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Ceasar in the storm: A commentary on Lucan de bello civili 5.476-721

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**(Caesar in the storm): A commentary on
Lucan *De Bello Civili* 5.476-721**

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Submitted for the degree of PhD

2004



For my parents

Abstract

This thesis consists of a commentary on approximately 250 lines from Book 5 of the 1st century A.D. Roman 'historical epic' poem *De Bello Civili* of M. Annaeus Lucanus (referred to throughout the thesis as 'the storm-episode'). The overall aim of the project is to provide the reader with as thorough an analysis as possible, within the limitations of the thesis, of literary and historical points of interest within the text and so to facilitate a fuller understanding and appreciation of the storm-episode, its contribution to the long tradition of epic storm-narratives dating back to Homer and to the wider themes of the poem as a whole, in particular to Lucan's portrayal of Julius Caesar. This I have tried to achieve by a combination of line-by-line commentary and longer notes summarizing the content of the passages being looked at and drawing out issues of particular importance. Among the issues dealt with in the longer notes are the influence of the genre of love-poetry in the depiction of the close relationship between Caesar and his men (480ff and 678ff), possibly suggesting a link with the proto-type tyrant Alexander who was depicted in a similar way; the emphasis on Caesar's over-reliance on Fortuna (510), the storm-episode being possibly the single most important episode in the poem illustrating this aspect of Caesar's character; the tradition of 'hospitality' narratives lying behind the portrayal of Caesar at the home of the fisherman Amyclas (515ff), casting him in the 'role' of traditional epic god/hero; the influence of the tradition of ancient writings on meteorology for the section on bad weather signs (539ff), a reflection of the fashion for detailed displays of scientific knowledge in the Neronian period in which Lucan was writing. Throughout the commentary, the important questions of Lucan's engagement with the text of Virgil's *Aeneid* and how the lack of divine machinery in his poem is compensated for are also considered. Finally, two appendices deal with the relation of Lucan's text to the historical sources for the storm-episode and the ways in which Lucan deals with storm-narrative topoi in his own storm.

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Introduction

The section of Lucan's poem which I have chosen for comment (5.476-721) covers Julius Caesar's (failed) attempt to cross the sea from Dyrrachium to Italy in the winter of 48 B.C. in order to rally the rest of his troops (still in Italy under the command of Antony) without whom he could not progress with hostilities against Pompey, something he greatly desired. A description of his failed attempt to persuade Antony to make the journey from Italy (476-503) is followed by the narrative of his venture to cross the sea himself with the help of a fisherman called Amyclas in the middle of a great storm and his landing back on the Illyrian coast thanks to a miraculous 10th wave (504-702). The section ends with a short account of the arrival of the Caesarian troops at Nymphaeum north of Dyrrhachium once good weather had been restored (703-721).

The episode is dominated by the character of Caesar. Many of the traits with which he is characterised throughout the poem – battle-lust, impatience, refusal to tolerate obstacles, arrogance, monarchical ambition, pride in his achievements, speed of conquest, success in war, desire to be feared, inability to share power – are represented but, more important, the episode provides the best illustration in the poem of Caesar's reckless testing of his own Fortuna, a prominent aspect of his characterisation throughout the poem (cf. for example 5.301-3 *fata sed in praeceps solitus demittere Caesar / Fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens / exercere venit*). A close study of these lines therefore seemed worthwhile for the light it could shed on Lucan's presentation of the character of Caesar. No commentary of these lines has as far as I know been undertaken since Barratt's commentary of the whole of book 5 in 1979. While Barratt's work goes some way to demonstrating the influence of earlier writers on Lucan it often tends to foreground stylistic and grammatical points at the expense of interpretation (I have for the most part not commented on points of style and grammar except in certain cases) and it seemed that much more could be said particularly in the light of more recent work on Lucan including some which have a particular bearing on this episode; e.g. the studies of Borzsák (1983); Fantham (1985); Henderson (1988); Hershkowitz (1998); Hübner (1987); Masters (1992); Narducci (1983 & 2002); and works such as Taub (2003) on ancient meteorology for the weather-signs. The important work of Morford (*The Poet Lucan: Studies in Rhetorical Epic* (Oxford 1996²)) provides valuable information on the literary tradition lying behind Lucan's storms and his analysis of the storm in book 5 has formed the basis of my commentary on this section (504-677).

I believe my study of these 250 lines of Lucan's poem has brought to light a number of aspects of Lucan's presentation of Caesar not fully appreciated before.

Caesar's speech to Antony urging him to cross the Adriatic from Italy, the first speech in this episode (5.476-503), is revealing of Lucan's portrayal of the relationship between Caesar and his men. Caesar's words combine the bravado of the military leader with clear reminiscences of the style and content of Roman love-poetry. Elegiac elements include for example the allusion to the topos of words being wasted on the winds and the waves (*in ventos inpendo vota fretumque*, 491) and the allusion to the lover's willingness to endure danger for the sake of the beloved (*ne retine dubium cupientes ire per aequor*, 492). Furthermore, the scenario of Caesar addressing Antony across the divide of the sea seems particularly to recall the manner of one of the abandoned heroines of Ovid's *Heroides*. Elements of elegiac love-poetry have already been noted in speeches addressed to Caesar by his men in other parts of the poem (see for example Leigh (1997) 205ff), but not I believe in a speech of Caesar to his men. Furthermore I believe Caesar's speech to Antony shows how Caesar is portrayed as an erotic figure in a way not fully appreciated before. Certain parts of the speech contain vulgar sexual innuendo which are surely intended to allude to the historical Caesar's well-attested reputation for sexual promiscuity and sexual ambiguity (cf. Catul. 29 and 57; Suet. *Jul.* 2, 22, 49, 50-2). Hints of Caesar as an erotic figure seem to continue in the subsequent narrative too where he steals out of the camp by night in order to visit the fisherman Amyclas in a manner recalling the elegiac mistress sneaking past her guards on her way to a secret rendez-vous with her lover (504ff).

The study of Thompson- Bruère (1968) on Vergilian reminiscence in Lucan has set out the main debts of L. to Vergil in the storm-episode. However the full implications of L.'s use of Vergil in this episode have not been fully explored yet. The *Aeneid* provides a constant backdrop to the episode and is essential to a proper understanding of L.'s text in this part of the poem. For example Caesar is clearly portrayed as an anti-Aeneas in his attempt to journey to Italy (cf. the reference to Libya and the Syrtes at 484 recalling the setting of Vergil's Dido-Aeneas story and *sponte* at 500 recalling Aeneas' words *non sponte* regarding his journey to Italy at A. 4.361). It is interesting to observe further how the passionate relationship of Aeneas and Dido colours L.'s portrayal of the relationship of Caesar and his men (on leaving the camp Caesar complains that he is able to deceive his men - *questus tacite, quod fallere posset*, 512 - words surely recalling A. 4.296-7 *at regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?) / praesensit* in the context of Aeneas' attempt to leave Carthage without Dido knowing). Caesar is also portrayed as an anti-Aeneas at the home of Amyclas at (519-59). The scene recalls Aeneas at the home of Evander at A. 8.102ff and also the long tradition of hospitality narratives dating back to Homer (cf. Odysseus at Eumaeus' house) but particularly popular in Hellenistic times. Caesar's vulgar attempt to bribe Amyclas in order to gain passage to Italy is intended to stand in stark contrast to

Aeneas' humble respect for Evander's poverty in Vergil. Caesar words (532ff) probably also allude to the historical Caesar's reputation for bribing his soldiers and perhaps also to the habit of later Roman emperors of distributing largess to gain popular support.

Caesar's two speeches in the storm (5.578ff and 653ff) are clearly modelled on two speeches of Aeneas in two different storms in the *Aeneid* (A. 5.26-31 and 1.94-101). In both the figure of Caesar is made to stand in stark contrast to Aeneas: in the first, Aeneas' humble obedience to Palinurus is replaced by Caesar's refusal to accept Amyclas' advice and insistence that they continue their journey relying not on the authority of Heaven (an allusion to A. 5.17-18 *non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor / spondeat . . .*) but on Caesar's authority, an authority based on his confidence in divine favour. The link between L. and Vergil's text has already been noted by Thompson- Bruère but less appreciated is how the remainder of the speech hints at Caesar's god-likeness, suggesting how Caesar himself replaces Vergil's divine machinery. Caesar for example refers to himself as the ship's *tutela* or protective deity (584) and the words *hanc Caesare pressam*, 585 probably allude to the traditional heavy weight of gods in epic poetry. (The lack of divine machinery in L.'s poem is a constant issue in the storm-episode as throughout the poem. Thompson- Bruère remark, surely rightly, that Caesar is taking on the role of Vergil's motivating god Jupiter in his speech to Antony (476ff), and this invites us to observe how else Caesar compensates for the lack of gods in the episode, something not as yet I believe properly explored. Cf. for example how throughout the episode Caesar's authoritativeness as military leader, particularly in his speeches to Amyclas, seems to replace the divine prerogative in Vergil: *ipse (Jupiter) . . . iubet*, A. 4.270). In Caesar's second speech in the storm, when the storm has reached its height, Caesar blatantly overturns the standard topoi regarding a heroic death, claiming to be unafraid of dying at sea (656-9) and needing no burial (668-71). His speech directly contradicts the sentiments of Aeneas and Odysseus in their respective storms: both are terrified and long for a proper burial (Odysseus) and a glorious death on the battlefield (Odysseus and Aeneas). L.'s Caesar in seeking to rival and surpass his predecessors is seen effectively to redefine what it means to be a hero in such circumstances. The Vergilian parallels for Caesar's speeches have, to a certain extent, already been recognised, but it has not been appreciated for example how the speeches also reveal Stoic elements in L.'s characterisation of Caesar. His willingness to risk everything to Fortune in the storm (his refusal to heed Amyclas' advice reflects not just his confidence in divine favour but shows perhaps his positive desire to place himself in a position such as earlier epic heroes found themselves in, i.e. in the middle of a great storm), his fearlessness in the face of adversity, his revelling in danger and his determination to turn a seemingly hopeless situation to his own advantage, all have parallels in Seneca's description of the Stoic wise man. As with his use of descriptions of

the Stoic universal destruction or 'ekpyrosis' in his storm-narrative, L. uses material provided for him from his Stoic education and background in his portrayal of Caesar too.

Finally, the episode of Caesar at the home of Amyclas (5.515-59) is a good example of how L. makes use of a minor character in order to act as a foil to a major character (and then abruptly dispenses with him) and how he uses a number of literary models within a relatively short passage in order to achieve this. The character of Amyclas contrasts with the character of Caesar in at least two ways. His security and poverty highlight Caesar's precarious position as leader and his great wealth, and this is cleverly brought out by modelling the scene on traditional hospitality narratives (as already mentioned; cf. also the clear echo of Ovid's Baucis and Philemon story of *Met.* 8.624ff at 5.517 suggesting that Caesar is also taking on the role of the Ovidian divine guests Jupiter and Mercury) where the host was generally poor and respect for poverty was an important theme. Secondly, Amyclas' scientific knowledge of the weather contrasts with Caesar's more intuitive understanding of it (Caesar dismisses Amyclas' prognostications at 578ff preferring to stake everything on his Fortune). This is brought out by modelling Amyclas on Vergil's Palinurus (his speech at 568ff corresponds to Palinurus' at *A.* 5.13ff) and particularly by making use of another intertext, the didactic content of Verg. *Georgics* 1 (and the tradition of ancient writings on meteorology), for the list of bad-weather signs at 539ff.

The Text

The text used in this commentary is identical to that of Housman's 1926 edition except in the places listed below. Also shown are the readings found in the recent editions of Shackleton Bailey and Badali.

<u>line</u>	<u>This commentary</u>	<u>Housman 1926</u>	<u>Shackleton Bailey 1988</u>	<u>Badali 1992</u>
535	<tuis saevamve quereris / pauperiem deflens>	<inportunamve fereris / pauperiem deflens>	<tuis saevamve quereris / pauperiem deflens>	<tuis saevamve quereris / pauperiem deflens>
569	Euros	Austros	Austros	Austros
612	parva	priva	priva	parva
650-1	non litora curvae / Leucadiae saxosa pavent	[non litora curvae / Thessaliae saxosa pavent]	non litora curvae / Leucadiae saxosa pavent	non litora curvae / Thessaliae saxosa pavent

Note on references and abbreviations

'Lucan' is referred to as 'L.' throughout the commentary. References to Vergil's *Aeneid* begin simply with 'A.' in most cases (i.e. due to the frequency of references to the *Aeneid*, 'Verg.' is omitted except where it seemed necessary, for example in lists including the works of various writers).

Secondary literature is referred to by the author-date system: all items are listed in the Bibliography.

Standard commentaries on works other than Lucan are not included in the Bibliography and are referred to in the commentary as (e.g.) 'Hollis on Call. *Hec.*'; 'Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.*'.

For editions, translations and scholia to Lucan, and for standard reference works, the following abbreviations are used throughout (fuller details can be found in the Bibliography):

Scholia

Adn.	<i>Adnotationes super Lucanum</i>
Comm. Bern.	<i>M. Annaei Lucani commenta Bernensia</i>
Glos.	<i>Arnulfi Aurelianensis Glosule super Lucanum</i>
Suppl. adn.	<i>Supplementum Adnotationum super Lucanum</i>

Editions

Cortius	Leipzig 1726
Oudendorp	Lugdun. Batav. 1728
Burmans	Leiden 1740
Bentley	London 1760
Weise	Leipzig 1835
Haskins	London 1887
Hosius	Leipzig 1913 ³
Housman	Oxford 1927 ²
Bourguery	Paris 1926
Shackleton Bailey	Stuttgart & Leipzig 1997 ²
Badali	Rome 1992

Translations

Rowe	N. Rowe 1719
Riley	H. T. Riley 1909
Duff	J. D. Duff 1928
Graves	R. Graves 1956
Widdows	P. F. Widdows 1988
Braund	Susan H. Braund 1992
Wilson Joyce	J. Wilson Joyce 1993

Reference works

K-S	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der Latein. Sprache</i>
H-Sz.	J. B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i>
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae latinae</i>
RE	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 1893-1980)
OCD ³	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (Third ed. 1996)

'Caesar in the storm': A commentary on Lucan *De Bello Civili*

book 5 lines 476-721

Summary of sections (and episodes within each section):

476-503. Caesar & Antony

476-9. Caesar is forced to delay the war by the troops he left behind in Italy.

480-97. Caesar repeatedly calls on Antony to make the journey across to Greece.

497-503. Having failed to summon Antony Caesar decides to set out for Italy by himself.

504-559. Caesar & Amyclas; the beginnings of the storm

504-514. Caesar exits the camp by night in search of a boat.

515-59. Caesar at the home of Amyclas. Caesar's request for passage to Italy and Amyclas' speech about bad weather-signs.

560-7. Departure by boat and the first signs of the storm

568-76. Amyclas' warning about the weather and advice to give up the journey.

577-93. Caesar tells Amyclas that his own presence in the boat will protect them from the storm.

593-6. A whirlwind interrupts Caesar's speech striking the boat.

597-653. The Storm

597-612. The 'battle of winds'.

612-20. The merging of seas, submerging of mountains and waves coming from Ocean which encircles the world.

620-6. Simile of the Great Flood.

627-31. The darkness, rain, and lightning.

632-7. The disturbance of the normally tranquil upper air and the fear of a return to chaos as natural boundaries seem to be broken.

638-53. The experience of those on the sea: the height and depth reached by the boat (638-44), the defeat of the helmsman's skill (645-6), the paradox of

conflicting winds keeping the ship upright (646-9), the fear of hitting rocks/running aground (650-3).

653-71. Caesar's 2nd speech in the storm in which he accepts the possibility of dying at sea.

672-7. Caesar is rescued by the 10th wave.

678-702. Caesar's return to camp and the end of the storm

678-99. Caesar returns to camp to be greeted by reproaches from his men.

700-2. The arrival of day and the end of the storm.

703-21. The journey of the troops in Italy from Brundisium to Nymphaeum on the Illyrian coast.

(translations in commentary all mine unless otherwise stated)

476-503. Caesar & Antony

476-9. Caesar is forced to delay the war by the troops he left behind in Italy.

Following Caesar's earlier crossing with some of his troops from Brundisium to Epirus (lines 403-460) the rival armies of Pompey and Caesar are for the first time camped at close quarters on the Greek mainland in the region of the rivers Apsus and Genusus, within sight and earshot of each other (*iunctis . . . castris*, 461). See Maps a) and b) p.246. At this tense moment in L.'s narrative, Caesar, frantic for war, is forced to delay until the rest of his troops whom he had left behind in Italy under the command of Antony join him in Greece.

476-7. Caesaris attonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem / ferre moras scelerum partes iussere relictæ: In these two lines we see Caesar, in a state of battle-frenzy, forced to endure a delay in his 'march' towards civil war. Both his frenzy and the forced postponement are entirely consistent with the picture we have of Caesar elsewhere in the poem (see below).

476. Caesaris: Caesar's name begins the line and the sentence, bringing the focus of attention of the narrative back to him after a gap of several lines. He is to dominate this episode which lasts until 721 (hereafter referred to as the storm-episode). Cf. other places where Caesar's name occurs in this position in the line for a similar purpose (i.e. to bring the narrative back to him): 2.439; 3.46; 7.728; 9.950. This 'Caesar' episode is followed by a 'Magnus' episode in 722-815. (Note the shift of attention from Caesar to Pompey at 722-3 *Caesaris . . . Magnus . . .*) Caesar is referred to frequently by name in the storm-episode (* = in speeches): 476, 480, 488*, 493*, 496*, 508, 519, 531 (*Caesarea*), 577, 585*, 653, 678, 682*. Only rarely does L. refer to him in the narrative by a descriptive noun (cf. *dux* at 532 & 680). For L.'s tendency to compose alternating 'Caesar' and 'Pompey' sections, see Hunink on 3.46-168.

attonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem: 'frantic to join battle' (tr. Duff). Caesar's desire for war (driven ultimately by his regal ambitions) characterises him throughout the poem; cf. 1.291-2 *ipsi / in bellum prono*; 2.439-46 *passim*, but especially 439 *in arma furens* and 443-4 *numquam patiens pacis longaeque quietis / armorum*; 6.29-30 *hic avidam belli rapuit spes improba mentem / Caesaris*. Battle-frenzy is a common characteristic of the traditional epic hero (cf. for example Turnus at A. 7.461 *amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*; Aeneas at A. 12.430-1 *ille avidus pugnae suras incluserat auro / hinc atque hinc oditque moras hastamque coruscat*) but while this was an expected and even admired quality in a traditional hero, Caesar's aggression in this (civil) war is seen as entirely negative throughout the poem.

attonitam: The adjective signifies various kinds of mental disturbance (fear, stupefaction, alarm, madness, grief) caused by a sudden impact of some kind. It originally meant 'struck by lightning' (OLD s.v. 1)) as in the Greek *συγκεραυνόω*, (cf. also *ἔμβρόντητος*; *κεραυνόβλητος*; *ἔμπληκτος*) and the connotations of violence remain in its other uses. (On *συγκεραυνόω* as perhaps a survival from the vocabulary of early Dionysiac cult dithyramb see Mendelsohn (1992) 105ff.) L. is quite fond of the verb 'attono' using it 19x in his poem (cf. 42x in Ovid; 10x in Vergil). Cf. for example 7.779-80 where Caesar, maddened by the ghosts of Pharsalia, is compared to Pentheus and Agaue: *nec magis attonitos animi sensere tumultus, / cum fureret, Pentheus, aut, cum desisset, Agaue*. OLD s.v. 5) and TLL 1.1157.81 suggest that the meaning of *attonitam* here is 'fascinated by/ intent on/absorbed in' but the sense is surely stronger; cf. Duff's tr. 'frantic for'. It may recall the same word used of Aeneas' reaction to Mercury's appearance at A. 4.279ff: *at vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens, / arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit. / ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras, / attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum*.

See Thompson-Bruère (1968) for Lucan's use of Vergil in this episode. Caesar in his attempt to journey to Italy is to be seen as like Aeneas. In Vergil the sense of the word is 'stupefied' or 'dumbstruck' (see Heinze (1957) 326-7; 484 for the strong impact of divine appearances on the human characters in the *Aeneid*). *attonitus* used of Caesar in the present passage sees him not passively dumbstruck like Aeneas, but, rather, in a frenzy of hostile energy. Caesar is frequently seen in the poem as an embodiment of 'furor' (and his men as fanatical); see especially the famous lightning simile at 1.151ff and also 1.250; 2.551; 2.573; 3.303; 6.282; 7.557ff; 7.797; 10.72.

mentem: Latin often refers specifically to a person's mind, intention, will, attitude, etc, where English would refer simply to the person (Duff translates *mentem* as simply 'Caesar'). Cf. A. 5.827-8 *hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim / gaudia pertemptant mentem*. There is a correspondence here of adjective in 2nd foot (*attonitam*) and noun in 6th foot (*mentem*), a very common occurrence in L. (see Heitland (1887) c-ci).

477. ferre moras scelerum: 'to endure a postponement of wicked war' (tr. Duff). The headstrong Caesar is portrayed frequently in the poem as having to endure or overcome obstacles (*moras*) both temporal (as here) and physical on the path to war. In the storm-episode, not only Antony, but the helmsman Amyclas and the storm itself are seen as obstacles standing in Caesar's way (497ff, 536, 578ff, 587). For Caesar's overcoming of barriers elsewhere in the poem (including the use of the word 'mora'), cf. especially 1.183ff (the crossing of the Rubicon); 2.494ff (Caesar refuses to be checked by a river); 3.391-2 (Massilia alone among the cities on Caesar's route puts up a resistance); 5.409-10 (at Brundisium Caesar defies the winter storms). Even the civil war itself is an almost intolerable delay standing in the way of Caesar's ambitions for the kingship: *aeger quippe morae flagransque cupidine regni / coeperat exiguo tractu civilia bella / ut lentum damnare nefas*, 7.240-2. The image of Caesar as a force of nature, a force which cannot be contained, is seen also at 1.294-5 where, eager for war, he is compared to a race-horse at Olympia who presses against the gates of the barrier and seeks to loosen the bolts (and see Lapidge (1979) 349 and 363ff for the Stoic imagery of dissolution here; such imagery is used also of civil war throughout the poem).

Caesar's refusal to tolerate physical barriers makes him like Alexander, the prototype tyrant-figure of the poem: cf. 10.37-8: *non illi flamma nec undae / nec sterilis Libye nec Syrticus obstitit Hammon*. See Masters (1992) 1-10 for the way L.'s reluctance to tell the story of the civil war seems itself to be a 'mora' to his character Caesar: 'L. is making a deliberate play of the contradiction between Caesar's urgency and his own expansive, repetitive narrative. *Mora* itself is a boundary that Caesar is trying to break through: L.'s

account sets up a series of narrative devices that obstruct Caesar's progress, that impose boundaries he must cross.' (p.3) By contrast, Pompey at 5.731-3 seeks delay from battle in the company of his wife: *blandaeque iuvat ventura trahentem / indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis*. The difference between the two men is summed up in the famous character-sketches and similes (Pompey-as-oak-tree, Caesar-as-lightning) at 1.129-57. Caesar's manic energy and impatience makes him a very different hero too from Vergil's Aeneas, who is renowned rather for patient endurance.

scelerum: 'scelus' (both sing. and pl.) is frequently used in the poem to refer to the civil war, portraying it as a crime. Cf. 1.2 *iusque datum sceleri canimus*; 5.35; 7.95; 7.610; etc.

partes . . . relictæ: i.e. the troops left behind when Caesar embarked on his initial voyage from Brundisium to Epirus (at 5.409ff). L. neglects to mention *how* these troops came to be left behind (presumably he thought this unimportant for his purposes) and we must turn to the historical records for this information. Caes. *Civ.* 3.2, 6, 8 tells how he had ordered 12 legions and all the cavalry to march to Brundisium, but on arriving there found only enough ships to transport 15000 legionaries and 500 horse. Therefore just seven legions were transported to Epirus on Jan. 4th, and the next night the ships were sent back to Brundisium to pick up the rest of the legions and the cavalry, under the authority of the legate Fufius Calenus. Cf. also Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.37 (probably summarising Livy): *cum pars exercitus ob inopiam navium cum Antonio relictæ Brundisii moram faceret*. Apart from the shortage of ships, another reason why some of Caesar's troops still remained in Italy seems to have been that Antony was late in arriving in Brundisium with his troops, so the whole army was not assembled at the time of the first crossing and could not have been transported altogether anyway (Caes. *Civ.* 3.24; App. *BC* 2.52, 53).

partes: 'partisans'. Oudendorp believes that *partes* = 'pro parte copiarum'. The word 'partes' is regularly used in the poem of the two sides in the civil war (for this meaning see *OLD* s.v. 16a)) and may be understood similarly here. 'partes' could refer to one's own side (as here and at 2.527; 2.596) or to that of the enemy (as at 1.280 and 10.78-9); see Getty on 1.280.

iussere: 'forced'.

478. ductor: An archaism. Cf. Acc. *trag.* 522 *Achivis classibus ductor* ('though some mss have *auctor* for *ductor*); Lucr. 1.86 *Danaum ductores*. It occurs quite frequently in Vergil (23x) and not much before him, but later poets followed Vergil's example. See Norden on

A. 6.334. Serv. A. 2.14 thought 'ductor' more 'high-sounding' than 'dux': '*ductores sonantius est quam duces: quod heroum exigit carmen.*' L. has it 8 times. The meaning does not seem to differ from the more regular 'dux', and here 'ductor' is probably used for metrical convenience. L. uses verbal substantives in '-tor' frequently (see Heitland (1887) ci). 'ductor' + dative (as here) is rarer than 'ductor' + genitive (*TLL* 5.1.40ff; 81). For the former, cf. *Acc. trag.* 522 (above).

cunctis . . . armis: i.e. all the Caesarian troops left behind in Italy.

audax Antonius: *Caes. Civ.* 3.26 mentions *two* men as being in charge of the troops in Italy: M. Antony and Fufius Calenus. Dio 41.46 mentions just Antony. L. may have chosen to omit Calenus in order not to clutter his narrative. Antony (not to be confused with C. Antonius, his brother (4.408) or M. Antonius the orator (2.122)) had been a part of Caesar's staff in Gaul in the late 50s and took part in the fighting in Italy. During Caesar's Spanish campaign he was left in charge of the army in Italy. At Pharsalia in 48 B.C. he commanded the left wing of Caesar's army. In 43 B.C. he became a part of the Second Triumvirate with Lepidus and Octavian. He is mentioned again at *Luc.* 10.71 in connection with his relationship to Cleopatra. Antony's refusal to leave Italy in the present passage is seen as a daring act of rebellion against Caesar, hence the epithet *audax*. The epithet is also relevant to the part he played at Actium (see next n.).

479. iam tum civili meditatus Leucada bello: 'Already in civil war he was rehearsing Actium.' The emphasis falls on the word *civili*; i.e. a contrast is made between civil war and the battle of Actium which was a battle fought between Rome and a foreign enemy, Egypt. The battle of Actium took place 17 years after present narrative time, in 31 B.C.. Antony and Cleopatra fought Octavian and were decisively defeated. Antony's part was seen in Rome as a great act of betrayal. L. suggests here that Antony was being disloyal to Caesar by forcing him to delay just as he was disloyal later to Rome and Octavian (Caesar's heir) at Actium. It could be said that Caesar himself (who here feels betrayed by Antony) is the focalizer of these words.

meditatus: For this meaning of 'meditor', see *OLD* s.v. 5a) and *TLL* 8.578.45ff.

Leucada: = Actium, by metonymy (cf. also 1.43; 7.872; 10.66), and by association specifically the battle of Actium of 31 B.C. Leucas (modern-day Lefkada) was an island off western Greece (originally a peninsula, it was separated from the mainland by an artificial

channel in the first century B.C. according to Strabo 10.2.8). Actium was located 30 miles to the north of Leucas on the coast of Acarnania at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf.

480-97. Caesar repeatedly calls on Antony to make the journey across to Greece.

Caesar's words to Antony in this section contain elements of bravado and pride in his own achievements (482-3; 488-9) but they are also couched in a language and tone which is emotive and beseeching throughout. In this respect Caesar's words here contrast starkly with his speeches to Amyclas later on in the episode (532ff and 578ff) with their lack of emotion and high incidence of imperatives and overwhelming air of authoritativeness (see nn. *ad loc.*). In short, in the present speech, Caesar does not speak like a general.

The emotional and beseeching tone may be partly explained by Caesar's vulnerable position (he is forced to wait for Antony before proceeding with the war), but they are also part of L.'s wider depiction of the relationship of Caesar and his men as a highly intimate one. The closeness of the relationship between Caesar and his men is something found in the historical sources (see Ash (1999) 5ff and cf. for example Caes. *Civ.* 3.26; Suet. *Jul.* 65ff and especially 67.2-68.1). Throughout his poem, L. chooses to emphasise the intimate nature of the relationship between leader and men, especially the almost unnatural devotion of the men. See n. on *naufragio*, 494.

The influence of the language of Roman love-elegy and particularly Ovid's *Heroides*

The physical separation of Caesar from the rest of his troops and his address to Antony across the divide of the sea recalls a scenario familiar from Roman love-elegy, perhaps particularly Ovid's *Heroides* (letters written by heroines to their absent lovers). While L. does not explicitly state that Caesar's words to Antony took the form of a letter, this must surely be understood by the word *evocat* (see on 481). The content of Caesar's 'letter' contains several features found also in amatory poetry. Note especially the high incidence of 2nd person sg. pronouns (484); name-calling (487); words denoting complaint (491) and pain (494-5); an allusion to wasted promises (491) and the desire to endure danger (492); the suggestion of intimate knowledge of his army (493); even vulgar sexual innuendo (483, 487, 489, 495). Words like *arma* (486) and *castra* (490) may recall the common use of military imagery in love-poetry. See nn. *ad loc.* It is as though Caesar is being cast in the role of one of Ovid's abandoned heroines, impatient to be re-united with his 'partner' Antony. L.'s text seems to suggest that he had in mind particularly Ov. *Epp.* 18 and 19, the letters of Leander to Hero and Hero to Leander (see below on 485; 489; 501; 503; 586-7). It is easy to see why these letters might show an influence in this part of L.'s poem, for the

Hero-Leander myth involved a sea-storm (which - however - ultimately proved fatal to Leander). Leander is described twice as *temerarius* at *Ep.* 18.189 and 19.87 (and see Vergil's allusion to the myth at *G.* 3.258-63 for further reference to Leander's rashness). Cf. *temeraria* used of Caesar at *Luc.* 5.502 and 682. Although Ovid hints at the fatal storm at *Ep.* 18.36 he does not describe it. Nevertheless the storm was probably an important feature of the original Hellenistic model for the myth and Ovid may have used the details he found in his model for the storm of *Met.* 11, an important influence on L.'s own storm in book 5 (see Kenney on *Ov. Heroides XVI-XXI* p. 13).

See below on 678-99 for the influence of Roman love-elegy also on the later speech of Caesar's men to Caesar on his return to camp. On the relationship between Caesar and his men in L., see also Leigh (1997) chap. 6 and 205 n.44 for the language of love-poetry in Laelius' speech.

Caesar as 'female'?

Caesar's position of vulnerability in this passage (he is the one forced to wait for Antony) puts us in mind of the feminine role in love-poetry. His position (presumably on the sea-shore) is reminiscent of for example Catullus' Ariadne lamenting her abandonment by Theseus. In Ovid's *Heroides* it is the women who are stranded, who are the writers of the first 15 letters at least. (For discussion of the epistolary form in Ovid's *Heroides*, see Kennedy (2002) 217ff. For the connection between letter-writing and seduction, cf. also *Ov. Ars* 1.437-86 where Ovid advises his pupils to take up letter-writing in order to seduce a girl.) However if Caesar at this particular point is cast in the feminine role of being forced to wait, he is later to be scolded on his return from his sea-adventure by his men as though he were a man who has thoughtlessly abandoned his beloved - *they* are the ones forced to wait (678-99). His dare-devil attempt to cross the Adriatic in a fishing-boat clearly suits the male rather than the female role (cf. Leander swimming to Hero). Furthermore, some of the sexually charged language he uses to Antony (see above) may be interpreted as more appropriate to a male. Caesar's sexual 'role-playing' is therefore multifarious.

L.'s depiction of Caesar as sexually ambiguous fits his historical reputation. His promiscuity was legendary (see especially *Catul.* 29 and 57; *Suet. Jul.* 50-2 for his many and extravagant affairs with women) and he was famously suspected of having an affair with king Nicomedes of Bithynia (Gelzer (1968) 22, 30 n.1, 88 n.1, 285; *Suet. Jul.* 2, 22, 49, especially 49.4, the vulgar banter of Caesar's soldiers in his Gallic triumph referring to Caesar's passive feminine sexual role in his relations with Nicomedes: '*Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem: / ecce Caesar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias, / Nicomedes non triumphat qui subegit Caesarem*'). Suetonius records that much was made of Caesar's sexual misdemeanours by his enemies (*Jul.* 49, 73) and Curio called him 'Every woman's man and every man's woman' (*Jul.* 52). For Caesar's adultery with

Cleopatra, see also Lucan book 10 (and cf. Suet. *Jul.* 52). L.'s depiction of Caesar as sexually ambiguous may also be intended to link him with the typology of the eastern tyrant. For the association of the eastern tyrant with sexual ambiguity (which signified a general lack of self-control) see C. Edwards (2000) xix. Cf. the depiction of Nero in a feminine sexual role at Suet. *Nero* 29: a mock marriage is staged between Nero's freedman Doryphorus (the groom) and Nero (the bride).

480. illum: L. appears to have been particularly fond of placing spondaic words at the beginning of lines, much more so than Vergil and Ovid (Fantham (1992) 45). Others in the storm-episode occur at 508; 617; 654; 663.

saepe: showing Caesar's impatience (cf. also *terque quaterque*, 497; *bis terque*, 519). See on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477 for Caesar's impatience and intolerance of obstacles.

minis . . . precibusque: Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.6.61-2 *omnia consumpsi, nec te precibusque minisque / movimus, o foribus durior ipse tuis* where the phrase is used of a komast's combination of wheedling and threats (see McKeown *ad loc.*). The combination is also found at Ov. *F.* 2.805; 806 also in an amatory context. L. appears to be portraying Caesar as though he were Antony's lover.

morantem: see above on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477.

481. evocat: The word 'evoco' is rather rare in verse and L. may have found it in a prose source or he may have had in mind Vergil's lengthy description of Mercury's wand at *A.* 4.242ff *hac animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit, / dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat. / illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat / nubila*. Perhaps we are to compare Mercury's (successful) motivation of Aeneas to get on with his journey to Italy in *Aeneid* 4 with Caesar's *unsuccessful* motivation of Antony here. If so Caesar's failure to persuade Antony would seem to suggest his inability to 'play the part' of the motivating deity successfully. See further on *iubet*, 488. Elsewhere 'evoco' is used of calling up troops (*TLL* 5,2.1057.68-1058.25, and cf. Luc. 1.395 [C.] *sparsas per Gallica rura cohortes / evocat et Romam motis petit undique signis*) and of summoning to court (*TLL* 5,2. 1057.40ff), though almost exclusively in prose.

How exactly Caesar summoned Antony from across the sea is not made clear in this passage (*vocibus excitum* at 498 offers no help), but *Caes. Civ.* 3.25 explicitly states that he wrote to him: *Caesar Brundisium ad suos severius scripsit* (cf. Adn.: 'id est per litteras

rogat'; Suppl. adn.: 'per epistolas'). Here Caesar seems to be composing a letter in the manner of the heroines of Ovid's *Heroides* (see above on 480-497).

o mundi tantorum causa laborum: the beseeching *o*, emphatic spondees and striking assonance in these opening words seem to underline Caesar's anguish and set the tone for the rest of the speech. Antony, Caesar claims, is the cause of great suffering (*labores*) to the entire world, i.e. by delaying his victory in battle. Weise's suggestion that these words may be read not only of the world's present suffering but also as though Caesar is speaking prophetically of the forthcoming evils at Actium for which Antony was responsible (see on 479) is interesting but rather implausible. By speaking of the suffering of mankind (*mundi*), Caesar also implies that it is not he himself so much as the world as a whole which is affected by Antony's delay. This is typical of Caesar's distorted view of the world (by which he himself does not suffer any inconvenience). Cf. 584-5 (he claims that the sky and sea are afflicted by the storm but not his boat); 591ff (he predicts that the storm, far from being a cause of suffering to himself, will turn out to be a blessing); 654-5 (he sees the gods as having *labor* - a task to perform - and not himself).

The phrase *tantorum . . . laborum* is perhaps reminiscent of Verg. *A.* 1.10 *tot . . . labores* which is an almost programmatic phrase for Aeneas' sufferings in the *Aeneid*. Cf. also *A.* 3.368 *quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?*; 12.177 *quam [haec Terra] propter tantos potui perferre labores*; etc. L.'s Cato (and his men) are portrayed, like Aeneas, as proud sufferers of 'labores' in book 9: 9.380-1 *componite mentes / ad magnum virtutis opus summosque labores*; 9.406-7 *sic ille paventes / incendit virtute animos et amore laborum*; 9.588 *monstrat tolerare labores*. Caesar's denial of his own suffering here is at odds with the qualities of endurance and acceptance of suffering of the hero of the *Aeneid*.

mundi: = 'mankind' by metonymy, not (as sometimes) the physical universe ('though Glos. suggests that the latter is also being referred to: 'non hominum tantum'). For this sense of 'mundus', see *OLD* s.v. 2a); *TLL* 8.1638.52ff. It occurs in poetry from Catullus (47.2) onwards and was especially favoured by L.. 'mundus' (and 'orbis') is one of the most frequently used words in the poem (121 times; cf. 'orbis', 133 times) reflecting L.'s vision of the civil war as having global and even cosmic dimensions. The storm of the present episode is similarly seen in global and cosmic terms as evidenced by the frequency of words for 'world'/universe': see *orbem*, 495; *modo*, 597, *orbe*, 618; *mundum*, 619; *mundi*, 637; *orbis*, 686; *mundi*, 684; *orbis*, 698. For references to the world-wide dimensions of the war elsewhere in the poem, cf. especially 1.5 *certatum totis concussi viribus orbis*; and for example Hunink on 3.169-297; 284; 290; 296; 297. Both Caesarians and Pompeians are associated with the extremities of the world: see for example 3.454-5

versus ad Hispanas acies extremaque mundi / iussit bella geri, 4.1 at procul extremis terrarum Caesar in oris, 4.147 et tendit in ultima mundi, 4.232-5 nunc toto fatorum ignarus in orbe, / Magne, paras acies mundique extrema tenentes / sollicitas reges.

tantium . . . laborum: see above on *o mundi tantorum causa laborum*, 481.

laborum: The mss have *laborum* (Ω) and *malorum* (Gc) but the former seems supported by the prevalence of phrases such as 'tantorum laborum' (see above on *o mundi tantorum causa laborum*, 481).

causa: A word found frequently in Roman love-poetry often in situations where a lover is the cause of his/her partner's suffering, or even death, and perhaps L. was influenced by this emotive use of the word (see on 480-97). Cf. Prop. 1.11.25-6 *seu tristis veniam seu contra laetus amicis, / quicquid ero, dicam 'Cynthia causa fuit'*; Ov. *Ep.* 2.148 *ille necis causam praebuit, ipsa manum*; 10.143-4 (Ariadne to Theseus) *si non ego causa salutis, / non tamen est, cur sis tu mihi causa necis*; 9.148 *tu [Deianira] sceleris tanti causa superstes eris?*; 18.200 (Leander to Hero) *et 'mortis' dices 'huic ego causa fui'* (the words may have been in the Hellenistic original, since Vergil, who knew it, has very similar words at A. 6.458 (Aeneas to Dido) *funeris heu tibi causa fui?* see Norden *ad loc.*). For the phrase 'causa laborum' (though not in an amatory context), cf. A. 7.481-2 (Allecto) *qua prima laborum / causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis.*

482. quid superos et fata tenes?: 'Why do you arrest the course of destiny and the will of Heaven?' (tr. Duff).

The way Caesar puts the question indicates his megalomania: as he sees it, Antony is holding back the divine machine of destiny which, naturally, was on Caesar's side (cf. Glos.: 'superos: volentes mihi servire'). For Caesar's optimism and belief in his own Fortuna, see on 581-3. The idea of delaying the course of destiny recurs frequently in the poem, see 1.393-4 *moretur / Fortunam*; 2.581 *Romanaque fata morantem*; 3.392 *fata tenentur* and Hunink *ad loc.*; 4.351 *nil fata moramur*, 5.205 *tot fata tenentur?*; 7.88 *nil ultra fata morabor*, 7.295-6 (on Caesar) *sed mea fata moror, qui vos in tela furentes / vocibus his teneo*; 7.460-1 *fati suprema morantem / consumpsere locum*. See further on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477, for delay as a 'foil' to Caesar's urgency in the poem. For the expressions 'fatum morari/tenere', see TLL 6,1.364.20-1, 70-1.

In fact L. nowhere provides a reason for Antony's delay in Brundisium (he clearly thought it unimportant), and we must look to the historical sources for this. *Caes. Civ.* 3.23-4 states that the Pompeian Libo had set out from Oricum to Brundisium and occupied the

island over against Brundisium in order to try to catch the Caesarians. He burnt some of the ships he came across terrifying the Caesarians and confidently wrote to Pompey telling him he would keep off Caesar's reinforcements with his own fleet alone. Antony, then at Brundisium, tricked Libo with an elaborate plan: some row-boats attacked Libo's 5 quadriremes which were pursuing Antony's 2 triremes, captured one and put the rest to flight, forcing Libo to leave Brundisium and abandon the blockade of Caesar's men. With the removal of the threat of the enemy, another reason for Antony's procrastination was bad weather (see *Caes. Civ.* 3.25).

superos et fata: A rather vague way of referring to destiny or whatever is going to happen. Feeney (1991) 280 states that the language of destiny and randomness – *fatum/fata, fortuna/fors, dei/superi* – are used almost interchangeably in the poem, and how 'a term from either category is virtually never mentioned without a term from the other in very close proximity, as if to destabilize any assurance for reader or author.' Here, note the mention of *fortuna* two lines below. For the mention of the gods, destiny and fortune together, cf. also for example 5.292-5; 7.647-9; 8.485-6. See also Postgate-Dilke (1960) 40. This is consistent with the Stoic belief that God, Fate, Fortune, Chance, Providence, Nature and Reason were identical (see Motto (1970) s.v. GOD § 2 for this idea in Seneca's philosophical works). For L.'s elimination of the traditional gods of Homer and Vergil from his poem, see Feeney (1991) 250-312.

fata: = 'destiny'. Heitland (1887) cii-ciii comments on the fluctuation in meaning of 'fatum' in L.'s poem. The word occurs in the storm-episode also at 490, 536, 660, 683, 688, 696. In most cases it may best be translated as 'destiny', but n.b. 683 (fate/death), 688 (death), 696 (issue/result).

482-3. sunt . . . acta: For sexual connotations of 'ago', see Adams (1982) 205. See on 480-97 for erotic elements in L.'s portrayal of Caesar in this section.

cursu . . . meo: 'by the speed of my march'. For 'cursus' used of Caesar's speed, cf. for example 1.183 *cursu superaverat Alpes*; 3.358 *cursus*; 3.391 *praecipitem cursum*; 4.32 *subito . . . cursu*; 10.508 *praecipiti cursu bellorum*. Like *rapti* in the next line, *cursu* contrasts Caesar's speed with Antony's slowness in this passage (cf. *quid . . . tenes?*, 482; *ne retine*, 492).

Speed of conquest was something for which the historical Caesar had a special reputation and his rapidity of movement through Italy is made much of in the early books of L.'s poem (see 2.653ff and Fantham on 2.655-6). It was also something for which

Alexander was famed (10.30ff) and there is probably an implied comparison with the Macedonian tyrant here. For similarities between Caesar and Alexander in the storm-episode, see index. Vell. 2.41.1 makes various points of comparison between Caesar and Alexander, all of which qualities Caesar displays in this episode: generosity with money, thinking big thoughts, speed of conquest, endurance of dangers (*munificentia effusissimus . . . magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientia periculorum Magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo simillimus*). Apart from L. and Velleius, other ancient writers who linked Caesar and Alexander were: Suet. *Jul.* 7.1; App. *BC* 2.149; Dio 37.52.2; Strabo 13.1.27; Plu. *Caes. and Alex.* Woodman on Vell. 2.41.1 comments: 'That Caesar consciously modelled himself on Alex., as Strabo suggests, has been recently argued by Michel (1967) 67-107 but contradicted by Weippert (1972) 105-92 and P. Green *AJAH* 3 (1978) 1-26.'

483. rapti . . . belli: For 'rapio' used of 'hurrying something on' see *OLD* s.v. 10); this use occurs at Liv. 30.14.2 *raptae prope inter arma nuptiae*, but in poetry apparently not before L.. The verb occurs several times in connection with Caesar: cf. for example 1.228-9 *noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor / impiger*; 3.299 *agmine nubiferam raptō super evolat Alpem*; 3.391 *raptisque a Caesare cunctis*; 5.404 *inde rapit cursus*; 5.409-10 *turpe duci visum, rapiendi tempora belli / in segnes exisse moras*; 10.508-9 *tempore raptō / nunc claustrum pelagi cepit Pharon*.

per prospera: For this sense of 'prospera' see *OLD* s.v. 1d); it occurs as early as Pacuvius *trag.* 307 (*o . . . prosperum copem diem!*) and cf. Ov. *Ep.* 15.89 *versis ad prospera fatis*. For Caesar's string of military successes, cf. 5.239-40 (mutiny of his men) *cum prope fatorum tantos per prospera cursus / avertere dei*; 5.324 [*iuventus*] *ducis invicti rebus lassata secundis*.

484. te poscit fortuna manum: Statius appears to imitate the first half of L.'s line at *Theb.* 10.194 (though with a different sense): (*vocat obvia Virtus, / et poscit Fortuna manus*).

te: The repetition of 2nd person pronouns throughout Caesar's speech (cf. *tua*, 486; *te*, 488; *tu*, 490; *tu*, 497) indicates intimacy and recalls the practice of Roman love-poetry (see on 480-497). A similar repetition occurs in the speech of the Caesarian Laelius to Caesar at 1.359ff (see Leigh (1997) 204-5 and 205 nn. 38 & 39) and in the speech of Caesar's men to Caesar at 682ff below (see on *te*, 682).

poscit fortuna: Caesar confidently claims knowledge of what *fortuna* is up to. Cf. his interpretation of events at 7.285-6 *sed me fortuna meorum / commisit manibus*.

fortuna: see on *Fortuna*, 510.

483-4. summam . . . manum: 'the finishing touch'. Caesar speaks rhetorically, as though Antony's arrival would ensure a successful completion of the war. The idiom *summam/ultimam/extremam . . . manum* (often with the verb *imponere*) is found in prose and poetry alike (in poetry from Vergil onwards); see Otto (1890) n.1051 and *OLD* s.v. 'manus' 20a); *TLL* 7,1.655.32ff. Cf. Fr. 'mettre la dernière main'. It was apparently a metaphor adopted from painting. (Supp. adn. comments: 'metafora est a pictoribus, qui dicuntur summam manum imponere picturae, cum eam colorant (ADR). Id est ultimam: tractum a pictoribus, qui primo imagines mente formant, deinde colore adornant, ad ultimum oculos componentes (V²)'). Cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.200-1 (on Daedalus) *postquam manus ultima coepto / imposita est*. The analogy from a work of art perhaps gives the impression of Caesar's pride in his achievements thus far (he regards them as a work of art). The idiom occurs several times in the context of war (as here); cf. especially A. 7.572-3 (Juno completes the job of stirring up war started by Allecto) *nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello / imponit regina manum*; Ov. *Rem.* 114 *summam bellis imposuisse manum*; Vell. 2.33.1 *ultimam bello manum . . . imponere*; V. Max. 7.5.4 [bello] *summam manum adiecit*.

484-5. non rupta vadosis / Syrtibus incerto Libye nos dividit aestu: 'We are not parted by the shifting tides of Libya - Libya whose coast is broken by the shoals of the Syrtes' (tr. Duff).

Glos. aptly comments that Caesar cannot argue that the sea was opportune (events prove that this was not the case). Instead he argues that at least it is not as bad as the notorious sea off Libya. The sea's notoriety was due to the two areas of sandy flats off the north coast of Africa between Carthage and Cyrene, called the (Greater and Lesser) Syrtes, a place where ships could easily be stranded due to fluctuations in the level of the water. The *Argo* was stranded there (Ap. *Rhod.* 4.1235ff), and the Syrtes became one of a number of conventional dangers to seafarers; cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.11.17ff *et vobis alii ventorum proelia narrent, / quas Scylla infestet quasve Charybdis aquas, / et quibus emineant violenta Ceraunia saxis; / quo lateant Syrtes magna minorque sinu*; NT Acts 27.17. L.'s poem is itself an important source of information concerning the Syrtes (9.303ff) and Libya (9.411ff). At 1.367-8 it is a sign of the devotion of Caesar's men that they are willing to endure the Syrtes for him: *duc age per Scythiae populos, per inhospita Syrtis / litora, per*

calidas Libyae sitiensis harenas. For other ancient descriptions of the Syrtes and Libya see Pease on A. 4.41; *RE* IV.A2.1808-1820; 1826-8; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.22.5 and 2.6.3.

The mention of Libya and the Syrtes here surely deliberately recalls the story of Dido and Aeneas in the *Aeneid* and in particular the storm which precedes it, the main model for L.'s storm in this episode. (Some of the Trojan ships are dashed against the Syrtes at A. 1.110-11: *tris Eurus ab alto / in brevia et Syrtis urguet* and cf. *Libycis . . . temis*, A. 4.257, 271) It is almost as though Caesar, having read the *Aeneid*, alludes to the story in his argument with Antony here.

rupta: Glos. comments: 'rupta est Libie in Sirtibus, quia terra per aquam, aqua per terram est interrupta'. For 'rumpo' in this sense (of breaking the continuity of something), see *OLD* s.v. 7a). In L., cf. 2.212-13 (the Tiber) *strage cruenta / interruptus aquae fluxit prior amnis in aequor*, 9.308 (the Syrtes) *aequora fracta vadis abruptaque terra profundo*; 10.302 *late tibi [the Nile] gurgite rupto / ambitur . . . Meroe*. L. appears to be particularly sensitive to the struggle between land and sea in his poem; cf. for example 1.409ff (the Belgian coast); 3.60ff (the fight between land and sea in the area between Sicily and Italy); 9.303ff (the Syrtes). See Hunink on 3.60ff.

vadosis: 'full of shoals' (*OLD* s.v.). The adjective seems to have been introduced into poetry by Vergil (cf. A. 7.728 of the R. Voltumnus). Man. 4.600 uses it of the Syrtes (*in Syrtes . . . vadosas*). Adjectives in '-osus' were found useful in poetry to render Greek adjectives, especially those with the endings '-όεις', '-ήεις', '-ώδης'; see Williams on A. 5.352; Horsfall on A. 7.566-7; and Barratt on 5.630-1.

485. incerto . . . aestu: the Syrtes was proverbial for its fluctuations; see Apoll. 4.1235-44; Sen. *Dial.* 7.14.1; Luc. 1.686 *dubiam . . . Syrtim*; 9.303ff; 9.710 *ambiguae . . . Syrtidos arva*; 9.861 *dubiis Syrtibus*. *aestu* may be taken here as indicating a general movement of a rough sea (*OLD* s.v. 7) as opposed to the ebb/flow of the sea, i.e. tide (*OLD* s.v. 8a) which was associated with Ocean.

nos dividit: Exile, loneliness, the physical separation of a person from another person/people or a place suggests various scenarios from earlier poetry involving love and/or exile (see on 480-497). Cf. Catul. 64.178-9 (Ariadne) *at gurgite lato / discernens ponti truculentum dividit aequor [sc. me a montibus Idaeis]*; Ov. *Ep.* 18.125-6 *ei mihi, cur animis iuncti secernimur undis, / unaque mens, tellus non habet una duos?*; 19.142 *seducit terras haec brevis unda duas*.

486. numquid: the only occurrence of the word in L. and, significantly, in a speech. It is a lively and colloquial word and therefore appropriate to the familiar tone of Caesar's speech (here expressing Caesar's indignation). Elsewhere it occurs mainly in comedy and in prose writings. In verse it appears in speeches. See K-S. II.514.

inexperto . . . profundo: Antony would not be venturing on an 'untried sea' since Caesar had earlier made the crossing himself (5.424ff). Voyaging on an untried sea was a mark of real bravery (or recklessness). Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3.9.8 (the Argo) *quae [ratis] . . . per non temptatas prima cucurrit aquas*. For the expression 'untried sea' (using 'intemptatus'), cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.13; Sen. *Suas.* 1.2. There may also be an allusion here to Alexander who was known for voyaging on 'untried seas'. i.e. Caesar may be as it were comparing Antony's cowardice with Alexander's bravery. For Alexander's reputation for exploring uncharted seas, cf. Sen. *Ep.* 119.7 (Alexander) *scrutatur maria ignota, in Oceanum classes novas mittit et ipsa, ut ita dicam, mundi claustra perrumpit*; App. *BC* 2.149 says that Alexander ventured on an unknown sea on his way to India. For Ocean as an 'unknown sea', cf. also Tac. *Ger.* 17.2 *exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare*. Alexander's ambition to conquer the world and sail the Ocean was a favourite target of the Stoics, as seen especially in Sen. *Suas.* 1. In L. cf. 10.36-7 *Oceano classes inferre parabat / exteriore mari* and Berti *ad loc.*.

arma: = troops (*OLD* s.v. 7a)). However, there may be also an allusion here to the love-as-war/lover-as-soldier concept so prevalent in Roman love-poetry (see n. on 480-97 for elements of love-poetry in Caesar's words). If so Caesar's use of *arma* here invites the audience to reconsider this familiar metaphor in its original military context. (For a similar combination of literal and figurative senses, see on *in ventos . . . fretumque*, 491.) For the military metaphor in love-poetry, see especially Ov. *Am.* 1.9 and E. Thomas (1964) 151-65. See also *Am.* 1.2 and 2.12 (and Barsby notes *ad loc.* for references in other love-elegists). For works on the development of 'militia amoris' in love-elegy see McKeown on Ov. *Amores* vol II.259. For 'arma' specifically, cf. for example Ov. *Met.* 5.365; *Rem.* 246. See also on *castra*, 490. For 'arma' used in a vulgar sexual sense, Adams (1982) 17, 21, 224.

487. ignave: Name-calling, unsurprisingly, occurs frequently in speeches between lovers. Cf. 'scelerate' at Ov. *Ep.* 2.17; 2.29; 7.133; 'perfide' at *ep.* 2.78; 7.118; 'violente' at *ep.* 3.61; also 'perfide', 'crudelis', 'improbe' in Dido's speeches to Aeneas (*A.* 4.305, 366; 311; 386).

487-8. venire / te Caesar, non ire iubet: Heitland (1887) lxxix-lxxx lists this as an example of 'forced antithesis' (*venire . . . ire*), an important feature of L.'s 'clever' style. Grotius explained the meaning as follows: 'venitur ad amicos, itur ad hostes aut in vacua', but Burman, I think rightly, did not find this explanation satisfactory. Caesar's words may contain erotic undertones (see next n.).

venire: Ostensibly Caesar orders Antony to join him in Greece, but for 'venio' in a sexual sense (used of either a man or a woman), see Pichon (1966) 289; Adams (1982) 175-6. (Camps on Prop. 2.18.20 comments that often in love-elegy 'venio', said of a woman, means simply 'comply', whether she literally 'comes' to the man's establishment, or admits him to hers.) 'venio' often signifies the desire for the physical presence of the beloved in Ovid's love poetry; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 3.153-4 (Briseis to Achilles) *me modo, sive paras inpellere remige classem, / sive manes, domini iure venire iube!*; 1.2 (Penelope to Ulysses) *nil mihi rescribas attinet: ipse veni*; Am. 1.11.24 *hoc habeat scriptum tota tabella 'veni'*. In other words the erotic connotation of *venire* would suggest that Caesar is here inviting Antony to an assignation.

488. Caesar . . . iubet: Note the use of the rhetorical figure called 'emphasis' whereby the speaker refers to himself in the 3rd person. Caesar names himself again in this speech at 493 and 496 (see also 585 and 667 and nn. *ad loc.* for emphasis in Caesar's later speeches in the storm). Norden on A. 6 p. 266 shows that Vergil used the device far more than Homer (34 times as opposed to 18) and with a wider range of motives: to indicate self-confidence (as in Hom. *Il.* 1.240 (Achilles); cf. Turnus at 12.11, 74, 97, 645), in sentimental passages (cf. 2.778, 784 (Creusa refers to herself by name to Aeneas); 4.308 (Dido refers to herself by name to Aeneas)) and also in the *Eclogues* to indicate naïveté (cf. *Ecl.* 2.65; 9.16, 53, 54). The first motive (self-confidence) clearly applies to Caesar's use of 'emphasis' in the present passage, and at 496 below, though arguably (given the influence of love-elegy on this address of Caesar to Antony) in all three instances (488, 493, 496) Caesar's naming of himself could be construed as sentimental, indicating the closeness of the relationship between himself and his men (cf. Pompey's naming of himself to Cornelia at 8.80 and 84 in a rather affectionate, and condescending, way). In any case, it suggests self-consciousness on Caesar's part. Emphasis may also have helped avoid metrical awkwardness (avoidance of the first person sing. verb would be an advantage). Blissett (1956) 563 notes that Marlowe's hero Tamburlaine speaks of himself in the 3rd person and that this may be something he picked up from L.'s Caesar (*Tamburlaine the Great* Part I, I, ii, 38-40). On 'emphasis', see also Mayer on Luc. 8.80

and intro' p. 23. He notes that the figure is also used by 'the grand and self-absorbed figures of the tragic stage'. Cf. especially Sen. *Med.* 8, 517, 524, 567, 910, 934 and Medea at Ov. *Ep.* 12.5, 25, 92, 117-18.

iubet: The word may suggest a link between Caesar and Vergil's Jupiter who (via Mercury) reminds Aeneas of his mission and orders him to leave Carthage in *Aeneid* 4 (cf. 4.270 *ipse . . . iubet*). (Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 7.139 where Dido spitefully mimics Aeneas' words: '*sed iubet ire deus*'.) In other words, in the absence of a proper divine machinery in L.'s poem, Caesar seems here to 'play the part' of Vergil's motivating god (and more generally the divine machinery and destiny which drive Aeneas on with his journey to Italy). For this suggestion, see Thompson-Bruère (1968) 11-12. However, if L.'s Caesar is being cast deliberately in the role of Vergil's divine agent in relation to Antony, he is also portrayed later on as an anti-Aeneas (see on 500). On the subject of the gods in L., see n. on 482 (*superos et fata*) above. Caesar's propensity for giving orders is one of his prominent characteristics in the poem (Helzle (1994) 121-136). In the storm-episode this is particularly noticeable in his speeches to Amyclas at 532ff (cf. *iussa*, 533) and 578ff but even in his address to the gods at 654ff (and cf. also *iussa plebe*, 633). L.'s description of Cato at 9.588-9 (*monstrat tolerare labores, / non iubet*) suggests that ordering people about is not necessarily a quality to be admired.

prior ipse: There is a hint of bravado in these words. Cf. Curio at 4.702-3 *arma capessam / ipse prior*. Caesar's claim to have gone ahead of Antony may be compared with Cato's speech to his men before setting foot on the Libyan desert (9.379ff); n.b. especially 394ff: *dum primus harenas / ingrediar primusque gradus in pulvere ponam, / me calor aetherius feriat, mihi plena veneno / occurrat serpens, fatoque pericula vestra / praetemptate meo*. However whereas Cato's speech is marked by realism (he spells out the dangers facing his men in the desert, and makes a point of not wanting to deceive them, 388f), Caesar's clearly shows his delusion (his playing down of the dangers of the sea is proved very wrong in the storm which follows).

488-9. per hostes . . . medios: i.e. through the midst of the hostile Pompeian ships which were lying in wait for him. Another hint of Caesar's bravado. This danger is referred to at 5.448-9. Caesar's mentioning of it would do nothing to encourage Antony to make the journey.

medios: Housman rightly prefers *medios* (Oudendorp's conjecture) to *medias* (found in the mss). *medias . . . harenas* is strange and Bentley conjectured *nudas* for *medias*

because of the difficulty. Weise tries to explain *medias* thus: 'cum a dextra laevaue essent hostes', but as Housman implies this better justifies *medios*. For 'medius' meaning 'the heart of', see *OLD* s.v. 4a). Caesar's tendency to confront dangers head-on is seen also at 583: *medias perrumpe procellas* (and cf. 5.304 where Caesar confronts his mutinous soldiers: *medios properat temptare furores*).

489. percussi: The verb used here of Caesar coming ashore seems at first sight a little odd. 'percutio' tends to be used more of waves (rather than a person or vessel) beating a shore (Verg. *Ecl.* 5.83; Luc. 10.324). Cf. the more neutral 'prendere' (576), 'potiri' (589), 'tangere' (677) used of coming ashore elsewhere in the storm-episode.

The older commentators interpret the verb variously as indicating the dropping of the anchor (Comm. Bern.; Adn.); or the imprinting of footsteps on the shore (Adn.; Burman: 'potest et de ipso Caesare ex nave desiliente capi, qui ita percussit pedibus arenas'). It might also indicate the impression made by the boat on the shore. The violent verb is appropriate to Caesar who is famously compared to lightning at 1.151ff (see *OLD* s.v. 'percutio' 1c) for its use of lightning, and cf. Luc. 10.35 on Alexander as thunderbolt: *percuteret*). Alternatively, if one reads *venire* in 487 in an erotic sense, then possibly *percussi* may also be understood with a similar connotation. See Adams (1982) 147 on the word 'percussor' and 145ff for similar verbs in a sexual context. For sailing into a harbour as a sexual metaphor, see Adams (1982) 167 and cf. Ovid *Ep.* 18.206ff *cum tua contigero litora, perstet hiemps! / istic est aptum nostrae navale carinae, / et melius nulla stat mea puppis aqua* with Kenney *ad loc.* Perhaps L. is here making Caesar speak words which may be interpreted in a vulgar sense as suggesting sexual unfaithfulness. See below on *alieni*.

harenas: = the shore (*OLD* s.v. 2a); *TLL* 6.2,3.2529.62ff). This meaning is more common in poetry than in prose. 'harena' in the sense of the gladiatorial arena or more generally a field of competition (*OLD* s.v. 3a) & c); *TLL* 6.3.2530.40ff) may not be far below the surface here since, in reaching Greece, Caesar has arrived in the land which is to be the site of the battle of Pharsalia. Cf. 6.63 where *harena* is specifically the field of battle: *aestuat angusta rabies civilis harena*. Possibly therefore we are to imagine Caesar as a gladiator entering the arena to face his opponent, Pompey. In any case there is a sense of momentousness in the description of reaching shore here. Cf. Cato's setting foot on the Libyan desert: 9.378 *ingressurus steriles . . . harenas*; and 394-5 (qu. in n. on *prior ipse*, 488). For gladiatorial imagery in L.'s poem, see Ahl (1979) 84-115; Masters (1992) 35, 44, 109-10, 155; Leigh (1997) chap. 7.

alieni iuris: 'under foreign control'. i.e. because the coast of Epirus was occupied by the Pompeians (who had got there before Caesar). A genitive of quality. The phrase has a legal ring. For the formula 'iuris mei/tui/sui/etc.', see *TLL* 7.2.694.80-696.6; *OLD* s.v. 'ius' 13c). It is more commonly found in prose than poetry.

alieni: 'aliena' in Roman love-poetry (see Pichon (1966) s.v.) could be used to refer to 'the other woman', i.e. a woman with whom a man is unfaithful; cf. for example Ov. *Ep.* 19.103 (Hero fears Leander's unfaithfulness) *in tua si veniunt alieni colla lacerti, / fitque novus nostri finis amoris amor*. The language may suggest that Caesar is, as it were, inciting Antony's jealousy by suggesting an 'affair' with a 3rd party. The combination of the military context and erotic connotations of the language creates an interesting effect.

490. tu mea: The juxtaposition of personal pronouns suggests intimacy. Unsurprisingly this is a feature of erotic poetry; cf. Ov. *Ep.* 6.134 *me tibi teque mihi taeda pudica dedit*; 13.104 *tu mihi luce celer, tu mihi nocte veni*; 13.163 *me tibi venturam comitem, quocumque vocaris*; 19.203 *nec tu mea somnia ride*; V. Fl. 8.435 (Medea to Jason) *quin tu mea respice saltem / consilia*; etc..

mea castra: L. may have in mind the common use of 'castra' in Roman love-poetry; cf. especially Hero's words to Leander at Ov. *Ep.* 19.157 *in tua castra redi, socii desertor amoris*; also Prop. 2.7.15; 4.1.135; 4.8.28; Tib. 2.3.33-4; Ov. *Am.* 1.2.32; 1.9.44; *Pont.* 3.3.82. See also on *arma*, 486.

pereuntia: For 'pereo' used of the disappearance of time or sim., see *TLL* 10.1.9.1336.74ff; 1338.28ff; 1339.44ff. It occurs quite often in the philosophical works of the younger Seneca. In L. cf. 9.233 *perierunt tempora vitae* (with which cf. Ov. *Rem.* 107 (si) *auxilii perierunt tempora primi*). It may be relevant that the passing of time is a theme in Roman love-poetry (i.e. the idea that one should enjoy oneself while still able); cf. Tib. 1.8.47 *at tu, dum primi floret tibi temporis aetas, utere*. Murgatroyd on Tib. 1.4.27-8 compares also Catul. 5.1ff; Tib. 1.1.69ff; 1.8.41ff; Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.15ff; 1.11; Prop. 2.15.21ff; 4.5.59f; Ov. *Ars.* 3.59ff; Sen. *Phaed.* 446ff; 761ff.

tempora fati: 'the hours granted by destiny' (tr. Duff). Cf. 10.505 *tempora cladis* ('the time granted by the fire'). There seems to be no need to interpret *fati* as meaning 'good fortune' as Suppl. adn., Haskins and Glos. do. The line-ending *tempora fati* was imitated by Silius (11.589); Statius (3.5.40); and V. Fl. (3.379).

491. conqueror: The word is emphasised by its position at the beginning of the line and word-ending coinciding with end of foot creating a pause after it. Words denoting complaint are especially associated with love-poetry, especially to express pain at the absence of the beloved, and it is tempting to see Caesar here on the sea-shore acting the part of an abandoned lover. See Pichon (1966) 248-9 on 'queri' and related words. One of the most extensive descriptions of the complaint of a lover in Latin poetry must be that of Ariadne on the beach at Catul. 64.124-201 (*atque haec extremis maestam dixisse querelis*, 130; *quid ego . . . nequiquam conquerar*, 164). The only other occurrence of the word in L.'s poem is, significantly, at 1.361-2 in the speech of the soldier Laelius to Caesar: *quod tam lenta tuas tenuit patientia vires / conquerimur*. See also the emotive words *questus*, 512, and *querellis*, 681, used respectively of the complaints of Caesar and Caesar's men on his return to the camp later in the storm-episode, suggesting a relationship of the heart. See on 480-497 for hints of love-poetry in this passage. The association of *conqueror* with the abandoned lover in love-poetry lends a sense of forlornness to the word in the present passage, but there is also irony in that Caesar's anger is not at his separation from Antony *per se* but at his inability to get on with the war due to Antony's procrastination (*pereuntia tempora fati*). See also on *voce doloris*, 494.

in ventos impendo vota fretumque: 'I waste my prayers on the winds and waves'.

in ventos . . . fretumque: It is unclear whether the phrase is to be taken literally or figuratively. Taken literally, *ventos* and *fretum* would be the objects of Caesar's prayers: i.e. Caesar was wasting his prayers by asking the gods for favourable winds and a calm sea for Antony (instead of, presumably, something more important such as success in war). This is the interpretation (for example) of Adn. and Weise. Taken figuratively, the words would allude to the topos of the uselessness of words which dates back to Homer (*Od.* 8.408-9). i.e. Caesar complains that his attempt to persuade Antony to leave Italy is (or will prove to be) in vain. For winds carrying away words (and making them useless), see *OLD* s.v. 'ventus' 3a); Otto (1890) n. 1864; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.2. The topos featured prominently in Roman love-poetry especially of the worthlessness of women's words (in expressions involving either winds or winds-and-sea). For the mention specifically of winds-and-sea together (as here), cf. for example Catul. 70.3-4 *sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti / in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua*; Prop. 2.28.8 *quicquid iurarunt, ventus et unda rapit*; Tib. 1.4.21ff *nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti / irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt*, McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.4.11-12; Ov. *Am.* 2.16.45-6 *verba puellarum, folliis levior caducis, / irrita, qua visum est, ventus et unda ferunt*, Tr. 1.8.35 *cunctane in aequoreos abierunt irrita ventos? cunctane Lethaeis mersa feruntur aquis?*

The ambiguity (literal or figurative?) is perhaps deliberate and in this way L. explores the literal meaning of this common figure of speech. (If the phrase were meant in the figurative sense, then *impendo* ('to waste') would seem tautological.) In a similar way, Ovid several times refers to the winds and waves both figuratively (of wasted words) and literally (of winds which drove ships) in the same sentence; e.g. *Ep.* 7.8 *idem venti vela fidemque ferent?* and see Knox comm. p.30.

impendo: For 'impendo' with the idea of wasting implied as opposed to merely spending, see *OLD* s.v. 3b). This sense seems to be found only from L. onwards. Cf. also 7.617-18 (with dative) *impendisse pudet lacrimas in funere mundi / mortibus innumeris*.

vota: For prayers for calm seas, cf. *Ov. Ep.* 18.203-4 *sed uti mare finiat iram, / accedant, quaeso, fac tua vota meis*.

492. ne retine: On the high number of imperatives in Caesar's speeches in the poem generally, see on 531-7.

dubium cupientis ire per aequor: Willingness to endure hardship and difficult terrain/obstacles is associated not only with soldiers but with lovers. Cf. for example *Hor. epod.* 1.11-14 for Horace's desire to follow Maecenas. For the idea in Roman love-elegy, cf. *Ov. Am.* 1.9.9-14 with McKeown *ad loc.*; *Ov. Ep.* 17.246 (Helen to Paris) *ibit per gladios, ei mihi! noster amor*; also Copley (1947) 285-300 (on the 'servitium amoris'). For the suggestion of Caesar's relationship with his soldiers as a relationship between lovers, see on 480-497. Cf. especially *Luc.* 1.367-8 (Laelius is willing to endure hardship for the sake of his leader Caesar) *duc age per Scythiae populos, per inhospita Syrtis / litora, per calidas Libyae sitientis harenas*. For historical evidence of the willingness of Caesar's soldiers to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their leader, see Ash (1999) 8 who quotes *Caes. Civ.* 3.53.3 and compares *Sallust Histories* 1.88, *L. D. Reynolds and Plu. Sert.* 4.3.

dubium: sc. 'etiam' (i.e. even a dangerous sea). It was winter (5.408) and therefore a time when sailing was not advisable due mainly to the risk of storms. The sailing season was from 27 May to 14 September or possibly 10 March to 10 November (cf. *Hes. Op.* 663-65; *Veg. Mil.* 4.39). For 'dubius' meaning dangerous, see *OLD* s.v. 9a. The word is first used in this sense by Ovid (*Pont.* 4.10.10 *iactatus dubio . . . man*).

493-4. si bene nota mihi est, ad Caesaris arma iuventus / naufragio venisse volet: *Comm. Bern.* comments on these lines: 'Livius de hoc: veniant si modo mei sunt'. Whether

Livy's influence lies behind L.'s words however cannot be established for certain due to the relevant parts of Livy being lost (see Appendix I on historical sources).

493. si bene nota mihi est: The phrase indicates the intimacy between leader and men. *si* does not express uncertainty, but rather assurance (Mayer on Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.1); i.e. 'if I know them (which I certainly do)'. For Caesar's intimate knowledge of his army, cf. his boast at 7.287ff *cuius non militis ensem / agnoscam? caelumque tremens cum lancea transit, / dicere non fallar, quo sit vibrata lacerto*. There is a 'formulaic' ring to the phrase here and variations of it are found often in colloquial contexts; cf. *si ego hos bene novi* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 57.11); *si Caesarem bene novi* (Cic. *Att.* 9.7b.2); *si bene me novi* (Hor. *S.* 1.9.22); *si bene te novi* (Hor. *Ep.* 1.18.1; Ov. *Am.* 2.18.39; *Pont.* 1.6.4; 2.3.49).

ad Caesaris arma: *Caesaris arma/is* is a frequent combination in the poem, occurring 13 times in total. Fantham on Luc. 2.246 notes that the phrase is used to stress Caesar's role as a 'freebooter, not a civic leader' in contrast to Pompey. For the use of the rhetorical device of 'emphasis' here, see on 488.

arma: = troops (*OLD* s.v. 7a)). See on 486 for the amatory connotations of the word which may be relevant here.

iuventus: Used collectively of soldiers (*OLD* 1b); *TLL* 7.2.743.44ff). It occurs with the same sense as early as Ennius (*Ann.* 537 *accedit muros Romana iuventus*) and appears frequently in Vergil, e.g. *A.* 8.606 *lecta iuventus* (imitated by L. at 9.478). The word does not indicate the age of Caesar's soldiers who are several times referred to (with some rhetorical exaggeration) as old men: 2.559-61; 5.274ff; 5.333. They had endured 8 years of fighting in Gaul (see on 661). Mostly, as here, 'iuventus' is followed by a verb in the singular (though note 2.46). Various other terms are used in the poem to refer to troops: *cohortes* (3.360); *comites* (4.516); *iuvenes* (4.480, etc); *manus* (2.532); *pubes* (2.473); *tiro* (5.363); *viri* (1.191, etc); *miles* (4.181; 5.367; etc.); *turba* (5.681, see below); *volgus* (5.365).

494. naufragio: sc. 'etiam'. i.e. *even* at the cost of shipwreck. For the ablative of price/cost, see K-S. I.389,9; and cf. Luc. 2.225-6 *multumque coitur / humani generis maiore in proelia damno*.

The willingness of Caesar's soldiers to suffer even shipwreck to be with him is an indication of their almost unnatural devotion to their leader. This devotion is a theme throughout the poem. It is illustrated for example very effectively by means of the rhetorical

device hypallage: 4.560-2 *nec volnus adactis / debetur gladiis: percussum est pectore ferrum, / et iuguli pressere manum* and 6.160-1 *confringite tela / pectoris impulsu iugulisque retundite ferrum*. Martindale (1984) speaks of the 'perversion of courage' illustrated by the Caesarians Laelius (1.359ff), Vulteius (4.474ff - note that the Caesarians' desire to kill themselves is described as a kind of madness: *furentes*, 4.505; *furor est*, 4.517) and Scaeva (6.138ff) in their speeches. See also Leigh (1997) 206-10; 215-31.

For shipwreck specifically as a suffering to be endured for the beloved in love poetry, cf. Prop. 2.24b.27-8 *taetra venena libens et naufragus ebibat undas, / et numquam pro te deneget esse miser*. The general theme of shipwreck is an important one in L.'s poem; see on *naufragus*, 521. It was close to L.'s own experience as the aunt of the younger Seneca had lost her husband at sea (Sen. *Dial.* 12.19.4-5).

venisse volet: 'will want to have come'. The perfect infinitive is sometimes used in poetry (like the Greek aorist) for the present infinitive, especially after 'velle' or 'posse' (see Madvig (1863) §407 Obs.2; Pascucci in *Enc.Verg.* vol. 2 p. 966) but here the perfect infinitive *venisse* is not aoristic but denotes past time in respect of *volet*, i.e. Caesar is envisaging his soldiers' arrival as already completed. Cf. A. 6.78-9 (Sibyl) *magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum* with Norden *ad loc.* (*excussisse* is seen as a completed action); and A. 6.84ff *in regna Lavini / Dardanidae venient (mitte hanc de pectore curam); / sed non et venisse volent*. For the erotic connotations of the verb 'venire' which are probably relevant here, see on 487. This would suggest that the relationship between Caesar and his soldiers was a sexual one. See on 678-99 for Alexander's men described as his 'erastai' or lovers.

