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WITH
INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND CRITICAL APPENDIX

BY

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THE text of this edition of Book VII. of Lucan's Civil War is based in the main on the critical materials collected in the Teubner edition of Dr C. Hosius. For the notes the last English Commentary, that by the late Mr C. E. Haskins, has of course been frequently referred to; but they owe more to the older editions, especially those of Oudendorp, Burmann, and Bentley, and to Mr W. E. Heitland's excellent Introduction to Lucan. I have had in addition the use of a MS. English translation and notes by my friend and colleague, the Rev. R. St J. Parry, Tutor and Senior Dean of Trinity College, from which my commentary has derived much advantage, direct and indirect. In preparing the Historical Introduction, which is designed to give a picture of the most important battle of the Civil Wars, I have derived much assistance from the histories of Drumann, Long and Merivale, and from Col. Stoffel's military history of the Civil Wars with its valuable maps and plans. To my friend, Dr Jas. Gow, who read this part of my book, I am indebted for some useful criticisms and suggestions.

In the orthography of Latin words I have followed the
indications of the manuscripts except in the case of spellings admittedly corrupt, though I have not meddled with the customary spelling of words which, like Virgil, have long since become part of the English language. As a proof that the spelling of Latin as the Romans spelled it is a matter of more than theoretical importance I may refer to the critical note on line 658.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Trinity College.
August 20, 1896.
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P. L.
CORRIGENDA.

P. 16, l. 468. For perculsa read percussa.
P. 27, l. 801. For hostes read hoste.
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA.

§ 1. The credibility of Lucan's account.

Of the battle of Pharsalia, as of most events in the Civil Wars, we have but one contemporary account—the naturally one-sided narrative of Caesar. It is accordingly a matter of historical importance, as well as of literary interest, to ascertain whether the statements of Lucan may be believed. The consensus of modern historians to rank him among the authorities for the events which he describes is indeed not likely to be set aside; but it may well be asked within what limits and with what abatements there is historical verity in his presentation.

In the first place the character of his work must be remembered. Lucan was writing a poem and not a history; and accordingly he felt bound to employ the artifices of his craft. Anything therefore in his account which is poetically or rhetorically effective, and is at the same time intrinsically improbable and unconfirmed by independent testimony, may safely be ascribed to the invention of the rhetorical poet. The battle must be sudden, brought about by the clamours of the soldiery on its very morning. The mouthpiece of their mutinous request must be the chief of Roman orators. In the battle Brutus, disguised forsooth as a common soldier, must attempt
to anticipate the Ides of March\(^1\). It need hardly be said that the orations put in the mouths of Caesar, Pompey and others are fictitious when it is known that even professed historians would have been thought but poor masters of their art, if they had recorded instead of inventing the speeches of their characters\(^2\).

Secondly, Lucan’s poem was written with an object, whose nature he does not disguise from his readers, the glorification of the cause which was lost at Pharsalia\(^3\). And he seldom loses an opportunity of colouring and distorting events in the interests of the optimates and their leader. The luxury of the Pompeians is erased from the picture to make way for the rapacity of the Caesarians\(^4\). The collapse of Pompey after the defeat of his horse is covered up with rhetorical gloss. The laudation of the beaten, even the vilification of the victorious side, might be in part excused as the extravagance of a not ungenerous, if partial, enthusiasm; but what are we to say of the value of that republican spirit which condescends to manufacture an entire death-scene to flatter the family vanity of a Nero?

The poet himself often affords us indications which reveal the character of his own accounts. Rhetoric has but a short

\(^{1}\) 45; ‘Romani maximus auctor | Tullius eloquii,’ 62; 586.

\(^{2}\) A well-known example is the address of Claudius to the Senate on the enfranchisement of the Gauls. The Emperor’s speech will be found in Gruter’s Collection of inscriptions no. D 11, or Furneaux, Annals of Tacitus, vol. 2, Appendix; the historian’s composition in Tacitus Annals II. 24. Some writers appeased their historical conscience by a curious expedient. The oblique narration was used for these imaginary exercises, the direct for real reports; as we learn from Pompeius Trogus, cited by Justin 38. 3 fin., who blames Livy and Sallust for disregarding this convention.

\(^{3}\) It is clearly avowed in lines 207—213.

\(^{4}\) It is curious to note how Lucan has dealt with the incidents of the scene of luxury in the Pompeian camp (see below, p. xxxi). The turf on which the ‘unspeakable’ Caesarians sleep has been cut for the kings (762). The gold and silver of which they make prize were for the expenses of the war (753).
memory; and facts are hard to hide. The eagerness of the Caesarians for battle sorts but ill with the length and elaborateness of their leader's speech; and when in book VIII the flying hero trembles at every rustle of the forest, we know what to think of the majestic calm, with which in book VII he sustains defeat.

It must not however be supposed that if a narrative of Lucan cannot be accepted as it stands, it is therefore destitute of all foundation. Exaggeration, suppression and distortion are in general easier modes of perverting than sheer fabrication; and a close and critical examination may sometimes discover, even in the wildest improbabilities, the vestiges of truth. For example, the command of Caesar for the destruction of his camp seems at first sight to be as wholly fictitious as it is utterly incredible; but nevertheless it appears to be based on a real incident, and perhaps on a real order¹. The pause before the battle was a fact; but to understand its nature and circumstances we must discard the high-flown narrative of Lucan².

Even in the absence of all temptation to misstatement the accuracy of Lucan cannot be relied upon. In every branch of learning, history, geography, mythology, and science as it was then understood, he was the possessor of vast stores of multifarious information. But this learning was undigested and inexact; and his self-confidence led him into error at every turn.

For some of his mistakes it is true he is not himself primarily responsible. The confusion of the two great battlefields, the bullets that melt in their course, the hemorrhage that forces the weapon from the wound³: all of these he had found in the writings of his predecessors⁴. In other cases his sub-

¹ Below, p. xxvi, n. 1.
² 460—9, see below, p. xxviii.
³ 872, 513, 622 and notes.
⁴ We cannot determine to whom is due the mistake in the movements of the Pompeian horse (506 n.); and the numerical error in 219 (see the note) may have been in his copy of Livy. But if so, a careful inquirer would have probably detected it. Was he then writing history?
substantial accuracy appears to have been overlooked. He has committed no geographical error in placing Pholoe in Thessaly\(^1\), nor any historical one in the mention of Spanish targeteers among the forces engaged at Pharsalia\(^2\). The inundation of the Enipeus, to which little prominence is given in his narrative, is confirmed by collateral and independent evidence\(^3\); and the striking correctness of his account of the decisive charge of Caesar's reserve appears to warrant us in removing a corruption which disfigures a portion of the description\(^4\).

On the other hand we might reasonably expect him to know the occasion of his hero's first triumph\(^5\), and not to assign to his favourite birds the tastes of carrion crows\(^6\). More than once too he mars his own workmanship by a failure to realize the expressions that he employs\(^7\).

It would appear then that, so far at least as Lucan's account of Pharsalia is concerned, the praise of Col. Stoffel is too strong: 'Or Lucain mérite ici toute créance; car lorsqu'il ne s'agit que de rapporter les faits (nous ne disons: quand il s'agit de les juger), le poète de Cordoue se montre un historien des plus véridiques' (Histoire de Jules César, Guerre Civile, vol. II., p. 251). Others however have erred in the opposite direction.

\section*{§ 2. The authorities of Lucan.}

As Lucan was no eye-witness or contemporary of the events which he narrates, whatever verity his narrative possesses it must owe entirely to the sources from which it was derived.

\(^1\) 827 n.
\(^2\) 232, where the emendation of Omnibonus CeIIas for cetras is entirely mistaken.
\(^3\) 224, 226 and notes, and below p. xxiv, n. 3.
\(^4\) 522 (see note and Crit. App.) and below p. xxvi. It may be added that the description of Pompey's voyage from Lesbos in book \textit{VIII} is excellent, as Mr Parry has observed.
\(^5\) 14 n.
\(^6\) 832 n.
\(^7\) See e.g. 158 note on solutis, 748.
There appear good grounds for believing that one, and perhaps the chief, of these was the now lost history of Livy. More than one incident, of which Lucan is now the earliest witness, is said to have been recorded in Livy, e.g. that of the Augur Cornelius. A predecessor of Lucan, Valerius Maximus, the industrious collector of anecdotes, used Livy and refers to him; and there are some striking agreements between Lucan and Valerius Maximus. A succeeding historian, L. Annaeus Florus, drew chiefly from Livy; and Lucan and Florus are often in the closest agreement. Lucan again must have been naturally drawn to a writer whose treatment of the aristocrats was so 'Pompeian.' Nor is it superfluous to observe that the frequency with which Livy may be used for the illustration of Lucan's phraseology points of itself to the same conclusion.

So far as I know, no evidence is forthcoming that Lucan did actually draw from any other source. There is nothing to show that he used the lost history of Asinius Pollio, and if within the present book he made any use of the narrative of Caesar, it was certainly only for the purpose of contradicting it.

1 192 n., and below p. xxii.
2 See notes on 153, 712.
3 His history is called an epitome of Livy; see Teuffel's *History of Roman Literature*, ed. 2, § 348 notes 1 and 2.
4 It has been sought to explain these agreements by the hypothesis that Florus copied Lucan. That Florus had read the 'Civil War,' that for ideas and expressions he is often indebted to its author, may well be admitted. But to suppose that in questions of fact the epitomator of a history would abandon its statements for those of a poem written more than a century after the events is an imputation of incompetence not admissible without the strictest proof. The same may be said of Appian.
6 See e.g. the notes on 132, 269, 276, 351, 494, 732, 830.
§ 3. Other authorities.

The only contemporary account of the battle is that in Caesar's *de bello civili*. This has to be supplemented by the accounts of Plutarch (*Lives of Caesar and Pompeius*), Florus, Appian; and brief notices in the epitome of Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Suetonius, Eutropius, Orosius and the military writers Polyaeus and Frontinus.

In the following narrative I follow Caesar in the main; but I have added from other authorities everything that there seems no ground to disbelieve.

§ 4. Historical sketch. Dyrrhachium to Pharsalia.

After the double disaster which in May, 48 B.C., Caesar had brought upon himself by his audacious attempt to blockade a superior with an inferior force, his position round Dyrrhachium was untenable; and he at once decided to withdraw into the interior. His route of march was across the river Genusus through Asparagium to Apollonia, his first destination. His retreat was rapid, and effected without loss; indeed the pursuing Pompeians suffered severely in a cavalry engagement on the banks of the Genusus. Leaving four cohorts to defend Apollonia and three at Oricum to protect his wounded, while one was

1 Caesar's narrative appears to be quite trustworthy on the whole, but it omits a number of details, which the writer perhaps did not think important enough to record.

2 The account in Dio Cassius 41. 53—62 is entirely worthless. All the distinctive features of the engagement are obliterated, and in lieu the feelings of the combatants are described at tedious length in a washy imitation of Thucydides.

3 Owing to the confusion in the Roman calendar and other causes exact dates in our reckoning cannot be given. In Col. Stoffel's conjectural system this date is May 26, and that of the battle of Pharsalia June 29.
detached to occupy Lissus, he proceeded up the valley of the Aous past Joânnina to the pass of Métzovo and arrived at Aeginium (Stagîs) in north-west Thessaly where he was joined some seven days later by his lieutenant, Domitius Caluinîus\(^1\), with the army which had been operating against Scipio\(^2\) in Eastern Macedonia. The country was hostile; for the news of Dyrrhachium had spread like wildfire; and Gomphi, which was the first town of Thessaly they reached, and which a few months before had placed all its resources at Caesar’s disposal, closed its gates against him. It was promptly stormed and abandoned to pillage. There were large stores of wine and provisions in the place, and the soldiery recouped themselves for the privations of the march by a drunken carouse, in which the German troops were the most distinguished\(^3\). From Gomphi Caesar proceeded to Metropolis (now Paleokastro), which also had meditated resistance; but the account which Caesar’s prisoners gave of the fall of Gomphi speedily opened its walls. No harm was done to the inhabitants. Other towns accordingly followed its example, and with the exception of Larisa and its immediate neighbourhood\(^4\), Caesar was master of Thessaly.

Meanwhile Pompey, who had ceased to pursue Caesar after his arrival in Apollonia, marched through Candauia by the Via Egnatia into Macedonia, while Scipio, after the retirement of Domitius southward, crossed the Cambunian mountains to Larisa. Pompey followed him and joined him not long after the arrival of Caesar in Thessaly.

In the two armies thus united both generals held equal and

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\(^1\) Gnaeus Domitius Caluinîus, not to be confused with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Pompeian leader.

\(^2\) Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, proconsul of Syria, the father of Cornelia, the last wife of Pompey.

\(^3\) oî òû ék ëk lîmôv pántwv éneîmplânnto âðrðwv kai émeðúskonnto áprepîwv kai málîstta âútwv oî Γερμανοι γελοîstatoî kata tûn méðhn ãsawn Appian, *bell. civil.* 2. c. 64.

\(^4\) Then occupied by the vast forces of Scipio, Caes. *B. C.* 3. 81. 2, ‘Larisaeos qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur.’
independent commands; but the chief conduct of the war remained with Pompey. The forces now at his disposal were on paper most imposing. The legionary soldiers were more than twice as numerous as Caesar's, while the cavalry outnumbered his sevenfold. Besides there were over 4,000 slingers and bowmen, and a prodigious horde of auxiliaries. Never had a Roman commander brought such a vast and multifarious army into the field; and our poet may well be forgiven the hyperbole of calling it a world in arms. Of the regular troops, five legions had crossed with Pompey from Italy; another was composed of veterans who had settled in Crete and Macedonia who had volunteered for service (euocati), another was from Cilicia, two came from the province of Asia under the com-

1 Compare the words of Caesar c. 82. i 'suum cum Scipione honorem partitur classicumque apud eum cani et alterum illi iubet praetorium tendi.'

2 117 cohorts or 48,000 men and 2000 veterans of the reserve (euocati) as against 75 cohorts or 24,000: 7,000 cavalry as against 1000.

3 2 cohorts of slingers of 600 each and 3,000 bowmen.

4 mundus 70, 233, al.

5 These included the two from the army of Gaul which Caesar had surrendered to the Senate.

6 The Mss of Caesar B. C. 3. 4. i have 'ex Sicilia,' which does not agree with 3. 88. 3 'Ciliciensis legio.' The emendation of Ciacconius Cilicia is confirmed by the circumstance that the legion was called gemella by Pompey because it was made out of two, and we know from ad Att. 5. 15. i that the force which Cicero had at his disposal when governor of Cilicia 50—49 B.C. consisted of two attenuated legions. Against this it has been urged that Lucan says ('agmina quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat | Scipio,' 222) that these Cilician forces came with Scipio. There is however no reason for thus pressing words which must refer primarily to the Syrian legions (above p. xv, n. 2), and Lucan's mention of Cilicia is quite justified by the circumstance that the operations (detrimentis as Caesar sarcastically calls them), in virtue of which Scipio assumed the title of imperator, took place about Mount Amanus. Moreover, even a definite statement of Lucan would have little weight against such a coincidence as we have pointed out.
mand of P. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul in 49; fifteen cohorts were from the army of Gaius Antonius whom Pompey's lieutenants, M. Octavius and L. Scribonius Libo, had compelled to capitulate in Corcyra Nigra (Curzola)\(^1\), seven from the beaten and disbanded army of Afranius in Spain; and last but not least were the two legions which Scipio had brought from Syria\(^2\). The horsemen included 600 Galli or Galatians commanded by Deiotarus their tetrarch, 300 from the same district under the command of Castor\(^3\) and Domniliaus, 500 under Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, 500 under Sadalas, the son of Cotys, from Thrace, 200 Macedonians under the command of the able Rhascypolis, 500 Gauls and Germans from Egypt, where Gabinius had left them to protect king Ptolemy Auletes, 200 from Commagene furnished by Antiochus, whom Pompey had restored to his kingdom, 800 drawn from the slaves and shepherds of Pompey and his friends, and unspecified numbers from the Dardani and Bessi, mountain tribes in the skirts of Haemus, from Macedonia, Thessaly and the vicinity\(^4\). His corps of bowmen was gathered from Crete, Lacedaemon, Pontus, Syria and elsewhere. Of the auxiliary forces, of whom the major part came with Scipio from Asia, no enumeration is possible. They included levies from most of the Greek States and from every portion of the East Mediterranean, even Hebrews and Arabs, and contingents from Eastern and Western Armenia\(^5\). The babble of tongues in this Roman camp was like that on the

\(^1\) Caesar B. C. 3. 4. 2, Orosius 6. 15.
\(^2\) Pompey regarded these as the most reliable of his troops; Caesar B. C. 3. 88. 4, cf. Lucan v. 221.
\(^3\) Son of the reigning 'king' Tarcondarius, or Tarcondimotus, Castor.
\(^4\) The details of Pompey's cavalry and legionary infantry are mainly from Caesar B. C. 3. 4, and refer to the period antecedent to the engagements at Dyrrhachium.
\(^5\) For the nationalities in the Pompeian army see the long enumeration, Lucan iii 169—297, vii 224—232, 514 sq., 540 sqq., and the less romantic account in Appian 2. cc. 70, 71.
memorable day of Pentecost; and the words of the sacred writer\(^1\) may be almost literally applied: "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians\(^2\)."

In point of numbers then Pompey had an immense superiority; but quite other was the fighting value of his vast array. By constant and careful drilling he had turned his raw recruits into moderately well-trained soldiers\(^3\); but they were not the veterans of Caesar. As the sequel showed, he could count indeed upon their fidelity; but he could not evoke their enthusiasm. His cavalry owed their superiority to numbers alone, and his auxiliaries were little more than a useless incumbrance. The successes of Dyrrhachium had inspired his troops with confidence in their leader and themselves; but they had at the same time released all the elements of disorder. The spirit of the nobles, whether holding military command or serving as volunteers in the camp, was almost beyond control. Confident of victory and burning to return to the Capital, their impatience of discipline was only equalled by their impatience of delay, and the contempt which they felt for their opponents was rapidly extended to their leader. If Pompey's strength of character had been one half of his military talent, or a quarter of his egotism, he would have been able to cope with the evil. As it was, the feebleness of the head and the unruliness of the members constituted a situation which to the discerning was full of alarm\(^4\).

\(^1\) *Acts* ii. Lucan's Caesar well sums them up in the contemptuous phrase 'mixtae dissona turbæ barbaries' (272).

\(^2\) The grand total, though undoubtedly very large, is certainly wildly exaggerated by Florus (2. 13. 44) 300,000 'praeter auxilia reges et senatum.' Appian c. 70 mentions that some put it at 400,000.

\(^3\) He had not spared himself in doing so. Plut. *Pomp.* 64. After all his efforts the description of Cicero was still correct 'signa *tirone et collectitio* exercitū cum legionibus robustissimis contulit' *ad Fam.* 7. 3. 2; cf. Lucan 102.

\(^4\) Cicero was one of them. But he was no longer with the army,
These indeed did not require the tokens which to pious or desponding spirits conveyed the menace of divine displeasure. A violent storm opposed the passage of the army into Thessaly. Day was suddenly turned into night, fire flashed in their faces, and tear-drops, as it seemed, trickled down the still republican eagles. Upon one of the ensigns a swarm of bees settled, and its bearer could hardly lift from the ground the overpowering weight.

Seven days after the sack of Gomphi Caesar moved eastward entered the Pharsalian plain, and encamping in a suitable position awaited the Pompeian advance. The ripening corn promised him abundant supplies; and his troops were in the highest spirits and condition, all eagerness to face the foe and wipe out the shameful memory of Dyrhhachium. Accordingly when his antagonist, about a week later, marching southward from Larisa took up a strong position on the hills to the north or having stayed behind ill at Dyrhhachium; see Plutarch Cic. 39 init., compared with Cato min. 55 and Cic. ad Att. 11. 5. 3, and Cicero himself de Div. 1. 68, 69. Lucan's statement that he was the mouth-piece of the demand for battle is a rhetorical violation of history without a particle of justification, unless we draw it from the words of the periocha of Livy, 'Cn. Pompeius ad Dyrhhachium obsessus a Caesare et, praesidiis eius cum magna clade diuersae partis expugnatis, obsidione liberatus, translato in Thessalian bello, apud Pharsalian acie uictus est.' Cicero in castris remansit, uir nihil minus quam ad bella natus,' but castris there means the camp near Dyrhhachium, as it is clear from Cicero's own phrase (Div. 1. 68) he was not in Dyrhhachium itself. These last words on Cicero's peace-loving disposition come at least in substance from Livy; and it is worth noting how Lucan twists the same sentiment to his own purpose (65 sq.).

1 See 154, 177, 163 'rorantia fletu | usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa' and notes. It is not difficult to conjecture the connexion between these three phenomena.

2 162 n.

3 Appian 2. c. 64. Caesar 1. c. on 98 note.

4 According to Plutarch, Caesar 43, to Caesar's question, would they wait for reinforcements? they replied emphatically 'No.'
north-east of the city of Pharsalus, Caesar at once moved in his direction to ascertain if he had any intention or inclination to fight. He pitched his camp about three miles and a half from Pompey's. Day after day he drew out his forces for battle, advancing at last almost to the very foot of his hills. But the conqueror of Dyrrhachium remained immovable. Plan of campaign Pompey had none; but he fondly hoped that his adversary's eager and impetuous spirit would once more draw him into a position of disadvantage. Though a general engagement was thus postponed, conflicts between the cavalry occurred; and in these the Caesarians held their own. For Caesar, following a plan which he had previously found of service, interspersed among his horse a number of the young and active legionaries specially armed for the purpose; and thus, as he tells us, a thousand horse ventured to face seven thousand of the enemy in the open field. One success must have been particularly gratifying: the skirmish in which fell one of the two Allobrogian chieftains, to whose treacherous desertion of their ancient leader Pompey owed the valuable information which had enabled him to break through Caesar's lines of circumvallation.

Meanwhile in the Pompeian camp insubordination was rapidly swelling to mutiny. The presumption of the nobility knew no bounds. Nothing follows a victory more certainly than dissensions over the spoils: but here they preceded it. In the quarrel who should have the pontificate of Caesar the three Pompeian commanders, Domitius, Scipio and Lentulus, descended to the most violent abuse. Lucius Rufus openly charged Afranius with treason for his mismanagement in Spain; and Domitius proposed that all who had taken no part in the military operations should be tried for their life. Pompey him-

1 30 stades, Appian, c. 65 fin.
2 antesignani, Caesar c. 84. 3.
3 See Caesar l. c. on 231.
4 Caesar c. 83. This was aimed at Cicero amongst others. See n. 4 on p. xviii.
self was not spared: his inaction was vehemently attacked and his vanity openly derided. How long was this Agamemnon, this 'king of kings'\(^1\), to drag his vassal princes and a submissive senate at his heels? Procrastination now was not prudence; it was mere cowardice, lust of authority, or worse. If the general would not fight, the soldiers would. Weary of clamour and apprehensive of the consequences of further delay, Pompey summoned a council of war, announced that he would offer battle on the morrow, and unfolded his plan\(^2\). It was simplicity itself. Before the infantry closed, before a single missile had been discharged on the enemy, the cavalry were to be precipitated upon their unguarded flank, and Caesar's army would be routed. 'I have communicated this plan,' he said, 'to our cavalry and they have agreed to carry it out\(^3\)'. He was followed by Labienus, once Caesar's most trusted officer in the Gallic campaigns, who declared that Caesar’s soldiers were not the formidable victors of Gaul and Germany, nearly all of whom had perished in battle or by disease, but recent levies from Gallia Citerior, and, for the most part, from the colonies beyond the Padus. He concluded by taking an oath that he would not return to the camp until the victory was won and bidding the rest do likewise. Pompey applauded and swore the same, as did all the other leaders present. The sequel will show how these oaths were kept.

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\(^1\) So L. Domitius called him. Plutarch Pomp. 67, Caes. 41, Appian c. 67. The stupid Dio took 'Agamemnon' to be a compliment (42. 5).

\(^2\) Plutarch Pomp. 68 represents this council as taking place the day before the battle; Caesar c. 86. \(^1\) has the indefinite expression, 'superioribus diebus,' 'on a previous day,' which however must be interpreted by the light of 'in posterum diem' in § 5, so that there is no contradiction between Caesar and Plutarch, as Col. Stoffel imagines, vol. II. p. 240.

\(^3\) Persuasi equitibus nostris idque mihi facturos confirmauerunt ut, cum propius sit accessum, dextrum Caesaris cornu ab latere aperto adgrederentur et circumuenta acie prius perturbatum exercitum pellerent quam a nobis telum in hostem iaceretur,' Caes. c. 86. Incident and expression (persuasi) alike throw a vivid light on the weakness of Pompey's authority.
In the camp the capitulation of the general to his followers was received with unbounded exultation, and preparations were eagerly made for the battle and the adequate celebration of the victory of which it was to be the mere preliminary. But even the delirious self-confidence of Pompey could not close all the avenues of superstition and anxiety. His night was a troubled, if not an ominous one. A fiery meteor from above the enemy's camp swept through the sky and appeared to fall on his own. The animal which was to be offered according to customary practice before the battle escaped from the grasp of the attendants, overturning the altar in its flight. One of those strange 'panic' disturbances, which were so common in ancient armies of any size, disordered the camp. Just before or after this commotion the vexed thoughts of Pompey took shape in the singular dream of which Lucan has given us a description conceived in his noblest style. Its vivid imagery deeply impressed the sleeper, and in its ambiguous indications he read a message of hope and fear.

It was widely believed that presages of the impending conflict were not confined to the combatants themselves, but that in the most remote parts of the Roman world it cast its shadow over the minds of men. At Patavium on the day of the battle Gaius Cornelius, an augur, whose priestly office was made more venerable by his noble birth and unblemished life, suddenly fell into a trance and described to the marvelling and incredulous

1 Pompey had collected omens with the industry of a ‘Psychical Society.’ See the striking words of Cicero de Divin. 2. 53.
2 Plutarch, Pomp. 68, Caes. 43.
3 165 n.
4 According as we follow Appian c. 68 or Plutarch Pomp. 1. c.
5 Plutarch Pomp. 1. c. adds that he dreamed besides that he was decorating the shrine of Venus Victrix with warlike spoils. Venus was of course the patron divinity of the Julian line and Venus Victrix the battle-cry of the Caesarians at Pharsalia. That of the Pompeians was Hercules invictus, Appian, c. 76 fin.
6 Lucan 187 sqq.
bystanders all the circumstances of the fight\(^1\). A common sailor
on a quinquereme in the Rhodian fleet which was stationed at
Dyrrhachium, under the command of C. Coponius, had foretold
amongst other predictions that within 30 days Greece would be
drenched with blood. This prophecy was carried by Coponius
to the Pompeian leaders in the camp at Petra. Varro, Cato,
and even Cicero himself were much alarmed; and a few days
after Labienus arrived a fugitive from Pharsalia\(^2\). Caesar him-
self who in his narrative of the battle makes no mention of
omens\(^3\), devotes a later chapter to describing the portents which
had astonished the Eastern world. At Antioch and Ptolemais
on two occasions during the day of the fight such a shouting of
troops and noise of military instruments was heard that the
citizens armed and rushed to the walls. At a temple in Perga-
mus tambours sounded in the inmost shrine. Within a temple
of Victory at Tralles, where there was a statue of Caesar, a palm
sprouted from the pavement between the interstices of the stones.
At Elis even, on the very day of Caesar's triumph as a subsequent
calculation showed, an image of Victory in the temple of Minerva
which had previously faced the statue of the goddess turned
round on its pedestal so as to front the door\(^4\).

The day of Pharsalia broke dull and cloudy\(^5\); but the sun
had shone out on the Pompeian host before it descended into
the plain, and the battle was fought in the fierce heat of a
southern June\(^6\). Leaving seven cohorts to defend his camp and

\(^1\) Gellius (\textit{noct. Att.} 15. c. 18) and others; see notes on 192, 204 and
above, p. xiii, n. 1.

\(^2\) Cic. \textit{de Divin.} i. 68, 69.

\(^3\) Not even of those which would fall within his own observation;
Plutarch, \textit{Caes.} 43.

\(^4\) Caesar c. 105.

\(^5\) I follow Lucan (i sq.) on the principle laid down above p. xiv,
though his account is suspiciously rhetorical.—The date of Pharsalia in
the unreformed Roman calendar was August 9; but the battle was
actually fought in June.

\(^6\) Lucan 214 'aduerso Phoebi radiatus ab ictu' (where however it
would be unsafe to elicit from aduerso any topographical indication);

P. L.
its outlying posts, Pompey advanced into the plain till he reached a position suitable for the execution of the manœuvre which was to give him the victory. His right wing, under the command of Lentulus\(^1\), rested on a small stream\(^2\) whose precipitous banks and the swampy ground which it had recently deluged formed a sufficient protection against a flank attack\(^3\). Here were the Cilician legion and the cohorts which Afranius had brought from Spain\(^4\). Except for a small detachment of 600\(^5\), there were no cavalry on this wing. In the centre were the steady Syrian legions with Scipio as commander. The left wing, where Pompey himself commanded in chief, consisted of the two legions which had been withdrawn from Caesar before the outbreak of the war, under the immediate charge of the fierce Domitius, while the rest of the legionaries filled the space between the centre and the wings\(^6\). The particulars of Pompey's formations have been preserved. There were the usual three lines, and each line was ten deep\(^7\). On the extreme

Caesar c. 95. 2 'magno aestu fatigati, nam ad meridiem res erat perducta'; compare Plutarch Brutus 4 ἕν μὲν ἄκμη θέρους καὶ καθαμα πολὺ πρὸς ἐλώδεια χωρίοις ἐστρατοπεδευκότων (of the day before Pharsalia).

1 See however note on 218.

2 The Enipeus according to some of our authorities: see note on the topography.

3 For the floods see Lucan 224 and note. Compare also the words of Plutarch just quoted πρὸς ἐλώδεια χωρίοις.

4 These were of course legionaries (scutati) and are not to be confused with the light-armed caetrati, 232 note.

5 According to Frontinus, 500 according to Orosius and Eutropius. Col. Stoffel perhaps rightly identifies them with the Pontic horse of Lucan 226. This detachment, which played no part in the battle, is not mentioned by Caesar quoted in note on 506.

6 'reliquas inter aciem medium cornuaque interiecerat, numeroque cohortes 60 expleuerat,' Caesar c. 88. 4.

7 By Frontinus Strat. 2. 3. 22 'Cn. Pompeius aduersus C. Caesarem Palaepharsali triplicem instruxit aciem quorum singulæ denos ordines in latitudinem habuerunt. legiones secundum uirtutem cuiusque firmissimas in cornibus et in medio collocavit; spatia his interposita tironibus suppleuit.'
left, where there was open ground for every evolution, were posted the cavalry and the light-armed. Of the auxiliaries the Macedonian, Peloponnesian, Boeotian and Athenian hoplites alone were placed in a line with the legionaries; the rest, arrayed according to their tribes, were stationed apart, with orders to wait till the battle was decided, to join in the pursuit and to seize the hostile camp. His dispositions made, Pompey awaited the approach of the enemy.

When Caesar failed to draw his opponent into an engagement, he changed his plan of campaign. He resolved to break up his present camp, and, by continually moving from place to place, to secure his own supplies, to wear out the Pompeians who in marching powers were much inferior to his own veterans, and to watch for every opportunity of striking a blow.

The change was to be made that very morning. The signal for departure had been given, the tents were struck, the line of march was already defiling through the gates of the camp, when his scouts brought in the intelligence that Pompey was offering the battle which he had so long declined. Caesar did not hesitate. Telling his troops that they had not now to march but to fight, and that the long wished-for opportunity was come at last and might not soon return, he drew them out in fighting order without an instant's delay. Leaving seven cohorts, or about 3,000

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1 Appian c. 75, cf. Lucan 221 sqq. I cannot subscribe to Merivale's censure of Lucan here.
2 Caesar, c. 85. 2.
3 'detensis tabernaculis' Caes., τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθαιροῦντων Plut. Pomp. 68.
4 The first arrivals brought word of the glitter of arms moving in the Pompeian camp and the tumult of approaching exit; the second told of the marshalling of the vanguard for battle; Plut. Pomp. l.c.
5 The excellent discipline of the Caesarians made this an easy matter; Plut. Pomp. 68 fin., Lucan 330.
6 Note on 326. The numeral II in Caesar is plainly corrupt; but it may be doubted whether it should be altered to VI or VII. Appian
men, to guard the camp¹, Caesar then entered the field with eighty cohorts, that is eight legions consisting of about 22,000 men. In addition to the legionaries he had 1,000 horse and some auxiliary troops: Appian mentions besides Gallic cavalry, a number of Transalpine Gauls, and a force of Greek peltasts from Dolopia, Acarnania and Aetolia. His legionaries he drew up in the usual three lines. On the right wing, commanded by P. Cornelius Sulla, he placed the famous tenth legion; on the left wing, commanded by Mark Antony, the ninth, which had suffered very severely in the fights round Dyrrhachium, and to which he accordingly joined the eighth legion, giving each instructions to support the other. The centre was placed under the command of Caluinus. Caesar himself took up his position in the right wing, thus confronting Pompey. The greater part, if not the whole, of his cavalry was on the right also. When he came in sight of the enemy and observed their dispositions, Caesar at once divined his adversary’s plan. He rapidly detached one cohort from the third line of each of his legions to form a ‘fourth line’ or reserve, and placed them, fronting sideways, on his right wing, opposite to the enemy’s cavalry, but

(c. 75) mentions the number left to guard the tents as 2,000 of the oldest soldiers (τῶν πάνω γέρωντας).

