technical expression, it must mean simply 
'influenced', 'swayed'. 
686. tibi placebas] 'didst thou gratify 
thyself'. 
688. fidem] 'proof'. 
689. tabes] 'the congealed blood'. 
690. ab alto] 'from its inmost parts'. 
691. uenene] 'drugs'. 
692. peritura] Ptolemæus was soon 
bell. Alex. 31. 
693. sceptris] is the dat. 'destined to 
yield to thy sister's rule'. 
694. Macedon] i.e. Alexander the 
Great, buried at Alexandria. So Horace 
carm. ii xvi 14 speaks of his father 
Philip as sir Macedo. 
696. manes] cf. Verg. Aen. iv 34 id 
cinerem aut manes credis curare sepulcos? 
pudendam] Oud. cf. Strabo xvi 11 (796) 

απαιτε μὲν οὖν ὁ μετὰ τὸν τρίτον Πτολε 
μαίων ὑπὸ τρόφος διεφθαρμένοι κέφρον ἐπο 
litεθαυματίῳ κ.τ.λ. 
698. ferium] 'bruise', sc. when he is 
dashed against them by the waves. 
700. totum] 'unmutilated', cf. Iuv. x 
288 iacuit Catilina cadauer toto. 
701. hac...fide] These words may be 
taken ironically 'with such fidelity'; or 
perhaps more simply 'with such consistency', i.e. 
ever using half-measures with 
him, but giving him the best and the 
worst. 
culmine] For the metaphorical use of 
culmen, cf. note on vii 594. 
703. petit] 'did she assail him striking 
him down from, &c.' 
cladesque exegi] 'extracted from him 
all his disasters in one day', i.e. as if a 
certain amount of misfortune was due 
from every man to Fortune, which might 
be paid either at one time or by instal- 
ments.
laeta malis: felix nullo turbante deorum, et nullo parcente miser. semel impulit illum dilata Fortuna manu. pulsatur harenis, carpitur in scopulis, hausto per uolnera fluctu, ludibrium pelagi: nullaque manente figura una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuolsi.
ante tamen Pharias uictor quam tangat harenas Pompeio raptim tumulum Fortuna paraut, ne iacet nullo, uel ne meliore sepulcro.
e latebris pauidus decurrit ad aquor a Cordus. quaestor ab Idalio Cinyraeae litore Cypri infastus Magni fuerat comes. ille per umbras ausus ferre gradum uictum pictate timorem compulit, ut mediiis quaesitum corpus in undis duceret ad terram traheretque ad litora Magnum. lucis maesta parum per densas Cynthia nubes praebebat; cano sed discolor aequore truncus conspicitur. tenet ille ducem complexibus artis eripiente mari: nunc uictus pondere tanto exspectat fluctus, pelagoque iu uante cadauer impellit. postquam sicco iam litore sedit, incubuit Magno, lacrimasque effudit in omne

706. *felix* [‘when prosperous none of the gods harassed him, when in misery none spared him’]. The use of the participle in this passage is somewhat remarkable as it is put with what might be called an ablative of accompaniment, instead of giving the reason as is usually the case.
707. *semel* [‘once for all, Fortune after long holding back her hand hurled him headlong’]; for *impellere*, cf. notes I 149, V 108.
709. *carpitur* [‘he is torn in pieces’]; cf. Sen. Thyest. 166, 164 *artis corpore* exanimo *amputans* in *paruis carpis* frusta.
710. *figura* [‘no shape remaining’].

714. *ne iacet* cf. the epigram Anthol. 71 marmore Licius tumulum iacet, at Cato paruo, Pompeius nullo: quis putet esse deos?
715. *Cordus* So all editors: all MSS. appear to give the name as Codrus, but this would be a Greek name whereas this man is a Roman, cf. infr. 767, as is also shown by his having attained the rank of quaestor. Plutarch on the other hand says Pompeius was buried by his freedman Philipppus, cf. Pomp. cap. 86.
717. *comes* taken as Hortensius remarks from Verg. Aen. vi 166 *Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes.*
719. *compulit* ‘put pressure on his fear’.
722. *discolor* [‘differing in colour from the hoary (i.e. foam-covered) sea’].
uolnus, et ad superos obscuraque sidera fatur:
non pretiosa petit cumulato ture sepulcra
Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus: non pinguis ad astra
ut ferat e membris Eoos funus odorcs,
ut Romana suum gestent pia colla parentem,
praeferat ut ueteres feralis pompa triumphos,
ut resonent cantu tristi fora, totus ut ignem
proiectis maerens exercitus ambiat armis.
da uilem Magno plebeii funeris arcam,
qua lacerum corpus sicos effundat in ignes.
roborra non desint miseru nec sordidus ustor.
sit satis, o superi, quod non Cornelia fuso
crine iacet subicique facem complexa maritum
imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti
in felix coniunx, nec adhuc a litore longe est.
sic fatus, paruus iuuenis procul adspicit ignes,
corpus uile suis nullo custode cremantis.
inde rapit flammas, semiustaque robora membris
subducens, quacumque es, ait, neglecta nec ulli
cara tuo, sed Pompeio felicior umbra,
quod iam compositum uiolat manus hospita bustum,
da ueniam: si quid sensus post fata relictum est, cedis et ipsa rogo paterisque haec damna sepulcri, teque pudet sparsis Pompeii manibus uri. sic fatur, plenusque sinus ardente fauilla peruolat ad truncum, qui fluctu paene relatus litore pendebat. summas dimouit harenas, et collecta procus laccerae fragmenta carinae exigua trepidus posuit scrobe. nobile corpus robora nulla premunt, nulla struc membra recumbunt: admotus Magnum non subditus accipit ignis. ille sedens iuxta flammas: o maxime, dixit, ductor et Hesperii maiestas nominis una, si tibi iactatu pelagi, si funere nullo tristior iste rogas; manes animamque potentem officiis auerte meus: iniuria fati hoc fas esse iubet; ne ponti belua quicquam, ne fera, ne uolucres, ne saeu Caesaris ira audeat: exiguum, quantum potes, accipe flammam, Romana succense manu. Fortuna recursus si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescent tam sacri cineres: sed Cornelia, Magne, accipiet, nostraque manu transfundet in urnam. interca paruo signemus litora saxo ut nota sit busti; si quis placare peremptum forte uolet plenos et reddere mortis honores, inueniat trunci cineres et norit harenas,

750. cedis et ipsa rogo] There is no need of supplying si as Weise wishes to do with cedis &c.: the meaning is ‘if there be any perception after death, you of your own accord, I am sure, give way to Pompeius’, and so the Schol. rightly explains ‘quippe Pompeium inde gratularis combrui’. For ipsa equivalent to sponte, cf. Verg. Eel. iv 20 ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae ubera.  
755. procul] ‘from a distance’.  
758. admotus] i.e. applied directly to the corpse.  
760. maiestas una] ‘crowning gran-
ad quas, Magne, tuum referat caput. haec ubi fatus, excitat inualidas admoto fomite flammam. carpitum et lentum destillat Magnus in ignem, tabe fouens bustum. sed iam percurserat astra Aurorae praemissa dies: ille ordine rupto funeris adtonitus latebras in litore quaerit. quam metuis, demens, isto pro crimine poenam, quo te fama loquax omnes acceptit in annos? condita laudabit Magni socer impius ossa: i modo securus ueniae fassusque sepulcrum posce caput. cogit pietas imponere finem officio. semiusa rapit resolutaque nondum ossa satis, nerau et inustis plena medullis aestuorca restinguat aqua, congestaque in unum parua clausit humo. tum ne leuis aura retectos auferret cineres saxo compressit harenam: nautaque ne bustum religato fune moueret, inscrisit sacrum semiuso stipite nomen: HIC SITVS EST MAGNVS. placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulcrum dicere Pompeii, quo condi maluit illum, quam terra caruisse socer? temeraria dextra, cur obicis Magno tumulum manesque uagantis includis? situs est, qua terra extrema refuso

777. carpitum] 'Magnus consumes away and melts into the slowly burning flame feeding the fire with his moisture'.
779. praemissa] So Weise with many MSS. for the vulg. promissa; it is best taken with dies, i.e. 'the daylight, the harbinger of dawn'; it may however be taken with astra referring to the morning star.
780. adtonitus] 'in dismay', cf. II 22.
782. fama loquax] 'loud-mouthed fame', so also in Ov. ex Pont. II ix 3. quo...acceptit] 'for which...has adopted thee'.
785. imponere finem] 'to put the finishing stroke to'.
787. neraus] 'full of ligaments and unburnt marrow'. This seems to be the only passage where inusus is thus used, elsewhere it is always the participle of inuro.
789. retectos auferret] 'should lay bare and sweep away'.

H. L.

791. religato fune] 'by tying a rope to it', cf. Ili. 1 v 18, 19 retinacula multae nauta piger saxo religat.
793. hic situs est] as επεδεικται in Greek: the regular inscription on a tombstone, cf. Plin. Epist. VI x § 4 hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium aseurrarit non sibi sed patriae. These words are commonly represented by the letters H. S. E.
796. cur obici] cur tumulum tanquam obicem Magno imponis? 'why fix on Magnus the barrier of a tomb?' For the sentiment cf. Lucret. III 906 urgerine superne obtitum pondere terrae. For the quantity of obici cf. IX 188.
797. qua terra] 'where the farthest part of earth hangs in suspension in the baffled ocean', i.e. on the muddy shore

which is neither sea nor dry land, cf. 1 409—411, and so, being buried where earth and sea meet, he in a manner occupies both. The expression is suggested by Verg. Aen. vii 225 audiet et si quem tellus extrema refusa submoi et oceano. 799. modus] 'is the measure of Magnus' sepulchre', cf. supr. 55.

800. crimen plena daemon] 'full of disgrace to Heaven', cf. v 59, i.e. it is a disgrace to the gods that Pompeius should be so miserably buried, and this disgrace would be less conspicuous if there were no stone at all to mark his tomb.

801. vacant Bromio] 'find room for Bromius alone'; for Nysa cf. 1 65. The comparison in this case seems somewhat out of place as Bacchus was not supposed to be buried on Nysa.

802. omnia Lagi] i.e. as Weise explains rightly 'if on no one mound Pompeius' name could have been read we might suppose him to be buried everywhere in Egypt'.

804. erremus populi] 'we the nations of the earth should be mistaken, and for fear of treading on thy ashes, Magnus, should not tread the sands of Nile at all'.

805. nullas] cf. vii 25 supr. 599.

807. monumenta] 'the glorious records of his exploits'.

808. truces Lepidi motus] B.C. 77, cf. Mommsen Book V cap. I. Alpina bella refers to Pompeius' wars with the Alpine tribes when marching against Sertorius, at which time he made a new road over the Cottan Alps.

809. consule] i.e. Metellus, who was not however consul, nor yet recalled, but reinforced by Pompeius.

810. eques] cf. vii 17.


813. dic semper ab armis] 'tell how he ever laid his arms aside and donned again the garb of peace', cf. ix 200 inuit suntura uirum inuit dimissa potestas. For ab armis cf. 1 451.

814. ter currus actis] 'tell how content with thrice driving the car he made a present to his fatherland of many triumphs', i.e. did not claim them when he might have done so; for donare cf. vii 30, 830.
non ullis plenum titulis non ordine tanto fastorum: solitumque legi super alta deorum culmina et exstructos spoliis hostilibus arcus haud procul est ima Pompeii nomen harcena, depressum tumulo quod non legat aduena rectus, quod nisi monstratrum Romanus transeat hospes.

noxia ciuli tellus Aegyptia fato, haud equidem immerito Cumanae carmine uatis cautum, ne Nili Pelusia tangeret ora

Hesperius miles ripasque aestate tumentis.
quid tibi sacra precere pro tanto crimine tellus?

uertat aquas Nilus, quo nascitur orbe retentus, et steriles egeant hibernis imbribus agri, totaque in Aethiopum putres soluariis harenas.

nos in templu tuam Romana accepinus Isin, semianesque deos, et sista iubentia luctus, et quem tu plangens hominem testaris Osiris:

tu nostros, Aegypte, tenes in puluere manes.

817. ordine] 'the mighty tale of the records of his fame', cf. Hor. carm. IV xiv 1—5 quae cura patrum quaeque Quiritiunm plenis honorum muneribus tuae, Auguste, nuntiata in actionem per titulos memoriosqueFastos acteinerat?
819. arcus] cf. Inv. x 133—137 bellorum exsudae, trium toffi sakra prope loria et fracta de cassis inuia pendens, et curtum temone arcu niesque tirremis aplustre et summo tritis captivus in arcu, humanis maior bonis creduntur.
821. depressum tumulo] 'sunk low upon a tomb, which the stranger cannot read without stooping'.
823. noxia] 'stained with the guilt of destined civil strife', cf. Propert. IV xi 33 noxia Alexandros dolis aptissima tellus.
825. cautum] For this prohibition cf. Cic. ad fam. i vii § 4 where writing to P. Lentulus proconsul of Cilicia he says esse et tuae et nostris imperii dignitate, Polemaico aut aliquo prope ipsum loco rege collocato, te cum classe alque exercitu proficietis Alexander: ut cum eam pace praesidentibusque firmarnis Polemaecus redact in regnum: ita fore ut per per restitutatur, quemadmodum senatus initio constuit, et sine multitudine redactatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi sibilae placere dixerunt.
826. aestate] cf. VI 474, x 223 foll.

828. uertat] This word is not to be pressed, the river might be said to turn its course if it ceased to flow as it did before. cf. Verg. Aen. viii 86—87 Tybris ex fluitum quam Longa est note tumenent lenit et tacita nefius ilia substitit unda.
829. hibernis imbribus] i.e. not that rain did usually fall in Egypt in winter, but the poet prays that there may not be that either to make up for the loss of the overflow of the Nile.
830. soluariis] 'be dissolved into the crumbling sands of the Aethiopians' i.e. the dry sands of the desert.
833. hominen] Grotius quotes the saying of Xenocrates to the Egyptians. 'ωντο υμας εις μη θεους αυτους ει δε ανθρωπωι μη θεοτε αυτωι'. For Osiris cf. Inv. viii 29 and Prof. Mayor's note.
834. nostros] i.e. and so Egypt has the advantage in the exchange.
tu quoque, cum saevo dederis iam templam tyranno, nondum Pompeii cineres, o Roma, petisti: exsul adhuc iacet umbra ducis. si saecula prima victoris timuere minas; nunc excipe saltem ossa tui Magni, si nondum subruta fluctu inuisa tellure sedent. quis busta timebit? quis sacris dignam mouisse uerebitur umbram? imperet hoc nobis utinam scelus et uelit uti nostro Roma sinu: satis o nimiumque beatus, si mihi contingat manes transferre reuolsos Ausoniam, si tale ducis uiolare sepulcrum.

nunc quis ad exustam Cancro torrente Syenene ibit et imbrifera siccas sub Pleiade Thebas spectator Nili: quis rubri stagna profundi, aut Arabum portus mercis mutator Eoae, Magne, tuam, summusque feret tua busta sacerdos.

For the Kaluiridem Jupiter puluta waves conqueror's tuna and to but arisen gods temples Libyan of mentions Weise. 

858. Casio...Ioui] There was a temple of Jupiter on Mount Casius. 

860. nunc est...iacens] Grotius followed by Weise explains this thus: 'Fortuna quodammodo cum ipso Pompeio sepulta cui semper adfuertat'. This is harsh, but if the reading be sound there appears to be no other way of explaining it. Oud. mentions that some MSS. have est instead of est; but the double address to Pompeius and to Fortune is perhaps still harsher, nor does Oudendorp's own conjecture at nunc pro numine summo hoc tumulo, Fortuna, iacens solve the difficulty. 

861. augusti] 'more awful than the conqueror's altars is that stone storm-beaten on the Libyan plain' or 'near the Libyan sea'; for the latter Oud. cf. IV 634 Inachis in undis i.e. 'by the Inachian waves'. 

863. Tarpeiiis...deis] sc. Casaribus, Weise. It seems to me better to take it as 'the gods of the Roman Capitol' sc. Jupiter and the other gods who had temples on the Capitol, or generally 'the gods of Rome'. 

864. fusco] Most MSS. read Tusco which is certainly out of place: it seems to have come from the reading fulmen instead of numen at the end of the line which is also found in some MSS. as the copyist then thought of 584 foll. where the Tuscan Aruns is described as burying the thunderbolt; so Weise, who also suggests that fusco is a corruption of fullo comparing supr. V 316 stetit aggere fulti caepitis. But this seems unnecessary; fusco makes good enough sense as explained by Sulpitius: 'manes Pompei sepultos terrae nigrae: talis enim prae pinguedine'. Others explain the epithet as transferred to the soil from the colour of the inhabitants. For the black soil of Egypt, cf. Herod. II 12 melagagwv te kai kataleppmenwv wste tous duni te kai prakhvte ex Lidwpsis katanpeygeymwv uto tou tov tovatos, Verg. G. IV 292 et nuiadem Egyption nigra fecundat harena. 

865. mansural 'permanent'; Tacitus speaking of the tomb of Otho uses a similar expression, though the meaning is somewhat different, Hist. II 49 Othoni sepulcrum exstirptum est medicum et mansurum.


867. non longa nesutast] 'no distant futurity'. For nesutast of future time, cf. Ov. Met. XV 871—872 iamque opus exegi quod nec lous ira nec ignes nec poterit fortum nec edax abolere nesutast. 

869. argumenta] 'all the proofs of thy death'.

871. populis] cf. VII 207. 

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER NONUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IX.

Apotheosis of Pompeius 1—18. Cato retreats to Corelyra and thence to Africa 19—50, where Cornelia joins him; her lamentations 51—119. Meeting and conversation of the sons of Pompeius 120—166. Mourning for Pompeius 167—185. Cato's panegyric of him 186—217. Tarchondimotus wishes to desert; the fugitives are recalled by Cato 217—293. Cato captures Cyrene, and proposes to join Juba; description of the Syrtes 294—318. A storm arises; description of Tritonis 319—367. The fleet reaches Africa; Cato determines to march by land to Mauretania 368—390. Description of Libya 411—497. The troops suffer from thirst; Cato refuses to drink 498—510. They arrive at the temple of Hammon 511—543. Labienus urges Cato to consult the oracle 544—563, he refuses 564—586. The march continues; Cato's endurance 587—618. Origin of the Libyan serpents 619—699. Deaths of soldiers by the bite of various serpents 700—838. Complaints of the soldiers 839—889, they are helped by the Psylli 890—941. Cato reaches Leptis 942—949. Caesar in pursuit of Pompeius visits the Troad 950—999, and reaches Egypt, where he is presented with the head of Pompeius 1000—1034, he weeps at the sight of it, and reproaches the Egyptians 1035—1108.

At non in Pharia manes iacucre fauilla,
 nec cinis exiguus tantam compescuit umbram.
prosiluit busto, semistataque membra relinquens
degeneremque rogum sequitur conuexa Tonantis,
qua niger astriferis conectitur axis aer,

1. at non] In this account of the apotheosis of Pompeius Lucan, as Micyllus remarks, adopts the doctrines of Plato, for which cf. Plat. Rep. Bk X and Cicero de Rep. VI.

4. sequitur] 'seeks' 'makes for', cf. Verg. Aen. IV 561 Italiam non sponte sequor, Id. VII 606 Auroramque sequi Par-

5. niger] i.e. in comparison with the aether and the stars. Weise.

astriferis axibus] i.e. the poles on which the stars revolve. Oud. cf. Ov. Trist. IV 62 pacem sub eiusdem sideris axe inacent.
6. *patet* se ær, i.e. the air is regarded as filling the space between the earth and the orbit of the moon, the nearest of the planets.


*ignis* i.e. so filling them to endure the fiery aether, cf. Verg. Aen. VI 730–732 *ignes est ollis vigor et caelestis origo seminilus*, quantum non nuxia corpora tardant terrenique obvexant urbis, moribundaque membra, Cic. de Rep. VI § 15 *hisque animus datus est ex illis sempterninis ignibus quae sidera et stellas vocatis*.

8. *innocuos uti*] probably active, 'harmless in their lives'; but it may possibly be passive, 'unharmed by life', i.e. uncorrupted by it, cf. Verg., l. c. supra. and Id. X 301, 302 *severe carinæ omnès innocuae*.


11. *lumine uero*] i.e. the light of heaven, of which that of earth is only a feeble counterpart: there is a reference to the Platonic doctrine of ideas. See also 13 infr.

12. *stellas uagis*] se. the planets.


14. *noeti*] i.e. compared to the *lumen rerum* of line 11. Compare Milton, Paradise Lost, VI 9–12 Light issues forth, and at the other door Obsequious darkness enters till her hour 'To veil the heaven, though darkness there might well seem twilight here.

15. *ludibria*] 'the mockery done to his headless corpse'.

16. *pendebant*] 'were doubtful', cf. Val. Flacc. V 301, 302 *cunctaque adhuc magni veniant dum regis ad urbem ambigua et dubia rerum pendientia summa*.

17. *et Magnum*] i.e. as well as Caesar.


19. *tutore*] A metaphor from the relation of a ward to his guardian: compare II 297 foll. where Cato describes himself as standing in a kind of parental relation to Rome; see also note on II 388.
25. *exceptit* in tutelam suam, Weise. i.e. after the loss of his former guardian Pompeius.


29. *partes* ‘the whole party after Magnus’ death was the party of freedom’, cf infra 97.

31. *colligere* ‘lest Caesar’s victory sweeping swiftly on should gather them up’; for actus cf. Lucrat. iii 193 et figdi latices magis et cunctantior actus, Verg. Aen. xii 685 furtur in abruptum magno nonis improbus actus.

32. *mille* generally for a large number: there were really 300.


36. *apertam Taenaron umbris* ‘Taenarus to which the shades have free passage’, i.e. where they are allowed to go as far as the entrance to the infernal regions, cf. vii 648—51 non Taenareis sicut quandam aer sodit iners, maestum mundi compose latentis ac nostri: quo non metuant emitere manus Tartarum reges. So Verg. G. iv 465 speaks of Taenarum etiam fauces alta ostia Ditis. For *apertam* cf. i 456 *apertum gentibus orbes*.


39. *classi* ‘to close their port against his fleet’, cf. Caesar B. C. iii 12 illi datum in se negare neque portus consuli praecusturos.

40. *impulsi* ‘he assailed and plundered Phycus which well deserved cruel devastation’. Phycus was a town in Cyrenaica.

42. *Palinure* There was a promontory in Africa so-called: Ovid. cf. Strabo § xvii 22 (838) where it is called köme Παλίουρος.
Ausonio monumenta tenes, portusque quietos testatur Libye Phrygio placuisse magistro. tum procul ex alto tendentes uela carinae ancipites tenuere animos, sociosne malorum, an uerherent hostes. praceeps facit omne timendum uictor et in nulla non creditur esse carina. ast illae puppes luctus planctusque ferebant, et mala uel duri lacrimas moturam Catonis. nam postquam frustra precibus Cornelia nautas priuignique fugam tenuit, ne forte repulsus litoribus Phariis remearct in aequor truncus, ostenditque rogum non iusti flamma sepulcri: ergo indigna fui, dixit, Fortuna, marito accendisse rogum gelidosque effusa per artus incubuisse uiro; laceros exurere crines, membraque dispersi pelago componere Magni; uolneribus cunctis largos infundere fletus; ossibus et tepida uestes implere fauilla; quidquid ab extincto licuisset tollere busto in templis sparsura deum. sine funeris ullo ardet honore rogus: manus hoc Aegyptia forsan obtulit officium graue manibus. o bene nudi Crassorum cineres: Pompeio contigit ignis.

43. monumenta) cf. Verg. Aen. vi 381 aeternunque locus Palinuri nomen habebit. 44. magistro 'pilot', cf. Verg. Aen. vi 353, 354 quam tua ne spolia armis excella magistro deficeret tantis nauis surgentibus uindis. 47. praceeps] predicate, 'by his energy', cf. ii 6.6 Caesar in annis praeceps uel actam credens dum quid superesse agentium. 50. duri] ἀπαθοῦν utpote Stoici. Weise. cf. ii 380. 52. priuignu] i.e. Sextus Pompeius who was the son of Cn. Pompeius by his former wife Acemila. 54. non iustu] 'irregular'; iustus is a word specially used in connexion with funeral rites, cf. Caesar B. G. vi 18 iustis funebribus conferentis, Ov. Trist. iv x 80 matri proxima iusta tuli. See also note on 67 infr. 55. ergo] expostulantis, as often, cf. Hor. Carm. 1 xxiv 5 ergo Quintiliurn perfeatus sopor urget. 57. laceras exurere] 'to tear and burn', cf. Aesch. cho. 7 πλόκαμος πενθητήρος: but this custom does not seem to have been usual at Rome. 59. volneribus] cf. VIII 727. 60. tepida] cf. Hor. Carm. ii 23 ihi tu calenum dedita sparges lacrimam fauillum natis amici. For the custom of gathering the bones in the folds of the dress cf. Tibull. i iii 5 non hic mihi mater quae legat in maestis ossa perusta sinus, Id. i 9 seq. 63. Aegyptia] cf. VIII 767. 64. Graue manibus] 'displeasing to his shade'; nudi] 'unburied'.