494-7. Caesar complains that the world was divided unfairly between him and the Senate on the one hand and Antony on the other. For Caesar's inability to share power with anyone, cf. Curio's remark at 1.290-1 *partiri non potes orbem / solus habere potes*; and 2.658-60 (Caesar resents Pompey's presence in Italy) *instat atrox et adhuc, quamvis possederit omnem / Italiam, extremo sedeat quod litore Magnus, / communem tamen esse dolet*. See on *divisimus*, for a possible sexual double-entendre in this passage.

494. voce doloris: The words 'dolor' (inner anguish) and 'vox' (its outward expression) are quite commonly found in combination within a sentence. In L. cf. 1.258-9 *vox nulla dolori / credita*; 3.357 *ira ducis tandem testata est voce dolorem*. Cf. elsewhere Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.34-5 *sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem / possis*; Ov. *Met.* 13.539-40 *vocem . . . devorat ipse dolor*; *Fast.* 6.356 *dolor hic . . . voce . . . eget*; Sen. *Phaed.* 995 *vocem dolori . . . negat*; Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.28 *da vocem magno . . . dolori*.

doloris: 'dolor' can refer to various kinds of mental distress including indignation and resentment (*OLD* s.v. 2) & 3)). Here it denotes Caesar's resentment at what he saw as the unfair division of land between Pompey and the senate, Antony and himself.

'dolor' is an emotion often associated with love (cf. *A.* 4.434) and this may be relevant here (see on 480-97). For the wide use of 'dolor' and cognate words in the language of love-poetry to signify various kinds of hurt or grief, including jealousy caused by the deception of the beloved, see Pichon (1966) 132-3; Friedländer on *Juv.* 10.315-16. Given the reminiscences of erotic poetry in the preceding lines it is possible that L. had this association in mind. If so, it is ironic that Caesar's jealousy concerning military control of territory should be couched in language which recalls erotic poetry (but see on *tenet*, 496).

495. utendum est: For 'utor' used of speech, see *OLD* s.v. 2d).

divisimus: 'we have divided/shared out' (*OLD* s.v. 6a)). The verb may also be understood in a vulgar sexual sense (cf. Adams (1982) 151 where 'dividi' = 'pedicari' at *Plaut. Aul.* 285ff). For the historical Caesar's reputation for sexual promiscuity during his foreign campaigns; see on 480-97. Cf. also below on *tenet* and *habes*.

orbem: As Duff notes in his translation Epirus stands for the East and Italy for the West. Thus Caesar speaks hyperbolically of 'dividing up the world'. The events of L.'s poem are frequently seen as having a world-wide dimension; see on *mundi*, 481.

496. Epirum: North-western area of Greece, where Caesar and some of his troops had landed at 5.460.

Caesar . . . totusque senatus: 'Emphasis' again here, see on 488. Caesar avoids mentioning the name of his enemy Pompey, referring to him and his supporters instead by the phrase *totusque senatus*.

tenet: The ostensible meaning of 'tenet' here is that of having (military) command over some territory (*OLD* s.v. 9a)). However possibly Caesar's jealousy of Antony is being expressed here in erotic language (see next n.).

497. tu solus habes: For 'habeo' in the sense of having military control of something, see *OLD* s.v. 6a) and 8a) and cf. 5.30-1 *maerentia tecta / Caesar habet*. The phrase *tu solus habes* however recalls various passages in erotic contexts and Caesar may therefore be

using erotic language here. Both 'teneo' (see previous line) and 'habeo' can have sexual connotations; see Pichon (1966) 162, 276-7; *TLL* 6,3.2409.33-7; Adams (1982) 181, 187; Fordyce on Catul. 72.2. The feminine proper noun *Ausoniam* here especially suits this interpretation. For 'solus habes' or sim., cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 3.106-7 *dic quibus in terris inscripti nomina regum / nascantur flores, et Phyllida solus habeto*; Ov. *Ep.* 15.20 *inprobe, multarum quod fuit [i.e. Sappho's love], unus habes*. After L., cf. Mart. 3.26.1-6 *Praedia solus habes et solus, Candide, nummos, / aurea solus habes, murrina solus habes, / Massica solus habes et Opimi Caecuba solus, / et cor solus habes, solus et ingenium. / omnia solus habes nec me puta velle negare / uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo;* 11.40.1-2 *formosam Glyceran amat Luperus / et solus tenet imperatque solus*.

497-503. Having failed to summon Antony Caesar decides to set out for Italy by himself.

When his repeated pleas to Antony fail Caesar decides to undertake himself the perilous journey by sea back to Italy in order, presumably, to galvanise the troops himself. The narrative does not return to Antony and his troops until line 703, approximately 200 lines later. The intervening narrative (504-702) describes Caesar's visit to the home of Amyclas the owner of the boat, the ensuing storm, and the failure of his attempt to reach Italy.

As elsewhere in the poem (see Fantham on 2.650-79) L. attributes Caesar's decision to journey to Italy to his personality (his confidence in divine favour, 499; and his 'temeritas' or recklessness, 501-2) rather than any rational reason. We are left to assume what exactly Caesar hoped to achieve by such a journey. Paratore (1990) 9 believes Caesar decided to make for Italy a) to show Antony it was possible; b) to push Antony to do the same; and c) to reproach him for his cowardice. Presumably he also wished to fetch the troops to Greece himself.

For the question of whether the storm was based on historical fact or not, see Appendix I on the historical sources.

497. *terque quaterque*: i.e. 'many times' (Glos.: 'est finitum pro infinito'). The phrase indicates Caesar's impatience (cf. *saepe*, 480; and *bis terque*, 519). Cf. A. 4.589 (Dido) *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum*, and see Pease *ad loc.* for other examples of the phrase. It dates back to Homer (*Od.* 5.306). Just as Vergil uses alliteration to suggest the beating of the breast in A. 4, so L. uses alliteration (the 'k' sounds in line 498) similarly to suggest perhaps Caesar's frustration with Antony.

498. *vocibus*: i.e. not spoken, but written words (see on *evocat*, 481).

excitum: Both long and short 'i' (here long) in the perfect participle form are found; see Williams on A. 3.676. On prosody in L., see Shackleton Bailey p. 294 and see on *concita*, 597.

postquam . . . videbat: The imperfect *videbat* describes a continuing situation which accounts for the action of the main clause, so *postquam* has a quasi-causal sense here. 'postquam' + the imperfect tense (only here in L.) is common only in the historians and particularly in Tacitus and Livy (Woodcock (1959) § 217 (5); K-S. II.356; H-Sz. II.598).

cessare: cf. *morantem*, 480 (also of Antony) and *ne cessa*, 536 (Caesar to Amyclas). For impatience with delay as a characteristic of Caesar, see on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477. It is also a frequent theme in Roman love-poetry; see on 480-97.

499. dum se desse deis ac non sibi numina credit: 'Believing that he was failing the gods and not the gods him'. See on 581-3 for Caesar's belief that he was favoured by heaven.

dum: Any temporal force of 'dum' is practically lost here (see *OLD* s.v. 4)).

desse: For the idea of gods (not) failing humans, cf. Caesar's words to his soldiers at 1.349 *neque numina derunt* (with which cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.109 *nec numina desunt*). For the idea of humans failing the gods, cf. *Theb.* 5.132-3 *superisne vocantibus ultro / desumus?*

deis . . . numina: The use of two or more synonyms for the gods in close proximity is a common practice in L.. Cf. for example 1.379-80 (*deos . . . numina*); 5.86 (*superum . . . numen*); 6.523 (*superos . . . numen*); 7.456-7 (*numina . . . superis*); 9.573-5 (*superis . . . dei . . . numen*). This avoids the need for too many pronouns which would be inelegant.

500-1. sponte per incautas audet temptare tenebras / quod iussi timuere fretum: 'He ventured in the dangerous darkness to defy the sea, thus doing of his own accord what others had feared to do when bidden' (tr. Duff).

500. sponte: i.e. willingly, without coercion (*OLD* s.v. 2b)). The word is contrasted with *iussi* ('those who had been ordered') in the next line. For the combination cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12.17 *stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent*. *sponte* here probably recalls Aeneas' words at A. 4.361 *Italiam non sponte sequor*. i.e. whereas Aeneas claims to have

been forced by the gods to leave Carthage and Dido, here Caesar sets out for Italy (the same destination) entirely of his own accord. Cf. also in the context of a sea-voyage *Ov. Tr.* 1.4.3-4 (possibly another reminiscence of Vergil) *nos tamen Ionium non nostra findimus aequor / sponte, sed audaces cogimur esse metu.*

per incautas . . . tenebras: A difficult phrase. 'incautus' is more often used of people to mean 'incautious, unwary, unsuspecting', i.e. with a similar meaning to 'temerarius', but here it is used of the darkness (*tenebras*). Heinsius explained the expression by enallage: 'incautus tentaret aequoreas tenebras' (i.e. the epithet is transferred from Caesar to the darkness). If this is not enallage, then a passive meaning of 'incautus' must be sought. Possible meanings might be: a) unguarded, uncovered; or b) unforeseen (*TLL* 7,1. 852.41ff). However both of these are not without difficulty. In the case of a) it is unclear who the darkness is unguarded *by*; in the case of b) the sense would be a little difficult unless *tenebras* referred to the storm rather than night. Duff translates *incautas* as 'dangerous' (a meaning apparently developed from a) above) and this seems to gain some support from *Luc.* 4.409 *cautus ab incursu belli* where *cautus* = *tutus*.

However on balance Heinsius' suggestion seems more likely to be right. *incautas* must reflect on Caesar's famous quality of 'temeritas' (see on *temeraria*, 501). If correct, this is a particularly bold instance of enallage. For enallage, see on *trepidare*, 568. For a bold instance of (double-)enallage in Vergil, cf. *A.* 6.268 *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*.

tenebras: The mss have *tenebras* (Ω) and *latebras* (ZMC). Bourgery prefers *latebras* on the grounds that the night is not described until 504 but this seems too pedantic and most other modern editors (Housman, Shackleton Bailey, Badali) have accepted *tenebras*, surely rightly.

temptare: For 'tempto' in the sense of attempting to overcome or brave adverse circumstances, see *OLD* s.v.11). L. may have in mind particularly *A.* 3.520 *temptamus viam* where, however, the Trojans embark in *favourable* weather conditions. Here the conditions are far from favourable.

501. quod iussi timuere fretum: literally, 'the sea which those who had been ordered (to cross it) feared'. *iussi* refers to Antony and the remainder of Caesar's troops left behind in Italy.

501-2. temeraria prono / expertus cecississe deo: 'He knew by experience that rashness is successful when Heaven is favourable'. An adaptation of the common idea that Fortune favoured the brave; see Otto (1890) n.702. The quality of rashness is something particularly associated with Caesar and compares unfavourably with real bravery (see next n.).

501. temeraria: neut. pl. as sb. 'rashness', i.e. thoughtless/ill-considered action. The adjective is twice used of Caesar in the storm-episode and points to his main characteristic in it (see also *virtus temeraria*, 682). Valerius Maximus, writing in the reign of Tiberius, included an account of Caesar in the storm under the heading *De Temeritate* (9.8). (See Fantham (1992) 91 for L.'s possible use of V. Max. book 2.) The quality of rashness links Caesar with the prototype tyrant Alexander (with whom he also shared the blessing of Fortune). For Alexander, see Liv. 9.18.18; App. *BC* 2.149-50; Sen. *Ben.* 1.13.3 (*cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas*). It is also a key characteristic of Leander in Ovid's depiction of the myth of Hero and Leander in *Ep.* 18 and 19 (see n. on 480-97).

In Seneca's epistles 'temeritas' is seen as a negative quality sometimes masquerading as bravery ('fortitudo'); cf. *Ep.* 45.7; 85.28; 120.8. It was not a quality to be admired (except in so far as it could result in spectacular feats of daring such as Caesar's attempt to brave the storm in the present episode). Caesar's rashness seems to be distinguished in L.'s poem from the 'virtus' of Cato which the poet clearly admired. Cf. 2.242-4 where Brutus says Cato is the sole remaining exemplar of 'virtus'. Cato's 'virtus' is referred to several times in the desert march of book 9: e.g. 9.371; 380-1; 444-5; 505-6. Cato's concern not to deceive his men about the dangers involved in the Libyan desert (388-9) shows his realism, and stands in contrast to Caesar's dismissal of Amyclas' warnings and denial of the dangers of the storm (see especially 578ff). For the Stoic conception of bravery which stressed the importance of foreseeing in one's mind the dangers ahead, cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.81 *quamquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni est, praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere, quid accidere possit in utramque partem, et quid agendum sit, cum quid evenerit, nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit: 'non putaram'. haec sunt opera magni animi et excelsi et prudentia consilioque fidentis; temere autem in acie versari et manu cum hoste configere immane quiddam et beluarum simile est . . .* See also A. 6.105 *omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi* (described by Austin *ad loc.* as 'Stoic language' and quoted by Sen. *Ep.* 76.33). Caesar shows no such foresight in the present episode, instead relying blindly on his own Fortune.

prono: 'pronus' used of favourable deities is first found in Ovid (*Tr.* 1.2.88); see *OLD* s.v. 6c). Cf. the phrase with opposite meaning *averso . . . numine* at Luc. 6.314.

502. cessisse: A gnomic perfect infinitive describing something which has been and shall be in the future (G-L. §236 N.). It is normal in poetry from Catullus onwards. It may be translated by the present tense in English. The verb 'cedo' is used here absolutely in the (rather unusual) sense of 'to turn out well, be successful', cf. A. 12.147-8 *qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant / cedere res Latio* (and see OLD s.v. 7b) for other examples). Serv. A. 12.147-8 notes that *cedere res Latio* = 'feliciter cuncta procedere' (but Page *ad loc.* seems to take *cedere* as *not* absolute).

deo: Used here in a rather vague way of fate/gods/destiny (OLD s.v. 4)). It certainly does not refer to any anthropomorphic god of the kind found in earlier epic. This vague use of 'deus' may perhaps best be paralleled by *deo . . . volenti*, 536; and 7.348 (Pompey's speech to his men) *medio posuit deus omnia campo*.

502-3. fluctusque verendos / classibus exigua sperat superare carina: The small boat (*exigua . . . carina*) set against the backdrop of enormous waves (*fluctusque verendos / classibus*) creates an image which is almost a caricature. A similar contrast occurs at 655-6: *parva quem puppe sedentem / tam magno petiere mari*. See n. *ad loc.* for L.'s fondness for such contrasts. Thompson-Bruère (1968) 11 point out the 'authorial inadvertence' here: 'at the point of setting out to hunt for a boat to take him across there was no reason for Caesar to anticipate he would encounter a huge storm'. However at 578ff Caesar seems to have a more primal understanding of the weather than does Amyclas so it is possible to imagine that Caesar did in fact anticipate a storm at this point. Indeed, given that he seems deliberately to imitate and emulate the epic heroes Odysseus and Aeneas in their storms at 653ff (see n. *ad loc.*), we might even believe that Caesar *wished* to encounter a great storm in the epic tradition in which he might prove himself.

503. classibus: sc. 'etiam'.

classibus . . . carina: Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19 where a similar contrast (between Leander and large boats/fleets) is made: 143ff (Hero to Neptune) *te decet aut magnas magnum iactare carinas / aut etiam totis classibus esse trucem. / turpe deo pelagi iuvenem terrere natantem, / gloriaque est stagno quolibet ista minor; 19.183-4 (Hero to Leander) *arte laboratae merguntur ab aequore naves; / tu tua plus remis bracchia posse putas?**

superare: A verb used several times of Caesar in the poem showing his success in overcoming obstacles; cf. 1.183 *iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes*; 1.223-4

Caesar ut adversam superato gurgite (= Rubicon) ripam / attigit; 3.84 iamque et praecipitis superaverat Anxuris arces.

carina: = boat, by synecdoche (cf. 642 where it means 'keel'). 'carina' meaning 'boat' is found almost exclusively in poetry from Ennius (*Ann.* 573) onwards (*TLL* 3.457.53ff). L. uses the word frequently (52x), far more than Vergil (18x altogether; 16x in the *A.*, twice in the *Georgics*), Statius (17x), V. Fl. (22x) and Sil. (20x) but not quite as much as Ovid (63x altogether). Words for 'boat/ship' in L.'s storm-episode are:

'carina' (503, 514, 534, 642, 705)

'ratis' (515, 560, 568, 573, 588, 649)

'puppis' (570, 575, 585, 590, 594, 647, 655, 673, 708, 718)

It is curious that of the 200 occurrences of words for ship in the poem as a whole L. (in common with other Silver Latin poets) avoids completely the word 'navis' preferring the more poetic equivalents such as those above and also 'pinus' and 'trabs'. Compare Vergil in the *A.* and Ovid in the *Met.* who both use 'navis' (46 times and 9 times respectively). See Axelson (1945) 50; Watson (1985) 441.

504-559. Caesar & Amyclas; the beginnings of the storm

504-514. Caesar exits the camp by night in search of a boat.

A fairly conventional description of night (504-7) sets the scene for Caesar's outing to Amyclas' hut. Attention is drawn to Caesar's rank first by the fact that he is awake while all others are asleep (see on 505-6 & 508) and also by the point made in 509 that he was preparing to do 'what even slaves could hardly dare' (*vix famulis audenda*). Caesar's aloneness is emphasised in 509-10 (*cunctisque relictis / sola placet Fortuna comes*), and his reliance on Fortuna, an important theme throughout the poem, is portrayed in quasi-visual terms with Fortuna almost, though not actually, personified as Caesar's companion. The description of Caesar's exit from the camp (508-12) seems to owe something to Vergil's Nisus and Euryalus episode and Medea in Ovid's *Met.*, both of which serve to lend atmosphere. There may also be further suggestions of Caesar as an elegiac lover (see on 480-97 and here on 511, 512, 513, 520). See Appendix I for the way Lucan has greatly embellished what he found in the historical records concerning Caesar's sea-adventure.

504-7. After an introductory section (476-503) in which the motivation for Caesar's sea-journey is made clear, we are given in these lines a clear description of both time and place: it is night and we are in Caesar's camp. The scene-setting (note the pluperfect and

imperfect verbs) marks the beginning of an episode, the storm and Caesar's voyage. In general L. shows a lack of interest in details of time and location (see Mayer on 8.202-255), so the transition is all the more marked. For a passage similarly marking the beginning of an episode, cf. 8.202ff.

Lucan may have had particularly in mind the opening of the episode of Nisus and Euryalus at Verg. A. 9.224-8 *cetera per terras omnis animalia somno / laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum: / ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus, / consilium summis regni de rebus habebant, / quid facerent quisve Aeneae iam nuntius esset*. (See further on 508-14 for influence of this passage.) Like Vergil, L. includes the idea of sleep being a release from toil and suffering (*solverat*, 504) and contrasts the soldiers' sleep with the lack of sleep of those with burdens of responsibility (*Caesar sollicito per vasta silentia gressu*, 508). What distinguishes L.'s version from Vergil's however is the greater emphasis put on the wretchedness of the men as compared to Caesar (n.b. *parva quies miseris*, 505; *fortuna minor*, 506). This is consistent with the emphasis elsewhere in the poem on the contrast between high and low rank. For the tradition of epic descriptions of night, see Pease on A. 4.522. For the idea of sleep as a release from toil and suffering, cf. also Lucr. 4.908; Verg. A. 4.528; Ov. *Met.* 8.83-4; 10.368-9; 11.623ff; Pease on A. 4.528 *oblita*; and Bömer on Ovid *Met.* 6.493; 11.624f for similar passages in Ovid. For the sleeplessness of leaders, see further on 508-14.

504. solverat: For 'solvo' used of sleep, see *OLD* s.v. 8b). At 6.88 'solvo' is used in a more sinister way of the plague rotting bodies: *corpora dum solvit tabes et digerit artus*. The plague shares some common factors with sleep; n.b. *sonipes defessus*, 6.84; *fessumque caput*, 6.97.

armorum fessas . . . curas: 'the weary cares of war'.

armorum: = *bellorum*, by metonymy as at 1.666 *armorum rabies*; etc. See *OLD* s.v. 6a).

fessas . . . curas: *fessas* would strictly describe the men better than their 'curae', an example here of the poetic use of an epithet which describes the effect of the noun it is attached to (the cares weary). See also on *nox languida* below. The phrase *fessas . . . curas* is exactly paralleled at *Ciris* 232 *tempore quo fessas mortalia pectora curas . . . requiescunt* (*TLL* 4.1474.35; see Lyne (1971) 249 for possible imitation of L. here and in other places by the author of the *Ciris*). L. may have had in mind Ov. *Met.* 8.83-4 *prima quies aderat, qua curis fessa diurnis / pectora somnus habet*.

curas: For the construction 'cura' + gen. of the object, see *TLL* 4.1469.68ff. For 'curas . . . armorum', cf. Liv. 9.30.10 *inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam*; 34.1.4 *inter bellorum . . . curas*; Luc. 3.52-3 (Caesar) *tum pectore curas / expulit armorum*; V. Fl. 5.533 *belli . . . cura*. The war-weariness of Caesar's men had led to the threat of a mutiny at 5.237ff.

nox languida: 'drowsy night'. i.e. night has the effect of making men drowsy (see above on *fessas . . . curas*). Here *nox* is practically equivalent to sleep, see *OLD* s.v. 6a). 'languidus' meaning 'drowsy' is used poetically of sleep or night at: A. 12.908 *oculos ubi languida pressit nocte quies*; Sen. *Her. F.* 1069 [Somne] . . . *frater durae languide Mortis*; Stat. *Theb.* 11.548 *languida somno . . . quies*. Other examples of this poetic use of the adjective (which describes the effect had on something or someone by the noun it describes) are found in the storm-episode at: 515, *secura (domus)*; 635, *concordes (moras)*; 689, *segnis (sopor)*; 704, *purum (Borean)*. See nn. *ad loc.*

505. parva quies: In apposition to *nox languida*. The rest is brief (*parva*) from the point of view of Caesar's men who were suffering from the strenuous business of war (Suppl. adn.: 'parva: propter curas belli'), but at least they can sleep, unlike their restless leader (see on 508ff). For sleep as a brief respite for the soldiers, cf. 4.476 *libera non ultra parva quam nocte iuventus*. For 'parvus' meaning brief, see also *TLL* 10.1.559.66ff (incl. Luc. 6.805-6 *parvae . . . vitae*). L.'s phrase is close to 'prima quies' found at A. 2.268-9 *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit* and Ov. *Met.* 8.83 (qu. in n. above on *fessas . . . curas*).

miseris: In poetic descriptions of night it was common to refer in various ways to those whom sleep held in its grip, sometimes to contrast with those who were wakeful. One of the most elaborate examples is found at A. 4.522ff: *nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem / corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant / aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu, / cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres, / quaeque lacus late liquidos, quaeque aspera dumis / rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti. / lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum. / at non infelix animi Phoenissa . . .* This is simplified elsewhere: e.g. Var. *At. poet.* 8 (7) *desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant*; Verg. A. 3.147 *nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat*; 8.26ff *nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnis / alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat / cum pater . . . Aeneas . . .*; Ov. *Met.* 7.185-6 *homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies*; Stat. *Theb.* 1.339 *iam pecudes volucresque tacent*. Here L. chooses to mention just the soldiers of Caesar and *miseris* draws attention to their wretched plight. See on *nos viles animas*, 683.

505-6. in quorum pectora somno / dat vires fortuna minor: 'their humbler position gives sleep power over their breasts'. The Latin is a little awkward here as it is unclear whether *somno* should be taken as dative after *dat vires* or as ablative with *in quorum pectora* following *dat vires*. The former seems slightly preferable since the construction 'do vires + dat.' is very common (*TLL* 5,1.1685.15-16 and cf. for example *Ov. Fast.* 4.708 *damnosis vires ignibus aura dabat*; *Luc.* 1.484f *sic quisque pavendo / dat vires famae*) and elsewhere 'do in + acc.' tends to be used in a final sense (*TLL* 5.1.1692.25ff). The point is that the sleep of the soldiers was sounder due to their low rank. Later, at 689-90, Caesar's soldiers will refer to their deep slumber with a sense of guilt. The contrast between the easy sleep of the poor & humble and the disturbed sleep of the rich or those of high-rank is a commonplace (see on 508). In L. it may be seen as part of a general fascination with contrasts between people of high and low rank and the distinction between the lot of the many and the lot of the few (cf. 5.343 *humanum paucis vivit genus*).

506. fortuna minor: 'their humbler position'. i.e. humbler of course in relation to Caesar. Soldiers of the rank and file are here indicated (Housman: 'significantur milites gregarii'; cf. *Comm. Bern.*: 'inferiore gradu'; *Adn.*: 'in fortuna humili'). There seems to be no parallel for the phrase *fortuna minor* with the same meaning. Cf. the identical phrase at 7.686 though in a different sense. For 'fortuna' meaning 'rank or social position', see *OLD* s.v. 11b); *TLL* 6.1.1178.30ff. For other occurrences of 'Fortuna/fortuna' in the storm-episode see on *Fortuna*, 510.

castra silebant: Possibly an unconscious echo of *Prop.* 4.4.80 *atque intermissa castra silere tuba*. (Various parallels between L. and Propertius listed in Enk (1946) 54-76 show that L. was familiar with Propertius and echoed him whether consciously or unconsciously.) References to silence are standard in descriptions of night (see on 505 and cf. especially *Var. At. poet.* 8(7) *desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant*).

507. tertia iam vigiles commoverat hora secundos: A near golden-line of the sequence aBCAb. See Fantham on 2.3; Mayer on 8.303ff and 822 on golden lines in L.. Other golden-lines (or near golden-lines) occur in the storm-episode at 546, 675 and 684.

vigiles: There were 4 watches during the night each lasting 3 hours (see *RE* Supp.IX.1693ff). The night lasted from 6pm to 6am. This means that Caesar departed the camp around 9pm, a third of the way into the night. The soldiers were by now asleep but there was still enough time for the storm to take place (Caesar returns to the camp after the storm as daylight approaches, *luce propinqua*, 678).

commoverat: *TLL* 3.1942.74f takes *commoverat* here as synonymous with 'mutaverat' but 'commoveo' of rousing from sleep (*OLD* s.v. 7a) seems a more likely sense. Its use with an abstract subject (*tertia hora*) is unusual.

508-14. Caesar steps out alone into the darkness to undertake his mission to reach Italy. He manages to get past his sleeping sentries (*vigilum*, 511) and, tracing the shore, finds a boat moored to rocks. Thompson-Bruère (1968) 11-12 compare this passage with the nocturnal sortie of Nisus and Euryalus to the Rutulian camp to reach Aeneas (*A.* 9.314ff), a passage modelled primarily on *Hom. Il.* 10, the 'Doloneia'. See also Narducci (1983) 185ff. Vergil's use of elements of elegiac poetry in this episode to emphasise the intimacy between his two heroes (see Hardie on 9.312-3; 444; 486-7) may have had an influence on L. who does the same in order to emphasise the intimacy between Caesar and his men (see on 480-97). Some of the parallels adduced between the two passages by Thompson-Bruère appear rather tenuous, and they perhaps overstate the case when they claim that L. wished to contrast the 'high bravery and *pietas*' of the Vergilian characters with Caesar's 'act of sacrilegious *hybris*'. However a number of echoes in this section of L.'s narrative do suggest that he was familiar with this famous story and may indeed have been influenced by it in the present episode; see on *per vasta silentia*, 508; *comes*, 510; and *egressus*, 511.

Caesar's wakefulness in these lines compared with the sleep of his men in the previous lines recalls the well-known topos of (especially) epic poetry - the sleeplessness of leaders. For this, cf. *Hom. Il.* 2.1ff and 10.1ff; *Verg. A.* 1.305; 4.224-8; 8.19; 10.217 with Harrison *ad loc.*; *Ov. Met.* 3.396; *Fast.* 4.109-10; *Sen. Her. F.* 174-5; *Phaed.* 520-1; *Her. O.* 644ff; *Ag.* 73ff; *Sil.* 7.282ff. In L., cf. 5.750 *securos cepisse pudet* [Pompey] *cum coniuge somnos*; 7.8 *sollicitos . . . somnos* (of Pompey); 7.764ff where Caesar is haunted far more than his soldiers the night after Pharsalia. The topos is found also in Shakespeare; cf. for example *Henry 4th part 2 Act iii sc.1*; *Henry 5th Act iv sc. 1* lines 203ff. Sleeplessness is also however associated with lovers in post-Homeric epic (see *Apoll. Rhod.* 3.752; *Verg. A.* 4.522ff and Pease *ad loc.*; *Ov. Am.* 1.2.1ff and McKeown *ad loc.*; and in L. cf. 5.806 where Pompey is sleepless with love for Cornelia). This may be relevant in the present passage too since suggestions of Caesar as elegiac lover seem to continue in this passage (see above on 481ff for the influence of love-elegy in the previous section and below on *vigilum*, 511, *quod fallere posset*, 512, *litora curva legit*, 513, *limina*, 520).

508-9. Caesar sollicito per vasta silentia gressu / vix famulis audenda parat: The contrast between high and low rank so favoured by Lucan is seen in this sentence (*Caesar . . . vix famulis audenda*). Cf. for example 7.760-3 *capit in pia plebes / caespite patricio somnos, stratumque cubile / regibus infandus miles premit, inque parentum / inque toris fratrum posuerunt membra nocentes*. See also below 538 (*plebeio tectus (Caesar) amictu*) and 698-9 (*rector ut orbis / nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses*).

508. sollicito per vasta silentia gressu: 'gressu (aliquo)' is normally accompanied by a verb of motion (see *TLL* 6.2, 3.2329.34ff) but a main verb denoting Caesar's movement through the camp is omitted here (Duff supplies the verb 'stepping'). L. may have wished to convey a sense of Caesar's speed.

sollicito . . . gressu: Only here in the storm-episode is Caesar's vulnerability hinted at. His apparent anxiety here seems to be rather incompatible with, for example, his fearlessness later at 577ff. However *sollicito . . . gressu* is perhaps to be taken as not much more than a cliché, appropriate to almost anyone stepping out into the darkness alone (cf. *Medea* in *Ov. Met.* 7.182ff; see on *egressus*, 511). As a rule Caesar's vulnerability is not often referred to in the poem. However there are exceptions; cf. 1.192ff (C. on being confronted by the image of Roma) *tum perculit horror / membra ducis, riguere comae, gressumque coercens / languor in extrema tenuit vestigia ripa*; 5.368 *ipse pavet*; 6.47 *defessus Caesar*. Interestingly signs of Caesar's vulnerability to fear increase in book 10 (10.14-15 *tum voltu semper celante pavorem / intrepidus*; 443-4 *tangunt animos iraeque metusque, / et timet incursus indignaturque timere*; 456ff *hic, cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis, / parvaeque regna putet Tyriis cum Gadibus Indos, / ceu puer inbellis, ceu captis femina muris, / quaerit tuta domus; spem vitae in limine clauso / ponit, et incerto lustrat vagus atria cursu*; 542-3 *captus sorte loci pendet; dubiusque timeret / optaretne mori, respexit*) and Ahl (1979) 225 & 227 comments: 'For the first time in the epic [i.e. in book 10], Caesar is afraid, and L. makes the most of it . . . He has been softened and effeminized by the court of Alexandria'.

per vasta silentia: These words may suggest the Underworld. Cf. *per muta silentia* at *Ov. Met.* 4.433 and 10.53 both referring to the Underworld; and, for 'vastus' used of the Underworld, cf. *Lucr.* 1.115 *tenebras Orci . . . vastasque lacunas*; *Verg. A.* 6.237, 296, 741; *Ov. Met.* 10.30 *vastique silentia regni*. The adjective 'vastus' often indicates conditions not marked by human presence. For 'vastus' used to describe silence, see *OLD* s.v. 1b). Livy uses it at 10.34.6. Suggestions of a journey through the Underworld are also apparent in

the Nisus and Euryalus episode at A. 9.314ff which probably influenced Lucan in this episode (see on 504-7; 508-14); see Hardie on Verg. *Aeneid* 9, intro' 9 (b) 4 (p.27).

509. vix famulis audenda parat: 'prepares to do what even slaves hardly could dare' (tr. Duff). i.e. slaves whose lives were worth little. Comm. Bern. (probably rightly) suggests that L. is here alluding to the boldness of the fugitive slave ('deest fugientibus'). Narducci (1983) points to Caesar's disguise at 538 and compares Plato *Cri.* 52d, 53d and Sen. *Ep.* 114.6 (referring to the disguise adopted by fugitive slaves) but concludes after all that this idea is too tenuous. Paratore (1990) 7 disagrees with Narducci's translation of these words, 'mette a repentaglio la propria vita come nemmeno dovrebbe fare uno schiavo' ('he risks his life as not even a slave should do') which he regards as giving a negative impression of Caesar, preferring instead the more positive translation of Badali (which is very close to Duff), 'si appresta ad imprese, che a stento oserebbe uno schiavo'a ('he prepares himself for enterprises which a slave would hardly dare'). In either case the main point is to emphasise Caesar's temerity.

famulis: sc. 'etiam'. L., like other poets, avoids the term 'servus'. In Roman epic and in the tragedies of Seneca no single example of 'servus' or 'ancilla' is found, though n.b. 'serva' at A. 5.284; 9.546; Sen. *Phaed.* 622; Sil. 16.568 (Axelson (1945) 58).

cunctisque relictis: Caesar's aloneness sets him apart from other epic heroes who often acted in partnership with another (cf. Achilles and Patroclus, Nisus and Euryalus). He is made the sole focus of attention in L.'s narrative.

510. sola placet Fortuna comes: Cf. Nisus and Euryalus at Verg. A. 9.240 *si fortuna permittitis uti*. For influence of the Vergilian episode, see on 504-7; 508-14.

Fortuna: It was a characteristic of great leaders that they had a special relationship with 'Fortune' (see *OLD* s.v. 'fortuna' 4a)). For the notion that a successful general must possess 'felicitas', see Weinstock (1971) 113 n.6. The idea was popularised at Rome especially through Sulla (see Balsdon (1951) 1ff) but above all through Caesar (see Gelzer (1968) 326ff and 194 n.2; Weinstock (1971) 112-127). Caesar himself was fond of speaking of Fortuna (e.g. *Civ.* 3.73.4). Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, were all historically considered as favourites of Fortune and are described as such in L.'s poem (see on *felix*, 699). Fantham (1992) 11 goes as far as to argue that L. exploits Caesar's Fortune in the poem for the purpose of creating a counterpart to Juno in the *Aeneid*

'preserving the enemy of the Republic at the expense of liberty'. On the concept of 'felicitas' in the poem, see Dick (1937) 237; also Henderson (1988) 128-9.

This is therefore probably a reference to Caesar's own personal Fortuna as opposed to the more abstract divinity referred to elsewhere. The former is practically personified (as here, as a companion of Caesar) and is in some texts signified by a capital 'F'; the latter is more abstract, not seen as belonging to an individual person, and usually mentioned along with the gods and/or fate. In L.'s storm-episode, the 9 occurrences of 'Fortuna/fortuna' may be roughly distinguished by sense as follows:

Fortuna (Caesar's own) - 510, 582, 593, 668, 677

fortuna (abstract divinity) - 484, 522, 697

fortuna (social rank) - 506

However (apart from the special meaning at 506) the two other types of Fortuna/fortuna are sometimes hard to distinguish and Latin of course did not differentiate between capital or small 'f'. In the above only 522, 668 and 677 may be labelled as one or the other with any confidence. Mayer on 8.730 notes that 'the two notions were perhaps never distinctly formulated and so we find mixtures that are hard to analyse, e.g. at Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.23f (for which see Nisbet-Hubbard) . . . and the Fortune addressed at 8.860f seems to be at once Pompey's own and the abstract divinity.' The frequency of references to Fortuna/fortuna in the storm-episode is an indication of how important the episode was to the general concept in the poem. Paratore (1990) 10 believes that the storm-episode is the most important single episode in the poem as far as Fortuna is concerned.

L. portrays Caesar throughout the poem as both very reliant on and very blessed by Fortuna. Cf. for example 1.226 *te, Fortuna, sequor*; 5.301ff *fata sed in praeceps solitus demittere Caesar / Fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens / exercere*; 5.325ff *vadite meque meis ad bella relinquite fatis. / invenient haec arma manus, vobisque repulsis / tot reddet Fortuna viros, quot tela vacabunt*. In the storm-episode below Caesar will confidently state his belief that Fortuna would use the storm itself to his advantage (582, 593). Both qualities (of relying on Fortuna and being constantly blessed by her) are attributes seen in portrayals of Alexander on whom the historic Caesar is believed to have modelled himself (see on 482-3). See for example Curt. 7.7.28 for Alexander's trust in Fortuna; Liv. 9.18.9; App. *BC* 2.149; Curt. 3.6.18; 8.3.1 for Alexander being blessed by Fortuna.

The traditional view was that relying on Fortuna was foolish and unRoman. See Kristol (1990) 219ff for the stupidity of trusting in Fortuna as a theme in the *Aeneid* ('the major thrust of the antithesis between *labor* and *fortuna* in the *Aeneid* has been to suggest the dangers of relying too heavily on the latter', p.244)) The fickleness of Fortune was a commonplace idea since at least as far back as Euripides (see Tarrant comm. on Sen. *Ag.* (1976) p.184 and nn. 1 & 2). Sen. *Ep.* 76.33 gives the Stoic view (that everything is new



and unexpected to fools and those who trust in Fortune) *praecogitati mali mollis ictus venit. at stultis et fortunae credentibus omnis videtur nova rerum et inopinata facies.* 'Superhuman' figures such as Caesar and Alexander however are portrayed as being superior to Fortuna.

comes: For abstract things (including personifications) described as a person's 'comes', see *TLL* 3.1775.59ff; *OLD* s.v. 1c). The idea of Fortuna as a companion to humans is quite a familiar one, cf. *Enn. Ann.* 289 *haudquaquam quemquam semper fortuna secuta est*; *Cic. Rep.* 2.44 *etenim illi iniusto domino atque acerbo aliquam diu in rebus gerendis prospera fortuna comitata est*; *Leg.* 2.28 [*Fortuna*] *Primigenia, a gignendo comes*; *Fam.* 10.3.2 *virtute duce, comite fortuna*; *Vell.* 2.55.3 *sua Caesarem in Hispaniam comitata fortuna est*; 2.69.6 *pronior fortuna comitata sit*.

There may be a suggestion here too of the practice in traditional epic of heroes having gods as their 'companions'. Cf. *Cic. N.D.* 2.164ff on how certain men seem to be specially loved by the gods, and that therefore this caused poets such as Homer to attach to the main heroes such as Ulysses and Diomedes the gods as companions: *multosque praeterea et nostra civitas et Graecia tulit singulares viros, quorum neminem nisi iuvante deo talem fuisse credendum est. Quae ratio poetas maximeque Homerum impulit ut principibus heroum, Ulixi, Diomedi, Agamemnoni, Achilli, certos deos discriminum et periculorum comites adiungeret.* Cf. also *Ov. Met.* 15.861 *di, precor, Aeneae comites*. See Nock (1947) 102-116 on 'comes' as a divine epithet. He notes that the epithet appears on coins reflecting the use made of the word by the Roman emperors.

In addition, L. may have had in mind here Vergil's Nisus and Euryalus episode where Euryalus goes as companion to Nisus: *A.* 9.222-3 *statione relicta / ipse comes [Euryalus] Niso graditur.* i.e. Caesar, unlike Nisus, goes it alone. (On the influence of this episode, see on 508ff. On Caesar's special relationship with Fortuna, see previous n..)

510-14. The narrative covering Caesar's exit from the camp to his discovery of Amyclas' boat is all contained within one sentence. The sentence contains no less than 3 finite verbs and 2 participles relating to Caesar: *egressus, transsiluit, questus, legit, invenit*. This, together with the running on of lines, contributes towards the impression of Caesar's swiftness of action and single-mindedness in pursuing his goal. The final line (514) is given over to a description of Amyclas' boat, with *carinam* placed at the end of the line and the section for emphasis; it is the goal of the sentence just as it is of Caesar himself.

510. tentoria: These were tents made of stretched skins, cloth or sim.. *Caes. Civ.* 3.8ff specifies that Caesar had pitched his camp by the R. Apsus, in the territory of the

Apolloniates and decided to wait there for the arrival of the rest of his legions from Italy and to winter in tents (*et sub pellibus hiemare constituit*). Cf. also Luc. 5.461ff and see Map a) p. 246 for the location of the Pompeian and Caesarian camps. Normally in winter the tents of skin were replaced by huts (Caes. *Gal.* 5.43.1). Here, however, Caesar chose to winter in 'tentoria', presumably because these were movable and he did not intend staying in that location for long. See Conway on A. 1.469.

511. egressus: This word at the beginning of the line may recall A. 9.314ff describing Nisus and Euryalus: *egressi superant fossas noctisque per umbram / castra inimica petunt, multis tamen ante futuri / exitio. passim somno vinoque per herbam / corpora fusa vident*. L. may have been influenced too by Ovid's description of Medea setting out to prepare to rejuvenate Aeson. Like Caesar she goes out alone at night when all others are asleep and her footsteps show her anxiety: *egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas / nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos, / fertque vagos mediae per muta silentia noctis / incomitata gradus: homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies*, *Met.* 7.182-6. However here *egressus* is used transitively (with the object *tentoria*). A rather rare use in poetry, for some reason it occurs especially in the historians (for its use with 'tentoria' (as here), cf. *Tac. Ann.* 1.30) but also in Petronius, Statius and Valerius Flaccus (*OLD* s.v. 4a); *TLL* 5,2.285.53ff). The transitive use can have the sense of 'surpassing/ going beyond' a limit and this seems appropriate here (Caesar passes beyond the boundary of the camp). Cf. Luc. 7.594-5 (metaphorically, of Caesar) *iuris et humani columen . . . / egressus*; 9.794 *humanumque egressa modum super omnia membra / efflatur sanies*.

vigilum somno cedentia membra: The alliteration of 'm' perhaps suggests the peaceful sleep of the night watchmen. The juxtaposition of *vigilum somno* is clearly ironical.

vigilum: Ostensibly the guards of a military camp on sentry-duty, but there may be a suggestion here of the guards which kept watch at the door of a mistress and which the lover had to get past in order to reach his/her beloved. See Pichon (1966) 121 s.v. 'custos', 'custodia', 'custodire' and cf. for example Tib. 2.1.75ff *hoc duce (Cupid) custodes furtim transgressa iacentes / ad iuvenem tenebris sola puella venit / et pedibus praetemptat iter suspensa timore, / explorat caecas cui manus ante vias*; Ov. *Am.* 1.6.7-8 (echoing Tibullus) *ille [Cupido] per excubias custodum leniter ire / monstrat, inoffensos dirigit ille pedes*. In Tibullus, Venus and Cupid teach the girl how to creep out; in Ovid, Cupid teaches the poet how to creep in. Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 8.83-5 (Pyramus and Thisbe) *tum murmure parvo / multa prius questi statuunt, ut nocte silenti / fallere custodes foribusque excedere temptent*. For the link between military guards and the guards set to

watch over a girl, see Ov. *Am.* 1.9.27-8 *custodum transire manus vigilumque catervas / militis et miseri semper amantis opus*. Cf. Luc. 10.57 where *corrupto custode* perhaps alludes to the practise of lovers of bribing their mistress's guards in the context of Cleopatra's entry into the Macedonian palace to commit adultery with Caesar.

If the analogy of Caesar as female lover evading her guards to join her lover is followed, then the male counterpart should at first sight be Antony, but see below on *limina*, 520 and *toro*, 521 which suggest that Amyclas fits this role. The depiction of a highly sexually-charged Caesar fits with his historical reputation for promiscuity (see on 480-97).

somno cedentia: The phrase 'cedere somno' seems to occur first in L. (*TLL* 3.728.35-7); cf. also Luc. 3.8 (of Pompey) *inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno / membra ducis*; V. Fl. 2.71; Stat. *Theb.* 12.355; Claud. 30.91. Liv. 3.17.9 has *tribuni cessere nocti*.

512. transsiluit questus tacite, quod fallere posset: The alliteration in this line (t, s, qu, f) suggests perhaps Caesar's indignation.

transsiluit: The only occurrence of the word in the poem. The word is given impact by delay, its position at beginning of line and by being followed by strong caesura in the second foot. This caesura is common in L.. The most common patterns of caesurae in the poem are 2s, 3s, 4s and 2s, 3w, 4s (Mayer comm. on book 8 (1981) 26 n.13).

'transsilio' implies ease of movement and perhaps also audacity (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.24). Cf. A. 10.657-8 *nec Turnus segnior instat / exsuperatque moras et pontis transilit altos*. Juvenal uses the verb hyperbolically of Hannibal surmounting the Pyrenees at 10.152: *additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum transilit*.

questus tacite quod fallere posset: 'complaining to himself that he was able to escape their notice'. Caesar's vexation is primarily caused by the failure of his guards to do their duty and keep watch (Comm. Bern.: 'quod et hostis sic fallere potuisset'), but there may be other influences here too, see next n..

The expression of a character's thoughts in indirect speech appears to be rare in L. (Laird (1992) 102-3). Caesar's thoughts are described also at 577 and 653-4 below but these serve to introduce the speeches directly following. The thoughts of the people of Ariminum are expressed in direct speech at 1.248ff. For a description of Pompey's thoughts, cf. 8.161-4.

quod fallere posset: The phrase recalls A. 4.296-7 *at regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?) / praesensit* in the context of Aeneas' attempt to leave Carthage without Dido

knowing. Cf. also, for the emphasis on secrecy and deception in Vergil, 4.305-6 (Dido to Aeneas) '*dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?*' A parallel is clearly being drawn between Caesar and the hero of the *Aeneid*. Like Aeneas, Caesar is setting out on a journey to Italy, but unlike Aeneas he is unhappy at being able to escape secretly. The allusion to Vergil encourages us to see Caesar's men as the counterpart of Dido in the *Aeneid*, one half of a devoted and intimate relationship, and Caesar's complaint at being able to escape the attention of his men, may be seen as an ironic reversal of the situation found in the *Aeneid* where Aeneas tries and fails to hide his departure from Dido. (This is not the only place in L.'s poem where Aeneas' flight from Carthage is alluded to; cf. also Pompey's departure from Brundisium in book 2 and see Fantham (1992) 9 and on 2.687-8; 728-31. In this passage Caesar, who seeks to hinder Pompey, seems to be placed in the role of Dido, a reversal of his similar role to Aeneas in the present passage.)

fallere here also recalls more generally the deception often associated with love. For deception as a theme in erotic poetry see Pichon (1966) 141. For the deception of the watchmen who guarded the mistress in love-elegy, see passages cited by Pichon; and on *vigilum*, 511. As well as being an 'anti-Aeneas' then, Caesar perhaps recalls the elegiac mistress creeping past her guards (cf. Tib. qu. in n. on 511) and his *complaint* at being able to elude the *vigiles* may be seen also as an amusing and ironic reversal of the scenario found in love-poetry.

513. litora curva legit primisque invenit in undis: The liquid sounds and assonance in this line suggests Caesar's swiftness and elegance of movement.

litora curva legit: 'he traces the curved shore'. The shore is that of Illyria around Dyrrachium (see 5.462-3) where Caesar sailed to from Brundisium at 403ff.

There may be a suggestion here of Caesar as the abandoned female of Roman love-poetry pacing the shore. For the shoreline as the place where most of the heroines in the single *Heroides* of Ovid compose their letters, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 2.121-2 (Phyllis to Demophon) *maesta tamen scopulos fruticosaque litora calco / quaeque patent oculis litora lata meis;* 5.55-6 (Oenone to Paris) *prosequor infelix oculis abeuntia vela, / qua licet, et lacrimis umet harena meis;* 19.27-8 (Hero to Leander) *saepe tui specto si sint in litore passus, / inpositas tamquam servet harena notas.* In L., cf. 8.45ff (Cornelia looks out to sea from the shore in search of Pompey). See on 480-497 for similarities between the separation of Caesar from Antony and the rest of his troops and the separation of lovers in Roman love-elegy.

curva: A common epithet for a shore from as early as Acc. *trag.* 569; see *TLL* 4.1550.79ff. Serv. A. 3.16 comments: 'perpetuum epitheton litorum est'. In L., cf. 5.406-7 *curvique* . . . *Brundisii*; 5.650-1 *curvae* / *Thessaliae*.

legit: 'lego' is sometimes used of ships sailing close by, coasting along, or hugging the shore (*OLD* s.v. 7b) and cf. A. 3.292 *litoraue Epiri legimus*), and Suppl. adn. wrongly paraphrases here: 'navigat'. Caesar clearly is not in a boat but walking along the sea-shore, keeping close to its edge. For this meaning (walking, not sailing), cf. V. Fl. 2.451-2 *Alcides Telamonque comes dum litora blando / anfractu sinuosa legunt*. See Serv. G. 2.44 and A. 3.127 for the nautical origin of the verb.

primisque . . . in undis: 'on the sea's verge' (tr. Haskins). For this use of 'primus', see *OLD* s.v. 1c).

invenit: perfect tense after the present tense *legit*. The distinction is between a continuous action and a completed one. Haskins translates *invenit* as 'found at once' to convey the change of tense.

514. rupibus exesis: dative with *haerentem*. The rocks are 'eaten away' by the waves. *exesis* is often used of natural things which have been 'eaten away' (*TLL* 1317.53ff): cf. especially Sen. *Phoen.* 359 *rupis exesae*; *Her. F.* 154 *exesis . . . scopulis*. In L.'s storm-episode, see 547 (of the moon).

haerentem: 'haereo' is used by L. in connection with ships at 2.711, 212; 9.343-4, but in all these cases with the sense of 'run aground'. Its sense here (of a boat being moored to rocks) appears to be rather unusual (*TLL* 6,2,3.2495.21).

carinam: see on *carina*, 503.

515-59. Caesar at the home of Amyclas. Caesar's request for passage to Italy and Amyclas' speech about bad weather-signs.

This section of narrative may be divided up as follows:

- a) description of Amyclas' hut (515-18);
- b) Caesar knocks at door and is answered by A. who proceeds to light a fire (519-27);

- c) the poet interjects into the narrative a few lines in praise of poverty (527-31);
- d) Caesar's first speech to A. promising him great wealth in return for a passage to Italy, plus a comment on his inability to speak like a private citizen (532-9);
- e) A.'s reply setting out the weather-signs portending a storm (539-59).

The character Amyclas and the description of Caesar's visit to his house is not found in any of the historical sources. All this is clearly L.'s invention. The description of A.'s hut (515-18) clearly recalls the description of the home of Baucis and Philemon in Ovid's *Met.* (see n. *ad loc.*) and signals L.'s debt in this part of the narrative to the long tradition of 'hospitality' (or 'theoxeny') narratives of which Ovid's Baucis and Philemon was a part. Such narratives, in which a god, hero or holy man receives hospitality on his travels usually from a poor and humble host, yet one of noble character, date at least as far back as Homer (cf. *Od.* 14.1ff where Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, is entertained by the swineherd Eumaeus). The genre became especially developed in the Hellenistic period, notably by Callimachus (his *Hecale* tells of how Theseus on a journey from Athens to Marathon takes refuge from a storm at the home of Hecale, an old woman) and was very popular among the Romans who had a great fondness in particular for the details of the hosts' humble home and the hospitality offered. By Ovid's time hospitality was a well-worn theme (see on 515-18). For a list of general characteristics of the 'hospitality narrative' and works in the tradition see Hollis's commentary on Callimachus *Hecale* pp.341ff.

In various respects L.'s account conforms to the basic structure of the hospitality narrative: the description of the host's house with mention of building-materials (515-18); the mention of a couch (521); the detail of the making of a fire (524-5); the conversation between host and guest; the guest's disguise, the revealing of the guest's identity late on. However it also deviates in other respects from the tradition: the absence of any details of hospitality offered, e.g. a meal or bed (here the fire is for light, not for cooking); the lack of information about the host Amyclas; the poet's interjection on poverty, a 'locus communis' of the declamation schools and a standard feature of L.'s style (527-31); the nature of the conversation (Amyclas' speech on the weather signs, derived largely from Vergil's *Georgics*, clearly represents a display of learning on the part of the poet); the failure of Caesar to reward his host.

Of the earlier hospitality narratives, Ovid *Met.* 8.624ff (Jupiter and Mercury's visit to the home of Baucis and Philemon) and Vergil's description of Aeneas at the home of Evander at A. 8.102ff (which had for the first time made use of the hospitality theme as an interlude in a martial epic) have the clearest influences on L.'s narrative. For Ovid, see nn. on 517; 520-1; 523; 523-5. For Vergil, see nn. on 531-7. Both models heavily emphasise the theme of respect for poverty, something L. uses to highlight Caesar's overbearing

arrogance and obsession with rank and wealth. The Ovidian model also suggests that Caesar is here replacing the gods of traditional epic.

515-18. Amyclas' house. A description of the host's house was a standard feature of traditional narratives of hospitality (by Ovid's time it was already a hackneyed feature: *Fast.* 4.687 *hospitis antiqui solitas intravimus aedes*). The simple home and life of the host was for Romans a particularly appealing aspect of the traditional hospitality narrative as in part it reminded them of their rustic past. (The Roman respect for the simple way of life is seen in the preservation of the 'casa Romuli' as a historic monument on the Palatine, a reminder of Rome's humble origins, and in the *Fasti* of Ovid with its stories about primitive Roman festivals.) There was therefore a tendency to dwell on details such as the materials from which the house was built and the food served by the hosts (see Hollis on *Call. Hec.* p. 349 with nn. 53 & 54 and 352). Here, the description of Amyclas' house particularly stands out in a poem in which such detailed descriptions are rather uncharacteristic.

L.'s description of Amyclas' house owes something to Ovid's description of the house of Baucis and Philemon (see on 516-17). However the detail of the upturned boat covering the exposed side of the house (*et latus inversa nudum munita phaselo*, 518) is not in Ovid and we can perhaps see here the influence of Theocritus and the standard literary figure of the 'poor fisherman', best exemplified by Theocr. *Id.* 21. The popularity of this figure who embodied the life of poverty is seen in many epigrams and goes back at least to New Comedy (cf. Menander *Haliéis*; Pl. *Rud.* especially 290ff); see Gow comm. on Theocritus (1950) vol.2 p. 369. Theocr. 21.6-21 gives details of the fishermen's house including items such as baskets, rods, hooks, baits, rope, oars, an old skiff. The Theocritean couch of dried sea-weed and wattled cabin (*στρωσάμενοι βρύον αἶον ὑπὸ πλεκταῖς καλύβαισι*, 6-7) seem to find echoes in the details of Amyclas' house (the wattled house, 517, couch of sea-weed, 520-1; cf. also the boat, 518, and rope, 524).

515. *rectorem dominumque ratis*: A similar phrase is used later of Caesar by his troops on his return from his venture on the sea: *non rector ut orbis / nec dominus rerum*, 698-9. The phrase is rather grand-sounding and lends an air of dignity to the humble fisherman, hence Rowe's tr. 'the mighty master of this little boat'.

rectorem: The helmsman of a ship (*OLD* s.v. 1)). L. avoids the alternative word for helmsman, *gubernator*, completely in his poem while Vergil uses it several times, e.g. at *A.* 3.269; 5.12; 6.337. L. uses 'magister' at 1.501; 5.645; etc.

dominumque: The owner of a ship as opposed to its helmsman (*TLL* 5.1.1918.57ff; *OLD* s.v. 3c)). The word appears to be first used in this way in poetry by Ovid (*Tr.* 1.10.22). Cf. *Catul.* 4.19 *tot per impotentia freta erum tulisse [ait phaselus]*.

ratis: see on *carina*, 503.

secura: Whereas Ovid makes the poverty of Baucis and Philemon's house closely associated with their piety and contentment, in the case of Amyclas, his poverty is associated rather with his 'securitas' (515). See also on 527-31. In this way he represents a completely different world to that of civil war and is an effective foil to the character of Caesar. L.'s description of his house prepares the way for Caesar's contempt of his poverty at 531ff.

secura is more suited to Amyclas himself than to his house (see on *nox languida*, 504). The adjective is used twice more of Amyclas himself later at 526 (*securus belli*) and 584 where Caesar suggests Amyclas should be secure in circumstances where he could in fact be anything but (*perrumpe procellas tutela secure mea*), see notes *ad loc.* The repetition indicates the importance of the theme.

tenebat: For 'teneo' in this sense of 'to be the home of', see *OLD* s.v. 4a).

516. haud procul: A very common litotes (*TLL* 6.3.2561.1ff). The phrase may have been suggested to L. by its occurrence in the Baucis and Philemon story at *Ov. Met.* 8.624 *haud procul hinc stagnum est, tellus habitabilis olim . . .* (See on 515-59 for the influence of Ovid's story on this passage.)

516-17. non ullo robore fulta / sed sterili iunco cannaque intexta palustri: 'not supported by any timber but wattled with barren rush and marsh reed.'

robore: perhaps an allusion to the wooden supports (*furcae*) which were a feature of primitive huts; cf. *Vitr.* 2.1.3 *furcis erectis*; *Ov. Met.* 8.700 (the home of Baucis and Philemon); also *Sen. Ep.* 90.9 (describing the primitive houses of Rome) *furcae utrimque suspensae fulciebant casam*. i.e. L. makes the point that Amyclas' house lacked even the wooden supports of these earlier cottages. Or, more likely, *robore* may indicate the timber associated with a later more extravagant period of architecture which all of these primitive dwellings predated (see next n.). Cf. Juvenal's complaint about wood for housing being transported precariously through Rome: 3.254ff *longa coruscat / serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum / plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur*.

sed sterili iunco cannaque intexta palustri: Cf. the description of Baucis and Philemon's house at Ov. *Met.* 8.628-30: *mille domos adiere locum requiemque petentes, / mille domos clausere serae; tamen una recepit, / parva quidem stipulis et canna tecta palustri.* (Cf. also Sil. 17.88 *castra levi calamo, cannaque intexta palustri* which may imitate Ovid or Lucan.) L.'s use of the word *intexta* in place of Ovid's *tecta* may indicate that the hut was 'wattled' with rush and reed rather than merely 'thatched' with it (though Pichon (1912) 233 believes we should read *texta* in Ovid, not *tecta*).

The building materials mentioned here - rush (*iunco*) and reed (*canna*) - recall descriptions of primitive architecture (and, in general, primitive times) which Roman poets, especially Ovid, loved to recall. Vitruvius *De architectura* was the model for all later accounts; cf. 2.1.3 (describing the materials used before the progression to brick, stone, timber and tiles) *primumque furcis erectis et virgulis interpositis luto parietes texerunt. alii luteas glaebas arefacientes struebant parietes, materia eos iugumentantes, vitandosque imbres et aestus tegebant harundinibus et fronde . . .* Cf. also Ov. *Fast.* 3.184 (describing the 'casa Romuli') *aspice de canna straminibusque domum.* For the plants to be found in a marshy setting, cf. Ov. *Met.* 8.334ff (the primitive setting of the Calydonian Boar Hunt) *concava vallis erat, quo se demittere rivi / adsuerant pluvialis aquae; tenet ima lacunae / lenta salix ulvaeque leves iuncique palustres / viminaque et longa parvae sub harundine cannae.* For the practice of wattling (especially walls) in primitive architecture, cf. *texerunt* at Vitr. 2.1.3 (qu. above); Ov. *Fast.* 6.261-2 *quae nunc aere vides, stipula cum tecta videres, / et paries lento vimine textus erat.* Cf. also Theocr. *Id.* 21.7 (see on 515-18).

cannaque . . . palustri: the phrase is used 4 times by Ovid (*Met.* 4.298-9; 8.630; *Rem.* 142; *Pont.* 4.3.47). 'canna' seems to have signified a smaller or baser form of 'harundo' (see Columella 7.9.7 *degeneris harundinis, quam vulgus cannam vocat, Ov. Met.* 8.337 (qu. above).

518. et latus inversa nudum munita phaselo: The detail of the upturned boat protecting the side of Amyclas' house is L.'s own and has no parallel in Ovid, but see Theocr. *Id.* 21 (n. on 515-18). It is clearly appropriate to Amyclas' occupation as a fisherman (see also on *fune*, 524). The interlocking of nouns and adjectives in this line: noun1 – adj.2 – adj.1 – (participle) – noun2 seems to reflect the careful arrangement of the boat protecting the exposed side of Amyclas' home. The fragile protection is an indication of the peaceful condition of life enjoyed by men such as Amyclas, a far cry from the life of a Caesar or Pompey.

latus . . . nudum: Accusative of respect. Heitland (1887) *ciii* notes that this is much rarer in L. than in Vergil though still quite common. Cf. in the storm-episode *pueros . . . recessus*, 547. The phrase *latus nudum* elsewhere can have an erotic sense; see Woodman on Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.4; Luc. 5.807-8 describing Cornelia left behind by Pompey: *nudumque marito / non haerente latus*; and for the erotic connotations of 'latus' see Pichon (1966) 185; Adams (1982) 49, 90, 108, 180. However it is difficult to see any point to such an interpretation here. For 'latus' used of the side of a building see *OLD* s.v. 6a).

nudum: 'exposed', i.e. to the sea. For 'nudus' in this sense, see *OLD* s.v. 5a) and cf. Liv. 27.18.19 (of the exposed flank of an army) *Scipio . . . maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat*, and below Luc. 5.720 *nudas Aquilonibus undas*.

phaselo: The only occurrence of the word in L.. The word is certainly not common in epic poetry (*TLL* 10,1.2014.69-2015.19). The use of the Greek word instead of a more conventional word for boat adds an exotic touch. For its original use of a small Egyptian boat made of wicker-work, papyrus or clay, cf. Verg. *G.* 4.287-9; Juv. 15.127; Fordyce on Catul. 4.1. 'phaseli' in fact varied greatly in size but were used to convey passengers rather than cargo (Casson (1995) 167-8). The one referred to here was clearly a small boat. In Greek the word seems to be always masculine but in Latin could be either masculine (Prop. 3.21.20; Ov. *Pont.* 1.10.39; Catul. 4.1) or, as here, feminine (Ov. *Am.* 2.10.9; Sen. *Her. O.* 695).

519-20. haec Caesar bis terque manu quassantia tectum / limina commovit: 'Here Caesar smote again and again upon the door till the roof shook' (tr. Duff).

The detail of Caesar's knocking on the door is not paralleled in earlier narratives of 'theoxeny' and possibly this is an adaptation of the topos found in theoxeny narratives of the large hero or god stooping to enter a humble home (cf. *A.* 8.366-7 *angusti subter fastigia tecti / ingentem Aenean duxit*, Ov. *Met.* 8. 638 *submissoque humiles intrarunt vertice postes*; Ov. *Fast.* 5.505 *tecta senis subeunt nigro deformia fumo*; and Sil. 7.173-4 *nec pigitum parvosque lares humilisque subire / limina caelicolam tecti*. i.e. instead of his size, L. chooses to refer to Caesar's physical strength (see below on *manu* and *commovit*). Alternatively, Caesar's aggressive approach may be seen as in stark contrast to Aeneas' hesitant, humble approach to the home of Evander at *A.* 8.144-5 *me, me ipse meumque / obieci caput et supplex ad limina veni*.

In general knocking on doors was an important feature of ancient comedy and boisterous knocking (such as we have here) was especially developed by Plautus (see Barsby on Pl. *Bac.* 581-3). L.'s stress on Caesar's knocking (he mentions it again at 529ff)

and the general liveliness of the scene suggests he may have been influenced by dramatic convention (see also on *quisnam*, 521). Perhaps also there is the influence of the common scenario in Roman love-elegy where the lover attempts to enter the home of his beloved (see on *limina*, 520).

519. haec: The demonstrative *haec* is not strictly appropriate since no reference has been made earlier to the *limina* which it agrees with (though it is implied in the description of the hut). Housman explains: 'haec limina: i.e. huius domus fores'. Duff translates 'here' for *haec*.

bis terque: i.e. several times (*finitum pro infinito*); see Brink on Hor. *Ars* 358. The expression indicates Caesar's eagerness or impatience; cf. *saepe*, 480; *terque quaterque*, 497.

manu: *manu* here (see also on 531) seems rather superfluous at first sight (expressions for knocking on doors do not normally include the word; see *OLD* s.v. 'pulsare' 2a) & b)), and Duff leaves it out in his translation. In Roman comedy it was often the foot that was used to knock on a door. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13-14 *pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres* (and see West *ad loc.*); Ter. *Eu.* 284-5; Pl. *St.* 311. There may therefore be a special point to *manu* here. It could suggest violence (for 'manu' meaning 'violently' see *OLD* s.v. 8b)) or effort (cf. especially the famous description of the unbolting of the Gates of War by Juno at A. 7.620ff *tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis / impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso / Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis*; and Fordyce *ad loc.*: 'the colourful addition of *manu* to emphasize personal effort is a mannerism of Vergil's which amounts to a cliché, especially in the second half of the poem.' Cf. Feeney (1991) 296 and n.183 for the phrase 'ipse/a manu' as signifying a deity's intervention or action.)

quassantia tectum: Caesar's knocking on the door causes the roof to shake, indicating the fragility of Amyclas' house, Caesar's strength and impatience, or both. The participle (describing the door) would more appropriately apply to Caesar himself (Comm. Bern.: 'pro ipse quassans'), a case of enallage. 'quasso' is used of causing (structures or anything firmly based) to tremble violently (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 6.20.6 (of an earthquake) *iam quassatis circumiacentibus tectis . . . certus ruinae metus*. See on *commovit* below for suggestions here of Caesar as a force of nature. On L.'s frequent use of participles, see on *cadentia*, 562. For enallage, see on *trepidare*, 568.

520. limina: Plural of 'limen', originally one of the transverse beams in a door-frame. In poetry (from Lucil. 1107 onwards) it is often used in the plural to mean doorway or door; *OLD* s.v. 'limen' 2b). The word has special associations with Roman love-elegy as the threshold was traditionally the place where young lovers serenaded their beloved. See Pichon (1966) 189 and *OLD* s.v. 2a). For the topos of breaking down the mistress' door in Roman love-elegy, see McKeown on *Ov. Am.* 1.6.57-8. There may therefore be a suggestion here of Caesar as male lover seeking access to his 'mistress' Amyclas. See on *vigilum*, 511 and *molli . . . toro*, 520-1. For influence of love-elegy earlier in the episode and Caesar's historical reputation for promiscuity, see on 480-97.

commovit: Caesar does more than just knock on the door (compare the more common 'pulsare' for knocking on a door - *OLD* s.v. 2a) & b) and 531 below - and *pulsavit* would fit the metre here). 'commoveo' means 'to move vigorously, shake, agitate' (*OLD* s.v. 1a)). It is used of the disturbance of natural phenomena, e.g. movement of the sea by winds (*TLL* 3.1943.43ff) and movements of the earth (1943.51ff), and there is a suggestion here of Caesar as a force of nature. For Caesar as a force of nature elsewhere in the poem, cf. 1.493ff (Caesar's advance on Rome is likened to firebrands hurled against houses or an earthquake): *credas aut tecta nefandas / corripuisse faces aut iam quatiente ruina / nutantes pendere domos*. Cf. also the famous lightning-simile at 1.151ff and the similes comparing Caesar to winds at 2.454ff and 3.362ff; to the fire of Vulcan in Etna at 10.447.

520-1. molli consurgit Amyclas, / quem dabat alga, toro: The relative clause is placed awkwardly, *before* the noun it describes. This is not an uncommon feature in L.; see Heitland (1887) cvii who compares 1.14; 3.14-15.

Thompson-Bruère (1968) 12 believe that L. has in mind here *A.* 8.415 where Vulcan at Venus' urging gets up from his bed and sets to work on Aeneas' shield (*mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilis surgit*) but surely more important is the lengthy description of the couch at Baucis and Philemon's house at *Ov. Met.* 8.655ff (*torum de molli fluminis ulva / inpositum lecto sponda pedibusque salignis. / vestibus hunc velant, quas non nisi tempore festo / sternere consuerant, sed et haec vilisque vetusque / vestis erat, lecto non indignanda saligno*). The seaweed in L.'s narrative gives local colour in the same way as the sedge-grass does in Ovid, for Amyclas lived by the sea and Baucis and Philemon by a marsh (8.624-5).

molli . . . toro: *molli* suggests the ease of the simple rural life (cf. *Lucr.* 2.29 *prostrati in gramine molli*). However the combination 'mollis torus' is found often in Roman erotic poetry (cf. for example *Tib.* 1.2.19 of a girl leaving her bed). There may be a suggestion

then of Amyclas as it were being cast in the role of Caesar's 'mistress' (see on *vigilum*, 511 and *limina*, 520). For the sexual connotations of 'torus' see Pichon (1966) 281-2 and *OLD* s.v. 5a).

consurgit: For 'consurgo' of arising from bed or sleep, *OLD* s.v. 2). It seems to be first used in this way by Lucretius (3.504).

Amyclas: Amyclas does not appear in the historical sources for the storm and was clearly L.'s invention. Not much information is given of his character, except that he was young (*iuvenis*, 533) though it may be deduced that he was a fisherman from the fact that he lived by the sea in a humble cottage and was the owner of a boat (see also n. on *fune*, 524).

Amyclas is modelled on two literary figures:

i) the poor host of traditional theoxeny narratives. For this see on 515-59 and Hollis comm. on Call. *Hec.* p. 342 nn.4 & 6 for the poverty of the host in such narratives. Amyclas' poverty is a prominent theme in this episode and serves to highlight Caesar's wealth by contrast (see on 531-7).

ii) Aeneas' helmsman Palinurus. For this see especially nn. on 539-59; 568-76; 592. Amyclas' technical expertise regarding sailing serves to highlight Caesar's more intuitive understanding of the storm just as Palinurus similarly contrasts with Aeneas. See Schiesaro (2001) 31-47 for the contrast between Palinurus and Aeneas.

In two important ways therefore the character of Amyclas serves as a foil to the character of Caesar.

Amyclas appears only once in L.'s poem, in the present episode, and is effectively dropped from the narrative after the end of Caesar's speech addressed to him (from 593ff). In this he is like many other minor characters in L.'s poem who appear just once in order to illustrate a single point, and are then forgotten about (see Braund pp. xxxi-xxxiii). It is not clear why L. chose the name Amyclas, but it has been suggested that it may be intended to allude to 'Amyclae (in Laconia), birthplace, appropriately, of Castor and Pollux, guardians of sailors at sea' (Joyce p. 289).

The 'potentiality for pathos' in the figure of L.'s Amyclas made him a popular subject in 12th-century Latin poetry (Curtius (1979) 60 n.73). Dante, a great admirer of L., was clearly inspired by the figure of Amyclas and mentions him in *Paradiso* 11.67ff (as one who was unmoved, because of his poverty, at the sound of Caesar's voice). He also translated L.'s passage 5.627-31 in *Conv.* 4.13.12 in a chapter on the harmfulness of possessing riches.

521. dabat: For 'do' in the sense of 'provide (things from which something is formed)', a rather bold use, see *TLL* 5,1.1683.76ff. It occurs from Catullus (95.8) onwards. Cf.

especially Ov. *Met.* 10.556 *datque torum caespes*; *Fast.* 1.200 *dabat exiguum fluminis ulva torum*.

alga: Seaweed is of course appropriate to the location of Amyclas' house by the sea. It had an association with cheapness; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.42; Hor. *Carm.* 3.17.10; *Sat.* 2.5.8; also Otto (1890) n.58.

quisnam: The word occurs only twice in L., both times in speeches (cf. 8.278). It contains a sense of urgency or liveliness (like English 'whoever') and (as a pronoun) is found frequently in Cicero and Roman comedy and a few times in satire (*OLD* s.v.). It appears to be rare in elevated poetry. Vergil uses it just once (as an adjective) at *A.* 3.338 (Andromache speaks) *aut quisnam ignarum nostris deus appulit oris?* L. may here be influenced by dramatic convention, for Seneca uses it in his tragedies several times to herald the arrival of a character: cf. *Phaed.* 829; *Ag.* 922ff; *Oed.* 202ff. On the possible influence of drama in this episode, see further on 519-20.

naufragus: Amyclas in his ignorance of the identity of Caesar naturally assumes him to be a shipwrecked sailor, for no-one else was likely to approach his remote cottage. For the fisherman's house as a refuge for shipwrecked travellers, cf. Petron. *Sat.* 115.6 *hoc opere tandem elaborato casam piscatoriam subimus maerentes, cibusque naufragio corruptis utcumque curati tristissimam exegimus noctem*. The idea of Caesar being mistaken for a victim of shipwreck is clearly meant to be striking, pathetic and perhaps even amusing. Cf. *felix naufragus*, 699 below (Caesar's men chide him for allowing himself the indignity of becoming a 'fortunate shipwreck').

The theme of shipwreck is an important one in L.'s poem as a whole as it encapsulated for him the notion of the collapse of Rome and the world and universe at large during civil war. Note especially the programmatic simile where the abandonment of Rome at Caesar's arrival is compared to the desertion of a ship: *qualis, cum turbidus Auster / reppulit a Libycis inmensum Syrtibus aequor / fractaque veliferi sonuerunt pondera mali, / desilit in fluctus deserta puppe magister / navitaque, et nondum sparsa conpage carinae / naufragium sibi quisque facit; sic urbe relicta / in bellum fugitur*, 1.498ff. For the idea of the 'ship-of-state' which underlies this, see the introductory n. of Nisbet-Hubbard to Hor. *Carm.* 1.14 and Fraenkel (1975) 190 n.4. The idea goes back to the Greek poet Alcaeus. For shipwreck as mirroring the condition of the universe in the storm of *Aeneid* 1, see Hershkowitz (1998) 229 n.128 who points to Vergil's intertext *Lucr.* 2.552-64 (the comparison of the scattering of atoms in the universe to the scattering of the remains of a shipwreck).

522. aut quem . . . ?: 'aut' often introduces a question, especially the second of two (as here) where in English a particle would not be needed. See *TLL* 2.1565.39ff; *OLD* s.v. 4). It adds a touch of liveliness commonly found in colloquial speech. It occurs often in Plautus, e.g. *Trin.* 879 *quid eos quaeris? aut quis es? aut unde es? aut unde advenis? — multa simul rogatis* and Vergil uses it at *A.* 12.873, 882 and very often in the *Eclogues*, e.g. *Ecl.* 3.25. Many examples exist from Ennius onwards.

fortuna: see on *Fortuna*, 510.

523. auxilium sperare casae: For the construction, cf. *Catul.* 64.180 *an patris auxilium sperem?*

casae: The word indicates the humbleness of Amyclas' home. It is used only 4 times in the poem as a whole, twice in this episode (here and at 527). As one would expect 'casa' occurs rarely in epic poetry. It does not occur at all in the *Aeneid*. In Silius it appears twice and in Statius 4 times. Its rarity in epic may be accounted for by its association with the rustic life, not a common epic theme. In Ovid it occurs 4 times in the *Met.* and (significantly) each time in passages related to the theme of hospitality, including twice in the Baucis and Philemon episode of book 8 (*Met.* 5.281ff; 447-8; 8.633 and 699). The theme of smallness is especially emphasised in the episode in book 8; cf. [domus] *parva* (8.630); *parvos . . . penates* (8.637); *humiles . . . postes* (8.638); *minima villa* (8.684); *casa parva* (8.699); and see Anderson on 8.630-1, 645, 650, 699. L. clearly had the Ovidian episode in mind here. The smallness of Amyclas' house is similarly emphasised in this passage (*angustique lares*, 528; *angustos . . . penates*, 537). It is directly linked with his 'securitas'. Cf. Cato's *atria . . . non ampla*, 2.238 (with Fantham *ad loc.*).

