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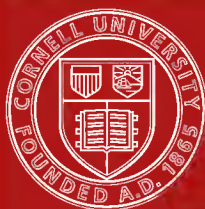
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THE
PHARSALIA OF LUCAN

TRANSLATED INTO BLANK VERSE

BY

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SOMETIME FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE, OXFORD

' Heard ye the din of battle bray ? '

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY

1896

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TO THE
VERY REV. H. MONTAGU BUTLER, D.D.
MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
BY
AN OLD HARROW PUPIL

P R E F A C E

THE poet Lucan was born in A.D. 39 at Corduba (Cordova), which was then the capital of the Roman province of Bætica or Southern Spain. He was of a distinguished family, and one of his uncles was Seneca the philosopher. In the year after his birth his father migrated to Rome with his family, and there the young Lucan, as he grew up, received his education. Cornutus, a Stoic, was one of his teachers; and the doctrines of that school are strongly marked in the work of the poet. Very early in life Lucan began to write poems, which he declaimed to the applause of his listeners; and when Nero ascended the throne in 54 A.D. he and the poet were on friendly terms. The Emperor, however, was also a composer of verse, and the two having been rivals at a public contest, the prize was adjudged to Lucan, the result of which was that he was forbidden to publish or recite any more of his compositions. This seems to have happened about 64 A.D.; and shortly afterwards the conspiracy of Piso was formed, in which Lucan took part. The plot was discovered, and the poet begged for his life, but received the order to die. After the fashion of the times, he opened his veins and expired in a hot bath, A.D. 65, at the early age of twenty-six, 'inheritor of unfulfilled renown.' For in these years he had written the 'Pharsalia;' and it seems probable that he composed the whole of it between his twenty-first and twenty-sixth year.

The poem comprises the events of about two years, from

the beginning of 49 B.C. to near the close of 48 B.C., and therefore describes a historic action which took place rather more than a hundred years before the time at which it was written. The struggle between Cæsar and Pompeius for the rule of Rome was then entering into its final phase. Crassus, the third of the Triumvirs, had been defeated and slain by the Parthians about four years before; Julia, Cæsar's daughter and Pompeius' wife, had died in 54 B.C.; Cæsar had completed his conquest of Gaul; and the two great rivals were face to face.

The events of the two years in question may be shortly stated thus:

49 B.C. *January*.—Cæsar crosses the Rubicon and enters Italy, while Pompeius and the Senators who adhere to his cause withdraw from Rome. (Book I.)

March.—Pompeius quits Brundisium and sails to Epirus, leaving all Italy in the hands of his rival. (Book II.)

April.—Cæsar visits Rome and besieges Marseilles. (Book III.)

June 23 to August 2.—Cæsar conducts a victorious campaign against Pompeius' generals on the Ebro. (Book IV.)

September.—Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, is defeated and slain by Juba in Africa. (Book IV.)

December.—Cæsar again visits Rome, where he is elected Consul for the ensuing year. (Book V.)

48 B.C. *January*.—Cæsar crosses to Epirus and confronts Pompeius at Durazzo. (Books V., VI.)

August 9.—Battle of Pharsalia. (Book VII.)

September 29.—Pompeius having fled to Egypt, is there murdered by one of the King's guards. (Book VIII.)

October.—Cæsar arrives in Egypt, and hostilities commence between him and the Egyptians. (Books IX., X.)

November.—Cato marches through the desert of Africa to Utica with the remnant of Pompeius' army. (Book IX.)

The poem, as is well known, ends abruptly, and is unfinished. To what point in the civil war Lucan proposed to carry it, must be a matter of conjecture only. It might have ended either with the murder of Cæsar, or, possibly, with the battle of Philippi; but there are also indications in the existing poem which point to the battle of Actium as the intended closing scene. This was the battle which left Octavius sole victor; and from some passages which need not be particularly mentioned, it might be inferred that the poet would not have been content until he had depicted the whole of the struggle which left Cæsar's house in possession of the Empire.

On the other hand, in the first book, Munda is called the *final* battle (line 47), by which must be meant the battle which terminated the conflict between the forces of Pompeius and Cæsar: and in a similar way, at line 766 of the same book, the murder of Cæsar is treated as the close of the war.

Pompeius is in a sense its hero. He was, to Lucan, the champion of liberty and the Senate; of that Senate which had conquered Italy and triumphed over Hannibal, and which to the poet represented the force whereby the old republican order might have been preserved, with its Consuls, its Tribunes, its suffrages, and all the institutions that to his mind were the tokens and fortresses of freedom. It escaped him that the power which had in the past achieved these triumphs failed, when the moment came, to define the wider boundaries required by the increased strength and population of the Roman dominion. Opposed to the Senate stood Cæsar, who despised the ancient forms and offices which were no longer the symbols of living force. In him Lucan saw only the upstart, who wished to cast aside the forms of law because, and only because, they obstructed his path to empire. He did not see, and perhaps in his day it was not possible to see, that in Cæsar's time the old order of Rome had become powerless, and that in Cæsar only and in the party which he

led was to be found a renewal of life such as could resist the vigour of the barbarian nations. Lucan was a patriot, and the baseness of the age in which he lived inflamed his imagination the more by its contrast with the historic liberties of his country. These were represented (as he thought) in the Senate and Consuls; and Pompeius, their general, was to that extent his hero.

And yet he knew the superiority of Cæsar. Even in the characters given in the First Book this appears. What can the mind that finds a dreamy enjoyment in the triumphs of the past, or in popular applause, avail against the impetuous, insatiable energy of its rival? We know before the struggle begins that Cæsar must be the conqueror. But throughout the poem Lucan appeals to his reader on behalf of Pompeius: when he leaves Italy for the last time; on the morning of the fatal battle; at its close; in the flight to Egypt, and at the last moment he calls for our sympathy for him. But while we grant it, our reason speaks for Cæsar. In a similar way Lucan frequently pictures Cæsar as a despoiler of Italian cities, nay, as the would-be despoiler of Rome herself; and he is not ashamed to put this accusation in the mouth of Pompeius (Book II. line 600). But the sentence quoted from Cicero at Book I. line 164, which describes the great general as moderate in victory, is in accordance with history. Nor had the brutality ascribed by the poet to Cæsar in his description of the battle of Pharsalia any foundation in fact.

It is in the speeches, which form the main feature of the poem, that we find the difference between the champions most strikingly accentuated. On these Lucan has expended all his eloquence, all his pungency and epigrammatic power. Of one of them (the character of Pompeius spoken by Cato in Book IX.) Lord Macaulay said, 'It is a pure gem of rhetoric without one flaw,' and there are many others which nearly

reach the same standard. Cæsar's speeches to his troops (Book I. 340, Book VII. 292) are, for example, full of conscious power. They are the words of a victorious general who claims victory as his right; who speaks to his soldiers as comrades, and demands of them the defence of their common country. Chivalrous to a Roman foe, he despises all else and calls upon his army to do the same. Pompeius' first speech, on the other hand (Book II. 597), is boastful and pretentious; and that in Book VII. 407, though in much better strain than the former one, fails to convince or persuade. When in Book VIII. he advocates an alliance with Parthia, the badness of his cause is not compensated by the logic with which he supports it.

Next in importance to the two opposing champions is Cato. Introduced to us in Book II. as the stern and rigid patriot, in Book IX. he embodies his principles in action. He is at once the unflinching commander, the philosopher who in peril and temptation loftily proclaims the tenets of his school, the inspired leader who some day shall receive divine honours, the captain who shares the lot of the meanest soldier, the statesman who upholds, amid disaster and defeat, the cause of public freedom.

The poem has, of course, all the blemishes that might be expected from the youth of its author. There are passages which offend against our sense of justice; we are asked to admire what is morally not admirable. There are many mistakes, specially in geography; there is obscurity, specially in astronomical matters; there are ghastly details of horrors, lengthy episodes not connected with the plot, and frequent exaggerations, as in the description of Scæva's exploits. There are also details of which the reader wearies, as in the sea fight in Book III. But a spirited and patriotic apostrophe, or the vigorous eloquence of Cato or Cæsar, or a powerful and dramatic description combine to give the poem force, and to maintain its power and interest; and impart to it a

fascination under the glamour of which its faults are forgotten.

Very contrary opinions have been expressed as to the merits of the poem as a whole. Niebuhr ('Lectures on the History of Rome,' iii. 193) says, 'Lucan belongs to the time of Nero, and his poetry proceeded from the school of Seneca. His example shows us how much more intolerable its tendency is in poetry than in prose. Bernardin de St. Pierre and Chateaubriand are the offspring of a similar school. . . . It would be more bearable if it did not venture upon anything but sentimental moralising, as in the case of the former; but Chateaubriand is a perfect pendant to the bad poet Lucan. This is not yet generally recognised, indeed, but the opinion which now prevails in regard to his merits cannot continue.'

Here we have an unfair and incomplete criticism, and an unfulfilled prophecy. In spite of what Niebuhr says, the 'Pharsalia' has qualities which must always continue to excite the interest of mankind.

To turn to the opposite extreme, Shelley, in a letter dated September 1815, says, 'I have also read the four first books of Lucan's "Pharsalia," a poem, as it appears to me, of wonderful genius and transcending Virgil.'¹

I should have supposed that no admirer of Lucan would care to rest his reputation on Books II., III., or IV., and it would be interesting to know whether Shelley retained the opinion he expressed in his letter.

Lord Macaulay (Trevelyan's 'Life and Letters,' i. 462) calls Lucan an excellent writer. I have already mentioned his opinion of the speech of Cato in Book IX. He also selected for special praise the dream of Pompey in Book VII., and the enumeration of his exploits in Book VIII. 'When I consider,' he says, 'that Lucan died at twenty-six, I cannot help ranking him among the most extraordinary men that ever

¹ Forman's Edition, vol. vii. p. 348.

lived.' But before the days of Macaulay, Dante gave a place to Lucan along with Homer, Horace, and Ovid, 'four mighty spirits.' Virgil appears as the fifth, and Dante adds :

Greater honour still
They gave me, for they made me of their tribe,
And I was sixth among so learned a band.

Inferno, iv. 95 (Carey's translation).

Probably the criticisms of Dean Merivale are founded on a more intimate knowledge of the 'Pharsalia' than are those of any other writer. The historian returned again and again to his favourite author, and constantly quoted him in illustration of his own subject. He points, however, to the want of imagination which, in his opinion, was one of Lucan's characteristics, and says, with some justice, that he had not really pictured to himself the scene of the great battle which was the centrepiece of his poem ; he criticises truly the vague and uncertain philosophy of the poet, strongly stoical and yet undefined, and the frequent errors in his encyclopædic knowledge. One sentence may be quoted in which he says : ' His wit and cleverness, considering his years, are preternatural : the trumpet tones of his scorn or admiration, after more than thirty years' familiarity, still thunder in my ears with startling intensity.' For the rest I must content myself with referring to the close of the fifty-sixth and the opening of the sixty-fourth chapters of his ' History of the Romans during the Empire.'

A few words are necessary with regard to the translation of this great poem which I have been bold enough to offer to the public. And, first, the great difficulty of the task makes me hope for an indulgent criticism. Mr. Heitland, indeed, says in his introduction to the Cambridge edition that a Dryden is required to give us in English an idea of the strength and vigour of the original poem. I am fully conscious of the truth of this, although I may be allowed to think that Ben

Jonson's powerful blank verse might possibly have given us a more adequate rendering of the terse and pointed style of Lucan than even Dryden's heroics. But the fact remains that there is no good English version of the work.

Marlowe's translation of Book I. has dignity and force; but the movement is slow, and it wants dash. The Elizabethan poet seems to have thought it necessary to limit the number of his lines by those of the original; the result is that some of the ideas are not reproduced. Among many powerful lines there are weak ones, and he does not always rise to the level of the stronger passages. The famous line

Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni,

has not yet been well translated, and perhaps never will be; but when Marlowe wrote

Cæsar's cause
The gods abetted, Cato liked the other,

he was hardly equal either to Lucan or himself. I quote a short passage as a fair specimen of the whole :

So thunder, which the wind tears from the clouds,
With crack of riven air and hideous sound,
Filling the world, leaps out and throws forth fire,
Affrights poor fearful men, and blasts their eyes
With overthwarting flames, and raging shoots
Alongst the air, and not resisting it
Falls and returns and shivers where it lights.

Lines 151-157.

Sir Thomas May's translation (published about 1631) is in the heroic metre. It contains passages of some merit; but it is extremely unequal and is disfigured by diction frequently obscure, and by a fashion of rhyming which to modern readers is uncouth and almost repulsive. He keeps, generally speaking, fairly close to the original, yet shrinks from some of the passages, particularly from those which are harder and more abstruse. I will give some short extracts illustrative of my meaning :

There fillèd with true light, with wond'ring eyes
 The wand'ring planets and first stars he sees.
 He sees our day involv'd in midst of night,
 And laughs at his torne trunk's ridiculous plight.

Book IX. line 12.

The ponderous earth out of her center tost,
 Her middle place in the world's orbe has lost ;
 So great a weight strooke by that voice was stirr'd
 And on both sides the face of heaven appeared.

Book VI. line 481.

But his version of Cato's speech at the oracle of Hammon, Book IX. lines 566-584 (659-684 in this translation), will probably find admirers, and is as follows :

What, Labienus, should I seeke to know ?
 If I had rather dye in armes, than bow
 Unto a Lord ? if life be nought at all ?
 No difference betwixt long life and small ?
 If any force can hurt men vertuous ?
 If fortune loose, when vertue doth oppose
 Her threats, if good desires be happinesse
 And vertue grow not greater by successe ?
 Thus much we know, nor deeper can the skill
 Of Ammon teach. The gods are with us still ;
 And though their oracles should silent be,
 Nought can we doe without the gods decree ;
 Nor needs he voices ; what was fit to know
 The great Creator at our births did show.
 Nor did he choose these barren sands to shew
 (Hiding it heere) his trueth but to a few.
 Is there a seate of God, save earth, and sea,
 Aire, heaven, and vertue ? Why for God should we
 Seeke further ? What ere moves, what ere is seene
 Is Jove. For oracles let doubtfull men
 Fearefull of future chances troubled be ;
 Sure death, not oracles, ascertain me,
 The coward and the valiant man must fall,
 This is enough for Jove to speake to all.

Nicholas Rowe's translation is referred to in terms of praise by Pope, in a letter written by him to H. Cromwell (see the edition of Pope by Courthope and Elwin, vi. 110). But it has this defect, which must outbalance all the merits which it may possess as a poem, that it does not in style or manner reproduce the 'Pharsalia.'

In modern times we have had from Professor Goldwin Smith, in his 'Bay Leaves,' renderings of some chosen passages. But these give no idea of the poem. Also the late Professor Froude published in his article entitled 'Divus Cæsar' a blank verse version of the apotheosis of Nero in Book I.

I have endeavoured to write a translation which shall reproduce the spirit of the original, and at the same time shall be fairly acceptable to English readers. Without pretending to have rendered every phrase precisely, I have striven to give the meaning of each passage. Other duties have prevented me from giving all the time to this object which would be required to satisfy the critical scholar who has made a study of the difficulties which abound in the 'Pharsalia;' but I have consulted the notes of Mr. Haskins in the Cambridge edition of 1887; the text of Hosius; and the text and notes of Francken on the first five books, published at Leyden early in the present year; and, where authorities differ, I hope that in each case some may be found to favour the rendering which has been adopted. I have not shrunk from translating directly extravagant epithets, similes, or descriptions; and I have, with few exceptions, followed the details without abbreviating the text. The particulars of the Marian and Sullan massacres, however, have been to some extent shortened, and the catalogue in Book I. has been lightly passed over. But the description of the serpents in Book IX. has been rendered at full length. The speeches especially have been carefully studied, with a view of giving its full

weight to each expression. They form, as has been said, one of the chief features in the poem.

With regard to proper names, I have in some instances, as in the Gallic catalogue, given the modern equivalent, but in most cases I have adhered to the ancient word; preferring Pompeius to Pompey, Ptolemæus to Ptolemy, Britannia to Britain, Athena or Athenæ to Athens. Similarly I have written Gaul or Gallia, and not France, though Marlowe spoke of the Rubicon as

Dividing just
The bounds of Italy from Cisalpine *France*.
Book I. line 218.¹

But if he had written *Gaul* it would have been better. After all, it is the Roman who speaks. I hope I may at all events successfully contend that no precise or definite rule exists upon this subject; and that, within limits, a discretion is allowed to the translator.

There are some Latin words which I have not always translated, such as *Quirites*, *Imperator*, *rostra*, *fascēs*, *plebs*, the meaning of which no English word exactly conveys. But, despite the authority of Lord Macaulay, *pilum* has been rendered as ‘spear.’

With reference to the notes, they are intended to assist, but do not aim at explaining everything.

I have, finally, to acknowledge the assistance of many friends: especially that of the Rev. Henry Furneaux, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and of my old schoolfellow W. J. Courthope, Esq., C.B., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, to whom I am deeply indebted for his most valuable and weighty aid and criticism.

I have to thank Miss Christabel Marshall, of 21 Great College Street, Westminster, for the preparation of the Index.

¹ 247 of this translation.

In conclusion, I shall be more than satisfied if I am found by this translation to have done anything to render the 'Pharsalia' in language, manner, and thought more accessible than it has hitherto been to English readers.

E. R.

October 1896.

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Errata

- Page 16 line 381, *for e'er read ere*
,, 38 line 208, *for e'er read ere*
,, 20 note 1, *for 462-489 read 453-481*
for 933 read 930
,, 24 line 651, note ³ should be placed at Then
,, 55 lines 743, 4, 'Thinking nothing done
While aught remained to do'
These words are from Gawin Douglas's Prologue to the seventh
book of the *Æneid*
,, 69 note 2, *for 193 read 198*
,, 72 note 3, *for 393 read 390*
,, 84 note 1, *for 952 read 948-955*
,, 114 line 722, *for 'mountain of the gods' read 'burden of the heavens'*
,, 125 note 1, *for hare read share*
,, 157 line 71, *for Pelops' read Pelops*
,, 157 line 83, *for Pelorous read Pelorus*
,, 163 line 266, *dele comma at end of line*
,, 174 note 1, *for 244 read 239*
,, 186 line 944, *for Cethegus' naked arm read Cethegus nude of arm*
,, 210 end of line 603, *for comma read full stop*
,, 228 line 25, *for greatness read glory*
,, 274 line 361, *for attack read approach*
,, 278 note 2, *for 177 read 172*
,, 298 note 1, *for 444, read 440*

BOOK I

THE CROSSING OF THE RUBICON

Introduction, lines 1-50. Address to Nero, 51-75. Causes of the Civil War, 76-135. Character of Pompeius, 136-159; of Cæsar, 160-176. Corruption of the times, 177-207. Cæsar crosses the Rubicon, 208-257; and advances to Ariminum, 258-293. The Tribunes meet him and Curio addresses him, 294-334. Cæsar's speech to his soldiers, 335-402. The reply of Lælius, 403-449. The Roman forces are summoned from Gaul, 450-523. Terror at Rome and flight of Citizens and Senators, 524-579. Prodigies related, 580-641. Aruns the Seer is summoned to aid the nation, and makes an expiatory sacrifice, 642-705. Figulus prophesies the coming disasters, 706-743; and so does a frenzied nation, 751-772.

BOOK I

THE CROSSING OF THE RUBICON

WARS worse than civil on Emathian¹ plains,
And crime let loose we sing : how Rome's high race
Plunged in her vitals her victorious sword ;
Armies akin embattled, with the force
Of all the shaken earth bent on the fray ;
And burst asunder, to the common guilt,
A kingdom's compact ; eagle with eagle met,
Standard to standard, spear opposed to spear.

Whence, citizens, this rage, this boundless lust
To sate barbarians with the blood of Rome ? 10
Did not the shade of Crassus, wandering still,²
Cry for his vengeance ? Could ye not have spoiled,
To deck your trophies, haughty Babylon ?
Why wage campaigns that send no laurels home ?
What lands, what oceans might have been the prize
Of all the blood thus shed in civil strife !
Where Titan rises, where night hides the stars,
'Neath southern noons all quivering with heat,
Or where keen frost that never yields to spring
In icy fetters binds the Scythian main : 20
Long since barbarians by the Eastern sea

¹ 'The great Emathian conqueror' (Milton's sonnet). Emathia was a part of Macedonia, but the word is used loosely for Thessaly or Macedonia.

² Crassus had been defeated and slain by the Parthians in B.C. 53, four years before this period.

And far Araxes' stream, and those who know
 (If any such there be) the birth of Nile
 Had felt our yoke. Then, Rome, upon thyself
 With all the world beneath thee, if thou must,
 Wage this nefarious war, but not till then.

Now view the houses with half-ruined walls
 Throughout Italian cities; stone from stone
 Has slipped and lies at length; within the home
 No guard is found, and in the ancient streets 30
 Scarce seen the passer by. The fields in vain,
 Rugged with brambles and unploughed for years,
 Ask for the hand of man; for man is not.
 Nor savage Pyrrhus nor the Punic horde
 E'er caused such havoc: to no foe was given
 To strike thus deep; but civil strife alone
 Dealt the fell wound and left the death behind.

¹ Yet if the fates could find no other way
 For Nero coming, nor the gods with ease
 Gain thrones in heaven; and if the Thunderer 40
 Prevailed not till the giant's war was done,
 Complaint is silent. For this boon supreme
 Welcome, ye gods, be wickedness and crime;
 Thronged with our dead be dire Pharsalia's fields,
 Be Punic ghosts avenged by Roman blood;

¹ Mr. Froude in his essay entitled 'Divus Caesar' hints that these famous lines may have been written in mockery. Probably the five years known as the Golden Era of Nero had passed when they were written: yet the text itself does not aid such a suggestion; and the view generally taken, namely that Lucan was in earnest, appears preferable. There were many who dreamed at the time that the disasters of the Civil War were being compensated by the wealth and prosperity of the empire under Nero; and the assurance of universal peace, then almost realised, which is expressed in lines 69-71, seems inconsistent with the idea that this passage was written in irony. (See Lecky's 'European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne,' vol. i. p. 240, who describes these latter verses as written 'with all the fervour of a Christian poet.' See also Merivale's 'Roman Empire,' chapter liv.)

Add to these ills the toils of Mutina ;
 Perugia's dearth ; on Munda's final field
 The shock of battle joined ; let Leucas' Cape
 Shatter the routed navies ; servile hands
 Unsheath the sword on fiery Etna's slopes : 50
 Still Rome is gainer by the civil war.
 Thou, ^{Nex}Caesar, art her prize. When thou shalt choose,
 Thy watch relieved, to seek divine abodes,
 All heaven rejoicing ; and shalt hold a throne,
 Or else elect to govern Phoebus' ^{acropolis}car
 And light a subject world that shall not dread
 To owe her brightness to a different Sun ;
 All shall concede thy right : do what thou wilt,
 Select thy Godhead, and the central clime
 Whence thou shalt rule the world with power divine. 60
 And yet the Northern or the Southern Pole
 We pray thee, choose not ; but in rays direct
 Vouchsafe thy radiance to thy city Rome.
Press thou on either side, the universe
 Should lose its equipoise : take thou the midst,
 And weight the scales, and let that part of heaven
 Where ^{Nex}Caesar sits, be evermore serene
And smile upon us with unclouded blue.
 Then may all men lay down their arms, and peace
 Through all the nations reign, and shut the gates 70
 That close the temple of the God of War.
 Be thou my help, to me e'en now divine !
 Let Delphi's steep her own Apollo guard,
 And Nysa keep her Bacchus, uninvoked.
 Rome is my subject and my muse art thou !
 First of such deeds I purpose to unfold
 The causes—task immense—what drove to arms
 A maddened nation, and from all the world
 Struck peace away.

By envious fate's decrees

Abide not long the mightiest lords of earth ; 80
 Beneath too heavy a burden great the fall.
 Thus Rome o'ergrew her strength. So when that hour,
 The last in all the centuries, shall sound
 The world's disruption, all things shall revert
 To that primæval chaos, stars on stars
 Shall crash ; and fiery meteors from the sky
 Plunge in the ocean. Earth shall then no more
 Front with her bulwark the encroaching sea :
 The moon, indignant at her path oblique,
 Shall drive her chariot 'gainst her brother Sun 90
 And claim the day for hers ; and discord huge
 Shall rend the spheres asunder.

On themselves

Great powers are dashed : such bounds the gods have placed
 Upon the prosperous ; nor doth Fortune lend
 To any nations, so that they may strike
 The sovereign power that rules the earth and sea,
 The weapons of her envy. Triple reign
 And baleful compact for divided power—
 Ne'er without peril separate before—
 Made Rome their victim. Oh ! Ambition blind, 100
 That stirred the leaders so to join their strength
 In peace that ended ill, their prize the world !
 For while the Sea on Earth and Earth on Air
 Lean for support : while Titan runs his course,
 And night with day divides an equal sphere,
 No king shall brook his fellow, nor shall power
 Endure a rival. , Search no foreign lands :
 These walls are proof that in their infant days
 A hamlet, not the world, was prize enough
 To cause the shedding of a brother's blood. 110

Concord, on discord based, brief time endured,

Unwelcome to the rivals ; and alone
 Crassus delayed the advent of the war.
 Like to the slender neck that separates
 The seas of Græcia : should it be engulfed
¹ Then would th' Ionian and Ægean mains
 Break each on other : thus when Crassus fell,
 Who held apart the chiefs, in piteous death,
 And stained Assyria's plains with Latian blood,
 Defeat in Parthia loosed the war in Rome. 120
 More in that victory than ye thought was won,
 Ye sons of Arsaces ; your conquered foes
 Took at your hands the rage of civil strife.
 The mighty realm that earth and sea contained,
 To which all peoples bowed, split by the sword,
 Could not find space for two.² For Julia bore,
 Cut off by fate unpitying,³ the bond
 Of that ill-omened marriage, and the pledge
 Of blood united, to the shades below.
 Had'st thou but longer stayed, it had been thine 130
 To keep the husband and the sire apart,
 And, as the Sabine women did of old,
 Dash down the threatening swords and join the hands.
 With thee all trust was buried, and the chiefs
 Could give their courage vent, and rushed to war.

¹ See a similar passage in the final scene of Ben Jonson's 'Catiline.' The cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth was proposed in Nero's reign, and actually commenced in his presence ; but abandoned because it was asserted that the level of the water in the Corinthian Gulf was higher than that in the Saronic Gulf, so that, if the canal were cut, the island of Ægina would be submerged. Merivale's 'Roman Empire,' chapter lv.

² Compare :

'Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere ;
 Nor can one England brook a double reign
 Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales.'

1 *Henry IV.*, Act v., Scene 4.

³ This had taken place in B.C. 54, about five years before the action of the poem opens.

Lest newer glories triumphs past obscure,
 Late conquered Gaul the bays from pirates won,
 This, Magnus, was thy fear ; thy roll of fame,
 Of glorious deeds accomplished for the state
 Allows no equal ; nor will Cæsar's pride 140
 A prior rival in his triumphs brook ;
 Which had the right 'twere impious to enquire ;
 Each for his cause can vouch a judge supreme ;
 The victor, heaven : the vanquished, Cato, thee.¹
 Nor were they like to like : the one in years
 Now verging towards decay, in times of peace
 Had unlearned war ; but thirsting for applause
 Had given the people much, and proud of fame
 His former glory cared not to renew,
 But joyed in plaudits of the theatre,² 150
 His gift to Rome : his triumphs in the past,
 Himself the shadow of a mighty name.
 As when some oak, in fruitful field sublime,
 Adorned with venerable spoils, and gifts
 Of bygone leaders, by its weight to earth
 With feeble roots still clings ; its naked arms
 And hollow trunk, though leafless, give a shade ;
 And though condemned beneath the tempest's shock
 To speedy fall, amid the sturdier trees

¹ This famous line was quoted by Lamartine when addressing the French Assembly in 1848. He was advocating, against the interests of his own party (which in the Assembly was all-powerful), that the President of the Republic should be chosen by the nation, and not by the Assembly ; and he ended by saying that if the course he advocated was disastrous to himself, 'Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

² 'Plausuque sui gaudere theatri.' Quoted by Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the address in 1783, on the occasion of peace being made with France, Spain, and America ; in allusion to Mr. Sheridan. The latter replied, 'If ever I again engage in the compositions he alludes to, I may be tempted to an act of presumption—to attempt an improvement on one of Ben Jonson's best characters—the character of the Angry Boy in the "Alchymist."'

In sacred grandeur rules the forest still. 160
 No such repute had Cæsar won, nor fame;
 But energy was his that could not rest—
 The only shame he knew was not to win.
 Keen and unvanquished,¹ where revenge or hope
 Might call, resistless would he strike the blow
 With sword un pitying : every victory won
 Reaped to the full ; the favour of the gods
 Pressed to the utmost ; all that stayed his course
 Aimed at the summit of power, was thrust aside :
 Triumph his joy, though ruin marked his track. 170
 As parts the clouds a bolt by winds compelled,
 With crack of riven air and crash of worlds,
 And veils the light of day, and on mankind,
 Blasting their vision with its flames oblique,
 Sheds deadly fright ; then turning to its home,
 Nought but the air opposing, through its path
 Spreads havoc, and collects its scattered fires.

Such were the hidden motives of the chiefs ;
 But in the public life the seeds of war
 Their hold had taken, such as are the doom 180
 Of potent nations : and when fortune poured
 Through Roman gates the booty of a world,
 The curse of luxury, chief bane of states,
 Fell on her sons. Farewell the ancient ways !
 Behold the pomp profuse, the houses decked
 With ornament ; their hunger loathed the food
 Of former days ; men wore attire for dames
 Scarce fitly fashioned ; poverty was scorned,
 Fruitful of warriors ; and from all the world
 Came that which ruins nations ; while the fields 190

¹ Cicero wrote thus of Cæsar : 'Have you ever read or heard of a man more vigorous in action or *more moderate in the use of victory* than our Cæsar ?'—'Epp. ad Diversos,' viii. 15.

Furrowed of yore by great Camillus' plough,
 Or by the mattock which a Curius held,
 Lost their once narrow bounds, and widening tracts
 By hinds unknown were tilled. No nation this
 To sheathe the sword, with tranquil peace content
 And with her liberties ; but prone to ire ;
 Crime holding light as though by want compelled :
 And great the glory in the minds of men,
 Ambition lawful even at point of sword,
 To rise above their country : might their law : 200
 Decrees are forced from Senate and from Plebs :
 Consul and Tribune break the laws alike :
 Bought are the fasces, and the people sell
 For gain their favour : bribery's fatal curse
 Corrupts the annual contests of the Field.
 Then covetous usury rose, and interest
 Was greedier ever as the seasons came ;
 Faith tottered ; thousands saw their gain in war.
 — Cæsar has crossed the Alps, his mighty soul ✓
 Great tumults pondering and the coming shock. 210
 Now on the marge of Rubicon, he saw,
 In face most sorrowful and ghostly guise,
 His trembling country's image ; huge it seemed
 Through mists of night obscure ; and hoary hair
 Streamed from the lofty front with turrets crowned :
 Torn were her locks and naked were her arms.
 Then thus, with broken sighs the Vision spake :
 ' What seek ye, men of Rome ? and whither hence
 ' Bear ye my standards ? If by right ye come,
 ' My citizens, stay here ; these are the bounds ; 220
 ' No further dare.' But Cæsar's hair was stiff
 With horror as he gazed, and ghastly dread
 Restrained his footsteps on the further bank.
 Then spake he, ' Thunderer, who from the rock

' Tarpeian seest the wall of mighty Rome ;
 ' Gods of my race who watched o'er Troy of old ;
 ' Thou Jove of Alba's height, and Vestal fires,
 ' And rites of Romulus erst rapt to heaven,
 ' And God-like Rome ; be friendly to my quest.
 ' Not with offence or hostile arms I come, 230
 ' Thy Cæsar, conqueror by land and sea,
 ' Thy soldier here and wheresoe'er thou wilt :

' No other's ; his, his only be the guilt
 ' Whose acts make me thy foe.' He gives the word
 And bids his standards cross the swollen stream.
 So in the wastes of Afric's burning clime
 The lion crouches as his foes draw near,
 Feeding his wrath the while, his lashing tail
 Provokes his fury ; stiff upon his neck
 Bristles his mane : deep from his gaping jaws 240
 Resounds a muttered growl, and should a lance
 Or javelin reach him from the hunter's ring,
 Scorning the puny scratch he bounds afield.

From modest fountain blood-red Rubicon
 In summer's heat flows on ; his pigmy tide
 Creeps through the valleys and with slender marge
 Divides the Italian peasant from the Gaul.
 Then winter gave him strength, and fraught with rain
 The third day's crescent moon ; while Eastern winds
 Thawed from the Alpine slopes the yielding snow. 250
 The cavalry first form across the stream
 To break the torrent's force ; the rest with ease
 Beneath their shelter gain the further bank.
 When Cæsar crossed and trod beneath his feet
 The soil of Italy's forbidden fields,
 ' Here,' spake he, ' peace, here broken laws be left ;
 ' Farewell to treaties. Fortune, lead me on ;
 ' War is our judge, and in the fates our trust.'

Then in the shades of night he leads the troops
 Swifter than Balearic sling or shaft 260
 Winged by retreating Parthian, to the walls
 Of threatened Rimini, while fled the stars,
 Save Lucifer, before the coming sun,
 Whose fires were veiled in clouds, by south wind driven,
 Or else at heaven's command : and thus drew on
 The first dark morning of the civil war.

Now stand the troops within the captured town,
 Their standards planted ; and the trumpet clang
 Rings forth in harsh alarums, giving note
 Of impious strife : roused from their sleep the men 270
 Rush to the hall and snatch the ancient arms
 Long hanging through the years of peace ; the shield
 With crumbling frame ; dark with the tooth of rust
 Their swords ;¹ and javelins with blunted point.
 But when the well-known signs and eagles shone,
 And Cæsar towering o'er the throng was seen,
 They shook for terror, fear possessed their limbs,
 And thoughts unuttered stirred within their souls.

' O miserable those to whom their home
 ' Denies the peace that all men else enjoy ! 280
 ' Placed as we are beside the Northern bounds
 ' And scarce a footstep from the restless Gaul,
 ' We fall the first ; would that our lot had been
 ' Beneath the Eastern sky, or frozen North,
 ' To lead a wandering life, rather than keep
 ' The gates of Latium. Brennus sacked the town
 ' And Hannibal, and all the Teuton hosts.
 ' For when the fate of Rome is in the scale
 ' By this path war advances.' Thus they moan

¹ Marlowe has it :

'. . . . And swords
 With ugly teeth of black rust foully scarred.'

Their fears but speak them not ; no sound is heard 290
 Giving their anguish utterance : as when
 In depth of winter all the fields are still,
 The birds are voiceless and no sound is heard
 To break the silence of the central sea.
 But when the day had broken through the shades
 Of chilly darkness, lo ! the torch of war !
 For by the hand of Fate is swift dispersed
 All Cæsar's shame of battle, and his mind
 Scarce doubted more ; and Fortune toiled to make
 His action just and give him cause for arms. 300

For while Rome doubted and the tongues of men
 Spoke of the chiefs who won them rights of yore,
 The hostile Senate, in contempt of right,
 Drove out the Tribunes. They to Cæsar's camp
 With Curio hasten, who of venal tongue,
 Bold, prompt, persuasive, had been wont to preach
 Of Freedom to the people, and to call
 Upon the chiefs to lay their weapons down.¹
 And when he saw how deeply Cæsar mused,
 ' While from the rostrum I had power,' he said, 310
 ' To call the populace to aid thy cause,
 ' By this my voice against the Senate's will
 ' Was thy command prolonged. But silenced now
 ' Are laws in war : we driven from our homes ;
 ' Yet is our exile willing ; for thine arms
 ' Shall make us citizens of Rome again.
 ' Strike ; for no strength as yet the foe hath gained.

¹ In the Senate, Curio had proposed and carried a resolution that Pompeius and Cæsar should lay their arms down simultaneously ; but this was resisted by the Oligarchal party, who endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to expel Curio from the Senate, and who placed Pompeius in command of the legions at Capua. This was in effect a declaration of war ; and Curio, after a last attempt at resistance, left the city, and betook himself to Cæsar. (See the close of Book IV.)

' Occasion calls, delay shall mar it soon :
 ' Like risk, like labour, thou hast known before,
 ' But never such reward. Could Gallia hold 320
 ' Thine armies ten long years ere victory came,
 ' That little nook of earth ? One paltry fight
 ' Or twain, fought out by thy resistless hand,
 ' And Rome for thee shall have subdued the world :
 ' 'Tis true no triumph now would bring thee home ;
 ' No captive tribes would grace thy chariot wheels
 ' Winding in pomp around the ancient hill.
 ' Spite gnaws the factions ; for thy conquests won
 ' Scarce shalt thou be unpunished. Yet 'tis fate
 ' Thou should'st subdue thy kinsman : share the world 330
 ' With him thou canst not ; rule thou canst, alone.'
 As when at Elis' festival a horse
 In stable pent gnaws at his prison bars
 Impatient, and should clamour from without
 Strike on his ear, bounds furious at restraint,
 So then was Cæsar, eager for the fight,
 Stirred by the words of Curio. To the ranks
 He bids his soldiers ; with majestic mien
 And hand commanding silence as they come.
 ' Comrades,' he cried, ' victorious returned, 340
 ' Who by my side for ten long years have faced,
 ' Mid Alpine winters and on Arctic shores,
 ' The thousand dangers of the battle-field—
 ' Is this our country's welcome, this her prize
 ' For death and wounds and Roman blood outpoured ?
 ' Rome arms her choicest sons ; the sturdy oaks
 ' Are felled to make a fleet ;—what could she more
 ' If from the Alps fierce Hannibal were come
 ' With all his Punic host ? "By land and sea
 ' Cæsar shall fly !" Fly ? Though in adverse war 350
 ' Our best had fallen, and the savage Gaul

' Were hard upon our track, we would not fly.
 ' And now, when fortune smiles and kindly gods
 ' Beckon us on to glory!—Let him come
 ' Fresh from his years of peace, with all his crowd
 ' Of conscript burgesses, Marcellus' tongue ¹
 ' And Cato's empty name! We will not fly.
 ' Shall Eastern hordes and greedy hirelings keep
 ' Their loved Pompeius ever at the helm?
 ' Shall chariots of triumph be for him 360
 ' Though youth and law forbad them? Shall he seize
 ' On Rome's chief honours ne'er to be resigned?
 ' And what of harvests ² blighted through the world
 ' And ghastly famine made to serve his ends?
 ' Who hath forgotten how Pompeius' bands
 ' Seized on the forum, and with glittering arms
 ' Made outraged justice tremble, while their swords
 ' Hemmed in the judgment-seat where Milo ³ stood?
 ' And now when worn and old and ripe for rest, ⁴
 ' Greedy of power, the impious sword again 370
 ' He draws. As tigers in Hyrcanian woods
 ' Wandering, or in the caves that saw their birth,
 ' Once having lapped the blood of slaughtered kine,
 ' Shall never cease from rage; e'en so this whelp
 ' Of cruel Sulla, nursed in civil war,
 ' Outstrips his master; and the tongue which licked
 ' That reeking weapon ever thirsts for more.

¹ Marcus Marcellus, Consul in B.C. 51.

² Plutarch, 'Pomp.,' 49. The harbours and places of trade were placed under his control in order that he might find a remedy for the scarcity of grain. But his enemies said that he had caused the scarcity in order to get the power.

³ Milo was brought to trial for the murder of Clodius in B.C. 52, about three years before this. Pompeius, then sole Consul, had surrounded the tribunal with soldiers, who at one time charged the crowd. Milo was sent into exile at Massilia.

⁴ See Book II., 630.

' Stain once the lips with blood, no other meal
 ' They shall enjoy. And shall there be no end
 ' Of these long years of power and of crime? 380
 ' Nay, this one lesson, e'er it be too late,
 ' Learn of thy gentle Sulla—to retire!
 ' Of old his victory o'er Cilician thieves
 ' And Pontus' weary monarch gave him fame,
 ' By poison scarce attained. His latest prize
 ' Shall I be, Cæsar, I, who would not quit
 ' My conquering eagles at his proud command?
 ' Nay, if no triumph is reserved for me,
 ' Let these at least of long and toilsome war
 ' Neath other leaders the rewards enjoy. 390
 ' Where shall the weary soldier find his rest?
 ' What cottage homes their joys, what fields their fruit
 ' Shall to our veterans yield? Will Magnus say
 ' That pirates only till the fields aright?
 ' Unfurl your standards; victory gilds them yet,
 ' As through those glorious years. Deny our rights!
 ' He that denies them makes our quarrel just.
 ' Nay! use the strength that we have made our own.
 ' No booty seek we, nor imperial power.
 ' This would-be ruler of subservient Rome 400
 ' We force to quit his grasp; and Heaven shall smile
 ' On those who seek to drag the tyrant down.'

Thus Cæsar spake; but doubtful murmurs ran
 Throughout the listening crowd, this way and that
 Their wishes urging them; the thoughts of home
 And household gods and kindred gave them pause:
 But fear of Cæsar and the pride of war
 Their doubts resolved. Then Lælius, who wore
 The well-earned crown for Roman life preserved,
 The foremost Captain of the army, spake: 410
 ' O greatest leader of the Roman name,

' If 'tis thy wish the very truth to hear
 ' 'Tis mine to speak it ; we complain of this,
 ' That gifted with such strength thou did'st refrain
 ' From using it. Had'st thou no trust in us ?
 ' While the hot life-blood fills these glowing veins,
 ' While these strong arms avail to hurl the lance,
 ' Wilt thou make peace and bear the Senate's rule ?
 ' Is civil conquest then so base and vile ?
 ' Lead us through Scythian deserts, lead us where 420
 ' The inhospitable Syrtes line the shore
 ' Of Afric's burning sands, or where thou wilt :
 ' This hand, to leave a conquered world behind,
 ' Held firm the oar that tamed the Northern Sea
 ' And Rhine's swift torrent foaming to the main.
 ' To follow thee fate gives me now the power :
 ' The will was mine before. No citizen
 ' I count the man 'gainst whom thy trumpets sound.
 ' By ten campaigns of victory, I swear,
 ' By all thy world-wide triumphs, though with hand 430
 ' Unwilling, should'st thou now demand the life
 ' Of sire or brother or of faithful spouse,
 ' Cæsar, the life were thine. To spoil the gods
 ' And sack great Juno's temple on the hill,
 ' To plant our arms o'er Tiber's yellow stream,
 ' To measure out the camp, against the wall
 ' To drive the fatal ram, and raze the town,
 ' This arm shall not refuse, though Rome the prize.'

His comrades swore consent with lifted hands
 And vowed to follow wheresoe'er he led. 440

And such a clamour rent the sky as when
 Some Thracian blast on Ossa's pine-clad rocks
 Falls headlong, and the loud re-echoing woods,
 Or bending, or rebounding from the stroke,
 In sounding chorus lift the roar on high.

When Cæsar saw them welcome thus the war
 And Fortune leading on, and favouring fates,
 He seized the moment, called his troops from Gaul,
 And breaking up his camp set on for Rome.

The tents are vacant by Lake Leman's side ; 450
 The camps upon the beetling crags of Vosges
 No longer hold the warlike Lingon down,
 Fierce in his painted arms ; Isère is left,
 Who past his shallows gliding, flows at last
 Into the current of more famous Rhone,
 To reach the ocean in another name.

The fair-haired people of Cevennes are free :
 Soft Aude rejoicing bears no Roman keel,
 Nor pleasant Var, since then Italia's bound ;
 The harbour sacred to Alcides' name 460

Where hollow crags encroach upon the sea,
 Is left in freedom : there nor Zephyr gains
 Nor Caurus access, but the Circian blast ¹
 Forbids the roadstead by Monæcus' hold.
 And others left the doubtful shore, which sea
 And land alternate claim, whene'er the tide
 Pours in amain or when the wave rolls back—
 Be it the wind which thus compels the deep
 From furthest pole, and leaves it at the flood ;
 Or else the moon that makes the tide to swell, 470
 Or else, in search of fuel ² for his fires,
 The sun draws heavenward the ocean wave ;—
 Whate'er the cause that may control the main
 I leave to others ; let the gods for me
 Lock in their breasts the secrets of the world.

¹ The north-west wind. Circius was a violent wind from about the same quarter, but peculiar to the district.

² This idea that the sun found fuel in the clouds appears again in Book VII., line 7 ; Book IX., line 379 ; and Book X., line 317.

Those who kept watch beside the western shore
Have moved their standards home; the happy Gaul
Rejoices in their absence; fair Garonne
Through peaceful meads glides onward to the sea.
And where the river broadens, neath the cape 480
Her quiet harbour sleeps. No outstretched arm
Except in mimic war now hurls the lance.
No skilful warrior of Seine directs
The scythèd chariot 'gainst his country's foe.
Now rest the Belgians, and th' Arvernian race
That boasts our kinship by descent from Troy;
And those brave rebels whose undaunted hands
Were dipped in Cotta's blood, and those who wear
Sarmatian garb. Batavia's warriors fierce
No longer listen for the bugle call, 490
Nor those who dwell where Rhone's swift eddies sweep
Saone to the ocean; nor the mountain tribes
Who dwell about its source. Thou, too, oh Treves,
Rejoicest that the war has left thy bounds.
Ligurian tribes, now shorn, in ancient days
First of the long-haired nations; on whose necks
Once flowed the auburn locks in pride supreme;
And those who pacify with blood accursed
Savage Teutates, Hesus' horrid shrines,
And Taranis' altars cruel as were those 500
Loved by Diana,¹ goddess of the north;
All these now rest in peace. And you, ye Bards,
Whose martial lays send down to distant times
The fame of valorous deeds in battle done,
Pour forth in safety more abundant song.

¹ This Diana was worshipped by the Tauri, a people who dwelt in the Crimea; and, according to legend, was propitiated by human sacrifices. Orestes on his return from his expiatory wanderings brought her image to Greece, and the Greeks identified her with their Artemis. (Compare Book VI., 93.)

While you, ye Druids,¹ when the war was done,
 To mysteries strange and hateful rites returned :
 To you alone 'tis given the gods and stars
 To know or not to know ; secluded groves
 Your dwelling-place, and forests far remote. 510

If what ye sing be true, the shades of men
 Seek not the dismal homes of Erebus
 Or death's pale kingdoms ; but the breath of life
 Still rules these bodies in another age—
 Life on this hand and that, and death between.
 Happy the peoples 'neath the Northern Star
 In this their false belief ; for them no fear
 Of that which frights all others : they with hands
 And hearts undaunted rush upon the foe
 And scorn to spare the life that shall return. 520

Ye too depart who kept the banks of Rhine
 Safe from the foe, and leave the Teuton tribes
 Free at their will to march upon the world.
 —Caesar, with strength increased and gathered troops
 New efforts daring, spreads his bands afar
 Through Italy, and fills the neighbouring towns.
 Then empty rumour to well-grounded fear
 Gave strength, and heralding the coming war
 In hundred voices 'midst the people spread.
 One cries in terror, ' Swift the squadrons come 530

¹ The horror of the Druidical groves is again alluded to in Book III., lines 462-489. Dean Merivale remarks (chapter li.) on this passage, that in the despair of another life which pervaded Paganism at the time, the Roman was exasperated at the Druids' assertion of the transmigration of souls. But the passage seems also to betray a lingering suspicion that the doctrine may in some shape be true, however horrible were the rites and sacrifices. The reality of a future life was a part of Lucan's belief, as a state of reward for heroes. (See the passage at the beginning of Book IX. ; and also Book VI., line 933). But all was vague and uncertain, and he appears to have viewed the Druidical transmigration rather with doubt and unbelief, as a possible form of future or recurring life, than with scorn as an absurdity.

' Where Nar with Tiber joins : and where, in meads
 ' By oxen loved, Mevania spreads her walls,
 ' Fierce Cæsar hurries his barbarian horse.
 ' Eagles and standards wave above his head,
 ' And broad the march that sweeps across the land.'
 Nor is he pictured truly ; greater far
 More fierce and pitiless—from conquered foes
 Advancing ; in his rear the peoples march,
 Snatched from their homes between the Rhine and Alps,
 To pillage Rome while Roman chiefs look on. 540
 Thus each man's panic thought swells rumour's lie :
 They fear the phantoms they themselves create.
 Nor does the terror seize the crowd alone :
 But fled the Fathers, to the Consuls ¹ first
 Issuing their hated order, as for war ;
 And doubting of their safety, doubting too
 Where lay the peril, through the choking gates,
 Each where he would, rushed all the people forth.
 Thou would'st believe that blazing to the torch
 Were men's abodes, or nodding to their fall. 550
 So streamed they onwards, frenzied with affright,
 As though in exile only could they find
 Hope for their country. So, when southern blasts
 From Libyan whirlpools drive the boundless main,
 And mast and sail crash down upon a ship
 With ponderous weight, but still the frame is sound,
 Her crew and captain leap into the sea,
 Each making shipwreck for himself. 'Twas thus
 They passed the city gates and fled to war.
 No aged parent now could stay his son ; 560
 Nor wife her spouse, nor did they pray the gods
 To grant the safety of their fatherland.

¹ Plutarch says the Consuls fled without making the sacrifices usual before wars. ('Pomp.' 61.)

None linger on the threshold for a look
Of their loved city, though perchance the last.

Ye gods, who lavish priceless gifts on men,
Nor care to guard them, see victorious Rome
Teeming with life, chief city of the world,
With ample walls that all mankind might hold,
To coming Cæsar left an easy prey.

The Roman soldier, when in foreign lands 570

Pressed by the enemy, in narrow trench
And hurried mound finds guard enough to make
His slumber safe ; but thou, imperial Rome,
Alone on rumour of advancing foes
Art left a desert, and thy battlements
They trust not for one night. Yet for their fear
This one excuse was left ; Pompeius fled.

Nor found they room for hope ; for nature gave
Unerring portents of worse ills to come.
The angry gods filled earth and air and sea 580

With frequent prodigies ; in darkest nights
Strange constellations sparkled through the gloom :

The pole was all afire, and torches flew
Across the depths of heaven ; with horrid hair
A blazing comet stretched from east to west
And threatened change to kingdoms. From the blue
Pale lightning flashed, and in the murky air
The fire took divers shapes ; a lance afar
Would seem to quiver or a misty torch ;

A noiseless thunderbolt from cloudless sky 590

Rushed down, and drawing fire in northern parts
Plunged on the summit of the Alban mount.

The stars that run their courses in the night
Shone in full daylight ; and the orbèd moon,
Hid by the shade of earth, grew pale and wan.
The sun himself, when poised in mid career,

Shrouded his burning car in blackest gloom
 And plunged the world in darkness, so that men
 Despaired of day—like as he veiled his light
¹ From that fell banquet which Mycenæ saw. 600
 The jaws of Etna were agape with flame
 That rose not heavenwards, but headlong fell
 In smoking stream upon th' Italian flank.
 Then black Charybdis, from her boundless depth,
 Threw up a gory sea. In piteous tones
 Howled the wild dogs; the Vestal fire was snatched
 From off the altar; and the flame that crowned
 The Latin festival was split in twain,
 As on the Theban pyre,² in ancient days;
 Earth tottered on its base: the mighty Alps 610
 From off their summits shook th' eternal snow.³
 In huge upheaval Ocean raised his waves
 O'er Calpe's rock and Atlas' hoary head.
 The native gods shed tears, and holy sweat
 Dropped from the idols; gifts in temples fell:
 Foul birds defiled the day; beasts left the woods
 And made their lair among the streets of Rome.
 All this we hear; nay more: dumb oxen spake;
 Monsters were brought to birth and mothers shrieked
 At their own offspring; words of dire import 620
 From Cumæ's prophetess were noised abroad.

¹ Compare Ben Jonson's 'Catiline,' I. 1:—

Lecca. The day goes back,
 Or else my senses.

Curius. As at Atreus' feast.

² When the Theban brothers, Eteocles and Polynices, were being burned on the same pyre, the flame shot up in two separate tongues, indicating that even in death they could not be reconciled. (Mr. Haskins' note, citing Statius, 'Theb.')

³ 'Shook the old snow from off their trembling laps.' (Marlowe.)
 The Latin word is *jugis*.

Bellona's priests with bleeding arms, and slaves
 Of Cybele's worship, with ensanguined hair,
 Howled chants of havoc and of woe to men.
 Arms clashed; and sounding in the pathless woods
 Were heard strange voices; spirits walked the earth:
 And dead men's ashes muttered from the urn.
 Those who live near the walls desert their homes,
 For lo! with hissing serpents in her hair,
 Waving in downward whirl a blazing pine, 630
 A fiend patrols the town, like that which erst
 At Thebes urged on Agavé,¹ or which hurled
 Lycurgus' bolts, or that which as he came
 From Hades seen, at haughty Juno's word,
 Brought terror to the soul of Hercules.
 Trumpets like those that summon armies forth
 Were heard re-echoing in the silent night:
 And from the earth arising Sulla's² ghost
 Sang gloomy oracles, and by Anio's wave
 All fled the homesteads, frightened by the shade 640
 Of Marius waking from his broken tomb.

In such dismay they summon, as of yore,
 The Tuscan sages to the nation's aid.
 Aruns, the eldest, leaving his abode
 In desolate Luca, came, well versed in all
 The lore of omens; knowing what may mean
 The flight of hovering bird, the pulse that beats
 In offered victims, and the levin bolt.
 All monsters first, by most unnatural birth
 Brought into being, in accursed flames 650
 He bids consume.³ Then round the walls of Rome

¹ Book VI., 420.

² Sulla was buried in the Campus Martius. (Plutarch, 'Sulla,' 38.) The corpse of Marius was dragged from his tomb by Sulla's order, and thrown into the Anio.

³ Such a ceremonial took place in A.D. 56 under Nero, after the temples

Each trembling citizen in turn proceeds.
 The priests, chief guardians of the public faith,
 With holy sprinkling purge the open space
 That borders on the wall ; in sacred garb
 Follows the lesser crowd : the Vestals come
 By priestess led with laurel crown bedecked,
 To whom alone is given the right to see

¹ Minerva's effigy that came from Troy.

Next come the keepers of the sacred books 660

And fate's predictions ; who from Almo's brook

Bring back Cybebe laved ; the augur too

Taught to observe sinister flight of birds ;

And those who serve the banquets to the gods ;

And Titian brethren ; and the priest of Mars,

Proud of the buckler that adorns his neck ;

By him the Flamen, on his noble head

The cap of office. While they tread the path

That winds around the walls, the aged seer

Collects the thunderbolts that fell from heaven, 670

And lays them deep in earth, with muttered words

Naming the spot accursèd. Next a steer,

Picked for his swelling neck and beauteous form,

He leads to the altar, and with slanting knife

Spreads on his brow the meal, and pours the wine.

The victim's struggles prove the gods averse ;

But when the servers press upon his horns

He bends the knee and yields him to the blow.

No crimson torrent issued at the stroke,

But from the wound a dark empoisoned stream 680

Ebbd slowly downward. Aruns at the sight

of Jupiter and Minerva had been struck by lightning, and was probably witnessed by Lucan himself. (See Merivale's 'History of the Roman Empire,' chapter lii.)

¹ See Book IX., 1178.

Aghast, upon the entrails of the beast
 Essayed to read the anger of the gods.
 Their very colour terrified the seer ;
 Spotted they were and pale, with sable streaks
 Of lukewarm gore bespread ; the liver damp
 With foul disease, and on the hostile part
 The angry veins defiant ; of the lungs
 The fibre hid, and through the vital parts
 The membrane small ; the heart had ceased to throb ; 690
 Blood oozes through the ducts ; the caul is split :
 And, fatal omen of impending ill,
 One lobe o'ergrows the other ; of the twain
 The one lies flat and sick, the other beats
 And keeps the pulse in rapid strokes astir.

Disaster's near approach thus learned, he cries—

' Whate'er may be the purpose of the gods,
 'Tis not for me to tell ; this offered beast
 ' Not Jove possesses, but the gods below.
 ' We dare not speak our fears, yet fear doth make 700
 ' The future worse than fact. May all the gods
 ' Prosper the tokens, and the sacrifice
 ' Be void of truth, and Tages (famous seer)
 ' Have vainly taught these mysteries.' Such his words
 Involved, mysterious. Figulus, to whom
 For knowledge of the secret depths of space
 And laws harmonious that guide the stars,
 Memphis could find no peer, then spake at large :
 ' Either,' he said, ' the world and countless orbs
 ' Throughout the ages wander at their will ; 710
 ' Or, if the fates control them, ruin huge
 ' Hangs o'er this city and o'er all mankind.
 ' Shall Earth yawn open and engulf the towns ?
 ' Shall scorching heat usurp the temperate air

' And fields refuse their timely fruit ? The streams
 ' Flow mixed with poison ? In what plague, ye gods,
 ' In what destruction shall ye wreak your ire ?
 ' Whate'er the truth, the days in which we live
 ' Shall find a doom for many. Had the star
 ' Of baleful Saturn, frigid in the height, 720
 ' Kindled his lurid fires, the sky had poured
 ' Its torrents forth as in Deucalion's time,
 ' And whelmed the world in waters. Or if thou,
 ' Phœbus, beside the Nemean lion fierce
 ' Wert driving now thy chariot, flames should seize
 ' The universe and set the air ablaze.
 ' These are at peace ; but, Mars, why art thou bent
 ' On kindling thus the Scorpion, his tail
 ' Portending evil and his claws aflame ?
 ' Deep sunk is kindly Jupiter, and dull 730
 ' Sweet Venus' star, and rapid Mercury
 ' Stays on his course : Mars only holds the sky.
 ' Why does Orion's sword too brightly shine ?
 ' Why planets leave their paths and through the void
 ' Thus journey on obscure ? 'Tis war that comes,
 ' Fierce rabid war : the sword shall bear the rule
 ' Confounding justice ; hateful crime usurp
 ' The name of virtue ; and the havoc spread
 ' Through many a year. But why entreat the gods ?
 ' The end Rome longs for and the final peace 740
 ' Comes with a despot. Draw thou out thy chain
 ' Of lengthening slaughter, and (for such thy fate)
 ' Make good thy liberty through civil war.'

The frightened people heard, and as they heard
 His words prophetic made them fear the more.
 But worse remained ; for as on Pindus' slopes
 Possessed with fury from the Theban god

Speeds some Bacchante, thus in Roman streets
Behold a matron run, who, in her trance,
Relieves her bosom of the god within. 760

‘ Where dost thou snatch me, Pæan, to what shore
‘ Through airy regions borne? I see the snows
‘ Of Thracian mountains; and Philippi’s plains
‘ Lie broad beneath. But why these battle lines,
‘ No foe to vanquish—Rome on either hand?
‘ Again I wander ’neath the rosy hues
‘ That paint thine eastern skies, where regal Nile
‘ Meets with his flowing wave the rising tide.
‘ Known to mine eyes that mutilated trunk
‘ That lies upon the sand! Across the seas 760
‘ By changing whirlpools to the burning climes
‘ Of Libya borne, again I see the hosts
‘ From Thracia brought by fate’s command. And now
‘ Thou bear’st me o’er the cloud-compelling Alps
‘ And Pyrenean summits; next to Rome.
‘ There in mid-Senate see the closing scene
‘ Of this foul war in foulest murder done.
‘ Again the factions rise; through all the world
‘ Once more I pass; but give me some new land,
‘ Some other region, Phœbus, to behold! 770
‘ Washed by the Pontic billows! for these eyes
‘ Already once have seen Philippi’s plains!’¹

The frenzy left her and she speechless fell.

¹ The confusion between the site of the battle of Philippi and that of the battle of Pharsalia is common among the Roman writers. (See the note to Merivale, chapter xxvi.)

BOOK II

THE FLIGHT OF POMPEIUS

Remonstrance with the gods for allowing the future to be foretold, lines 1-18. Terror at Rome, 18-74. Relation of the massacres perpetrated by Marius and Sulla, 75-261. Interview between Brutus and Cato, 262-365. Marriage of Cato and Marcia, 366-426. Character of Cato, 427-442. Pompeius marches to Capua, 443. Geography of Italy, 450-494. Cæsar overruns Northern Italy, 496-533. Episode of Domitius at Corfinium, 534-590. Pompeius's speech to his army, 591-673. He retires to Brundisium, 674-690. The town described, 690-709. Cnæus is sent to the East, 709-733. Cæsar tries to block the harbour, 735-772. Pompeius escapes to Epirus, 773-837.

BOOK II

THE FLIGHT OF POMPEIUS

THUS was made plain the anger of the gods ;
The universe gave signs : Nature reversed
In monstrous tumult fraught with prodigies
Her laws, and prescient spake the coming guilt.

How seemed it just to thee, Olympus' king,
That suffering mortals at thy doom should know
By omens dire the massacre to come ?
Or did the primal parent of the world
When first the flames gave way and yielding left
Matter unformed to his subduing hand, 10
And realms unbalanced, fix by stern decree
Unalterable laws to bind the whole
(Himself, too, bound by law), so that for aye
All Nature moves within its fated bounds ?
Or, is Chance sovereign over all, and we
The sport of Fortune and her turning wheel ?
Whate'er be truth, keep thou the future veiled
From mortal vision, and amid their fears
May men still hope.

Thus known how great the woes
The world should suffer, from the truth divine, 20
A solemn fast was called, the courts were closed,
All men in private garb ; no purple hem
Adorned the togas of the chiefs of Rome ;
No plaints were uttered, and a voiceless grief

Lay deep in every bosom : as when death
 Knocks at some door but enters not as yet,
 Before the mother calls the name aloud
 Or bids her grieving maidens beat the breast,
 While still she marks the glazing eye, and soothes
 The stiffening limbs and gazes on the face, 30
 In nameless dread, not sorrow, and in awe
 Of death approaching : and with mind distraught
 Clings to the dying in a last embrace.

The matrons laid aside their wonted garb :
 Crowds filled the temples—on the unpitying stones
 Some dashed their bosoms ; others bathed with tears
 The statues of the gods ; some tore their hair
 Upon the holy threshold, and with shrieks
 And vows unceasing called upon the names
 Of those whom mortals supplicate. Nor all 40
 Lay in the Thunderer's fane : at every shrine
 Some prayers are offered which refused shall bring
 Reproach on heaven. One whose livid arms
 Were dark with blows, whose cheeks with tears bedewed
 And riven, cried, ' Beat, mothers, beat the breast,
 ' Tear now the lock ; while doubtful in the scales
 ' Still fortune hangs, nor yet the fight is won,
 ' You still may grieve : when either wins rejoice.'
 Thus sorrow stirs itself.

