This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIA

EDITED WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

C. E. HASKINS, M.A.

FELLOW AND CLASSICAL LECTURER OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

W. E. HEITLAND, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:

GEORGE BELL AND SONS.

CAMBRIDGE: DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.

1887

PA 6478
A2
1887

97432

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

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.

PREFACE.

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.

ERRATA.

Page 45 line 121 note; *for* III 65 *read* III 655
Page 63 line 488 note; *add* cf. Verg. Aen. IV 371
Page 75 line 728 note; *for* V 302 *read* V 298
Page 103 line 534 note; *for* 'one bank' *read* 'two banks'
Page 118 line 86 note; *dele* cf. VIII 728 IX 886
Page 122 line 185 note; *for* I 364 *read* I 366
Page 140 line 573 note; *for* I 313 *read* I 331
Page 226 line 810 text; *for* abluat *read* adluat
Page 276 line 156 note; *for* IV 16 *read* IV 116
Page 328 line 375 note; *for* V 588 *read* V 455

IOANNI EYTON BICKERSTETH MAYOR

HOC OPVSCVLVM 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A. Ancient Authorities.

(1) Life of Lucan [Suetonius].
(2) Life of Lucan [Vacca].
(3) Statius on Lucan's birthday.
(4) Martial's epigrams relating to Lucan.
(5) Tacitus, dialogue *de oratoribus* § 20.
(6) Petronius § 118.
(7) Fronto on the opening lines of the *Pharsalia*.
(8) Various epigrams.

B. Life of Lucan.

(9) Table of dates.
(10) Pedigree.
(11) List of minor works.
(12) Cordova.
(13) The Annaei.
(14) Rome. Early life and education.
(15) Stoicism and Rhetoric.
(16) Literary fertility.
(17) Nero.
(18) Lucan in favour.
(19) Jealousy. Lucan in disgrace.
(20) Schemes of revenge.
(21) The Pisonian conspiracy.
(22) The plot fails. Death of Lucan.
(23) Memory of Lucan preserved.
(24) Concluding remarks.

C. General view of the *Pharsalia.*

(25) Sketch of the several books.
(26) Character and scope of the poem.
(27) Influence of recitations.
(28) Difficulties of an historical poem.
(29) Publication of the *Pharsalia.*
(30) Title of the poem.
(31) The rival composition of Petronius.
(32) Evidence of this bearing on § 29.

D. Matter of the *Pharsalia.*

Contemporary relations

(33) To Nero and the Empire.
(34) To Philosophical systems.
(*a*) Stoic training.
(*b*) God and the universe.
(*c*) The heavenly bodies.
(*d*) Fate and divination.
(*e*) Human soul and will.
(*f*) Virtue, Good and Bad, etc.
(*g*) Independence and social instinct.
(*h*) Life death and suicide.
(*i*) Non-Stoic elements.
(35) To Religion.
(*a*) State of Religion at Rome.
(*b*) References in the *Pharsalia.*
(*c*) *Fortuna* and *fatum.*
(*d*) Lucan and Vergil.
(36) To Learning and History.

E. Who is the hero of the *Pharsalia?*

Claims discussed at length.

(37) Caesar.
(38) Pompey.
(39) Cato.
(40) The Senate.
(41) Conclusion drawn from the above.

F. Manner of the *Pharsalia.*

(42) Touches of true poetry.
(43) *Sententiae.*
(44) Specimens of good lines.
(45) Speeches and apostrophes.

(46) Four characteristic defects.
- (*a*) Excess of detail.
- (*b*) Lists and enumerations.
- (*c*) Narratives and discussions.
- (*d*) Hyperbole.
- (*e*) These defects accounted for.

(47) Further characteristics in detail.
- (*a*) Forced antitheses.
- (*b*) Strained emphasis.
- (*c*) Involved expression of notions.
- (*d*) Certain figures.
- (*e*) Careless repetition of words.
- (*f*) Occasional recurrence of phrases.

(48) Similes and metaphors.
[Digression on *cardines*]

(49) Prosody etc.
- (*a*) Sameness of pauses.
- (*b*) Monotony of rhythm.
- (*c*) Sparing use of elision.
- (*d*) Sameness of endings.
- (*e*) Assonance of endings.
- (*f*) Sparing use of alliteration.
- (*g*) Sameness of collocation.
- (*h*) Notes on quantities.

(50) Grammar etc.
- (*a*) Substantives and adjectives.
- (*b*) Use of cases.
- (*c*) Verbs and participles.
- (*d*) Licenses of diction.
- (*e*) Obscurity and order of words.
- (*f*) Relative clauses and parentheses.
- (*g*) Subject and object.
- (*h*) Miscellaneous notes.

G. Relation to other writers.

(51) To Vergil [detail].
(52) To other Augustan poets.
(53) To earlier poets.
(54) To the Senecas.
(55) Juvenal's relation to Lucan.

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 indicto senatu recessisse neque verbis adversus principem neque factis extantibus post haec temperavit, adeo ut quondam in latrinis publicis clariore cum strepitu ventris emissi 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 tyrannicidarum 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 devolutus preces matrem quoque innoxiam inter socios nominavit, sperans impietatem 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 praelegi 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 *Pharsalia*, 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) Lucani vita ex commentario antiquissimo[1].

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 quietioris; quod sequens magis a turba recedebat minus latebat. matrem habuit et regionis eiusdem et urbis Aciliam nomine Acilii 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 apparet. natus est III 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 impleturum cresceret in domina mundi aleretur urbe. octavum enim mensem 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 insidere complures, aut dulcem iam tum spiritum eius inhaurientes aut fecundum et qualem nunc existimamus futurum significantes. praeceptoribus tunc eminentissimis est eruditus eosque intra breve temporis spatium ingenio adaequavit; una vero studentes superavit profectibus. 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 quaesturam in qua cum collegis more tunc usitato munus gladiatorium edidit secundo populi favore. sacerdotium etiam accepit auguratus. equidem hactenus tempora habuit secunda. quae autem sequuntur mutata invidia et odio Neronis ipsi exitium domesticis luctum miserabilem attulerunt. inter amicos enim Caesaris quod tam conspicuus fieret profectus in poetica frequenter offendebatur. 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 hominum 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 praecidit periitque prid kal Maias Attico Vestino et Nerva Syllano coss XXVII aetatis annum agens non sine iactura utilitatis cum patriae quae tantam immature amisit indolem tum studiorum quoque. reliqui enim VII belli civilis libri locum calumniantibus tamquam mendosi non darent. qui tametsi sub vero crimine non egent patrocinio de iisdem dici quod in Ovidii libris praescribitur potest 'emendaturus si licuisset erat'

[1] Attributed to Vacca, a grammarian probably of the 6th century. Genthe and Teuffel.

exstant eius et alii complures ut Iliacon, Saturnalia, Catachthonion, Silvarum x, tragoedia Medea imperfecta, Salticae fabulae XIV, et †hippamata†[1]: prosa oratione in Octavium Sagittam[2] et pro eo, de incendio urbis, epistolarum ex Campania; non fastidiendi quidem omnes, tales tamen ut belli civilis videantur accessio.

(3) **Statius** in preface to book II of the *Silvae* says *cludit volumen genethliacon Lucani, quod Polla Argentaria, clarissima uxorum, cum hunc diem forte consecraremus, imputari sibi voluit. ego non potui maiorem tanti auctoris habere reverentiam quam quod laudes eius dicturus hexameros meos timui.* The poem [II 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, 5
vocalis citharae repertor Arcas,
et tu Bassaridum rotator Euhan,
et Paean et Hyantiae sorores
laetae purpureas novate vittas,
crinem comite, candidamque vestem 10
perfundant hederae recentiores.
docti largius evagentur amnes,
et plus Aoniae virete silvae,
et si qua patet aut diem recepit
sertis mollibus expleatur umbra. 15
centum Thespiacis odora lucis
stent altaria victimaeque centum,
quas Dirce lavat aut alit Cithaeron.
Lucanum canimus, favete linguis,
vestra est ista dies, favete, Musae, 20
dum qui vos geminas tulit per artes,
et vinctae pede vocis et solutae,
Romani colitur chori sacerdos.
felix heu nimis et beata tellus,
quae pronos Hyperionis meatus 25
summis oceani vides in undis
stridoremque rotae cadentis audis,
quae Tritonide fertiles Athenas
unctis, Baetica, provocas trapetis.
Lucanum potes inputare terris; 30
hoc plus quam Senecam dedisse mundo
aut dulcem generasse Gallionem.

[1] Best MS †appāmata†. †epigrammata† is the only reasonable emendation suggested.
[2] Tac ann XIII 44, hist IV 44.

attollat refluos in astra fontes
Graio nobilior Melete Baetis.
Baetim, Mantua, provocare noli. 35
natum protinus atque humum per ipsam
primo murmure dulce vagientem
blando Calliope sinu recepit.
tum primum posito remissa luctu
longos Orpheos exuit dolores 40
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 Tibrim 45
et doctos equites et eloquente
cantu purpureum trahes senatum.
nocturnas alii Phrygum ruinas
et tarde reducis vias Ulixi
et puppem temerariam Minervae, 50
trita vatibus orbita, sequantur;
tu carus Latio memorque gentis
carmen fortior exseris togatum.
ac primum teneris adhuc in annis
ludes Hectora Thessalosque currus 55
et supplex Priami potentis aurum,
et sedes reserabis inferorum.
ingratus Nero dulcibus theatris,
et noster tibi proferetur Orpheus.
dices culminibus Remi vagantis 60
infandos domini nocentis ignes.
hinc castae titulum decusque Pollae
iocunda dabis allocutione.
'mox coepta generosior iuventa
albos ossibus Italis Philippos 65
et Pharsalica bella detonabis,
quod fulmen ducis inter arma divi,
libertate gravem pia Catonem
et gratum popularitate Magnum.
tu Pelusiaci scelus Canopi 70
deflebis pius et Pharo cruenta
Pompeio dabis altius sepulcrum.
'haec primo iuvenis canes sub aevo,
ante annos culicis Maroniani.
cedet musa rudis ferocis Enni 75
et docti furor arduus Lucreti,
et qui per freta duxit Argonautas,

et qui corpora prima transfigurat.
quid maius loquor? ipsa te Latinis
Aeneis venerabitur canentem. 80
nec solum dabo carminis nitorem,
sed taedis genitalibus dicabo
doctam atque ingenio tuo decoram,
qualem blanda Venus daretque Iuno,
forma, simplicitate, comitate, 85
censu, sanguine, gratia, decore.
et vestros hymenaeon ante postes
festis cantibus ipsa personabo.
'o saevae nimium gravesque Parcae!
o numquam data fata longa summis! 90
cur plus, ardua, casibus patetis?
cur saeva vice magna non senescunt?
sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis
post ortus obitusque fulminatos
angusto Babylon premit sepulcro. 95
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! — 100
iussus praecipitem subire Lethen,
dum pugnas canis arduaque voce
das solatia grandibus sepulcris,
o dirum scelus! o scelus! tacebis.'
sic fata est leviterque decidentis 105
abrasit lacrimas nitente plectro.
at tu, seu rapidum poli per axem
famae curribus arduis levatus,
qua surgunt animae potentiores,
terras despicis et sepulcra rides, 110
seu pacis merito nemus reclusum
felix elysiis tenes in oris,
quo Pharsalica turba congregatur,
et te nobile carmen insonantem
Pompeii comitantur et Catones: — 115
tu magna sacer et superbus umbra
noscis tartaron et procul nocentum
audis verbera pallidumque visa
matris lampade respicis Neronem, —
adsis lucidus et vocante Polla 120
unum, quaeso, diem deos silentum
exores: solet hoc patere limen

ad nuptas redeuntibus maritis.
haec te non thyasis procax dolosis
falsi numinis induit figura,
ipsum 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. 135

(4) Martial

I 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,
debuit 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

Phoebe 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*.

XIV 194 (*Lucanus*)

sunt quidam qui me dicant non esse poetam:
sed qui me vendit bibliopola putat.

(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 aetas pulchrior et ornatior exstitit.

(6) **Petronius** 118

multos iuvenes carmen decepit. nam ut quisque versum pedibus instruxit sensumque teneriorem verborum ambitu intexuit, putavit se continuo in Heliconem venisse. sic forensibus ministeriis exercitati frequenter ad carminis tranquillitatem tamquam ad portum feliciorem refugerunt, credentes facilius poema exstrui posse, quam controversiam sententiolis vibrantibus pictam. ceterum neque generosior spiritus vanitatem amat, neque concipere 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 arceo'. praeterea curandum est ne sententiae emineant extra corpus orationis expressae, sed intexto vestibus colore niteant. Homerus testis et lyrici Romanusque Vergilius et Horatii curiosa felicitas. ceteri enim aut non viderunt viam qua iretur ad carmen aut visam timuerunt calcare. ecce belli civilis ingens opus quisquis attigerit, nisi plenus litteris, sub onere labetur. non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt[1], sed per ambages deorumque ministeria et fabulosum sententiarum tormentum praecipitandus est liber spiritus, ut potius furentis animi vaticinatio appareat quam religiosae orationis sub testibus fides; tamquam si placet hic impetus, etiam si nondum recepit ultimam manum.

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 aeque Annaeus. is initio carminis sui

[1] So Servius ad Aen I 382 and Dryden in preface to *Annus Mirabilis* reckon Lucan as an historian in verse rather than a poet. The passages from Mediæval writers to the same effect are collected by Genthe pp 83–4.

septem primis versibus nihil aliud quam *bella plus quam civilia* interpraetatus est. nu[nc hoc] replicet quot sententiis? *iusque datum sceleri:* una sententia est. *in sua victrici conversum viscera:* iam haec altera est. *cognatasque acies:* tertia haec erit. *in commune nefas:* quartam numerat. *infestisque obvia signa:* [appel]lat quoque quintam. *signis pares aquilas:* sexta haec Herculis aerumna. *et pila minantia pilis:* septima; de Aiacis scuto corium. Annaee, quis finis erit? aut si nullus finis nec modus servandus est, cur non addis *et similes lituos?* addas licet *et carmina nota tubarum.* sed et loricas et conos et enses et balteos et omnem armorum supellectilem sequere.

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 feriet.

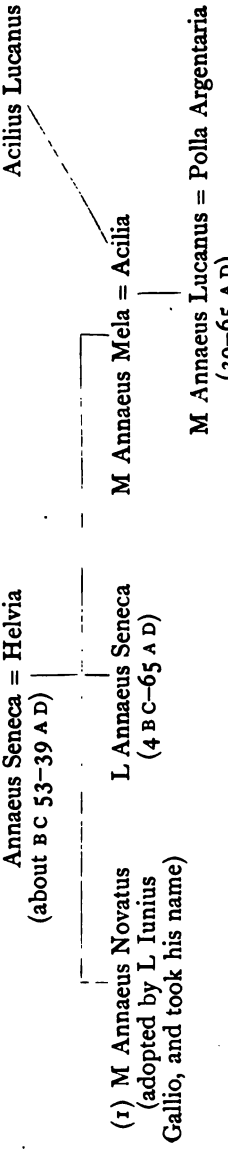
The first couplet is certainly very ancient; the first line is in a MS of the eighth century. Whether the whole is of the same date has been disputed [Genthe pp 32—3], but it seems now generally thought that it is. Lines 1—2 are an imitation of the epitaph on Vergil *Mantua me genuit* etc. As a description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

B. LIFE OF LUCAN.

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

Emperor	A D	
Gaius	39	Lucan born Nov 3.
	40	Mela migrates with family to Rome.
	41	Seneca sent into banishment.
Claudius	49	Claudius marries Agrippina.
		Seneca recalled.
	50	Claudius adopts Nero.
	51	Nero (just 14) takes *toga virilis* etc.
	53	Nero marries Octavia.
	54	?Lucan takes *toga virilis* and *senatoria*.
Nero	55	?Lucan under Cornutus.
		Poisoning of Britannicus.
	57	?Lucan goes to Athens.
	59	Murder of Agrippina.
		?Lucan returns to Rome.
	60	Nero favours Lucan.
		Festival Νερώνεια.
		Lucan praises Nero.
		Nero begins to hate Seneca.
	61	?Lucan quaestor.
		?The *Pharsalia* begun.
		?Lucan famous as reciter and pleader.
	62	Disgrace of Seneca.
		?*Pharsalia* I—III published.
		Death of Persius.
	63	?Nero begins to be jealous of Lucan.
		Beginning of Pisonian conspiracy.
	64	Fire of Rome.
		?Lucan marries Polla Argentaria.
		Nero begins the Golden House.
		?Nero silences Lucan.
	65	Pisonian conspiracy discovered.
		Death of Lucan, April 30.
		[Festival Νερώνεια.]

(10) PEDIGREE OF LUCAN.



(11) 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)

(12) M Annaeus Lucanus was born in the year 39 A D at Corduba[1] 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 B C] by the consul M Claudius Marcellus. Many of the colonists were men of good family, and the name[2] 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 B C we hear of natives of Corduba writing poems[3] in Latin, though Cicero affects to detect a certain heaviness and provincialism in their compositions. In 49 B C, after Ilerda, Caesar made the town his headquarters. In 45 B C 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 quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum*, a criticism referred to by the elder Seneca suasor 6 § 27. A Corduban poet is mentioned unfavourably by Martial XII 63, 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 said[4] not less than 22000 men. In 43 B C Asinius Pollio[5] was stationed there as governor of Further Spain. After the establishment of the Empire[6] by Augustus rest and prosperity returned to the weary world, and the Patrician Colony grew and throve 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 Gallio[7] known to readers of the Acts; (2) L Annaeus Seneca, commonly called the Philosopher: (3) M Annaeus Mela[8]. The last-named took to wife Acilia, daughter of Acilius[9] 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 Baehrens] only says *ter funera centum*.

[5] His letters in Cic 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 [philosophus], 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 *dulcis Gallio*. The prefaces to the books of the elder Seneca's *controversiae* are headed *Seneca Novato Senecae Melae filiis salutem*.

[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 fisci*, 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[10] 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[11] 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[12], 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[13] 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 matrem 18 §§ 4, 5 *ab his* [fratribus meis] *ad nepotes quoque respice: Marcum blandissimum puerum, ad cuius conspectum nulla potest durare tristitia. nihil tam magnum nihil tam recens in cuiusquam pectore fuerit, quod non circumfusus ille permulceat. cuius non lacrimas illius hilaritas supprimat? cuius non contractum sollicitudine animum illius argutiae solvant? quem non in iocos evocabit illa lascivia? quem non in se convertet et abducet infixum cogitationibus illa neminem satiatura garrulitas?* (ii) the epigram *de fratris filio parvolo* [ɪ Baehrens], in which, after praying that his elder and younger brother may outlive him, he adds *sic dulci Marcus qui nunc sermone fritinnit facundo patruos provocet 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 Annaean family (Lecture on Persius, p xvi).

[13] vita Persii—*cognovit per Cornutum etiam Annaeum Lucanum, aequaevum auditorem 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[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[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 *Pharsalia*, the first three books of which are said to have been written early in his brief career. Whether he practised[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 *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[17] his govern-

[14] The few fragments that remain of Lucan's miscellaneous works are collected in Baehrens' *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum* [Leipsic 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 *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 I 33—94, IV 5—8, 46—9, 82—167, VII 4—84. The same may be said of the *incerti carmina bucolica* [Baehrens 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[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.

(18) Lucan, the pet of the first literary circle in Rome, had probably attracted the notice[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[20] regularly went together, and the legal minimum age was 25 years. This would bring Lucan's quaestorship to A D 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[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.

[18] See Merivale c 53.

[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 A D 57—8, as Genthe says. Lucan would return to Rome in 59, and the *cohors amicorum* would be the same as that described in Tac ann XIV 16.

[20] See Mommsen, Röm Staatsrecht I p 554, II p 516.

[21] Merivale c 53. The authorities are Tac ann XIV 20, 21, Suet Nero 12, epit Dion Cassius LXI 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 *Neroneum agona ante praestitutam 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[22] 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[23] to Lucan. This Nero could not endure: he began to slight Lucan[24] by various acts of discourtesy: Lucan replied by ill-concealed or open ridicule, and by straining himself[25] to shew off the fertility and variety of his talent. Then Nero directly interposed by forbidding him[26] 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[27] 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

[22] Merivale c 54.

[23] This rests solely on the evidence of Vacca. Genthe p 23 rejects it as quite improbable, citing Martial XI 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 shews 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 eum patientius quam maledicta et convitia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacessissent 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 LXII 29, where ἐκωλύθη ποιεῖν 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 fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis marmoreis*, 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[28] 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 A D 65 is not my purpose. It has been written once for all[29] 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[30] 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[31] such as must surely have possessed him now more than ever. He fed his

[28] Tac ann xv 49 *et Lucanus Annaeus Plautiusque Lateranus vivida odia intulere. Lucanum propriae causae accendebant, quod famam carminum eius premebat Nero prohibueratque ostentare, vanus aemulatione.*

[29] Tac ann xv 48—70, Suet Nero 36, epit Dion LXII 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[32] that the lady was not molested in consequence. Lucan however did not escape by means of an act almost worthy[33] of the matricide Emperor himself. When he received the order to die, he had his veins opened in the approved fashion[34] 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[35] was destined to fulfilment: the *Pharsalia* survived and among his own countrymen enjoyed

[32] Tac ann xv 71 *Acilia mater Annaei Lucani sine absolutione sine supplicio dissimulata.*

[33] The malignant suggestion of Suetonius, that he hoped to work on the fellow-feeling of Nero, is construction, not evidence.

[34] 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 compositum* do not prove that the quotation came from the *Pharsalia* at all.

[35] ix 985—6 *Pharsalia nostra vivet* etc, vii 809—13. I shall not discuss the genuineness of the inscription said to have been found in 1403 by an early scholar, M · ANNAEO · LVCANO · CORDVBENSI · 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[36] 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[37] (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[38] 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[39] 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

[36] Genthe places the marriage of Lucan and Polla in AD 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.

[37] A good collation of these and a critical edition of the text are much needed.

[38] See Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay vol I pp 54, 466—7, vol II p 437.

[39] Leyden 1640, London 1646, according to Lowndes. It is reprinted in Oudendorp's edition, Leyden, 1728, and is a work of some merit.

version that renders the true force and spirit of Lucan. Marlowe's book I 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 Vulteius 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 Κάτωνος ἀριστεῖα. 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, eg 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

[1] See v 207, vii 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, altogidder 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 observable, 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

[3] See in particular the doubtful lines IV 251, VI 152, 187, 207, 554—5, VII 154, 257—8, 796, 820—2, VIII 124, IX 83, 494, 664, 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 Petronius § 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 importance 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 Petronius[5] in this connexion 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 published 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	*Lucan*
14—6 quaeritur in silvis auro fera et ultimus Hammon Afrorum excutitur, ne desit belua dente ad mortes pretiosa.	IX 706—7 [just after passage about Hammon] sed quid erit nobis lucri pudor? inde petuntur huc Libycae mortes et fecimus aspida mercem.

[5] Petronius was compelled to death early in 66 A.D, Lucan in 65.

Petronius	*Lucan*
121—2 surripuere viros exsectaque viscera ferro in venerem fregere.....	X 133—4 ferro mollita iuventus atque exsecta virum.
127—9 ecce Afris eruta terris ponitur ac maculis imitatur vilius aurum citrea mensa.....	IX 426—30 tantum Maurusia genti robora divitiae quarum non noverat usum, sed citri contenta comis vivebat et umbris. in nemus ignotum nostrae venere secures, extremoque epulas mensasque petivimus orbe; and X 144—5.
64 Iulius ingratam perfudit sanguine Romam.	X 338—9 isto quoque sanguine.....quo Fortuna parat victos perfundere patres.
96—7 [Father Dis says the nether world wants some deaths, the Furies are thirsting for blood ever since Sulla]	VI 718 [Witch addressing the powers of the nether world] si bene de vobis civilia bella merentur.
135—7 [in a storm at sea] non regimen prodest,.....hic dat vela fugae fortunaeque omnia credit.	VII 125—7 navita.....dat regimen ventis ignavomque arte relicta puppis onus trahitur.

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

[6] Or perhaps the authority from whom the statement is taken.

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 *amburbium* 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

[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 *urbem principes lustravit 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[8] of the *νεκυομαντεία* 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 common-place-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[9] 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 964 foll. Merivale c 50. I do not know any authority for Caesar's visit to Troy. But the story in Suetonius Iul 79 *fama.....migrasse Alexandream vel Ilium* (note the alternative, and refer to c 7 above). Then read Arrian ab I 11 §§ 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 809 et Romanorum manis calcate 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 nostra est
quos servire pudet.

VII 455—9 cladis tamen huius habemus
vindictam, quantam terris dare numina 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
volnus habent populi; plus est quam vita salusque
quod perit; in totum mundi prosternimur aevom:
vincitur his gladiis omnis quae serviet aetas.
proxima quid suboles 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 templa tyranno,
nondum Pompeii cineres, o Roma, petisti:
exsul adhuc iacet umbra ducis. si saecula prima
victoris timuere minas, nunc excipe saltem
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 pudebit,
et quem, si steteris umquam cervice soluta,
nunc olim factura deum.

x 343—4
in scelus it Pharium Romani poena tyranni,
exemplumque perit.

In a few passages the direct reference is to tyranny or monarchy in general, touching the Empire indirectly.

i 670 cum domino pax ista venit.

ii 61 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[10] 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 *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 *Pharsalia*. This I proceed to do under several heads, adapting statements of doctrine from Zeller

[11] See III 393 [Fortuna] *virum toti properans imponere mundo*. Merivale c 54 well remarks that Stoicism became a consolation for inactivity, not a stimulus to action.

[12] For Senate see § 40 and in particular IX 194—5 *rectorque senatus sed regnantis erat*, 206—7 *non iam regnare pudebit; nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus*. For *plebs* see III 54—8, VII 404—5, 539—43. In general I 351, 670, II 314—22, V 382, IX 236—54, 261—75.

[13] The well known passage I 160—82, fine though it is, is mere book-work, the echo of the rhetorical schools. So Nisard II p 33.

[14] Merivale 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 parens rerum, cum primum informia regna materiemque rudem flamma cedente recepit, finxit in aeternum causas, qua cuncta coercet se quoque lege tenens, et saecula iussa ferentem fatorum immoto divisit limite mundum, X 265 foll [aquas] quasdam compage sub ipsa cum toto coepisse reor, quas ille creator atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coercet. Add such expressions as II 82 legibus aevi, V 88—9 cursus aeterni, VII 1 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 mixturus. 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 fluctu terras mergente cacumen emicuit pontoque fuit discrimen et astris, 622—4 cum mare convolvit 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 forsan terris inserta regendis, aere libratum vacuo quae sustinet orbem, totius pars magna Iovis Cirrhaea per antra exit et aetherio trahitur connexa Tonanti, IX 578 foll estque dei sedes ubi terra et pontus et aer et caelum et virtus. superos quid quaerimus ultra? Iuppiter est quodcumque vides quodcumque moveris. In I 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 ed by evaporation from the sea and other waters. They are living

and divine, animated by the universal Soul. Zeller VIII D 1, XIII A 3, B 2.

VII 5 contrary to custom the sun attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis, IX 313 foll sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens etc, X 258 foll necnon oceano pasci Phoebumque polumque credimus etc, II 267—8 sicut caelestia 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 libratum 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 122 § 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 [εἱμαρμένη, *fatum*], and other names, as said above. Zeller VII B 1, 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 Lucan'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 Romam cupienti perdere fato sufficiens, 287 sed quo fata trahunt virtus secura sequetur, 544—6 [Caesar perverts 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 tenentur 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 propinqui tradiderat fatis iuvenem, V 41—2 fatorum impellite cursum, spem vestram praestate deis, 48—9 et Magno fatum patriaeque suomque 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 damnare caput tot fata tenentur, 239—40 cum prope fatorum tantos per prospera cursus avertere dei, 292—3 quicquid gerimus fortuna vocatur: nos fatum sciat esse suom, 482 quid superos et fata tenes, 536 ne cessa praebere 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 suo ventura potes divertere cursu, 603 quo 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 quisque 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

diem qui fatum rebus in aevum conderet humanis, 205—6 quorum Fortuna per orbem signa dedit, quorum fatis caelum omne vacavit, 295—6 sed mea fata moror, 333 permittunt omnia fatis, 505 fato torrente, 544 et fatis datus est pro Caesare cursus, 647 transisse deos Romanaque fata, 686—7 iam pondere fati deposito securus abis, 719 rursusque in fata redire, VIII 21 foll sed longi poenas Fortuna favoris exigit a misero.....fatisque prioribus urget, 31—2 quisquamne secundis tradere se fatis audet nisi morte parata, 77 tua cum fatis pietas decertet, 138 fata mihi totum mea sunt agitanda per orbem, 215 Magno quaerentem fata, 332 una dies mundi damnavit fata, 359 fato celante favorem, 361 iungere fata tecum, 533 cognita fata, 544 sic fata premunt civilia mundum, 568 fatorum leges, IX 143—4 iniuria fati....superis haec crimina dono, 410 invasit Libye securi fata Catonis, 883—4 omni Fortunam provocat hora: omnibus unus adest fatis, X 3—4 pugnavit fortuna ducis fatumque nocentis Aegypti, 88 si tua restituat veteri me dextera fato, 344 struit audax irrita fatis, 411 foll....imperii fatum miserabile nostri.....dat scilicet omnis dextera quod debet superis, nullique vacare fas est Romano; Latium sic scindere corpus dis placitum.

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 ferre metus: 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, II 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 *νεκυομαντεία*. 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 fatorum est, legem perdiscere fati*, II 149].

(*e*) 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 VI 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 *carcer* 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 reddere*. In VIII 759 foll Cordus begs Pompey *manis animamque potentem officiis averte meis*, 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 770, 776, VIII 432, 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 congealing 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—5 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 *cadavera* 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 pascitur 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 602 [see Ameis' note on I 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 huc migrant ex orbe suumque habitantia caelum aetherios 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 Acherusia Ditis incolitis, quos parva petunt post lumina vitae exiguus cinis et simulacrum corporis umbra*, etc.

the vile wretches by whom the deed is done. Fate may render all the virtue very of Cato fruitless, but Cato is in the right, indeed his approval of the lost expressly set against the gods' support of the winning one—victrix causa deis sed victa Catoni.

) Virtue is rational activity conformable to Nature, that is, to the sal law of the world and the essential constitution of the being, in the case of man is reason. It is rational self-control. Zeller B 2.

Stoic idea of virtue is of course expressed in the character of Cato II 380 l stray touches here and there. Brutus [II 239 foll] admires his serenity, but :s into the war not under any delusion as to Pompey's ambition [II 319 foll], er Pompey's death he takes the lead, calm unbiassed undeceived as ever foll, 188 foll]. He is unswayed by emotions, the personification of *virtus* x 50, 445, 562]: conquest is with him the prelude to mercy of a cool con- ıus kind [IX 298—9]. He knows no fear [IX 371—3], and freely expresses his lge of danger and readiness to face it [IX 379 foll]. He sets the example of egation [IX 500 foll, 587 foll], and self-devotion [IX 604 foll]. He is conscious irtue, and talks like an oracle [IX 564 foll]. His bearing and presence inspire with wonderful endurance [IX 881 foll].

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

true illustration in Lucan of the absence of degrees of Good and Bad is to d in the characters of Caesar Pompey and Cato. Lucan must have admired to judge by the portrait he has drawn of him; but not only was he the ɔwer of the Senate, he was known to lean towards the school of Epicurus. ıre he can do nothing right, and the ceaseless malignity with which Lucan es to him the worst of motives seems to us pitiful and childish. As for ', the attempt to make him into a hero actuated only by the very highest is perhaps the greatest historical blunder of the *Pharsalia*. Cato is specially ing, because into his mouth are put the lines IX 569 foll an noceat vis ulla 'ortunaque perdat opposita virtute minas, laudandaque velle sit satis et num- ıccessu crescat honestum? scimus, et haec nobis non altius inseret Hammon. ɜs 594—5 below.

ı As the tendency to independence, to live for oneself alone, to ıse with society and cultivate the inner freedom of virtuous life, up to the condition of the self-sufficing Wise Man; so the ten- to follow the social instinct and live for the common good, to ıociety and cultivate the social virtues, leads up to the condition 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 *patriae impendere 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.

(*h*) 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 I 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 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. mors, utinam pavidos vitae subducere nolles, sed virtus te sola daret. 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 VII 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, admoto occurrere fato. omnibus incerto venturae tempore vitae, par animi laus est et quos speraveris annos perdere et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis accersas dum fata manu: non cogitur ullus velle mori.

(*i*) 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[16] 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.

See I 642—3, II 12—3, VII 445—7, 454—5, 487—8, Zeller XVIII, Teuffel § 303 note 6.

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[17] 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[18] 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 liceat nescimus adhuc, et cuncta 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 404—10.

[18] I omit all reference to the Christians here, as not important for my present purpose.

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.

(*b*) 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 god is spoken of II 592—3 *dedita sacris incerti Iudaea 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 *et 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 imago* appearing to Caesar says I 188 *turrigero 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 domini metuentem occurrere 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[19] 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 II 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[20] 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

[19] His angry or contemptuous tone towards the gods in general is very striking. See II 16—7, 34, 44, 93, IV 123, 243—4, 808—9, V 59, 401, VII 657—8, VIII 149, 605.

[20] A very few references will suffice. See I 684, II 237, 586—7, III 86, 225, 284, 455, 511, 630, V 406, VI 74, 571—2, VII 231, VIII 716, IX 42—4, 956. In VI 68 *Caledonios* is specially interesting to readers of Tacitus *Agricola* if chronology be considered.

most of his contemporaries, he is interested[21] 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 proportion of the figures are taken from the departments of mechanics, law, trade, medicine and surgery, religious sacrifice, the amphitheatre, 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[22] 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[23] 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[24] is spoken of in a way which seems to imply that it is a sea-side mountain.

The Dacians and Getae[25] 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[26] 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[27] 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[28] to turn back from the Ganges, whereas the authorities shew that he never got beyond the Satlej.

The city Phocaea, the mother-state of Massalia, is confounded[29] 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 680, VI 315, 582, 820, VII 591—2, 794, 799, 853—4.

[24] I 555.

[25] II 54, III 95.

[26] II 418—20.

[27] II 665—6. I believe he is simply misled by having Aen XII 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, 340, 561, 583, 697, 728, V 53, 144.

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 perversion.

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 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 justifies his armed presence within her borders by declaring himself her champion. He clearly sees that the time for words is now gone by, and

I 123–5, 143–50.
I 183–204.
I 223–30.

[30] IV 322.
[31] IX *passim*, IV 673, with Merivale's notes 19.
[32] V 436—41 (a mixture, I fancy, of Verg G III 349 foll and Ovid trist III 10).
[33] VII 62—85.
[34] IX 517—8, X 291—3.
[35] III 609 foll.

I 262 foll. that henceforth the sword must decide. Onward he presses with
I 296 foll. speed. Fortune favours his cause and plays his game for him. In a
speech he explains to his army that both he and they are compelled
that they have a good prospect of victory, and that they will be
I 352 foll. for the best interests of Rome. The wavering scruples of the men
come by a centurion, who declares his intention of following Caesar
he may go. All is enthusiasm, and the general calls in the detach
I 466 foll, II 600. his great army for the civil war. Panic goes before him, the swift and
II 439–46, 492 foll, III 365–6. conqueror of the North. He thirsts for war and loves to force his w
teeth of opposition: he will be stopped by nothing, but he will n
II 650–60. chance of shewing his magnanimity by mercy. In vain does Pomp
from Rome to Capua and from Capua to Brundisium: Caesar follo
heels with the pitiless speed of a destined conqueror, *nil actum cre*
III 46–73. *quid superesset agendum.* When Pompey gives him the slip and pu
he marches back to Rome, first providing with masterly forethought
III 80 foll. the bellies of the sovereign people. The Italians receive him in fearfu
but little he recks of that: he can trust them to fear him, he can
them to love him. It is the same at Rome, his own Rome, s
III 112 foll. abandoned by his rival. He is bent on his main objects, and will
III 296–9, IV 351–3. opposition from silly dreamers. While Pompey in Epirus is slowly as
a world in arms to fall before the luck of Caesar, Caesar is off to
III 358–60. order to secure his rear by completing the conquest of the We
promptness has left him time for doing his work thoroughly, and *A*
III 426–49. *delere vacat.* No religious scruples or fears are allowed to cause d
III 453–5. gods may shift for themselves, but Caesar must be obeyed. Le
IV 1–401. siege to a lieutenant, he continues his march. The short campaign
shews his versatility patience and cool judgment in a most striking
Superior alike to the weather and the effect of his own mistakes, t
obstacles and the temptations of revenge, he plays the game, alwa
assailant, up to the inevitable checkmate. It matters little to hi
IV 492–514, 571–4. few men perish in a small naval affair in the Adriatic: and their
their own swords, refusing quarter, adds a moral strength to his arn
example of their devotion. What though Curio be cut off with his
IV 695–9. Africa? Caesar's wisdom had given him troops representative of
army rather than his own, and thus suffers little material and no m
V 237 foll. On his march back from Spain he is brought into the uttermost d
V 301–18. a mutiny of his own troops, who are weary of the war. His nerve n
him, he boldly faces the men, *meruitque timeri non metuens.* He c
overawes them, and the affair ends by leaving him stronger tha
V 381 foll, 664–8. Halting at Rome, he causes himself to be made consul for the follow
V 403 foll. and thus becomes the official representative of Rome on the battle-fi
is at once off to Brundisium, and in spite of the time of year an
V 461–671. timely calm lands his men safely on the Illyrian shore. The great c
are now face to face, but Caesar must lie quiet till Antony foll
with the rest of the army. His impatience leads him to ventur
wintry sea in a fisherman's boat. With incredible hardihood he
terrible storm, cool as ever, though the fruit of all his toils and p
V 672–724. jeopardy. He is driven back to shore, and upbraided by his devot

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 Epirus one by one, and unable to bring Pompey to battle, he makes a dash at Dyrrachium. Foiled in the attempt—for Pompey has the command of the 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 army though starving with hunger, *saturum tamen obsidet hostem*. Pompey tries to break out, but the Centurion Scaeva holds him at bay till the master for 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 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 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 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 pers 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, and takes their camp. The ghosts of the slain torment him in dreams, but the morning he visits the ghastly battle-field with unabated zest. The ring Pompey credits him with his own contemplated barbarity; Cornelia, oking on her husband's murder, lays it to Caesar's charge, and declares at he has forestalled them on the shores of Nile. Among the scattered mnant of the Pompeians the same opinion of his speed prevails; *praeceps cit omne timendum victor, et in nulla non creditur esse carina*. It is felt at his fortune now dominates the world. Even the snakes of the desert ith their venom do him service. And indeed he is pressing on in pursuit of ompey, and only stops at Troy to sacrifice to the gods of Rome's mother ty, the sacred cradle of the Julian line. At Alexandria the head of Pompey presented to him: he affects grief and indignation, and orders his fallen val an honourable burial. His entrance into the city is beset with dangers, t now as ever dissembling his fears he goes where he will, and visits the mb 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 e display of the royal wealth of Egypt. The priest Achoreus finds the ture reformer of the Roman Calendar an intelligent enquirer, and a patient tener to his lengthy discourse on the Nile. Soon he is besieged in the place and in the uttermost peril. But he is the same Caesar as of old; when sieged he is still the assailant, and surprises the Pharos, *semper feliciter us praecipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto*. The poem ends leaving him the direst straits, and almost wishing for death.

vi 3 foll.
vi 29 foll.
vi 64 foll.
vi 118–262.
vi 263–315.
vii 180–4, 235 foll.
vii 250 foll.
vii 329 foll, 501–3.
vii 544, 547, 647.
vii 551 foll.
vii 605 foll.
vii 722.
vii 728 foll.
vii 776 foll.
viii 10 foll.
viii 640–1, see ix 135.
ix 30–1, 47–8.
ix 244–7.
ix 850–1.
ix 950 foll.
ix 987 foll, see i 195–7.
ix 1010–1108.
x 1–19, see Suet Jul 7, Cic ad Att xiii 28.
x 53 foll, 461–4.
x 136–71.
x 172 foll.
x 439 foll.
x 488 foll.

Take him on Lucan's own shewing, this is a man indeed. ool-headed, clear-sighted, viewing things as they are and suiting eans to ends: a man of definite purposes and swift execution: e 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 particular 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 him[1] 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 Homeric[2] seer, *τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσιν· τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια, οἴῳ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.*

(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?

I 120 foll. See II 555–61. 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

I 311 foll. See II 562–5. 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

I 521–2. the school of Sulla. His flight from the capital serves to excuse the general

II 246, 283–4, 320–3. See IX 21, 263–4. II 392 foll. II 473 foll. panic. Brutus speaks of him as politically no better than Caesar; and Cato 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.

II 526–95. The same is true of VII 87–123, 342–82. He makes a long speech to his men by way of trying their mettle: it is full

[1] Lucan's malignity towards Caesar is well shewn in V 476—7, VII 674—5, 784—824, VIII 700, 765, IX 1037—63, 1104—8, X 149—50, 169—71.

[2] Odyssey X 493—5.

oastful assurance, but there is a lurking sense of uneasiness about it; ɔrotests far too much. The wished-for enthusiasm is not forthcoming. II 596 foll.
now retires to Brundisium, and sends off his son Cnaeus to gather the
es of the East. He foils the attacks of Caesar, and puts to sea. Suc- II 725 foll,
ful in flight, abandoned by Fortune, he is passing away from Italy a III 1–7.
ɔhty exile fondly looking back upon the land he is to see no more. In a III 8 foll.
am of evil import his lost Julia appears to him, and he shakes off the
sage of ill as best he may. We feel with Caesar that the conqueror of III 95–7,
East has lost his nerve. To emphasize the greatness of his coming fall, V 345. III 169 foll.
ɔng catalogue of his forces is given: these are being gathered together in
irus while the series of events crowned by the surrender at Ilerda is
ɔcking the cause of the senate in the West. Minor affairs have gone well
them; but when the great rivals meet on the eastern shores of the
riatic the advantage in the great operations is decidedly with Caesar. In
: fifth book the curtain rises on the Pompeian camp. Pompey is plainly
npered by the vain nobles, who make him their Commander-in-chief in
: form, and to whose foolish interference he is weak enough to submit.
his shoulders is laid the burden of their destinies. The hour of fate now V 48–9.
ws near, and he sends away his wife Cornelia to Lesbos for safety: but V 722 foll.
does it in an irresolute tearful way, quite unworthy of the situation. We
l that he should have done it before. He foils Caesar's attempt upon VI 15.
rrachium, and in the following operations gains an advantage, but neglects 118–305.
push it. On preparing to follow Caesar into Thessaly, he is urged by his VI 316–29.
npany to strike at Italy and Rome. He refuses, deprecating the horrors
a forcible return. On the eve of the great battle he is troubled by another VII 7 foll.
am in which he is carried back to the great triumph of his early career.
y dawns on the Pompeian camp. All is impatience and clamour for VII 45–84.
tle: the delay of their commander is set down to unworthy motives:
ero conveys the general sentiments to Pompey in an oration. Clearly the
th is that Pompey does not inspire confidence or awe: he has not got his
n in hand. And thus, though he well knows that delay is in his favour, VII 85–127.
gives the signal for battle against his own better judgment. Aptly is he
ened to the desperate skipper who lets his ship drive before a storm. The VII 337 foll.
nies are falling into line. Pompey is stricken with boding fears. He de-
ers another speech, the ring of which is not that of true confidence, for
its boasting. The fight goes on. He sees his army giving ground, and VII 647 foll.
ɔidly gives up all for lost. He is amiably desirous to avoid unnecessary
ɔodshed: he prays the gods to stay the carnage; he begs his men to cease
hting; he takes to flight himself, partly for their sake, partly through
xiety about his wife. He is not broken in spirit: he bows to fate, and VII 712 foll.
ɔed of the burden of a great destiny retires from the scene. His first
ɔught is to save those who supported him from being involved in his ruin.
ɔw dear he was to many he never knew till now. But when we come VIII 1–27.
on him later in course of flight he makes a less dignified appearance. This sudden change is ab-
embling at the rustling leaf, he measures the greatness of his danger from surd.
issaries of Caesar by what his conscience tells him would have been his
n action towards a fallen rival. He is filled with the dejection of futile
rospect. 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
VIII 109 foll. Pompey weeps. The Lesbians declare their loyalty to him, and he takes
VIII 159 foll. leave of them with a blessing. He knows not where to turn, and leaves
VIII 203. 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
VIII 256–327. 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
VIII 327–455. 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
VIII 568–95. of the Egyptian court. Pompey has no plan: he is warned by his friends,
See 340 foll. 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
VIII 612–37. 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[3] 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[4] 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

[3] See the remaining notices VIII 663—7, 684—6, 701—8, 793—822, 834—72, IX 190—210. The contrast of Caesar's generosity is very marked in IX 1064—108. Read the grand outburst in VII 703—11.

[4] VII 354—5, *non iratorum populis urbique deorum est Pompeium servare ducem*, is a good instance of his vanity.

ınt even by the pupil of a Sulla. The man who could against ; own judgment put all to the hazard at Pharsalia was no fit atch for Caesar and no fit champion for Rome.

(39) It is for many reasons necessary to examine in detail he character of Cato as drawn for us by Lucan: but I need say o more of reasons than to point out that Cato is at once the ero of the Roman Stoics and the champion of the Senate.

We first hear of him as a philosophic court of appeal, whose approval I 128, see II 276.
justifies the lost cause. Caesar regards him as an unpractical person, of no I 313.
account in the struggle. Brutus invades his modest home to seek counsel and II 238 foll.
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 II 284 foll.
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 II 326 foll.
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 observ- II 380–91.
ance of the mean, his adherence to nature's law, his devotion to his country
and to all [Ro]mankind, his abstinence simplicity and self-control, his perfect
uprightness and public-spirited virtue. Here he is *durus*, an epithet repeated see VI 311, 790, IX 18,
elsewhere; other descriptions call him *sanctus*, *non serviturus*, *invictus*, 50, 445, 562.
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 IX 18–35, 96–7.
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 II 319–23, IX 19 foll,
of Pompey, his country's cause is his own, he gathers the scattered forces and 190–214.
prepares to renew the war. With calm dignity he checks his comrades and IX 166, 188–293.
nerves them to a struggle of duty without hope and without wavering. In
their westward course opposition does not rouse him to anger or victory IX 298–9.
suggest revenge. The Libyan desert appals him not: he plainly tells his men IX 371–410.
what hardships they must look to encounter: but the way is *ad leges patri-
aque ruentis amorem*; perils are of no account to men *quibus ire sat est*, and
besides *gaudet patientia duris*. His example sustains them in that terrible IX 498–510.
march: he will not drink while others thirst. When they reach the famous IX 543–86.
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 IX 587–618.
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

ix 734 foll, 747, 761–2, 847–89.

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 pourtray.

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, *fortunae 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 *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 i 793 and the lines quoted § 34 *e*.

mation of political dreamers. Among such people he was no ıbt thrown, and often heard them contrasting a dignified and eficent council, such as their fancy painted it, with that de-ɜrate and servile gang, the Senate of their own times. Thus Lucan misinformed, and he doubtless regarded the Senate ıe latter days of the Republic as possessed of virtues and cities which it certainly had not. Before however we can ɔt the view[7] that the Senate is the hero of the poem—a very g statement—, it is necessary to inquire in detail how it is sented by Lucan.

e first hear of the Senate as trampling on the tribunician rights, and as I 266–76.
ɜ been foiled in its attack on Caesar by the influence of the demagogue over the mob. The centurion Laelius speaks of the dominion of the I 365.
: with contempt. Terrified at Caesar's approach, the Fathers quit their I 487–9.
in a most indecent stampede. The frenzied matron foresees Caesar's See 501, in the simile.
ɪ, *impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu.* So much for the first I 691.

In the second book we find one or two stray references in which the II 277, 520.
tance of the Senate is marked. Also it is directly recognized as the II 532–3. II 566–7.
rightfully competent to declare war in the name of the state, and the ıition that Caesar may possibly conquer in the struggle is rejected as l. After the flight of Pompey there are two Senates. The third book III 103–11.
ıts to us the section still remaining at Rome. The Fathers, drawn forth They are not a true
their hiding places, meet without due formalities, and are merely a *senatus*, but
ling and abject conclave ready to register the decrees of Caesar, be these *turba Patrum.*
they may. The fourth book supplies two or three casual references in See V 7, 22.
the cause of the senate is marked as the right one, and so on. In IV 213, 792, 801.
ıh book the curtain rises on the true Senate in Epirus, the *venerabilis* V 8–65.
summoned by the consuls: with these Fathers, whether in Rome or in ı lands, the true imperial power of Rome must rest. They confer the
and-in-chief on Pompey and transact other business. The assignment of V 56–7
ıments to barbarian kings is spoken of in a tone that seems to me some- *auctore senatu* and
sarcastic and indignant. There are besides two other references to the foll. See IV 788–93.
:. In the sixth book I find none at all. In the seventh Cicero expresses V 270, 496.
l confidence in the Senate's cause as the cause of Heaven. There are VII 76–7. VII 371, 588,
casual references of the usual kind. Caesar marks out the Senators as 782.
e-blood of the empire, and they fall thick in the battle, fighting for VII 293, 578–81, 697.
own cause, for the aristocratic Republic of Rome. The eighth book VIII 79, 205,
us the scattered survivors following Pompey in his flight with unshaken 258, 506, 554.
. They still retain some dignity and self-respect, and when Pompey VIII 261 foll.
unworthy proposals of flight into the far East, giving up all for lost, VIII 327 foll, 331 foll.
hew their disapproval and declare for the more manly and patriotic VIII 518–9.
e of Lentulus. Once more they are referred to, in the speech of ıus. In the ninth book we hear incidentally of the Senate as the power IX 22, 194.
ich Cato was drawn into the civil war, and as ruled by Pompey in its

[7] Merivale c 54.

IX 207 *nec frons erit ulla senatus.* X 339–40, 450.

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 knowing[8] 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 legent* 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.

rs) the 'negative hero', helps to explain the popularity of the poem. no age could men seriously have admired a work the merits of nich 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 ines that present us with pictures so natural so clear so tender or so striking that we must admit them to be true poetic ouches. They are certainly beyond mere rhetoric, and it is on uch passages as these that we must found any opinion of the robable poetic development of Lucan if he had not been cut off in his youth. Opinions differ on this unprofitable question: or myself I can only say that I think Lucan, had he lived to nature age, would have produced more finished work, possibly ome really great work.

These better lines take us with them—we stand with Pompey n the deck as he looks fondly back on Italy[1] *et dubios cernit anescere montes:* we seem to watch the dying father of the lying Argus as his eyes glaze in death[2] *et miserum cernens gnoscere desinit Argum.* The flooded river falls and the land nce more appearing dries and hardens[3] under the eye of day, *risoque die durescere valles.* Pompeian and Caesarian soldiers neet around their camp fires[4] and *extrahit insomnes bellorum abula noctes.* Volteius and his faithful few beset by overwhelming odds shew fight till nightfall[5], *pugna fuit, non longa uidem; nam condidit atra nox lucem dubiam pacemque habuere enebrae.* Surely this is admirably picturesque. Not less so is he comparison of the Pythian priestess, when the prophetic it is just leaving her and her heart is palpitating, to the sea alming down[6] after a storm; *sic muta levant suspiria vatem.* Caesar comes down to Brundisium; he finds his fleet afraid to ut to sea. The scene is vividly pourtrayed thus[7] *clausas ventis rumalibus 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. [7] V 407—8.

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[8]:

effera Romanos agitat discordia manis,
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[9]:

inque vicem voltus tenebris mirantur opertos,
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[10]:

invigilat cunctis saevom scelus, armaque tota
mente agitant, capuloque manus absente moventur.

Tender is the appeal of Cordus to his departed leader as he lays the corpse on the wretched pyre[11]; *exiguam, 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[12] into surviving her husband:

insidiae valuere tuae, deceptaque vixi,
ne mihi commissas auferrem perfida voces.

Naturally we read of her below[13], *saevomque arte complexa dolorem perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum.* Indeed in painting the love of Pompey[14] 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[15], is truly great:

mentem iam verba paratam
destituont, blandaeque iuvat ventura trahentem
indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis.
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.

dum fovet amplexu gravidum Cornelia curis
pectus et aversi petit oscula grata mariti,
umentis mirata genas percussaque caeco
volnere, non audet flentem deprendere Magnum.
ille gemens, vita non nunc mihi dulcior, inquit,
cum taedet vitae, laeto sed tempore, coniunx,
venit maesta dies et quam nimiumque parumque
distulimus; iam totus adest in proelia Caesar.

Surely the lad of twenty five years who wrote this stands on a height from which the ingenuity of a critic[16] 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[1] as *sententiis clarissimus:* 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 γνώμη, and signifies[2] 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[3] says *nostris temporibus modo carent.* The elder Seneca speaking of Porcius Latro says[4] 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 saeculo de divitiis dicuntur: hoc genus sententiarum supellectilem vocabat.*

[16] Nisard II pp 28—31.

[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 ai sufficiently numerous and striking to justify their selection b Quintilian as the single detailed characteristic to which seemed necessary to refer. To this end I have made as fa as I could a complete collection of them, and append it here.

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

II 287 sed quo fata trahunt virtus secura sequetur.

III 58 nescit plebes ieiuna timere, 118—9 usque adeo solus ferrum morten que timere auri nescit amor, 152 non sibi sed domino gravis est qua servitegestas, 448—9 servat multos fortuna nocentis et tantum miser irasci numina possunt.

IV 275 vincitur haud gratis iugulo qui provocat hostem, 478—9 vita brev nulli super est qui tempus in illa quaerendae sibi mortis habet, 7(audendo magnus tegitur timor, 704 variam semper dant otia menter 708 qua stetit, inde favet, 710 odere pares.

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

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

VIII 29—31 nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum adfuit et celeri praever tristia leto, dedecori est fortuna prior, 241 in dubiis tutum est inope simulare tyranno, 452—3 nil pudet adsuetos sceptris; mitissima sors e regnorum sub rege novo, 454—5 quantum spes ultima rerum liberta habet, 484—7 'ius et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemaee, nocentis. d poenas laudata fides cum sustinet', inquit, 'quos fortuna premit: fa accede deisque, et cole felices; miseros fuge'.

489—95 sceptrorum vis tota perit si pendere iusta
incipit, evertitque arces respectus honesti.
libertas scelerum est quae regna invisa tuetur
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 dees decet, sed laeta secutos: nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amic 631—2 mutantur prospera vitae, non fit morte miser.

IX 211 scire mori sors prima viris, sed proxima cogi, 403—4 gaudet patientia duris: laetius est quotiens magno sibi constat honestum, 583 pavido fortique cadendum est.

X 407 nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur.

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 develope 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 defends[5] 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 *sententiis 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.

[5] ep 104 *passim* and in particular §§ 27—8, 43.

Specimens of good lines

(**44**) Beside the grand passages on which the literary fa of Lucan must mainly rest, there are scattered about the pc a number of lines that catch the attention of a careful rea and lead him to form a high estimate of the writer's po\ They are not strictly speaking 'sentences', though m: of them could easily be cast into a gnomic form: they hardly poetic touches, though some of them border clo: on poetry. Sometimes it is a powerful metaphor that stri us; sometimes a good antithesis; sometimes the telling bre' of some bold appeal or touch of scorn. Often it is no m than some happy and forcible expression. Now and the: is not that the meaning is in any way remarkable, but t plain dignity of sense is joined to majesty of sound. M of the passages referred to elsewhere will illustrate my mear as well as the following, which I take from a large numbe: 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 cives.
	301—2	hoc cruor Arctois meruit diffusus in arvis, volneraque et mortes, hiemesque 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	259	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.

IV 120 et miseras bellis civilibus eripe terras.
185 usque adeone times quem tu facis ipse timendum?
284 paullatim cadit ira ferox mentesque tepescunt.
336 spectat vicinos sitiens exercitus amnes.
392 et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus.
515 vitare instantia nolim.
798 impiger ad letum et fortis virtute coacta.

V 34 ordine de tanto quisquis non exsulat hic est.
274 quid satis est si Roma parum?
283 sit praeter gladios aliquod sub Caesare fatum.

VI 164—5 vincimus, o socii; veniet qui vindicet arces
dum morimur.
262 infelix, quanta dominum virtute parasti.

VII 95—6 civilia bella
gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine vincant?
130 faciesque simillima fato.
253 in manibus vestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
311—2 di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanusque labor.
362 toto simul utimur orbe.
734 dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.

VIII 123 tota, quantum valet, utere Lesbo.|
484 ius et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemaee, nocentis.
531—3 ante aciem Emathiam nullis accessimus armis:
Pompeii nunc castra placent, quae deserit orbis?
nunc victoris opes et cognita fata lacessis?
640—1 letiferae tibi causa morae fuit avia Lesbos,
et prior in Nili pervenit litora Caesar.

IX 229—30 ille iacet quem paci praetulit orbis,
causaque nostra perit.
246—7 clausa fides miseris, et toto solus in orbe est
qui velit ac possit victis praestare salutem.
576—7 steriles nec legit harenas
ut caneret paucis, mersitque hoc pulvere verum.
884 omnibus unus adest fatis.
963 et multum debentis vatibus umbras.
1015 et, quod adhuc nescis, genero secure perempto.

X 105 voltus adest precibus faciesque incesta perorat.
182—3 quis dignior umquam
hoc fuit auditu, mundique capacior hospes?
358—9 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 1 § 90.

[2] An instance is the speech given to Cicero VII 68—95. Cicero, it should be remembered, 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 develope 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 mostly 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[1] 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[2] thinks fit to enlarge on the ghastly brutality of the deed step by step, quite needlessly.

Marcia returns to be remarried[3] 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[4] the wide area of his military exploits: the

[1] Nisard II pp 34—5.

[2] II 173—87. Lucan's appetite for revolting details is well known. See II 166—7 (cf IX 1033—4), III 577, 657—8, VI 627—8, VII 620, 838—40, VIII 670—3, 682—3, 688—91, 777—8, IX 767—81, etc.

[3] II 350—71.

[4] II 583—95. The enumeration in VIII 806—15 is in place where it stands, and is in itself a vastly 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[5] 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[6] 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[7]. 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[8] 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[9] 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[10] 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[11] on slight pretext. This passage well illustrates the tiresome recurrence

[5] III 342—55. [6] IV 48—87. [7] IV 750—64. [8] V 430—55. [9] VII 145—50. [10] VII 760—83. [11] IX 357—67. The snake is sleepless in lines 357, 363; the richness of the fruit of gold is noted in 361, 365, 366; the golden gleam in 360, 362, 364, 367. And the whole passage is but 11 lines long. We may compare the synonyms in the passages about the Sicilian strait II 435—8, III 60—3. See also IX 1—4 [*favilla, cinis, busto, rogum*], and the criticism of Fronto [above, pp 19, 20] on the *exordium*.

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[12] is found more or less in every part of the narrative. The age was an age of commonplace-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[13] of Gaulish places and tribes, in which two subordinate digressions are imbedded. Pompey's retreat to Capua leads to an account[14] of the physical geography of Italy, with one digression. The forces gathered to support Pompey are catalogued[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[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[17] in 16 lines. The topic of the Delphic oracle[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[19] that at the end of about 60 lines we are heartily sick of it; our impressions of the storm are confused by the bombastic language and ingenuity of material details, and the whole effect is execrable. It takes 80 lines[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 boastfully compared his early productions.

[13] I 392—465. [14] II 394—438.

[15] III 169—297.

[16] III 372—762. 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 71—224. The description of the priestess is as Nisard says [II pp 142—7] 'tout anatomique', and the heaping on of detail is disgusting. Virgil's Sibyl in Aen VI is worthy of the god.

[19] V 593—653. Compare IX 319—47. Aeneid I 81 foll is a wonderful contrast, though even this is less simple and has far less moral effect than the fine simple passage Odyssey XII 403—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[21] of Thessalian witches in 72 lines. Then the witch of the hour takes up 63 lines[22] of unspeakable foulness and horror: and Sextus' interview[23] with her runs to 260 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[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[25] of a list of the local snakes. Then comes[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[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[28] out of 18 given to a needless catalogue of possible enemies. A speaker descants[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[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[31] recounting the signs of bad weather to come.

(*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 *Pharsalia*. These

[21] VI 434—506.

[22] VI 507—69. [23] VI 570—830.

[24] IX 619—99. [25] IX 700—33.

[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.

[27] X 111—35. Aeneid I 637—42 will serve for contrast.

[28] II 48—55. [29] II 101—220.

[30] IV 593—653.

[31] V 540—56. So in VIII 167—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[32] 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

[32] I 98—182. I believe the passage to be in great part a reminiscence of Sallust Catil 9—13.
[33] II 531—95. [34] VI 301—13.
[35] VII 385—459, 617—46. [36] VII 698—711.
[37] VII 765—824. [38] IX 950—79.
[39] X 20—52. [40] I 412—9.

iddle of a catalogue, and other such passages: the descrip-ion[41] of Africa, its geography climate winds sandstorms and o forth: that[42] of Ammon's shrine, the Oasis, and the Tropics: nd last and most notable of all the 138 lines[43] delivered by he priest Achoreus on the marvels of the Nile.

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

Nero must be careful[44] where he sits, so as not to tilt the eaven but keep it trimmed. In the Sullan massacre[45] the slayers an hardly strike, the corpses will hardly fall, but the dead bodies erve to crush and kill the living: the corpses choke[46] the Tiber, till the stream of blood flushes it. The episode[47] 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[48] at Ilerda the clouds are so thick that you cannot see the lightning. When the waters abate[49] and the flood goes down, the water 'leaves the star-level'. In the following drought[50] men squeeze the clods for moisture. When Curio is hard pressed[51] by Juba in the African desert, he cannot see the extent of the disaster till the blood has laid the dust. Caesar is becalmed[52] at sea; 'no chance of ship-wreck, worse luck to it'. Soon there is a storm; all the winds blow at once[53] 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[54] of Scaeva's gallant fight is so grotesquely overdrawn as to be simply laughable: fancy a man's vital parts being only pro-tected by the spears sticking in his bones! At Pharsalia the

[41] IX 411—71. [42] IX 511—43.

[43] X 194—331. [44] I 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—53. In Aen I 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[55] 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[56] Julia's *paelex*. Cato draws off the fleet: 300 ships are spoken of[57] as 1000. In Africa a waterspout[58] 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[59] by the sight of lions. Alexander, who turned back from the Satlej, sheds the blood of Indians[60] on the Ganges.

(*e*) The truth of the matter is that the old warmth, the human interest, of early poetry was dead. In early poetry, as Nisard[61] 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[62] 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 104. 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—2, 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.

ıe interest of jaded audiences he should be led into[63] gross verdrawing of descriptions, into blunders betraying the flimsiess of the learning he so wearisomely parades, into reflexions nd remarks foolish in his own mouth and inappropriate to the nown views or circumstances of the characters by whom they re declaimed.

(47) Further characteristics in detail

(*a*) One of the most striking characteristics of Lucan's tyle is seen in the forced antitheses which abound in his ines. Sometimes they are felt at once to be a fit and powerul 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 quaesitis 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 *ulcisci* deletae funera gentis, hunc, Cimbri, *servate* senem, 511 scit Caesar *poenamque peti veniamque timeri*, 700—1 quam *retinere* vetas, liceat sibi *perdere* saltem Italiam, III 569—70 *navali* plurima bello *ensis* agit, 730 *exemplum* non *miles* erat, IV 23 qui *praestat* terris *aufert* tibi nomen Iberus, 362 hoc petimus, *victos* ne tecum *vincere* cogas, V 62—3 *donata* est regia Lagi, *accessit* Magni iugulus, 176—7 nec tantum *prodere* vati quantum *scire* licet, 487—8 ignave, *venire* te Caesar non *ire* iubet, VI 117 *saturum* tamen *obsidet* hostem, 749 *Stygias* qui *peierat* undas, 825 *venit defunctus* ad ignis, VII 109 *pugnare* ducem quam *vincere* malunt, 563—4 quis *praestet* bella *iubenti*, quem *pugnare iuvet*, 739—40 neque enim *donare* vocabo quod *sibi quisque dabit*, VIII 54 cum possis iam *flere*, *times*, 535 nulla fides umquam

[63] See III 48—52, 93—7, 118—121, 307—55, VII 467—469 [a long passage lacking sense of proportion and historic truth], 673—5, 689—97, 869—, VIII 241—3, 314—27, 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.

miseros elegit amicos, 657—8 Pompeio *praestare* potest quod Caesaris armi *imputet*, 714 ne iaceat *nullo* vel ne *meliore* sepulcro, 758 *admotus* Magnun non *subditus* accipit ignis, 852 *imbrifera siccas* sub Pleiade Thebas, ı 343—4 *terrae*que haerente carina *litora* nulla vident, 443—4 sic cum tot *commercia* mundo *naufragiis* Nasamones habent, 483—4 nec pondere solo sed *nisu iacuit*, 1042—3 generi mavolt *lugere* revolsum quam *debere* caput x 359 Aegypton *habet* Romamque *meretur*.

The influence under which this tendency grew up in Lucar is not far to seek: it is simply the school rhetoric. One ha 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.

II 35 *divisere* deos, 60 dum nondum *meruere*, 190—1 quid *perdere* fruc tum iuvit, 192—3 ut scelus hoc.....placeret, *agnoscendus* erat, 442 atqu ipsum non *perdat* iter, III 704 tandemque sub aequore *mansit*, 706—7 no *perdere* letum maxima cura fuit, IV 252 velut occultum *pereat* scelus, 349—5 nos denique bellum *invenit* civile duces, 570 et mortem *sentire* iuvat, V 42 iamdudum nubes et saevas *perdimus* undas, 491 in ventos *impendo* vot fretumque, VI 346—7 stagnumque implentibus unum *crescere* cursus era 407 [coin invented] divitias *numerare* datum est, 639—40 cadaver *victurum* 710—1 infans.... *victurus* erat, VII 91—2 testor.... Magnum quo cunct perirent *accepisse* diem, 404 *in nullos ruitura* domus, 431 quod sempe saevas *debet* tibi Parthia poenas, 445 quos servire *pudet*, 711 et terras *elig* morti, VIII 53 quid *perdis* tempora luctus, 652—3 te fata extrema petent *vita* digna fui, IX 99 deceptaque *vixi*, 233 *perierunt* tempora vitae, 561 a bellum civile *perit*, 637—8 nam rictus oraque monstri quis *timuit*, 105 necubi suppressus *pereat* gener, 1087—8 sed parcimus annis *donamus*qu

fas, x 344 exemplumque *perit*, 370—1 quod fecimus una *perdidimus*que fas.

(*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.

I 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 457—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 cf Seneca nat quaest 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 transmittat*, 834—5 *numquam tanto se volture caelum induit*, III 457 [*turres*] *nullo fixerunt robore terram.*

(*e*) 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 *facilem.*

II 22 *attonitae*, 32 *attonitae*,—205 *strages*, 212 *strage*,—212 *praecipites*, 216 *praecipiti*,—249 *furentis*, 254 *furor*,—292 *furorem*, 295 *furorem*,—299 *atris*, 301 *atras*,—677 *profundi*, 680 *profundi.*

II 436 *silvam*, 441 *silva*, 445 *silva*,—510 *robore*, 517 *robur*, 532 *robur*, 563 *robora*, 570 *robore*, 584 *robore*,—607 *tenet*, 622 *tenet*,—647 *carinae*, 650 *carina*, 654 *carinae.*

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

V 170 *ferens*, 174 *ferens*,—348–50 (uses of *nec*),—546 *cornu*, 548 *cornu*,—793 *sustinet*, 796 *sustinuit*.

VI 257 *armis*, 259 *armis*.

VII 157 *sulpure*, 160 *sulpure*,—197 *notavit*, 200 *notavit*, 203 *notasset*,—289 *fallar*, 290 *fallentia*,—512 *solutae*, 514 *soluto*,—
551 *hic furor hic rabies hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar*,
557 *hic Caesar rabies populis stimulusque furorum*.

VIII 194 *dedit*, 196 *dedit*,—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 furor* [*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.

I 155	in sua templa furit	I 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 cruor ..... admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces

II 217—8 nec iam alveus amnem nec retinent ripae redditque cadavera campo
VIII 438—9 et nostra cadavera Tigris detulit in terras ac reddidit

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 spatium 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 II 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 t of simplicity. They help us but little in forming a judgmer the *Pharsalia* as a work of art, but it is for all that bette examine than to ignore them.

(48) Similes and Metaphors

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

	Thing compared	*Compared to*
I 72—80	The crash of the civil war	The crash of the world's des tion
I 100—3	Crassus as an obstacle	The Isthmus of Corinth
I 118	Julia as a restraint	The Sabine women
I 136—43	Pompey[stationary dignity]	A grand old oak
I 151—7	Caesar [restless enterprise]	A thunderbolt [see metaphor —5]
I 205—12	Caesar animating himself to war	A lion working himself into fu
I 258—61	Silence of the overawed people of Ariminum	Calm in the country at midwi or at sea
I 292—5	Caesar egged on by Curio to war	A race-horse roused by shouts
I 327—31	Pompey thirsting for civil war	Tigers thirsting for blood
I 388—91	Shout of Caesar's army	Sound of a strong wind in woc
I 498—503	Great panic at Rome	Panic on board a ship in a sto
I 543—4	Midday darkness at Rome	Midday darkness at Mycenae
I 574—7	Apparition at Rome	Eumenides in Greek myths
I 674—5	Frenzied matron at Rome	A Thracian Bacchante
II 21—8	Scene at Rome, impression made by the approach of the great war	A deathbed scene, impression I by the approach of death
II 162—5	The numerous victims of Sulla's massacres	The numerous victims of Diom Antaeus and Oenomaus
II 187—90	Marius mutilated by Catulus	Men crushed by the fall of a b ing, and corpses washed ash
II 267—8	Cato should rest apart in peace	The rest of the quiet stars

	Thing compared	*Compared to*
II 297—303	Cato chief mourner over Roman freedom	A father chief mourner over dead children
II 454—60	Conflict of feelings in Italy	Contending winds at sea
II 601—7	Pompey sulkily withdrawing from Italy	A bull sulkily withdrawing for a time to prepare for renewing the fight
II 665—8	Caesar's great mole at Brundisium [mass of material sunk]	Mountains hurled into the sea or a lake
II 672—7	Caesar's mole again [structure]	The bridge of Xerxes
II 715—9	Pompey's fleet escaping through a narrow passage with loss of its last two ships	The Argo escaping through the Symplegades with loss of part of its stern
III 284—8	The vast host of Pompey	The vast hosts of Xerxes and Agamemnon
III 362—5	Caesar needing adversaries	Wind and fire needing obstacles
III 470—2	Effect of shot from a *ballista*	Effect of fall of a rock from a mountain
III 482—3	Effect of shot on a *testudo*	Effect of hail on a roof
III 549—52	Ships beating back one another's wash	Contending waves driven by opposite winds
IV 106—9	Weather in Spain BC 49 (Ilerda)	The antarctic winter
IV 134—6	Boats of wicker and hide made by Caesar	Similar boats used by various peoples
IV 237—42	Pompeians recalled to desire of bloodshed by Petreius' taunts	Wild beasts tamed recalled to desire of blood by tasting it again
IV 285—91	Pompeians, making a despairing rush, foiled of battle and left time to grow cool	Wounded gladiator allowed time to bleed and grow stiff
IV 297—8	Pompeians digging deep for water	Asturian mining deep for gold
IV 437—44	Stratagem of Octavius not to alarm the Caesarians too soon	Precautions of a hunter not to alarm the game too soon
IV 549—56	Vulteius' men killing each other	Men sprung from the serpents' teeth killing each other at Thebes and in Colchis

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

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

	Thing compared	*Compared to*
x 445—8	Caesar chafing at being closely beset in the palace at Alexandria	A wild beast chafing in a cage, an a choked volcano
x 464—7	Caesar ready to kill Ptolemy if hard pressed	Medea ready to kill Absyrtus hard pressed
x 501—3	Rapid spread of fire in the fight at Alexandria	Rapid rush of a meteor in th sky

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

Book	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
lines	695	736	762	824	815	830	872	872	1108	546
similes	14	10	5	9	9	12	5	1	10	4

I find it interesting to compare the distribution of the 11 similes in the Aeneid

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

I proceed to consider briefly the similes of Lucan. It seem to me that we may classify them under three heads according t 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[1] 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[2] 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:

I 159 [semina...mersere], 262—4 [faces, stimulos, moras]
V 118—9 [stimulo, fluctu, labat], VI 7—8 [alea...mersura],
603 [praeponderet...alea], VII 504—5 [pondera, torrente].

[1] The history of a simile may be well followed in Sophocles O T 476—9, Vergil georg III 224—36 [in narrative], Lucan II 601—7, Stat Theb II 323—30.

[2] See Abbott and Seeley's *English Lessons* part II c 4.

Nisard II 251 well points out that in II 244—5 we have a good instance of false metaphor: for *labantem dirige, dubium firma*, should strictly be *labantem firma, dubium dirige.*

Metaphors were already becoming conventional in Lucan's time. Such words as *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.
Law terms. I 128, II 4, 250, IV 213—4, V 115—6, VIII 332—3, 870, IX 24—5, X 105, 262, 419, and perhaps *suppressus* I 318, IX 1058.
The balance. I 57, II 41, III 55—6, 337—8, 439, IV 819, V 37—8, 339, VI 603, VII 118, VIII 280, IX 19.
Medicine and Surgery. II 140—3, VI 299—300, VIII 333—4, IX 25, 938.
Trade. V 248, VI 262, VII 757, VIII 100—1, 657—8, X 80.

[Digression.] In several passages Lucan speaks of the *cardines*, using them to determine the geographical position of some place or phenomenon; and in one line he employs *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 *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 *cardine tellus subsedit*, where *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]

hic, ubi iam Zephyri fines et summus[1] Olympi
cardo tenet Tethyn, vetitae transcurrere densos
involvere globos.

[1] For *summus* cf. Seneca's epigram (19 Baehrens *de se ad patriam* 15-6, where he says to Corduba *set gratare 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 Phoebo, cum cardine summo
stat librata dies.

(ε) 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,
unde fugit mundus praecepsque in Tartara tendit.
tertius excelsi signat fastigia caeli,
quo defessus equis Phoebus subsistit anhelis
[2]declinatque diem mediasque examinat umbras.
ima tenet quartus fundato nobilis orbe,
in quo principium est reditus finisque cadendi
sideribus, pariterque occasus cernit et ortus.

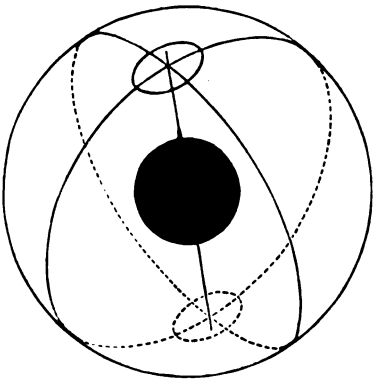
'Come then prepare your mind for learning the meridians: hey are four in number, their position in the firmament is fixed, ınd they modify the influence of the signs as these speed across hem. One is placed where the heaven rises springing up to orm its vault, and this one has the first view of the earth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

[2] Bentley emends *discernitque diem mediamque examinat horam*, and compares I 633 (631), not completely analogous. I keep the vulgate.

of the aether, and from this begins the falling-away of mament and its headlong sweep down to the Nether The third marks the highest part of the heaven aloft Phoebus reaches this he is weary and his horses out of l here then he rests a moment while he is giving the dov turn to the day and balancing the shadows of noon. The holds the very bottom of all, and has the glory of bei foundation of the round world: on it the stars cease thei ing and begin their upward course once more: it is equi from the setting and the rising.'

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

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



Turning back now to the four passages from Lucan, IV, V, IX, let us see whether we can get out of *cardo* an and consistent meaning. The reverse order will be b purposes of inquiry.

(δ) (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.

(α) 'Here, where the ocean is reached [*iam*] 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 these expressions, I do not maintain: but I do maintain : such is the strict meaning and that we need not wonder ıis lightly employing as a matter of course the language of ic astrology.

I now return to Manilius, who presently goes on to speak he astrological importance of the *cardines*. Of the Western ays [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 coetus hominum cultusque deorum.

I now proceed to Pompey's words in Lucan book VII.

(ε) '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[1] are after the strong penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesuras, as

I 57 sentiet axis onus. |
58 orbe tene medio. |
63 sed mihi iam numen. |
72 nec se Roma ferens. |
77 excutietque fretum. |

I 50 igne vago lustrare iuvet. |
61 inque vicem gens omnis amet. |
68 immensumque aperitur opus. |
82 crescendi posuere modum. |
84 invidiam Fortuna suam. |
93 impatiens consortis erit. |

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

III 165 tunc orientis opes captorumque ultima regum...
395 procumbunt nemora, et spoliantur robore silvae.

IV 198 instituunt, et permixto libamina Baccho.....

VI 265—7 cum se tollentibus Euris
frangentem fluctus scopulum ferit aut latus alti
montis adest seramque sibi parat unda ruinam.

[1] A hideous instance of the second of these is VII 217—9 *cornus tibi cura sinistri, Lentule, cum prima, quae tum fuit optima bello, et quarta legione datur.* Quoted by Nisard II p 267.

VII 192 Euganeo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur.....
548 illic non regum auxiliis collecta iuventus.....

VIII 513 causa data est; quid sepositam semperque quietam.....

IX 800—1 tumidos iam non capit artus
informis globus et confuso pondere truncus.

942—3 iamque illis magis atque magis durescere pulvis
coepit et in terram Libye spissata reverti.

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 impulit Ister.

How far this sameness of rhythmic 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[2] 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 declaimer 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 349—69, particularly the lines of Albinovanus Pedo and Cornelius Severus.

eld, and that Lucan could not free himself from its influence. outh also has probably something to do with the defect of ucan's verse: and, though the cases are not quite analogous, e 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[3] 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[4] 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[5] 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[6] 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.

[3] No doubt elision has something archaic about t. As a language gets more fixed, ears get enderer. See Quintilian IX 4 §§ 33 foll on hiatus.

[4] There is no instance of the elision of a hypermetric syllable at the end of a line in Lucan.

[5] I 329 armentorum, 665 Orionis, 689 Pyrenen, I 396 Appenninus, 675 Hellesponti, V 598 Atlanteo, VI 386 Centauros, VIII 697 Mausolea, IX 297 Cyrenarum, 329 armamentis, 719 amphisbaena, 836 Orionis, 918 centaurea, X 216 incrementis.

[6] IX 723 tabificus seps, X 318 praecipites cataractae

I 115 furentem, 116 parentem } II 288 nocentem, 289 cadentem } III 13 nocentes, 14 tenentes }

III 82 timori, 83 amari } III 443 carentes, 445 videntes, 448 nocentis } IV 128 colles, 129 valles } IV 661 locorum, 662 priorum }

IV 326 rigatus, 327 meatus, 328 palato } V 546 cornu, 548 cornu } VII 211 movebunt, 213 favebunt }

VII 678 paventem, 679 ferentem } VII 750 petentis, 751 nocentes } VII 763 nocentes, 764 furentes }

VIII 600 putasset, 601 vacasset, 603 fugasses } IX 398 bibentem, 399 petentem }

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 am*nis*
> infer*nis*, ut fama, trahens oblivia ve*nis*;
> atque insopiti quondam tutela draco*nis*
> Hesperidum pauper spolia*tus* frondibus hor*tus*.

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* [nĭs nīs nīs nĭs], 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 fortunat*am* nat*am* me consule Rom*am* of Cicero in VII 110 res mihi Roman*as* deder*as*, Fortuna, regend*as*.

(*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 influences 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 *s*emper *s*aevas debet tibi *P*arthia *p*oenas.

IX 364 *r*obora *c*omplexus *r*utilo *c*urvata metallo.
1075 non tuleram *M*agnum *m*ecum *R*omana *r*egentem.

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 vocat non vana vetustas, VII 704 quicquid sub Phario positus patiere tyranno, 705 longo fatorum crede favori, 707 lacrimas luctusque remitte, 722 caedis adhuc cumulo patriae per viscera vadis, 835 aut plures presserunt aera pennae IX 229—31 ille iacet quem paci praetulit orbis, causaque nostra perit; patrios permitte penates, desertamque domum dulcesque revisere natos, 360 qui vates ad vera vocat, 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

	a	*b*	*c*	*b*	*a*
I 105	Assyrias	Latio	maculavit	sanguine	Carras
243	[et] scabros	nigrae	morsu	robiginis	enses
382	Hesperios	audax	veniam	metator	[in] agros
476	barbaricas	saevi	discurrere	Caesaris	alas
600	[et] lotam	parvo	revocant	Almone	Cybeben
620	plurimus	adsperso	variabat	sanguine	livor
654	tota [que]	diffuso	latuisset	[in] aequore	tellus
657	succensus [que]	tuis	flagrasset	curribus	aether

	a	*b*	*c*	*a*	*b*
I 3	[in] sua	victrici	conversum	viscera	dextra
40	ultima	funesta	concurrant	proelia	Munda
62	ferrea	belligeri	compescat	limina	Iani
95	fraterno	primi	maduerunt	sanguine	muri
106	Parthica	Romanos	solverunt	damna	furores
170	longa	[sub] ignotis	extendere	rura	colonis
180	annua	venali	referens	certamina	campo
188	turrigero	canos	effundens	vertice	crines
247	[et] tacito	mutos	volvunt	[in] pectore	questus
269	audax	venali	comitatur	Curio	lingua
279	tua	nos	faciet	victoria	cives
323	Pompeiana	reum	clauserunt	signa	Milonem
329	altus	caesorum	pavit	cruor	armentor
361	lenta	tuas	tenuit	patientia	vires
398	pugnaces	pictis	cohibebant	Lingonas	armis
449	plurima	securi	fudistis	carmina	Bardi
500	fracta [que]	veliferi	sonuerunt	pondera	mali
526	ignota	obscurae	viderunt	sidera	noctes
530	fulgura	fallaci	micuerunt	crebra	sereno
568	compositis	plenae	gemuerunt	ossibus	urnae
581	tristia	Sullani	cecinere	oracula	manes
613	deposito	victum	praebebat	poplite	collum
675	Edonis	Ogygio	decurrit	plena	Lyaeo
691	impia [que]	[in] medio	peraguntur	bella	senatu

These instances of two collocations only are surely enou to justify what I have said. Sameness of word-grouping p duces monotony of cadence. This sameness is all the m manifest because elision is too little used and the rhytl generally too little varied.

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

	a	*a*
I 80	machina divolsi	turbabit foedera mundi
86	in turbam missi	feralia foedera regni
90	aer et longi	volvent Titana labores
95	fraterno primi	maduerunt sanguine muri
96	nec pretium tanti	tellus pontusque furoris
97	tunc erat exiguom	dominos commisit asylum

[7] Nisard II p 267, who quotes VII 524—31.

a	*a*
538 iam Phoebe toto	fratrem cum redderet orbe
539 terrarum subita	percussa expalluit umbra
540 ipse caput medio	Titan cum ferret Olympo
541 condidit ardentis	atra caligine currus
544 sole Thyesteae	noctem duxere Mycenae
545 ora ferox Siculae	laxavit Mulciber Aetnae

(*h*) 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 *Pȳrenen*, IV 83 *Pŷrenaeae*].

sanguĭs generally but *sanguīs* 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 an make it. There is very little to note under this head, and t is just this fact that is significant.

(50) Grammar etc.

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

[*a*] Substantives and Adjectives. Verbal substantives ı *tor* are used with great freedom: many of the following are ew words, at least in poetry, or used in quite new senses. ome are ἅπαξ 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*.

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

IV 406 *bellax*, VI 22 *quassabilis*, VIII 175 *inocciduus* [Sen epigr 36 Baehrens], IX 408 *irredux*, 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

I 530, IV 55, IX 423 *serenum*, II 389, VIII 490, IX 404, 563, 571 *honestum*, IV 248 *iustum*, VIII 488 *utile*, *rectum*, IX 189, 577, X 189 *verum*.

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 *auxilii*, *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.

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

mors [with *letum*], *fatum*, *fortuna*. } IX 700—889 *passim*.

See in particular IV 737—8 *leti fortuna propinqui tradidera 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,* tc.

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

(*b*) Use of cases.

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

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

Genitive singular after neuter singular of adjective substanıally used.

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

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

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 irae*], V 343 *humanum paucis vivit genus,* VII 451—2 *astra Thyestae impulit,* IX 259 *quod tibi non ducibus vivis morerisque,* X 115 *stabatque sibi non segnis achates* (cf VII 697 etc).

In II 126 *neglectum violatae dextrae* the dative is harsh: the :onstruction looks differently when the person and not a limb ›f 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 redit*, VI 140—1 *quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto auferret 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 indole*, 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 cruor*, VIII 300—1 *nec pila 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 *superenatat.*

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 *proserit* [not metaphorical], V 776 *assuescis* [here = *assuefacis*. In Horace sat II 2 109 there is, as Nisard remarks, a reflexive notion in the passage], VIII 3 *ne-*

gantem with a dative = resisting, IX 373 *cingere* = to go round instead of across a place, 'make a detour round', 685 *pensabat* = would have been shortening [cf VIII 249], X 473 *aestimat* = gauges, is a measure of.

The strained metaphorical use of verbs is a characteristic of the Silver Age, and is well illustrated by

explicare IV 629, V 81, VI 477, VII 201.

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:

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.

I 164—5 *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 *scire †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 *parum fidens pedibus contingere patrem* [where the sense of *contingere* is *ei quod contingeret*, in the fact of his touching: Horace epp I 19 44 is quite different], I 416—7 *propius iam fata moveri degeneres trepidant animi* where we have an object clause with perhaps a notion of *quod moveantur* 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 aequora mittens Sicaniis Alpheos aquas* [*qui solet mittere*], 282—3 *solvens ieiunia belli Massagetes quo fugit equo* [*qui solet solvere*], IV 815 *aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti* [*si secutus esset*], VIII 229—30 *tamen omnia vincens sustinui nostris 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 privatum 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 iura per unum libertas experta virum*, 641—2 *nullius vita perempti est tanta dimissa via*, 719 *ingentem militis usum*, IV 620 *mi-*

ranturque habuisse parem, 770—1 *nullo dubii discrimine Martis ancipites 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 iuventae*, IX 225—6 *unus aperta mente fugae*.

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:

I 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.

I 14, III 679, V 321, 387, 680, 691—2, VI 710—1, VII 685—6, IX 193—4, 232—3.

(*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 *tenentis 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.

(*h*) The following references will illustrate some miscellaneous usages, for the most part very common in Lucan, which I cannot discuss at any length :

(*α*) 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.

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

(*ζ*) *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 remarks[1] 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.

ıthority as the historian of Imperial Rome, but in this matter am compelled to record my dissent from his view.

I have collected a great number of passages on which the ɔntrary opinion may as I think securely rest. These passages ıight 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.

have not so classified them, because many passages would ıave 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 ıame metre and language. But when the resemblances are very ıumerous, 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 a 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 ap the influence of Vergil on Lucan, I readily admit. Th ence of manner in the two writers is enormous. Verg lover of the country, gentle, sympathetic, quiet, conter master of his learning, careful in selection, weaves tog story unobserved and sets his imaginations in subtle ha of rhythm and style. Lucan, a young city prodigy declamatory, eager to display all his undigested erudi make telling hits to catch the applause of an audience, transitions and without sense of proportion, poor in ima —how should he give us general effects other than rhetoric? His is the hurried result of effort, Vergil's fruit of loving labour.

If this be so, why does not the influence of Vergil o strike the eye at once? Because Lucan after all is n he is strong, and when he borrows he alters, sometimes in wanton[2] rivalry. Besides, many of the parallels do s eye even at a cursory glance.

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

	LUCAN	VERGIL
I	I Emathios.....campos	G I 492 Emathiam et latos guescere campos
	3 in sua victrici conversum viscera dextra	A VI 833 neu patriae valida vertite vires
	7 pares aquilas	G I 489 paribus concurrere te
	17 bruma rigens et nescia vere remitti	G IV 36 eademque calor li mittit
	22 totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem	A IV 231 ac totum sub leges bem
	25—6 lapsisque ingentia muris saxa, IV 12—3 fundata vetusta surgit Ilerda manu	A VIII 355 duo...disiectis op G II 156 tot congesta manu p pida saxis
	29 desuntque manus poscentibus arvis, 205 squalentibus arvis	G I 507 squalent abductis ar
	34 [fata] invenere viam	A X 113 fata viam invenient
	52 quis deus esse velis.....etc	G I 24—5 quem mox quae deorum concilia incertu

[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 I It is to be remembered that it tak to borrow judiciously and that t velopes greatly with age.

LUCAN	VERGIL
I 55 sidere	B IX 47 Caesaris astrum
68 immensumque aperitur opus	A III 275 aperitur Apollo
80 foedera mundi, II 2 legesque et foedera rerum	G I 60—1 has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis
88—9 orbemque tenere in medium, V 46 consulite in medium	G I 127 in medium quaerebant
111 non cepit fortuna duos	A IX 644 nec te Troia capit
133 plausuque sui gaudere theatri, VI 9—12 ...theatri...et plausu cuneos certare sonantis	G II 508—10 hunc plausus hiantem per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque corripuit
136—8 quercus sublimis in agro exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans dona ducum	A XI 5—7 ingentem quercum.....constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma Mezenti ducis exuvias
144—5 nescia virtus stare loco	G III 84 stare loco nescit
153—4 populosque paventis terruit	G I 330—1 et mortalia corda per gentes humilis stravit pavor
158 hae ducibus causae suberant	B IV 31 pauca tamen priscae suberunt vestigia fraudis
221—2 molli.....vado	B IX 8 mollique iugum demittere clivo
229 torto Balearis verbere fundae	G I 309 torquentem Balearis verbera fundae
307 iussus Caesar agi	A VII 481 ut cervom ardentes agerent
314 extremi.....clientes	G II 114 extremis domitum cultoribus orbem
347 tollite iampridem victricia tollite signa	A II 103 iamdudum sumite poenas
355 diro ferri revocantur amore	A VII 461 saevit amor ferri
366 usque adeo miserum est civili vincere bello?	A XII 646 usque adeone mori miserum est?
393 fataque ferre videt	A II 34 seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant
425 flexis in gyrum...frenis	G III 115 frena.....gyrosque
465 apertum gentibus orbem	A X 13 Alpes immittet apertas
524 manifesta fides	A II 309, III 375 manifesta fides
525 foll. prodigies etc	G I 464 foll (on which the passage of Lucan is clearly modelled)
588 monitus volitantis in aere pinnae	A III 361 et praepetis omina pinnae
651—2 frigida...stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes	G I 336 frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet
659 scorpion...chelasque	G I 33—5 chelasque sequentis.....Scorpius
674 sed maiora premunt	A X 375 numina nulla premunt
683 quo diversa feror	A V 166 quo diversus abis
II 3 vertit [leges et foedera rerum]	G I 505 ubi fas versum atque nefas
151 in fratrum ceciderunt praemia fratres	G II 510 gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum
152 permixtaque viva sepultis corpora	A VIII 485 mortua...iungebat corpora vivis
156 dissiluit percussus humo	G III 363 aeraque dissiliunt volgo

LUCAN	VERGIL
II 213 interruptus aquis	A V 821 sternitur aequor aquis
224 hic stabit civilibus exitus armis	A X 467 stat sua cuique dies
268 inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu	A IV 524 cum medio volvuntur lapsu
290 cum ruat arduus aether	G I 324 ruit arduus aether
291 mixto coeuntis pondere mundi	B IV 50 convexo nutantem ponder dum
294 diductique fretis.....reges	A III 418—9 urbes litore diduct gusto interluit aestu
297—9 ceu morte parentem natorum orbatum longum producere funus ad tumulum iubet ipse dolor	A IX 486—7 nec te tua funera mat duxi.....etc
315—6 me solum invadite ferro, me frustra...tuentem	A IX 427 me me, adsum qui feci, convertite ferrum
408—9 quoque magis...Eridanus fractas devolvit in aequora silvas	G I 481—2 proluit insano cont vortice silvas fluviorum rex E
435—8 [of Appennine] longior Italia donec confinia pontus solveret incumbens terrasque repelleret 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.	A III 414—9 haec loca vi quon vasta convolsa ruina.....dis ferunt, cum protinus utraqu una foret; venit medio vi po undis Hesperium Siculo la scidit arvaque et urbes lit ductas angusto interluit aestu
438 colles Siculo cessere Peloro	A III 297 patrio Andromachen iter sisse marito
496—7 si tumido me gurgite Ganges submoveat	A VII 225—6 si quem tellus extr fuso submovet Oceano
557—8 fervidus haec iterum circum praecordia sanguis incaluit	G II 484 frigidus obstiterit circur cordia sanguis
577 ante bis exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem	A V 46 annuus exactis completur bus orbis
584 terra...quocumque iacet sub sole	G II 512 alio patriam quaerunt s iacentem
601 foll [simile of bull]	G III 210 foll
603 in adversis explorat cornua truncis	G I 175 suspensa focis explorat fumus
604—5 nisi cum cervice recepta excussi placuere tori	A XII 7, 8 gaudetque comantis e cervice toros
616—21 immissum...portus erat...refunderet...etc	G II 163—4 refuso.....immittitur.
	G II 132—3 si non.....iactaret.... erat
	A I 159—69 which is in Lucan' throughout the passage
631 natum cui firmior aetas	B IV 37 ubi iam firmata virum te aetas

LUCAN	VERGIL
II 641 pigra palus Scythici patiens Maeotica plaustri	G III 349 qua Scythiae gentes Maeotiaque unda, 361—2 undaque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes.....patulis nunc hospita plaustris
665—6 maris Aegaei medias si celsus in undas depellatur Eryx	A XII 701 quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx [see § 36 note 27]
728—30 cum coniuge pulsus et natis totosque trahens in bella penatis vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exsul	A III 11, 12 feror exsul in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis
III 7 et dubios cernit vanescere montes	A III 522—3 cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus Italiam
43 tunc...hospita tellus	A III 539 bellum, o terra hospita, portas
47 absconditque fretum classes	A III 291 aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces
186 nec eois peior...sagittis	G II 125 et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris [Indians]
209—10 passaque ab auriferis tellus exire metallis Pactolon; qua culta secat non vilior Hermus	A X 141—2 ubi pinguia culta exercentque viri Pactolusque irrigat auro
	A VIII 63 stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem
	G II 137 auro turbidus Hermus
213 Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli [see I 197, IX 995]	A I 288 Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo
216 arbusto palmarum dives Idume	G III 12 Idumaeas.....palmas
242 iniecisse manum fatis	A X 419 iniecere manum Parcae
246 aethera tangentis silvas	G II 123—4 aera vincere summum arboris
250—1 quorum deflexus in austrum aether	G I 240—1 mundus.....premitur Libyae devexus in austros
282—3 [bleeding a horse for food]	G III 460—3 ferire...venam...sanguine... equino
303 tamen ante furorem...	A XII 680 hunc oro sine me furere ante furorem
354 volnera miscebunt fratres	A XII 720 illi inter sese multa vi volnera miscent
358 vana movet Graios nostri fiducia cursus	A I 131 tantane vos tenuit generis fiducia vestri
393 virum toti properans imponere mundo, X 377 quae sustulit illum imposuitque orbi	A VI 621 vendidit...patriam dominumque potentem imposuit
404 structae diris altaribus arae	B V 65—6 en quattuor aras: ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo
406 siqua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas	A X 792 siqua fidem tantost operi latura vetustas
402—25 (sacred grove of unknown gods)	A VIII 348—54 .....silvam saxumque tremebant. hoc nemus.....quis deus incertum est, habitat deus

LUCAN	VERGIL
III 432 implicitas magno torpore cohortes	A XII 867 illi membra novus so dine torpor
434 aeriam.....quercum	B I 59 aeria.....ab ulmo
441 silvaque Dodones et fluctibus aptior alnus	G II 87 Alcinoi silvae
	G I 148—9 glandes.....deficer et victum Dodona negare
	G I 136 tunc alnos primum flu cavatas
	G II 451 undam levis innatat al
450 utque satis caesi nemoris	G II 399 cui numquam exhaust
465 lancea.....ballistae turbine rapta	A XI 284 quo turbine torqueat
466—8 haud unum...latus transire... superat telo post volnera cursus	A X 339—40 traiecto...lacerto. git servatque cruenta ten
	G II 331 superat tener omnibu
	G III 63 superat gregibus dun ventas
593—4 carinae audivere manum, IX 931—2 si quod tardius audit virus	G I 514 neque audit currus hal
605—6 discrevit mors saeva viros, unumque relictum agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes	A X 391—3 simillima proles, suis gratusque parentibu nunc dura dedit vobis Pallas
612 nisu quo prenderat haesit	A V 437 stat...nisuque immotu
673 avolsasque rotant...sedes	A IX 441 ac rotat ensem
681—2 pinguibus ignis adfixus taedis et tecto sulpure vivax.....	G III 449—50 sulpura viva Idae et pinguis unguine ceras
684 nunc pice nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera	
737 caput labens et iam languentia colla	A IX 434—6 cervix collapsa purpureus veluti cum flos cit moriens lassove papa

Note—it should be observed that most of the names of the men in the s the same as names found in Vergil. Thus we find Tagus A IX 418, Telon Lycidas B VII, IX, Tyrrhenus A XI 612, Argus A VIII 346, and the two b above on 605—6) are clearly borrowed from the Aeneid. Gyareus and seem not to occur in Vergil. The soldiers in the ninth book who perish bites are on the contrary a quite independent set of names.

LUCAN	VERGIL
IV 28—9 prono tum Caesar Olympo in noctem	B VI 86 invito processit vesper
47 irritus...subducto Marte pependit	B I 76 dumosa de rupe proc videbo
59 foll. tum sole relicto Cynthia quo primum cornu dubitanda refulsit...etc	G I 427 foll. luna, revertentis mum colligit ignis, si r scuro comprenderit a maximus.....parabitur i

LUCAN	VERGIL
IV 68 incendere diem nubes	A X 895 clamore incendunt caelum Troesque Latinique
80—1 arcus...oceanumque bibit	G I 380—1 et bibit ingens arcus
91—2 tectarum errore viarum fallitur ...populator	A VII 199 errore viae
	A V 590—1 qua signa sequendi falleret .....error
	A III 181 deceptum errore locorum
106—9 sic mundi pars ima iacet, quam zona nivalis.....sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignis	G I 233—6 quinque.....zonae,.....extremae dextra laevaque trahuntur caerulea glacie concretae atque imbribus atris... also 241 premitur
115—6 tellus laxet iter fluviis	G II 331 laxant arva sinus
123—5 iam rarior aer et par Phoebus aquis densas in vellera nubes sparserat	G I 419 denset erant quae rara modo
	G I 397 tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri
129 visoque die durescere valles	B VI 53 tum durare solum...etc
	G I 72 segnem patiere situ durescere campum
135—6 [boats on Nile-flood]	G IV 288—9
194 numine fata sinistro	B IV 47 concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae
197—8 duro concordes caespite mensas instituunt	A VII 109—10 instituuntque dapes et adorea.....liba per herbam subiciunt epulis
201—2 qua lancea dextra exierit [see Mr Haskins' note]	B VI 43 Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum clamassent
237 desuetae silvis	A VI 814—5 iam desueta triumphis agmina
267 ut leti videre viam	G III 482 nec via mortis erat simplex
291 sicca rigens adstrinxit volnera sanguis	G I 91 seu durat magis et venas adstringit hiantis
293 occultos latices abstrusaque flumina quaerunt	G I 135 ut silicis venis abstrusum excuderet ignem
296 irrigui...fastigia campi	G II 288 scrobibus quae sint fastigia
332 miseros undae ieiunia solvant	A XII 867 olli membra novos solvit formidine torpor, cf I 92, XII 951
334 qua nudi Garamantes arant	A III 13, 14 terra.....colitur.....Thraces arant
335 deprensus [inter Sicorim et Hiberum]	A V 52 Argolicove mari deprensus
361 turba haec sua fata peregit, 392 et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus	A IV 653 quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi
	A III 493—4 felices, quibus est Fortuna peracta iam sua; nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur
380 non auro murraque bibunt	G II 506 ut gemma bibat
393 felix qui potuit mundi nutante ruina.....	G II 490 felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas

LUCAN	VERGIL
IV 425 et taciti praebet miracula cursus	G IV 441 omnia transformat se: cula rerum
430 missa ratis prono defertur lapsa profundo	G II 451 alnus missa Pado
	G III 447 missusque secundo de
	G I 203 illum.....prono rapit a
	A VIII 548—9 pars cetera pr aqua segnisque secundo d
431—2 cunctas super ardua turris eminet et tremulis tabulata minantia pinnis	A II 460—4 turrim in praecipi summisque sub astra educ .....qua summa labantis tabulata dabant
437—8 dum pavidos formidine cervos claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnae	G III 372 puniceaeve agitant pa midine pinnae
448 fraudes innectere	G III 251 si tantum notas odor at
465 tacitas sensit sub gurgite fraudes	A VI 609 fraus innexa clienti
486—7 decernite letum, et metus omnis abest	A IV 67 tacitum vivit sub pecto
	B III 104—7 dic.....et eris mil Apollo,.....dic.....et Phy habeto
495 spectabunt geminae diverso e litore partes	G III 32—3 et duo rapta manu hoste tropaea, bisque tri utroque ab litore gentes
516 proieci vitam, 568 despectam cernere lucem	A VI 435—6 lucemque perosi animas
565 exegere enses, VIII 656 aliquis Magno dignus comes exigat ensem, X 31—2 gladiumque per omnes exegit gentes	A X 815 validum namque exigit etc
573—4 nullam maiore locuta est ore ratem totam discurrens fama per orbem	G III 294 magno nunc ore sonai
581—2 non segnior illo Marte fuit	A VIII 414 nec tempore segnior
632 novo laxavit corpore nodos	A II 473 positis novus exuviis
643 quisquis inest terris...spiritus, V 93 foll forsan terris inserta regendis...etc	A VI 724—7 spiritus intus alit...
657 qui Latiis revocavit ab arcibus hostem	G II 172 imbellem avertis Rom bus Indum
664 indulsit castris	G II 276 indulge ordinibus
	A IV 51 indulge hospitio
680 aequaturusque sagittas.....	A X 248 et ventos aequante sagi
684 et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer	G III 340 et raris habitata mapa 343—5 omnia secum ar Afer agit, tectumque lare maque Amyclaeumque can samque pharetram
712 .....belli fortuna recepit	A IV 214 dominum Aenean in cepit

LUCAN	VERGIL
744 simulatae nescius artis	A IV 105 sensit enim simulata mente locutam
746 tum primum patuere doli	A II 309—10 tum vero manifesta fides Danaumque patescunt insidiae
795 compressus sanguine pulvis	G IV 86—7 motus...certamina tanta pulveris exigui iactu compressa quiescunt
820 captus...Caesaris auro, 824 hic vendidit urbem	A VI 621 vendidit hic auro patriam...etc
V 4 ...cadens Atlantis	G I 221 ante tibi eoae Atlantides abscondantur
24 claususque vaporibus axis, 407 clausas ventis brumalibus undas	A I 234 cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis
71 submotus	A VIII 193 hic spelunca fuit vasto submota sub antro
74 Thebanae referunt trieterica Bacchae	A IV 302—3 ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho orgia
76 pontoque fuit discrimen et astris	A IX 143 fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva
86 numen ab aethere pressum	G II 26 pressos propaginis arcus
65 foll. oracle scene at Delphi	A VI 9 foll. oracle scene at Cumae
99, 100 ceu Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam undat apex; Campana fremens ceu saxa vaporat conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus	G I 471—3 Cyclopum effervere in agros vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam, flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa A IX 716 Inarime Iovis imperiis imposta Typhoeo
110 monstrato fine	G IV 549 monstratas...aras A IV 636 monstrata piacula
116—20 effect of the inspiration on the priestess	A VI 77—80 fatigat.....premendo
152—3 non rupta trementi verba sono	A II 416 rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
157 tripodas cessare	G I 71 tonsas cessare novalis
174—6 stimulis.....accipit et frenos	A VI 100—1 ea frena furenti concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo
183 in Euboico vates Cumana recessu	A VI 2 Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris
193 domita iam virgine	A VI 80 fera corda domans
217—8 ...pontus rauca gemit	A IX 124—5 ...amnis rauca sonans
226—7 subsidere regnum Chalcidos Euboicae	A XI 268 devictam Asiam subsedit adulter
288—9 nec fas nec vincula iuris hoc audere vetant	G I 269 fas et iura sinunt A VII 203 gentem haut vinclo nec legibus aequam
313—4 disce sine armis posse pati, IX 262 et nescis sine rege pati	B X 52—3 certum est in silvis inter spelaea ferarum malle pati
414 quos incumbere certos [flatus]	A XII 367 qua venti incubuere

LUCAN	VERGIL
V 439—41 riding and driving on frozen sea	G III 361—2
483—4 summam rapti per prospera belli te poscit Fortuna manum	A VII 572—3 nec minus interea Saturnia bello imponit r num
488—9, 493—4 forcing a landing on a hostile coast even at cost of wreck	A X 295—8
501—2 temeraria prono expertus cessisse deo	A XII 147—8 Parcaeque sineba res Latio
504 nox languida	A XII 908—9 oculos ubi langui nocte quies
513 litora curva legit	A III 292 litoraque Epiri legim
540 foll. weather signs	G I 424 foll
544 orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit	G I 442 medioque refugerit orb
546 non gracili cornu, 548 nec duxit recto tenuata cacumina cornu, 549 ventorumque nota rubuit	G I 428 si nigrum obscuro con aera cornu, 431 vento sen aurea Phoebe, 433 obtuns bus
553—4 aut siccum quod mergus amat, quodque ausa volare ardea sublimis pennae confisa natanti	G I 361—3 quom...revolant e mergi.....cumque marina ludunt fulicae, notasque p serit atque altam supra v nubem
555—6 quodque.....cornix [See Mr Haskins' notes]	G I 385—9 [with Conington's r
561—3 ad quorum [ventorum] motus non solum lapsa per altum aera dispersos traxere cadentia sulcos sidera, X 502	G I 365—7 saepe etiam stellas pendente videbis praecip labi noctisque per umbrar rum longos a tergo albesc
	A II 697—8 tum longo limite lucem
564—5 niger inficit horror terga maris	A III 195 et inhorruit unda ten
564 foll. great storm	A I 81 foll in general, also II 4
604 et abstrusas penitus vada fecit harenas, 643 non celat harenas, 640 fluctibus e summis	A I 106—7 hi summo in fluct his unda dehiscens ter fluctus aperit, furit aestus
644 [pelagus] exhaustum in cumulos	A I 105 insequitur cumulo pra quae mons
679 tacita sua castra fuga comitesque fefellit	A II 744 et comites natumque fefellit
683 aut quae nos viles animas in fata relinquens, VII 730 ut viles animas	A XI 372 nos animae viles inh fletaque turba
711 foll. flight of cranes	A X 264—6
715 temere immixtae glomerantur in orbes	G IV 79 magnum mixtae glom orbem

LUCAN	VERGIL
V 767—8 sic est tibi cognita, Magne, nostra fides?	A II 44 sic notus Vlixes?
784—5 notescent litora clari nominis exsilio	G III 35—6 demissaeque ab Iove gentis nomina
VI 45 flumina tot cursus illic exorta fatigant illic mersa suos	A VIII 94 olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant
66 rabidum nescit latrare Pelorum	A VII 587—8 pelagi rupes.....multis circumlatrantibus undis...etc
74—5 sacrata Dianae.....nemoralis Aricia	A VII 762 mater Aricia misit, 764 pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae, 775 nemorique relegat, 778 templo Triviae lucisque sacratis
145 ante feras Rhodani gentes	G II 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis
166 quantum [furorem] non primo succendunt classica cantu	A VI 165 aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu
	A VII 496 laudis succensus amore
198 hunc aut tortilibus vibrata phalarica nervis obruat aut vasti muralia pondera saxi	A IX 705 magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit
	A XII 921—2 murali concita numquam tormento sic saxa fremunt
205 densamque ferens in pectore silvam	A X 887 immanem aerato circumfert tegmine silvam
210 et haerentis mota cute discutit hastas	A X 715 et tergo decutit hastas
214—5 Dictaea procul ecce manu Gortynis harundo tenditur	A XI 773 spicula torquebat Lycio Gortynia cornu
221 iaculum.....amentavit habena	A IX 665 intendunt acris arcus ammentaque torquent
239 fulmineum.....ensem	A IX 441—2 ac rotat ensem fulmineum
293—5 Enceladum.....Aetna	A III 575—80
296—7 glomerato pulvere victus..... caeci trepidus sub nube timoris	A IX 33 subitam nigro glomerari pulvere nubem
324 dum bella relegem	G III 212—3 tauros procul atque in sola relegant pascua
378—80 Stygiis manare paludibus amnem.....superumque sibi servare timorem [cf 749]	A VI 323—4 Stygiamque paludem, di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen
396—9 primus ab aequorea percussis cuspide saxis...sonipes.....exsiluit; primus chalyben frenosque momordit, spumavitque novis Lapithae domitoris habenis	G I 12—14 tuque o, cui prima frementem fudit equom magno tellus percussa tridenti, Neptune
	G III 115—6 frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere impositi dorso
417 degeneres trepidant animi	A IV 13 degeneres animos timor arguit
419 turbae sed mixtus inerti...	A IX 55 Teucrum mirantur inertia corda
	A XI 732 o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes

LUCAN	VERGIL
VI 426—7 primis quid frugibus altrix aere Iovis Dodona sonet	G I 148—9 cum iam glandes atqu sacrae deficerent silvae et Dodona negaret
	A III 466 Dodonaeosque lebetas
438 foll [power of magic]	B VIII 64 foll
455—6 [the hippomanes]	G III 280—3, A IV 515—6
460 [the rhombus]	B VIII 73—8
490 [snake-charming]	B VIII 71
499 foll [moon-charming]	B VIII 69
619 foll [corpse-raising]	B VIII 98
571—2 Titan medium quo tempore ducit sub nostra tellure diem	G I 247—51 [the Antipodes] illic redit a nobis Aurora diem ducit
621—2 ora plena voce sonent	G I 388 cornix plena pluviam vc proba voce
646—7 pallensque sub antris longa nocte situs	A VI 462 per loca senta situ...noc profundam
648 non Taenareis sic faucibus aer...	G IV 467 Taenareas etiam fauces.
658 exanimi defixum lumina voltu	A VI 156 maesto defixus lumina v
662—5 si vero Stygiosque lacus ripamque sonantem ignibus ostendam, si me praesente videri Eumenides possent villosaque colla colubris Cerberus excutiens et vincti terga Gigantes.....	A VI 134 Stygios innare lacus
	A VI 550—1 quae rapidus flammi torrentibus amnis Tartareus thon torquetque sonantia sa
	A VI 374—5 tu Stygias inhumatu amnemque severum Eum aspicies ripamve iniussus ad
	A VI 419 [Cerbero]...horrere vid colla colubris
	A VI 580 foll [the Giants]
689 quod trepidus bubo quod strix nocturna queruntur	A IV 462—3 solaque...ferali carmi visa queri
699, 700 caelum matremque perosa Persephone	G I 39 nec repetita sequi curet Pro matrem
703—4 repetitaque fila sorores tracturae	
704—5 portitor..... senex	A VI 298, 304 portitor.....iam se
721—2 invisaque claustra timentem carceris antiqui	A VI 734 clausae tenebris et carcer
730 vocisque meae secura	A VII 304 securi pelagi atque mei
743—4 immittam ruptis Titana cavernis et subito feriere die	A VIII 242—6 et umbrosae penitu ere cavernae...non secus ac trepident immisso lumine M
780 effera Romanos agitat discordia manis impiaque infernam ruperunt arma quietem	G II 496 infidos agitans discordia f
	A VI 612—3 quique arma secuti in
785 foll [names of Roman heroes]	A VI 817 foll

LUCAN	VERGIL
VI 796 ausosque ingentia Gracchos	A VI 624 ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti
814 ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in arvis	A V 731 foll [Anchises tells Aeneas to meet him by way of Avernus when he gets to Italy; then he shall hear all]
828 caelo lucis ducente colorem	B IX 50 duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem
VII 4, 5 defectusque pati voluit raptaeque labores lucis	G II 478 defectus solis varios lunaeque labores
129—30 multorum pallor in ore mortis venturae est	A VIII 709 illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
131—2 advenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aevom conderet humanis	A VII 145 advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant
	A X 35 aut cur nova condere fata
137—8 non vacat ullos pro se ferre metus	A IX 291 hanc sine me spem ferre tui
139 foll [preparations for battle]	A VII 624 foll
148 spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit	A VII 636 recoquont...fornacibus enses
	A V 374 et fulva moribundum extendit harena
151 venturos prodere casus	A X 99 venturos nautis prodentia ventos
188 Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxen	B I 62 aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim
	A VIII 728 pontem indignatus Araxes
194 atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timavi	A I 242—6 Antenor potuit.....et fontem superare Timavi.....etc
195 venit summa dies	A II 324 venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus Dardaniae
207 apud seras gentes populosque nepotum	G II 58 seris factura nepotibus umbram
209—10 sive aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris nominibus prodesse potest, cum bella legentur	A IX 446 si quid mea carmina possunt
	B IV 26—7 facta parentis iam legere
229—30 illuc et Libye Numidas et Creta Cydonas misit; Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis	G III 343—5 Afer...Cressamque pharetram
	A XII 855—7 sagitta.....quam....Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit [cf B X 59—60]
	G II 448 Ituraeos taxi torquentur in arcus
246 casus audax spondere secundos [mens]	A IX 296 sponde digna tuis ingentibus omnia coeptis
249 hortando melior fiducia volgo	G I 286 nona fugae melior
256 vetitos remeare triumphos	A II 95 si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos
	A XI 793 patrias remeabo inglorius urbes

LUCAN	VERGIL
VII 272—4 et mixtae dissona turbae barbaries, non illa tubas non agmine moto clamorem latura suom	A VIII 685 hinc ope barbarica v: Antonius armis
	A VI 592—3 at pater.....telum co non ille faces nec fumea ta mina...
312 Romanusque labor	A II 11 Troiae supremum audire l
	A IV 78 Iliacos.....labores
320 non vos pietatis imago...	A IX 294 animum patriae strinxit imago
328 vallo tendetis in illo	A II 29 hic saevos tendebat Achil
340—1 tantoque duci sic arma timere omen erat	A VII 173—4 hic sceptra accipere mos attollere fasces regibu: erat
350 ipsi tela regent.....	A IX 409 et rege tela per auras
360 primo gentes oriente coactae	G I 250 nosque ubi primus equis afflavit anhelis
409 et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis	A VII 717 quosque secans infaust terluit Allia nomen
413 insanamque famem	A IX 340 suadet enim vaesana fan
426 sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis Emathiae funesta dies	A II 169—70 ex illo fluere ac ret lapsa referri spes Danaum
433—6 libertas.. ...recessit.....nec respicit ultra Ausoniam	B I 28 libertas, quae sera tamen r inertem, also 63 Tigrim
438 Romulus infami complevit moenia luco	A VIII 342—3 hinc lucum ingenter .. Romulus acer Asylum rettuli
475—84 [echo and effect of the bugle calls] also 489—91	A VII 511—8, also 523—7
481 Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cavernis	A I 319 dederatque comam difl ventis
492—5 densis acies stipata catervis iunxerat in seriem nexis umbonibus arma, vixque habitura locum dextras ac tela movendi constiterat gladiosque suos compressa †tenebat†. [I fancy †timebat† is right, see IV 779.]	A X 432—3 extremi addensent ac turba moveri tela manusque
497 in densos agitur cuneos	A XII 574—5 omnes dant cuneum que ad muros mole feruntur
512—3 inde faces et saxa volant, spatioque solutae aeris et calido liquefactae pondere glandes	A I 150 iamque faces et saxa volan
	A IX 588—9 et media adversi liqu tempora plumbo diffidit
519 ferro subtexitur aether	A III 583 caelum subtexere fumo
528—9 [wounded horse] in caput effusi calcavit membra regentis	A X 893—4 effusumque equitem ipse secutus implicat eiectoq cumbit cernuus armo
537—8 non alio mutentur sanguine fontes	B IV 43—4 aries iam...murice iam mutabit vellera luto

LUCAN	VERGIL
VII 547 fortunaque Caesaris haesit	A XI 289—90 Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium haesit
568 sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum, Bistonas aut Mavors agitans	A VIII 700—3 saevit medio in certamine Mavors.....cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello
588 o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus	A II 281 o lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima Teucrum
616 densaeque oculos pressere tenebrae	A XI 824 et tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum
722 patriae per viscera vadis	A VI 833 neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires
731 ...permisit vitae	A IV 640 Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammae
734 dum conficit omnia terror (see § 53 below)	A XI 823 [me] nunc volnus acerbum conficit
777—80 haud alios..... Eumenidum vidit voltus Pelopeius Orestes; nec magis...Pentheus.....etc	A IV 469—73 Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus.....aut Agamemnonius scenis agitatus Orestes.....etc
787 clara dies Pharsalica damna retexit	A IV 118—9 ubi.....ortus extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem, and V 65
818 libera Fortunae mors est	A X 154 libera fati [gens Lydia]
837 sanguineis stillavit roribus arbor	A VIII 645 sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres
847 infelix quo tanto crimine tellus...	A II 42 o miseri quae tanta insania cives...
858—62 [plough turning up bones on the battlefield]	G I 493—7
860—1 nullus ab Emathio religasset litore funem navita	A VII 106 gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem
866—7 vel solis iniqui limite	A VII 227 plaga solis iniqui
VIII 90 me pronuba ducit Erinys	A VII 319 et Bellona manet te pronuba
171—2 ...taciti servator Olympi: signifero quaecumque fluunt labentia caelo [sidera]	A III 515 sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo
210 qui sparsa ducis vestigia legit	A IX 392—3 vestigia retro observata legit
245—6 spumantia parvae radit saxa Sami	A III 699, 700 proiectaque saxa Pachyni radimus
265 rebusque novis exordia quaeram	A IV 284 quae prima exordia sumat A VII 40 et primae revocabo exordia pugnae
272 mille meae Graio volvontur in aequore puppes	B II 21 mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae
280 mentisque meae quo pondera vergant	A XII 727 quem damnet labor et quo vergat pondere letum
304 ...sed multo saturantur tela veneno [Parthorum] See on VII 229-30	A XII 856—8 sagitta, armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni.....torsit

LUCAN	VERGIL
VIII 305 fatumque in sanguine summo est	A XII 376 et summum degust corpus
391 ...toto divisus ut orbe	B I 67 penitus toto divisos orbe
460—1 totos emensus Cypri scopulos	A V 627—8 tot inhospita saxa emensae ferimur
467 tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas, IV 58—9	G I 208 Libra die somnique fecerit horas
613 ut vidit comminus enses	A VII 732 falcati comminus en
	A IX 347—8 totum cui commi condidit adsurgenti
698—711 [end of Pompey; his neglected corpse]	A II 454—8 [same of Priam]
717 infaustus Magni fuerat comes	A VI 166 Hectoris hic magni fu
734—5 totus ut ignem proiectis maerens exercitus ambiat armis	A XI 92—3 tum maesta phala que secuntur Tyrrheniqu versis Arcades armis [see 202, and VI 214—31]
773 plenos et reddere mortis honores	A VI 383 maestos et mortis ho tis
797—8 qua terra extrema refuso pendet in oceano	A VII 225—6 siquem tellus extr summovet oceano
832 semicanesque deos	A VIII 698 omnigenumque deu et latrator Anubis
IX 4 sequitur convexa Tonantis	A IV 361 Italiam non sponte s
	A V 629 Italiam sequimur fugi
	A IV 451 taedet caeli convexa
	A VI 750 supera ut convexa re
6 lunaeque meatus	A VI 849 caelique meatus
7—9 quos ignea virtus innocuos vita patientis aetheris imi fecit	A VI 730—2 igneus est ollis vi lestis origo seminibus, qu corpora noxia tardant..... 7 purumque reliquit aeth sum atque aurai simplici
12—13 stellasque vagas miratur et astra fixa polis, vidit quanta sub nocte iaceret nostra dies	B V 56—7 candidus insuetum men Olympi sub pedibu nubes et sidera Daphnis
31 rapido victoria Caesaris actu	A XII 687 magno mons improl
42—3 ...Palinure...neque enim aequore tantum Ausonio monumenta tenes	A VI 380—1 .....aeternumque linuri nomen habebit
231 dulcisque revisere natos	G I 414 dulcisque revisere nid
288 Phrygii sonus increpat aeris	G IV 64 et Matris quate cymb
311—2 vel plenior alto olim Syrtis erat pelago penitusque natabat	G I 371—2 omnia plenis rura n
326 spatium vicere carinae	G II 123—4 aera vincere su boris
335—47 [storm scattering ships]	A I 106—23

LUCAN	VERGIL
IX 349 ventosa perflantem murmura concha	A I 83 et terras turbine perflant
	A VI 171 forte cava dum personat aequora concha
426—7 tantum Maurusia genti robora divitiae	A IV 206—7 cui nunc Maurusia pictis gens epulata toris.....
454 rabiem totis exercet habenis	A XII 499 irarumque omnis effundit habenas
511 foll. Garamantes...Hammon..... Indis.....	A IV 198 Hammone satus, rapta Garamantide nympha
	A VI 794 super et Garamantas et Indos
516 splendent donaria gemmis	G III 533 alta ad donaria
604 nunc olim factura deum	A IV 627 nunc olim quocumque dabunt se tempore vires
605—6 et plaga quam nullam superi mortalibus ultra a medio fecere die	A VII 226—7 et siquem extenta plagarum quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui [see also G I 233—9]
643 Cerberus Orpheo lenivit sibila cantu	G IV 483 tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora.....
787 Cinyphias...pestes	G III 312 Cinyphii...hirci
798—9 [simile of swelling water in a boiling pot]	A VII 462—6
809 Corycii pressura croci	G IV 127 Corycium vidisse senem
820 stipite quae diro virgas mentita Sabaeas toxica fatilegi carpunt matura †Sabaei† [? Sabini]	G I 57 India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei
	G II 117 solis est turea virga Sabaeis. [culex 404 herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabina.]
867 et premitur natura poli	G I 240—1 mundus.....premitur Libyae devexus in austros
893 par lingua potentibus herbis	A VII 19 quos hominum ex facie dea saeva potentibus herbis.....
	A XII 402 multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis.....
916 peregrinaque galbana sudant	G III 415 galbaneoque agitare gravis nidore chelydros
	G IV 264 hic iam galbaneos suadebo incendere odores
918 et Thessala centaurea	G IV 270 et grave olentia centaurea
936—7 et cuius morsus superaverit anguis iam promptum Psyllis vel gustu nosse veneni	G II 255—6 promptum est oculis praediscere nigram, et quis cui color
959 .....Pontus et ostriferam dirimat Chalcedona cursu	G I 207 [quibus] Pontus et ostriferi fauces temptantur Abydi
983—6 nam si quid.....aevo	A IX 446—7 .....si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies umquam memori vos eximet aevo
989 votaque turicremos non irrita fudit in ignis	A IV 453 turicremis cum dona imponeret aris

LUCAN	VERGIL
x 49—50 Zephyrique domos terrasque premamus flagrantis post terga Noti	G I 370—1 et cum Eurique Zepl tonat domus A x 53—4 magna dicione iubeto l go premat Ausoniam
59 [Cleopatra] Latii feralis Erinys (cf 60—1)	A II 573 [of Helen] Troiae et patri munis Erinys
63 terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro	A VIII 696 regina in mediis patri agmina sistro
120—1 et suffixa manu foribus testudinis Indae terga sedent	G II 463 nec varios inhiant pulchr dine postes
122 fulget gemma toris et iaspide fulva supellex. strata micant; Tyrio quorum pars maxima suco cocta diu virus non uno duxit aeno: pars auro plumata nitet	A IV 261—2 atque illi stellatus fulva ensis erat G II 464—5 inlusasque auro veste reiaque aera, alba neque fucatur lana veneno
135 vix ulla fuscante tamen lanugine malas	A x 324 flaventem prima lanugin
188 sed cum tanta meo vivat sub pectore virtus	A IV 67 et tacitum vivit sub pect nus
194—5 fas mihi magnorum, Caesar, secreta parentum prodere	A II 157 fas mihi Graiorum sacra vere iura
246 adversique obice ponti	A x 377 maris magna claudit n pontus
247—53 [the rivers underground]	G IV 363—73
255 oceano, qui terras alligat omnis	A VI 438—9 tristique palus in unda alligat
299 aliena crescere bruma	G II 149 alienis mensibus aestas
319—21 ...obsistere cautes indignaris aquis.....cuncta fremunt undis, ac multo murmure montis.....	A I 55—6 illi indignantes mag murmure montis circum fremunt

To other Augustan writers.

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

The reminiscences of Horace are frequent; but, as n portant episodes are suggested by imitation or rivalry of pa

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 I 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 CIX—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.

VI 716 [anima] ad manis ventura semel	Ovid fr 7 [of Orpheus] bis rapitur vixitque semel. [Serv ad Verg georg IV 495 gives it to Ovid, Heinsius assigned it to the *Orpheus* of Lucan]
I 99, 100 nam sola futuri Crassus erat belli medius mora	Arbronius Silo fr [o Danai] ite triumphantes; belli mora concidit Hector
VI 208 sic Libycus densis elephas oppressus ab armis.....	Rabirius fr 3 ac veluti Numidis elephas circumdatur altus
X 160—1 gemmaeque capaces excepere merum, sed non Mareotidos uvae...	Gratius 312—3 haec illast Pharios quae fregit noxia reges, dum servata cavis potant Mareotica gemmis.....

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 debent	Ennius ann I fr 9 terraque corpus quae dedit ipsa capit neque dispendi facit hilum
	Maecenas fr 7 nec tumulum curo; sepelit natura relictos
VII 841—2 sic quoque non omnis populus pervenit ad ossa inque feras discerptus abit	Ennius ann II fr 93 volturus in spineto obitum mandebat homonem: heu quam crudeli condebat membra sepulcro
VII 734 dum conficit omnia terror	Ennius ann VIII fr 195 multa dies in bello conficit unus

VI 194—5 nec quicquam nudis vitalibus obstat iam praeter stantis in summis ossibus hastas	Ennius ann VIII fr 200 pila retunduntur venientibus obvia pilis
X 249—54 [Sun draws the water back from the North by underground channels to the South]	Scholiast on the passage says *Ennius haec de Nilo ait, quod per aestatem sol ab inferioribus aquam supra revocet et hinc eo tempore Nilus increscat.*

[NOTE. Baehrens in his *Fragmenta* pp 358—9 quotes as *incertorum versus* Lucan I 15 *unde venit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit*, II 15 *liceat sperare timenti*, III 751 *festinantem animam morti non credidit uni*, and a line *sanguineum quatiens dextra Bellona flagellum* which is VII 568 with *quatiens 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	JUVENAL
I 64—5 Cirrhaea.....Nysa	VII 64 dominis Cirrae Nysaeque
97 dominos commisit	I 162—3 Aenean Rutulumque ferocem committas
494—5 aut iam quatiente ruina nutantis pendere domos, IV 393 mundi nutante ruina	III 190 quis timet.....ruinam 196 pendente iubet dormire ruina
II 18, 28 latuit plebeio tectus amictu omnis honos.....cultus matrona priores deposuit	III 212—3 horrida mater, pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor
46 Cannarum Trebiaeque iuventus	II 155 quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus
155—6 se praecipiti iaculatus pondere dura dissiluit percussus humo	III 271—2 quanto percussum pondere signent et laedant silicem
193 agnoscendus erat	VIII 206 tota fugit agnoscendus harena
382 patriaeque impendere vitam	IV 91 et vitam impendere vero
672—7 [Xerxes at Hellespont and Athos]	X 173—6 velificatus Athos...constratum classibus isdem suppositumque rotis solidum mare
III 233—4 hic ubi Pellaeus.....ductor constitit et magno vinci se fassus ab orbe est	X 168—9 unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis, aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi
V 356 quibus hic non sufficit orbis	
X 456 cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis	
III 472—3 nec tantum corpora pressa exanimat; totos cum sanguine dissipat artus	III 259—61 quid superest de corporibus? quis membra quis ossa invenit? obtritum volgi perit omne cadaver more animae
IV 706 galeae texere pudorem	VIII 203 nec galea faciem abscondit
VI 7, 8 alea fati alterutrum mersura caput	X 57—8 mergit [quosdam] longa atque insignis honorum pagina
63 aestuat angusta rabies civilis harena	X 169 aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi
VII 34—6 illa rati semper de te sibi conscia voti.....sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni	X 283—6 provida Pompeio.....febres optandas sed multae urbes et publica vota vicerunt: igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis servatum victo caput abstulit
60 nocituraque poscimus arma	X 8, 9 nocitura toga nocitura petuntur militia
339—40 stat corde gelato attonitus	VI 95—6 timent pavidoque gelantur pectore
438 infami complevit moenia luco	VIII 273 ab infami gentem deducis Asylo
493 iunxerat in seriem nexis umbonibus arma	II 45—6 sed illos defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges
579 [of Senate] quae viscera rerum	III 72 viscera magnarum domuum
755 quidquid Tagus extulit auri	III 55 omnis harena Tagi quodque mare volvitur aurum

LUCAN	JUVENAL
III 490 evertitque arces respectus honesti	X 306 saeva.....in arce tyrannus
493—4 exeat aula qui volt esse pius	III 153—5 exeat, inquit,.....cuius res legi non sufficit
542—4 Nilusne et barbara Memphis .....hos animos	I 88—9 alea quando hos animos
657—8 quod Caesaris armis imputet	V 14 imputat hunc rex
IX 519—21 pauper adhuc deus est nullis violata per aevom divitiis delubra tenens, morumque priorum numen Romano templum defendit ab auro	XI 116 fictilis et nullo violatus Iuppiter auro

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:

II 74	consul et eversa felix moriturus in urbe.
171	omnia Sullanae lustrasse cadavera pacis.
III 439	...sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.
IX 706—7	sed quis erit nobis lucri pudor? inde petuntur huc Libycae mortes, et fecimus aspida mercem.