Liber IX. 25—65.
inuidia maiore deum. similisne malorum
sors mihi semper erit? numquam dare busta licebit
coniugibus: numquam plenas plangemus ad urnas?
quid porro tumulis opus est aut ulla requiris
instrumenta, dolor? non toto pectore portas
impia Pompeium? non imis haeret imago
uisceribus? quaerat cineres uictura superstes.
nunc tamen, hinc longe qui fulget luce maligna
ignis, adhuc aliquid Phario de litore surgens
ostendit mihi, Magne, tui. iam flamma resedit,
Pompeiumque ferens uanescit solis ad ortus
fumus, et inuisi tendunt mihi carbasu uenti.
non mihi nunc tellus Pompeio si qua triumphos
uicta dedit, non alta terens Capitolia currus
gratior: elapsus felix de pectore Magnus;
hunc uolumus quem Nilus habet, terraeque nocenti
non haerere queror: crimen commendat harenas.
linquare, si qua fides, Pelusia litora nolo.
tu pete bellorum casus, et signa per orbem,
Sixte, paterna moue: namque haec mandata reliquit
Pompeius uobis in nostra condita cura:
me cum fatalis leto damnauerit hora,

66. inuidia] 'bringing more odium on
the gods', i.e. that Pompeius should have
such miserable funeral rites is a greater
disgrace to the gods than that he should
have none; see note on viii 800.
67. busta] So Weise reads with all
MSS. Oud. reads insta quoting the words
of the Schol. 'ut ait Cicero qui nondum
omnia paterno funeri insta soluisset', which
seems to show that the Schol. read insta.
cf. § 4 supr.
68. plenas] cf. Aesch. Agam. 440
πυροθεὶν ἐξ Ἰλιῶν φλωσεν πέμπτα βαρὺς ψῆφυς
τοιοῦτος ἀντίποτος σπάετο γεμίζων
Λέβητας εὐδήτους.
70. instrumenta] 'means of displaying
thysell', cf. Gellius xviii cap. 7 utiam
muti homines omnes essent: minus impro-
bitas instrumenti habet.
72. quaerat] 'let a wife who intends to
live on as his survivor seek her husband's
ashes'.
73. maligna] 'scanty.'
77. inuisi] 'the hateful winds are
straining my ship's sails', i.e. hateful be-
cause carrying me away from Egypt.
79. non alta] 'nor yet his car (treading
again and again the lofty Capitol'. For
terere of repeatedly passing over the same
ground cf. Verg. G. I 380 angustum form-
ica terens iter.
80. elapsus] 'Magnus as a happy man
has passed from my memory'; cf. Verg.
Ecl. 164 quam nostro illius labatur pectore
vultus.
82. non haerere] 'complain that I
cannot linger on the guilty shore'.
commendari] 'graces' 'gives credit to',
cf. Cic. Brutus § 216 nulla re una magis
ovatorum commendari quam verborum
splendore et copia.
83. linquare] This line appears in
various places in the MSS. and is rejected
by most editors: but it is commented on
by the Schol., and is found at this place
in the Roman edition of 1469.
86. uobis] sc. to you and your brother.
excipite, o nati, bellum ciuile, nec umquam, dum terris aliquis nostra de stirpe manebit, Caesaribus regnare uacet. uel sceptra uel urbes libertate sua ualidas impellite fama nominis: has uobis partes, haec arma relinquo. inueniet classes, quisquis Pompeius in undas uenerit: et noster nullis non gentibus heres bella dabit: tantum indomitos memoresque paterni iuris habete animos. uni parere decebit si faciet partes pro libertate Catoni. exsolui tibi, Magne, fidem; mandata peregi. insidia eauere tuae deceptaque uixi, ne mihi commissas auferrem perfida uoces. iam nunc te per inane chaos, per Tartara, coniunx, si sunt ulla, sequar: quam longo tradita leto incertum est: poenas animae uiauacis ab ipsa ante feram; potuit cernens tua uolnera, Magne, non fugere in mortem: planctu concussa peribit, effluet in lacrinas; numquam ueniemus ad enses aut laqueos aut praccipites per inania iactus. turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore, sic ubi fata, caput ferali obduxit amictu, decreuitque pati tenebras, puppisque cauernis delituit: saevoaque arte complexa dolorem

90. _sceptra_ 'kingdoms'.
91. _impeoite_ 'urge to the strife'.
92. _quisquis Pompeius_ 'whoever of the name of Pompeius'.
94. _noster nullis_ 'there is no nation which my heir will not rouse to war'.
97. _si faciet_ 'if he shall gather a party to fight for freedom', cf. supra. 29, infr. 228.
99. _insidia_ i.e. suggesting that Pompeius had given her this commission in order to prevent her from committing suicide.
100. _auferre_ 'carry away with me to the grave', cf. note on 111.
102. _longo leto_ 'how distant is the death I am doomed to I know not', incertum est quando moritura sim, Schol. Oud. objects to this interpretation and explains _letum_ as 'death in life', but the _ante_ of line 104 seems conclusive against this; _longo_ is the predicate.
103. _poenas animae_ 'I will first exact from my spirit itself the penalty for its length of life'.
104. _potuit_ sc. _anima_.
105. _concussa_ Some MSS. followed by Oud. read _contusa_, but this word could hardly be applied to _anima_.
106. _nienieus_ 'I shall never be obliged to have recourse to the sword &c.', cf. Verg. Ecl. ix 2—4, o _Lycida uini permaneius, aduenia nostri, quod mense perverti sumus, ut possessor agelli dicert_, hace mea sunt, ueteres migrate coloni.
108. _turpe_ 'it were a disgrace after thy death not to be able to die of grief alone'.
111. _complexa_ closely hugging her bitter grief', cf. ov. ex Ponto i vi 9 nec _quisquam meliore fide complectitur illas, sc. artes ingenias._
perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum.
illam non fluctus stridensque rudentibus Eurus
mouit et exsurgens ad summa pericula clamor:
utaque sollicitis faciens contraria nautus
composita in mortem iacuit faultque procellis.
primat ratem Cyros spumantibus accipit undis:
inde tenens pelagis, sed iam moderatior, Eurus
in Libyces eigit sedes et castra Catonis.
tristis, ut in multo mens est praesaga timore, 120
adspexit patrios comites et litore Magnus
et fratrem: medias praeceses tum fertur ad undas:
dic ubi sit, germane, parens: stat summa caputque
orbis, an occidimus, Romanaque Magnus ad umbras
abstulit? haec fatur: quem contra talia frater: 125
o felix, quem fors alias dispersit in oras,
quique nefas audis: oculos, germane, nocentis
spectato genitore fero. non Caesaris armis
occubuit dignoque perit auctore ruinæ:
rege sub impuro Nilotica rura tenente,
hospitii fretus superis et munere tanto
in praauos, ceedit donati uictima regni.

112. *perfruitur* cf. Hom. Odys. xi
121 ὁφρα καὶ εἶν Ἡλῶος φίλας πεὶρ χεὶρ
βελότε ἀμφοτέρω κρενβοῖ τεταρτῆμεθα
γῆοι.

*amat* [cherishes grief in her husband's stead'.

114. *clamor* cf. Verg. Aen. 1 87
insequitur clamorique uirum stridorque
rudentum.

115. *contraria* uidelicit precata, ut
interiret nauis. Weise.

116. *composita in mortem* 'settled
down to death'; the word composita probably
combines the ideas of settling the body,
and making up the mind; for the
latter, cf. Tac. Hist. ii 9 compositus in
maestitiam; for the former, cf. Verg. Aen.
1 698 autacis iam et regina superbis aurea
compositis spondo.

118. *tenens* 'swaying' cf. 1 406 non
Caurus in illum ius habet aut Zephyrus
Hor. carm. 1 iii 14 rabien Noti quo non
arbiter Hadriæ maior. See also note on
ii 454.

120. *ut in multo* 'seeing that in great
fear the mind feels presentiments of ill'.

112. *Magnum* sc. Cn. Pompeius the
younger.

123. *summa* cf. Verg. Aen. 11 322
quod res summa loca Panthius

viii 341.

125. *abstulit* cf. supr. 100 note.

127. *audis* cf. Hor. A. P. 180, 181
seguit irritant animos demissa per aurem
quam gnae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.

130. *fere* cf. Verg. Aen. iii 490 sic
oculos sic ille manus sic ora verebat.

131. *hospitii superis* 'the gods that
preside over hospitable rites', θεοῖς θερίοις,
Oud. however doubts whether hospitii
superis as equivalent to hospitii dii is good
Latin. The MSS. reading hospitius is thus
explained by the Schol. hospitius dextris.
Omnibus explains superis as superioris
temporis, for which Oud. cf. Verg. Aen.
iii 14 hospitium antiquum Troiae, but I
cannot find no authority for such a use of
superius.

132. *cecidit* 'was slaughtered to atone
uidi ego magnanimi lacerantis pectora patris: nec credens Pharium tantum potuisse tyrannum litore Niliaco socerum iam stare putauit. sed me nec sanguis, nec tantum ululnera nostri adfecere senis, quantum gestata per urbem ora ducis, quae transfixo sublimia pilo uidimus: haec, magna est, oculis victoris iniqui seruari, scelerisque fidem quae quisque tyrannum. nam corpus Phariaene canes auidaeque uolucres distulerint, an furtius quern uidimus ignis soluere. quaccumque inuria fati abstulit hos artus, superis haec crimina dono: seruata de parte queror. cum talia Magnus audisset, non in gemitus lacrimasque dolorem effudit, iustaque furens pieta profatur: praecipitate rates e sicco litore, nautae; classis in aduersos erumpat remige uentos: ite, duces, mecum: numquam ciuilibus armis tanta fuit merces, inhumatos condere manes, sanguine semiuiri Magnus satiare tyranni. non ego Pellaeas arces adyisque retectum corpus Alexandri pigra Mareotide mergam? non mihi Pyramidum tumulis euolsus Amasis atque alii reges Nilo torrente natabunt? omnia dent poenas nudo tibi, Magne, sepulcra: euoluam bustediam numen gentibus: euoluam tectum lino spargam per uolgus Osirin, et sacer in Magni cineres mactabitur Apis,

for having conferred on them the kingdom. For the metaphorical victima, cf. note on vii 596.


138. transfixo] 'driven through them'.


143. iniuria fati] equivalent to fatum iniustum.

144. dono] 'I forgive', cf. note on vii 850.

145. seruata parte] sc. his head.

149. in aduersos] 'force a way against the opposing winds'.

151. tanta fuit merces] 'has there been such a desirable object', i.e. there will be no guilt of civil war incurred by burying Pompeius and slaughtering Egyptians.


157. nudo] cf. supra. 64.

158. iam numerum] Oud. cf. I 63 sed mihi iam numerum.

159. tectum lino] cf. note on X 175.
suppositisque dei uram caput. has mid poenas
terra dabit: linquam uacuos cultoribus agros,
nec Nilus cui crescat erit: solusque tenebis
Aegyptum populis, genitor, superisque fugatis.
dixerat, et classem saeas rapiebat in undas. 165
sed Cato laudatam iuuensis compescuit iram.

interea totis auditó funere Magni
litoribus sonuit percussus planctibus aether:
exemplique cares et nulli cognitus acuo
luctus crat, mortem populos deflere potentis. 170
sed magis, ut uisa est lacrimis exhausta solutas
in uoltus effusa comas Cornelia puppi
egrediens, rursus geminato uerbere plangunt.
ut primum in sociae peruenit litora terrae,
collegit uestes miserique insignia Magni,
armaque, et impressas auro, qua gesserat olim,
exuuias, pictasque togas, uelamina summo
ter conspecta Ioui, funestoque intulit igni.
ille fuit miscerae Magni cinis. accipit omnis
exemplum pietas, et toto litore busta
surgunt Thessalicis redendentia manibus ignem.
sic, ubi depastis submittere gramina campis
et renouare parans hibernas Apulus herbas
igne fouet terras, simul et Garganus et arua

161. suppositis] 'placed beneath as fuel'.
163. cui] 'for whose advantage', equi-

165. saeas] Oud. would change this
to saeas: there certainly seems no point
in the epithet, nor is there any mention of
a storm.
169. exemplique carcus] 'it was a grief
without parallel and never known to any
age, that subjects should mourn a ruler's
death'. deflere is in apposition with luctus,
as Micyllus rightly remarks.
171. sed magis] to be taken with plan-
gunt in line 173.
172. solutas] 'with her loosened hair
hanging down over her face'.
176. impressas auro] 'stamped with
gold'.
177. pictas] 'qua palmatae appella-
bantur, id est triumphales'. Schol.
178. ter conspecta Ioui] 'thrice dis-
played to Jove', i.e. on the Capitol on
the occasions of his three triumphs; cf. VII
685, VIII 553, 814, 599 infr.
179. ille jui] 'this was for her, poor
lady, Magnus' ashes', i.e. it took the
place of them. For the whole passage

omnis pietas] 'the affection of all'.
182. depastis] 'grazed bare',

submittere] 'to make to grow', cf. Co-
lumel. iv cap. 14 nec uitis plus quam in
unum flagellum est submittenda.
183. hibernas herbas] 'grass for winter
use', i.e. the shepherds set fire to the dry
grass on the plains and lower hills, such
as Garganus, in order that the new and
tender growth may serve as winter pas-
ture.
184. fouet] 'warms and nourishes', cf.
Verg. G. 1 86—88 sine inde occultos uires
et fabula terrae pingita concipit; sine
illis omne per ignem excoquitur uitium
Liber IX. 161—198.

Vulturis et calidi lucent buceta Matini.

non tamen ad Magni peruenit gratius umbras
omne quod in superos audet conuicia uolgus
Pompœiumque deis obicit, quam paucâ Catonis
uerba sed a pleno uenientia pectore ueri.
cuius obit, inquit, multum maioribus impar
nosse modum iuris, sed in hoc tamen utilis acuo
cui non ulla fuit iusti reuerentia: salua
libertate potens, et solus plebe parata
priuatus seruire sibi, rectorque senatus,
sted regnantis, erat. nil bellì iure poposcit:
quaeque dari uoluit uoluit sibi posse negari.
immodiacs possedit opes, sed plura retentis
intuit: inuasit ferrum, sed ponere norat.

atque exsudat inutilis umor: Oud. cf.
Sil. Ital. vii 364—366 quam multa uidet,
feroeribus atris cum Calabros urunt ad
pinguis Fabula salus, uertice Gargani
rados incendit pastor.

185. buceta] Sulpitius reads buxeta, i.e.
‘box-groves’, but Grotius with all MSS.
restores buceta cf. Gell. xxi 1 buceta in ea
terra gigui pasquie sola sunt plurima,
so also Sid. Apoll. ii 2 Titucri nostrorum
montium inter greges per depasta bucceta reboantes.

186. non tamen] ‘but not more wel-
come was the sound that reached the shade of
Pompeius in that all the populace dared to
utter reproaches against the gods, and
accused heaven of Pompeius’ fate, than
Cato’s words, few, but proceeding from
a breast filled with truth’.

187. audet conuicia in superos] i.e.
audacter utiperat superos. For audere
with accus. cf. Ter. Eunuch. v 5 17 qua
audacia tantum fecimus audet?

190. multum] to be taken with impar.
Most MSS. and many old editions read
multum, Weise multo, which is the reading
of the Roman edition of 1469: the
former is certainly right, as multo could
only be used with the comparative or
superlative. See Bentley’s note on Hor.
sat. ii 313 tantum dissimilem et tanto
certare minoren, where the common reading
is tante dissimilem which in that case
has arisen from the succeeding tanto.
Here multo probably arose from the fact
that the comparative maioribus immedi-
ately succeeds.

191. nosse] dependent on impar, ‘far
inferior to our ancestors in recognising
the due bounds of power’. For impar
with infin. cf. Gratius Cynegi. Sth magnam
opus et tangi, nisi cura minuitur, impar.
for imus cf. supr. 1 2.

192. cui] sc. auco, ‘an age which has
never shown any respect for justice’.
salut] ‘powerful without destroying
freedom’.

193. solus] sc. solus ex proceribus,
Weise. ‘alone acting the private citizen
when the populace were ready to be his
slaves’: i.e. acting unlike Sulla, Caesar
&c.

195. sed regnantis] cf. v 21 cuntuata
iusuiu primum hoc decernit patres,
id. 45—47 nos quorum finis non est sen-
sura potestas consulte in medium, patres,
Magnarum tuinde esse deorum.
belli inu] cf. Tac. Hist. iv 74 inu
toriciad id solum nobis addidimus quo
pacem tueremur.

Paterc. ii xxix 3 potuione quae honoris
causa ad eum dereretur, non ui ab eo
occuparetur, etuidissimus.

198. intulit] sc. in aerarium. Com-
pare what M. Antony says of Caesar in
Shakespeare J. C. Act III sc. ii, ‘He
hath brought many captives home to
Rome, Whose ransoms did the general
coffers fill; Did this in Caesar seem am-
bitious?’

inuasit ferrum] ‘he seized upon the
sword’, cf. 1 242 410 infr.
praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amauit. 

iuuit sumpta ducem, iuuit dimissa potestas. casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque numquam fortuna domini. clarum et uenerabile nomen gentibus et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi. olim uera fides Sulla Marioque receptis libertatis obit: Pompei rebus adempto nunc et ficta perit. non iam regnare pudebit: nec color imperii nec frons erit ualla senatus. o felix, cui summa dies fuit obuia uicto, et cui quaerendos Phariuim scelus obtulit enses. forsitam in societ potuisset uiuere regno. scire mori sors prima uiris sed proxima cogi. et mihi, si fatis aliena in iura uenimus, da talem, Fortuna, Iubam. non deprecor hosti seruari, dum mc seruut ceruice recisa. uocibus his maior, quam si Romana sonarent rostra ducis laudes, generosam uenit ad umbram mortis homos. fremit interea discordia uolgi:  

200. iuuit sumpta] hoc est 'lubens imperii sumpsit, lubens deposit'. Weise.  

204. olim] 'long ago all real security for freedom perished, when Sulla and Marius were admitted within our walls; now that our commonwealth has lost Pompeius even the pretence of confidence vanishes'. 

receptis] i.e. as both had occupied Rome with troops, as a conquered city. For ficta, cf. II 303.  

207. nce color] 'nor will there be any decent veil for empire, nor any shame on the senate's part', i.e. empire will be undisguised, there will be no pretence that the emperor is the servant of the senate, and the senate will feel no shame in admitting that such is the case. color is the technical word for an excuse urged in palliation of a crime, and is used so constantly by Seneca in his controversiae, e.g. I 1 § 16. cf. also Iuv. vi 279 die aliquem, sodas, die, Quintiliane, colorum, Id. vii 155 quis color et quod sit causae genus, and Prof. Mayor's note. For frons cf. Pers. v 103 exclamat Melicerta perisse frontem de rebus. Iuv. xiii 241. 242 quando receptis eicetum somel attrita de fronte ruborem?  

208. o felix] 'happy he, whom the day of death met when he was vanquished', i.e. without his having to seek it himself.  

209. quaerendae] 'presented the sword he must have sought'. For scelus used of a person cf. Verg. Aen. xi 407 artifices scelus used of Drances.  

211. scire morti] 'the happiest fate for men is to know how to die, the next to be compelled to die'. cf. as somewhat similar Soph. O. C. 1225—1228 μὴ φύναι των ἄραιτα νικα λυγον' το τι ἐπεὶ φανον, οὔτα χείδην θ' θεν περ ἴνα πολύ διέτερον ὡς τάξιστα.  

213. da talen] 'grant that Juba may be such'. i.e. as the Schol. explains, 'sicut Ptolemaeus Pompeium ita me Juba occidat'.  

non deprecor] 'I do not refuse to be kept for the foe, if only he keep me with my head cut off', i.e. dead not living. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. viii 116 nce deprecor unbram acceptere.  

217. discordia uolgi] Weise puts no stop after uolgi, but the double genitive after discordit would be very awkward: it is better to make castrorum, with Oud., depend on piget.

210. Tarchondimotus] A grandson of Delotarius prince of Cilicia, mentioned by Cic. ad fam. xv i § 2. The name was restored by Grotius for the old reading Tarchon motus.

211. notata] 'rebuked', cf. Cic. de orat. ii § 349 nec bonum uiurum propriet copiose laudari sine airtutum, nec improbum notari ac uituperari sine uiuetum cognitione satis insigni multa posse.

212. in coetu motuque] 'in bustling crowds'.

aperta mente] 'disclosing his intention of flying', cf. Ov. A. A. iii 713 quid tibi mentis erat cum sic male sola lateres? see also note on vi 1.

216. regement] sc. Cato trying to restrain them.

218. partesque fauore fecimus] 'and through regard for him we adopted his side'. cf. supr. 97; so too facere consuetudinem is used by Cic. ad fam. xiii xxiii § 1.

219. ille iacet] 'he lies dead, whom the world preferred to the maintenance of peace, and so our cause has vanished'.


221. pugnae] dependent on finis; for the transposition of the words, Weise cf. iii 68, v 387, 800, viii 344.

222. perierunt] 'our life-time has been wasted'.

223. mors] 'let our death find a safe retreat'. mors is equivalent to 'the short time we have to live before death': cf. the use of mors for an old man with one foot in the grave, Plaut. Bacchid. 1152 (v ii 33) mortem ampluxari.

224. iustas flammam] 'the funeral pile that is its due', i.e. regular funeral rites: see note on supr. 67.


226. togati ciuis] 'a fellow-citizen in the garb of peace'; ciuís being opposed to barbari, togati to ducís.
summus honor: dominum quem clades cogit habebo: nullum, Magne, ducem. te solum in bella secutus, post te fata sequor: neque enim sperare secunda fas mihi, nec liceat. fortuna cuncta tenentur Caesaris: Emathium sparsit victoria ferrum. clausa fides miseris, et toto solus in orbe est qui uelit ac possit uictis praestare salutem. Pompeio scelus est bellum ciule perempto, quo fuerat uiuente fides. si publica iura, si semper patriam sequeris, Cato, signa petamus Romanus quae consul habet. sic ille profatus insiluit puppi iuuenum comitante tumultu. actum Romanis fuerat de rebus et omnis indiga seruiti feruebat litore plebes.

erupere duejs sacro de pectore uoces: ergo pari uoto gessisti bella, iuuentus, tu quoque pro dominis, et Pompeiana fuisti, non Romana manus? quod non in regna laboras, quod tibi non ducibus uiuis morrisque, quod orbem adquiris nulli, quod iam tibi uincere tutum est bella fugis quaerisque iugum ceruire uacante,

241. summus honor] 'the highest honour shall be paid to thy sacred shade: I shall have as a master him whom our defeat imposes on us, I shall have no leader in warfare'; the honour being shown by refusing to follow another leader in war.

243. sperare secunda] sc. fata, i.e. after Pompeius' death.

245. sparsit] 'his victory has dispersed the swords that fought in Thessaly', sc. Pompeianum exercitum.

249. fides] 'loyalty': 'civil war is a crime, now Pompeius is dead during whose life-time it was loyalty'. fuerat is apparently equivalent to fuisset, cf. infr.


254. indicaverunt] 'greedy of slavery', so Forcell.; perhaps rather 'which needed a master' i.e. could not get on as free men; cf. infr. 262 nescis sine rege pati. For indiga cf. Verg. G. II 428 ni propria nititur opisque haud indiga nostrae.

255. plebes] used contemptuously of the 'common soldiers', cf. vii 760 impia plebes.

265. pari uoto] sc. eodem uoto quo Caesariani; pro domino, non contra domi-
natum. Grotius.

258. in regna laboras] 'because you are not now toiling to produce tyranny'. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. ix 1 § 3 non ignoro etiam quae in speciem laborant, dignitatem dico et eloquentiae femam et qui sequi ad alienum suffragium usit, mora coeunti scire. See note on l 306 in classem eadit omne nemus.

259. tibi] cf. vii 697 ostendit mortens sibi se fugasse senatus.

265. nulli] sc. nulli alii. cf. 1 31. quod iam] 'since now 'tis safe for thee to conquer' i.e. with no fear of your own leader becoming your master.

261. quaevis] 'feel the want of', 'regret'. 
et nescis sine rege pati. nunc causa perici

digna uiris. uestro potuit Pompeius abuti
sanguine: nunc patriae iugulos enesque negatis,
cum prope libertas? unum Fortuna reliquit

iam tribus e dominis. pudeat: plus regia Nili
contulit in leges et Parthi militis arcus.

ite, o degeneres, Ptolemaei munus et arma
spernite. quis uestras ulla putet esse nocentis
caede manus? credet faciles sibi terga dedisse,
credet ab Emathiiis primos fugisse Philippis.

udite securi: meruistis iudice uitam
Cæsare, non armis non obсидione subacti.
o famuli turpes, domini post fata prioris
itis ad heredem. cur non maiora mereri

quam uitam ueniamque libet? rapiatur in undas
insulae Magni coniuux prolesque Metelli:
ducite Pompeios: Ptolemaei uincite munus.

nostra quoque inuiso quisquis feret ora tyranno
non parua mercede dabit. sciet ista iuuentus

cerucis pretio bene se mea signa secutam.
quin agite et magna meritum cum caede parate:

ignauom scelus est tantum fuga. dixit: et omnes

262. pati] 'to endure existence'. cf. note on v 314 discu sine arnis posse pati.
263. uestro] 'Pompeius might have
made an ill use of your blood'.
266. pudeat] 'you should be ashamed'
i.e. of what follows: 'to your shame I say it'.
267. contulit] 'has done more to
further legal rule than you have done', i.e.
by killing one of the 'domini' sc. Pompeius.

