1911

Lucan's Pharsalia

Accepted. May 19, '11.
A. H. Rice

Lucan's Pharsalia

Louise Adams.

Many books have been written about the civil war of Caesar and Pompey but none has the distinctive stamp which Lucan gave to the subject in his Pharsalia.

Living as he did so near to that period, for his span of life was from 39-65, he met with many difficulties. He was too near to idealize the men, and the plain facts of the war were too crude for poetry, but his devotion to Pompey and his ardent patriotism gave to the poem a beauty of its own.

Another decided disadvantage was the fact that Lucan was a man of thought rather than of action. The picturesqueness of the squadrons swooping down from the hills to battle or the cavalry rushing on to an attack through a cloud of dust appealed to him far more than the details of the

campaign. The same fact is evident in his attitude towards the common soldier, for he sympathizes more keenly with his discomforts than with his joy of conflict, a characteristic which he shares with Livy and Vergil.

He belonged to a literary family, for his uncle was the philosopher Seneca, and his father and mother were well-educated. He began to write poetry when he was still quite young, and at the age of twenty-one gained the prize in a competitive contest given by Nero.

Vacca

Only three of the ten books of the Pharsalia were published in his lifetime, for he lived only twenty-six years. With the blind enthusiasm of a poetic temperament, he entered into the Pisonian conspiracy in 65 A. D. Tacitus describes the affair in the Annales XV 49, and paints the inglorious part which Lucan plays in it.

When he was brought to trial, he attempted to escape by accusing his confederates. He even stated that his mother was implicated in the plot, although there was probably no truth in the charge, since no one believed it. He did not escape punishment and met his death as so many of his day, by opening his veins.

If he had lived longer, it is supposed that the poem would have been extended to include the death of Caesar and might have contained as many as twenty books.

The poem has the characteristic fault of the day in having so many rhetorical passages. The beauty of many of the sentiments expressed are sometimes a compensation for the long soliloquies and apostrophes, but there are times when these are a decided blemish upon the continuity of the thought.

A good example is in the seventh book, when Pompey has finally given the signal to his men who are eager for battle, and all things are made ready:

VII 140 143

"tunc omnis lancea sano
erigitur tendunt nervis melioribus arcus
cura fuit lectis pharetras implere sagittis
auget equus stimulos frenorumque aptat habenas"

Lucan has made us share the soldiers' enthusiasm, so we are anxiously watching for the next move. But there he leaves the soldiers for nearly one

VII 150 234

hundred lines while he continues with an account of prodigies and Pompey's battle array. Then with the men all drawn up for battle, Lentulus commanding the left wing, Domitius the right and Scipio the centre and the auxiliaries stretched out on the plain, we must wait for a hundred line speech by Caesar, and a long soliloquy by

Pompey, before they begin to fight. It seems to be especially unfortunate in this case since this battle is the climax of the poem. But this fault is not peculiar to Lucan, for it is the traditional feature of epic, and we find many examples of it in Livy.

But we gain the best idea of this characteristic and of the merits of the work by a survey of the poem as a whole.

Fronto has criticised the opening lines in the following passage.

"Unum exemplo causa poetae prohoemium commemorabo; poetae eiusdem temporis eiusdemque nominis, finitimique Annaeus. Is initio carminis sui septimum versibus nihil aliud quam bella plus quam civilia interpraetatus est. Nunc hoc replicet quot sententiis? insanum datum scelere. una sententia est. In sua victrice conversum viscera. iam haec altera est. Cognatasque acies tertia haec

erit. Ius commune nefas quartam numerat. Infestisque obvia signa appellat quoque quintam. Signis pares aquilas. sexta haec Herculis arumna. Et pila minantia pilis septima, de Aacis scuto corium. Aenae, quae finis erit? aut si nullus finis nec modus servandus est, cur non addis et similes lituos? addas licet et carmina nota tubarum. Sed et loricas et conos et enses et ballios et omnem armorum supellectilem sequere."

