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Notes on the *Pharsalia* of Lucan

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NOTES ON THE PHARSALIA OF LUCAN.

Most of the following notes bear upon the recent English commentary by Mr. C. E. Haskins. To avoid misapprehension, it seems well to state at the outset that his work is thoroughly sound and serviceable on the whole. Mistakes are few and far between. But it is precisely in such a case that it is worth while to point them out; a book which has many on every page deserves nothing but neglect.

In regard to textual criticism, Mr. Haskins has, I think, just missed doing a notable service to classical study. If he had bestowed a little *more* pains upon MS. readings, he would have shown how *little* of such matter is necessary to a quite readable and satisfactory edition of a classical author. As it is, he has played into the hands of his enemies. In the few places where he does deal with the text, his suggestions are very good, and they are made with commendable caution (e.g. 'Sabini' in IX. 821).

BOOK I.

76. Tellus extendere litora nolet
Excutietque fretum.

'The land shall no more seek to advance her shore-line nor throw off the sea.'

'The negative is carried on to the second clause, as is frequently the case in Lucan.'

In support of this Mr. Haskins quotes two passages which [are quite simple and not really like this one (II. 372-373, and IX. 589-590)]. Here a negative for 'excutiet' has to be extracted from 'nolet.'

It would perhaps be rash to pronounce this altogether impossible. But it is at least unnecessary. The words may very well mean, 'The land will refuse to set its shores as a long barrier to the waters, and will shake off the sea' (violently, so that it returns, we may imagine, with overwhelming force). Bentl. proposed to read 'quaeret.'

291. Sic postquam fatus, et ipsi
In bellum prono tantum tamen
addidit irae.

H. says '*ipse* is often used by slaves of their master, and by disciples of their teacher.' Here 'his leader.'

'Et ipsi in bellum prono' is simply *μεμῶντι καὶ αὐτῷ*. Eager as he was in himself, of his own will, Curio's words nevertheless gave his passion a fresh impulse.

577. Horruit Alcides viſo iam Dite Me-
gaeram.

This is not so simple as many passages on which Mr. Haskins *does* give a note. Hercules had seen Dis in his own realm, yet Megaera is terrible enough to make him shudder.

BOOK II.

103. Stat perhaps = *πέπηγεν, ἐπανθεί*, of stiff, clotted blood.

587. Umbras nunquam flectente Syene.
'i.e. S. is exactly under the equator, so that the midday sun being vertically overhead casts no shadow.'

Syene is on the northern tropic, not on the equator. And the sun would be precisely overhead there only once in the year, namely, at midsummer. It was the first place, to a traveller going south, where this *ever* occurred. Lucan exaggerates. In the middle of winter, at Syene, the midday sun would be about half-way between the zenith and the horizon.

It may be added that, even if Syene were on the equator, the sun would be precisely overhead only twice in the year, namely, at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

BOOK III.

168. Pauperiorque fuit tum primum
Caesare Roma.

(Lucan has just described how Caesar broke into the treasury in spite of the resistance of Metellus.)

H.'s note is brief: 'Weise thinks that this is a reference to Caesar's former debts.'

The point is surely a much more obvious one. To Lucan, writing under Nero, 'Caesare' would mean 'a Caesar' or 'the emperor.' Since the time when Caesar broke into the treasury, Rome had often been poorer than its master. The 'fiscus' rivalled and overshadowed the 'aerarium' (cf. Statius, *Silvae*, III. 3, 86-105).

BOOK IV.

124. For 'vellera' cf. Varro *Atac.* fr. 21, *nubes ceu vellera lanae*, the original of the passage in Virgil which H. quotes. Varro writes '*ceu vellera*': to Lucan the word is familiar as a name for a species of cloud.

168. Exiguo paulum distantia vallo.

'Exiguo vallo' is a descriptive ablative. Two separate things are said about the camps: they were very near each other, and the rampart was low.

286-7. Cf. Hom. *Il.* xi. 477, ὄφρ' αἶμα λαρὸν καὶ γούναρ' ὀρώρη, a passage which Lucan may have had in mind when he wrote.

526-8. Nam sol Ledaea tenebat
Sidera, vicino cum lux altissima
Cancro est:
Nox tum Thessalicas urgebat
parva sagittas.

'The sun was in the constellation Gemini, when at midday it is nearest to Cancer and at midnight to Sagittarius.' There must be some mistake or misprint here, for it is quite incredible that Mr. Haskins meant that the sun passes through all the signs of the zodiac in twenty-four hours! At midnight in summer the sun is still in Gemini, next Cancer, Gemini and Cancer being then under the northern horizon.