523-5. sic fatus ab alto / aggere iam tepidae sublato fune favillae / scintillam tenuem commotos pavit in ignes: 'So he spoke and withdrew a rope from a high pile of now tepid ash and fed the feeble spark into burning flames.'

A fire was a standard feature of theoxeny narratives (for which see on 515-559). Cf. *Call. Hec. frags* 242-3 (Pf.); *Eratosth. fr.* 24 Powell (Icarius lighting a fire for Dionysus in the *Erigone?* but see Borthwick (1969) 310 for a different interpretation). Again L. seems to be particularly influenced by the 'fire-lighting' descriptions in Ovid and uses similar words in his description. Cf. *Met.* 8.641ff *inque foco tepidum cinerem dimovit et ignes / suscitavit hesternos foliisque et cortice sicco / nutrit et ad flammam anima producit anili*; also (with Bömer *ad loc.*) 7.79-81 (simile comparing Medea's revived love for Jason to a revived

spark of fire) *utque solet ventis alimenta adsumere, quaeque / parva sub inducta latuit scintilla favilla / crescere et in veteres agitata resurgere vires*; *Fast.* 5.506-7 *ignis in hesterno stipite parvus erat; ipse [Hyrieus] genu nixus flammam exsuscitatur aura*.

Whereas the fire in the earlier narratives was part of the hospitality offered to the guest(s) – a foot-bath (for Theseus in *Call. Hec.*) or in order to cook a meal (Ovid's *Met.* 8 and *Fast.* 5) – in L.'s account it seems to be simply for the purpose of providing light for Amyclas or Amyclas may have intended to provide hospitality to his guest. Any more details of hospitality would however have seemed inappropriate here, given Caesar's impatience and the poet's desire to get on with the narrative of the storm. The mention of rope (*fune*, 524) in L.'s version of the 'fire-lighting' topos appears to be unique and is probably an indication of Amyclas' occupation (see below).

The detail of the reviving of the fire provides a convenient pause in the narrative during which the poet interjects with his praise of poverty before the door is opened in 531 (followed straightaway by Caesar's speech contradicting it).

523. sic fatus: The verb 'fari' occurs 45 times in L. often accompanied by 'sic'. In the storm-episode, cf. also 538, 560, 568, 672. 'sic fatus' is an epic formula from Ennius onwards and is used particularly often by Vergil (and by Seneca in his tragedies); it becomes rare from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards (see *TLL* 6, 1.1030.47-54).

524. iam tepidae . . . favillae: The ash from the fire of the previous night had by now cooled. Among the poets 'favilla' occurs particularly frequently in Ovid (17x in total, 4x of the ash from a hearth; *TLL* 6,1.378.78-379.8) and the phrase 'tepida favilla' is Ovidian (*Met.* 14.575; cf. also *Luc.* 9.60; *Suet. Gal.* 18.2).

fune: Instead of lighting a fire each day, a difficult task, the ancients had the habit of keeping a log smouldering under a pile of ash on the hearth overnight which they would then be able to rekindle into a fire (see Hollis on *Met.* 8.641ff; Headlam on Herodas 1.38; *OCD*³ s.v. 'fire'). Cf. *Hom. Od.* 5.488-91 where Odysseus burying himself in leaves is compared to a brand buried in ashes by a countryman for the purpose of saving the seed of fire for light. L.'s mention of a rope instead of a log is therefore at first sight rather strange and some mss have *fuste* (stick of firewood) and Bentley conjectured *torre* (also firewood) for *fune*. Most modern edd. however accept *fune*. Probably the substitution of a rope here is deliberate in order to indicate something more appropriate to the fisherman Amyclas (see the mention of rope used to tie up the boat at 514). (See on 515-18 for the possible influence on L. of the fisherman's hut of *Theocr. Id.* 21.) For evidence of ropes being used as torches (and on the etymology of 'funis/funus') see *Serv. A.* 6.224 *facem de*

fune, ut Varro dicit, unde et funus; Var. L. 5.119 candelabrum a candela: ex his enim funiculi ardentes figebantur (i.e. thin rope was inserted inside tallow candles).

525. scintillam tenuem commotos pavit in ignes: L.'s expression in this line is a little awkward perhaps as a result of an attempt to compress two ideas – the feeding of the fire (*pavit*) and the fanning of the fire (*commotos*) – into one line for the sake of economy. The primitive process of making a fire seems to have involved 3 stages: beginning with a spark of fire (*scintilla*), the spark was fed with tinder such as leaves or wood, and finally waved in the air or fanned until the spark burst into flame. Cf. A. 1.174ff (the Trojans build a fire on their arrival on African soil) *ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achatas / suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum / nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam*; Ov. *Met.* 8.641ff (qu. above on 523-5). *commotos* is here rather awkwardly put in agreement with *ignes* since it more strictly applies to *scintilla* (it is the spark which is stirred into flames; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.80-1 *scintilla . . . agitata*). Cf. TLL 3.1951.20-1 comments on this passage that *commotos* = 'ardentes'. L. does not specify exactly how Amyclas stirred up the spark but he probably either fanned it (Duff) or blew on it (Bentley) or shook the rope (Oudendorp). For the last possibility, cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.2.11-12 *vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammam / et vidi nullo concutiente mori*.

scintillam: a spark of fire, especially one from which a fire grows (cf. Lucr. 5.609 *stipulam . . . videmus accidere ex una scintilla incendia passim*).

pavit: L. does not, unlike Vergil and Ovid (see above), mention what was used to feed the fire. This may have been leaves or wood. See TLL 10,1.4.596.38-57 for 'pasco' of feeding a fire. Langen on Val. Fl. 2.450 comments: 'pascere ignem poetae dicunt, in prosa scribitur alere'.

526. securus belli: 'No thought of the war had he' (tr. Duff). The words are emphasised by their spondaic rhythm and the strong 3rd-foot caesura following. They sum up what Amyclas stands for in the episode, freedom from anxiety due to his poverty and isolation from events. Cf. *secura* used to describe Amyclas' house at 515.

'securitas' was 'the Latin equivalent of ἀταραξία, "imperturbability", which in Stoic Greek had superseded ἀπάθεια, "impassivity", as the term for the wise man's ideal spiritual condition' (Pohlenz (1964) I.309). In L. Cato is called *securus* at 2.241 and 9.410 (cf. 2.290 *expers . . . metus*, with Fantham *ad loc*) and note Brutus' perception of Cato as an unshaken entity in a violent world (*pacemne tueris / inconcussa tenens dubio vestigia mundo?* 2.247-8; *melius tranquilla sine armis / otia solus ages; sicut caelestia semper /*

inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu, 266-8). For the incompatibility of matters of war and the poor, cf. A. 12.517ff *et iuvenem exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten, / Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernae / ars fuerat pauperque domus nec nota potentum / munera, conductaque pater tellure serebat*. See also below on 527-31.

526-7. praedam civilibus armis / scit non esse casas: For the idea, cf. Juv. 10.18 *rarus venit in cenacula miles* (with Mayor *ad loc.*); Sen. *Thy.* 451ff *scelera non intrant casas, / tutusque mensa capitur angusta cibus; / venenum in auro bibitur*. Here *scit* introduces a generalising statement which has the feeling almost of a proverb or 'sententia'. Cf. 5.254 *scit non esse ducis strictos sed militis enses*. For such 'sententiae', see on 692-4.

civilibus armis: 'in civil war'. A common line-ending in L., unsurprisingly, occurring 12 times. For *armis* meaning war, cf. *armorum*, 504.

527. casas: see on *casae*, 523.

527-31. The poet breaks off from the narrative for a piece of overt moralising on the theme of the security of the poor man. Such moralising intrusions, typical of the declamation schools, occur quite regularly in L.'s poem. For moralising on the subject of wealth and poverty: cf. 1.160ff; 3.114-22; 4.373-81; 8.241-3; 9.515-21. They are part of L.'s generally emotional and involved style of writing (for another emotional outburst in the storm-episode, see 615ff). See von Albrecht (1999) 241-3. This particular passage serves to highlight by contrast the speech immediately following in which Caesar promises Amyclas great wealth in return for taking him to Italy (see on 531-7). Thus the poet once again shows Caesar in the worst possible light. (In a similar way the poet's outspoken praise of Massilia's resistance of Caesar serves to highlight Caesar's subsequent brutality in felling the sacred grove at 3.388ff.)

The association of poverty and security was already common in Greek tragedy, and by L.'s day it had become a staple of the declamatory schools at Rome, a 'locus communis' or stock theme. In the elder Seneca poverty is associated with a more peaceful time and, conversely, greed for wealth (particularly as seen in the construction of opulent buildings) was seen as one of the main causes of civil war (e.g. *contr.* 2.1.1 *quietiora tempora pauperes habuimus; bella civilia aurato Capitolio gessimus*). Cf. also Luc. 1.158ff. The association of poverty and security is a frequent theme in the prose and verse works of the younger Seneca (see *Ep.* 14.10; 17.3-4; *Her. F.* 159ff; *Ag.* 57ff (choral ode); *Thy.* 451-3; *Phaed.* 207ff.; 1124ff; see also Motto (1970) s.v. DWELLINGS on how according to

Seneca the poor man's house was good and in accordance with nature while luxurious homes were the opposite).

Here, two exclamations in the form of apostrophes are followed by a rhetorical question forming a tricolon, a popular device in the speeches of the 'rhetores'. Apostrophe is a particularly common device in L., explainable largely by the practice of public recitation to which this dramatic device was suited. In general it was used much more freely among Latin poets than would be natural in modern English (see Duff's Loeb tr., p. viii) and Duff chooses not to render the apostrophes here in his translation. See Mayer comm. on book 8 (1981) 15 on apostrophe as an overworked figure in L.: '... he constantly employs it just because it is in his nature as a man to indulge himself in the luxury of passionate outburst ... So fired is he by his theme that he can apostrophize *luxuries* at 4.374, among other abstractions.' (Here too, note the abstractions *facultas* and *munera*.) Barratt *ad loc.* comments that L. uses apostrophe more than three times as often as Vergil.

527-8. o vitae tuta facultas / pauperis: 'how safe and easy the poor man's life' (tr. Duff).

facultas: 'easiness, facility, convenience' (*OLD* s.v. 7)). The word is not often found in poetry.

528. angustique lares: picked up later at 537 (*angustos* . . . *penates*). The theme of the smallness of the host's dwelling was prominent in theoxeny narratives (see on *casae*, 523) and L. emphasises it in his own version here. 'angustus' used to describe dwellings seems to begin with Vergil (*TLL* 2.62.51-3). L.'s main model here is probably A. 8.366 describing Evander's house *angusti subter fastigia tecti / ingentem Aenean duxit* (see on 515-559 for the influence of this episode on L.'s Caesar-Amyclas narrative). 'angustus' is also used throughout *Georgics* 4 to define the bees' world; cf. for example G. 4.228 (the living-quarters of bees) *sedem angustam*; 296 *angustique* . . . *tecti*; and see R. F. Thomas on G. 4.228. For the association of the word with poverty, cf. especially Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.1 *angustam* . . . *pauperiem*; also Hor. *S.* 1.8.8; Ov. *Fast.* 1.201; Sen. *Thy.* 452; Juv. 3.165; 6.357.

528-9. o munera nondum / intellecta deum!: Comm. Bern. explains: 'securitatis non miseriae data est paupertas causa hominibus'. Complaints about the ignorance of men regarding the benefits of poverty occurs also in Seneca; cf. *Con.* 2.1.13 *O paupertas, quam ignotum bonum es; Dial.* 12.12.3 *dementes! hoc quod aliquando concupiscunt, semper timent. o quanta illos caligo mentium, quanta ignorantia veritatis excaecat, quos timor paupertatis exercet, quam voluptatis causa imitantur!*

intellecta: For 'intellego' in the sense of 'to understand the value of, appreciate' see *OLD* s.v. 4). It occurs in this sense from Plautus onwards (cf. *Capt.* 142 *tum denique homines nostra intellegimus bona, quom quae in potestate habuimus ea amisimus*).

529-31. quibus hoc contingere templis / aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu / Caesarea pulsante manu?: 'What temple, what fortified town, could say as much - that it thrills with no alarm when Caesar knocks?' (tr. Duff)

A rhetorical question. The *templis* and *muris* represent wealth and therefore targets for plunder. For Caesar's plundering of temples, cf. 1.379-80 (Laelius' speech): 'Si [me iubeas] spoliare deos ignemque immittere templis, / numina miscebit castrensis flamma monetae'; and especially 3.153-68 for Caesar's breaking into the Temple of Saturn at Rome in order to plunder the wealth stored there. Caesar's eagerness to cause as much destruction as possible on his march through Italy is described at 2.439ff (cf. especially 2.443-4 *non tam portas intrare patentes / quam fregisse iuvat*); at 3.99-100 the Romans fear that Caesar would tear down their walls (*creditur . . . rapturus moenia Romae / sparsurusque deos*); see also the disastrous effect Caesar had on the houses of Rome at 5.30-1: *maerentia tecta / Caesar habet vacuasque domos*. Amyclas' house by virtue of its poverty was safe from the fear of being plundered.

hoc: Referring to the following words *nullo trepidare tumultu*.

contingere: There is a positive implication in the verb (it was a *good* thing to be able not to tremble at Caesar's knocking); see *OLD* s.v. 8a) and Mayor on Juv. 8.28. The construction of intransitive 'contingere' with dative and infinitive is common in poetry from Vergil onwards; see *TLL* 4.719.18ff and cf. *A.* 1.96 *quis ante ora patrum . . . contigit oppetere*. L. uses it several times (1.32; 6.779; 8.844) and also with a *quod* clause instead of the infinitive (3.388).

530. muris: probably city-walls (*OLD* s.v. 1a)), or the walls of buildings as opposed to the fragile walls of the dwellings of people such as Amyclas.

nullo . . . tumultu: L. often uses 'nullus' where a simple negative is meant. See Heitland (1887) cviii and 668 below.

trepidare: denoting not trembling but agitation. The verb describes the experience of the inhabitants of the buildings rather than the buildings themselves.

tumultu: Cf. *tumultus* used of the storm at 592 below. Here it is used rather of mental or emotional disturbance. Unsurprisingly, the word occurs frequently in the poem (24 times) of various kinds of disorder, often (as here) in combination with 'trepido'/'trepidus'. Cf. 1.297-8; 5.160; 7.127-8; 10.425.

531. Caesarea . . . manu: The use of the adjective instead of the genitive is grandiose and appropriately epic (and not uncommon in L.'s poem). Homer uses the adjective-form of heroes' names (e.g. *Il.* 11.690). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.6 *nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero / Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu / telluris iuvenes* and Löfstedt (1956) 107ff. Seneca has the adjective 'Herculeus' often (see Billerbeck on *Her. F.* 881). Cf. also Luc. 6.347-8 *postquam discessit Olympo / Herculea gravis Ossa manu*. Here possibly the adjective contributes to the notion of Caesar as a force of nature rather than a mere man.

pulsante: The normal verb for knocking on a door (see on *commovit*, 520).

manu: see on *manu*, 519.

531-7. Caesar's first speech to Amyclas. His second speech to Amyclas occurs at 578ff. Like the later one, this speech reflects Caesar's impatient and authoritarian personality. He speaks as soon as the door is opened (*tum poste recluso*, 531) and uses three imperatives (532, 533, 536). In short he speaks to Amyclas as though he were one of his soldiers (see nn. on *iuvenis* and *iussa secutus*, 533). There is a deliberate avoidance of end-stopping in the speech, conveying the dynamic personality of the speaker (contrast the end-stopping in Amyclas' speech at 540ff). It is likely that a line has dropped out of the mss; see on 534-535a.

Caesar's extravagant promise of great wealth in return for the favour of a passage to Italy outrageously flouts the expectations of the reader familiar with theoxeny narratives with their emphasis on respect for poverty and on which the present episode is modelled (see on 515-59). Caesar's failure to respect Amyclas' poverty is also highlighted by the poet's praise of poverty a few lines earlier at 527-9, and so Caesar is depicted in the worst possible light. Cf. especially Evander's words to Aeneas at *A.* 8.364-5 *aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum / finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis*. Williams on *A.* 8.102f observes: 'The speeches of Aeneas and Evander are filled with chivalry and dignified compliment.' Caesar's words to Amyclas by contrast are brash and overbearing. A respect for poverty and contempt for wealth was considered important in Roman culture and society generally, particularly for people of wealth and power (cf. Plin.

Nat. 33.142; and see Narducci (1983) on the 'contemptus divitiarum') so Caesar's attitude goes very much against the grain of what was regarded as respectable behaviour for one in his position. There may be an allusion here to the enormous private wealth of the emperor Nero in L.'s own day; see n. on 536-7.

531. poste: literally, a door-post; by synecdoche, a door (*OLD* s.v. 2b)). *TLL* 10,2.231.22-3 suggests that this may be the *phaselus* mentioned at 518 performing the function of a door, but this does not seem necessary (see *limina*, 520).

532. dux: The reference to Caesar in his capacity as a military leader suits the imperious tone of the speech which follows. He is referred to as 'dux' also at 680 in this episode, but otherwise only by his name (see on *Caesaris*, 476).

expecta: The first of 3 imperatives in a relatively short speech. Like *laxa* in the next line, it is emphasised by its position just before the strong 3rd-foot caesura. Caesar's speeches throughout the poem (when compared with those of Pompey and Cato) are characterised by a high number of imperatives, gerundives and jussives. See the statistics collected by Helzle (1994) *passim*. Caesar uses 78 imperatives in 360 lines of speeches; Pompey 42 in 300 lines; Cato 24 in 150 lines. The imperatives characterise Caesar here as a military commander. This may be partly explained by the practice in L.'s time of reading poetry aloud in the form of a 'recitatio'. While the reciter could adopt voices of different pitch to differentiate between narrative and speech, his range was clearly limited and so it was necessary to individualise the voices of different speakers by linguistic means as well in order to make them credible. On the practice of public recitation in L.'s time, see Williams (1978) 303-6; McKeown comm. on *Ov. Amores* (1987) 63-73 on Ovid and recitation.

votis . . . modestis: Cf. *Ov. Tr.* 3.8.18 *ne mea sint, timeo, vota modesta parum*.

533. spesque tuas laxa: 'Enlarge your hopes'. This figurative use of 'laxo' does not appear to have any close parallel (*TLL* 7.1073.47ff). However hope ('spes') is described as narrow ('angusta') at *A.* 11.309 and *Sil.* 10.278.

iuvenis: Hosts in theoxeny narratives were traditionally old (see Hollis comm. on *Call. Hec.* pp. 341ff and cf. for example *Ov. Met* 8.631 *sed pia Baucis anus parilique aetate Philemon*) so *iuvenis* here perhaps comes as a bit of a surprise. The word probably indicates that Caesar is unable to treat Amyclas as anything other than one of his soldiers (see *OLD* s.v. 'iuvenis' 1b) for the word used of warriors or sim. and cf. *iuventus*, 493,

referring to Caesar's soldiers). L. seems to be alluding here to Caesar's reputation for showering his soldiers with money and gifts in order to secure their loyalty (see Narducci (2002) 252). For historical evidence of Caesar's bribery of his soldiers, see Leigh (1997) 198-9 and Ash (1999) 6-7, 12-13, 15.

iussa secutus: The phrase emphasises Amyclas' subservience and Caesar's authority (see previous n.). For 'iussa sequor', see *TLL* 7.2.585.73ff; and cf. especially the words of the Caesarian Labienus expressing his commitment to Caesar's cause at Luc. 1.372 *iussa sequi tam posse mihi quam velle necesse est*. Cf. also A. 4.537-8 (Dido contemplates having to obey the Trojans) *Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum / iussa sequar?* Expressions for following fate or divine instructions are frequent in the *Aeneid* (cf. A. 1.382 *data fata secutus* and see also Pease on A. 4.361; Harrison on A. 10.32-3) and the verb 'sequi' alone could have an underlying notion of compliance with fate (Heinze (1957) 302 n.1). Therefore Caesar's *iussa* here may perhaps be regarded as a substitute for the directions of fate or the gods in the *Aeneid*. i.e. instead of following fate Amyclas is to follow Caesar's commands. See also on *iubet*, 488. See M. Edwards (1960) 151-4 for the Stoic influence behind expressions such as 'to follow fate' (cf. for example Sen. *Dial.* 1.5.4 *boni viri . . . non trahuntur a fortuna, sequuntur illam et aequant gradus; 7.15.5 deum sequere*).

534. vehis: L. commonly uses present for future in secondary clauses: see Lundqvist (1907) 16-17 and cf. 572, 657.

Hesperiam: used in poetry for Italy since Ennius (*Ann.* 23). See further Hunink on Luc. 3.4. For the accusative without preposition with verbs of motion, see K-S 2.1.88.3; H-Sz. II.49-50; and the detailed study of Landgraf in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie* 10.1898.391-402. It is common in the poets; cf. for example A. 1.2 *Italiam . . . venit*.

534-535a. non ultra cuncta carinae / debebis manibusque <tuis saevamve quereris / pauperiem deflens> inopem duxisse senectam: 'No longer will you owe everything to your ship and the work of your hands, nor will you, lamenting cruel poverty, complain at having spent a needy old age.'

The text transmitted by the mss is problematic due to *duxisse*, since, as Housman pointed out this would force *debebis* to perform a double function (i.e. 'you will owe (everything to your ship)' and 'it will be necessary for you (to spend a needy old age by the work of your hands)') and furthermore the natural link between *carinae* and *manibusque* would be broken.

Various solutions have been suggested:

- a) Madvig (*adu. crit.* 2. p.131) proposed emending *duxisse* to *ducesve* but this was rejected by Housman on the grounds that L. does not postpone *-ve* or *-que*.
- b) Bourgery's proposal of *flebisque* for *manibusque* is neat but the two future tense verbs side-by-side seems a little awkward.
- c) Nutting (*UCPPH* 11.1931.125 and *AJPh* 52.1931.51ff.) takes *inopem duxisse senectam* as a noun phrase balancing *cuncta*. (Burman takes *duxisse* in a similar way.) He translates: 'Hereafter you will not owe all to your skiff, nor to the labor of your hands the prolongation of an indigent old age'; and points to L.'s liking for expressing one idea in two aspects; cf. 5.5ff; 5.804ff; 6.802-5, etc. However it seems better to take *carinae . . . manibusque* as a single phrase.
- d) Housman believed a line had fallen out of the text and proposed the following:
debebis manibusque <inportunamve fereris / pauperiem deflens> inopem duxisse senectam.
- e) Shackleton Bailey (1987) 74-91 agrees that a line needs to be inserted but finds fault with Housman's insertion in two respects: i) the old age of Amyclas would not be much talked about, so Housman's *fereris* needs to be replaced; ii) the rhythm, with elision before the caesura at end of clause is faulty. He therefore suggests the adjustment to Housman's insertion shown above which I have adopted here.

534-5. carinae / . . . manibusque: Amyclas' work as a fisherman is mentioned only briefly here. Cf. *Call. Hec. frs.* 52ff where Hecale's toil, injustice and poverty is dealt with in detail (Hollis (1990) 9 suggests the influence of Hesiod in these fragments of Callimachus).

manibus: For this use of 'manus' to refer to the work of one's hands, see *TLL* 8.355.61ff.

535a. inopem . . . senectam: The phrase comes from *G.* 1.185-6 (describing the ant) *populatque ingentem farris acervum / curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae* where Vergil humanizes the ant in order to magnify its importance (see R. F. Thomas on 1.182-6, 185-6). Ovid uses the phrase twice, at *Met.* 7.2 (of Phineus) *perpetuaque trahens inopem sub nocte senectam;* and *Am.* 1.8.113-4 (curse against a 'lena') *di tibi dent nullosque lares inopemque senectam / et longas hiemes perepetuamque sitim.* Cf. also *Laus Pis.* 245; *V. Fl.* 5.685; *Justin* 14.3.10.

duxisse senectam: For the same line-ending, though with a different meaning, see *A.* 10.192. Poets tended to use the archaic 'senecta' in the oblique cases where the more normal 'senectus' was metrically impossible (see Harrison on *A.* 10.192). L. has 'senectus'

5x and 'senecta' 5x. For 'duco' meaning 'to spend (time/one's life)' see *TLL* 5.1.2152.28ff; *OLD* s.v. 14a).

536-7. ne cessa praebere deo tua fata volenti / angustos opibus subitis inplere penates: Caesar's promise to fill Amyclas' small home with 'sudden wealth' (*angustos opibus subitis inplere penates*) contradicts the praise of poverty earlier and what was considered acceptable behaviour for one in Caesar's position (see on 531-7). The present passage probably alludes to the habit of the Roman emperors of distributing largesse in order to ensure their popularity. i.e. Caesar is seen as anticipating the behaviour of these emperors. Nero in particular had a reputation for ostentatious giving. Tac. *Hist.* 1.20 states that the total amount given in gifts by Nero in 14 years was 2,200 million sesterces, more than Augustus' total in 40 years. However Amyclas ignores Caesar's promise in his reply later (557-8) showing how unimportant it was to him.

ne cessa: The words are appropriate coming from Caesar whose impatience is a consistent part of his characterisation in the storm-episode; see on 477; 480; 490; 531-7; 579. For 'cesso' + infinitive, see *OLD* s.v. 1b); *TLL* 3.962.6ff.

praebere deo tua fata: The language used is reminiscent of the Stoic belief that the duty of a good man was to offer himself to fate (Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.12 *praebendi fortunae sumus, ut contra illam ab ipsa duremur*; 1.5.8 *quid est boni viri? praebere se fato*) since all things human and divine followed a pre-ordained course. Cf. 7.333 (Caesar's soldiers) *permittuntque omnia fatis* with Postgate-Dilke *ad loc.* Such an idea suits well the kind of recklessness with which Caesar himself is often credited throughout the poem (cf. 5.301-3 *fata sed in praeceptis solitus demittere Caesar / Fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens / exercere venit* and see the words of Caesar's men at 692ff below). However Caesar's advice to Amyclas to entrust his fate to Heaven directly contradicts Amyclas' nature (see on *credere*, 540).

deo: 'Heaven' (tr. Duff); 'the god' (tr. Riley, Braund). Clearly Caesar intended to reward Amyclas from his own pocket, but could not (being in plebeian disguise) claim to be able to do this and therefore here refers vaguely to a 'deus' who will do this for him. See on *deo*, 502.

tua fata: 'your destiny' (*OLD* s.v. 'fatum' 3a)).

volenti: This may echo religious language; see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 664 and cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.16 for *volens* used in a prayer (equivalent to 'kindly'). The view that God (as opposed to Fate, Chance, or Fortune) was always willing to bless and be kind to one may reflect Stoic belief (see Motto (1970) s.v. GOD § 32 for this idea in Seneca).

537. angustos opibus subitis . . . penates: The word order suits the meaning (Amyclas' small home is to be 'expanded' by sudden wealth), and the contrasting words *angustos* and *opibus* are juxtaposed effectively. Caesar's wealth is referred to several times elsewhere in the poem; cf. especially 3.168 *pauperiorque fuit tunc primum Caesare Roma* (and for the view that this alludes to the great wealth of the emperor Nero in L.'s own day, see M. T. Griffin (1984) 199-200).

angustos . . . penates: Echoing *angustique lares* in 528 (in the poet's praise of poverty). The echo in Caesar's speech highlights how Caesar has totally misunderstood how poverty is really a blessing rather than a curse. See on 523 for the theme of smallness in theoxeny narratives.

538-9. sic fatur, quamquam plebeio tectus amictu, / indocilis privata loqui: 'So he spoke, for though he was dressed in plebeian clothing, he did not know how to speak like a private citizen.'

This is the first time Caesar's disguise is mentioned. It is relegated to a subordinate clause and therefore has the impression almost of an afterthought (*quamquam plebeio tectus amictu*, 538). L. seems to be relying on his audience's previous knowledge of the story. The historical sources agree that Caesar used a disguise (presumably for protection) but disagree over whether it was that of a slave (V. Max. 9.8.2; Plu. *Caes.* 38.2) or a private citizen (App. *BC* 2.57). Suet. *Jul.* 58.2 does not specify the type of disguise (*obvoluto capite*). L. adopts the tradition that his dress was that of a private citizen something which he may have found in Livy. However, the detail (in 539) that Caesar despite his disguise could not speak as a private citizen is not in the historical sources and seems to be L.'s own invention (see below).

A number of important features emerge from the analysis of these lines:

a) Hollis (1990) 341 notes that the visiting god / hero in traditional hospitality narratives was almost always unrecognised by their hosts at first, sometimes deliberately disguised in order to test their hosts' reception of them. This was true particularly in the case of gods (e.g. *Od.* 17.485-7) but at *Od.* 14.55ff (the prototype for later tales of hospitality) Odysseus too disguises himself (as a beggar) to deceive the swineherd Eumaeus. Thus Caesar here is the counterpart of ('plays the role of') the guest in

hospitality narratives. The specific reminiscence of Ovid's Baucis and Philemon story at 517 (see n. *ad loc.*) suggests that a comparison is to be drawn between Caesar and the divine guests Jupiter and Mercury both of whom disguised themselves (as mortals): *Met.* 8.626-7 *Iuppiter huc specie mortali cumque parente / venit Atlantiades positus caducifer alis* (cf. Jupiter's visit to mortals at *Met.* 1.213: *humana sub imagine*). Like the Ovidian gods, Caesar later reveals his identity (585).

b) Caesar seems to anticipate the habit of the later Roman emperors who attempted to play down their exalted power by identifying themselves with the common people sometimes by wearing ordinary dress (Suet. *Aug.* 40.5; 52-6; 73; *Tib.* 26-32; *Ves.* 12). See on this Wallace-Hadrill (1982) *passim*; M. T. Griffin (1984) 62, 114, 205, 215 (including on Nero's increasing failure to act the part of the *civilis princeps*). Cf. Plin. *Pan.* 2.4 on Trajan: *unum ille se ex nobis - et hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat, nec minus hominem se quam hominibus praeesse meminit*. The combination seen in the figure of the emperor of, on the one hand, the autocratic reality and, on the other, an elaborate and yet transparent republican facade (which Wallace-Hadrill notes is clear in the historian Tacitus) is something which L. seems to be exposing here in the figure of Caesar: his speech does not match his plain clothing and reveals his true colours.

c) Caesar's failure to hide his true nature may also recall various descriptions in Latin poetry of gods unsuccessfully disguising themselves. Cf. *A.* 1.325ff (Aeneas sees through Venus' mortal disguise); 1.405ff (Venus' true identity is revealed through her disguise); Stat. *Theb.* 2.94ff (Mercury disguised as Teiresias, but his sacred fillets show through).

538. sic fatur: A traditional epic formula (see on 523).

quamquam: 'quamquam' followed by participle or adjective not verb is unpoetic, see *OLD* s.v. 4); K-S. II.444f; Axelson (1945) 123-4. In L., cf. 1.354; 2.448; 4.667. Cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 11.473.

plebeio . . . amictu: This signifies the dress of private citizens as opposed to the purple-bordered 'toga praetexta' worn by senators and magistrates. At 2.18 the identical phrase is used (the portents of war at Rome cause business to cease and the magistrates to disguise themselves 'in the dress of the people'). The word 'plebeius' is regularly used in connection with Caesar (and other figures of noble standing) in the poem, often with irony or for pathetic effect. Cf. 7.266ff (Caesar declares to his men, with obvious irony, that he has no desire to be king but would rather return to private life and 'wear the people's

dress'): *ipse ego privatae cupidus me reddere vitae / plebeiaque toga modicum componere civem*; 5.764-5 (Cornelia fears that her lot in being deprived of her husband will be a 'common' one) *sorte frequenti / plebeiaque nimis*; 8.736 *da vilem Magno plebei funeris arcam* (and Mayer *ad loc.*: 'a pathetic insult to the man').

The 'spectacle' of Caesar in plebeian clothing would have appealed to the taste of L.'s audience who favoured striking contrasts of high and low rank. See 7.586 and 8.238ff for other instances of men of high rank in humble disguise in the poem. The sight of a noble character such as a king in humble clothing was a familiar one on the tragic stage too. Aristophanes (*Ach.* 432ff) had fiercely criticised Euripides for bringing the king of Mysia on stage dressed as a beggar (in Euripides' fragmentary play *Telephus*). Cf. also Enn. *scen.* 330; 339; *Acc. trag.* 613-17; *Sen. Thy.* 336ff. Conte (1996) 40 shows how in Petronius' *Satyricon* Encolpius on seeing the character Eumolpus appear describes him as though he were one such character from tragedy, evidence of a longing for the 'sublimity' of the tragic stage. In Shakespeare, cf. also King Henry V in disguise as a common soldier (*Henry V* Act iv sc. 1 lines 34ff; sc. 8 lines 35ff).

539. indocilis privata loqui: Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.18 *indocilis pauperiem pati*, describing the merchant who fears the sea yet gets in a boat nevertheless and puts his life at risk only because he does not know how to endure poverty. *indocilis* has a negative connotation in both passages. The inability to behave like an ordinary citizen was specifically a characteristic of tyrants; cf. Liv. 2.2.3 *nescire Tarquinius privatos vivere*; Arist. *Pol.* 3.4.9 (on Jason of Pherae) *ὥς οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος ιδιώτης εἶναι*. Cf. also Sil. 12.726 (on Hannibal) *indocilis pacisque modique*. For Caesar's inability to act like an ordinary person elsewhere in the poem, cf. also 3.142-3 (he forgets to act the part of peace at the Treasury in Rome) *saevos circumspicit enses / oblitus simulare togam*; 5.381-2 (his behaviour at Rome does not match his ordinary dress) *ipse petit trepidam tutus sine milite Romam / iam doctam servire togae*. Caesar is often credited with tyrannical attributes in L.'s poem; for examples in the storm-episode, see index s.v. 'Caesar, as power-mad tyrant'.

indocilis: Not 'unteachable' but 'ignorant', the meaning is close to 'indoctus' or 'inscius'. The construction of 'indocilis' in this sense with the infinitive is unusual (*TLL* 7,1.1217.43-6). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.18 (qu. above); *Sen. Tro.* 82 *non indociles lugere sumus*.

privata: The neuter plural adjective here behaves like an adverb ('like a private citizen'). Cf. 2.564 (qu. below). Caesar, being a military commander, could not technically be regarded as a 'privatus'. Like 'plebeius' (see on 538), 'privatus' is a word regularly used in connection with Caesar for its ironic potential. Cf. 2.562ff (Pompey on Caesar's regal

ambitions) *quo potuit civem populus perducere liber / ascendi, supraque nihil nisi regna reliqui. / non privata cupis, Romana quisquis in urbe / Pompeium transire paras*; 5.666ff (below) *quamvis plenus honorum / et dictator eam Stygias et consul ad umbras, / privatum, Fortuna, mori*; 7.266 (qu. above in n. on *plebeio . . . amictu*).

539-59. Amyclas sets out his reasons for not trusting his boat to the sea by referring to a series of weather-signs portending a storm. His speech is constructed of 'blocks' of argument, with frequent end-stopping which suits its matter-of-fact tone and contrasts with Caesar's preceding speech where end-stopping is deliberately avoided (see above on 531-7):

540. Amyclas's unwillingness to brave the sea by night;

541-545. signs from the sun;

546-550. signs from the moon;

551-556. other signs;

557-559. Amyclas's willingness, despite the signs, to do as instructed 'if a great crisis demanded'.

The speech emphasises Amyclas' technical expertise regarding the weather and sailing which serves as an effective contrast to Caesar's more intuitive understanding of the storm (see on *Amyclas*, 520). L.'s model for Amyclas in this respect is Vergil's Palinurus (a model which supersedes the earlier model for Amyclas, the host of hospitality narratives). For the emphasis on Palinurus' technical knowledge in the *Aeneid*, see especially *A.* 5.25; 513-20.

Sources for the weather-signs

L.'s weather-signs derive from a long tradition of writing on the subject of meteorology dating back to Hesiod's *Works and Days*. Among the most important texts dealing with weather-signs were the 4th to 3rd -c. B.C. *De signis* attributed to Theophrastus and the 3rd -c. B.C. *Phaenomena* of Aratus. The *Phaenomena* in particular, a didactic hexameter poem, was especially popular in the ancient world ('the most widely read poem, after the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*', *OCD*³); it had at least 27 commentators and was translated into Latin by Varro of Atax, Cicero, Gemanicus and (after L.) Avienus. The second part of the poem was given a separate title - 'Signs' or 'Diosemeiai' - and perhaps was derived from the *De signis* of Theophrastus. Both Theophrastus and Aratus served as models for Vergil's weather-signs in *Georgics* 1 and it is the latter which is L.'s principal model in this passage (lines 351-92 - signs of bad weather and 424-64 - signs from moon and sun). It is likely however that Vergil was not L.'s only source (see below, 4)). Indeed, compiling lists of weather-signs may have formed part of L.'s rhetorical training in which case he would

doubtless have been familiar with a variety of sources. For weather-prognostics as a topic of interest in the rhetorical schools, see Sen. *Suas.* 3.4-5. For ancient texts on meteorology see Morford (1967) 26-8 and now especially Taub (2003) *passim* (including pp. 26-7 on Theophrastus, 46-54 on Aratus, 45-6 and 54-8 on Verg. *G.*, 172-189 on Plin. *Nat.*). On L.'s use of the ancient sources, see Fritzsche (1892) 27-8; Pichon (1912) 228-9; Morford (1967) 38-9 nn.; Thompson-Bruère (1968) 13-14. For Vergil's use of Aratus see R. F. Thomas on Verg. *G.* 127; Mynors (1990) 326-30; Kidd (1997) 42-3. For Vergil's use of Hes. *Op.* and the *De signis* see Taub (2003) 54.

The table below shows broadly the correspondence between L.'s text and those of Vergil and other relevant texts (based on Morford (1967) 38-9nn). For more detailed references, see nn. *ad loc.*

5.541-5 signs from the sun.
Cf. Verg. <i>G.</i> 1.438-63. Cf. also Theophr. <i>de signis</i> 27, 38; Arat. <i>Pha.</i> 819-889; Nigidius fr. cvi (Swoboda); Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 18.342-6, 355; cf. also Sen. <i>Ag.</i> 462-4.
5.546-50 signs from the moon.
Cf. Verg. <i>G.</i> 1.427-37. Cf. also Theophr. <i>de signis</i> 27 (includes detail of pallor of moon, not in Vergil); Arat. <i>Pha.</i> 778-818; Nigidius fr. cv (Swoboda); Varro, quoted by Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 18.348-9 (includes detail of pallor of moon not in Vergil); cf. also Sen. <i>Med.</i> 790.
5.551-6 other signs
Cf. Verg. <i>G.</i> 1.356-92. Cf. also Theophr. <i>de signis</i> 28-30; 38-42; 46-9; Arat. <i>Pha.</i> 909ff; Cic. <i>De Div.</i> 1.8; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> 18.359-65. 'The ancient authors differ considerably on details of these prognostics' (Morford (1967) 39 n.1).

A few general observations about L.'s use of Vergil may be made (see commentary for specific points):

- 1) L. is very selective in his use of Vergil, reducing to 16 lines what is covered in about 80 in Vergil. L. unlike Vergil was not aiming at comprehensiveness but intended to give a selection of signs which Amyclas might have witnessed in a single evening. The condensing of quite a high number of signs into a small space results, perhaps inevitably, in some awkwardness of writing (e.g. 546-8).
- 2) L. seems deliberately to avoid imitating Vergil's vocabulary and phraseology aiming instead at originality of expression at all times;
- 3) He does not stick to the order of signs found in Vergil. Whereas V. keeps Aratus' order of signs of the moon followed by signs of the sun, L. reverses this order.
- 4) He includes some details not found in Vergil suggesting he used other sources as well. These may have included Vergil's models Theophrastus and Aratus (see nn. on

541; 542-3; 544-5; *recto . . . cornu* 548; 549-50; 552). (Fritzsche (1892) points out similarities between another part of L.'s poem, 8.167-84, and Aratus suggesting that L. was familiar with the Greek poet.) He may also have read Cicero's translation of Aratus (see on *litora cornix*, 556).

5) L. reserves two of V.'s 'other' signs for the narrative *following* Amyclas' speech – the swelling of the sea (565-7) and shooting stars (561-4). (These in any case are not so much forecasts of a storm as indications that a storm had already started.) By so doing he shows Caesar to be disregarding not only the spoken warning of Amyclas but also the empirical evidence around him. See nn. *ad loc.*

Function of the weather-signs in this passage

Some modern commentators have found Amyclas' speech (at 20 lines) both too long-winded and unrealistic in view of Caesar's impatience to get on with the journey (Burman on line 540; Heitland (1887) lxxv). However these criticisms fail to take into account two important purposes served by the weather-signs.

a) a naturalistic explanation for the storm and a foil for Caesar's character.

L.'s policy of eliminating the traditional divine machinery of epic from his poem (see on *iubet*, 488) required that a scientific explanation should be provided for the storm and Amyclas' weather-signs serve this purpose. Unlike the Homeric and Virgilian storms (cf. *Od.* 5.282ff where Poseidon starts the storm; *A.* 1.65-80 where Juno asks Aeolus to rouse the storm), L.'s storm is naturally caused. This is consistent with other physical disasters in the poem which are similarly naturally caused (the floods at Ilerda, 4.48-120; the storm at 9.319-47; the sand-storm at 9.445-92) and also with the civil war itself which is not divinely caused (1.67ff).

The lack of gods in L.'s storm-narrative sets it apart not only from the storms of Homer and Vergil but also from that of Seneca's *Agamemnon* which combines both natural and divine causation: the weather-signs at *Ag.* 462-9 are followed by an abrupt transition to the divine plane at 528ff where the words *ecce alia clades* (528) herald the intervention of first Athena and then Neptune. In the storms of post-Lucanian epic divine causation is emphatically reinstated in direct response to L.'s experiment in the elimination of them; cf. *Sil.* 12.603ff and 17.236ff; *Qu.* Smyrnaeus 14.419ff.

The enumeration of natural evidence for a coming storm also serves as an effective foil for the character of Caesar who rashly dismisses the evidence preferring instead to trust in his own more intuitive understanding of the storm and in his own fortuna (see 591-3).

b) a display of scientific knowledge.

Reading texts of a scientific or technical nature formed an important part of a Roman's rhetorical education and the display of such knowledge in poetry clearly appealed to audiences in L.'s day. It is a feature of poetry particularly from Ovid onwards. Cf. for example Ov. *Met.* 2.217-26 (catalogue of mountains); 239ff (catalogue of rivers); Sen. *Oed.* 530ff (the raising of the ghost of Laius). In L., cf. the list of portents at 1.522ff; Erictho's necromancy at 6.624ff; the stars which guided the helmsman at 8.167ff; the description of Libyan snakes at 9.700ff; the Nile excursus at 10.172ff.

It was recognised by rhetoricians that allusions to the wonders of the natural world helped to lend a sense of awe and grandeur to poetry. In Lucan natural science helps perhaps to give to his poem the extra dimension provided in the Homeric and Vergilian epics by the gods and their activities. (The sense of awe in literature is analysed by Ps-Longinus in his treatise *On the sublime* and the rhetorician Hermogenes recommends, among sources of grandeur, 'inquiries into the nature of the seasons . . . how the movements of the earth and of the sea are caused or how thunderbolts are produced'.) For L.'s interest in natural science see Fantham (1992) 17-19. For natural philosophy as one of the grandest themes for poetry see Innes (1979) 165-71.

539. tum pauper Amyclas: sc. 'fatur'. A common ellipse, see K-S. ii. 552-3. This is the second and last time A. is named in the storm-episode (and the poem). See further on *Amyclas*, 520.

pauper: The word draws attention to Amyclas' genuine poverty as opposed to Caesar's pretence at poverty in the previous line (*plebeio tectus amictu*). Amyclas' poverty has been stressed in the details of the preceding narrative: 516-17, 521, 527ff as well as being an important part of his characterisation in this episode. It also links him with the hosts of the 'hospitality' narrative tradition who were traditionally poor (see on 515-559). Cf. especially Vergil's Evander (A. 8.359-60 *talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant / pauperis Evandri*).

540. multa quidem prohibent nocturno credere ponto: Cf. Verg. *G.* 1.456-7 *non illa quisquam me nocte per altum / ire neque a terra moneat convellere funem*. The Vergilian context (weather-signs) is an important influence on the rest of Amyclas' speech (see on 539-59).

quidem: Housman rightly points out that this is answered by the *sed* at the beginning of 557, not 551.

nocturno . . . ponto: *nocturnus* is used predicatively ('by night'). See H-Sz. II.172; K-S. II.235-6; OLD s.v. 4). Cf. Verg. *G.* 3.538 *nocturnus obambulat*; *A.* 5.868 *ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis*. For the 'storm-at-night' topos, cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.1102; Pac. *trag.* 411; Verg. *A.* 1.89; 3.195; 3.198; Prop. 3.7.53; Sen. *Ag.* 465, 470ff; NT Acts 27.20.

credere: The issue of whether to trust the sea was something helmsmen including Amyclas were preoccupied with. Cf. especially Palinurus at *A.* 5.848-53 (in response to Somnus' offer to take over the steering of his ship) '*mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos / ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro? / Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris / et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?' / *talia dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens / nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat*; and 5.870-1 (Aeneas to Palinurus) *o nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno, / nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*.*

541-5. Signs from the sun. The details are borrowed from *G.* 1.438-63. Signs from the sun receive great emphasis in Vergil (more space is given to them than to the moon, they are placed at the end of the list of weather-signs and lead into a section describing the portents foretelling Julius Caesar's death (*G.* 1.464ff)). L. reverses Vergil's order by placing these signs first and gives them equal space with those from the moon. V. (like Aratus) describes the sun both at its setting and its rising, L. only at its setting. V. had omitted much from the nearly 30 solar signs in Aratus. L. of course has far fewer even than Vergil. Here two negative statements about the sun are followed by two positive statements, no doubt for variety.

541. nam sol non rutilas deduxit in aequora nubes: The lack of red clouds at sunset does not occur in Vergil, but cf. Aratus 858-61 and Plin. *Nat.* 18.343 (red clouds near the setting sun indicate fair weather). The initial spondee in this line made up of two monosyllabic words provides an emphatic beginning to the list of signs.

deduxit: Words of leading, summoning, pulling, etc. are commonly found in poetic descriptions of the heavenly phenomena. For 'deduco' used of the drawing down of natural phenomena, see *TLL* 5,1.277.60ff; *OLD* s.v. 6a). Cf. Lucr. 6.439 *et illam deducit . . . nubem [ventus]*; Hor. *Epod.* 13.2 *imbres / nivesque deducunt lovem*; Cic. *Arat. Progn.* 362 (Arctophylax) *quattuor hic obiens secum deducere signa / signifero solet ex orbi*; Germ. *frg.* 4.131 (Cyllenius) *subitos caelo deducet crebrius imbres*. However L.'s use of 'deduco' with sun as subject and clouds as object appears to be rather unusual. It creates a vivid picture

of the setting sun with clouds either above or below it ('deduco' can mean 'pull or draw down' or 'press or weigh down').

in aequora: i.e. not literally into the sea, but below the horizon. Cf. Luc. 8.159 *iam pelago* . . . *Titan demissus*; V. Fl. 2.37 *rupto sonuit sacer aequore Titan [cadens]*.

542-3. concordisque tulit radios: Noton altera Phoebi, / altera pars Borean diducta luce vocabat: 'and showed no symmetrical ring of rays; for with divided beams one half of his disk summoned the South wind, the other the North' (tr. Duff).

Cf. G. 1.445-6 *aut ubi sub lucem densa inter nubila sese / diversi rumpent radii*. Cf. also Theophr. *de signis* 38; Aratus 829-30; Plin. *Nat.* 18.346. Both Vergil and Aratus mention the divided beams of the sun (L.'s (*non*) *concordes* . . . *radios* . . . *diducta luce*). These would have been caused by clouds in front of the sun partially obscuring it, so that the beams did not radiate out all the way round the orb. Vergil does not speak of the different winds summoned by the sun (L.'s line 542-3), but Aratus 829-30 may lie behind L.'s text here ('nor when some of his diverging rays strike the South and some the North, while the centre is very bright . . .' tr. Kidd); i.e. instead of having the sun's beams *strike* N. and S., L. has them *summon* winds from N. and S.. The reference to diametrically opposed winds is clearly meant to be ominous for the coming storm (see also 569 and on 703-721 for the mention of opposite winds in the storm-episode).

542. concordisque: *-que* = *nec*, as often in L.: cf. 2.372-3; 8.619-20; 9.589-90. See *OLD* '-que' 1e). Amyclas' speech contains a high number of conjunctions reinforcing the impression of a long list (see also *quoque*, *que*, 544; *que*, 546; *aut*, 547; *nec*, 548; *que*, *tum*, 549; *nec*, *nec*, 551; *nec*, 552; *aut*, *que*, 553; *que*, 555; *vel*, 558; *vel*, *que*, 559). Cf. similar conjunctions at Arat. 949-53 ἢ που καί . . . ἢ που καί . . . ἢ και . . . ἢ . . .

The exact meaning of *concordes* is not immediately obvious. Sulpitius (influenced no doubt by Verg. G. 1.451-2 *nam saepe videmus / ipsius in vultu varios errare colores*) interpreted it as meaning 'unicolores et pares'. The following line and a half makes clear however that *concordes* must indicate that the sun's rays did not radiate out all the way around the orb but were broken up, probably by the presence of cloud.

542-3. Noton . . . Borean: Both winds, whose coming is predicted here by Amyclas, later play an active part in the storm. See on *Boreas*, 601 and *Notum*, 609.

543. vocabat: For the use of 'voco' of summoning winds or sim., cf. *OLD* s.v. 2c).

544-5. orbe quoque exhaustus medio languensque recessit / spectantes oculos infirmo lumine passus: Both the hollowed-out appearance of the sun (*exhaustus*), caused by its centre being covered by clouds, and its paleness (*languens*) occur in Vergil, though of the rising, not the setting sun. Cf. G. 1.441-4, 446-9 *ille ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum / conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe / suspecti tibi sint imbres; namque urguet ab alto / arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister. / . . . aut ubi pallida surget / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile, / heu! male tum mitis defendet pampinus uvas: / tam multa in tectis crepitans salit horrida grando*. L. gives a much more concise version of what is found in Vergil. He omits to mention why the sun was 'hollowed out' (i.e. due to the presence of cloud in front of it). He also (naturally enough) omits Vergil's mythological references to Aurora and Tithonus. Vergil describes the sun at its rising, L. at its setting. Perhaps L. intended deliberately to distance himself from Vergil in this way.

For the hollow appearance of the sun, cf. also Arat. *Pha.* 828 *κοιλος*; Plin. *Nat.* 18.342 *concavus*; Avienus 1568-9 *sed non ora cavo similis medioque recedens / orbe quasi*. For pale sun at sunset, cf. also (apart from Vergil) Nigidius fr. cvi (Swoboda); Plin. *Nat.* 18.342. The idea of a weak sun allowing eyes to look upon it (L.'s line 545) has no equivalent in Vergil and may derive from Aratus 832-3 ('Study, if his beams should allow you, the sun himself (for looking directly at him is best)', tr. Kidd).

544. orbe . . . medio: The phrase occurs also at G. 1.442 (see previous n.); Man. 1.469 *medio cum luna implebitur orbe*; Avienus 1568-9 (see previous n.). For 'medius' meaning 'the central part of, the middle of', see *OLD* s.v. 2).

exhaustus: The participle ('hollowed out') is appropriately placed between *orbe* and *medio*, and emphasised by the spondaic rhythm and strong caesura following it. L.'s use of 'exhaustus' of the sun is bold suggesting that its orb had been physically hollowed out rather than simply obscured by the presence of clouds in front of it; see *TLL* 5,2.1407.56 ('audacius de sole quasi cavato indeque obscuro'). See also below on *exesa*, 547.

languensque: i.e. (of light) dim, faint (*OLD* s.v. 2c)). Cf. especially the zeugma at Luc. 8.471 *nec Phoebus adhuc nec carbasa languent*.

recessit: Comm. Bern.: 'infra terram scilicet'. For 'recedo' of the setting of heavenly bodies, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 89 *sol albus recessit in infera noctis*; Cic. *de Orat.* 3.178 (of the moon) *ut luna accessu et recessu [suo] solis lumen accipiat*.

545. infirmo: The word is more often used of living things and not often of light (*TLL* 7,1.1444.40-3). Before L., cf. Sen. *Nat.* 1.2.11 *lunae inertior vis est . . . ; aequae cetera sidera infirma sunt nec perrumpere aera vi sua possunt.*

546-50. Signs from the moon. The details are borrowed from *G.* 1.427-37 with the exception of the description of the gloomy pallor of the moon (549-50) which seems to come from another source(s) (see n. *ad loc.*). As with the solar signs, L. begins with a series of negative statements followed by two positive statements, again probably for variety.

546-7. lunaque non gracili surrexit lucida cornu / aut orbis medii puros exesa recessus: 'The moon too, when she appeared, did not shine with slender horn; nor was she carved out in a clear-cut hollow of her central orb' (tr. Duff).

Cf. *G.* 1.427-9 *luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignis, / si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aera cornu, / maximus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber*, 432-3 (undimmed horns are a sign of good weather) *sin ortu quarto . . . / pura neque obtunsis . . . cornibus ibit.* Cf. also Aratus 785-7 (moon with thickish crescent and blunted horns is a sign of wind or rain). L.'s text is rather awkward and repetitive here reflecting his attempt perhaps to convey the moon's lack of brightness and clarity in a clever way. The emphasis falls on the words (*non*) *gracili . . . lucida . . . puros.* Line 546 is a near golden-line of the sequence AbCaB; see on 507. The line seems to be imitated by *V. Fl.* 2.56 *puraque nec gravido surrexit Cynthia cornu.*

gracili: The word seems to be equivalent to Aratus' *λεπτή* (783, 784). It seems to indicate not just the slenderness of the crescent but also its clarity (see Kidd on Arat. 783, *λεπτή*: 'the slender new crescent when its outline is clear-cut'). Hence (*non*) *gracili . . . cornu* may be regarded as equivalent also to Vergil's dim or blunted horns (*obscuro . . . cornu, G.* 1.428 and *obtunsis . . . cornibus, G.* 1.433 (see previous n.).

lucida: commonly used of heavenly phenomena (*TLL* 7,2.1705.22ff; *OLD* s.v. 1a)). The meaning seems to be not just bright and shining but also clear in the sense of having no obstructions. The word seems to equate with Aratus' *καθαρή* (783) and Vergil's *pura* (*G.* 1.433).

cornu: i.e. the moon's crescent (*TLL* 4.969.56ff; *OLD* s.v. 7b)). In poetry it is found from Vergil (*G.* 1.428) onwards. In the plural it often refers to the two horns of the crescent moon.

547. aut: = *nec*. *aut* carries the negative force of *non* in the previous line. For other examples of the negative being understood from what precedes, a common practice in L., cf. 1.287; 2.362; 3.479; etc. See also *TLL* 2.1568.4ff.

orbis medii: see above on *orbe . . . medio*, 544.

puros . . . recessus: Accusative of respect. This is much rarer in L. than in Vergil. Heitland (1887) *ciii* lists other examples. Cf. in the storm-episode 518. 'purus' is used of heavenly bodies to mean 'free from mist, cloud, or sim., clear' (*OLD* s.v. 6a)). Here L. instead applies it to the dark space between the moon's horns. *recessus* is poetic plural for singular, 'a receding part or depression' (*OLD* s.v. 3a)). See further Barratt on 5.15 for poetic plurals in Lucan.

exesa: 'carved out'. A bold way of referring to the cavity between the moon's horns and apparently unique to L. (*TLL* 5,2.1318.3-4: 'audacius'). Nothing similar seems to occur in Vergil or Aratus and perhaps L. was influenced by the 'hollowed-out' image of the sun (see on *exhaustus*, 544) to create a similar image here of the moon. However the waning moon is described as 'cava' at Plin. *Nat.* 8.215 (see *TLL* 3.716.60ff).

548. nec duxit recto tenuata cacumina cornu: 'nor did she prolong her tapering extremities with upright horn' (tr. Duff). Shackleton Bailey considers this line best removed on the grounds that *tenuata cacumina* seems to repeat the similar idea found in 546 (*gracili . . . cornu*) and *cornu* at the end of the line in both 546 and 548 is awkward. However the repetition of *cornu* is one of a number of such repetitions in the poem (see below) and the repetitiveness of *tenuata cacumina* may be put down to the awkwardness of writing arising partly from the need to condense quite a large amount of material in a confined space. There seems no strong enough reason to delete the line (which would in any case spoil the symmetry of 5 lines for the solar signs and 5 lines for the lunar signs). (Repetition of words in L. may be a consequence of a meagreness of vocabulary. See Heitland (1887) *lxxxi-lxxxii* for lists of other examples of repetition of words in the poem. See also Mayer on 8.574-5 for table of repetitions of same word in L. and other authors ranked according to degree of carelessness (most careless are those in the same sentence and at the same place in the line) and Paratore (1990) 10-11 for repetition of words in the storm-episode. Flobert (1998) 485 lists repetition as one of the traits of spoken Latin in L..)

The detail of the moon's position in this line (*nec . . . recto . . . cornu*, i.e. 'not upright') does not occur in Vergil, but is discussed in detail at Aratus 788ff (see passage quoted at

Taub (2003) 49), and cf. also Plin. *Nat.* 18.347ff. (*recto* here seems to be equivalent to Aratus' 'orthe' (792)). It seems that L. is here inconsistent with the didactic tradition which always presents the upright horn of the moon as a sign of bad weather (here a *not* upright horn signifies bad weather) (Paratore (1993)). Possibly this was simply a mistake. L. is not concerned so much with scientific accuracy, but rather uses the didactic tradition to enrich his narrative.

duxit: Perhaps a metaphor from art. 'duco' is used of craftsmen fashioning things (e.g. swords) into a thin or pointed shape, especially from soft, pliable material (*OLD* s.v. 23c); *TLL* 5,1.2148.64ff and cf. for example Lucr. 5.1265 *quamvis in acuta ac tenuia posse mucronum duci fastigia procedendo*). Here L. uses it in a transferred sense of the moon; the verb contributes an element of personification to the moon.

tenuata . . . cacumina: 'tapering extremities'. *tenuata* is not often used of the moon; cf. before L. only Ov. *Met.* 7.530-1 (of the moon as a whole, not just the horns) *dumque quater iunctis explevit cornibus orbem / luna, quater plenum tenuata retexit orbem* (*OLD* 'tenuo' 1c) 'to cause to taper'). The meaning is similar to Aratus' *λεπτή* and therefore repeats the idea found in 546 above (*gracili cornu*). *cacumina* clearly refers to the two horns of the moon. L. appears to be the first to use 'cacumen' in this way (as opposed to the normal word 'cornua'). Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.48 *hibernae ventosa cacumina lunae* (*TLL* 3.11.41ff).

549. ventorumque notam rubuit: 'she was red – which is a sign of winds'. *-que* here introduces a transition from a series of negative statements to a positive one. The usage is common in L.. See below on 605-6.

For the reddening of the moon as a well-known sign of winds, cf. *G.* 1.430-1 *at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem, / ventus erit; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe*; also Theophr. *de signis* 12; Aratus 784-5, 797-8, 803; Nigidius fr. cv (Swoboda); Plin. *Nat.* 18.347. See further Mynors on *G.* 1.431.

The mss have both ablative *nota* (ΩC) and accusative *notam* (ZM). Hosius, Haskins and Bourgéry choose *nota* ('with sign of winds') but Housman following Cortius chooses *notam*. Cortius seems to have preferred *notam* on the grounds that it is the less obvious reading since 'rubeo/rubesco' is normally intransitive. This transitive use of 'rubere' appears to be an innovation of L.. The internal acc. with 'oleo' (also intransitive normally) has several parallels (see *OLD* 2) and cf. Luc. 6.537 *olentes membra favillas*) but it is perhaps best to take *ventorumque notam* as an accusative in apposition to the sentence (K-S I.248.7; Woodcock (1959) §15).

notam: For 'nota' meaning 'sign or token', see *OLD* s.v. 8a) and cf. for example *Ov. Met.* 1.761 *si modo sum caelesti stirpe creatus, ede notam tanti generis*.

rubuit: L.'s favourite word to describe red, it is used 10x in the poem. Red is the most frequent colour in the poem, followed by black (see n. on *niger*, 564).

549-50. tum lurida pallens / ora tulit voltu sub nubem tristis ituro: The changing face of the moon (first red, then pale) adds to the sense of uncertainty in L.'s version (cf. the sun suggesting winds from opposite directions at 542-3 above). The theme of uncertainty becomes very prominent later in the storm (see on 566, 570, 602, 645-6). The moon's pale colour here is caused by the fact that it is about to pass behind a cloud. The detail is not found in Vergil, but cf. Theophr. *de signis* 27; *Plin. Nat.* 18.348. There is a similarity of vocabulary here with passages describing lunar eclipses and the association of eclipses with disastrous events gives this passage a sinister atmosphere. i.e. the darkening of the moon suggests not only bad weather to come but also imminent disaster of a more general kind (civil war). Cf. *Ov. Met.* 15.785-6 (one of the portents at the death of Caesar) *solis quoque tristis imago / lurida sollicitis praebebat lumina terris* with Bömer *ad loc.*; *Sen. Med.* 790 *non . . . pleno lucida vultu . . . , sed . . . facie lurida [Trivia] maesta*; *Luc.* 6.502 [*luna*] *palluit*. In *Luc.* 7.151ff the pallor of the light is one of the portents of war (*pallere diem*, 178; *solis in obscuro pugam pallore notavit*, 200). Cf. *Tib.* 2.5.76 (portent of civil war) *ipsum etiam solem, defectum lumine, vidit / iungere pallentes nubilus annus equos*. For more on portents, see below on 561-4. Here three words, *lurida*, *pallens*, *tristis*, refer to the colour of the moon, with the first two juxtaposed for emphasis.

lurida: i.e. of a sickly yellow colour. 'luridus' is used of both solar and lunar eclipses (*TLL* 7,2.1862.80-1863.3). It is elsewhere associated with illness, hunger, death or the Underworld and generally seems to signify something sinister.

550. tulit: For this use of 'fero', see *TLL* 6,1.531.28ff; *OLD* s.v. 13b) and cf. for example *A.* 3.490 *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora feribat*.

voltu: For 'vultus' as face of sun or moon, *OLD* s.v. 5). It is used first in this way by Vergil (*G.* 1.452, of the sun). Here it provides an alternative to 'orbis', used twice already.

tristis: 'gloomy'. The adjective describes the quality of light emitted by the moon (*OLD* s.v. 6b)).

ituro: For 'eo' used of the moon, cf. Verg. *G.* 1.433 (also Vitr. 9.1.5; Sen. *Phaed.* 419; Luc. 1.78). It is used of heavenly bodies generally (*TLL* 5,2.644.10-30). Flobert (1998) 484-5 comments on the high frequency of future participles (and participles in general) in L. and his contemporaries and notes that it is a trait of spoken Latin. L. makes much less use of finite verbs than either Vergil or Ovid, with participles often taking the place of such verbs. For L.'s over-use of participles in general, see 8.1ff, and Mayer comm. on book 8 (1981) 19. Heitland (1887) cvi faults L.'s practice of using participles to replace relative clauses.

551-6. Other signs. L. has selected six 'terrestrial' signs of bad weather: the wind in the trees and the waves on the shore (551), the behaviour of the dolphin (552) and three signs from birds (553-6). All except the dolphin are derived from *G.* 1.356-92. L. omits many of the signs in Vergil (the light chaff and fallen leaves; feathers; cranes; calf; swallow; frogs; ant; rainbow; rooks; burning lamp) and reserves two (*G.* 1.356-7; 365-7) for the narrative following Amyclas' speech (564-7; 561-4; see nn. *ad loc.*). All six signs are dependent on the verb *placet* in 551. Thus L. puts the syntax of the sentence under strain for the sake of packing in as many details as possible. Note the use of the connecting particles *nec . . . nec . . . nec . . . aut . . . -que . . . -que*, the negative force of the three *nec*'s carrying over the last three particles also. This is a common practice in L.; see above on *aut*, 547. Note the tricolon crescendo of *quod*-clauses (all birds) to finish off the signs.

551-2. sed mihi nec motus nemorum nec litoris ictus / . . . placet: Cf. *G.* 1.357-9 *et aridus altis / montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe / litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur*; also Aratus 910-12; Cic. *Arat. Progn.* 3.3-6; Sen. *Ag.* 466-8. L. omits Vergil's (and Aratus') noise from the mountain-tops and condenses the rest into one line. Vergil's *murmur* of trees (*nemorum . . . murmur*) becomes the *movement* of trees in L. (*motus nemorum*). Apart from the common word *nemorum* at the same position in the line, there is not much similarity in choice of words by Vergil and L..

sed: = *praeterea* (Housman); see *OLD* s.v. 3a) & 9b).

nemorum: 'of the trees'. *nemorum* is used in place of the metrically inconvenient 'arborum'; see Mayer on 8.6.

litoris ictus: 'the beat of the waves on the shore'.

552. nec . . . incertus qui provocat aequora delphin: The only sign in this category which does not appear in Vergil (or Aratus), an indication that L. must have consulted (or been aware of) another source. For the dolphin as a bad-weather sign, cf. Theophr. *de signis* 19; Cic. *de div.* 2.70; Ov. *Ep.* 19.199ff; Sen. *Ag.* 449-55; Plin. *Nat.* 18.361; Artemid. 2.16; Alciphron *epist.* 1.10.1; Isid. *Etym.* 12.6.11. For more on the dolphin in ancient literature, see Thompson (1947) 52-6.

incertus: Bentley proposed *incurvus* for *incertus* (comparing among other examples *curvi . . . delphines* at Ov. *Met.* 2.265 and *Ep.* 17.131) and Shackleton Bailey adopts Bentley's reading. However *incertus* ('restless') would express well the erratic movements of the dolphin as described for example at Ov. *Met.* 3.683ff (the metamorphosis of the Tyrrhenian sailors into dolphins) *undique dant saltus, multaque adspergine rorant / emerguntque iterum, redeuntque sub aequora rursus / inque chori ludunt speciem lascivaque iactant / corpora et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant*, cf. also Sen. *Ag.* 449-55 (for which Ovid seems to have been the main model).

qui: The mss have *qui* (ΩCa), *quid* (ZM) and *quod* (ζ). *quod* was probably influenced by the three *quod*'s in the following lines, but the dolphin belongs to the first tricolon, so *qui* seems more appropriate.

provocat aequora: Shackleton Bailey adopts Steinhart's reading *provocat aequore* for *provocat aequora*, but this seems unnecessary. For 'provoco' meaning to challenge to a fight or contest, see *OLD* s.v. 3a). The dolphin by his restless movements seems to be challenging the sea to rise in competition with him. Burman explains (I think rightly) as follows: 'nam incertis Delphin suis quasi saltibus, modo extra aquam, modo sub undis, lasciviens, videtur quasi provocare aequora, quod nimis ipsi etiam tranquilla adpareant'. Here L. offers a concise and clever variation on other earlier descriptions of dolphins (see previous n.).

553-4. aut siccum quod mergus amat, quodque ausa volare / ardea sublimis pinnae confisa natanti: Cf. G. 1.360-4 *iam sibi tum a curvis male temperat unda carinis, / cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi / clamoremque ferunt ad litora, cumque marinae / in sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludes / deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem*. Cf. also Theophr. 28 (4 signs from birds); Aratus 913-19 (3 signs from birds); Cic. *Div.* 1.14; Plin. *Nat.* 18.361ff. As before L. greatly condenses what he found in Vergil (in the case of the cormorant using just 3 words in place of Vergil's 10). Vergil creates a new sign not found in Aratus (the heron flying above the clouds) which L. adopts here. Seneca at

Nat. 7.28.1 quotes Vergil's heron sign. Again a careful avoidance of Vergil's phraseology is noticeable in L.'s version, except for the names of the birds (*mergus*, *ardea*).

553. siccum: i.e. dry land (neut. sing. as sb., *OLD* s.v. 8b)). The word was no doubt suggested by *G.* 1.363 *in sicco*.

mergus: A blanket term given to several sea-birds; see *OLD* s.v. 1). Its exact identification is unclear. It may have been a cormorant. That it was a lover of the sea is clear from the tale of the transformation of Aesacus told by Ovid at the end of *Met.* 11.795 *aequor amat, nomenque manet, quia mergitur illo*. Mynors on *G.* 1.361 and 360-4 is revealing: 'The Romans had a very limited and ill-defined vocabulary for sea-birds; and Vergil, like Cicero before him (*div.* 1.14), felt himself free to match up the names as he pleased, thus destroying any prognostic value such observations may have (which it is not his purpose to teach us) . . . Thus what is said of the heron is transferred to *mergi*, and Aratus' 'disorder' becomes 'speed' . . . *fulicae* take the place of 3 other birds.'

amat: The normal way of expressing what dwelling or conditions are preferred by animals or plants (*OLD* s.v. 11a); *TLL* 1.1956.2ff). Cf. for example *Var. R.* 3.10.7 *anseris . . . amant locum purum*; *Verg. Ecl.* 5.76 *dum iuga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit*; *G.* 2.112-13 *denique apertos / Bacchus amat collis, Aquilonem et frigora taxi*.

554. ardea: On the etymology of 'ardea' from 'arduus' ('high'), see Hardie on *A.* 9.53; *Serv. A.* 7.412 and *G.* 1.364; O'Hara (1990) 375 n.17; Maltby (1991) s.vv. *ardea*, *Ardea*. The juxtaposition of *ardea sublimis* here is therefore clever.

sublimis: The adjective is used adverbially here with *volare* (cf. *A.* 4.254-5 *circum / piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta*). See on *nocturno . . . ponto*, 540.

pinnae . . . natanti: 'water-cleaving pinion' (tr. Duff). It seems better to interpret *natanti* literally, as Housman (and Duff) does, i.e. to mean 'aquatic', despite the common poetic metaphor of swimming for flying (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 21 *transnavit cita per teneras caliginis auras*; *Verg. A.* 10.265 (of cranes) *tranant*) and Haskins tr. of *natanti* here as 'floating in the air'). The heron's other habitat - the marshes, as mentioned in *Verg. G.* 1 (see on 553-4) - is being alluded to here (cf. 'and soaring herons (=herons) avoid the splashy (=marshy) lake', tr. Rowe). Graham (1933) 250-1 thinks that L. is confusing the heron and the shearwater (as Vergil may also have done at *A.* 11.271ff). The latter had a habit of diving into water.

555-6. quodque caput spargens undis, velut occupet imbrem, / instabili gressu metitur litora cornix: A greatly condensed version of G. 1.383-9 *iam variae pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum / dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri, / certatim largos umeris infundere rores, / nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas / et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi. / tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce / et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena.* Cf. also Theophr. *de signis* 28; Aratus 949-53; Cic. *Arat. Progn.* fr. 4.8; Lucr. 5.1084-5.

Again there is a careful avoidance of Vergil's vocabulary in L.'s version: *spargens* (cf. Verg.'s *infundere*); *occupet imbrem* (cf. Verg.'s *pluviam vocat*); *litora* (cf. Verg.'s *harena*); *metitur* (cf. Verg.'s *spatiat*). L. omits the noise made by the crow found in Aratus and Vergil (and Lucretius).

555. caput: The detail differs slightly in the sources. Cf. Aratus: head and shoulders; Cicero: head and neck; Vergil: shoulders and head.

velut occupet imbrem: 'as though to anticipate the coming rain' (Haskins tr.). This explanation of the crow's behaviour is not found in Aratus but cf. Lucr. 5.1084-5 (on crows and ravens) *aquam dicuntur et imbris / poscere, et interdum ventos aurasque vocare*; Verg. G. 1.388 *tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce.*

556. instabili gressu: The crow's unstable walk is not found in Vergil. L. seems to have in mind Aratus' *στρέφεται* (of the crow's restless movement to and fro at the water's edge) - and cf. Cicero's translation *cursans* ('running constantly about') - but here suggests the crow walked unsteadily rather than restlessly. L. was clearly not concerned with being meticulously accurate and felt free to adapt what he found in his sources as he wished. Note the strong caesurae after each word, perhaps suggesting the crow's 'drunken' lurching.

metitur: 'paces'. 'metior' is used of 'walking with measured steps along, pacing' (*OLD* s.v. 3); *TLL* 8.887.51ff) and seems to have arisen from the primary meaning of 'metior', to measure, i.e. with footsteps. 'metior' in this sense is found used intransitively in Plautus (*Pseud.* 1048). Transitively it occurs in poetry before L. at Hor. *Epod.* 4.7 *Sacram metiente te Viam*; and (of traversing the sea) at Lucil. 996; Verg. G. 4.389; Ov. *Met.* 9.448; *Tr.* 1.5.61. There is a feeling of effort/laboriousness in the verb in this passage (conveyed also by the spondees in 2nd, 3rd, 4th feet) and it suggests the crow's difficulty in walking on

the sand. The verb is used of the movement of a snake at Luc. 9.705 *Nilo . . . tenus metitur harenas* and Stat. *Theb.* 5.577 *magno tellurem pondere mensus*.

litora cornix: for the line-ending, see Cic. *Arat. Progn.* fr. 4.8-9 (=Div. 1.14.10) *fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix / demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit*.

cornix: 'It would seem that this *cornix* is no common raven, crow, rook or jackdaw, but a close relation of the *κορῶναι | εἰνάλιαι* of Homer (*Od.* 5.66-7), and probably also a shearwater' (Graham (1933) 250-1). See on *mergus*, 553 for the imprecise use of birds' names in Latin.

557-9. sed si magnarum poscunt discrimina rerum, / haud dubitem praebere manus: vel litora tangam / iussa, vel hoc potius pelagus flatusque negabunt: Amyclas' willingness to obey Caesar despite the bad-weather signs shows his humility. He states that his obedience will be motivated by the necessity of circumstances (*magnarum . . . discrimina rerum*, 557), i.e. not by Caesar's earlier rash promises of wealth (see 536-7), an indication of how untouched he is by material concerns. His words also suggest that he is ignorant of the impending battle (*si magnarum poscunt discrimina rerum*, 557) living as he does a secluded life. In short, the diametrically opposed personalities of the two men are clearly brought out here. The construction 'si + pres. vb. + fut.vb. + fut.vb. (+ fut.vb.)' echoes the similar construction at 533ff in Caesar's speech to which this is a response (see also below on *haud dubitem praebere manus*).

sed: Picks up on *quidem* in 540. i.e. despite the many ominous signs, A. will do as he was asked if the circumstances required it.

magnarum . . . discrimina rerum: 'a great crisis' (tr. Duff). *discrimina* is a favourite word of L.'s appearing 22 times in total in his poem, often of the crisis of civil war. It is often accompanied by a genitive denoting battle (*Martis, armorum, belli*) but not here. *magnarum . . . rerum* is appropriately vague, reflecting Amyclas' naivety and his ignorance of the civil war (Caesar's concerns are not his). Similarly, at A. 5.714, the ordinary Trojans feel detached from Aeneas' grandiose plans: *pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum*. Cf. also A. 1.204 *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum / tendimus in Latium*. For the line-ending *discrimina rerum*, cf. also Man. 4.774; Stat. *Theb.* 8.37; V. Fl. 1.217. For a discussion of the word 'discrimen' in L., see Masters (1992) 64 n.50.