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 uictrici 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 *quo inter sese paribus concurrere telis Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi, haud fuit indignum superis bis sanguine uestro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*; cf. infr. 680, VII 853, 854 *te nouae uenient acies scelerique secundo aestabis nondum 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 uagantur, et fit saepe nefas iaculum temptante lacerto.*

2. *ius datum*] 'license granted to crime'; cf. 407 infr.; Plin. H. N. XVIII § 337 (*zephyrus*) *arbores serendi ius dabit.* Ov. Met. II 47, 48 *currus rogat ille paternos, inque diem alipedum ius et moderamen equorum.*

3. *uiscera*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 833 *neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uires.*

cognatasque acies, et rupto foedere regni
certatum totis concussi uiribus orbis
in commune nefas, infestisque obuia signis
signa, pares aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.
quis furor, o ciues, quae tanta licentia ferri
gentibus inuisis Latium praebere cruorem?
cumque superba foret Babylon spolianda tropaeis
Ausoniis, umbraque erraret Crassus inulta,
bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos?
heu quantum terrae potuit pelagique parari
hoc quem ciuiles hauserunt sanguine dextrae,
unde uenit 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,

4. *regni*] tyranny, i.e. the (informal) power of the first triumvirate; cf. infr. 86, 92, 315; Cic. pro Sulla § 21 *quod tandem Torquate regnum? consulatus, credo, mei.*

5. *certatum*] the conflict; cf. infr. 70 *negatum*, 462 *ignauum;* Verg. Aen. v 6 *notumque furens quid femina possit.*

6. *in commune nefas*] 'doomed to end in general guilt'.

7. *pares*] 'matched', equivalent to *commissas*, cf. IV 710, V 3, VI 3; Verg. G. I 489. It is a metaphor from the gladiatorial contests; cf. Hor. Sat. II vi 44 *Threx est Gallina Syro par?*

pila] the special weapons of Romans; cf. X 47, 48 where they are opposed to the Macedonian *sarisae, Eoi propius timuere sarisas quam nunc pila timent populi;* Liv. VII 23, IX 19, X 29; imitated by Dryden, Hind and Panther 160, 161, 'That was but civil war, an equal set, Where piles with piles and eagles eagles met.'

10. *Babylon*] used loosely for Ctesiphon the Parthian capital; *tropaea* are the standards of Crassus.

11. *inulta*] cf. Ammian. Marc. XXIII 5 § 17 *nec errauere diu manes inulti.*

12. *geri*] For the passive form of the sentence cf. Verg. Aen. III 60, 61 *omnibus idem animus scelerata excedere terra, linqui pollutum hospitium.*

nullos triumphos] No general could claim a triumph for a victory civil war; cf. VI 260, 261 *non spoliis ornare Tonantis templa tu laetis ululare triumphis.* quadruple triumph B.C. 46 wa Gauls, Ptolemy, Pharnaces So Augustus after the battle triumphed B.C. 29 over the I Egypt and Alexandria, cf. Su 22.

13. *parari*] equivalent to bought; cf. infr. 34; Cic. ad § 1; Liv. XXXIV 4; Juv. III 2

14. *hoc quem*] For the con of words in this line cf. infr. 508; also Catull. LXVI 18 *n divi, uera gemunt, iuerint.*

15. *sidera*] perhaps equivale cf. Ov. Met. XIV 172 *caelumq solis respicio.*

16. *flagrantibus horis*] eq *aestate;* cf. Hor. A. P. 302 *temporis horam.*

17. *remitti*] cf. Verg. G. *nam frigore mella cogit hiemp calor liquefacta remittit.*

19. *sub iuga*] cf. Hor. 1—10 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis dexteris aptantur enses conditi campis atque Neptuno super Latini sanguinis? non ut su piae Karthaginis Romanus ar intactus aut Britannus ut sacra catenatus uia; sed ut*

et gens si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo. 20
tum, si tantus amor belli tibi, Roma, nefandi,
totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem,
in te uerte manus: nondum tibi defuit hostis.
at nunc semirutis pendent quod moenia tectis
urbibus Italiae, lapsisque ingentia muris 25
saxa iacent, nulloque domus custode tenentur,
rarus et antiquis habitator in urbibus errat,
horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
Hesperia est, desuntque manus poscentibus aruis,
non tu, Pyrrhe ferox, nec tantis cladibus auctor 30
Poenus erit: nulli penitus descendere ferro
contigit: alta sedent ciuilis uolnera dextrae.
quod si non aliam uenturo fata Neroni

nota Parthorum sua urbs haec periret dextera.

barbarus Araxes] is equivalent to the ...age tribes on the Araxes. So Verg. G. ... 497 *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Ister.*

20. *et gens*] 'the tribe, if such there ..., that knows the hidden cradle of the ...ile'; cf. Hor. Carm. IV 14, 45, Oud. cf. ...mon. Idyll. VII 2 *conscia nascentis ...sula Danubii.* Lucan himself v. 89, ...has *mundique futuri conscius.*

12. *Latias leges*] cf. Verg. Aen. IV 231 *...m sub leges mitteret orbem*; VI 852 *tu ...re imperio populos Romane memento.* ...r. Carm. III iii 43—44 *triumphatisque ...it Roma ferox dare iura Medis.*

3. *defuit*] 'not yet hast thou felt the ...it of a foe'.

4. *quod*] 'for the reason why.....' ...cipative of line 30; see Dr Munro's ... on Lucret. IV 885 *id quod prouidet, ...s rei constat imago.* So also Verg. ...II 180—182 *et nunc quod patrias uento ...ere Mycenas, arma deosque parant ...ites pelagoque remenso improuisi ade...t.*

5. *urbibus*] The reading has been ...ected owing to the repetition of the ...e word in line 27, but such careless ...etition is not uncommon in Lucan, cf. ... 510, 513. Weber would read *finibus* ...his passage, but if any alteration is ...led perhaps *arcibus* would be better, ...ch would stand in either line.

5. *saxa*] For the massive building of ...old Italian towns cf. Verg. G. II ...—157 *adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis, fluminaque antiquos subter labentia muros.*

29. *desuntque*] cf. Verg. G. I 507 *squalent abductis 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 uim ac contra auspicia ferendis auctor* the addition of the gerundive gives a different turn to the sentence.

31. *Poenus erit*] 'will be found to have been' sc. olim quaerenti, Weise; cf. Ter. Phorm. 801. *cognatam comperi esse nobis. quid? deliras. sic erit.*

nulli ferro] sc. *externo* cf. infr. 82, 93, 280.

descendere] From the remark of the Scholiast *numquam ad imum 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 Oud. (following Heinsius) into the text; cf. VI 216; Liv. I 41 *ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse.* Ov. Met. III 67 *toto descendit in ilia ferro.* Sen. dial. XII iii § 1 *grauissimum est ex omnibus quae umquam in corpus tuum descenderunt recens uolnus, fateor.* The common reading is *discindere* which is retained by Weise.

32. *contigit*] *contingere* generally connotes good fortune, cf. Prof. Mayor on Juv. VIII 28.

sedent] cf. Florus IV 2 § 40 *unius in scuto centum atque uiginti tela sedere.*

33. *quod si*] 'if all these evils have

inuenere uiam, magnoque aeterna parantur
regna deis, caelumque suo seruire Tonanti
non nisi saeuorum potuit post bella gigantum,
iam nihil, o superi, querimur: scelera ipsa nefas
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 ardenti seruilia bella sub Aetna:
multum Roma tamen debet ciuilibus armis
quod tibi res acta est. te, cum statione peracta
astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
excipiet gaudente polo, seu sceptra 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 Nero.' Grotius cf. Plin. Paneg. VI *magnum quidem illud seculo dedecus, magnum rei publicae uolnus impressum est:.....si tamen haec sola erat ratio quae te publicae salutis gubernaculis admoueret, prope est ut exclamem tanti fuisse.*

34. *uiam*] cf. Verg. Aen. X 113 *fata uiam inuenient.*

35. *regna deis*] i.e. Nero would become a god after his death cf. VII 457 *bella pares superis facient ciuilia diuos.* Compare also the words of the dying Vespasian, Suet. Vesp. 23 *uae, puto, deus fio.*

37. *iam*] 'we complain no more'.

39. *saturentur*] i.e. at the battle of Thapsus in Africa B.C. 46, cf. Hor. Carm. II i 25—28 *Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior Afris inulta cesserat impotens tellure uictorum nepotes rettulit inferias Iugurthae.*

40. *ultima*] The battle of Munda B.C. 54 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 hypallagen dictum pro *funesta proelia apud ultimam Mundam*, hoc est in extrema Hiberia sitam: ea enim figura crebro noster utitur. But of all his references none supports the double hypallage.

41. Siege of Perusia B.C. 41; cf. Auson. Epp. XXII 42 *iam i et Saguntina fame Lucani* Siege of Mutina B.C. 43.

43. *Leucas*] loosely put B.C. 31; cf. Verg. Aen. VIII

seruilia bella] alluding to Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, ranks with slaves; cf. Hor 17—19 *quid attinet tot ora r rostrata duci pondere contra l seruilem manum?* Manil. *restabant profugo ciuilia mil patrios armis imitatus filius l Pompeius cepit defensa parent*

45. *quod tibi*] 'since 'tv that all was done'.

statione peracta] 'when t over'. For the metaphor Vell. Pat. II 131 *protegite hanc pacem, hunc principem, longissima statione mortali cessores quam serenissimos.*

46. *serus*] implies a wis Carm. I ii 45.

praelati] 'preferred to eart that death is a matter of choi

48. *currus*] Weber sees ir allusion to Nero's passion driving.

49. *mutato sole*] i.e. with of Apollo as driver of the Su

51. *iuris tui*] Weise res

quis deus esse uelis, ubi regnum ponere mundi.
sed neque in Arctoo sedem tibi legeris orbe,
nec polus aduersi calidus qua uergitur Austri;
unde tuam uideas obliquo sidere Romam. 55
aetheris immensi partem si presseris unam,
sentiet axis onus. librati pondera caeli
orbe tene medio: pars aetheris illa sereni
tota uacet nullaeque obstent a Caesare nubes.
tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis, 60
inque uicem gens omnis amet: pax missa per orbem
ferrea belligeri compescat limina Iani.
sed mihi iam numen: nec, si te pectore uates
accipio, Cirrhaea uelim secreta mouentem
sollicitare deum, Bacchumque auertere Nysa. 65
tu satis ad dandas Romana in carmina uires.
fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
immensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furentem

cf. VII 55 *qui tot simul undique ites iuris habere sui uellet.*

52. *quis deus*] imitated from Verg. G. 4 foll.

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

ergitur] For the passive use of *uergere* Lucret. II 212 *in terras igitur quoque uergitur ardor.* The ancients regarded earth as rising towards the north and ing towards the south; cf. Verg. G. I —241 *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhisque arduus arces consurgit, premitur rae deuexus in austros.*

5. *obliquo*] i.e. to the north or south. o is to be seated directly over Rome. meaning 'cross', 'unpropitious' is aps also glanced at.

dere] The stars were supposed to affect fortunes of those beneath them, cf. g. Ecl. IX 47—49.

7. *librati*] 'by a central station main- the equilibrium of the sky'; cf. Dr ro's note on Lucret. II 218. For *librati* Tac. Hist. I 16 *si immensum imperi us stare ac librari sine rectore posset.*

8. *orbe medio*] 'on the sphere's mid- t point', i.e. on the surface of the r sphere formed by the sky at a point cally 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.'

61. *in uicem*] 'one another'. cf. Ov. Heroid. XVII 180 *inque uicem tua me, te mea forma capit.*

62. *compescat*] 'keep closed', the idea being probably suggested by the lines of Ennius (Ann. VIII) *postquam discordia taetra belli ferratos postes portasque refregit* 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.

pectore] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 78 *magnum si pectore possit excussisse deum.*

64. *Cirrhaea*] 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 Cirrhaeque feruntur pectora nostra.*

65. *deum*] sc. Apollo.

67. *fert animus*] cf. Ov. Met. I 1 *in noua fert animus mutatas dicere formas corpora.*

68. *aperitur*] 'is opening before me'. cf. Verg. Aen. III 275 *formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.*

impulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi.
inuida fatorum series, summisque negatum
stare diu; nimioque graues sub pondere lapsus;
nec se Roma ferens. sic, cum compage soluta
saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora,
antiquom repetent iterum chaos omnia; mixtis
sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
astra petent: tellus extendere litora nolet
excutietque fretum: fratri contraria Phoebe
ibit, et obliquom bigas agitare per orbem
indignata diem poscet 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 § 125 *fatum autem appello ordinem seriemque causarum cum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat.*

summisque negatum] 'the doom of all that is highest to speedy fall'; cf. Stat. Silu. II 7, 90—91 *o numquam data festa longa summis, cur plus ardua casibus patetis?* The passage has been imitated by Claudian Epigr. XXXVI (XLI) *pulcris stare diu Parcarum lege negatur. summa cadunt subito; magna repente ruunt.*

72. *nec se Roma ferens*] equivalent to *et Roma se non-ferens;* cf. Verg. Ecl. II 40 *praeterea duo nec tuta mihi ualle reperti capreoli*, where *nec tuta* is equivalent to *et non-tuta*; see also 138 infr. where *nec-ualidis* is equivalent to *et non ualidis.* For the sense cf. Liv. Pref. § 4 *ut iam magnitudine laboret sua* and Hor. Epod. XVI 2 *suis et ipsa Roma uiribus ruit.*

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 haec coaluit.*

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

74. *antiquom*] cp. Ov. Met. II 299 *in chaos antiquom confundimur.*

repetent] 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 Maenala nymphis.*

75. *sidera sideribus concurr*
cf. Sen. consol. ad Marciam XX
tempus aduenerit quo se mun
turus exstinguat, uiribus ista
dent et sidera sideribus incurre

76. *tellus*] 'the land sha
seek to advance her shore-line
off the sea.'

77. *excutietque fretum*] T
is carried on to the second c
frequently the case in Lucan,
372—373 *ille nec horrificam s*
uit ab ore caesariem duroq
gaudia uoltu; IX 589—590 *n*
ceruice supinus carpentoque sed

contraria] i. e. ex aduerso
gabitur: ita fiet ut ei obuia
tur; quae cum de via deced
diem sibi arrogabit et solem
tentum esse iubebit.

80. *diuolsi*] to be taken a
'which will thus be rent asund

foedera mundi] 'laws of th
cf. Verg. G. I 60 *continuo ha*
naque foedera certis imposuit
cf. also 417 infr.

81. *in se ruunt*] 'are dash
on themselves.' cf. Sen. dia
nam ut nihil extra lacessat
in se ipsa fortuna ruit.

83. *commodat*] 'nor does
the weapons of her envy to
nations to smite a people t
land and sea.' cf. Stat. T
(*Adrasto*) *cui bella fauent cu*

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
aer et longi uoluent Titana labores, 90
noxque diem caelo totidem per signa sequetur,
nulla fides regni sociis omnisque potestas
impatiens consortis erit.// nec gentibus ullis
credite, nec longe fatorum exempla petantur.
fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri. 95
nec pretium tanti tellus pontusque furoris
tunc erat: exiguom dominos commisit asylum.

iras cuncta cohors; for *gentibus*, cf. 31 supr. note.

84. *tu 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—535 infr. but this had not proved so ruinous, as there was no opportunity for dissension: for *numquam* in the sense of 'never before' cf. Juv. XII 74 *numquam uisis triginta clara mamillis (scrofa)*: or *numquam in turbam missi* may mean 'never submitted to popular election,' i.e. other magistrates were no less despotic, 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 missi*] *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 iii 17, 18 *at non inuidia uobis Cephisia uirgo est pro male formosa iussa parente mori.*

88. *miscere*] 'combine'; cf. IX 286 (the bees) *non miscent nexibus alas sed sibi quisque uolat.*

89. *in medium*] 'for use in common'; cf. VII 365, 366 *nonne superfusis collectum cornibus hostem in medium dabimus?* Verg. G. I 127 *in medium quaerebant.* Claudian quart. Cons. Honor. 296 *in commune iubes si quid censesue tenendum.* Weise reads with some MSS. *in medio* equivalent to 'as a prize'; but the Scholiast explains by *in commune.*

leuabit] Weise cf. Ov. Met. I 12 *circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus.* cf. also Eur. Troades 884 ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν.

91. *totidem*] 'as many as the day', i.e. six.

signa] 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 riualem; 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—20 *sic est; acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fraternae necis, ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor;* Tibull. II v 24 *Romulus aeternae nondum firmauerat urbis moenia consorti non habitanda Remo.*

97. *commisit*] ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; cf. Juv. I 162–163 *securus licet Aenaean Rutulumque ferocem committas.*

temporis angusti mansit concordia discors,
paxque fuit non sponte ducum. nam sola futuri
Crassus erat belli medius 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, 105
Parthica Romanos soluerunt damna furores.
plus illa uobis acie quam creditis actum est,
Arsacidae: bellum uictis ciuile dedistis.
diuiditur ferro regnum: populique potentis
quae mare quae terras quae totum continet orbem 110
non cepit fortuna duos. nam pignora iuncti
sanguinis et diro ferales omine taedas

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 endured, 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 angustum* 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 *cum annorum octoginta in Aegyptum isset;* see Madvig § 287.

concordia discors] cf. Hor. Epp. I xii 19. Ov. Met. I 433. Sen. Nat. Quaest. VII 27 § 3 *tota haec mundi concordia ex discordibus constat*, taken from the words of Heraclitus παλιντόνος ἁρμονίη κόσμου ὥσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

100. *mora*] For this word used of a person cf. Verg. Aen. X 428 *pugnae nodumque moramque;* Liv. XXIII 9 *restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedimentum es.*

101. *Isthmos*] sc. of Corinth, called by Pindar Isth. III 38 γέφυραν ποντιάδα.

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 iv 10—12, *ademptus Hector tradidit fessis leuiora tolli Pergama Graiis;* it is also possible to make *Isthmos* the subject: cf. Stat. Silu. IV iii 59, 60 *his paruus, Lecheo nihil uetante, Inous freta miscuisset Isthmos.* For the meaning of *frangat* cf. V 605, 606 *Boreas—suumque in fluctus Cauri frangit mare.*

104. *dirimens*] equivalent to *qui dirimebat:* for a similar use of the participle cf. Catull. LXIV 8 *diua retinens in summis urbibus arces.*

106. *Parthica damna*] 'the disasters arising from the Parthians'; cf. II 402 *Delmaticis fluctibus*, equivalent to 'waves from the Dalmatian side'; V 703 *Hesperii duces*, equivalent to 'the leaders in Italy'.

soluerunt] 'let loose'; cf. Plut. Pomp. 53 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἐν Παρθοις ἀπολωλὼς ἠγγέλλετο· καὶ τοῦτο κώλυμα ὂν μέγα τοῦ συμπεσεῖν τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγόνει.

110. *totum orbem*] cf. Sen. dial. II 2 § 2 *potentiae immensa cupiditate quam totus orbis in tres diuisus satiare non poterat.*

111. *cepit*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 644 *nec te Troia capit;* Juv. X 148 *hic est quem non capit 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 115
inde uirum poteras atque hinc retinere parentem,
armatasque manus excusso iungere ferro,
ut generos mediae soceris iunxere 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 laurea Gallis,
Magne, times: te iam series ususque laborum
erigit impatiensque loci fortuna secundi.
nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem 125
Pompeiusue parem. quis iustius induit arma
scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur,
uictrix causa deis placuit sed uicta Catoni.
nec coiere pares: alter uergentibus annis
in senium longoque togae tranquillior usu 130

115. *furentem*] This reading has been jected to on account of the assonance h *parentem* in the following line, and red to *furentes*, but there are other ances of similar carelessness in the m, e.g. VII 763, 764 *nocentes—furentes*.
17. *excusso*] 'striking the sword from r grasp.'
11. *acta*] The MSS. vary between , *facta* and *fata*. Oud. cf. VIII 320 *magis in terras nostrum felicibus nomen abit?*
14. *erigit*] 'pricks on'; cf. Corn. Themist. I § 3 *quae contumelia non it eum sed erexit;* Tac. Hist. V 15 *praeli euentus utrumque ducem dis animi motibus ad maturandum mae rei discrimen erexit.*
15. *nec quemquam*] cf. Florus IV ii *iam Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes esari Pompeiana dignitas grauis: nec ferebat parem, nec ille superiorem. : sic de principatu laborabant uam duos tanti imperi fortuna non ret.*
6. *quis*] equivalent to *uter;* cf. V 602 *bium pendet uento cui pareat aequor* o winds Caurus and Boreas; Pers. II 20; VIII 195, 196 *finge tamen gladios inde hinc pulpita poni, quid satius?* this s very rare in the golden age of Latin ry; but cf. Verg. Aen. XII 719 and 727.

induit] For the indicative cf. IX 563 *quaere quid est uirtus?* Pers. III 66—72. This use is also found in the ante-Augustan poets; cf. Madvig §§ 356 obs. 3.

127. *quisque*] equivalent to *uterque*.

128. *uictrix causa*] cf. II 288 *crimen erit superis et me fecisse nocentem;* Cic. pro Ligar. § 19 *causa tum dubia erat quod erat aliquid in utraque parte quod probari posset: nunc melior ea iudicanda est quam etiam di adiuuerunt.* 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 *ferte fortiter: hoc est quo deum antecedatis, ille extra patientiam malorum est, uos supra patientiam.* Epp. IX ii 15 *Iuppiter quo antecedit uirum bonum? diutius bonus est: sapiens nihilo se minoris aestimat quod uirtutes eius spatio breuiore cluduntur.*

129. *pares*] 'equally matched', cf. Hor. Sat. II vi 44 *Thrax est Gallina Syro par?*

130. *senium*] 'decay', as usually; cf. IV 812 *a quibus omne aeui senium sua fama repellit.* Pompeius was at this time only fifty-eight years of age, Caesar being fifty-two.

togae] 'civil life'; cf. VIII 813 *dic semper ab armis ciuilem repetisse togam.*

dedidicit iam pace ducem; famaeque petitor
multa dare in uolgus; totus popularibus auris
impelli plausuque sui gaudere theatri:
nec reparare nouas uires, multumque priori
credere fortunae. stat magni nominis umbra: 135
qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
exuuias ueteres populi sacrataque gestans
dona ducum: nec iam ualidis radicibus haerens
pondere fixa suo est: nudosque per aera ramos
effundens trunco non frondibus efficit umbram; 140
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: solusque pudor non uincere bello. 145
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 petenti
obstaret, gaudensque uiam fecisse ruina. 150

132. *multa*] i. e. games and largesses.

133. *sui theatri*] Pompeius had built the first stone theatre at Rome; VII 9 foll.: Verg. G. II 508 foll.

134. *nouas*] to be taken as a predicate: 'regain his strength afresh.'

que] may be translated as 'but', cf. 633 infr. VI 756: so *οὔτε—τε* is used in Greek.

135. *nominis umbra*] 'the shadow of a mighty name'. Weise, cf. VIII 449 *quis nominis umbram horreat?*

137. *exuuias*] For this custom of hanging spoils on trees, cf. Verg. Aen. XI 5—7 *ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma Mezenti ducis exuuias;* Stat. Theb. VI 67.

138. *nec—ualidis*] See note on 72 supr.

radicibus] cf. the metaphorical expression in Cic. ad Att. VI 6 § 4 *Pompeius, eo robore uir, eis radicibus.*

139. *pondere*] 'it stands firm by its mere weight'. cf. Ov. Met. IX 41 *manet illa suoque est pondere tuta.*

141. *et*] This reading seems to have the better authority. Oud. with some MSS. reads *at.*

143. *sola tamen colitur*] cf. Quintil. X i § 88 *Ennium sicut sacros uetusti lucos adoremus in quibus grandia et u tiqua robora iam non tantam hab speciem quantam religionem.*

tantum] 'not a mere name alone', ferring to line 135 supr.

145. *stare loco*] Oud. cf. Verg. G. 84 *stare loco nescit.*

pudor] 'and knows no shame exc defeat'. For the infinitive after *pudor* Sil. Ital. IV 328 *trepidaque a mente rec uertere terga pudor.*

147. *temerando parcere ferro*] 'shr from staining his sword'. cf. VII *parcendum ferro.*

148. *urgere*] 'press', i.e. make most of; cf. Cic. ad fam. VII 8 § 2 *quis urges istam occasionem et facultatem melior numquam reperietur.*

instare] 'follow up'; cf. Tac. Hist. *Ciuilis instare fortunae;* Agric. XVIII *ignarus instandum famae.*

149. *impellens*] 'o'erthrowing', cf. 440 *nodosa impellitur ilex.*

150. *ruina*] Oud. cf. II 439 *Caesa arma furens nullas nisi sanguine gaudet habere uias.*

qualiter expressum uentis per nubila fulmen
aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
emicuit rupitque diem populosque pauentis
terruit obliqua praestringens lumina flamma:
in sua templa furit: nullaque exire uetante 155
materia, magnamque cadens magnamque reuertens
dat stragem late sparsosque recolligit ignes.
hae ducibus causae suberant: sed publica belli
semina, quae populos semper mersere potentis.
namque ut opes mundo nimias fortuna subacto 160
intulit et rebus mores cessere secundis,
praedaque 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. Quaest. II 1 § 6 *nubes conlisae mediocriter fulgurationes efficiunt, maiore impetu impulsae fulmina:* Id. II 26 foll. Compare also Lucret. VI 96 foll., Aristoph. Nub. 404 foll.

152. *impulsi*] 'smitten'; cf. Ov. Met. III 21 *mugitibus impulit auras.*

153. *diem*] 'the light of heaven', 'the bright sky'; cf. Stat. Theb. I 200 *effusa sub omni terra atque unda die.*

pauentis] cf. Verg. G. I 330 *mortalia corda per gentes humilis strauit pauor.* Lucret. V 1218—1221 *cui non correpunt membra pauore fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus contremit, et magnum percurrunt murmura caelum? non populi gentesque tremunt?*

154. *obliqua*] Oud. cf. Sen. dial. VI 18 § 3 *obliqua fulmina et caeli fragorem;* Sen. Thyest. 358 *quem non concutiet cadens obliqui uia fulminis?*

155. *sua templa*] 'the quarter of the sky whence it came'; cf. IX 321 (*Auster*) *in sua regna furens.* 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 templa caelitum commixta stellis splendidis.*

nulla materia] i.e. nothing solid, only clouds.

156. *reuertens*]

'Great wast, as foorth 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 (κεραυνὸς) ὁρᾶται οὔτ' ἐπιὼν οὔτε κατασκήψας οὔτε ἀπιών. Sen. Epp. VI v 8 *quomodo fulmini etiam cum latissime percussit ac fulsit per exiguom foramen est reditus.*

157. *recolligit*] cf. Ov. Met. VII 215, 216 *nunc opus est sucis per quos renouata senectus in florem redeat primosque recolligat annos.*

158. *causae suberant*] 'were the hidden motives'; cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 31 *pauca tamen suberunt priscae uestigia fraudis.*

159. *semina*] cf. Cic. de offic. II § 29 *nec uero umquam bellorum ciuilium semen et causa deerit.*

mersere] cf. Sen. Epp. VI iii § 3 *quotiens aliquos Sciani odium deinde amor merserat;* Juv. X 57 *mergit longa atque insignis honorum pagina.* Id. XIII 8.

160. *namque ut opes*] cf. Tac. Hist. II 38.

161. *mores*] cf. Liv. pref. § 9; Hor. Carm. IV iv 35, 36 *utcunque defecere mores indecorant bene nata culpae;* Sall. Cat. 5 *corrupti ciuitatis mores.* Id. Hist. frag. 13 *ex quo tempore maiorum mores non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati.*

163. *auro*] cf. Lucret. V 1274 *nunc iacet aes, aurum in summum successit honorem.*

tectis] Hor. Carm. II xv.

164. *aspernata fames*] cf. Petron. 119 *ingeniosa gula est, Siculo scarus aequore mersus ad mensam uiuus perducitur atque Lucrinis eruta litoribus uendunt conchylia cenas, ut renouent per damna famem.*

uix nuribus rapuere mares: fecunda uirorum 165
paupertas fugitur; totoque accersitur orbe
quo gens quaeque perit. tum longos iungere fines
agrorum, et quondam duro sulcata Camilli
uomere et antiquos Curiorum passa ligones
longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis. 170
non erat is populus quem pax tranquilla iuuaret,
quem sua libertas immotis pasceret armis.
inde irae faciles; et quod suasisset egestas
uile nefas; magnumque decus ferroque petendum
plus patria potuisse sua; mensuraque iuris 175
uis erat: hinc leges et plebiscita coactae,
et cum consulibus turbantes iura tribuni:
hinc rapti fasces pretio sectorque fauoris
ipse sui populus, letalisque ambitus urbi,
annua uenali referens certamina Campo: 180
hinc usura uorax auidumque in tempora faenus

165. *nuribus*] 'young matrons'; cf. Ov. Met. II 366 *nuribus gestanda Latinis;* Petron. 119 *et laxi crines et tot noua nomina uestis, quaeque uirum quaerunt.*

mares] For the wearing of silk by men cf. Suet. Calig. 52 *uestitu calciatuque et cetero habitu neque patrio neque ciuili, ac ne uirili quidem ac denique humano semper usus est; saepe depictas gemmatasque indutus paenulas, manuleatus et armillatus in publicum processit; aliquando sericatus et cycladatus.*

fecunda uirorum] cf. Hor. Carm. I xii 37—44; III vi 36 foll.

167. *longos*] is part of the predicate: for the vast estates of the Romans cf. Liv. XXXIV 4 *ingens cupido agros continuandi;* Plin. H. N. XVIII § 35 *uerumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam iam vero et prouincias.* 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 noueris pauculos seruos, aut tam luxuriosus ut plures habeas quam quorum notitiae memoria sufficiat;* Petron. 37 *ipse nescit quid habeat, adeo saplutus est...ipse Trimalchio fundos habet qua milui uolant... familia uero, papae papae, non mehercules puto decimam partem esse quae dominum suum nouerit.* Id. 48 *deorum beneficio non emo, sed nunc quicquid ad saliuam facit in suburbano nascitur eo quod ego adhuc non noui.*

172. *pasceret*] 'for whom its own freedom would suffice'; cf. Ov. Met. IX 176 *cladibus, exclamat, Saturnia, pascere nostris.*

174. *uile*] 'held light'; cf. Sall. Cat. XVI *fidem fortunas pericula uilia habere.*

176. *uis*] cf. Hes. W. and D. 189 χειροδίκαι.

coactae] 'carried through by force'.

177. *consulibus—tribuni*] i.e. all parties alike, the consuls being put loosely for the *optimates*, the tribunes for the *populares*.

178. *sector fauoris*] i.e. trafficking in its own favours without an agent or broker; cf. Prof. Mayor's note on Cic. Phil. II § 39 *et eius uiri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare?* Tac. Hist. I 20.

179. *ambitus*] a general term for 'corrupt practices': Suet. Aug. 40 *multiplici poena coercito ambitu.* Festus p. 5 M defines it as *crimen adfectati honoris.*

180. *uenali*] cf. Juv. X 77, 78 *iam pridem ex quo suffragia nulli uendimus effudit curas;* Petron. 109 *nec minor in campo furor est, emptique Quirites ad praedam strepitumque lucri suffragia uertunt. uenalis populus, uenalis curia patrum: est fauor in pretio.*

181. *usura uorax*] cf. Tac. Ann. VI 16 *sane uetus urbi faenebre malum et se-*

et concussa fides et multis utile bellum.
iam gelidas Caesar cursu superauerat Alpes,
ingentesque animo motus bellumque futurum
ceperat. ut uentum est parui Rubiconis ad undas 185
ingens uisa duci Patriae trepidantis imago
clara per obscuram uoltu maestissima noctem
turrigero canos effundens uertice crines
caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis,
et gemitu permixta loqui: quo tenditis ultra? 190
quo fertis mea signa, uiri? si iure uenitis,
si ciues, huc usque licet. tum perculit horror
membra ducis, riguere comae, gressusque coercens
languor in extrema tenuit uestigia ripa.
mox ait: o magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis 195
Tarpeia de rupe Tonans Phrygiique penates
gentis Iuleae et rapti secreta Quirini
et residens celsa Latialis Iuppiter Alba

ditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa.

auidumque in tempora faenus] Of this obscure expression four possible interpretations have been suggested (1) 'greedily looking to the times of payment,' i.e. the calends &c. cf. Hor. Sat. I iii 87; Epist. I 69—70; (2) 'ever greedier as time goes on,' referring to compound interest: but in this sense *auidius* would be more natural; (3) 'money lent at usurious interest for stated periods' cf. Cic. ad Att. VI iii § 5 *renouato in singulos annos fenore;* (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 2 *tempora exposui*, Id. ad fam. V xx § 8. It must always 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.

182. *fides*] 'credit shaken'; cf. Tac. Ann. VI 17 *minuere fidem* et infr. *sic acta fides.*

multis utile bellum] 'war made the interest of many' cf. Petron. 119 *arma sunt miseris, detritaque commoda luxu miseribus reparantur; inops audacia tuta consule ciuicum;* or *motus* may refer to the feelings of the mind, cf. Verg. G. I 420—422 *pectora motus nunc alios, alios dum nubila uentus agebat, concipiunt;* Tac. Hist. I 17 *nullum turbati aut exsultantis animi motum prodidisse.*

184. *motus*] 'tumults'; cf. VI 322; Hor. Carm. II i 1 *motum ex Metello*

187. cf. Verg. Aen. II 589—592 *cum mihi se non ante oculis tam clara uidendam obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit alma parens, confessa deam, qualisque uideri caelicolis et quanta solet.*

188. *turrigero*] refers to the towers of the city walls.

190. *permixta*] 'words broken with sighs'.

191. *mea*] emphatic, 'standards that are mine'.

192. *huc usque*] equivalent to *hactenus*, 'ye may no further go'.

194. *languor*] 'faint-heartedness' i.e. irresolution; cf. 393 and Cic. ad Att. XIV 6 § 3 *uides languorem bonorum.*

196. *Tarpeia*] cf. Propert. IV (V) i 7 *Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat.*

197. *Iuleae*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 288 *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

rapti] cf. Liv. I 16; Hor. Carm. III iii 15; Ov. Fast. II 496 foll.

secreta] alluding to the Quirinalia on XIII Kal. Mart. Cf. Ovid l. c.

198. *Latialis*] This refers to the temple of Iuppiter Latialis on the Alban mount visited by the consuls on the occasion of

'Vestalesque foci summique o numinis instar
Roma faue coeptis; non te furialibus armis 200
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 amnem
signa tulit propere. sicut squalentibus aruis 205
aestiferae Libyes uiso leo comminus hoste
subsedit dubius totam dum colligit iram;
mox ubi se saeuae stimulauit uerbere caudae,
erexitque iubas, uasto et graue murmur hiatu
infremuit, tum torta leuis si lancea Mauri 210
haereat aut latum subeant uenabula pectus,
per ferrum tanti securus uolneris exit.
fonte cadit modico paruisque impellitur undis
puniceus Rubicon cum feruida canduit aestas:
perque imas serpit ualles et Gallica certus 215
limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arua colonis.
tum uires praebebat hiemps atque auxerat undas
tertia iam grauido pluuialis Cynthia cornu,

the *feriae Latinae.* 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 *ciues* 192 supr., cf. 682 infr. note.

205. *squalentibus*] '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. *caudae*] Plin. H. N. VIII § 49 refers to this habit of the lion; cf. Hom. Il. XX 170—171 *οὐρῇ δὲ πλευράς τε καὶ ἰσχία ἀμφοτέρωθεν μαστίεται, ἐὲ δ' αὐτὸν ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι.* Catull. LXIII 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 510 *ter centum tonat ore deos.*

210. *leuis*] 'light-armed', i.e. active.

212. *per ferrum*] 'through the opposing 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 uolnus 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) *περὶ γὰρ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐστὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆς πρότερον καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ ταύτῃ μέρος, καίπερ μετατιθέντων πολλάκις τῶν ἡγεμόνων. πρότερον μέν γε τὸν Αἶσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅριον, πάλιν δὲ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμόν· ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν Αἶσις μεταξὺ Ἀγκῶνος καὶ Σήρας, ὁ δὲ Ῥουβίκων μεταξὺ Ἀριμένου καὶ Ῥαουέννης, ἄμφω δὲ ἐκπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν.*

218. *tertia*] Weise explains this as follows: *tertia Cynthia* est tertia nox ab interlunio quod plerumque pluuiam affert: hinc luna pluuiam portendens *grauida* uocatur, comparing Val. Flac. II 56 *grauido surrexit Cynthia cornu: grauido* is equivalent to 'surcharged with rain'.

et madidis Euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
primus in obliquom sonipes opponitur amnem 220
excepturus aquas: molli tum cetera rumpit
turba uado faciles iam fracti fluminis undas.
Caesar ut aduersam superato gurgite ripam
attigit Hesperiae uetitis et constitit aruis:
hic, ait, hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo; 225
te, Fortuna, sequor. procul hinc iam foedera sunto.
credidimus fatis. utendum est iudice bello.
sic fatus, noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor
impiger et torto Balearis uerbere fundae
ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta; 230
uicinumque minax inuadit Ariminon. ignes
solis lucifero fugiebant astra relicto,
iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus
exoritur. seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem. 235
constitit ut capto iussus deponere miles
signa foro, stridor lituom clangorque tubarum
non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu.
rupta quies populi stratisque excita iuuentus
deripuit sacris adfixa penatibus arma 240
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 iugum demittere cliuo;* or it may be taken as proleptic, cf. Propert. I XX 22 *mollia composita litora fronde tegit.*

225. *temerata*] i.e. by Pompeius and the senatorial party; cf. 277 foll. infr.

227. *iudice bello*] 'the sword must be our umpire'. Oud. cf. Petron. 122 *iudice fortuna cadat alea.*

229. *uerbere*] 'thong', cf. Verg. G. I 309 *stuppea torquentem Balearis uerbera fundae.*

231. *Ariminon*] The common reading is *Ariminum; ut ignes*, Cortius reads *et ignes*. 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 *um* in *Ariminum* elided, though monosyllables in *m* are often not elided, see Dr Munro's note on Lucret. II 404.

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, quod erat domesticus, tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeterea 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. I 511 *saeuit toto Mars impius orbe.*

classica] 'alarums' May.

239. *iuuentus*] '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 *perpetuam rupit defesso milite crutem.*

inuadunt clupeos curuataque cuspide pila
et scabros nigrae morsu robiginis enses.
ut notae fulsere aquilae Romanaque signa,
et celsus medio conspectus in agmine Caesar, 245
diriguere metu, gelidus pauor occupat artus,
et tacito mutos uoluunt in pectore questus:
o male uicinis haec moenia condita Gallis,
o tristi damnata loco. pax alta per omnes
et tranquilla quies populos: nos praeda furentum 250
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 255
Teutonici. quotiens Romam Fortuna lacessit,
hac iter est bellis. gemitu sic quisque latenti
non ausus timuisse palam: uox nulla dolori
credita: sed quantum, uolucres cum bruma coercet,
rura silent mediusque tacet sine murmure pontus, 260
tanta quies. noctis gelidas lux soluerat umbras:
ecce faces belli dubiaeque in proelia menti

fluentis] 'rotting', 'falling to pieces'; cf. II. 166; so it is used by Plin. H. N. XXVII § 17, 138 of hair falling off.

242. *inuadunt*] 'seize', cf. Petron. 15 *caluus inuaserat pallium.*

curuata cuspide] 'bent at the point'.

245. *celsus*] 'aloft', i.e. on horseback; cf. Stat. Theb. VIII 563 *nunc pedes ense uago prensis nunc celsus habenis;* Verg. Aen. VII 285 *sublimes in equis.*

247. *tacito.....pectore*] '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 τὸ τᾶς εὐφήμου στόμα φροντίδος ἱέντες. cf. 257, 258 inf.

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.

253. *errantisque*] cf. Aesch. Prom. 709 foll.; Hor. Carm. III xxiv 9; Pind. frag. 72 νομάδεσσι γὰρ ἐν Σκύθαις ἁλᾶται Στράτων ὃς ἁμαξοφόρητον οἶκον οὐ πέπαται.

claustra] 'guard the keys of Latium'; cf. Liv. IX 32 *Sutrium uelut 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 *tacere* 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 ἠνίδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος σιγῶντι δ' ἀήται, in which there is no word answering to *medius.*

262. *faces 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 uelut faces addiderat Maeuius Pudens.* Notice

urgentis addunt stimulos cunctasque pudoris
rumpunt fata moras: iustos Fortuna laborat
esse ducis motus et causas inuenit armis. 265
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 tueri 270
ausus et armatos plebi miscere potentis.
utque ducem uarias uoluentem pectore curas
conspexit: dum uoce tuae potuere iuuari,
Caesar, ait, partes quamuis nolente senatu
traximus imperium tum, cum mihi Rostra tenere 275
ius erat et dubios in te transferre Quirites.
sed postquam leges bello siluere coactae,
pellimur e patriis laribus patîmurque uolentes
exsilium: tua nos faciet uictoria ciues.
dum trepidant nullo firmatae robore partes, 280
tolle moras. semper nocuit differre paratis.
par labor atque metus pretio maiore petuntur.
bellantem geminis tenuit te Gallia lustris

he confusion of metaphor: the fates first pply torches, then use the goad, and nally burst the bonds.

263. *pudoris*] 'the delay caused by hame'.

265. *esse*] For the infinitive after *laborare* cf. Plin. Epp. I 10 § 2 *amari ab laborauí*.

266. *ancipiti*] 'wavering'.

267. *uicto iure*] 'trampling on their ights'; i.e. because the Tribuneship was sacrosancta potestas.

iactatis] 'harping on the Gracchi'. Ovid. cf. Sil. Ital. II 182 *mersum pelago laterat Vlixem*.

269. *uenali*] cf. IV 819, 820 *momentum-ne fuit mutatus Curio rerum Gallorum ptus spoliis et Caesaris auro*.

271. *miscere*] 'to bring down armed iefs to the level of the people'. *miscere* equivalent to *in ordinem cogere*; cf. III 8. Curio had proposed in the senate that mpeius and Caesar should lay down ir arms simultaneously; cf. Appian, il Wars II 28—31 (§ 704).

275. *traximus*] 'prolonged', i.e. op-ed 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.

ciues] cf. Hor. carm. II vii 3 *quis te redonauit Quiritem?*

280. *robore*] cf. II 245.

partes] i.e. the enemy's side; cf. *ferro* 31 supr., *gentibus* 82 and 93 supr., *cohortes* 305 infr.

281. *differre*] 'procrastination'.

paratis] masc. *τοῖς παρεσκευασμένοις*.

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 euentu tibi Roma subegerit orbem. 285
nunc neque te longi remeantem pompa triumphi
excipit aut sacras poscunt Capitolia lauros.
liuor edax tibi cuncta negat: gentesque subactas
uix impune feres. socerum depellere regno
decretum genero est: partiri non potes orbem: 290
solus habere potes. sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
in bellum prono tantum tamen addidit irae
accenditque ducem quantum clamore iuuatur
Eleus sonipes, quamuis iam carcere clauso
immineat foribus pronusque repagula laxet. 295
conuocat armatos extemplo ad signa maniplos:
utque satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum
composuit, uoltu dextraque silentia iussit:
bellorum o socii, qui mille pericula Martis
mecum, ait, experti decimo iam uincitis anno, 300
hoc cruor 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. implentur ualido tirone cohortes: 305

284. *facili*] 'favourable'; cf. Tibull. II iv 19 *ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero*, and *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 Dacisque post uaria proelia duplicem triumphum egit: de Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Loui retulit.*

Capitolia] cf. Ov. Met. I 560, 561 *tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta triumphum uox canet et longas uisent Capitolia pompas.*

289. *impune*] 'scarce will you go unpunished for having subdued so many nations'; compare the feelings of Tiberius towards Germanicus, Tac. Ann. II 26.

feres] cf. Ov. Met. II 474 *haud impune feres.* Id. XI 207.

291. *ipsi*] i.e. 'his leader'. *ipsi* often used by slaves of their master: Plaut. Cas. IV ii 10 *ego eo quo me ipsi misit*, and by disciples of their teacher, Quintil. XI i § 27.

292. *tamen*] For the position of word cf. 378 infr.

293. *iuuatur*] 'is roused'; cf. Ov. Ponto, I vi 18 *alloquioque iuua pectora nostra tuo.*

295. *immineat*] 'throws himself against the door, and strives to loose the bars with outstretched head'. cf. Ov. Met. 155 *pedibusque repagula pulsant.*

298. *dextra*] cf. Pers. IV 8 *fert animus, quae fecisse silentia turbae maiestate mea.*

301. *Arctois*] i.e. in Gaul and Britain.

302. *sub Alpibus*] used loosely for Transalpine Gaul.

304. *transcenderet*] 'were forcing the passes of the Alps'. Oud. cf. VI 32[illegible] *tremum Scythici transcendam fr[illegible] orbem;* Propert. I xiv 19 *illa neque [illegible]bium metuit transcendere limen.*

in classem cadit omne nemus: terraque marique
iussus Caesar agi. quid? si mihi signa iacerent
Marte sub aduerso ruerentque in terga feroces
Gallorum populi? nunc, cum Fortuna secundis
mecum rebus agat superique ad summa uocantes, 310
temptamur. ueniat dux longa pace solutus
milite cum subito partesque in bella togatae
Marcellusque loquax et nomina uana Catones.
scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes
continuo per tot sociabunt tempora regno? 315
ille reget currus nondum patientibus annis?
ille semel raptos numquam dimittet honores?
quid iam rura querar totum suppressa per orbem
ac iussam seruire famem? quis castra timenti
nescit mixta foro, gladii cum triste minantes 320

6. *in classem*] 'to build fleets'. cf. Claudian IV cons. Honor. 624 *utres fregere nemus;* cf. also Theocr. 99 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐς χλαῖναν μαλακὸν ὀπτόκα πέξω τὰν οἶν τὰν πελλάν, ἰδᾷ δωρήσομαι αὐτός.

7. *agi*] 'to be hunted'; cf. Verg. VII 481 *ut ceruum ardentes agerent.*

rent] 'lay prostrate'; cf. Cic. pro n. § 30 *uestrum studium totum iacet,* lsewhere.

8. *feroces*] cf. Tac. Agric. 11 *plus t ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut nondum longa pax emollierit: nam s quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus.*

9. *mecum agat*] cf. Plin. H. N. VII *abunde agitur atque indulgenter a na deciditur cum eo qui iure dici non r potest.*

10. *temptamur*] prouocamur ad bel- Weise.

11. *subito*] equivalent to *tumultuario.*

bella togatae] 'meeting war with the of peace', implying that Pompeius acked by men of words and not of .

12. M. Marcellus, consul B.C. 51, roposed that Caesar should be super- in his command before the expira- of his second five-years term; cf. n, Civil Wars II 26 (§ 703).

uina uana Catones] For the use of the l cf. VI 794, 795; Verg. G. II 169.

13. *extremi*] This must refer to the it kings in Africa and the East who under the influence of Pompeius, cf. VI 277 foll., and *extremus* is similarly used by Virgil G. II 114, 115 *adspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem, Eoasque domos Arabum pictosque Gelonos:* 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 *extnemi* 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 Hiarbas B.C. 81, at the age of 24: the legal age was 30.

317. *dimittet*] 'give up', 'let go'; cf. Lucret. V 758, 759 *solque suos etiam dimittere languidus ignes tempore cur certo nequeat, recreareque lumen.*

318. *rura*] so MSS.; if the reading be sound this must mean crops; cf. Hor. carm. IV v 18 *nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas;* for the reference cf. Cic. ad Quint. frat. II iii § 2 *ille (Clodius) furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso quis esset qui plebem fame necaret. respondebant 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
Pompeiana reum clauserunt signa Milonem?
nunc quoque ne lassum teneat priuata senectus
bella nefanda parat suetus ciuilibus armis 325
et docilis Sullam sceleris uicisse magistrum.
utque ferae tigres numquam posuere furorem,
quas nemore Hyrcano matrum dum lustra sequuntur
altus caesorum pauit cruor armentorum,
sic et Sullanum solito tibi lambere ferrum 330
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, regn
ille tuus saltem doceat discedere Sulla. 335
post Cilicasne uagos et lassi Pontica regis
proelia barbarico uix consummata ueneno
ultima Pompeio dabitur prouincia Caesar,
quod non uictrices aquilas deponere iussus
paruerim? mihi si merces erepta laborum est 340
his saltem longi non cum duce praemia belli

324. *lassum*] 'worn out', cf. 336 infr.; Hor. carm. II vi 7 *sit modus lasso maris et uiarum militiaeque.*

326. *uicisse*] 'surpass'; cf. Cic. II in Verrem iv § 112 *quae deprecatio est igitur ei reliqua qui indignitate seruos temeritate fugitiuos scelere barbaros crudelitate hostes uicerit?*

Sullam] 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 cogitauit; ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturit iam diu.*

327. *posuere*] an aorist; for the whole passage cf. Aesch. Ag. 717—756 especially χρονισθεὶς δ' ἀπέδειξεν ἦθος τὸ πρόσθε τοκήων.

329. *altus*] 'deep streams of blood of slaughtered oxen'; cf. III 572 *cruor altus in undis spumat.*

331. *nullus*] 'never does blood'; cf. VII 25 note.

332. *mansuescere*] 'to enjoy a bloodless meal'.

333. *potentia*] i.e. unofficial power, not *potestas.*

335. *discedere*] referring to Sulla's ab cation of the dictatorship; cf. App Civil Wars I 103 (§ 675).

336. *lassi*] because conquered bef by Sulla and Lucullus.

337. *barbarico*] Pontus was famous poisonous herbs; cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 96 *has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi la uenena ipse dedit Moeris; nascuntu plurima Ponto.*

uix] The scholiast suggests that this an allusion to the difficulty which Mith dates was supposed to have found poisoning himself, as he had habitu taken antidotes.

338. *prouincia*] No English w exactly represents *prouincia;* 'empl ment', or 'charge' is perhaps the near cf. Liv. II 40 *Sicinio Volsci, Aqu Hernici prouincia euenit.* Id. XXV *praetores prouincias sortiti sunt; P. C nelius Sulla urbanam et peregrinam p duorum ante sors fuerat...Ti. Sempro Graccho et P. Sempronio Tuditano i perium prouinciaeque Lucani et Gall cum suis exercitibus prorogatae...T. C cilio classis.*

reddantur: miles sub quolibet iste triumphet.
conferet exsanguis quo se post bella senectus?
quae sedes erit emeritis? quae rura dabuntur
quae noster ueteranus aret? quae moenia fessis? 345
an melius fient piratae, Magne, coloni?
tollite iampridem uictricia tollite signa:
uiribus utendum est quas fecimus: arma tenenti
omnia dat qui iusta negat: nec numina deerunt:
nam nec praeda meis neque regnum quaeritur armis, 350
detrahimus dominos urbi seruire paratae.
dixerat, at dubium non claro murmure uolgus
secum incerta fremit: pietas patriique penates
quamquam caede feras mentes animosque tumentis
frangunt; sed diro ferri reuocantur amore 355
ductorisque metu. summi tum munera pili
Laelius emeritique gerens insignia doni
seruati ciuis referentem praemia quercum:
si licet, exclamat, Romani maxime rector
nominis et ius est ueras expromere uoces, 360

342. *iste*] 'this soldiery of mine', cf. v 351.
343. *exsanguis*] cf. Quint. Curt. IX iii 9 *intuere corpora exsanguia, tot perfossa ferro, tot cicatricibus putria.*
344. *rura*] referring to assignations of land, *moenia* in the following line to the foundation of military colonies.
346. *piratae*] cf. Vell. Pat. II 32 § 4 (Cilicedones) *fudit ac fugauit, et quo magis bellum tam late diffusum conficeret iniurias eorum contractas in urbibus reique mari loco in certa sede constituit. ut qui hoc carpant.* See also Conington's note on Verg. G. IV 127.
347. *iampridem*] This word may be taken with *uictricia* 'our long victorious standards'; or, perhaps better, with *tollite*, 'raise aloft at once'; cf. Verg. Aen. I 103 *iamdudum sumite poenas*, with Conington's note and references.
348. *quas fecimus*] A metaphor from the training of athletes; cf. Quintil. X 3 3 *uires faciamus ante omnia, quae faciant labori certaminum et usu non mutentur.*
351. *paratae*] Compare the language of Jugurtha concerning Rome, Sall. Jug. *urbem uenalem et mature perituram si emptorem inuenerit.*
354. *feras*] 'rendered fierce', ἀπηγριωμένας. See Dr Munro's note on Lucret. I 14.
355. *diro*] 'accursed'; cf. 444 infr.
ferri amore] cf. II 109. Hom. Od. XVI 294 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἀνδρα σίδηρος.
356. *summi...pili*] i.e. he was a *centurio primi pili* otherwise termed *primipilaris* or *primipilus:* this title originally belonged to the first centurion of the first maniple of *triarii* who ranked next to the *tribuni militum.* After the distinctions between *hastati principes* and *triarii* were abolished by Marius when he raised the levy against Jugurtha B.C. 107—106 the *primipilus* was probably the first centurion of the first maniple of the first cohort, who acted as *aquilifer.* In later times the *primipilares* seem to have been a small corps acting as the general's body-guard. See Dict. Antiq. s. v. *exercitus.* cf. Mart. I xxxii 3 *grata Pudens meriti tulerit cum praemia pili.*
357. *emeriti*] 'well-deserved'; cf. Sil. Ital. VII 19 *surge age et emerito sacrum caput insere caelo.*
358. *referentem*] 'a witness of'; cf. Verg. Aen. V 564, and Conington's note.
quercum] i.e. the *corona ciuica*, in apposition with *insignia.* Weise refers to Gellius V 6.

quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia uires
conquerimur. deeratne tibi fiducia nostri?
dum mouet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis
et dum pila ualent fortes torquere lacerti
degenerem patiere togam regnumque senatus? 365
usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello?
duc age per Scythiae populos per inhospita Syrtis
litora per calidas Libyae sitientis harenas:
haec manus ut uictum post terga relinqueret orbem
oceani tumidas remo compescuit undas, 370
fregit et Arctoo spumantem uertice Rhenum.
iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam uelle necesse est.
nec ciuis meus est in quem tua classica, Caesar,
audiero. per signa decem felicia castris
perque tuos iuro quocumque ex hoste triumphos; 375
pectore si fratris gladium iuguloque parentis
condere me iubeas plenaeque in uiscera partu
coniugis inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra;
si spoliare deos ignemque immittere templis,
numina miscebit castrensis flamma Monetae; 380
castra super Tusci si ponere Tybridis undas
Hesperios audax ueniam metator in agros.
tu quoscumque uoles in planum effundere muros
his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis:
illa licet penitus tolli quam iusseris urbem 385
Roma sit. his cunctae simul adsensere cohortes,
elatasque alte quaecumque ad bella uocaret

366. *usque adeo*] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 646 *usque adeone mori miserum est?*

369. *haec manus*] This refers to the expeditions of Caesar to Britain, which was regarded as another world; cf. Verg. Ecl. I 66 *penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos;* Vell. Pat. II 46 § 1 (of Caesar crossing to Britain) *alterum paene imperio nostro ac suo quaerens orbem.*

370. *compescuit*] 'has curbed'.

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*] 'prospe in ten campaigns', cf. 283 supr. but V 374 *decimis castris* means 'in ten da march'.

378. *inuita*] 'though with unwill hand, I will yet fulfil all thy orders'.

380. *numina miscebit*] ueteres int pretes aedem aut statuam Iunonis Mone recte intelligebant, ut sensus esset: igni castris incendet statuam Iunonis Mone praeterea *miscere* est frangere, dissipa discindere ut II 188 *miscentur membr* hic in uniuersum, perdere statuam flamm Weise.

382. *Hesperios*] sc. of Italy.

metator] 'camp-surveyor', quart master; cf. Cic. Phil. XIV § 10 *peri metator et callidus decempeda.*

promisere manus. it tantus ad aethera clamor
quantus piniferae Boreas cum Thraecius Ossae
rupibus incubuit curuato robore pressae 390
fit sonus aut rursus redeuntis in aethera siluae.
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. 395
deseruere cauo tentoria fixa Lemano.
castraque quae Vogesi curuam super ardua rupem
pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingonas armis,
hi uada liquerunt Isarae qui, gurgite ductus
per tam multa suo, famae maioris in amnem 400
lapsus ad aequoreas nomen non pertulit undas.
soluuntur flaui longa statione Rutheni:
mitis Atax Latias gaudet non ferre carinas,
finis et Hesperiae promoto limite Varus:
quaque sub Herculeo sacratus numine portus 405
urget rupe caua pelagus: non Caurus in illum
ius habet aut Zephyrus: solus sua litora turbat
Circius et tuta prohibet statione Monoeci.
quaque iacet litus dubium quod terra fretumque

388. *promisere manus*] 'promised the help of their hands'. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. IV 352 *trepidas 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. III v 5, 6 *milesne Crassi coniuge 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 *exspectet facilemque fugam uentosque ferentis.*

397. *curuam*] 'high raised on the overhanging rocks of the Vosges'.

399. *gurgite suo*] 'with a stream of its own'.

400. *amnem*] i.e. the Rhone.

402. *soluuntur*] 'are relieved from'. *statione*] 'garrison'.

403. *non ferre*] cf. Strabo IV I § 14 (189) ἐκ δὲ Νάρβωνος ἀναπλεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ μικρὸν τῷ Ἄτακι· πεζεύεται δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ τὸν Γαρούναν ποταμόν.

404. *promoto*] Italy was extended to the Var by Augustus; cf. Plin. H. N. III § 31; Strabo V I § 1 (210).

405. *portus*] sc. portus Herculis Monoeci, now Monaco.

406. *urget*] 'encroaches on'.

Caurus] *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.

408. *Circius*] cf. Plin. H. N. II § 121 *in Narbonensi prouincia clarissimus uentorum est Circius, nec ullo in uiolentia inferior, Ostiam plerumque recto Ligustico mari perferens; idem non modo in reliquis partibus caeli ignotus, sed ne Viennam quidem eiusdem prouinciae urbem attingens.*

statione] 'roadstead' opposed to *portus;* cf. Vell. Pat. II 72 § 5 *exitialem tempestatem fugientibus statio pro portu foret.*

409. *quaque iacet*] Weber says that

uindicat alternis uicibus cum funditur ingens 410
oceanus, uel cum refugis se fluctibus aufert.
uentus ab extremo pelagus sic axe uolutet
destituatque ferens; an sidere mota secundo
Tethyos unda uagae lunaribus aestuet horis;
flammiger an Titan ut alentis hauriat undas 415
erigat oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducat,
quaerite quos agitat mundi labor: at mihi semper
tu quaecumque moues tam crebros causa meatus
ut superi uoluere late. tum rura Nemetis
qui tenet, et ripas Aturi qua litore curuo 420
molliter admissum claudit Tarbellicus aequor,
signa mouet, gaudetque amoto Santonus hoste:
et Biturix longisque leues Suessones in armis:
optimus excusso Leucus Remusque lacerto;
optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis: 425
et docilis rector rostrati Belga couinni:

this refers to the τενάγη at Vada Sabata in Liguria (now Savona) mentioned by Strabo, IV vi § 1 (102), but Weise and others consider the reference to be to the Belgic coast, which seems the more probable explanation.

413. *destituatque ferens*] 'and while bearing fails it'; cf. Plin. Epp. VI xvi § 6 of the cloud which rose from Vesuvius at the great eruption *nubes...recenti spiritu euecta, dein senescente eo destituta.* The present participle *ferens* is equivalent to *inter ferendum*, Gk. μεταξὺ φέρουσα. cf. VII 417.

sidere...secundo] probably 'the moon', nam ipsa est secundum sidus a sole. Schol. c. f. VI 479; cf. Tac. Ann. I 28.

414. *lunaribus horis*] 'with the phases of the moon'. cf. Sen. dial. I 1 § 4 *iam uero si quis obseruauerit nudari litora pelago in se recedente eademque intra exiguom tempus operiri, credet caeca quadam uolutatione modo contrahi undas et introrsum agi, modo erumpere et magno cursu repetere sedem suam, cum interim illae portionibus crescunt et ad horam ac diem subeunt ampliores minoresque, prout illas lunare sidus elicuit, ad cuius arbitrium oceanus exundat.*

415. *alentis*] The clouds were supposed to act as fuel to the sun; cf. VII 5, 6 (*Titan*) *adtraxit nubes non pabula flammis, sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe;* X 258 *nec non oceano pasci 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 tremulum excusso iaculum uibrate lacerto;* cf. Tac. Hist. III 23 *ut tela uacua atque aperto excuterentur.*

425. *optima*] 'most skilful in wheeling their horses with the rein.' cf. Verg. G. III 115—117 *frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos.*

426. *rostrati*] 'scythed'. 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. Sulpicius explains this as *monstrati a Britannis et Germanis, qui plurimum illis utuntur.*

couinni] 'a war-chariot'; cf. Sil. Ital. XVII 416 *incola Thules agmina falcifero circumuenit arta couinno;* Tac. Agric. 35

Aruernique ausi Latios se fingere fratres
sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque rebellis
Neruius et caesi pollutus sanguine Cottae:
et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis 430
Vangiones: Batauique truces quos aere recuruo
stridentes acuere tubae: qua Cinga pererrat
gurgite: qua Rhodanus raptum uelocibus undis
in mare fert Ararim: qua montibus ardua summis
gens habitat cana pendentis rupe Gebennas: 435
[*Pictones immunes subigunt sua rura; nec ultra*
instabiles Turonas circumsita castra coercent.
in nebulis Meduana tuis marcere perosus
Andus, iam placida Ligeris recreatur ab unda,
incluta Caesareis Genabos dissoluitur alis.] 440
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 horrensque feris altaribus Hesus 445

couinnarius eques. It was also used at Rome as a carriage; cf. Mart. XII 24, 1 2. *o iucunda, couinne, solitudo, carruca magis amaloque gratum.*

427. *fratres*] Lucan seems here to have confused the Arverni with their neighbours and rivals the Aedui; cf. Cic. ad Att. I xix § 2 *Aedui, fratres nostri, pugnant;* Id. ad fam. VII x § 9; Tac. Ann. XI 25 *primi Aedui senatorum in urbe ius adepti sunt: datum id foederi antiquo, et quia soli Gallorum fraternitatis nomen cum populo Romano usurpant.* Sidon. Apoll. Epp. VII 7 appears to be quoting from Lucan. For *Latios* Oud. with one MS. reads *Latio.*

428. *populi*] The plural is somewhat strange referring to the single tribe of the Arverni, but cf. VII 207, 436.

429. *Cottae*] cf. Caes. B. G. V 36

432. *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 alteration, 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, *Rhodanumque morantem praecipitauit 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'.

435. *Gebennas*] the Cevennes.

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. *conuerti*] ex Gallia in Italiam transferri bellum. Weise.

443. *Comatae*] i.e. transalpine Gaul, as Plin. H. N. IV § 108 *Gallia omnis Comata uno nomine appellatur.*

444. *diro*] 'accursed' equivalent to *humano*; cf. III 404 *structae diris altaribus arae, omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.* Weber cf. also Stat. Theb. X 311 *proturbat mensas dirus 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 aeuom,
plurima securi fudistis carmina, Bardi.
et uos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum 450
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 455
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 timorum
maximus haud urget leti metus. inde ruendi 460
in ferrum mens prona uiris animaeque capaces

Romans with Mercurius; Hesus with Mars; Taranis with Jupiter. cf. Mason's Caractacus, 'yon 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 207 *neque enim plus septima ducitur aestas;* Hor. carm. IV xiv 13 *deiecit acer plus uice simplici:* but the omission of the second *ara* is remarkable. May not the true reading be *Scythica...Diana*, according to the common σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος? cf. Juv. III 74 *sermo promptus et Isaeo torrentior*, and Prof. Mayor's note. For Diana, Scythica or Taurica cf. Eur. Iph. in Taur.

448. *dimittitis*] 'send abroad': so the MSS. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. I 185 *augurium seros dimisit ad usque nepotes:* but *di* and *de* in composition are often confused, cf. II 294 and Conington's note of Verg. Aen. VI 734.

449. *securi*] The Romans attempted to put down Druidism, cf. Merivale, History of the Romans cap. 51.

Bardi] Weber refers to Strabo IV iv 4 (197) who makes a distinction between the Vates and the Bardi, παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἐπίπαν τρία φῦλα τῶν τιμωμένων διαφερόντως ἐστί, βάρδοι τε καὶ οὐάτεις καὶ δρυίδαι· βάρδοι μὲν ὑμνηταὶ καὶ ποιηταί, οὐάτεις δὲ ἱεροποιοὶ καὶ φυσιολόγοι, δρυίδαι δὲ πρὸς τῇ φυσιολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκοῦσι; also to Amm. Marc. XV 9, who seems merely to repeat Strabo.

451. *ab armis*] 'laid aside your arms and returned to your rites'; cf. Ov. Heroid. III 95 *ille ferox positis secessit ab armis.*

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.

nemora alta] 'deep glades in sacred groves far from the haunts of men'; cf. Propert. V (IV) ix 24 *lucus ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus.*

454. *lucis*] used specially of sacred groves; cf. III 399 foll.

uobis auctoribus] 'according to your teaching'; cf. Hor. carm. I xxviii 14 *iudice te non sordidus auctor naturae uerique.*

457. *orbe alio*] 'in a new cycle'; cf. Verg. Aen. VI 748 *ubi mille rotam uoluere 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 xx 3 οἴονται Ἵππαρχον τύραννον ὄντα 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 praecipiunt (Druidae) in uolgus effluxit, uidelicet ut forent ad*

mortis et ignauom rediturae parcere uitae.
et uos cirrigeros bellis arcere Caycos
oppositi petitis Romam Rhenique feroces
deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus orbem. 465

Caesar ut immensae collecto robore uires
audendi maiora fidem fecere per omnem
spargitur Italiam uicinaque moenia complet.
uana quoque ad ueros accessit fama timores
irrupitque animos populi clademque futuram 470
intulit et uelox properantis nuntia belli
innumeras soluit falsa in praeconia linguas.
est qui tauriferis ubi se Meuania campis
explicat audaces ruere in certamina turmas
adferat, et qua Nar Tiberino illabitur amni 475
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. 480

bella meliores, aeternas esse animas uitamque alteram ad manes.

capaces] 'great enough for death'; cf. Shakspeare's use of 'capable'; K. John, III 1. 12 'For I am sick and capable of fears'.

462. *ignauom*] 'the thought that it is a coward's part'; cf. the note on 5 supr.

463. *Caycos*] apparently the same as the Chauci of Tacitus. For *cirrigeros* cf. Juv. XIII 164, 165 *caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flauam caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?*

464. *oppositi*] 'posted to restrain'; for the infinitive of purpose, cf. Hor. carm. I ii 7, 8 *omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos uisere montes.*

feroces] i.e. inhabited by warlike tribes; cf. Catull. LXIII 53, 54 *ferarum...furibunda latibula.*

465. *apertum*] The meaning is the same as if *aperiunt* had been written: 'leave the Rhine's untamed banks and the world opened to barbarian hordes'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 13 *Alpes immittet apertas.*

467. *fidem fecere*] 'gave him confidence'.

468. *spargitur*] 'spreads himself', i.e. his forces; cf. II 395.

470. *futuram*] 'bore into their minds the sense of coming disaster', cf. 184 supr. II 80.

471. *nuntia*] sc. *fama.*

472. *soluit*] 'let loose unnumbered tongues to tell false tales;' for the sense of *praeconia* cf. Ov. Trist V i 9 *ut cecidi perago subiti praeconia casus.*

473. *Meuania*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. VI 645 foll. *ubi latis proiecta in campis nebulas exhalat inertes et sedet ingentem pascens Meuania taurum dona Ioui.*

476. *barbaricas...alas*] i.e. the squadrons of German horse.

477. *aquilas*] i.e. the standards of the legions, cf. 7 supr.

478. *densis*] i.e. covering Italy with his encampments.

479. *maior*] Compare the description of the conscience-stricken man, Juv. XIII 221 *tua sacra et maior imago humana turbat pauidum.*

480. *uictoque immanior hoste*] 'more terrible from the conquest of the foe', cf. Hor. carm. III v 40, 41 *O magna Karthago probrosis altior 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 Arctois patriaque a sede reuolsos
pone sequi, iussamque feris a gentibus urbem
Romano spectante rapi. sic quisque pauendo
dat uires famae: nulloque auctore malorum 485
quae finxere timent. nec solum uolgus inani
perculsum terrore pauet: sed curia et ipsi
sedibus exsiluere Patres inuisaque belli
consulibus fugiens mandat decreta senatus.
tum quae tuta petant et quae metuenda relinquant 490
incerti, quo quemque fugae tulit impetus urgent
praecipitem populum, serieque haerentia longa
agmina prorumpunt. credas aut tecta nefandas
corripuisse faces aut iam quatiente ruina
nutantis pendere domos: sic turba per urbem 495
praecipiti lymphata gradu, uelut unica rebus
spes foret adflictis patrios excedere muros,
inconsulta ruit. qualis, cum turbidus Auster
reppulit a Libycis immensum Syrtibus aequor
fractaque ueliferi sonuerunt pondera mali, 500
desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister
nauitaque et nondum sparsa compage carinae
naufragium sibi quisque facit: sic urbe relicta
in bellum fugitur. nullum iam languidus aeuo
eualuit reuocare parens coniunxue maritum 505
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 decernitur;* more fully in Caes. B. C. I 5. *decurritur ad illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum quo, nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis, latorum audacia numquam ante discessum est; dent operam consules praetores tribuni plebis quique consulares sunt ad urbem ne quid respublica 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.

494. *ruina*] 'tendency to fall'; cf. Juv. III 190 *quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam.* Compare the use of *error* in Verg. Aen. V 590, 591 *qua signa sequendi falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error.*

495. *pendere*] cf. Juv. III 196 *securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.*

497. *excedere muros*] cf. Liv. XXII 55 *egredi urbem.*

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'.

conciperent tenuere Lares: nec limine quisquam
haesit et extremo tum forsitan urbis amatae
plenus abit uisu: ruit irreuocabile uolgus.
o faciles dare summa deos eademque tueri 510
difficiles. urbem populis uictisque frequentem
gentibus et generis coeat si turba capacem
humani, facilem uenturo Caesare praedam
ignauae liquere manus. cum pressus ab hoste
clauditur externis miles Romanus in oris, 515
effugit exiguo nocturna pericula uallo,
et subitus rapti munimine caespitis agger
praebet securos intra tentoria somnos:
tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma,
desereris; nox una tuis non credita muris. 520
danda tamen uenia est tantorum danda pauorum:
Pompeio fugiente timent. tum ne qua futuri
spes saltem trepidas mentes leuet addita fati
peioris manifesta fides superique minaces
prodigiis terras implerunt aethera pontum. 525
ignota obscurae uiderunt sidera noctes,
ardentemque polum flammis, caeloque uolantis
obliquas per inane faces, crinemque timendi
sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.

508. *extremo*] cf. Liv. I 29 *nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud uisuri peruagarentur.*

511. *frequentem*] cf. the apostrophe to Pharsalia VII 539—543 *aut si Romano compleri sanguine mauis, istis parce precor: uiuant Galataeque Syrique Cappadoces Gallique extremique orbis Hiberi Armenii Cilices: nam post ciuilia 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 prodigies prevented their having any hope of the future either.

524. *manifesta fides*] 'a clear sign of yet worse doom'; cf. Verg. Aen. II 309; III 374, 375 *nam te maioribus ire per altum auspiciis manifesta fides.* Liv. VI xiii § 6 and Dr Munro on Aetna 177.

525. *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. I 464 foll.; Ov. Met. XV 782 foll.

529. *mutantem*] i. e. causing war and revolution, cf. Plin. H. N. II § 92 *sed cometes numquam in occasura parte caeli est, terrificum magna ex parte sidus atque non leuiter piatum, ut ciuili motu Octauio consule iterumque Pompei et Caesaris bello, in nostro uero aeuo circa ueneficium quo Claudius Caesar imperium reliquit Domitio Neroni ac deinde principatu eius adsiduom prope ac saeuom.* Shakspeare,

fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno, 530
et uarias ignis denso dedit aere formas:
nunc iaculum longo nunc sparso lumine lampas
emicuit caelo. tacitum sine nubibus ullis
fulmen et Arctois rapiens e partibus ignem
percussit Latiale caput: stellaeque minores 535
per uacuom solitae noctis decurrere tempus
in medium uenere diem: cornuque coacto
iam Phoebe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe
terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.
ipse caput medio Titan cum ferret Olympo 540
condidit ardentis atra caligine currus
inuoluitque orbem tenebris, gentesque coegit
desperare diem: qualem fugiente per ortus
sole Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae.
ora ferox Siculae laxauit Mulciber Aetnae; 545
nec tulit in caelum flammas sed uertice prono
ignis in Hesperium cecidit latus. atra Charybdis
sanguineum fundo torsit mare. flebile saeui
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 interprets *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. III i 81 *laesique fides reditura sereni.* As to the evil nature of this portent cf. Verg. G. I 487, but in Aen. IX 627 it appears as a good omen.

531. *denso*] Oud. cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. VII 21 § 1 *placet ergo nostris cometas... denso aere creari.*

534. *Arctois*] Weise remarks that lightning was supposed to appear more commonly 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. *uacuom*] i.e. in the absence of the sun.

decurrere] 'to run their courses', a metaphor from the races e.g. at funerals cf. Verg. Aen. XI 188, 189 *ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis decurrere rogos.* Tac. Ann. II 7.

537. *coacto*] 'with horns brought together', i.e. completing the disc; cf. Ov. Met. VII 179 *tres aberant noctes ut cornua tota coirent efficerentque orbem.*

538. *redderet*] i.e. reflect the light of the sun.

543. *per ortus*] sc. per quos solet orii et per occasus fugere; cf. Ov. ex Ponto IV vi 47, 48 *utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae solis ad eoas currus agetur aquas.*

544. *Mycenae*] the home of Thyestes; cf. VII 541, 542 *astra Thyestae impulit et subitis damnauit noctibus Argos.*

546. *uertice prono*] 'eddying downwards', this probably means that it was blown by the wind on to the shore of Italy.

548. *fundo*] equivalent to βυσσόθεν. *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
subsedit, ueteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discussere niuem. Tethys maioribus undis
Hesperiam Calpen summumque impleuit Atlanta. 555
indigetes fleuisse deos urbisque laborem
testatos sudore Lares delapsaque templis
dona suis dirasque diem foedasse uolucres
accipimus; siluisque feras sub nocte relictis
audaces media posuisse cubilia Roma. 560
tum pecudum faciles humana ad murmura linguae,
monstrosique 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 urnae.
tum fragor armorum magnaeque per auia uoces

uidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas. For an account of the *feriae Latinae* see Dict. of Antiq.

552. *Thebanos*] When Eteocles and Polynices 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. XII 429—432 *ecce iterum fratres: primos ut contigit artus ignis edax nouere rogi et nouus aduena bustis pellit: exundant diuiso uertice flammae, ternosque apices abrupta luce coruscant;* also Aetna 577 where Dr Munro refers to Pausanias IX xviii § 3.

553. *subsedit*] 'stopped': this sudden shock caused the Alps to rock, and thus took the snow from their summits; this seems to be Lucan's idea.

555. *Atlanta*] It is somewhat strange that Lucan should speak of Mount Atlas as if it were on the sea shore, in the same way as Calpe (Gibraltar), but Strabo XVII (825) seems to imply that it is visible from the sea; ἔξω δὲ προελθόντι τοῦ κατὰ στήλας πορθμοῦ τὴν Λιβύην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντι ὄρος ἐστίν, ὅπερ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες Ἄτλαντα καλοῦσιν οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι Δύριν.

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'.

565. *Bellona*] Oud. cf. Tibull. I vi 45—50 *haec, ubi Bellonae motu est agitata, nec acrem flammam non amens uerbera torta timet: ipsa bipenne suos caedit uiolenta lacertos, sanguineque effuso spargit inulta deam; statque latus praefixa ueru, stat saucia pectus, et canit euentus quos dea magna 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. uit. Com. 9.

566. *cecinere deas*] i.e. oracula deorum. Omnibonus.

567. *Galli*] the eunuch priests of Cybele; cf. Ov. Fast. IV 223 foll.

568. *compositis*] 'laid to rest'. Cf. Hor. Sat. I ix 373 *omnes composui.*

auditae nemorum, et uenientes comminus umbrae. 570
quique 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 575
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 580
tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes:
tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas
agricolae fracto Marium fugere sepulchro.
haec propter placuit Tuscos de more uetusto
acciri uates. quorum qui maximus aeuo 585
Aruns incoluit desertae moenia Lucae,
fulminis edoctus motus uenasque calentis
fibrarum et monitus uolitantis in aere pennae,
monstra iubet primum nullo quae semine discors
protulerat natura rapi sterilique nefandos 590
ex utero fetus infaustis urere flammis.
mox iubet et totam pauidis a ciuibus urbem
ambiri, et festo purgantis moenia lustro
longa per extremos pomoeria cingere fines

570. *uenientes comminus*] 'meeting in the shock of battle'.

572. *cingebat*] 'made the circuit of the city'; cf. 594 infr. IX 373 *terra cingere Syrtim.*

573. *excutiens*] 'shaking', cf. Plin. H. N. X 116 *gallinae inhorrescunt edito ouo excutiuntque sese.*

pronam] 'turned downwards'.

574. *stridentis*] 'hissing' i.e. equivalent to *anguineas.*

577. *Megaeram*] In the Hercules Furens of Euripides it is Lyssa, Madness personified, whom Hercules sees, but she might be easily identified with one of the Furies.

580. *Campo*] Sulla was buried in the Campus Martius; cf. II 222 *his meruit medio tumulum sibi tollere Campo?*

582. *Anienis*] The corpse of Marius was disinterred by order of Sulla and thrown into the Anio.

584. *Tuscos*] cf. Liv. I 56; Tac. XI 15.

588. *pennae*] cf. Verg. Aen. III 361 *praepetis omina pennae.*

590. *sterili*] This is to be understood of a mule according to the scholiast.

591. *infaustis*] Brouk ap. Oud. understands this of certain unlucky kinds of wood; cf. Catull. XXXVI 8 *infelicibus ustulanda lignis.* So Cic. pro Milone § 33 speaks of the corpse of Clodius as *infelicissimis lignis semiustulatum;* cf. also Plin. H. N. XIII § 116.

593. *ambiri*] This description is probably taken from the lustration of the city in the time of Nero; cf. Tac. Ann. XIII 24 *urbem princeps lustrauit ex responso haruspicum, quod Iouis ac Mineruae aedes de caelo tactae erant.* In an *amburbium* the victims were led round the city's boundaries as we know from Festus, p. 5 M.

594. *pomoeria*] a space left vacant on

pontifices sacri quibus est permissa potestas. 595
turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Gabino,
Vestalemque chorum ducit uittata sacerdos
Troianam soli cui fas uidisse Mineruam.
tum qui fata deum secretaque carmina seruant
et lotam paruo reuocant Almone Cybeben, 600
et doctus uolucres augur seruare sinistras,
septemuirque epulis festis, Titiique sodales,
et Salius laeto portans ancilia collo,
attollensque apicem generoso uertice Flamen.
dumque illi effusam longis anfractibus urbem 605
circueunt, Aruns dispersos fulminis ignes
colligit et terrae maesto cum murmure condit,
datque locis nomen sacris. tunc admouet aris
electa ceruice marem. iam fundere Bacchum
coeperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro: 610

both sides of a city's walls, cf. Liv. I 44. 'The extension of the pomoerium by Sulla had no connexion whatever with the walls, as the pomoerium was simply a religious boundary, which since the earliest times had not been necessarily co-extensive with the walls.' Burn, Rome and the Campagna.

595. *pontifices*] The chief of the four great religious colleges: the other three were the *augures*, XV*uiri sacrorum* and *epulones*.

sacri] For the genitive cf. II 76, 77 *potestas sanguinis inuisi*.

596. *minor*] 'inferior'.

Gabino] The *cinctus Gabinus* appears to have been a primitive fashion of wearing the toga kept up on sacred occasions; cf. Verg. Aen. VII 612 and Conington's note.

598. *Mineruam*] cf. IX 993 *nullique adspecta uirorum Pallas*. Ov. Fast. VI 253, 254 *non equidem uidi, ualeant mendacia uatum, te dea; nec fueras adspicienda uiro*.

599. *qui fata*] i.e. the XV uiri who had charge of the Sibylline books; cf. Tac. Ann. VI 18 (12).

600. *Almone*] cf. Ov. Fast. IV 337 foll.; Mart. III xlvii 2; Stat. Silu. V i 223, 224 *quaque Italo gemitus Almone Cybele ponit et Idaeos iam non reminiscitur amnes*.

602. *Titii*] A college whose rites probably represented some of the primitive worship of the Tities: they are mentioned by Varro L. L. V § 85 and Tac. Ann. I 54.

603. *laeto*] i.e. as shown by their dancing.

604. *apicem*] cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 664 *lanigerosque apices*, and Conington's note; Liv. VI 41 *apicem dialem*.

generoso] This refers to the three *maiores flamines* who were always chosen from among the patricians.

605. *effusam*] 'spread out in long windings'.

607. *terrae*] is equivalent to *in terram*, cf. II 89; VI 115; Verg. Ecl. II 30 *uiridi compellere hibisco;* Hor. carm. I xxiv 18 *nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi;* Liv. V 51 *sacra...terrae celauimus*.

608. *nomen*] i.e. *bidental*. Oud. says that two MSS. read *numen* in the sense of 'sanctity' which has been accepted by himself, Weber and others. Weber cf. Claudian Proserp. III 353 *inde timor numenque loco*, but it is difficult to see how a man could be said *dare numen* to a place, though a place may itself have *numen*.

609. *electa ceruice marem*] i.e. *electum taurum*. It was held important to secure an animal with a fine neck for sacrifice; cf. Juv. XII 14 *a grandi ceruix feriendа ministro*.

610. *obliquoque*] 'to spread the salted meal (i.e. on the victim's forehead) with the knife held sideways'. Forc. quotes Sen. Thyest. 688 *tangensque salsa uictimam culter mola*.

impatiensque diu non grati uictima sacri,
cornua succincti premerent cum torua ministri,
deposito uictum praebebat poplite collum.
nec cruor emicuit solitus: sed uolnere largo
diffusum rutilo nigrum pro sanguine uirus. 615
palluit adtonitus sacris feralibus Aruns
atque iram superum raptis quaesiuit in extis.
terruit ipse color uatem: nam pallida taetris
uiscera tincta notis gelidoque infecta cruore
plurimus adsperso uariabat sanguine liuor. 620
cernit tabe iecur madidum: uenasque minaces
hostili de parte uidet. pulmonis anheli
fibra latet paruusque secat uitalia limes.
cor iacet: et saniem per hiantis uiscera rimas
emittunt: produntque suas omenta latebras. 625
quodque—nefas—nullis impune apparuit extis
ecce uidet capiti fibrarum increscere molem
alterius capitis: pars aegra et marcida pendet,
pars micat et celeri uenas mouet improba 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) iii 63 *succinctique calent ad noua lucra popae.*

613. *deposito*] i.e. the victim sank on its knees'; cf. Eur. Hec. 561 καθεῖσα πρὸς γαῖαν γόνυ.

616. *feralibus*] 'ill-omened'; cf. 112 supr.

618 *color*] cf. Aesch. Prom. 493—495 σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα καὶ χροίαν τίνα ἔχοντ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν χολῆς λοβοῖ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν.

619. *gelidoque*] 'and steeped as they were with lukewarm gore many a dark stain mottled them with clots of blood.' The distinction between *cruor* and *sanguis* does not appear to be maintained in this passage: *cruor* is properly confined to blood that has been already spilt; cf. Lucret. II 194, 195 *e nostro cum missus corpore sanguis emicat exsultans late spargitque cruorem.*

622. *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 ipsos, quae pars inimici, quae pars familiaris esset?* Liv. VIII 9 *Decio caput iocineris a familiari parte caesum haruspex dicitur ostendisse.*

623. *fibra*] appears to mean one extremity of the lungs.

latet] 'is invisible', i.e. the lung was imperfect; cf. Eur. Elect. 827—829 καὶ λοβὸς μὲν οὐ προσῆν σπλάγχνοις πύλαι δὲ καὶ δοχαὶ χολῆς πέλας κακὰς ἔφαινον τῇ σκοπούντι προσβολάς.

limes] That *limes* 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.'

624. *iacet*] 'does not throb'.

625. *produnt*] 'the caul exposes the intestines it should hide', i.e. it was split.

626. *impune*] 'without ill consequence'.

627. *increscere*] i.e. of the two lobes, probably of the liver, one was swollen and had overgrown the other; cf. Pers. III 32 *fibris increuit opimum pingue.*

628. *aegra et marcida*] 'sickly and flabby'.

629. *micat*] 'the other beats and keeps

is ubi concepit magnorum fata malorum 630
xclamat: uix fas, superi, quaecumque monetis
rodere me populis: neque enim tibi summe litaui
uppiter hoc sacrum: caesique in pectora tauri
ferni uenere dei. non fanda timemus:
d uenient maiora metu. di uisa secundent 635
t fibris sit nulla fides; sed conditor artis
nxerit ista Tages. flexa sic omina Tuscus
uoluens multaque tegens ambage canebat.
at Figulus cui cura deos secretaque caeli
osse fuit, quem non stellarum Aegyptia Memphis 640
equaret uisu numerisque mouentibus astra,
ut hic errat, ait, nulla cum lege per aeuom
undus et incerto discurrunt sidera motu:
ut si fata mouent urbi generique paratur
humano matura lues. terraene dehiscent 645
subsidentque urbes? an tollet feruidus aer
temperiem? segetes tellus infida negabit?
omnis an infusis miscebitur unda uenenis?
quod cladis genus, o superi, qua peste paratis
saeuitiam? extremi multorum tempus in unum 650
conuenere dies. summo si frigida caelo

ins astir with rapid throb, as if
sed'.

fata] 'the destined approach'.

caesique] 'but the infernal gods
und their way into the body of the
tered bull'. *que* is equivalent to
f. 134 supr. VI 756 where we have
ue in the same way.

fides] 'truth'.

Tages] The founder of the art of
ion in Etruria. Weise cf. Cic. de
§§ 50, 51; Ov. Met. XV 558 foll.
o Mommsen History of Rome Bk.
12.

P. Nigidius Figulus was a
orean philosopher and astrologer
ro's times: from the circumstances
birth of Octavius he is said to have
ed his future greatness. Weise re-
Suet. Aug. 94.

stellarum uisu] 'astronomy'.

numeris] 'the harmonies that
he stars'. Perhaps this refers to the
: velocities of the heavenly bodies
: orbits, which the ancient astrono-
lieved 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 *numerus* refers to the seven notes
mentioned above.

642. *nulla cum lege*] This is the
Epicurean theory; cf. Hor. Epp. I xii 17
*stellae sponte sua iussaene uagentur et
errent.*

cum] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 359 *madida
cum ueste grauatum.*

644. *si fata mouent*] This is the Stoic
view; cf. Manil. IV 49 *hoc nisi fata darent
numquam fortuna tulisset.*

646. *an tollet*] '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.*

stella nocens nigros Saturni accenderet ignes,
Deucalioneos fudisset Aquarius imbres
totaque diffuso latuisset in aequore tellus.
si saeuom radiis Nemeaeum, Phoebe, Leonem 655
nunc premeres, toto fluerent incendia mundo
succensusque tuis flagrasset curribus aether.
hi cessant ignes: tu qui flagrante minacem
Scorpion incendis cauda chelasque peruris
quid tantum, Gradiue, paras? nam mitis in alto 660
Iuppiter occasu premitur Venerisque salubre
sidus hebet motuque celer Cyllenius haeret,
et caelum Mars solus habet. cur signa meatus
deseruere suos mundoque obscura feruntur:
ensiferi nimium fulget latus Orionis? 665
imminet armorum rabies: ferrique potestas
confundet ius omne manu: scelerique nefando
nomen erit uirtus: multosque exibit in annos
hic furor: et superos quid prodest poscere finem?
cum domino pax ista uenit. duc, Roma, malorum 670
continuam seriem clademque in tempora multa
extrahe ciuili tantum iam libera bello.
terruerant satis haec pauidam praesagia plebem:

652. *nigros*] 'lurid', cf. Hor. carm. IV xii 26 *nigrorumque memor 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.

fluerent] '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. I 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 placidusque telo supplices audi pueros Apollo.*

664. *feruntur*] 'journey through the sky invisible'.

mundo] *mundus* is here used for *aether:* see Dr Munro's note on Lucret. I 73; 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 uirgineum suffuderit ore ruborem.* Id. Aen. VI 187 *si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus ostendat;* Hor. carm. III v 1 *cado tonantem credidimus Iouem regnare.*

665. *ensiferi*] cf. Eur. Ion 1153 ὁ τε ξιφήρης Ὠρίων.

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 exierunt.*

670. *pax ista*] 'the peace we seek'; cf. Cic. ad Att. VII v § 4 *pace opus est: ex uictoria cum multa mala, tum certe tyrannus exsistet;* Liv. II 9 *ne Romana plebs metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus uel cum seruitute pacem 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.*

ıiora premunt. nam qualis uertice Pindi
Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo, 675
: attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem
; his prodens urgentem pectora Phoebum:
:or, o Paean? qua me super aethera raptam
ıis terra? uideo Pangaea niuosis
ıgis latosque Haemi sub rupe Philippos. 680
ror hic, o Phoebe, doce: quo tela manusque
ıae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est?
uersa feror? primos me ducis in ortus
are Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili.
go fluminea deformis truncus harena 685
et agnosco: dubiam super aequora Syrtin
nque feror Libyen quo tristis Erinys
lit Emathias acies. nunc desuper Alpis
ae colles atque aeriam Pyrenen
ıur. patriae sedes remeamus in urbis 690
ue in medio peraguntur bella senatu.
ɜunt partes iterum totumque per orbem
eo. noua da mihi cernere litora Ponti
nque nouam: ɥidi iam, Phoebe, Philippos.
it et lasso iacuit defecta furore. 695

ut] 'are upon them'; cf. 75 *numina nulla premunt.*
] i.e. Theban; cf. Ov. *qualis ab Ogygio concita*

s] 'revealing'; cf. Verg. *ros nautis prodentia uentos.*
bos] cf. notes on 1 supr.

o what purpose?' cf. Hor. *'s quo ualeat nummus quem* see also Mr Roby's Gram- reface, page xxx ('of the ve' § 5).
'a foreign foe'; cf. Cic. *hostis enim apud maiores tur quem nunc peregrinum*

z] cf. Verg. Aen. XI 855 *'ersus abis?*
ur] 'is dyed'. cf. Catull. XI *emgeminus colorat aequora*

sc. *Pompeium.*
n Syrtin] 'the shifting Syr- cusative of motion *to* with- out a preposition see Madv. § 232, obs. 4.

691. *bella*] i. e. the murder of Caesar.

692. *iterum*] i. e. under Octavian.

693. *noua da*] 'grant me to see new shores of Pontus and a new land: I have already seen Philippi'; 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 *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.* 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 Aetna 617 *defec tum raptis illum sua carmina tardant.*

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER SECUNDUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

Remonstrance with the gods for allowing knowledge of the future 1—15. Terror at Rome; lamentations of the matrons 16—42, and of the men 43—66. Reminiscences of the civil wars of Marius and Sulla 67—233. Brutus consults Cato 234—285. Cato's reply 286—325. Marcia, Cato's former wife, returns to his house 326—349, and is married to him a second time 350—379. Character of Cato 380—391. Pompeius retires to Capua; physical geography of Italy 392—438. Caesar overruns northern Italy 439—477. Domitius opposes him at Corfinium, but is betrayed by his soldiers and set free by Caesar 478—525. Pompeius addresses his troops 526—595, and retires to Brundisium: description of the town 596—627. He despatches his son Gnaeus to rouse the Eastern nations 628—649. Caesar tries to block up the harbour of Brundisium 650—679. Pompeius escapes to Epirus 680—736.

Iamque irae patuere deum manifestaque belli
signa dedit mundus: legesque et foedera rerum
praescia monstrifero uertit natura tumultu
indixitque nefas. cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi,
sollicitis uisum mortalibus addere curam 5
noscant uenturas ut dira per omina clades?
siue parens rerum, cum primum informia regna

1. *patuere*] cf. Petron. 122 *continuo clades hominum uenturaque damna auspiciis patuere deum.*

2. *leges*] cf. Verg. G. 1. 60 *continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis.*

3. *monstrifero*] cf. Claudian. Gigant. 3 *omnia monstrifero complebat Tartara fetu.*

uertit] 'turned upside down': cf. Verg. G. 1 505 *quippe ubi fas uersum atque nefas.*

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 I 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.

7. *parens rerum*] 'the author of the world', cf. Sil. Ital. II 654 *caeloque parentem murorum repetens.*

materiemque rudem flamma cedente recepit,
fixit in aeternum causas, qua cuncta coercet
se quoque lege tenens, et saecula iussa ferentem 10
fatorum immoto diuisit limite mundum:
siue nihil positum est sed Fors incerta uagatur
fertque refertque uices et habet mortalia casus:
sit subitum quodcumque paras: sit caeca futuri
mens hominum fati: liceat sperare timenti. 15
ergo ubi concipiunt quantis sit cladibus orbi
constatura fides superum ferale per urbem
iustitium: latuit plebeio tectus amictu
omnis honos: nullos comitata est purpura fasces.
tum questus tenuere suos magnusque per omnes 20
errabat sine uoce dolor. sic funere primo

8. *rudem*] cf. Ov. Met. I 7 *rudis indigestaque moles.*

flamma cedente] diuisa enim flamma, elementa se quoque singula separarunt. Schol. cf. Ov. Met. I. 26—31 *ignea conuexi uis et sine pondere caeli emicuit summaque locum sibi legit in arce: proximus est aer illi leuitate locoque: densior his tellus elementaque gravidia traxit et pressa est gravitate sui: circumfluus umor ultima possedit solidumque coercuit orbem.*

recepit] 'took to himself', cf. Verg. Aen. II 524, 525 *recepit ad sese et sacra longaeuom in sede locauit.* Id. VI iii *medioque 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 *finxit:* the two words are commonly confused.

causas] cf. Tac. Ann. VI 28 (22) *contra alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e uagis stellis, uerum apud principia et nexus naturalium causarum.*

10. *se quoque*] 'binding himself too by the law by which he orders all things', cf. Sen. dial. I v § 8 *ille ipse omnium conditor et rector scripsit quidem fata, sed sequitur. semper pareat, semel iussit;* cf. also Cic. N. D. II § 75.

saecula] '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 *afferre*, cf. the use of *agere* in Hor. carm. III 6 43, 44 *amicum tempus agens abeunte curru.*

12. *uagatur*] cf. I 642.

13. *fertque refertque uices*] 'and brings round a cycle of changes'.

habet] 'chance sways the affairs of men'; cf. Sall. Jug. 2 *animus incorruptus agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur.* Oud. with some MSS. reads *habent mortalia casum*, i. e. 'are subject to accident', for which cf. Stat. Silu. 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 θνητοὺς ἔπαυσα μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον. τὸ ποῖον εὑρὼν τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου; τυφλὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας κατῴκισα. μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἐδωρήσω βροτοῖς.

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. Gellius XX cap. I.

latuit] cf. Juv. III 212, 213 *horrida mater, pullati proceres, differt uadimonia praetor.*

19. *nullos*] 'not at all', cf. VII. 25 note.

21. *sine uoce*] '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 saeuos famularum bracchia planctus:
sed cum membra premit fugiente rigentia uita
uoltusque exanimes oculosque in morte micantis
necdum est ille dolor sed iam metus: incubat am
miraturque malum. cultus matrona priores
deposuit: maestaeque tenent delubra cateruae.
hae lacrimis sparsere deos, hae pectora duro
adfixere solo: lacerasque in limine sacro
attonitae fudere comas: uotisque uocari
adsuetas crebris feriunt ululatibus aures.
nec cunctae summi templo iacuere Tonantis:
diuisere deos: et nullis defuit aris 35
inuidiam factura parens: quarum una madentis
scissa genas planctu liuentis atra lacertos,
nunc, ait, o miserae contundite pectora matres,
nunc laniate comas, neue hunc differte dolorem
et summis seruate malis: nunc flere potestas 40
dum pendet fortuna ducum: cum uicerit alter
gaudendum est. his se stimulis dolor ipse lacessit.

22. *attonitae*] 'in dismay', cf. Juv. IV 146.
corpora] The plural used for the singular: cf. 125 infr. So too *corpora* is used in Ov. Met. VIII 416.

23. *conclamata*] 'mourned as dead', 'given up'. So in Ter. Eun. II 3 56 *conclamatum est*, 'it is all over'.

24. *exigit*] 'compels her handmaidens' arms to inflict cruel blows upon themselves', compare Hom. Il. XIX 301, 302 ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἑκάστη.

25. *sed cum*] 'but when she hangs over the limbs stiffening as life departs'.

26. *micantis*] This is Oudendorp's conjecture for the *minaces* of the MSS. He refers to Stat. Theb. V 216, where *oculis tremens* is used of a dying man. Bersmannus with one MS. reads *iacentis*, Weise *natantis* after Cortius.

27. *dolor*] i. e. for the dead: *metus*, for the dying. Oud. cf. VIII 53, 54 *quid perdis tempora luctus? cum possis iam flere times.* Val. Flacc. I 326 *miserere parentum, mors bona, dum metus est nec adhuc dolor.*

sed iam] *iam* is here almost equivalent to *adhuc*, 'as yet', i. e. at the point we have reached.

31. *adfixere*] so most MSS., read *adflixere*.

32. *uotisque uocari*] 'the ears o accustomed to be invoked with they assail with wailing cries'; cf. Agam. 1078, 1079 ἡ δ' αὖτε δυσφ τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γό ρασταταῖν.

36. *inuidiam factura parens*] 'ther destined to bring odium on the i. e. in case they should refuse to he prayers. Oud. cf. IX 65 *Pompeio c ignis inuidia maiore deum.*

37. *scissa genas*] cf. Aesch. Cl πρέπει παρηὶς φοινίοις ἀμυγμοῖς δνυχ

40. *et summis*] 'nor reserve it negation is to be carried on from tl ceding *neue*, cf. I 76, infr. 235, 440,
potestas] For the use of this wor an infinitive cf. Stat. Theb. III 29 *soli cui tanta potestas diuorumque numque meis occurrere telis impune.*

41. *pendet*] 'hangs in the balanc *in pendenti est* is used in the legal of an undecided suit.

42. *gaudendum est*] 'then we sha

on bella uiri diuersaque castra petentes
ıt iustas in numina saeua querelas:
ae sortis quod non in Punica nati 45
. Cannarum fuimus Trebiaeque iuuentus.
:em petimus, superi: date gentibus iras:
bes excite feras: coniuret in arma
: Achaemeniis decurrant Medica Susis
: Massageten Scythicus non adliget Hister: 50
ıb extremo flauos Aquilone Sueuos
: indomitum Rheni caput: omnibus hostes
nos populis: ciuile auertite bellum:
ıcus premat inde Getes: occurrat Hiberis
l Eoas hic uertat signa pharetras. 55
ıcet tibi, Roma, manus. uel perdere nomen
t Hesperium, superi, collapsus in ignem
s ad terram per fulmina decidat aether.
arens, utrasque simul partesque ducesque
ndum meruere feri. tantone nouorum 60
u scelerum quaerunt uter imperet urbi?
ti fuerat ciuilia bella mouere
:r. tales pietas peritura querelas

nc non licebit flere. Schol. nflames itself'; cf. the in I 205—208.

a nati] 'born into the wars'; compare the use ρωικά, τὰ Μηδικά.

'the soldiery of Cannae uv. II 155 *quid Cremerae nsumpta iuuentus?*

sc. *externis* cf. I 82, 93. fury', cf. infr. 324, 529. sc. Parthian: Oud. cf. *non tot Achaemeniis arittis.*

put] *caput* is used both of of the mouth of rivers: f. Pompon. Mela III cap. *capite duos lacus efficit;* ıkes it here, referring to e latter cf. III 202; Caes. *ienus multis capitibus in* in this case it would re- cf. note on III 202.

Getes]. According to 95) the country of the :en the Hister and the , and in VII 12 (304) he speaks of the Getae and Dacians as two divisions of the same people, and as such they are apparently regarded by Lucan in III 95 *Dacisque Getes admixtus:* although here they are opposed to one another by *hinc* and *inde.*

55. *alter*] Caesar: *hic*, Pompeius. *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. II 624 *tum uero omne mihi uisum considere in ignes Ilium.*

58. *plurimus*] 'in a mass'; cf. Ov. Ibis 600 *plurima qua flammas Sicanis Aetna uomit.*

59. *saeue parens*] i.e. *Iuppiter;* cf. Hor. carm. I xii 13 *quid prius dicam solitis parentis laudibus?* see also Hom. Od. xx. 201, 202 Ζεῦ πάτερ οὔ τις σεῖο θεῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος· οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις ἄνδρας, ἐπὴν δὴ γείνεαι αὐτός.

60. *tantone*] 'do they need such a crop of fresh horrors to find out which is to be lord of the capital'.

63. *ut neuter*] 'to prevent them both'. *pietas peritura*] 'patriotism doomed

egerit. at miseros angit sua cura parentes,
oderuntque grauis uiuacia fata senectae 65
seruatosque iterum bellis ciuilibus annos.
atque aliquis magno quaerens exempla timori,
non alios, inquit, motus tum fata parabant,
cum post Teutonicos uictor Libycosque triumphos
exsul limosa Marius caput abdidit ulua. 70
stagna auidi texere soli laxaeque paludes
depositum, Fortuna, tuom: mox uincula ferri
exedere senem longusque in carcere paedor.
consul et euersa felix moriturus in urbe
poenas ante dabat scelerum. mors ipsa refugit 75
saepe uirum, frustraque hosti concessa potestas
sanguinis inuisi: primo qui caedis in ictu
diriguit ferrumque manu torpente remisit;
uiderat immensum tenebroso in carcere lumen
terribilesque deas scelerum Mariumque futurum 80
audieratque pauens: fas haec contingere non est
colla tibi: debet multas hic legibus aeui
ante suam mortes: uanum depone furorem.

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 i 1 *motum ex Metello consule ciuicum;* see also note on I 184.

70. *Marius*] Oud. cf. Cic. in Pison. § 43 *C. Marius, quem Italia seruata ab illo demersum in Minturnensium paludibus, Africa deuicta ab eodem expulsum et naufragum uidit;* cf. also Juv. X 276—278 *exsilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes, et mendicatus uicta Karthagine panis, hinc causas habuere.*

71. *auidi*] i.e. which is ready to swallow up everything, 'treacherous', cf. Hor. carm. I xxviii 18 *exitio est auidum mare nautis*'. Some MSS. and the Roman edition of 1469 read *uuidi* from which Grotius conjectured *udi*.

laxae] Weise explains this word as equivalent to *amplae, spatiosae*, for which sense one might compare Mart. II xxx 4 *et cuius laxas arca flagellat opes:* but it seems better to take it as 'yielding', 'loose', cf. Verg. G. IV 247 *laxos in foribus suspendit aranea casses.*

72. *depositum*] 'the charge entrusted to them'; cf. Juv. XIII 60 *si depositum non infitietur 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.

paedor] 'filth'; cf. Tac. Ann. VI 50 (44) *neque exuerat paedorem* (*Artabanus*) *ut uolgum miseratione aduerteret.*

74. *consul*] 'destined to die as consul (i.e. for the seventh time) and prosperous'.

76. *hosti*] For the story cf. Plut. Marius 39.

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 aeui*] 'the laws that govern time', equivalent to *fatis*.

libet ulcisci deletae funera gentis
ınc, Cimbri, seruate senem. non ille fauore 85
ıminis, ingenti superum protectus ab ira,
.r ferus et Romam cupienti perdere fato
ıfficiens. idem pelago delatus iniquo
ɔstilem in terram uacuisque mapalibus actus
uda triumphati iacuit per regna Iugurthae 90
t Poenos pressit cineres. solacia fati
Karthago Mariusque tulit: pariterque iacentes
ɜnouere deis. Libycas ibi colligit iras.
t primum fortuna redit seruilia soluit
gmina: conflato saeuas ergastula ferro 95
xseruere manus. nulli gestanda dabantur
igna ducis, nisi qui scelerum iam fecerat usum
ttuleratque in castra nefas. pro fata: quis ille,
uis fuit ille dies, Marius quo moenia uictor
orripuit: quantoque gradu mors saeua cucurrit. 100

non ille fauore] illum non ideo
it dii, quod ei fauerent, sed quod
irascerentur. Weise.
ıb ira] 'through the anger'; ἐξ
cf. Verg. G. I 234 *torrida semper*
Ov. A. A. III 91 *silices tenuantur*
Id. Amor. II XV 14 *inque sinum*
rus ab arte cadam.
ıir ferus] 'a man of blood'.
ufficiens] 'a sufficient instrument'.
ıostilem] i. e. Africa, the home of
ı: there seems to be some confu-
ween the Carthaginian territory
kingdom of Jugurtha; cf. Hor.
i 25—29 *Iuno et deorum quisquis*
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
uictorum nepotes rettulit inferias
ıe.
ibus] cf. Vell. Pat. II 19 *inopem*
tugurio ruinarum Karthaginen-
erauit. mapalibus is dative, cf.
rm. I. XXIV 18 *nigro compulerit*
us gregi. Id. Sat. II V 49 *si quis*
erum egerit Orco.
nuda] Weise explains this as *nuda*
it seems rather to mean 'waste',
e'; cf. Verg. Ecl. I 15 *silice in*

tulit] sc. *alter alteri;* cf. Vell.
19 *cum Marius aspiciens Kartha-*
illa intuens Marium, alter alteri
sse solacio.
rque iacentes] 'and alike ruined

learned to forgive the gods'.

93. *Libycas*] Marius is compared to Antaeus, for whose legend see IV 595 foll.: he gathers from the soil of Africa fury against Rome such as Hannibal and Jugurtha had shewn, 'true African fury'. Oud. cf. Manil. IV 44—48 *adice et ciuilia bella et Cimbrum in Mario Mariumque in carcere uictum: quod consul totiens exsulque ex exsule consul et iacuit Libycis compar iactura ruinis, eque crepidinibus cepit Karthaginis orbem.*

colligit] cf. note on I 207.

94. *soluit*] Compare what Cicero says of Antonius, ad fam. IX XIII § 2 *quacunque iit, ergastula soluit homines arripuit.*

95. *conflato*] 'melted down', i.e. the chains of the slaves in the *ergastula* were melted down to form weapons: for *conflare* cf. Juv. XIII 153 *an dubitet solitus totum conflare Tonantem?*

96. *exseruere*] 'gave up'.

97. *nisi qui scelerum*] 'save to him who had already gained experience in crime, and brought to the camp ready-made guilt'.

100. *corripuit*] 'seized upon'. cf. Verg. Aen. I 187, 188 *constitit hic arcumque manu celeresque sagittas corripuit.*

gradu] cf. Hor. carm. I iii 32 *semotique prius tarda necessitas leti corripuit gradum.*

nobilitas cum plebe perit: lateque uagatur
ensis et a nullo reuocatum est pectore ferrum.
stat cruor in templis: multaque rubentia caede
lubrica saxa madent. nulli sua profuit aetas.
non senis extremum piguit uergentibus annis 105
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 lenti quaesisse nocentem. 110
in numerum pars magna perit: rapuitque cruentus
uictor 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, 115
degener o populus, uix saecula longa decorum
sic meruisse uiris, nedum breue dedecus aeui
et uitam dum Sulla redit. cui funera uolgi
flere uacet? uix te sparsum per uiscera, Baebi,

103. *stat*] 'is conspicuous'. cf. Hor. carm. I ix 1 *uides ut alta stet niue candidum Soracte.* Ov. Met. XII 401 *sic tergum sessile sic stant pectora celsa toris.*

104. *lubrica*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. IV 162, 163 *arua natant, altusque uirum cruor altus equorum lubrica belligerae sorbet uestigia turmae.*

105. *non piguit*] 'he felt no remorse'.

106. *praecipitasse*] 'to bring to a speedy end'. cf. VII 353 *praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam.*

limine] Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 1140 *quas in primo limine uitae scelus oppressit patriusque furor.*

107. *infantis*] 'to break the hapless infant's thread of destiny at its birth'.

109. *iam posse mori*] 'to have already a life to lose'.

trahit] cf. Hom. Od. XVI 294 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος.

110. *uisum lenti*] 'it seemed a sluggard's part to have searched for a guilty man to slay'.

111. *in numerum*] 'to swell the numbers', 'to make up the tale'. cf. Vell. Pat. II 73 *seruitia ingentium, ut in numerum sui exercitus recipiens.* Weise explains it as *nullo discrimine, non nisi numero.* *in numerum* more commonly means 'to set time'. cf. Verg. G. IV 1

114. *pollutae*] 'to imprint trembl kisses on that blood-stained hand', Marius had given orders that all to wh he did not offer his hand to be kis should be put to death: cf. Florus I § 16 *Ancharius ipso uidente Mario c fossus est, quia fatalem illam sil manum non porrexerat salutanti.*

115. *mortis noua signa*] i. e. the fusal of Marius' hand.

116. *uix saecula*] 'on such terms earn long ages, still less a brief mom of dishonoured life, and the right to l while Sulla is returning.'

118. *dum—redit*] cf. Verg. G. III 1 *dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas.*

119. *uix*] sc. *flere uacat.* 'scarce there time to lament how thou, B bius, torn piece-meal didst disapp amidst the countless hands of the ring soldiers plucking at thy limbs.'

per uiscera] is equivalent to *uiscerib*

Baebi] According to Florus II 9 § the Baebius who was torn in pieces (p *ferro ritu ferarum inter manus laniat* perished in Sulla's proscription: anot Baebius having been put to death Marius. Id. II 9 § 14.

innumeras inter carpentis membra coronae 120
discessisse manus: aut te, praesage malorum
Antoni, cuius laceris pendentia canis
ora ferens miles festae rorantia mensae
imposuit: truncos lacerauit Fimbria Crassos.
saeua tribunicio maduerunt robora tabo. 125
te quoque neglectum uiolatae, Scaeuola, dextrae
ante ipsum penetrale deae semperque calentis
mactauere focos: paruom sed fessa senectus
sanguinis effudit iugulo flammisque pepercit.
septimus haec sequitur repetitis fascibus annus: 130
ille fuit uitae Mario modus, omnia passo
quae peior fortuna potest, atque omnibus uso

121. *discessisse*] *discerpsisse* is the reading of most MSS. and is retained by Weise, who also writes *intercarpentis* as one word, and this is the reading which the Scholiast 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 *intercarpere*, 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. *discessisse* is read by Cortius, Grotius and Oudendorp. Grotius refers to III 65, IX 785. For the sense cf. Juv. III 259—261 *quid superest de corporibus? quis membra quis ossa inuenit? obtritum uolgi perit omne cadauer more animae.*

122. *Antoni*] M. Antonius the orator, grandfather of the triumvir: for the account of his death cf. Plut. Marius 44, Appian, B. C. I § 72.

canis] often used by itself for white hairs, cf. Ov. Met. VIII 9 *inter honoratos medio de uertice canos.*

124. *Fimbria*] cf. Florus II 9 § 14 *Caesares a Fimbria in penatibus domuum suarum trucidantur, Crassi pater et filius in mutuo alter alterius aspectu.*

125. *robora*] i. e. *robur 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 noua signa* of line 115: but this use of the dative for the ablative is exceedingly rare except in the case of persons. Bentley and Cortius read *neglectu—uiolatae Vestae.* The Scholiast appears to have read *Vestae.* According to Florus l. c. Scaevola was put to death by the younger Marius after the death of the elder. *Mucius Scaeuola pontifex Vestalis amplexus aras tantum non eodem igne sepelitur.*

uiolatae] For *uiolare* in the sense of staining, equivalent to Greek μιαίνειν, cf. Virg. Aen. XII 67 *Indum sanguineo ueluti 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. Shakspeare, 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 *paruom*, but compare *exiguom sanguinis* infr. 140 and *paruus cruor* 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 passo] '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 inconstantius aut mutabilius? quem si inter miseros posueris miserrimus, inter felices felicissimus reperietur.*

quae melior, mensoque homini quid fata pararent.
iam quot apud Sacri cecidere cadauera portum
aut Collina tulit stratas quot porta cateruas 135
tum cum paene caput mundi rerumque potestas
mutauit translata locum, Romanaque Samnis
ultra Caudinas sperauit uolnera Furcas.
Sulla quoque immensis accessit cladibus ultor.
ille quod exiguom restabat sanguinis urbi 140
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 145
frenis ira ruit. non uni cuncta dabantur,
sed fecit sibi quisque nefas: semel omnia uictor
iusserat. infandum domini per uiscera ferrum
exegit famulus: nati maduere paterno
sanguine: certatum est cui ceruix caesa parentis 150
cederet: in fratrum ceciderunt praemia fratres.

133. *menso*] 'measured what fate could destine for a man', i.e. found out by passing through it.

134. *Sacri—portum*] For the battle of Sacriportus cf. Vell. Pat. II xxvi § 1.

136. *paene*] is out of place and is to be taken with *mutauit*, cf. Hor. carm. III vi 9—10 *paene occupatam seditionibus deleuit urbem Dacus et Aethiops*. See also V 242.

caput] The revolted allies in the Social war had chosen Corfinium as their capital. cf. Vell. Pat. II xvi § 3.

137. *Samnis*] cf. Vell. Pat. II xxvii § 1 *circumuolans ordines exercitus sui Telesinus dictitansque adesse Romanis ultimum diem vociferabatur eruendam delendamque urbem, adiciens numquam defuturos raptores Italicae libertatis lupos nisi silua in quam refugere solent esset excisa.*

138. *ultra*] 'surpassing the disaster of the Caudine Forks'. cf. Vell. Pat. II lxxxviii § 2 *otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens.*

139. *Sulla quoque*] 'Sulla too in his vengeance came to crown these fearful disasters.'

141. *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 remediis quam pericula erant sanauit.*

recidit] For the metaphor cf. Soph. Ajax 582 *οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σόφου θραφεὶς ἐπῴδας πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι.*

142. *medicina*] Plin. H. N. XVII 22 applies this word to the pruning of vines.

nimiumque secuta est] 'and the hand pursued too far the path where the disease led it'.

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 *noli putare, mi Cicero, me hoc auribus tuis dare.* See also note on IV 688.

147. *semel*] 'once for all'. cf. Sen. dial. I v § 8 *semper paret, semel iussit.*

150. *certatum est*] 'brothers contended to which should go their slaughtered father's head', i.e. the reward for his murder.

›usta repleta fuga permixtaque uiua sepultis
:orpora: nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum.
ıic laqueo fauces elisaque guttura fregit:
ıic se praecipiti iaculatus pondere dura 155
lissiluit percussus humo; mortesque cruento
ıictori rapuere suas: hic robora busti
:xstruit ipse sui, necdum omni sanguine fuso
lesilit in flammas et, dum licet, occupat ignes.
:olla ducum pilo trepidam gestata per urbem 160
:t medio congesta foro: cognoscitur illic
ıuidquid ubique iacet scelerum. non Thracia tantum
ıidit Bistonii stabulis pendere tyranni;
›ostibus Antaei Libye: nec Graecia maerens
ot laceros artus Pisaea fleuit in aula. 165
:um iam tabe fluunt confusaque tempore multo
ımisere notas, miserorum dextra parentum
:olligit et pauido subducit cognita furto.
neque ipsum memini caesi deformia fratris
›ra rogo cupidum uetitisque imponere flammis 170
›mnia Sullanae lustrasse cadauera pacis:

busta] here used simply for *sepul-* Cic. Tusc. V § 100 (*Sardanapalus*) *idi iussit in busto, haec habeo, &c.* : probably refers to the catacombs.

] Perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. III 485 *mortua quin etiam iungebat uiuis.*

populum] 'nor could the wild dens contain the crowd of fugi- for *populus* cf. III 665; for *cepere* I.

guttura] cf. Hor. Epod. III *arentis olim si quis impia manu uttur fregerit.*

pondere] cf. Juv. III 270 *quanto um pondere signent et laedant si-*

dissiluit] 'split asunder'. cf. :pod. XVII 29 *caputque Marsa dis- nia.*

esque] 'snatched from the blood- conqueror their own deaths', i.e. ated him by putting themselves to

occupat ignes] 'uetabat enim Sulla '. Schol. cf. infr. 170.

iacet] here simply equivalent to I 20 *et gens si qua iacet nascenti Nilo.* Weise cf. also VIII 102 *ubicunque iaces* equivalent to *ubicunque uersaris.* Sen. Epp. VIII ii § 37 *si quid ultra Dahas 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 lxxxiv. 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.

pendere] i.e. the heads would be fixed on the posts of the stall.

164. *Antaei*] cf. IV 605, where it is implied that Antaeus murdered all who came into his power.

165. *Pisaea*] i.e. of Oenomaus, who put to death the suitors of his daughter.

166. *tabe fluunt*] 'grown rotten with corruption'. cf. note on I 241.

confusa] i.e. made unrecognisable, cf. infr. 191.

168. *subducit*] 'withdraws'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 524 *fidum capiti subduxerat ensem.*

171. *lustrasse*] 'examined'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 564 *respicio et quae sit me circum copia lustro.*

pacis] ironical: cf. what Calgacus says in Tac. Agric. 30 of the conduct of the

perque omnes truncos cum qua ceruice recisum
conueniat quaesisse caput. quid sanguine manes
placatos Catuli referam? cum uictima tristes
inferias Marius forsan nolentibus umbris 175
pendit inexpleto non fanda piacula busto:
cum laceros artus aequataque uolnera membris
uidimus, et toto quamuis in corpore caeso
nil animae letale datum, moremque nefandae
dirum saeuitiae pereuntis parcere morti. 180
auolsae cecidere manus exsectaque lingua
palpitat et muto uacuom ferit aera motu.
hic aures alius spiramina naris aduncae
amputat: ille cauis euoluit sedibus orbes
ultimaque effundit spectatis lumina membris. 185
uix erit ulla fides tam saeui criminis unum
tot poenas cepisse caput. sic mole ruinae
fracta sub ingenti miscentur pondere membra:
nec magis informes ueniunt ad litora trunci
qui medio periere freto. quid perdere fructum 190
iuuit et ut uilem Marii confundere uoltum?

Romans, *ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.*

172. *cum qua ceruice*] 'sought a neck with which the amputated head would fit', i.e. as the only means by which he could now recognise his brother.

173. *conueniat*] cf. Ov. Amor. II xv 5 *tam bene conuenias quam mecum conuenit illi*, of a ring fitting the finger.

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 seruatum aliquamdiu ut per singula membra moreretur.*

cum uictima] 'when Marius slaughtered as a victim paid a fearful penalty to the shade perhaps unwilling to receive it'.

175. *inferias pendit*] seems to be a shortened expression for *poenas pendit ut inferiae.* cf. infr. 642.

176. *inexpleto*] 'yet unsatisfied'.

177. *aequata*] quot membra tot uolnera. Weise.

178. *caeso*] 'mangled'.

179. *nil animae*] 'nought inflicted fatal to the life'.

morem] 'fashion'. cf. Verg. Aen XII 836 *morem ritusque sacrorum adiciam.*

180. *pereuntis parcere morti*] 'to f bear to kill the dying'. cf. *seruat aliquamdiu* in the passage of Florus ci on line 174.

184. *orbes*] i.e. the eyes. Ovid. Sen. Oed. 686—988 *scrutatur ani manibus uncis lumina: radice ab i funditus uolsos simul euoluit orbes.*

185. *spectatis*] i.e. after seeing the ot members tortured.

186. *uix erit*] 'scarce will such atrocious crime ever be believed in, that one life should have had to end so many tortures'. Weise puts the com after *fides* and makes *tam saeui crim* depend on *tot poenas*, explaining *crim* of the death of Catulus: but the cru which Lucan is dwelling on here is death of Marius, not that of Catulus.

188. *miscentur*] 'are crushed'. note on I 380.

189. *nec magis informes*] 'nor n shapeless are the bodies when was ashore of those who have perished in ocean'.

190. *perdere fructum*] 'spoil thy joyment', i.e. of the sight of Marius' h

191. *confundere*] mutilate so tha

ut scelus hoc Sullae caedesque ostensa placeret
agnoscendus erat. uidit Fortuna colonos
Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense recisos,
unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis. 195
tum flos Hesperiae Latii iam sola iuuentus
concidit et miserae maculauit ouilia Romae.
tot simul infesto iuuenes occumbere leto
saepe fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
aut caeli terraeque lues aut bellica clades, 200
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 205
caedis: uiua graues elidunt corpora trunci.
intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto
spectator sceleris: miseri tot milia uolgi
non piguit iussisse mori. congesta recepit
omnia Tyrrhenus Sullana cadauera gurges. 210
in fluuium primi cecidere, in corpora summi.
praecipites haesere rates et strage cruenta
interruptus aquis fluxit prior amnis in aequor:

ld not be recognised; opposed to *agnoscendus*, for which cf. Juv. VIII 206 *s fugit agnoscendus harena.*

193. *Fortuna*] For the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste in which were kept the nous *sortes Praenestinae* cf. Cic. de div. §§ 85, 86. The younger Marius took ge in Praeneste, the inhabitants of ich were massacred when the town s captured by Sulla.

195. *unius populum*] 'a whole people shing in one death-moment'.

196. *Latii*] is put here loosely for ly, as most of the soldiers slaughtered the Septa were Samnites. cf. infr. 2, 447.

197. *ouilia*] i.e. the voting place in the mpus Martius, otherwise called Septa. Florus II 9 § 24 *quattuor milia dedimus inermium ciuium in uilla publica derfici iussit.*

198. *infesto—leto*] 'a violent death'. Cic. pro Cluent. § 188 *quod tam intum scelus et immane?*

201. *immissa morte*] 'when death was s let slip': a metaphor from hunting, cf. Verg. Ecl. II 58, 59 *floribus Austrum perditus et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.* cf. also Shakspeare, Julius Caesar III 1 'Cry havock, and let slip the dogs of war'.

203. *uix*] to be taken with *procumbunt*, 'scarce have they room to fall'.

205. *strages*] 'heap of dead'. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 25 (19) *iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas, illustres ignobiles, dispersi aut aggerati.*

peragunt] 'become instruments of slaughter'.

206. *graues*] 'by their weight'. cf. note on 331 infr.

207. *intrepidus*] 'unshuddering'.

210. *Tyrrhenus—gurges*] sc. the Tiber, cf. Verg. G. I 499 *quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia seruas.*

212. *praecipites*] naues secundo flumine uersus mare uectae. Weise.

213. *aquis*] ablative, in respect of its waters, cf. Verg. Aen. V 821 *sternitur aequor aquis*, and Conington's note.

prior amnis] 'the front part of the river', i. e. the part which was below the dam of corpses.

ad molem stetit unda sequens, dum sanguinis alti
uis sibi fecit iter campumque effusa per omnem 215
praecipitique ruens Tiberina ad flumina riuo
haerentis adiuuit aquas: nec iam alueus amnem
nec retinent ripae redditque cadauera campo:
tandem Tyrrhenas uix eluctatus in undas
sanguine caeruleum torrenti diuidit aequor. 220
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 uictoria Sullae
praestitit inuisas penitus quam tollere partes.
hos alio, Fortuna, uocas: olimque potentes 230
concurrunt. neuter ciuilia bella moueret
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. *reddit*] 'casts up again the corpses on the plain'. Oud. cf. VIII 438 *nostra cadauera Tigris detulit in terras ac reddidit.*

220. *sanguine torrenti*] i.e. a torrent of blood, instead of water discoloured with yellow sand. cf. Verg. Aen. VII 30—32 *hunc inter fluuio Tiberinus amoeno uorticibus rapidis et multa flauus 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' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τροπαίοις οὕτως ἀναγέγραπται·* ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΑΣ ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΣ. *ἔτι δὲ τῆς Μετέλλης παιδία τεκούσης δίδυμα τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν Φαῦστον, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ Φαῦσταν ὠνόμασε· τὸ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς καὶ ἵλαρὸν Ῥωμαῖοι φαῦστον καλοῦσιν.*

222. *Campo*] cf. I 580.

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 cuique 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 *diutius* occurs perhaps first in Seneca Lucan and Petronius: cf. Sen. Epist. LXXVII (X 1) § 3 *olim iam nec perit quidquam mihi nec adquiritur;* Petron. § 22 *stertere tamquam olim dormientes coeperunt.*

232. *quo Sulla fuit*] sc. *contentus:* 'if content with what contented Sulla'.

raeteritique memor flebat metuensque futuri.
at non magnanimi percussit pectora Bruti
error et in tanta pauidi formidine motus 235
pars populi lugentis erat: 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 240
securumque sui, farique his uocibus orsus:
omnibus expulsae terris olimque fugatae
uirtutis iam sola fides, quam turbine nullo
excutiet Fortuna tibi; tu mente labantem
dirige me, dubium certo tu robore firma. 245
namque alii Magnum uel Caesaris arma sequantur:
dux Bruto Cato solus erit. pacemne tueris
inconcussa tenens dubio uestigia mundo?
an placuit ducibus scelerum populique furentis
cladibus immixtum ciuile absoluere bellum? 250
quemque suae rapiunt scelerata in proelia causae:
hos polluta domus legesque in pace timendae;

et] i.e. *neque*, the negative being l on.

idi] is perhaps best taken in active 'terror-striking', cf. Stat. Theb. *pauidi ferus incola luci.*

pars populi] 'was he a mere er of the grieving populace', i.e. s not content like others merely to , but desired to act.

Parrhasis—Helice] sc. Arcadian ;, who was changed into a bear, and e the constellation Ursa maior. cf. ast. III 107, 108.

eret] sc. περὶ ἄρκτου τροπάς.

cognati] i.e. his maternal uncle, ther being the sister of Cato. cf. Brut. 2.

at] cf. Hor. Sat. I i 10 *sub galli n consultor ubi ostia pulsat.*

insomni] Oud. cf. Hom. Il. II χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουλήφορον

ica—fata uirum] 'the general for- of the citizens'.

expulsae] cf. Hes. Works and 197—200 καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον θανὸς εὐρυοδείης λευκοῖσιν φαρέεσσι ιμένω χρόα καλὸν ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις.

243. *uirtutis iam sola fides*] 'in whom alone virtue can feel confidence'.

turbine] 'whirlwind', or it might be taken as a reference to Fortune's wheel, 'by no turn of her wheel'. cf. Hor. Epod. XVII 7 *citumque retro solue solue turbinem.*

247. *pacemne*] 'dost thou hold fast to peace, keeping thy steps unshaken while all the world totters round thee?' cf. Hor. carm. III 7—8 *si fractus illabatur orbis impauidum ferient ruinae.*

250. *immixtum*] sc. *te;* the dative *immixto* would have been a simpler construction.

absoluere] 'to free from guilt', i.e. by joining in it. The Scholiast's explanation is, innocens facere; et est defensio omnium ad haec bella uenientium, si idem fecerit Cato'. Weise cf. VII 870 *quid totum premitis, quid totum soluitis orbem?*

252. *polluta domus*] Sulpitius explains this as, 'stupra quae in familias exercuere'. cf. Sall. Cat. 14.

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 255
per se bella placent? quid tot durasse per annos
profuit immunem corrupti moribus aeui?
hoc solum longae pretium uirtutis habebis,
accipient alios facient te bella nocentem.
ne tantum, o superi, liceat feralibus armis 260
has etiam mouisse manus: nec pila lacertis
missa tuis caeca telorum in nube ferantur:
nec tanta incassum uirtus eat. ingeret omnis
se belli fortuna tibi. quis nolet in isto
ense mori quamuis alieno uolnere labens 265
et scelus esse tuom? melius tranquilla sine armis
otia solus ages, sicut caelestia semper
inconcussa suo uoluuntur sidera lapsu;
fulminibus propior terrae succenditur aer
imaque telluris uentos tractusque coruscos 270
flammarum accipiunt: nubes excedit Olympus
lege deum. minimas rerum discordia turbat,

253. *ferro fugienda*] cf. I 182. Petron. 119 *nulla est certa domus, nullum sine pignore corpus,...arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu uolneribus reparantur.*

254. *fides*] 'their ruined credit'.

furor] 'thirst for blood', which would be a nobler reason for fighting than desire of gain. cf. Vell. Pat. II iii § 3 *bellaque non causis inita sed prout eorum merces fuit.*

255. *mercede*] cf. Petron. 119 *quare tam perdita Roma ipsa sui merces erat et sine uindice praeda.*

257. *immunem*] 'innocent of the morals of a corrupted age'. *immunis* is more commonly constructed with the genitive, but cf. Vell. Pat. II xxxv § 2 *Cato—omnibus humanis uitiis immunis.*

259. *accipient*] 'will find others guilty'. cf. infr. 288.

261. *mouisse*] 'to have stirred to action'.

262. *nube*] For the metaphor cf. Val. Flacc. II 521, 522 *occupat Alcides arcum totaque pharetrae nube premit.*

263. *incassum eat*] 'be spent in vain'. Cortius with one MS. reads *in casum*, i.e. 'incur danger'. Weise adopts this reading.

ingeret se] 'will launch itself on thee'.

264. *in isto ense*] 'on this sword's point'.

266. *scelus*] i.e. the death of a fellow-citizen.

267. *sicut caelestia*] Oud. cf. Sen. Epist. VI vii § 16 *talis est sapientis animus qualis mundus super lunam: semper illic serenum est.*

268. *uoluuntur*] cf. Verg. Aen. IV 524 *cum medio uoluuntur sidera lapsu.*

269. *aer*] 'the lower air', opposed to *aether.*

271. *nubes excedit*] 'soars above the clouds'. cf. Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, 'As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form, Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm, While round its breast the circling clouds are spread, Eternal sunshine settles on its head'.

272. *minimas rerum*] Oud. cf. Sen. dial. V vi § 1 *pars superior mundi et ordinatior ac propinqua sideribus nec in nubem cogitur nec in tempestatem impellitur nec uersatur in turbinem. omni tumultu caret. inferiora fulminantur: eodem modo sublimis animus, quietus semper et in statione tranquilla collocatus, omnia intra se premens quibus ira contra-*

pacem summa tenent. quam laetae Caesaris aures
accipient tantum uenisse in proelia ciuem?
nam praelata suis numquam diuersa dolebit 275
castra ducis Magni. nimium placet ipse Catoni,
si bellum ciuile placet. pars magna senatus
et duce priuato gesturus proelia consul
sollicitant proceresque alii, quibus adde Catonem
sub iuga Pompeii, toto iam liber in orbe 280
solus Caesar erit. quod si pro legibus arma
ferre iuuat patriis 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
expers ipse metus? quis cum ruat arduus aether 290
terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi

hitur, modestus et uenerabilis est et dispositus, quorum nihil inuenies in irato. For the construction cf. Hor. Epod. II 37, 38 *quis non malarum quas amor curas habet haec inter obliuiscitur?*

275. *diuersa*] 'opposing'. cf. infr. 467.