The passage is to be explained as follows. 'The sun was in Gemini when his light is highest, with Cancer close by' (vicino Cancro) is like 'exiguo vallo' in 168, a descriptive abl. or even an abl. absolute, giving a distinct and subordinate fact about his position). The sun is highest then, about twenty-three degrees above the celestial equator, and therefore rises earlier than at any other period of the year (525, nec segnis mergere ponto | tunc erat astra polus), 'a short night sees Sagittarius low in the southern sky': or perhaps—though I think this less likely—there is very little night left after Sagittarius crosses the meridian, little night pursues him.'

Weise, whose note is quoted by H., seems to have had some vague conception of these facts, but he puts Cancer on the wrong side of Gemini ('praecedit Cancer solem').

Owing to the precession of the equinoxes the 'lux altissima' would be nearer Cancer than it is now.

643-4. Quisquis inest terris in fessos
spiritus artus
Egeritur; tellusque viro luctante
laborat.

'Egeritur: rises from it, i.e. into his body,' H.

Rather 'is drained into.'

'Laborat: labours to assist him.'

This misses the point of the ablative. It is the earth that suffers or is exhausted, though he is the visible combatant.

667-9.

Qui robore quamquam
Confusus Latio regis tamen un-
dique vires
Excivit Libycae gentis extrema-
que mundi
Signa suum comitata Iubam.

Mr. Haskins says, "The power of the King of the Libyan tribes," i.e. Juba. Grotius suggests Libyae gentes in apposition to vires, a reading which, according to Oud. is supported by some MSS.'

Grotius's suggestion was a good one, and Mr. Haskins' view wants more defending than he gives it. There are two objections to taking gentis as a genitive. Would Lucan write so awkward and formless a construction as...regis...Libycae gentis? And would he lengthen the -is of the gen. before a vowel? As regards the latter point, it may be noted that (a) on no theory of the passage is there a strong pause after gentis such as sometimes accounts for lengthening of this nature; (b) in Mr. Heitland's introduction (p. ci.) a list of peculiar quantities in Lucan is given, which does not include this or anything quite like it, the writer adding, 'This list is as nearly complete as I can make it. There is very little to note under this head, and it is just this fact that is significant.'

670-675.

Non fusior ulli
Terra fuit domino: qua sunt
longissima regna
Cardine ab occiduo vicinus
Gadibus Atlas
Terminat: a medio confinis
Syrtibus Hammon.
At qua lata iacet vasti plaga
fervida regni,
Distinct Oceanum etc.

This obscure description is best explained by the fact that Lucan wrongly conceived Africa as extending much further to the east than it really does—extending far out towards Ceylon (cf. X. 292 and H.'s note: the Seres are near the sources of the Nile, though even they have not seen the river's cradle). 'A medio' will then mean simply 'in the middle' (not 'a medio cardine,' supplying 'cardine' from cardine ab occiduo). Plaga fervida will mean the eastern region of Libya, whence comes the sun (not the south, as H. takes it). 'Distinct Oceanum,' not 'separates the ocean, i.e. extends to the ocean in both directions, to the North and South,' but 'separates...to the East and West.' This is more in keeping with the ideas of the ancients. They speak of the

Ocean stream, it is true, as encircling the whole globe, but that it lies to the E. and W. is more clearly realized and more readily suggests itself (the sun rising thence and setting in it again) than its northern and southern circuit. Would Lucan speak of the Mediterranean, which bounds Africa on the N., as 'Oceanus'?

BOOK V.

93-94. Here and on I. 89 Mr. Haskins quotes the prayer of Hecuba, ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κ.τ.λ. (where nothing is said about αἰθήρ or αἴηρ), when the following quotation would have been more apposite:

ὄρας τὸν ὑψὺ τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραίς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.
Eur. *fr. inc.* 935 (Nauck).

140. Ora quibus solvat nostro non invenit aevo.

Why should not 'ora solvere' here have the sense which it has in l. 98, oraque vatis solvit—who deserve that he should lend them utterance, unlock *their* lips, make them his προφήται?

159. Nisi mergeris antris.

The use of si with the present indicative found in Lucan and his contemporaries is strange enough to require notice from a commentator. Here mergēris would be the strictly accurate construction. In l. 533 'si iussa secutus me vehis Hesperiam' would mean properly 'if it is in obedience to dictation that you are carrying me to Italy.' It does mean, 'if you obey me and carry me to Italy' (vehes, vexeris). L. 349 is another instance. So IX. 212:

Et mihi si fatis aliena in iura venimus
Da talem, Fortuna, Iubam.

Here we are tempted to interpret, 'if subjection *is* the gulf to which we are drifting'; and similar explanations can be devised in most of the other instances. But it is simpler to recognize a certain looseness of construction. V. 533 can hardly be explained away: for Caesar *has not yet embarked*.