558. haud dubitem praebere manus: Amyclas rephrases the earlier more extravagant words of Caesar – *ne cessa praebere deo tua fata*, 536. The substitution of the specific *manus* for Caesar's *fata* seems to sum up the difference between the two characters: the one reckless and larger-than-life, the other realistic and practical. See n. on 536.

praebere manus: = 'to lend a hand'. For 'manus' in the sense of 'help', see *OLD* s.v. 11d); *TLL* 8.354.66ff. Alternative expressions include 'praestare m.' (Quint. *Decl.* 297 (p. 173, line 12)); 'do m.' (Pl. *As.* 777; *Bac.* 87). For 'praebere m.' cf. Ov. *Ep.* 2.148 *ille necis causam praebuit ipsa manum* (an example of zeugma).

558-9. litora . . . iussa: 'the shore which you ordered me to make for'. i.e. Italy (see 534).

litora tangam: For the line-ending, cf. Ov. *Rem.* 635 *litora tangas*; *Met.* 6.446 *litora tangit*. 'tango' meaning 'to reach or arrive at' is found from as early as Plautus (*OLD* s.v. 7a)). Cf. especially Verg. *A.* 4.657-8 *si litora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae*; Ov. *A.* 2.9.31-2 *carinam / tangentem portus ventus in alta rapit*.

559. hoc potius pelagus flatusque negabunt: i.e. the weather, not Amyclas, will prevent them from landing. Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.53 *dum cuncta negant ventique fretumque. potius pelagus* is an example of homoeoteleuton.

potius: sc. *quam ego*.

560-7. Departure by boat and the first signs of the storm.

Amyclas' speech meets with no response from Caesar. Clearly the poet felt a reply would impede the progress of the narrative towards the actual storm. It is also unnecessary since Caesar's resolve is clear from his earlier speech. Immediately following the launching of the boat on the waves (560) are 7 lines describing the threatening weather conditions which prove Amyclas' reservations in his preceding speech completely justified. First the effect of the winds on the stars is described (561-4); then the blackness, ruffling and swelling of the sea (564-7). Here L. has taken two bad-weather signs from Verg. *G.* 1.351ff (the swelling of the sea and shooting stars) and adapted and expanded them (see nn. on 561-4, 564-7). Inserting the Vergilian signs in the narrative as opposed to Amyclas' earlier speech strengthens Amyclas' case for giving up the journey (568ff) and highlights Caesar's foolishness in disregarding not just the prognostications of Amyclas' earlier speech, but the concrete evidence of a brewing storm (578ff).

From this point onwards until the end of the storm at 702 Lucan's narrative is indebted in many of its details to earlier epic storm descriptions. For an overview of his adaptation of the traditional epic storm see the table in Appendix II.

560. haec fatur: see on 523.

solvensque ratem: A common way of expressing 'the loosening of a vessel from its moorings' (*OLD* s.v. 'solvo' 4b)).

dat carbasa ventis: For similar expressions for spreading one's sails to the winds, cf. *A.* 5.16 *obliquat . . . sinus in ventum*; *Ov. F.* 6.715 *Zephyro date carbasa, nautae*. Caesar's variation on the expression 'dare carbasa ventis' at 579 below reveals his character. For the common line-ending *carbasa ventis* or sim., see Hunink on 3.596.

carbasa: From the Greek *κάρπασος*, the word used to mean 'sail' is found from Ennius (*Ann.* 573 *carbassus alta volat pandam ductura carinam*) onwards and occurs frequently in poetry (particularly in the epic poets) though very rarely in prose (*OLD* s.v. 1); *TLL* 3.429.1ff). *Serv. A.* 3.357 comments: 'carbassus autem genus lini est, quod abusive plerumque pro velo ponitur. L. uses the word also with the different sense of an item of clothing at 3.239. Like Vergil in the *A.* and Ovid in the *Met.* L. prefers the word 'vela' (23x including at 588, 596, 642, 709) to the more poetic 'carbassus' (13x), 'sinus' (16x) or 'lintea' (2x) to denote a ship's sails. The reason for this was no doubt the greater metrical convenience of 'vela'. L. uses 'vela' 61.5% of the time; Verg. 89.2%; Ovid 70%. (Source: Watson (1985) 442.)

561-4. The effect of the winds on the stars. The intensity of the storm is clear even now as not only the shooting stars of the lower atmosphere (*aera*, 562) but also the fixed stars of the upper atmosphere (*polis*, 564) seemed to be shaken.

The first part of the sentence (561-3) refers to the common belief that shooting-stars were a sign of bad weather (see Morford (1967) 39 n.2). L. undoubtedly had in mind Vergil's description of the weather-sign at *G.* 1.365-7 (*saepe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis / praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram / flammaram longos a tergo albescere tractus*) which was based on Aratus *Pha.* 926-9. (Cf. also Theophr. *de signis* 13, 37; *Plin. Nat.* 18.352.) That shooting-stars were caused by wind is a misconception found in several ancient authors (see Kidd (1997) on Aratus *Pha.* 926). L. may have been aware that this ancient theory was at least shaky if not incorrect, but has no qualms about including it in his storm-account nevertheless. For Seneca's skepticism,

see *Nat.* 1.1.12 *argumentum tempestatis nautae putant, cum multae transvolant stellae*. Comets and meteors were much written about by ancient philosophers (cf. for example *Man.* 1.809-926; *Sen. Nat.* book 7; and see Taub (2003) index 'comets'). They were of course not simply signs of bad weather to the ancients but portents of evil events (see *Cic. Div.* 1.97; *N.D.* 2.14; *Verg. A.* 1.488; 2.693ff; *Man.* 1.893-7; *Ov. Met.* 15.783ff; *Petron.* 122.126ff; *Luc.* 1.522ff (*mutantem regna cometen*, 529; and see Getty *ad loc.*) and we are surely to see the shooting-stars here as foretelling the impending catastrophe at Pharsalia and not just the storm.

The notion in the second part of the sentence (563-4) – that even the normally *stationary* stars seemed to be shaken – hints at something out of the ordinary. (See on *sunt visa quati*, 564 for the shaking of these stationary stars as reflecting the psychology of the observer rather than being described as actual fact.) This is surely an allusion to the periodic destruction of the universe of Stoic belief according to which the universe dissolved into fire, to be recreated again from this same fire. Among the phenomena to be observed at the time of this catastrophe would be the collapse of the sky and the heavenly bodies including stars. In Seneca, cf. for example *Thy.* 836-75 for the implosion of the zodiac at the universal destruction. The idea is also Biblical (cf. OT Isaiah 13.10; 34.4; NT Matt 24.29; Rev. 6.13 for stars falling from the sky at the end time). This is the first hint of the Stoic destruction of the universe in L.'s storm. (Later the symptoms of cosmic catastrophe will become more actual and prominent; see on 612-20 and 632-7.) This storm is to be, as this sign hints, a disaster on a cosmic scale. L. several times in his poem describes civil war in terms of this universal destruction; cf. 1.72ff; 2.289-92; 5.181; 7.134-7; 7.812-15. Although the theory of the periodic destruction of the universe was rejected by many Stoics after Chrysippus, e.g. Panaetius and Boethus of Sidon, and by L.'s day the theory was given little credence, nevertheless the language derived by Chrysippus to illustrate it was very much kept alive. It is likely that L. would have been familiar with Chrysippus' language perhaps through his tutor Cornutus' *Theologia Graeca* or Cornutus' lectures and certainly also from the writings of his uncle Seneca (Lapidge (1979) 351ff). For L.'s appropriation of Stoic terminology in his poem, see especially Lapidge (1979) 344-70; (1980) 817-37. For the Stoic universal destruction, see *Sen. Nat.* 3.13.1-2; 3.27.1-15; 3.28.1-6; 3.29.1-8; 3.30.1-6; *Dial.* 6.26.6; 11.1.2; *Cic. N.D.* 2.118; *de re pub.* 6.21; *Tusc. Disp.* 1.31. See further H. von Arnim ed. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* II.598; Rist (1969) 93, 175-6, 202, 257, 282, 285; Gould (1970) 123-4.

561. ad quorum motus: 'at the motion of the winds' (tr. Duff). For 'ad' denoting cause see *TLL* 1.552.20ff; *OLD* s.v. 33b). It is quite often found followed by words denoting sounds, e.g. music or voices; for its use with winds, cf. especially *Verg. G.* 3.134 *surgentem ad*

Zephyrum paleae iactantur inanes; Ov. *Tr.* 1.10.3 (*navis*) *minimam bene currit ad auram*. For the mistaken belief that shooting-stars were caused by wind, see previous n.

lapsa per altum: For the line-ending, cf. A. 2.693 (also describing a shooting-star) *lapsa per umbras*; Ov. *Met.* 8.51 (Scylla) *lapsa per auras*; Stat. *Theb.* 8.494 (a weapon) *lapsa per armos*; 9.678 (Diana) *lapsa per auras*. For 'labor' of shooting-stars, see *TLL* 7,2.780.59ff (and cf. for example Verg. *G.* 1.365; A. 2.695; Ov. *Met.* 14.846).

562. aera: see on *aer*, 627.

dispersos: Cf. (also of comets) Cic. *Arat.* 381 (137) *disperso lumine fulgens*; Man. 1.838 *dispersis crinibus* and Sen. *Nat.* 7.26.1 *splendor . . . in crines dispergitur*. 'dispergo' is used to describe both the scattering of a comet's light and the spreading out of a comet's several 'tails'. Here L. uses the participle to describe the *sulcos* (trails) but it might suggest also the dispersal of the light from the star itself, as Duff's translation suggests ('trains of diffused light'). Cf. 1.532 *sparso lumine lampas*.

traxere: For 'traho' used of 'leaving as a trail or wake', see *OLD* s.v. 14a). Cf. (also of shooting stars) *tractus*, *G.* 1.367.

cadentia: A second participle (after *lapsa*, 561) describes the falling of the stars. Two participles might be considered repetitive but the poet may have wished to emphasise the falling of the stars. For repetition of the idea of falling in descriptions of shooting stars, cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.846-7 *sidus ab aethere lapsum / decidit in terras*; Sen. *Phoen.* 430 *cadit delapsa caelo stella*; and Luc. 8.172 *fluunt labentia* (with Mayer *ad loc.*: 'redundant but expressive of the unchecked movement of the stars'). L. makes frequent use of participles; see on *ituro*, 550.

sulcos: = meteor trails (see *OLD* s.v. 'sulcus' 3b)). It is found with this meaning apparently only in poetry. Cf. especially A. 2.697-8 *tum longo limite sulcus / dat lucem et late circum loca sulphure fumant*. Cf. also Apoll. Rhod. 4.296 (*ὄλκος*).

563-4. sed summis etiam quae fixa tenentur / astra polis sunt visa quati: Even the fixed stars seemed to be shaken. Morford (1967) 39 and n.3 states that there were two types of comets - those that were fixed and those that moved - and 'the *fixa astra* are almost certainly comets that appear fixed', and therefore it was reasonable for L. to speak

of them being moved by the winds. However this is surely incorrect and it is better to take this as an example of hyperbole. See on 561-4.

summis . . . polis: another way of referring to the aether (see on *aer*, 627). This could be either dative or ablative after *fixa*. *polus*, originally 'the extreme point at either end of the axis on which the heavenly spheres were believed to revolve' (*OLD* s.v. 1a)), here refers simply to the sky, by synecdoche (*OLD* s.v. 2)). This use is found as early as Accius. Vergil uses the plural 'poli' only at *A.* 1.90 (*intonuere poli*) to denote the highest part of the sky, but later epic has it often. L. uses the word 31x compared to only 4x in Ov. *Met.* and 14x in Silius for example. This is surely a reflection of L.'s vision of the civil war as a cosmic catastrophe. This (highest) realm of the sky is referred to again in the storm-episode at 632-3 where it undergoes the unfamiliar experience of thunder.

fixa tenentur: For the combination, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 21.242 *lumina fixa tenens*; *Met.* 7.87 *lumina fixa tenet*; *Aetna* 593 *quin etiam Graiae fixos tenuere tabellae*.

fixa: Predicative, describing the state of the stars which are 'held' (*tenentur*). For 'figo/fixus' used of stars, see *TLL* 6,1.711.39-44; 719.54-69. 'fixus' corresponds to *ἀπλανής* in Greek, found at Arat. 461. Cf. for example Ov. *Tr.* 4.3.15 *polo fixae . . . flammae*; Luc. 9.12-13 *stellasque vagas miratus et astra / fixa polis*. Cf. also Hor. *Ep.* 17.5 *refixa caelo devocare sidera*; Verg. *A.* 5.527-8 (of shooting stars) *caelo . . . refixa . . . sidera*; Stat. *Theb.* 10.637 *quosque ipsa polis adfixerat ignes*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.28 *sidera, quae adfixa diximus mundo*. For the image, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 29, 159 *caelum . . . stellis fulgentibus aptum*. Brutus compares Cato to fixed stars at Luc. 2.266ff: *melius tranquilla sine armis / otia solus ages; sicut caelestia semper / inconcussa suo volvuntur sidera lapsu*.

564. astra: Another word for 'stars' after *sidera* (563) to avoid repetition.

sunt visa quati: L. stops short of saying that these stars were *actually* shaken (they merely *seemed* to be shaken). Words (such as *videtur*) used to qualify something which is hyperbolic are common in descriptive passages such as this. See on *crediderim*, 610; *videntur*, 634-5. Pichon (1912) 234 compares this passage with Ov. *Met.* 2.321 where Phaethon is compared to a star: *etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri*. Both passages seem to indicate the psychology of the observer, in this case presumably Caesar and Amyclas and anyone else who happened to be watching. Apparently the apprehension of the observer at the rising of the winds causes him to believe even the fixed stars to be

shaken. By introducing this psychological reaction, the poet involves the audience more closely in his narrative.

564-7. The darkening of the sea by clouds and the ruffling of the sea's surface (*niger horror*, 564) was a standard feature of the literary storm (see below). To this L. adds in the second part of the sentence (565-7) the agitation and swelling of the sea (another sign of bad weather from Verg. *Georgics* 1). Cf. G. 1.356-7 *continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti / incipiunt agitata tumescere* based on Aratus *Pha.* 909 (cf. Cic. *Arat. Progn.* fr. 3.1-2). Cf. also Theophr. *de signis* 29; Plin. *Nat.* 18.359; Ov. *Met.* 11.480-1; Sen. *Ag.* 469 (with Tarrant on 466-9).

L.'s own account of the movement of the sea is lengthier than his sources' (note the tricolon crescendo, each part containing a different word for sea: *maris, unda, aequora*) and gives the impression of trying to outdo them. The result is perhaps a little clumsy and long-winded, more concerned with cleverness of description than poetic. L. also introduces the idea of uncertainty (*incerta*, 566) not found in his sources which adds a further note of menace.

564-5. niger inficit horror / terga maris: 'a black shudder inked the ocean's skin' (tr. Joyce).

niger . . . horror: A strange phrase since it would seem that the ruffling of the sea (*horror*) cannot be black (*niger*). However a similar phrase occurs in Homer. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 7.63-4 οἷη δὲ Ζεφυροιο ἔχεύατο πόντον ἔπι φρίξ / ὄρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς where seated troops 'bristling' with shields, helmets and spears are compared to the ruffling (φρίξ) of the surface of the sea as the West wind pours over it ('As when the shudder of the West wind suddenly rising scatters across the water, and the water darkens beneath it (sc. the shudder)', tr. Lattimore.) Kirk *ad loc.* points out that the sea darkens because of the φρίξ. Cf. also *Il.* 21.126; 23.692; and *Od.* 4.402 for φρίξ described as black. In Homer the blackness is not caused by the darkness of a storm or storm-clouds. Later Latin poets mention the shuddering of the sea and darkness in the context of storms; cf. A. 3.194-5 (= 5.10-11) *caeruleus supra caput astitit imber / noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris*; also Pac. *trag.* 411-12 *interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare / tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimum obcaecat nigror*. Lucan's phrase *niger horror* comes closer than other Latin poets to the Homeric phrase φρίξ μέλαινα. Cf. V. Fl. 1.652 *caerulus horror*.

niger: There is generally a lack of colour in L. compared for example with Vergil. The dominant colour in the poem is red (32 occurrences) followed by black (29 occurrences) (Tucker (1970) 56-8, 64). In the storm-episode, cf. also *rubuit*, 549; *atrum*, 608. For studies of colours in L., see Tucker *op. cit.*; Gagliardi (1986) 64-7; Paterni (1987) 105-25; Hunink on Luc. 3.98.

horror: = the ruffling (of the surface of water) (*OLD* s.v. 1b); *TLL* 6,2.2997.68-75). Kirk on *Il.* 7.63-6 comments: 'The *φρίξ* [= Lat. 'horror'] is the rippling or ruffling of the surface: it is a movement of the water but presents a static rough appearance when seen from a distance.' It seems to indicate the presence of winds, but not winds at their full force yet.

L. was the first to use the noun 'horror' of the ruffling of the sea's surface by wind (cf. also 5.446 *non horrore tremit [pontus], non solis imagine vibrat.*) He was later imitated by Stat. *Silv.* 5.4.5; *Theb.* 5.364; V. Fl. 1.652; Avien. *Arat.* 1397. However earlier poets had used the verbs '(in)horresco/'horreo' with a similar meaning (see *TLL* 6,2.2977.52-3; 6,2.2983.81-2; 7,1.1601.6-10); cf. Pac. *trag.* 411-12 (qu. above); Acc. *trag.* 412-13; Cic. *Rep.* 1.63; Verg. *G.* 3.198-9; *A.* 3.195 (= 5.11) (qu. above); Sen. *Contr.* 8.6.2; Sen. *Phaed.* 1031. Cf. also Catul. 64.270 *horrificans*.

inficit: 'inficio' is sometimes used hyperbolically of the sea being stained with blood (*OLD* s.v. 2)) and L. himself has the image of a blood-stained sea (though not employing 'inficio') at 2.220 and 713. Here however the sea is 'stained' by the darkness of overhanging clouds. For 'inficio' used of clouds or sim. 'polluting' by darkness (quite a common use), see *OLD* s.v. 2). In Lucan, cf. especially 7.769-70 (the upper world after Pharsalia is infected by the darkness of ghosts and of the Underworld) *infectumque aera totum / manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem*. The verb suggests something unpleasant.

565. terga maris: The surface of the sea (*OLD* s.v.'tergum' 8)). 'tergum' is used of rivers by Ovid (*Pont.* 1.2.80) and Claudian (*B.G.* 338-9) but L. appears to be the first to use it of the sea (cf. also 10.341; Stat. *Theb.* 5.482).

maris: The first of 3 words for sea in this sentence. In the poem as a whole L. uses the everyday word 'mare' 70 times and more poetic words ('aequor', 'altum', 'caerula', 'fretum', 'marmor', 'pelagus', 'pontus', 'sal', 'salum', 'vadum') 273 times. i.e. the everyday word 'mare' occurs 20.4% of the time. This is comparable with the figures for Verg. *A.* (21.9%) and Ov. *Met.* (18.7%). The figures for 'mare' as opposed to other words for sea are much higher in lyric and elegiac poetry. [Source: Watson (1985) 441]

Words used for 'sea' in the storm-episode are:

aequor (492, 541, 552, 567, 602, 607, 613, 615, 641, 703, 707)

fretum (491, 501, 584)

gurges (572)

mare (565, 572, 606, 619, 623, 625, 640, 656, 689, 692, 695)

pelagus (559, 569, 578, 592, 601, 612, 643, 657, 674, 702, 705)

pontus (540, 570, 571, 600, 605, 514, 638, 646)

unda (513, 515, 566, 587, 600, 603, 613, 620, 626, 641, 644, 648, 674, 702, 720)

vadum (604, 650)

565-6. *longo per multa volumina tractu / aestuat unda minax*: 'the sea seethes menacingly with wave following on wave over a vast area.' The word-order *longo per multa volumina tractu* illustrates the point.

***longo . . . tractu*:** For the phrase, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.322 *longo . . . per aera tractu fertur* (Phaethon); Sen. *Ag.* 468 *tractuque longo litus ac petrae gemunt*; Luc. 10.256-7 *exundante procul violentum erumpere Nilum / aequoreosque sales longo mitescere tractu*. *tractu* here refers to a tract or area of the sea (see *OLD* s.v. 7)).

***per multa volumina*:** 'volumen' is elsewhere used of snakes (A. 2.208; 11.753; Ov. *Met.* 4.600; 15.721; Stat. *Theb.* 1.562) and smoke (Ov. *Met.* 13.601; Luc. 3.505) and is aptly used here of the rounded appearance of the billowing waves far out to sea. L. appears to be the first to use the word in this way (*OLD* s.v. 2b)). He was imitated later by Statius (*Theb.* 1.35); Silius (14.122) and Apuleius (*Met.* 5.25). However for 'volvo' used of waves being rolled, see on *voluti*, 618.

566. *aestuat*: a verb frequently used of the sea, meaning, 'seethe, boil up' (*TLL* 1.1113.43ff and cf. for example Hor. *Carm.* 2.6.4 *Syrtis, ubi Maura semper aestuat unda*). L. uses it of the sea at 1.414 and the R. Nile at 10.247.

***unda*:** Used of the sea as a whole from Ennius onwards (*OLD* s.v. 1b)).

***minax*:** A fairly conventional epithet in poetry for the sea (*TLL* 8.996.83ff; *OLD* s.v. 1c)).

***flatusque . . . futuri*:** Cf. Cic. *Arat. Progn.* frg. 3.1 *ventos . . . futuros*; Div. 1.13 *ventos . . . futuros* (also Sen. *Ag.* 469 *ventis . . . venturis*).

incerta futuri: For the line-ending, cf. A. 8.580; Ov. *Met.* 15.782 (a passage describing the portents accompanying Caesar's death).

incerta: Some editors punctuate at the end of line 566 taking *incerta* with *unda* (Weise; Haskins) others do not, taking it with *aequora* (Adn.; Burman; Housman; Shackleton Bailey). In any case the use of *incerta* here personifies the sea (the sea is also described as uncertain at 570 and 602). 'incertus' describes personified things in both poets and historians (*TLL* 7,1.883.62). See on 570 for the theme of uncertainty in L.'s poem as a whole and the storm-episode in particular.

futuri: For L.'s fondness for future participles; see on *ituro*, 550.

567. turbida: Housman suggested that *turgida* (swollen) would be a better word since winds which are conceived and not yet born would make the waves swell rather than cause turbulence (which *turbida* suggests). He compares Sen. *Ag.* 469 *agitata ventis unda venturis tumet*; V. Fl. 5.521-2 *ceu tumet atque imo sub gurgite concipit Austros / unda silens*. Nisbet-Hubbard comment on Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.19 where *turgidum mare* is a variant reading for *turbidum mare*: 'Either word is tolerable, but *turbidum* describes a present danger more forcibly, *turgidum* rather refers to the swell before a storm.' Pace Housman there seems no strong enough reason to emend the mss reading here and modern editors (including Housman) retain *turbida*.

testantur: By transference, = 'to give evidence of, demonstrate something by one's action or condition' (*OLD* s.v. 4a)).

conceptos: 'concupio' is used in various ways regarding winds. In the passive it can almost mean 'to arise', cf. Sen. *Nat.* 7.5.1 *turbo enim circa terras concipitur ac fertur*; *Dial.* 3.17.4 *venti . . . fluminibus paludisque concepti . . . vehementes sunt*. It is used of wings or clothing 'catching' the wind, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.569 *non concipientibus auras / infirmis pennis*; Curt. 4.3.2 *et cum magnam vim venti vela quoque concepissent*; Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.179 *ingrediendo ventem concipere veste*. Here, there seems to be an idea of the waves being 'pregnant' with winds and this is reflected in Duff's translation 'the swollen waves give token that they are *in travail* with tempest' (my italics). Cf. V. Fl. 5.521-2 (qu. above in n. on *turbida*) and Stat. *Theb.* 7.809 *sive laborantes concepto flamine terrae*. Note also the suggestion of a pregnant sea at Sen. *Phaed.* 1019-20 (of the beast about to emerge from the waves) *nescioquid onerato sinu / gravis unda portat*. The idea of a pregnant sea may date back to Homer; cf. κύματά τε τροφόεντα at *Il.* 15.621;

κύματά τε τροφέοντο πελώρια, ἴσα ὄρεσσιν at *Od.* 3.290 (from *τρέφω* meaning 'to breed, produce, teem with', used by poets of earth and sea, Liddell & Scott s.v. II.5).

aequora ventos: Similar line-endings are relatively common; cf. *Lucr.* 2.1; *Verg. A.* 1.43; 5.763; *Ovid Tr.* 1.4.5; 4.4.57.

aequora: see on *maris*, 565. *aequora* normally indicates the flat level surface of the sea. Cf. *Var. L.* 7.23 *mare appellatum <aequor>, quod a<e>quatum cum commotum vento non est*, and see *TLL* 1.1022.68ff.

568-76. Amyclas' warning about the weather and advice to give up the journey.

Amyclas' initial reservations about the weather (540ff) have now intensified with the hard evidence of the storm around them (561-7). He confirms that the signs are uncertain (568-72) and foresees doom if the journey is continued (572-3), finally requesting that they give up the voyage and make for the nearest land (573-5). In reply, Caesar tells Amyclas to disregard the weather and make for Italy since his passenger, Caesar, will ensure the safety of the boat, and the bad weather will not last (578-88). In fact, he says, his Fortune will ensure that the storm turns out in his favour (591-3). The violent action of the sea immediately following Caesar's speech (593-6) seems to occur as though in direct response to Caesar's words, and Caesar is left looking foolish. (For the sea's refusal to 'comply' with Caesar's wishes, compare the dead calm at 5.242ff.) It is not for another 60 lines that Caesar will confess his powerlessness against the might of the storm. However his words concerning Fortune at 591-3 turn out to be right, with his eventual rescue by the 10th wave at 672ff.

The speech of Amyclas and Caesar's reply are clearly modelled on the speeches of Palinurus and Aeneas at *A.* 5.13ff and 26ff and can only be understood fully with reference to the Vergilian passages. There Palinurus tells Aeneas that reaching Italy would be impossible because of the bad weather and advises him to make for Sicily instead. Aeneas willingly agrees, saying that he would be happy to take refuge in Sicily where his comrade Acestes lived and his father's bones were buried. Although *L.* seems deliberately to choose different words from Vergil (cf. *contingere - tanget*, 573; *Italiam - Hesperias . . . oras*, 573; *hoc . . . caelo - gurgite tanto*, 572; *vertamus iter - convertere cursus*, 574) the Vergilian model is unmistakable. Comparison with the Vergilian passage obviously highlights Caesar's obstinacy and arrogance: unlike the modest Aeneas, he refuses outright to heed Amyclas' advice and insists they make for Italy, protected by his own presence in the boat.

A few points arise from a comparison of Amyclas' speech with Palinurus':

- a) the absence of references to gods in L. (cf. Neptune and Jupiter at A. 5.14 & 17; see on 568-9), something consistent with L.'s general policy of excluding the gods from his poem;
- b) the emphasis on uncertainty in Amyclas' speech (see on 570), a theme which is prominent throughout the episode and the poem as a whole, but not present in Palinurus' speech;
- c) the close relationship between Palinurus and Aeneas is seen throughout the Vergilian speech (contrast the matter-of-fact tone of Amyclas and *liceat*, 575, suggesting his deference towards Caesar).

For the Vergilian passage as L.'s model here, see Ahl (1979) 208; Narducci (2002) 253-4; Thompson-Bruère (1968) 14ff; Quint (1993) 137-40. For Caesar's speech see further on 577-93.

568. rector . . . ratis: see on 515.

trepidae: Burman and Comm. Bern. think this is a case of enallage or transferred epithet (i.e. *trepidae* is transferred from helmsman to boat); however boats, like cities, are often invested with human feeling and even given a voice (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3; 1.14; Catul. 4; and in L., cf. 8.662 *trepida . . . carina*). Cf. especially 'fessus' applied to boats (*TLL* 6,1.612.3ff); also Sen. *Her. F.* 553 *timidis . . . navibus*; V. Fl. 1.622-3 *pavidamque . . . ratem*. *trepidae* may also indicate that the boat was simply shaking with the effects of the storm (*OLD* s.v. 4). For enallage (transference of epithets), see Lausberg (1998) § 509 and 685; H-Sz. II.159-60. For examples in L., see Getty (1955) lvi-lvii; Fantham on 2.65, 107, 213, 307. Enallage is found in Vergil and particularly Ovid (see Kenney on Ovid *Heroides* XVI-XXI, index 'enallage'). For hypallage (which encompasses enallage) see Hübner (1972) 577-600.

fatur: see on 523. For 'fatur' with direct speech following, see *TLL* 6, 1.1030.36-40.

568-9. aspice saevum / quanta paret pelagus: 'see what the cruel sea has in store'. Cf. Palinurus at A. 5.14 *quidve, pater Neptune, paras?* The word *paret* is echoed in Caesar's reply below at 591ff. In both passages Vergil's divine subject (Neptune) is conspicuously omitted and replaced by *pelagus* here, and *Fortuna* at 593. On the lack of divine machinery in L., see especially Feeney (1991) 250-312.

aspice: The experienced helmsman Amyclas relies on empirical evidence. This contrasts with Caesar who shows in his reply (see below, 578ff) an entirely different kind of response to their circumstances. The imperative 'aspice' is often found in the poets (*TLL* 2.830.57ff), but more relevant here is its appearance in didactic poetry regarding natural phenomena, e.g. at Sen. *nat.* 3.10.2 *ex quanto prodeant [flumina] aspice*; Man. 2.198ff *aspice Taurum / clunibus et Geminos pedibus, testudine Cancrum / surgere*.

569. paret: 'has in store'.

569-70. Zephyros intendat an Euros / incertum est: Some mss have *Austros* (GUV) and some have *Euros* (ZM(P)). Housman defended *Austros* (the South winds) by pointing to the activities of *Notus* in 571 and *Corus* in 572, the South and North-west winds respectively. However see on *crediderim*, 610 for the custom in epic poetry of referring to various winds or even all winds at once, and the mention of diametrically opposed winds here – East and West – better makes the point about the chaos of the storm (n.b. *undique* in 570) and see especially the North-South antithesis at 542-3 and 721. I have therefore adopted the reading *Euros* here.

For more on the winds, see on 597-612. The naming of specific winds in this and the following lines (and later at 599ff) add to the impression of the storm as a global storm. See on *mundi*, 481.

Zephyros: The West wind.

Zephyros intendat an Euros: 'intendo' = 'to point, direct (in a hostile manner)' (*OLD* 7a); *TLL* 7,1.2115.44ff). In this sense the verb is often used with weapon(s) as object; cf. A. 9.590 *tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam dicitur . . . Ascanius*. Its use with *pelagus* as subject and the winds as object is therefore bold and vivid, as though the sea was doing battle with the winds as its weapons. L. may have had in mind Verg. A. 5.32-3 *et vela secundi / intendunt Zephyri* where *intendunt* is used in a different sense ('tighten by stretching'). If so, the parallel would be interesting not just because of the change in meaning of the verb but because in Vergil the Zephyrs are favourable but in L. they are hostile. (See on 568-76 for L.'s adaptation of Verg. A. 5.13ff in this section.)

an: The preceding 'utrum' or '-ne' has dropped out. For this use of 'an', see *OLD* s.v. 7a).

Euros: The East wind.

570. incertum est: puppim dubius ferit undique pontus: Two words with the common theme of uncertainty occur in this line: *incertum* (referring to the uncertainty of the helmsman) and *dubius* (the doubtfulness of the sea). Doubt, confusion and uncertainty are prominent themes in L.'s poem as a whole. (The word 'dubius' occurs 49x in L.'s poem compared with 14x in all the works of Vergil and 23x in Ovid *Metamorphoses*; 'incertus' occurs 34x in L.; 21x in Vergil; 10x in Ovid *Met.*) See Henderson (1988) 159 n.70 for doubt/hesitation/fear as an 'internalisation' of the general theme of *mora* in the poem.

The theme of uncertainty is also prominent in the tragedies of Seneca. See Tietze (1987) 135-41, especially 138-9; and cf. for example Sen. *Thy.* 438-9; *Ag.* 138-43 (with Tarrant on *Ag.* 140); *Phaed.* 179-83; *Med.* 939-43; *Her. O.* 710-12.

incertum: see previous n.

puppim: see on *carina*, 503.

dubius: The sea is doubtful of the winds (as in 566-7 and 602).

ferit: For 'ferio' used of the sea, see *TLL* 6,1.514.18ff and cf. especially *A.* 1.115 (*navem ingens a vertice pontus in puppim ferit*; Sen. *Ag.* 574 (*ratem unda ferit*). In general verbs of striking ('ferio' and 'percutio') occur considerably more frequently in L. than in, say, Vergil indicating the importance of violent activity in L.'s poem. ['percutio': 35x in L., 13x in Vergil; 'ferio' 39x in L., 24x in Vergil.] In the storm-episode, cf. also *percussa*, 594 and *percussit*, 714.

undique pontus: For the line-ending cf. *A.* 3.193 (also in a storm) *caelum undique et undique pontus*; *Man.* 1.166 *undique ponto*. For the idea of threats coming from all directions (*undique*), cf. 597; 608-12; 649.

571-2. nubibus et caelo Notus est; si murmura ponti / consulimus, Cori veniet mare: 'The South wind prevails in the clouds and in the sky; but if we mark the moaning of the sea, a gale from the North-west will master the main' (tr. Duff).

For a similar idea, cf. 2.459-60 *nubiferoque polus cum cesserit Euro, / vindicat unda Notum*. Winds were known to blow at different levels and here the South wind blows in the sky, the North-West wind lower down near the sea; see on *altior*, 714.

571. nubibus et caelo: Possessive dative.

Notus: The South wind.

murmura ponti: Similar line-endings are common; cf. Lucr. 1.276; 3.1032); Verg. A. 1.124; Prop. 1.8a.5; Ov. *Met.* 11.330; *Tr.* 1.11.7; Luc. 1.260. The repetition of *ponti* after *pontus* in the previous line looks accidental (see on 548 for repetition of words in Lucan).

murmura: 'murmur' used of the sea occurs as early as Pacuvius (*trag.* 417) (*TLL* 8.1675.51ff). Vergil has it in his storm-account at A. 1.124-5 *interea magno misceri murmure pontum / . . . sensit Neptunus*. The poetic plural is found often in poetry from Lucretius onwards. 'murmur' is used of the discontent of Caesar's soldiers at 5.255 and this is one of a number of verbal parallels between the episode of the mutiny at Placentia (5.237-373) and the present storm-episode noted by Fantham (1985) 122. Cf. also *minas*, 578, *tumultu*, 592. It seems more likely however that these repetitions were unintentional, an indication rather of the relative meagreness of L.'s vocabulary (see on 548, 578, 692). For links noted by Fantham between the Delphi episode & the storm, see *op.cit.* p. 121.

572. consulimus: For the verb in the context of the observance of nature by a helmsman, cf. V.Fl. 3.37-8 *ipse diem longe solisque cubilia Tiphys / consulit, ipse ratem vento stellisque ministrat*.

Cori veniet mare: literally, 'the sea of Corus will come'. i.e. Corus will have control of the sea. The mss have *veniet* (Ω), *ferient* (V) and *verrent* (ζ et edd. plerique). Lundquist (1907) 178 supports *veniet* and convincingly compares V. Fl. 2.506 *nubiferi venit unda Noti*. Housman agrees with Lundquist. Shackleton Bailey (1982) 95 rightly points out that Valerius Flaccus' *venit* means 'comes into the shore' and that we should rather compare Luc. 5.617-19 for this use of 'venire'.

Therefore *Cori* need not be nominative plural and may be taken as genitive singular. For the idea of a sea being 'possessed' by a wind, cf. 2.454 *cum mare possidet Auster*, 5.606 (below) *in fluctus Cori*. Shackleton Bailey prefers *venit* (perf. tense), i.e. 'If we ask what the waves are saying, (we find that) the sea that has come to us is Corus's'. However Mayer (1983) 54 convincingly defends *veniet* on the grounds that the future tense here has the sense 'be found, prove' (cf. *erit*, 1.31); so we may translate 'will prove to be coming'. Cf. also 9.412-13 *at, si ventos caelumque sequaris, / pars erit Europae*. Shackleton Bailey in his Teubner ed. of L. (1988) agrees with Mayer that the conjecture *venit* is not necessary.

gurgite: The only occurrence of the word in the storm-episode (see on *maris*, 565), it refers to the waters of the sea as opposed to a whirlpool. L. probably had in mind Vergil's use of the word in the storm of A. 1 (*apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, 1.118). See Henry's commentary on A. 1 (vol.1 pp. 368-84) for a very lengthy n. on 'gurges'.

573. nec ratis . . . nec naufragus: The two *nec*'s may echo A. 5.21-2 *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum / sufficimus*. See on 568-576 for L.'s use of this passage in Vergil here. *nec* is much preferred by L. to *neque*, as also by Vergil; see Axelson (1945) 115-16.

ratis: see on *carina*, 503.

Hesperias . . . oras: For adjectival use of proper nouns in poetry, see H-Sz. §427. It occurs as early as Lucilius (676 M. *Metello . . . munere*).

tanget: see on *litora tangam*, 558.

naufragus: see on *naufragus*, 521.

574-5. desperare viam et vetitos convertere cursus / sola salus: 'Our only hope of surviving is to give up any hope of a passage and to turn back from our forbidden course.'

Amyclas' advice to give up the journey is equivalent to Palinurus' at A. 5.22-3 *superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur, / quoque vocat, vertamus iter*. L. clearly also has in mind the paradoxical 'sententia' of Verg. A. 2.354 *una salus victis nullam sperare salutem* (see Fordyce *ad loc.*). While L. attempts a paradox in his own version (see on *desperare* below) it does not approach the neatness and pointedness of Vergil's.

Similar statements are found throughout L.'s poem. Cf. also 2.113-14 *spes una salutis / oscula pollutae fixisse trementia dextrae*; 4.565-6 *pietas ferientibus una / non repetisse fuit*; 5.636-7 (below, see *ad loc.*) *spes una salutis, / quod tanta mundi nondum periere ruina*; 9.299 *poenaeque de victis sola est vicisse Catoni*; 9.379-80 *o quibus una salus placuit mea signa secutis / indomita cervice mori*. In Seneca's tragedies, cf. *Phoen.* 89-90 *unica Oedipodae est salus, / non esse salvum*; *Oed.* 108-9 *una iam superest salus / si quam salutis Phoebus ostendat viam*.

desperare: There is something paradoxical in the combination of the notion of safety (*salus*) with that of giving up hope (*desperare*) as they seem in a sense to signify two opposing ideas: hope and despair. 'salus' and 'desperare' are quite commonly found

together (mainly in prose). Cf. 'desperare de salutis' (TLL 5,1.741.22-3); 'salus desperata est' (TLL 5,1.739.67-72).

convertere: The verb is used literally of turning about oneself or one's horse, but here in a transferred sense with the journey as object; cf. A. 12.252 *cunctaeque volucres convertunt clamore fugam* (OLD s.v. 3c); TLL 4.864.76ff).

575. sola salus: 'our only hope of safety'. Apparently a conflation of 'sola spes salutis' (see OLD s.v. 'salus' 6a)). The alliteration and position of these words at the beginning of the line makes them emphatic. The exact phrase *sola salus* occurs also at A. 9.257. For similar phrases see n. on 574-5. In the context of a storm, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.2.33 *scilicet occidimus, nec spes est ulla salutis*.

liceat: The beseeching word 'liceat' is used by Caesar's mutinous soldiers to their leader at 5.261, 278, 282. Here it similarly makes clear Amyclas' position of subordination in relation to Caesar. (The poet himself uses the word to Jupiter at 2.15 *liceat sperare timenti*.) Compare the more intimate relationship between Palinurus and Aeneas (A. 5.21-5). See also 581 and 591-2 for Caesar's condescension towards Amyclas.

vexata: Emphasised by spondaic rhythm. The verb is normal for the buffeting of ships or sim. by rough weather, cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 6.76 (of Scylla) *Dulichias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto*; Liv. 23.34.16 *classis . . . foeda tempestate vexata*; Prop. 2.26.37 *quicumque et venti miserum vexastis Ulixem, et Danaum Euboico litore mille ratis*. Clausen on *Ecl.* 6.76 remarks that the force of the verb, like English 'vex', was weakened with the passage of time. Here however *vexata* retains a clear sense of violent treatment.

litora: i.e. the coast of Epirus, from where they had started.

576. prendere: For the verb used of reaching a shore or sim., see TLL 10.2.1162.37ff; OLD s.v. 6a). It is used apparently only in poetry and seems to suggest reaching shore with some difficulty or effort. Cf. A. 6.61 *iam tandem Italiae fugientis prendimus oras*; Ov. *Am.* 2.9.31 *ut subitus prope iam presa tellure carinam . . . ventus in alta rapit*.

ne longe nimium sit proxima tellus: Cf. Palinurus to Aeneas at A. 5.23-4 *nec litora longe / fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos*. Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 11.479 (also in a storm) *longeque erat utraque tellus*.

ne longe: An example of homoeoteleuton. Housman strongly disagrees with Hosius' choice of *nec* (in some mss.) for *ne*, but see Lundqvist (1907) 47 for other examples of 'nec' + subj. after a positive command, etc. However *ne* works just as well as *nec* here.

577-93. Caesar tells Amyclas to despise the sea as his presence in the boat will protect them.

The historical sources for the story of Caesar and the storm (see Appendix I and n. on 585-6) record that Caesar reveals his identity to his helmsman while at sea, telling him not to be afraid since Caesar and his fortune were aboard. L. takes the opportunity here of giving Caesar a lengthy speech in which he greatly emphasises his position of superiority in relation to the gods and Fortuna (581-3) and in which hints of Caesar's own god-likeness are seen (note the use of the word *tutela* of Caesar at 584; the allusion to the traditional heavy weight of the gods at 585, and the claim to have knowledge of what the weather would do at 585-6).

The speech is modelled on Aeneas' reply to Palinurus at Verg. A. 5.26-31 (see above on 568-76) and the Vergilian model serves to highlight Caesar's arrogance and obstinacy in ignoring the advice of his helmsman and insisting that they continue on their journey to Italy (contrast Aeneas' humble agreement that Palinurus' advice should be followed and they should make for the nearest land, A. 5.28). Comparison with the Vergilian model also shows how the divine authority over the weather of Jupiter and Neptune in Vergil are here replaced by the weather, Caesar and Fortuna respectively (*caelo . . . me*, 579-80; *Fortuna*, 593). At 579-80 Caesar insists they continue on their journey trusting in Caesar's own authority (see n. *ad loc.*), an authority based on his belief that he had the gods and Fortuna in his service (581-3).

Although his prediction that the storm would not last and that his presence in the boat would be enough to calm the storm (584ff) proves entirely wrong when the weather immediately worsens (593ff) Caesar's belief in his own Fortune (591-3) nevertheless proves to be justified when he is rescued miraculously by the 10th wave (672ff). We are left with the impression of a man with a more privileged knowledge of the wider picture than ordinary men. As Hershkowitz (1998) 226 puts it, where Amyclas gives us (in the preceding speech) a sober, realistic, quasi-scientific evaluation of the weather-conditions, Caesar seems to have a more 'primal' relationship with the elements.

Stoic elements in the portrayal of Caesar

It is possible to recognise in Caesar's response here to the adverse circumstances of the storm elements of the Stoic view of the good man, in particular the view that the good man

is unterrified by danger, happy in adversity, peaceful amid the storm, viewing the gods as their equal and looking down on men. Seneca remarks that such men seem to show a divine power. Cf. Sen. ep. 41.4 *si hominem videris interitum periculis, intactum cupiditatibus, inter adversa felicem, in mediis tempestatibus placidum, ex superiore loco homines videntem, ex aequo deos, non subibit te veneratio eius? non dices: 'ista res maior est altiorque quam ut credi similis huic, in quo est, corpusculo possit? vis esto divina descendit.'* In another passage, Seneca comments that great men often expose themselves voluntarily to misfortune in order to prove their worth. They rejoice in adversity, offering themselves to Fortune in order to be hardened by her. Cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.3-4, 12 *opus est enim ad notitiam sui experimento; quid quisque posset nisi temptando non didicit. itaque quidam ipsi ultro se cessantibus malis obtulerunt et virtuti iturae in obscurum occasionem per quam enitesceret quaesierunt. gaudent, inquam, magni viri aliquando rebus adversis, non aliter quam fortes milites bello. . . . praebendi fortunae sumus, ut contra illam ab ipsa duremur; paulatim nos sibi pares faciet, contemptum periculorum adsiduitas periclitandi dabit.* This description too fits Caesar's attitude in this passage quite well. Cf. also Luc. 5.302-3 (regarding Caesar) *Fortunamque suam per summa pericula gaudens / exercere* and see n. on 536 above.

For speeches delivered in the middle of a storm as a standard feature of storm-narratives (see on 653-71). For Stoic ideas as a stimulus to L.'s imagination and emotions rather than a deeply held faith, see Fantham's commentary on book 2, p. 12; also Heitland (1887) xlviii.

577. fisis cuncta sibi cessura pericula Caesar: For this way of introducing a speech, cf. 653-4 below and 2.234ff. introducing a speech of Brutus: *at non magnanimi percussit pectora Bruti / terror, et in tanta pavidi formidine motus / pars populi lugentis erat . . .* In all three cases the speeches which follow illustrate an aspect of the speaker's character highlighted in the introductory words, here Caesar's supreme confidence. The alliteration in this line (n.b. s's and c's) suggests perhaps Caesar's defiant frame of mind.

sibi cessura: Cf. 9.302 (regarding Cato's plan to overcome the Syrtes) *hanc [i.e. naturam] audax sperat sibi cedere virtus.* See further TLL 3.722.52ff. For nature yielding/giving way to a person, cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 46 (Hercules) *natura cessit, terra defecit gradum;* Sil. 15.748 (Hannibal) *cedunt montesque lacusque / et campi atque amnes.* For Caesar's refusal to tolerate obstacles put in his way by nature, see below on *sperne minas . . . pelagi*, 578. For the future participle, see on *ituro*, 550.

pericula: i.e. specifically the physical dangers of the storm (the elements) rather than 'dangers' in the abstract. 'pericula' occurs 4 times in L.'s storm episode of the physical dangers of the elements (here; at 597; 653; & 693). L. uses both the syncopated (*pericla*) and unsyncopated forms in his poem, according to metrical convenience. The latter is more common than the former and is found always at the same position in the line. The word is more commonly found in prose than in poetry, no doubt due to the word being not very flexible metrically (*TLL* 10,1.1460.13ff).

578. sperne minas . . . pelagi: Caesar's refusal to allow the storm to be a barrier to his progress is entirely consistent with the way he is portrayed in other parts of the poem. (Cf. also his defiance of the storms at Brundisium at 5.413ff.) Since his crossing of the resisting Rubicon at 1.183-227, Caesar repeatedly refuses to let nature stand in his way. This is shown clearly in 3 major episodes: the attempt to block in Pompey at Brundisium by throwing large boulders into the sea (2.660-79); the felling of the sacred grove at Massilia (3.399ff); and the building of siege-works at Dyrrachium (6.29-63; n.b. especially 6.59 *quamvis natura negasset*). In each of these episodes L. takes care to stress the unnaturalness of the actions and the hubris and impiety of his character Caesar. At 2.665ff two similes liken Caesar's actions to a) the actions of the Giants in the Gigantomachy (probably the most famous example of an act of impiety against the gods) and b) the bridging of the Hellespont by Xerxes (Xerxes is described as though physically moving Europe and Asia closer together at 2.674). In book 6 in particular Caesar is depicted in terms recalling the Gigantomachy, as giant-like and a real match for nature, as though in person tearing stones from quarries, dismantling houses and city-walls and breaking mountains. On this subject see further Saylor (1978) and n. on *moras*, 477.

sperne: Caesar begins with an imperative, the first of six in the speech (see also *trade*, 579; *pete*, 580; *perrumpe*, 583; *ne flecte, fuge*, 588; *crede*, 589). These and the future tense verbs (*defendet*, 586; *dabitur*, 587; *proderit*, 587) convey the speaker's authority and confidence, a contrast to Amyclas' lack of confidence. For the high number of imperatives in Caesar's speeches in the poem generally, see on 531-7.

minas: Over half of the occurrences of the word 'mina/e' in the poem are in Book 5. They are used of war (108, 195), of Caesar's mutinous soldiers (261), of the sea (454 & here), of Caesar's threats to Antony (480), of the East wind (608). This may be an indication of L.'s restricted vocabulary rather than a deliberate plan to make a thematic link between the various different 'threats' (see on *murmura ponti*, 571). 'minae' is a common metaphor for the elements in general and of the sea in particular especially in poetry from Lucretius

onwards (TLL 8.993.39ff). Cf. A. 6.113-4 *omnis pelagique minas caelique ferebat / invalidus* (Anchises).

pelagi: see on *maris*, 565.

579. trade sinum. Italiam si caelo auctore recusas: The double elision in this line (only 45 instances occur in the poem as a whole) perhaps suggests Caesar's impatience. On elision in L., see Heitland (1887) xcvi; Shackleton Bailey p. 292.

trade: The verb seems to suggest a greater abandonment than other verbs used of spreading sails to the winds (cf. *dat carbasa ventis*, 560 and n. *ad loc.*): it suggests letting the winds have complete control. The verb suits Caesar's reckless nature (cf. his words to Amyclas at 536: *ne cessare praebere deo tua fata . . .*). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.2 *tristitiam et metus tradam . . . in mare . . . portare ventis*.

sinum: see on *carbasa*, 560.

579-80. Italiam si caelo auctore recusas / me pete: i.e. 'Italiam si caelo auctore petere recusas, pete me auctore'.

Italiam: A relatively rare word in L.. It appears only 7x compared with *Hesperia* 21x. (In the storm-episode cf. *Ausoniam*, 497; and *Hesperiam*, 533.) Vergil, on the other hand, favoured 'Italia' over both 'Hesperia' or 'Ausonia', despite the metrical problem with 'Italia'. (*Italiam* is metrically inconvenient, its initial short vowel having to be lengthened here; see Coleman in J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (eds.) (1999) 32 for explanation and examples; see also Austin on Verg. A. 1.2; Norden on A. 6.61; Fordyce on A. 7.89; Harrison on A. 10.8). The use of *Italiam* here probably alludes to Aeneas' journey to Italy in the *Aeneid*, making clear how Aeneas is a model for Caesar here. Cf. two emotive passages in Vergil (A. 3.523-4; 4.333ff) where 'Italia' occurs three times in connection with Aeneas' mission. See also below on *pete*, 580. For the accusative without preposition after verbs of motion, see on *Hesperiam*, 533.

579-80. caelo auctore . . . / me: The words recall A. 5.17-18 (Palinurus to Aeneas in the storm) *magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor / spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo*. (Cf. also A. 10.67 *Italiam petiit fatibus auctoribus*.) The authority of Vergil's Jupiter (and the fates) are replaced here with that of the weather (*caelo*) and Caesar (*me*) and thus the Vergilian divine machinery is boldly eliminated from L.'s narrative. Caesar

shows his megalomania by claiming an authority on a par with nature, and, through allusion to Vergil, with the divine Jupiter. Whereas Palinurus was despairing of reaching Italy even though Jupiter should authorize it, Caesar asks Amyclas to trust to the sea on his own authority. This authority rests solely on his confidence that the gods and Fortuna were on his side (581-3). See on 568-576 for A. 5.13ff as a model for this part of L.'s poem.

580. *pete*: The verb (with *Italiam* as object) probably echoes similar phrases in Vergil regarding Aeneas' divine mission to found a new Troy in Italy: 3.362-4 (Aeneas speaks) *namque omnis cursum mihi prospera dixit / religio, et cuncti suaserunt numine divi / Italiam petere et terras temptare repostas*; 10.31-2 (Venus to Jupiter) *si sine pace tua atque invito numine Troes / Italiam petiere . . .*; 10.67 (Juno to Jupiter, echoing Venus' words) *Italiam petiit fatis auctoribus (esto) . . .*

580-1. *sola tibi causa est haec iusta timoris, / vectorem non nosse tuum*: 'One cause alone justifies your fear - that you know not whom you carry' (tr. Duff). For similar constructions, cf. 3.148-9 *venia est haec sola pudoris / degenerisque metus, nullam potuisse negari*; and 4.346-7 (Afranius to Caesar) *at nunc causa mihi est orandae sola salutis / dignum donanda, Caesar, te credere vita*.

***haec*:** Proleptic, anticipating the following acc. + inf. clause. It is almost equivalent to the colon in English. See also *haec*, 691 which anticipates a following *quod* clause.

581-2. *vectorem non nosse tuum, quem . . . de quo . . .*: The wording is a little reminiscent of Ov. *Met.* 1.514ff where Apollo reveals his identity to Daphne:

<i>nescis, temeraria, nescis,</i>	(cf. <i>non nosse</i>)
<i>quem fugias, ideoque fugis. mihi Delphica tellus</i>	(cf. <i>quem . . .</i>)
<i>et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;</i>	
<i>Iuppiter est genitor. per me, quod eritque fuitque</i>	(cf. <i>de quo . . .</i>)
<i>estque, patet; per me concordant carmina nervis . . .</i>	

The first person pronouns in Ovid transform the usual 2nd person pronouns of a hymn - i.e. Apollo sings a hymn to himself (see Feeney (1998) 72; and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.9; Norden (1913) 149ff; Wills (1996) 83-4, 107, 109, 361-2 for anaphora of 'tu' as a traditional feature of hymns and prayers). Likewise Caesar's repeated relative clauses may recall hymnic language. For repeated relative clauses as a feature of hymns see Nisbet-

Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.14; Norden (1913) 168-76. For examples in Latin, cf. Pl. *Poen.* 1187-8 *Iuppiter, qui genus colis alisque hominum, per quem vivimus vitalem aevom, quem penes spes vitae sunt hominum omnium, da diem hunc sospitem quaeso*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.13-16 *quid prius dicam solitis parentis / laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum, / qui mare et terras variisque mundum / temperat horis?*; Verg. *A.*10.100 *tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas*; *A.* 11.785ff *summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo, / quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo / pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem / cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna, / da pater*. In other words, Caesar describes himself to Amyclas in terms which suggest his status was equal to that of a god.

581. vectorem: = 'passenger'. Cf. the description of Pompey at 8.39 *exiguam vector pavidus correpsit in alnum*. Coleman on Verg. *Ecl.* 4.38 notes that 'passenger' (as opposed to 'one who transports') seems to be its regular sense 'when used of maritime carriage'. The word is used by prose authors and poets alike. Heitland (1887) *ci* points out that L. seems to favour verbal nouns in '-tor': *editor* (2.423): first appearance in poetry; *fuscator* (4.66): a 'hapax legomenon'; *simulator* (4.722): appears also in Ovid; *humator* (7.799): a 'hapax legomenon'; *mutator* (8.854 and 10.212): first appearance in poetry; *finitor* (9.496): in other poets; *haustor* (9.591): a 'hapax legomenon'; *monstrator* (9.979): in Seneca also.

nosse: = *novisse*.

581-3. quem numina numquam / destituunt, de quo male tunc fortuna meretur, / cum post vota venit: Caesar often speaks of the gods and Fortune as though they were in his service, and this is particularly clear here. In the storm-episode, see also nn. on 499, 591-3, 698. In the rest of the poem, cf. for example 1.349 *neque numina derunt*; 5.325-7 *vadite meque meis ad bella relinquitte fatis. / invenient haec arma manus, vobisque repulsis / tot reddet Fortuna viros, quot tela vacabunt*, 7.297-8 *haud umquam vidi tam magna daturos / tam prope me superos*. Caesar's depiction of a subordinate Fortune here (582-3) contrasts starkly with Palinurus' advice to Aeneas at *A.* 5.22 that they should follow Fortune since she always got her way (qu. in n. on 574-5). The idea of having Fortune in one's power is seen in Curtius' portrayal of Alexander at 10.5.35: *fatendum est tamen, cum plurimum virtuti debuerit, plus debuisse Fortunae, quam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit*. Cf. also Sen. *Med.* 520 (Medea to Jason) *Fortuna semper omnis infra me stetit*. For the idea of Fortune as one's slave, cf. Claud. 26.513 *Fortuna famulante*. For Caesar's relationship with Fortune, see on *Fortuna*, 510.

numina . . . fortuna: see on *superos et fata*, 482.

582. destituunt: The metaphor of desertion is used of the gods. For 'destituo' of military desertion, see *TLL* 5,1.764.19ff and in Luc. cf. 5.244 of Caesar's abandonment by his soldiers *fideles . . . manus satiatae sanguine tandem / destituere ducem*. The verb is elsewhere often used of Fortuna (cf. Sen. *Con.* 1.1.5; Sen. *Dial.* 9.2.8; 9.8.3; [Sen.] *Oct.* 199 (of Cupid); Suet. *Aug.* 65.1; Tac. *Hist.* 4.58.2; Curt. 4.1.29; Vell. 2.69.6).

582-3. de quo male tunc Fortuna meretur, / cum post vota venit: 'towards whom Fortune behaves badly when she comes after my desires (i.e. when she fails to anticipate my desires).'

Cf. 666 where Fortuna is described as alone conscious of Caesar's desires (*conscia votorum*). Both passages portray Fortuna as a good servant, in tune with her master's will.

de quo male . . . meretur: For the construction '(male/bene) mereo/mereor de', see *TLL* 8.809.8ff; *OLD* s.v. 6a). It is colloquial occurring more in prose than in poetry and in poetry only in direct speech. The verb 'mereo/mereor' originally meant 'to receive as one's wage or reward, earn (money)' and this metaphor from commerce is still present in its use here, implying a position of subordination. Cf. A. 4.317 (in Dido's prayer to Aeneas) *si bene quid de te merui*.

tunc: 'tunc' was 'in early use more emphatic than 'tum', especially where contrasted with 'nunc' or correlative to a 'cum' clause' (*OLD* s.v.), but see 589-91 below.

Fortuna: see on *Fortuna*, 510.

583. vota: not prayers (which would portray Caesar as in a vulnerable position in relation to Fortuna), but desires or hopes (*OLD* s.v. 3a)).

medias perrumpe procellas: 'slam through the thick of these squalls' (tr. Joyce). Cf., with similar word-order, 1.322 (of the Pompeian troops' invasion of Milo's trial) *auso medias perrumpere milite leges*. *medias* is not strictly necessary to the sense (see Getty on 1.322) but it gives an impression of Caesar's complete fearlessness in seeking to face the very heart (*OLD* s.v. 'medius' 4a)) of the storm. See also on 488-9 above.

perrumpe: 'break/force a way through' (*OLD* 2a). Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.36 *perrupit Acheronta Hercules labor*. The word suggests strong resistance. For the breaking through of barriers, something Caesar is particularly noted for in the poem; see on 578.

584. tutela secure mea: 'secure under my protection'. *tutela* could mean the tutelary deity of a ship or the figurehead representing it (see *OLD* s.v. 2b) and Casson (1971) 346-7). Caesar seems to be claiming here divine powers of protection over the ship and its occupants. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.23 comment: 'the word [*tutela*] is naturally used of a god (Tib. 2.5.113), and is particularly suited to Jupiter the protector'. For the expression, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.594 (Jupiter to Io) *praeside tuta deo nemorum secreta subibis* (Bömer *ad loc.* comments that this high style).

secure: The vocative is used in place of the nominative for metrical convenience (see Housman *ad loc.* who compares also *rapte* (5.227) and *condite* (5.231)). See Mayer on 8.338 for some examples in other poets from Callimachus onwards.

The adjective 'securus' has already been used of Amyclas at 515 and 526 (see n. on 526). In the earlier passages Amyclas' 'securitas' was due to his poverty. Here, Caesar suggests that Amyclas could be without fear even in the midst of the storm because of the protection Caesar himself would provide. For Caesar's very different notion of 'securitas', cf. the lion-simile at 1.205ff (based on the wounded-lion simile describing Turnus at *A.* 12.1-9 which is in turn based on the lion-similes describing Patroclus and Achilles at *Il.* 16.751-4 and 20.164-75). The simile suggests that Caesar's ability to remain 'securus' even in the midst of great pain and suffering makes him like a lion who has whipped himself into such a state of frenzy that he can endure the pain caused by a lance or spear and even be heedless of the wound: *torta levis si lancea Mauri / haereat aut latum subeant venabula pectus, / per ferrum tanti securus volneris exit* (1.210-12).

584-8. In these lines Caesar's claim to be able to control nature is made explicit. He refuses to acknowledge that the storm is of any concern to their boat due to his presence in it (584-6). It will only be a problem for the sky and sea. This and his prediction that their ship will have a calming effect on the storm (586-8) prove to be false as the storm intensifies immediately at 593ff and the ship is violently struck by a whirlwind.

The preponderance of spondees in lines 584-6 (3s. 1d. in each line) after the almost consistent pattern of 2s 2d in the preceding lines of Caesar's speech (the exception being line 581) and the 3 strong caesurae in 585 seem to suggest Caesar's physical weight in the boat. See on *pressam*, 585.

584. caeli . . . fretique: see on *pelagi caelique*, 592.

iste: A prosaic word, but used by Vergil and later poets; see Axelson (1945) 71-2. The word recurs in the storm-episode at 588 and 696 each time in speeches. It contains an element of the subjective (i.e. an element of emotional expression) and emphasises what is being talked about.

585. labor: In the passive sense of suffering, not in the active sense of effort (as at 655). Caesar's belief in his own immunity from suffering (he sees the sky and sea as suffering but not the boat or its occupants) distances him from Aeneas in the *Aeneid* who is frequently associated with suffering. Endurance of suffering came to be regarded as a traditional Roman virtue. The word 'labor' occurs no less than 74 times in Vergil's poem, very often in connection with its hero. (Hardie (1998) 83 n.127 sees a link between Aeneas and Hercules in the programmatic word *labores* at A. 1.10.) Cf. for example A. 3.368 (see on 579-80): *quidve sequens tantos possim superare labores?*; 12.435-6 (Aeneas to Ascanius) '*disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, / fortunam ex aliis.*' See Kristol (1990), especially chap. 3 on Aeneas and 'labor', and pp. 258-9 for the opposition in ancient literature between 'labor' and 'fortuna' (with the latter particularly associated with Rome's enemies).

585-6. hanc Caesare pressam / a fluctu defendet onus: 'for Caesar is aboard and her cargo shall defend this ship from the waves'. Caesar reveals his identity to Amyclas after a dramatic delay (approximately at the mid-point of his speech). The historical sources variously record Caesar's words as: *θάρασει· Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις* ('Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar'), Dio 41.46; *θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην* ('Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Caesar and Caesar's fortunes'), App. B.C. 2.57-8; *ἴθι - ἔφη - γενναίε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι μηδέν· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην συμπλέουσιν* ('Come, good man, be bold and fear naught; though carryest Caesar and Caesar's fortune in thy boat'), Plu. *Caes.* 38; '*quid times? Caesarem vehis*' (Flor. *Epit.* 2.13.37) (Greek tr.s from the Loeb).

The main point in these lines is that Caesar's presence will ensure the protection of the boat due to his being especially favoured by Fortune (see 581-3 and 586-8). However L.'s language may suggest also that Caesar's physical weight (an allusion to the heavy weight of the gods) would also help to keep the ship stable in the storm; see on *pressam* below.

With the idea of Caesar's fortune protecting the ship, cf. the image from Greek poetry of Tyche sitting at the ship's helm and steering the ship (Aesch. *Ag.* 664-6; Pindar *Olymp.* 12.1ff). Cf. also V. Max. 9.12 pr. for Fortuna as helmsman: *medii temporis cursus, prout Fortuna gubernaculum rexit, modo aspero, modo tranquillo motu peragitur.*

Caesare: Caesar calls himself by name, the commonest form of the rhetorical device called 'emphasis'. See on 488. Here, his naming of himself serves the function of identifying himself to Amyclas for the first time.

pressam: 'premo' is used of ships being weighed down, whether by passengers or cargo (*TLL* 10,2.1168.64-6; *OLD* s.v. 13)). However there seems to be an allusion here to the traditional heavy weight of the gods and heroes of earlier poetry. For this, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5.838-9 (the weight of Athene and Diomedes in a chariot); Verg. *A.* 6.412-14 (Charon take Aeneas on board his boat) *simul accipit alveo / ingentem Aenean. gemuit sub pondere cumba / subtilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem*; Ap. Rhod. 1.531ff (Hercules weighs down the Argo as it sets out); Apollod. 1.9.19 (Hercules was left behind because the Argo had spoken out to say she could not bear his weight); Ov. *Met.* 4.449-50 (Juno) *sacroque a corpore pressum / ingemuit limen*; 15.693-4 (Asclepius' sea-voyage from Epidaurus to Rome) *numinis illa / sensit onus, pressa estque dei gravitate carina*; Sen. *Her. F.* 775ff (Hercules' weight causes Charon's boat to let in water, modelled on *A.* 6.412-14). In Lucan, cf. with Getty *ad loc.* 1.56-7 (on Nero) *aetheris immensi partem si presseris unam / sentiet axis onus. librati pondera caeli / orbe tene medio*. For other suggestions of god-likeness in L.'s depiction of Caesar in the storm-episode, see index.

Relevant here may be the practise of using ballast to keep ships stable in rough weather. For this, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.161ff (Phaethon's out-of-control chariot is compared to storm-tossed ships without their proper cargo and therefore not heavy enough). Cf. also Sen. *Her. O.* 49ff (Hercules claims that his weight ensured the safety of his ship in tempests). On the other hand, cargo was sometimes thrown overboard in a storm; cf. OT Jonah 1.5; NT Acts 27.18-19.

586. defendet onus: The normally passive *onus* is strikingly made the subject of the verb *defendet*.

onus: 'her freight', i.e. Caesar. For 'onus' as passenger of a ship see *OLD* s.v. 1a); *TLL* 9.644.48ff. Cf. the description of Pompey in a simile as a useless burden to his ship at 7.126-7: *ignavumque arte relicta / puppis onus trahitur*.

In general, words signifying weight plays a significant part in L.'s poem; see Johnson (1987) 77 and n. 7 for L.'s liking of the words 'pondus', 'onus' and 'moles'; Masters (1992) 41 n.76 for theme of 'pondus' in the Massilian episode. Cf. especially 1.71ff (the excessive weight of Rome which she could not support).

586-8. nec longa furori / ventorum saevo dabitur mora: proderit undis / ista ratis:

Caesar's confident forecast about the weather here is of a completely different nature to Amyclas' earlier forecast (539ff) which was based securely on scientific evidence. In other words, Caesar here claims the sort of knowledge about the weather normally reserved for the gods in traditional epic, an indication of his arrogance and sense of self-importance. For Zeus and Poseidon in particular, and also Hera and Athena, as controllers of the weather in Homer and Vergil see Taub (2003) 5 who also remarks on the great symbolic value of (divine) control of the weather in Homer. Hardie (1986) 202ff. shows how in Vergil (as distinct from Homer), the Roman hero achieves a measure of control over nature and how this is shown subtly through allusion, simile, prophecy, etc.. 'In the *Aeneid* Vergil could not present Aeneas himself as directly controlling the weather; such mastery is still reserved for divine powers, but there is a clear development by which the weather ends up as consistently favouring the hero, which he may thus be said to control by proxy. Once he obeys the will of the gods, the winds and waves obey him' (Hardie (1986) 206-7).

In the present passage L.'s Caesar while not claiming to have direct control of the weather, nevertheless confidently predicts (on the basis of his belief that he was favoured by the gods and fortune) that it will work in his favour. His prediction that the storm would not last long (*nec longa . . . mora*, 586-7) proves false as the bad weather continues for at least another 60 lines but ultimately his faith in Fortuna proves well-founded as he is deposited safely on land at 674-6.

For the ancient theme of royal control of the forces of nature see also Hardie (1986) 206 and n.124. It was revived in the Hellenistic period and was popular in late Republican panegyric being then incorporated into Roman imperial mythology. Augustus was sometimes shown in art as Neptune driving a chariot over waves, alluding to his victory in Actium (i.e. victory in battle represented as supernatural control of the sea); see Austin on A. 1.156. For the association of control of nature and the divine, cf. also the Gospel story of Jesus calming the storm (NT Matth. 8.18, 23-7; Lk 8.22-25; Mk. 4.35-41; cf. Matth. 8.27 (NRS) 'They were amazed, saying "What sort of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey him?") and see Strelan (2000) 166-79 for comparison of Lucan's storm with the NT story.

586. nec: = *et non* (the negative is attached to the adjective *longa* rather than the verb). See Mayer on 8.250-1, 303, and cf. 699 below.

longa . . . mora: Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.28 *insani sit mora longa freti*. *mora* here = duration, OLD s.v. 7). For the significance of the word in the poem, see n. on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477.

587-8. proderit undis / ista ratis: 'this ship shall be useful to the waves'. Suppl. adn. comments: 'quia propter me venti qui eas commovent sedabuntur'. Cornelissen (1878) 311 proposed *proteret undas* ('will crush the waves') for *proderit undis* but this seems unnecessary.

ista: see on *iste*, 584.

ratis: see on *carina*, 503.

588-9. ne flecte manum, fuge proxima velis / litora: A more or less direct contradiction of Aeneas' instructions to Palinurus at A. 5.28ff *flecte viam velis. an sit mihi gratior ulla, / quove magis fessas optem dimittere navis, / quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten / et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?* Here the words *manum* and *velis* indicate the two means by which the ship was sailed - helm and sails; cf. *ventus doctaeque . . . dextrae* at 706. The word *velis* indicates Caesar's confidence that the winds would drive them to Italy, despite what Amyclas had said earlier (568ff).

588. ne flecte manum: L. seems alone in using *flectere* with *manum* as object. The verb is found in this sense more commonly with *iter/viam* or a part of the vehicle (or the vehicle itself) as object (OLD s.v. 7a); TLL 6,1.894.13-41). Cf. A. 5.28 (f. *viam*); 6.804 (f. *iuga*); 9.606 (f. *equos*); Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.58 (f. *colla (velocis equi)*); Sen. *Ep.* 121.5 (f. *gubernaculum*). L. may have been deliberately avoiding too close an imitation of *flecte viam* in his model (see previous n.).

fuge proxima . . . litora: Cf. A. 3.413 *dextrum fuge litus et undas*. Here *proxima . . . litora* refers to the shore of Epirus from which they had set out. This responds to Amyclas' request in 575-6 that they should make for the nearest land.

velis: Instrumental ablative, as in Vergil's passage (see on 588-9). L. prefers 'vela' to more poetic words for sails; see on *carbasa*, 560.

589-91. tum Calabro portu te crede potitum, / cum iam non poterit puppi nostraeque saluti / altera terra dari: The meaning of these lines is somewhat problematic. Caesar probably means that the further they went out to sea from the Illyrian coast, the surer they could be of reaching Italy. Braund translates: 'Believe that you have reached the harbour of Calabria then when no other land can be granted to the ship and to our safety'.

589. tum: The mss have *tum* (ς) and *tunc* (ΩC). Housman on 1.490 notes that the best mss of the best poets very rarely have *tunc* before a guttural.

Calabro portu: i.e. Brundisium, which was located in Calabria (the 'heel' of Italy). See Map b) p.246.

potitum: For 'potior' of reaching a destination, see *TLL* 10,2.333.22-40; *OLD* s.v. 3a). Cf. A. 1.172 *optata potiuntur Troes harena*.

590. cum iam non: The 3 monosyllables at the beginning of the line is rather unusual and helps to emphasise Caesar's point. In the storm-episode, cf. also 541, 678, 683, 685. In all but the last case the purpose seems to be emphasis.

cum: For the inverse *cum* clause, see K-S. 2.338ff; H-Sz. §§623-4.

puppi nostraeque saluti: The two separate nouns, one concrete and one abstract, could stand separately but both combine to express a single idea – the safety of boat and crew. Similar examples are found in the tragedies of Seneca, in Ovid and in post-Lucanian epic; see Leo (1878) 196-7.

591. dari: The passive verb reveals Caesar's arrogant confidence as it suggests that no effort will be required by Caesar and Amyclas to reach Italy; rather, safe harbour in Italy will be granted to them as a gift. Cf. A. 10.650 (Turnus taunts Aeneas) *hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas*, where *dabitur* is ironic. For the expression 'portum dare', cf. 8.192.

591-3. quid tanta strage paretur / ignoras: quaerit pelagi caelique tumultu / quod praestet Fortuna mihi: Caesar dismisses Amyclas' earlier appeal to the evidence of the weather and his scientific understanding of it (see 540ff; 568ff) and he goes on to give his own more intuitive interpretation of the storm whose threat he can no longer deny: Fortune will find a way of blessing him through even the storm (*quaerit . . . quod praestet Fortuna mihi*). Cf. 5.413-423 where Caesar, impatient to cross the sea to Greece, refuses to see the winter-storms at Brundisium as a bad omen, seeing them instead as an opportunity not to be missed.

quid tanta strage paretur / ignoras: Echoing Amyclas' words at 568-9 *aspice, saevum / quanta paret pelagus*. See on *paret*, 569.

strage: The word, here used of the storm, is used elsewhere in the poem usually of heaps of corpses, the victims of war (e.g. 4.797). Lucr. 1.288 uses the word of the destruction caused by a river and Verg. A. 12.453-4; Liv. 40.2 of the destruction caused by bad weather.

592. ignoras: The word is extremely ironical in view of Amyclas' expertise in meteorology (539ff). It highlights the difference between Amyclas' technical and Caesar's intuitive understanding of the weather: Caesar here claims to have a better knowledge of what was in store than Amyclas with his scientific knowledge. For a helmsman's pride in his knowledge of the weather, cf. Palinurus at A. 5.848-9 '*mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos / ignorare iubes?*'

pelagi caelique: The expression is poetic and found commonly in descriptions of sea-journeys; cf. A.5.870; 6.113; Ov. *Ep.* 2.19; Luc. 8.189.

tumultu: Ablative of instrument (K-S. II.379-412). For 'tumultus' of the turmoil of natural forces, see *OLD* s.v. 4).

593. quod praestet . . . mihi: 'what service she may do me.' The verb 'praesto' is often used with a sense of subservience underlying it (see *OLD* s.v. 9a) 'to make available for another's benefit, render, furnish, afford (conditions, attitudes, services, etc.) and cf. for example Ov. *Rem.* 609 *praestiterat iuvenis, quidquid mea Musa iubebat*). i.e. Fortuna is depicted here as though rendering a service to Caesar. See on 581-3 for Caesar's view of Fortuna as his slave. For other uses of the verb with a similar sense in L., cf. 5.42 *spem vestram praestate deis*; 6.234 *hoc vestro praestate duci*. 'praesto' can also contain a sense of obligation; for its use in the context of public life (e.g. of citizens who are expected to provide something for the state and v.v.), see *TLL* 10,2.918.28ff; in legal contexts (e.g. of people who undertake to provide something for another), see *TLL* 10,2.919.1ff.

Fortuna mihi: The juxtaposition perhaps emphasises the 'special relationship'. Cf. 4.121 *sed parvo Fortuna viri contenta pavore*; 8.730 *Pompeius, Fortuna, tuus*.

Fortuna: see on *Fortuna*, 510.

mihi: The second 'i' is long; 'mihi' with a short second 'i' is found at 670 below. See Shackleton Bailey pp. 294-5 for prosody in L..

593-6. A whirlwind interrupts Caesar's speech striking the boat.