The introduction of the Pharsalia includes a statement of the subject, a flattering invocation to Nero, a statement of the causes which lead to the civil war, and the causes of national decline. The narratio proceeds with the crossing of the Rubicon by Caesar, the capture of Ariminum, the meeting of Curio and the tribunes with Caesar, the terror in the city and the flight of the senate and the foretelling of

the coming events by an astrologer and an inspired woman.

Most of the events of the first book are those with which we are acquainted in history. except the invocation to Nero About this, there have been many opinions as to whether or not it is sincere Taken by itself, there seems plenty to support either theory, but in the light of Lucan's cool judgment of other men's characters which he shows in the later books, it appears almost ironical. It might be argued that it is too long for irony, but, on the other hand, usual standards of length are no criterion for Lucan.

The first books seem much more oratorical and more full of epigrams than the later ones. As the poem advances the people appear more natural and the speeches less artificial.

The second book opens with a

remonstrance to the gods for allowing mortals to know the future. Then the young men show their eagerness for war and the old men their dread as they recall the days of Marius and Sulla. Then the story of Marius' rise and rule is told, and the proscriptions of Sulla are described with their horrors.

The next incident is evidently inserted to throw light on Cato's character. Marcia begs him to marry her and he consents to do so for the second time. The events of the opening days of the civil war proceed rapidly as Caesar overruns Northern Italy, and Pompey retires to Capua and then to Brundisium. Caesar attempts to stop Pompey, by blockading the harbor, but Pompey manages to escape. The last lines foretell that Pompey will not be buried in Italy.

The third book presents in its first lines the pathetic figure of Pompey standing alone on deck, watching the

shores of Italy fade in the distance.

III 4 7 Solus ab Hesperia non flexit lumina terra
Magnus, dum patrios portus, dum littora num-
(quam)
Ad visus reditura suos tectumque cacumen
Nubibus et dubios cernit evanescere montis."

Then he sinks into a heavy sleep and Julia appears to him and tells him that she brought him good luck, but Cornelia will bring misfortune.

Caesar regrets that the fighting is deferred, and decides not to follow at once, but return to the city, meanwhile sending Curio to Sicily. When he has entered Rome, he demands money from the treasury, money which had been gained from the long series of foreign wars for the last two hundred years. Metellus is bitterly opposed to giving it but is finally overruled by Cotta.

The next lines contain a catalogue of Pompey's resources. The last half of the book consists of the account of the attack upon Marseilles which refused to admit

Caesar's army. It is interesting to compare it with the accounts of sieges in Caesar's Commentaries, for the account lacks the clearness and conciseness of a general who commands the operations. The soldiers are compelled to cut down a grove which surrounds the city. They hesitate to disturb the divinities of the place, so Caesar is the first to wield an ax.

Caesar is obliged to pass on to Spain to hurry on the war there, so Decimus Brutus is left in command. The sea battle in which he engages is told with all its thrilling details.

III 646-679

"Dum numerum pugnax unus turba carinae
Incumbit prono lateri vacuamque relinquit,
Qua caret hoste, ratem, congesto pondere puppis
Versa cava texit pelagus nautasque carina;
Bracchia nec licuit vasto iactare profundo,
Sed clauso perire mari. Tunc unica duri
Conspecta est leti facies, cum forte natantem
Diversae rostris iuvenem fixere carinae
Discussit medium tam vastos pectus ad ictus,
Nec prohibere valent obtritis artibus artus,
Duo munus aera sonent, elisso ventre per ora"
Eiectat saniem permixtus viscere sanguis.

Postquam intubent remis puppes ac rostra recedunt,
Directum in pelagus perfosso pectore corpus
Volneribus transmisit aquas. Pars maxima turbae
Naufraga iactatis morti obluctata lacertis
Puppis ad auxilium socias concurrit, at illis,
Robora cum vetitis prensarent altus ulnis
Nutaretque ratis populo pereuntia recepto,
Impia turba super medios ferit ense lacertos
Bracchia linguentes. Graia pendentia puppe
A manibus cadere suis. Non amplius undae
Sustinuere graves. In summo gurgite truncos.
Sanguine omnis fusis nudato milite telis
Invenit arma furor: remum contorsit in hostem
Alter, at hic totum valido a plustre lacertis;
Avolsasque rotant expulso remige sedes
In pugnam fregere rates. Sidentia pessum
Corpora causa tenent spoliantque cadavera ferro.
Multi inopes teli iaculum letale revolsum
Volneribus trasere suis et viscera laeva
Oppressere manu, validos dum praebeat ictus
Sanguis et hostilem cum torserit eqeat hastam."