276. *nimium 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 aliis se placere probarique 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 *excruciant me*, for which he compares Cic. de fin. I § 50 *temeritas et libido et ignauia semper animum excruciant et semper sollicitant turbulentaeque sunt.*

quibus adde] 'in addition to whom bring Cato beneath Pompeius' yoke'. For *addere* with a preposition implying motion cf. Ov. Amor. I vii 1 *adde manus in uincla meas.*

280. *sub iuga*] cf. Prop. IV iv 4 *Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent.*

281. *quod si*] '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.

283. *nunc*] emphatic. opponuntur *nunc* et *post bellum*. Grotius.

287. *secura*] 'careless of the consequence'.

288. *crimen*] i.e. the blame for my guilt will rest with the gods, not with me.

290. *cum ruat*] cf. Verg. G. I 324 *ruit arduus aether.*

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 *adspice conuexo nutantem pondere mundum.*

compressas tenuisse manus? gentesne furorem
Hesperium ignotae Romanaque bella sequentur
diductique fretis alio sub sidere reges,
otia solus agam? procul hunc arcete furorem, 295
o superi, motura Dahas ut clade Getasque
securo me Roma cadat. ceu morte parentem
natorum orbatum longum producere funus
ad tumulum iubet ipse dolor: iuuat ignibus atris
inseruisse manus constructoque aggere busti 300
ipsum atras tenuisse faces: non ante reuellar
exanimem quam te complectar, Roma, tuomque
nomen, Libertas, et inanem prosequar umbram.
sic eat: immites Romana piacula diui
plena ferant: nullo fraudemus sanguine bellum. 305
o utinam caelique deis Erebique liceret
hoc caput in cunctas damnatum exponere poenas?
deuotum hostiles Decium pressere cateruae:
me geminae figant acies me barbara telis
Rheni turba petat: cunctis ego peruius hastis 310
excipiam medius totius uolnera belli.
hic redimat sanguis populos: hac caede luatur
quidquid Romani meruerunt pendere mores.
ad iuga cur faciles populi cur saeua uolentes

292. *compressas*] 'to fold his hands and hold them still'. cf. Liv. VII 13 *compressis manibus sedere.*

294. *diducti*] '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 I 448.

alio sub sidere] 'under another clime'. cf. Juv. XII 103 *nec Latio aut usquam nostro sub sidere talis belua concipitur.*

296. *motura*] cf. Hor. carm. II i 31, 32 *auditumque Medis Hesperiae sonitum ruinae.*

298. *longum producere*] 'marshal the long funeral procession'. cf. Verg. Aen. IX 486, 487 *nec te tua funera mater produxi pressiue oculos aut uolnera laui.*

299. *atris*] specially used of things funereal, cf. Verg. Aen. III 64, 65 *stant manibus arae caeruleis maestae uittis atraque cupresso.*

303. *prosequar*] 'follow to the grave'. cf. Ov. Heroid. XI 119 *ipsa quoque infantes cum uolnere prosequar umbras.*

umbram] cf. Plin. Epp. I 23 § 1 *plurimum refert quid esse tribunatum putes, inanem umbram et sine honore nomen an potestatem sacrosanctam.*

304. *sic eat*] Oud. cf. V 297 *sic eat, o superi, quando pietasque fidesque destituunt.* Sen. Epp. I v § 8 *nec mirror ista sic ire.*

305. *nullo*] sc. *neque meo.* Weise.

306. *liceret*] sc. *mihi. deis* depends on *damnatum*, i.e. 'devoted to the gods of heaven and hell'. cf. Stat. Theb. VII 238, 239 *subeunt campo qui proximus urbi damnatus bellis patet.* The scholiast takes *deis* as dependent on *liceret:* nolt hoc fieri quia fata iusserunt.

308. *Decium*] cf. Juv. VIII 254 foll. and Prof. Mayor's note.

310. *peruius*] 'yielding a path to all the spears', i.e. through my body. cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 151 *nullis uolneribus peruia membra sunt.*

314. *ad iuga*] 'why perish peoples

regna pati pereunt? me solum inuadite ferro, 315
me frustra leges et inania iura tuentem:
hic dabit hic pacem iugulus finemque laborum
gentibus Hesperiis: post me regnare uolenti
non opus est bello. quin publica signa ducemque
Pompeium sequimur? nec si fortuna fauebit 320
hunc quoque totius sibi ius promittere mundi
non bene compertum est: ideo me milite uincat
ne sibi se uicisse putet. sic fatur, et acres
irarum mouit stimulos, iuuenisque calorem
excitat in nimios belli ciuilis amores. 325
interea Phoebo gelidas pellente tenebras
Pulsatae sonuere fores: quas sancta relicto
Hortensi maerens irrupit Marcia busto,
quondam uirgo toris melioris iuncta mariti:
mox ubi conubii pretium mercesque soluta est 330
tertia iam soboles alios fecunda penates
impletura datur, geminas ex sanguine matris
permixtura domos. sed postquam condidit urna
supremos cineres miserando concita uoltu
effusas laniata comas concussaque pectus 335
uerberibus crebris cineresque ingesta sepulcri,
non aliter placitura uiro, sic maesta profatur.

ielding to the yoke and willing to endure tyrant's cruelty?' *populi* in this passage 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 conuertite ferrum o Rutuli.*

318. *post me*] 'when I am dead'.

319. *publica*] i.e. because the consuls and senate were on that side, cf. infr. 333.

320. *nec—non*] 'not but that I clearly see'.

321. *ius*] 'sway over the whole world', cf. note on I 2.

323. *sibi*] 'for himself alone'. Oud. the epitaph of Verginius Rufus in Plin. pp. VI x § 4 *hic situs est Rufus pulso qui iudice quondam imperium asseruit non si sed patriae.*

324. *irarum*] 'warlike fury', cf. supr. , 93.

325. *nimios*] because leading to the murder of Caesar and the battle of Philippi.

327. *sancta*] 'virtuous', cf. Verg. Aen. XI 158 *sanctissima coniunx.*

328. *Marcia*] daughter of Marcius 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.

329. *melioris*] sc. Cato.

331. *fecunda*] '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.

334. *supremos cineres*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 431 *Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum.*

336. *ingesta*] Weise cf. IX 172 *in uoltus effusa comas*, X 84 *laceros dispersa capillos.*

337. *non aliter*] 'in no other guise'. inculta neglecta et maerens placitura inculto et rigido Catoni. Weise.

dum sanguis inerat dum uis materna, peregi
iussa, Cato, et geminos excepi feta maritos.
uisceribus lassis partuque exhausta reuertor 340
iam nulli tradenda uiro. da foedera prisci
illibata tori: da tantum nomen inane
conubii: liceat tumulo scripsisse, CATONIS
MARCIA; nec dubium longo quaeratur in aeuo
mutarim primas expulsa an tradita taedas. 345
non me laetorum comitem rebusque secundis
accipis: in curas uenio partemque laborum.
da mihi castra sequi: cur tuta in pace relinquar
et sit ciuili propior Cornelia bello?
hae flexere uirum uoces, et tempora quamquam 350
sint aliena toris iam fato in bella uocante,
foedera sola tamen uanaque carentia pompa
iura placent sacrisque deos admittere testes.
festa coronato non pendent limine serta,
infulaque in geminos discurrit candida postes, 355
legitimaeque faces, gradibusque adclinis eburnis
stat torus et picto uestes discriminat auro:

338. *sanguis*] 'strength', cf. Stat. Theb. II 561, 562 *dein toto sanguine nixus sustinet immanem quaerens librare ruinam*. See also III 678.

uis materna] Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. II 325 *dum uires utero maternaque sufficit aetas*.

340. *lassis*] Oud. cf. Plin. Epp. VI xxi § 1 *neque enim quasi lassa et effeta natura nihil iam laudabile parit*.

341. *da foedera*] concede coniugium pudicum et absque uenere. Sulpitius. cf. infr. 378.

342. *illibata*] cf. Val. Max. VI i § 4 *illibata uirginitas*. It is equivalent to *ita ut illibata sint*, cf. note on III 132.

343. *scripsisse*] cf. Propert. V xi 36 *in lapide huic uni nupta fuisse legar*.

345. *expulsa an tradita*] 'divorced or given by agreement'.

346. *laetorum*] For the use of the genitive cf. Quintil. I 4 § 5 *grammatice necessaria pueris iucunda senibus dulcis secretorum comes*. Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. I 763 *me quoque, ait, casus comitem quicunque propinquat accipies*.

347. *in curas*] 'to share your sorrows and your sufferings'.

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 *nate coronam postibus et densos per limina tende corymbos*.

355. *infulaque*] In this and the following line, and continually throughout this passage the negative is carried on in Lucan's favourite manner. cf. note on I 77. *infula* was a garland with festoons of wool (*candida*) sometimes worn on the head. cf. Lucret. I 87.

discurrit] i.e. across the doorway from one post to the other.

356. *legitimae*] faces in nuptiis quinque adhibebantur. Weise.

adclinis] 'resting on': this is the reading of Oud. and appears to have more authority than *adcliuis* which Weise reads. Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. II 92 *adclinem scopulo inueniunt*.

357. *torus*] sc. *genialis*. cf. Catull. LXIV 47—51 *puluinar uero Diuae geniale*

e premens frontem matrona corona
uetuit contingere limina planta.
dum nuptae leuiter tectura pudorem 360
missos uelarunt flammea uoltus:
aud fluxos gemmis adstrinxit amictus,
nile decens, umerisque haerentia primis
nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.
at maesti seruat lugubria cultus, 365
modo natos hoc est amplexa maritum.
nerea celatur purpura lana;
i lusere sales: nec more Sabino
tristis conuicia festa maritus:
nulla domus nulli coiere propinqui: 370
r taciti contentique auspice Bruto.
horrificam sancto dimouit ab ore
n duroque admisit gaudia uoltu:
m tolli feralia uiderat arma,
rigidam in frontem descendere canos 375

mediis, Indo quod dente t roseo conchyli purpura riscis hominum uariata ra uirtutes indicat arte. narks out the coverlets dery', i.e. the coverlets rked out with embroid- being said to do what ings resting on it. cf. ul. Prob. et Olybr. 89 *t ensem album puniceo ostro.*

'towering', 'built up hion of wearing the hair 04 *tot premit ordinibus us altum aedificat caput: onte uidebis; post minor* Forc. refers to Hieron. etriad. § 7 *cerussa ora crinem et alienis capilicem struere.* Prudent. *ritum tortis caput accucrinibus.*

nuba: frontem sc. *suam.* *t* in the next line takes ng to the bride.

] cf. Catull. LXI 166— *e cum bono limen aureque subi forem.* The over the threshold of avoid the evil omen which would be caused by her stumbling.

360. *leuiter*] '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 genus erat pectus complexum, subucula, camisia: id *angustum* i.e. aegre uelans pectora aut lacertos, ita ut pars eorum nuda appareat. Weise.

368. *sales*] sc. the *fescennina locutio* of Catull. LXI 127 foll. Weise cf. Sen. Med. 113 *festa dicax fundat conuicia fescenninus, soluat turba iocos.* On the subject of coarse raillery on festal occasions in general see Dr Munro on Catull. XXIX.

369. *excepit*] '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. I § 28 *nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspicato ne priuatim quidem gerebatur: quod etiam nunc nuptiarum auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent.* Juv. X 336 *ueniet cum signatoribus auspex.*

373. *duroque*] 'nor suffered joy to appear'.

passus erat maestamque genis increscere barba
uni quippe uacat studiisque odiisque carenti
humanum lugere genus: nec foedera prisci
sunt tentata tori: iusto quoque robur amori
restitit. hi mores haec duri immota Catonis
secta fuit, seruare modum finemque tenere
naturamque sequi patriaeque impendere uitam,
nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.
huic epulae uicisse famem; magnique penates
submouisse hiemem tecto: pretiosaque uestis
hirtam membra super Romani more Quiritis
induxisse togam: uenerisque huic maximus usu
progenies; urbi pater est urbique maritus,

376. *maestam*] 'in token of mourning'.

377. *uni*] sc. *Catoni*, as the only true representative of the wise man of the Stoics.

studiisque odiisque carenti] i.e. *imperturbato*, showing the Stoic ἀπάθεια, for which cf. Sen. Epp. XII iii § 3 foll.

379. *iusto*] 'lawful', cf. III 227 *itque Cilix iusta iam non pirata carina.*

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 formulas. cf. Sen. Epist. XXIII (iii 3) § 6 *ita dico: in praecipiti uoluptas: 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. I i 107, 108 *est modus in rebus sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*

382. *naturam*] 'to follow nature', the usual Stoic formula., cf. Cic. de off. III iii § 13; Hor. Epp. I x 12 *uiuere naturae si conuenienter oportet.* Sen. Epp. I v § 4 *nempe propositum nostrum est secundum naturam uiuere.*

impendere] cf. 569 infr., Stat. Silu. V i 63 *uitamque impendere famae;* Tac. Ann. XII 65.

383. *toti—mundo*] For this cosmopolitan feeling among the Stoics cf. Sen. Epist. XCV. (xv. 3) §§ 52, 53 *omne hoc quod uides, quo diuina atque humana conclusa sunt, unum est: membra sumus corporis magni. Natura nos cognatos edidit, cum ex isdem et in eadem* [illegible] *nobis amorem indidit mutu* [illegible] *fecit. illa aequom iustum ex illius constitutione mis* [illegible] *quam laedi. ex illius i* [illegible] *sint iuuantis manus. ill* [illegible] *pectore et in ore sit: homo* [illegible] *nihil a me alienum puto.* [illegible] *commune quod nati sumus.* [illegible] *lapidum fornicationi simi* [illegible] *casura, nisi inuicem obstar* [illegible] *tinetur.*

385. *submouisse*] This [illegible] perly used of the lictors c [illegible] crowd, cf. Liv. III 48: for [illegible] ical use cf. Hor. carm. II x [illegible] *hiemes reducit Iuppiter ide* [illegible]

386. *hirtam*] 'a coarse [illegible] no under-garment, cf. Plu [illegible] λάκις δ' ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχλ[illegible] σιον προήει μετ' ἀριστον.

387. *togam*] cf. Hor. E [illegible] 14 *quid, si quis uoltu toru* [illegible] *nudo exiguaeque togae sim* [illegible] *tonem, uirtutemne repra* [illegible] *Catonis?* For the *toga* as [illegible] ing dress of Romans cf. V [illegible] *Romanos rerum dominos* [illegible] *tam*, and the story told b [illegible] the application of this lin [illegible] Suet. Aug. 40.

ueneris] cf. Lucret. IV 1 [illegible] II XV 11.

388. *urbi pater*] cf. I [illegible] XXIV 27—29 *si quaeret pat* [illegible] *scribi statuis indomitam a* [illegible] *licentiam.* Cato had spo [illegible] as standing in a kind of pa [illegible] to Rome supr. 297 foll.

iustitiae cultor, rigidi seruator honesti,
in commune bonus: nullosque Catonis in actus 390
subrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata uoluptas.
interea trepido discedens agmine Magnus
moenia Dardanii tenuit Campana coloni.
haec placuit belli sedes, hinc summa mouenti
hostis in occursum sparsas extendere partes, 395
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 400
hinc Tyrrhena uado frangentes aequora Pisae,
illinc Delmaticis obnoxia fluctibus Ancon.
fontibus hic uastis immensos concipit amnes,
fluminaque in gemini spargit diuortia ponti.
in laeuom cecidere latus ueloxque Metaurus 405
Crustumiumque rapax et iunctus Sapis Isauro
Senaque et Hadriacas qui uerberat Aufidus undas:
quoque magis nullum tellus se soluit in amnem

389. *honesti*] τοῦ καλοῦ. cf. Cic. de fin. I 66 *honestum aut ipsa uirtus est aut gesta uirtute.*

391. *sibi nata uoluptas*] 'selfish pleasure'.

393. *moenia*] sc. Capua. cf. Verg. Aen. I 145 *et Capys; hinc nomen Campanae datur urbi.* Weise refers to Suet. Jul. where the story is told of the supposed discovery of the tomb of Capys.

394. *hinc summa mouenti*] sc. ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος 'making this his head-quarters'.

395. *sparsas extendere partes*] i.e. to send forward his partisans in various directions. cf. I 468 *per omnem spargitur Italiam.*

397. *erigit Italiam*] 'makes central Italy rise higher'. cf. Tac. Germ. 46 *aliquid siluarum ac montium erigitur ceteris longiuis pererrant.*

nullo qua uertice tellus] If the reading be sound this must be taken, as it is by Weise, as an hypallage for *qua* (*tellure*) *nulla tellus uertice, &c.*, i. e. 'than which land none rises higher with its peaks', but the passage to which he refers, IX 656 *Phlegraeo stantes serpente gigantas* seems to scarcely to justify the construction: the difference of a mere epithet such as *Phlegraeus* 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.

398. *Olympo*] sc. the sky. cf. I 140.

400. *collesque coercent*] 'the hills are hemmed in, on one side by Pisae that with its shallows breaks the force of the Tyrrhenian waves'.

402. *Delmaticis*] 'from the Dalmatian coast', cf. note on I 106 *Parthica damna.*

Ancon] For the Greek form cf. Juv. IV 40. So *Auximon* 466 infr. See also note on I 231.

403. *concipit*] 'gathers the source of', cf. Lucret. VI 503 *concipiunt etiam multum quoque saepe marinum umorem* (*nubila*).

404. *diuortia*] 'two widely parted seas'. cf. 580 infr. Cic. de orat. III § 69 *haec autem, ut ex Appennino fluminum, sic ex communi sapientium iugo sunt doctrinarum facta diuortia.*

407. *uerberat*] 'lashes'. cf. Hor. carm. III xxx 10 *dicar qua uiolens obstrepit Aufidus.*

408. *quoque magis*] 'a river than which

Eridanus fractas deuoluit in aequora siluas
Hesperiamque exhaurit aquis. hunc fabula primu
populea fluuium ripas umbrasse corona:
cumque diem pronum transuerso limite ducens
succendit Phaethon flagrantibus aethera loris,
gurgitibus raptis penitus tellure perusta,
hunc habuisse pares Phoebeis ignibus undas.
non minor hic Nilo, si non per plana iacentis
Aegypti Libycas Nilus stagnaret harenas.
nec minor hic Histro, nisi quod dum permeat o
Hister casuros in quaelibet aequora fontes
accipit et Scythicas exit non solus in undas.
dexteriora petens montis decliuia 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

there is none into which the earth more dissolves itself', i.e. than which none carries down more earth with it. This seems better than to understand it to mean, as Weise does, than which no land has a greater river: he refers to IX 420 *Libyce—non fontibus ullis soluitur*, i.e. has no springs of water. As a fact the Po carries down great quantities of sedimentary matter which has considerably extended the shore at its mouths.

409. *siluas*] cf. Verg. G. I 481 *proluit insano contorquens uertice siluas fluuiorum rex Eridanus.*

410. *exhaurit aquis*] 'drains Italy of its waters'. cf. IV 638.

411. *populea*] Virgil makes the sisters of Phaethon to be changed into alders, cf. Ecl. VI 61, 62 *tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos.*

412. *diem pronum*] 'the waning day'. cf. Ov. Met. XI 257 *pronus erat Titan.* Propert. I xvi 23 *me mediae noctes mę sidera prona iacentem, frigidaque eoo me dolet aura gelu.*

transuerso limite] sc. out of its proper course, cf. IV 818 *transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt.*

413. *loris*] pro curribus, parte pro toto. Weise.

414. *raptis*] i.e. evaporated.

415. *pares*] 'a match for Phoebus'. cf. Caes. B. G. I *Sueuis concedere, quibus ne di mortales pares esse possint.*

416. *non minor*] i.e. it *is* the Nile, only the latter fl and so appears greater than Weise cf. III 253.

per plana iacentis] 'level',

417. *stagnaret*] 'inundate Ann. I 76 *Tiberis plana urbis*

419. *casuros*] 'the sp might flow into any seas'. strangely to imply that the receive any affluents.

422. *cauom*] i.e. running cf. Verg. G. I 328 *implen caua flumina crescunt.*

423. *nocturnae*] i.e. whi exhalations at night. It se connect these words with the accordance with the passage quotes from Frontin. Strat. *turnum amnem ultra reliquor fluminum ingentes auras ma*

424. *Maricae*] cf. Hor. c 7, 8 *innantem Maricae litor Lirim.*

425. *Vestinis impulsus* on its course by streams fr tinian land'.

426. *moratus*] 'not con

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 430
uomere piniferis amplexus rupibus omnes
indigenas Latii populos, non deserit ante
Hesperiam quam cum Scyllaeis clauditur undis,
extenditque suas in templa Lacinia rupes,
longior Italia donec confinia pontus 435
solueret 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 440
Hesperiae fines uacuosque irrumpat in agros,
atque ipsum non perdat iter consertaque bellis
bella gerat. non tam portas intrare patentis
quam fregisse iuuat: nec tam patiente colono

th any boats', i.e. not being navigable. Hor. Epp. I xv 16 *nam uina nihil* ror *illius orae.*

27. *alnos*] 'boats'. cf. Verg. G. I 136 r *alnos primum fluuii sensere cauatas.*

28. *longior*] sc. *Appenninus*; 'extend- further', i.e. beyond the boundaries Italy (the Macra and the Rubicon) thwards.

29. *deuexas*] 'looks on the slope of Alps'.

32. *Latii*] sc. Italy. cf. supr. 196, 447.

33. *Scyllaeis*] sc. the strait of Mes- L.

35. *longior Italia*] 'once extending nd Italy'.

mec] cf. Verg. Aen. III 414—419, *loca si quondam et uasta conuolsa* ra, *tantum aeui longinqua ualet mutare* ntas, *dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus* que *tellus una foret; uenit medio ui* ns *et undis Hesperium Siculo latus ab-* it, *aruaque et urbes litore diductas* nto *interluit aestu.* Oud. cf. Claudian ap. Pros. I 140—144 *Trinacria quon- Italiae pars una fuit, sed pontus et* s *mutauere situm: rupit confinia* us *uictor et abscissos interluit aequore* tes, *paruaque cognatas prohibent dis-* ina *terras.*

436. *incumbens*] cf. Stat. Theb. x 864 *amnis ut incumbens longaeui robora pontis assiduis oppugnat aquis.*

terrasque repelleret aequor] i.e. instead of the land driving back the sea.

438. *cessere*] 'fell to the share of Sicilian Pelorus' i.e. when Italy and Sicily were parted the extremity of the Appennines became part of the latter; cf. Verg. Aen. III 333, 334 *morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit pars Heleno.*

439. *nullas nisi sanguine fuso*] 'Caesar 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 deserted; 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 accordance with Lucan's custom to describe him as a bloodthirsty destroyer cf. I 144 foll., 534 infr., VII 557 foll.

442. *perdat*] cf. 190 supr. III 365.

consertaque] cf. Auson. Ep. XX 13, 14 *uiue uale et totidem uenturos congere Ianos quot tuus aut noster conseruere patres.* For the adversative *que* cf. note on I 134.

arua premi quam si ferro populetur et igni. 445
concessa pudet ire uia ciuemque uideri.
tunc urbes Latii dubiae uarioque fauore
ancipites quamquam primo terrore ruentis
cessurae belli, denso tamen aggere firmant
moenia et abrupto circumdant undique uallo: 450
saxorumque orbes et quae super eminus hostem
tela petant altis murorum turribus aptant.
pronior in Magnum populus pugnatque minaci
cum terrore fides: ut cum mare possidet Auster
flatibus horrisonis hunc aequora tota sequuntur: 455
si rursus tellus pulsu laxata tridentis
Aeolii tumidis inmittat fluctibus Eurum,
quamuis icta nouo, uentum tenuere priorem
aequora, nubiferoque polus cum cesserit Euro,
uindicat unda Notum. facilis sed uertere mentes 460
terror erat dubiamque fidem fortuna ferebat.
gens Etrusca fuga trepidi nudata Libonis,
iusque sui pulso iam perdidit Vmbria Thermo.
nec gerit auspiciis ciuilia bella paternis
Caesaris audito conuersus nomine Sulla. 465
Varus, ut admotae pulsarunt Auximon alae,
per diuersa ruens neglecto moenia tergo
qua siluae qua saxa fugit. depellitur arce

446. *concessa*] 'lawful', cf. Hor. Sat. I iv 113 *ne sequerer moechas concessa cum Venere uti possem:* Weise takes it as *sibi concessa a Pompeio.*

447. *Latii*] cf. supr. 196, 432.

449. *cessurae*] 'ready to yield'.

451. *super*] i.e. *desuper*, 'from above', cf. VI 291.

454. *fides*] 'loyalty'.

mare possidet] 'is master of the sea'. cf. Ov. Met. IV 688, 689 *ueniensque immenso belua ponto eminet et latum sub pectore possidet aequor.* Petron. 114 *saepissime in oram Italici litoris aquilo possessor conuertebat huc illuc obnoxiam ratem.*

456. *tellus*] sc. Strongyle, the abode of Aeolus. Weise.

laxata] 'laid open', cf. Verg. G. I 89 *seu plures labor ille uias et cacca relaxat spiramenta.*

457. *Aeolii*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 81—86.

inmittat] cf. note on I 103.

459. *nubiferoque*] 'and when the [illegible] has yielded to the East that brings [illegible] clouds, the waves maintain their claim [illegible] the West'. Weise cf. V 571 foll. See [illegible] Ov. Met. VIII 470—472 *utque cari[illegible] quam uentus uentoque rapit contrari[illegible] aestus, uim geminam sentit, pariqu[illegible] certa duobus.*

460. *Notum*] i.e. the same as the Au[illegible] ter of line 454. cf. note on I 406.

461. *ferebat*] equivalent to *auferebat*, so infr. 487.

463. *ius sui*] sc. the power to dispo[illegible] themselves, cf. VIII 611, 612 *Pharium [illegible] ablatus in alnum perdiderat iam iura [illegible]*

465. *conuersus*] 'turned to flight'.

466. *Auximon*] cf. note on I 231, [illegible] supr.

467. *per diuersa*] sc. through the wa[illegible] on the opposite side of the town.

468. *qua siluae*] flies where are fo[illegible] woods and rocks, i.e. to their protection.

Asculea. uictor cedentibus instat
ıe acies: solusque ex agmine tanto 470
: et nullas ducentia signa cohortes.
e commissae nudatam deseris arcem,
'uceriae: quamquam firmissima pubes
t castris iampridem Caesaris armis
n seducta metu; qua Gallica damna 475
Magnus, dumque ipse ad bella uocaret,
ıocero Romani sanguinis usum.
Corfini ualidis circumdata muris
ent, pugnax Domiti: tua classica seruat
quondam polluto tiro Miloni. 480
. immensam campo consurgere nubem
ue acies percussis sole corusco
: telis, socii decurrite, dixit,
ad ripas undaeque immergite pontem;
ntanis totus nunc fontibus exi 485
ınes trahe, gurges, aquas ut spumeus alnos
compage feras. hoc limite bellum
hac hostis lentus terat otia ripa.
:m cohibete ducem: uictoria nobis
ım stans Caesar erit. nec plura locutus, 490

'brings over to his own

in Umbria. *Nuceriae* Micyllus for the *Luce-* from Caesar B.C. I 24 mpeius was at Luceria heard the news of the ium. Luceria cannot ime have been lost by

nna] After the defeat of by the Nervii Pompeius ɔ Caesar to make up for ıe Senate required that sar should each supply arthian war, Pompeius s legion should be re- ıer besides sent from es: on their arrival in etained there and not . cf. Caes. B.G. VI 1,

'till he should recall

: 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 I 320.

484. *fluminis*] sc. the Aternus.

485. *totus*] 'with all thy force'. cf. Hor. carm. I xix 9 *in me tota ruens Venus Cyprum deseruit.*

486. *alnos*] sc. the timber of the bridge.

487. *feras*] equivalent to *auferas*. cf. supr. 461. Verg. Ecl. IX 51 *omnia fert aetas, animum quoque.*

488. *terat otia*] 'waste his time in idleness'. A mixture of *terat tempus* and *otia agat.*

489. *uictoria*] cf. inf. 708 *exigua est fugiens uictoria Magnus.*

490. *stans*] 'stayed'. cf. Sil. Ital. XII 41 *stabat Cannarum Graia ad munimina uictor nequicquam.*

deuoluit rapidum nequidquam moenibus agmen.
nam prior e campis ut conspicit, amne soluto
rumpi Caesar iter calida prolatus ab ira:
non satis est muros latebras quaesisse pauori?
obstruitis campos fluuiisque arcere paratis,
ignaui? non, si tumido me gurgite Ganges
submoueat, stabit iam flumine Caesar in ullo
post Rubiconis aquas. equitum properate cateru
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 fluuium statione uacantem
Caesar et ad tutas hostis compellitur arces.
et iam moturas ingentia pondera turres
erigit et mediis subrepsit uinea muris.
ecce nefas belli reseratis agmina portis
captiuom traxere ducem, ciuisque superbi
constitit ante pedes. uoltu tamen alta minaci
nobilitas recta ferrum ceruice poposcit.
scit Caesar poenamque peti ueniamque timeri.
uiue, 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. *deuoluit*] 'hurries down'.

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. *arcere*] For the omission of the *me* after *arcere* cf. note on 728 infr.

497. *submoueat*] cf. Verg. Aen. VII 225, 226 *audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso submouet Oceano.*

499. *ruiturum*] antequam ruat. Weise. This seems not to agree with what was said in 492 infr. viz. that the bridge was already destroyed.

503. *statione*] 'guard'. cf. Tac. Ann. XIV 8 *Anicetus uillam statione circumdat.*

504. *ad tutas*] 'to the protection of the citadel'.

505. *moturas*] sc. to discharge.

506. *uinea*] 'pent-house': for a description of it cf. Veget. de 15.

507. *nefas belli*] 'a mili i.e. it is a crime on the part c betray their general.

508. *ciuisque superbi*] ' fellow-citizen', sc. Caesar.

510. *recta*] Oud. cf. Sen. § 2 *recto tibi inuictoque moriu*

513. *uictis*] 'be now a c to the conquered faction, anc of my clemency'. *uictis* Caesar regards his enemies be conquered.

spes] For *spes* used of a pe Aen. II 281 *o lux Dardaniae sima Teucrum.*

514. *uel si libet*] 'even, if the fortune of war again'. V xii 51 *si demens studium j tem.*

et adstrictis laxari uincula palmis
t. heu quanto melius uel caede peracta
: Romano potuit Fortuna pudori;
um extremum cui fit quod castra secutus
riae Magnumque ducem totumque senatum 520
. premit ille graues interritus iras,
m: Romamne petes pacisque recessus,
r? in medios belli non ire furores
lum moriture paras? rue certus et omnes
umpe moras et Caesaris effuge munus. 525
ius interea capti ducis arma parabat
s ut immixto firmaret robore partes.
: secuturo iussurus classica Phoebo
ndasque ratus moturi militis iras
itur tacitas ueneranda uoce cohortes: 530
:rum ultores melioraque signa secuti,
Romana manus, quibus arma senatus
iuata dedit, uotis deposcite pugnam.
Hesperii saeuis populatibus agri:
per gelidas rabies effunditur Alpes: 535
tigit sanguis pollutos Caesaris enses.
ius belli tulimus quod damna priores:
it inde nefas. iamiam, me praeside, Roma

m] 'for which it is the worst to be pardoned for having mp of their country &c.' s is the reading which Sul- he reading *ciui* which is MSS. is supposed by Weise from a mistake in writing

dum] perhaps best taken . IV 545; Ov. A. A. I 317 *lum de grege duci iussit;* taken with *moriture*, cf. 857 *iamdudum aetherias sub auras*. See also note

of thy fate'.

moras] 'the ties that hold cf. Plin. Epp. I xii § 8 *ae sed minora retinacula* Flacc. VI 733 *saeua quidem ra.*

] sc. *valido tirone* ut est I

us classica] 'intending to bid his trumpets sound'.

529. *moturi*] sc. *castra*. cf. Cic. ad Att. IX i § 1 *postquam ille Carnusio mouerat*. Liv. XXIV 44 *consules legionibus scriptis priusquam ab urbe mouerent prodigia procurarunt.*

iras] 'warlike spirit'.

531. *meliora*] 'of the better side'. cf. VII 349 *causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos.*

532. *uere Romana*] cf. Tac. Hist. I 84 *ulline Italiae alumni et Romana uere iuuentus ad sanguinem et caedem depoposcerint ordinem*, in which passage Otho is addressing the Praetorian guards.

533. *non priuata*] cf. supr. 319.

535. *effunditur*] 'the flood of Gallic fury is pouring'.

537. *di melius*] sc. *dedere*. cf. III 93. Ov. Heroid. XVII 30 *di melius, similis non fuit ille tui.*

priores] innocentior enim est qui prior acceperit iniuriam. Schol.

538. *inde*] 'on his side'.

supplicium poenamque petat. neque enim ista uocari
proelia iusta decet patriae sed uindicis iram. 540
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, 545
ad Cinnas Mariosque uenis? sternere profecto,
ut Catulo iacuit Lepidus, nostrasque secures
passus Sicanio tegitur qui Carbo sepulcro,
quique feros mouit Sertorius exsul Hiberos.
quamquam, si qua fides, his te quoque iungere, Caesar
inuideo, nostrasque manus quod Roma furenti 551
opposuit. Parthorum utinam post proelia sospes
et Scythicis Crassus uictor remeasset ab oris,
ut simili causa caderes qua Spartacus hostis.
te quoque si superi titulis accedere nostris 555
iusserunt, ualet in torquendo dextera pilo:
feruidus haec iterum circum praecordia sanguis
incaluit: disces non esse ad bella fugaces

me praeside] 'with me at her head'; *praeses* does not appear to be used in any technical sense; Forc. quotes from the Digest tit. I 18 *praesidis nomen generale est, eo quod et proconsules et legati Caesaris et omnes prouincias regentes praesides appellentur*. See also Ov. Met. XV. 758.

542. *in tecta*] to be taken with *parauit*. cf. Verg. Aen. II 46 *aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros.*

543. *exserti*] 'bare-armed'. cf. VI 794, Hor. A.P. 50 *dicere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis* and Orelli's note.

545. *miscere*] 'to raise thee to the level of': similarly it is used of bringing down to the level of another I 271. 'This is taken from a letter of Brutus to Atticus in which a similar expression is used of M. Antonius: the words are in Plutarch's life of Brutus 29: Μάρκον δὲ Ἀντώνιον ἀξίαν φησὶ τῆς ἀνοίας διδόναι δίκην, οἳ ἐν Βρούτοις καὶ Κασσίοις καὶ Κάτωσι συναριθμεῖσθαι δυνάμενος, προσθήκην ἑαυτὸν Ὀκταβίῳ δέδωκεν.' Rutgersius.

547. *ut Catulo*] 'as Lepidus fell before Catulus'. cf. Florus II 11, who however says that Lepidus fled to Sardinia and died there.

548. *Carbo*] For his execution by Pompeius in Sicily cf. Appian B. C. I 96.

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. II xxx.

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 the frenzy;' i.e. Caesar is not worthy of being ranked with Marius and Cinna, but rather with Spartacus. For *inuidere* with infinitive cf. Persius III 73 *disce nec inuidere* (i.e. *discere*) and Conington's note; for the change in construction cf. VII 497–433.

554. *simili causa*] sc. by the hand of Crassus. cf. Vell. Pat. II xxx § 5.

555. *titulis*] 'triumphs'. cf. Ov. Heroid. IX 1 *gratulor Oechaliam titulis accedere nostris.*

557. *circum praecordia*] cf. Verg. G. II 484 *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis.*

:m potuere pati. licet ille solutum
ıque uocet ne uos mea terreat aetas: 560
in his castris senior dum miles in illis.
ıit ciuem populus perducere liber
, supraque nihil nisi regna reliqui.
ıata cupit Romana quisquis in urbe
ım transire parat. hinc consul uterque, 565
es statura ducum est. Caesarne senatus
·it? non tam caeco trahis omnia cursu
hil, Fortuna, pudet. multisne rebellis
ım lustris aetasque impensa labori
mos? Rheni gelidis quod fugit ab undis, 570
ıque uocans incerti stagna profundi
uaesitis ostendit terga Britannis?
e tumuere minae quod fama furoris
armatam patriis e sedibus urbem?
.ens, non te fugiunt me cuncta sequuntur: 575
signa tuli toto fulgentia ponto,
exactum quam Cynthia conderet orbem
ɜtum metuens pelagi pirata reliquit,

'enfeebled'. cf. I 311.
] 'worn out'. cf. I 695

This is a glaring sophism
the mouth of Pompeius,
system of fighting a small
troops was more than a
times their number of
;. cf. I 312 where Caesar
ponent's troops as *miles*

nphatic, 'yet remaining

| 'to outstrip'. cf. IV
I 11 § 28 *uerum ut trans-*
' *magna tamen est digni-*

i.e. *procerum*. Weise.
hil] 'nor art thou, For-
ɔst to shame'.
.c. the labour of conquer-
182.
This refers to Caesar's
nany into Gaul. cf. B.G.

ue] 'calling the pools of
: ocean'. cf. Caes. B.G.

incerti] i.e. on account of the tides of Caes. B.G. l.c.

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 ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε. 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) *deuiis plerumque itineribus ambiens patriam et declinans.*

577. *ante bis exactum*] 'before the moon could twice complete and hide her disc', i.e. before two full moons and two new moons. cf. Ov. Met. VII 179 *tres aberant noctes ut cornua tota coirent efficerentque orbem.* Weise takes *orbis* of the orbit of the moon cf. Verg. Aen. V 46 *annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis*, and *condere* as 'to complete', cf. Hor. carm. IV v 29 *condit quisque diem collibus in suis.* Stat. Theb. X 54 *condiderant iam uota diem.*

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 585
Arctos habet: calida medius mihi cognitus axis
Aegypto atque umbras nusquam flectente Syene.
occasus mea iura timent Tethynque fugacem
qui ferit Hesperius post omnia flumina Baetis.
me domitus cognouit Arabs me Marte feroces 590
Heniochi notique erepto uellere Colchi.
Cappadoces mea signa timent, et dedita sacris
incerti Iudaea dei mollisque Sophene.
Armenios Cilicasque feros Taurosque subegi..
quod socero bellum praeter ciuile reliqui? 595
uerba 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 Soli in Cilicia and elsewhere. cf. note on I 346.

580. *Scythici diuortia Ponti*] 'the distant recesses of the Scythian sea' i.e. the kingdom of Bosporus or Panticapaeum over which he had set his son Machares. 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 alio calentes sole mutamus?* Verg. G. II 512 *atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.*

586. *medius axis*] sc. the southern quarter. cf. III 359 *Hesperium...in axem.* Juv. XIV 42 *quocunque sub axe.*

587. *umbras*] i.e. Syene is exactly under the equator, so that the midday sun being vertically overhead casts no shadow.

nusquam] sc. neither to right nor l cf. III 248.

588. *fugacem*] i.e. because of t tides.

589. *post omnia flumina*] 'furthest all rivers'. There are however seve Spanish rivers whose mouths lie furth west than that of the Baetis, e.g. t Anas, the Tagus and the Durius.

593. *incerti*] cf. Juv. XIV 96, 97 *quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant.* Ta Hist. V 5 *Iudaei mente sola unum numen intellegunt.*

Sophene] Oud. cf. Claudian in Eutro I 220 *in mercem ueniunt Cilices Iuda Sophene, Romanusque labor Pompeianiq triumphi.*

596. *partes*] i.e. the soldiers of h side. cf. supr. 395.

597. *matura*] 'the immediate signal'

598. *sensit et ipse*] 'felt fear in his ow person', i.e. was himself afraid; so *tire calorem* is used for 'to be hot'; c Juv. XII 98.

599. *in tantae discrimina pugn* according to Weise is equivalent to

iam uictum fama non uisi Caesaris agmen. 600
pulsus ut armentis primo certamine taurus
siluarum secreta petit uacuosque per agros
exsul in aduersis explorat cornua truncis;
nec redit in pastus, nisi cum ceruice recepta
excussi placuere tori: mox reddita uictor 605
quoslibet in saltus comitantibus agmina tauris
inuito pastore trahit: sic uiribus impar
tradidit Hesperiam, profugusque per Apula rura
Brundisii tutas conscendit Magnus in arces.
urbs est Dictaeis olim possessa colonis, 610
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. 615
nec tamen hoc artis immissum faucibus aequor
portus erat, si non uiolentos insula Cauros
exciperet saxis lassasque refunderet undas.
hinc illinc montes scopulosae rupis aperto

tantum pugnae discrimen; he refers to IX 656 *Phlegraeo stantes serpente gigantas.* Bentley cf. Tac. Hist. V 15 *eius proelii eventus utrumque ducem ad maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit.*

601. *pulsus*] For the simile cf. Verg. G. III 210 foll. Weise also refers to Soph. O.T. 481 foll. φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίαν ὕλαν ἔνθ' ἄντρα καὶ πέτραι ἄτε ταῦρος μέλεος μελέῳ ποδὶ χηρεύων.

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 *gaudetque (leo) comantes excutiens ceruice toros.*

placuere] Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. II 326 *cum profugo placuere tori ceruixque recepto sanguine magna redit.*

606. *comitantibus...tauris*] i.e. accompanied by the other bulls whom he has reduced to subjection.

611. *Creta*] Weise cf. Strabo VI 6 (282).

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. 618) *Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Auernis.*

617. *erat*] cf. Verg. G. II 132, 133 *et si non alium longe iactaret odorem laurus erat.*

618. *lassas*] This is the reading of Grotius for *laxas*, which is found in most MSS. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. IX 56 *qui lassas in se saepe 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 Lucan's mind when he wrote this passage.

opposuit natura mari flatusque remouit, 620
ut tremulo starent contentae fune carinae.
hinc late patet omne fretum, seu uela ferantur
in portus, Corcyra, tuos, seu laeua petatur
Illyris Ionias uergens Epidamnos in undas.
huc fuga nautarum, cum totas Hadria uires 625
mouit, et in nubes abiere Ceraunia, cumque
spumoso Calaber perfunditur aequore Sason.
ergo ubi nulla fides rebus post terga relictis
nec licet ad duros Martem conuertere Hiberos,
cum mediae iaceant immensis tractibus Alpes: 630
tum subole ex tanta natum cui firmior aetas
adfatur: mundi iubeo temptare recessus:
Euphratem Nilumque moue, quo nominis usque
nostri fama uenit, quas est uolgata per urbes
post me Roma ducem: sparsos per rura colonos 635
redde mari Cilicas: Pharios hinc concute reges
Tigranemque meum. nec Pharnacis arma relinquas
admoneo nec tu populos utraque uagantis
Armenia Pontique feras per litora gentes
Ripaeasque manus, et quas tenet aequore 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 mors omnis abit.*

627. *Sason*] an island between Brundisium and the coast of Epirus. cf. Strabo VI 5 (c. 281) ἥτις μέση πως ἵδρυται τοῦ διάρματος τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἠπείρου πρὸς τὸ Βρεντέσιον. Sil. Ital. IX 469 *expauit sonitus tremefacto litore Sason.*

628. *rebus*] sc. his fortunes in Italy and Spain.

629. *conuertere*] 'to transfer the scene of war'. cf. I 441 *tu quoque laetatus c uerti proelia Treuir.*

630. *mediae*] i.e. between him a them.

631. *tanta*] i.e. *nobilissima.* Weise

cui firmior aetas] i.e. simply 't elder'. cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 37 *hinc ubi i firmata uirum te fecerit aetas.*

634. *quas est*] 'the cities throu which the name of Rome has been household word since my command'.

635. *post me ducem*] cf. Cic. Phil. § 97 *statuitur ne post M. Brutum proc sule sit Creta prouincia.*

636. *Cilicas*] i.e. the pirates wh Pompeius had settled in various town cf. I 346.

637. *meum*] 'my client'. cf. I 314.

638. *nec tu*] 'nor yet': the emphas is not really on the *tu* but on what follo it. cf. Hor. carm. I ix 15 *nec dul amores sperne puer neque tu choreas.* Epp. I ii 63 *hunc frenis hunc tu compe catena.*

utraque] sc. the greater and lesser A menia.

640. *denso*] 'frozen'.

pigra palus Scythici patiens Maeotica plaustri.
sed quid plura moror? totos mea, nate, per ortus
bella feres totoque urbes agitabis in orbe
perdomitas: omnes redeant in castra triumphi.
et uos, qui Latios signatis nomine fastos, 645
primus in Epirum Boreas agat: inde per arua
Graiorum Macetumque 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 650
armorum, ne quid fatis mutare liceret,
adsequitur generique premit uestigia Caesar.
sufficerent aliis primo tot moenia cursu
rapta, tot oppressae depulsis hostibus arces,
ipsa caput mundi bellorum maxima merces 655
Roma capi facilis. sed Caesar in omnia praeceps,
nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum,
instat atrox: et adhuc, quamuis possederit omnem
Italiam, extremo sedeat quod litore Magnus
communem tamen esse dolet: nec rursus aperto 660
uolt hostes errare freto, sed molibus undas
obstruit et latum deiectis rupibus aequor.
cedit in immensum cassus labor: omnia pontus

641. *pigra*] 'sluggish'; for the account [the freezing of the Palus Maeotis cf. lerod. IV 28.

plaustri] cf. Verg. G. III 361, 362 *unque iam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes, ppibus illa prius patulis nunc hospita laustris.*

642. *sed quid plura moror?*] i.e. *sed id te moror plura loquendo?* cf. Verg. cl. V 19 *sed tu desine plura.*

644. *triumphi*] i.e. *populi triumphati.* Claudian. in Eutrop. I 221 *Pompeiani e triumphi.*

645. *qui Latios*] sc. *uos consules.*

648. *paci*] i.e. for undisturbed operations.

hiemps] From this passage and also m 691, 692, on which see note, it apurs that Lucan makes Pompeius leave ly in the autumn, whereas from Cicero's ers it is clear that he really crossed the riatic in March. cf. Cic. ad Att. IX 1, iii § 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 corrumpi facilis.* See also I 510.

in omnia praeceps] cf. the character of Caesar I 143 foll.

658. *adhuc*] to be taken with *sedeat.*

660. *communem*] 'grieves that he has to share it with him'.

rursus] 'on the contrary'. cf. Tac. Agric. 29 *quem casum neque ut plerique fortium uirorum ambitiose neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit.*

663. *cedit in immensum*] *εἰς ἄπειρον προβαίνει. cedit* is equivalent to *procedit.* Weise.

cassus] 'all in vain'.

haurit saxa uorax montesque immiscet harenis.
ut maris Aegaei medias si celsus in undas 665
depellatur Eryx, nullae tamen aequore rupes
emineant, 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 670
roboraque immensis late religare catenis.
tales fama canit tumidum super aequora Xerxem
construxisse uias, multum cum pontibus ausus
Europamque Asiae Sestonque admouit Abydo,
incessitque fretum rapidi super Hellesponti, 675
non Eurum Zephyrumque timens, cum uela ratesque
in medium deferret Athon. sic ora profundi
artantur casu nemorum: tunc aggere multo
surgit opus longaeque tremunt super aequora turres.
Pompeius tellure noua compressa profundi 680
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 59 *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu spicula.* Id. G. III 343—345 *omnia secum armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram.*

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.

672. *tumidum*] 'swollen with pride'. cf. V 233 *et tumidis infesta cohit qua numina Ramnus.*

674. *admouit*] 'brought nearer', sc. by joining them by a bridge.

675. *super*] For the position of the preposition cf. Tac. Ann. III 72 *opes ornatum ad urbis et posterum gloriam conferre*, and Nipperdey's note.

676. *uela*] cf. Juv. X 173 *uelificatus Athos.*

678. *casu nemorum*] i.e. caesis nemoribus.

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 Sardoas etiam sparguntur in oras;* Tac. Ann. III 21 *sed Tacfarinas perculsis Numidis et obsidia aspernantibus spargi bellum, ubi instaretur cedens, ac rursum in terga remeans.*

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: 685
tortaque per tenebras ualidis ballista lacertis
multifidas iaculata faces. ut tempora tandem
furtiuae placuere fugae, ne litora clamor
nauticus exagitet, neu bucina diuidat horas,
neu tuba praemonitos perducat ad aequora nautas, 690
praecepit sociis. iam coeperat ultima Virgo
Phoebum laturas ortu praecedere Chelas
cum taciti soluere rates. non ancora uoces
mouit dum spissis auellitur uncus harenis:
dum iuga curuantur mali dumque ardua pinus 695
erigitur pauidi classis siluere magistri:
strictaque pendentes deducunt carbasa nautae,
nec quatiunt ualidos, ne sibilet aura, rudentes.
dux etiam uotis hoc te, Fortuna, precatur,
quam retinere uetas liceat sibi perdere saltem 700

B. C. I 25 *longius progressus, cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset, rates duplices, quoquouersus pedum triginta, e regione molis collocabat.*

fastigia molis] 'lashed down into the sea the towering mole' cf. Caes. B. C. I 26 *contra haec Pompeius naues magnas onerarias, quas in portu Brundisino deprenderat, adornabat. ibi turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat easque multis tormentis et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appellebat, ut rates perrumperet atque opera disturbaret.*

685. *salo*] sc. *in salum*. Oud. cf. VI 362 *Ionio fluit inde mari.*

687. *multifidas*] cf. Ov. Met. VIII 644 *multifidasque faces ramaliaque arida tecto detulit.*

689. *bucina diuidat*] cf. Propert. V iv 63 *et iam quarta canit uenturam bucina lucem.* Liv. XXVI 15 *ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.*

691. *iam coeperat*] 'the furthest 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 R. 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 precession 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 naues soluit.*

692. *Chelas*] cf. Verg. G. I 33—35 *qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis panditur: ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens Scorpios, et caeli iusta plus parte relinquit.*

693. *uoces*] sc. the Greek ῥόπταται. cf. Aristoph. Ran. 1073.

694. *spissis*] 'clinging'.

695. *iuga*] i.e. the yards, *antennae*, in position like the beam of a balance. *iuga* used in connexion with a ship generally means the rowers' benches. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 411.

curuantur] '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 403 *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 murmure uasto
impulsum rostris sonuit mare, fluctuat unda,
totque carinarum permixtis aequora sulcis.
ergo hostes portis, quas omnes soluerat urbis
cum fato conuersa fides, murisque recepti, 705
praecipiti cursu flexi per cornua portus
ora petunt pelagusque dolent contingere classes.
heu pudor: exigua est fugiens uictoria Magnus.
angustus puppes mittebat in aequora limes
artior Euboica qua Chalcida uerberat unda. 710
hic haesere rates geminae classique paratas
excepere manus: tractoque in litora bello
hic primum rubuit ciuili sanguine Nereus.
cetera classis abit summis spoliata carinis:
ut Pagasaea ratis peteret cum Phasidos undas 715
Cyaneas tellus emisit in aequora 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 720
lux rubet et flammas 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 725

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. supr. 490.

709. *mittebat*] 'allowed to pass'. cf. Plin. Epp. VIII viii § 3 *quas* (*naues*) *obuias quoque et contrario nisu in diuersa tendentes transmittit et perfert.*

710. *Euboica*] The Euripus was bridged over. cf. Strabo IX 8 (c. 447).

712. *excepere manus*] 'were grasped by the hooks (i.e. grapnels) prepared to stop the fleet'. cf. III 635; Caes. B. C. I 57.

tractoque in litora bello] 'and the fighting being thus extended to the shore'.

714. *summis*] i.e. these two last shi

717. *rapta puppe minor*] 'lessened the loss of its stern'. cf. Ap. Rhod. 604 ἔμπης ἀφλάστοιο παρέθρισαν ἄκρα ρυμβα.

719. *et statura*] 'and returns to its pl to remain for ever fixed'. cf. Ap. Rh II 607 πέτραι δ' εἰς ἕνα χῶρον ἐπισχ ἀλλήλῃσι νωλεμὲς ἐρρίζωθεν.

urgere] 'was at hand'.

720. *non idem*] 'the changing hu the eastern sky'.

721. *propioribus*] nearer to the and so to the horizon, which would be first to lose their brightness.

723. *in faciem* &c.] 'pale and va into the face of the heavens free from st Compare the expression in Wordswo Ode on the intimations of Immort 'fade into the light of common day'.

ea fata ferens quae cum super aequora toto
edonem sequerere mari. lassata triumphis
ituit Fortuna tuis. cum coniuge pulsus
iatis totosque trahens in bella penates
is adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exsul. 730
eritur indignae sedes longinqua ruinae.
quia te superi patrio priuare sepulchro
uerint Phariae busto damnantur harenae:
itur Hesperiae; procul hoc ut in orbe remoto
condat Fortuna nefas Romanaque tellus 735
iaculata sui seruetur sanguine Magni.

ber aequora] means simply 'on .

ituit] sc. *te*. Weise defends iction, referring to V 302 *sic ri, quando pietasque fidesque* Liv. VII 25 *quando socialis sereret;* also the use of *arcere* Grotius reads *desciuit*, but require *a te*.

ul] cf. Verg. Aen. III 11, 12 *in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*.

731. *quaeritur*] 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'.

733. *busto*] dative. cf. Verg. Aen. IV 699 *Stygioque caput damnauerat Orco*.

734. *hoc*] to be taken with *nefas*.

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER TERTIUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

Julia appears in a vision to Pompeius on his voyage 1—45. Caesar sends forces t seize Sicily and Sardinia; he returns to Rome 45—98; feelings of the citizens c his approach 99—112. The tribune Metellus endeavours to prevent the opening the treasury 113—142, but is induced by Cotta to give way 143—168. Catalog of the allies of Pompeius 169—297. Caesar crosses the Alps: the citizens Massilia refuse to admit his army within their walls 298—355. Caesar's answ 356—374: he commences the siege of the town 375—398. Description of t Druids' grove 399—425, cut down by Caesar 426—452. Caesar proceeds Spain: unsuccessful attack on Massilia 453—496. Sally of the besieged 497 508. Arrival of D. Brutus with the Roman fleet: naval battle, and victory Brutus 509—762.

Propulit ut classem uelis 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 5
ad uisus reditura suos, tectumque cacumen
nubibus, et dubios cernit uanescere montes.
inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno
membra ducis. diri tum plena horroris imago

1. *uelis 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 aback they are said *redire*, for which Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. II 13 *flumineo cuius redeuntia uento uela legunt.*

2. *mouere*] This, which is the reading of most MSS., is retained by Weise: Oud. reads *tenuere.*

7. *dubios*] 'the mountains melting away in the haze'. cf. Verg. Aen. 522 *cum procul obscuros montes humil que uidemus Italiam*, where the Troj catch their first glimpse of Italy.

8. *soporifero*] Probably a custom epithet like the *mare nauigerum* &c Lucretius. Bentley, in order to avoid tautology, would write *Somno* witl capital, i.e. the god of sleep.

9. *imago*] in apposition with *Iuliu*

uisa caput maestum per hiantis Iulia terras 10
tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro.
sedibus Elysiis campoque expulsa piorum
ad Stygias, inquit, tenebras manesque nocentis
post bellum ciuile trahor. uidi ipsa tenentis
Eumenidas quaterent quas uestris lampadas armis: 15
praeparat innumeras 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: 20
fortuna est mutata toris: semperque potentis
detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos
innupsit tepido paelex 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 I 580 the shade of Sulla rises in the Campus.

11. *accenso*] 'and take her stand in fury-guise 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, *eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillos, eosdem oculos; lateri uestis adusta fuit, et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis.*

furialis] nam et minatur in sequentibus se eum persecuturam ubicunque sit futurus. Weise.

12. *expulsa*] according to Weise, not driven away by the good as polluted, but *exsilia 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. I *priusquam honorem iniret ad componendum Orientis statum expulsus*, 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. *innumeras*] cf. Petron. 121 *uix nauita Porthmeus sufficiet simulacra uirum transducere cumba; classe opus est.*

17. *laxantur*] 'are being enlarged'. cf. Isaiah v. 14 'Therefore hell hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure'. Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 677, 678 *hinc ampla uacuis spatia laxantur locis, in quae omne mersum pereat humanum genus.*

18. *operi*] sc. *stamina rumpendi.*

cunctae] sc. all three, cf. note on *turba* I 86. So in Verg. Aen. II 589, 599 *quos omnes undique Graiae circumerrant acies, omnes*, if acusative, as is probable, refers to the three persons mentioned before, viz. Anchises, Ascanius and Creusa.

19. *lassant*] 'the threads weary the Parcae as they snap them'. Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 566, 567 *prolata uis est quaeque Palladia colu lassauit omnem texta famularum manum.*

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 Crassus, killed at Carrae.

23. *innupsit*] It is difficult to see what meaning can be attached to the expression *innubere 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 foedera lecti...ne thalamis Auram patiare innubere nostris.* Quintil. Declam. 338 *in torum adhuc prioris uxoris uestigio calentem adducta est noua nupta.* Weise with most of the earlier editions reads *en nupsit*, from the MSS. *enupsit.* It is however perhaps possible that *innupsit* may

haereat illa tuis per bella per aequora signis,
dum non securos liceat mihi rumpere somnos, 25
et nullum uestro uacuom sit tempus amori,
sed teneat Caesarque dies et Iulia noctes.
me non Lethaeae, coniunx, obliuia ripae
immemorem fecere tui, regesque silentum
permisere sequi. ueniam te bella gerente 30
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 amplexus trepidi dilapsa mariti. 35
ille, dei quamuis cladem manesque minentur,
maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum.
et, quid, ait, uani terremur imagine uisus?
aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum,
aut mors ipsa nihil. Titan iam pronus in undas 40

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 inuidiae est: the latter alternative is doubtless right, otherwise there would be no force in the word *paelex*, i.e. 'my rival', cf. VIII 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.

24. *haereat*] 'let her accompany thy standards'. cf. Plin. Epp. VII xxvii § 2 *tenuis adhuc et obscuras aestimenti Africam comes haeserat.*

25. *non sinamus*] proleptic. 'and make it not untroubled'.

26. *uacuom*] 'free for the enjoyment of your love'.

27. *sed teneat*] 'but Caesar haunt your thoughts all day, Julia all the night'.

31. *numquam*] 'the shades and my spirit will never suffer thee to forget thou art his son-in-law'.

33. *tua pignora*] 'thy connexion'. cf. note on II 340.

34. *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 h from trying to embrace Julia's shade.

dilapsa] Cf. Hom. Od. XI 206—2 Verg. Aen. VI 700—702. Milton Som XVIII But O as to embrace me she inclin I waked, she fled, and day brought h my night.

36. *dei quamuis*] 'although gods shades threaten him with ruin'. W says that *manes* is accusative and is e valent to *mortem*: but I can find no sim use of the word, and there is no diffic in taking the passage as translated abo *manes* refers to the ghost of Julia, *d* the *reges silentum* who have allowed to return to haunt Pompeius.

37. *maior*] 'with higher spirit'.

certa] 'though well assured of fortune'. cf. II 524.

39. *a morte*] 'by means of death' θανατοῦ. cf. note on II 86; not 'a death', which would require some q fying word such as *recens*; cf. Cic. N III § 11.

40. *aut mors*] cf. Plat. Apol. S 40c. ἑνὸν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάν γὰρ οὖν μηδὲν εἶναι μηδ' αἰσθησιν μηδ κακοῦ ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεώτα, ἢ κατὰ τὰ ... ἄλλον τόπον. Oud. cf. Sen. Troad. *aut mortem nihil est, ipsaque mor* ...

ibat, et igniferi tantum demerserat orbis
quantum 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. 45
Caesar ut emissas uenti rapuere carinas,
absconditque fretum classes, et litore solus
dux stetit Hesperio, non illum gloria pulsi
laetificat Magni: queritur quod tuta per aequor
terga ferant hostes. neque enim iam sufficit ulla 50
praecipiti fortuna uiro: nec uincere tanti
ut bellum differret erat. tum pectore curas
expulit armorum pacique intentus agebat,
quoque modo uanos populi conciret amores,
gnarus et irarum causas et summa fauoris 55
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 60
aut scidit et medias fecit sibi litora terras.
uis illic ingens pelagi semperque laborant
aequora ne rupti repetant confinia montes:

42. *seu plena*] sc. immediately before or after full moon.

43. *hospita*] 'foreign'. cf. Verg. Aen. III 539 *bellum o terra hospita portas.*

44. *legere rudentes*] 'they gathered in (i.e. coiled) the sheets'. cf. Val. Flacc. I 314 *prora funem 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—laetificat* is afterwards substituted.

47. *abscondit*] cf. the use of *abscondere* in Verg. Aen. III 291 *protinus aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces.*

48. *non illum*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 3 and Conington's note.

51. *nec uincere tanti*] '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 *agere* used absolutely cf. Tac. Ann. III 19 *apud los 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'.

adserit] 'wins over'.

57. *emiturque metus*] 'and respect is bought when chieftains support the mob in idleness'.

58. *nescit*] cf. infr. 152. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. XVIII § 5 *cum uentre tibi humano negotium est: nec rationem patitur nec aequitate mitigatur nec ulla prece flectitur populus esuriens.*

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".

medias] '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, 65
nec plus Hesperiam longinquis messibus ullae
nec Romana magis complerunt horrea terrae:
ubere uix glaebae superat cessantibus Austris
cum medium nubes Borea cogente sub axem
effusis magnum Libye tulit imbribus annum. 70
haec ubi sunt prouisa duci tunc agmina uictor
non armata trahens sed pacis habentia uoltum
tecta petit patriae. pro si remeasset in urbem
Gallorum tantum populis Arctoque subacta,
quam seriem rerum longa praemittere pompa, 75
quas potuit belli facies; ut uincula Rheno
oceanoque daret; celsos ut Gallia currus
nobilis et flauis sequeretur mixta Britannis.
perdidit o qualem uincendo plura triumphum.
non illum laetis uadentem coetibus urbes 80
sed tacitae uidere metu. non constitit usquam
obuia turba duci. gaudet tamen esse timori
tam magno populis et se non mallet amari.
iamque et praecipites superauerat Anxuris arces,

mountains from recovering their ancient bounds'. See note on II 435.

64. *bella*] cf. note on II 682.

66. *nec plus*] 'nor have any lands filled Italy more full with distant harvests, nor any more than they filled the garners of Rome'. The distinction between *plus* and *magis* is that *plus complerunt* means 'filled fuller', *magis complerunt* means 'filled rather than these'.

longinquis] sc. imported from abroad.

68. *ubere uix*, &c.] 'scarce does Libya surpass them in fruitfulness of soil, when the south winds are lulled, and, as the north wind drives the clouds towards the regions of the south, showers pour down, and she bears a mighty harvest', i.e. only in exceptional years when more rain falls than is usually the case because the north wind blows instead of the south.

70. *Libye*] For the fruitfulness of Africa cf. Hor. carm. I i 10 *quicquid de Libycis uerritur areis.*

annum] cf. infr. 452. Oud. cf. Stat. Silu. III 21, 22 *terris prima Dicaearchis Pharium grauis intulit annum.* Compare also the use of *autumnus* for fruit Ov. Met. IX 91, 92 *totumque tulit praediuite cornu autumnum et mensas, felicia poma, secundas.*

73. *patriae*] i.e. the city of Rome: for this particular use of *patria* compare note on II 574; add Tac. Ann. IV 58 *neque enim tam incredibilem casum prouidebant ut undecim per annos libens patria carerent.*

76. *potuit*] cf. note on II 617.

facies] triumphantibus enim mos erat ut picta flumina et prouincias quas uicissent ante currum praeferrent in tabula. Schol. cf. Ov. ex Ponto III iv 105—108 *oppida turritis cingantur eburnea muris; fictaque res uero more putetur agi: squalidus immissos fracta sub harundine crines Rhenus et infectas sanguine portet aquas.* Plin. H. N. V § 36.

77. *daret*] sc. he would have been represented as enchaining the Rhine and the Ocean.

79. *perdidit*] sc. because he could not triumph for victory in civil war. cf. note on I 12.

84. *superauerat*] 'had passed'. cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 6 *seu magni superas iam saxa Timaui.*

nptinas uia diuidit uda paludes, 85
ıe nemus, Scythicae qua regna Dianae;
r est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam;
rupe procul iam prospicit urbem
› non uisam tempore belli:
suae, sic fatus, moenia Romae: 90
. sedes, non ullo Marte coacti
ıiri? pro qua pugnabitur urbe?
quod non Latias Eous in oras
incubuit, nec iuncto Sarmata uelox
Dacisque Getes admixtus: habenti 95
ım tibi, Roma, ducem Fortuna pepercit
m ciuile fuit. sic fatur, et urbem
terrore subit. namque ignibus atris
captae rapturus moenia Romae
ıe deos: fuit haec mensura timoris, 100
ıt quaecumque potest. non omina festa
laeto uoces simulare tumultu,
uacat. Phoebea palatia complet
ım nullo cogendi iure senatus
:ducta suis. non consule sacrae 105
:des: non proxima lege potestas

Aricia.
was called *rex Nemo-*
ılig. 35. Ov. Fast.
nent fortesque manu
perit exemplo post-

ıs] sc. the consuls.
(17). Suet. Claud.

what city will men
Rome.
dedere. cf. note on
tulimus quod damna

g. Ecl. x 55 *interea*
ıla nymphis.
ıote on II 54.
ımpeius.
'. cf. Verg. G. IV

urus] For the con-
uet. Tib. 62 *plures*
ne reliquis quidem
ditur.
cf. Tac. Ann. V 4

faustis in Caesarem ominibus. Intelligendae sunt precationes salutationes gratulationes quae plerumque in omina trahuntur. Weise.

103. *Phoebea palatia*] i.e. the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, afterwards rebuilt by Augustus. cf. Suet. Aug. 29. For *palatia* applied to a temple cf. Juv. IX 23 *secreta palatia Matris*, sc. the temple of Cybele.

104. *nullo*] 'though there is none with the right to summon the senate'. 'The absence of the consuls, by whom its meetings should properly have been convoked, was supplied by the tribunes, Antonius and Cassius, who revived for the occasion the obsolete prerogatives of their office', Merivale, chap. xv.

cogendi] cf. Propert. V i 13 *bucina cogebat priscos ad uerba Quirites.*

105. *non consule*] 'the curule chair did not glitter with the consul's presence'.

106. *potestas*] cf. X 136. Juv. X 100 *an Fidenarum Gabiorumue esse potestas.*

praetor adest: uacuaeque loco cessere curules.
omnia Caesar erat. priuatae curia uocis
testis adest. sedere Patres censere parati,
si regnum, si templa sibi, iugulumque senatus 110
exsiliumque petat. melius quod plura iubere
erubuit quam Roma pati. tamen exit in iram
uiribus an possent obsistere iura per unum
libertas experta uirum: pugnaxque Metellus
ut uidet ingenti Saturnia templa reuelli 115
mole, rapit gressus, et Caesaris agmina rumpens
ante fores nondum reseratae constitit aedis.
usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere
auri nescit amor. pereunt discrimine nullo
amissae leges: sed pars uilissima rerum 120
certamen mouistis opes: prohibensque rapina
uictorem clara testatur uoce tribunus:
non nisi per nostrum uobis percussa patebunt
templa latus nullasque feres nisi sanguine sacro
sparsas, raptor, opes. certe uiolata potestas 125
inuenit ista deos: Crassumque in bella secutae
saeua tribuniciae uouerunt proelia dirae.

107. *loco cessere*] 'were removed from their place as there was none to fill them'.

109. *testis*] auscultator tantum, non consultor. Weise.

111. *melius*] sc. actum est.

112. *erubuit*] For the infinitive after *erubescere* cf. Tac. Ann. VI 23 (29) *consultusque Caesar an sepeliri sineret non erubuit permittere.*

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 rigorem quemdam toruitatemque naturae.* For the tense of *possent* cf. note on II 651.

115. *Saturnia templa*] cf. Appian B. C. II 41.

116. *mole*] 'exertion', 'effort', cf. Verg. Aen. I 37 *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem;* Liv. XXV II § 12 *plaustris transueham naues haud magna mole.*

119. *auri nescit amor*] cf. Verg. Aen. III 56 *quid non mortalia pectora cogis auri sacra fames?*

discrimine nullo] 'indiscriminately' cf. Verg. Aen. I 578 *Tros Tyriusue mihi nullo discrimine agetur:* 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'.

ista] i.e. this of mine. cf. V 351.

127. *saeua*] 'the tribune's curses call down on him disaster in battle'. Florus, I 46 § 3 *tribunus plebi Antonius exeuntem ducem hostilibus diris deuouit.* I cannot find any exact parallel to this use of *uouere*, but compare Hor. Ep. I 1 *quid uoueat dulci nutricula maius alumno?* Ov. Met. XI 128 *quae modo uouerat odit;* Met. XIII 88, 89 *sortemque meam uouerat Achiui, et uestrae ualuere preces.* In the passage quoted by Oud. from Statius the meaning is different. Grotius with some MSS. reads *nouerunt;* Oud. says that *mouerunt* is found in two MSS. and in support of it he quotes Hor. carm. I 2 *quanta moues funera Dardanae genti.*

ım ferrum: neque enim tibi turba uerenda est
ĸ scelerum: deserta stamus in urbe.
: e nostro sceleratus praemia miles: 130
s prosternas populi, quae moenia dones:
exhaustae spolium non cogit egestas:
Caesar, habes. his magnam uictor in iram
ıccensus: uanam spem mortis honestae
haud, inquit, iugulo se polluet isto 135
Metelle, manus. dignum te Caesaris ira
ɔnos faciet. te uindice tuta relicta est
non usque adeo permiscuit imis
ımma dies, ut non, si uoce Metelli
· leges, malint a Caesare tolli. 140
t, et nondum foribus cedente tribuno
ı subit: saeuos circumspicit enses
imulare togam. tum Cotta Metellum
audaci nimium desistere coepto.
inquit, populi quem regna coercent 145
perit; cuius seruaueris umbram,
ıid iubeare uelis. tot rebus iniquis
; uicti: uenia est haec sola pudoris

.e. and so there is no
from killing me.
'from our treasury'.
] 'there are other nations
ow, other walls for you
diers'. cf. note on I 82.
overty does not compel
: (i.e. the state now free
for spoil'. *exhaustae* is
it exhausta fiat. Weise
a prisci illibata tori. For
is in a state of peace cf.
5, 87 *ut si quando ruit*
uit Eurus aquas, pax

you have war before you
neans of recruiting your

onos] i.e. not even the

nk you freedom is left
nder your protection?'
it] cf. note on I 271.
2 (*Tiberius Gracchus*)
icuit et in praeruptum
riculum adduxit rem

139. *ut non*] 'but that the laws, if preserved by Metellus' voice, would rather be destroyed by Caesar'.

142. *circumspicit*] 'he looks round for'. cf. Plin. Epp. III iii § 3 *iam circumspiciendus rhetor Latinus.*

143. *togam*] cf. supr. 73.

145. *libertas*] 'the freedom of a people bound down by tyranny perishes by freedom' i.e. by the assertion of it, i.e. διὰ παῤῥησίας. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. IX v § 3 (*Socrates*) *qui tuto insultauerat agmini tyrannorum ciuis, eius libertatem libertas non tulit.* cf. also Ov. Heroid. XV 67, 68 *me quoque, quod monui bene multa fideliter, odit: hoc mihi libertas hoc pia lingua dedit.*

146. *cuius*] 'but you will preserve its shadow, if, whate'er you are bidden, that you wish to do'.

148. *paruimus*] 'we have submitted to'. cf. Caes. B. C. III 81 *nulla Thessaliae fuit ciuitas praeter Larissaeos quin Caesari pareret.*

uenia] '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 seruit egestas.
protinus abducto patuerunt templa Metello.
tum rupes Tarpeia sonat magnoque reclusas
testatur stridore fores: tum conditus imo 155
eruitur templo multis intactus ab annis
Romani census populi, quem Punica bella,
quem dederat Perses, quem uicti praeda Philippi:
quod tibi, Roma, fuga Pyrrhus trepidante reliquit,
quo te Fabricius regi non uendidit auro, 160
quidquid parcorum mores seruastis auorum,
quod dites Asiae populi misere tributum,
uictorique dedit Minoia Creta Metello,
quod Cato longinqua uexit super aequora Cypro.
tunc Orientis opes captorumque ultima regum 165
quae Pompeianis praelata est gaza triumphis
egeritur: tristi spoliantur templa 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. *dedecoris pudorem afferentis.* cf. Ov. Heroid. XI 79 *irruit et nostrum uolgat clamore pudorem.*

150. *auertat*] 'let him sweep away'. cf. Hor. Sat. II iv 37 *nec satis est cara pisces auertere mensa.* Stat. Theb. IV 648 *Sidonias auertere praedas.*

semina belli] cf. Ov. Met. I 140 *effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.* Tac. Hist. IV 74 *sed nobis maximum discrimen penes quos aurum et opes praecipuae bellorum causae.*

151. *damna*] '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.

157. *census*] 'the property'. cf. Hor. carm. II xv 13 *priuatus illis census erat brevis, commune magnum.* Ov. Fast. I 217 *nunc est in pretio pretium, dat census honores, census amicitias.*

160. *quo 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 *quibus os dirum nascentibus inspuit hostis.*

161. *seruastis*] For the sudden change of person, cf. infr. 281. Verg. Aen. VI 284 *quos diues Anagnia pascit, quos Amasene pater.*

164. *Cato*] See Plutarch's life of Cato chapter 45.

165. *ultima*] 'from the ends of the earth'. cf. I 314

168. *pauperior*] Weise thinks that there is a reference to Caesar's former debts.

170. *secum*] sc. *cum ipsa fortuna.*

Parnasusque iugo misit desertus utroque.
Boeoti coiere duces, quos impiger ambit
fatidica Cephisos aqua, Cadmeaque Dirce, 175
Pisaeaeque manus, populisque per aequora mittens
Sicaniis Alpheos aquas. tum Maenala liquit
Arcas et Herculeam miles Trachinius Oeten.
Thesproti Dryopesque ruunt, quercusque silentis
Chaonio ueteres liquerunt uertice Selloe. 180
exhausit totas quamuis delectus Athenas
exiguae Phoebea tenent naualia puppes
tresque petunt ueram credi Salamina carinae.
iam dilecta Ioui centenis uenit in arma
Creta uetus populis, Gnososque agitare pharetras 185
docta nec Eois peior Gortyna sagittis;
tum qui Dardaniam tenet Oricon, et uagus altis
dispersus siluis Athamas, et nomine prisco
Encheliae uersi testantes funera Cadmi,
Colchis et Hadriacas spumans Absyrtis in undas, 190

. *utroque*] cf. Soph. Ant. 1126 σὲ
ερ διλόφου πέτρας στέρνῳ ὄπωπε
. Pers. prol. 2 *neque in bicipiti*
iasse Parnaso memini.
. *fatidica*] cf. Ov. Met. I 369 foll.
. *per aequora*] cf. Verg. Ecl. X 4, 5
bi cum fluctus subter labere Sicanos
amara suam non intermisceat undam.
. *Selloe*] cf. Hom. Il. XVI 234.
. *exhausit*] 'although the levy
ed all the strength of Athens, but a
essels are found to occupy the dock-
of Phoebus, and three ships seek to
credit for the tale of Salamis', i.e.
gh Athens sent all her naval forces,
only amount to three ships, i.e. in
robability the three state galleys
inia, Paralus and Theoris. Weise
rs to think that what is meant is that
ships still remained in the harbour
thens after the rest had joined
eius, but this would imply that the
forces of Athens were large at this
whereas a contrast is evidently
led between their present condition
heir condition at the time of the
n wars. If the reading *Phoebea* is
e it is difficult to say what is
d to: Hortensius says, without
his authority, that the dockyard of
s was consecrated to Apollo:
s conjectures *Piraea*. Gronovius
thinks that the harbour of Actium is
referred to, as the mustering place of
Pompeius' naval forces, taking *tenent* as
'arrive at': but this appears to be
unsatisfactory.

184. *dilecta Ioui*] i.e. because accord-
ing to the legend he was brought up in
Crete. cf. Verg. G. IV 149—152.

186. *Eois*] For Eastern archery cf.
Verg. G. II 125 *et gens illa quidem sumptis*
non tarda pharetris.

187. *Dardaniam*] because founded by
Helenus.

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. Ov.
Met. IV 562 foll.) and the name Encheliae
is derived from ἔγχελυς which means an
eel, which was regarded as a kind of
serpent, cf. Juv. V 103 *uos anguilla*
manet longae cognata colubrae.

190. *Absyrtis*] Apparently a river in
Illyria, called Colchian because from its
name supposed to be the scene of the
murder of Absyrtus by his sister Medea,
which was generally said to have taken
place at Tomi on the Euxine; see Ov.
Trist. III ix. Some islands named Absyr-
tides, off the Illyrian coast, are mentioned
by Pliny H. 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 195
composuit mortale genus, fatisque per illam
accessit mors una ratem. tum linquitur Haemus
Thraecius et populum Pholoe mentita biformem.
deseritur Strymon tepido committere Nilo
Bistonias consuetus aues, et barbara Cone 200
Sarmaticas ubi perdit aquas sparsamque profundo
multifidi Peucen unum caput adluit Histri:
Mysiaque, et gelido tellus perfusa Caico
Idalis, et nimium glaebis exilis Arisbe.
quique colunt Pitanen, et quae tua munera, Pallas,
lugent damnatae Phoebo uictore Celaenae: 206

193. *inde*] 'from that port the sea was first assailed'; cf. Catull. LXIV 11 *illa* (*Argo*) *rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitritem.*

194. *ignotas*] sc. inter se.

temerato] This probably refers to the notion that there is something unlawful in crossing the sea for purposes of commerce, cf. Hor. carm. I iii 21—24 *nequicquam deus abscidit prudens oceano dissociabili terras, si tamen impiae non tangenda rates transiliunt uada.* Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. I 800—802 *classesque et Pontica signa atque indignatos temerato litore reges mente agites.*

196. *composuit*] 'matched against'; especially used of gladiators, cf. Hor. Sat. I vii 19 *Rupili et Persi par pugnat uti non compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius.* Sen. dial. I ii § 9 *ecce par deo dignum, uir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus.*

197. *mors una*] 'one new form of death'. cf. Propert. IV vii 29, 30 *ite rates curuas et leti texite causas; ista per humanas mors uenit acta manus.*

198. *mentita*] 'the feigned possessor of'. cf. Vel. Pat. II iv § 1 *mentitus regiae stirpis originem.* Mart. XI lii 13 *mentiar ut uenias pisces conchylia sumen et cortis saturas atque paludis aues.*

199. *committere*] 'to consign to the warm Nile', i.e. to be taken care of during the winter. cf. Verg. G. I 120 *Strymoniaeque grues.* Aristoph. Aves σπείρειν μὲν ὅταν γέρανος κράζωσ' ἐς Λιβύην μεταχωρῇ.

200. *Cone*] unknown.

201. *Sarmaticas*] 'loses in the se waters that flow from Sarmatia'. notes on I 106, II 402.

sparsamque] 'and one mouth of m cleft Hister bathes Peuce besprinkle the sea'. According to Strabo VI (305) Peuce is a large island lying i southernmost mouth of the Hister distance of 120 stadia from the sea: I apparently means that the salt water up as far as Peuce.

202. *caput*] more often used o source of a river, but cf. note on I Liv. XXXII 41 and Orelli's note on Sat. I x 37.

204. *exilis*] cf. Cic. de leg. agr § 67 *quod solum tam exile et macru quod aratro praestringi non possit?*

Arisbe] a town in the Troad, cf. H. N. V § 121.

205. *tua munera*] Weise says th refers to the story that Marsyas pick the flute which had been invented thrown away by Pallas, and then chall Apollo to a musical contest: cf. Fast. VI 693—710; Oudendorp t refers to the olive trees which withered up because the people of Cel took the side of Apollo in a contes her. cf. Verg. G. I 18.

qua celer et ripis descendens Marsya rectis
errantem Maeandron adit mixtusque refertur:
passaque ab auriferis tellus exire metallis
Pactolon: qua culta secat non uilior Hermus. 210
Iliacae quoque signa manus perituraque castra
ominibus petiere suis: nec fabula Troiae
continuit Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli.
accedunt Syriae populi, desertus Orontes,
et felix, sic fama, Ninos: uentosa Damascos, 215
c Gazaque et arbusto palmarum diues Idume,
et Tyros instabilis, pretiosaque murice Sidon.
has ad bella rates non flexo limite ponti,
certior haud ullis duxit Cynosura carinis.
Phoenices primi, famae si creditur, ausi 220
mansuram rudibus uocem signasse figuris.
nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
nouerat: et saxis tantum uolucresque feraeque
sculptaque seruabant magicas animalia linguas.
deseritur Taurique nemus, Perseaque Tarsos, 225

207. *qua celer*] Oud. cf. Claudian in Eutrop. II 266—268 *sed Marsya, uelox dum suus est flexuque carens, iam flumine mixtus mollitur, Maeandre, tuo.*

208. *refertur*] 'is carried back on its course' i.e. by the Maeander which doubles on itself. cf. VI 475. Ov. Met. VIII 162—166 *non secus ac liquidus Phrygiis Maeandros in aruis ludit et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque, occurrensque sibi uenturas adspicit undas: et nunc ad fontes nunc in mare uersus apertum incertas exercet aquas.*

210. *Pactolon.....Hermus*] cf. Hor. Epod. XV 20 *tibique Pactolus fluat.* Verg. G. II 137 *auro turbidus Hermus.*

212. *ominibus suis*] 'with the prospect of their usual fortune'.

213. *Phrygiique ferens se*] 'boasting his descent from Phrygian Iulus'. cf. Verg. Aen. I 288 *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.*

215. *felix*] 'once prosperous'.

uentosa] i.e. ἠνεμόεσσα.

216. *arbusto palmarum*] 'palm plantations', equivalent to *palmetis*, cf. Hor. Epp. II ii 183 *Herodis palmetis pinguibus.* cf. also Verg. G. III 12 *primus Idumaeas referam tibi Mantua palmas.*

217. *instabilis*] ob terrae motus ibi crebros. Weise cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. VI i § 13 *Tyros aliquando infamis ruinis fuit.*

218. *has ad bella*] 'these ships Cynosura guided to war by no winding path across the sea, Cynosura which is a more trusted guide to no other vessels', i.e. the Phoenicians sailed by Cynosura, the Greeks by Helice. cf. Arat. Phaen. 39 τῇ ἄρα Φοίνικες πίσυνοι περόωσι θάλασσαν. Weise cf. Ov. Fast. III 107, 108 *esse duas Arctos quarum Cynosura petatur Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet.*

221. *mansuram*] 'to mark in rude characters words to abide for ever' i.e. they invented the alphabet.

signasse] cf. Ov. Met. II 126 *corpora dant tumulos ignantque hoc carmine saxum, hic situs est Phaethon.*

222. *biblos*] sc. *papyros.*

223. *uolucresque feraeque*] i.e. hieroglyphics. Weise cf. Ammian. Marcell. XXII 15 *uolucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt et animalium species quas hieroglyphicas litteras appellauerunt.*

224. *magicas linguas*] 'the utterance of the priests'.

225. *Perseaque Tarsos*] Tarsus was said to be called after the wing of Pegasus which fell there, cf. Juv. III 117, 118 *ripa nutritus in illa, ad quam Gorgonei delapsa*

Coryciumque patens exesis rupibus antrum:
Mallos et extremae resonant naualibus Aegae,
itque Cilix iusta iam non pirata carina.
mouit et Eoos bellorum fama recessus,
qua colitur Ganges, toto qui solus in orbe 230
ostia nascenti contraria soluere Phoebo
audet et aduersum fluctus impellit in Eurum:
hic ubi Pellaeus post Tethyos aequora ductor
constitit, et magno uinci se fassus ab orbe est.
quaque ferens rapidum diuiso gurgite fontem 235
uastis Indus aquis mixtum non sentit Hydaspen.
quique bibunt tenera dulces ab harundine sucos,
et qui tinguentes croceo medicamine crinem
fluxa coloratis adstringunt carbasa gemmis.
quique suas struxere pyras uiuique calentis 240
conscendere rogos. pro quanta est gloria genti
iniecisse manum fatis uitaque repletos

est pinna caballi, and as Pegasus sprang from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa when Perseus cut off her head, cf. Ov. Fast. III 450—458, Tarsus indirectly owed its origin to Perseus.

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. 552—554 *τὸ νεώριον δ' αὖ κωπέων πλατουμένων, τύλων ψοφούντων, θαλαμιῶν τροπουμένων, αὐλῶν κελευστῶν, νιγλάρων, συριγμάτων.*

228. *iusta*] 'lawful'. cf. II 379.

230. *qua colitur*] 'where men dwell on Ganges' banks'; or it might be taken, '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 Sutlej).

post Tethyos aequora] 'after reaching the ocean'.

234. *magno uinci*] 'confessed himself vanquished by the vastness of the world'. cf. Juv. X 168, 169 *unus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis, aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi.*

235. *diuiso gurgite*] duobus enim ostiis influit in mare et quo loco diuiditur insulam facit 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 uelant, soleis pedes, capita linteis uinciunt, lapilli ex auribus pendent, bracchia quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas aut opes eminent...distincta sunt auro et purpura carbasa quae indutus est (rex).*

239. *fluxa*] 'girdle their flowing robes with strings of coloured gems'. *coloratus* generally means 'dark-coloured', and is used of the Indians themselves Verg. G. IV 293 *usque coloratis amnis deuexus ab Indis.*

240. *quique*] cf. Quint. Curt. VIII ix § 32 *apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum, et uiuos se cremari iubent, quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda ualitudo est: exspectatam mortem pro dedecore uitae habent, nec ullus corporibus, quae senectus soluit, honos redditur: 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, chapter LV.

242. *iniecisse manum fatis*] 'to lay hands on destiny', i.e. compel it to do as

quod superest, donasse deis. uenere feroces
Cappadoces, duri populus nunc cultor Amani,
Armeniusque tenens uoluentem saxa Niphaten: 245
aethera tangentis siluas liquere Coatrae.
ignotum uobis, Arabes, uenistis in orbem
umbras mirati nemorum non ire sinistras.
tum furor extremos mouit Romanus Oretas,
Carmanosque duces, quorum deflexus in Austrum 250
aether non totam mergi tamen adspicit Arcton,
lucet et exigua uelox ibi nocte Bootes;
Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso
ultima curuati procederet ungula Tauri. 255
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: 260

lease, the reverse of what is usually ıse, cf. Verg. Aen. X 419 *iniecere m Parcae telisque sacrarunt Euandri. letos*] 'sated', for the metaphor cf. t. III 951 *cur non plenus uitae conrecedis?* id. 973 *quam satur ac plenus discedere rerum.*

. *donasse*] 'to sacrifice', *προέσθαι.*

.. *nunc cultor*] 'who now till d Amanus', i.e. since Pompeius' ıest; they now cultivate the soil in- of being pirates.

. *Niphaten*] In Virgil and Horace eems to be the name of a moun-

. *aethera tangentis siluas*] cf. Verg. 124 *ubi aera uincere summum is haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae.*

. *non ire sinistras*] i.e. if they d towards the West. Lucan means hey came from beyond the equator: are the account in Herodotus IV 42 ıe circumnavigators of Africa, *καὶ ν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ ἄλλῳ δὲ δή τεῳ, ερίπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἡέλιον ἐς τὰ δεξιά*, and what Pliny H. N. 7 says of the ambassadors who came me from Taprobane (Ceylon) in the of Claudius, *sed maxime mirum erat ıbras suas in nostrum caelum cadere, que a laeua oriri et in dextram re potius quam e diuerso.*

250. *deflexus*] cf. Verg. G. I 240 *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces consurgit premitur Libyae deuexus in Austros.*

251. *non totam*] With us it does not set at all. cf. Hom. Il. XVIII 489 *οἳ δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν ὠκεανοῖο.*

252. *uelox*] 'swift to set', instead of being as with us *segnis*. cf. IV 525. Ov. Met. II 176, 177 *te quoque turbatum memorant fugisse, Boote, quamuis tardus eras, et te tua plaustra tenebant.*

253. *Aethiopumque solum*] sc. *furor Romanus mouit.*

quod non] 'which would not be covered by any portion of the zodiac did not the extremity of the hoof of the Bull, as its flank sinks down, step out beyond the limits'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 796 *iacet extra sidera tellus extra anni solisque uias.*

258. *incertum*] cf. notes on I 5 462.

si misceat] 'suffered them to mix', i.e. did not prevent their mixing. cf. note on I 102 *si terra recedat Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare.* As a matter of fact the rivers do join before flowing into the Persian Gulf.

259. *quod*] i.e. *utrum.* cf. note on I 126.

260. *fertilis*] 'fertilising' in an active sense. cf. Ov. Met. V 642 *dea fertilis* sc. *Ceres.* Plin. H. N. XVIII vi § 43 *maiores*

at Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu
occultosque tegit cursus rursusque renatum
fonte nouo flumen pelagi non abnegat undis.
inter Caesareas acies diuersaque signa
pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuere fauorem, 265
contenti fecisse duos. tinxere sagittas
errantes Scythiae populi, quos gurgite Bactros
includit gelido uastisque Hyrcania siluis.
hinc Lacedaemonii moto gens aspera freno
Heniochi, saeuisque affinis Sarmata Moschis. 270
Colchorum qua rura secat ditissima Phasis:
qua Croeso fatalis Halys, qua uertice lapsus
Ripaeo Tanais diuersi nomina mundi
imposuit ripis, Asiaeque et terminus idem
Europae, mediae dirimens confinia terrae, 275
nunc huc nunc illuc qua flectitur ampliat orbem.
quaque fretum torrens Maeotidos egerit undas
Pontus et Herculeis aufertur gloria metis,

fertilissimum in agro oculum domini esse dixerunt.

Phariae uice fungitur undae] i.e. in the same way as the Nile overflows the fields.

261. *at Tigrim*] The Scholiast quotes the following lines from 'Nero in primo libro' *quique per erratam subductus Persida Tigris deserit et longo terrarum tractus hiatu reddit quaesitas iam non quaerentibus undas.*

263. *non abnegat*] i.e. allows to flow into the sea.

266. *fecisse duos*] cf. I 106 *bellum uictis ciuile dedistis.*

tinxere] 'dipped in poison'. Oud. cf. Ov. Ibis 51, 52 *iaculus tincta Lycaonico sanguine fata dabit.*

267. *Bactros*] cf. Quint. Curt. VII iv § 31 *ipsa Bactra, regionis eius caput, sita sunt sub monte Paramiso. Bactros amnis praeterit mouetque: is urbi et regioni dedit nomen.* The modern name of the river is the Dehas.

268. *moto gens aspera freno*] frenos mouere docti et asperi indeque. Weise.

270. *Moschis*] According to the legend they were descended from the charioteers of Castor and Pollux.

271. *Colchorum rura*] cf. the oracle referred to in Hdt. I 53 Κολχίδος ἐσχατιὴν ἐς ἠῶ καταλύσας.

273. *diuersi mundi*] 'of different qu ters of the world'.

276. *nunc huc*] 'now on this side, n on that, according as it winds, it enla a quarter of the world', i.e. Europe Asia as the case may be. Compare description of the floating islands in L Vadimonis, Plin. Epp. VIII 20 § 7 *ru omnes in eundem locum appulsae, qua terunt, promouent terram, et modo modo illa, locum reddunt auferuntque, tum denique cum medium tenuere non trahunt.*

orbem] cf. Hor. carm. III xxvii 75 *sextus orbis nomina ducet.*

277. *quaque*] 'and where the boi strait pours forth Maeotis' waves', into the Euxine.

278. *Pontus*] 'and Pontus is so n glory wrested from the pillars of Herc and denies that Gades alone admits ocean', i.e. into the Mediterranean The meaning appears to be that the g of the Straits of Gibraltar is diminishe so far as water from the ocean enters Mediterranean by way of the Euxine the Maeotian lake (Sea of Azov), w latter is conceived as having a conne with the outer ocean. Mr Postgate suggested to me that all difficulty n be removed from this passage by t posing the order of vv. 278, 279,

:eanumque negat solas admittere Gades.
inc Essedoniae gentes, auroque ligatas 280
ıbstringens, Arimaspe, comas: hinc fortis Arius
›ngaque Sarmatici soluens ieiunia belli
Iassagetes quo fugit equo, uolucresque Geloni.
non cum Memnoniis deducens agmina regnis
:yrus, et effusis numerato milite telis 285
escendit Perses, fraternique ultor amoris
equora cum tantis percussit classibus, unum
ɔt reges habuere ducem; coiere nec umquam
am uariae cultu gentes tam dissona uolgi
ra. tot immensae comites missura ruinae 290
xciuit populos et dignas funere Magni
xsequias Fortuna dedit. non corniger Hammon
ıittere Marmaridas cessauit in arma cateruas:
uidquid ab occiduis Libye patet arida Mauris
sque Paraetonias Eoa ad litora Syrtes. 295
cciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar
incendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem.
ille ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae
gmine nubifeıam rapto supereuolat Alpem.
umque alii famae populi terrore pauerent, 300

Pontus the subject of *negat:* 'and denies that Gades alone admits ın, and thus the glory of the pillars ules is lessened'.

Arimaspe] cf. note on 161 supr.

longaque] 'who relieves the long the Sarmatian war by the horse :h he flies', i.e. by opening a vein inking the blood. cf. Verg. G. —463 *inter ima ferire pedis salien-:guine uenam; Bisaltae quo more :erque Gelonus, cum fugit in Rho-ıque in deserta Getarum, et lac ım cum sanguine potat equino.* f. Claudian. in Rufin. I 311 *qui les in pocula uolnerat audax Mas-*

Memnoniis] Eastern, as Memnon son of Eos.

et] 'nor when'.

r] cf. Herod. VII 60 where how-: counting of the troops is said to en done differently, viz. by build-wall round a certain number of

286. *fraternique ultor amoris*] sc. Agamemnon.

289. *tam dissona*] Oud. cf. Claudian. in Rufin. II 106 *numquam tantae ditione sub una conuenere manus nec tot discrimina uocum.*

290. *ruinae*] may be either genitive after *comites* or *dative* after *missura:* for the former cf. II 346, for the latter Verg. G. IV 90 *dede neci.*

292. *exsequias*] 'train of mourners'. cf. Tac. Hist. IV 62 *silens agmen et uelut longae exsequiae.*

294. *quidquid*] 'all the extent of Libya from the Moors in the west to the Paraetonian Syrtes on the eastern shore', i.e. to the borders of Egypt.

296. *semel*] 'once for all'. cf. I 317, II 147.

297. *pariter*] 'all at once'. cf. Sen. Epp. IV viii § 4 *hos tam graues dominos, interdum alternis imperantis, interdum pariter, dimittit a te sapientia.*

299. *Alpem*] For the singular cf. Juv. X 152 *opposuit natura Alpemque niuemque.*

Phocais in dubiis ausa est seruare iuuentus
non Graia leuitate fidem signataque iura,
et causas non fata sequi. tamen ante furorem
indomitum duramque uiri deflectere mentem
pacifico sermone parant, hostemque propinquom 305
orant, Cecropiae praelata fronde Mineruae:
semper in externis populo communia uestro
Massiliam bellis testatur fata tulisse
comprensa est Latiis quaecumque annalibus aetas.
et nunc, ignoto si quos petis orbe triumphos, 310
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 caelicolis furor arma dedisset, 315
aut si terrigenae temptarent astra Gigantes,
non tamen auderet pietas humana uel armis
uel uotis prodesse Ioui; 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 53; see Grote's *History of Greece*, part II chapter xxii.

302. *Graia leuitate*] Compare Cicero's estimate of the character of the Greeks, pro Flacc. cap. IV § 9 *uerum tamen hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis litteras, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam; denique si qua sibi alia sumunt non repugno: testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam ista natio coluit, totiusque huiusce rei quae sit uis, quae auctoritas, quod pondus ignorant.*

signataque iura] 'ratified treaties'. Oud. cf. Claudian. in Eutrop. I 379, 380 *Germanis responsa dabat legesque Caycis arduus et flauis signabat iura Suevis.*

303. *causas*] 'principles'. cf. Caesar apud Cic. ad Att. X viii B *si non fortunae obsecutus uidebere...omnia enim secundissima nobis, aduersissima illis accidisse uidentur...nec causam secutus...eadem enim tum fuit cum ab eorum consiliis abesse dicasti...sed meum aliquod factum condi nasse.* Ov. Met. VIII 58—60 *iusta g certe pro nato bella perempto in causa ualet; causamque tuentibus armis, ut p uincemur.*

ante] 'first', adverb. cf. Verg. Aen. 680 *hunc oro sine me furere ante furor*

306. *praelata*] Weise cf. Verg. A VII 154 *ramis uelatos Palladis omnes de que ferre uiro pacemque exposcere Teuc*

307. *semper*] Oud. cf. Cic. de off. § 28 *portari in triumpho Massiliam u mus, et ex ea urbe triumphari sine numquam nostri imperatores ex tran pinis bellis triumpharunt.*

309. *comprensa*] cf. Hor. carm. xiii 14—16 *tempora quae semel notis dita fastis inclusit uolucris dies.*

314. *secretum*] secessum, receptacul ciuium a ciuili bello discedentium. O cf. Tac. Hist. III 63 *secreta Campa offerre si positis armis seque et liberos Vespasiano permisisset.*

nulla] sc. *nulla externa.* cf. note I 31.

315. *sacra*] may mean either 'divi as explained by the following line, or cursed' because inflicted in civil war.

318. *sortisque deorum*] 'of the af of heaven'. cf. Tac. Ann. XII 41 *se Britannici miserabantur.*

ignarum mortale genus per fulmina tantum
sciret adhuc caelo solum regnare Tonantem. 320
adde quod innumerae 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. 325
cui non conspecto languebit dextra parente?
telaque diuersi prohibebunt spargere fratres.
finis adest rerum, si non committitis illis
arma quibus fas est. nobis haec summa precandi:
terribiles aquilas infestaque signa relinquas 330
urbe procul nostrisque uelis te credere muris,
excludique sinas admisso Caesare bellum.
sit locus exceptus sceleri Magnoque tibique
tutus, ut inuictae fatum si consulat urbi
foedera si placeant sit quo ueniatis inermes. 335
uel cum tanta uocent discrimina Martis Hiberi
quid rapidum deflectis iter? non pondera rerum

320. *Tonantem*] cf. Hor. carm. III v 1 *caelo tonantem credidimus Iouem regnare.*

321. *concurrunt*] 'hasten to the fray'.

322. *nec sic*] 'nor is the world so sluggish and horror-struck at the taint of crime, that civil war needs swords drawn under compulsion'.

323. *coactis*] cf. Plin. H. N. XII ii § 13 *namque et chamaeplatani uocantur coactae breuitatis, quoniam arborum etiam abortus inuenimus.*

324. *ut uestra*] 'to refuse to meddle with your destiny'.

325. *alius*] i.e. other than a Roman.

326. *cui non*] 'then (if none but Romans join in the war) whose hand will not sink when he sees his father in the enemy's ranks?'

328. *finis adest*] The interpretation of this passage is involved in considerable difficulty: if *finis rerum* means 'the end of all things', which is the most natural sense to give to it, Weise's explanation must be adopted, viz. that *illis* is in the ablative, and the preposition *cum* is omitted: 'the end of the commonwealth is at hand unless ye engage in war only with those with whom ye may lawfully fight', i.e. foreign nations. But this construction seems to me to be too unnatural to be admitted. Perhaps it would be possible 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.*

333. *exceptus*] 'withdrawn from crime'. cf. Tac. Agric. 15 *nihil iam cupiditati nihil libidini exceptum.*

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 oppidum eorum nulli cum telo licet, praestoque est qui id custodiae gratia acceptum exituro reddat, ut hospitia sua, quem ad modum aduenientibus humana sunt, ita ipsis quoque tuta sint.* Compare the account of Emporiae, also a colony from Phocaea, in Liv. XXXIV 9.

336. *discrimina*] 'such important struggles in the Spanish war'.

337. *pondera*] cf. Ov. Amor. II xiv 42 *et sint ominibus pondera nulla meis.*

non momenta sumus: numquam felicibus armis
usa manus, patriae primis a sedibus exsul,
et post translatas exustae Phocidos arces, 340
moenibus exiguis alieno in litore tuti,
illustrat quos sola fides. si claudere muros
obsidione paras et ui perfringere portas,
excepisse faces tectis et tela parati,
undarum raptos auersis fontibus haustus 345
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. 350
pectoribus rapti matrum frustraque trahentes
ubera sicca fame medios mittentur in ignes;
uxor et a caro poscet sibi fata marito.
uolnera miscebunt fratres bellumque coacti
hoc potius ciuile gerent. sic Graia iuuentus 355
finierat: cum turbato iam prodita uoltu
ira ducis tandem testata est uoce dolorem:
uana mouet Graios nostri fiducia cursus:
quamuis Hesperium mundi properemus ad axem
Massiliam delere uacat. gaudete cohortes: 360
obuia praebentur fatorum munere bella.
uentus ut amittit uires, nisi robore densae

338. *momenta*] cf. IV 819 *momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.*

340. *Phocidos*] sc. *Phocaeae.* cf. V 53.

341. *tuti*] 'defending ourselves'. cf. Hor. Sat. II i 20 *cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus.*

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.

347. *cerni—contingi*] sc. *uisu—contactu* 'fearful to look upon and disgusting to touch.' Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. II 522 *saeuasque ferarum attemptare dapes et mensis addere crimen.*

350. *Saguntum*] cf. Liv. XXI 14 *cui enim parci potuit ex his qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremauerunt, aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?*

351. *frustraque trahentes*] 'tugging vain at'.

354. *miscebunt*] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 7 *illi inter sese multa ui uolnera miscent.*

coacti] 'if driven to it will wage by p ference this kind of civil war'.

357. *dolorem*] 'indignation'. cf. Ve Aen. XI 732, 733 *quis metus o numqu dolituri o semper inertes Tyrrheni, q tanta animis ignauia uenit?*

358. *fiducia cursus*] 'confidence in journey', i.e. reliance on that as an stacle. cf. Caes. B. G. VII 19 *fid loci.* Verg. Aen. I 131 *tantane uos ten generis fiducia uestri?* See Prof. May note on Juv. X 306.

359. *quamuis properemus*] 'howe great my haste to reach'.

361. *obuia*] 'unsought'. cf. Tac. A XVI 2 *obuias opes deferre deos.*

362. *robore densae*] 'thickly timber

occurrant siluae, spatio diffusus inani,
utque perit magnus nullis obstantibus ignis,
sic hostes mihi deesse nocet: damnumque 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 aeuo
quam duce me bellum. sic postquam fatus, ad urbem
haud trepidam conuertit iter: tum moenia clausa
conspicit et densa iuuenum uallata corona.
haud procul a muris tumulus surgentis in altum 375
telluris paruom diffuso uertice 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 diuersos uasto committere colles.
sed prius ut totam qua terra cingitur urbem
clauderet, a summis perduxit ad aequora castris
longum Caesar opus, fontesque et pabula campi 385
amplexus fossa, densas tollentia pinnas
caespitibus crudaque exstruxit bracchia terra.

id. cf. Ov. Met. XIV 360 *densum trabis nemus.* Val. Flacc. III 484 *densos ibe montes.*

365. *damnumque putamus*] 'I think r arms wasted'. cf. II 442, 706 infr. *n perdere letum maxima cura fuit.*

366. *qui uinci potuere*] 'those who ve shown they can be conquered'.

369. *inclusisse*] sc. *sed etiam inclusisse. at enim*] 'but, say they, they wish to ep from them the taint of war'. cf. r. Met. XIII 8 *flammis...quas hac a classe gnui.* Id. de rem. amor. 358 *ex omni rte fugandus amor.*

371. *meo*] i.e. implying that Caesar is e chief man of the age.

376. *diffuso*] 'where its top widens d expands into a small plain'.

377. *patiens*] 'seemed to admit of ing encircled'.

379. *proxima*] sc. *tumulo illi.*

380. *sedent*] 'sink with intervening hollows'. cf. Stat. Theb. I 330 *qua molle sedens in plana Cithaeron porrigitur.*

381. *statura*] 'destined to cost'. cf. II 17.

382. *committere*] 'to unite'. cf. Caes. B. G. VII 22 *nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has quotidianus agger expresserat, commissis suarum turrium malis adaequabant.*

383. *qua terra cingitur*] sc. on the land side.

386. *amplexus*] surrounding, and so cutting off from the town.

tollentia] 'supporting'. cf. Plaut. Merc. prol. 75 *parare nauim metretas quae trecentas tolleret.*

pinnas] 'battlements'. cf. Verg. Aen. VII 158, 159 *primasque in litore sedes castrorum in morem pinnis atque aggere cingit.*

387. *cruda terra*] 'freshly turned up

iam satis hoc Graiae memorandum contigit urbi
aeternumque decus, quod non impulsa nec ipso
strata metu tenuit flagrantis in omnia belli 390
praecipitem cursum, raptisque a Caesare cunctis
uincitur una mora. quantum est quod fata tenentur,
quodque uirum toti properans imponere mundo
hos perdit Fortuna dies. tunc omnia late
procumbunt nemora et spoliantur robore siluae: 395
ut, cum terra leuis mediam uirgultaque molem
suspendant, structa laterum compage ligatam
artet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.
lucus erat longo numquam uiolatus ab aeuo
obscurum cingens conexis aera ramis 400
et gelidas alte submotis solibus umbras.
hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes
Siluani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu
sacra deum, structae diris altaribus arae,

earth', or it may be equivalent to *non cocta*, i.e. unbaked earth, not bricks.

388. *iam*] 'and now indeed', cf. Cic. Phil. II § 8 *iam inuideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat.* Id. § 19 *iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae* &c.

satis memorandum] 'well worth relating'. *satis* is equivalent to *ualde* as commonly in Plautus. See also Cic. de off. III § 32 *satis enim nobis...persuasum esse debet.* Caes. B. G. I 43 *tumulus satis grandis.*

389. *non impulsa*] 'not urged by others (i.e. by Pompeius and his adherents), nor yet prostrated by their actual fear'. *ipso* seems to imply that they did fear Caesar's vengeance, but still did not allow themselves to be influenced by it.

390. *flagrantis in omnia*] 'spreading in flame over all the world'.

391. *raptis*] 'speedily won'.

392. *quantum est quod*] 'how important it is'.

393. *properans imponere*] 'hastening to set one man over the whole world'. cf. X 377 *quae sustulit illum imposuitque orbi.* Verg. Aen. VI 621 *uendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem imposuit.*

395. *robore*] 'timber', equivalent to *materia.*

396. *ut cum*] 'in order that while only light earth and brushwood support the centre of the mound, it (i.e. *robur*) may compress the soil bound in by the piled up framework of the sides, for fear lest the mound should give way beneath the towers' weight'. cf. Caes. B. C. II 2.

397. *suspendant*] cf. Mart. II xliii 9 *tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes, fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi.*

400. *cingens*] implies that the air inside was stagnant and could not get out.

conexis] 'intertwining'.

401. *submotis*] cf. Hor. carm. II x 15 *informes hiemes reducit Iuppiter idem submouet.*

403. *barbara ritu*] 'of horrid ritual'.

404. *structae diris altaribus arae*] 'basements with blood-stained altars built upon them'. cf. Tac. Ann. I 61 *lucis propinquis barbarae arae, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactauerant.* For *dirus* cf. note on I 444: for the combination of *ara* and *altare* cf. Verg. Ecl. V 65 *en quattuor aras, ecce duas tibi Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo.* Plin. Paneg. I *electus quippe inter aras et altaria.* According to Forcellini *ara* is the basement, *altare* the altar for sacrifice raised upon it: he refers to Solin. 9 *ara est in cacumine Ioui dicata, cuius altaribus si qua de extis inferuntur.* Prudent. Peristeph. XIV 49 *altaris aram funditus pessum dare.*

ıisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos. 405
ıua fidem meruit superos mirata uetustas,
et uolucres metuunt insistere ramis
lustris recubare ferae: nec uentus in illas
ıbuit siluas excussaque nubibus atris
;ura: non ullis frondem praebentibus auris 410
oribus suus horror inest. tum plurima nigris
tibus unda cadit, simulacraque maesta deorum
: carent caesisque exstant informia truncis.
: situs putrique facit iam robore pallor
ɔnitos: non uolgatis sacrata figuris 415
nina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit
ıs timeant non nosse deos. iam fama ferebat
ɔe cauas motu terrae mugire cauernas,
ɔrocumbentis iterum consurgere taxos,
ıon ardentis fulgere incendia siluae, 420
ɔraque amplexos circumfluxisse dracones.

strata] 'sanctified'. cf. Ov. 261 *terque senem flamma ter lpure lustrat.*

qua] 'if antiquity marvelling ls has deserved credit', i.e. ient miraculous story is to be cf. Verg. Aen. X 792 *si qua ' est operi latura uetustas* and s note. Weise cf. IV 654, 655 *ueteris custos famosa uetustas e sui signauit nomine terras.*

cussa] cf. note on I 151 *exntis per nubila fulmen.*

n ullis] 'and the trees while eir foliage to no breezes have a their own'. Both *auris* and re datives.

rror] Oud. cf. V 446. Val. ı02, 403 *stant tacitae frondes silua comanti horret Auerna*

Weise refers to Hom. Il. IX 14 *μελάνυδρος ἥτε κατ' αἰγίλιπος ῥαρὸν χέει ὕδωρ*: but here the f the water is part of the desohe place, not that of a clear ream as in Homer: compare ıyson Mariana, 'About a stonehe wall A sluice with blackened pt, And o'er it many, round The clustered marish-mosses

e carent] Weise refers to Tertull. ad nat. I 12 for a description of these αὐτόξυλα.

414. *ipse situs*] 'the very neglect and paleness of the now rotting wood strikes men with dismay'.

415. *uolgatis*] 'dedicated under common shapes'.

417. *quos timeant*] 'not to know what gods they have to dread'. cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 349—352 *iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestes dira loci, iam tum siluam saxumque tremebant. hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso uertice collem, quis deus incertum est, habitat deus.* Tac. Germ. 9 *ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reuerentia uident.*

419. *iterum consurgere*] According to Weise the yew and cypress, the funereal trees, when once cut down do not shoot up again, and so *iterum consurgere* is equivalent to *regerminare*. cf. Tac. Hist. II 78 *recursabant animo uetera omina; cupressus arbor in agris eius conspicua altitudine repente prociderat ac postera die eadem uestigio resurgens procera et latior uirebat.*

421. *circumfluxisse*] 'twined round'. cf. Stat. Theb. VI 540 *chlamys circumflua limbo Maeonio.*

non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant,
sed cessere deis. medio cum Phoebus in axe est,
aut caelum nox atra tenet, pauet ipse sacerdos
accessus dominumque timet deprendere luci. 425
hanc iubet immisso siluam procumbere ferro:
nam uicina operi belloque intacta priore
inter nudatos stabat densissima montes.
sed fortes tremuere manus, motique uerenda
maiestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent, 430
in sua credebant redituras membra secures.
implicitas magno Caesar torpore cohortes
ut uidit, primus raptam uibrare bipennem
ausus et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum
effatur merso uiolata in robora ferro: 435
iam ne quis uestrum dubitet subuertere siluam
credite me fecisse nefas. tum paruit omnis
imperiis non sublato secura pauore
turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.
procumbunt orni, nodosa impellitur ilex, 440
siluaque Dodones et fluctibus aptior alnus
et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus
tum primum posuere comas et fronde carentes
admisere diem: propulsaque robore denso

423. *cessere deis*] 'made way for the gods'. cf. Catul. LXIV 269 *sanctis coepit decedere diuis.*

medio] The gods were supposed to be specially angry with those who disturbed their mid-day repose. cf. Theocr. I 15—18 *οὐ θέμις ὦ ποιμὰν τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν συρίσδεν· τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες· ἢ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας ταυίκα κεκμακὼς ἀμπαύεται· ἐντὶ δὲ πικρός, καί οἱ ἀεὶ δριμεῖα χολὰ ποτὶ ῥινὶ κάθηται.* See also Hom. Od. IV 450 foll. *ἔνδιος δ' ὁ γέρων ἦλθ' ἐξ ἀλὸς κ.τ.λ.*

425. *deprendere*] 'to take unawares'. cf. Quintil. X vii § 29 *debent tamen adniti ut neque deprehensus orator neque litigator destitutus esse uideatur.*

426. *immisso*] 'let loose upon it'. cf. Verg. Ecl. II 58 *floribus Austrum perditus et liquidis immisi fontibus apros.*

431. *redituras*] 'would rebound'. cf. I 391 *redeuntis in aethera siluae.*

432. *torpore*] 'lethargy'. cf. Verg. Aen. XII 867 *illi membra nouus soluit formidine torpor.*

434. *aeriam*] cf. Verg. Ecl. I 59 *gemere aeria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.*

435. *uiolata*] 'desecrated'.

438. *non sublato*] 'not with their fe[illegible] removed and feeling safe, but weigh[illegible] against each other the gods' and Caes[illegible] wrath', i.e. and deciding that the la[illegible] was the more to be feared.

439. *expensa*] cf. Cic. de orat. II § [illegible] *equidem cum colligo argumenta causa[illegible] non tam ea numerare soleo quam expend[illegible]*

441. *silua*] cf. Verg. G. II 87 *Alc[illegible] siluae. silua Dodones* means the oak, [illegible] Verg. G. I 148, 149 *cum iam glan[illegible] atque arbuta sacrae deficerent silua[illegible] uictum Dodona negaret.*

442. *cupressus*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. 535 *ac ferale decus maestas ad busta [illegible] pressus.*

444. *propulsaque*] 'and the wood w[illegible] overthrown supported itself by the cl[illegible] ness of the trees'.

sustinuit se silua cadens. gemuere uidentes 445
Gallorum populi: muris sed clausa iuuentus
exsultat. quis enim laesos impune putaret
esse deos? seruat multos Fortuna nocentis,
et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.
utque satis caesi nemoris, quaesita per agros 450
plaustra ferunt: curuoque soli cessantis aratro
agricolae raptis annum fleuere iuuencis.
dux tamen impatiens haesuri ad moenia Martis
uersus ad Hispanas acies extremaque mundi
iussit bella geri. stellatis axibus agger 455
erigitur geminasque aequantis moenia turres
accipit: hae nullo fixerunt robore terram,
sed per iter longum causa repsere latenti.
cum tantum nutaret onus, telluris inanes
concussisse sinus quaerentem erumpere uentum 460
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

47. *laesos*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 8 *quo uine laeso.*
50. *utque satis*] 'when enough wood been cut'. cf. Verg. G. II 399 *cui quam exhausti satis est.*
uaesita] 'requisitioned'.
51. *curuoque soli cessantis aratro*] 'and husbandmen wept for the year's pro- of the soil now resting from the ed plough, as their oxen had been pt away'. For *cessare* Weise cf. IV 24 *ua dies belli cessauit Marte cruento.*
52. *annum*] cf. note on 70 supr.
55. *bella geri*] sc. in his absence.
ellatis axibus] 'with planks set at rvals like stars', or perhaps 'radiating one centre': the meaning of *stellatis* secure, nor is any light thrown upon it e passage in Sil. Ital. XIII 109 *hic latera ctus stellatis axibus agger, hic grauida ato surgebat uinea dorso,* which is ously an imitation of this line. For in the sense of planks cf. Caes. II 9 *supraque ea tigna directo transs trabes iniecerunt easque axibus nerunt.* Catull. XVII 3 *acsulis in tinis* and Mr Ellis' note.

456. *aequantis*] 'equalling the walls in height'. cf. Quint. Curt. IV ix § 15 *cuius (Tigris) altitudo primo summa equorum pectora, mox, ut in medium alueum uentum est, ceruices quoque aequabat.*
457. *nullo fixerunt*] 'were not fastened into the ground by any woodwork', literally 'did not pierce the earth', i.e. they were moveable. cf. Persius III 80 *figentes lumine terram.* Stat. Silu. V i 140 *domum toruo quam non haec lumine figat.*
458. *causa latenti*] i.e. by concealed wheels.
459. *cum tantum*] i.e. the townspeople 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 surprized that their own walls were not overthrown.
460. *uentum*] cf. Sen. Nat. Quaest. VI XXV § 1 *cum spiritus magna ui uacuom terrarum locum penitus oppleuit coepitque rixari et de exitu cogitare, latera ipsa inter quae latet saepius percutit* &c.

lancea sed tenso ballistae turbine rapta 465
haud unum contenta latus transire quiescit:
sed pandens perque arma uiam perque ossa relicta
morte fugit: superest telo post uolnera cursus.
at saxum quotiens ingenti uerberis actu
excutitur, qualis rupes quam uertice montis 470
abscidit impulsu uentorum adiuta uetustas,
frangit cuncta ruens: nec tantum corpora pressa
exanimat: totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.
ut tamen hostiles densa testudine muros
tecta subit uirtus armisque innexa priores 475
arma ferunt galeamque extentus protegit umbo,
quae prius ex longo nocuerunt missa recessu,
iam post terga cadunt: nec Graiis flectere iactum
aut facilis labor est longinqua ad tela parati
tormenti mutare modum: sed pondere solo 480
contenti nudis euoluunt saxa lacertis.
dum fuit armorum series, ut grandine tecta
innocua percussa sonant, sic omnia tela
respuit: at postquam uirtus incensa uirorum
perpetuam rupit defesso milite cratem, 485

465. *tenso*] 'swept along with all the strained force of the ballista'. cf. Verg. Aen. XI 284 *quo turbine torqueat hastam.*

466. *haud unum*] cf. Verg. Aen. X 339, 340 *traiecto missa lacerto protinus hasta fugit seruatque cruenta tenorem.*

467. *relicta morte*] 'leaving death behind it'.

468. *superest—cursus*] 'still flies on'.

469. *uerberis*] 'thong'. cf. Verg. G. I 309 *stuppea torquentem Balearis uerbera fundae.*

actu] 'impulse'.

470. *qualis rupes*] cf. Val. Flacc. II 528—530 *quantum uentis adiuta uetustas impulerit pontiue fragor, tantum abscidit imi concutiens a sede maris.*

473. *totos*] cf. Juv. III 259—261 *quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa inuenit? obtritum uolgi perit omne cadauer more animae.*

475. *uirtus*] sc. milites fortes.

armisque] 'and the front rank carry shields close wedged with shields'. *arma* which Varro L. L. IV 24 derives *ab arcendo* means specially defensive armour. cf. Verg. Aen. X 841 *at Lausum su exanimem super arma ferebant.*

476. *umbo*] Properly the boss in t centre of the shield, and then the shi generally. cf. Juv. II 45, 46 *illes fendit numerus iunctaeque umbone pl langes.*

477. *recessu*] 'from a long way back cf. Val. Max. III v § 1 *uegeta et stren ingenia quo plus recessus sumunt uehementiores impetus edunt.*

478. *flectere iactum*] 'change the air

480. *mutare modum*] 'alter the rang

481. *nudis lacertis*] 'with their ar alone'. cf. Ov. Trist. III ii 17—18 *mala nulla feram nisi nudam Caesa iram, nuda parum nobis Caesaris ira est?* Sen. de benef. III xviii § 2 *uirtu non eligit domum nec censum, nudo hom contenta est.*

482. *series*] 'linkage'. cf. Tibull iii 63 *hic iuuenum series teneris immi puellis ludit*, used of dancers.

fuit] 'lasted', cf. Propert. III xvii *inuidiam quod habet non solet esse diu.*

485. *perpetuam—cratem*] 'the c

singula continuis cesserunt ictibus arma.
tunc adoperta leui procedit uinea terra,
sub cuius pluteis et tecta fronte latentes
moliri nunc ima parant et uertere ferro
moenia: nunc aries suspenso fortior ictu 490
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 495
exhausto fessus repetit tentoria miles.
summa fuit Graiis starent ut moenia uoti:
ultro acies inferre parant: armisque coruscas
nocturni texere faces: audaxque iuuentus
erupit: non hasta uiris non letifer arcus, 500
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: 505
nec solum siluas sed saxa ingentia soluit,

mous framework'. See note on I 241. id. cf. Tac. Hist. III 27 *pondera saxorum tellani prouoluunt, disiectam fluitantem testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur, nec soluta compage scutorum exsangues et laceros prosternerent.*

486. *singula*] i.e. of each soldier when parated from his fellows.

487. *adoperta*] 'covered with a thin ating of turf', i.e. to prevent its being t on fire.

488. *pluteis*] 'mantlets'.

489. *moliri*] 'to overthrow'. Liv. XXIV *simituque primo largioris procellae stretum molientium portam exaudiri prohibit.* Id. XXV 36 *exustis foribus quas illa moliri potuerant ui.* Tac. Ann. I 39 *incursu ad ianuam facto moliuntur fores.*

490. *suspenso*] 'the more powerful cause its blow is held back for a time'. Ov. Amor. I vii 57 *suspensaeque diu rimae fluxere per ora.*

492. *unum subducere*] 'to remove one one from those placed upon it', i.e. so to cause the upper part of the wall to l: this was apparently to be done by crushing it as there is no mention here of any instrument for pulling stones out of the wall such as the *falces* spoken of by Caesar, B. G. VII 22.

493. *super*] 'from above'.

494. *adusti roboris*] cf. Caes. B. G. VII 22 *apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice feruefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur, moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.*

497. *fuit*] sc. hitherto; 'so far the Greeks' utmost wish was that their walls might stand'.

499. *nocturni*] is used like the Greek κνεφαῖοι, cf. Hor. Epod. XVI 51 *nec uespertinus circumgemit ursus ouile.* Verg. Aen. VIII 465 *nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat.*

504. *agit*] sc. *exercet.*

505. *consequitur*] 'follows hard on the wreaths of smoke' i.e. drives the smoke before it.

506. *siluas*] here equivalent to *ligna:* on the contrary *ligna* is used for *arbores* 'growing trees' by Hor. Epp. I vi 31 *uirtutem uerba putas et lucum ligna?*

et crudae putri fluxerunt puluere cautes.
procubuit maiorque iacens adparuit agger.
spes uictis telluris abit placuitque profundo
fortunam temptare mari. non robore picto 510
ornatas decuit fulgens tutela carinas,
sed rudis et qualis procumbit montibus arbor
conseritur, stabilis naualibus area bellis.
et iam turrigeram Bruti comitata carinam
uenerat in fluctus Rhodani cum gurgite classis 515
Stoechados arua tenens. nec non et Graia iuuentus
omne suom fatis uoluit committere robur,
grandaeuosque senes mixtis armauit ephebis.
accepit non sola uiros quae stabat in undis
classis; et emeritas repetunt naualibus alnos. 520
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 525
Caesaris hinc pubes, hinc Graio remige classis
tollitur: impulsae tonsis tremuere carinae
crebraque sublimes conuellunt uerbera puppes.

507. *crudae*] 'rough'. cf. Sil. Ital. III 514 *crudisque locorum ferre pedem ac proprio turmas euadere calle.*

509. *spes telluris*] 'hope of success on land'. cf. supr. 358.

511. *decuit*] 'adorned'; for this transitive use of *decere* cf. Ov. Fast. II 105, 106 *capit ille coronam quae possit crines Phoebe decere tuos.*

tutela] i.e. the image of the protecting deity set up in the ship's stern. cf. Sen. Epp. IX v (76) § 13 *nauis bona dicitur non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est nec cui argenteum aut aureum rostrum est nec cuius tutela ebore caelata est.*

513. *conseritur*] 'is fastened together to make a firm platform for naval warfare'. cf. IV 136 *conseritur bibula Memphitis cumba papyro.*

515. *Rhodani cum gurgite*] 'down the current of the Rhone'. cf. Caes. B. G. I 36 *naues longas Arelate numero duodecim facere 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. 5 infr.

518. *senes...ephebis*] sc. those who h passed and those who had not yet reach military age.

519. *accepit uiros*] 'was manned'.

520. *et emeritas*] 'those past servi also'. cf. Mart. X lxxxv 5 *emeritam pa pim ripa quae stabat in alta.*

522. *fregit*] 'refracted'. Compare t use of *frangere* in Quintil. I vi § 44 *com in gradus frangere.* See also note on 5 infr.

524. *seruatum bello iacuit*] 'lay ca and ready for warfare'. cf. X 328 *inter in alta it conualle iacens iam mol unda receptis.*

525. *paribus*] 'in rivalry'.

527. *tollitur*] 'is lifted'. Oud. cf. V Flac. I 340 *concussoque ratem gaude tollere remo.*

528. *crebraque*] 'and frequent stro of the oars tear the ships along'.

cornua Romanae classis ualidaeque triremes
quasque quater surgens exstructi remigis ordo 530
commouet et plures quae mergunt aequore pinus
multiplices cinxere rates. hoc robur aperto
oppositum pelago. lunata fronte recedunt
ordine contentae gemino creuisse Liburnae.
celsior at cunctis Bruti praetoria puppis 535
uerberibus senis agitur molemque profundo
inuehit et summis longe petit aequora remis.
ut tantum medii fuerat maris utraque classis
quod semel excussis posset transcurrere tonsis,
innumerae uasto miscentur in aethere uoces, 540
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 rediere rates, emissaque tela 545
aera texerunt uacuomque cadentia pontum.
et iam diductis extendunt cornua proris
diuersaeque rates laxata classe receptae.

529. *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 creuere tori.* Sil. Ital. XIV 301 *tabulata decem cui crescere Graius fecerat.* Ov. Met. VIII 189—191 *nam ponit in ordine pennas, a minima coeptas longam breuiore sequenti, ut cliuo creuisse putes.*

Liburnae] were small and light galleys. cf. Hor. Epod. I 1, 2 *ibis Liburnis inter alta nauium, amice, 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 *praesidi 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 bracchia iacto,* used of a swimmer.

541. *premitur*] 'is drowned'.

543. *in transtra cadunt*] ita inclinantur ut proni cadere uideantur, uel, cum residant, cecidisse uideantur: nam gestum expressit nauigantium qui quanto magis accelerant tanto magis inclinant. Schol.

545. *in puppim rediere*] 'bounded backwards'.

546. *aera*] cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 1084 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν.

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 mare: sic, ubi puppes 550
sulcato uarios duxerunt gurgite tractus,
quod tulit illa ratis remis haec reppulit aequor.
sed Graiis habiles pugnamque lacessere pinus
et temptare fugam nec longo frangere gyro
cursum nec tarde flectenti cedere clauo. 555
at Romana ratis stabilem praebere carinam
certior et terrae similem bellantibus usum.
tunc in signifera residenti puppe magistro
Brutus ait: paterisne acies errare profundo,
artibus et certas pelagi? iam consere bellum: 560
Phocaicis medias rostris oppone carinas.
paruit obliquas et praebuit hostibus alnos.
tum quaecumque ratis temptauit robora Bruti
ictu uicta suo percussa et capta cohaesit.
ast alias manicaeque ligant teretesque catenae 565
seque tenent remis: tecto stetit aequore bellum.
iam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis
nec longinqua cadunt iaculato uolnera ferro,
miscenturque manus. nauali plurima bello

549. *Zephyris Eurisque repugnat*] 'has to contend with West and East winds at once'. cf. II 454 foll. Hom. Od. V 295, 296 σὺν δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσον Ζέφυρός τε δυσαὴς καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῦμα κυλινδων.

550. *huc abeunt*] 'the waves are driven one way, the general body of the sea another'.

551. *sulcato*] 'as the ships ploughed up the deep drawing various lines across it, the sea which one ship drove forward with its prow another ship drove back with its oars'.

553. *pugnamque lacessere*] 'to skirmish'. Oud. cf. Liv. XXXVII 16 *lacessebatur magis quam conserebatur pugna*.

554. *nec longo—nec tarde*] i.e. *et non longo et non tarde*. cf Verg. Ecl. II 40 *pendentesque sine nec tuta mihi mala reperti capreoli*. See note on I 72.

frangere gyro] to break their course, i.e. to turn it aside. cf. Stat. Theb. XII 631 *nec obliquatibus armis terretur nec frangit iter*.

555. *nec tarde*] 'and not be slow in answering to the guiding helm'.

557. *usum*] 'a vantage ground for the combatants like firm land'.

558. *signifera in puppe*] i.e. the stern of the ship where the *tutela* was placed.

magistro] 'steersman'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 353 *excussa magistro nauis*.

560. *artibus—pelagi*] 'naval manoeuvres', 'evolutions'.

consere bellum] 'bring the fight to close quarters'. cf. Liv. loc. cit. ad 553 supr.

562. *obliquas*] 'at an angle'.

564. *cohaesit*] Oud. cf. Liv. XXXVI 30 *debilitatam ea ipsa quae icta cohaserat nauim cepit*.

565. *manicae*] 'grappling irons'.

566. *seque tenent remis*] i.e. they stop themselves by getting their oars entangled.

tecto stetit aequore] 'as all the sea was covered the fight became stationary', i.e. as there was no room for manoeuvring. Compare the Greek σταθὲν μάχη.

568. *uolnera*] 'blows'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 140 *uolnera dirigere*. Val. Flac. VI 653 *Ausoniae uolnus fatale sed hastae per clipeum per pectus abit*.

569. *miscenturque manus*] '*but* they fight hand to hand'. See note on I 134.

ensis agit. stat quisque suae de robore puppis 570
pronus in aduersos ictus: nullique perempti
in ratibus cecidere suis. cruor altus in undis
spumat et obducti concreto sanguine fluctus.
et quas immissi traxerunt uincula ferri
has prohibent iungi conserta cadauera puppes. 575
semianimes alii uastum subiere profundum
hauseruntque suo permixtum sanguine pontum.
hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes
fractarum subita ratium periere ruina.
irrita tela suas peragunt in gurgite caedes: 580
et quodcumque cadit frustrato pondere ferrum
exceptum mediis inuenit uolnus in undis.
Phocaicis Romana ratis uallata carinis
robore diducto dextrum laeuomque tuetur
aequo Marte latus: cuius dum pugnat ab alta 585
puppe Tagus Graiumque audax aplustre retentat
terga simul pariter missis et pectora telis
transigitur: medio concurrit pectore ferrum,
et stetit incertus flueret quo uolnere sanguis,
donec utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas, 590
diuisitque animam sparsitque in uolnera letum.
dirigit huc puppim miseri quoque dextra Telonis,
qua nullam melius pelago turbante carinae

nauali] 'though the battle is at sea the sword is mostly used', i.e. instead of missiles as might be expected. cf. Thuc. IV 14 *οἵ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν, οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεζομάχουν.*

570. *stat quisque*] 'each man stands leaning from his own ship's side to meet the foeman's blows, and none when slain fell in their own ships,' sc. quia hosticae cohaerebant.