In the space of just 3 lines Caesar's boat is struck by a whirlwind, has its ropes torn and wrenched away, its bodywork cracked, and loses its sails. The description of damage done to ships and crew was a standard feature of storm-descriptions. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.365ff; 12.407ff; Verg. *A.* 1.102ff; Ovid *Met.* 11.507-515; 524ff; 551-9; Sen. *Ag.* 504-5; 571ff; V. Fl. 1.618ff; Q.Smyrnaeus 14.515ff, 590ff; and Petronius' parody at *Sat.* 114 (*peragit interim tempestas mandata fatorum omnesque reliquias navis expugnat. non arbor erat relicta, non gubernacula, non funis aut remus, sed quasi rudis atque infecta materies ibat cum fluctibus*). For further catalogues of damage done to ships in both Greek and Latin literature, see Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 504-5. L.'s description is much more concise than earlier ones and may be explained by the fact that Caesar's ship must in the end survive and therefore not much damage could be described. Cf. the much greater damage in for example Hom. *Od.* 12 (the forestays of the mast are broken and sails fall; the helmsman is hit on the head and dies; the crew are thrown overboard; the ship is struck by lightning; the sides of the ship are torn away and the mast snaps); Verg. *A.* 1 (the wind strikes the sail; oars are broken, the boat swung round; 3 ships are hurled onto rocks and 3 forced onto shallows; men are thrown overboard and ships let in water); and Ov. *Met.* 11 (the hull breaks up and lets in water; mast and rudder are broken; the ship plunged to the bottom of the sea and the crew die).

L. provides a kind of digest of various of the earlier accounts, but clearly had in mind particularly *A.* 1.102ff (cf. *non plura locuto*, 593 and *talia iactanti*, *A.* 1.102; *victis . . . compagibus*, 596 and *laxis . . . compagibus*, *A.* 1.122). Whereas in Vergil the damage done to the Trojan ships proves Aeneas' fear in his preceding speech justified, in L. the weather appears to react in a hostile way to Caesar's arrogant words in the preceding lines predicting a speedy end to the storm, and we are left with the impression of Caesar in direct contention with the forces of nature. With this cf. Caesar's earlier speech to his men at 5.413ff where he predicts confidently that the North wind will blow and convey his ships all the way to Greece only for the winds immediately to die down thus thwarting any hope of a crossing (424ff). Both episodes show Caesar in a foolish light and saved from disaster only by fortune (5.455ff; 672ff). (In Silius' *Punica*, the weather similarly acts against Hannibal in the storm of 12.603ff preventing him – twice – from attacking Rome, and the impression is given of the gods being directly in conflict with Hannibal.)

593. non plura locuto: For interruption of a speech in a storm, cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.313-4 "Ὡς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντ' ἔλασεν μέγα κῦμα κατ' ἄκρης δεινὸν ἐπεσσύμενον. περι δὲ σχεδίην ἐλέλιξε; and 424-5 Ἴλιος δ' ταυθ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, / τόφρα δέ μιν μέγα κυμα φερε τρηχειαν ἐπ' ακτήν; Verg. *A.* 1.102 *talia iactanti stridens Aquilone procella*. . . ; Prop. 3.7.65 *subtrahit haec fantem torta vertigine fluctus*; and Petronius' take-off of the topos at *Sat.* 114.1 *dum haec taliaque iactamus, inhorruit mare* . . . ; 114.6 *et illum quidem vociferantem in mare ventus excussit, repetitumque infesto gurgite procella circumegit atque hausit*.

locuto: Dative of person affected. See K-S. 1.313-14.

594. avolsit laceros percussa puppe rudentes: The style is very compressed. The first three words of the line all indicate violent action by the whirlwind.

laceros: See *TLL* 7.2.820.82-821.6 for 'lacer' used of ships or sim. Ovid uses it of the wooden planks of a ship (*Met.* 11.428), Silius of the sails (8.67; 10.324); here L. uses it of the ship's rigging. Cf. 8.755 *lacerae . . . carinae*.

percussa: For 'percutio' of winds or storms, see *OLD* s.v. 3a); *TLL* 10.1.8.1245.13ff. In poetry it is found from at least as early as Ovid; cf. *Fast.* 3.588 *percutitur rapido puppis adunca noto*; *Tr.* 1.1.85 *mea cymba semel vasta percussa procella illum, quo laesa est, horret adire locum*. Cf. *ferit* at 570 above (and n. *ad loc.*).

puppe rudentes: For the line ending, cf. 8.196.

rudentes: Earlier poets often referred to the *noise* made by the rigging (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.6 and cf. also Ov. *Met.* 11.495-6; Sen. *Ag.* 504-5), a detail L. chooses to omit. Here the ropes are simply torn away.

595. turbo rapax fragilemque super volitantia malum: The five dactyls give a sense of the speed of the whirlwind.

turbo: A whirlwind (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). It occurs as early as Ennius (*Ann.* 566 *flamma loci postquam concussa est turbine saevo*) and Pacuvius (*trag.* 415 *undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt turbines*). See Shackleton Bailey pp. 294-5 on the prosody of 'turbo'.

rapax: For 'rapax' used to describe natural forces, see *OLD* s.v. 1b). It is used of wind at Catul. 25.4 *turbida rapacior procella*; Ov. *Ars* 1.388 *nec mea dicta rapax per mare ventus agit*. Here it is particularly appropriate as the wind carries away the sails. The phrase 'turbo rapax' occurs also at Stat. *Theb.* 4.813 but of a whirlpool, not a whirlwind.

595-6. fragilemque super volitantia malum / vela: Cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.470 (Alcyone watches the receding ship of her lover Ceyx before the storm in which Ceyx is killed) *vela tamen spectat summo fluitantia malo*. V. Fl. imitates L. at 1.620-1 *vela super tremulum subitus volitantia malum / turbo rapit*.

fragilemque super . . . malum: 'over the frail mast'. The ropes holding the sails down had been torn away so the sails flap in the wind above the mast.

volitantia: 'volito' ('to fly about') is used of both ships and sails (*OLD* s.v. 1c)). It implies lightness of movement. Cf. Catul. 64.9 (the Argo) *levi . . . volitantem flamine currum*.

596. vela tulit; sonuit victis conpagibus alnus: The alliteration (t,s,c) and assonance in this line suggest the cracking of the hull. After the fast pace of the previous line the rhythm slows (ddss) to give an impressive finale to the section.

vela: see on *carbasa*, 560.

tulit: The verb 'fero' is commonly used of winds in poetry (*TLL* 6.1.533.29ff). In the storm-episode, cf. also 605 (*perfert*), 613 (*ferunt*).

sonuit: Sounds are especially emphasised in Ovid's storm account; cf. *Met.* 11.485, 495-6, 507-8. Here the noise is made by the hull. Cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.507ff *saepe dat ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem / nec levius pulsata sonat, quam ferreus olim / cum laceras acies balistave concutit arces . . .*

victis conpagibus: 'the seams gave way' (tr. Duff). The same phrase occurs at 7.857 (used of tombs split by roots). In the present passage L. is influenced by A. 1.121ff *et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes, / vicit hiems; laxis laterum conpagibus omnes / accipiunt imbrem rimisque fatiscunt*. However, unlike in Vergil, Caesar's boat does not let in water (as Glos. wrongly suggests), for his boat must in the end survive the storm.

Vergil was the first to use 'compages' of the structure of a ship (*OLD* s.v. 2a); *TLL* 3.1999.36-40). The Vergilian passage describing the structure of the ship breaking up and

letting in sea-water was imitated by Livy (35.26.8 *omnibus compagibus aquam acciperet*); Seneca (*Dial.* 4.10.8 [*navigium*] *laxatis compagibus aquam trahit*); and L. (also at 3.629 [*ratis*] *ruptis pelagus compagibus hausit*). Cf. the same idea in Ovid, but avoiding the word 'compages' (*Met.* 11.514-15 *iamque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine cerae / rima patet praebetque viam letalibus undis*). For 'compages' of the structure of a ship see also Luc. 1.498ff (qu. in n. on *naufragus*, 521).

Hershkowitz (1998) 228 rightly states about L.'s passage that: 'the condition of the boat mirrors that of the universe'. The first occurrence of the word 'compages' in L. at 1.72 describes the structure of the universe at the time of the Stoic universal destruction: *sic, cum compage soluta / saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora, / antiquum repetens iterum chaos, [omnia mixtis / sidera sideribus concurrent] ignea pontum / astra petent, tellus extendere littora nolet / excutietque fretum, fratri contraria Phoebae / ibit et obliquum bigas agitare per orbem / indignata diem poscet sibi, totaque discors / machina divolsi turbabit foedera mundi*. Civil war is thus seen in terms of the dissolution of the structure of the universe and subsequent references to collapsing structures in the poem including this one ('compages' occurs 15x) surely are intended to recall this use. (L. is fond of the image of collapsing structures: see 2.487 (a bridge); 3.491 (a wall); 3.629 (ship by another ship); 5.119 (the priestess' body under the influence of Apollo); 5.633 (the storm is described in terms of the collapse of the universe - see below); 6.177 (a human skull shattered by Scaeva).) All are symptoms of a wider cosmic disturbance. 'compages' used of the structure of the universe first occurs in Manilius (2.803 *aetheriis compagibus*; 3.357 *sub vertice caeli, quem gelidus rigidis fulcit compagibus axis*; etc.) and thereafter only in Silver Latin (*OLD* s.v. 3c); *TLL* 3.1999.41-50).

victis: i.e. the ship's structure is overwhelmed by the pressure of the waves (which causes the hull to groan). 'vinco' is used commonly in storm-descriptions of winds or waves somehow getting the better of ships or sailors. It is used twice more in L.'s storm-episode at 617 (*tellus victa*; i.e. flooded) and 648 (*victum latus unda repellens*; i.e. struck). For 'vinco' in other storm-descriptions, cf. A. 1.122 (qu. in previous n.); 9.92; Ov. *Met.* 2.185; 11.553; *Fast.* 3.593; *Tr.* 1.4.12; *Ep.* 19.183; Sen. *Phaed.* 183.

597-653. The Storm

597-612. The 'battle of winds'.

A 'battle of winds' was a standard ingredient of the epic storm-narrative from Homer onwards. In Hom. *Od.* 5.295-6 Eurus battles with Notus, Zephyrus with Boreas, combining

the 2-wind battles found in two Iliadic similes (Il. 9.4-7 and 16.765-9). The 'battle of winds' made its first appearance in the Latin hexameter in a simile in Enn. *Ann.* 443-5 *concurrunt veluti venti quom spiritus Austri / imbricator Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra / indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant*. After Ennius, cf. Verg. *A.* 1.81-6; 2.415-19; Ov. *Met.* 1.61-6; 11.490-1; Sen. *Ag.* 474-90; Sil. 17.246ff (see further Morford (1967) 40 n.3; Bömer on Ovid *Met.* 1.58ff & 11.491; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.13).

L. begins the section with a battle between Corus and Boreas lasting 10 lines and ending with the pointed statement (607) that due to the violence of the winds the sea might have gone on 'doing battle' even if the winds died down. This image is found apparently not before Ovid 'though is common after him (see on 606-7). Following convention L. employs military language throughout (see on *concita*, 597). Five lines then describe a battle between all winds at once, alluding to the epic convention (note the reference to the mythological Aeolian cave, 609) but this is coloured by a tone of skepticism (see on *crediderim*, 609). The section ends with the clever point in 612 that the blowing of all winds caused the sea to remain in its place, taking the idea behind the topos to its logical conclusion and thereby making a new point.

597. ruunt: Cf. *A.* 1.82-3 *ac venti velut agmine facto, / . . . ruunt*; 85-6 *una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis / Africus*; and see further OLD s.v. 3b) for 'ruo' of natural forces. There is an element of personification of the winds here; see on *concita* below.

toto . . . pericula mundo: *mundo* could conceivably be the sky (as Burman believes; see Plin. *Nat.* 2.119 for the 4 different parts of the sky from which the winds originated), but could also mean world or universe. Thus, just as the civil war in L.'s poem is envisaged as a conflict of global and cosmic proportions (see on *mundo*, 481), so too the storm is envisaged as a global and cosmic catastrophe (see Lapidge (1979) 367 and compare Duff and Braund who both translate as 'world'). Cf. the gathering of Pompey's troops from all parts of the world at 3.169-70 *interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem / secum casuras in proelia moverat urbes* (with Hunink *ad loc.*). The winds are similarly envisaged here as mustering troops (see next n.).

concita: 'summoned', as opposed to 'stirred up/impelled/driven'. The verb is used of Jupiter calling forth clouds etc. at Lucr. 6.410 *cur (Iuppiter) tenebras ante et fremitus et murmura concit?* and Verg. *A.* 8.352ff *Arcades ipsum / credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem / aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret*; Sil. 12.609-11 *ipse e Tarpeio sublimis vertice cuncta, / et ventos simul et nubes et grandinis iras / fulminaque et*

tonitrus et nimbos conciet atros. Gransden on the Vergil passage compares Homer's common epithet 'cloud-gatherer' for Zeus (cf. *Il.* 1.511; *Od.* 5.21). Cf. also Hom. *Od.* 5.385 of Athene rousing the North wind (the Greek verb 'ornumi' seems to be equivalent of Latin 'cieo'). No divine agent is present in L.'s account (the participle *concita* is rather left hanging, the absence of an agent rather conspicuous) for his storm is naturally caused.

Both 'concio' and 'cieo' are used of mustering men for battle (*OLD* 'concio' 1b); 'cieo' 2a); *TLL* 3.1055.2-13; 4.36.48-61) and there is a suggestion here of the winds as troops coming together from all corners of the globe. L. follows in the footsteps of his predecessors in employing military imagery throughout his 'battle of winds'. In addition to *concita*, see *ruunt*, 597; *primus*, 598; *occurrit*, 601; *retundit*, 601; *concidat*, 602; *vicit*, 603; *concurrere*, 607; *ruentes*, 610; *defendisse*, 611. Military imagery in storms-descriptions dates back at least to Homer (for a simile comparing a storm to battle, see for example *Il.* 16.384-92). In Latin poetry, see especially Vergil *G.* 1.311-50 *passim* and R. F. Thomas on *G.* 1.314, 316-34, 316-17, 318, 322. Cf. also Verg. *A.* 1.53 *luctantis ventos*; 1.82-3 *ac venti, velut agmine facto / qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant*; 2.416-17 *adversi . . . venti / confligunt*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.12-13 (in a propemptikon) *praecipitem Africum / decertantem Aquilonibus* (and Nisbet-Hubbard's note); 1.9.10-11 *ventos . . . deproeliantis*; Ov. *Am.* 2.11.17 *ventorum proelia*; *Ep.* 18.37-8 (to Boreas) *at tu, de rapidis immansuetissime ventis, / quid tecum certa proelia mente geris?*; 19.141 (to Neptune) *parce, ferox, latoque mari tua proelia misce*; *Met.* 6.687 (Boreas) *enim mea tela reliqui*; 693-4 *idem ego cum fratres caelo sum nactus aperto / (nam mihi campus is est), tanto molimine luctor*, 11.490-1 *omnique e parte feroces / bella gerunt venti*; etc. For storms as battles in L., see Masters (1992) 60-2.

The participle 'concita' is only found here in L. with a long 'i'; it is mostly found with a short 'i' (as at 718 below). The rare long 'i' (participle of 4th conjugation 'concio' rather than 2nd conjugation 'concio') is found also at *Lucr.* 2.267; *V. Fl.* 2.460; 5.576; see Neue-Wagener *Form.* III³.578. For prosody in L., see Shackleton Bailey p. 294.

pericula: see on *pericula*, 577.

598. primus: The word suggests the beginning of a catalogue of warriors: cf. *A.* 2.370 *primus se Danaum magna comitante caterva / Androgeos offert nobis*, and 7.647 *primus inquit bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris / contemptor divum Mezentius*. Cf. also *Sil.* 17.246ff for a similar 'catalogue' of winds introduced by *primus* (qu. in n. on *in fluctus Cori*, 606).

ab oceano . . . Atlanteo: i.e. from the west. The mention of the wind's provenance (cf. also *Scythici . . . Aquilonis*, 603) reflects the similar way in which individual soldiers were

introduced in earlier epic (see Tarrant comm. on Sen. *Ag.* (1976) 479ff). The word 'Atlanteus' is quite rare (*TLL* 2.1044.12-22). L. may be alluding to Lucr. 5.35 and Hor. *Carm.* 1.34.11 where the word signifies the western limit of the earth (see West *ad loc.*). Compare below (*a magno . . . mari*, 619) where the Atlantic = Oceanus = the boundary of the world.

Atlanteo: The word makes this line a 'spondeiazon' (or hexameter line with spondaic 5th foot), one of only 14 examples in the poem (Shackleton Bailey p. 288). The 'spondeiazon' was common in Homer who averaged 1 in every 18 lines. It became a mannerism among Alexandrians such as Callimachus (1 in every 11 lines) and Aratus (1 in every 6 lines), and the Latin neoterics imitated them (Catullus has approximately 30 in poem 64 alone, a poem of 408 lines; cf. 64.78-80 with 3 in a row). Vergil is much more sparing in his use of 'spondeiazontes' (just 33 in over 12000 lines), and L. more sparing still. (See Fordyce on Catul. 64.3; Winbolt (1903) 128-9; Crowther in *CQ* 20.1970.322 n.2 for statistics for Homer, Hesiod and Alexandrian poets; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 2.43 for some examples in Ovid and Vergil.) L. was not particularly original in his spondaic endings: all but 3 of the 14 instances in the poem are Greek words or proper names or both, and all but 4 are words already used in the same position by Vergil or Ovid (Mayer on 8.697). For the adjective 'Atlanteus' in this position cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.105.

caput exeris: 'raised his head'. L.'s direct model seems to be Seneca who also used the expression of Corus in a storm-description (cf. *Ag.* 484 *quid rabidus ora Corus Oceano exerens?*) However the idea of raising one's head out of the sea is found also in Vergil's storm-description at *A.* 1.126-7 (of Neptune) *alto / prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda* and it is likely the Vergilian passage lies behind both Seneca and Lucan. After Vergil, similar expressions are quite common and Silius (1.30) even used the expression figuratively of Rome. See *TLL* 5.2.1855.35-55.

Rather than arising out of the water like Neptune, Corus is here to be imagined emerging from the distant horizon. While there may be an element of personification here (*caput*) (and see below on *iacuisse*, 609) the lack of personification of winds in L. is noticeable when compared with, for example, Ov. *Met.* 1.264ff where Notus is depicted with beard, hair, brow, wings and garments; and Sil. 9.495ff where Vulturinus has face, hair and wings.

599. Core: The North-West wind. Amyclas had warned of this wind at 572. It was a favourite wind of Seneca's and of all the winds Seneca singles it out for a longer

description at *Ag.* 484-7 (see Tarrant on *Ag.* 484). L. too gives pride of place to Corus in his battle of winds by mentioning it first.

Winds were a subject of philosophical speculation (see Morford (1967) 41 and n.1: 'much ingenuity was exercised in naming them and assigning them to their correct place in the heavens'.) There were four main winds (Eurus/East, Zephyrus/West, Boreas/North, Auster/South) and in his battle of the winds L. names Eurus, Boreas and Auster (adding the alternative names Notus for Auster, 571 & 609; and Aquilo for Boreas, 603) as well as the North-West wind Corus (572 & 599), apparently an alternative to Zephyrus. Vergil similarly names four winds in his storm in *A.* 1: Eurus, Notus, Africus (= South-west wind), and Aquilo (= North wind). However the naming of winds was not a compulsory component of storm-descriptions (see Tarrant on *Sen. Ag.* 476). They do not appear in Ovid's lengthy storm account in *Met.* 11 for example. For Corus and other winds named in this section and their directions, see *RE* VIII A, 2, 2374-5 s.v. *Winde* including diagram (fig. 27); Warmington 'Note on Winds' in *Sen. Nat.* vol. 2 (Loeb, tr. T. H. Corcoran) pp. 311-12 including diagram; and Taub (2003) Figs 4.2 and 5.4 (pages 149 and 179) for photos of a marble wind-rose (anemoscope) dating to c. 200 A.D., found near the Via Appia in Rome.

movens aestus: 'stirring the tides'. Tides were associated with Ocean and were unfamiliar to dwellers around the Mediterranean. Their nature and cause were apparently a source of some fascination to ancient writers (*TLL* 1.1120.40ff; and cf. for example Cic. *N.D.* 2.19 (*possent*) *aestus maritimi . . . ortu aut obitu lunae commoveri?*; Tac. *Ag.* 10 *naturam Oceani atque aestus . . . multi rettulere*). At 1.412-19 (cf. also 6.479-82) L. speculates on the cause of this phenomenon (whether by a wind, the moon or the sun). In the present passage he ascribes the moving of the tides to a wind (Corus), due to its origin from the Atlantic (i.e. Ocean). See 617-20 for the waters coming into the centre from Ocean.

599-601. iam te tollente furebat / pontus et in scopulos totas erexerat undas: / occurrit gelidus Boreas pelagusque retundit: 'and soon the sea, roused by him, was raging and would have lifted up all its waves to cover the cliffs; but the cold North wind struck athwart and beat back the flood' (tr. Duff).

599. tollente: For 'tollo' used of winds causing waves to rear, see *OLD* s.v. 8b). It occurs twice in Vergil's storm-description in *Aeneid* 1 (1.65-6 (Juno to Aeolus) *nam tibi divum pater atque hominum rex / et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento*; and 1.134 (Neptune to winds) *tantas audetis tollere moles*). Cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.16, and in Lucan, 6.27; 6.265.

600. pontus: see on *maris*, 565.

totas . . . undas: For the hyperbole, cf. *omnisque in fluctibus unda est*, 644. Hyperbole is one of L.'s most frequent tropes ('almost his natural mode of thought', Fantham (1992) 39) and this is one of a large number of hyperboles in the storm-narrative (see index s.v. 'rhetorical tropes and figures'). An important effect of hyperbole was to provoke a response of awe in one's audience. (See Hardie (1986) 242-3 on how hyperbole may be regarded as contributing to the objective of achieving 'the sublime' in Vergil due to its psychological effect on the listener.) On hyperbole in epic see Hardie (1986) chap. 6. On hyperbole (and paradox and literary novelty) in L. see Martindale (1976) 45-54.

erexerat: The verb 'erigo' used of the sea being lifted up first occurs in Lucilius (999 *simul ac paulo vehementius aura inflarit, fluctus erexerit extuleritque*). It is commonly used after him with the sea as either subject or object often in passages where the sea is described as rising up to the stars/sky (*OLD* s.v. 1c); *TLL* 5,2.781.84-782.9; and cf. especially *A.* 3.423; 7.529-30; *Ov. Met.* 11.497-8; *Luc.* 1.416).

The indicative here possibly makes the scenario more 'real'. Cf. *A.* 2.54-5 *et si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras* and Austin *ad loc.* ('the mood of fact is put for the mood of hypothesis to mark how near Laocoon was to success'); also Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. Carm.* 2.17.28 ('the actualizing indicative emphasizes the closeness of Horace's escape'). See K-S. II.403-4, H.-Sz p. 328. See further Barratt (1979) *ad loc.*

undas: The waves are distinguished from the sea as a whole (*pontus*). For the distinction see on 701-2.

601. occurrit gelidus Boreas pelagusque retundit: The strength of Boreas is stressed by the initial spondee (*occurrit*). The alliteration and assonance (-us, -as, -us) in this line create a hissing sound appropriate to a wind and the dactylic rhythm (after initial spondee) suggests the speed of the wind. The conflict between accent and ictus (*gelidus Boreas pelagusque*) is a striking reflection of the conflict between wind and sea; cf. *A.* 4.132 (the disorder of dogs) *Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis*.

'sed' is omitted at the beginning of this line, an example of adversative asyndeton (see K-S II.156). In English 'but' is required (see Duff's tr. above). Heitland (1887) cviii lists more examples of adversative asyndeton in L.. The omission of 'sed' is at times awkward; see 2.85-6 and Fantham *ad loc.*

occurrit: Again reminiscent of a warrior going into battle. For 'occurro' in the sense of military hostility, see *TLL* 9 (2) 392.39ff; *OLD* s.v. 5a) and especially *A.* 12.535-6 *ille* [Tumus] *ruenti Hyllō animisque immane frementi / occurrit*. For 'occurro' used of air/ wind/ or sim. cf. *TLL* 9 (2) 393.34ff (it is used of stars at *Luc.* 10.200).

gelidus Boreas: B. is identical with *Aquilo* two lines later (see on 603). The epithet *gelidus* is appropriate to the wind's origins in the North (cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1.2.29; *Stat. Theb.* 1.193 for 'gelidus Boreas'). Bentley describes the epithet as 'tam iners' and suggests 'validus' instead. See *Ov. Met.* 6.682ff for the portrayal of Boreas as god and lover of Orithyia. Ovid depicts him with wings (703) and dark cloak (705).

pelagusque: see on *maris*, 565.

retundit: Again a word with military associations; cf. *Liv.* 33.36.11 *quorum cum impetus rettudisset inferentem se ferociter hostem*. 'retundo' used of natural forces is not apparently very common, cf. *Sen. Nat.* 6.1.6 *ignis ille caelestis non transverberat terram, sed exiguō eius obiectu retunditur* (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). However 'tundo' used of buffeting by wind or waves is not uncommon (*OLD* s.v. 1c) and cf. *Ov. Am.* 1.6.54 *Borea . . . huc ades et surdas flamine tunde foris!*

602. et dubium pendet, vento cui concidat, aequor: The confusion/hesitation of the sea (*dubium pendet*) is caused by the simultaneous blowing of two winds. The rhythm of the line (with strong pause in 3rd foot, after *pendet*, coinciding with sense pause) stresses the confusion of the sea. In a storm-description, cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1.2.26 *nescit cui domino* (i.e. sea or wind) *pareat unda maris*. The image of a confused sea or ship caught between opposing forces in a storm also lent itself to similes describing a person's inner confusion particularly in Ovid and Seneca; cf. *Ov. Met.* 8.469ff (*Althaea*) *utque carina, / quam ventus ventoque rapit contrarius aestus, / vim geminam sentit paretque incerta duobus; Am.* 2.10.9-10 *erro, velut ventis discordibus acta phaselos, / dividiumque tenent alter et alter amor; Ep.* 21.41-2 *ipsa velut navis iactor quam certus in altum / propellit Boreas, aestus et unda refert; Sen. Ag.* 139-40 (describing *Clytemnestra*) *cum hinc profundum ventus, hinc aestus rapit, / incerta dubitat unda cui cedat malo; Med.* 939ff (*Medea*) *dubiumque fervet pelagus, haut aliter meum / cor fluctuatur*.

dubium: For the general theme of uncertainty in L.'s storm-episode, see also 566, 570, 645-6 and n. on 570. The uncertainty of natural phenomena or tottering edifices or sim. occurs frequently in Seneca's tragedies, cf. *Ag.* 908-9 *stat ecce Titan dubius merito die, /*

*suane currat an Thyestea via; Thy. 120-1 en ipse Titan dubitat an iubeat sequi / cogatque habenis ire periturum diem; 696ff tota succusso solo / nutavit aula, dubia quo pondus daret / ac fluctuanti similis; 723ff educto stetit / ferro cadaver, cumque dubitasset diu, / hac parte an illa caderet, in patruum cadit; Tro. 205-6 impulsu Troia . . . dubia quo caderet stetit. In Lucan, cf. especially 3.589 (describing a man shot through by an arrow): *stetit incertus, flueret quo vulnere, sanguis*. Martindale (1976) 51 comments on the latter: 'L. is not telling us how a man really dies in such a situation, but posing a neat logical dilemma.'*

pendet: The verb may be understood literally ('is suspended in the air') and perhaps also figuratively ('is in a state of mental perplexity', *OLD* s.v. 12a)). For the literal use, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5.369ff (apparently influenced by this passage in L.) *totumque notis certantibus aequor / pendet et aequato iamiam prope sidera dorso / frangitur*. Cf. also Luc. 9.456-7 *pars plurima terrae / tollitur et numquam resoluta vortice pendet*, describing the dust swept up by the winds and suspended in the air during an African sandstorm. (For the comparison of the sandstorm with a sea-storm, see 9.445ff; see also on *torsit*, 604). The figurative sense would add an element of personification to the sea here. For the common combination of 'dubius' and 'pendeo' in a figurative sense, cf. for example 10.542-3 (Caesar) *captus sorte loci pendet; dubiusque timeret / optaretne mori*.

vento cui concidat: The indirect question hangs on the word *dubium* and the subjunctive is deliberative (for the subjunctive after 'dubius', cf. Verg. *G.* 3.289-90 *nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum / quam sit . . .*; Sen. *Tro.* 206 (Troia) *dubia quo caderet stetit; Thy.* 697 *aula, dubia quo pondus daret*).

cui: = *utri*. Cf. 1.126 *quis* (= 'uter') *iustius induit arma / scire nefas* and Getty *ad loc.* who cites A. 12.719 & 727 in addition to the present passage.

concidat: The verb ('to succumb/ fall victim to', *OLD* s.v. 1b)) is military again (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 61.3 *omnes . . . adversis vulneribus conconsiderant*). Here the sea is personified as a victim in the conflict of two winds. The verb is rarely used of winds, but cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.30 *concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes*. Nisbet-Hubbard comment *ad loc.*: 'the word is a violent one, more expressive than the simple *cado*'. By introducing the dative *vento cui* after the verb L. seems to make the military imagery more explicit. Cf. Ovid's image of the sea as slave to two masters (at *Tr.* 1.2.26; *Met.* 8.471, qu. above on 602).

603. Scythici . . . Aquilonis: 'Aquilo' was the Roman name for the Greek Boreas (cf. Plin. *Nat.* 18.333). It often appears in the plural including at Luc. 4.48, 5.720, etc. Strictly

Aquilo/Boreas was the NNE (or NE) wind (Sen. *Nat.* 5.16.6), but was used also, more loosely, of the North wind. For the origin of Boreas/Aquilo in the region of Scythia, see Sen. *Nat.* 5.16.1; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.11; Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 479. See 720-1 for *Aquilonibus* and *Boreae* in the same sentence.

rabies: For the word used of winds, storms, etc. see *OLD* s.v. 3). It first occurs in this sense at Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.14 *rabie* *Noti* (cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.7 *ventorum rabies*; Luc. 9.454 *Aeoliam rabie*). It is also used in L.'s poem of the madness of civil war (cf. 5.261-2 *liceat discedere, Caesar, / a rabie scelerum*; 6.63 *aestuat angusta rabie civilis harena*, etc); and, in the present book, of the frenzy of Apollo's priestess (5.190, 210) and the mutiny of Caesar's men (5.359). The word has a particular association with the character of Caesar who is frequently portrayed as some kind of force of nature, something 'superhuman'. Cf. 2.544 (Pompey of Caesar) *o rabie miseranda ducis!* In Book 7 Caesar is both responsible for the 'rabies' of civil war (7.551 *hic furor, hic rabie, hic sunt tua crimina, Caesar*) and a 'rabies' himself (7.557 *hic Caesar, rabie populis stimulusque furorum*).

603-4. et undas / torsit et abstrusas penitus vada fecit harenas: 'it lashed the waves in circles and changed to shallows the sands hidden far below' (tr. Duff).

Bentley reads *una* for *undas* and interprets this as the wind uprooting the sand at the bottom of the sea causing it to rise and make the sea appear shallow. He was no doubt influenced by Verg. *G.* 3.240-1 *ima exaestuat unda / verticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam*. However, Duff's interpretation must be correct. i.e. the twisting action of the wind exposes the sea-bed. The idea is repeated later in the storm-episode at 643-4 (see n. *ad loc.*).

torsit: For 'torqueo' with sea as object, see *OLD* s.v. 8c). It occurs from Catullus onwards (cf. 64.13 *torta . . . remigio spumis incanuit unda*). Vergil uses the verb twice in his storm in *Aeneid* 1 but in each case of the effect of the storm on the ships rather than the sea (1.108, 117).

604. abstrusas penitus . . . harenas: literally, 'sands hidden deeply', i.e. the deep sea. For the combination 'abstrusas penitus', cf. Man. 2.766 *erutaque abstrusa penitus caligine* (= 'deep-seated darkness') *fata*. See Schwemmler (1916) for other echoes of Manilius in L.. 'abstrudo' occurs rather rarely in poetry, though several times in Plautus. Vergil uses the verb twice of fire hidden in rocks (*A.* 6.6; *G.* 1.135). For this use of the adverb 'penitus', cf. 6.210 *viscera tuta latent penitus* and *OLD* s.v. 2a).

fecit: For the double accusative after 'facio' see K-S. I.292ff; *TLL* 6,1.111.77ff. In L., cf. also 3.61 [*mare*] *medias fecit sibi litora terras*; 4.308 *auxilium fecere famem*; 6.79 *et fit saepe nefas iaculum*.

harenas: see on *harenas*, 643.

605-6. nec perfert pontum Boreas ad saxa suumque / in fluctus Cori frangit mare: 'but Boreas could not carry the sea right to the shore but dashed its own sea against the waves of Corus'.

L. may be 'correcting' Vergil (cf. *A.* 1.86 *vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus* (and Hom. *Od.* 3.295)) since the scenario in the earlier poet would according to strict logic be impossible with winds blowing against each other. The first two spondees in 605 and first three spondees in 606 perhaps reflect the strength and effort of Boreas as it clashes with Corus. The alliteration in these lines (pp, ss, ff, mm) conveys the sounds made by the winds and the sea.

605. nec: = *sed non* (*OLD* s.v. 'neque' 5)).

perfert: = conveys, carries (with an added idea of successful delivery). See also 674 below (*Caesarem*) *pertulit unda*. The verb is frequently used of natural forces from Plautus onwards (*OLD* s.v. 1a); *TLL* 10,1.1356.30ff). Cf. especially Pl. *Rud.* 372 *vix hodie ad litus pertulit nos ventus exanimatas*. In L., cf. 4.82 (rainbow) *raptosque ad nubila fluctus / pertulit*, and 10.253-4 *omnia flumina Nilus / . . . perfert*.

pontum: see on *maris*, 565.

Boreas: see on *Scythici . . . Aquilonis*, 603.

ad saxa: = 'to the shore'.

suumque: The *-que* is adversative (H-Sz. II.481d; *OLD* s.v. 6b)). It joins a positive clause to a preceding negative one. The usage is common in L.. See Mayer on 8.301 and Heitland (1887) cviii for other examples in L.. In the storm-episode, cf. 549, 618.

suumque / in fluctus Cori . . . mare: Winds are said to 'possess' the sea over which they blow; hence *suum mare* and *fluctus Cori* (see on *mare Cori*, 572).

606. Cori: see on *Core*, 599.

frangit: 'frango' is used with a variety of meanings in connection with water (see also 646 and 705 for different uses). Here it means 'to dash x against y' (*TLL* 6.1.1244.30ff). Cf. Prop. 2.6.17-18 *aspera Centauros eadem dementia iussit / frangere in adversum pocula Pirithoum*; Stat. *Ach.* 1.114 *aut consanguineos fracti crateres in hostes*. The image here of sea being dashed against sea is similar to 1.100ff where the elimination of Crassus which precipitated conflict between the two other members of the Triumvirate is compared to a break in the Isthmus of Corinth causing two seas to be dashed against each other (*qualiter undas / qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos / nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat, / Ionium Aegaeo franget mare . . .*). This last passage is discussed by Nutting (1931) 249-51 who concludes that the subject of *franget* is 'Isthmos, si terra recedat' and *Aegaeo* = 'against the Aegean'.

Pace Bartsch (1997) 27 n.44 *frangit* in the present passage cannot be taken to mean 'frangi sinit' (cf. Housman's n. on 1.103 which states that *franget* = 'frangi sinit' and also 8.74 with Mayer *ad loc.*). It should be taken in a properly active sense, conveying the violent conflict between the different seas, i.e. Boreas actively dashes its sea against Corus'. 'frango' is a verb which clearly appealed to L.; it appears 52 times in the poem (cf. 19x in Verg. *A.*; 19x in Ov. *Met.*).

606-7. motaque possunt / aequora subductis etiam concurrere ventis: The point here is to show how strong the winds were (the disturbance caused by the winds was such that the waves would have gone on clashing even if the winds were removed). The image of the sea continuing to be disturbed after the winds have died down is often used to illustrate the long-lasting effects of passions such as fear or love or madness. It is found from Ovid onwards. Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2.775ff (in a simile describing the effect of love continuing in the absence of the loved one) *ut solet a magno fluctus languescere flatu, / sed tamen a vento, qui fuit, unda tumet*; Sen. *Her. O.* 710-11 (simile of soul troubled even after fear has been allayed) *ut fractus austro pontus etiamnum tumet, / quamvis quiescat languidis ventis dies*; Sen. *Her. F.* 1088ff (on lingering madness) *nec adhuc omnes expulit aestus, / sed ut ingenti vexata noto / servat longos unda tumultus / et iam vento cessante tumet*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.2.3 *velut profundum mare, in quo post ventum quoque volutatio est, fluctuantur, nec umquam illis a cupiditatibus suis otium est*, Stat. *Theb.* 7.86ff *ut si quando ruit debellatasque relinquit / Eurus aquas, pax ipsa tumet pontumque iacentem / exanimis iam volvit hiemps: nondum arma carinis / omnia, nec toto respirant pectore nautae*. At Luc. 6.469-70 a sea swelling without winds is part of a list of 'unnatural' occurrences resulting from the spells of Thessalian witches: *ventis cessantibus aequor / intumuit*. (With this cf.

Sen. *Med.* 765-6 (part of a list of unnatural occurrences brought about by Medea) *sonuere fluctus, tumuit insanum mare / tacente vento.*) There is no need to see the present passage as envisaging something unnatural however. The 2nd c. A.D. writer Aulus Gellius (2.30) describes the phenomenon of waves continuing to swell after the winds have subsided as a purely natural occurrence.

possunt: For the indicative mood here, see Woodcock (1959) §125, §200.

mota . . . aequora: Cf. *A.* 1.135 *motos . . . fluctus.*

607. subductis . . . ventis: The ablative absolute expresses an unfulfilled condition ('even if the winds were hushed (which they were not)'). For 'subduco' used of natural phenomena, cf. *Lucr.* 1.1106 *neve . . . terra . . . se pedibus raptim subducat;* *Verg. A.* 3.565 *subducta ad Manis imos desedimus unda.*

concurrere: Here a verb often used of enemies engaging in battle (see *OLD* s.v. 3); *TLL* 4.108.77ff and cf. 1.40 *ultima funesta concurrant proelia Munda*) is used to describe the clashing waves of the sea. L. clearly has in mind *Verg. G.* 1.318 *omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi* (*concurrere* is used later at *G.* 1.489 of civil war). L. uses the verb elsewhere of stars clashing with stars (1.75, though here the text is in doubt) and mountain with mountain (7.173) in descriptions of chaos. For military language in L.'s battle of winds, see on *concita*, 597.

608-12. Having described the actual activities of Corus and Aquilo/Boreas in some detail, the poet goes on to imagine the activities of Eurus, Notus and finally all the winds (*cunctos*) in a tricolon with parts of increasing length. The poet's interjection reaches a climax with the 3rd item of the 'tricolon' (a positive statement after two negative ones). Alliteration conveys a sense of the battling winds in these lines. Particularly noticeable are the 'c' sounds in 610; the 't' sounds in 611; and the 's' sounds throughout.

The blowing of all winds at once was a standard component of storms in earlier epic (cf. *Hom. Od.* 5.295-6; *Pac. trag.* 415; *Verg. A.* 1.82-6; *Ov. Met.* 11.490-1). Seneca (*Nat.* 5.16.2) had pointed out the physical impossibility of all winds blowing simultaneously in one storm and therefore the error of the poets (although this did not stop him from including the blowing of Eurus, Zephyrus, Boreas and Notus all at once at *Ag.* 474ff!). Clearly aware of this stricture, L. includes the topos here with some reservation: the subjunctive *crediderim* suggests imagination or appearance rather than reality. Thereby

the poet could indicate skepticism regarding the topos while at the same time including it in his storm-account ('to make his battle of the winds complete', Morford (1967) 41). Note also the mention of the Aeolian cave in the same sentence, qualified by *crediderim*. Cf. Martindale (1976) 50 on how the qualifying *crediderim* 'mocks the conventions of the genre.' Bramble (1982) 554-5 I think wrongly interprets L. here as saying that all the winds did in fact blow (he mistranslates *cunctos solita de parte ruentes / defendisse suas* not making it part of the indirect statement after *crediderim*). Arist. *Mete.* 364 a 27ff stated that, while opposite winds could not blow at the same time, there was nothing to stop two that were not opposites. L. has therefore chosen two with special relevance to Caesar's journey, Corus and Boreas, for an *actual* conflict (598-607) and relegated the other two, Eurus and Notus, to something the poet only *imagines* (608-12). He concludes by stating the logical outcome of the topos – i.e. since all winds blew at once the sea remained in its place (612) – thereby breathing new life into it.

608. non: To be taken with *cessasse*, not *crediderim*.

cessasse: The verb is used of winds being still at *Aetna* 166 (the date and authorship of this work is uncertain; see Goodyear on *Aetna* pp. 56-9) and elsewhere not before the younger Seneca (*TLL* 3.961.33-8). In L., cf. 3.68; 6.469.

minas: See on *minas*, 578.

imbribus atrum: Cf. *A.* 1.85-6 *creberque procellis / Africus*. Austin notes *ad loc.*: 'The construction, an adjective with dependent noun in the ablative, is a substitute for a compound epithet. Such compounding, natural to Greek, is a feature of early Latin; but greater linguistic sophistication brought severe restrictions.' Cf. *imbricator* in Ennius (qu. in n. on 597-612). For similar epithets attached to the names of winds, cf. also *A.* 2.417-18 *Zephyrusque Notusque et laetus Eois / Eurus equis*; Sen. *Ag.* 481 *gravis nimbis Notus*. This practice may suggest the epithets used to describe warriors in Homeric and Vergilian epic. For the line-ending, cf. Verg. *G.* 1.236 *imbribus atris*; *A.* 5.693 *imbribus atra*.

atrum: For winds described as black, cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.375; Verg. *G.* 1.320; 3.278; Catul. 68.63; Hor. *Carm.* 1.5.6-7; Luc. 9.320; Sil. 17.249. For colours in L., see on *niger*, 564.

609. Aeolii . . . sub carcere saxi: an allusion to the traditional role in epic storms of Aeolus, the mythical king of Aeolia who was made guardian of the winds by Zeus and kept them in a cave on his island and could release them as he wished or as some god

instructed (Hom. *Od.* 10.1ff; Verg. *A.* 1.52ff; 139-41; Ov. *Met.* 11.431-2). Aeolus is carefully characterised in both Homer and Vergil. In Homer he is head of a large family, living a blessed life of feasting in a fine palace. The portrayal emphasises his human aspects. In Vergil, a vivid picture is given of Aeolus as a king, seated on his citadel and holding a sceptre, in firm control of the unruly winds. He plays a vital part in unleashing the storm in *Aeneid* 1 from which so much results.

L. has reduced to a mere passing reference what were carefully constructed portrayals of Aeolus in Homer and Vergil and, as one would expect, completely eliminates any element of personification (Quintus Smyrnaeus on the other hand in his 4th c. A.D. epic describes Aeolus in some detail in the Homeric manner). Aeolus here is referred to only indirectly by means of an adjective, as though the poet were making a cursory 'nod' to the tradition in which he was writing. (Aeolus appears two other times in L.'s poem, possibly three - see Bentley's emendation *Aeolii* at 2.457 - but, significantly, again only in adjective form: 2.665; 9.454.) Furthermore, by placing the mythological allusion firmly in the realm of what the poet imagined (see on *crediderim*) as opposed to in the narrative of what *actually* happened, the importance of the reference to Aeolus is weakened still further. Cf. the mention of Jupiter and Neptune at 620ff, but only in a simile.

carcere: The concept of a vast subterranean prison for the winds which L. retains here, was Vergil's invention (cf. *A.* 1.54 *carcere*; 141 *clauso ventorum carcere*). See Heinze (1957) 75; Austin on 1.52; Hardie (1986) 90-1 and n.17. L. would no doubt have subscribed to the scientific view concerning the winds expressed by Seneca at *Nat.* 6.18.4 (quoting the Vergil passage Seneca argues that, despite what the poets say, winds cannot be imprisoned – for they would not then be winds). Nevertheless, L. pays tribute to his model Vergil by his reference to the 'cave of the Aeolian rock'. The cave of Aeolus is one of the mythological references in contemporary poetry ridiculed by Juvenal at 1.7ff (*Aeoliis . . . rupibus*, 1.8). For suggestions of the Gigantomachy and potential cosmic catastrophe in Vergil's description of winds in Aeolus' cave, see Hardie (1986) 90-97.

iacuisse: The verb 'iaceo' personifies the winds as prisoners, an idea adopted from Vergil (see previous n.). For 'iaceo' meaning 'to lie in prison', see *TLL* 7, 1.12.74-80.

Notum: The South wind (mentioned already at 571).

610. crediderim: 'I cannot but believe' (tr. Duff). A potential subjunctive with present force. Here the 1st person subjunctive of a verb of thinking/believing serves to soften a hyperbole (see above on 608-12). With this cf. 7.768 *ingemuisse putem campos*. Cf. also *A.* 8.691-2

pelago credas innare revulsas / Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos (and Statius' imitation at *Theb.* 5.338-9 *abruptam credas radicibus ire / Ortygiam aut fractum pelago decurrere montem*); *Ov. Met.* 11.517 *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum*; *Sen. Ag.* 486 *ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos / decidere et atrum rebus induci chaos*. The 1st or 2nd person of 'credo' is not uncommon in descriptive passages in both epic and other genres; see *TLL* 4.1146.71ff. For other places where the poet intrudes directly at emotional moments in the narrative, cf. 1.417; 7.436; 7.552-3; 8.827. For other expressions denoting appearance as opposed to reality in L.'s storm-description, see also *sunt visa quati*, 564; *videntur*, 634. In all three cases a psychological element is introduced by means of the presumed presence of an observer/observers.

610-11. cunctos solita de parte ruentes / defendisse suas violento turbine terras: The mention of all the winds (*cunctos*) after the singling out of Eurus and Notus in the previous lines is reminiscent of the construction at *A.* 2.414-5 (Vergil's description of the gathering of the Greek army together) *undique collecti invadunt, acerrimus Ajax / et gemini Atridae Dolopumque exercitus omnis* (and n.b. the comparison with a storm at 416-9). Military imagery is present again (*ruentes, defendisse suas . . . terras*).

610. cunctos: i.e. all the winds. The word is emphasised by alliteration and the pauses before and after it (2nd and 3rd foot strong caesurae).

solita de parte: For the different regions from which the winds originated, cf. especially *Ov. Met.* 1.61-6; *Sen. Nat.* 5.16.1.

ruentes: see on *ruunt*, 597.

611. defendisse suas . . . terras: Cf. 9.321 [*Auster*] *in sua regna furens temptatum classibus aequor / turbine defendit. longeque a Syrtibus undas / egit et in lato confregit litore pontum*. Here the winds kept the sea from flooding their lands by driving it back from their own shores. The result was that the sea remained within its own bounds (612).

violento turbine: 'with violent hurricane'. The identical phrase occurs at the same position in the line at *Lucr.* 5.217; 368; 1231.

terras: i.e. the lands from which the winds originated.

612. pelagus: The sea as a whole, as opposed to the *parva aequora* (612).

mansisse loco: i.e. the sea did not flood the lands but kept within its normal boundaries (due to the simultaneous blowing of all winds). The idea may derive from Seneca's rather paradoxical description of the flooding of the universe at *Nat.* 3.27.10 (the sea, swollen by the influx of rivers, threatens to overflow its boundaries but the torrents of the rivers prevent it from doing so and drive its waves back): *iam enim promovet litus nec continetur suis finibus; sed prohibent exire torrentes aguntque fluctum retro.* Borzsák (1983) 29 believes that L. is trying to outdo Vergil here; cf. *A.* 10.356ff (an equally-matched battle is compared to equally matched winds which result in a long, undecided fight) *magno discordes aethere venti / proelia ceu tollunt animis et viribus aequis: / non ipsi inter se, non nubila, non mare cedit, / anceps pugna diu, stant obnixa omnia contra.* (L. goes further than Vergil by exploring the logical consequences of all winds blowing at once.)

612-20. The merging of seas, submerging of mountains and waves coming from Ocean which encircles the world.

In this section the enormous scale of the storm and the strength of the winds is shown through reminiscence of the Stoic theory of the universal destruction. L. in this way makes it clear that his storm goes far beyond the storms found in his predecessors in the epic tradition. Hints of the universal destruction (by flooding and/or by fire) have already occurred at 561-4 (see n. *ad loc.*) but here L. describes things as reality and not merely appearance. See n. on 615-17 for Gigantomachic allusions.

Two passages from the younger Seneca's description of the destruction are particularly relevant to this section:

- i) *Nat.* 3.29.7-8 describing how separate seas will be merged and the Ocean which surrounded the earth would come into the centre: *fretum saliet et maria inter se componet. nihil erunt Adria, nihil Siculi aequoris fauces, nihil Charybdis, nihil Scylla; omnes novum mare fauces obruet et hic qui terras cingit oceanus extrema sortitus veniet in medium . . . peribunt tot nomina, Caspium et Rubrum mare, Ambracii et Cretici sinus, Propontis et Pontus; peribit omne discrimen; confundetur quicquid in suas partes natura digessit.* Compare in L. 612-14 (the merging of the seas) and 617-20 (the waves come from Ocean).
- ii) *Nat.* 3.27.11 describing the submerging of mountains: *iam omnia, qua prospici potest, aquis obsidentur; omnis tumulus in profundo latet et immensa ubique altitudo est. tantum in summis montium iugis vada sunt; in ea excelsissima cum liberis coniugibusque fugerunt actis ante se gregibus.* Compare in L. 615-17. Behind both Seneca and L. here of course lies the important flood description in *Ov. Met.* 1

(several lines of which are quoted by Seneca at *Nat.* 3.27.13-14). See nn. on 615-17; 617 below. For further influence of the *Met.* passage, see also on 650-3.

612-13. nam parva procellis / aequora rapta ferunt: 'Small seas were caught up by the storm and carried by the winds' (tr. Duff).

i.e. 'venti' must be understood as the subject of *ferunt*. This is a little awkward since the sea not the winds was the focus of attention immediately before. Bentley got round the problem by suggesting *procellae* should be read for *procellis*. However such awkward changes of subject are not unusual in L. (see Heitland (1887) cvii; Flobert (1998)).

There is surely an allusion here to the merging of separate seas at the time of the Stoic universal catastrophe (see previous n.). Morford aptly compares the migration of rivers at 4.114ff *non habeant amnes declivem ad litora cursum / sed pelagi referantur aquis, concussaue tellus / laxet iter fluviis: hos campos Rhenus inundet, / hos Rhodanus, vastos obliquent flumina fontes*. Both phenomena reflect the awry chaotic state of the world in the midst of civil war. Silius probably had the present passage in mind when he described different parts of the sea being seized and carried by different winds at Sil. 17.246ff *primus, se attollens Nasamonum sedibus, Auster / nudavit Syrtim correpta nubilus unda; / insequitur sublime ferens nigrantibus alis / abruptum Boreas ponti latus; intonat ater / discordi flatu et partem rapit aequoris Eurus*.

612. nam: The causal sense of 'nam' is absent here (Duff leaves it untranslated) and the word is used rather to introduce a new point; see *OLD* s.v. 4) and K-S. II.119 (Anmerk).

parva: A number of scholars have found the word *parva* (found in the mss) difficult on the grounds that the Tyrrhene & Adriatic seas (614) could not be called small. Burman therefore proposed negating *parva* by changing the preceding word *nam* to *nec*; Weise changed *nam* to *non* and Housman conjectured *priva* ('separate') for *parva*. (See *TLL* 10 (2) 9.1417.6ff for frequent confusion in mss of 'privus' with 'primus', 'prius', 'pravus' and 'parvus'.) However, as Housman admitted himself the word 'privus' is 'priscum' (old-fashioned) and does not appear in any other epic poets (*TLL* 10.2.1416.74-1417.2). E. Fraenkel (1926) 511 points out that Housman rightly saw an opposition between *pelagus* and the individual parts of it, but that his conjecture was 'stilwidrig' (stylistically incongruous/inappropriate). Fraenkel therefore preferred to keep the mss reading, believing that the phrase *parva aequora* could signify the individual seas. Mayer (1981) 116-17 and Schrijvers (1983) 431-3 both also disagree with Housman's emendation calling it (respectively) somewhat over-subtle and superfluous. Indeed there seems to be no strong reason to reject the mss reading *parva* and, in its favour, it might be argued that in

a storm on such a large scale as L.'s, the individual seas could plausibly be called small (note also the surely deliberate contrast with *magno mari* in 619).

procellis: Cf. Serv. A. 1.85: 'procella est vis venti cum pluvia'.

613. ferunt: For 'fero' used of winds, see on 596. For winds carrying the sea, cf. 605 above *nec perfert pontum Boreas ad saxa*; also Verg. A. 1.58-9 *ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum / quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras*; Sil. 4.322 *pontum . . . fert Boreas Eurusque refert*.

613-14. Aegaeas transit in undas / Tyrrhenum, sonat Ionio vagus Hadria ponto: All 4 seas named here would of course have been very familiar to L.'s Roman audience. The Aegean is to the East of Greece; the Tyrrhene off the West coast of Italy. The Ionian is to the SE of Italy and the Adriatic between Italy and modern-day Croatia. The distance between Aegean and Tyrrhene seas was particularly large, but the point is not how far the seas had migrated, but the fact that they had at all. The naming of 4 seas gives a sense of the large scale of the storm. It is not a feature of other storm-descriptions and Paratore (1990) 15 may be right to suggest that this naming, like the naming of individual winds and of specific place-names, is part of L.'s desire to display his scientific and geographical knowledge (see also on 539-59; and 612-20 i) for Seneca's description of the merging of seas at the time of the universal destruction by flood where individual seas are also named).

613. transit: Used also of the River Po in flood (6.276) in a simile describing Pompey scattering his forces. Here too natural boundaries are breached, a familiar symptom of chaos.

614. vagus: The wandering of the Tyrrhene sea signifies the crossing of boundaries associated with chaos. The word 'vagus' is favoured by L. appearing 24 times in his poem. Its association with boundlessness (i.e. chaos) made it an appropriate word for the theme of his poem. It is used of the River Nile in flood (10.310, 327), and of characters associated with chaos or madness: the priestess Phemonoe (5.126), Mars/war (6.579) and, significantly, Caesar himself (*hic Caesar rabies populis stimulusque furorum / . . . agmina circum / it vagus*, 7.557-9).

Tyrrhenum . . . Hadria: The seas are referred to as *mare infernum* and *mare superum* respectively at 2.400.

615-17. a quotiens frustra pulsatos aequore montes / obruit ille dies! quam celsa cacumina pessum / tellus victa dedit!: The two exclamations in these lines show the poet's emotional involvement in his own narrative. This is a common feature in L.. Cf. for example 7.411; 445ff; 535ff. A number of words suggest that L. is influenced by Seneca's description of the Stoic universal destruction and Ovid's Flood description in *Met.* 1: Cf. Sen. *Nat.* 3.29.9 *unus humanum genus condet dies . . . magnarumque gentium regna pessum dabit*; *Dial.* 11.1.2 *hoc universum, quod omnia divina humanaque complectitur, si fas putas credere, dies aliquis dissipabit et in confusionem veterem tenebrasque demerget* (in L. *ille dies*, 616; *pessum . . . dedit*, 616-7); Ov. *Met.* 1.309-10 *obruerat tumulos inmensa licentia ponti, / pulsabantque novi montana cacumina fluctus* (in L. *pulsatos*, 615; *obruit, cacumina*, 616). See also below on *ille dies*, 616.

However the hyperbole of mountains being sent to the bottom of the sea is remarkable and outdoes anything in the Senecan or Ovidian passages (see on *pessum . . . dedit*, 616-17). Is the poet here imagining things from the point of view of those on the sea (i.e. were the mountains lost to their view (buried), and not *literally* submerged in the waves)? Hardie (1986) 243-4 points out a similar hyperbole at *A.* 1.88-9 *eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque / Teucrorum ex oculis* (note Servius *ad loc.*: '*quod autem dixit diem eripi, ad videntum oculos rettulit, non ad naturam*'). It seems more likely that a literal interpretation is intended here. Similar hyperbolic descriptions which give an impression of monumental scale are seen elsewhere in the poem (cf. 6.32ff where Caesar, giant-like, is described as single-handedly carrying whole houses and city-walls and breaking through mountains in his construction of siege-works at Dyrrhachium). Something similar is also seen in Ovid *Met.* 12.507ff: in the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs whole mountainsides and forests are thrown upon the victim Caeneus. But perhaps we should see here in the description of mountains sent to the bottom of the sea a specific allusion to descriptions of Gigantomachy where mountains are wrenched from their foundations and used as weapons. (If the mountains here are sent to the bottom of the sea, they are presumably uprooted first.) Note a similar hyperbole at *Luc.* 2.665-8 (Caesar's siege-works at Brundisium are compared to mountains thrown into the sea) *ut maris Aeolii medias si celsus in undas / depellatur Eryx, nullae tamen aequore rupes / emineant, vel si convolso vertice Gaurus / decidat in fundum penitus stagnantis Avernii*. Such hyperboles were particularly fashionable after Vergil. For Gigantomachic influence in *A.* 8.691-2 (describing the ships at Actium as mountains which have been uprooted and crash into each other) see Hardie (1986) 100ff. Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 11.554-5 (comparing the violence of the last wave in the Ceyx-Alcyone episode to Mts. Athos and Pindus being uprooted and thrown into the sea): *nec levius, quam siquis Athon Pindumve revulsos / sede sua totos in*

apertum everterit aequor. L. seems to make a reality what is only imagined in Vergil and Ovid. So, the upsetting of the natural order implied in these lines may be taken as an indication of the cosmic scale both of the storm and by extension of the civil war of which the storm is a metaphor. The Gigantomachy is referred to several times in L.'s poem, sometimes as an analogy of civil war: see 1.33-7; 3.315-20; 4.593; 6.665; 7.144-50; 9.656.

The idea in these lines contradicts both 612 and 625-6 which suggest that the sea was kept in its place (by the winds and by Jupiter by means of clouds respectively). This caused Burman to be baffled and to assume that L. was here describing an earlier storm, not the present one. However it seems better to assume that L. is simply being inconsistent. Note 638ff where the height of the waves is compared to the height of a mountain and 650ff where the sailors fear running aground on the tops of the Ceraunian mountains, both contradicting 625-6 (or do these passages signify an intensification of the storm?). In L.'s storm consistency is sacrificed to the ingenuity of his story-telling. See on 650-3.

615-16. a quotiens frustra pulsatos aequore montes / obruit ille dies!: Cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.309-10 where the waves of the mythical Flood buried hills and battered the peaks of mountains but without submerging them (see qu. in n. on 615-17). L. seems to be suggesting that in all previous storms (*a quotiens*) the sea had failed to submerge mountains, while in the present storm even the highest mountains were finally submerged.

a quotiens: The phrase occurs first in Propertius (1.18.21; 1.5.13) and later (often) in Ovid (e.g. *Met.* 2.489; 491; 15.490). V. Fl. has it too at 1.447.

a: The emotional interjection is found mainly in poetry, rarely in prose speech (*TLL* 1.1441.41-2; *OLD* s.v.). It is common in Roman comedy, and also in the neoteric poets (*TLL* 1.1442.23ff) showing the influence of Hellenistic poetry; e.g. it occurs 5 times in Catullus' longer poems (64.71 *a misera*; etc.) and at Calvus fr. 9 *a virgo infelix*. Vergil uses it in the *Eclogues* (8x) and *Georgics* (2x), but avoids it completely in the *Aeneid*, preferring instead 'heu' (34x). See Clausen on *Ecl.* 10.47 for Vergil's imitation of Hellenistic models and Clausen (1987) 60 and 150 n.83. See also Ross (1969) 51-3.

L. uses the word 4 times in the poem (here, at 6.328, 6.724 & 7.555), 3 times in his own person. 7.555 (the famous passage in which the poet professes his refusal to speak any more of the war) stands out as particularly highly charged with emotion: *a potius pereant lacrimae pereantque querellae: / quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo*. See on 690 for L.'s use of 'heu'.

frustra: i.e. because the waves could not submerge them. The word is used 18 times in the poem (the metrically less convenient *nequiquam* three times).

616. obruit: Probably an echo of Ovid's Flood description; see on 615-17. The important word is emphasised by its position at the beginning of the line.

ille dies: 'dies' referring to a specific day occurs regularly in the poem, with the highest number (19) occurring in book 7 which covers of course the decisive day of the battle of Pharsalia. The phrase *ille dies* is dramatic (cf. *A.* 4.169 (on the union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave) *ille dies primus leti*).

Particularly relevant in the present context is *Lucr.* 5.92-6 where Lucretius argues that the world will perish because it is mortal and that this will happen in a single day: *principio maria ac terras caelumque tuere; / quorum naturam triplicem, tria corpora, Memmi, / tris species tam dissimilis, tria talia texta, / una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos / sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi*. Ovid adapts the line in his praise of Lucretius' poem at *Am.* 1.15.23-4 (*carmina sublimis tunc sunt peritura Lucreti, / exitio terras cum dabit una dies*) and McKeown *ad loc.* comments on *una dies* that it is perfectly intelligible even without reference to Lucretius since such phrases are regularly used from Greek tragedy onwards in declarations of the drastic mutability of fortune. (See n. on 615-17 above for *unus dies* and *aliquis dies* in Seneca's description of the Stoic universal destruction.) By changing the indefinite article to the demonstrative *ille* here L. therefore seems to be suggesting that the much-forecast 'day of universal destruction' had in fact arrived in his storm.

ille: The mss have both *ille* (PUV) and *illa* (ZMG) and modern editors disagree about the correct reading (Housman, Shackleton Bailey choose *ille*; Haskins, Weber, Luck, Bourgery *illa*). The gender of *dies* has been the subject of much discussion. See *TLL* 5.1.1022.75-1024.46; Fraenkel in *Kleine Beit.* 1.64-5; and in *Glotta* 8.1917.24ff; Hoffmann in *Philol.* 93.1938.265ff; Austin on *A.* 4.169f; Norden on *A.* 6.429. Vergil uses the feminine *dies* only where it allows a short vowel at the end of the accompanying attribute (i.e. only in the nominative singular). Where the ending of the adjective with *dies* in nom. sg. offered no advantage (as in the case of *ille/illa*), Vergil always uses the masculine *dies*. So Vergil never has *illa dies* (*ille dies* occurs at *Ecl.* 8.8; *G.* 1.434; *A.* 2.249; 4.169). Fraenkel concludes that in classical prose the masculine only could sharply fix a single day while the feminine is used for 'time allowed, including a final day'. However there seem to have been no fixed rules in poetry and Ovid has *illa dies* frequently. L. has *illa dies* at 7.254 (of a promised day) and *ille dies* at 2.99 and 3.634. It therefore does not seem possible to

decide on the question of *ille* or *illa* in the present passage with any certainty. However following Housman, it seems better to choose *ille* since the sense of *dies* here seems to be closer to *ille dies* at 2.99 and 3.634 than *illa dies* at 7.254. See also *dies* at 660 below.

616-17. quam celsa cacumina pessum / tellus victa dedit!: 'What lofty peaks the conquered earth sent to the bottom of the sea!'

The juxtaposition of opposing ideas in *celsa cacumina* and *pessum* is very effective and the whole idea is rather paradoxical.

pessum . . . dedit: 'sent to the bottom'. The verb is archaic. It occurs in Roman comedy (7x in Plautus; 2x in Terence) and Pacuvius 320 R² and Caecil. 49 R² and is rare afterwards (especially in poetry). It is more often used figuratively in the sense of 'to destroy, ruin', but L. uses it here literally of mountains being sent to the bottom of the sea. He surely had in mind Seneca's use of the verb to describe the burial of the human race at the time of the universal destruction (see *Nat.* 3.29.9 qu. in n. on 615-17) and perhaps also Lucr. 6.589 (describing cities being sent to the bottom of the sea during an earthquake) *multae per mare pessum subsedere suis pariter cum civibus urbes*.

victa: sc. 'undis'. The earth is covered over by the sea. For 'vinco' in storm-descriptions, see on *victis*, 596.

617-20. The waves come from beyond the known world, from Ocean and they are clearly exceptional (*tam validi*, 618; *monstriferos*, 620). The idea is expressed rather repetitively in two different ways no doubt for emphasis. The alliteration, particularly of 'm', creates a menacing atmosphere. Note the four different words for the sea/waves in 3 lines: *fluctus*, *mari*, *unda*, *sinus*. This is common in L.'s poem; see Fantham (1992) 38.

617. non ullo litore: *non* is answered by *-que* ('but') in the next line. The negation emphasises perhaps how L.'s storm differs in scale from all previous storms. Cf. also 650 below. For the lack of shores, cf. especially Ov. *Met.* 1.291-2 (the Flood) *iamque mare et tellus nullum discrimen habebant: / omnia pontus erat, deerant quoque litora ponto*.

618. alioque ex orbe: 'but from another part of the world'. i.e. from beyond the Mediterranean. The *-que* is adversative (see on 605-6). For this meaning of 'orbis', see *TLL* 9.2.917.70ff and *OLD* s.v. 13a). Cf. the description of Caesar at 5.238 *victrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem* where a comparison is clearly being made between Caesar and Alexander (Fantham (1985) 127). See above on *inexperto . . . profundo*, 486 for

Alexander's association with the outermost edges of the world and with Ocean; and cf. especially Curt. 9.6.20 on Alexander's ambition to pass beyond the world's extremities to 'another part of the world': *iamque haud procul absum fine mundi, quem egressus aliam Naturam, alium orbem aperire mihi statui*. The provenance of the waves from Ocean does not simply allude to the Stoic destruction of the world by flooding therefore, but is appropriate in a storm involving Caesar 'for whom the world was not enough' (tr. Duff) (10.456 *cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis*). See further on *mundi*, 481 for the global dimensions of the civil war (and the storm).

voluti: Passive in middle sense. The verb indicates the undulating motion of the waves. Cf. A. 1.86 [*venti*] *vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*, 3.196 *continuo venti volvunt mare*. See also *volumina* of waves at 565.

619. a magno . . . mari: 'magnum mare' here is the Atlantic Ocean, also called 'Oceanus'. For the Stoic idea alluded to here of the waters of Ocean coming into the centre at the final catastrophe, see above on 612-20. According to ancient belief Ocean encircled the known world, was the source of all other waters of the world & of all created things human and divine; and at the shores of Ocean was the abode of the dead (Hom. *Il.* 14.201; 246; *Od.* 10.508ff). As early as Herodotus (2.21,23; 4.8, 36) the notion that the River Ocean flowed around the earth was rejected as ridiculous, but the concept of Ocean remained in the poets long after its physical truth had been abandoned. Cf. A. 4.480-2 for Ocean as the boundary of the world; G. 4.382 for Ocean as *patrem rerum*. The land which the Ocean encircled was, for the Romans, coterminous with the boundaries of the Roman empire. Luc. 8.797-9 indicates a belief that a) the known world was equivalent to the extent of the Roman empire; and b) that the known world 'floated' on the encircling Ocean (see Mayer *ad loc.*). The waters of Ocean were said to enter the Mediterranean through outlets such as the 'Pillars of Hercules'/Straits of Cadiz between Spain and Africa; see Hunink on 3.279.

Various names were given to the sea surrounding the Roman empire (*parva quaedam insula est circumfusa illo mari, quod Atlanticum, quod magnum, quem Oceanum apellatis in terris*, Cic. *Rep.* 6.21); *Atlanticum*, *ab aliis Magnum*, Plin. *Nat.* 3.74). However 'magnum mare' is used also to refer to the sea in general as opposed to any specific sea (Enn. *Ann.* 445; Lucr. 2.1; Verg. A. 5.628) or even to the Mediterranean sea (Pliny *Nat.* 9.47), so in order to avoid confusion probably L. elaborates with the words *mundumque coercens . . . unda*, 619-20.

mundumque: Here, the known (i.e. Roman) world. For this meaning of 'mundus', see *TLL* 8.1638.21ff. *-que* introduces a clarification or explanation of what has already been described in the previous two lines (see also 1.35; 7.347, 545; 8.148).

coercens: Cf. Ovid's description of the First Creation at *Met.* 1.30-31 *circumfluus umor / ultima possedit solidumque coeruit orbem* and Bömer *ad loc.* for further references to the earth being surrounded by water. L.'s use of the Ovidian coinage 'circumfluus' twice in his poem (at 4.407 and 10.476) shows that he was familiar with this passage. Cf. Catullus' description of Ocean at 64.30 *Oceanusque, mari totum qui amplectitur orbem*. Here the present participle *coercens* replaces a relative clause; see on *cadentia*, 562.

620. monstiferos: Duff's slightly ambiguous translation 'teeming' reflects the difficulty of interpreting *monstiferos* here. The word may be taken both literally ('full of sea-creatures') (so Sulpitius, Grotius, Rowe and cf. a similar expression at Sen. *Phaed.* 1016 *tumidumque monstro pelagus*) and figuratively ('huge', 'amazing', 'monstrous') (so Oudendorp, Weise, Riley, Joyce, Widdows). In either case it seems to convey a sense of the unnaturalness of the waves (cf. Braund's translation 'freakish'). The word 'monstrifer' appears to occur first at Sen. *Phaed.* 688 (though the line is deleted by one editor) where it describes Pasiphae and where it may be taken both literally ('bearing the Minotaur') and figuratively ('freakish'). (See on *conceptos*, 567 for the idea of the sea being 'pregnant', which seems to date back to Homer.) Cf. Luc. 2.3 on the unnatural portents of civil war: *legesque et foedera rerum / praescia monstrifero* (literally 'portent-bearing'; 'monstrum' = portent, *OLD* s.v. 1)) *vertit natura tumultu / indixitque nefas*. Other occurrences of the word are post-Lucanian (Stat. *Theb.* 1.453; 4.298; 10.796; V. Fl. 2.498; 5.43; 5.221).

Possibly L. had in mind the mythical sea-creatures encountered by the heroes in the Homeric and Virgilian epics. Cf. for example Hom. *Od.* 5.421-2 (Odysseus, capsized by the storm, fears sea-monsters); Verg. *A.* 3.214 (Aeneas' encounter with the Harpies). While he clearly could not actualise these in his own poem, he allude to them here in the word *monstiferos*. See also Coffey & Mayer on Sen. *Phaed.* 1035-48 for sea-monsters in Latin epic and tragedy, and cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.18 which lists them as one of the dangers of sea-faring. Giant sea-creatures had a particular association with Ocean which is relevant here; see Romm (1992) especially 20-1, 24-6, 143.

unda: see on *unda*, 566.

620-6. Simile of the Great Flood

In this simile the storm is compared to the mythical Flood by which Jupiter punished mankind for the moral degeneration which followed the first Creation, and also for the crime committed against him by the tyrant Lycaon (cf. *Ov. Met.* 1.243-312, and the echo of 1.274 at 624 below). Qu. Smyrnaeus similarly compares his storm to 'Deucalion's flood' (14.602-3).

The references to Jupiter and Neptune serve as a reminder of the traditional role of the gods in earlier epic floods (and storms). See Taub (2003) 5 for meteorological phenomena being often linked to the gods in Homer and Hesiod ('Control of the weather has great symbolic value in the Homeric poems'). L.'s brief allusion to the divinities here by means of a simile draws attention to their ineffectualness in the actual narrative of his storm. See also 4.110-20 where the poet calls on Jupiter and Neptune to flood the lands (again) in order to save the world from civil war and where their failure to do so seems to highlight their impotence; and 7.445ff for the poet's frustration at Jupiter's failure to intervene to stop the slaughter at Pharsalia (with this, cf. especially *Lucr.* 6.388ff). Elsewhere too L. both reminds us of what the epic tradition demanded of him and rebels against it. In book 1 for instance the poet disavows the traditional divine inspiration (1.8 *quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?*), but later at 1.674-7 a matron possessed by Apollo speaks in language close to L.'s own, but addresses the god: '*quis furor hic, o Phoebae, doce*' (Feeney (1991) 270ff).

The simile does not mark the climax of the storm, as the storm continues to intensify after this, its scale extending to include heaven and hell as well as the earth (note the contamination of the upper world by the lower at 627ff; the quaking of the heavens; thunder in the upper sky; the shaking of the poles at 632ff; the threat of actual chaos at 634ff). The implication seems to be that the mythological precedent is inadequate as a comparison for L.'s storm. Similarly at 1.572ff, at the climax of the list of portents of civil war, mythological examples are insufficient for L., as Morford (1967) 62 notes: 'Appropriately mythology can alone suffice to close the passage (it would seem), as reference is made to Agaue, Lycurgus, Hercules – all blinded by divine wrath and so maddened as to wreak their own destruction or that of their kin. Yet this is not all: for L. mythology is too distant in time and place; the horror of the coming war can best be expressed at the climax of the episode (578-83) by evoking the ghosts of Marius and Sulla, leaders in the earlier war of Roman against Roman.' Cf. also 4.593ff for the use of the myth of Hercules and Antaeus to enrich the description of Libya ending with a reference to the (more important) historical figure, Scipio, at 656ff (*sed maiora dedit cognomina collibus istis / Poenum qui Latiiis revocavit ab arcibus hostem / Scipio*). For L.'s use of mythology, see Grimal (1949) 55-61; Phillips (1968) 296-300.

Floods in general seem to have been a source of some fascination for L.; see 1.217-19 (Rubicon); 2.209-18 (Tiber); 2.408-10 (Po); 4.62-120 (Sicoris); 10.219ff (the Nile).

620-2. sic rector Olympi / cuspide fraterna lassatum in saecula fulmen / adiuvit: 'Thus, when his own thunderbolt was weary, the Ruler of Olympus called in his brother's trident to help in punishing mankind' (tr. Duff).

In Ovid's account Jupiter, fearing that heaven may be set on fire if he used his thunderbolts, chooses to flood mankind instead, using first rain (1.253-61) and then calling on his brother Neptune's assistance in order to use the waters of the sea and rivers as well (1.274-5 *nec caelo contenta suo est Iovis ira, sed illum / caeruleus frater iuvat auxiliaribus undis*). Duff's translation has to depart considerably from the Latin here, indicating the difficulty of the Latin.

620. rector Olympi: See on *superum rector*, 626. L. avoids naming either Jupiter or Neptune here, resorting instead to periphrasis.

621. cuspide fraterna: Neptune's trident. Glos.: 'qua terram Neptunus percutiens habenas aquis laxavit'. 'cuspis' was a noun made popular by Vergil (Austin on *A.* 2.230). Before Vergil it occurs also at Catullus (64.256). *fraterna* is an example of 'antonomasia' (substitution of an epithet or description for a proper name). Cf. 1.95 *fraterno sanguine* (= the blood of Remus which his brother Romulus had shed.) For 'antonomasia' in L., see Getty on book 1 p. lvii; Fantham (1992) 37-8. It is a common ornamental device in poetry. Both Neptune's trident and Jupiter's thunderbolt are also mentioned at 7.147ff in a reference to the weapons used by the gods at the Gigantomachy.

lassatum in saecula fulmen: The idea that Zeus was concerned with human morality and punished human wrongdoing is a particular feature of Homer's *Odyssey* (see Jones (1988) 4). Also, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.39-40 *per nostrum patimur scelus / iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina* with Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.*. The traditional belief that Jupiter sent lightning to harm the wicked is discussed by Seneca at *Nat.* 2.41-46. He concludes that although Jupiter does not send the lightning-bolts himself, he nevertheless causes them to happen. Jupiter's thunderbolt is also referred to in L.'s poem at 2.59-60 where the poet calls on Jupiter to strike both sides in the civil war while they were still innocent, and again at 7.445ff where the poet questions why the god did not use his thunderbolt to intervene in the wickedness of Pharsalia. Both passages seem to highlight Jupiter's impotence.

lassatum: = 'worn down with constant use' (*OLD* s.v. 2b)). The implication is that Jupiter had already had cause to use his thunderbolt repeatedly in his anger against the

wickedness of mankind. The verb 'lasso' is found before Tibullus only in a fragment of an unknown tragic writer, vers. 241 R.²: *divi potentes, ferte lassatis opem* (TLL 7,2.989.50ff).

in saecula: 'to help in punishing mankind'. cf. Housman: 'in corruptos hominum mores'. *saecula* refers here to a succession of generations as at 9.623 (OLD s.v. 1c)) as opposed to a body of individuals born at a particular time.