Parthi] sc. by the death of Crassus at
Carrhae.
268. munus] sc. the gift of liberty
which Ptolemaeus has given you, by killing
Pompeius one of your masters.
269. quis uestras] 'who will believe
that your hands are stained with the guilt
of any slaughter'? i.e. that you have fought
bravely in the civil war.
270. credet] sc. hostis.
faciles] 'that you have readily fled from
him'. cf. II 314 ad inuca cur faciles populi?
275. heredem] sc. Caesar, omus
maiora] i.e. the favour of Caesar, to be

won by betraying the sons of Pompeius and
Cato, as is clear from the following verses:
Weise wrongly explains maiora as libertatem.

276. in undas] i.e. in nauta, to be
conveyed to Caesar. cf. note on super
aquora 11 726.
278. ducite] 'lead captive'. cf. Cic. de
orat. II § 255 quanti adductus? mille mun-
mis...nihil addo: duas licet:
Ptolemaeus] 'surpass the gift of Ptolemy',
i.e. Ptolemaeus only gave Caesar the head
of Pompeius; do you give him those of
his sons and mine.

280. dabit] cf. infr. 1024.
281. scelit] 'this soldiery will learn by the
reward they receive for my head, that
it was to their advantage that they fol-
lowed my standard', i.e. so as to have me
in their power.

282. para] 'purchase'; cf. note on I
34.
283. tantum fuga] 'mere flight is but
a cowardly kind of treason'. cf. VIII 330
modo conside.
LUCANI PHARSALIAE

haur aliter medio reuocauit ab aequare puppes, quam simul effetas linquant examina ceras, atque oblita faui non miscent nخيص bus alas, sed sibi quaeque volat, nec iam degustat amarum desidiosa thymum: Phrygii sonus increpat aeriis, adtonitae posuere fugam, studiumque laboris floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem:
gaudet in Hyblaco securus gramine pastor dituiatas seruasse casae: sic uoce Catonis inculecata uiris iusti patientia Martis.

iamque actu belli non doctas ferre quietem constituit mentes serieque agitare laborum. primum litoreis miles lassatur harenis: proximus in muros et moenia Cyrenarum est labor: exclusus nulla se uindicat ira:
poenaque de uictis sola est uicisse Catoni. inde peti placuit Libyci contermina Mauris regna Iubae, sed iter mediis natura uetabat Syrtibus: has audax sperat sibi cedere uirtus. Syrites uel primam mundo natura figuram cum daret in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit;
(nam neque subedit penitus, quo stagna profundi acciperet, nec se defendit ab aequare tellus, ambiguia sed lege loci iacet inuia sedes;

285. effetas ceras] ‘the comb from which the young bees have been hatched’. cf. Columel. viii cap. v omu silentio remouenda sunt ne incubans inani spe detineatur effeta.
286. non miscent] non conglobatae volant, Weise: ‘do not intertwine their wings in flight’.
288. Phrygii sonus increpat aeriis] ‘the din of Phrygian brass chides them, and then they cease to fly’. The two sentences are put as coordinate instead of the former being conditional, cf. supr. 223, 224 Magnum Fortuna removit: iam pelago pirata redivis. There is no need to change increpat, which is the reading of many MSS. and of the Roman edition of 1469, into increpet, as Oud. does. For Phrygii aeriis cf. Verg. G. iv 54 tinnituesque cie et Materis quate cymbala circum.
294. iamque actu belli] ‘and now he determined to arouse minds untainted to endure repose, by warlike operations and a succession of laborious tasks’. non doctas &c., as Weise explains, is equivalent to seditisas.
296. lassatur] i.e. probably by fortifying a camp on the shore.
297. in muros] ‘is directed against &c.’
299. poenaque] ‘and the only punishment Cato inflicts on the conquered is to have conquered them’.
304. in dubia] ‘she left doubtful between sea and land’. cf. Goldsmith’s Traveller, ‘While the pent ocean rising o’er the pile, Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile’. See also note on 1 409 foll.
307. ambiguæ] ‘the condition of the
aequora fracta uadis abruptaque terra profundo, et post multa sonant proiecti litora fluctus. sic male deseruit nullosque exegit in usus hanc partem natura sui.) uel plenior alto olim Syrtis erat pelago penitusque natabat: sed rapidas Titan ponto sua lumina pascens aequora subduxit zonae uicina perustae: et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebus siccante repugnat. mox ubi damnosum radios admoerit aeum tellus Syrtis erit: nam iam breuis unda supernne innatat et late periturum deficit aequir. ut primum remis actum mare propellit omne classis onus, densis fremuit niger imbribus Auster in sua regna fures: temptatum classibus aequor turbine defendit, longeque a Syrtibus undas egit, et illato confregit litore pontum. tum quorum recto deprendit carbaso malo eripuit nautis, frustraque rudentibus ausis uela negare Noto spatium uicercarinae,
atque ultra proram tumult sinus. omnia si quis prouidus antennae suffixit lintea summae, uincitur et nudis auertitur armamentis.

sors melior classi quae fluctibus incidit altis et certo iactata mari. quae cumque leuatae arboribus caesis flatum effudere frementem, abstulit has uentis liber contraria uoluens aests et obnixum uictor detrudit in Austrum. has uada destituunt, atque interrupta profundo terra ferit puppes: dubioque obnoxia fato pars sedet una ratis, pars altera pendet in undis. tum magis impactum breuibus mare, terraque saeuit obua consurgens: quamuis elius ab Austro, saepe tamen cumulos fluctus non uincit harenae. 340 eminet in tergo pelagli procul omnibus aruis inuiolatus aqua sicci iam pulueris agger; stant miserí nautae, terraeque haerente carina litora nulla uident. sic partem intercipit acquir:

327. omnia si quis] ‘if anyone had foresight furled all his sails close to the yards’, sc. by rolling them up and tying them tight to the yard.

329. auertitur] ‘is driven from his course under bare poles’. armamenta, though it sometimes includes the rigging and sails, is more especially the mast and yards, cf. Liv. xxxvi 44 uela contrah. malosque inclinat et simul armamenta component oppositum insensitibus navis; in this case the sails are carried away, though furled and tied on.

331. certo] ‘undoubted sea’, i.e. not a mixture of land and water, as in the shallows.

leuatae] ‘lightened by the cutting away of their masts’, cf. iuv. xii 53, 54.

333. abstulit] ‘these the tide uncontroled (sc. by the wind) carried away, sweeping them in the opposite direction to the wind, and, winning the day, drives them in the teeth of the opposing south’. Oud. cf. Sen. Thyst. 438, 439 sic consitterat remige et uela ratem aecits resistens remige et uela referit. For the adverbial use of contraria cf. v 217, 218 postus rana gemin.


339. elius ab Austro] ‘pressed’, ‘squeezed’ by the South. The use of the preposition is in this passage probably to be explained by the personification of Auster.

344. procul omnibus aruis] i.e., as Oud. rightly explains, at a great distance from the main land.

pars ratium maior regimen clauomque secuta est tuta fuga, nautasque loci sortita peritos torpenteim Tritonos adit illaes a paludem. hanc, ut fama, deus, quem toto litore pontus audit uentosa perlantum murmura concha, hanc et Pallas amat, patrio quae uertice nata terrarum primam Libyen (nam proxima caelo est, ut probat ipse calor) tetigit, stagnique quieta uoltus uidit aqua, posuitque in margine plantas, et se dilecta Tritonida dixit ab unda. quam iuxta Lethon tacitus praelabitur amnis, infernis, ut fama, dicus, qucum toto litore pontus audit uentosa pcrflantem murmura concha, hanc et Pallas amat, patrio quae uertice nata terrarum primam Libyen (nam proxima caelo est, ut probat ipse calor) tetigit, stagnique quieta uoltus uidit aqua, posuitque in margine plantas, et se dilecta Tritonida dixit ab unda. quam iuxta Lethon tacitus praelabitur amnis, infernis, ut fama, trahens obliuia uenis: atque insopiti quondam tutela draconis Hesperidum pauper spoliatus frondibus hortus. inuidus annoso qui famam derogat aevo, qui uates ad uera uocat. fuit aurea silua, diuitiisque graues et fuluo germine rami: virgineusque chorus nitidi custodia luci, et numquam somno damnatus lumina serpens robora complexus rutilo curuata metallo. abstulit arboribus pretium nemorique laborem Algides: passusque inopes sine ponderes retulit Argolico fulgentia poma tyranno. his igitur depulsa locis eiectaque classis

345. *regimen clauomque*] ‘the guidance of the rudder’. 348. *deus*] sc. Triton. *toto litore*] cf. Verg. G. iv 527 Eurydiceu toto referebant flumine ripae. 349. *perlantem murmura*] I have retained the reading which is apparently found in all MSS. except a few which have *litora*, an obvious repetition of the preceding line: if genuine, it must mean ‘who blows murmurs through his shell’ i.e. who produces murmurs by blowing through his shell. Heinsius suggests *marmora* as an emendation, for which Oud. refers to Verg. Aen. i 83 terras turbine perlant, Id. vi 171 forte caua dum personal aqunora concha. Oud. himself proposes *perlantem murmura*, comparing Verg. Aen. ix 326 toto proflabat pectore somnum. 353. *posuitque*] ‘and stood rooted on its brink’. 356. *uenis*] ‘from its source in the world below’, cf. infr. 501, x 325. Plin. Epp. viii viii § 1 hanc subter exit fons et exprimitur pluribus uenis sed imparibus. 357. *atque*] quae iuxta est *tutela*] ‘care’ passively; cf. Hor. carm. iv vi 33 Deliae tutela deae, Propert. iv viii 3 Lanuim inuosi uenus est tutela draconis. 359. *inuidus*] ‘spiteful is the man’ who impairs the credit of past ages, who calls on poets to tell the truth’. 364. *rutilo*] ‘bending beneath the ruddy metal’. 365. *laborem*] i.e. ‘the labour of supporting their weight’. 366. *passus*] ‘suffering them to remain’.
Syrtibus haud ultra Garamantidas attigit undas:
se<ref>duc Pompeio Libyes melioris in oris
mansit. at impatiens uirtus haerere Catonis'
audet in ignotas agmen committere gentes,
armorum fidens, ct terra cingere Syrtim.
haec eadem suadebat hiemps, quae clau<ref>serat acquir,
et spes imber crat nimi<ref>os metuentibus ignes:
ut neque sole uiam nec duro frigore sae<ref>uam
inde polo Libyes hinc bruma temperet annus:
ataque ingressurus steriles sic fatur harenas:
o quibus una salus placuit mea castra secutis
indomita ceruice mori, componite mentes
ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores.
uadimus in campos steriles exustaque mundi,
qua nimi<ref>us Titan et rarae in fontibus undae,
siccaque letiferis squalent serpentibus arua,
durum iter: ad leges patriaeque ruentis amorem
per medi<ref>um Libyen ueniant, atque inuia temptent,
si quibus in nullo positum est euadere uoto,
is sufficiently common: see notes on II 651, VII 463.
378. Indomita ceruice cf. infr. 603,
Aesch. Agam. 328 ob<ref>et' et ev<ref>uethron
dērēg ἀπομισ<ref>ωνει φιλτάτων μύ<ref>ορν.
componite mentes] prepare your minds for'; cf. Quint. XII ix § 20 animum ad
omnes casus composere, Val. Flacc. 1 321
nec ad hos animum componere casus ante
datum.
384. squa<ref>leu] are soul with', cf. Ov.
Met. XIV 410 humus serpentibus atris
squadere.
385. durum iter] It seems best with
Weise to take these words in apposition
with the preceding sentence. Ond.
prefer to unite them with what follows,
'let them pursue a toilsome road, &c.'
ad leges] to maintain the laws and
our love for our perishing native land'.
387. si quibus] 'whoever have not
made it the object of their prayers to
reach their journey's end in safety,
whoever are satisfied with marching
only'. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. XI 163 magnum atque
in magnis positum populisque uiris<ref>que
aduersum ostentare fidem. For euadere
cf. Verg. Aen. II 730, 731 iamque pro-
finguabam portis omnemque uidebar eu-
sisse uiam.
si quibus ire sat est. neque enim mihi fallere quemquam est animus tectoque metu perducere uolgu.
hi mihi sint comites, quos ipsa pericula ducent, 390 qui, me teste pati uel quae tristissima, pulchrum Romanumque putant. at qui sponsore salutis miles eget capiturque animae dulcedine, uadat ad dominum meliore uia. dum primus harenas ingrediar primusque gradus in puluere ponam, 395 me calor aethereus feriat, mihi plena ueneno occurrat serpens; fatoque pericula uestra praetemptate meo: sitiat, quicumque bibentem uiderit: aut umbras nemorum quicumque petentem, aestuet: aut equitem peditum praecedere turmas, 400 deficiat; si quo fuerit discrimine notum dux an miles eam. serpens sitis ardo harenae dulcia uirtuti: gaudet patientia duris. laetius est quotiens magno sibi constat honestum. sola potest Libye turbam praestare malorum 405 ut deceat fugisse uiros. sic ille pauentis incendit uirtute animos et amore laborum,

389. tectoque metu] ‘to draw on the multitude by concealing my fears’. 390. quos ipsa] ‘to whom the danger in itself will be an inducement’. 391. me teste] sc. with me to witness their prowess. 392. sponsore] ‘who needs someone to guarantee his safety’. 393. meliorem uiam] ‘by an easier road’, i.e. than that on which I shall lead you through the desert. 394. praetemptate] ‘get a foretaste of your danger by what befalls me’. 395. sitiat] ‘may he thirst who &c.’, sc. and no one else, and then there will be none who will do so. 400. aestuet] For aestuare used of a person, cf. Iuv. III 103 si dixeris ‘aestu’ sudat.

401. si quo fuerit] These words are a repetition and summing up of the preceding protases, ‘if any one sees me drinking first &c. or in any way taking advantage of my position’. For a somewhat similar construction see X 214 foll. where a second protasis is introduced. 402. laetius est] ‘virtue is all the more welcome when it costs the virtuous man dear’. sibi refers grammatically to honestum, virtue being identified with the virtuous man, the abstract with the concrete. The sentence is equivalent to plus laetitiae sentit quios quotiens plus sibi constat honestum: cf. Ov. A. A. III 539, 540 addes quod insidiac sacris a patibus absunt, et facil ad mores ars quoque nostra nosos.

403. sola] ‘Libya alone can supply such a host of sufferings as to make it credible for brave men to have fled’, i.e. from Pharsalia to Africa; flight to the latter involving greater danger and suffering, and so showing that it was not from cowardice that we fled from the former. So Glaracanus rightly explains the passage. Oud. reads turba.
irreducemque uiam deserto limite carpit:
et sacrum paruo nomen clausura sepalcro
inausit Libye securi fata Catonis.
tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famae
cuncta uelis: at siuentos caelumque sequaris,
parsercit Europae. neque enim plus litora Nili
quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt,
unde Europa fugit Libyen, et litora flexu
oceano fecere locum: sed maior in unam
orbis abit Asiam. nam cum communiter istae
effundant Zephyrum, Boreae latus illa sinistrum
contingens dextrumque Noti descendit in ortus
Eurum sola tenens. Libycae quod fertile terrae est
uergit in occasus: sed et hac non fontibus ullis
soluitur: Arctoos raris Aquilonibus imbres
accipit et nostris reficit sua rura serenis.
innullas uitiatur opes; non acretneque auro
excoquitur, nullo glaebarum crimine, pura

408. irreducem] per quam non ipse erat rediturus. Schol. I can find no other instance of the use of this word.
409. clausura] i.e. because Cato was destined to be buried at Utica in Africa.
410. inausit] 'Libya assailed the destiny of Cato, who recked not of it', i.e. Libya, knowing as it were that Cato was destined to die in her, tried to bring about his death before the fated time. For inuadere cf. 11 315.
414. primis] 'Gades the first place in the west', i.e. the first place you come to, starting from the western Ocean.
415. unde] 'from which point begins the separation of Europe and Libya, and the shores by their retreat have made room for the Ocean'.
416. sed maior] 'but a greater portion of the world goes to form Asia alone': cf. Cic. ad Att. xi ii § 2 in quos enim sumptus absunt fructus praeloridium?
418. effundant] 'while they (sc. Europe and Africa), are alike the source whence blows the West wind'.

Boreae latus illis] 'Asia touching the left side of the North and the right side of the South slopes toward the sun-rise, alone possessing the East wind', i.e. being the source of it. The meaning of the passage is that Asia is equivalent in size to Europe and Libya combined, as while Europe and Libya share between them the source of the West wind, Europe and Asia that of the North, Libya and Asia that of the South, Asia has that of the East all to herself.
422. soluitur] 'even this is not broken up by any running streams', i.e. has no streams to loosen the soil and carry it down as fertilising silt; cf. note on 11 408 quoque magis nullum tellus se soluit in annum.
Arctoos] sc. from the north, the rainy quarter in Italy.
423. et nostris] 'and refreshes its fields when we have cloudless skies'. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. viii 411 cum Libyae Boreas Italos niger attulit imbres, also Id. v 11, 12 qualia trans pontum Pharisis defensa serenis rauca Paraetonio descendunt aquinua Nilo.
424. uitiatur] 'it is not debased to any form of wealth'; cf. Ov. Met. 1 140 effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.
425. excoquitur] 'it has not copper or gold smelted out of it'. excoquitur is equivalent to exhaustur equiendo, cf. v
et penitus terra est. tantum Maurusia genti robora diuitiai quorum non nouerat usum, sed citri contenta comis uiuebat et umbris. in nemus ignotum nostrae uenere secures, extremeque epulas mensasque petiuitus orbe. at quae cumque uagam Syrtim completitut ora sub nimio porrecta die uicina perusti aetheris exurit messes, et puluere Bacchum enecat, et nulla putris radice tenetur. temperies uitalis abest: et nulla sub illa cura Louis terra est: natura deside torpet orbis et immotis annum non sentit harenis. hoc tam segne solum raras tamem exserit herbas, quas Nasamon gens dura legit, qui proxima ponto nudus rura tenet, quem mundi barbaras damnis Syrtis alit. nam litoreis populator harenis imminet, et nulla portus tangible carina nouit opes. sic cum toto commercia mundo naufragis Nasamones habent. hac ire Catonem

333 exhaustaque sanguine turba: see also Ov. Fast. iv 785, 786 omnia purgat edax ignis sultiumque metallis eecxuit.

340 nullo] ‘its clods are innocent’.

346 et penitus] ‘and is mere earth to its lowest depths’, i.e. earth unmixed with metal.

347 tantum] ‘the only wealth of its inhabitants is the Maurasian wood, whose use they knew not, but lived content with the foliage and shade of the citron’, i.e. until the Romans came, the natives used the citron only to wreak their hair: this was the wood of which the most costly tables were made by the Romans; cf. Cic. in Verrem II iv § 37 tu maximam et pulcherrimam mensam citrean a Q. Lutatio Diodoro (abstulisti), Pers. 1 52 non quidem sedque levis scribatur in citreis?

349 epulas] cf. I 166 totoque accisii tur orbis qua gens quaque perit.

351 uagam] ‘shifting’.

352 nimio dic] sc. sole torrenti, Schol.

354 putris] ‘crumbling’, sc. mere loose sand: to be pute to a certain extent is a merit in soil, cf. Verg. G. II 204 et cui pute solum namque hoc utitamur arando optima frumentis.

tenetur] ‘is held together’, i.e. as sandbanks are by the roots of grass.


356 cura Louis] ‘there is no Jove-sent provision under that soil’, i.e. springs of water &c. fed by rains from heaven. So I would understand it: cf. Verg. G. II 49 qui seppe sola natura subest. Weise explains it as a case of hypallage, equivalent to tellus illa sub nulla est Louis cura.

357 immotis] ‘and with its unvarying sands feels not the changes of the seasons’. In this passage immotus evidently cannot mean ‘fixed’ as the sands are described as shifting, but is equivalent to constant.


361 populator] ‘plunderer’.

362 nulla portus] ‘and though no ships touch at havens there’, i.e. implying that they have no havens for ships to touch at.

364 nouit opes] ‘are acquainted with luxury’.

365 naufragis] ‘have dealings with all the world by means of shipwrecks’.

LIBER IX. 408—444
dura iubet uirtus. illic secuera iuuentus
uentorum nullasque timens tellure procellas
aequorcos est passa metus. nam litore sicco
quam pelago Syrtis uiolentius accipit Austrum;
et terrae magis ille nocens. non montibus illum
aduersis frangit Libye scopulisque repulsam
dissipat, et liquidas e turbine soluit in auras:
nec ruit in silusas annosque robora torquens
lassatur: patet omne solum, liberque meatu
Aeoliam rabiem totis exercet habenis:
et non imbriferam contorto pulucre nubem
in flexum uiolentus agit: pars plurima terrae
tollitur et numquam resoluto urtie pendet.
regna uidet pauper Nasamon errantia uento
discussasque domos: uolitantque a culmine raptae
detecto Garamante casae. non altius ignis
rapta uehit: quantumque licet consurgere fumo
et uiolare diem, tantus tenet aera puluis.
tum quoque Romanum solito uiolentius agmen
adgreditur, nullusque potest consistere miles,
instabilis raptis etiam, quasi calcat, harenis.
concuteret terras orbemque a sede moueret,
si solida Libye compage et pondere duro
clauderet exesis Austrum scopulosa caunei:

445. secuera] 'not thinking of the winds'.
447. aequorcos] quales navigantes in
mari experuntur. Weise.
652, 653 nos tuli ad superos perfundens
sidera Syrtis, nos paene aequoribus tellus
uiolentior hausit.
449. non montibus] 'Libya has no
mountains to oppose and break the force
of its blast, no rocks to drive it back and
scatter it, and reduce it from a hurricane
to calm clear air': cf. Verg. Aen. X 272
liquida si quando noete cometae sanguinei
lugubre rubent. For solutae cf. Propert. V
iv 79 Romulus excubias decrevit in ota
solutae.
450. liberque] 'and with free passage
everywhere vents the rage of Aeolus in all
unchecked career'. For totis habentis Oud.
cf. II 500 hase ubi dicta, levis totas acce-
perit habenbas in campum sonipes, and for
the metaphor Verg. Aen. XII 499 ira-
rumque omnis effudit habenbas.
452. in flexum agit] 'drives circling
round'.
453. numquam resoluto] 'and hangs
in mid air, as the whirlwind never breaks
up'.
454. regna] 'his country'.
455. uolitantique] 'and the huts fly
aloft torn away roof first and leave the
Garamanian exposed'.
457. et uiolare diem] 'obscurring the
light of day'. cf. Claudian in Rufin. I 63
et flatu uiolare diem, speaking of Alleeto.
458. instabilis] 'failing to stand, since
the very sand he treads on is swept away'.
459. si solidas] 'if Libya of solid tex-
ture and firm heavy substance were rocky
and shut up Auster in hollowed caverns',
i.e. so that it would have to force a pas-
sage out.
sed quia mobilibus facilis turbatur harenis
nusquam luctando stabilis manet, imaque tellus
stat quia summa fugit. galeas et scuta uirorum
pilaque contorsit uiolento spiritus actu
intentusque tulit magni per inania caeli.
illud in externa forsan longeque remota
prodigium tellure fuit: delapsaque caelo
arma timent gentes, hominumque erepta lacertis
a superis demissa putant. sic illa profecto
sacrifico ceccidere Numae, quae lecta iuuentus
patricia creuice mouet: spoliauerat Auster
aut Boreas populos ancilia nostra serentis.
sic orbem torquente Noto Romana iuuentus
procubuit, metuensque rapi constrinxit
amictus, inscruitque manus terrae:
nlee pondere solo
sed nisu iacuit uix sic immobils Austro:
qui super ingentes cumulos inuoluit harenae
atque operit tellure uiros. uix tollere miles
membra ualet multo congestu pulueris haerens.
saxa tulit penitus discussis proruta muris
effuditque procul miranda sorte malorum:
qui nullas uidere domos uidere ruinas.
iamque iter omne latet: nec sunt discrimina terrae
ulla nisi aetheriae medio uelut acquore flammac.
sideribus nouere uias: nec sidera nota

470. stabilis] 'it remains stable by
offering resistance nowhere'.
473. intentus] 'forcibly', cf. Cic. de
orat. 11 § 211 sic hae (oratio) quae susci-
pituri ab oratore ad commutandos animos,
...intentia et uehemens esse debet.
474. externa] sc. respectu Libyae.
Weise. Oud. reads extrema.
477. illa] sc. the ancilia.
478. ceccider] 'fell before Numa as he
offered sacrifice'.
lecta iuuentus] sc. the Salii, for whom
cf. I 663.
484. sed nisu iacuit] 'but lay on the
ground with an effort', i.e. clinging to it
with all their strength.
490. saska tulit] 'it carried stones
thrown down from walls dashed all to
pieces'.
491. miranda] 'with harm which it
was strange should happen', δείξ των
κακών τάξεω.
492. ruinas] There were no houses
near, so the ruins must have been carried
from a distance.
493. nec sunt discrimina] 'nor is there
aught to mark the difference in the ground,
save only, as in mid ocean, the fires of
heaven'.
494. illa] This line is omitted by some
MSS. but is found in others and is in the
Roman edition of 1469.
495. nec sidera] 'nor does the horizon
that bounds the realm of Libya suffer the
ostendit Libycae finitor circulus orae, multaque deuexo terrarum margine celat.

utque calor soluit quem torserat aera uentus, incensusque dies, manant sudoribus artus, arent ora siti: conspecta est parua maligna 500
unda procul uena: quam uix e puluere miles
corripiens patulum galeae confudit in orbe, porrexitque duci. squalebant puluere fauces
cunctorum: minimumque tenens dux ipse liquoris
inuidiosus erat. mene, inquit, degener unum 505
miles in hac turba uacuom uirtute putasti?
usque adeo mollis primisque caloribus impar
sum uisus? quanto poena tu dignior ista es, qui populo sitiente bibas. sic concitus ira
excussit galeam suffecitque omnibus unda.

unitum erat ad templum Libycais quod gentibus unum
inculti Garamantes habent: stat sortifer istic
Iuppiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina uibrans,
at similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus Hammon.
non illic Libycae posuerunt ditia gentes 515
tempa, nec Eois splendent donaria gemmis:
quamuis Aethiopum populis Arabumque beatis

stars they know (i.e. those of the northern
hemisphere) to be seen'.
497. multaque dexero] 'but with down-
ward sloping edge conceals many'. cf.
VIII 292.
498. utque calor] 'and when the heat
dispersed the air which the wind had
driven hither and thither'. The whirlwind
is apparently regarded as consisting of
condensed air, cf. note on 1 531.
499. incensusque] 'and the day was
lighted up', sc. by the sun. cf. Ov. ex
Ponto II i 41 deque triumphato quod sol
incendit aur. incendere diem is found
in a different sense in IV 68.
After dies many MSS. insert iam spis-
sior ignis...caturur from infr. 604—606,
continuing et unor in Noton omnis abit:
these words were rightly ejected by Gro-
ti us: with manant and arent continue ut
as part of the protasis.
502. confudit] 'poured it all'.