572. *cruor altus*] 'deep streams of blood'. cf. I 329.

574. *immissi*] 'launched upon them', i.e. the grappling irons.

575. *conserta*] 'massed together'. cf. IV 490. Oud. cf. Val. Flac. III 274 *tum super exsangues consertae caedis aceruos.*

578. *luctantem*] 'still drawing their breath which struggled against a lingering death'.

580. *irrita tela*] 'darts which had missed their mark'.

582. *exceptum*] sc. ab aliquo natante.

inuenit uolnus] 'found an object to strike'.

583. *uallata*] 'encircled'. cf. Stat. Theb. X 564 *ingratae uallantur planctibus arae.*

584. *robore diducto*] 'dividing its fighting men'.

586. *aplustre*] 'stern-ornament'. See Dict. of Antiquities.

591. *diuisitque*] Oud. cf. Sidon. Apoll. VII 294 *et dum per duplicem sanguis singultat hiatum diuidua ancipitem carpserunt uolnera mortem.*

593. *turbante*] For the neuter use of *turbare* cf. Lucret. II 125 *corpora quae in solis radiis turbare uidentur.* Verg. Aen. VI 801 *et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.*

audiuere manum: nec lux est notior ulli
crastina, seu Phoebum uideat, seu cornua lunae, 595
semper uenturis componere carbasa uentis.
hic Latiae rostro compagem ruperat alni:
pila sed in medium uenere trementia pectus,
auertitque ratem morientis dextra magistri.
dum cupit in sociam Gyareus erepere puppim, 600
excipit immissum suspensa per ilia ferrum,
adfixusque rati telo retinente pependit.
stant gemini fratres fecundae gloria matris,
quos eadem uariis genuerunt uiscera fatis.
discreuit mors saeua uiros, unumque relictum 605
agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes,
aeternis causam lacrimis: tenet ille dolorem
semper et amissum fratrem lugentibus offert.
quorum alter mixtis obliquo pectine remis
ausus Romanae Graia de puppe carinae 610
iniectare manum: sed eam grauis insuper ictus
amputat: illa tamen nisu quo prenderat haesit,
deriguitque tenens strictis immortua neruis.
creuit in aduersis uirtus: plus nobilis irae

594. *audiuere*] cf. Verg. G. I 514 *neque audit currus habenas.*

596. *componere*] The infinitive depends on the general sense of the preceding lines: 'than whom none was more skilled always to adapt his canvas to the coming winds'.

597. *ruperat*] 'had shattered', cf. Hor. Epod. X 19, 20 *Ionius udo cum remugiens 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 gratusque parentibus error: at nunc dura dedit uobis discrimina Pallas.* Stat. Theb. IX 295 *solus abi miseros non decepture 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 tribus rebus animantium uita tenetur, cibo, potione, spiritu.*

609. *quorum alter*] Suetonius Jul. 68 tells this story of one of Caesar's soldiers. *Acilius nauali ad Massiliam proelio iniecta in puppim hostium dextera et abscisa, memorabile illud apud Graecos Cynaegiri exemplum imitatus, transiluit in nauem umbone obuios agens.*

mixtis obliquo pectine] 'when the oars were locked like a comb by crossing'. cf. Ov. Met. IX 299 *digitis inter se pectine iunctis.*

611. *insuper*] 'coming down from above', equivalent to *desuper*.

612. *nisu*] 'position'. cf. Verg. Aen. V 437 *stat grauis Entellus nisuque immotus eodem.*

613. *strictis immortua neruis*] 'dead in the act (i.e. of grasping) with contracted muscles'.

truncus habet: fortique instaurat proelia laeua, 615
rapturusque suam procumbit in aequora dextram.
haec quoque cum toto manus est abscisa lacerto.
iam clupeo telisque carens non conditur ima
puppe; sed expositus fraternaque pectore nudo
arma tegens crebra confixus cuspide perstat: 620
telaque multorum leto casura suorum
emerita iam morte tenet. tum uolnere multo
effugientem animam lassos collegit in artus,
membraque contendit toto quicumque manebat
sanguine, et hostilem defectis robore membris 625
insiluit, solo nociturus pondere, puppim.
strage uirum cumulata ratis multoque cruore
plena per obliquom crebros latus accipit ictus.
at postquam ruptis pelagus compagibus hausit
ad summos repleta foros, descendit in undas 630
uicinum inuoluens contorto uertice pontum.
aequora discedunt mersa diducta carina
inque locum puppis cecidit mare. multaque ponto
praebuit illa dies uarii miracula fati.
ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncos 635
adfixit Lycidam. mersus foret ille 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 ἐπὶ δόρυ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα.

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. *leto casura*] 'which would have brought death to many in their fall'.

622. *emerita*] 'well earned'. cf. note on I 357.

625. *sanguine*] i.e. strength. cf. note on II 338.

627. *strage uirum*] 'with a pile of corpses'. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 25 (19) *iacuit immensa strages, omnis sexus, omnis aetas.*

628. *obliquom*] sc. oppositum hosti. Weise.

630. *foros*] 'gangways', cf. IV 567. Verg. Aen. VI 412.

631. *inuoluens*] 'whirling round the sea hard by in twisted eddies'. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 686 *flexibus multis grauem inuoluit amnem.*

633. *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 diuersa 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 645
hac cum parte uiri uix omnia membra tulerunt.
dum nimium pugnax unius turba carinae
incumbit prono lateri uacuamque relinquit
qua caret hoste ratem: congesto pondere puppis
uersa caua texit pelagus nautasque carina; 650
bracchia nec licuit uasto iactare profundo
sed clauso periere mari. tunc unica diri
conspecta est leti facies, cum forte natantem
diuersae rostris iuuenem fixere carinae.
discessit medium tam uastos pectus ad ictus: 655
nec prohibere ualent obtritis ossibus artus
quo minus aera sonent. eliso uentre per ora
eiectat saniem permixtus uiscere sanguis.
postquam inhibent remis puppes ac rostra recedunt,
deiectum in pelagus perfosso pectore corpus 660
uolneribus transmisit aquas. pars maxima turbae
naufragă iactatis morti obluctata lacertis

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 prolonged struggle with this part of the man, scarce succeeded in carrying off all his limbs'.

648. *prono*] 'sloping'.

649. *congesto pondere*] 'by the weight piled in one place'.

652. *unica*] 'remarkable'. cf. Vell. Pat. II vii § 1 *huic atrocitati adiectum scelus unicum.*

655. *discessit*] 'disappeared'. cf. note on II 121.

659. *inhibent remis*] 'back water'. Greek πρύμναν κρούεσθαι. Cicero seems to have thought at one time that *inhibere remis* meant to cease rowing, in which sense he uses it de orat. I § 153 *ut concitato nauigio, cum remiges inhibuerunt, retinet tamen ipsa nauis motum et cursum suum, intermisso impetu pulsuque remorum;* but cf. ad Att. XIII xxi § 3 *inhibere illud tuum quod ualde mihi arriserat uehementer displicet. est enim uerbum totum nauticum: quamquam id quidem sciebam; sed arbitrabar sustineri remos cum inhibere essent iussi remiges. id non esse eiusmodi didici heri, cum ad uillam nostram nauis appelleretur: non enim sustinent sed alio modo remigant; id ab ἐποχῇ remotissimum est...inhibitio autem remigum motum habet et uehementiorem quidem remigationis nauem conuertentis ad puppim.*

661. *transmisit aquas*] 'let the water flow through', ὕδωρ διέφρησε.

turbae] 'crew'.

puppis ad auxilium sociae concurrit: at illi
robora cum uetitis prensarent altius ulnis,
nutaretque ratis populo peritura recepto, 665
impia turba super medios ferit ense lacertos:
bracchia linquentes Graia pendentia puppi
a manibus cecidere suis: non amplius undae
sustinuere graues in summo gurgite truncos.
iamque omni fusis nudato milite telis 670
inuenit arma furor: remum contorsit in hostem
alter: at hi tortum ualidis aplustre lacertis,
auolsasque rotant excusso remige sedes.
in pugnam fregere rates. sidentia pessum
corpora caesa tenent spoliantque cadauera ferro. 675
multi inopes teli iaculum letale reuolsum
uolneribus traxere suis, et uiscera laeua
oppressere manu, ualidos dum praebeat ictus
sanguis, et hostilem cum torserit, exeat, hastam.
nulla tamen plures hoc edidit aequore clades 680
quam pelago diuersa lues. nam pinguibus ignis
adfixus taedis et tecto sulpure uiuax
spargitur: at faciles praebere alimenta carinae
nunc pice nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera.

663. *puppis ad auxilium*] 'to get help from a friendly ship'.

664. *prensarent 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 ulli exiguus populo est turbamue accedere sentit.*

668. *a manibus*] 'fell parted from their hands'.

669. *non amplius*] sc. they sank, having no arms to use for swimming.

671. *inuenit*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. VI 46 *tamen certamine nudo inuenit Marti telum dolor.*

673. *rotant*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 441 *instat non setius ac rotat ensem fulmineum.*

674. *in pugnam*] 'to fight with', cf. Pers. V 2 *linguas optare in carmina centum*, i.e. to sing with.

sidentia pessum] cf. Lucret. VI 588 *multae per mare pessum subsedere suis pariter cum ciuibus urbes.* So in IV 206 *tradita uenum.*

675. *ferro*] i.e. that by which they have been killed.

678. *dum praebeat*] 'so long as their life-blood gives them strength to deal sturdy blows'. cf. IV 286, 287 *mobile neruis conamen calidus praebet cruor.*

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 ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα καὶ τὰ πίστ' ἐδειξάτην φθείροντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.

pinguibus] cf. Verg. G. III 449, 450 *uiuaque sulpura Idaeasque pices et pingues unguine taedas.*

684. *pice—cera*] i.e. the pitch and wax used in the rigging and for caulking the deck.

cera] cf. Ov. Met. XI 514, 515 *iamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine cerae rima patet praebetque uiam letalibus undis.*

nec flammas superant undae: sparsisque per aequor 685
iam ratibus fragmenta ferus sibi uindicat ignis.
hic recipit fluctus extinguat ut aequore flammas:
hi ne mergantur tabulis ardentibus haerent.
mille modos inter leti mors una timori est
qua coepere mori. nec cessat naufraga uirtus: 690
tela legunt deiecta mari ratibusque ministrant:
incertasque manus ictu languente per undas
exercent. nunc rara datur si copia ferri
utuntur pelago. saeuus complectitur hostem
hostis, et implicitis gaudent subsidere membris, 695
mergentesque mori.—pugna fuit unus in illa
eximius Phoceus animam seruare sub undis,
scrutarique fretum, si quid mersisset harenis,
et nimis adfixos unci conuellere morsus,
adductum quotiens non senserat ancora funem. 700
hic ubi compressum penitus deduxerat hostem,
uictor et incolumis summas remeabat ad undas.
sed se per uacuos credit dum surgere fluctus,
puppibus occurrit tandemque sub aequore mansit.
hi super hostiles iecerunt bracchia remos 705
et ratium tenuere fugam. non perdere letum
maxima cura fuit; multus sua uolnera puppi
adfixit moriens et rostris abstulit ictus.
stantem sublimi Tyrrhenum culmine prorae

685. *superant*] 'get the better of the flames'.

687. *recipit*] sc. in nauem.

689. *mors 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 carrying down a foe'.

unus eximius] 'one conspicuous above all'. cf. Cic. in L. Caec. div. § 52 *neque enim esset uerisimile, cum omnibus Siculis faceret iniurias, te illi unum eximium, cui consuleret, fuisse;* Liv. IX 34 *tu unus eximius es in quo hoc praecipuom et singulare ualeat. eximius* is equivalent to a superlative. cf. Verg. Aen. II 426 *iustissimus unus qui fuit e Teucris et seruantissimus aequi.*

697. *animam seruare*] 'to keep his breath'.

699. *nimis adfixos*] 'too firmly fastened', 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'. Ovid. cf. Caes. B.G. III 14 *cum funes qui antennas ad malos destinabant comprehensi adducique erant.*

703. *uacuos*] cf. note on 546 supr.

706. *perdere letum*] 'to waste, throw away their death'. So also ἀπολλύναι is used in Greek, cf. Demos. adv. Lept. 480 οὐ στρατιώτην ἀπώλεσεν οὐδένα (ὁ Λεβρίας).

707. *sua uolnera*] sc. suum corpus uolneratum.

Lygdamus excussa Balearis tortor habenae 710
glande petens solido fregit caua tempora plumbo.
sedibus expulsi, postquam cruor omnia rupit
uincula, procumbunt oculi: stat lumine rapto
adtonitus mortisque illas putat esse tenebras.
at postquam membris sensit constare uigorem, 715
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: 720
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 ilia uenter,
adiuuitque suo procumbens pondere ferrum. 725
stabat diuersa uictae iam parte carinae
infelix Argi genitor; non ille iuuentae
tempore Phocaicis ulli cessurus in armis:
uictum aeuo robur cecidit, fessusque senecta
exemplum non miles erat; qui funere uiso 730
saepe cadens longae senior per transtra carinae
peruenit ad puppim spirantisque inuenit artus.
non lacrimae cecidere genis non pectora tundit,
distentis toto riguit sed corpore palmis.
nox subit atque oculos uastae obduxere tenebrae, 735

710. *excussa*] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. VII 79 *nec excussae contorto uerbere glandes.*

712. *sedibus*] 'forced from their sockets, when the blood burst all the ties that held them'.

713. *procumbunt*] 'fall at his feet'.

715. *constare uigorem*] 'that the strength of his limbs was still sound', cf. Sen. Epp. XII i (lxxxiii) § 27 *sed si (temuenti) temptantur pedes, lingua non constat.*

717. *mittendis*] 'set me up in the right position for discharging missiles'.

componite] cf. Vell. Pat. II xiv § 3 *tu uero, inquit, si quid in te artis est, ita compone domum meam ut, quidquid agam, ab omnibus perspici possit.*

718. *egere*] 'get rid of the remainder of your life'.

719. *ingentem*] 'discharges an important part of a soldier's duty', i.e. by being a mark for the enemy.

724. *qua iam*] infra umbilicum ergo percussus est: *ilia* sunt arteriae inter uesicam et alueum ad pubem tendentes, teste Plinio. Weise.

725. *adiuuit*] 'drove the steel deeper home by his weight as he fell'.

730. *exemplum*] 'a model, pattern'. cf. Ov. Met. I 365, 366 *nunc genus in nobis restat mortale duobus, sic uisum superis, hominumque exempla manemus.*

funere] sc. nati.

731. *saepe cadens*] 'oft falling from old age as he crossed the benches', i.e. stumbling over the benches.

735. *nox subit*] Weise cf. Hom. Il. V 659 τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν.

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 torpore senex caruit uiresque cruentus
coepit 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 iaces et adhuc potes esse superstes.
sic fatus, quamuis capulum per uiscera missi
polluerat gladii, tamen alta sub aequora tendit
praecipiti saltu. letum praecedere nati 750
festinantem animam morti non credidit uni.

inclinant iam fata ducum: nec iam amplius anceps
belli casus erat: Graiae pars maxima classis
mergitur: ast aliae mutato remige puppes
uictores uexere suos: naualia paucae 755
praecipiti tenuere fuga. quis in urbe parentum
fletus erat: quanti matrum per litora planctus.
coniunx saepe sui confusis uoltibus unda
credidit ora uiri Romanum amplexa cadauer:
accensisque rogis miseri de corpore trunco 760
certauere patres. at Brutus in aequore uictor
primus Caesareis pelagi decus addidit armis.

737. *languentia*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 436, 437 *purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro languescit moriens.*

741. *torpore...caruit*] 'recovered from his swoon'. For this use of *carere* cf. Juv. VI 364 *parua tamen carnisse Scripho.*

cruentus] 'ruthless'. cf. Hor. carm. III ii 11, 12 *quem cruentus per medius rapit hostis.*

747. *supersis*] The Romans regarded it as the greatest of misfortunes for the child to die before the parent. cf. Hor. Epist. V 101, 102 *nam dis parentes, dum metu supersitis, offerre praecantur.* See also Cicero's explanation of *superstes* Nat. D. II § 72 *nam qui totos dies precabantur et immolabant ut sui liberi sibi superstites essent superstitiosi appellabantur; quod nomen postea latius patuit.*

750. *letum*] 'he did not trust to a single 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. *uictores suos*] i.e. the Roman conquerors.

758. *confusis*] 'disfigured'. cf. note on II 191.

762. *pelagi decus*] 'glory at sea'.

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER QUARTUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

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 saeuus agit, non multa caede nocentem,
maxima sed fati ducibus momenta daturum.
iure pari rector castris Afranius illis
ac Petreius erat: concordia duxit in aequas 5
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 peruigil—custodia*] 'the watchful sentinels that protect the encampment'.

peruigil alterno paret custodia signo.
his praeter Latias acies erat impiger Astur,
Vettonesque leues, profugique a gente uetusta
Gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Hiberis. 10
colle tumet modico lenique excreuit in altum
pingue solum tumulo: super hunc fundata uetusta
surgit Ilerda manu. placidis praelabitur undis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnes,
saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu 15
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, 20
Cinga rapax, uetitus fluctus et litora cursu
oceani pepulisse tuo: nam gurgite mixto
qui praestat terris aufert tibi nomen Hiberus.
prima dies belli cessauit Marte cruento,
spectandasque ducum uires numerosaque signa 25
exposuit. piguit sceleris; pudor arma furentum
continuit; patriaeque et ruptis legibus unum
donauere diem. prono tum Caesar Olympo

10. *Gallorum*] sc. the Celtiberians, concerning whom see Strabo IV 12 (162).

11. *modico*] gives the height, *leni* the gradient of the hill. Oud. cf. Ov. Fast. V 153, 154 *templa patres illic oculos exosa uiriles leniter accliui constituere iugo.*

13. *Ilerda*] a town of the Ilergetae, now Lerida; cf. Strabo IV 10 (160).

manu] cf. Verg. G. II 156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis.*

16. *passurus*] 'ready to bear the force of winter's floods'. cf. infr. 39, 680, VI 456. Hor. carm. II vi 1 *Septimi Gades aditure mecum.*

17. *nec Caesar*] 'and Caesar raises his camp aloft on a hill of equal height'.

18. *leuat*] cf. Plin. H. N. II § 69 *ignea ui leuantur in sublime.*

medius dirimit] Lucan seems here to have fallen into an error: it appears from Caesar B.C. I 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 ca scarcely grasp their limit', i.e. the plain extend to the horizon on all sides.

coerces] 'dost bound'. cf. Cic. Nat D. II § 58 *ipsius uero mundi qui omni complexu suo coercet et continet natura.*

21. *Cinga*] cf. note on I 432.

uetitus] i.e. it falls into the Hiberus and so loses its name. cf. I 399.

23. *qui praestat terris*] 'which give its name to the land', i. e. Hiberia.

24. *cessauit*] 'was free from'. cf note on III 451. Add Florus I iv (x) § *sic quidem uiri; sed ne qui sexus a lau cessaret, ecce et uirginum uirtus.*

25. *numerosa*] 'numerous', so com monly in Silver age Latin: in earlier writers it always means 'harmonious' cf. Cic. Orat. § 168. Ov. Trist. IV x 4 *numerosus Horatius.*

28. *donauere diem*] 'they sacrificed day'. cf. Cic. ad fam. IV v § 2 *tu tu inimicitias ut rei publicae donares uicisti.*

prono—Olympo in noctem] 'as the d

in noctem subita circumdedit agmina fossa,
dum primae perstant acies, hostemque fefellit, 30
et prope consertis obduxit castra maniplis.
luce noua collem subito conscendere cursu
qui medius tutam castris dirimebat Ilerdam
imperat. huc hostem pariter terrorque pudorque
impulit; et rapto tumulum prior agmine cepit. 35
his uirtus ferrumque locum promittit, at illis
ipse locus. miles rupes oneratus in altas
nititur: aduersoque acies in monte supina
haeret et in tergum casura umbone sequentis
erigitur. nulli telum uibrare uacabat, 40
dum labat, et fixo firmat uestigia pilo,
dum scopulos stirpesque tenent atque hoste relicto
caedunt ense uiam. uidit lapsura ruina
agmina dux equitemque iubet succedere bello,
munitumque latus laeuo producere gyro. 45
sic pedes ex facili nulloque urgente receptus,
irritus et uictor subducto Marte pependit.

s hastening toward nightfall'. cf. Verg. l. VI 86 *inuito processit uesper Olympo.*
29. *subita*] 'hastily made'. cf. note I 312. cf. Ov. Met. VIII 180 *dumque lat gemmae subitos uertuntur in ignes.*
30. *perstant*] 'keep their position', i.e. battle array. Weise cf. Plin. H. N. I ii § 22 *philosophos eorum, quos gymnosophistas uocant, ab exortu ad occasum rtare contuentes solem immobilibus oculis.* d. cf. Liv. XXXIV 47 *pars certaminis dio et spe potiundi castris hostium pertit ad uallum.* This, which is the read- of many MSS., is also found in the man edition of 1469. Oud. with some S. reads *praestant*, i.e. stand in front to ceal the rest while they are digging, *praestare* in this literal sense does not ear to be found elsewhere.
1. *prope consertis*] 'closely massed'. *duxit castra*] i.e. he concealed the that he was having a camp raised ind his troops.
3. *qui medius*] 'which lying between rated Ilerda from his camp and kept fe'.
. *terrorque pudorque*] i.e. the fear eing cut off from the town, and the e of letting the enemy be beforehand them.
36. *promittit*] 'gives hopes of occupying'. cf. Sen. Phaed. 577 *et amica ratibus ante promittit uada incerta Syrtis.*
38. *supina*] 'looking upwards'.
39. *casura*] 'ready to fall backwards'. cf. supr. 16.
43. *caedunt ense uiam*] i.e. they use their swords to clear their pathway for themselves, instead of striking the enemy.
44. *succedere*] 'to come up to join the fight'.
45. *munitumque latus*] 'and by a circuit 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 III 618. Thuc. V 71 § 1. Caesar B. C. I 44—46 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.
47. *subducto Marte*] i.e. as the enemy were withdrawn.
pependit] 'remained aloft'. Weise cf. Verg. Ecl. I 76 (*capellas*) *dumosa de rupe procul pendere uidebis.*

hactenus armorum discrimina: cetera bello
fata dedit uariis incertus motibus aer.
pigro bruma gelu siccis Aquilonibus haerens 50
aethere constricto pluuias in nube tenebat.
urebant montana niues camposque iacentis
non duraturae conspecto sole pruinae:
atque omnis propior mergenti sidera caelo
aruerat tellus hiberno dura sereno. 55
sed postquam uernus calidum Titana recepit
sidera respiciens delapsae portitor Helles,
atque iterum aequatis ad iustae pondera Librae
temporibus uicere dies: tum sole relicto,
Cynthia quo primum cornu dubitanda refulsit, 60
exclusit Boream flammasque 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 nebulas, quidquid concrescere primus 65
sol patitur, quidquid caeli fuscator Eoi
intulerat Caurus, quidquid defenderat Indos.
incendere diem nubes oriente remotae;

48. *cetera bello*] 'the remaining fortune of the war was decided by the air shifting with changeful movements'.

50. *haerens*] 'retarded'. Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 708 *immotus aer haeret et pigro sedet nox atra mundo.*

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. II 287 *canis urebat luna pruinis.*

53. *non duraturae*] 'destined to vanish at the first sight of the sun'.

54. *mergenti sidera caelo*] i.e. the western sky, cf. Sen. Thyest. 776—778 *o Phoebe patiens, fugeris retro licet medioque ruptum merseris caelo diem, sero occidisti.* See also note on 525 infr.

55. *sereno*] cf. I 530.

56. *sed postquam*] i.e. when the sun entered Aries, in March.

57. *respiciens*] fingitur enim Aries auerso capite respiciens. Weise.

58. *iterum*] may be taken either with *aequatis* referring to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, or with *uicere.*

aequatis] cf. Verg. G. I 208 *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.*

59. *sole relicto*] quia cum sole oritur recedens de eo signo in quo sol fuerat. Schol. tunc lunae a coitu nonae recedentis a sole cornua nondum apparent. Grotius. cf. Verg. G. I 427 foll.

60. *dubitanda*] i.e. because her increase is as yet scarcely visible.

61. *exclusit—flammas accepit*] verba amatoria. Weise. cf. Lucret. IV 1173 *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. I 61 *Eurus ad Auroram Nabataeaque regna recessit.*

65. *concrescere*] cf. Lucret. VI 494 *quo pacto pluuius concrescat in altis nubibus umor.*

66. *fuscator*] 'darkener', i.e. by bringing the clouds together. cf. Val. Flac. I 395, 396 *innumeras nam claudit aqua longaque superbus fuscat 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 imbribus Arctos 70
et Notus; in solam Calpen fluit umidus aer.
hic ubi iam Zephyri fines et summus Olympi
cardo tenet Tethyn uetitae transcurrere densos
inuoluere globos; congestumque aeris atri
uix recipit spatium quod separat aethere terram. 75
iamque polo pressae largos densantur in imbres
spissataeque fluunt: nec seruant fulmina flammas
quamuis crebra micent: moriuntur fulgura nimbis.
hinc imperfecto complectitur aera gyro
arcus, uix ulla uariatus luce colorem, 80
oceanumque bibit, raptosque ad nubila fluctus
pertulit, et caelo diffusum reddidit aequor.
iamque Pyrenaeae quas numquam soluere Titan
eualuit fluxere niues, fractoque madescunt
saxa gelu. tum quae solitis e fontibus exit 85

cf. Verg. Aen. x 895 *clamore incendunt caelum*. Justin. XXXVIII 8 *ut regia omnis repentino luctu incenderetur*.

69. *graues*] sc. *grauidae*, full of water.

71. *Calpen*] Calpe (Gibraltar) is apparently 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 imperi uestri mons Taurus; quidquid intra eum cardinem est, nihil longinquum uobis 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 'bounds'.

uetitae transcurrere] '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 murky air'. cf. Lucret. VI 725 *magnus congestus harenae*.

76. *polo pressae*] 'compressed by the weight of the sky'.

largos] cf. Ov. Met. XI 516 *ecce cadunt largi resolutis nubibus imbres*.

77. *nec seruant—flammas*] i.e. cannot keep alight because of the water in the clouds. *fulmina* are the thunderbolts, *fulgura* the flashes.

78. *moriuntur*] cf. Ov. Amor. I ii 11, 12 *uidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammas et uidi nullo concutiente mori*.

79. *imperfecto*] The incompleteness of the arch and the want of colour are due to the excess of moisture which prevents the sun from shining.

81. *bibit*] cf. Verg. G. I 380. Plaut. Curcul. 129 *ecce autem bibit arcus; hercle credo hodie pluet*.

82. *caelo*] dative. cf. II 218.

diffusum] Weise takes this as an ornamental epithet of the sea, 'wide-spread', cf. infr. 134. It seems better to understand it as 'drawn off', i.e. from the surface of the ocean: compare the use of *diffundere* for drawing off wine from the vat into jars, cf. Hor. Epp. I v 4 *uina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa*. Another reading, with less authority, is *defusum*, i.e. poured down from the clouds before, but *di* and *de* in composition are often confused; see note on I 448.

85. *tum quae solitis*] i.e. the river which rises from its ordinary source cannot find a channel, as its own is already occupied by the melted snow.

non habet unda uias: tam largas alueus omnis
a ripis accepit aquas. iam naufraga campo
Caesaris arma natant impulsaque gurgite multo
castra labant: alto restagnant flumina uallo.
non pecorum raptus faciles non pabula mersi 90
ulla ferunt sulci: tectarum errore uiarum
fallitur occultis sparsus populator in agris.
iamque comes semper magnorum prima malorum
saeua fames aderat: nulloque obsessus ab hoste
miles eget; toto censu non prodigus emit 95
exiguam Cererem. pro lucri pallida tabes:
non deest prolato ieiunus uenditor auro.
iam tumuli collesque latent: iam flumina cuncta
condidit una palus uastaque uoragine mersit:
absorpsit penitus rupes ac tecta ferarum 100
detulit atque ipsas hausit subitisque frementis
uorticibus contorsit aquas et reppulit aestus
fortior oceani. nec Phoebum surgere sentit
nox subiecta polo; rerum discrimina miscet
deformis caeli facies iunctaeque tenebrae. 105
sic mundi pars ima iacet quam zona niualis
perpetuaeque premunt hiemes; non sidera caelo
ulla uidet, sterili non quicquam frigore gignit,

86. *omnis*] for *unus quisque*. 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 rivers overflow it'. *uallo* is probably dative, a kind of dativus incommodi.

91. *tectarum errore uiarum*] 'the mistakes caused by the inundated roads'. cf. Verg. Aen. V 590 *qua signa sequendi falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error.*

95. *toto censu*] 'all his property'. cf. note on III 157.

non prodigus] sc. *etiam parcus*, '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 *uiso si palles improbe nummo.*

97. *prolato*] 'when gold is proffered'. cf. Plaut. Asinar. 651 *set tibi si uigi minae argenti proferentur.*

101. *ipsas*] sc. *feras.*

102. *aquas*] Another reading of parently equal authority is *equos.*

reppulit aestus] Compare Byron, T Giaour, As rolls the river into ocean, sable torrent wildly streaming; As sea-tide's opposing motion, In a column proudly gleaming, Beats back current many a rood, In curling foam mingling flood, While eddying whirl, breaking wave, Roused by the blas winter rave.

104. *subiecta polo*] 'spread beneath sky'. Grotius conjectures *subtexta* fro reading *subtecta* found in some MSS.

105. *iunctaeque tenebrae*] 'and unbr darkness'. cf. Stat. Theb. VII 82 *anhelabant iuncto sudore uolantes* A *impellit equos.*

106. *pars ima*] sc. antarctica. cf. V G. I 235, 241.

sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignes.
sic o summe parens mundi sic sorte secunda 110
aequorei rector facias, Neptune, tridentis:
et tu perpetuis impendas aera nimbis;
tu remeare uetes quoscumque emiseris aestus.
non habeant amnes decliuem ad litora cursum
sed pelagi referantur aquis, concussaque tellus 115
laxet iter fluuiis. hos campos Rhenus inundet,
hos Rhodanus: uastos obliquent flumina fontes:
Rhipaeas huc solue niues, huc stagna lacusque
et pigras ubicumque iacent effunde paludes:
et miseras bellis ciuilibus eripe terras. 120
sed paruo Fortuna uiri contenta pauore
plena redit, solitoque magis fauere secundi
et ueniam meruere dei. iam rarior aer
et par Phoebus aquis densas in uellera nubes
sparserat, et noctes uentura luce rubebant: 125
seruatoque loco rerum discessit ab astris

109. *medios*] i.e. it moderates the equatorial heat. Weise cf. Tibul. IV i 167, 168 *quas utrimque tenens similis uicinia cadi temperat, alter et alterius uires necat aer.*

110. *sorte secunda*] 'in the second condition', i.e. thou who art next in power to Jove. cf. Hor. carm. IV xi 22 *non tuae sortis iuuenem.* Suet. Aug. 19 *nam ne ultimae quidem sortis hominum conspiratione et periculo caruit.* Ov. Met. VIII 594—596 *o proxima caelo regna uagae, dixi, sortite, Tridentifer, undae, in quo deinimus, quo sacri currimus amnes.* See also V 622.

111. *tridentis*] cf. Aesch. Prom. 924 θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσον τρίαιναν αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος σκεδᾷ.

112. *impendas*] 'devote to'. cf. Stat. Theb. VII 215 *ast ego non proprio diros impendo dolori 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.

115. *referantur aquis*] 'be borne back by the waters of the sea'.

116. *laxet iter*] 'open up a path for'. cf. Verg. G. II 331 *laxant arua sinus.*

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 compesce catena.* See note on VIII 156.

117. *obliquent*] 'turn from their course'. Weise cf. Stat. Theb. XII 748 *ille pauentis obliquauit equos.*

120. *et miseras*] '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 *sustineas ut onus nitendum uertice pleno est.*

123. *ueniam meruere*] 'deserved by their favour pardon for the injury they had before inflicted'.

rarior] i.e. less misty. cf. Verg. G. I 419 *denset erant quae rara modo et quae densa relaxat.* Oud. cf. Stat. Silu. I ii 186 *cum pluuiis rarescunt nubila.*

124. *par*] 'a match for'. cf. note on II 415.

uellera] 'fleecy clouds'. cf. Verg. G. I 397 *tenuia nec lanae per caelum uellera ferri.*

125. *rubebant*] 'the darkness began to flush at the approach of day-light', i.e. the return of day-light after this unnatural darkness was like the dawn after the night.

126. *astris*] tanta enim cogitatur fuisse inundatio ut aquae astra tangerent, hyper-

umor et ima petit quidquid pendebat aquarum.
tollere silua comas stagnis emergere colles
incipiunt uisoque die durescere ualles.
utque habuit ripas Sicoris camposque reliquit, 130
primum cana salix madefacto uimine paruam
texitur in puppim, caesoque inducta iuuenco
uectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
sic Venetus stagnante Pado fusoque Britannus
nauigat oceano: sic cum tenet omnia Nilus 135
conseritur bibula Memphitis cumba papyro.
his ratibus transiecta manus festinat utrimque
succisum curuare nemus; fluuiique ferocis
incrementa timens, non primis robora ripis
imposuit: medios pontem distendit in agros. 140
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 descendere caelum, inque plagas caeli tumefactum adscendere 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 alueus amnes; flumina subsidunt; colles exire uidentur. surgit humus; crescunt loca decrescentibus undis. postque diem longam nudata cacumina siluae ostendunt limumque tenent in fronde relictum.*

129. *durescere*] cf. Verg. Ecl. VI 53 *tum durare solum et discludere Nerea ponto.*

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 (137) a bridge is built, lastly (141) the river is drained.

132. *caeso*] 'covered with the hide of a slaughtered ox'. cf. Stat. Theb. III 591 *nec fusior emerito clupeum uestisse iuuenco.*

133. *uectoris patiens*] sc. ita ut uectorem pateretur.

134. *fuso*] Weise takes this as equivalent to *late effuso*, 'wide-spread', comparing 670 infr. *non fusior ulli terra fuit domino*; but in that passage the presence of the word *domino* prevents any ambiguity of meaning in *fusior*. Here it seems better to interpret *fuso* 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 quaerere huius operis est ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litori tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influen penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam et montibus inseri 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. IV 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 ornum cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant eruere agricolae certatim.*

142. *scisso*] 'with its stream cut up into channels'.

:nas maioris aquae. postquam omnia fatis
s ire uidet celsam Petreius Ilerdam
et noti diffisus uiribus orbis, 145
os quaerit populos et semper in arma
amore feros, et tendit in ultima mundi.
tos Caesar colles desertaque castra
iens capere arma iubet: nec quaerere pontem
la sed duris fluuium superare lacertis. 150
: rapuitque ruens in proelia miles
igiens timuisset iter. mox uda receptis
ı fouent armis gelidosque a gurgite cursu
nt artus, donec decresceret umbra
um surgente die. iamque agmina summa 155
:ques dubiique fugae pugnaeque tenentur.
lunt campo geminae iuga saxea rupes
ıua media. tellus hinc ardua celsos
at colles: tutae quos inter opaco
ı latuere uiae: quibus hoste potito 160
; emitti terrarum in deuia Martem
eras gentes Caesar uidet. ite sine ullo
ait, raptumque fuga conuertite bellum,
m pugnae uoltusque inferte minaces:

as] Compare the story in
e revenge taken by Cyrus
ndes. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital.
gnas o Trebia et meritas
ias exsolues, inquit: lace-
riuis dispergam rura atque
ıa demam.
is equivalent to *ferri*,
's destiny is sweeping all
'erg. Aen. II 34 *seu iam*
rebant.
amore] cf. I 460—462,

'took with eagerness
) the fight a path which
ırunk from in flight'.
i.e. their arms had been
ed across the river in

by running'.
summa] 'the hindmost

harasses'.
g between flight and bat-
ı *dubium fati;* so *medius*
also is used with two genitives cf. Ov. Met. V 564 *medius fratrisque sui maestaeque sororis Iuppiter.*

tenentur] equivalent to *detinentur*, cf. Cic. ad fam. XVI vii § 1 *septimum iam diem Corcyrae tenebamur.*

158. *ualle caua media*] 'with a hollow valley between'. Oud. cf. Liv. VII 34 *exercitum incaute in saltum caua ualle peruium...induxit.*

tellus hinc] 'from this point the ground rising aloft exhibits a continuous line of hills'.

160. *quibus hoste*] uidet Caesar quod, si angustias ipsas Pompeiani occupassent, 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 pauidis ignaua occumbere morte: 165
excipiant recto fugientes pectore ferrum.
dixit, et ad montes tendentem praeuenit hostem.
illic exiguo paulum distantia uallo
castra locant. postquam spatio languentia nullo
mutua conspicuos habuerunt lumina uoltus, 170
et fratres natosque suos uidere patresque,
deprensum est ciuile nefas: tenuere parumper
ora metu: tantum nutu motoque salutant
ense suos. mox ut stimulis maioribus ardens
rupit amor leges, audet transcendere uallum 175
miles, in amplexus effusas tendere palmas.
hospitis ille ciet nomen; uocat ille propinquom:
admonet hunc studiis consors puerilibus aetas:
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 fateris?
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 lumine uidit passa Medusa mori est?* also IX 904.

168. *exiguo distantia uallo*] 'separated by a slight rampart', sc. and by nothing else. cf. I 516.

169. *spatio languentia nullo*] equivalent to *non ob spatium languentia* 'not failing owing 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 another. cf. Ov. Met. I 655 *retices nec mutua nostris dicta refers.*

171. *et fratres*] This line is omitted in some MSS. and editions.

172. *deprensum est*] 'they grasped the wickedness of civil strife'. cf. Ov. A. A. II 313 *si latet ars, prodest; affert deprensa pudorem.*

173. *metu*] dum timent duces. Schol.

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 agnosceret.*

182. *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 feci, in me conuertite ferrum, o Rutuli, mea fraus omnis.* Mart. IX 16 *inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata uirorum se fecisse Chloe; quid pote simplicius?*

185. *usque adeone*] cf. note on I 364.

quem] sc. ducem, praesertim Caesarem.

186. *dent bellum*] 'give the signal for battle'.

signa ferant; cessa: iamiam ciuilis Erinys
concidet et Caesar generum priuatus amabit.
nunc ades aeterno complectens omnia nexu
o rerum mixtique salus, Concordia, mundi, 190
et sacer orbis amor: magnum nunc saecula nostra
uenturi discrimen habent. periere latebrae
tot scelerum: populo uenia est erepta nocenti:
agnouere suos. pro numine fata sinistro
exigua requie tantas augentia clades. 195
pax erat, et miles castris permixtus utrisque
errabat: duro concordes caespite mensas
instituunt, et permixto libamina Baccho
gramineis fluxere focis: iunctoque cubili
extrahit insomnes bellorum fabula noctes: 200
quo primum steterint campo, qua lancea dextra
exierit. dum quae gesserunt fortia iactant,
et dum multa negant, quod solum fata petebant,
est miseris renouata fides, atque omne futurum

3. *concidet*] 'will cease'. cf. Tac. II 57 *morte Othonis concidisse bellum it.*

0. *mixti—mundi*] sc. qui per te mis- et sic seruatur; for the use of the ciple cf. notes on II 342, III 132. See Verg. G. II 141, Aen. II 721, and ngton's notes.

ıcordia] Compare the φιλία of Empe- s, and Aristoph. Aves 700—702 :ρον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων πρὶν : ξυνέμιξεν ἅπαντα· ξυμμιγνυμένων δ' ν ἑτέροις γένετ' οὐρανὸς ὠκεανός τε καὶ ἄντων τε θεῶν μακάρων γένος ἄφθιτον.

1. *sacer orbis amor*] 'holy love that sway the world', i. e. the love which ind feels, or should feel, for one ıer, as being portions of one *orbis*, 51 *inque uicem gens omnis amet.* For in the sense of mankind, cf. Cic. ad VII § 3 *sed scito ea, quae nos pro e patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio itimonio comprobari.*

ıcula nostra] 'our age is now at of its destined course'. By *saecula a* I understand the time at which n is writing, not, as Weise does, 'the l moment of reconciliation between oldiers of Pompeius and of Caesar, ich the poet feigns himself present'.

2. *latebrae*] '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 Parcae.*

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 *instituuntque dapes.*

199. *gramineis—focis*] 'turf-built altars'.

200. *extrahit*] 'talk about wars whiles away the sleepless night'. cf. Val. Flacc. I 277, 278 *Thracius hic noctem dulci testudine uates extrahit.*

201. *qua—dextra*] 'how the lance sped from their hand'. cf. Verg. Ecl. VI 43 *his adiungit Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum clamassent*, i.e. how the sailors left Hylas at the spring and shouted his name.

203. *quod solum*] 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 foedera pacis 205
cognita Petreio seque et sua tradita uenum
castra uidet, famulas scelerata ad proelia dextras
excitat, atque hostes turba stipatus inermes
praecipitat castris, iunctosque amplexibus ense
separat, et multo disturbat sanguine pacem. 210
addidit ira ferox moturas proelia uoces:
immemor o patriae, signorum oblite tuorum,
non potes hoc causae, miles, praestare senatus
adsertor uicto redeas ut Caesare? certe
ut uincare potes. dum ferrum incertaque fata 215
quique fluat multo non deerit uolnere sanguis,
ibitis ad dominum, damnataque signa feretis?
utque habeat famulos nullo discrimine Caesar
exorandus erit? ducibus quoque uita petenda est?
numquam nostra salus pretium mercesque nefandae
proditionis erit: non hoc ciuilia bella 221
ut uiuamus agunt. trahimur sub nomine pacis.
non chalybem gentes penitus fugiente metallo
eruerent, nulli uallarent oppida muri,
non sonipes in bella ferox non iret in aequor 225
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. I 286 *tradiderat famulas iam tibi Rhenus 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 mouerent.*

214. *adsertor*] '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 catenas.*

215. *ut uincare*] 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. 360 infr.

218. *nullo discrimine*] '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 III 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 403 *aut trahebatur passis Priameia uirgo crinibus a templo Cassandra adytisque Minerua.*

223. *chalybem*] 'iron'.

penitus fugiente] '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.

si bene libertas umquam pro pace daretur.
hostes nempe meos sceleri iurata nefando
sacramenta tenent: at uobis uilior hoc est
uestra fides quod pro causa pugnantibus aequa 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 carcere clauso
mansueuere ferae et uoltus 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 trepido uix abstinet ira magistro.
itur in omne nefas: et quae Fortuna deorum
inuidia caeca bellorum in nocte tulisset
fecit monstra fides: inter mensasque torosque 245
quae modo complexu fouerunt 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 you 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 Pompeius is exerting himself in the East, his safety has been bargained for by us.

233. *extrema*] cf. note on I 314.

234. *nostro*] including himself with his soldiers.

237. *desuetae siluis*] 'grown strange to the woods'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 814 *et iam desueta triumphis agmina.*

238. *mansueuere*] cf. I 327 foll.: Aesch. Agam. 717—734.

239. *hominem*] Oud. cf. Stat. Achil. II 184 *hominemque uereri edidicit nullasque 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 obscurity of battle they would have brought odium on the gods, were made prodigies 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. II 36.

nocte] cf. VII 571.

248. *dissuasor*] cf. 705—710 infr. For the use of the word *dissuasor* cf. Cic. ad Brut. I xv § 5 *cum etesiarum diebus Auster me in Italiam quasi consili mei dissuasor rettulisset.*

249. *dum feriunt*] 'in the act of striking they learn to hate their kinsmen'.

confirmant ictu. feruent iam castra tumultu 250
[et scelerum turba: rapiuntur colla parentum.]
ac uelut occultum pereat scelus omnia monstra
in faciem posuere ducum: iuuat esse nocentis.
tu Caesar quamuis spoliatus milite multo
agnoscis superos. neque enim tibi maior in aruis 255
Emathiis fortuna fuit, nec Phocidos undis
Massiliae, Phario nec tantum est aequore gestum.
hoc siquidem solo ciuilis crimine belli
dux causae melioris eris. polluta nefanda
agmina caede duces iunctis committere castris 260
non audent, altaeque ad moenia rursus Ilerdae
intendere fugam. campos eques obuius omnes
abstulit et siccis inclusit collibus hostem.
tunc inopes undae praerupta cingere fossa
Caesar auet nec castra pati contingere ripas, 265
aut circum largos curuari bracchia fontes.
ut leti uidere uiam conuersus in iram
praecipitem timor est. miles non utile clausis
auxilium mactauit equos: tandemque coactus
spe posita damnare fugam casurus in hostes 270
fertur. ut effuso Caesar decurrere passu
uidit et ad certam deuotos 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.

252. *pereat*] 'went for nothing', i.e. were no crime.

253. *in faciem*] 'they paraded them before their leaders' eyes'. cf. Caes. B. C. I 75 *productos palam in praetorio interficiunt.*

255. *agnoscis*] 'dost recognize the favour of heaven', i.e. shown by making his enemies guilty. cf. II 537 *di melius belli tulimus quod damna priores.* The words also probably imply, 'dost show thy respect for the gods', i.e. by not inflicting similar cruelties on the Pompeians. cf. Cic. de diu. I § 132 *nunc illa testabor non me sortilegos neque eos qui quaestus causa hariolentur ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius amicus tuus uti solebat, agnoscere.*

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 I 31.

260. *iunctis*] i.e. a camp adjoining Caesar's.

262. *intendere*] 'they directed their flight'.

obuius] 'sent out to meet them'.

266. *aut circum*] 'nor to embrace within 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. III 482 *nec uia mortis erat simplex.*

270. *damnare*] 'in their despair to reject the thought of flight'. cf. VIII 328, Plin. H. N. VIII § 179 (*boues*) *nigri coloris candidiue ad laborem damnantur.*

casurus] 'to certain death'.

271. *effuso passu*] 'with hasty steps'.

273. *ferrumque ruenti subtrahe*] 'with-

subtrahe: non ullo constet mihi sanguine bellum:
uincitur haud gratis iugulo qui prouocat hostem. 275
en sibi uilis adest inuisa luce iuuentus
iam damno peritura meo. non sentiet ictus,
incumbet gladiis, gaudebit sanguine fuso.
deserat hic feruor mentes, cadat impetus amens:
perdant uelle mori. sic deflagrare minaces 280
incassum et uetito passus languescere bello,
substituit merso dum nox sua lumina Phoebo.
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 praebet cruor ossaque nondum
adduxere cutem: si conscius ensis adacti
stat uictor tenuitque manus, tum frigidus artus
adligat atque animum subducto robore torpor, 290
postquam sicca rigens adstrinxit uolnera sanguis.
iamque inopes undae primum tellure refossa

draw your sword from the foe who is rushing upon its point'.

275. *uincitur 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 feruor* 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 mori*] 'let them lose their wish for death', i.e. as they will do if we refuse to fight with them: for this use of the infinitive cf. Pers. I 27 *scire tuom nihil est nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?*

deflagrare] cf. Tac. Hist. II 29 *deflagrante paulatim seditione.*

282. *substituit*] 'till night substituted her own lights (i.e. the stars) for the set sun'.

284. *tepescunt*] 'cool down'. cf. Ammian. Marc. XXVIII I § 9 *uerum negotio tepescente propter diuturnam morborum asperitatem, qua tenebatur Olybrius:* elsewhere *tepescere* usually means 'to grow warm': but in Tac. Hist. III 32 *tepor* is used for coolness, *excepta uox est, cum teporem incusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent.*

285. *saucia*] metaphora 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 eundi.*

287. *praebet*] cf. note on III 678.

ossaque] '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 macies.* Id. Heroid. XI 27 *fugerat ore cruor; macies adduxerat artus.*

288. *conscius ensis adacti*] 'knowing his sword has been driven home'.

290. *torpor*] 'faintness'. cf. III 741.

291. *adstrinxit uolnera*] 'closes the wounds'. cf. Verg. G. I 91 *seu durat magis et uenas adstringit hiantes.*

292. *refossa*] cf. Plin. H. N. II § 158

occultos latices abstrusaque flumina quaerunt:
nec solum rastris durisque ligonibus arua
sed gladiis fodere suis: puteusque cauati 295
montis ad irrigui premitur fastigia campi.
non se tam penitus, tam longe luce relicta,
merserit Asturii scrutator pallidus auri.
non tamen aut tectis sonuerunt cursibus amnes,
aut micuere noui percusso pumice fontes: 300
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 siccos tolerare uapores 305
quaesitae fecistis aquae. nec languida fessi
corpora sustentant epulis, mensasque perosi
auxilium fecere famem. si mollius aruom
prodidit umorem, pingues manus utraque glaebas
exprimit ora super. nigro si turbida limo 310
colluuies immota iacet, cadit omnis in haustus
certatim obscenos miles: moriensque recepit
quas nollet uicturus aquas: rituque ferarum
distentas siccant pecudes, et lacte negato
sordibus exhausto sorbetur ab ubere sanguis. 315
tunc herbas frondesque terunt et rore madentis
destringunt ramos: ac si quos palmite crudo

si ulli essent inferi iam profecto illos auaritiae atque luxuriae cuniculi refodissent.

293. *abstrusa*] cf. Verg. G. I 135 *ut silicis uenis abstrusum excuderet ignem.*

295. *puteusque cauati*] 'and the well in the hollowed-out mountain is sunk to the level of the well-watered plain'.

296. *irrigui*] cf. Hor. Sat. II iv 16 *irriguo nihil est elutius horto.*

fastigia] cf. Verg. G. II 288 *forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras*, and Conington's note.

298. *Asturii*] MSS. *Assyrii*. Dausqueii emendatio. cf. Sil. Ital. I 231—233 *Astur auarus uisceribus lacerae telluris mergitur imis, et redit infelix effosso concolor auro.* Weise. See Merivale's History of the Romans, chapter xxxiv.

300. *pumice*] i.e. porous stone, which would hold no water.

302. *uena*] 'spring of water'. cf. 500, 501, Ov. Met. I 410 *quod modo m fuit sub eodem nomine mansit.*

303. *super*] 'thereover'. Weise ta it with *extrahitur* in the sense of ' wards', but I can find no authority this use of the word: or it may m 'further', 'besides'. cf. Verg. Aen. II

305. *quoque minus*] 'made them able to endure the dry heat'.

308. *auxilium*] sc. contra sitim.

309. *prodidit*] 'showed signs of m ture'.

313. *quas nollet*] 'which he would have drunk with hope of life'.

314. *distentas*] The epithet is tr ferred to *pecudes* from the notion of m implied therein.

317. *ac si quos*] 'and squeezed out juice they could from the young shoo trees and their tender pith'.

arboris aut tenera sucos pressere medulla.
o fortunati, fugiens quos barbarus hostis
fontibus immixto strauit per rura ueneno. 320
hos licet in fluuios saniem tabemque ferarum
pallida Dictaeis, Caesar, nascentia saxis
infundas aconita palam, Romana iuuentus
non decepta bibet. torrentur uiscera flamma
oraque sicca rigent squamosis aspera linguis. 325
iam marcent uenae nulloque umore rigatus
aeris alternos angustat pulmo meatus,
rescissoque nocent suspiria dura palato:
pandunt ora tamen nocturnumque aera captant.
exspectant imbres quorum modo cuncta natabant 330
impulsu, et siccis uoltus in nubibus haerent.
quoque magis miseros undae ieiunia soluant,
non super arentem Meroen Cancrique sub axe
qua nudi Garamantes arant sedere: sed inter
stagnantem Sicorim et rapidum deprensus Hiberum
spectat uicinos sitiens exercitus amnes. 336

o] Compare the metaphorical use *dus* in Sil. Ital. v 568—570 *immenorum seniumque oblitus in arma idem cruda mente et uiridissimus at.*

o fortunati] i.e. it is better to die son than by thirst.

tabemque ferarum] So frogs' was held to be poisonous, cf. Juv. I *occurrit matrona potens quae molle um porrectura uiro miscet sitiente m*, and Prof. Mayor's note. Also was a tradition that Themistocles tted suicide by drinking bull's blood, istoph. Equ. 83, 84 βέλτιστον ἡμῶν ταύρειον πιεῖν· ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ ς αἱρετώτερος.

pallida] i.e. pallorem facientia, ɪr. Epp. I xix 18 *biberent exsangue um;* Pers. v 55 *pallentis grana cu-*

aeis] Oud. remarks that no other speaks of Crete as producing poi- ɔut only medicinal herbs, cf. Pro- I i 61, 62 *et deus exstinctum Cressis ɪrius herbis restituit patriis Anɪa focis*, but that aconite is said to m Phrygian Ida and is here trans- to Ida in Crete, comparing the similar confusion in Propert. III i 27 *Idaeum Simoenta Iouis cunabula parui.*

324. *non decepta*] 'open-eyed'; cf. Lucret. I 940 *deceptaque non capiatur.*

325. *squamosis*] 'roughened 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 *ast illi soluuntur frigore membra.* Petron. III *quid proderit hoc tibi si soluta inedia fueris?*

333. *super*] 'beyond'.

Cancrique] 'or beneath the Crab'. *que* is disjunctive.

334. *arant*] is simply equivalent to *habitant*, cf. Verg. Aen. III 13, 14 *terra procul uastis colitur Mauortia campis, Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo.*

335. *deprensus*] 'entrapped'. cf. 469 infr. Verg. Aen. v 52 *Argolicoue mari deprensus.* Liv. XXVII 44 § 5 *in saltu impedito deprensus.*

iam domiti cessere duces: pacisque petendae
auctor damnatis supplex Afranius armis,
semianimes in castra trahens hostilia turmas,
uictoris stetit ante pedes. seruata precanti 340
maiestas non fracta malis, interque priorem
fortunam casusque nouos gerit omnia uicti
sed ducis, et ueniam securo pectore poscit:
si me degeneri strauissent fata sub hoste,
non deerat fortis rapiendo dextera leto: 345
at nunc sola mihi est orandae causa salutis
dignum donanda, Caesar, te credere uita.
non partis studiis agimur nec sumpsimus arma
consiliis inimica tuis. nos denique bellum
inuenit ciuile duces, causaeque priori 350
dum potuit seruata fides. nil fata moramur:
tradimus Hesperias gentes aperimus Eoas,
securumque orbis patimur post terga relicti.
nec cruor effusus campis tibi bella peregit
nec ferrum lassaeque manus. hoc hostibus unum 355
quod uincas ignosce tuis. nec magna petuntur:
otia des fessis, uitam patiaris inermes
degere quam tribuis: campis prostrata iacere
agmina nostra putes: neque enim felicibus armis
misceri damnata decet partemque triumphi 360
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 priorem*] '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.*

345. *rapiendo*] Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. VI 191 *rapit ille necem.*

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, cuius partis nos uel principes numerabamur.*

nec sumpsimus] emphatic; we w in arms before the civil war began.

350. *inuenit*] cf. II 259.

352. *securumque*] sc. *te esse*, 'and le thee free from anxiety about the qu ter of the world that thou dost le behind thee'. cf. I 369.

355. *hoc hostibus unum*] 'pardon enemies this solitary crime—that, thou conqueror'.

358. *campis prostrata*] 'think of armies as lying fallen on the field', put them out of account, as if they w dead.

360. *damnata*] cf. VII 409 *dam diu Romanis Allia fastis.*

361. *peregit*] cf. Verg. Aen. IV *uixi et quem dederat cursum fo peregi.*

rat: at Caesar facilis uoltuque serenus
r atque usum belli poenamque remittit.
num iustae placuerunt foedera pacis, 365
ditos decurrit miles ad amnes,
it ripis permissaque flumina turbat.
ius multis subitarum tractus aquarum
on passus uacuis discurrere uenis
clausitque animam: nec feruida pestis 370
dhuc: sed morbus egens iam gurgite plenis
ous sibi poscit aquas. mox robora neruis
s rediere uiris. o prodiga rerum
s numquam paruo contenta paratu,
esitorum terra pelagoque ciborum 375
osa fames et lautae gloria mensae,
quam paruo liceat producere uitam
ntum natura petat. non erigit aegros
ignoto diffusus consule Bacchus:
iro murraque bibunt: sed gurgite puro 380
dit. satis est populis fluuiusque Ceresque.
iseri qui bella gerunt. tunc arma relinquens
miles spoliato pectore tutus
usque suas curarum liber in urbes
ur. o quantum donata pace potitos 385
is umquam ferrum librasse lacertis

belli poenamque] 'the pe-
military service'. Weise
610 *inde alacres tribuunt et usus.*
'regular', 'formal'.
ius] 'the uninterrupted
tily swallowed water'.
ere] cf. III 640.
egens] 'the insatiate plague
rater for itself when their
ready filled'.
] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. VIII
lapibus nullisque paratibus

orum] cf. note on I 163.
osa] 'ostentatious'. cf.
c uiuimus ambitiosa pau-

ially used of luxury in eat-
I *Atticus eximie si cenat*

378. *quantum*] 'how little'.
erigit] 'raises from their sickness'.
379. *diffusus*] 'bottled', i.e. poured off from the vat into separate jars (*cadi*). cf. Hor. Epp. I V 4 *uina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa.*
ignoto] i.e. so ancient as to be forgotten, or so ancient that the name is illegible.
380. *non auro*] cf. Verg. G. II 506 *ut gemma bibat.*
murra] 'porcelain'; for the high price of *murrina* at Rome see Plin. H. N. XXXVII §§ 18—20.
381. *populis*] whole tribes, i.e. the auxiliaries of VII 634.
383. *spoliato pectore*] i.e. stripped of his breast-plate.
384. *suas*] supply *quisque.*
386. *excussis*] cf. note on I 424.

poenituit, tolerasse sitim frustraque rogasse
prospera bella deos. nempe usis Marte secundo
tot dubiae restant acies tot in orbe labores:
ut numquam fortuna labet successibus anceps 390
uincendum totiens, terras fundendus in omnes
est cruor 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
sollicitus menti quod abest fauor: ille salutis
est auctor, dux ille fuit. sic proelia soli 400
felices nullo spectant ciuilia uoto.
non eadem belli 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. 405
illic bellaci confisus gente Curictum,
quos alit Hadriaco tellus circumflua ponto,

390. *ut*] 'though'. cf. Juv. XIII 100 *ut sit magna tamen certe lenta ira deorum est.*

anceps] cf. Cic. pro Marcello § 15 *incertus exitus et anceps fortuna belli.*

391. *fundendus in omnes*] cf. Hor. carm. II i 33—36 *qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae non decolorauere caedes? quae caret ora cruore 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 490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.*

nutante ruina] cf. Juv. III 196 *securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.*

394. *iaceat*] sc. *casurus 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 fea absent from their minds', i.e. fear of w may happen to their leader. Anot reading, which Weise adopts, is *pauor*, anxiety for the success of either side.

399. *ille...ille*] Caesar...Pompeius.

400. *est*] still is; *fuit*, was, but ceased to be.

403. *in partes*] cf. Florus II xiii § *aliquid tamen aduersus absentem du ausa Fortuna est circa Illyricam et A cam oram, quasi de industria prospera aduersis radiaret.* Caesar gives no count of his reverses in Illyria.

404. *longas*] Probably 'straggli i.e. with a long front to the sea. cf. Freeman's 'Subject and Neighbour La of Venice', p. 159: it may however m 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 is off the Illyrian coast by Plin. H. N § 139. (21.)

407. *circumflua*] περιῤῥυτος, cf. X *gelido circumfluus orbis Hibero.*

ur extrema residens Antonius ora,
ab incursu belli si sola recedat
ıat quae tuta fames. non pabula tellus 410
dis submittit equis non proserit ullam
Ceres segetem: spoliabat gramine campum
et adtonso miseris iam dentibus aruo
um siccas de caespite uolserat herbas.
num aduersae socios in litore terrae 415
ilum uidere ducem, noua furta per aequor
ita fugae. neque enim de more carinas
unt puppesque leuant, sed firma gerendis
s insolito contexunt robora ductu.
e ratem uacuae sustentant undique cuppae 420
ı porrectis series constricta catenis
ıus geminis obliquas excipit alnos.
rit expositum telis in fronte patenti
ım: sed quod trabibus circumdedit aequor
it et taciti praebet miracula cursus 425
ıec uela ferat nec apertas uerberet undas.
eta seruantur, dum se decliuibus undis
agat refluoque mari nudentur harenae.
: relabenti crescebant litora ponto;
ratis prono defertur lapsa profundo 430

| 'safe', cf. Cic. pro Rosc. *eam partem potius peccant r.* Mart. II i 11 *esse tibi uitate uideris?* *bsit.* cf. Stat. Silu. III v *n corde recedit nata tuo.*

t] Probably equivalent to forth'. cf. Sil. Ital. III *bus caput Alpinis et rupe in Celtas. proserere* as a *rere* 'to sow' seems to be ratius Cyneg. 9 *ex artibus*

u] i.e. the main land of

..fugae] 'secret flight'. XVI xxvi § 2 *sic tu, etiam ıon habebis, scribito tamen, tionis quaesiuisse uidearis.*

ınt] 'nor do they build Greek νῆες μακραί) with

'figure', 'shape', cf. Lucret. IV 427 *porticus aequali quamuis est denique ductu.*

420. *cuppae*] 'pontoons'. Grotius, cf. Capitolin. Maximin. 22 *ponte itaque cuppis facto Maximinus fluuium transiuit.*

422. *ordinibus*] 'received timbers placed sideways on them in double rows'.

423. *nec gerit*] i.e. room was left inside for the oars, so that the rowers were not exposed to the missiles of the enemy.

425. *miracula*] 'the strange spectacle'. cf. Verg. G. IV 441 *omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum.*

427. *seruantur*] 'are watched'. cf. Verg. G. I 205 *Haedorumque dies seruandi et lucidus Anguis.*

decliuibus] 'downward-flowing'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. I 39 *fluminaque obliquis cinxit decliuia ripis.*

430. *missa*] 'let go'. cf. Verg. G. II 451 *alnus missa Pado.*

prono] cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 548 *pars cetera prona fertur aqua.*

et geminae comites. cunctas super ardua turris
eminet et tremulis tabulata minantia pinnis.
noluit Illyricae custos Octauius undae
confestim temptare ratem, celeresque carinas
continuit cursu crescat dum praeda secundo: 435
et temere ingressos repetendum inuitat ad aequor
pace maris. sic dum pauidos formidine ceruos
claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnae,
aut dum dispositis adtollat retia uaris
uenator, tenet ora leuis clamosa Molossi, 440
Spartanos Cretasque ligat: nec creditur ulli
silua cani, nisi qui presso uestigia rostro
colligit et praeda nescit latrare reperta,
contentus tremulo monstrasse cubilia loro.
nec mora: complentur moles auideque petitis 445
insula deseritur 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. III 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*] sc. *Octauius*.

437. *pace maris*] i.e. by leaving the sea clear. cf. 473 infr. II 648.

formidine] cf. Verg. G. III 372 *puniceaeue agitant pauidos formidine pinnae*. Weise cf. Sen. dial. IV xi § 5 *nec mirum est cum maximos ferarum greges linea pinnis distincta contineat et in insidias agat, ab ipso adfectu dicta formido*.

438. *aera*] 'the tainted air', i.e. either from the red dye of the feather, or from its being handled. cf. Verg. G. III 251 *si tantum notas odor attulit auras*: some take *aera* as 'the fluttering'.

439. *uaris*] 'forks', for extending the nets.

440. *Molossi*] cf. Sen. Phaed. 34—51 *teneant acres lora Molossos et pugnaces tendant Cretes fortia trito uincula collo. at Spartanos, genus est audax auidumque ferae, nodo cautus propiore liga. ueniet tempus cum latratu caua saxa sonent. nunc demissi nare sagaci captent auras lustraque presso quaerant rostro dum lux dubia est dum signa pedum roscida tellus impressa tenet. alius raras ceruice graui portare plagas, alius teretes properet laqueos. picta rubenti linea penna uano cludat terrore feras*. See also Shakespeare, Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV sc. I.

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. *presso*] 'hunts out the tracks with nose close to the ground'.

443. *nescit latrare*] equivalent to *scit 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 inquisitorem loro trahens, qua uisa quam silens et occulta, sed quam significans demonstratio est cauda primum deinde rostro*.

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'.

ua parat arte Cilix, passusque uacare
ıa freti, medio suspendit uincula ponto, 450
ɜas fluitare sinit religatque catenas
ab Illyricae scopulis. nec prima neque illa
sequitur tardata ratis: sed tertia moles
t et ad cautes adducto fune secuta est.
ıdent caua saxa mari: ruituraque semper 455
mirum, moles: et siluis aequor inumbrat.
ractas Aquilone rates submersaque pontus
ra saepe tulit caecisque abscondit in antris:
uit raptus tectum mare: cumque cauernae
uere fretum, contorti uerticis undae 460
ɔmenitanam uincunt feruore Charybdin.
)piterginis moles onerata colonis
itit: hanc omni puppes statione solutae
:unt: alii rupes ac litora complent.
:ius tacitas sensit sub gurgite fraudes, 465
ɜrat ille ratis, frustra qui uincula ferro
ere conatus poscit spe proelia nulla,
:us qua terga daret qua pectora bello.
amen in casu quantum deprensa ualebat
t uirtus: inter tot milia captae 470
nfusa rati et plenam uix inde cohortem
ı fuit; non longa quidem; nam condidit atra
ucem dubiam pacemque habuere tenebrae.
ı sic adtonitam uenturaque fata pauentem
magnanima Volteius uoce cohortem: 475

f. Verg. Aen. VI 609 *fraus*
.
ısque] 'and leaving the sur-
o] i.e. under water: the
onto is awkward.
ı *est*] 'as the rope was hauled
t to the rocks', i.e. of the
ıra] 'seeming ever on the
it] 'then the o'er-arched sea
its spoils'. Oud. cf. Sil.
—308 *nos ratibus laceris*
euimus antra, classibus et
imus aequore raptis contorta
e fundo reuomentem transtra Charybdin.

462. *Opiterginis*] i.e. of Opitergium, a town of the Veneti. Weise.

465. *tacitas*] 'concealed'. cf. Verg. Aen. IV 67 *tacitum uiuit sub pectore uolnus.*

469. *quantum*] 'all that it could, when thus entrapped'.

471. *inde*] sc. *e rate*, 'fighting from the raft'.

cohortem] There were ten *cohortes* in a legion.

473. *pacem*] cf. note on II 648.

475. *rexit*] 'guided'. cf. Plin. Epp. X xix § 1 *rogo, domine, consilio me regas haesitantem.*

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, 480
omnibus incerto uenturae tempore uitae,
par animi laus est et quos sperauerís annos
perdere et extremae momentum abrumpere lucis
accersas dum fata manu. non cogitur ullus
uelle mori. fuga nulla patet: stant undique nostris
intenti iugulis ciues. decernite letum, 486
et metus omnis abest: cupias quodcumque necesse est.
non tamen in caeca bellorum nube cadendum est,
aut, cum permixtis acies sua tela tenebris
inuoluunt, conserta iacent cum corpora campo, 490
in medium mors omnis abit, perit obruta uirtus.
nos in conspicua sociis hostique carina

476. *libera*] 'soldiers, whose freedom lasts not longer than this short night, determine within this narrow space your course in this extremity'.

478. *uita breuis*] 'none has too short a life remaining who finds time in that to seek death for himself'.

479. *nec gloria*] 'nor is the glory of death less (i.e. than that of victory) to turn and meet impending fate'.

480. *admoto*] equivalent to *uicino, instanti*, cf. Sil. Ital. VIII 295 *genus admotum superis*.

occurrere] φθάνειν, cf. Pers. I 62 *posticae occurrite sannae*. Id. III 64 *uenienti occurrite morbo*.

481. *incerto*] ablative absolute, 'seeing that for all the length of their future life is uncertain'.

482. *et quas*] 'to throw away the years you might hope for, and to break off the brief moment of departing life', i.e. a voluntary death is equally glorious in the young, and the old.

484. *non cogitur*] 'the wish for death is compulsory for none', i.e. and so as it is a free act it is glorious.

486. *decernite letum*] 'decide on death, and then all fear is gone'.

487. *et*] For this use of *et* in the sense of 'and then', cf. Verg. Ecl. III 104—107 *dic quibus in terris (inscribunt nomina regum) et cui de te splendescit [illegible] Apollo, tres pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum nascantur flores; et Phyllida solus habeto.* Hor. Epp. I xviii 107, 108 *sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, et mihi uiuam quod superest aeui, si quid superesse uolunt di.*

cupias] cf. III 147 *si quidquid iubent uelis*.

488. *non tamen*] 'still we must not fall amidst the blind cloud of war'.

489. *aut*] 'or else'. cf. Ov. Met. X 50—52 *hanc simul ut legem Rhodopeius accipit heros ne flectat retro sua lumina donec Auernas exierit uallis; aut irrita dona futura.* Mart. XI i 6 *nec Musis uacet aut suis uacaret.* Grotius gives *ut*, i.e. 'seeing that', as an emendation, and according to Oud. it is confirmed by one MS.

490. *conserta*] 'in close ranks'.

491. *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 communi ad se trahentes.*

perit] 'is thrown away'. Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. VI 200 *mixta perit uirtus; nescit cui dicant Oebrus aut cui fata Tyres.*

constituere dei. praebebunt aequora testes,
praebebunt terrae, summis dabit insula saxis:
spectabunt geminae diuerso e litore partes. 495
nescio quod nostris magnum et memorabile fatis
exemplum, Fortuna, paras. quaecumque per aeuom
exhibuit monumenta fides seruataque ferro
militiae pietas, transibit nostra iuuentus;
namque suis pro te gladiis incumbere, Caesar, 500
esse parum scimus: sed non maiora supersunt
obsessis tanti quae pignora demus amoris.
abscidit nostrae multum sors inuida laudi
quod non cum senibus capti natisque tenemur.
indomitos sciat esse uiros timeatque furentis 505
et morti faciles animos, et gaudeat hostis
non plures haesisse rates. temptare parabunt
foederibus turpique uolent corrumpere uita.
o utinam, quo plus habeat mors unica famae,
promittant ueniam iubeant sperare salutem, 510
ne nos, cum calido fodiemus uiscera 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. agnoscere solis

495. *diuerso*] 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 diuerso ex hoste tropaea bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentes.*

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 signally by using them against each other.

499. *transibit*] 'will surpass'. cf. II 65.

500. *suis*] sc. *nostris ipsorum*. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 473 *quisque suos patimur manes*. Compare the use of σφέτερος in Greek, Theocr. XXV 163 ὡσεὶ περ σφετέρῃσιν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ βάλλομαι ἄρτι.

501. *sed non*] 'but blockaded as we are we 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. *turpi...uita*] 'by the offer of a dishonoured life'.

511. *calido*] 'fiery', 'spirited'. cf. Sil. Ital. XV 337 *calidoque habitata Gradiuo pectora*, or it may be taken proleptically 'reeking'.

514. *recessum*] 'means of retreat'.

516. *proieci*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 435 *lucemque perosi proiecere animas*. Sen. Oed. 193 *qui fata proculcauit ac uitae bona proiecit atque abscidit et casus suos onerauit ipse.*

517. *furor est*] ''tis inspired frenzy'. cf. Cic. de div. I § 66 *inest igitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus iniecta atque*

permissum est quos iam tangit uicinia fati,
uicturosque dei celant ut uiuere durent,
felix esse mori. sic cunctas sustulit ardor 520
nobilium mentes iuuenum: cum sidera caeli
ante ducis uoces oculis umentibus omnes
adspicerent flexoque Vrsae temone pauerent:
idem cum fortes animos praecepta subissent
optauere diem. nec segnis mergere ponto 525
tunc erat astra polus: nam sol Ledaea tenebat
sidera uicino cum lux altissima Cancro est:
nox tum Thessalicas urgebat parua sagittas.
detegit orta dies stantis in rupibus Histros
pugnacesque mari Graia cum classe Liburnos. 530
temptauere prius suspenso uincere bello
foederibus, fieret captis si dulcior ipsa
mortis uita mora. stabat deuota iuuentus
damnata iam luce ferox securaque pugnae
promisso sibi fine manu: nullique tumultus 535
excussere uiris mentes ad summa paratas:
innumerasque simul pauci terraque marique
sustinuere manus: tanta est fiducia mortis.

inclusa diuinitus; ea si exarsit acrius furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus diuino instinctu concitatur.

519. *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 *scire mori sors prima uiris, sed proxima cogi.*

521. *cum sidera*] 'though before their leader spoke they all watched with tearful 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 μεσονυκτίον ποθ' ὥραν στρέφεται ὅτ' Ἄρκτος ἤδη κατὰ χεῖρα τὴν Βοώτεω.

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 revolution. 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 Thessalus; is tum urgetur nocte, hoc est, proxime praecedit noctem mediam, ut Cancer solem. cf. I 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 neighbour; *uicino Cancro* is ablative absolute, cf. I 248 *o male uicinis haec moenia condita Gallis.*

532. *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 ferrum ignemque Iouemque sustinuit totum unam non sustinet 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 uisum est fluxisse cruoris,
uersus ab hoste furor: primus dux ipse carinae 540
Volteius iugulo poscens iam fata retecto,
ecquis, ait, iuuenum est cuius sit dextra cruore
digna meo certaque fide per uolnera nostra
testetur se uelle mori? nec plura locuto
uiscera non unus iamdudum transigit ensis. 545
collaudat cunctos: sed eum cui uolnera prima
debebat grato moriens interficit ictu.
concurrunt alii totumque in partibus unis
bellorum fecere nefas. sic semine Cadmi
emicuit Dircaea cohors ceciditque suorum 550
uolneribus, dirum Thebanis fratribus omen;
Phasidos et campis insomni dente creati
terrigenae missa magicis e cantibus ira
cognato tantos complerunt sanguine sulcos:
ipsaque inexpertis quod primum fecerat herbis 555
expauit Medea nefas. sic mutua pacti
fata cadunt iuuenes: minimumque in morte uirorum
mors uirtutis habet: pariter sternuntque caduntque
uolnere letali: nec quemquam dextra fefellit
cum feriat moriente manu. nec uolnus adactis 560

540. *ab hoste*] i.e. *in sese.*

543. *certaque fide*] *qui* must be supied; 'and who will testify his readiness r death by the sure bond of smiting e'.

545. *iamdudum transigit*] 'pierces at ice', cf. note on II 524.

547. *grato moriens*] i.e. he shows his atitude by using his dying strength in lling him.

548. *totumque*] 'and wreaked all the rrors of war on the soldiers of one le'.

unis] For the use of *unus* in the plural, . Verg. Aen. II 642 *satis una superque dimus excidia.*

semine Cadmi] 'from the seed sown by dmus'. cf. Ov. Met. III 100 foll.

551. *Thebanis fratribus*] sc. Eteocles d Polynices.

552. *insomni dente*] i.e. the teeth of e sleepless dragon. cf. Ov. Met. VII 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 *nimiumque*, 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'.

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 enses. pietas ferientibus una 565
non repetisse fuit. iam latis uiscera lapsa
semianimes traxere foris multumque cruoris
infudere mari. despectam cernere lucem
uictoresque suos uoltu spectare superbo
et mortem sentire iuuat. iam strage cruenta 570
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 575
percipient gentes quam sit non ardua uirtus
seruitium fugisse manu; sed regna timentur
ob ferrum et saeuis libertas uritur armis,
ignoratque datos, ne quisquam seruiat, enses.
mors, utinam pauidos uitae subducere nolles 580
sed uirtus te sola daret. non segnior illo
Marte fuit qui tum Libycis exarsit in aruis.
namque rates audax Lilybaeo litore soluit
Curio: nec forti uelis Aquilone recepto
inter semirutas magnae Karthaginis arces 585

562. *iugulis*] '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.

565. *exegere*] cf. Verg. Aen. x 815, 816 *ualidum namque exigit ensem per medium Aenaeas iuuenem totumque recondit.*

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'.

573. *nullam*] 'never did fame...speak of aught more eloquently than of this raft'. For *nullus* cf. note on I 313.

maiore] cf. Verg. G. III 294 *nunc ore sonandum.*

576. *quam sit*] 'how easy an ad valour it is'.

577. *sed regna*] 'but tyranny is fe on account of the sword', i.e. becaus rants put men to death.

578. *uritur*] 'is galled'. cf. Herc. Oet. 623 *urit miserum gloria pe*

579. *ignoratque*] i.e. *libertas.* with some MSS. reads *ignorantque.*

580. *uitae subducere*] 'to with from life'.

581. *non segnior*] 'no less severe this war was that which blazed up i fields of Libya'.

584. *nec forti*] i.e. *et non forti*, ' the north wind blowing gently o 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,
Antaei quae regna uocat non uana uetustas. 590
nominis antiqui cupientem noscere causas
cognita per multos docuit rudis incola patres.
nondum post genitos Tellus effeta Gigantas
terribilem Libycis partum concepit in antris.
nec tam iusta fuit terrarum gloria Typhon 595
aut Tityos Briareusque ferox: caeloque pepercit
quod non Phlegraeis Antaeum sustulit aruis.
hoc quoque tam uastas cumulauit munere uires
terra sui fetus, quod cum tetigere parentem
iam defecta uigent renouato robore membra. 600
haec illi spelunca domus: latuisse sub alta
rupe ferunt, epulas raptos habuisse leones.
ad somnos non terga ferae praebere cubile
adsuerunt, non silua torum: uiresque resumit
in nuda tellure iacens. periere coloni 605
aruorum Libyes: pereunt quos adpulit aequor:
auxilioque diu uirtus non usa cadendi
terrae spernit opes: inuictus robore cunctis
quamuis staret erat. tandem uolgata cruenti

6. *stationis*] The place is called ilaria by Caesar B. C. II 23.

7. *prima*] Caesar l.c. says *triduique progressus ad flumen Bagradam per-t.*

ocul] 'at a short distance from'. cf. . Aen. III 13 *terra procul uastis coli-Mauortia campis*, and Conington's

8. *lentus*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. VI 140 *idus arentes lento pede sulcat harenas ada.*

9. *tumulos*] probably 'hills'. Mi-s thinks that it refers to the tomb ntaeus mentioned by Strabo XVII 8 , in which Sertorius was said to discovered a skeleton sixty cubits

0. *uetustas*] cf. Ov. Met. I 400 *quis redat nisi sit pro teste uetustas?*

1. *cognita*] 'the tale he had learned handed down through many generations of his sires'.

595. *nec tam iusta*] 'nor was Typhon so justly the pride of the earth'.

596. *caeloque pepercit*] 'and was merciful to heaven in that she did not raise up Antaeus 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 eloquentia cumulauit bellicam gloriam.*

601. *haec*] 'yonder cavern was his home'.

603. *terga*] 'hides'. cf. Verg. Aen. V 404 *tantorum ingentia septem terga boum.*

604. *silua*] i.e. beds of leaves.

609. *quamuis staret*] 'however much he kept his footing'.

fama mali terras monstris aequorque leuantem 610
magnanimum Alciden Libycas exciuit in oras.
ille Cleonaei proiecit terga leonis,
Antaeus Libyci. perfudit membra liquore
hospes Olympiacae seruato more palaestrae.
ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem 615
auxilium membris calidas infundit harenas.
conseruere manus et multo bracchia nexu.
colla diu grauibus frustra temptata lacertis:
immotumque caput fixa cum fronte tenetur:
miranturque habuisse parem. nec uiribus uti 620
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: tunc obliqua percussa labare 625
crura manu. iam terga uiri cedentia uictor
adligat et medium compressis ilibus artat:
inguinaque insertis pedibus distendit et omnem

610. *leuantem*] τὸν καθαίροντα. cf. Soph. Trach. 1058—1061 κοὐ ταῦτα λόγχῃ πεδιὰς οὔθ' ὁ γηγενὴς στρατὸς Γιγάντων οὔτε θήρειος βία, οὔθ' Ἑλλὰς οὔτ' ἄγλωσσος οὔθ' ὅσην ἐγὼ γαῖαν καθαίρων ἱκόμην, ἔδρασέ πω.

612. *proiecit*] 'threw on the ground before him', i.e. as they stripped for the encounter.

613. *liquore*] i.e. *oliuo*, 'oil'.

614. *more*] cf. Hor. Epp. II i 33 *luctamur Achiuis doctius unctis*. The Olympian games were said to have been instituted 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 contingeret*.

617. *nexu*] συμπλοκαῖς. cf. Ov. Met. VI 242 *et iam contulerant arto luctantia nexu pectora pectoribus*.

618. *colla diu*] '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 ὄμματα δ' ὀρθά.

620. *miranturque*] 'and they both wonder to have found a match'.

622. *exhausitque uirum*] 'but wearied out his opponent'.

625. *tunc 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 between Pollux and Amycus in Theocritus XXII all the blows are directed at the face and chest. For *obliqua* cf. 422 supr.

626. *iam terga*] '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 membra] to be taken closely with *omnem*, 'the whole of him from head to foot', implying that his stature was great.

explicuit per membra uirum. rapit arida tellus
sudorem: calido complentur sanguine uenae. 630
intumuere tori totosque induruit artus,
Herculeosque nouo laxauit corpore nodos.
constitit Alcides stupefactus robore tanto:
nec sic Inachiis quamuis rudis esset in undis
desectam timuit reparatis anguibus hydram. 635
conflixere pares, telluris uiribus ille,
ille suis. numquam saeuae sperare nouercae
plus licuit. uidet exhaustos sudoribus artus
ceruicemque uiri, siccam cum ferret Olympum.
utque itérum fessis iniecit bracchia membris, 640
non exspectatis Antaeus uiribus hostis
sponte cadit, maiorque accepto robore surgit.
quisquis inest terris in fessos spiritus artus
egeritur; tellusque uiro luctante laborat.
ut tandem auxilium tactae prodesse parentis 645
Alcides sensit: standum est tibi, dixit, et ultra
non credere solo sternique uetabere terra:
haerebis pressis intra mea pectora membris:

630. *sanguine*] cf. note on II 338.

632. *nouo*] 'fresh', 'refreshed'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 473 *nunc positis nouus exuuiis nitidusque iuuenta.*

nodos] i.e. the binding arms of Hercules: there is probably a reference to the famous knot of Hercules. cf. Plin. H. N. XXXVIII § 63; Sen. Epp. XIII ii (87) § 38 *bonum animum habe; unus tibi nodus sed Herculaneus restat.*

634. *quamuis rudis esset*] 'however new to fighting'.

635. *hydram*] cf. Hor. carm. IV iv 61 *non hydra secto corpore firmior uinci dolentem creuit in Herculem.*

637. *numquam*] 'never could his cruel stepdame (i.e. Juno) have had higher hopes', i.e. of his destruction.

638. *uidet*] 'she sees his limbs worn out with toil and his neck too, which was dry (i.e. did not feel the labour) when he supported Olympus'. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. IX 57, 58 *uidit in Herculeo suspensa monilia collo illo cui caelum sarcina parua fuit.* See also Ov. Met. IX 198 *hac caelum ceruice tuli?* This reading appears 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 *Hercules* as the predicate to *uidet*, 'he (Hercules) 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 II 409.

641. *non exspectatis*] 'without waiting to feel his foe's full strength'.

643. *spiritus*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 724—727 *principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentes lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.*

644. *egeritur*] 'rises from it', i.e. into his body.

laborat] 'labours to assist him'.

646. *standum est tibi*] 'stand you must'.

648. *intra*] 'within my embrace'.

huc Antaee cades. sic fatus, sustulit alte
nitentem in terras iuuenem. morientis in artus 650
non potuit nati Tellus submittere uires.
Alcides medium tenuit: iam pectora pigro
stricta gelu: terrisque diu non credidit hostem.
hinc aeui ueteris custos famosa uetustas
miratrixque sui signauit nomine terras. 655
sed maiora dedit cognomina collibus istis
Poenum qui Latiis reuocauit ab arcibus hostem
Scipio. nam sedes Libyca tellure potito
haec fuit. en ueteris cernis uestigia ualli.
Romana hos primum tenuit uictoria campos. 660
Curio laetatus tamquam fortuna locorum
bella gerat seruetque ducum sibi fata priorum
felici non fausta loco tentoria ponens
indulsit castris et collibus abstulit omen,
sollicitatque feros non aequis uiribus hostes. 665
omnis Romanis quae cesserat Africa signis
tum Vari sub iure fuit: qui robore quamquam
confisus Latio regis tamen undique uires
exciuit Libycae gentis extremaque mundi
signa suom comitata Iubam. non fusior ulli 670
terra fuit domino: qua sunt longissima regna
cardine ab occiduo uicinus Gadibus Atlas
terminat: a medio confinis Syrtibus Hammon.

649. *huc*] sc. *ad mea pectora*. Weise.

652. *medium tenuit*] cf. Aristoph. Equ. 387 νῦν γὰρ ἔχεται μέσος.

654. *famosa*] 'full of rumours', equivalent to *loquax*.

655. *miratrixque sui*] 'marvelling at its own exploits', cf. III 406.

656. *cognomina*] sc. castra Corneliana. cf. Caes. B. C. II 24.

657. *qui Latiis*] sc. Hannibal was recalled from Italy to defend Africa against Scipio, B.C. 203.

arcibus] cf. Verg. G. II 172 *imbellem auertis Romanis arcibus Indum*.

660. *Romana...uictoria*] 'Rome's victorious host'.

661. *fortuna locorum*] Oud. cf. Liv. VI 28 *fortunae loci delegauerant spes suas*. Ov. Met. IV 565 *tanquam fortuna locorum non sua se premeret*.

664. *indulsit castris*] castra lata posuit Schol. cf. Verg. G. II 276 *indulge ordinibus*.

665. *sollicitat*] 'challenges'.

668. *regis...uires...Libycae gentis*] 'the power of the king of the Libyan tribes', i.e. Juba. Grotius suggests *Libyae gentes* in apposition to *uires*, a reading which according to Oud. is supported by some MSS.

670. *fusior*] 'more widely spread', cf. Verg. Aen. VI 440 *nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem lugentes 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 direction to the ocean. Weise explains it as *a meridie Romanorum* (i.e. of the Roman

at qua lata iacet uasti plaga feruida regni,
distinet oceanum zonaeque exusta calentis, 675
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, aequaturusque sagittas 680
Medorum tremulum cum torsit missile Mazax,
et gens quae nudo residens Massylia dorso
ora leui flectit frenorum nescia uirga:
et solitus uacuis errare mapalibus Afer
uenator, ferrique simul fiducia non est 685
uestibus iratos laxis operire leones.
nec solum studiis ciuilibus arma parabat
priuatae sed bella dabat Iuba concitus irae.
hunc quoque quo superos humanaque polluit anno
lege tribunicia solio depellere auorum 690
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,

nce of Africa) *non Numidiae*, but seems a far-fetched interpretation. suggests *at medio...et qua lata*, i.e. in its midst lies Hammon's temple ering on the Syrtes'. cf. III 292— *cardo* is used of each of the four nal points, cf. V 72.

5. *distinet oceanum*] 'separates the 1', i.e. extends to the ocean in both tions, to the north and the south. cf. Heroid. VIII 69 *qua duo porrectus freta distinet Isthmos.*

6. *sufficiunt spatio*] 'suffice to make e wide extent'.

7. *semperque paratus*] 'ever ready his unbridled steed'.

0. *aequaturusque*] 'that will not o rival the arrows of the Medes', i.e. can throw a dart by hand as far as Parthians can shoot an arrow from a . cf. Verg. Aen. X 248 *ocior et ia- et uentos aequante sagitta.*

2. *nudo residens...dorso*] 'riding horses barebacked'. cf. Ov. Fast. 49 *pandi tergo residebat aselli.*

4. *uacuis*] 'scantily furnished', cf. . See also Verg. G. III 343—345 *omnia secum armentarius Afer agit tectumque laremque armaque Amyclaeumque canem Cressamque pharetram.*

685. *ferrique simul*] 'and as soon as he has no more confidence in his spear wont to cover raging lions with loose robes', i.e. to throw his robes over the lions' eyes to blind them.

687. *studiis ciuilibus*] 'with zeal for the state'.

688. *priuatae*] 'but was stirred to make war to satisfy his private enmity', literally, made war a present to his private enmity, cf. note on II 146 *non uni cuncta dabantur, sed fecit sibi quisque nefas.*

691. *Libyamque*] 'to tear Libya from her tyrant's sway while making Rome subject to a tyrant'.

692. *doloris*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 25 *nec- dum etiam causae irarum saeuique do- lores exciderant animo.*

693. *hoc bellum*] 'thinks this war his chief gain from the retention of his sceptre', i.e. because it gave him the means of revenging himself on Curio.

694. *hac*] refers to *arma parabat* supr. 687.

et quod Caesareis numquam deuota iuuentus 695
illa nimis castris nec Rheni miles in undis
exploratus erat, Corfini captus in arce,
infidusque nouis ducibus dubiusque priori,
fas utrumque putat. sed postquam languida segni
cernit cuncta metu nocturnaque munia ualli 700
desolata fuga trepida sic mente profatur:
audendo magnus tegitur timor: arma capessam
ipse prior: campum miles descendat in aequom
dum meus est: uariam semper dant otia mentem:
eripe consilium pugna: cum dira uoluntas 705
ense subit presso, galeae texere pudorem:
quis conferre duces meminit? quis pendere causas?
qua stetit inde fauet: ueluti fatalis harenae
muneribus non ira uetus concurrere cogit
productos; odere pares. sic fatus, apertis 710
instruxit campis acies: quem blanda futuris
deceptura malis belli fortuna recepit.
nam pepulit Varum campo nudataque foeda
terga fuga donec uetuerunt castra cecidit.

695. *et quod*] 'and he fears (*trepidat*) because this soldiery had never been thoroughly devoted to warfare on Caesar's side, nor had these troops been tested in the waves of Rhine, but captured in the citadel of Corfinium, faithless to their new leaders and treacherous to their former one (i.e. Domitius), they think both sides equally lawful'.

696. *nimis*] i.e. *ualde*. cf. Caes. B. G. VII 36 *is locus praesidio ab eis non nimis firmo tenebatur*.

700. *nocturnaque*] 'and the duties of the watch at night abandoned by desertion'.

702. *audendo*] ''tis by daring that great terror is concealed'.

703. *descendat*] A metaphor from the public games, cf. Cic. Tusc. disp. II § 62 *uidemusne apud quos magistros eorum ludorum qui gymnici nominantur magnus honos sit, nullum ab eis qui in id certamen descendant deuitari dolorem?*

704. *uariam*] 'idleness is ever the parent of vacillation'.

705. *eripe*] 'get rid of plotting by fighting'.

dira uoluntas] 'eagerness for bloodshed', cf. note on I 355.

706. *ense...presso*] 'when the sword firmly grasped', cf. VII 562. Weise c Ov. Met. VIII 37 *quaeque manu premo felicia frena uocabat*. Sil. Ital. II 6 *pressit ouans capulum*. Id. V 670 *pre omnis dextera ferrum*.

galeae] cf. Juv. VIII 203 *nec galea f ciem abscondit*.

707. *quis conferre*] 'who thinks comparing the leaders? who of balanc the causes?'

708. *qua stetit*] 'each favours the s on which he stands'.

709. *muneribus*] 'shows', cf. Juv. 36 *munera nunc edunt et uerso pollice m gus quem iubet occidunt populariter*.

710. *productos*] cf. Suet. Nero 4 *Romanos ad agendum mimum prod in scaenam*.

odere pares] 'they hate those match against them'.

711. *quem blanda*] 'whom the fort of war welcomed with flattering face, tending to cheat him with disasters in future'. For *blanda* cf. Tac. Hist. II *blandiebatur coeptis fortuna*: for re in the sense of welcoming, cf. Verg. A IV 214 *dominum Aenean in regna re*

714. *cecidit*] 'smote', 'cut up',

·istia sed postquam superati proelia Vari 715
ınt audita Iubae: laetus quod gloria belli
ıt rebus seruata suis, rapit agmina furtim,
bscuratque suam per iussa silentia famam,
oc solum metuens incautus ab hoste timeri.
ıittitur exigua qui proelia prima lacessat 720
liciatque manu Numidis a rege secundus
t sibi commissi simulator Sabura belli.
ɔse caua regni uires in ualle retentat:
spidas ut Pharias cauda sollertior hostis
ıdit et iratas incerta prouocat umbra: 725
bliquusque caput uanas serpentis in auras
ffusae tuto comprendit guttura morsu
ɛtiferam citra saniem: tunc irrita pestis
xprimitur faucesque fluunt pereunte ueneno.
fraudibus euentum dederat Fortuna: feroxque 730
.on exploratis occulti uiribus hostis
:urio nocturnum castris erumpere cogit
ɜnotisque equitem late discurrere campis.
ɔse sub Aurorae primos excedere motus
igna iubet castris multum frustraque rogatus 735
ıt Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper
'unica bella dolis. leti fortuna propinqui
radiderat fatis iuuenem: bellumque trahebat

.nn. XI 23 *quorum aui...exercitus ferro uique ceciderunt.*

hoc solum] 'fearing only this that ı want of caution on his own part :my should be struck with fear of .e. should hear of his approach in ıd so retreat.

ut sibi] 'pretending that the war n entrusted to him to wage'.

hostis] i.e. the ichneumon. cf. Plin. VIII § 88 *deinde internecinum bel- m ichneumone; notum est animal ria maxime in eadem natum Ae- mergit se limo saepius siccatque nox ubi pluribus eodem modo se 'oricauit in dimicationem pergit; ıudam attollens ictus inritos auer- ·pit, donec obliquo capite speculatus t in fauces.*

incerta...umbra] 'with the wav- ts bushy tail', cf. the Greek σκιου- ence our word *squirrel* through the Lat. diminutive *sciurulus.*

726. *uanas*] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. VII 786 *uacuos exercet in aera morsus.*

728. *letiferam*] 'seizes its throat so as to keep clear of the deadly venom', cf. VI 211. Ov. Trist. V viii 23 *peccaui citra scelus.*

729. *faucesque*] 'and the jaws are drenched with wasted poison'.

730. *euentum*] 'success', cf. Plin. Epp. V xx § 2 *egi pro Vareno non sine euentu.* Juv. XI 196 *euentum uiridis quo colligo panni.*

733. *discurrere*] cf. I 476.

734. *motus*] 'at the first break of dawn'.

737. *Punica*] cf. Liv. XXI 4 *perfidia plus quam Punica.*

leti] '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 ciuile suom. super ardua ducit
saxa super cautes abrupto limite signa: 740
cum procul e summis conspecti collibus hostes
fraude sua cessere parum, dum colle relicto
effusam patulis aciem committeret aruis:
ille fugam credens, simulatae nescius artis,
ut uictor medios aciem proiecit in agros. 745
tum primum patuere doli Numidaeque fugaces
undique completis clauserunt montibus agmen.
obstupuit dux ipse simul perituraque turba.
non timidi petiere fugam non proelia fortes:
quippe ubi non sonipes motus clangore tubarum 750
saxa quatit pulsu, 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: 755
pectora rauca gemunt quae creber anhelitus urget,
et defecta grauis longe trahit ilia pulsus,
siccaque sanguineis durescit spuma lupatis.
iamque gradum neque uerberibus stimulisque coacti,
nec, quamuis crebris iussi calcaribus, addunt: 760

struction', cf. VII 346 Ov. Met. I 190, 191 *sed immedicabile uolnus ense recidendum ne pars sincera trahatur.*

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 without any idea of comparison. cf. Sen. Ep. XIX vii (116) § 7 *dolebimus, sed parum: concupiscemus, sed temperate; irascemur, sed placabimur.* Quintil. IX 4 § 40 *atqui eadem illa littera, quotiens ultima est et uocalem uerbi sequentis ita contingit, ut in eam transire possit, etiamsi scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur.*

744. *simulatae*] pretending to be other than it really is, and so 'treacherous'. cf. Verg. Aen. IV 105 *sensit enim simulata mentis laetitia.*

746. *patuere*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 309, 310 *iam non non manifesta fides Danaumque patuerunt insidiae.*

750. *quippe ubi*] 'since there no longer does the steed, roused by the trumpet's blare, shake the rocks with stamp foot'.

751. *rigidos*] 'wearing away his mo as it worries the stiff curb'. Oud. cf. Ital. v. 147 *stat sonipes uexatque f spumantia frena.* More often the h is said *frena terere*, cf. Ov. A. A. *frenaque magnanimi dente teruntur a*

753. *incertoque*] 'and shifting his restlessly fights against standing s cf. Verg. G. III 84 *stare loco nescit.*

pugnat] For *pugnare* with infinitiv Ov. Amor. I v 14 *pugnabat tunica tamen illa tegi.*

tumultu] cf. Stat. Theb. VI 588– *uariasque per artes instimulant docto guentia membra tumultu.*

755. *proiecta*] 'protruding'.

757. *ilia*] Weise cf. Stat. Theb. V *longi suspendunt ilia flatus.*

758. *siccaque*] 'and the froth and hardens on their blood-stained b

759. *gradum...addunt*] 'increase pace'. cf. Verg. G. I 513 *addunt in*. 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 uolnere donat.
at uagus Afer equos ut primum emisit in agmen 765
tum campi tremuere sono: terraque soluta,
quantus Bistonio torquetur turbine puluis,
aera nube sua texit traxitque tenebras.
ut uero in pedites fatum miserabile belli
incubuit: nullo dubii discrimine Martis 770
ancipites steterunt casus sed tempora pugnae
mors tenuit. neque enim licuit procurrere contra
et miscere manus. sic undique saepta iuuentus
comminus obliquis et rectis eminus hastis
obruitur: non uolneribus nec sanguine, solum 775
telorum nimbo peritura ac pondere ferri.
ergo acies tantae paruom spissantur in orbem:
ac si quis metuens medium correpsit in agmen
uix impune suos inter conuertitur enses.
densaturque globus, quantum pede prima relato 780
constrinxit gyros acies. non arma mouendi
iam locus est pressis, stipataque membra teruntur:
frangitur armatum colliso pectore pectus.
non tam laeta tulit uictor spectacula Maurus
quam Fortuna dabat: fluuios non ille cruoris 785
membrorumque uidet lapsum et ferientia terram

761. *uolneribus*] i.e. as the spurs are ı use, they try to stir up their horses th their swords.

762. *neque enim*] 'for they had no wer to rush and charge the foe'.

764. *spatium...donat*] 'saves him so ıg a shot', cf. VI 58. Sil. Ital. I 487 *ualem Pyrenen Alpesque tibi mea dex- ı donat.* Val. Flacc. I 473 *donat et biclo pelagus iuuenumque labores Aeso- des.*

766. *terraque soluta*] 'as the earth was ɔken up'. cf. Verg. G. I 44 *putris se ɪeba resoluit.*

767. *Bistonio*] cf. Hor. carm. I XXV 12 *ıracio bacchante magis sub interlunia ıto.*

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. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. VIII 419 *nec locus ad ter- ram telis; in corpora ferrum omne cadit.*

779. *suos*] i.e. *suorum.*

780. *quantum*] 'the more the front rank as it retired drew close the circle'.

784. *non tam laeta*] 'the conquering Moors did not see such a joyful spectacle as Fortune really gave'.

corpora: compressum turba stetit omne cadauer.
excitet inuisas dirae Karthaginis umbras
inferiis Fortuna nouis: ferat ista cruentus
Hannibal et Poeni tam dira piacula manes. 790
Romanam, superi, Libyca tellure ruinam
Pompeio prodesse nefas uotisque senatus:
Africa nos potius uincat sibi. Curio fusas
ut uidit campis acies, et cernere tantas
permisit clades compressus sanguine puluis, 795
non tulit adflictis 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 800
arma dabas populis? quid prodita iura senatus,
et gener atque socer bello concurrere iussi?
ante iaces quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,
spectandumque tibi bellum ciuile negatum est.
has urbi miserae uestro de sanguine poenas 805
nempe datis: luitis iugulo sic arma, potentes?
felix Roma quidem ciuesque habitura beatos,
si libertatis superis tam cura placeret
quam uindicta placet. Libycas en nobile corpus

787. *stetit*] 'stood upright'. cf. III 444, 445.

789. *inferiis*] cf. Hor. carm. II i 27 *uictorum nepotes rettulit inferias Iugurthae.*

793. *Africa*] stands here not as usual for the Roman province of Africa, but for the continent, equivalent to Libya. cf. IX 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 motus animorum atque haec certamina tanta pulueris exigui 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 tribune's skill in speaking'. Cortius followed by Oud. reads *arce*, which would be in apposition with *unde*. Oud. cf. Liv. III 45 *si tribunicium auxilium et prouocationem plebi Romanae...duas arces libertatis tuendae...ademistis.*

signifer] cf. Cic. 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 I 289 *socerum depellere regno decretum 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 uiuacis ab ipsa ante feram.*

potentes] cf. I 271.

809. *quam uindicta*] cf. Tac. Hist. I 3 *nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi*

pascit aues nullo contectus Curio busto. 810
at tibi nos, quando non proderit ista silere
a quibus omne aeui senium sua fama repellit,
digna damus, iuuenis, meritae praeconia uitae.
haud alium tanta ciuem tulit indole Roma,
aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti. 815
perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt saecula, postquam
ambitus et luxus et opum metuenda facultas
transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt:
momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum
Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro. 820
ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense
Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus
Caesareaeque domus series: cui tanta potestas
concessa est? emere omnes hic uendidit urbem.

Romani cladibus magisue iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

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'.

812. *senium*] is always the decay of old age, cf. I 130. Stat. Theb. IX 318 *uestrum opus ire retro et senium defendere famae.* cf. also Tac. H. II 24.

813. *digna*] 'such a panegyric as thy life deserves'.

815. *recta sequenti*] 'had he followed the path of right'.

817. *ambitus*] cf. I 179. Sen. dial. II ii § 2 *Cato...cum ambitu congressus, multiformi malo, et cum potentiae inmensa cupiditate.*

818. *transuerso*] opposed to *recta* 815, supr. 'swept away his wavering mind with sidelong flood'. cf. II 412.

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 refixit.*

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER QUINTUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK V.

The consuls call a meeting of the Senate in Epirus 1—14. Lentulus proposes tha Pompeius should be appointed to the command of the war 15—48; the allie are thanked and rewarded 49—64. Appius goes to consult the oracle of Delph description of the spot 65—85. Origin and character of the oracle 86—12 Appius compels the priestess to prophesy 120—236. Caesar's troops muti 237—315; he quells the mutiny 316—373. Caesar collects a fleet, returns Rome and assumes the dictatorship 374—402; he crosses over from Brundusi to Epirus 403—461, and encamps opposite Pompeius 462—475. As Anton delays to follow, Caesar crosses over in a small boat to fetch him on a stor night 476—677; his soldiers remonstrate with him on his return 678—7 Antonius crosses with the rest of Caesar's troops 703—721. Pompeius se away his wife Cornelia to Lesbos for safety 722—815.

Sic alterna duces bellorum uolnera passos
in Macetum terras miscens aduersa secundis
seruauit Fortuna pares. iam sparserat Haemo
bruma niues gelidoque cadens Atlantis Olympo:
instabatque dies qui dat noua nomina fastis 5
quique colit primus ducentem tempora Ianum.
dum tamen emeriti remanet pars ultima iuris,

1. *uolnera*] 'disasters'. cf. Tac. Agric. 7 *sequens annus graui uolnere animum domumque eius adflixit.*

2. *in Macetum terras...pares*] 'to meet in strife in the land of Macedon'. cf. note on I 7.

4. *Atlantis*] 'Atlas' daughter sailing from the now cooling sky', i.e. it was late autumn when the Pleiades set. cf. Verg. G. I 221 *ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur.*

5. *dies*] i.e. the kalends of Jan on which the new consuls ent office.

6. *colit*] The day itself is said to hon Janus, as being the first of the mo named after him.

7. *emeriti*] is explained by *ult* 'that has run its course'. cf. Ov. I III 43, 44 *quo minus emeritis exire c bus annus restabant nitido iam duo s deo.*

consul uterque uagos belli per munia Patres
elicit Epirum. peregrina ac sordida sedes
Romanos cepit proceres: secretaque rerum 10
hospes in externis audiuit 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, 15
Lentulus excelsa sublimis sede profatur:
indole si dignum Latia, si sanguine prisco
robur inest animis, non qua tellure coacti,
quamque procul tectis captae sedeamus ab urbis,
cernite: sed uestrae faciem cognoscite turbae: 20
cunctaque iussuri primum hoc decernite, Patres,
quod regnis populisque liquet, nos esse senatum.
nam uel Hyperboreae plaustrum glaciale sub Vrsae,
uel plaga qua torrens claususque uaporibus axis
nec patitur noctes nec iniquos crescere soles, 25
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 30
Caesar habet uacuasque 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 locat hospite cumba.*

12. *iure*] in opposition to *bello.*

14. *non Magni*] 'that they were not Magnus' partizans, but he was theirs'. Oud. cf. Vell. Pat. II xlix § 2 *consules senatusque causae non Pompeio summam imperi detulerunt.*

partes] cf. Tac. Ann. XVI 7 *obiectatique Cassio quod inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset ita inscriptum, duci partium.*

18. *non*] is written here instead of *ne* if *refert* or something to that effect was follow and not an imperative: the use of *non* for *ne* is reckoned by Quintilian I v § 50 as an instance of *soloecismus.*

coacti] cf. note on III 104.

21. *cunctaque iussuri*] 'ye who will issue orders on all things', implying that their orders would be obeyed.

24. *claususque uaporibus axis*] 'the region shut off by heat', i.e. made uninhabitable. cf. Hor. carm. I xxii 21, 22 *pone sub curru nimium propinqui solis in terra domibus negata;* for *clausus* cf. infr. 407, Verg. Aen. I 234 *cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis.*

25. *nec patitur*] 'suffers neither nights nor days to lengthen and become unequal'. *iniquos* is part of the predicate and is to be taken with both *noctes* and *soles.*

26. *si fortuna ferat*] 'should fortune sweep us thither'.

sequetur] 'will attend us'.

30. *solo*] cf. Juv. XI 49 *qui uertere solum Baias et ad ostrea currunt.*

clausaque iustitio tristi fora. curia solos
illa uidet Patres plena quos urbe fugauit.
ordine de tanto quisquis non exsulat hic est.
ignaros scelerum longaque in pace quietos 35
bellorum primus sparsit furor: omnia rursus
membra loco redeunt. en totis uiribus orbis
Hesperiam pensant superi: iacet hostis in undis
obrutus Illyricis: Libyae squalentibus aruis
Curio Caesarei cecidit pars magna senatus. 40
tollite signa, duces: fatorum impellite cursum:
spem uestram praestate deis: fortunaque tantos
det nobis animos, quantos fugientibus hostem
causa dabat. nostrum exhausto ius clauditur anno:
uos, quorum finem non est sensura potestas, 45
consulite in medium, Patres, Magnumque iubete
esse ducem. laeto nomen clamore senatus
excipit: et Magno fatum patriaeque suomque
imposuit. tunc in reges populosque merentis
sparsus honos, pelagique potens Phoebeia donis 50
exornata Rhodos gelidique inculta iuuentus
Taygeti: fama ueteres laudantur Athenae:
Massiliaeque suae donatur libera Phocis.

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 exsulat*] 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 ὡς οὐ δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν ὅτι ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀφέστηκε. cf. also Ov. Trist. V x 37 *barbarus hic ego sum quia non intelligor ulli.*

35. *ignaros scelerum*] 'ignorant of civil war' and so unprepared for it.

37. *loco*] dative, 'to their place'.

38. *Hesperiam pensant*] 'make up for the loss of Italy', not 'of Spain' as Weise takes it.

39. *Libyae*] cf. I 205, 206.

41. *fatorum impellite cursum*] 'hasten on the course of destiny'. cf. infr. 108, VII 452.

42. *spem uestram*] 'give the gods a warrant for your hopes', i.e. by following them up in action.

44. *causa*] 'the justice of your cause'.

exhausto...anno] 'at the close of the year'. cf. Tac. Hist. IV 29 *sic exhausto nocte nouam aciem dies aperuit.*

45. *non est sensura*] 'will not be subject to'. cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 68 *rabiem et ipsae (camelí) sentiunt.* See also note on II 598.

46. *in medium*] 'for the common weal', cf. Verg. G. I 127 *in medium quaerebant.* cf. note on I 89.

49. *imposuit*] 'laid on Pompeius the burden of their own and their country's fate', a stronger word than *commisit.* cf. Cic. pro Sest. § 60 *nec illi committendum illud negotium sed imponendum putarunt.*

50. *honos*] 'honorary votes'.

Phoebeia] Rhodes was sacred to the sun with whom Apollo was identified in later times. cf. Pindar Olym. VII 54 foll.

51. *inculta*] 'rugged': the Laconians are meant.

52. *fama ueteres*] 'of ancient renown'.

53. *Massiliaeque suae*] 'and the free-

tum Sadalen, fortemque Cotyn, fidumque per arma
Deiotarum, et gelidae dominum Rhasipolin orae 55
collaudant: Libyamque iubent auctore senatu
sceptrifero parere Iubae. pro tristia fata:
en tibi, non fidae gentis dignissime regno,
Fortunae, Ptolemaee, pudor crimenque deorum,
cingere Pellaeo pressos diademate crines 60
permissum. saeuom in populos, puer, accipis ensem:
atque utinam in populos. donata est regia Lagi,
accessit Magni iugulus: regnumque sorori
ereptum est soceroque nefas. iam turba soluto
arma petit coetu. quae cum populique ducesque 65
casibus incertis et caeca sorte pararent,
solus in ancipites metuit descendere Martis
Appius euentus: finemque expromere rerum
sollicitat superos, multosque obducta per annos
Delphica fatidici reserat penetralia Phoebi. 70
Hesperio tantum quantum submotus Eoo
cardine Parnasus gemino petit aethera colle,
mons Phoebo 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. *sceptrifero*] i.e. ut et rex diceretur. Schol.

58. *non fidae*] cf. Propert. III xi 33 *uxia Alexandrea dolis 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 pendulam et ad omnia famae momenta uolitantem.*

59. *Fortunae...pudor*] 'scandal of Fortune'.

crimen] i.e. propter quem di incusantur. cf. II 288.

60. *Pellaeo*] 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 502 *tot premit ordinibus tot adhuc compagibus altum aedificat caput.*

62. *in populos*] i.e. in populos solum.

63. *sorori*] sc. Cleopatra, who had been appointed joint sovereign of Egypt with her brother by the will of their father Ptolemaeus Auletes.

64. *socero*] 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'.

69. *multosque obducta*] cf. Juv. VI 555 *quoniam Delphis oracula cessant et genus humanum damnat caligo futuri.*

71. *submotus*] 'distant', equivalent to *remotus*. cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 193 *hic spelunca fuit uasto submota sub antro semihominis Caci.* Delphi was supposed to be the centre of the earth, cf. Pindar Pyth. IV 131, 132 *μάντευμα πὰρ μέσον ὀμφαλὸν εὐδένδρου ῥηθὲν ματέρος.* Aesch. Eumen. 40 *ὁρῶ δ' ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ μὲν ἄνδρα θεομυσῆ.* Strabo IX iii § 5 (419).

72. *cardine*] cf. note on IV 73.

gemino] cf. III 173.

73. *Bromio*] i.e. Baccho.

cui] i.e. *monti*, 'whereto the Bacchae 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 75
emicuit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.
tu quoque uix summam seductus ab aequore 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,
incubuitque adyto uates ibi factus Apollo. 85
quis latet hic superum? quod numen ab aethere pressum
dignatur caecas inclusum habitare cauernas?
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. I 316—319 *mons ibi uerticibus petit arduus astra duobus, nomine Parnasus, superatque cacumine nubes. hic ubi Deucalion, nam cetera texerat aequor, cum consorte tori parua rate uectus adhaesit.*

76. *emicuit*] 'shot up'.

discrimen] 'and was all that separated the sea and the stars'. cf. Verg. Aen. IX 142—144 *quibus haec medii fiducia ualli fossarumque morae leti discrimina parua dant animos.* Ov. ex Ponto I viii 61, 62 *unde sed hoc nobis, minimum quos inter et hostem discrimen murus clausaque porta 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.

Themis] cf. Aesch. Eumen. 2—4 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν ἡ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἔζετο μαντεῖον.

83. *diuinam*] 'breathed forth god-given certainty, and that the ground exhaled speaking airs'. cf. Strabo IX iii (419) φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κα κατὰ βάθους οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρε δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν.

85. *uates ibi factus*] 'and there bec a seer'.

86. *pressum*] 'forced down f heaven'. cf. Verg. G. II 26 *silwarum aliae pressos propaginis arcus expectan*

88. *omnia cursus*] 'comprehendin the secrets of the eternal course of thi and conscious of the future of the worl

91. *contactusque ferens*] Oud. cf. de benef. IV xix § 2 *hunc igitur insaep ingenti quidem et inexplicabili muro sumque a contactu et a conspectu m lium non habes quare uerearis*, in w passage Seneca is arguing against the cureans.

93. *forsan*] 'maybe some great tion of entire Jove, enclosed in the to guide it, which holds the round w balanced in the empty air, finds an through the caves of Cirrha and is d forth still united to the Thunderc high'. The reference is to the doctrine of the *anima mundi*, cf. IX —580, Verg. Aen. VI 724—734.

aere libratum uacuo quae sustinet orbem
totius pars magna Iouis Cirrhaea per antra 95
exit et aetherio trahitur conexa Tonanti.
hoc ubi uirgineo conceptum est pectore numen
humanam feriens animam sonat oraque uatis
soluit; ceu Siculus flammis urgentibus Aetnam
undat apex: Campana fremens ceu saxa uaporat 100
conditus Inarimes aeterna mole Typhoeus.
hoc tamen expositum cunctis nullique negatum
numen ab humani solum se labe furoris
uindicat. haud illic tacito mala uota susurro
concipiunt. nam fixa canens mutandaque nulli, 105
mortales optare uetat: iustisque benignus
saepe dedit sedem totas mutantibus urbes,
ut Tyriis: dedit ille minas impellere belli,
ut Salaminiacum meminit mare: sustulit iras

94. *sustinet*] Cf. Eur. Troad. 884—887 ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν, ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σὺ δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν, προσηυξάμην σε.

96. *trahitur*] i.e. from the cave, rather than as the Scholiast takes it 'down from heaven'.

98. *humanam*] 'it smites the human soul and thus finds utterance'.

99. *ceu Siculus*] The comparison seems to be between the violence with which the oracles are forced out of the priestess and that of the eruption of Aetna. cf. infr. 118 foll., Verg. Aen. VI 77—80.

100. *undat*] cf. Verg. G. I 471 *quotiens Cyclopum efferuere in agros uidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam.*

101. *Inarimes*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 716, 717 *tum sonitu Prochyta alta tremit magnumque cubile Inarime Iouis imperiis imposta Typhoeo.*

102. *expositum*] 'easy of access'. cf. Plin. Epp. I x § 2 *est enim* (*Euphrates*) *obuius et expositus plenusque humanitate quam praecipit.* Stat. Silu. V iii 246 *quid referam expositos seruato pondere mores?*

103. *furoris*] 'wickedness' generally, perhaps with a reference to the Stoic doctrine, cf. Hor. Sat. II iii 41—44 *quem mala stultitia et quemcunque inscitia ueri caecum agit insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex autumat; haec populos haec magnos formula reges excepto sapiente tenet.*

104. *tacito*] cf. Pers. II 5—7 *at bona pars procerum tacita libabit acerra; haud cuiuis promptum est murmurque humilesque susurros tollere de templis et aperto uiuere uoto.*

mala uota] Compare the story of the Spartan Glaucus in Herod. VI 86, Juv. XIII 199—207.

105. *concipiunt*] 'do men formulate'. cf. Ov. Met. VII 593, 594 *dum uota sacerdos concipit;* so *conceptis uerbis* means 'in a set form of words'. cf. Petron. 113 *iurat Eumolpus uerbis conceptissimis.*

106. *optare*] i.e. to pray for any change by bribing the gods, cf. Pers. II 29, 30 *aut quidnam est qua tu mercede deorum emeris auriculas? pulmone et lactibus unctis?*

108. *ut Tyriis*] Weise refers to Diodor. Sic. XXV 2; the Tyrians having consulted the oracle in consequence of the earthquakes from which they suffered, cf. III 217, were ordered to found colonies.

minas impellere belli] i.e. fortiter et ultro bellum facere contra hostes, cf. supr. 41 *fatorum impellite cursum* Weise. If this be the right explanation it must refer to the encouragement given to the Athenians by the oracle as interpreted by Themistocles. cf. Herod. VII 140—143. Another way would be to take *minas impellere belli* as 'to strike down the threats of war', i.e. 'the threatening foe'. cf. 757 infr., I 149, VIII 707.

109. *meminit*] 'testifies'.

telluris sterilis monstrato fine: resoluit 110
aera 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
Cirrhaeae maerent uates, templique fruuntur 115
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
concutiunt fragiles animas. sic tempore longo 120
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 125
Phemonoen errore uagam curisque uacantem
corripuit cogitque fores irrumpere templi.
limine terrifico metuens consistere Phoebas
absterrere ducem noscendi ardore futura
cassa fraude parat. quid spes, ait, improba ueri 130

110. *monstrato*] cf. Verg. G. IV 549 *monstratas excitat aras.*

fine] cf. Hor. Epod. XVII 36 *quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?*

resoluit] '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'.

114. *nec uoce*] 'nor do Cirrha's priestesses grieve that utterance is forbidden, but enjoy the temple's idleness'. *que* is here disjunctive.

116. *sub pectora*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 77—80 *at Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro bacchatur uates, magnum si pectore possit excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat os rabidum fera corda domans fingitque domando.*

118. *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, nullà spes, omnia muta.*

fluctu] 'surging tide'. cf. Catul. LXIV 97, 98 *qualibus incensam iactastis mente puellam fluctibus.*

119. *compages*] 'the human frame is shaken'. cf. the use of *crates* in Verg. Aen. XII 508 *transadigit costas et crates pectoris ensem.*

120. *concutiunt*] 'shatter', the metaphor is apparently from the wind breaking the branches of a tree.

122. *ad ultima*] is to be taken with *scrutator*, 'prying into the fate of Italy to the furthest point'.

124. *deis immittere*] 'to send in to visit the gods'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 50, 51 *afflatus est numine quando iam propiore dei.* Ovid. cf. Sil. Ital. I 124 *intrauit mentes superum* (*sacerdos*).

126. *Phemonoen*] This was said to have been the name of the first Pythian priestess, cf. Strabo IX iii § 5 (419).

uagam curisque uacantem] cf. Hor. carm. I xxii 10, 11 *ultra terminum curis uagor expeditis.*

130. *improba*] 'excessive', 'unprincipled'.

te, Romane, trahit? muto Parnasus hiatu
conticuit pressitque deum: seu spiritus istas
destituit fauces mundique in deuia uersum
duxit iter: seu barbarica cum lampade Python
arsit in immensas cineres abiere cauernas 135
et Phoebi tenuere uiam: seu sponte deorum
Cirrha silet, fatique sat est arcana futuri
carmine longaeuae uobis commissa Sibyllae:
seu Paean solitus templis arcere nocentis
ora quibus soluat nostro non inuenit aeuo. 140
uirginei patuere doli fecitque negatis
numinibus metus ipse fidem. tum torta priores
stringit uitta comas crinesque in terga solutos
candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro.
haerentem dubiamque premens in templa sacerdos 145
impulit. 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 *licet inde* (*ex Phocide*) *quoque ad Indici montis secretum obumbratumque scopulum nube perpetua posterius migrasse* (*Apollinem*) *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. *abiere*] 'penetrated'.

136. *et Phoebi*] 'and so choked Phoebus' 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'. *esse* is omitted after *commissa*, as the Scholiast 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 te liba Priape quotannis exspectare sat est*.

139. *arcere nocentis*] Compare the complaint of the Furies against Apollo in Aesch. Eum. 169 ἐφεστίῳ δὲ μάντις ὢν μιάσματι μυχὸν ἔχρανας αὐτόσυτος αὐτόκλητος.

140. *ora quibus soluat*] i.e. *homines quibus ora sua soluat*, 'men who deserve that he should unlock his lips to answer them'. cf. IX 554—557.

141. *uirginei*] i.e. *uirginis Phemonoes*, not 'maidenly' generally; compare the use of *uirilis* in Ov. Met. III 189 *uoltumque uirilem perfudit* i.e. *uiri Actaeonis* mentioned before.

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.

144. *infula*] cf. Verg. Aen. X 537, 538 *Phoebi Triuiaeque sacerdos, infula cui sacra redimibat tempora uitta*, on which Servius remarks, *infula, fascia in modum diadematis a qua uittae ab utraque parte dependent: quae plerumque lata est, plerumque tortilis, ex albo et cocco*.

146. *pauens*] 'shrinking from the oracular recess in the inmost shrine'.

148. *sub pectore*] 'invented in the depths of an uninspired breast'.

uerba refert nullo confusae murmure uocis
instinctam sacro mentem testata furore, 150
haud aeque laesura ducem cui falsa canebat
quam tripodas Phoebique fidem. non rupta trementi
uerba sono, nec uox antri complere capacis
sufficiens spatium, nulloque horrore comarum
excussae laurus immotaque culmina templi 155
securumque nemus ueritam se credere Phoebo
prodiderant. sentit tripodas cessare, furensque
Appius, et nobis meritas dabis, impia, poenas,
et superis quos fingis, ait, nisi mergeris antris,
deque orbis trepidi tanto consulta tumultu 160
desinis 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 ingessit uati; tandemque potitus 165
pectore Cirrhaeo non umquam plenior artus
Phoebados irrupit Paean: mentemque priorem
expulit atque hominem toto sibi cedere iussit
pectore. bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
colla ferens, uittasque dei Phoebeaque serta 170
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 aeque 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 *aduersi rupto ceu quondam turbine uenti confligunt.*

154. *nulloque horrore*] 'nor were the wreaths of bay shaken off by the bristling of her hair'.

157. *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 nouali*s.

161. *ipsa*] 'of thine own motion', ipsius inuenta, non dei. Weise.

163. *haesit*] 'remained there'.

insueto] not equivalent to *desueto* as had never been inspired before. cf. st 117.

164. *quod non—uati*] 'which the pour of the rock...breathed into the pr tess' frame'.

166. *pectore Cirrhaeo*] i.e. 'worth Apollo'.

non umquam] 'never with fuller stre forced a way into the priestess' frame'. IV 122.

168. *hominem*] 'human nature'. Verg. Aen. II 591 *confessa deam.*

169. *aliena*] i.e. not under her control. cf. Hor. Sat. II iii 72 *malis ri tem alienis* according to one interpreta

170. *uittasque dei*] 'and with the lets of the god and Phoebus' garl shaken off as her hair stood on end'. 336 *cineresque ingesta sepulcri.*

ceruice rotat, spargitque uaganti
; tripodas, magnoque exaestuat igni,
e, Phoebe, ferens. nec uerbere solo
stimulis flammasque in uiscera mergis: 175
:t frenos: nec tantum prodere uati
ı scire licet. uenit aetas omnis in unam
m: miserumque premunt tot saecula pectus.
ıtet rerum series atque omne futurum
ı lucem: uocemque petentia fata 180
r: non prima dies non ultima mundi
lus oceani numerus non deerat harenae.
Euboico uates Cumana recessu,
a suom multis seruire furorem
, ex tanta fatorum strage superba 185
t Romana manu. sic plena laborat
oe Phoebo, dum te, consultor operti
tellure dei, uix inuenit, Appi,
a diu quaerens tam magna latentem.
tum primum rabies uaesana per ora 190
t gemitus, et anhelo clara meatu
a: tum maestus uastis ululatus in antris,
eque sonant domita iam uirgine uoces:

. I 566, Val. Flac. I 208, *mamque per auras surrotat.*
ntra se habens. Weise.
] 'nor dost thou ply the ad, and plunge thy fires ast; she has to bear the cf. Verg. Aen. VI 100, *enti concutit et stimulos Apollo.*
um] 'nor is the priestess l all she is suffered to
tas] 'all future time gast heap'.
'struggles to the light'. Ponto II vii 27 *et quot ur in aera pennis.*
tia] 'vie in seeking utter-
ceani] 'the compass of
The point of comparison ut probably *talis* implies uggle'. The simile is a very strange one, as one prophetess is compared to another.

Euboico] Cumae was founded by settlers from Cyme in Aeolis and from Chalcis 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. I 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 thee 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'.

meatu] i.e. respiration. cf. Plin. Epp. VI xvi § 13 *meatus animae qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis grauior et sonantior erat.*

193. *extremae*] 'at last'.

domita] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 79, 80.

effugis ingentis tanti discriminis expers
bellorum, o Romane, minas: solusque quietem 195
Euboici uasta lateris conualle tenebis.
cetera subpressit faucesque obstruxit Apollo.
  custodes tripodes fatorum arcanaque mundi,
tuque potens ueri, Paean, nullumque futuri
a superis celate diem, suprema ruentis 200
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? 205
uindicis an gladii facinus poenasque furoris
regnaque ad ultores iterum redeuntia Brutos
ut peragat Fortuna, taces? tum pectore uatis
impactae cessere fores expulsaque templis
prosiluit: perstat rabies; nec cuncta locutae, 210
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 215
terribilis sed pallor inest: nec fessa quiescunt
corda, sed ut tumidus Boreae post flamina pontus

194. *effugis*] obscure mortem denuntiat; nam in Euboea iste periit, in ciuitate Chalcide. Schol. cf. Val. Max. I viii § 10 where the oracle is given thus, *nihil ad te hoc Romane bellum; Euboeae coela* (κοῖλα) *obtinebis*.

195. *solus*] 'by thyself', i.e. he was not to die in battle, but by a natural death.

199. *potens ueri*] 'master of the truth'.

200. *celate*] 'from whom no future day is hidden by the gods above'. cf. Tibull. I viii 1, 2 *non ego celari possim quid nutus amantis, quidue ferant miti lenia uerba sono.*

202. *et tot*] 'and the ruin of so many nations in the bloodshed of the west', i.e. referring to the battle of Munda; cf. I 40.

205. *tenentur*] 'are held in suspense'.

206. *uindicis an gladii*] 'or art thou 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. *ille*] So Oud. with most MSS and the Scholiast, who explains it of 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; she looks terrified, now glare as she looks threatening'.

214. *stat*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. XV [illegible] *stans uoltus* in a description of Virtus.

216. *nec fessa*] 'nor can her weary 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 tenebrae. 220
immisit Stygiam Paean in uiscera Lethen,
qua raperet secreta deum. tum pectore uerum
fugit et ad Phoebi tripodas rediere futura:
uixque refecta cadit. nec te uicinia leti
territat ambiguis frustratum sortibus, Appi: 225
iure sed incerto mundi subsidere regnum
Chalcidos Euboicae, uana spe rapte, parabas.
heu demens, nullum belli sentire fragorem,
tot mundi caruisse malis, praestare deorum
excepta quis morte potest? secreta tenebis 230
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 235
Chalcidicas puppes ad iniquam classibus Aulin.
interea domitis Caesar remeabat Hiberis
uictrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem:
cum prope fatorum tantos per prospera cursus
auertere dei. nullo nam Marte subactus 240
intra castrorum timuit tentoria ductor
perdere successus scelerum: cum paene fideles

218. *rauca gemit*] 'booms hoarsely'. Verg. Aen. IX 124 *cunctatur et amnis rauca sonans.*

muta] 'inarticulate' not 'silent', cf. Hor. Ep. I iii 99, 100 *cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris mutum ac turpe pecus.*

220. *uolgare iubar*] 'the light of common day'.

mediae] i. e. inter statum furoris diuini et receptae mentis humanae. Weise.

223. *futura*] i.e. the knowledge of the future.

224. *uicinia leti*] 'the near approach of death'. cf. IV 518, Petron. 115 *mirati quod non uacaret in uicinia mortis poema facere.*

226. *iure sed incerto*] 'but while it was uncertain who should rule the world'.

subsidere] 'to lie in wait for'. cf. Verg. Aen. XI 268 *deuictam Asiam subsedit adul-*; Sil. Ital. XIII 221 *subsidere saepe leonem.*

229. *praestare*] 'what god can ensure thee this save death alone?'

232. *saxosa*] Carystos was famed for its marble quarries.

233. *tumidis*] 'the proud'. cf. II 672, Sen. de benef. II xvi § 2 *tumidissimum animal* (*Alexander*).

numina] i. e. *Nemesis*. cf. Catul. LXV 71 *pace tua fari haec liceat Rhamnusia uirgo.*

235. *cursum*] The tides in the Euripus were said to ebb and flow seven times in the twenty-four hours. cf. Plin. H. N. II § 219.

240. *auertere*] 'turned aside', i. e. from their prosperous course to a worse, cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 66 *coniugis ut magicis sanos auertere sacris experiar sensus.*

242. *paene*] 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 245
expulerat belli furias: seu praemia miles
dum maiora petit damnat causamque ducemque,
et scelere imbutos etiam nunc uenditat enses.
haud magis expertus discrimine Caesar in ullo est
quam non e stabili tremulo sed culmine cuncta 250
despiceret, staretque 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 255
ira latens: nam quae dubias constringere mentes
causa solet, dum quisque pauet quibus ipse timori est,
seque putat solum regnorum iniusta grauari,
haud retinet. quippe ipsa metus exsoluerat audax
turba suos. quidquid multis peccatur inultum est. 260
effudere minas: liceat discedere, Caesar,
a rabie scelerum. quaeris terraque marique
his ferrum iugulis animasque effundere uiles
quolibet hoste paras: partem tibi Gallia nostri
eripuit: partem duris Hispania bellis: 265

244. *maesto*] because in civil war.

245. *frigidus*] nullo sanguine calefactus. Schol.

247. *damnat*] 'disapproves'. cf. VIII 328.

248. *uenditat*] 'offers for sale'. cf. Plin. Epp. I xxiv § 1 *Tranquillus uolt emere agellum quem uenditare amicus tuus dicitur.*

249. *haud 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 wh.c he had mounted, cf. VII 594.

252. *truncus*] 'maimed'; the soldiers are regarded as the hands of the general. cf. infr. 311.

gladioque] 'and abandoned almost to his own sword alone'. cf. Ov. Met. XIV 217 *leto poenaeque relictus.*

254. *strictos*] 'learns that swords when once drawn are not the general's but t soldier's'.

256. *constringere*] 'to curb'.

257. *dum quisque*] 'while each fe those to whom he is himself a terror', i his comrades owing to their mutual d trust, cf. Thuc. VIII 66.

258. *seque putat*] 'and thinks that alone is indignant at the injustice tyranny, cf. VII 284.

259. *quippe ipsa*] 'in fact the v number of the daring multitude had pelled their fears'.