622. adiuvit, regnoque accessit terra secundo: The four spondees perhaps reflect the gravity of the situation, the engulfing of the land by the sea. The elision may also reflect the merging of the two realms. On elision in L., see Heitland (1887) xcvi; Shackleton Bailey pp. 228-92.

adiuvit: 'increased the strength of; reinforced' (OLD 4b)). For the construction 'adiuvo' + acc. + abl., see TLL 1.721.61-77.

regnoque . . . secundo: A poetic expression for the sea, alluding to the sharing of the universe between Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto after the death of Cronos. Neptune became lord of the sea, Pluto lord of the Underworld and Jupiter lord of heaven while the earth and Olympus remained common to all three gods (Hom. *Il.* 15.187-93). For the expression 'regnum secundum' or sim., see OLD s.v. 'secundus' 6c) and cf. Luc. 4.110-11 *sic, o summe parens mundi, sic, sorte secunda / aequorei rector, facias, Neptune, tridentis.*

accessit: 'became an appanage of' (tr. Duff). The verb seems to suggest military acquisition of one territory by another, as Duff's translation implies ('ap(p)anage' = 'a dependant territory or property', *Shorter OED* s.v. 3)). This is particularly so with *regno . . . secundo* preceding. i.e. the earth, which was neutral territory (see previous n.) came under the sway of the sea, the kingdom of Neptune. Cf. OLD s.v. 'accedo' 7b) 'to join (of military or political attachments)'.

623. mare: see on *maris*, 565.

convolvit: 'convolvo' is not particularly common in the poets appearing just once in Lucretius, twice in Vergil; not at all in Ovid; once in L.. Vergil uses it of the shape and movement of a snake at *G.* 3.426 and *A.* 2.474. It is quite often used of winds (e.g. Sen. *Nat.* 2.6.4 *hic (sc. spiritus) vehementer concitatus . . . arbusta silvasque convolvit*) but L. appears to be the first to use it of the sea. The verb conveys the rolling motion of the sea's

waves as it sweeps away the human race. Cf. A. 1.100-1 *ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis / scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.*

gentes: i.e. the human race, mankind. Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.28 *audax lapeti genus ignem . . . gentibus intulit.*

623-4. cum litora Tethys / noluit ulla pati caelo contenta teneri: 'when Tethys refused to endure any shores, content to be held by the sky.'

Tethys: = the sea, by metonymy. In mythology Tethys was the daughter of Earth and Heaven, sister of Ocean (Homer *Il.* 14.200-10; Hes. *Th.* 136, 337-70; Ov. *Met.* 2.509-31; 11.784-95). She became the consort of Ocean and bore the Rivers and the 3000 Oceanids (nymphs). The metonymy 'Tethys' = 'sea' seems to occur first in Hellenistic poetry (see Bömer on *Met.* 2.68; R. F. Thomas on G. 1.31; and cf. Call. *Hymns* 3.44; Lycophron 231; 1069). It is frequently found in Latin poetry. 'Tethys' appears 9 times in L.. Here it probably serves merely as a handy synonym for the sea, though the mythological context makes it particularly appropriate. Elsewhere in his poem, L. has no trouble using the names of gods to represent things they stood for; see Barratt *ad loc.*

litora . . . / noluit ulla pati: For lack of shores, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.291-2 (qu. in n. on 617).

624. caelo contenta teneri: 'quae prius litoribus tenebatur' (Glos.s.L.). *caelo contenta* may echo, consciously or unconsciously, a passage in Ovid's Flood description regarding Jupiter's *lack* of contentment with the sky (*Met.* 1.274, qu. in n. on 620-2). Cf. also Luc. 8.182 *caelo contenta vagari*. The notion of Tethys being 'satisfied' with 'the sky as her limit' is rather paradoxical, perhaps a play on the etymology of 'contenta' (root = 'contineo/con+teneo', to hold together) from 'teneri'. The construction 'contentus' + infin. occurs from Ovid (*Met.* 2.638) onwards and is common in L. (3.266; 466; 534; 4.444; 6.33; 616; 8.182; 815; 9.721; 1102); see *TLL* 4.680.15-57.

625-6. tum quoque tanta maris moles crevisset in astra, / ni superum rector pressisset nubibus undas: Here a standard topos of the epic storm narrative – the sea reaching the sky/stars – is introduced, but in a past unfulfilled condition (*crevisset in astra*). In this way the poet brings novelty to his treatment of the familiar topos by simply contradicting it: the low-lying clouds kept the sea from rising to the sky (*pressisset nubibus undas*). This seems to create an inconsistency with the earlier description of mountains being submerged by the sea (615-17). In his eagerness to deviate from the tradition here,

L. is forced to sacrifice the consistency of his narrative. As Bramble (1982) 555 puts it: 'L. replaces the usual upward movement with a movement downwards, causing the upper world to vanish from sight' and, paradoxically, 'scientific observation - of the depression of clouds in a storm - helps . . . to resuscitate convention.'

For the sea-reaching-the sky topos, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1206ff; Verg. *A.* 1.102-3; 3.421ff; 564-7; 5.20; 7.529-30; Ov. *Met.* 11.497-8; 11.502-6; 51; *Tr.* 1.2.19ff; Sen. *Ag.* 470-1; *Phaed.* 1008; *Med.* 345; Stat. *Theb.* 5.369ff; Ach. *Tat.* 3.2.5; Qu. Smyrnaeus 14.492ff, 553ff. Cf. also OT Ps. 107.23ff ('Some went down to the sea in ships, doing business on the mighty waters . . . They mounted up to heaven, they went down to the depths'); Shakespeare *Othello* Act ii sc.1 lines 190-1 (qu. by Williams on *A.* 3.564-5) 'And let the labouring bark climb hills of seas / Olympus-high, and duck again as low / As hell's from heaven.'; *Winter's Tale* Act iii sc. 3 lines 89-90 (qu. by Tarrant on Sen. *Ag.* 499-500) 'now the ship boring the moon with her main-mast, and non swallowed with yeast and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead.' For hyperbolic expressions of various things (not the sea) reaching the sky in Homer see Hardie (1986) 291-2.

625. tum quoque: *tum* refers to present narrative time as opposed to the time of the flood described in the simile (see also 479). In both passages events are viewed from the perspective of the poet's own time. Compare passages where the poet imagines himself to be present at events; e.g. 5.310ff.

tanta maris moles: Cf. a similar phrase in Ovid's storm-narrative at *Met.* 11.494 *tanta mali moles tantoque potentior arte est* (and see *TLL* 8.234.12-14 for other occurrences of this phrase). 'moles' is used of a mass of waves in both prose and poetry (*TLL* 8.1343.22-52). Cf. for example Lucr. 6.405; Verg. *A.* 1.134 (*moles* here has been taken both literally ('masses of water') and figuratively ('confusion'): see discussion of Henry (1873) 407ff; 5.790; Sen. *Suas.* 1.1; *Nat.* 3.28.5; Sil. 14.121 (the same phrase as L.). See Johnson (1987) 77 and n. 7 for L.'s liking of the words 'pondus', 'onus' and 'moles'.

crevisset in astra: Cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1008 (also of the sea) *crevitque in astra*. For the topos, see above on 625-6.

in astra: 'astra' appears in descriptions of sea-reaching-sky/stars from Vergil (*A.* 3.567 *rorantia vidimus astra*) onwards; *TLL* 2.974.57-68.

626. ni: = nisi.

superum rector: An epic description of Jupiter dating back to Homer. The reference to Jupiter here in the actual narrative of the poem as opposed to a simile may at first sight seem surprising in a poem which eliminated the traditional divine machinery of epic, but this is consistent with other passages in the poem where Jupiter is referred to in descriptions of the weather (see for example 6.464ff; 7.197; 8.447; 9.435-6). This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that there was often no clear-cut distinction between 'science' and mythology in ancient writing on natural phenomena (see Taub (2003) 6, 10). As Taub comments, 'in most of the ancient philosophical schools there was an assumption of some "divine" presence in the cosmos (in some cases the cosmos itself).' It may be relevant here that the Stoics recognised Jupiter, as one of several names for 'God' who was identical with nature and pervaded the whole universe (Sen. *Ben.* 4.7.1; *Nat.* 2.45.1-3). Elsewhere in the poem L. adopts a position of uncertainty regarding the causation of natural phenomena, such as the presence of clouds or plagues in Libya, sometimes not ruling out the possibility of 'divine' involvement (cf. 1.234-5; 1.417-9; 9.621-2).

We should therefore not be unduly surprised by the mention of Jupiter here in the storm. However the earlier mention of Jupiter in the simile (620 above) reminds us of his instrumental role in earlier literature and his very minor role here (*pressisset nubibus undas*) perhaps deliberately draws attention to his relative redundancy in L.'s poem. There is perhaps also irony in the use of Jupiter's traditional title (*superum rector*) here: the once all-powerful ruler of the gods is reduced to a very marginal role in L.'s storm. Cf. 4.110 *summe parens mundi* (with again a note of irony?).

pressisset: 'premo' is regularly used of the movements of the heavenly bodies (*TLL* 2.1171.33ff and 1174.59ff). Cf. especially Ov. *Met.* 1.268-9 *utque manu late pendentia nubila pressit / fit fragor* (of the action of the South wind in the Flood). L. minimises the element of personification of Jupiter here, by not referring to his hand or other part of his anatomy.

627-31. The darkness, rain, and lightning.

Darkness, rain, and lightning were all standard components of the literary storm from Homer (*Od.* 5.294; 12.405-6; 416-17; 14.305) onwards. L. seeks to better his predecessors in the storm-narrative tradition in various ways: the upper air is contaminated with the darkness of Hell (628) making the darkness even more intense; the clouds are so low that the sea receives the rain straight from the clouds instead of fallen from them (629); even the customary lightning failed to flash clearly due to the thickness of the cloud (630-1). See nn. *ad loc.*

627-9. non caeli nox illa fuit: latet obsitus aer / infernae pallore domus nimbisque gravatus / deprimitur, fluctusque in nubibus accipit imbrem: L.'s two-fold darkness – it is dark with the darkness of Hell (*infernae pallore domus*, 628) and of the storm (*nimbisque gravatus*, 628) – is an adaptation of the 'double' darkness found in storm-narratives from Pacuvius onwards to stress the intensity of the dark: Cf. Pac. *trag.* 412 *tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbium obcaecat nigror*; Verg. *A.* 3.195 [*imber*] *noctem hiememque ferens*; Ov. *Met.* 11.521 *caecaque nox premitur tenebris hiemisque suisque*; 11.550 *duplicata . . . noctis imago est*; Sen. *Ag.* 472-3 *nec una nox est; densa tenebras obruit / caligo*; *Thy.* 993-4 *spissior densis coit / caligo tenebris noxque se in noctem addidit*.

Using the Underworld to describe the darkness in a storm is not new (cf. Lucr. 6.250ff *tunc per totum concrescunt aera nubes, / undique uti tenebras omnis Acherunta reamur / liquisse et magnas caeli complexesse cavernas*; Ovid *Met.* 11.500 *concolor est illis, Stygia modo nigrior unda*) but, like Seneca, L. seems to be suggesting that the darkness was in fact that of the Underworld, not just like it (cf. Sen. *Ag.* 493-4 *dirae Stygis / inferna nox est*). The hint that the Underworld was actually rising to the surface is clearly significant for its suggestion that natural boundaries were breaking down, a symptom of the chaos of civil war as well as the storm. Cf. 634-6 below where upper and lower worlds seem to be on the verge of combining.

This is one of various ways in which L. 'compensates' for the lack of a proper Underworld scene in his poem, something which set his poem apart from Vergilian and Homeric epic. Elsewhere in the poem: the Underworld is described in the speech of the ghost of Julia to Pompey in a dream (3.9-35; see Hunink on 3.12 for the 'reversed katabasis' of Julia's ascent to the land of the living); Erictho revives a dead man who describes the scene in the Underworld (6.667-830; at 6.778-80 the Underworld is described as affected by the discord of civil war, a similar crossing of boundaries); suggestions of the Underworld rising up at Pharsalia (7.168ff; and especially 768ff *ingemuisse putem campos, terramque nocentem / inspirasse animas, infectumque aera totum / manibus et superam Stygia formidine noctem*); shades of the dead 'attack' Caesar and his men in their sleep (7.771ff). See Williams (1978) 197-8, 205-6 for the way Silius Italicus reinstated the traditional Underworld scene in his historical epic *Punica* (13.400-895), for Statius' imitation and challenge of L. on this question in the *Thebaid*, and for the infection of the upper world by the lower in Valerius Flaccus and Statius (both probably inspired by L.). See also Hardie (1992) 73-87 on the confusion of Heaven and Hell in Vergil and the confusion of Earth and Hell, and of Heaven and Hell in post-Vergilian epic.

627. non caeli nox illa fuit: 'The darkness was not the common darkness of night' (tr. Duff). The meaning is explained in the following words (627-9).

nox: = 'darkness, gloom' (see *OLD* s.v. 5a)). Cf. 636 where *nox* is the darkness of Chaos.

obsitus: 'choked' (Joyce); 'stifled' (Widdows); 'enveloped' (Braund).

'obsitus', from 'obsero', to sow, plant (seeds etc); hence 'covered with, overgrown with, smothered in' (*OLD* s.v. 1)) is often used of things which physically cover other things or people, etc. This led Burman to prefer *squalore* to *pallore* in the next line since, he argued, the participle could not signify merely a change of colour but rather required something physical in the ablative. However the participle seems to convey the thickness of the darkness, as though the darkness were something physical. Cf. especially *Culex* 274-5 *Tartara nocte cruenta / obsita*; also Sen. *Tro.* 20 (Troy on fire) *nube . . . densa obsitus*; Stat. *Theb.* 2.55ff *fusca volucer deus obsitus umbra*. For the notion of the 'heaviness' of Underworld darkness, cf. 6.517 *terribilis Stygio facies pallore gravatur* (= 'overcast with', or lit. 'weighed down by').

aer: i.e. the air surrounding the earth, the lower atmosphere, as opposed to the loftier 'aether' described at 632ff. The former according to ancient belief was subject to disturbance by the elements and therefore often dark and thick while the latter, the dwelling-place of the gods and where the stars and planets are found, was immune from such disturbance and therefore clear and pure. For an account of the creation of the 'aer' and 'aether' see Ov. *Met.* 1.21ff and 52-68. For a detailed description of the nature of the 'aer', see Sen. *Nat.* 2.11.3; and in Lucan, cf. 2.269-71; 9.5ff. The division of the cosmos into 4 spherical layers (from outermost to innermost): 'aether', 'aer', the waters and the earth was part of Stoic cosmology.

628. infernae . . . domus: The Underworld is referred to as a 'house' from as early as Homer (cf. *Od.* 12.21 *δῶμα Ἰδῆο*). For the Underworld as 'domus' (of Dis/Pluto or of the dead) in Latin literature, cf. *TLL* 5,1.1978.79ff, especially A. 5.732 *Ditis . . . infernas accede domos*. It is depicted sometimes with threshold and gate; cf. for example A. 6.106 *infernī ianua regis*; Sen. *Her. F.* 47 *limen inferni Iovis*.

pallore: 'pallor' and other words with the same root are frequently associated with death and/or the Underworld. See *TLL*. 10,1.139.47ff.

gravatus: 'weighed down'. For air being made heavy by the presence of clouds, cf. Sen. *Suas.* 3.1 *omnis dies caelum nubilo gravat*; Sen. *Ep.* 53.1 *erat sine dubio caelum grave sordidis nubibus*; Nat. 5.3.1 *cum aer nubilo gravis est*; Claud. *rapt. Pros.* 1.163 *picea . . . gravatum nube diem*.

629. deprimitur: For 'deprimo' used in this way, cf. Lucr. 5.539 (*terra*) *non est oneri neque deprimit auras*.

fluctusque in nubibus accipit imbrem: 'the sea receives the rain in the midst of the clouds'. A variation on the topos of rain falling into the sea of earlier storm-descriptions. For the topos, cf. A. 1.129 *fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina*; Ov. *Met.* 11.517ff *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum, / inque plagas caeli tumefactum ascendere pontum. / vela madent nimbis, et cum caelestibus undis / aequorea miscentur aquae*; Sen. *Ag.* 490 *undasque miscent imber et fluctus suas*; Qu. Smyrnaeus 14.597ff. L.'s variation on this topos is rather paradoxical. Haskins explains: 'sky and sea are so closely mingled that the sea receives the rain in the midst of the clouds, instead of fallen from them'; Weise: there was no space between sky and sea. Morford (1967) 41 n.3 objects to Duff's translation ('and in the midst of the clouds the rain poured into the sea') on the grounds that the word 'poured' destroys the point of the hyperbole. The elision perhaps reflects the mingling of sea and clouds/rain. On elision in L., see Heitland (1887) xcvi; Shackleton Bailey pp. 228-92.

fluctusque: Collective singular for the sea (*OLD* s.v. 1b)).

accipit imbrem: Cf. A. 1.123 *accipiunt inimicum imbrem* but used of the Trojan ships letting in sea-water (see Austin *ad loc.*). Here L. cleverly re-uses the phrase with the sea as subject and with *imbrem* in its original sense of rain. Cf. Var. *R.* 1.27.2 (*glaebas*) *aptiores facere ad accipiendum imbrem*.

630-1. lux etiam metuenda perit, nec fulgura currunt / clara, sed obscurum nimbosus dissilit aer: For lightning as a conventional part of storm-descriptions, cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.415-17; 14.305; Pacuv. 413 R.² *flamma inter nubes coruscat*; Verg. A. 1.90 *et crebris micat ignibus aether*; Ov. *Met.* 11.522-3 *discutiunt tamen has praebentque micantia lumen / fulmina: fulmineis ardescunt ignibus undae*; Sen. *Ag.* 494ff *excidunt ignes tamen / et nube dirum fulmen elisa micat, / miserisque lucis tanta dulcedo est malae; / hoc lumen optant*; Petron. *Sat.* 122 *vixdum finierat, cum fulgura rupta corusco / intremuit nubes elisosque abscidit ignes*; V. Fl. 4.663-4 *terrificique ruunt tonitrus elisaque noctem / lux dirimit*, Stat.

Theb. 5.394-5 *ut vero elisit nubes love tortus ab alto / ignis et ingentes patuere in fulmine nautae.*

Whereas in Ovid and Seneca the lightning provides welcome light in the darkness of the storm, a relief for sailors, in L. so thick is the cloud that even the lightning perished creating an even more dreadful darkness (*lux etiam metuenda perit*). As Martindale (1976) 49 puts it, 'L. . . . makes use of a stylistic mannerism found throughout the poem, whereby he deliberately defeats the literary expectations of the reader by mentioning, only to reject traditional material. . . . Lightning was a regular feature of the "literary storm", so that L. exploits the reader's expectations to make a paradoxical point.' Cf. 4.77-8 where the lightning is put out by the heavy rain during the Spanish floods: *nec servant fulmina flammis / quamvis crebra micent: extinguunt fulgura nimbi.*

630. lux etiam metuenda: i.e. lightning. Housman rightly takes *etiam* with *metuenda*; i.e. 'light, even dreaded light, perished'. For *lux . . . metuenda*, cf. *dirum fulmen, lux mala* (Sen. Ag. 495-6, cited in 630-1 above); *lumen dirum* (Sen. nat. 3.27.10) also describing lightning. Tarrant compares also *sol magnus* (Stat. *Theb.* 7.223) and *ignis malus* (Silv. 5.1.152).

perit: For 'pereo' used of fading light, see TLL 10, 1.1338.44ff. Cf. especially Sen. *Med.* 95 *cum sole perit sidereus decor, et . . . latitant Pleiades*; Stat. *Theb.* 12.659 *pulvere crasso armorum lux victa perit.*

nec fulgura currunt / clara: The negation *nec*, answered by *sed* in the following line, highlights the difference between L.'s and earlier storm-accounts (cf. 617-18; 625-6). The predicative adjective *clara* is emphasised by enjambement.

fulgura: Ancient writers distinguished between the 'fulgur', the light or flash, and the 'fulmen', the lightning-bolt which strikes/is thrown, etc. (TLL 6,1.11-27). The difference between the two is discussed at some length by Seneca (*Nat.* 1.1.6; 2.16; 2.18; 2.21.1-4; 2.57.1-4). According to Seneca what was produced – 'fulgur' or 'fulmen' – depended on the force with which clouds collided together. (Seneca devoted *Nat.* book 2 to the subject of thunder and lightning.)

currunt: For 'curro' used of heavenly bodies; see OLD s.v. 4b); TLL 4.1513.57ff. Cf. A. 2.694 (of a shooting star) *de caelo lapsa per umbras stella . . . cucurrit*; Stat. *Theb.* 5.586 *moti tamen aura cucurrit / fulminis.*

631. sed obscurum nimbosus dissilit aer: 'but the air laden with storm-clouds bursts apart dimly'.

obscurum: A neuter adjective used adverbially ('dimly'). See K.-S. I.280-1; H-Sz. II.40. It contrasts with *clara* two words earlier.

nimbosus: First found in Vergil (A. 1.535; 3.274). It is equivalent to Greek *νεφώδης*. For adjectives in '-osus' see on *vadosis*, 484.

dissilit: 'bursts apart'. Cf. the verb 'elido' commonly used in descriptions of lightning (see on 630-1). L. seems to be influenced by Seneca's use of 'dissilio' of clouds forced apart by lightning (*Nat.* 2.28.2 *nubes nisi multo impetu dissiluire non resonant*). Statius uses it of the bursting open of the Underworld (*Theb.* 4.521 *dissilit umbra capax*).

For a fuller description of lightning than this one, cf. the famous simile at Luc. 1.151ff. For the (Stoic) theory that lightning was caused by the collision of clouds, see Getty on 1.151; Morford (1967) 43 n.1.

aer: see on 627.

632-7. The disturbance of the normally tranquil upper air and the fear of a return to chaos as natural boundaries seem to be broken.

Not only does it thunder in the high heaven, but the very structure of the heavens is jarred (633) leading to fear of a return to chaos. This might be regarded as in some ways the climax of L.'s storm-description, as here the storm becomes truly cosmic as the traditional boundaries of heaven, earth and hell are threatened. L.'s choice of vocabulary recalls traditional Stoic terminology for the universal catastrophe (see nn. on *motaque poli conpage laborant*, 633; *natura, chaos*, 634; *rupisse videntur / concordis elementa moras*, 634-5). It is part of a series of allusions to this catastrophe in the storm; see above at 561-4 and 612-20 (and nn. *ad loc.*).

632. tum superum convexa tremunt: After the description of the lower atmosphere, 'aer', in 625-31, the narrative turns to the higher reaches of the sky - the 'aether', supposed dwelling place of the gods. Even this normally tranquil region of the air is affected by the storm (see on *aer*, 627 for the belief that only the lower atmosphere was affected by thunder, lightning and wind.)

tum superum: The homoeoteleuton may suggest the sound of thunder. It is the first of a number of sound effects in these lines suggesting thunder and lightning. Cf. the striking use of alliteration at 635 (m, m, r, r), 636 (m, m, s, s, s, s), and the frequent 'k' and 's' sounds throughout.

convexa: 'dome'. The neuter adjective as substantive was first used by Vergil and occurs frequently afterwards (*OLD* s.v. 1b); *TLL* 4.871.53ff). The word arose from the dome-like appearance of the sky above the earth (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p.58 M. (p.51 Lindsay) *convexum est ex omni parte declinatum, qualis est natura caeli, quod ex omni parte ad terram versus declinatum est*; Plin. *Nat.* 2.160 *namque in illo [sc. caelo] cava in se convexitas vergit et cardini suo, hoc est terrae, undique incumbit. convexa* requires a complement, here *superum*).

tremunt: Thunder was believed to cause trembling in the sky; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 2.81.192 *neque aliud est in terra tremor quam in nube tonitrum*.

632-3. atque arduus axis / intonuit, motaque poli conpage laborant: L. no doubt had in mind A. 1.90 *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether*. The Vergilian text helps to confirm the text of L. where some mss have *insonuit* for *intonuit* and *laborat* for *laborant*. L.'s thunder follows the lightning, perhaps a correction of Vergil's reverse order (for lightning being seen before thunder, see Lucr. 6.164ff) and he goes much further than Vergil by mentioning the jarring of the structure of the universe in the second line.

arduus axis: Cf. the similar line-ending 'arduus aether' at Verg. *G.* 1.324; *A.* 10.102; *Ov. Met.* 1.151; *Pont.* 2.8.61; *Luc.* 2.290; *Stat. Theb.* 9.30. L. may have preferred *axis* for the way it creates alliteration with *convexa*.

axis: Originally the line through the earth's centre extending into the sky on which the universe was supposed to turn (*OLD* s.v. 3)), here the word has the broader meaning of 'sky' (*OLD* s.v. 5b)), qualified by *arduus*, to distinguish it from the lower *aer* (see on 627). Cf. 3.423 (*medio . . . in axe*) and 9.5 (*astriferis . . . axibus*). The use of 'axis' with this sense occurs mainly in poetry from Vergil (e.g. *A.* 4.481) onwards.

633. intonuit: The intensive compound 'intonare' occurs first in Cic. *poet.* 7.12 Tr. *partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinisteris*. The perfect tense distinguishes this verb from the other verbs around it as in Vergil (see on 632-3). In both passages the tense suggests

instantaneous action. Cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 5.86–7 *quater axe sereno / intonuit*. Silius reinstates divine agency in his storm at 12.657 (Jupiter) *intonat ipse*.

motaque poli conpage laborant: Whereas the poles merely thundered in Vergil (see on 632-3), here they are put under strain by a dramatic shift in the very structure of the universe. The word *conpage* recalls the same word used at 1.72ff in the simile of civil war as Stoic universal destruction (see on *victis compagibus*, 596). The Stoics spoke of metaphorical 'desmoi pneumatos' or bonds which were believed to hold the universe together in harmony (see Lapidge (1980) on the Stoic metaphor of cosmic 'binding') and it is this theory which L. seems to have in mind here. In the storm, the 'bonds' of the universe appear to reach breaking-point. See on 634-5.

poli: see on *summis . . . polis*, 563-4.

conpage: here, the structure of the universe (*OLD* s.v. 3c); *TLL* 3.1999.41-50). See on *victis compagibus*, 596.

laborant: = suffer/are put under strain. Cf. especially the similar uses of 'laboro' of parts of the universe at *Ov. Met.* 1.256ff *adfore tempus / quo mare, quo tellus correptaque regia caeli / ardeat et mundi moles operosa labore*; Stat. *Theb.* 7.3 (Jupiter) *concussit . . . caput, motu quo celsa laborant sidera*.

634. extimuit: A stronger verb than 'timuit'.

natura: i.e. the physical world, creation (*OLD* s.v. 7)). The word is derived from Stoic terminology (see Lapidge (1979) 367). For the equivalency of the terms *natura*, *mundus*, *deus*, *fatum*, etc. in Stoic cosmology, see Sen. *Ben.* 4. 7.1-2. The personification of *natura* is quite normal in L.; cf. for example 2.3; 6.59; 9.301.

chaos: Accusative with Greek ending. The storm is seen here in terms of a return to chaos. Cf. a similar idea at 1.72ff (describing civil war) *sic conpage soluta / saecula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora, / antiquum repetens iterum chaos*. A lack of clear distinctions between the different parts of the universe is a feature of the pre-Creation chaos at *Ov. Met.* 1.5ff (*chaos rudis indigestaque moles*, 1.7). For chaos as the state before the creation of the world, see also *OLD* s.v. 1a); *TLL* 3.990.70-991.28. It apparently occurs first with this sense in Vergil (*G.* 4.347). The fear of a *return* to chaos (as here) occurs notably at *Ov. Met.* 2.299 in the story of the fall of Phaethon (Earth complains to

Jupiter) *si freta, si terrae pereunt, si regia caeli / in chaos antiquum confundimur!* It features also throughout the tragedies of Seneca, including in his storm at *Ag.* 485-7 [*Corus*] *mundum revellit sedibus totum suis / ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos / decidere et atrum rebus induci chaos* (cf. also *Thy.* 830ff; *HO* 1110ff; 1134-5; 1946; *Ag.* 908ff; *HF* 610; 677; 861; *Med.* 9; 1202ff; *Phaed.* 1134-5; 1238; *Tro.* 400; *Oed.* 1ff; 572; 868ff). See also Lapidge (1979) 361-2 for the possibility that L.'s use of the word 'chaos' derives rather from his teacher, the Stoic Cornutus. (For Cornutus the term $\chi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$ could designate the fire into which the universe dissolved at the universal destruction.) 'It is therefore quite possible that L. could have derived this conception of *chaos* from his teacher, even if he were unaware of the Stoic theorizing (and etymologizing) which lay behind it.' (p.362)

634-5. rupisse videntur / concordēs elementa moras: 'it seemed that the elements had burst their harmonious bonds' (tr. Duff). L.'s language reflects Stoic cosmology which believed the 4 elements to be held together and governed by a divine force. Cf. *Man.* 1.247-54 *hoc opus inmensi constructum corpore mundi membraque naturae diversa condita forma aëris atque ignis, terrae pelagique iacentis, vis animae divina regit, sacroque meatu conspirat deus et tacita ratione gubernat mutuaque in cunctas dispensat foedera partes, altera ut alterius vires faciatque feratque summaque per varias maneat cognata figuras* (cf. also *Man.* 2.60-83; 3.48-55; 4.888-90). Here L.'s *concordēs . . . moras* seems to be equivalent to Manilius' *mutua . . . foedera* which imply physical 'bonds' between various parts of the universe (see Lapidge (1979) 356). For L.'s familiarity with Manilius, see Schwemmler (1916). The Stoic view of the 'binding' of the cosmos is seen also in L.'s prayer to Concordia at 4.189-91 (a rare passage in L. regarding cosmic 'binding' as opposed to 'dissolution') *nunc ades, aeterno conplectens omnia nexu / o rerum mixtique salus Concordia mundi / et sacer orbis amor . . .* (according to Lapidge (1980) 821ff the phrase *aeterno . . . nexu* had a long after-life in later Latin literature).

L. stops short of describing the break-down of the boundaries between elements in the present passage (i.e. the Stoic universal destruction) as actual reality, preferring instead to express it as what *appeared* to be happening (*videntur*). Cf. *Ov. Met.* 11.497-8 *caelumque aequare videtur / pontus*. As in Ovid *videntur* is a formulaic expression of caution. See also on 564 and 610.

rupisse: 'to burst bonds/barriers' (*OLD* s.v. 3a)). The idea of bonds bursting is a significant one in the poem; cf. *rupto foedere*, 1.4 where the implosion of Rome through civil war is related to the self-destruction of the universe.

635. concordēs: The epithet would better describe the elements, but is transferred to the bonds holding them together ('their harmonious bonds'). For a similar example, cf. A. 3.542 *curru succedere sueti quadripedes et frena iugo concordia ferre*. For further examples, OLD s.v. 3); TLL 4.91.21ff. For enallage or transferred epithet which is common in L., see on *trepidāe*, 568.

morās: For 'mora' in the sense of a physical obstacle, barrier, bar, check, see OLD s.v. 10a); TLL 8.1467.43ff. This sense was a later development from the original sense of '(temporal) delay' and appears regularly from the younger Seneca onwards (cf. *Med.* 35 *gemino Corinthos litore opponens moras . . . maria commitat duo*). The bursting of barriers is a favourite image of L.'s (see on *ferre moras scelerum*, 477).

elementa: The only occurrence of the word in the poem. It refers to the four elements of air, earth, fire and water (see OLD s.v. 1a); TLL 5.2.343.32ff). The word in this sense is found often in Seneca *Dial.* and *Nat.* but very rarely in poetry (however, see Ov. *Met.* 15.237; Stat. *Theb.* 8.92; Juv. 11.14; 14.17). L.'s use of the word here shows the 'scientific' nature of his poem setting it apart from the *Aeneid* in particular.

Sklenár (1999) 288 n.21 notes that the Stoics equated 'aether' with fire and that the stratification 'aether'/aer'/waters/earth corresponds to the traditional four elements of fire, air, water, earth. See Gould (1970) 119-2; Hahn (1977) 91-3, 127 n.4 on the Stoic Chrysippus' use of the term 'elements'.

rursusque redire: For the phrase, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 3.5.55 *rursus ubi huc redi*; Luc. 7.719 *rursusque in fata redire*.

636. nox: i.e. chaos (OLD s.v. 4b)). Cf. *nox* meaning 'darkness' at 627 above.

manes mixtura deis: The idea of the confusion of natural distinctions in a storm is traditional (cf. for example A. 1.133-4: *iam caelum terramque meo sine numine venti / miscere*; 5.790-1 *maria omnia caelo / miscuit [Juno]*; Sen. *Ag.* 474 *caligo . . . fretum caelumque miscet*, Qu. Smyrnaeus 14.527-9 (the blending of sea, sky and land)). The phrase 'caelum terramque . . . miscere' was proverbial for 'to turn topsy-turvy'; see Otto (1890) n.280 but, as Hardie (1986) points out, Vergil uses the proverbial phrase in his storm-account (see above) in a 'shockingly literal' way.

L. takes the familiar expression further by suggesting that heaven and hell - not just earth, sea and sky - were about to be blended. Cf. Luc. 7.814-5 (a reference to the Stoic universal catastrophe) *communis mundo superest rogas ossibus astra / mixturus*. At A.

12.205 the mixing of heaven and hell is part of a list of impossibilities mentioned by Turnus. For the confusion of natural boundaries in L.'s storm-episode, see also n. on 627-9.

manes: The word is used of the souls of individuals (e.g. at A. 6.743). By the first centuries B.C./A.D. Epicurean and Stoic influence meant that the belief in the survival of souls after death had diminished in Rome (both philosophies taught that the soul was material and wholly dispersed at death); see Toynbee (1971) 34. However L. clearly had no qualms about mentioning the 'manes' along with the 'dei' in his historical epic. This is the second mention of the Underworld in the storm-description (see above, 628).

mixtura: Future participle with final sense; see on *poturae*, 712. For L.'s fondness for future participles, see on *ituro*, 550. For 'misceo' of blurring the boundaries of nature, see *TLL* 8.1089.49ff.

636-7. spes una salutis, / quod tanta mundi nondum periere ruina: 'the one hope of safety for the gods is this – that in the universal catastrophe they have not yet been destroyed' (tr. Duff).

L. uses a paradoxical statement to round off a climactic passage in which the storm is described clearly in terms of a cosmic catastrophe (632-7). The paradox lies in the linking of the gods with the notions of safety and the fear of death (*spes una salutis . . . nondum periere*), things which normally would be of no concern to the immortals. See note on 574-5. The spondaic rhythm in the first half of 637 helps to suggest the gravity of the situation.

636. spes una salutis: sc. 'deis'. The identical phrase occurs at 2.113 (see n. on 574-5). A phrase which in the Vergilian passage is applied to the mortal Trojans is here used with pointed irony of the immortal gods. For similar expressions, see *OLD* s.v. 'salus' 6a).

salutis: = personal safety, as in 590 above. Cf. 575 where the meaning is rather 'means of deliverance; salvation'.

637. mundi . . . ruina: The phrase recalls A. 1.129 *fluctibus oppressos Troas caelique ruina* (where *caeli ruina* is a hyperbolic expression for rain; cf. G. 1.324 *ruit arduus aether*). The image recurs in Ovid (*Met.* 11.517 *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum*) and Silius (12.630 *caelique ruinam*; 17.252 *et in classem ruere implacabile caelum*). 'caelum ruere' was proverbial for an impossibility (Otto n.286) and therefore what was impossible threatens to become a literal possibility in Vergil. (See Hardie (1986) 90ff)

for the suggestion of a cosmic catastrophe in Vergil's expression.) L.'s substitution of *mundi* for *caeli* looks like a clear attempt to outdo his model's (already powerful) expression.

The image of universal collapse occurs frequently in the poem as an analogy for civil war. For the phrase 'mundi ruina' see also 2.253; 4.393; 10.150. In general words denoting collapse occur frequently (*ruina*, 42x; *ruere*, 43x; *cadere*, 81x). Cf. especially 1.70-2 *invidia fatorum series summisque negatum / stare diu nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus / nec se Roma ferens*; 2.289ff *sidera quis mundumque velit spectare cadentem / expers ipse metus? quis, cum ruat arduus aether, / terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi, / compressas tenuisse manus?* 7.244 *casuram et fatis sensit nutare ruinam*. Images of collapse and ruin are frequent too in Seneca's tragedies (cf. for example *Tro.* 205-6; *Ag.* 87-9; *Thy.* 691ff). For Vergil's liking of images of crashing objects see Hardie on *A.* 9.712-13. See further J. Dorchak 'From collapsing house to cataclysm: images of ruin in Vergil, Seneca and L.' Diss. Harvard 1995 (which I have been unable to consult). Here again the storm is to be seen as a mirror-image of civil war.

mundi: = universe (*OLD* s.v. 1b)). By this point in the narrative it has become clear that the storm is not just on a global but a universal scale: after a comparison with the mythological Flood at 620ff, the merging of underworld and upper-world and the shaking of the universe becomes evident from 627ff, and lines 632-6 combine aspects of both primeval chaos and the cosmic catastrophe of Stoic belief. See further on *mundi*, 481 on the global dimensions of the civil war and the storm.

periere ruina: For the line-ending, cf. 3.579; 9.969.

periere: The subject of *periere* has variously been interpreted as Caesar & Amyclas (Weise; Suppl. adn.; Oudendorp; Haskins); Caesar and nature (Rowe); the gods (Bentley). Bentley's interpretation is surely correct as is clear from references to the gods falling from the heavens in descriptions of chaos; cf. especially Sen. *Ag.* 486-7 *ipsosque rupto crederes caelo deos / decidere et atrum rebus induci chaos*.

The verb 'pereo' occurs far more frequently in L. (79x; i.e. 1 in every 102 lines) than in Ovid *Met.* (34x; i.e. 1 in every 353 lines) indicating the prominence of destruction and loss as themes in L.'s poem as a whole.

638-653. The experience of those on the sea: the height and depth reached by the boat (638-44), the defeat of the helmsman's skill (645-6), the paradox of

conflicting winds keeping the ship upright (646-9), the fear of hitting rocks/running aground (650-3).

After the description of cosmic catastrophe in the preceding lines, this section seems something of an anti-climax, re-using as it does conventional material found in earlier storm-narratives. There is the usual use of hyperbole (the wave-as-high-as-a-mountain; the sails touching the clouds and keel touching the bottom of the sea; all the sea-water being used up in the waves; the sailors' fear of running aground on the tops of mountains) and paradox (the conflict of the water is actually a help to those on the sea as the ship is lifted high by the winds blowing on all sides) as well as simple repetition of the convention of the defeat of human-skill in a storm found first in Ovid.

638-44. Hyperbolic descriptions of the height and depth reached by waves/ships was a commonplace of storm-narratives; see on 625-6. L.'s treatment of the topos here is rather lengthy (7 lines) and shows something of the anxiety felt by the poet in competing with his predecessors (see on 641). L. seems to have found it difficult to outdo his models here who had after all already taken the hyperbole probably as far as it could go (Heaven and Hell as the upper and lower limits reached).

638-40. quantum Leucadio placidus de vertice pontus / despicitur, tantum nautae videre trementes / fluctibus e summis praeceps mare: 'Far as the eye looks down from the Leucadian peak upon calm sea, so high a precipice of water was seen by trembling mariners on the top of the billows' (tr. Duff).

The height reached by the sailors is described by means of a simile. L. introduces a variation on the common wave-as-mountain comparison which dates from Homer (cf. *Od.* 3.290; 11.243-4; and see *TLL* 8.1437.5ff.; 27ff. for examples in Latin poetry). L. visualises the situation from the point of view of the sailors looking down from the crest of the wave. This gives an interesting downward perspective which Latin poets seem to have favoured (see below on *despicitur*).

638. Leucadio . . . de vertice: This is Cape Leucate (modern-day Cape Ducato) which was located on the southern tip of the island of Leucas in W. Greece (for Leucas, see n. on 479). Leucate, a 2000-ft. limestone cliff, was proverbial for its height and for the belief that jumping from it would put an end to the longings of love (Strabo 10.2.9). Every year at a sacrifice to Apollo (whose temple was located on the cliff) the Leucadians flung a criminal with wings and all kinds of birds fastened to him from the rock in order to avert evil. Men in boats at the bottom would take him on board and try to get him outside their

borders. Ov. *Ep.* 15.161ff tells the story of how Sappho was advised by a fountain nymph to jump from the cliff on Leucas in order to escape her feelings for Phaon. She died as a result. The story of Sappho's leap dates back at least to Menander but its origins are obscure (Knox on 15.161-72). Seneca like L. uses Cape Leucate in a storm-simile (*Phaed.* 1013-14 *saxa cum fluctu tremunt / et cana summum spuma Leucaten ferit*). It was an appropriate choice for L. because of its location in W. Greece close to where Caesar had set out from.

placidus . . . pontus: The sea is apparently calm because of the distance from which it is seen. 'placidus pontus' occurs in Lucretius in passages regarding the deceptiveness of a calm sea: 2.559 *subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti*; 5.1004-5 *nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti / subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis*. The treachery of an apparently calm sea was a common theme in poetry. Cf. especially A. 5.848 *mene salis placidi voltum fluctusque quietos / ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?*. L. may have had this theme in mind. In any case *placidus* is used pointedly here.

638-9. de vertice pontus / despicitur: An echo perhaps of A. 1.114 *a vertice pontus* and/or Ov. *Met.* 11.503-4 *et nunc sublimis veluti de vertice montis / despicere in valles imumque Acheronta videtur*, both from storm-descriptions. (Similar line-endings occur also at Luc. 3.631; Sil. 9.286; Stat. *Theb.* 2.730; V. Fl. 8.373.) There is a dramatic pause here after *despicitur*.

639. despicitur: Cf. 5.249-51 where the verb is used figuratively of Caesar's precarious position of power: *haud magis expertus discrimine Caesar in ullo est / quam non e stabili tremulo sed culmine cuncta / despiceret staretque super titubantia fultus*. The idea of looking down from a great height is associated in earlier poetry both with the security of the philosopher and with terror. Cf. Lucr. 2.7ff *sed nihil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere / edita doctrina sapientum templa serena / despicere unde queas alios passimque videre / errare atque palantis quaerere vitae*; Verg. A. 1.223-5 *cum Iuppiter aethere summo / despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis / litoraque et latos populos sic vertice caeli*; Ov. *Met.* 2.178-9 *summo despexit ab aethere terras / infelix Phaethon*; 15.147-51 *iuvat ire per alta / astra, iuvat terris et inertis sede relictis / nube vehi validique umeris insistere Atlantis / palantesque homines passim et rationis egentes / despectare procul trepidosque obitumque timentes*; Ars. 2.87 (Icarus) *territus a summo despexit in aequora caelo*.

nautae: The first mention of sailors in the storm-episode. They are mentioned again at 652. In both passages *nautae* must refer to anonymous sailors on the sea at the time (as

Grotius; Weise; Oudendorp believe) rather than to Amyclas and Caesar specifically (Caesar could never be described as trembling - *trementes*) or to Amyclas' crew (Weise remarks surely rightly that Amyclas was clearly too poor to have a crew). The references to *malus* (641), *velis . . . carina* (642), *magister* (645), *miseris* (647), *puppim* (647), *latus* (648), *ratis* (649) are also best taken as referring collectively to anonymous ships, helmsmen, sailors. By describing the experiences of these random ships and men L. is able to add an extra dimension to his description of the storm, yet without taking the spotlight off the figure of Caesar who dominates the entire storm-episode. Furthermore, the terror felt by the crew of the other ships (see 639, *trementes*) nicely off-sets the fearlessness of Caesar (see his speeches at 578ff and 654ff).

640. fluctibus e summis: Cf. A. 1.106 *hi summo in fluctu pendent*, Sil. 14.415 *summīs in fluctibus*. Some mss have a instead of e, perhaps rightly as Housman notes.

praeceps mare: 'a precipice of water'. For this use of 'praeceps', see *OLD* s.v. 4a). It is used more often to describe rivers than the sea (cf. Luc. 10.318 *cataractae*) and see *TLL* 10.2.417.6ff. L. seems to have been influenced by Ov. *Met.* 11.556 [*unda*] *praecipitata cadit* (Bömer *ad loc.* comments that *praecipitata* = *praeceps*). Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 6.777-8 *ut praeceps cumulo salit unda minantes / in scopulos*. For the image of a column of waters (but in this case of rain not sea), cf. Verg. *G.* 1.322 *immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum*.

641. hiant: 'hio' is apparently not used of the sea before L. (*TLL* 6,2.2811.73). Cf. Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.63 *pelago . . . hianti*. However the gaping of the sea is a common idea. Cf. the related 'dehisco' used of the sea at A. 1.106; 5.142; Sen. *Ag.* 499; V. *Fl.* 1.624; 2.587.

vix eminent aequore malus: Strangely anti-climactic, even implausible, after the earlier description of the mountain-high wave. Something more dramatic is expected after 638-40, and 642 suggests that the sea would have towered above the boat. The poet's ingenuity at 'outdoing' his predecessors seems to have temporarily failed him here, and his attempt to vary the topos seems a bit forced.

eminent: i.e. from the point of view of the onlooker, not the sailors.

aequore: i.e. the surface-level of the sea (*OLD* s.v. 1b)). Ablative of separation after *eminent*.

642. nubila tanguntur velis et terra carina: For the topos, see on 625-6. Whereas earlier (625) the sea was prevented from reaching the stars by heavy clouds, here it does indeed reach the clouds: either the storm has intensified, or L. is being inconsistent. L. baldly states as fact what Ovid had put more modestly, as Burman points out: *Tr.* 1.11.20 *iamiam tacturos sidera summa putes*; *Met.* 11.497 *fluctibus erigitur, coelumque aequare videtur pontus*.

velis: see on *carbasa*, 560.

carina: here, specifically the keel (*OLD* s.v. 1a); *TLL* 3.457.17ff) as also at 9.343.

643-4. nam pelagus, qua parte sedet, non celat harenas / exhaustum in cumulos, omnisque in fluctibus unda est: 'For the sea, where it sinks, does not hide the sand at the bottom but is used up entirely to form mounds and all the water is in the waves.'

Another conventional element of storm-descriptions is dealt with – the exposure of the sea-bed. Cf. for example *Hom. Od.* 12.242-3; *Verg. A.* 1.106-7; *Ov. Met.* 11.499; *Tr.* 1.4.6. L. rather seems to labour the point here, an indication perhaps of an 'anxiety of influence'. In the second line (644) he in typical fashion tries to breathe new life into old material by exploring the logical consequences of the waves reaching the sky: all the sea-water is used up in the waves leaving nothing for the spaces in-between (*omnisque in fluctibus unda est*). See Martindale (1976) 49. For a similarly graphic hyperbole, cf. 4.81-2 (the rainbow sucks up from the sea the water which had fallen as rain) *Oceanumque bibit raptosque ad nubila fluctus / perculit et caelo defusum reddidit aequor*, 9.456-7 (most of the desert is lifted into the air during the desert-storm) *pars plurima terrae / tollitur et numquam resoluta vortice pendet*. L. may have influenced *Sil.* 17.246-50 where various winds sweep up whole parts of the sea.

643. nam: Introducing an elaboration of the preceding words (*et terra [tangitur] carina*).

pelagus: see on *maris*, 565.

sedet: = sinks, subsides (*OLD* s.v. 12)) and the subject is the sea (despite *Suppl. adn.*: 'navis'). Cf. 'subsido' used of the sea at *A.* 5.820 *subsidunt undae*.

harenas: i.e. the sand at the bottom of the sea (*TLL* 6,2.2527.26-39).

644. exhaustum in cumulos, omnisque in fluctibus unda est: Three elisions in one line is rare in the poem. Here it surely reflects the massing of water together to form the waves. On elision in L., see Heitland (1887) xcvi; Shackleton Bailey pp. 228-92.

exhaustum: 'used up entirely' (*OLD* s.v. 4) and *TLL* 5.2.1408.62ff). Cf. the same participle used to describe a wave at *Aetna* 321 *velut unda profundo terque quaterque exhausta graves ubi perbibit euros* (and Ellis' translation 'sucked up'). (The date and authorship of *Aetna* is uncertain; see Goodyear on *Aetna* pp. 56-9.)

in cumulos: 'cumulus' is used frequently of water; cf. especially *A.* 1.105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons* (and see further *OLD* s.v. 1) and *TLL* 4.1385.42ff).

omnisque in fluctibus unda est: For '-que' joining a positive to a negative clause, a common usage in L., see on 605-6.

unda: = (sea)-water (*OLD* s.v. 1b)). Its juxtaposition with *fluctibus* is interesting. For the different words used for 'sea' in L., see on *maris*, 565. For the combination of several words relating to the sea in close proximity, see on *fluctus*, 618.

645-6. artis opem vicere metus, nescitque magister, / quam frangat, cui cedat aquae: 'The danger was too great for the aid derived from skill: the steersman knows not when to face the current and when to evade it' (tr. Duff).

Neither Homer nor Vergil in their storm-episodes refer directly to the helmsman's skill. The closest we get is *Od.* 5.315-6 where Odysseus lets go the steering oar; *A.* 1.115-16 where the helmsman is thrown overboard (*excutitur pronusque magister / volvitur in caput*); *A.* 3.201-2 where Palinurus cannot tell day from night and does not know the way (*ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo / nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in unda*). The failure of the helmsman's skill (*ars*) in the face of the overwhelming powers of nature and his resulting confusion were introduced into the storm-narrative tradition by Ovid and was popular thereafter. Cf. *Ov. Met.* 11.492-3 *ipse fatetur / scire ratis rector, nec quid iubeatve velitve*; 537 *deficit ars, animique cadunt*; *Tr.* 1.2.31-2 *rector in incerto est nec quid fugiatve petatve*; *F.* 3.593 *vincitur ars vento*; etc. After Ovid, cf. *Sen. Ag.* 507-9; *Phaed.* 181ff; *Luc.* 7.125ff; *Petron. Sat.* 114; 123.233; *Stat. Theb.* 3.29; *V. Fl.* 1.626; 634; *Claud.* 15.219.

The defeat of human skill in the face of natural disasters is an important theme in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, not just in the storm of book 11. Cf. 2.169-70, 184ff (Phaethon); 7.527

(the plague at Aegina). Cf. also Man. 1.887-8 (also in a plague-description) *nec locus artis erat medicae, nec vota valebant; / cesserat officium morbis; cessit malis.*

645. artis opem: The phrase is Ovidian; cf. *Fast.* 6.760; *Ars* 3.257; *Rem.* 16; *Tr.* 1.11.22; 5.6.12.

nescitque: The ignorance of the helmsman in a storm comes from Ovid (see on 645-6). For uncertainty as a significant theme throughout the storm-episode, see on 570.

magister: i.e. the helmsman. 'magister' could refer to a ship's commander or helmsman (*TLL* 8.80.64-81.18) but in poetry it refers more often to the helmsman (see Langen on V. Fl. 1.382). See also on *rector*, 515. This is not necessarily a specific reference to Amyclas, but rather signifies whatever helmsman was on the sea at the time (see on *nautae*, 639).

frangat: The verb here seems to refer to the act of riding a wave. It is used several times of the crossing of entire rivers, e.g. Luc. 1.371; 8.374 and see further *TLL* 6.1.1244.61ff. See also on *frangit*, 606.

646-9. discordia ponti / succurrit miseris, fluctusque evertere puppim / non valet in fluctum: victum latus unda repellens / erigit, atque omni surgit ratis ardua vento: The paradox in these lines (the conflicting winds, instead of capsizing the ship, keep it upright) seems to be L.'s invention. It is typical of his style. Cf. for the vividness/absurdity of the image, 4.787 *compressum turba stetit omne cadaver*; 5.610-12 (above). It has been suggested that the Stoic theory of the cyclone lies behind these lines (Morford (1967) 43), but this seems unnecessary. Rather, L. is here examining the logical result of all winds blowing at once. He 'pretends to take complete seriously what to other poets had been merely tropes' (Martindale (1986) 219). Cf. also Duff (1964) 260: 'So zealous is [L.] in making a point that he again and again overshoots the mark . . . When the realism is strained to breaking point, it becomes unreal.' Silius, influenced by L.'s example, explores an alternative scenario resulting from winds blowing on all sides (the ship is sunk): *talia dum maeret, diversis flatibus acta / in geminum ruit unda latus puppimque sub atris / aequoris aggeribus tenuit, ceu turbine mersam*, 12.268ff.

discordia ponti: For 'discordia' used of winds or waves, see *TLL* 5,1.1339.26-8; 1345.16-23. Its first use of a storm occurs at Ovid *Met.* 1.60 *tanta est discordia fratrum* (= winds). Cf. also A. 10.355 *discordes . . . venti*; Sen. *Nat.* 2.59.12 (*discordia*) *tempestatum*; Med. 941 *fluctus . . . discordes*; Sil. 4.321 *exercet discordia ventos*.

647. miseris: Probably not Caesar and Amyclas specifically but anyone who happened to be on the sea at the time (see on *nautae*, 639).

647-8. fluctusque . . . in fluctum: The *-que* is explanatory ('for one wave is powerless against another to upset the vessel'). The polyptoton perhaps recalls the prologue to the poem (describing civil war): 1.4ff *et rupto foedere regni / certatum totis concussi viribus orbis / in commune nefas, infestisque obvia signis / signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*. i.e. here the battling waves reflect the battling armies of civil war. The repetition may also suggest the ebb and flow of the waves. Cf. N. Herescu in *La poésie latine* (Paris 1960) 189-90 who suggests that Vergil uses the word 'fluctus' 5 times in *A.* 1.103-16 deliberately to evoke the idea of movement (perhaps imitating Homer's repetition of *κυμά* in *Od.* 5.313ff).

evertere: For 'evertere' used of shipwreck, see *TLL* 5.2.1028.29ff. It is used as early as Cicero (*de orat.* 1.174; *parad.* 20; *fin.* 4.76).

648. fluctum victum: The homoeoteleuton may suggest the repetitiveness of one wave answering another.

648-9. victum latus unda repellens / erigit, atque omni surgit ratis ardua vento: 'when her side is struck, another sea beats her back and rights her, and she rises erect because all the winds blow at once' (tr. Duff).

Another exploration of what would logically result if all winds blew at once; cf. 610-12 where the sea remains in its place. Cf. also *Sil.* 17.272-3 (probably influenced by this passage) *ratis aetherias remeavit ad auras / et fluctus supra, vento librante, pependit*.

victum: see on *victis*, 596.

latus: For 'latus' of the side of a ship, cf. *OLD* s.v. 6a); *TLL* 7.2.1028.8ff. It occurs as early as Accius (*trag.* 484 *latum texta [navis]*). Here the side of the ship is struck (*victum*) by the sea. This is a conventional detail in a storm-description; cf. *A.* 1.104-5 *tum prora avertit et undis / dat latus; insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*; *Ov. Met.* 11.507-8 *saepe dat ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem / nec levius pulsata sonat*, *V. Fl.* 1.619 *puppis in obliquum resonos latus accipit ictus*.

repellens: The verb is often used in military situations (*OLD* s.v. 2a)) and it contributes to the wave-as-soldier imagery in these lines. See on *concita*, 597.

erigit: The verb is commonly used of the sea being raised up high (see on *erexerat*, 600). Here however the boat is not raised up high, but restored to an upright position. For this sense, see *TLL* 5,2.777.78ff and cf. Curt. 9.9.24 *navigia . . . eversa fluctibus erigi iubet*.

omni . . . vento: Ablative of instrument (K-S. II. 379-412).

ardua: As often with verbs of rising (*TLL* 2.494.20ff), *ardua* is used here proleptically – i.e. the ship is high up as a result of being lifted by the winds and waves. Cf. 2.695-6 *dumque ardua pinus / erigitur*.

650-3. The fear of running aground on shallows and rocks was a traditional element in storm-narratives from Homer on; cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.404-5, 411ff; Verg. *A.* 1.108-12 (the Trojan ships are stranded on rocks and in the shallows of the Syrtes) *tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet / saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras / dorsum immane mari summo; tris Eurus ab alto / in brevia et Syrtis urguet, miserabile visu, / inliditque vadis - atque aggere cingit harenae*; Sil. 17.274ff; Qu. Sm. 14.624-5. (L. deals in more detail with the danger of shallows in the sea-storm at 9.335ff). In the present passage L. in typical fashion uses hyperbole to improve on his models: the sailors did not fear anything low-lying (which would have been a concern in an 'ordinary' storm), but rather the peaks of the Ceraunian mountains, so high had the waters risen in his storm. Behind this lies the influence of Ovid's description of the topsy-turvy nature of things during the Flood at *Met.* 1.293ff, note especially 293-8 *occupat hic collem, cumba sedet alter adunca / et ducit remos illic, ubi nuper ararat; / ille supra segetes aut mersae culmina villae / navigat, hic summa pisces deprensit in ulmo; / figitur in viridi, si fors tulit, ancora prato, / aut subiecterunt curvae vineta carinae; 310 pulsabantque novi montana cacumina fluctus*. L.'s Ceraunian mountains however outdoes even Ovid. Burman, perhaps too literal-mindedly, protests at the inconsistency of L.'s hyperbole with other parts of the narrative: 'o inanem et magniloquam hyperbolen et absurdam! quum antea vs. 611 *defendisse terras suas undique irruentes ventos dixisset, et mox unda Caesarem exponit terrenum in litus, minime obrutum undis*.'

The 4 landmarks referred to here (*Sasona . . . litora curvae / Thessaliae saxosa . . . oraeque malignos / Ambraciae portus, scopulosa Ceraunia . . . summa*) were all situated on the sea-route between Epirus and Brundisium. (Both Sason and the Ceraunian mountains are mentioned at 2.625ff in the context of an Adriatic storm in a description of Brundisium.) As in Vergil (see above) the place-names contribute local colour to the storm-narrative and may also indicate the poet's desire to show off his geographical knowledge

(see on 613-14). The sentence is constructed as a priamel with 3 negative examples followed by a positive in asyndeton (for this cf. 2.8 and see Heitland (1887) cviii for the way L. sometimes dispenses with the adversative conjunction). The priamel was a favourite construction of L.'s; Hunink on 3.101 lists other examples in the poem. Cf. especially 5.278-82.

650. non: The 3 negations in lines 650-3 emphasise L.'s divergence from previous storm-accounts (see previous n. and also 617 above).

humilem Sasona vadis: 'low-lying Sason with its shallows'. Sason (modern Sasena) was located halfway between Brundisium and Epirus, 12 miles from Oricum. It was apparently known for its shallows and for being notorious as a harbour for pirates (Strabo 6.3.5; Plin. Nat. 3.152).

humilem: i.e. Sason was low-lying in relation to the height reached by the sailors.

650-1. non litora curvae / Leucadiae saxosa pavent: Housman (following Cortius, Guyet and Bentley) deleted the following words found in the mss – *non litora curvae / Thessaliae saxosa pavent* – believing them to be inserted by someone who did not want to wait until 653 for the verb *timent* and agreeing with Bentley's argument that the variation *pavent* (651) / *timent* (653) and the mention of Thessalian shores (clearly a geographical error since Thessaly was not on the west coast of Greece) are 'inepta'. However Håkanson (1979) 41-2 convincingly defends the line arguing that:

- 1) there is no problem with the combination *pavent* and *timent* (cf. 1.486-7 & 3.424-5).
- 2) the problem of *Thessaliae* cannot be denied (tho' many edd. accept *Thessaliae*), but this is no reason to delete the whole line. L. commits many geographical errors in his poem (see Heitland (1887) lii-liii; Bourgery (1928) 25-40). However, as Håkanson states, it is highly unlikely that L. could make such a blunder concerning Thessaly (see his description of Thessaly at 6.333-412) and the mistake does not occur elsewhere in the poem. H. therefore proposes *Leucadiae* for *Thessaliae*.

650. curvae: see on *curva*, 513.

651. Leucadiae: the reading proposed by Håkanson (see on 650-1). Leucas (also called Leucadia) was an island off W. Greece (see on 479) and was famous for its limestone cliffs. L. uses the form 'Leucas' three times in his poem, but nowhere 'Leucadia'. Nevertheless it is not implausible that he should adopt the latter form here.

saxosa: The adjective is found from Vergil onwards (cf. *G.* 2.111; 4.370; *Ecl.* 5.84). See Barratt on 5.232 for Greek equivalents.

651-2. oraeque malignos / Ambraciae portus: *-que* carries the negative force of the earlier *non*'s; see on *non*, 546. Ambracia was a city of Epirus in the district of Thesprotis on the river Arachthos, captured in 189 BC by M. Fulvius Nobilior. It was situated north of the gulf to which it gave its name (*Liv.* 38.4). Cf. *Ov. Met.* 13.713ff. The Ambracian Gulf (also called the Bay of Actium) is mentioned by Strabo 7.7.5-6 (who however states that its harbours were good, not 'malignos', 7.7.6).

malignos: i.e. the harbours were in some way inconvenient. 'malignus' here could mean either 'shallow' or 'narrow' (*OLD* s.v. 2b)), or simply 'unkind' (s.v. 3)) or 'unfavourable' (s.v. 4)). Cf. 8.565 *litusque malignum*. Some mss have *malignae* probably influenced by the ending of *orae* or *Ambraciae*.

652. scopulosa: = Greek *σκοπελοειδής*. For adjectives in '-osus' see on *vadosis*, 484. The adjective is not found in Roman poetry before L.. It appears in the present poem also at 2.619; 3.172; 9.468, and in post-Lucanian epic. Before L. it appears in prose only in Cicero (e.g. of the Etruscan sea at *De or.* 3.19.69 *mare inferum . . . scopulosum atque infestum*).

652-3. Ceraunia . . . summa: From Greek *ἄκροκεραυνία* or 'headlands of thunder' (cf. *G.* 1.332 *alta Ceraunia*). A rocky mountain-range near Oricum (*Strabo* 6.3.8 and 7.5.8). It was a convenient departure-point for a journey to Italy (cf. *A.* 3.506 *Ceraunia . . . unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis*). L. mentions it at 5.457 (the voyage of Caesar and his men to Epirus). The mountain range was famous for its height (it rose to 5,300 ft. within 2 miles of the sea) and for being in an area dangerous to shipping apparently due to frequent thunderstorms (see Nisbet-Hubbard on *Hor. Carm.* 1.3.20). Ovid lists it as one of a number of conventional dangers to seafarers at *Am.* 2.11.17ff (qu. above in n. on 484-5).

nautae: see on *nautae*, 639.

653-71. Caesar's 2nd speech in the storm in which he accepts the possibility of dying at sea.

Speeches delivered in the middle of a storm were a feature of storm-narratives dating back to Greek lyric poetry (see Fraenkel (1975) 190-1). Petronius (*Sat.* 115) seems to poke fun at the unrealism of such speeches: *mirati ergo, quod illi vacaret in vicinia mortis poema facere, extrahimus clamantem iubemusque bonam habere mentem . . . at ille interpellatus excanduit et 'sinite me' inquit 'sententiam explere; laborat carmen in fine'*. (Cf. Laird (1992) 58's comment on the unrealism of Aeneas' speech in *Aeneid* 1: 'could Aeneas articulate all that he has in such circumstances as these?'. Caesar's speech, at double the length of Aeneas', might be considered far more unrealistic.)

L. gives Caesar two speeches in the middle of his storm, the first (578ff) modelled on Aeneas' speech to Palinurus at *A.* 5.26-31 (see *ad loc.*) and the present one modelled on Aeneas' speech in the middle of the storm at *A.* 1.94-101 (and also on Vergil's Homeric model, the speech of Odysseus at *Od.* 5.297-312). Apart from enabling L. to model Caesar on Aeneas by alluding to two separate speeches in the *Aeneid*, the two speeches of Caesar may have a structural function as well: the first speech marks the point at which the storm seems suddenly to intensify (597ff) and the second acknowledges the peak that the storm has reached and in it Caesar at last contemplates his own death (Morford (1967) 44). Also, the second speech (in which Caesar is forced to admit to the danger he was in) shows his foolishness in the first speech (where he predicted that the storm would not last, 586-7).

The Homeric and Vergilian models for Caesar's present speech serve to highlight how outrageously Caesar overturns the traditional topoi regarding a heroic death. The models are worth quoting in full:

i) *Od.* 5.297-312: *'Therefore the knees and warm heart of Odysseus shook and heavily did he commune with his own high courage. "Ill-fated one, what is this latest misery in the path? I fear the goddess spoke no more than truth when she said I should fill the cup of my disasters in the deep before I reached home. Surely this is the end at last. See with what storms Zeus has wreathed all his heaven and how the deep sea is moved. Squalls rush down from the four corners of the world: utter and inevitable is my doom. Thrice blessed, four times blessed were the Greeks who perished in the plain of Troy to oblige the sons of Atreus. Indeed I should have met my end and died there on that day when the throng of Trojans made me the anvil of their copper-bladed spears round the dead body of the fallen son of Peleus. So dying I should have won my funeral rites and the Achaeans would have bruited my glory: but now fate traps me in this ignoble death.'* (tr. T. E. Lawrence)

ii) *A.* 1.92-101: *extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
taliam voce refert: 'o terque quaterque beati,*

*quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! o Danaum fortissime gentis
Tydide! mene Iliacis occumbere campis
non potuisse tuaque animam hanc effundere dextra,
saevus ubi Aeacidae telo iacet Hector, ubi ingens
Sarpedon, ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis
scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit!*

In contrast to Odysseus and Aeneas' terror and despair at the prospect of dying at sea, Caesar declares he will accept fearlessly whatever death the gods will give him, hinting that his death would even impart glory to the sea and that the battlefield would be denied the privilege of his death (656-9). At 669-71 another heroic topos, the importance of burial (found in Odysseus' speech though not in Aeneas') is dramatically overturned: Caesar claims to need no burial as long as he was feared after his death (the lack of a burial would ensure this). There are hints of the typology of the tyrant in his desire to be feared (671) and also in the reference to dying in the midst of a great career (659); see nn. *ad loc.*. Clearly it was L.'s intention to portray Caesar as a new kind of hero, rivalling and surpassing his predecessors. This Caesar achieves by blatantly 'rewriting' the old rules regarding heroism. See below on 654-6 for the way in which Caesar seems to pose self-consciously as an epic hero in the mould of Aeneas and Odysseus: he seems to be putting on a performance. Relevant here may be the historic Alexander's practice of modelling himself on Achilles and Heracles and even re-enacting scenes from the *Iliad*; for this see Pearson (1983) 9-10, 12 and Griffin (1985) 188-9. (Alexander is a constant model for Lucan's Caesar; see index for similarities between Caesar and Alexander in the storm-episode.)

The remainder of the speech (659-668) is taken up with a list of Caesar's military and political achievements to date (echoing the language of Roman triumphal inscriptions), ending on a note of regret that he had failed to attain the kingship, an ambition of Caesar's stressed throughout the poem (see n. on *privatum*, 668). Caesar's megalomania and self-centredness stand in stark contrast to Odysseus and Aeneas whose thoughts turn in envy to their comrades at Troy.

Stoic elements in the portrayal of Caesar

As in Caesar's earlier speech in the storm (see on 577-93) it is possible to see Stoic influence in L.'s portrayal of Caesar in this speech. First, his fearless acceptance of death may recall Stoic view on death and dying (see n. on *intrepidus*, 658). Also, Caesar's determination to rise above the calamity of the storm and to see in it something he could turn to his advantage (671) is reminiscent of Seneca's portrait of the Stoic wise man.

According to Seneca's view, the wise man is mightier than all external things and does not let adversity weaken his spirit, but overcomes adversity. He is eager for toil and ready for danger. He turns whatever unpleasant thing happens to good. There is no spectacle more worthy of God's sight than a brave man matched against ill-fortune, especially if he himself has provoked it. Cf. *Dial.* 1.2.1-4, 9 *nihil accidere bono viro mali potest; non miscentur contraria. quemadmodum tot amnes, tantum superne deiectorum imbrium, tanta medicatorum vis fontium non mutant saporem maris, ne remittunt quidem, ita adversarum impetus rerum viri fortis non vertit animum. manet in statu et quicquid evenit in suum colorem trahit; est enim omnibus externis potentior. nec hoc dico: non sentit illa, sed vincit et alioqui quietus placidusque contra incurrentia attollitur. omnia adversa exercitationes putat. quis autem, vir modo et erectus ad honesta, non est laboris adpetens iusti et ad officia cum periculo promptus?marcet sine adversario virtus; tunc apparet quanta sit quantumque polleat, cum quid possit patientia ostendit. scias licet idem viris bonis esse faciendum, ut dura ac difficilia non reformident nec de fato querantur, quicquid accidit boni consulant, in bonam vertant. (9) ecce spectaculum dignum ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo deus, ecce par deo dignum, vir fortis cum fortuna mala compositus, utique si et provocavit.*

653-4. credit iam digna pericula Caesar / fatis esse suis: See n. on *fisus cuncta sibi cessura pericula*, 577. Caesar's soliloquy serves to characterise him as an individual (cf. also Pompey at 8.625-35). For this tendency in L., as opposed to Vergil who tends to use soliloquies to depict the tragic dilemma of an individual, see Marti (1975).

The idea of dangers being worthy of a (great) individual seems to derive from the Alexander-tradition. Cf. Curt. 8.14.14 on Alexander: *itaque Alexander contemplatus et regem et agmen Indorum: 'tandem', inquit, 'par animo meo periculum video cum bestiis simul et cum egregiis viris res est'; 9.3.9 digna prorsus cogitatio [=an expedition to the far East] animo tuo; 9.6.14 temetipsum ad ea serva pericula, quae magnitudinem tuam capiunt; Hist. Alex. M. (ed. Kroll) 3.17.26 παράδοξον ἄξιόν σου; 32.6 διανοεῖτο ἐγχειρεῖν τι ἄξιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τόλμης, etc.. L. may show the direct influence of Curtius here or the influence of the tradition (see on 678-99 for the uncertainty about Curtius' dates). In L., cf. also 3.136-7 *dignum te Caesaris ira / nullus honor faciet.**

Caesar: The transition back to Caesar (who has not been mentioned for 60 lines) is abrupt. For abrupt transitions in L.; see on 703-4.

654-5. 'quantusne evertere' dixit / 'me superis labor est, parva quem puppe sedentem / tam magno petiere mari?': The attribution of the storm to the gods (*superis*)

is remarkable given the emphasis on a naturally caused storm earlier (540ff). Addressing the gods *in extremis* is not unique in the poem (cf. Caesar again at 7.302, 311; Pompey at 7.659ff; 8.630; Cato's men at 9.848ff; *A.* 2.326-7 (Panthus); 12.895 (Turnus)); however Caesar goes further here by attributing to them actual involvement in the storm itself. This seems to be an allusion to the divine causation of earlier epic storms. i.e. Caesar seems to see himself as 're-enacting' the role of Odysseus and Aeneas in their respective storms (see on 653-71). However his later references to *numina* (658), *fatis* (660) and especially *Fortuna* (668) indicate that he holds no firm belief in the traditional gods, but is merely striking a pose at the beginning of his speech. (For recognising divine intervention as a characteristic of Aeneas in the *Aeneid*, see Schiesaro (2001) 42.)

quantusne . . . labor: The linked words are separated by 4 intervening words, an example of hyperbaton or irregular word-order (see on 580-1).

654. quantusne: Some mss have *tantusne* (UV) while others have *quantusne* (ZG). Most modern editors (Housman, Shackleton Bailey, Badali) adopt the latter reading, probably rightly. In defence of *quantusne* Housman compares 7.301 *quone poli motu . . . Thessalicae tantum . . . permittitis orae?* and 10.99-100 *quantosne tumores / mente gerit famulus!* Hosius punctuates 654-6 as a question rather than an exclamation. The latter seems more appropriate here (as in 10.99-100) but there is not much to choose between them. The pleonasm '-ne' is attached to an interrogative word in a rhetorical question or exclamation for emphasis and added vividness (see *OLD* s.v. 1b), 1c), 4b), 7a), and K-S. II. 507, 3; H-Sz. §§793-802).

evertere: see on 647.

655. me: The prominent position of *me* near the beginning of the speech (and preceding *superis* at the beginning of the line) encapsulates Caesar's egocentric frame of mind in this speech.

superis labor est: Surely an echo of *A.* 4.379-80 (Dido ridicules Aeneas' claim that Jupiter himself sent a messenger, Mercury, to command him to make for Italy): *scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos / sollicitat.* (The *scilicet* in Vergil is ironical, and Dido's words associate her with the Epicurean belief in the gods' *ἀταραξία*). See Austin *ad loc.* There is however no irony in Caesar's words here; he seems to be claiming that the gods were indeed acting against him, just as they acted against Aeneas in the storm in *Aeneid* 1.) The Vergilian passage is quoted twice by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 4.4.15; 4.5.4).

Perhaps L.'s desire for the combination *superis labor est* forced the hyperbaton in 654-5 (*quantusne . . . labor*).

labor: here in its active sense of 'task' as opposed to its passive sense of 'suffering' (as in 585 above). For 'labor est + infinitive', see *OLD* s.v. 1c); *TLL* 7,2.796.27-38. Cf. especially *A.* 6.128-9 *revocare gradum . . . / hoc opus, hic labor est*.

'labor' is normally associated with humans rather than the gods in L.'s poem and by using the word with regard to the gods Caesar shows his pride at being found to be a match for them. Cf. *labor* at 696 below used of Fortuna working on Caesar's behalf. ('labor' is (significantly perhaps) used of the gods at 7.144ff in the context of the Gigantomachy. Caesar is a test for the gods in the same way as the Giants once were.)

'labor' as part of the human condition is a concern particularly of Vergil's *Georgics* (note especially *G.* 1.118-46 which deals with 'Jupiter's curtailing of the golden age of Saturn and his imposition of "labor" on man', R. F. Thomas *ad loc.*) It is also of course an important theme in the *Aeneid*. On 'labor' in the *Aeneid*, Kristol (1990) 120 observes that it resembles the Greek noun *πόνος* and the verb *πονέομαι*, 'both of which are associated much more frequently with men than with gods in the Homeric and Hesiodic corpus.' For the common idea that the gods are not affected by 'labor', see *TLL* 7.2.791.60ff. This was a belief of Epicureans; cf. *Lucr.* 5.1179-82 and see Bailey's comm. 1.66-72 on Epicurean theology and religion.

655-6. parva quem puppe sedentem / tam magno petiere mari?: The small boat/vast ocean contrast is given added emphasis by the alliteration and antithesis of *parva . . . puppe* and *mari . . . magno*. See 502-3 above for a similar small-boat-vast-sea contrast. L. is fond of such juxtapositions, a reflection of the taste for the pathetic which pervades his poem. Cf. also the great figure/small vessel contrast at 8.37-9 *cuius adhuc remis quatitur Corcyra sinusque / Leucadii Cilicum dominus [Pompey] terraeque Liburnae / exiguam vector pavidus correpsit in alnum*; 10.56 *parva Cleopatra biremi*.

puppe: see on *carina*, 503.