¹ The statement of Lucan (326 n.) and Appian that Caesar ordered the camp to be dismantled is rightly traversed by Mr B. Perrin and Col. Stoffel (vol. II. pp. 20, 247). The former rejects it altogether as a rhetorical invention ‘in a fictitious speech attributed to Caesar by a sensational poet.’ The latter supposes it to be based on a real order of Caesar, who, for the sake of expedition, had the gates of the camp enlarged and breaches made in the uallum, these defences being subsequently repaired by the cohorts left in garrison. Against this view Mr Perrin’s observation (l.c. p. 326), that ‘it would have taken more time to demolish the walls of a Roman camp than for its occupants to march out of the ordinary gates and form in order of battle outside,’ has weight. And it is clear from Caesar’s words, ‘cum iam esset agmen in portis,’ that the arrangements for marching out had already been made. For a way in which the story might have originated see note on 331.
concealed from their sight. He gave them the necessary instructions, and told them that on their valour depended the fortunes of the day. At the same time he warned the third line and the army generally not to engage the enemy until he hoisted the scarlet flag. In accordance with military custom he then addressed his army in a brief harangue. He reminded them of his constant care for their welfare, and, recapitulating all the offers that he had made to his adversaries, he appealed to them to say if he had not made every effort in the cause of peace. 'I,' he concluded, 'have never desired to waste my soldiers' blood or to rob our country of either of its armies.' For answer rose a loud and vehement cry for battle, and Caesar bade the trumpet sound. At this moment occurred an incident which throws a vivid light on the ardour of the Caesarians and their devotion to their leader. As Caesar passed along the lines, Gaius Crastinus, an euocatus, formerly an officer in the tenth legion and one of his most gallant soldiers, stepped from the ranks and addressed those near him. 'Comrades in my former company,' he said, 'follow me and do the duty ye have promised to your general. But one fight more, and he will regain his rank and we our liberty.' Caesar turned to him. 'What are our prospects, friend Cras-

1 See besides Caesar (89. 4, 93. 5). Frontinus l.c. 'sex deinde cohortes in subsidio retinuit ad res subitas, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum, unde equitatum hostium expectabat' (cf. obliquas Lucan 522); Plutarch, Pomp. 69 μετεπέμψατο σπείρας εξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ κατέστησεν ὑποσθεν τοῦ δεκάτου κελεύσας ἠνυχάν ἅγειν ἄδήλους τοῖς πολέμιοι δύτας.

2 'uexillo' Caes. c. 90. 5. Plutarch Pomp. 68 also mentions the φωνικοῦ χιτώνα, but makes it exhibited before the Caesarians left the camp. Dr Gow suggests that it was used to give the signal to the reserve.

3 See Caesar c. 90. Pompey would address his troops at the same time; but we have no authentic report of what he said, cf. above, p. x, n. 2.

4 The signal would be taken up by the other military instruments, cf. Lucan 475 sqq., and Caesar c. 92. 4 'signa undique concinerent.'
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Crassinus? he said. 'A brilliant victory, general,' returned the soldier. 'Today I will make you thank me living or dead.' He then sprang forward from the right wing and was immediately followed by about 120 volunteers, picked soldiers of the first century. A roar of sound went up from all the military instruments, and with a loud shout the Caesarians charged.

In a pitched battle it was usual for both armies to meet at a run. But today Pompey on the advice, as was said, of Gaius Valerius Triarius, departed from this practice and ordered his men to await the enemy's onset, hoping that they would be exhausted before they closed. When Caesar's veterans observed that their enemy did not stir, they halted halfway of their own accord; and there ensued the pause of which Lucan has made such dexterous use. After a brief rest, they renewed the charge, hurled their pilae and straightway drew their swords. The Pompeians stood their ground. Theirs was not indeed that fierce spirit of which the reluctant poet sings, that on the side of Caesar every blade was hot and deadly, that through arms, through bodies, struck the blows of his unconquerable soldiery. But their resistance, if somewhat sluggish, was obstinate; and their numbers told. Meanwhile, the bowmen, who had as yet no mark to aim at, adopting a device which has proved effective in more modern times, shot clouds of arrows into the air, which, as they fell, caused much annoyance to the Caesarian ranks.

The legionaries had hardly closed, when Pompey gave

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1 The account of Crassinus is from Caesar, Plutarch and Appian.
2 For his reasons and for Caesar's criticisms see Caesar, c. 92. Modern military experts—Napoleon with others—side with Caesar.
3 460 sqq.
4 496 sqq.
5 This seems to be the meaning of Lucan's words, 514 sqq. Dio Cassius' statement that the light-armed began the battle is worth no more than the rest of his narrative, and plainly disagrees with Lucan's account, not the contrary, as Dr Hosius (praefatio, p. xxi) and others suppose.
the sign for his cavalry to move, and from the left wing a
dense mass of over six thousand projected itself upon the
thousand horsemen of Caesar. The weight of the attack
was irresistible, and the Caesarians gradually fell back. The
hostile cavalry, their first object accomplished, spread out in
looser formation, and rode in squadrons, to take the defenceless
legionaries in flank and rear\(^1\). The whole force of slingers
and bowmen followed them. That instant Caesar gave the
signal to his reserves; and six cohorts, with weapons levelled at
their enemies' faces, furiously charged the advancing horse\(^2\).
The effect of this apparition was instantaneous. The horse-
men hardly waited to be attacked, but fled in ludicrous
panic to the tops of the adjacent hills. The light-armed troops were
now without protection and were slaughtered to a man\(^3\). For
Caesar's clemency did not extend to foreigners.

An effort might yet have restored the day. For the
ranks of the Pompeian legionaries were still unbroken, and
their numbers still in a great preponderance. But Pompey
could not make it. He had staked everything on a single
throw, and his spirit was crushed. At once he rode from the
field. He entered the camp by the praetorian gate, and in a
loud voice, for all to hear, he called to the centurions there on
watch, 'Guard and defend the camp strenuously if a calamity
should occur. I go round to the other gates to make every

\(1\) Cf. Lucan 509—523, and Caesar l.c. on 509.

\(2\) To this movement the celebrated order to "strike at their faces"
(Florus l.c. on 319) seems specially to refer. It is expressly assigned
to it by Plutarch Caes. 45, Pomp. 71, and Appian c. 78, cf. Long Hist.
v. p. 207 n.

\(3\) By Caesar's cavalry and auxiliaries, it would appear, the six
cohorts having other work in hand. It is quite clear that Caesar's
famous order *parce ciuibus* (Florus l.c. on 319, Suet. Iul. 75 'acie
Pharsalica proclamauit ut parceretur ciuibus,' Polyaen. Strat. 8. 23,
29 φείδεσθε τῶν πολιτῶν (so we should read), Appian c. 8o ἀψανοτεῖν
τῶν ὃμοεθνῶν) did not apply to the light-armed. Compare the some-
what elaborate instructions which Appian inserts in Caesar's speech,
l.c., on 325.
point sure.' He then shut himself up in his general's quarters, where he awaited in silence the issue, of which he now despaired.

Meanwhile, the six cohorts in their victorious charge closed round the left wing of the Pompeians and attacked them in the rear. These still resisted, when Caesar ordered his third line, which had as yet taken no part in the battle, to advance. The wearied Pompeians could not withstand this fresh onslaught, and their whole line broke in confusion. Hotly pursued by Caesar, they fled into the camp; but even here they were allowed no rest. Though it was now midday, and his troops were distressed with the excessive heat, Caesar urged them to snatch the favour of Fortune and to assault the camp. Their indefatigable devotion responded to the call. The refugees from the battle, cowed and exhausted, and for the most part without arms or ensigns, thought only of further flight. But the cohorts left in garrison made strenuous, and the Thracians and other barbarian auxiliaries, most gallant resistance. Overwhelmed with missiles, they at last gave way, the rampart was carried, and the whole population of the camp, the centurions and the military tribunes leading, fled helter skelter to the top of the neighbouring heights. With the bitter cry "The camp also!"2 their general himself, stripping off the last vestiges of an imperator3, mounted a horse, dashed out of the decuman gate4, and, with only four companions, galloped at full speed to Larisa. Nor did he stay here5; but, riding all

1 His biographer (c. 72) compares him to the retreating Ajax in II. 11. 544 sq. A more appropriate comparison would be to the Ajax of Sophocles, who sat distraught and speechless in his tent when the divine frenzy had wrecked his plans.

2 οὐκόνων καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν; Plutarch Pomp. 72, Caes. 45, and similarly Appian c. 81.

3 'detractis insignibus imperatoriiis' Caes. c. 96. 3, ἀπεδύσατο...τὴν ἐναγώνιον καὶ στρατηγικὴν ἐσθήτα Plut. Caes. 45.

4 At the back of the camp, opposite the praetorian gate.

5 Caesar, 'neque ibi constitit sed eadem celeritate paucos suos ex
night, with a small following of thirty horsemen who had fled to the same place, he pursued his flight through the vale of Tempe, till at last he reached the coast and, taking ship in a corn transport for Lesbos, put the sea between himself and Pharsalia. All the way, we are told, he bewailed the great miscalculation, and his almost treacherous desertion by the very troops on whom he had leaned for victory.

The spectacle which met the eyes of Caesar and his astonished soldiers upon their entrance was such as had never been seen before in a Roman camp. There were leafy arbours for dining in, tents floored with fresh cut turf, others screened with ivy to protect them from the sun, or wreathed with branches of bay, vast quantities of silver plate set out with other preparations for the feast that was to celebrate the Pompeian victory, and much besides that told of aristocratic luxury and the spirit that precedes a fall. Caesar has recorded his own feelings of not unnatural indignation. 'Such were the men' he writes 'who charged with self-indulgence Caesar's most wretched and long-suffering army, which had always been in want of everything for necessary use.' There were darker features in the scene; and the sight of so many of his countrymen dead and dying around him recalled to him the fate which would have followed upon his own defeat. 'They would have it so,' he

fuga nactus nocturno itinere non intermisso comitatu equitum xxx ad mare peruenit' 96. 4, and Plutarch Pomp. 73 παραμειψάμενος δὲ Λάρισαν, lend no support to Lucan's highly coloured picture of the fidelity of Larisa. It must not however be supposed to be a pure invention of the poet's. The agreement of Valerius Maximus (l.c. 712 n.), even to verbal concurrence, and in the main of Dio (42. 2), indicates a common source.

1 Caesar l.c. sup. Plutarch, Pomp. 73, adds a number of interesting personal details about the flight. Lucan's brilliant analysis of the fugitive's feelings deserves to be mentioned (viii i sqq.). In vii his hero once off the scene, the poet parts company with history and devotes himself to the congenial tasks of slandering Caesar and revelling, like a ghoul, among the spectres and carcases of the slain.

2 761 n.
cried. 'For all his achievements, Gaius Caesar would have been condemned if he had not appealed to his army.'

It is no small tribute to the genius of Caesar for command that he could prevail upon his men to leave the spoils so temptingly spread before them, and, after a brief repast, to commence the works necessary for cutting off the retreating enemy. The Pompeians did not wait for the circumvallation to be completed. The height on which they had taken refuge was destitute of water. They accordingly abandoned this untenable position and retreated along the hills towards Larisa. Caesar divided his forces. Part he left in Pompey's camp, part he sent back to his own; with the four legions remaining he followed the fugitives by a different and easier route for a distance of six Roman miles. Here he drew up in order of battle. When the Pompeians found their retreat was intercepted, they took up a position on a hill at whose base a river flowed. The day had been spent in heavy and incessant toil, and the night was close at hand. But the energy of Caesar and the obedience of his soldiers were inexhaustible. He at once gave orders for the construction of a work which would cut off the hill from the stream, and prevent the Pompeians from watering in the night. No sooner was it finished than the enemy began to treat for a surrender, and the capitulation was completed on the following morning.

At break of day Caesar ordered all who had taken refuge on the hill to come down into the plain, and to throw their arms upon the ground. They obeyed without a murmur, and, prostrating themselves upon the earth with outstretched palms

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1 Suetonius *Jul. 30* gives the actual words of Caesar as reported by Asinius Pollio, 'hoc uoluerunt. tantis rebus gestis Gaius Caesar condemnatus essem nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem,' cf. Plut. *Caes. 46*.

2 This is the 'banquet' which Lucan has transferred to the following day (792 n.).

3 This river was identified by Leake and others with the Onchestus, which flows past Scotussa into the L. Boebeis. Col. Stoffel maintains that it is the Enipeus; but see the topographical note.
and tears in their eyes, they begged their lives of the conqueror. In some reassuring words Caesar bade them rise, and, after a brief address in which he referred to his own clemency the more effectually to remove their fear, he spared the lives of all, and gave instructions to his own troops that no one of them was to be harmed or his property touched.

Thus ended the battle of Pharsalia. The loss of the victors was small. Of the rank and file only 200 fell, but of the centurions as many as 30, a proof how gallantly they exposed themselves. Amongst those killed was the heroic Crastinus, who had fallen from a sword-thrust in the face at the very beginning of the engagement. He had kept his promise to his commander, as Caesar gratefully records. Search was made for his corpse amongst the slain. It was invested with military decorations and interred apart from the rest. Of the Pompeians 15,000 fell, while 24,000 surrendered, and a great many made good their escape into the towns in the neighbourhood. Amongst the killed were ten senators and forty equites, one of the former being Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was cut down by the cavalry under the command of Mark Antony when flying from the camp. These heavy losses were all sustained in the battle, the storming of the camp, and the pursuit: for

1 According to Appian (c. 82): some authorities said 1,200, which would remove the disproportionate loss of officers upon which Caesar remarks.

2 'Gladio in os adversum coniecto,' Caes., υποστάς τις ωθεί διὰ τοῦ στόματος τὸ ξίφος ὅστε τὴν αἵμαν ἀνασχέιν κατὰ τὸ ινίον (the nape of the neck) Plut. Pomp. 71, cf. Caes. 44.

3 See Appian c. 82 fin. ἔξω τοῦ πολυανδροῦ, 'outside the general burying-place.' These details are not mentioned by Caesar.

4 This is Caesar's statement. Asinius Pollio, who served under Caesar in the battle, put the Pompeian loss as 6000, according to Plut. Pomp. 72 and Appian c. 82. These statements may be reconciled (as they are by Col. Stoffel) by supposing that 6,000 was the loss of the legionaries. Some raised the number to 25,000, which Appian says is an exaggeration.

599 n.
our authorities are agreed that no single Roman was killed except with arms in his hands. The bodies of the Caesarians were religiously interred by their comrades. But the Pompeian dead were left on the field. No military or political considerations required their interment, and there was no moral obligation upon an ancient commander to give sepulture to a fallen foe; and though it may have shocked a Roman patriot to think that so many of his countrymen were left as prey to the wolves and vultures of Thessaly, the Civil wars had long passed out of the region of sentiment.

Of the historical importance of Pharsalia it is unnecessary to speak at length. It has not indeed the thrilling interest of those conflicts in which the victors have been in serious jeopardy. In the harbour of Alexandria the life of Caesar was in far greater peril; at Munda his fortunes hung upon a thread. But though

1 Excluding Dio Cassius, who says that Caesar executed all the senators and equites, whose lives he had spared on previous occasions (41. 62). Merivale quotes against him, besides Caesar B. C. 3. 98, Cicero pro Marcello c. 3, pro Ligario c. 6 'quis non eam victoriam probet in qua occiderit nemo nisi armatus?' Velleius 2. 52, Suet. Iul. 75, Florus 4. 2. 90 (speaking generally). Caesar might certainly have been excused for some severity after the insolent ferocity of Labienus (B. C. 3. 71. 4), but there is no reason for doubting the truth of his own statement.

2 The fact is given by Lucan (788 sqq.) who finds in it an excellent handle for declamation against Caesar.

3 On the reasons for Caesar's different conduct after the defeat of the Helvetii (B. G. 1. 26), see Col. Stoffel (vol. ii. p. 251). Hannibal's 'burying of the consul' (Lucan 800) after Cannae if really a fact (Livy 22. 52. 6 does not commit himself, 'consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum seputumque guidam auctores sunt') was a tribute which, as it is said, he paid or desired to pay to the other gallant foes, Gracchus (Livy 25. 17. 4), Flaminius (ib. 22. 7. 5, a passage worth quoting as a comment upon Lucan's attack on Caesar: 'Hannibal—segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora, suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non inuenit'). And at Cannae Silius Italicus, 10. 521 sqq., mentions only the burning of the Carthaginian dead and of the Roman Consul.
Caesar might have fallen, Caesarism had triumphed. For Pharsalia, revealing the political impotence of the oligarchy as clearly as it revealed the military inferiority of their only commander, had written in unmistakable characters upon the walls of the tottering Roman commonwealth the message of fate,

\[ \text{oùk } \text{ἀγαθὸν } \text{πολυκοιρανὴ } \text{eἰς } \text{κοίρανος } \text{ἔστω}. \]

Pharsalia, though excluded from the catalogue of Sir Edward Creasy, may fairly claim to have witnessed one of the decisive battles of the world. It has a better title to this honour than the Macedonian flats with which, in despite of geography, it became inseparably associated in the popular imagination, where the leaders of the conscientious assassins fell before the remorseless eagles of the Avenger; and one at least as good as the Ambracian roadstead, where the conflict of the mad ambition of Antony and the cold ambition of Octavian was grafted on the eternal antagonism of East and West.

APPENDIX.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF PHARSALIA\(^1\).

The ancient writers who refer to the battle do not in general use any more definite expressions than \textit{proelium in Pharsalicis campis, acies Pharsalica, or even proelium in Thessalia factum, Caes. B. C. 3. 100. 3, III. 3, Cic. Phil. 2. 59, 75, de diuin. 2. 114. Strabo however, 17. p. 796, the author of the bellum Alexandrinum 48. 1, Frontinus Strat. 2. 3. 22, and Orosius 6. 15 say it took place at Old Pharsalus (\textit{Palaepharsalus}). The site of Old Pharsalus has not yet been determined, but it appears from the

\(^1\) Compare Mr Perrin’s account in American Journal of Philology, vol. vi. pp. 178 sqq.
words of Strabo 9, p. 431 to have been at some distance from the new town (now Fersala) which is usually meant where no epithet is added.

The last historian of the Civil Wars, Col. Stoffel, fixes the scene of the battle at the north-east angle of the Pharsalian plain. The river Enipeus, now called the Little Tchinarli, which flows nearly due north till it reaches the pass of Velestino, there turns through a right angle and pursues a westerly course, gradually bending to the north as it gets further into the plain. On the western side of the mountain (M. Karadja Ahmet) whose base it washes as it makes the turn, Col. Stoffel places the camp and forts (castella) of Pompey, and supposes the battle to have been fought about two miles to the west on the left, or south, bank of the river. Caesar's camp he places about two miles further to the west in the space between the river and a rocky point called Krindir, a projection from M. Karadagh or the hill immediately to the west of Pharsalus. Col. Stoffel's selection of the arrière-plaine of Pharsalus, as the only site which satisfies the military conditions, rests on three identifications.

I. The identification of the Enipeus of this battle as the Little Tchinarli. This is now generally accepted and appears to be correct, though, as may be seen from Long's History, v. p. 214 (compare Mr Perrin's article, pp. 175 sq.), there was some confusion in the use of the name by ancient authors. Thus Lucan speaking of it says, vi 373, 'numquamque celer nisi mixtus Enipeus,' which seems to be a pointed contradiction of

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1 The name 'battle of Pharsalos,' which Mommsen and others employ, is accordingly to be avoided.
2 This position is that apparently assigned by Appian c. 75 [ὁ Πομπηίος] παρέτασε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσαλοῦ τε πόλεως καὶ 'Ενιπέως ποταμοῦ. Appian appears to have confused Old with New Pharsalus.
3 'Pompee...occupa des hauteurs qui s'abaissaient en avant de son front sous forme de longs versants, sur la déclivité desquels il pouvait déployer son armée en bataille, de manière à se réserver tout l'avantage en cas d'attaque,' vol. II. p. 242.
Ovid *Met.* i. 579 'irrequietus Enipeus.' Valerius Flaccus agrees with Lucan i. 357 'segnior Apidani uires ubi sentit Enipeus.'

II. The 'riuus quidam impeditis ripis' of Caesar, on which Pompey's right wing rested, is identified with the Enipeus. This is much more doubtful. It is true that the Enipeus has difficult banks; and that Frontinus as well as Lucan says distinctly that Pompey's right wing rested on that river; and that Appian also (i. c.) mentions the Enipeus in connexion with the battle. But Merivale well says that to speak of the principal river of Thessaliotis as 'riuus quidam' would be "against Caesar's" and all correct usage." To which Col. Stoffel can only reply that Caesar gives the name of *riuus* to the Enipeus because 'on the day of the battle this river had no more water in it than a brook,' thus unconsciously contradicting two out of the three authorities on whom the identification is based.

III. But what are we to say of the third identification? The Pompeians made their last stand on a mountain beneath which flowed a river ('hunc montem *flumen* subluebat,' Caesar c. 97. 4), and Col. Stoffel supposes this mountain to be the *eastern* height of M. Karadja Ahmet, and this 'river' to be the same Enipeus which was a 'brook' in c. 88, and whose course up the valley Caesar, according to Col. Stoffel's map, had been following all the time, being never half a mile away from its banks!

As Col. Stoffel's theory must be rejected, and as strategical reasons imperatively forbid the assumption of a site in the open, south of the *Little Tchinarli*, it only remains to suppose that Pompey's camp was somewhere on the range of hills to the North of the plain, and that the battle was thus fought between them and the river. If I do not mistake, these hills were not examined for a site by Col. Stoffel, who speaks only of the southern range, p. 242. Such a position would agree well with the facts that Pompey entered the camp from the field of battle

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1 Cf. e.g. *B. C.* 3. 49. 3 'omnia *flumina* et omnes *riuos* qui ad mare pertinebant,' cf. *ib.* 37. 1, 3, 4.

2 Frontinus and Lucan; see above, p. xxiv, n. 3.
by the 'praetorian,' or front gate, and left it for Larisa by the 'decuman,' or rear gate. The stream in question may have been a small tributary of the Enipeus, if we reject the view that it was that river itself. The position would be further determined if we could with Leake identify the river below the height where the Pompeians made their last stand, which was six miles from the camp of Pompey, as the Onochonus (or Onchestus) not far from Scotussa.

1 In any case the Enipeus was at no great distance, and would be naturally mentioned in connexion with the battle.

2 Nothing can be inferred from the unexecuted intention of Caesar to move on Scotussa, about 5½ miles due N. of M. Karadja Ahmet, which Plutarch Caes. 43 fin. records, nor from Lucan's epithet aduerso in v. 214.
M. ANNAEI LVCANI

DE BELLO CIVILI

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

The sun is loth to rise upon Pharsalia.

Segnior Oceano quam lex aeterna uocabat
luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra
egit equos cursumque polo rapiente retorsit;
defectusque pati uoluit raptaeque labores
lucis, et attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis,
sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe.

Pompey's dream. Reflections upon it.

At nox, felicis Magno pars ultima uitae,
sollicitos uana decepit imagine somnos.
nam Pompeiani uisus sibi sede theatri
innumeram effigiem Romanae cernere plebis,
adtollique suum laetis ad sidera nomen
uocibus, et plausu cuneos certare sonantes:
qualis erat populi facies clamorque fauentis,
olim cum iuuenis primique aetate triumphi,
post domitas gentes quas torrens ambit Hiberus,
et quaecumque fugax Sertorius inpulit arma, 
Vespere pacato, pura uenerabilis aeque 
quam currus ornante toga, plaudente senatu, 
sedit adhuc Romanus eques: seu fine bonorum 
anxia uenturis ad tempora laeta refugit, 
siue per ambages solitas contraria uisis 
uiaticinata quies magni tulit omina planctus, 
seu uetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes 
sic Romam Fortuna dedit. ne rumpite somnos, 
castrorum uigiles; nullas tuba uerberet aures. 
cristina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna 
undique funestas acies feret, undique bellum: 
unde pares somnos populis noctemque beatam? 
o felix, si te uel sic tua Roma uideret. 
donassent utinam superi patriaeque tibique 
unum, Magne, diem, quo fati certus uterque 
extremum tanti fructum raperetis amoris. 
tu uelut Ausonia uadis moriturus in urbe: 
illa, rati semper de te sibi conscia uoti, 
hoc scelus haud umquam fatis haerere putauit, 
sic se dilecti tumulum quoque perdere Magni. 
te mixto fleisset luctu iuuenisque senexque 
iuissusque puer; lacerasset crine soluto 
pectorae femineum, ceu Bruti funere, uolgus. 
nunc quoque, tela licet paueant uictoris iniqui, 
nuntiet ipse licet Caesar tua funera, flebunt; 
sed dum tura serunt, dum laurea serta Tonanti. 
o miseri, quorum gemitus edere dolorem, 
qui te non pleno pariter planxere theatro.

The Pompeians demand battle. Cicero is their spokesman.

Vicerat astra iubar, cum mixto murmure turba 
castrorum fremuit fatisque trahentibus orbem
signa petit pugnae. miseri pars maxima uolgi
non totum uisura diem, tentoria circum
ipsa ducis queritur, magnoque accensa tumultu
mortis uicinae properantis admouet horas.
dira subit rabies; sua quisque ac publica fata
praecipitare cupid: segnis pauidusque uocatur
ac nimium patiens soceri Pompeius, et orbis
indulgens regno, qui tot simul undique gentes
iuris habere sui uellet pacemque timeret.
nec non et reges populique queruntur Eoi
bella trahi patriaque procul tellure teneri.
hoc placet, o superi, cum uobis uertere cuncta
propositum, nostris erroribus addere crimen.
cladibus irruimus nocituraque poscimus arma:
in Pompeianis uotum est Pharsalia castris.
cunctorum uoces Romani maximus auctor
Tullius eloqii, cuius sub iure togaque
pacificas saeuius tremuit Catilina securis,
pertulit, iratus bellis, cum rostra forumque
optaret passus tam longa silentia miles.
addidit inualidae robur facundia causae.

The speech of Cicero.

'Hoc pro tot meritis solum te, Magne, precatur
uti se Fortuna uelis; proceresque tuorum
castrorum regesque tui cum supplice mundo
adfusi uinci socerum patiare rogamus.
humani generis tam longo tempore bellum
Caesar erit? merito Pompeium uincere lente
gentibus indignum est a transcurrente subactis.
quo tibi feruor abit aut quo fiducia fati?
de superis, ingrate, times causamque senatus
credere dis dubitas? ipsae tua signa reuellent
prosilientque acies. pudet uicisse coactum. si duce te iusso, si nobis bella geruntur, sit iuris, quocumque uelint, concurrere campo. quid mundi gladios a sanguine Caesaris arces? uibrant tela manus; uix signa morantia quisquam exspectat: propera, ne te tua classica linquant. scire senatus auet, miles te, Magne, sequatur, an comes.'

The reply of Pompey.

ingemuit rector, sensitque deorum esse dolos et fata suae contraria menti. 'Si placet hoc' inquit 'cunctis, si milite Magno, non duce tempus eget, nil ultra fata morabor. inuoluat populos una Fortuna ruina, sitque hominum magnae lux ista nouissima parti. testor, Roma, tamen Magnum, quo cuncta perirent, accepisse diem. potuit tibi uolnere nullo stare labor belli; potuit sine caede subactum captiuumque ducem uiolatae tradere paci. quis furor, o caeci, scelerum? ciuilia bella gesturi metuunt ne non cum sanguine uincant? abstulimus terras, exclusimus aequore toto, ad praematuras segetum ieiuna rapinas agmina compulsimus, uotumque effecimus hosti ut mallet sterni gladiis mortesque suorum permiscere meis. belli pars magna peracta est his, quibus effectum est ne pugnam tiro paueret; si modo uirtutis stimulis iraeque calore signa petunt. multos in summa pericula misit uenturi timor ipse mali. fortissimus ille est, qui, promptus metuenda pati si comminus instent, et differre potest. placet haec tam prospera rerum
tradere fortunae, gladio permittere mundi
discrimen: pugnare ducem quam uincere malunt.
res mihi Romanas dederas, Fortuna, regendas:
accipe maiores et caeco in Marte tuere.
Pompeii nec crimen erit nec gloria bellum.
uincis apud superos uotis me, Caesar, iniquis:
pugnatur. quantum scelerum quantumque malorum
in populos lux ista feret! quot regna iacebunt!
sanguine Romano quam turbidus ibit Enipeus!
prima uelim caput hoc funesti lancea belli,
si sine momento rerum partisque ruina
casurum est, feriat; neque enim uictoria Magno
laetior. aut populis inuisum hac clade peracta
aut hodie Pompeius erit miserabile nomen.
omne malum uicti, quod sors feret ultima rerum,
onne nefas uictoris erit.'

_Pompeians make ready for battle._

sic fatur, et arma
permittit populis frenosque furentibus ira
laxat et ut uictus violento nauita Coro
dat regimen uentis, ignauumque arte relica
puppis onus trahitur. trepido confusa tumultu
castra fremunt, animique truces sua pectora pulsant
ictibus incertis. multorum pallor in ore
mortis uenturae faciesque simillima fato.
adoenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aeuum
conderet humanis, et quaerì, Roma quid esset,
illo Marte, palam est. sua quisque pericula nescit
attonitus maiore metu. quis litora ponto
obruta, quis summis cernens in montibus aequor,
aetheraque in terras deiecto sole cadentem,
tot rerum finem, timeat sibi? non uacat ullos
pro se ferre metus: urbi Magnoque timetur. nec gladiis habuere fidem, nisi cautibus asper exarsit muro; tunc omnis lancea saxo corrigitur; tendunt neruis melioribus arcus; cura fuit lectis pharetras inplere sagittis. auget eques stimulos frenorumque aptat habenas. si liceat superis hominum conferre labores, non aliter Phlegra rabidos tollente Gigantas Martius incaluit Siculis incudibus ensis, et rubuit flammis iterum Neptunia cuspis, spiculaque extenso Paean Pythone recoxit, Pallas Gorgoneos diffudit in aegida crines, Pallenaea Ioui mutauit fulmina Cyclops.

The signs of disaster to the Pompeians and of dire victory to the Caesarians.

Non tamen abstinuit uenturos prodere casus per uarias Fortuna notas. nam Thessala rura cum peterent, totus uentitibus obstitit aether, aduersasque faces inmensoque igne columnas et trabibus mixtis auidos typhonas aqaurum detulit, atque oculos ingesto fulgure clausit; excussit cristas galeis, capulose solutis perfudit gladiis, ereptaque pila liquauit, aethereoque nocens fumauit sulphure ferrum. nec non innumero cooperta examine signa uixque reuolsa solo, maiori pondere pressum signiferi mersere caput ro rantia fletu, usque ad Thessaliam Romana et publica signa. admotus superis discussa fugit ab ara taurus et Emathios praeceps se iecit in agros;

inque oculis hominum fregerunt fulmina nubes
nullaque funestis inuenta est victima sacris.

at tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite uocasti
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni,
infernumque Nefas, et mersos nocte Furores?

impia tam saeue gesturus bella litasti,
iam (dubium monstrisne deum nimione pauori
crediderint) multis concurrere uisus Olymopo
Pindus, et abruptis mergi conuallibus Haemus,
edere nocturnas belli Pharsalia uoces,

ire per Ossaeam rapidus Boebeida sanguis;
inque uicem uoltus tenebris mirantur opertos
et pallere diem galeisque incumbere noctem,
defunctosque ululare patres et sanguinis umbras
ante oculos uolitare suos. dementibus unum

hoc solamen erat quod uoti turba nefandi
conscia, quae patrum iugulos, quae pectora fratrum
sperabat, gaudet monstris mentisque tumultu,
atque omen scelerum subitos putat esse furores.

Of the great conflict to the rest of the world.

Quid mirum populos, quos lux extrema manebat, 185
lymphato trepidasse metu, praesaga malorum
si data mens homini est? Tyriis qui Gadibus hospes
adiacet Armeniaque bibit Romanus Araxen,
sub quocumque die, quocumque est sidere mundi,
maeret et ignorant causas animumque dolentem

corripit, Emathiis quid perdat nescius aruis.

Euganeo, si uera fides memorantibus, augur
colle sedens, Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit
atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timaui,

‘Venit summa dies, geritur res maxima;’ dixit

‘impia concurrent Pompei et Caesaris arma’:
seu tonitus ac tela Iouis praesaga notuit,
aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo
perspexitque polos, seu numen in aethere maestum
solis in obscuro pugnam pallore notauit.
dissimilem certe cunctis quos explicat egit
Thessalicum Natura diem. si cuncta perito
augure mens hominum caeli noua signa notasset,
spectari toto potuit Pharsalia mundo.
o summos hominum, quorum Fortuna per orbem
signa dedit, quorum fatis caelum omne uacuit.
haec et apud seras gentes populosque nepotum,
siue sua tantum uenient in saecula fama,
siue aliquid magnis nostri quoque cura laboris
nominibus prodesse potest, cum bella legentur,
spesque metusque simul perituraque uota mouebunt,
attonitique omnes ueluti uenientia fata,
non transmissa, legent et adhuc tibi, Magne, fauebunt.

Pompey's order of battle.

Miles, ut aduerso Phoebi radiatus ab ictu
descendens totos perfudit lumine colles,
non temere immissus campis stetit ordine certo,
inflexix acies. cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum prima, quae tum fuit optima bello,
et quarta legione datur. tibi, numine pugnax
adverso Domiti, dextri frons tradita Martis.
at medii robur belli fortissima densant
agmina, quae Cilicum terris deducta tenebat
Scipio, miles in hoc, Libyco dux primus in orbe.
at iuxta fluvios et stagna undantis Enipei
Cappadocum montana cohors et largus habenae
Ponticus ibat eques. sicii sed plurima campi
tetrarchae regesque tenesque magnique tyranni,
atque omnis Latio quae seruit purpura ferro.
illuc et Libye Numidas et Creta Cydonas misit: Ituraeis cursus fuit inde sagittis:
inde, truces Galli, solitum prodistis in hostem:
illic pugnaces commouit Hiberia caetras.
eripe uictori gentes, et sanguine mundi fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos.