260. *quidquid multis*] Oud. cf. S dial. IV x § 4 *in singulos seueritas imp toris distringitur; at necessaria uenia ubi totus deseruit exercitus. quid tollit i sapientis? turba peccantium. intellegit q et iniquom sit et periculosum irasci pu uitio.*

263. *his ferrum iugulis*] 'a swor pierce these throats', i.e. and nothing

uiles] 'worthless in your eyes'.

pars iacet Hesperia: totoque exercitus orbe
te uincente perit. terris fudisse cruorem
quid iuuat Arctois Rhodano Rhenoque subactis?
tot mihi pro bellis bellum ciuile dedisti.
cepimus expulso patriae cum tecta senatu, 270
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. 275
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, 280
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 285

269. *tot mihi*] '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 *fletque Milon senior cum spectat inanes illos, qui fuerant solidorum mole tororum Herculeis similes, fluidos pendere lacertos.* Cortius suggested *carne* for *cerne*: 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 *cerne* are sufficiently common in Lucan.

277. *senes*] Compare the account of the mutiny of Germanicus' soldiers in Tac. Ann. I 34 *et quidam prensa manu eius per speciem exosculandi inseruerunt digitos, ut uacua dentibus ora contingeret; alii curuata senio membra ostendebant.*

improba] ironically, 'outrageous', 'excessive'.

278. *non duro*] 'let us be suffered not to lay our dying limbs on the hard turf, not, as our breath flies from us, to strike (i.e. with our head) the bare clod'. sc. let us die in our beds, not in the camp.

279. *glaebam*] This is the reading adopted by Weise, which is found in some MSS. *galeam* which Oud. retains has apparently better authority, but it is not easy to assign any satisfactory meaning to it.

ferire] cf. Propert. V vii 25 *laesit et obiectum tegula curta caput.*

280. *morti*] 'for our death', i.e. when dying.

quaerere] 'to look in vain for'; cf. Cic. in Verrem act II lib. iii § 47 *campus Leotinus...sic erat deformis atque horridus ut in uberrima Siciliae parte Siciliam quaereremus.*

281. *coniugis illabi*] i.e. *sed illabi liceat.* For the omission of the adversative cf. II 86.

uni] i.e. instead of the numbers buried together in one grave on the battlefield, cf. VII 803 *petimus non singula busta.*

284. *portenta*] 'horrors'.

nescimus cuius sceleris sit maxima merces?
nil actum est bellis si nondum comperit istas
omnia posse manus. nec fas nec uincula iuris
hoc audere uetant. Rheni mihi Caesar in undis
dux erat, hic socius. facinus quos inquinat aequat. 290
adde quod ingrato meritorum iudice uirtus
nostra perit. quidquid gerimus fortuna uocatur.
nos fatum sciat esse suom. licet omne deorum
obsequium speres: irato milite, Caesar,
pax erit. haec fatus, totis discurrere castris 295
coeperat infestoque ducem deposcere uoltu.
sic eat, o superi, quando pietasque fidesque
destituunt moresque malos sperare relictum est;
finem ciuili faciat discordia bello.
quem non ille ducem potuit terrere tumultus? 300
fata sed in praeceps solitus demittere Caesar
fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens
exercere uenit: nec dum desaeuiat ira
exspectat: medios properat temptare furores.
non illis urbes spoliandaque templa negasset 305
Tarpeiamque Iouis sedem matresque senatus
passurasque infanda nurus. uolt omnia certe
a se saeua peti, uolt praemia Martis amari:
militis indomiti tantum mens sana timetur.
non pudet heu, Caesar, soli tibi bella placere 310
iam manibus damnata tuis? hos ante pigebit
sanguinis? his ferri graue ius erit? ipse per omne

286. *cuius sceleris*] i.e. the murder of Caesar, their own leader.

287. *comperit*] i.e. *miles qui bella gerit.*
istas] 'these hands of his'.

288. *nec fas nec uincula iuris*] cf. Verg. G. I 269 *fas et iura sinunt.*

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'.
omne deorum] 'entire compliance on the part of heaven'.

297. *sic eat*] cf. note on II 304.
quando] 'since loyalty and honour fail us, and all we have left to hope for is wickedness', i.e. insubordination on the part of the soldiers.

298. *destituunt*] For the absence of object cf. note on II 728.

301. *in praeceps demittere*] 'to ven[illegible] into the utmost peril', a metaphor f[illegible] the arena, cf. Cic. ad fam. X viii § 2 [illegible] *in eum casum me fortuna demisisset ut* [illegible] Oud. cf. Id. IX i 3 *cum me in res tu[illegible] lentissimas infidelissimis sociis demisis[illegible]*

303. *uenit*] i.e. instead of *fugi[illegible]* might have been expected.

307. *nurus*] cf. note on I 165.

311. *manibus*] sc. *militibus*, cf. [illegible] 252.

312. *his ferri graue ius erit?*] '[illegible] the license of the sword be grievo[illegible] their eyes?' i.e. sooner than in yours.

fasque nefasque rues? lassare et disce sine armis
posse pati: liceat scelerum tibi ponere finem.
saeue, quid insequeris? quid iam nolentibus instąs? 315
bellum te ciuile 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 relicto. 321
detegit imbelles animos nil fortiter ausa
seditio tantumque fugam meditata iuuentus
ac ducis inuicti rebus lassata secundis.
uadite meque meis ad bella relinquite fatis: 325
inuenient haec arma manus, uobisque repulsis
tot reddet Fortuna uiros quot tela uacabunt.
anne fugam Magni tanta cum classe sequuntur
Hesperiae gentes, nobis uictoria turbam
non dabit, impulsi tantum quae praemia belli 330
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. IX 262, Verg. Ecl. X 53, 54 *certum est in siluis inter spelaea ferarum male pati*, Ov. Met. X 25 *posse pati uolui*. Sen. Thyest. 470 *inmane 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 *exstructi*, i.e. propped up against each other. Oud. following Gryphius reads *fultus*, cf. supr. 251.

317. *caespitis*] Oud. cf. Tac. Ann. I 18 *simul congerunt caespites, exstruunt tribunal, quo magis conspicua sedes foret*.

321. *hic*] i.e. in my breast, to be taken with *ense relicto:* 'if you wish the war ended, leave your sword in my breast, and take to flight'.

322. *detegit*] '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...uolnere*] 'without having suffered a wound'.

333. *despecta*] 'despicable'; some MSS. read *defecta*.

senes] For this word in apposition with *turba*, Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. V 258, 259 *hic iuuenum manus et nullis uiolabilis armis turba senes*.

cernetis nostros iam plebs Romana triumphos.
Caesaris an cursus uestrae sentire putatis 335
damnum posse fugae? ueluti si cuncta minentur
flumina quos miscent pelago subducere fontes,
non magis ablatis umquam descenderet aequor,
quam nunc crescit, aquis. an uos momenta putatis
ulla dedisse mihi? numquam sic cura deorum 340
se premit ut uestrae morti uestraeque saluti
fata uacent. procerum motus haec cuncta sequuntur.
humanum paucis uiuit genus. orbis Hiberi
horror et Arctoi nostro sub nomine miles,
Pompeio certe fugeres duce. fortis in armis 345
Caesareis Labienus erat: nunc transfuga uilis
cum duce praelato terras atque aequora lustrat.
nec melior mihi uestra fides, si bella nec hoste
nec duce me geritis. quisquis mea signa relinquit,
nec Pompeianis tradit sua partibus arma, 350
hic numquam uolt esse meus. sunt ista profecto
curae castra deis, qui me committere tantis
non nisi mutato uoluerunt milite bellis.
heu quantum Fortuna umeris iam pondere fessis
amolitur onus. sperantis omnia dextras 355
exarmare datur quibus hic non sufficit orbis.
iam certe mihi bella geram: discedite castris,
tradite nostra uiris ignaui 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 *decresceret* from *decreuerit* which is found in some MSS.: the latter is probably an explanatory gloss on *descenderit*.

341. *se premit*] 'stoops so low'.

342. *uacent*] cf. note on VII 206.

343. *paucis*] 'for the benefit of a few'. cf. I 45.

344. *horror*] 'the terror of the Spanish and the northern world'. cf. Lucret. III 1047 *Scipiades belli fulmen Karthaginis horror.*

347. *duce praelato*] 'the chief he has preferred to me', cf. 46.

348. *nec hoste*] i.e. if you remain n tral and fight on neither side.

350. *nec...tradit*] 'without transferri

351. *numquam*] i.e. nec post uictor reportatam. Weise.

ista] 'this camp of mine', cf. I 342.

355. *amolitur*] Oud. cf. Claudia Rufin. II 454 *tellusque nefandum amol onus.*

onus] i.e. the burden of trying to sa the insatiable veterans.

356. *non sufficit orbis*] cf. Juv. X

357. *mihi*] sc. mihi soli, non uobi

358. *Quirites*] cf. Suet. Jul. 7 *una uoce qua Quirites eos pro mil appellarat tam facile circumegit et ut ei milites esse confestim responder quamuis recusantem ultro in Africa secuti.* Tac. Ann. I 42, Lamprid.

at paucos quibus haec rabies auctoribus arsit
non Caesar, sed poena tenet. procumbite terrae: 360
infidumque caput feriendaque tendite colla.
et tu, quo solo stabunt iam robore castra,
tiro rudis, specta poenas, et disce ferire,
disce mori. tremuit saeua sub uoce minantis
uolgus iners: unumque caput tam magna iuuentus 365
priuatum factura timet, uelut ensibus ipsis
imperet inuito moturus milite ferrum.
ipse pauet ne tela sibi dextraeque negentur
ad scelus hoc Caesar: uicit patientia saeui
spem ducis, et iugulos non tantum praestitit enses: 370
nil magis adsuetas sceleri quam perdere mentes
atque perire timet. tam diro foederis ictu
parta quies poenaque redit placata iuuentus.
Brundisium decimis iubet hanc adtingere castris,
et cunctas reuocare rates quas auius Hydrus 375
antiquusque Taras secretaque litora Leucae
quas recipit Salapina palus et subdita Sipus

aerus 52 *seueritatis autem tantae fuit milites ut saepe legiones integras extorauerit ex militibus Quirites appellans.*

360. *non Caesar*] i.e. as your general; a are detained not to serve under esar, but to be punished, while the rest : disbanded.

362. *quo solo*] 'on whose strength alone r camp will now depend'.

363. *disce*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. v 636—8 *sta miles et acres disce ex me pugnas, l, si pugnare negatum est, disce mori.*

366. *priuatum factura*] 'whom they uld depose from his command'.

ensibus ipsis] 'the swords by themlves'.

369. *patientia*] 'their obedience surssed their leader's hopes', cf. Tac. gric. 16 *Britanniam uno proelio ueteri tientiae restituit.*

371. *nil magis*] Weise explains this hcult passage as follows, 'there is noing that he dreads more than to lose irts inured to guilt, and that they uld be wasted', thus making the subt of *perire* different from that of *per*: although this alone is the common ning of *perire* in Lucan, cf. IV 252, change of subject seems to me too h 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 confident language to them. cf. Verg. G. I 201—203, Liv. XXVI 39 *hic Quinctium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos incautum hasta transfigit atque ille praeceps cum armis procidit ante proram;* so too *et* is used, cf. IV 34, 35. Bentley conjectures *tenet* instead of *timet* 'nothing is a surer bond to hearts inured to guilt than to destroy and be destroyed', i.e. supplicium sumere et pati.

372. *tam diro foederis*] 'by an agreement sealed in blood', cf. note on I 355.

373. *redit*] 'return to their ranks'.

374. *decimis...castris*] 'in ten days march'; in I 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 recipit*] 'of which...is the harbour'.

Salapina] cf. Cic. de leg. agr. II § 71 *nisi forte mauoltis, relictis his rebus atque hac luce reipublicae, in Sipontina siccitate aut in Salapinorum pestilentiae finibus, Rullo duce, collocari.*

montibus: Ausoniam qua torquens frugifer oram
Delmatico Boreae Calabroque obnoxius Austro
Apulus Hadriacas exit Garganus in undas. 380
ipse petit trepidam tutus sine milite Romam
iam doctam seruire togae: populoque precanti
scilicet indulgens summum dictator honorem
contigit et laetos fecit se consule fastos.
namque omnes uoces per quas iam tempore tanto 385
mentimur dominis haec primum repperit aetas,
qua sibi ne ferri ius ullum Caesar abesset
Ausonias uoluit gladiis miscere secures.
addidit et fasces aquilis, et nomen inane
imperii rapiens signauit tempora. digna 390
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, 395
et laetae iurantur aues bubone sinistro.

378. *torquens...oram*] 'giving a curve to the shore', i.e. forming a bay.

380. *exit*] 'projects'. cf. VIII 461.

382. *togae*] 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 praerogatiua. *Campus* is personified and is said to do what is done in it by the presiding magistrate. See note on II 357.

394. *decantat*] cf. Cic. de diu. I § 105 *solus enim multorum annorum memoria non decantandi auguri sed diuinandi tenuit disciplinam.*

uana] because the whole proceedings were a pretence.

395. *nec caelum*] cf. Cic. phil. II § 81 *quisquamne diuinare potest quid uitii in auspiciis futurum sit nisi qui de caelo seruare constituit?* and Prof. Mayor's note.

tonat augure surdo] 'it thunders, but the Augur heeds it not'.

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 *eo adrogantiae progressus est ut haruspice tristia et sine corde exta sacro quodam nuntiante, futura diceret laetiora cum uellet.*

iurantur] cf. Cic. ad Att. XII xiii § 1

inde perit primum quondam ueneranda potestas
iuris inops: careat tantum ne nomine tempus
menstruus in fastos distinguit saecula consul.
nec non Iliacae numen quod praesidet Albae 400
haud meritum Latio sollemnia sacra subacto
uidit flammifera confectas nocte Latinas.
inde rapit cursus, et quae piger Apulus arua
deseruit rastris et inerti tradidit herbae,
ocior et caeli flammis et tigride feta, 405
transcurrit: curuique tenens Minoia tecta
Brundisii, clausas uentis brumalibus undas
inuenit et pauidas hiberno sidere classes.
turpe duci uisum rapiendi tempora belli
in segnes exisse moras, portuque teneri 410
cum pateat tutum uel non felicibus aequor.
expertes animos pelagi sic robore complet:
fortius hiberni flatus caelumque fretumque,

ueniam 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.*

397. *perit...iuris inops*] 'is ruined and loses its rights'.

potestas] i.e. the consulship.

399. *menstruus*] 'a consul appointed for a month marks off the years upon the record-roll'. *in fastos* is best taken with *distinguit*.

400. *Iliacae*] cf. Juv. IV 60, 61 *utque locus suberant ubi quamquam diruta seruat ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem.*

numen] sc. Iuppiter Latiaris. cf. I 196—198.

401. *haud meritum*] '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.

402. *Latinas*] cf. note on I 550.

403. *et quae piger*] 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 *piger* as thrown out of employment by the war, and *herbae* as 'weeds', 'lolio aliisque'.

405. *feta*] 'with young'. cf. Ov. Fast. II 413 *uenit ad expositos, mirum, lupa feta gemellos.*

406. *curui*] 'winding', cf. Hor. carm. IV v 14 *curuo nec faciem litore dimouet.*

Minoia] cf. II 610 foll.

408. *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.

410. *exisse*] 'should have been protracted', cf. Sen. dial. X vi § 4 *uestra mehercules uita, licet supra annos exeat, in artissimum contrahetur.* Quintil. IV ii § 51 *si tamen adhibitis his quoque artibus in longum exierit ordo rerum.*

411. *uel non felicibus*] sc. Pompeianis.

412. *expertes pelagi*] 'inexperienced in the sea'. cf. Stat. Silu. V v 60, 61 *o nimium felix nimium crudelis et expers imperii Fortuna tui.*

413. *fortius*] 'keep a firmer hold upon

cum coepere, tenent, quam quos incumbere certos
perfida nubiferi uetat inconstantia ueris. 415
nec maris anfractus lustrandaque litora nobis,
sed recti fluctus soloque Aquilone secandi.
hic utinam summi curuet carchesia mali,
incumbatque furens et Graia ad moenia perflet,
ne Pompeiani Phaeacum e litore toto 420
languida iactatis comprendant carbasa remis:
rumpite quae retinent felices uincula proras.
iamdudum nubes et saeuas perdimus undas.
sidera prima poli Phoebo labente sub undas
exierant, et luna suas iam fecerat umbras: 425
cum pariter soluere rates tortosque rudentes
laxauere sinus: et flexo nauita cornu
obliquat laeuo pede carbasa, summaque pandens
suppara uelorum perituras colligit auras.
ut primum leuior propellere lintea uentus 430
incipit exiguomque tument, mox reddita malo
in mediam cecidere ratem: terraque relicta
non ualet ipsa sequi puppes quae uexerat aura.
aequora lenta iacent: alto torpore ligatae
pigrius immotis haesere paludibus undae. 435
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'.

414. *incumbere*] cf. Verg. G. II 311 *tempestas a uertice siluis 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 *Aquilo* 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 Corcyraeans (cf. Thuc. I 24), with whom the Homeric Phaeacians were identified.

421. *languida*] 'by plying their oars should catch our flagging sails', i.e. Caesar's ships were *onerariae*, which depend entirely on their sails, those of Pompe war-galleys.

423. *iamdudum perdimus*] 'we ha long been wasting', i.e. not making of the opportunity afforded us by stormy weather.

425. *suas*] i.e. as distinguished fr those cast by the sun.

427. *cornu*] *cornua* were the ends the yard-arms, *antennae*, cf. Verg. A III 549 *cornua uelatarum obuertimus tennarum.*

428. *obliquat*] 'slackening the left sh turns the sails sideways to the wind'.

429. *suppara*] 'the top-sails'.

perituras] 'that would else be lost'.

431. *reddita malo*] 'flapping agai the mast'.

433. *sequi*] 'to keep up with', ἀκολουθεῖν is used in Greek, cf. Aristo Ach. 215 ἠκολούθουν Φαύλλῳ τρέχων.

436. *Bosporus*] i.e. Cimmerius.

cum glacie retinente fretum non impulit Hister,
immensumque gelu tegitur mare: comprimit unda
deprendit quascunque rates: nec peruia uelis
aequora frangit eques, fluctuque latente sonantem 440
orbita migrantis scindit Maeotida Bessi.
saeua quies pelagi maestoque ignaua profundo
stagna iacentis aquae: ueluti deserta rigente
aequora natura cessant, pontusque uetustas
oblitus seruare uices non commeat aestu, 445
non horrore tremit, non solis imagine uibrat.
casibus innumeris fixae patuere carinae.
illinc infestae classes et inertia tonsis
aequora moturae, grauis hinc languore profundi
obsessis uentura fames. noua uota timori 450
sunt inuenta nouo, fluctus nimiasque precari
uentorum uires, dum se torpentibus unda
excutiat stagnis et sit mare. nubila nusquam
undarumque minae: caelo languente fretoque
naufragii spes omnis abit. sed nocte fugata 455
laesum nube diem iubar extulit imaque sensim
concussit pelagi mouitque Ceraunia nautis.

437. *non impulit*] 'has not driven before it'.

438. *comprimit*] 'holds fast'.

439. *nec peruia*] equivalent to *et non peruia*.

440. *frangit*] *conterit, calcat*. Weise. *fluctuque*] 'and the wheel of the wandering Bessian cuts a track across the Maeotian lake resounding with its hidden waves', i.e. the movement of the water under the ice can be heard: for the whole passage cf. Verg. G. III 360 foll. Herod. IV 29.

442. *saeua quies*] 'cruel is the peace of the sea, and the sluggish pools of calm water on the dismal deep'. *saeua quies* is an oxymoron, *saeuire* being generally used of storms.

443. *ueluti deserta*] 'the seas stand still, as though their usual character had stiffened and departed from them'.

445. *seruare uices*] cf. Hor. A. P. 86 *scriptas seruare uices operumque colores*. *non commeat aestu*] 'does not ebb and flow'.

446. *non horrore*] 'is not ruffled by the wind, does not quiver with the sun's reflexion'. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. XVIII 77 *unda repercussae radiabat imagine lunae*.

447. *casibus*] 'the ships thus stationary, were exposed to countless accidents'. cf. Liv. XXXI 39 *in patentem uolneri equom equitemque sagittas conicere poterat*.

450. *noua uota*] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. III 468 *uotum in amante nouom, uellem quod amamus abesset*.

452. *dum se*] 'if only the wave would shake itself free from its dull stagnation and become real sea', i.e. recover its true *natura* supr. 444.

455. *naufragii spes*] 'hope of shipwreck', i.e. as preferable to being becalmed.

456. *laesum nube diem*] 'a day obscured by clouds'; *iubar* is the dawn, cf. VII 45 *uicerat astra iubar*. Weise following Cortius reads *dies*.

imaque sensim] 'and gradually stirred the depths of the sea', i.e. the dawn is said to do what was really done by the breeze which rose with it.

457. *mouitque*] 'brought Ceraunia

inde rapi coepere rates atque aequora classem
curua sequi, quae iam uento fluctuque secundo
lapsa Palaestinas uncis confixit harenas. 460
prima duces uidit iunctis consistere castris
tellus, quam uolucer Genusus, quam mollior Apsus
circueunt ripis. Apso gestare carinas
causa palus leni quam fallens egerit unda.
at Genusum nunc sole niues nunc imbre solutae 465
praecipitant: neuter longo se gurgite lassat,
sed minimum terrae uicino litore nouit.
hoc Fortuna loco tantae duo nomina famae
composuit: miserique fuit spes irrita mundi
posse duces parua campi statione diremptas 470
admotum damnare nefas. nam cernere uoltus
et uoces audire datur: multosque per annos
dilectus tibi, Magne, socer post pignora tanta
sanguinis infausti subolem mortemque nepotis,
te nisi Niliaca propius non uidit harena. 475

nearer to the sailors', i.e. because the land appears to move and not the ship, cf. Verg. Aen. III 72 *prouehimur portu; terraeque 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 puppi uentus euntes.*

460. *Palaestinas*] 'pierced the sands of Palaeste 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, ignoraret.*

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. Epp. I xviii 103 *an secretum iter et fallentis semita uitae.* Weise cf. Plin. Epp. V vi § 14 *ita leniter et sensim cliuo fallente consurgit ut cum adscendere te non putes sentias adscensisse.*

466. *praecipitant*] 'make a torrent'. cf. VI 475, 476 *Rhodanumque morantem praecipitauit Arar.*

469. *composuit*] 'pitted against each other'. cf. Hor. Sat. I vii 19, 20 *Rupili et Persi par pugnat uti non compositum melius cum Bitho 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 tanta*, 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.

ris adtonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem
›ras scelerum partes iussere relictae.
:rat cunctis audax Antonius armis,
ı ciuili meditatus Leucada bello.
epe minis Caesar precibusque morantem 480
o mundi tantorum causa malorum,
›eros et fata tenes? sunt cetera cursu
o: summam rapti per prospera belli
t Fortuna manum. num rupta uadosis
; incerto Libye nos diuidit aestu? 485
l inexperto tua credimus arma profundo
ouos traheris casus? ignaue, uenire
ar, non ire iubet. prior ipse per hostes
medias alieni iuris harenas.
castra times? pereuntia tempora fati 490
or: in uentos impendo uota fretumque.
.e dubium cupientis ire per aequor:
nota mihi est ad Caesaris arma iuuentus
io uenisse uolet. iam uoce doloris
ı est: non ex aequo diuisimus orbem. 495
Caesarque tenet totusque senatus:
ım tu solus habes. his terque quaterque
excitum postquam cessare uidebat,

ım] 'urged by frenzy to :'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. IX *:bita iuuenis Macandrius*

›ras scelerum] sc. differre

ıs Leucada] 'rehearsing :tising for Actium'. cf. § 113 (*cerui*) *editos partus fugam meditari docent.*

ıalorum] i.e. by delaying *ı*: Weise suggests that *ı* also be intended to hint which Antonius was des- the future.

.meo] 'by the speed of

n] 'from thee Fortune de- shing touch'. cf. Verg. '3 *nec minus interea ex- ia bello imponit regina* Met. VIII 200 *postquam eptis imposita est.*

486. *numquid inexperto*] 'are we entrusting 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 ferte rates, inimicam findite rostris hanc terram sulcumque sibi premat ipsa carina.*

alieni iuris] 'occupied by the foe'.

490. *pereuntia*] '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 shipwreck'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 297, 298 *frangere nec tali puppim statione recuso arrepta tellure semel.*

doloris] 'indignation'.

498. *cessare*] 'still lingering'.

altera pars Borean diducta luce uocabat.
orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit,
spectantis oculos infirmo lumine passus: 545
lunaque non gracili surrexit lucida cornu,
aut orbis medii puros exesa recessus:
nec duxit recto tenuata cacumina cornu,
uentorumque nota rubuit: tum lurida pallens
ora tulit uoltu sub nubem tristis ituro. 550
sed mihi nec motus nemorum nec litoris ictus,
nec placet incertus qui prouocat aequora delphin:
aut siccum quod mergus amat, quodque ausa uolare
ardea sublimis pennae confisa natanti;
quodque caput spargens undis uelut occupet imbrem
instabili gressu metitur litora cornix. 556
sed si magnarum poscunt discrimina rerum
haud dubitem praebere manus: uel litora tangam
iussa, uel hoc potius pelagus flatusque negabunt.
haec fatus, soluensque ratem dat carbasa uentis: 560
ad 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

544. *orbe quoque*] cf. Verg. G. I 442 *medioque refugerit orbe: recessit* here answers to Virgil's *refugerit*.

546. *non gracili*] i.e. *sed obtuso*, cf. Verg. G. I 433.

547. *puros exesa recessus*] 'hollowed into clearly marked cavities'.

548. *nec duxit*] 'nor did she describe tapering points with upright horn'. *recto* is opposed to *prono*, *tenuata* to *obtusa*.

549. *uentorumque*] 'but has reddened with signs of wind', cf. Verg. G. I 430, 431 *at si uirgineum suffuderit ore ruborem uentus erit, uento semper rubet aurea Phoebe*. For *nota* with genitive cf. Stat. Silu. I i 15, 16 *iuuat ora tueri mixta notis belli placidamque gerentia pacem*.

551. *litoris ictus*] 'the beat of the waves upon the shore'.

552. *nec placet incertus*] 'nor the restless dolphin as it challenges the waves'.

553. *aut siccum*] cf. Verg. G. I 360 foll.

554. *natanti*] 'floating in the air'.

555. *uelut occupet imbrem*] 'as though to anticipate the coming rain'. Scaliger [illegible] that the whole of this passage is imitated from the first book of the Georgics [illegible] appears to me that this line gives [illegible] slight support to the genuineness of [illegible] line found in the margin of some MSS. [illegible] Virgil at G. I 389, *aut caput obiectat [illegible] rulum uenientibus undis:* see Conington's note on the passage.

558. *praebere manus*] 'to lend the [illegible] vice of my hands'.

559. *potius*] sc. quam ego, cf. note [illegible] VII 451.

561. *quorum*] sc. *uentorum*, 'at wh[illegible] stirring not only the stars that [illegible] through the upper air (i.e. meteors) [illegible] after them in their fall trains of scatt[illegible] light'. cf. Verg. G. I 367 *flammae longos a tergo albescere tractus*, Id. Aen. [illegible] 697 *tum longo limite sulcus dat lucem*.

564. *niger inficit horror*] 'black ru[illegible] darkens the surface of the sea'. cf. Ho[illegible] Il. VII 64, 65 οἴη δὲ Ζεφύροιο ἐχείατο [illegible] τον ἐπι φρίξ ὀρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Verg. Aen. III 194,

ar bis terque manu quassantia tectum
nmouit. molli consurgit Amyclas 520
at alga toro. quisnam mea naufragus, inquit,
? aut quem nostrae Fortuna coegit
sperare casae? sic fatus, ab alto
n tepidae sublato fune fauillae,
tenuem commotos pauit in ignes: 525
lli: praedam ciuilibus armis
sse casas. o uitae tuta facultas
ngustique lares. o munera nondum
deum. quibus hoc contingere templis
muris nullo trepidare tumultu 530
pulsante manu? tum poste recluso
exspecta uotis maiora modestis,
as laxa, iuuenis. si iussa secutus
Hesperiam, non ultra cuncta carinae
anibusue inopem duxisse senectam. 535
praebere deo tua fata uolenti
opibus subitis implere penates.
quamquam plebeio tectus amictu
riuata loqui. tum pauper Amyclas:
dem prohibent nocturno credere ponto. 540
ion rutilas deduxit in aequora nubes
que tulit radios: Noton altera Phoebi,

'which made the roof
ing the rope's end from
of still warm ashes',
or old rope was put
hes to smoulder away
the fire from going
eise takes *fune fauil-*
gere as equivalent to
the former seems the
. Oud. cf. Ov. Met.
foco tepidum cinerem
scitat hesternos, foliis-
utrit.
auit in ignes] 'fed till
[uv. x 18 *rarus uenit*
e poor man's power to
c contingere templis]
enjoy this blessing?'

533. *laxa*] 'enlarge your hopes'. cf. Pers. v 110 *iam nunc adstringas, iam nunc granaria laxes.*

534. *ultra*] 'in the future'. cf. vii 23.

535. *duxisse*] is equivalent to a noun substantive coupled with *cuncta* and dependent on *debebis*, 'to support with the labour of your hands an old age of poverty'.

538. *plebeio*] cf. Plutarch Caes. 38 νυκτὸς οὖν ἐσθῆτι θεράποντος ἐπικρυψάμενος ἐνέβη.

539. *indocilis priuata loqui*] Grotius compares Aristot. Pol. III iv § 9 ὡς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ἰδιώτης εἶναι with reference to Jason of Pherae.

542. *concordesque*] i.e. *neque concordes*, cf. I 76, 77. *concordes* Sulpitius interprets as *unicolores*: perhaps it is rather 'parallel', opposed to *diducta luce* 'by diverging rays' in the following line.

ista ratis. ne flecte manus: fuge proxima uelis
litora: tum Calabro portu te crede potitum,
cum iam non poterit puppi nostraeque saluti 590
altera terra dari. quid tanta strage paretur
ignoras? quaerit pelagi caelique tumultu
quid praestet Fortuna mihi. non plura locuto
auolsit laceros percussa puppe rudentes
turbo rapax fragilemque super uolitantia malum 595
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. 600
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 605
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 610
defendisse suas uiolento 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 *saeua quidem lucis miseris 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 fragile mast'.

596. *sonuit*] 'creaked as its joints gave way'.

599. *tollente*] cf. Hor. carm. I iii 14—16 *quo non arbiter Hadriae maior tollere seu ponere uolt freta.*

600. *erexerat*] i.e. would have raised, had not Boreas met it.

602. *cui*] for *utri*, see note on I 126. Oud. cf. Sen. Agam. 140, 141 *ut, ca hinc profundum uentus hinc aestus rap incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo.*

604. *uada fecit*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 1 *his unda dehiscens terram inter fluc aperit.*

606. *in fluctus Cauri*] 'breaks its o billows against the waves raised by Caur cf. I 103.

607. *subductis*] 'even were the wi removed'.

609. *iacuisse*] 'to have lain imprisone Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. II 593 *umbraeque n sent captiuo iacuisse solo.*

611. *defendisse*] i.e. by driving b the sea from their own shores.

613. *ferunt*] sc. *uenti.*

a quotiens frustra pulsatos aequore montes 615
obruit illa dies, quam celsa cacumina pessum
tellus uicta dedit. non illo litore surgunt
tam ualidi fluctus, alioque ex orbe uoluti
a magno uenere mari, mundumque coercens
monstriferos agit unda sinus. sic rector Olympi 620
cuspide fraterna lassatum in saecula fulmen
adiuuit regnoque accessit terra secundo,
cum mare conuoluit gentes, cum litora Tethys
noluit ulla pati caelo contenta teneri.
nunc quoque tanta maris moles creuisset in astra 625
ni superum rector pressisset nubibus undas.
non caeli nox illa fuit: latet obsitus aer
infernae 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.
extimuit natura chaos: rupisse uidentur
concordes elementa moras rursusque redire 635
nox manes mixtura deis. spes una salutis

. *frustra pulsatos*] 'battered in vain '.

. *non illo*] So Weise with some , and this seems to have been the g of the Scholiast, rather than *ullo* is the common reading. 'Such y waves do not take their rise on ɔast but rolled from another quarter world come from the vast ocean, and he flood which encircles the earth rives these portentous billows'. For *ıs* cf. II 400, Cic. N. D. II § 101 *restat ıs et a domiciliis nostris altissimus cingens et coercens caeli complexus.*

. *cuspide*] 'trident' *αἰχμῇ*.

saecula] is perhaps best taken with *ıem* 'worn out with punishing many ıtions', or it might be taken with *it*, i.e. 'aided against the world'.

. *regno...secundo*] sc. the ocean, the of Neptune. See note on IV 110.

. *caelo contenta teneri*] 'content to ınded by the sky alone'.

creuisset in astra] 'would have ed to the stars', cf. Stat. Silu. III iii 52 *mox crescit in illos imperium superis.*

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 cleft', i.e. the lightning can scarcely be seen. For the neuter adjective used adverbially, cf. Hor. carm. II xix 6, 7 *turbidum laetatur.*

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 deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos, aeternamque illam et nouissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur*, in the account of the eruption of Vesuvius.

quod tanta mundi nondum periere ruina.
quantus Leucadio placidus de uertice pontus
despicitur; tantum nautae uidere trementes
fluctibus e summis praeceps mare: cumque tumentes
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 uicere metus: nescitque magister 645
quam frangat, cui cedat aquae. discordia ponti
succurrit miseris fluctusque euertere puppim
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: scopulosa Ceraunia nautae
summa timent. credit iam digna pericula Caesar
fatis esse suis. tantusne euertere, dixit,
me superis labor est: parua quem puppe sedentem
tam magno petiere mari? si gloria leti 656
est pelago donata mei bellisque negamur,
intrepidus quamcunque datis mihi, numina, mortem
accipiam. licet ingentes abruperit actus
festinata dies fatis, sat magna peregi: 660
Arctoas domui gentes: inimica subegi
arma metu: uidit Magnum mihi Roma secundum:

637. *periere*] sc. Caesar and Amyclas.

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 summit of the Leucadian promontory.

643. *qua parte sedet*] 'where it sinks discloses the sands'. For *sedere* cf. III 380.

644. *exhaustum in cumulos*] 'used up to make the billows'. Weise with some MSS. reads *tumulos* but *cumulus* is elsewhere used of waves, cf. Verg. Aen. I 105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons.*

omnisque] 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 ev wind'.

651. *oraeque malignos*] 'the scanty bours of the Ambracian coast'.

653. *summa*] i.e. because they lifted as high as the summit of Ceraun

656. *tam magno*] 'they have ass with so stormy a sea'.

657. *bellis*] ut illis potius occum Schol.

659. *licet ingentes*] 'though my de day hurried on by destiny have interru a glorious course of action'. *actus* mea course of action, *acta*, single exploits.

660. *peregi*] cf. Verg. Aen. IV 653 *et quem dederat cursum fortuna pereg*

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 eam Stygias et consul ad umbras,
priuatum, Fortuna, mori. mihi funere nullo
est opus, o superi: lacerum retinete cadauer
fluctibus in mediis: desint mihi busta rogusque, 670
dum metuar semper terraque exspecter ab omni.
haec fatum decimus, dictu mirabile, fluctus
inualida cum puppe leuat; nec rursus ab alto
aggere deiecit pelagi sed pertulit unda,
scruposisque angusta uacant ubi litora saxis 675
imposuit terrae. pariter tot regna tot urbes
fortunamque suam tacta tellure recepit.
sed non tam remeans Caesar iam luce propinqua
quam tacita sua castra fuga comitesque fefellit.
circumfusa duci fleuit gemituque suorum 680
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 685

663. *iussa*] equivalent to *coacta*.

tuli] 'I have won as a prize', like the Greek φέρεσθαι, cf. Iuv. XIII 105 *ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.*

664. *Romana*] i.e. no office except that of *rex*.

665. *nec sciet*] This is the reading given by Oud. following one MS. Weise with most MSS. gives *nesciet*, but it does not seem possible that *nesciet quisquam* could be used as equivalent to *sciet nemo*.

nisi tu] sc. Fortuna.

668. *priuatum*] i.e. in my own eyes, inasmuch as I am not yet a king. cf. II 564 *non priuata cupit Romana quisquis in urbe Pompeium transire parat.* Grotius compares Plutarch. Marius XLV where a similar sentiment is put into the mouth of Marius.

671. *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 uenit hic fluctus fluctus supereminet omnes; posterior nono est undecimoque prior.* Id. Met. XI 530 *uastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae.*

675. *scruposisque*] 'and where a narrow belt of shore is clear of rugged rocks'.

678. *remeans*] sc. to Epirus: he started to return the same night and arrived early on the next morning: his actions at Brundisium are not recounted. Weise.

679. *fefellit*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 774 *comites natumque uirumque fefellit.*

680. *suorum*] is dependent on *turba*, cf. supr. 387.

681. *non ingratis*] 'welcome to his ears'.

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,
saeuitia est uoluisse mori. nullusne tuorum
emeruit comitum fatis non posse superstes
esse tuis? cum te raperet mare corpora segnis 689
nostra sopor tenuit: pudet, heu, tibi causa petendae
haec fuit Hesperiae: uisum est committere quemquam
tam saeuo crudele mari. sors ultima rerum
in dubios casus et prona pericula mortis
praecipitare solet: mundi iam summa tenentem
permisisse mari. tantum quid numina lassas? 695
sufficit ad belli summam fauor iste laborque
Fortunae quod te nostris impegit harenis?
hine usus placuere deum, non rector ut orbis,
nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses?
talia iactantis discussa nocte serenus 700
oppressit cum sole dies, fessumque tumentis
composuit pelagus uentis patientibus undas.
nec non Hesperii lassatum fluctibus aequor
ut uidere duces purumque insurgere caelo
fracturum pelagus Boream, soluere carinas, 705
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 iudicum, 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 behalf 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. *composuit*] '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 δεινῶν τ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε στένοντα πόντον.

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 naues soluunt.* Auster is mentioned below 721 as succeeding to Boreas.

706. *uentus*] cf. Hom. Od. XI 10 τῷ τ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ' ἴθυνεν.

doctae] 'the skilled hands', i.e. of the

:tas habuere diu: latumque per aequor,
'estre coit consertis puppibus agmen.
›x saeua modum uenti uelique tenorem
nautis excussitque ordine puppes. 710
ɔna sic gelidum bruma pellente relinquunt
e te, Nile, grues, primoque uolatu
nt uarias casu monstrante figuras.
.bi percussit tensas Notus altior alas,
ɔs temere immixtae glomerantur in orbes, 715
›ata perit dispersis littera pennis.
rimum redeunte die uiolentior aer
›us incubuit Phoebeo concitus ortu,
'eunt frustra temptati litora Lissi,
haeumque tenent. nudas Aquilonibus undas 720
ens Boreae iam portum fecerat Auster.
que collatis in robur Caesaris armis,
ι uidens duri Magnus discrimina Martis
.stris instare suis, seponere tutum
ii decreuit onus, Lesboque remota 725
:ul a saeui strepitu, Cornelia, belli

adopts *ductae*, an emenda-
ius which seems unneces-

iine] 'with even guidance'.
tas habuere] 'kept united'.
eua] There is a difficulty
›ression: it appears from
e night was calm, and that
: order of the ships to be
which account the night is
causing delay to their pas-
imile which follows would
›etter with a disturbance
›y contrary winds. Weise.
uelique tenorem] 'the suit-
wind and the even course

ma] cf. VII 832 foll.
cf. Aristoph. Aves 710
ν γέρανος κρώζουσ' ἐς τὴν
ῆ.
'chance instinct', sc. non

he shapes of letters V or Λ;
radise Lost VII 425 foll.
se In common, ranged in
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. Claudian B. Gild. 476, 477 *ordinibus uariis per nubila texitur ales littera, pennarumque notis inscribitur aer.* See also Mart. XIII 75 *turbabis uersus nec littera tota uolabit, unam perdideris si Palamedis auem.* Cic. N. D. II § 125.

719. *frustra temptati*] 'where they in vain essay to land'.

720. *undas*] 'Auster succeeding to Boreas had now made the waters exposed to the north winds a safe harbour'. cf. the use of *in portu esse* uel *nauigare* for 'to be safe' Ter. Andr. III i 22 (480) *nunc huius periclo fit, ego in portu nauigo.* Cic. ad fam. IX vi § 4 *his tempestatibus es prope solus in portu.*

722. *collatis in robur*] 'gathered to their full strength'.

725. *remota*] 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 730
coniunx sola fuit. mentem iam uerba paratam
destituunt, blandaeque iuuat uentura trahentem
indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis.
nocte sub extrema pulso torpore quietis
dum fouet amplexu grauidum Cornelia curis 735
pectus et auersi petit oscula grata mariti:
umentis mirata genas percussaque caeco
uolnere, non audet flentem deprendere Magnum.
ille gemens, uita non nunc mihi dulcior, inquit,
cum taedet uitae, laeto sed tempore, coniunx, 740
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: negaui
iam mihi: non longos a me patiere recessus. 745
praecipites aderunt casus: properante ruina
summa cadunt. satis est audisse pericula Magni:
meque tuus decepit amor ciuilia bella
si spectare potes. nam me iam Marte parato
securos cepisse pudet cum coniuge somnos, 750
eque tuo, miserum quatiunt cum classica mundum,

727. *aequas*] *bonas, pias* Grotius: but it might also be taken as equivalent to *constantis*, i.e. generally firm, cf. Hor. carm. II iii 1.

728. *iusta*] equivalent to *legitima*, 'lawful love'. cf. II 379.

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 iuuat*] '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.

738. *flentem deprendere*] 'to detect Magnus in the act of weeping', cf. St Theb. II 337—339 *quotiens haec ora* [illegible] *tare fletibus et magnas latrantia pec[illegible] curas admota deprendo manu.*

739. *uita non nunc*] 'dearer to [illegible] than life, I say not now when life i[illegible] burden to me, but in times of happine[illegible]

741. *nimium*] ad belli rationem; *rum*, ad affectum. Scholiast.

742. *totus*] 'with all his force', c[illegible] 485. Hor. carm. I xix 9 *in me tota r[illegible] Venus.*

744. *negaui iam mihi*] 'I have alr[illegible] said 'no' to myself' sc. *cupienti te re[illegible]*

747. *summa*] cf. I 70 *summisque* [illegible] *tum stare diu.*

748. *meque tuus*] 'I have been dece[illegible] in your love of me if you can endure spectacle of civil war'.

isse sinu. uereor ciuilibus armis
eium nullo tristem committere damno.
interea populis et tutior omni
ate, positamque procul fortuna mariti 755
ɔta te mole premat. si numina nostras
ɛrint acies, maneat pars optima nostri;
mihi, si fata premant uictorque cruentus,
ıgisse uelim. uix tantum infirma dolorem
et adtonito cessere e pectore sensus. 760
n uix maestas potuit proferre querelas:
ihi de fatis thalami superisque relictum est,
e, queri: nostros non rumpit funus amores
iri fax summa rogi; sed sorte frequenti
aque nimis careo dimissa marito. 765
ad aduentum rumpamus foedera taedae:
nus socerum. sic est tibi cognita, Magne,
. fides? credisne aliquid mihi tutius esse
tibi? non olim casu pendemus ab uno?
ıibus me, saeue, iubes tantaeque ruinae 770
:em praestare caput? secura uidetur
ibi, cum facias etiam nunc uota, perisse?
.im seruire malis, sed morte parata
uar ad manes; feriat dum maesta remotas

· *ciuilibus armis*] 'I fear to
eius in civil strife unsad-
oss', pudet me in hoc ciuili
nnes coniugibus ac liberis
laetum ob uxoris praesen-
Grotius.
'erint] 'shall dash to ruin',
8 supr.
or. carm I iii 8 *et seruet*
'um meae. Ov. Trist. II 43,
peream, quoniam caret illa
a certe parte superstes ero.
'could scarce endure', cf.
'lica cum lentam non capit

's non rumpit] 'it is not
aks off our love'.
rte] hoc est quod uolgo fit
ilibus contingit, repudio a
chol.
'a] 'as though divorced', cf.
femina dimissa e matrimo-

766. *hostis ad aduentum*] ironical: as if Caesar were angry at his daughter's place being taken by another wife.

767. *sic est tibi cognita*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 44 *sic notus Vlixes?*

769. *non olim*] 'have we not long been dependent on one and the same fortune?'

771. *absentem*] 'apart from you'.

secura uidetur] 'does it seem to you an easy lot for me to have already perished while you are still praying for success?' i.e. for me to be as good as dead owing to my separation from you, while success is still possible for you.

773. *malis*] 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. 775
adde quod adsuescis fatis tantumque dolorem,
crudelis, me ferre doces. ignosce fatenti:
posse pati timeo. quod si sunt uota deisque
audior, euentus rerum sciet ultima coniunx.
sollicitam rupes iam te uictore tenebunt, 780
et puppim quae fata ferat tam laeta timebo.
nec soluent audita metus mihi prospera belli,
cum uacuis proiecta locis a Caesare possim
uel fugiente capi. notescent litora clari
nominis exsilio, positaque ibi coniuge Magni 785
quis Mitylenaeas 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 790
exsiluit stratis amens, tormentaque nulla
uolt differre mora. non maesti pectora Magni
sustinet amplexu dulci non colla tenere:
extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris:
praecipitantque suos luctus: neuterque recedens 795
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 aequoreas, ac se prosternit, harenas, 800

775. *nempe*] 'on your shewing' i.e. if I do as you would have me do.

776. *adsuescis fatis*] 'you are accustoming me to my doom': for the active use of *adsuescere* cf. Hor. Sat. I iv 105 *insuetuit pater optimus hoc me*, Id. Sat. II ii 109, 110 *hic qui pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum.*

778. *pati*] 'to endure your absence'.

quod si sunt uota] 'but if prayers are of any avail'.

779. *sciet ultima*] 'will be the last to hear of your success'.

783. *proiecta*] 'cast ashore', 'abandoned'.

784. *capi*] i.e. as a hostage.

785. *nominis*] the name put for the person, cf. Verg. G. III 35, 36 *demissaeque ab Ioue gentis nomina Trosque pan et Troiae Cynthius auctor.*

787. *hoc precor*] This is an answer 758 *sit mihi quo fugisse uelim.*

789. *quolibet*] 'turn your unhappy b to any other land in preference; you be looked for on the shores where l dwelling'.

791. *tormenta*] i.e. the pain of parti

794. *perit*] 'is thrown away'.

795. *neuterque...uale*] These wo although found in almost all MSS., bracketed as spurious by Cortius account of the repetition of the word *tinere*, but such repetitions are by means rare in Lucan.

798. *durata...malis*] 'hardened misery'.

litoraque ipsa tenet tandemque illata carinae est.
non sic infelix patriam portusque reliquit
Hesperios, saeui premerent cum Caesaris arma.
fida comes Magni uadit duce sola relicto
Pompeiumque fugit. quae nox sibi proxima uenit
insomnis. uiduo tum primum frigida lecto 806
atque insueta quies uni nudumque marito
non haerente latus. somno quam saepe grauata
deceptis uacuom manibus complexa cubile est,
atque oblita fugae quaesiuit nocte maritum. 810
nam flamma quamuis tacitas urgente medullas
non iuuat in toto corpus iactare cubili:
seruatur pars illa tori. caruisse timebat
Pompeio: sed non superi tam laeta parabant.
instabat miserae Magnum quae redderet hora. 815

801. *carinae est*] Weise is of opinion at the book ended with these words, d that the remainder is spurious: his rds are 'arguunt v. 804 *uadit*, v. 805 *i*, 807 *frigida quies*, deinde illa inepta 811 *nam flamma* &c. *non iuuat* &c., ut n dubitauerim totum hunc locum inclu-re, adiectum ab aliquo cui nimis uide-ur abruptus finis in uersu 801'.

804. *uadit*] 'departs'. Weise objects this use of the word, but cf. VII 33 *tu ut Ausonia uadis moriturus in urbe.*

805. *sibi*] for *illi* seems indefensible, ugh Oud. tries to defend it. *tibi* is md in some MSS., and though the nsition is abrupt, this is possibly right, : note on III 281.

806. *frigida*] cf. Ov. Heroid. XIX 69 *cur ego tot uiduas exegi frigida noctes?*

807. *nudum*] 'deserted' 'unprotected'.

809. *deceptis*] cf. Ov. Met. XI 674, 675 *ingemit Alcyone lacrimans motatque lacertos per somnum, corpusque petens amplectitur auras.*

811. *nam flamma quamuis*] licet amore uexaretur, tamen non iactabat corpus per totum torum, ut amantes prae molestia consueuere, sed partem, tanquam si uir adesset, seruabat intactam. Sulpitius.

813. *caruisse*] 'to have lost for ever'.

815. *instabat*] i.e. recepit, sed uictum: quod peius quam non recipere. Grotius.

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER SEXTUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK VI.

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,

1. *pugnae*] Comparing this passage with IX 225 *aperta mente fugae* it seems best to take *pugnae* as genitive, 'nearing each other with intent to fight': but it is possible that it may be dative depending on *propinqui*, i.e. 'now in their thoughts drawing nigh to battle'.

3. *par suom*] 'their chosen pair of combatants', cf. 191 infr. Sen. dial. I ii § 9 *ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus, ecce par deo dignum, uir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et prouocauit.*

5. *debere recusat*] i.e. he is afraid of wasting the favour of fortune in minor successes, cf. V 696.

7—8. *alea—mersura*] For the confusion of metaphor cf. Iuv. X 57, 58 *mergit longa atque insignis honorum pagina.*

9. *explicuit*] 'deployed', a technical

testatus numquam Latiae se deesse ruinae. 10
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 aequoreo praecepit limite Magnus, 15
quemque uocat collem Taulantius incola Petram
insedit castris Ephyraeaque moenia seruat
defendens tutam uel solis turribus urbem.
non opus hanc ueterum nec moles structa tuetur
humanusque labor, facilis, licet ardua tollat, 20
cedere uel bellis uel cuncta mouentibus annis:
sed munimen habet nullo quassabile ferro
naturam sedemque loci. nam clausa profundo
undique praecipiti scopulisque uomentibus aequor
exiguo debet quod non est insula colli. 25
terribiles ratibus sustentant moenia cautes,
Ioniumque furens rapido cum tollitur Austro,
templa domosque quatit spumatque in culmina pontus.
huc auidam belli rapuit spes improba mentem

litary term, cf. Verg. G. II 280 *ut pe ingenti bello cum longa cohortes excuit legio.*

10. *testatus*] 'proving that he was er ready to work Latium woe'.

11. *ad nullos*] 'to meet no alarms', Liv. VI 27 *ad belli Praenestini famam uas legiones scribendas censuerunt.* Iuv. II 223 *ad omnia fulgura pallent.*

13. *tectusque uia*] 'sheltered by a th through the wooded country'.

15. *hoc iter*] 'this march Pompeius restalled by following the coast-line'. Stat. Theb. VIII 328 *celeres neu prae e Parcas.*

praecepit] According to Caesar B. C. III , 42 he forestalled Pompeius and interised his forces between Pompeius and rrhachium, *Pompeius, interclusus Dyrachio, ubi propositum tenere non potuit, undo usus consilio edito loco, qui adpelur Petra...castra communit.*

17. *Ephyraea*] i.e. Corinthian. Dyrchium, formerly Epidamnus, was a ony from Corcyra, and its oecist Phas came from Corinth, the metropolis of rcyra, cf. Thuc. I xx.

18. *uel solis turribus*] i.e. even without a garrison.

20. *facilis*] 'ever ready, though it pile its buildings high, to yield', cf. II 656 *Roma capi facilis.*

21. *cuncta mouentibus annis*] Oud. cf. Cic. pro Marcell. § 11 *nihil est enim opere aut manu factum quod aliquando non conficiat et consumat uetustas.*

22. *quassabile*] This word appears to occur nowhere else.

24. *praecipiti*] 'rapidly deepening', or perhaps 'violent', cf. Val. Flacc. III 404 *oceani praeceps fragor.*

uomentibus] sc. *refundentibus.*

26. *terribiles*] 'cliffs, the terror of ships, support its walls'.

28. *spumatque in culmina*] 'dashes its foam upon the roofs'.

29. *huc*] i.e. to Dyrrhachium.

auidam] 'Caesar with his heart set on war'.

improba] 'extravagant': cf. Mommsen Bk. V c. x 'nearly the half of Caesar's troops was detached to the interior; it seemed almost Quixotic to propose with the rest virtually to besiege an army perhaps twice as strong, concentrated in position and resting on the sea and the fleet'.

Caesaris, ut uastis diffusum collibus hostem 30
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. 35
exstruitur, quod non aries impellere saeuus,
quod non ulla queat uiolenti machina belli.
franguntur montes planumque per ardua Caesar
ducit opus: pandit fossas turritaque summis
disponit castella iugis, magnoque recursu 40
amplexus fines saltus nemorosaque tesqua
et siluas uastaque feras indagine claudit.
non desunt campi non desunt pabula Magno,
castraque Caesareo circumdatus aggere mutat.
flumina tot cursus illic exorta fatigant 45
illic mersa suos: operumque ut summa reuisat
defessus Caesar mediis intermanet agris.
nunc uetus Iliacos adtollat fabula muros
adscribatque deis: fragili circumdata testa
moenia mirentur refugi Babylonia Parthi. 50
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.

33. *subitos*] 'hastily built', equivalent to *subitarios*, cf. I 517.

34. *metallis*] 'quarries', cf. IV 304.

38. *planumque per ardua*] 'draws a rampart of even height across the hills'. editioribus locis deiectis, atque humilibus exaltatis aequauit opus. Farnabius.

40. *magnoque recursu*] 'and in a vast sweep embraces territories &c.' Oud. with some MSS. reads *recessu*.

42. *indagine*] 'line of toils', a hunting term, cf. Verg. Aen. IV 121.

44. *mutat*] 'has room to shift his camp'.

45. *flumina tot*] i.e. there is room within Caesar's lines for rivers to rise, run their whole course and fall into the sea.

cursus fatigant] 'exhaust their course', i.e. 'run all their course', cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 94 *olli remigio noctemque diem fatigant.*

46. *mersa*] i.e. *in mare.*

summa] 'the furthest point'.

47. *intermanet*] i.e. for the nig there is not time to visit both ends in day.

49. *deis*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 144 *mu Troiae Neptuni fabricata manu.*

testa] cf. Ov. Met. IV 57, 58 *dicitur tam coctilibus muris cinxisse Semira urbem.* Iuv. X 171 *cum tamen a fig munitam intrauerit urbem.*

50. *refugi*] quia post se sagittas i unt in bello fugientes. Schol.

Parthi] The site of Babylon was cluded in the Parthian kingdom, but not improbable that Lucan confou Babylon with Ctesiphon, cf. note on I

51. *Tigris*] refers probably to C phon, *Orontes* to Antioch, *Assyri* Nineveh.

raptum clausit opus. tanti periere labores.
tot potuere manus adiungere Seston Abydo, 55
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: 60
hic alitur sanguis terras fluxurus in omnes:
hic et Thessalicae clades Libycaeque tenentur.
aestuat angusta rabies ciuilis harena.
prima quidem surgens operum structura fefellit
Pompeium: ueluti mediae qui tutus in aruis 65
Sicaniae rabidum nescit latrare Pelorum:
aut uaga cum Tethys Rutupinaque litora feruent,
unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.
ut primum uasto saeptas uidet aggere terras,
ipse quoque a tuta deducens agmina Petra 70
diuersis spargit tumulis, ut Caesaris arma
laxet et effuso claudentem milite tendat.
ac tantum saepti uallo sibi uindicat agri,

[illegible]. *raptum*] *properatum* Weise.
[illegible]*riere*] 'were wasted', because the [illegible]kade was unsuccessful.
[illegible]. *Seston*] cf. II 674 *Sestonque ad-*[illegible]*it Abydo.*
[illegible]. *elidere*] 'to break the force of', [illegible]c. T. D. II § 27 *poetae neruos omnis* [illegible]*utis elidunt:* the passage seems to sug- [illegible] the building of a mole rather than of [illegible]idge.
[illegible]. *Pelopis*] 'to cut off Corinth from [illegible]road realms of Pelops'. Oud. cf. Stat. [illegible]. IV iii 56 foll. *hae possent et Athon* [illegible]*re dextrae, et maestum pelagus ge-* [illegible]*tis Helles intercludere ponte non na-* [illegible]*i: his paruus, Lecheo nihil uetante,* [illegible]*s freta miscuisset Isthmos.* The cut- [illegible] through of the Isthmus was projected [illegible] actually commenced by Nero, cf. [illegible]. H. N. IV § 10.
[illegible]. *ratibus*] 'to save ships the round- [illegible]f the long Malean headland', cf. Sil. I 486, 487 *niualem Pyrenen Alpesque* [illegible]*nea dextera donat.*
[illegible]. *aliquem*] 'some considerable por- [illegible] of the world'. cf. Iuv. I 73, 74 *aude* [illegible]*id breuibus Gyaris et carcere dignum* [illegible]*s esse aliquis.* Id. II 149 *esse aliquos 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 *caue facta uirorum; haec animo, dices, 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 III 152.
63. *aestuat*] cf. Iuv. X 169 *aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi.*
66. *latrare*] 'rave', cf. Verg. Aen. VII 586—589 *ille uelut pelagi rupes immota resistit—quae sese multis circum latrantibus undis mole tenet.*
67. *Rutupina*] sc. Rutupiae, Richborough, on the coast of Kent, famous for its oysters, cf. Iuv. IV 141.
71. *ut Caesaris arma*] 'to loosen Caesar's array, and make him extend his enclosing line by dispersing his troops'.
72. *claudentem*] sc. *Caesarem*, identified with his troops, cf. VII 653 *ac se tam multo pereuntem sanguine uidit.*

parua Mycenaeae quantum sacrata Dianae
distat ab excelsa nemoralis Aricia Roma: 75
quoque modo Romae praelapsus moenia Tybris
in mare descendit, si nusquam torqueat amnem.
classica nulla sonant iniussaque tela uagantur:
et fit saepe nefas iaculum temptante lacerto.
maior cura duces miscendis abstrahit armis: 80
Pompeium exhaustae praebenda ad pabula terrae,
quae currens obtriuit eques, gradibusque citatis
ungula frondentem discussit cornea campum.
belliger adtonsis sonipes defessus in aruis,
aduectos cum plena ferant praesepia culmos, 85
ore nouas poscens moribundus labitur herbas,
et tremulo medios abrumpit poplite gyros.
corpora dum soluit tabes et digerit artus,
traxit iners caelum fluidae contagia pestis
obscuram in nubem. tali spiramine Nesis 90
emittit Stygium nebulosis aera saxis,
antraque letiferi rabiem Typhonis anhelant.
inde labant populi caeloque paratior unda
omne pati uirus durauit uiscera caeno.

74. *Mycenaeae*] because the image of Diana Taurica was said to have been brought by Orestes to Mycenae. cf. I 446, III 86.

75. *Aricia*] cf. Strabo V 12 (239) *μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ἀλβανὸν Ἀρικία ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ· στάδιοι δ' εἰσὶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα.*

76. *quoque 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. II 133 and Conington's note.

78. *iniussa*] i.e. the darts that fly are contrary to orders.

79. *nefas*] i.e. the slaughter of a fellow-citizen or even of a relative. cf. notes on I 1, II 4.

temptante] 'practising', i.e. not in intentional 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 praesepibus, sed ab equis desideratas herbas uirides.

adtonsis] 'close-mown', cf. Verg. G. I 71 *tonsas cessare nouales.*

83. *aduectos—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'.

fluidae] cf. Cic. T. D. IV § 2 *Pythagoras autem doctrina cum longe lateque fluerit.*

90. *spiramine*] cf. Verg. Aen. VII [illegible] *hic specus horrendum saeui spiracula Ditis.*

Nesis] An island in the bay of Puteoli, cf. Plin. H. N. XIX § 146. Weise.

92. *antraque*] sc. *tali spiramine.*

anhelant] 'breathe out', cf. Mart. [illegible] xlii 14 *siccas pinguis onyx anhelat aestus.*

93. *caeloque paratior*] 'the water [illegible] ways more readily affected by poison th[illegible] the air'.

94. *durauit uiscera*] i. e. constrin[illegible] aluom.

iam riget atra cutis distentaque lumina rumpit: 95
igneaque in uoltus et sacro feruida 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 lues, 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 carinae. 105
at liber terrae spatiosis collibus hostis
aere non pigro nec inertibus angitur undis:
sed patitur saeuam ueluti circumdatus arta
obsidione famem. nondum surgentibus altam
in segetem culmis cernit miserabile uolgus 110
in pecudum cecidisse cibos et carpere dumos,
et foliis spoliare nemus, letumque minantis
uellere ab ignotis dubias radicibus herbas.
quae mollire queunt flamma, quae frangere morsu,
quaeque per abrasas utero demittere fauces, 115
plurimaque humanis ante hoc incognita mensis
diripiens miles, saturum tamen obsidet hostem.
ut primum libuit ruptis euadere claustris

iam riget] 'the skin grows hard lack, and bursts the starting eyes'.

sacro—morbo] 'erysipelas', cf. G. III 566. Weise refers to the ption of the plague in Sen. Oedip. ll. *en sacer ignis pascitur artus* &c.

se ferre] 'to bear its own weight'.

praeceps] to be taken as an adjec- ith *fatum*, not adverbially, which to be a later use, cf. Amm. Marc. I *praeceps in exsilium acti.*

medii—morbi] 'an interval of sick-

incondita] 'unburied'. I can o other instance of this use of the but cf. Columel. I cap. 5 *situs in- s conditosque fructus corrumpit,* whether put in the storehouse or

funus erat] 'was all the burial ey had'.

104. *pulsus*] 'set in motion', so that it ceased to be *iners*, cf. 89. supr.

106. *liber terrae*] 'with free range over the land', cf. Stat. Silu. IV ii 24 *liberior campi.*

110. *cernit*] sc. Caesar.

111. *in pecudum*] 'had thrown themselves on the ground to eat the food of beasts'.

113. *dubias*] 'doubtfully wholesome'; so *anceps* is used by Iuv. V 146 *uilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis.*

114. *quae mollire queunt*] sc. *milites* (but the singular *miles* is put carelessly in line 117), 'whatever they can soften by roasting'.

115. *abrasas*] 'made sore', i.e. by the hardness of the food, cf. Pers. III 113, 114 *tenero latet ulcus in ore putre quod haud deceat plebeia radere beta.*

Pompeio cunctasque sibi permittere terras:
non obscura petit latebrosae tempora noctis, 120
et raptum furto soceri cessantibus armis
dedignatur iter: latis exire ruinis
quaerit et impulso turres confringere uallo,
perque omnes gladios et qua uia caede paranda est.
opportuna tamen ualli pars uisa propinqui, 125
quam Minuci castella uocant, et confraga densis
arboribus dumeta tegunt. huc puluere nullo
proditus agmen agit subitusque ad moenia uenit.
tot simul e campis Latiae fulsere uolucres:
tot cecinere tubae. ne quid uictoria ferro 130
deberet, pauor adtonitos confecerat hostes.
quod solum ualuit uirtus, iacuere perempti
debuerant quo stare loco: qui uolnera ferrent
iam deerant, nimbusque ferens tot tela peribat.
tum piceos uoluunt immissae lampades ignes: 135
tum quassae nutant turres lapsumque minantur:
roboris impacti crebros gemit agger ad ictus.
iam Pompeianae celsi super ardua ualli
exierant aquilae: iam mundi iura patebant.
quem non mille simul turmis nec Caesare toto 140
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 permittere*] 'give himself free range over all the country'.

122. *latis...ruinis*] 'by a broad breach'.

123. *impulso*] 'to break down the towers and level the earthworks'.

126. *Minuci castella*] From Appian B. C. II § 60 it appears that the full name of the Scaeva mentioned below was Minucius Scaeva, and this place was probably called after him: see Weise's note.

confraga] 'rugged', cf. Stat. Theb. IV 494 *Gaetulae stabulantem ad confraga silvae*.

129. *volucres*] i.e. *aquilae*.

131. *confecerat*] 'had ruined', or it may be taken with *adtonitos*, 'had thrown into panic', cf. Cic. de inuent. I § 106 *in ea primum animum auditoris mitem et ricordem conficere oportet*.

132. *quod solum*] 'the only thing valour could effect'.

134. *nimbus ferens tot tela*] is equ lent to *tot telorum nimbus*.

peribat] 'was wasted', because were none left to be slain.

137. *roboris*] i.e. timber used as a tering ram.

139. *iam mundi*] 'already the was all before them', i.e. they march where they chose.

140. *Caesare toto*] 'by all Ca forces', cf. V 742.

142. *seque*] 'and so long as he wield his arms'.

:e feras Rhodani gentes: ibi sanguine multo 145
›motus Latiam longo gerit ordine uitem.
›nus ad omne nefas, et qui nesciret in armis
ım magnum uirtus crimen ciuilibus esset.
ubi quaerentis socios iam Marte relicto
a fugae cernit, quo uos pauor, inquit, abegit 150
pius et cunctis ignotus Caesaris armis?
famuli turpes, seruom pecus, absque cruore]
ga datis morti? cumulo uos deesse uirorum
n pudet et bustis interque cadauera quaeri?
n ira saltem, iuuenes, pietate remota 155
abitis? e cunctis per quos erumperet hostis
›s sumus electi. non paruo sanguine Magni
ta dies ierit. peterem felicior umbras
aesaris in uoltu: testem hunc Fortuna negauit,
›mpeio laudante cadam. confringite tela 160
:ctoris incursu iugulisque retundite ferrum.
n longinqua petit puluis sonitusque ruinae
curasque fragor concussit Caesaris aures.
ıcimus, o socii; ueniet qui uindicet arces
ım morimur. mouit tantum uox illa furorem, 165

ante feras] 'before the war with tribes of Rhine', cf. III 233, V

ne multo] 'at the cost of much f. VII 269.

longo ordine] 'in the company d in line'. *ordines ducere* is the term for holding the rank of a . cf. Cic. Phil. I § 20.

The vinewood staff was the badge ırion, cf. Mart. X xxvi *Vare Paraetia modo uite per urbes nobilis, dux memorande uiris*, Iuv. VIII 193.

iam Marte relicto] 'abandoning ınd seeking safety in flight'.

cunctis] 'utterly unknown to arms'.

o famuli] This line is omitted MSS. and seems to be made up ›m IX 274, partly from Hor. Ep. . *absque cruore*, 'without blood- a strange expression, and the *rue* does not appear to be found : in poetry, though common in :dians.

153. *cumulo...uirorum*] 'the heap of slaughtered heroes'.

154. *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 laetorum comitem rebusque secundis accipis*. For *quaerere* cf. IX 965.

155. *ira*] 'love of fighting', cf. I 207, II 47.

pietate] 'loyalty to Caesar'.

158. *ierit*] i.e. *constabit*, 'with cost of no little blood to Magnus will this day pass'.

160. *Pompeio*] i.e. the next best thing to having Caesar as witness of my valour.

161. *retundite*] 'blunt the sword upon your throats'. Weise cf. IV 561 *percussum est pectore ferrum et iugulis pressere manum*.

162. *longinqua petit*] 'is rolling far away'.

164. *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 deprensa locoque
an plus quam mortem uirtus daret. ille ruenti
aggere consistit, primumque cadauera plenis 170
turribus euoluit, subeuntisque obruit hostes
corporibus: totaeque uiro dant tela ruinae:
roboraque et moles hosti seque ipse minatur.
nunc sude nunc duro contraria pectora conto
detrudit muris, et ualli summa tenentis 175
amputat ense manus: caput obterit ossaque saxo,
ac male defensum fragili compage cerebrum
dissipat: alterius flamma crinesque genasque
succendit; strident oculis ardentibus ignes.
ut primum cumulo crescente cadauera murum 180
aequauere solo: non segnior extulit illum
saltus et in medias iecit super arma cateruas,
quam per summa rapit celerem uenabula pardum.
tum densos inter cuneos compressus et omni
uallatus bello uincit quem respicit hostem. 185
iamque hebes et crasso non asper sanguine mucro
[percussum Scaeuae 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, 190

166. *succendunt*] Bersmann cf. Verg. Aen. VI 155 *aere ciere uiros Martemque accendere cantu.*

168. *scituri*] 'to test whether valour overmatched by numbers could bestow more than death', i.e. victory. Oud. cf. IV 581 *mors utinam pauidos uitae subducere nolles, sed uirtus te sola daret.*

173. *seque ipse minatur*] 'threatens the foe with himself' i.e. that he will throw himself down into the midst of them.

177. *compage*] sc. of their helmets.

179. *strident*] 'the flames hiss as their eyes are burnt', cf. Hom. Od. IX 394 ὡς τοῦ σίζ' ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαινέῳ περὶ μοχλῷ.

180. *murum*] 'made the ground level with the wall', i.e. were piled so high that the ground was raised by them to the level of the top of the wall.

181. *non segnior*] 'as rapid a bound carried him from the wall...as that which carries a swift leopard over the tops of the hunting-spears'.

185. *quem respicit*] i.e. by turning sharply round, he strikes the enemy who is behind his back.

186. *crasso non asper*] 'losing its sharpness from the thick clotted blood'.

187. This line is omitted in some MSS and seems to be only another version of the next.

188. *perdidit*] i.e. ceased to act as a sword by cutting, but only acted as a club by breaking the enemies' limbs.

190. *non certa*] 'failed to strike home', *non felix*, 'missed its mark'. For [illegible] cf. Quintil. V 13 § 54 *ut gladiatorum [illegible] quae secundae uocantur fiunt et tertia ista prima ad uocandum aduersarii [illegible] prolata est.*

ıe nouom Fortuna uidet concurrere bellum
uirum. fortis crebris sonat ictibus umbo,
leae fragmenta cauae compressa perurunt
ɔra: nec quicquam nudis uitalibus obstat
ɔraeter stantis in summis ossibus hastas. 195
nunc, uaesani, iaculis leuibusque sagittis
tis haesuros numquam uitalibus ictus?
aut tortilibus uibrata phalarica neruis
.t aut uasti muralia pondera saxi:
aries ferro ballistaque limine portae 200
ıoueat. stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus,
ɔeiumque tenet. iam pectora non tegit armis,
:ritus credi clipeo laeuaque uacasse,
ulpa uixisse sua, tot uolnera belli
obit, densamque ferens in pectore siluam 205
ɟradibus fessis, in quem cadat, eligit hostem.
pelagi monstris. Libycae sic belua terrae,]
ibycus densis elephas oppressus ab armis
repercussum squalenti missile tergo
it, et haerentis mota cute discutit hastas: 210
ra tuta latent penitus citraque cruorem

cf. supr. 3.
whole warring army and a

eae] 'and his helmet battered
:s galls the brow on which it

s] 'exposed'.
ter stantis] i.e. the spears
ıe surface of his bones make
ld to protect his vitals.
libus] 'hurled with writhen
he *phalarica*, cf. Verg. Aen.

] i.e. uasta pondera muralis

e. used for battering walls, cf.
II 921 *murali concita num-*
to sic saxa fremunt.
us] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 677
:tra ac laeua pro turribus

] 'holds in check'.
clipeo] 'that trust should be
ld, and his left hand be idle',
protexisse cum potius laeua
ıre deberet. Weise.

204. *culpa sua*] sc. because he had avoided danger by using his shield.

205. *siluam*] 'forest of weapons', cf. Verg. Aen. X 886, 887 *ter secum Troius heros immanem aerato circumfert tegmine siluam.*

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 immittentes nauibus eas deprimunt': Sulpitius to line 205, 'par cetis, in quorum tergis frutices et arbores oriuntur; eminent enim supra mare in formam scopulorum'.

208. *sic Libycus*] Some MSS. read *Gaetulus*, which is doubtless right if line 207 is genuine.

209. *repercussum*] 'rebounding from his horny hide'.

210. *hastas*] cf. Verg. Aen. X 715 *tergo decutit hastas.*

211. *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 215
in caput atque oculi laeuom descendit in orbem.
ille moras ferri neruorum et uincula rumpit,
adfixam uellens oculo pendente sagittam
intrepidus, telumque suo cum lumine calcat.
Pannonis haud aliter post ictum saeuior ursa, 220
cum iaculum parua Libys amentauit habena,
se rotat in uolnus: telumque irata receptum
impetit et secum fugientem circuit hastam.
perdiderat uoltum rabies: stetit imbre cruento
informis facies: laetus fragor aethera pulsat 225
uictorum: maiora uiris e sanguine paruo
gaudia non faceret conspectum in Caesare uolnus.
ille tegens alta suppressum mente dolorem
mitis, et a uoltu penitus uirtute remota,
parcite, ait, ciues: procul hinc auertite bellum. 230
collatura meae nil iam sunt uolnera morti:
non eget ingestis sed uolsis pectore telis.
tollite et in Magni uiuentem ponite castris:
hoc uestro praestate duci: sit Scaeua relicti

213. *non explent*] 'do not complete a single man's death'. cf. Stat. Theb. IX 753, 754 *alio geminatum lumine uolnus expleuit tenebras*, 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. I 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. Plin. H. N. VIII § 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, vol. II. p. 202.

223. *impetit*] 'tries to seize the weapon and pursues in a circle the spear that flies along with her', i.e. like a kitten running after its own tail.

224. *perdiderat uoltum*] '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'.

229. *uirtute*] ira bellica. Weise.

231. *collatura*] 'more wounds will not contribute anything towards my death' i.e. I am already mortally wounded.

232. *non eget*] sc. *mors*, 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. *relicti*] 'of desertion from Caesar'.

Caesaris exemplum potius quam mortis honestae. 235
credidit infelix simulatis uocibus Aulus
nec uidit recto gladium mucrone tenentem:
membraque captiui pariter laturus et arma,
fulmineum mediis excepit faucibus ensem.
incaluit uirtus: atque una caede refectus 240
soluat, ait, poenas Scaeuam quicumque subactum
sperauit: pacem gladio si quaerit ab isto
Magnus adorato submittat Caesare signa.
an similem uestri segnemque ad fata putastis?
Pompeii uobis minor est causaeque senatus 245
quam mihi mortis amor. simul haec effatur, et altus
Caesareas puluis testatur adesse cohortes.
dedecus hic belli Magno crimenque remisit,
ne solum totae fugerent te, Scaeua, cateruae,
subducto qui Marte ruis: nam sanguine fuso 250
uires pugna dabat. labentem turba suorum
excipit atque umeris defectum imponere gaudet:
ac ueluti inclusum perfosso in pectore numen
et uiuam magnae speciem uirtutis adorant:
telaque confixis certant euellere membris, 255
exornantque deos ac nudum pectore Martem
armis, Scaeua, tuis. felix hoc nomine famae,
si tibi durus Hiber, aut si tibi terga dedisset
Cantaber exiguis aut longis Teutonus armis.

. *recto mucrone*] 'with its point ', i.e. ready to strike, cf. Stat. Theb. 665 *acerque reducto adfuit Hippo- rectoque Erymanthius ense.*

. *fulmineum*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 811 *nsem fulmineum.*

. *isto*] i.e. *meo.*

. *submittat signa*] 'let him lower ndard', cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 3 *nti*) *regem adorant, genua submit- coronas porrigunt.*

. *Pompeii*] 'you have less love for eius and the Senate's cause than I or death'.

. *mortis amor*] cf. IV 146, VIII 364.

. *hic*] sc. *puluis*, which showed the ch of reinforcements.

isit] 'relieved Pompeius of shame sgrace in warfare'.

subducto] 'you (Scaeva) who fall he 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.

252. *defectum*] 'fainting', cf. I 695.

253. *inclusum*] Weise cf. VIII 864.

256. *deos*] quorum erant in castello imagines positae. Sulpitius.

nudum] simulacrum Martis, quod ita pingitur. Schol. cf. Iuv. XI 106 *ac nudam effigiem clipeo uenientis et hasta pendentisque dei perituro ostenderet hosti.*

259. *longis*] cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 661 *duo quisque Alpina coruscant gaesa manu scutis protecti corpora longis.*

armis] 'shields' ὅπλοις, cf. Verg. Aen. X 841 *at Lausum socii exanimem super arma ferebant.* Varro L. L. IV 24 derives the word *ab arcendo.*

non tu bellorum spoliis ornare Tonantis 260
templa potes, non tu laetis ululare triumphis.
infelix quanta dominum uirtute parasti.
nec magis hac Magnus castrorum parte repulsus
intra claustra piger dilato Marte quieuit,
quam mare lassatur, cum se tollentibus Euris 265
frangentem fluctus scopulum ferit, aut latus alti
montis adest seramque sibi parat unda ruinam.
hinc uicina petens placido castella profundo
incursu gemini Martis rapit: armaque late
spargit et effuso laxat tentoria campo: 270
mutandaeque iuuat permissa licentia 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 275
transit et ignotos aperit sibi gurgite campos.
illos terra fugit dominos: his rura colonis
accedunt donante Pado. uix proelia Caesar
senserat elatus specula quae prodidit ignis.
inuenit impulsos presso iam puluere muros: 280
frigidaque ut ueteris deprendit signa ruinae,
accendit pax ipsa loci mouitque furorem
Pompeiana quies et uicto Caesare somnus.

260. *non tu*] cf. note on I 12.

261. *ululare*] properly used of the lamentation of women, but transferred to any shrill cry, cf. Verg. Aen. IV 168 *summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae;* so in Greek, ὀλολύζειν cf. Aesch. Ag. 594—596 καὶ γυναικεῖον νόμῳ ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες ἐν θεῶν ἕδραις.

262. *parasti*] cf. note on I 13.

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, *sera* *diuana* *ruina*, but the former explanation is to be preferred.

269. *incursu gemini Martis*] i.e. tacking 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 effusi aut palustribus locis.*

272. *aggere tutas*] 'defended by embankment'.

275. *ruit*] 'has broken down', 'lapsed'.

277. *illos terra fugit*] 'their land lost by one set of owners'.

278. *donante*] cf. Herod. II 5 Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπιστήτης τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον ποταμοῦ.

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 285
segnius haud uidit quam malo nauta tremente
omnia Circeae subducit uela procellae:
agminaque interius muro breuiore recepit
densius ut parua disponeret arma corona.
transierat primi Caesar munimina ualli, 290
cum super e totis emisit collibus agmen
effuditque acies obsaeptum Magnus in hostem.
non sic Aetnaeis habitans in uallibus horret
Enceladum spirante Noto, cum tota cauernas
egerit et torrens in campos defluit Aetna: 295
Caesaris ut miles glomerato puluere uictus
ante aciem, caeci trepidus sub nube timoris
hostibus occurrit fugiens inque ipsa pauendo
fata ruit. totus mitti ciuilibus armis
usque uel in pacem potuit cruor: ipse furentis 300
dux tenuit gladios. felix ac libera legum
Roma fores iurisque tui uicisset in illo

ı. *uel in clades*] 'even to defeat'.
ɔ. *Torquato*] sc. L. Torquatus, who ɔeen captured by Caesar at Oricum lismissed uninjured. cf. Caes. B. C. ı.
ɔ. *segnius haud uidit*] i.e. acted with ɜss energy when he saw Caesar's ɜ.
ɾ. *subducit*] 'furls all his sails before Circeian storm'. cf. Ov. Fast. III *rto subducere carbasa lino.*
ɜ. *muro breuiore*] 'within a narrower d compass'.
ı. *obsaeptum*] videlicet ab ipso Pomɜt a Torquato. Weise.
ı. *Enceladum*] Enceladus was supl to be buried under Aetna: Oud. cf. lian rap. Pros. 154, 155 *Enceladi m, qui saucia terga reuinctus spirat austum flagranti pectore sulphur.* ılso Aesch. Prom. 351—373. Verg. III 578—582 *fama est Enceladi semi- ɜ fulmine corpus urgeri mole hac, temque insuper Aetnam impositam ɾ flammam exspirare caminis; et n quotiens mutet latus intremere omnurmure Trinacriam et caelum subfumo.*
rante Noto] because the blowing of the wind was supposed to fan the flames within the mountain.

295. *egerit*] 'empties'.
torrens] quasi tota Aetna fit torrens igneus. Weise.

297. *caeci sub nube timoris*] 'under a cloud of blind terror': this strange expression is not noticed by any of the commentators: perhaps it is better to take *timor* as that which causes terror, i.e. the dust, and *caecus* as 'blinding'. cf. Ov. Fast. I 551 *Cacus, Auentinae timor atque infamia siluae*, Propert. III v 40 *et audaci tu timor esse potes.*

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 sanguis inuidiae 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 tuarum iurisque tui*, comparing X 384 *ingentis fati sumus.*

si tibi Sulla loco. dolet heu semperque dolebit
quod scelerum, Caesar, prodest tibi summa tuorum
cum genero pugnasse pio. pro tristia fata: 305
non Vticae Libye clades Hispania Mundae
flesset, et infando pollutus sanguine Nilus
nobilius Phario gestasset rege cadauer:
nec Iuba Marmaricas nudus pressisset harenas,
Poenorumque umbras placasset sanguine fuso 310
Scipio, nec sancto caruisset uita Catone:
ultimus esse dies potuit tibi, Roma, malorum:
exire e mediis potuit Pharsalia fatis.
deserit aduerso possessam numine sedem
Caesar et Emathias lacero petit agmine terras. 315
arma secuturum soceri, quacumque fugasset,
temptauere suo comites deuertere Magnum
hortatu: patrias sedes atque hoste carentem
Ausoniam peteret. numquam me Caesaris, inquit,
exemplo reddam patriae, numquamque uidebit 320
me nisi dimisso redeuntem milite Roma.
Hesperiam potui motu surgente tenere,
si uellem patriis aciem committere templis,
ac medio pugnare foro. dum bella relegem,
extremum Scythici transcendam frigoris orbem 325
ardentisque plagas. uictor tibi, Roma, quietem
eripiam, qui, ne premerent te proelia, fugi?
a potius, bello ne quid patiaris in isto,

303. *Sulla*] i.e. who would not have spared the conquered.

304. *scelerum...summa*] 'that which is thy crowning crime (i.e. *cum genero pugnasse pio*) turns out to thy advantage'. Caesar B. C. III 70 says that Pompeius recalled his troops through fear of an ambuscade.

307. *et*] *neque*.

308. *nobilius*] 'a nobler corpse (sc. *Pompeii*) than that of the Pharian king'.

309. *nec Iuba*] Iuba and Petreius killed each other to avoid falling into Caesar's hands.

310. *placasset*] i.e. because Scipio was the representative of the conquerors of Carthage, cf. I 39, Hor. carm. II i 25—29 *Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior Afris inulta cesserat impotens tellure, uictorum nepotes rettulit inferias Iugurthae.*

313. *exire*] equivalent to *eximi*, 'might have been wrested from'.

314. *aduerso*] 'occupied by him against the will of heaven'.

316. *quacumque fugasset*] 'in whatever direction he might have driven them'.

319. *Caesaris...exemplo*] i.e. *armatus*.

322. *motu*] 'the civil war', cf. Hor. carm. II i 1 *motum ex Metello consule civicum.*

324. *relegem*] 'banish far from Rome', cf. Verg. G. III 212 *tauros procul atque in tuta relegant pascua.*

325. *frigoris*] For the genitive, cf. note on VIII 223.

328. *isto*] equivalent to *hoc*.

te Caesar putet esse suam. sic fatus in ortus
Phoebeos conuertit iter, terraeque secutus 330
deuia, qua uastos aperit Candauia saltus,
contigit Emathiam, bello quam fata parabant.
Thessaliam, qua parte diem brumalibus horis
adtollit Titan, rupes Ossaea coercet.
cum per summa poli Phoebum trahit altior aestas 335
Pelion opponit radiis nascentibus umbras.
at medios ignes caeli rabidique Leonis
solstitiale caput nemorosus submouet Othrys.
excipit aduersos Zephyros et Iapyga Pindus,
et maturato praecidit uespere lucem. 340
nec metuens imi Borean habitator Olympi
lucentem totis ignorat noctibus Arcton.
hos inter montes media qui ualle premuntur
perpetuis quondam latuere paludibus agri,
flumina dum campi retinent, nec peruia Tempe 345
dant aditus pelagi: stagnumque implentibus unum
crescere cursus erat. postquam discessit Olympo
Herculea grauis Ossa manu subitaeque ruinam
sensit aquae Nereus: melius mansura sub undis,
Emathis, aequorei regnum Pharsalos Achillis, 350
eminet, et prima Rhoeteia litora pinu
quae tetigit Phylace, Pteleosque, et Dorion ira

331. *Candauia*] The chain of mountains separating Illyricum from Macedonia.

333. *Thessaliam*] The following description of Thessaly is apparently drawn from Herodotus VII 129.

qua parte] i.e. the quarter where the sun rises in winter, i.e. S.E.

336. *nascentibus*] i.e. on the N.E.

337. *at medios*] ad meridiem situs est mons Othrys. Weise.

340. *maturato*] 'cuts short the light by hastening on the evening', i.e. the sun sets earlier behind the mountains.

341. *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.

343. *premuntur*] 'lie low', cf. Verg. G. I 240, 241 *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces consurgit premitur Libyae deuexus in Austros.*

346. *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.

347. *crescere cursus erat*] cf. 103 supr. *spargere funus erat.*

348. *subitae*] 'the rush of sudden waters', i.e. their sudden fall into the sea.

350. *aequorei*] as the son of the sea-goddess Thetis.

351. *prima*] i.e. whence came Protesilaus, who was the first to land on the Trojan shore.

352. *Dorion ira*] cf. Hom. Il. II 594 Δώριον ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήικα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς, where it appears as a town in the Peloponnesus subject to Nestor.

flebile Pieridum; Trachin, pretioque nefandae
lampados Herculeis fortis Meliboea pharetris:
atque olim Larissa potens: ubi nobile quondam 355
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 rapuisset Agaue.
ergo abrupta palus multos discessit in amnes. 360
purus in occasus, parui sed gurgitis, Aeas
Ionio fluit inde mari: nec fortior undis
labitur auectae pater Isidis, et tuus, Oeneu,
paene gener crassis oblimat Echinadas undis:
et Meleagream maculatus sanguine Nessi 365
Euenos Calydona secat. ferit amne citato
Maliacas Sperchios aquas: et flumine puro
irrigat Amphrysos famulantis pascua Phoebi;
quique nec umentis nebulas nec rore madentem
aera nec tenues uentos suspirat Anauros; 370
et quisquis pelago per se non cognitus amnis
Peneo donauit aquas: it gurgite rapto
Apidanos: numquamque celer, nisi mixtus, Enipeus.
accipit Asopos cursus Phoenixque Melasque.
solus in alterius nomen cum uenerit undae 375

353. *pretio*] i.e. the arrows given by Hercules to Philoctetes as the reward for kindling his funeral pile.

355. *ubi nobile*] 'where men plough on the site of once famous Argos', cf. Ov. Heroid. I 53 *iam seges est ubi Troia fuit.*

356. *Argos*] sc. *Pelasgicum.*

Thebas] sc. *Phthioticas*, to which according to this version of the legend Agave retired from Thebes in Boeotia.

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 mugiuerat annos; nunc dea, quae Nili flumina uacca bibit.*

364. *gener*] sc. Achelous, the rival Hercules for the hand of Deianira daugh of Oeneus.

oblimat] The silt carried down by Achelous has now joined the Echina to the mainland.

368. *pascua*] sc. of Pherae, wl Apollo served Admetus as a herdsm cf. Eur. Alcest. I foll.

370. *suspirat*] 'breathes forth'. Sil. Ital. XIII 425, 426 *eructat acer Cocyti laxo suspirans ore paludem.*

Anauros] Ἄναυρος from ἀ privative αὔρα.

371. *pelago per se*] 'not known tc sea on its own account', i.e. as a sepa stream.

373. *numquamque celer*] Ovid on contrary, Met. I 579, speaks of *irrequ Enipeus.*

376. *defendit*] 'Titaresos protec own waters, and gliding on the su

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 aratrum.
Aeolidae Dolopesque solum fregere coloni,
et Magnetes equis, Minyae gens cognita remis. 385
illic semiferos Ixionidas Centauros
feta Pelethroniis nubes effudit in antris.
aspera te Pholoes frangentem, Monyche, saxa,
teque sub Oetaeo torquentem uertice uolsas,
Rhoete ferox, quas uix Boreas inuerteret, ornos: 390
hospes et Alcidae magni, Phole: teque per amnem
improbe Lernaeas uector passure sagittas:
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 domitoris habenis.
prima fretum scindens Pagasaeo litore pinus 400

deals with Peneus' flood as if it were dry land', i.e. flows on the top of it without mixing.

380. *superumque sibi*] 'preserve for itself fear on the part of the gods', cf. Verg. Aen. VI 323, 324 *Stygiamque paludem di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.* inf. 749. cf. also Hom. Il. II 751—755 οἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐθέμοντο, ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προΐει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ, οὐδ' ὅ γε Πηνειῷ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνῃ, ἀλλά τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἠΰτ' ἔλαιον· ὅρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ.

382. *discessit*] 'was cleft'.

385. *cognita*] 'famous for'.

388. *Monyche*] cf. Iuv. I 11 *quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos.*

390. *quas uix*] 'such as Boreas could scarcely overthrow'.

392. *uector*] sc. Deianirae; *sagittas* sc. Herculis.

393. *gelido*] because the constellation Chiron, i.e. Sagittarius, appears in winter.

394. *impetis*] i.e. it seems to be aiming at the Scorpion.

maiorem] i.e. greater than the other constellations, cf. Verg. G. I 34, 35 *ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens Scorpios, et caeli iusta plus parte relinquit.*

396. *percussis*] cf. Verg. G. I 13—15 *tuque o cui prima frementem fudit equom magno tellus percussa tridenti Neptune.*

397. *omen*] 'giving promise of deadly wars'.

399. *nouis*] cf. Verg. G. III 115, 116 *frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere impositi dorso.*

400. *prima fretum*] cf. III 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. 405
illic quod populos scelerata impegit in arma
diuitias numerare datum est. hinc maxima serpens
descendit Python Cirrhaeaque fluxit in arua:
unde et Thessalicae ueniunt ad Pythia laurus.
impius hinc prolem superis immisit Aloeus, 410
inseruit celsis prope se cum Pelion astris,
sideribusque uias incurrens abstulit Ossa.
hac ubi damnata fatis tellure locarunt
castra duces; cunctos belli praesaga futuri
mens agitat, summique grauem discriminis horam 415
aduentare palam est. propius iam fata moueri
degeneres trepidant animi peioraque uersant:
ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus
spemque metumque ferunt. turbae sed mixtus inerti
Sextus erat Magno proles indigna parente, 420
qui mox Scyllaeis exsul grassatus in undis
polluit aequoreos Siculus pirata triumphos;
qui stimulante metu fati praenoscere cursus,

401. *terrenum*] 'a native of dry land'. Oud. cf. Sil. Itak XI 473 foll. *quin etiam Pagasaea ratis cum caerula nondum cognita terrigenae pontumque intrare negarent* &c.

proiecit] 'flung out into the waves': the word is often used of what the sea throws up on shore, cf. Verg. Ecl. VII 42 *proiecta uilior alga.*

402. *Itonos*] son of Deucalion.

403. *in formam*] 'hammered into shape'.

404. *moneta fregit*] 'broke up and stamped'.

406. *impegit*] 'drove headlong', cf. I 160 foll.

408. *fluxit*] 'glided'.

409. *unde*] 'for which reason'.

Thessalicae] i.e. the bay for the crowns at the Pythian games was brought from the vale of Tempe in Thessaly.

410. *Aloeus*] cf. Hom. Od. XI 305—320.

412. *sideribusque*] 'and Ossa encroaching upon the stars, stopped their motion'.

414. *belli praesaga*] 'with a presentiment of coming war'.

417. *trepidant*] 'tremble at the thought that destiny is now approaching': for *trepidare* with infinitive cf. Stat. Theb. I 639, 640 *non tu pia degener arma occulis aut certae trepidas occurrere morti.*

peioraque uersant] 'and expect the worst'.

418. *praesumpto robore*] 'fortifying their hearts beforehand'.

419. *inerti*] 'cowardly', cf. Verg. Aen. IV 158 *spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia uotis optat aprum.*

421. *grassatus*] 'acting the robber', cf. Plin. H. N. IX § 45 *silurus grassatur ubicunque est omne animal adpetens, equos innatantis saepe demergens.*

422. *pirata*] cf. I 43. Manil. I 918, 919 *cum patrios armis imitatus filius hostes aequora Pompeius cepit defensa parenti.* Vell. Pat. II lxxiii § 3.

impatiensque morae uenturisque omnibus aeger,
non tripodas Deli non Pythia consulit antra, 425
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 430
detestanda deis saeuorum arcana magorum
nouerat et tristes sacris feralibus aras,
umbrarum Ditisque fidem: miseroque liquebat,
scire parum superos. uanum saeuomque furorem
adiuuat ipse locus uicinaque moenia castris 435
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 440
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, 445
uerbaque ad inuitum perfert cogentia numen,

5. *primis frugibus*] i.e. acorns; cf. . G. I 148 *cum iam glandes atque a sacrae deficerent siluae et uictum na negaret.*

7. *aere Iouis*] 'Jove's brazen caul-', cf. Verg. Aen. III 466 *Dodoneasque s* and Conington's note. Oud. cf. Max. VIII xv ext. 3 *cuius cineres honoris possident, quod Pythicae cor-, quod aheno Dodonae, quod Hammo-nti datur.*

8. *prodat*] 'interprets'.

9. *tacitum*] equivalent to *arcanum* et'. Oud. cf. Ov. Amor. III vii 51, *aret mediis taciti uolgator in undis, que quae nullo tempore tangat habet.*

10. *fidem*] in apposition with *aras*, hich procure credit for the shades.

ebat] 'the poor wretch was persuad-t the gods of heaven knew too little'.

. *moenia—Haemonidum*] the towns dwelt Thessalian witches'.

. *ficti quas nulla licentia monstri*] 'whom no flight of imagination in inventing horrors could surpass'. *ficti* is almost equivalent to *fingendi*, cf. Verg. G. II 141 *satis immanis dentibus hydri.* Id. Aen. II 721. See also note on 250 supr.

437. *ars est*] quam profitentur. Sulpitius.

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] sc. Medea.

442. *legit*] i.e. although as Vergil says Ecl. VIII 97 *nascuntur plurima Ponto;* in which passage Pontus probably stands for Colchis.

443. *tot surdas*] 'deaf to so many nations' prayers'.

445. *una—exit*] 'alone finds a way through the inmost depths of heaven'.

446. *uerbaque*] 'and carries through

quod non cura poli caelique uolubilis umquam
auocat. infandum tetigit cum sidera murmur,
tum Babylon Persea licet secretaque Memphis
omne uetustorum soluat penetrale Magorum, 450
abducit superos alienis Thessalis aris.
carmine Thessalidum dura in praecordia fluxit
non fatis adductus amor: flammisque seueri
illicitis arsere senes. nec noxia tantum
pocula proficiunt, aut cum turgentia suco 455
frontis amaturae subducunt 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. 460
cessauere uices rerum: dilataque longa
haesit nocte dies: legi non paruit aether:
torpuit et praeceps audito carmine mundus:
axibus et rapidis impulsos Iuppiter urgens
miratur non ire polos. nunc omnia complent 465
imbribus et calido producunt nubila Phoebo,
et tonat ignaro caelum Ioue. 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 Persian 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.

Persea] equivalent to *Persica*, cf. Stat. Theb. I 719, 720 *seu Persei sub rupibus antri indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.*

453. *non fatis adductus*] contra naturam 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'. *hippomanes* was supposed to be an excrescence on the head of the new-born foal which was bitten off and eaten by its mother: if failed to do this, she had no affection her foal and refused to rear it. cf. V Aen. IV 515, 516 *quaeritur et nasc equi de fronte reuolsus, et matri pruer amor.* Plin. H. N. VIII § 165.

458. *excantata*] 'perverted by alone', cf. Propert. III ii 49 *at p clausas sciat excantare puellas.*

460. *uertigine*] 'by the magic twi of the twisted thread', cf. Verg. Ecl. 74—79. Oud. cf. Propert. II xxvi *deficiunt magico torti sub carmine rh* Id. IV vi 26 *staminea rhombi ducit rota.*

461. *uices rerum*] 'the changes of ture', cf. Hor. carm. IV vii 3 *mutat uices.*

464. *rapidis*] 'Jupiter as he drive the poles sped on their swiftly tu hinges, marvels that they move not'.

466. *calido Phoebo*] 'in the full of the sun'.

excussere comis. uentis cessantibus aequor
intumuit: rursus uetitum sentire procellas 470
conticuit turbante Noto: puppimque ferentes
in uentum tumuere sinus. de rupe pependit
abscisa fixus torrens: amnisque cucurrit
non qua pronus erat. Nilum non extulit aestas:
Maeander direxit aquas: Rhodanumque morantem 475
praecipitauit Arar: submisso uertice montes
explicuere iugum: nubes suspexit Olympus:
solibus et nullis Scythicae, cum bruma rigeret,
dimaduere niues. impulsam sidere Tethyn
reppulit Haemonidum defenso litore carmen. 480
terra quoque immoti concussit ponderis axem,
et medium uergens titubauit nisus in orbem.
tantae molis onus percussum uoce recessit,
prospectumque dedit circumlabentis Olympi.
omne potens animal leti genitumque nocere 485
et pauet Haemonias et mortibus instruit artes.

69. *excussere comis*] 'they shake from r loosened locks'.

70. *sentire procellas*] 'to feel the force orms', cf. Plin. Epp. VIII xx § 4 *spa- t modicum, quod tamen sentiat uentos uctibus intumescat.*

71. *turbante Noto*] i. e. *turbare co- e* or it might be taken intransitively, all the blustering of Notus', cf. Lu- II 125, Verg. Aen. VI 801.

72. *in uentum*] 'swell against the l'.

tendit] 'hangs motionless'.

74. *non qua*] 'not in the direction in h it sloped', i.e. but up-hill.

n extulit] 'summer has not raised the of the Nile', cf. X 228 foll.

75. *direxit*] 'has straightened', cf. N. Q. I x § 1 *coronam si diuiseris, t erit, si direxeris, uirga.*

Rodanumque] 'the Arar has swept 1 with it the lingering Rhone', thus ting the characters of the two rivers, ote on I 434.

76. *submisso uertice*] 'lowering their nits'.

77. *explicuere iugum*] 'have made ridges level', cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 459 *dum explicui mare.*

pexit] i.e. instead of *despexit*, cf. II

479. *sidere*] i.e. the moon, cf. I 413.

480. *reppulit*] 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. *titubauit nisus*] The reading in the text is that of most MSS. and of the Roman edition of 1469. *nisus* 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 uoluuntur; quae se et nisu suo conglobata continent, et forma ipsa figuraque sua momenta sustentant.* Lucret. I 1052—1055. Weise adopting a conjecture of Sulpitius reads *nisu titubauit.*

483. *recessit*] 'has parted asunder'.

484. *prospectumque dedit*] 'and has afforded a view (i.e. through the centre of the earth) of the circumambient sky', cf. Eur. Bacch. 292 τοῦ χθόν' ἐγκυκλουμένου αἰθέρος. Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 570—572 *fatum rumpe manu: tristibus inferis prospectus pateat lucis et inuius limes det faciles ad superos uias.*

486. *et pauet*] 'both fears the Haemo-

has auidae tigres et nobilis ira leonum
ore fouent blando: gelidos his explicat orbes
inque pruinoso coluber distenditur aruo.
uiperei coeunt abrupto corpore nodi: 490
humanoque cadit serpens adflata ueneno.
quis labor hic superis cantus herbasque sequendi
spernendique timor? cuius commercia pacti
obstrictos habuere deos? parere necesse est,
an iuuat? ignota tantum pietate merentur, 495
an tacitis ualuere minis? hoc iuris in omnes
est illis superos, an habent haec carmina certum
imperiosa deum, qui mundum cogere quidquid
cogitur ipse potest? illic et sidera primum
praecipiti deducta polo: Phoebeque serena 500
non aliter diris uerborum obsessa uenenis
palluit, et nigris terrenisque ignibus arsit,
quam si fraterna prohiberet imagine tellus,
insereretque suas flammis caelestibus umbras.
et patitur tantos cantu deprensa labores 505
donec suppositas propior despumet in herbas.
hos scelerum ritus haec dirae carmina gentis

nian magic and furnishes it with instruments of death', cf. VII 517. Stat. Theb. VI 792, 793 *motu Spartanus acuto mille cauet lapsas circum caua tempora mortes.*

489. *inque pruinoso*] cum in frigido loco colligere se angues soleant hinc se extendunt carminum potestate. Schol.

490. *coeunt*] i.e. their spells can first break a viper in two and then make it join again. cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 72 *frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

492. *quis labor*] 'what means this failing in the gods above, their obedience to spells and magic herbs, and their dread of neglecting them?'

sequendi] cf. Tac. Ann. I 49 *sequitur ardorem militum Caesar.*

493. *cuius*] '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?'

497. *certum*] innuit Demogorgona, cf. 744 infr.

498. *qui mundum*] 'who can compel the world to do whate'er he is compelled to do himself?'

499. *illic*] sc. in Thessaly: some MS have *illis* sc. *carminibus.*

500. *praecipiti deducta polo*] 'brou down from the steep slope of heaven', Verg. Ecl. VIII 69 *carmina uel cado sunt deducere lunam.*

501. *obsessa*] 'beset'.

502. *palluit*] 'has lost her lustre', Propert. V vii 82 *et numquam Hera numine pallet ebur.*

503. *quam si*] 'than if the earth her off from the reflexion of her broth light', cf. Verg. G. I 396 *nec fr radiis obnoxia surgere luna.*

505. *deprensa*] 'overcome'. (with some MSS. reads *depressa* 'bro down', which is perhaps confirmed *propior*, 'nearer to the earth'.

506. *despumet*] 'sheds slime up cf. 669 infr. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. II 285 *haec circum spumis lunaribus callidus atque hilari perfundit ueneno.* See also Val. Flacc. VI *quamuis Atracio lunam spumare sciret.*

ſera damnarat nimiae pietatis Erichtho,
que nouos ritus pollutam duxerat artem.
i namque nefas urbis submittere tecto 510
ıt laribus ferale caput: desertaque busta
colit et tumulos expulsis obtinet umbris,
ata deis Erebi. coetus audire silentum
›sse domos Stygias arcanaque Ditis operti
›n superi non uita uetat. tenet ora profanae 515
eda situ macies, caeloque ignota sereno
rribilis Stygio facies pallore grauatur
ıpexis onerata comis. si nimbus et atrae
lera subducunt nubes, tum Thessala nudis
reditur bustis nocturnaque fulgura captat. 520
mina fecundae segetis calcata perussit,
non letiferas spirando perdidit auras.
:c superos orat, nec cantu supplice numen
ıxiliare uocat, nec fibras illa litantis
›uit: funereas aris imponere flammas 525
.udet et accenso rapuit quae tura sepulcro.
nne nefas superi prima iam uoce precantis
ncedunt carmenque timent audire secundum.
uentis animas et adhuc sua membra regentis
ſodit busto: fatis debentibus annos 530
ors inuita subit: peruersa funera pompa

damnarat] 'had convicted of too ty', i.e. had rejected as too in- cf. Ov. remed. amor. 3 *parce tem sceleris damnare Cupido,* : ii § 8 *damnamus tempora nostra 'is huius ut nunc demum nihil*

ho] The same name occurs in eroid. XV 139, 140 *illuc mentis quam furialis Erichtho impulit, rine iacente feror.*

luxerat] 'had advanced'.

obtinet] 'occupies'.

:ilentum] 'the dead', but it is : strange word to be used with

non uita] 'nor the fact that she e', non enim uiuentium esse solet re secreta. Schol.

rauatur] 'is afflicted'.

519. *nudis*] 'deserted', i.e. by their inmates, cf. 512 supr.

521. *calcata perussit*] 'she blights by treading on them'.

522. *perdidit*] equivalent to *corrupit*, cf. Hor. carm. I viii 2 *Sybarin cur properas amando perdere?*

524. *litantis*] transferred from the sacrificer to the offering, cf. Mart. X lxxiii 6 *non quacumque manu uictima caesa litat.*

529. *uiuentis*] cf. Hor. Epod. V 32–35 *quo posset infossus puer longo die bis terque mutatae dapis inemori spectaculo.*

530. *fatis*] 'when the fates still owe men years of life, death comes upon them against its will'.

531. *peruersa*] i.e. changing the direction of the funeral procession, *a tumulis* instead of *ad tumulos.*

rettulit a tumulis: fugere cadauera letum.
fumantis iuuenum cineres ardentiaque ossa
e mediis rapit illa rogis ipsamque parentes
quam tenuere facem: nigroque uolantia fumo 535
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; tunc omnes auide desaeuit in artus, 540
immersitque manus oculis, gaudetque gelatos
effodisse orbes, et siccae pallida rodit
excrementa manus: laqueum nodosque nocentis
ore suo rupit: pendentia corpora carpsit,
abrasitque crucis: percussaque uiscera nimbis 545
uolsit et incoctas admisso sole medullas.
insertum manibus chalybem, nigramque per artus
stillantis tabi saniem, uirusque coactum
sustulit, et neruo morsus retinente pependit.
et quodcumque iacet nuda tellure cadauer 550
ante feras uolucresque sedet: nec carpere membra
uolt ferro manibusque suis, morsusque luporum
exspectat siccis raptura a faucibus artus.
[nec cessant a caede manus, si sanguine uiuo
est opus, erumpat iugulo qui primus aperto.] 555

532. *letum*] Oud. following Bersmann reads *lectum*, i.e. the bier.

535. *nigroque uolantia*] '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 I 241.

537. *olentis membra*] 'smelling of the burnt limbs'.

538. *saxis*] i.e. in a sarcophagus, cf. Lucret. III 904, 905 *aut in melle situm suffocari, atque rigere frigore, cum summo gelidi cubat aequore saxi.*

539. *tracta tabe*] i.e. extracta sanie.

540. *desaeuit*] 'vents all her fury'. cf. Verg. Aen. IV 52 *dum pelago desaeuit hiemps.*

543. *excrementa*] unguium sordes (praesegmina quae in mortuo crescunt, (et capilli. Weise.

nodosque nocentis] 'murderous knots'.

547. *chalybem*] i.e. the nails drive through the hands of the crucified criminal.

548. *coactum*] 'clotted'.

549. *neruo*] 'when the ligaments hi der her bite, hangs from the body', i.e. the piece of flesh she has seized with l teeth will not come away, she hangs l weight upon it to drag it off.

553. *raptura*] because in this way t would be more efficacious drugs, cf. H Epod. V 23 *ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae co*

554—555. *nec cessant*] These two l according to Weise are marked as spuri in many MSS., and seem to be ano version of those that follow.

nec refugit caedes uiuom si sacra cruorem
extaque funereae poscunt trepidantia mensae:
uolnere sic uentris, non qua natura uocabat,
extrahitur partus, calidis ponendus in aris,
et quotiens saeuis opus est ac fortibus umbris, 560
ipsa facit manes: hominum mors omnis in usu est.
illa genae florem primaeuo corpore uolsit,
illa comam laeua morienti abscidit ephebo.
saepe etiam caris cognato in funere dira
Thessalis incubuit membris: atque oscula figens 565
truncauitque caput compressaque dentibus ora
laxauit: siccoque haerentem gutture linguam
praemordens gelidis infudit murmura labris,
arcanumque nefas Stygias mandauit ad umbras.
hanc ut fama loci Pompeio prodidit, alta 570
nocte poli, Titan medium quo tempore ducit
sub nostra tellure diem, deserta per arua
carpit iter. fidi scelerum suetique ministri
effractos circum tumulos ac busta uagati
conspexere procul praerupta in caute sedentem, 575
qua iuga deuexus Pharsalica porrigit Haemus.
illa magis magicisque deis incognita uerba
temptabat carmenque nouos fingebat in usus.
namque timens ne Mars alium uagus iret in orbem,
Emathis et tellus tam multa caede careret, 580
pollutos cantu dirisque uenifica sucis

556. *uiuom*] i.e. *uiuentis*, cf. Verg. Aen. I 720, 721 *paulatim abolere Sychaeum incipit et uiuo temptat praeuertere amore.*

557. *trepidantia*] 'quivering', cf. Verg. Aen. IV 64 *pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.*

561. *facit manes*] i.e. hominem occidendo.

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. *laeua*] The left hand was used in magic rites.

564. *cognato*] i.e. of some kinsman of her own.

565. *figens*] 'imprinting kisses', Oud. with some MSS. reads *fingens*.

566. *compressa*] 'the closed mouth'. cf. Hor. Sat. I iv 138 *compressis agito labris.*

568. *murmura*] ut mox umbra loqueretur apud inferos. Schol.

571. *Titan medium*] i.e. when it is midday with the Antipodes, cf. Verg. G. I 249—251.

ducit] 'is bringing on', cf. Verg. G. III 156 *noctem ducentibus astris.*

574. *effractos*] 'broken open', i.e. by Erichtho.

576. *qua iuga*] 'where Haemus sloping downwards extends its range towards Pharsalia'.

579. *alium in orbem*] 'to another quarter'.

conspersos uetuit transmittere bella Philippos,
tot mortes habitura suas usuraque mundi
sanguine: caesorum truncare cadauera regum
sperat et Hesperiae cineres auertere gentis, 585
ossaque nobilium, tantosque adquirere manes.
hic ardor solusque labor, quid corpore Magni
proiecto rapiat, quos Caesaris inuolet artus.
quam prior adfatur Pompeii ignaua propago:
o decus Haemonidum, populis quae pandere fata, 590
quaeque suo uentura potes diuertere 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. 595
mens dubiis perculsa pauet rursusque parata est
certos ferre metus. hoc casibus eripe iuris,
ne subiti caecique ruant. uel numina torque,
uel tu parce deis et manibus exprime uerum.
Elysias resera sedes ipsamque uocatam 600
quos petat e nobis Mortem tibi coge fateri.
non humilis labor est: dignum quod quaerere cures,
uel tibi, quo tanti praeponderet alea fati.
impia uolgatae laetatur nomine famae
Thessalis, et contra: si fata minora moueres, 605
pronum erat, o iuuenis, quos uelles, inquit, in actus

582. *conspersos*] 'forbade Philippi, tainted by her spells and sprinkled with her noxious drugs, to let the war pass on' i.e. *alium in orbem*, cf. Liv. XXI 20 *ne in Italiam Galli transmittant bellum;* for Philippi, cf. note on I 680.

585. *auertere*] 'to plunder', cf. Catul. LXIV 5 *auratam optantes Colchis auertere pellem.*

588. *inuolet*] 'pounce upon' and so 'carry off', cf. Catul. XXV 6 *remitte pallium mihi meum quod inuolasti*, Petron. 43 *hereditatem accepit ex qua plus inuolauit quam illi relictum est.*

592. *certum*] to be taken with *noscere*, 'to learn for certain'.

593. *non ultima*] cf. Iuv. IV 44 *uos 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. Ti Agric. 29 *quem casum neque ambiti neque per lamenta rursus et maeror muliebriter tulit.*

597. *hoc casibus*] 'do thou snatch t power from events'.

598. *torque*] 'extort the truth fro cf. Hor. A. P. 434, 435 *reges dicun multis urgere culullis, et torquere m quem perspexisse laborant.*

603. *quo tanti*] 'which way the has of destinies so great inclines', the m phors of the dice and the balance are l mixed.

605. *moueres*] 'were you dealing less important destinies', i.e. of indivi men, not of nations.

606. *pronum erat*] cf. Cic. Phil. II *longum est persequi ceteros.*

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
aequoraque et campi Rhodopeiaque saxa loquentur.
sed pronum, cum tanta nouae sit copia mortis,
Emathiis unum campis adtollere corpus, 620
ut modo defuncti tepidique cadaueris ora
plena uoce sonent: nec membris sole perustis
auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra.
dixerat: et noctis geminatis arte tenebris,
maestum tecta caput squalenti nube, pererrat 625
corpora caesorum tumulis proiecta negatis.
continuo fugere lupi fugere reuolsis
unguibus impastae uolucres, dum Thessala uatem

quos uelles] '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 alii fatum quidem congruere rebus putant, sed non e uagis 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.

615. *plus*] 'Fortune is stronger than we are'.

616. *contentus*] sc. *es*. 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.

622. *plena*] 'loud and clear', cf. Verg. G. I 388 *tum cornix plena pluuiam uocat improba uoce*.

623. *incertum...strideat*] 'gibber unintelligibly', cf. Plin. H. N. V § 45 *Troglodytae specus excauant: hae illis domus, uictus serpentium carnes, stridorque non uox*.

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 onerata comis*, Stat. Theb. VI 586, 587 *deserpitque genis nec se lanugo fatetur intonsae sub nube comae*.

627. *reuolsis*] 'tearing their talons from the prey'.

eligit et gelidas leto scrutata medullas
pulmonis rigidi stantis sine uolnere fibras 630
inuenit et uocem defuncto in corpore quaerit.
fata peremptorum pendent iam multa uirorum,
quem superis reuocasse uelit. si tollere totas
temptasset campis acies et reddere bello,
cessissent leges Erebi: monstroque potenti 635
extractus Stygio populus pugnasset Auerno.
electum tandem traiecto gutture corpus
ducit, et inserto laqueis feralibus unco
per scopulos miserum trahitur per saxa cadauer
uicturum: montisque caui quem tristis Erichtho 640
damnarat sacris alta sub rupe locatur.

haud procul a Ditis caecis depressa cauernis
in praeceps subsedit humus: quam pallida pronis
urget silua comis, et nullo uertice caelum
suspiciens Phoebo non peruia taxus opacat. 645
marcentes 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 650
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. *pendent*] 'hang in the balance'.

635. *monstro potenti*] sc. Erichtho, the dative of the agent.

636. *Stygio*] cf. Verg. G. IV 493 *fragor Stygiis auditus Auernis.*

637. *traiecto*] 'with its throat pierced', i.e. killed by a wound in the throat. cf. Plin. H. N. XI § 198 *ob hoc in proeliis gladiatorumque spectaculis mortem cum risu traiecta praecordia attulerunt.*

638. *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 I 504 *in bellum fugitur.*

642. *haud procul*] 'sunk down alm to the depth of Pluto's gloomy caverns

643. *pallida pronis*] i.e. owing to darkness the leaves have no colour, the branches hang down instead of sh ing upwards.

644. *nullo*] sc. *omnino non*, cf. on VII 25.

648. *Taenareis*] cf. Verg. G. IV *Taenaraeas etiam fauces, alta ostia Diti*

649. *confine*] This word is very ra found in the singular, cf. Val. Flacc. 373 *inde Lycen ferit ad confine papillo*

650. *non metuant*] i.e. because it is dark as Tartarus itself.

652. *dubium est*] 'it is doubtful whet she sees the infernal ghosts because has dragged them thither, or because has gone down to hell herself', i.e. becau

adspiciat Stygias, an quod descenderit, umbras.
discolor et uario furialis cultus amictu
induitur, uoltusque aperitur crine remoto, 655
et coma uipereis substringitur horrida sertis.
ut pauidos iuuenis comites ipsumque trementem
conspicit exanimi defixum lumina uoltu:
ponite, ait, trepida conceptos mente timores:
iam noua iam uera reddetur uita figura, 660
ut quamuis pauidi possint audire loquentem.
si uero Stygiosque lacus ripamque sonantem
ignibus ostendam, si me praesente uideri
Eumenides possent uillosaque colla colubris
Cerberus excutiens et uincti terga Gigantes; 665
quis timor, ignaui, metuentis cernere manes?
pectora tum primum feruenti sanguine supplet
uolneribus laxata nouis: taboque medullas
abluit: et uirus large lunare ministrat.
huc quidquid fetu genuit natura sinistro 670
miscetur. non spuma canum quibus unda timori est,
uiscera non lyncis, non dirae nodus hyaenae
defuit, et cerui pasti serpente medulla:
non puppim retinens Euro tendente rudentes
in mediis echeneis aquis, oculique draconum, 675

there is no practical difference between her cave and the infernal regions. So the Scholiast explains this passage, as I think, rightly. Weise takes it differently, viz. 'it is doubtful whether the ghost that looks on the Stygian shades is one that she has dragged to the cave, or one that has descended to Tartarus'.

654. *discolor et uario*] cf. Verg. Ecl. VIII 78 *necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores.*

655. *aperitur*] 'becomes visible'.

656. *substringitur*] 'is tied back', cf. III 280.

658. *defixum*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 156 *Aeneas maesto defixus lumina uoltu.*

660. *uera...figura*] 'in its genuine form', i.e. not as a ghost, but as a real man brought to life again.

662. *ripam*] sc. Phlegethontis.

663. *me praesente*] i.e. in my company, which alone would give you the power of visiting the infernal regions.

666. *quis timor*] 'what cause for fear is it, ye cowards, to see the timid ghosts?'

667. *sanguine*] i.e. apparently the blood of the victims she has sacrificed.

669. *lunare*] cf. 506 supr.

671. *canum quibus*] i.e. of dogs suffering from hydrophobia.

672. *uiscera lyncis*] i.e. according to the Scholiast, the precious stone into which the urine of the lynx was said to be changed. cf. Ov. Met. XV 413—415.

nodus] 'the fastening', 'joint', i.e. of the neck to the spine, cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 105 *collum et iuba et unitate spinae porrigitur, flectique nisi circumactu totius corporis non quit.*

673. *cerui*] cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 118 *et his (ceruis) cum serpente pugna: uestigant cauernas, nariumque spiritu extrahunt renitentis.*

675. *echeneis*] i.e. the fish, called in Latin *remora*, which was supposed to be

quaeque sonant feta tepefacta sub alite saxa:
non Arabum uolucer serpens, innataque rubris
aequoribus custos pretiosae uipera conchae:
aut uiuentis adhuc Libyci membrana cerastae,
aut cinis Eoa positi Phoenicis in ara. 680
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 ueneni:
tum uox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis 685
excantare deos confudit murmura primum
dissona et humanae multum discordia linguae.
latratus habet illa canum gemitumque luporum:
quod trepidus bubo quod strix nocturna queruntur,
quod stridunt ululantque ferae, quod sibilat anguis, 690
exprimit, et planctus illisae cautibus undae,
siluarumque sonum, fractaeque tonitrua nubis:
tot rerum uox una fuit. mox cetera cantu
explicat Haemonio penetratque in Tartara lingua:
Eumenides, Stygiumque nefas, poenaeque nocentum
et Chaos innumeros auidum confundere mundos:
et rector terrae quem longa in saecula torquet
mors dilata deum: Styx et quos nulla meretur
Thessalis Elysios: caelum matremque perosa 699

able to stop ships by attaching itself to their keels, cf. Plin. H. N. XXXII §§ 2, 3.

676. *quaeque sonant*] 'the stones which give forth a sound when warmed under the brooding eagle', i.e. *lapis aëtites*, cf. Plin. N. H. X § 12, XXXVI § 149.

678. *uipera*] I have not been able to discover elsewhere any reference to the story of the sea serpent which keeps guard over the pearl-oysters in the Red Sea.

679. *membrana*] 'the cast skin'.

680. *cinis*] For accounts of the Phoenix cf. Herod. II 73, Tac. Ann. VI 28 (34).

681. *nec habentis nomina*] Weise cf. Ov. Met. VII 275, 276 *his et mille aliis postquam sine nomine rebus propositum instruxit mortali barbara munus.*

683. *os dirum*] sc. ipsius Erichthus.

687. *dissona*] 'jarring and very dif rent from the tongue of men'.

689. *trepidus*] 'scared'.

691. *planctus*] Oud. cf. Ov. Heroi XIX 121 *me miseram, quanto plangant litora fluctu.*

697. *rector*] i.e. Pluto.

torquet] 'who through long ages art t tured by the thought that the death of t gods is long deferred', i.e. either (1) l cause he is indignant that the gods do n come down to the infernal regions to his subjects, or (2) because in his mis he regrets that he is himself immortal.

699. *Thessalis*] omnes enim magae int nocentis umbras recipiuntur, non int Elysias. Schol.

matremque perosa] cf. Verg. G. I 3 *nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina m trem.*

Persephone, nostraeque Hecates pars ultima, per quam
manibus et mihi sunt tacitae commercia linguae:
ianitor et sedis laxae, qui uiscera saeuo
spargis nostra cani: repetitaque fila sorores
tracturae: tuque o flagrantis portitor undae
iam lassate senex ad me redeuntibus umbris: 705
exaudite preces, si uos satis ore nefando
pollutoque uoco, si numquam haec carmina fibris
humanis ieiuna cano, si pectora plena
saepe dedi et laui calido prosecta cerebro:
si quis, cum uestris caput extaque lancibus, infans, 710
imposuit, uicturus erat: parete precanti.
non in Tartareo latitantem poscimus antro,
adsuetamque diu tenebris, modo luce fugata

700. *nostrae*] 'our patroness'.

pars ultima] 'the lowest form', the same goddess being Luna in heaven, Diana on earth and Hecate in the infernal regions: here she is identified with Proserpina, cf. 736 foll. infr.

701. *manibus et mihi*] 'through whom the shades and I enjoy the intercourse of converse without speech'.

702. *ianitor*] This would naturally be understood to mean Cerberus, cf. Hor. carm. III xi 15—17 *cessit immanis tibi blandienti ianitor aulae Cerberus:* but if *ianitor* be Cerberus, what is meant by *saeuo cani?* The Scholiast refers to Servius on Verg. Aen. VI 400 foll. and explains *saeuo cani* as equivalent to *tibi ipsi*, which is impossible. Weise says *saeuus canis* pro uentre canino: sensus est, qui uiscera mortuorum quae ego comedere cupio in caninum tuum uentrem 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 πυλαῖος, and in his capacity of ψυχοπομπός 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 *humana*, meaning that the bodies of the dead are devoured by Cerberus, tunc enim animae locum suum accipiunt, cum fuerit corpus absumptum.

repetitaque fila] 'a second thread of life'.

704. *tracturae*] 'about to spin', cf. Hor. carm. II xviii 8 *trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.*

706. *si uos*] The prayers of Erichtho are expressed in a manner directly contrary to those of others. cf. Hom. Il. I 37—42.

707. *si numquam*] i.e. if I never utter these spells without the accompaniment of human sacrifice.

708. *ieiuna*] cf. Lucret. II 844 *corpora suco ieiuna.*

pectora plena] Weise understands by these words, *corpus grauidae mulieris*, but more probably they mean 'full of blood', cf. Ov. Heroid. III 60 *sanguinis atque animi pectus inane fuit*, which he quotes.

709. *prosecta*] A sacrificial term for the chopped-up entrails, cf. Ov. Met. XII 152 *cuius ut imposuit prosecta calentibus aris.* Id. Fast. VI 163 *sic ubi libauit prosecta sub aethere ponit.*

710. *si quis*] 'if any infant would have lived at the time when &c.': for the order of the words Weise cf. III 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 II 387. Weise conjectures *imposui* considering that the former construction is 'nimis dura catachresis'.

713. *modo luce*] i.e. *sed modo;* for the ellipse cf. II 86, 759 infr.

descendentem animam: primo pallentis hiatu
haeret adhuc Orci. licet has exaudiat herbas 715
ad manes uentura semel. ducis omina nato
Pompeiana canat nostri modo militis umbra,
si bene de uobis ciuilia bella merentur.
haec ubi fata caput spumantiaque ora leuauit
adspicit adstantem proiecti corporis umbram, 720
exanimes artus, inuisaque claustra timentem
carceris antiqui. pauet ire in pectus apertum
uisceraque et ruptas letali uolnere fibras.
a miser, extremum cui mortis munus inique
eripitur, non posse mori. miratur Erichtho 725
has fatis licuisse moras, irataque morti
uerberat immotum uiuo serpente cadauer:
perque cauas terrae, quas egit carmine, rimas
manibus illatrat, regnique silentia rupit:
Tisiphone, uocisque meae secura Megaera, 730
non agitis saeuis Erebi per inane flagellis
infelicem animam? iam uos ego nomine uero
eliciam, Stygiasque canes in luce superna
destituam: per busta sequar per funera custos:
expellam tumulis abigam uos omnibus urnis. 735
teque deis, ad quos alio procedere uoltu
ficta soles, Hecate, pallenti tabida forma,

715. *haeret*] 'lingers'.

716. *semel*] is perhaps best taken with *uentura* 'and then once for all to return to the shades', cf. infr. 762 foll.; but it might also be taken with *exaudiat* 'destined to return to the shades though it for once obey these spells'.

717. *Pompeiana*] 'omens concerning Pompeius'.

nostri] sc. *Pompeiani*.

721. *claustra*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 733, 734 *neque auras dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*. Hortensius refers to Plato Cratylus 400 C, where σῶμα is derived from σώζεσθαι, see also Plato Phaedo 62 B.

722. *apertum*] 'gaping'.

725. *non posse mori*] i.e. not to be able to die a second time. Weise says abundat negatio quae iam inuoluitur uerbo *eripitur*, but this interpretation gives a far less forcible meaning, besides involving a doubtfully possible construction.

726. *irataque morti*] 'angry at death' i.e. at the continuation of it, after she h ordered the corpse to return to life.

728. *quas egit*] 'which it (earth) op ed at her spell'. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. 210, 211 *tellus fissaque agit rimas, et su aret ademptis*. Id. X 512 *arbor e rimas*.

730. *secura*] The Scholiast cf. Ve Aen. VII 304 *securi pelagi atque mi*.

732. *nomine uero*] sc. *canes*, cf. Aes Eum. 246.

734. *destituam*] 'will make you sta as hounds of hell', cf. Plaut. Rudens 8 *duo destituit signa hic cum clauis sem* Cic. Verr. II iii § 66 *porro alios in publ custodiri, destitui alios in conuiuio*.

737. *pallenti tabida forma ostendam* 'I will show thee wasted as thou art pallid shape': for this use of the nomin

ostendam, faciemque Erebi mutare uetabo.
eloquar immenso terrae sub pondere quae te
contineant, Ennaea, dapes, quo foedere maestum 740
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 745
non concussa tremit, 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 750
uolnera et in uenas extremaque membra cucurrit.
percussae gelido trepidant sub pectore fibrae:
et noua desuetis subrepens uita medullis
miscetur morti. tunc omnis palpitat artus:
tenduntur nerui: nec se tellure cadauer 755
paulatim per membra leuat, terraque repulsum est
erectumque simul. distento lumina rictu
nudantur. nondum facies uiuentis in illo,

tive cf. Verg. Aen. I 72, 73 *quarum, quae forma pulcherrima, Deiopeiam conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo* and Conington's note.

740. *dapes*] i.e. pomegranate seeds according 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 *trepidentque immisso lumine manes.*

744. *paretis*] For this idiomatic use of the present indicative cf. Iuv. IV 130 *quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?* 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; illum 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 Erinnys: quibus castigare ipsa consueuit, his caeditur. Schol.

748. *indespecta*] cf. Prof. Mayor's note on *exsecratum* Cic. Phil. II § 65.

749. *uos estis superi*] 'to whom ye (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 cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.* Id. XII 816, 817 *adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis, una superstitio superis quae reddita diuis.*

750. *fouit*] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 420 *fouit ea uolnus lympha longaeuus Iapyx.*

752. *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 membra*] i.e. *membratim*, 'limb by limb'.

terraque] 'but bounds up from the earth and is on its feet at once'. *que* is disjunctive.

758. *nudantur*] i.e. are not covered by the eyelids.

iam morientis erat. remanet pallorque rigorque;
et stupet illatus mundo. sed murmure nullo 760
ora adstricta sonant. uox illi linguaque tantum
responsura datur. dic, inquit Thessala, magna,
quod iubeo, mercede mihi: nam uera locutum
immunem toto mundi praestabimus aeuo
artibus Haemoniis: tali tua membra sepulchro, 765
talibus exuram Stygio cum carmine siluis,
ut nullos cantata magos exaudiat umbra.
sit tanti uixisse iterum: nec uerba nec herbae
audebunt longae somnum tibi soluere Lethes
a me morte data. tripodas uatesque deorum 770
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 775
scire dedit. maestum fletu manante cadauer,
tristia non equidem Parcarum stamina, dixit,
adspexi tacitae reuocatus ab aggere ripae:
quod tamen e cunctis mihi noscere contigit umbris,
effera Romanos agitat discordia manes, 780
impiaque infernam ruperunt arma quietem.
Elysias alii 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.

761. *adstricta*] 'tightly curbed'.

tantum responsura] 'only to answer questions', i. e. he had not the power of speaking of his own accord. cf. Hom. Od. XI 147—149.

762. *magna...mercede*] 'and great shall be thy reward'.

764. *immunem*] 'exempt from the power of Thessalian magic', cf. II 257; Sen. Epist. XII iii (85) § 3 *alicuius animum immunem esse tristitia. immunis* in Virgil and Ovid is constructed with the genitive.

766. *siluis*] i.e. *lignis*, cf. note on I 591.

768. *sit tanti*] 'think it worth the cost'. cf. Iuv. XIII 95, 96 *et phthisis et uomicae putres et dimidium crus sunt tanti.*

771. *sors obscura*] 'a riddling answe for the use of the singular *sors* cf. Cic. div. II § 115 *nam cum sors illa edita opulentissimo regi Asiae, Croesus Hal penetrans magnam peruertet opum sim.*

775. *quidquid consulit*] cf. Cic. ad VII xx § 2 *nec te id consulo.*

778. *adspexi*] 'I have not seen threads of the fates', i.e. I have no tain knowledge of the future, but speak from conjecture.

780. *agitat*] cf. Verg. G. II 496 *in agitans discordia fratres.*

781. *impia*] i.e. of civil war, as us

783. *diuersi*] 'to opposite cam Weise cf. Sall. Cat. 52 *diuerso iti malos a bonis loca taetra habere.*

uoltus erat. uidi Decios natumque patremque 785
lustrales bellis animas flentemque Camillum
et Curios: Sullam de te, Fortuna, querentem.
deplorat Libycis perituram Scipio terris
infaustam subolem. maior Karthaginis hostis,
non seruituri maeret Cato fata nepotis. 790
solum te, consul depulsis prime tyrannis
Brute, pias inter gaudentem uidimus umbras.
abruptis Catilina minax fractisque catenis
exsultat Mariique truces nudique Cethegi.
uidi ego laetantis, popularia nomina, Drusos, 795
legibus immodicos, ausosque ingentia Gracchos.
aeternis chalybum nodis et carcere Ditis
constrictae plausere manus, camposque piorum
poscit turba nocens. regni possessor inertis
pallentis aperit sedes, abruptaque saxa 800
asperat et durum uinclis adamanta, paratque
poenam uictori. refer haec solacia tecum,
o iuuenis, placido manes patremque domumque
exspectare sinu, regnique in parte serena
Pompeio seruare locum. nec gloria paruae 805
sollicitet uitae: ueniet quae misceat omnes
hora duces. properate mori, magnoque superbi
quamuis e paruis animo descendite bustis,
et Romanorum manes calcate deorum.