656. tam magno . . . mari: Ablative of instrument (*K-S.* II. 379-412).

tam magno: Used instead of 'tantus' (which occurs frequently in L.), this phrase may reflect vulgar Latin (Flobert (1998) 486-7). It occurs at *Catul.* 86.4 (*nulla in tam magno est corpore mica salis*, where *magno* contrasts with *mica* - Fordyce *ad loc.*) but is more

common in Silver Latin (see *TLL* 8.142.47-60). In L. the phrase occurs also at 3.83; 5.189; 5.365; 7.297; 9.551. Here *magno* contrasts with *parva* in the previous line.

mari: 'storm' (*OLD* s.v. 1b)) rather than 'sea'.

petiere: 'peto' is frequently used to mean 'aim at or strike' with the weapon in the ablative (*OLD* s.v. 3a); *TLL* 10,1.1951.15ff). Here the weapon is the storm (*tam magno . . . mari*), an image typical of L.'s lively and vivid imagination. For being attacked by natural phenomena, cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1.1.82 *me reor infesto, cum tonat, igne peti*; *Sen. Nat.* 6.32.2 *fluminibus, et terris, et magnis naturae partibus petimur*.

656-9. si gloria leti / est pelago donata mei bellisque negamur, / intrepidus, quamcumque datis mihi, numina, mortem / accipiam: Caesar's attitude in these lines overturns the traditional attitude of heroes towards death: they long for a glorious death in battle and dread the ignominy of death at sea. See especially the speeches of Odysseus and Aeneas qu. in n. on 653-71. Both react with fear to the prospect of dying at sea wishing instead to have died at Troy, Odysseus motivated by a wish to be buried (*Od.* 5.306ff), Aeneas by a wish to die a glorious death (*A.* 1.94ff). Caesar on the other hand is fearless (*intrepidus*, 658). (Cf. 9.848ff where Cato's men long for Pharsalia instead of death by snakes in the desert, another allusion to the traditional heroic desire for a glorious death.) Tomb-epigrams testify to the dread of dying at sea; see Helzle (1996) 101 n.1. Cf. especially *Ov. Tr.* 1.2.51-6 *nec letum timeo; genus est miserabile leti. / demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit. / est aliquid, fatove suo ferrove cadentem / in solida moriens ponere corpus humo, / et mandare suis aliqua et sperare sepulcrum, / et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum*.

Caesar addresses the question of burial later at 668ff (he claims not to need one as long as he is feared by every land). As to a glorious death, far from seeking glory for himself through an appropriate death, so great is his megalomania that Caesar suggests that his death will impart glory to the sea (*gloria leti . . . mei*, 656-7). The two passive verbs (*est . . . donata* and *negamur*, 657) convey Caesar's self-centredness. He is made the subjects of the verbs just as he is the centre of his own thinking. His self-centredness is further displayed in his listing of his own achievements in 659ff. By contrast Aeneas' thoughts in *Aeneid* 1 turn immediately to his comrades who died at Troy.

656. gloria leti: Cf. 4.479-80 (Vulsteius to his men) *nec gloria leti / inferior, iuvenes, admoto occurrere fato*. For *leti*, see on *mortem*, 658. The more elevated word is clearly more appropriate to Caesar's high opinion of himself.

657. est . . . donata: 'has been granted'. The verb 'dono' ('to give as a favour or gift') suggests that the sea was being rewarded with Caesar's death. It deliberately contrasts with *datis* used of the gods giving to Caesar in the following line.

pelago: see on *maris*, 565 for words used for sea in the poem.

bellisque negamur: An allusion to the traditional desire of epic heroes to die on the battlefield (see on 656-9). The verb 'nego' suggests the denial of something requested (*OLD* s.v.). i.e. Caesar sees his death as a privilege to be granted to the sea or the battlefield.

658. intrepidus: 'intrepidus' is not found in poetry before Ovid and may have been an Ovidian coinage (see Bömer on *Met.* 9.107). The adjective is used adverbially here ('fearlessly'); cf. *sublimis* at 554. It is emphasised by its position at the beginning of the line and by the strong 2nd-foot caesura after it.

The adjective distances Caesar from the terror felt by Odysseus and Aeneas in their respective storms (see on 653-71). His fearless acceptance of any death even a nasty death at sea seems to reflect philosophical teaching on the subject of death (Narducci (2002) 256), perhaps particularly Stoic teaching. The latter emphasised that death was not to be feared, even death by natural phenomena, and that it was important to be prepared for death and accept it cheerfully when it came. (For the subject of death in Seneca's philosophical works, see Motto (1970) s.v. DEATH; cf. for example Sen. *Ep.* 30.12; 61.2; 102.24; *Nat.* 2.29.6-13. In L., cf. the Caesarian Scaeva at 6.218-19 in the face of his horrific suffering and death *adfixam vellens oculo pendente sagittam / intrepidus, telumque suo cum lumine calcat*; Lentulus at 8.395-6 *mors ultima poena est / nec metuenda viris*; Pompey's dying words at 8.630 *sum tamen, o superi, felix*; Cato's words at 9.211 *scire mori sors prima viris*.) Furthermore, the adjective 'intrepidus' appears frequently in Seneca (both tragedies and philosophical works) to describe the Stoic wise man, unshaken by any emotions. Caesar's lack of fear at the prospect of his death makes him completely unlike the traditional type of hero (cf. the comment of Jones (1988) on *Od.* 5.297 that there was nothing unheroic about being afraid, only in yielding to fear). The traditional hero is replaced here with what seems like almost a caricature of the Stoic wise man.

Other uses of 'intrepidus' in the poem suggest it was not necessarily a positive quality. Cf. 2.207-8 ('denoting [Sulla's] hubristic indifference to other people's suffering', Fantham *ad loc.*) *intrepidus tanti sedit securus ab alto / spectator sceleris*; and 5.317 (Caesar's fearlessness inspires fear in his soldiers) *intrepidus voltu meruitque timeri / non metuens*.

quamcumque datis mihi, numina, mortem: For the expression 'mortem dare' and sim., see *TLL* 5,1.1674.39-46. Vergil has the expression 'funera dare' (*G.* 3.246-7; *A.* 8.570-1; 12.383) but there 'dare' has a causative sense (Fordyce on *A.* 8.570f) and the expression means more or less 'to kill'. Here *datis* is used differently. Cf. *Sen. Med.* 17-18 (addressed to the Furies) *coniugi letum novae / letumque socero et regiae stirpi date*.

datis: Present tense used with future meaning. The present tense is more vivid suggesting the nearness of death. The plain verb for giving contrasts with the verb 'dono' in the previous line which suggests condescension; see on *est . . . donata*, 657.

mortem: L. shows a preference in his poem for the 'unpoetic' 'mors' (129x) over the more poetic 'letum' (37x including at 656 above). Of the combined uses of 'mors' and 'letum' the unpoetic word makes up 77.7%. This is not dissimilar to the percentages for Verg.'s *A.* (67%) and Ovid's *Met.* (63.9%). [Source: Watson (1985) 442] See on *cadaver*, 669 for L.'s preference for unpoetic words. The unpoetic word is particularly appropriate to the ignoble death at sea which is being implied here.

659. accipiam: For 'accipio' with death as object, cf. 9.817-8 *subita caligine mortem / accipis*; *Sil.* 11.577 *exitium accipere*.

659-68. In these lines Caesar expresses pride in his past achievements (659-664) but also reveals his regret at his failure to attain the kingship (665-8). The former of course goes directly against the spirit of the speeches of Odysseus and Aeneas in which the glory of those who died at Troy is the predominant theme (see n. on 653-71). The latter, Caesar's raw ambition for absolute power, directly contradicts the republican values expressed throughout L.'s poem and is a prominent theme in the poem, see n. on 668. To a Roman of L.'s day Caesar's obsession with achievement of political honours would have seemed particularly distasteful given the emphasis placed by the emperors from Augustus onwards on the practice of *recusatio* (the playing down of their power by refusing honours). Wallace-Hadrill (1982) 36-7 comments: '[Refusal] was a ritual performed throughout the reign of each emperor, in an astonishing variety of contexts. Not to be a king, not to be a god incarnate was not enough. Each title was worth turning down or abstaining from: consul, Pater Patriae, the praenomen Imperatoris – all except the modest power of tribunicia potestas that veiled the reality.'

659-60. licet ingentes abruperit actus / festinata dies fatis: It was a commonplace that great men died whilst in the middle of a great course of action (*ingentes . . . actus*). Cf. Liv. 9.17.5 (Alexander) *quod adulescens in incremento rerum, nondum alteram fortunam expertus, decessit*; Curt. 9.6.22 (on Alexander) *in his operibus extinguere mihi, si fors ita feret, pulchrum est*; Luc. 10.41ff (on Alexander) *occurrit suprema dies, naturaque solum / hunc potuit finem vaesano ponere regi*; Sil. 3.78-9 (on Hannibal) *si quis forte deum tantos inciderit actus / et nostro abrumpat leto primordia rerum . . .*; Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.71 (on Alexander) *ille etiam magnos fatis rumpentibus actus*; App. *B.C.* 2.150 (Caesar, like Alexander, died while planning new wars).

ingentes: Heinze (1957) 489 points out that the word 'ingens' is often used in Vergil of heroes and their deeds (and later epic poets including L. followed Vergil's lead, sometimes using alternatives for 'ingens'). See *TLL* 7,1.1536.60-65; 1539.12-14 for 'ingens' used in this way. Cf. for example *A.* 12.707-9 *stupet ipse Latinus / ingentis, genitos diversis partibus orbis, / inter se coiisse viros* (= Aeneas and Turnus) *et cernere ferro*; *Ov. Met.* 9.247 (on Hercules) *inmanibus actis*; Luc. 1.183ff *iam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes / ingentisque animo motus bellumque futurum / ceperat*; 8.807 (on Pompey) *adde actus tantos monumentaque maxima rerum*; Sil. 1.459 (on Hannibal) *atque ingentes . . . actus*.

abruperit: 'has cut short'. The verb is often used of the ending of a life (*TLL* 1.141.18-31). Cf. especially *A.* 4.631 (on Dido) *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*. In L., cf. 4.483; 6.610. Here it is used more specifically of the cutting short of Caesar's exploits (by his death); cf. for this Sil. 3.79 (qu. in previous n.).

actus: 'actus' meaning 'deeds' is mainly post-Augustan though Manilius uses it at 2.140. L. and later epic uses it quite freely (*TLL* 1.453.3ff; *OLD* s.v. 11).

660. festinata dies fatis: 'the day of my death, hurried on by destiny'. Oudendorp suggested that *dies fati* ('day of death') rather than *dies fatis* should be the reading here, and Housman comments that he may be right and compares e.g. *Cic. Catil.* 3.17 *exiti ac fati diem*. For 'dies fati' meaning 'day of death', see also *TLL* 6.1.366.56-7 (in poetry it occurs at *Ov. Ep.* 1.114). However the text transmitted by the mss seems to work as well: *dies* can stand on its own without *fati* since it is clear from the preceding lines what day is being spoken about. Also, for *festinata . . . fatis*, cf. 7.676 *fatisque negatum*; 8.344 *deiectum fatis*; etc..

festinata: For 'hurrying on' the day of death or sim., cf. Vell. 2.48.6 *quieta aut certe non praecipitata . . . morte functi sunt*; Luc. 2.106 *praecipitasse diem* ('though the text is in doubt; see Fantham *ad loc.*); 7.353 *praecipitare meam fatis potuere senectam*; Tac. *Ann.* 4.28 *mortem in se festinavit*; Juv. 4.96 *mors . . . gladiis tam festinata*. See also *TLL* 6,1.620.81-4.

dies: For 'dies' meaning 'day of death', see *OLD* s.v. 8) and *TLL* 5,1.1032.32ff. The gender of 'dies' when used with this meaning seems to be more often masculine than feminine, but here the feminine offers a metrical advantage (giving *festinata* instead of *festinatus*). Cf. also 10.41 *occurrit suprema dies*. On the gender of *dies*, see also on 616.

fatis: i.e. 'destiny'. Elsewhere L. refers to the Fates or Parcae of mythology in connection with the ending of life: 3.18-19 *vix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores / sufficiunt, lassant rumpentes stamina Parcas*. See Hunink *ad loc.* for the Parcae in L.'s poem.

sat magna peregi: Cf. Cic. *Marc.* 25 (words spoken by Caesar, though at a different time) *satis diu vel naturae vixi vel gloriae*. For pride in one's achievement at the end of life, cf. also Sil. 5.374-5 (Mago) *si vita relinquat / sat nobis actum est*. The idea that one's glory was more important than the length of one's life is something Alexander was supposed to have believed (Curt. 9.6.18 *ego me metior non aetatis spatium, sed gloriae*).

sat: The abbreviated form of 'satis' seems to be found mainly in direct speech (in L., cf. also 5.137; 8.314; 10.102).

peregi: literally, 'I have successfully completed'. The word contrasts with *abruperit* in the previous line. It also probably recalls Dido's final speech at *A.* 4.653-4 *vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi. / et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago*. Seneca quotes Dido's words at least 3 times (*Ben.* 5.17.5; *Dial.* 7.19.1; *Ep.* 12.9) elevating it to a 'motto' on the serenity with which the wise man, conscious of having led a virtuous life, accepts his death (Narducci (2002) 256). (Cf. also Aeneas to the Sibyl at *A.* 6.105: *omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi*, described by Austin *ad loc.* as 'Stoic language'. The passage is quoted by Sen. *Ep.* 76.33-4 as an example of how to be prepared for suffering.) The dignity of Dido's final words however are vulgarised by the emphasis Caesar places on his own achievements (*sat magna peregi*). This may recall the use of 'perago' in the context of emperors and rulers completing buildings, works of art, etc. (*TLL* 10,1.1176.57-66).

661-2. Arctoas domui gentes inimica subegi / arma metu: The perfect tense verbs (*domui . . . subegi*) echo again Dido's final speech where she effectively pronounces her own epitaph: 4.655-6 *urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi, / ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi*. Dido's language recalls the sepulchral inscriptions (or *tituli*) of noted Romans which favoured stark and simple perfect active verbs (see Clausen (1987) 58 and n.76). Caesar's language also recalls sepulchral inscriptions, though not in as elegant a way as Dido's and the first person perfect active verbs are interspersed with expressions of a different construction (662, 664) for variety. For the influence of the language of *tituli*, see also for example Ov. *Met.* 9.182-98 (Hercules lists his achievements just before his death); Pompey's listing of his achievements at Luc. 2.562ff (and especially *ascendi . . . reliqui*, 563; *coegi*, 582; *subegi*, 594) with Fantham on 2.594; and the list of Alexander's achievements at Luc. 10.28ff (cf. also Curt. 9.6.20-22) with its series of perfect active verbs. See Dessau (1892) 1-7 for Scipionic epitaphs and 862f for *tituli* of men in public life; Sandys (1927) 59 for different types of *tituli*. Inscriptions listing achievements were also carried in triumphal processions (see Versnel (1970) 95). For 'triumphal' language, cf. Suet. *Jul.* 37.2 (from Caesar's Pontic triumph, suggesting by its shortness the speed of conquest) *veni, vidi, vici*; *Jul.* 49.4 (qu. in n. on 480-497); *Tib.* 9.2 *Raetico et Dalmatas subegit, Germanico quadraginta milia dediticiorum traiecit in Galliam iuxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus adsignatis collocavit*.

661. Arctoas domui gentes: Caesar's exploits in Gaul, Germany and perhaps also Britain are referred to. For other references to these in the poem, cf. 1.283; 369-71; 2.568-72; 3.73ff; 4.820; 5.267-8; 7.286. If Britain is included here, however, Caesar is making an exaggerated claim (*domui*), as the conquest of Britain by Rome cannot be said to have been achieved until 43 A.D. in the reign of Claudius. The Gallic Wars lasted from 58-51 B.C.. These campaigns involved Caesar as far as the Rhine in Germany (*OCD*³ s.v. 'Gallic Wars'), and the purpose of them was largely to enhance Caesar's reputation at Rome, hence Caesar's own detailed account in his *Commentaries* on the Gallic Wars. For Caesar's expeditions to Britain in 55 and 54, cf. *B.G.* 4.20-5.23.

Arctoas: 'Northern'. The adjective is first used by Seneca (see Töchterle on Sen. *Oed.* 606). It is quite common in L. (occurring 13 times; the noun 'Arctos' 11 times) and occurs also in post-Lucanian epic.

661-2. inimica subegi / arma metu: It is unclear exactly what is being referred to here. However, it is stated that these hostile forces were conquered by fear (*metu*), i.e. not by arms. Comm. Bern. interprets this as referring to either Afranius and Petreius (Caesar's

opponents at Ilerda in Book 4) or Italy; Weise interprets it as Pompey. Each of these interpretations seems to be equally justifiable. (It is probably just coincidence that the only other occurrence of the word 'inimica' in the poem is at 4.348-9 referring to Afranius and Petreius.) The episode of Ilerda involving Afranius and Petreius in book 4 was notable for the fact that Caesar conquered his opponents in a bloodless conflict (see 4.24, 181, 273ff, and especially 354-5 *nec cruor effusus campis tibi bella peregit / nec ferrum lassaeque manus*; and 4.34-5, 172-3 for references to the fear of the Pompeians). Pompey abandons Italy in fear because of Caesar (1.522; 2.392; 2.708). Finally, it was a proud boast of Caesar's that he had conquered Italy without bloodshed: *Caes. Civ. 3.7.3 habendam Fortunae gratiam, quod Italiam sine aliquo vulnere cepissent*; see also Gelzer (1968) 216-17.

subegi: The rhyme with *peregi* in the previous line emphasises Caesar's pride in his achievements (Coleman in J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (eds.) (1999) 49ff). The verb 'subigo' in the present sense of 'to reduce to a state of subjection / subdue' (*OLD s.v. 5a*) occurs often in L.. Cf. especially 2.594 where it occurs in a list of Pompey's achievements. It is common in the lists of achievements of great men (see on 661-2 and Suet. *Jul.* 49.4, qu. in n. on 480-97). It appears to be otherwise uncommon in poetry in this sense, more common in prose (especially history, as one would expect). However cf. Verg. *G.* 1.125 *ante lovem nulli subigebant arva coloni* (where military language is used of farmers' work).

metu: i.e. not by arms (Comm. Bern.) The fear Caesar inspired in others is a prominent theme in the poem. See also on 671.

662. vidit Magnum mihi Roma secundum: Referring to Pompey's abandonment of Rome due to Caesar's approach (Adn.). The word-order, with *mihi* between *Magnum* and *Roma*, is probably significant. *Roma* is quite frequently in the poem juxtaposed with a personal (or possessive) pronoun to form an emotive phrase. Cf. for example 2.635 *post me Roma ducem*; 8.843 *nostro Roma sinu*; 9.878 *sub pedibus iam Roma meis*. For the close and affectionate bond between Pompey and Rome, see especially 2.734-6 ; 3.1ff; 7.7ff

Caesar's inability to take second place to anyone was well-known (Syme (1939) 42 n.1). In Lucan, cf. 1.125-6 *nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem / Pompeiusve parem*; 9.1076-8 *frustra civilibus armis / miscuimus gentes, si qua est hoc orbe potestas / altera quam Caesar, si tellus ulla duorum est*. See also Sen. *Ep.* 94.65-6 *quid C. Caesarem in sua fata pariter ac publica inmisit? gloria et ambitio et nullus supra ceteros eminendi modus. unum ante se ferre non potuit, cum res publica supra se duos ferret*; Plu.

Caes. 11 (Caesar at a barbarian village declares 'I would rather be first here than second at Rome').

vidit: For 'video' with places including cities as subject, see *OLD* s.v. 11b) and cf. for example Cic. *Mil.* 7 *in ea [urbe] quae primum iudicium de capite vidit M. Horati.*

mihi: Perhaps recalling the repeated first person pronouns which were a feature of Roman triumphal inscriptions (cf. 2.583ff and Fantham on 2.594).

secundum: 'inferior / subordinate to' (*OLD* s.v. 11b)). Cf. A. 11.441 *Turnus ego, haud ulli veterum virtute secundus.*

663. iussa plebe tuli fasces per bella negatos: 'having ordered the people I have won as a prize the Rods denied to me during the wars'.

Caesar held five consulships in his lifetime - in 59, 48, 46, 45 and 44 B.C. - and it is his 2nd consulship in 48 which is being referred to here. At 5.381ff L. describes Caesar's election to his second consulship while dictator as a sham. This was the time when titles lost their meaning, when Caesar was greedy for the consulship so that 'he might grasp every right to use the sword' (tr. Duff). At the elections the people were excluded, states L., and a pretence was made of the electoral process. Cf. especially 382ff *populoque precanti / scilicet indulgens summo dictator honori / contigit* (where *scilicet* is clearly ironic and *summo . . . honori* = the consulship). The historical sources are Caes. *Civ.* 3.1-2; Dio 41.43; App. *BC* 2.48; Plu. *Caes.* 37.

iussa plebe: Duff's translation 'by appeal to the people' is misleading since *iussa* = *coacta* (Oudendorp; Haskins). Caesar describes himself as forcing from the people the consulship which was properly in *their* power to bestow on *him* (see previous n.). 'iubeo' was used of the people's power to decree or enact or pass a measure including to appoint a magistrate by decree (*OLD* s.v. 5)). Burman compares the following passages in L.: 5.21 *cunctaque iussuri primum hoc decernite, patres*; 5.46-7 *consulite in medium, patres, Magnumque iubete / esse ducem*; 5.56-7 *Libyamque iubent auctore senatu / sceptrifero parere iubae*. The formulae 'populi iussu'/'senatus iussu' occur regularly in Cicero and Livy (*TLL* 7,2.710.15ff). Caesar's words here are therefore a distortion of the expected formula. He seems to speak with pride of his coercion of the Roman people, presumably because there was no-one to hear him. Cf. Cato's appraisal of Pompey at 9.196 (what he wished to receive, he wished that others should have the power to refuse him) *quaeque dari voluit, voluit sibi posse negari*.

tuli: See on 661-2 for the perfect active verb. The word conveys the speaker's triumphant attitude. 'fero' = 'to win as a prize' (*OLD* s.v. 36a); *TLL* 6,1.554.46ff; and cf. for example *Juv.* 13.105 *ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema*). For Caesar's greed for the consulship, cf. 5.389ff *nomen inane [= the consulship] / imperii rapiens signavit tempora digna / maesta nota; nam quo melius Pharsalicus annus / consule notus erit?*

fascēs: Originally a bundle (especially of sticks), then more specifically a bundle of rods carried by lictors before a magistrate (see Ogilvie on *Liv.* 2.1.7), the word also stood for the power/office of a magistrate as it does here. At 3.87 L. uses the word by metonymy for the magistrates themselves.

per bella negatos: Both ancient and modern commentators have struggled with the interpretation of these words. The difficulty arises from doubt about the meaning of *per* and also from uncertainty about which wars are being referred to.

Most older commentators (*Comm. Bern.*; *Adn.*; Oudendorp; Burman) believe, I think rightly, that *bella* refers not to the civil war but to the Gallic wars in which Caesar was engaged from 58-51 B.C. (and during which he did not hold the consulship).

A law re-enacted by Sulla stipulated that a ten-year interval had to elapse before a man could be re-elected to the consulship. So Caesar who had been consul in 59 was, in 48, legally entitled to hold the office again. (See Carter on *Caes. Civ.* 3.1.1.) It therefore seems natural to take *per* as meaning 'in the course of, during' (*OLD* s.v. 6a) i.e. while he was absent in Gaul (a period more or less corresponding to Sulla's required 10-year interval), Caesar was unable to obtain the consulship. Or, *per* may be taken as meaning 'as a result of, by reason of' (*OLD* s.v. 13) and Caesar may be speaking rhetorically, as if the Gallic wars not Sulla's law were the reason for him being unable to hold the consulship. Cf. Nutting (1931) 121-2 who understands the line to mean 'that by fiat to the people he had carried off an honour denied him on the basis of (*per*) his exploits in the field . . . he is master of the elections (*iussa plebe*), and with a turn of his hand has taken what the grudging senate would not grant on the basis of merit.'

Bentley, taking *bella* to be referring to the civil war, saw a difficulty and conjectured *per iura negatos*. His conjecture has been supported by Helzle (1996) 103 n.1. *Sil.* 11.125 *et per bella diu fascēs perque arma negatos* may be an imitation of L., but does not help much in the interpretation of L.'s passage.

664. nulla meis aberit titulis Romana potestas: 'no Roman office will be found missing from my record' (tr. Duff). i.e. because he had attained both the dictatorship and consulship (see 667).

titulis: Either ablative or dative of disadvantage. As often with 'absum', the case is unclear (*TLL* 1.212.44-57). A 'titulus' was a commemorative inscription setting out details of a person's career, victories, etc. It could be in the form of a stone epitaph on a person's grave (see *OLD* s.v. 1b) and cf. Luc. 8.806-822 for this practice); or be more loosely used of any inscription, for example those held up in a triumphal or funeral procession (see *OLD* s.v. 2b) and cf. Luc. 2.555f *te quoque si superi titulis accedere nostris / iusserunt*, see also Versnel (1970) 117). Since it is clear that Caesar does not expect to receive a burial, he may be imagining a triumphal or funeral procession in his absence or an inscription on a cenotaph (see Toynbee (1971) 54 for cenotaphs being used for bodies not available for burial including those drowned at sea).

Romana: Note the earlier reference to Rome two lines above, the repetition perhaps reflecting emotion. Cf. similar emotional repetition at *A.* 4.658 (*Dardaniae*) and 662 (*Dardanus*).

potestas: here, political office (*OLD* s.v. 3a)) as also at 5.397 where *potestas* = the consulship. Barratt compares 1.333 where *potentia* = pejorative 'power' procured by force. Naturally the word 'potestas' in its political sense is found mainly in histories and the speeches of Cicero, but seldom in epic.

665-8. Caesar ends his summary of his career on a note of regret: despite achieving every legitimate Roman office he had failed to achieve his dearest wish (to become king) and as a result was to die a 'privatus'. For the regret of an ambitious man at his death cf. Plut. *Marius* 45.7.

665. nec sciet hoc quisquam: Heinsius conjectured *ne sciat* for the mss reading *nec sciet* and Bentley compares rather convincingly Ov. *Fast.* 3.489 *ne sciat hoc quisquam*. i.e. Caesar would then be addressing a prayer / making a request to Fortuna. However the mss reading works equally well and has therefore been accepted here.

hoc: Proleptic, like *haec* at 580 and 691. It refers to the acc. + inf. construction in 668.

665-6. nisi tu quae sola meorum / conscia votorum es: Cf. above 582-3: *de quo male tunc fortuna meretur, / cum post vota venit*. Caesar has already referred in his speech to the gods (*superis*, 655; *numina*, 658) but it is clear that he enjoys a close personal relationship only with Fortuna. (For the mention of both gods and Fortuna in close proximity, a common occurrence in L., see on *superos et fata*, 482.) For Caesar's fortune, see on *Fortuna*, 510.

conscia: The word 'conscius' in Vergil tends to occur in oaths or prayers, i.e. in rather solemn contexts (cf. A. 2.141; 4.519-20; 4.608; 9.429). Here *conscia* personifies Fortuna as one with inside knowledge of Caesar's secret thoughts and feelings.

votorum: i.e. for the kingship. *votorum* here may mean 'desires' rather than 'prayers'. See above for Fortuna's ability to anticipate Caesar's prayers (i.e. to have an innate knowledge of his desires before he gave voice to them).

666. quamvis: This use of 'quamvis' with the meaning 'although' and not qualifying an adjective or adverb occurs from Cicero onwards (Handford (1947) 55). L. much prefers 'quamvis' (33x) to 'quamquam' (10x) but the latter is preferred by Vergil and especially V. Fl. and Silius (Axelson (1945) 124n).

plenus honorum: 'plenus' is also used with the ablative (a more recent use according to Quint. *Inst.* 9.3.1); cf. 8.816-17 *surgit miserabile bustum / non ullis plenum titulis*. *honorum* here refers to public or political offices (*OLD* s.v. 5a); *TLL* 6,3.2926.27ff). A long list of titles appeared in the *tituli* of important men (see on *titulis*, 664). Caesar names just two, *dictator* and *consul* in the next line, which were among the highest attainable under the republic. The phrase *plenus honorum* suggests others as well. For a person of the senatorial order the list of titles might have included: *vigintivir*, *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis*, (or *aedilis curulis* or *aedilis plebis*), *praetor*, *consul*, *ensor*, *dictator* (see Sandys (1927) 110-11).

667. et dictator eam Stygias et consul ad umbras: In this line the grandeur of the titles *dictator* and *consul* creates a striking and pathetic juxtaposition with the words *Stygias* . . . *ad umbras*. Cf. Cleopatra at 10.89 (*complector regina pedes*). For L.'s interest in striking juxtapositions, see on 502-3 and 655-6. For a similar pathetic juxtaposition of hero and Underworld cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 947 (Theseus on Hippolytus) *adeatque manes iuvenis iratos patri*.

dictator: The dictatorship, an extraordinary supreme magistracy held normally for six months, was conferred on Caesar in 49 in order that elections of consuls for the following year could be held as those who would have done this - Lentulus and Marcellus - were in Greece with Pompey. (At this election Caesar himself and Publius Servilius were elected consuls.) Caesar resigned the dictatorship soon after the elections (in Dec. 49) so strictly L. is inaccurate to state that he was dictator at this time. See Carter on Caes. *Civ.* 3.1.1 and n. on 663.

Here a rather rare form of the rhetorical figure 'emphasis' is seen whereby the speaker refers to himself in the 3rd person by his titles (*dictator . . . et consul*); see on 488. This device enabled the sort of pathetic juxtaposition of which L. was so fond (see above).

eam: For 'eo' used of people dying, see *TLL* 5.2.636.33ff.

Stygias . . . ad umbras: Elsewhere in the poem a distinction is made between the realms of the blessed and the damned in the Underworld (3.12ff; 6.782ff) but here *Stygias . . . umbras* is clearly a way of referring to the Underworld in general (see *OLD* s.v. 'Stygius' 1a)). Caesar's words signify not much more than that he was dying. See above on 627-9 for the role of the Underworld in L.'s poem.

consul: For Caesar's election to the consulship for 48 B.C., see above on *dictator* and n. on 663.

668. privatum, Fortuna, mori: The last 3 words of the sentence form a kind of climax with emphasis particularly on the important word *privatum*. The juxtaposition of *privatum* and *Fortuna* creates a certain poignancy.

privatum: This has been variously interpreted as meaning that Caesar was dying:

- a) without attaining kingship (Bentley, Duff, Housman; Grotius);
- b) without his army (Comm. Bern);
- c) in plebeian clothing (Comm. Bern);
- d) without a consular funeral procession or public burial (Ascens.; Sulpitius)

Surely the first interpretation is correct. Caesar's monarchical ambitions are explicitly referred to throughout the poem. Cf. especially Pompey's hints about Caesar's ambitions at 2.562ff *quo potuit civem populus perducere liber, / ascendi, supraque nihil, nisi regna, reliqui. / non privata cupis, Romana quisquis in urbe / Pompeium transire paras*; 4.692 *regnum te, Roma, facit*, 7.240 *flagransque cupidine regni*; etc. For 'privatus' meaning one

lacking the power of a king or 'princeps', see *OLD* s.v. 1b) and *TLL* 10,2.1390.50ff. See Helzle (1996) 87 for 'privatus' as a key concept for Caesar in the poem.

Fortuna: see on 510; 665-6.

668-71. Caesar claims to need no burial as long as after his death his appearance is dreaded from every land. His curt dismissal of the need for burial in this passage directly contradicts the attitude found in earlier literature and his lack of emotion makes his attitude all the more shocking. For anxiety about the unburied corpse, particularly those lost at sea, which runs through Greek and Roman literature from Homer onwards, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.23. Numerous tomb-inscriptions testify to this anxiety (e.g. *A.P.* 7.271-5; 7.278.3-4; 7.286.1-3). Cf. especially Hom. *Od.* 5.306ff where Odysseus, shipwrecked in the storm, envies the Greeks who died at Troy for the burial that they received (see on 653-71). Heubeck, West, Hainsworth on *Od.* 5.311 comment: 'To be unburied not only had disagreeable consequences in the after-life (see *Il.* 23.69-74 and *Od.* 11.51-78), but was a humiliating disgrace fit to be inflicted on a hated foe, cf. *Il.* 22.335-6 (Achilles to Hector). His funeral was a hero's crowning glory, and his tomb preserved his 'κλεος' . . . *Od.* 11.76; cf. 24.83-4.' In a Latin storm, cf. Ov. *Met.* 11.539-40 (*vocat ille beatos / funera quos maneant*) and at 564-5 Ceyx prays that his body will be washed ashore and buried by Alcyone. However Hübner (1987) 54-5 is probably right to suggest that we should particularly have in mind Palinurus' misery at being thrown overboard and his desperate wish to be buried at *A.* 6.347ff. Note especially the Sybil's words to Palinurus at *A.* 6.373-5 (which Caesar's words at 666-7 above seem to contradict) '*unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido? / tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum / Eumenidum aspicias, ripamve iniussus adibis?*'

It is perhaps tempting to see in Caesar's attitude here the influence of the Stoic view of burial – that what happened to the body after death was of little importance as the soul was not alive to be aware of it (see for example Sen. *Dial.* 9.14.3; *Ep.* 92.34-5). See index for Stoic influence in L.'s portrayal of Caesar. Also relevant in this context may be the idea that a tomb was not sufficient to contain a great person. This idea occurs at Luc. 8.797ff (on how Pompey's grave should be Rome and all its empire rather than a simple stone) and cf. also Sen. *Her. O.* 1821ff (Alcmena to the dead Hercules) *quod tibi infelix anus / quaeram sepulchrum? de tuis totus rogis / contendat orbis . . . quae tibi sepulchra, nate, quis tumulus sat est? / hic totus orbis; fama erit titulus tibi. . . . terre bunt tuae / reges vel umbrae.* However line 671 makes clear that Caesar's primary concern is that his lack of a tomb would ensure he remained an object of fear forever. See n. *ad loc.* for this as the desire of the archetypal tyrant, and the echo of Accius' Atreus. L.'s interest in the theme of

burial, or (often) the lack of it and the maltreatment of corpses, pervades his poem; see 1.685-6; 2.169-73; 3.756-61; 4.809-10; 5.278-82; 6.624-825; 7.786-846; 8.712-872; 9.148-60; 1089-93. The sad fate of corpses in L.'s poem contrasts with the much-loved motif of the 'honos mortis' in the *Aeneid*, the former a sign of a world full of 'impietas', the latter of 'pietas' (Hübner (1987) 55 n.33).

668. funere nullo: The line-ending occurs also at 8.761 (on the pitifulness of being drowned at sea and having no burial). L. frequently uses 'nullus' where a simple negation of the clause is meant; see Heitland (1887) cviii.

funere: The term 'funus' covered 'all that took place between the hour of death and the performance of the last post-burial ceremonies' (Toynbee (1971) 43). This would have included among other things, a funeral procession. Compare the more specific *busta rogosque* in 670. The historic Caesar in fact went on to receive a grand funeral (App. *BC* 2.147; Suet. *Jul.* 84; Dio 44.35-51; see also Toynbee (1971) 56ff; Weinstock (1971) 346ff).

o superi: see on *superis*, 655.

669. lacerum . . . cadaver: 'mangled carcass' (tr. Riley). Caesar imagines his body will be torn by jagged rocks if he is thrown overboard. For this as a traditional fear of sailors; see on 650-3.

lacerum: 'lacer' in the context of shipwreck occurs from Ovid onwards, usually of ships or parts of ships (see on *laceros*, 594). It is used strikingly of Pompey's mutilated body at 8.667 and 737; cf. especially 8.737 *lacerum corpus siccos effundat in ignes*.

cadaver: 'an uglier and more clinical variant for *corpus*' (R. F. Thomas on Verg. *G.* 3.557). The word was extensively avoided in Classical poetry; see Axelson (1945) 49-50. Where it is used it seems to have a special point. It is used by Lucretius and Ovid of the victims of plague (Lucr. 6.1155; 1273-4; Ov. *Met.* 7.602). Vergil uses it twice, of animals in a plague description (*G.* 3.556-7) and of the corpse of Cacus (*A.* 8.264), not of humans. L. uses the word 36 times, far more often than other Roman poets (2x in Verg., 2x in Hor., 0x in Tib. or Prop., 4x in Ovid). Cf. Mayer comm. on book 8 (1981) 14 for L.'s uncommon fondness for the prosaic word 'gladius' (45x in the poem) as well as 'cadaver'; he comments: 'Epic poets are inclined to speak of the corpses of men as *corpora*, a colourless word; *enses* is as remote from 'swords' as is our own 'brands'. L. disdains this. He wants us to see and feel Rome's death throes, and so he calls corpses and swords by their common names, without

poetic distancing.' For another prosaic word in L. see 'uxor' at 3.353 (with Hunink *ad loc.*) L. likes at times to combine 'cadaver' with words denoting high rank to form a striking juxtaposition; cf. 6.583 *cadavera regum*; 7.598 *patricium . . . cadaver*. In the present passage, its use of the high-ranking Caesar is highly effective.

Exposed and mutilated corpses seem to have held a particular fascination for L. and symbolise in his poem the full horror of civil war with its accompanying breakdown in morality. On the important theme in the poem of the outrageous treatment of dead bodies (their mutilation and burial or lack of burial), see Braund pp. xlii-xliv. For a discussion of Pompey's makeshift burial in book 8, see Mayer comm. on book 8 (1981) 167-70.

retinete: A concessive imperative, i.e. 'keep back (if you must)'. Cf. the concessive subjunctive *desint* in the next line.

670. fluctibus in mediis: The expression occurs from Vergil on (*TLL* 6,1.946.46-50; e.g. A. 1.109).

desint: A concessive subjunctive. It is combined here with the concessive imperative *retinete* in the previous line.

busta: here, a grave / tomb (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). The exact meanings of terms relating to funerals ('bustum', 'ustrina', 'pyra', 'rogus', 'tumulus', 'sepulcrum', 'monumentum') were clearly open to some confusion (*TLL* 2.2256.22-40). Here *busta* probably means a grave or tomb (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). Comm. Bern. interprets both *busta* and *rogus* in the next line as funeral-pyres, the former appropriate for soldiers and the latter appropriate for kings or leaders (i.e. Caesar desired neither). However this seems inaccurate. Rather the two words indicate two aspects of the funeral which Caesar could expect to receive in Rome: a grave and funeral-pyre.

'bustum' meaning both grave and funeral-pyre occurs frequently (40 times) in L.'s poem. Cf. for example 7.862 (the land of Thessaly after Pharsalia described as the 'bustum' of the Roman people). See above on *cadaver* for the importance of the theme of burial in the poem. The use of the plural 'busta' for one tomb (as here) is not unusual (see *OLD* and *TLL* s.v. *passim*).

rogusque: A funeral-pyre.

671. dum metuar semper terraque expecter ab omni: i.e. the lack of a proper burial would mean the people were uncertain of Caesar's whereabouts and therefore would

always dread his return. Caesar's desire to be feared (cf. also 3.82-3 *gaudet tamen esse timori / tam magno populis et se non mallet amari*) associates him with the typology of the king or tyrant. His words in this passage recall in particular the famous statement of Atreus in Accius' tragedy of the same name (*trag.* 203-4): '*oderint dum metuant*' (qu. at Sen. *Dial.* 3.20.4). The line of Accius was apparently often quoted by Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 30.1). For other great leaders' desire to be feared, cf. Sen. *Ben.* 1.13.3 describing Alexander: *summum bonum duceret terrori esse cunctis mortalibus*; Sil. 17.613ff describing Hannibal: *mihi satque superque / ut me Dardaniae matres atque Itala tellus, / dum vivam, expectent nec pacem pectore norint*'. (For the link between Caesar and Hannibal in L., cf. 1.303-5 and see Ahl (1979) 108-12.) The king's desire to be feared is also a common theme in Seneca's tragedies; cf. for example *Ag.* 72ff; *Phoen.* 654ff; *Oed.* 703-4.

dum: 'provided that'. For 'dum (modo)' + subj. see Handford (1947) 56-7; K-S.II.446.

expecter: '(I am) dreaded'. The verb contains the idea of fear and is often combined (as here) with a synonym of fearing (see *TLL* 5,2.1898.83-1899.52 and cf. for example Sen. *Dial.* 12.13.4 *non trepidant nec per singulas horas gladios expectant [exsules]*). Cornelissen (1878) 311 emends to *aspecter* (i.e. 'let me be looked upon with regard/respect') comparing Lucr. 3.75-6 *ante oculos illum esse potentem / illum aspectari, claro qui incedit honore*. However this seems unnecessary (see Silius 17.631ff qu. on 671 which may imitate L.).

terraque . . . ab omni: Caesar's appearance is dreaded 'from every land' since the lack of a burial would mean his whereabouts were unknown. Housman interprets *ab* as indicating agent, not place (i.e. 'by every land'; so also Adn. and Duff). However Nutting (1931) 285 convincingly defends the view of many of the old commentators, that *ab* means 'from' as follows:

- a) the passage is similar to Sil. 17.613ff (qu. above) for which it may have been a model and in the Silius passage it is not a question of being dreaded by every land, but just one, Italy.
- b) there is a similar idea at 9.45ff (the Pompeians fear Caesar's presence on every approaching ship) *cum procul ex alto tendentes vela carinae / ancipites tenuere animos, sociosne malorum / an veherent hostes: praeceps facit omne timendum / victor, et in nulla non creditur esse carina*.
- c) Caesar's popularity in some places would mean that he would not wish to be feared by every land.

The case for *ab* meaning 'from' is further strengthened by other passages in the poem where Caesar is seen as having the ability to be everywhere (i.e. to be literally 'larger than life'). Cf. 3.108 *omnia Caesar erat*; 10.488ff *sed adest defensor ubique / Caesar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arcet, / obsessusque gerit - tanta est constantia mentis - / expugnantis opus.*

672-7. Caesar is rescued by the 10th wave.

In six short lines Caesar is deposited safely on land and his sea-adventure is brought to an abrupt end. The historical sources either state or imply that Caesar, realising the danger of the storm, simply allowed the ship to be sailed back (see Appendix I). The story of the 10th wave is clearly then L.'s own invention, designed to illustrate Caesar's incredible *fortuna*. A similar incident occurs at Apoll. Rhod. 2.1118ff (the sons of Phrixus and their boat are hurled by the waves onto an island) and it may also be relevant that the theme of escape from death at sea was a frequent one in the Greek epigrammatists of the time of Augustus, rescue by a dolphin being a particular favourite (see *RE* 4.2504ff; Thompson (1947) 54-5).

A number of points can be made about L.'s account of Caesar's rescue:

- a) Once again the weather is seen to go against Caesar's expectations in this section (cf. 593-6). His immediate rescue makes a mockery of the sentiments of his speech just before. It is as though Caesar, the force of nature, provokes the weather to act against him.
- b) L. includes no divine agency in Caesar's rescue and in this way deviates from the epic tradition. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 5.451ff where *Od.* is helped by a river-god; Verg. *A.* 1.124ff where Neptune calms the storm and the Trojans are helped off the rocks by Neptune's assistants Cymothoe and Triton. Unlike in the earlier epics, Caesar's rescue does not require the calming of the storm first (this occurs later at 700-2). The role of the divine is replaced by that of the 10th wave and the 4 verbs describing the actions of the wave (*levat . . . deiecit . . . pertulit . . . imposuit*) parallel the 4 verbs at *A.* 1.145ff describing Neptune's actions (*levat ipse tridenti / et vastas aperit Syrtis et temperat aequor / atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas*). For the 10th wave, see on 672.
- c) The miraculousness of the event is stressed not only by the abruptness of the account (cf. the similarly abrupt and miraculous end to the Spanish floods at 4.121ff). but also by pointing out what the 10th wave might have been expected to do but did not (*nec rursus ab alto / aggere deiecit pelagi*, 673-4) and stating that Caesar was deposited just where a narrow strip of shore happened to be free of jagged rocks

(*scruposisque angusta vacant ubi litora saxis / imposuit terrae*, 675-6). Cf. *Od.* 5.404ff where Odysseus has trouble finding a rock-free shore on which to land. A neat syllepsis (676-7) rounds off the section and further emphasises the ease with which Caesar recovered everything he so nearly lost.

672. haec fatum: For the topos of speech-interrupted-by-wave in epic storm-narratives see on *non plura locuto*, 593. Only Caesar is mentioned in this rescue by the wave (*haec fatum*); the figure of Amyclas is forgotten about, his fate unimportant for L.'s purposes (see on *Amyclas*, 520). The wave acts as though in defiance of Caesar's speech in which he finally acknowledged the danger he was in and prepares to face his death. In a similar way the weather had suddenly worsened at 593ff as though in response to Caesar's confident speech immediately before. L. thus presents Caesar and the elements as in direct conflict with each other and the elements as though they have a mind of their own.

decimus . . . fluctus: The Romans believed that waves increased in size up to the 10th wave (Comm. Bern. *ad loc.*). Hence the 10th wave was the largest and the most dangerous. (Cf. 'trikumia' in Greek, originally a group or series of 3 waves, later used of a giant wave 'from the popular belief that every 3rd wave was larger' – see Griffith on Aesch. *P.V.* 1015. In English it is the 7th wave (*Shorter OED* s.v. 'seventh') and Ahl (1979) 207 n.6 notes that in Welsh poetry it is the 9th wave.) The earliest reference to the 10th wave in Roman poetry occurs in Lucilius (1152M. *decumanis fluctibus*). The adjective 'decimanus/decumanus' applied to other things came to mean 'huge' (*OLD* s.v. 'decimanus' 1b); *TLL* 5,1.170.9-21). The idea of the 10th wave in Latin storm-narratives was popularised by Ovid (*Met.* 11.530; *Tr.* 1.2.49-50) and it occurs several times thereafter in Silver Latin (*OLD* 'decimus' b); *TLL* 5,1.172.54-9). By the time of Seneca, the topos of the 10th wave already seems rather hackneyed: *Ag.* 501-2 *haec onere sidit, illa convulsum latus / submittit undis, fluctus hanc decimus tegit* .

dictu mirabile: The only occurrence of this phrase in L.. The phrase *dictu mirabile* (or *mirabile dictu*) is in Vergil commonly associated with miracles and other unusual occurrences or circumstances. See Austin on *A.* 2.174. Here it is therefore appropriately used of the 'miracle' of Caesar's rescue by the 10th wave.

dictu: For the supine used in this way, see K-S. I.724-5.

673. invalida cum puppe: 'together with his battered boat'. For this use of 'cum' (with a verb of lifting or sim.), cf. Verg. *G.* 1.483 (of a river in flood) *cum stabulis armenta tulit, A.*

2.499 (of a river in flood) *cum stabulis armenta trahit* (Austin *ad loc.*: 'stalls and all'); Ov. *Fast.* 2.82 *Lesbida cum domino . . . tulit delphinus . . . lyram*. See also OLD s.v. 'cum' 3c).

invalida: i.e. physically weak. There seems to be no parallel for this adjective used of a boat (*TLL* 7.2.120.59ff). However for 'validus' used of a ship(s), cf. A. 1.120; Curt. 9.10.3.

puppe: see on *carina*, 503.

levat: see on 672-7, c).

rursus: = 'back again' (OLD s.v. 1b).

673-4. ab alto / aggere . . . pelagi: A dramatic towering wall of sea is imagined here similar to *praeceps mare* at 640. For the common depiction of a wave as a mountain in storm-descriptions, see on 638-40. For 'agger' used of a wall of waves, cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 1015; Sil. 17.269-70 (OLD s.v. 6b)). Vergil uses the word 'agger' in his storm-description but of the sand-banks of the Syrtes where the Trojan ships were stranded (*aggere . . . harenae*, A. 1.112).

pelagi: Partitive genitive after the expression of quantity *aggere* (K-S II, 1.429; H-Sz. §52).

pertulit: Cf. *nec perfert pontum Boreas ad saxa*, 605 (and n. *ad loc.*). The verb contains the idea of successful delivery. Here the destination is not expressed, but 'ad terram' may be understood (see *imposuit terrae*, 676).

unda: i.e. the *decimus fluctus* of 672.

675. scruposisque angusta vacant ubi litora saxis: A near golden line of the sequence abCBA. Here the word-order seems to illustrate the sense (with *scruposisque . . . saxis* pushed to either end of the line enclosing *angusta . . . litora*). Caesar lands intact just where a narrow piece of shore was clear of sharp rocks. Cf. *Od.* 5.438ff where a big wave sweeps Odysseus towards a rocky shore. Athene warns him so he siezes a rock with both hands and avoids being dashed to pieces. Eventually he lands on a piece of land clear of rocks but in very bad state.

L.'s brief account of Caesar's landing-place contrasts with Vergil's elaborate *ekphrasis* at A. 1.159ff describing the shore where the Trojans land after the storm. Such detailed harbour-descriptions are a feature of epic poetry (see Austin on 1.159) and L. has one at

2.163ff but clearly he did not think one appropriate here, perhaps partly because Caesar is hurled ashore and does not sail in. At 720-1 too L. is more concerned with the extraordinary fortune of those landing than with the topography of the harbour.

scruposis: 'jagged'. 'scruposus' (Greek *τραχώδης*) = literally 'full of sharp rocks or projections of rock'. The word is archaic and appears rather rarely (see *OLD* s.v.). Before L. cf. Pac. *trag.* 252 *scruposam specum*; Grattius 514 *scruposa Pyrene*. It is not found in Vergil or Ovid. Vergil instead has the archaic adjective 'scrupeus' with a similar meaning (*A.* 6.238 *spelunca . . . scrupea*). For adjectives in '-osus' see on *vadosis*, 484.

ubi: Introducing an adverbial clause which describes *terrae*, 676. The conjunction is preceded by the verb (*vacant*), an example of hyperbaton or irregular word-order (see on 680-1). Cf. 5.79 *premeret cum viscera partus*; and below on *visum est quod*, 691; *ut*, 698 for similar examples in the storm-episode.

litora: The plural for singular is poetic (cf. Catul. 64.74; Prop. 1.20.22; V. Fl. 3.425).

676. inposuit terrae: 'laid him on the land'. The precision in the action of the wave is suggested by the verb 'impono' which is usually used of putting things in a specific place (e.g. passengers or cargo being put on board ship or on animals, offerings being put on an altar, cities being built on a specified site. For 'impono' of placing people on a certain piece of land, see *TLL* 7,1.651.74ff). 'impono' is found both with the dative (as here) and with a prepositional phrase (especially 'in' + acc.). Here there is an emphatic pause after *terrae*.

terrae: It is not made clear (until line 678) that Caesar's attempt to cross the sea had been a failure and that he ended up back on the Illyrian coast rather than in Italy. L. may have wished to emphasise Caesar's personal victory in overcoming the storm rather than his failure to reach Italy and therefore leaves his destination deliberately ambiguous. Remarkably, Weise, Riley and Haskins all misunderstand L.'s narrative to indicate that Caesar reached Brundisium safely. The dative of 'place to which' after compound verbs is common in poetry; see Conway on *A.* 1.627 and Williams on *A.* 5.34.

676-7. pariter tot regna, tot urbes / Fortunamque suam tacta tellure recepit: 'at one and the same time on touching land he recovered so many kingdoms, so many cities and his own Fortune'.

recepit governs a mixture of both concrete and abstract objects (*regna, urbes, Fortunam*) and is therefore understood in a slightly different way in relation to each kind of

object, an example of the rhetorical figure called syllepsis. The figure here helps to underline the significance of the event and perhaps also the ease with which Caesar managed to recover everything. Syllepsis is found relatively rarely in Vergil, but is common in Ovid. Some examples of syllepsis are given in Leo (1878) 197-200. They often include the word 'pariter', as here. Cf. for example A. 5.508 *pariterque oculos telumque tetendit*, 10.347-8 *pariterque loquentis / vocem animamque rapit traiecto gutture*; Ovid *Met.* 2.601-2 *et pariter vultusque deo plectrumque colorque / excidit*, Sen. *Phaed.* 1101-2 *haesere biiuges vulnere et pariter moram / dominumque rumpunt*; Luc. 5.63-4 *regnumque sorori / ereptum est soceroque nefas*. See also H-Sz. §§ 822, 831; and K.-S. II.565-6 on zeugma.

Note the abrupt switch of subject from *unda* in the previous sentence to Caesar. A similar switch is found at 4.34-5. This is among the traits of spoken Latin in L. noted by Flobert (1998).

pariter: 'at one and the same time' (*OLD* s.v. 4b)). The word often occurs in the case of a rhetorical figure such as syllepsis in poetry (see examples in previous n.). It is also used similarly in prose: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.18.1; 13.40.1, etc. See H.-Sz. §833³.

677. Fortunamque suam: *Fortuna* refers here to the good luck which was an attribute of important men such as generals, etc. (see on *Fortuna*, 510). i.e. Caesar's safe landing proved that he still had *Fortuna* on his side. For 'Fortuna' with possessive pronoun, see *OLD* s.v. 4a) and in L. 5.302; 7.649; 7.796.

tacta tellure: The words repeat the idea found in *inposuit terrae*, 676. The repetition and the alliteration stress the significance of the event. It may be relevant that elsewhere in the poem contact with the ground is seen as somehow significant, even symbolic; cf. 2.88-93 (Marius renews his *furor* from the Libyan desert); 4.604-5, 629-30 (Antaeus gains strength from the ground). Cf. also the sense of momentousness at 10.1ff (Caesar's arrival on Egyptian soil) *ut primum terras Pompei colla secutus / attigit et diras calcavit Caesar harenas* . . . For 'tango' of reaching shore, see on *litora tangam*, 558.

recepit: For this sense of 'recipio' of regaining possession of something, see *OLD* s.v. 13a). It is sometimes used in a military sense of recapturing cities, etc. and may be understood in this way (though figuratively) regarding the objects *regna* and *urbes*. Its use with the object *fortunam* is however slightly different: 'he regained his own lucky star'. For the zeugma see on 676-7.

678-702. Caesar's return to camp and the end of the storm

678-99. Caesar returns to camp to be greeted by reproaches from his men.

After four lines of preamble (678-81), Caesar's men scold their leader for his rashness in leaving them behind and risking his own life at sea. The speech contains all that might be expected in a speech of close comrades in this situation: disbelief (682-4); anger & scolding (685-9); self-blame (689-92); more scolding (692-5); repeated questions (682-4, 687-9, 695-9). It contains a mixture of rational argument and the personal feelings of the men. Much of it reads like a lament for one already dead.

Remarkable similarities between this speech and the speech of Craterus to Alexander in Q. Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander* 9.6 have been noted (see Fantham (1985) 127ff and see nn. below on 680-1; 682; 687-9; 689-90; 692-5; 696-7 for similar passages in Curtius). The context of both passages are similar: like Caesar, Alexander had just returned from a risky undertaking (an attack on a city) and is scolded by his men. Although direct adaptation of Curtius by L. cannot be definitely determined (there is uncertainty about Curtius' dates, though it is likely that he lived in the previous generation to L.), L. must surely have derived much of his material, if not directly from Curtius, then from the tradition of writings about Alexander of which Curtius was a part, and which L. would have been familiar with from declamations or the declamatory exercises in the schools of rhetoric. This tradition tended to represent Alexander's soldiers as 'erastai' or lovers, and it seems that L. wanted to allude to this in his depiction of the relationship between Caesar and his men. This is consistent with other parts of the poem where the intimacy between leader and men is stressed. (See on 480-97 for the influence of Roman love-elegy on Caesar's earlier speech to Antony. The influence of love-elegy continues also in the present speech: see on *querellis*, 681; *te*, 682; *dure*, 682; *invitis . . . procellis*, 684; *te nostris*, 697.) L. elsewhere frequently uses Alexander, the archetypal megalomaniacal world-leader, as a model for his portrayal of Caesar; see index for similarities between Caesar and Alexander in the storm-episode. On Curtius and L., see Heitland (1887) lxxi; Hosius (1893) 380ff especially 383-92; Pichon (1912) especially 254ff.

678-9. sed non tam remeans Caesar iam luce propinqua / quam tacita sua castra fuga comitesque fefellit: 'But now with daylight near, Caesar on his return did not elude his camp and his companions as he had in silent flight.' (tr. Braund)

A reference to 510-12 where Caesar had managed to leave the camp without his men noticing in order to embark on his sea-voyage. This earlier deception of his men was due to the fact it was night and the night-watch had succumbed to sleep. Now that daylight was

approaching (*iam luce propinqua*, 678) he returns in full view of his anxious men. *tacita . . . fuga* recalls the earlier modelling of Caesar on Aeneas trying secretly to leave Dido and Carthage in order to make for Italy (see on 500 and 512; and see index for Caesar as an anti-Aeneas in the storm-episode). Cf. *furtivae . . . fugae* (2.688) of Pompey's evacuation and flight, again recalling Aeneas.

remeans: 'remeo' is regularly used of returning home after an exploit or undertaking of some kind, often (but not always) with an accompanying sense of triumph. Cf. A. 2.95 *si patrios umquam remeassem victor ad Argos*; Luc. 2.553 *et Scythicis Crassus victor remeasset ab oris*; 3.702 *victor et incolumis summas remeabat in undas*; 5.237-8 *interea domitis Caesar remeabat Hiberis / victrices aquilas alium laturus in orbem*; etc. For the opposite (a return home in disgrace) cf. A. 11.793 *patrias remeabo inglorius urbes*; Luc. 8.387 *vacuaque iubent remeare pharetra*.

iam luce propinqua: It is not yet fully day (note the arrival of day at 700-1). The phrase occurs here first in poetry. Cf. V. Fl. 3.214 *iam luce propinqua*; Plin. Nat. 2.195 *propinqua luce*; Tac. Ag. 26.1 *propinqua luce*.

679. tacita . . . fuga: Ablative of instrument (K-S II.379-412) with *fefellit*. *tacita* = 'secret', a meaning slightly developed from the earlier meaning of 'silent' (OLD s.v. 'tacitus' 8)).

castra . . . comitesque fefellit: The words recall A. 2.744 (Creusa) *defuit, et comites natumque virumque fefellit* and perhaps also Hor. Carm. 1.10.13ff (on Mercury leading Priam, unnoticed, into the Greek camp; based on Hom. *Il.* 24.336ff; 443ff) *quin et Atridas duce te superbos / Ilo dives Priamus relicto / Thessalosque ignis et iniqua Troiae / castra fefellit*.

castra: here, by metonymy, the occupants of a military camp (OLD s.v. 1d); TLL 3. 561.63ff).

comitesque: 'soldiers' (OLD s.v. 3a). Cf. A. 3.691 *Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi*; Luc. 9.21 *comes isset in arma*.

fefellit: The perfect tense includes both perfect and pluperfect time. It is here used with both a participle (*remeans*) and an instrumental ablative (*tacita . . . fuga*). The use with an ablative noun appears to be not very common (cf. for example Tac. *Hist.* 3.54 *nec exploratione occulta fallere Antonium temptavit*). The use with a participle is more

common; cf. *TLL*. 6.1.188.83ff. See on 512 for the importance of the verb 'fallere' in erotic poetry.

680-1. circumfusa duci flevit gemituque suorum / et non ingratis incessit turba querellis: 'The crowd of soldiers surrounded their leader and wept and assailed him with groans and complaints which were not displeasing to him.'

Cf. Curt. 9.6.15-16 *iamque confusis vocibus flentes eum orabant grata erat regi pietas amicorum . . .* (see on 678-99 for parallels between Curtius and L.'s passage).

The two connected words *suorum* and *turba* are separated by four intervening words, an example of hyperbaton or irregular word-order. It perhaps reflects the disorder of the assembling crowd and/or the agitated emotional state of the men. Hyperbaton is a feature found in earlier poets with sometimes as many as 12 words intervening between two words of a phrase (Housman compares Aesch. *Eum.* 280; Verg. *A.* 7.464-5. Cf. also *A.* 2.552-3; *Ov. Ep.* 2.37-8. See Kenney in Binns (ed.) (1973) 128-30 for Ovid's practice, especially in the *Met.*; H-Sz. §§ 689-94). In L. hyperbaton is especially prevalent. See Heitland (1887) cvii; Getty pp. lix-lx; Mayer on 8.343, 375, 523; Fantham on 2.119-22 (where 'the extraordinary hyperbaton between *te* (119) and its verb and the dislocated phrasing mirror the fragmentation of the victim'). In the storm-episode, see also on 520-1; *quantusne . . . labor*, 654-5; *ubi*, 675; *visum est quod*, 691; *ut*, 698. Compared to other examples in L. the present example seems to be particularly tortuous since the function of the genitive *suorum* remains unclear until we reach *turba*.

circumfusa: The participle is frequently used of a crowd (see *OLD* s.v. 6); *TLL* 3.1147.74-1148.53 and cf. especially *A.* 2.63-4 (the Trojans surround Sinon) *undique visendi studio Troiana iuventus / circumfusa ruit*; *Ov. Met.* 3.180 *circumfusaeque [nymphae] Dianam corporibus texere suis*). The original meaning of 'circumfundo' (of pouring fluids/liquid around something) suggests how closely the men encircle Caesar here (it is used for example of frost coating the bodies of oxen at Verg. *G.* 3.368). For 'circumfusus' + dative cf. *Liv.* 6.15.9 *circumfusa turba lateri meo*; *Sen. Ben.* 6.25.4 *magna vis hostium circumfusa castris*; *Luc.* 4.470-1 *tot milia captae / circumfusa rati*.

Caesar's soldiers move and speak as one. See Ash (1999) 6 for the tendency in Caesar's narrative in *Civ.* to portray his soldiers as behaving unanimously. Cf. L.'s tendency to use the singular *miles* when referring to all of Caesar's soldiers (e.g. 5.367) which also suggests they behave as a unit.

gemituque: The singular form is used instead of the plural for metrical reasons. 'gemitus' is often found in combination with another word such as 'lamentatio', 'fletus', 'lacrimae',

'questus', 'clamor'. For the (not uncommon) combination of 'gemitus' and 'querellae', see *TLL* 6,2.1750.20-23.

680-1. suorum . . . turba: For the phrase, cf. 6.251. The possessive pronoun is used as a substantive (= 'his soldiers/companions', *OLD* s.v. 'suus' 6a). For the hyperbaton, see above on 680-1.

681. turba: After Caesar's solitary adventure in the preceding narrative, the presence of the crowd of soldiers here is a reminder of his role as a leader of men. The crowd plays a prominent and very important role in L.'s poem, certainly more so than in Vergil (occurrences of the word 'turba' are more frequent in L. than in Vergil: 50x in L.; 20x in Verg. A.; cf. also 'vulgus' 22x in L., 11x in Verg. A.). It has even been claimed that 'with L., the crowd enters literature in earnest as a major character' (Johnson (1987) 112 n.10). A crowd is frequently juxtaposed with one of the main protagonists of the poem, Pompey, Cato and Caesar, and especially so with Caesar (as here) to create a one-vs-many contrast. Hardie (1993) 7 notes how in L. 'individual leaders become many-handed monsters, because of the obedience of a mass of other individuals. L., like Livy and Ovid, plays with the opposition or coincidence of . . . *dux* and . . . *miles*.' Cf. especially 5.259ff where Caesar's quelling of the mutiny of thousands of his soldiers strongly reinforces the impression of his authority. At 685-7 below (see n. *ad loc.*) the juxtaposition of one-vs-many is visualised rather than enacted. On the role of crowds in L., see Berthold (1975) 293-300; Johnson (1987) 112-117. The word 'turba' often has a derogatory implication and there is perhaps something of this in its use here of Caesar's confused and emotional soldiers crowding rather aggressively round their leader. Cf. on *viles animas*, 683.

incessit: From 'incesso' meaning 'to assail (a person) with criticisms, taunts, or sim.; reproach, abuse' (*OLD* s.v. 2a); *TLL* 7,1.890.6ff). Ovid appears to be the first to use the word in this sense in poetry (cf. *Met.* 13.232 *at ausus erat reges incessere dictis / Thersites; Tr.* 3.11.31 *quid simulacra, ferox, dictis incessis amaris?*). The verb is in a stricter sense used of physical attack with weapons or sim. and the sense of forcefulness is still very much present here.

et non ingratis . . . querellis: Caesar is the focalizer of these words. His men's complaints are 'not unwelcome' to him because they indicate their devotion to him. Cf. Aeneas as the focalizer at *A.* 4.281 *ardet . . . dulcisque relinquere terras*. The litotes *non ingratis* suggests a reserved, not over-enthusiastic reaction on the part of Caesar to his men's complaints which is perhaps appropriate to a man of Caesar's rank. For the narratological term

'focalization' see Fowler (2000) 40ff; and Hunink index s.v. 'focalization' for more examples in L. book 3. For litotes see H-Sz. §§777-9.

querellis: L. perhaps had in mind Aeneas' words to Dido at A. 4.360-1 *desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis / Italiam non sponte sequor*. While Dido's complaints are *not* welcome to Aeneas, Caesar finds his men's complaints 'not *unwelcome*'. The echo seems not unlikely given the parallel between Dido's speech of complaint (at A. 4.305ff) and the complaints of Caesar's men here: Dido complains about Aeneas' projected journey to Italy, Caesar's men complain about the attempted journey to Italy their leader had already undertaken. *querellis* in any case suggests a close emotional relationship between Caesar and his men. See above on *conqueror*, 491 for the frequency of words for complaint in Roman love poetry and on 480-97 for the depiction of Caesar's relationship with his men as a relationship between lovers.

682. quo?: Not 'to what place?', but 'to what lengths?'

te: The anaphora of 'tu' throughout the speech (*te*, 682; *tuorum*, 687; *tuis*, *te*, 689; *tibi*, 690; *te*, 697) stresses the personal nature of it. For repetition of the 2nd person sing. pronoun as a feature of Roman love poetry; see on *te*, 484.

dure: i.e. both 'cruel' (for abandoning his men) and 'hardy' (for weathering the storm). Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 10.46ff (probably a translation of Gallus): *tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum) / Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni / me sine sola vides* where Coleman (on 10.47) notes that both meanings of *dura* apply. The word is used frequently in love-elegy usually of an unfaithful mistress (see *OLD* s.v. 5b); *TLL* 5.1.2308.79ff) and there may be a suggestion here of Caesar in this feminine role. However if this is the case, then in the next line it is his men who are cast in the 'role' of (the abandoned) female heroine of elegy. For name-calling in general in love elegy, see on *ignave*, 487. For the cruelty of leaving one's beloved, cf. for example A. 4.310-11 *et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, / crudelis?*; Luc. 8.584 *quo sine me crudelis abis?*

tulit: For 'fero' with feelings / passions as subject and people as object, see *OLD* 2b) and *TLL* 6.1.545.51ff. It is often combined (as here) with a word such as 'quo'/'quocumque'/'huc'/'illuc'.

virtus temeraria: 'rash courage'. A reference of course to Caesar's attempt to cross the Adriatic. The expression is uncomplimentary and an oxymoron since *virtus* presupposes a

certain presence of mind which is contradicted by *temeraria*. Cf. *temeraria virtus* at Ov. *Met.* 8.407 where it is used of the rash courage of Ancaeus in the Calydonian Boar Hunt (he boasted that he could kill the boar even if the goddess Diana protected it, and went on to suffer a violent death at the hands of the boar). Statius uses the same phrase of the Gigantomachy (with which he compares the rashness of sea-faring) at *silv.* 3.2.64ff. (W. Rutz in *Gnom.* 52.1980.337 notes that H. Berthold in *WZHalle* 19.1970.51-8 discusses this phrase, but I have not been able to find this article.) For 'temerarius' used in connection with Caesar, see n. on 501-2. Caesar's 'temeritas' is the main theme of the speech. Cf. Curt. 9.6.6 '*credisne,*' *inquit, 'adventu magis hostium, ut iam in vallo consisterent, sollicitos esse quam cura salutis tuae, ut nunc est, tibi vilis?'* (see on 678-99 for parallels between Curtius and L.'s passage).

683-4. aut quae nos viles animas in fata relinquens / invitis spargenda dabas tua membra procellis?: These lines highlight the utter dependency of the soldiers on their leader. Cf. Curt. 9.6.9 *eo pervenimus auspiciam atque imperium secuti tuum, unde nisi te reduce nulli ad penates suos iter est* (see on 678-99 for parallels between Curtius and L.'s passage). For the similar idea of the safety of one person being dependent on the safety of another, a common idea in love-poetry, cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19.205-6 *si tibi non parcis, dilectae parce puellae, / quae numquam nisi te sospite sospes erit*. See also below on *relinquens*. Line 684 is a golden-line of the sequence abCBA (see on 507).

aut: see on *aut quem . . . ?*, 522.

nos viles animas: 'our worthless lives'. Cf. A. 11.371ff *scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx, / nos animae viles, inhumata infletaque turba / sternamur campis*. As in Vergil, the words are emotive and used for rhetorical effect, to make a point; they reflect not so much the soldiers' view of themselves perhaps, as Caesar's implied view of them. 'viles animas' occurs twice more in the poem: at 5.263-4 in the speech of Caesar's mutinous soldiers (again for rhetorical effect) (*quaeris*) . . . *animasque effundere vilis / quolibet hoste paras*; and at 7.730 of the slain at Pharsalia.

In general the wretchedness of the rank-and-file soldier is often referred to in L.'s poem, no doubt for the way it helps to emphasise the misery of war; cf. 4.276 *vilis . . . iuventus*; 6.110 *miserabile volgus*; 7.760ff *inopia plebes . . . infandus miles*; and Caesar's speech to his mutinous soldiers at 5.319ff *passim*, and especially 5.322 *imbelles animas*; 5.333 *despecta . . . exhaustaque sanguine turba*; 5.343 *humanum paucis vivit genus*; 5.365 *volgus iners*.

'vilis' meaning 'of low rank/station (*OLD* s.v. 5a)) is sometimes used in the poem in connection with a figure of high-status for pathetic effect; cf. 8.393 *vilia busta* (Pompey's tomb); 8.736 *da vilem Magno plebei funeris arcem* (Pompey's burial). Curt. 9.6.14 uses the adjective 'viles' of Alexander's soldiers.

relinquens: 'relinquo' is used of people dying and leaving others behind (*OLD* s.v. 8a)), but perhaps we should think here especially of the common scenario in love-elegy where a female is deserted by her male lover. Among many examples cf. Ov. *Ep.* 7.83-4 *si quaeras, ubi sit formosi mater Iuli - / occidit a duro sola relicta viro!* (imitating Prop. 2.24.45-6 *iam tibi Iasonia nota est Medea carina / et modo servato sola relicta viro*); [Tib.] 3.6.40 *flevisti ignoto sola relicta mari*. In L., cf. Cornelia to Pompey at 8.584-5 *quo sine me crudelis abis? iterumne relinquer / Thessalicis summotam malis?* In Vergil, cf. the equivalent 'desero' at A. 4.323 (Dido to Aeneas) *cui me moribundam deseris, - hospes?*

684. invitis . . . procellis: As Weise remarks, events proved that the winds were 'unwilling' to destroy Caesar: 'recusaverant enim eum perdere, servaverantque'. 'invitus' is commonly used of corporeal things in the poets (*TLL* 7,2.233.45-60). L. may have had in mind its use several times of the physical resistance of a stormy sea to those who try to sail on it (Prop. 1.17.14; Ov. *Ep.* 13.126; 18.194). There is perhaps irony here therefore since 'invitus' used of the sea in earlier poets indicates a hostile dangerous sea while here the *procellae*, far from offering resistance to Caesar, actually ensure that he is rescued.

spargenda: Having one's body-parts scattered over land or sea is a form of punishment found from Greek tragedy onwards (e.g. Agaue and Pentheus; Procne and Tereus; Medea and Apsyrtus; Atreus and Thyestes). In Latin poetry references to such a nasty fate feature frequently. It is Dido's wish for Aeneas at A. 4.600-1 *non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis / spargere?* Cf. also Verg. *G.* 4.522; A. 1.70; 3.605; Ov. *Ep.* 11.122; *Met.* 4.112; 13.865; *Tr.* 3.9.27-8; *Ib.* 435; Sen. *Phoen.* 448; *Med.* 133; *Her. O.* 1393-4; Sil. 8.640. In L., cf. 10.22-3 (Alexander's limbs *should* have been scattered over the earth) *sacratis totum spargenda per orbem / membra viri posuere adytis* and several references to the scattering of Pompey's limbs at 8.629; 8.751; 9.58; 9.1093. For Caesar's suicidal tendency, see 1.205ff. This is also shown to be a characteristic of his men (4.556ff and 6.160ff). For the fascination with mutilated corpses in L.'s poem, see on *cadaver*, 669.

dabas: = *daturus eras*. An example of the conative imperfect. Caesar did not actually do this, but intended to (as his soldiers see it). Cf. 7.645-6, 8.577, and see Lundqvist (1907) 25 for other examples. The verb 'do' has the notion of surrendering something to the

mercy of something else. For similar uses of the verb (of surrendering oneself or one's body to wind, sea, fire or sim.), see *TLL* 5,1.1698.9ff. 'do + gerund/live' is a not unusual construction (1692.68ff and 1699.56ff and cf. especially *Catul.* 64.152 *dilaceranda feris dabor*, *Ov. Met.* 4.424 *laceranda suae nati dare viscera matri*).

685-6. cum tot in hac anima populorum vita salusque / pendeat et tantus caput hoc sibi fecerit orbis: 'When the security and well-being of so many peoples depends on your single life and so large a part of the world has made you its head.'

A contrast is made between the one (*in hac anima, caput hoc*) and the many (*tot . . . populorum, tantus . . . orbis*). Such a one-man-vs-many-people contrast is a feature of epic poetry from Homer onwards, but was more fully developed by Vergil and his successors (see Hardie (1993) 3-10 on the importance of the 'unus homo' in Vergilian and post-Virgilian epic). The one-vs-many contrast is prominent in L.'s poem, often involving a juxtaposition of 'omnis' or 'tam/tot/tantus/etc' with a singular noun or pronoun. Cf. as well as the present passage 3.108 *omnia Caesar erat*; 5.253 (C.) *qui tot gentes in bella trahebat*; 5.343 *humanum paucis vivit genus*; 5.365-6 *unumque caput tam magna iuventus / . . . timet*; 6.140ff (Scaeva's 'aristeia'; cf. especially 189-92 *illum tota premit moles, illum omnia tela: / . . . parque novum Fortuna videt concurrere, bellum / atque virum*); 7.654-5 (P.) *nec, sicut mos est miseris, trahere omnia secum / mersa iuvat gentesque suae miscere ruinae*; 7.776 *omnes in Caesare manes*; 7.781ff *hunc omnes gladii . . . illa nocte premunt*. Here the contrast serves to stress Caesar's importance to the world. The idea of many people's lives depending on the life of one person (and, conversely, the death of one meaning the death of many) was a rhetorical cliché. It recalls the language used of various kings and leaders, including the Roman emperors; see n. on *pendeat* below.

685. tot: 'tot' is frequently found combined with another 'tot', or with 'tam', 'talis', or 'tantus' (as here) (see *OLD* s.v. 2b)).

in hac anima: As with *hoc* in the next line, the demonstrative pronoun *hac* is more emphatic and immediate (it indicates Caesar's presence) than the plain possessive pronoun *tua* (and *tuum*) would be. Cf. *Juv.* 10.345 *praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix*. The strong pause after *anima* helps to stress the phrase.

vita salusque: 'security and well-being'. In L. the phrase occurs also at 7.639 (at line-end) regarding the lives lost at Pharsalia. Cicero uses the phrase several times in his speeches; e.g. *Div. Caec.* 3 *ut vitam salutemque totius provinciae defenderem*. Cf. also *Lucr.* 4.506 *fundamenta quibus nixatur vita salusque*. The words seem to signify something

fundamental, i.e. the basic necessities for existence. For other combinations of 'vita' and 'salus', cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.15.3 *Caesaribus vitam, Sexto debere salutem / me sciat*; Tr. 5.7.3 *cum dulci vita salute*.