*Caesar discovers that the hour has come.*

Illo forte die Caesar statione relictas 235
ad segetum raptus moturus signa, repente conspicit in planos hostem descendere campos,
oblatumque uidet uotis sibi mille petitum
tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus.
aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni
e coeperat exiguо tractu ciuilia bella
ut dentum damnare nefas. discrimina postquam aduentare ducum supremaque proelia uidit,
casuram et fati sensit nutare ruinam,
illa quoque in ferrum rabies promptissima paulum 245
languit, et casus audax spondere secundos
mens stetit in dubio, quam nec sua fata timere
nec Magni sperare sinunt. formidine mersa
prosilit hortando melior fiducia uolgo.

*Caesar's address to his troops.*

'O domitor mundi, rerum fortuna mearum,
miles, adest totiens optatae copia pugnae.
nil opus est uotis; iam fatum accersite ferro.
in manibus uestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis.
haec est illa dies mihi quam Rubiconis ad undas
promissam memini, cuius spe mouimus arma,
in quam distulimus uetitos remeare triumphos;

haec eadem est, hodie quae pignora quaeque penates
reddat et emerito faciat uos Marte colonos.
haec fato quae teste probet, quis iustius arma sumpserit: haec acies uictum factura nocentem est. 260 si pro me patriam ferro flammisque petistis, nunc pugnate truces gladioque exsoluite culpam. nulla manus belli mutato iudice pura est. non mihi res agitur, sed uos, ut libera sitis turba, precor, gentes ut ius habeatis in omnes. ipse ego, priuatae cupidus me reddere uitae plebeiaque toga modicum componere ciuem, omnia dum uobis liceant, nihil esse recuso. inuidia regnate mea. nec sanguine multo spem mundi petitis: Grais delecta iuuentus gymnasiis aderit studioque igna ua palaestrae et uix arma ferens, aut mixtae dissona turbae barbaries, non illa tubas, non agmine moto clamorem latura suum. ciulia paucae bella manus facient: pugnae pars magna leuabit his orbem populis Romanumque obteret hostem. ite per igna uas gentis famosaque regna, et primo ferri motu prosternite mundum; sitque palam quas tot duxit Pompeius in urbem curribus unius gentes non esse triumphi. 280 Armeniosne mouet, Romana potentia cuius sit ducis? aut emptum minimo uolt sanguine quisquam barbarus Hesperiis Magnum praeponere rebus? Romanos odere omnes dominosque grauantur; quos nouere, magis. sed me Fortuna meorum commisit manibus, quarum me Gallia testem tot fecit bellis. cuius non militisensem agnoscam? caelumque tremens cum lancea transit, dicere non fallar, quo sit uibrata lacerto. quod si signa ducem numquam fallentia uestrum conspicio faciesque truces oculosque minaces,
uicistis. uideor fluuios spectare cruoris
calcatosque simul reges sparsumque senatus
 corpus et immensa populos in caede natantis.
 sed mea fata moror, qui uos in tela furentis
 uocibus his teneo. ueniam date bella trahenti:
spe trepido: haud umquam uidi tam magna daturos
tam prope me superos; camporum limite paruo
absumus a uotis: ego sum cui Marte peracto,
quia populi regesque tenent, donare licebit.
quone poli motu, quo caeli sidere uerso,
Thessalicae tantum, superi, permittitis orae?
aut merces hodie bellorum aut poena paratur.
Caesareas spectate cruces, spectate catenas,
et caput hoc positum rostris effusaque membra,
Saeptorumque nefas et clausi proelia Campi.
cum duce Sullano gerimus ciuilia bella.
uestri cura mouet: nam me secura manebit
sors quaesita manu; fodientem uiscera cernet
me mea qui nondum uicto respexerit hoste.
di, quorum curas abduxit ab aethere tellus
Romanusque labor, uincat quicumque necesse
non putat in uictos saeuum destringere ferrum,
quiue suos ciues, quod signa aduersa tulerunt,
non credit fecisse nefas. Pompeius in arto
agmina uestra loco uetita uirtute moueri
cum tenuit, quanto satiauit sanguine ferrum!
uos tamen hoc oro, iuuenes, ne caedere quisquam
hostis terga uelit; ciuis, qui fugerit, esto.
sed dum tela micant, non uos pietatis imago
ulla nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes
commoueant: uoltus gladio turbate uerendos,
siue quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro
ibit, seu nullum uiolabit uolnere pignus:
ignoti iugulum tamquam scelus inputet hostis. sternite iam uallum fossasque inplete ruina, exeat ut plenis acies non sparsa maniplis; parcite ne castris: uallo tendetis in illo unde acies peritura uenit.'

**The Caesarians rush to arms.**

uix cuncta locuto Caesare quemque suum munus trahit, armaque raptim sumpta Ceresque uiris. capiunt praesagia belli calcatisque ruunt castris; stant ordine nullo, arte ducis nulla; permittunt omnia fatis. si totidem Magni soceros totidemque petentes urbis regna suae funesto in Marte locasses, non tam praecipiti ruerent in proelia cursu.

**Pompey's feelings and speech to his men.**

Vidit ut hostiles in rectum exire cateruas Pompeius nullasque moras permettere bello, sed superis placuisse diem, stat corde gelato attonitus, tantoque duci sic arma timere omen erat. premit inde metus totumque per agmen sublimi praeeuctus equo 'Quem flagitat' inquit 'uestra diem uirtus, finis ciuilibus armis quem quaesistis, adest. totas effundite uires; extremum ferri superest opus, unaque gentis hora trahit. quisquis patriam carosque penates, qui subolem ac thalamos desertaque pignora quaerit, ense petat: medio posuit deus omnia campo. causa iubet melior superos sperare secundos. ipsi tela regent per uiscera Caesaris, ipsi Romanas sancire volent hoc sanguine leges. si socero dare regna meo mundumque pararent,
praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam. 
non iratorum populis urbike deorum est 
Pompeium seruare ducem. quae uincere possent, 
omnia contulimus, subiere pericula clari 
sponte uiri, sacraque antiquus imagine miles. 
si Curios his fata darent reducesque Camillos 
temporibus Deciosque caput fatale uouentis, 
hinc starent. primo gentes Oriente coactae, 
innumeraeque urbes, quantas in proelio numquam, 
excuiere manus. toto simul utimur orbe.
quidquid signiferi comprensium limite caeli 
sub Noton et Borean hominum sumus, arma mouemus. 
nonne superfusis collectum cornibus hostem 
in medium dabimus? paucas victoria dextras 
exigit, at plures tantum clamore cateruae 
beila gerent. Caesar nostris non sufficit armis. 
credite pendentes e sumnis moenibus urbis 
crinibus effusis hortari in proelio matres. 
credite grandaeuum uetitumque aetate senatum 
arma sequi sacros pedibus prosterere canos, 
atque ipsam domini metuentem occurrere Romam. 
credite qui nunc est populus populumque futurum 
permixtus adferre preces. haec libera nasci, 
haec uolt turba mori. si quis post pignera tanta 
Pompeio locus est, cum prole et coniuge supplex, 
imperii salua si maiestate liceret, 
uoluerer ante pedes. Magnus, nisi uincitis, exsul, 
ludibrium soceri, uester pudor, ultima fata 
deprecor ac turpes extremi cardinis annos, 
ne discam seruire senex.’ tam maesta locuti 
voce ducis flagrant animi Romanaque uirtus 
erigitur; placuitque mori, si uera timeret.
Digression. The havoc in the Roman empire which the impending conflict will make for all time.

Ergo utrimque pari procurrent agmina motu irarum; metus hos regni, spes excitat illos. hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expleat aetas ulla nec humanum reparet genus, omnibus annis ut uacet a ferro. gentes Mars iste futuras obruet, et populos aequi uenientis in orbem erepto natale feret. tunc omne Latinum fabula nomen erit: Gabios Veiosque Coramque Albanosque lares Laurentinosque penates puluere uix tectae poterunt monstrare ruinae, rus uacuum, quod non habitet, nisi nocte coacta, inuitus questusque Numam iussisse senator. non aetas haec carpsit edax monimentaque rerum putria destituit: crimen ciuile uidentem tot uacuas urbes. generis quo turba redacta est humani? toto populi qui nascimur orbe, nec muros inplere uiris nec possumus agros: urbs nos una capit. uincto fossore coluntur Hesperiae segetes; stat tectis putris auitis in nullos ruitura domus; nulloque frequentem ciue suo Romam sed mundi faece repletam cladis eo dedimus, ne tanto in corpore bellum iam posset ciuile geri. Pharsalia tanti causa mali. cedant feralia nomina Cannae et damnata diu Romanis Allia fastis. tempora signauit leuiorum Roma malorum; hunc voluit nescire diem. pro tristia fata! aera pestiferum tractu morbosque fluentis insanamque famem permissasque ignibus urbes moeniaque in praeceps laturos plena tremores
hi possent explere uiri, quos undique traxit in miseram Fortuna necem, dum munera longi explicat eriipiens aequi, populosque ducesque constituit campis, per quos tibi, Roma, ruenti ostendat quam magna cadas. quo latius orbem possedit, citius per prospera fata cucurrit. omne tibi bellum gentes dedit omnibus annis: te geminum Titan procedere uidit in axem: haud multum terrae spatum restabat Eoae, ut tibi nox, tibi tota dies, tibi currenet aether, omniaque errantes stellae Romana uiderent. sed retro tua fata tulit par omnibus annis Emathiae funesta dies. hac luce cruenta effectum ut Latios non horreat India fasces, nec uetitos errare Dahas in moenia ducat Sarmaticumque premat succinctus consul aratrum: quod semper saeas debet tibi Parthia poenas, quod fugiens ciuile nefas reedituraque numquam libertas ultra Tigrim Renumque recessit, ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita uagatur, Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra Ausoniam. uellem, populis incognita nostris uolturis ut primum laeuo fundata uolatu Romulus infami compleuit moenia luco, usque ad Thessalicas seruiisses, Roma, ruinas. de Brutis, Fortuna, queror. quid tempora legum egimus aut annos a consule nomen habentis? felices Arabes Medique Eoaque tellus, quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt fata tyrannis. ex populis qui regna ferunt sors ultima nostra est, quos servire pudet. sunt nobis nulla profecto numina: cum caeco rapiantur saecula casu, mentimur regnare Iouem. spectabit ab alto

The pause before the battle. It is broken by Crastinus hurling his lance. Missiles and swords. Lukewarmness of the Pompeians and ardour of the Caesarians.

Vt rapido cursu fati suprema morantem consumpsere locum, parua tellure dirempti, quo sua pila cadant, aut quam sibi fata minentur inde manum, spectant; uultusque ac noscere tempus, facturi quae monstra forent. uidere parentes frontibus aduersis fraternaque comminus arma; nec libuit mutare locum: tamen omnia torpor pectora constrinxit, gelidusque in uiscera sanguis perculsa pietate coit, totaeque cohortes pila parata diu tensis tenuere lacertis. di tibi non mortem, quae cunctis poena paratur, sed sensum post fata tuae dent, Crastine, morti, cuius torta manu commisit lancea bellum primaque Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit. o praeceps rabies, cum Caesar tela teneret, inuenta est prior ulla manus? tunc stridulus aer
elisus lituis conceptaque classica cornu,
tunc ausae dare signa tubae, tunc aethera tendit
extremique fragor conuexa inrumpit Olympi,
unde procul nubes, quo nulla tonitrua durant.
excepit resonis clamorem uallibus Haemus,
Peliacisque dedit rursus geminare cauernis;
Pindus agit fremitus, Pangaeaque saxa resultant,
Oetaeaque gemunt rupes; uocesque furoris
expauere sui tota tellure relatas.
spargitur innumerum diuersis missile uotis:
ulnonera pars optat, pars terrae figere tela
ac puras seruare manus. rapit omnia casus,
atque incerta facit quos uolt Fortuna nocentes.
tunc et Ituraei Medique Arabesque soluti,
arcu turba minax, nusquam rexere sagittas;
sept petitur solus qui campis inminet aer;
inde cadunt mortes; sceleris sed crimine nullo
externum maculant chalybem: stetit omne coactum
circa pila nefas. ferro subtexitur aether,
noxque super campos telis conserta pependit.
sed quota pars cladis iaculis ferroque uolanti
exacta est? odiis solus ciuilibus ensis
sufficit et dextras Romana in uiscera ducit.
Pompei densis acies stipata cateruis
iunxerat in seriem nexit umbonibus arma,
uixque habitura locum dextras ac tela mouendi
constiterat gladiosque suos compressa timebat.
praecipiti cursu uaesanum Caesaris agmen
in densos agitur cuneos perque arma, per hostem
quaerit iter. qua torta graues lorica catenas
opponit tutoque latet sub tegmine pectus,
hac quoque peruentum est ad uiscera, totque per arma
extremum est quod quisque ferit. ciuilia bella
una acies patitur, gerit altera: frigidus inde stat gladius, calet omne nocens a Caesare ferrum.

**Charge of the Pompeian horse routed by Caesar's reserve.**

Nec Fortuna diu rerum tot pondera uertens abstulit ingentis fato torrente ruinas. ut primum toto diduxit cornua campo Pompeianus eques bellique per ultima fudit, sparsa per extremos leuis armatura maniplos insequitur saeuasque manus inmittit in hostem; illic quaeque suo miscet gens proelia telo; Romanus cunctis petitur cruor; inde sagittae, inde faces et saxa uolant, spatioque solutae aeris et calido liquefactae pondere glandes. cum Caesar, metuens ne frons sibi prima labaret incursu, tenet obliquas post signa cohortes, inque latus belli, qua se uagus hostis agebat, inmittit subitum non motis cornibus agmen. inmemores pugnae nulloque pudore timendi praecipites fecere palam, ciuilia bella non bene barbaricis umquam commissa cateruis. ut primum sonipes transfixus pectora ferro in caput effusi calcauit membra regentis, omnis eques cessit campis, glomerataque nubes in sua conuersis praeceps ruit agmina frenis. perdidit inde modum caedes, ac nulla secutast pugna, sed hinc iugulis, hinc ferro bella geruntur. nec ualet haec acies tantum proterne quantum inde perire potest. utinam, Pharsalia, campis sufficiat cruor iste tuis, quem barbara fundunt pectora; non alio mutentur sanguine fontes;
hic numerus totos tibi uestiat ossibus agros: aut si Romano compleri sanguine mauis, istis parce precor; uiiuant Galataeque Syrique, Cappadoces Gallique extremique orbis Hiberi, Armenii, Cilices; nam post ciuilia bella hic populus Romanus erit. semel ortus in omnes it timor, et fatis datus est pro Caesare cursus.

The bloody fight in the centre. Caesar's activity.

Ventum erat ad robur Magni mediasque cateruas. 545 quod totos errore uago perfuderat agros, constitit hic bellum, fortunaque Caesaris haesit. illic non regum auxiliis collecta iuuentus bella gerit ferrumque manus mouere rogatae: ille locus fratres habuit locus ille parentes. 550 hic furor, hic rabies, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar: hanc fuge, mens, belli partem tenebrisque relinque, nullaque tantorum discat me uate malorum, quam multum bellis liceat ciuilibus, aetas. a potius pereant lacrimae pereantque querellae; quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo. hic Caesar, rabies populi stimulusque furorum, ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum it uagus atque animis ignes flagrabantibus addit; inspicit et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent, qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti, quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela, quis contenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti, quem pugnare iuuet, quis uoltum ciue perempto mutet; obit latis proiecta cadauera campis; 560 uolnera multorum totum fusura cruorem opposita premit ipse manu. quacumque uagatur, sanguineum ueluti quatiens Bellona flagellum,
Bistonas aut Mauors agitans si uerbere saeuo
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus,
nox ingens scelerum est; caedes oriuntur, et instar
immensae uocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi
pectoris arma sonant contractique ensibus enses.
ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat,
aduersosque iubet ferro confundere uoltus.
570
promouet ipse acies; inpellit terga suorum:
uerbere conuersae cessantis excitat hastae.
in plebem uetat ire manus monstratque senatum.
scit, cruor imperii qui sit, quae uiscera rerum,
unde petat Romam, libertas ultima mundi
575
quo steterit feriendra loco. permixta secundo
ordine nobilitas uenerandaque corpora ferro
urguentur. caedunt Lepidos caeduntque Metellos
Coruinosque simul Torquataque nomina, regum
saepe duces summosque hominum te, Magne, remoto.

Brutus seeks to kill Caesar.

Illic plebeia contectus casside uoltus
ignotusque hosti quid ferrum, Brute, tenebas?
o decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,
extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen,
ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hostes,
580
nec tibi fatales admoueris ante Philippbos,
Thessalia periture tua. nil proficis istic
Caesaris intentus iugulo: nondum attigit arcem
iuris et humanum column, quo cuncta premuntur,
egressus meruit fatis tam nobile letum.
590
uiuat et, ut Bruti procumbat uictima, regnet.
The death of Domitian.

Hic patriae perit omne decus: iacet aggere magno patricium campis non mixta plebe cadauer. mors tamen eminuit clarorum in strage uirorum pugnacis Domiti; quem clades fata per omnis ducebant; nusquam Magni Fortuna sine illo succubuit. uictus totiens a Caesare salua libertate perit: tum mille in uolnera laetus labitur ac uenia gaudet caruisse secunda.

uiderat in crasso uersantem sanguine membra Caesar, et increpitans 'Iam Magni deseris arma, successor Domiti; sine te iam bella geruntur.' dixerat; ast illi suffecit pectora pulsans spiritus in uocem morientiaque ora resoluit.

'Non te funesta scelerum mercede potitum, sed dubium fati, Caesar, generoque minorem aspiciens, Stygias Magno duce liber ad umbras et securus eo; te saeuo Marte subactum, Pompeioque graues poenas nobisque daturum, cum morior, sperare licet.' non plura locutum uita fugit, densaeque oculos mersere tenebrae.

A scene of carnage.

Inpendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi mortibus innumeris, ac singula fata sequentem quaerere, letiferum per cuius uiscera uolnus exierit; quis fusa solo uitalia calcet; ore quis adverso demissum faucibusensem expulerit moriens anima; quis corruatictu, quis steterit dum membra cadunt; qui pectore tela transitant, uel quos campis affixerit hasta: quis cruor e scissis perruperit aera uenis
inque hostis cadat arma sui; quis pectora fratris caedat et, ut notum possit spoliare cadauer, abscisum longe mittat caput; ora parentis quis laceret nimiaque probet spectantibus ira, quem iugulat, non esse patrem. mors nulla querella digna sua est, nullosque hominum lugere uacamus. non istas habuit pugnae Pharsalia partes, quas aliae clades: illic per fata uirorum, per populos hic Roma perit: quae militis illic, mors hic gentis erat; sanguis ibi fluxit Achaeus, Ponticus, Assyrius; cunctos haerere cruores Romanus campisque uetat consistere torrens. maius ab hac acie, quam quod sua saecula ferrent, uolnus habent populi; plus est quam uita salusque quod perit; in totum mundi prosterneuimur aeuum: uincit tur his gladiis omnis quae seruiet aetas. proxima quid suboles aut quid meruere nepotes in regnum nasci? pauide num gessimus arma, teximus aut iugulos? aliene poena timoris in nostra ceruice sedet. post proelia natis si dominum, Fortuna, dabas, et bella dedisses.

Pompey sees that all is over and retires undaunted from the field.

Iam Magnus transisse deos Romanaque fata senserat infelix, tota uix clade coactus fortunam damnare suam. stetit aggere campi eminus, unde omnis sparsas per Thessala rura adspiceret clades quae bello obstante latebant. tot telis sua fata peti, tot corpora fusa, ac se tam multo pereuntem sanguine uidit. nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum mersa iuuat gentesque suae miscere ruinae:
ut Latiae post se uiuat pars maxima turbae, sustinuit dignos etiam nunc credere uotis caelicolas, uoluitque sui solacia casus:

‘Parcite iam, superi, cunctas prosterne gentes:
stante potest mundo Romaque superstite Magnus esse miser. si plura iuuant mea uolnera, coniunx est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fatis. ciuiline parum est bello si meque meosque obruet? exiguae clades sumus orbe remoto? omnia quid laceras? quid perdere cuncta laboras? iam nihil est, Fortuna, meum.’ sic fatur, et arma signaque et adflctas omni iam parte cateruas circumit, et reuocat matura in fata ruentes seque negat tanti. nec derat robur in enses ire duci iuguloque pati uel pectore letum:

sed timuit, strato miles ne corpore Magni non fugeret supraque ducem procumberet orbis; Caesaris aut oculis uoluit subducere mortem, nequiquam: infelix, socero spectare uolenti praestandum est ubicumque caput: seu tu quoque, coniunx,

causa fugae uoltusque tui, fatisque negatum te praesente mori. tum Magnum concitus aufert a bello sonipes non tergo tela pauentem ingentisque animos extrema in fata ferentem.

non gemitus, non fletus erat saluaque uerendus maiestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebat Romanis praestare malis. non inpare uoltu aspicis Emathiam; nec te uidere superbum prospera bellorum nec fractum aduersa uidebunt; quamque fuit laeto per tres infida triumphos, tam misero Fortuna minor. iam pondere fati deposito securus abis; nunc tempora laeta
respexisse uacat; spes numquam implenda recessit; quid fueris, nunc scire licet. fuge proelia dira, ac testare deos nullum, qui perstet in armis, iam tibi, Magne, mori. ceu flebilis Africa damnis et ceu Munda nocens Pharioque a gurgite clades, sic et Thessalicae post te pars maxima pugnae non iam Pompei nomen populare per orbem nec studium belli, sed par quod semper habemus, libertas et Caesar, erit; teque inde fugato ostendit moriens sibi se pugnasse senatus.

Better defeat and death than victory such as Caesar's.

Nonne iuuat pulsum bellis cessisse nec istud perspectasse nefas, spumantis caede cateruas? respice turbatos incursu sanguinis amnes, et soceri miserere tui. quo pectore Romam intrabit factus campis felicior istis? quidquid in ignotis solus regionibus exsul, quidquid sub Phario positus patiere tyranno, crede deis, longo fatorum crede favori, uincere peius erat. prohibe lamenta sonare, flere ueta populos, lacrimas luctusque remitte. tam mala Pompei quam prospera mundus adoret. adspice securus uoltu non supplice reges; adspice possessas urbes donataque regna, Aegyptum Libyamque: et terras eligite morti.

Pompey's welcome in Larisa.

Vidit prima tuae testis Larisa ruinae nobile nec uictum fatis caput. omnibus illa ciuibus effudit totas per moenia uires obuia, ceu laeto; promittunt munera flentes: pandunt templum domos; socios se cladibus optant.
scilicet inmenso superest ex nomine multum: teque minor solo, cunctas inpellere gentes rursus in arma potes, rursusque in fata redire. sed 'Quid opus uicto populis aut urbibus? inquit 'uictori praestate fidem.' tu, Caesar, in alto caedis adhuc cumulo patriae per viscera uadis: at tibi iam populos donat gener. auehit inde Pompeium sonipes: gemitus lacrimaeque secuntur plurimaque in saeuos populi conuicia diuos. nunc tibi uera fides quaesiti, Magne, fauoris contigit ac fructus. felix se nescit amari.

*Caesar stops the slaughter and summons his troops to seize and plunder the Pompeian camp.*

Caesar ut Hesperio uidit satis arua natare sanguine, parcendum ferro manibusque suorum iam ratus, ut uiles animas perituraque frustra agmina permisit uitae. sed castra fugatos ne reuocent pellatque quies nocturna pauorem, protinus hostili statuit succedere uallo, dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror, non ueritus, graue ne fessis † aut Marte subactis † hoc foret imperium. non magno hortamine miles in praedam ducendus erat; 'Victoria nobis plena, uiri;' dixit 'superest pro sanguine merces, quam monstrare meum est; neque enim donare uocabo, quod sibi quisque dabit. cunctis en plena metallis castra patent; raptum Hesperiis e gentibus aurum hic iacet, Eoasque premunt tentoria gazas. tot regum fortuna simul Magnique coacta exspectat dominos: propera praecedere, miles, quos sequeris; quascumque tuas Pharsalia fecit, a uictis rapiuntur opes.' nec plura locutus
inpulit amentes aurique cupidine caecos
ire super gladios supraque cadauera patrum
et caesos calcare duces. quae fossa, quis agger
sustineat pretium belli scelerumque petentis?
scire ruunt, quanta fuerint mercede nocentes:
inuenere quidem spoliato plurima mundo
bellorum in sumptus congestae pondera massae:
sed non impieuit cupientis omnia mentes.
quidquid fudit Hiber, quidquid Tagus expuit auri,
quod legit diues summis Arimaspus harenis
ut rapiant, paruo scelus hoc uenisse putabunt:
cum sibi Tarpeias uictor desponderit arces,
cum spe Romanae promiserit omnia praedae,
decipitur quod castra rapit.

*To Caesar and his troops asleep in the camp appear*
*the phantoms of the slain.*

capit inpia plebes
caespite patricio somnos, caesumque cubile
regibus infandus miles premit, inque parentum
inque toris fratrum posuerunt membra nocentes:
quos agitat uaesana quies somnique furentes
Thessalicam miseris uersant in pectore pugnam.
inuigilat cunctis saeuum scelus, armaque tota
mente agitant, capuloque manus absente mouentur.
ingemuisse putem campos terramque nocentem
inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum
manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem.
exigit a miserris tristes uictoria poenas,
sibilaque et flammas infert sopor. umbra perempti
ciuis adest: sua quemque premit terroris imago:
ille senum uoltus, iuuenum uidet ille figuras;
hunc agitant totis fraterna cadauera somnis;
pectore in hoc pater est: omnes in Caesare manes. haud alios, nondum Scythica purgatus in ara, Eumenidum uidit uoltus Pelopeus Orestes; nec magis attonitos animi sensere tumultus, cum fureret, Pentheus, aut, cum desisset, Agaue. hunc omnes gladii, quos aut Pharsalia uidit aut ultrix uisura dies stringente senatu, illa nocte premunt; hunc infera monstra flagellant. et quantum poenae misero mens conscia donat, quod Styga, quod manes, ingestaque Tartara somnis Pompeio uiuente uidet!

The next day Caesar gloats over the scene and with useless vindictiveness refuses to burn the dead.

tamen omnia passo postquam clara dies Pharsalica damna rexit, nulla loci facies reuocat feralibus aruis haerentes oculos. cernit propulsa cruore flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat aceruos, et Magni numerat populos; epulisque paratur ille locus, uoltus ex quo faciesque iacentum agnoscat. iuuat Emathiam non cernere terram et lustrare oculis campos sub clade latentes; ac ne laeta furens scelerum spectacula perdat, inuidet igne rogi miseris, caeloque nocenti ingerit Emathiam. non illum Poenus humator consulis et Libyca succensae lampade Cannae, compellunt, hominum ritus ut seruet in hostes; sed meminit nondum satiata caedibus ira ciues esse suos. petimus non singula busta discretosque rogos; unum da gentibus ignem; fortunam superosque suos in sanguine cernit.
non interpositis urantur corpora flammis. aut generi si poena iuuat, nemus extrue Pindi, erige congestas Oetaeo robore siluas, Thessalicam uideat Pompeius ab aequore flammam. nil agis hac ira: tabesne cadauera soluat an rogus, haud refert; placido Natura receptat cuncta sinu, finemque sui sibi corpora debent. hos, Caesar, populos si nunc non usserit ignis, uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti. communis mundo superest rogus ossibus astra mixturus. quocumque tuam Fortuna vocabit, hae quoque eunt animae: non altius ibis in auras, non meliore loco Stygia sub nocte iacebis. libera fortunae mors est: capit omnia tellus, quae genuit: caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam. tu, cui dant poenas inhumato funere gentes, quid fugis hanc cladem? quid olentes deseris agros? has trahe, Caesar, aquas; hoc, si potes, utere caelo. sed tibi tabentes populi Pharsalica rura eripiunt camposque tenent uictore fugato.

The beasts and birds that feasted on the slain.

Non solum Haemonii funesta ad pabula belli Bistonii uenere lupi, tabemque cruentae caedis odorati Pholoen liquere leones. tunc ursae latebras, obscaeni tecta domosque deseruere canes, et quidquid nare sagaci aera non sanum motumque cadauere sentit. iamque diu uolucres ciulia castra secutae conueniunt. uos, quae Nilo mutare soletis Threicias hiemes, ad mollem serius Austrum istis, aues. numquam tanto se uolture caelum induit aut plures presserunt aera pinnae.
omne nemus misit uolucres omnisque cruenta
alte sanguineis stillanit roribus arbor.
saepe super uoltus iuctoris et inipia signa
aut cruor aut alto defluxit ab aethere tabes,
membraque deiecit iam lassis ungubus ales.
sic quoque non omnis populus peruenit ad ossa
inque feras discerptus abit: non intima curant
uiscera nec totas auide sorbere medullas;
degustant artus. Latiae pars maxima turbae
fastidita iacet: quam sol nimbique diesque
longior Emathiiis resolutam miscuit aruis.

Apostrophe to guilty Thessaly.

Thessalia infelix, quo tanto crimine tellus
laesisti superos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
tot scelerum fatis premerent? quod sufficit aequum
inmemor ut donet belli tibi damna uetustas?
quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?
quo non Romanos uiolabis uomere manes?
antem nouae uenient acies, scelerique secundo
praestabis nondum siccos siccos hoc sanguine campos.
omnia maiorum uertamus busta licebit,
et stantis tumulos, et qui radice uetusta
effudere suas uictis copagibus urnas,
plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur,
pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa.
nullus ab Emathio religasset litore funem
nauita, nec terram quisquam mouisset arator
Romani bustum populi, fugenteque coloni
umbrarum campos, gregibus dumeta carerent.
nullusque auderet pecori permettere pastor
uellere surgentem de nostris ossibus herbam,
ac uelut inpatiens hominum uel solis iniqui
limite uel glacie, nuda atque ignota iaceres,
si non prima nefas belli sed sola tulisses.

o superi, liceat terras odisse nocentes.

quid totum premitis, quid totum absoluitis orbem? 870

Hesperiae clades et flebilis unda Pachyni
et Mutina et Leucas puros fecere Philippos.
EXPLANATORY NOTES.

[II. = Haskins' edition of Lucan, 1887.  
Heitl. = Heitland, Introduction to the same.  
R. = Roby's Latin Grammar, cited by sections.  
N. L. P. = New Latin Primer, cited by sections.]

1. Seignior, i.e. rising more tardily. Oceano. A preposition would be added in prose, R. 1258, N. L. P. 149. The sun was slow in obeying the call of destiny (ἐλμαρμένη), the immutable chain of cause and effect which in the Stoic view governed the universe.

2. luctificus with numquam magis 'never more fraught with mourning.' See also Crit. App. Titan, used only of the sun in Lucan, except ix 654 where 'Atlanta' is added. contra, the sun and planets being supposed to move in the opposite direction to that in which the ether and the fixed stars revolved. Ovid Met. 2. 72 sq. (of the sun) 'nitor in aduersum nec me, qui cetera, uincit | impetus, et rapido contrarius euehor orbi,' so Manilius, the Stoic poet, 1. 258 sq. 'solemque—atque alia aduerso luctantia sidera mundo.' contra is also used of mounting up a fixed object (cf. 'aduerso monte' uphill) as H. takes it here, comparing Plin. N. H. 7. § 83, Silius Italicus 14. 352.

3. cursum (Crit. App.) with rapiente and retorsit.

5. attraxit 'drew to himself.' The Latin, having no middle voice, often uses the active instead, without as well as with se; so ferre means φέρεω 'bring' and φέρεσθαι 'take.' pabula. The Stoics and other ancients taught that the sun was fed on watery vapours. Lucan i 415 sq. 'flammiger an Titan, ut alentes hauriat undas | erigat Oceanum fluctusque ad sidera ducat.' So the false Anacreon 21 (19).

9. Pompey’s theatre completed in 52 B.C. and known as the ‘stone theatre’ could hold 40,000 spectators. Lucan, who is well aware of Pompey’s vain passion for popularity (cf. 726), says pointedly I 132 sq. ‘totus popularibus auris | impelli *plausuque sui* gaudere theatri.’

10. **innumeram**, a ‘transferred epithet’ belonging in sense to *plebis*. *effigiem* properly a ‘cast’ or ‘model’ (ef-fingo), then the ‘copy’ as opposed to the real thing and so, as here, a ‘phantom.’


14. *primi*, an anachronism. His first triumph was in Sept. 81 after he reduced Numidia. The Spanish triumph was 10 years later, followed in 10 years again by the last of the three (685), the Mithridatic.


17. *Vesperae*, the lands of evening, the West, here Spain, cf. Sil. It. 3. 325 sq. ‘totus adest Vesper populique reposti; | Cantaber ante omnis.’ *pacato* ‘tranquillized,’ i.e. ‘subjected,’ a euphemism apparently introduced by Julius Caesar and adopted in official language. The British chieftain Calgacus says bitterly of the Romans ‘ubi *solitudinem* faciunt, *pacem* appellant’ Tac. *Agr.* 30. *pura* ‘plain,’ opposed to the purple-bordered *toga* (*praetexta*) of magistrates and the embroidered *toga picta* worn at triumphs and referred to in the next line. Both at his first and his second triumph Pompey was strictly a *privatus*, as he had held no civil office but was simply general, with the titles of propraetor and proconsul on the two occasions respectively.

18. *quam*, cf. v 152, so after most words expressing comparison in Plautus, Livy etc., but Cicero and Caesar would use *ac*. *currus*, the triumphal car; so 280, Prop. 2. 14. 24, Juv. 8. 3 ‘stantes in curribus Aemilianos.’ The plur. is generic ‘a triumphal car.’ *ornante*, i.e. *quaes ornat* 359 n.