785. *Decios*] sc. *flentis*.
786. *lustrales*] 'souls that expiated war', cf. Iuv. VIII 254 foll.
bellis] probably dative, cf. Sen. Agam. 63, 164 *Tyndaris caeli genus lustrale Iassi Doricae peperi caput.*
787. *Fortuna*] Sulla in his lifetime considered himself the favourite of Fortune, cf. note on II 221.
788. *Libycis...terris*] i.e. where he won his own victories.
789. *subolem*] i.e. Metellus Scipio.
maior] i.e. Cato the censor.
794. *nudi*] cf. note on II 543 *exsertique manus uaesana Cethegi.*
795. *nomina*] cf. VII 589.
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 omnes immane nefas, ausoque potiti.*
797. *chalybum*] i.e. of iron.
800. *aperit*] 'opens wide', cf. note on III 17.
803. *placido—sinu*] '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 glorying 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
quaeritur, et ducibus tantum de funere pugna est.
tu fatum ne quaere tuom cognoscere: Parcae
me reticente dabunt: tibi certior omnia uates
ipse canet Siculis genitor Pompeius in aruis:
ille quoque incertus, quo te uocet, unde repellat, 815
quas iubeat uitare plagas, quae sidera mundi.
Europam, miseri, Libyamque Asiamque timete:
distribuit tumulos uestris Fortuna triumphis.
o miseranda domus, toto nihil orbe uidebis
tutius Emathia. sic postquam fata peregit, 820
stat uoltu maestus tacito mortemque reposcit.
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 iuuenem positum strue linquit Erichtho
tandem passa mori: Sextoque 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. *quaeritur*] '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 quoque*] 'nay, he too is uncertain'.

817. *Europam*] Grotius cf. Mart. v. lxxiv *Pompeios iuuenes Asia atque Europa sed ipsum terra tegit Libyes, si tamen ulla tegit. quid mirum toto si spargitur orbe? iacere uno non poterat tanta ruina loco.* Gnaeus was killed in Spain, Sextus at Miletus.

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 *quid totum premitis, quid totum sola orbem?* These words may also, as Scholiast thinks, refer to the fact Pompeius and his sons escaped in s from Pharsalia.

peregit] cf. Iuv. V 122 *donec pe dictata magistri omnia.*

824. *consumpto*] 'as their powe been used up once for all'.

825. *uenit*] 'walked', qui cons adferri. Schol.

826. *positum*] 'laid out', cf. Aen. IV 681 *sic te ut posita, crudeli essem?*

828. *lucis ducente colorem*] albe iam die. Schol. cf. Verg. Ecl. IX *astrum quo segetes gauderent frugi quo duceret apricis in collibus uua ca* Iuv. II 81 *uuaque conspecta liuorem ab uua.*

830. *tenere*] 'to hold back'.

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. Reflexions 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 aeterna 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, 5

1. *segnior*] 'rising more slowly from ocean than nature's eternal laws demanded'. cf. Verg. G. I 60, 61 *continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis.*

2. *numquam magis*] to be taken with *luctificus*, 'never with more doleful presage'.

aethera contra] 'up the steep of heaven', cf. Plin. H. N. VII § 83 *Fufius Saluius duo centenaria pondera pedibus, totidem manibus et ducenaria duo umeris contra scalas ferebat.* Sil. Ital. XIV 351, 352 *puppes etiam constructaque saxa feminea traxisse ferunt contra ardua dextra.* Weise cf. Ov. Met. II 72, 73 *nitor in aduersum, nec me qui cetera uincit impetus, et rapido contrarius euehor orbi.*

3. *polo*] equivalent to *uertice*, 'though the revolution of the heavens hurried it on'.

4. *defectusque*] cf. Verg. G. II 478 *defectus solis uarios lunaeque labores.*

5. *pabula*] See note on I 415, Cic. N. D. II § 40 *cum sol igneus sit oceanique alatur umoribus.*

sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe.
at nox, felicis Magno pars ultima uitae,
sollicitos uanā decepit imagine somnos.
nam Pompeiani uisus sibi sede theatri
innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis, 10
adtollique suom laetis ad sidera nomen
uocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantis.
qualis erat populi facies clamorque fauentis,
olim cum iuuenis primique aetate triumphi,
post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus, 15
et quaecumque fugax Sertorius impulit arma,
uespere pacato, purā uenerabilis aeque
quam currus ornante togā, plaudente senatu,
sedit adhuc Romanus eques. seu fine bonorum
anxia uenturis ad tempora laeta refugit: 20
siue per ambages solitas contraria uisis
uaticinata quies magni tulit omina planctūs:
seu uetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes
sic Romam Fortuna dedit. ne rumpite somnos,
castrorum uigiles, nullas tuba uerberet aurēs. 25
crastina dira quies et imagine maesta diurnā

6. *purus*] 'in full lustre'.

9. *Pompeiani...theatri*] see note on I 133.

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 *unus is innumeri militis instar habet.*

12. *plausu*] cf. Verg. G. II 508—510 *hunc plausus hiantem per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque 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. *anxia*] sc. *quies* 'his repose full of anxiety for the future'. cf. Stat. Theb. 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 *tamen euentura soleas an contraria somniare.*

23. *ultra*] 'in the future', cf. Verg. 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 dolebis cum rogaberis nulla;* Propert. xvii 11, 12 *an poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis, ossaque nulla tuo non tenere sinu?* so too commonly *non uenit*, 'he never came'. Cic. ad Att. xxii *ego autem scripsi Sextum aduenisse non quo iam adesset, sed quia certum esset agerei ab armisque nullus discederet.*

26. *crastina*] 'to-morrow's night horror haunted by the sad image of 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 30
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 35
sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni,
te mixto flesset luctu iuuenisque senexque
iniussusque puer: lacerasset crine soluto
pectora fēmineum ceu Bruti funere uolgus.
nunc quoque, tela licet paueant uictoris iniqui, 40
nuntiet ipse licet Caesar tua funera, flebunt:
sed dum tura ferunt dum laurea serta Tonanti.
o miseri, quorum gemitus edēre dolorem,
qui te non pleno pariter planxere theatro.
uicerat astra iubar, cum mixto murmure turba 45
castrorum fremuit, fatisque trahentibus orbem,

28. *pares*] is the present subjunctive of *parare*. Oud. following Bersmann and some MSS. reads *populis*, and takes *pares* as an adjective, cf. Ov. Heroid. XII 44 *sed mihi tam faciles unde meosque deos?*

[*somnos populi*] 'sleep such as the people enjoy', see note on v 506. See also Shakspeare K. Henry IV part II act iii sc. i.

29. *uel sic*] i.e. even in dreams.

31. *quo fati*] 'in which while both aware of impending doom ye might have indulged in the last enjoyment of your mighty love' i.e. for each other.

33. *tu uelut Ausonia*] 'thou dost march on as though fated to die in the Ausonian capital', i.e. without a thought that he will die far from Rome in Egypt.

34. *rati*] 'conscious that her prayers on thy behalf had ever been heard', i.e. as the prayers of Rome had restored Pompeius to health when attacked by fever, he believed they would always be equally effectual. cf. Iuv. X 283—286 *prouida Pompeio dederat Campania febres optandas: sed multae urbes et publica uota uicerunt: igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis seruatum uicto caput abstulit.* Cic. T. D. I § 86, Plut. Pomp. 57. Weise explains *rati* as equivalent to *firmi* 'constant', but cf. Ov. Fast. I 696 *efficiatque ratas utraque diua preces.*

37. *flesset*] i.e. hadst thou died at Rome.

39. *Bruti*] The matrons mourned for Brutus for a year, cf. Liv. II 7, Iuv. VIII 267 and Prof. Mayor's note.

42. *sed dum*] i.e. but their weeping has to be done in the midst of forced thanksgivings for Caesar's victory.

43. *edere*] probably equivalent to *consumpsere*, 'whose groans used up all their grief', i.e. all they dared to show: they had to be content with expressing their grief by groans, and did not dare to beat their breasts publicly in the theatre as (*pariter*) they had once clapped their hands. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. XIII 540 *lacrimasque introrsus obortas deuorat ipse dolor. edere* might also possibly be taken as 'mumbled over' 'did not let out of their mouths', cf. Pers. III 81 *murmura cum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt.*

46. *trahentibus*] 'dragging to ruin', cf. IV 738.

signa petit pugnae. miseri pars maxima uolgi
non totum uisura diem, tentoria circum
ipsa ducis queritur, magnoque accensa tumultu
mortis uicinae properantīs admouet horas. 50
dira subit rabies: sua quisque ac publica fata
praecipitare cupit: segnis pauidusque uocatur
ac nimium patiens soceri Pompeius, et orbis
indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentes
iuris habere sui uellet pacemque timeret. 55
nec non et reges populique queruntur Eoi
bella trahi patriāque procul tellure teneri.
hoc placet, o superi, cum uobis uertere cuncta
propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
cladibus irruimus nocituraque poscimus arma: 60
in Pompeianis uotum est Pharsalia castris.
cunctorum uoces Romani maximus auctor
Tullius eloquii, cuius sub iure togāque
pacificas saeuus tremuit Catilina secures,
pertulit, iratus bellis, cum rostra forumque 65
optaret passus tam longa silentia miles.
addidit inualidae robur facundia causae:
hoc pro tot meritis solum te, Magne, precatur
uti se Fortuna uelīs: proceresque tuorum

48. *non totum*] i.e. destined to die before the day was done.

50. *mortis*] '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 corripuit gradum.*

54. *indulgens*] 'seeking to prolong his sway over the world'.

55. *iuris...sui*] cf. note on I 51.

timeret] ne priuatus fieret post triumphum. Schol.

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. *irruimus*] 'we rush upon disasters'. *irruere* generally takes the accusative with *in*, but cf. Claudian de cons. Mall. Theod. 194 *irruet intrepidus flammis.*

nocitura] cf. Iuv. X 8 *nocitura toga commendat, rara petuntur militia.*

61. *in Pompeianis*] 'Pharsalia's fate is prayed for in Pompeius' camp'. cf. Ov. A. A. I 737 *ut uoto potiare tuo miserabile esto.*

62. *auctor*] 'master' cf. Hor. carm. xxviii 14, 15 *iudice te non sordidus auctor naturae uerique.*

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 is precisely the opposite, cf. ad fam. VII § 2 *suadere institui ut bellum ducerem.*

iure togaque] 'civil sway'.

65. *pertulit*] 'conveyed to Pompeius' ears'.

68. *pro tot meritis*] 'in return for so many kindnesses'.

69. *uti se*] 'to make full use of her'.

castrorum regesque tui cum supplice mundo 70
adfusi uinci socerum patiare rogamus.
humano generi tam longo tempore bellum
Caesar erit? merito Pompeium uincere lente
gentibus indignum est a transcurrente subactis.
quo tibi feruor abit? aut quo fiducia fati? 75
de superis, ingrate, times? causamque senatus
credere dis dubitas? ipsae tua signa reuellent
prosilientque acies. pudeat uicisse coactum.
si duce te iusso, si nobis bella geruntur,
sit iuris, quocumque uelint, concurrere campo. 80
quid mundi gladios a sanguine Caesaris arces?
uibrant tela manus: uix signa morantia quisquam
exspectat: propera, ne te tua classica linquant.
scire senatus auet, miles te, Magne, sequatur,
an comes. ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum 85
esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti.
si placet hoc, inquit, cunctis, si milite Magno
non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor.
inuoluat populos unâ Fortuna ruinâ,
sitque hominum magnae lux ista nouissima parti. 90
testor, Roma, tamen: Magnum, quo cuncta perirent,
accepisse diem. potuit tibi uolnere nullo
stare labor belli: potuit sine caede subactum
captiuomque ducem uiolatae tradere paci.

71. *adfusi*] 'prostrate before you', cf. v. Met. IX 605 *amplectique pedes adfusa-ue poscere uitam.*

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 ds'.

79. *duce te iusso*] non iubente: si tibi natus non tu senatui imperas. Grotius. V 21 *cunctaque iussuri primum hoc cernite patres* V 46 *Magnumque iubete e ducem.*

nobis] for us, the senate, *non tibi.*

80. *sit iuris*] sc. *militibus*, 'let them ve the right'.

82. *uix...quisquam*] 'scarce any one'. *isquam* can be used with *uix* as it is uivalent to a negative.

83. *ne te*] 'lest your trumpets outstrip you', i.e. begin the battle without waiting for your orders.

84. *miles...an comes*] i.e. whether you have absolute command over them, or they have an equal voice, cf. infr. 223 where *miles* is opposed to *dux.*

85. *sensitque*] 'and felt it was the treachery of the gods and doom approaching in opposition to his own judgment'.

87. *si milite*] 'needs that Magnus act the soldier rather than the general'.

90. *lux ista*] 'this light we see'.

92. *accepisse*] non aduocasse 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

quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? ciuilia bella 95
gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant?
abstulimus terras, exclusimus aequore toto,
ad praematuras segetum ieiuna rapinas
agmina compulimus, uotumque effecimus hosti
ut mallet sterni gladiis mortesque suorum 100
permiscere meis. belli pars magna peracta est
his quibus effectum est ne pugnam tiro paueret:
si modo uirtutis stimulis iraeque calore
signa petunt. multos in summa pericula misit
uenturi timor ipse mali. fortissimus ille est, 105
qui promptus metuenda pati si comminus instent
et differre potest. placet haec tam prospera rerum
tradere Fortunae? gladio permittere 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 *Romane* 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. *meorum mortibus*.

belli pars] 'I grant the war is half finished'.

103. *irae*] i.e. eagerness to fight, Weise. cf. I 207, 292 II 92, 529.

104. *multos*] 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. *accipe*] quasi depositum, 'take them back enlarged and protect them thyself in the blind chance of war', i.e. I disclaim all further responsibility and leave that to Fortune.

113. *uincis*] i.e. because Caesar has prayed for battle, and now it has come, cf. 238 infr.

117. *prima*] 'the first dart hurled i this lamentable war'.

118. *sine momento*] 'without giving t deathblow to our fortunes'.

partis] 'party'; for this use of *pars* the singular, cf. Cic. ad fam. X xxxi § 2 *uero non liceret mihi nullius partis* Id. post redit. ad Quirit. § 13 *cum uid ex ea parte homines cuius partis ne principes numerabamur.*

casurum est, feriat: neque enim uictoria Magno
laetior. aut populis inuisum, hac clade peracta, 120
aut hodie Pompeius erit miserabile nomen.
omne malum uicti, quod sors feret ultima rerum,
omne nefas uictoris erit. sic fatur, et arma
permittit populis frenosque furentibus ira
laxat: et ut uictus uiolento nauita Cauro 125
dat regimen uentis, ignauomque arte relicta
puppis onus trahitur. trepido confusa tumultu
castra fremunt, animique truces sua pectora pulsant
ictibus incertis. multorum pallor in ore
mortis uenturae est faciesque simillima fato. 130
aduenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aeuom
conderet humanis, et quaeri Roma quid esset
illo Marte, palam est. sua quisque pericula nescit
adtonitus maiore metu. quis litora ponto
obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus aequor, 135
aetheraque in terras deiecto sole cadentem,
tot rerum finem, timeat sibi? non uacat ullos
pro se ferre metus: urbi Magnoque timetur.

120. *laetior*] i.e. than such a death.
122. *omne malum*] omne damnum im-
abitur uicto, omne peccatum imputabi-
uictori. Schol.
ors ultima] 'the worst possible fate'.
444 inf. v 692.
125. *et ut uictus*] If the reading be
nd we must supply mentally after *et*
ut regimen populis', but to read *uti* in-
ad of *et ut* would do away with all
ficulty.
126. *regimen*] 'the direction' cf. Hom.
l. XI 10 *τὴν δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ'*
ιεν. *regimen* is also used of the rudder
elf, cf. Ov. Met. III 593 *addidici regimen*
ctra moderante carinae flectere.
ignauomque] 'is swept along as a use-
s burden of the ship': this seems better
an to take *puppis* as the nominative, as
eise does, 'the ship is swept along as
unresisting weight', as this involves a
nge of subject; cf. Hom. Il. XVIII 104
ἠΐον ἀχθος ἀρούρης.
rte relicta] 'abandoning the pilot's art'.
128. *animique truces*] 'and fierce hearts
at with uncertain throbbings against the
soms that contain them'. cf. Aesch.
Ag. 995—997 *σπλάγχνα δ' οὔτι ματάζει*
πρὸς ἐνδίκοις φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις δίναις
κυκλούμενον κέαρ.
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. *conderet*] cf. Verg. Aen. X 35
noua condere fata, which Conington ex-
plains as 'to compose', fate being regard-
ed as a book: but the metaphor may be
drawn from 'building up', 'establishing'.
quid esset] i.e. free or enslaved.
133. *nescit*] 'forgets', 'ignores', cf.
Stat. Theb. VII 674 *praedam uidet ac sua*
uolnera nescit.
134. *adtonitus*] 'overpowered', so *con-*
fusus in Iuv. III 1 *quamuis digressu*
ueteris confusus amici. cf. II 22.
138. *ferre*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 291 *hanc*
sine me spem ferre tui.

nec gladiis habuere fidem nisi cautibus asper
exarsit mucro: tunc omnis lancea saxo 140
erigitur: tendunt neruis melioribus arcus:
cura fuit lectis pharetras implere sagittis.
auget eques stimulos frenorumque aptat habenas.
si liceat superis hominum conferre labores,
non aliter Phlegrā rabidos tollente Gigantas 145
Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis:
et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis,
spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit,
Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines,
Pallenaea Ioui mutauit fulmina Cyclops. 150
non tamen abstinuit uenturos prodere casus
per uarias Fortuna notas. nam Thessala rura
cum peterent, totus uenientibus obstitit aether
[inque oculis hominum fregerunt fulmina nubes:]
aduersasque faces, immensoque igne columnas, 155
et trabibus mixtis auidos Pythonas aquarum
detulit, atque oculos ingesto sulpure clausit.

139. *asper*] cf. Tac. Ann. XV 54 *promptum uagina pugionem...uetustate obtusum increpans, asperari saxo et in mucronem ardescere iussit.*

140. *exarsit*] 'flashed into sparks'. Oud. cf. Hor. carm. II viii 15, 16 *semper ardentis acuens sagittas cote cruenta.*

141. *erigitur*] 'is straightened' cf. I 242 *curuataque cuspide 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;* σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος.

145. *Phlegra*] cf. IV 597 foll.

tollente] 'upreared', perhaps with a reference to the birth of the giants from the earth.

146. *Martius*] For this list of the weapons of the gods cf. Iuv. XIII 78—83.

147. *cuspis*] i.e. αἰχμή, 'trident'.

148. *spiculaque*] 'forged afresh his arrows after laying Python low'; cf. Verg. Aen. VII 636 *recoquunt patrios fornacibus enses.*

extenso] cf. Verg. Aen. V 374 *perculit et multa moribundum extendit harena.*

150. *Pallenaea*] 'made fresh thunderbolts for use at Pallene' i.e. at Phlegra. Oud. cf. Stat. Silu. IV ii 55, 56 *dux superum secreta iubet dare carmina Musas et Pallenaeos Phoebum laudare triumphos.*

151. *prodere*] 'to foretell', cf. Verg. Aen. X 99 *murmura uenturos nautis prodentia uentos.*

153. *aether*] i.e. *caelum*, 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.*

155. *aduersasque faces*] cf. I 527. Oud. cf. Val. Max. I vi § 12 *egresso a Dyrrhachio aduersa agmini eius fulmina iaciens.*

156. *mixtis*] cf. Verg. Ecl. X 55 *interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala nymphis.*

Pythonas] This, which according to Grotius is the reading of the best MSS., is retained 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 σίφων 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 sulpure ferrum. 160
nec non innumero cooperta examine signa
uixque reuolsa solo, maiori pondere pressum
signiferi mersere caput rorantia fletu,
usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa.
admotus superis discussā fugit ab ara 165
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,
infernumque nefas, et mersos nocte furores? 170
impia tam saeue gesturus bella litasti.
iam dubium monstrisne deum nimione pauori
crediderint: multis concurrere uisus Olympo
Pindus, et abruptis mergi conuallibus Haemus,
edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia uoces, 175
ire per Ossaeam rapidus Boebeida sanguis:
inque uicem uoltus tenebris mirantur opertos,

158. *capulosque*] 'bathed the hilts with the molten metal of their swords'.

159. *liquauit*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. 623—626 *regnator superum sublata fulmina dextra librauit clipeoque ducis non cedere certi incussit: summa liquefacta est cuspis in hasta, et fluxit ceu correptus fornacibus ensis.*

160. *nocens*] ferrum per se iam nocens. Weise.

161. *examine*] Weise says, of birds. cf. Lucret. v 1363 *pullorum examine:* the Scholiast says, of bees, and this is confirmed by Val. Max. I vi § 12.

162. *uixque reuolsa solo*] The difficulty found in plucking the standards from the ground would be regarded as an omen of evil.

163. *mersere*] 'weighed down'.

rorantia fletu] 'streaming with tears', i.e. the moisture from the rain on the standards is supposed to represent their grief for the fate of the army. Compare the more poetical fancy in Byron, Childe Harold III xxvii, 'And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves Dewy with Nature's tear-drops, as they pass, Grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves, Over the unreturning brave'.

164. *usque ad*] 'until Thessaly's fatal day the standards of Rome and of the State', i.e. thenceforward they were the standards of the Emperor. Grotius cf. Tac. Ann. I 2 *Bruto et Cassio caesis nulla iam publica arma.*

165. *discussa*] 'scattering the altar in its flight'.

168. *scelerum superos*] 'gods that delight in crime'.

170. *nefas*] 'horror', cf. Stat. Theb. VI 944 *penitus latet exitus ingens monstratumque nefas.*

171. *litasti*] 'didst win favour with the gods by sacrifice'.

172. *dubium*] i.e. it is uncertain whether these visions were omens from heaven, or fancies produced by terror.

174. *abruptis*] 'to sink into steeply-yawning valleys'.

176. *ire per*] i.e. lake Boebeis at the foot of Mt Ossa appeared to flow with blood.

177. *inque uicem*] compare the description of the suitors in Hom. Od. XX 351

et pallere diem, galeisque incumbere noctem,
defunctosque patres et cunctas sanguinis umbras
ante oculos uolitare suos. sed mentibus unum 180
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 185
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,
maeret, et ignorat causas, animumque dolentem 190
corripit, Emathiis quid perdat nescit in aruis.
Euganeo, si uera fides memorantibus, augur
colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit,
atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timaui,
uenit summa dies, geritur res maxima, dixit: 195

foll. ἆ δειλοί τι κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμῶν εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα· οἰμωγή τε δέδηε, δεδάκρυται τε παρειαί· εἰδώλων τε πλέον πρόθυρον πλείη τε καὶ αὐλὴ ἰεμένων ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον, ἠέλιός τε οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς.

178. *pallere*] 'lose its lustre', cf. note on VI 502.

179. *sanguinis*] 'of their kindred', cf. Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. § 66 *magnam possidet religionem paternus maternusque sanguis.*

181. *uoti*] 'conscious of the guiltiness of their prayers'.

183. *monstris mentisque tumultu*] '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. *populos*] appears to refer to Romans 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 manebit supplicium.*

186. *praesaga*] 'since the mind of man is prone to presentiment of ill'.

188. *bibit*] cf. Verg. Ecl. I 62 *aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim.* Id. Aen. VII 715 *qui Tiberim Fabarimque bibunt.*

189. *die*] cf. notes on I 153, VIII 217

mundi is here equivalent to *caeli* as in Lucretius and Virgil.

191. *corripit*] 'rebukes', i.e. for its sadness, cf. Ov. ex Ponto II vi 5 *corripis ut debes stulti peccata sodalis.* Iuv. X 291, 292 *cur tamen, inquit, corripias? pulcra gaudet 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 authority of Livy.

194. *Antenorei*] Antenor was said to have founded Patavium, cf. Verg. Aen. I 242 foll. *Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timaui: unde per ora nouem uasto cum murmure montis it mare proruptum, et pelago premit arua sonanti; hic tamen ille urbem Pataui sedesque locauit Teucrorum.*

dispergitur] refers to the several underground channels by which the river reached the sea, see Conington's note on Verg. loc. cit.

195. *uenit summa dies*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 324.

impia concurrunt Pompeii et Caesaris arma;
seu tonitrus ac tela Iouis praesaga notauit,
aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo
perspexitque polos: seu lumen in aethere maestum
solis in obscuro pugnam pallore notauit. 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 uacauit.
haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum,
siue sua tantum uenient in saecula fama,
siue aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris
nominibus prodesse 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 obscuro*] 'marked the battle by way of the sun's paleness'. The repetition of *notauit* 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 v 9 *iam nox inducere terris umbras;* or, less probably, 'which she brings to a conclusion', cf. Florus I xxi § 5 *sic Fabius Maximus periculosissimum bellum sine periculo explicuit.*
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. CXXXVII I *arma uirumque docens atque arma uirumque peritus.*

203. *spectari*] i.e. all the world might have known that the battle of Pharsalia was being fought.

206. *signa dedit*] cf. note on I 529.
quorum fatis] 'for whose destinies all heaven found room', cf. Ov. Trist. 216 *non uacat exiguis rebus adesse Ioui.*

207. *seras*] 'in distant times', cf. Verg. G. II 58 *seris factura nepotibus umbram.*

208. *in saecula*] cf. X 533 Plin. Paneg. 55 *ibit in saecula fuisse principem cui florenti et incolumi numquam nisi modici honores decernerentur.*

209. *nostri*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 446, 447 *fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo.*

210. *legentur*] 'when the tale of war shall be read', cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 26 *facta 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 oleum philologiae nostrae perierit.*

212. *adtoniti*] 'in dismay'. cf. 134 supr.

213. *transmissa*] 'past and over', cf. Plin. Ep. VIII xi § 2 *incipit refici transmissumque discrimen conualescendo metiri.* Stat. Silu. I iv 124 *nemo modum transmissi computet aeui.*

214. *radiatus*] 'illumined', cf. Ov. ex Ponto III iv 103 *scuta sed et galeae gemmis radientur et auro.*
ab ictu] cf. note on II 493.

descendens totos perfudit lumine colles 215
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. 220
at medii robur belli fortissima densant
agmina, quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat
Scipio, miles in hoc, Libyco dux primus in orbe.
at iuxta fluuios et stagna undantis Enipei
Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenae 225
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: Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis: 230
inde, truces Galli, solitum prodistis in hostem:
illic pugnaces commouit Hiberia cetras.
eripe uictori gentes, et sanguine mundi
fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos.
illo forte die Caesar statione relicta 235
ad segetum raptus moturus signa, repente
conspicit in planos hostem descendere campos,
oblatumque uidet uotis sibi mille petitum
tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus.
aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni 240

215. *perfudit*] 'spread the glitter of their arms over all the hills'.

216. *immissus*] is best taken as a participle, not as a verb, although the three participles agreeing with *miles* make the sentence somewhat awkward.

219. *numine pugnax*] '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 Adherben*. Id. VIII 249 *largusque rapinae*.

227. *tetrarchae*] The special title of the chieftains of Galatia, but used generally, cf. Hor. Sat. I iii 12 *modo reges a tetrarchas omnia magna loquens*.

228. *ferro*] cf. X 5 *regnum Lagi Ro na sub arma iret*.

230. *cursus fuit*] 'winged their flig

231. *Galli*] i.e. the Allobroges, had deserted from Caesar to Pomp cf. Caes. B. C. III 59—61.

233. *eripe*] occidantur, inquit, om ne sint quibus uictor imperet rex au quibus triumphet. Schol.

234. *triumphos*] cf. note on II 644

240. *aeger—morae*] cf. Sil. Ital. 52 *aeger delicti: aeger* is used in a s what different way with the geniti Sil. Ital. III 72 *aegra timoris Roma*.

coeperat exiguo 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 245
languit, et casus audax spondere secundos
mens stetit in dubio, quam nec sua fata timere,
nec Magni sperare sinunt. formidine mersa
prosilit hortando melior fiducia uolgo:
o domitor mundi, rerum fortuna mearum, 250
miles, adest totiens optatae copia pugnae.
nil opus est uotis: iam fatum accersite ferro.
in manibus uestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas
promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma, 255
in quam distulimus uetitos remeare triumphos.
haec eadem est hodie quae pignora quaeque penates
reddat, et emerito faciat uos Marte colonos.
haec fato quae teste probet, quis iustius arma
sumpserit: haec acies uictum factura nocentem est. 260
si pro me patriam ferro flammisque petistis,

. *exiguo tractu*] 'though not great-
›longed' i.e. although they were
›rought to crisis the time seemed
› Caesar.

. *damnare*] cf. Iuv. VIII 202 *damnat*
'*ales habitus, et damnat et odit.*

. *fatis...nutare*] 'the ruin nodding
destined fall', cf. 505 infr. Iuv. III
curos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
reads *fati*, but according to Oud.
; found in the best MSS.

. *spondere*] sc. *sibi* 'to promise it-
cf. Verg. Aen. IX 296 *sponde digna*
'*gentibus omnia coeptis.*

. *nec sua fata*] i.e. because both
ɛius and himself had always hitherto
uccessful.

. *mersa*] 'suppressing his fear',
g it out of sight, cf. Sen. Herc. Oet.
1352 *ora quid flectis retro uoltumque*
'?

. *prosilit*] 'confidence bounds forth,
suited (i.e. than fear) for encourag-
e crowd'. Oud. cf. Verg. G. I 286
'*ugae melior contraria furtis.*

. *rerum*] 'you on whom my desti-
nies depend'.

252. *accersite*] cf. IV 484.

255. *promissam*] cf. I 388.

256. *in quam*] 'to which we put off our triumphs forbidden to return to Rome', i.e. as the soldiers were forbidden to return to enjoy their triumph, the triumph itself, which is identified with them, is said to be forbidden to return. It is possible however, though the position of the words is against it, to take *remeare* with *distulimus*, 'to which we put off the return of our forbidden triumphs'; for *differre* with infinitive cf. Liv. XLII 2 *nec ultra ad arma ire dilaturum.*

257. *haec eadem*] This line and the following are omitted in many MSS.; it is doubtful whether *eadem est dies hodie* would be an admissible expression.

259. *quis*] equivalent to *uter*, cf. notes on I 128, VI 810.

iustius] cf. Cic. pro Ligar. § 19 *causa tum dubia quod erat aliquid in utraque parte quod probari posset: nunc melior ea iudicanda est quam etiam di adiuuerunt.*

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,
plebeiaque toga modicum componere ciuem,
omnia dum uobis liceant nihil esse recuso.
inuidia regnate mea. nec sanguine multo
spem mundi petitis: Graiis delecta iuuentus 270
gymnasiis aderit studioque ignaua palaestrae,
et uix arma ferens, et mixtae dissona turbae
barbaries; non illa tubas non agmine moto
clamorem latura suom. ciuilia paucae
bella manus facient: pugnae pars magna leuabit 275
his orbem populis Romanumque obteret hostem.
ite per ignauas gentes famosaque regna,
et primo ferri motu prosternite mundum:

262. *exsoluite*] i.e. by victory, cf. Tac. Hist. IV 14 *uictoriae rationem non reddi.* Oud. cf. Petron. 122 *ite mei comites et causam dicite ferro; namque omnes unum crimen uocat.*

263. *mutato*] Grotius compares the answer of Philocles, the Athenian general, to Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, Plut. Lysan. 13 ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι πρὸς τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνδοὺς ἐκέλευσε μὴ κατηγορεῖν ὧν οὐδεὶς ἐστι δικαστής, ἀλλὰ νικῶντα πράττειν ἅπερ ἂν νικηθεὶς ἔπασχεν.

267. *modicum componere ciuem*] modicum compositumque ciuem 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 xxxiii § 1 *nos enim plane...aut nihil sumus, aut nobis quidem ipsis displicemus:* 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'.

270. *Graiis*] cf. Hor. Sat. II ii 10, 11 *si Romana fatigat militia adsuetum Graecari.* Iuv. VIII 113—115 *forsitan imbelles Rhodios unctamque Corinthon despicias merito; quid resinata iuuentus cruraque totius facient tibi leuia gentis?*

271. *gymnasiis*] The training of athletes was considered incompatible with that of soldiers. cf. Plat. Rep. III 410 B. foll. Plut. Philopoemen 3 ἀθλητικὸν στρατιωτικοῦ σῶμα καὶ βίον διαφέρειν τοῖς πᾶσι. Quintil. X i 33 *non athletarum toros sed militum lacertos esse.*

272. *mixtae*] 'a motley horde of various-tongued barbarians': for this 'genitive of apposition' cf. Hor. Sat. I 79 *uitium irae.* Liv. XXIV 3 *lucus...proceris abietis arboribus saeptus.*

273. *non illa*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 592—594 *at pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum contorsit; non ille faces nec fumea taedis lumina.*

274. *ciuilia*] emphatic, few of the enemy are Romans.

paucae manus] 'but few of your hands'.

276. *populis*] 'foreign nations', cf. I 82, 93.

277. *famosa*] probably 'of evil repute', cf. Hor. carm. III iii 26, Sat. I iv 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. 280
Armeniosne mouet Romana potentia cuius
sit ducis? aut emptum minimo uolt sanguine quisquam
barbarus Hesperiis Magnum praeponere rebus?
Romanos odere omnes dominosque grauantur;
quos nouere, magis. sed me Fortuna meorum 285
commisit manibus, quorum me Gallia testem
tot fecit bellis. cuius non militis ensem
agnoscam? caelumque tremens cum lancea transit,
dicere non fallar quo sit uibrata lacerto.
quod si signa ducem numquam fallentia uestrum 290
conspicio faciesque truces oculosque minaces,
uicistis. uideor fluuios spectare cruoris,
calcatosque simul reges, sparsumque senatus
corpus, et immensa populos in caede natantis.
sed mea fata moror, qui uos in tela ruentis 295
uocibus 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 licebit. 300
quone poli motu, quo caeli sidere uerso,
Thessalicae tantum, superi, permittitis orae?
aut merces hodie bellorum aut poena paratur.

). *in urbem*] cf. Petron. 122 *quam-: quos gloria terret? aut qui sunt qui cient? mercedibus emptae ac uiles e quibus est mea Roma nouerca.*

). *curribus*] 'in so many triumphs'. *ius*] 'are not material for a single ph'.

l. *mouet*] cf. Hor. Sat. I x 78 *men' at cimex Pantilius?*

1. *sit ducis*] Compare the language ivilis in Tac. Hist. IV 17 *dum alii usianum alii Vitellium foueant pa-ocum aduersus utrumque.*

). *grauantur*] 'loathe', cf. V 258, Aug. 72 *ampla et operosa praetoria ubantur.* Plin. Paneg. 43 § 3 *scis, ut diuersa natura dominatio et prin-us, ita non aliis esse principem gratio-ruam qui maxime dominum grauen-*

285. *quos nouere*] i.e. Pompeius, the conqueror of the East.

288. *agnoscam*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. IX 246—248 *se cognoscere iactat qua dextra ueniant stridentis sibila teli, promittitque uiris nulli se defore testem.*

290. *signa*] i.e. *faciesque truces oculosque minaces.*

292. *uideor*] cf. Hor. carm. II i 21, 22 *audire magnos iam uideor duces non indecoro puluere sordidos.*

298. *tam prope me*] cf. Verg. Ecl. I 42 *nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere diuos.*

limite] 'dividing line' and so 'interval'.

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 mentem percussa? timore deorum.*

Caesareas spectate cruces spectate catenas,
et caput hoc positum rostris, effusaque membra, 305
Septorumque nefas, et clausi proelia Campi.
cum duce Sullano gerimus ciuilia bella.
uestri cura mouet: nam me secura manebit
sors quaesita manu: fodientem uiscera cernet
me mea qui nondum uicto respexerit hoste. 310
di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanusque labor, uincat quicumque necesse
non putat in uictos saeuom destringere ferrum,
quique suos ciues, quod signa aduersa tulerunt,
non credit fecisse nefas. Pompeius in arto 315
agmina uestra loco uetita uirtute moueri
cum tenuit, quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum.
uos tamen hoc oro, iuuenes, ne caedere quisquam
hostis terga uelit: ciuis qui fugerit esto.
sed dum tela micant, non uos pietatis imago 320
ulla 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. 325

304. *Caesareas*] Grotius cf. Suet. Jul. 30 *quod probabilius facit Asinius Pollio Pharsalica acie caesos profligatosque aduersarios prospicientem haec eum ad uerbum dixisse referens; 'hoc uoluerunt; tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem'.*

305. *effusaque membra*] 'limbs scattered to the winds'; in Stat. Theb. VI 841 the same words occur in the sense of 'overgrown limbs'.

306. *Septorum*] cf. II 196 foll.

307. *Sullano*] cf. note on I 326.

308. *secura*] 'intrepid', cf. Petron. 123 *magnam nixus in hastam horrida securis frangebat gressibus arua.*

309. *manu*] Oud. cf. Florus II xiii 83 *dicitur in illa perturbatione et de extremis cogitasse secum manifestoque uoltu fuisse quasi occupare mortem manu uellet*, speaking of Caesar at the battle of Munda.

311. *di, quorum*] 'ye gods whose care has been withdrawn from heaven by earth and the sufferings of Rome'.

312. *labor*] cf. Verg. Aen. IV 78 [illegible] *cos iterum demens audire labores exp*[illegible]

313. *non putat*] cf. Florus II [illegible] *altera (uox) ad iactationem com*[illegible] *'parce ciuibus'.*

315. *nefas*] The Scholiast cf. C[illegible] pro Ligar. § 17 *scelus tu illud uocas, [illegible] bero? cur? isto enim nomine illa [illegible] causa caruit: alii errorem appellant, [illegible] timorem.*

316. *uetita uirtute*] 'where your [illegible] very had no power to move'. cf. H[illegible] Sat. II i 71, 72 *quin ubi se a [illegible] scaena in secreta remorant uirtus Scip[illegible] et mitis sapientia Laeli.*

320. *imago*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX [illegible] *mentem patriae strinxit pietatis imag[illegible]*

322. *turbate*] 'disfigure', cf. [illegible] Theb. IX 745 *prima Tanagraeum tur[illegible] harundo Coroebum.*

325. *ignoti*] 'the foe is one who [illegible] ons the slaughter (even) of a stranger [illegible] a crime', i.e. who if victorious will [illegible]

nite iam uallum fossasque implete ruina,
ıt ut plenis acies non sparsa maniplis;
:ite ne castris: uallo tendetis in illo
e acies peritura uenit. uix cuncta locuto
sare quemque suom munus trahit, armaque raptim
pta Ceresque uiris. capiunt praesagia belli, 331
atisque ruunt castris: stant ordine nullo,
ducis nulla; permittunt omnia fatis.
ɔtidem Magni soceros totidemque petentis
s regna suae funesto in Marte locasses, 335
tam praecipiti ruerent in proelia cursu.
dit ut hostiles in rectum exire cateruas
ıpeius nullasque moras permittere bello
superis placuisse diem: stat corde gelato
ɔnitus: tantoque duci sic arma timere 340

ven if we shall spare our rela-

The MSS. seem to vary *npetat* and *imputet:* the fol-
he explanation given by Sul-
: former: ea atrocitate hostem
uadat, qua inuaderet necessa-
ıgnatum 'let him assail the
n unknown foe as though it
cursed thing', i.e. a kinsman's
ch would bring a curse upon
. with many MSS. reads *im-*
ining it thus: imputate mihi
m uilium et ignotorum, tan-
rfeceritis cognatos et scelus
feceritis, cf. III 436, 437 *iam*
rum dubitet subuertere siluam
fecisse nefas. Weise's note
cplanation of *tamquam scelus.*
imputet nor *impetat* appears
any satisfactory explanation,
ured to read *imputat*, which is
ion of the two, and can, I
ıterpreted as above.
nite] In the American Journal
ɔy, Vol. 5, pp. 325—330 Mr
vs that this order of Caesar's,
ɔst improbable, is mentioned
hority except Appian Civil
75, and is in fact contradicted
who says, B. C. III 89 *cohortes*
ris praesidio reliquerat. He
hat Appian founded his state-
s passage in Lucan.
nis] 'not divided but with
complete', i.e. leaving no re-
serve to guard the camp.

328. *tendetis*] 'you shall encamp', cf. Verg. Aen. II 29 *hic Dolopum manus, hic saeuus tendebat Achilles.*

331. *sumpta Ceresque uiris*] This is the reading of the Roman edition of 1469; according to Oud. *sumpta uirisque Ceres* is found in MSS. The Schol. explains frumentum singuli et arma sumpserunt. cf. Val. Flacc. V 215—217 *arma iubet celsa socios depromere puppi, dona dehinc Bacchi casus qui firmet in omnes; rapta Ceres, uiridesque premunt longo ordine ripas.* Grotius with some MSS. reads *sumpta uiris; celeres...* and is followed by Weise.

capiunt praesagia] 'they seize on this omen of the war's result', i.e. Caesar's words, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1652, 1653, Al. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνομαι θανεῖν. Χο. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' αἱρούμεθα.

335. *locasses*] An emendation of Grotius for *locasset* 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 *iterque non agit in rectum sed in orbem curuat eundem.*

339. *corde gelato*] cf. Iuv. VI 95 *timent pauidoque gelantur pectore.*

omen erat. premit inde metus totumque per agmen
sublimi praeuectus equo: quem flagitat, inquit,
uestra diem uirtus, finis ciuilibus armis
quem quaesistis, adest. totas effundite uires;
extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentes 345
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 regent per uiscera Caesaris, ipsi 350
Romanas sancire uolent hoc sanguine leges.
si socero dare regna meo mundumque pararent,
praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam.
non iratorum populis urbique deorum est
Pompeium seruare ducem. quae uincere possent 355
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, 360
innumeraeque urbes, quantas in proelia numquam
exciuere manus. toto simul utimur orbe.

341. *omen*] cf. Verg. Aen. VII 173, 174 *hic sceptra accipere, et primos attollere fasces regibus omen erat.*

342. *praeuectus*] 'riding along the line'.

344. *totas effundite uires*] 'put forth all your strength', Oud. cf. Ov. Met. I 278 *uires effundite uestras, sic opus est.* Liv. X 28 *quantumcunque uirium habuit certamine primo effudit.*

346. *trahit*] 'drags to ruin', cf. Verg. Aen. V 709 *quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur.* See also note on IV 222.

348. *medio—campo*] i.e. as the prize, cf. Hom. Il. XXIII 704 ἀνδρὶ δὲ νικηθέντι γυναῖκ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν.

350. *regent*] 'will guide', cf. Verg. Aen. IX 409 *hunc sine me turbare globum, et rege tela per auras.*

351. *hoc sanguine*] apud Romanos mos erat ut ubi foedus fiebat ibi porca occideretur. 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 foedera, reconciliationes gratiarum, sanguine [illegible] sancirentur.*

353. *praecipitare*] 'they might have brought my old age to a speedy end by natural death'. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 16 [illegible] *per idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, [illegible] in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.*

356. *clari*] *clari* or *clarissimi* became under the empire the technical title [illegible] senators, cf. Vopisc. Aurel. 18 *libros [illegible] spici clarissimi ordinis iussit auctori[illegible]* Lamprid. Heliogab. 4 *matrem suam [illegible] senatum rogari iussit... solusque omni[illegible] imperatorum fuit sub quo mulier, [illegible] clarissima, loco uiri senatum ingressa [illegible]*

357. *sacraque*] 'soldiers who [illegible] their ancient blood by hallowed bat[illegible] i.e. of their ancestors.

360. *primo—oriente*] 'the furthest East' i.e. where the sun first appears.

361. *quantas*] 'have summoned [illegible] battle more hands than they have ever done before'.

quidquid signiferi comprensum limite caeli
sub Noton et Borean hominum sumus arma mouemus.
nonne superfusis collectum cornibus hostem 365
in medium dabimus? paucas uictoria dextras
exigit: at plures tantum clamore cateruae
bella gerent. Caesar nostris non sufficit armis.
credite pendentis e summis moenibus urbis
crinibus effusis hortari in proelia matres. 370
credite grandaeuom uetitumque aetate senatum
arma sequi sacros pedibus prosternere canos:
atque ipsam domini metuentem occurrere Romam.
credite qui nunc est populus populumque futurum
permixtas adferre preces. haec libera nasci, 375
haec 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 soceri, uester pudor, ultima fata 380
deprecor, ac turpes extremi cardinis annos,
ne discam seruire senex. tam maesta locuti
uoce ducis flagrant animi Romanaque uirtus
erigitur; placuitque mori, si uera timeret.
ergo utrimque pari concurrunt agmina motu 385
irarum: metus hos regni spes excitat illos.

53. *quidquid—hominum*] cf. Catull. 1 *quantum est hominum uenustiorum;* Epod. V 1, 2 *at o deorum quidquid aelo regit terras et humanum genus.*
mite] 'embraced within the zone of zodiac', cf. Ov. Met. II 130 *sectus in uum est lato curuamine limes.*
54. *sub Noton*] 'extending to the h and north'.
55. *collectum*] 'closely packed'.
56. *in medium dabimus*] 'shall we surround?'
57. *clamore*] Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. VI *Marte carent solisque iuuant clamori-agmen.*
68. *non sufficit*] 'is all too little'.
73. *domini metuentem*] cf. Hor. Ep. 1 15 *metuens pendentis habenae.*
ccurrere] 'appear before you'.
76. *mori*] sc. *libera.*

pignora] cf. Plin. Ep. I xii § 3 *plurimas uiuendi causas habentem...praeterea filiam uxorem nepotem sorores interque tot pignora ueros amicos.*

380. *uester pudor*] 'a disgrace to you', cf. Ov. Met. VIII 157 *destinat hunc Minos thalamo remouere pudorem*, i.e. the Minotaur.

ultima] 'the worst destiny', cf. 222 supr., i.e. 'disgrace' not 'death' as Weise understands by it.

381. *extremi cardinis annos*] 'the years that form the extreme limit of my life', i.e. simply 'my last years.' *cardo* is equivalent to *limes*, cf. note on IV 73: for the genitive cf. note on 272 supr.

384. *si uera timeret*] 'if what he said he feared were true', i.e. if Pompeius' fears were well grounded.

385. *motu*] 'feeling', cf. I 184.

hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expleat aetas
ulla nec humanum reparet genus omnibus annis,
ut uacet a ferro. gentes Mars iste futuras
obruet, et populos aeui uenientis in orbem 390
erepto natale feret. tunc omne Latinum
fabula nomen erit: Gabios Veiosque Coramque
puluere uix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae,
Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates
rus uacuom, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta, 395
inuitus, questusque Numam iussisse, senator.
non aetas haec carpsit edax monumentaque rerum
putria destituit: crimen ciuile uidemus
tot uacuas urbes. generis quo turba redacta est
humani? toto populi qui nascimur orbe, 400
nec muros implere uiris nec possumus agros:
urbs nos una capit: uincto fossore coluntur
Hesperiae segetes: stat tectis putris auitis
in nullos ruitura domus: nulloque frequentem
ciue suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam, 405

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 amas Cato Catullum.* For *explere*, cf. infr. 415.

389. *ut uacet*] 'though it be free from the sword'.

390. *uenientis 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. *erepto natale*] 'depriving them of birth', i.e. by the slaughter of those who might have been their fathers.

feret] 'will sweep away'.

392. *fabula*] cf. Hor. carm. I iv 16 *iam te premet nox fabulaeque manes.* For the desolation of the cities of the Latin league, cf. Hor. Ep. I xi 7, 8 *scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis uicus.* Propert. V i 34 *et qui nunc nulli maxima turba Gabi.*

393. *puluere*] 'of Gabii, Veii and Cora scarce will their dust-covered ruins show the site'.

395. *rus uacuom*] nominative, sc. *uix poterit monstrare:* for *uacuom* cf. Verg. G. II 225 *uacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris.*

coacta] 'forced upon him', cf. Plin. H N. VII § 92 *tantam etiam coactam hum generis iniuriam*, i.e. an injury done b violence. The night referred to is that the feriae Latinae, for which see Dict. Antiq.

396. *Numam*] According to Dion sius of Halicarnassus Bk IV it was Ta quinius Superbus who instituted the feri *Latinae;* but the Romans ascribed Numa all their religious ceremonies a particularly the rules to be observed holidays. cf. Plut. Numa 14.

398. *putria destituit*] 'has abandon to decay the monuments of the past'.

crimen ciuile] 'the guilty result of civ war', cf. I 24.

402. *uincto*] cf. Plin. Ep. III xix *nam nec ipse usquam uinctos habeo nec quisquam*, referring to Italy north of th Po. On the subject of the depopulatio of Italy cf. Appian, Civil Wars I c VII.

404. *in nullos*] 'ready to fall, but the heads of none'.

405. *faece*] cf. Iuv. III 61 foll. *uis quota portio faecis Achaei? iampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes* Tac. Ann. XV 44 *quo cuncta undique de*

cladis eo dedimus, ne tanto in tempore bellum
iam posset ciuile geri. Pharsalia tanti
causa mali. cedant feralia nomina Cannae,
et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis.
tempora signauit leuiorum Roma malorum, 410
hunc uoluit nescire diem. pro tristia fata.
aera pestiferum tractu, morbosque fluentis,
insanamque famem, permissasque ignibus urbes,
moeniaque in praeceps laturos plena tremores
hi possent explere uiri, quos undique traxit 415
in miseram Fortuna necem, dum munera longi
explicat eripiens aeui, populosque ducesque
constituit campis: per quos tibi, Roma, ruenti
ostendat quam magna cadas. quo latius orbem
possedit citius per prospera fata cucurrit. 420
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,

ut pudibunda confluunt celebrantur-

. *cladis eo dedimus*] 'we have ht to such a state of ruin'.
i.e. 'only to prevent the possibility ging civil war'.
to in tempore] 'during the long time , apparently meaning that the wars tonius and Augustus were not fought nuine Roman soldiers. Oud. with MSS. reads *corpore*, cf. Verg. Aen. 3 *toto certatum est corpore regni.*
. *Allia*] cf. Verg. Aen. VII 717 *ue secans infaustum interluit Allia* s.
. *nescire*] 'to ignore', cf. supr. 133.
. *pestiferum tractu*] 'pestilential ıale'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 683 *tactu ia.*
ntis] 'contagious', cf. VI 89.
. *insanamque famem*] 'maddening r', cf. Verg. Aen. IX 340 *suadet uaesana fames.* Ov. Fast. IV 364 *it insana nomine Gallus aqua.*
are the usage by Horace in an sense of *uarius* carm. II v 12: *ualis*, carm. II ix 3: *exsanguis* Epp. 18.
. *moeniaque*] 'earthquakes that would hurl to ruin crowded cities'.

415. *explere*] 'make up for', cf. supr. 387. Liv. III 68 *iam unicuique ex agris sua damna nuntiabantur; quid est tandem domi, unde ea expleatis?* Justin V 4 *explent contumelias honoribus, detrimenta muneribus, exsecrationes precibus.*

416. *dum*] 'while she displays the gifts of long ages in the act of snatching them away'.

munera] sc. multitudinem hominum qui ad tantum numerum munere longi aeui excreuerant. Omnibonus.

417. *explicat*] A military metaphor, displays them as in a review, cf. note on VI 9.

419. *quam magna cadas*] 'how great thou art in thy fall': for the contrast between the Latin and English idioms cf. note on I 457.

421. *gentes*] 'conquered nations'.

422. *geminum*] 'advancing towards both poles', i.e. northward and southward.

424. *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 uiderent. 425
sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis
Emathiae funesta dies. hac luce cruenta
effectum ut Latios non horreat India fasces,
nec uetitos errare Dahas in moenia ducat
Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum: 430
quod semper saeuas debet tibi Parthia poenas,
quod fugiens ciuile nefas redituraque numquam
libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita uagatur,
Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra
Ausoniam, uellem, populis incognita nostris. 436
uolturis ut primum laeuo fundata uolatu
Romulus infami complèuit 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 adiudicat armis*, Ov. A. A. I 177 *ecce parat Caesar domito quod defuit orbi addere*, Id. Fast. I 85, 86, *Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet.*

426. *retro*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 169, 170 *ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri spes Danaum.*

par] 'a match for all bygone years'.

429. *uetitos*] 'forbidden to lead their nomad life', cf. II 296.

430. *Sarmaticum*] 'in Sarmatia', cf. notes on I 106, V 703.

succinctus] The ancient fashion of wearing the toga was kept up in religious ceremonies, cf. Verg. Aen. VII 187, 188 *ipse Quirinali lituo paruaque sedebat succinctus trabea*, and note on I 596.

aratrum] nam antea solebat consul ad subiugatam gentem coloniam deducere et aratro signare spatium ciuitatis. Schol. cf. Verg. Aen. I 425 *pars optare locum tecto, et concludere sulco.*

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 *Tanaim* (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 sway of the Caesars, and is probably thinking of the lines in Verg. Ecl. I 62, 63 *ante, pererratis amborum finibus, exsul aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*, cf. note on 435 infr.

434. *iugulo*] 'at the risk of our life-blood'.

uagatur] 'wanders free', Oud. cf. Claudian in Rufin. I 53, 54 *Concordia Virtus cumque Fide Pietas alta ceruice uagantur.*

435. *respicit*] This appears to be also taken from Verg. Ecl. I 28 *libertas, quae sera tamen respexit inertem.*

436. *uellem*] 'and would she had never been known to our tribes', i.e. the tribes of Italy, cf. note on 185 supr.

437. *ut*] 'ever since'. cf. Hor. Epod. VII 19, 20 *ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor.*

laeuo] 'inauspicious' i.e. because slavery has in the end been the fate of Rome.

438. *compleuit*] '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 lucum ingentem quem Romulus acer asylum rettulit*, Iuv. VIII 272—275 *a tamen, ut longe repetas longeque reuoluas nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo: maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

usque ad Thessalicas seruisses, Roma, ruinas.
de Brutis, Fortuna, queror. 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
immeritaeque nemus Rhodopes pinusque Mimantis:
Cassius hoc potius feriet caput? astra Thyestae 451
impulit et subitis damnauit noctibus Argos:
tot similes fratrum gladios patrumque gerenti
Thessaliae dabit ille diem? mortalia nulli
sunt curata deo. cladis tamen huius habemus 455

439. *seruisses*] equivalent to *seruire debebas*, cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 643 *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.*

440. *de Brutis*] i.e. because they freed Rome from servitude to the kings.

tempora legum] 'ages under the rule of law' opposed to *tempora regum*, cf. Iuv. VIII 268 *legum prima securis*, Liv. II 1 *liberi iam hinc populi Romani res, pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum, potentiora quam hominum peragam.*

441. *a consule*] 'dated by a consul's name', i.e. instead of a king's: the outward sign of the republic opposed to the monarchy. cf. Tac. Ann. I 1.

443. *sub perpetuis*] 'under an unbroken succession of despots'.

444. *ex populis*] 'of all the nations that endure tyranny our lot is the worst, for we are ashamed to be slaves'.

445. *nobis*] emphatic, i.e. whatever there may be for other nations.

447. *mentimur*] 'we lie in saying Jove is king', cf. Ov. Trist. I iii 53, 54 *certam me sum mentitus habere horam propositae quae foret apta fugae.* Plin. H. N. XII § 67 *nec non fuere qui e turis arbore utrumque nasci mentirentur.*

spectabit] A metaphor from watching the gladiatorial contests: 'will he gaze unmoved upon the slaughter in Thessaly, though holding in his hand his bolts?'

449. *scilicet*] indignantis: for the thought, cf. Aristoph. Nub. 398—401 *καὶ πῶς, ὦ μῶρε σὺ καὶ Κρονίων ὄζων καὶ βεκκεσέληνε, εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιώρκους, πῶς οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον οὐδὲ Θέωρον; καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἰσ' ἐπίορκοι· ἀλλὰ τὸν αὑτοῦ γε νεὼν βάλλει καὶ Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τὰς δρῦς τὰς μεγάλας· τί μαθών; οὐ γὰρ δὴ δρῦς γ' ἐπιορκεῖ.*

450. *Mimantis*] The MSS. reading is *pinusque minantis casus...feriat.* Sulpitius corrected *casus* into *Cassius*, Aldus changed *feriat* to *feriet:* the correction of *Mimantis* for *minantis* is due to Parrhasius. Oud. cf. Ov. Met. II 22 *et tandem Rhodope niuibus caritura Mimasque.*

451. *hoc—caput*] sc. Caesaris.

potius] i.e. rather than Jove.

Thyestae] is dative: 'in horror at Thyestes he hurried on the stars', i.e. brought on night before its time, cf. V 41 *fatorum impellite cursum.*

452. *Argos*] cf. note on I 543.

453. *tot similes*] 'will he grant the light of day to Thessaly that wields so many kindred swords of brethren and of fathers?' *similes* is equivalent to *cognatos*, as the swords of kinsmen are regarded as made after the same pattern.

455. *cladis tamen*] 'still for this overthrow we have our revenge, so far as the gods may give satisfaction to the earth', i.e. we revenge ourselves on the gods by

uindictam, quantam terris dare numina fas est.
bella pares superis facient ciuilia diuos:
fulminibus manes radiisque ornabit et astris,
inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.
ut rapido cursu fati suprema morantem 460
consumpsere locum, parua tellure dirempti,
inde manus spectant uoltusque agnoscere quaerunt,
quo sua pila cadant, aut quae sibi fata minentur,
facturi quae monstra forent. uidere parentes
frontibus aduersis fraternaque comminus arma, 465
nec libuit mutare locum: tamen omnia torpor
pectora constrinxit: gelidusque in uiscera sanguis
perculsa pietate coit: totaeque cohortes
pila parata diu tensis tenuere lacertis.
di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur, 470
sed sensum post fata tuae dent, Crastine, morti,
cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum,

the insult done to them in deifying the Caesars.

457. *pares superis*] 'civil wars will raise dead 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 special mark of Jove: for *radii*, cf. Verg. Aen. XII 162—164 *cui tempora circum aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt, solis aui specimen*, and Conington's note.

manes] cf. VI 809.

459. *iurabit*] cf. Hor. Epp. I ii 6 *iurandasque tuom per nomen ponimus aras.*

461. *consumpsere*] 'when they got over all the space that yet delayed the final decision of destiny', cf. Catull. XXXV 7 *quare si sapiet uiam uorabit.* See also Manil. V 585 *tergaque consumunt pelagus*, i.e. cover all the sea.

462. *inde manus*] 'then they gaze upon their foemen'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 *obstupuere omnes gelidusque per ima cucurrit ossa tremor; cui fata 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 segnius propinquos adfines fratres trucidatos spoliant; factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.*

467. *in uiscera*] 'to their heart', cf. Verg. G. II 484 *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis.*

468. *perculsa pietate*] sc. *piis animis perculsis.*

469. *tensis*] '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 ultimum diem non quasi poenam, sed quasi naturae legem adspicis, ex quo pectore metum eieceris, in id nullius rei timor audebit intrare.* See Lecky's History of European Morals, vol. I, 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...neque ullo in loco potius mortem eius lacerari quam in quo uita esse damnata.* Propert. II x 22 *nec sit in Attalico mors mea nixa toro.*

Crastine] For an account of Crastinus,

primaque Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit.
o praeceps rabies, cum Caesar tela teneret,
inuenta est prior ulla manus? tum stridulus aer 475
elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu:
tunc ausae dare signa tubae: tunc aethera tendit
extremique fragor conuexa irrupit Olympi,
unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant.
excepit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus, 480
Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis:
Pindus agit fremitus, Pangaeaque saxa resultant,
Oetaeaeque gemunt rupes: uocesque furoris
expauere sui tota tellure relatas.
spargitur innumerum diuersis missile uotis. 485
uolnera pars optat, pars terrae figere tela
ac puras seruare manus. rapit omnia casus,
atque incerta facit quos uolt Fortuna nocentis.
sed quota pars cladis iaculis ferroque uolanti
exacta est. odiis solus ciuilibus ensis 490
sufficit et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit.
Pompeii densis acies stipata cateruis
iunxerat in seriem nexis umbonibus arma,
uixque habitura locum dextras ac tela mouendi
constiterat gladiosque suos compressa tenebat. 495
praecipiti cursu uaesanum Caesaris agmen

cf. Caes. B.C. III 91, Appian, Civil Wars II 82.

475. *prior*] 'to anticipate him'.

476. *elisus lituis*] 'was forced out of the clarions', cf. Ov. Met. VI 696 *exsiliantque cauis elisi nubibus ignes*, Plin. H. N. XI § 269 *elephas citra nares ore ipso sternumento similem elidit sonum, per nares autem tubarum raucitati.* Sen. Oed. 754 *lituusque adunco stridulos cantus elisit aere.*

conceptaque] 'and the signal is caught up by the horn', cf. Cic. N. D. II § 138 *ex eaque pars redditur respirando, pars concipitur cordis parte quadam.*

477. *aethera tendit*] 'mounts skyward'.

479. *unde procul*] i.e. the upper heaven above the clouds and thunderstorms.

quo—durant] 'to which—last through', 'penetrate', cf. Stat. Silu. V ii 153 *durabis quascunque uices uallumque subibis.*

480. *resonis*] A rare word used by Ov. Met. III 495, 496, *quotiensque puer miserabilis eheu dixerat, haec resonis iterabat uocibus eheu.*

481. *dedit—geminare*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 319 *dederatque comam diffundere uentis.*

484. *relatas*] 'reechoed from the whole land'.

485. *innumerum*] cf. Mart. VIII lv 2 *innumero quotiens silua leone furit.*

486. *uolnera*] i.e. to inflict wounds.

488. *incerta facit*] 'uncertain Fortune makes guilty whom she will', i.e. by causing their darts to strike a kinsman. cf. VI 79 *et fit saepe nefas iaculum temptante lacerto.*

493. *nexis umbonibus*] cf. Iuv. II 45 *sed illos defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges.*

495. *tenebat*] 'held back'. The Scholiast with some MSS. reads *timebat*, i.e. 'feared to hurt each other with their swords' for which Oud. cf. IV 779 *uix impune suos inter conuertitur enses.*

in densos agitur cuneos: perque arma, per hostem
quaerit iter. qua torta graues lorica catenas
opponit tutoque latet sub tegmine pectus,
hac quoque peruentum est ad uiscera: totque per arma
extremum est quod quisque ferit. ciuilia bella 501
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. 505
ut primum toto diduxit cornua campo
Pompeianus eques bellique per ultima fudit,
sparsa per extremos leuis armatura maniplos
insequitur saeuasque manus immittit in hostem.
illic quaeque suo miscet gens proelia telo: 510
Romanus cunctis petitur cruor: inde sagittae,
inde faces et saxa uolant, 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 consertam hamis auroque trilicem.*

501. *extremum est*] 'the last thing reached', i.e. *uiscera.*

503. *a Caesare*] 'on Caesar's side', cf. I 59.

504. *nec Fortuna*] The reading in the text is that found in almost all MSS. and in the Roman edition of 1469, and is, I believe, capable of defence. Grotius following a few MSS. changed *uertens* into *uergens*, which is adopted by Oud. 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 I 72 *nec se ferens* to *et non se ferens*, 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 *nodosaque frangit ossa diu* i.e. 'takes a long time in breaking the knotty bones'. For *abstulit* cf. Tac. Ann. IV 13 *claritudine infausti generis et paternis aduersis foret abstractus.* The Scholiast 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 *pondera* 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*] 'separated its wings by the whole width of the plain', i.e. the cavalry were posted on the two extreme wings.

507. *belli*] 'of the warring host', compare the use of 'battle' in old English.

508. *sparsa*] equivalent to *emissa*, Weise.

510. *quaeque*] not as Weise says equivalent to *quaecunque;* the sentence is an asyndeton: 'each race joins battle with its own weapon: what all aim at is the blood of Romans'.

512. *faces*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 150 *iamque faces et saxa uolant, furor arma ministrat.*

513. *aeris*] 'melted by the distance through the air they traverse, and made fluid by their heated weight', i.e. by the

tunc et Ituraei Medique Arabesque soluti,
arcu turba minax, nusquam rexere sagittas: 515
sed petitur solus qui campis imminet aer;
inde cadunt mortes: sceleris sed crimine nullo
externum maculant chalybem; stetit omne coactum
circa pila nefas: ferro subtexitur aether,
noxque super campos telis conserta pependit. 520
tum Caesar metuens ne frons sibi prima labaret
incursu, tenet obliquas post signa cohortes:
inque latus belli, qua se uagus hostis agebat,
immittit subitum non motis cornibus agmen.
immemores pugnae nulloque pudore timendi 525
praecipites fecere palam ciuilia bella
non bene barbaricis umquam commissa cateruis.
ut primum sonipes transfixus pectora ferro
in caput effusi calcauit membra regentis,
omnis eques cessit campis, glomerataque nubes 530

heir weight evolves, because Lucan ses that the heavier they are the more ınce does the air offer, and so there re friction and more heat evolved.

ıefactae] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 588 *et : aduersi liquefacto tempora plumbo t.*

. *soluti*] equivalent to *discincti*, ·. Oud. cf. II 559. The Schol. explains as *qui sine imperatore sunt liberi*, ıe former is probably right. Weise *soluto*, apparently intending it to be as equivalent to *expedito*, but *arcus* ɪ would naturally mean 'a slackened

. *nusquam*] 'nowhere aimed their s at a mark'. Compare the account : Norman archers at the battle of ngs, Freeman's Norman Conquest, II, chapter xv, p. 497.

'. *mortes*] non tela sed certus interi- chol. cf. the use of *uolnus* in Verg. VII 533 *haesit enim sub gutture uol-*

eris] i.e. it involved no *scelus* for the n troops to kill Romans.

l. *coactum*] 'gathered to a head'.

). *pila*] cf. notes on I 7, X 48.

texitur] 'is hidden', cf. Verg. Aen. 33 *caelum subtexere fumo*, Aristoph. 1084 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοξευμάτων οὐκ ἦν τὸν οὐρανόν, Herod. VIII 226.

). *nox—telis conserta*] 'a night of interlacing darts'.

521. *tum Caesar*] For these manœuvres cf. Caes. B. C. III 92, 93.

522. *tenet*] 'holds back his infantry ranged transversely behind the standards'.

524. *subitum—agmen*] i.e. the *cohortes* mentioned in v. 522.

525. *immemores pugnae*] 'regardless of the fight', cf. Hom. Il. VI 112 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

nulloque pudore 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 πολεμικοί τε καὶ εὐβούλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία.

526. *fecere palam*] 'showed plainly by their headlong flight that the conduct of civil war was never safely entrusted to barbaric hordes'.

527. *non bene*] cf. Verg. Ecl. III 94 *non bene ripae creditur*. Hor. Sat. II vi 46 *et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.*

529. *effusi—regentis*] 'his thrown-off rider'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 893, 894 *effusumque equitem super ipse secutus implicat, eiectoque incumbit cernuus armo.*

530. *nubes*] This is the reading of the Schol., and according to Oud. of the best MSS. cf. Liv. XXXV 49 *rex peditum equitumque nubes iactat.* Weise reads *pubes.*

in sua conuersis praeceps ruit agmina frenis.
perdidit inde modum caedes ac nulla secuta est
pugna, sed hinc iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur.
nec ualet haec acies tantum prosternere quantum
inde perire potest. utinam, Pharsalia, campis 535
sufficiat cruor iste tuis, quem barbara fundunt
pectora; non alio mutentur sanguine fontes;
hic numerus totos tibi uestiat ossibus agros:
aut si Romano compleri sanguine mauis,
istis parce precor: uiuant Galataeque, Syrique, 540
Cappadoces, Gallique, extremique orbis Hiberi,
Armenii, 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. 545
quod totos errore uago perfuderat agros,
constitit hic bellum fortunaque Caesaris haesit.
illic non regum auxiliis collecta iuuentus
bella gerit ferrumque manus mouere rogatae:
ille locus fratres habuit locus ille parentes. 550
hic furor hic rabies hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar.
hanc fuge, mens, belli partem tenebrisque relinque,

532. *perdidit—modum*] equivalent to *sine modo erat*. cf. VIII 492.

533. *iugulis*] cf. IV 562.

537. *mutentur*] 'be dyed'. cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 43, 44 *ipse sed in pratis aries iam suaue rubenti murice iam croceo mutabit uellera luto.*

538. *numerus*] 'multitude', cf. X 127 *tum famulae numerus turbae.* Cic. pro Font. § 13 *est praeterea numerus ciuium Romanorum.*

uestiat] For the metaphorical use of *uestire* cf. Verg. G. II 38 *olea magnum uestire Taburnum.*

541. *extremi*] Oud. cf. Hor. carm. I XXXV 29, 30 *serues iturum Caesarem in ultimos orbis Britannos;* but *extremi* here is probably genitive, agreeing with *orbis*. cf. VIII 223 *aeterni Martis Alanos.* id. 245 *placidi Colophona maris.*

Hiberi] i.e. probably the eastern Hiberi, inhabitants of the Caucasus.

544. *fatis*] probably dative, i.e. 'free course is given to fate in Caesar's favour'.

546. *quod totos*] 'the war which had covered all the plain with wandering bands of fugitives, here came to a standstill, and Caesar's fortune felt a check.'

errore] is equivalent to *errantibus*, abstract for concrete.

547. *haesit*] cf. Verg. Aen. XI 289, 290 *Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium haesit.*

548. *auxiliis*] 'auxiliaries'. cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 7, 8 *undique cogunt auxilia.*

collecta] Oud. cf. Cic. ad fam. VII iii § 2 *signa, tirone et conlecticio exercitu, cum legionibus robustissimis contulit* (*Pompeius*).

549. *ferrumque*] The negative is carried on.

rogatae] 'sought by entreaty', cf. Ov. A. A. I 345 *quaeque negant gaudent tamen esse rogatae.*

551. *tua crimina*] 'the cause of your guilt'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 188 *crimen amor uestrum.*

552. *hanc fuge*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 1[illegible]

ue tantorum discat me uate malorum
multum bellis liceat ciuilibus aetas.
otius pereant lacrimae pereantque querelae. 555
iid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo.
iesar rabies populis stimulusque furorum,
a parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum
us, atque animis ignes flagrantibus addit;
it et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent, 560
teant primo tantum mucrone cruenti,
presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela,
ontenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti,
pugnare iuuet, quis uoltum ciue perempto
: obit latis proiecta cadauera campis: 565
a multorum totum fusura cruorem
ta premit ipse manu. quacumque uagatur,
neum ueluti quatiens Bellona flagellum,
as aut Mauors agitans, si uerbere saeuo
ia stimulet turbatos aegide currus, 570
igens scelerum et caedes oriuntur, et instar
isae uocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi

imus meminisse horret luc-

um—me uate] 'by my re-
of such great disasters'. cf.
XVI 65, 66 *quorum piis*
ie datur fuga.
lacrimae] i.e. the tears shed
c. Ann. VI 31 (25) *nondum*
rat, i.e. 'the grief caused

] 'source of fury'. cf. Verg.
hic subitam canibus rabiem
bicit.
a parte sui] 'lest in any
rces wicked war should be
sar is identified with his
. 653. For *perire* cf. notes
561.
ti] 'to see which reek from
with gore'. Oud. cf. Stat.
134 *pater ipse cruentis in*
ue nefas atque inspicit enses.
] cf. note on IV 706.
ita] 'strained to the full',
rnest.
] i.e. who fights only at his
g.
'he visits', 'inspects'. cf.
Verg. Aen. VI 801 *nec uero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit.*

566. *fusura*] 'that would else let out all their blood'.

567. *premit*] cf. Tac. Ann. XV 64 *obligare uenas, premere sanguinem.*

568. *ueluti*] sc. *uagatur.*

Bellona] cf. I 565, Verg. Aen. VIII 703 *quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.* Hor. Sat. II iii 223 *gaudens Bellona cruentis.*

569. *si*] equivalent to *sicubi*, '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 θεομαχία in Hom. Il. XX 54 foll.

570. *currus*] sc. *equos iugales* cf. Verg. G. III 91 *Martis equi biiuges, et magni currus Achillei.* Id. Aen. VII 162, 163 *ante urbem pueri et primaeuo flore iuuentus exercentur equis, domitantque in puluere currus.*

571. *nox*] 'tempest', cf. Verg. Aen. III 194, 195 *tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber, noctem hiememque ferens.*

572. *immensae*] 'a groan like one vast cry'.

pondere lapsi]. 'and arms ring with his

pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses.
ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat,
aduersosque iubet ferro confundere uoltus. 575
promouet ipse acies: impellit terga suorum:
uerbere conuersae cessantis excitat hastae.
in plebem uetat ire manus monstratque senatum.
scit cruor imperii qui sit quae uiscera rerum,
unde petat Romam, libertas ultima mundi 580
quo steterit ferienda loco. permixta secundo
ordine nobilitas uenerandaque corpora ferro
urgentur: caedunt Lepidos, caeduntque Metellos,
Coruinosque simul, Torquataque nomina, regum
saepe duces, summosque hominum te, Magne, remoto.
illic plebeia contectus casside uoltus, 586
ignotusque hosti, quod ferrum, Brute, tenebas.
o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,
extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen,
ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hostes, 590
nec tibi fatales admoueris ante Philippos,
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. 595

weight when he whose breast they cover falls. cf. Hom. Il. IV 504 δοιγήσεν δὲ τεύχεα δοιήρης δὲ τε τοῦ ἐν αἰτῇ.

575. *confundere*] 'to disfigure', cf. II 191, III 758. Ood. cf. Theocr. XXII 110 ὁ δ' ἀείκεν πλαγαῖς τὰν εὐεφρῆ πρόσωπον ἀείκεν Πολυδεύκης.

uoltus] cf. Caesar's order in Florus II xiii § 50 *uoltus ferirent feri*.

577. *cessantis*] 'loiterers'.

579. *scit cruor*] 'he knows what is the life-blood of the empire, what the heart of the state'.

uiscera] Ood. cf. Liv. XXXIV 48 *pretium uiscera... laceratione uisceribus militiae rimantur*.

580. *unde*] 'on what side to assail Rome'.

libertas ultima mundi] 'the last hope of freedom for the world'.

581. *secundo*] sc. the *ordo equester*.

584. *Torquataque nomina*] 'those that bore the name Torquatus', cf. Sil. Ital. XVII 492. 493 *iamque ardore trucis transit fortissima quaque nomina ferro*.

585. *duces*] i.e. who have often led kings under their command.

remoto] 'saving thee', equivalent to *excepto*.

586. *contectus*] i.e. disguised for the purpose of killing Caesar.

589. *extremum*] 'last bearer of the name of a family so great through ages'.

591. *admoueris*] cf. note on IV 480.

Philippos] cf. note on I 680.

592. *periture*] 'thou wilt still die in thy chosen land of Thessaly'.

593. *arcem iuris*] 'the summit of power', cf. Tac. dial. de orat. X *cum maxime res in ipsam arcem eloquentiae ferunt*. Sil. Ital. XIII 770. 771 *quae te uia, fortunarum ad diras et summas laudum perduxit arcis*.

594. *humanum culmen*.....*egressus* 'having passed the height of human g[illegible]

uiuat et ut Bruti procumbat uictima regnet.
hic patriae perit omne decus: iacet aggere magno
patricium campis non mixta plebe cadauer.
mors tamen eminuit clarorum in strage uirorum
pugnacis Domiti; quem clades fata per omnes 600
ducebant. nusquam 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 605
Caesar, et increpitans; iam Magni deseris arma,
successor Domiti; sine te iam bella geruntur.
dixerat: ast illi suffecit pectora pulsans
spiritus in uocem morientiaque ora resoluit.
non te funesta scelerum mercede potitum, 610
sed dubium fati, Caesar, generoque minorem
adspiciens, Stygias Magno duce liber ad umbras
et securus eo: te saeuo Marte subactum,
Pompeioque graues poenas nobisque daturum,
cum morior, sperare licet. non plura locutum 615
uita fugit, densaeque oculos pressere tenebrae.

ss'. cf. V 250 Claudian VI Consul. Hor. 64 *inclinat populo regale modestia men.*

quo cuncta premuntur] 'by which all ings are overtopped' or 'dwarfed'. cf. v. Met. VII 447, 448 *si titulos annosque os numerare uelimus facta premant nos.* Stat. Silu. I ii 165, 166 *quantum atonia nymphas uirgo premit.* Id. Silu. II 50 *premit felix regum diademata Roma.* Neise understands the words somewhat ifferently viz. 'by which all things are rayed', comparing Verg. Aen. X 53, 54 *magna ditione iubeto Karthago premat Ausoniam.* See also X 49.

596. *uictima*] rarely used metaphorically, but cf. Sen. Herc. Oet. 351 *me nupiali uictimam feriat die.* See also IX 132, 386, 524.

598. *non mixta*] i.e. all the dead are atricians. Oud. following Sulpitius reads *mamixta.*

600. *Domiti*] cf. II 479 foll. This eu- of Domitius is intended as a compli- nt to his descendant Nero.

601. *nusquam*] 'nowhere did Magnus' ine succumb without his presence'.

604. *caruisse*] 'to have escaped a second pardon', cf. II 511.

607. *successor*] i.e. my would-be successor: he had been appointed by the senate to succeed Caesar in the government 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 Coroebus Mygdonides: illis ad Troiam forte diebus uenerat insano Cassandrae incensus amore, et gener auxilium Priamo Phrygibusque ferebat.*

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. Ov. Trist. III 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. Il. V 659 τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν.

tenebrae] cf. Verg. Aen. XI 824 *tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum.*

impendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi
mortibus innumeris, ac singula fata sequentem
quaerere, letiferum per cuius uiscera uolnus
exierit; quis fusa solo uitalia calcet; 620
ore quis aduerso 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 625
inque hostis cadat arma sui: quis pectora fratris
caedat, et, ut notum possit spoliare cadauer,
abscisum longe mittat caput: ora parentis
quis laceret, nimiaque probet spectantibus ira, 629
quem iugulat non esse patrem. mors nulla querela
digna sua est, nullosque 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, 635
Ponticus, Assyrius: cunctos haerere cruores
Romanus campisque uetat consistere torrens.
maius ab hac acie quam quod sua saecula ferrent
uolnus 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 aduerso*] '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 iugulo demittere ferrum sum 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 cruor emicat alte, non aliter quam cum uitiato fistula plumbo scinditur, et tenues stridente foramine longe eiaculatur aquas atque ·-tibus aera rumpit.*

626. *inque hostis*] cf. Lucret. IV 1045—1047 *namque omnes plerumque cadunt in uolnus et illam emicat in partem sanguis unde icimur ictu; 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. *uolnus*] 'a greater blow', cf. V 1 Tac. Agric. VII *sequens annus graui uulnere animum domumque eius adflixit.*

quod perit: in totum mundi prosternimur aeuom.
uincitur his gladiis omnis quae seruiet aetas. 641
proxima quid suboles, aut quid meruere nepotes
in regnum nasci? pauidi num gessimus arma,
teximus aut iugulos? alieni poena timoris
in nostra ceruice sedet: post proelia natis 645
si dominum, Fortuna, dabas et bella dedisses.
iam Magnus transisse deos Romanaque fata
senserat infelix: tota uix clade coactus
fortunam damnare suam. stetit aggere campi
eminus, unde omnes sparsas per Thessala rura 650
adspiceret clades quae bello obstante latebant.
tot telis sua fata peti, tot corpora fusa,
ac se tam multo pereuntem sanguine uidit.
nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum
mersa iuuat gentesque suae miscere ruinae: 655
ut Latiae post se uiuat pars maxima turbae,
sustinuit dignos etiam nunc credere uotis
caelicolas, uouitque sui solacia casus:
parcite, ait, superi, cunctas prosternere gentes:
stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus 660
esse miser. si plura iuuant mea uolnera, coniunx

640. *in totum*] 'to all the future ages the world'.
641. *quae seruiet*] 'which shall ever e in slavery'.
642. *proxima suboles*] 'the next genei ion'.
645. *sedet*] 'is planted', a metaphor m the yoke under which defeated ar- es were compelled to pass.
646. *dedisses*] i.e. *dare debebas*, cf. note 439 supr.
bella] i.e. the chance of fighting for our edom.
647. *transisse*] 'had changed sides', Verg. Aen. II 326 *ferus omnia Iuppiter gos transtulit.*
648. *tota uix clade*] 'scarcely induced the whole disaster to be discontented th his fortune', i.e. still thinking that s life had been on the whole prosperous: is seems better than the explanation of e Scholiast, uix potuit de nota felicitate fidere, seeing that in the preceding line was said that Pompeius had perceived that Fortune had changed sides.
651. *bello obstante*] 'while the warring hosts stood in his way', cf. Stat. Theb. IX 490 *quid faciat bellis obsessus et undis?* Sil. Ital. VII 472 *sed uictae fera bella deae uexere per aequor.*
653. *ac se*] nam exercitus est corpus imperatoris. Schol. cf. supr. 558.
654. *trahere*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. VIII 335—337 *trahit omnia secum, et metuit demens alio ne consule Roma concidat.*
657. *sustinuit*] 'endured still to think the gods worthy of his prayers', i.e. notwithstanding their injustice to him.
658. *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 *uotis:* he reads *uoluit*. For *uouere* cf. note on III 127.
659. *parcite*] For *parcere* with the infinitive, cf. Verg. Ecl. III 94 *parcite, oues, nimium procedere.*

est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fatis.
ciuiline parum est bello si meque meosque
obruis? 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 cateruas
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 674
praestandum est ubicumque caput. sed tu quoque, coniunx
causa fugae uoltusque tui: fatisque negatum
te praesente mori. tum Magnum concitus aufert
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, decebat
Romanis praestare malis. non impare uoltu
adspicis Emathiam: nec te uidere superbum
prospera bellorum nec fractum aduersa uidebunt.
quamque fuit laeto per tres infida triumphos, 685

662. *tot pignora*] sc. in quae saeuiant si meo sanguine delectantur. Schol.

664. *obruis*] So Sulpitius reads with some MSS. making the words an apostrophe to Fortune: uolgo *obruat*.

clades sumus] cf. II 708 *exigua est fugiens uictoria Magnus.*

remoto] cf. 585 supr.

666. *meum*] facta enim sunt cuncta uictoris. Schol.

669. *seque negat tanti*] sc. pretii esse ut pro se omnes mori debeant. Schol.

671. *ne...non fugeret*] 'should refuse to fly'.

674. *spectare uolenti*] 'eager for the sight'.

675. *ubicumque*] 'wheresoe'er it be'. Oud. cf. Ov. Amor. III x 5 *te dea munificam gentes ubicunque loquuntur.*

676. *uoltusque tui*] 'the thought of thy face', or perhaps 'the desire to see thy face'.

fatisque negatum] 'but the fates forbi that he should die in thy presence', i Cornelia was denied the consolation attending on her husband at his death she only saw his murder from a distanc cf. VIII 636—640. *que* is to be taken, often, disjunctively. Sulpitius, who followed by Weise, conjectured *prohibu est*, but the explanation given above seem to me to make any change unnecessary.

679. *ingentesque*] 'but carrying his courage to meet his final doom'.

680. *saluaque*] 'grief that deserv respect with dignity unimpaired'.

682. *non impare*] 'unaltered'.

685. *quamque*] sc. *quamque mai fuit*, i.e. as much as thou wast superior fickle Fortune when prosperous in th midst of thy three triumphs, so much thou still superior to her in adversity.

ro Fortuna minor. iam pondere fati
ɜecurus abis: nunc tempora laeta
: uacat: spes numquam implenda recessit.
s nunc scire licet. fuge proelia dira,
: deos nullum qui perstet in armis 690
Magne, mori: ceu flebilis Africa damnis,
unda nocens, Pharioque a gurgite clades,
essalicae post te pars maxima pugnae.
Pompeii nomen populare per orbem
ım belli: sed par quod semper habemus 695
t Caesar erunt: teque inde fugato
noriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.
iuuat pulsum bellis cessisse nec istud
ɜse nefas, spumantis caede cateruas?
rbatos incursu sanguinis amnes, 700
miserere tui. quo pectore Romam
ıctus campis felicior istis?
in ignotis solus regionibus exsul,
sub Phario positus patiere tyranno,
ɜ, longo fatorum crede fauori, 705
ɜius erat. prohibe lamenta sonare,
populos, lacrimas luctusque remitte.
Pompeii quam prospera mundus adoret.
ɜcurus uoltu non supplice reges:

ɜ] cf. Ov. Trist. II 237, *itur tantarum pondere nostros euoluisse iocos?*
implenda] 'thy hopes be fulfilled'.
hy sake', cf. I 45.
the same footing as is the greater part of t after thou art gone', liberty, not for Pom-

] 'the disasters arising wave', i.e. the losses in his contest with the ce.
'it will not now be hat will be popular rld, nor eagerness to : the pitted pair, we will be Liberty and

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'.
702. *felicior*] cf. II 221.
703. *ignotis*] cf. notes on I 170, X 32.
705. *crede deis*] perpetuus in te deorum fauor fidem tibi faciat e duobus malis id tibi euenisse quod erat minus: minus malum est bello ciuili uinci quam uincere: ni ita esset, uictorem te fecissent di. Grotius.
706. *peius erat*] cf. Verg. G. II 132, 133 *et si non alium longe iactaret odorem laurus erat.*
sonare] may be either active with *populus* as its subject, or less probably neuter.
707. *remitte*] 'dispense with', i.e. although they are thy due. cf. VI 248.

adspice possessas urbes donataque regna, 710
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:
obuia, ceu laeto, praemittunt munera flentes: 715
pandunt templa 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 urbibus? inquit: 720
uictori praestate fidem. tu, Caesar, in alto
caedis 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. 725
nunc tibi uera fides quaesiti, Magne, fauoris
contigit ac fructus. felix se nescit amari.
Caesar ut Hesperio uidit satis arua natare
sanguine, parcendum ferro manibusque suorum
iam ratus, ut uiles animas perituraque frustra 730
agmina permisit 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 735
hoc foret imperium. non magno hortamine miles
in praedam ducendus erat: uictoria nobis

710. *possessas...donata*] sc. *a te olim.*
711. *morti*] emphatic, *non proelio.* Oud.
712. *Larissa*] cf. Caesar B.C. III 96, where a different account is given of the feelings of the people of Larissa.
716. *optant*] 'choose', cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 503 *externos optate duces.*
718. *teque minor solo*] 'conquered by thyself alone', cf. Hor. Epp. I x 35, 36 *minor in certamine longo implorauit opes hominis.*
719. *fata*] sc. *priora.* cf. 686 supr.
722. *patriae*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 834 *neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uis*
725. *conuicia*] cf. IX 187.
729. *parcendum ferro*] cf. Verg. G 339 *hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.* Aen. IX 656 *cetera parce, puer, bello.*
731. *permisit uitae*] gave over to i.e. 'suffered to live'. cf. Verg. Aen 640 *Dardaniique rogum capitis permi flammae.*
734. *calet*] cf. Cic. ad fam. VIII i *nam et illi rumores de comitiis Transp norum Cumarum tenus caluerunt.*
735. *Marte subactis*] 'worn out fighting'.

plena, uiri, dixit: superest pro sanguine merces,
quam monstrare meum est: neque enim donare uocabo
quod sibi quisque dabit. cunctis en plena metallis 740
castra patent: raptum Hesperiis e gentibus aurum
hic iacet, Eoasque premunt tentoria gazas.
tot regum Fortuna simul Magnique coacta
exspectat dominos: propera praecedere, miles,
quos sequeris: quascumque tuas Pharsalia fecit, 745
a uictis rapiuntur opes. nec plura locutus
impulit amentes aurique cupidine caecos
ire super gladios supraque cadauera patrum,
et caesos calcare duces. quae fossa, quis agger
sustineat pretium belli scelerumque petentis? 750
scire uolant quanta fuerint mercede nocentes.
inuenere quidem spoliato plurima mundo
bellorum in sumptus congestae pondera massae:
sed non impleuit cupientis omnia mentes.
quidquid fodit Hiber quidquid Tagus extulit auri, 755
quod legit diues summis Arimaspus harenis
ut rapiant, paruo scelus hoc uenisse putabunt:
cum sibi Tarpeias uictor desponderit arces,
cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae:
decipitur quod castra rapit. capit impia plebes 760
caespite patricio somnos: uacuomque cubile
regibus infandus miles premit: inque parentum

740. *metallis*] i.e. wealth, cf. Hor. p. I x 39 *potiore metallis libertate caret.*
742. *premunt*] 'cover', 'contain', cf. I 757, Mart. III xl 2 *ex opibus tantis is grauis arca premit.*
744. *propera*] 'haste to anticipate se whom you are pursuing'.
746. *rapiuntur*] 'are being plundered the vanquished'. *rapiuntur*, accord- to Grotius, is the reading of the best S. Weise retains *rapiantur* which is reading of most editions, i.e. 'let... snatched from the vanquished'.
750. *sustineat*] 'could hold out a- nst', cf. Ov. Met. XIII 384, 385 *tora qui solus qui ferrum ignemque emque sustinuit totiens unam non tinet iram.*
751. *uolant*] Most MSS. have *uolunt*, e *ruunt:* the Scholiast's explanation is *festinant:* from the combination of these readings *uolant* has been conjectured and is adopted by Weise.
754. *non impleuit*] 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 fodiunt.*
Tagus] cf. Iuv. III 54, 55 *tanti tibi non sit opaci omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare uoluitur aurum.* Id. XIV 299.
756. *Arimaspus*] cf. Herod. III 116.
757. *ut*] 'though'.
paruo—uenisse] '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.
761. *patricio*] cf. Caes. B.C. III 96.

inque toris fratrum posuerunt membra nocentes:
quos agitat uaesana quies somnique furentes;
Thessalicam miseri uersant in pectore pugnam. 765
inuigilat cunctis saeuom scelus, armaque tota
mente agitant, capuloque manus absente mouentur.
ingemuisse putes campos terramque nocentem
inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum
manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem. 770
exigit a miseris tristes uictoria poenas,
sibilaque et flammas infert sopor: umbra perempti
ciuis adest: sua quemque premit terroris imago.
ille senum uoltus iuuenum uidet ille figuras:
hunc agitant totis fraterna cadauera somnis: 775
pectore in hoc pater est: omnes in Caesare manes.
haud alios, nondum Scythica purgatus in ara,
Eumenidum uidit uoltus Pelopeius Orestes:
nec magis adtonitos animi sensere tumultus,
cum fureret, Pentheus, aut, cum desisset, Agaue. 780
hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia uidit,
aut ultrix uisura dies stringente senatu,
illa nocte premunt: hunc infera monstra flagellant.
heu quantum poenae misero mens conscia donat,
quod Styga, quod manes, ingestaque Tartara somnis

764. *quos*] sc. *at eos*. cf. Hor. Sat. I i 32—36 *sicut paruola nam exemplo est magni formica laboris ore trahit quodcunque potest atque addit aceruo quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*: quae *simul inuersum contristat Aquarius annum non usquam prorepit*. Id. id. 41—43 *quid iuuat immensum te argenti pondus et auri furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?* quod *si comminuas uilem redigatur ad assem*.

quies] i.e. dreams, cf. Stat. Theb. X 324 *praesaga quies*.

766. *inuigilat*] cf. Stat. Theb. III 4, 5 *inuigilant animo scelerisque parati supplicium exercent curae*.

767. *mouentur*] i.e. feeling for the sword. cf. Hom. Od. XI 531 ξίφεος δ' ἐπεμαίετο κώπην.

769. *inspirasse*] 'had breathed into them the souls of the slain'.

770. *superam—noctem*] 'the night on earth' i.e. *infectam esse*.

776. *omnes*] singuli, inquit, singulos uidebant: Caesar autem uniuersos. Schol.

780. *cum desisset*] sc. *furere*, i.e. when she had 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. *donat*] equivalent to *remittit*, 'exempts from', 'spares', cf. IX 1016. Petron. 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.

785. *ingesta*] 'thrust upon his sleep'. Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. VII 465—467 *bacchatur utrisque Tisiphone castris; fratrem huic fratrem ingerit illi, aut utrique patrem*.

?ompeio uiuente uidet. tamen omnia passo 786
ɔostquam clara dies Pharsalica damna retexit
ıulla loci facies reuocat feralibus aruis
ıaerentis oculos. cernit propulsa cruore
lumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles 790
:orpora, sidentis in tabem spectat aceruos,
:t Magni numerat populos: epulisque paratur
lle locus, uoltus ex quo faciesque iacentum
ıgnoscat. iuuat Emathiam non cernere terram
:t lustrare oculis campos sub clade latentis: 795
ortunam superosque suos in sanguine cernit.
ıc ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat,
nuidet igne rogi miseris, caeloque nocenti
ngerit Emathiam. non illum Poenus humator
:onsulis, et Libyca succensae lampade Cannae, 800
:ompellunt hominum ritus ut seruet in hostes.
ed meminit nondum satiata caedibus ira
:iues esse suos. petimus non singula busta
liscretosque rogos: unum da gentibus ignem:
ıon interpositis urantur corpora flammis. 805
ıut generi si poena iuuat, nemus exstrue Pindi,
:rige congestas Oetaeo robore siluas,
Thessalicam uideat Pompeius ab aequore flammam.
ıil agis hac ira: tabesne cadauera soluat
.n rogus haud refert: placido natura receptat 810

nulla—reuocat] 'does not at all ıw', cf. note on 25 supr.

propulsa] 'driven down in flood'.

sidentis] 'settling down', so the Weise reads *depressos* which is ap- y an explanatory gloss.

numerat] According to Caes. B.C. he number of Pompeians killed at ia was fifteen thousand.

non cernere] i.e. because of the of corpses. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. XI *fluuium et campos abscondit caede n.*

fortunam] Many MSS. omit this hich is awkwardly introduced: the on of *cernere* is objectionable.

This construction of *inuidere* with ative is very rare: cf. Tac. Ann. I *ostes quidem sepultura inuident.*

799. *ingerit*] 'casts Emathia in the face of guilty heaven'.

humator] cf. Liv. XXII 52.

800. *succensae*] 'fired with the Libyan torch', i. e. where the funeral piles of the Roman dead were kindled by the Carthaginians.

803. *ciues*] 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 ciuem.*

805. *non interpositis*] i.e. *continuis*, 'with no gaps between them'.

806. *generi*] i.e. if you wish to cause greater pain to Pompeius.

810. *receptat*] 'gathers', cf. Lucret. II 1000, 1001 *quod missum est ex aetheris oris id rursum caeli rellatum templa receptant.*

cuncta sinu finemque sui sibi corpora debent.
hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis,
uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti.
communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra
mixturus. 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.
sed tibi tabentes populi Pharsalica rura
eripiunt camposque tenent uictore fugato.
non solum Haemonii funesta ad pabula belli 825
Bistonii uenere lupi, tabemque cruentae
caedis 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. *finemque sui*] '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 aduenerit quo se mundus renouaturus exstinguat uiribus ista se suis caedent et sidera sideribus incurrent et omni flagrante materia uno igne quidquid nunc ex disposito lucet ardebit.* Id. N. Q. III xiii § 2 *ita ignis exitus mundi, umor primordium.*

815. *tuam*] sc. *animam.*

818. *libera*] 'death is free from Fortune's sway', i.e. Fortune has no power over the dead: for *liber* with genitive cf. IV 384. Verg. Aen. X 154 *libera fati.*

819. *quae genuit*] cf. Aesch. choeph. 127, 128 *καὶ γαῖαν αὐτὴν ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται θρέψασα δ' αὖθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει.* Shelley, *Queen Mab* "Thus do the generations of the earth Go to the grave and issue from the womb, Surviving still the imperishable change That renovates the world".

caelo tegitur] Compare the line Maecenas quoted by Seneca Epp. XI 4 (92) § 35 *nec tumulum curo; sepe natura relictos.*

820—822. These three lines are found in some of the best MSS., and not commented on by the Scholiast. *humato funere* seems a strange expression.

822. *trahe*] 'drink', *utere* 'breathe'

825. *Haemonii*] to be taken with *belli*, not, as Weise punctuates, with *lupi*

827. *Pholoen*] A mountain in Arcadia the geography is vague.

830. *motum*] 'changed', cf. Ov. Trist. V vi 23—25 *non adeo toti fatis urgeor iniquis ut mea sit longis mens quoque mala malis; finge tamen motam.*

832. *uos*] sc. *grues*, 'cranes', cf. 711 foll.: these birds are wrongly supposed by Lucan to feed on carrion.

istis, aues. numquam tanto se uolture caelum
induit aut plures presserunt aera pennae; 835
omne nemus misit uolucres omnisque cruenta
alite sanguineis stillauit roribus arbor.
saepe super uoltus uictoris et impia signa
aut cruor aut alto defluxit ab aethere tabes,
membraque deiecit iam lassis unguibus ales. 840
sic quoque non omnis populus peruenit ad ossa,
inque feras discerptus abit: non intima curant
uiscera nec totas auidae sorbere medullas:
degustant artus. Latiae pars maxima turbae
fastidita iacet: quam sol nimbique diesque 845
longior Emathiis resolutam miscuit aruis.

Thessalia infelix quo tanto crimine tellus
laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit aeuom
immemor ut donet belli tibi damna uetustas? 850
quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
quo non Romanos uiolabis uomere manes?
ante nouae uenient acies, scelerique secundo
praestabis nondum siccos hoc sanguine campos.
omnia maiorum uertamus busta licebit, 855
et stantis tumulos, et qui radice uetusta
effudere suas uictis compagibus urnas:
plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur,

834. *tanto uolture*] 'with such a cloud vultures'.
835. *presserunt*] 'burdened', 'weighed wn'.
837. *roribus*] cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 645 *rsi rorabant sanguine uepres.*
841. *peruenit ad ossa*] 'were reduced skeletons'.
844. *degustant*] 'they barely taste', Tac. Ann. VI 26 (20) *et tu Galba quan-ue degustabis imperium.* Quintil. IV i 4 *degustanda tamen haec prooemio non sumenda.*
845. *fastidita*] sc. *ab auibus.*
nimbi] cf. Hom. Od. I 161 οὔ δὴ λεύκ' *ea πύθεται ὄμβρῳ.*
847. *quo tanto*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 42 *iseri quae tanta insania ciues?*
849. *scelerum fatis*] 'fated crimes'.
ufficit] 'is long enough'.
850. *immemor—donet*] 'forget and forgive'. cf. IX 144, 1088. Cic. ad fam. V iv § 2 *tuas inimicitias ut reipublicae donares te uicisti.*
uetustas] 'lapse of time', cf. note on III 471.
851. *infecta—herba*] Compare the account of the field of Landen in Macaulay's *History*, vol. IV chapter xx p. 15.
853. *nouae*] The usual confusion between Pharsalia and Philippi, cf. note on I 694.
856. *et—et*] 'both—and'.
radice—uetusta] 'ancient tree-roots', i.e. of fig trees, cf. Iuv. X 143—146 *titulique cupido haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae discutienda ualent sterilis mala robora ficus; quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.*

pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa.
nullus ab Emathio religasset litore funem 860
nauita, nec terram quisquam mouisset arator
Romani bustum populi: fugerentque coloni
umbrarum campos, gregibus dumeta carerent:
nullusque auderet pecori permittere pastor
uellere surgentem de nostris ossibus herbam: 865
ac uelut impatiens hominum uel solis iniqui
limite uel glacie, nuda atque ignota iaceres,
si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses.
o superi, liceat terras odisse nocentis.
quid totum premitis, quid totum soluitis orbem? 870
Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni
et Mutina et Leucas puros fecere Philippos.

859. *dentibus*] cf. Verg. G. I 493—497 *scilicet et tempus uenit cum finibus illis agricola incurua terram dimouit aratro exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila, aut grauibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes, grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.*

860. *religasset*] 'would have fastened to', cf. Verg. Aen. VII 106 *grauiuae rigat religant ad aggere classem.* *religare* more commonly takes the ablative without *ad*. cf. Hor. carm. I xxxii 7. 8 *nisi iactatam religarat ad litore navem.* Id. Sat. I v 18. 19 *navis pulsam religamus ad aggerem navis figer saxo religat.*

863. *umbrarum campos*] 'the spectre-haunted plains'.

866. *impatiens hominum*] 'made uninhabitable by the zone of the scorching sun or by ice', cf. Hor. carm. I xxii 21, 22 *pone sub curru nimium propinqui solis in terra domibus negata.*

868. *si non prima*] 'hadst thou been, not the first, but the only land to endure the curse of civil war'.

869. *adisse*] 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.

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER OCTAVUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK VIII.

npeius flies to Lesbos: he consoles his wife 1—85; her answer 86—108. The people of Mitylene offer him shelter, which he declines 109—158. He sails from Lesbos 159—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 243—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 persuades 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—328. Apostrophe to Egypt 823—872.

Iam super Herculeas fauces nemorosaque Tempe,
Haemoniae deserta petens dispendia siluae,
cornipedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem
Magnus agens incerta fugae uestigia turbat
implicitasque errore uias. pauet ille fragorem 5

· *Herculeas fauces*] i.e. the pass of npe, said to have been made by Hers, cf. VI 347.

· *dispendia*] loss of time, and so what ses it, viz. circuitous paths. cf. Mart. c 5 *tu qui longa potes dispendia ferre rem.* Compare also Ov. Met. III 234 *per compendia montis anticipata uia est.*

· *stimulisque—negantem*] 'refusing to obey the spur'. Oud. cf. Stat. Silu. III i 124 *saxa negantia ferro*, id. Theb. II 668 669 *ast tamen illi membra negant.*

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 uentis 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 10
credit adhuc iugulum, quantum pro Caesaris ipse
auolsa ceruice daret. deserta sequentem
non patitur tutis fatum celare latebris
clara uiri facies. multi Pharsalica castra
cum peterent, nondum fama prodente ruinas, 15
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 obscuro tutus transire per orbem 20
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 iuuentae: 25
nunc et Corycias classes et Pontica signa

rinth in Crete, *ancipitemque mille uiis habuisse dolum qua signa sequendi falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error.* Ov. Met. VIII 165—167 *et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare uersus apertum, incertas exercet aquas: ita Daedalus implet innumeras errore uias.*

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.

lateri] '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 comitique onerique timentem.*

9. *nondum uile*] 'he knows that the price of his blood is not yet slight'.

10. *fati*] i.e. cuius fuit ante bella ciuilia Schol. sc. 'his rank'. cf. 158 infr.

tantae mercedis—iugulum] 'as valuable a throat'.

12. *daret*] cf. IX 1024.

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 bearer of ill-tidings', cf. I 485 *nullaque auctore malorum.*

18. *grauis*] 'a danger'. cf. Hor. carm. III xxiii 8 *pomifero graue tempus anno.*

22. *pondere*] Oud. cf. Claudian de cons. Stil. III 79, 80 *uenerabile famae pondus.*

23. *premit*] 'crushes down', graniores reddit, Weise.

24. *festinatos nimium*] cf. note on I 316 foll.

25. *actaque lauriferae*] 'his exploits under Sulla in his triumphant youth', cf. note on VII 14; for *acta* cf. I 121.

26. *Corycias*] Corycus was a moun-

deiectum meminisse piget. sic longius aeuom
destruit ingentes animos et uita superstes
imperio. nisi summa dies cum fine bonorum
adfuit et celeri praeuertit tristia leto, 30
dedecori est Fortuna prior. quisquamne secundis
tradere se fatis audet, nisi morte parata?
litora contigerat per quae Peneius amnis,
Emathia iam clade rubens, exibat in aequor.
inde ratis trepidum uentis et fluctibus impar 35
flumineis uix tuta uadis euexit in altum,
cuius adhuc remis quatitur Corcyra sinusque
Leucadii. Cilicum dominus terraeque Liburnae
exiguam uector pauidus correpsit in alnum.
conscia curarum secreta in litora Lesbi 40
flectere uela iubes, qua tum tellure latebas
maestior, in mediis quam si, Cornelia, campis
Emathiae stares. tristes praesagia curas
exagitant: trepida quatitur formidine somnus:
Thessaliam nox omnis habet: tenebrisque remotis 45
rupis in abruptae scopulos extremaque curris

Cilicia, cf. Verg. G. IV 127, and ...ton's note. *Pontica* refers to his ...h over Mithridates.

deiectum] 'now fallen from his state'.

ius] 'the lapse of time'.

destruit] 'brings low a haughty

praeuertit] 'has anticipated', cf. Aen. I 720—722 *paulatim abolere ...um incipit et uiuo temptat praeuertere ...iam pridem resides animos desueta...da.*

quisquamne secundis] 'does any ...e to trust himself to prosperity save ...leath is ready to his hand?' So Sul...rightly: Weise objects to this inter...on and takes *secundis* as equivalent ...*rioribus*, comparing infr. 288 *uiditco Romana secundo*, but the best ...ntary is to be found in the lines of ...l X 283—386 *prouida Pompeio de... Campania febres optandas; sed mul...es et publica uota uicerunt, igitur for...tsius et urbis seruatum uicto caput ...t.* It is the common thought that ...an be termed happy till he is dead. For *morte parata* cf. V 773.

35. *impar*] 'no match for', cf. Verg. Aen. I 475 *impar congressus Achilli.*

36. *flumineis*] i.e. scarce safe *even* in the shallows of the river.

37. *Corcyra*] i.e. where the fleet of Pompeius was stationed.

39. *exiguam*] Oud. cf. Justin II cap. 13 *erat res spectaculo digna et aestimatione sortis humanae, rerum uarietate mirandae, in exiguo latentem uidere nauigio quem paulo ante uix aequor omne capiebat.*

alnum] used of river-boats, cf. Verg. G. I 136 *tunc alnos primum fluvii sensere cauatas.*

40. *conscia curarum*] 'thou Cornelia, partaker in his sorrows, dost bid him, &c.' cf. V 723 foll.

43. *tristes*] 'forebodings excite gloomy anxiety', cf. Catul. LXIV 94, 95 *heu misere exagitans immiti corde furores, sancte puer curis hominum qui gaudia misces.*

45. *Thessaliam*] '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 praeruptos tristem con-*

litora prospiciens fluctus: nutantia longe
semper prima uides uenientis uela carinae,
quaerere nec quicquam de fato coniugis audes.
en ratis, ad uestros quae tendit carbasa portus, 50
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, 55
deformem pallore ducem uoltusque prementem
canitie, atque atro squalentis puluere uestes.
obuia nox miserae caelum lucemque tenebris
abstulit, atque animam clausit dolor: omnia neruis
membra relicta labant: riguerunt corda diuque 60
spe mortis decepta iacet. iam fune ligato
litoribus lustrat uacuas Pompeius harenas.
quem postquam famulae propius uidere fideles,
non ultra gemitus tacitos incessere fata
permisere sibi, frustraque adtollere terra 65
semianimem conantur eram: quam pectore Magnus
ambit et adstrictos refouet complexibus artus.
coeperat in summum reuocato sanguine corpus
Pompeii sentire manus, maestamque mariti

scendere montes unde aciem in pelagi uastos protenderet aestus, of Ariadne looking for the return of Theseus.

47. *nutantia longe*] 'flapping in the distance', cf. Catull. LXV 53 *impellens nutantibus aëra pennis*.

49. *nec*] equivalent to *nec 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 &c.'

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 fecisse uocentem*. infr. 800.

notauit] The Schol. cf. Cic. in Cat. I § 2 *notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum*.

56. *prementem*] 'covering'. cf. Hor. carm. III iv 18 *ut premerer sacra lau[illegible] que collataque myrto*. See also VII 74[illegible] 757 infr.

58. *obuia*] 'coming over her'.

59. *animam*] 'her breath'.

60. *relicta*] 'abandoned by the strength'.

61. *spe mortis*] 'deceived in her ho[illegible] of death', i.e. she wished to die but co[illegible] not: for a similar use of *spes* Oud. cf. 452 *naufragii spes omnis abit*.

62. *litoribus*] abl. cf. note on VII 86

64. *non ultra*] 'ut ad quas non tan[illegible] dolor quantus ad Corneliam pertinebat' Glareanus. For *ultra* cf. II 138. Oud. [illegible] Suet. Vesp. 22 *haud ultra uerba excand[illegible]*

67. *adstrictos*] equivalent to *torpe[illegible]* cf. I 18.

68. *in summum*] 'as the blood return[illegible] to the surface of her body', i.e. instead [illegible] all rushing to her heart. cf. Verg. G. I [illegible] 484 *frigidus obstiterit circum praecordi[illegible] sanguis*.

posse pati faciem: prohibet succumbere fatis 70
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, 75
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 uetitus dolor: ultima debet
esse fides lugere uirum. tu nulla tulisti
bello damna meo. uiuit post proelia Magnus,
sed Fortuna perit: quod defles, illud amasti. 85
uocibus his correpta uiri uix aegra leuauit
membra solo tales gemitu rumpente querelas:
o utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem
infelix coniunx et nulli laeta marito.
bis nocui mundo: me pronuba ducit Erinys, 90

2. *nobile robur*] 'the firmness of noble ood'.

3. *auorum*] sc. as the descendant of Scipios.

4. *frangis?*] 'break down', 'enfeeble', Cic. in Cat. I § 22 *te ut ulla res fran- ? tu ut umquam te corrigas?*

abes] 'you have an avenue to everlast- fame', cf. Cic. ad fam. VI x § 2 *si qui i erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est de incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, di.*

5. *legum iura*] 'administration of the '. So *dare iura* means to administer ice, cf. Verg. G. IV 562 and Coning- s note.

6. *materia est*] Bersmann cf. Ov. t. V v 49, 50 *scilicet aduersis probitas cita rebus tristi materiam tempore lau- abet.* For a similar sentiment Oud. Stat. Theb. III 704, 705 *nescis, pater me, nescis quantus amor causae misero isse marito.*

7. *pietas*] 'affection'.

1. *sola sequi*] 'to be the only follower to Magnus'.

deformis] 'ignominious', unsightly in the eyes of the world. cf. Liv. XLV 44 *orationem non tam honorificam audientibus quam sibi deformem.*

82. *augeri uetitus*] 'admitting of no increase', cf. VII 371 *uetitusque aetate senatus arma sequi.*

83. *lugere*] sc. when dead. cf. supr. 53.

85. *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'.

90. *bis*] twice i.e. once as the wife of the younger Crassus killed at Carrhae, now a second time as the wife of Pompeius.

pronuba ducit Erinys] sc. instead of *pronuba Iuno.* cf. Verg. Aen. VII 319 *et Bellona manet te pronuba:* Oud. cf. also Ov. Heroid. II 117 *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululauit in illis. ducit* is equivalent to *deducit* sc. *ad sponsum.* cf. note on II 358.

Crassorumque umbrae, deuotaque manibus illis
Assyrios in castra tuli ciuilia casus:
praecipitesque dedi populos cunctosque fugaui
a causa meliore deos. o maxime coniunx,
o thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat 95
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 100
dependisse caput: nunc clades denique lustra,
Magne, tuas. ubicumque iaces ciuilibus armis
nostros ulta toros, ades huc atque exige poenas,
Iulia crudelis, placataque paelice caesa
Magno parce tuo. sic fata iterumque refusa 105
coniugis in gremium cunctorum lumina soluit
in lacrimas. duri flectuntur pectora Magni,
siccaque Thessalia confundit lumina Lesbos.
tum Mitylenaeum pleno iam litore uolgus
adfatur Magnum: si maxima gloria nobis 110
semper erit tanti pignus seruasse mariti,
tu quoque deuotos sacro tibi foedere muros,
oramus, sociosque lares dignare uel una

91. *Crassorum*] i.e. M. Crassus and his son Publius.

92. *Assyrios casus*] the disasters in Assyria, i.e. such as befel the Crassi in Assyria. cf. note on V 703 *Hesperii duces.*

94. *a causa meliore*] cf. VII 349 *causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos.*

95. *indigne*] 'worthy of a happier marriage than with me'.

98. *sed*] 'ay! and such as I will willingly pay'. cf. Iuv. V 147 *boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit* and Prof. Mayor's note.

mollius] 'smoother'.

99. *paratior*] 'more ready to serve you', cf. Plaut. Pseud. I 1 96 *quid ego ni fleam cui nec paratus nummus argenti siet?*

100. *sparge mari*] 'throw away', 'hurl into the sea', cf. IX 748.

mallem] 'I would rather have sacrificed my life to prosperous warfare'.

101. *lustra*] 'expiate (i.e. by my blood) your disasters'.

102. *iaces*] is equivalent to *uersari* for there was no doubt about the place of her burial, cf. note on II 162 *quidquid ubique iacet scelerum.*

104. *paelice*] 'rival'. cf. the words of Julia's shade III 21—23 *fortuna est matrum toris: semperque potentes detrahere cladem fato damnata maritos, iuuenis 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'.

tua: fac, Magne, locum, quem cuncta reuisant
a, quem ueniens hospes Romanus adoret. 115
tibi subeunda magis sunt moenia uicto.
uictoris possunt sperare fauorem:
am crimen habent. quid quod iacet insula ponto?
r eget ratibus. procerum pars magna coibit
loci. noto reparandum est litore bellum. 120
templorum cultus aurumque deorum:
, si terris, si puppibus ista iuuentus
est: tota, quantum ualet, utere Lesbo.
e: ne Caesar rapiat, tu uictus habeto.]
ɔlum crimen meritae bene detrahe terrae, 125
stram uideare fidem felixque secutus
nnasse miser. tali pietate uirorum
in aduersis, et mundi nomine gaudens
dem, nullum toto mihi, dixit, in orbe
s esse solum non paruo pignore uobis 130
li. tenuit nostros hac obside Lesbos
us: hic sacra domus carique penates,
ihi Roma fuit. non ulla in litora puppim
ledi fugiens, saeui cum Caesaris iram
:irem meritam seruata coniuge Lesbon, 135
eritus tantam ueniae committere uobis

ıocte tua] 'a sojourn of one cf. I 520 *nox una tuis non*

.e. 'make this a spot which

tibi] 'there is no town that enter rather than ours now ed'.

ı] sc. 'all other towns'.

quod] 'what of the fact that d lying in mid sea? Caesar i.e. so far from the fact of and rendering it unsuitable stay, this is an advantage. sc. *huc*.

loci] 'sure of their locality', ling Pompeius in Lesbos. ar', i.e. to the companions

] 'ornaments' cf. Vell. Pat. II *is Circensibus corona laurea 'riumphantium uteretur.*

] equivalent to *siue—siue*, cf. Plaut. Curc. I 1 4 (4) *si media nox est, siue est prima uespera.*

ista] 'this of ours'. cf. note on VI 242.

124. *accipe*] This line is probably spurious and is omitted in many MSS. and the earlier editions.

126. *ne nostram*] 'that you may not seem to have embraced our loyalty when prosperous and rejected it in misfortune'; for *damnare* cf. VI 508.

128. *in aduersis*] iunge *pietate in aduersis*, Weise: this is unnecessary: rather, *laetus in aduersis*: 'rejoicing in the midst of misfortune'.

mundi nomine] 'for the credit of the world'.

129. *esse*] emphatic: i.e. 'still existed'.

135. *iam*] to be taken with *meritam* 'knowing that Lesbos had already earned Caesar's anger by keeping safe my wife'.

136. *tantam ueniae materiem*] 'such a means of earning pardon' sc. *se ipsum*, by giving up whom the Lesbians could obtain

materiem. sed iam satis est fecisse nocentis:
fata mihi totum mea sunt agitanda per orbem.
heu nimium felix aeterno nomine Lesbos,
siue doces populos regesque admittere Magnum, 140
seu praestas mihi sola fidem. nam quaerere certum est
fas quibus in terris, ubi sit scelus. accipe, numen,
si quod adhuc mecum es, uotorum extrema meorum:
da similes Lesbo populos, qui Marte subactum
non intrare suos infesto Caesare portus, 145
non exire uetent. dixit, maestamque carinae
imposuit comitem. cunctos mutare putares
tellurem patriumque solum: sic litore toto
plangitur, infestae tenduntur in aethera dextrae:
Pompeiumque minus, cuius fortuna dolorem 150
mouerat, ast illam, quam toto tempore belli
ut ciuem uidere suam, discedere cernens
ingemuit populus: quam uix, si castra mariti
uictoris peteret, siccis dimittere matres
iam poterant oculis: tanto deuinxit amore 155
hos pudor hos probitas castique modestia uoltus,
quod submissa nimis nulli grauis hospita turbae
stantis adhuc fati uixit quasi coniuge uicto.

pardon from Caesar for protecting Cornelia.

138. *agitanda*] 'I must follow up my destiny throughout all the world', so *agitare uitam, aeuom* &c. cf. Verg. G. IV 154 *magnisque agitant sub legibus aeuom.*

143. *mecum es*] For the bodily presence so to speak of the deity, cf. Verg. Aen. II 178, 179 *numenque reducant quod pelago et curuis secum auexere carinis.* See also VII 298. 308 infr.

146. *exire*] nam intrare etiam inimici patiuntur ut capiant. Schol.

147. *mutare*] 'were going into exile from their land and native soil', cf. Cic. Parad. IV § 31 *omnes scelerati atque impii ...quos exsilio affici uolunt exsules sunt etiam si solum non mutarunt;* so too *uertere* Iuv. XI 49 *qui uertere 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 Cornelia it is personal affection.

156. *hos—hos*] These words are intended to distinguish two classes are only put more emphatically for *pudor et pietas*, cf. IV 16, Hor. Epp. I ii *hunc frenis hunc tu compesce catena.*

157. *quod submissa nimis*] 'in that all humility'; *nimis* is simply equivalent to *ualde* cf. Verg. G. II 458 *o fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint agricolas* Claudian III Cons. Honor. *o nimis dilecte Deo.*

nulli, &c.] 'a burdensome guest to no of the citizens'. *nulli turbae* is equivalent to *nemini;* so in VII 656 *Latiae turbae* equivalent to *Romanorum:* see also VI 5 VII 844. For the troubles caused in all states by the wives of Romans in authority, cf. Iuv. VIII 128 Tac. Ann. III 83

158. *stantis adhuc fati*] sc. Cornelia 'with fortune yet erect', for the genit cf. VII 541 *extremi orbis Hiberi* infr. *aeterni Martis Alanos.*

iam pelago medios Titan demissus ad ignes,
nec quibus abscondit, nec si quibus exserit orbem, 160
totus erat: uigiles Pompeii in pectore curae
nunc socias adeunt Romani foederis urbes
et uarias regum mentes, nunc inuia mundi
arua super nimios soles Austrumque iacentis.
saepe labor maestus curarum odiumque futuri 165
proiecit fessos incerti pectoris aestus,
rectoremque ratis de cunctis consulit astris:
unde notet terras; quae sit mensura secandi
aequoris in caelo; Syriam quo sidere seruet:
aut quotus in plaustro Libyam bene dirigat ignis. 170
doctus ad haec fatur taciti seruator Olympi:
signifero quaecumque fluunt labentia caelo,
numquam stante polo, miseros fallentia nautas
sidera non sequimur: sed qui non mergitur undis
axis inocciduus gemina clarissimus Arcto 175
ille regit puppes. hic cum mihi semper in altum
surget et instabit summis minor Vrsa ceruchis,

). *medios demissus ad ignes*] 'sunk : extent of half his fiery orb'.

). *si quibus*] to those, if such there .e. the Antipodes, the existence of n was considered doubtful, cf. I 20 *si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.*

1. *uigiles curae*] 'wakeful thoughts' tat. Achil. I 543 *tende animum uigi-*

2. *Romani foederis*] 'of the Roman ice'.

4. *super*] 'beyond', cf. Verg. Aen.)5 *super et Garamantas et Indos proimperium.*

entis] This is best taken as genitive ilar agreeing with *mundi*, cf. Verg. loc. *acet extra sidera tellus.*

5. *saepe labor*] 'oft the sad trouble s thoughts and disgust at the future : him throw off (i.e. fling away for ne) the weary doubts that surged in his wavering breast', i.e. he tried ivert his thoughts by talking to the about navigation.

8. *unde notet*] 'by means of which ie marks the land: what is his standard guiding point) in heaven for cleaving ea'.

9. *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.

171. *taciti Olympi*] 'the silent sky', a merely pictorial epithet, cf. Verg. Aen. III 515 *sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo* Hor. carm. II viii 10 *toto taciturna noctis signa cum caelo.*

172. *signifero caelo*] 'the zodiac', cf. III 254.

fluunt] 'move' simply.

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 inocciduis stellatum uisibus Argum.*

Arcto] cf. Hom. Il. XVIII 487—489 Ἄρκτον θ' ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν, ἥτ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει, οἴη τ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν ὠκεανοῖο· Verg. G. I 244—246.

177. *summis*] 'stands above the topmost sail-yards', *ceruchi* seems to mean the ropes attaching the yard-arms (*antennae*) to the mast.

Bosporon et Scythiae curuantem litora pontum
spectamus. quidquid descendit ab arbore summa
Arctophylax propiorque mari Cynosura feretur, 180
in Syriae 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 carbasa tendi 185
nostra iubes? dubio contra cui pectore Magnus,
hoc solum toto, respondit, in aequore serua,
ut sit ab Emathiis semper tua longius oris
puppis et Hesperiam pelago caeloque relinquas:
cetera da uentis. comitem pignusque recepi 190
depositum: tum certus eram quae litora uellem;
nunc portum Fortuna dabit. sic fatur: at ille
iusto uela modo pendentia cornibus aequis
torsit et in laeuom puppim dedit, utque secaret,
quas Samiae cautes et quas Chios asperat undas, 195
hos dedit in proram, tenet hos in puppe rudentes.
aequora senserunt motus aliterque secante
iam pelagus rostro nec idem spectante carina
mutauere sonum. non sic moderator equorum,

178. *curuantem litora*] 'that makes bays in Scythia's shore'. cf. Hor. carm. I xxxiii 15, 16 *fretis acrior Hadriae curuantis Calabros sinus.*

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.

181. *Canopos*] A star in the constellation Argo invisible in Italy, cf. Plin. H. N. II § 178.

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'.

189. *pelago caeloque*] 'by your obse vation of sea and sky'.

191. *depositum*] cf. II 72.

tum] i.e. before I recovered Cornelia.

193. *iusto uela*] 'but he turned ro the sails as they hung trimly from l level yard-arms, and directed the ship wards the left, and that she might cle the waves roughened by the Samian ro and by Chios, slackened these ropes ward the prow, held taut those in stern'. This seems the best interpretati *puppis* in line 194 meaning the ship ge rally, in line 196 the stern.

195. *Samiae*] Some MSS. read *As* most *Asinae*, which is impossible, as is a town in the Peloponnese.

197. *motus*] 'the altered moveme Oud. reads *motos* sc. *rudentes*.

198. *spectante*] 'as the ship looks i different direction'. Oud. cf. Acts Apost. xxvii 15 πλοῖον μὴ δυναμένου τοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ.

199. *non sic*] 'not so skilfully'

dexteriore rota laeuom cum circuit axem, 200
cogit inoffensae currus accedere metae.
ostendit terras Titan et sidera texit.
sparsus ab Emathia fugit quicumque procella
adsequitur Magnum: primusque a litore Lesbi
occurrit natus, procerum mox turba fidelis. 205
nam neque deiecto fatis acieque fugato
abstulerat Magno reges Fortuna ministros:
terrarum dominos et sceptra Eoa tenentis
exsul habet comites. iubet ire in deuia mundi
Deiotarum, qui sparsa ducis uestigia legit. 210
quando, ait, Emathiis amissus cladibus orbis
qua Romanus erat, superest, fidissime regum,
Eoam temptare fidem populosque bibentis
Euphraten, et adhuc securum a Caesare Tigrim.
ne pigeat Magno quaerentem fata remotas 215
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 220

200. *dexteriore rota*] 'while with his ht hand wheel sweeping round the left remity of the axle-tree', i.e. the left eel at that end of the axle-tree remains nost stationary and so acts as a pivot on ich the axle-tree turns.

101. *inoffensae*] 'leaving it still unched'.

103. *procella*] metaphorically. cf. Flo- I xxii § 12 *Ticino Trebia succedit: hic nda belli Punici procella desaeuit Sem- nio consule.*

105. *natus*] sc. Sextus, who had proba- been in Lesbos all the time, though can had in Book VI introduced him as sulting the witch in Thessaly. cf. Plut. mp. 74.

106. *neque*] equivalent to *ne quidem*, ilver age use, cf. Madvig's third excur- to Cic. de finibus. cf. infr. 497, IX 681, rt. V lxx 5, 6 *o quanta est gula tiens comesse, quanto maior adhuc nec ubare.*

208. *terrarum dominos*] 'the lords of rth', cf. Hor. car. I i 6.

209. *comites*] 'in his train': this word 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.

sparsa] i.e. *per mare.*

legit] 'tracked out', cf. Verg. Aen. XII 481 *haud minus Aeneas tortos legit obuius orbes uestigatque uirum.*

211. *quando*] 'since—has been lost'.

214. *securum a Caesare*] 'free from the fear of Caesar'.

215. *Magno quaerentem fata*] 'seeking success for Magnus', cf. infr. 533 *cognita fata.*

217. *totum mutare diem*] 'change your clime entirely'; for this use of *dies* cf. VII 189 Stat. Theb. I 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 Parthia, cf. I 108.

219. *iurata—adstricta*] Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. XVI 319, 320 *tunc ego iurabo quaeuis tibi numina, meque adstringam uerbis in sacra iura tuis.*

Armeniosque arcus Geticis intendite 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: 225
arua super Cyri Chaldaeique ultima regni,
qua rapidus Ganges et qua Nysaeus Hydaspes
accedunt pelago, Phoebi surgentis ab igne
iam propior quam Persis eram: tamen omnia uincens
sustinui nostris uos tantum deesse triumphis: 230
solus et e numero regum telluris Eoae
ex aequo me Parthus adit. nec munere Magni
stant semel Arsacidae. quis enim post uolnera cladis
Assyriae iustas Latii compescuit iras?
tot meritis obstricta meis nunc Parthia ruptis 235
excedat claustris uetitam per saecula ripam
Zeugmaque Pellaeum. Pompeio uincite, Parthi;
uinci Roma uolet.. regem parere iubenti
ardua non piguit, positisque insignibus aulae
egreditur famuli raptos indutus amictus. 240
in dubiis tutum est inopem simulare tyranno.
quanto igitur mundi dominis securius aeuom

221. *Armenios—Geticis*] For the mixture of local epithets cf. Verg. Ecl. x 59 *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu spicula.*

222. *peterem*] i.e. in the Mithridatic war: *Caspia claustra*, the Caspian gates, cf. 291 infr.

223. *aeterni Martis Alanos*] 'the ever-warring Alani', imitated by Sidon. Apoll. II 364 *Vandalicas turmas et iuncti Martis Alanos*. cf. also 158 supr. 245 infr.: the Alani are here probably to be identified with the Albani 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 *intrasque principum Persarum exiguis equitare campis.*

225. *tutam—Babylona*] 'the protection of the walls of Babylon'. For *tutus* cf. II 304; for *Babylon* cf. I 10. VI 50, 300 infr.

226. *super*] 'beyond', cf. supr. 164.

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) § 1 *prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est.*

229. *omnia uincens*] παντοκράτωρ.

232. *ex aequo*] 'approached me as an equal', i.e. non supplex ut ceteri.

nec 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.

237. *Zeugma*] A town founded by Alexander at the point where the Euphrates was bridged. Weise cf. Plin. H.N. XXXIV § 150.

Pompeio] 'in Pompeius' cause', cf. 145 *quod tibi res acta est*, IX 259.

240. *raptos*] equivalent to *arreptos* Weise.

:rus pauper agit. dimisso in litora rege,
se per Icariae scopulos, Ephesonque relinquens
placidi Colophona maris, spumantia paruae 245
dit saxa Sami: spirat de litore Coo
ıra fluens: Gnidon inde fugit, claramque relinquit
›le Rhodon, magnosque sinus Telmessidos undae
›mpensat medio pelago. Pamphylia puppi
:currit tellus: nec se committere muris 250
ısus adhuc ullis te primum, parua Phaseli,
:agnus adit. nam te metui uetat incola rarus
chaustaeque domus populis; maiorque carinae,
ıam tua, turba fuit. tendens hinc carbasa rursus
m Taurum Tauroque uidet Dipsunta cadentem. 255
crederet hoc Magnus pacem cum praestitit undis
: sibi consultum? Cilicum per litora tutus
ırua puppe fugit: sequitur pars magna senatus
l profugum collecta ducem: paruisque Celendris,
ıa portu mittitque rates recipitque Selinus, 260
ı procerum coetu tandem maesta ora resoluit
›cibus his Magnus: comites bellique fugaeque,
:que instar patriae, quamuis in litore nudo,
ı Cilicum terra, nullis circumdatus armis
›nsultem rebusque nouis exordia quaeram, 265
ıgentes praestate animos: non omnis in aruis
:mathiis cecidi, nec sic mea fata premuntur

placidi] For the genitive cf. supr.

aura fluens] 'a breeze blowing om the Coan shore', cf. Lucret. I (*uenti*) *ratione fluunt alia stra- propagant.*

sole Rhodon] For the connexion des with the Sun cf. Pindar VII. The Colossus was a statue un.

compensat] 'cuts short the long s of the bay of Telmessus by strik- ss the middle of the sea', cf. Sen. 88, 89 *hac, hac pergam qua uia compensat iter.*

parua Phaseli] Phaselis was in imes a place of considerable trad- ortance, cf. Demosthenes c. La-

253. *exhaustaeque*] 'houses drained of their inhabitants'. cf. II 410.

254. *turba*] 'the ship's crew was more numerous than your population'. For this use of *turba*, cf. III 647, 666.

257. *et sibi consultum*] 'that he had provided for his own safety too'.

tutus] sc. without fear of the pirates.

260. *Selinus*] Selinus is a river of Cilicia falling into the sea apparently at Celendrae.

263. *instar patriae*] 'ye who represent to me our native land'.

265. *rebusque nouis*] 'seek a commencement for a new career'.