We find then than Brutus gains the first great victory of the war.

The theme of the fourth book is the war in Spain which Caesar conducts against Afranius and Petreius. He is successful in overcoming them,

because he cuts off their army from water, and the soldiers suffer so intensely they are very glad to surrender.

In the last part of the book, Antony is besieged by the Pompeians in Illyria and tries to escape. The men on one of the rafts are overcome, and encouraged by their leader, Vulteius, commit suicide. Curio fights in Africa. At first he is successful against Varus but is overcome and killed by Juba.

Of the two most distinctive passages of the book, one is that which describes the intense thirst of the Pompeians and their relief at finding cold water which is as pleasing to them as some costly wine.

IV 306-318

"Nec languida fesso

Corpora sustentant epulae mensaeque ferae
Auxilium fecere famem. Se mollius arvum
Prodidit umorem, pinguis manus utraque glaebas
Exprimit ora super; nigro et turbida limo
Conluvies immota iacet cadet omnis in haustus
Certatim obscaenos miles morensque recipit,
Quas nollet victurus aquas, refugique ferarum
Distentas siccant pecudes et lacte negato
Sordidus exhausto sorbetur ab ubere sanguis.
Tunc herbas frondesque terunt et rore madentis

destringunt ramos et si quos palmite crudo
arbore aut tenera sucos pressere medulla."

V: 377-381

When they have quenched their thirst at the river, Lucan says

"Haecte, quam parvo liceat producere vitam
Et quantum natura petat. Non erigit aegros
Nobilis ignoto diffusus conche Bacchus,
Non auro murraque bibunt, sed gurgite puro.
Vita redit, satis est populis fluviisque Cerasque."

The other incident is the one in which Vulteius changes the feelings of his soldiers. They begin with such abject fear of death as the night comes on and they know that the morning will bring to them utter defeat. Then as Vulteius talks, the fear gradually slips away, and in its place comes a calm courage which makes them determine to seek death by their own hands when they have fought as long as it is expedient

Lines 521- 525 describe the change of feeling "Sic cunctas exstulit ardor
Nobilium mentes iuvenum cum sidera caeli
Ante ducis voces vultus umentibus omnes

aspicerent flexoque Ursae timone pavorent,
Idem, cum fortes animos praecepta subissent,
Optavere diem."

In lines 533-538 he expresses their willingness to die

"Stabat devota iuventus
Damnata iam luce fero et securaque pugnae
Promissa ebu fine manus; nullique tumultus
Excussere viris mentis ad summa paratas,
Innumeraeque simul pauci terraque marique
Sustinuere manus, tanta est fiducia mortis."

These passages are especially interesting in the light of Lucan's dread of death.

At the beginning of the fifth book the consuls call a meeting of the senate in Epirus. Then Lentulus makes a speech in which he proposes that Pompey should be made their leader and he thanks their allies.

Then Appius is sent to consult the oracle at Delphi. At first the priestess refuses to speak and then falsely pretends to be inspired. At last he prevails upon her to prophesy and she foretells his death in lines 194-196

"Effugies ingentis tanti discrimenis expers
Bellorum, Romane, minas solusque quietem

Euboicis vasta lateris convalle tenebis"

Caesar's troops mutiny and then follow most forceful arguments by their leader and by Caesar. It was a critical moment, for Caesar was in reality helpless without them: "Licet omne deorum

V. 293-295 Obsequium speres, irato milite, Caesar,

Desit," but with his accustomed diplomacy he won them back

Caesar goes to Rome and is elected consul and dictator. He starts back to Thessaly. His soldiers do not wish to cross in winter, but he assures them that it is the best season for travel and they go. Antony is left behind, so on the blackness of a stormy night, Caesar goes to the hut of a fisherman and prevails upon him to take him over to get Antony. They go in the midst of a frightful thunder storm with clouds rushing over with opposite winds and a tumultuous sea, but they reach land safely again, and Antony crosses with the remaining troops.