19. **seu** ‘whether it was that,’ introducing three alternative explanations, cf. 197 n. *fine bonorum* ‘at the close of his happiness,’ compare VIII 29 ‘nisi summa dies *cum fine bonorum* | ad- fuit’ (again of Pompey).
20. anxia refers to 'the dreaming thought' (quies 22); cf. 815 n.
21. contraria uisis. That dreams 'go by contraries' is the common belief and the view which, according to Zonaras (10. 8), Pompey himself took of this dream, although the younger Pliny advising his friend Suetonius (the biographer) says Ep. i. 18. 2 (quoted by H.) 'refert tamen eventura soleas an contraria somniare.'
22. What was seen (uisis) was 'a great clapping of the hands,' 'magnus plausus'; what was signified 'a great beating of the breast,' magnus planctus. Compare Florus 4. 2. 45 'dux ipse et nocturna imagine plausum theatri sui audiens in modum planctus circumsonatus.'
23. ultra, of time, after a negative, cf. 88, Livy 2. 19. 2. cernere, i.e. with the bodily vision, opposed to sic (24) in dreams.
25. nullas. As Pompey's ears only can be intended, the adj. is no more than an emphatic non 'not at all.' This peculiarity of expression, best known from 'nullus uenit' (Cic. etc.) 'he never came' and other similar phrases, is freely used by Lucan, cf. e.g. viii 804 sq. 'circumque tuorum, | Magne, metu nullas Nili calcemus harenas' (and Heitl. p. 108 (5)), but nowhere more freely than here. tuba, the trumpet's voice, cf. 'nec tuba sit fati uana querela mei' Prop. 2. 13. 20 and 72 n., sounding the night watches.
26. quies, i.e. dreams; compare 22, 764.
28. pares, adj. (Crit. App.). The accusatives depend on ferat quies to be supplied from l. 27, as a sheer ellipse is hardly ever found with quo?, unde?, except where a dat. of the person is added as Hor. Serm. 2. 5. 102 'unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?' populis, 'compendious' comparison, 'like that of the multitude'; cf. 144 n. For the sense cf. Juv. 1. 15 sqq. 'et nos | consilium dedimus Sullae, prius ut altum | dormiret.'
31. fati, the inevitable parting. uterque, you and Rome, which is half personified; see below, 373 n.
32. Compare v 792 sqq. (Cornelia) 'non maest ipectora Magni | sustinet amplexu dulci, non colla tenere, | extremusque perit tam longi fructus amoris.'
33. The order is tu uadis uelut etc. Lucan, like other Latin poets, has frequent dislocations of words (hyperbaton), cf. 133, 685, 797 notes.
34. rati uoti 'of her prayers being always fulfilled,' cf. Prop. 4 (5). 10. 14 'uotis occupat ante ratis.' The special reference is to the prayers for Pompey's recovery in B.C. 50, Juv. 10. 283 sqq. 'prouida Pompeio dederat Campania febres | optandas, sed multae urbes et publica uota | uicerunt.'

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37. *flesset,* i.e. if you had been buried in Rome instead of Egypt *(v. 36).*

38. *iniussus* *unbidden,* without a hint from those in charge of them, such as Silius Italicus mentions in *11. 498 sqq.* *illum turba minor moniti gaudere· nepotes | et senior manus et iuxta populusque Patresque | mactatis superum. dignantur honore iuuencis.* The natural hilarity of youth was strictly repressed on these mournful occasions; compare Cic. *Tusc.* 3. § 64 *pueros uero matres et magistri castigare etiam solent, nec uerbis solum sed etiam uerberibus, si quid in domesticlo luctu hilarius ab iis factum est aut dictum, plorare cogunt.*

39. *femineum uolgus,* i.e. the matronae who mourned a year for Brutus, Livy 2. 7. 4.

42. *Tonanti,* i.e. to. the temple of Juppiter Capitolinus. Caesar *(41)* with his victorious army *(40)* is supposed to be in Rome, and the occasion intended appears to be his triumph rather than a public thanksgiving *(supplicatio)* for his victory. In either case Lucan perverts the history, see Cic. *Phil.* 14. 23 *ad te ipsum, P. Suerili, num misit uallas collega litteras de illa calamitosissima pugna Pharsalia? num te de supplicatione uoluit referre? profecto noluit. at misit postea de Alexandri, de Pharmace: Pharsalae uero pugnae ne triumphum quidem egit.*

43. The sense must be *who could only show their grief by groans.* But *edere* must be corrupt, see Crit. App.

44. *pariter* *all together* as in v 426. Observe the picturesque alliteration.

45. *uicerat.* The metaphor suggests a battle, perhaps intentionally; cf. Val. Fl. 3. 210 sqq. *(where the stars stand their ground)* *sic pugnae crudescit opus; neque enim ignea cedunt | astra loco, lentis haeret nox conscia bigis.*

46. *trahentibus* *dragging along,* i.e. to its doom; cf. 346.

48. *non totum* *fated not to see the close of day.*

49. *accensa* *heated* of any excitement, cf. *VI 282* *accendit (Caesarem) pax ipsa loci.* *magno tumultu,* abl. of accompaniment.

50. *properantis,* i.e. though hastening. For *admouet* *brings nearer,* *quickens the approach of* and the sense, cf. *v. 591* and Statins* imitation Theb. 8. 375* *fatalem populis ultro poscentibus horam | admouet atra dies.*
53, 54. orbis indulgens regno 'indulging too far in sovereignty over the world,' i.e. prolonging it unduly. A bolder use occurs in IV 664 'indulsit castris,' i.e. spread out his quarters.

55. iuris habere sui 'keep under his own control.' For the gen. compare I 51 sq. 'iurisque tui Natura relinquet | quis deus esse uelis.'
timeret because he would then lose his command.

57. bella trahi, cf. Introd. p. xviii. The subject of teneri, being the same as that of queruntur; a verb of 'saying,' is not expressed. This happens sometimes even in prose, R. 1346, N. L. P. 377 (3).

58. uertere cuncta 'when bent on universal overthrow.' The expression is proverbial; cf. Cic. Off. 1. § 84 'Callicratidas—cum Lacedaemoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset egregie uertit ad extremum omnia.'

59. erroribus 'mistakes' of judgment. crimen 'guilt' explained by the next line, cf. [Ov.] Heroid. 17. 47 sq. 'nec ullus | error, qui facti crimen obumbret, erit.'

60. irruimus 'rush into'; here and in Claudian Cons. Mall. Theod. 194 'irruet intrepidus flammis,' with dat. apparently on the analogy of incido. nocitura. In many places Lucan employs nocere in a strong sense, 'be fatal' or 'destructive'; cf. 160, 502, 692.

61. uotum est Pharsalia 'men pray for—Pharsalia!'; cf. also 121 n.

62. auctor 'model'; 'Caecilius malus auctor Latinitatis' Cic. Att. 3. 7. 10.

63. Tullius. On this misrepresentation of the facts and of the character of Cicero see the Introduction p. xviii, n. 4. iure togaque = 'iure togato,' and so the Schol. on Juv. 8. 243 quotes the line; but the hendiadys is better, as Lucan alludes to Cicero's famous phrase 'cedant arma togae'; see Cic. Phil. 2. § 20.

65. pertulit, sc. ad Pompeium.

66. passus 'having had to bear silence for so long in the camp.' Perhaps Lucan is thinking of the end of Cicero's hexameter (cited above) 'concedat laurea linguae.'

69. Fortuna, for Pompey's fortune cf. 75, 248, 601, 649, 705.

70. mundo, hyperbolical for the foreign auxiliaries, cf. Introd. p. xvii.

71. adfusi 'stretched at your feet.' fusus means no more than 'lying at length on the ground'; cf. 305, 652 corpora fusa.

72. humani generis with bellum. The dat. (Crit. App.) would be more usual; the gen. is an extension of the possessive use such as we have in Pompei 112. bellum 'cause of war' to mankind. The Latin
expression is often less analytic than the Eng.; cf. Prop. 3 (4). 13. 38 'nec fuerat nudas poena (cause of punishment) uidere deas'; cf. *tuba* 'trumpet note' 24 n., notes on 234, 287, 867 *limit.*

74. *indignum* 'a shame,' 'an indignity' (X 406 'quos erat *indignum* Phario parere tyranno') and so 'matter of shame,' 'a cause for indignation' (comp. *'indignitas'* Livy for *'indignatio'* and previous note). a *transcurrente* opp. to *lente,* 'as he hurried past them,' 'by the way'; Claudian Cons. Stil. 1. 195 'uestra manus (addressing Drusus and Trajan) quidquid dubio discrimine gessit, | *transcurrens* egit Stilicho,' Quint. Curt. 5. 14 'Syriam Aegyptumque a praetereuntibus raptas.' *trans-* = *praeter-*, as *'limina transire*' Prop. 2. 7. 9, 'trans Pharon' VIII 184.

75. *fati,* another reference to Pompey's fortune, continued in *ingrate,* 1. 76.

77. *signa reuellent,* i.e. for the advance(cf. 162), the converse of *signa statuere,* Livy 5. 55. 2 'signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime.'

78. *uicisse,* 617 n.

79. *duce te iusso* 'with thee as appointed leader,' i.e. if you owe your command to us. For Pompey's election by the Senate see V 46 sqq. '"consulite in medium, Patres, Magnumque *iubete* | esse ducem."' laeto nomen clamore senatus | excipit.' nobis, i.e. *non tibi.*

80. *sit iuris* 'let it be within their right.' *iuris* would be more common; but cf. Hor. Carm. 4. 3. 21 'totum muneres hoc tui est' and elsewhere. *concurrere,* properly of two armies engaging, then of either one, and even of single combatants, Virg. Aen. 12. 571, Prop. 4 (5). 10. 35.

81. *mundi,* as we say 'the world's,' a use hardly earlier than the battle of Actium, Prop. 4 (5). 6. 19 'huc *mundi* coiure manus.'

83. *te linquant,* as they are said to have done in Caesar's army at the battle of Thapsus, Florus 4. 2. 66 'ante imperium ducis sua sponte signa cecinerunt'; cf. Bell. Afr. 82 'iniussu Caesaris tubicen a militibus coactus canere coepit.' For *classica* see 476.

85. *comes* is sarcastic, 'in your retinue.' 'Are we to fight, or are you the governor of a peaceful province and we your suite (*comitatus*)?'

86. 'that there was treachery in heaven and that fate was thwarting his purpose.'

87. *milite* 'as soldier' opposed to *duce,* as in 223, cf. 356 n.

90. (Crit. App.) *ista* 'this'; cf. 115 and often in Lucan, Heitl. p. 108 (η).
91. perirent, imperfect, because of accipisse which, as the perfect proper, may take a secondary tense. Compare Q. Cicero 4. 13 'quae subsidia haberes et habere posses exposui' (though in Eng. we say 'I have set out what aids you have and can have'), and N. L. P. 229, 389 (a). The student should observe that the present testor has no power to alter the sequence of the verbs depending on the perf. inf.

92. accipisse 'have had it imposed upon me' as terms (cf. leges accipere) are imposed on the conquered.

93. stare, cf. III 381 'tum res immenso placuit statura labore.' labor is very common in connexion with bellum, no doubt from the exceedingly toilsome character of Roman warfare; so even without bellum Tib. i. 1. 3 'quem labor assiduus uicino terreat hoste,' Prop. 4 (5). i. 139. sine caede to be taken with captium as well as subactum.

94. tradere, for punishment. Caesar knew (as well as Pompey cf. VIII 10 sqq. 'seque memor fati tantae mercedis habere | credit adhuc iugulum quantum pro Caesaris ipse | auolsa ceruice daret') what was in store for him if defeated (304 sqq.).

95. scelerum with furor 'guilty madness.' See also Crit. App.

96. metuunt. The Schol. notices the change of person as intentional, cf. 109 n.

97. terras opposed to aequore. Pompey's fleet commanded the sea. The Schol. quotes Virg. Aen. 9. 131 sq. 'rerum pars altera adempta est; | terra autem in manibus nostris.'

98. praematuras 'unripe.' Caesar says of himself B. C. 3. 81 'idoneum locum in agris nactus quo prope iam matura erant frumenta' that is a few days (ib. 82) before Pompey's arrival in Thessaly.

99 sq. The expression is somewhat redundant. We could dispense either with utum or ut mallet.

100. gladiis, i.e. non fame; cf. ieiuna 98.

101. meis, i.e. necorum; perhaps a compendious comparison (28 n.); but cf. 652 n. For the idea cf. 655.

102. his, neuter 'by the measures.' ne, cf. 406 n. tiro, sing. for plur. as 758 and 838 uictor, 402 suisso, 203 augure and mens, 294 corpus, 598 and 830 cadaver, 820 funere, 834 volture, 837 alite. So probably Cyclops 150. Pompey takes just credit to himself for training his raw levies; compare Introd. p. xviii.

103. irae, of martial ardour; frequent in Lucan, e.g. III 614 'creuit in adversis uirtus; plus nobilis irae | truncus habet,' IV 267, 553; 124, 386 inf.; Cic. Acad. 2. § 135 'ipsam iracundiam fortitudinis quasi
cotem esse dicebant'; Seneca de *ira* III. 3. 1 (of Aristotle) 'calcar ait esse virtutis.'

104. signa, as in 82.
105. timor ipse, i.e. mere fright often produces the same effect as courage. *fortissimus* 'brave in the truest sense.'
106. promptus contains the apodosis to *si instent*; so 'exasul' 379.
107. et 'also.' *placet*, as often, of a final decision.
108 sq. *mundi discriminem* 'the world's arbitrament' 'the decision of the world's doom'; cf. 242 n.
109. malunt, the change of person is rhetorically effective; cf. 96 n., 720.
110. *dederas*, the plup. is often used in Latin for clearness or other reasons instead of the aor.
111. *maiores, maiores factas* Schol.
112. *bellum* 'the battle'; so in 17, 287, 331, 547.
113. *uoiris...iniquis*, i.e. prayers which it is unjust to grant; cf. Claudian *Pan. Theod.* 241 'idem praedurus iniquas | accepisse praece.'
114. *pugnatur* 'we fight.' A vivid present for the future; cf. 379, 746, 816.
115. *lux ista*, as in 90.
118. *sine momento* 'without turning the scale' against us, cf. IV 819 'momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.' *partis* 'party.'
Lucan, like other writers, uses both the sing. (IV 348) and the plur. (V 350) of *pars* in this sense.
120. *laetior*, sc. *sit*.
121. *Pompeius erit...nomen*. Lucan is fond of this form of sentence; we have already had it three times, 61, 72, 112.
122. *feret*. In Eng. a pres. would be used as the statement is general 'all the misfortune that Fortune's worst can bring.' But Latin prefers to assimilate the tenses in both members of the condition, cf. *N. L. P.* 224.
124. *ira*, 103 n.
125. *et ut uictus.* *ut uictus* (Crit. App.) would be simpler; but the Greeks and Romans had a tendency to mix up the two parts of a simile, especially if the same verb could be used in both. So here 'laxat, et, ut uictus nauita dat regimen uentis ignauumque...onus (trahitur), trahitur.' Catull. 64. 239 sqq. 'haec mandata, prius constanti mente tenentem, | Thesea ceu pulsae uentorum flamine nubes |
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aerium niuei montis liquere cacumen'; Hor. Serm. 1. 3. 9 sqq. 'saepe uelut qui | currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe uelut qui | Iunonis sacra ferret.' So in Pind. Nem. 8. 40 sqq. αξεταν ὃ' ἀρετα χλωραῖς εἴρησας ὃς ὁτε δενδρευν ζωσει | ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀνεβείον ἐν δικαλοι τε | πρὸς ὑγρὸν αἰθέρα. The last words belong to the tree, just as, in ib. 6. 64 sqq. δελφὺν κεν τάχος δι' ἀλμας | ιούσαμι (so we should read, ισον εἴτοιμι codd.) Μελησαν, δι' ἀλμας belongs only to the dolphin.

126. dat regimen, i.e. lets the winds steer. ignauum 'inactive' expl. by arte relictæ 'abandoning his craft' or 'profession,' here the ars gubernandi (Cic., Quintil.) or navigation. So iners is properly a man who has no profession.

127. onus, he is mere 'freight'; onus (cf. onero, oneraria) is a regular word for 'cargo.'

128. animi truces 'even bold spirits,' animus the heart's action, cf. iv 285 sqq. 'sauca maiiores animos ut pectora gestant | dum dolor est ictusque recens' (cf. 290), i.e. 'there is more vitality in the heart.' It could hardly mean the hearts themselves. For the strong emphasis on truces cf. notes on 241, 280, 711, 760. pulsant. Cf. II. 2. 716 θυμὸς ἐνι στήθεσι πάτασσε. 

129. incertis 'irregular,' a bad sign. H. quotes Aesch. Ag. 995—997.

130. mortis. The Schol. quotes pallida morte futura Virg. Aen. 4. 644 and the idea is common elsewhere. Cf. Macaulay, Hist. of England ch. v, on Monmouth before Sedgmoor 'The very children who pressed to see him pass observed and long remembered that his look was sad and full of evil augury.' The last words mean 'their appearance is that of doomed men.' On uenturaest see Crit. App.

132. conderet 'establish,' i.e. determine 'destiny' as in Virg. Aen. 10. 35 'noua condere fata,' Val. Fl. 1. 531 'uetera haec nobis et condita pergunt | ordine cuncta suo.' The imperfect in sequence is due to palam est being a historical present and so able to take the construction of its sense (past) as well as of its tense (present), see N. L. P. 229, 389 (b), cf. 464, 638. quaeri with illo Marte 'the issue to be determined is,' cf. Livy 2. 57. 3 'magis quorum in manu sit (res publica) quam ut incolumis sit quaeri.' For the order cf. 33 n. quid esset 'what it is to be,' i.e. whether a regnum or a libera ciuitas. The imperfect indicates a time future to that of conderet. The ambiguity is usually avoided in prose by using the periphrastic future 'quid futura esset' (N. L. P. 1232); but not always, cf. Livy 2. 55. 9, 'incerti quaternus Volero exerceret victoriam,' and other places.
133. *palam est* 'they see' vi 414 sqq. 'cunctos belli praesaga futuri |
mens agitat summique grauem discriminis horam | aduentare *palam est*,' cf. 279, 526 n. 
*nescit* 'is unconscious of,' cf. Stat. Th. 5. 344 sq. 
'mediis intersonat Orpheus | remigii tantosque iubet *nescire* labores,' 7. 674 'sua uulnra *nescit*.'

134. *attonitus*, properly 'thunderstruck,' then 'dazed,' cf. 212, 779.

135 sq. An allusion to the Stoic views of the destruction by deluge or fire (*ἐκπύρωσις*), cf. II 289 sqq. 'sidera quis mundumque uelit spectare cadentem | expers ipse metus? quis, cum ruat arduus aether, | terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi | complosas (al. compressas) tenuisse manus?' and 814 n.

137. *finem* 'the ending,' acc. in apposition to the sentence as a whole because 'the verbal idea is active,' *N. L. P.* 299; cf. Virg. 
*Aen.* 9. 52 sq. 'iaculum attorquens emisit in auras, | *principium* pugnae.'

138. *ferre* 'bring with them'; cf. vi 418 sq. 'ad dubios pauci praesumpto robore casus | spemque metumque *ferunt*.'

139. *cautibus* 'whetstones' (=*cotibus*). Spelt with au the word in both numbers usually means a 'rock' or 'crag,' though *cotes* in the plur. is used in both senses. *asper*, i.e. *asperatus* 'sharpened,' the opposite of *hebes*; cf. vi 186 'iamque *hebes* et crasso non *asper* sanguine mucro,' Sil. It. 4. 19 'saxoque exasperat ensem.'

140. *exarsit* 'flashed fire,' from the friction; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 8.

15 sq. 'semper *ardentis acuens* sagittas | *cote* cruenta.' *lancea,* of the lance heads which were bent and so unserviceable, as I 242 'curuataque cuspidae pila.'

141. *corrigitur* (Crit. App.) 'is straightened.'

143. *auget stimulos*, apparently 'chooses larger spurs'; cf. Sil. 
*It.* 9. 572 sqq. 'nam praeuectus equo moderantem cuspidae Lucas | Maurum in bessa boves *stimuli maioribus* ire | et raptare iubet Libycarum armenta ferarum.' The verb might possibly mean 'takes fresh spurs,' as in Suet. *Aug.* 96 'angeri hostias.' *frenorum... aptat* (Crit. App.) *habenas* 'looks to his bridle-reins'; *frena* includes the bit and headpiece as well as the *reins* (*habenas* from *habeo*).

144. *superis*, compendious comparison; cf. 28 n.

145. *Phlegra tollente* 'when Phlegra reared the Giants.' The verb appears to contain a reference to their gigantic stature, cf. the imitation in Statius *Theb.* 2. 595 sq. 'haud aliter Getica, si fas est credere, Phlegra | armatum *immensus* Briareus stetit aethera contra' and *IV* 597 'quod non *Phlegraeis* Antaeum sustulit aruis.'
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146 sqq. Juvenal scoffs at this or a similar catalogue of weapons, 13. 78 sqq. SICULIS of Aetna; cf. 150.

147. cuspiS, cf. v 620 'rector Olympi | cuspiDe fraterna lassatum in saecula fulmen | adiuuit.'


149. diffadit 'spread over' her shield. The lady combatant arranges her aegis for the fray. Of the saxifica—Medusa (ix 670), which 'Gigantas | erexit montes bellumque inmane deorum | Pallados e medio consecit pectore Gorgon' (ib. 656 sqq.), the only harmless part was the snakes, ib. 636 sq. 'hoc habet infelix cuntis inpune Medusa | quod spectare licet.'

150. Palleneae. The adj. (cf. 435 n.) is used proleptically, 'for Pallene.' This was the later name of Phlegra; so Stat. Silv. 4. 2. 56 speaks of Pallenaei triumphi. mutauit, i.e. made him fresh ones. Cf. the imitation by Statius, Theb. l.c. 599 sq. 'hinc lasso mutata (so the mss. rightly) Pyramone tenmens | fulmina.' Cyclops, apparently sing. for plur., cf. 102 n.

151. abstinuit, with inf. in Plautus (Curc. 180) and silver Latin (Suet. Tib. 23, Sil. It. 12. 44).

152. Fortuna, cf. 205 sq.

153 sqq. A violent storm of thunder and lightning, into which Lucan crowds all the pyrotechnics he can; Val. Max. 1. 6. 12 'Cn. etiam Pompeium Iuppiter omnipotens abunde monuerat ne cum C. Caesare ultimam belli fortunam experiri contenderet; egresso a Dyrrhachio aduersa agmini eius fulmina iacient, examinibus apum signa obscurando, subita tristitia implicatis militum animis, nocturnis totius exercitus terroribus, ab ipsis altaribus hostiarum fuga.' And so the writer of 154, whoever he was, understood it. Cf. 224 n. The omen was a very bad one; so Pindar says of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes which had disregarded a similar warning φαινομέναν δ' ἀρ' ἐς ἄταν σπεύδων ὄμιλος ἰκέσθαι, Nem. 9. 21.

obstitit is perhaps technical in this sense; cf. the quotation 'fulgura atque obstita pianto,' Cic. Legg. 2. 21; cf. 198 n. aether, explained by II 57 sq. 'conlatus in ignes | plurimus ad terram per fulmina deciadat aether.'

155 sq. aduersas, cf. Val. Max. supra. faces 'flambeaux,' δαλόλ. columnas 'pillars,' cf. Manil. 1. 839 'quadratumque trabem fingit teretemque columnam,' and trabibus (δόκολ or δόκιδες) 'rafters,' are
various meteoric appearances. Seneca, *Nat. quaest.* 7. 4. 4, says that the *trabes* ‘praebet speciem ignis extenti’ and ib. 5. 2 ‘trabes—non transcurrunt nec praeteruolant ut *faces* sed commorantur et in eadem caeli parte conlucen.’

156. *typhonas* (Crit. App.). Lucan appears to refer to the fiery phenomenon described by Pliny *N. H.* 2. 91, an awful appearance to the peoples of Ethiopia and Egypt named after *Typhon*, a king of the period, ‘ignea specie ac spirae modo intorta, usi quoque toruo nec stella uerius quam *igneus nodus.*’ Val. Fl. 3. 129 sqq. connects the appearance with *Typhon* (that is *Typhoeus*) the giant imprisoned in Aetna ‘arduus et late *fumanti nube coruscus*, | quantum ubi immenso prospeixit ab aethere *Typhon* | *igne simul uentisque rubens* quem Juppiter alter | crine tenet; | trepidant *drio* sub *lumine puppes.* The last words throw light on Lucan’s somewhat obscure expression, *audios...aquam*, the typhon being supposed to suck up the sea. A writer in Cramer’s *Anecd.* Vol. 3. p. 406 sq. says they are comets and continues, in agreement with Pliny, that they are fiery globes, *ωσανελ σύνδεσμοι πυρὸς* and that they did not appear in Roman times but terrified Egypt previously. Joh. Laurent. *de mens.* 4. 73, p. 274, writes *Τυφών πυρὸδης καὶ αἰματόδης φανεται καὶ λεπτὸς* *τινας διαρραῖων πλοκαμοῦ* (cf. *crine* in Val. Fl.). Aristotle *de mundo* c. 4 however has *τυφών* in the sense of a thunderbolt without fire τό δ’ ἀστράφαν ἀναπυρωθέν βιαίως ἀχρὶ τῆς γῆς διεκθέον κεραυνὸς καλεῖται.—ἐκάν δ’ ἀπυρον ὃ παντελῶς, τυφών. The interest in meteorology is a feature of Stoicism. Cf. Zeller *Stoics &c.* p. 206 (tr.).

157. *ingesto* in the literal sense corresponding to the metaphorical one of 785 n.

158 sq. *cristas* includes the *apices* or ridges in which the plumes were set. *solutis* ‘flooded the hilts with the molten blades’; cf. Claud. vi *Cons. Hon.* 344 sqq. ‘hic tabescentae solutus | subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis | canduit et subitis *fluxere* vaporibus *ensas.*’ But why the *hilts*? Why were the swords drawn? In similar circumstances Seneca *N. Q.* 2. 31. 1 speaks of the sheath ‘manente *nagina* gladius ipse liquecit et iniulato *ligno* circa pila *ferrum* omne destillat.’ *erepta* ‘struck from their grasp.’


161. *examine* ‘swarm’ of bees is the only possible sense, as in Virg. *EcL.* 7. 13, Florus 4. 2. 45 (of this battle) ‘numquam iniminentis ruinae manifestiora prodigia, fuga uictimarum, *examina in signis*, interidiu tenebrae’; Appian *B. C.* 2. 68 says, in disagreement with
the current account, that they settled on the altar αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτής νυκτὸς τινα τῶν λειπον οὐ συνελήφθη καὶ μελισσῶν ἐσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐκάθισε, ἢπον νυλεχοῦσ.

162. maior (bowed down with the unusual (or overpowering) weight). The abl. in ἐ in comparative stems is extremely rare and, excepting priori Ov. Met. 8. 443 (a doubtful case), is not found in the best period. The other example in Lucan is priori IX 996. As is well known, it is usually the forms of the consonantal stems that supplant those of the ἰ stems, not vice versa.

163. mersere (caused to sink, bowed down); cf. Sil. It. 10. 78 sq. (of a dog snuffing along the ground) erroresque ferae solles per deuia mersa | nare legit. | rorantia fieta. Statues are said to have wept, e.g. at Julius Caesar's fate, Virg. G. 1. 480, Ov. Met. 15. 792 and before Cannae, Sil. It. 8. 645, but ensigns perhaps only here. Some sort of personality seems to have been attributed to them, as Pliny tells us that the 'aquilae ac signa' were anointed with perfumes on feast days, adding sarcastically 'ita est nimimum hac mercede corruptae orbem terrarum deuicere aquilae.' Propertius 4 (5). 1. 96 'concidit ante aquilae rostra cruenta suae' perhaps intends to suggest a similar idea.

164. publica (of the state). After Pharsalia they were Caesar's, i.e. priuata; cf. II 319 sq. 'quin publica signa ducemque | Pompeium sequimur?' ib. 532 sq. 'o uere Romana manus, quibus arma senatus | non priuata dedit.'

165. admotus superis (brought into the presence of the gods) discussa. The altar would be of turf or stones.

166. Emathios, 872 n. The 'fuga uictimarum' is mentioned also by Val. Max., Florus, Appian II.c. above. praecipitem would be more usual in prose.

167. funestis, as the army was doomed.

168. scelerum superos (gods that prompt to crimes); cf. II 80 'terribilesque deos scelerum,' e.g. Mars, one of whose attendants is 'caecum Nefas,' Stat. Th. 7. 48.

170. Nefas personified, as in VI 695 and Stat. supr. 'Fas' was addressed by the fetials in declaring war, Livy i. 32. 6. Similar personified abstractions abounded in the Roman pantheon. So Furores 'Frenzies' for which cf. Stat. Theb. 9. 832 sq. 'Bellipotens cui sola uagum per inane ruenti | Ira comes, reliqui sudant ad bella Furores.'

171. litasti, opposed to Pompey's unsuccessful sacrifice.
iam 'moreover' as in Virg. G. 1. 383, 3. 541.  

dubium
‘we know not whether it was heaven-sent portents or excess of terror
made them so believe’; in parenthesis without est, as Ov. Met. 6. 678
'Erechtheus | iustitia, dubium, validisne potentior armis' (where, as
here, ne is used for an in the second member) and elsewhere.

monstris deum, as in Virg. Aen. 3. 59, of the blood streaming
from the trees which grew over Polydorus.

multis. What follows, appears not to refer exclusively to
either army. For the whole passage Sil. It. 8. 624—55 should be
compared.

abruptis...conuallibus, such as the gorge of Tempe.

nocturnas...uoces, thus anticipating the day, 480 sqq.

‘A torrent of blood appeared to flow through Lake Boebeis
by Ossa.’ So it was believed that before the Punic wars ‘Caerites aquas
sanguine fluxisse,’ Val. Max. i. 6. 5. For the adj. cf. 435 n.

sq. These are the ‘interdiu tenebrae’ mentioned by Florus
above. The description as a whole is modelled on Hom. Od. 20. 351
sqq. (quoted in Crit. App.) which H. compares.  

pallere, cf. 200.

See Crit. App. dementibus and turba (181) are the
same people. turba similarly replaces a substantive in 1 512 (quoted
on 400).  

solamen, of fear as Virg. Aen. 12. 110 ‘maestique
metum solatur Iuli.’

ingulos...pectora, i.e. to pierce them. For quae...quae cf.

497 n.

mentis...tumultu, cf. 779 n.

populos, i.e. the combatants especially the Pompeians.

lymphato, ‘were in a ferment of crazy fear,’ of violent and
seemingly causeless terrors; Livy 10. 28. 10 ‘ita uictorem equitatum
uelut lymphaticus pavor dissipat.’ Plutarch Pomph. 68, Caesar 43
mentions παρικοι θρόνοι in Pompey’s camp before the battle and so
Appian B. C. 2. 68 and Val. Max. l. c. on 153 supra.

sq. The connexion is ‘Why, Romans in the extreme East and
West felt that something was happening.’ hospes adiacet ‘sojoins
near,’ the verb simply indicates geographical position; cf. iacet 1 20 ‘et
gens si qua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo,’ positus 704 n.

die, the day-lighted sky. The earth revolving makes a
‘dies’ for every clime. Hence ‘mutare diem’ viii 217 is the same as
‘mutare caelum’ Hor. Ep. 1. 11. 27; cf. id. Carm. 2. 16. 18 sq. ‘quid
terras alio calentis | sole mutamus?’  

sidere mundi, with especial
reference to signs of the zodiac; cf. III 253 ‘Aethiopumque solum quod
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non premeretur ab ulla | signiferi regione poli nisi poplite lapso | ultima curuati procederet ungula Tauri'; cf. VIII 337 'auersosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris.'

190. ignorat causas, an early instance of 'telepathy'; conversely Claudian Epithal. Hon. 186 sq. 'laetitiae causas ignorat dicere miles | laetaturque tamen' (at Honorius' nuptials).

191. Emathisi, 872 n.

192. uera fides (726) 'if we may really trust the story.' augur.
His name was Cornelius, Gellius notc. Att. 15. 18. Iulius Obsequens in his book on prodigies c. 125 fin. 'C. Cornelius augur Patauii|eo die cum aues admitterent proclamauit rem geri et uincere Caesarem. Plutarch Caesar 47, who tells us the story was in Livy, gives his words as kal δη περαλνεται τδ χρημα και συνιασω εις έγρον οι δνδες. νικας, o Καίσαρ. Comparing these accounts with Lucan we may perhaps restore the augur's words as res geritur; homines concurrunt; uincis, Caesar.

193. Aponus, the celebrated hot spring described by Claudian in carm. min. 26.

194. Antenorei 'of Antenor' the founder of Patauium; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 242 sqq. 'Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis | Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intimae tutus | regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timani.' dispergitur, i.e. 'per ora nouem' Virg. l.c.

195 sq. It is interesting to watch how Lucan works up his material (above 192 n.). uenit summa dies is taken from Virgil Aen. 2. 324, maxima is added superfluously, and the second statement expanded by epithet and paraphrase.

197. seu, introducing Lucan's usual alternatives, cf. 19, 324, 674.

198 sq. appear to refer to such phenomena as foretold the defeat of Varus according to Manilius 1. 901 sq. 'arserunt toto passim minitantia mundo (the sky) | lumina et ipsa tuit bellum Natura per ignes | opposuitque suas uires (cf. 'discordi,' 'obsistere') finemque minata est.' A portent of similar effect is recorded by Pliny in reference to the Cimbric War, N. H. 2. 148 'spectata arma caelestia ab ortu occasuque inter se concurrentia pulsis quae ab occasu erant.' discordi might be abl. but appears to be dat.; if so, aethere and caelo will denote the two warring halves of the sky. obsistere is perhaps technical, cf. 153 n. polos, the poles as well as all the rest of the sky. numen (Crit. App.)=deus.