503. squalebant] 'were parched', cf.
supr. I 205 note.
505. inuidiosus] 'was an object of
envy'. cf. Cic. de leg. agrar. II § 68 qui
possessiones inuidiosas tenebant.
507. primisque caloribus] 'the morn-
ing heat'.
508. poena-ista] i.e. this punishment
which I inflict on myself, viz. to go with-
out drinking.
510. suffecit] i.e. all were content to
go without, after Cato had set the examp-
le. Compare the story told of David in
1 Chronicles xii 15 foll. Oud. quotes from
Frontinus Strateg. I vii 7 a similar story
of Alexander.
511. Libyca] 'which alone common
to all the tribes of Libya &c.', cf. inf. 518.
512. sortifer] 'oracular', some MSS.
read corniger.
516. donaria] θησαυρὸς 'treasuries'.
517. beatis] cf. Hor. carm. I xxix 1
Ici beatis nunc Arabum innides gazis.
gentibus atque Indis unus sit Iuppiter Hammon, pauper adhuc deus est nullis violata per acuom diiuitis delubra tenens: morumque priorum numen Romano templum defendit ab auro. esse locis superos testatur silua per omnem sola uires Libyen. nam quidquid puluere sicco separat ardentem tepida Berenicida Lepti ignorat frondes: solus nemus extulit Hammon. siluarum fons causa loco, qui putria terrae adligat et domitas unda concedit harenas.
sic quoque nil obstat Phoebum cum cardine summo stat librata dies: truncum uix protegit arbor:
tam breuis in medium radiis compellitum umbra. depremum est hunc esse locum qua circulus alti solstii medium signorum percutit orbeum. non obliqua meant, nec Tauro Scorpios exit rector, aut Aries donat sua tempora Librae, aut Astraecia iubet lentos descendere Pisces.

518. Indis] For the confusion between Indians and Aethiopians cf. Verg. G. iv 293 usque coloratis annis deuenus ab Indis, used of the Nile, and Conington's note.
519. violata] 'defiled'. cf. Iuv. xi 116 fictilis et nullo violatus Iuppiter auro, on which see Prof. Mayor's note.
520. morumque priorum] 'a good old-fashioned deity'.
521. Romans] cf. Sen. contr. ii 9 quiictiota tempora pauperes habuimus; bella ciuitia aurato Capitolio gessimus. cf. also Persius ii 59-60 aurum ina Numinae Saturniique impulit aera, Vestalesque urnas et Tuscan ficile mutat. o curvae in terras animae et cælestium inanes, quid imput hor, templis nostros inmutire mores, et bona dis ex hac selerata duece pulpia? ...pectat et hace, pectat; vitio tamen utitur, at nos dico, pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?
522. Berenicida] Berenicis was in the Cyrenac Pentapolis, Leptis near Carthage and Utica.
523. qui putria] 'which binds together the crumbling soil and with its waters subdues and unites the sands'.
524. sic quoque] 'even thus there is no defence against the sun, when the day stands balanced evenly on the highest pole: scarce can the tree protect its trunk, into so narrow a space in the centre is the shade driven by the sun's rays': cardo hic uocatur summâ pars medii caeli quam sol occupat meridie, media aestate. Weise. cf. iv 672, also ii 587 umbras nusquam flectente Spae.
525. qua circulus] 'where the circle of the solstice in the sky (sc. the equinoctial circle) cuts the zodiac in its centre'.
526. non obliqua meant] 'they, sc. the constellations of the zodiac, do not move obliquely', i.e. as with us. Oud. cf. Verg. G. i 239 obliquus quae se signorum vertet ordo.
527. nec Tauro] 'nor does the Scorpion rise more vertically than the Bull'.
528. aut Aries] 'nor does the Ram give back his hours to the Balance', i.e. as many hours of the day as there are when the sun is in Libra, so many are there of the night when the sun is in Aries, and vice versa.
529. aut Astraecia] 'nor does Astraecia (Virgo) bid the Fishes set slowly'.
530. par Geminis] 'Chiron (Sagittarius) is on a level with the Twins', i.e.
umidus Aegoceros: nec plus Leo tollitur Vrina,
at tibi, quae cumque es Libyco gens igne dirempta,
in Noton umbra cadit quae nobis exit in Arcton:
et segnis Cynosura subit: tu sicca profundo 540
mergi plaustra putas, nullumque in uestice summno
sidus habes immune mari; procul axis uterque est,
et fuga signorum medio rapit omnia caelo.

stabant ante fores populi quos miserat Eos,
cornigerique Iouis monitu nova fata petebant, 545
sed Latio cessere duci: comitesque Catonem
orant exploret Libyicum memorata per orbem
numina, de fama tam longi iudicet aeui.
maximus hortator scrutandi uoce deorum
euentus Labienus erat. sors obtulit, inquit,
et fortuna uiue tam magni numinis ora
consiliumque dei: tanto duce possessum uti
per Syrtes bellique datos cognoscere casus,
nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturos
dicturosque magis quam sancto uera Catoni?
certe uita tibi semper directa supernas
ad leges sequerisque deum. datur ecce loquendi
cum Ioue libertas: inquire in fata nefandi
Caesari et patriaeuenturos excute mores:

rises no higher, 'and the blazing Crab
rises just as high as watery Capricorn'.
*idem sc. tollitur*, not to be taken with ar-
dens as Weise would have it.

538. *Libyca*] 'cat off from the world
by the heat of Libya'.

539. *umbra*] See the account of the
circumnavigation of Africa in Herod. iv
42: also note on 111 248.

540. *subit*] 'and slow-moving Cy-
sura sinks below the horizon'.

541. *immune*] cf. Ov. Met. xiii 294
*immunemque aequoris Arcton.* For the
construction of *immunis* with the ablative
cf. note on 11 257, viii 704.

542. *procul*] i.e. both poles, north and south
are equally distant.

543. *et fuga*] 'and the movement
of the zodiac sweeps all its constellations
along in the midst of the sky'.

544. *nova fata*] 'destinies unheard
before'.

548. *indice*] 'to pass judgement on a
reputation maintained for so many ages',
i.e. by testing the truth of the oracle.

549. *scrutandi*] 'prying into the fu-
ture by the oracle of the god'.

550. *Labienus*] For Labienus, cf. v
340.

553. *datum*] 'and discover the issue of the
war assigned by fate'.

554. *arcana*] 'secret oracles'. Weise
cf. v 137.

556. *directa*] 'thy life has ever been
ordered in accordance with the laws that
dwell on high'. cf. Cic. pro Mur. § 3
Catoni niam ad certam rationis normam
dirigenti.

559. *excute*] 'search into the future
character of thy native land'. cf. Ov. ex
Ponto iv vii 17, 18 seu genus exuitas;
equites ab origine prima usque per innum-
eros innenim mur anos.
Libex IX. 537—575.

Iure suo populis uti legumque licebit, an bellum ciuile perit. tua pectora sacra uoce reple: durae semper uirtutis amator quaere quid est uirtus et posse exemplar honesti.


*licebit*] For the mood of this word, of *perit* in the following line, and of *est* in 563 cf. note on i 136 *quit iniustus induit arma scire nefas*, also Hor. Epist. i vii 39 *inspice si possum*, Pers. iii 66—72.

561. *perit*] 'is wasted', 'is in vain', cf. notes on iv 252, vi 54, vii 558, 1058

562. *semper*] Oud. with some MSS. reads *saltem* not *semper*, i.e. at all events if you will not enquire about future events, enquire into the nature of virtue. *semper* must be taken with *amator*, cf. notes on vii 330, supr. 283.

563. *exemplar*] 'and ask for a pattern of right'.

565. *dignas adytis*] i.e. worthy to have been uttered by the oracle. Oud. cf. Lucret. i 737 foll. *quam quam multa bene ac diuinitas inuenientes ex adyto tanguam cordis responsa dedere sanctius, et multo certa ratione magis quam Pythica, quae tripode ex Phoebi larriaque profatur*. Grotius refers to Senec. controu. i § 9 *erratis nisi illam uocem non M. Catonis sed oraculi creditis. quid enim est oracu-


568. *an sit uita nihil, et longa?*] 'whether life is of no account even when prolonged?'. Weise cf. Sen. Epp. ix ii (73) § 13 *non est uirtus maior quaet longior. an differat aetas?* 'whether a man's age makes any difference?' i.e. it is in Stoic language *άδιάφορον*. The reading in the text is due to Cortius, and is adopted by Weise and is apparently that which the Scholiast had before him; his explanation is *in aliq uid interis parum nixisse, uel plurimum*. Most MSS. read *sal longum differat aetas?* the reading of the Roman edition of 1499 is *sal longa? an differat aetas?*

569. *perdat*] 'and Fortune's threats are vain when virtue is set against them'.

571. *successu*] 'and the right never grows greater by success'.

572. *scimus*] 'this we know, and Ham-

573. *haeremus*] 'we are in constant intercourse with heaven'. cf. Plin. Ep. vii 27 *obtinenti Africam comes haeret. templique tacentis* 'and though the oracle be dumb'.

574. *sponte dei*] 'by the inspiration of God'. For this silver-age use of *sponte* with a genitive, cf. i 99, 234. Tac. Ann. ii 59 *non sponte principis*.

575. *dixitque*] i.e. by means of the conscience.

*actor*] sc. *generis humani*, cf. Hor. Carm. i ii 35, 36 *sine neglectum genus et nepotes respiciis auctor*. 22
quidquid scire licet: steriles nec legit harenas, ut caneret paucis, mersitque hoc puluere uerum:
estque dei sedes, ubi terra et pontus et aer et caelum et uirtus. superos quid quacerimus ultra?
Iuppiter est quodcumque uides quodcumque moueris. sortilegis egeant dubii semperque futuris
581
casibus ancipites: me non oracula certum, sed mors certa facit. pauido fortique cadendum est:
hoc satis est dixisse Iouem. sic ille profatur:
seruataque fide templi discedit ab aris
585
non exploratum populis Hammona relinquens.

ipse manu sua pila gerens praceedit anheli
militis ora pedes: monstrat tolerare labores,
non iubet: et nulla uchitur ceruice supinus
carpentoque sedens. somni parcissimus ipse est, 590
ultimus haustor aquae. cum tandem fonte reperto
indiga conatur laticis potare iuuentus,
stat dum lixa bibat. si ueris magna paratur
fama bonis et si successu nuda remoto
inspiciitur uirtus, quidquid laudamus in ullo
595
maiorum, Fortuna fuit. quis Marte secundo—
quis tantum meruit populis sanguine nomen?

576. steriles nec legit] ‘nor did he
choose out these barren sands’. The simple
form legere more commonly means to
skirt or traverse or else to gather up; for
the former cf. V. 513, supra. 38, for the latter
VII. 756. Oud. accordingly proposes to
read here steriles egeit.
577. mersit] ‘buried’, cf. Ov. Met. x
498 mersitque suos in cortice notus.
7 ὅνωμι δcecere αἰδέρ ὁλον Ἐδώς.
Epp. iv xii (41) §§ 1, 2 non sunt ad
caelum eleandae manus nec exorandus
aedificus ut nos ad aurem simulacri, quasi
magis exandiri possimus, admittat; prope
est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. ita dice,
Lucili; sacer intra nos spiritus sedet,
maiorum honorumque nostrorum observat-
orum et custos.
580. quodcumque] ‘all that you see,
and all your feelings, that is Jupiter’. i.e.
both the external world and the soul of
each individual. cf. Verg. G. iv 219—227,
Aen. vi 724—734. Plin. ii. n. 11 § 14
quisquis est deus, si modo est alius, et
quacumque in parte, totus est sensus, totus
visus, totus audiitus, totus animae, totus
animi, totus sui, and further on § 18 dens
est mortali iuuinte mortalem. The common
reading retained by Oud. is quocumque moueris.
581. me non oracula] ‘it is not oracles
that make me certain, but the certainty of
death’.
582. fidc] ‘preserving the temple’s
credit’, i.e. as he had not tested it.
583. populis] sc. externis; dative.
vi 880 seu cum pedes iret in hostem.
585. ceruire] ‘is not borne reclining
on men’s shoulders or seated in a chariot’.
cf. Iuv. 1 64 cum iam sexta ceruice fe-
ratur.
586. dux] ‘till the camp-follower has
drunk’.
587. bonis] neuter; ‘is won by real
merits’.
nada] cf. Iuv. x 141 quis enim uirtute
amplectitur ipsam praemia si tollas?
590. Fortuna fuit] ‘was Fortune’, i.e.
‘Fortune’s gift’, i.e. rather than Virtue’s.
hunc ego per Syrtes Libyacque extrema triumphant ducere malerim, quam ter Capitolia curru
candere Pompeii, quam frangere colla Iugurthae. 600
cce parens uerum patriae dignissinum aris
Roma, tuis; per quem numquam iurare pudcbit,
et quem, si steteris umquam cerucie soluta,
nunc olim factura deum. iam spissior ignis,
et plaga, quam nullam superi mortalibus ultra
a medio fecere die, calcatur, et unda
rarior. inuentus mediis fons unus harenis
largus aquae, sed quem serpentum turba tenebat
uix capiente loco. stabant in margine siccae
aspides, in mediis sitiebant dipsades undis.
ductor ut adspexit perituros fonte relictos
adloquitur: uana specie conterrite leti,
ne dubita, miles, tutos haurire liquores:
noxia serpentum est admixtio sanguine pestis:
mors uirus habent et fatum dente minunt:
615
pocula morte carent. dixit, dubiumque uenenum
hausit: et in tota Libyae fons unus harena
ille fuit de quo primus sibi posceret undam.
cur Libycus tantis exundet pestibus aer
fertilis in mortes, aut quid secreta nocenti

600. frangere] i.e. than the triumph of
Marius.
602. iurare] cf. vii 459 inque deum
templis iurabit Roma per umbras. Hor. Epist. ii 16
iuandisque tuum per homen ponimus aras.
603. ceruici)] cf. supr. 380.
604. nune olim] 'now or at some
future time', cf. Verg. Aen. iv 627 nune, olim, quocunque
dabant se tempore uires. Grotius reads tuene apparently with little
MS. authority: most MSS. have nune. For the omission of es after the participle
cf. vi 616.
iam spissior ignis] 'now the heat was
more intense', cf. the use of flamman X 57.
For spissus cf. Verg. Aen. ii 621 spissis
notis se condidit umbris. Sen. Ierc. Fur. 712 quem grauibus umbris spissa
caligo adigit.
605. quam nullam] 'beyond which the
gods have made none on the
side of the south'. cf. Hor. Carm. i xxi
21 pone sub curru ninium propingui solis
in terra domibus negata. Verg. G. i 237
has inter mediamque duae mortalibus
agris munere concissae diuom. ultra is
to be taken with quam.
609. uix] 'while the space could
scare hold them all'.
611. fonte relictot] 'if they abandoned
the spring'.
614. noxia] 'the poison of serpents is
deadly, if mingled with the blood'. For the
construction cf. Verg. Ecl. x 55 interea
mixtis lustrabo Macula Nymphis equiva-
cent to mixtus Nymphis.
616. dubium uenenum] sc. de quo
dubitabatur an uenenum esset. cf. Ov. Met. xiii 754 signarat dubia tenuas lan-
gine malas.
618. primus] i.e. so as to be the first
to drink it.
619. exundet] 'breaks out into', cf.
Sil. Ital. iii 316 inde Meduseis terram ex-
undasse eelvdris.
620. fertilis in] 'rich in producing'.
nocenti] proleptic: 'so that it is deadly'.

—2—
miscuerit natura solo, non cura laborque
noster scire ualet: nisi quod uolgata per orbem
fabula pro uera decepitu saecula causa.
finibus extremis Libyes, ubi feruida tellus
accipit oceanum demisso sole calentem,
squalebant late Phorcynidos arua Medusae,
non nemorum protecta coma, non mollia sulis,
seu dominae uoltu conspectis asperea saxis.
hoc primum natura nocens in corpore sacuas
eduxit pestes: illis e fauces angues
stridula fuderunt uibratis sibila languis,
femineae qui more comae per terga soluti
ipsa flagellabant gaudentis colla Medusae.
surgunt aduersa subrectae fronte colubrae,
iuperecumque fluit depexo crine uenenum.
hoc habet infelix cunctis impune Medusa
quod spectare licet. nam rictus oraque monstri
quis timuit? quem qui recto se lumine uidit
passa Medusa mori est? rapuit dubitantia fata
praenusitque metus: anima periere retenta
membra nec emissae riguere sub ossibus umbrae.
Eumenidum crines solos mouere furores:
Cerberus Orpheo lenuit sibila cantu:
Amphitryoniades uidit cum uincert Hydram;

625. nisi quod] as Weise explains 'all
I know that a false tale spread through
the world in place of the real cause has
deceived all ages'. cf. Sall. Jug. 67 par-
rum comperimus; nisi quia uideitur, &c.
625. accipit] 'admits', i.e. is bathed by.
calentem] cf. Iuv. xiv 280 audiet Her-
culo stridentem gurgite solem.
626. squalebant] cf. note on 1 205.
628. saxis] saxa enim fecerat Medusa,
quidquid adspexerat. Schol.
629. hoc primum] 'it was in her body
first that nature with intent to harm pro-
duced these fierce plagues'.
633. gaudentis] 'who gloried in them',
or 'who felt pleasure in their movement'.
635. depexo crime] 'from her trimmed
hair'. cf. Ov. A. A. 1 639 depexaeque
inbœ.
636. hoc] sc. the serpents on her head.
So Grotius explains following the Schol.: hoc unum est Medusae quod impune spec-
tatur crinis scilicet, nam uoluit nemo im-
pune adspexerit.
637. rictus oraque] 'gaping mouth'.
638. quis timuit?] 'who has had time
to shudder at?' i.e. because he would be
turned to stone at once.
recto se lumine uidit] 'who has looked
her full in the face'.
639. passa] non patitur eum Medusa
mori, quia iam mortuos est. Weise.
640. praenusit metus] 'was too quick
for their fear'.
641. nec emissae] equivalent to nceu-
emissae, 'before they have left the body'.
642. solos furores] 'merely frenzy',
i.e. not immediate death by turning into
stone.
Taenarias etiam fauces, &c.
644. uidit] 'saw the Hydra, when he
conquered her', i.e. whereas none could
look on Medusa and yet live.
hoc monstrum timuit genitor numenque secundum 645
Phorces aquis Cetoque parens ipsaeque sorores
Gorgones: hoc potuit caelo pelagoque minari
torporem insolitum mundoque abducere terram.
e caelo uluucres subito cum pondere lapsae:
in scapulis haesere feræ: uicina colentes
Aethiopum totae riguerunt marmore gentes.
nullum animal usus patiens, ipsique rectorum
effusì faciæm uitabant Gorgonis angues.
illa sub Hesperis stantem Titana columnis
in cautes Atlanta dedit: caeloque timente
olim Phlegraeo stantis serpente gigantes,
erexit montes, bellumque immane deorum
Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon.
quo postquam partu Danae et diuîte nimo
ortum Parrhasiae uexerunt Persea pennaæ
Arcados auctoris citharæe liquidaeque palaestrae,
et subitus praepes Cyllenida sustulit Harpen,
Harpen alterius monstri iam caede rubentem,
a Ioue dilectæ fusò custode iuuenæ:

645. genitor] ‘Phorces her sire, the
deity propitious to the waves’.
648. mundo] probably as Oud. and
Weise take it ‘to remove all earth from
the world’ by turning the earth as well as
the sky and sea into stone. For a similar
contrast between terra and saxum cf. Plin.
Epp. vi v 8 has Hesperis terrenique
colles, neque enim facile usquam saxum,
etiam si quæraritur, occurrit.
651. riguerunt marmore] ‘stiffened
in stone’.
654. Hesperis columnis] sc. Calpe and
Abyla, the pillars of Hercules.
655. in cautes dedit] ‘turned into
stone’.
656. Phlegraeo] ‘the giants at Phlegra
supported upon serpents’: for the hypallage
Weise cf. Hor. Epod. x 12 Graia victorum
manus. Lucret. i 500 purpura Thessalico
concharum lincta colore.
657. erexit montes] ‘made them stand
up as mountains’. cf. Verg. Ecl. vi 62,
63 tum Phaethontidas musco circumdat
amaræa cortice, atque solo proceras erigit
alos.

658. in medio] ‘the Gorgon in the
centre of Pallas’ breast’ (i.e. on the aegis
held before her), ‘put an end to the fearful
strife among the gods’.
659. quo postquam] ‘whither when
the Parrhasian wings of the Arcadian
inventor of the lyre and the supple wrest-
ling bore Perseus, sprung from Danae and
the shower of gold, and he with sudden
swoop lifted high Cyllenean Harpe, Harpe
already crimsoned with another monster’s
blood’.
660. diuîte] cf. Hor. carm. iii xvi 1—8.
carm. 1 x 1—4 Mercuri facünde nepos Atl-
antis qui feros cultus honinunacentum
necem formasti eatus et deceruæ mortæ
palaestrae.
662. Harpen] ëpny; the curved sword
lent by Mercury to Perseus.
664. a Ioue] This line is omitted by
some MSS. and is rejected as unnecessary
by Oud. and Weise, but it appears to me
that the words alterius monstrœ in the
preceding line require some further expla-
nation. For ësò cf. vii 652.
auxilium uoluci Pallas tuit innuba fratri,
pacta caput monstri: terraeque in fine Libysae
Persca Phoebeos converti iussit ad ortus
Gorgonis auerso sulcante regna uolatu:
et clipeum laeae fuluo dedit aere nitentem,
in quo saxificam iussit spectare Medusam.
quam sopor aesternam tracturus morte quietem
obruit haud totam: vigilat pars magna comarum
defendunlque caput praetenti crinibus hydri:
pars iacet in medios uolts uoqule tenebras.
ipsa regit trepidum Pallas, dextraque tremente
Perseos auersi Cyllenida dirigit Harpen,
lata colubriferi rumpens confinia colli.

quos habuit uolts hamati uolnere ferri
ciaa caput Gorgon: quanto spirasse ueneno
ora rear: quantumque oculos effundere mortis.

nec Pallas spectare potest: uoltsque gelassent
Perseos auersi, si non Tritonia densos
sparsisset crines texissetque ora colubris.

aliger in caelum sic rapta Gorgone fugit.
ille quidem pensabat iter propiusque secabat
aethera, si medias Europae scinderet urbes;
Pallas frugiferas iussit non laedere terras
et parci populis. quis enim non praepete tanto

665. uoluci fratri] 'her flying brother',
sc. Perseus, both being children of Jove.
666. pacta] 'bargaining for the mon-
ster's head.'
667. ad ortus] i.e. Persesus was to turn
his head to the east and fly westwards.
668. auerso uolatu] sc. 'flying back-
wards'.
670. Medusam] sc. her reflexion in the
shield.
671. tracturus] 'destined to bring on
her the eternal rest of death,' i.e. if she
once slept, she was doomed to die.
674. oculi tenebras] 'her closed eyes'.
cf. III 735. nox subit atque oculos natae
obduxere tenebria.
675. dextra] sc. of Perseus.
677. confinia] 'the broad boundaries
of the neck', i.e. where it joins on to the
body.
680. quantum—mortis] 'what power
of deadly freezing!'
aethera respiceret? Zephyro conviértitur ales, itque super Libyen, quae nullo consita cultu sideribus Phoeboque uacat: premit orbita solis exuritque solum: nec terra celsior ulla nox cadit in caelum lunaeque meatibus obstat, si flexus oblieta uagi per recta cucurrit signa, nec in Borean aut in Noton efiigit umbram. 695 illa tamen sterilis tellus fecundaque nulli arua bono uirus stillantis tabe Medusae concipiunt dirosque fero de sanguine rores, quos calor adiuuit putrique incoxit harenae. hic quae prima caput mouit de puluere tabes aspida somniferam tumida ceruice leuauit. plenior huic sanguis et crassi gutta ueneni decidit: in nulla plus est serpentis coacum. ipsa caloris egens gelidum non transit in orbem sponte sua Niloque tenus metitur harenas. 705 sed quis erit nobis luci pudor? inde petuntur

active and passive infin. cf. Verg. Aen. 111 61 lingui pollutum hospitium et dare clavisibus Austros. praepetue tante] 'when such a flyer past'. cf. Ov. Met. v 257 dura Medusaei quem praepetis singula ripit. 689. Zephyro] probably ablative, to be taken with ales; 'he turns his course sped by the west wind'. 691. nacal] 'is exposed to the power of the stars and sun'. 692. nec terrा] 'and in no part of the earth does darkness (i.e. the earth's shadow) fall from a greater height on the sky and check the course of the moon'. i.e. because of the bulging of the earth at the equator its shadow rises higher and so is the cause of eclipses. 694. si flexus] 'whenever forgetful of the curved track on which she wanders, she has hastened straight through the zodiac, and does not escape the shadow by bending to the south or north'. Lucan's notion seems to be that the earth bulging at the equator casts its shadow on the sky, which shadow the moon usually avoids by making her path diverge towards the north or south, but that eclipses are caused by her occasionally forgetting to diverge. 696. fecundaque] I can find no other certain instance of fecundus with dative. 698. concipiunt] 'drink in the venom of gore-dripping Medusa'. 699. incoxit] 'burnt into the crumbling soil'. 700. quae prima] 'the first blood-clot which lifted a head from the dust', i.e. coming to life as a serpent. This enumeration of serpents is imitated by Dante, cf. Inferno XXIV 82—90 Cary's translation.