Meanwhile the men
 Seeking the camp and setting forth to war, 50
 Address the cruel gods in just complaint.
 ' Happy the youths who born in Punic days
 ' On Cannæ's uplands or by Trebia's stream
 ' Fought and were slain ! What wretched lot is ours !
 ' No peace we ask for : let the nations rage ;
 ' Rouse fiercest cities ! may the world find arms
 ' To wage a war with Rome : let Parthian hosts

' Rush forth from Susa ; Scythian Ister curb
 ' No more the Massagete : unconquered Rhine
 ' Let loose from furthest North her fair-haired tribes : 60
 ' Elbe, pour thy Suevians forth ! Let us be foes
 ' Of all the peoples. May the Getan press
 ' Here, and the Dacian there ; Pompeius meet
 ' The Eastern archers, Cæsar in the West
 ' Confront th' Iberian. Leave to Rome no hand
 ' To raise against herself in civil strife.
 ' Or, if Italia by the gods be doomed,
 ' Let all the sky, fierce Parent, be dissolved
 ' And falling on the earth in flaming bolts,
 ' Their hands still bloodless, strike both leaders down, 70
 ' With both their hosts ! Why plunge in novel crime
 ' To settle which of them shall rule in Rome ?
 ' Scarce were it worth the price of civil war
 ' To hinder either.' Thus the patriot voice
 Still found an utterance, soon to speak no more.

Meantime, the aged fathers o'er their fates
 In anguish grieved, detesting life prolonged
 That brought with it another civil war.
 And thus spake one, to justify his fears :
 ' No other deeds the fates laid up in store 80
 ' When Marius,¹ victor over Teuton hosts,
 ' Afric's high conqueror, cast out from Rome,
 ' Lay hid in marshy ooze, at thy behest,
 ' O Fortune ! by the yielding soil concealed
 ' And waving rushes ; but ere long the chains

¹ When dragged from his hiding place in the marsh, Marius was sent by the magistrates of Minturnæ to the house of a woman named Fannia, and there locked up in a dark apartment. It does not appear that he was there long. A Gallic soldier was sent to kill him ; and the eyes of Marius appeared to him to dart a strong flame, and a loud voice issued from the gloom, " Man, do you dare to kill Caius Marius ? " He rushed out exclaiming, ' I cannot kill Caius Marius.' (Plutarch, ' Marius,' 38.

' Of prison wore his weak and aged frame,
 ' And lengthened squalor: thus he paid for crime
 ' His punishment beforehand; doomed to die
 ' Consul in triumph over wasted Rome.
 ' Death oft refused him; and the very foe, 90
 ' In act to murder, shuddered in the stroke
 ' And dropped the weapon from his nerveless hand.
 ' For through the prison gloom a flame of light
 ' He saw; the deities of crime abhorred;
 ' The Marius to come. A voice proclaimed
 ' Mysterious, "Hold! the fates permit thee not
 ' "That neck to sever. Many a death he owes
 ' "To time's predestined laws ere his shall come;
 ' "Cease from thy madness. If ye seek revenge
 ' "For all the blood shed by your slaughtered tribes 100
 ' "Let this man, Cimbrians, live out all his days."
 ' Not as their darling did the gods protect
 ' The man of blood, but for his ruthless hand
 ' Fit to prepare that sacrifice of gore
 ' Which fate demanded. By the sea's despite
 ' Borne to our foes, Jugurtha's wasted realm
 ' He saw, now conquered; there in squalid huts
 ' Awhile he lay, and trod the hostile dust
 ' Of Carthage, and his ruin matched with hers:
 ' Each from the other's fate some solace drew, 110
 ' And prostrate, pardoned heaven. On Libyan soil¹
 ' Fresh fury gathering,² next, when Fortune smiled
 ' The prisons he threw wide and freed the slaves.
 ' Forth rushed the murderous bands, their melted chains

¹ The Governor of Libya sent an officer to Marius, who had landed in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The officer delivered his message, and Marius replied, 'Tell the Governor you have seen Caius Marius, a fugitive sitting on the ruins of Carthage,' a reply in which he not inaptly compared the fate of that city and his own changed fortune. (Plutarch, 'Marius,' 40.)

² In the 'gathering of fresh fury on Libyan soil,' there appears to be an allusion to the story of Antæus, in Book IV.

' Forged into weapons for his ruffian needs.
 ' No charge he gave to mere recruits in guilt
 ' Who brought not to the camp some proof of crime.
 ' How dread that day when conquering Marius seized
 ' The city's ramparts! with what fated speed
 ' Death strode upon his victims! plebs alike 120
 ' And nobles perished; far and near the sword
 ' Struck at his pleasure, till the temple floors
 ' Ran wet with slaughter and the crimson stream
 ' Befouled with slippery gore the holy walls.
 ' No age found pity: men of failing years,
 ' Just tottering to the grave, were hurled to death;
 ' From infants, in their being's earliest dawn,¹
 ' The growing life was severed. For what crime?
 ' 'Twas cause enough for death that they could die.
 ' The fury grew: soon 'twas a sluggard's part 130
 ' To seek the guilty: hundreds died to swell
 ' The tale of victims. Shamed by empty hands,
 ' The bloodstained conqueror snatched a reeking head
 ' From neck unknown. One way of life remained,
 ' To kiss with shuddering lips the red right hand.²
 ' Degenerate people! Had ye hearts of men,
 ' Though ye were threatened by a thousand swords,
 ' Far rather death than centuries of life
 ' Bought at such price; much more that breathing space
 ' Till Sulla comes again.³ But time would fail 140
 ' In weeping for the deaths of all who fell.

¹ See Ben Jonson's 'Catiline,' Act i., scene 1, speaking of the Sullan massacre.

Cethegus. Not infants in the porch of life were free.

Catiline. 'Twas crime enough that they had lives: to strike but only those that could do hurt was dull and poor: some fell to make the number as some the prey.

² Whenever he did not salute a man, or return his salute, this was a signal for massacre. (Plutarch, 'Marius,' 43.)

³ The Marian massacre was in B.C. 87-86; the Sullan in 82-81.

' Encircled by innumerable bands
 ' Fell Bæbius, his limbs asunder torn,
 ' His vitals dragged abroad. Antonius too,
 ' Prophet of ill, whose hoary head ¹ was placed,
 ' Dripping with blood, upon the festal board.
 ' There headless fell the Crassi; mangled frames
 ' Neath Fimbria's falchion: and the prison cells
 ' Were wet with tribunes' blood. Hard by the fane
 ' Where dwells the goddess and the sacred fire, 150
 ' Fell aged Scævola, though that gory hand ²
 ' Had spared him, but the feeble tide of blood
 ' Still left the flame alive upon the hearth.
 ' That selfsame year the seventh time restored ³
 ' The Consul's rods; that year to Marius brought
 ' The end of life, when he at Fortune's hands
 ' All ills had suffered; all her goods enjoyed.
 ' And what of those who at the Sacriport ⁴
 ' And Colline gate were slain, then, when the rule
 ' Of Earth and all her nations almost left 160
 ' This city for another, and the chiefs
 ' Who led the Samnite hoped that Rome might bleed
 ' More than at Caudium's Forks she bled of old?
 ' Then came great Sulla to avenge the dead,
 ' And all the blood still left within her frame

¹ The head of Antonius was struck off and brought to Marins at supper. He was the grandfather of the triumvir.

² Scævola, it would appear, was put to death after Marius the elder died, by the younger Marius. He was Pontifex Maximus, and slain by the altar of Vesta.

³ B.C. 86, Marius and Cinna were Consuls. Marius died seventeen days afterwards, in the seventieth year of his age.

⁴ The Battle of Sacriportus was fought between Marius the younger and the Sullan army in B.C. 82. Marius was defeated with great loss, and fled to Præneste, a town which afterwards submitted to Sulla, who put all the inhabitants to death (line 216). At the Colline gate was fought the decisive battle between Sulla and the Samnites, who, after a furious contest, were defeated.

'Drew from the city ; for the surgeon knife
 'Which shore the cancerous limbs cut in too deep,
 'And shed the life stream from still healthy veins.
 'True that the guilty fell, but not before
 'All else had perished. Hatred had free course 170
 'And anger reigned unbridled by the law.
 'The victor's voice spake once ; but each man struck
 'Just as he wished or willed. The fatal steel
 'Urged by the servant laid the master low.
 'Sons dripped with gore of sires ; and brothers fought
 'For the foul trophy of a father slain,
 'Or slew each other for the price of blood.
 'Men sought the tombs and, mingling with the dead,
 'Hoped for escape ; the wild beasts' dens were full.
 'One strangled died ; another from the height 180
 'Fell headlong down upon the unpitying earth,
 'And from the encrimsoned victor snatched his death :
 'One built his funeral pyre and oped his veins,
 'And scaled the furnace ere his blood was gone.
 'Borne through the trembling town the leaders' heads
 'Were piled in middle forum : hence men knew
 'Of murders else unpublished. Not on gates
 'Of Diomedes,¹ tyrant king of Thrace,
 'Nor of Antæus, Libya's giant brood,
 'Were hung such horrors ; nor in Pisa's hall 190
 'Were seen and wept for when the suitors died.
 'Decay had touched the features of the slain
 'When round the mouldering heap, with trembling steps
 'The grief-struck parents sought and stole their dead.
 'I, too, the body of ^{his} ~~my~~ brother slain
 'Thought to remove, ~~my~~ victim to the peace

¹ Diomedes was said to feed his horses on human flesh. (For Antæus see Book IV., 660.) CEnomaus was king of Pisa in Elis. Those who came to sue for his daughter's hand had to compete with him in a chariot race, and if defeated were put to death.

' ~~Which Sulla made~~, and place his loved remains
 ' On the forbidden pyre. The head ~~was~~ found,
 ' But not the butchered corse. ^{he}
 ' Why now renew
 ' The tale of Catulus's shade appeased? 200
 ' And those dread tortures which the living frame
 ' Of Marius ¹ suffered at the tomb of him
 ' Who haply wished them not? Pierced, mangled, torn—
 ' Nor speech nor grasp was left: his every limb
 ' Maimed, hacked and riven; yet the fatal blow
 ' The murderers with savage purpose spared.
 ' 'Twere scarce believed that one poor mortal frame
 ' Such agonies could bear e'er death should come.
 ' Thus crushed beneath some ruin lie the dead;
 ' Thus shapeless from the deep are borne the drowned. 210
 ' Why spoil delight by mutilating thus,
 ' The head of Marius? To please Sulla's heart
 ' That mangled visage must be known to all.
 ' Fortune, high goddess of Præneste's fane,
 ' Saw all her townsmen hurried to their deaths
 ' In one fell instant. All the hope of Rome,
 ' The flower of Latium, stained with blood the field
 ' Where once the peaceful tribes their votes declared.
 ' Famine and Sword, the raging sky and sea,
 ' And Earth upheaved, have laid such numbers low: 220
 ' But ne'er one man's revenge. Between the slain
 ' And living victims there was space no more,
 ' Death thus let slip, to deal the fatal blow.
 ' Hardly when struck they fell; the severed head
 ' Scarce toppled from the shoulders; but the slain
 ' Blent in a weighty pile of massacre
 ' Pressed out the life and helped the murderer's arm.
 ' Secure from stain upon his lofty throne,

¹ The brother of the Consul.

' Unshuddering sat the author of the whole,
 ' Nor feared that at his word such thousands fell. 230
 ' At length the Tuscan flood received the dead—
 ' The first upon his waves ; the last on those
 ' That lay beneath them ; vessels in their course
 ' Were stayed, and while the lower current flowed
 ' Still to the sea, the upper stood on high
 ' Dammed back by carnage. Through the streets mean-
 ' while

' In headlong torrents ran a tide of blood,
 ' Which furrowing its path through town and field
 ' Forced the slow river on. But now his banks
 ' No longer held him, and the dead were thrown 240
 ' Back on the fields above. With labour huge
 ' At length he struggled to his goal and stretched
 ' In crimson streak across the Tuscan Sea.

' For deeds like these, shall Sulla now be styled
 ' " Darling of Fortune," " Saviour of the State " ?
 ' For these, a tomb in middle field of Mars
 ' Record his fame ? Like horrors now return
 ' For us to suffer ; and the civil war
 ' Thus shall be waged again and thus shall end.
 ' Yet worse disasters may our fears suggest, 250
 ' For now with greater carnage of mankind
 ' The rival hosts in weightier battle meet.
 ' To exiled Marius, successful strife
 ' Was Rome regained ; triumphant Sulla knew
 ' No greater joy than on his hated foes
 ' To wreak his vengeance with unsparing sword.
 ' But these more powerful rivals Fortune calls
 ' To worse ambitions ; nor would either chief
 ' For such reward as Sulla's wage the war.'
 Thus, mindful of his youth, the aged man 260
 Wept for the past, but feared the coming days.

Such terrors found in haughty Brutus' breast
 No home. When others sat them down to fear
 He did not so, but in the dewy night
 When the great wain was turning round the pole
 He sought his kinsman Cato's humble home.
 Him sleepless did he find, not for himself
 Fearing, but pondering the fates of Rome,
 And deep in public cares. And thus he spake :
 ' O thou in whom that virtue, which of yore 270
 ' Took flight from earth, now finds its only home,
 ' Outcast to all besides, but safe with thee :
 ' Vouchsafe thy counsel to my wavering soul
 ' And make my weakness strength. While Cæsar some,
 ' Pompeius others, follow in the fight,
 ' Cato is Brutus' guide. Art thou for peace,
 ' Holding thy footsteps in a tottering world
 ' Unshaken ? Or wilt thou with the leaders' crimes
 ' And with the people's fury take thy part,
 ' And by thy presence purge the war of guilt ? 280
 ' In impious battles men unsheath the sword ;
 ' But each by cause impelled : the household crime ;
 ' Laws feared in peace ; want by the sword removed ;
 ' And broken credit, that its ruin hides
 ' In general ruin. Drawn by hope of gain,
 ' And not by thirst for blood, they seek the camp.
 ' Shall Cato for war's sake make war alone ?
 ' What profits it through all these wicked years
 ' That thou hast lived untainted ? This were all
 ' Thy meed of virtue, that the wars which find 290
 ' Guilt in all else, shall make thee guilty too.
 ' Ye gods, permit not that this fatal strife
 ' Should stir those hands to action ! When the clouds
 ' Of flying javelins hiss upon the air,
 ' Let not a dart be thine ; nor spent in vain
 ' Such virtue ! All the fury of the war

' Shall launch itself on thee, for who, when faint
 ' And wounded, would not rush upon thy sword,
 ' Take thence his death, and make the murder thine ?
 ' Do thou live on thy peaceful life apart 300
 ' As on their paths the stars unshaken roll.
 ' The lower air that verges on the earth
 ' Gives flame and fury to the levin bolt ;
 ' The deeps below the world engulph the winds
 ' And tracts of flaming fire. By Jove's decree
 ' Olympus rears his summit o'er the clouds :
 ' In lowlier valleys storms and winds contend,
 ' But peace eternal reigns upon the heights.
 ' What joy for Cæsar, if the tidings come
 ' That such a citizen has joined the war ? 310
 ' Glad would he see thee e'en in ^PMagnus' tents ;
 ' For Cato's conduct shall approve his own.
 ' Pompeius, with the Consul in his ranks,
 ' And half the Senate and the other chiefs,
 ' Vexes my spirit ; and should Cato too
 ' Bend to a master's yoke, in all the world
 ' The one man free is Cæsar. But if thou
 ' For freedom and thy country's laws alone
 ' Be pleased to raise the sword, nor ^MMagnus then
 ' Nor Cæsar shall in Brutus find a foe. 320
 ' Not till the fight is fought shall Brutus strike,
 ' Then strike the victor.'

Brutus thus ; but spake

Cato from inmost breast these sacred words :

' Chief in all wickedness is civil war,
 ' Yet virtue in the paths marked out by fate
 ' Treads on securely. Heaven's will be the crime
 ' To have made even Cato guilty. Who has strength
 ' To gaze unawed upon a toppling world ?
 ' When stars and sky fall headlong, and when earth
 ' Slips from her base, who sits with folded hands ? 330

' Shall unknown nations, touched by western strife,
 ' And monarchs born beneath another clime
 ' Brave the dividing seas to join the war?
 ' Shall Scythian tribes desert their distant north,
 ' And Getæ haste to view the fall of Rome,
 ' And I look idly on? As some fond sire,
 ' Reft of his sons, compelled by grief, himself
 ' Marshals the long procession to the tomb,
 ' Thrusts his own hand within the funeral flames,
 ' Soothing his heart, and, as the lofty pyre 340
 ' Rises on high, applies the kindled torch:
 ' Nought, Rome, shall tear thee from me, till I hold
 ' Thy form in death embraced; and Freedom's name,
 ' Shade though it be, I'll follow to the grave.
 ' Yea! let the cruel gods exact in full
 ' Rome's expiation: of no drop of blood
 ' The war be robbed. I would that, to the gods
 ' Of heaven and hell devoted, this my life
 ' Might satisfy their vengeance. Decius fell;
 ' Crushed by the hostile ranks. When Cato falls 350
 ' Let Rhine's fierce barbarous hordes and both the hosts
 ' Thrust through my frame their darts! May I alone
 ' Receive in death the wounds of all the war!
 ' Thus may the people be redeemed, and thus
 ' Rome for her guilt pay the atonement due.
 ' Why should men die who wish to bear the yoke
 ' And shrink not from the tyranny to come?
 ' Strike me, and me alone, of laws and rights
 ' In vain the guardian: this vicarious life
 ' Shall give Hesperia peace and end her toils. 360
 ' Who then will reign shall find no need for war.
 ' You ask, Why follow Magnus? If he wins ¹

¹ So Cicero: 'Our Cnæus is wonderfully anxious for such a royalty as Sulla's. I who tell you know it.' ('Ep. ad Att.,' ix. 7.)
 Pompey?

‘ He too will claim the Empire of the world.
 ‘ Then let him, conquering with my service, learn
 ‘ Not for himself to conquer.’ Thus he spoke
 And stirred the blood that ran in Brutus’ veins
 Moving the youth to action in the war.

Soon as the sun dispelled the chilly night,
 The sounding doors flew wide, and from the tomb
 Of dead Hortensius grieving Marcia came.¹

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First joined in wedlock to a greater man
 Three children did she bear to grace his home :
 Then Cato to Hortensius gave the dame
 To be a fruitful mother of his sons
 And join their houses in a closer tie.

And now the last sad offices were done
 She came with hair dishevelled, beaten breast,
 And ashes on her brow, and features worn
 With grief; thus only pleasing to the man.

‘ When youth was in me and maternal power

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‘ I did thy bidding, Cato, and received

‘ A second husband : now in years grown old

‘ Ne’er to be parted I return to thee.

‘ Renew our former pledges undefiled :

‘ Give back the name of wife : upon my tomb

‘ Let “ Marcia, spouse to Cato,” be engraved.

‘ Nor let men question in the time to come,

‘ Did’st thou compel, or did I willing leave

‘ My first espousals. Not in happy times,

‘ Partner of joys, I come ; but days of care

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‘ And labour shall be mine to share with thee.

¹ Marcia was first married to Cato, and bore him three sons; he then yielded her to Hortensius. On his death she returned to Cato. (Plutarch, ‘Cato,’ 25, 52.) It was in reference to this that Cæsar charged him with making a traffic of his marriage; but Plutarch says ‘to accuse Cato of filthy lucre is like upbraiding Hercules with cowardice.’ After the marriage Marcia remained at Rome while Cato hurried after Pompeius.

‘ Nor leave me here, but take me to the camp,
 ‘ Thy fond companion : why should Magnus’ wife
 ‘ Be nearer, Cato, to the wars than thine ? ’

Although the times were warlike and the fates
 Called to the fray, he lent a willing ear.

Yet must they plight their faith in simple form
 Of law ; their witnesses the gods alone.

No festal wreath of flowers crowned the gate

Nor glittering fillet on each post entwined ; 400

No flaming torch was there, nor ivory steps,

No couch with robes of broidered gold adorned ;

No comely matron placed upon her brow

The bridal garland, or forbad the foot ¹

To touch the threshold stone ; no saffron veil

Concealed the timid blushes of the bride ;

No jewelled belt confined her flowing robe ²

Nor modest circle bound her neck ; no scarf

Hung lightly on the snowy shoulder’s edge

Around the naked arm. Just as she came, 410

Wearing the garb of sorrow, while the wool

Covered the purple border of her robe,

Thus was she wedded. As she greets her sons

So doth she greet her husband. Festal games

Graced not their nuptials, nor were friends and kin

As by the Sabines bidden : silent both

They joined in marriage, yet content, unseen

By any save by Brutus. Sad and stern

¹ The bride was carried over the threshold of her new home, for to stumble on it would be of evil omen. Plutarch (‘Romulus’) refers this custom to the rape of the Sabine women, who were ‘so lift up and carried away by force.’ (North, volume i., p. 88, Edition by Windham.) I have read ‘vetuit’ in this passage, though ‘vitat’ appears to be a better variation according to the manuscripts.

² The bride was dressed in a long white robe, bound round the waist with a girdle. She had a veil of bright yellow colour. (‘Dict. Antiq.’)

On Cato's lineaments the marks of grief
 Were still unsoftened, and the hoary hair 420
 Hung o'er his reverend visage ; for since first
 Men flew to arms, his locks were left unkempt
 To stream upon his brow, and on his chin
 His beard untended grew. 'Twas his alone
 Who hated not, nor loved, for all mankind
 To mourn alike. Nor did their former couch
 Again receive them, for his lofty soul
 E'en lawful love resisted. 'Twas his rule
 Inflexible, to keep the middle path
 Marked out and bounded ; to observe the laws 430
 Of natural right ; and for his country's sake
 To risk his life, his all, as not for self
 Brought into being, but for all the world :
 Such was his creed. To him a sumptuous feast
 Was hunger conquered, and the lowly hut,
 Which scarce kept out the winter, was a home
 Equal to palaces : a robe of price
 Such hairy garments as were worn of old :
 The end of marriage, offspring. To the State
 Father alike and husband, right and law 440
 He ever followed with unswerving step :
 No thought of selfish pleasure turned the scale
 In Cato's acts, or swayed his upright soul.

Meanwhile Pompeius led his trembling host
 To fields Campanian, and held the walls
 First founded by the chief of Trojan race.¹
 These chose he for the central seat of war,
 Some troops despatching who might meet the foe
 Where shady Apennine lifts up the ridge
 Of mid Italia ; nearest to the sky 450

¹ Capua, supposed to be founded by Capys, the Trojan hero. (Virgil, 'Æneid,' x., 145.)

Upsoaring, with the seas on either hand,
 The upper and the lower. Pisa's sands
 Breaking the margin of the Tuscan deep,
 Here bound his mountains : there Ancona's towers
 Laved by Dalmatian waves. Rivers immense,
 In his recesses born, pass on their course,
 To either sea diverging. To the left
 Metaurus, and Crustumium's torrent, fall
 And Sena's streams and Aufidus who bursts
 On Adrian billows ; and that mighty flood 460
 Which, more than all the rivers of the earth,
 Sweeps down the soil and tears the woods away
 And drains Hesperia's springs. In fabled lore
 His banks were first by poplar shade enclosed :¹
 And when by Phaethon the waning day
 Was drawn in path transverse, and all the heaven
 Blazed with his car aflame, and from the depths
 Of inmost earth were rapt all other floods,
 Padus still rolled in pride of stream along.
 Nile were no larger, but that o'er the sand 470
 Of level Egypt he spreads out his waves ;
 Nor Ister, if he sought the Scythian main
 Unhelped upon his journey through the world
 By tributary waters not his own.
 But on the right hand Tiber has his source,
 Deep-flowing Rutuba, Vulturnus swift,
 And Sarnus breathing vapours of the night
 Rise there, and Liris with Vestinian wave
 Still gliding through Marica's shady grove,
 And Siler flowing through Salernian meads : 480
 And Macra's swift unnavigable stream

¹ Phaethon's sisters, who yoked the horses of the Sun to the chariot for their brother, were turned into poplars. Phaethon was flung by Jupiter into the river Po.

By Luna lost in Ocean. On the Alps
 Whose spurs strike plainwards, and on fields of Gaul
 The cloudy heights of Apennine look down
 In further distance : on his nearer slopes
 The Sabine turns the ploughshare ; Umbrian kine
 And Marsian fatten ; with his pineclad rocks
 He girds the tribes of Latium, nor leaves
 Hesperia's soil until the waves that beat
 On Scylla's cave compel. His southern spurs 490
 Extend to Juno's temple, and of old
 Stretched further than Italia, till the main
 O'erstepped his limits and the lands repelled.
 But, when the seas were joined, Pelorus claimed
 His latest summits for Sicilia's isle.

Cæsar, in rage for war, rejoicing found
 Foes in Italia ; no bloodless steps
 Nor vacant homes had pleased him ;¹ so his march
 Were wasted : now the coming war was joined
 Unbroken to the past ; to force the gates 500
 Not find them open, fire and sword to bring
 Upon the harvests, not through fields unharmed
 To pass his legions—this was Cæsar's joy ;
 In peaceful guise to march, this was his shame.
 Italia's cities, doubtful in their choice,
 Though to the earliest onset of the war
 About to yield, strengthened their walls with mounds
 And deepest trench encircling : massive stones
 And bolts of war to hurl upon the foe
 They place upon the turrets. Magnus most 510
 The people's favour held, yet faith with fear
 Fought in their breasts. As when, with strident blast,
 A southern tempest has possessed the main

¹ See the note to Book I., 164. In reality Cæsar found little resistance, and did not ravage the country.

And all the billows follow in its track :
 Then, by the Storm-king smitten, should the earth
 Set Eurus free upon the swollen deep,
 It shall not yield to him, though cloud and sky
 Confess his strength ; but in the former wind
 Still find its master. But their fears prevailed,
 And Cæsar's fortune, o'er their wavering faith. 520
 For Libo fled Etruria ; Umbria lost
 Her freedom, driving Thermus¹ from her bounds ;
 Great Sulla's son, unworthy of his sire,
 Feared at the name of Cæsar : Varus sought
 The caves and woods, when smote the hostile horse
 The gates of Auximon ; and Spinther driven
 From Asculum, the victor on his track,
 Fled with his standards, soldierless ; and thou,
 Scipio, did'st leave Nuceria's citadel
 Deserted, though by bravest legions held 530
 Sent home by Cæsar for the Parthian war ;²
 Whom Magnus earlier, to his kinsman gave
 A loan of Roman blood, to fight the Gaul.
 But brave Domitius held firm his post³
 Behind Corfinium's ramparts ; his the troops
 Who newly levied kept the judgment hall
 At Milo's trial.⁴ When from far the plain
 Rolled up a dusty cloud, beneath whose veil
 The sheen of armour glistening in the sun,
 Revealed a marching host. ' Dash down,' he cried, 540

¹ Thermus, to whom Iguvium had been entrusted by the Senate, was compelled to quit it owing to the disaffection of the inhabitants. (Merivale, chapter xiv.) Auximon in a similar way rose against Varus.

² After Cæsar's campaign with the Nervii, Pompeius had lent him a legion. When the Parthian war broke out and the Senate required each of the two leaders to supply a legion for it, Pompeius demanded the return of the legion which he had sent to Gaul ; and Cæsar returned it, together with one of his own. They were, however, retained in Italy.

³ See Book VII., 695.

⁴ Book I., 368.

‘ Swift as ye can, the bridge that spans the stream ;
‘ And thou, O river, from thy mountain source
‘ With all thy torrents rushing, planks and beams
‘ Ruined and broken on thy foaming breast
‘ Bear onward to the sea. The war shall stop
‘ Here, to our triumph ; for this headlong chief
‘ Here first at our firm bidding shall be stayed.’
He bade his squadrons, speeding from the walls,
Charge on the bridge : in vain : for Cæsar saw
They sought to free the river from his chains ¹ 550
And bar his march ; and roused to ire, he cried :
‘ Were not the walls sufficient to protect
‘ Your coward souls ? Seek ye by barricades
‘ And streams to keep me back ? What though the flood
‘ Of swollen Ganges were across my path ?
‘ Now Rubicon is passed, no stream on earth
‘ Shall hinder Cæsar ! Forward, horse and foot,
‘ And ere it totters rush upon the bridge.’
Urged in their swiftest gallop to the front
Dashed the light horse across the sounding plain ; 560
And suddenly, as storm in summer, flew
A cloud of javelins forth, by sinewy arms
Hurled at the foe ; the guard is put to flight,
And conquering Cæsar, seizing on the bridge,
Compels the enemy to keep the walls.
Now do the mighty engines, soon to hurl
Gigantic stones, press forward, and the ram
Creeps ‘neath the ramparts ; when the gates fly back,
And lo ! the traitor troops, foul crime in war,
Yield up their leader. Him they place before 570
His proud compatriot ; yet with upright form,
And scornful features and with noble mien,

¹ That is to say, by the breaking of the bridge, the river would become a serious obstacle to Cæsar.

He asks his death. But Cæsar knew his wish
 Was punishment, and pardon was his fear :
 ‘ Live though thou would’st not,’ so the chieftain spake,
 ‘ And by my gift, unwilling, see the day :
 ‘ Be to my conquered foes the cause of hope,
 ‘ Proof of my clemency—or if thou wilt
 ‘ Take arms again—and should’st thou conquer, count
 ‘ This pardon nothing.’ Thus he spake, and bade 580
 Let loose the bands and set the captive free.
 Ah! better had he died, and fortune spared
 The Roman’s last dishonour, whose worse doom
 It is, that he who joined his country’s camp
 And fought with Magnus for the Senate’s cause
 Should gain for this—a pardon! Yet he curbed
 His anger, thinking, ‘ Wilt thou then to Rome
 ‘ And peaceful scenes, degenerate? Rather war,
 ‘ The furious battle and the certain end !
 ‘ Break with life’s ties : be Cæsar’s gift in vain.’ 590
 Pompeius, ignorant that his captain thus
 Was taken, armed his levies newly raised
 To give his legions strength ; and as he thought
 To sound his trumpets with the coming dawn,
 To test his soldiers ere he moved his camp
 Thus in majestic tones their ranks addressed :
 ‘ Soldiers of Rome ! Avengers of her laws !
 ‘ To whom the Senate gives no private arms,
 ‘ Ask by your voices for the battle sign.
 ‘ Fierce falls the pillage on Hesperian fields, 600
 ‘ And Gallia’s fury o’er the snowy Alps¹
 ‘ Is poured upon us. Cæsar’s swords at last
 ‘ Are red with Roman blood. But with the wound
 ‘ We gain the better cause ; the crime is theirs.
 ‘ No war is this, but for offended Rome

¹ See line 497.

' We wreak the vengeance ; as when Catiline
 ' Lifted against her roofs the flaming brand
 ' And, partner in his fury, Lentulus,
 ' And mad Cethegus¹ with his naked arm.
 ' Is such thy madness, Cæsar ? when the Fates 610
 ' With great Camillus' and Metellus' names
 ' Might place thine own, dost thou prefer to rank
 ' With Marius and Cinna ? Swift shall be
 ' Thy fall : as Lepidus before the sword
 ' Of Catulus ; or who my axes felt,
 ' Carbo,² now buried in Sicanian tomb ;
 ' Or who, in exile, roused Iberia's hordes,
 ' Sertorius—yet, witness Heaven, with these
 ' I hate to rank thee ; hate the task that Rome
 ' Has laid upon me, to oppose thy rage. 620
 ' Would that in safety from the Parthian war
 ' And Scythian steppes had conquering Crassus come !
 ' Then haply had'st thou fallen by the hand
 ' That smote vile Spartacus the robber foe.
 ' But if among my triumphs fate has said
 ' Thy conquest shall be written, know this heart
 ' Still sends the life blood coursing : and this arm³
 ' Still vigorously flings the dart afield.
 ' He deems me slothful. Cæsar, thou shalt learn
 ' We brook not peace because we lag in war. 630
 ' Old, does he call me ? Fear not ye mine age.
 ' Let me be elder, if his soldiers are.

¹ This family is also alluded to by Horace ('*Ars Poetica*, 50) as having worn a garment of ancient fashion leaving their arms bare. (See also Book VI., 945.)

² In B.C. 77, after the death of Sulla. Carbo had been defeated by Pompeius in 81 B.C., in which occasion Pompeius had, at the early age of twenty-five, demanded and obtained his first triumph. The war with Sertorius lasted till 71 B.C., when Pompeius and Metellus triumphed in respect of his overthrow.

³ See Book I., line 369.

' The highest point a citizen can reach
 ' And leave his people free, is mine : a throne
 ' Alone were higher ; whoso would surpass
 ' Pompeius, aims at that. Both Consuls stand
 ' Here ; here for battle stand your lawful chiefs :
 ' And shall this Cæsar drag the Senate down ?
 ' Not with such blindness, not so lost to shame
 ' Does Fortune rule. Does he take heart from Gaul : 640
 ' For years on years rebellious, and a life
 ' Spent there in labour ? or because he fled
 ' Rhine's icy torrent and the shifting pools
 ' He calls an ocean ? or unchallenged sought
 ' Britannia's cliffs ; then turned his back in flight ?
 ' Or does he boast because his citizens
 ' Were driven in arms to leave their hearths and homes ?
 ' Ah, vain delusion ! not from thee they fled :
 ' My steps they follow—mine, whose conquering signs
 ' Swept all the ocean,¹ and who, ere the moon 650
 ' Twice filled her orb and waned, compelled to flight
 ' The pirate, shrinking from the open sea,
 ' And humbly begging for a narrow home
 ' In some poor nook on shore. 'Twas I again
 ' Who, happier far than Sulla, drave to death²
 ' That king who, exiled to the deep recess
 ' Of Scythian Pontus, held the fates of Rome
 ' Still in the balances. Where is the land
 ' That hath not seen my trophies ? Icy waves
 ' Of northern Phasis, hot Egyptian shores, 660
 ' And where Syene 'neath its noontide sun
 ' Knows shade on neither hand :³ all these have learned

¹ In B.C. 67, Pompeius swept the pirates off the seas. The whole campaign did not last three months.

² From B.C. 66 to B.C. 63, Pompeius conquered Mithridates, Syria and the East, except Parthia.

³ Being (as was supposed) exactly under the Equator. Syene (the

' To fear Pompeius : and far Bætis'¹ stream,
 ' Last of all floods to join the reflux sea.
 ' Arabia and the warlike hordes that dwell
 ' Beside the Euxine wave : the famous land
 ' That lost the golden fleece ; Cilician wastes,
 ' And Cappadocian, and the Jews who pray
 ' Before an unknown God ; Sophene soft—
 ' All felt my yoke. What conquests now remain, 670
 ' What wars not civil can my kinsman wage ? '

No loud acclaim received his words, nor shout
 Asked for the promised battle : and the chief
 Drew back the standards, for the soldier's fears
 Were in his soul alike ; nor dared he trust
 An army, vanquished by the fame alone
 Of Cæsar's powers, to fight for such a prize.
 And as some bull, his early combat lost,
 Forth driven from the herd, in exile roams
 Through lonely plains or secret forest depths, 680
 Whets on opposing trunks his growing horn,
 And proves himself for battle, till his neck
 Is ribbed afresh with muscle : then returns,
 Defiant of the hind, and victor now
 Leads wheresoe'er he will his lowing bands :
 Thus Magnus, yielding to a stronger foe,
 Gave up Italia, and sought in flight
 Brundisium's sheltering battlements.

modern Assouan) is the town mentioned by the priest of Sais, who told Herodotus that 'between Syene and Elephantine are two hills with conical tops. The name of one of them is Crophî, and of the other, Mophî. Midway between them are the fountains of the Nile.' (Herod., II., chapter 28.) And see 'Paradise Regained,' IV., 70 :—

' Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
 ' Meroe, Nilotick isle ; . . '

¹ Bætis is the Guadalquivir.

Here of old

Fled Cretan settlers when the dusky sail ¹
 Spread the false message of the hero dead ; 690
 Here, where Hesperia, curving as a bow,
 Draws back her coast, a little tongue of land
 Shuts in with bending horns the sounding main.
 Yet insecure the spot, unsafe in storm,
 Were it not sheltered by an isle on which
 The Adriatic billows dash and fall,
 And tempests lose their strength : on either hand
 A craggy cliff opposing breaks the gale
 That beats upon them, while the ships within
 Held by their trembling cables ride secure. 700
 Hence to the mariner the boundless deep
 Lies open, whether for Coreyra's port
 He shapes his sails, or for Illyria's shore,
 And Epidamnus facing to the main
 Ionian. Here, when raging in his might
 Fierce Adria whelms in foam Calabria's coast,
 When clouds tempestuous veil Ceraunus' height,
 The sailor finds a haven.

When the chief

Could find no hope in battle on the soil
 He now was quitting, and the lofty Alps 710
 Forbad Iberia, to his son he spake,
 The eldest scion of that noble stock :
 ' Search out the far recesses of the earth,
 ' Nile and Euphrates, wheresoe'er the fame
 ' Of Magnus lives, where, through thy father's deeds,
 ' The people tremble at the name of Rome.
 ' Lead to the sea again the pirate bands ;

¹ Theseus, on returning from his successful exploit in Crete, hoisted by mistake black sails instead of white, thus spreading false intelligence of disaster.

' Rouse Egypt's kings ; Tigranes, wholly mine,
 ' And Pharnaces and all the vagrant tribes
 ' Of both Armenias ; and the Pontic hordes, 720
 ' Warlike and fierce ; the dwellers on the hills
 ' Rhipæan, and by that dead northern marsh
 ' Whose frozen surface bears the loaded wain.
 ' Why further stay thee ? Let the eastern world
 ' Sound with the war, all cities of the earth
 ' Conquered by me, as vassals, to my camp
 ' Send all their levied hosts. And you whose names
 ' Within the Latian book recorded stand,
 ' Strike for Epirus with the northern wind ;
 ' And thence in Greece and Macedonian tracts, 730
 ' (While winter gives us peace) new strength acquire
 ' For coming conflicts.' They obey his words
 And loose their ships and launch upon the main.

But Cæsar's might, intolerant of peace
 Or lengthy armistice, lest now perchance
 The fates might change their edicts, swift pursued
 The footsteps of his foe. To other men,
 So many cities taken at a blow,
 So many strongholds captured, might suffice ;
 And Rome herself, the mistress of the world, 740
 Lay at his feet, the greatest prize of all.
 Not so with Cæsar : instant on the goal
 He fiercely presses ; thinking nothing done
 While aught remained to do. Now in his grasp
 Lay all Italia ;—but while Magnus stayed
 Upon the utmost shore, his grieving soul
 Deemed all was shared with him. Yet he essayed
 Escape to hinder, and with labour vain
 Piled in the greedy main gigantic rocks :
 Mountains of earth down to the sandy depths 750

Were swallowed by the vortex of the sea ;
 Just as if Eryx and its lofty top
 Were cast into the deep, yet not a speck
 Should mark the watery plain ; or Gaurus huge
 Split from his summit to his base, were plunged
 In fathomless Avernus' stagnant pool.

The billows thus unstemmed, 'twas Cæsar's will
 To hew the stately forests and with trees
 Enchained to form a rampart. Thus of old
 (If fame be true) the boastful Persian king 760
 Prepared a way across the rapid strait
 'Twixt Sestos and Abydos, and made one
 The European and the Trojan shores ;
 And marched upon the waters, wind and storm
 Counting as nought, but trusting his emprise
 To one frail bridge, so that his ships might pass
 Through middle Athos. Thus a mighty mole
 Of fallen forests grew upon the waves,
 Free until then, and lofty turrets rose,
 And land usurped the entrance to the main. 770

This when Pompeius saw, with anxious care
 His soul was filled ; yet hoping to regain
 The exit lost, and win a wider world
 Wherein to wage the war, on chosen ships
 He hoists the sails ; these, driven by the wind
 And drawn by cables fastened to their prows,
 Scattered the beams asunder ; and at night
 Not seldom engines, worked by stalwart arms,
 Flung flaming torches forth. But when the time
 For secret flight was come, no sailor shout 780
 Rang on the shore, no trumpet marked the hour,
 No bugle called the armament to sea.
 Already shone the Virgin in the sky
 Leading the Scorpion in her course, whose claws

Foretell the rising Sun, when noiseless all
 They cast the vessels loose ; no song was heard
 To greet the anchor wrenched from stubborn sand ;
 No captain's order, when the lofty mast
 Was raised, or yards were bent ; a silent crew
 Drew down the sails which hung upon the ropes, 790
 Nor shook the mighty cables, lest the wind
 Should sound upon them. But the chief, in prayer,
 Thus spake to Fortune : 'Thou whose high decree
 'Has made us exiles from Italia's shores,
 'Grant us at least to leave them.' Yet the fates
 Hardly permitted, for a murmur vast
 Came from the ocean, as the countless keels
 Furrowed the waters, and with ceaseless splash
 The parted billows rose again and fell.
 Then were the gates thrown wide ; for with the fates 800
 The city turned to Cæsar : and the foe,
 Seizing the town, rushed onward by the pier,
 That circled in the harbour ; then they knew
 With shame and sorrow that the fleet was gone
 And held the open : and Pompeius' flight
 Gave a poor triumph.

Yet was narrower far

The channel which gave access to the sea
 Than that Eubœan strait¹ whose waters lave
 The shore by Chalcis. Here two ships stuck fast
 Alone, of all the fleet ; the fatal hook 810
 Grappled their decks and drew them to the land,
 And the first bloodshed of the civil war
 Here left a blush upon the ocean wave.
 As when the famous ship² sought Phasis' stream
 The rocky gates closed in and hardly gripped

¹ It seems that the Euripus was bridged over. (Mr. Haskins' note.)

² The 'Argo.'

Her flying stern ; then from the empty sea
 The cliffs rebounding to their ancient seat
 Were fixed to move no more. But now the steps
 Of morn approaching tinged the eastern sky
 With roseate hues : the Pleiades were dim, 820
 The wagon of the Charioteer grew pale,
 The planets faded, and the silvery star
 Which ushers in the day, was lost in light.

Thou, Magnus, hold'st the deep ; yet not the same
 Now are thy fates, as when from every sea
 Thy fleet triumphant swept the pirate pest.
 Tired of thy conquests, Fortune now no more
 Shall smile upon thee. With thy spouse and sons,
 Thy household gods, and peoples in thy train,
 Still great in exile, in a distant land 830
 Thou seek'st thy fated fall ; not that the gods,
 Wishing to rob thee of a Roman grave,
 Decreed the strands of Egypt for thy tomb :
 'Twas Italy they spared, that far away
 Fortune on shores remote might hide her crime,
 And Roman soil be pure of Magnus' blood.

BOOK III
MASSILIA

Julia appears to Pompeius in a vision, lines 1-45. Cæsar sends Curio to Sicily and Sardinia, and proceeds to Rome, 46-128. The tribune Metellus endeavours to prevent him from seizing the treasure in the Temple of Saturn, 128-193. Catalogue of Pompeius' forces, 194-342. Cæsar marches on Massilia; speech of the citizens, and his reply, 342-424. He blockades the town, 429-460; and cuts down the Grove of the Druids, 460-514. Cæsar leaves for Spain, 510. The fight in the trenches, 511-574. Naval battle; various episodes; victory of Decimus Brutus, 569-838.

BOOK III

MASSILIA

WITH canvas yielding to the western wind
The navy sailed the deep, and every eye
Gazed on Ionian billows. But the chief
Turned not his vision from his native shore
Now left for ever, while the morning mists
Drew down upon the mountains, and the cliffs
Faded in distance till his aching sight
No longer knew them. Then his wearied frame
Sank in the arms of sleep. But Julia's shape,
In mournful guise, dread horror on her brow, 10
Rose through the gaping earth, and from her tomb
Erect,¹ in form as of a Fury spake :

' Driven from Elysian fields and from the plains
' The blest inhabit, when the war began,
' I dwell in Stygian darkness where abide
' The souls of all the guilty. There I saw
' Th' Eumenides with torches in their hands
' Prepared against thy battles ; and the fleets ²
' Which by the ferryman of the flaming stream
' Were made to bear thy dead : while Hell itself 20
' Relaxed its punishments ; the sisters three

¹ ¹¹ Reading *adscenso*, as Francken (Leyden, 1896).

² ²² So ' The rugged Charon fainted,
 And asked a navy, rather than a boat,
 To ferry over the sad world that came.'

(Ben Jonson, 'Catiline,' Act i., scene 1.)

' With busy fingers all their needful task
 ' Could scarce accomplish, and the threads of fate
 ' Dropped from their weary hands. With me thy wife,
 ' Thou, Magnus, leddest happy triumphs home :
 ' New wedlock brings new luck. Thy concubine,
 ' Whose star brings all her mighty husbands ill,
 ' Cornelia, weds in thee a breathing tomb.¹
 ' Through wars and oceans let her cling to thee
 ' So long as I may break thy nightly rest : 30
 ' No moment left thee for her love, but all
 ' By night to me, by day to Cæsar given.
 ' Me not the oblivious banks of Lethe's stream
 ' Have made forgetful ; and the kings of death
 ' Have suffered me to join thee ; in mid fight
 ' I will be with thee, and my haunting ghost
 ' Remind thee Cæsar's daughter was thy spouse.
 ' Thy sword kills not our pledges ; civil war
 ' Shall make thee wholly mine.' She spake and fled.
 But he, though heaven and hell thus bode defeat, 40
 More bent on war, with mind assured of ill,
 ' Why dread vain phantoms of a dreaming brain ?
 ' Or nought of sense and feeling to the soul
 ' Is left by death ; or death itself is nought.'

Now fiery Titan in declining path
 Dipped to the waves, his bright circumference
 So much diminished as a growing moon
 Not yet full circled, or when past the full ;
 When to the fleet a hospitable coast
 Gave access, and the ropes in order laid, 50
 The sailors struck the masts and rowed ashore.

When Cæsar saw the fleet escape his grasp
 And hidden from his view by lengthening seas,

¹ I take ' tepido busto ' as the dative case ; and, as referring to Pompeius, doomed, like Cornelia's former husband, to defeat and death.

Left without rival on Hesperian soil,
 He found no joy in triumph ; rather grieved
 That thus in safety Magnus' flight was sped.
 Not any gifts of Fortune now sufficed
 His fiery spirit ; and no victory won,
 Unless the war was finished with the stroke.
 Then arms he laid aside, in guise of peace 60
 Seeking the people's favour ; skilled to know
 How to arouse their ire, and how to gain
 The popular love by corn in plenty given.
 For famine only makes a city free ;
 By gifts of food the tyrant buys a crowd
 To cringe before him : but a people starved
 Is fearless ever.

Curio he bids

Cross over to Sicilian cities, where
 Or ocean by a sudden rise o'erwhelmed
 The land, or split the isthmus right in twain, 70
 Leaving a path for seas. Unceasing tides
 There labour hugely lest again should meet
 The mountains rent asunder. Nor were left
 Sardinian shores unvisited : each isle
 Is blest with noble harvests which have filled
 More than all else the granaries of Rome,
 And poured their plenty on Hesperia's shores.
 Not even Libya, with its fertile soil,
 Their yield surpasses, when the southern wind
 Gives way to northern and permits the clouds 80
 To drop their moisture on the teeming earth.
 This ordered, Cæsar leads his legions on,
 Not armed for war, but as in time of peace
 Returning to his home. Ah ! had he come
 With only Gallia conquered and the North,¹

¹ It may be remarked that, in B.C. 46, Cæsar, after the battle of Thapsus,

What long array of triumph had he brought !
 What pictured scenes of battle ! how had Rhine
 And Ocean borne his chains ! How noble Gaul,
 And Britain's fair-haired chiefs his lofty car
 Had followed ! Such a triumph had he lost 90
 By further conquest. Now in silent fear
 They watched his marching troops, nor joyful towns
 Poured out their crowds to welcome his return.
 Yet did the conqueror's proud soul rejoice,
 Far more than at their love, at such a fear.

Now Anxur's hold was passed, the oozy road
 That separates the marsh, the grove sublime ¹
 Where reigns the Scythian goddess, and the path
 By which men bear the fasces to the feast
 On Alba's summit. From the height afar— 100
 Gazing in awe upon the walls of Rome
 His native city, since the Northern war
 Unseen, unvisited—thus Cæsar spake :
 ' Who would not fight for such a god-like town ?
 ' And have they left thee, Rome, without a blow ?
 ' Thank the high gods no eastern hosts are here
 ' To wreak their fury ; nor Sarmatian horde
 ' With northern tribes conjoined ; by Fortune's gift
 ' This war is civil : else this coward chief
 ' Had been thy ruin.' 110

Trembling at his feet
 He found the city : deadly fire and flame,
 As from a conqueror, gods and fanes dispersed ;
 Such was the measure of their fear, as though
 His power and wish were one. No festal shout
 Greeted his march, no feigned acclaim of joy.

celebrated four triumphs: for his victories over the Gauls, Ptolemæus, Pharnaces, and Juba.

¹ Near Aricia. (See Book VI., 92.)

Scarce had they time for hate. In Phœbus' hall
 Their hiding places left, a crowd appeared
 Of Senators, uncalled, for none could call.
 No Consul there the sacred shrine adorned
 Nor Prætor next in rank, and every seat 120
 Placed for the officers of state was void :
 Cæsar was all ; and to his private voice ¹
 All else were listeners. The fathers sat
 Ready to grant a temple or a throne,
 If such his wish ; and for themselves to vote
 Or death or exile. Well it was for Rome
 That Cæsar blushed to order what they feared.
 Yet in one breast the spirit of freedom rose
 Indignant for the laws ; for when the gates
 Of Saturn's temple hot Metellus saw, 130
 Were yielding to the shock, he clove the ranks
 Of Cæsar's troops, and stood before the doors
 As yet unopened. 'Tis the love of gold
 Alone that fears not death ; no hand is raised
 For perished laws or violated rights :
 But for this dross, the vilest cause of all,
 Men fight and die. Thus did the Tribune bar
 The victor's road to rapine, and with voice
 Clear ringing spake : ' Save o'er Metellus dead
 ' This temple opens not ; my sacred blood 140
 ' Shall flow, thou robber, ere the gold be thine.
 ' And surely shall the Tribune's power defied
 ' Find an avenging god ; this Crassus knew,²
 ' Who, followed by our curses, sought the war
 ' And met disaster on the Parthian plains.
 ' Draw then thy sword, nor fear the crowd that gapes

¹ He held no office at the time.

² The tribune Ateius met Crassus as he was setting out from Rome and denounced him with mysterious and ancient curses. (Plut. ' Crassus,' 16.)

'To view thy crimes : the citizens are gone.
 'Not from our treasury reward for guilt
 'Thy hosts shall ravish : other towns are left,
 'And other nations ; wage the war on them— 150
 'Drain not Rome's peace for spoil.' The victor then,
 Incensed to ire : 'Vain is thy hope to fall
 'In noble death, as guardian of the right ;
 'With all thine honours, thou of Cæsar's rage
 'Art little worthy : never shall thy blood
 'Defile his hand. Time lowest things with high
 'Confounds not yet so much that, if thy voice
 'Could save the laws, it were not better far
 'They fell by Cæsar.' Such his lofty words.

But as the Tribune yielded not, his rage 160
 Rose yet the more, and at his soldiers' swords
 One look he cast, forgetting for the time
 What robe he wore ; but soon Metellus heard
 These words from Cotta : 'When men bow to power
 'Freedom of speech is only Freedom's bane,¹
 'Whose shade at least survives, if with free will
 'Thou dost whate'er is bidden thee. For us
 'Some pardon may be found : a host of ills
 'Compelled submission, and the shame is less
 'That to have done which could not be refused. 170
 'Yield, then, this wealth, the seeds of direful war.
 'A nation's anger is by losses stirred,
 'When laws protect it ; but the hungry slave
 'Brings danger to his master, not himself.'

At this Metellus yielded from the path ;
 And as the gates rolled backward, echoed loud
 The rock Tarpeian, and the temple's depths
 Gave up the treasure which for centuries

¹ That is, the liberty remaining to the people is destroyed by speaking freely to the tyrant.

No hand had touched : all that the Punic foe
 And Perses and Philippus conquered gave, 180
 And all the gold which Pyrrhus panic-struck
 Left when he fled : that gold,¹ the price of Rome,
 Which yet Fabricius sold not, and the hoard
 Laid up by saving sires ; the tribute sent
 By Asia's richest nations ; and the wealth
 Which conquering Metellus brought from Crete,
 And Cato ² bore from distant Cyprus home ;
 And last, the riches torn from captive kings
 And borne before Pompeius when he came
 In frequent triumph. Thus was robbed the shrine, 190
 And Cæsar first brought poverty to Rome.

Meanwhile all nations of the earth were moved
 To share in Magnus' fortunes and the war,
 And in his fated ruin. Græcia sent,
 Nearest of all, her succours to the host.
 From Cirrha and Parnassus' double peak
 And from Amphissa, Phocis sent her youth :
 Bœotian leaders muster in the meads
 By Dirce laved, and where Cephisus rolls
 Gifted with fateful power his stream along : 200
 And where Alphæus, who beyond the sea ³
 In fount Sicilian seeks the day again.
 Pisa deserted stands, and Cæta, loved
 By Hercules of old ; Dodona's oaks
 Are left to silence by the sacred train,

¹ That is, the gold offered by Pyrrhus, and refused by Fabricius, which, after the final defeat of Pyrrhus, came into the possession of the victors.

² See Plutarch, 'Cato,' 34, 39.

³ It was generally believed that the river Alphæus of the Peloponnesus passed under the sea and reappeared in the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse. A goblet was said to have been thrown into the river in Greece, and to have reappeared in the Sicilian fountain. See the note in Grote's 'History of Greece,' Edition 1862, vol. ii., p. 8.

And all Epirus rushes to the war.
 And proud Athena, mistress of the seas,
 Sends three poor ships (alas! her all) to prove
 Her ancient victory o'er the Persian King.
 Next seek the battle Creta's hundred tribes 210
 Beloved of Jove and rivalling the east
 In skill to wing the arrow from the bow.
 The walls of Dardan Oricum, the woods
 Where Athamanians wander, and the banks
 Of swift Absyrtus foaming to the main
 Are left forsaken. Enchelæan tribes
 Whose king was Cadmus, and whose name records
 His transformation,¹ join the host; and those
 Who till Penean fields and turn the share
 Above Iolcos in Thessalian lands. 220
 There first men steeled their hearts to dare the waves²
 And 'gainst the rage of ocean and the storm
 To match their strength, when the rude Argo sailed
 Upon that distant quest, and spurned the shore,
 Joining remotest nations in her flight,
 And gave the fates another form of death.
 Left too was Pholoë; pretended home
 Where dwelt the fabled race of double form;³
 Arcadian Mænalus; the Thracian mount
 Named Hæmus; Strymon whence, as autumn falls, 230
 Winged squadrons seek the banks of warmer Nile;
 And all the isles the mouths of Ister bathe
 Mixed with the tidal wave; the land through which
 The cooling eddies of Cæicus flow
 Idalian; and Arisbe bare of glebe.
 The hinds of Pitane, and those who till

¹ As a serpent. ἔχχελυς is the Greek word for serpent.

² Conf. Book VI., 473.

³ The Centaurs.

Celænae's fields which mourned of yore the gift
 Of Pallas,¹ and the vengeance of the god,
 All draw the sword; and those from Marsyas' flood
 First swift, then doubling backwards with the stream 240
 Of sinuous Meander: and from where
 Pactolus leaves his golden source and leaps
 From Earth permitting; and with rival wealth
 Rich Hermus parts the meads. Nor stayed the bands
 Of Troy, but (doomed as in old time) they joined
 Pompeius' fated camp: nor held them back
 The fabled past, nor Cæsar's claimed descent
 From their Iulus. Syrian peoples came
 From palmy Idumea and the walls
 Of Ninus great of yore; from windy plains 250
 Of far Damascus and from Gaza's hold,
 From Sidon's courts enriched with purple dye,
 And Tyre oft trembling with the shaken earth.
 All these led on by Cynosura's light²
 Furrow their certain path to reach the war.

Phœnicians first (if story be believed)
 Dared to record in characters; for yet
 Papyrus was not fashioned, and the priests
 Of Memphis, carving symbols upon walls
 Of mystic sense (in shape of beast or fowl) 260
 Preserved the secrets of their magic art.

Next Persean Tarsus and high Taurus' groves
 Are left deserted, and Corycium's cave;

¹ Probably the flute thrown away by Pallas, which Marsyas picked up and then challenged Apollo to a musical contest. For his presumption the god had him flayed alive.

² That is, the Little Bear, by which the Phœnicians steered, while the Greeks steered by the Great Bear. (See Sir G. Lewis's 'Astronomy of the Ancients,' p. 447.) In Book VIII., line 193, the pilot declares that he steers by the pole star itself, which is much nearer to the Little than to the Great Bear, and is (I believe) reckoned as one of the stars forming the group known by that name. He may have been a Phœnician.

And all Cilicia's ports, pirate no more,
 Resound with preparation. Nor the East
 Refused the call, where furthest Ganges dares,
 Alone of rivers, to discharge his stream
 Against the sun opposing ; on this shore ¹
 The Macedonian conqueror stayed his foot
 And found the world his victor ; here too rolls 270
 Indus his torrent with Hydaspes joined
 Yet hardly feels it ; here from luscious reed
 Men draw sweet liquor ; here they dye their locks
 With tints of saffron, and with coloured gems
 Bind down their flowing garments ; here are they,
 Who satiate of life and proud to die,
 Ascend the blazing pyre, and conquering fate,
 Scorn to live longer ; but triumphant give
 The remnant of their days in flame to heaven.²
 Nor fails to join the host a hardy band 280
 Of Cappadocians, tilling now the soil,
 Once pirates of the main : nor those who dwell
 Where steep Niphates hurls the avalanche,
 And where on Median Coatra's sides
 The giant forest rises to the sky.
 And you, Arabians, from your distant home
 Came to a world unknown, and wondering saw
 The shadows fall no longer to the left.³
 Then fired with ardour for the Roman war
 Oretas came, and far Carmania's chiefs, 290
 Whose clime lies southward, yet men thence descry

¹ He did not in fact reach the Ganges, as is well known.

² Perhaps in allusion to the embassy from India to Augustus in B.C. 19, when Zarmanochanus, an Indian sage, declaring that he had lived in happiness and would not risk the chance of a reverse, burnt himself publicly. (Merivale, chapter xxxiv.)

³ That is to say, looking towards the west ; meaning that they came from the other side of the equator. (See Book IX., 630.)

Low down the Pole star, and Bootes runs
 Hasting to set, part seen, his nightly course ;
 And Ethiopians from that southern land
 Which lies without the circuit of the stars,
 Did not the Bull with curving hoof advanced
 O'erstep the limit. From that mountain zone
 They come, where rising from a common fount
 Euphrates flows and 'Tigris, and did earth
 Permit, were joined with either name ; but now 300
 While like th' Egyptian flood Euphrates spreads
 His fertilising water, Tigris first
 Drawn down by earth in covered depths is plunged
 And holds a secret course ; then born again
 Flows on unhindered to the Persian sea.

But warlike Parthia wavered 'twixt the chiefs,
 Content to have made them two ;¹ while Scythia's hordes
 Dipped fresh their darts in poison, whom the stream
 Of Bactros bounds and vast Hyrcanian woods.
 Hence springs that rugged nation swift and fierce, 310
 Descended from the Twins' great charioteer.²
 Nor failed Sarmatia, nor the tribes that dwell
 By richest Phasis, and on Halys' banks,
 Which sealed the doom of Cræsus' king ; nor where
 From far Rhipæan ranges Tanais flows,
 On either hand a quarter of the world,
 Asia and Europe, and in winding course
 Carves out a continent ; nor where the strait
 In boiling surge pours to the Pontic deep
 Mæotis' waters, rivalling the pride 320
 Of those Herculean pillar-gates that guard
 The entrance to an ocean. Thence with hair

¹ See Book I., 117.

² A race called Heniochi, said to be descended from the charioteer of Castor and Pollux.

In golden fillets, Arimaspians came,
 And fierce Massagetæ, who quaff the blood
 Of the brave steed on which they fight and flee.

Not when great Cyrus on Memnonian realms
 His warriors poured; nor when, their weapons piled,¹
 The Persian told the number of his host;
 Nor when th' avenger² of a brother's shame
 Loaded the billows with his mighty fleet, 330
 Beneath one chief so many kings made war;
 Nor e'er met nations varied thus in garb
 And thus in language. To Pompeius' death
 Thus Fortune called them: and a world in arms
 Witnessed his ruin. From where Afric's god,
 Two-hornèd Ammon, rears his temple, came
 All Libya ceaseless, from the wastes that touch
 The bounds of Egypt to the shore that meets
 The Western Ocean. Thus, to award the prize
 Of Empire at one blow, Pharsalia brought 340
 'Neath Cæsar's conquering hand the banded world.

Now Cæsar left the walls of trembling Rome
 And swift across the cloudy Alpine tops
 He winged his march; but while all others fled
 Far from his path, in terror of his name,
 Phocæa's³ manhood with un-Grecian faith
 Massilia

¹ 'Effusus telis.' I have so taken this difficult expression. Herodotus (7, 60) says the men were numbered in ten thousands by being packed close together and having a circle drawn round them. After the first ten thousand had been so measured a fence was put where the circle had been, and the subsequent ten thousands were driven into the enclosure. It is not unlikely that they piled their weapons before being so measured, and Lucan's account would then be made to agree with that of Herodotus. Francken, on the other hand, quotes a Scholiast, who says that each hundredth man shot off an arrow.

² Agamemnon.