200. solis after pallore, which means 'dimness'; cf. 'pallere' 178. in='by way of.' notauit 'marked' in sense of 'signified,'
but in 197, as in 203, 'marked' in sense of 'noted.' The Romans and Greeks never avoided repeating the same word, whether in the same or in a different sense. For Lucan's habit, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 81 (e).

201. *explicat* 'deploys' and *egit* 'made to pass' (H.) appear to be military metaphors, each soldier in the army of days moving past their general Nature. But 'agmen agit' VI 218 means 'makes the army *march*'; 'agmen—agitur' 497 infr. 'the army charges.'


203. *augure* 'by means of skilled augurs,' the person being regarded as the instrument, *N. L. P.* 320 (1), *R.* 1220; cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1. 10. 4 'siue opus est remo, remige carpit iter.' So 492 n. *mens*, apparently for plur., cf. 293, II 15 'sit caeca futuri | mens hominum fati.'

204. *potuit*, i.e. if the spectators had known what to look for. Gellius (l. c.) says of Cornelius that 'on a sudden he said he saw afar pugnam acerrimam pugnari ac deinde alios cedere, alios urgere, caedem, fugam, tela uolantia, instaurationem pugnae, impressionem, gemitus, uulnera, proinde ut si ipse in proelio uersaretur coram, uidere sese uociferatus est ac postea subito exclamauit Caesarem uicisse.' So also Plutarch l.c. 47.

205. *summos*, *R.* 1128, *N. L. P.* 131. *quorum* with signa (rather than with *fortuna*) 'signs of whose fate.' In II 2 he has 'manifestaque belli | signa dedit mundus.'

206. *vacavit* 'found room' half way between the literal sense 'had room' II 583 sq. 'pars mundi mihi nulla *vacat*, sed tota tenetur | terra meis, quocunque iacet sub sole, tropaeis' (cf. IX 691) and the metaphorical one 'had leisure for,' 'could attend to,' V 341 sq. 'ut uestrae morti uestraeque saluti | fata uacent.'


208. *uement in saecula*, i.e. be immortalized; cf. X 533 'in famam et saecula mitti.'

210. *prodesse potest* is equivalent to a future.

211. *peritura*, because Pompey had been defeated.

212. *attoniti* 'spell-bound,' cf. 134 n.

213. *transmissa* = *praeterita*, a use of silver Latin, generally of *time*, e.g. Stat. Silv. 4. 2. 12 'steriles transmisimis annos.' It comes from *transmittere* in the sense of 'passing over' space. Great writers, e.g. Thucydides in his history of the Sicilian expedition, do produce on the reader the effects that Lucan describes.

3. 4. 103 ‘scuta sed et galeae quamuis radientur et auro.’ The act. radio is a myth. ab, poetically inserted, R. 1213, N. L. P. 320. 1.

217 sqq. All our authorities (Caesar B. C. 3. 88, Plutarch Pomp. 69, Appian 2. 76) agree that Scipio commanded the Pompeian centre. But they disagree about the wings. Plutarch says Pompey commanded on the right but Appian Lentulus; they agree in placing Domitius on the left. Appian says Pompey with Afranius τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττεν, which may be true of Afranius, but in the case of Domitius is undoubtedly an error, due perhaps to his early retirement to the camp. Caesar does not expressly say who commanded the wings but notes that Pompey was on the left, ‘in eo loco erat ipse Pompeius.’ All we can conclude with certainty is that Domitius commanded one wing, and Pompey—in his absence, Lentulus—the other. Which these were must be doubtful.

219. quarta is a mistake for ‘tertia’; cf. Introd. p. xi, n. 4. The first and third were the two legions with Pompey which had served under Caesar in the Gallic wars. pugnax ‘indomitable,’ Lucan’s epith. for Domitius, inf. 6oo (which explains numine aduerso), II 479.

221 sq. fortissima. Merivale Hist. of the Romans under the Empire (vol. II p. 270) says ‘His troops were for the most part fully trained to war.’ Cf. Introd. p. xvii. For Cilicum see Introd. p. xvi, n. 6.

223. Scipio, Introd. p. xv. miles, 87 n. dux primus, in the African war. There were other duces, e.g. Cato. orbe, 6 n.

224. stagna ‘the pools of the Enipeus’ overflow.’ Compare the language of Livy 1. 4. 4 ‘super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad insti cursum poterat amnis’ and further on with sicci 226 ‘cum fluitantem alueum quo expositi erant pueri tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset.’ This flood of the Enipeus is mentioned by the military writer Frontinus Strat. 2. 3. 22 whose words confirm Lucan in other respects ‘dextro latere sexcentos equites propter flumen Enipea quod et alueo suo et alluie regionem impedierat (cf. Caesar’s words 88 impeditis ripis) reliquum equitatum in sinistro cornu cum auxiliis omnibus locauit.’ It is quite consistent with the unsettled weather of which we have other indications, 153 n. undantis ‘rising in waves,’ cf. Virg. G. 3. 28 ‘undantem bello magnumque fluentem | Nilum.’ For the Enipeus see the Introd. p. xxxvi.

225. Cappadocum, mentioned in III 244 among Pompey’s allies. largus habenae (Crit. App.) ‘lavish of the rein,’ i.e. riding with loose reins (‘effusa largus habena’ Sil. It. 7. 695). For the gen. ‘of fulness’ (N. L. P. 147 (b), cf. R. 1336), cp. IX 608 ‘fons—largus aquae.’
226. Ponticus...eques, e.g. the *Heniochi 'moto gens aspera freno'*

227. tetrarchae, native rulers below the rank of *reges*. Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, supported Pompey. *reges*, e.g. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia. *tyranni 'sub quibus reges sunt et tetrarchae' says the Schol. ; but its precise force is not clear.

228. purpura, for 'purpurati'; 'purpura regum' Virg. *G. 2. 495*.


230. Ituraeis...sagittis, dat. after *cursus*, cf. III 468 'superest telo post uolnera cursus.' The archers of Ituraea in the N. of Palestine were famous, cf. Virg. *G. 2. 448*. For Pompey’s allies from this region see III 213 sqq.

231. Galli. Raucillus and Aegus, two chieftains of the Allobroges, with their followers had deserted from Caesar. One of them fell in a cavalry skirmish just before Pharsalia, Caesar *B. C. 3. 59 sqq., 84 fin.*

232. *illic*. Observe the artificial correspondence in chiasmus *ille—inde—inde—silic.* *pugnaces*, of the shield, cf. *Il. 11. 32 ἀντίδα θορηρ. The ancients only threw away the shield when all hope of fighting was over. *commouit 'brandished.' caetras.*

These Spanish targeteers from the defeated armies of Afranius and Petreius, in which were 'caetratae ulterioris Hispamiae cohortes circiter LXXX' Caesar *B. C. 1. 39*, cf. ib. 48 'caetrai citerioris Hispaniae,' came with the regular troops who are mentioned by Caesar in 3. 78 as posted on Pompey’s right 'Ciliciensis legio coniuncta cum cohortibus *Hispanis* quas transductas ab Afranio docuimus' (the passage where he did this has been lost) 'in dextro cornu erant collocatae.'

233 sq. gentes, the non-Roman world as is shown by *triumphos*, for which compare *Il. 644 'omnes redeant in castra triumphi.' Their total annihilation would 'use up all the stuff of triumphs'; cf. 72 n.

236. *ad segetum raptus*. Plutarch says Caesar was going to Scotussa *Caes. 68*. Caesar does not mention his destination (2. 85); one of his objects was 'ut mouendis castris pluribusque adeundis locis commodiorem frumentaria re uteretur.' Appian 2. 68 init. says Caesar had sent out three legions to forage the previous night. These discrepancies are quite unimportant.

240. *aeger...morae 'sick of delay,' moram aegre ferens. The gen. (of 'cause') is Silver Latin; cf. Flor. 3. 17. 9 'Drusum...aegrum rerum temere motarum,' Sil. It. 3. 72, 13. 52. The gen. of 'part concerned,' *animi, consilii*, is more classical.
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241. *exiguo tractu* 'of even scant duration,' the abl. of description (cf. 356), rare in Lucan according to Heitl. Introd. p. civ. For the emphasis cf. 128 n.


245. *paulum*=*paulisper*, e.g. Virg. Aen. 9. 296 'paulum aspectu conterritis haesit.'

246. *spondere*. We need not suppose that *spondere*, to warrant or engage, is here used for believing firmly. Caesar's sanguine spirit may be said with perfect appropriateness and more point to 'warrant him success'; see also on 758. For the poetical inf. with *audax*, cf. i 474, 560.

247. *stetit in dubio*, a variation on *fruit in dubio*; cf. Lucr. 3. 836. *fata*. Their past history showed both unconquered.

248. *mersa* 'sunken,' 'buried,' opposed to *prosilit*, cf. Rutilius i 129 sq. 'quaes *mergi* nequeunt, nisu maiore resurgunt | *exiliuntque* imis altius acta uadis,' from which it would appear that R. read 'merses profundo; pulchrior *exilit*' in Hor. Carm. 4. 4. 65.

249. *melior*, for the constr. cf. Virg. G. i. 286 'nona fugae *melior*,' Qu. ut. i. 3. 8 'acendis puerorum *ingenii* non *inutiles* lusus.'

250. *r. fortuna m.*, explained by 253. Compare v 291 sqq., to which allusion appears to be made, 'ingrato meritorum *iudice* uctus | nostr a perit: quidquid gerimus, *fortuna* uocatur: | nos *fatum* sciat esse suum.'

252. Cf. iv 484 'accersas *dum fata manu* ' (of a suicide). For the form of the verb see Crit. App.

253. *sit* would be *erit* in a principal sentence. It corresponds in present sequence to *esset* (132 n.) in past sequence.

254. The scene is described by Lucan i 387 sq. 'elatasque alte, quaeque ad bella uocare, | *promisere manus.*'

256. *remeare*, esp. frequent of a victor's return. Caesar's triumph, having been forbidden by the Senate, could not be celebrated until he had won a decisive battle. *triumphos*, half personified; so *bellum* in Flor. 2. 2. 17 'iam in Africam nauigabat *bellum*.'


259. The evidence of destiny, viz. the event will decide which of the two rivals has the juster cause (cf. i 126 sqq. below). *quis*=*uter*, as in 281. The confusion of duality and plurality in pronouns and pronominal adjectives begins in Classical and spreads in Silver
Latin: *quī* (rel.) and *uter, alius and alter, quis and uter, quisque and uterque.* Two of the earliest exx. are Prop. 3. 10. 28 *quem grauiius pennis uerberet ille puer,* Virg. *Aen.* 12. 719, 727, quoted by H. on 126 *quis iustius induit arma | scire nefas:* magnō se iudice *quisque tuetur;| uictrix causa dei placuit sed uicta Catoni.*

260. The conquered are always wrong.


263. The meaning is that after a defeat none of his opponents are innocent in the conqueror's eyes and he is *then* sole judge (*belli mutato iudice*).

264 sqq. *'It is not my fortunes that are at stake; it is you that I implore to be free men, to be sovan over the world.'* The thought and the emphasis are both highly artificial. For a similar *'prayer'* see 68 sqq. supra.

267. *toga.* Cf. Manilius' words of Caesar *'cum bene compositis uictor ciuilibus armis | iura togae regeret'* 4. 58 sq. *modicum* *'average' *ordinary* Gk. *μέσος πολίτης* (as Thuc. 6. 54. 2), then *'humble'* as Juv. 5. 108 *'modicus quae mittebantur amicis | a Seneca.'* *componere, me* is carried on from 266. The metaphor appears to be from arranging attire (so Ov. *Met.* 4. 318 *'se composuit*) and the sense to be the same as in Sen. *de uita beata* 8. 3 *'compositum ordinatumque fore talem urum.'*

268. *dum* *'if only.'* *nihil esse recuso,* i.e. I am prepared to be anything. A somewhat similar expression is that of Virgil *Aen.* 7. 309 *'quae memet in omnia uerti.*' Cf. also 759.

269. *'Yours be the monarchy, the odium mine.'* Cf. Livy 24. 25. 2 *'quid enim sua sponte Hieronymum, puerum ac uixdum pubescentem facere potuisse, tutores ac magistros eius* *sub aliena invidia regnasse.'*

270. *spem mundi* *'the world you hope for,'* cf. II 321 *'totius sibi ius promittere mundi.'* If the phrase will bear analysis, it = *'your hope (object of hope) which is the world'* (gen. of definition, a gen. which Latin uses freely, e.g. *'numerus duorum'* Ov. *'the number two').

271. *aderit* *'will be before you' *will meet you';* cf. IX 883 sqq. *'omni Fortunam prouocat hora, | omnibus unus adest fatis'* (of Caesar).


273. *non ilia* as in Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9. 50 sqq. *‘peiusque letō flagitiōn timet, | non ille pro caris amicis | aut patria timidus perire’*
and more than once in Virgil. **tubas** sounding for the onset, cf. Flor. 4. 12. 15 ‘nec **tubam sustinere** potuerunt.’

274. **suum, nedum hostium.** **ciuilia,** i.e. only a small part of the fighting will be with citizens.

276. **Romanum,** equivalent to an objective genitive; not a common use with this adj. **obteret** ‘trample down’; Livy 27. 41. 10 ‘ita pecorum modo incompositos toto passim se campo fudisse ut **sterni obterique,** priusquam instruantur, possint,’ Juv. 3. 161 ‘uulgi **obtritum** perit omne cadauer.’

277. **famosa** ‘of ill fame,’ its usual sense.

278. **ferri motu,** cf. 767 n.

279. **tot,** three, 14 n.

280. **curribus,** 18 n. **non esse** ‘are not enough for even one triumph.’ Caesar did not in fact triumph for Pharsalia, 42 n.

281. **Armenios,** the contingent from Armenia **cis Euphratem** under Taxiles and from Armenia **trans Euphratem** under Megabates (Appian 2. 71). **mouet,** the subject is the next clause. **cuius=utrius** 259 n.

282 sq. **emptum** ‘would spend a drop of his blood to make Pompey sovereign of Italy.’ The passive part. is a common construction after **uelle,** and **praeponere** is used as a noun. For the argument cf. Tac. Agr. 32 ‘nisi si Gallos Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent—fide et affectu teneri putatis.’

284. **dominosque grauantur** ‘chase at their rule,’ cf. v 258 ‘regnorum iniusta grauari.’

285. **quos** ‘Pompeium qui subactis his imperauit’ Schol.


287. **bellis,** 112 n. **ensem** ‘sword stroke’ 72 n.

289. Cf. Sil. It. 9. 246 sq. ‘et se cognoscere iactat | qua dextra ueniant stridentis sibila teli.’ For the explanatory inf. cf. Prop. 1. 9. 5 ‘non me Chaonieae uincant in amore columbae | dicere, quos’ &c.

290. **signa.** He must needs mention them, v. 291, leaving nothing to the imagination.

292. **uideor** sc. **mihi.**

293. **simul** apparently gathers the **reges, senatus** and **populi** into one picture. **sparsum...corpus** ‘the mangled bodies’ sing for plur.

103 n. Juvi. 1. c. on 276.

295. Cf. II 439 ‘in arma *jurens.*’

298. **limite** properly of the balk or path across a field or vineyard. Here of the narrow space between the armies.
300. *donare* 'give as I please,' as an absolute master; cf. 710.

301. *quone.* The enclitic -ne is like -nam sometimes suffixed to interrogatives, apparently for emphasis. So in x 99 quantosne? (H.). For another use cf. Classical Review vol. ix pp. 15 sqq. **poli motu**

302. The meaning is 'How is the order of the universe changed that such important issues should be decided in Thessaly?'


304. *Caesareas,* i.e. in store for Caesar, cf. 94 n., for the adj. 435 n.

305. *effusa,* i.e. flung *on the ground,* cf. 71 n.

306. The allusion is to the massacre of the Samnite and Lucanian prisoners in the Saepta by Sulla B.C. 83, cf. II 196 sq. 'tum flos Hesperiae, Latii iam sola iuuentus, | concidunt et miserae maculaulit *ouilia Romae.*' **proelia** is ironical; cf. 533 n.

307. *Sullano.* Pompey had been Sulla's lieutenant.

308. *secura,* epithet 'transferred' from Caesar to *sors,* 'without a thought' 'untroubled'; cf. 613, 687. H. quotes Petronius c. 123 l. 203 'magnam nixus in hastam | horrida *securis* frangebat gressibus arua.'

309. *manu,* of suicide, IV 577 'seruitium fugisse *manu,*' Florus 2. 13. 83 gives a report that at Munda Caesar actually 'de extremis secum cogitasse manifesto uultu fuisse quasi *occupare* mortem *manu* uellet.' Similarly Suet. Iul. 36 'iterum in Hispania ultimo prœelio cum desperatis retro etiam de consciscenda nece cogitauit.'

310. *ab aethere,* i.e. from their proper sphere.

311. *labor* 'suffering,' especially that of war. Cf. Virg. Aen. 12. 727 'quem damnat labor' (the hard fight) and 93 n.

312. *tulerunt.* The subj. would be more usual even in poetry.

315 sq. *nefas* 'unpardonable sin.' **arto...luco.** The reference is to the two fights round Dyrrhachium in which Caesar lost over 1000 men; see Long's *Decline of the Roman Republic* vol. v pp. 177—184. Caesar B. C. 3. 72 speaks of the 'iniquitatem loci atque angustias praecipuam caras et *ancipitem terrem* intra extraque munitiones.'

317. *moueri* 'unable to stir'; cf. VIII 82 'summus et augeri uetitus dolor.' Lucan is fond of this participle. **quanto,** Crit. App.

319. *hostis,* i.e. *Romani*; see below 325 and note. **quia** and therefore to be spared; compare Appian quoted on 325 and Florus 4.
2. 50 'multus in eo proelio Caesar fuit mediusque inter inperatorem et militem; uoces quoque obequiantis exceptae, altera cruenta sed docta et ad uictoriam efficax, 'miles, faciem feri'; altera ad iactationem composita 'parce ciuibis' cum ipse sequetur.' Florus is no friend to the Caesars.

320. *imago* 'thought of affection' 'natural feeling.' So Greek ἰδέα. This is the meaning in Virg. *Aen.* 9. 294 'animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago' as Henry points out. *non* qualifies *ulla*.

321. *fronte* as *frons* 220.

322. *turbate* is translated 'disfigure' by H. who quotes from the lexx. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 745 'prima Tanagraeum turbavit harundo Corobum.' We must have stronger evidence than this passage to give such an unusual meaning to the verb. *turbavit* may well mean the same as in ib. 9. 871 sq. 'tunc miser et frenos turbatus et arma remisit, | vulneris impatienst,' explained by ib. 2. 671 'turbatique gradus.' And here it appears better to take it as 'rout.' Cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 133 sqq. 'capulo caua tempora pulsat | cedentemque sequens instat turbatique routque | attonitoque negat requiem.' *voltus* may carry an allusion to the 'faciem feri' referred to in 575.

323 sq. mean 'whether those whom he has to attack are kinsmen or not.'

324. *ibit = iturus est.* So *uiolabir* 'whether his stroke is to harm none dear to him.'

325. This line has often been taken with 323 sq. as meaning 'whether he killed a kinsman or no, let him put down the slaughter of the unknown enemy to his credit as a crime,' or in other words let him pretend that he has killed a kinsman whether he has or not, in order to gain the reward; and as a parallel is quoted the story of the soldier who in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian asked to be rewarded for killing his brother, Tac. *Hist.* 3. 51. As, however, to say nothing of the contorted sense, this is entirely at variance with the rest of Caesar's speech, I have followed Bentley's interpretation in the main. He explains the text by reference to a passage of Appian, which I quote nearly entire in order to show its complete agreement with Lucan, 2. 74 *καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μύων ἐτὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μὴ δὲ φροντίζετε μηδὲ ἐν λόγῳ τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλος ἑκείνοις—ἐχεσθε οὖν τῶν Ἰταλῶν μύων κἂν οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνῶν περιθέωσιν ὅμως καὶ θορυβασώσαι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς, τῶνδε μὲν ὡς συγγενέων φειδώμεθα τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶν δὲ κατάπληξιν ἐξεργασώμεθα.* The orders then are: to disregard the auxiliaries until the legionaries are routed; when that is secured, to *spare*
them (318 sq.) but to slaughter the auxiliaries (275 sqq.) in order to inspire the Romans with terror. I have however changed the punctuation (cf. Crit. App.) because 323 sqq. refer to Romans and so belong to 322. It is absurd to say 'whether he is going to attack a kinsman or not, let him count the killing of an alien enemy a crime.' Mistake has arisen through its not being observed that siue—seu as usual, cf. 19, 197 n., follow the clause to which they refer and that Lucan having used the indefinite quis does not go back to the second person, imputate as it would be, but continues with the metrically convenient third.

ignoti 'foreign'; so in 1169 sq. 'antiquos Curiorum passa ligones | longa sub ignotis extendere rura colonis.' fugulum 'the killing,' cf. 593 n.

326 sqq. Here again Lucan and Appian (2. 74 καθελετέ μοι προϊντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε) are in striking agreement, no one else mentioning this order of Caesar. Their account is contradicted by Caesar's own statement 3. 89 'cohortes VII (II mss) castris praesidio reliquerat'; and it is, as Mr B. Perrin American Journ. of Philology vol. v pp. 325 sqq. has shown, most improbable. Appian, he thinks, derived it from Lucan. Cf. Introd. p. xxvin.

327. plenis 'with their tale of maniples complete,' cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 53 'plenis iam nubilis annis' (of full age). Appian gives different reasons for the order, of which one is quoted below. non sparsa, i.e. in a solid array; cf. x 436 (on 337 below).

328. ne, Crit. App. castris 'quarters,' practically = tentoriis, cf. tendetis &c. tendetis. The regular word for encamping, not avoided by poets. For the sense cf. Appian l. c. 19. etc...polemus...συνώσων δτι πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων σταθμεύσαι.

330. trahit well expresses the discipline of Caesar's troops; each soldier's duty draws him mechanically. raptim, so Caesar c. 85 'confestimque expeditas copias educit.'

331. Ceres. The usual custom before a battle, so Vegetius 3. c. 11 'uteribus saeculis mos fuit parco cibo curatos milites ad certamen educere,' cf. Val. Fl. 5. 215 sq. 'dona dehinc Bacchi casusque ut firmet in omnes | raptas Ceres.' But the hardened veterans of Caesar, who had not long had a meal—they were on the point of setting out as Caesar says l. c., the signal had been given for departure and the tents were struck (detenis tabernaculis, which by the way may have given rise to the story of the dismantling of the camp)—would hardly have wanted a second refreshment. capiunt, i.e. the omen in Caesar's last words;
NOTES.

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in calcatis they suit the action to the word. As however accipere is more usual in this sense, some explain it of ‘taking the omens’; which a scholiast says the soldiers themselves did in transglutiendo (a word of the camp ‘while gulping down their rations’) and hence ‘non fuit opus arte ducis.’ See also Crit. App. belli, 112 n.

333. The kernel of truth here has been pointed out on 330 n. Lucan conceives of the Caesarians as troops of Stoic philosophers.

334 sq. Had they all been Caesars and as eager as he to be king of Rome, they could not have rushed to battle more impetuously. locasses, Crit. App.

337. in rectum, and so there was to be a pitched battle; cf. x 436 sqq. ‘cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis | nec uaga conspicitur, sed iustos qualis ad hostes | recta fronte uenit.’

339. corde gelato, the opposite of II 557 sq. ‘feruidus haec iterum circa praecordia sanguis | incaluit,’ cf. Stat. Theb. 2. 544 ‘sanguisque in corda (so we should read) gelari.’ gelo is a Silver Latin word.


341. premitt, cf. 248.

342. sublimi, more common of the rider than the horse. praeuectus equo, in Virg. Aen. 7. 166 the phrase means ‘riding ahead,’ here ‘riding along’ so IX 1003 ‘Asiam (the coast) praeehitur.

344. effundite ‘put forth,’ as in Livy 10. 28. 6 ‘quantumcumque uirium habuit certamine primo effudit,’ Ov. Met. 1 278 ‘uires effundite uestras | (sic opus est).’

346. tranhit, 46 n.

347. qui follows quisquis as in 756. deserta, which he has had to abandon. There is no allusion to the common meaning of deserere pignus.

348. medio campo ‘in the open field.’ The prizes of games were always set out in full view; cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 109 sq. ‘munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur | in medio,’ Hom. Il. 23. 704 which H. quotes. For the sense cf. Virg. Aen. 12. 80 ‘illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo.’

351. Caesar is to be the victim whose blood will ‘seal Rome’s covenant,’ or the settlement which will follow on a Pompeian victory. By putting this forecast in Pompey’s mouth, Lucan intentionally suggests the irony of fate, cf. IX 1021 ‘hoc (Pompey’s) tecum (Caesar) percussum est sanguine foedus’ and x 371. For sancire cf. Livy 8. 7. 19 ‘cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda.’
353. fatis ‘by a natural death’; Virg. Aen. 4. 696 ‘quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat’ (and Henry’s note), or, as Ovid says, ‘euntibus ordine fatis’ Her. i. 101. potuere, as at Naples, 34 n. The vanity is true to life; cf. 378, 664.

355. uincere, i.e. ensure victory.

357. sponte without sua is poetical and Silver Latin. sacra, if really referring to imagine, will mean belonging to the ‘worshipped’ dead; cf. Stat. Silu. 2. 7. 116 (of Lucan himself) ‘tu magna sacer et superbus umbra.’ Then antiquus must mean ‘of the old school,’ ‘recalling antiquity,’ a term of praise, but it seems at least equally probable that Lucan has inverted the epithets and that antiqua imagine ‘with ancient marks’ of ancient lineage is intended, much as in II 244 sq. he writes ‘tu mente labantem | derige me, dubium certo tu robore firma,’ when he would have done better to write labantem firma, dubium derige. In this case compare for sacer 342. sacra...imagine is of course abl. of description (241 n.). miles means they serve in the ranks, cf. 87 n.

358. reduces, to be taken with all three names, which Lucan joins again at vii 785 sqq. ‘uidi Decios, natumque patremque | lustrales bellis animas, flentemque Camillum | et Curios.’

359. ouentis, equivalent to a relative sentence or the Gk. part. with the art., a use much developed in Silver Latin, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 106, ‘currus ornante toga’ 18 n. = quae ornat, pulsans 608 = quae pulsabat. It occurs earlier, e.g. Hor. Carm. 1. 34. 7 dividens.

360. hinc starent. Cf. Hor. Carm. 3. 4. 58 ‘hinc audus stetit | Volcanus.’ primo Oriente. So ‘primis a Gadibus,’ IX 414. Either point is ‘first’ or ‘furthest’ according to the way it is regarded.

362 sq. manus ‘bands’ as excuiere ‘called out’ shows.

363. comprensum, Crit. App. limite, the zodiac being regarded as the sun’s path (cf. 867 n.), Ov. Met. 2. 130 ‘sectus in obliquo est lato curuamine limes.’

364. sub Noton ‘extending up to’ (so H. rightly); cf. x 48 ‘licet usque sub Arcton | regnemus Zephyrique domos.’ The Greek acc. Noton (also v 542, ix 539, 695, x 243) is not quoted from other writers. hominum. For the partitive gen. cf. VIII 812 ‘quid-quid in Euro | regnorum Boreaque iacet.’ For sumus cf. 400.

365. superfusis, pouring beyond them, outflanking them, super = ‘beyond,’ as VIII 164 ‘mundi | arva super nimios soles Austrumque iacentis,’ and other places. The participle would mean more naturally ‘pouring over them,’ as Livy 39. 49. 5 ‘iacentem hostes superfusi oppresserunt.’ collectum, forced into a small space, ‘penned in’;
368. non sufficit, for Caesar's numerical inferiority see Introd.

369. urbs, Rome.

371. uetitum 'prevented,' 316 n.

372. pedibus, as suppliants, cf. 71 'adfusi.'

373. For the gen. with metuens (an 'active participle' N. L. P. 147 (a)) cf. II 233 and Hor. Serm. 2. 2. 110 'metuens futuri' and elsewhere. Romam. Rome is personified. So in the imitation of Sil. It. 4. 410 sq. when the personification is much more distinct 'ipsam turrigero portantem uertice muros (a mural crown) credite summissas Romam nunc tendere palmas.' The worship of dea Roma among the Asians began with the people of Smyrna, who erected a temple to her in 195 B.C. Tac. Ann. 4. 56. Compare Heitl. Introd. p. 50 and above 31.

375. adferre 'bring with them,' cf. Ov. A. A. 2. 159 sq. 'blanditias molles auremque iuuantia uerba | adfer, ut adventu laeta sit illa tuo.' libera, to be taken with mori as well as nasci, ànd kovov as it is called; cf. 358, 462 (Crit. App.).

378. salua maiestate, cf. 680.

379. nisi uincitis. For the vivid pres. cf. 114 n. exsul, 106 n.

380. pudor 'a reproach to you'; cf. v 59 'Fortunae Ptolemae pudor.' ultima 'the last extremities' (cf. 444) explained by line 382.

381. extremini cardinis 'the lowest arc.' Mr Heitland (pp. 90 sqq.) has pointed out that this is a metaphor derived from 'Stoic astrology.' cardo is used for 'half a great circle' by the Stoic astrologer-poet Manilius. The extremus, or ultimus, cardo is the lower half of that great circle which passes through the East and West points of the horizon and the zenith. This cardo consequently contains the nadir or lowest point and is described by Manilius 2. 796 sq. as that 'in quo principium est reditus finisque cadendi | sideribus, pariterque occasus cernit et ortus.' 'In it the stars cease to sink and begin to return, and it lies equally between the West and the East.' This cardo had for its province 'rerum summas finemque laborum | coniugia atque epulas extremaque tempora uitae' ib. 835 sq.

383. flagrant, cf. 559 n.

384. timeret, i.e. Pompey. The subj. is one of quotation, placuit conveying the soldiers' resolution, N. L. P. 399 (1).
385 sq. procurrent. Cf. Livy 35. 5. 2 'ne certaminis studio procurrens priusquam datum signum esset,' IV 772 sq. 'neque enim licuit procurrens contra | et miscere manus.' The statement is only true of the Caesarian line; see Introd. p. xxviii. motu irarum 'tumult of passion,' cf. Lucr. 'irarum fluctus.' For ira cf. 103 n.

387. facient. The sense of damnun must be got out of explicit—reparet. quidquid, a word of which Lucan is fond, seems here to be due to a straining after exact expression, 'an amount of mischief which no age can repair, whatever that may be,' 'the full total that'; cf. VIII 179 sqq. 'quidquid descendet ab arbore summa | Arctophylax propiorque mari Cynosura feretur, | in Syriae portus tendet ratis,' 'by the exact amount that Arctophylax sinks below the mast head —will the ship move towards Syria.'

389. ut, concessive. For the punctuation see Crit. App.

390. Pharsalia will be fatal to multitudes yet unborn, who would have been the children and descendants of the men cut off in that battle. aeui unententis in orbem, a strange phrase if it means (1) 'the generation coming into the world' as we say, and hardly less strange if it means (2) 'time revolving in a circle,' i.e. the whole cycle of ages. (The doctrine of cycles of time was a Stoic one, Zeller Stoics &c. p. 116.) Perhaps Lucan's language was influenced by some reminiscence of the scene described by Virgil Aen. 6. 748—760; cf. especially the phrase 'ubi mille rotam uolriere per annos' compared with Silius It. 6. 121 'rota uoluitur aeui.' In VIII 622 sqq. future ages in all parts of the world are said to watch Pompey's murder 'saecula Romanos numquam tacitura labores | attendunt aequumque sequens speculatur ab omni | orbe ratem Phariamque fident.'

391. natale for natali perhaps here only in literature but more than once on inscriptions. feret 'carry off,' Virg. Ecl. 5. 34 'te fata tulerunt.'

392. 'The whole Latin race will be a name.' Latinum nomen 'the Latin stock.' So Caeninum nomen Livy 1. 10, Volscum nomen ib. 2. 35, Romanum nomen Ov. Met. 1. 200 etc.; and in other connexions Virg. Aen. 10. 618 'nostra deducit origine nomen' (cf. Torquata nomina, inf. 584 n.). Lucan may have in his mind the nomen Latinum as distinguished from the socii in the earlier history of Rome; but see below. fabula, cf. Pers. 5. 152 'cinis et manes et fabula fies.' Gabios, H. quotes Hor. Ep. 1. 11. 7 'Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis.' Veios. It is somewhat strange to find this Etruscan city, for whose overthrow Rome rather than Pharsalia was responsible,
appearing in the midst of a catalogue of places belonging to the Latin League. Lucan however appears to be making a list of deserted cities in the neighbourhood of Rome. Veii’s desolation is mentioned by Propertius 4 (5). 10. 29 sq. ‘nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti | cantat, et in uestrís ossibus arua metunt.’ Coram, now Cori; cf. the enumeration in Virg. Aen. 6. 776 sq. ‘Pometios castrumque Inuri Bolamque Coramque: | haec tunc nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.’

393 sq. See Crit. App. uix with poterunt.

395. uacuum, i.e. culloribus, cf. 399. The depopulation of Italy is referred to again in I 14—32, and assigned to the same cause. It is a constant theme of complaint in Roman writers. quod, Crit. App. coacta ‘forced upon him’; cf. Ov. Tr. 4. 10. 35 ‘claudi mensura coacta est,’ and deditio coacta: in these cases the verbal makes the transference easier.