686. pendeat: 'depends'. For the idea of the lives of many depending on the life of one leader (using 'pendeo'), cf. for example Cic. *Marc.* 22 (on J.Caesar) *ex unius tua vita pendere omnium vitam*; PANEG. 12.9.6 *ex vita [tua] omnium fata*; Att. 14.20.3 (on Brutus) *rem publicam . . . pendere in Bruto*; Ov. *Met.* 14.808-9 (on Augustus) *tempus adest, genitor, quoniam fundamine magno / res Romana valet et praeside pendet ab uno*; Tr. 2.217 (on Augustus) *de te pendentem . . . orbem*; Sen. *Dial.* 10.4.4 (on Augustus) *omnia videbat ex se uno pendentia*. The idea is explicit also in Verg. *G.* 4.210ff (the dependence of the bees on their king; and see R. F. Thomas on *G.* 4.1-7, 149-96 for Vergil's intention to evoke a human society through his society of bees). Cf. also A. 4.682-3 (Anna to Dido) *exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam*; Curt. 9.6.8 (on Alexander) *sed quis deorum hoc Macedoniae columen ac sidus diuturnum fore polliceri potest, cum tam avide manifestis periculis offeras corpus, oblitus tot civium animas trahere te in casum?*; Sen. *Phoen.* 294 (on Oedipus) *vitam tibi si negas, multis negas*; Luc. 9.123-5 (on Pompey) *stat summa caputque / orbis, an occidimus Romanaque Magnus ad umbras / abstulit?*

For 'pendeo' in this sense, see OLD s.v. 13); TLL 10,1.1040.49-1041.7. It is followed by the prepositions 'ex/'de/'ab/'in' or the plain ablative. For 'pendeo + in + abl.' (a relatively rare construction), cf. Cic. *Pis.* 98; Att. 14.20.3; Liv. 5.54.2. Haskins *ad loc.* compares 'verto' ('to depend on') which is normally constructed with 'in' + abl.

tantus . . . orbis: 'so large a part of the world'. For this meaning of 'orbis' see on *alioque ex orbe*, 618. For L.'s vision of the civil war as global, see on *mundi*, 481. 'orbis' in the nominative form is not nearly as frequent as the oblique cases in the poem (10 times out of a total of 133 times). With *orbis* as subject (and Caesar as object) the statement gives the impression of Caesar's importance. Cf. similar hyperbolic statements concerning great figures or momentous events: Verg. *G.* 1.26 (addressing Octavian) *et te maximus orbis / auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem / accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto*; Ov. *Pont.* 4.3.43 [*Pompeio*] *totus terrarum paruit orbis*; *Ep.* 15 (16) 375 *si de te [Helena] totus contenderit orbis*; *Met.* 1.203 (on Caesar's assassination) *totusque perhorruit orbis*; Vell. 2.100.1 *sensit terrarum orbis digressum a custodia Neronem urbis*; Sen. *Her. O.* 1822-3 *de tuis [Hercules] totus rogis / contendat orbis*; Suet. *Nero* 40 *talem principem terrarum orbis tandem destituit*. In L., cf. for example 9.229 *ille [Pompey] iacet, quem paci praetulit orbis*.

caput: In the sense of 'head of the world' (*OLD* s.v. 14a)). For the phrase 'caput orbis' see *TLL* 3.426.29ff. It most commonly refers to Rome herself from Livy onwards. For 'caput orbis' applied to an individual, cf. *Ov. Tr.* 3.5.46 *Caesareum caput est, quod caput orbis erat*; *Luc.* 9.123-4 [*Pompey*] *summa caputque / orbis*.

hoc: One might expect *hunc* ('this man') instead of *hoc* here; *hunc* however may have been attracted into the gender of its appositional complement *caput*. For the demonstrative see further on *in hac anima*, 685.

sibi fecerit: 'facio' is used of electing a magistrate to office, frequently in legal inscriptions (*OLD* s.v. 7); *TLL* 6.1.109.1ff & 116.70ff). Cf. especially *Sal. Cat.* 6.7 *annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi / fecere*. The use of the phrase *sibi fecerit* here is ironic since Caesar's position of power was not based on any fair electoral process, a point forcefully made at 5.381ff (Caesar's 'election' to the consulship at Rome). See n. on 663. For the double-accusative after 'facio', see on 604.

687. saevitia: *Serv. A.* 4.311 compares this passage in L. with Dido's emotional words regarding Aeneas's departure from Carthage ('*quin etiam hiberno moliris sidera classem / et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, / crudelis?*') See also passages cited in n. on *dure*, 682.

voluisse mori: 'velle mori' occurs particularly frequently in both the elder and younger Senecas. Suicide was a favourite subject of the Stoics; for suicide in the younger Seneca, see Summers (1940) 252-4; Motto (1970) s.v. SUICIDE. Ordinarily suicide was not regarded negatively by the Stoics. Here however Caesar's men argue that it was wrong given Caesar's position of leadership in the world.

687-9. nullusne tuorum / emeruit comitum fatis non posse superstes / esse tuis? 'Did none of your comrades deserve the honour of being prevented from surviving your end? (tr. Duff). The Latin is rather long-winded and awkward (Comm. Bern. paraphrases much more simply: 'nemone meruit tecum mori?') and Fantham (1985) 130 suggests that L.'s text betrays a direct imitation of Craterus's speech to Alexander in Curtius (*Curt.* 9.6.9 *Quis enim tibi superstes aut optat esse aut potest?*): 'the awkwardness of L.'s double negative . . . bears the mark of secondary composition, *aemulatio* which does not quite succeed; it is almost as if in outdoing Craterus L. had obscured his meaning.' Fantham's theory seems to me rather persuasive though it of course depends on whether Curtius predates L.,

something which cannot be established beyond doubt (see on 678-699.) It should also be noted that in general awkwardness (or elaborateness?) of expression is one characteristic of L.'s style (see Heitland (1887) lxxxi).

The Caesarians' wish to have shared in their leader's end is part of a theme commonly found in Latin poetry. Cf. for example A. 4. 678-9 (Anna and Dido) *eadem me ad fata vocasses, / idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset* (Pease *ad loc.* compares Soph. *Trach.* 719-20). Cf. also Ov. *Met.* 8.709-10 (Baucis and Philemon); 11.696ff (Alcyone and Ceyx); Luc. 9.101ff (Cornelia and Pompey); Stat. *Theb.* 2.637-43; Sil. 9.401-10; 17.470-1. Leigh (1997) 205 comments on Laelius' words to Caesar at 1.362 ('*deratne tibi fiducia nostri?*'): 'Laelius adopts the tone of the injured lover'. Much the same can be said of the words of Caesar's soldiers to Caesar here.

688. emeruit: 'emereo' + infinitive is a relatively rare construction and apparently not found before Ovid (*TLL* 5,2.472.60-69).

comitum: = 'soldiers/comrades' (see on *comites*, 679).

fatis: = death or doom (*OLD* s.v. 6); *TLL* 6,1.359.4ff). Cf. for example A. 4.678 (qu. above in n. on 687-9).

superstes: An archaic word, found in Roman comedy and Accius. For 'superstes' + dat. of the person/event/etc. outlived (as here, see *OLD* s.v. 3b)). This construction occurs as early as Plautus. 'superstes' is also found with the genitive.

689-90. cum te raperet mare, corpora segnis / nostra sopor tenuit: Caesar's men blame themselves for having been asleep while he was at sea. Cf. Curt. 9.6.13 *totidem proditores, totidem desertores sumus, quot te non potuimus persequi* (see on 678-699 for parallels between Curtius and L.'s passage).

689. raperet: For 'rapio' used of physical forces, cf. Liv. 24.8.12 *ubi . . . turbato mari rapitur vento navis*; Ov. *Met.* 14.355 *non . . . effugies, vento rapiare licebit*, Stat. *Theb.* 1.366 *insano turbine raptas pastorum pecorumque domos*.

corpora segnis / nostra sopor tenuit: A common way of describing the state of being asleep in poetry ('dormio' tends not to occur in high poetry) is with sleep as subject and limbs/bodies as object. Cf. G. 4.190 *fessos . . . sopor suus occupat artus*; A. 2.253 *sopor fessos complectitur artus*; 3.511 *fessos sopor inrigat artus*; 8.27 *pecudumque genus sopor*

altus habebat; Ov. *Ep.* 10.111 *crudeles somni, quid me tenuistis inertem?*; *Met.* 4.784 *dumque gravis somnus colubrasque ipsamque tenebat.*

segnis: here, used poetically of sleep (which makes men sluggish). Cf. *segnis metus* at 4.699-700 and see on *nox languida*, 504.

690. sopor: 'sopor' can signify a deep or overpowering sleep; cf. Plin. *Nat.* 21.119; Ov. *Met.* 11.630; 15.21; 15.321; Sen. *Ep.* 53.7. Vergil has the personified 'Sopor' as a close relation of death at *A.* 6.278 (*consanguineus Leti sopor*) and it is often applied to the sleep of death (see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.24.5). Here a deep sleep may be meant. For the deep sleep of soldiers (as opposed to leaders), cf. above *in quorum pectora somno / dat vires fortuna minor*, 505-6 and n. on *Caesar*, 508. L. uses the word 'sopor' twice more: at 7.772 (the sleep of Caesar's men after Pharsalia, haunted by nightmares of the battle) and at 9.671 (the sleep of Medusa, leading to death).

puget, heu!: 'heu' attached to an impersonal verb such as 'paenitet', 'dolet', 'piget' seems not to occur before Silver Latin (*TLL* 6.2,3.2673.45-50). For 'puget heu' cf. Petr. 119.19; V. Fl. 7.43; Stat. *Theb.* 12.384; *Silv.* 4.7.35; *Ach.* 1.635; 2.63; Mart. 2.18.1, etc.. For other expressions of shame in L., cf. *heu pudor!* (2.708); *pro pudor!* (10.47, 77); *pro dira pudoris funera!* (4.231); *o summi fata pudoris!* (8.678); *pro superum pudor* (8.597).

690-2. tibi causa petendae / haec fuit Hesperiae, visum est quod mittere quemquam / tam saevo crudele mari: 'This was the reason you made for Italy, because it seemed cruel to you to send anyone else on so savage a sea.' Caesar's men interpret his reasons for undertaking the journey in a way which flatters him: he was being self-sacrificing. Cf. 499 for Caesar's own reason for going: his belief that he was divinely favoured and wished to test his luck. See Hardie (1993) 53-6 for the view that Caesar's failure to reach Italy in the storm-episode is part of a phenomenon of 'thwarted sacrificial substitution' in L..

petendae: see on *pete*, 580.

691. haec: Proleptic, anticipating the following *quod* clause. Cf. 580 and 665 above (with an acc.+ infin. construction following). For the pronoun 'hic/haec/hoc' with 'quod' clause following, cf. 4.355-6 *hoc hostibus unum, / quod vincas, ignosce tuis*; and see *OLD* s.v. 'hic' 12 b).

Hesperiae: see on *Italiam*, 579.

visum est quod . . . crudele: The conjunction is preceded by the verb, an example of hyperbaton; see on 680-1 and cf. 675 where *ubi* is preceded by *vacant*. The position of *crudele* near the end of the sentence also creates a rather strained word-order.

mittere: For 'mitto' in the sense of 'to cause to go', see *OLD* s.v. 14). For 'mitto' of sending a person to sea, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 11.3.2 *nuntiis trans mare missis*; Prop. 2.16.17 *in Oceanum misit me quaerere gemmas*; Sen. *Ep.* 19.5 *utinam . . . nec te in altum fortuna misisset*.

692. tam saevo . . . mari: A local ablative. For the use of ablative 'mari' without a preposition with verbs of motion, see *TLL* 8.384.32ff. It occurs in both prose and verse from Plautus onwards (*Cist.* 14 *vectus est tranquillo mari*).

saevo crudele: Words of similar meaning are juxtaposed perhaps for emphasis.

692-5. Caesar's men scold him for risking his life at sea and behaving in a way more appropriate to a person in desperate circumstances than one with so much power. Adn. puts it succinctly: 'id est alii ideo volunt perire, quia miseri sunt, tu ideo, quia felix es.' For the idea, cf. Curt. 9.6.10-11 *Quodsi adhuc de Persidis regno cum Dareo dimicares, etsi nemo vellet, tamen ne admirari quidem posset tam promptae esse te ad omne discrimen audaciae; nam ubi paria sunt periculum ac praemium, et secundis rebus amplior fructus est et adversis solacium maius. Tuo vero capite ignobilem vicum emi quis ferat, non tuorum modo militum, sed ullius gentis barbarae civis qui tuam magnitudinem novit?* (see on 678-699 for parallels between Curtius and L.'s passage). Curtius makes the point in a more detailed way than L.. His point that the reward of Alexander's voyage did not justify the risk of undertaking it is however implicit in L.'s version.

692-4. sors ultima rerum / in dubios casus et prona pericula morti / praecipitare solet: 'In general it is utter despair that hurls men into jeopardy and danger that runs straight to death' (tr. Duff).

A 'sententia'. On 'sententiae' see Bonner (1949) 54-5 (for examples in the Elder Seneca); 151-2; Heitland (1887) lxx-lxxvii (for examples in L.). No English equivalent exists for the word. 'Sententiae' have been variously defined as: 'a maxim or general statement' (Heitland); 'terse observations, either of a general character or relating to particular circumstances, and sometimes charged with dry humour or wit or innuendo' (Higham in N. I. Herescu (ed.) (1958) 37); and 'a compressed statement about human behaviour,

whether general or specific' (Fantham (1992) 15). L. uses them often, mostly in speeches (as here), but also in the narrative to round off descriptive sections.

sors ultima rerum: 'utter despair' (Duff); 'the extreme of misery' (Haskins); 'crisis' (Braund). The phrase contrasts with *mundi summa tenentem* in 694. The exact phrase occurs also at 7.122-3 where Pompey speaks of the suffering to be inflicted on the losers at Pharsalia: *omne malum victi, quod sors feret ultima rerum, / omne nefas victoris erit.* (Heitland (1887) lxxiv comments on this and many other similar repetitions in the poem rather harshly and perhaps unfairly: 'These recurrences are rather signs of a poor vocabulary than of simplicity. They help us but little in forming a judgment of the *Pharsalia* as a work of art'.) Elsewhere in L., cf. 10.467 *ultima rerum* where *ultima* is a neut. pl. substantive not a fem. sing. adjective but the meaning of the phrase ('extreme circumstances') is similar. Cf. also 8.454 *spes ultima rerum*.

'sors ultima rerum' does not seem to occur as a complete phrase outside of L. (for 'sors ultima', cf. Man. 2.186; 4.472 though in a different sense; Liv. *Perioch.* 19.7 *sortis ultimae hominem*; for 'sors rerum', cf. A. 10.40 but in a different sense). The nearest equivalent is perhaps Ov. *Met.* 14.489 *sors . . . pessima rerum*.

693. in dubios casus: For the relatively common combination of 'dubius' and 'casus', see *TLL* 3.580.35-80. Cf. Catul. 64.216 *nate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus*.

prona pericula morti: literally, 'danger leading to death'; i.e. 'mortal danger'. For other phrases used to express 'mortal danger' (in prose), cf. Cato *orat.* 5 *summum periculum*; Caes. *Civ.* 2.7.1 *extremum vitae periculum*; Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4 *in . . . periculo mortis*; Apul. *Met.* 8.20.2 *in extremo . . . vitae . . . periculo* (*TLL* 10,1.1467.54ff). Expressions such as 'letale periculum', 'mortale p.', 'mortiferum p.' occur only in later Latin.

prona: For 'pronus' used figuratively in this way, see *OLD* s.v. 6a); *TLL* 10,2.1935.68ff. 'pronus' is normally followed by 'ad / in + acc.'. For the dative, see *TLL* 10,2.1935.35-41.

morti: see on *mortem*, 658. mss PG have *morti* and ZUV have *mortis*; the latter reading would make *prona* redundant so the former must be the correct one.

694. praecipitare: sc. 'homines'. 'praecipitare + in + acc.' ('to cause to plunge headlong into') normally indicates a descent into some kind of ruin. Cf. for example Liv. 24.4.2 (*in omnia vitia*); Cels. 3.21.3 (*in exitium*); Sen. *Ep.* 15.9 (*in nocitura*); Apul. *Met.* 5.18.5 (*in profundum calamitatis*); 8.2.6 (*in profundam ruinam*). The verb is appropriately used of the

impetuous Caesar here. Cf. the related adjective 'praeceps' ('headlong'), often associated in the poem with him: 2.489 *praecipitem cohibete ducem*; 2.656 *Caesar in omnia praeceps*; 3.51 *praecipiti . . . viro*; 5.301 *fata sed in praeceps solitus demittere Caesar*; 6.14 *Dyrrachii praeceps rapiendas tendit ad arces*; 9.47-8 *praeceps facit omne timendum / victor*; 10.507-8 *semper feliciter usus / praecipiti cursu bellorum*.

694-5. mundi iam summa tenentem / permisisse mari tantum!: 'For you who are now master of the world to have permitted so much to the sea!'

mundi iam summa tenentem: At 1.149-50 Caesar was described as one seeking supreme power: *inpellens, quidquid sibi summa petenti / obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina*. Now, his soldiers' words imply, because of his conquests, he has attained mastery of the world. Caesar has throughout the poem been portrayed as an unrelenting conquering force. For his conquest of Gaul, Germany and Britain, see 1.392-465. For his conquest of Corfinium, see 2.492-525; Rome, 3.71-168; Massilia, 3.373-452; Ilerda (Spain), 4.363ff.

mundi: see on *mundi*, 481.

695. permisisse mari tantum!: An exclamatory infinitive (K-S.II.1.719ff). Cf. for example A. 1.37 *mene incepto desistere victam?*; 1.97 *mene Iliacis occumbere campis non potuisse!* This use of 'permitto' implies surrendering something to something else. See OLD s.v. 3a) and cf. Luc. 7.413 *permissasque ignibus urbes*; Curt. 9.9.1 *flumini ignoto caput suum totque fortissimorum virorum salutem permittere*.

For Caesar as a risk-taker (seen throughout the poem); cf. for example 7.238-9 *oblatumque videt votis sibi mille petitem / tempus, in extremos quo mitteret omnia casus*.

quid numina lassas?: 'Why do you weary the gods?' i.e. by relying on their goodwill in such a risky and pointless undertaking as this. The implication may be that Caesar has already in the past received enough blessing from the gods as seen by his political and military achievements, or that in the future he will have to test the gods' favour towards him in more important situations (i.e. the coming battle in Thessaly). Caesar's wearying of the gods is a sign of his confidence in his own Fortuna (cf. Sen. *Med.* 519-20, qu. in n. on 510) and also of his own relentless energy (at 5.313-14 it is Caesar whom the poet urges to 'grow weary' and to give up the war: *lassare et disce sine armis / posse pati*).

For the common expression 'to weary the gods' (with prayers or sim.) see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.26ff. Cf. also OT *Isaiah* 1.10ff; NT *Malachi* 2.17. In L., as well

as the gods, Fortuna is described as weary at 2.727 (*lassata triumphis / descivit Fortuna tuis*) and 9.890-1 (*tanto lassata periclo / auxilium Fortuna dedit*); the Fates at 3.19 (*lassant rumpentes stamina Parcas*); and Charon at 6.705 (*iam lassate senex ad me (Erictho) redeuntibus umbris*).

numina: Note the mention of *Fortuna* (697) and *deum* (698) in close succession and see on *superos et fata*, 482.

696-7. sufficit ad fatum belli favor iste laborque / Fortunae, quod te nostris inepigit harenis?: 'Fortune has hurled you here upon the shore; for the issue of the war, are you content with that instance of her favour and assistance?' (tr. Duff). i.e. does such a small instance of Fortune's help give you confidence that she can help you to win the whole war? The expected answer seems to be 'no'.

Enjoying the favour of Fortune was something Caesar shared with Alexander. Cf. Curt. 9.6.12 *eloqui timeo invicti corporis spolia inertissimas manus fuisse infecturas, nisi te interceptum misericors in nos Fortuna servasset* (see on 678-699 for parallels between Craterus' speech in Curtius and this passage in L.).

696. sufficit: 'sufficio' used intransitively is usually followed by the dative (cf. 7.491 *odiis solus civilibus ensis sufficit*). 'sufficio + ad + acc.' is quite regularly found in Livy (e.g. 2.8.4; 9.19.12; 4.30.7; 10.47.6).

ad fatum belli: For 'fatum' in the sense of 'outcome', *OLD* s.v. 7). The expression 'fatum belli' appears not to occur outside L.. Cf. the equivalent *eventus . . . pugnae* at Ov. *Met.* 13.278.

favor: 'faveo' used of Fortuna occurs first in Ovid (*Met.* 13.334). After Ovid, both 'favor' and 'faveo' are used of Fortuna at Man. 1.114; Sen. *Tro.* 269; *Ep.* 42.4; 72.4; 76.30; *Dial.* 11.9.7; and in L., cf. 2.320; 8.21-2.

iste: Anticipating the *quod* clause in the following line. For similar constructions with 'iste', see 3.324; 7.632; 10.338.

laborque: The word suggests that Fortune was making an effort on Caesar's behalf. Cf. 1.264 *Fortuna laborat*, 7.665 *quid perdere cuncta laboras?* where Fortuna labours for Caesar's benefit and to the detriment of his enemies respectively. See on 582-3 for Fortune as Caesar's slave.

697. Fortunae: see on *Fortuna*, 510.

te nostris . . . harenis: The juxtaposition of the personal pronouns suggests intimacy and may recall the similar practice found in love-elegy (see on *tu mea*, 490). *nostris . . . harenis* may have erotic overtones. Cf. *tua . . . litora* at Ov. *Ep.* 18.206ff (qu. in n. on *percussi*, 489) and Kenney *ad loc.* See also on 489 for coming ashore as a sexual metaphor. For the dative *harenis* after compound *inpegit* see on *terrae*, 676.

inpegit: 'hurled'. The verb is a lively one and contains the notion of force. L. may be influenced by its use of 'driving ships ashore' (*OLD* s.v. 2c) although here the object is Caesar himself. Cf. A. 5.805 (Achilles) *exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris*; Sen. *Ep.* 4.11 [*supervacua*] *quae in aliena litora inpingunt*; Tac. *Ann.* 15.46 [*gubernatores*] *Cumanis litoribus inpacti*.

harenis: = shore (see on *harenas*, 489).

698-9. hinc usus placuere deum, non rector ut orbis / nec dominus rerum, sed felix naufragus esses?: The last sentence of the speech with its deliberate and striking contrast of 'high' (*rector . . . orbis; dominus rerum*) and 'low' rank (*felix naufragus*) encapsulates the irony of Caesar's situation (see n. on 508-9 for other juxtapositions of high and low rank). *felix naufragus* is emphasised by coincidence of accent and ictus. The first two titles have imperial connotations, the last may have erotic associations (see nn. *ad loc.*).

usus . . . deum: *usus* ('use') implies that the gods were at Caesar's service, and is therefore a striking word. See *OLD* s.v. 'usus' 1b) & 'utor' 3) for making use of the services of a person, e.g. of the services provided by soldiers (Ov. *Met.* 1.99; Luc. 2.477; 3.719) or slaves (Sen. *ep.* 47.11). The phrase 'Fortuna uti' ('to make use of an opportunity') is common (*TLL* 6,1.1185.56-60 and cf. Luc. 7.68-9 *precatur / uti se Fortuna velis*) but the use of 'usus' of the gods is rather more remarkable. Cf. also 2.387-8 *Venerisque hic unicus usus / progenies* ('In his [Cato's] view the sole purpose of love was offspring'). See 499 and 581-3 above for Caesar's attitude of superiority in relation to the gods and Fortuna and n. on 582-3 for Fortuna as Caesar's slave.

deum: = *deorum*. An objective genitive (Woodcock (1959) §§72, 74-6).

698-9. rector . . . orbis / . . . dominus rerum: Both titles indicate absolute power and recall similar titles used of the Roman emperor. Cf. for example Mart. 7.7.5 *summe mundi rector et parens orbis*; Ov. Tr. 2.39 *patriae rector . . . paterque*; Stat. Silv. 4.2.14 *regnator terrarum orbisque subacti . . . parens*; Suet. Gal. 9 *principem dominumque rerum*. The use of more than one such title in addressing emperors seems to have been standard. For Caesar's ambition for absolute power, see on 668. See further on *dominus rerum* below.

rector: For 'rector' meaning 'ruler' (in both political and military senses), including as a title of the Roman emperor, see OLD s.v. 4a), c). Cf. Laelius' words to Caesar at 1.359-60 *Romani maxime rector / nominis*.

ut: Introducing a purpose clause. For the postponement of the conjunction cf. 675 (*ubi*) and 691 (*quod*) and see n. on 580-1 on hyperbaton in L.. Possibly here the postponement of *ut* serves to emphasise the important word *rector* (for this technique, frequent in prose, see K-S II.2.614-15).

orbis: Used hyperbolically of the Roman empire which was often understood to be coterminous with the inhabited world. See further on *mundi*, 481 on the frequency of the words 'orbis' and 'mundus' in L.'s poem.

699. nec: = *et non*. See on *nec*, 586.

dominus rerum: Cf. Jupiter's prophecy regarding the future Rome at A. 1.279ff *quin aspera luno, / quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, / consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit / Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam: / sic placitum* (the famous passage is quoted at Suet. Aug. 40.5 and Mart. 14.124.1). The title 'dominus rerum' was used of those with power in public life from Cicero (*leg. agr.* 2.21) onwards; see TLL 5.1.1922.33ff. In L. the phrase recurs at 6.594 in the mouth of the boastful Sextus Pompey who describes himself as destined to be: *vel dominus rerum vel tanti funeris heres*. Cf. also 8.242 *mundi dominis*; 9.20 *dominum mundi*.

felix naufragus: The words used of Caesar are intended to be particularly striking. Elsewhere too L. is fond of applying 'pathetic' labels to people of high rank in a memorable way: cf. 8.38-9 (Pompey) *Cilicum dominus terraeque Liburnae / exiguam victor pavidus correpsit in alnum*; 10.21 (Alexander) *felix praedo*.

The epithet 'felix' is associated with most of the main characters in the poem. Note especially Marius (2.74); Sulla (2.221); Caesar (3.296); Pompey (7.727; 8.126; 8.630;

8.706; 9.80; 9.208); and Alexander (10.21). Cato is a notable exception. For 'felicitas' as an attribute of great men including Caesar, see on *Fortuna*, 510. Here *felix* refers to Caesar's good fortune in being rescued from the storm. The shipwreck of Caesar would have meant disaster not just for him but also for the many whose lives depended on him. It may be relevant that 'naufragus' is used metaphorically in love-poetry to denote a man 'shipwrecked' by love (Pichon (1966) 211 s.v. 'naufragus'). See n. on 480-97 for Caesar's relationship with his men depicted as an erotic relationship. See on *naufragus*, 521 for the theme of shipwreck in L.'s poem.

700-2. The arrival of day and the end of the storm.

The end of storm at day-break was traditional (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 658; Ap. *Rhod.* 2.1120-1; Verg. *A.* 1.142-3; Sen. *Ag.* 576; *Tro.* 197ff; Shakespeare *Comedy of Errors* Act i sc. 1 88ff). L.'s short account of the end of the storm contrasts with Vergil's much longer and more elaborate descriptions (*A.* 1.124-156; 5.816-26) surely deliberately. Cf. also the restoration of the world after the Flood in Ovid (*Met.* 1.324-47). Once again the role of the gods in the earlier descriptions (cf. especially the instrumental role of Neptune at *A.* 1.142ff *sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat / collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducit*) is entirely eliminated from L.'s account. Just as the storm arose through natural causes (540ff) so it also dies away naturally. In post-Lucanian epic however the traditional calming of the weather by gods is reinstated: Stat. *Theb.* 11.5-6; V. Fl. 1.641ff; Sil. 12.637ff; 17.283ff.

700. talia iactantes: The words indicate that the preceding speech does not represent an exact account but rather an approximation of what Caesar's men said. For interruption of a speech in storm-narratives, see on *non plura locuto*, 593. Here the men's speech is interrupted by the arrival of day. The word *iactantes* reflects the agitated, emotional state of Caesar's men (*OLD* s.v. 10a) 'to utter with force, abandon, etc., hurl (remarks, etc.)'.

discussa nocte: For the identical phrase, cf. Sen. *Her. F.* 50; *Her. O.* 333; *Med.* 68; Apul. *Met.* 2.1. 'discutio' is commonly used in both poetry and prose of dispelling darkness, both literal and metaphorical (*TLL* 5,1.1373.21-39). The verb suggests a physical act of separation.

nocte: = darkness (*OLD* s.v. 4a) as opposed to night.

700-1. serenus . . . cum sole dies: A distinction is made between the sun (*sole*) and the good weather (*serenus . . . dies*); i.e. both arrived together. *serenus* = 'clear, unclouded' rather than 'serene' (it is used of the weather from as early as Ennius). Cf. Liv. 1.16.2 *postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit*. *dies* = 'daylight' (OLD s.v. 2a)).

701. oppressit: 'came upon them'. 'opprimo' used of daylight is rather unusual (cf. Liv. 22.50.8 *antequam oppressit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter*, and Apul. *Met.* 4.22 *huic me operi attonitum clara lux oppressit*). There is often a notion of interruption of an activity and/or a notion of surprise in the verb and here the men's speech is interrupted and they may also have been surprised by the brightness and strength of the daylight. Cf. Comm. Bern.'s suggestion that the arrival of daylight silenced the men: '(iurgantes invenit, vel) silere fecit'.

fessumque: The sea is 'weary' due to the commotion caused by the storm. For the personification of the sea as 'weary' see TLL 6.348.8ff; 7,2.990.4-8; 991.59-62. Cf. A. 10.289 *languentis pelagi*; 10.304 *fluctus fatigat*, and Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.5.

tumentes: 'swollen' (not swelling). For 'tumeo' used of waves, see OLD s.v. 2).

702. composuit: Cf. A. 1.135 (Neptune) *motos praestare componere fluctus*; Stat. *Theb.* 11.5 (Jupiter) *componit dextra . . . concussa plagarum*. Here, significantly, the subject (*pelagus*) is natural not divine. This is consistent with L.'s policy of eliminating the traditional epic divine machinery from his poem (see Feeney (1991) 250-312 on the gods in L.). The same verb is used of Caesar's calming of his assembling troops at Luc. 1.297-8: *utque satis trepidum turba coeunte tumultum / composuit voltu dextraque silentia iussit* (probably modelled on Vergil's famous statesman simile at A. 1.148ff and therefore linking Caesar with the divine Neptune).

pelagus: see on *maris*, 565. The sea as a whole (*pelagus*) is distinguished from its waves (*undas* in the same line). Cf. also 3.550 *huc abeunt fluctus, illo mare*; and (below) 703 *lassatum fluctibus aequor*. Vergil does this too; cf. A. 1.106-7 *his unda dehiscens / terram inter fluctus aperit*. L. likes to use more than one word for sea in the same sentence, see 565ff, 643-4 and 674.

ventis patientibus: Cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.215 *cum patietur hiemps, remis ego corporis utar*. For the opposite idea, cf. *Ep.* 13.127 *vento prohibente*; 131 *ventos . . . vetantis*.

703-721. The journey of the troops in Italy from Brundisium to Nymphaeum on the Illyrian coast.

The troops under the command of Antony are reunited with the rest of Caesar's troops after crossing the Adriatic, a voyage taking a day and a night to complete. See Map b) p. 246. A number of general points can be made about this section of narrative:

- a) Compared with the preceding narrative (Caesar's failed attempt to cross to Italy), the present episode is narrated in a much more concise and matter-of-fact way without resorting to rhetorical tricks. Clearly L. wished not to detract from the main 'Caesar' episode and to deal neatly and speedily with what was a necessary part of his narrative (the reunion of Caesar's troops in Greece). The relative ease with which the journey from Italy to Greece is completed, the emphasis on the commanders' wisdom in waiting for a calm sea (703-5) and the reference to skill and nature (*ventus doctaeque pari moderamine dextrae*, 706) all seem to highlight Caesar's earlier foolishness in disregarding both nature and the skill and experience of Amyclas. Whereas L. had unleashed his imaginative powers to a great extent in the earlier storm-episode, in this section he is far more controlled, depending much more than in the earlier narrative on the details he found in his historical source, probably Caesar. See Appendix I on the historical sources. For Caesar as L.'s probable source here, see Lintott (1971) 491.

- b) While many of the details found in Caesar are omitted, one detail seems to have captured L.'s imagination, the fear of attack by enemy ships if the wind dropped. Though L. does not explicitly mention the fear of enemy attack, this is implied at 709-10 and he elaborates on the idea of the (order and) disorder of the ships by means of two similes (707-8 and 711-16). Several words emphasise the theme: *permixtas*, 707; *consertis*, 708; *excussitque ordine*, 710; *percussit*, 714; *confusos, temere inmixtae*, 715; *turbata, dispersis*, 716. In at least two cases L. seems to use the language of Stoic cosmology; see on *moderamine*, 706, and *permixtas*, 707.

- c) L. fundamentally contradicts the geographical details in his historical source in two important respects: Caes. Civ. 3.26 states that the ships left Italy with a *South wind which miraculously changed to a South-West wind* enabling them to land safely at Nymphaeum a port sheltered from the south-west wind but *exposed to the south*. L. states that they left Italy with a *North wind (Borean, 705) which miraculously changed to a South wind (Auster, 721)* enabling them to land at Nymphaeum which was *exposed to the North (nudas Aquilonibus, 720)*.

Clearly Boreas would not be an appropriate wind for a fleet setting out on a journey from Brundisium to Nymphaeum, a journey in a north-easterly direction (see Map b) p. 246) and therefore L. seems to show an ignorance of the coast of Epirus: he imagines it to be further south than it actually was. (Elsewhere in the poem too his geography of this area is inconsistent: at 2.645ff (Pompey's crossing to Epirus) it is the North wind which is mentioned (646 *et vos . . . primus in Epirum Boreas agat*) though this becomes (more correctly) the Auster at 3.1ff (possibly a correction based on later knowledge; see Pichon (1912) 121); and at 5.403ff (Caesar's crossing) the North wind, *Aquilo*, is mentioned at 417 ('though see Barratt *ad loc.* who indicates that L.'s inaccuracy here may not be so great).) However Lintott (1971), while accepting that L. is uncertain about the general direction of Dyrrhachium from Brundisium, suggests that L. *deliberately* distorted the meteorological information he found in his sources in order to make the wind-shift as large as possible (i.e. from a North wind to a South wind) and thereby to emphasise even more Caesar's (or rather his men's) fortuna. This last is a tempting explanation of the problem (L. elsewhere has no qualms about distorting facts to suit his purpose), and it seems to be strengthened by comparison with stories told about Alexander's journey to the Pamphylian plain: Alexander needed a strong North wind in order to pass by the beach (a South wind made this impossible) and, despite heavy southerly gales, he decided to trust his luck. The wind veered to the North at the appropriate time with the result that Alexander and his men managed to negotiate the passage without difficulty. The shifting of the wind was regarded as a sign of divine favour and/or fortune (Arrian 1.26.1; Strabo 14.3.9; Plu. *Alex.* 17). See Tarn (1948) vol. II App. 22, p.357 and note at end of Appendix. See index for similarities between Caesar and Alexander in the storm-episode.

For discussions of the problem of L.'s inconsistency with the historical sources here see Pichon (1912) 120-1; Bourgery (1928) 26; de Saint-Denis (1935) 428-9; Lintott (1971) 491-2.

The narrative divides up neatly into 'blocks' with a high incidence of end-stopping:

703-5: Departure of ships from Italy.

706-8: The smooth sailing of the ships in a close-knit group; comparison with an army marching on land.

709-10: The arrival of night and a dropping of the wind causes a disordering of the ships.

711-16: Simile comparing the course of the ships to the flight of migrating cranes.

717-21: Arrival at Nymphaeum by day and short description of the harbour there.

703. nec non: A kind of litotes (see H-Sz. §§524-5). The phrase was introduced into poetry by Vergil as a way of linking sentences or parts of sentences, often at verse-beginning (Austin on A. 4.140). The effect is much stronger than 'et'. See *OLD* s.v. 'neque' 10b) for examples.

Hesperii . . . duces: 'the commanders in Italy'. The transition of the narrative to the commanders and troops in Italy is abrupt. No mention has been made of them since line 498 (over 200 lines). This abruptness is not unusual in L., a result of his tendency to compose in self-contained episodes. Cf. 9.950 where the narrative switches to Caesar after an interval going back to book 7 (the intervening section of narrative focusses on Pompey and Cato).

Exactly who the 'commanders in Italy' refers to is not made explicit here. Earlier parts of the narrative show that they were located at Brundisium (5.407) and Antony is named as one of the leaders at 478. The plural *duces* must mean that L. also had in mind Fufius Calenus who is mentioned along with Antony in Caesar's own version of events at *Civ.* 3.26 (but whom L. himself does not name). L. omits the detail found in the historical sources that Caesar sent a letter to Antony and Calenus after his failed attempt to cross to Italy telling them to cross at the first opportunity (*Caes. Civ.* 3.25.3; *Suet. Jul.* 58.2; *App. BC* 2.234-40; *Plu. Caes.* 38; *Dio* 41.46.2-4; *Flor. Epit.* 2.13.37).

For this use of *Hesperii* to mean 'in Italy' rather than 'Italian', cf. 1.106 *Parthica damna* ('disasters inflicted by the Parthians') and see Getty *ad loc.* The single adjective is more elegant than a relative clause and/or prepositional phrase would be.

lassatum fluctibus aequor: For the weariness of the sea, see on *fessumque*, 701. For the distinction between the sea as a whole (*aequor*) and its waves (*fluctibus*) in the same sentence, see on *pelagus*, 702.

704-5. purumque insurgere caelo / fracturum pelagus Borean: 'and that a clear North wind, rising in the sky, would soon break the force of the waters' (tr. Duff). The strength and resistance of Boreas is suggested by the initial spondee and subsequent conflict of accent and ictus of *fracturum pelagus Borean* (cf. also n. on 601-2). See n. on 703-721 for L.'s significant divergence from his historical source here on the question of the wind.

purumque: The word may indicate that the North wind either a) was itself clear of clouds or winds (*Adn.*: 'sine aliis ventis'; *Viansino* tr. 'senza altri venti') or b) had the effect of making *the sky* clear (i.e. 'clearing'). For the latter interpretation cf. 504 above where *languida* = 'making languid'; *Tib.* 1.5.11 and *Prop.* 4.6.10; 4.8.84 where *purus* = 'purifying'.

Cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.15 *albus* . . . *Notus* where Nisbet-Hubbard translate *albus* as 'clearing' and Mynors on Verg. *G.* 1.40 *claro* . . . *Aquilone*. On balance the former interpretation seems preferable since in most cases 'purus' in the latter (active) sense seems to be combined with a verb also suggesting clearing, sweeping away impurities or sim. and this is not the case here. Duff's translation (above) therefore seems acceptable.

insurgere: Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 10.7 *insurgat Aquilo*. The verb contains a sense of menace, more so than 'surgo' (which is regularly used of winds; *OLD* s.v. 10)). 'insurgo' is used also of men rising to fight (*OLD* s.v. 1a); *TLL* 7.1.2061.62-73 and cf. for example A. 12.902 (*saxum*) *torquebat in hostem altior insurgens*). See on *concita*, 597 for military imagery in L.'s storm-episode.

caelo: a local ablative.

705. fracturum: Hudson-Williams (1976) 131 interprets this (I think correctly) as follows: 'the North wind will subjugate the sea *by breaking its force and making it flow in one direction* . . . in the storm previously described, when all the winds were blowing at once, the sea raged wildly in all directions' (my italics). Cf. Haskins: 'i.e. by blowing continuously in one direction'. For 'frango' of pacifying/breaking the force of the sea, see *TLL* 6.1.1244.74ff; *OLD* s.v. 6a); and cf. Ov. *Ep.* 18.207 *spes tamen est fractis vicinae pacis in undis*; Luc. 1.222 *faciles iam fracti fluminis undas*. For other uses of the verb in connection with the sea (but in different senses) in L.'s storm-episode, see on *frangit*, 606. For the future participle form here, see on *ituro*, 550.

Bentley conjectured *straturum* ('would cause to subside') for *fracturum* but Hudson-Williams (*op.cit.*) rightly defends *fracturum* as follows: 'it should be noted that the attentions of the North wind, while introducing a decent order, are not expected to make the sea calm. A calm sea, indeed, was the last thing the Caesarians desired: for a calm sea implies a light wind, and a light wind might expose the sailing-vessels to the attacks of the oar-propelled warships of the enemy.'

pelagus: see on *maris*, 565.

Borean: see on *Scythici* . . . *Aquilonis*, 603.

solvere carinas: see on *solvensque ratem*, 560.

706. quas: A connecting relative, as at 561 (*quorum*).

ventus doctaeque pari moderamine dextrae: A combination of nature (*ventus*) and human skill (*doctae . . . dextrae*) keeps the ships in close formation. Similar phrases combining the ideas of nature-and-human-skill in the context of sailing are common and found as early as Homer (cf. *Od.* 11.10 *ἄνεμός τε κυβερνήτης τ'*: 'wind and helmsman'). In Latin cf. for example Cic. *Fam.* 12.25.3 *ventis remis in patriam . . . properavi*; Lucr. 4.897 *ac navis velis ventoque*; Verg. *A.* 3.563 *remis ventisque*; 5.511 *agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis*; Ov. *Ep.* 15.332 *facient celeres remus et aura vias*. In the present passage the stress on these two aspects draws attention to Caesar's earlier blatant disregard of Amyclas' skill and experience and the workings of nature (540ff; 578ff).

ventus: i.e. Boreas.

doctaeque . . . dextrae: A reference to the steering skills of the helmsmen. Caesar's ships, unlike Pompey's, were driven by means of their sails and rudders, rather than by oars (see on *velique*, 709). For 'doctus' to describe a hand, see *TLL* 5.1.1758.81ff. The combination is quite common in Ovid in particular in relation to various creative skills (cf. for example *Met.* 6.60; *Am.* 2.4.28; *Fast.* 3.832; 6.792). (See on 645-6 for the importance of skill as a theme in the *Met.*) The phrase 'docta manus' was a Tibullan coinage (Murgatroyd on Tib. 2.2.69-70).

pari moderamine: literally, 'with equal control'. i.e. the ships were steered in the same direction and at the same speed. 'moderamen' first occurs in Ovid who seems to have invented the word (probably from 'moderatio') in order to fit a hexameter line (Vergil, Lucretius and Ovid all seem to have liked coining nouns in '-men'; see Harrison on Verg. *A.* 10.493-4). Ovid uses 'moderamen', by metonymy, to mean a ship's helm or rudder (*Met.* 3.644; 15.726) but L. appears to be the first to use it in the sense of the steering of a ship (*TLL* 8.1203.54ff and cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 10.183). For 'moderor' used of ships, cf. Cic. *Inv.* 2.154; Liv. 28.30.8; Stat. *Theb.* 10.13. The Stoic Manilius uses the verb of the governance of the universe by an all-permeating God: e.g. 2.60ff *namque canam tacita naturae mente potentem / infusumque deum caelo terrisque fretoque / ingentem aequali moderantem foedere molem*; and later Christian writers, influenced by Manilius, referred to the 'moderamen' of the universe (see Lapidge (1980) 820, 826-7, 829).

707. permixtas: From 'permisceo', 'to bring together into a group' (*OLD* s.v. 2a)). The verb (like *misceo*) contains the idea of harmony. Cf. the fraternisation between the enemy camps at 4.196-8: *pax erat, et miles castris permixtus utrisque / errabat; duro concordēs*

caespitem mensas / instituunt et permixto libamina Baccho (the blended wine reflects the blending of the armies?) Here the harmony of the ships is later to be broken with the arrival of night and dropping of the wind (709ff).

habuere: For 'habeo' meaning 'to hold / keep in a certain condition', see *OLD* s.v. 15) and *TLL* 6.3.2429.58ff.

latumque per aequor: For the identical phrase cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.2.20 (and Mayer *ad loc.*). The phrase is Homeric.

708. ut terrestre, coit consertis puppibus agmen: The closely-packed ships are compared to soldiers marching on land. Elsewhere L. shows a fascination with the ambiguity between sea and land: cf. Caesar's construction of siege-works at Brundisium which form a 'new land' on the sea (2.673, 680 and Fantham on 682: 'reserare, properly used of opening enclosures and gates . . . is part of L.'s complex transfer of language from land phenomena to the open sea'); the sea-battle at Massilia where the closely-packed ships provide a sort of 'battle-ground': 3.513 *stabilis navalibus area bellis*; 556-7 *Romana ratis stabilem praebere carinam / certior et terrae similem bellantibus usum*; the floods at Ilerda where Caesar's army is 'shipwrecked' on land: 4.87-9 *iam naufraga campo / Caesaris arma natant, impulsaque gurgite multo / castra labant; alto restagnant flumina vallo*; the desert-storm in book 9 is compared to a storm at sea: 9.445ff *illic securi iuventus / ventorum nullasque timens tellure procellas / aequoreos est passa metus*.

terrestre: Cf. Sil. 14.521 (describing a battle fought on ships, a passage perhaps influenced by Luc. 3.509ff and/or the present passage) *comminus et gladio terrestria proelia miscent*. 'terrestris' is found more often in prose than in poetry (*OLD* s.v. 1)). In poetry cf. also Hor. *S.* 2.6.93 and Ov. *Met.* 14.479.

coit: The verb suggests harmoniousness; cf. 8.494-5 *virtus et summa potestas / non coeunt*.

consertis: = 'closely-packed, serried' (*OLD* s.v. 'consero' 2b); *TLL* 4.415.42ff). L. uses the verb to describe closely-packed troops at 4.31 *et prope consertis obduxit castra manipulis*; and (figuratively) of war at 2.442 *conserta . . . bellis bella gerat*. At 7.520 the density of weapons creates darkness in the sky: *nox . . . super campos telis conserta ('constructed') pependit*.

agmen: First found in poetry in the sense of a line of ships at A. 5.833-4 *princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat / agmen* (TLL 1.1343.74-7).

709-10. sed nox saeva modum venti velique tenorem / eripuit nautis excussitque ordine puppes: These lines have been differently interpreted by editors and translators. Clearly night caused the ships to be thrown out of station (*excussitque ordine puppes*, 710) but it is unclear whether this was due to:

- a) the winds strengthening (Burman; cf. Braund's translation: 'But cruel night robbed the sailors of the mildness of the wind and of sail's even course . . .');
- b) the winds dropping (Weise et al.; cf. Duff's translation: 'But night, proving unkind, robbed the sailors of steady wind, stopped the even course of the sails . . .'); or
- c) the winds becoming capricious (Hudson-Williams (1976) 131-2; cf. Graves' translation: 'Yet they were unlucky that night: the wind blew fitfully, and some caught more of it than others, which threw them all out of station')

i.e. what is the exact meaning of *modum venti* in 709? a) would understand this to mean 'a restraint of the winds' (*OLD* s.v. 6a)); b) and c) would understand it to mean 'proper measure of winds' (*OLD* s.v. 4)). It is clear from lines 717-18 that there was as yet no tempest (as Housman points out) so the first interpretation seems unlikely. Furthermore, 5.447ff referring to the fear of attack from enemy ships when the fleet was becalmed would support the second interpretation. This seems to be confirmed by the historical sources (Caes. *Civ.* 3.26 and App. *B.C.* 2.59) which mention respectively a fear of attack by the enemy if the wind dropped and a failure of the wind about noon resulting in pursuit by enemy ships (see Appendix I on the historical sources). Confusion is created by the simile following (711-16) which seems to suggest that the ships were disturbed by the blowing of contrary winds. However the point of the simile is surely the order and (later) disorder of the cranes rather than the wind which caused the disorder. There is therefore no need to infer from the simile that it was brisker winds which caused the disorder of the Italian boats in 709-10. Weise's interpretation (b) that the winds dropped at night therefore seems to be the best.

709. saeva: The night was 'cruel' to the sailors in that it brought with it a dropping of the winds (see previous n.) resulting in the disorder of the ships and therefore the danger of attack from the enemy. The adjective behaves rather like an adverb. See K-S II.1.234ff; Getty p. lxx c).

modum venti velique tenorem: Hudson-Williams (1976) rightly calls this a form of hendiadys in which the latter part provides the key-notion: 'the proper measure of wind which made for steady sailing'.

modum venti: 'proper measure of winds' not 'restraint of winds' (see above on 709-10).

venti: Housman thought that *venti* found in the mss should be *vento* arguing that it is more accurate and more elegant to speak of the 'modus' being snatched away *from the wind* rather than the 'modus' *of the wind* being snatched away from the sailors ('rectius enim et concinnius modus vento quam venti modus nautis eripi dicitur'). Shackleton Bailey agrees with Housman comparing 8.492 *sublatusque modus gladiis*, and adopts *vento*. However Hudson-Williams (1976) 130-2 defends the mss reading probably rightly on the grounds that the symmetry of *modum venti velique tenorem* would be ruined by changing *venti*. Since the text works as well with *venti* there seems not to be a strong enough reason to change it.

velique: A collective noun ('sails'). Caesar's ships were merchant ships, which depended upon sails, hence the mention here of sails only (not oars). Pompey's warships on the other hand were rowed. See 5.417ff and Duff's note *ad loc*. The wind was therefore crucial to enable Caesar's ships to progress.

tenorem: 'a sustained and even course or movement' (*OLD* s.v. 1a)).

710. eripuit nautis: The same phrase recurs in the sea-storm at 9.325.

nautis: Dative of disadvantage.

excussitque: Cf. A. 3.200 *excusimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis*.

ordine: 'ordo' is used of ships especially in Livy (*OLD* s.v. 2a); *TLL* 9,2.952.48-953.28).

711-16. The disorder of the Italian ships is compared to the disorder (caused by a contrary wind) of cranes on their Southward migration from Thrace to Egypt. The point of comparison is the disorder of the cranes and ships and it need not be inferred from the simile that the ships were also struck by a contrary wind (see above on 709-10). L. may have been influenced by Verg. A. 1.393ff where the movement of Trojan ships is compared to the movement of flying swans (at first the swans' flight is disturbed by an eagle, then the

order of their flight is restored) *aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cycnos, / aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto / turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo / aut capere aut captas iam despectare videntur: / ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis / et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere, / haud aliter puppesque tuae pubesque tuorum / aut portum tenet aut pleno subit ostia velo.*

The migration of cranes is often referred to in ancient literature, see Thompson (1936) 71-2 and Capponi (1979) 280-4. In Greek cf. for example Hom. *Il.* 3.3ff; Ar. *Av.* 710. In Latin, cf. especially A. 6.310ff; 10.264ff (based on Hom. *Il.* 3.3ff); Sen. *Oed.* 604ff; Stat. *Theb.* 5.11-16; 12.515ff; Val.Fl. 3.359-61. L. refers to the migration of cranes also at 3.199-200 and 7.832ff.

711. Strymona: A Greek accusative. The Strymon was a river in Thrace, a conventional northern habitat for cranes. The river is used as a way of referring to the country as a whole, as the Nile is in the next line. For the phrase *Strymona . . . gelidum*, cf. Sen. *Oed.* 604ff (also regarding bird migration) *nec tanta gelidi Strymonis fugiens minas / permutat hiemes ales et caelum secans / tepente Nilo pensat Arctos nives*. 'Strymoniae' is a conventional ornamental epithet for cranes in Latin from Vergil (*G.* 1.120; *A.* 10.265; 11.580) onwards (*TLL* 6,2-3.2339.68-9).

bruma: A reference to the coercion of winter/the cold is standard in descriptions of migrating birds; cf. A. 6.311 *ubi frigidus annus / trans pontum fugat*; Sen. *Oed.* 605 *permutat hiemes ales*; Luc. 1.259 *volucres cum bruma coercent*; Stat. *Theb.* 5.13 *quo fera cogit hiemps*; 12.517-18 *iuvat orbe sereno / contempsisse nives et frigora solvere Nilo*. 'bruma' meaning 'winter' occurs almost exclusively in poetry (see *OLD* 2); *TLL* 2.2208.23ff). Cf. its technical sense of 'the shortest day' (e.g. Luc. 10.299).

712. poturae: Future participle with final sense. This use is common in L. and in Silver Latin generally; see Heitland (1887) cvi; K-S II.1.760ff. Flobert (1998) 484-5 comments on the high frequency of future participles in L. and his contemporaries and notes that it is a trait of spoken Latin. For the frequency of participles in general in L., see on *ituro*, 550. L. chooses the future participle of 'poto' instead of 'biburus', a form not found before the 3rd c. A.D. (*TLL* 2.1959.50-3). To drink of a river signified living in or, as here, visiting the neighbourhood of that river; see *TLL* 2.1964.39-66; 10,2.360.21-30; *OLD* s.v. 'bibo' 4); Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.20. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.824-5. In L., cf. 8.213 *populos . . . bibentis Euphraten*.

te, Nile: The apostrophizing of rivers (which were often seen as gods) was quite normal in Roman literature and the apostrophe of the Nile need not be regarded as especially significant. However L. seems to have had a special fascination with the Nile which he refers to 56 times in his poem. His interest in the Nile, and rivers in general, was undoubtedly influenced by the work of his uncle the younger Seneca who wrote a *De aquis terrestribus* (Nat. 3) and a *De Nilo* (Nat. 4A). Fantham (1992) 18 n.46 suggests another influence on L. may have been Callimachus' *Peri potamon* or other volumes of his 'Collections of wonders'. See Francken (1893) 315-330 for the Nile in L.; Postl (1970) on the Nile in Latin literature.

grues: 'grus' occurs as early as Lucilius and was thought to be formed from the sound made by cranes (TLL 6,2.2339.65-8). There are frequent references in literature to the raucous noise made by cranes (Hom. *Il.* 3.1ff; Lucr. 4.181-2; Verg. *A.* 10.264ff; Juv. 13.167; Otto (1890) n.496) but L. omits this in his simile.

primoque volatu: When 'primus' describes the first part or beginning of an action, it usually occurs in an adverbial phrase such as this (see *OLD* s.v. 5)).

713. effingunt varias . . . figuras: Palamedes was thought to have invented letters of the alphabet from the figures formed by cranes in the sky. See Hyg. *Fab.* 277 and Rose *ad loc.*. On the flight-formation of cranes, see passages cited in Mayor on Cic. *N.D.* 2.125 and Thompson (1936) 71-2. Various shapes formed by cranes' flight are mentioned in the sources, including Greek delta (Δ), lambda (Λ) and upsilon (Υ). Plu. *Moralia* 967B, 979A also mentions a crescent-shaped curve.

casu monstrante: 'chance-taught' (tr. Duff). i.e. the cranes did not plan their formation rationally, but by instinct. Similar phrases with 'monstrante' are quite common; cf. *A.* 1.382 *matre dea monstrante*; *Man.* 1.62 *exemplo monstrante*; 2.223 *nullo monstrante*; *Plin. Nat.* 10.28.7 *caelo monstrante*; *Sil.* 5.573 *patrio monstrante*; *Juv.* 14.10 *cana monstrante gula*.

714. percussit: see on *percussa*, 594.

tensas . . . alas: The mss. have *tensas* (Ω) and *densas* (PU). For 'densus' describing wings, cf. Verg. *G.* 1.382 *corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis*, interpreted variously as indicating i) the large numbers of birds involved (Mynors *ad loc.*: 'with crowding wings'); ii) the thickness of their wings (cf. *Enn. Ann.* 147 *densis aquila pennis . . . volabat*) or iii) their

'rapidly beating wings' (see Kidd on Arat. *Pha.* 969). For 'tensus' describing wings, cf. only Stat. *Silv.* 4.3.38 *tensae volucrum per astra pennae*.

tensas therefore appears to be the 'lectio difficilior', more likely to be corrected to the commoner *densas*. Furthermore, the reading *tensas* seems more likely because of *percussit*. So Housman, Badali and Shackleton Bailey are probably right in adopting the reading *tensas* rather than *densas*.

Notus: The South wind. i.e. the wind blowing in the contrary direction to the birds' flight and which would therefore have a disruptive effect on the birds' formation. Vergil mentions the *Notoi* in the crane-simile at A. 10.264ff, but in the sense of storms rather than S. winds (Harrison on 10.266).

altior: Winds are described as having different heights; see *TLL* 1.1774.55-9. At 571-2 above *Notus* is described as being in a higher position than *Corus*.

715-16. confusos temere inmixtae glomerantur in orbis, / et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis: Several words stress the disturbance of the birds in these lines: *confusos*, *temere*, *inmixtae*, *turbata*, *dispersis*. Unsteadiness in birds' flight was a sign of bad weather (Arat. *Pha.* 913) and the opposite was a sign of fair weather (Arat. *Pha.* 1011-12).

confusos: The word is associated with the messiness of a violent death in both Vergil (A. 6.504 *confusae stragis acervum*; 9.207 *confusaeque ingentem caedis acervum*) and Lucan (9.801 (death caused by a snake) *informis globus et confuso pondere truncus*).

temere: 'at random' (*OLD* s.v. 3a)). Cf. A. 9.329 *famulos temere inter tela iacentes*.

inmixtae glomerantur in orbis: The last 3 feet of the line clearly recall G. 4.79 (describing swarming bees) *magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem*. Vergil's line was imitated also by Ovid at *Met.* 1.35 (*deus*) *terram . . . magni speciem glomeravit in orbis*; 6.19 *lanam glomerabat in orbis*.

glomerantur: Passive in middle sense. The primary idea in 'glomus' and 'glomero' is that of roundness. The verb is favoured by Vergil who uses it 12x in the *Aeneid*. Cf. for example G. 4.79 (of bees - see previous n.); A. 4.154-5 (of hunted deer) *agmina cervi / pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt*; A. 6.310ff (of migrating birds) *aut ad terram gurgite ab alto / quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus / trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis*. L. is certainly influenced here by the first (and probably also

the last) passages. He uses the verb twice more in the poem, of a group of horsemen (7.530) and of dust (6.296).

716. littera: Used of cranes' flight also at Mart. 13.75 *turbabis versus, nec littera tota volabit, / unam perdideris si Palamedis avem*; Claud. 15.477-8 *ordinibus variis per nubila textitur ales / littera pennarumque notis inscribitur aer*. In all of these passages (including the present one) 'littera' seems to mean 'writing' rather than 'letter'.

pinnis: 'birds' (Duff); 'flocks' (Graves); 'wings' (Riley, Braund). 'Birds' rather than 'wings' would strictly make better sense here (the birds are scattered) and *pinnis* may be used loosely to refer to birds for metrical reasons (*avis* and *volucer* being metrically inconvenient). 'pinna' meaning 'bird' by synecdoche is found at Amm. 21.1.9 and perhaps also at Luc. 1.588 *monitus errantis in aere pinnae* (TLL 10,1.1087.58, 64 and cf. also A. 3.361 *praepetis omnia pinnae* where *pinnae* is practically equivalent to 'bird').

717. primum redeunte die: 'as soon as day returned'. *primum* is taken with *redeunte*. Housman compares Verg. G. 4.305 *primum impellentibus*.

violentior aer: Winds which began to blow in the daytime were believed to last longer and be stronger than those which began at night (Theophr. *de signis* 33; Sen. *Nat.* 5.3.3). 'aer' often refers to the air without any reference to its mobility; but here it appears to mean 'wind'. For 'aer' meaning a current of air, see OLD s.v. 6). Cf. Lucr. 5.645 (on the currents of air which cause the movement of the sun, moon and planets) *stellas . . . putandumst . . . aerebus posse alternis e partibus ire*; and Seneca's definition of wind at *Nat.* 5.1.1 *ventus est fluens aer. quidam ita definierunt: ventus est aer fluens in unam partem. haec definitio videtur diligentior, quia numquam aer tam immobilis est ut non in aliqua sit agitatione*.

718. puppibus: see on *carina*, 503.

incubuit: 'swooped down on'. Perfect tense of 'incumbo' (not to be confused with perfect tense of 'incubo'). The perfect tense marks the swiftness of the action. From Vergil onwards, the verb is often used of the forceful blowing of winds (cf. G. 2.310-11; 3.197; A. 1.84; Ov. *Ep.* 13.15; Sen. *Nat.* 7.5.1; Sil. 12.656; V. Fl. 2.60; in L., cf. 1.390; 3.2; 409; 414; 419).

Phoebeo . . . ortu: This combination of words seems to occur first in L.. It occurs three other times in the poem (6.329-30; 9.667; 10.433 and at Sil. 4.113), in the first two and last

examples meaning 'the east' rather than 'the dawn' (as here). The second 'e' of *Phoebeo* is long following Greek prosody (*Phoebus* = Grk. *Phoebius*). (Cf. A. 4.6 *Phoebea lampade*; Ov. *Met.* 5.389 *Phoebeos . . . ictus*.)

concitus: 'roused'. See on *concita*, 597. Here the participle (with short 'i') is formed from the 2nd conjugation 'concieo' (the participle of 4th conjugation 'concio' is spelt similarly).

719. praetereunt: The verb is normal in descriptions of journeys (*TLL* 10,2.1011.31ff; *OLD* s.v. 2)). Cf. for example Ov. *Met.* 15.50-1 *Tarentum / praeterit et Sybarin*.

frustra temptati: For the combination, see *TLL* 6,1.1431.38-49. It is particularly common in Ovid *Met.*

Lissi: Lissus (= modern-day Lezhë, Albania) was located on the Illyrian coast. It was 3 miles to the south of Nymphaeum and a bit further inland (see Map a) p.246).

720. Nymphaeumque: Nymphaeum (= modern-day Shëngjin, Albania) was a harbour on the Illyrian coast. *Caes. Civ.* 3.26 states that Nymphaeum was 3 miles beyond (i.e. to the north of) Lissus: *nacti portum, qui appellatur Nymphaeum, ultra Lissum milia passuum III*. Both Caesar and Appian mention it as the arrival point of the Italian fleet (see Appendix I).

tenent: *Serv. A.* 5.159 comments on the phrase *metam tenebant*: 'nauticum verbum'. The verb may in some places mean 'make for' or 'approach' rather than 'reach' (see Williams on A. 5.159) but here probably means 'reach'. For 'teneo' in the sense of reaching a destination, see *OLD* s.v. 5).

720-1. nudas Aquilonibus undas / succedens Boreae iam portum fecerat Auster: 'The South wind had succeeded to the North turning the sea, which was unprotected on the North, into a safe haven.'

See n. on 703-21 for L.'s significant divergence from his historical source here on the question of the winds and the geography of Nymphaeum. See n. on 675 for harbour-descriptions in poetry.

nudas Aquilonibus: 'unprotected on the North'. L.'s inaccuracy about the geography of Nymphaeum (see n. on 703-721) caused Barratt *ad loc.* to conclude that *nudas* must mean 'deprived of' and *Aquilonibus* must be an ablative of separation. However *nudas* must

surely mean 'exposed to' (*OLD* s.v. 4b)) with dative *Aquilonibus* (see Shackleton Bailey).
i.e. the shift of wind from North to South made the north-facing harbour safe.

Aquilonibus: Another name for Boreas (next line).

721. succedens: Used here in a temporal sense (see *OLD* 6) and cf. *Ov. Met.* 10.165
quotiens . . . repellit ver hiemem, Piscique Aries succedit).

Boreae: The North wind. See on *Scythici . . . Aquilonis*, 603.

fecerat: see on *fecit*, 604.

portum: L.'s text implies that *Nymphaeum* only became a 'portum' when the wind changed. i.e. the notion of a safe harbour is implied. Haskins rightly compares the expressions 'in portu navigare / esse' meaning 'to be safe / peaceful'. For the metaphorical use of 'portus' to mean a place of safety, see *TLL* 10.2.64.10ff; *OLD* s.v. 2) and see Otto (1890) n.1455.

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Maps

a) Map showing location of Apsus and Genusus rivers in Macedonia. (From R. L. Jiménez *Caesar Against Rome. The Great Roman Civil War*. (Connecticut 2000) 130.)

b) Map showing the location of Brundisium in relation to the Illyrian coast. (From J. M. Carter, commentary on *Caesar Civil War 3* (Warminster 1993) 235.)

Appendix I.

The historical sources for Lucan 5.476-721

Whether Lucan's story of Caesar's attempt to sail to Italy in a storm was based on historical fact cannot be determined beyond doubt. The relevant part of **Livy**, Lucan's main source for historical facts, is lost and **Caesar** in his own account of this period (*B.C.* 3.2-26) does not mention any attempt to sail back to Brundisium, though this may be due to his desire to suppress an embarrassing failure on his part. The only record we have *before* Lucan is therefore that of **Valerius Maximus** 9.8.2 (in a section entitled 'De Temeritate' in his *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*) dating from the reign of Tiberius. *After* Lucan, various versions of the story are found in **Plutarch** *Caes.* 37-38; **Suetonius** *Div. Jul.* 19, 58; **Florus** *ep.* 2.13.35-8; **Appian** *B.C.* 2.52-59; **Cassius Dio** 41.43-48. Some or all of these may have derived from Livy. Morford (1967) 37 believes that Lucan probably did find the incident in Livy. For Livy as Lucan's main and probably only historical source, see Pichon (1912) 54ff; Marti (1968) 3-34. (Lucan may occasionally have used Caesar as well; see Fantham p. 22 n.59.)

Some points of comparison between Lucan and the historical sources

Below is a brief discussion under three headings of what the historical sources say about different aspects of the story told by Lucan and how Lucan differs from them. It needs to be remembered however that Lucan used only Livy (and possibly Caesar also for the parts other than the actual storm) as his source.

Caesar's communication with Antony (Lucan 5.476-503)

Caesar states that many months had passed since Caesar's crossing to Epirus in advance of his troops and that several opportunities for crossing the sea had been missed. Caesar therefore wrote to his men in harsh terms and gave details of where his troops were to land. **Appian** gives details of the thinking that lay behind Caesar's communication to his men in Italy: that there was a greater chance of escaping Pompey's triremes if the fleet was to sail in winter instead of spring. **Lucan** focusses on Caesar's frantic impatience for war as his reason for making contact with Antony. His words to Antony are marked more by an emotive and personal tone than by rational argument, giving a sense of the speaker's desperation. Reminiscence of the language of love-elegy is furthermore used to stress the intimate relationship between Caesar and Antony and also between Caesar and his troops (see comm. on 481-497). In describing Antony's delay as an act of betrayal (479) L. reinforces the sense of Caesar's personal suffering (see comm. *ad loc.*). Pichon (1912) 153 believes this idea could have been present in Lucan's source Livy, though this cannot of course be proved.

Caesar and the storm (Lucan 5.504-702)

Caesar omits any record of an attempt on his part to cross to Italy. This may of course be explained by his wish to suppress an event which turned out to be a failure. As well as **Lucan**, the story is found also in **Valerius Maximus, Appian, Florus, Suetonius, Plutarch, Florus and Dio**, but these vary in some of the details.

a) the type of disguise Caesar adopted.

Most agree that Caesar did disguise himself. **Appian** has Caesar disguised as a 'private person'; **Val. Max.** as a slave; **Suet.** has him 'with head muffled up'. **Appian** and **Dio** state that Caesar pretended to be a messenger sent by himself. **Lucan** mentions Caesar's 'plebeian' disguise but adds the detail that his speech betrayed him, suggesting an association between Caesar and the typology of the tyrant unable to disguise his true nature (see comm. *ad loc.*);

b) the number and identity of Caesar's companions.

Appian: Caesar sent three servants to get a boat (these later accompany him on the boat). **Dio** states that Caesar was unaccompanied; **Plut.** that sailors were present in the boat. In **Lucan** Caesar is alone apart from the helmsman Amyclas, Lucan's own invention partly for the purpose of acting as an effective foil to Caesar's character (A.'s poverty and security contrasts with Caesar's wealth, vulnerability and brash confidence). A.'s second speech at 540ff is a chance for Lucan to show off his knowledge of weather-signs (derived from Vergil/Aratus) and Amyclas' technical knowledge of the weather contrasts with Caesar's more intuitive knowledge of it.

c) the type of boat.

Dio, Val. Max., and **Suet.** state that it was a small boat; **Appian** that it was a fast-sailing boat; **Plut.** that it was a twelve-oared boat; and **Florus**, a light reconnoitring boat. **Lucan** omits any details of Amyclas' boat, except to say that it was small (655).

d) the details of the journey.

Plut. and **Val. Max.** name the River Aous; **Appian** also mentions a river. In **Plut.** and **Appian** the boat does not manage to get beyond the mouth of the river. **Dio** states that the crossing was over the sea. **Val. Max.** that it was on the river first, then the sea. **Lucan** mentions no river but has Caesar face a mighty storm on the open sea. His storm-description is out of all proportion to what is found in any of the sources. He clearly greatly exaggerated what he found in his source to serve his own ends, namely to cast his character in a storm to rival and surpass the storms of earlier epic, and also to demonstrate Caesar's extraordinary fortune in being rescued from such a storm.

e) the revealing of Caesar's identity.

Dio, Appian, Plut. and **Florus** all give C.'s words in direct speech. **Appian** mentions Caesar and Caesar's Fortune. **Dio, Florus** and **Plut.** mention just Caesar. **Lucan** gives Caesar a far longer speech, padded out with words designed to suggest his megalomania (the 16-line speech builds on the basic idea, found in the other sources, that Caesar's presence was lucky for the boat but plays on Caesar's divine pretensions much more). **Lucan** also includes in his narrative another speech of Caesar (654ff) in imitation of those found in the *Odyssey* and *Aeneid* which shows Caesar 'posing' as a traditional epic hero.

f) the manner of Caesar's return to land.

Dio, Appian and **Plut.** state that Caesar simply sailed back. In **Lucan** Caesar is rescued by a miraculous 10th wave, traditionally the biggest, a demonstration of Fortune's special favour.

g) Caesar's return to camp.

Only **Appian** and **Plut.** describe the reactions of C.'s men on his return. In **Appian** there is a mixture of surprise and blame; in **Plut.**, displeasure at C.'s lack of faith in them. **Lucan** apparently builds on what he found in his source(s). The soldiers' speech reveals the baroque tastes of Lucan's age with its striking and pathetic juxtapositions of the-one-vs-the-many and master-of-world-vs-shipwrecked-sailor. It also shows clear similarities with a speech in Quintus Curtius Rufus' *History of Alexander*, showing the influence of the Alexander-tradition on Lucan's depiction of the relationship between Caesar and his men (see comm.).

The arrival in Nymphaeum of the troops from Italy (Lucan 5.703-21)

It seems likely that **Caesar** was **Lucan's** source for this section of narrative due to the mention of Lissus in both accounts, but not in **Appian** or the other sources. **Caesar** gives more details of this journey than **Lucan**. However the most striking variation between **Lucan's** and **Caesar's** accounts is in the details of the winds involved. **Caesar** states that they set off with a South wind which miraculously changed to a S-W wind, **Lucan** that they set off with a North wind which miraculously changed to a S wind. For a discussion of this problem, see comm. *ad loc.*

Appendix II.

Lucan's adaptation of the traditional epic storm in 5.540-702

By L.'s day various features had become standard in an epic storm-narrative. The table below shows some of the topoi and how L. deals with each. Also included are details in L. not paralleled in earlier epic. References in the left-hand column are not comprehensive but intended to serve as illustrations only; see the commentary for more detail.

<u>topoi</u>	<u>L.'s treatment of topoi</u>
Gods rouse storm (<i>Od.</i> 5.282ff; <i>A.</i> 1.50ff).	Weather-signs indicate a naturally caused storm (540ff).
Darkness over the sea & ruffling of sea's surface (<i>Od.</i> 12.405-6; <i>A.</i> 3.194-5).	Darkness over the sea and ruffling of sea's surface(564-7). Later (628) the darkness is described as the darkness of hell, an intensification of the topos.
Battle of winds, with military imagery. All winds blow at once (<i>Od.</i> 5.295-6; <i>A.</i> 1.81ff; 2.415-19; <i>Ov. Met.</i> 11.490-1; <i>Sil.</i> 17.246ff).	A fairly conventional battle of winds (597-612), but the idea of all winds blowing at once is introduced by a qualifying 'crediderim' (610) indicating the poet's skepticism of the topos. L. goes further by exploring the logical (but absurd) consequences of all winds blowing at once: the sea remains in its place (612) and, later, the boat is lifted high and so (paradoxically) is saved by the conflict of winds (648-9).
[no parallel in earlier epic]	Even the fixed stars seemed to be shaken (561-4); the migration of seas; submerging of mountains; waters coming from Ocean (612-20). All hint at the Stoic universal destruction.

<p>Involvement of the gods (<i>Od.</i> 5.365ff; 382ff; <i>A.</i> 1.124ff).</p>	<p>The gods are relegated to a simile of the Great Flood of mythology (620-6). i.e. L. does not do away with the gods completely but they are effectively impotent. Jupiter is given a token role at 626. The 'gods' are mentioned at 636 but not in an active role.</p>
<p>Sea reaches the sky (<i>A.</i> 1.102-3; 3.421-3; 3.564; 5.20). Wave-as-high-as-a-mountain imagery (<i>Od.</i> 3.290; 11.243-4; <i>Ov. Met.</i> 11.502-4).</p>	<p>The sea does not reach the sky because it is pressed down by clouds (625-6). L. keeps wave-as-mountain imagery; his variation on depth reached by boat (mast projects barely above surface of sea) is weak (he may have felt that he could not better Virgil & Ovid's mention of the Underworld as the lower limit reached by the boat?) L. adds a second variation (sails reach clouds; keel rests on sea-bed) but this is nothing out of the ordinary (642).</p>
<p>Rain falls into sea (<i>A.</i> 1.129; <i>Ov. Met.</i> 11.517ff).</p>	<p>Rain cannot 'fall' since the clouds are so low as to be in contact with the sea (628-9).</p>
<p>Lightning provides relief to sailors (<i>A.</i> 1.90; <i>Ov. Met.</i> 11.522-3).</p>	<p>Lightning flashes but gives no light due to the thickness of the clouds (630-1).</p>
<p>[no parallel in earlier epic.]</p>	<p>The structure of the universe is jarred; the threat of chaos; elements seem to have burst their bonds; mention of universal catastrophe (<i>mundi . . . ruina</i>) (632-7).</p>
<p>Exposure of the sea-bed (<i>Od.</i> 12.242-3; <i>A.</i> 1.106-7; <i>Ov. Met.</i> 11.499).</p>	<p>All the sea-water is used up in waves (643-4).</p>

<p>Failure of the helmsman's skill (Ov. <i>Met.</i> 11.492-3; 537; 548).</p>	<p>A fairly close imitation of Ovid (645-6).</p>
<p>Fear of shallows & rocks (Od. 5.404-5; 411ff; A. 1.108-12).</p>	<p>L. mentions (& rejects) three plausible dangers and introduces an unlikely one: the sailors fear running aground on the tops of the Ceraunian mountains (650-3).</p>
<p>Speech of hero at height of storm (Od. 5.299-312; A. 1.94-101; Ov. <i>Met.</i> 11.539ff).</p>	<p>Caesar speaks - twice, once at beginning and once at height of storm (enabling L. to make the most of the opportunity to characterise Caesar). His second speech more or less directly contradicts the famous speeches of Odysseus & Aeneas. (578ff, 653ff)</p>
<p>Damage done to ships (Od. 5.365ff; 12.407ff; A. 1.102ff; Ov. <i>Met.</i> 11.507ff).</p>	<p>Some damage to Caesar's ship (593-6) but it is minimal compared to that described in earlier descriptions. In the end the boat is safely deposited on land (672-6).</p>
<p>Gods restore calm and rescue the hero(es) (Od. 5.451ff; A. 1.124ff).</p>	<p>Weather gets better naturally; rescue by miraculous tenth wave (672ff, 700-02).</p>

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* The influence of Vergil and Ovid is pervasive throughout Lucan's storm-episode and L. often avoids direct verbal echoes of them. References here are restricted to places where specific verbal echoes seem likely.