³ Massilia (Marseilles) was founded from Phocæa in Asia Minor about 600 B.C. Lucan (line 393) appears to think that the founders were fugitives

Held to their pledged obedience, and dared
 To follow right not fate; but first of all
 With olive boughs of truce before them borne
 The chieftain they approach, with peaceful words 350
 In hope to alter his unbending will
 And tame his fury. ' Search the ancient books
 ' Which chronicle the deeds of Latian fame;
 ' Thou'lt ever find, when foreign foes pressed hard,
 ' Massilia's prowess on the side of Rome.
 ' And now, if triumphs in an unknown world
 ' Thou seekest, Cæsar, here our arms and swords
 ' Accept in aid: but if, in impious strife
 ' Of civil discord, with a Roman foe
 ' Thou seek'st to join in battle, weeping then 360
 ' We hold aloof: no stranger hand may touch
 ' Celestial wounds. Should all Olympus' hosts
 ' Have rushed to war, or should the giant brood
 ' Assault the stars, yet men would not presume
 ' Or by their prayers or arms to help the gods:
 ' And, ignorant of the fortunes of the sky,
 ' Taught by the thunderbolts alone, would know
 ' That Jupiter supreme still held the throne.
 ' Add that unnumbered nations join the fray:
 ' Nor shrinks the world so much from taint of crime 370
 ' That civil wars reluctant swords require.
 ' But grant that strangers shun thy destinies
 ' And only Romans fight—shall not the son
 ' Shrink ere he strike his father? on both sides
 ' Brothers forbid the weapon to be hurled?
 1 ' The world's end comes when other hands are armed

from their city when it was stormed by the Persians sixty years later. See Thucydides I. 13; Grote, 'History of Greece,' chapter xxii.

¹ A difficult passage, of which this seems to be the meaning least free from objection.

'Than those which custom and the gods allow.
 'For us, this is our prayer: Leave, Cæsar, here
 'Thy dreadful eagles, keep thy hostile signs
 'Back from our gates, but enter thou in peace 380
 'Massilia's ramparts; let our city rest
 'Withdrawn from crime, to Magnus and to thee
 'Safe: and should favouring fate preserve our walls
 'Inviolatè, when both shall wish for peace
 'Here meet unarmed. Why hither turn'st thou now
 'Thy rapid march? Nor weight nor power have we
 'To sway the mighty conflicts of the world.
 'We boast no victories since our fatherland
 'We left in exile: when Phocæa's fort
 'Perished in flames, we sought another here; 390
 'And here on foreign shores, in narrow bounds
 'Confined and safe, our boast is sturdy faith;
 'Nought else. But if our city to blockade
 'Is now thy mind—to force the gates, and hurl
 'Javelin and blazing torch upon our homes—
 'Do what thou wilt: cut off the source that fills
 'Our foaming river, force us, prone in thirst,
 'To dig the earth and lap the scanty pool;
 'Seize on our corn and leave us food abhorred:
 'Nor shall this people shun, for freedom's sake, 400
 'The ills Saguntum bore in Punic siege;¹
 'Torn, vainly clinging, from the shrunken breast
 'The starving babe shall perish in the flames.
 'Wives at their husbands' hands shall pray their fate,
 'And brothers' weapons deal a mutual death.
 'Such be our civil war; not, Cæsar, thine.'

But Cæsar's visage stern betrayed his ire
 Which thus broke forth in words: 'Vain is the hope

¹ Murviedro of the present day. Its gallant defence against Hannibal has been compared to that of Saragossa against the French.

' Ye rest upon my march : speed though I may
 ' Towards my western goal, time still remains 410
 ' To blot Massilia out, Rejoice, my troops !
 ' Unsought the war ye longed for meets you now :
 ' The fates concede it. As the tempests lose
 ' Their strength by sturdy forests unopposed,
 ' And as the fire that finds no fuel dies,
 ' Even so to find no foe is Cæsar's ill.
 ' When those who may be conquered will not fight
 ' That is defeat. Degenerate, disarmed
 ' Their gates admit me ! Not content, forsooth,
 ' With shutting Cæsar out they shut him in ! 420
 ' They shun the taint of war ! Such prayer for peace
 ' Brings with it chastisement. In Cæsar's age
 ' Learn that not peace, but war within his ranks
 ' Alone can make you safe.'

Fearless he turns

His march upon the city, and beholds
 Fast barred the gate-ways, while in arms the youths
 Stand on the battlements. Hard by the walls
 A hillock rose, upon the further side
 Expanding in a plain of gentle slope,
 Fit (as he deemed it) for a camp with ditch 430
 And mound encircling. To a lofty height
 The nearest portion of the city rose,
 While intervening valleys lay between.
 These summits with a mighty trench to bind
 The chief resolves, gigantic though the toil.
 But first, from furthest boundaries of his camp,
 Enclosing streams and meadows, to the sea
 To draw a rampart, upon either hand
 Heaved up with earthy sod ; with lofty towers
 Crowned ; and to shut Massilia from the land. 440
 Then did the Grecian city win renown

Eternal, deathless, for that uncompelled
 Nor fearing for herself, but free to act
 She made the conqueror pause : and he who seized
 All in resistless course found here delay :
 And Fortune, hastening to lay the world
 Low at her favourite's feet, was forced to stay
 For these few moments her impatient hand.

Now fell the forests far and wide, despoiled
 Of all their giant trunks : for as the mound 450
 On earth and brushwood stood, a timber frame
 Held firm the soil, lest pressed beneath its towers
 The mass might topple down. There stood a grove
 Which from the earliest time no hand of man
 Had dared to violate ; hidden from the sun ¹
 Its chill recesses ; matted boughs entwined
 Prisoned the air within. No sylvan nymphs
 Here found a home, nor Pan, but savage rites
 And barbarous worship, altars horrible
 On massive stones upreared ; sacred with blood 460
 Of men was every tree. If faith be given
 To ancient myth, no fowl has ever dared
 To rest upon those branches, and no beast
 Has made his lair beneath : no tempest falls,
 Nor lightnings flash upon it from the cloud.
 Stagnant the air, unmoving, yet the leaves
 Filled with mysterious trembling ; dripped the streams
 From coal-black fountains ; effigies of gods
 Rude, scarcely fashioned from some fallen trunk
 Held the mid space : and, pallid with decay, 470
 Their rotting shapes struck terror. Thus do men
 Dread most the god unknown. 'Twas said that caves
 Rumbled with earthquakes, that the prostrate yew
 Rose up again ; that fiery tongues of flame

¹ See note to Book I., 506.

Gleamed in the forest depths, yet were the trees
Unkindled ; and that snakes in frequent folds
Were coiled around the trunks. Men flee the spot
Nor dare to worship near : and e'en the priest
Or when bright Phœbus holds the height, or when
Dark night controls the heavens, in anxious dread 480
Draws near the grove and fears to find its lord.

Spared in the former war, still dense it rose
Where all the hills were bare, and Cæsar now
Its fall commanded. But the brawny arms
Which swayed the axes trembled, and the men,
Awed by the sacred grove's dark majesty,
Held back the blow they thought would be returned.
This Cæsar saw, and swift within his grasp
Uprose a ponderous axe, which downward fell
Cleaving a mighty oak that towered to heaven, 490
While thus he spake : ' Henceforth let no man dread
' To fell this forest : all the crime is mine.
' This be your creed.' He spake, and all obeyed,
For Cæsar's ire weighed down the wrath of Heaven.
Yet ceased they not to fear. Then first the oak,
Dodona's ancient boast ; the knotty holm ;
The cypress, witness of patrician grief,
The buoyant alder, laid their foliage low
Admitting day ; though scarcely through the stems
Their fall found passage. At the sight the Gauls 500
Grieved ; but the garrison within the walls
Rejoiced : for thus shall men insult the gods
And find no punishment ? Yet fortune oft
Protects the guilty ; on the poor alone
The gods can vent their ire. Enough hewn down,
They seize the country wagons ; and the hind,
His oxen gone which else had drawn the plough,
Mourns for his harvest.

But the eager chief

Impatient of the combat by the walls
Carries the warfare to the furthest west. 510

Meanwhile a giant mound, on star-shaped wheels
Concealed, they fashion, crowned with double towers
High as the battlements, by cause unseen
Slow creeping onwards ; while amazed the foe,
Beheld, and thought some subterranean gust
Had burst the caverns of the earth and forced
The nodding pile aloft, and wondered sore
Their walls should stand unshaken. From its height
Hissed down the weapons ; but the Grecian bolts
With greater force were on the Romans hurled ; 520
Nor by the arm unaided, for the lance
Urged by the catapult resistless rushed
Through arms and shield and flesh, and left a death
Behind, nor stayed its course : and massive stones
Cast by the beams of mighty engines fell ;
As from the mountain top some time-worn rock
At length by winds dislodged, in all its track
Spreads ruin vast : nor crushed the life alone
Forth from the body, but dispersed the limbs
In fragments undistinguished and in blood. 530

But as protected by the armour shield
The might of Rome drew nigh beneath the wall
(The front rank with their bucklers interlaced
And held above their helms), the missiles fell
Behind their backs, nor could the toiling Greeks
Deflect their engines, throwing still the bolts
Far into space ; but from the rampart top
Flung ponderous masses down. Long as the shields
Held firm together, like to hail that falls
Harmless upon a roof, so long the stones 540
Crushed down innocuous ; but as the blows

Rained fierce and ceaseless and the Romans tired,
Some here and there sank fainting. Next the roof
Advanced with earth besprinkled : underneath
The ram conceals his head, which, poised and swung,
They dash with mighty force upon the wall,
Covered themselves with mantlets. Though the head
Light on the lower stones, yet as the shock
Falls and refalls, from battlement to base
The rampart soon shall topple. But by balks 550
And rocky fragments overwhelmed, and flames,
The roof at length gave way ; and worn with toil
All spent in vain, the wearied troops withdrew
And sought the shelter of their tents again.

Thus far to hold their battlements was all
The Greeks had hoped ; now, venturing attack,
With glittering torches for their arms, by night
Fearless they sallied forth : nor lance they bear
Nor deadly bow, nor shaft ; for fire alone
Is now their weapon. Through the Roman works 560
Driven by the wind the conflagration spread :
Nor did the newness of the wood make pause
The fury of the flames, which, fed afresh
By living torches, 'neath a smoky pall
Leaped on in fiery tongues. Not wood alone
But stones gigantic crumbling into dust
Dissolved beneath the heat ; the mighty mound
Lay prone, yet in its ruin larger seemed.

Next, conquered on the land, upon the main
They try their fortunes. On their simple craft 570
No painted figure-head adorned the bows
Nor claimed protection from the gods ; but rude,
Just as they fell upon their mountain homes,
The trees were knit together, and the deck
Gave steady foot-hold for an ocean fight.

Meantime had Cæsar's squadron kept the isles
 Named Stœchades,¹ and Brutus'² turret ship
 Mastered the Rhone. Nor less the Grecian host—
 Boys not yet grown to war, and aged men,
 Armed for the conflict, with their all at stake. 580
 Nor only did they marshal for the fight
 Ships meet for service; but their ancient keels
 Brought from the dockyards. When the morning rays
 Broke from the waters, and the sky was clear,
 And all the winds were still upon the deep,
 Smoothed for the battle, swift on either part
 The fleets essay the open; and the ships
 Tremble beneath the oars that urge them on,
 By sinewy arms impelled. Upon the wings
 That bound the Roman fleet, the larger craft 590
 With triple and quadruple banks of oars
 Gird in the lesser: so they front the sea;
 While in their rear, shaped as a crescent moon,
 Liburnian galleys follow. Over all
 Towers Brutus' deck prætorian. Oars on oars
 Propel the bulky vessel through the main,
 Six ranks; the topmost strike the waves afar.
 When such a space remained between the fleets
 As could be covered by a single stroke,
 Innumerable voices rose in air 600
 Drowning with resonant din the beat of oars
 And note of trumpet summoning: and all
 Sat on the benches and with mighty stroke
 Swept o'er the sea and gained the space between.

¹ Three islands off the coast near Toulon, now called the Isles d'Hyères.

² This was Decimus Brutus, an able and trusted lieutenant of Cæsar, who made him one of his heirs in the second degree. He, however, joined the conspiracy, and it was he who on the day of the murder induced Cæsar to go to the Senate House. Less than two years later, after the siege of Perusia, he was deserted by his army, taken and put to death.

Then crashed the prows together, and the keels
 Rebounded backwards, and unnumbered darts
 Or darkened all the sky or, in their fall,
 The vacant ocean. As the wings grew wide,
 Less densely packed the fleet, some Grecian ships
 Pressed in between ; as when with west and east 610
 The tide contends, this way the waves are driven
 And that the sea ; so as they plough the deep
 In various lines converging, what the prow
 Throws up advancing, from the foemen's oars
 Falls back repelled. But soon the ^MGrecian fleet
 Was handier found in battle, and in flight
 Pretended, and in shorter curves could round ;
 More deftly governed by the guiding helm :
 While on the Roman side their steadier keels
 Gave vantage, as to men who fight on land. 620
 Then ^{Decimus}Brutus to the pilot of his ship :
 ' Dost suffer them to range the wider deep,
 ' Contending with the foe in naval skill ?
 ' Draw close the war and drive us on the prows
 ' Of these ^MPhœceans.' Him the pilot heard ;
 And turned his vessel slantwise to the foe.
 Then was the sea all covered with the war :
 Then Grecian ships attacking ^BBrutus found
 Their ruin in the stroke, and vanquished lay 630
 Beside his bulwarks ; while with grappling hooks
 Others laid fast the foe, themselves by oars
 Held back the while. And now no outstretched arm
 Hurls forth the javelin, but hand to hand
 With swords they wage the fight : each from his ship
 Leans forward to the stroke, and falls when slain
 Upon a foeman's deck. Deep flows the stream
 Of purple slaughter to the foamy main :
 By piles of floating corpses are the sides,

Though grappled, kept asunder. Some, half dead,
 Plunge in the ocean, gulping down the brine 640
 Encrimsoned with their blood; some lingering still
 Draw their last struggling breath amid the wreck
 Of broken navies: weapons which have missed
 Find yet their victims, and the falling steel
 Fails not in middle deep to deal the wound.
 One vessel circled by Phocæan keels
 Divides her strength, and on the right and left
 On either side with equal war contends;
 On whose high poop while Tagus fighting gripped
 The stern Phocæan, pierced his back and breast 650
 Two fatal weapons; in the midst the steel
 Meets, and the blood, uncertain whence to flow,
 Stands still, arrested, till with double course
 Forth by a sudden gush it drives each dart,
 And sends the life abroad through either wound.

Here fated Telon also steered his ship:

No pilot's hand upon an angry sea
 More deftly ruled a vessel. Well he knew,
 Or by the sun or crescent moon, how best
 To set his canvas fitted for the breeze 660
 To-morrow's light would bring. His rushing stem
 Shattered a Roman vessel: but a dart
 Hurl'd at the moment quivers in his breast.
 He falls, and in the fall his dying hand
 Diverts the prow. Then Gyareus, in act
 To climb the friendly deck, by javelin pierced,
 Still as he hung, by the retaining steel
 Fast to the side was nailed.

Twin brethren star

A fruitful mother's pride; with different fates,
 But ne'er distinguished till death's savage hand 670
 Struck once, and ended error: he that lived,

Cause of fresh anguish to their sorrowing souls,
 Called ever to the weeping parents back
 The image of the lost : who, as the oars
 Grecian and Roman mixed their teeth oblique,
 Grasped with his dexter hand the Roman ship ;
 When fell a blow that shore his arm away.
 So died, upon the side it held, the hand,
 Nor loosed its grasp in death. Yet with the wound
 His noble courage rose, and maimed he dared 680
 Renew the fray, and stretched across the sea
 To grasp the lost—in vain ! another blow
 Lopped arm and hand alike. Nor shield nor sword
 Henceforth are his. Yet even now he seeks
 No sheltering hold, but with his chest advanced
 Before his brother armed, he claims the fight,
 And holding in his breast the darts which else
 Had slain his comrades, pierced with countless spears,
 He falls in death well earned ; yet ere his end
 Collects his parting life, and all his strength 690
 Strains to the utmost and with failing limbs
 Leaps on the foeman's deck ; by weight alone
 Injurious ; for streaming down with gore
 And piled on high with corpses, while her sides
 Sounded to ceaseless blows, the fated ship
 Let in the greedy brine until her ways
 Were level with the waters—then she plunged
 In whirling eddies downwards—and the main
 First parted, then closed in upon its prey.

Full many wondrous deaths, with fates diverse, 700
 Upon the sea in that day's fight befell.

Caught by a grappling-hook that missed the side,
 Had Lysidas been whelmed in middle deep ;
 But by his feet his comrades dragged him back,
 And rent in twain he hung ; nor slowly flowed

As from a wound the blood ; but all his veins ¹
 Were torn asunder and the stream of life
 Gushed o'er his limbs till lost amid the deep.
 From no man dying has the vital breath
 Rushed by so wide a path ; the lower trunk 710
 Succumbed to death, but with the lungs and heart
 Long strove the fates, and hardly won the whole.

While, bent upon the fight, an eager crew
 Were gathered to the margin of their deck
 (Leaving the upper side as bare of foes),
 Their ship was upset. Beneath the keel
 Which floated upwards, prisoned in the sea,
 And powerless by spread of arms to float
 The main, they perished. One who haply swam
 Amid the battle, chanced upon a death 720
 Strange and unheard of ; for two meeting prows
 Transfixed his body. At the double stroke
 Wide yawned his chest ; blood issued from his mouth
 With flesh commingled ; and the brazen beaks
 Resounding clashed together, by the bones
 Unhindered : now they part and through the gap
 Swift pours the sea and drags the corpse below.

Next, of a shipwrecked crew, the larger part
 Struggling with death upon the waters, reached
 A comrade bark ; but when with elbows raised 730
 They seized upon the bulwarks and the ship
 Rolled, nor could bear their weight, the ruthless crew
 Hacked off their straining arms ; then maimed they sank
 Below the seething waves, to rise no more.

Now every dart was hurled and every spear,
 The soldier weaponless ; yet their rage found arms :
 One hurls an oar ; another's brawny arm

¹ According to some these were the lines which Lucan recited while bleeding to death ; according to others, those at Book ix., line 952.

Tugs at the twisted stern ; or from the seats
 The oarsmen driving, swings a bench in air.
 The ships are broken for the fight. They seize 740
 The fallen dead and snatch the sword that slew.
 Nay, many from their wounds, frenzied for arms,
 Pluck forth the deadly steel, and pressing still
 Upon their yawning sides, hurl forth the spear
 Back to the hostile ranks from which it came ;
 Then ebbs their life blood forth.

But deadlier yet

Was that fell force most hostile to the sea ;
 For, thrown in torches and in sulphurous bolts
 Fire all-consuming ran among the ships,
 Whose oily timbers soaked in pitch and wax 750
 Inflammable, gave welcome to the flames.
 Nor could the waves prevail against the blaze
 Which claimed as for its own the fragments borne
 Upon the waters. Lo ! on burning plank
 One hardly 'scapes destruction ; one to save
 His flaming ship, gives entrance to the main.
 Of all the forms of death each fears the one
 That brings immediate dying : yet quails not
 Their heart in shipwreck : from the waves they pluck
 The fallen darts and furnishing the ships 760
 Essay the feeble stroke ; and should that hope
 Still fail their hand, they call the sea to aid
 And seizing in their grasp some floating foe
 Drag him to mutual death.

But on that day

Phoceus above all others proved his skill. 760
 Well trained was he to dive beneath the main
 And search the waters with unfailing eye ;
 And should an anchor 'gainst the straining rope
 Too firmly bite the sands, to wrench it free.

Oft in his fatal grasp he seized a foe 770
 Nor loosed his grip until the life was gone.
 Such was his frequent deed ; but this his fate :
 For rising, victor (as he thought), to air,
 Full on a keel he struck and found his death.
 Some, drowning, seized a hostile oar and checked
 The flying vessel ; not to die in vain,
 Their single care ; some on their vessel's side
 Hanging, in death, with wounded frame essayed
 To check the charging prow.

Tyrrhenus high

Upon the bulwarks of his ship was struck 780
 By leaden bolt from Balearic sling
 Of Lygdamus ; straight through his temples passed
 The fated missile ; and in streams of blood
 Forced from their seats his trembling eyeballs fell.
 Plunged in a darkness as of night, he thought
 That life had left him ; yet ere long he knew
 The living vigour of his limbs ; and cried,
 ' Place me, O friends, as some machine of war
 ' Straight facing towards the foe ; then shall my darts
 ' Strike as of old ; and thou, Tyrrhenus, spend 790
 ' Thy latest breath, still left, upon the fight :
 ' So shalt thou play, not wholly dead, the part
 ' That fits a soldier, and the spear that strikes
 ' Thy frame, shall miss the living.' Thus he spake,
 And hurled his javelin, blind, but not in vain ;
 For Argus, generous youth of noble blood,
 Below the middle waist received the spear
 And falling drave it home. His aged sire
 From furthest portion of the conquered ship
 Beheld ; than whom in prime of manhood none 800
 More brave in battle : now no more he fought,
 Yet did the memory of his prowess stir

Phocæan youths to emulate his fame.
 Oft stumbling o'er the benches the old man hastes
 To reach his boy, and finds him breathing still.
 No tear bedewed his cheek, nor on his breast
 One blow he struck, but o'er his eyes there fell
 A dark impenetrable veil of mist
 That blotted out the day ; nor could he more
 Discern his luckless Argus. He, who saw 810
 His parent, raising up his drooping head
 With parted lips and silent features asks
 A father's latest kiss, a father's hand
 To close his dying eyes. But soon his sire,
 Recovering from his swoon, when ruthless grief
 Possessed his spirit, 'This short space,' he cried,
 'I lose not, which the cruel gods have given,
 'But die before thee. Grant thy sorrowing sire
 'Forgiveness that he fled thy last embrace.
 'Not yet has passed thy life blood from the wound 820
 'Nor yet is death upon thee—still thou may'st¹
 'Outlive thy parent.' Thus he spake, and seized
 The reeking sword and drave it to the hilt,
 Then plunged into the deep, with headlong bound,
 To anticipate his son : for this he feared
 A single form of death should not suffice.

Now gave the fates their judgment, and in doubt
 No longer was the war : the Grecian fleet
 In most part sunk ;—some ships by Romans oared
 Conveyed the victors home : in headlong flight 830
 Some sought the yards for shelter. On the strand
 What tears of parents for their offspring slain,
 How wept the mothers ! 'Mid the pile confused
 Ofttimes the wife sought madly for her spouse

¹ It was regarded as the greatest of misfortunes if a child died before his parent.

And chose for her last kiss some Roman slain ;
While wretched fathers by the blazing pyres
Fought for the dead. But ^{Decimus} Brutus thus at sea
First gained a triumph for great Cæsar's arms.¹

¹ It was Brutus who gained the naval victory over the Veneti some seven years before; the first naval fight, that we know of, fought in the Atlantic Ocean.

BACK TO 37

BOOK IV

CÆSAR IN SPAIN

WAR IN THE ADRIATIC SEA

DEATH OF CURIO

War in Spain ; battle at Ilerda between Cæsar and Pompeius' generals, Afranius and Petreius, lines 1-52. Floods and famine, 52-130. At length Cæsar crosses the Sicoris and intercepts the retreat of the Pompeians, 131-188. The troops hold friendly converse, 188-234, but Petreius stops it and massacres the soldiers of Cæsar, 234-290. Cæsar cuts his enemy off from the river, 290-378. Afranius submits, and is dismissed with his troops, 379-453. Antonius is besieged by the Pompeians in Illyria, and tries to escape on three rafts, 454-510, one of which is stopped by a chain, 510-529. The soldiers on board, persuaded by their captain, Volteius, slay each other, 530-648. Curio goes to Africa and lands near Zama, 649. Legend of Antæus and Hercules, 656-748. Curio defeats Varus, 749-817, but is defeated and slain by Juba, 818-900. His character, 901-933.

BOOK IV

CÆSAR IN SPAIN—WAR IN THE ADRIATIC SEA— DEATH OF CURIO

BUT in the distant regions of the earth
Fierce Cæsar warring, though in fight he dealt
No baneful slaughter, hastened on the doom
To swift fulfilment. There on Magnus' side
Afranius and Petreius¹ held command,
Who ruled alternate, and the rampart guard
Obeyed the standard of each chief in turn.
There with the Romans in the camp were joined
Asturians² swift, and Vettons lightly armed,
And Celts who, exiled from their ancient home, 10
Had joined 'Iberus' to their former name.
Where the rich soil in gentle slope ascends
And forms a modest hill, Ilerda³ stands,
Founded in ancient days; beside her glides
Not least of western rivers, Sicoris
Of placid current, by a mighty arch
Of stone o'erspanned, which not the winter floods

¹ Both of these generals were able and distinguished officers. Afranius was slain by Cæsar's soldiers after the battle of Thapsus. Petreius, after the same battle, escaped along with Juba; and failing to find a refuge, they challenged each other to fight. Petreius was killed, and Juba, the survivor, put an end to himself.

² These are the names of Spanish tribes. The Celtiberi dwelt on the Ebro.

³ Lerida, on the river Segre, above its junction with the Ebro. Cinga is the modern Cinca, which falls into the Segre (Sicoris).

Shall overwhelm. Upon a rock hard by
 Was Magnus' camp; but Cæsar's on a hill,
 Rivalling the first; and in the midst a stream. 20
 Here boundless plains are spread beyond the range
 Of human vision; Cinga girds them in
 With greedy waves; forbidden to contend
 With tides of ocean; for that larger flood
 Who names the land, Iberus, sweeps along
 The lesser stream commingled with his own.

Guiltless of war, the first day saw the hosts
 In long array confronted; standard rose
 Opposing standard, numberless; yet none
 Essayed attack, in shame of impious strife. 30
 One day they gave their country and her laws.
 But Cæsar, when from heaven fell the night,
 Drew round a hasty trench; his foremost rank
 With close array concealing those who wrought.
 Then with the morn he bids them seize the hill
 Which parted from the camp Ilerda's walls,
 And gave them safety. But in fear and shame
 On rushed the foe and seized the vantage ground,
 First in the onset. From the height they held
 Their hopes of conquest; but to Cæsar's men 40
 Their hearts by courage stirred, and their good swords
 Promised the victory. Burdened up the ridge
 The soldier climbed, and from the opposing steep
 But for his comrade's shield had fallen back;
 None had the space to hurl the quivering lance
 Upon the foeman: spear and pike made sure
 The failing foothold, and the falchion's edge
 Hewed out their upward path. But Cæsar saw
 Ruin impending, and he bade his horse
 By circuit to the left, with shielded flank, 50
 Hold back the foe. Thus gained his troops retreat,

For none pressed on them ; and the victor chiefs,
Forced to withdrawal, gained the day in vain.

Henceforth the fitful changes of the year
Governed the fates and fashioned out the war.
For stubborn frost still lay upon the land,
And northern winds, controlling all the sky,
Prisoned the rain in clouds ; the hills were nipped
With snow unmelted, and the lower plains
By frosts that fled before the rising sun ; 60
And all the lands that stretched towards the sky
Which whelms the sinking stars, 'neath wintry heavens
Were parched and arid. But when Titan neared
The Ram, who, backward gazing on the stars,
Bore perished Helle,¹ and the hours were held
In juster balance, and the day prevailed,
The earliest faded moon which in the vault
Hung with uncertain horn, from eastern winds
Received a fiery radiance ; whose blasts
Forced Boreas back : and breaking on the mists 70
Within his regions, to the Occident
Drave all that shroud Arabia and the land
Of Ganges ; all that or by Caurus² borne
Bedim the Orient sky, or rising suns
Permit to gather ; pitiless flamed the day
Behind them, while in front the wide expanse
Was driven ; nor on mid earth sank the clouds
Though weighed with vapour. North and south alike
Were showerless, for on Calpe's rock alone
All moisture gathered ; here at last, forbidden 80

¹ Phrixus and Helle, the children of Nephele, were to be sacrificed to Zeus ; but Nephele rescued them, and they rode away through the air on the Ram with the golden fleece. But Helle fell into the sea, which from her was named the Hellespont. (See Book IX., 1126.)

The sun enters Aries about March 20. The Ram is pictured among the constellations with his head averse. ² See Book I., 463.

To pass that sea by Zephyr's bounds contained,
 And by the furthest belt¹ of heaven, they pause,
 In masses huge convolved; the widest breadth
 Of murky air scarce holds them, which divides
 Earth from the heavens; till pressed by weight of sky
 In densest volume to the earth they pour
 Their cataracts; no lightning could endure
 Such storm unquenched: though oft athwart the gloom
 Gleamed its pale fire. Meanwhile a watery arch
 Scarce touched with colour, in imperfect shape 90
 Embraced the sky and drank the ocean waves,
 So rendering to the clouds their flood outpoured.

And now were thawed the Pyrenæan snows
 Which Titan had not conquered; all the rocks
 Were wet with melting ice; accustomed springs
 Found not discharge; and from the very banks
 Each stream received a torrent. Cæsar's arms
 Are shipwrecked on the field, his tottering camp
 Swims on the rising flood; the trench is filled
 With whirling waters; and the plain no more 100
 Yields corn or kine; for those who forage seek,
 Err from the hidden furrow. Famine knocks
 (First herald of o'erwhelming ills to come),
 Fierce at the door; and while no foe blockades
 The soldier hungers; fortunes buy not now
 The meanest measure; yet, alas! is found
 The fasting peasant, who, in gain of gold,
 Will sell his little all! And now the hills
 Are seen no more; and rivers whelmed in one;
 Beasts with their homes sweep downwards; and the tide 110

¹ See Mr. Heitland's introduction, upon the meaning of the word 'cardo.' The word 'belt' seems fairly to answer to the two great circles or four meridians which he describes. The word occurs again at line 760; Book V., 80; Book VII., 452.

Repels the foaming torrent. Nor did night
Acknowledge Phœbus' rise, for all the sky
Felt her dominion and obscured its face,
And darkness joined with darkness. Thus doth lie
The lowest earth beneath the snowy zone
And never-ending winters, where the sky
Is starless ever, and no growth of herb
Sprouts from the frozen earth ; but standing ice
Tempers¹ the stars which in the middle zone
Kindle their flames. Thus, Father of the world, 120
And thou, O trident-god who rul'st the sea
Second in place, Neptunus, load the air
With clouds continual ; forbid the tide,
Once risen, to return : forced by thy waves
Let rivers backward run in different course,
Thy shores no longer reaching ; and the earth,
Shaken, make way for floods. Let Rhine o'erflow
And Rhone their banks ; let torrents spread afield
Unmeasured waters : melt Rhipæan snows :
Spread lakes upon the land, and seas profound, 130
And snatch the groaning world from civil war.

Thus for a little moment Fortune tried
Her darling son ; then smiling to his part
Returned ; and gained her pardon for the past
By greater gifts to come. For now the air
Had grown more clear, and Phœbus' warmer rays
Coped with the flood and scattered all the clouds
In fleecy masses ; and the reddening east
Proclaimed the coming day ; the land resumed
Its ancient marks ; no more in middle air 140
The moisture hung, but from about the stars
Sank to the depths ; the forest glad upreared

¹ The idea is that the cold of the poles tempers the heat of the equator.

Its foliage ; hills again emerged to view
 And 'neath the warmth of day the plains grew firm.

When Sicoris kept his banks, the shallop light
 Of hoary willow bark they build, which bent
 On hides of oxen, bore the weight of man
 And swam the torrent. Thus on sluggish Po
 Venetians float ; and on th' encircling sea ¹ 150
 Are borne Britannia's nations ; and when Nile
 Fills all the land, are Memphis' thirsty reeds
 Shaped into fragile boats that swim his waves.
 The further bank thus gained, they haste to curve
 The fallen forest, and to form the arch
 By which imperious Sicoris shall be spanned.
 Yet fearing he might rise in wrath anew,
 Not on the nearest marge they placed the beams,
 But in mid-field. Thus the presumptuous stream
 They tame with chastisement, parting his flood
 In devious channels out ; and curb his pride. 160

Petreius, when he saw that Cæsar's fates
 Swept all before them, left Ilerda's steep,
 His trust no longer in the Roman world ;
 And sought for strength amid those distant tribes,
 Who, loving death, rush in upon the foe,²
 And win their conquests at the point of sword.
 But in the dawn, when Cæsar saw the camp
 Stand empty on the hill, 'To arms !' he cried :
 'Seek not the bridge nor ford : plunge in the stream
 'And breast the foaming torrent.' Then did hope 170
 Of coming battle find for them a way

¹ Fuso : either spacious, outspread ; or, poured into the land (referring to the estuaries) as Mr. Haskins 'prefers ; or, poured round the island. Portable leathern skiffs seem to have been in common use in Cæsar's time in the English Channel. These were the rowing boats of the Gauls. (Mommsen, vol. iv., 219.)

² Compare Book I., 519.

Which they had shunned in flight.

Their arms regained,

Their streaming limbs they cherished till the blood
 Coursed in their veins ; until the shadows fell
 Short on the sward, and day was at the height.
 Then dashed the horsemen on, and held the foe
 'Twixt flight and battle. In the plain arose
 Two rocky heights : from each a loftier ridge
 Of hills ranged onwards, sheltering in their midst
 A hollow vale, whose deep and winding paths 180
 Were safe from warfare ; which, when Cæsar saw
 That if Petreius held, the war must pass
 To lands remote by savage tribes possessed ;
 'Speed on,' he cried, 'and meet their flight in front ;
 'Fierce be your frown and battle in your glance :
 'No coward's death be theirs ; but as they flee
 'Plunge in their breasts the sword.' They seize the pass
 And place their camp. Short was the span between
 Th' opposing sentinels ; with eager eyes
 Undimmed by space, they gazed on brothers, sons, 190
 Or friends and fathers ; and within their souls
 They grasped the impious horror of the war.
 Yet for a little while no voice was heard,
 For fear restrained ; by waving blade alone
 Or gesture, spake they ; but their passion grew,
 And broke all discipline ; and soon they leaped
 The hostile rampart ; every hand outstretched ¹
 Embraced the hand of foeman, palm in palm ;
 One calls by name his neighbour, one his host,
 Another with his schoolmate talks again 200

¹ Compare the passage in Tacitus, 'Hist.,' ii., 45, in which the historian describes how the troops of Otho and Vitellius wept over each other after the battle and deplored the miseries of a civil war. 'Victi victoresque in lacrumas effusi, sortem civilium armorum miserâ lætitiâ detestantes.'

Of olden studies : he who in the camp
 Found not a comrade, was no son of Rome.
 Wet are their arms with tears, and sobs break in
 Upon their kisses ; each, unstained by blood,
 Dreads what he might have done. Why beat thy breast ?
 Why, madman, weep ? The guilt is thine alone
 To do or to abstain. Dost fear the man
 Who takes his title to be feared from thee ?
 When Cæsar's trumpets sound the call to arms
 Heed not the summons ; when thou seest advance 210
 His standards, halt. The civil Fury thus
 Shall fold her wings ; and in a private robe
 Cæsar shall love his kinsman.

Holy Peace

That sway'st the world ; thou whose eternal bands
 Sustain the order of material things,
 Come, gentle Concord !¹ these our times do now
 For good or evil destiny control
 The coming centuries ! Ah, cruel fate !
 Now have the people lost their cloak for crime :
 Their hope of pardon. They have known their kin. 220
 Woe for the respite given by the gods
 Making more black the hideous guilt to come !

Now all was peaceful, and in either camp
 Sweet converse held the soldiers ; on the grass
 They place the meal ; on altars built of turf
 Pour out libations from the mingled cup ;
 On mutual couch with stories of their fights,
 They wile the sleepless hours in talk away ;
 ' Where stood the ranks arrayed, from whose right hand
 ' The quivering lance was sped : ' and while they boast 230

¹ ' Sæcula nostra ' may refer either to Lucan's own time or to the moment arrived at in the poem ; or it may, as Francken suggests, have a more general meaning.

Or challenge, deeds of prowess in the war,
 Faith was renewed and trust. Thus made the fates
 Their doom complete, and all the crimes to be
 Grew with their love.

For when Petreius knew
 The treaties made; himself and all his camp
 Sold to the foe; he stirs his guard to work
 An impious slaughter: the defenceless foe
 Flings headlong forth: and parts the fond embrace
 By stroke of weapon and in streams of blood.
 And thus in words of wrath, to stir the war: 240
 ‘Of Rome forgetful, to your faith forsworn!
 ‘And could ye not with victory gained return,
 ‘Restorers of her liberty, to Rome?
 ‘Lose then! but losing call not Cæsar lord.
 ‘While still your swords are yours, with blood to shed
 ‘In doubtful battle, while the fates are hid,
 ‘Will you like cravens to your master bear
 ‘Doomed eagles? Will you ask upon your knees
 ‘That Cæsar deign to treat his slaves alike,
 ‘And spare, forsooth, like yours, your leaders’ lives?’ ¹ 250
 ‘Nay! never shall *our* safety be the price
 ‘Of base betrayal! Not for boon of life
 ‘We wage a civil war. This name of peace
 ‘Drags us to slavery. Ne’er from depths of earth,
 ‘Fain to withdraw her wealth, should toiling men
 ‘Draw store of iron; ne’er entrench a town;
 ‘Ne’er should the war-horse dash into the fray
 ‘Nor fleet with turret bulwarks breast the main,
 ‘If freedom for dishonourable peace
 ‘Could thus be bought. The foe are pledged to fight 260

¹ ‘*Petenda est*’?—is it fit that you should beg for the lives of your leaders? Mr. Haskins says, ‘*shall* you have to beg for them?’ But it means that to do so is the height of disgrace.

' By their own guilt. But you, who still might hope
 ' For pardon if defeated—what can match
 ' Your deep dishonour? Shame upon your peace.
 ' Thou callest, Magnus, ignorant of fate,
 ' From all the world thy powers, and dost entreat
 ' Monarchs of distant realms, while haply here
 ' *We* in our treaties bargain for thy—life!'

Thus did he stir their minds and rouse anew
 The love of impious battle. So when beasts
 Grown strange to forests, long confined in dens, 270
 Their fierceness lose, and learn to bear with man;
 Once should they taste of blood, their thirsty jaws
 Swell at the touch, and all the ancient rage
 Comes back upon them till they hardly spare
 Their keeper. Thus they rush on every crime:
 And blows which dealt at chance, and in the night
 Of battle, had brought hatred on the gods,
 Though blindly struck, their recent vows of love
 Made monstrous, horrid. Where they lately spread
 The mutual couch and banquet, and embraced 280
 Some new-found friend, now falls the fatal blow
 Upon the self-same breast; and though at first
 Groaning at the fell chance, they drew the sword;
 Hate rises as they strike, the murderous arm
 Confirms the doubtful will: with monstrous joy
 Through the wild camp they smite their kinsmen down;
 And carnage raged unchecked; and each man strove,
 Proud of his crime, before his leader's face
 To prove his shamelessness of guilt.

But thou,
 Cæsar, though losing of thy best, dost know 290
 The gods do favour thee. Thessalian fields
 Gave thee no better fortune, nor the waves

That lave Massilia ; nor on Pharos' main
 Didst thou so triumph. By this crime alone
 Thou from this moment of the better cause
 Shalt be the Captain.

Since the troops were stained
 With fonlest slaughter thus, their leaders shunned
 All camps with Cæsar's joined, and sought again
 Iberda's lofty walls ; but Cæsar's horse
 Seized on the plain and forced them to the hills 300
 Reluctant. There by steepest trench shut in,
 He cuts them from the river, nor permits
 Their circling ramparts to enclose a spring.

By this dread path Death trapped his captive prey.
 Which when they knew, fierce anger filled their souls,
 And took the place of fear. They slew the steeds
 Now useless grown, and rushed upon their fate ;
 Hopeless of life and flight. But Cæsar cried :
 ' Hold back your weapons, soldiers, from the foe,
 ' Strike not the breast advancing ; let the war 310
 ' Cost me no blood ; he falls not without price
 ' Who with his life-blood challenges the fray.
 ' Scorning their own base lives and hating light,
 ' To Cæsar's loss they rush upon their death,
 ' Nor heed our blows. But let this frenzy pass,
 ' This madman onset ; let the wish for death
 ' Die in their souls.' Thus to its embers shrank
 The fire within when battle was denied,
 And fainter grew their rage until the night
 Drew down her starry veil and sank the sun. 320
 Thus keener fights the gladiator whose wound
 Is recent, while the blood within the veins
 Still gives the sinews motion, ere the skin
 Shrinks on the bones : but as the victor stands
 His fatal thrust achieved, and points the blade

Unfaltering, watching for the end, there creeps
 Torpor upon the limbs, the blood congeals
 About the gash, more faintly throbs the heart,
 And slowly fading, ebbs the life away.

Raving for water now they dig the plain 330
 Seeking for hidden fountains, not with spade
 And mattock only searching out the depths,
 But with the sword ; they hack the stony heights,
 In shafts that reach the level of the plain.
 No further flees from light the pallid wretch
 Who tears the bowels of the earth for gold.
 Yet neither riven stones revealed a spring,
 Nor streamlet whispered from its hidden source ;
 No water trickled on the gravel bed,
 Nor dripped within the cavern. Worn at length 340
 With labour huge, they crawl to light again,
 After such toil to fall to thirst and heat
 The readier victims : this was all they won.
 All food they loathe ; and 'gainst their deadly thirst
 Call famine to their aid. Damp clods of earth
 They squeeze upon their mouths with straining hands.
 Where'er on foulest mud some stagnant slime
 Or moisture lies, though doomed to die they lap
 With greedy tongues the draught their lips had loathed
 Had life been theirs to choose. Beast-like they drain 350
 The swollen udder, and where milk was not,
 They sucked the life-blood forth. From herbs and boughs
 Dripping with dew, from tender shoots they pressed,
 Nay, from the pith of trees, the juice within.

Happy the host that onward marching finds
 Its savage enemy has fouled the wells
 With murderous venom ; had'st thou, Cæsar, cast
 The reeking filth of shambles in the stream,
 And henbane dire and all the poisonous herbs

That lurk on Cretan slopes, still had they drunk 360
 The fatal waters, rather than endure
 Such lingering agony. Their bowels racked
 With torments as of flame; the swollen tongue
 And jaws now parched and rigid, and the veins;
 Each laboured breath with anguish from the lungs
 Enfeebled, moistureless, was scarcely drawn,
 And scarce again returned; and yet agape,
 Their panting mouths sucked in the nightly dew;
 They watch for showers from heaven, and in despair
 Gaze on the clouds, whence lately poured a flood. 370
 Nor were their tortures less that Meroë
 Saw not their sufferings, nor Cancer's zone,
 Nor where the Garamantian turns the soil;
 But Sicoris and Iberus at their feet,
 Two mighty floods, but far beyond their reach,
 Rolled down in measureless volume to the main.

But now their leaders yield; Afranius,
 Vanquished, throws down his arms, and leads his troops,
 Now hardly living, to the hostile camp
 Before the victor's feet, and sues for peace. 380
 Proud was his bearing, and despite of ills,
 His mien majestic, of his triumphs past
 Still mindful in disaster—thus he stood,
 Though suppliant for grace, a leader yet;
 From fearless heart thus speaking: 'Had the fates
 'Thrown me before some base ignoble foe,
 'Not, Cæsar, thee; still had this arm fought on
 'And snatched my death. Now if I suppliant ask,
 'Tis that I value still the boon of life
 'Given by a worthy hand. No party ties 390
 'Roused us to arms against thee; when the war,
 'This civil war, broke out, it found us chiefs;
 'And with our former cause we kept the faith,

' So long as brave men should. The fates' decree
 ' No longer we withstand. Unto thy will
 ' We yield the western tribes : the east is thine
 ' And all the world lies open to thy march.
 ' Be generous ! blood nor sword nor wearied arm
 ' Thy conquests bought. Thou hast not to forgive
 ' Aught but thy victory won. Nor ask we much. 400
 ' Give us repose ; to lead in peace the life
 ' Thou shalt bestow ; suppose these armèd lines
 ' Are corpses prostrate on the field of war
 ' Ne'er were it meet that thy victorious ranks
 ' Should mix with ours, the vanquished. Destiny
 ' Has run for us its course : one boon I beg ;
 ' Bid not the conquered conquer in thy train.'

Such were his words, and Cæsar's gracious smile
 Granted his prayer, remitting rights that war
 Gives to the victor. To th' unguarded stream 410
 The soldiers speed : prone on the bank they lie
 And lap the flood or foul the crowded waves.
 In many a burning throat the sudden draught
 Poured in too copious, filled the empty veins
 And choked the breath within : yet left unquenched
 The burning pest which though their frames were full
 Craved water for itself. Then, nerved once more,
 Their strength returned. Oh, lavish luxury,
 Contented never with the frugal meal !
 Oh greed that searchest over land and sea 420
 To furnish forth the banquet ! Pride that joy'st
 In sumptuous tables ! learn what life requires,
 How little nature needs ! No ruddy juice
 Pressed from the vintage in some famous year,
 Whose consuls are forgotten, served in cups
 With gold and jewels wrought restores the spark,
 The failing spark, of life ; but water pure

And simplest fruits of earth. The flood, the field
 Suffice for nature. Ah! the weary lot
 Of those who war! But these, their armour laid 430
 Low at the victor's feet, with lightened breast,
 Secure themselves, no longer dealing death,
 Beset by care no more, seek out their homes.
 What priceless gift in peace had they secured!
 How grieved it now their souls to have poised the dart
 With arm outstretched; to have felt their raving thirst;
 And prayed the gods for victory in vain!
 Nay, hard they think the victor's lot, for whom
 A thousand risks and battles still remain;
 If fortune never is to leave his side, 440
 How often must he triumph! and how oft
 Pour out his blood where'er great Cæsar leads!
 Happy, thrice happy, he who, when the world
 Is nodding to its ruin, knows the spot
 Where he himself shall, though in ruin, lie!
 No trumpet call shall break his sleep again:
 But in his humble home with faithful spouse
 And sons unlettered Fortune leaves him free
 From rage of party; for if life he owes
 To Cæsar, Magnus sometime was his lord. 450
 Thus happy they alone live on apart,
 Nor hope nor dread the event of civil war.

Not thus did Fortune upon Cæsar smile
 In all the parts of earth;¹ but 'gainst his arms
 Dared somewhat, where Salona's lengthy waste
 Opposes Hadria, and Iadar warm
 Meets with his waves the breezes of the west.
 There brave Curectæ dwell, whose island home
 Is girded by the main; on whom relied

¹ The scene is the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic. Here was Diocletian's palace. (Described in the 13th chapter of Gibbon.)

Antonius; and beleaguered by the foe, 460
 Upon the furthest margin of the shore,
 (Safe from all ills but famine) placed his camp.
 But for his steeds the earth no forage gave,
 Nor golden Ceres harvest; but his troops
 Gnawed the dry herbage of the scanty turf
 Within their rampart lines. But when they knew
 That Basilus was on th' opposing shore
 With friendly force, by novel mode of flight
 They aim to reach him. Not the accustomed keel
 They lay, nor build the ship, but shapeless rafts 470
 Of timbers knit together, strong to bear
 All ponderous weight; on empty casks beneath
 By tightened chains made firm, in double rows
 Supported; nor upon the deck were placed
 The oarsmen, to the hostile dart exposed,
 But in a hidden space, by beams concealed.
 And thus the eye amazed beheld the mass
 Move silent on its path across the sea,
 By neither sail nor stalwart arm propelled.

They watch the main until the reflux waves 480
 Ebb from the growing sands; then, on the tide
 Receding, launch their vessel; thus she floats
 With twin companions: over each uprose
 With quivering battlements a lofty tower.
 Octavius, guardian of Illyrian seas,
 Restrained his swifter keels, and left the rafts
 Free from attack, in hope of larger spoil
 From fresh adventures; for the peaceful sea
 May tempt them, and their goal in safety reached,
 To dare a second voyage. Round the stag 490
 Thus will the cunning hunter draw a line
 Of tainted feathers poisoning the air;
 Or spread the mesh, and muzzle in his grasp

The straining jaws of the Molossian hound,
And leash the Spartan pack ; nor is the brake
Trusted to any dog but such as tracks
The scent with lowered nostrils, and refrains
From giving tongue the while ; content to mark
By shaking leash the covert of the prey.

Ere long they manned the rafts in eager wish 500
To quit the island, when the latest glow
Still parted day from night. But Magnus' troops,
Cilician once, taught by their ancient art,
In fraudulent deceit had left the sea
To view unguarded ; but with chains unseen
Fast to Illyrian shores, and hanging loose,
They blocked the outlet in the waves beneath.
The leading rafts passed safely, but the third
Hung in mid passage, and by ropes was hauled
Below o'ershadowing rocks. These hollowed out 510
In ponderous masses overhung the main,
And nodding seemed to fall : shadowed by trees
Dark lay the waves beneath. Hither the tide
Brings wreck and corpse, and, burying with the flow,
Restores them with the ebb : and when the caves
Belch forth the ocean, swirling billows fall
In boisterous surges back, as boils the tide
In that famed whirlpool on Sicilian shores.

Here, with Venetian settlers for its load,
Stood motionless the raft. Octavius' ships 520
Gathered around, while foemen on the land
Filled all the shore. But well the captain knew,
Volteius, how the secret fraud was planned,
And tried in vain with sword and steel to burst
The bands that held them ; without hope he fights,
Uncertain where to avoid or front the foe.
Caught in this strait they strove as brave men should

Against opposing hosts ; nor long the fight,
For fallen darkness brought a truce to arms.

Then to his men disheartened and in fear 530
Of coming fate Volteius, great of soul,
Thus spake in tones commanding : ‘ Free no more,
‘ Save for this little night, consult ye now
‘ In this last moment, soldiers, how to face
‘ Your final fortunes. No man’s life is short
‘ Who can take thought for death, nor is your fame
‘ Less than a conqueror’s, if with breast advanced
‘ Ye meet your destined doom. None know how long
‘ The life that waits them. Summon your own fate,
‘ And equal is your praise, whether the hand 540
‘ Quench the last flicker of departing light,
‘ Or shear the hope of years. But choice to die
‘ Is thrust not on the mind—we cannot flee ;
‘ See at our throats, e’en now, our kinsmen’s swords.
‘ Then choose for death ; desire what fate decrees.
‘ At least in war’s blind cloud we shall not fall ;
‘ Nor when the flying weapons hide the day,
‘ And slaughtered heaps of foemen load the field,
‘ And death is common, and the brave man sinks
‘ Unknown, inglorious. Us within this ship, 550
‘ Seen of both friends and foes, the gods have placed ;
‘ Both land and sea and island cliffs shall bear,
‘ From either shore, their witness to our death,
‘ In which some great and memorable fame
‘ Thou, Fortune, dost prepare. What glorious deeds
‘ Of warlike heroism, of noble faith,
‘ Time’s annals show ! All these shall we surpass.
‘ True, Cæsar, that to fall upon our swords
‘ For thee is little ; yet beleaguered thus,
‘ With neither sons nor parents at our sides, 560
‘ Shorn of the glory that we might have earned,

' We give thee here the only pledge we may.
 ' Yet let these hostile thousands fear the souls
 ' That rage for battle and that welcome death,
 ' And know us for invincible, and joy
 ' That no more rafts were stayed. They'll offer terms
 ' And tempt us with a base unhonoured life.
 ' Would that, to give that death which shall be ours
 ' The greater glory, they may bid us hope
 ' For pardon and for life ! lest when our swords 570
 ' Are reeking with our hearts'-blood, they may say
 ' This was despair of living. Great must be
 ' The prowess of our end, if in the hosts
 ' That fight his battles, Cæsar is to mourn
 ' This little handful lost. For me, should fate
 ' Grant us retreat—myself would scorn to shun
 ' The coming onset. Life I cast away,
 ' The frenzy of the death that comes apace
 ' Controls my being. Those alone whose end
 ' Inspires them, know the happiness of death, 580
 ' Which the high gods, that men may bear to live,
 ' Keep hid from others.' Thus his noble words
 Warmed his brave comrades' hearts; and who with fear
 And tearful eyes had looked upon the Wain,
 Turning his nightly course, now hoped for day,
 Such precepts deep within them. Nor delayed
 The sky to dip the stars below the main;
 For Phœbus in the Twins his chariot drove
 At noon near Cancer; and the hours of night¹
 Were shortened by the Archer.

When day broke, 590

Lo! on the rocks the Istrians; while the sea
 Swarmed with the galleys and their Grecian fleet
 All armed for fight: but first the war was stayed

¹ That is, night was at its shortest.

And terms proposed : life to the foe they thought
 Would seem the sweeter, by delay of death
 Thus granted. But the band devoted stood,
 Proud of their promised end, and life forsworn,
 And careless of the battle : no debate
 Could shake their high resolve.¹ In numbers few
 'Gainst foemen numberless by land and sea, 600
 They wage the desperate fight ; then satiate
 Turn from the foe. And first demanding death
 Volteius bared his throat. 'What youth,' he cries,
 'Dares strike me down, and through his captain's wounds
 'Attest his love for death ?' Then through his side
 Plunge blades uncounted on the moment drawn.
 He praises all : but him who struck the first
 Grateful, with dying strength, he does to death.
 They rush together, and without a foe
 Work all the guilt of battle. Thus of yore, 610
 Rose up the glittering Dircean band
 From seed by Cadmus sown, and fought and died,
 Dire omen for the brother kings of Thebes.
 And so in Phasis' fields the sons of earth,
 Born of the sleepless dragon, all inflamed
 By magic incantations, with their blood
 Deluged the monstrous furrow, while the Queen
 Feared at the spells she wrought. Devoted thus
 To death, they fall, yet in their death itself
 Less valour show than in the fatal wounds 620
 They take and give ; for e'en the dying hand
 Missed not a blow—nor did the stroke alone
 Inflict the wound, but rushing on the sword
 Their throat or breast received it to the hilt ;
 And when by fatal chance or sire with son,

¹ On the following passage see Dean Merivale's remarks, 'History of the Roman Empire,' chapter xvi.

Or brothers met, yet with unfaltering weight
Down flashed the pitiless sword : this proved their love,
To give no second blow. Half living now
They dragged their mangled bodies to the side,
Whence flowed into the sea a crimson stream 630
Of slaughter. 'Twas their pleasure yet to see
The light they scorned ; with haughty looks to scan
The faces of their victors, and to feel
The death approaching. But the raft was now
Piled up with dead ; which, when the foemen saw,
Wondering at such a chief and such a deed,
They gave them burial. Never through the world
Of any brave achievement was the fame
More widely blazed. Yet meaner men, untaught
By such examples, see not that the hand 640
Which frees from slavery needs no valiant mind
To guide the stroke. But tyranny is feared
As dealing death ; and Freedom's self is galled
By ruthless arms ; and knows not that the sword
Was given for this, that none need live a slave.
Ah Death ! would'st thou but let the coward live
And grant the brave alone the prize to die !

Nor less were Libyan fields ablaze with war.
For Curio rash from Lilybæan ¹ coast
Sailed with his fleet, and borne by gentle winds 650
Betwixt half-ruined Carthage, mighty once,
And Clupea's cliff, upon the well-known shore
His anchors dropped. First from the hoary sea
Remote, where Bagra slowly ploughs the sand,
He placed his camp : then sought the further hills
And mazy passages of cavernous rocks,
Antæus' kingdom called. From ancient days
This name was given ; and thus a swain retold

¹ That is, Sicilian.

The story handed down from sire to son :
 ‘ Not yet exhausted by the giant brood, 660
 ‘ Earth still another monster brought to birth,
 ‘ In Libya’s caverns : huger far was he,
 ‘ More justly far her pride, than Briareus
 ‘ With all his hundred hands, or Typhon fierce,
 ‘ Or Tityos : ’twas in mercy to the gods
 ‘ That not in Phlegra’s¹ fields Antæus grew,
 ‘ But here in Libya ; to her offspring’s strength,
 ‘ Unmeasured, vast, she added yet this boon,
 ‘ That when in weariness and labour spent
 ‘ He touched his parent, fresh from her embrace 670
 ‘ Renewed in vigour he should rise again.
 ‘ In yonder cave he dwelt, ’neath yonder rock
 ‘ He made his feast on lions slain in chase :
 ‘ There slept he ; not on skins of beasts, or leaves,
 ‘ But fed his strength upon the naked earth.
 ‘ Perished the Libyan hinds and those who came,
 ‘ Brought here in ships, until he scorned at length
 ‘ The earth that gave him strength, and on his feet
 ‘ Invincible and with unaided might
 ‘ Made all his victims. Last to Afric shores, 680
 ‘ Drawn by the rumour of such carnage, came
 ‘ Magnanimous Alcides, he who freed
 ‘ Both land and sea of monsters. Down on earth
 ‘ He threw his mantle of the lion’s skin
 ‘ Slain in Cleone ; nor Antæus less
 ‘ Cast down the hide he wore. With shining oil,
 ‘ As one who wrestles at Olympia’s feast,

¹ For Phlegra, the scene of the battle between the giants and the gods, see Book VII., 170, and Book IX., 774. Ben Jonson (‘Sejanus,’ Act v., scene 10) says of Sejanus :—

‘ Phlegra, the field where all the sons of earth
 Mustered against the gods, did ne’er acknowledge
 So proud and huge a monster.’

' The hero rubs his limbs : the giant feared
 ' Lest standing only on his parent earth
 ' His strength might fail ; and cast o'er all his bulk 690
 ' Hot sand in handfuls. Thus with arms entwined
 ' And grappling hands each seizes on his foe ;
 ' With hardened muscles straining at the neck
 ' Long time in vain ; for firm the sinewy throat
 ' Stood column-like, nor yielded ; so that each
 ' Wondered to find his peer. Nor at the first
 ' Divine Alcides put forth all his strength,
 ' By lengthy struggle wearing out his foe,
 ' Till chilly drops stood on Antæus' limbs,
 ' And toppled to its fall the stately throat, 700
 ' And smitten by the hero's blows, the legs
 ' Began to totter. Breast to breast they strive
 ' To gain the vantage, till the victor's arms
 ' Gird in the giant's yielding back and sides,
 ' And squeeze his middle part : next 'twixt the thighs
 ' He puts his feet, and forcing them apart,
 ' Lays low the mighty monster limb by limb.
 ' The dry earth drank his sweat, while in his veins
 ' Warm ran the life-blood, and with strength refreshed,
 ' The muscles swelled and all the joints grew firm, 710
 ' And with his might restored, he breaks his bonds
 ' And rives the arms of Hercules away.
 ' Amazed the hero stood at such a strength.
 ' Not thus he feared, though then unused to war,
 ' That hydra fierce, which smitten in the marsh
 ' Of Inachus, renewed its severed heads.
 ' Again they join in fight, one with the powers
 ' Which earth bestowed, the other with his own :
 ' Nor did the hatred of his step-dame¹ find
 ' In all his conflicts greater room for hope. 720

¹ Juno.

‘ She sees bedewed in sweat the neck and limbs
 ‘ Which once had borne the mountain of the gods
 ‘ Nor knew the toil : and when Antæus felt
 ‘ His foeman’s arms close round him once again,
 ‘ He flung his wearying limbs upon the sand
 ‘ To rise with strength renewed ; all that the earth,
 ‘ Though labouring sore, could breathe into her son
 ‘ She gave his frame. But Hercules at last
 ‘ Saw how his parent gave the giant strength.
 ‘ “ Stand thou,” he cried ; “ no more upon the ground 730
 ‘ “ Thou liest at thy will—here must thou stay
 ‘ “ Within mine arms constrained ; against this breast,
 ‘ “ Antæus, shalt thou fall.” He lifted up
 ‘ And held by middle girth the giant form,
 ‘ Still struggling for the earth : but she no more
 ‘ Could give her offspring vigour. Slowly came
 ‘ The chill of death upon him, and ’twas long
 ‘ Before the hero, of his victory sure,
 ‘ Trusted the earth and laid the giant down.
 ‘ Hence hoar antiquity that loves to prate 740
 ‘ And wonders at herself,¹ this region called
 ‘ Antæus’ kingdom. But a greater name
 ‘ It gained from Scipio, when he recalled
 ‘ From Roman citadels the Punic chief.
 ‘ Here was his camp ; here can’st thou see the trace
 ‘ Of that most famous rampart² whence at length
 ‘ Issued the Eagles of triumphant Rome.’

But Curio rejoiced, as though for him
 The fortunes of the spot must hold in store
 The fates of former chiefs : and on the place 750
 Of happy augury placed his tents ill-starred,
 Took from the hills their omens ; and with force
 Unequal, challenged his barbarian foe.

¹ That is, extols ancient deeds.

² Referring to the battle of Zam

All Africa that bore the Roman yoke
 Then lay 'neath Varus. He, though placing first
 Trust in his Latian troops, from every side
 And furthest regions, summons to his aid
 The nations who confessed King Juba's rule.
 Not any monarch over wider tracts
 Held the dominion. From the western belt ¹ 760
 Near Gades, Atlas parts their furthest bounds ;
 But from the southern, Hammon girds them in
 Hard by the whirlpools ; and their burning plains
 Stretch forth unending 'neath the torrid zone,
 In breadth its equal, till they reach at length
 The shore of ocean upon either hand.
 From all these regions tribes unnumbered flock
 To Juba's standard : Moors of swarthy hue
 As though from Ind ; Numidian nomads there
 And Nasamon's needy hordes ; and those whose darts 770
 Equal the flying arrows of the Mede :
 Dark Garamantians leave their fervid home ;
 And those whose coursers unrestrained by bit
 Or saddle, yet obey the rider's hand
 Which wields the guiding switch : the hunter, too,
 Who wanders forth, his home a fragile hut,
 And blinds with flowing robe (if spear should fail)
 The angry lion, monarch of the steppe.

Not eagerness alone to save the state
 Stirred Juba's spirit : private hatred too 780
 Roused him to war. For in the former year,
 When Curio all things human and the gods ²
 Polluted, he by tribune law essayed
 To ravish Libya from the tyrant's sway,

¹ See line 82.

² Curio was tribune in B.C. 50. His earlier years are stated to have been stained with vice.

And drive the monarch from his father's throne,
 While giving Rome a king. To Juba thus,
 Still smarting at the insult, came the war,
 A welcome harvest for his crown retained.
 These rumours Curio feared: nor had his troops
 (Ta'en in Corfinium's hold)¹ in waves of Rhine 790
 Been tested, nor to Cæsar in the wars
 Had learned devotion: wavering in their faith,
 Their second chief they doubt, their first betrayed.