396. Numam. The institution of the feriae Latinae (cf. I 550, v 402) is ascribed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Tarquinius Superbus (4. 49. 2); but, as H. says, citing Plutarch Num. 14, Numa was regarded by the Romans as the founder of such ceremonies in general. senator. Lucan’s language implies that the Senate, as well as the two Consuls, were obliged to be present.

397. monimenta rerum, properly ‘reminders of events,’ and so ‘memorials of past greatness.’ Somewhat differently in VIII 807 ‘adde actus tantos monimentaque maxima rerum,’ of the marks left in history.

398. crimen ‘in these desolate cities we see our civil guilt.’

400. humani. See I 511 sq. ‘urbem populis uictisque frequentem | gentibus et generis, coeat si turba, capacei | humani,’ where we have a different exaggeration. He draws no clear distinction between Romans and non-Romans, cf. 844 Latiae—turbae which is not limited to Romans. For the reason see 542 sq.

402. uincto fossore ‘chained gangs of slaves’; cf. Flor. 3. 1. 9 ‘catenatos cultores.’ For the abl. see 203 n. and for the sing. 102 n.

404. in nulos ‘on the heads of none.’ This, ordinarily a mitigation, is twisted by Lucan into an aggravation of the mishap. frequentem ‘peopled,’ apparently contrasted with repletatam ‘replenished.’

405. faece. So Juv. 3. 61 cited by H. ‘quota portio faecis Achaei!’ Similarly Piso is quoted by Tacitus as calling Athens a colluvies nationum.
406. **eo ne** 'to such a point of ruin *that...not.*' So Mr Parry takes the passage, which is generally misunderstood. The consecutive sense of *ne*, which was developed out of the final sense, is extremely rare unless a verb like *efficio* precede (*N. L. P. 393, 455*) and the action may be regarded as purposed as well as resulting. But see Tac. *Ann.* 14. 7 'at Neroni, nuntios patrati facinoris opperienti, adfertur euasisse leui icu sauciam et hactenus adito discrimine *ne* auctor dubitaretur.' The use here however is stranger. **corpore**, Crit. App.

408. **nomina**, perhaps plur. because *Cannae* is plur., but see 775 n.

410 sq. **signauit.** The 18th of July was marked in the Calendar as the *dies Alliensis*. It does not appear however that the date of Cannae, Aug. 2nd, was similarly marked. And the statement that Rome 'chose to ignore' (*nescire*) *Pharsalia* *is untrue*, as it is marked as a victory in the *Fasti Amilernini* and the *Fasti Antiates* and was probably so marked in the *Fasti Allisani*.

411. **pro tristia fata**, so in V 57, VI 305.

412. **tractu.** For *trahere* of 'inhaling' cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 230 'feruentisque auras, uelut e fornace profundo, | or *trahit.*' *fuentis* 'spreading' of the imperceptible diffusion of plague-seeds through the air by the *aura fluens* (cf. VIII 247). H. well refers to VI 89, 'traxit iners caelum *fluidae contagia* *pestis* | obscuram in nubem' with which compare Lucr. 6. 922 sqq. and 1120.

413. **insanam** 'maddening.' Cf. Shakespeare *Macbeth* i 3 'the *insane* herb that takes the reason prisoner'; H. cf. 'uaesana fames' Virg. *Aen.* 9. 340. **permussas** 'abandoned,' 'surrendered.' V 694 sq. 'mundi iam summia tenentem | permississe mari.' Cf. 731 n.

414. **laturos.** To see in the fut. part. a reference to the imaginary supposition contained in 'possent' gives an insipid sense; and the fut. part. in poets often appears to differ little from a present, e.g. Enn. *dub.* 7 'carbasus alta ulat, pandam *ductura* carinam.' **plena,** Crit. App.

415. **explere**, i.e. fill the gaps made by these disasters, 387 n.

417. **explicat**, cf. 201 n. **eripiens** 'while snatching them away.' The sense is that differently expressed by Manilius 2. 8 'patriae qui iura petenti, | dum dabat, eripiuit.'

419. **quam magna cadas** 'what greatness falls with thee.' 'How great thou art *in thy fall*' hardly hits the meaning of the Latin. Scott *Marmion* canto ii st. 28 'How false the charge, how *true* he *fell*, | This guilty packet best can tell.'

420. **possedit...cucurrit.** The somewhat abrupt change to the third
person (cf. 722 n.) is doubtless due to the inconvenient forms of the second person.

421. gentes. 'In every year throughout the ages you subjugated some nation.' omnibus annis (Crit. App.) is pointedly repeated in 426; cf. 303 and 470.

422. geminum...axem 'towards both (North and South) poles.' So IX 542 axis uterque.

424. nox...dies. The sense intended seems to be that, as night and day pass over the earth, the lands on which at any moment the sun has not risen, as well as those on which it has, belong to Rome. Cf. Petron. 119. 'Orbem iam totum uictor Romanus habebat | qua mare, qua terrae, qua sidus currit utrumque' (sun and moon). aether. For its revolution see 3 n.

425. omniaque, cf. Ov. F. i. 85 sq. 'Iuppiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, | nil nisi Romanum quod tueatur habet.' (H.).

426. retro. The metaphor appears to be taken from a rapid river which, through the breaking of a tow-rope or other cause, sweeps a boat and its crew back down the stream. Cf. Verg. G. i. 199 sqq. 'sic omnia fatis | in peius ruere ac retro sublapsa referri. | non aliter quam qui aduerso uix flumine lembum | remigiis subigit, si bracchia forte remisit, | atque illum in praeceps prono rapit aelu.' Aristides Panath. p. 118 (Jebb) ἐντεθεὶν ἣδη πάντα, ὡσπερ κάλου παγέντος, ἐχωρησεν ἐπὶ σῶ ὡς καὶ διελένυτο Ἀμαζόσιν ἢ ἄρχῃ. par 'a match for,' i.e. nullifying their effects. For sense cf. VIII 706 (on 490 inf.).

427. Emathiae, 872 n. The following lines give the effects of Pharsalia. Rome's conquering and civilising career is stayed (427—430). She cannot resent her wrongs (431). Her very freedom is gone (432—5).

429. errare, of nomad tribes, cf. III 267 'errantes Scythiae populi.' Dahas, called sparsos, Seneca Thyest. 370.

430. Sarmaticum 'in Sarmatia'; cf. 435 n. succinctus, i.e. with his toga arranged in the cinctus Gabinus as he drives the plough which marks the line of the new city's walls.

431. quod. The change to quod with ind. seems intentional. These consequences are much more present to the mind. saeuas. The retribution would be of the same character as the wrong; so 'uices superbae' Hor. Carm. i. 28. 32.

433 sqq. Tigrim and Scythicum (435) are explained and defended by VIII 212 sqq. (superest) 'Eoam temptare fidem populosque bibentis | Euphraten et adhuc securum a Caesare Tigrim. | ne pigeat Magno.
quaerentem fata remotas | Medorum penetrare domos Scythicosque recessus | et totum mutare diem uocesque superbo | Arsacidae perferre meas' which clearly show that Lucan did not distinguish between Parthia and Scythia, cf. II 553. As H. says, he appears to be thinking of Virg. Ecl. i. 63 'aut Ararim Parthus bitet aut Germania Tigrim,' as in 435 he imitates l. 28 of the same eclogue.

434. iugulo 'by risking our throats,' cf. 644.

435. Germanum Scythicumque. Lucan uses the adjectives formed from proper names with a considerable degree of freedom. Examples from this book are found in 150 Pallenaeae, 176 Ossaem, 202 Thessalicum, 304 Caesareae, 430 Saromaticum.

436. uellem, cf. Crit. App. incognita, i.e. a town (moenia) previously unknown to Italian (nostris) tribes. Cf. Ov. M. i. 439 'populisque nouis, incognite serpens, | terror eras.' The reference is of course to the asylum, Ov. F. 3. 431 sq. 'Romulus, ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto, | 'quilibet hic' dixit 'confuge, tutus eris.'

437. ut primum, 506. laeuo, lit. 'on the left' and so 'ill-omened' that is, taking the Greek view; Cicero de div. 2. § 82 'ita nobis sinistra uidentur, Grais et barbaris dextra meliora.' For an explanation of the difference between the Greek and Roman uses see Darbishire (Cambridge Philological Trans. III pp. 156 sqq., Relliquiae Phil. pp. 66 sqq.). Ennius, Fragm. Ann. 78 sq., gives the Roman point of view 'at Romulu' pulcer in alto | quaerit Auentino laeuom genus altiuolantum.'

438. infami, 'infami...asyllo' Juv. 8. 273 (and Mayor's note). compleuit 'filled with men.' So Livy i. 8. 5 'deinde ne uana urbis magnitudo esset adliciendae multitudinis causa—locum, qui nunc saeptus descendebantibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit.'


441. nomen, cf. v 398 sq. 'careat tantum ne nomine tempus, | menstruus in fastos distinguish saecula consul.'

444. ultima 'worst,' 380 n.

445. quos=quod nos.

446. casu, cf. 487 n.

447. mentimur (with an inf. as in Livy, Ov. &c.) means that we 'lie to ourselves' in so saying. So mentire 'you mistake' Plaut. Trin. 362. Comp. Ar. Nub. 380 sq. tuvt μ' ἔλειθει | δ Zeôs οὐκ
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spectabit, a mere spectator.

449. Pholoen, 827 n. For the thought H. refers to Ar. Nub. 398 sqq., cf. also Lucr. 6. 387 sqq.

451. hoc, Caesar’s head. astra, i.e. night, cf. 45. L.’s uncle says darkness came without the stars ‘tenebrasque iubet surgere nondum | nocte parata nec succedunt | astra’ Sen. Thyest. 822 sqq.

452. Argos. Not the town, but the district which includes Mycenae, where Lucan in common with other authors lays the scene I 544. For intulit see Crit. App.

453. similes, sc. inpios.

454. diem ‘daylight.’

456. Civil wars will produce divinities equal to the Gods above, i.e. by deifying Caesars. There appears to be an allusion to the official designations divus Iulius &c. But in vi 809 he has ‘et Romanorum manes (cf. 458) calcate deorum.’

458. fulminibus, so Augustus and Claudius are represented on works of art. radiis, i.e. with the radiata corona (see the illustration of a head of Augustus, Rich Dict. Ant. s.v.); cf. Flor. 4. 2. 91 (of the honours paid to Julius Caesar) ‘circa templum imaginum: in theatro distincta radiis corona.’ astris. The stella crinita, which was supposed to be Julius’ anima, is represented on coins and on his statues; cf. Suet. Jul. 38 ‘hac de causa simulacro eius in uertice additur stella.’

459. iurabit, cf. Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 16 ‘iurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,’ ix 601 sqq. ‘dignissimus aris, | Roma, tuis per quem numquam iurare pudebat | et quem, si steteris umquam ceruice soluta | nunc olim, factura deum es.’

461. consumpser e ‘used up,’ i.e. ‘traversed,’ cf. Ov. Her. 6. 161 ‘cum mare, cum terras consumpserit, aera temptet.’

462. tempus, sc. fuit, ‘there was time to observe.’

463. quo, i.e. in quos. They look to see who it is they will slay or be slain by. pila, 519 n. quam, i.e. cuius, ‘with whose hand Destiny threatens them.’ For the reading see Crit. App.


467. constrinxit ‘bound fast’; v 256 sq. ‘quae dubias constringere mentes | causa solet, dum quisque pauet quibus ipse timori est.’ gelidus, 339 n.

468. percussa, i.e. their natural feelings were roused; cf. Virg.
Aen. 9. 292 sqq. ‘percussa mente dedere | Dardanidae lacrinas; ante omnis pulcher Iulus | atque animum patriae strinxit pietatis imago.’

469. *tensis lacertis,* i.e. in strained grasp; cf. Claud. B. Goth. 257 (of the living hands) ‘intentis ambae digitis et sanguine uiuo.’

470. *cunctis,* i.e. *ceteris.* There is here no idea of death *in itself* being a punishment, as H. supposes. Lucan regards the death of the Pharsalian combatants as a punishment for their crime in fighting.

*poena paratur,* cf. 303.

471. *tuae...morti,* i.e. *tibi mortuo.* The abstract is not uncommon of the dead body (see the exx. of *mors* in Lewis and Short’s Latin lexicon and cf. 820 n.); here the ghost is intended, so ‘funera’ Prop. 4 (5). II. 3. For Crastinus see the Introd. pp. xxvii, xxxiii.

475 sqq. Cf. Sen. Oed. 753 sqq. ‘sonuit reflexo | *classicum cornu lituus*que adunco | *stridulos canitus elisit aere.’ The instruments are joined again in I 237 sq. ‘*stridor lituum* clangorque tubarum | non pia concinuit cum raucu *classica cornu.*’ Acron on Hor. Carm. 1. I. 23 says ‘*lituus* equitum est et incurrusu.’ *concepta* ‘gathered’ (‘were gathered’). Compare Ov. Met. 1. 337 sq. ‘*bucina,* quae medio *concepit ubi aera* ponto, | *litora uoce* replet sub utroque iacentia Phoebus’ (*aera* is explained by l. 333 sq. ‘conchasque sonanti | *inspirare* iubet’). The verb, which properly belongs to the air, is here applied to the sound. The military writer Vegetius (2. 22) says that before a battle ‘et *tubicines et cornices pariter canunt,*’ and that the particular signal called *classicum* was given by the *bucinatores* on a horn, ‘quod *bucinatores per cornu dicunt,*’ cf. Virg. Aen. II. 475. The *classicum* implied the presence of the general; cf. Caesar I. c., Introd. p. xvi, n. 1.


478 sq. The famous description of Homer reduced to its lowest terms, *Od. 6. 42 sqq. θεὸς φασὶ θεῶν ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἐμμενεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἀνέμοις τινάσκεται ὡστε τοῦ ἄμβρω | δεύτερα ὡστε τινὰς ἑκὼν ἐπιπέδου ταῖς, ἀλλὰ μάλις ἀνθρη | πέπταται ἄνεφολος, λευκή δ’ ἐπιθέρμοιμον αὐγή. Lucretius’ rendering, 2. 17 sqq., should be compared with Lucan’s. *quo...durant* ‘to which no thunders reach,’ lit. ‘last.’ Cf. Lucr. 1. 122 ‘*quo neque permaneant animae neque corpora nostra.’

480. *Haemus,* the Balkans, see on 872.

481. *geminare* would be *geminandum* in prose; cf. Prop. 3. II. 64 ‘*est cui cognomen coruus habere dedit,*’ Hor. Carm. 1. 26. 2 sqq. ‘*metus | tradam* proteruis in mare Creticum | *portare* uentus.’ This use must be carefully distinguished from uses such as *da bibere, ire datur,* with which
it is often confounded. For the sense cf. Virg. G. 3. 45 'et uox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit.'

482. agit fremitus, i.e. fremit; cf. agere cursus, agere curam.

484. expauere, the armies.

485. missile, cf. 294. Lucan first speaks of the discharge of missiles, including the pila, with which the battle begins.

486. uolnera 'hope to wound'; so Stat. Theb. 2. 514 'fractosque in uulnere dentes' ('while wounding'). terrae, dat. as 1 607 'terrae maesto cum murmure condit,' Virg. G. 2. 290 'terrae defigitur arbos.'

487. rapit. The 'adversative conjunction is dispensed with'

488. incerta 'capricious.'

489—521. On the order of these lines see Crit. App.

514. soluti 'living free,' whether as free from political restraints, cf. Tac. A. 2. 4 'incerti solutique et magis sine domino quam in libertate,' or free from moral restraints, Quint. 2. 3. 146 'sinum togae in dextrum umerum referre solutum et delicatum est.' Either would suit the Nomad and effeminate Arabs.

515. nusquam rexere 'aimed at no mark.' Latin, as Eng., uses nowhere for nowhither, for which it has no word; so usquam Hor. Serm. 2. 7. 30 'usquam unctus eas.' They shoot into the air.

517. mortes. For the abstract for concrete cf. Stat. Th. 6. 786 'mille cauet lapsas circum caua tempora mortes;' and uolnus 619 n.

518. externum gives the reason. They are not the weapons of Romans, pila. coactum 'collected,' 'massed,' cf. IX 703 'in nulla plus (uueneni) est serpente coactum.' The expression seems strange till we remember that guilt is conceived of as something material, cf. Prop. 4 (5). 6. 9 'ite procul fraudes, alio sint aere noxae.'

519. ferro subtextitur. This metaphor is not uncommon of clouds, Lucr. 6. 482 'et quasi densendo subtextit caerula nimbis,' cf. 5. 466 'corpore concreto subtextunt caerula nimbii' (and Munro's note); and Lucan is describing a telorum nimbus (iv 776); cf. Claud. Stil. 1. 258 'Poenus iaculis obextitur aer.'

520. nox...telis conserta 'darkness made of (or with) interlacing missiles,' cf. iv 136 'conseritura bibula Memphitis cumba papyro.'

490. exacta est. Comparing VIII 703 sq. 'cladesque omnes exegit in uno | saea die quibus immunes tot praestitit annos,' it seems probable that this means 'was exacted' as a penalty—a sense which would agree well with odiis and sufficit—rather than 'produced.' ensis, an arti-
ficial way of referring to the fact that, when the *pila* were discharged, both armies drew their swords. Caesar B.C. 93 'pila miserunt celeriterque, ut erat praeeptum a Caesare, gladios strinxerunt' (of the Caesarians) ... 'pilisque mersis ad gladios redierunt' (of the Pompeians).

491. *ducit* 'takes the hand straight to the Roman heart,' whereas the *pilum* leaves it behind.

493. *arma*, the shields, IX 475 sq. 'delapsaque caelo | arma' (the *ancilia*), and Livy often as below. *nexis umbonibus*, cf. Val. Fl. 3. 90 contextis *umbonibus*, because in serried order the shields would overlap and their bosses come near together; hence Juv. 2. 46 'iunctaeque *umbone* phalanges.' *umo* is also used of the shield itself, Virg. Aen. 7. 633.

494. Cf. IV 781 sq. 'non arma mouendi | iam locus est pressis,' Livy 23. 27. 7 'dum corpora corporibus adplicant *armaque armis* (shields) iungunt in artum compulsi, cum uix mouendi armis satis spatii esset.'

495. *compressa*. *comprimere ordines* is the opposite of *explicare ordines*. *timebat*, cf. IV 779 'uix impune suos inter convexiturenses.'

497. *agitur* 'charges.' With *agmen agere* usually means 'marching,' cf. 201 n. *per...per*, for the effective repetition of the same word, where prose would use *et* or *que*, cf. Virg. Aen. 10. 313 sq. 'gladio *perque* aerea serta, | *per* tunicam squalentem auro latus haurit apertum,' and Conington on Ecl. 4. 6. Cf. also 212 n.

498. *catenas* means a cuirass of *chain- armour*, ἀλνοιδὼτς θώραξ, in the time of Polybius (6. 23. 16) worn instead of a breast-plate (*καρδιοφύλαξ*) by those *hastati* whose fortune exceeded 100,000 asses.

499. *tuto*, i.e. 'protecting.' 'Safe' is too strong; compare IV 410 'expugnat quae tuta,' 'strongholds,' III 341 'moenibus exiguis alieno in litore tuni,' so Prop. 2. 12. 11 'tuti quam cernimus hostem.'

501. *extremum*, their blows strike home.

502. *frigidus gladius*, v 245, where the Schol. explains it 'nullo sanguine calefactus,' opposed to 'calido fodiemus uiscera ferro' IV 511. In neither case is the metaphorical sense excluded. *inde* 'on the one side,' opposed to a *Caesare*, Crit. App.

503. *nocens*, 60 n.

504 sq. The meaning assigned to the obscure text by Mr Haskins is the only one possible: "And Fortune, taking but a short time to overthrow such weighty interests, swept away the ruins with the flood of doom." There is no difficulty in taking *nec for et non* (he compares
I 72 'nec se Roma fерens' = et R. se non-ferens) nor in diu which he defends by VIII 672 sq. 'nodosaeque frangit | ossa diu.' With uertens however, which indicates an essentially momentary action, this adverb is not appropriate; and a comparison of III 337 sq. 'non pundera rerum, | nec momenta sumus,' suggests that rerum tot pondera should refer to what was of importance in deciding the issues at stake. Some conjectures are given in the Crit. App.

505. ♦ fato torrente. The metaphor is apparently from a river in flood. The sole difference between fortune and fate in this and other places of Lucan appears to be that indicated by the capital letter. Cf. 88 sq., 205 sq., III 392, VIII 21 sqq.

506. Lucan apparently misled by the fact that there were a few horse on the right wing (Frontinus quoted on 224) wrongly regards both Pompeian wings as participating in the outflanking movement which was to turn the battle. See Caesar's account c. 88 fin. 'dextrum cornu eius (Pompey) rius quidam impeditis ripis muniebat: quam ob causam cunctum equitatum sagittarios funditoresque omnes in sinistro cornu obiercerat.' For diduixit cornua, 'drew the wings in different directions,' compare Livy 28. 14. 15 and 17 'nuntium (Scipio) ad Silanum et Marcium misit ut cornu extendenter in sinistrum partem quemadmodum se tendentem ad dexteram uidissent.—ita diductis cor- nibus' etc.

507. ♦ belli, cf. 112, 651 n. ultima, Caesar's extreme right and left.

508. ♦ sparsa, of the free order of light armed. per extremos ...maniplos, i.e. over Pompey's extreme left and right.

509. ♦ inequitur, cf. Caesar c. 93 'eodem tempore equites ab sinistro Pompei cornu, ut erat imperatum, universi procurcurrent omnisque multitudo sagittariorum se profudit, quorum impetum noster equitatus non tuli, sed paullum loco motus cessit, equitesque Pompeiani hoc acerius instare et se turmatim explicare aciemque nostram a latere aperto circumire coeperunt.' saeas 'bloodthirsty bands,' see Crit. App.

511. ♦ cunctis, dat. inde...inde, cf. 230 sq.

512. ♦ faces. These, like the saxa, would be hurled from ballistae, cf. II 686 sq. 'tortaque per tenebras validis ballista lacertis | multifidas iaculata faces.' But it is not clear what they are doing here where there are no ships or buildings to fire. It looks as if Virgil Aen. 1. 150 'iamque faces et saxa volant,' were being copied without reflection. In Val. Fl. 3. 96 'saxa facesque atras et tortae pundera fundae' are the weapons of a mob.
513. ‘Pellets fused by travel through the air with their mass melted by the heat.’ He means to convey that they must pass through a certain ‘extent of air,’ spatio aeris, before the heating of their mass, calido pondere, can produce the effect in question. This is not an exaggeration of Lucan’s. The ancients from Aristotle onwards believed it happened; e.g. Ov. Met. 14. 825 sq. ‘sic lata plumbea funda | missa solet medio glans intabescere caelo.’

521. prima, through the attack on the rear.

522. obliquas, i.e. not parallel to the frons, but placed behind the regular ‘three lines’ at an angle in order to resist a side attack. This quarta acies (Caes.) consisted of 6 cohorts. For tenet see Crit. App.

523. latus and uagus agree well with the last quoted words of Caesar.

524 sqq. Cf. Caesar’s words ‘celeriter procurrerunt infestisque signis tanta ui in Pompei equites impetum fecerunt ut eorum nemo consisteret omnesque conuersi non solum loco excederent sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos penteret.’ non motis, i.e. kept in their place.

525. inmores pugnae. H. compares the Homeric address ἀνέρες ἐστε φίλοι μνήσασθε δὲ θύριδος ἀλκής. timendi, apparently gerund.

526. fecere palam ‘showed that,’ the active expression corresponding to erat palam, cf. 133, 279.

529. in caput effusi ‘headlong,’ cf. Livy 27. 19. 10 ‘prolapso equo effusum in praeceps.’ ‘Over the horse’s head’ would be super, or per, caput.


532. perdidit modum, cf. VIII 492 ‘sublatusque modus gladiis,’ the opposite of ‘modum recepit’ Claud. IV Cons. Hon. 68. caedes ...pugna, cf. Quint. Curt. 4. 15. 32 ‘iamque non pugna sed caedes erat.’

533. bella has a touch of irony, cf. 306 n. The passage is perhaps parodied by Juvenal 3. 289 ‘rixae, | si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego uapulo tantum.’

537. mutentur ‘stained’; cf. Claud. Stil. i. 133 ‘flumina quae largo mutastis sanguine fluctus.’

538. hic numerus ‘their numbers,’ a common ‘attraction.’

uestiat ‘clothe,’ a similar metaphor in 835.

541. For the Hiberi cf. Hibernia 232. They have as good a title as
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69

the Britanni Hor. carm. i. 35. 29 sq. 'ultimos | orbis Britannos,' to the title 'furthest in the world,' as they are as far to the west, and Gades is the sun's couch, Stat. Silv. 3. i. 183.

543. hic 'they (lit. this) will be the Roman people.' It is difficult to set any limits to the so-called attraction of pronouns to the predicate, cf. Prop. 2. 24. 50 sq. 'uix uenit extremero quo legat ossa die.' | hi tibi nos erimus.'

544. fatis. 'The fates were allowed free course for Caesar.' Though destiny cannot be altered (except perhaps in minor respects, see the remarkable passage on the power of the Thessalian witches beginning 'si fata minora moueres' VI 605 sqq.), yet its course can be arrested, III 392 'quantum est quod fata tenentur!' (cf. 88, 295) or accelerated, V 41 'fatorum impellit cursum' (cf. 52). See also Mr Heitland's examples pp. 44 sq. Consistency in speaking of fate is as difficult to the world in general as correctness in referring to the earth's motion round its axis and for much the same reason. The Stoics certainly did not succeed in their attempt to reconcile their doctrine of Necessity with the popular conception of the freedom of the individual will; see Zeller Stoics &c. (Eng. Tr. p. 178).

545. Lucan follows the conquering Caesarians to the centre. robur, 221.

546 sq. 'The fight (112 n.), which had spread its wandering course over all the wide plain, stopped here and Caesar's fortune was checked.'

errore has its strict verbal sense. The metaphor appears to be from a river in flood. haesit, cf. 'haiserunt ibi fata diu,' III 645. H. cf. Virg. Aen. II. 290.

548. illic. Observe the change of pronoun. He returns to hic in 551, cf. also 229 sqq. auxilliis, the abl. will be used somewhat differently, according as we make the noun mean 'help' (plur. because regum is plur.) or 'auxiliary forces.'

549. ferrumque. The negative, as often in Lucan, is carried on from the previous clause. neque (or aut) would be used in prose, cf. Heitl. Introd. p. 108 (β). mouere, cf. notes on 494, 767.

rogatae, cf. IV 233 sq. 'Magne, paras acies mundique extrema tenentes | sollicitas reges.'

551. tua crinima 'the proofs of your guilt'; cf. IX 1090 sq. 'sed non, ut crimina solum | uerba tegat tellus, iusto date tura sepulcro' (of Pompey's murdered body).

553. uate with the gen.; cf. Ov. Am. 3. 9. 5 'ille tui uates operis.'

555. The sense is: let a patriot's feeling be condemned to silence;
cf. also on 707. For the words cf. Tib. 2. 5. 105 sq. 'pace tua pereant arcus pereantique sagittae, | Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor.'

557. rabies 'cause of madness.' H. illustrates from Virg. Aen. 7.

479. Cf. 33 n.

558. sui, i.e. his army, 652 n. pereat scelus 'their crime be wasted,' cf. IV 252 sq. 'ac, uelut occultum ('if hidden') pereat scelus, omnia monstra | in faciem posuere ducum.'

559. ignes flagrantibus, proverbial, adds fuel to the flame; cf. Tac. Hist. 1. 24 'flagrantibus iam militum animis uelut faces adderat.' For the verb cf. 383.

560. inspicit, cf. the imitation in Stat. Th. 4. 134 sq. 'pater ipse cruentis | in foribus laudatque nefas atque inspicit enses.'

561. niteant, opposed to sanguine manent. primo mucrone 'at the point,' opposed to toti, cf. 'primum digitum' Catull. 2. 3.

562. presso ense 'as it grasps the sword,' so IV 705 sq. 'cum dira uluptas | ense subit presso.'

563. contenta 'tightly strained,' properly of the muscles, cf. 469 n. inbenti, i.e. only at command.

565. obit, ἐπέρχεται, 'makes the round of.'

566. fusura, for the fut. part. of an arrested possibility cf. III 621 'telaque multorum leto casura suorum | emerita iam morte tenet' (Heitl. p. 106).

567. premit 'closes,' cf. Tac. Ann. 15. 64 'hortantibus militibus serui libertique obligant bracchia, premit sanguinem.' opposita 'by placing his hand against them.'

568. So Virgil (whom Lucan is perhaps imitating), Aen. 8. 703 (quoted by H.), represents Bellona. Aeschylus gives the scourge to Ares or Mars, διπλῇ μάστιγι τὴν 'Αρης φλεῖ Ag. 642. In Sil. It. 4. 439 as Mars' charioteer 'quadriugos atro stimulat Bellona flagello.' There is no allusion to the Cappadocian Bellona, for whom see Juv. 4. 124 (Mayor).

569. This image, the source of which is obscure, is perhaps made up of reminiscences of Homer. In the fight between Ares and Athena Ares strikes her κατ' αὐτίδα θυσευθεσσαν | σμερδαλένην ἄν oδή Δίως δάμνηι κεραυνός II. 21. 400; ib. 408 Ares' arms clatter as he falls, τεῦχεα δ' ἀμφαράβησε, cf. V 573; 20. 51 (in the first mention of the θεομαχία) Ares is said to be ἐρεμωτὴν λαλάπι ἱσσος, cf. v. 571 'nox ingens scelerum.' In II. 13. 298 Ares and his son Φόβος go to stir up war among the Thracian tribes. Val. Fl. 3. 83 sqq. apparently works up
Lucan's simile, but somewhat differently, 'Bistonas in medios ceu Martius exilist atris | currus, ubi ingentes animae clamorque tubaeque (cf. agitans) | sanguineum iuure deum'; and a few lines below 'stat manus aegisono quam nec fera pectore urigo | dispulerit nec dextra Louis Terrorque Pauorque, | Martis equi.' sl with the pres. subj. introduces a detail in a simile, as at 11456.

570. turbatos 'confused by the aegis of Pallas.' The Latin does not say when. currus 'his team,' a Virgilian use, e.g. Aen. 12. 287.

571. nox 'storm-cloud'; v 244 'caeca bellorum nocte.' It is used in a more literal sense with nimborum by Lucr. 4. 172 sq. 'usque adeo taetra nimborum nocte coorta | impendent atrae formidinis ora superne,' and by Virg. instar refers properly and almost exclusively to size or amount, not to appearance, and means not 'like' but 'equivalent to'; instar montis equum Virg. Aen. 2. 15, 'a horse as large as a mountain.' The stress here is on immensae, cf. Ov. (?); Her. 16. 366 'unas is innumeri militis instar habet,' is as good as myriads. oriantur, cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 411 'oriturque miserrima caedes.'

573. pectoris (to be taken with pondere), because they fall on their face, cf. II. 5. 58 ἵππες δὲ προνύστης, ἄραβης δὲ τευχὲς ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

574. subicit, in place of the broken ones.

575. confundere (Crit. App.) 'make unrecognisable,' 'hack,' cf. Ov. Met. 12. 250 sq. 'ossa | non agnoscedo confusa relinquit in ore,' II 191 'et ut uilem Marii confundere uoluit,' see 322 n.

576. Caesar is ubiquitous—in front and rear alike.

577. conuersae hastae 'the spear butt.' Virg. Aen. 1. 478 'uersa puluis inscibitur hasta.' So officers nowadays admonish laggards with the flat of the sword.

579. cruror, used for sanguis, apparently because it is to be shed. See however vi 750 'protenus adstrictus caluit cruror.' imperii... rerum, cf. v 26 sq. 'rerum nos (the Senate) summa sequetur | imperium-que comes.' uiscera, as we say, the heart, cf. 732.

580. unde petat, i.e. where Rome is vulnerable. Cf. 'Virg. G. 2. 505 'hic petit excidiiis urbem, miserosque penates.'

581. The stress is on ferienda. The main verb is comparatively unimportant, cf. Lucr. 5. 514 'quo uoluenda micant aeterni sidera mundi' (=uoluuntur micantia); Mart. 3. 6. 1 sq. 'Lux tibi post idus numeratur tertia Maias, | Marcelline, tuis bis celebranda sacris' (i.e. quae numeratur, celebranda est). Neglect of this function of participles,
common to Greek and Latin, often causes misapprehensions, cf. Pind. Nem. 8. 38 ἐγὼ δ’ ἀστισ ἀδων καὶ χοῦ νυῖα καὶ ὃψαυ (he prays to please, not to die). Hor. Carm. 4. 6. 13 sq. 'ille non inclusus equo Mineraue | sacra mentito male feriatos | Troas et laetam Priami choreos | falleret aulam: | sed palam capitis grauis heu nefas heu | nescios fari pueros Achiuis | ureret flammis.' Horace having, as he supposed, made it clear that Achilles would have taken Troy 'by force, not fraud,' passes on, like a lyric poet, to something else. secundo, i.e. equestri.

583. urgedur 'have no respite from the sword.'

584. Torquata nomina 'the stock of Torquatus.' The license of using proper names as adjectives, which begins in Augustan times, Horatia facta Prop., Metaurum flumen Hor., extends rapidly later. For nomina cf. vi 795 'laetantes, popularia nomina, Drusos,' and vii 437 sq. 'ubi nomina tanta | obruit Euphrates,' and inf. 589. The sense slides towards that of 'name' as in i 313 'nomina uana Catones,' Auson. Parent. 22. 1 'o ueteres, Calpurnia nomina, frugi.' See also Crit. App.