266. *ingentes*] cf. Verg. G. IV 83 *ingentes animos angusto in pectore uersant.*

omnis] 'entirely', cf. Hor. carm. III xxx 6 *non omnis moriar.*

ut nequeam releuare caput cladesque receptas
excutere. an Libycae Marium potuere ruinae
erigere in fasces plenis et reddere fastis: 270
me pressum leuiore manu Fortuna tenebit?
mille meae Graio uoluuntur in aequore puppes,
mille duces: sparsit potius Pharsalia nostras,
quam subuertit, opes. sed me uel sola tueri
fama potest rerum toto quas gessimus orbe, 275
et nomen quod mundus amat. uos pendite regna
uiribus atque fide, Libyen, Parthosque, Pharonque,
quaenam Romanis deceat succurrere rebus.
ast ego curarum, proceres, arcana mearum
expromam mentisque meae quo pondera uergant. 280
aetas Niliaci nobis suspecta tyranni est;
ardua quippe fides robustos exigit annos.
hinc anceps dubii terret sollertia Mauri:
namque memor generis Karthaginis impia proles
imminet Hesperiae, multusque in pectore uano est 285
Hannibal; obliquo maculat qui sanguine regnum,

269. *excutere*] 'shake off'. For *Libycae*, cf. II 88 seq. note.

270. *in fasces*] 'to the consulship'.

plenis fastis] 'the lists filled with his name': he was consul a seventh time after his return.

271. *me pressum*] 'shall Fortune hold me down whom she has crushed with less heavy hand?' *pressum* should be taken with both *leuiore manu* and *tenebit*. Many MSS. read *pulsum*.

272. *uoluuntur*] 'are tossing on the Grecian sea'. The form of the line seems to be suggested by Verg. Ecl. II 21 *mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae*.

276. *pendite*] 'weigh and compare in strength and loyalty'. cf. IV 707 *quis conferre duces meminit? quis pendere causas?*

277. *Libyen*] sc. Numidia and its king Juba.

279. *curarum arcana*] 'my secret thoughts'.

280. *quo pondera*] 'whither the balance of my thoughts inclines'. Oud. cf. Sen. Med. 394 '*quo pondus animi uergat?*' See also Verg. Aen. XII 727 *quem damnet labor et quo uergat pondere letum*.

281. *aetas*] Ptolemaeus was only thirteen years old.

282. *ardua fides*] 'faith that is hard to keep', i.e. in cases where the temptation to break it is strong, as now.

283. *anceps sollertia*] '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 i 25, 29 *Juno et deorum quisquis amicior Afris inulta cesserat impotens tellure uictorum nepotes rettulit inferias Jugurthae*. cf. I 39, II 88–93, IV 708.

285. *imminet*] 'is threatening Hesperia', cf. Cic. pro leg. Manil. § 12 *imminent duo reges toti Asiae*. Ov. Met. I 146 *imminet exitio uir coniugis, illa mariti*.

multus] 'the thought of Hannibal is ever in his vain-glorious heart'. cf. Florus II xiii § 50 *multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit*.

286. *obliquo*] 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 uiditque loco Romana secundo.
quare agite Eoum, comites, properemus in orbem.
diuidit Euphrates ingentem gurgite mundum, 290
Caspiaque immensos seducunt claustra 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 puer aut senior letales tendere neruos
segnis, et a nulla mors est incerta sagitta.
primi Pellaeas 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 pereunte sagittas.
spicula nec solo spargunt fidentia ferro,
stridula sed multo saturantur tela ueneno.
uolnera parua nocent fatumque in sanguine summo est.

287. *contingit*] 'reaches back to Nu-lian ancestors'. cf. Iuv. XI 61, 62 *ue-r Tirynthius aut minor illo hospes et r tamen contingens sanguine caelum.*

288. *loco secundo*] 'in a position of in-ority'. cf. IV 715 foll. cf. Sen. Epist. ii (52) § 3 *secundae sortis ingenium.*

291. *seducunt*] 'separate from us'. cf. Heroid. XIX 142 *seducit terras haec is unda duas.*

292. *et polus*] Lucan confuses Par-with the countries south of the equa-

293. *discolor*] 'a sea of different co-r in its waves is cut off from ours': this ts to the Red Sea often confused with Persian Gulf, cf. Herod. I 180 ἐξίει ρος (ὁ Εὐφρήτης) ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θά-σσαν. For the origin of the name, cf. int. Curt. VIII ix § 14 *mare certe quo ur ne colore quidem abhorret a ceteris. Erythro rege inditum est nomen: prop-quod ignari rubere aquas credunt*, and Heitland's note.

294. *regnandi*] 'their sole desire is ', i.e. they are not greedy of wealth, so will prove faithful, while their am-ion will help us.

295. *celsior*] 'taller is the war-horse in their plains and stronger is their bow'.

297. *segnis*] cf. Verg. G. II 125 *et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pha-retris.*

298. *sarisas*] These were the national weapons of the Macedonians as *pila* of the Romans, cf. X 47, 48 *Eoi propius timuere sarisas quam nunc 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 Herod. I 178, 179.

302. *experti*] 'having proved the power of the Scythian arrows, when Crassus fell'. cf. Verg. Aen. VII 234, 235 *fata per Ae-neae iuro dextramque potentem siue fide seu quis bello est expertus et armis.*

304. *ueneno*] cf. Verg. Aen. XII 857, 858 *armatam saeui Parthus telum immedi-cabile torsit.*

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. supr. 68 cf. also Aetna 158 *sed summis si*

o utinam non tanta mihi fiducia saeuis 306
esset in Arsacidis. fatis nimis aemula nostris
fata mouent Medos multumque in gente deorum est.
effundam populos alia tellure reuolsos,
excitosque suis immittam sedibus ortus. 310
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 iacens alio, nihil haec in membra cruente, 315
nil socerum fecisse pie. sed cuncta reuoluens
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 320
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 325
concurrant Medis, aut me Fortuna necesse est
uindicet aut Crassos. sic fatus, murmure sentit
consilium damnasse uiros: quos Lentulus omnes
uirtutis stimulis et nobilitate dolendi

forte putas concrescere causis tantum opus, and Dr Munro's note.

306. *o utinam*] 'would I did not repose such confidence in &c.' but cf. Iuv. x 306 *tanta in numeribus fiducia* and Prof. Mayor's note.

307. *fatis nimis aemula*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 136 *sunt et mea contra fata mihi.*

308. *deorum est*] 'and greatly do the gods favour the nation'. cf. 143 supr.

310. *immittam*] sc. *in Caesarem.* Weise.

ortus] 'the East'.

312. *uolgati*] 'beyond the intercourse of the commonly known world'.

313. *naufragium*] 'our shipwrecked fortunes'. cf. Ov. ex Ponto II ix 9 *excipe naufragium non duro litore nostrum.*

non regna precabor] 'I will not be a suppliant to the kingdoms I set up'.

314. *feram*] 'shall carry off', i.e. a prize.

315. *nihil*] 'nec parcendi nec p endi in me habebit potestatem'. Sch

317. *uenerabilis*] 'respected'.

318. *quantus*] 'how mighty' sc. w in pursuit of Mithridates who took re with his son Pharnaces king of Bospo cf. II 637, x 476.

320. *magis abit*] 'has my name sp more widely?'

323. *quam si*] 'than by emplo Parthian soldiers in thy civil wars waste the strength of that mighty na and involve it in common disasters ourselves'.

327. *uindicet*] 'avenge'. cf. Ov. I VI 468 *quique necem Crassi uindicet e erit.*

329. *uirtutis stimulis*] 'in ur them to valour and in his generous in

praecessit dignasque tulit modo consule uoces: 330
siccine Thessalicae mentem fregere ruinae?
una dies mundi damnauit fata? secundum
Emathiam lis tanta datur? iacet omne cruenti
uolneris auxilium? solos tibi, Magne, reliquit
Parthorum Fortuna pedes? quid, transfuga mundi,
terrarum notos tractus caelumque perosus, 336
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 Romana regentem
horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
uidit ab Hyrcanis, Indoque a litore, siluis,
deiectum fatis humilem fractumque uidebit,
extolletque animos Latium uaesanus in orbem, 345
se simul et Romam Pompeio supplice mensus?
nil animis fatisque tuis effabere dignum:
exiget ignorans Latiae commercia linguae

n', cf. supr. II 324 *acres irarum mo-imulos.*

ɔ. *modo consule*] 'of one lately con- τοῦ ἄρτι ὑπατεύσαντος. For a similar f the adverb cf. IX 283.

ı. *mentem fregere*] 'broken our spi- cf. Hor. Epist. II ii 35, 36 *hortari ' eundem uerbis quae timido quoque nt addere mentem.*

ı. *secundum*] 'is so vast a contest ed in accordance with the verdict of saly?' i.e. by the result of the one : of Pharsalia.

3. *iacet*] 'is all powerless that could to heal this bloody wound?' cf. Parad. IV § 27 *cum leges in illa nihil ant, cum iudicia iacebant.*

5. *solos—pedes*] 'nothing save to t the Parthians' feet'.

nsfuga mundi*] 'a deserter from the wn) world'. cf. supr. 290: for the ssion cf. Stat. Silu. I ii 203—205 *lae sic transfuga Pisae amnis in ex- r longe flammatus amores flumina so trahit intemerata canali*, with re- ce to Arethusa.

5. *terrarum*] sc. *nostrarum*, omitted *ternus* so often is, cf. note on I 31.

3. *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.

339. *quid*] 'why is the love of freedom 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 Parthians.

341. *te quem*] 'whom Parthia's king trembled at when he heard of him as guiding the Roman state'. cf. IX 1075.

342. *horruit*] sc. *Parthus.*

343. *Hyrcanis*] to be taken with *siluis.* For the order of the words Weise cf. III 679, V 387, 680, 800. Oud. cf. Manil. I 419 *discordes uoltu, permixtaque corpora, partus.*

345. *extolletque animos*] 'and madly gather courage to assail the Roman world'. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 42 (36) *sustulerant animum.*

346. *mensus*] 'measuring his own strength and that of Rome by the fact of Pompeius being a suppliant'.

348. *exiget*] 'in his ignorance of converse in the Latin tongue he will compel thee, Magnus, to beg of him with tears'. cf. Ov. Trist. V x 35, 36 *exercent illi so-*

ut lacrimis se, Magne, roges. patimurne pudoris
hoc uolnus clades ut Parthia uindicet ante 350
Hesperias quam Roma suas? ciuilibus armis
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 355
sed ciui seruire suo. iuuat ire per orbem
ducentem saeuas Romana in moenia gentes,
signaque ab Euphrate cum Crassis capta sequentem?
qui solus regum fato celante fauorem
defuit Emathiae, nunc tantas ille lacesset 360
auditi uictoris 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 Eoos tractus mundique teporem 365
labitur, emollit gentes clementia caeli.
illic et laxas uestes et fluxa uirorum
uelamenta uides. Parthus per Medica rura
Sarmaticos inter campos effusaque plano
Tigridis arua solo nulli superabilis hosti est 370

ciae commercia linguae; per gestum res est significanda mihi.

350. *hoc uolnus*] 'this blow to our honour'.

353. *cladesque latentis*] 'our secret disasters', i.e. which ought rather to be kept secret.

354. *transire*] i.e. *Euphraten*. cf. supr. 236. Tac. Hist. II 17 *aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat...ala Siliana.*

355. *perdit Roma*] 'Rome loses thereby', i.e. by this conduct of yours.

admittere] sc. *intra fines suos*, 'brook the interference of no kings', cf. infr. 546.

359. *fato celante fauorem*] 'while fate concealed its preference', i.e. while it was yet doubtful whether Caesar or Pompeius was fated to be the conqueror.

361. *auditi uictoris opes*] 'the power of him he has heard to be conqueror'.

362. *non haec*] 'the nation is not so self-confident as that'.

364. *mortis*] This is the reading of the best MSS. and of the Roman edition of 1469, cf. I 461, 462 *animaeque capaces mortis et ignauom rediturae parcere uitae*, IV 146, 147 *semper in arma mortis amore feros* VI 246. Grotius with some MSS. reads *Martis*.

365. *quidquid*] 'however much', i.e. 'in proportion as the sky sinks down', cf. notes on VII 387, 179 supr.

366. *labitur*] sc. *caelum*, cf. Verg. G. I 240, 241 *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces consurgit, premitur Libyae deuexus in Austros.*

367. *illic*] cf. Tac. Ann. VI 40 (34) *simul horridam suorum aciem, picta auro Medorum agmina, hinc uiros, inde praedam ostendere*, in which passage *Medi* means the Parthians.

369. *effusa*] 'spreading out in level ground', cf. Tac. Germ. 30 *non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae ciuitates 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 uiolenti uorticis amnem,
nec tota in pugna perfusus sanguine membra 375
exiget aestiuom calido sub puluere solem.
non aries illis non ulla est machina belli:
haud fossas implere ualent: Parthoque sequente
murus erit quodcumque potest obstare sagittae.
pugna leuis bellumque fugax turmaeque uagantes, 380
et melior cessisse loco quam pellere miles;
illita tela dolis, nec Martem comminus umquam
ausa pati uirtus, sed longe tendere neruos,
et quo ferre uelint permittere uolnera uentis.
ensis habet uires, et gens quaecumque uirorum est 385
bella gerit gladiis; nam Medos proelia prima
exarmant uacuaeque iubent remeare pharetrae.
nulla manus illis fiducia tota ueneni est.
credis, Magne, uiros quos in discrimina belli
cum ferro uenisse parum est? temptare pudendum 390
auxilium tanti est, toto diuisus ut orbe
a terra moriare tua? tibi barbara tellus
incumbat, te parua tegant ac uilia busta,
inuidiosa tamen Crasso quaerente sepulcrum?

371. *libertate fugae*] 'by his free power light'.
373. *incerto debilis arcu*] 'disabled en his bow can take no certain aim'. cf. n. Epp. VIII xvii § 5 *multi eiusmodi ibus debilitati obruti obtriti.*
374. *franget*] cf. I 222; for the geni- cf. supr. 223.
376. *exiget*] 'will he pass the whole nmer day', cf. Verg. Aen. VII 776 *solus in siluis Italis ignobilis aeuom exi- et.* Plin. Epp. III i § 1.
379. *murus erit*] 'will prove a wall', will be equally defensible, cf. VI 201. r *erit* cf. note on I 31.
380. *pugna leuis*] 'they fight light- ned'.
381. *pellere*] sc. *hostem.*
384. *uelint*] sc. *uenti.* *ermittere*] 'to leave their blows to the ds to carry whither they will'.
385. *uirorum est*] Grotius refers to the saying of Pyrrhus that 'he had fallen on the man's chamber, Alexander on the women's'.
388. *manus*] 'confidence in their hands', cf. Prof. Mayor's note on Iuv. X 306.
390. *cum ferro*] i.e. unless poison is added.
391. *tanti*] cf. III 51 *nec uincere tanti ut bellum differret erat.*
toto orbe] The Scholiast refers to Verg. Ecl. I 67 *penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos*, but in the present passage the meaning is 'by the whole width of the world'.
394. *inuidiosa*] 'but which still will bring odium on thee while Crassus seeks a sepulchre in vain'; for *quaerere*, cf. VI 154, IX 965 *Phoebei quaerit uestigia muri.*

sed tua sors leuior, quoniam mors ultima poena est
nec metuenda uiris. at non Cornelia letum 396
infando sub rege timet. num barbara nobis
est ignota uenus, quae ritu caeca ferarum
polluit innumeris leges et foedera taedae
coniugibus? thalamique patent secreta nefandi. 400
inter mille nurus epulis uaesana meroque
regia non ullos exceptos legibus horret
concubitus: tot femineis complexibus unum
non lassat nox una marem. iacuere sorores
in fratrum thalamis sacrataque pignora matrum. 405
damnat apud gentes sceleris non sponte peracti
Oedipodionias 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 uirorum.
nam quo plura iuuent Parthum portenta fuisse
hanc sciet et Crassi: ceu pridem debita fatis 415
Assyriis, trahitur cladis captiua uetustae.

395. *ultima*] 'last and worst', cf. VII 444.

paena] cf. note on VII 470.

396. *at non*] 'but it is not death that Cornelia has to fear'.

399. *leges et foedera*] Verg. G. I 60 *continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis imposuit natura locis*. For *taedae*, cf. I 112.

400. *patent*] non ignotum est quae ibi thalami secreta exerceantur: in propatulo enim quasi fiunt, neque absconduntur. Weise. For this cf. 2 Samuel xii 11, 12, xvi 22. Oud. however puts no stop after *nefandi* but a colon after *nurus*, thus explaining the passage: communicantur cum mille feminis quae uni seruanda erant, cf. VI 139 *iam mundi iura patebant*.

402. *regia*] 'the court', 'the palace', and so equivalent to *reges*, cf. Liv. XXIV 22 *quicunque aut propinquitate aut affinitate aut aliquibus ministeriis regiam contigissent*.

404. *lassat*] cf. Iuv. VI 130 *lassatis uiris*.

405. *sacrataque pignora matrum*] sc. in liberorum thalamis iacuere. *matrum* is best taken as the genitive of definition, cf. note on VII 272; for *pignora*, cf. VII 324: it is possible however, that *pignora* may be nominative and mean 'children', i.e. *in matrum thalamis iacuere*.

406. *damnat*] 'brings disgrace on'.

gentes] sc. *exteras*. cf. note on I 83.

409. *implere*] sc. *praegnantem reddere*.

413. *saeuitia stimulante*] 'goaded on by cruelty and the thought of her husbands' titles' i.e. it will give pleasure to the Parthian king to degrade one who has been the wife of a Crassus and a Pompeius.

414. *portenta*] 'wonders', sc. that he should have in his power the wife of two such Romans.

415. *debita*] i.e. as part of the spoil of Carrhae.

haereat Eoae uolnus miserabile sortis;
non solum auxilium funesto a rege petisse,
sed gessisse prius bellum ciuile pudebit.
nam quod apud populos crimen socerique tuomque 420
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 425
in tumulos prolapsa uirum Babylonque iacerent.
Assyriae paci finem, Fortuna, precamur:
et si Thessaliae bellum ciuile peractum est,
ad Parthos qui uicit eat. gens unica mundi est
de qua Caesareis possim gaudere triumphis. 430
non tibi, cum gelidum primum transibis Araxen,
umbra senis maesti Scythicis confixa sagittis
ingeret has uoces: tu, quem post funera nostra
ultorem cinerum nudae sperauimus umbrae,
ad foedus pacemque uenis? tum plurima cladis 435
occurrent monumenta tibi: quae moenia trunci
lustrarunt ceruice 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

417. *haereat*] 'if that deadly blow at r fortune in the East rankled in thy art': for the conditional subjunctive cf. rg. Aen. VI 30, 31.
419. *prius*] sc. quam cum Parthis.
421. *quam quod*] 'than the fact that ile you are warring against each other', Verg. Aen. XII 720 *illi inter sese multa uolnera miscent.*
423. *uacarent*] 'should remain idle'.
425. *nudare*] cf. I 464 *Rhenique ces deseritis ripas et apertum gentibus em.*
426. *uirum*] 'their inhabitants'. So rtius and Weise. Oud. reads *ducum, Crassorum.*
427. *Assyriae paci*] 'the peace with syria', sc. Parthia.
428. *Thessaliae*] locative, so Weise. d. reads *Thessalia.*
429. *ad Parthos*] equivalent to *contra Parthos.*
431. *Araxen*] cf. I 19.
432. *umbra...confixa*] The shades of the dead were supposed to retain the marks of wounds, &c. which they had suffered when alive; cf. Verg. Aen. VI 494—499, Propert. V vii 7—12.
434. *nudae*] 'unburied'.
436. *monumenta*] cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 311, 312 *et singula laetus exquiritque auditque uirum monumenta priorum.*
quae moenia] 'the walls of which the chieftains' headless bodies made the circuit'.
439. *ac reddidit*] 'and cast ashore', cf. II 217 *nec iam alueus amnem nec retinent ripae redditque cadauera Campo.*
440. *si potes*] i.e. if you can bear to be a suppliant to the Parthians after the sight of all this, you can bear to be a suppliant to Caesar.

Thessalia placare potes. quin respicis orbem 441
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: 445
terra suis contenta bonis non indiga mercis
aut Iouis: in sola tanta est fiducia Nilo.
sceptra puer Ptolemaeus habet tibi debita, Magne,
tutelae commissa tuae. quis nominis umbram
horreat? innocua est aetas: nec iura fidemque 450
respectumque deum ueteris sperauerís aulae.
nil pudet adsuetos sceptris: mitissima sors est
regnorum sub rege nouo. non plura locutus
impulit huc animos. quantum spes ultima rerum
libertatis habet. uicta est sententia Magni. 455
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 460
emensus Cypri scopulos, quibus exit in Austrum,
inde maris uasti transuerso uertitur 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. I 418 *Iuppiter uuidus Austris*, G. II 325, 326 *tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus aether coniugis in gremium laetae descendit*, Eur. Hel. 1—3 Νείλου μὲν αἶδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, ὃς ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδου λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας.

448. *tibi debita*] Ptolemaeus had been set on the throne by Aulus Gabinius, the creature of Pompeius.

449. *tutelae*] M. Lepidus had really been appointed by the Senate as Ptolemaeus' guardian.

nominis umbram] cf. I 135.

450. *nec iura*] '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 coronation day'.

454. *quantum*] 'how much freedom of speech is there in despair!': for *libertas* cf. note on III 145.

456. *Cypro immisere*] 'directed towards Cyprus', *Cypro* being dative; for *immittere* cf. Cic. ad fam. X xxx § 3 *repente equom immisi ad eam legionem tirunculam quae ueniebat ex castris scuto reiecto*.

458. *undae*] sc. whence she sprang.

459. *coepisse*] 'or it is lawful for any god to have a beginning'. cf. X 266.

461. *emensus*] 'journeying past', cf. Verg. Aen. V 627, 628 *cum freta cum terras omnes tot inhospita saxa sideraque emensae ferimur*.

exit] 'projects'.

462. *inde maris*] 'thence he turns off crossing obliquely the vast ocean's tide', 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 465
in uada decurrit Pelusia, septimus amnis.
tempus erat quo Libra pares examinat horas
non uno plus aequa die, noctique rependit
lux minor hibernae uerni solacia damni.
comperit ut regem Casio se monte tenere, 470
flectit iter: nec Phoebus adhuc nec carbasa languent.
iam rapido speculator eques per litora cursu
hospitis aduentu pauidam compleuerat aulam.
consilii uix tempus erat: tamen omnia monstra
Pellaeae coiere domus: quos inter Achoreus 475
iam placidus senio fractisque modestior annis,
(hunc genuit custos Nili crescentis in arua
Memphis uana sacris; illo cultore deorum
lustra suae Phoebes non unus uixerat Apis)
consilii uox prima fuit, meritumque fidemque 480

463. *nec tenuit*] i.e. *non adpulit ad*, d not strike'.
gratum] 'the mountain that cheers men th nightly blaze', sc. Pharos.
464. *pugnaci*] 'struggling', i.e. a-inst adverse winds, cf. Plin. H. N. XV 3 (*oleae*) *callosae contra umorem pug-ces.*
466. *in uada*] 'flows into the shallows Pelusium, the last (i.e. most Eastern) seven streams'.
467. *pares examinat*] 'weighs the level ars in her scale', i.e. it was the autum-equinox, cf. X 227. Verg. G. I 208 *bra die somnique pares ubi fecerit as.*
468. *non uno*] i.e. it is only on one r during each equinox that the day and ht are of equal length.
noctique rependit] 'and the diminishing at pays back to the night of winter solation for its losses in the spring-e'.
471. *nec Phoebus*] 'neither does the sun, yet the canvass flag', i.e. the sun was yet setting, and the wind continued.
473. *compleuerat*] 'had filled with the s of their guests' arrival'.
474. *monstra*] cf. infr. 548.
476. *senio*] cf. note on I 130.
ractis] 'enfeebled', cf. Lucret. II 1152, 1153 *fracta est aetas effetaque tellus uix animalia parua creat.* Verg. Aen. II 13 *fracti bello fatisque repulsi.*
477. *custos*] According to Beroaldus this means that at Memphis was the well, the rising and falling of the water in which acted as a Nilometer, cf. Strabo XVII c. 817 § 48.
478. *uana sacris*] 'foolish in its rites'.
illo cultore] 'while he had been a minister of the gods not one Apis alone had lived through the lustres marked by its own Phoebe', sc. the time during which it was allowed to live, which was apparently regulated by lunar time. *suae Phoebes* because Apis bore the mark of the moon, identified with Isis; cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 184 *bos in Aegypto etiam numinis uice colitur: Apin uocant, insigne ei in dextro latere candicans macula cornibus lunae crescere incipientis, nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellant. non est fas eum certos uitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte necant, quaesituri luctu alium quem substituant, et donec inuenerint maerent derasis etiam capitibus.* See also Herod. III 27, 28.
480. *uox prima*] 'was the first to speak', cf. Verg. Aen. XI 339, 340 *lingua melior sed frigida bello dextera.*
meritumque] sc. *Pompeii.*

sacraque defuncti iactauit pignora patris.
sed melior suadere malis et nosse tyrannos
ausus Pompeium leto damnasse Pothinus:
ius et fas multos faciunt, Ptolemaee, nocentis.
dat poenas laudata fides, cum sustinet, inquit, 485
quos Fortuna premit. fatis accede deisque,
et cole felices; miseros fuge. sidera terra
ut distant, ut flamma mari, sic utile recto.
sceptrorum uis tota perit, si pendere iusta
incipit: euertitque 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 contempserit annos; 496
qui te nec uictos arcere a litore nostro
posse putat. neu te sceptris priuauerit hospes;
pignora sunt propiora tibi: Nilonque Pharonque,
si regnare piget, damnatae redde sorori. 500
Aegyptum certe Latiis 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.

484. *ius et fas*] cf. Verg. G. I 269 *fas et iura sinunt.*

faciunt nocentis] poenae subdunt, Grotius. i.e. and so they will make us guilty in Cæsar's eyes.

485. *sustinet*] 'tries to support', 'upholds'.

486. *deis*] cf. I 128.

488. *flamma mari*] cf. Aesch. Agam. 650, 651 ξυνώμοσαν γὰρ ὄντες ἔχθιστοι τὸ πρὶν πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα.

490. *arces*] specially of the despot's stronghold: cf. Iuv. X 306 *nullus ephebum deformem saeua castrauit in arce tyrannus* and Prof. Mayor's note; cf. also Id. IV 145 *quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem traxerat.*

491. *libertas scelerum est*] ''tis the freedom to commit crimes which is the defence of hated tyrannies, and the unsparing use of the sword'.

493. *nisi cum facis*] 'save when you do it', i.e. the only way of proving your power to act cruelly is to exercise it.

exeat] cf. Iuv. III 153—155 *exeat, inquis, si pudor est et de puluino surgat equestri cuius res legi non sufficit.*

495. *coeunt*] 'agree', cf. Hor. A. I 12 *ut placidis coeant immitia.*

pudebunt] For this construction with *pudere*, cf. Ter. Adelph. 754 (IV vii 3) *non te haec pudent?*

497. *nec uictos*] sc. *ne uictos quidem*, cf. note on 206 supr.

498. *neu te sceptris*] 'nor let a stranger rob you of your throne', i.e. if you will to abdicate, let it be in favour of your sister rather than of Pompeius.

500. *damnatae*] Cleopatra had been expelled from her partnership in the throne which she had had under the will of her father Ptolemaeus Auletes, cf. Caesar B. III 103.

501. *certe*] 'in any case'.

nec uictoris erit. toto iam pulsus ab orbe,
postquam nulla manet rerum fiducia, quaerit,
cum qua gente cadat: rapitur ciuilibus umbris. 505
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 510
sollicitat nostrum quem nondum prodidit orbem.
iustior in Magnum nobis, Ptolemaee, querelae
causa data est. 'quid sepositam semperque quietam
crimine bellorum maculas Pharon, aruaque nostra
uictori suspecta facis?' cur sola cadenti 515
haec placuit tellus, in quam Pharsalica fata
conferres poenasque tuas? iam crimen habemus
purgandum gladio, quod nobis sceptra senatus
te suadente dedit. uotis tua fouimus arma.
hoc ferrum, quod fata iubent proferre, paraui 520
non tibi, sed uicto. feriam tua uiscera, Magne:
malueram soceri: rapimur quo cuncta feruntur.
tene mihi dubitas an sit uiolare necesse,
cum liceat? nostri quae te fiducia regni
huc agit, infelix? populum non cernis inermem 525
aruaque uix refluo fodientem mollia Nilo?

503. *nec uictoris*] 'will not be the queror's either', οὐδὲ τοῦ νικῶντος ai.

505. *umbris*] Many MSS. read *armis*, all editors agree in *umbris* which is plained by the following lines. Oud. x 336.

508. *uno in sanguine*] 'piled in one odstained heap'.

510. *Thessaliaeque reus*] 'and charged h Thessaly's disaster, refused admitce in every land'.

511. *prodidit*] 'betrayed to ruin'.

512. *iustior*] i.e. than others have.

513. *sepositam*] distant, cf. Sen. Med. 339 *partemque metus fieri nostri mare situm*. See also IX 1071.

516. *in quam*] 'on which to lay the den 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. *uotis*] 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 decet uiresque fateri.
tu, Ptolemaee, potes Magni fulcire ruinam,
sub qua Roma iacet? bustum cineresque mouere
Thessalicos audes, bellumque in regna uocare? 530
ante aciem Emathiam nullis accessimus armis:
Pompeii nunc castra placent quae deserit orbis?
nunc uictoris opes et cognita fata lacessis?
aduersis non deesse decet, sed laeta secutos,
nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos. 535
adsensere omnes sceleri. laetatur honore
rex puer insueto, quod iam sibi tanta licere
permittant famuli. sceleri delectus Achillas,
perfida qua tellus Casiis excurrit harenis,
et uada testantur iunctas Aegyptia Syrtes, 540
exiguam sociis monstri 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 545
est locus Aegypto Phariusque admittitur ensis?
hanc certe seruate fidem, ciuilia bella:
cognatas praestate manus externaque monstra
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 *securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.*

531. *nullis accessimus armis*] 'we joined neither warring host'. *nullis* is here equivalent to *neutris* as *quis* to *uter* in I 126 and elsewhere.

533. *lacessis*] 'dost thou now challenge the conqueror's power and proud success?'

534. *sed laeta secutos*] sc. *sed solos laeta secutos decet*, ''tis becoming to support adversity, but only for those who have attended 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 inhabitants, 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 *exsultantque uada* which Oud. refers to.

540. *testantur iunctas Syrtes*] 'witness to the nearness of the Syrtes'.

541. *sociis monstri*] 'with partners in the horrid deed', i.e. others besides Achillas himself.

543. *Pelusiaci*] simply Egyptian, cf. Verg. G. I 228.

544. *hos animos?*] sc. *sibi sumit?* cf. Cic. Philipp. II § 74 *tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?* and Prof. Mayor's note ad loc. cf. also Iuv. I 89 *alea quando hos animos?*

546. *admittitur*] 'is allowed to interfere?' cf. 356 supr.

547. *hanc fidem*] 'this obligation'.

548. *praestate*] 'employ'. For *monstra* cf. 474 supr.

Caesaris esse nefas. tanti, Ptolomaee, ruinam 550
nominis haud metuis? caeloque tonante profanas
inseruisse manus, impure ac semiuir, audes?
non domitor mundi nec ter Capitolia curru
inuectus regumque potens uindexque senatus
uictorisque gener: Phario satis esse tyranno 555
quod poterat, Romanus erat. quid uiscera 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 560
Magnus, et auxilio remorum infanda petebat
litora: quem contra non longa uecta biremi
adpulerat scelerata manus: Magnoque patere
fingens regna Phari celsae de puppe carinae
in paruam iubet ire ratem litusque malignum 565
incusat bimaremque uadis frangentibus aestum,
qui uetet externas terris aduertere classes.
quod nisi fatorum leges intentaque iussu
ordinis aeterni miserae uicinia mortis

550. *Caesaris esse nefas*] ab ipso Caesare 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—317.

553. *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 Hiarbas, 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'.

557. *scrutaris*] 'explore', cf. Tac. Hist. III 27 *disiectam fluitantemque testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur*. Stat. Theb. I 614, 615 *imas animae mucrone corusco scrutatus latebras*.

558. *quo...loco*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 322 *quo res summa loco Panthu?*

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 refused his sails to the wind', i.e. had furled his sails. cf. IX 326. Ov. Met. XI 487 *pars munire latus; pars uentis uela negare.*

563. *adpulerat*] 'approached'; for *adpellere* with acc. without preposition, cf. Tac. Ann. II 24 *sola Germanici triremis Chaucorum terram adpulit.*

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.

568. *intentaque iussu*] 'the close approach of a miserable death inflicted by the decree of eternal disposition'. For *intendere* cf. Tac. Ann. I 28 *metum intendunt*, Id. Ann. III 36 *probra sibi et minae intendantur.*

569. *ordinis*] For *ordo* used of fate cf. Cic. de div. I § 125 *fatum autem id appello, quod Graeci* εἱμαρμένην, *id est ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causa cau-*

damnatum leto traherent ad litora Magnum, 570
non ulli comitum sceleris praesagia deerant.
quippe, fides si pura foret, si regia Magno
sceptrorum auctori uera pietate pateret,
uenturum tota Pharium cum classe tyrannum.
sed cedit fatis, classemque relinquere iussus 575
obsequitur, letumque iuuat praeferre timori,
ibat in hostilem praeceps Cornelia puppim,
hoc magis impatiens egresso deesse marito,
quod metuit clades. remane, temeraria coniunx,
et tu, nate, precor, longeque e litore casus 580
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 584
Thessalicis submota malis? numquam omine laeto
distrahimur miseri. poteras non flectere puppim,
cum fugeres, alio, latebrisque relinquere Lesbi,
omnibus a terris si nos arcere parabas.
an tantum in fluctus placeo comes? haec ubi frustra
effudit, prima pendet tamen anxia puppe: 590
adtonitoque metu nec quoquam auertere uisus
nec Magnum spectare potest. stetit anxia classis
ad ducis euentum, metuens non arma nefasque,

sae nexa rem ex se gignat. Manil. I 531 *non casus opus est magni sed numinis ordo.*

571. *sceleris praesagia*] 'a presentiment of the crime had not been wanting'.

572. *quippe*] 'for they might think that &c.'

573. *sceptrorum auctori*] 'the giver of his sceptre'.

576. *timori*] 'to showing fear'.

578. *hoc*] 'on this account'.

impatiens deesse] 'less able to endure to quit': for the construction cf. Sil. Ital. XI 98 *impatiens ultra gemitu cohibere furorem.*

580. *longe e litore...exspectate*] must mean 'wait for the news of what befalls me to reach you from the shore afar'. Oud. with some MSS. reads *a litore* which would be simpler, i.e. 'at a distance from the shore wait to see what befalls me'.

581. *in hac ceruice*] cf. II 603 *taurus in aduersis explorat cornua truncis.*

582. *dura uetanti*] 'giving a cr refusal'.

585. *Thessalicis...malis*] 'am I to left behind again, I who was deban from sharing in the misfortunes in Th saly?'

586. *poteras non flectere*] 'you mi have refrained from changing the co of your ship, and might have left me Lesbos'.

587. *alio*] i.e. to Lesbos, to a diffe place from that towards which you started, cf. 640 infr.

589. *in fluctus*] to be taken v *comes.*

591. *adtonito metu*] sc. *adtonita m* Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. III 131, 132 *aegram leuare adtonitis mentem curis.*

593. *ad ducis euentum*] exspect quid Pompeius aut pateretur aut ag Schol.

sed ne submissis precibus Pompeius adoret
sceptra sua donata manu. transire parantem 595
Romanus Pharia miles de puppe salutat
Septimius: qui, pro superum pudor, arma satelles
regia gestabat posito deformia pilo:
immanis uiolentus atrox nullaque ferarum
mitior in caedes. quis non, Fortuna, putasset 600
parcere te populis, quod bello haec dextra uacasset,
Thessaliaque procul tam noxia tela fugasses?
disponis gladios, ne quo non fiat in orbe,
heu, facinus ciuile tibi. uictoribus ipsis
dedecus et numquam superum caritura pudore 605
fabula; Romanus regi sic paruit ensis,
Pellaeusque puer 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 610
terminus extremae, Phariamque ablatus in alnum
perdiderat iam iura sui. tum stringere ferrum
regia monstra parant. ut uidit comminus enses,
inuoluit uoltus, atque indignatus apertum
Fortunae praestare caput, tum lumina pressit, 615
continuitque 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 isa, cf. notes on I 7, VII 519.
atelles] cf. Hor. Epod. IX 11—16 *manus, eheu, posteri negabitis, emancipatus feminae fert uallum et arma miles padonibus seruire rugosis potest; interi signa turpe militaria sol adspicit conom.*
599. *nullaque*] 'in no way milder than rild beast', cf. note on VII 25.
600. *mitior*] 'less fierce for slaughter'.
601. *parcere*] 'that it was in mercy to world'. cf. II 734.
ello uacasset] 'had been kept clear of war'.
603. *disponis gladios*] 'thou dost so ribute thy swords'.
605. *numquam*] 'a tale that will ever ect disgrace upon the gods'. For the se cf. Hom. Od. XX 201—203 Ζεῦ πάτερ οὔ τις σεῖο θεῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος· οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις ἄνδρας ἐπὴν δὴ γείνεαι αὐτὸς μισγέμεναι κακότητι καὶ ἄλγεσι λειγαλέοισιν.
608. *tuo*] Septimius had at one time served under Pompeius, cf. Plut. Pomp. 78, Caesar B. C. III 104.
610. *qui Bruti*] 'who called what Brutus did a crime'. *Bruti* sc. *facinus*.
611. *terminus*] 'his last hour that was the boundary of his life'. The genitive *extremae horae* denotes that of which *terminus* consists, cf. note on VII 272.
614. *inuoluit uoltus*] cf. Shakspeare, Julius Caesar, act III sc. ii 'and in his mantle muffling up his face'.
615. *praestare*] Oud. cf. V 370 *iugulos non tantum praestitit enses*. Sen. Oed. 179, 180 *minus eruisti lumina audacter tua quam praestitisti*.
616. *continuit*] 'held his breath'.

at postquam mucrone latus funestus Achillas
perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum,
despexitque nefas, seruatque immobile corpus, 620
seque probat moriens, atque haec in pectore uoluit:
saecula Romanos numquam tacitura labores
attendunt, aeuomque sequens speculatur ab omni
orbe ratem Phariamque fidem. nunc consule famae,
fata tibi longae fluxerunt prospera uitae: 625
ignorant populi, si non in morte probaris,
an scieris aduersa pati. ne cede pudori,
auctoremque dole fati. quacumque feriris,
crede manum soceri. spargant lacerentque licebit,
sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas 630
hoc auferre deo. mutantur prospera uitae:
non fit morte miser. uidet hanc Cornelia caedem
Pompeiusque meus. tanto patientius oro
claude, dolor, gemitus: natus coniunxque peremptum
si mirantur 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 *respexitque*, i.e. *neque respexit* the negative being carried on from *nullo*, cf. supr. I 77 note.

621. *se probat*] sc. Pompeium esse. Weise: rather, 'shows his virtue', cf. Cic. de fin. II § 80 *at multis se probauit* (*Epicurus*). Oud. cf. Claudian Epist. I 35—37 *in breuibus numquam sese probat Aeolus antris, Alpes ille quatit.*

622. *saecula*] 'generations that will ever ring with the tale of the troubles of Rome'.

623. *attendunt*] 'are witnesses'.

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.

630. *nullique potestas*] cf. Hor. carm. III xxix 45—48 *non tamen irritum quodcumque retro est efficiet neque diffinget infectumque reddet quod fugiens semel hora uexit.* Agathon apud Aristot. Eth. Nic. VI 2 μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται, ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα. Plin. H. N. II § 27 *nullumque habere* (*deum*) *in praeterita ius praeterquam obliuionis.*

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.

uidet] For the consolation of dying before the eyes of one's relations, cf. Verg. Aen. I 94—96 *terque quaterque beati quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis contigit oppetere.*

635. *si mirantur 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 saeuom
quam perferre nefas miserandis aethera complet
uocibus: 'o coniunx, ego te scelerata peremi:
letiferae tibi causa morae fuit auia Lesbos, 640
et prior in Nili peruenit litora Caesar.
nam cui ius alii sceleris? sed quisquis in istud
a superis immisse caput, uel Caesaris irae
uel tibi prospiciens, nescis crudelis ubi ipsa
uiscera sint Magni: properas atque ingeris ictus 645
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. 650
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: 655
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: 660
seruor uictori. sic fata interque suorum

638. *quam perferre*] sc. patiens fuisset.
640. *auia Lesbos*] i.e. to which you ent out of your way to follow me.
642. *quisquis*] 'whoe'er thou art who ust been despatched by the gods to take is life'.
643. *uel...uel*] equivalent to *siue...siue*.
644. *prospiciens*] 'having regard to', . Cic. in Cat. IV § 3 *consulite uobis, respicite patriae*.
646. *qua uotum*] 'where the vanished would pray that blows should ll'.
poenas] 'let him pay a penalty not less an death, by first seeing my head cut ff'; for *ante* cf. Verg. Aen. XII 630 *nunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem*.
649. *nullis*] equivalent to *omnino non*, . 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 exigit ensem per medium Aeneas iuuenem*.
657. *praestare*] 'to do a favour to'.
658. *imputet*] '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 Vespasiano imputaturos*, Iuv. V 14, 15 *fructus amicitiae magnae cibus, imputat hunc 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 deis faciem, nil ultima mortis 665
ex habitu uoltuque uiri mutasse, fatentur
qui lacerum uidere caput. nam saeuus in ipso
Septimius sceleris maius scelus inuenit actu:
ac retegit sacros scisso uelamine uoltus
semianimis Magni, spirantiaque occupat ora, 670
collaque in obliquo ponit languentia transtro.
tum neruos uenasque secat nodosaque frangit
ossa diu: nondum artis erat caput ense rotare.
at postquam trunco ceruix abscisa recessit,
uindicat hoc Pharius dextra gestare satelles. 675
degener atque operae miles Romane secundae,
Pompeii diro sacrum caput ense recidis,
ut non ipse feras? pro summi fata pudoris.
impius ut Magnum nosset puer, illa uerenda
regibus hirta coma et generosa fronte decora 680
caesaries comprensa manu est, Pharioque ueruto,
dum uiuunt uoltus atque os in murmura pulsant
singultus animae, dum lumina nuda rigescunt,

662. *rapitur*] ab aspectu litoris. Weise.

663. *sonent ferro*] 'resound with the blows of the sword'. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. I 402 *perque ipsum tegimen crepitantia dissipat ossa.*

665. *iratam*] 'his look of indignation at the gods'.

nil...ex habitu] 'nothing in his mien or countenance'.

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 I 220.

672. *frangit diu*] i.e. 'takes a long time in breaking'. See note on VII 504.

673. *caput ense rotare*] 'to whip off a head at a stroke'. Oud. refers to Suet. Calig. 32 *saepe in conspectu prandentis uel comissantis seriae quaestiones per tormenta habebantur, miles decollandi artifex quibuscunque e custodia capita amputabat*; cf. also Ov. A. A. II 373, 374 *sed neque fuluus aper media tam sacuus in ira, fulmineo rabidos cum rotat ore canes.*

675. *uindicat hoc gestare*] equivalent to *uindicat hoc gestandum:* a Graecism, cf. Hor. carm. I xxvi 1—3 *Musis amicus tristitiam 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 τριταγωνιστής.

680. *hirta*] A mark of manliness, cf. Ov. Met. XIII 850 *barba uiros hirtaeque decent in corpore setae.*

681. *manu*] sc. of an Egyptian.

ueruto] '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, impelluni.*

683. *dum lumina nuda*] 'while the unclosed eyes are stiffening'.

um caput est, quo numquam bella iubente
'uit: hoc leges Campumque et rostra mouebat:
ıcie Fortuna tibi Romana placebas. 686
atis infando fuit hoc uidisse tyranno:
;celeri superesse fidem. tunc arte nefanda
ɔta est capiti tabes: raptoque cerebro
:ata cutis, putrisque effluxit ab alto 690
et infuso facies solidata ueneno est.
ma Lageae stirpis perituraque proles,
er, incestae sceptris cessure sororis,
:ibi sacrato Macedon seruetur in antro,
;um cineres exstructo monte quiescant, 695
Ptolemaeorum manes seriemque pudendam
nides claudant indignaque Mausolea:
Pompeium feriunt truncusque uadosis
lluc iactatur aquis? adeone molesta
. cura fuit socero seruare cadauer? 700
'ortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata
.it: hac illum summo de culmine rerum
petit, cladesque omnes exegit in uno
die quibus immunes tot praestitit annos:
eiusque fuit qui numquam mixta uideret 705

numquam] ordo est; quo numquam pax fuit. Schol.
mouebat] which Oud. objects *reges* as a substitute, is not a ession, it must mean simply 'swayed'.
placebas] 'didst thou gratify

] 'proof'.
'the congealed blood'.
to] 'from its inmost parts'.
o] 'drugs'.
ra] Ptolemaeus was soon wned in the Nile, cf. Auct.

is] is the dat. 'destined to ster's rule'.
don] i.e. Alexander the at Alexandria. So Horace 14 speaks of his father *Macedo*.
s] cf. Verg. Aen. IV 34 *id ıanes credis curare sepultos?* Oud. cf. Strabo XVI 11 (796) ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ μετὰ τὸν τρίτον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένοι χεῖρον ἐπολιτεύσαντο κ.τ.λ.

698. *feriunt*] 'bruise', sc. when he is dashed against them by the waves.

700. *totum*] 'unmutilated', cf. Iuv. X 288 *iacuit Catilina cadauere toto.*

701. *hac...fide*] These words may be taken ironically 'with such fidelity'; or perhaps more simply 'with such consistency', i.e. never using half-measures with him, but giving him the best and the worst.

702. *pertulit*] sc. *ad exitum*. Weise.
culmine] For the metaphorical use of *culmen*, cf. note on VII 594.

703. *petit*] 'did she assail him striking him down from, &c.'
cladesque exegit] 'exacted 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 instalments.

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 710
una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuolsi.
ante tamen Pharias uictor quam tangat harenas
Pompeio raptim tumulum Fortuna parauit,
ne iaceat nullo, uel ne meliore sepulcro.
e latebris pauidus decurrit ad aequora Cordus. 715
quaestor ab Idalio Cinyraeae litore Cypri
infaustus Magni fuerat comes. ille per umbras
ausus ferre gradum uictum pietate timorem
compulit, ut mediis quaesitum corpus in undis
duceret ad terram traheretque ad litora Magnum. 720
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 iuuante cadauer 725
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. 1063, 1064 *artus corpore exanimo amputans in parua carpsi frusta.*

710. *figura*] 'no shape remaining'.

711. *nota*] qua agnoscatur. Weise. On this whole passage, Oud. cf. Verg. Aen. II 454—458 *haec finis Priami fatorum; hic exitus illum sorte tulit Troiam incensam et prolapsa uidentem Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum regnatorem Asiae. iacet ingens litore truncus, auolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus.*

714. *ne iaceat*] cf. the epigram Anthol. 77 *marmoreo Licinus tumulo 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 Philippus, cf. Pomp. cap. 80.

716. *Cinyraeae*] cf. Ov. Met. X 298 foll.

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'.

727. *lacrimasque effudit*] Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. XI 125 *uiue memor nostri lacrimasque in uolnera funde.*

uolnus, et ad superos obscuraque sidera fatur:
non pretiosa petit cumulato ture sepulcra
Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus: non pinguis ad astra 730
ut ferat e membris Eoos fumus odores,
ut Romana suom gestent pia colla parentem,
praeferat ut ueteres feralis pompa triumphos,
ut resonent cantu tristi fora, totus ut ignem
proiectis maerens exercitus ambiat armis. 735
da uilem Magno plebeii funeris arcam,
quae lacerum corpus siccos effundat in ignes.
robora non desint misero nec sordidus ustor.
sit satis, o superi, quod non Cornelia fuso
crine iacet subicique facem complexa maritum 740
imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti
infelix coniunx, nec adhuc a litore longe est.
sic fatus, paruos iuuenis procul adspicit ignes,
corpus uile suis nullo custode cremantis.
inde rapit flammas, semiustaque robora membris 745
subducens, quaecumque es, ait, neglecta nec ulli
cara tuo, sed Pompeio felicior umbra,
quod iam compositum uiolat manus hospita bustum,

728. *obscura*] 'dimmed by clouds', cf. supr. 721.

729. *sepulcra*] seems to be used of the funeral pile, *rogus*, on which the frankincense would be placed; cf. IX 10.

730. *pinguis*] cf. Aesch. Agam. 819 *συνθήσουσα δὲ σποδὸς προπέμπει πλουτου πνοάς.*

731. *Eoos*] cf. Stat. Silu. III iii 33—37 *tu largus Eoa germina, tu messes Cilicumque Arabumque superbis merge rogis; ferat ignis opes heredis et alto aggere missuri nitido pia nubila caelo stipentur cineres.*

732. *ut*] The negative is continued, 'that the duteous necks of Romans should carry to burial the father of their country'. For the title of *parens patriae*, cf. Prof. Mayor's note on Iuv. VIII 244; it does not seem to have been ever conferred on Pompeius.

734. *totus ut ignem*] cf. Verg. Aen. XI 92, 93 *tum maesta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur Tyrrhenique omnes et uersis Arcades armis.* Tac. Ann. III 2 *praecedebant incompta signa uersi fasces.*

735. *proiectis*] It is uncertain whether this is equivalent to *uersis* as in the passages quoted from Virgil and Tacitus, or as is more probable 'thrown on the funeral pile'. See the account of the funeral of Julius Caesar in Suet. Jul. 84 *deinde tibicines et scaenici artifices uestem, quam ex triumphorum instrumento ad praesentem usum induerant, detractam sibi atque discissam iniecere flammae et ueteranorum militum legionarii arma sua, quibus exculti funus celebrabant.*

736. *plebeii funeris*] cf. Hor. Sat. I viii 8, 9 *huc prius angustis eiecta cadauera cellis conseruus uili portanda locabat in arca.*

737. *siccos*] i.e. in which there are no aromatics burnt.

effundat] 'let drop'.

738. *ustor*] cf. Catull. LIX 5 *a semiraso tunderetur ustore.*

742. *nec adhuc*] 'while yet she is not far distant'.

744. *uile suis*] 'neglected by its friends'.

747. *felicior*] i.e. quia tamen comburis. Weise.

da ueniam: si quid sensus post fata relictum est,
cedis et ipsa rogo paterisque haec damna sepulcri,
teque pudet sparsis Pompeii manibus uri. 751
sic fatur, plenusque sinus ardente fauilla
peruolat ad truncum, qui fluctu paene relatus
litore pendebat. summas dimouit harenas,
et collecta procul lacerae fragmenta carinae 755
exigua trepidus posuit scrobe. nobile corpus
robora nulla premunt, nulla strue membra recumbunt:
admotus Magnum non subditus accipit ignis.
ille sedens iuxta flammas: o maxime, dixit,
ductor et Hesperii maiestas nominis una, 760
si tibi iactatu pelagi, si funere nullo
tristior iste rogus; manes animamque potentem
officiis auerte meis: iniuria fati
hoc fas esse iubet; ne ponti belua quicquam,
ne fera, ne uolucres, ne saeui Caesaris ira 765
audeat: exiguam, quantum potes, accipe flammam,
Romana succense mànu. Fortuna recursus
si det in Hesperiam, non hac in sede quiescent
tam sacri cineres: sed te Cornelia, Magne,
accipiet, nostraque manu transfundet in urnam. 770
interea 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 comburi'. For *ipsa* equivalent to *sponte*, cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 20 *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae ubera.*

755. *procul*] 'from a distance'.

757. *premunt*] 'no timber (sc. of an *arca*) holds it in', cf. supr. 56.

strue] sc. *rogo.*

758. *admotus*] i.e. applied directly to the corpse.

760. *maiestas una*] 'crowning grandeur', cf. Hor. Ep. II i 257, 258 *neque paruom carmen maiestas recipit t*

762. *tristior*] 'if this funeral pile sadder in thy eyes than tossing in the than having no funeral rites at all'.

763. *officiis*] 'withdraw...from this vice of mine'.

iniuria] 'injustice'.

765. *Caesaris ira*] bene post on feras ultimus Caesar secutus est. Sc

770. *nostra manu*] 'by the help o hand', equivalent to *nostra ope.*

772. *nota*] as above 711, 'a di guishing mark'.

773. *mortis honores*] cf. Verg. Aen 383 *cernit ibi maestos et mortis ho carentis Leucaspim, &c.*

ad quas, Magne, tuom referat caput. haec ubi fatus,
excitat inualidas admoto fomite flammas. 776
carpitur et lentum destillat Magnus in ignem,
tabe fouens bustum. sed iam percusserat astra
Aurorae praemissa dies: ille ordine rupto
funeris adtonitus latebras in litore quaerit. 780
quam metuis, demens, isto pro crimine poenam,
quo te fama loquax omnes accepit in annos?
condita laudabit Magni socer impius ossa:
i modo securus ueniae fassusque sepulcrum
posce caput. cogit pietas imponere finem 785
officio. semiusta rapit resolutaque nondum
ossa satis, neruis et inustis plena medullis
aequorea restinguit aqua, congestaque in unum
parua clausit humo. tum ne leuis aura retectos
auferret cineres saxo compressit harenam: 790
nautaque ne bustum religato fune moueret,
inscripsit sacrum semiusto stipite nomen:
HIC SITVS EST MAGNVS. placet hoc, Fortuna, sepulcrum
dicere Pompeii, quo condi maluit illum,
quam terra caruisse socer? temeraria dextra, 795
cur obicis Magno tumulum manesque uagantis
includis? situs est, qua terra extrema refuso

. *carpitur*] 'Magnus consumes a-
ınd melts into the slowly burning
feeding the fire with his moisture'.
. *praemissa*] So Weise with many
for the vulg. *promissa;* it is best
with *dies*, i.e. 'the daylight, the har-
: of dawn'; it may however be taken
ıstra referring to the morning star.
ine] 'ceremony'.
. *adtonitus*] 'in dismay', cf. II 22.
. *fama loquax*] 'loud-mouthed
so also in Ov. ex Pont. II ix 3.
...*accepit*] 'for which...has adopted

. *imponere finem*] 'to put the
ng stroke to'.
. *neruis*] 'full of ligaments and
nt marrow'. This seems to be the
ıassage where *inustus* is thus used,
ıere it is always the participle of

. *retectos auferret*] 'should lay bare
weep away'.

791. *religato fune*] 'by tying a rope to it', cf. Hor. Sat. I v 18, 19 *retinacula mulae nauta piger saxo religat.*

793. *hic situs est*] as ἐνθάδε κεῖται in Greek: the regular inscription on a tombstone, cf. Plin. Epist. VI x § 4 *hic situs est Rufus pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae.* These words are commonly represented by the letters H. S. E.

placet] 'is it thy pleasure to call this the tomb of Magnus in which his father-in-law would rather he were interred, than that he should have been left unburied?'

796. *cur obicis*] cur tumulum tanquam obicem Magno imponis? 'why fix on Magnus the barrier of a tomb?' For the sentiment cf. Lucret. III 906 *urgeriue superne obtritum pondere terrae.* For the quantity of *obicis* 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

pendet in oceano. Romanum nomen et omne
imperium Magno est tumuli modus. obrue saxa
crimine plena deum. si tota est Herculis Oete, 800
et iuga tota uacant Bromio Nyseia; quare
unus in Aegypto Magno lapis? omnia Lagi
arua tenere potest. si nullo caespite nomen
haeserit, erremus populi, cinerumque tuorum,
Magne, metu nullas Nili calcemus harenas. 805
quod si tam sacro dignaris nomine saxum,
adde actus tantos monumentaque maxima rerum,
adde truces Lepidi motus, Alpinaque bella,
armaque Sertori reuocato consule uicta,
et currus quos egit eques: commercia tuta 810
gentibus et pauidos Cilicas maris: adde subactam
barbariem gentesque uagas, et quidquid in Euro
regnorum Boreaque iacet. dic semper ab armis
ciuilem repetisse togam: ter curribus actis
contentum patriae multos donasse triumphos. 815
quis capit haec tumulus? surgit miserabile bustum

which is neither sea nor dry land, cf. I 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 *audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso submouet oceano.*

799. *modus*] 'is the measure of Magnus' sepulchre', cf. supr. 55.

800. *crimine plena deum*] '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. *uacant Bromio*] 'find room for Bromius alone'; for Nysa cf. I 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 Cottian Alps.

809. *consule*] i.e. Metellus, who was not however consul, nor yet recalled, but reinforced by Pompeius.

810. *eques*] cf. VII 17.

811. *pauidos maris*] 'Pompeius effecit ut piratae timerent maria quibus ipsi ante grassabantur' Schol. For the construction Oud. cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 297 *lucisque pauidos ante te populos age.*

813. *dic semper ab armis*] 'tell how he ever laid his arms aside and donned again the garb of peace', cf. IX 200 *iuuit sumpta uirum iuuit dimissa potestas.* For *ab armis* cf. I 451.

814. *ter curribus 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, 850.

ıon ullis plenum titulis non ordine tanto
'astorum: solitumque legi super alta deorum
:ulmina et exstructos spoliis hostilibus arcus
ıaud procul est ima Pompeii nomen harena, 820
lepressum tumulo quod non legat aduena rectus,
ıuod nisi monstratum Romanus transeat hospes.
noxia ciuili tellus Aegyptia fato,
ıaud equidem immerito Cumanae carmine uatis
:autum, ne Nili Pelusia tangeret ora 825
Hesperius miles ripasque aestate tumentis.
ıuid tibi saeua precer pro tanto crimine tellus?
ıertat aquas Nilus, quo nascitur orbe retentus,
:t steriles egeant hibernis imbribus agri,
otaque in Aethiopum putres soluaris harenas. 830
ıos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Isin,
ıemicanesque deos, et sistra iubentia luctus,
:t quem tu plangens hominem testaris Osirin:
:u nostros, Aegypte, tenes in puluere manes.

ordine] 'the mighty tale of the ; of his fame', cf. Hor. carm. IV ·5 *quae cura patrum quaeue Quiri- lenis honorum muneribus tuas, Au- tirtutes in aeuom per titulos memo- fastos aeternet?*

arcus] cf. Iuv. X 133—137 *bello- ·uuiae, truncis affixa tropaeis lorica ·ta de casside bucula pendens, et : temone iugum uictaeque triremis e et summo tristis captiuus in arcu, is maiora bonis creduntur.*

depressum tumulo] 'sunk low . tomb, which the stranger cannot ithout stooping'.

noxia] 'stained with the guilt of d civil strife', cf. Propert. IV xi 33 *Alexandrea dolis aptissima tellus.*

cautum] For this prohibition cf. l fam. I vii § 4 where writing to P. ıs proconsul of Cilicia he says *esse et nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptole- aut aliquo propinquo loco rege col- te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci ·driam: ut cum eam pace praesi- firmaris Ptolemaeus redeat in reg- ·ita fore ut per te restituatur, quem- ·m senatus initio censuit, et sine ·dine reducatur, quemadmodum s religiosi sibyllae placere dixerunt.*

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 ea fluuium quam longa est nocte tumentem leniit et tacita refluens ita 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. *soluaris*] 'be dissolved into the crumbling sands of the Aethiopians' i.e. the dry sands of the desert.

832. *semicanesque deos*] For this contempt of the Egyptian gods, cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 698 *ominigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis*, Propert. IV xi 41 *ausa Ioui nostro latrantem opponere Anubim*, Iuv. XV 8 *oppida tota canem ueneranturur, nemo Dianam.*

sistra] cf. Iuv. XIII 92, 93 *decernat quodcumque uolet de corpore nostro Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro.*

833. *hominem*] Grotius quotes the saying of Xenocrates to the Egyptians. οὗτοι εἰ μὲν θεοί εἰσι μὴ θρηνεῖτε αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωποι μὴ θύετε αὐτοῖς. For Osiris cf. Iuv. VIII 29 and Prof. Mayor's note.

834. *nostros*] i.e. and so Egypt has the advantage in the exchange.

tu quoque, cum saeuo dederis iam templa tyranno,
nondum Pompeii cineres, o Roma, petisti: 836
exsul adhuc iacet umbra ducis. si saecula prima
uictoris timuere minas; nunc excipe saltem
ossa tui Magni, si nondum subruta fluctu
inuisa tellure sedent. quis busta timebit? 840
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. 845
forsitan aut sulco sterili cum poscere finem
a superis aut Roma uolet feralibus Austris,
ignibus aut nimiis, aut terrae tecta mouenti,
consilio iussuque deum transibis in urbem,
Magne, tuam, summusque feret tua busta sacerdos.
nunc quis ad exustam Cancro torrente Syenen 851
ibit et imbrifera siccas sub Pleiade Thebas
spectator Nili: quis rubri stagna profundi,
aut Arabum portus mercis mutator Eoae,
Magne, petet, quem non tumuli uenerabile saxum 855
et cinis in summis forsan turbatus harenis

835. *tyranno*] sc. Caesari.

837. *saecula prima*] i.e. cum recens uicerat Caesar. Schol.

839. *si nondum*] 'if they are not yet uprooted by the waves, but still repose in that hateful soil'.

840. *sedent*] So *sedes* is used of the place of a person's burial, Verg. Aen. VII 3, 4 *et nunc seruat honos sedem tuus ossaque nomen Hesperia in magna si qua est ea gloria signat.*

842. *scelus*] i.e. of disturbing their sepulchre.

844. *transferre reuolsos*] 'to tear up and transport'.

845. *tale*] emphatic: 'when it is such as this'.

847. *Austris*] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. VII 352 *letiferis calidi spirarunt flatibus Austri*, Hor. Sat. II vi 18, 19 *plumbeus Auster auctumnusque grauis Libitinae quaestus acerbae.*

850. *summus sacerdos*] sc. the Pontifex Maximus. cf. the transference of the bones of Orestes to Sparta in Herod. I 67 foll. and that of the bones of Theseus to Athens in Plutarch Thes. 36.

busta] here is equivalent to *cineres*, cf. Stat. Theb. XII 245—247 *haud procul—Ogygias, Argia, domos, et egena sepulcri busta iacere reor.*

852. *siccas*] 'parched even beneath the rainy Pleiad', cf. Val. Flacc. II 357, 358 *Pleiada lege poli nimboso mouerat astro Iuppiter.*

853. *spectator*] cf. Tac. Ann. II 59 *Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis.* See also the remarks of Merivale History of the Romans under the Empire cap. xliii pp. 186—7 on the antiquarian curiosity of the Romans.

854. *mutator*] cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 38, 39 *nec nautica pinus mutabit merces.*

855. *quem non...aduertet*] 'who will not be attracted by—and who will not rejoice to appease &c.?' with *iuuabit* supply *quemque non?*

aduertet, manesque tuos placare iuuabit,
et Casio praeferre Ioui? nil ista nocebunt
famae busta tuae. templis auroque sepultus
uilior umbra fores: nunc est pro numine summo 860
hoc tumulo Fortuna iacens. augustius aris
uictoris Libyco pulsatur in aequore saxum.
Tarpeiis qui saepe deis sua tura negarunt,
inclusum fusco uenerentur caespite numen.
proderit hoc olim quod non mansura sepulcri 865
ardua marmoreo surrexit pondere moles.
pulueris exigui sparget non longa uetustas
congeriem bustumque cadet mortisque peribunt
argumenta tuae. ueniet felicior aetas
qua sit nulla fides saxum monstrantibus illud: 870
atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum
tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis.

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 adfuerat'. 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 *es* 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. *augustius*] '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 *Inachiis in undis* i.e. 'by the Inachian waves'.

863. *Tarpeiis...deis*] sc. *Caesaribus.* 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 arisen 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 I 584 foll. where the Tuscan Aruns is described as burying the thunderbolt; so Weise, who also suggests that *fusco* is a corruption of *fulto* comparing supr. V 316 *stetit aggere fulti caespitis.* But this seems unnecessary; *fusco* makes good enough sense as explained by Sulpitius: 'manes Pompeii sepultos terra nigra: 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 *μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ κατερρηγνυμένην ὥστε ἐοῦσαν Ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, Verg. G. IV 292 *et uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena.*

865. *mansura*] 'permanent'; Tacitus speaking of the tomb of Otho uses a similar expression, though the meaning is somewhat different, Hist. II 49 *Othoni sepulcrum exstructum est modicum et mansurum.*

sepulcri] Oud. with some MSS. reads *futuris*, cf. X 270.

867. *non longa uetustas*] 'no distant futurity'. For *uetustas* of future time, cf. Ov. Met. XV 871—872 *iamque opus exegi quod nec Iouis ira nec ignes nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere uetustas.*

869. *argumenta*] 'all the proofs of thy death'.

871. *populis*] cf. VII 207.

872. *Creta Tonantis*] cf. Callimachus *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί*, Cic. N. D. III § 53 *tertium (Iouem) Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur.*

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER NONUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IX.

Apotheosis of Pompeius 1—18. Cato retreats to Corcyra 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—410. 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 iacuere fauilla,
nec cinis exiguus tantam compescuit umbram.
prosiluit busto, semiustaque membra relinquens
degeneremque rogum sequitur conuexa Tonantis,
qua niger astriferis conectitur axibus aer, 5

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 361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*, Id. VII 606 *Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa.* For *conuexa*, cf. Verg. Aen. IV 451 *taedet caeli conuexa tueri.*

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 iv 62 *paene sub eiusdem sideris axe iacent.*

quaque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus,
(semidei manes habitant, quos ignea uirtus
innocuos uita patientis aetheris imi
fecit) et aeternos animam collegit in orbes.
non illuc auro positi nec ture sepulti 10
perueniunt. illic postquam se lumine uero
impleuit, stellasque uagas miratur et astra
fixa polis, uidit quanta sub nocte iaceret
nostra dies, risitque sui ludibria trunci.
hinc super Emathiae campos et signa cruenti 15
Caesaris ac sparsas uolitauit in aequore classes,
et scelerum uindex in sancto pectore Bruti
sedit, et inuicti posuit se mente Catonis.
ille, ubi pendebant casus, dubiumque manebat
quem mundi dominum facerent ciuilia bella, 20
oderat et Magnum, quamuis comes isset in arma
auspiciis raptus patriae ductuque senatus:
at post Thessalicas clades iam pectore toto
Pompeianus erat. patriam tutore carentem

6. *patet*] sc. *aer*, i.e. the air is regarded as filling the space between the earth and the orbit of the moon, the nearest of the planets.

7. *semidei*] For the parenthesis cf. infr. 823, Verg. Aen. III 13—14 *terra procul uastis colitur Mauortia campis, Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo.*

ignea] i.e. so fitting them to endure the fiery aether, cf. Verg. Aen. VI 730—732 *igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant terrenique hebetant artus, moribundaque membra*, Cic. de Rep. VI § 15 *hisque animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus quae sidera et stellas uocatis.*

8. *innocuos uita*] probably active, 'harmless in their lives'; but it may possibly be passive, 'unharmed by life', i. e. uncorrupted by it, cf. Verg. l. c. supr. and Id. X 301, 302 *sedere carinae omnes innocuae.*

9. *animam*] 'joined his soul to the company of the eternal spheres', cf. Plat. Phaedrus p. 247 foll.

10. *auro positi*] cf. VIII 859.

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 uagas*] sc. the planets.

miratur] cf. Verg. Ecl. V 56, 57 *candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi sub pedibusque uidet nubes et sidera Daphnis.*

13. *nocte*] i.e. compared to the *lumen uerum* 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.

14. *ludibria*] 'the mockery done to his headless corpse'.

19. *pendebant*] 'were doubtful', cf. Val. Flacc. V 301, 302 *cunctaque adhuc magni ueniant dum regis ad urbem ambigua et dubia rerum pendentia summa.*

21. *et Magnum*] i.e. as well as Caesar.

22. *auspiciis patriae*] cf. Hom. Il. XII 243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

24. *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.

excepit, populi trepidantia membra refouit, 25
ignauis manibus proiectos reddidit enses:
nec regnum cupiens gessit ciuilia bella,
nec seruire timens. nil causa fecit in armis
ipse sua: totae post Magni funera partes
libertatis erant: quas ne per litora fusas 30
colligeret rapido uictoria Caesaris actu,
Corcyrae secreta petit, ac mille carinis
abstulit Emathiae secum fragmenta ruinae.
quis ratibus tantis fugientia crederet ire
agmina? quis pelagus uictas artasse carinas? 35
Dorida tum Malean et apertam Taenaron umbris,
inde Cythera petit: Boreaque urgente carinas
Creta fugit: Dictaea legit cedentibus undis
litora. tunc ausum classi praecludere portus
impulit, ac saeuas meritum Phycunta rapinas 40
sparsit: et hinc placidis alto delabitur auris
in litus, Palinure, tuom: neque enim aequore tantum

25. *excepit*] in tutelam suam, Weise. i.e. after the loss of its former guardian Pompeius.

28. *nec seruire timens*] i.e. because he could put an end to his life whenever he chose, cf. Sen. Epist. I xii § 10 *noli timere aliquid secum fert. quare aliquid dixi? multum. quid enim hac uoce praeclarius, quam illi trado ad te perferendam? 'malum est in necessitate uiuere: sed in necessitate uiuere necessitas nulla est'. quidni nulla sit? patent undique ad libertatem uiae multae breues faciles. agamus deo gratias quod nemo in uita teneri potest: calcare ipsas necessitates licet.* Id. Ep. X i (77) § 15.

29. *partes*] 'the whole party after Magnus' death was the party of freedom', cf. infr. 97.

31. *colligeret*] 'lest Caesar's victory sweeping swiftly on should gather them up'; for *actus* cf. Lucret. III 193 *et pigri latices magis et cunctantior actus*, Verg. Aen. XII 687 *fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu.*

32. *mille*] generally for a large number: there were really 300.

35. *artasse*] narrowed, and so, thronged the sea, cf. Mart. II xc 6 *atriaque immodicis artat imaginibus.*

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. VI 648—651 *non Taenaris sic faucibus aer sedit iners, maestum mundi confine latentis ac nostri: quo non metuunt emittere manes Tartarei reges.* So Verg. G. IV 467 speaks of *Taenarias etiam fauces alta ostia Ditis.* For *apertam* cf. I 465 *apertum gentibus orbem.*

38. *Creta fugit*] 'Crete flies from them', i.e. seems to do so, as they fly along its shores; cf. Verg. Aen. III 72 *prouehimur portu; terraeque urbesque recedunt.*

legit] sc. Cato, cf. V 513.

cedentibus undis] 'as the waves give way before him'. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. XVIII 76 *per mihi cedentes nocte ferebar aquas.*

39. *classi*] 'to close their port against his fleet', cf. Caesar B. C. III 12 *illi dabantur se negare neque portus consuli praeclusuros.*

40. *impulit*] '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: Oud. cf. Strabo § XVII 22 (838) where it is called κώμη Παλίνουρα.

Ausonio monumenta tenes, portusque quietos
testatur Libye Phrygio placuisse magistro.
tum procul ex alto tendentes uela carinae 45
ancipites tenuere animos, sociosne malorum,
an ueherent hostes. praeceps facit omne timendum
uictor et in nulla non creditur esse carina.
ast illae puppes luctus planctusque ferebant,
et mala uel duri lacrimas motura Catonis. 50
nam postquam frustra precibus Cornelia nautas
priuignique fugam tenuit, ne forte repulsus
litoribus Phariis remearet in aequora truncus,
ostenditque rogum non iusti flamma sepulcri:
ergo indigna fui, dixit, Fortuna, marito 55
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; 60
quidquid ab exstincto 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 65

43. *monumenta*] cf. Verg. Aen. VI 381 *aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.*

44. *magistro*] 'pilot', cf. Verg. Aen. VI 353, 354 *quam tua ne spoliata armis excussa magistro deficeret tantis nauis surgentibus undis.*

47. *praeceps*] predicate, 'by his energy', cf. II 656 *Caesar in omnia praeceps nil actum credens dum quid superesset agendum.*

50. *duri*] ἀπαθοῦς utpote Stoici. Weise. cf. II 380.

52. *priuigni*] i.e. Sextus Pompeius who was the son of Cn. Pompeius by his former wife Aemilia.

ne forte] 'lest haply the headless corpse beaten back from the shore should float out again to sea', cf. Verg. Aen. II 545 *rauco quod protinus aere repulsum.*

54. *non iusti*] 'irregular'; *iustus* is a word specially used in connexion with funeral rites, cf. Caesar B. G. VI 18 *iustis funebribus confectis*, Ov. Trist. IV x 80 *matri proxima iusta tuli.* See also note on 67 infr.

55. *ergo*] expostulantis, as often, cf. Hor. carm. I xxiv 5 *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor urget.*

57. *laceros exurere*] 'to tear and burn', cf. Aesch. cho. 7 πλόκαμος πενθητήριος: but this custom does not seem to have been usual at Rome.

59. *uolneribus*] cf. VIII 727.

60. *tepida*] cf. Hor. carm. II vi 23 *ibi tu calentem debita sparges lacrima fauillam uatis 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 maestos ossa perusta sinus*, Id. III ii 9 seq.

63. *Aegyptia*] cf. VIII 767.

64. *graue manibus*] 'displeasing to his shade'.

nudi] 'unburied'.

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 70
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, 75
Pompeiumque ferens uanescit solis ad ortus
fumus, et inuisi tendunt mihi carbasa uenti.
non mihi nunc tellus Pompeio si qua triumphos
uicta dedit, non alta terens Capitolia currus
gratior: elapsus felix de pectore Magnus; 80
hunc uolumus quem Nilus habet, terraeque nocenti
non haerere queror: crimen commendat harenas.
linquere, si qua fides, Pelusia litora nolo.
tu pete bellorum casus, et signa per orbem,
Sexte, paterna moue: namque haec mandata reliquit
Pompeius uobis in nostra condita cura: 86
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 *iusta* quoting the words of the Schol. 'ut ait Cicero *qui nondum omnia paterno funeri iusta soluisset*', which seems to show that the Schol. read *iusta*. cf. 54 supr.

68. *plenas*] cf. Aesch. Agam. 440 πυρωθὲν ἐξ Ἰλίου φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμίζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.

70. *instrumenta*] 'means of displaying thyself', cf. Gellius XVIII cap. 7 *utinam muti homines omnes essent: minus improbitas instrumenti haberet.*

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 because 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 formica terens iter.*

80. *elapsus*] 'Magnus as a happy man has passed from my memory'; cf. Verg. Ecl. I 64 *quam nostro illius labatur pectore uoltus.*

82. *non haerere*] 'complain that I cannot linger on the guilty shore'.

commendat] 'graces' 'gives credit to', cf. Cic. Brutus § 216 *nulla re una magis oratorem commendari quam uerborum splendore et copia.*

83. *linquere*] 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 90
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 96
si faciet partes pro libertate Catoni.
exsolui tibi, Magne, fidem; mandata peregi.
insidiae ualuere tuae deceptaque uixi,
ne mihi commissas auferrem perfida uoces. 100
iam nunc te per inane chaos, per Tartara, coniunx,
si sunt ulla, sequar: quam longo tradita leto
incertum est: poenas animae uiuacis ab ipsa
ante feram; potuit cernens tua uolnera, Magne,
non fugere in mortem: planctu concussa peribit, 105
effluet in lacrimas; numquam ueniemus ad enses
aut laqueos aut praecipites per inania iactus.
turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore.
sic ubi fata, caput ferali obduxit amictu,
decreuitque pati tenebras, puppisque cauernis 110
delituit: saeuomque arte complexa dolorem

90. *sceptra*] 'kingdoms'.
91. *impellite*] 'urge to the strife'.
93. *quisquis Pompeius*] 'whoever of the me of Pompeius'.
94. *noster nullis*] 'there is no nation ich my heir will not rouse to war'.
97. *si faciet*] 'if he shall gather a party fight for freedom', cf. supr. 29, infr. 3.
99. *insidiae*] i.e. suggesting that Pom- us had given her this commission in ler to prevent her from committing cide.
100. *auferrem*] 'carry away with me the grave', cf. note on I 113.
102. *longo leto*] 'how distant is the ıth I am doomed to I know not', in- tum est quando moritura sim, Schol. ıd. objects to this interpretation and plains *letum* as 'death in life', but the *te* of line 104 seems conclusive against s; *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. *ueniemus*] 'I shall never be obliged to have recourse to the sword &c.' cf. Verg. Ecl. IX 2—4 *o Lycida uiui peruenimus, aduena nostri, quod nunquam ueriti sumus, ut possessor agelli diceret, haec mea sunt, ueteres migrate coloni.*
107. *iactus*] cf. VIII 654, 655.
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 ingenuas.*

perfruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum.
illam non fluctus stridensque rudentibus Eurus
mouit et exsurgens ad summa pericula clamor:
uotaque sollicitis faciens contraria nautis 115
composita in mortem iacuit fauitque procellis.
prima ratem Cypros spumantibus accipit undis:
inde tenens pelagus, sed iam moderatior, Eurus
in Libycas egit sedes et castra Catonis.
tristis, ut in multo mens est praesaga timore, 120
adspexit patrios comites e litore Magnus
et fratrem: medias praeceps 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 ruinae:
rege sub impuro Nilotica rura tenente, 130
hospitii fretus superis et munere tanto
in proauos, cecidit donati uictima regni.

112. *perfruitur*] cf. Hom. Odyss. XI 211 δφρα καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο φίλας περὶ χεῖρε βαλόντε ἀμφοτέρω κρυεροῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο.

amat] 'cherishes grief in her husband's stead'.

114. *clamor*] cf. Verg. Aen. I 87 *insequitur clamorque uirum stridorque rudentum.*

115. *contraria*] uidelicet 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. I 698 *aulaeis iam se regina superbis aurea composuit sponda.*

118. *tenens*] 'swaying' cf. I 406 *non Caurus in illum ius habet aut Zephyrus* Hor. carm. I iii 14 *rabiem Noti quo non arbiter Hadriae maior.* See also note on II 454.

120. *ut in multo*] 'seeing that in great fear the mind feels presentiments of ill'.

121. *Magnus*] sc. Cn. Pompeius the younger.

123. *summa*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 321 *quo res summa loco Panthu?*

124. *Romana*] sc. *res Romanas;* cf. VIII 341.

125. *abstulit*] cf. supr. 100 note.

127. *audis*] cf. Hor. A. P. 180, 181 *segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.*

128. *fero*] cf. Verg. Aen. III 490 *sic oculos sic ille manus sic ora ferebat.*

129. *dignoque*] i.e. *nec digno.*

131. *hospitii superis*] 'the gods that preside over hospitable rites', θεοὶ ξένιοι, cf. Aesch. Agam. 509 ὕπατος χώρας Ζεύς. Oud. however doubts whether *hospitii superi* as equivalent to *hospitii dii* is good Latin. The MSS. reading *hospitiis* is thus explained by the Schol. *hospitiis dextris.* Omnibonus explains *superis* as *superioris temporis*, for which Oud. cf. Verg. Aen. III 14 *hospitium antiquom Troiae*, but I can find no authority for such a use of *superus.*

132. *cecidit*] 'was slaughtered to atone

uidi ego magnanimi lacerantis pectora patris:
nec credens Pharium tantum potuisse tyrannum
litore Niliaco socerum iam stare putaui. 135
sed me nec sanguis, nec tantum uolnera nostri
adfecere senis, quantum gestata per urbem
ora ducis, quae transfixo sublimia pilo
uidimus: haec, fama est, oculis uictoris iniqui
seruari, scelerisque fidem quaesisse tyrannum. 140
nam corpus Phariaene canes auidaeque uolucres
distulerint, an furtiuus quem uidimus ignis
soluerit, ignoro. quaecumque iniuria fati
abstulit hos artus, superis haec crimina dono:
seruata de parte queror. cum talia Magnus 145
audisset, non in gemitus lacrimasque dolorem
effudit, iustaque furens pietate profatur:
praecipitate rates e sicco litore, nautae;
classis in aduersos erumpat remige uentos:
ite, duces, mecum: numquam ciuilibus armis 150
tanta fuit merces, inhumatos condere manes,
sanguine semiuiri Magnum satiare tyranni.
non ego Pellaeas arces adytisque retectum
corpus Alexandri pigra Mareotide mergam?
non mihi Pyramidum tumulis euolsus Amasis 155
atque alii reges Nilo torrente natabunt?
omnia dent poenas nudo tibi, Magne, sepulcra:
euoluam busto iam numen gentibus Isin,
et tectum lino spargam per uolgus Osirin,
et sacer in Magni cineres mactabitur Apis, 160

having conferred on them the king-
n'. For the metaphorical *uictima*, cf.
e on VII 596.
36. *nostri senis*] 'of our aged sire',
Stat. Silu. III iii 32, 33 *Aoniasque tuo*
rebimus ultro inferias, Etrusce, seni.
38. *transfixo*] 'driven through them'.
40. *fidem*] 'confirmation', Weise cf.
I 688.
43. *iniuria fati*] equivalent to *fatum*
ustum.
44. *dono*] 'I forgive', cf. note on VII
.
45. *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.
155. *Pyramidum tumulis*] 'the mounds
of the pyramids' probably, not, 'tombs
in the pyramids', cf. note on VIII 611.
For Amasis cf. Herod. II 161 foll.
157. *nudo*] cf. supr. 64.
158. *iam numen*] Oud. cf. I 63 *sed*
mihi iam numen.
159. *tectum lino*] cf. note on X 175.

suppositisque deis uram caput. has mihi poenas
terra dabit: linquam uacuos cultoribus agros,
nec Nilus cui crescat erit: solusque tenebis
Aegyptum populis, genitor, superisque fugatis.
dixerat, et classem saeuas rapiebat in undas. 165
sed Cato laudatam iuuenis compescuit iram.
interea totis audito funere Magni
litoribus sonuit percussus planctibus aether:
exemploque carens et nulli cognitus aeuo
luctus erat, 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, 175
armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
exuuias, pictasque togas, uelamina summo
ter conspecta Ioui, funestoque intulit igni.
ille fuit miserae Magni cinis. accipit omnis
exemplum pietas, et toto litore busta 180
surgunt Thessalicis reddentia 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', equivalent to *cuius in usum*.

165. *saeuas*] Oud. would change this to *saeuus:* there certainly seems no point in the epithet, nor is there any mention of a storm.

169. *exemploque carens*] '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 *plangunt* in line 173.

172. *solutas*] 'with her loosened hair hanging down over her face'.

176. *impressas auro*] 'stamped with gold'.

177. *pictas*] 'quae palmatae appellabantur, id est triumphales'. Schol.

178. *ter conspecta Ioui*] 'thrice displayed to Jove', i. e. on the Capitol the occasions of his three triumphs; cf. 685, VIII 553 814, 599 infr.

179. *ille fuit*] 'this was for her, p lady, Magnus' ashes', i. e. it took place of them. For the whole pass cf. Eur. Hel. 1056—1067.

omnis pietas] 'the affection of all'.

182. *depastis*] 'grazed bare'.

submittere] 'to make to grow', cf. lumel. IV cap. 14 *nec uitis plus quam unum flagellum est submittenda.*

183. *hibernas herbas*] 'grass for wi use', i.e. the shepherds set fire to the grass on the plains and lower hills, s as Garganus, in order that the new tender growth may serve as winter ture.

184. *fouet*] 'warms and nourishes'. Verg. G. I 86—88 *siue inde occultas a et pabula terrae pinguia concipiunt; illis omne per ignem excoquitur sit*

Volturis et calidi lucent buceta Matini. 185
non tamen ad Magni peruenit gratius umbras
omne quod in superos audet conuicia uolgus
Pompeiumque deis obicit, quam pauca Catonis
uerba sed a pleno uenientia pectore ueri.
ciuis obit, inquit, multum maioribus impar 190
nosse modum iuris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aeuo
cui non ulla fuit iusti reuerentia: salua
libertate potens, et solus plebe parata
priuatus seruire sibi, rectorque senatus,
sed regnantis, erat. nil belli iure poposcit: 195
quaeque dari uoluit uoluit sibi posse negari.
immodicas possedit opes, sed plura retentis
intulit: inuasit ferrum, sed ponere norat.

ue exsudat inutilis umor: Oud. cf. . Ital. VII 364—366 *quam multa uidet, uoribus atris cum Calabros urunt ad guia pabula saltus, uertice Gargani idens incendia pastor.*

185. *buceta*] Sulpitius reads *buxeta*, i.e. ox-groves', but Grotius with all MSS. tores *buceta* cf. Gell. XI 1 *buceta in ea ra gigni pascique solita sunt plurima*, also Sid. Apoll. II 2 *Tityri nostrorum ntium inter greges per depasta buceta oantes.*

186. *non tamen*] 'but not more welme was the sound that reached the shade Pompeius in that all the populace dared utter reproaches against the gods, and cused heaven of Pompeius' fate, than ito's words, few, but proceeding from a east filled with truth'.

187. *audet conuicia in superos*] i.e. dacter uituperat superos. For *audere* th accus. cf. Ter. Eunuch. V 5 17 *qua dacia tantum facinus audet?*

190. *multum*] to be taken with *impar*. ost MSS. and many old editions read *ultum*, Weise *multo*, which is the read- g of the Roman edition of 1469: the rmer is certainly right, as *multo* could ly be used with the comparative or perlative. See Bentley's note on Hor. t. II iii 313 *tantum dissimilem et tanto rtare minorem*, where the common read- g is *tanto dissimilem* which in that case s arisen from the succeeding *tanto*. ere *multo* probably arose from the fact at the comparative *maioribus* immedi- ely succeeds.

191. *nosse*] dependent on *impar*, 'far inferior to our ancestors in recognising the due bounds of power'. For *impar* with infin. cf. Gratius Cyneg. 81 *magnum opus et tangi, nisi cura uincitur, impar.* for *ius* cf. supr. I 2.

192. *cui*] sc. *aeuo*, 'an age which has never shown any respect for justice'.

salua] '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 *cunctaque iussuri primum hoc decernite patres*, id. 45—47 *uos quorum finem non est sensura potestas consulite in medium, patres, Magnumque iubete esse ducem.*

belli iure] cf. Tac. Hist. IV 74 *iure uictoriae id solum uobis addidimus quo pacem tueremur.*

196. *quaeque dari*] Grotius cf. Vell. Paterc. II xxix § 2 *potentiae quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non ui ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus.*

198. *intulit*] sc. in aerarium. Compare 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 ambitious?'

inuasit ferrum] 'he seized upon the sword', cf. I 242 410 infr.

praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amauit.
iuuit sumpta ducem, iuuit dimissa potestas. 200
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: Pompeio rebus adempto 205
nunc et ficta perit. non iam regnare pudebit:
nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus.
o felix, cui summa dies fuit obuia uicto,
et cui quaerendos Pharium scelus obtulit enses.
forsitan in soceri potuisset uiuere regno. 210
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 me seruet ceruice recisa.
uocibus his maior, quam si Romana sonarent 215
rostra ducis laudes, generosam uenit ad umbram
mortis honos. fremit interea discordia uolgi:

200. *iuuit sumpta*] hoc est 'lubens imperium sumpsit, lubens deposuit'. 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. *nec 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 *controuersiae*, e.g. I 1 § 16. cf. also Iuv. VI 279 *dic aliquem, sodes, dic, Quintiliane, colorem*, Id. VII 155 *quis color et quod sit causae genus*, and Prof. Mayor's note. For *frons* cf. Pers. V 103 *exclamet Melicerta perisse frontem de rebus*. Iuv. XIII 241, 242 *quando recepit eiectum semel 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. *quaerendos*] 'presented the sword he must have sought'. For *scelus* used of a person cf. Verg. Aen. XI 407 *artificis scelus* used of Drances.

211. *scire mori*] '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 φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ' ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα.

213. *da talem*] '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 *nec deprecor umbram accipere*.

217. *discordia uolgi*] Weise puts no stop after *uolgi*, but the double genitive after *discordia* would be very awkward: it is better to make *castrorum*, with Oud., depend on *piget*.

castrorum bellique piget post funera Magni:
cum Tarchondimotus linquendi signa Catonis
sustulit; hunc rapta fugientem classe secutus 220
litus in extremum tali Cato uoce notauit:
o numquam pacate Cilix, iterumne rapinas
uadis in aequoreas? Magnum Fortuna remouit:
iam pelago pirata redis. tum respicit omnes
in coetu motuque uiros: quorum unus aperta 225
mente fugae tali compellat uoce regentem:
nos, Cato da ueniam, Pompeii duxit in arma
non belli ciuilis amor, partesque fauore
fecimus. ille iacet quem paci praetulit orbis,
causaque nostra perit. patrios permitte penates 230
desertamque domum dulcesque reuisere natos.
nam quis erit finis, si nec Pharsalia, pugnae,
nec Pompeius erit? perierunt tempora uitae,
mors eat in tutum: iustas sibi nostra senectus
prospiciat flammas. bellum ciuile sepulcra 235
uix ducibus praestare potest. non barbara uictos
regna manent: non Armenium mihi saeua minatur
aut Scythicum Fortuna iugum: sub iura togati
ciuis eo. quisquis Magno uiuente secundus,
hic mihi primus erit: sacris praestabitur umbris 240

. *Tarchondimotus*] A grandson of arus prince of Cilicia, mentioned by d fam. XV i § 2. The name was re- l by Grotius for the old reading *ion motus*.

. *notauit*] 'rebuked', cf. Cic. de II § 349 *nec bonum uirum proprie iose laudari sine uirtutum, nec im- m notari ac uituperari sine uitiorum ione satis insignite atque aspere posse*.

. *in coetu motuque*] 'in bustling ls'.

rta mente] 'disclosing his intention ing', cf. Ov. A. A. III 713 *quid tibi 's erat cum sic male sana lateres?* lso note on VI 1.

. *regentem*] sc. Cato trying to re- them.

. *partesque fauore fecimus*] 'and gh regard for him we adopted his cf. supr. 97; so too *facere consuetu-* is used by Cic. ad fam. XIII xxiii § 1.

. *ille iacet*] 'he lies dead, whom the world preferred to the maintenance of peace, and so our cause has vanished'.

231. *dulcesque*] probably from Verg. G. I 414 *dulcesque reuisere nidos*.

232. *pugnae*] dependent on *finis*; for the transposition of the words, Weise cf. III 682, V 387, 800, VIII 344.

233. *perierunt*] 'our life-time has been wasted'.

234. *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 amplexari*.

iustas flammas] 'the funeral pile that is its due', i.e. regular funeral rites: see note on supr. 67.

236. *uix ducibus*] nedum nobis, quia Pompeius insepultus est. Schol.

238. *togati ciuis*] 'a fellow-citizen in the garb of peace'; *ciuis* being opposed to *barbari*, *togati* to *ducis*.

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 uictoria ferrum. 245
clausa fides miseris, et toto solus in orbe est
qui uelit ac possit uictis praestare salutem.
Pompeio scelus est bellum ciuile perempto,
quo fuerat uiuente fides. si publica iura,
si semper patriam sequeris, Cato, signa petamus 250
Romanus quae consul habet. sic ille profatus
insiluit puppi iuuenum comitante tumultu.
actum Romanis fuerat de rebus et omnis
indiga seruitii feruebat litore plebes.
erupere ducis sacro de pectore uoces: 255
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 morerisque, quod orbem
adquiris nulli, quod iam tibi uincere tutum est, 260
bella fugis quaerisque iugum ceruice 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.*

246. *clausa fides*] 'all hope of protection is cut off': cf. Cic. de off. I § 35 *qui nationes deuictas bello in fidem recepissent.*

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. 253.

251. *consul*] sc. Caesar, cf. V 389 foll.

253. *actum fuerat*] sc. 'it would have been all over with &c., if Cato had not spoken'. These two lines are not found in many MSS. and early editions.

254. *indiga seruitii*] '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 *ui propria nituntur opisque haud indiga nostrae.*

plebes] used contemptuously of the 'common soldiers'. cf. VII 760 *impia plebes.*

256. *pari uoto*] sc. eodem uoto quo Caesariani; pro domino, non contra dominatum. Grotius.

258. *in regna laboras*] 'because you are not now toiling to produce tyranny'. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. IX i § 3 *non ignoro etiam quae in speciem laborant, dignitatem dico et eloquentiae famam et quicquid ad alienum suffragium uenit, mora conualescere.* See note on I 306 *in classem cadit omne nemus.*

259. *tibi*] cf. VII 697 *ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.*

260. *nulli*] sc. *nulli alii.* cf. I 31.

quod iam] 'since now 'tis safe for thee to conquer' i.e. with no fear of your own leader becoming your master.

261. *quaeris*] 'feel the want of', 'regret'.

et nescis sine rege pati. nunc causa pericli
digna uiris. uestro potuit Pompeius abuti
sanguine: nunc patriae iugulos ensesque negatis,
cum prope libertas? unum Fortuna reliquit 265
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, 270
credet ab Emathiis primos fugisse Philippis.
uadite securi: meruistis iudice uitam
Caesare, non armis non obsidione subacti.
o famuli turpes, domini post fata prioris
itis ad heredem. cur non maiora mereri 275
quam uitam ueniamque libet? rapiatur in undas
infelix Magni coniunx prolesque Metelli:
ducite Pompeios: Ptolemaei uincite munus.
nostra quoque inuiso quisquis feret ora tyranno
non parua mercede dabit. sciet ista iuuentus 280
ceruicis 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. te on V 314 *disce sine armis posse pati.*
263. *uestro*] 'Pompeius might have ade an ill use of your blood'.
266. *pudeat*] 'you should be ashamed' . of what follows: 'to your shame I say .
267. *contulit*] 'has done more to fur- er legal rule than you have done', i.e. ' killing one of the 'domini' sc. Pom- ius.
Parthi] sc. by the death of Crassus at arrhae.
268. *munus*] sc. the gift of liberty hich Ptolemaeus has given you, by kill- g Pompeius one of your masters.
269. *quis uestras*] 'who will believe at your hands are stained with the guilt any slaughter?' i.e. that you have fought avely in the civil war.
270. *credet*] sc. *hostis.*
faciles] 'that you have readily fled from m'. cf. II 314 *ad iuga cur faciles populi?*
275. *heredem*] sc. Caesarem.
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 nauem*, to be conveyed to Caesar. cf. note on *super aequora* II 726.
278. *ducite*] 'lead captive'. cf. Cic. de orat. II § 255 *quanti addictus? mille nummis...nihil addo: ducas licet.*
Ptolemaei] '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.
sciet] 'this soldiery will learn by the reward they receive for my head, that it was to their advantage that they followed my standard', i.e. so as to have me in their power.
282. *parate*] 'purchase'; cf. note on I 34.
283. *tantum fuga*] 'mere flight is but a cowardly kind of treason'. cf. VIII 330 *modo consule.*

haud aliter medio reuocauit ab aequore puppes,
quam simul effetas linquunt examina ceras, 285
atque oblita faui non miscent nexibus alas,
sed sibi quaeque uolat, nec iam degustat amarum
desidiosa thymum: Phrygii sonus increpat aeris,
adtonitae posuere fugam, studiumque laboris
floriferi repetunt et sparsi mellis amorem: 290
gaudet in Hyblaeo securus gramine pastor
diuitias seruasse casae: sic uoce Catonis
inculcata uiris iusti patientia Martis.
iamque actu belli non doctas ferre quietem
constituit mentes serieque agitare laborum. 295
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 300
regna Iubae, sed iter mediis natura uetabat
Syrtibus: has audax sperat sibi cedere uirtus.
Syrtes uel primam mundo natura figuram
cum daret in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit;
(nam neque subsedit penitus, quo stagna profundi 305
acciperet, nec se defendit ab aequore tellus,
ambigua sed lege loci iacet inuia sedes;

285. *effetas ceras*] 'the comb from which the young bees have been hatched'. cf. Columel. VIII cap. V *oua silentio remouenda sunt ne incubans inani spe detineatur effeta.*

286. *non miscent*] non conglobatae uolant, Weise: 'do not intertwine their wings in flight'.

288. *Phrygii sonus increpat aeris*] '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 remouit: iam pelago pirata redis.* 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 aeris* cf. Verg. G. IV 64 *tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum.*

290. *sparsi*] i.e. 'scattered among the flowers': so Badius. Oud. conjectures *spreti.* Some MSS. and the Roman editi of 1469 read *sacri*, for which cf. Verg. (IV 1 *aerii mellis caelestia dona.*

294. *iamque actu belli*] 'and now determined to arouse minds untaught endure repose, by warlike operations and succession of laborious tasks'. *non doct* &c., as Weise explains, is equivalent *seditiosas.*

296. *lassatur*] i.e. probably by forti ing a camp on the shore.

297. *in muros*] 'is directed against

299. *poenaque*] 'and the only puni ment Cato inflicts on the conquered is have conquered them'.

304. *in dubio*] 'she left doubtful tween sea and land'. cf. Goldsmith's T veller, 'While the pent ocean rising o the pile, Sees an amphibious world neath him smile'. See also note on 1 foll.

307. *ambigua*] 'the condition of

aequora fracta uadis abruptaque terra profundo,
et post multa sonant proiecti litora fluctus.
sic male deseruit nullosque exegit in usus 310
hanc partem natura sui.) uel plenior alto
olim Syrtis erat pelago penitusque natabat:
sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
aequora subduxit zonae uicina perustae:
et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebo siccante repugnat. 315
mox ubi damnosum radios admouerit aeuom
tellus Syrtis erit: nam iam breuis unda superne
innatat et late periturum deficit aequor.
ut primum remis actum mare propulit omne
classis onus, densis fremuit niger imbribus Auster 320
in sua regna furens: temptatum classibus aequor
turbine defendit, longeque a Syrtibus undas
egit, et illato confregit litore pontum.
tum quarum recto deprendit carbasa malo
eripuit nautis, frustraque rudentibus ausis 325
uela negare Noto spatium uicere carinae,

spot is doubtful and it lies a tract impassable'. cf. Ov. (?) Halieut. 32 *et sub lege loci sumit mutatque colorem*, Ov. Amor. III ii 20 *haec ex lege loci commoda circus habet.*

308. *aequora fracta uadis*] 'the expanse of sea is broken by shallows and the earth is cut off from the mainland by the deep'.

309. *et post multa*] 'and the waves break and roar after passing over a number of shores'. *litora* as the Scholiast explains is equivalent to *dorsa* i.e. reefs. *proiecti* probably means 'thrown forward' and so 'curling over and breaking'.

311. *uel plenior*] 'or whether once the Syrtis was more completely filled with deep sea, and was inundated to its depths'. cf. *campi natantes* in Lucret. V 489, VI 1140; also Verg. G. I 372 *omnia plenis rura natant fossis.*

313. *pascens*] cf. notes on I 415, VII 5, X 258—261.

316. *damnosum*] 'destructive'. cf. Hor. carm. III vi 45 *damnosa quid non imminuit dies?*

317. *nam iam*] 'for now but shallow water floats upon its surface, and the sea is failing (i.e. diminishing) destined to disappear over a wide extent': i.e. when this tract which is now neither sea nor land has been exposed for ages to the sun's heat, it will become entirely dry land, for already owing to the heat the sea has become shallow and is gradually being evaporated.

319. *ut primum*] 'when first all the burden of the fleet drove before it the sea smitten with their oars'. Oud. cf. Propert. IV xxii 11 *tuque tuo Colchum propellas remige Phasim;* for *onus* cf. VII 127 *puppis onus.*

321. *sua regna*] sc. terras australes.

temptatum] 'with a whirlwind he defended the sea invaded by the fleet, and drove the waves to a distance from the Syrtes, and broke up the sea (sc. interrupted its continuity) by raising sandbanks in its midst'. cf. supr. 308, infr. 335.

324. *tum quarum*] 'the sails of those ships which it caught extended on the upright mast': when the sails were not being used, the mast would be lowered.

325. *frustraque*] 'and though the ropes ventured to refuse the sails to the south wind, they (sc. the sails) surpassed the length of the ship', sc. were blown out beyond the end of it.

326. *uela negare*] cf. VIII 560.

uicere] cf. Verg. G. II 123 *ubi aera uincere summum arboris haud ullae iactu potuere sagittae.*

atque ultra proram tumuit sinus. omnia si quis
prouidus antennae suffixit lintea summae,
uincitur et nudis auertitur armamentis.
sors melior classi quae fluctibus incidit altis 330
et certo iactata mari. quaecumque leuatae
arboribus caesis flatum effudere frementem,
abstulit has uentis liber contraria uoluens
aestus et obnixum uictor detrudit in Austrum.
has uada destituunt, atque interrupta profundo 335
terra ferit puppes: dubioque obnoxia fato
pars sedet una ratis, pars altera pendet in undis.
tum magis impactum breuibus mare, terraque saeuit
obuia consurgens: quamuis elisus ab Austro,
saepe tamen cumulos fluctus non uincit harenae. 340
eminet in tergo pelagi procul omnibus aruis
inuiolatus aqua sicci iam pulueris agger;
stant miseri nautae, terraeque haerente carina
litora nulla uident. sic partem intercipit aequor:

327. *omnia si quis*] 'if anyone had with 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 contrahit malosque inclinat et simul armamenta componens opperitur insequentis naues;* 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.

332. *flatum effudere frementem*] 'shook off (sc. let pass harmlessly over them) the raging blast'. For this use of *effundere* Oud. cf. Val. Flacc. IV 273—275 *ut deinde urgentis effudit nubibus iras ardoremque uiri, paulatim insurgere fesso integer, et summos manibus deducere caestus;* cf. also Pers. I 64 *ut per leue seueros effundat iunctura ungues.* Oud. retains the old reading *prementem*, taking it as a metaphor from horse-racing: he compares Sen. Phoen. 67, 68 *qualis insano ratis premente uento rapitur.*

333. *abstulit*] 'these the tide uncontrolled (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. Thyest. 438, 439 *sic concitatam remige et uelo ratem aestus resistens remigi et uelo refert.* For the adverbial use of *contraria* cf. V 217, 218 *pontus rauca gemit.*

335. *interrupta profundo*] 'separated by intervals of deep sea', or perhaps in a middle sense 'bursting up in the midst of the deep sea'. Oud. cf. Sen. Agamem. 592—594 *haerent acutis rupibus fixae rates: has inopes undae breuia commiserunt uada: pars uehitur huius prima, pars scopulo sedet.*

339. *elisus 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.

341. *procul omnibus aruis*] i.e., as Oud. rightly explains, at a great distance from the main land.

344. *litora nulla*] 'no real shore'.

intercipit] 'cuts off', 'destroys'. cf. Quintil. VI prooem. § 1 *si me, quod aequum et optabile fuit, fata intercepissent.*

pars ratium maior regimen clauomque secuta est 345
tuta fuga, nautasque loci sortita peritos
torpentem Tritonos adit illaesa paludem.
hanc, ut fama, deus, quem toto litore pontus
audit uentosa perflantem murmura concha,
hanc et Pallas amat, patrio quae uertice nata 350
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, 355
infernis, ut fama, trahens obliuia uenis:
atque insopiti quondam tutela draconis
Hesperidum pauper spoliatus frondibus hortus.
inuidus annoso qui famam derogat aeuo,
qui uates ad uera uocat. fuit aurea silua, 360
diuitiisque graues et fuluo germine rami:
uirgineusque chorus nitidi custodia luci,
et numquam somno damnatus lumina serpens
robora complexus rutilo curuata metallo.
abstulit arboribus pretium nemorique laborem 365
Alcides: passusque inopes sine pondere ramos
rettulit 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 *Eurydicen toto referebant flumine ripae.*

349. *perflantem 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 perflant*, Id. VI 171 *forte caua dum personat aequora concha.* Oud. himself proposes *proflantem 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 *hunc subter exit fons et exprimitur pluribus uenis sed imparibus.*

357. *atque*] sc. quam iuxta est.

tutela] 'care' passively; cf. Hor. carm. IV vi 33 *Deliae tutela deae*, Propert. IV viii 3 *Lanuuium annosi uetus 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:
sed duce Pompeio Libyes melioris in oris 370
mansit. at impatiens uirtus haerere Catonis
audet in ignotas agmen committere gentes,
armorum fidens, et terra cingere Syrtim.
haec eadem suadebat hiemps, quae clauserat aequor,
et spes imber erat nimios metuentibus ignes: 375
ut neque sole uiam nec duro frigore saeuam
inde polo Libyes hinc bruma temperet annus:
atque ingressurus steriles sic fatur harenas:
o quibus una salus placuit mea castra secutis
indomita ceruice mori, componite mentes 380
ad magnum uirtutis opus summosque labores.
uadimus in campos steriles exustaque mundi,
qua nimius Titan et rarae in fontibus undae,
siccaque letiferis squalent serpentibus arua,
durum iter: ad leges patriaeque ruentis amorem 385
per mediam Libyen ueniant, atque inuia temptent,
si quibus in nullo positum est euadere uoto,

369. *haud ultra*] 'did not go further and reach the Garamantian waters'.

370. *Libyes melioris*] 'the more fruitful part of Libya'.

373. *armorum fidens*] I am unable to find any other passage in which *fidens* is used similarly with the genitive: in Tac. Ann. IV 59, quoted by Forcellini, *constantiae* is probably dative: *fidens animi* in Verg. Aen. II 61 is entirely different.

cingere] equivalent to *circumire*, cf. note on I 594.

375. *spes imber erat*] 'stormy weather was a ground for hope, as what they dreaded was excessive heat'. cf. V 588. Verg. Aen. II 281 *o lux Dardaniae spes o fidissima Teucrum.*

376. *ut neque sole*] 'that the season would temper their march, formidable from neither the sun's heat nor freezing cold, on the one hand by the Libyan clime, on the other by the winter', i.e. they hoped it would be neither too hot nor too cold, as on the one hand it was the winter time, but on the other they were in Africa.

377. *temperet*] There does not seem to me to be any satisfactory way of accounting for the present tense following the past *erat*. The past tense in a dependent sentence after a present (historic) is sufficiently common: see notes on II 651, VII 463.

380. *indomita ceruice*] cf. infr. 603, Aesch. Agam. 328 οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον.

componite mentes] 'prepare your minds for'; cf. Quint. XII ix § 20 *animum ad omnes casus componere*, Val. Flacc. I 321 *nec ad hos animum componere casus ante datum.*

384. *squalent*] 'are foul with', cf. Ov. Met. XIV 410 *humus serpentibus atris squalere.*

385. *durum iter*] It seems best with Weise to take these words in apposition with the preceding sentence. Oud. prefers 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 uirisque aduersam ostentare fidem.* For *euadere* cf. Verg. Aen. II 730, 731 *iamque propinquabam portis omnemque uidebar euasisse uiam.*

si quibus ire sat est. neque enim mihi fallere quemquam
est animus tectoque metu perducere uolgus.
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 ardor 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'.

394. *meliore uia*] 'by an easier road', i. e. than that on which I shall lead you through the desert.

398. *praetemptate*] 'get a foretaste of your danger by what befalls me'.

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 'aestuo' sudat.*

equitem] 'on horseback'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 857, 858 *hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu sistet; eques sternet Poenum Gallumque rebellem.*

peditum turmas] *turma* being a word properly applied to cavalry, these words perhaps refer to dismounted cavalry: cf. Hor. carm. I ii 39 *Mauri peditis.*

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.

404. *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 quiuis quotiens plus sibi constat honestum: cf. Ov. A. A. III 539, 540 *adde quod insidiae sacris a uatibus absunt, et facit ad mores ars quoque nostra suos.*

405. *sola*] 'Libya alone can supply such a host of sufferings as to make it creditable 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 Glareanus rightly explains the passage. Qud. reads *turba.*

irreducemque uiam deserto limite carpit:
et sacrum paruo nomen clausura sepulcro
inuasit Libye securi fata Catonis. 410
tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famae
cuncta uelis: at si uentos caelumque sequaris,
pars erit Europae. neque enim plus litora Nili
quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt,
unde Europa fugit Libyen, et litora flexu 415
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 419
Eurum sola tenens. Libycae quod fertile terrae est
uergit in occasus: sed et haec non fontibus ullis
soluitur: Arctoos raris Aquilonibus imbres
accipit et nostris reficit sua rura serenis.
in nullas uitiatur opes; non aere neque auro
excoquitur, nullo glaebarum crimine, pura 425

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. *inuasit*] '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. II 315.

411. *tertia pars*] Weise refers to Sallust Jug. 17. Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. I 195 who speaks of Libya as *aut ingens Asiae latus aut pars tertia terris*.

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 abeunt fructus praediorum?*

418. *effundant*] 'while they (sc. Europe and Africa), are alike the source whence blows the West wind'.

Boreae latus illa] '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 II 408 *quoque magis nullum tellus se soluit in amnem*.

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 Phariis defensa serenis rauca Paraetonio descendunt agmina Nilo.*

424. *uitiatur*] 'it is not debased to any form of wealth'; cf. Ov. Met. I 140 *effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.*

425. *excoquitur*] 'it has not copper or gold smelted out of it'. *excoquitur* is equivalent to *exhauritur coquendo*, cf. V

et penitus terra est. tantum Maurusia genti
robora diuitiae quarum non nouerat usum,
sed citri contenta comis uiuebat et umbris.
in nemus ignotum nostrae uenere secures,
extremoque epulas mensasque petiuimus orbe. 430
at quaecumque uagam Syrtim complectitur 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 435
cura Iouis terra est: natura deside torpet
orbis et immotis annum non sentit harenis.
hoc tam segne solum raras tamen exserit herbas,
quas Nasamon gens dura legit, qui proxima ponto
nudus rura tenet, quem mundi barbara damnis 440
Syrtis alit. nam litoreis populator harenis
imminet, et nulla portus tangente carina
nouit opes. sic cum toto commercia mundo
naufragiis Nasamones habent. hac ire Catonem

333 *exhaustaque sanguine turba:* see also Ov. Fast. IV 785, 786 *omnia purgat edax ignis uitiumque metallis excoquit.*

nullo] 'its clods are innocent'.

426. *et penitus*] 'and is mere earth to its lowest depths', i.e. earth unmixed with metal.

tantum] 'the only wealth of its inhabitants is the Maurusian 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 wreath 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 citream a Q. Lutatio Diodoro (abstulisti)*, Pers. I 52 *non quidquid denique lectis scribitur in citreis?*

430. *epulas*] cf. I 166 *totoque accersitur orbe quo gens quaeque perit.*

431. *uagam*] 'shifting'.

432. *nimio die*] sc. sole torrenti, Schol.

434. *putris*] 'crumbling', sc. mere loose sand: to be *putre* to a certain extent is a merit in soil, cf. Verg. G. II 204 *et cui putre solum namque hoc imitamur arando optima frumentis.*

tenetur] 'is held together', i.e. as sandbanks are by the roots of grass.

435. *uitalis*] 'life-giving moderation in the heat'. cf. Cic. N. D. II 24 *caloris naturam uim habere in se uitalem.*

436. *cura Iouis*] '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 *quippe solo natura subest.* Weise explains it as a case of hypallage, equivalent to *tellus illa sub nulla est Iouis cura.*

437. *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 *constans.*

440. *mundi damnis*] sc. the wrecks of vessels; cf. Sil. Ital. III 320, 321 *hinc coit aequoreus Nasamon inuadere fluctu audax naufragia et praedas auertere ponto.*

441. *populator*] 'plunderer'.

442. *nulla portus*] 'and though no ships touch at havens there', i.e. implying that they have no havens for ships to touch at.

443. *nouit opes*] 'are acquainted with luxury'.

444. *naufragiis*] 'have dealings with all the world by means of shipwrecks'.

dura iubet uirtus. illic secura iuuentus 445
uentorum nullasque timens tellure procellas
aequoreos est passa metus. nam litore sicco
quam pelago Syrtis uiolentius accipit Austrum;
et terrae magis ille nocens. non montibus illum
aduersis frangit Libye scopulisque repulsum 450
dissipat, et liquidas e turbine soluit in auras:
nec ruit in siluas annosaque robora torquens
lassatur: patet omne solum, liberque meatu
Aeoliam rabiem totis exercet habenis:
et non imbriferam contorto puluere nubem 455
in flexum uiolentus agit: pars plurima terrae
tollitur et numquam resoluto uertice pendet.
regna uidet pauper Nasamon errantia uento
discussasque domos: uolitantque a culmine raptae
detecto Garamante casae. non altius ignis 460
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, quas calcat, harenis. 465
concuteret terras orbemque a sede moueret,
si solida Libye compage et pondere duro
clauderet exesis Austrum scopulosa cauernis:

445. *secura*] 'not thinking of the winds'.

447. *aequoreos*] quales nauigantes in mari experiuntur. Weise.

448. *uiolentius*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. III 652, 653 *nos tulit 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 nocte cometae sanguinei lugubre rubent.* For *soluere* cf. Propert. V iv 79 *Romulus excubias decreuit in otia solui.*

453. *liberque*] 'and with free passage everywhere vents the rage of Aeolus in all unchecked career'. For *totis habenis* Oud. cf. II 500 *haec ubi dicta, leuis totas accepit habenas in campum sonipes*, and for the metaphor Verg. Aen. XII 499 *irarumque omnes effudit habenas.*

456. *in flexum agit*] 'drives circling round'.

457. *numquam resoluto*] 'and hangs in mid air, as the whirlwind never breaks up'.

458. *regna*] 'his country'.

459. *uolitantque*] 'and the huts fly aloft torn away roof first and leave the Garamantian exposed'.

461. *rapta*] sc. ashes &c. Weise.

462. *et uiolare diem*] 'obscuring the light of day'. cf. Claudian in Rufin. I 63 *et flatu uiolare diem*, speaking of Allecto.

465. *instabilis*] 'failing to stand, since the very sand he treads on is swept away'.

467. *si solida*] 'if Libya of solid texture and firm heavy substance were rocky and shut up Auster in hollowed caverns', i.e. so that it would have to force a passage out.

sed quia mobilibus facilis turbatur harenis
nusquam luctando stabilis manet, imaque tellus 470
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 475
arma timent gentes, hominumque erepta lacertis
a superis demissa putant. sic illa profecto
sacrifico cecidere Numae, quae lecta iuuentus
patricia ceruice mouet: spoliauerat Auster
aut Boreas populos ancilia nostra ferentis. 480
sic orbem torquente Noto Romana iuuentus
procubuit, metuensque rapi constrinxit amictus,
inseruitque manus terrae: nec pondere solo
sed nisu iacuit uix sic immobilis Austro:
qui super ingentes cumulos inuoluit harenae 485
atque operit tellure uiros. uix tollere miles
membra ualet multo congestu pulueris haerens.
adligat et stantis adfusae magnus harenae
agger et immoti terra surgente tenentur.
saxa tulit penitus discussis proruta muris 490
effuditque procul miranda sorte malorum:
qui nullas uidere domos uidere ruinas.
iamque iter omne latet: nec sunt discrimina terrae
ulla nisi aetheriae medio uelut aequore flammae.
sideribus nouere uias: nec sidera nota 495

470. *stabilis*] 'it remains stable by ering resistance nowhere'.
473. *intentus*] 'forcibly', cf. Cic. de it. II § 211 *sic haec (oratio) quae susciur ab oratore ad commutandos animos, intenta et uehemens esse debet.*
474. *externa*] sc. respectu Libyae. eise. Oud. reads *extrema*.
477. *illa*] sc. the ancilia.
478. *cecidere*] 'fell before Numa as he ered sacrifice'.
lecta iuuentus] sc. the Salii, for whom I 603.
484. *sed nisu iacuit*] 'but lay on the ɔund with an effort', i.e. clinging to it th all their strength.
490. *saxa tulit*] 'it carried stones thrown down from walls dashed all to pieces'.
491. *miranda*] 'with harm which it was strange should happen', *θείᾳ τινὶ κακῶν τύχῃ*.
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. *ulla*] 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 orbem,
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. 510
uentum erat ad templum Libycis quod gentibus unum
inculti Garamantes habent: stat sortifer istic
Iuppiter, ut memorant, sed non aut fulmina uibrans,
aut similis nostro, sed tortis cornibus Hammon.
non illic Libycae posuerunt ditia gentes 515
templa, 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 deuexo*] 'but with downward 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 I 531.

499. *incensusque*] 'and the day was lighted up', sc. by the sun. cf. Ov. ex Ponto II i 41 *deque triumphato quod sol incenderit auro. incendere diem* is found in a different sense in IV 68.

After *dies* many MSS. insert *iam spissior ignis...calcatur* from infr. 604—606, continuing *et umor in Noton omnis abit:* these words were rightly ejected by Grotius: with *manant* and *arent* continue *ut* as part of the protasis.

500. *maligna*] 'scanty', cf. VIII 565.

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 morning heat'.

508. *poena—ista*] i.e. this punishment which I inflict on myself, viz. to go without drinking.

510. *suffecit*] i.e. all were content to go without, after Cato had set the example. Compare the story told of David in I Chronicles xi 15 foll. Oud. quotes from Frontinus Strateg. I vii 7 a similar story of Alexander.

511. *Libycis*] 'which alone common to all the tribes of Libya &c.' cf. inf. 518.

512. *sortifer*] 'oracular', some MSS. read *corniger.*

516. *donaria*] θησαυροί 'treasuries'.

517. *beatis*] cf. Hor. carm. I xxix 1 *Icci beatis nunc Arabum inuides gazis.*

gentibus atque Indis unus sit Iuppiter Hammon,
pauper adhuc deus est nullis uiolata per aeuom
diuitiis delubra tenens: morumque priorum 520
numen Romano templum defendit ab auro.
esse locis superos testatur silua per omnem
sola uirens Libyen. nam quidquid puluere sicco
separat ardentem tepida Berenicida Lepti
ignorat frondes: solus nemus extulit Hammon. 525
siluarum fons causa loco, qui putria terrae
adligat et domitas unda conectit harenas.
sic quoque nil obstat Phoebo cum cardine summo
stat librata dies: truncum uix protegit arbor:
tam breuis in medium radiis compellitur umbra. 530
deprensum est hunc esse locum qua circulus alti
solstitii medium signorum percutit orbem.
non obliqua meant, nec Tauro Scorpios exit
rectior, aut Aries donat sua tempora Librae,
aut Astraea iubet lentos descendere Pisces. 535
par Geminis Chiron, et idem quod Carcinos ardens

518. *Indis*] For the confusion between Indians and Aethiopians cf. Verg. G. IV 293 *usque coloratis amnis deuexus ab Indis*, used of the Nile, and Conington's note.

519. *uiolata*] 'defiled'. cf. Iuv. XI 116 *fictilis et nullo uiolatus Iuppiter auro*, on which see Prof. Mayor's note.

520. *morumque priorum*] 'a good old-fashioned deity'.

521. *Romano*] cf. Sen. contr. II 9 *quietiora tempora pauperes haluimus: bella ciuilia aurato Capitolio gessimus.* cf. also Persius II 59—69 *aurum uasa Numae Saturniaque impulit aera, Vestalesque urnas et Tuscum fictile mutat. o curuae in terras animae et caelestium inanes, quid iuuat hoc, templis nostros immittere mores, et bona dis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpa? ...peccat et haec, peccat; uitio tamen utitur, at uos dicite, pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?*

524. *Berenicida*] Berenicis was in the Cyrenaic Pentapolis, Leptis near Carthage and Utica.

526. *qui putria*] 'which binds together the crumbling soil and with its waters subdues and unites the sands'.

528. *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 summa pars medii caeli quam sol occupat meridie, media aestate. Weise. cf. IV 672, also II 587 *umbras nusquam flectente Syene.*

531. *qua circulus*] 'where the circle of the solstice in the sky (sc. the equinoctial circle) cuts the zodiac in its centre'.

533. *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 qua se signorum uerteret ordo.*

nec Tauro] 'nor does the Scorpion rise more vertically than the Bull'.

534. *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.

535. *aut Astraea*] 'nor does Astraea (Virgo) bid the Fishes set slowly'.

536. *par Geminis*] 'Chiron (Sagittarius) is on a level with the Twins', i.e.

umidus Aegoceros: nec plus Leo tollitur Vrna.
at tibi, quaecumque 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 uertice summo
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 noua fata petebant, 545
sed Latio cessere duci: comitesque Catonem
orant exploret Libycum memorata per orbem
numina, de fama tam longi iudicet aeui.
maximus hortator scrutandi uoce deorum
euentus Labienus erat. sors obtulit, inquit, 550
et fortuna uiae tam magni numinis ora
consiliumque dei: tanto duce possumus uti
per Syrtes bellique datos cognoscere casus.
nam cui crediderim superos arcana daturos
dicturosque magis quam sancto uera Catoni? 555
certe uita tibi semper directa supernas
ad leges sequerisque deum. datur ecce loquendi
cum Ioue libertas: inquire in fata nefandi
Caesaris et patriae uenturos excute mores:

rises no higher, 'and the blazing Crab rises just as high as watery Capricorn'. *idem* sc. *tollitur*, not to be taken with *ardens* as Weise would have it.

538. *Libyco*] 'cut 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 III 248.

540. *subit*] 'and slow-moving Cynosura sinks below the horizon'.

542. *immune*] cf. Ov. Met. XIII 294 *immunemque aequoris Arcton*. For the construction of *immunis* with the ablative cf. note on II 257, VIII 704.

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'.

545. *noua fata*] 'destinies unheard before'.

548. *iudicet*] 'to pass judgement c reputation maintained for so many ag i.e. by testing the truth of the oracle.

549. *scrutandi*] 'prying into the ture by the oracle of the god'.

550. *Labienus*] For Labienus, c 346.

553. *datos*] 'and discover the issu the war assigned by fate'.

554. *arcana*] 'secret oracles'. W cf. V 137.

556. *directa*] 'thy life has ever b ordered in accordance with the laws dwell on high'. cf. Cic. pro Mur. *Catoni uitam ad certam rationis norn dirigenti.*

559. *excute*] 'search into the fu character of thy native land'. cf. Ov Ponto IV viii 17, 18 *seu genus excut equites ab origine prima usque per in meros inueniemur auos.*

iure suo populis uti legumque licebit, 560
an bellum ciuile perit. tua pectora sacra
uoce reple: durae semper uirtutis amator
quaere quid est uirtus et posce exemplar honesti.
ille deo plenus tacita quem mente gerebat
effudit dignas adytis e pectore uoces: 565
quid quaeri, Labiene, iubes? an liber in armis
occubuisse uelim potius quam regna uidere?
an sit uita nihil, et longa? an differat aetas?
an noceat uis ulla bono? Fortunaque perdat
opposita uirtute minas? laudandaque uelle 570
sit satis, et numquam successu crescat honestum?
scimus et haec nobis non altius inseret Hammon.
haeremus cuncti superis, temploque tacente
nil agimus nisi sponte dei: nec uocibus ullis
numen eget: dixitque semel nascentibus auctor 575

560. *populis*] used of the Roman ple, cf. note on VII 185.
icebit] For the mood of this word, of *it* in the following line, and of *est* in cf. note on I 126 *quis iustius induit na scire nefas*, also Hor. Epist. I vii 39 *pice si possum*, Pers. III 66—72.
561. *perit*] 'is wasted', 'is in vain'. notes on IV 252, VI 54, VII 558, 1058
562. *semper*] Oud. with some MSS. ds *saltem* not *semper*, i.e. at all events ou will not enquire about future events, uire into the nature of virtue. *semper* st be taken with *amator*, cf. notes on I 330, supr. 283.
563. *exemplar*] 'and ask for a pattern ight'.
565. *dignas adytis*] i.e. worthy to have n uttered by the oracle. Oud. cf. ret. I 737 foll. *quamquam multa bene liuinitus inuenientes ex adyto tanquam lis responsa dedere sanctius, et multo a ratione magis quam Pythica, quae ode ex Phoebi lauroque profatur.* tius refers to Senec. controu. I § 9 *ntis nisi illam uocem non M. Catonis oraculi creditis. quid enim est oracu- ? nempe uoluntas diuina hominis ore ntiata. et quem tandem antistitem ctiorem inuenire sibi diuinitas potuit m M. Catonem?*
567. *regna*] 'tyranny'. cf. III 145, VII
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 quae longior.*
an differat aetas?] 'whether a man's age makes any difference?' i.e. it is in Stoic language ἀδιάφορον. 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 *an aliquid intersit parum uixisse, uel plurimum.* Most MSS. read *sed longam differat aetas?* the reading of the Roman edition of 1469 is *sed 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 Hammon will not implant it more deeply in our hearts'.
573. *haeremus*] 'we are in constant intercourse with heaven'. cf. Plin. Ep. VII 27 *obtinenti Africam comes haeserat.*
temploque tacente] '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.
auctor] sc. *generis humani*, cf. Hor. carm. I ii 35, 36 *siue neglectum genus et nepotes respicis auctor.*

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 quaerimus 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 praecedit anheli
militis ora pedes: monstrat tolerare labores,
non iubet: et nulla uehitur 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
inspicitur uirtus, quidquid laudamus in ullo 595
maiorum, Fortuna fuit. quis Marte secundo,
quis tantum meruit populorum 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, supr. 38, for the latter VII 756. Oud. accordingly proposes to read here *sterilesne elegit*.

577. *mersit*] 'buried'. cf. Ov. Met. X 498 *mersitque suos in cortice uoltus*.

579. *caelum*] cf. Eur. frag. Melanippe 7 ὄμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ' οἴκησιν Διός.

ultra] 'beyond ourselves', cf. Sen. Epp. IV xii (41) §§ 1, 2 *non sunt ad caelum eleuandae manus nec exorandus aedituus ut nos ad aurem simulacri, quasi magis exaudiri possimus, admittat; prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. ita dico, Lucili; sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum obseruator 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. H. N. II § 14 *quisquis est deus, si modo est alius, et quacunque in parte, totus est sensus, totus uisus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui*, and further on § 18 *deus est mortali iuuare mortalem*. The common reading retained by Oud. is *quecunque moueris*.

582. *me non oracula*] 'it is not oracles that make me certain, but the certainty of death'.

585. *fide*] 'preserving the temple's credit', i.e. as he had not tested it.

586. *populis*] sc. *externis*; dative.

588. *pedes*] 'on foot'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 880 *seu cum pedes iret in hostem*.

589. *ceruice*] 'is not borne reclining on men's shoulders or seated in a chariot'. cf. Iuv. I 64 *cum iam sexta ceruice feratur*.

593. *dum*] 'till the camp-follower has drunk'.

594. *bonis*] neuter; 'is won by real merits'.

nuda] cf. Iuv. X 141 *quis enim uirtutem amplectitur ipsam praemia si tollas?*

596. *Fortuna fuit*] 'was Fortune', i.e. 'Fortune's gift', i.e. rather than Virtue's

hunc ego per Syrtes Libyaeque extrema triumphum
ducere maluerim, quam ter Capitolia curru
scandere Pompeii, quam frangere colla Iugurthae. 600
ecce parens uerus patriae dignissimus aris
Roma, tuis; per quem numquam iurare pudebit,
et quem, si steteris umquam ceruice soluta,
nunc olim factura deum. iam spissior ignis,
et plaga, quam nullam superi mortalibus ultra 605
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. 610
ductor ut adspexit perituros fonte relicto
adloquitur: uana specie conterrite leti,
ne dubita, miles, tutos haurire liquores:
noxia serpentum est admixto sanguine pestis:
morsu uirus habent et fatum dente minantur: 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 620

599. *ter Capitolia*] cf. note on supr. 178.

600. *frangere*] i.e. than the triumph of Marius.

602. *iurare*] cf. VII 459 *inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.* Hor. Epist. II i 16 *iurandasque tuom per nomen ponimus aras.*

603. *ceruice*] cf. supr. 380.

604. *nunc olim*] 'now or at some future time', cf. Verg. Aen. IV 627 *nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt se tempore uires.* Grotius reads *tunc* apparently with little MS. authority: most MSS. have *nunc.* For the omission of *es* after the participle cf. VI 616.

iam spissior ignis] 'now the heat was more intense', cf. the use of *flamma* X 57. For *spissus* cf. Verg. Aen. II 621 *spissis noctis se condidit umbris.* Sen. Herc. Fur. 712 *quem grauibus umbris spissa caligo adligat.*

605. *quam nullam*] 'beyond which the gods have made none for mortals on the side of the south'. cf. Hor. carm. I xxii 21 *pone sub curru nimium propinqui solis in terra domibus negata.* Verg. G. I 237 *has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris munere concessae diuom. ultra* is to be taken with *quam.*

609. *uix*] 'while the space could scarce hold them all'.

611. *fonte relicto*] '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 Maenala Nymphis* equivalent to *mixtus Nymphis.*

616. *dubium uenenum*] sc. de quo dubitabatur an uenenum esset. cf. Ov. Met. XIII 754 *signarat dubia teneras lanugine 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 exundasse chelydris.*

620. *fertilis in*] 'rich in producing'.

nocenti] proleptic: 'so that it is deadly'.

miscuerit natura solo, non cura laborque
noster scire ualet: nisi quod uolgata per orbem
fabula pro uera decepit saecula causa.
finibus extremis Libyes, ubi feruida tellus
accipit oceanum demisso sole calentem, 625
squalebant late Phorcynidos arua Medusae,
non nemorum protecta coma, non mollia sulco,
sed dominae uoltu conspectis aspera saxis.
hoc primum natura nocens in corpore saeuas
eduxit pestes: illis e faucibus angues 630
stridula fuderunt uibratis sibila linguis,
femineae qui more comae per terga soluti
ipsa flagellabant gaudentis colla Medusae.
surgunt aduersa subrectae fronte colubrae,
uipereumque fluit depexo crine uenenum. 635
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
praeuenitque metus: anima periere retenta 640
membra nec emissae riguere sub ossibus umbrae.
Eumenidum crines solos mouere furores:
Cerberus Orpheo leniuit sibila cantu:
Amphitryoniades uidit cum uinceret Hydram;

622. *nisi quod*] as Weise explains 'all I know is that a false tale spread through the world in place of the real cause has deceived all ages'. cf. Sall. Iug. 67 *parum comperimus; nisi quia uidetur, &c.*

625. *accipit*] 'admits', i.e. is bathed by.

calentem] cf. Iuv. XIV 280 *audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.*

626. *squalebant*] cf. note on I 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 produced these fierce plagues'.

633. *gaudentis*] 'who gloried in them', or 'who felt pleasure in their movement'.

635. *depexo crine*] 'from her trimmed hair'. cf. Ov. A. A. I 630 *depexaeque iubae.*

636. *hoc*] sc. the serpents on her head. So Grotius explains following the Schol.: hoc unum est Medusae quod impune spectatur crinis scilicet, nam uoltum nemo impune 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 mortuus est. Weise.

640. *praeuenit metus*] 'was too quick for their fear'.

641. *nec emissae*] equivalent to *necdum emissae*, 'before they have left the body'.

642. *solos furores*] 'merely frenzy', i.e. not immediate death by turning into stone.