The last parts of the book is the touching parting of Pompey and Cornelia

as he sends her to Lesbos. She is devoted to him. "Ut nolim servire malis, sed morte parata
V. 773+774 Te sequar ad manes." Both feel the separation very keenly:

V. 79. 798 "vitamque per omnem
Nulla fuit tam maesta dies; nam cetera damna
Curata iam mente malis firmaque tulerunt."

The sixth book like most of the others consists of two parts. The first deals with preliminary skirmishes and an account of a plague in Pompey's camp and a famine in Caesar's. Then both armies go into Thessaly and encamp near each other.

The last half is a long digression first describing Thessaly and then the witches of the land and their charms. The gruesome details are probably to prepare our minds for the terrible conflict of the seventh book.

A witch who has been consulted by Sextus Pompey, finds a dead man whose throat and lungs are unhurt. She makes a charm of blood, the foam

of mad dogs, the marrow of a stag that has fed on snakes and the ashes of a phenix and then bids the gods of the lower world send back from their abodes some soul that has recently descended.

They grant her request at last and she looks up and sees the shade standing before her. He finally is prevailed upon to enter the body, and to tell what he has seen in the lower world. During his short stay, he has not seen much, but has noticed discord among prominent Romans. The shades are preparing a home for Pompey and his sons and he bids them hasten to die. They must fear Europe and Asia and Africa. No place will be safer than Thessaly.

The seventh book is the climax of the poem for it contains the account of the battle of Pharsalus. It begins with a description of the happy dreams of Pompey on the night before the battle, as he sees himself again applauded by

the Roman throngs as he enters the theatre, or drives his triumphal chariot to the Capitol.

Pompey and Caesar address their men with typical speeches, and the battle begins with great ardor on both sides. Pompey's auxiliaries are scattered and then his regular troops. Pompey flees and Caesar occupies his camp, leaving the dead unburied.

The eighth book opens with a picture of a lonely horseman riding over the hills of Thessaly.

VIII 1-8 "Iam super Herculeas fauces nemorosaque Pompe
Haemoniae deserta petens desendia silvae
Corripedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem
Magnus agens inerta fugae vestigia turbat
Implicitasque vias. Pavet ille fragorem
Motarum ventis nemorum, comitumque suorum
Quem post tuta redit, trepidum latebrasque timentem
Examinat." So we Pompey, trying now to escape notice, altho' Lucan pictured him in the last book as unafraid of being hit as he left the battlefield.

Pompey goes to Lesbos to join his wife. The Lesbians urge him to remain there but he refuses, and with many

of his followers, and his son who have joined him he sails to Alexia. There he holds a council and urges the men to go with him to Parthia, where that people will protect them all.

It seems odd that a man who had fought at extrema pueritia and held command at inunte adulescentia as Cicero says should suddenly have met with such utter disaster and have been so utterly overwhelmed. But it happened in the case of Crassus and Polycrates and was explained by the Stoics as Nature's envy. It occurred in the case of Tilly in more recent times.

Lentulus prevails upon Pompey to go to Egypt instead, as a boy king was reigning there who would be more likely to welcome them. Pompey consents and they advance. We can not help feeling a keener interest in Pompey now for Lucan makes him seem so human, as he pictures him as anxious and disheartened and trying to forget his troubles by chatting with the fellow about

the winds and weather.

Ptolemy has seen the ship at a distance and learned whom it contains. An aged councillor advises protection, but Pothinus with more effect urges Ptolemy to kill Pompey and he consents.