585. te remoto 'apart from you' (cf. 664), qualifies summus, cf. Pind. Nem. 7. 27 κρατιστον Αχιλης ατερ.


589. nomen 'bearer of the name,' as H. translates, see above on 584.

591. admoueris, 49 n. Philippus, 872 n.

593 sq. iugulo, verbal or nearly so; cf. 325 n., Manilius 4. 128 'in iugulumque dabit fructus' = ad ingulandum. attigit arcem, cf. Hor. Carm. 3. 3. 9 sq. 'hac arte Pollux et uagus Hercules | enisus arcus attigit igneas.' For the metaphor in arcem iuris cf. Tac. Dial. 10 'arcem eloquentiae,' and for arx as the symbol of a tyrant (cf. regnet 596), see viii 490 'euertitque arcus (i.e. tyrannies) respectus honesti,' Sen. Thyest. 341 'cupidi arcium,' Mayor on Juv. 10. 307. iuris again is used of any kind of power by Lucan; so ius mundi = regnum mundi II 321, v 226; IX 1054 'raptumque e iure superbi | uictoris generum.'

594 sq. For the reading cf. Crit. App. egressus. egressus in c. would be more usual of climbing. But there seems no reason why the acc. should not be used of rising clear above a point, as of passing clear out beyond it, as 'egressus tentoria' v 511; 'humanumque egressa modum' IX 794 (swelling out beyond the size of a man). For the whole expression compare Tac. A. 15. 74 'quod quidem ille decernebat tamquam mortale fastigium egresso et uenerationem hominum merito'; cf.
Suet. Caes. 76 (of J. Caesar) 'ampliora etiam humano fastigio sibi decerni passus est.' column (=culmen, see Crit. App.), cf. v 250 sq. 'quam non e stabili, tremulo sed culmine cuncta | despicet' (Caesar); VIII 8 'summo de culmine lapsus'; ib. 702 'summo de culmine rerum' (both of Pompey); Claud. Stil. 3. 107 sqq. 'populumque uetusti | culminis inmemorem dominandi rursus in usum | excitat' (of Rome). premuntur 'are ruled,' cf. x 48 sqq. 'licet usque sub Arcton | regnemus Zephyrique domos terrasque premamus | flagrantis post terga Noti' (of Rome). This sense, which is also that of reguntur (Crit. App.), seems better than 'dwarfed,' 'overtopped,' as H. takes it comparing, inter alia, Stat. Silv. 1. 2. 115 sq. 'quantum Latonia nymphas | uirgo premit.' fatis = fortuna, cf. 505 n.

598. non mixta, Crit. App. cadauer, 102 n.

599 sq. pugnacis, 219 n. Unfortunately for Lucan we have Caesar's account, 'L. Domitius ex castris in montem refugiens cum uires eum lassitudine deficerent, ab equitibus interfectus est' c. 99 fin., which is confirmed by the statement of Cicero, Phil. 2. 71, that he was killed by Antony, 'L. Domitium...occideras multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant quos Caesar, ut nonnullos, fortasse seruasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras.' This undistinguished end would not however do for the ancestor of Nero; so our author coolly alters it, just as he transfers the achievement of an Atilius to a Massaliote soldier that he may not have to acknowledge that one of his own maternal ancestors fought on Caesar's side (III 609 sqq., see Heitl. Introd. p. 53).

602. totiens, at Corfinium and Massilia as well as Pharsalia.

603 sq. in uolnera labitur, cf. Lucr. quoted on 626. secunda. 'L. Domitio, qui per tumultum successor ei (to supersede Caesar in Gaul) nominatus Corfinium praesidio tenebat, in dicionem redacto atque dimisso' Suet. Jul. 34.


608. pulsans, for the part. see 359 n.

612. Magno duce 'Pompey my leader still.' Throughout this sentence the emphasis falls outside the main verb, which owes its force entirely to the solemn nature of the event referred to. Cf. 581 n.

613. securus, 308 n. subactum takes its time from daturum.


617. inpendisse pudet. The perf. is used for metrical convenience, thus uicisse 27 n., gessisse (VIII 419, X 170); but iurare IX 602, not iurasse.
618. mortibus, dat. There follows a butcher's catalogue. The Roman taste for such descriptions was in part the effect of the gladiatorial shows.

619 sq. letiferum has a strong emphasis, 'who is killed outright.' unlus, what wounds, i.e. the weapon, cf. VIII 384 'et quo ferre uelint, permettere uolnera uentis'; for the use of the abstr. cf. mortes 517 n. exierit 'is launched,' cf. IV 201 sq. 'qua lancea dextra | exierit.' calcet, in his death convulsions. Ovid Met. 12. 390 sq. is much worse than Lucan.

621 sq. 'Who with the outrush of his life drove out the sword buried in his throat as he faced the foe.' An incredible occurrence which is frequently mentioned; III 590 sq. 'utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas | diuisitque animam'; Ov. Met. 13. 393 sq. 'nec ualuere manus infixum educere telum | expulit tipsecruor'; Senec. Oed. 1064 'ferrumque secum nimius eiecit cruor.' anima (Crit. App.) 'life-blood,' as III 640 sq. 'discursusque animae diuera in membra meantis | interceptus aquis'; Virg. Aen. 9. 349. The Stoics regarded the soul (anima) as fed by vapours from the blood, Zeller Stoics &c.

623. membra, here 'arms,' so seemingly III 431 'in sua credebant re dituras membra secures,' and probably Prop. 2. 28. 11 'an contempta tibi Iunonis membra (templa mss) Pelasgae?' (of λευκάλενος "Hrn").

624. transmittant 'let the missiles pass through,' cf. Sil. It. 2. 118 'calamumque uolantem, | dum clamat, patulo excipiens transmisit hiatu.'

625. quis e scissis, Crit. App. perruperit. Cf. the simile in Ov. Met. 4. 112 sq. 'cruor emicat alte | non aliter quam cum uitiato fistula plumbo | scinditur et tenues stridente foramine longe | eiaculatur aquas, atque ictibus aera rumpit.'

626. hostis. H. well quotes Lucr. 4. 1049 sqq. 'namque omnes plerumque cadunt in uolnus, et illam | emicat in partem sanguis, unde icimur ictu; | et, si comminus est, hostem ruber occupat umor.'

sui refers to the real subject quis, not to cruor; so in other similar cases, e.g. Prop. 3. 9. 56 'Antonique graues in sua fata manus.'

627. ut notum possit. This, as well as the next sentence, is quite inconsistent with any idea that they would be rewarded for killing relations, as inputet is explained by some in 325, see n. The actions mentioned here are concessions to the feeling which Caesar would there be made to outrage.

631. nulos hominum, no individuals in the throng. The gen. compels us to think of them separately. uacamus 'have space,' cf. II 118 sq. 'cui funera uolgi | flere uacet?'
632. **pugnae partes**, like *partes misericordiae, partes consili* etc., 'role of fighting,' 'fighting part.'

635. **Achaenus**, for the Greek contingent see III 171 sqq.

636 sq. Assyria must here exclude the Parthians, see III 256—266; perhaps it is used loosely for Eastern. **cunctos**, i.e. *ceterorum*, 470.

For **haerere** 'stop' and **consistere** cf. 547 n.

638. **ferrent**, for the tense cf. 132 n. on 'conderet.'

642. **nepotes**, mere distant descendants as in 207.

644 sq. **teximus iugulos** 'screened our throats,' cf. Livy 4. 37. 11 'tegi Romanus magis quam pugnare.' **poena**, i.e. the yoke, δούλων γυγὺν Aesch. *Ag.* 953, Tac. *Agr.* 31 'exuere iugum potuerunt.' This symbol of subjection, which is derived from harnessing animals, appears in the iugum under which the Romans passed a conquered enemy. It always carries a reference to its original meaning, cf. Livy 9. 6. 12 'non hiscere quemquam Prae metu, tamquam ferentibus adhuc ceruicibus iugum sub quo emissi essent'; for this 'yoke' (described in Livy 3. 28. 11) did not rest on the neck. Of course there may be also a reference to other ignominious objects carried on the neck, such as the furca and the collare. **sedet**, i.e. remains fixed.

646. I.e. if we were to be enslaved, why were we not at least allowed an opportunity of fighting (bella) for our freedom? **dabas** = *daturus eras*, imperf. of actions purposed, *N. L. P.* 178 (cf. 417). **dedisses** = *dare debebas*, *N. L. P.* 384, R. 1604; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 643 'at tu dictis, Albane, maneres.'

647. **transisse**, i.e. 'ad Caesarem' Schol.

648 sq. 'Whom the whole disaster had forced with difficulty to consider his fortune lost.' The emphasis falls on **tota uix.** For **damnare** cf. IV 337 sqq. 'iam domiti cessere duces pacisque petendae | auctor damnatis supplex Afranius armis.' This description and soliloquy is a rhetorical invention; see the Introd.

651. **clades** 'carnage,' cf. 795 n., 821. **bello obstante** 'when the fighting blocked the view.'

652 sq. He sees the weapons strike, the fallen bodies (71 n.), and his own life shed in pools of blood. **sua...se.** The Schol. says 'nam exercitus est corpus imperatoris,' cf. 558, 101 n.

654. Cf. Sil. It. 8. 333 sqq. 'trahit omnia secum | et metuit demens, alio ne consule Roma | concidat.' Here however **secum** goes with **mersa** also, 'drag into the abyss with him.' The perf. part., as often, denotes an event whose relation in time to the main verb is not exactly defined. For the whole passage compare Claudian in *Rufin.* 2. 17 sqq.
'Quid restat nisi cuncta nouo confundere luctu | insontesque meae populos miscere ruinae? | everso iuuat orbe mori (cf. 664 inf.) ; solacia leto | exitium commune dabit.'

658. **uoluit** (Crit. App.) 'chose,' 'desired,' carrying out the idea of uotis. *solacia* 'alleviations,' not aggravations (654 sq.), of his calamity. The Schol. says excellently 'optauit solacia, quae ei essent si solus occumbat.'

662. **pignora** 'hostages.' The Scholiast is excellent again, 'in quae saeuiant si meo sanguine delectentur.'

664. **orbe remoto** 'without the world,' 585 n. For Pompey's vanity cf. 353.

665. The sense is 'There is nothing more I can be stripped of. Fortune, why pursue your hatred farther?'

668. **circumit** 'goes round to.' Plautus plays on this and the other sense 'goes round' in Menaechm. 2. 1. 6 'an quasi mare omnes circumimus insulas?' 669. **tanti** 'worth the sacrifice,' ut in matura fata ruant. Lucan has also the 'inverted' tanti, as we may call it, VI 768 'sit tanti uixisse iterum,' 'consider the sacrifice worth making.' See for both Juv. 10. 97, 13. 96 (with Mayor's notes). *robur*, i.e. *animi*, usually added in prose, 'fortitude'; cf. Seneca Oed. 78 'magno robore aerumnas doma.'

670. **ire** , i.e. *ad eundum*. Here, as seemingly elsewhere, e.g. Prop. 1. 16. 7, when *deesse* is used with a complement in the inf., a negative is prefixed.

675. **ubicumque** 'everywhere,' cf. Ov. Am. 3. 10. 5. So other compounds of *-cumque*; *undecumque* Sen., *quacumque* Virg. This use, like the similar one of *συνων*, comes from an ellipse of the verb of the dependent clause. *seu* (Crit. App.), with the usual choice of alternatives.

676 sq. 'And that death in thy presence which the fates desired.' The subj. is *te praesente mori*, to which *fatis negatum* is in *apposition*. Editors have been misled by *negatum* in I 70 sq. 'summisque negatum | stare diu,' where the part. and inf. form one notion. Cornelia was at some distance from the scene of Pompey's murder.
677 sq. Compare Caesar's account 'Pompeius, cum intra uallum nostri uersarentur, equum nactus, detractus insignibus imperatorii decuman a porta se ex castris eiecit, protinusque equo citato (cf. concitus) Larisam contendit,' c. 96. pauentem. Lucan lets out the truth at VIII 5 sqq. 'paue ille fra docem | motorum uentis nemorum (like Horace's young deer Carm. i. 23. 5 sqq.) comitumque suorum | qui post terga redivit, trepidum laterique timentem | exanimat.' -que, adversative; cf. IX 146 sq. 'non in gemitus, lacrimasque dolorem | effidit iustaque furens pietate profatur.' So IV 604, v 618. Mostly nec precedes which is more usual, cf. Gk. oure—re and N. L. P. 353.

682. non in parte 'unaltered' H., which is possible if sibi is understood, Hor. Serm. i. 3. 18 sq. 'nil fuit umquam | sic inpar sibi.' I think however it means 'unconquered,' 'a match for,' understanding ei (Emathiae), cf. Suet. Tib. 23 'derepente uelut inpar dolori congemult.' This agrees with 713 'nobile nec uictum fatis caput.'

684. uidebunt, i.e. either now or hereafter, 703 sq.

685. laeto, sc. minor. tres, 14 n. infida, the epithet of Fortune is out of place, cf. 33 n.

686. minor, you have always been "superior to fortune," as we say. pondere 'load,' cf. Mart. 6. 64. 14 'ipse etiam tanto dominus sub pondere rerum,' and elsewhere in the poets.

687. securus, sine curis, cf. 308 n.

688. The aor. inf. (such it is) does not differ in sense from the pres., which is metrically inconvenient, cf. 617 n.

691 sq. damnis, e.g. Thapsus and Utica. For the other allusions cf. VI 306 sqq. 'non Vticae Libye clades, Hispania Mundae | flesset et infando pollitus sanguine Nilus | nobilius Phario gestasset rege cadauer.' nocens, 60 n.

695 sq. studium 'zeal' for him. The killed in the Alexandrian war were only Egyptians. But they were against Caesar, and that is enough for Lucan. par 'the duellists always with us'; the metaphor is from the gladiatorial combats, cf. Hor. Serm. i. 7. 19 sq. 'Rupili et Persi par pugnat uti non | compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius'; VI 191 sq. 'parque nouum Fortuna uidet concurrere bellum | atque uiurum.' erit, Crit. App.

697. mortens, with the preceding words: allowing themselves to be killed after you have left the field.

699. perspectasse 'to witness to the end.' Suet. Aug. 98 'quinquennale certamen gymnicum perspectuit,' Dom. 4 'inter maximos imbres perspectuit.' So perhaps Pomponius fr. 22 (in Ribbeck's
Comicorum Latinorum Reliquiae).  spumantiss cateruas perhaps includes both slayers and slain.

701. pectore 'feelings,' here those of conscience.
703 sq. Apparently to be regarded only as an anticipation of Pompey's, not (as it would be) a very loose reference to future events. All writers sometimes give the thoughts of their characters without warning. ignotis then will allude to his design of going to Parthia, positus to that of dwelling in Egypt. This latter word is simply used of geographical position, and is the part. corresponding to iacet, see 188 n. For the act. we may compare Hor. Carm. i. 22. 17 sq. 'pone me pigri ubi nulla campis | arbor aestiua recreatur aura.'

705 sq. The sense is 'let the past favours of heaven and fate convince you that of two evils you have escaped the worse.' erat 'would have been,' corresponding to est 'would be,' with certain neut. adjectives a customary form; R. 1535 (a), N. L. P. 417 (b).

706. sonare, neuter.
707. remitte 'forego.' These signs of grief were a tribute due to misfortune. This adds point to 555.
708. adoret. This verb includes two, both derived from ὁς, ad-or 'address,' a compound of or 'speak' (cf. orator), and ad-or a derivative from ad ὁς, the significant gesture of adoratio being 'kissing one's hand,' Pliny 28. 25 'in adorando dextram ad osulum referimus.'
710. donata, 300 n.
711. 'And choose a land (18 n.) for—death.' Libyam. Egypt, Parthia and Numidia were the three refuges open to Pompey.

712 sqq. Note the striking agreement with Valerius Maximus 4. 5. 5 'Pompeius autem Magnus Pharsalica acie uictus a Caesare cum postero die Larisam intraret oppidique illius uniuersus populus obuiam ei processisset, 'ite' inquit 'et istud officium praestate victori';' cf. Introd. p. xiii.
713 sq. omnibus ciuibus, seemingly to be taken with obuia, 'meeting him with all its population.'
714. per moenia 'along the walls,' cf. 369, 414 and Prop. 3 (4). 11. 23 'et duo in aduersum mitti per moenia currus.'
715. munera 'contributions.' The word is also used of forced 'levies.'
716. optant 'they pray that they may share his disasters.'
718. minor 'inferior to,' 'overcome by,' cf. 686. inpellere, 16 n.
719. in fata, to your former fortune.
720. *inquit.* The change of person is for variety, cf. 96 n.

721. *praestate fidel* 'pay the allegiance you owe me,' hence in v. 723 *donat.*


725. *conuicia,* cf. ix 187 sq. 'in superos audet *conuicia* uolgus | Pompeiumque des obicit.'

726 sq. *uera fides* 'real proof,' 'genuine certainty,' cf. Prop. 4 (5).

727. *praestate fidelis* 'the allegiance you owe me,' hence in V. 723 *do7tat.*


730. *frustra,* by whose death he would gain nothing.

731. *permisit* 'allowed to live,' cf. 413 n.

732. *reuocent* 'rally the routed,' 'recall them from flight,' cf. Livy 2. 59. 9 'tandem collectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul cum revocando (attempting to rally them) nequiquam suos persecutus esset.'

733. *calet* 'while his fortune is aglow,' a common metaphor in Latin; so *res calet,* *iudicia calent.* The allusion is to the ardour of the soldiers, cf. 'Romani *calentes* adesse ab recenti pugna,' Livy 25. 39. 9.


738. *superest* 'all that is left is.'

740. *cunctis* (see also Crit. App.) appears to mean 'all there are in the world.' The phrase is perhaps modelled on *omne aurum;* Ov. *Pont.* 2. 8. 5 'omnique beatius *aurum;* Cic. *Rep.* 3. 8 'rem multo *omni aurum* cariorem.' *metallis,* the precious metals (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 10. 39), especially gold; Claud. vi *Cons.* Hon. 51 sq. 'acies stupet *igne metalli* | et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur *aurum;* so also *Stil.* 3. 133 'luce *metalli,*' and l. c. on 755. It is possible, though not so likely, that *metallis* means 'gold mines,' *aurifera metalli* III 209.

742. *premunt* 'shut in,' 'hide,' cf. III 253 (quoted on 189). H. cf. Mart. 3. 40. 2 'ex opibus tantis quas grauis arca *premit.*'

743. *coacta,* cf. 518 n.

745. *quos sequeris,* your routed foe.

746. *rapluntur,* 'the vivid present,' 'at this very moment,' is intentional, cf. 114 n. For what follows see Crit. App.
748. **ire.** Cf. *scire ruunt,* the effect of *inpulit.* The inf. after *inpello* is found in Livy, Virg. and Hor. **gladios,** see Crit. App. *patrum* 'senators.'

751. **ruunt,** with the inf. as in Prop. 4 (5). *1. 71.*

752. **spollato** etc. The order of words is *plurima pondera massae mundo spoliato in bellowum sumptus congestae* 'the world's spoil in many a heavy ingot heaped up for the war's expenses.'

754. **impleuit** (Crit. App.), i.e. *merces* (751). **mentes,** of the passions, cf. Catull. 64. 147 'simul ac *cupidae mentis satiata libido est.'

755. **fodit.** *fodere* here (as well as in the expression *fodere oculos*) is equivalent to *effodere,* and so in Sen. *Thyest.* 353 sqq. (if the lines are genuine) 'non *quicquid fodit* occidens | aut unda *Tagus* aurea | claro deuehit alueo' and Claudian l. c. quoted below. Usually however it means rather to be 'diggers of,' 'miners of,' than actually to get out; *argentum fodere* to 'mine' silver Livy, *gypsum fodere* Pliny. But the distinction is evanescent. **Hiber,** the Spaniards, particularly the Asturians (below). **expuit** (Crit. App.) 'throws up' on its shores (the metaphor is less coarse in Latin than in English) deposits of alluvial gold (*ramenta aurii*); cf. Cat. 64. 155 'quod mare concpectum spumantibus *expuit* undis?'; cf. also the imitations in Claudian (which Hosius cites) *Cons. Prob. et Ol.* 48 sqq. 'praeceps illa manus fluiuos superabat Hiberos, | aura dona uomens *quae uix* tellure reuulsa | sollicitis *fodiens* miratur collibus aurum (? *Astur), | quantum stagna Tagi rudibus stillantia uenis | effluxere decus, quanto pretiosa *metallo* | Hemi ripa micat, quantum per Lydia culta | *despumat* rutilus uolueus Pactolus harenas' (the words marked with an asterisk are my corrections for corruptions in the mss), *Laus Serenae* 74 sqq. 'Cantaber Oceanus uicino litore gemmas | *expuit,* *effossis* nec pallidus *Astur* oberrat | montibus.' For the Tagus and other auriferous rivers see Mayor on *Juv.* 14. 299.

756. **quod,** see Crit. App. **summis harenis.** Lucan agrees with Aeschylus *Prom.* 805 τὸν του μουνώπα στρατόν | 'Αρµασπὸν ἱπποβάμου, οί χρυσόρρυτον | οἰκούν ἀμφὶ νὰ µα πλοῦτων πόρου, whereas the story given in Herodotus 3. 116, cf. 4. 13, is that the Arimaspi stole it from the griffins (γρύπας τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας). For *dines* cf. Orph. *Arg.* 1067 'Αρµασπὸν τ’ ἐθνη πολυτάµονα λάδν.

757. **ut rapiant** 'though they seize,' *has for its object the two preceding lines.

758. **Tarpeias arces,** cf. v 305 sq. (of Caesar) 'non illis urbes
spoliandaque templa negasset | Tarpeiamque Louis sedem.' victor, i.e. the victorious soldiers, a collective as in 838. Cf. 102 n.

desperderit. It is remarkable that this is the very word used by Cicero Att. ii. 6. 6 of the intended confiscations by the Pompeians 'L. uero Lentulus Hortensii domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat.'

760. castra 'in that they are plundering—a camp.'

761. caespite. So Caesar says c. 96 'in castris Pompei uidere licuit trichilas stratas, magnum argenti pondus expositum, recentibus caespitibus tabernacula constrata, L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hedera.' Plut. Pomp. 72, describing the same scene of luxury, says πᾶσα γὰρ σκηνὴ μυρανᾶς κατέστεπτο καὶ στρωμναῖς ἄνθιναὶ ἕσκητο καὶ τραπέζαις ἐκπωμάτων μεσταῖς. Lucan, it will be observed, mentions only the sods of turf. No doubt the plate and other appliances were bellorum in sumptus (753). caesum (Crit. App.), the regular word for hewing wood, turf, or stone: cf. Caesar B. G. 5. 42 'gladiis caespites circumcidere.' It is here applied to the cubile made out of the sods.

764. quos 'sc. at eos' H. who quotes Hor. Serm. i. i. 32—36, ib. 41—43. quies, 26 n. furentes, cf. Prop. 3 (4). 8. 15 'seu timidam crebro dementia somnia terrent.'


766. inugiilat, 'hoc enim in somniis uident quod per diem admisere crudeliter' Schol. Stat. Theb. 3. 4 sq., which H. quotes, is a good commentary, 'inugiilant animo scelerisque parati | supplicium exercent curae.'

767. 'And their hands move, closed on the absent sword-hilt.' mouentur, as in fighting, cf. II 201 sqq. 'densi uix agmina uolgi | inter et exangues inmissa morte cateruas | uictores mouere manum,' and cf. ib. 261.

768. putem and ncentem (Crit. App.).

769. inspirasse, cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 351 'uiipeream inspirans animam,' imitated by Ov. Met. 4. 498 sq. 'inspirantque graves animas nec uulnera membris | ulla ferunt, mens est quae diros sentiat ictus.' animas seems to mean 'spirits of the dead' (cf. 816), here regarded as exhalations of the earth. It must be remembered that in the Stoic view the soul was corporeal and consisted of fiery breath (Zeller Stoics &c. ch. IX).

infuctum aera 'poisoned,' 'tainted air,' not a common use. Cf. however Manil. 2. 354 'aeraque infectum nostras demittit ad auras'; Claud. in Rufin. 1. 301 sq. 'ac uelut infecto morbus crudescre caelo | incipiens.'
770. superam noctem 'night in the upper world,' opposed to Stygia nocte 817. Cf. v 627 sq. 'non caeli nox illa fuit; latet obsitus aer | infernae pallore domus.'

772. sibila and flammas allude to the snakes and torches of the Furies. infert 'brings before him'; cf. Stat. Theb. 8. 627 'sponsum unde mihi sopor intulit amens?'

773. terroris imago 'phantom terror.' Cf. for the gen. IV 231 'pro dira pudoris | foedera,' and 179 (Crit. App.).

774. figuras, mere shapes, 'spectres,' so Lucr., Virg. Contrast VI 660 'iam noua, iam uera reddetur uita figura.'

775. cadauera, the corpse, i.e. the phantom which the Romans did not clearly distinguish from it. The shade has all the wounds and marks of the body. Lucan uses plur. for sing. as well as sing. for plur. (102 n.); cf. 408, 440, compare also 711 n. populus and populi are particularly difficult to discriminate.

776. From in twice repeated we may see Lucan's idea is not that of haunting, but of possession.

777. Scythica, at the altar of the Tauric Artemis; see Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris.

778. Pelopeus, when applied to members of the family, appears generally to connote crime or disaster. So Prop. 4 (5). 6. 33, Ov. Tr. 4. 4. 67.

779. attonitos, 134 n. animi tumultus, cf. mentis tumultu 183; 'miseros tumultus | mentis' Hor. Carm. 2. 16. 10 sq.

780. For Pentheus' illusions see Eur. Bacch. 918 sqq., and for Agave's awakening from her madness ib. 1264 sqq. Compare the imitation in Stat. Theb. 3. 189 sq. 'cum lassa furorem | uicit, et ad comitum lacrimas expauit Agaue.'

781. ultrix...dies 'the day of vengeance'; cf. Sil. It. 2. 495 'statque dies ausis olim tam tristibus utor.' ulisura. The omission of est with the fut. part. is very rare. It occurs however in Prop. 1. 19. 18 (perhaps 8. 37) and at least five times in Claudian. stringente, sc. eos, 'when the senate unsheathes.'

782. premunt 'pursue him,' cf. 773. flagellant. The idea of scourging is frequent in descriptions of the torments of a guilty conscience; cf. Lucr. 3. 1019 sq. 'at mens sibi conscia facti (cf. the next verse) | praemetuens adhibet stimulos terretque | flagellis,' [Quint.] decl. 12 § 28 'meum sane conscientia urunt animum intus seculerum faces, et quotiens facta reputauit, flagella mentis sonant, ultrices uideo furias (= infera monstra).' See also Juv. 13. 193 sqq. (with Mayor's notes).
784. *donat* 'makes a present of,' 'remits'; first of the penalty which is not exacted, a use further developed by Lucan, e.g. vi 58 'et ratibus longae flexus *donare* Maleae' ('to save ships the doubling of Malea'); then of the crime for which the penalty is due, as ix 144 'superis haec crimina *dono*,' 1087 sq. 'parcimus annis | *donamusque nefas*, and 850 below.

785. *ingesta* 'thrust upon his sleeping eyes' (57, 798). Compare Statius' imitation Th. 7. 466 sq. 'bacchatur utriusque | Tisiphone castris; fratrem huic, fratrem *ingerit* illi, | aut utrique patrem.' VIII 431 sqq. 'non tibi cum primum gelidum transibis Araxen | umbra senis maesti | Scythicis confixa sagittis | *ingerit* has uoces.'

786. *uiuente* 'still alive.' After Pompey's death Caesar will suffer more.


788 sq. *nulla* appears to be distributive, 'no feature of the place,' as in Verg. G. i. 506 'iam multae scelerum facies' means 'so many forms of crime.' It may however be taken with H. as 'not at all,' cf. 25 n. *renocat...haerentes* 'recalls from lingering'; for the part. cf. 678, 732. *propulsa*, cf. 637.

791. *sidentis* 'sinking down' seems intended to suggest the absent pyre; cf. Prop. 3 (4). 9. 37 'in cineres arcem *sedisse repentes*.' Then *in tabem* will = 'non in cineres.'

792. *populos*, cf. 634, 812. *epulis*, mere spite. Appian tells us, c. 81 fin., that on the evening of the battle Caesar and his men supped off a meal prepared for the Pompeians, which is likely enough; cf. Introd. p. xxxii.

794. *non cernere terram*, i.e. to see every inch of ground covered with corpses.

795. *clade*, 651 n. For the next line see Crit. App.

797. *furens* belongs to *inuidet*; see 33 n.

798. *igne*. The abl., which in Quintilian's time was the usual construction, 9. 3. 1 'ut *hac re inuidere*, non, ut ueteres et Cicero praecipue, *hanc rem*,' first appears in Livy 2. 40. 11 'non inuiderunt *laude* sua mulieribus uiri Romani.' It is very likely an imitation of the Gk. gen. with φθονεῖν. *nocenti*. The sense appears to be that he punishes the guilty gods by thrusting (785 n.) the carnage of Pharsalia in their faces. Cf. Stat. *Silu.* 2. 2. 84 'quaet *tibi Parthenopen* derecto limite ponti | *ingerit*' (forces Naples on your gaze).

800. *consulis*, L. Aemilius Paullus. *Cannae*, like *Emathiam*
(supra), of the piles of slain. This is made clear by succensae, cf. Livy 45. 33. 2 'subdita face succendit.' For the facts see Introd. p. xxxiv, n. 3.

801. in hoste (Crit. App.), cf. Prop. 3 (4). 19. 28 'victor erat quamuis, aequus in hoste fuit.'

803. ciues, so more obnoxious than hostes. The violence of civil animosity has been often shown in history, as in the feuds of Corcyra and in the ferocious language of Vitellius, which H. quotes, Suet. Vit. 10 'optime olere occisum hostem, et melius ciuem.'

805. non interpositis, generally interpreted (after the Schol. 'separatis') 'with no gaps between them.' As this inverts the verb's meaning, it is best to explain it of bodies so closely packed on a single pile that no flames can pass between them.

806. aut etc., if you act thus to pain your son-in-law, there is a more effectual way of doing it. nemus 'the felled timber,' cf. Sen. Herc. Fur. 1223 'structum aceruans nemore congesto aggerem.'

810. receptat, cf. Lucr. quoted on 818.

811. sibi debent, i.e. have in them the seeds of their own decay.

812. usserit. The fut. perf. means 'though you effect your purpose now.'

814. communis rogus, when the world is destroyed by fire. The periodical destruction of the world by fire (ἐκνύρωσις) or by water was held by Seneca, as by most Stoics, though when the agent would be fire and when water, was not actually determined. Berosus, quoted by Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 3. 29. 1, held that the universal conflagration would take place when all the planets were in the same straight line in the sign of Cancer, and the universal deluge when that sign was Capricorn. See also 135 n. ossibus astra mixturus. So v 636 'nox manes mixtura deis.'

815. tuam. The subst. animam is anticipated from the next line; for a somewhat similar anticipation cf. 20 n.

816. eunt, see Crit. App. and 114 n. The sense is 'whatever the destination of your spirit, some of these spirits will be there with you.' Lucan has of course no doubt of Caesar's destination. ibis in auras. The Stoics believed that the souls of the good, after undergoing a purgation, rose into the ether where they assumed a spherical shape like the stars'; hence Pompey's umbra 'aeternos animam collegit in orbes' (ix 9). Lucan (l.c. 5 sq.) fixes as the place 'qua niger astriferis conectitur axibus aer | quaque patet terras inter lunaeque meatus,' cf.
Seneca *Cons. ad Marc.* 25. i 'paulum supra nos commoratus dum expurgatur et inhaerentia uitia situmque omnem mortalis aeui excutit, deinde *ad excelsa sublatus* inter *felicis* currit *anima*.' There they remained till the general conflagration. The souls of the bad on the other hand were punished in the nether world. So apparently Seneca *Ep.* 117. 6, and other writers.

818 sq. refer to the bodies. *fortunae.* The gen. is a Graecism, first in Horace (*A. P.* 212), and Virgil (*Aen.* 10. 154) 'libera *fati.*'

capit etc., cf. Lucr. 2. 999 sqq. 'cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, | in terras et quod missumst ex aetheris oris, | id rursum caeli rellatum templam receptant,' cf. 5. 319 sq. 'si *procreat* ex se | omnia, quod quidam memorant, recipitque perempta' (i.e. *caelum*).

caelo tegitur. For the met. cf. Lucr. 6. *1134* 'caeli mutemus amictum.'

820. *inhumato funere* 'unburied corpses.' The opposite is found in Claudian *in Rufin.* 1. 155 'et *condita funera* traxi | carminibus uictura meis,' cf. *ix* 151 'inhumatos condere manes.' For the sing. cf. 102 n.; and for the abstract 471 n.

821. cladem, 651 n.

822. trahæ, here 'drink'; cf. *iv* 368 'subitarum *tractus* aquarum.'

utere, i.e. breathe.

823. sed 'No!'

827. *Pholoe.* Lucan clearly regards this as a mountain in Thessaly or its neighbourhood; cf. *iii* 197 sqq. 'linquitur *Haemus* | Thricius et populum *Pholoe* mentita biformem. | deseritur *Strymon* tepido committere Nilo | *Bistonias* consuetus aues' (cf. 833), and *vi* 388 sqq. And so Statius *Ach.* 1. 168, 238 (where it is joined with Tempe and Othrys), and also *Theb.* 3. 604, 10. 228 (where the reference is to Thessalian horses), and Sidon. *Apoll.* 6. 23 'Pindus *Othrys Pholoe.*' Ovid *F.* 2. 273 and Pliny *N. H.* 4. 21 name it as a mountain in Arcadia, and so many Greek writers. It is however clearly placed in Thessaly by Euripides *Herc. Fur.* 182, compared with 363 sqq., Orph. *Arg.* 382, Dionysius in *Anth. Pal.* 6. 3. It would seem then more than probable that there was a Pholoe in Thessaly as well as in Arcadia, just as there was a river Peneus near both; and that where the fight of the Centaurs and Lapithae is referred to (as *Val. Fl.* 1. 140, 3. 66) the *Thessalian* Pholoe is intended. *leones.* In the time of Pausanias lions existed in Thrace (6. 5. 4).