Yet when the general saw the spirit of fear
 Creep through his camp, and discipline to fail,
 And sentinels desert their guard at night,
 Thus in his fear he spake: 'By daring much
 ' Fear is disguised; let me be first in arms,
 ' And bid my soldiers to the plain descend,
 ' While still *my* soldiers. Idle days breed doubt. 800
 ' By fight forestall the plot.² Soon as the thirst
 ' Of bloodshed fills the mind, and eager hands
 ' Grip firm the sword, and pressed upon the brow
 ' The helm brings valour to the failing heart—
 ' Who cares to measure leaders' merits then?
 ' Who weighs the cause? With whom the soldier stands,
 ' For him he fights; as at the fatal show
 ' No ancient grudge the gladiator's arm
 ' Nerves for the combat, yet as he shall strike
 ' He hates his rival.' Thinking thus he leads 810
 His troops in battle order to the plain.
 Then victory on his arms deceptive shone
 Hiding the ills to come: for from the field
 Driving the hostile host with sword and spear,
 He smote them till their camp opposed his way.
 But after Varus' rout, unseen till then,
 All eager for the glory to be his,

¹ Book II., 537.² Preferring the reading 'præripe,' with Francken.

By stealth came Juba : silent was his march ;
 His only fear lest rumour should forestall
 His coming victory. In pretended war 820
 He sends Sabura forth with scanty force
 To tempt the enemy, while in hollow vale
 He holds the armies of his realm unseen.
 Thus doth the sly ichneumon ¹ with his tail
 Waving, allure the serpent of the Nile .
 Drawn to the moving shadow : he, with head
 Turned sideways, watches till the victim glides
 Within his reach, then seizes by the throat
 Behind the deadly fangs : forth from its seat
 Balked of its purpose, through the brimming jaws 830
 Gushes a tide of poison. Fortune smiled
 On Juba's stratagem ; for Curio
 (The hidden forces of the foe unknown)
 Sent forth his horse by night without the camp
 To scour more distant regions. He himself
 At earliest peep of dawn bids carry forth
 His standards ; heeding not his captains' prayer
 Urged on his ears : ' Beware of Punic fraud,
 ' The craft that taints a Carthaginian war.'
 Hung over him the doom of coming death 840
 And gave the youth to fate ; and civil strife
 Dragged down its author.

On the lofty tops

Where broke the hills abruptly to their fall
 He ranks his troops and sees the foe afar :
 Who still deceiving, simulated flight,

¹ Bewick ('Quadrupeds,' p. 238) tells the following anecdote of a tame ichneumon which had never seen a serpent, and to which he brought a small one. 'Its first emotion seemed to be astonishment mixed with anger ; its hair became erect ; in an instant it slipped behind the reptile, and with remarkable swiftness and agility leaped upon its head, seized it and crushed it with its teeth.'

Till from the height in loose unordered lines
 The Roman forces streamed upon the plain,
 In thought that Juba fled. Then first was known
 The treacherous fraud: for swift Numidian horse
 On every side surround them: leader, men— 850
 All see their fate in one dread moment come.
 No coward flees, no warrior bravely strides
 To meet the battle: nay, the trumpet call
 Stirs not the charger with resounding hoof
 To spurn the rock, nor galling bit compels
 To champ in eagerness; nor toss his mane
 And prick the ear, nor prancing with his feet
 To claim his share of combat. Tired, the neck
 Droops downwards: smoking sweat bedews the limbs:
 Dry from the squalid mouth protrudes the tongue, 860
 Hoarse, raucous panting issues from their chests;
 Their flanks distend: and every curb is dry
 With bloody foam; the ruthless sword alone
 Could move them onward, powerless even then
 To charge; but giving to the hostile dart
 A nearer victim. But when the Afric horse
 First made their onset, loud beneath their hoofs
 Rang the wide plain, and rose the dust in air
 As by some Thracian whirlwind stirred; and veiled
 The heavens in darkness. When on Curio's host 870
 The tempest burst, each footman in the rank
 Stood there to meet his fate—no doubtful end
 Hung in the balance: destiny proclaimed
 Death to them all. No conflict hand to hand
 Was granted them, by lances thrown from far
 And sidelong sword-thrusts slain: nor wounds alone,
 But clouds of weapons falling from the air
 By weight of iron o'erwhelmed them. Still drew in
 The straightening circle, for the first pressed back

On those behind ; did any shun the foe, 880
 Seeking the inner safety of the ring,
 He needs must perish by his comrades' swords.
 And as the front rank fell, still narrower grew
 The close crushed phalanx, till to raise their swords
 Space was denied. Still close and closer forced
 The armèd breasts against each other driven
 Pressed out the life. Thus not upon a scene
 Such as their fortune promised, gazed the foe.
 No tide of blood was there to glut their eyes,
 No members lopped asunder, though the earth 890
 Was piled with corpses ; for each Roman stood
 In death upright against his comrade dead.

Let cruel Carthage rouse her hated ghosts
 By this fell offering ; let the Punic shades,
 And bloody Hannibal, from this defeat
 Receive atonement : yet 'twas shame, ye gods,
 That Libya gained not for herself the day ;
 And that our Romans on that field should die
 To save Pompeius and the Senate's cause.

Now was the dust laid low by streams of blood, 900
 And Curio, knowing that his host was slain,
 Chose not to live ; and, as a brave man should,
 He rushed upon the heap, and fighting fell.

In vain with turbid speech hast thou profaned
 The pulpit of the forum : waved in vain
 From that proud ¹ citadel the tribune flag :
 And armed the people, and the Senate's rights
 Betraying, hast compelled this impious war
 Betwixt the rival kinsmen. Low thou liest
 Before Pharsalus' fight, and from thine eyes 910

¹ Reading 'arce,' not 'arte.' The word 'signifer' seems to favour the reading I have preferred ; and Dean Merivale and Hosius adopted it.

Is hid the war. 'Tis thus to suffering Rome,
 For arms seditious and for civil strife
 Ye mighty make atonement with your blood.
 Happy were Rome and all her sons indeed,
 Did but the gods as rigidly protect
 As they avenge, her violated laws!
 There Curio lies; untomb'd his noble corpse,
 Torn by the vultures of the Libyan wastes.
 Yet shall we, since such merit, though unsung,
 Lives by its own imperishable fame, 920
 Give thee thy meed of praise. Rome never bore
 Another son, who, had he right pursued,
 Had so adorned her laws; but soon the times,
 Their luxury, corruption, and the curse
 Of too abundant wealth, in transverse stream
 Swept o'er his wavering mind: and Curio changed,
 Turned with his change the scale of human things.
 True, mighty Sulla, cruel Marius,
 And bloody Cinna, and the long descent
 Of Cæsar and of Cæsar's house became 930
 Lords of our lives. But who had power like him?
 All others bought the state: he sold alone.¹

¹ For the character and career of Curio, see Merivale's 'History of the Roman Empire,' chapter xvi. He was of profligate character, but a friend and pupil of Cicero; at first a rabid partisan of the oligarchy, he had, about the period of his tribuneship (B.C. 50-49), become a supporter of Cæsar. How far Gaulish gold was the cause of this conversion we cannot tell. It is in allusion to this change that he was termed the prime mover of the civil war. His arrival in Cæsar's camp is described in Book I., line 303. He became Cæsar's chief lieutenant in place of the deserter Labienus; and, as described in Book III., was sent to Sardinia and Sicily, whence he expelled the senatorial forces. His final expedition to Africa, defeat and death, form the subject of the latter part of this book. Mommsen describes him as a man of talent, and finds a resemblance between him and Cæsar. (Vol. iv., p. 393.)

BOOK V

THE ORACLE. THE MUTINY.

THE STORM

Meeting of the Senate in Epirus, lines 1-72. Appius consults the Oracle at Delphi. Its history and description, 73-272. Mutiny of Cæsar's troops, 273-300. Speech of the mutineers, 300-340. His reply, 340-430, quelling the mutiny. He returns to Rome, and thence goes to Brundisium, 430-470. And crosses to Epirus, 470-531. He exhorts Antonius to join him, 531-579. He endeavours to cross over in a small boat; the storm, and the return, 580-775. His reception, 776-804. Is joined by Antonius, 804-826. Pompeius parts with Cornelia, whom he sends to Lesbos, 827-932.

BOOK V

THE ORACLE. THE MUTINY. THE STORM

THUS had the smiles of Fortune and her frowns
Brought either chief to Macedonian shores
Still equal to his foe. From cooler skies
Sank Atlas' ¹ daughters down, and Hæmus' slopes
Were white with winter, and the day drew nigh
Devoted to the god who leads the months,
And marking with new names the book of Rome,
When came the Fathers from their distant posts
By both the Consuls to Epirus called ²
Ere yet the year was dead: a foreign land
Obscure received the magistrates of Rome,
And heard their high debate. No warlike camp
This; for the Consul's and the Prætor's axe
Proclaimed the Senate-house; and Magnus sat
One among many, and the state was all.

10

When all were silent, from his lofty seat
Thus Lentulus began, while stern and sad
The Fathers listened: ' If your hearts still beat
' With Latian blood, and if within your breasts
' Still lives your fathers' vigour, look not now
' On this strange land that holds us, nor enquire
' Your distance from the captured city: yours
' This proud assembly, yours the high command
' In all that comes. Be this your first decree,

20

¹ The Pleiades, said to be daughters of Atlas.

² These were the Consuls for the expiring year, B.C. 49—Caius Marcellus and L. Lentulus Crus.

' Whose truth all peoples and all kings confess ;
 ' Be this the Senate. Let the frozen wain
 ' Demand your presence, or the torrid zone
 ' Wherein the day and night with equal tread
 ' For ever march ; still follows in your steps
 ' The central power of Imperial Rome. 30
 ' When flamed the Capitol with fires of Gaul
 ' When Veii held Camillus, there with him
 ' Was Rome, nor ever though it changed its clime
 ' Your order lost its rights. In Cæsar's hands
 ' Are sorrowing houses and deserted homes,
 ' Laws silent for a space, and forums closed
 ' In public fast. His Senate-house beholds
 ' Those Fathers only whom from Rome it drove,
 ' While Rome was full. Of that high order all
 ' Not here, are exiles.¹ Ignorant of war, 40
 ' Its crimes and bloodshed, through long years of peace,
 ' Ye fled its outburst : now in session all
 ' Are here assembled. See ye how the gods
 ' Weigh down Italia's loss by all the world
 ' Thrown in the other scale ? Illyria's wave
 ' Rolls deep upon our foes : in Libyan wastes
 ' Is fallen their Curio, the weightier part ²
 ' Of Cæsar's senate ! Lift your standards, then,
 ' Spur on your fates and prove your hopes to heaven.
 ' Let Fortune, smiling, give you courage now 50
 ' As, when ye fled, your cause. The Consuls' power

¹ That is to say, Cæsar's Senate at Rome could boast of those Senators only whom it had, before Pompeius' flight, declared public enemies. But they were to be regarded as exiles, having lost their rights, rather than the Senators in Epirus, who were in full possession of theirs.

² Dean Merivale says that probably Cæsar's Senate was not less numerous than his rival's. Duruy says there were 200 senators in Pompeius' camp, out of a total of between 500 and 600. Mommsen says, ' they were veritably emigrants. This Roman Coblenz presented a pitiful spectacle of the high pretensions and paltry performances of the grandees of Rome.' (Vol. iv., p. 397.) Almost all the Consulars were with Pompeius.

‘Fails with the dying year: not so does yours;
 ‘By your commandment for the common weal
 ‘Decree Pompeius leader.’ With applause
 They heard his words, and placed their country’s fates,
 Nor less their own, within the chieftain’s hands.

Then did they shower on people and on kings
 Honours well earned—Rhodes, Mistress of the Seas,
 Was decked with gifts; Athena, old in fame,
 Received her praise, and the rude tribes who dwell 60
 On cold Taygetus; Massilia’s sons
 Their own Phocæa’s freedom; on the chiefs
 Of Thracian tribes, fit honours were bestowed.
 They order Libya by their high decree
 To serve King Juba’s sceptre; and, alas!
 On Ptolemæus, of a faithless race
 The faithless sovereign, scandal to the gods,
 And shame to Fortune, placed the diadem
 Of Pella. Boy! thy sword was only sharp
 Against thy people. Ah if that were all! 70
 The fatal gift gave, too, Pompeius’ life;
 Bereft thy sister of her sire’s bequest,¹
 Half of the kingdom; Cæsar of a crime.
 Then all to arms.

While soldier thus and chief,
 In doubtful sort, against their hidden fate
 Devised their counsel, Appius² alone
 Feared for the chances of the war, and sought
 Through Phœbus’ ancient oracle to break
 The silence of the gods and know the end.

Between the western belt and that which bounds³ 80

¹ By the will of Ptolemy Auletes, Cleopatra had been appointed joint sovereign of Egypt with her young brother. Lucan means that Cæsar would have killed Pompeius if young Ptolemy had not done so. She lost her share of the kingdom, and Cæsar was clear of the crime.

² Appius was Proconsul, and in command of Achaia, for the Senate.

³ See Book IV., 82.

The furthest east, midway Parnassus rears
 His double summit: to the Bromian god
 And Pæan consecrate, to whom conjoined
 The Theban band leads up the Delphic feast
 On each third year. This mountain, when the sea
 Poured o'er the earth her billows, rose alone,
 By one high peak scarce master of the waves,
 Parting the crest of waters from the stars.
 There, to avenge his mother, from her home
 Chased by the angered goddess while as yet
 She bore him quick within her, Pæan came
 (When Themis ruled the tripods and the spot)¹
 And with unpractised darts the Python slew.
 But when he saw how from the yawning cave
 A godlike knowledge breathed, and all the air
 Was full of voices murmured from the depths,
 He took the shrine and filled the deep recess;
 Henceforth to prophesy.

90

Which of the gods
 Has left heaven's light in this dark cave to hide?
 What spirit that knows the secrets of the world
 And things to come, here condescends to dwell,
 Divine, omnipotent? bear the touch of man,
 And at his bidding deigns to lift the veil?
 Perchance he sings the fates, perchance his song,
 Once sung, is fate. Haply some part of Jove
 Sent here to rule the earth with mystic power,
 Balanced upon the void immense of air,
 Sounds through the caves, and in its flight returns
 To that high home of thunder whence it came.
 Caught in a virgin's breast, this deity
 Strikes on the human spirit: then a voice

100

110

¹ Themis, the goddess of law, was in possession of the Delphic oracle previous to Apollo. (Æsch., 'Eumenides,' line 2.)

Sounds from her breast, as when the lofty peak
 Of Etna boils, forced by compelling flames,
 Or as Typhëus on Campania's shore
 Frets 'neath the pile of huge Inarimé.¹

Though free to all that ask, denied to none,
 No human passion lurks within the voice
 That heralds forth the god ; no whispered vow,
 No evil prayer prevails ; none favour gain :
 Of things unchangeable the song divine ; 120
 Yet loves the just. When men have left their homes
 To seek another, it hath turned their steps
 Aright, as with the Tyrians ;² and raised
 The hearts of nations to confront their foe,
 As prove the waves of Salamis :³ when earth
 Hath been unfruitful, or polluted air
 Has plagued mankind, this utterance benign
 Hath raised their hopes and pointed to the end.
 No gift from heaven's high gods so great as this
 Our centuries have lost, since Delphi's shrine 130
 Has silent stood, and kings forbade the gods⁴
 To speak the future, fearing for their fates.
 Nor does the priestess sorrow that the voice
 Is heard no longer ; and the silent fane
 To her is happiness ; for whatever breast
 Contains the deity, its shattered frame
 Surges with frenzy, and the soul divine

¹ The modern isle of Ischia, off the Bay of Naples.

² The Tyrians consulted the oracle in consequence of the earthquakes which vexed their country (Book III., line 225), and were told to found colonies.

³ See Herodotus, Book VII., 140-143. The reference is to the answer given by the oracle to the Athenians that their wooden walls would keep them safe ; which Themistocles interpreted as meaning their fleet.

⁴ Cicero, on the contrary, suggests that the reason why the oracles ceased was this, that men became less credulous. ('De Div.,' ii., 57.) Lecky, 'History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne,' vol. i., p. 368.

Shakes the frail breath that with the god receives,
As prize or punishment, untimely death.

These tripods Appius seeks, unmoved for years 140
These soundless caverned rocks, in quest to learn
Hesperia's destinies. At his command
To loose the sacred gateways and permit
The prophetess to enter to the god,
The keeper calls Phemonoe; ¹ whose steps
Round the Castalian fount and in the grove
Were wandering careless; her he bids to pass
The portals. But the priestess feared to tread
The awful threshold, and with vain deceits
Sought to dissuade the chieftain from his zeal 150
To learn the future. 'What this hope,' she cried,
'Roman, that moves thy breast to know the fates?
'Long has Parnassus and its silent cleft
'Stifled the god; perhaps the breath divine
'Has left its ancient gorge and thro' the world
'Wanders in devious paths; or else the fane,
'Consumed to ashes by barbarian ² fire,
'Closed up the deep recess and choked the path
'Of Phœbus; or the ancient Sibyl's books
'Disclosed enough of fate, and thus the gods 160
'Decreed to close the oracle; or else
'Since wicked steps are banished from the fane,
'In this our impious age the god finds none
'Whom he may answer.' But the maiden's guile
Was known, for though she would deny the gods
Her fears approved them. On her front she binds
A twisted fillet, while a shining wreath
Of Phocian laurels crowns the locks that flow

¹ This name is one of those given to the Cumæan Sibyl mentioned at line 210. She was said to have been the daughter of Apollo.

² Probably by the Gauls under Brennus, B.C. 279.

Upon her shoulders. Hesitating yet
 The priest compelled her, and she passed within. 170
 But horror filled her of the holiest depths
 From which the mystic oracle proceeds ;
 And resting near the doors, in breast unmoved
 She dares invent the god in words confused,
 Which proved no mind possessed with fire divine ;
 By such false chant less injuring the chief
 Than faith in Phœbus and the sacred fane.
 No burst of words with tremor in their tones,
 No voice re-echoing through the spacious vault
 Proclaimed the deity, no bristling locks 180
 Shook off the laurel chaplet ; but the grove
 Unshaken, and the summits of the shrine,
 Gave proof she shunned the god. The Roman knew
 The tripods yet were idle, and in rage,
 ‘Wretch,’ he exclaimed, ‘to us and to the gods,
 ‘Whose presence thou pretendest, thou shalt pay
 ‘For this thy fraud the punishment ; unless
 ‘Thou enter the recess, and speak no more,
 ‘Of this world-war, this tumult of mankind,
 ‘Thine own inventions.’ Then by fear compelled, 190
 At length the priestess sought the furthest depths,
 And stayed beside the tripods ; and there came
 Into her unaccustomed breast the god,
 Breathed from the living rock for centuries
 Untouched ; nor ever with a mightier power
 Did Pæan’s inspiration seize the frame
 Of Delphic priestess ; his pervading touch
 Drove out her former mind, expelled the man,
 And made her wholly his. In maddened trance
 She whirls throughout the cave, her locks erect 200
 With horror, and the fillets of the god
 Dashed to the ground ; her steps unguided turn

To this side and to that; the tripods fall
 O'erturned; within her seethes the mighty fire
 Of angry Phœbus; nor with whip alone
 He urged her onwards, but with curb restrained;
 Nor was it given her by the god to speak
 All that she knew; for into one vast mass¹
 All time was gathered, and her panting chest
 Groaned 'neath the centuries. In order long 210
 All things lay bare: the future yet unveiled
 Struggled for light; each fate required a voice;
 The compass of the seas, Creation's birth,
 Creation's death, the number of the sands,
 All these she knew. Thus on a former day
 The prophetess upon the Cuman shore,²
 Disdaining that her frenzy should be slave
 To other nations, from the boundless threads
 Chose out with pride of hand the fates of Rome.
 E'en so Phemonoe, for a time oppressed 220
 With fates unnumbered, laboured ere she found,
 Beneath such mighty destinies concealed,
 Thine, Appius, who alone had'st sought the god
 In land Castalian; then from foaming lips
 First rushed the madness forth, and murmurs loud
 Uttered with panting breath and blent with groans;
 Till through the spacious vault a voice at length
 Broke from the virgin conquered by the god:
 'From this great struggle thou, O Roman, free
 'Escap'st the threats of war: alive, in peace, 230
 'Thou shalt possess the hollow in the coast
 'Of vast Eubœa.' Thus she spake, no more.
 Ye mystic tripods, guardians of the fates

¹ These lines form the Latin motto prefixed to Shelley's poem, 'The Demon of the World.'

² Referring to the visit of Æneas to the Sibyl. (Virgil, 'Æneid,' vi., 70, &c.)

And Pæan, thou, from whom no day is hid
 By heaven's high rulers, Master of the truth,
 Why fear'st thou to reveal the deaths of kings,
 Rome's murdered princes, and the latest doom
 Of her great Empire tottering to its fall,
 And all the bloodshed of that western land?
 Were yet the stars in doubt on Magnus' fate 240
 Not yet decreed, and did the gods yet shrink
 From that, the greatest crime? Or wert thou dumb
 That Fortune's sword for civil strife might wreak
 Just vengeance, and a Brutus' arm once more
 Strike down the tyrant?

From the temple doors

Rushed forth the prophetess in frenzy driven,
 Not all her knowledge uttered; and her eyes,
 Still troubled by the god who reigned within,
 Or filled with wild affright, or fired with rage
 Gaze on the wide expanse: still works her face 250
 Convulsive; on her cheeks a crimson blush
 With ghastly pallor blent, though not of fear.
 Her weary heart throbs ever; and as seas
 Boom swollen by northern winds, she finds in sighs,
 All inarticulate, relief. But while
 She hastes from that dread light in which she saw
 The fates, to common day, lo! on her path
 The darkness fell. Then by a Stygian draught
 Of the forgetful river, Phœbus snatched
 Back from her soul his secrets; and she fell 260
 Yet hardly living.

Nor did Appius dread

Approaching death, but by dark oracles
 Baffled, while yet the Empire of the world
 Hung in the balance, sought his promised realm
 In Chalcis of Eubœa. Yet to escape

All ills of earth, the crash of war—what god
 Can give thee such a boon, but death alone?
 Far on the solitary shore a grave
 Awaits thee, where Carystos' marble crags¹
 Draw in the passage of the sea, and where 270
 The fane of Rhamnus rises to the gods²
 Who hate the proud, and where the ocean strait
 Boils in swift whirlpools, and Euripus draws
 Deceitful in his tides, a bane to ships,
 Chalcidian vessels to bleak Aulis' shore.

But Cæsar carried from the conquered west
 His eagles to another world of war;
 When envying his victorious course the gods
 Almost turned back the prosperous tide of fate.
 Not on the battle-field borne down by arms 280
 But in his tents, within the rampart lines,
 The hoped-for prize of this unholy war
 Seemed for a moment gone. That faithful host,
 His comrades trusted in a hundred fields,
 Or that the falchion sheathed had lost its charm;
 Or weary of the mournful bugle call
 Scarce ever silent; or replete with blood,
 Well nigh betrayed their general and sold
 For hope of gain their honour and their cause.
 No other perilous shock gave surer proof 290
 How trembled 'neath his feet the dizzy height
 From which great Cæsar looked. A moment since
 His high behest drew nations to the field:
 Now, maimed of all, he sees that swords once drawn
 Are weapons for the soldier, not the chief.
 From the stern ranks no doubtful murmur rose;

¹ Appius was seized with fever as soon as he reached the spot; and there he died and was buried, thus fulfilling the oracle.

² That is, Nemesis.

Not silent anger as when one conspires,
 His comrades doubting, feared himself in turn ;
 Alone (he thinks) indignant at the wrongs
 Wrought by the despot. In so great a host 300
 Dread found no place. Where thousands share the guilt
 Crime goes unpunished. Thus from dauntless throats
 They hurled their menace : ' Cæsar, give us leave
 ' To quit thy crimes ; thou seek'st by land and sea
 ' The sword to slay us ; let the fields of Gaul
 ' And far Iberia, and the world proclaim
 ' How for thy victories our comrades fell.
 ' What boots it us that by an army's blood
 ' The Rhine and Rhone and all the northern lands
 ' Thou hast subdued ? Thou giv'st us civil war 310
 ' For all these battles ; such the prize. When fled
 ' The Senate trembling, and when Rome was ours
 ' What homes or temples did we spoil ? Our hands
 ' Reek with offence ! Aye, but our poverty
 ' Proclaims our innocence ! What end shall be
 ' Of arms and armies ? What shall be enough
 ' If Rome suffice not ? and what lies beyond ?
 ' Behold these silvered locks, these nerveless hands
 ' And shrunken arms, once stalwart ! In thy wars
 ' Gone is the strength of life, gone all its pride ! 320
 ' Dismiss thine agèd soldiers to their deaths.
 ' How shameless is our prayer ! Not on hard turf
 ' To stretch our dying limbs ; nor seek in vain,
 ' When parts the soul, a hand to close our eyes ;
 ' ¹ Not with the helmet strike the stony clod :
 ' Rather to feel the dear one's last embrace,
 ' And gain a humble but a separate tomb.
 ' Let nature end old age. And dost thou think
 ' We only know not what degree of crime

¹ Reading ' galeam,' with Francken ; not ' glebam.'

' Will fetch the highest price ? What thou canst dare 330
 ' These years have proved, or nothing ; law divine
 ' Nor human ordinance shall hold thine hand.
 ' Thou wert our leader on the banks of Rhine ;
 ' Henceforth our equal ; for the stain of crime
 ' Makes all men like to like. Add that we serve
 ' A thankless chief : as fortune's gift he takes
 ' The fruits of victory our arms have won.
 ' We are his fortunes, and his fates are ours
 ' To fashion as we will. Boast that the gods
 ' Shall do thy bidding ! Nay, thy soldiers' will 340
 ' Shall close the war.' With threatening mien and speech
 Thus through the camp the troops demand their chief.

When faith and loyalty are fled, and hope
 For aught but evil, thus may civil war
 In mutiny and discord find its end !
 What general had not feared at such revolt ?
 But mighty Cæsar trusting on the throw,
 As was his wont, his fortune, and o'erjoyed
 To front their anger raging at its height .
 Unflinching comes. No temples of the gods, 350
 Not Jove's high fane on the Tarpeian rock,
 Not Rome's high dames nor maidens had he grudged
 To their most savage lust : that they should ask
 The worst, his wish, and love the spoils of war.
 Nor feared he aught save order at the hands
 Of that unconquered host. Art thou not shamed
 That strife should please thee only, now condemned
 Even by thy minions ? Shall *they* shrink from blood,
They from the sword recoil ? and thou rush on
 Heedless of guilt, through right and through unright, 360
 Nor learn that men may lay their arms aside
 Yet bear to live ? This civil butchery

Escapes thy grasp. Stay thou thy crimes at length ;
Nor force thy will on those who will no more.

Upon a turfy mound unmoved he stood
And, since he feared not, worthy to be feared ;
And thus while anger stirred his soul began :
' Thou that with voice and hand didst rage but now
' Against thine absent chief, behold me here ;
' Here strike thy sword into this naked breast, 370
' To stay the war ; and flee, if such thy wish.
' This mutiny devoid of daring deed
' Betrays your coward souls, betrays the youth
' Who tires of victories which gild the arms
' Of an unconquered chief, and yearns for flight.
' Well, leave me then to battle and to fate !
' I cast you forth ; for every weapon left,
' Fortune shall find a man, to wield it well.
' Shall Magnus in his flight with such a fleet
' Draw nations in his train ; and not to me 380
' My victories bring hosts, to whom shall fall
' The prize of war accomplished, who shall reap
' Your laurels scorned, and scathless join the train
' That leads my chariot to the sacred hill ?
' While you, despised in age and worn in war,
' Gaze on our triumph from the civic crowd.
' Think you your dastard flight shall give me pause ?
' If all the rivers that now seek the sea
' Were to withdraw their waters, it would fail
' By not one inch, no more than by their flow 390
' It rises now. Have then your efforts given
' Strength to my cause ? Not so : the heavenly gods
' Stoop not so low ; fate has no time to judge
' Your lives and deaths. The fortunes of the world
' Follow heroic souls : for the fit few
' The many live ; and you who terrified

' With me the northern and Iberian worlds,
 ' Would flee when led by Magnus. Strong in arms
 ' For Cæsar's cause was Labienus; ¹ now
 ' That vile deserter, with his chief preferred, 400
 ' Wanders o'er land and sea. Nor were your faith
 ' One whit more firm to me if, neither side
 ' Espoused, you ceased from arms. Who leaves me once,
 ' Though not to fight against me with the foe,
 ' Joins not my ranks again. Surely the gods
 ' Smile on these arms who for so great a war
 ' Grant me fresh soldiers. From what heavy load
 ' Fortune relieves me! for the hands which aimed
 ' At all, to which the world did not suffice,
 ' I now disarm, and for myself alone 410
 ' Reserve the conflict. Quit ye, then, my camp,
 ' ² *Quirites*, Cæsar's soldiers now no more,
 ' And leave my standards to the grasp of men!
 ' Yet some who led this mad revolt I hold,
 ' Not as their captain now, but as their judge.
 ' Lie, traitors, prone on earth, stretch out the neck
 ' And take th' avenging blow. And thou whose strength
 ' Shall now support me, young and yet untaught,
 ' Behold the doom and learn to strike and die.'

Such were his words of ire, and all the host 420
 Drew back and trembled at the voice of him
 They would depose, as though their very swords
 Would from their scabbards leap at his command
 Themselves unwilling; but he only feared
 Lest hand and blade to satisfy the doom
 Might be denied, till they submitting pledged

¹ Labienus left Cæsar's ranks after the Rubicon was crossed, and joined his rival. In his mouth Lucan puts the speech made at the oracle of Hammon in Book IX. He was slain at Munda, B.C. 45.

² That is, civilians; no longer soldiers. This one contemptuous expression is said to have shocked and abashed the army. (Tacitus, 'Ann.,' I., 42.)

Their lives and swords alike, beyond his hope.
 To strike and suffer ¹ holds in surest thrall
 The heart inured to guilt ; and Cæsar kept,
 By dreadful compact ratified in blood, 430
 Those whom he feared to lose.

He bids them march

Upon Brundusium, and recalls the ships
 From soft Calabria's inlets and the point
 Of Leucas, and the Salapinian marsh,
 Where sheltered Sipus nestles at the feet
 Of rich Garganus, jutting from the shore
 In huge escarpment that divides the waves
 Of Hadria ; on each hand, his seaward slopes
 Buffeted by the winds ; or Anster borne
 From sweet Apulia, or the sterner blast 440
 Of Boreas rushing from Dalmatian strands.

But Cæsar entered trembling Rome unarmed,
 Now taught to serve him in the garb of peace.
 Dictator named, to grant their prayers, forsooth :
 Consul, in honour of the roll of Rome.
 Then first of all the names by which we now
 Lie to our masters, men found out the use :
 For to preserve his right to wield the sword
 He mixed the civil axes with his brands ;
 With eagles, fasces ; with an empty word 450
 Clothing his power ; and stamped upon the time
 A worthy designation ; for what name
 Could better mark the dread Pharsalian year
 Than ' Cæsar, Consul ' ? ² Now the famous field

¹ Reading ' tenet,' with Hosius and Francken ; not ' timet,' as Haskins. The prospect of inflicting punishment attracted, while the suffering of it subdued, the mutineers.

² Cæsar was named Dictator while at Massilia. Entering Rome, he held the office for eleven days only, but was elected Consul for the incoming year, B.C. 48, along with Servilius Isauricus. (Cæsar, ' De Bello Civili,' iii., 1 ; Merivale, chapter xvi.)

Pretends its ancient ceremonies: calls
 The tribes in order and divides the votes
 In vain solemnity of empty urns.
 Nor do they heed the portents of the sky:
 Deaf were the augurs to the thunder roll;
 The owl flew on the left; yet were the birds 460
 Propitious sworn. Then was the ancient name
 Degraded first; and monthly Consuls,¹ now
 Shorn of their rank, are chosen to mark the years.
 And Trojan Alba's² god (since Latium's fall
 Deserving not) beheld the wonted fires
 Blaze from his altars on the festal night.

Then through Apulia's fallows, that her hinds
 Left all untilled, to sluggish weeds a prey
 Passed Cæsar onward, swifter than the fire
 Of heaven, or tigress dam: until he reached 470
 Brundisium's winding ramparts, built of old
 By Cretan colonists. There icy winds
 Constrained the billows, and his trembling fleet
 Feared for the winter storms nor dared the main.
 But Cæsar's soul burned at the moments lost
 For speedy battle, nor could brook delay
 Within the port, indignant that the sea
 Should give safe passage to his routed foe:
 And thus he stirred his troops, in seas unskilled,
 With words of courage: 'When the winter wind 480
 'Has seized on sky and ocean, firm its hold;
 'But the inconstancy of cloudy spring
 'Permits no certain breezes to prevail

¹ In the time of the Empire, the degraded Consulship, preserved only as a name, was frequently transferred at monthly, or even shorter, intervals from one favourite to another.

² Cæsar performed the solemn rites of the great Latin festival on the Alban Mount during his Dictatorship. (Compare Book VII., line 471.)

' Upon the billows. Straight shall be our course.
 ' No winding nooks of coast, but open seas
 ' Struck by the northern wind alone we plough,
 ' And may he bend the spars, and bear us swift
 ' To Grecian cities; else Pompeius' oars,
 ' Smiting the billows from Phæacian¹ coasts,
 ' May catch our flagging sails. Cast loose the ropes 490
 ' From our victorious prows. Too long we waste
 ' Tempests that blow to bear us to our goal.'

Now sank the sun to rest; the evening star
 Shone on the darkening heaven, and the moon
 Reigned with her paler light, when all the fleet
 Freed from retaining cables seized the main.
 With slackened sheet the canvas wooed the breeze,
 Which rose and fell and fitful died away,
 Till motionless the sails, and all the waves
 Were still as deepest pool, where never wind 500
 Ripples the surface. Thus in Scythian climes
 Cimmerian Bosphorus restrains the deep
 Bound fast in frosty fetters; Ister's streams²
 No more impel the main, and ships constrained
 Stand fast in ice; and while in depths below
 The waves still murmur, loud the charger's hoof
 Sounds on the surface, and the travelling wheel
 Furrows a track upon the frozen marsh.
 Cruel as tempest was the calm that lay
 In stagnant pools upon the mournful deep: 510
 Against the course of nature lay outstretched
 A rigid ocean: 'twas as if the sea
 Forgat its ancient ways and knew no more
 The ceaseless tides, nor any breeze of heaven,

¹ Dyrrhachium was founded by the Corcyreans, with whom the Homeric Phæacians have been identified.

² Apparently making the Danube discharge into the Sea of Azov. See Mr. Heitland's Introduction, p. 53.

Nor quivered at the image of the sun,
 Mirrored upon its wave. For while the fleet
 Hung in mid passage motionless, the foe
 Might hurry to attack, with sturdy stroke
 Churning the deep ; or famine's deadly grip
 Might seize the ships becalmed. For dangers new 520
 New vows they find. ' May mighty winds arise
 ' And rouse the ocean, and this sluggish plain
 ' Cast off stagnation and be sea once more.'
 Thus did they pray, but cloudless shone the sky,
 Unrippled slept the surface of the main ;
 Until in misty clouds the moon arose
 And stirred the depths, and moved the fleet along
 Towards the Ceraunian headland ; and the waves
 And favouring breezes followed on the ships,
 Now speeding faster, till (their goal attained) 530
 They cast their anchors on Palæste's¹ shore.

This land first saw the chiefs in neighbouring camps
 Confronted, which the streams of Apsus bound
 And swifter Genusus ; a lengthy course
 Is run by neither, but on Apsus' waves
 Scarce flowing from a marsh, the frequent boat
 Finds room to swim ; while on the foamy bed
 Of Genusus by sun or shower compelled
 The melted snows pour seawards. Here were met
 (So Fortune ordered it) the mighty pair ; 540
 And in its woes the world yet vainly hoped
 That brought to nearer touch their crime itself
 Might breed abhorrence : for from either camp
 Voices were clearly heard and features seen.
 Nor e'er, Pompeius, since that distant day
 When Cæsar's daughter and thy spouse was reft
 By pitiless fate away, nor left a pledge,

¹ At the foot of the Acroceraunian range.

Did thy loved kinsman (save on sands of Nile)

So nearly look upon thy face again.

But Cæsar's mind though frenzied for the fight 550
 Was forced to pause until Antonius brought
 The rearward troops; Antonius even now
 Rehearsing Leucas' fight. With prayers and threats
 Cæsar exhorts him. 'Why delay the fates,
 'Thou cause of evil to the suffering world?
 'My speed hath won the major part: from thee
 'Fortune demands the final stroke alone.
 'Do Libyan whirlpools with deceitful tides
 'Uncertain separate us? Is the deep
 'Untried to which I call? To unknown risks 560
 'Art thou commanded? Cæsar bids thee come,
 'Thou sluggard, not to leave him. Long ago
 'I ran my ships midway through sands and shoals
 'To harbours held by foes; and dost thou fear
 'My friendly camp? I mourn the waste of days
 'Which fate allotted us. Upon the waves
 'And winds I call unceasing: hold not back
 'Thy willing troops, but let them dare the sea;
 'Here gladly shall they come to join my camp,
 'Though risking shipwreck. Not in equal shares 570
 'The world has fallen between us: thou alone
 'Dost hold Italia, but Epirus I
 'And all the lords of Rome.' Twice called and thrice
 Antonius lingered still: but Cæsar thought
 To reap in full the favour of the gods,
 Not sit supine; and knowing danger yields
 To whom heaven favours, he upon the waves
 Feared by Antonius' fleets, in shallow boat
 Embarked, and daring sought the further shore.

Now gentle night had brought repose from arms; 580
 And sleep, blest guardian of the poor man's couch,

Restored the weary ; and the camp was still.
 The hour was come that called the second watch
 When mighty Cæsar, in the silence vast
 With cautious tread advanced to such a deed ¹
 As slaves should dare not. Fortune for his guide,
 Alone he passes on, and o'er the guard
 Stretched in repose he leaps, in secret wrath
 At such a sleep. Pacing the winding beach,
 Fast to a sea-worn rock he finds a boat 590
 On ocean's marge afloat. Hard by on shore
 Its master dwelt within his humble home.
 No solid front it reared, for sterile rush
 And marshy reed enwoven formed the walls,
 Propped by a shallop with its bending sides
 Turned upwards. Cæsar's hand upon the door
 Knocks twice and thrice until the fabric shook.
 Amyclas from his couch of soft seaweed
 Arising, calls : ' What shipwrecked sailor seeks
 ' My humble home ? Who hopes for aid from me, 600
 ' By fates adverse compelled ? ' He stirs the heap
 Upon the hearth, until a tiny spark
 Glows in the darkness, and throws wide the door.
 Careless of war, he knew that civil strife
 Stoops not to cottages. Oh ! happy life
 That poverty affords ! great gift of heaven
 Too little understood ! what mansion wall,
 What temple of the gods, would feel no fear
 When Cæsar called for entrance ? Then the chief :

¹ Cæsar himself says nothing of this adventure. But it is mentioned by Dion, Appian and Plutarch ('Cæsar,' 38). Dean Merivale thinks the story may have been invented to introduce the apophthegm used by Cæsar to the sailor, 'Fear nothing : you carry Cæsar and his fortunes' (lines 662-665). Mommsen accepts the story, as of an attempt which was only abandoned because no mariner could be induced to undertake it. Lucan colours it with his wildest and most exaggerated hyperbole.

- ' Enlarge thine hopes and look for better things. 610
 ' Do but my bidding, and on yonder shore
 ' Place me, and thou shalt cease from one poor boat
 ' To earn thy living ; and in years to come
 ' Look for a rich old age : and trust thy fates
 ' To those high gods whose wont it is to bless
 ' The poor with sudden plenty.' So he spake
 E'en at such time in accents of command,
 For how could Cæsar else ? Amyclas said,
 ' Twere dangerous to brave the deep to-night.
 ' The sun descended not in ruddy clouds 620
 ' Or peaceful rays to rest ; part of his beams
 ' Presaged a southern gale, the rest proclaimed
 ' A northern tempest ; and his middle orb,
 ' Shorn of its strength, permitted human eyes
 ' To gaze upon his grandeur ; and the moon
 ' Rose not with silver horns upon the night
 ' Nor pure in middle space ; her slender points
 ' Not drawn aright, but blushing with the track
 ' Of raging tempests, till her lurid light
 ' Was sadly veiled within the clouds. Again 630
 ' The forest sounds ; the surf upon the shore ;
 ' The dolphin's mood, uncertain where to play ;
 ' The sea-mew on the land ; the heron used
 ' To wade among the shallows, borne aloft
 ' And soaring on his wings—all these alarm ;
 ' The raven, too, who plunged his head in spray,
 ' As if to anticipate the coming rain,
 ' And trod the margin with unsteady gait.
 ' But if the cause demands, behold me thine.
 ' Either we reach the hidden shore, or else 640
 ' Storm and the deep forbid—we can no more.'

Thus said he loosed the boat and raised the sail.
 No sooner done than stars were seen to fall

In flaming furrows from the sky : nay, more ;
 The pole star trembled in its place on high :
 Black horror marked the surging of the sea ;
 The main was boiling in long tracts of foam,
 Uncertain of the wind, yet seized with storm.
 Then spake the captain of the trembling bark :
 ‘ See what remorseless ocean has in store ! 650
 ‘ Whether from east or west the storm may come
 ‘ Is still uncertain, for as yet confused
 ‘ The billows tumble. Judged by clouds and sky
 ‘ A western tempest : by the murmuring deep
 ‘ A wild south-eastern gale shall sweep the sea.
 ‘ Nor bark nor man shall reach Hesperia’s shore
 ‘ In this wild rage of waters. To return
 ‘ Back on our course forbidden by the gods,
 ‘ Is our one refuge, and with labouring boat
 ‘ To reach the shore ere yet the nearest land 660
 ‘ May be too distant.’

But great Cæsar’s trust
 Was in himself, to make all dangers yield.
 And thus he answered : ‘ Scorn the threatening sea,
 ‘ Spread out thy canvas to the raging wind ;
 ‘ If for thy pilot thou refus’st heaven,
 ‘ Me in its stead receive. Alone in thee
 ‘ One cause of terror just—thou dost not know
 ‘ Thy comrade, ne’er deserted by the gods,
 ‘ Whom fortune blesses e’en without a prayer.
 ‘ Break through the middle storm and trust in me. 670
 ‘ The burden of this fight falls not on us
 ‘ But on the sky and ocean ; and our bark
 ‘ Shall swim the billows safe in him it bears.
 ‘ Nor shall the wind rage long : the boat itself
 ‘ Shall calm the waters. Flee the nearest shore,
 ‘ Steer for the ocean with unswerving hand :
 ‘ Then in the deep, when to our ship and us

' No other port is given, believe thou hast
 ' Calabria's harbours. And dost thou not know
 ' The purpose of such havoc? Fortune seeks 680
 ' In all this tumult of the sea and sky
 ' A boon for Cæsar.' Then a hurricane
 Swooped on the boat and tore away the sheet :
 The fluttering sail fell on the fragile mast :
 And groaned the joints. From all the universe
 Commingled perils rush. In Atlas' seas
 First Corus ¹ lifts his head, and stirs the depths
 To fury, and had forced upon the rocks
 Whole seas and oceans; but the chilly north
 Drove back the deep that doubted which was lord. 690
 But Scythian Aquilo prevailed, whose blast
 Tossed up the main and showed as shallow pools
 Each deep abyss; and yet was not the sea
 Heaped on the crags, for Corus' billows met
 The waves of Boreas: such seas had clashed
 Even were the winds withdrawn; Eurus enraged
 Burst from the cave, and Notus black with rain,
 And all the winds from every part of heaven
 Strove for their own; and thus the ocean stayed
 Within his boundaries. No petty seas 700
 Rapt in the storm are whirled. The Tuscan deep
 Invades th' Ægean; in Ionian gulfs
 Sounds wandering Hadria. How long the crags
 Which that day fell, the Ocean's blows had braved!
 What lofty peaks did vanquished earth resign!
 And yet on yonder coast such mighty waves
 Took not their rise; from distant regions came
 Those monster billows, driven on their course
 By that great current which surrounds the world.²

¹ Book I., 463.

² The ocean current, which, according to Hecatæus, surrounded the

Thus did the King of Heaven, when length of years 710
 Wore out the forces of his thunder, call
 His brother's trident to his help, what time
 The earth and sea one second kingdom formed
 And ocean knew no limit but the sky.
 Now, too, the sea had risen to the stars
 In mighty mass, had not Olympus' chief
 Pressed down its waves with clouds: came not from heaven
 That night, as others; but the murky air
 Was dim with pallor of the realms below; ¹
 The sky lay on the deep; within the clouds 720
 The waves received the rain: the lightning flash
 Clove through the parted air a path obscured
 By mist and darkness: and the heavenly vaults
 Re-echoed to the tumult, and the frame
 That holds the sky was shaken. Nature feared
 Chaos returned, as though the elements
 Had burst their bonds, and night had come to mix
 Th' infernal shades with heaven.

In such turmoil

Not to have perished was their only hope.
 Far as from Leucas point the placid main 730
 Spreads to the horizon, from the billow's crest
 They viewed the dashing of th' infuriate sea;
 Thence sinking to the middle trough, their mast
 Scarce topped the watery height on either hand,
 Their sails in clouds, their keel upon the ground.
 For all the sea was piled into the waves,
 And drawn from depths between laid bare the sand.

world. But Herodotus of this theory says, 'For my part I know of no river called Ocean, and I think that Homer or one of the earlier poets invented the name and introduced it into his poetry.' (Book II., 23, and Book IV., 36.) In 'Oceanus' Æschylus seems to have intended to personify the great surrounding stream. ('Prom. Vinc.,' lines 291, 308.)

¹ Comp. VI., 615.

The master of the boat forgot his art,
 For fear o'ercame ; he knew not where to yield
 Or where to meet the wave : but safety came 740
 From ocean's self at war : one billow forced
 The vessel under, but a huger wave
 Repelled it upwards, and she rode the storm
 Through every blast triumphant. Not the shore
 Of humble Sason,¹ nor Thessalia's coast
 Indented, not Ambracia's scanty ports
 Dismay the sailors, but the giddy tops
 Of high Ceraunia's cliffs.

But Cæsar now,
 Thinking the peril worthy of his fates :

' Are such the labours of the gods ? ' exclaimed, 750
 ' Bent on my downfall have they sought me thus,
 ' Here in this puny skiff in such a sea ?
 ' If to the deep the glory of my fall
 ' Is due, and not to war, intrepid still
 ' Whatever death they send shall strike me down.
 ' Let fate cut short the deeds that I would do
 ' And hasten on the end : the past is mine.
 ' The northern nations fell beneath my sword ;
 ' My dreaded name compels the foe to flee.
 ' Pompeius yields me place ; the people's voice 760
 ' Gave at my order what the wars denied.
 ' And all the titles which denote the powers
 ' Known to the Roman state my name shall bear.
 ' Let none know this but thou who hear'st my prayers,
 ' Fortune, that Cæsar summoned to the shades,
 ' Dictator, Consul, full of honours, died
 ' Ere his last prize was won. I ask no pomp
 ' Of pyre or funeral ; let my body lie

¹ Sason is a small island just off the Ceraunian rocks, the point of which is now called Cape Linguetta, and is nearly opposite to Brindisi.

‘ Mangled beneath the waves : I leave a name
 ‘ That men shall dread in ages yet to come 770
 ‘ And all the earth shall honour.’ Thus he spake,
 When lo ! a tenth gigantic billow raised
 The feeble keel, and where between the rocks
 A cleft gave safety, placed it on the shore.
 Thus in a moment fortune, kingdoms, lands,
 Once more were Cæsar’s.

But on his return
 When daylight came, he entered not the camp
 Silent as when he parted ; for his friends
 Soon pressed around him, and with weeping eyes
 In accents welcome to his ears began : 780
 ‘ Whither in reckless daring hast thou gone,
 ‘ Unpitying Cæsar ? Were these humble lives
 ‘ Left here unguarded while thy limbs were given,
 ‘ Unsought for, to be scattered by the storm ?
 ‘ When on thy breath so many nations hang
 ‘ For life and safety, and so great a world
 ‘ Calls thee its master, to have courted death
 ‘ Proves want of heart. Was none of all thy friends
 ‘ Deserving held to join his fate with thine ?
 ‘ When thou wast tossed upon the raging deep 790
 ‘ We lay in slumber ! Shame upon such sleep !
 ‘ And why thyself didst seek Italia’s shores ?
 ‘ ’Twere cruel (such thy thought) to speak the word
 ‘ That bade another dare the furious sea.
 ‘ All men must bear what chance or fate may bring,
 ‘ The sudden peril and the stroke of death ;
 ‘ But shall the ruler of the world attempt
 ‘ The raging ocean ? With incessant prayers
 ‘ Why weary heaven ? is it indeed enough
 ‘ To crown the war, that Fortune and the deep 800
 ‘ Have cast thee on our shores ? And would’st thou use

'The grace of favouring deities, to gain
 'Not lordship, not the empire of the world,
 'But lucky shipwreck!' Night dispersed, and soon
 The sun beamed on them, and the wearied deep,
 The winds permitting, lulled its waves to rest.
 And when Antonius saw a breeze arise
 Fresh from a cloudless heaven, to break the sea,
 He loosed his ships which, by the pilots' hands
 And by the wind in equal order held, 810
 Swept as a marching host across the main.
 But night unfriendly from the seamen snatched
 All governance of sail, parting the ships
 In divers paths asunder. Like as cranes
 Deserting frozen Strymon for the streams
 Of Nile, when winter falls, in casual lines
 Of wedge-like figures ¹ first ascend the sky ;
 But when in loftier heaven the southern breeze
 Strikes on their pinions tense, in loose array
 Dispersed at large, in flight irregular, 820
 'They wing their journey onwards. Stronger winds
 With day returning blew the navy on,
 Past Lissus' shelter which they vainly sought,
 Till bare to northern blasts, Nymphæum's port,
 But safe in southern, gave the fleet repose,
 For favouring winds came on.

When Magnus knew
 That Cæsar's troops were gathered in their strength
 And that the war for quick decision called
 Before his camp, Cornelia he resolved
 To send to Lesbos' shore, from rage of fight 830
 Safe and apart : so lifting from his soul
 The weight that burdened it. Thus, lawful Love,
 Thus art thou tyrant o'er the mightiest mind!

¹ Compare 'Paradise Lost,' VII., 425.

His spouse was the one cause why Magnus stayed
 Nor met his fortunes, though he staked the world
 And all the destinies of Rome. The word
 He speaks not though resolved; so sweet it seemed,
 When on the future pondering, to gain
 A pause from Fate! But at the close of night,
 When drowsy sleep had fled, Cornelia sought 840
 To soothe the anxious bosom of her lord
 And win his kisses. Then amazed she saw
 His cheek was tearful, and with boding soul
 She shrank instinctive from the hidden wound,
 Nor dared to rouse him weeping. But he spake:
 'Dearer to me than life itself, when life
 'Is happy (not at moments such as these);
 'The day of sorrow comes, too long delayed,
 'Nor long enough! With Cæsar at our gates
 'With all his forces, a secure retreat 850
 'Shall Lesbos give thee. Try me not with prayers.
 'This fatal boon I have denied myself.
 'Thou wilt not long be absent from thy lord.
 'Disasters hasten, and things highest fall
 'With speediest ruin. 'Tis enough for thee
 'To hear of Magnus' peril; and thy love¹
 'Deceives thee with the thought that thou canst gaze
 'Unmoved on civil strife. It shames my soul
 'On the eve of war to slumber at thy side,
 'And rise from thy dear breast when trumpets call 860
 'A woeful world to misery and arms.
 'I fear in civil war to feel no loss
 'To Magnus. Meantime safer than a king
 'Lie hid, nor let the fortune of thy lord
 'Whelm thee with all its weight. If unkind heaven
 'Our armies rout, still let my choicest part

¹ Reading 'Teque tuus decept amor,' as preferred by Hosius.

‘Survive in thee ; if fated is my flight,
 ‘Still leave me that whereto I fain would flee.’
 Hardly at first her senses grasped the words
 In their full misery ; then her mind amazed 870
 Could scarce find utterance for the grief that pressed.
 ‘Nought, Magnus, now is left wherewith to upbraid
 ‘The gods and fates of marriage ; ’tis not death
 ‘That parts our love, nor yet the funeral pyre,
 ‘Nor that dread torch which marks the end of all.
 ‘I share the ignoble lot of vulgar lives :
 ‘My spouse rejects me. Yes, the foe is come !
 ‘Break we our bonds and Julia’s sire appease !—
 ‘Is this thy consort, Magnus, this thy faith
 ‘In her fond loving heart ? Can danger fright 880
 ‘Her and not thee ? Long since our mutual fates
 ‘Hang by one chain ; and dost thou bid me now
 ‘The thunder-bolts of ruin to withstand
 ‘Without thee ? Is it well that I should die
 ‘Even while you pray for fortune ? And suppose
 ‘I flee from evil and with death self-sought
 ‘Follow thy footsteps to the realms below—
 ‘Am I to live till to that distant isle
 ‘Some tardy rumour of thy fall may come ?
 ‘Add that thou fain by use would’st give me strength 890
 ‘To bear such sorrow and my doom. Forgive
 ‘Thy wife confessing that she fears the power.
 ‘And if my prayers shall bring the victory,
 ‘The joyful tale shall come to me the last
 ‘In that lone isle of rocks. When all are glad,
 ‘My heart shall throb with anguish, and the sail
 ‘Which brings the message I shall see with fear,
 ‘Not safe e’en then : for Cæsar in his flight
 ‘Might seize me there, abandoned and alone
 ‘To be his hostage. If thou place me there, 900

'The spouse of Magnus, shall not all the world
 'Well know the secret Mitylene holds?
 'This my last prayer: if all is lost but flight,
 'And thou shalt seek the ocean, to my shores
 'Turn not thy keel, ill-fated one: for there,
 'There will they seek thee.' Thus she spoke distraught,
 Leaped from the couch and rushed upon her fate;
 No stop nor stay: she clung not to his neck
 Nor threw her arms about him; both forego
 The last caress, the last fond pledge of love, 910
 And grief rushed in unchecked upon their souls;
 Still gazing as they part no final words
 Could either utter, and the sweet Farewell
 Remained unspoken. This the saddest day
 Of all their lives: for other woes that came
 More gently struck on hearts inured to grief.
 Borne to the shore with failing limbs she fell
 And grasped the sands, embracing, till at last
 Her maidens placed her senseless in the ship.

Not in such grief she left her country's shores 920
 When Cæsar's host drew near; for now she leaves,
 Though faithful to her lord, his side in flight
 And flees her spouse. All that next night she waked;
 Then first what means a widowed couch she knew,
 Its cold, its solitude. When slumber found
 Her eyelids, and forgetfulness her soul,
 Seeking with outstretched arms the form beloved,
 She grasps but air. Though tossed by restless love,
 She leaves a place beside her as for him
 Returning. Yet she feared Pompeius lost 930
 To her for ever. But the gods ordained
 Worse than her fears, and in the hour of woe
 Gave her to look upon his face again.

BOOK VI

THE FIGHT NEAR DYRRHACHIUM

SCÆVA'S EXPLOITS

THE WITCH OF THESSALIA

Description of Dyrrhachium, which Cæsar attempts to capture, 1-33. He builds a wall round Pompeius' camp, 34-79. Pestilence in his camp and famine in Cæsar's, 80-142. Pompeius attacks Cæsar's works, but is repulsed by Scæva, a centurion, 142-304. He breaks through at another point, 305-365. Cæsar marches into Thessaly, and is followed by Pompeius, 366-389. Description of Thessaly, 390-488. Account of the Hæmonian witches, 489-603, and of Erichtho, whom Sextus Pompeius determines to consult, 604-697. Enquiries of Sextus, and her answer, 698-741. She raises from the dead a corpse who answers her questions and dies again, 742-989.

BOOK VI

THE FIGHT NEAR DYRRHACHIUM—SCÆVA'S EXPLOITS— THE WITCH OF THESSALIA

Now that the chiefs with minds intent on fight
Had drawn their armies near upon the hills
And all the gods beheld their chosen pair,
Cæsar, the Grecian towns despising, scorned
To reap the glory of successful war
Save at his kinsman's cost. In all his prayers
He seeks that moment, fatal to the world,
When shall be cast the die, to win or lose,
And all his fortune hang upon the throw.
Thrice he drew out his troops, his eagles thrice, 10
Demanding battle; thus to increase the woe
Of Latium, prompt as ever: but his foes,
Proof against every art, refused to leave
The rampart of their camp. Then marching swift
By hidden path between the wooded fields
He seeks, and hopes to seize, Dyrrhachium's¹ fort;
But Magnus, speeding by the ocean marge,
First camped on Petra's slopes, a rocky hill
Thus by the natives named. From thence he keeps

¹ Dyrrhachium (or Epidamnus) was a Corcyræan colony, but its founder was of Corinth, the metropolis of Corcyra. It stood some sixty miles north of the Ceraunian promontory (Book V., 747). About the year 1100 it was stormed and taken by Robert the Guiscard, after furious battles with the troops of the Emperor Alexius. Its modern name is Durazzo.

It may be observed that, according to Cæsar's account, he succeeded in getting between Pompey and Dyrrhachium, B.C. 3, 41, 42.

Watch o'er the fortress of Corinthian birth 20
 Which by its towers alone without a guard
 Was safe against a siege. No hand of man
 In ancient days built up her lofty wall,
 No hammer rang upon her massive stones :
 Not all the works of war, nor Time himself
 Shall undermine her. Nature's hand has raised
 Her adamantine rocks and hedged her in
 With bulwarks girded by the foamy main :
 And but for one short bridge of narrow earth
 Dyrrhachium were an island. Steep and fierce, 30
 Dreaded of sailors, are the cliffs that bear
 Her walls ; and tempests, howling from the west,
 Toss up the raging main upon the roofs ;
 And homes and temples tremble at the shock.
 Thirsting for battle and with hopes inflamed
 Here Cæsar hastes, with distant rampart lines
 Seeking unseen to coop his foe within,
 Though spread in spacious camp upon the hills.
 With eagle eye he measures out the land
 Meet to be compassed, nor content with turf 40
 Fit for a hasty mound, he bids his troops
 Tear from the quarries many a giant rock :
 And spoils the dwellings of the Greeks, and drags
 Their walls asunder for his own. Thus rose
 A mighty barrier which no ram could burst
 Nor any ponderous machine of war.
 Mountains are cleft, and level through the hills
 The work of Cæsar strides : wide yawns the moat,
 Forts show their towers rising on the heights,
 And in vast circle forests are enclosed 50
 And groves and spacious lands, and beasts of prey,
 As in a line of toils. Pompeius lacked
 Nor field nor forage in th' encircled span

Nor room to move his camp ; nay, rivers rose
 Within, and ran their course and reached the sea ;
 And Cæsar wearied ere he saw the whole,
 And daylight failed him. Let the ancient tale
 Attribute to the labours of the gods
 The walls of Ilium : let the fragile bricks
 Which compass in great Babylon, amaze 60
 The fleeting Parthian. Here a larger space
 Than those great cities which Orontes swift
 And Tigris' stream enclose, or that which boasts
 In Eastern climes, the lordly palaces
 Fit for Assyria's kings, is closed by walls
 Amid the haste and tumult of a war
 Forced to completion. Yet this labour huge
 Was spent in vain. So many hands had joined
 Or Sestos with Abydos, or had tamed
 With mighty mole the Hellespontine wave, 70
 Or Corinth from the realm of Pelops' king
 Had rent asunder, or had spared each ship
 Her voyage round the long Malean cape,
 Or had done anything most hard, to change
 The world's created surface. Here the war
 Was prisoned : blood predestinate to flow
 In all the parts of earth ; the host foredoomed
 To fall in Libya or in Thessaly
 Was here : in such small amphitheatre
 The tide of civil passion rose and fell. 80

At first Pompeius knew not : so the hind
 Who peaceful tills the mid-Sicilian fields
 Hears not Pelorous¹ sounding to the storm ;
 So billows thunder on Rutupian shores,²
 Unheard by distant Caledonia's tribes.
 But when he saw the mighty barrier stretch

¹ C. del Faro, the N.E. point of Sicily.

² The shores of Kent.

O'er hill and valley, and enclose the land,
 He bade his columns leave their rocky hold
 And seize on posts of vantage in the plain ;
 Thus forcing Cæsar to extend his troops 90
 On wider lines ; and holding for his own
 Such space encompassed as divides from Rome
 Aricia,¹ sacred to that goddess chaste
 Of old Mycenæ ; or as Tiber holds
 From Rome's high ramparts to the Tuscan sea,
 Unless he deviate. No bugle call
 Commands an onset, and the darts that fly
 Fly though forbidden ; but the arm that flings
 For proof the lance, at random, here and there
 Deals impious slaughter. Weighty care compelled 100
 Each leader to withhold his troops from fight ;
 For there the weary earth of produce failed
 Pressed by Pompeius' steeds, whose horny hoofs
 Rang in their gallop on the grassy fields
 And killed the succulence. They strengthless lay
 Upon the mown expanse, nor pile of straw,
 Brought from full barns in place of living grass,
 Relieved their craving ; shook their panting flanks,
 And as they wheeled Death struck his victim down.
 Then foul contagion filled the murky air 110
 Whose poisonous weight pressed on them in a cloud
 Pestiferous ; as in Nesis' isle² the breath
 Of Styx rolls upwards from the mist-clad rocks ;
 Or that fell vapour which the caves exhale
 From Typhon³ raging in the depths below.

¹ Aricia was situated on the Via Appia, about sixteen miles from Rome. There was a temple of Diana close to it, among some woods on a small lake. Aricia was Horace's first halting place on his journey to Brundisium ('Satires,' i. 5). As to Diana, see Book I., line 501.

² An island in the Bay of Puteoli.

³ Typhon, the hundred-headed giant, was buried under Mount Etna.