VIII 484 518

"Quis et fas multos faciunt, Ptolomaee nocentes;
Dat poenas laudata fides, cum sustinet," inquit
"Quos fortuna premit. Fatis accede deisque
Et cole felices, miseros fuge. Sidera terra
Ut distant et flamma mari, sic utile recto.
Sceptorum vis tota perit, si pendere iustis
Incipit, everteque arces respectus honesti.
Libertas scelerum est, quae regna invicta tuetur,
Sublatusque modus gladius. Facere omnia saeve
Non impune licet, nisi cum facis. Exeat aula,
Qui volt esse pius. Virtus et summa potestas
Non coeunt, semper metuet, quem caeca pudebunt.
Non impune tuos Magnus contempserit annos
Qui te nec victos arcere a littore nostro
Posse putat. Nemo non sceptrus pravarent Lagei,
Pignora sunt propriora tibi Nilumque Pharumque
Si regnare piget, damnatae redde sorori
Aegyptum certe. Latias tuearmur ab armis
Quidquid non fuerit Magni, dum bella geruntur,
Nec victores erit. Toto iam pulsus ab orbe,
Postquam nulla manet rerum fiducia, quaerit
Cui sua gens cadat. Rapitur diversibus umbris
Nec soceri tantum arma fugit. Fugitiva senatus,
Quis Thessalicas saturat pars magna volucres,
Et metuit gentes quas uno in sanguine mistas

Deserunt, regemque timet quorum omnia meruit,
Thessalicaeque reus nulla tellure receptus
Sollicitat nostrum quem nondum perdidit orbem.
Iustior in Magnum nobis Ptolomaee querellae
Causa data est. Quid reportam semperque quietam
Crimine bellorum maculas Pharon aevaque nostra
Victori suspecta fugo? Cur sola cadenti
Haec placuit tellus in quam Pharsalica fata
Conferres poenasque tuas? Iam crimen habemus
Purgandum gladio."

As the ship nears the shore, a small boat puts out to meet it. Fate prevents the men from saying that their leader's death is near at hand and only Cornelia appears alarmed. Pompey in spite of her protests, decides to go with the Egyptians.

It seems as if Pompey after all the anxiety and constant fear finds it a relief to feel that he has reached a place where the fates hold his fortunes in their hands and they are the ones to decide.

VIII. 576 "Letumque iuvat praeferre timori"

Septimius attacks Pompey and when he sees that death is certain, he covers his face with his robe and silently waits for death and dies without any struggle.

VIII.: 613 636. Ut vidit communis ensis,
Involvit voltus atque indignatus apertum
Fortunae praebere caput tunc lumina pressit
Continuitque animam, ne quas effundere voces
Vellet et aeternam fletu corrumpere famam.
Sed postquam mucrone latus fumatus Achillas
Perfodit, nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum
Respexitque nefas servatque immobile corpus
Segnis probat moriens atque haec in pectore volvit:
'Saecula Romanos nunquam tacitura labores
Attendunt, assurgit segnis speculatur ab omni
Orbe ratim Phariamque fidem: nunc consule famae.
Fata tibi longae fluxerunt prospera vitae;
Ignorant populi, si non in morte probaris,
An seueris adversa pati. Ne crede pudori
Auctoremque dole fati quacumque ferire,
Crede manum sociis. Spargant lacerentque licebit,
Sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas
Hoc auferre deo. Mutantur prospera vita
Non fit morte miser. Videt haec Cornelia caedem
Pompeiusque meus. Tanto patientius, o vos,
Cludo, dolor gemitus, natae communque peremptum
Si murantur, amant.' Tali custodia Magno
Mentis erat, cum hoc animae morientis labebat."

Septimius cuts off the head but leaves the body on the shore. Cordus finds the body and makes a humble funeral pile for it, and then buries the ashes and makes the grave.

Before the book closes, there is a summing up of the achievements of

Pompey and an apostrophe to Egypt.

The ninth book is the longest. It deals with the events of the war in Africa. The introduction treats of the manes of Pompey soaring to the sky and inspiring Brutus and Cato. Cato approaches Africa and comes upon the ship that bears Cornelia. He learns of Pompey's death and goes with Pompey's soldiers to Africa to announce the news to Pompey's oldest son.