I saw a crowd within
Of serpents terrible, so strange of shape
And hideous that remembrance in my veins
Yet shrinks the vital current. Of her sands
Let Libya vaunt no more: if Jaculus,
Pareas and Chelyer be her brood,
Cenchris and Amphibisbaena plagues so
dire,
Or in such numbers swarming ne'er she show'd
Not with all Ethiopia, and whate'er
Above the Erythraean sea is spawned.
701. huic] 'to form this'.
705. sponte sua] sc. though it is exported; see below.
Niloque tenus] 'but only as far as the Nile'.
706. inde] from Africa: huie to Italy.
Lucani Pharsaliae

Huc Libycae mortes et fecimus aspida mercem.

at non stare suum miseris passura cruorem
squamiferos ingens haemorrhhoi explicat orbes:
natus et ambiguae coloret qui Syrtidos arua
chersydros, tractuiae uia fumante chelydri:
et semper recto lapsurus limite cenchrhis:
pluribus ille notis uarietam pingitur aluom
quam paruis tinctus maculis Thebanus ophites:
concolor existis atque indiscretus harenis
ammodytes: spinaque uagi torquente cerastae:
et scytale sparsis etiam nunc sola pruinis
exuuias positura suas: et torrida dipsas:et grauis in geminum uergens caput amphisbaena:
et natrix uiolator aquea, ialulique uolucres,et contentus iter cauda sulcare pareas:
oraque distendens auidus sputamantia prester:

707. mercem] 'an article of trade'.
708. at non stare] 'which will not suffer the blood of its hapless victims to stand still'.
710. ambiguae] i.e. neither land nor water, cf. supr. 307. The chersydros (from χέρσος and ὕδωρ) is described as an amphibious serpent by Nicander Ther.
715. indiscretus] 'not to be distinguished from', cf. Verg. Aen. x 391, 392
similina protes indiscretus suis gratusque parentibus error.
716. torquente] Weise takes this as neuter, 'cum spina huc illuc torqueatur', but I can find no instance of such a case: perhaps it means 'torturing'.
717. scytale] A serpent so called from its resemblance to a club (σκυτάλη) being of uniform thickness, cf. Nic. Ther. 384.
etiam nunc] to be taken with sparsis pruinis, i.e. in the early spring instead of in the summer, as is the case with other serpents, cf. Verg. G. III 135 foll. et cum tritis hiemis etiam num frigore saeva rumperet.
719. et grauis] 'deadly amphisbaena tapering to two heads', i.e. it was supposed to have a head at each end of its body and so to be able to move equally in both directions (δυοφες βαλες), cf. Plin. H. N. viii § 85.
720. uiolator aquae] hic et aquam quam tetigerit inficiit de uenenis. Schol.
721. parcus] A serpent sacred to Asclepius, cf. Aristoph. Plut. 690, said by Isidorus, as quoted by Forcellini, to walk upright on its tail: the name is said to be derived from its swollen cheeks (παρεια).
722. prester] i.e. the swellers (πρήδεν).

724. pestes] sc. serpentes.

725. ante uenena] i.e. by its mere breath without biting.

726. basiliscus] βασιλίσκος, a serpent supposed to wear a crown on its head, and have authority over others. cf. Plin. H. N. viii § 78, xxix § 66.

727. nos quoque] According to Weise harmless serpents were worshipped and called ἀγαθοὶ διάμοιραι. Compare Plin. H. N. xxix § 67 draco non habet uenena. caput eius liniam ianuarium subditum propitiatis adoratione dies fortunatam domum facere promittitur.

728. pestiferos] 'deadly', not 'venomous' as below it is said that they kill by stricture not by venom, infr. 733.

Africa] in this passage means the continent, equivalent to Libye, not as it usually does the Roman province of Africa. cf. IV 793, infr. 854, 874. ducitis altum aera] volatis per altum aera. Weise.

730. cum] Weise takes this as a prep. cf. supr. 736: Oud. following Ascenscius as an adverb, 'when ye fly, &c.'

731. uerberet] 'by the blows of your tail'.


740. frons] equivalent to aspectus, 'the external appearance of the deadly wound is harmless'. Oud. cf. Sen. Phaedr. 286, 287 non habet latam data plagam frontem, sed uorat tectas penitus medullas.

743. ebiit] 'the venom drains the moisture that spreads around the vitals'.
non fuit, atque oculos lacrimarum uena refugit.
non decus imperii non maesti iura Catonis
ardentem tenuere uirum, quin spargere signa
auderet totisque furens exquireret agris
quas poscebat aquas sitiens in corde uenenum. 750
ille uel in Tanain missus Rhodanumque Padumque
arderet Nilumque bibens per rura uagantem.
accessit morti Libye, fatisque minorem
famam dipsas habet terris adiuta perustis.
scrutatur uenas penitus squalentis harenae:
nunc redit ad Syrtes et fluctus accipit ore,
aequoreusque placet sed non sibi sufficit umor.
nec sentit fatique genus mortemque ueneni,
sed putat esse sitim, ferroque aperire tumentis
sustinuit uenas atque os implore cruore.
iiussit signa rapi propere Cato: discere nulli
permissum est hoc posse sitim. sed tristior illa
mors erat ante oculos: miserique in crure Sabelli
seps stetit exiguus, quem flexo dente tenacem
auolitque manu piloque adfixit harenis.
parua modo serpens, sed qua non ulla cruentae
tantum mortis habet. nam plagae proxima circum
fugit rapta cutis pallentiaque ossa retextit.

746. uena] ‘the spring of tears failed
his eyes’.
747. decus imperii] i.e. the eagle.
iura Catonis] is not equivalent to iussa
Catonis but to imperium Catonis, i.e.
Cato’s authority as general.
748. spargere] ‘throw away’. cf. viii
100.
752. per rura uagantem] i.e. even
when in full flood.
753. accessit morti] ‘increased its
deadliness’.
fatis] So Weise reads with some MSS.
instead of the vulgate fati. Translate ‘a
name that imports less than the death it
causes’; i.e. its name would only imply
that it causes thirst, whereas it really
causes death.
755. squalentis] cf. 1 205, suppl. 646.
757. sed non sibi] Oud. with many
MSS. and the earlier editions reads et in
stead of sibi. Weise thinks that this
reading has arisen from a gloss of ei on sibi.
I have retained sibi as the more difficult
reading, and because it is hard to see how
it could have arisen from et. If sibi be
genuine it probably refers to aequoreus
umor ‘the salt water gives pleasure but
does not quench itself’, i.e. the thirst
which it creates; and therefore still less
the thirst caused by the serpent’s bite.
758. mortem ueneni] ‘death by poison’;
the genitive is explanatory. cf. Cic. pro
Sulla § 25 terbi inuidiam contumeliamque
valdique and Dr Reid’s note ad loc.
762. hoc] i.e. to make a man throw
away the standard.
764. stetit] ‘fixed itself’.
f lexo dente] ‘hooked fang’.
765. modo] ‘in size’. qua non ulla is
apparently put for qua non alia as Oud.
explains; cf. Hor. Epp. ii 1 40 alius Ly-
sippus: or else Lucan was going to write
plus mortis and then changed it to
tantum.
IAMQUE SINUS LAXO NUDUM EST SINE CORPORE UOLNUS;
MEMBRANA NATANT SANIE: SURAE FLUXERE: SINE ULLO 770
TEGMINE POPLES ERAT: FEMORUM QUOQUE MUSCULUS OMNIS
LIQUITUR ET NIGRA DISTILLANT INGUINA TABE.
DISSILUIT STRINGENS UTERUM MEMBRANA FLUUNTQUE
UISCERA: NEC QUANTUM TOTO DE CORPORE DEBET
EFFLUIT IN TERRAS: SAEUOM SED MEMBRANA UCENUM 775
DECOQUIT; IN MINIMUM MOX CONTRAHIT OMNIA VIRUS
UINCOLA NERUORUM, ET LATERUM CONTEXTA CAUOMQUE
PECTUS ET ABSTRUSUM FIBRIS UITALIBUS, OMNE
QUIDQUID HOMO EST, APERIT PESTIS. NATURA PROFANA
MORTE PATET: MANANT UMERI FORTESE LACERTI: 780
COLA CAPUTQUE FLUUNT. CALIDO NON OCIUS ASTRO
NIX RESOLUTA CADIT NEC SOLEM CERA SEQUITUR.
PARUA LOQUOR, CORPUS SANIE STILLASSE PERUSTUM;
HOC ET FLamma POTEST: SED QUIS ROGUS ABSTULIT OSSA?
HAEC QUOQUE DISCEDUNT PUTRESQUE SECUTA MEDULLAS 785
NULLA MANERE SINUNT RAPIDi UESTIGIA FATI.
CINYPHIAS INTER PESTES TIBI PALMA NOCENDI EST:
ERIPIUNT OMNES ANIMAM, TU SOLA CADUER.
ECCE SUBIT FACIES LETO DIUERSA FLUENTI.
NASIDIUM MARSI CULTOREM TORRIDUS AGRI 790
PERCUSSIT PRESTER. ILLI RUBOR IGNEUS ORA
SUCCEDIT, TENDITQUE CUTE M PEREUNTE FIGURA

769. sinus laxo] 'as the opening widens',
    cf. Sen. Oed. 595 subito dehisce terrae et
    immenso sinu laxe patuit. For the ex-
    aggeration in the latter part of the line
    cf. infr. 814 totem est pro nolhre corpus,
    also Stat. Theb. v. 598 quoted by Oud.
    totumque in nolhre corpus.

773. stringens uerum] 'which holds
    the stomach together'.

774. quantum tota] 'nor only as much
    as might be expected from the whole
    body'.

776. decoquit] i.e. melts down.
    Translate 'soon the poison reduces to a very
    little feitid juice all that binds together
    the muscles, and lays bare the framework
    of the sides and the hollow of the chest,
    and all that hidden by the vitals composes
    a man'. contexta means the ribs of com-
    pages humana, cf. v 119.

779. profana] 'profanam mortem dicit
    quod naturae secreta patfecerit', Schol.

782. sequetur] 'will be found obedient
to the sun'. Compare the use of crid in
    1, 332, 333 quoliter artifices uicturae pol-
    lice eare accipient formas ignemque man-
    unque sequimur. Iuv. x 58 descendent
    statuae restemque sequimur.

783. corpus] i.e. carnem, the flesh. cf.
    supr. 769.

785. discendunt] 'disappear'. cf. notes
    on i 121, iii 655.

    iii 312.

789. diuersa] contraria, cf. Liv. xxxiv
    4 diuersa duo uitta, amoritia et luxuria.
miscens cuncta tumor toto iam corpore maior:
humanumque egressa modum super omnia membra
efflatur sanies: late pollutne ueneno
ipse latet penitus congesto corpore mersus:
nec loria tenet distenti corporis auctum.
spumus accenso non sic exundat acno
undarum cumulus: nec tantes carbas Cauro
curuauere sinus. tumidos iam non capit artus
informis globus et confuso pondere truncus.
intactum uolucrum rostri epulasque daturum
haud impune feris non ausi tradere busto
nondum stante modo crescents fugere cadauer.
sed maiora parant Libycae spectacula pestes.
impressit dentes haemorrhoides aspera Tullo,
magnanimo iuueni miratorique Catonis.
utque solet pariter totis se effundere signis
Corycii pressura croci, sic omnia membra
etmis simul rutilum pro sanguine uirus.
sanguis erat lacrimae: quae cumque foramina nouit
umor, ab his largus manat cror: ora redundant
et patulae nares: sudor rubet: omnia plenis
membra fluent uenis: totum est pro uolnere corpus.

793. toto] 'already exceeding the measure of his body'.
795. efflatur] 'is puffed out'.
796. ipse latet] 'he himself disappears completely swallowed up in his swollen body'.
798. aequo] For the simile cf. Verg. Aen. VII 462—466 magnum veluti cum flamma sonore urga saugitur costis undantis acni, exsultantique aequo latibus; furit intus aquae fumidus atque alle suspendo amnis; nec iam se capil unda; volat uspar ad auras.
799. nec tantos] 'nor do sails form such big bellying curves before the northwind's blast'.
800. iam non capiit] 'no longer can contain'.
802. uolucrum rostri] 'leaving it untouched and destined to give a feast to the beaks of birds and to wild beasts to their destruction, his comrades fled from the swelling corpse, whose size did not yet reach a fixed limit (i.e. which continued to swell after death) and dared not consign it to the tomb'. For modo cf. supr. 766.
808. signi] 'statues' which may have been used as the fountains from which jets of saffron were discharged in the theatre, but there appears to be no authority for this use of them. For the use of saffron cf. Propert. IV 1.14 pulpita sollemnes non olivere crocos. Weise cf. also Mart. V xxv 7, 8 hoc rogo non melius quam rubro pulpita nimbo spargar et effuso perminduise croco? Id. de spect. III 8 et Cilices nimbis hic maduire satis.
809. pressura croci] i.e. crocus expressus. cf. Verg. G. 11.466 nec casia puri corumpitur uinu olivi.
810. nirus] cf. I 615.
811. sanguis erat] This is the passage which Lucan is said to have repeated while bleeding to death.
813. patula] a stock epithet.
814. totum] 'his whole body is nothing but one wound'. cf. supr. 769.
at tibi, Leue miser, fixus praccordia pressit Niliaca serpentem crur: nulloque dolore testatus morsus subita calagine mortcem accipis et Stygias somno descendis ad umbras.

non tam ueloci corrupunt pocula leto, stipite quae diro [uirgas mentita Sabaeas toxica fafilegi] carpunt matura Sabaci.

eece procul saecus sterilis se robore trunci torsit et immisit, iaculum uocat Africa, serpens: perque caput Paulli transactaque tempora fugit.

nil ibi uirus agit: rapuit cum uolnere fatum. deprenum est, quae funda rotat quam lenta uolarent, quam segnis Scythiae strideret harundinis aer.

quid prodest miseri basiliscus cuspide Murrii transactus? uelox currut per tela uenenum inaudite manum: quam protinus ille retecto ense ferit totoque simul demittit ab armo: exemplarque sui spectans miserabile leti stat tutus percutte manu. quis fata putaret scorpion aut uires maturae mortis habere?

815. fixus] equivalent to congelatus. Weise.
819. poca] equivalent to uenna. cf. the use of pyxis for a box of poison Iuv. XIII 25.
820. Sabaeas] This is the MS. reading which Sealiger changed into Sabinas on account of the Sabinii in the next line. Grotius explains Sabinas as referring to the uirgae of the Roman lietors, supposed to be derived from the Sabines: but as Weise remarks matura points to poisonous fruits which could hardly be compared to rods, and the word toxica seems to be redundant; accordingly he would strike out all the words from uirgas to fafilegi inclusive. It appears however from Verg. culex 494 herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabinis that the Sabines cultivated some plant to take the place of the genuine Sabeaean ius. Compare with this passage Verg. G 1 57 India mitti ebur, molles sua tura Sabinii, Id. G 11 117 solis est turca uirga Sabaeis. A consideration of these passages leads me to suspect that the true reading is stipite quae diro virgas mentita Sabaeas toxica fafilegi carpunt matura Sabini. For Sabine witchcraft see Hor. Epod. xvii 27—29 ergo negatum uincor ut eredam miser Sabella pecus incipere carmina caputque Marsa dissilire uenia.
825. rapuit] ‘death carried him off at the moment of the wound’.
826. quam lenta] ‘how slow (i.e. in comparison) is the flight of stones hurled by the sling’.
827. harundinis aer] ‘the whizz of the arrow through the air’.
829. transactus] For a similar use of the participle Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. 1 47 sed nihii quid profest ueritis disiecta lauertis Illos?
831. simul] ‘at a blow’.
832. exemplar] ut in manu sua agnosceret quem ad modum fuisset periturus nisi eandem decidisse properasset. Schol.
834. uires maturae mortis] ‘the power to inflict a speedy death’.
ille minax nodis et recto uerbere saeua


teste tuit caelo uicti decus Orionis.

quis calcare tuas metuat. solpuga, latebras?
et tibi dant Stygiae ius in sua fila sorores.

sic nec clara dies nec nox dabat atra quietem:
suspecta est miseris in qua tellure iacebant.

nam neque congestae struxere cubilia frondes
nec culmis creuere tori: sed corpora fatis
expositi uoluntur humo, calidoque uapore
adliciunt gelidas nocturno frigore pestes:
innocuosque diu rictus torpente ueneno
inter membra fount. nec quae mensura uiaram
quisue modus norant caelo duce: saepe querentes,
reddite, di, clamant. miseris quae fugimus arma:
reddite Thessaliam. patimur cur segnia fata
in gladios iurata manus? pro Caesare pugnant


dipsades et peragunt ciuilia bella cerastae.

ire libet qua zona rubens atque axis inustus
solis equis: iuuat aetheriis adscribere causis
quod peream, caeloque mori. nil, Africa, de te,
nec de te, natura, queror: tot monstra ferentem
gentibus ablatum dederas serpentibus orbem:
impatiensque solum Ceres cultore negato
damnasti, atque homines uoluiisti deesse uenenis.
in loca serpentum nos uenimus: accipe poenas

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835. *raro uerbere* [with tall erect to strike].
836. *sed* 'won the glory of subduing Orion as heaven witnesses', i.e. the Scorpion was made into a constellation as a reward for killing Orion for his assault on Diana.
838. *iu in tua fila* ['power over their threads', i.e. to cause death, by severing them.
839. *suspecta ex*] 'the very earth on which they lay seemed suspicious to the hapless men'.
840. *creuere*] 'not were their beds raised by piles of straw'. cf. III 834.
841. *molestas piamente creuere lucturi*.  
842. *uapors*] sc. the warmth of their bodies.  
843. *innocuosus*] 'the serpents' gaping mouths long harmless as their venom was frozen'.  
844. *qua Mensura*] 'how long their march had been, or what was to be its limit'.  
845. *caelo ducere*] 'guided by the sky alone'. Weise cf. 493 supr.  
846. *arma*] some MSS. read *area*.  
847. *in gladiis*] 'we who were sworn to meet the sword', i.e. instead of this miserable death from serpents.  
848. *aetheriis causis*] i.e. rather than to these serpents.  
850. *cultore negata*] 'to which culture is refused'. cf. 1 29. *possidentibus aruis*.  
851. *nos uenimus*] 'and yet we, though men, have come into the serpents' realm'.
tu, quisquis superum, commercia nostra perosus, hinc torrente plaga dubiiis hinc Syrtibus orbem abrumpens medio posuisti limite mortes. per secreta tui bellum ciuile recessus uadit; et arcani miles tibi conscius orbis clastra petit mundi. forsan maiora supersunt ingressis. coeunt ignes stridentibus undis et premitur natura poli. sed longius ista nulla iacet tellus, quam fama cognita nobis tristia regna Iubae. quaeremus forsitan istas serpentum terras? habet et solacia caelum: uiiuit adhuc aliquid. patriae non arua requiro, Europamque alios soles Asianque uidentem: qua te parte poli qua te tellure reliqui Africa? Cyrenis etiam nunc bruma rigebat: exiguane uia legem convertimus anni?

imus in aduersos axes: cuoluimur orbe: terga damus ferienda Noto. nunc forsitan ipsa est sub pedibus iam Roma meis. solacia fati haec petimus: ueniant hostes, Caesarque sequatur qua fugimus. sic dura suos patientia questus

**LIBER IX. 835—880.**

860. commercia nostra perosus] 'hating all intercourse with mankind'.
863. medio limite] 'in the interval between'.
864. tibi conscius] 'sharing thy knowl- edge of this secret clime'.
865. clastra] 'the limits'.
869. quaeremus] 'we shall regret'.
870. habet et solacia] 'this clime has even something to console us: as yet something can live', i.e. perhaps where we are going not even serpents can live.
871. cf. Coleridge Ancient Mariner part IV. 'Beyond the shadow of the ship I watched the water-snakes...O happy living things! no tongue Their beauty might declare; A spring of love gushed from my heart, And I blessed them unaware'.
872. Europamque] 'and Europe and Asia which see another sun than this'.
874. Africa] i.e. we have not only left Europe and Asia behind us but even Africa too. For Africa cf. note on 729 supr.
875. legem anni] 'the order of the seasons'.
877. Noto] i.e. Notus being regarded as blowing from the equator, when we cross that, though we are still marching southwards, it will blow at our back. Compare the theory about the Hyper- boreans in Herod. IV 36 el ἔτη τῶν ὑπερβόρεων ἄνθρωποι εἶναι καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι.
879. sequatur] i.e. follow us and so endure the same sufferings.
exonerat: cogit tantos tolerare labores
summa ducis uirtus, qui nuda fusus harena
cexcubat atque omni Fortunam provocat hora.
onnibus unus adest fatis: quocumque uocatur
aduolat, atque ingens meritum maiusque salute
contulit, in letum uires: puduitque gementem
illo teste mori. quod ius habuisset in ipsum
ulla lues? casus alieno pectore uincit,
spectatorque docet magnos nil posse dolores.

uix miseris serum tanto lassata periculo
auxilium Fortuna dedit. gens unica terras
incolit a sacuo serpentin innoxia morsu
Marmaridae Psylli: par lingua potentibus herbis:
ipse crur tu tus nullumque admittere uirus
uel cantu cessante potest. natura locorum
iussit ut immunes mixti serpentibus essent.
profuit in mediis sedem posuisse uenenis.
pax illis cum morte data est. fiducia tanta est
sanguinis: in terram paruus cum decidit infans,
ne qua sit externae ueneris mixtura timentes,

881. exonerat] 'disburdens itself of its
complaints', cf. Tac. Ann. III 54 hunc
ego et laudo et exoneravi laborum morsum
partem factor, and Nipperdey's note.

883. provocat] cf. Sen. dial. 1 ii § 9
ecce par deo dignum, ut tu forte cum fortuna
mala compositus, utique si et provocuit.

884. adest] 'he faces'.

886. in letum uires] 'strength to meet
death'.

puduitque] 'and a man was ashamed
to groan when dying in his presence'.
For the idiom cf. note on 1 457.

887. quod ius] 'what power could any
destruction have had over him?'

888. casus] 'he conquers fortune in
another's breast'.

889. doce] 'and as he looks on proves
to them that great pain has no power'.
cf. supr. 569 an nocetuis uila bone?

890. tanto lassata periculo] lassatam
dict Fortunam inferendo discrimina.
Schol.

892. a sauco—innoxia] 'unharmed by
the deadly bite of serpents'. cf. Columell.
i cap. x faba sic condita a curculionibus
erit innoxia.

893. Psylli] Oud. cf. Herod. iv 173,
Plin. II. N. VII § 14, XXI § 78.

894. esnror] apparently equivalent to
sanguis 'the blood in their bodies'; but
perhaps esnror is used because the shed-
ding of blood is implied, although it is
not the blood which flows from the wound
but that which remains in their bodies
which might be expected to suffer from
the venom.

896. iussit ut] For the use of inberede
with ut cf. Hor. Sat. 1 iv 121, 122, Liv.
XXXII 16.