Then died the soldiers, for the streams they drank
Held yet more poison than the air: the skin
Was dark and rigid, and the fiery plague
Made hard their vitals, and with pitiless tooth
Gnawed at their wasted features, while their eyes 120
Started from out their sockets, and the head
Drooped for sheer weariness. So the disease
Grew swifter in its strides till scarce was room,
'Twi'x life and death, for sickness, and the pest
Slew as it struck its victim, and the dead
Thrust from the tents (such all their burial) lay
Blent with the living. Yet their camp was pitched
Hard by the breezy sea by which might come
All nations' harvests, and the northern wind
Not seldom rolled the murky air away. 130
Their foe, not vexed with pestilential air
Nor stagnant waters, ample range enjoyed
Upon the spacious uplands: yet as though
In leaguer, famine seized them for its prey.
Scarce were the crops half grown when Cæsar saw
How prone they seized upon the food of beasts,
And stripped of leaves the bushes and the groves,
And dragged from roots unknown the doubtful herb.
Thus ate they, starving, all that teeth may bite
Or fire might soften, or might pass their throats 140
Dry, parched, abraded; food unknown before
Nor placed on tables: while the leaguered foe
Was blessed with plenty.

When Pompeius first
Was pleased to break his bonds and be at large,
No sudden dash he makes on sleeping foe
Unarmed in shade of night; his mighty soul
Scorns such a path to victory. 'Twas his aim,
To lay the turrets low; to mark his track,

By ruin spread afar ; and with the sword
 To hew a path between his slaughtered foes. 150
 Minucius' ¹ turret was the chosen spot
 Where groves of trees and thickets gave approach
 Safe, unbetrayed by dust.

Up from the fields

Flashed all at once his eagles into sight
 And all his trumpets blared. But ere the sword
 Could win the battle, on the hostile ranks
 Dread panic fell ; prone as in death they lay
 Where else upright they should withstand the foe ;
 Nor more availed their valour, and in vain
 The cloud of weapons flew, with none to slay. 160
 Then blazing torches rolling pitchy flame
 Are hurled, and shaken nod the lofty towers
 And threaten ruin, and the bastions groan
 Struck by the frequent engine, and the troops
 Of Magnus by triumphant eagles led
 Stride o'er the rampart, in their front the world.

Yet now that passage which not Cæsar's self
 Nor thousand valiant squadrons had availed
 To rescue from their grasp, one man in arms
 Steadfast till death refused them ; Scæva named 170
 This hero soldier : long he served in fight
 Waged 'gainst the savage on the banks of Rhone ;
 And now centurion made, through deeds of blood,
 He bore the staff ² before the marshalled line.
 Prone to all wickedness, he little recked
 How valourous deeds in civil war may be
 Greatest of crimes ; and when he saw how turned
 His comrades from the war and sought in flight
 A refuge, ' Whence,' he cried, ' this impious fear

¹ This was Scæva's name.

² The vinewood staff was the badge of the centurion's office.

' Unknown to Cæsar's armies? Do ye turn 180
 ' Your backs on death, and are ye not ashamed
 ' Not to be found where slaughtered heroes lie?
 ' Is loyalty too weak? Yet love of fight
 ' Might bid you stand. We are the chosen few
 ' Through whom the foe would break. Unbought by blood
 ' This day shall not be theirs. 'Neath Cæsar's eye,
 ' True, death would be more happy; but this boon
 ' Fortune denies: at least my fall shall be
 ' Praised by Pompeius. Break ye with your breasts
 ' Their weapons; blunt the edges of their swords 190
 ' With throats unyielding. In the distant lines
 ' The dust is seen already, and the sound
 ' Of tumult and of ruin finds the ear
 ' Of Cæsar: strike; the victory is ours:
 ' For he shall come who while his soldiers die
 ' Shall make the fortress his.' His voice called forth
 The courage that the trumpets failed to rouse
 When first they rang: his comrades mustering come
 To watch his deeds; and, wondering at the man,
 To test if valour thus by foes oppressed, 200
 In narrow space, could hope for aught but death.
 But Scæva standing on the tottering bank
 Heaves from the brimming turret on the foe
 The corpses of the fallen; the ruined mass
 Furnishing weapons to his hands; with beams,
 And ponderous stones, nay, with his body threats
 His enemies; with poles and stakes he thrusts
 The breasts advancing; when they grasp the wall
 He lops the arm: rocks crush the foeman's skull
 And rive the scalp asunder: fiery bolts 210
 Dashed at another set his hair aflame,
 Till rolls the greedy blaze about his eyes
 With hideous crackle. As the pile of slain

Rose to the summit of the wall he sprang,
Swift as across the nets a hunted pard,
Above the swords upraised, till in mid throng
Of foes he stood, hemmed in by densest ranks
And ramparted by war; in front and rear,
Where'er he struck, the victor. Now his sword
Blunted with gore congealed no more could wound, 220
But brake the stricken limb; while every hand
Flung every quivering dart at him alone;
Nor missed their aim, for rang against his shield
Dart after dart unerring, and his helm
In broken fragments pressed upon his brow;
His vital parts were safeguarded by spears
That bristled in his body. Fortune saw
Thus waged a novel combat, for there warred
Against one man an army. Why with darts,
Madmen, assail him and with slender shafts, 230
'Gainst which his life is proof? Or ponderous stones
This warrior chief shall overwhelm, or bolts
Flung by the twisted thongs of mighty slings.
Let steelshod ram or catapult remove
This champion of the gate. No fragile wall
Stands here for Cæsar, blocking with its bulk
Pompeius' way to freedom. Now he trusts
His shield no more, lest his sinister hand,
Idle, give life by shame; and on his breast
Bearing a forest of spears, though spent with toil 240
And worn with onset, falls upon his foe
And braves alone the wounds of all the war.
Thus may an elephant in Afric wastes,
Oppressed by frequent darts, break those that fall
Rebounding from his horny hide, and shake
Those that find lodgment, while his life within
Lies safe, protected, nor doth spear avail

To reach the fount of blood. Unnumbered wounds
 By arrow dealt, or lance, thus fail to slay
 This single warrior. But lo! from far 250
 A Cretan archer's shaft, more sure of aim
 Than vows could hope for, strikes on Scæva's brow
 To light within his eye: the hero tugs
 Intrepid, bursts the nerves, and tears the shaft
 Forth with the eyeball, and with dauntless heel
 Treads them to dust. Not otherwise a bear
 Pannonian, fiercer for the wound received,
 Maddened by dart from Libyan thong propelled,
 Turns circling on her wound, and still pursues
 The weapon fleeing as she whirls around. 260
 Thus, in his rage destroyed, his shapeless face
 Stood foul with crimson flow. The victors' shout
 Glad to the sky arose; no greater joy
 A little blood could give them had they seen
 That Cæsar's self was wounded. Down he pressed
 Deep in his soul the anguish, and, with mien,
 No longer bent on fight, submissive cried,
 'Spare me, ye citizens; remove the war
 'Far hence: no weapons now can haste my death;
 'Draw from my breast the darts, but add no more. 270
 'Yet raise me up to place me in the camp
 'Of Magnus, living: this your gift to him;
 'No brave man's death my title to renown,
 'But Cæsar's flag deserted.' So he spake.
 Unhappy Aulus thought his words were true,
 Nor saw within his hand the pointed sword;
 And leaping forth in haste to make his own
 The prisoner and his arms, in middle throat
 Received the lightning blade. By this one death
 Rose Scæva's valour again; and thus he cried, 280
 'Such be the punishment of all who thought

' Great Scæva vanquished ; if Pompeius seeks
 ' Peace from this reeking sword, low let him lay
 ' At Cæsar's feet his standards. Me do ye think
 ' Such as yourselves, and slow to meet the fates ?
 ' Your love for Magnus and the Senate's cause
 ' Is less than mine for death.' These were his words ;
 And dust in columns proved that Cæsar came.
 Thus was Pompeius' glory spared the stain
 Of flight compelled by Scæva. He, when ceased 290
 The battle, fell, no more by rage of fight,
 Or sight of blood out-pouring from his wounds,
 Roused to the combat. Fainting there he lay
 Upon the shoulders of his comrades borne,
 Who him adoring (as though deity
 Dwelt in his bosom) for his matchless deeds,
 Plucked forth the gory shafts and took his arms
 To deck the gods and shield the breast of Mars.
 Thrice happy thou with such a name achieved,
 Had but the fierce Iberian from thy sword, 300
 Or heavy shielded Teuton, or had fled
 The light Cantabrian : with no spoils shalt thou
 Adorn the Thunderer's temple, nor upraise
 The shout of triumph in the ways of Rome.
 For all thy prowess, all thy deeds of-pride
 Do but prepare her lord.

Nor on this hand
 Repulsed, Pompeius idly ceased from war,
 Content within his bars ; but as the sea
 Tireless, which tempests force upon the crag
 That breaks it, or which gnaws a mountain side 310
 Some day to fall in ruin on itself ;
 He sought the turrets nearest to the main,
 On double onset bent ; nor closely kept
 His troops in hand, but on the spacious plain

Spread forth his camp. They joyful leave the tents
And wander at their will. Thus Padus flows
In brimming flood, and foaming at his bounds,
Making whole districts quake ; and should the bank
Fail 'neath his swollen waters, all his stream
Breaks forth in swirling eddies over fields 320
Not his before ; some lands are lost, the rest
Gain from his bounty.

Hardly from his tower
Had Cæsar seen the fire or known the fight :
And coming found the rampart overthrown,
The dust no longer stirred, the ruins cold
As from a battle done. The peace that reigned
There and on Magnus' side, as though men slept,
Their victory won, aroused his angry soul.
Quick he prepares, so that he end their joy
Careless of slaughter or defeat, to rush 330
With threatening columns on Torquatus' post.
But swift as sailor, by his trembling mast
Warned of Circean tempest, furls his sails,
So swift Torquatus saw, and prompt to wage
The war more closely, he withdrew his men
Within a narrower wall.

Now past the trench
Were Cæsar's companies, when from the hills
Pompeius hurled his host upon their ranks
Shut in, and hampered. Not so much o'erwhelmed
As Cæsar's soldiers is the hind who dwells 340
On Etna's slopes, when blows the southern wind,
And all the mountain pours its cauldrons forth
Upon the vale ; and huge Enceladus¹
Writhing beneath his load spouts o'er the plains
A blazing torrent.

¹ This giant, like Typhon, was buried under Mount Etna.

Blinded by the dust,
 Encircled, vanquished, ere the fight, they fled
 In cloud of terror on their rearward foe,
 So rushing on their fates. Thus had the war
 Shed its last drop of blood and peace ensued,
 But Magnus suffered not, and held his troops 350
 Back from the battle.

Thou, oh Rome, had'st been
 Free, happy, mistress of thy laws and rights
 Were Sulla here. Now shalt thou ever grieve
 That in his crowning crime, to have met in fight
 A pious kinsman, Cæsar's vantage lay.
 Oh tragic destiny! Nor Munda's fight
 Hispania had wept, nor Libya mourned
 Encrimsoned Utica, nor Nilus' stream,
 With blood unspeakable polluted, borne
 A nobler corse than her Egyptian kings: 360
 Nor Juba¹ lain unburied on the sands,
 Nor Scipio with his blood outpoured appeased
 The ghosts of Carthage; nor the blameless life
 Of Cato ended: and Pharsalia's name
 Had then been blotted from the book of fate.

But Cæsar left the region where his arms
 Had found the deities averse, and marched
 His shattered columns to Thessalian lands.
 Then to Pompeius came (whose mind was bent
 To follow Cæsar wheresoe'er he fled) 370
 His captains, striving to persuade their chief
 To seek Ausonia, his native land,
 Now freed from foes. 'Ne'er will I pass,' he said,
 'My country's limit, nor revisit Rome

¹ Juba and Petreius killed each other after the battle of Thapsus to avoid falling into Cæsar's hands. See Book IV., line 5.

' Like Cæsar, at the head of banded hosts.
 ' Hesperia when the war began was mine ;
 ' Mine, had I chosen in our country's shrines,¹
 ' In midmost forum of her capital,
 ' To join the battle. So that banished far
 ' Be war from Rome, I'll cross the torrid zone 380
 ' Or those for ever frozen Scythian shores.
 ' What ! shall my victory rob thee of the peace
 ' I gave thee by my flight ? Rather than thou
 ' Should'st feel the evils of this impious war,
 ' Let Cæsar deem thee his.' Thus said, his course
 He turned towards the rising of the sun,
 And following devious paths, through forests wide,
 Made for Emathia, the land by fate
 Foredoomed to see the issue.

Thessalia on that side where Titan first 390
 Raises the wintry day, by Ossa's rocks
 Is prisoned in : but in th' advancing year
 When higher in the vault his chariot rides
 'Tis Pelion that meets the morning rays.
 And when beside the Lion's flames he drives
 The middle course, Othrys with woody top
 Screens his chief ardour. On the hither side
 Pindus receives the breezes of the west.
 And as the evening falls brings darkness in.
 There too Olympus, at whose foot who dwells 400
 Nor fears the north nor sees the shining bear.
 Between these mountains hemmed, in ancient time
 The fields were marsh, for Tempe's pass not yet
 Was cleft, to give an exit to the streams

¹ So Cicero : ' Shall I, who have been called saviour of the city and father of my country, bring into it an army of Getæ Armenians and Colchians ? ' (' Ep. ad Atticum,' ix., 10.)

That filled the plain : but when Alcides' hand
 Smote Ossa from Olympus at a blow,¹
 And Nereus wondered at the sudden flood
 Of waters to the main, then on the shore
 (Would it had slept for ever 'neath the deep)
 Seaborn Achilles' home Pharsalus rose ; 410
 And Phylacé² whence sailed that ship of old
 Whose keel first touched upon the beach of Troy ;
 And Dorion mournful for the Muses' ire
 On Thamyris³ vanquished : Trachis ; Melibé
 Strong in the shafts⁴ of Hercules, the price
 Of that most awful torch ; Larissa's hold
 Potent of yore ; and Argos,⁵ famous erst,
 O'er which men pass the ploughshare : and the spot
 Fabled as Echionian Thebes,⁶ where once
 Agavé bore in exile to the pyre 420
 (Grieving 'twas all she had) the head and neck
 Of Pentheus massacred. The lake set free
 Flowed forth in many rivers : to the west
 Æas,⁷ a gentle stream ; nor stronger flows
 The sire of Isis ravished from his arms ;

¹ See Book VIII., line 3.

² Protesilaus, from this place, first landed at Troy.

³ Thamyris challenged the Muses to a musical contest, and being vanquished, was by them deprived of sight.

⁴ The arrows given to Philoctetes by Hercules as a reward for kindling his funeral pyre.

⁵ This is the Pelasgic, not the historical, Argos.

⁶ Book I., line 632 ; Book VII., line 904. Agave was a daughter of Cadmus, and mother of Pentheus, king of the Bœotian Thebes. He was opposed to the mysterious worship of Dionysus, which his mother celebrated, and which he had watched from a tree. She tore him to pieces, being urged into a frenzy and mistaking him for a wild beast. She then retired to another Thebes, in Phthiotis, in triumph, with his head and shoulders. By another legend she did not leave the Bœotian Thebes. (See Grote, vol. i., p. 220. Edit. 1862.)

⁷ Æas was a river flowing from the boundary of Thessaly through Epirus to the Ionian Sea. The sire of Isis, or Io, was Inachus ; but the river of that name is usually placed in the Argive territory.

And Achelous, rival for the hand
 Of Æneus' daughter, rolls his earthy flood¹
 To silt the shore beside the neighbouring isles.
 Evenus² purpled by the Centaur's blood
 Wanders through Calydon : in the Malian Gulf 430
 Thy rapids fall, Spercheius : pure the wave
 With which Amphrysos³ irrigates the meads
 Where once Apollo served : Anaurus⁴ flows
 Breathing no vapour forth ; no humid air
 Ripples his face : and whatever stream,
 Nameless itself, to Ocean gives its waves
 Through thee, Penæus :⁵ whirled in eddies foams
 Apidanus ; Enipeus lingers on
 Swift only when fresh streams his volume swell :
 And thus Asopus takes his ordered course, 440
 Phoenix and Melas ; but Eurotas keeps
 His stream aloof from that with which he flows,

¹ A river rising in Mount Pindus and flowing into the Ionian Sea nearly opposite to Ithaca. At its mouth the sea has been largely silted up.

² The god of this river fought with Hercules for the hand of Deianira. After Hercules had been married to Deianira, and when they were on a journey, they came to the River Evenus. Here Nessus, a Centaur, acted as ferryman, and Hercules bade him carry Deianira across. In doing so he insulted her, and Hercules shot him with an arrow.

³ Admetus was King of Pheræ in Thessaly, and sued for Alcestis, the daughter of Pelias, who promised her to him if he should come in a chariot drawn by lions and boars. With the assistance of Apollo, Admetus performed this. Apollo, for the slaughter of the Cyclops, was condemned to serve a mortal, and accordingly he tended the flocks of Admetus for nine years. The River Amphrysos is marked as flowing into the Pagasæan Gulf at a short distance below Pheræ.

⁴ Anaurus was a small river passing into the Pagasæan Gulf past Iolcos. In this river Jason is said to have lost one of his slippers.

⁵ The River Peneus flowed into the sea through the pass of Tempe, cloven by Hercules between Olympus and Ossa (see line 406) ; and carried with it Asopus, Phoenix, Melas, Enipeus, Apidanus, and Titaresus (or Enrotas). The Styx is generally placed in Arcadia, but Lucan says that Enrotas rises from the Stygian pools, and that, mindful of this mysterious source, he refuses to mingle his streams with that of Penens, in order that the gods may still fear to break an oath sworn upon his waters.

Penſus, gliding on his top as though
 Upon the channel. Fable ſays that, ſprung
 From darkeſt pools of Styx, with common floods
 He ſcorns to mingle, mindful of his ſource,
 So that the gods above may fear him ſtill.

Soon as were ſped the rivers, Bœbian ploughs
 Dark with its riches broke the virgin ſoil ;
 Then came Lelegians to preſs the ſhare, 450
 And Dolopes and ſons of Cœolus
 By whom the glebe was furrowed. Steed-renowned
 Magnetians dwelt there, and the Minyan race
 Who ſmote the ſounding billows with the oar.
 There in the cavern from the pregnant cloud
 Ixion's ſons found birth, the Centaur brood
 Half beaſt, half human : Monychus who broke
 The ſtubborn rocks of Pholoe, Rhœtus fierce
 Hurling from Cœta's top gigantic elms
 Which northern ſtorms could hardly overturn ; 460
 Pholus, Alcides' hoſt : Neſſus who bore
 The Queen acroſs Evenus' ¹ waves, to feel
 The deadly arrow for his ſhameful deed ;
 And aged Chiron ² who with wintry ſtar
 Againſt the huger Scorpion draws his bow.
 Here ſparkled on the land the warrior ſeed ; ³
 Here leaped the charger from Theſſalian rocks ⁴

¹ See on line 429.

² Chiron, the aged Centaur, instructor of Peleus, Achilles, and others. He was killed by one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules, but placed by Zeus among the ſtars as the Archer, from which poſition he appears to be aiming at the Scorpion. His conſtellation appears in winter.

³ The teeth of the dragon ſlain by Cadmus ; though this took place in Bœotia.

⁴ Poſeidon and Athena diſputed as to which of them ſhould name the capital of Attica. The gods gave the reward to that one of them who ſhould produce the thing moſt uſeful to man ; whereupon Athena produced an olive tree, and Poſeidon a horſe. Homer alſo places the ſcene of this event in Theſſaly. ('Iliad,' xxiii., 247.)

Struck by the trident of the Ocean King,
 Omen of dreadful war ; here first he learned,
 Champing the bit and foaming at the curb, 470
 Yet to obey his lord. From yonder shore
 The keel of pine first floated,¹ and bore men
 To dare the perilous chance of seas unknown :
 And here Ionus ruler of the land
 First from the furnace molten masses drew
 Of iron and brass ; here first the hammer fell
 To weld them, shapeless ; here in glowing stream
 Ran silver forth and gold, soon to receive
 The minting stamp. 'Twas thus that money came
 Whereby men count their riches, cause accursed 480
 Of warfare. Hence came down that Python huge
 On Cirrha : hence the laurel wreath which crowns
 The Pythian victor : here Aloeus' sons
 Gigantic rose against the gods, what time
 Pelion had almost touched the stars supreme,
 And Ossa's loftier peak amid the sky
 Opposing, barred the constellations' way.

When in this fated land the chiefs had placed
 Their several camps, foreboding of the end
 Now fast approaching, all men's thoughts were turned 490
 Upon the final issue of the war.
 And as the hour drew near, the coward minds
 Trembling beneath the shadow of the fate
 Now hanging o'er them, deemed disaster near :
 While some took heart ; yet doubted what might fall,
 In hope and fear alternate. 'Mid the throng
 Sextus, unworthy son of worthy ~~sire~~ Pompey
 Who seen upon the waves that Scylla guards,²
 Sicilian pirate, exile from his home,
 Stained by his deeds of shame the fights he won, 500

¹ The Argo. Conf. Book III., 223.

² See Book VII., 1022.

Could bear delay no more ; his feeble soul,
 Sick of uncertain fate, by fear compelled,
 Forecast the future : yet consulted not
 The shrine of Delos nor the Pythian caves ;
 Nor was he satisfied to learn the sound
 Of Jove's brass cauldron, 'mid Dodona's oaks,
 By her primæval fruits the nurse of men :
 Nor sought he sages who by flight of birds,
 Or watching with Assyrian care the stars
 And fires of heaven, or by victims slain, 510
 May know the fates to come ; nor any source
 Lawful though secret. For to him was known
 That which excites the hate of gods above ;
 Magicians' lore, the savage creed of Dis
 And all the shades ; and sad with gloomy rites
 Mysterious altars. For his frenzied soul
 Heaven knew too little. And the spot itself
 Kindled his madness, for hard by there dwelt
 The brood of Hæmon¹ whom no storied witch
 Of fiction e'er transcended ; all their art 520
 In things most strange and most incredible ;
 There were Thessalian rocks with deadly herbs
 Thick planted, sensible to magic chants,
 Funereal, secret : and the land was full
 Of violence to the gods : the Queenly guest²
 From Colchis gathered here the fatal roots
 That were not in her store : hence vain to heaven
 Rise impious incantations, all unheard ;
 For deaf the ears divine : save for one voice
 Which penetrates the furthest depths of air 530
 Compelling e'en th' unwilling deities

¹ Son of Pelasgus. From him was derived the ancient name of Thessaly, Hæmonia.

² Medea.

To hearken to its accents. Not the care
 Of the revolving sky or starry pole
 Can call them from it ever. Once the sound
 Of those dread tones unspeakable has reached
 The constellations, then nor Babylon
 Nor secret Memphis, though they open wide
 The shrines of ancient magic and entreat
 The gods, could draw them from the fires that smoke
 Upon the altars of far Thessaly. 540

To hearts of flint those incantations bring
 Love, strange, unnatural; the old man's breast
 Burns with illicit fire. Nor lies the power
 In harmful cup nor in the juicy pledge
 Of love maternal from the forehead drawn; ¹
 Charmed forth by spells alone the mind decays,
 By poisonous drugs unharmed. With woven threads
 Crossed in mysterious fashion do they bind
 Those whom no passion born of beauteous form
 Or loving couch unites. All things on earth 550
 Change at their bidding; night usurps the day;
 The heavens disobey their wonted laws;
 At that dread hymn the Universe stands still;
 And Jove while urging the revolving wheels
 Wonders they move not. Torrents are outpoured
 Beneath a burning sun; and thunder roars
 Uncaus'd by Jupiter. From their flowing locks
 Vapours immense shall issue at their call;
 When falls the tempest seas shall rise and foam ²
 Moved by their spell; though powerless the breeze 560

¹ It was supposed that there was on the forehead of the new-born foal an excrescence, which was bitten off and eaten by the mother. If she did not do this she had no affection for the foal. (Virgil, 'Æneid,' iv., 515.)

² 'When the boisterous sea,

Without a breath of wind, hath knocked the sky.'

Ben Jonson's 'Masque of Queens.'

To raise the billows. Ships against the wind
 With bellying sails move onward. From the rock
 Hangs motionless the torrent : rivers run
 Uphill ; the summer heat no longer swells
 Nile in his course ; Mæander's stream is straight ;
 Slow Rhone is quickened by the rush of Saone ;
 Hills dip their heads and topple to the plain ;
 Olympus sees his clouds drift overhead ;
 And sunless Scythia's sempiternal snows
 Melt in mid-winter ; the inflowing tides 570
 Driven onward by the moon, at that dread chant
 Ebb from their course ; earth's axes, else unmoved,
 Have trembled, and the force centripetal
 Has tottered, and the earth's compacted frame
 Struck by their voice has gaped,¹ till through the void
 Men saw the moving sky. All beasts most fierce
 And savage fear them, yet with deadly aid
 Furnish the witches' arts. Tigers athirst
 For blood, and noble lions on them fawn
 With bland caresses : serpents at their word 580
 Uncoil their circles, and extended glide
 Along the surface of the frosty field ;
 The viper's severed body joins anew ;
 And dies the snake by human venom slain.

Whence comes this labour on the gods, compelled
 To hearken to the magic chant and spells,
 Nor daring to despise them ? Doth some bond
 Control the deities ? Is their pleasure so,
 Or must they listen ? and have silent threats
 Prevailed, or piety unseen received 590
 So great a guerdon ? Against all the gods
 Is this their influence, or on one alone

¹ The sky was supposed to move round, but to be restrained in its course by the planets. (See Book X., line 244.)

Who to his will constrains the universe,
 Himself constrained? Stars most in yonder clime
 Shoot headlong from the zenith; and the moon
 Gliding serene upon her nightly course
 Is shorn of lustre by their poisonous chant,
 Dimmed by dark earthly fires, as though our orb
 Shadowed her brother's radiance and barred
 The light bestowed by heaven; nor freshly shines 600 ✓
 Until descending nearer to the earth
 She sheds her baneful drops upon the mead.

These sinful rites and these her sister's songs
 Abhorred Erichtho, fiercest of the race,
 Spurned for their piety, and yet viler art
 Practised in novel form. To her no home
 Beneath a sheltering roof—her direful head
 Thus to lay down were crime: deserted tombs
 Her dwelling-place, from which, darling of hell,
 She dragged the dead. Nor life nor gods forbad 610
 But that she knew the secret homes of Styx
 And learned to hear the whispered voice of ghosts
 At dread mysterious meetings.¹ Never sun
 Shed his pure light upon that haggard cheek
 Pale with the pallor of the shades, nor looked
 Upon those locks unkempt that crowned her brow.
 In starless nights of tempest crept the hag
 Out from her tomb to seize the levin bolt;
 Treading the harvest with accursed foot
 She burned the fruitful growth, and with her breath 620
 Poisoned the air else pure. No prayer she breathed
 Nor supplication to the gods for help

¹ 'Coetus audire silentum.' To be present at the meetings of the dead and hear their voices. So, in the sixth Æneid, the dead Greek warriors in feeble tones endeavour to express their fright at the appearance of the Trojan hero (lines 492, 493).

Nor knew the pulse of entrails as do men
 Who worship. Funeral pyres she loves to light
 And snatch the incense from the flaming tomb.
 The gods at her first utterance grant her prayer
 For things unlawful, lest they hear again
 Its fearful accents: men whose limbs were quick
 With vital power she thrust within the grave
 Despite the fates who owed them years to come: 630
 The funeral reversed brought from the tomb
 Those who were dead no longer; and the pyre
 Yields to her shameless clutch still smoking dust
 And bones enkindled, and the torch which held
 Some grieving sire but now, with fragments mixed
 In sable smoke and ceremental cloths
 Singed with the redolent fire that burned the dead.
 But those who lie within a stony cell
 Untouched by fire, whose dried and mummied frames
 No longer know corruption, limb by limb 640
 Venting her rage she tears, the bloodless eyes
 Drags from their cavities, and mauls the nail
 Upon the withered hand: she gnaws the noose
 By which some wretch has died, and from the tree
 Drags down a pendent corpse, its members torn
 Asunder to the winds: forth from the palms
 Wrenches the iron, and from the unbending bond
 Hangs by her teeth, and with her hands collects
 The slimy gore which drips upon the limbs.

Where lay a corpse upon the naked earth 650
 On ravening birds and beasts of prey the hag
 Kept watch, nor marred by knife or hand her spoil,
 Till on his victim seized some nightly wolf;¹

¹ 'As if that piece were sweeter which the wolf had bitten.' Note to 'The Masque of Queens,' in which the first hag says:

Then dragged the morsel from his thirsty fangs ;
 Nor fears she murder, if her rites demand
 Blood from the living, or some banquet fell
 Requires the panting entrail. Pregnant wombs
 Yield to her knife the infant to be placed
 On flaming altars : and whene'er she needs
 Some fierce undaunted ghost, he fails not her 660
 Who has all deaths in use. Her hand has chased
 From smiling cheeks the rosy bloom of life ;
 And with sinister hand from dying youth
 Has shorn the fatal lock : and holding oft
 In foul embraces some departed friend
 Severed the head, and through the ghastly lips,
 Held by her own apart, some impious tale
 Dark with mysterious horror hath conveyed
 Down to the Stygian shades.

When rumour brought

Her name to Sextus, in the depth of night, 670
 While Titan's chariot beneath our earth
 Wheeled on his middle course, he took his way
 Through fields deserted ; while a faithful band,
 His wonted ministers in deeds of guilt,
 Seeking the hag 'mid broken sepulchres,
 Beheld her seated on the crags afar
 Where Hæmus falls towards Pharsalia's plain.¹
 There was she proving for her gods and priests
 Words still unknown, and framing numbered chants
 Of dire and novel purpose : for she feared 680

' I have been all day, looking after
 A raven feeding on a quarter,
 And soon as she turned her beak to the south
 I snatched this morsel out of her mouth.'—Ben Jonson.

But more probably the meaning is that the wolf's bite gave the flesh magical efficacy.

¹ Confusing Pharsalia with Philippi. (See line 684.)

Lest Mars might stray into another world, sign
 And spare Thessalian soil the blood ere long
 To flow in torrents ; and she thus forbade
 Philippi's field, polluted with her song,
 Thick with her poisonous distilments sown,
 To let the war pass by. Such deaths, she hopes,
 Soon shall be hers ! the blood of all the world
 Shed for her use ! to her it shall be given
 To sever from their trunks the heads of kings,
 Plunder the ashes of the noble dead, 690
 Italia's bravest, and in triumph add
 The mightiest warriors to her host of shades.
 And now what spoils from Magnus' tombless corse
 Her hand may snatch, on which of Cæsar's limbs
 She soon may pounce, she makes her foul forecast
 And eager gloats.

To whom the coward son
 Of Magnus thus : 'Thou greatest ornament
 ' Of Hæmon's daughters, in whose power it lies
 ' Or to reveal the fates, or from its course
 ' To turn the future, be it mine to know 700
 ' By thy sure utterance to what final end
 ' Fortune now guides the issue. Not the least
 ' Of all the Roman host on yonder plain
 ' Am I, but Magnus' most illustrious son,
 ' Lord of the world or heir to death and doom.
 ' The unknown affrights me : I can firmly face
 ' The certain terror. Bid my destiny
 ' Yield to thy power the dark and hidden end,
 ' And let me fall foreknowing. From the gods
 ' Extort the truth, or, if thou spare the gods, 710
 ' Force it from hell itself. Fling back the gates
 ' That bar th' Elysian fields ; let Death confess
 ' Whom from our ranks he seeks. No humble task

‘ I bring, but worthy of Erichtho’s skill
 ‘ Of such a struggle fought for such a prize
 ‘ To search and tell the issue.’

Then the witch

Pleased that her impious fame was noised abroad
 Thus made her answer : ‘ If some lesser fates
 ‘ Thy wish had been to change, against their wish
 ‘ It had been easy to compel the gods 720
 ‘ To its accomplishment. My art has power
 ‘ When of one man the constellations press
 ‘ The speedy death, to compass a delay ;
 ‘ And mine it is, though every star decrees
 ‘ A ripe old age, by mystic herbs to shear
 ‘ The life midway. But should some purpose set
 ‘ From the beginning of the universe,
 ‘ And all the labouring fortunes of mankind,
 ‘ Be brought in question, then Thessalian art
 ‘ Bows to the power supreme. But if thou be 730
 ‘ Content to know the issue pre-ordained,
 ‘ That shall be swiftly thine ; for earth and air
 ‘ And sea and space and Rhodopæan crags
 ‘ Shall speak the future. Yet it easiest seems
 ‘ Where death in these Thessalian fields abounds
 ‘ To raise a single corpse. From dead men’s lips
 ‘ Scarce cold, in fuller accents falls the voice ;
 ‘ Not from some mummied frame in accents shrill
 ‘ Uncertain to the ear.’

Thus spake the hag

And through redoubled night, a squalid veil 740
 Swathing her pallid features, stole among
 Unburied carcasses. Fast fled the wolves,
 The carrion birds with maw unsatisfied
 Relaxed their talons, as with creeping step
 She sought her prophet. Firm must be the flesh

As yet, though cold in death, and firm the lungs
 Untouched by wound. Now in the balance hung
 The fates of slain unnumbered ; had she striven
 Armies to raise and order back to life
 Whole ranks of warriors, the laws had failed
 Of Erebus ; and, summoned up from Styx,
 Its ghostly tenants had obeyed her call,
 And rising fought once more. At length the witch
 Picks out her victim with pierced throat agape
 Fit for her purpose. Gripped by pitiless hook
 O'er rocks she drags him to the mountain cave
 Accursed by her fell rites, that shall restore
 The dead man's life.

750

Close to the hidden brink

The land that girds the precipice of hell
 Sinks towards the depths : with ever falling leaves
 A wood o'er shadows, and a spreading yew
 Casts shade impenetrable. Foul decay
 Fills all the space, and in the deep recess
 Darkness unbroken, save by chanted spells,
 Reigns ever. Not where gape the misty jaws
 Of caverned Tænarus, the gloomy bound
 Of either world, through which the nether kings
 Permit the passage of the dead to earth,
 So poisonous, mephitic, hangs the air.
 Nay, though the witch had power to call the shades
 Forth from the depths, 'twas doubtful if the cave
 Were not a part of hell. Discordant hues
 Flamed on her garb as by a fury worn ;
 Bare was her visage, and upon her brow
 Dread vipers hissed, beneath her streaming locks
 In sable coils entwined. But when she saw
 The youth's companions trembling, and himself
 With eyes cast down, with visage as of death,

760

770

Thus spake the witch : ' Forbid your craven souls
 ' These fears to cherish : soon returning life 780
 ' This frame shall quicken, and in tones which reach
 ' Even the timorous ear shall speak the man.
 ' If I have power the Stygian lakes to show,
 ' The bank that sounds with fire, the fury band,
 ' And giants fettered, and the hound that shakes
 ' Bristling with heads of snakes his triple head,
 ' What fear is this that cringes at the sight
 ' Of timid shivering shades ?'

Then to her prayer.

First through his gaping bosom blood she pours
 Still fervent, washing from his wounds the gore. 790
 Then copious poisons from the moon distils
 Mixed with all monstrous things which Nature's pangs
 Bring to untimely birth ; the froth from dogs
 Stricken with madness, foaming at the stream ;
 A lynx's entrails : and the knot that grows
 Upon the fell hyæna ; flesh of stags .
 Fed upon serpents ; and the sucking fish
 Which holds the vessel back ¹ though eastern winds
 Make bend the canvas ; dragon's eyes ; and stones
 That sound beneath the brooding eagle's wings. 800
 Nor Araby's viper, nor the ocean snake
 Who in the Red Sea waters guards the shell,
 Are wanting ; nor the slough on Libyan sands
 By hornèd reptile cast ; nor ashes fail
 Snatched from an altar where the Phœnix died.
 And viler poisons many, which herself
 Has made, she adds, whereto no name is given :
 Pestiferous leaves pregnant with magic chants
 And blades of grass which in their primal growth

¹ One of the miraculous stories to be found in Pliny's ' Natural History.' See Lecky's ' Augustus to Charlemagne,' vol. i., p. 370.

Her cursed mouth had slimed. Last came her voice 810
 More potent than all herbs to charm the gods
 Who rule in Lethe. Dissonant murmurs first
 And sounds discordant from the tongues of men
 She utters, scarce articulate : the bay
 Of wolves, and barking as of dogs, were mixed
 With that fell chant ; the screech of nightly owl
 Raising her hoarse complaint ; the howl of beast
 And sibilant hiss of snake—all these were there ;
 And more—the wail of waters on the rock,
 The sound of forests and the thunder peal. 820
 Such was her voice ; but soon in clearer tones
 Reaching to Tartarus, she raised her song :
 ‘ Ye awful goddesses, avenging power
 ‘ Of Hell upon the damned, and Chaos huge
 ‘ Who striv’st to mix innumerable worlds,
 ‘ And Pluto, king of earth, whose weary soul
 ‘ Grieves at his godhead ; Styx ; and plains of bliss
 ‘ We may not enter : and thou, Proserpine,
 ‘ Hating thy mother and the skies above,
 ‘ My patron goddess, last and lowest form ¹ 830
 ‘ Of Hecatè through whom the shades and I
 ‘ Hold silent converse ; warder of the gate
 ‘ Who castest human offal to the dog :
 ‘ Ye sisters who shall spin the threads again ; ²
 ‘ And thou, O boatman of the burning wave,
 ‘ Now wearied of the shades from hell to me
 ‘ Returning, hear me if with voice I cry
 ‘ Abhorred, polluted ; if the flesh of man
 ‘ Hath ne’er been absent from my proffered song,
 ‘ Flesh washed with brains still quivering ; if the child 840

¹ The mysterious goddess Hecate was identified with Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, and Proserpine in the lower regions. The text is doubtful.

² That is, for the second life of her victim.

' Whose severed head I placed upon the dish
 ' But for this hand had lived—a listening ear
 ' Lend to my supplication ! From the caves
 ' Hid in the innermost recess of hell
 ' I claim no soul long banished from the light.
 ' For one but now departed, lingering still
 ' Upon the brink of Orcus, is my prayer.
 ' Grant (for ye may) that listening to the spell
 ' Once more he seek his dust ; and let the shade
 ' Of this our soldier perished (if the war 850
 ' Well at your hands has merited), proclaim
 ' The destiny of Magnus to his son.'

Such prayers she uttered ; then, her foaming lips
 And head uplifting, present saw the ghost,
 Hard by he stood, beside the hated corpse
 His ancient prison, and loathed to enter in.
 There was the yawning chest where fell the blow
 That was his death ; and yet the gift supreme
 Of death, his right, (Ah, wretch !) was reft away.
 Angered at Death the witch, and at the pause 860
 Conceded by the fates, with living snake
 Scourges the moveless corse ; and on the dead
 She barks through fissures gaping to her song,
 Breaking the silence of their gloomy home :

' Tisiphone, Megæra, heed ye not ?
 ' Flies not this wretched soul before your whips
 ' The void of Erebus ? By your very names,
 ' She-dogs of hell, I'll call you to the day,
 ' Not to return ; through sepulchres and death
 ' Your gaoler : from funereal urns and tombs 870
 ' I'll chase you forth. And thou, too, Hecatè,
 ' Who to the gods in comely shape and mien,
 ' Not that of Erebus, appearst, henceforth
 ' Wasted and pallid as thou art in hell

' At my command shalt come. I'll noise abroad
 ' The banquet that beneath the solid earth
 ' Holds thee, thou maid of Enna ; by what bond
 ' Thou lov'st night's King, by what mysterious stain
 ' Infected, so that Ceres fears from hell
 ' To call her daughter. And for thee, base king, 880
 ' Titan shall pierce thy caverns with his rays
 ' And sudden day shall smite thee. Do ye hear ?
 ' Or shall I summon to mine aid that god
 ' At whose dread name earth trembles ; who can look
 ' Unflinching on the Gorgon's head, and drive
 ' The Furies with his scourge, who holds the depths
 ' Ye cannot fathom, and above whose haunts
 ' Ye dwell supernal ; who by waves of Styx
 ' Forswears himself unpunished ? '

Then the blood

Grew warm and liquid, and with softening touch 890
 Cherished the stiffened wounds and filled the veins,
 Till throbb'd once more the slow returning pulse
 And every fibre trembled, as with death
 Life was commingled. Then, not limb by limb,
 With toil and strain, but rising at a bound
 Leaped from the earth erect the living man.
 Fierce glared his eyes uncovered, and the life
 Was dim, and still upon his face remained
 The pallid hues of hardly parted death.
 Amazement seized upon him, to the earth 900
 Brought back again : but from his lips tight drawn
 No murmur issued ; he had power alone
 When questioned to reply. ' Speak,' quoth the hag,
 ' As I shall bid thee ; great shall be thy gain
 ' If but thou answerest truly, freed for aye
 ' From all Hæmonian art. Such burial place
 ' Shall now be thine, and on thy funeral pyre.

' Such fatal woods shall burn, such chant shall sound,
 ' That to thy ghost no more or magic song
 ' Or spell shall reach, and thy Lethæan sleep 910
 ' Shall never more be broken in a death
 ' From me received anew : for such reward
 ' Think not this second life enforced in vain.
 ' Obscure may be the answers of the gods
 ' By priestess spoken at the holy shrine ;
 ' But whoso braves the oracles of death
 ' In search of truth, should gain a sure response.
 ' Then speak, I pray thee. Let the hidden fates
 ' Tell through thy voice the mysteries to come.'

Thus spake she, and her words by mystic force 920
 Gave him his answer ; but with gloomy mien,
 And tears swift flowing, thus he made reply :
 ' Called from the margin of the silent stream
 ' I saw no fateful sisters spin the threads.
 ' Yet know I this, that 'mid the Roman shades
 ' Reigns fiercest discord ; and this impious war
 ' Destroys the peace that ruled the fields of death.
 ' Elysian meads and deeps of Tartarus
 ' In paths diverse the Roman chieftains leave
 ' And thus disclose the fates. The blissful ghosts 930
 ' Bear visages of sorrow. Sire and son
 ' The Decii, who gave themselves to death
 ' In expiation of their country's doom,
 ' And great Camillus, wept ; and Sulla's shade
 ' Complained of fortune. Scipio bewailed
 ' The scion of his race about to fall
 ' In sands of Libya : Cato, greatest foe
 ' To Carthage, grieves for that indignant soul
 ' Which shall disdain to serve. Brutus alone
 ' In all the happy ranks I smiling saw, 940
 ' First consul when the kings were thrust from Rome.

' The chains were fallen from boastful Catiline.
 ' Him too I saw rejoicing, and the pair
 ' Of Marii, and Cethegus' naked arm.¹
 ' The Drusi, heroes of the people, joyed,
 ' In laws immoderate ; and the famous pair²
 ' Of greatly daring brothers : guilty bands
 ' By bars eternal shut within the doors
 ' That close the prison of hell, applaud the fates,
 ' Claiming the plains Elysian : and the King 950
 ' Throws wide his pallid halls, makes hard the points
 ' Of craggy rocks, and forges iron chains,
 ' The victor's punishment. But take with thee
 ' This comfort, youth, that there a calm abode,
 ' And peaceful, waits thy father and his house.
 ' Nor let the glory of a little span
 ' Disturb thy boding heart : the hour shall come
 ' When all the chiefs shall meet. Shrink not from death,
 ' But glorying in the greatness of your souls,
 ' E'en from your humble sepulchres descend, 960
 ' And tread beneath your feet, in pride of place,
 ' The wandering phantoms of the gods of Rome.³
 ' Which of the chiefs by Tiber's yellow stream,
 ' And which by Nile shall rest (the leaders' fate)
 ' This fight decides, no more. Nor seek to know
 ' From me thy fortunes : for the fates in time
 ' Shall give thee all thy due ; and thy great sire,⁴ sha
 ' A surer prophet, in Sicilian fields
 ' Shall speak thy future—doubting even he
 ' What regions of the world thou should'st avoid 970

¹ See Book II., 609.

² The Gracchi, the younger of whom aimed at being a perpetual tribune, and was in some sort a forerunner of the Emperors.

³ That is, the Cæsars, who will be in Tartarus.

⁴ Referring probably to an episode intended to be introduced in a later book, in which the shade of Pompeius was to foretell his fate to Sextus.

‘ And what should’st seek. O miserable race!
‘ Europe and Asia and Libya’s plains,¹
‘ Which saw your conquests, now shall hold alike
‘ Your burial-place—nor has the earth for you
‘ A happier land than this.’

His task performed,
He stands in mournful guise, with silent look
Asking for death again ; yet could not die
Till mystic herb and magic chant prevailed.
For nature’s law, once used, had power no more
To slay the corpse and set the spirit free. 980
With plenteous wood she builds the funeral pyre
To which the dead man comes : then as the flames
Seized on his form outstretched, the youth and witch
Together sought the camp ; and as the dawn
Now streaked the heavens, by the hag’s command
The day was stayed till Sextus reached his tent,
And mist and darkness veiled his safe return.

¹ Cnæus was killed in Spain after the battle of Munda ; Sextus at Miletus ; Pompeius himself, of course, in Egypt.

BOOK VII
THE BATTLE

The eve of the battle of Pharsalia and the dream of Pompeius, lines 1-52. The soldiers demand a battle, and are supported by Cicero in a speech, 53-101. Pompeius yields; his speech, 101-145. Prodigies, 146-247. Pompeius' order of battle, 248-272. Cæsar rejoices and addresses his troops, 272-399. Pompeius' speech, 400-457. Reflections on the result of the battle, 456-545. Defeat of Pompeius, 546-644. Cæsar in the fight, 645-678. Address to Brutus, 678-689. Death of Domitius, 690-716. Lament over the battle, 716-752. Pompeius flies, 753-850. Cæsar occupies Pompeius' camp and leaves the dead unburied, 851-967, which are devoured by birds and beasts, 968-992. Apostrophe to Thessaly, 993-1023.

BOOK VII

THE BATTLE

NE'ER to the summons of the Eternal laws
More slowly Titan rose,¹ nor drave his steeds,
Forced by the sky revolving,² up the heaven,
With gloomier presage ; wishing to endure
The pangs of ravished light, and dark eclipse ;
And drew the mists up, not to feed his flames,³
But lest his light upon Thessalian earth
Might fall undimmed.

Pompeius on that morn,
To him the latest day of happy life,
In troubled sleep an empty dream conceived. 10
For in the watches of the night he heard
Innumerable Romans shout his name
Within his theatre ; the benches vied
To raise his fame and place him with the gods ;
As once in youth, when victory was won
O'er conquered tribes where swift Iberus flows,⁴

¹ It is, methinks, a morning full of fate !
It riseth slowly, as her sullen car
Had all the weight of sleep and death hung at it !

And her sick head is bound about with clouds
As if she threatened night ere noon of day.

Ben Jonson, 'Catiline,' i., 1.

² See Book VI., 577.

³ As to the sun finding fuel in the clouds, see Book I., line 471.

⁴ Pompeius triumphed first in 81 B.C. for his victories in Sicily and Africa, at the age of twenty-four. Sulla at first objected, but finally

And where Sertorius' armies fought and fled,
 The west subdued, with no less majesty
 Than if the purple toga graced the car,
 He sat triumphant in his pure white gown 20
 A Roman knight, and heard the Senate's cheer.
 Perhaps, as ills drew near, his anxious soul,
 Shunning the future wooed the happy past ; -
 Or, as is wont, prophetic slumber showed
 That which was not to be, by doubtful forms
 Misleading ; or as envious Fate forbade
 Return to Italy, this glimpse of Rome
 Kind Fortune gave. Break not his latest sleep,
 Ye sentinels ; let not the trumpet call
 Strike on his ear : for on the morrow's night 30
 Shapes of the battle lost, of death and war
 Shall crowd his rest with terrors. Whence shalt thou
 The poor man's happiness of sleep regain ?
 Happy if even in dreams thy Rome could see
 Once more her captain ! Would the gods had given
 To thee and to thy country one day yet
 To reap the latest fruit of such a love :
 Though sure of fate to come ! Thou marchest on
 As though by heaven ordained in Rome to die ;
 She, conscious ever of her prayers for thee
 Heard by the gods, deemed not the fates decreed
 Such evil destiny, that she should lose
 The last sad solace of her Magnus' tomb.
 Then young and old had blent their tears for thee,
 And child unbidden ; women torn their hair
 And struck their bosoms as for Brutus dead.
 But now no public woe shall greet thy death

yielded and said, 'Let him triumph then in God's name.' The triumph
 for the defeat of Sertorius was not till 71 B.C., in which year Pompeius
 was elected Consul along with Crassus. (Compare Book IX., 709.)

As erst thy praise was heard : but men shall grieve
 In silent sorrow, though the victor's voice
 Amid the clash of arms proclaims thy fall ; 50
 Though incense smoke before the Thunderer's shrine,
 And shouts of welcome bid great Cæsar hail.

The stars had fled before the growing morn,
 When eager voices (as the fates drew on
 The world to ruin) round Pompeius' tent
 Demand the battle signal. What ! by those
 So soon to perish, shall the sign be asked,
 Their own, their country's doom ? Ah ! fatal rage
 That hastens on the hour ; no other sun
 Upon this living host shall rise again. 60

' Pompeius fears ! ' they cry. ' He's slow to act ;
 ' Too kind to Cæsar ; and he fondly rules
 ' A world of subject peoples ; but with peace
 ' Such rule were ended.' Eastern kings no less,
 And peoples, eager for their distant homes,
 Already murmured at the lengthy war.

Thus hath it pleased the gods, when woe impends
 On guilty men, to make them seem its cause.
 We court disaster, crave the fatal sword.
 Of Magnus' camp Pharsalia was the prayer ; 70
 For Tullius, of all the sons of Rome
 Chief orator, beneath whose civil rule
 Fierce Catiline at the peace-compelling axe
 Trembled and fled, arose, to Magnus' ear
 Bearing the voice of all. To him was war
 Grown hateful, and he longed once more to hear
 The Senate's plaudits ; and with eloquent lips
 He lent persuasion to the weaker cause.
 ' Fortune, Pompeius, for her gifts to thee
 ' Asks this one boon, that thou should'st use her now. 80
 ' Here at thy feet thy leading captains lie ;

‘ And here thy monarchs, and a suppliant world
 ‘ Entreats thee prostrate for thy kinsman’s fall.
 ‘ So long shall Cæsar plunge the world in war ?
 ‘ Swift was thy tread when these proud nations fell ;
 ‘ How deep their shame, and justly, should delay
 ‘ Now mar thy conquests ! Where thy trust in Fate,
 ‘ Thy fervour where ? Ingrate ! Dost dread the gods,
 ‘ Or think they favour not the Senate’s cause ?
 ‘ Thy troops unbidden shall the standards seize 90
 ‘ And conquer ; thou in shame be forced to win.
 ‘ If at the Senate’s orders and for us
 ‘ The war is waged, then give to us the right
 ‘ To choose the battle-field. Why dost thou keep
 ‘ From Cæsar’s throat the swords of all the world ?
 ‘ The weapon quivers in the eager hand :
 ‘ Scarce one awaits the signal. Strike at once,
 ‘ Or without thee the trumpets sound the fray.
 ‘ Art thou the Senate’s comrade or her lord ?
 ‘ We wait your answer.’

But Pompeins groaned ; 100

His mind was adverse, but he felt the fates
 Opposed his wish, and knew the hand divine.
 ‘ Since all desire it, and the fates prevail,
 ‘ So let it be ; your leader now no more,
 ‘ I share the labours of the battle-field.
 ‘ Let Fortune roll the nations of the earth
 ‘ In one red ruin ; myriads of mankind
 ‘ See their last sun to-day. Yet, Rome, I swear,
 ‘ This day of blood was forced upon thy son.
 ‘ Without a wound, the prizes of the war 110
 ‘ Might have been thine, and he who broke the peace
 ‘ In peace forgotten. Whence this lust for crime ?
 ‘ Shall bloodless victories in civil war
 ‘ Be shunned, not sought ? We’ve ravished from our foe

' All boundless seas, and land ; his starving troops
 ' Have snatched earth's crop half-grown, in vain attempt
 ' Their hunger to appease ; they prayed for death,
 ' Sought for the sword-thrust, and within our ranks
 ' Were fain to mix their life-blood with your own.
 ' Much of the war is done : the conscript youth 120
 ' Whose heart beats high, who burns to join the fray
 ' (Though men fight hard in terror of defeat),
 ' The shock of onset need no longer fear.
 ' Bravest is he who promptly meets the ill
 ' When fate commands it and the moment comes,
 ' Yet brooks delay, in prudence ; and shall we,
 ' Our happy state enjoying, risk it all ?
 ' Trust to the sword the fortunes of the world ?
 ' Not victory, but battle, ye demand.
 ' Do thou, O Fortune, of the Roman state 130
 ' Who mad'st Pompeius guardian, from his hands
 ' Take back the charge grown weightier, and thyself
 ' Commit its safety to the chance of war.
 ' Nor blame nor glory shall be mine to-day.
 ' Thy prayers unjustly, Cæsar, have prevailed :
 ' We fight ! What wickedness, what woes on men,
 ' Destruction on what realms this dawn shall bring !
 ' Crimson with Roman blood yon stream shall run.
 ' Would that (without the ruin of our cause)
 ' The first fell bolt hurled on this cursèd day 140
 ' Might strike me lifeless ! Else, this battle brings
 ' A name of pity or a name of hate.
 ' The loser bears the burden of defeat ;
 ' The victor wins, but conquest is a crime.'

Thus to the soldiers, burning for the fray,
 He yields, forbidding, and throws down the reins.
 So may a sailor give the winds control
 Upon his barque, which, driven by the seas,

Bears him an idle burden. Now the camp
 Hums with impatience, and the brave man's heart 150
 With beats tumultuous throbs against his breast ;
 And all the host had standing in their looks ¹
 The paleness of the death that was to come.¹
 On that day's fight 'twas manifest that Rome
 And all the future destinies of man
 Hung trembling ; and by weightier dread possessed,
 They knew not danger. Who would fear for self
 Should ocean rise and whelm the mountain tops,
 And sun and sky descend upon the earth
 In universal chaos ? Every mind 160
 Is bent upon Pompeius, and on Rome.
 They trust no sword until its deadly point
 Glows on the sharpening stone ; no lance will serve
 Till straightened for the fray ; each bow is strung
 Anew, and arrows chosen for their work
 Fill all the quivers ; horsemen try the curb
 And fit the bridle rein and whet the spur.
 If toils divine with human may compare,
 'Twas thus, when Phlegra bore the giant crew,²
 In Etna's furnace glowed the sword of Mars, 170
 Neptunus' trident felt the flame once more ;
 And great Apollo after Python slain
 Sharpened his darts afresh : on Pallas' shield
 Was spread anew the dread Medusa's hair ;
 And broad Sicilia trembled at the blows
 Of Vulcan forging thunderbolts for Jove.
 Yet Fortune failed not, as they sought the field,
 In various presage of the ills to come ;
 All heaven opposed their march : portentous fire

¹ These two lines are taken from Ben Jonson's 'Catiline,' act v., scene 6.

² The volcanic district of Campania, scene of the fabled battle of the giants. (See Book IV., 666.)

In columns filled the plain, and torches blazed : 180
 And thirsty whirlwinds mixed with meteor bolts
 Smote on them as they strode, whose sulphurous flames
 Perplexed the vision. Crests were struck from helmets ;
 The melted sword-blade flowed upon the hilt :
 The spear ran liquid, and the hurtful steel
 Smoked with a sulphur that had come from heaven.
 Nay, more, the standards, hid by swarms of bees
 Innumerable, weighed the bearer down,
 Scarce lifted from the earth ; bedewed with tears ;
 No more of Rome the standards,¹ or her state. 190
 And from the altar fled the frantic bull
 To fields afar ; nor was a victim found
 To grace the sacrifice of coming doom.

But thou, O Cæsar, to what gods of ill
 Didst thou appeal ? What furies didst thou call,
 What powers of madness and what Stygian Kings
 Whelmed in th' abyss of hell ? Didst favour gain
 By sacrifice in this thine impious war ?
 Strange sights were seen ; or caused by hands divine
 Or due to fearful fancy. Hæmus' top 200
 Plunged headlong in the valley, Pindus met
 With high Olympus, while at Ossa's feet
 Red ran Baebëis,² and Pharsalia's field
 Gave warlike voices forth in depth of night.
 Now darkness came upon their wondering gaze,
 Now daylight pale and wan, their helmets wreathed
 In pallid mist ; the spirits of their sires
 Hovered in air, and shades of kindred dead
 Passed fitting through the gloom. Yet to the host
 Conscious of guilty prayers which sought to shed 210

¹ Henceforth to be the standards of the Emperor.

² A lake at the foot of Mount Ossa. Pindus, Ossa, Olympus, and, above all, Hæmus (the Balkans) were at a long distance from Pharsalia. Comp. Book VI., 677.

The blood of sires and brothers, earth and air
 Distraught, and horrors seething in their hearts
 Gave happy omen of the end to come.

Was't strange that peoples whom their latest day
 Of happy life awaited (if their minds
 Foreknew the doom) should tremble with affright?
 Romans who dwelt by far Araxes' stream,
 And Tyrian Gades,¹ in whatever clime,
 'Neath every sky, struck by mysterious dread
 Were plunged in sorrow—yet rebuked the tear, 220
 For yet they knew not of the fatal day.
 Thus on Euganean hills² where sulphurous fumes
 Disclose the rise of Aponus³ from earth,
 And where Timavus broadens in the meads,
 An augur spake: 'This day the fight is fought,
 'The arms of Cæsar and Pompeius meet
 'To end the impious conflict.' Or he saw
 The bolts of Jupiter, predicting ill;
 Or else the sky discordant o'er the space
 Of heaven, from pole to pole; or else perchance 230
 The sun was sad and misty in the height
 And told the battle by his wasted beams.
 By Nature's fiat that Thessalian day
 Passed not as others; if the gifted sense
 Of reading portents had been given to all,

¹ Gades (Cadiz) is stated to have been founded by the Phœnicians about 1000 B.C.

² This alludes to the story told by Plutarch ('Cæsar,' 47) that, at Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man reputed for skill in divination, and a friend of Livy the historian, was sitting to watch the birds that day. 'And first of all (as Livius says) he discovered the time of the battle, and he said to those present that the affair was now deciding and the men were going into action. Looking again, and observing the signs, he sprang up with enthusiasm and called out, "You conquer, Cæsar."' (Long's translation.)

³ The Fontes Aponi were warm springs near Padua. An altar, inscribed to Apollo Aponus, was found at Rihchester, and is now at St. John's College, Cambridge. (Wright, 'Celt, Roman, and Saxon,' p. 320.)

All men had known Pharsalia. Gods of heaven !
 How do ye mark the great ones of the earth !
 The world gives tokens of their weal or woe ;
 The sky records their fates : in distant climes
 To future races shall their tale be told, 240
 Or by the fame alone of mighty deeds
 Had in remembrance, or by this my care
 Borne through the centuries : and men shall read
 In hope and fear the story of the war
 And breathless pray, as though it were to come,
 For that long since accomplished ; and for thee
 Thus far, Pompeius, shall that prayer be given.

Reflected from their arms, th' opposing sun
 Filled all the slope with radiance as they marched
 In ordered ranks to that ill-fated fight, 250
 And stood arranged for battle. On the left
 Thou, Lentulus, had'st charge ; two legions there,
 The fourth, and bravest of them all, the first :
 While on the right, Domitius, ever stanch,
 Though fates be adverse, stood : in middle line
 The hardy soldiers from Cilician lands,
 In Scipio's care ; their chief in Libyan days,
 To-day their comrade. By Enipeus' pools
 And by the rivulets, the mountain troops
 Of Cappadocia, and loose of rein 260
 Thy squadrons, Pontus : on the firmer ground
 Galatia's tetrarchs and the greater kings ;
 And all the purple-robed, the slaves of Rome.
 Numidian hordes were there from Afric shores,
 There Creta's host and Ituræans found
 Full space to wing their arrows ; there the tribes
 From brave Iberia clashed their shields, and there
 Gaul stood arrayed against her ancient foe.
 Let all the nations be the victor's prize,

None grace in future a triumphal car ; 270
 This fight demands the slaughter of a world.

Cæsar that day to send his troops for spoil
 Had left his tent, when on the further hill
 Behold ! his foe descending to the plain.
 The moment asked for by a thousand prayers
 Is come, which puts his fortune on the risk
 Of imminent war, to win or lose it all.

For burning with desire of kingly power
 His eager soul ill brooked the small delay
 This civil war compelled : each instant lost 280
 Robbed from his due ! But when at length he knew
 The last great conflict come, the fight supreme,
 Whose prize the leadership of all the world :
 And felt the ruin nodding to its fall :

Swiftest to strike, yet for a little space
 His rage for battle failed ; the spirit bold
 To pledge itself the issue, wavered now :
 For Magnus' fortunes gave no room for hope,
 Though Cæsar's none for fear. Deep in his soul
 Such doubt was hidden, as with mien and speech 290
 That augured victory, thus the chief began :

' Ye conquerors of a world ; my hope in all,
 ' Prayed for so oft, the dawn of fight is come.
 ' No more entreat the gods : with sword in hand
 ' Seize on our fates ; and Cæsar in your deeds
 ' This day is great or little. This the day
 ' For which I hold since Rubicon was passed
 ' Your promise given : for this we flew to arms : ¹
 ' For this deferred the triumphs we had won,
 ' And which the foe refused : this gives you back 300
 ' Your homes and kindred, and the peaceful farm,
 ' Your prize for years of service in the field.

¹ See Book I., 411, and following lines.