643. *Orpheo*] cf. Verg. G. IV 467 foll. *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
Phorcus aquis Cetoque parens ipsaeque sorores
Gorgones: hoc potuit caelo pelagoque minari
torporem insolitum mundoque abducere terram.
e caelo uolucres subito cum pondere lapsae:
in scopulis haesere ferae: uicina colentes 650
Aethiopum totae riguerunt marmore gentes.
nullum animal uisus patiens, ipsique retrorsum
effusi faciem uitabant Gorgonis angues.
illa sub Hesperiis stantem Titana columnis
in cautes Atlanta dedit: caeloque timente 655
olim Phlegraeo stantis serpente gigantes,
erexit montes, bellumque immane deorum
Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon.
quo postquam partu Danaes et diuite nimbo
ortum Parrhasiae uexerunt Persea pennae 660
Arcados auctoris citharae liquidaeque palaestrae,
et subitus praepes Cyllenida sustulit Harpen,
Harpen alterius monstri iam caede rubentem,
a Ioue dilectae fuso custode iuuencae:

645. *genitor*] 'Phorcus her sire, the deity propitious to the waves'.

646. *ipsaeque sorores*] cf. Verg. Aen. VII 327 of Allecto *odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores Tartareae monstrum.*

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. V vi § 8 *has inter pingues terrenique colles, neque enim facile usquam saxum, etiam si quaeratur, occurrit.*

651. *riguerunt marmore*] 'stiffened in stone'.

654. *Hesperiis 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 uictorum manus.* Lucret. II 500 *purpura Thessalico concharum tincta colore.*

657. *erexit montes*] 'made them stand up as mountains'. cf. Verg. Ecl. VI 62, 63 *tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae corticis, atque solo proceras erigit alnos.*

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 wrestling bore Perseus, sprung from Danae and the shower of gold, and he with sudden swoop lifted high Cyllenian Harpe, Harpe already crimsoned with another monster's blood'.

diuite] cf. Hor. carm. III xvi 1—8.

661. *Arcados*] sc. Mercurii. cf. Hor. carm. I x 1—4 *Mercuri facunde nepos Atlantis qui feros cultus hominum recentum uoce formasti catus et decorae more palaestrae.*

liquidae] ὑγρᾶς, or as Forcellini explains it, quia oleo perungebantur.

662. *Harpen*] ἅρπην; the curved sword lent by Mercury to Perseus.

663. *alterius*] sc. Argus.

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 monstri* in the preceding line require some further explanation. For *fuso* cf. VII 652.

auxilium uolucri Pallas tulit innuba fratri, 665
pacta caput monstri: terraeque in fine Libyssae
Persea Phoebeos conuerti iussit ad ortus
Gorgonis auerso sulcantem regna uolatu:
et clipeum laeuae fuluo dedit aere nitentem,
in quo saxificam iussit spectare Medusam. 670
quam sopor aeternam tracturus morte quietem
obruit haud totam: uigilat pars magna comarum
defenduntque caput praetenti crinibus hydri:
pars iacet in medios uoltus oculique tenebras.
ipsa regit trepidum Pallas, dextraque tremente 675
Perseos auersi Cyllenida dirigit Harpen,
lata colubriferi rumpens confinia colli.
quos habuit uoltus hamati uolnere ferri
caesa caput Gorgon: quanto spirasse ueneno
ora rear: quantumque oculos effundere mortis. 680
nec Pallas spectare potest: uoltusque 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 685
aethera, si medias Europae scinderet urbes;
Pallas frugiferas iussit non laedere terras
et parci populis. quis enim non praepete tanto

665. *uolucri fratri*] 'her flying brother', sc. Perseus, both being children of Jove.

666. *pacta*] 'bargaining for the monster's head.'

667. *ad ortus*] i.e. Perseus was to turn his head to the east and fly westwards.

668. *auerso uolatu*] sc. 'flying backwards'.

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 uastae obduxere tenebrae.*

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!'

681. *nec Pallas*] equivalent to *ne Pallas quidem*, cf. note on VIII 497.

gelassent] sc. *oculi*; or the word may perhaps be here used in a neuter sense, for which Oud. cf. Stat. Theb. IV 717 *gelant uenae et siccis cruor aeger adhaerit uisceribus.*

682. *auersi*] i.e. 'even though he turned away'.

684. *sic*] seruatus arte Palladis. Weise.

685. *pensabat*] 'would have been shortening his journey, and cleaving the sky by a nearer course'. cf. VIII 248, 249 *magnosque sinus Telmessidos undae compensat medio pelago.* Compare also the use of *dispendia* in VIII 2 and see infr. 1002. For the mood of *pensabat* cf. note on X 25.

686. *si scinderet*] 'should he have made his way through the midst of Europe's cities'.

688. *parci*] For the coupling of an

aethera respiceret? Zephyro conuertitur ales,
itque super Libyen, quae nullo consita cultu 690
sideribus Phoeboque uacat: premit orbita solis
exuritque solum: nec terra celsior ulla
nox cadit in caelum lunaeque meatibus obstat,
si flexus oblita uagi per recta cucurrit
signa, nec in Borean aut in Noton effugit 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 700
aspida somniferam tumida ceruice leuauit.
plenior huic sanguis et crassi gutta ueneni
decidit: in nulla plus est serpente coactum.
ipsa caloris egens gelidum non transit in orbem
sponte sua Niloque tenus metitur harenas. 705
sed quis erit nobis lucri pudor? inde petuntur

active and passive infin. cf. Verg. Aen. III 61 *linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus Austros.*

praepete tanto] 'when such a flier past'. cf. Ov. Met. V 257 *dura Medusaei quem praepetis ungula rupit.*

689. *Zephyro*] probably ablative, to be taken with *ales;* 'he turns his course sped by the west wind'.

691. *uacat*] 'is exposed to the power of the stars and sun'.

692. *nec terra*] '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 Chelyder be her brood,
Cenchris and Amphisbaena 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.

702. *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: *huc* to Italy.

huc Libycae mortes et fecimus aspida mercem.
at non stare suom miseris passura cruorem
squamiferos ingens haemorrhois explicat orbes:
natus et ambiguae coleret qui Syrtidos arua 710
chersydros, tractique uia fumante chelydri:
et semper recto lapsurus limite cenchris:
pluribus ille notis uariatam pingitur aluom
quam paruis tinctus maculis Thebanus ophites:
concolor exustis atque indiscretus harenis 715
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 aquae, iaculique uolucres, 720
et contentus iter cauda sulcare pareas:
oraque distendens auidus spumantia 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 chersydrus (from χέρσος and ὕδωρ) is described as an amphibious serpent by Nicander Ther. 366—371 ὃς δ' ἤτοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ὑπὸ βροχθώδει λίμνῃ ἄσπειστον βατράχοισι φέρει κότον· ἀλλ' ὅταν ὕδωρ Σείριος αὐήνῃσι, τρύγῃ δ' ἐν πυθμένι λίμνης, καὶ τόθ' ὅ γ' ἐν χέρσῳ τελέθει ψαθαρός τε καὶ ἄχρους, θάλπων ἠελίῳ βλοσυρὸν δέμας, ἐν δὲ κελεύθοις γλώσσῃ ποιφύγδην νέμεται διψήρεας ὄγμους.

711. *fumante*] Sulpitius explains this by *pulueruleuta*, Oud. by *graueolente*. cf. Verg. G. III 415 *galbaneoque agitare graues nidore chelydros*. Weise explains it of the track they leave in the water when swimming. *chelydri* are water-snakes, so called from the hardness of their skins (χέλυς ὕδωρ).

712. *semper recto*] i.e. which always moves straight to its victim, cf. Nic. Ther. 481 ἰθεῖαν δ' ὤκιστος ἐπιδρομάδην στίβον ἕρπει. The name *cenchris* is derived from κέγχρος millet, referring to the small spots mentioned in the next line.

714. *ophites*] A kind of marble found in Egypt, for which Oud. refers to Plin. H. N. XXXVI §§ 55, 158.

715. *indiscretus*] 'not to be distinguished from', cf. Verg. Aen. X 391, 392 *simillima proles indiscreta 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 tristis hiemps etiam num frigore saxa 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 (ἀμφὶς βαίνειν), cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 85.

720. *uiolator aquae*] hic et aquam quam tetigerit inficit de uenenis. Schol.

721. *pareas*] 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 (παρειαί).

722. *prester*] i.e. the sweller (πρήθων).

ossaque dissoluens cum corpore tabificus seps:
sibilaque effundens cunctas terrentia pestes
ante uenena nocens late sibi submouet omne 725
uolgus et in uacua regnat basiliscus harena.
uos quoque, qui cunctis innoxia numina terris
serpitis, aurato nitidi fulgore dracones,
pestiferos ardens facit Africa; ducitis altum
aera cum pennis, armentaque tota secuti 730
rumpitis ingentes amplexi uerbere tauros.
nec tutus spatio est elephas: datis omnia leto:
nec uobis opus est ad noxia fata ueneno.
has inter pestes duro Cato milite siccum
emetitur iter, tot tristia fata suorum 735
insolitasque uidens paruo cum uolnere mortes.
signiferum iuuenem Tyrrheni sanguinis Aulum
torta caput retro dipsas calcata momordit.
uix dolor aut sensus dentis fuit: ipsaque leti
frons caret inuidia, nec quicquam plaga minatur. 740
ecce subit uirus tacitum carpitque medullas
ignis edax calidaque incendit uiscera tabe.
ebibit umorem circum uitalia fusum
pestis et in sicco linguam torrere palato
coepit; defessos iret qui sudor in artus 745

723. *seps*] from σήπειν, cf. Aesch. Cho. 994, 995 τί σοι δοκεῖ; μύραινά γ' εἰτ' ἔχιδν' ἔφυ, σήπειν θιγοῦσ' ἂν ἄλλον οὐ δεδηγμένον.

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. *uos quoque*] According to Weise harmless serpents were worshipped and called ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες. Compare Plin. H. N. XXIX § 67 *draco non habet uenena. caput eius limini ianuarum subditum propitiatis adoratione dis fortunatam domum facere promittitur.*

729. *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] uolatis 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. *uerbere*] 'by the blows of your tail'.

732. *spatio*] 'size'. cf. Iuv. IV 39 *spatium admirabile rhombi.*

elephas] For an account of these *dracones* and their encounters with elephants and oxen, see Plin. H. N. VIII §§ 32—37.

740. *frons*] equivalent to *aspectus*, 'the external appearance of the deadly wound is harmless'. Oud. cf. Sen. Phaedr. 286, 287 *non habet latam data plaga frontem, sed uorat tectas penitus medullas.*

743. *ebibit*] '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: 755
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 implere cruore. 760
iussit 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
auolsitque manu piloque adfixit harenis. 765
parua modo serpens, sed qua non ulla cruentae
tantum mortis habet. nam plagae proxima circum
fugit rapta cutis pallentiaque ossa retexit.

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. I 205, supr. 626.

757. *sed non sibi*] Ond. with many MSS. and the earlier editions reads *et* instead 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 *uerbi inuidiam contumeliamque maledicti* and Dr Reid's note ad loc.

762. *hoc*] i.e. to make a man throw away the standard.

764. *stetit*] 'fixed itself'.

flexo dente] 'hooked fang'.

766. *modo*] 'in size'. *qua non ulla* is apparently put for *qua non alia* as Ond. explains; cf. Hor. Epp. II i 240 *alius Lysippo:* or else Lucan was going to write *plus mortis* and then changed it to *tantum*.

iamque sinu laxo nudum est sine corpore uolnus;
membra 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 membra uenenum 775
decoquit; in minimum mox contrahit omnia uirus
uincula neruorum, et laterum contexta cauomque
pectus et abstrusum fibris uitalibus, omne
quidquid homo est, aperit pestis. natura profana
morte patet: manant umeri fortesque lacerti: 780
colla caputque fluunt. calido non ocius Austro
nix resoluta cadit nec solem cera sequetur.
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 cadauer.
ecce subit facies leto diuersa fluenti.
Nasidium Marsi cultorem torridus agri 790
percussit prester. illi rubor igneus ora
succendit, tenditque cutem pereunte figura

769. *sinu laxo*] 'as the opening widens', cf. Sen. Oed. 595 *subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.* For the exaggeration in the latter part of the line cf. infr. 814 *totum est pro uolnere corpus*, also Stat. Theb. v 598 quoted by Oud. *totumque in uolnere corpus.*

773. *stringens uterum*] 'which holds the stomach together'.

774. *quantum toto*] '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 fetid 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 *compages humana*, cf. v 119.

779. *profana*] 'profanam mortem dicit quod naturae secreta patefecerit'. Schol.

782. *sequetur*] 'will be found obedient to the sun'. Compare the use of *erit* in I 31, VIII 379. For *sequi* cf. Stat. Achill. I 332, 333 *qualiter artificis uicturae pollice cerae accipiunt formas ignemque manumque sequuntur.* Iuv. X 58 *descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur.*

783. *corpus*] i.e. carnem, the flesh. cf. supr. 769.

785. *discedunt*] 'disappear'. cf. notes on II 121, III 655.

787. *Cinyphias*] African, cf. Verg. G. III 312.

palma] cf. Justin XII cap. vi *Clitus fiducia amicitiae regiae cuius palmam tenebat.*

789. *diuersa*] *contraria.* cf. Liv. XXXIV 4 *diuersa duo uitia, auaritia et luxuria.*

miscens cuncta tumor toto iam corpore maior:
humanumque egressa modum super omnia membra
efflatur sanies: late pollente ueneno 795
ipse latet penitus congesto corpore mersus:
nec lorica tenet distenti corporis auctum.
spumeus accenso non sic exundat aeno
undarum cumulus: nec tantos carbasa Cauro
curuauere sinus. tumidos iam non capit artus 800
informis globus et confuso pondere truncus.
intactum uolucrum rostris epulasque daturum
haud impune feris non ausi tradere busto
nondum stante modo crescens fugere cadauer.
sed maiora parant Libycae spectacula pestes. 805
impressit dentes haemorrhois aspera Tullo,
magnanimo iuueni miratorique Catonis.
utque solet pariter totis se effundere signis
Corycii pressura croci, sic omnia membra
emisere simul rutilum pro sanguine uirus. 810
sanguis erant lacrimae: quaecumque foramina nouit
umor, ab his largus manat cruor: ora redundant
et patulae nares: sudor rubet: omnia plenis
membra fluunt 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. *aeno*] For the simile cf. Verg. Aen. VII 462—466 *magno ueluti cum flamma sonore uirgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni, exsultantque aestu latices; furit intus aquai fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis; nec iam se capit unda; uolat uapor ater ad auras.*

799. *nec tantos*] 'nor do sails form such big bellying curves before the northwind's blast'.

800. *iam non capit*] 'no longer can contain'.

802. *uolucrum rostris*] '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.

807. *miratori*] 'imitator', Oud. cf. Verg. Aen. VIII 516—7 *tua cernere facta adsuescat primis et te miretur ab annis.*

808. *signis*] '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 i 14 *pulpita sollemnes non oluere crocos.* Weise cf. also Mart. V XIV 7, 8 *hoc rogo non melius quam rubro pulpita nimbo spargere et effuso permadnisse croco?* Id. de spect. III 8 *et Cilices nimbis hic maduere suis.*

809. *pressura croci*] i.e. crocus expressus. cf. Verg. G. II 466 *nec casia puri corrumpitur usus oliui.*

810. *uirus*] cf. I 615.

811. *sanguis erant*] This is the passage which Lucan is said to have repeated while bleeding to death.

813. *patulae*] a stock epithet.

814. *totum*] 'his whole body is nothing but one wound'. cf. supr. 769.

at tibi, Leue miser, fixus praecordia pressit 815
Niliaca serpente cruor: nulloque dolore
testatus morsus subita caligine mortem
accipis et Stygias somno descendis ad umbras.
non tam ueloci corrumpunt pocula leto,
stipite quae diro [uirgas mentita Sabaeas 820
toxica fatilegi] carpunt matura Sabaei.
ecce procul saeuus 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. 825
deprensum est, quae funda rotat quam lenta uolarent,
quam segnis Scythicae strideret harundinis aer.
quid prodest miseri basiliscus cuspide Mursi
transactus? uelox currit per tela uenenum
inuaditque manum: quam protinus ille retecto 830
ense ferit totoque simul demittit ab armo:
exemplarque sui spectans miserabile leti
stat tutus pereunte manu. quis fata putaret
scorpion aut uires maturae mortis habere?

815. *fixus*] equivalent to *congelatus*. Weise.

819. *pocula*] equivalent to *uenena*. cf. the use of *pyxis* for a box of poison Iuv. XIII 25.

820. *Sabaeas*] This is the MS. reading which Scaliger changed into *Sabinas* on account of the *Sabaei* in the next line. Grotius explains *Sabinas* as referring to the *uirgae* of the Roman lictors, 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 *fatilegi* inclusive. It appears however from Verg. culex 404 *herbaque turis opes priscis imitata Sabinis* that the Sabines cultivated some plant to take the place of the genuine Sabaean *tus*. Compare with this passage Verg. G. I 57 *India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei*, Id. G. II 117 *solis est turea uirga Sabaeis*. A consideration of these passages leads me to suspect that the true reading is *stipite quae diro uirgas mentita Sabaeas toxica fatilegi carpunt matura Sabini*. For Sabine witchcraft see Hor. Epod. XVII 27—29 *ergo negatum uincor ut credam miser Sabella pectus increpare carmina caputque Marsa dissilire nenia*.

823. *iaculum*] cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 85 *iaculum ex arborum ramis uibrari, nec pedibus tantum pauendas serpentes sed et missili uolare tormento*. Aelian VI 18 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀκοντίων δίκην ἑαυτόν τις μεθίησι καὶ ἐπιφέρεται, καὶ τό γε ὄνομα ἐξ οὗ δρᾷ ἔχει· κέκληται γὰρ ἀκοντίας.

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. I 47 *sed mihi quid prodest uestris disiecta lacertis Ilios?*

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 saeuus 835
teste tulit 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. 840
nam neque congestae struxere cubilia frondes
nec culmis creuere tori: sed corpora fatis
expositi uoluuntur humo, calidoque uapore
adliciunt gelidas nocturno frigore pestes:
innocuosque diu rictus torpente ueneno 845
inter membra fouent. nec quae mensura uiarum
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 850
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 855
gentibus ablatum dederas serpentibus orbem:
impatiensque solum Cereris cultore negato
damnasti, atque homines uoluisti deesse uenenis.
in loca serpentum nos uenimus: accipe poenas

835. *recto uerbere*] 'with tail erect to strike'.

836. *teste*] '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.

837. *solpuga*] said to be a kind of venomous ant, cf. Plin. H. N. XXIX § 92.

838. *ius in sua fila*] 'power over their threads', i.e. to cause death, by severing them.

840. *suspecta est*] 'the very earth on which they lay seemed suspicious to the hapless men'.

842. *creuere*] 'nor were their beds raised by piles of straw'. cf. III 534, Stat. Theb. XII 110 *molles planctu creuere lacerti*.

843. *uapore*] sc. the warmth of their bodies.

845. *innocuosque*] 'the serpents' gaping mouths long harmless as their venom was frozen'.

846. *quae mensura*] 'how long their march had been, or what was to be its limit'.

847. *caelo duce*] 'guided by the sky alone'. Weise cf. 493 supr.

848. *arma*] some MSS. read *arua*.

850. *in gladios*] 'we who were sworn to meet the sword', i.e. instead of this miserable death from serpents.

853. *aetheriis causis*] i.e. rather than to these serpents.

854. *Africa*] cf. note on 729 supr.

857. *cultore negato*] 'to which culture is refused'. cf. I 29 *poscentibus aruis*.

859. *nos uenimus*] 'and yet we, though men, have come into the serpents' realm'.

tu, quisquis superum, commercia nostra perosus, 860
hinc torrente plaga dubiis hinc Syrtibus orbem
abrumpens medio posuisti limite mortes.
per secreta tui bellum ciuile recessus
uadit; et arcani miles tibi conscius orbis
claustra petit mundi. forsan maiora supersunt 865
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: 870
uiuit adhuc aliquid. patriae non arua requiro,
Europamque alios soles Asiamque uidentem:
qua te parte poli qua te tellure reliqui
Africa? Cyrenis etiam nunc bruma rigebat:
exiguane uia legem conuertimus anni? 875
imus in aduersos axes: euoluimur 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 880

860. *commercia nostra perosus*] 'hating all intercourse with mankind'.

862. *abrumpens*] cf. Hor. carm. I. iii 21—23 *nequidquam deus abscidit prudens oceano dissociabili terras.*

medio limite] 'in the interval between'. cf. Ov. remed. amor. 325, 326 *quam potes in peius dotes deflecte puellae iudiciumque breui limite falle tuom.*

864. *tibi conscius*] 'sharing thy knowledge of this secret clime'.

865. *claustra*] 'the limits'.

866. *ignes*] cf. Iuv. XIV 279, 280 *sed longe Calpe relicta audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.*

867. *premitur*] cf. Verg. G. I 240, 241 *mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces consurgit, premitur Libyae deuexus ad Austros*, and Conington's note.

869. *quaeremus*] 'we shall regret'.

istas] equivalent to *has*, cf. note on III 126.

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. 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'.

876. *imus*] pergimus ad polum antarcticum et ad Antipodas. Weise.

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 Hyperboreans in Herod. IV 36 *εἰ δὲ εἰσί τινες ὑπερβόρεοι ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶ 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
excubat atque omni Fortunam prouocat hora.
omnibus unus adest fatis: quocumque uocatur
aduolat, atque ingens meritum maiusque salute 885
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 periclo 890
auxilium Fortuna dedit. gens unica terras
incolit a saeuo serpentum innoxia morsu
Marmaridae Psylli: par lingua potentibus herbis:
ipse cruor tutus nullumque admittere uirus
uel cantu cessante potest. natura locorum 895
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, 900

881. *exonerat*] 'disburdens itself of its complaints', cf. Tac. Ann. III 54 *hunc ego et laudo et exonerari laborum meorum partem fateor*, and Nipperdey's note.

883. *prouocat*] cf. Sen. dial. I ii § 9 *ecce par deo dignum, uir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et prouocauit.*

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 I 457.

887. *quod ius*] 'what power could any destruction have had over him?'

888. *casus*] 'he conquers fortune in another's breast'.

889. *docet*] 'and as he looks on proves to them that great pain has no power'. cf. supr. 569 *an noceat uis ulla bono?*

890. *tanto lassata periclo*] lassatam dicit Fortunam inferendo discrimina. Schol.

892. *a saeuo—innoxia*] 'unharmed by the deadly bite of serpents'. cf. Columell. II cap. x *faba sic condita a curculionibus erit innoxia.*

893. *Psylli*] Oud. cf. Herod. IV 173, Plin. H. N. VII § 14, XXI § 78.

par lingua] 'their tongue is as effectual as powerful drugs'. *lingua* is used for incantations, cf. infr. 895, not for sucking venom out of the wound as Weise understands.

894. *cruor*] apparently equivalent to *sanguis* 'the blood in their bodies': but perhaps *cruor* is used because the shedding 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 *iubere* with *ut* cf. Hor. Sat. I 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.
utque Iouis uolucer calido cum protulit ouo
implumes natos solis conuertit in ortus:
qui potuere pati radios et lumine recto
sustinuere diem caeli seruantur in usus, 905
qui Phoebo 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 monstra 910
Psyllus adest populis. qui tum Romana secutus
signa, simul iussit statui tentoria ductor,
primum quas ualli spatium comprendit harenas
expurgat cantu uerbisque fugantibus angues,
ultima castrorum medicatus circuit ignis. 915
hic ebulum stridet peregrinaque galbana sudant
et tamarix non laeta comis Eoaque costus
et panacea potens et Thessala centaurea:
peucedanumque sonat flammis Erycinaque thapsos,
et larices fumoque grauem serpentibus urunt 920
abrotanum, et longe nascentis cornua cerui.

idem tempus L. Piso pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.

901. *explorant*] Oud. cf. Sil. Ital. I 413 *ac dubiam admoto subolem explorare Ceraste.*

902. *utque Iouis uolucer*] cf. Lucian Icarom. § 14 παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἀετὸς ἐστιν ὀξυωπέστατος, ὥστε μόνος ἀντίον δέδορκε τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ γνήσιος ἀετός, ἢν ἀσκαρδαμυκτὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀκτῖνας βλέπῃ. Id. The Fisher § 46.

905. *diem caeli*] The Scholiast takes *caeli* with *usus* explaining it by *ad uolatum.* Oud. explains *caeli in usus* as *in usum Iouis,* comparing the passage in Claudian de tert. cons. Honor. praefat. 14, 15 imitated from this, *nutritur uolucrumque potens et fulminis heres gesturus summo tela trisulca Ioui:* this seems to be better than with Weise to combine *caeli* with *diem,* i.e. 'the brightness of the sky'.

906. *iacent*] 'are left to perish on the ground'.

pignora gentis] 'guarantees of the purity of their blood'. cf. Aetna 459 *certaque uenturae praemittit pignora flammae.*

908. *serpentibus*] abl. with *lusit.* cf. Hor. carm. III xxiv 55, 56 *ludere doctior seu Graeco iubeas trocho.*

910. *excubat*] 'is on the watch to help'. cf. Plin. H. N. XXXV § 118 *omnis eorum ars uxbibus excubabat.*

911. *populis*] sc. externis.

916. *ebulum*] For this Micyllus cf. Plin. H. N. XXV § 119 *ebuli quoque, quam nemo ignorat, fumo fugantur serpentes.*

galbana] cf. Verg. G. III 415 *galbaneoque agitare graues nidore chelydros.*

sudant] 'distil their juice'.

917. *non laeta comis*] 'with its scanty foliage'.

918. *centaurea*] cf. Verg. G. IV 270.

920. *larices*] Micyllus cf. Plin. H. N. XVI § 43 foll.

921. *longe nascentis*] All commentators take this as 'living far away', quoting Plin. H. N. VIII § 120 *ceruos Africa prope modum sola non gignit;* but although no deer are found south of the Sahara, the Fallow deer is a native of northern Africa; cf. Wallace's Geographical Distribution of Animals vol. II p. 219. Compare note on the distribution of bears, VI 221.

iam lassa radice tenent, ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis: etiam periere ruinae.
adspicit Hesiones scopulos, siluasque latentis 970
Anchisae thalamos; quo iudex sederit antro:
unde puer raptus caelo: quo uertice Nais
luserit Oenone: nullum est sine nomine saxum.
inscius in sicco serpentem puluere riuom
transierat qui Xanthus erat: securus in alto 975
gramine ponebat gressus; Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare uetat. discussa iacebant
saxa nec ullius faciem seruantia sacri;
Herceas, monstrator ait, non respicis aras?
o sacer et magnus uatum labor, omnia fato 980
eripis et populis donas mortalibus aeuom.
inuidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae:
nam si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis,
quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt uatis honores,
uenturi me teque legent: Pharsalia nostra 985
uiuet et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aeuo.
ut ducis impleuit uisus ueneranda uetustas,
erexit subitas congestu caespitis aras,
uotaque turicremos non irrita fudit in ignes:

968. *lassa*] 'worn out with age'. cf. I 324. Oud. cf. Sen. Oed. 546 foll. *curuosque tendit quercus et putres situ annosa ramos: huius abrupit latus edax uetustas; illa, iam fessa cadens radice, fulta pendet aliena trabe.*

970. *scopulos*] sc. where Hesione was exposed to the sea-monster.

971. *quo—antro*] 'the cave wherein sat the arbiter', sc. Paris. For the idiom cf. note on IV 201, 202.

972. *puer*] sc. Ganymede.

caelo] equivalent to *in caelum*, cf. Verg. Aen. V 451 *it clamor caelo.*

974. *inscius*] cf. Hor. Epod. XIII 13—14 *te manet Assaraci tellus quam frigida parui findunt Scamandri flumina.* Oud. cf. also Pomp. Mela I 18 *Scamander et Simois fama quam natura maiora flumina.*

979. *Herceas—aras*] βωμὸν Ἑρκείου Διός. Oud. cf. Sen. Agam. 469 *sparsum cruore regis Herceum Iouem.*

monstrator] 'the guide', 'cicerone'. I can find no other instance of the use of *monstrator* without a genitive.

981. *aeuom*] 'eternity'. cf. Lucret. I 634 *innumerabilibus plagis uexata per aeuom.*

982. *inuidia*] i. e. do not, Caesar, feel jealousy of the fame of Homer's heroes.

983. *si quid Latiis*] 'for if it be lawful for the Latian Muse to promise aught'.

984. *Zmyrnaei uatis*] sc. Homer. cf. the epigram *Zmyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, orbis de patria certat Homere tua.*

985. *me teque legent*] cf. Verg. Aen. IX 446, 447 *fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo.*

988. *subitas*] i.e. *subitarias*, hastily built. cf. I 517, VI 53.

989. *uota*] i.e. the offerings promised. cf. Verg. Aen. II 15 *uotum pro reditu simulant.* Id. Aen. III 279 *lustramurque Ioui uotisque accendimus 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 templo,
gentis Iuleae uestris clarissimus aris 995
dat pia tura nepos et uos in sede priori
rite uocat: date felices in cetera cursus.
restituam populos: grata uice moenia reddent
Ausonidae Phrygibus Romanaque Pergama surgent.
sic fatus, repetit classes et tota secundis 1000
uela dedit Cauris, auidusque urgente procella
Iliacas pensare moras Asiamque potentem
praeuehitur pelagoque Rhodon spumante reliquit.
septima nox Zephyro numquam laxante rudentes
ostendit Phariis Aegyptia litora flammis. 1005
sed prius orta dies nocturnam lampada texit
quam tutas intraret aquas. ibi plena tumultu
litora et incerto turbatas murmure uoces
accipit: ac dubiis ueritus se credere regnis
abstinuit tellure rates. sed dira satelles 1010
regis dona ferens medium prouectus in aequor
colla gerit Magni Phario uelamine tecta,
ac prius infanda commendat crimina uoce:
terrarum domitor, Romanae maxime gentis,
et quod adhuc nescis genero secure perempto; 1015

991. *Aeneaeque mei—lares*] 'household gods of my ancestor Aeneas'. cf. I 196 foll.

992. *Alba*] cf. Iuv. IV 60, 61 *utque lacus suberant ubi quamquam diruta seruat ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem* and Prof. Mayor's note ad loc.

994. *Pallas*] sc. the Palladium, preserved in the temple of Vesta.

in abstruso templo] i.e. *in intimo templo* 'in the secret recesses of the temple'.

998. *reddent*] Compare the project attributed to Julius Caesar, Suet. Iul. § 79 *quin etiam uaria fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandream uel Ilium 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 conficitur, ut saluae et incolumes, uerum etiam ut amplae atque potentes sint ciuitates.*

1005. *Phariis*] here used properly of the lighthouse on the isle of Pharos.

1007. *tutas*] 'safe from storms'. cf. Verg. G. IV 421 *deprensis olim statio tutissima nautis.*

1009. *dubiis*] 'of doubtful faith'.

1010. *abstinuit*] For the construction cf. Livy I 1 *duobus Aenea Antenoreque omne ius belli Achiuos abstinuisse.*

1012. *Phario*] sc. of linen, for which Egypt was famous.

1013. *commendat*] 'sets off'.

rex tibi Pellaeus terrae pelagique labores
donat, et Emathiis quod solum defuit armis
exhibet: absenti bellum ciuile peractum est.
Thessalicas Magnus quaerens reparare ruinas
ense iacet nostro: tanto te pignore, Caesar, 1020
emimus: hoc tecum percussum est sanguine foedus.
accipe regna Phari nullo quaesita cruore:
accipe Niliaci ius gurgitis: accipe quidquid
pro Magni ceruice dares; dignumque clientem
castris crede tuis cui tantum fata licere 1025
in generum uoluere tuom. nec uile putaris
hoc meritum nobis facili quod caede peractum est,
hospes auitus erat: depulso sceptra parenti
reddiderat. quid plura feram? tu nomina tanto
inuenies operi, uel famam consule mundi. 1030
si scelus est, plus te nobis debere fateris,
quod scelus hoc non ipse facis. sic fatus opertum
detexit tenuitque caput. iam languida morte
effigies habitum noti mutauerat oris.
non primo Caesar damnauit munera uisu 1035
auertitque oculos: uoltus dum crederet haesit:
utque fidem uidit sceleris tutumque putauit
iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis
effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto,

1016. *Pellaeus*] sc. Macedonian, i.e. of Ptolemy's line.

1017. *donat*] 'saves thee all thy toil by land and sea'. cf. VI 58. Sil. Ital. I 487 *niualem Pyrenen Alpesque tibi mea dextera donat.*

1018. *exhibet*] 'presents thee with'.

absenti—peractum est] cf. I 45 *quod tibi res acta est.*

1021. *hoc*] to be taken with *sanguine*, 'by this victim's blood our treaty with thee is ratified'.

1024. *dares*] quae tu largiri uelles. Schol. cf. supr. 280.

1028. *erat*] sc. Pompeius. cf. supr. 130 foll.

1029. *feram*] 'tell'. cf. Verg. Aen. II 160 *tu modo promissis maneas seruataque serues Troia fidem si uera feram si magna rependam.*

nomina] plur. for sing. cf. note on II 22.

1030. *inuenies*] i.e. you shall decide whether to call the deed a service or a crime, or if you please find out what the world thinks of it, who would call it a service to you.

1031. *plus*] 'all the more'.

1034. *effigies*] 'the features', *habitum* 'the expression'. cf. Cic. N. D. I § 99 *oris quidem habitus ad uitae firmitatem nihil pertinet.*

1036. *auertitque*] i.e. *neque auertit.*

haesit] 'dwelt on it', not 'hesitated' as some have taken it.

1037. *fidem sceleris*] 'sure proof of the crime'. cf. Justin. II cap. 9 *ea primum fides inopiae Scythicae fuit.*

1039. *expressit*] 'forced out' with an effort. cf. VI 599. Caes. B. G. I 32 *cum ab eis saepius quaereret neque unam omnino uocem exprimere posset.*

non aliter manifesta putans abscondere mentis 1040
gaudia quam lacrimis: meritumque immane tyranni
destruit, et generi mauolt lugere reuolsum
quam debere caput. qui duro membra senatus
calcarat uoltu, qui sicco lumine campos
uiderat Emathios, uni tibi, Magne, negare 1045
non audet gemitus. o sors durissima fati:
hunccine tu, Caesar, scelerato Marte petisti
qui tibi flendus erat? non mixti foedera tangunt
te generis nec nata iubet maerere neposque?
credis apud populos Pompeii nomen amantis 1050
hoc castris prodesse tuis? fortasse tyranni
tangeris inuidia, captique in uiscera Magni
hoc aliis licuisse doles, quererisque perisse
uindictam belli, raptumque e iure superbi
uictoris generum. quisquis te flere coegit 1055
impetus a uera longe pietate recessit.
scilicet hoc animo terras atque aequora lustras
necubi suppressus pereat gener. o bene rapta
arbitrio mors ista tuo. quam magna remisit
crimina Romano tristis Fortuna pudori, 1060
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 1065
quam de Pompeio meruit scelus: unica belli
praemia ciuilis uictis donare salutem

1042. *destruit*] 'seeks to disparage'. Tac. Hist. I 6 *Galbam inualidum senem nius et Laco contemptu inertiae destrue-it.* The metaphor is taken from a er undermining its banks.

1043. *debere*] 'to count it as a debt'.

1048. *qui tibi flendus erat*] 'for whom ou hadst to weep'.

1051. *castris tuis*] 'thy side', 'thy ty'. cf. VIII 532 *Pompeii nunc castra cent quae deserit orbis.*

1054. *e iure*] 'from the power'. cf. 821.

1056. *recessit*] 'was far removed from e affection'. cf. Plin. Epp. IX 5 § 3 *a uitio tu longe recessisti.*

1058. *necubi suppressus pereat*] '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 satisfaction 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 magna*] 'from what a crime did cruel Fortune save the shame of Rome, in that, &c.'

1063. *fronte*] 'appearance', 'show'. cf. Iuv. II 8 *frontis nulla fides.*

1067. *uictis*] cf. VII 319 *ciuis qui fugerit esto.*

perdidimus. quodsi Phario germana tyranno
non inuisa foret, potuissem reddere regi
quod meruit, fratrique tuom pro munere tali 1070
misissem, Cleopatra, caput. secreta quid arma
mouit et inseruit nostro sua tèla labori?
ergo in Thessalicis Pellaeo fecimus aruis
ius gladio? uestris quaesita licentia regnis?
non tuleram Magnum mecum Romana regentem: 1075
te, Ptolemaee, feram? frustra ciuilibus armis
miscuimus gentes, si qua est hoc orbe potestas
altera quam Caesar, si tellus ulla duorum est.
uertissem Latias a uestro litore proras:
famae cura uetat, ne non damnasse cruentam 1080
sed uidear timuisse Pharon. nec 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: 1085
exsilium generique minas Romamque timebam:
poena fugae Ptolemaeus erat. sed parcimus annis
donamusque nefas. sciat hac pro caede tyrannus
nil uenia plus posse dari. uos condite busto
tanti colla ducis: sed non ut crimina tantum 1090
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 sepositam semperque quietam crimine bellorum maculas Pharon?*

1072. *inseruit*] cf. VIII 551, 552 *caeloque tonante profanas inseruisse manus impure ac semiuir audes?* Tac. Ann. VI 8 (2) *Togonius Gallus dum ignobilitatem suam magnis nominibus inserit per deridiculum auditur.*

1073. *fecimus*] cf. IV 821.

1077. *potestas*] cf. note on X 136.

1078. *si tellus*] 'if any land yet belongs to two', i.e. if I am not to be the sole master of the world.

1080. *damnasse*] cf. note on VII 242.

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.

annis] 'his youth'.

1088. *donamus*] 'forgive'. cf. VII 850. Ovid ex Ponto II vii 51 *culpa gravis precibus donatur saepe suorum.*

1089. *nil uenia plus*] Grotius cf. Quint. Curt. VIII xii § 3 *ille facto impunitatem dedit, honorem denegauit exemplo.*

1090. *sed non*] 'aye, and not merely that the earth may hide your crime'.

1093. *manibus*] 'remains'. cf. VIII 696, X 24. Verg. Aen. IV 34 *id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos?*

sentiat aduentum soceri uocesque querentis
audiat umbra pias. dum nobis omnia praefert, 1095
dum uitam Phario mauolt debere clienti,
laeta dies rapta est populis: concordia mundo
nostra perit: caruere deis mea uota secundis,
ut te complexus positis felicibus armis
adfectus abs te ueteres uitamque rogarem, 1100
Magne, tuam: dignaque satis mercede laborum
contentus, par esse tibi, tum pace fideli
fecissem ut uictus posses ignoscere diuis,
fecisses, ut Roma mihi. nec talia fatus
inuenit fletus comitem, nec turba querenti 1105
credidit: 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.

1096. *clienti*] sc. Ptolemaeo.

1097. *concordia*] 'the world loses the benefit of our concord'.

1100. *rogarem*] sc. amorem pristinum et ut uelles uitae à me donatae munere frui. Weise. cf. supr. 210 *forsitan in soceri potuisset uiuere regno.*

1102. *par esse tibi*] cf. I 125—6 *nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem Pompeiusue parem.*

1103. *fecissem*] The omission of the personal pronouns with *fecissem* and *fecisses*, where they are so strongly contrasted, 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'.

M. ANNAEI LUCANI

PHARSALIAE

LIBER DECIMUS.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK X.

Caesar enters Alexandria and visits the tomb of Alexander 1—19. Alexander's life and exploits 20—52. Cleopatra begs for the protection of Caesar 53—103, and entertains him at a banquet 104—171. Caesar questions Achoreus concerning the source of the Nile 172—192; his explanation 193—331. Pothinus urges Achillas to murder Caesar 332—398; they collect troops 399—433, and besiege Caesar in the palace 434—503. Caesar occupies Pharos 504—546, and the poem ends abruptly.

Vt primum terras Pompeii colla secutus
adtigit et diras calcauit Caesar harenas,
pugnauit fortuna ducis fatumque nocentis
Aegypti, regnum Lagi Romana sub arma
iret, an eriperet mundo Memphiticus ensis 5
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 urbem

1. *colla*] 'the severed head'.

2. *diras*] 'blood-stained', cf. note on I 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. I 11 *incertum metu an per inuidiam.*

6. *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.

8. *ne populus*] This line is wanting in most MSS. and does not appear in the Roman edition of 1469. The MSS. seem to vary between *haberet* and *amaret*, but neither gives any satisfactory meaning; the line is apparently made up from 387—389 infr.

9. *Paraetoniam in urbem*] sc. *Alexandream*, 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 secutus: 10
sed fremitu uolgi fasces et iura querentis
inferri Romana suis discordia sensit
pectora, et ancipites animos, Magnumque perisse
non sibi. tum uoltu semper celante timorem,
intrepidus superum sedes et templa uetusti 15
numinis antiquas Macetum testantia uires
circuit: et nulla captus dulcedine rerum,
non auro cultuque deum, non moenibus urbis,
effossum tumulis cupide descendit in antrum.
illic Pellaei proles uaesana Philippi, 20
felix praedo, iacet terrarum uindice fato
raptus; sacratis totum spargenda per orbem
membra uiri posuere adytis: Fortuna pepercit
manibus et regni durauit ad ultima fatum.

securus—pignore] 'confident by the guarantee 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 before him'. cf. Caesar B.C. III 106. Grotius with some MSS. reads *secutam* remarking that soldiers or allies are said to follow the standards, the general to lead them.

12. *suis*] sc. *iuribus*. '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 *uictorque uolentis 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 *ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus*, also infr. 81.

16. *numinis*] Isidis. Weise.

17. *nulla captus dulcedine*] i.e. *omnino non captus dulcedine*. cf. note on VII 25 *nullas tuba 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 Alexandri Magni cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset oculis corona aurea imposita ac floribus aspersis ueneratus est, consultusque num et Ptolemaeum inspicere uellet, regem se uoluisse ait uidere non mortuos*.

20. *uaesana*] cf. Pope Essay on Man IV 219 foll. 'Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed, From Macedonia's madman 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 *timuere dei pro uindice terrae*, i.e. Hercules. Compare also Iuv. X 164 *sed ille Cannarum uindex et tanti sanguinis ultor annulus*.

24. *manibus*] sc. 'his ashes'. cf. VIII 696, IX 1093.

regni durauit 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 expression, 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 Augustus, and had not been disturbed when Lucan wrote. I venture to suggest another explanation, viz. 'his good fortune has lasted till these last times of tyranny', i.e. the empire of the Caesars, i.e. comparing the following line, there has been

nam sibi libertas umquam si redderet orbem, 25
ludibrio seruatus erat, non utile mundo
editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
esse uiro. Macetum fines latebrasque suorum
deseruit uictasque patri despexit Athenas:
perque Asiae populos fatis urgentibus actus 30
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 iniquom 35
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: 40
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 seruire pudet*. For *fatum*, cf. VIII 10, infr. 45.

25. *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 iactaret odorem laurus erat*.

27. *editus*] 'set forth as an example pernicious to the world'. Compare the use of *edere munus, edere spectaculum*.

28. *fines latebrasque*] 'the obscure territories'.

29. *uictas*] Philip conquered the Athenians at Chaeronea B.C. 338.

31. *humana cum strage*] 'with havoc of the human race'.

32. *exegit*] 'he plunged his sword'. cf. VIII 656, Verg. Aen. X 815 *ualidum namque exigit ensem per medium Aeneas iuuenem*.

ignotos] cf. notes on I 170, VII 703.

miscuit] 'dyed'.

33. *Gangen*] Alexander never reached the Ganges; he turned back from the banks of the Hyphasis (Sutlej), cf. III 233, Quint. Curt. IX, cap. 3.

34. *malum*] 'a curse to the world'. cf. Plin. H. N. XVIII § 154 *caeleste frugum uinearumque malum rubigo*.

fulmen] cf. the comparison of Caesar to a thunderbolt, I 151—157.

quod—percuteret] 'such that it smote'.

35. *sidus*] 'a planet baneful to the nations'. cf. infr. 89, Hor. Sat. I vii 25—26 *canem illum inuisum agricolis sidus uenisse*.

36. *oceano*] 'he was preparing to launch his ships upon the ocean by way of the outer sea', sc. the sea on the further side of India.

37. *flamma*] 'heat'. Compare IX 949, also the use of *ignis* IX 604.

39. *isset*] 'he would have marched to the west, following the world's downward slope'.

40. *ambisset*] 'would have encompassed the poles'.

43. *qui secum*] 'who carried with him to the shades his empire with that same jealousy of others through which he had subdued the whole world', i.e. as he could bear no partner in power in his lifetime, so he would leave no successor at his death. For *abstulit* cf. I 111—114 *nam pignora*

abstulit imperium, nulloque herede relicto
totius fati lacerandas praebuit urbes. 45
sed cecidit Babylone sua Parthoque uerendus.
pro pudor, Eoi propius timuere sarisas
quam nunc pila timent populi. licet usque sub Arcton
regnemus, Zephyrique domos terrasque premamus
flagrantis post terga Noti; cedemus in ortus 50
Arsacidum domino. non felix Parthia Crassis
exiguae secura fuit prouincia Pellae.
iam Pelusiaco ueniens a gurgite Nili
rex puer imbellis populi sedauerat iras,
obside quo pacis Pellaea tutus in aula 55
Caesar erat: cum se parua Cleopatra biremi,
corrupto custode Phari laxare catenas,
intulit Emathiis ignaro Caesare tectis;
dedecus Aegypti, Latii feralis Erinys, 59
Romano non casta malo, quantum impulit Argos

iuncti sanguinis et diro ferales omine taedas abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeua intercepta manu.

44. *nulloque herede*] '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 uindicet. Schol.

46. *Babylone sua*] '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 *Mycenas seruitio premet et victis 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 Parthians generally. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 37 (31).

non felix] 'fatal to the Crassi'.

52. *exiguae*] '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 catenas*] sc. the chain which closed the mouth of the harbour.

58. *Emathiis*] 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 patriae communis Erinys.* This apparent imitation by Lucan is perhaps an argument for the genuineness of the passage in the second Aeneid in which the words quoted above occur.

60. *Romano*] 'whose wantonness was ruinous to Rome'. cf. Plaut. Amphit. 165 *olet homo quidam malo suo.*

impulit] 'hurried to ruin', 'overthrew'. cf. I 149.

Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti,
Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra furores.
terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro,
et Romana petit imbelli signa Canopo,
Caesare captiuo Pharios ductura triumphos: 65
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, 70
Antoni, durum cum Caesaris hauserit ignes
pectus, et in media rabie medioque furore,
et Pompeianis habitata manibus aula,
sanguine Thessalicae cladis perfusus adulter
admisit uenerem curis, et miscuit armis 75
illicitosque toros et non ex coniuge partus?
pro pudor, oblitus Magni tibi, Iulia, fratres
obscena de matre dedit: partesque fugatas
passus in extremis Libyae coalescere regnis
tempora Niliaco turpis dependit amori, 80

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 xxxvii 6—9 *dum Capitolio regina dementes ruinas 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 *Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro.*

64. *imbelli Canopo*] 'with the unwarlike hosts of Canopus'.

65. *Caesare*] sc. *Augusto.* Weise.

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 flumine nostra mora est*, where however the reading is doubtful. cf. also Ov. Trist. I iii 19 *nata procul Libycis aberat diuersa 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 I 165.

68. *hoc animi*] 'this high spirit'. cf. Hor. carm. I xxxvii 32 *non humilis mulier* of Cleopatra.

69. *ducibus*] sc. first Julius Caesar and then Marcus Antonius.

Ptolemaida] 'the daughter of the Ptolemies'.

71. *hauserit*] Oud. cf. Ov. Met. X 252 *haurit pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes.*

73. *habitata*] 'and in the palace haunted by Pompeius' shade'.

75. *admisit*] The indicatives *admisit* and *miscuit* following the subjunctive *hauserit* 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 coaluisset.*

80. *dependit*] 'he shamefully spends his time on an Egyptian intrigue'.

dum donare Pharon, dum non sibi uincere mauolt.
quem formae confisa suae Cleopatra sine ullis
tristis adit lacrimis, simulatum compta dolorem
qua decuit, ueluti laceros dispersa capillos,
et sic orsa loqui: si qua est, o maxime Caesar, 85
nobilitas, Pharii proles clarissima Lagi,
exsul in aeternum sceptris depulsa paternis,
si tua restituat ueteri me dextera fato,
complector regina pedes. tu gentibus aequom
sidus ades nostris. non urbes prima tenebo 90
femina Niliacas: nullo discrimine sexus
reginam 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
solue 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.

81. *donare*] sc. Cleopatrae.
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'. *compta* takes the accusative on the analogy of such words as *indutus*.

84. *qua*] equivalent to *quatenus*. Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. X 53 *et tua, qua possim, pro te uestigia tango*. See also 286 infr.
ueluti] '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 decet multas coma; saepe iacere hesternam credas; illa repexa modo est*. For the construction cf. Verg. Aen. I 320 *nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*.

85. *si qua est*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 536 *si qua est caelo pietas quae talia curet*.

87. *exsul*] 'doomed to everlasting banishment when expelled from my ancestral throne'.

88. *si tua*] 'in the hope that &c.'
fato] 'good fortune' 'position'. cf. note on 23 supr.

90. *sidus*] cf. note on 35 supr.

95. *amat*] The common reading is *amet* but as Oud. remarks the indicative besides having the better MS. authority shows more confidence in her statement.

96. *adfectus*] 'but his feelings and his sword are subject to Pothinus' sway'.

97. *culpa tantoque pudore*] sc. marriage between a brother and sister.

99. *quantosne tumores*] For the double interrogative cf. note on VII 301. For *tumores*, 'swelling pride', cf. V 233.

103. *facinus meritumque*] 'that Pompeius should have been the guilt or merit

nequiquam duras temptasset Caesaris aures:
uoltus adest precibus faciesque incesta perorat. 105
exigit infandam corrupto iudice noctem.
pax ubi parta duci donisque ingentibus empta est,
excepere epulae tantarum gaudia rerum:
explicuitque suos magno Cleopatra tumultu
nondum translatos Romana in saecula luxus. 110
ipse locus templi quod uix corruptior aetas
exstruat instar erat: laqueataque tecta ferebant
diuitias crassumque trabes absconderat aurum.
nec summis crustata domus sectisque nitebat
marmoribus: stabatque sibi non segnis achates, 115
purpureusque lapis, totaque effusus in aula
calcabatur onyx: hebenus Maroetica uastos
non operit postes, sed stat pro robore uili,
auxilium non forma domus. ebur atria uestit,
et subfixa manu foribus testudinis Indae 120

of Pothinus'; so Ptolemaeus is called *crimen deorum* v 59. Oud. refers to Verg. Aen. XI 443, 444 *nec Drances potius, siue est haec ira deorum, morte luat; siue est uirtus et gloria tollat.*

105. *perorat*] 'winds up her speech'.

106. *exigit*] 'she spends', 'passes'. cf. Verg. Aen. VII 776 *solus ubi in siluis Italis ignobilis aeuom exigeret.* See also VIII 376, infr. 354.

107. *pax*] sc. between Cleopatra and her brother.

duci] sc. by Caesar, acting as mediator. cf. Caes. B. C. III 109.

109. *tumultu*] 'bustling', cf. Hor. carm. III xi 9—10 *cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc cursitant mixtae pueris puellae.*

110. *saecula*] 'fashion', 'manners'. cf. Tac. Germ. 19 *nemo illic uitia ridet; nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum uocatur*, Mart. IX xxviii 9 *et cum theatris saeculoque rixaris.*

111. *ipse locus*] 'the place itself was like a temple such as a more degenerate age (i.e. such as ours) could scarcely rear'.

113. *crassum aurum*] 'a thick coating of gold'.

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. XXXVI § 47 *secandi in crustas* (*marmoris*) *nescio an Cariae fuerit inuentum*, foll. also Sen. de Benef. IV vi § 2 *non tenues crustas et ipsa qua secantur lamina graciliores sed integras lapidis pretiosissimi moles.* Id. Epp. XIX vi (115) § 9 *miramur parietes tenui marmore inductos, cum sciamus quale sit quod absconditur. oculis nostris imponimus, et cum auro tecta perfudimus quid aliud quam mendacio gaudemus? scimus enim sub illo auro foeda ligna latitare.*

115. *stabatque sibi*] 'and agate stood there on its own account as no mere idle ornament'. *sibi* is apparently equivalent to *per se* as Weise takes it. Compare the use of the dative in II 547 *ut Catulo iacuit Lepidus.*

non segnis] i.e. useful for supporting the roof, not merely as an ornamental covering of the walls.

116. *purpureus lapis*] sc. porphyry.

effusus] 'spread widely' 'in abundance', cf. Plin. H. N. VII § 94 *effusas opes.*

117. *Maroetica*] This is the correction of Grotius for *Mareotica*. cf. infr. 303.

119. *auxilium non forma*] 'a support, not an ornament'.

120. *subfixa manu*] 'attached with laborious skill'. cf. Verg. G. II 156 *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis.* For the use of tortoise-shell cf. Verg. G. II 463 *nec uarios inhiant pulcra testudine postes.*

terga sedent crebro maculas distincta zmaragdo.
fulget gemma toris et iaspide fulua supellex.
strata micant: Tyrio quorum pars maxima suco
cocta diu uirus non uno duxit aeno;
pars auro plumata nitet; pars ignea cocco, 125
ut mos est Phariis miscendi licia telis.
tum famulae numerus turbae populusque minister;
discolor hos sanguis, alios distinxerat aetas:
haec Libycos, pars tam flauos gerit altera crines
ut nullis Caesar Rheni se dicat in aruis 130
tam rutilas uidisse comas. pars sanguinis usti
torta caput refugosque gerens a fronte capillos:
nec non infelix ferro mollita iuuentus
atque exsecta uirum. stat contra fortior aetas
uix ulla fuscante tamen lanugine malas. 135
discubuere illic reges maiorque potestas
Caesar: et immodice formam fucata nocentem,
nec sceptris contenta suis nec fratre marito,
plena maris rubri spoliis colloque comisque
diuitias Cleopatra gerit cultuque laborat. 140
candida Sidonio perlucent pectora filo,

121. *crebro*] 'studded with many an emerald'.

124. *cocta diu*] 'long steeped in Tyrian dye imbibed the colouring matter in more than a single vat' i.e. they were what the Greeks called δίβαφα. cf. Hor. carm. II xvi 35—37 *te bis Afro murice tinctae uestiunt lanae:* for *uirus* cf. Verg. G. II 465 *alba nec Assyrio fucatur lana ueneno.*

125. *plumata*] 'part gleams with feather-work of gold', called in Greek πρλύμτα. Weise cf. Mart. XIV 150 *haec tibi Memphitis tellus dat munera; uicta est pectine Niliaco iam Babylonis acus.*

126. *licia*] cf. Plin. H. N. VIII § 196 *pluribus uero liciis texere, quae polymita appellant, Alexandria instituit.*

127. *tum famulae*] supple: admirationem excitabant: est autem aposiopesis. Weise.

numerus] cf. note on VII 538.

populus] cf. III 665 *nutaretque ratis populo peritura recepto.*

128. *discolor*] to be taken with both *sanguis* and *aetas*. Oud. cf. Sen. dial. X xii § 2 *qui uinctorum suorum greges in aetatium et colorum paria diducit.*

129. *Libycos—crines*] sc. 'of the African type' i.e. black and woolly.

131. *rutilas*] This word is used as a synonym of *flauus*, also by Ausonius Epp. IV 44, 45 *sic certe crinem flauus niueusque lacertos caesariem rutilam per candida colla refundis.*

sanguinis usti] 'of scorched complexion'.

132. *torta caput*] 'with twisted hair and wearing their locks receding from their forehead'.

134. *fortior aetas*] sc. adult men. cf. Verg. Ecl. IV 37 *hinc ubi iam firmata uirum te fecerit aetas.*

135. *uix ulla*] carent enim Afri barba. Weise.

136. *potestas*] For the personal use of this word cf. III 106, IX 1077, Iuv. X 100 *an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas.*

140. *cultuque laborat*] 'is oppressed by her ornaments' weight'. cf. IX 365.

141. *Sidonio*] probably means only purple. The material was close-woven (*compressum*) by the Seres and pulled out so as to be transparent by the Egyptians: so I understand it, not as Weise does

quod Nilotis acus compressum pectine Serum
soluit et extenso laxauit stamina uelo.
dentibus hic niueis sectos Atlantide silua
imposuere orbes; quales ad Caesaris ora 145
nec capto uenere Iuba. pro caecus et amens
ambitione furor, ciuilia bella gerenti
diuitias aperire suas, incendere mentem
hospitis armati. non sit licet ille nefando
Marte paratus opes mundi quaesisse ruina: 150
pone duces priscos et nomina pauperis aeui
Fabricios Curiosque graues: hic ille recumbat
sordidus Etruscis abductus consul aratris,
optabit patriae talem duxisse triumphum.
infudere epulas auro, quod terra, quod aer, 155
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 160
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 165

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 iugo uincta est; stamen secernit harundo; inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis, quod digiti expediunt atque inter stamina ductum percusso feriunt 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 ebur.*

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 I 73—75 *sulcoque terens dentalia Quinti cum trepida ante boues dictatorem induit uxor et tua aratra domum lictor tulit.*

157. *quaesiuit*] cf. I 163, Petron. § 119 *ingeniosa gula est...ut renouent per damna famem.*

160. *crystallus*] glass.

gemmaeque capaces] cf. Iuv. V 37—39 *ipse capaces heliadum crustas et inaequalis beryllo Virro tenet phialas.*

162. *senium*] 'ripeness' 'maturity'. cf. Plin. H. N. XIV § 21 *principatus datur Amineis firmitatem propter senioque proficientem uini eius utique uitam.*

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 externā nec perdidit aerā terra:
aduectumque recens uicinae messis amomum.
discit opes Caesar spoliati perdere mundi
et gessisse pudet genero cum paupere bellum, 170
et causas Martis Phariis cum gentibus optat.
postquam epulis Bacchoque modum lassata uoluptas
imposuit, longis Caesar producere noctem
incohat adloquiis: summaque in sede iacentem
linigerum placidis compellat Achorea dictis: 175
o sacris deuote senex, quodque arguit aetas
non neglecte deis, Phariae primordia gentis
terrarumque situs uolgique edissere mores
et ritus formasque deum: quodcumque uetustis
insculptum est adytis profer, noscique uolentis 180
prode deos. si Cecropium sua sacra Platonem
maiores docuere tui: quis dignior umquam
hoc fuit auditu mundique capacior hospes?
fama quidem generi Pharias me duxit ad urbes,
sed tamen et uestri: media inter proelia semper 185
stellarum caelique plagis superisque uacaui,
nec meus Eudoxi uincetur fastibus annus.

166. *aura*] 'by exposure to the air'.

167. *externa...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 Cilicumque Arabumque superbis merge rogis.*

169. *perdere*] 'to waste in luxury'.

172. *lassata*] Oud. cf. Sen. de benef. IV vi § 3 *inritamenta lassae uoluptatis.*

173. *producere noctem*] cf. Mart. II lxxxix 1 *quod nimio gaudes noctem producere uino ignosco.*

174. *adloquiis*] simply 'conversation', not consolation as in Hor. Epod. XIII 18.

175. *linigerum*] The linen ephod was the special dress of a priest among the Eastern nations generally. cf. Merivale, vol. VI ch. liv p. 432. It was also used as a covering for the statues of the gods, cf. IX 160.

176. *arguit*] i.e. the gods show their regard for you by the length of life they have granted.

180. *uolentis*] i.e. willing to have their secrets disclosed to Caesar.

183. *mundi capacior*] 'more fit to hold the secrets of the world'.

186. *uacaui*] 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 *descripsit radio totum qui gentibus orbem, tempora quae messor quae curuus arator haberet.*

187. *uincetur*] 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 chronology, and that the force of the future is, 'will not be found inferior'; compare

sed cum tanta meo uiuat sub pectore uirtus,
tantus amor ueri, nihil est quod noscere malim,
quam fluuii causas per saecula tanta latentis 190
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 aeui populis ignota profanis. 195
sit pietas aliis miracula tanta silere:
ast ego caelicolis gratum reor ire per omnes
hoc opus et sacras populis notescere leges.
sideribus, quae sola fugam moderantur Olympi
occurruntque polo, diuersa potentia prima 200
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 205
cessit. habet uentos incertaque fulmina Mauors.
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 210
sidera sunt Cancro, rabidos qua Sirius ignes
exserit, et uarii mutator circulus anni

notes on *erit* 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.*

194. *fas mihi*] imitated from Verg. Aen. II 157 *fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resoluere iura.*

197. *ire per omnes*] omnibus aperiri, Weise. cf. Ov. Met. VI 146, 147 *Phrygiaeque 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 niti; quae si non occurrerent in inmensa raperetur et praecipitaretur 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 foll. See also Cic. de Rep. VI § 17 *deinde subter mediam fere regionem sol obtinet, dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio.*

204. *miscet*] i.e. causes the tides.

206. *cessit*] 'has passed under Saturn's sway'.

209. *arbiter*] 'ruler'. cf. Hor. carm. I iii 15 *quo non arbiter Hadriae maior tollere seu ponere uolt freta.*

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 215
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 niues. non Arctos in illis 220
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 225
ante Canis radios nec ripis adligat amnem
ante parem nocti Libra sub iudice Phoebum.
inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum:
nec tumet hibernus, cum longe sole remoto
officiis caret unda suis: dare iussus iniquo 230
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: nec campos liberat undis 235
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.

217. *coartat*] sc. Nilus.

218. *receperit*] 'until night has recovered the hours of summer from the sun', i.e. until the autumnal equinox.

219. *ueterum*] e.g. Euripidis, cf. Helena 1—3 Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, ὃς ἀντὶ δίας ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδον λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας.

225. *prima tabe niuis*] 'with the first melting snow'. cf. Liv. XXI 36 *per nudam glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis niuis ingrediebantur.*

226. *ripis adligat amnem*] 'confines its stream by banks', i.e. withdraws within its banks.

227. *Libra sub iudice*] cf. Verg. G. I 208 *Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.*

230. *officiis suis*] i.e. cooling the air and moistening the ground.

caret] 'foregoes'.

233. *contra*] 'swells up to meet the Lion's fiery face'.

237. *extendat*] because at midsummer there were no shadows cast at Meroe. cf. II 587 *umbras nusquam flectente Syene.* See also infr. 305.

sic opus est mundo. Zephyros quoque uana uetustas
his adscribit aquis, quorum stata tempora flatus 240
continuique dies et in aerā longa potestas:
uel quod ab occiduo pellunt tot nubila caelo
trans Noton et fluuio cogunt incumbere nimbos:
uel quod aquas totiens rumpentis litora Nili
adsiduo feriunt coguntque resistere fluctus: 245
ille morā cursūs aduersique obiice ponti
aestuat in campos. sunt qui spiramina terris
esse putant magnosque cauae compagis hiatus.
commeat hac penitus tacitis discursibus unda
frigore ab Arctoo medium reuocata sub axem, 250
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 255
exundante procul uiolentum erumpere Nilum,
aequoreosque sales longo mitescere 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 ait. Weise. He also thinks that the Etesian winds are here meant, which however blew from the north.

242. *uel quod*] Democriti placitum. 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 fluuium quam longa est nocte tumentem leniit et tacita refluens ita substitit unda, mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis sterneret aequor aquis remo ut luctamen abesset.*

247. *spiramina*] 'breathing places in the earth and vast chasms in the hollow of its frame'.

249. *commeat*] 'penetrates'. cf. Verg. G. IV 363—373: also Plat. Phaedo 111 C —112 E. For *discursibus* cf. *diuersa 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 cauernas 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.

255. *adligat*] 'surrounds'. cf. Verg. Aen. VI 438 *tristique palus inamabilis unda adligat.*

257. *mitescere*] 'lose their savour'.

258. *pasci*] cf. notes on I 415, VII 5.

260. *undae plus*] 'more moisture than the air can disperse'. cf. Plin. H. N. XXXI § 53 *plerumque uero damnosi torrentes conriuantur detracta collibus silua continere nimbos ac digerere consueta.*

ast ego, si tantam ius est mihi soluere litem,
quasdam, Caesar, aquas post mundi sera peracti
saecula concussis terrarum erumpere uenis,
non id agente deo, quasdam compage sub ipsa 265
cum toto coepisse reor, quas ille creator
atque opifex rerum certo sub iure coercet.
quae tibi noscendi Nilum, Romane, cupido
et Phariis Persisque fuit Macetumque tyrannis:
nullaque non aetas uoluit conferre futuris 270
notitiam: sed uincit adhuc natura latendi.
summus Alexander regum quos Memphis adorat
inuidit Nilo, misitque per ultima terrae
Aethiopum lectos: illos rubicunda perusti
zona poli tenuit; Nilum uidere calentem. 275
uenit ad occasus mundique extrema Sesostris,
et Pharios currus regum ceruicibus egit:
ante tamen uestros amnes Rhodanumque Padumque
quam Nilum de fonte bibit. uaesanus in ortus
Cambyses longi populos peruenit ad aeui, 280
defectusque epulis et pastus caede suorum
ignoto te, Nile, redit. non fabula mendax
ausa loqui de fonte tuo est: ubicumque uideris
quaereris; et nulli contingit gloria genti
ut Nilo sit laeta suo. tua flumina prodam, 285

263. *post mundi*] 'after the latest ages of the completion of the world'.

264. *concussis*] i.e. apparently by earthquakes.

265. *non id agente deo*] sc. casu. Weise.

compage sub ipsa] 'at the time when the world was framed'.

266. *cum toto coepisse*] 'had their beginning along with the universe'. cf. VIII 459.

creator] 'founder'; cf. Cic. pro Corn. Balb. § 31 *creator huius urbis Romulus;* not 'maker' which is expressed by *opifex*.

271. *natura latendi*] 'its native power of hiding'.

272. *adorat*] This refers to the deification of the Ptolemies.

273. *inuidit Nilo*] 'grudged the Nile its secret'.

275. *tenuit*] i.e. *continuit* 'stopped'.

Nilum] non fontes eius. Weise.

277. *regum ceruicibus*] 'yoked to the necks of kings', i.e. he made the conquered kings drag his triumphal car.

280. *longi populos aeui*] i.e. τοὺς μακροβίους. For the account of these Ethiopians and the march of Cambyses cf. Herod. III 17—25. For the genitive cf. note on VIII 223.

281. *defectus epulis*] 'destitute of food'. cf. Tibull. II v 75 *ipsum etiam solem defectum lumine uidit.* Ov. Met. X 194 *defecta uigore ipsa sibi est oneri ceruix.*

282. *non fabula*] 'not even lying fable has ventured to tell of thy source', this is how this passage is rightly explained by the Scholiast, not as Weise takes it, 'nor is the proverb false which has ventured to say of thy source, where'er thou art seen, thou art sought in vain'.

285. *suo*] ut iactet se habere fontem Nili. Schol.

flumina] emphatic; your course, not your source.

qua deus undarum celator, Nile, tuarum
te mihi nosse dedit. medio consurgis ab axe
ausus in ardentem ripas adtollere Cancrum:
in Borean is rectus aquis mediumque Booten.
cursus in occasum flexu torquetur et ortus, 290
nunc Arabum populis Libycis nunc aequus harenis:
teque uident primi, quaerunt tamen hi quoque, Seres,
Aethiopumque feris alieno gurgite campos:
et te terrarum nescit cui debeat orbis.
arcanum natura caput non prodidit ulli, 295
nec licuit populis paruom te, Nile, uidere,
amouitque sinus, et gentes maluit ortus
mirari quam nosse tuos. consurgere in ipsis
ius tibi solstitiis, aliena crescere bruma,
atque hiemes adferre tuas: solique uagari 300
concessum per utrosque polos. hic quaeritur ortus,
illic finis aquae. late tibi gurgite rupto
ambitur nigris Meroe fecunda colonis,
laeta comis hebeni, quae quamuis arbore multa
frondeat aestatem nulla sibi mitigat umbra: 305
linea tam rectum mundi ferit illa Leonem.

286. *qua*] equivalent to *quatenus* 'so far as'. cf. 83 supr. Liv. XXXIX 48 *statui non ultra attingere externa nisi qua Romanis cohaerent rebus.*

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 amnis deuexus ab Indis.*

293. *alieno gurgite*] 'and dost inundate the Ethiopians' plains with a flood from a foreign land'.

297. *amouit*] sc. *natura*, the preceding line is a parenthesis.

sinus] equivalent to *latebras* 'retreat', 'lurking place'. cf. Tac. Agric. 30 *reversus ipse a. sinus Romae in hunc diem defendit.*

299. *aliena bruma*] 'with winter (i.e. floods which are the sign of winter) out of season'. cf. Verg. G. II 149 *alienis mensibus aestas*, not as Weise takes it, ex niuibus terrae longe ad orientem remotae, which would contradict line 219.

301. *hic quaeritur*] 'here none know the source, there none the goal of thy waters'.

302. *rupto*] 'divided'.

305. *nulla—umbra*] i. e. because the sun being vertically over it the tree casts no shade.

306. *linea*] For the astronomical information in the following note I am indebted to Mr R. Pendlebury, Fellow of St John's College. Weise takes *linea mundi* 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 commentators understand by *linea mundi* 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 the 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 damnum non passus aquarum
praeueheris 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, 311
qua dirimunt Arabum populis Aegyptia rura
regni claustra Philae. mox te deserta secantem,
qua dirimunt nostrum rubro commercia pontum,
mollis lapsus agit. quis te tam lene fluentem 315
moturum tantas uiolenti gurgitis iras,
Nile, putet? sed cum lapsus abrupta uiarum
excepere tuos et praecipites cataractae,
ac nusquam uetitis ullas obsistere cautes
indignaris aquis: spuma tunc astra lacessis: 320
cuncta fremunt undis: ac multo murmure montis
spumeus inuictis canescit fluctibus amnis.
hinc Abaton quam nostra uocat ueneranda uetustas
terra potens primos sentit percussa tumultus,
et scopuli, placuit fluuii quos dicere uenas, 325
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 alueus*] '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'.

314. *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 everywhere.

321. *multo murmure*] from Verg. Aen. I 55 *illi indignantes multo cum murmure montis circum claustra fremunt.*

324. *terra potens*] The epithet may be probably explained by a passage in Seneca N. Q. IV ii § 7 *exiguo ab hac spatio petra diuiditur: Ἄβατον Graeci uocant, nec illam ulli nisi antistites calcant.*

325. *uenas*] 'the springs of the river'. cf. VIII 477. For *uenae* cf. IX 356. Hirt. B. G. VIII 43 *cuniculis uenae fontis intercisae sunt atque auersae.*

329. *molibus receptis*] 'having now got a barrier', sc. 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 335
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 ciuilis belli uindicta senatus 340
paene data est famulo. procul hoc auertite, fata,
crimen ut haec Bruto ceruix absente secetur.
in scelus it Pharium Romani poena tyranni,
exemplumque perit. struit audax irrita fatis,
nec parat occultae caedem committere fraudi, 345
inuictumque ducem detecto Marte lacessit.
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, 350
quem puer imbellis cunctis praefecerat armis
et dederat ferrum 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 βάρις by Herod. II 96, quoting the description of the rafts in IV 418 and 445, but this explanation appears to me far-fetched and unnecessary. Oud. conjectures *moribus*.

331. *crescendi*] 'forbids thy banks to set a limit to thy increase'. cf. I 81 *laetis hunc numina rebus crescendi posuere modum*.

332. *trahebant*] simply *spent*. cf. Phaedrus IV v 37 *uitam quae luxu trahit*.

335. *a scelerum motu*] sc. *a mouendis sceleribus*.

337. *ultricesque deae*] Oud. cf. Sen. Med. 975, 976 *discedere a me, frater, ultrices deas manesque ad imos ire securas iube*.

338. *dignatur*] 'he deems his worthless hands worthy to shed that blood as well with which &c.'

343. *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 *mediaque manente medulla sanguis it in sucos in magnos bracchia ramos in paruos digiti*. Sen. contr. praef. § 6 *quae nos, dementissimi homines, tanta uaecordia agitat? parum uidelicet in poenas notae crudelitatis it*. Tac. Ann. III 50 *uita Lutorii in integro est, qui neque seruatus in periculum rei publicae neque interfectus in exemplum ibit*.

344. *exemplumque perit*] 'the warning is lost'.

346. *inuictumque*] '*but* assails the unconquered chief with open war'.

347. *ferire...iungi*] For the active infin. coupled with the passive cf. Verg. Aen. III 60—61 *omnibus idem animus scelerata excedere terra linqui pollutum hospitium et dare classibus austros*.

352. *nullo 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 356
ad dominae thalamos? nubit soror impia fratri:
nam Latio iam nupta duci est: interque maritos
discurrens Aegypton habet Romamque meretur.
expugnare senem potuit Cleopatra uenenis: 360
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 flammisque luemus 365
si fuerit formosa soror. nil undique restat
auxilii: rex hinc coniunx, hinc Caesar adulter:
et sumus, ut fatear, tam saeua iudice sontes.
quem non ex nobis credet Cleopatra nocentem
a quo casta fuit? per te quod fecimus una 370
perdidimusque nefas, perque ictum sanguine Magni
foedus, ades: subito bellum molire tumultu:
irrue nocturnus: rumpamus funere taedas,
crudelemque toris dominam mactemus in ipsis

354. *pingues somnos*] 'luxurious sleep'. cf. Ov. Amor. I xv 7 *nunc etiam somni pingues.* Plin. Epp. V vi § 45 *altius ibi otium et pinguius eoque securius.*

355. *inuasit*] 'has seized upon the palace'. cf. I 242, IX 198, 410, Suet. Iul. 9 *dictaturam Crassus inuaderet.*

nec prodita] i.e. Egypt is not only betrayed to Caesar by Cleopatra but given by him to Cleopatra.

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.

nubit] i.e. is on the point of marrying.

358. *nam*] explains *nubit* 'for as to the Latin chief she is wedded to him already'.

359. *discurrens*] 'and hurrying from husband to husband, Egypt she has, and plays the whore for Rome'. For *meretur* cf. Prop. IV xi 39 *incesti meretrix regina Canopi.* Tac. Hist. I 30 *habitune et incessu an illo muliebri ornatu mereretur imperium?*

360. *senem*] sc. Caesar now 52 years of age is called *senex* compared with the young Ptolemaeus.

uenenis] 'love potions'.

361. *crede*] ironical.

363. *titulo pietatis*] Oud. cf. Ov. Heroid. IV 129 foll.

365. *luemus*] 'we shall pay the penalty with the gallows and the flame should he find his sister beautiful'.

368. *sontes*] 'guilty in the eyes of a judge so cruel', explained by the succeeding line.

371. *perdidimus*] 'committed in vain'. cf. VIII 53.

372. *foedus*] cf. IX 1021.

cum quocumque uiro. nec nos deterreat ausis 375
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 liceat nobis: tumulumque e puluere paruo 380
adspice Pompeii non omnia membra tegentem.
quem metuis par huius erat. non sanguine clari:
quid refert? nec opes populorum ac regna mouemus:
ad scelus ingentis fati sumus. adtrahit illos
in nostras Fortuna manus. en altera uenit 385
uictima nobilior. placemus caede secunda
Hesperias gentes. iugulus mihi Caesaris haustus
hoc praestare potest Pompeii caede nocentis
ut populus Romanus amet. quid nomina tanta
horremus uiresque ducis quibus ille relictis 390
miles erit? nox haec peraget ciuilia bella,
inferiasque dabit populis, et mittet ad umbras
quod debetur adhuc mundo caput. ite feroces
Caesaris in iugulum: praestet Lagea iuuentus
hoc regi, Romana sibi. tu parce morari: 395
plenum epulis madidumque mero uenerique paratum
inuenies: aude: superi tot uota Catonum
Brutorumque tibi tribuent. non segnis Achillas
suadenti parere nefas. haud clara mouendis,

375. *quocumque*] sc. whether Caesar or Ptolemaeus.

377. *gloria*] sc. of conquering Pompeius.

378. *litus*] in quo Pompeium interfecimus. Weise.

379. *pollutos*] 'ask of the bloodstained waves'.

382. *par huius*] 'Pompeius' rival'. cf. I 7.

non sanguine clari] 'we are not, you say, of noble blood'.

384. *ad scelus*] 'still we are of mighty power for crime'. cf. supr. 45.

illos] duces Romanos. Weise.

386. *uictima*] cf. note on VII 596.

387. *haustus*] 'drained of its life-blood'. cf. Verg. Aen. X 313, 314 *huic gladio perque aerea suta per tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum*.

390. *quibus ille*] 'apart from which he will be a simple soldier', i.e. and so easily killed. Weise cf. V 365. See also Shak. J. C., Act I Sc. ii 'I was born free as Caesar &c.'

392. *inferias*] 'offering to the shades of the slain multitudes'. cf. IV 789.

394. *praestet*] 'let the Egyptian soldiers do this service for their king, the Romans for themselves'.

395. *Romana*] This refers to the Roman soldiers serving in the Egyptian army. cf. Caes. B. C. III 110.

397. *Catonum*] 'to you the gods will grant to fulfil the many prayers of the Catos and the Bruti'. For the plural cf. note on I 313 *nomina uana Catones*.

ut mos, signa dedit castris, nec prodidit arma 400
ullius clangore tubae: temere omnia saeui
instrumenta rapit belli. pars maxima turbae
plebis erat Latiae: sed tanta obliuio mentes
cepit, in externos corrupto milite mores,
ut duce sub famulo iussuque satellitis irent, 405
quos erat indignum Phario parere tyranno.
nulla fides pietasque uiris qui castra sequuntur;
uenalesque manus, ubi fas, ubi maxima merces,
aere merent paruo; iugulumque in Caesaris ire
non sibi dant. pro fas, ubi non ciuilia bella 410
inuenit imperii fatum miserabile nostri?
Thessaliae subducta acies in litore Nili
more furit patrio. quid te plus, Magne, recepto
ausa foret Lagea domus? dat scilicet omnis
dextera quod debet superis: nullique uacare 415
fas est Romano. Latium sic scindere corpus
dis placitum: non in soceri generique fauorem
discedunt populi: ciuilia bella satelles
mouit et in partem Romani uenit Achillas.

401. *temere*] 'hastily'.

402. *rapit*] celeriter adducit, cf. I 228 *noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor.* Weise.

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. *uenalesque 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 moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.*

410. *ubi non*] cf. Hor. carm. II i 29—36 *quis non Latino sanguine pinguior campus sepulcris impia proelia testatur, auditumque Medis Hesperiae sonitum ruinae? qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae non decolorauere caedes? quae caret ora cruore nostro?*

412. *Thessaliae subducta*] 'withdrawn from Thessaly'.

413. *patrio*] cf. I 95—97. Hor. Epod. VII 17—20 *sic est; acerba fata Romanos agunt scelusque fraternae necis, ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi sacer nepotibus cruor.*

te recepto] sc. had they welcomed Pompeius and helped him against Caesar.

415. *uacare*] sc. scelere, bello ciuili. cf. II 56.

416. *corpus*] cf. Liv. I 17 *Sabini sui corporis creari regem uolebant.*

418. *discedunt*] The metaphor is taken from dividing on a motion in the Senate, cf. Liv. III 41 *in hanc sententiam ut discederetur iuniores patrum euincebant.*

419. *in partem Romani uenit*] 'succeeded to the position of a Roman'. The metaphor is taken from succession under a will, cf. Cic. pro Caec. § 12 *heredem P. Caesennium fecit; uxori grande pondus argenti matrique partem bonorum maiorem legauit; itaque in partem mulieres uocatae*

et nisi fata manus a sanguine Caesaris arcent 420
hae uincent partes. aderat maturus uterque:
et districta epulis ad cunctas aula patebat
insidias: poteratque cruor per regia fundi
pocula Caesareus mensaeque incumbere ceruix.
sed metuunt belli trepidos in nocte tumultus, 425
ne caedes confusa manu permissaque fatis
te, Ptolemaee, trahat: tanta est fiducia ferri.
non rapuere nefas: summi contempta facultas
est operis: uisum famulis reparabile damnum
illam mactandi dimittere Caesaris horam. 430
seruatur poenas in aperta luce daturus.
donata est nox una duci uixitque Pothini
munere Phoebeos Caesar dilatus in ortus.
Lucifer a Casia prospexit rupe diemque
misit in Aegyptum primo quoque sole calentem: 435
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 440
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 fera nobilis abdita claustris, 445
et frangit rabidos praemorso carcere dentes:

unt. partiarius was the technical legal term for a man who shared property under a will.

422. *districta epulis*] 'occupied with feasting'. cf. Corn. Nepos Hannibal cap. ult. *hic tantus uir tantisque bellis districtus nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris.*

426. *confusa manu*] 'carried out disorderly and trusted to chance'. cf. Tac. Ann. VI 52 (46) *mox incertus animi, fesso corpore, consilium, cui impar erat, fato permisit.*

427. *trahat*] 'involve in destruction'.

428. *rapuere*] maturauere. Weise.

summi] 'the occasion for completing their work was neglected'. It is better to take *summum opus* thus, than as equivalent to *maxima res*, which is Weise's explanation.

430. *mactandi*] This sacrificial term carries on the metaphor of *uictima* in 386 supr.

431. *in aperta luce*] sc. in the senate-house.

433. *Phoebeos dilatus in ortus*] 'reprieved till sunrise', cf. Ov. Met. XIII 518, 519 *quid, di crudeles, nisi quo noua funera cernam, uiuacem differtis anum?*

435. *primo*] sc. diem: apud nos sol feruet in meridie; apud Aegyptum etiam mane. Schol.

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, Aetnam.
audax Thessalici nuper qui rupe sub Haemi
Hesperiae cunctos proceres aciemque senatus 450
Pompeiumque ducem causa sperare uetante
non timuit fatumque sibi promisit iniquom,
expauit seruile nefas intraque penates
obruitur telis: quem non uiolasset Alanus,
non Scytha, non fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus, 455
hic cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis,
paruaque regna putat Tyriis cum Gadibus Indos,
ceu puer imbellis, ceu captis femina muris,
quaerit tuta domus: spem uitae in limine clauso
ponit et incerto lustrat uagus atria cursu; 460
non sine rege tamen; quem ducit in omnia secum
sumpturus poenas et grata piacula morti,
missurusque tuom, si non sint tela nec ignes,
in famulos, Ptolemaee, caput. sic barbara Colchis
creditur ultorem metuens regnique fugaeque 465
ense suo fratrisque simul ceruice parata
exspectasse patrem. cogunt tamen ultima rerum
spem pacis temptare ducem: missusque satelles
regius ut saeuos absentis uoce tyranni
corriperet famulos, quo bellum auctore mouerent. 470
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 iniquom* as 'unmerited success': but the old reading *sperare* seems to me preferable and to give more force to the antithesis.

455. *qui ludit*] qui exercitii causa hoste interfecto affixo pro scopo utitur in quem tela ingerat. Weise.

456. *non sufficit*] cf. Iuv. x 168 *unus Pellaeo iuueni non sufficit orbis.*

462. *piacula*] 'a welcome atonement for his death'. suae morti expiationem Ptolemaei caede facturus. Schol.

463. *missurus*] 'intending to discharge thy head should darts and torches fail'.

466. *ense suo*] sc. *parato*, 'standing with her own sword ready and her brother's head as well'.

470. *corriperet*] 'to upbraid his servants, asking by whose authority &c.'

471. *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 *Menenius 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 475
Pharnacis, et gelido circumfluus orbis Hibero
tantum ausus scelerum, non Syrtis barbara, quantum
deliciae fecere tuae. premit undique bellum,
inque domum iam tela cadunt quassantque penates.
non aries uno moturus limina pulsu 480
fracturusque domum, non ulla est machina belli:
nec flammis mandatur opus: sed caeca iuuentus
consilii uastos ambit diuersa penates,
et nusquam totis incursat uiribus agmen.
fata uetant murique uicem Fortuna tuetur. 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 unguine tinctas
lampadas immitti iunctis in uela carinis.
nec piger ignis erat per stuppea uincula perque
manantis cera tabulas: et tempore eodem
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 *sequester* in the preceding line.

475. *impia*] because Pharnaces rebelled against his father Mithridates.

476. *circumfluus*] used passively, as περίρρυτος. cf. IV 407.

478. *deliciae*] 'than thou Egypt with all thy luxury'. cf. Iuv. VI 259, 260 *quarum delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit.*

482. *caeca*] For *caecus* with gen. cf. note on II 14.

483. *diuersa*] cf. notes on VI 783, Verg. Aen. IV 163 *diuersa per agros tecta metu petiere.* This reading seems to have the best MSS. authority and is found in the Roman edition of 1469. Weise reads *diuolsa*, Oud. *diuisa.*

485. *uicem tuetur*] '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 xviii 20—22 *marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges submouere litora parum locuples continente ripa.*

492. *iunctis in uela carinis*] 'to be discharged at the ships fastened together, upon their sails', the dative depending on *inmitti* 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 *iamque labant cunei spoliataque tegmine cerae rima patet praebetque uiam letalibus undis.*

495. *ceruchi*] cf. VIII 177.

iam prope semustae merguntur in aequore 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 500
turbine non alio motu per tecta cucurrit
quam solet aetherio lampas discurrere sulco
materiaque carens atque ardens aere solo.
illa lues clausā paulum reuocauit ab aula
urbis in auxilium populos. nec tempora cladis 505
perdidit in somnos, sed caeca nocte carinis
insiluit Caesar, semper feliciter usus
praecipiti cursu bellorum et tempore rapto.
tum claustrum pelagi cepit Pharon. insula quondam
in medio stetit illa mari sub tempore uatis 510
Proteos: at nunc est Pellaeis proxima muris.
illa duci geminos bellorum praestitit usus:
abstulit excursus et fauces aequoris hosti;
Caesaris auxiliis aditus ac libera ponti
ostia permisit. nec poenas inde Pothini 515
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. necnon subrepta paratis
a famulo Ganymede dolis peruenit ad hostes 520
Caesaris Arsinoe: quae castra carentia rege
ut proles Lagea tenet famulumque tyranni
terribilem iusto transegit Achillea ferro.
altera, Magne, tuis iam uictima mittitur umbris:

499. *rapuere*] 'caught up the flame ith its widespreading heat'.

501. *non alio motu*] 'as swiftly'.

502. *sulco*] cf. Verg. Aen. II 697, 698 *m longo limite sulcus dat lucem.*

503. *materiaque carens*] 'with nothing lid to feed it'. cf. note on I 156.

505. *cladis*] sc. the burning of the ips and fires in the town.

507. *semper*] cf. the character of Caesar 143—157.

510. *in medio*] cf. Hom. Odys. IV 354 q. νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ ντῳ Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε, Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν κ.τ.λ.

511. *at nunc*] i.e. it was now joined to the mainland by a mole.

518. *male*] 'wrongly', 'as it should not have been'.

519. *Magni morte*] quali Pompeius. Schol.

521. *Arsinoe*] The younger sister of Cleopatra.

carentia rege] i.e. because Caesar kept the young king with him as a hostage.

523. *Achillea*] for Achillan; so Ξέρξεα is used by Herod. VII 4 as the accusative of Ξέρξης.

nec satis hoc Fortuna putat. procul absit ut ista 525
uindictae sit summa tuae. non ipse tyrannus
sufficit in poenas non omnis regia Lagi.
dum patrii ueniant in uiscera Caesaris enses
Magnus inultus erit. sed non auctore furoris
sublato cecidit rabies: nam rursus in arma 530
auspiciis Ganymedis eunt, 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 535
dux Latius, tota subiti formidine belli
cingitur: hinc densae praetexunt litora classes,
hinc tergo insultant pedites: uia nulla salutis,
non fuga, non uirtus: uix spes quoque mortis honestae.
non acie fusa nec magnae stragis aceruo 540
uincendus tum Caesar erat, sed sanguine nullo,
captus sorte loci. pendet, dubiusne timeret,
optaretne mori. respexit in agmine denso
Scaeuam perpetuae meritum iam nomina famae
ad campos, Epidamne, tuos, ubi solus apertis 545
obsedit muris calcantem moenia Magnum.

525. *nec 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.

532. *potuit*] 'that day, by Caesar's deadly peril, might have become immortal', i.e. on that day Caesar was in extreme peril, and might have been killed, which would have made that day memorable for ever.

534. *molis*] i.e. the mole which joined the island to the city, called by Plutarch χῶμα.

stipantibus armis] 'while his enemies' arms kept him close prisoner'.

537. *praetexunt*] Oud. cf. Ov. A. A. I 255 *praetextaque litora uelis*.

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. natura. cf. IX 491 *miranda sorte malorum*.

543. *respexit*] It is doubtful whether this is to be taken literally or figuratively, 'looked back at' or 'thought on'; it depends on whether Scaeva died of the wounds received at Epidamnus: cf. VI 144—195 where it appears that Lucan thought he was killed: but Caesar B.C. III 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 pugnauit ut paene uideretur Pompeius a Scaeua obsideri, non Scaeua a Pompeio. But it was Scaeva who under the command of Caesar was besieging Pompeius.

muris moenia] Both words refer to the siege works which Caesar had thrown up to enclose Pompeius.

INDEX.

a, ab with non-personal ablative II 86, 493 VII 214; *ab armis* I 451 VIII 813; *a Caesare* I 59 VII 503; *a gurgite* VII 692; *a medio* IV 673; *a morte* III 39
Abaton X 323
abducere mundo terram IX 648
abire in II 626 IV 491 V 135 VIII 320 IX 416
ablative, use of, I 480 II 213
abnegare III 263
abrumpere V 659 VI 57, 87, 293 IX 308, 862
absoluere II 250
absque cruore VI 152
abstinere IX 1010
abstract used for concrete III 152 VI 62 VIII 480 IX 209, 404, 809
Absyrtis flumen III 190
abuti IX 263
Abydos II 674 VI 55
accedere II 139 IX 753
accipere II 259 VII 92 VIII 782
accusative, omission of, II 495, 728
achates X 115
Achillas VIII 538 foll.; accusative Achillea X 523
Achoreus VIII 475 foll. X 175 foll.
actus V 659 IX 31, 294
ad ultima V 122 X 24
adclinis II 356
addere gradum IV 759; *addere sub iuga* II 279
adducere cutem IV 287; *adductus funis* III 700
adfectus X 96
adferre nefas II 98
adfigere II 31 III 636
adfusus VII 71
aditus famae VIII 74
adloquia X 174
admittere VIII 355, 456
admouere II 674 VII 50, 591; *admotum fatum* IV 480; *nefas* V 471; *admotus ignis* VIII 758
adpellere VIII 563
adscribere X 240
adserere III 56
adsertor IV 214
adstringere foedere VIII 220
adtonitus II 22 V 476 VII 134
aduectus VI 85
aduersus I 54
adverb with substantive VIII 330 IX 283
Aegae III 227
aeger with genitive VII 240; with ablative VI 424
Aeneas IX 991
aequare I 641 II 177 III 456 IV 680
aer harundinis IX 827; =scent IV 438 X 167
aestimare X 473
aestuare IX 400
aetites lapis VI 676
Afranius IV 4 foll.
Africa used for Libya IV 793 IX 729, 854, 874
African fury II 93
agere used absolutely III 53; =deal with I 310; =hunt I 307 VI 731; *diem* VII 201; *rimas* VI 728
agitare=employ I 417; *agitanda fata* VIII 138
agnoscere superos IV 255; *agnoscendus* II 191—193
alea VI 7, 603
alere VI 61
ales IX 689
Alexander the Great III 233 VIII 694 IX 154 X 20 foll. 272 foll.
aliena bruma X 299; *aliena colla* V 169; *alienus gurges* X 293
alio II 230 VIII 587
Allia VII 409
Almo I 600
Alpes I 219
alphabet, invention of III 220 foll.
Alpheus flumen III 176—177
altare distinguished from *ara* III 404
alterni meatus aeris IV 327
alteruter VI 8
altus cruor I 329 III 572; *sanguis* II 214
Amanus mons III 244

Amasis IX 155
amatura feta VI 456
ambigua lege loci IX 307
ambiri urbem I 593
ambitio X 147
ambitiosa fames IV 376
ambitus I 179 IV 817
amentare VI 221
amphisbaena IX 719
amplecti III 386
ampliare III 276
Anauros VI 370
ancilia, origin of IX 477—480
annona III 56
annus = calendar X 187
„ = harvest III 70, 452
„ = season of the year IX 377
„ = year of office II 130
Antaeus IV 590 foll.
ante used adverbially III 303 VIII 646—7
Antipodes VIII 160
Antonius, M., the elder II 121 foll.
„ C. IV 406 foll.
„ M., afterwards triumvir V 476 foll. X 70
aperiri I 68; *apertus* I 465 IX 36, 225
apex = head-dress of flamen I 604
Apis VIII 478—479
aplustre III 586
apostrophe, sudden III 161, 281
Appenninus II 396 foll.
Appius V 67 foll.
Arar I 434 VI 475
arare IV 334 VI 356
arbiter mundi VI 743; *undae* X 209
area III 513 VI 60
Aricia VI 75
Ariminum I 231
arma = shield III 620 VI 259
armamenta IX 329
ars tribunicia IV 800
Arsacidae X 51
artare IX 35
Aruerni I 427
arx VIII 490; *iuris* VII 593
Asia, size of IX 416 foll.
aspis IX 700 foll.
Asturian gold mines IV 298
ater II 299
Athens, small navy of III 181; conquered by Philip of Macedon X 29
athletes, contrasted with soldiers VII 271
attraction III 160 VI 663
auctor I 454; *cladis* VIII 18; *eloquii* VII 62; *generis humani* IX 575; *malorum* I 485; with dative I 30
audere with accusative IX 187
audire III 594 IX 931
auertere III 150 V 240 VI 585
auferre nomen IX 956; *ruinas* VII 505
augere stimulos VII 143
auidus in I 181; *auidum solum* II 71
auspex, presence of at marriage II 371
aut = or else IV 489
αὐτόξυλα II 413
auxilia VII 548
Auximon II 466
axis inocciduus VIII 175; *medius* II 586 III 69 X 250; *axis* = plank III 455

Babylon I 10 VI 449 X 46; walls of, VI 50 VIII 299
Bactros flumen III 267
Baetis flumen II 589
Bardi I 449
basiliscus IX 726, 828
bears, distribution of, VI 221
Bellona I 565
bellum II 682, 712 III 64 VI 191 VII 507, 651
bidental I 608
Britain, another world I 369; Caesar fails to conquer II 572
Brundisium II 609 foll.
Bruti V 207 VII 440
Brutus, Junius, mourned by the Roman matrons VII 39
„ Decimus III 514 foll.
„ M. II 234 foll. VII 586 foll.
buceta IX 185
bucina II 689
bustum II 152 VIII 850

caecus with genitive II 14 X 482
Caesar, character of I 143 foll. II 439 foll.
calendar, Julian X 187
Campus Martius, Sulla buried in I 580 II 222
capax mortis I 461; *mundi* X 183
capere = contain I 111 IX 800
caput = mouth of a river II 52 III 202
„ = source of a river III 256 VI 379 X 191, 223, 295
„ *Latiale* I 535
cardo IV 73, 672 V 71 VII 381
carere = lose III 741 VI 311 VII 604
castra = campaigns I 374
„ = marches V 374
castrensis flamma I 380
cataractae X 318
Cato, character of II 380 foll. IX 587 foll.
Catulus II 174, 547
cauda leonis I 208
causae = principles III 303; *causarum series* VI 612
cautus IV 409
cauus II 422
cedere II 438 III 1 X 206
celsus I 245
cenchris IX 712
census III 157 IV 95
cera III 684

cerastes IX 716
ceruix I 609 II 604; *ceruice uehi* IX 589
ceruchi VIII 177
cessare III 451 IV 24 V 157
Cethegi II 543 VI 794
Cicero VII 63 foll.
cinctus Gabinus I 596
Cinga flumen I 432 IV 21
cingere=make the circuit of I 572, 594 IX 373
,, =hold in III 400
Circius I 408
circumspicere III 142
citra IV 728 VI 211
clarus, title of senators VII 356
claustra I 253 VIII 222 X 313
Cleopatra X 56 foll.
clouds, theory of I 415
coacti gladii III 323; *coacta nox* VII 395; *coacta uirtus* IV 798
coepisse VIII 459 X 266
coercere II 400 V 617
cogere=call together III 104
,, =carry by force I 176
,, =close I 73
,, =unite I 537 VII 518
colere III 230 V 6
colligere animam IX 9; *iram* I 207 II 93
Colline gate, battle of II 135
color=excuse IX 207; *extorum* I 618
coloratus III 239
Comata Gallia I 443
comes with genitive II 346
cometes I 529
commendare IX 82, 1013
commercia X 314
committere, construction with III 328
,, =consign III 199
,, =match I 97
,, =unite III 382
commodare I 83
communis mundo rogus VII 814
compages I 72 X 265; *humana* V 119
compensare VIII 249
compescere I 62, 370
componere=match III 196 V 469; *carbasa uentis* III 596; *ciuem modicum* VII 267; *composita in mortem* IX 116; *ossa* I 568
compressae manus II 292
comptus X 83
conamen IV 286, 287
concessa uia II 446
concipere II 403 VII 476; *uota* V 105
conclamatus II 23
concordia discors I 98; *mundi salus* IV 190
condere II 577 VII 132
conectere V 96 IX 5
confectae Latinae I 550 V 402
conferre=compare IV 707
,, =match IV 803
confine VI 649; *confinia* III 63 IX 677
confundere II 166, 191 III 758 VII 575
conscius I 20 IV 288 VII 34, 182 VIII 40 IX 864
consentire ad ictum VIII 619
conserere III 513, 560 IV 136; *consertus* II 442 III 575 IV 31, 490 VII 520
constare II 17; *uigorem* III 715
consul menstruus V 399; mark of republican government VII 441
consumere ius VI 824; *locum* VII 461
contactus hominum V 91
contentus VII 563
contingere I 32 V 529; *auos* VIII 287
contra VII 2
contraria adverbially IX 333
contrarius I 77 III 231 VII 21 IX 115
conuenire=to fit II 173
conuertere I 441 II 629
conuicia festa II 369; *in deos* VII 725 IX 187
Cordus VIII 715 foll.
Cornelia II 349 foll.
corpus Latium X 416
corripere=rebuke VII 191 VIII 86
,, =seize upon II 100
couinnus I 426
Crastinus VII 471
crates I 241 III 485
creator rerum X 266
creditus I 259, 520
crescere III 534 V 625 IX 842
Cretan hounds IV 440, 441
Cretans, liars VIII 872
crimen deorum V 59 VIII 55, 800; *erit superis* II 288
crocus IX 809
crudus III 387, 507 IV 317
cruor IX 894
crustatus X 114
culmen humanum VII 594; *rerum* VIII 702; *tremulum* V 250
culter I 610
cum I 642
cuncta mens hominum VII 202; *cunctae sorores*=all three sisters III 18
cuppae IV 420
cupressus III 442
Curio I 209 foll.; his character IV 811 foll.
curuare iuga II 695; *litora* VIII 178; *nemus* IV 138; *curuari bracchia* IV 266
curuata cuspide pila I 242
custodia VIII 635
custos conchae VI 678
Cynosura guiding star of Phoenicians III 218

Dacians and Getae II 54 III 95
damnare=despair of IV 217, 338

damnare = disapprove of V 247 VII 242 VIII 328
„ = reject IV 270 VIII 127 IX 1035
„ with genitive VI 508 VIII 406
dare II 146 IV 688 X 409, 410; *in cautes* IX 655; *in medium* VII 366; *datus* IX 898
dative, use of I 45 II 126 VII 451 VIII 237 IX 259, 1018
de and *di* in composition I 448 II 294
debere VII 431
debilis VIII 373
decantare tribus V 394
decere used personally III 511 VI 771
decimus fluctus V 672
decurrere I 536 VIII 224
deducere carbasa II 697; *colonos* IV 397
defectus I 695 II 560; with ablative III 625 X 281
deformis VIII 81
degustare VII 844
deification of emperors I 35 VI 809 VII 455 foll.; of Julius Caesar VIII 835; of the Ptolemies X 272
Delphi, oracle of V 71 foll.
Demogorgon VI 497, 744
depastus IX 182
depopulation of Italy I 24 foll. VII 387 foll.
depositum II 72
deprendere III 425 IV 172, 335 V 738
descendere I 31 IV 703
deserere arua rastris V 403, 404
despumare VI 506
destituere VI 734; used absolutely II 728 V 298
destruere IX 1042
di melius II 537 III 93
Diana Scythica I 446 III 86 VI 74
dies I 153 VII 189, 454 VIII 217 IX 432
differre VII 256
diffundere IV 379 *diffusus* IV 82, 379
dimittere I 448
dirigere VI 475
dirus I 355, 444 III 404 IV 705 X 2
discedere = disappear II 121 III 655 IX 785; *in fauorem* X 418
discrimen V 76; *discrimine nullo* III 119 IV 218
discriminare II 357
dispendia VIII 2
dissuasor IV 248
distinere IV 675
distinguere saecula in fastos V 399
districtus X 422
disturbare IV 210
diu VII 504 VIII 672, 673
diuersus II 275, 467 III 681 VI 783 X 483
diuortia II 404, 580
dolor opposed to *metus* II 27
dominus Arsacidum X 51
Domitius II 478 foll. VII 599 foll.
donare III 243 IV 28 VIII 814—5
„ = forgive VII 850 IX 144 1088
„ = save IV 764 VI 58 VII 784 IX 1017
donaria IX 516
Druidism I 449 foll.
dubium litus I 409; *uenenum* IX 616; *dubiae herbae* VI 113; *dubios uaneum montes* III 7
dubitandus IV 60
ducere = lead captive IX 278; *aera* IX 729; *cacumina* V 548; *colorem* VI 828
dum I 506
durare quo VII 479
durus IX 50

echeneis VI 675
eclipse, cause of IX 694
edere dolorem VII 43
editus X 27
effetus IX 285
effigies innumera VII 10
effundere IX 332, 418; *effusus* IV 271 VI 270 VII 305, 529 VIII 369 X 116
egerere IV 644
egestas III 151—2
Egypt, description of VIII 444 foll.; forbidden to Roman army VIII 823 foll.
elidere VII 476 IX 339
Emathia I 1
emensus VIII 461
emere urbem IV 824
emeritum ius V 7; *emeritae naues* III 520
emeritus I 344; = well earned I 357 III 622
Encheliae III 189
eques VIII 810; = on horseback IX 400
ergastula II 95
Erichtho VI 507 foll.
erigere I 124 II 397 VII 141
error III 606 IV 91 VII 546 VIII 5
es, omission of VI 616 IX 604
et = and then IV 487
Eudoxus X 187
euentus IV 730
Euphrates flumen III 256 foll.
Euripus, tides in V 235
Europe, boundary of III 275
Euxine, connexion of with the Ocean III, 277
examinare VIII 467
exardere VII 140
excantare VI 458
excedere muros I 497; *nubes* II 271
excoqui aere IX 425
excutere I 573; *excussus lacertus* I 424 III 567 IV 386; *excussae tonsae* III 539; *excussi tori* II 605
exemplum II 513—4 III 730 X 344
exhaurire II 210 IV 638 VIII 253; *exhausto anno* V 44; *exhaustum in cumulos* V 644

exigere = complete II 577
,, = drive home IV 565 VIII 656 X 32
,, = pass VIII 376 X 106, 354
,, = require II 24 VIII 703
exire I 212, 668 III 112 V 380, 410 VIII 461; *e fatis* VI 313
exonerare IX 881
expellere II 345 III 12
experiri VIII 302
expers pelagi V 412
explere VI 213 VII 387, 415
explicare = display VI 9 VII 417
,, = lay low IV 629 V 81
,, = unfold VII 201
explorare II 603 IV 695—6 IX 901
expositus IV 423 V 102
exserere II 96; *exsertus* = bare-armed II 543
extendere = lay low VII 148
,, = prolong I 76, 170
,, *carinas* IV 418
exuuiae I 137 IX 177; of a serpent IX 718

fabula VII 392
facere fidem I 467 V 141; *manes* VI 561; *partes* IX 97, 228; *uires* I 348; *usum* II 97; *fecisse* IV 182
faces belli I 262; *legitimae* II 356
facies simillima fato VII 130
facilis I 284; *ad iuga* II 314; *capi* II 656
facinus X 103
faenus I 181
faex mundi VII 405
fames I 164
famosus IV 654 VII 277
fastigia II 684 IV 296
fastus = *fasti* X 187
fatigare VI 45
fatum = position VIII 10 X 24, 45; *fati ingentis* X 384; *stantis* VIII 158
fecundus II 331; with dative IX 696
felix used of Sulla II 221, 582
feralis I 112, 616 II 17
ferox I 464
ferre I 393 II 92 IX 128
,, = bring on II 10
,, = take away II 461, 487
,, = tell IX 1029
,, = win V 663; *fert animus* I 67
ferrum I 31 IV 215, 577; *ferri amor* I 355
fertilis III 260
festa conuicia II 369; *omina* III 101
fidens armorum IX 373; *contingere* IV 615
fides = credit I 182; = truth I 636 II 17; *libertatis* IX 204; *manifesta* I 524; *uirtutis* II 243; *umbrarum* VI 433
fiducia VIII 362; with genitive III 358; with *in* and ablative VIII 306
figere II 9; *terram* III 457
Figulus, P. Nigidius I 639
figura V 713 VIII 710
finis rerum III 328; *finem tenere* II 381
firmior aetas II 631
flamen I 604
flamma = heat IX 949 X 37
fluere = rot I 241 II 166
,, = spread I 656 VII 412
fluidus VI 89
foci Chaldaei VIII 338
foedera mundi I 80; *rerum* II 2
fori III 630 IV 567
formido IV 437
frangere I 103 III 522 VIII 74, 374; *aurum moneta* VI 404
fratres Thebani IV 551; *fratrum gladii* VII 453
frons IX 207, 740, 1063
fugare III 369—70
funus inhumatum VII 820
furor IV 517 V 103
furtum IV 416
fuscator IV 66
fuscus caespes VIII 864
fusus IV 134, 670 IX 664
future tense, use of I 31 IV 259 VIII 379 IX 782 X 187

Gabinus cinctus I 596
Gades III 278—9 IX 414
Ganges III 230 foll. X 33
gelare IX 681
gener and *socer* I 289 IV 802
genitive, definitive VII 272 VIII 405, 611 IX 155, 758; descriptive VI 325 VII 541 VIII 158, 223, 245, 374 X 280
gentes = foreign nations I 83, 93 II 47 VIII 406
Getae II 54 III 25
Gracchi I 267 VI 796
gradum addere IV 759
grassari VI 421
grauidum cornu I 218
Greeks, character of III 302
gymnasia VII 271

habere II 13
haemorrhois IX 806 foll.
haerere VIII 417 IX 573
Hammon, oracle of IX 511 foll.
hareniuagus IX 941
Harpe IX 662
hic-hic IV 116 VIII 156
hieroglyphics III 223
hirtus II 386 VIII 680
homo = human nature V 168
honos III 137 V 383
hora = hour II 689 V 507
horae = seasons I 16; *lunares* I 414
horror III 411 V 154 446
hospes curia V 11
hospita III 43
hospitii superi IX 131
hostilis pars I 621

hostis I 203, 682
hucusque I 192
humanum culmen VII 594
hyaenae nodus VI 672
hypallage I 40, 74 II 291, 397, 599 III 94 VII 156 IX 656

iacere I 307, 624 II 92, 547 III 524 VIII 333 X 328; =*esse* I 20 II 162 VIII 102
iactare I 267
iactum flectere III 478
iaculus IX 823
iam II 27 III 388
iam dudum II 524 IV 545
iam pridem I 347
ianitor sedis laxae VI 702
Ianus I 62 V 6
ichneumon, habits of IV 724
ignea uirtus IX 7
ignis IX 604
ignotus I 170 III 194 VII 703 X 32
illibatus II 342
immemor pugnae VII 525
imminere I 295 VIII 285
immittere II 202 III 426
immortuus III 613
immotus IX 437
immunis II 257 VI 764 VIII 704 IX 542
impar VII 682; with infinitive IX 190—1
impatiens with infinitive VIII 578
impellere=hasten on V 41 VII 451—2
,, =overthrow I 149 V 108 757 VIII 707 X 60; *impulsus* III 389 V 330
impendere II 382, 569 IV 112 V 491
imperii color IX 207
impetere VI 223, 394
improbus I 629 V 130, 277 VI 29
impune I 289 626
imputare VII 325 VIII 658
in classem I 306; *in medium* I 89 IV 491 V 46 VII 366; *in numerum* II 111; *in partem* X 419; *in pugnam* III 674; *in uicem* I 61
inanis V 275
incautus V 500
incendere diem IV 68 IX 499
incertum stridere VI 623
inconditus=unburied VI 101
incoquere IX 699
increscere I 627
indespectus VI 748
Indians, habits of III 237 foll.
indicative in indirect sentence I 126 IX 560, 563 X 75; potential use of, II 617 V 600 VII 706 IX 253, 685 X 25; rhetorical use of, VI 76 X 95
indicere II 4
indigus IX 254
indiscretus IX 715
indulgere IV 664 VII 54
iners VI 419
infamis lucus VII 438
infaustae flammae I 591
inferiae II 175 IV 789 X 392
inferre I 470—1
infestus II 198 VIII 149
infinitive exclamatory V 695
,, as substantive IV 280
,, for supine II 656 III 347
infremere I 209—10
infula II 355 V 144
ingerere VII 799; *ingestus* II 336 VII 785
inhibere remis III 659
inhumatum funus VII 820
inicere manum fatis III 242
innocuus IX 8
innoxius IX 892
innubere III 23
innumerus VII 10, 485
inocciduus VIII 175
inoffensus VIII 201
insanus VII 413
instare I 148
instrumenta IX 70
insuper III 611
intendere IV 262 VIII 568; *intentus* IX 473
intermanere VI 47
interpositus VII 805
interrogative, double VII 301 X 99
interruptus IX 335
inuadere I 242 IX 198, 410 X 355
inuidere with ablative VII 798
,, with infinitive II 551
inuidia II 36 IV 244 IX 66 X 43
inuisus I 488
inuolare VI 588
inustus VIII 787
ipse V 161
irae II 47, 324, 529 VII 386
ire fatis IV 144; *ire in* X 343
irredux IX 408
iste II 265 III 126 V 351, 585, 588 VI 158, 242 VII 90, 115 IX 280, 508, 869
Isthmos I 101
Italy, boundary of I 404
Iuba, his connexion with Carthage VIII 283 foll.
iubar uolgare V 220
iubere with *ut* IX 896
Iudaea II 593
iuga nauis II 695
Iulius, Iulus I 197 III 213
Iuppiter=rain VIII 447 IX 436
iurari V 396
ius dare I 2 IX 838; *facere* IV 821 IX 1073; *mundi* X 471; with genitive II 321 V 226; *iuris tui* I 51 VI 302; *iure uicto* I 267; *iura Catonis* IX 747; *iura legum* VIII 75

'm II 18 V 32, 116
II 379 III 227 V 728 IX 54, 67,

I 293
is I 239

us V 346 IX 550
556 VI 492 VII 312 IX 365;
di I 417
e cultu X 140; *in regna* IX 258;
infinitive I 265
e se II 42
III 447 V 456
re II 723 IV 169 VIII 471
lus V 421, 504
r I 194
III 19 V 621 VIII 404
324, 336 II 340, 618 IX 968
623 II 18 III 458 VIII 353
caput I 535
dia I 167
e I 550 V 402
= Italy II 196, 432, 447
VI 66
I 287
IV 376
III 17 V 533 VI 72, 270 X 143
I 71 VI 702
III 44 V 513 VII 756 VIII 210 IX
376
I 11
ie constellation X 306
s II 547 VIII 808
ongum IX 102
VI 610
= Actium I 43 V 479 VII 872 X 66
210
ii IX 875; *loci* IX 307
ith genitive VI 106 301 VII 818
III 145 VIII 454
623 II 412 VII 298, 363 IX 862
undi X 306
X 175
IX 159
s IX 661
332—3
I 524 VII 171
ascens IX 921
II 413 IV 444
453—4; *infamis* VII 438
utrus VI 669
s VI 786
viscera VI 672

e X 430
der flumen III 208 VI 475
s palus III 277 foll.
and *plus* III 66
I 479
for evil I 87 248
wrongly X 518

manes VI 809 VII 458 VIII 696 IX 1093
X 24
mansuescere I 332 IV 238
manus = grapnel II 712 III 635; = *milites*
V 252, 311; *summa* V 483—4; *manu*
IV 13 X 120
Marius II 70 foll.
Marsya flumen III 207
Massilia III 300 foll.
materia I 156 X 503
matrona X 67
meatus V 191
medicina II 142
meditari V 479
medius III 61 VI 99
Medusa IX 623 foll.
melior IX 938
mens = courage VIII 331
" = intention VI 1 IX 225
menstruus consul V 399
mensura VIII 168
mentiri II 612 III 198 V 386 VII 447
mereri X 359
mergere I 159 VI 8
Meroe X 163, 237, 303
metallum IV 223
metator I 382
metiri II 133
Milo I 320 foll. II 480
minor I 596 II 717 V 506
miscere = combine I 88 V 387—8 VI 754
IX 286
" = destroy I 380 II 188
" = level with I 271 II 545
mitis I 660
mittere II 709 VI 299
modicus IV 11 VII 267
modus V 182, 709 VI 76 IX 766, 804;
modum perdere VII 532; *servare* II 381
moles III 116
moliri III 489
mollis I 221
Molossi canes IV 440
momentum III 56 338 IV 3, 819 VII 118
Moneta VI 404; *Moneta castrensis* I 380
Monoeci portus I 405 foll.
monstrare V 110
monstrator IX 979
mora I 100 V 587; with genitive II 525
morari II 426, 581
mors VI 619 VII 471 IX 234, 935; *data* IX
898; *mortes* II 156 VI 486 VII 517
mos II 179; *mores* I 161
motus I 184 II 68 VI 322 VII 385; *scelerum* X 335
mouere II 529; *moueri* IX 580; *motus* VII
830
mundus I 664
munera harenae IV 709; *Palladis* III 205
mutare VII 150; *diem* VIII 217
mutus V 218

natalis VII 391
natare IX 311—2
natura latendi X 271
naturam sequi II 382
naufragium VIII 313
nec, neque=*et non* I 72 138 III 554 IV 17, 584 V 210
„ „ =*ne quidem* VIII 206, 497 IX 681 X 146
nefandus I 493
nefas I 6 II 4, 507 VI 79 VII 315
negare with dative VIII 3; *uela* VIII 560 IX 326
negative carried on I 77 II 40, 235, 440 III 285 V 542 VIII 620, 732 IX 1036
neglectus dextrae II 126
Nemesis V 233
Nero, poems of III 261
nescire IV 443 VII 133
neuter participle or adjective=Greek τὸ with infinitive I 5, 70, 462 III 258
niger I 652 III 411
Nile, description of X 194 foll.
nimis IV 696 VIII 157
nimium II 276
Niphates III 245
nisus III 612 VI 482
niti in V 180
nodus Herculeus IV 632; *hyaenae* VI 672
nomen dare I 608
non with imperative V 18
notare VII 197, 200 VIII 55, 168 IX 221
nubes used of hair VI 625; of weapons II 262; *nubes terroris* VI 297
Nuceria II 473
nudus=bare-armed VI 794
„ =desolate II 90
„ =mere III 481 IX 594, 769
„ =unburied VIII 434 IX 64, 157
nullus=*neuter* VIII 531
„ =*nullus externus* I 31 III 314 IX 260
„ =*omnino non* I 331 II 19 IV 169 573 VII 25 VIII 599 X 17
Numa VII 396
numerosus IV 25
numerus VII 538 X 127; *numeri* I 641
nunc olim IX 604
nurus I 165 V 307
Nysa I 65 VIII 801

obliquus I 55, 154 III 562, 609 IV 422, 625
obuius III 361
occupare V 555
occurrere IV 480
olim II 230
omnis VIII 266
onus VII 126—7 IX 319—20
operae secundae VIII 676
ophites IX 713
optare VII 716
orbis I 457; *orbe medio* I 57; *orbes aeterni* IX 9
order of words I 14, 113, 279, 292, 377—8, 508, 523 III 679 V 387, 680, 800 VI 710—1 VIII 343 IX 232
ordo=fate VIII 569
„ =line of soldiers VI 146
„ =senate V 13
Osiris VIII 833 IX 159
otia terere II 488
ouilia II 197
ovation I 287

paelex III 23 VIII 104
paene, position of, II 136 V 242
palatia III 103
Pallene VII 150
pallere VI 502 VII 178
pallidus IV 96, 322
palma IX 787
par VI 3, 191 VII 695
parare I 13 VII 28 IX 282
pareas IX 721
parens rerum II 7
pares=matched I 7 IV 710 V 2—3
„ =equally matched I 129 II 415
pars=party IV 348 VII 118; *partes* I 280 V 14
Parthians, character of VIII 293 foll.
participle or adjective containing the main idea of the sentence I 457 VII 419
participle past, pregnant use of, II 342 III 132 IV 190 VI 436
parum IV 742
paruom sanguinis II 128
pascere I 172
pati V 314, 778 IX 262
patria III 73
pax II 648 IV 437, 473; *Assyria* VIII 427; *exhausta* III 132; *Sullana* II 171; *uulata* VII 94
pecten III 609 X 141—2
pedes IX 588
pendere II 41, 163, 697 V 686 VIII 797—8 IX 19
penitus IX 426
pensare V 38 IX 685, 1002
per membra IV 628 VI 756; *per ortus* I 543; *per uiscera* II 119
perdere II 190, 442 III 706 V 371, 423 VIII 53 X 371
pererrare I 432
perflare murmura IX 349
perire IV 252, 491 V 371—2, 794 VI 54 VII 558 IX 561, 1058 X 344
peritus VII 202
perstare IV 30
peruersa pompa VI 531
peruius II 310
Perusina fames I 41

pessum dare V 616; *sidere* III 674
pestifer IX 729
Pharsalus and Philippi I 693
Phocis and Phocaea III 340 V 53
Phoebea naualia III 181—2
Phoenicians invent alphabet III 220 foll.
pietas II 63
pignora I 111 II 370 III 33 V 474 VII 376 VIII 405 IX 906; *turgentia suco* VI 455—6
pila I 7 X 47—8
pinguis X 354
piratae I 346
pius I 238
placere II 276
Plato X 181
plenus IV 122 V 166 VI 622, 708
plural for singular I 313 II 125 X 397
plurimus II 58
plus and *magis* III 66
poena, mors cunctis VII 470
πολύμητα X 125
pomeria I 594
Pompeius, character of I 129 foll. IX 190 foll.
pondera II 669; *mentis* VIII 280; *rerum* III 337 VII 504
Pontifices I 595
Pontus I 693 III 278; poisons of I 337
population, mongrel, of Rome I 511 VII 542
populus = multitude III 665 X 127; *populi* = tribes of Italy II 314 VII 185, 436
portus V 721
posse mori II 109 VI 725
possidere II 454
post omnia flumina II 589; *Tethyos aequora* III 233
potens IX 1002 X 324
potentia I 333
potestas used of a person III 106 IX 1077 X 136; with infinitive II 40
potius VII 451
praeconia I 472 IV 813
Praenestinae sortes II 193
praepes IX 688
praeponderare VI 603
praeses II 538
praeuertere VIII 30
premere = be close upon I 656, 674
,, = contain VII 742 VIII 56 757
,, = dwarf VII 594
,, = hold down I 612 V 341
,, = rule X 49
,, = stifle III 541 V 132
,, = urge on 608
preposition, position of II 675; repetition of VII 498
pressus IV 706 V 86 VII 562
primi pili centurio I 356
primus VII 360 IX 414
priuatus II 278, 533 IV 688 V 539, 668
probare se VIII 621
procella, metaphorical use of VIII 203
procul IV 587
prodere VI 428 VII 151
prodesse X 6
prodigies I 526 foll. VII 151 foll.
producere funus II 298; *noctem* X 173; *productus* IV 710
proicere IV 612 VI 401; *proiectus* VIII 442, 735 IX 309
promittere IV 36
promptus IX 936—7
pronuba VIII 90
pronus I 546, 573 II 412 V 501, 693
prorumpere I 493
prosecta VI 709
prosequi II 303
proserere IV 411
prouentus II 60—1
prouincia I 338
prouocare IX 883
Psylli IX 893 foll.
publica fata II 239; *signa* VII 164
pudere, construction of VIII 495
pudor fortunae V 59; *superum* VIII 605; with infinitive I 145
pulsare in murmura VIII 682
puniceus Rubicon I 214
pura toga VII 17
Pythones VII 156

qua = *quatenus* X 84
quaerere V 280 VI 154 VIII 394 IX 261, 869, 965; *quaesitus* II 572 III 450
quaestor VIII 715—6
quam, omission of I 446
quantum, adverb I 259; = how little IV 378
que = *sed* I 134, 633 II 442 III 569 IV 519 VI 756 VII 676 X 346
quercus I 358
qui = *sed ille* VII 764
quidquid VII 363 387 VIII 179, 365
quies VII 764; *saeua* V 442
quindecimuiri I 595, 599
Quirites V 358
quis = *uter* I 126 V 602 VI 810 VII 259
quisque = *uterque* I 127
quo I 681
quod anticipative I 24
quotus VIII 170

radii VII 458
ratus VII 34
recedere IV 409 VI 483 IX 1056
recidere II 141
recipere II 8 IV 711—2; *receptus* IX 204
rectus IV 166 IX 638, 904
reddere I 538 V 431
redire = spring back I 391 III 431

referre I 358
refodere IV 292
refusus VIII 797
regere VII 350, 515; *regens* VII 529
regia VIII 402
regimen VII 126
regnum I 4, 85—6, 92, 315 IX 258, 567 X 24
relative clause, position of, IV 203 IX 258—261
religare VII 860
remeare VII 256
remittere I 17 IV 398 VI 248 VII 707 IX 1059
rerum finis III 328
resoluere V 110
retemptare II 514
retro ferre VII 426
rex Nemorensis III 86
Rhodanus flumen I 433 VI 476
Rhodes, sacred to Sun VIII 248
rimas agere VI 728
robur = forces III 517, 584; *robora* = prison II 125
rogatus VII 549
rogus communis mundo VII 814
Roma worshipped as a goddess I 199
rostratus couinnus I 426
rotare III 673 VIII 673
Rubicon I 214
Rubrum mare VIII 293
rudentes II 683
rudis II 8 IV 634 V 80
ruere in se I 81
ruina I 494 IV 393 VIII 528
rursus II 660 VI 596
rus uacuom VII 395; *rura* I 318, 344
rutilus X 131
Rutupiae VI 67

Sabaei or *Sabini* IX 820—1
Sabine witchcraft IX 820
sacer III 315
Sacriportus II 134
saecula = fashion X 110
saeua nox V 709; *quies* V 443
Salamis, battle of III 181—3
Salii I 603 X 478
Salonae IV 404
Salus rerum II 221
sanctus II 327
sanguis = strength II 338 III 678
sarisae VIII 298 X 47—8
Sason II 627
satis III 388
Scaeua VI 144 foll. X 543—4
scelus II 266 VII 558 VIII 842 IX 209
scytale IX 717
Scythians, nomad I 253 II 641
secta II 381
sector I 178
secundum VIII 332
sed VIII 98
sedere I 32 III 380 V 643 VII 645 VIII 840
seducere VIII 291
segnis X 115
Selloe III 180
semel VI 716, 824 VIII 707
semina belli I 159 III 150
senex X 360; *noster* IX 136—7
senium I 130 IV 811—2 VIII 476; used of wine X 162
sentire II 598 V 45 VI 470
sepositus VIII 513
seps IX 723, 764 foll.
septimus amnis VIII 466
sequester X 472
sequi V 433 IX 4, 782
serenum I 530 IV 55; in plural IX 423
series causarum VI 612; *fatorum* I 70
sibi V 805 IX 404, 757 X 115
Sibylla V 137—8, 186
sic eat II 304 V 297
shadow, direction of III 248
siccus IV 638—9
sidere pessum III 674
sidus, metaphorical X 35, 89; *secundum* I 413; *sidera* I 15
signata iura III 302
signifer IV 800; *polus* III 253—4; *signifera puppis* III 558
siluae III 506 VI 766
similes gladii VII 453
sistrum VIII 832 X 63
sodales Titii I 602
sollemnia V 392
sollicitare II 279
Solpuga IX 837
soluere = acquit VII 870
,, = break up IV 332 IX 449
,, = let loose I 106 V 140
solutus II 559 VII 514
sonare VII 706
sors III 318 V 764; *loci* X 542; *miranda* IX 491; *obscura* VI 771; *ultima* V 692 VII 122, 444; *sorte secunda* IV 110
spargere II 682 III 64 VIII 100 IX 748
Spartan hounds IV 440—1
spatium IX 732
spes II 513 V 455 IX 375
spondere VII 246
sponte I 99, 234 V 136 IX 574
spumare X 163
squalere I 205 VI 625 IX 384
stagnare II 417
stare II 103, 490 III 566; *loco* I 145
statio I 45, 402, 408 X 203
stellatus III 455
Stoica I 128, 644 II 377 foll. V 103 IX 566 foll.
stridere I 574
stringere IX 773

studia ciuilia IV 687
sub gurgite X 66; *Noton* VII 364
subducere II 168 IV 47 VI 250; *uela* VI 287
subesse I 158
subitus I 312, 517 IV 29 VI 33 IX 988
submittere IX 182
submouere II 385, 497 V 71 VIII 445
suboles V 474
subsidĕre I 553
subsidĕre V 226
successor VII 607
succinctus I 596 VII 430
succisus IV 138
Sulla and Pompeius I 326, 335 VII 307 VIII 25
sun, fed by moisture I 415 VII 5 IX 313 X 258—261
super IV 303, 333 VIII 164, 226
superare III 84
superi hospitii IX 131
superstes III 747
supinus IV 58
suppara II 364; *uelorum* V 429
suppressus gener IX 1058
suspendere III 397, 490
sustinere IV 538 VII 750
suus IV 500
Syene II 587
Syrtes, description of IX 431 foll.

tacitus I 247
taedae I 112
Tages I 637
tacta saliua IX 925
tanti III 51 VI 768 VII 669
Taranis I 445—6
Tarchondimotus IX 219
Tarpeii dei VIII 863
Tarsos III 225
taxus III 419
temerare III 194
templa I 155
tempora I 181; *legum* VII 440; *Punica* II 45
temptare I 311 VI 79
tendere VII 328
tenere III 607 IX 118; *teneri* IV 156
tenor V 709
tenses, sequence of II 651 VII 464 IX 377
tepescere IV 284
tepidus III 23
terere IX 79; *otia* II 488
terra opposed to *saxum* IX 648
Teutates I 445
theatrum Pompeianum I 133 VII 9
Thebani rogi I 552
Themis V 81
Thessaly, description of VI 333 foll.; apostrophe to VII 847 foll.
Thyestes I 544 VII 451
Tigris flumen III 256 foll.
Titii sodales I 602
titubare VI 482
titulus II 555 VIII 817
toga I 130 III 143 V 382 VII 63
togatus I 312 IX 238
tollere III 386, 527
torquere IX 716
tortilis VI 198
totus II 485 V 742
trahere = drag to ruin IV 222, 738 VII 46, 346, 654 X 427
,, = drink VII 822
,, = prolong I 275
tractu exiguo VII 241
transcendere I 304 VI 325
transfuga mundi VIII 335
transire = change sides VII 647
,, = cross the frontier VIII 354
,, = outstrip II 565 IV 499 VI 436—7
transmittere III 661 VI 582 VII 624; *transmissus* VII 213
trees, respect for I 143
tremulus II 621 IV 432, 444
trepidus III 35
trieterica V 73—4
triumph, early of Pompeius I 316 VII 13, 14 VIII 24; only over foreigners I 12 III 79 VI 260—1
triumphi = *populi triumphati* II 644 VII 234
truncus V 252
tu, not emphatic II 638
tueri II 247; *uicem* X 485
tumidus II 672 V 233
tumor X 99
tumultus I 233 X 109
tumulus IV 589 IX 155
turba VI 593 VII 656, 844 VIII 157; = ship's crew III 647, 661, 666 VIII 254; used of two persons I 86
turbare III 593 VI 471 VII 322 VIII 4, 706
turbo II 243
turritus II 358
tutela IV 6 IX 357; *nauis* III 511
tutor IX 24
tutus II 504 III 341 VIII 225

uacare II 56 VI 203 VII 389 VIII 423 X 415; with dative V 342 VII 206 VIII 801 X 186; with infinitive II 119 VII 631
uacuus I 536
uadere V 804 VII 33
uagari VII 434
uari IV 439
uarius IV 704
Varus flumen I 404
uena IV 302 IX 356, 500—1 X 325

uenalis campus I 180
uenditare V 248
uerber I 229 III 469 536
uergere I 54 VI 482 VIII 280
uertere II 3
uertex I 546
uertigo VI 460; *rerum* VIII 16
uerum lumen IX 11
uetustas III 406, 470—1 IV 590 VII 850 VIII 867
uices II 13 V 445 VI 461
uictima, metaphorical use of VII 596 IX 132 X 386, 524
uilis I 173
uincere=surpass I 326 IX 278 X 187
uindicare with infinitive VIII 675
uinea II 506
uiolare IX 462; *uiolata dextra* II 126
uirgae Sabaeae IX 820
uirgenei doli V 141
uirus=dye X 124
uis materna II 338; *mensura iuris* I 176
uitalis IX 435
uitiari in IX 424
uitis as centurion's badge VI 146
ultimus=worst V 692 VII 122, 380, 444 VIII 395; *ad ultima* V 122 X 24
ultra II 138 V 534 VII 23 VIII 64 IX 579
ululare VI 261
umbo III 476 VII 493
undare V 100
unus eximius III 696
uolare with infinitive VII 751
uolnus III 568, 582, 707 V 1 VII 639 IX 769
uolucres Latiae VI 129
uota IX 989
uouere III 127 VII 658
urere IV 52, 578; *ustus* X 131
urgere I 148, 406, 491 II 719
usque adeo I 366 IV 185
ustor VIII 738
usura I 181
usus II 97, 477 III 557, 719 IV 364 V 698 IX 905
uti III 694 VII 69, 822

10 421ST2 53 005 BA 1 6276

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. & SONS AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Stanford University Libraries

3 6105 005 502 310

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

AUG 16 1994
AUG 1 6 1994
SEP 20 1994
28D SEP 1 3 1994
OCT 18 1994
28D OCT 1 8 1994
OCT 1 8 1994
NOV 16 1994
28D NOV 1 5 1994
DEC 2 1994
28D DEC 1 4 1994
28D JAN 09 1995
JAN 1 1995
28D FEB 0 3 1995
28D APR 1 0 1995
JUL 2 3 1996
JUL 2 2 1996
DEC 1 1 1996
DEC 1 1 1996
FEB 0 1 2000
DEC 1 6 1998
MAR 2 9 2005