BOOK VI.

311. Nec sancto caruisset vita Catone.

This curious phrase is perhaps best explained by taking 'vita' to mean 'society,' 'the world.' Martial sometimes uses the

word in a sense like this, as when he says of his own writings:

Agnoscat mores *vita* legatque suos.

437. Quarum quidquid non creditur ars est.

All that is most incredible (*i.e.* horrible) is their daily trade.

(H.'s note is 'ars est] quam profitentur. Sulpitius.')

550. 'Quodcunque' is questionable. Lucan is usually precise in such constructions. 'Quacunque...nudum...videt' is proposed in Weber's note.

BOOK VII.

26-29. Crastina dira quies et imagine maesta diurna

Undique funestas acies feret,
undique bellum.

Unde pares somnos populi noctemque beatam?

'To-morrow's night of horror haunted by the sad image of the day's events.'

'Imago diurna' suggests rather the following sense: 'To-morrow a dreadful dream will come, a waking vision of horror (οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐχθρόν), presenting to every glance the deadly ranks of battle.'

On l. 28 Mr. Haskins proceeds to resuscitate a view rightly condemned by Corte, that 'pares' is a verb (somnos populi, 'sleep such as the people enjoy'). Corte himself wished to read 'populis' (for which he cites several MSS.) in the sense of 'the Pompeian forces.'

Neither interpretation gives a sense at all relevant to the context:

O felix si te vel sic tua Roma videret!

Lucan wishes that Pompey and *the people of Rome* (utinam et idem contigisset populo Romano, *Schol.*) had met in the land of dreams (vel sic), if nowhere else, for a last farewell. And line 28 must, I think, lead up to this idea. 'Would that the people could enjoy like slumbers, a like night of bliss!' The genitive 'populi' is difficult, but not unintelligible (O for like slumber to *be theirs*, O that like slumbers were theirs!). The dat. is the usual construction, but with a 'populo' in the next line Lucan would avoid it.

144. Si liceat superis hominum conferre labores.

'*Sc.* superum laboribus, σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος.' comparatio compendiaria.

185-7. What wonder that the combatants were filled with fear? Romans

everywhere felt that trouble was impending. 'Populos' means the nations or contingents on the field of battle 'whose last hour had come.' H. says 'populos appears to refer to Romans living abroad,' quoting l. 436, which does not help him. This mistake forces him to attach an unnatural sense to 'lux extrema'—'the last day worth living.'

198. Aethera seu totum discordi obsistere caelo
Perspexitque polos.

Construe: aethera polosque obsistere perspexit.

202. Si cuncta perito
Augure mens hominum caeli nova
signa notasset
Spectari toto potuit Pharsalia
mundo.

'Cuncta mens hominum is probably equivalent to mens cunctorum hominum: perito augure, under the guidance of a skilful augur: but it is possible that "cuncta perito" should be taken together as "skilled in all things".' This is very unsatisfactory. 'Cuncta' must be taken with 'signa.' 'If through the eyes of a skilled augur the mind of man could have marked all the altered signs (constellations) of heaven, Pharsalia might have been read in the whole sky.' H. says 'all the *world* might have known that Pharsalia was being fought,' forgetting that this would have been expressed by *toto orbe* (*Schol.* in *toto caelo spectari Pharsalia potuisset*).

280. Sitque palam quas tot duxit Pompeius in urbem
Curribus unius gentes non esse triumphi.

'Are not *material* for a single triumph.' H. This is ambiguous at least. The meaning is, 'cannot *help him to a single triumph*,' 'to *one triumph*,' as the sequel shows.

675. Sed tu quoque, coniunx,
Causa fugae voltusque tui: fatisque
negatum
Te praesente mori.

H. takes '-que' disjunctively, 'but...,' a sense which it undoubtedly has in Lucan sometimes. It is better to make 'negatum' a third subject to the predicate 'causa,' and the fact that Cornelia was not there to see him fall' (omitting the colon after 'tui').

760. Decipitur quod castra rapit.

The singular decipitur is strange, when

the soldiers have just been spoken of in the plural (757, putabunt). Should we read 'decipitur qui castra rapit?' ('victor' in the case being Caesar).

792. Et Magni numerat populos.

H. quotes Caesar *B.C.* III. 99 for the number of Pompeians killed at Pharsalia (fifteen thousand). Perhaps 'counts the number of nations—nationalities—the Pompey had led.'

794. Cf. *Stat. Theb.* I. 702.

Assiduam pelago non quaerere Delon.

(Not to have to look for Delos, not to lool in vain for it, since it is no longer φορητή κυμάτεσσι παντοδαπῆς τ' ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι. quote this partly because Baehrens with his usual boldness printed 'nunc quaerere,' explaining '*nunc scripsi non codd.*').