' And by the fates' command this day shall prove
 ' Whose quarrel juster : for defeat is guilt
 ' To him on whom it falls. If in my cause
 ' With fire and sword ye did your country wrong,
 ' Strike for acquittal ! Should another judge
 ' This war, not Cæsar, none were blameless found.
 ' Not for my sake this battle, but for you,
 ' To give you, soldiers, liberty and law 310
 ' 'Gainst all the world. Wishful myself for life
 ' Apart from public cares, and for the gown
 ' That robes the private citizen, I refuse
 ' To yield from office till the law allows
 ' Your right in all things. On my shoulders rest
 ' All blame ; all power be yours. Nor deep the blood
 ' Between yourselves and conquest. Grecian schools
 ' Of exercise and wrestling¹ send us here
 ' Their chosen darlings to await your swords ;
 ' And scarcely armed for war, a dissonant crowd 320
 ' Barbaric, that will start to hear our trump,
 ' Nay, their own clamour. Not in civil strife
 ' Your blows shall fall—the battle of to-day
 ' Sweeps from the earth the enemies of Rome.
 ' Dash through these cowards and their vaunted kings :
 ' One stroke of sword and all the world is yours.
 ' Make plain to all men that the crowds who decked
 ' Pompeius' hundred pageants scarce were fit
 ' For one poor triumph. Shall Armenia care
 ' Who leads her masters, or barbarians shed 330
 ' One drop of blood to make Pompeius chief
 ' O'er our Italia ? Rome, 'tis Rome they hate

¹ For the contempt here expressed for the Greek gymnastic schools, see also Tacitus, 'Annals,' 14, 21. It is well known that Nero instituted games called *Neronia* which were borrowed from the Greeks ; and that many of the Roman citizens despised them as foreign and profligate. Merivale, chapter liii., cites this passage.

' And all her children ; yet they hate the most
 ' Those whom they know. My fate is in the hands
 ' Of you, mine own true soldiers, proved in all
 ' The wars we fought in Gallia. When the sword
 ' Of each of you shall strike, I know the hand :
 ' The javelin's flight to me betrays the arm
 ' That launched it hurtling : and to-day once more
 ' I see the faces stern, the threatening eyes, 340
 ' Unfailing proofs of victory to come.
 ' E'en now the battle rushes on my sight ;
 ' Kings trodden down and scattered senators
 ' Fill all th' ensanguined plain, and peoples float
 ' Unnumbered on the crimson tide of death.
 ' Enough of words—I but delay the fates ;
 ' And you who burn to dash into the fray,
 ' Forgive the pause. I tremble with the hopes ¹
 ' Thus finding utterance. I ne'er have seen
 ' The mighty gods so near ; this little field 350
 ' Alone dividing us ; their hands are full
 ' Of my predestined honours : for 'tis I
 ' Who when this war is done shall have the power
 ' O'er all that peoples, all that kings enjoy
 ' To shower it where I will. But has the pole
 ' Been moved, or in its nightly course some star
 ' Turned backwards, that such mighty deeds should pass
 ' Here on Thessalian earth ? To-day we reap
 ' Of all our wars the harvest or the doom.

¹ Thus paraphrased by Dean Stanley :

' I tremble not with terror, but with hope,
 As the great day reveals its coming scope ;
 Never in earlier days, our hearts to cheer,
 Have such bright gifts of Heaven been brought so near,
 Nor ever has been kept the aspiring soul
 By space so narrow from so grand a goal.'

Inaugural address at St. Andrews, 1873, on the 'Study of Greatness.'

' Think of the cross that threatens us, and the chain, 360
 ' Limbs hacked asunder, Cæsar's head displayed
 ' Upon the rostra ; and that narrow field
 ' Piled up with slaughter : for this hostile chief
 ' Is savage Sulla's pupil. 'Tis for you,
 ' If conquered, that I grieve : my lot apart
 ' Is cast long since. This sword, should one of you
 ' Turn from the battle ere the foe be fled,
 ' Shall rob the life of Cæsar. O ye gods,
 ' Drawn down from heaven by the throes of Rome,
 ' May he be conqueror who shall not draw 370
 ' Against the vanquished an inhuman sword,
 ' Nor count it as a crime if men of Rome
 ' Preferred another's standard to his own.
 ' Pompeius' sword drank deep Italian blood
 ' When cabined in yon space the brave man's arm
 ' No more found room to strike. But you, I pray,
 ' Touch not the foe who turns him from the fight,
 ' A fellow citizen, a foe no more.
 ' But while the gleaming weapons threaten still,
 ' Let no fond memories unnerve the arm,¹ 380
 ' No pious thought of father or of kin ;
 ' But full in face of brother or of sire,
 ' Drive home the blade. Unless the slain be known
 ' Your foes account his slaughter as a crime ;
 ' Spare not our camp, but lay the rampart low
 ' And fill the fosse with ruin ; not a man
 ' But holds his post within the ranks to-day.
 ' And yonder tents, deserted by the foe,
 ' Shall give us shelter when the rout is done.'

Scarce had he paused ; they snatch the hasty meal, 390
 And seize their armour and with swift acclaim
 Welcome the chief's predictions of the day,

¹ That such were Cæsar's orders is also attested by Appian.

Tread low their camp when rushing to the fight ;
 And take their post : nor word nor order given,
 In fate they put their trust. Nor, had'st thou placed
 All Cæsars there, all striving for the throne
 Of Rome their city, had their serried ranks
 With speedier tread dashed down upon the foe.

But when Pompeius saw the hostile troops
 Move forth in order and demand the fight, 400
 And knew the gods' approval of the day,
 He stood astonied, while a deadly chill
 Struck to his heart—omen itself of woe,
 That such a chief should at the call to arms,
 Thus dread the issue : but with fear repressed,
 Borne on his noble steed along the line
 Of all his forces, thus he spake : 'The day
 ' Your bravery demands, that final end
 ' Of civil war ye asked for, is at hand.
 ' Put forth your strength, your all ; the sword to-day 410
 ' Does its last work. One crowded hour is charged
 ' With nations' destinies. Whoe'er of you
 ' Longs for his land and home, his wife and child,
 ' Seek them with sword. Here in mid battle-field,
 ' The gods place all at stake. Our better right
 ' Bids us expect their favour ; they shall dip
 ' Your brands in Cæsar's blood, and thus shall give
 ' Another sanction to the laws of Rome,
 ' Our cause of battle. If for him were meant
 ' An empire o'er the world, had they not put 420
 ' An end to Magnus' life ? That I am chief
 ' Of all these mingled peoples and of Rome
 ' Disproves an angry heaven. See here combined
 ' All means of victory. Noble men have sought
 ' Unasked the risks of war. Our soldiers boast
 ' Ancestral statues. If to us were given

‘ A Curius, if Camillus were returned,
 ‘ Or patriot Decius to devote his life,
 ‘ Here would they take their stand. From furthest east
 ‘ All nations gathered, cities as the sand 430
 ‘ Unnumbered, give their aid : a world complete
 ‘ Serves ’neath our standards. North and south and all
 ‘ Who have their being ’neath the starry vault,
 ‘ Here meet in arms conjoined : And shall we not
 ‘ Crush with our closing wings this paltry foe ?
 ‘ Few shall find room to strike ; the rest with voice
 ‘ Must be content to aid : for Cæsar’s ranks
 ‘ Suffice not for us. Think from Rome’s high walls
 ‘ The matrons watch you with their hair unbound ;
 ‘ Think that the Senate hoar, too old for arms, 440
 ‘ With snowy locks outspread ; and Rome herself,
 ‘ The world’s high mistress, fearing now, alas !
 ‘ A despot—all exhort you to the fight.
 ‘ Think that the people that is and that shall be
 ‘ Joins in the prayer—in freedom to be born,
 ‘ In freedom die, their wish. If ’mid these vows
 ‘ Be still found place for mine, with wife and child,
 ‘ So far as Imperator may, I bend
 ‘ Before you suppliant—unless this fight
 ‘ Be won, behold me exile, your disgrace, 450
 ‘ My kinsman’s scorn. From this, ’tis yours to save.
 ‘ Then save ! Nor in the latest stage of life,
 ‘ Let Magnus be a slave.’

Then burned their souls

At these his words, indignant at the thought,
 And Rome rose up within them, and to die
 Was welcome.

Thus alike with hearts aflame
 Moved either host to battle, one in fear
 And one in hope of empire. These hands shall do

Such work as not the rolling centuries
 Not all mankind though free from sword and war 460
 Shall e'er make good. Nations that were to live
 This fight shall crush, and peoples pre-ordained
 To make the history of the coming world
 Shall come not to the birth. The Latin names
 Shall sound as fables in the ears of men,
 And ruins loaded with the dust of years
 Shall hardly mark her cities. Alba's hill,
 Home of our gods, no human foot shall tread,
 Save of some Senator at the ancient feast
 By Numa's orders founded—he compelled 470
 Serves his high office.¹ Void and desolate
 Are Veii, Cora and Laurentum's hold ;
 Yet not the tooth of envious time destroyed
 These storied monuments—'twas civil war
 That rased their citadels. Where now hath fled
 The teeming life that once Italia knew ?
 Not all the earth can furnish her with men :
 Untenanted her dwellings and her fields :
 Slaves till her soil : one city holds us all :
 Crumbling to ruin, the ancestral roof 480
 Finds none on whom to fall ; and Rome herself,
 Void of her citizens, draws within her gates
 The dregs of all the world. That none might wage
 A civil war again, thus deeply drank
 Pharsalia's fight the life-blood of her sons.
 Dark in the calendar of Rome for aye,
 The days when Allia and Cannæ fell :
 And shall Pharsalus' morn, darkest of all,
 Stand on the page unmarked ? Alas, the fates !
 Not plague nor pestilence nor famine's rage, 490
 Not cities given to the flames, nor towns

¹ See Book V., 463.

Trembling at shock of earthquake shall weigh down
Such heroes lost, when Fortune's ruthless hand
Lops at one blow the gift of centuries,
Leaders and men embattled. How great art thou,
Rome, in thy fall! Stretched to the widest bounds
War upon war laid nations at thy feet
Till flaming Titan nigh to either pole
Beheld thine empire; and the furthest east
Was almost thine, till day and night and sky 500
For thee revolved, and all the stars could see
Throughout their course was Roman. But the fates
In one dread day of slaughter and despair
Turned back the centuries and spoke thy doom.
And now the Indian fears the axe no more
Once emblem of thy power, now no more
The girded Consul curbs the Getan horde,
Or in Sarmatian furrows guides the share: ¹
Still Parthia boasts her triumphs unavenged:
Foul is the public life; and Freedom, fled 510
To furthest Earth beyond the Tigris' stream,
And Rhine's broad river, wandering at her will
'Mid Teuton hordes and Scythian, though by sword
Sought, yet returns not. Would that from the day
When Romulus, aided by the vulture's flight,
Ill-omened, raised within that hateful grove
Rome's earliest walls, down to the crimsoned field
In dire Thessalia fought, she ne'er had known
Italia's peoples! Did the Bruti strike
In vain for liberty? Why laws and rights 520
Sanctioned by all the annals designate
With consular titles? Happier far the Medes

¹ That is, marked out the new colony with a plough-share. This was regarded as a religious ceremony, and therefore performed by the Consul with his toga worn in ancient fashion.

And blest Arabia, and the Eastern lands
 Held by a kindlier fate in despot rule!
 That nation serves the worst which serves with shame.
 No guardian gods watch over us from heaven :
 Jove¹ is no king ; let ages whirl along
 In blind confusion : from his throne supreme
 Shall he behold such carnage and restrain
 His thunderbolts ? On Mimas shall he hurl 530
 His fires, on Rhodope and Cæta's woods
 Unmeriting such chastisement, and leave
 This life to Cassius' hand ? On Argos fell
 At grim Thyestes' feast² untimely night
 By him thus hastened ; shall Thessalia's land
 Receive full daylight, wielding kindred swords
 In fathers' hands and brothers' ? Careless of men
 Are all the gods. Yet for this day of doom
 Such vengeance have we reaped as deities
 May give to mortals ; for these wars shall raise 540
 Our parted Cæsars to the gods ; and Rome
 Shall deck their effigies with thunderbolts,
 And stars and rays, and in the very fanes
 Swear by the shades of men.

With swift advance

They seize the space that yet delays the fates
 Till short the span dividing. Then they gaze
 For one short moment where may fall the spear,
 What hand may deal their death, what monstrous task
 Soon shall be theirs ; and all in arms they see,
 In reach of stroke, their brothers and their sires 550
 With front opposing ; yet to yield their ground
 It pleased them not. But all the host was dumb
 With horror ; cold upon each loving heart,

¹ 'Hath Jove no thunder?'—Ben Jonson, 'Catiline,' iii., 2.

² Compare Book I., line 600.

Awe-struck, the life-blood pressed ; and all men held
 With arms outstretched their javelins for a time,
 Poised yet unthrown. Now may th' avenging gods
 Allot thee, Crastinus,¹ not such a death
 As all men else do suffer ! In the tomb
 May'st thou have feeling and remembrance still !
 For thine the hand that first flung forth the dart, 560
 Which stained with Roman blood Thessalia's earth.
 Madman ! To speed thy lance when Cæsar's self
 Still held his hand ! Then from the clarions broke
 The strident summons, and the trumpets blared
 Responsive signal. Upward to the vault
 The sound re-echoes where nor clouds may reach
 Nor thunder penetrate ; and Hæmus' slopes²
 Reverberate to Pelion the din ;
 Pindus re-echoes ; Cæta's lofty rocks
 Groan, and Pangæan cliffs, till at their rage 570
 Borne back from all the earth they shook for fear.

Unnumbered darts they hurl, with prayers diverse ;
 Some hope to wound : others, in secret, yearn
 For hands still innocent. Chance rules supreme,
 And wayward Fortune upon whom she wills
 Makes fall the guilt. Yet for the hatred bred
 By civil war suffices spear nor lance,
 Urged on their flight afar : the hand must grip
 The sword and drive it to the foeman's heart.
 But while Pompeius' ranks, shield wedged to shield, 580

¹ This act of Crastinus is recorded by Plutarch ('Pompeius,' 71), and by Cæsar, 'B.C.,' Book III., 91.

Cæsar called him by name and said : ' Well, Crastinus, shall we win to-day ? ' ' We shall win with glory, Cæsar,' he replied in a loud voice, ' and to-day you will praise me, living or dead.'—Dury, ' History of Rome,' vol. iii., 312.

He was placed in a special tomb after the battle.

² See on line 203.

Were ranged in dense array, and scarce had space
 To draw the blade, came rushing at the charge
 Full on the central column Cæsar's host,
 Mad for the battle. Man nor arms could stay
 The crash of onset, and the furious sword
 Clove through the stubborn panoply to the flesh,
 There only stayed. One army struck—their foes
 Struck not in answer; Magnus' swords were cold,
 But Cæsar's reeked with slaughter and with guilt.
 Nor Fortune lingered, but decreed the doom 590
 Which swept the ruins of a world away.

Soon as withdrawn from all the spacious plain,
 Pompeius' horse was ranged upon the flanks;
 Passed through the outer files, the lighter armed
 Of all the nations joined the central strife,
 With divers weapons armed, but all for blood
 Of Rome athirst: then blazing torches flew,
 Arrows and stones, and ponderous balls of lead
 Molten by speed of passage through the air.
 There Ituræan archers and the Mede 600
 Winged forth their countless shafts till all the sky
 Grew dark with missiles hurled; and from the night
 Brooding above, Death struck his victims down,
 Guiltless such blow, while all the crime was heaped
 Upon the Roman spear. In line oblique
 Behind the standards Cæsar in reserve
 Had placed some companies of foot, in fear
 The foremost ranks might waver. These at his word,
 No trumpet sounding, break upon the ranks
 Of Magnus' horsemen where they rode at large 610
 Flanking the battle. They, unshamed of fear
 And careless of the fray, when first a steed
 Pierced through by javelin spurned with sounding hoof
 The temples of his rider, turned the rein,

And through their comrades spurring from the field
In panic, proved that not with warring Rome
Barbarians may grapple. Then arose
Immeasurable carnage : here the sword,
There stood the victim, and the victor's arm
Wearied of slaughter. Oh, that to thy plains, 620
Pharsalia, might suffice the crimson stream
From hosts barbarian, nor other blood
Pollute thy fountains' sources ! these alone
Shall clothe thy pastures with the bones of men !
Or if thy fields must run with Roman blood
Then spare the nations who in times to come
Must be her peoples !

Now the terror spread
Through all the army, and the favouring fates
Decreed for Cæsar's triumph : and the war
Ceased in the wider plain, though still ablaze 630
Where stood the chosen of Pompeius' force,
Upholding yet the fight. Not here allies
Begged from some distant king to wield the sword :
Here were the Roman sons, the sires of Rome,
Here the last frenzy and the last despair :
Here, Cæsar, was thy crime : and here shall stay
My Muse repelled : no poesy of mine
Shall tell the horrors of the final strife,
Nor for the coming ages paint the deeds
Which civil war permits. Be all obscured 640
In deepest darkness ! Spare the useless tear
And vain lament, and let the deeds that fell
In that last fight of Rome remain unsung.

But Cæsar adding fury to the breasts
Already flaming with the rage of war,
That each might bear his portion of the guilt
Which stained the host, unflinching through the ranks

Passed at his will. He looked upon the brands,
 These reddened only at the point, and those
 Streaming with blood and gory to the hilt : 650
 He marks the hand which trembling grasped the sword,
 Or held it idle, and the cheek that grew
 Pale at the blow, and that which at his words
 Glowed with the joy of battle : midst the dead
 He treads the plain and on each gaping wound
 Presses his hand to keep the life within.
 Thus Cæsar passed : and where his footsteps fell
 As when Bellona shakes her crimson lash,
 Or Mavors scourges on the Thracian mares¹
 When shunning the dread face on Pallas' shield, 660
 He drives his chariot, there arose a night
 Dark with huge slaughter and with crime, and groans
 As of a voice immense, and sound of arms
 As fell the wearer, and of sword on sword
 Crashed into fragments. With a ready hand
 Cæsar supplies the weapon and bids strike
 Full at the visage ; and with lance reversed
 Urges the flagging ranks and stirs the fight.
 Where flows the nation's blood, where beats the heart,
 Knowing, he bids them spare the common herd, 670
 But seek the senators—thus Rome he strikes,
 Thus the last hold of Freedom. In the fray,
 Then fell the nobles with their mighty names
 Of ancient prowess ; there Metellus' sons,
 Corvini, Lepidi, Torquati too,
 Not once nor twice the conquerors of kings,
 First of all men, Pompeius' name except,
 Lay dead upon the field.

But, Brutus, where,

¹ That is, lashes on his team terrified by the Gorgon shield in the ranks of the enemy.

Where was thy sword ?¹ Veiled by a common helm
 Unknown thou wanderest. Thy country's pride, 680
 Hope of the Senate, thou (for none besides) ;
 Thou latest scion of that race of pride,
 Whose fearless deeds the centuries record,
 Tempt not the battle, nor provoke the doom !
 Awaits thee on Philippi's fated field
 Thy Thessaly. Not here shalt thou prevail
 'Gainst Cæsar's life. Not yet hath he surpassed
 The height of power and deserved a death
 Noble at Brutus' hands—then let him live,
 Thy fated victim !

There upon the field 690
 Lay all the honour of Rome ; no common stream
 Mixed with the purple tide. And yet of all
 Who noble fell, one only now I sing,
 Thee, brave Domitius.² Whene'er the day
 Was adverse to the fortunes of thy chief
 Thine was the arm which vainly stayed the fight.
 Vanquished so oft by Cæsar, now 'twas thine
 Yet free to perish. By a thousand wounds
 Came welcome death, nor had thy conqueror power
 Again to pardon. Cæsar stood and saw 700
 The dark blood welling forth and death at hand,
 And thus in words of scorn : ' And dost thou lie,

¹ Plutarch states that Brutus after the battle escaped and made his way to Larissa, whence he wrote to Cæsar. Cæsar, pleased that he was alive, asked him to come to him ; and it was on Brutus' opinion that Cæsar determined to hurry to Egypt as the most probable refuge of Pompeius. Cæsar entrusted Brutus with the command of Cisalpine Gaul when he was in Africa.

² 'He perished, after a career of furious partisanship, disgraced with cruelty and treachery, on the field of Pharsalia' (Merivale, 'Hist. Romans under the Empire,' chapter lii.). Unless this man had been an ancestor of Nero it is impossible to suppose that Lucan would have thus singled him out. But he appears to have been the only leader who fell. (Compare Book II., lines 534-590, for his conduct at Corfinium.)

' Domitius, there ? And did Pompeius name
 ' Thee his successor, thee ? Why leavest thou then
 ' His standards helpless ? ' But the parting life
 Still faintly throbb'd within Domitius' breast,
 Thus finding utterance : ' Yet thou hast not won
 ' Thy hateful prize, for doubtful are the fates ;
 ' Nor thou the master, Cæsar ; free as yet,
 ' With great Pompeius for my leader still, 710
 ' Warring no more, I seek the silent shades,
 ' Yet with this hope in death, that thou subdued
 ' To Magnus and to me in grievous guise
 ' May'st pay atonement.' So he spake : no more ;
 Then closed his eyes in death.

'Twere shame to shed,

When thus a world was perishing, the tear
 Meet for each fate, or sing the wound that reft
 Each life away. Through forehead and through throat
 The pitiless weapon clove its deadly path,
 Or forced the entrails forth : one fell to earth 720
 Prone at the stroke ; one stood though shorn of limb ;
 Glanced from this breast unharmed the quivering spear ;
 That it transfix'd to earth. Here from the veins
 Spouted the life-blood, till the foeman's arms
 Were crimsoned. One his brother slew, nor dared
 To spoil the corse, till severed from the neck
 He flung the head afar. Another dashed
 Full in his father's teeth the fatal sword,
 By murderous frenzy striving to disprove
 His kinship with the slain. Yet for each death 730
 We find no separate dirge, nor weep for men
 When peoples fell. Thus, Rome, thy doom was wrought
 At dread Pharsalus. Not, as in other fields,
 By soldiers slain, or captains ; here were swept
 Whole nations to the death ; Assyria here,

Achaia, Pontus ; and the blood of Rome
Gushing in torrents forth, forbade the rest
To stagnate on the plain. Nor life was reft,
Nor safety only then ; but reeled the world
And all her manifold peoples at the blow 740
In that day's battle dealt ; nor only then
Felt, but in all the times that were to come.
Those swords gave servitude to every age
That shall be slavish ; by our sires was shaped
For us our destiny, the despot yoke.
Yet have we trembled not, nor feared to bare
Our throats to slaughter, nor to face the foe :
We bear the penalty for others' shame.
Such be our doom ; yet, Fortune, sharing not
In that last battle, 'twas our right to strike 750
One blow for freedom ere we served our lord.

Now saw Pompeius, grieving, that the gods
Had left his side, and knew the fates of Rome
Passed from his governance ; yet all the blood
That filled the field scarce brought him to confess
His fortunes fled. A little hill he sought
Whence to descry the battle raging still
Upon the plain, which when he nearer stood
The warring ranks concealed. Thence did the chief
Gaze on unnumbered swords that flashed in air 760
And sought his ruin ; and the tide of blood
In which his host had perished. Yet not as those
Who, prostrate fallen, would drag nations down
To share their evil fate, Pompeius did.
Still were the gods thought worthy of his prayers
To give him solace, in that after him
Might live his Romans. ' Spare, ye gods,' he said,
' Nor lay whole peoples low ; my fall attained,
' The world and Rome may stand. And if ye need

' More bloodshed, here on me, my wife, and sons 770
 ' Wreak out your vengeance—pledges to the fates
 ' Such have we given. Too little for the war
 ' Is our destruction? Doth the carnage fail,
 ' The world escaping? Magnus' fortunes lost,
 ' Why doom all else beside him?' Thus he cried,
 And passed amid his standards, and recalled
 His vanquished host that rushed on fate declared.
 Not for his sake such carnage should be wrought.
 So thought Pompeius; nor the foeman's sword
 He feared, nor death; but lest upon his fall 780
 To quit their chief his soldiers might refuse,
 And o'er his prostrate corpse a world in arms
 Might find its ruin: or perchance he wished
 From Cæsar's eager eyes to veil his death.
 In vain, unhappy! for the fates decree
 He shall behold, shorn from the bleeding trunk,
 Again thy visage. And thou, too, his spouse,
 Beloved Cornelia, didst cause his flight;
 Thy longed-for features; yet he shall not die
 When thou art present.¹

Then upon his steed, 790

Though fearing not the weapons at his back,
 Pompeius fled, his mighty soul prepared
 To meet his destinies. No groan nor tear,
 But solemn grief as for the fates of Rome,
 Was in his visage, and with mien unchanged
 He saw Pharsalia's woes, above the frowns
 Or smiles of Fortune; in triumphant days
 And in his fall, her master. The burden laid
 Of thine impending fate, thou partest free

¹ This appears to be the only possible meaning of the text. But in truth, although Cornelia was not by her husband's side at his murder, she was present at the scene.

To muse upon the happy days of yore. 800
 Hope now has fled ; but in the fleeting past
 How wast thou great ! Seek thou the wars no more,
 And call the gods to witness that for thee
 Henceforth dies no man. In the fights to come
 On Afric's mournful shore, by Pharos' stream
 And fateful Munda ; in the final scene
 Of dire Pharsalia's battle, not thy name
 Doth stir the war and urge the foeman's arm,
 But those great rivals bidding with us yet,
 Cæsar and Liberty ; and not for thee 810
 But for itself the dying Senate fought,
 When thou had'st fled the combat.

Find'st thou not

Some solace thus in parting from the fight
 Nor seeing all the horrors of its close ?
 Look back upon the dead that load the plain,
 The rivers turbid with a crimson stream ;
 Then pity thou thy victor. How shall he
 Enter the city, who on such a field
 Finds happiness ? Trust thou in Fortune yet,
 Her favourite ever ; and whate'er, alone 820
 In lands unknown, an exile, be thy lot,
 Whate'er thy sufferings 'neath the Pharian king,
 'Twere worse to conquer. Then forbid the tear,
 Cease, sounds of woe, and lamentation cease,
 And let the world adore thee in defeat,
 As in thy triumphs. With unfaltering gaze,
 Look on the suppliant kings, thy subjects still ;
 Search out the realms and cities which they hold,
 Thy gift, Pompeius ; and a fitting place
 Choose for thy death.

First witness of thy fall, 830

And of thy noble bearing in defeat,

Larissa. Weeping, yet with gifts of price
 Fit for a victor, from her teeming gates
 Poured forth her citizens, their homes and fanes
 Flung open ; wishing it had been their lot
 With thee to share disaster. Of thy name
 Still much survives, unto thy former self
 Alone inferior, still could'st thou to arms
 All nations call and challenge fate again.
 But thus he spake : ' To cities nor to men 840
 ' Avails the conquered aught ; then pledge your faith
 ' To him who has the victory.' Cæsar trod
 Pharsalia's slaughter, while his daughter's spouse
 Thus gave him kingdoms ; but Pompeius fled
 ' Mid sobs and groans and blaming of the gods
 For this their fierce commandment ; and he fled
 Full of the fruits and knowledge of the love
 The peoples bore him, which he knew not his
 In times of happiness.

When Italian blood

Flowed deep enough upon the fatal field, 850
 Cæsar bade halt, and gave their lives to those
 Whose death had been no gain. But that their camp
 Might not recall the foe, nor calm of night
 Banish their fears, he bids his cohorts dash,
 While Fortune glowed and terror filled the plain,
 Straight on the ramparts of the conquered foe.
 Light was the task to urge them to the spoil ;
 ' Soldiers,' he said, ' the victory is ours,
 ' Full and triumphant : there doth lie the prize
 ' Which you have won, not Cæsar ; at your feet 860
 ' Behold the booty of the hostile camp.
 ' Snatched from Hesperian nations ruddy gold,
 ' And all the riches of the Orient world,
 ' Are piled within the tents. The wealth of kings

‘And of Pompeius here awaits its lords.
‘Haste, soldiers, and outstrip the flying foe ;
‘E’en now the vanquished of Pharsalia’s field
‘Anticipate your spoils.’ No more he said,
But drave them, blind with frenzy for the gold,
To spurn the bodies of their fallen sires, 870
And trample chiefs in dashing on their prey.
What rampart had restrained them as they rushed
To seize the prize for wickedness and war
And learn the price of guilt? And though they found
In ponderous masses heaped for need of war
The trophies of a world, yet were their minds
Unsatisfied, that asked for all. Whate’er
Iberian mines or Tagus bring to day,
Or Arimaspians from golden sands
May gather, had they seized ; still had they thought 880
Their guilt too cheaply sold. When pledged to them
Was the Tarpeian rock, for victory won,
And all the spoils of Rome, by Cæsar’s word,
Shall camps suffice them ?

Then plebeian limbs
On senators’ turf took rest, on kingly couch
The meanest soldier ; and the murderer lay
Where yesternight his brother or his sire.
In raving dreams within their waking brains
Yet raged the battle, and the guilty hand
Still wrought its deeds of blood, and restless sought 890
The absent sword-hilt. Thou had’st said that groans
Issued from all the plain, that parted souls
Had breathed a life into the guilty soil,
That earthly darkness teemed with gibbering ghosts
And Stygian terrors. Victory foully won
Thus claimed its punishment. The slumbering sense
Already heard the hiss of vengeful flames

As from the depths of Acheron. One saw
 Deep in the trances of the night his sire
 And one his brother slain. But all the dead 900
 In long array were visioned to the eyes
 Of Cæsar dreaming. Not in other guise
 Orestes saw the Furies ere he fled
 To purge his sin within the Scythian bounds ;
 Nor in more fierce convulsions raged the soul
 Of Pentheus raving ; nor Agavé's ¹ mind
 When she had known her son. Before his gaze
 Flashed all the javelins which Pharsalia saw,
 Or that avenging day when drew their blades
 The Roman senators ; and on his couch 910
 Infernal monsters from the depths of hell
 Scourged him in slumber. Thus his guilty mind
 Brought retribution. Ere his rival died
 The terrors that enfold the Stygian stream
 And black Avernus, and the ghostly slain
 Broke on his sleep.

Yet when the golden sun
 Unveiled the butchery of Pharsalia's field ²
 He shrank not from its horror, nor withdrew
 His feasting gaze. There rolled the streams in flood
 With crimson carnage ; there a seething heap 920
 Rose shrouding all the plain, now in decay
 Slow settling down ; there numbered he the host
 Of Magnus slain ; and for the morn's repast
 That spot he chose whence he might watch the dead,

¹ Book VI., 420.

² The whole of this passage is foreign to Cæsar's character, and unfounded in fact. 15,000 Pompeians perished on the field, and 24,000 were taken prisoners. When Cæsar passed over the field he is recorded to have said in pity, 'They would have it so ; after all my exploits I should have been condemned to death had I not thrown myself upon the protection of my soldiers.'—Plutarch, 'Cæsar,' 46 ; Duruy, 'History of Rome,' vol. iii., p. 311.

And feast his eyes upon Emathia's field
Concealed by corpses ; of the bloody sight
Insatiate, he forbad the funeral pyre,
And cast Emathia in the face of heaven.
Nor by the Punic victor was he taught,
Who at the close of Cannæ's fatal fight 930
Laid in the earth the Roman consul dead,
To find fit burial for his fallen foes ;
For these were all his countrymen, nor yet
His ire by blood appeased. Yet ask we not
For separate pyres or sepulchres apart
Wherein to lay the ashes of the fallen :
Burn in one holocaust the nations slain ;
Or should it please thy soul to torture more
Thy kinsman, pile on high from Cæta's slopes
And Pindus' top the woods : thus shall he see 940
While fugitive on the deep the blaze that marks
Thessalia. Yet by this idle rage
Nought dost thou profit ; for these corporal frames
Bearing innate from birth the certain germs
Of dissolution, whether by decay
Or fire consumed, shall fall into the lap
Of all-embracing nature. Thus if now
Thou should'st deny the pyre, still in that flame
When all shall crumble,¹ earth and rolling seas
And stars commingled with the bones of men, 950
These too shall perish. Where thy soul shall go
These shall companion thee ; no higher flight
In airy realms is thine, nor smoother couch
Beneath the Stygian darkness ; for the dead
No fortune favours, and our Mother Earth
All that is born from her receives again,

¹ Alluding to the general conflagration in which (by the Stoic doctrines) all the universe would one day perish.

And he whose bones no tomb or urn protects
 Yet sleeps beneath the canopy of heaven.
 And thou, proud conqueror, who would'st deny
 The rites of burial to thousands slain, 960
 Why flee thy field of triumph? Why desert
 This reeking plain? Drink, Cæsar, of the streams,
 Drink if thou can'st, and should it be thy wish
 Breathe the Thessalian air; but from thy grasp
 The earth is ravished, and th' unburied host,
 Routing their victor, hold Pharsalia's field.

Then to the ghastly harvest of the war
 Came all the beasts of earth whose facile sense
 Of odour tracks the bodies of the slain.
 Sped from his northern home the Thracian wolf; 970
 Bears left their dens and lions from afar
 Scenting the carnage; dogs obscene and foul
 Their homes deserted: all the air was full
 Of gathering fowl, who in their flight had long
 Pursued the armies. Cranes¹ who yearly change
 The frosts of Thracia for the banks of Nile,
 This year delayed their voyage. As ne'er before
 The air grew dark with vultures' hovering wings,
 Innumerable, for every grove and wood
 Sent forth its denizens; on every tree 980
 Dripped from their crimsoned beaks a gory dew.
 Oft on the conquerors and their impious arms
 Or purple rain of blood, or mouldering flesh
 Fell from the lofty heaven; or limbs of men
 From weary talons dropped. Yet even so
 The peoples passed not all into the maw
 Of ravening beast or fowl; the inmost flesh

¹ Wrongly supposed by Lucan to feed on carrion.

Scarce did they touch, nor limbs—thus lay the dead
 Scorned by the spoiler; and the Roman host
 By sun and length of days, and rain from heaven, 990
 At length was mingled with Emathia's plain.

Ill-starred Thessalia! By what hateful crime
 Didst thou offend that thus on thee alone
 Was laid such carnage? By what length of years
 Shalt thou be cleansèd from the curse of war?
 When shall the harvest of thy fields arise
 Free from their purple stain? And when the share
 Cease to upturn the slaughtered hosts of Rome?
 First shall the battle onset sound again,
 Again shall flow upon thy fated earth 1000
 A crimson torrent. Thus may be o'erthrown
 Our sires' memorials; those erected last,
 Or those which pierced by ancient roots have spread
 Through broken stones their sacred urns abroad.
 Thus shall the ploughman of Hæmonia gaze
 On more abundant ashes, and the rake
 Pass o'er more frequent bones. Wert, Thracia, thou,
 Our only battlefield, no sailor's hand
 Upon thy shore should make his cable fast;
 No spade should turn, the husbandman should flee 1010
 Thy fields, the resting-place of Roman dead;
 No lowing kine should graze, nor shepherd dare
 To leave his fleecy charge to browse at will
 On fields made fertile by our mouldering dust;
 All bare and unexplored thy soil should lie,
 As past man's footsteps, parched by cruel suns,
 Or palled by snows unmelting! But, ye gods,
 Give us to hate the lands which bear the guilt;
 Let not all earth be cursèd, though not all
 Be blameless found.

'Twas thus that Munda's fight 1020
And blood of Mutina, and Leucas' cape,
And sad Pachynus,¹ made Philippi pure.

¹ Alluding to the naval war waged by Sextus Pompeius after Caesar's death. He took possession of Sicily, and had command of the seas, but was ultimately defeated by the fleet of Octavius under Agrippa in B.C. 36. Pachynus was the S.E. promontory of the island, but is used in the sense of Sicily, for this battle took place on the north coast.

BOOK VIII

DEATH OF POMPEIUS

Pompeius flies to Lesbos, lines 1-74, and consoles his wife, 75-97. Her reply, 99-124. He declines shelter at Lesbos, 125-168. He sails to Asia Minor and sends Deiotarus to rouse the East, 168-272. He addresses his captains at Phaselis, 277-372. Reply of Lentulus, 374-515. Pompeius proceeds to Egypt, 515-537. The council of Ptolemæus and speech of Pothinus, 537-622. Apostrophe to Egypt, 625-652. The murder of Pompeius and laments of Cornelia, 653-771. The head of Pompeius is cut off and embalmed, 772-831. Cordus buries the body, 830-963. Apostrophe to Egypt, 964-1025.

BOOK VIII

DEATH OF POMPEIUS

Now through Alcides'¹ pass and Tempe's groves
Pompeius, aiming for Hæmonian glens
And forests lone, urged on his wearied steed
Scarce heeding now the spur ; by devious tracks
Seeking to veil the footsteps of his flight :
The rustle of the foliage, and the noise
Of following comrades filled his anxious soul
With terrors, as he fancied at his side
Some ambushed enemy. Fallen from the height
Of former fortunes, still the chieftain knew 10
His life not worthless ; mindful of the fates :
And 'gainst the price he set on Cæsar's head,
He measures Cæsar's value of his own.

Yet, as he rode, the features of the chief
Made known his ruin. Many as they sought
The camp Pharsalian, ere yet was spread
News of the battle, met the chief, amazed,
And wondered at the whirl of human things :
Nor held disaster sure, though Magnus' self
Told of his ruin. Every witness seen 20
Brought peril on his flight : 'twere better far
Safe in a name obscure, through all the world

¹ Comp. Book VI., line 407.

To wander ; but his ancient fame forbad.

Too long had great Pompeius from the height
 Of human greatness, envied of mankind,
 Looked on all others ; nor for him henceforth
 Could life be lowly. The honours of his youth
 Too early thrust upon him, and the deeds
 Which brought him triumph in the Sullan days,
 His conquering navy and the Pontic war, 30
 Made heavier now the burden of defeat,
 And crushed his pondering soul. So length of days
 Drags down the haughty spirit, and life prolonged
 When power has perished. Fortune's latest hour,
 Be the last hour of life ! Nor let the wretch
 Live on disgraced by memories of fame !
 But for the boon of death, who'd dare the sea
 Of prosperous chance ?

Upon the ocean marge
 By red Peneus blushing from the fray,
 Borne in a sloop, to lightest wind and wave 40
 Scarce equal, he, whose countless oars yet smote
 Upon Corcyra's isle and Leucas point,
 Lord of Cilicia and Liburnian lands,
 Crept trembling to the sea. He bids them steer
 For the sequestered shores of Lesbos isle ;
 For there wert thou, sharer of all his griefs,
 Cornelia ! Sadder far thy life apart
 Than wert thou present in Thessalia's fields.
 Racked is thy heart with presages of ill ;
 Pharsalia fills thy dreams ; and when the shades 50
 Give place to coming dawn, with hasty step
 Thou tread'st some cliff sea-beaten, and with eyes
 Gazing afar art first to mark the sail
 Of each approaching bark : yet dar'st not ask
 Aught of thy husband's fate.

Behold the boat

Whose bending canvas bears her to the shore :
 She brings (unknown as yet) thy chiefest dread,
 Rumour of evil, herald of defeat,
 Magnus, thy conquered spouse. Fear then no more,
 But give to grief thy moments. From the ship 60
 He leaps to land ; she marks the cruel doom
 Wrought by the gods upon him : pale and wan
 His weary features, by the hoary locks
 Shaded ; the dust of travel on his garb.
 Dark on her soul a night of anguish fell ;
 Her trembling limbs no longer bore her frame :
 Scarce throbb'd her heart, and prone on earth she lay
 Deceived in hope of death. The boat made fast,
 Pompeius treading the lone waste of sand
 Drew near ; whom when Cornelia's maidens saw, 70
 They stay'd their weeping, yet with sighs subdued,
 Reproach'd the fates ; and tried in vain to raise
 Their mistress' form, till Magnus to his breast
 Drew her with cherishing arms ; and at the touch
 Of soothing hands the life-blood to her veins
 Returned once more, and she could bear to look
 Upon his features. He forbade despair,
 Chiding her grief. ' Not at the earliest blow
 ' By Fortune dealt, inheritress of fame
 ' Bequeath'd by noble fathers, should thy strength 80
 ' Thus fail and yield : renown shall yet be thine,
 ' To last through ages ; not of laws decreed
 ' Nor conquests won ; a gentler path to thee
 ' As to thy sex, is given ; thy husband's woe.
 ' Let thine affection struggle with the fates,
 ' And in his misery love thy lord the more.
 ' I bring thee greater glory, for that gone
 ' Is all the pomp of power and all the crowd

' Of faithful senators and suppliant kings ;
 ' Now first Pompeius for himself alone 90
 ' 'Tis thine to love. Curb this unbounded grief,
 ' While yet I breathe, unseemly. O'er my tomb
 ' Weep out thy full, the final pledge of faith.
 ' Thou hast no loss, nor has the war destroyed
 ' Aught save my fortune. If for that thy grief
 ' That was thy love.'

Roused by her husband's words,
 Yet scarcely could she raise her trembling limbs,
 Thus speaking through her sobs : ' Would I had sought
 ' Detested Cæsar's couch, ill-omened wife
 ' Of spouse unhappy ; at my nuptials twice 100
 ' A Fury has been bridesmaid, and the ghosts
 ' Of slaughtered Crassi, with avenging shades
 ' Brought by my wedlock to the doomèd camp
 ' The Parthian massacre. Twice my star has cursed
 ' The world, and peoples have been hurled to death
 ' In one red moment ; and the gods through me
 ' Have left the better cause. O, hero mine,
 ' O mightiest husband, wedded to a wife
 ' Unworthy ! 'Twas through her that Fortune gained
 ' The right to strike thee. Wherefore did I wed 110
 ' To bring thee misery ? Mine, mine the guilt,
 ' Mine be the penalty. And that the wave
 ' May bear thee gently onwards, and the kings
 ' May keep their faith to thee, and all the earth
 ' Be ready to thy rule, me from thy side
 ' Cast to the billows. Rather had I died
 ' To bring thee victory ; thy disasters thus,
 ' Thus expiate. And, cruel Julia, thee,
 ' Who by this war hast vengeance on our vows,
 ' From thine abode I call : atonement find 120
 ' In this thy rival's death, and spare at least

‘Thy Magnus.’ Then upon his breast she fell,
 While all the concourse wept—e’en Magnus’ self,
 Who saw Thessalia’s field without a tear.

But now upon the shore a numerous band
 From Mitylene thus approached the chief :

‘If ’tis our greatest glory to have kept
 ‘The pledge with us by such a husband placed,
 ‘Do thou one night within these friendly walls
 ‘We pray thee, stay ; thus honouring the homes 130
 ‘Long since devoted, Magnus, to thy cause.

‘This spot in days to come the guest from Rome
 ‘For thee shall honour. Nowhere shalt thou find
 ‘A surer refuge in defeat. All else

‘May court the victor’s favour ; we long since
 ‘Have earned his chastisement. And though our isle
 ‘Rides on the deep, girt by the ocean wave,
 ‘No ships has Cæsar : and to us shall come,
 ‘Be sure, thy captains, to our trusted shore,
 ‘The war renewing. Take, for all is thine, 140

‘The treasures of our temples and the gold,
 ‘Take all our youth by land or on the sea
 ‘To do thy bidding : Lesbos only asks
 ‘This from the chief who sought her in his pride,
 ‘Not in his fall to leave her.’ Pleased in soul

At such a love, and joyed that in the world
 Some faith still lingered, thus Pompeius said :

‘Earth has for me no dearer land than this.
 ‘Did I not trust it with so sweet a pledge
 ‘And find it faithful ? Here was Rome for me, 150
 ‘Country and household gods. This shore I sought
 ‘Home of my wife, this Lesbos, which for her
 ‘Had merited remorseless Cæsar’s ire :

‘Nor was afraid to trust you with the means
 ‘To gain his mercy. But enough—through me

' Your guilt was caused—I part, throughout the world
 ' To prove my fate. Farewell thou happiest land!
 ' Famous for ever, whether taught by thee
 ' Some other kings and peoples may be pleased
 ' To give me shelter; or should'st thou alone 160
 ' Be faithful. And now seek I in what lands
 ' Right may be found or wrong. My latest prayer
 ' Receive, O deity, if still with me
 ' Thou bidest, thus. May it be mine again,
 ' Conquered, with hostile Cæsar on my track,
 ' To find a Lesbos where to enter in
 ' And whence to part, unhindered.'

In the boat

He placed his spouse: while from the shore arose
 Such lamentation, and such hands were raised
 In ire against the gods, that thou had'st deemed 170
 All left their kin for exile, and their homes.
 And though for Magnus grieving in his fall
 Yet for Cornelia chiefly did they mourn
 Long since their gentle guest. For her had wept
 The Lesbian matrons had she left to join
 A victor husband: for she won their love,
 By kindly modesty and gracious mien,
 Ere yet her lord was conquered, while as yet
 Their fortunes stood.

Now slowly to the deep

Sank fiery Titan; but not yet to those 180
 He sought (if such there be), was shown his orb,
 Though veiled from those he quitted. Magnus' mind,
 Anxious with waking cares, sought through the kings
 His subjects, and the cities leagued with Rome
 In faith, and through the pathless tracts that lie
 Beyond the southern bounds: until the toil
 Of sorrowing thought upon the past, and dread

Of that which might be, made him cast afar
 His wavering doubts, and from the captain seek
 Some counsel on the heavens; how by the sky 190
 He marked his track upon the deep; what star
 Guided the path to Syria, and what points
 Found in the Wain would pilot him aright
 To shores of Libya. But thus replied
 The well-skilled watcher of the silent skies:
 ‘ Not by the constellations moving ever
 ‘ Across the heavens do we guide our barks;
 ‘ For that were perilous; but by that star¹
 ‘ Which never sinks nor dips below the wave,
 ‘ Girt by the glittering groups men call the Bears. 200
 ‘ When stands the pole-star clear before the mast,
 ‘ Then to the Bosphorus look we, and the main
 ‘ Which carves the coast of Scythia. But the more
 ‘ Bootes dips, and nearer to the sea
 ‘ Is Cynosura seen, so much the ship
 ‘ Towards Syria tends, till bright Canopus² shines,
 ‘ In southern skies content to hold his course;
 ‘ With him upon the left past Pharos borne
 ‘ Straight for the Syrtes shalt thou plough the deep.
 ‘ But whither now dost bid me shape the yards 210
 ‘ And set the canvas?’

Magnus, doubting still;

‘ This only be thy care: from Thracia steer
 ‘ The vessel onward; shun with all thy skill
 ‘ Italia’s distant shore: and for the rest
 ‘ Trust to the winds for guidance. When I sought,
 ‘ Pledged with the Lesbians, my spouse beloved,
 ‘ My course was sure: now, Fortune, where thou wilt
 ‘ Give me a refuge.’ These his answering words.

¹ Comp. Book III., 256.

² Canopus is a star in Argo, invisible in Italy. (Haskins.)

The pilot, as they hung from level yards
 Shifted the sails; and hauling to the stern 220
 One sheet, he slacked the other, to the left
 Steering, where Samian rocks and Chian marred
 The stillness of the waters; while the sea
 Sent up in answer to the changing keel
 A different murmur. Not so deftly turns
 Curbing his steeds, his wain the Charioteer,
 While glows his dexter wheel, and with the left
 He almost touches, yet avoids the goal.

Now Titan veiled the stars and showed the shore;
 When, following Magnus, came a scattered band 230
 Saved from the Thracian storm. From Lesbos' port
 His son¹; next, captains who preserved their faith;
 For at his side, though vanquished in the field,
 Cast down by fate, in exile, still there stood,
 Lords of the earth and all her Orient realms,
 The Kings, his ministers.

To the furthest lands

He bids² Deiotarus: 'O faithful friend,
 ' Since in Emathia's battle-field was lost
 ' The world, so far as Roman, it remains
 ' To test the faith of peoples of the East 240
 ' Who drink of Tigris and Euphrates' stream,
 ' Secure as yet from Cæsar. Be it thine
 ' Far as the rising of the sun to trace
 ' The fates that favour Magnus: to the courts
 ' Of Median palaces, to Scythian steppes;
 ' And to the son of haughty Arsaces,
 ' To bear my message, " Hold ye to the faith,
 ' " Pledged by your priests and by the Thunderer's name
 ' " Of Latium sworn? Then fill your quivers full,

¹ Sextus.

² Tetrarch of Galatia. He was always friendly to Rome, and in the civil war sided with Pompeius. He was at Pharsalia.

“ Draw to its fullest span th’ Armenian bow ; 250
 “ And, Getan archers, wing the fatal shaft.
 “ And you, ye Parthians, if when I sought
 “ The Caspian gates, and on th’ Alaunian tribes ¹
 “ Fierce, ever-warring, pressed, I suffered you
 “ In Persian tracts to wander, nor compelled
 “ To seek for shelter Babylonian walls ;
 “ If beyond Cyrus’ kingdom ² and the bounds
 “ Of wide Chaldæa, where from Nysa’s top
 “ Pours down Hydaspes, and the Ganges flood
 “ Foams to the ocean, nearer far I stood 260
 “ Than Persia’s bounds to Phœbus’ rising fires ;
 “ If by my sufferance, Parthians, you alone
 “ Decked not my triumphs, but in equal state
 “ Sole of all Eastern princes, face to face
 “ Met Magnus in his pride, nor only once
 “ Through me were saved ; (for after that dread day
 “ Who but Pompeius soothed the kindling fires
 “ Of Latium’s anger ?)—by my service paid
 “ Come forth to victory : burst the ancient bounds
 “ By Macedon’s hero set : in Magnus’ cause 270
 “ March, Parthians, to Rome’s conquest. Rome herself
 “ Prays to be conquered.”

Hard the task imposed ;
 Yet doffed his robe, and swift obeyed, the king
 Wrapped in a servant’s mantle. If a Prince
 For safety play the boor, then happier, sure,
 The peasant’s lot than lordship of the world.

The king thus parted, past Icaria’s rocks
 Pompeius’ vessel skirts the foamy crags
 Of little Samos : Colophon’s tranquil sea

¹ A Scythian people.

² Pompeius seems to have induced the Roman public to believe that he had led his armies to such extreme distances, but he never in fact did so.—Mommson, vol. iv. p. 147.

And Ephesus lay behind him, and the air 280
 Breathed freely on him from the Coan shore.
 Cnidos he shunned, and, famous for its sun,
 Rhodos, and steering for the middle deep
 Escaped the windings of Telmessus' bay ;
 Till rose Pamphylian coasts before the bark,
 And first the fallen chieftain dared to find
 In small Phaselis shelter ; for therein
 Scarce was the husbandman, and empty homes
 Forbad to fear. Next Taurus' heights he saw
 And Dipsus falling from his lofty sides : 290
 So sailed he onward.

Did Pompeius hope,

Thus severed by the billows from the foe,
 To make his safety sure ? His little boat
 Flies unmolested past Cilician shores ;
 But to their exiled lord in chiefest part
 The senate of Rome was drawn. Celendræ there
 Received their fleet, where fair Selinus' stream
 In spacious bay gives refuge from the main ;
 And to the gathered chiefs in mournful words
 At length Pompeius thus resolved his thoughts : 300
 ' O faithful comrades mine in war and flight !
 ' To me, my country ! Though this barren shore
 ' Our place of meeting, and no gathered host
 ' Surrounds us, yet upon our changed estate
 ' I seek your counsel. Rouse ye as of yore
 ' With hearts of courage ! Magnus on the field
 ' Not all is perished, nor do fates forbid
 ' But that I rise afresh with living hope
 ' Of future victories, and spurn defeat.
 ' From Libyan ruins did not Marius rise 310
 ' Again recorded Consul on the page
 ' Full of his honours ? shall a lighter blow

' Keep Magnus down, whose thousand chiefs and ships
 ' Still plough the billows ; by defeat his strength
 ' Not whelmed but scattered ? And the fame alone
 ' Of our great deeds of glory in the past
 ' Shall now protect us, and the world unchanged
 ' Still love its hero.

Weigh upon the scales

' Ye chiefs, which best may help the needs of Rome,
 ' In faith and armies ; or the Parthian realm 320
 ' Egypt or Libya. For myself, ye chiefs,
 ' I veil no secret thoughts, but thus advise.
 ' Place no reliance on the Pharian king ;
 ' His age forbids : nor on the cunning Moor,
 ' Who vain of Punic ancestors, and vain
 ' Of Carthaginian memories and descent ¹
 ' Supposed from Hannibal, and swollen with pride
 ' At Varus' supplication, sees in thought
 ' Rome lie beneath him. Wherefore, comrades, seek
 ' At speed, the Eastern world. Those mighty realms 330
 ' Disjoins from us Euphrates, and the gates
 ' Called Caspian ; on another sky than ours
 ' There day and night revolve ; another sea
 ' Of different hue is severed from our own.²
 ' Rule is their wish, nought else : and in their plains
 ' Taller the war-horse, stronger twangs the bow ;
 ' There fails nor youth nor age to wing the shaft
 ' Fatal in flight. Their archers first subdued
 ' The lance of Macedon and Bactra's ³ walls,
 ' Home of the Mede ; and haughty Babylon 340

¹ Juba was of supposed collateral descent from Hannibal. (Haskins, quoting 'The Scholiast.')

² Confusing the Red Sea with the Persian Gulf.

³ Balkh of modern times. Bactria was one of the kingdoms established by the successors of Alexander the Great. It was, however, subdued by the Parthians about the middle of the third century B.C.

' With all her storied towers : nor shall they dread
 ' The Roman onset ; trusting to the shafts
 ' By which the host of fated Crassus fell.
 ' Nor trust they only to the javelin blade
 ' Untipped with poison : from the rancorous edge
 ' The slightest wound deals death.

Would that my lot

' Forced me not thus to trust that savage race
 ' Of Arsaces !¹ Yet now their emulous fate
 ' Contends with Roman destinies : the gods
 ' Smile favouring on their nation. Thence I'll pour 359
 ' On Cæsar peoples from another earth
 ' And all the Orient ravished from its home.
 ' But should the East and barbarous treaties fail,
 ' Fate, bear our shipwrecked fortunes past the bounds
 ' Of earth, as known to men. The kings I made
 ' I supplicate not, but in death shall take
 ' To other spheres this solace, chief of all ;
 ' His hands, my kinsman's, never shed my blood
 ' Nor soothed me dying. Yet as my mind in turn
 ' The varying fortunes of my life recalls, 369
 ' How was I glorious in that Eastern world !
 ' How great my name by far Mæotis marsh
 ' And where swift Tanais flows ! No other land
 ' Has so resounded with my conquests won,
 ' So sent me home triumphant. Rome, do thou
 ' Approve my enterprise ! What happier chance
 ' Could favouring gods afford thee ? Parthian hosts

¹ Dion could not believe it possible that Pompeius ever contemplated taking refuge in Parthia, but Plutarch states it as a fact ; and says that it was Theophanes of Lesbos who dissuaded him from doing so. (Pomp. 76). Mommsen (vol. iv., pp. 421-423) discusses the subject, and says that from Parthia only could Pompeius have attempted to seek support, and that such an attempt, putting the objections to it aside, would probably have failed. Lucan's sympathies were probably with Lentulus.

' Shall fight the civil wars of Rome, and share
 ' Her ills, and fall enfeebled. When the arms
 ' Of Cæsar meet with Parthian in the fray, 370
 ' Then must kind Fortune vindicate my lot
 ' Or Crassus be avenged.'

But murmurs rose,
 And Magnus speaking knew his words condemned.
 Then Lentulus ¹ answered, with indignant soul,
 Foremost to rouse their valour, thus in words
 Worthy a Consul: ' Have Thessalian woes
 ' Broken thy spirit so? One day's defeat
 ' Condemned the world to ruin? Is the cause
 ' Lost in one battle and beyond recall?
 ' Find we no cure for wounds? Does Fortune drive 380
 ' Thee, Magnus, to the Parthians' feet alone?
 ' And dost thou, fugitive, spurn the lands and skies
 ' Known heretofore, and seek for other poles
 ' And constellations, and Chaldæan gods,
 ' And rites barbarian, servant of the realm
 ' Of Parthia? But why then took we arms
 ' For love of liberty? If thou canst slave
 ' Thou hast deceived the world! Shall Parthia see
 ' Thee at whose name, ruler of mighty Rome,
 ' She trembled, at whose feet she captive saw 390
 ' Hyrcanian kings and Indian princes kneel,
 ' Now humbly suppliant, victim of the fates;
 ' And at thy prayer her puny strength extol
 ' In mad contention with the Western world?
 ' Nor think, Pompeius, thou shalt plead thy cause
 ' In that proud tongue unknown to Parthian ears
 ' Of which thy fame is worthy; sobs and tears

¹ Probably Lucius Lentulus Crus, who had been Consul, for B.C. 49, along with Caius Marcellus. (See Book V., 9.) He was murdered in Egypt by Ptolemy's ministers.

' He shall demand of thee. And has our shame
 ' Brought us to this, that some barbarian foe
 ' Shall venge Hesperia's wrongs ere Rome her own? 400
 ' Thou wert our leader for the civil war :
 ' Mid Scythia's peoples dost thou bruit abroad
 ' Wounds and disasters which are ours alone ?
 ' Rome until now, though subject to the yoke
 ' Of civic despots, yet within her walls
 ' Has brooked no foreign lord. And art thou pleased
 ' From all the world to summon to her gates
 ' These savage peoples, while the standards lost
 ' By far Euphrates when the Crassi fell
 ' Shall lead thy columns? Shall the only king 410
 ' Who failed Emathia, while the fates yet hid
 ' Their favouring voices, brave the victor's power,
 ' And join with thine his fortune? Nay, not so
 ' This nation trusts itself. Each race that claims
 ' A northern birth, unconquered in the fray
 ' Claims but the warrior's death ; but as the sky
 ' Slopes towards the eastern tracts and gentler climes
 ' So are the nations. There in flowing robes
 ' And garments delicate are men arrayed.
 ' True that the Parthian in Sarmatia's plains, 420
 ' Where Tigris spreads across the level meads,
 ' Contends invincible ; for flight is his
 ' Unbounded ; but should uplands bar his path
 ' He scales them not ; nor through the night of war
 ' Shall his weak bow uncertain in its aim
 ' Repel the foeman ; nor his strength of arm
 ' The torrent stem ; nor all a summer's day
 ' In dust and blood bear up against the foe.
 ' They fill no hostile trench, nor in their hands
 ' Shall battering engine or machine of war 430
 ' Dash down the rampart ; and whate'er avails

' To stop their arrows, battles like a wall.¹
 ' Wide sweep their horsemen, fleeting in attack
 ' And light in onset, and their troops shall yield
 ' A camp, not take it: poisoned are their shafts ;
 ' Nor do they dare a combat hand to hand ;
 ' But as the winds may suffer, from afar
 ' They draw their bows at venture. Brave men love
 ' The sword which, wielded by a stalwart arm,
 ' Drives home the blow and makes the battle sure. 440
 ' Not such their weapons ; and the first assault
 ' Shall force the flying Mede with coward hand
 ' And empty quiver from the field. His faith
 ' In poisoned blades is placed ; but trustest thou
 ' Those who without such aid refuse the war ?
 ' For such alliance wilt thou risk a death,
 ' With all the world between thee and thy home ?
 ' Shall some barbarian earth or lowly grave
 ' Enclose thee perishing ? E'en that were shame
 ' While Crassus seeks a sepulchre in vain. 450
 ' Thy lot is happy ; death, unfeared by men,
 ' Is thy worst doom, Pompeius ; but no death
 ' Awaits Cornelia—such a fate for her
 ' This king shall not reserve ; for know not we
 ' The hateful secrets of barbarian love,
 ' Which, blind as that of beasts, the marriage bed
 ' Pollutes with wives unnumbered ? Nor the laws
 ' By nature made respect they, nor of kin.
 ' In ancient days the fable of the crime
 ' By tyrant Œdipus unwitting wrought, 460
 ' Brought hate upon his city ; but how oft
 ' Sits on the throne of Arsaces a prince
 ' Of birth incestuous ? This gracious dame
 ' Born of Metellus, noblest blood of Rome,

¹ That is, be as easily defended.

' Shall share the couch of the barbarian king
 ' With thousand others : yet in savage joy,
 ' Proud of her former husbands, he may grant
 ' Some larger share of favour ; and the fates
 ' May seem to smile on Parthia ; for the spouse
 ' Of Crassus, captive, shall to him be brought 470
 ' As spoil of former conquest. If the wound
 ' Dealt in that fell defeat in eastern lands
 ' Still stirs thy heart, then double is the shame
 ' First to have waged the war upon ourselves,
 ' Then ask the foe for succour. For what blame
 ' Can rest on thee or Cæsar, worse than this
 ' That in the clash of conflict ye forgot
 ' For Crassus' slaughtered troops the vengeance due ?
 ' First should united Rome upon the Mede
 ' Have poured her captains, and the troops who guard 480
 ' The northern frontier from the Dacian hordes ;
 ' And all her legions should have left the Rhine
 ' Free to the Teuton, till the Parthian dead
 ' Were piled in heaps upon the sands that hide
 ' Our heroes slain ; and haughty Babylon
 ' Lay at her victor's feet. To this foul peace
 ' We pray an end ; and if Thessalia's day
 ' Has closed our warfare, let the conqueror march
 ' Straight on our Parthian foe. Then should this heart,
 ' Then only, leap at Cæsar's triumph won. 490
 ' Go thou and pass Araxes' chilly stream
 ' On this thine errand ; and the fleeting ghost
 ' Pierced by the Scythian shaft shall greet thee thus :
 ' " Art thou not he to whom our wandering shades
 ' " Looked for their vengeance in the guise of war ?
 ' " And dost thou sue for peace ? " There shalt thou meet
 ' Memorials of the dead. Red is yon wall
 ' Where passed their headless trunks : Euphrates here

' Engulfed them slain, or Tigris' winding stream
 ' Cast on the shore to perish. Gaze on this, 500
 ' And thou canst supplicate at Cæsar's feet
 ' In mid Thessalia seated. Nay, thy glance
 ' Turn on the Roman world, and if thou fear'st
 ' King Juba faithless and the southern realms,
 ' Then seek we Pharos. Egypt on the west
 ' Girt by the trackless Syrtes forces back
 ' By sevenfold stream the ocean ; rich in glebe
 ' And gold and merchandise ; and proud of Nile
 ' Asks for no rain from heaven. Now holds this boy
 ' Her sceptre, owed to thee ; his guardian thou : 510
 ' And who shall fear this shadow of a name ?
 ' Hope not from monarchs old, whose shame is fled,
 ' Or laws or troth or honour of the gods :
 ' New kings bring mildest sway.' ¹

His words prevailed

Upon his hearers. With what freedom speaks,
 When states are trembling, patriot despair !
 Pompeius' voice was quelled.