Pompey receives a beautiful eulogy from Cato. "Quam pauca Catonis

IX.. 188+189 "Verba, sed a pleno vementia pectore vera"

IX 190-207 "Cives obet, inquit' multum maioribus impar
Horae modum euris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aevo,
Cui non ulla fuit iusta reverentia; salva
Libertate potens et solus plebe parata
Privatus servire sibi rectorque suorum,
Sed regnantis erat. Nil bello cure poposcit,
Quaeque dare voluit, voluit sibi posse negare.
Immodicas posedit opes, sed plura retentis
Sotalit. Invasit ferrum, sed ponere norat,
Praetulit arma togae, sed pacem armatus amavit;
Iuvet sumpta ducem iuvet demissa potestas.
Casta domus luxuque carens corruptaque nunquam
Fortuna domino. Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus, et multum nostrae quod proderat urbi.

Cum vera fides Sulla Marioque receptis
Libertatis obit. Pompeio rebus adempto
Hunc et fuga perit. Non iam regnare pudebit,
Nec color imperii nec frons erit ulla senatus"

The soldiers mutiny, feeling that the war should end now and it requires great persuasion from Cato to urge them still to fight for freedom. Cato realizes he must keep them busy, so he gives them work to do on a fortification and then suggests that they join Juba.

Pompey the younger goes only part-way, but Cato is anxious to press on, so he lays the matter before his soldiers. He says that there will be many hardships and dangers, but that he will share them all and be the first to expose himself to them.

They encounter a terrible sand-storm, and are compelled to take the stars as their guides, since the tornado obliterates all trace of the road.

When they reach the temple of Jove Ammon, Labienus asks Cato to consult him in prayer, but Cato refuses on the

ground that the gods are everywhere.

IX. 572-584

Scimus, et hoc nobis non altius inseret Hammon.
Haerimus cuncti superis, tamplogue tacente
nil facimus non sponte dei, nec vocibus ullis
numen eget dictique semel nascentibus auctor.
Quidquid scire licet, steriles nec legit harenas,
Ut caneret paucis, mersitque hoc pulvere verum;
Estque deo sedes, nisi terra et pontus et aer
Et caelum et virtus? superos quid quaerimus ultra?
Iuppiter est, quodcumque vides, quocumque moveris.
Sortilegos ignare dubis cumpergue futuris?
Casibus anceptis, me non oracula certum,
Sed mors certa facit paviso fortique cadendum est.
Hoc satis est dixisse Iovem.

There is a long passage explaining the cause of Africa's heat and drought and ascribing it to the divinities who have had mythological experiences there. Then comes a very odd passage After a catalogue of the snakes of Egypt, Lucan names a man bitten by every-one and minutely describes the effect which is different in every case.

Fortunately the troops meet a tribe who know how to charm the snakes and cure the men who are bitten. Shortly after, they reach civilization and are thank

ful even to see lions, since that is a sign that vegetation is near.

Now there is an abrupt change to Caesar. He leaves Thessaly and sails slowly past the islands, enjoying the view of celebrated places. He visits Troy and says that he will rebuild it

IX. 998+999

"Restituam populos, grata vice moenia reddens
Ausonidae Phrygibus, Romanaque Pergama surgent

Then he travels on to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey. He is met before he lands by a courtier bearing Pompey's head.

Caesar shows great grief, but Lucan with a bitterness that is unworthy of anyone judging history, says that his grief is not sincere.

IX: 1035-1046

Non primo Caesar damnavit munera visu
Avertitque oculos; voltus, dum crederet, haesit.
Utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit
Iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentes
Effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto
Non aliter manifesta potens abscondere mentis
Gaudia, quam lacrimis, meritumque immane (tyranno)
Detestatus et generi mavolt lugere revolsum,
Quam debere caput. Sua dum non membra cruentus
Calcaret voltu, quae sicco lumine campo
Viderat Emathios, una tibi, Magne, negare
Non audet gemitus."

Caesar orders the head to be buried. The book ends with the joy of the people over the death of Pompey, and reiterates his accusation of Caesar by saying that the people think that Caesar sympathizes secretly with them.