898. pax illis cum morte data est] 'they have peace with death granted to
them', i.e. by Nature: not implying that
they do not die at all, but that they have
as it were a treaty with death that they
should not die by serpents' poison. It is
possible however that data is ablative,
'they have peace with given death', i.e.
non-natural death, that which is brought
about by some external agency and not
by destiny. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 16 (10) per
letifera dubios explorant aspide partus. 

tutque Louis uolucer calido cum protulit ouo

implumes natos solis convertit in ortus: 
quae potuere pati radios et lumine recto

sustinere diem caeli servabant in usus,

qui Phoebus cessere iacent: sic pignora gentis

Psyllus habet, si quis tactos non horruit angues,
si quis donatis lusit serpentibus infans.

nec solum gens illa sua contenta salute

excubat hospitibus contraque nocentia monstros

Psyllus adest populis. qui tum Romana secutus

signa, simul iussit statu trientoria ductor,

primum quas ualli spatium comprehendit harenas

expurgat cantu uerbisque fugantibus angues.

ultima castrorum medicatus circuit ignis.

hic ebulum stridet peregrinaque galbana sudant

et tamariax non lacta comis Eoaeque costus

et panacea potens et Thessala centaurea:

peucedanumque sonant flammis Erycinaque thapos,
et larices fumoque grauem serpentibus urunt

abrotanum, et longe nascentis cornua cerui.

idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in
tanta claritutine, facto obiit.

utque Louis uolucer calido cum protulit ouo

implumes natos solis convertit in ortus:
quae potuere pati radios et lumine recto

sustinere diem caeli servabant in usus,

qui Phoebus cessere iacent: sic pignora gentis

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peucedanumque sonant flammis Erycinaque thapos,
et larices fumoque grauem serpentibus urunt

abrotanum, et longe nascentis cornua cerui.
sic nox tuta uiris. at si quis peste diurna
fata trahit, tum sunt magicæ miracula gentis,
Psyllorumque ingens et rapti pugna uenen.
nam primum tacta designat membra saliua,
quae cohibet uirus retinetque in uolnere pestem.
plurima tum uoluit spumanti carmina lingua
murmure continuo, nec dant suspiria cursus
uoLneris, aut minimum patiuntur fata tacere.
saepe quidem pestis nigris inserta medullis
excantata fugit: sed si quod tardius audit
uirus, et elicium iussumque exire repugnat,
tum superincumbens pallentia uolnera lambit
ore uenena trahens, et siccat dentibus artus,
extractamque tenens gelido de corpore mortem
exspuit: et cuius morsus superauerit anguis
iam promptum Psyllis uel gustu nosse ueneni.
hoc igitur melior tandem Romana iuuentus
uxilia late squalentibus errat in aruis.
bis positis Phoebé flammis bis luce recepta
uidit hareniiuagum surgens fugiensque Catonem.
iamque illis magis atque magis duerescre puluis
tacit et in terram Libye spissata reuerti.
iamque procul rarae nemorum se tollere frondes:
surgere congesto non culta mapalia culmo.
LIBER IX. 922—967.

quanta dedit misbris melioris gaudia terrae
cum primum sacuos contra uidere leones.
proxima Leptis erat, cuius statione quietam
excere hiemem nimbis flammisque carentem.

Caesar ut Emathia satiatus clade recessit,
ectera curarum proiecit pondera soli
intentus genero: cuius uestigia frustra
terris sparsa legens fama duce tendit in undas,
Threiciansque legit fauces et amore notatum
acquor, et Heroas lacrimoso litore turres,
qua pelago nomen Nepheleias abstulit Helle.
non Asiam breuioris aquae disterminat usquam
fluctus ab Europa, quamuis Byzantion arto
Pontus et ostriferam dirimat Chalcedona cursu,
Euxinumque ferens paruo ruat ore Propontis.

Sigeasque petit famae mirator harenas,
et Simoentis aquas, et Graio nobile busto
Rhoetion, et multum debentis uatibus umbras.
circuit exustae nomen memorabile Troiæ,
magnaque Phoebei quaeuit uestigia muri.

iam siluae steriles et putres robore trunci
Assaraci pressere domos, et templam deorum

For *mapalia* used of the dwellings of the Africans cf. II 89, IV 684. Verg. G. III
340.

947. contra επιστορ, 'over against them'; the sight of lions showed that there
was vegetation to feed their prey.

948. Leptis i.e. Leptis Minor in Liby-
phoenicum regione. Weise.

949. flammisque cf. note on x 37.

951. pondera 'he threw aside the
weight of every other care'. cf. Stat.
Theb. IV 38—39 aeger pondera curvarum.

953. *legens* 'tracking out'. cf. VIII 210
qui sparsa duæ uestigia legit. Verg. Aen.
IX 392 uestigia retro observata legit.

954. *legit* 'coasts'; carelessly put after
*legens* in the preceding line.

notatum] simply 'renowned', 'distingui-
shed', not 'branded'. cf. Mart. X
xxxviii 4, 5 o vos omnis et hora quae notata
est caris litoris Indici lapillis.

956. nomen abstulit] i.e. took away
its former name and gave it her own. cf.
Verg. Aen. viii 329 saepius et nomen

posuit Saturnia tellus, i.e. lost its former
name and received a new one.

958. quanuis] 'though narrow is the
strait by which Pontus separates Byzantium
and Chalcedon rich in oysters, and small
is the mouth through which Propontis
flows bearing the Euxine waves'. For
ostriferam cf. Verg. G. i 207.

962. Graio busto] sc. the tomb of
Ajax.

963. multum debentis uatibus] cf.
Hor. carm. iv ix 25 toller, uixere fortes ante
Agamemmnona multi, sed omnes illacri-
mabiliae uergentur ignotiue longa nocte
carent quia uate sacr.

964. nomen] i.e. the mere name, all
that was left of Troy. cf. II 303.

966. iam siluae] 'already forest-trees
bare with age and trunks of rotten timber
have overspread the palace of Assaracus,
&e.' For siluae cf. Verg. G. ii 18, 19 his
genus omne silvariun fruticumque uiret.
stereiles refers to the age not to the nature
of the trees.
iam lassa radice tenent, ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis: etiam periere ruinae.
adspicit Hesiones scopulos, siluasque latentis
Anchisae thalamos; quo iudex sederit anto:
unde puer raptus caelo: quo uertice Nais
luserit Oenone: nullum est sinc nomine saxum.
sincus in sicco serpentem puluere riuom
transierat qui Xanthus erat: securus in alto
gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare uctat. discussa iacobant
saxa nec ullius faciem seruantia sacri;
Herceas, monstrator ait, non respiciis aras?
o sacer et magnus uatum labor, omnia fato
eripis et populis donas mortalibus acuom.
inuidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere fama:
nam si quid Latiiis fas est promittere Musis,
quantum Zmyrnai durabant uatis honores,
uenturi me teque legent: Pharsalia nostra
uiuet et a nullo tenebris damnabimur acuo.
ut ducis impleuit uisus ueneranda uctustas,
erexit subitas congestu caespitis aras,
uotaque turicremos non irrita fudit in ignes:

can find no other instance of the use of
monstrator without a genitive.

980. inua] i. e. do not, Caesar,
feel jealousy of the fame of Homer's heroes.

985. si quid Latiiis 'for if it be lawful
for the Latian Muse to promise aught'.

the epigram Zmyrna, Rhodos, Colephon,
Salaniis, Chios, Argos, Athenaes, orbis de
patra certat Homere tua.

988. subitas] i. e. subitarias, hastily
built. cf. 1 517, VI 53.

989. nota] i. e. the offerings promised.
cf. Verg. Aen. II 15 notum pro reeditu
simulant. Id. Aen. II 279 Istramurque
Ioni notisque ascendimus aras.
di cinerum, Phrygias colitis quicumque ruinas, 990
Aeneaeque mei, quos nunc Lauinia sedes
seruat et Alba, lares, et quorum lucet in aris
ignis adhuc Phrygius, nullique adspecta uirorum
Pallas in abstruso pignus memorabile templi,
gentis Iuleae uestris clarissimus aris
dat pia tura: date felices in cetera cursus.

restituam populos: grata uice moenia reddent
Ausonidac Phrygibus Romanaque Pergama
surgent. sic fatus, repetit classes et tota secundis
1000 uela dedit Cauris, avidusque urgente
Iliacas pensare moras Asianque potentem
praecuhiitur pelagoque Rhodon spumante reliquit.
septima nox Zephyro numquam laxante
restituam populos: grata uice moenia reddent
Ausonidac Phrygibus Romanaque Pergama
surgent. sic fatus, repetit classes et tota secundis
1005 sed prius orta dies nocturnam lampada
texit quam tutas intraret aquas. ibi plena tumultu
litora et incerto turbatas murmure uoces
accipit: ac dubii us ueritus se credere regnis
abstinuit tellure rates. sed dira satelles
regis dona ferens medium proiectus
in aequor colla gerit Magni Phario uelamine
1010 et quod adhuc nescis genero secure perempto; 1015

992. Alba] cf. Iuv. iv 60, 61 utque lacus suberat ubi quamquam diruta seruat ignem Troiam et Vestam colit Alba
minorem et Prof. Mayor's note ad loc.
994. Palladium] sc. the Palladium, preserved in the temple of Vesta.
in abstruso temple] i.e. in intimo templi
' in the secret recesses of the temple'.
998. reddens] Compare the project attributed to Julius Caesar, Suet. Iul. § 79 quin etiam uaria fama percrebruit
migratores Alexandræm uel Uliam translatis simul opibus imperii, &c.
1002. Iliacas pensare moras] 'to make
up for his delay at Ilium'. cf. supr. 685, note.
potentem] i.e. opibus 'wealthy'. cf. Cic. de inuent. § 169 quibus rebus non illud
solum conficietur, ut saluae et incolumnes,
urum etiam ut amplae alque potentes sint
uiciates.
1005. Phariis] here used properly of
the lighthouse on the isle of Pharos.
1007. tutas] ' safe from storms'. cf. Verg. G. iv 421 depreensis olim statio
utissima nauis.
1009. dubii] 'of doubtful faith'.
1010. abstinuit] For the construction
cf. Livy i 1 duobus Aenea Antenoreque
omne ius bellii Achilios abstinuisset.
1012. Phario] sc. of linen, for which
Egypt was famous.
1013. commendat] ' sets off'.

rex tibi Pellacus terrae pelagique labores donat, et Emathiiis quod solum defuit armis exhibet: absenti bellum ciule peractum est. Thessalicas Magnus quaerens reparare ruinas ense iacet nostro: tanto te pignore, Caesar, emimus: hoc tecum percussum est sanguine foedus. accipe regna Phari nullo quaesita cruore: accipe Niliaci ius gurgitis: accipe quidquid pro Magni cervice dares; dignumque clientem castris crede tuis cui tantum fata licere in generum uoluere tuum. nec uile putaris hoc meritus nobis facili quod caede peractum est. hospes auitus erat: depulso sceptra parenti reddiderat. quid plura feram? tu nomina tanto inuenies operi, uel faram consule mundi. si scelus est, plus te nobis debere fateris, quod scelus hoc non ipse facis; sic fatus opertum detexit tenuitque caput. iam languida morte effiges habitum noti mutauerat oris. non primo Caesar damnuit munera uisu aeuritique oculos: uoltus dum crederet haesit: utque fidem uidit sceleris tutumque putauit iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto,
 LIBER IX. 1016—1067. 359

non aliter manifesta putans abscondere mentis 1040
gaudia quam lacrimis: meritumque immane tyranni
destruit, et generi mauolt lugere reuelsum
quam debere caput. qui duro membra senatus
calcarat uoltu, qui sicco lumine campos
uiderat Emathios, uni tibi, Magni, negare
non audet gemitus. o sors durissima fati:
huncine tu, Caesar, scelerato Marte petisti
qui tibi flendus erat? non mixti foedcre
prodesse tuis? 1045
hoc castris prodesse tuis? fortasse tyranni
tangeris inuidia, captique in uiscera Magni
hoc alii licuisse doles, quererisque perisses
uiinctam belli, raptumque e iure superbi
victoris generum. quisquis te flere
impetus a uera longe pieta tine recessit.
scilicet hoc animo terras atque aquora lustras
necubi suppressus pereat gener. o bene rapta
arbitrio mort ista tuo. quam magna remisit
crimina Romano tristis Fortuna pudori,
quod te non passa est misereri, perfide, Magni
uiuentis. nec non his fallere uocibus audet,
adquiritque fidem simulati fronte doloris:
aufer ab adspectu nostro funesta, satelles,
regis dona tui: peius de Caesare uestrum
quam de Pompeio meruit scelus: unica belli
praemia ciuilis uictis donare salutem

1042. destruct1 'seeks to disparage'.
cf. Tac. Hist. 16 Galbam inmalidum sonem
Vinius et Laco contemtum in verdictae desrue-
bauit. The metaphor is taken from a
river undermining its banks.

1043. debere1 'to count it as a debt'.

1048. qui tibi flendus erat1 'for whom
thou hadst to weep'.

1051. castris tuis1 'thy side', 'thy
party'. cf. viii 532 Pompeii nunc castra
placent quae deserit orbis.

1054. iure1 'from the power'. cf.
iv 821.

1056. recessit1 'was far removed from
true affection'. cf. Plin. Epp. IX 5 § 3 a
quo nito tu longe recessisti.

1058. necubi suppressus pereat1 'that
thy son-in-law may not be wasted by
dying hidden from thee in some corner',
i.e. but that Caesar may have the satis-
faction of killing him himself. suppressor
was the technical term in law for a man
who concealed another's runaway slave.
For perire cf. notes iv 252, vii 558, supr.
561.

1059. quam magna1 'from what a
crime did cruel Fortune save the shame of
Rome, in that, &c.'

1063. fronte1 'appearance', 'show'.
cf. iv. 11 8 frontis nulla fides.

1067. uictis1 cf. vii 310 ciuis qui fugerit
esto.
perdidimus. quodsi Phario germana tyranno non inuisa foret, potuissem reddere regi quod meruit, fratrique tuum pro munere tali misissem, Cleopatra, caput. secreta quid arma mouit et inseruit nostro sua tela labori? ergo in Thessalics Pellaeo fecimus aruis ius gladio? uestris quasesita licentia regnis? non tuleram Magnum mccum Romana regentem: te, Ptolemaeae, feram? frustra ciuilibus armis miscuimus gentes, si qua est hoc orbe potestas altera quam Caesar, si tellus ualla duorum est. uertissem Latias a uestro litore proras: famae cura uetat, ne non damnasce cruentam sed uidear timuisse Pharon. nee fallere uos me credite uictorem: nobis quoque tale paratum litoris hospitium: ne sic mea colla gerantur Thessaliae fortuna facit. maiore profecto quam metui poterat discrimine gessimus arma: exsilium generique minas Romamque timebam: poena fugae Ptolemaeus erat. sed parcimusannis donamusque nefas. sciat hac pro caede tyrannus nil uenia plus posse dari. uos condite busto tanti colla ducis: sed non ut crimina tantum uestra tegat tellus; iusto date tura sepulcro et placate caput cineresque in litore fusos colligite atque unam sparsis date manibus urnam.

1071. secreta] 'far removed', i.e. and so which might have remained neutral, cf. VIII 513, 514 quid sepomam semperque quietam crimen bellorum maculas Pharon?
1073. fecimus] cf. IV 821.
1078. si tellus] 'if any land yet belongs to two', i.e. if I am not to be the sole master of the world.
1082. nobis] 'for me too was prepared a like welcome on your shore'.
1087. poena fugae] 'the penalty of flight was destined to be—Ptolemy', i.e. death by his orders.
1090. sed non] 'aye, and not merely that the earth may hide your crime'.
sentiat adventum soceri uocesque querentis
audiat umbra pias. dum nobis omnia praefert, dum uitam Phario mauolt debere clienti,
lacta dies rapta est populis: concordia mundo nostra perit: caruere deis mea uota secundis,
 ut te complexus positis felicibus armis
adfectus abs te ueteres uitamque regarem, Magne, tuam: dignaque satis mercede laborum
contentus, par esse tibi, tum pace fideli
fecissem ut uictus posses ignoscere diuis,
secisses, ut Roma mihi. nec talia fatus
inuenit fetus comitem, nec turba querenti
creditit: abscondunt gemitus et pectora laeta
fronte tegunt, hilaresque nefas spectare cruentum,
o bona libertas, cum Caesar lugeat audent.

1095. *dum nobis*] 'by his preferring
everything to me', i.e. to trusting himself
to my hands.
1097. *concordia*] 'the world loses the
benefit of our concord'.
1100. *rogarem*] sc. amorem pristinum
et ut uelles uitae a me donatae munere
frui. Weise. cf. supr. 210 *forsitan in
socii potuisse utiuere regno.*
1102. *par esse tibi*] cf. 1 125—6 nec
quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue
priorum Pompeiisue parem.
1103. *fecissem*] The omission of the
personal pronouns with fecissem and fe-
cisses, where they are so strongly con-
trasted, is remarkable.
1104. *ut Roma*] 'thou should'st have
made Rome pardon me'.
1106. *et pectora*] 'and veil their real
feelings with a show of joy'.

LIBER IX. 1068—1108. 361
ARGUMENT OF BOOK X.


Vt primum terras Pompeii colla secutus adtigit et diras calcavit Caesar harenas, pugnauit fortuna ducis fatumque nocentis Aegypti, regnum Lagi Romana sub arma irct, an criperet mundo Memphiticus ensis uictoris uictique caput. tua profuit umbra, Magne, tui socerum rapuere a sanguine manes: [ne populus post te Nilum Romanus haberet.] inde Paraetoniam fertur securus in urblem

1. colla] 'the severed head'.
2. diras] 'blood-stained', cf. note on 1 444.
3. pugnauit] 'there was a contest between the chieftain's fortune and the destiny of guilty Egypt, whether &c.' For the omission of utrum cf. Tac. Ann. 1 11 incertum metu an per iussidiam.
4. tua profuit umbra] 'thy shade was of service to him'; explained by the next line: the service consisted in warning Caesar of the treachery of the Egyptians.
5. Paraetoniam in urbem] sc. Alexandriam, a Paraetonio portu et oppido Aegypti non longe ab Alexandrea sito. Paraetonius is used as Pharius and Pelusiacus for Egyptian generally. Weise.
pignore tam saeui sceleris sua signa scutus:  
sed fremitu ulogi fasces et iura querentis  
inferri Romana sui discordia sensit  
pectora, et ancipites animos, Magnumque perisse  
on sibi.  
tum uoltu semper celante timoem,  
terrepidus superum sedes et templta uetusti  
numinis antiquas Macetum testantia uires  
circuit: et nulla captus dulcedine rerum,  
on auro cultuque deum, non moenibus urbis,  
effossum tumulis cupide descendit in antrum.  
illic Pellaei proles uaesana Philippi,  
felix praedo, iacet terrarum uindice fato  
raptus; sacratis totum spargenda per orbum  
membra uiri posuere adytis: Fortuna pepercit  
manibus et regni duravit ad ultima fatum.

securnus—pignore] 'confident by the guar-  
antee of such a horrid crime', i.e. the  
murder of Pompeius made Caesar confident  
of the friendship of the Egyptians.  
10. sua signa secutus] 'following his  
standards', i.e. 'with his standards borne  
Gro- 
tius with some MSS. reads secutam remark-  
ing that soldiers or allies are said to follow  
the standards, the general to lead them.  
12. suis] sc. uiribus. 'that the laws  
of Rome should be introduced among  
their own'. dare iura is used of rule over  
conquered nations. cf. Verg. G. IV 561,  
562 uictoria volentis per populos dat  
iura.

13—14. Magnumque perisse non sibi]  
and that it was not for his sake that  
Magnus had been slain'. cf. VII 697 ostend-  
dit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus, also  
infr. 81.

17. nulla captus dulcedine] i.e. omnino  
non captus dulcident. cf. note on VII 25  
nullas tubas uerberet aures.  
19. effossum tumulis antrum] 'the  
cave dug out among the tombs'. Compare  
the account of the visit of Augustus to  
Alexander's tomb in Suet. Aug. 18 per  
idem tempus conditorium et corpus Alex-  
andri Magni cum prolatum e penetrali  
subiecisset uoluit corona aurea imposita ac  
floribus aspersus veneratus est, consulti que  
um et Ptolemaei insipicere uoluit, regem  
se uoluisse ait uider e mortuis.  
IV 219 foll. 'Heroes are much the same,  
the point's agreed, From Macedonia's mad-  
man to the Swede; The whole strange  
purpose of their lives to find Or make an  
enemy of all mankind'.  
21. uindice] 'by fate the avenger of  
the world'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. IX 241  
timmere dei pro uindice terrae, i.e. Her-  
cules. Compare also Iuv. x 164 sed ille  
Canarum uindex et tanti sangvinis utor  
amulus.  
24. manibus] sc. 'his ashes'. cf. VIII  
696, IX 1093.  
regni duravit ad ultima fatum] Weise  
explains this difficult passage as meaning  
'the good fortune of his kingdom has  
lasted till the latest times', identifying  
the kingdom of Egypt with that of  
Alexander of which it formed a part:  
but ad ultima as equivalent to ad ultima  
tempora is a somewhat strange expres-  
sion, and it is very doubtful whether  
Lucan would thus speak of Egypt as  
Alexander's kingdom. The Scholiast  
takes it 'his good fortune lasted till the  
last days of the kingdom', i.e. of Egypt;  
but his 'good fortune', i.e. the peaceful  
repose of his remains lasted longer than  
this, for they were not disturbed when  
Egypt was reduced to a province by Au-  
gustus, and had not been disturbed when  
Lucan wrote. 1 venture to suggest an-  
other explanation, viz. 'his good fortune  
has lasted till these last times of tyranny',  
i.e. the empire of the Caesars, i.e. com-  
paring the following line, there has been
nam sibi libertas umquam si redderet orbem, ludibrio scruatus erat, non utile mundo editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno esse uiro. Maccetum fines latebrasque suorum deseruit uitcasque patri despexit Athenas: perque Asiae populos fatis urgentibus actus humana cum strage ruit, gladiumque per omnes exegit gentes: ignotos miscuit amnes Persarum Euphraten Indorum sanguine Gangen: terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes percuteret pariter populos, et sidus iniquum gentibus. oceano classes inferre parabat exteriore mari. non illi flamma nec undae nec sterilis Libye nec Syrticus obstitit Hammon. isset in occasus mundi deuexa secutus ambissetque polos Nilumque a fonte bibisset: occurrit suprema dies naturaque solum hunc potuit finem uaesano ponere regi; qui secum inuidia qua totum ceperat orbem

no interval of freedom during which they would have been scattered: for this use of regnum cf. vii 444 ex populis qui regna ferunt sors ultima nostra est quos servire pudet. For fatum, cf. viii 16, infr. 45. nam sibi 'for had freedom at any time restored the world to her own sway he would have been preserved to be treated with mockery'. cf. ix 685, Verg. G. ii 132 si non alium longe tactaret odorem laurus erat. editus 'set forth as an example pernicious to the world'. Compare the use of edere munus, edere spectaculum. fines latebrasque 'the obscure territories'. victas] Philip conquered the Athenians at Chaconea B.C. 338. humana cum strage 'with havoc of the human race'. exactit 'he plunged his sword', cf. viii 656, Verg. Aen. x 815 palidum namque exigit ensen per medium Aeneas iunenem, ignotos] cf. notes on i 170, vii 703. miscuit 'dyed'. Gangen] Alexander never reached the Ganges; he turned back from the banks of the Hyphasis (Sutlej), cf. iii
abстulit imperium, nulloque herede relictò

totius fatti lacerandæs praebuit urbes.

sed cecidit Babylonæ sua Parthoque uerundus.

pro pudor, Eoi propius timuere sarisas

quam nunc pila timent populi. licet usque sub Arcton

regnemus, Zephyrique domos terraque premamus

flagrantis post terga Noti; cedemus in ortus

Arsacidum domino. non felix Parthia Crassis

exiguae secura fuit provincià Pellææ.

iam Pelusiaco ueniens a gurgite Nili

rex puer imbellis populi sedauerat iras,
obside quo pacis Pellææa tutus in aula

Caesar erat: cum se parua Cleopatra biremi,
corrupto custode Phari laxare catenas,
intulit Emathiius ignaro Caesare tectis;
deducus Aegypti, Latii feralis Erinys,

Romano non casta malo. quantum impulit Argos

_iuncti sanguinis et dirò ferales omne taedas_

abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iuliae saecû

_intercepta manu._

44. _nulloque heredel_ 'and leaving no

heir to his entire fortune behind him,
exposed the cities to the spoiler's grasp', i.e.

ut unusquisque sibi singulas urbes un-
dicit. Schol.

46. _Babylonæ suæ_ 'but when he died

Babylon was his own and he was a terror
to the Parthians'. Alexander died at

the real Babylon on the Euphrates, but

Lucan is probably thinking of Ctesiphon

the capital of the Parthians on the Tigris.

cf. note on I 10.

47. _propius timuere_ 'had a closer
dread of'.

_sarisas_ i.e. the long spears which were

the national weapons of the Macedonians

as the _pila_ were of the Romans. For an

account of the _sarisa_ cf. Polyb. _xviii_ 12.

49. _premamus_ 'rule over', cf. Verg.

Aen. I 288 Myeçias seruítio premet et

nictis dominabitur Argis.

50. _flagrantis_ cf. _ix_ 877.

_in ortus_ 'towards the East'.

51. _Arsacidum domino_ 'the master

of the Parthian kings', i.e. Alexander.

Weise takes this as referring to the king

of Parthia; but the Arsacidae were only

the royal family in Parthia not the Par-

thians generally. cf. Tac. _Ann._ vi 37 (31).