830. motum 'disordered,' 'upset'; of the human body Livy 25. 26. 7 'nam tempore autumni et locis natura grauibus—intoleranda uis
aestus per utraque castra omnium fere corpora mouit'; of the mind Ov. Tr. 5. 6. 24 'ut mea sit longis mens quoque mota malis.' For the sense compare Milton Paradise Lost bk. x 'So saying with delight he snuff'd the smell | Of mortal change on earth.' cada-uere, 598 n.

832. The cranes—birds which do not eat carrion—were this year later in migrating from Thrace to Egypt. Their migration is alluded to V 711 sqq. Cf. Shelley Hellas, 'As multitudinous on the ocean line | As cranes upon the cloudless Thracian wind.'

834. tanto vulture seems to be an expression like multa auis, which means not 'many a bird' (distributive), but 'plenty of birds' (collective), as multa rosa means a 'bed of rose-leaves,' so that we might translate 'never did the sky clothe itself so thickly with vultures.' But, as Lucan frequently puts singular for plural (cf. 102 n.), it differs little from 'so many vultures.'

835. induit. For the metaphor cf. Claud. Phoenix (c. min. 27) 77 'exercitus ingens (alituum) | obnubit uario lateconuexa meatu.' He has used the same metaphor twice before 538, 819.

836. alite (cf. vulture 834)...roribus, a good instance of the way in which ablatives are sometimes accumulated in Latin in slightly different senses; the first one is nearly equivalent to per with the acc. For the phrase, which appears to be from Virg. Aen. 12. 339 sq. 'spargit rapida ungula rores | sanguineos' (cf. 8. 645 'rorabant sanguine uepres') compare 1X 698 'dirosque fero de sanguine rores.'

838. victoris, the victorious army, cf. 758 n.

841. peruenit ad ossa 'was reduced to bones,' cf. Varro R. R. 1. 23. 3 'si [lupinum] ad siliquas non ita peruenit ut, 'reaches the stage of pods.'

842. abit with in feras, 'passed into beasts.'

843. auide. Cf. 'auide desaeuit' VI 540, 'auide petitis' IV 445.


845. nimbi 'rain.'

846. longior, the comparative differs little from the positive, but appears to mark impatience, VIII 27 'longius acuum | destruit ingentis animos,' 'unduly protracted.' resolutam, broken up into its components; cf. Lucr. 2. 62 sq. 'quo motu genitalia materiail | corpora res uarias gignant genitasque resoluant.'

847. tanto, Crit. App.
NOTES.

849. scelerum fatis. It is not clear whether ‘wicked deaths’ or ‘fated crimes’ is intended.

850. inmemor, by ceasing to remember. H. well translates ‘forget and forgive’ (donet 784 n.). uetustas ‘length of ages.’


852. nouae, at Philippi, see 872 n.

853. siccos hoc sanguine, Prop. 4 (5). ro. 11 sq. ‘hic spolia ex umeris ausus sperare Quirini | ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo.’

854. uertamus ‘uptum,’ of ploughing; Lucr. 5. 210 ‘fecundas uertentes uomere glaebas,’ and elsewhere.

855. ab. The prose construction appears to be religare ad. In poetry ab (Virg. Aen. 7. 106, Ov. Met. 14. 445) ‘herbosus religatus ab aggere funis,’ in (Ov. Catull. with acc.) or the simple abl. (Hor. Sen.) are used.

856. bustum. Cf. ‘commune sepulcrum Europae Asiaeque’ Catull. 68. 9q.

857. gregibus includes flocks and herds; both liked the low-growing shrubs. dumeta. Virg. Ecl. r. 76, G. i. 15.

858. inpatiens hominum, and so uninhabited; cf. IX 857 ‘inpatiens solum Cereris cultore negato.’

859. limite ‘zone’ (sona or plaga), cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 226 sq. ‘et si quem extensa plagarum | quattuor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui.’ The abl. is one of cause, ‘through being in the torrid zone,’ cf. also 72 n.

860. liceat ‘let it be possible,’ which it is not, as no land is more nocens than another.

861. ‘Why seek to convict and to absolve the whole world at once?’ premitis has a special reference to criminal trial=‘to fasten guilt on a defendant’; cf. Suet. Ner. 7 ‘a qua rea premebatur,’ Ov. Met. 14. 401 ‘criminibusque prement ueris’; cf. Livy 3. 13. 1 ‘premebat reum praeter uulgatam inuidiam crimen unum.’ It is opposed to absoluitis, for which cf. II 249 sq. ‘an placuit—ciuile absoluere bellum?’

862. Pachymi refers to the wars with Sex. Pompeius. The fighting was however chiefly near the straits of Messina.

863. Mutina, the war with Antony in which Hirtius and Pansa were killed, cf. i 41 sq. ‘his, Caesar, Perusina fames Mutinaeque labores | accedant fatis, et quas premit aspera classes | Leucas et ardentis seruilia bella sub Aetna.’
Philippos is reserved to the end. It of course means both Pharsalia and Philippi.

From a comparison of Lucan's language in book vii and elsewhere it would appear that he uses Pharsalia in Thessaly and Philippi in Macedonia as though they were convertible terms. Of Pharsalia, besides the correct Thessalia Thessalicus (vii 6, 152, 164, 202, 302, 439, 454, 473, 650, 693, 765, 808, 847), we find used also Emathia, Emathius (166, 191, 427, 683, 794, 799, 846, 860 of both Pharsalia and Philippi), and Haemonia, Haemonius (825, 858 of both). Further, Pharsalia is placed near Mount Haemus, the Balkan range (174, 480), and Thrace (826, 833). Philippi is said to be in Thessaly (591 sq.), and it is used of both the battles (872), which are said to take place on the same ground (854). This confusion did not begin with Lucan. Ovid clearly identifies the two in Met. 15. 823 sq. 'Pharsalia sentiet illum (Augustum) | Emathiaque iterum madefient caede Philippi.' So Manilius i. 908—913 and probably Propertius 3 (4). 11. 35 and 40 (and my praefatio p. vi), not to speak of later writers. The source of the confusion has been sought by Merivale and others in a misunderstanding of Virg. G. 1. 489 sqq. 'ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis | Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi; | nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.' It certainly seems most improbable that Virgil should have been ignorant that Philippi was nowhere near Pharsalia: iterum may be taken with paribus concurrere telis, while in the following lines bis may be taken as once in Emathia (i.e. Thessaly) and once in the broad Haemus plains (Macedonia); or again, what seems preferable, these two expressions together may be supposed to be the equivalent of the political Macedonia which included Thessaly. Besides the ambiguity of this passage, there were other circumstances which would contribute to confusion. Emathia, the old name of Macedonia or that of one of its districts, appears also in Thessaly ([Hom.] Hymn. Ap. 216), of which according to Servius on Virg. l.c. it was actually a name. Haemonia, the old name of Thessaly, is applied by Apollonius Rhodius to a district of Macedonia, and there was an Enipeus in Macedonia as well as in Thessaly. It may however be doubted whether the confusion is due to sheer mistake. Rhetoric and flattery probably had a hand in its production. How effective was it to make the two great battles fought on the same ground! How dexterous to suggest to a ruler who wished to bring his own fortunes into the closest connexion with the career of his 'parent' that here too he followed him 'perque patris pater Augustus uestigia uicit!' Manil. l.c.
CRITICAL APPENDIX.

Manuscripts. Few writers appear to have been more popular in the Middle Ages than Lucan; and there are consequently a great number of manuscripts of his poems in existence. Those on which recent criticism bases the text belong for the most part to the 10th century.

M Montepessulanus at Montpellier.
U Vossianus II at Leyden.
B Bernensis at Berne.
E Erlangensis at Erlangen.
V Vossianus I at Leyden.
G Gemblacensis at Brussels.

Besides these there are some fragments of two much older MSS (palimpsest) written in capitals and ascribed to the 4th century, containing portions of books v, vi and vii.

N partly at Vienna and partly at Naples.
P Palatinus at Rome, Vaticanus n. 24, containing vi 21–61, 228–267, vii 458–537.

Dr Hosius cites also C, Commenta Bernensia, Berne (370) 10th cent., which consists of scholia (i.e. extracts with explanations) without text.

The first named MSS he divides into two groups: I. the ‘Pauline’ group, so named from a subscription which is found at the end of books II, VII, X, in M and U, Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendaui mea manu solus. This Paulus whose date has been assigned as A.D. 674 (Teuffel’s

1 The materials are drawn chiefly from Dr Hosius’ edition (Teubner, 1892) with Praefatio and Apparatus criticus, and from his and Mr Heitland’s papers in the Neue Jahrbücher, 1893, pp. 337–353, and the Classical Review, 1894, pp. 34 sqq., 122, 371 sq.; 1895, pp. 8 sqq., 149 sqq., 193 sqq.
2 Certainly considerably over a hundred; but the exact number is unknown.
3 See De Lucani codice Erlangensi by Arnold Genthe (Jena, 1894).
Hist. of Latin Literature, 303. 9) appears to have made a text for Lucan, just as Mauortius (ib. 477. 3) consul A.D. 527 did for Horace and other writers. To M and U, as it would appear from internal evidence, B and E, which agree together very closely (with C), should be added as also representing the Pauline text. II. the ‘non-Pauline’ group includes V and G and gives a different, and on the whole an inferior text. The palimpsest fragments, which are three centuries older than Paulus, show a text which differs considerably from the ‘Pauline’

The texts which these manuscripts severally give are not quite pure. In other words they show traces of mixture through the introduction of readings from other sources than those they were immediately derived from.

The text which may be elicited from a comparison of these readings (for though M is perhaps the best, no one of them can be followed exclusively) is not without corruption. It is however better than that of many Latin writers.

DIGEST OF READINGS.

When more than one reading is cited, that standing first is the reading of the text. The small letters denote readings introduced by correction into the manuscripts; e.g. m denotes corrections in M. In such cases the original reading is, where necessary, indicated by 1 placed above the line, thus M1. ed. denotes conjectures by the present editor. ad loc. means the explanatory notes.

2 luctifiscs Burmann, perhaps rightly, as otherwise it is natural to join numquam magis with aethera contra, which cannot be right. With Lucan however the argument is not conclusive. 3 currumque EGb, possibly right. 28 populis MBE, populo V1, populi UGv some edd., taking pares as a verb ‘whence get?’ 43 edere, for which U has odere, M1B1 sedere, seems corrupt. It cannot be taken either as (1) ‘used up’ (consumpsere) ‘all the grief’ they were allowed to show (Ov. Met. 13. 540 is different) or as (2) ‘mumbled’ ‘did not let out.’ clausere (or clusere) ‘shut in’ would express the sense required (for which we may compare I 257 sqq., 20 sq.) and is not far from the letters, as cl

1 Dr Hosius in his genealogical tree of the relations of the codices (praefatio p. xix) makes MBC direct descendants of the copy of Paulus, while UG are partly derived from V. It is certainly not easy to explain the relation of the readings of our mss to a ‘Pauline’ original in many passages of VII, e.g. 130, 154, 180, 303, 503, 530, 751, 766, 816.
and d are often confused and o often written for au or u. sedere and odere would then both preserve more of the truth than edere. 58 perdere U1V1, an easier and worse reading than uertere. 72 humano generi old editions. 90 omitted by MB and rejected by some scholars. Some such line however appears to be wanted. 95 Bentley would punctuate o caeci sceleorum. 103 omitted by M3B1E1U1. 125 ut ecutus Bentley. 130 mortis uenturaest ed. (m. uenturae est vulg.), mortis uenturae B1Um, et mors uentura est MVGb, U has est at the end of 129. The variants seem to be best explained by the text. uenturae and st, the weak form of est, were written as one word in accordance with the best classical usage; compare note on 532 below. For the words Hosius well compares Juv. 4. 74 sq. in quorum facie miseræ magnæaque sedebat | pallor amicitiae. 141 corrigitur (or corr.) ed., erigitur MSS which would mean 'is set upright' or 'is elevated' (e.g. Livy i. 27. 8). For 'corrigere' cf. Seneca de ira i. 6. 8 'hastilia detorta corrigamus,' 'curua corrigere' Plin. Ep. 5. 21. 6 'to set the crooked straight,' proverbial of a Utopian reformer. The corruption, which appears to be due to the first letter of l. 140, was detected by Nettleship who proposed derigitur; but 'derigere' seems to mean 'to make something straight' (ab initio), not 'to straighten it.' 143 aptat a variant reading of v adopted by Grotius and Oudendorp, artat the MSS. It is hard to see why the horsemen should draw the reins tight (for the sense of which cf. [Tib.] Pan. Messal. 91 sq. aut quis equum celeremque arto compescere freno | possit et effusas tardo permittere habenas') before going into action, and several of our MSS have artare for apt. at viii 655. Compare 'aptare arma.' Livy 5. 49. 3 'make ready for action.' 154 omitted by M1V1 and generally condemned as an interpolation. oculis should be oculos. 156 pythonas BME, a mere corruption of typhonas. 172 nimione Bersmann, nimiose MSS. 179 sq. defunctosque ululare patres et s. u. ed. after Oudendorp who reads defunctos ululare; most editors follow MBEG. The MSS disagree remarkably here. defunctosque patres et cunctas s. MBEG, defunctos uolitare patres et s. VU; in 180 EGB have uolitare or the like, MVU ululare. The suspicious word in these variants and in the vulgate text is cunctas, which is extremely feeble in itself, and necessitates our giving to sanguinis the sense of 'kindred' which is without example, if we except a corrupt passage in Phaedrus (r. 28. 10); Heinsius conjectured iuncti for it, but this does not explain the other MS variants. On the other hand ululare (cf. Ov. Fast. 2. 549-552) and uolitare which Hosius well defends inter alia by [Ovid] Ibis 157 'ante os oculosque uolabo' are
both appropriate words. Retaining both and ejecting cunctas, we have an unexceptionable text which will explain the variants. ululare (179) and uolitare (180) occurred in the same place of the line so that their transposition was easy. When this took place the que was omitted for the scansion. This gives VU’s reading. In the other mss ululare was corrupted to uolitare and then omitted as superfluous and unmetrical (in M without this excuse) and cunctas added to make a line. The sense will be then ‘they seemed to hear their fathers shriek like spirits of the dead and to see their bloody wraiths flit before their eyes.’ sanguinis = ‘sanguineas,’ cf. 773 n.; it explains why the appearance was an omen scelerum. They hoped to slay their parents. Compare Homer Od. 20. 351 sqq. which Lucan is adapting: a δειλοι, τι κακὸν τὸδε πᾶσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν υμέων | εἰλθαται κεφαλαὶ τε πρόσωπα τε νέρθε τε γούνα,'| οἷμωγὴ δὲ δέδηση, δεδακρυντι δὲ παρειαλ, | αἷματι δ’ ἐρράσαι τοῖχοι καλαὶ τε μεσόδιμαι; | εἰλθαλών δὲ πλέον πρόθυρον· πλεῖη δὲ καὶ αὐλὴ| λεμέων ἔρεβόσσε δὲν ἥθοφον· ἡμίος δὲ | οὐρανοῦ ἐεξαπόλωλε, κακῆ δ’ ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλὸς. 180 dementibus, ed. for sed mentibus MSS in which neither sed nor mentibus appear to have any sense. For demens in a similar connexion, cf. Prop. 3. 8. 15 ‘seu timidam crebro dementia somnia terrent.’ The s of suos was written twice and d and e transposed. 199 lumen (a common corruption of numen) V¹UG some edd. 200 omitted by MBE¹. 202 cuncta is superfluous and may have come from 201. caeca would furnish an excellent antithesis to spectari. 216 I have changed the punctuation, placing a comma after certo, instead of after campis. 225 habenis BE. Cf. Sil. It. quoted ad loc. 244 et added by Grotius. The asyndeton in the MSS is without justification. fatis VU¹ Hosius; but see the parallels cited ad loc. 252 The MSS here are divided between accersite and accersite. These two originally distinct verbs (Dr Wilkins Journal of Philology vi p. 278, Nettleship Contributions to Latin Lexicography s. vv.) appear to be inextricably confused in MSS. 257 sq. only in G and mvbe, apparently an addition by someone who desired in Caesar’s speech something corresponding to vv. 345 sq. in Pompey’s. Caesar does not appeal to selfish motives till 264 sqq. 262 The MSS are thus divided here: gladioque G (also C), gladiisque VU, gladiosque M, B omits the word perhaps as illegible; for culpam VG (culpas U) MB have culpa. gladiis (and culpas) may be dismissed as accommodations to the plural exsolvite. They seem however to presuppose gladio—

¹ This was written before I found practically the same reading and explanation in Oud.’s note.
culpam. We have then to decide between gladio—culpam and gladios—culpa. In the conflict of MS testimony internal considerations must decide, and ‘free your swords from guilt’ as explained by l. 261 ‘patriam—petitis’ is not so pertinent in the context as ‘free yourselves from guilt by your swords,’ i.e. ‘pugnate truces’; cf. VIII 517 sq. ‘crimen habemus | purgandum gladio’ and elsewhere and for the verb exsoluïte V 259 ‘metus exsoluerat audax | turba suos.’ On the other hand Hosius’ reading may be thought to derive some support from 263 ‘nulla manus—para est.’ 286 quorum M¹G¹V Hosius; but quarum BU (also C) is a less obvious reading and agrees better with ensem—lancea—lacerto. 303 parata MV Hosius; but paratur BEUG (and C) is well explained by Mr Heitland ‘what we are doing today means reward or punishment according to the event,’ and is supported by 470. 317 quantum MB which is awkward; cf. 847 below. 322 uerendos, —pignus. ed., uerendos.—pignus, the vulgar, see ad loc. 328 ne MSS, which is abrupt, nec, an easy change, would continue the command in 326. 331 For the not very satisfactory capiunt we may conjecture rapiunt. 335 locasses Grotius, locasset the MSS absurdly; for Lucan would not have said ‘si Caesar in Marte locasset totidem Caesaris’ (Magni socieros), and he has just told us Caesar did not arrange his men. 340 timeri Heinsius perhaps rightly, though Virg. Aen. 7. 173 sq. slightly favours the active. 351 uolunt MU, not so idiomatically. 363 Mr Heitland rightly defends comprensum ‘encompassed’ against compressum, V and most edd., comparing IX 913 ‘quasi ualli spatium comprehendit harenas’ and observing that ‘premeretur’ in III 253 is not really parallel. 385 concurrunt G, Grotius; but the actual engagement does not begin till 470. 394, 393 ed., 393, 394 MSS and edd. With the vulgar order the constr. is taken to be ‘rus uacuum uix poterit monstrare Albanos Lares.’ But ruins are not specially characteristic of Gabii Veii and Cora nor desolate country of Alba and Laurentum; both belong to both. And, as the que’s indicate, 394 is part of the catalogue of cities. Probably the verses would have been transposed before but for the fact that a reference to Alba follows. This however counts for nothing, as the last town mentioned, Laurentum, is no nearer to Alba than either Gabii or Cora. 395 quo MG (?E!); but elsewhere in Lucan habito takes the acc., seemingly the proper case in this use; cf. e.g. Horace Ep. i. 14. 2 (agellum) ‘habitatum quinque focis.’ 406 corpore BG, tempore (by a common confusion) EVU¹ (and M, but over an erasure) which suggests that civil wars ended with Pharsalia. 407 posset MU, which might stand.
414 *plena* MSS, *plana* Bentley. The ms reading seems however to be sufficiently supported by *plena—urbe* v 33, *'pleno litore'* VIII 309. The inhabitants are supposed to have flocked to the city walls (cf. 369). If any change be needed, *prona*, also confused with *plena*, would agree better with *in praeceps*. Cf. Claud. in Eutrop. 2. 27 sq. 'tremor Calchedona mouit | *pronus.*' 419 quo edd., quam M^1_, quae the rest. 421 omnibus annis MVBG; omnibus armis, EUC Hosius, would echo *omne bellum* in the same line. The antithesis of *dies—annis* seems decisive for the former. One day destroyed the work of all the years. 436 sqq. *Ausoniam.—nostris vulturis* ed., *Auszoniam,—nostris; vulturis* the vulgate. With the latter punctuation *uellem* has to be taken in a sort of parenthesis with *incognita* (fem. sing.) 'liberty which I could wish had been unknown' and *seruisses* as = 'seruire debebas' (cf. 646 n.). *uellem* however never seems to be so used (though 'utinam' is in Tib. 1. 3. 2), and a feeble line is produced. 450 *Mimantis* Parrhasius, minantis (or -es) the MSS. 452 intulit MBE, inpulit UVGC. With Mr Heitland I prefer the former 'brought the stars in upon Thystes.' He says 'the sense will be very like VI 742-4 tibi...inmittam ruptis Titana cauernis | et subito feriere die.' 462-3 A well-known crux. P (see above, p. 89) VU (originally it would appear; both lines are over erasures) have the order 463, 462; and so Lactantius Placidus the commentator on Statius, our oldest authority except P (he does not quote 462 at all). The order 462, 463 is given by MBE. G omits 462 which is added by g. Internal considerations lead me to assent to Mr Heitland who recommends the order of the older witnesses. Coming to other differences, we must regret that P has lost the end of 462 having only VVLTVS QVO NO (we may supply SCERE; but the rest cannot be conjectured) and that the readings of M are not certain. The following are the variants in 462:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\{\text{manum PV Lact.} \quad \text{tempus (?M) VC Lact.}\} \\
&\{\text{manus EU (see above) gv} \quad \text{uultus PBEUg}\} \\
&\{\text{manus B before an erasure}^1 \quad \text{possent (-int Lact.) (?MVe)}\} \\
&\{\text{que agnoscre BEUg} \quad \text{quaerunt BEUg}\}
\end{align*}
\]

In 463 U has *qua* for *quam*; but the MSS otherwise agree. It thus appears (1) that *manum* is better supported than *manus* which however has some authority; (2) that *uultus* and *tempus* are well supported, the former more strongly; (3) that the letters between *qu* and

1 (\(\text{\(\overset{\circ}{u}\)}\overset{\circ}{a}=um\).)
**noscere** are matter of doubt; (4) that there is hopeless disagreement about the end of the line. There are four words, *uultus, tempus, possent, quaerunt* competing for two places. *Quaerunt* is now rejected by all, and rightly so: it is clearly an attempt to provide a governing verb for the infinitive. *Tempus* again, as Dr Hosius and Mr Heitland agree, is undoubtedly genuine. Of the two words left, *possent* may well have been interpolated for the same reason as *quaerunt*, while *uultus* does not appear to be due to *agnoscere*, as it occurs in P. *Uultus* again gives a touch which Lucan is not likely to have omitted (cf. 322, IV 170). I think then the variants are best explained by the hypothesis that the end of 462 was injured in the archetype and its last word *tempus* was written in again in a place where it might be thought to refer to *uultus*, one scribe accordingly taking *uultus* and another *tempus* from the supposed alternatives and each filling up the line according to his fancy, the difficulty of the real construction 'noscere uultus ac (noscere) quae monstra facturi forent' (cf. 375 n.) preventing them from seeing the truth. As QVE is written Q. in early MSS, -que agnoscere and quo noscere could easily come from Q.ACNOSCERE (ac noscere which Oudendorp conjectured). The resulting reading will be *inde manum spectant*; *uultusque ac noscere tempus*. The disagreement about the order of the lines may mean that one of them (which must be 463, where too it may be observed that *aut* is not correctly used) is spurious. Then we shall read and punctuate *inde manum spectant* uultusque, ac noscere tempus. 488–521 PMGV have these verses in the order of the numbers which, however, as Dr Hosius and Mr Heitland contend, cannot be correct. They adopt the order of U and with slight difference of BE, 488, 510–520, 489–509, 521. I prefer that of C 488, 514–520, 489–513, 521: for (1) it is not like Lucan to mention the light-armed without any description of them; (2) there is no close connexion between 488 and 510–513, while there is a close connexion between 488 and 514 sqq. *tunc et de* then even the Ituraeans'; (3) *illī* (510) has no special point following 488, whereas after 509 it indicates *belli per ultima* and *per extremos—maniālos*; (4) we now understand the transpositions; someone observed that light-armed (archers) were mentioned in 514–520 and also in 510–513 and put a mark against each of the passages, in consequence of which subsequent copyists brought the passages together, some by moving 514–520 and others by moving 510–513. 489 *clādis* VUC, *cladus* M, *gladiis* GP (cf. on 748 below), *hominum* BE a gloss on *clādis*. 503 *a sanguine* MV, an interpolation to explain *calicet*. 504 sq. I long ago proposed *rerum tot pondere* 'with
the weight of so many circumstances' which would agree well with
uertens if it could have a neuter sense 'rocking' (otherwise nutans
or perhaps uergens which is said to be in some MSS might be read).
In
505 Bentley proposed distulit and, unnecessarily, torquente, taking
diu with the main verb. abstinet 'withholds' would perhaps be
tulit 'withstood,' which I also proposed, would do if we read
urgentis for ingentis.
509 laeuasque Bentley to make Lucan agree with Caesar (but see
diduxit cornua 506 and note there) and because saeas ought not to be applied to Pompeians, but see 511.
521 frons ibi P. 522 tenet is most obscure. It cannot have
its usual sense 'keeps in position' as that would contradict the next line
and it can hardly be interpreted as meaning 'quas a d id ipsum tenebat.'
A verb of moving appears to be required and ciet suggests itself: ciere
is used of moving reserves in Livy 9. 39. 8 'ab ultimis deinde subsidis
cietur miles.' The change is an easy one, and we have observed how often
Lucan's vocabulary coincides with Livy's.
530 pubes EVU and
some editors. 532 secutast P originally, the better form, see on
130 above, secuta est the rest. 571 seclerum et BE some edd.
575 contundere all the MSS but V; but this verb is not used
for cutting or thrusting.
585 Bentley, whose note should be read,
well supports his ingenious conjecture tot tantaque. But the Torquati
follow naturally on the Coruini, a name of similar origin. Lucan
mentions a Torquatus among the Pompeians in vi 285.
587 quid Burman from a codex at Hamburg, and so Dr Hosius against his
MSS which all have quod. Mr Heitland prefers quod, understanding
'how patriotic a weapon!'
589 Dr Hosius conjectures aeternum,
comparing Virg. Aen. 6. 235. Lucan however alters Virgil while
imitating him (Heitl. p. 110) and extremum seems rhetorically
more effective.
594 humani U and perhaps G1. culmen G,
the later form for column. premuntur VG, reguntur MBE and
U (but over an erasure), an easier reading. 598 commixta
plebe V1V which directly contradicts 577.
605 voluentem V, the
more common word; but uersantem is supported by Virg. Aen. ii.
669 'moriensque suo se in uulnere uersat.' 616 mersere Oudendorp,
uertere MSS which Mr Heitland defends (Cl. Rev. IX p. 196),
pressere MB, Hosius, right in sense but not near enough to the
tradition. 622 anima U (rightly, see ad loc.), animae G1, animam
the other MSS and Hosius who takes it with ictus (MUE1 for ictu).
625 e scissis ed., emissis MSS which compels us to take uenis as
'blood,' a use without example in Lucan or other Classical writers.
CRITICAL APPENDIX.

abscedo, rescindo, interscindo are all used of opening veins, and the emendation is supported by the passage of Ovid quoted ad loc. which Lucan appears to have in mind: 'transmittant' in the previous line may have induced the corruption. 641 Hosius reads uincimur with V, and serviat with MBEV. But see Mr Heitland (Cl. Rev. ix p. 197). quae serviat 'to be slaves' may however possibly be right. 643 pauidi EUG several edd., but the adv. is clearly right. 658 uoluit ed. with MSS, voluit the vulgate. We have here a good example of the consequences of neglecting to spell Latin as the Romans spelt it. The MSS, except V which gives uonuit, have uoluit which may come either from uelle or uoluere. The edd. write volvit, thus unconsciously altering the text. Naturally dissatisfied with this, they propose conjectures, e.g. fovit, movit. nouit, a variant in V, is better than either; but no change is needed. 659 iam BE, ait the rest (G over an erasure) and edd., but the verb can be dispensed with, ix 122 sqq. 675 seu Sulpitius, sed the MSS, a very natural mistake; but seu not only agrees better with Lucan's custom elsewhere but also with the preceding aut. 693 pugnae ed., pugnae, the vulgate punctuation, which makes the passage somewhat incoherent. As already said (cf. 72, 121 and notes) Lucan is fond of making one noun in the nom. the predicate to another. With nomen populare erit means 'will be due to,' but with par 'will consist in.' 696 erit M perh. E, erunt the rest. Both are correct, but erit is clearer. 735 aut Marte subactis must be corrupt, as it can only mean 'or the conquered' as in 613, VIII 144. Bentley conjectured in M. subactis, 'regarding the conquered,' and a Marte peracto has also been suggested. subactis may have come from peractis, in which case I would read ac for aut with V. peragere properly is 'to drive through' or 'about,' so 'to exhaust,' cf. Sen. Ep. 58. 2 'pecora peragentem et totis saltibus dissipantem asilum,' Ov. F. 4. 693 sq. 'ille suam peragebat humum, siue usus aratri | seu curuae falcis siue bidentis erat,' i.e. exercebat. So in Manil. 4. 593 'solem—peractum' (Ellis, MSS 'profectum'). 740 cunctis is very suspicious. Heins. conjectured fuluis. rutilis would give the same sense and be somewhat nearer to the MSS. 746-7 Here again the MSS (and editors with them) disagree fundamentally, and the passage appears to have been tampered with. BE read nec plura locutus, MC sic milite inusso and omit 747. But two MSS give intermediate readings, U having nec plura locutus but omitting 747, G sic milite inusso but retaining it. These divergencies are intelligible, if originally the two readings of 746

P. L.
were alternatives and 747 stood in the margin. *nec plura locutus* seems to me more characteristic of Lucan than *sic milite iusso*, which might easily be made up from v. 736 'imperium—miles'; see vii 615, 239, 382, also ii 490, iv 544, viii 453 sq. 'non plura locutus | inpulit huc animos.' Again 748 is not exactly an order to the soldiers, but the result of an order. Whether however Lucan wrote 747 must be doubtful; we can only say he might have; for the language cf. besides viii l.c., i 87, iv 279. I retain it therefore, as at least giving the sense required. 748 *gladios* is suspicious. Burman conjectured *galeas*, Heinsius *clades*; cf. crit. note on 489. 751 *ruunt* MU, *volunt* BEVG, a natural corruption on which it appears unsafe to build. 754 *impleuit*. The subject is not quite clear; and hence the old conj. *implebit* (m), which can hardly be a correction, has more to recommend it, if we place a comma after *mentes* and a longer stop after *auri*. The subject of *implebit* will be v. 755, and its tense will agree with *putabunt* (757). The superior vigour of this is obvious. But I have left the vulgate. 755 *expuit* BE, *expulit* VUG, *extulit* M. 756 *quodque legit* MBE, but the perfect seems necessary. 761 *caesum* ed. with G, *caecum* B, *vacuum* Eb, *stratum* U (and over an erasure) MV. *caesum* is at least as well supported as *stratum* (Hosius) for B's first reading *caecum* is an obvious mistake for it and *vacuum* is a gloss on *caesum*, another corruption of it (*caesum* with the same gloss is actually found written over *caesum* in G), whereas M clearly did not read *stratum* originally. *stratum* appears to be a conjecture and an unhappy one to boot; for Lucan, whose object is to cover up the luxury of the Pompeians, would not have used a word which suggested it. *caesum* on the other hand (though perfectly correct, see ad loc.) would be difficult to a scribe. [*caesum* (Heinsius and Oudendorp) does not take an abl. of the person.] 765 *miseris* U Heinsius Oudendorp, *miseri* the other MSS and edd., placing a stop at *furentes*. But against this is first the tautology in *vaesana quies* and *sonni furentes*, which is unendurable if the sentence stops there, second the fact that the minds of the sleeping Caesarians are (naturally) represented throughout as passive, whereas *miseri uersant* involves mental activity (cf. Virg. quoted ad loc.). 768 *putes* G some edd., but *putem* is quite correct, cf. v 610 *crediderim. nocentes* several edd., perhaps rightly, cf. Ovid's words quoted ad loc. 796 omitted by M¹U¹G¹; apparently a marginal addition by some one who thought, not unnaturally, that the brutal conduct ascribed to Caesar required some explanation. 801 *hoste* ME, *hostes* the other MSS, an easier reading. 816 *eunt* BEUm, *sunt* M¹VG
Hosius. These variants may point to erunt, which I should prefer. 818 fortun(a)e M¹, fortuna the rest, not understanding the gen. 820-2 omitted by M¹V¹G¹ and out of place in U are rejected by many editors. They seem worthy of Lucan. 843 auïdae VUG which may be right. 847 Thessalia VGC perhaps U, but not so well. tanto BCm, more elegant than tantum Hosius with the rest. tandem is possible. 870 soluitis VG.

ADDENDUM.

462—3. I am glad to find myself to a certain extent in agreement with C. M. Francken Mnemosyne (n. series), vol. 22 p. 166, who reads 'inde manus spectant uoltusque ac noscere quaerunt,' comparing for the corruption II 193 where M reads ac noscendus for agnosce ndus. He places 462 before 463, in which he reads 'quo sua pila cadant et quae sibi fata minentur.' The sense thus obtained is a very fair one: but it may be doubted whether the MS variants can be thus explained; and the preponderance of evidence, as already said, is in favour of a different order of lines.
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