IX 1105-1108. "Nec turba querenti
Credidit, abscondunt gemitus et pectora laeta
Fronte tegunt hilaresque nefas spectare cruentum
- O bona libertas - cum Caesar lugeat, audent."

The tenth book is unfinished. It deals with Caesar in Africa. He lands against the wishes of the Egyptians who have as great a dislike to him as to Pompey. Cleopatra charms him with her beauty. There is a great feast where there is displayed such luxury as Caesar has never seen before.

Pothinus prevails upon some of Caesar's soldiers to join him in a plot to kill both him and Cleopatra. They agree to do so, but put off the attack till morning. As soon as Caesar perceives the troops marching against the palace, he orders the doors closed and commands the defense in his usual masterly way. He takes the island of Pharos, and is fighting desperately

as the book comes to an abrupt close.

One can not read the poem without being impressed by many characteristics of Lucan's style. Some of these were peculiar to the age, such as putting the subject on one line and the verb on the next. This is true in his very first sentence, where he also shows his careful arrangement by including in the first line his subject and the situation: "Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos."

"Bellum civile" or "civile bellum" appears near the end of every important speech and in every climax and usually at the close of a digression. It is to modern taste tiresome in its repetition.

Words or names that are contrasted, he places in corresponding positions; e.g. in the second book in ll 543, 544, 545, the names are at the ends of the lines, in the next three, are the second word. In the third book, he mentions Metellus five times and puts the word last in the line every time.

The work abounds in compounds. Some are familiar and some are unusual.

There are many compounds of fero and gero such as floriferus, ostriferus, imbriferus, longiferus, cortiger. There are more unusual forms such as fatidicus, harenivagus, luctificus, and many adjectives in eus, such as Caesareus, virgineus, aequoreus.

Lucan shows his poetic temperament in his appreciation of the phenomena of nature. He describes the coming of dawn over and over again, and always with an entirely different choice of words. The storm on sea in V. 617-677, and in the desert in IX 446-494 and the melting of the snow in the mountains in IV 70-92 are all done in a masterly way.

Lucan is indebted to Vergil for many of his expressions. Lines have continually a familiar sound, and Professor Haskins has been able to find about four hundred corresponding passages. There are besides, incidents and long selections, as the end of the seventh book which foretells the desolation of Thessaly which corresponds to the end of the first Georgic. Caesars wish to prolong the pleasures of the

feast in Egypt bear a strong resemblance to Dido's desire at the end of the first book of the Aeneid, especially since the latter continues with the account of meteorological changes by the long-haired Iopas and the former by the account of the priest.

Lucan's clear-cut characters are, after all one of the greatest charms of the book. The men and women seem so much more real than those of the Aeneid, perhaps because he shows his own liking for them or dislike.

He mentions only two women who are alive and not semi-divine, - Cornelia and Cleopatra. Of Cleopatra he speaks with unconcealed and unmitigated contempt, of Cornelia he speaks with condescension, for although he makes her appear affectionate he represents her as weak in her mourning, first for the separation for Pompey, then for his defeat and lastly for his death. Her grief appears less genuine as we read the lines

IX 66+67. "Similisne malorum
Sors mihi semper erit? numquam dare vista licebit
Coniugibus?" and then
IX 1 2 "Refruitur lacrimis et amat pro coniuge luctum".

Lucan characterizes Caesar in his
I 144-150 first book as -

"Fiscia virtus
Stare loci, solusque pudor non vincere bello,
Acer et indomitus, quo spes quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum et numquam temerando parcere ferro,
Successus urguere suos; instare favori
Numinis, impellens, quidquid sub cumina petenti
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina."
I 129-135 Of Pompey he says -

"Alter vergentibus annis
In senium longoque togae tranquillior usu
Dedidicit iam pace ducem, famaeque petitor
Multa dare in volgus, totus popularibus auris
Inpelli, plausuque suo gaudere theatri,
Nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
Credere fortunae. Stat magni nominis umbra."