_non felix_ 'fatal to the Crassi'.

52. _exiguæ_ 'was a province which

caused no anxiety to tiny Pella', i.e. was

a peaceful province of the Macedonian

empire.

53. _Pelusiaco_ i.e. from the Pelusiac

branch, the most eastern, where he was

waging war with his sister Cleopatra who

had raised forces in Syria to oppose him,

and was herself at the head of an army,

not, as Lucan seems to suppose, a prisoner

in Pharos. cf. Caesar B. C. _iii_ 103.

54. _imbellis_ to be taken with _populi_,

cf. _viii_ 525, infr. 64.

57. _Phari catena_ sc. the chain which

closed the mouth of the harbour.

58. _Emathiius_ sc. Macedonian, and so

Alexandrian, as Alexandria was founded

by the Macedonians.

59. _feralis_ A favourite word of Lucan.

cf. _i_ 112.

_Erinys_ cf. Verg. _Aen._ _ii_ 573 Troiae

et patriæ communicis Erinys. This ap-

parent imitation by Lucan is perhaps an

argument for the genuineness of the pas-

sage in the second _Aeneid_ in which the

words quoted above occur.

60. _Romano_ 'whose wantonness was

ruinous to Rome'. cf. Plaut. _Amphit._ 165

deç homo guidam malo suo.

_impulit_ 'hurried to ruin', 'overthrew'.

cf. _i_ 149.
Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocent,
Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra furiores.
terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro,
et Romana petit imbelli signa Canopo,
Caesare captuuo Pharios ductura triumphos:
Leucadioque fuit dubius sub gurgite casus
an mundum ne nostra quidem matrona teneret.
hoc animi nox illa dedit quae prima cubili
miscuit incestam ducibus Ptolemaida nostris.
quis tibi uaesani ueniam non donet amoris,
Antoni, durum cum Caesaris hauserit ignes
pectus, et in media rabie medioque furore,
et Pompeianis habitata manibus aula,
sanguine Thessalicae eladis perfusus adulter
admisit uenerem curis, et miscuit armis
illicitosque toros et non ex coniuge partus?
pro pudor, oblitis Magni tibi, Julia, fratres
obscena de matre dedit: partesque fugatas
passus in extremis Libyea coalescere regnis
tempora Niliaco turpis dependit amor,

63. *si fas* 'if it be lawful so to say'.
cf. for the full expression Ov. ex Ponto
iv viii 55 *di quoque carminibus, si fas est
dicere, fiunt.*

_Capitolia_ cf. Hor. _carm._ i xxxvi
6—9 dum Capitolio regina dementes ru-
inas funus et imperio parabat.

_sistro_ a kettle-drum, the instrument
used in the worship of Isis. cf. Verg. Aen.
viii 696 _regina in mediis patrio uocat
agmina sistro._ Propert. _iii_ (iv) xi 43
Romanaeque tubam crepitanti pellere
sistro.

64. *imbelli Canopo* 'with the unwar-
like hosts of Canopus'.

_Pharios_ i.e. instead of Romanos.

66. *sub gurgite* This must mean at or
near the Leucadian waves. cf. Propert._iii
(iv) ix 36 _tuta sub exiguo funine nostra
mora est_, where however the reading is
doubtful. cf. also Ov. _Trist._ i iii 19 _nata
procul Libyeis aberat diversa sub oris._

67. _an mundum_ 'whether a woman
should sway the world, and she not even
a Roman'. For _matrona_ used for a woman
generally cf. the use of _nurus_ in 1 165.

68. *hoc animi* 'this high spirit'. cf.

Hor. _carm._ i xxxvii 32 *non humilis mu-
lor of Cleopatra.*

69. *ducibus* sc. first Julius Caesar and
then Marcus Antonius.

_Ptolemaida_ 'the daughter of the Ptole-
 mies'.

71. *hauserit* Oud. cf. Ov. _Met._ x 252
hauserit pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis
ignes.

73. *habitata* 'and in the palace haunted
by Pompeius' shade'.

75. *admisit* The indicative _admisit_
and _miscuit_ following the subjunctive ha-
serit are, as Weise remarks, worthy of
notice. There is a somewhat similar
mixture of moods in Pers. _iii_ 66—72. It
is possible however to avoid the difficulty
by making a fresh sentence begin at _et in
media_, i.e. 'even in the midst of his fury &c.'

77. *fratres* sc. Caesarion, who was
said by Cleopatra to be the son of Julius:
he was put to death by Augustus.

79. *coalescere* 'to gather strength' sc.
under Cato. cf. _Tac._ Hist. _i_ 21 _dum
Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum
coalisset._

80. *dependit* 'he shamefully spends
his time on an Egyptian intrigue'.
dum donare Pharon, dum non sibi uincere mauolt.
qui formae confisa suae Cleopatra sine ullis
tristis adit lacrimis, simulatum compita dolorem
qua decuit, ueluti laceros dispersa capillos,
ct sic orsa loqui: si qua est, o maxime Caesar, 85
nobilitas, Pharri proles clarissima Lagi,
exsul in aeternum sceptris depulsa paternis,
si tua restitutu ueteri me dextera fato,
complector regina pedes. tu gentibus acquam
sidus ades nostris. non urbes prima tenebo 90
femina Niliacas: nullo discrimine sexus
regnam scit ferre Pharos. lege summa perempti
uerba patris, qui iura mihi communia regni
et thalamos cum fratre dedit. puer ipse sororem,
sit modo liber, amat: sed habet sub iure Pothini 95
adfectus ensesque suos. nil ipsa paterni
iuris inire peto: culpa tantoque pudore
soleue domum: remoue funesta satellitis arma
et regem regnare iube. quantosne tumores
mente gerit famulus Magni ceruice reuolsa? 100
iam tibi, sed procul hoc auertant fata, minatur.
sat fuit indignum, Caesar, mundoque tibique
Pompeium facinus meritumque fuisse Pothini.

non sibi] sc. sed Cleopatrae.
82. sine ullis] 'sad but tearless' i.e.
because weeping would have spoiled her
beauty.
83. simulatum] 'decked with pretended
grief so far as it became her'. compita
takes the accusative on the analogy of
such words as 'inutus'.
84. qua] equivalent to quatenus. Oud.
cf. Ov. Heroid. x 53 et tua, qua possum,
pro te nostigia tango. See also 186 infr.
veluti] 'with her locks dishevelled as
though torn', i.e. so that the disorder of
her hair might appear to have been caused
by violence, though it was really her own
doing in order to set off her beauty. Oud.
cf. Ov. A. A. iii 153, 154 et neglecta
deecet multas conas; sapce iacere heternam
credas; illa repexa modo est. For the con-
struction cf. Verg. Aen. ii 370 noloque
sinus collecta fluentis.
85. si qua est] cf. Verg. Aen. ii 536
si qua est ictus quaet tala ictus.
86. exsul] 'doomed to everlasting
banishment when expelled from my an-
cestral throne'.
87. si tua] 'in the hope that &c.'
faeo] 'good fortune' 'position'. cf. note
on 23 supr.
88. idus] cf. note on 35 supr.
89. amas] The common reading is am
but as Oud. remarks the indicative besides
having the better MS. authority shows
more confidence in her statement.
90. adfectus] 'but his feelings and his
sword are subject to Pothinus' sway'.
91. culpa tantoque pudore] sc. marriage
between a brother and sister.
92. quantosne tumores] For the double
interrogative cf. note on vii 301. For tu-
mares, 'swelling pride', cf. v 233.
93. facinus meritumque] 'that Pom-
peius should have been the guilt or merit

\textit{120} of Pothinus'; so Ptolemaeus is called \textit{crimen deorum} \textit{v. 59}. Oud. refers to Verg. \textit{Aen.} \textit{XI} \textit{443-444} nec Drances pothius, siue est hac idem uraeo, morte luat; siue est nivius et gloria tollat.

\textit{105. peroralis} 'winds up her speech'.

\textit{106. exiguit} 'she spends', 'passes'. cf. Verg. \textit{Aen.} \textit{VII} \textit{776} solus ubi in sithis Italis ignobilis acuam exigeret. See also \textit{VIII 376, infr. 354.}

\textit{107. pajx} sc. between Cleopatra and her brother.

duc\textit{ill} sc. by Caesar, acting as mediator. cf. Caes. B. C. \textit{III} \textit{109}.


\textit{110. saecula} 'fashion', 'manners'. cf. Tac. Germ. \textit{19} nemo illic uita ritet; nec corrupiere et corrumpi saeculum uocatur, Mart. \textit{IX} \textit{xxviii} \textit{9} et cum theatris sacculoque rixaris.

\textit{111. ipse locus} 'the place itself was like a temple such as a more degenerate age (i.e. such as ours) could scarcely rear'.

\textit{113. crassum aurum} 'a thick coating of gold'.

\textit{114. crustata} 'nor was the glittering palace veneered with marble on the surface only and in slabs', i.e. the walls were built of solid marble. cf. Plin. H. N. \textit{XXXVI} \textit{§ 47} \textit{secund) in crustas (marmoris) nescio an Cariae fuerit inuentum, foll. also Sen. de Benef. IV \textit{vi} \textit{§ 2} non tenues crustas et ipsa qua sequatur lamina graciillos sed integras lapidis pretiosissimi moles. Id. Epp. \textit{XIX vi} (113) \textit{§ 9} mirum parietes temni marmore inductos, cum sciamus quale sit quod asconditur. ocelis nostris imponimus, et cum auro tecta perjudicis quiq alius quam mendacio gaudemus? scimus enim sub illo auro foeda ligna laitare.'

\textit{115. stabatque sibi} 'and agate stood there on its own account as no mere idle ornament'. \textit{sibi} is apparently equivalent to \textit{per se} as Weise takes it. Compare the use of the dative in II \textit{547} ut Catulo iacuit Lepidus.

\textit{116. non segnis} i.e. useful for supporting the roof, not merely as an ornamental covering of the walls.

\textit{116. purpureus lapis} sc. porphyry. \textit{effusus} 'spread widely', 'abundance', cf. Plin. H. N. \textit{VII} \textit{§ 94} \textit{effusas opes.}

\textit{117. Maroetica} This is the correction of Grotius for Mareotica. cf. infr. \textit{303}.

\textit{119. auxilium non forma} 'a support, not an ornament'.

terga sedent crebro maculas distincta zmaragdo. fulget gemma toris et iaspidi fulua supellex. strata micant: Tyrio quorum pars maxima suco cocta diu uirus non uno duxit aceno; pars auro plumata nitet; pars ignea coco, ut mos est Phariis miscendi licia telis. tum famulae numerus turbae populusque minister; discolor hos sanguis, alios distinquerat aetas: haec Libycos, pars tam flauos gerit altera crines ut nullis Caesar Rheni se dicat in aruis tam rutilas uidisse comas. pars sanguinis usi torta caput refugosque gerens a fronte capillos: nec non infelix ferro mollita iuuentus atque exsecta uirum. stat contra fortior aetas uix uilla fuscante tamen lanugine malas. discubuere illie reges maiorque potestas Caesar: et immodice formam fucata nocentem, nec sceptris contenta suis nec fratre marito, plena maris rubri spoliiis colloque comisque diuiitas Cleopatra gerit cultuque laborat. candida Sidonio perlucent pectora filo,

121. crebro] ‘studded with many an emerald’.
quod Nilotis acus compressum pectine Serum soluit et extenso laxauit stamina uelo. dentibus hic niueis sectos Atlantide silua imposuere orbes; quales ad Caesaris ora nec capto uecere Iuba. pro caccus et amens ambitione furor, ciuilia bella gerenti diuiitas aperire suas, incendere mentem hospitis armati. non sit licet ille nefando Marte paratus opes mundi quaesisse ruina: pone duces priscos et nomina pauperis aequi Fabricios Curiosque graues: hic ille recumbat sordidus Etruscis abductus consul aratris, optabit patriae talem duxisse triumphum. infudere epulas auro, quod terra, quod aer, quod pelagus Nilusque dedit, quod luxus inani ambitione furens toto quaesiuit in orbe, non mandante fame: multas uolucresque ferasque Aegypti posuere deos: manibusque ministrat Niliacas crystallus aquas: gemmaeque capaces excepere merum, sed non Mareotidos uuae, nobile sed paucis senium cui contulit annis indomitum Meroe cogens spumare Falernum. accipiunt sertas nardo florente coronas et numquam fugiente rosa: multumque madenti apparently, that it was woven at Sidon and altered by the Egyptians using the pecten of the Seres: but the pecten was used in weaving. cf. Ov. Met. vi 55 foll. tela in quo nincia est; stamen secernit harundo; inscrivitur medium radiis subtemen acutis, quod digiti expediti utque inter stamina ductum percusso ferunt insecti pectine dentes. 143. laxauit] 'loosened the threads by stretching the fabric'. 144. dentibus] sc. on feet of ivory. cf. Iuv. xi 122 latos nisi sustinet orbes grande orb. sectos Atlantide silua] sc. of citron wood from Africa. cf. ix 427—430, Plin. H. N. xiii § 91. 146. nec] equivalent to ne-quidem. cf. note on VIII 497. 147. ambitione] 'ostentation'. 153. aratris] cf. Plin. H. N. xviii §§ 9—14 Persius 1 73—75 sulquoque terens dentalia Quinti cum trepida ante bouses dictatorum induit uxor et tua aratra donum lidor fuit. 157. quaesiuit] cf. i 163, Petron. § 119 ingeniosa gula est...ut renuens per damna fames. 160. capaces] glass. gemmaeque capaces] cf. Iuv. v 37—39 ipse capaces heliadium crustas et inaequales berylo Virro tenet phialas. 162. senium] 'ripeness' 'maturity'. cf. Plin. H. N. xiv § 21 principatus datur Aminiis fermatam propter seniisque proficiencei nisi eius utique uiam. 163. spumare] to ferment, and so to ripen, i.e. the climate of Meroe caused wine to mature in a few years, even Falernian which is indomitum i.e. difficult to mellow. 165. numquam fugiente] i.e. perpetually blooming.
infudere comae quod nondum euanuit aura
cinnamon externa nec perdidit aera terra:
aduectumque recens uicinae messis amomum.
discit opes Caesar spoliati perdere mundi
et gessisse pudet genero cum paupere bellum,
et causas Martis Phariis cum gentibus optat.
postquam epulis Bacchoque modum lasséta uoluptas
imposit, longis Caesar producere nocem
incohat adloquiiis: summaque in sede iacentem
linigerum placidis compellat Achora dictis:
o sacris deute senex, quodque arguit actas
non neglecte deis, Phariae primordia gentis
terrarumque situs uolgique edissere mores
et ritus formasque deum: quodcumque uetustis
insculptum est adytis profer, noscique uolentis
prode deos. si Cecropium sua sacra Platonem
maiores docuere tui: quis dignior umquam
hoc fuit auditu mundique capaciour hospes?
fama quidem generi Pharias me duxit ad urbes,
sek tamen et uestri: media inter proelia semper
stellarum caelique plagis superisque uacau,
nec meus Eudoxiu uinctur fastibus annus.

166. aura] 'by exposure to the air'.
167. extera...terra] 'by being in a
foreign land'.
aera] 'its scent', cf. IV 439 odoratae
metuentes aera pennae.
168. messis] cf. Stat. Silu. III iii 34,
35 tu messes Clitumque Arabumque superbis merge rogis.
169. perdere] 'to waste in luxury'.
171. iritamenta lassae uoluptatis.
172. producere nocem] cf. Mart. II
lxxix 1 quod nimio gaudes nocem producere uino ignoso.
173. adloquiiis] simply 'conversation',
nor consolation as in Hor. Epod. XIII 18.
174. Linigerum] The linen ephod was
the special dress of a priest among
the Eastern nations generally. cf. Merivale,
v6 i ch. liv p. 432. It was also used
as a covering for the statues of the gods,
cf. IX 160.
175. Arguit] i.e. the gods show their
regard for you by the length of life they
have granted.
176. uolentis] i.e. willing to have their
secrets disclosed to Caesar.
177. mundi capacior] 'more fit to hold
the secrets of the world'.
178. uacau] referring to the Julian
Calendar, for which cf. Mommsen, vol. IV
cap. xi p. 555: it was founded on that of
Eudoxus, for whom cf. Verg. Ecl. III 41,
42 descripit radio totum qui gentibus orben,
tempora quae messor quae currus arnus
haberet.
179. uinctur] As this conversation
is supposed to be held in the year 48 B.C.
and the Julian Calendar did not come
into effect until the 1st January 45 B.C.,
it is possible that by the use of the future
tense Lucan intends to represent Caesar
as speaking about what he has determined
on but not yet carried out. It is however
at least equally likely that Lucan would
pay no regard to such a detail of chrono-
logy, and that the force of the future is,
'will not be found inferior'; compare
sed cum tanta meo uiauit sub pectore uirtus, tantus amor ueri, nihil est quod noscere malim, quam fluuii causas per saecula tanta latentis ignotumque caput: spes sit mihi certa uidendi Niliacos fontes, bellum ciuile relinquam. finierat, contraque sacer sic orsus Achoreus:
fas mihi magnorum, Caesar, secreta parentum prodere ad hoc acui populis ignota profanis. sit pictas aliiis miracula tanta sitere:
est ego caelicolis gratum reor ire per omnes hoc opus et sacras populis notescere leges, sideribus, quae sola fugam moderantur Olympi occurruntque polo, diversa potentia prima mundi lege data est. sol tempora diuidit anni, mutat nocte diem, radiisque potentibus astra ire uetat cursusque uagos statione moratur. luna suis uicibus Tethyn terrenaque miscet. frigida Saturno glacies et zona niualis cessit. habet uentos incertaque fulmina Mauris. sub Ioue temperies et numquam turbidus aer. at fecunda Venus cunctarum semina rerum possidet. immensae Cyllenius arbiter undae est. hunc ubi pars caeli tenuit qua mixta Leonis sidera sunt Cancro, rabidos qua Sirius ignes exserit, et uarii mutator circulus anni

notes on crit i 31, viii 379, and on sequetur ix 782. The form fastus for fastos is found in some MSS. in Columel. ix cap. 14 and Sil. Ital. ii 10.
190. latentis] cf. i. 20 gens si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.
197. ire per omnes] omnibus aperiri, Weise. cf. Ov. Met. vi 146, 147 Phrygiaque per oppida facti rumor it.
199. fugam Olympi] ‘the movement of the heaven’.
200. occurrunt physici dicunt septem stellas quarum nomina dies tenent contra caelum nitit; quae si non occurrerent in immensa raperetur et praeceptaretur tanta uertigine. Schol. prima lege] ‘the primaeval law’. cf. ii 7 seq.
202. potentibus] i.e. the sun causes the planets, when they have reached their fixed limits, to appear to remain stationary for a time and then to return. So Weise explains the passage, referring to Plin. H. N. ii § 59 loll. See also Cic. de Rep. vi § 17 deinde subter median fere regionem sol obtinet, dix et princeps et moderator luminum reliquirum, mens mundi et temperatio.
204. miscet] i.e. causes the tides.
206. cessit] ‘has passed under Saturn’s sway’.
212. circulus] i.e. the Zodiac, according to the Scholiast.
Aegoceron Cancrumque tenet, cui subdita Nili ora latent: quae cum dominus percussit aquarum igne superiecto, tum Nilus fonte soluto exit, ut oceanus lunaribus incrementis iussus adest, auctusque suos non ante coartat quam nox aestiuas a sole receperit horas.

uana fides ueterum Nilo quo crescat in arua Aethiopum prodesse nius. non Arctos in illis montibus aut Boreas. testis tibi sole perusti ipse color populi calidique uaporibus Austri. adde quod omne caput fluuii, quodcumque soluta praecipitat glacies, ingresso uere tumescit prima tabe niuis. Nilus neque suscitat undas ante Canis radios nec ripis adligat annem ante parem nocti Libra sub iudice Phoebum. inde etiam leges aliarum necit aquarum: nec tumet hibernus, cum longe sole remoto officiis caret unda suis: dare iussus iniquo temperiem caelo mediis aestatibus exit sub torrente plaga: ne terras dissipet ignis Nilus adest mundo, contraque incensa Leonis ora tumet: Cancroque suam torrente Syenen imploratus adest: ne campos liberat undis donec in auctumnum declinet Phoebus et umbras extendat Meroe. quis causas reddere possit? sic iussit natura parens discurrere Nilum:

214. ora] equivalent to caput, the source: more commonly used of the mouth of a river.

quae cum] The introduction of this second and subordinate protasis is worthy of notice; cf. note on ix 401. dominus aquarum is Mercury, cf. 209 supr.

216. ut oceanus] i.e. the rise and fall of the Nile is caused by Mercury in the same way that the ebb and flow of the tide in the sea are by the moon.


218. receperit] 'until night has recovered the hours of summer from the sun', i.e. until the autumnal equinox.

219. iuxtum] e.g. Euripidis, cf. Hele

220. N. 1—3 Íευδων μὲν αἰδὼς καλλιτάρθενοι ἤπατος, ὅταν δὲ ἄνατα πάθαδος Λιγυρίτῃν πέδων λευκής τακείσις χίλιος ὑγραίνει γάλας.

225. prima tabe niuis] 'with the first melting snow'. cf. Liv. xxi 36 per nudam glaciam fluentemque tamen liquescentis niuis ingenietur.

226. ripis adligat annem] 'confi


230. officiis suis] i.e. cooling the air — and moistening the ground.

233. contra] 'swells up to meet the Lion's fiery face'.

237. extendat] because at midsummer there were no shadows east at Meroe, cf. 11 587 umbras nusquam flectente Syene. See also infr. 305.
sic opus est mundo. Zephyros quoque uana uctutas
his adscribit aquis, quorum stata tempora flatus 240
continuue dies et in aera longa potestas:
uel quod ab occiduo pellunt tot nubila caelo
trans Noton et fluuiu cogunt incumbere nimbos:
uel quod aquas totiens rumpentis litora Nili
adsiduo feriunt coguntque resistere fluctus:
ille mora cursus aduersique obiice ponti
aestuat in campos. sunt qui spiramina terris
esse putant magnosque cauae compagis hiatus.
commeat haec penitus tacitis discursibus unda
frigore ab Arctoo medium reucata sub axem,
cum Phoebus pressit Meroen tellusque perusta
illuc duxit aquas. trahitur Gangesque Padusque
per tacitum mundi; tunc omnia flumina Nilus
uno fonte uomens non uno gurgite perfert.
rumor ab oceano qui terras adligat omnes
exundante procul violentum erumpere Nilum,
aquoreosque sales longo mitesere tractu.
nec non oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque
credimus: hunc calidi tetigit cum bracchia Cancri
sol rapit, atque undae plus quam quod digerat aer
tollitur. hoc noctes referunt Niloque refundunt. 261

239. Zephyros adscribit] i.e. Zephyros
causam esse alit. Weise. He also thinks
that the Etesian winds are here meant,
which however blew from the north.
Grotius.
244. uel quod] Thaletis placitum.
Grotius.
totiens rumpentis litora] 'bursting out
into the sea by so many (sc. seven)
mouths'.
245. cogunt] 'and compel its waves
to halt', i.e. to flow down more slowly.
cf. Verg. Aen. viii 86—89 Tybris ea
fluminum quam longa est nocte tumentem
lenuit et tacita reflexus ista substitit unda,
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque
paludis sterneret aquor aquis remo ut
luctamen abesset.
247. spiramina] 'breathing places
in the earth and vast chasms in the hollow
of its frame'.
G. iv 363—373: also Plat. Phaedo 111 c
—112 e. For discursibus cf. diversa locis
in the passage of Verg. cited above.
250. medium sub axem] sc. to the
equator. cf. Verg. G. iii 351 quaque
redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem.
See also note on iv 673.
253. per tacitum mundi] per caurnas
latentis. Schol.
254. non uno gurgite perfert] 'does
not bear them to the sea in one single
flood'; referring to the seven mouths of
the Nile.
Aen. vi 438 tristique palus inamabilis
unda adligat.
257. mitesere] 'lose their savour'.
258. pasci] cf. notes on i 415, vi 5.
260. undae plus] 'more moisture than
the air can disperse'. cf. Plin. ii. n. xxxi
§ 53 ferunquie vero damnoi torrentes
continuue detrauct collibus silua con-
tenere nimbos ac digerere consuetu.
ast ego, si tantam ius est mihi solvere litem, quasdam, Caesar, aquas post mundi sera peracti saccula concussis terrarum erumpere uenis, non id agente deo, quasdam compage sub ipsa cum toto coepisse reor, quas ille creator atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coercet.

quae tibi noscendi Nilum, Romane, cupidó et Phariis Persisque fuit Macetumque tyrannis: nullaque non actas uluit conferre futuris notitiam: sed uinct adhuc natura latendi. summus Alexander regum quos Memphis adorat inuidit Nilo, misitque per ultima terrae Acthiopum-lectos: illos rubicunda perusti zona poli tenuit; Nilum uidere calentem, uenit ad occasus mundique extrema Sesosiris, et Pharios currus regum cernicibus egit: ante tamen uestros amnes Rhodanumque Padumque quam Nilum de fonte bibit. uaesanus in ortus Cambyses longi populos peruenit ad aeui, defectusque epulis et pastus caede suorum ignoto te, Nilo, redit. non fabula mendax ausa loqui de fonte tuo est: ubicumque uideris quaceris; et nulli contingit gloria genti ut Nilo sit laeta suo. tua flumina prodam,
qua deus undarum celator, Nile, tuarum
tec mihi nosse dedit. medio consurgis ab axe
ausus in ardentem ripas adtollere Cancrum:
in Borean is rectus aquis mediumque Booten.
cursus in occasionem flexu torquetur et ortus,
nunc Arabum populis Libycis nunc aequus harenis:
teque uident primi, quae quern tamen hi quoque, Seres,
Aethiopumque feris alieno gurgite campos:
et te terrarum nescit cui debeat orbis.
arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli,
nec licuit populis parum te, Nile, uidere,
amouitque sinus, ct gentes maluit ortus
mirari quam nosse tuos. consurgere in ipsis
ius tibi solstitiis, aliena crescere bruma,
atque hiemes adferre tuas: solique uagari
concessum per utrosque polos. hic quacritur ortus,
illic finis aquae, late tibi gurgite rupto
ambitut nigris Meroe fecunda colonis,
lacta comis hebeni, quae quamuis arbore multa
frondeat aestatem nulla sibi mitigat umbra:
linea tam rectum mundi ferit illa Leonem.