They hoist their sails

For Cyprus shaped, whose altars more than all
 The goddess loves who from the Paphian wave
 Sprang, mindful of her birth, if such be truth, 520
 And gods have origin. Past the craggy isle
 Pompeius sailing, left at length astern
 Its southern cape, and struck across the main
 With winds transverse and tides ; nor reached the mount
 Grateful to sailors for its nightly gleam :
 But to the bounds of Egypt hardly won
 With battling canvas, where divided Nile

¹ Thus rendered by Sir Thomas May, of the Long Parliament :

' Men used to sceptres are ashamed of nought :
 ' The mildest government a kingdome finds
 ' Under new kings.

Pours through the shallows his Pelusian stream.¹
 Now was the season when the heavenly scale
 Most nearly balances the varying hours, 530
 Once only equal ; for the wintry day
 Repays to night her losses of the spring ;
 And Magnus learning that th' Egyptian king
 Lay by Mount Casius, ere the sun was set
 Or flagged his canvas, thither steered his ship.

Already had a horseman from the shore
 In rapid gallop to the trembling court
 Brought news their guest was come. Short was the time
 For counsel given ; but in haste were met
 All who advised the base Pellæan king, 540
 Monsters, inhuman ; there Achoreus sat
 Less harsh in failing years, in Memphis born
 Of empty rites, and guardian of the rise²
 Of fertilising Nile. While he was priest
 Not only once had Apis³ lived the space
 Marked by the crescent on his sacred brow.
 First was his voice, for Magnus raised and troth
 And for the pledges of the king deceased :
 But, skilled in counsel meet for shameless minds
 And tyrant hearts, Pothinus, dared to claim 550
 Judgment of death on Magnus. 'Laws and right
 'Make many guilty, Ptolemæus king.
 'And faith thus lauded⁴ brings its punishment
 'When it supports the fallen. To the fates

¹ That is, he reached the most eastern mouth of the Nile instead of the western.

² At Memphis was the well in which the rise and fall of the water acted as a Nilometer (Mr. Haskins's note).

³ Comp. Herodotus, Book iii. 27. Apis was a god who appeared at intervals in the shape of a calf with a white mark on his brow. His appearance was the occasion of general rejoicing. Cambyses slew the Apis which came in his time, and for this cause became mad, as the Egyptians said.

⁴ That is, by Achoreus, who had just spoken.

'Yield thee, and to the gods; the wretched shun
 'But seek the happy. As the stars from earth
 'Differ, and fire from ocean, so from right
 'Expedience.¹ The tyrant's shorn of strength
 'Who ponders justice; and regard for right
 'Brings ruin on a throne. For lawless power 560
 'The best defence is crime, and cruel deeds
 'Find safety but in doing. He that aims
 'At piety must flee the regal hall;
 'Virtue's the bane of rule; he lives in dread
 'Who shrinks from cruelty. Nor let this chief
 'Unpunished scorn thy youth, who thinks that thou
 'Not even the conquered from our shore can'st bar.
 'Nor to a stranger, if thou would'st not reign,
 'Resign thy sceptre, for the ties of blood
 'Speak for thy banished sister. Let her rule 570
 'O'er Nile and Pharos: we shall at the least
 'Preserve our Egypt from the Latian arms.
 'What Magnus owned not ere the war was done,
 'No more shall Cæsar. Driven from all the world,
 'Trusting no more to Fortune, now he seeks
 'Some foreign nation which may share his fate.
 'Shades of the slaughtered in the civil war
 'Compel him: nor from Cæsar's arms alone
 'But from the Senate also does he fly,
 'Whose blood outpoured has gorged Thessalian fowl; 580
 'Monarchs he fears whose all he hath destroyed,

¹ Compare Ben Jonson's 'Sejanus,' Act ii., Scene 2:—

'The prince who shames a tyrant's name to bear
 Shall never dare do anything, but fear;
 All the command of sceptres quite doth perish
 If it begin religious thoughts to cherish;
 Whole empires fall, swayed by these nice respects,
 It is the licence of dark deeds protects
 E'en states most hated, when no laws resist
 The sword, but that it acteth what it list.'

‘ And nations piled in one ensanguined heap,
 ‘ By him deserted. Victim of the blow
 ‘ Thessalia dealt, refused in every land,
 ‘ He asks for help from ours not yet betrayed.
 ‘ But none than Egypt with this chief from Rome
 ‘ Has juster quarrel; who has sought with arms
 ‘ To stain our Pharos, distant from the strife
 ‘ And peaceful ever, and to make our realm
 ‘ Suspected by his victor. Why alone 590
 ‘ Should this our country please thee in thy fall?
 ‘ Why bringst thou here the burden of thy fates,
 ‘ Pharsalia’s curse? In Cæsar’s eyes long since
 ‘ We have offence which by the sword alone
 ‘ Can find its condonation, in that we
 ‘ By thy persuasion from the Senate gained
 ‘ This our dominion. By our prayers we helped
 ‘ If not by arms thy cause. This sword, which fate
 ‘ Bids us make ready, not for thee I hold
 ‘ Prepared, but for the vanquished; and on thee 600
 ‘ (Would it had been on Cæsar) falls the stroke;
 ‘ For we are borne, as all things, to his side.
 ‘ And dost thou doubt, since thou art in my power,
 ‘ Thou art my victim? By what trust in us
 ‘ Cam’st thou, unhappy? Scarce our people tills
 ‘ The fields, though softened by the refluent Nile:
 ‘ Know well our strength, and know we can no more.
 ‘ Rome ’neath the ruin of Pompeius lies:
 ‘ Shalt thou, O king, uphold him? Shalt thou dare
 ‘ To stir Pharsalia’s ashes and to call 610
 ‘ War to thy kingdom? Ere the fight was fought
 ‘ We joined not either army—shall we now
 ‘ Make Magnus friend whom all the world deserts?
 ‘ And fling a challenge to the conquering chief
 ‘ And all his proud successes? Fair is help

‘Lent in disaster, yet reserved for those
 ‘Whom fortune favours. Faith her friends selects
 ‘Not from the wretched.’

They decree the crime :

Proud is the boyish tyrant that so soon
 His slaves permit him to so great a deed 620
 To give his favouring voice ; and for the work
 They choose Achilles.

Where the treacherous shore
 Runs out in sand below the Casian mount
 And where the shallow waters of the sea
 Attest the Syrtes near, in little boat
 Achilles and his partners in the crime
 With swords embark. Ye gods ! and shall the Nile
 And barbarous Memphis and th’ effeminate crew
 That throngs Pelusian Canopus raise
 Its thoughts to such an enterprise ? Do thus 630
 Our fates press on the world ? Is Rome thus fallen
 That in our civil frays the Pharian sword
 Finds place, or Egypt ? O, may civil war
 Be thus far faithful that the hand which strikes
 Be of our kindred ; and the foreign fiend
 Held worlds apart ! Pompeius, great in soul,
 Noble in spirit, had deserved a death
 From Cæsar’s self. And, king, hast thou no fear
 At such a ruin of so great a name ?
 And dost thou dare when heaven’s high thunder rolls, 640
 Thou, puny boy, to mingle with its tones
 Thine impure utterance ? Had he not won
 A world by arms, and thrice in triumph scaled
 The sacred Capitol, and vanquished kings,
 And championed the Roman Senate’s cause ;
 He, kinsman of the victor ? ’Twas enough
 To cause forbearance in a Pharian king,

That he was Roman. Wherefore with thy sword
 Dost stab our breasts? Thou know'st not, impious boy,
 How stand thy fortunes; now no more by right 650
 Hast thou the sceptre of the land of Nile;
 For prostrate, vanquished in the civil wars
 Is he who gave it.

Furling now his sails,
 Magnus with oars approached th' accursèd land,
 When in their little boat the murderous crew
 Drew nigh, and feigning from th' Egyptian court
 A ready welcome, blamed the double tides
 Broken by shallows, and their scanty beach
 Unfit for fleets; and bade him to their craft
 Leaving his loftier ship. Had not the fates' 660
 Eternal and unalterable laws
 Called for their victim and decreed his end
 Now near at hand, his comrades' warning voice
 Yet might have stayed his course: for if the court
 To Magnus, who bestowed the Pharian crown,
 In truth were open, should not king and fleet
 In pomp have come to greet him? But he yields:
 The fates compel. Welcome to him was death
 Rather than fear. But, rushing to the side,
 His spouse would follow, for she dared not stay, 670
 Fearing the guile. Then he, 'Abide, my wife,
 'And son, I pray you; from the shore afar
 'Await my fortunes; mine shall be the life
 'To test their honour.' But Cornelia still
 Withstood his bidding, and with arms outspread
 Frenzied she cried: 'And whither without me,
 'Cruel, departest? Thou forbid'st me share
 'Thy risks Thessalian; dost again command
 'That I should part from thee? No happy star
 'Breaks on our sorrow. If from every land 680

'Thou dost debar me, why didst turn aside
 'In flight to Lesbos? On the waves alone
 'Am I thy fit companion?' Thus in vain,
 Leaning upon the bulwark, dazed with dread;
 Nor could she turn her straining gaze aside,
 Nor see her parting husband. All the fleet
 Stood silent, anxious, waiting for the end:
 Not that they feared the murder which befell,
 But lest their leader might with humble prayer
 Kneel to the king he made.

690

As Magnus passed,
 A Roman soldier from the Pharian boat,
 Septimius, salutes him. Gods of heaven!
 There stood he, minion to a barbarous king,
 Nor bearing still the javelin of Rome;
 But vile in all his arms; giant in form
 Fierce, brutal, thirsting as a beast may thirst
 For carnage. Didst thou, Fortune, for the sake
 Of nations, spare to dread Pharsalus field
 This savage monster's blows? Or dost thou place
 Throughout the world, for thy mysterious ends,
 Some ministering swords for civil war?
 Thus, to the shame of victors and of gods,
 This story shall be told in days to come:
 A Roman swordsman, once within thy ranks,
 Slave to the orders of a puny prince,
 Severed Pompeius' neck. And what shall be
 Septimius' fame hereafter? By what name
 This deed be called, if Brutus wrought a crime?

700

Now came the end, the latest hour of all:
 Rapt to the boat was Magnus, of himself
 No longer master, and the miscreant crew
 Unsheathed their swords; which when the chieftain saw
 He swathed his visage, for he scorned unveiled

710

To yield his life to fortune ; closed his eyes
 And held his breath within him, lest some word,
 Or sob escaped, might mar the deathless fame
 His deeds had won. And when within his side
 Achillas plunged his blade, nor sound nor cry
 He gave, but calm consented to the blow
 And proved himself in dying ; in his breast 720
 These thoughts revolving : ‘ In the years to come
 ‘ Men shall make mention of our Roman toils,
 ‘ Gaze on this boat, ponder the Pharian faith ;
 ‘ And think upon thy fame and all the years
 ‘ While fortune smiled : but for the ills of life
 ‘ How thou could’st bear them, this men shall not know
 ‘ Save by thy death. Then weigh thou not the shame
 ‘ That waits on thine undoing. Whoso strikes,
 ‘ The blow is Cæsar’s. Men may tear this frame
 ‘ And cast it mangled to the winds of heaven ; 730
 ‘ Yet have I prospered, nor can all the gods
 ‘ Call back my triumphs. Life may bring defeat,
 ‘ But death no misery. If my spouse and son
 ‘ Behold me murdered, silently the more
 ‘ I suffer : admiration at my death
 ‘ Shall prove their love.’ Thus did Pompeius die,
 Guarding his thoughts.

But now Cornelia filled

The air with lamentations at the sight ;
 ‘ O, husband, whom my wicked self hath slain !
 ‘ That lonely isle apart thy bane hath been 740
 ‘ And stayed thy coming. Cæsar to the Nile
 ‘ Has won before us ; for what other hand
 ‘ May do such work ? But whoso’er thou art
 ‘ Sent from the gods with power, for Cæsar’s ire,
 ‘ Or thine own sake, to slay, thou dost not know
 ‘ Where lies the heart of Magnus. Haste and do !

' Such were his prayer—no other punishment
 ' Befits the conquered. Yet let him ere his end
 ' See mine, Cornelia's. On me the blame
 ' Of all these wars, who sole of Roman wives 750
 ' Followed my spouse afield nor feared the fates ;
 ' And in disaster, when the kings refused,
 ' Received and cherished him. Did I deserve
 ' Thus to be left of thee, and didst thou seek
 ' To spare me? And when rushing on thine end
 ' Was I to live? Without the monarch's help
 ' Death shall be mine, either by headlong leap
 ' Beneath the waters ; or some sailor's hand
 ' Shall bind around this neck the fatal cord ;
 ' Or else some comrade, worthy of his chief, 760
 ' Drive to my heart his blade for Magnus' sake,
 ' And claim the service done to Cæsar's arms.
 ' What ! does your cruelty withhold my fate?
 ' Ah ! still he lives, nor is it mine as yet
 ' To win this freedom ; they forbid me death,
 ' Kept for the victor's triumph.' Thus she spake,
 While friendly hands upheld her fainting form ;
 And sped the trembling vessel from the shore.

Men say that Magnus, when the deadly blows
 Fell thick upon him, lost nor form divine, 770
 Nor venerated mien ; and as they gazed

Upon his lacerated head they marked
 Still on his features anger with the gods.
 Nor death could change his visage—for in act
 Of striking, fierce Septimius' murderous hand
 (Thus making worse his crime) severed the folds
 That swathed the face, and seized the noble head
 And drooping neck ere yet was fled the life :
 Then placed upon the bench ; and with his blade
 Slow at its hideous task, and blows unskilled 780

Hacked through the flesh and brake the knotted bone :
 For yet man had not learned by swoop of sword
 Deftly to lop the neck. Achilles claimed
 The gory head dissevered. What! shalt thou
 A Roman soldier, while thy blade yet reeks
 From Magnus' slaughter, play the second part
 To this base varlet of the Pharian king ?
 Nor bear thyself the bleeding trophy home ?
 Then, that the impious boy (ah! shameful fate)
 Might know the features of the hero slain, 790
 Seized by the locks, the dread of kings, which waved
 Upon his stately front, on Pharian piké
 The head was lifted ; while almost the life
 Gave to the tongue its accents, and the eyes
 Were yet scarce glazed : that head at whose command
 Was peace or war, that tongue whose eloquent tones
 Would move assemblies, and that noble brow
 On which were showered the rewards of Rome.
 Nor to the tyrant did the sight suffice
 To prove the murder done. The perishing flesh, 800
 The tissues, and the brain he bids remove
 By art nefarious : the shrivelled skin
 Draws tight upon the bone ; and poisonous juice
 Gives to the face its lineaments in death.

Last of thy race, thou base degenerate boy,
 About to perish¹ soon, and yield the throne
 To thine incestuous sister ; while the Prince
 From Macedon here in consecrated vault
 Now rests, and ashes of the kings are closed
 In mighty pyramids, and lofty tombs 810
 Of thine unworthy fathers mark the graves ;
 Shall Magnus' body hither and thither borne

¹ He was drowned in attempting to escape in the battle on the Nile in the following autumn.

Be battered, headless, by the ocean wave ?
 Too much it troubled thee to guard the corpse
 Unmutilated, for his kinsman's eye
 To witness ! Such the faith which Fortune kept
 With prosperous Pompeius to the end.
 'Twas not for him in evil days some ray
 Of light to hope for. Shattered from the height
 Of power in one short moment to his death ! 820
 Years of unbroken victories balanced down
 By one day's carnage ! In his happy time
 Heaven did not harass him, nor did she spare
 In misery. Long Fortune held the hand
 That dashed him down. Now beaten by the sands,
 Torn upon rocks, the sport of ocean's waves
 Poured through its wounds, his headless carcass lies,
 Save by the lacerated trunk unknown.

Yet ere the victor touched the Pharian sands
 Some scanty rites to Magnus Fortune gave, 830
 Lest he should want all burial. / Pale with fear
 Came Cordus, hasting from his hiding place ;
 Quæstor, he joined Pompeius on thy shore,
 Idalian Cyprus, bringing in his train
 A cloud of evils. Through the darkening shades
 Love for the dead compelled his trembling steps,
 Hard by the margin of the deep to search
 And drag to land his master. Through the clouds
 The moon shone sadly, and her rays were dim ;
 But by its hue upon the hoary main 840
 He knew the body. In a fast embrace
 He holds it, wrestling with the greedy sea,
 And deftly watching for a refluent wave
 Gains help to bring his burden to the land.
 Then clinging to the loved remains, the wounds
 Washed with his tears, thus to the gods he speaks,

And misty stars obscure : ‘ Here, Fortune, lies
 ‘ Pompeius, thine : no costly incense rare
 ‘ Or pomp of funeral he dares to ask ;
 ‘ Nor that the smoke rise heavenward from his pyre 850
 ‘ With eastern odours rich ; nor that the necks
 ‘ Of pious Romans bear him to the tomb,
 ‘ Their parent ; while the forums shall resound
 ‘ With dirges ; nor that triumphs won of yore
 ‘ Be borne before him ; nor for sorrowing hosts
 ‘ To cast their weapons forth. Some little shell
 ‘ He begs as for the meanest, laid in which
 ‘ His mutilated corse may reach the flame.
 ‘ Grudge not his misery the pile of wood
 ‘ Lit by this menial hand. Is’t not enough 860
 ‘ That his Cornelia with dishevelled hair
 ‘ Weeps not beside him at his obsequies,
 ‘ Nor with a last embrace shall place the torch
 ‘ Beneath her husband dead, but on the deep
 ‘ Hard by still wanders ?’

Burning from afar

He sees the pyre of some ignoble youth
 Deserted of his own, with none to guard :
 And quickly drawing from beneath the limbs
 Some glowing logs, ‘ Whoe’er thou art,’ he said
 ‘ Neglected shade, uncared for, dear to none, 870
 ‘ Yet happier than Pompeius in thy death,
 ‘ Pardon I ask that this my stranger hand
 ‘ Should violate thy tomb. Yet if to shades
 ‘ Be sense or memory, gladly shalt thou yield
 ‘ This from thy pyre to Magnus. ’Twere thy shame,
 ‘ Blessed with due burial, if his remains
 ‘ Were homeless.’ Speaking thus, the wood aflame
 Back to the headless trunk at speed he bore,
 Which hanging on the margin of the deep,

Almost the sea had won. In sandy trench 880
 The gathered fragments of a broken boat,
 Trembling, he placed around the noble limbs.
 No pile above the corpse nor under lay,
 Nor was the fire beneath. Then as he crouched
 Beside the blaze, 'O, greatest chief,' he cried,
 'Majestic champion of Hesperia's name,
 'If to be tossed unburied on the deep
 'Rather than these poor rites thy shade prefer,
 'From these mine offices thy mighty soul
 'Withdraw, Pompeius. Injuries dealt by fate 890
 'Command this duty, lest some bird or beast
 'Or ocean monster, or fierce Cæsar's wrath
 'Should venture aught upon thee. Take the fire ;
 'All that thou canst ; by Roman hand at least
 'Enkindled. And should Fortune grant return
 'To loved Hesperia's land, not here shall rest
 'Thy sacred ashes ; but within an urn
 'Cornelia, from this humble hand received,
 'Shall place them. Here upon a meagre stone
 'We draw the characters to mark thy tomb. 900
 'These letters reading may some kindly friend
 'Bring back thine head, dissevered, and may grant
 'Full funeral honours to thine earthly frame.'

Then did he cherish the enfeebled fire
 Till Magnus' body mingled with its flames.
 But now the harbinger of coming dawn
 Had paled the constellations : he in fear
 Seeks for his hiding place. Whom dost thou dread,
 Madman, what punishment for such a crime,
 For which thy fame by rumour trumpet-tongued 910
 Has been sent down to ages ? Praise is thine
 For this thy work, at impious Cæsar's hands ;
 Sure of a pardon, go ; confess thy task,

And beg the head dissevered. But his work
 Was still unfinished, and with pious hand
 (Fearing some foe) he seizes on the bones
 Now half consumed, and sinews; and the wave
 Pours in upon them, and in shallow trench
 Commits them to the earth; and lest some breeze
 Might bear away the ashes, or by chance 920
 Some sailor's anchor might disturb the tomb,
 A stone he places, and with stick half burned
 Traces the sacred name: Here *Magnus* lies.

And art thou, Fortune, pleased that such a spot
 Should be his tomb which even Cæsar's self
 Had chosen, rather than permit his corse
 To rest unburied? Why, with thoughtless hand
 Confine his shade within the narrow bounds
 Of this poor sepulchre? Where the furthest sand
 Hangs on the margin of the baffled deep 930
 Cabined he lies; yet where the Roman name
 Is known, and Empire, such in truth shall be
 The boundless measure of his resting-place.
 Blot out this stone, this proof against the gods!
 Cæta finds room for Hercules alone,
 And Nysa's mountain for the Bromian god;¹
 Not all the lands of Egypt should suffice
 For Magnus dead: and shall one Pharian stone
 Mark his remains? Yet should no turf disclose 940
 His title, peoples of the earth would fear
 To spurn his ashes, and the sands of Nile
 No foot would tread. But if the stone deserves
 So great a name, then add his mighty deeds:
 Write Lepidus conquered and the Alpine war,
 And fierce Sertorius by his aiding arm

¹ Dionysus. But this god, though brought up by the nymphs of Mount Nysa, was not supposed to have been buried there.

O'erthrown; the chariots which as knight he drove;¹
 Cilician pirates driven from the main,
 And Commerce safe to nations; Eastern kings
 Defeated and the barbarous Northern tribes;
 Write that from arms he ever sought the robe; 950
 Write that content upon the Capitol
 Thrice only triumphed he, nor asked his due.
 What mausoleum were for such a chief
 A fitting monument? This paltry stone
 Records no syllable of the lengthy tale
 Of honours: and the name which men have read
 Upon the sacred temples of the gods,
 And lofty arches built of hostile spoils,
 On desolate sands here marks his lowly grave
 With characters uncouth, such as the glance 960
 Of passing traveller or Roman guest
 Might pass unnoticed.

Thou Egyptian land

By destiny foredoomed to bear a part
 In civil warfare, not unreasoning sang
 High Cumæ's prophetess, when she forbad²
 The stream Pelusian to the Roman arms,
 And all the banks which in the summer-tide
 Are covered by his flood. What grievous fate
 Shall I call down upon thee? May the Nile
 Turn back his water to his source, thy fields 970
 Want for the winter rain, and all the land
 Crumble to desert wastes! We in our fanes
 Have known thine Isis and thy hideous gods,

¹ See Book VII., line 20.

² This warning of the Sibyl is also alluded to by Cicero in a letter to P. Lentulus, Proconsul of Cilicia. (Mr. Haskins' note. See also Mommsen, vol. iv., p. 305.) It seems to have been discovered in the Sibylline books at the time when it was desired to prevent Pompeius from interfering in the affairs of Egypt, in B.C. 57.

Half hounds, half human, and the drum that bids
 To sorrow, and Osiris, whom thy dirge ¹
 Proclaims for man. Thou, Egypt, in thy sand
 Our dead containest. Nor, though her temples now
 Serve a proud master, yet has Rome required
 Pompeius' ashes: in a foreign land
 Still lies her chief. But though men feared at first 980
 The victor's vengeance, now at length receive
 Thy Magnus' bones, if still the restless wave
 Hath not prevailed upon that hated shore.
 Shall men have fear of tombs and dread to move
 The dust of those who should be with the gods?
 O, may my country place the crime on me,
 If crime it be, to violate such a tomb
 Of such a hero, and to bear his dust
 Home to Ausonia. Happy, happy he
 Who bears such holy office in his trust! ² 990
 Haply when famine rages in the land
 Or burning southern winds, or fires abound
 And earthquake shocks, and Rome shall pray an end
 From angry heaven—by the gods' command,
 In council given, shalt thou be transferred
 To thine own city, and the priest shall bear

¹ That is, by their weeping for his departure they treated him as a mortal and not as a god. Osiris was the soul of Apis (see on line 537), and when that animal grew old and unfit for the residence of Osiris the latter was thought to quit it. Then began the weeping, which continued until a new Apis appeared, selected, of course, by Osiris for his dwelling-place. Then they called out 'We have found him, let us rejoice.' For a discussion on the Egyptian conception of Osiris, and his place in the theogony of that nation, see Hegel's 'Lectures on the Philosophy of History': Chapter on Egypt.

² It may be noted that the Emperor Hadrian raised a monument on the spot to the memory of Pompeius some sixty years after this was written (Dury's 'History of Rome,' iii., 319). Plutarch states that Cornelia had the remains taken to Rome and interred in a mausoleum. Lucan, it may be supposed, knew nothing of this.

Thy sacred ashes to their last abode.

Who now may seek beneath the raging Crab
 Or hot Syene's waste, or Thebes athirst
 Under the rainy Pleiades, to gaze 1000
 On Nile's broad stream ; or whoso may exchange
 On the Red Sea or in Arabian ports
 Some Eastern merchandise, shall turn in awe
 To view the venerable stone that marks
 Thy grave, Pompeius ; and shall worship more
 Thy dust commingled with the arid sand,
 Thy shade though exiled, than the fane upreared ¹
 On Casius' mount to Jove ! In temples shrined
 And gold, thy memory were viler deemed :
 Fortune lies with thee in thy lowly tomb 1010
 And makes thee rival of Olympus' king.
 More awful is that stone by Libyan seas
 Lashed, than are Conquerors' altars. There in earth
 A deity rests to whom all men shall bow
 More than to gods Tarpeian : and his name
 Shall shine the brighter in the days to come
 For that no marble tomb about him stands
 Nor lofty monument. That little dust
 Time shall soon scatter and the tomb shall fall
 And all the proofs shall perish of his death. 1020
 And happier days shall come when men shall gaze
 Upon the stone, nor yet believe the tale :
 And Egypt's fable, that she holds the grave
 Of great Pompeius, be believed no more
 Than Crete's which boasts the sepulchre of Jove.²

¹ There was a temple to Jupiter on ' Mount Casius old.'

² The legend that Jove was buried in Crete is also mentioned by Cicero :
 ' De Natura Deorum,' iii., 21.

BOOK IX

CATO

Apotheosis of Pompeius, lines 1-26. Cato collects the defeated forces and retreats to Africa, 26-64, and is joined by Cornelia, 64-140. Meeting of Pompeius' sons, and lamentations of Cornelia and the army, 141-224. Cato's panegyric of him, 223-263. The Cilicians wish to desert, but are recalled by Cato's words, 264-354. Cato prepares to join Juba; the Syrtes described, 355-380. The storm, 381-407. The lake of Tritonis, 408-430. Commencement of the march; Cato's address, 431-482. Libya described, 483-520. A storm of wind bursts on the army, 521-592. The temple of Hammon; Labiennus urges Pompeius to consult the oracle, and he refuses, 593-607. The march, 680-725. Origin of serpents in Libya; fable of Medusa, 726-820. Catalogue of serpents, 821-861. Deaths caused by their various bites, 862-981. Complaints of the army, 982-1044. The Psylli come to their aid, 1045-1101. They arrive at Leptis, 1102-1116. Cæsar pursues Pompeius. He visits the Troad, 1117-1183, and proceeds to Egypt, 1184-1196. Pompeius' head is presented to him, 1197-1224. Cæsar's reception of the gift, 1225-1264, and his speech, 1265-1319.

BOOK IX

CATO

YET in those ashes on the Pharian shore,
In that small heap of dust, was not confined
So great a shade ; but from the limbs half burnt
And narrow cell sprang forth ¹ and sought the sky
Where dwells the Thunderer. Black the space of air
Upreaching to the poles that bear on high
The constellations in their nightly round ;
There 'twixt the orbit of the moon and earth
Abide those lofty spirits, half divine,
Who by their blameless lives and fire of soul 10
Are fit to tolerate the pure expanse
That bounds the lower ether : there shall dwell,
Where nor the monument encased in gold,
Nor richest incense, shall suffice to bring
The buried dead, in union with the spheres,
Pompeius' spirit. When with heavenly light
His soul was filled, first on the wandering stars
And fixèd orbs he bent his wondering gaze ;
Then saw what darkness veils our earthly day
And scorned the insults heaped upon his corse. 20
Next o'er Emathian plains he winged his flight,
And ruthless Cæsar's standards, and the fleet

¹ This was the Stoic theory. The perfect of men passed after death into a region between our atmosphere and the heavens, where they remained until the day of general conflagration, (see Book VII. line 949), with their senses amplified and rendered akin to divine.

Tossed on the deep : in Brutus' blameless breast
 Tarried awhile, and roused his angered soul
 To reap the vengeance ; last possessed the mind
 Of haughty Cato.

He while yet the scales
 Were poised and balanced, nor the war had given
 The world its master, hating both the chiefs,
 Had followed Magnus for the Senate's cause
 And for his country : since Pharsalia's field 30
 Ran red with carnage, now was all his heart
 Bound to Pompeius. Rome in him received
 Her guardian ; a people's trembling limbs
 He cherished with new hope and weapons gave
 Back to the craven hands that cast them forth.
 Nor yet for empire did he wage the war
 Nor fearing slavery : nor in arms achieved
 Aught for himself : freedom, since Magnus fell,
 The aim of all his host. And lest the foe
 In rapid course triumphant should collect 40
 His scattered bands, he sought Corcyra's gulfs
 Concealed, and thence in ships unnumbered bore
 The fragments of the rain wrought in Thrace.
 Who in such mighty armament had thought
 A routed army sailed upon the main
 Thronging the sea with keels ? Round Malea's cape
 And Tænarus open to the shades below
 And fair Cythera's isle, th' advancing fleet
 Sweeps o'er the yielding wave, by northern breeze
 Borne past the Cretan shores. But Phycus dared 50
 Refuse her harbour, and th' avenging hand
 Left her in ruins. Thus with gentle airs
 They glide along the main and reach the shore
 From Palinurus ¹ named ; for not alone

¹ A promontory in Africa was so called, as well as that in Italy.

On seas Italian, Pilot of the deep,
 Hast thou thy monument ; and Libya too
 Claims that her waters pleased thy soul of yore.
 Then in the distance on the main arose
 The shining canvas of a stranger fleet,
 Or friend or foe they knew not. Yet they dread 60
 In every keel the presence of that chief
 Their fear-compelling conqueror. But in truth
 That navy tears and sorrow bore, and woes
 To make e'en Cato weep.

For when in vain
 Cornelia prayed her stepson and the crew
 To stay their flight, lest haply from the shore
 Back to the sea might float the headless corse ;
 And when the flame arising marked the place
 Of that unhallowed rite, ' Fortune, didst thou
 ' Judge me unfit,' she cried, ' to light the pyre 70
 ' To cast myself upon the hero dead,
 ' The lock to sever, and compose the limbs
 ' Tossed by the cruel billows of the deep,
 ' To shed a flood of tears upon his wounds,
 ' And from the flickering flame to bear away
 ' And place within the temples of the gods
 ' All that I could, his dust ? That pyre bestows
 ' No honour, haply by some Pharian hand
 ' Piled up in insult to his mighty shade.
 ' Happy the Crassi lying on the waste 80
 ' Unburied. To the greater shame of heaven
 ' Pompeius has such funeral. And shall this
 ' For ever be my lot ? her husbands slain
 ' Cornelia ne'er enclose within the tomb,
 ' Nor shed the tear beside the urn that holds
 ' The ashes of the loved ? Yet for my grief
 ' What boots or monument or ordered pomp ?

‘Dost thou not, impious, upon thy heart
 ‘Pompeius’ image, and upon thy soul
 ‘Bear ineffaceable? Dust closed in urns 90
 ‘Is for the wife who would survive her lord
 ‘Not such as thee, Cornelia! And yet
 ‘Yon scanty light that glimmers from afar
 ‘Upon the Pharian shore, somewhat of thee
 ‘Recalls, Pompeius! Now the flame sinks down
 ‘And smoke drifts up across the eastern sky
 ‘Bearing thine ashes, and the rising wind
 ‘Sighs hateful in the sail. To me no more
 ‘Dearer than this whatever land may yield
 ‘Pompeius’ victory, nor the frequent car 100
 ‘That carried him in triumph to the hill;
 ‘Gone is that happy husband from my thoughts;
 ‘Here did I lose the hero whom I knew;
 ‘Here let me stay; his presence shall endear
 ‘The sands of Nile where fell the fatal blow.
 ‘Thou, Sextus, brave the chances of the war
 ‘And bear Pompeius’ standard through the world.
 ‘For thus thy father spake within mine ear:
 ‘“When sounds my fatal hour let both my sons
 ‘“Urge on the war; nor let some Cæsar find 110
 ‘“Room for an empire, while shall live on earth
 ‘“Still one in whom Pompeius’ blood shall run.
 ‘“This your appointed task; all cities strong
 ‘“In freedom of their own, all kingdoms urge
 ‘“To join the combat; for Pompeius calls.
 ‘“Nor shall a chieftain of that famous name
 ‘“Ride on the seas and fail to find a fleet.
 ‘“Urged by his sire’s unconquerable will
 ‘“And mindful of his rights, mine heir shall rouse
 ‘“All nations to the conflict. One alone, 120
 ‘“(Should he contend for freedom) may ye serve;

‘“ Cato, none else !” Thus have I kept the faith ;
 ‘ Thy plot ¹ prevailed upon me, and I lived
 ‘ Thy mandate to discharge. Now through the void
 ‘ Of space, and shades of Hell, if such there be,
 ‘ I follow ; yet how distant be my doom
 ‘ I know not : first my spirit must endure
 ‘ The punishment of life, which saw thine end
 ‘ And could survive it ; sighs shall break my heart,
 ‘ Tears shall dissolve it : sword nor noose I need 130
 ‘ Nor headlong plunge. ’Twere shameful since thy death,
 ‘ Were aught but grief required to cause my own.’

She seeks the cabin, veiled, in funeral garb,
 In tears to find her solace, and to love
 Grief in her husband’s room ; no prayers were hers
 For life, as were the sailors’ ; nor their shout
 Roused by the height of peril, moved her soul,
 Nor angered waves : but sorrowing there she lay,
 Resigned to death and welcoming the storm.

First reached they Cyprus on the foamy brine ; 140
 Then as the eastern breeze more gently held
 The favouring deep, they touched the Libyan shore
 Where stood the camp of Cato. Sad as one
 Who deep in fear presages ills to come,
 Cnæus beheld his brother and his band
 Of patriot comrades. Swift into the wave
 He leaps and cries, ‘ Where, brother, is our sire ?
 ‘ Still stands our country mistress of the world,
 ‘ Or are we fallen, Rome with Magnus’ death
 ‘ Rapt to the shades ?’ Thus he : but Sextus said 150
 ‘ Oh happy thou who by report alone
 ‘ Hear’st of the deed that chanced on yonder shore !
 ‘ These eyes that saw, my brother, share the guilt.

¹ Meaning that her husband gave her this commission in order to prevent her from committing suicide.

' Not Cæsar wrought the murder of our sire,
 ' Nor any captain worthy in the fray.
 ' He fell beneath the orders of a king
 ' Shameful and base, while trusting to the gods
 ' Who shield the guest; a king who in that land
 ' By his concession ruled: (this the reward
 ' For favours erst bestowed). Within my sight 160
 ' Pierced through with wounds our noble father fell:
 ' Yet deeming not the petty prince of Nile
 ' So fell a deed would dare, to Egypt's strand
 ' I thought great Cæsar come. But worse than all,
 ' Worse than the wounds which gaped upon his frame
 ' Struck me with horror to the inmost heart,
 ' Our murdered father's head, shorn from the trunk
 ' And borne aloft on javelin; this sight,
 ' As rumour said, the cruel victor asked
 ' To feast his eyes, and prove the bloody deed. 170
 ' For whether ravenous birds and Pharian dogs
 ' Have torn his corse asunder, or a fire
 ' Consumed it, which with stealthy flame arose
 ' Upon the shore, I know not. For the parts
 ' Devoured by destiny I only blame
 ' The gods: I weep the part preserved by men.'
 Thus Sextus spake: and Cnæus at the words
 Flamed into fury for his father's shame.
 ' Sailors, launch forth our navies, by your oars
 ' Forced through the deep though wind and sea oppose: 180
 ' Captains, lead on: for civil strife ne'er gave
 ' So great a prize; to lay in earth the limbs
 ' Of Magnus, and avenge him with the blood
 ' Of that unmanly tyrant. Shall I spare
 ' Great Alexander's fort, nor sack the shrine
 ' And plunge his body in the tideless marsh?
 ' Nor drag Amasis from the Pyramids,

‘ And all their ancient Kings, to swim the Nile ?
 ‘ Torn from his tomb, that god of all mankind
 ‘ Isis, unburied, shall avenge thy shade ; 190
 ‘ And veiled Osiris shall I hurl abroad
 ‘ In mutilated fragments ; and the form
 ‘ Of sacred Apis ;¹ and with these their gods
 ‘ Shall light a furnace, that shall burn the head
 ‘ They held in insult. Thus their land shall pay
 ‘ The fullest penalty for the shameful deed.
 ‘ No husbandman shall live to till the fields
 ‘ Nor reap the benefit of brimming Nile.
 ‘ Thou only, Father, gods and men alike
 ‘ Fallen and perished, shalt possess the land.’ 200

Such were the words he spake ; and soon the fleet
 Had dared the angry deep : but Cato’s voice
 While praising, calmed the youthful chieftain’s rage.

Meanwhile, when Magnus’ fate was known, the air
 Sounded with lamentations which the shore
 Re-echoed ; never through the ages past,
 By history recorded, was it known
 That thus a people mourned their ruler’s death.
 Yet more when worn with tears, her pallid cheek
 Veiled by her loosened tresses, from the ship 210
 Cornelia came, they wept and beat the breast.
 The friendly land once gained, her husband’s garb,
 His arms and spoils, embroidered deep in gold,
 Thrice worn of old upon the sacred hill²
 She placed upon the flame. Such were for her
 The ashes of her spouse : and such the love
 Which glowed in every heart, that soon the shore
 Blazed with his obsequies. Thus at winter-tide
 By frequent fires th’ Apulian herdsman seeks

¹ See Book VIII., line 547.

² See line 709.

To render to the fields their verdant growth ; 220
 Till blaze Garganus' uplands and the meads
 Of Vultur, and the pasture of the herds
 By warm Matinum.

Yet Pompeius' shade

Nought else so gratified, not all the blame
 The people dared to heap upon the gods,
 For him their hero slain, as these few words
 From Cato's noble breast instinct with truth :

' Gone is a citizen who though no peer ¹
 ' Of those who disciplined the state of yore
 ' In due submission to the bounds of right, 230
 ' Yet in this age irreverent of law
 ' Has played a noble part. Great was his power,
 ' But freedom safe : when all the plebs was prone
 ' To be his slaves, he chose the private gown ;
 ' So that the Senate ruled the Roman state,
 ' The Senate's ruler : nought by right of arms
 ' He e'er demanded : willing took he gifts
 ' Yet from a willing giver : wealth was his
 ' Vast, yet the coffers of the State he filled
 ' Beyond his own. He seized upon the sword, 240
 ' Knew when to sheath it ; war did he prefer
 ' To arts of peace, yet armed loved peace the more.
 ' Pleased took he power, pleased he laid it down :
 ' Chaste was his home and simple, by his wealth
 ' Untarnished. Mid the peoples great his name ²
 ' And venerated : to his native Rome

¹ This passage is described by Lord Macaulay as ' a pure gem of rhetoric without one flaw, and, in my opinion, not very far from historical truth ' (Trevelyan's ' Life and Letters,' vol. i., page 462.)

² ' Clarum et venerabile nomen
 Gentibus, et multum nostræ quod profuit urbi,'
 quoted by Mr. Burke, and applied to Lord Chatham, in his Speech on American taxation.

' He wrought much good. True faith in liberty
 ' Long since with Marius and Sulla fled :
 ' Now when Pompeius has been reft away
 ' Its counterfeit has perished. Now unshamed 250
 ' Shall seize the despot on Imperial power,
 ' Unshamed shall cringe the Senate. Happy he
 ' Who with disaster found his latest breath
 ' And met the Pharian sword prepared to slay.
 ' Life might have been his lot, in despot rule,
 ' Prone at his kinsman's throne. Best gift of all
 ' The knowledge how to die ; next, death compelled.
 ' If cruel Fortune doth reserve for me
 ' An alien conqueror, may Juba be
 ' As Ptolemæus. So he take my head 260
 ' My body grace his triumph, if he will.'
 More than had Rome resounded with his praise
 Words such as these gave honour to the shade
 Of that most noble dead.

Meanwhile the crowd

Weary of warfare, since Pompeius' fall,
 Broke into discord, as their ancient chief
 Cilician called them to desert the camp.
 But Cato hailed them from the furthest beach :
 ' Untamed Cilician, is thy course now set
 ' For Ocean theft again ; Pompeius gone, 270
 ' Once more a pirate ? ' Thus he spake, and gazed
 At all the stirring throng ; but one whose mind
 Was fixed on flight, thus answered, ' Pardon, chief,
 ' 'Twas love of Magnus, not of civil war,
 ' That led us to the fight : his side was ours :
 ' With him whom all the world preferred to peace,
 ' Our cause is perished. Let us seek our homes
 ' Long since unseen, our children and our wives.
 ' If nor the rout nor dread Pharsalia's field

' Nor yet Pompeius' death shall close the war, 280
 ' Whence comes the end? The vigour of a life
 ' For us is vanished : in our failing years
 ' Give us at least some pious hand to speed
 ' The parting soul, and light the funeral pyre.
 ' Scarce even to its captains civil strife
 ' Concedes due burial. Nor in our defeat
 ' Does Fortune threaten us with the savage yoke
 ' Of distant nations. In the garb of Rome
 ' And with her rights, I leave thee. Who had been
 ' Second to Magnus living, he shall be 290
 ' My first hereafter : to that sacred shade
 ' Be the prime honour. Chance of war appoints
 ' My lord but not my leader. Thee alone
 ' I followed, Magnus ; after thee the fates.
 ' Nor hope we now for victory, nor wish ;
 ' For all our Thracian array is fled
 ' In Cæsar's victory, whose potent star
 ' Of fortune rules the world, and none but he
 ' Has power to keep or save. That civil war
 ' Which while Pompeius lived was loyalty 300
 ' Is impious now. If in the public right
 ' Thou, patriot Cato, find'st thy guide, we seek
 ' The standards of the Consul.' Thus he spake
 And with him leaped into the ship a throng
 Of eager comrades.

Then was Rome undone,
 For all the shore was stirring with a crowd
 Athirst for slavery. But burst these words
 From Cato's blameless breast : ' Then with like vows
 ' As Cæsar's rival host ye too did seek
 ' A lord and master ! not for Rome the fight, 310
 ' But for Pompeius ! For that now no more
 ' Ye fight for tyranny, but for yourselves,

' Not for some despot chief, ye live and die ;
 ' Since now 'tis safe to conquer and no lord
 ' Shall rob you, victors, of a world subdued—
 ' Ye flee the war, and on your abject necks
 ' Feel for the absent yoke ; nor can endure
 ' Without a despot ! Yet to men the prize
 ' Were worth the danger. Magnus might have used
 ' To evil ends your blood ; refuse ye now, 320
 ' With liberty so near, your country's call ?
 ' Now lives one tyrant only of the three ;
 ' Thus far in favour of the laws have wrought
 ' The Pharian weapons and the Parthian bow ;
 ' Not you, degenerate ! Begone, and spurn
 ' This gift of Ptolemæus.¹ Who would think
 ' Your hands were stained with blood ? The foe will deem
 ' That you upon that dread Thessalian day
 ' First turned your backs. Then flee in safety, flee !
 ' By neither battle nor blockade subdued 330
 ' Cæsar shall give you life ! O slaves most base,
 ' Your former master slain, ye seek his heir !
 ' Why doth it please you not yet more to earn
 ' Than life and pardon ? Bear across the sea
 ' Metellus' daughter, Magnus' weeping spouse,
 ' And both his sons ; outstrip the Pharian gift,
 ' Nor spare this head, which, laid before the feet
 ' Of that detested tyrant, shall deserve
 ' A full reward. Thus, cowards, shall ye learn
 ' In that ye followed me how great your gain. 340
 ' Quick to your task and purchase thus with blood
 ' Your claim on Cæsar. Dastardly is flight
 ' Which crime commends not.'

Cato thus recalled

The parting vessels. So when bees in swarm

¹ That is, liberty, which by the murder of Pompeius they had obtained.

Desert their waxen cells, forget the hive
 Ceasing to cling together, and with wings
 Untrammelled seek the air, nor slothful light
 On thyme to taste its bitterness—then rings
 The Phrygian gong—at once they pause aloft
 Astonied ; and with love of toil resumed 350
 Through all the flowers for their honey store
 In ceaseless wanderings search ; the shepherd joys,
 Sure that th' Hyblæan mead for him has kept
 His cottage store, the riches of his home.

Now in the active conduct of the war
 Were brought to discipline their minds, untaught
 To bear repose ; first on the sandy shore
 Toiling they learned fatigue : then stormed thy walls,
 Cyrene ; prizeless, for to Cato's mind
 'Twas prize enough to conquer. Juba next 360
 He bids attack, though Nature on the path
 Had placed the Syrtes ; which his sturdy heart
 Aspired to conquer. Either at the first
 When Nature gave the universe its form
 She left this region neither land nor sea ;
 Not wholly shrunk, so that it should receive
 The ocean flood ; nor firm enough to stand
 Against its buffets—all the pathless coast
 Lies in uncertain shape ; the land by earth 370
 Is parted from the deep ; on sandy banks
 The seas are broken, and from shoal to shoal
 The waves advance to sound upon the shore.
 Nature, in spite, thus left her work undone,
 Unfashioned to men's use—Or else of old
 A foaming ocean filled the wide expanse,
 But Titan feeding from the briny depths
 His burning fires (near to the zone of heat)
 Reduced the waters ; and the sea still fights
 With Phœbus' beams, which in the length of time

Drank deeper of its fountains.

380

When the main

Struck by the oars gave passage to the fleet,

Black from the sky rushed down a southern gale

Upon his realm, and from the watery plain

Drave back th' invading ships, and from the shoals

Compelled the billows, and in middle sea

Raised up a bank. Forth flew the bëllying sails

Beyond the prows, despite the ropes that dared

Resist the tempest's fury; and for those

Who prescient housed their canvas to the storm,

Bare-masted they were driven from their course.

390

Best was their lot who gained the open waves

Of ocean; others lightened of their masts

Shook off the tempest; but a sweeping tide

Hurried them southwards, victor of the gale.

Some freed of shallows on a bank were forced

Which broke the deep: their ship in part was fast,

Part hanging on the sea; their fates in doubt.

Fierce rage the waves till hems¹ them in the land;

Nor Auster's force in frequent buffets spent

Prevails upon the shore. High from the main

400

By seas inviolate one bank of sand,

Far from the coast arose; there watched in vain

The storm-tossed mariners, their keel aground,

No shore descrying. Thus in sea were lost

Some portion, but the major part by helm

And rudder guided, and by pilots' hands

Who knew the devious channels, safe at length

Floated the marsh of Triton loved (as saith

The fable) by that god, whose sounding shell²

¹ Reading 'sæpit,' Hosius. The passage seems to be corrupt.

² 'Scaly Triton's winding shell,' (Comus, 873). He was Neptune's son and trumpeter. That Pallas sprang armed from the head of Jupiter is well known.

All seas and shores re-echo ; and by her, 410
 Pallas, who springing from her father's head
 First lit on Libya, nearest land to heaven,
 (As by its heat is proved) ; here on the brink
 She stood, reflected in the placid wave
 And called herself Tritonis. Lethe's flood
 Flows silent near, in fable from a source
 Infernal sprung, oblivion in his stream ;
 Here, too, that garden of the Hesperids
 Where once the sleepless dragon held his watch,
 Shorn of its leafy wealth. Shame be on him 420
 Who calls upon the poet for the proof
 Of that which in the ancient days befell ;
 But here were golden groves by yellow growth
 Weighed down in richness, here a maiden band
 Were guardians ; and a serpent, on whose eyes
 Sleep never fell, was coiled around the trees,
 Whose branches bowed beneath their ruddy load.
 But great Alcides stripped the bending boughs,
 And bore their shining apples (thus his task
 Accomplished) to the court of Argos' king. 430

Driven on the Libyan realms, more fruitful here,
 Pompeius ¹ stayed the fleet, nor further dared
 In Garamantian waves. But Cato's soul
 Leaped in his breast, impatient of delay,
 To pass the Syrtes by a landward march,
 And trusting to their swords, 'gainst tribes unknown
 To lead his legions. And the storm which closed
 The main to navies gave them hope of rain ;
 Nor biting frosts they feared, in Libyan clime ;
 Nor suns too scorching in the falling year. 440

Thus ere they trod the deserts, Cato spake :
 ' Ye men of Rome, who through mine arms alone
 ' Can find the death ye covet, and shall fall

¹ Cnæus.

' With pride unbroken should the fates command,
 ' Meet this your weighty task, your high emprise
 ' With hearts resolved to conquer. For we march
 ' On sterile wastes, burnt regions of the world ;
 ' Scarce are the wells, and Titan from the height
 ' Burns pitiless, unclouded ; and the slime
 ' Of poisonous serpents fouls the dusty earth. 460
 ' Yet shall men venture for the love of laws
 ' And country perishing, upon the sands
 ' Of trackless Libya ; men who brave in soul
 ' Rely not on the end, and in attempt
 ' Will risk their all. 'Tis not in Cato's thoughts
 ' On this our enterprise to lead a band
 ' Blind to the truth, unwitting of the risk.
 ' Nay, give me comrades for the danger's sake,
 ' Whom I shall see for honour and for Rome
 ' Bear up against the worst. But whoso needs 460
 ' A pledge of safety, to whom life is sweet,
 ' Let him by fairer journey seek his lord.
 ' First be my foot upon the sand ; on me
 ' First strike the burning sun ; across my path
 ' The serpent void his venom ; by my fate
 ' Know ye your perils. Let him only thirst
 ' Who sees me at the spring : who sees me seek
 ' The shade, alone sink fainting in the heat ;
 ' Or whoso sees me ride before the ranks
 ' Plodding their weary march : such be the lot 470
 ' Of each, who, toiling, finds in me a chief
 ' And not a comrade. Snakes, thirst, burning sand,
 ' The brave man welcomes, and the patient breast
 ' Finds happiness in labour. By its cost
 ' Courage is sweeter ; and this Libyan land
 ' Such cloud of ills can furnish as might make
 ' Men flee unshamed.' 'Twas thus that Cato spake,

Kindling the torch of valour and the love
 Of toil : then reckless of his fate he strode
 The desert path from which was no return : 480
 And Libya ruled his destinies, to shut
 His sacred name within a narrow tomb.

One-third of all the world,¹ if fame we trust,
 Is Libya ; yet by winds and sky she yields
 Some part to Europe ; for the shores of Nile
 No more than Scythian Tanais are remote
 From furthest Gades, where with bending coast,
 Yielding a place to Ocean, Europe parts
 From Afric shores. Yet falls the larger world
 To Asia only. From the former two 490
 Issues the Western wind ; but Asia's right
 Touches the Southern limits and her left
 The Northern tempest's home, and of the East
 She's mistress to the rising of the Sun.
 All that is fertile of the Afric lands
 Lies to the west, but even here abound
 No wells of water : though the Northern wind,
 Infrequent, leaving us with skies serene,
 Falls there in showers. Not gold nor wealth of brass
 It yields the seeker : pure and unalloyed 500
 Down to its lowest depths is Libyan soil.
 Yet citron forests to Maurusian tribes
 Were riches, had they known ; but they, content,
 Lived 'neath the shady foliage, till gleamed
 The axe of Rome amid the virgin grove,
 To bring from furthest limits of the world
 Our banquet tables and the fruit they bear.²

¹ Compare Herodotus, ii., 16 : 'For they all say that the earth is divided into three parts, Europe, Asia and Libya.' (And see Bunbury's 'Ancient Geography,' i., 145, 146, for a discussion of this subject.)

² Citron tables were in much request at Rome. (Comp. 'Paradise Regained,' Book iv., 115 ; and see Book X., line 177.)

But suns excessive and a scorching air
Burn all the glebe beside the shifting sands :
There die the harvests on the crumbling mould ; 510
No root finds sustenance, nor kindly Jove
Makes rich the furrow nor matures the vine.
Sleep binds all nature and the tract of sand
Lies ever fruitless, save that by the shore
The hardy Nasamon plucks a scanty grass.
Unclothed their race, and living on the woes
Worked by the cruel Syrtes on mankind ;
For spoilers are they of the luckless ships
Cast on the shoals : and with the world by wrecks
Their only commerce. 520

Here at Cato's word
His soldiers passed, in fancy from the winds
That sweep the sea secure : here on them fell
Smiting with greater strength upon the shore,
Than on the ocean, Auster's tempest force,
And yet more fraught with mischief: for no crags
Repelled his strength, nor lofty mountains tamed
His furious onset, nor in sturdy woods
He found a bar ; but free from reining hand,
Raged at his will o'er the defenceless earth. 530
Nor did he mingle dust and clouds of rain
In whirling circles, but the earth was swept
And hung in air suspended, till amazed
The Nasamon saw his scanty field and home
Reft by the tempest, and the native huts
From roof to base were hurried on the blast.
Not higher, when some all-devouring flame
Has seized upon its prey, in volumes dense
Rolls up the smoke, and darkens all the air.
Then with fresh might he fell upon the host
Of marching Romans, snatching from their feet 540

The sand they trod. Had Auster been enclosed
 In some vast cavernous vault with solid walls
 And mighty barriers, he had moved the world
 Upon its ancient base and made the lands
 To tremble : but the facile Libyan soil
 By not resisting stood, and blasts that whirled
 The surface upwards left the depths unmoved.
 Helmet and shield and spear were torn away
 By his most violent breath, and borne aloft
 Through all the regions of the boundless sky ; 550
 Perchance a wonder in some distant land,
 Where men may fear the weapons from the heaven
 There falling, as the armour of the gods,
 Nor deem them ravished from a soldier's arm.
 'Twas thus on Numa by the sacred fire
 Those shields descended which our chosen priests ¹
 Bear on their shoulders ; from some warlike race
 By tempest rapt, to be the prize of Rome.

Fearing the storm prone fell the host to earth
 Winding their garments tight, and with clenched hands 560
 Gripping the earth : for not their weight alone
 Withstood the tempest which upon their frames
 Piled mighty heaps, and their recumbent limbs
 Buried in sand. At length they struggling rose
 Back to their feet, when lo ! around them stood,
 Forced by the storm, a growing bank of earth
 Which held them motionless. And from afar
 Where walls lay prostrate, mighty stones were hurled,
 Thus piling ills on ills in wondrous form :
 No dwellings had they seen, yet at their feet 570

¹ Alluding to the shield of Mars which fell from heaven on Numa at sacrifice. Eleven others were made to match it (Dict. Antiq.) While Horace speaks of them as chief objects of a patriot Roman's affection ('Odes' iii., 5, 9), Lucan discovers for them a ridiculous origin. They were in the custody of the priests of Mars. (See Book I., 666.)

Beheld the ruins. All the earth was hid
In vast envelopment, nor found they guide
Save from the stars, which as in middle deep
Flamed o'er them wandering : yet some were hid
Beneath the circle of the Libyan earth
Which tending downwards hid the Northern sky.

When warmth dispersed the tempest-driven air,
And rose upon the earth the flaming day,
Bathed were their limbs in sweat, but parched and dry
Their gaping lips ; when to a scanty spring 580
Far off beheld they came, whose meagre drops
All gathered in the hollow of a helm
They offered to their chief. Caked were their throats
With dust, and panting ; and one little drop
Had made him envied. ' Wretch, and dost thou deem
' Me wanting in a brave man's heart ? ' he cried,
' Me only in this throng ? And have I seemed
' Tender, unfit to bear the morning heat ?
' He who would quench his thirst 'mid such a host,
' Doth most deserve its pangs.' Then in his wrath 590
Dashed down the helmet, and the scanty spring,
Thus by their leader spurned, sufficed for all.

Now had they reached that temple which possess
Sole in all Libya, th' untutored tribes
Of Garamantians. Here holds his seat
(So saith the story) a prophetic Jove,
Wielding no thunderbolts, nor like to ours,
The Libyan Hammon of the curvèd horn.
No wealth adorns his fane by Afric tribes
Bestowed, nor glittering hoard of Eastern gems. 600
Though rich Arabians, Ind and Ethiop
Know him alone as Jove, still is he poor
Holding his shrine by riches undefiled
Through time, and god as of the olden days

Spurns all the wealth of Rome. That here some god
 Dwells, witnesses the only grove
 That buds in Libya—for that which grows
 Upon the arid dust which Leptis parts
 From Berenice, knows no leaves; alone
 Hammon uprears a wood; a fount the cause 610
 Which with its waters binds the crumbling soil.
 Yet shall the Sun when poised upon the height
 Strike through the foliage: hardly can the tree
 Protect its trunk, and to a little space
 His rays draw in the circle of the shade.
 Here have men found the spot where that high band
 Solstitial divides in middle sky ¹
 The zodiac stars: not here oblique their course,
 Nor Scorpion rises straighter than the Bull,
 Nor to the Scales does Ram give back his hours, 620
 Nor does Astræa bid the Fishes sink
 More slowly down: but watery Capricorn
 Is equal with the Crab, and with the Twins
 The Archer; neither does the Lion rise
 Above Aquarius. But the race that dwells
 Beyond the fervour of the Libyan fires
 Sees to the South that shadow which with us
 Falls to the North: slow Cynosura sinks ²
 For them below the deep; and, dry with us,
 The Wagon plunges; far from either pole, 630
 No star they know that does not seek the main,
 But all the constellations in their course
 Whirl to their vision through the middle sky.
 Before the doors the Eastern peoples stood
 Seeking from hornèd Jove to know their fates:
 Yet to the Roman chief they yielded place,

¹ *I.e.* Where the equinoctial circle cuts the zodiac in its centre.—Haskins.

² Compare Book III., 288.

Whose comrades prayed him to entreat the gods
 Famed through the Libyan world, and judge the voice
 Renowned from distant ages. First of these
 Was Labienus :¹ ‘ Chance,’ he said, ‘ to us 640
 ‘ The voice and counsel of this mighty god
 ‘ Has offered as we march ; from such a guide
 ‘ To know the issues of the war, and learn
 ‘ To track the Syrtes. For to whom on earth
 ‘ If not to blameless Cato, shall the gods
 ‘ Entrust their secrets ? Faithful thou at least,
 ‘ Their follower through all thy life hast been ;
 ‘ Now hast thou liberty to speak with Jove.
 ‘ Ask impious Cæsar’s fates, and learn the laws
 ‘ That wait our country in the future days : 650
 ‘ Whether the people shall be free to use
 ‘ Their rights and customs, or the civil war
 ‘ For us is wasted. To thy sacred breast,
 ‘ Lover of virtue, take the voice divine ;
 ‘ Demand what virtue is and guide thy steps
 ‘ By heaven’s high counsellor.’

But Cato, full

Of godlike thoughts borne in his quiet breast,
 This answer uttered, worthy of the shrines :
 ‘ What, Labienus, dost thou bid me ask ?
 ‘ Whether in arms and freedom I should wish 660
 ‘ To perish, rather than endure a king ?
 ‘ Is longest life worth aught ? And doth its term
 ‘ Make difference ? Can violence to the good
 ‘ Do injury ? Do Fortune’s threats avail
 ‘ Outweighed by virtue ? Doth it not suffice
 ‘ To aim at deeds of bravery ? Can fame
 ‘ Grow by achievement ? Nay ! No Hammon’s voice
 ‘ Shall teach us this more surely than we know.

¹ See Book V., 400.

' Bound are we to the gods ; no voice we need ;
 ' They live in all our acts, although the shrine 670
 ' Be silent : at our birth and once for all
 ' What may be known the author of our being
 ' Revealed ; nor chose these thirsty sands to chaunt
 ' To few his truth, whelmed in the dusty waste.
 ' God has his dwelling in all things that be,
 ' In earth and air and sea and starry vault,
 ' In virtuous deeds ; in all that thou can'st see,
 ' In all thy thoughts contained. Why further, then,
 ' Seek we our deities ? Let those who doubt
 ' And halting, tremble for their coming fates, 680
 ' Go ask the oracles. No mystic words,
 ' Make sure my heart, but surely-coming Death.
 ' Coward alike and brave, we all must die.
 ' Thus hath Jove spoken : seek to know no more.'

Thus Cato spake, and faithful to his creed
 He parted from the temple of the god
 And left the oracle of Hammon dumb.

Bearing his javelin, as one of them
 Before the troops he marched : no panting slave
 With bending neck, no litter bore his form. 690
 He bade them not, but showed them how to toil.
 Spare in his sleep, the last to sip the spring
 When at some rivulet to quench their thirst
 The eager ranks pressed onward, he alone
 Until the humblest follower might drink
 Stood motionless. If for the truly good
 Is fame, and virtue by the deed itself,
 Not by successful issue, should be judged,
 Yield, famous ancestors ! Fortune, not worth
 Gained you your glory. But such name as his 700
 Who ever merited by successful war
 Or slaughtered peoples ? Rather would I lead

With him his triumph through the pathless sands
 And Libya's bounds, than in Pompeius' car
 Three times ascend the Capitol,¹ or break
 The proud Jugurtha.² Rome! in him behold
 His country's father, worthiest of thy vows;
 A name by which men shall not blush to swear,
 Whom, should'st thou break the fetters from thy neck,
 Thou may'st in distant days decree divine. 710

Now was the heat more dense, and through that clime
 Than which no further on the Southern side
 The gods permit, they trod; and scarcer still
 The water, till in middle sands they found
 One bounteous spring which clustered serpents held
 Though scarce the space sufficed. By thirsting snakes
 The fount was thronged and asps pressed on the marge.
 But when the chieftain saw that speedy fate
 Was on the host, if they should leave the well
 Untasted, 'Vain,' he cried, 'your fear of death. 720
 'Drink, nor delay: 'tis from the threatening tooth
 'Men draw their deaths, and fatal from the fang
 'Issues the juice if mingled with the blood;
 'The cup is harmless.' Then he sipped the fount,
 Still doubting, and in all the Libyan waste
 There only was he first to touch the stream.

Why fertile thus in death the pestilent air
 Of Libya, what poison in her soil
 Her several nature mixed, my care to know
 Has not availed: but from the days of old 730
 A fabled story has deceived the world.