Lucan never forgets this contrast,
and in every act and speech, Caesar dis-
plays his fierce energy and indomitable
courage and Pompey his declining powers.
Altho' he shows great loyalty to Pompey
and his "melior causa" Pompey does not
leave so favorable an impression as
Caesar, for Lucan shows an exaggeration

of hatred which does not convince one in speaking against Caesar. He has written some very suggestive lines about Cato

IX 598-600

"Hunc ego per Syrtes Libyaeque extrema triumphum
Acere malueram, quam ter Capitolia curru,
Scandere Pompei, quam frangere colla Iugurthae."

In fact Cato seems to possess the finest qualities of both men for Lucan regards him with the same devotion that Seneca and the other Stoics show.

Before Lucan had written the last books, he had quarrelled with Nero. In these appear many lines about the glory of liberty, and some directly against the Caesars and monarchy. In IX 89-90 are the lines.

"Equite, Onati, bellum ciuile, nec umquam,
Dum terris aliqua nostra de stirpe manebit
Caesaribus regnare vacet," and in X. 25-28,

"Nam sibi libertas umquam si redderet orbem
Ludibrio saeuitus erat, non utile mundo
Editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub unos
Esse uiro."

Lucan's patriotism spreads an atmosphere of lofty thought over the whole work. In speaking of Pompey, he says

VIII 553-555 "Non domitor mundi nec ter Capitolia curru
Invectus regumque potens vindexque senatus
Victorisque gener Pharo satis esse tyranno
Quod poterat, Romanus erat," and to Cato's
men:

IX 390 392 "Hi mihi sunt comites, quos ipsa pericula ducent
Qui me teste pati vel quae tristissima pulchrum
Romanumque putant."

To be a Roman was in his eyes unquestionably the best thing possible to a person.

He shows his loyalty to the senate in the seventh book

"In plebem vetat ire manus monstratque senatum
Scit, cuor imperii quae sint, quae viscera rerum;
Unde petat Romam, libertas ultima mundi
Quo steterit ferienda loco."

The army in its rank and file must have been made up, as many of those of today, of those who are not the flower of the country One can find several examples of mutinies where the soldiers have hardships to endure and he speaks of their venality in no uncertain way in the tenth book:

X. 407+408. "Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra, sequuntur;
Venalesque manus ubi fas, ubi proxima merces."

Lucan seems like one who would have great faith in the gods, or at least an assumed interest in them; but he seldom refers to any divinities by name, except when relating some myth. Perhaps this a regret for that loss of faith which makes him say in the fifth book

"Non ullo saecula dono
Nostra carent maiore deum, quam Delphica quod sibi sint potiquam reges timuere futura
Et superos vetuere loqui." Tacitus expresses practically the same idea in his history I 3.

Most of the prayers are addressed to fortune or fate. Pompey more often addresses the "superi" than the others. In speaking to him before the battle, Acco says:
"O superi ingrate, tantis causamque ciendis
Credere dis dubitas?" VII: 64-65.

Cato's speech in the ninth book, which we have already quoted sounds as if it might be Lucan's confession of faith.

Nothing is more interesting or characteristic in the Pharsalia than the epigrams and beautiful passages. It is

impossible to note them all. He sums up the status of Pompey in the words -

I: 35 "Stat magni nominis umbra."

Of Caesar he says -

II: 657 "nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum",

and again -

III 82+83 "Gaudet tamen esse timori
Iam magno populis et se non malles amare."

Of hastening on the war

I 281 "Semper nocuit differre paratis."

The Stoic doctrine appears often, as in VIII - 19 -

"Poenas longa fortuna favoris
Exigit a miseris" and in I '81

"In se magna ruunt."

Two of the most beautiful passages are found in the second book.

"Lege deum minimas rerum discordia turbat,
Pacem magna tenent," and "nubes excedit Olympus."

Lucan had the greatest literary vogue of any Roman poet. He was very popular in mediaeval times, and was greatly admired by Chaucer, Shelley,

and Macaulay. He had many obvious faults, but he will always be admired for his genuine power, love of liberty and burning sincerity