286. quae] equivalent to quatenus 'so
far as', cf. 83 supr. Liv. xxxix 48 statui
non ultra attingere externa nisi qua Roma
nis cohaerent velus.
287. medio ab axe] sc. 'from the
equator'. cf. supr. 250.
288. in ardentem Cancrum] sc. ad
Zodiacum, ubi Cancer. Weise.
292. Seres] The ancients thought that
the Nile came from the east. cf. Verg.
G. iv 293 usque coloratis annis denexus
ab Indis.
293. aliena gurgite] 'and doth inundate
the Ethiopians' plains with a flood from
a foreign land'.
297. amounit] sc. natura, the preceding
line is a parenthesis.

sinus] equivalent to latebras 'retreat',
'lurking place'. cf. Tac. Agric. 30
recessus ipse ac sinus fameae in hine diem
defendit.

299. aliena bruma] 'with winter (i.e.
floods which are the sign of winter) out
of season'. cf. Verg. G. 11 149 alienis
mensibus aestas; not as Weise takes it, ex
niiibus terrae longe ad orientem remotae,
which would contradict line 219.
301. hic quacritur] 'here none know
the source, there none the goal of thy
waters'.
302. recta] 'divided'.
305. manda—umbra] i.e. because the
sun being vertically over it the tree casts
no shade.
306. linea] For the astronomical in-
formation in the following note I am
debted to Mr R. Pendlebury, Fellow
of St John's College. Weise takes linea
mendi to be the equator, 'above which
the Lion rises perpendicularly'; but this
at the equator would be equally the case
with all other constellations. Other com-
mentators understand by linea mendi a
line drawn vertically from the sun to this
portion of the earth, which passes directly
through the Lion; but if a line drawn
from a sun to a point on the equator
would pass through the Lion, a line drawn
to any other point on the earth's surface
would equally do so. Perhaps Lucan
inde plagas Phoebi damnun non passus aquarum praecueheris sterilesque diu metiris harenas, nunc omnes unum uires collectus in amnem, nunc uagus et spargens facilem tibi cedere ripam. rursus multifidas reuocat piger alueus undas, qua dirimunt Arabum populis Aegyptia rura regni clastra Philae. mox te deserta secentem, qua dirimunt nostrum rubro commercia pontum, mollis lapsus agit. quis te tam lene fluentem moturum tantas uiolenti gurgitis iras, Nile, putet? sed cum lapsus abrupta uiarum exceperu tuos et praccipites cataractae, ac nusquam ucetitis uallas obsistere cautes indignaris aquis: spuma tunc astra lacessis: cuncta fremunt undis: ac multo murmure montis spumeus inuictis canscit fluctibus amnis. hinc Abaton quam nostra uocat ueneranda uetustas terra potens primos sentit percussa tumultus, et scopuli, placuit fluvii quos dicere uenas, quod manifesta noui primum dant signa tumoris. hinc montes natura uagis circumdedit undis, qui Libyae te, Nile, negant: quos inter in alta it conualle iacens iam molibus unda receptis.

thought that Regulus, the principal star in the Lion, passed vertically overhead at the equator, but the distance of Regulus from the zenith would be not less than 12° 30'. If this explanation is right linea mundi illa probably means the line from the place of observation to the earth's centre, or, more in accordance with ancient ideas, the perpendicular to the surface of the earth at the place of observation, i.e. the zenith line.

311. piger aluens 'the gently sloping channel'.
312. qua dirimunt 'where Philae, the key of the kingdom (sc. of Egypt), separates the land of Egypt from the Arabian tribes'.
313. qua dirimunt 'where the track of commerce separates our sea (i.e. the Mediterranean) from the Red Sea'. commercia refers to the isthmus of Suez. The repetition of qua dirimunt is very awkward, but cf. note on v 795. For nostrum mare cf. VIII 293 abruptum est nostro mare discolor unda.
318. cataractae] This word is specially used of the cataracts of the Nile; it is also applied to artificial flood-gates.
319. ac nusquam] 'and thou dost fret that any rocks should oppose thy waters nowhere debarred from flowing', i.e. which force a passage for themselves every where.
334. terra potens] The epithet may be probably explained by a passage in Seneca N. Q. iv ii § 7 exiguo ab hac spatio petra diuiditur: 'Aßarov Graci uocant, nec illam uili nisi antistites calcant.
329. molibus receptis] 'having now got a barrier', se. the mountains mentioned in
prima tibi campos permittit apertaque Memphis
rura modumque uetat crescendi ponere ripas. 331
sic uelut in tuta securi pace trahebant
noctis iter mediae: sed non uaesana Pothini
mens imbuta semel sacrata caede uacabat
a scelerum motu. Magno nihil ille perempto
iam putat esse nefas: habitant sub pectore manes
ultricesque deae dant in noua monstra furorem.
dignatur Pharias isto quoque sanguine dextras
quo Fortuna parat uictos perfundere Patres;
poenaque ciuils belli uindicata senatus
paene data est famulo. procul hoc auertite, fata,
crimen ut haec Bruto ceruix absentc seccetur.
in scelus it Pharium Romani poena tyranni,
exemplumque perit. struit audax irrita fatis,
nece parat occultae caedem committere fraudi,
inuictumque ducem detecto Marte lacescit.
tantum animi delicta dabant ut colla ferire
Caesaris et socerum iungi tibi, Magne, iuberet:
atque haec dicta monet famulos perferre fideles
ad Pompeianae socium sibi caedis Achillam,
quem puer imbellis cunctis praefecerat armis
deterad fermento nullo sibi iure retento

line 327 which confine it and prevent its spreading over its banks. Weise takes
molibus of the large merchant vessels called
papae by Herod. 11 96, quoting the descrip-
tion of the rafts in IV 418 and 445,
but this explanation appears to me far-
etched and unnecessary. Oud. conjectures
moribus.
331. crescendi] 'forbids thy banks to
set a limit to thy increase'. cf. 1. 81 lactis
hunc numina robuit crescendi posuere mo-
dum.
332. trahebant] simply spat. cf. Phae-
drus IV 37 uitam qua latus trahit.
333. sic iuravit a scelus motu] sc. a mouendis
scelleribus.
334. trahit] cf. Sen. Med. 975; 976 iscere
dare a me, frater, ut traheris me
ductas manuque ad inos ire securas
meas.
335. uisitatem] he deems his worthless
hands worthy to shed that blood as
well with which &c.'
336. ex enclamata] 'but assails the un-
conquered chief with open war'.
Med. 497; 976 dicere a me, frater, ut
traheris me manusque ad inos ire securas
meas.
338. dignatur] 'he deems his worthless
hands worthy to shed that blood as
well with which &c.'
339. in scelus it Pharium] 'goes to
swell the guilt of Egypt,' i.e. what was
righteous vengeance on the part of the
senate would have been mere murder on
that of an Egyptian. For the expression,
cf. Ov. Met. X 492—494 mediate ma-
nente modulsa sanguis it in succus in magnas
braschia ramos in parus digiti. Sen.
Contr. praef. 6 quaes nos, dementissimi
hominem, tanta uaccordia agitati? parum
nidelicet in poenas notae crudelitatis it.
Tac. Ann. III 50 uita Lutorii in integro
est, qui neque senatus in periculum rei
publicae neque interfactus in exemplum ibid.
340. inuictumque] 'the warning is lost!'
341. inuictumque] 'but assails the un-
conquered chief with open war'.
342. forire...iungi] For the active infini.
coupled with the passive cf. Verg. Aen.
III 60—61 omnibus idem animus scelerata
excedere terra lingui pollutum hospitium et
dare classibus austra.
343. nulla sibi] 'retaining no power
for himself'.
in cunctos in seque simul. tu mollibus, inquit, nunc incumbe toris et pingues exige somnos: inuasit Cleopatra domum. nec prodita tantum est, sed donata Pharos. cessas accurrere solus ad dominae thalamos? nubit soror impia fratris: nam Latio iam nupta duci est: interque maritos discurrens Aegyption habet Romamque meretur. expugnare senem potuit Cleopatra uenenis: crede, miser, puero: quem nox si iunxerit una et semel amplexus incesto pectore passus hauserit obscenum titulo pietatis amorem, meque tuomque caput per singula forsitan illi oscula donabit. crucibus flammaisque luemus si fuerit formosa soror. nil undique restat auxiliis: rex hinc coniunx, hinc Caesar adulter: et sumus, ut fatear, tam sacra iudice sones. quem non ex nobis credet Cleopatra nocentem a quo casta fuit? per te quod fecimus una perdidimusque nefas, perque ictum sanguine Magni foedus, ades: subito bellum molire tumultu: irrue nocturnus: rumpamus funere taedas, crudelenque toris dominam maetemus in ipsis

356. cessas accurrere solus] 'do you alone delay to hurry to your mistress’s chamber?’ i.e. to salute her as queen. This is Weise’s explanation, but if this be the meaning one would have expected unus rather than solus: it is possible that the words may be intended to be ironical, ‘do you hesitate to hasten by yourself to your mistress’s chamber?’ i.e. to rush into the very jaws of danger with none to help you.
357. dominae] sc. of her who is now your mistress.
358. nam] i.e. is on the point of marrying.
359. uenenis] ‘love potions’.
360. crede] ironical.
362. luemus] ‘we shall pay the penalty with the gallows and the flame should he find his sister beautiful’.
363. somnis] ‘guilty in the eyes of a judge so cruel’, explained by the succeeding line.
cum quocumque uiro. nec nos deterreat ausis
Hesperii Fortuna ducis. quae sustulit illum
imposuitque orbi communis gloria nobis:
nos quoque sublimes Magnus facit. adspice litus,
spem nostri sceleris: pollutos consule fluctus
quid liccat nobis: tumulumque e puluere paruo
adspice Pompeii non omnia membra tegentem.
 quem metuis par huius erat. non sanguine clari:
quid refert? nec opes populum ac regna mouemus:
ad scelus ingentis fati sumus. adtrahit illos
in nostras Fortuna manus. en altera uenit
uitima nobilior. placemus caede secunda
Hesperias gentes. iugulus mihi Caesaris haustus
hoc praestare potest Pompeii caede nocentis
ut populus Romanus amet. quid nomina tanta
horresmus uiresque ducis quibus ille
miles erit? nox haec peraget ciiilia bella,
inferiasque dabat populis, et mittet ad umbras
quod debitur adhuc mundo caput. ite feroces
Caesaris in iugulum: praestet Lagea iuuentus
hoc regi, Romana sibi. tu parce morari:
plenum epulis madidumque mero uenerique paratum
inuenies: aude: superi tot uta Catonum
Brutorumque tibi tribuent. non segnis Achillas
suadenti parere nefas. haud clara mouendis,
ut mos, signa dedit castris, nec prodidit arma uelius clangore tubae: temere omnia sacui instrumenta rapit belli. pars maxima turbae plebis erat Latiae: sed tanta obliuo mentes cepit, in externos corrupto milite mores, ut duce sub famulo iussique satellitis iurent, quos erat indignum Phario parere tyranno. nulla fides pietasque uiris qui castra sequuntur; uenasque manus, ubi fas, ubi maxima merces, aere merent paruo; iugulumque in Caesaris ire non sibi dant. pro fas, ubi non ciuilia bella inuenit imperii fatum miserabile nostri? Thessalae subducta acies in litore Nili more furit patrio. quid te plus, Magne, recepto ausa foret Lagea domus? dat scilicet omnis dextrae quod debet superis: nullique uacare fas est Romano. Latium sic scindere corpus dis placitum: non in soceri generique fauorem descendit populi: ciuilia bella satelles mouit et in partem Romani uenit Achillas.

401. temere] 'hastily'.
405. duce sub famulo] cf. note on VIII 597.
406. Phario tyranno] i.e. the Egyptian king himself, still more his famuli and satellites.
408. uenasque manus] 'and their venal hands serve for a pittance on the side whereon is right and the highest reward in prospect', i.e. the recovery of liberty. The meaning is that they fight on the right side, against Caesar, but it is for their soldiers' pay not for glory and liberty.
409. iugulumque] 'to assail the throat of Caesar they grant as a favour not to themselves', i.e. but to the Egyptians. For sibi cf. VII 697 ostendit mortens sibi se pugnasse senatus.
412. Thessalae subducta] 'withdrawn from Thessaly'.
415. uacare] sc. celere, bello ciuili. cf. II 56.
419. in partem Romani uenit] 'succeeded to the position of a Roman'. The metaphor is taken from succession under a will, cf. Cic. pro Cacq. § 12 heredem P. Caesennium fecit; uxori grande pondus argenti matrice partie honorum maiorem legavit; itaque in partem mulieres uocatae.
et nisi fata manus a sanguine Caesaris arcent hae uincent partes. aderat maturus uterque: et districta epulis ad cunctas aula patebat insidias: poteratque cruer per regia fundi pocula Caesarceus mensaeque incumbere ceruis. sed metuunt bellii trepidos in nocte tumultus, ne caedes confusa manu permissaque fatis te, Ptolemaeae, trahat: tanta est fiducia ferri. non rapiere nefas: summi contempta facultas est operis: uisum famulis reparabile damnun illum maactandi dimittere Caesaris horam. seruatur poenas in aperta luce daturus.

donata est noctu una duci uixitque Pothini munere Phoebos Caesar dilatus in ortus.

Lucifer a Casia prospexit rupe diemque misit in Aegyptum primo quoque sole calentem: cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis nec uaga conspicitur, sed iustos qualis ad hostes recta fronte uenit. passuri comminus arma laturique ruunt. at Caesar moenibus urbis diffisus foribus clausae se protegit aulae degeneres passus latebras. nec tota uacabat regia compresso : minima collegerat arma parte domus: tangunt animos iraeque metusque: et timet incursus indignaturque timere. sic fremit in paruis ferar nobilis abdita claustris, et frangit rabidos praemorso carcere dentes:

unt, partarius was the technical legal term for a man who shared property under a will.

districta epulis] 'occupied with feasting'. cf. Corn. Nepos Hannibal cap. ult. hic tantus nur tantisque bellis districtus nonnulli temporis tribuit litteris. cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis nec uaga conspicitur, sed iustos qualis ad hostes recta fronte uenit. passuri comminus arma laturique ruunt. et timet incursus indignaturque timere. sic fremit in paruis ferar nobilis abdita claustris, et frangit rabidos praemorso carcere dentes:


425. maactandi] This sacrificial term carries on the metaphor of victima in 386 supr.

430. in aperta luce] sc. in the senate-house.


438. passuri arma] ‘ready to bear the shock of arms’.

441. uacabat] ‘was available’. 
nec secus in Siculis fureret tua flamma cauernis, obstrueret summam si quis tibi, Mulciber, Actnam. audax Thessalici nuper qui rupe sub Haemi Hesperiae cunctos proceres aciemque senatus Pompeiumque ducem causa sperare uestante non timuit fatumque sibi promisit iniquum, expauit seruile nefas intraque penates obruitur telis: quem non uiolasset Alanus, non Scyth, non fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus, hic cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis, parauque regna putat Tyriis cum Gadibus Indos, ceu puer imbellis, ceu captis femina muris, quacrit tuta domus: spem uitae in limine clauso ponit et incerto lustrat uagus atria cursu; non sine rege tamen; quem ducit in omnia secum sumpturus poenas et grata piacula morti, missurusque tuum, si non sint tela nec ignes, in famulos, Ptolemaeae, caput. sic barbara Colchis creditur ultorem metuens regnique fugaeque ense suo fratrisque simul ceruice parata exspectasse patrem. cogunt tamen ultima rerum spem pacis temptare ducem: missusque satelles regius ut saeus absentis uoce tyranni corripserat famulos, quo bellum auctore mouerent. sed neque ius mundi ualuit nec foedera sancta gentibus: orator regis pacisque sequester

451. sperare] 'he did not fear then though the badness of his cause forbade him to hope and he looked for (sibi promisit) a disastrous fate, but now although fighting against slaves (and so in a good cause) he fears'. Weise with some MSS. reads spectare which he thus explains 'as the badness of his cause ought to have forbidden him even to look on such opponents, as he was a rebel against the state'; in this case we must take fatum iniquum as 'unmerited success': but the old reading sperare seems to me preferable and to give more force to the antithesis. 455. qui ludit] qui exerciti causa hoste interfecto affixo pro scopo utitur in quem tela ingerat. Weise. 456. non sufficit] cf. lv. x 168 unus Pellaco iuueni non sufficient orbis.

460. ius mundi] equivalent to ius gentium, i.e. the law common to all countries, guaranteeing the inviolability of ambassadors. 472. pacis sequester] 'mediator of peace'. cf. Sen. dial. XII § 5 Meneinuus Agrippa qui inter patres ac plebem publicae gratiae sequester fuit.
aestimat in numero scelerum ponenda tuorum tot monstris Aegypte nocens. non Thessala tellus, uastaque regna Iubae, non Pontus et impia signa Pharncnis, et gelido circumfluus orbis Hibero tantum ausus scelerum, non Syrnis barbar, quantum deliciae fecere tuac. premit undique bellum, inque domum iam tela cadunt quassantque penates. non aries uno moturus limina pulsu 480
fracturusque domum, non ualla est machina belli: nec flammis mandatur opus: sed cacea iuuentus consilii uastos ambit diuersa penates, et nusquam totis incursat uiribus agmen.
fata ucquant murique uicem Fortuna tuctur. 485
necnon et ratibus temptatur regia, qua se protulit in medios audaci margine fluctus luxuriosa domus. sed adest defensor ubique Caesar, et hos aditu gladiis, hos ignibus arcet: obsessusque gerit, tanta est constantia mentis, 490
expugnantis opus. piceo iubet uinguine tinctas lampadas immitti iunctis in uela carinis.
nece piger ignis erat per stoppea uincula perque manantis cera tabulas: et tempore codem transtraque nautarum summique arsere ceruchi. 495

473. aestimat ponenda ["are a measure of what is to be set down". Weise's note is "aestimare hoc loco est aestimari faciunt". If the reading which is found in all MSS. be genuine this must be the right explanation, but I can find no case of a similar use of aestimare. Grotius conjectures res minima. caesus must be supplied with orator and sequenter in the preceding line.
475. impia] because Pharnaces rebelled against his father Mithridates.
476. circumflus] used passively, as περιπτωμα. cf. IV 407.
478. delicii] "than thou Egypt with all thy luxury". cf. Iuv. vi 259, 360 quarnum delicias et panmiiuus homecynus uirit.
483. diuersa] cf. notes on vi 783, Verg. Aen. iv 163 diuersa per agros tocta metu petiere. This reading seems to have the best MSS. authority and is found in the Roman edition of 1469. Weise reads diuolsa, Oud. divsas.
485. uicem tuctur] "performs the part", cf. the use of defendere in Hor. A. P. 193 actoris partes chorus officiumque uirile defendat.
487. audaci margine] "with its bold frontage", cf. Hor. Carm. ii xvii 20—22 marisque Baisiis ostrepentis urges submo- nere litora parum locuples continentque rips. 492. iunctis in uela carinis] "to be discharged at the ships fastened together, upon their sails", the dative depending on iunctis and in uela being added as explanatory. The common reading is in bella i.e. "on the ships fastened together for warfare" i.e. for assaulting the walls of the palace.
494. manantis cera] "the planks oozing with pitch"; for this use of cera cf. Ov. Met. xi 514, 515 ianque labant eunni spoliaque tegmine cerae rima patet prae- celerque idem lamelibus undis.
495. ceruchi] cf. viii 177.
iam prope semustae merguntur in aquore classes, iamque hostes et tela natant. nec puppibus ignis incubuit solis: sed quae uicina fuere tecta mari longis rapuere uaporibus ignem: et cladem fouere Noti, percussaque flamma turbine non alio motu per tecta cucurrit quam solet aetherio lampas discurrere sulco materiaque carens atque ardens aere solo. illa lues clausa paulum reuocauit ab aula urbis in auxilium populos. nec tempora cladis perdidit in somnos, sed caeca nocte carinis insiluit Caesar, semper feliciter usus praecipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto. turn claustrum pelagi cepit Pharon. insula quondam in medio stetit illa mari sub tempore uatis Proteos: at nunc est Pellaeis proxima muris. illa duci geminos bellorum praeestitit usus: abstulit excursus et fauces aequis hosti; Caesaris auxiliis ac libera ponti ostia permisit. nec poenas inde Pothini distulit ulterius: sed non qua debuit ira non cruce non flammis rabido non dente ferarum: heu facinus, ceruix gladio male caesa pependit: Magni morte perit. necon subrepta paratis a famulo Ganymede dolis peruenit ad hostes Caesaris Arsinoe: quae castra carentia rege ut proles Lagea tenet famulumque tyranni terribilem iusto transegit Achillea ferro. altera, Magne, tuis iam victima mittitur umbris:  

499. *rapuere* 'caught up the flame with its widespreading heat'.
500. *non alio motu* 'as swiftly'.
502. *materiaque carens* 'with nothing solid to feed it'. cf. note on 1 156.
503. *cladis* sc. the burning of the ships and fires in the town.
504. *semper* cf. the character of Caesar *1 143—157.*
506. *at nunc* i.e. it was now joined to the mainland by a mole.
507. *male* 'wrongly', 'as it should not have been'.
509. *Arsinoe* The younger sister of Cleopatra, *caretia rege* i.e. because Caesar kept the young king with him as a hostage. *520* Achilles for Achillan; *Ζέργεα* is used by Herod. VII 4 as the accusative of Ζέργης.
nec satis hoc Fortuna putat. procul absit ut ista
uindictae sit summa tuae. non ipse tyrannus
sufficit in poenas non omnis regia Lagi.
dum patrii ueniant in uiscera Caesaris ense
Magnus inultus erit. sed non auctore furoris
sublato cecidit rabies: nam rursus in arma
auspicis Ganymedis cunt, ac multa secundo
proelia Marte gerunt. potuit discrimine summo
Caesaris illa dies in famam et saecula mitti.

molis in exiguae spatio stipantibus armis,
dum parat in uacuas Martem transferre carinas
dux Latius, tota subiti formidine bellii
cingitur: hinc densae praetexunt litora classes,
hinc tergo insolunt pedites: uia nulla salutis,
non fuga, non uirtus: uix spes quoque mortis honestae.
non acie fusa nec magnae stragis aceruo
uincendus tum Caesar erat, sed sanguine nullo,
captus sorte loci. pendet, dubiusne timeret,
ortarctne mori. respexit in agmine denso
Scaeuam perpetuae meritum iam nominam famae
ad campos, Epidamne, tuos, ubi solus apertis
obsedit muris calcantem moenia Magnum.

525. *nee satis* i.e. nothing short of the
death of Caesar himself.

526. *non ipse* The young Ptolemaeus
soon after escaped from Caesar, but was
drowned in the Nile.

523. *potuit* 'that day, by Caesar's
deadly peril, might have become immor-
tal', i.e. on that day Caesar was in ex-
treme peril, and might have been killed,
which would have made that day memor-
able for ever.

534. *molis* i.e. the mole which joined
the island to the city, called by Plutarch
Xεωα.

534. *stipantibus armis* 'while his enemies'
arms kept him close prisoner'.

535. *praetexunt* Oud. cf. Ov. A. A. 1

255. *praetexu* praetexta litora melis.

540. *non acie* 'it needed no rout of his
troops, no vast heap of slaughtered men
for Caesar to be conquered then &c.'

542. *sorte* i.e. natur. cf. IX 491 mi-
randa sorte mortalum.

543. *respexit* It is doubtful whether
this is to be taken literally or figuratively,
'looked back at' or 'thought on'; it de-
pends on whether Scaeva died of the
wounds received at Epidamnum: cf. vi
144—105 where it appears that Lucan
thought he was killed: but Caesar B.C. 111
53 seems to speak of him as surviving.

546. *obsedit* 'kept Magnus besieged
even when the works were forced'. Weise
explains the passage differently, viz. ita
fortiter pugnuit ut paene uideretur Pom-
peius a Scaevu obsideri, non Scaeva a
Pompeio. But it was Scaeva who under
the command of Caesar was besieging
Pompeius.

545. *muris moenia*] Both words refer to
the siege works which Caesar had thrown
up to enclose Pompeius.
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