Far on her limits, where the burning shore

¹ 1st. For his victories in Sicily and Africa, B.C. 81; 2nd. For the conquest of Sertorius, B.C. 71; 3rd. For his Eastern triumphs, B.C. 61. (Compare Book II., 684, &c.)

² Over whom Marius triumphed.

Admits the ocean fervid from the sun
 Plunged in its waters, lay Medusa's fields
 Untilled ; nor forests shaded, nor the plough
 Furrowed the soil, which by its mistress' gaze
 Was hardened into stone : Phorcus, her sire.
 Malevolent nature from her body first
 Drew forth these noisome pests ; first from her jaws
 Issued the sibilant rattle of serpent tongues ; 740
 Clustered around her head the poisonous brood
 Like to a woman's hair, wreathed on her neck
 Which gloried in their touch ; their glittering heads
 Advanced towards her ; and her tresses kempt
 Dripped down with viper's venom. This alone
 Thou hast, accursèd one, which men can see
 Unharmèd ; for who upon that gaping mouth
 Looked and could dread ? To whom who met her glance,
 Was death permittèd ? Fate delayèd no more,
 But ere the victim feared had struck him down : 750
 Perished the limbs while living, and the soul
 Grew stiff and stark ere yet it fled the frame.
 Men have been frenzied by the Furies' locks,
 Not killed ; and Cerberus at Orpheus' song
 Ceased from his hissing, and Alcides saw
 The Hydra ere he slew. This monster born
 Brought horror with her birth upon her sire
 Phorcus, in second order God of Waves,
 And upon Ceto and the Gorgon brood,¹
 Her sisters. She could threat the sea and sky 760
 With deadly calm unknown, and from the world
 Bid cease the soil. Borne down by instant weight
 Fowls fell from air, and beasts were fixed in stone.

¹ Phorcus and Ceto were the parents of the Gorgons—Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa, of whom the latter alone was mortal, (Hesiod. *Theog.*, 276.) Phorcus was a son of Pontus and Gaia (sea and land), *ibid.* 287.

Whole Ethiop tribes who tilled the neighbouring lands
 Rigid in marble stood. The Gorgon sight
 No creature bore and even her serpents turned
 Back from her visage. Atlas in his place
 Beside the Western columns, by her look
 Was turned to rocks; and when on snakes of old
 Phlegræan giants stood and frightened heaven, 770
 She made them mountains, and the Gorgon head
 Borne on Athena's bosom closed the war.
 Here born of Danae and the golden shower,
 Floating on wings Parrhasian, by the god
 Arcadian given, author of the lyre
 And wrestling art, came Perseus, down from heaven
 Swooping. Cyllenian Harpé¹ did he bear
 Still crimson from another monster slain,
 The guardian of the heifer loved by Jove.
 This to her wingèd brother Pallas lent 780
 Price of the monster's head: by her command
 Upon the limits of the Libyan land
 He sought the rising sun, with flight averse,
 Poised o'er Medusa's realm; a burnished shield
 Of yellow brass upon his other arm,
 Her gift, he bore: in which she bade him see
 The fatal face unscathed. Nor yet in sleep
 Lay all the monster, for such total rest
 To her were death—so fated: serpent locks
 In vigilant watch, some reaching forth defend 790
 Her head, while others lay upon her face
 And slumbering eyes. Then hero Perseus shook
 Though turned averse; trembled his dexter hand:
 But Pallas held, and the descending blade

¹ The scimitar lent by Hermes (or Mercury) to Perseus for the purpose; with which had been slain Argus the guardian of Io (Conf. 'Prometheus vinctus,' 579.) Hermes was born in a cave in Mount Cyllene in Arcadia.

Shore the broad neck whence sprang the viper brood.
 What visage bore the Gorgon as the steel
 Thus reft her life! what poison from her throat
 Breathed! from her eyes what venom of death distilled!
 The goddess dared not look, and Perseus' face
 Had frozen, averse, had not Athena veiled 800
 With coils of writhing snakes the features dead.
 Then with the Gorgon head the hero flew
 Uplifted on his wings and sought the sky.
 Shorter had been his voyage through the midst
 Of Europe's cities; but Athena bade
 To spare her peoples and their fruitful lands;
 For who when such an airy courser passed
 Had not looked up to heaven? Western winds
 Now sped his pinions, and he took his course 810
 O'er Libya's regions, from the stars and suns
 Veiled by no culture. Phœbus' nearer track
 There burns the soil, and loftiest on the sky¹
 There falls the night, to shade the wandering moon,
 If e'er forgetful of her course oblique,
 Straight through the stars, nor bending to the North
 Nor to the South, she hastens. Yet that earth,
 In nothing fertile, void of fruitful yield,
 Drank in the poison of Medusa's blood,
 Dripping in dreadful dew upon the soil,
 And in the crumbling sands by heat matured. 820
 First from the dust was raised a gory clot²

¹ The idea seems to be that the earth, bulging at the equator, casts its shadow highest on the sky: and that the moon becomes eclipsed by it whenever she follows a straight path instead of an oblique one, which may happen from her forgetfulness (Mr. Haskins' note).

² This catalogue of snakes is alluded to in Dante's 'Inferno,' 24.

'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

In guise of Asp, sleep-bringing, swollen of neck :
 Full was the blood and thick the poison drop
 That were its making ; in no other snake
 More copious held. Greedy of warmth it seeks
 No frozen world itself, nor haunts the sands
 Beyond the Nile ; yet has our thirst of gain
 No shame nor limit, and this Libyan death,
 This fatal pest we purchase for our own.
 Hæmorrhoids huge spreads out his scaly coils, 830
 Who suffers not his hapless victims' blood
 To stay within their veins. Chersydros sprang
 To life, to dwell within the doubtful marsh
 Where land nor sea prevails. A cloud of spray
 Marked fell Chelyder's track : and Cenchrus rose
 Straight gliding to his prey, his belly tinged
 With various spots unnumbered, more than those
 Which paint the Theban ¹ marble ; hornèd snakes
 With spines contorted : like to torrid sand
 Ammodytes, of hue invisible : 840
 Sole of all serpents Scytale to shed
 In vernal frosts his slough ; and thirsty Dipsas ;
 Dread Amphibæna with his double head
 Tapering ; and Natrix who in bubbling fount
 Fuses his venom. Greedy Prester swells
 His foaming jaws ; Pareas, head erect
 Furrows with tail alone his sandy path ;
 Swift Jaculus there, and Seps ² whose poisonous juice

' Let Libya vaunt no more : if Jaculus,

' Pareas, and Chelyder be her brood,

' Cenchrus and Amphibæna, plagues so dire

' Or in such numbers swarming ne'er she showed.'—Carey.

(See also Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book X., 520–530.)

¹ The Egyptian Thebes.

²

' All my being

' Like him whom the Numidian Seps did thaw

' Into a dew with poison, is dissolved,

' Sinking through its foundations.'—Shelley, 'Prometheus

Unbound,' Act iii., Scene 1.

Makes putrid flesh and frame : and there upreared
 His regal head, and frightened from his track 850
 With sibilant terror all the subject swarm,
 Baneful ere darts his poison, Basilisk ¹
 In sands deserted king. Ye serpents too
 Who in all other regions harmless glide
 Adored as gods, and bright with golden scales,
 In those hot wastes are deadly ; poised in air
 Whole herds of kine ye follow, and with coils
 Encircling close, crush in the mighty bull.
 Nor does the elephant in his giant bulk,
 Nor aught, find safety ; and ye need no fang 860
 Nor poison, to compel the fatal end.

Amid these pests undaunted Cato urged
 His desert journey on. His hardy troops
 Beneath his eyes, pricked by a scanty wound,
 In strangest forms of death unnumbered fall.
 Tyrrhenian Aulus, bearer of a flag,
 Trod on a Dipsas ; quick with head reversed
 The serpent struck ; no mark betrayed the tooth :
 The aspect of the wound nor threatened death,
 Nor any evil ; but the poison germ 870
 In silence working as consuming fire
 Absorbed the moisture of his inward frame,
 Draining the natural juices that were spread
 Around his vitals ; in his arid jaws
 Set flame upon his tongue : his wearied limbs
 No sweat bedewed ; dried up, the fount of tears
 Fled from his eyelids. Tortured by the fire
 Nor Cato's sternness, nor of his sacred charge

¹ The glance of the eye of the basilisk or cockatrice, was supposed to be deadly. (See 'King Richard III.,' Act i., Scene 2 :—

Gloucester. 'Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.'

Anne. 'Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead !'

The word is also used for a big cannon, ('1 King Henry IV.,' Act ii., Scene 3.)

The honour could withhold him ; but he dared
To dash his standard down, and through the plains 880
Raging, to seek for water that might slake
The fatal venom thirsting at his heart.
Plunge him in Tanais, in Rhone and Po,
Pour on his burning tongue the flood of Nile,
Yet were the fire unquenched. So fell the fang
Of Dipsas in the torrid Libyan lands ;
In other climes less fatal. Next he seeks
Amid the sands, all barren to the depths,
For moisture : then returning to the shoals
Laps them with greed—in vain—the briny draught 890
Scarce quenched the thirst it made. Nor knowing yet
The poison in his frame, he steels himself
To rip his swollen veins and drink the gore.
Cato bids lift the standard, lest his troops
May find in thirst a pardon for the deed.

But on Sabellus' yet more piteous death
Their eyes were fastened. Clinging to his skin
A Seps with curving tooth, of little size,
He seized and tore away, and to the sands
Pierced with his javelin. Small the serpent's bulk ; 900
None deals a death more horrible in form.
For swift the flesh dissolving round the wound
Bared the pale bone ; swam all his limbs in blood ;
Wasted the tissue of his calves and knees :
And all the muscles of his thighs were thawed
In black distilment, and the membrane sheath
Parted, that bound his vitals, which abroad
Flowed upon earth : yet seemed it not that all
His frame was loosed, for by the venomous drop
Were all the bands that held his muscles drawn 910
Down to a juice ; the framework of his chest
Was bare, its cavity, and all the parts

Hid by the organs of life, that make the man.
 So by unholy death there stood revealed
 His inmost nature. Head and stalwart arms,
 And neck and shoulders, from their solid mass
 Melt in corruption. Not more swiftly flows
 Wax at the sun's command, nor snow compelled
 By southern breezes. Yet not all is said :
 For so to noxious humours fire consumes 920
 Our fleshly frame ; but on the funeral pyre
 What bones have perished ? These dissolve no less
 Than did the mouldered tissues, nor of death
 Thus swift is left a trace. Of Afric pests
 Thou bear'st the palm for hurtfulness : the life
 They snatch away, thou only with the life
 The clay that held it.

Lo ! a different fate,

Not this by melting ! for a Prester's fang
 Nasidius struck, who erst in Marsian fields
 Guided the ploughshare. Burned upon his face 930
 A redness as of flame : swollen the skin,
 His features hidden, swollen all his limbs
 Till more than human : and his definite frame
 One tumour huge concealed. A ghastly gore
 Is puffed from inwards as the virulent juice
 Courses through all his body ; which, thus grown,
 His corselet holds not. Not in caldron so
 Boils up to mountainous height the steaming wave ;
 Nor in such bellying curves does canvas bend
 To Eastern tempests. Now the ponderous bulk 940
 Rejects the limbs, and as a shapeless trunk
 Burdens the earth : and there, to beasts and birds
 A fatal feast, his comrades left the corse
 Nor dared to place, yet swelling, in the tomb.

But for their eyes the Libyan pests prepared

More dreadful sights. On Tullus great in heart,
 And bound to Cato with admiring soul,
 A fierce Hæmorrhöis fixed. From every limb,¹
 (As from a statue saffron spray is showered
 In every part) there spouted forth for blood 950
 A sable poison : from the natural pores
 Of moisture, gore profuse ; his mouth was filled
 And gaping nostrils, and his tears were blood.
 Brimmed full his veins ; his very sweat was red ;
 All was one wound.

Then piteous Levus next
 In sleep was victim, for around his heart
 Stood still the blood congealed : no pain he felt
 Of venomous tooth, but swift upon him fell
 Death, and he sought the shades ; more swift to kill
 No draught in poisonous cups from ripened plants 960
 Of direst growth Sabæan wizards brew.

Lo ! Upon branchless trunk a serpent, named
 By Libyans Jaculus, rose in coils to dart
 His venom from afar. Through Paullus' brain
 It rushed, nor stayed ; for in the wound itself
 Was death. Then did they know how slowly flies,
 Flung from a sling, the stone ; how gently speed
 Through air the shafts of Scythia.

What availed,
 Murrus, the lance by which thou didst transfix
 A Basilisk ? Swift through the weapon ran 970
 The poison to his hand : he draws his sword
 And severs arm and shoulder at a blow :
 Then gazed secure upon his severed hand
 Which perished as he looked. So had'st thou died,
 And such had been thy fate !

¹ See Book III., 706.

Whoe'er had thought

A scorpion had strength o'er death or fate?
 Yet with his threatening coils and barb erect
 He won the glory of Orion¹ slain;
 So bear the stars their witness. And who would fear
 Thy haunts, Salpuga?² Yet the Stygian Maids 980
 Have given thee power to snap the fatal threads.

Thus nor the day with brightness, nor the night
 With darkness gave them peace. The very earth
 On which they lay they feared; nor leaves nor straw
 They piled for couches, but upon the ground
 Unshielded from the fates they laid their limbs,
 Cherished beneath whose warmth in chill of night
 The frozen pests found shelter; in whose jaws
 Harmless the while, the lurking venom slept.
 Nor did they know the measure of their march 990
 Accomplished, nor their path; the stars in heaven
 Their only guide. 'Return, ye gods,' they cried,
 In frequent wail, 'the arms from which we fled.
 'Give back Thessalia. Sworn to meet the sword
 'Why, lingering, fall we thus? In Cæsar's place
 'The thirsty Dipsas and the hornèd snake
 'Now wage the warfare. Rather let us seek
 'That region by the horses of the sun
 'Scorched, and the zone most torrid: let us fall
 'Slain by some heavenly cause, and from the sky 1000
 'Descend our fate! Not, Africa, of thee
 'Complain we, nor of Nature. From mankind
 'Cut off, this quarter, teeming thus with pests
 'She gave to snakes, and to the barren fields
 'Denied the husbandman, nor wished that men

¹ According to one story Orion, for his assault on Diana, was killed by the Scorpion, who received his reward by being made into a constellation.

² A sort of venomous ant.

' Should perish by their venom. To the realms
 ' Of serpents have we come. Hater of men,
 ' Receive thy vengeance, whoso of the gods
 ' Severed this region upon either hand,
 ' With death in middle space. Our march is set 1010
 ' Through thy sequestered kingdom, and the host
 ' Which knows thy secret seeks the furthest world.
 ' Perchance some greater wonders on our path
 ' May still await us; in the waves be plunged
 ' Heaven's constellations, and the lofty pole
 ' Stoop from its height. By further space removed
 ' No land, than Juba's realm; by rumour's voice
 ' Drear, mournful. Haply for this serpent land
 ' There may we long, where yet some living thing
 ' Gives consolation. Not my native land 1020
 ' Nor European fields I hope for now
 ' Lit by far other suns, nor Asia's plains.
 ' But in what land, what region of the sky,
 ' Where left we Africa? But now with frosts
 ' Cyrene stiffened: have we changed the laws
 ' Which rule the seasons, in this little space?
 ' Cast from the world we know, 'neath other skies
 ' And stars we tread; behind our backs the home
 ' Of southern tempests: Rome herself perchance
 ' Now lies beneath our feet. Yet for our fates 1030
 ' This solace pray we, that on this our track
 ' Pursuing Cæsar with his host may come.'

Thus was their stubborn patience of its plaints
 Disburdened. But the bravery of their chief
 Forced them to bear their toils. Upon the sand,
 All bare, he lies and dares at every hour
 Fortune to strike: he only at the fate
 Of each is present, flies to every call;
 And greatest boon of all, greater than life,

Brought strength to die. To groan in death was shame 1040
 In such a presence. What power had all the ills
 Possessed upon him? In another's breast
 He conquers misery, teaching by his mien
 That pain is powerless.

Hardly aid at length

Did Fortune, wearied of their perils, grant.
 Alone unharmed of all who till the earth,
 By deadly serpents, dwells the Psyllian race.
 Potent as herbs their song; safe is their blood,
 Nor gives admission to the poison germ
 E'en when the chant has ceased. Their home itself 1050
 Placed in such venomous tract and serpent-thronged
 Gained them this vantage, and a truce with death,
 Else could they not have lived. Such is their trust
 In purity of blood, that newly born
 Each babe they prove by test of deadly asp
 For foreign lineage. So the bird of Jove
 Turns his new fledglings to the rising sun
 And such as gaze upon the beams of day
 With eyes unwavering, for the use of heaven
 He rears; but such as blink at Phœbus' rays 1060
 Casts from the nest. Thus of unmixed descent
 The babe who, dreading not the serpent touch,
 Plays in his cradle with the deadly snake.
 Nor with their own immunity from harm
 Contented do they rest, but watch for guests
 Who need their help against the noisome plague.

Now to the Roman standards are they come,
 And when the chieftain bade the tents be fixed,
 First all the sandy space within the lines
 With song they purify and magic words 1070
 From which all serpents flee: next round the camp
 In widest circuit from a kindled fire

Rise aromatic odours : danewort burns,
 And juice distils from Syrian galbanum ;
 Then tamarisk and costum, Eastern herbs,
 Strong panacea mixt with centaury
 From Thrace, and leaves of fennel feed the flames,
 And thapsus brought from Eryx : and they burn
 Larch, southern-wood and antlers of a deer
 Which lived afar. From these in densest fumes, 1080
 Deadly to snakes, a pungent smoke arose ;
 And thus in safety passed the night away.
 But should some victim feel the fatal fang
 Upon the march, then of this magic race
 Were seen the wonders, for a mighty strife
 Rose 'twixt the Psyllian and the poison germ.
 First with saliva they anoint the limbs
 That held the venomous juice within the wound ;
 Nor suffer it to spread. From foaming mouth
 Next with continuous cadence would they pour 1090
 Unceasing chants—nor breathing space nor pause—
 Else spreads the poison : nor does fate permit
 A moment's silence. Oft from the black flesh
 Flies forth the pest beneath the magic song :
 But should it linger nor obey the voice,
 Repugnant to the summons, on the wound
 Prostrate they lay their lips and from the depths
 Now paling draw the venom. In their mouths,
 Sucked from the freezing flesh, they hold the death,
 Then spew it forth ; and from the taste shall know 1100
 The snake they conquer.

Aided thus at length

Wanders the Roman host in better guise
 Upon the barren fields in lengthy march.¹
 Twice veiled the moon her light and twice renewed ;

¹ No other author gives any details of this march ; and those given by

Yet still, with waning or with growing orb
 Saw Cato's steps upon the sandy waste.
 But more and more beneath their feet the dust
 Began to harden, till the Libyan tracts
 Once more were earth, and in the distance rose
 Some groves of scanty foliage, and huts 1110
 Of plastered straw unfashioned : and their hearts
 Leaped at the prospect of a better land.
 How fled their sorrow ! how with growing joy
 They met the savage lion in the path !
 In tranquil Leptis first they found retreat :
 And passed a winter free from heat and rain.¹

When Cæsar sated with Emathia's slain
 Forsook the battlefield, all other cares
 Neglected, he pursued his kinsman fled,
 On him alone intent : by land his steps 1120
 He traced in vain ; then, rumour for his guide,
 He crossed the sea and reached the Thracian strait
 For love renowned ; where on the mournful shore
 Rose Hero's tower, and Helle born of cloud²
 Took from the rolling waves their former name.
 Nowhere with shorter space the sea divides
 Europe from Asia ; though Pontus parts
 By scant division from Byzantium's hold
 Chalcedon oyster-rich : and small the strait
 Through which Propontis pours the Euxine wave. 1130
 Then marvelling at their ancient fame, he seeks
 Sigeum's sandy beach and Simois' stream,

Lucan are unreliable. The temple of Hammon is far from any possible line of route taken from the Lesser Syrtes to Leptis. Dean Merivale states that the inhospitable sands extended for seven days' journey, and ranks the march as one of the greatest exploits in Roman military history. Described by the names known to modern geography, it was from the Gulf of Gabes to Cape Africa. Pope, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated November 11, 1710, makes some caustic remarks on the geography of this book. (See Pope's Works, Vol. vi., 109 ; by Elwin & Courthope.)

¹ Line 444.

² Book IV., 65.

Rhœteum noble for its Grecian tomb,
 And all the hero's shades, the theme of song.
 Next by the town of Troy burnt down of old
 Now but a memorable name, he turns
 His steps, and searches for the mighty stones
 Relics of Phœbus' wall. But bare with age
 Forests of trees and hollow mouldering trunks
 Pressed down Assaracus' palace, and with roots 1140
 Wearied, possessed the temples of the gods.
 All Pergamus with densest brake was veiled
 And even her stones were perished. He beheld
 Thy rock, Hesione ; the hidden grove,
 Anchises' nuptial chamber ; and the cave
 Where sat the arbiter ; the spot from which
 Was snatched the beauteous youth ; the mountain lawn
 Where played CEnone. Not a stone but told
 The story of the past. A little stream
 Scarce trickling through the arid plain he passed, 1150
 Nor knew 'twas Xanthus : deep in grass he placed,
 Careless, his footstep ; but the herdsman cried
 'Thou tread'st the dust of Hector.' Stones confused
 Lay at his feet in sacred shape no more :
 'Look on the altar of Jove,' thus spake the guide,
 'God of the household, guardian of the home.'

O sacred task of poets, toil supreme,
 Which rescuing all things from allotted fate
 Dost give eternity to mortal men !
 Grudge not the glory, Cæsar, of such fame. 1160
 For if the Latian Muse may promise aught,
 Long as the heroes of the Trojan time
 Shall live upon the page of Smyrna's bard,
 So long shall future races read of thee
 In this my poem ; and Pharsalia's song
 Live unforgotten in the age to come.

When by the ancient grandeur of the place
 The chieftain's sight was filled, of gathered turf
 Altars he raised : and as the sacred flame
 Cast forth its odours, these not idle vows 1170
 Gave to the gods, ' Ye deities of the dead,
 ' Who watch o'er Phrygian ruins : ye who now
 ' Lavinia's homes inhabit, and Alba's height :
 ' Gods of my sire Æneas, in whose fanes
 ' The Trojan fire still burns : pledge of the past
 ' Mysterious Pallas,¹ of the inmost shrine,
 ' Unseen of men ! here in your ancient seat,
 ' Most famous offspring of Iūlus' race,
 ' I call upon you and with pious hand
 ' Burn frequent offerings. To my emprise 1180
 ' Give prosperous ending ! Here shall I replace
 ' The Phrygian peoples, here with glad return
 ' Italia's sons shall build another Troy,
 ' Here rise a Roman Pergamus.'

This said,

He seeks his fleet, and eager to regain
 Time spent at Ilium, to the favouring breeze
 Spreads all his canvas. Past rich Asia borne,
 Rhodes soon he left while foamed the sparkling main
 Beneath his keels ; nor ceased the wind to stretch
 His bending sails, till on the seventh night 1190
 The Pharian beam proclaimed Egyptian shores.
 But day arose, and veiled the nightly lamp
 Ere rode his barks on waters safe from storm.
 Then Cæsar saw that tumult held the shore,
 And mingled voices of uncertain sound
 Struck on his ear : and trusting not himself
 To doubtful kingdoms, of uncertain troth,

¹ The ' Palladium ' or image of Pallas, preserved in the temple of Vesta.
 (See Book I., 659.)

He kept his ships from land.

But from the king

Came his vile minion forth upon the wave,
 Bearing his dreadful gift, Pompeius' head, 1200
 Wrapped in a covering of Pharian wool.

First took he speech and thus in shameless words
 Commends the murder : ' Conqueror of the world,
 ' First of the Roman race, and, what as yet
 ' Thou dost not know, safe by thy kinsman slain ;
 ' This gift receive from the Pellæan king,
 ' Sole trophy absent from the Thracian field,
 ' To crown thy toils on lands and on the deep.
 ' Here in thine absence have we placed for thee
 ' An end upon the war. Here Magnus came 1210
 ' To mend his fallen fortunes ; on our swords
 ' Here met his death. With such a pledge of faith
 ' Here have we bought thee, Cæsar ; with his blood
 ' Seal we this treaty. ' Take the Pharian realm
 ' Sought by no bloodshed, take the rule of Nile,
 ' Take all that thou would'st give for Magnus' life :
 ' And hold him vassal worthy of thy camp
 ' To whom the fates against thy son-in-law
 ' Such power entrusted ; nor hold thou the deed
 ' Lightly accomplished by the swordsman's stroke, 1220
 ' And so the merit. Guest ancestral he
 ' Who was its victim ; who, his sire expelled,
 ' Gave back to him the sceptre. For a deed
 ' So great, thou'lt find a name—or ask the world.
 ' If 'twas a crime, thou must confess the debt
 ' To us the greater, for that from thy hand
 ' We took the doing.'

Then he held and showed

Unveiled the head. Now had the hand of death
 Passed with its changing touch upon the face :

Nor at first sight did Cæsar on the gift 1230
 Pass condemnation ; nor avert his gaze,
 But dwelt upon the features till he knew
 The crime accomplished. Then when truth was sure
 The loving father rose, and tears he shed
 Which flowed at his command, and glad in heart
 Forced from his breast a groan : thus by the flow
 Of feigned tears and grief he hoped to hide
 His joy else manifest : and the ghastly boon
 Sent by the king disparaging, professed
 Rather to mourn his son's dissevered head, 1240
 Than count it for a debt. For thee alone,
 Magnus, he durst not fail to find a tear :
 He, Cæsar, who with mien unaltered spurned
 The Roman Senate, and with eyes undimmed
 Looked on Pharsalia's field. O fate most hard !
 Didst thou with impious war pursue the man
 Whom 'twas thy lot to mourn ? No kindred ties
 No memory of thy daughter and her son
 Touch on thy heart. Didst think perchance that grief
 Might help thy cause 'mid lovers of his name ? 1250
 Or haply, moved by envy of the king,
 Griev'st that to other hands than thine was given
 To shed the captive's life-blood ? and complain'st
 Thy vengeance perished and the conquered chief
 Snatched from thy haughty hand ? Whate'er the cause
 That urged thy grief, 'twas far removed from love.
 Was this forsooth the object of thy toil
 O'er lands and oceans, that without thy ken
 He should not perish ? Nay ! but well was reft
 From thine arbitrament his fate. What crime 1260
 Did cruel Fortune spare, what depth of shame
 To Roman honour ! since she suffered not,
 Perfidious traitor, while yet Magnus lived,

That thou should'st pity him !

Thus by words he dared,

To gain their credence in his ssembled grief :

' Hence from my sight with thy detested gift,

' Thou minion, to thy King. Worse does your crime

' Deserve from Cæsar than from Magnus' hands.

' The only prize that civil war affords

' Thus have we lost—to bid the conquered live. 1270

' If but the sister of this Pharian king

' Were not by him detested, by the head

' Of Cleopatra had I paid this gift.

' Such were the fit return. Why did he draw

' His separate sword, and in the toil that's ours

' Mingle his weapons? In Thessalia's field

' Gave we such right to the Pellæan blade?

' Magnus as partner in the rule of Rome

' I had not brooked; and shall I tolerate

' Thee, Ptolemæus? In vain with civil wars 1280

' Thus have we roused the nations, if there be

' Now any might but Cæsar's. If one land

' Yet owned two masters, I had turned from yours

' The prows of Latium; but fame forbids,

' Lest men should whisper that I did not damn

' This deed of blood, but feared the Pharian land.

' Nor think ye to deceive; victorious here

' I stand: else had my welcome at your hands

' Been that of Magnus; and that neck were mine

' But for Pharsalia's chance. At greater risk 1290

' So seems it, than we dreamed of, took we arms;

' Exile, and Magnus' threats, and Rome I knew,

' Not Ptolemæus. But we spare the boy:

' Pass by the murder. Let the princeling know

' We give no more than pardon for his crime.

' And now in honour of the mighty dead,

' Not merely that the earth may hide your guilt,
 ' Lay ye the chieftain's head within the tomb ;
 ' With proper sepulture appease his shade
 ' And place his scattered ashes in an urn. 1300
 ' Thus may he know my coming, and may hear
 ' Affection's accents, and my fond complaints.
 ' Me sought he not, but rather, for his life,
 ' This Pharian vassal ; snatching from mankind
 ' The happy morning which had shown the world
 ' A peace between us. But my prayers to heaven
 ' No favouring answer found ; that arms laid down
 ' In happy victory, Magnus, once again
 ' I might embrace thee, begging thee to grant
 ' Thine ancient love to Cæsar, and thy life. 1310
 ' Thus for my labours with a worthy prize
 ' Content, thine equal, bound in faithful peace,
 ' I might have brought thee to forgive the gods
 ' For thy disaster ; thou had'st gained for me
 ' From Rome forgiveness.'

Thus he spake, but found

No comrade in his tears ; nor did the host
 Give credit to his grief. Deep in their breasts
 They hide their groans, and gaze with joyful front
 (O famous Freedom !) on the deed of blood :
 And dare to laugh when mighty Cæsar wept. 1320

BOOK X

CÆSAR IN EGYPT

Cæsar visits the tomb of Alexander, 1-62. Cleopatra comes to Cæsar and asks for protection, 63-131. Banquet, 132-205. Cæsar questions Achoreus, 206-230. His reply upon the stars, the source of the Nile, and its course, 231-400. Pothinus stirs up Achilles to murder Cæsar, 401-483. The troops are collected and Cæsar is besieged in the palace, 484-612. Cæsar occupies Pharos, 613-664 ; and the poem ends.

BOOK X

CÆSAR IN EGYPT

WHEN Cæsar, following those who bore the head,
First trod the shore accursed, with Egypt's fates
His fortunes battled, whether Rome should pass
In crimson conquest o'er the guilty land,
Or Memphis' arms should ravish from the world
Victor and vanquished : and the warning shade
Of Magnus saved his kinsman from the sword.

First, by the crime assured, his standards borne
Before, he marched upon the Pharian town ;
But when the people, jealous of their laws, 10
Murmured against the fasces, Cæsar knew
Their minds were adverse, and that not for him
Was Magnus' murder wrought. And yet with brow
Dissembling fear, intrepid, through the shrines
Of Egypt's gods he strode, and round the fane
Of ancient Isis ; bearing witness all
To Macedon's vigour in the days of old.
Yet did nor gold nor ornament restrain
His hasting steps, nor worship of the gods,
Nor city ramparts : but in greed of gain 20
He sought the cave dug out amid the tombs.¹
The madman offspring there of Philip lies
The famed Pellæan robber, fortune's friend,

¹ The body of Alexander was embalmed, and the mummy placed in a glass case. The sarcophagus which enclosed them is stated to be now in the British Museum.

Snatched off by fate, avenging so the world.
 In sacred sepulchre the hero's limbs,
 Which should be scattered o'er the earth, repose,
 Still spared by Fortune to these tyrant days :
 For in a world to freedom once recalled,
 All men had mocked the dust of him who set
 The baneful lesson that so many lands 30
 Can serve one master. Macedon he left
 His home obscure ; Athena he despised
 The conquest of his sire, and spurred by fate
 Through Asia rushed with havoc of mankind,
 Plunging his sword through peoples ; streams unknown
 Ran red with Persian and with Indian blood.
 Curse of all earth and thunderbolt of ill
 To every nation ! On the outer sea ¹
 He launched his fleet to sail the ocean wave :
 Nor flame nor flood nor sterile Libyan sands 40
 Stayed back his course, nor Hammon's pathless shoals ;
 Far to the west, where downward slopes the world
 He would have led his armies, and the poles
 Had compassed, and had drunk the fount of Nile :
 But came his latest day ; such end alone
 Could nature place upon the madman king,
 Who jealous in death as when he won the world
 His empire with him took, nor left an heir.
 Thus every city to the spoiler's hand
 Was victim made : Yet in his fall was his 50
 Babylon ; and Parthia feared him. Shame on us
 That eastern nations dreaded more the lance
 Of Macedon than now the Roman spear.
 True that we rule beyond where takes its rise
 The burning southern breeze, beyond the homes

¹ See Book III., 268.

Of western winds, and to the northern star ;
 But towards the rising of the sun, we yield
 To him who kept the Arsacids in awe ;
 And puny Pella held as province sure
 The Parthia fatal to our Roman arms. 60

Now from the stream Pelusian of the Nile,
 Was come the boyish king, taming the rage
 Of his effeminate people : pledge of peace ;
 And Cæsar safely trod Pellæan halls ;
 When Cleopatra bribed her guard to break
 The harbour chains, and borne in little boat
 Within the Macedonian palace gates,
 Cæsar unknowing, entered : Egypt's shame ;
 Fury of Latium ; to the bane of Rome
 Unchaste. For as the Spartan queen of yore 70
 By fatal beauty Argos urged to strife
 And Ilium's homes, so Cleopatra roused
 Italia's frenzy. By her drum ¹ she called
 Down on the Capitol terror (if to speak
 Such word be lawful) ; mixed with Roman arms
 Coward Canopus, hoping she might lead
 A Pharian triumph, Cæsar in her train ;
 And 'twas in doubt upon Leucadian ² waves
 Whether a woman, not of Roman blood,
 Should hold the world in awe. Such lofty thoughts 80
 Seized on her soul upon that night in which
 The wanton daughter of Pellæan kings
 First shared our leaders' couches. Who shall blame
 Antonins for the madness of his love,
 When Cæsar's haughty breast drew in the flame ?

¹ The kettledrum used in the worship of Isis. (See Book VIII., line 974.)

² At the Battle of Actium. The island of Leucas, close to the promontory of Actium, is always named by Lucan when he refers to this battle. (See also Virgil, 'Æneid,' viii., 677.)

Who red with carnage, 'mid the clash of arms,
 In palace haunted by Pompeius' shade,
 Gave place to love; and in adulterous bed,
 Magnus forgotten, from the Queen impure,
 To Julia gave a brother: on the bounds * 90
 Of furthest Libya permitting thus
 His foe to gather: he in dalliance base
 Waited upon his mistress, and to her
 Pharos would give, for her would conquer all.

Then Cleopatra, trusting to her charms,
 Tearless approached him, though in form of grief;
 Her tresses loose as though in sorrow torn,
 So best becoming her; and thus began:
 ' If, mighty Cæsar, aught to noble birth
 ' Be due, give ear. Of Lagian race am I 100
 ' Offspring illustrious; from my father's throne
 ' Cast forth to banishment; unless thy hand
 ' Restore to me the sceptre: then a Queen
 ' Falls at thy feet embracing. To our race
 ' Bright star of justice thou! Nor first shall I
 ' As woman rule the cities of the Nile;
 ' For, neither sex preferring, Pharos bows
 ' To queenly governance. Of my parted sire
 ' Read the last words, by which 'tis mine to share
 ' With equal rights the kingdom and the bed. 110
 ' And loves the boy his sister, were he free;
 ' But his affections and his sword alike
 ' Pothinus orders. Nor wish I myself
 ' To wield my father's power; but this my prayer:
 ' Save from this foul disgrace our royal house,
 ' Bid that the king shall reign, and from the court
 ' Remove this hateful varlet, and his arms.
 ' How swells his bosom for that his the hand
 ' That shore Pompeius' head! And now he threatens

Part crimson dyed, in manner as are passed
 Through Pharian leash the threads. There waited slaves
 In number as a people, some in ranks
 By different blood distinguished, some by age ;
 This band with Libyan, that with auburn hair
 Red so that Cæsar on the banks of Rhine
 None such had witnessed ; some with features scorched
 By torrid suns, their locks in twisted coils
 Drawn from their foreheads. Eunuchs too were there,
 Unhappy race ; and on the other side 160
 Men of full age whose cheeks with growth of hair
 Were hardly darkened.

Upon either hand

Lay kings, and Cæsar in the midst supreme.
 There in her fatal beauty lay the Queen
 Thick daubed with unguents, nor with throne content
 Nor with her brother spouse ; laden she lay
 On neck and hair with all the Red Sea spoils,
 And faint beneath the weight of gems and gold.
 Her snowy breast shone through Sidonian lawn
 Which woven close by shuttles of the east 170
 The art of Nile had loosened. Ivory feet
 Bore citron tables brought from woods that wave¹
 On Atlas, such as Cæsar never saw
 When Juba was his captive. Blind in soul
 By madness of ambition, thus to fire
 By such profusion of her wealth, the mind,
 Of Cæsar armed, her guest in civil war !
 Not though he aimed with pitiless hand to grasp
 The riches of a world ; not though were here
 Those ancient leaders of the simple age, 180
 Fabricius or Curius stern of soul,
 Or he who, Consul, left in sordid garb

¹ Book IX., 507.

His Tuscan plough, could all their several hopes
 Have risen to such spoil. On plates of gold
 They piled the banquet sought in earth and air
 And from the deepest seas and Nilus' waves,
 Through all the world; in craving for display,
 No hunger urging. Frequent birds and beasts,
 Egypt's high gods, they placed upon the board :
 In crystal goblets water of the Nile 190
 They handed, and in massive cups of price
 Was poured the wine; no juice of Mareot grape¹
 But noble vintage of Falernian growth
 Which in few years in Merœ's vats had foamed,
 (For such the clime) to ripeness. On their brows
 Chaplets were placed of roses ever young
 With glistening nard entwined; and in their locks
 Was cinnamon infused, not yet in air
 Its fragrance perished, nor in foreign climes;
 And rich amomum from the neighbouring fields. 200
 Thus Cæsar learned the booty of a world
 To lavish, and his breast was shamed of war
 Waged with his son-in-law for meagre spoil,
 And with the Pharian realm he longed to find
 A cause of battle.

When of wine and feast

They wearied and their pleasure found an end,
 Cæsar drew out in colloquy the night
 Thus with Achoreus, on the highest couch
 With linen ephod as a priest begirt :
 ' O thou devoted to all sacred rites, 210
 ' Loved by the gods, as proves thy length of days,
 ' Tell, if thou wilt, whence sprang the Pharian race;
 ' How lie their lands, the manners of their tribes,

¹ Yet the Mareot grape was greatly celebrated. (See Professor Rawlinson's note to Herodotus, ii., 18.)

' The form and worship of their deities.
 ' Expound the sculptures on your ancient fanes :
 ' Reveal your gods if willing to be known :
 ' If to th' Athenian sage your fathers taught
 ' Their mysteries, who worthier than I
 ' To bear in trust the secrets of the world ?
 ' True, by the rumour of my kinsman's flight 220
 ' Here was I drawn ; yet also by your fame :
 ' And even in the midst of war's alarms
 ' The stars and heavenly spaces have I conned ;
 ' Nor shall Eudoxus' year ¹ excel mine own.
 ' But though such ardour burns within my breast,
 ' Such zeal to know the truth, yet my chief wish
 ' To learn the source of your mysterious flood
 ' Through ages hidden : give me certain hope
 ' To see the fount of Nile—and civil war
 ' Then shall I leave.' 230

He spake, and then the priest :

' The secrets, Cæsar, of our mighty sires ²
 ' Kept from the common people until now
 ' I hold it right to utter. Some may deem
 ' That silence on these wonders of the earth
 ' Were greater piety. But to the gods
 ' I hold it grateful that their handiwork
 ' And sacred edicts should be known to men.
 ' A different power by the primal law,
 ' Each star possesses : ³ these alone control

¹ The calendar introduced by Cæsar, in B.C. 45, was founded on the Egyptian or solar year. (See Herodotus, ii., 4.) Eudoxus seems to have dealt with this year and to have corrected it. He is probably alluded to by Virgil, 'Eclogue' iii., 41.

² Herodotus was less fortunate. For he says 'Concerning the nature of the river I was not able to gain any information either from the priests or others.' (ii., 19.)

³ It was supposed that the Sun and Moon and the planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus) were points which restrained the motion of the sky in its revolution. (See Book VI., 576.)

‘The movement of the sky, with adverse force 240
 ‘Opposing : while the sun divides the year,
 ‘And day from night, and by his potent rays
 ‘Forbids the stars to pass their stated course.
 ‘The moon by her alternate phases sets
 ‘The varying limits of the sea and shore.
 ‘Neath Saturn’s sway the zone of ice and snow
 ‘Has passed ; while Mars in lightning’s fitful flames
 ‘And winds abounds : beneath high Jupiter
 ‘Unvexed by storms abides a temperate air ;
 ‘And fruitful Venus’ star contains the seeds 250
 ‘Of all things. Ruler of the boundless deep
 ‘The god ¹ Cyllenian : whene’er he holds
 ‘That part of heaven where the Lion dwells
 ‘With neighbouring Cancer joined, and Sirius star
 ‘Flames in its fury ; where the circular path
 ‘(Which marks the changes of the varying year)
 ‘Gives to hot Cancer and to Capricorn
 ‘Their several stations, under which doth lie
 ‘The fount of Nile, he, master of the waves,
 ‘Strikes with his beam the waters. Forth the stream 260
 ‘Brimms from his fount, as Ocean when the moon
 ‘Commands an increase ; nor shall curb his flow
 ‘Till night wins back her losses from the sun.²
 ‘Vain is the ancient faith that Ethiop snows³
 ‘Send Nile abundant forth upon the lands.
 ‘Those mountains know nor northern wind nor star.

¹ Mercury. (See Book IX., 777.)

² That is, at the autumnal equinox. The priest states that the planet Mercury causes the rise of the Nile. The passage is difficult to follow ; but the idea would seem to be that this god, who controlled the rise and fall of the waves of the sea, also when he was placed directly over the Nile caused the rise of that river.

³ So also Herodotus, Book ii., 22. Yet modern discoveries have proved the snows.

' Of this are proof the breezes of the South,
 ' Fraught with warm vapours, and the people's hue
 ' Burned dark by suns : and 'tis in time of spring,
 ' When first are thawed the snows, that ice-fed streams 270
 ' In swollen torrents tumble ; but the Nile
 ' Nor lifts his wave before the Dog star burns ;
 ' Nor seeks again his banks, until the sun
 ' In equal balance measures night and day.
 ' Nor are the laws that govern other streams
 ' Obeyed by Nile. For in the wintry year
 ' Were he in flood, when distant far the sun,
 ' His waters lacked their office ; but he leaves
 ' His channel when the summer is at height,
 ' Tempering the torrid heat of Egypt's clime. 280
 ' Such is the task of Nile ; thus in the world
 ' He finds his purpose, lest exceeding heat
 ' Consume the lands : and rising thus to meet
 ' Enkindled Lion, to Syene's prayers
 ' By Cancer burnt gives ear ; nor curbs his wave
 ' Till the slant sun and Merœ's lengthening shades
 ' Proclaim the autumn. Who shall give the cause ?
 ' 'Twas Parent Nature's self which gave command
 ' Thus for the needs of earth should flow the Nile.
 ' Vain too the fable that the western winds ¹ 290
 ' Control his current, in continuous course
 ' At stated seasons governing the air ;
 ' Or hurrying from Occident to South
 ' Clouds without number which in misty folds
 ' Press on the waters ; or by constant blast,
 ' Forcing his current back whose several mouths
 ' Burst on the sea ;—so, forced by seas and wind,
 ' Men say, his billows pour upon the land.

¹ So, too, Herodotus, Book ii., 20, who attributes this theory to Greeks who wish to get a reputation for cleverness.

‘ Some speak of hollow caverns, breathing holes
 ‘ Deep in the earth, within whose mighty jaws 300
 ‘ Waters in noiseless current underneath
 ‘ From northern cold to southern climes are drawn ;
 ‘ And when hot Merœe pants beneath the sun,
 ‘ Then, say they, Ganges through the silent depths
 ‘ And Padus pass : and from a single fount
 ‘ The Nile arising not in single streams
 ‘ Pours all the rivers forth. And rumour says
 ‘ That when the sea which girdles in the world ¹
 ‘ O’erflows, thence rushes Nile, by lengthy course,
 ‘ Softening his saltness. More, if it be true 310
 ‘ That ocean feeds the sun and heavenly fires,
 ‘ Then Phœbus journeying by the burning Crab
 ‘ Sucks from its waters more than air can hold
 ‘ Upon his passage—this the cool of night
 ‘ Pours on the Nile.

‘ If, Cæsar, ’tis my part
 ‘ To judge such difference, ’twould seem that since
 ‘ Creation’s age has passed, earth’s veins by chance
 ‘ Some waters hold, and shaken cast them forth :
 ‘ But others took when first the globe was formed
 ‘ A sure abode ; by Him who framed the world 320
 ‘ Fixed with the Universe.

‘ And, Roman, thou,
 ‘ In thirsting thus to know the source of Nile
 ‘ Dost as the Pharian and Persian kings
 ‘ And those of Macedon ; nor any age
 ‘ Refused the secret, but the place prevailed
 ‘ Remote by nature. Greatest of the kings
 ‘ By Memphis worshipped, Alexander grudged ²

¹ See on Book V., 709. Herodotus mentions this theory also, to dismiss it.

² The historians state that Alexander made an expedition to the temple of Jupiter Hammon and consulted the oracle. Jupiter assisted his march,

' To Nile its mystery, and to furthest earth
 ' Sent chosen Ethiops whom the crimson zone
 ' Stayed in their further march, while flowed his stream 330
 ' Warm at their feet. Sesostris¹ westward far
 ' Reached, to the ends of earth ; and necks of kings
 ' Bent 'neath his chariot yoke : but of the springs
 ' Which fill your rivers, Rhone and Po, he drank,
 ' Not of the fount of Nile. Cambyses king
 ' In madman quest led forth his host to where
 ' The long-lived races dwell : then famine struck,
 ' Ate of his dead² and, Nile unknown, returned.
 ' No lying rumour of thy hidden source
 ' Has e'er made mention ; wheresoe'er thou art 340
 ' Yet art thou sought, nor yet has nation claimed
 ' In pride of place thy river as its own.
 ' Yet shall I tell, so far as has the god,
 ' Who veils thy fountain, given me to know,
 ' Thy progress. Daring to upraise thy banks
 ' 'Gainst fiery Cancer's heat, thou tak'st thy rise
 ' Beneath the zenith : straight towards the north
 ' And mid Bootes flowing ; to the couch
 ' Bending, or to the risings, of the sun
 ' In sinuous bends alternate ; just alike 350
 ' To Araby's peoples and to Libyan sands.
 ' By Seres³ first beheld, yet know they not

and an army of crows pointed out the path (Pintarch). It is, however, stated, in a note in Langhorne's edition, that Maximus Tyrius informs us that the object of the journey was the discovery of the sources of the Nile.

¹ Sesostris, the great king, does not appear to have pushed his conquests to the west of Europe.

² See Herodotus, iii., 17. These Ethiopian races were supposed to live to the age of 120 years, drinking milk, and eating boiled flesh. On Cambyses's march his starving troops cast lots by tens for the one man who was to be eaten.

³ The Seres are, of course, the Chinese. The ancients seem to have thought that the Nile came from the east. But it is possible that there was another tribe of this name dwelling in Africa.

‘ Whence art thou come ; and with no native stream
 ‘ Strik’st thou the Ethiop fields. Nor knows the world
 ‘ To whom it owes thee. Nature ne’er revealed
 ‘ Thy secret origin, removed afar.
 ‘ Nor did she wish thee to be seen of men
 ‘ While still a tiny rivulet, but preferred
 ‘ Their wonder to their knowledge. Where the sun
 ‘ Stays at his limit, dost thou rise in flood 360
 ‘ Untimely ; such thy right : to other lands
 ‘ Bearing thy winter : and by both the poles
 ‘ Thou only wanderest. Here men ask thy rise
 ‘ And there thine ending. Merœ rich in soil
 ‘ And tilled by swarthy husbandmen divides
 ‘ Thy broad expanse, rejoicing in the leaves
 ‘ Of groves of ebony, which though spreading far
 ‘ Their branching foliage, by no breadth of shade
 ‘ Soften the summer sun—whose rays direct
 ‘ Pass from the Lion to the fervid earth.¹ 370
 ‘ Next dost thou journey onwards past the realm
 ‘ Of burning Phœbus, and the sterile sands,
 ‘ With equal volume ; now with all thy strength
 ‘ Gathered in one, and now in devious streams
 ‘ Parting the bank that crumbles at thy touch.
 ‘ Then by our kingdom’s gates, where Philæ parts
 ‘ Arabian peoples from Egyptian fields
 ‘ The sluggish bosom of thy flood recalls
 ‘ Thy wandering currents, which through desert wastes
 ‘ Flow gently on to where the merchant track 380
 ‘ Divides the Red Sea waters from our own.
 ‘ Who, gazing, Nile, upon thy tranquil flow,
 ‘ Could picture how in wild array of foam
 ‘ (Where shelves the earth) thy billows shall be plunged

¹ A passage of difficulty. I understand it to mean that at this spot the summer sun (in Leo) strikes the earth with direct rays.

' Down the steep cataracts, in fuming wrath
 ' That rocks should bar the passage of thy stream
 ' Free from its source? For whirled on high the spray
 ' Aims at the stars, and trembles all the air
 ' With rush of waters; and with sounding roar
 ' The foaming mass down from the summit pours 390
 ' In hoary waves victorious. Next an isle
 ' In all our ancient lore "untrodden" named
 ' Stems firm thy torrent; and the rocks we call
 ' Springs of the river, for that here are marked
 ' The earliest tokens of the coming flood.
 ' With mountain shores now nature hems thee in
 ' And shuts thy waves from Libya; in the midst
 ' Hence do thy waters run, till Memphis first
 ' Forbids the barrier placed upon thy stream
 ' And gives thee access to the open fields.' 400

Thus did they pass, as though in peace profound,
 The nightly watches. But Pothinus' mind,
 Once with accursèd butchery imbued,
 Was frenzied still; since great Pompeius fell
 No deed to him was crime; his rabid soul
 Th' avenging goddesses and Magnus' shade
 Stirred to fresh horrors; and a Pharian hand
 No less was worthy, as he deemed, to shed
 That blood which Fortune purposed should bedew
 The conquered fathers: and the fell revenge 410
 Due to the senate for the civil war
 This hireling almost snatched, Avert, ye fates,
 Far hence the shame that not by Brutus' hand
 This blow be struck! Shall thus the tyrant's fall
 Just at our hands, become a Pharian crime,
 Reft of example? To prepare a plan
 (Fated to fail) he dares; nor veils in fraud
 A plot for murder, but with open war

Attacks th' unconquered chieftain : from his crimes
 He gained such courage as to send command 420
 To lop the head of Cæsar, and to join
 In death the kinsmen chiefs.

These words by night

His faithful servants to Achillas bear,
 His foul associate, whom the boy had made
 Chief of his armies, and who ruled alone
 O'er Egypt's land and o'er himself her king :
 ' Now lay thy limbs upon the sumptuous couch
 ' And sleep in luxury, for the Queen hath seized
 ' The palace ; nor alone by her betrayed,
 ' But Cæsar's gift, is Pharos. Dost delay 430
 ' Nor hasten to the chamber of thy Queen ?
 ' Thou only ? Married to the Latian chief,
 ' The impious sister now her brother weds
 ' And hurrying from rival spouse to spouse
 ' Hath Egypt won, and plays the bawd for Rome.
 ' By amorous potions she has won the man :
 ' Then trust the boy ! Yet give him but a night
 ' In her enfondling arms, and drunk with love
 ' Thy life and mine he'll barter for a kiss.
 ' We for his sister's charms by cross and flame 440
 ' Shall pay the penalty : nor hope of aid ;
 ' Here stands adulterous Cæsar, here the King
 ' Her spouse : how hope we from so stern a judge
 ' To gain acquittal ? Shall she not condemn
 ' Those who ne'er sought her favours ? By the deed
 ' We dared together and lost, by Magnus' blood
 ' Which wrought the bond between us, be thou swift
 ' With hasty tumult to arouse the war :
 ' Dash in with nightly band, and mar with death
 ' Their shameless nuptials : on the very bed 450
 ' With either lover smite the ruthless Queen.

' Nor let the fortunes of the Western chief
 ' Make pause our enterprise. We share with him
 ' The glory of his empire o'er the world.
 ' Pompeius fallen makes us too sublime.
 ' There lies the shore that bids us hope success :
 ' Ask of our power from the polluted wave,
 ' And gaze upon the scanty tomb which holds
 ' Not all Pompeius' ashes. Peer to him
 ' Was he whom now thou fearest. Noble blood 460
 ' True, is not ours : what boots it ? Nor are realms
 ' Nor wealth of peoples given to our command.
 ' Yet have we risen to a height of power
 ' For deeds of blood, and Fortune to our hands
 ' Attracts her victims. Lo ! a nobler now
 ' Lies in our compass, and a second death
 ' Hesperia shall appease ; for Cæsar's blood,
 ' Shed by these hands, shall give us this, that Rome
 ' Shall love us, guilty of Pompeius' fall.
 ' Why fear these titles, why this chieftain's strength ? 470
 ' For shorn of these, before your swords he lies
 ' A common soldier. To the civil war
 ' This night shall bring completion, and shall give
 ' To peoples slain fit offerings, and send
 ' That life the world demands beneath the shades.
 ' Rise then in all your hardihood and smite
 ' This Cæsar down, and let the Roman youths
 ' Strike for themselves, and Lagos for its King.
 ' Nor do thou tarry : full of wine and feast
 ' Thou'lt fall upon him in the lists of love ; 480
 ' Then dare the venture, and the heavenly gods
 ' Shall grant of Cato's and of Brutus' prayers
 ' To thee fulfilment.'

Nor was Achilles slow
 To hear the voice that counselled him to crime.

No sounding clarion summoned, as is wont,
 His troops to arms ; nor trumpet blare betrayed
 Their nightly march : but rapidly he seized
 All needed instruments of blood and war.
 Of Latian race the most part of his train,
 Yet to barbarian customs were their minds 490
 By long forgetfulness of Rome debased :
 Else had it shamed to serve the Pharian King ;
 But now his vassal and his minion's word
 Compel obedience. Those who serve in camps
 Lose faith and love of kin : their pittance earned ¹
 Makes just the deed : and for their sordid pay,
 Not for themselves, they threaten Cæsar's life.
 Where finds the piteous destiny of the realm
 Rome with herself at peace ? The host withdrawn
 From dread Thessalia raves on Nilus' banks 500
 As all the race of Rome. What more had dared,
 With Magnus welcomed, the Lagean house ?
 Each hand must render to the gods their due,
 Nor son of Rome may cease from civil war ;
 By Heaven's command our state was rent in twain ;
 Nor love for husband nor regard for sire
 Parted our peoples. 'Twas a slave who stirred
 Afresh the conflict, and Achilles grasped
 In turn the sword of Rome : nay more, had won,
 Had not the fates adverse restrained his hand 510
 From Cæsar's slaughter.

For the murderous pair
 Ripe for their plot were met ; the spacious hall
 Still busied with the feast. So might have flowed
 Into the kingly cups a stream of gore,
 And in mid banquet fallen Cæsar's head.
 Yet did they fear lest in the nightly strife

¹ Reading 'ibi fas ubi proxima merces,' with Hosius.

(The fates permitting) some incautious hand—
 So did they trust the sword—might slay the King.
 Thus stayed the deed, for in the minds of slaves
 The chance of doing Cæsar to the death 520
 Might bear postponement : when the day arose
 Then should he suffer ; and a night of life
 Thus by Pothinus was to Cæsar given.

Now from the Casian rock looked forth the Sun
 Flooding the land of Egypt with a day
 Warm from its earliest dawn, when from the walls
 Not wandering in disorder are they seen,
 But drawn in close array, as though to meet
 A foe opposing ; ready to receive
 Or give the battle. Cæsar, in the town 530
 Placing no trust, within the palace courts
 Lay in ignoble hiding place, the gates
 Close barred : nor all the kingly rooms possessed,
 But in the narrowest portion of the space
 He drew his band together. There in arms
 They stood, with dread and fury in their souls.
 He feared attack, indignant at his fear.
 Thus will a noble beast in little cage
 Imprisoned, fume, and break upon the bars
 His teeth in frenzied wrath ; nor more would rage 540
 The flames of Vulcan in Sicilian depths
 Should Etna's top be closed. He who but now
 By Hæmus' mount against Pompeius chief,
 Italia's leaders and the Senate line,
 His cause forbidding hope, looked at the fates
 He knew were hostile, with unfaltering gaze,
 Now fears before the crime of hireling slaves,
 And in mid palace trembles at the blow :
 He whom nor Scythian nor Alaun¹ had dared

¹ See Book VIII., 253.

To violate, nor the Moor who aims the dart 550
 Upon his victim slain, to prove his skill.
 The Roman world but now did not suffice
 To hold him, nor the realms from furthest Ind
 To Tyrian Gades. Now, as puny boy,
 Or woman, trembling when a town is sacked,
 Within the narrow corners of a house
 He seeks for safety ; on the portals closed
 His hope of life ; and with uncertain gait
 He treads the halls ; yet not without the King ;
 In purpose, Ptolemæus, that thy life 560
 For his shall give atonement ; and to hurl
 Thy severed head among the servant throng
 Should darts and torches fail. So story tells
 The Colchian princess ¹ with sword in hand,
 And with her brother's neck bared to the blow,
 Waited her sire, avenger of his realm
 Despoiled, and of her flight. In the imminent risk
 Cæsar, in hopes of peace, an envoy sent
 To the fierce vassals, from their absent lord
 Bearing a message, thus : ' At whose command 570
 ' Wage ye the war ? ' But not the laws which bind
 All nations upon earth, nor sacred rights,
 Aailed to save or messenger of peace,
 Or King's ambassador ; or thee from crime
 Such as befitted thee, thou land of Nile
 Fruitful in monstrous deeds : not Juba's realm
 Vast though it be, nor Pontus, nor the land
 Thessalian, nor the arms of Pharnaces,
 Nor yet the tracts which chill Iberus girds,
 Nor Libyan coasts such wickedness have dared, 580

¹ Medea, who fled from Colchis with her brother, Absyrtus. Pursued by her father Aetes, she killed her brother and strewed the parts of his body into the sea. The king paused to collect them.

As thou, with all thy luxuries. Closer now
 War hemmed them in, and weapons in the courts,
 Shaking the innermost recesses, fell.
 Yet did no ram, fatal with single stroke,
 Assail the portal, nor machine of war ;
 Nor flame they called in aid ; but blind of plan
 They wander purposeless, in separate bands
 Around the circuit, nor at any spot
 With strength combined attempt to breach the wall.
 The fates forbad, and Fortune from their hands 590
 Held fast the palace as a battlement.
 Nor failed they to attack from ships of war
 The regal dwelling, where its frontage bold
 Made stand apart the waters of the deep :
 There, too, was Cæsar's all-protecting arm ;
 For these at point of sword, and those with fire ¹
 He forces back, and though besieged he dares
 To storm th' assailants : and as lay the ships
 Joined rank to rank, bids drop upon their sides
 Lamps drenched with reeking tar. Nor slow the fire 600
 To seize the hempen cables and the decks
 Oozing with melting pitch ; the oarsman's bench
 All in one moment, and the topmost yards
 Burst into flame : half merged the vessels lay
 While swam the foemen, all in arms, the wave ;
 Nor fell the blaze upon the ships alone,
 But seized with writhing tongues the neighbouring homes,
 And fanned to fury by the Southern breeze
 Tempestuous, it leaped from roof to roof ;
 Not otherwise than on its heavenly track, 610
 Unfed by matter, glides the ball of light,

¹ It was in this conflagration that a large part of the library of the Ptolemies was destroyed. 400,000 volumes are stated to have perished.

By air alone aflame.

This pest recalled

Some of the forces to the city's aid
 From the besieged halls. Nor Cæsar gave
 To sleep its season ; swifter than all else
 To seize the crucial moment of the war.
 Quick in the darkest watches of the night
 He leaped upon his ships, and Pharos ¹ seized,
 Gate of the main ; an island in the days
 Of Proteus seer, now bordering the walls
 Of Alexander's city. Thus he gained
 A double vantage, for his foes were pent
 Within the narrow entrance, which for him
 And for his aids gave access to the sea.

620

Nor longer was Pothinus' doom delayed,
 Yet not with cross or flame, nor with the wrath
 His crime demanded ; nor by savage beasts
 Torn, did he suffer ; but by Magnus' death,
 Alas the shame ! he fell ; his head by sword
 Hacked from his shoulders. Next by frauds prepared ⁶³⁰
 By Ganymede her base attendant, fled
² Arsinoë from the Court to Cæsar's foes ;
 There in the absence of the King she ruled
 As of Lagean blood : there at her hands,
 The savage minion of the tyrant boy,
 Achilles, fell by just avenging sword.
 Thus did another victim to thy shade
 Atone, Pompeius ; but the gods forbid
 That this be all thy vengeance ! Not the King

¹ The island of Pharos, which lay over against the port of Alexandria, had been connected with the mainland in the middle by a narrow causeway. On it stood the lighthouse. (See Book IX, 1191.) Proteus, the old man of the sea, kept here his flock of seals, according to the Homeric story. ('Odyssey,' Book IV., 400.)

² Younger sister of Cleopatra.

Nor all the stock of Lagos for thy death 640
 Would make fit sacrifice ! So Fortune deemed ;
 And not till patriot swords shall drink the blood
 Of Cæsar, Magnus, shalt thou be appeased.
 Still, though was slain the author of the strife,
 Sank not their rage : with Ganymede for chief
 Again they rush to arms ; in deeds of fight
 Again they conquer. So might that one day
 Have witnessed Cæsar's fate ; so might its fame
 Have lived through ages.

As the Roman Chief,

Crushed on the narrow surface of the mole, 650
 Prepared to throw his troops upon the ships,
 Sudden upon him the surrounding foes
 With all their terrors came. In dense array
 Their navy lined the shores, while on the rear
 The footmen ceaseless charged. No hope was left,
 For 'flight was not, nor could the brave man's arm
 Achieve or safety or a glorious death.
 Not now were needed for great Cæsar's fall,
 Caught in the toils of nature, routed host
 Or mighty heaps of slain : his only doubt 660
 To fear or hope for death : while on his brain
 Brave Scæva's image flashed, now vainly sought,
 Who on the wall by Epidamnus' fields
 Earned fame immortal, and with single arm
 Drove back Pompeius as he trod the breach.

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