BOOK VIII.

18. Gravis est Magno quicumque
malorum
Testis adest.

Not 'a danger to Magnus,' but oppressive to him. Magnus 'cannot bear to meet' any witness of his defeat.

44. Tristes praesagia curas
Exagitant

is rather 'besiege' or 'torment her sorrowful heart' than 'forebodings *excite* gloomy anxiety.'

BOOK IX.

211. Scire mori sors prima viris, sed
proxima cogi.

Mr. Haskins' translation does not make the contrast clear. 'Scire mori' would suggest by association 'consciscere sibi mortem.' The things contrasted are 'to find death by one's own hand,' and 'to have it thrust upon one.' So on 571 numquam successu crescat honestum, his translation is vague and unincisive ('the right never grows greater by success'). The meaning is 'an honourable cause is no *more* honourable because it succeeds.'

578. Why does Mr. Haskins adopt the cumbrous and infelicitous reading, 'estque...ubi...rather than estne...nisi...?'

579. 'Ultra' is rather 'beyond these,' 'elsewhere than in these' (terra, pontus, aer, caelum, virtus) than 'beyond ourselves.'

645. Numenque secundum
Phorcus aquis.

'The deity propitious to the waves.' H.

Perhaps rather, 'A God with only one above him'—Posidon; he is Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμῶς, like Proteus in *Od.* iv. Cf. IV. 110, sorte secunda, of Posidon himself, to whom Zeus is superior.

Book X.

321. If any quotation is wanted on

'multo murmure montis,' Horace's 'non sine montium clamore' would give the key to the sense most readily.

452. 'Non timuit fatumque sibi promisit iniquom' means 'he did not fear or look for an adverse issue.' This is the construction which Mr. Haskins explains in his note on I. 76. But he does not apply that explanation here, and takes the passage quite differently.

W. R. HARDIE.

THE BODLEIAN MS. OF PERSIUS, SAT. III.

Persius, Cod. Bodl. Auct. F. i. 15 (formerly No. 2455).

AFTER reading Mr. M. H. Morgan's note in the July number of the *Classical Review*, I have examined and collated this MS., and beg to send you the following notes on it, in hopes room may be found for them in the *Review*.

It consists of 16 ff. of vellum; the text is contained in 14 of the folios, 26 lines going to the page. The first folio merely contains the statement of Leofric's gift of the MS. to his cathedral, and the last is blank.

The size of the pages is 15 in. × 10 in.

It is beautifully written, each letter being most carefully formed. Mr. F. Madan pronounces it to be written in the tenth century, in Caroline minuscules, but showing peculiarities which clearly prove it to have been written in England. The open *g*'s are undoubtedly English, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson has pointed out to me that Runic letters are used as signs to mark the places to which marginal scholia refer. These scholia, both interlinear and marginal, are copious. They appear to be by the same hand as the text, and are certainly all or nearly all of the same date. The titles at the beginning, and at the beginning of each Book, and the first line of each Book, are painted in red and green capitals of various sizes. The first letter of each line throughout is a capital painted in red. There are no other capitals in the text.

It is bound up with four fragmentary ff. of a treatise of Boethius on the metres used by himself, and with 73 ff. containing Boethius's *De Consolatione*, the Persius coming at the end of the volume thus formed, which is strongly bound in white sheepskin. Mr.

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Madan tells me the style of the binding would of itself be enough to prove the volume came from Exeter, and he considers the binding certainly not later than the fourteenth century.

Its history from the time of Leofric is clear and uneventful. It bears, as stated above, an inscription in Latin and Old English, to the effect that Leofric, Bishop of Exeter, gave it to the cathedral there for the use of his successors. This inscription is confirmed by an Evangelium, Bodl. MS. Auct. D. ii. 16, which has at its beginning an inventory of land recovered for the cathedral by Leofric, and land, church furniture, and books presented to it by him. In this list occurs 'liber boetii de consolatione,' and (in another part of the list) 'liber persii.' These are clearly the two MSS. now bound up together.

It appears from Mr. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library* that when Bodley was collecting books for his new library, in the year 1602 (the very year in which it was solemnly opened), the Dean and Chapter of Exeter made him a munificent present of eighty-one Latin MSS. from their Chapter Library, where the books appear to have been getting very damp. Five at least of these volumes were among the gifts of Leofric to his church. Among them was our volume of Boethius and Persius, which has thus been in the Bodleian from the date of its opening.

To trace how the Persius MS. came into Leofric's hands is I suppose impossible.

Leofric was Bishop of Exeter from 1050, when the see was founded, to 1072, having been made Bishop of Crediton in 1046. He is variously described as a Burgundian, and as 'Britonicus,' which again is variously