THE VIRGILIAN BACKGROUND OF LUCAN'S FOURTH BOOK

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IN THE fourth book of his unfinished epic Lucan tells of Caesar's defeat of the Pompeian commanders Afranius and Petreius in Spain (1–401), of the suicide of a contingent of Caesarians trapped off the Dalmatian coast (402–581), and of the destruction near Carthage of Caesar's lieutenant Curio, whose temerarious courage brought disaster to his legions and to himself (581–824). Each section provides evidence that Virgil's major poems were constantly in Lucan's mind as he composed.[1]

Book 4 begins:

At procul extremis terrarum Caesar in oris
Martem saevus agit non multa caede nocentem
maxima sed fati ducibus momenta daturum.
iure pari rector castris Afranius illis
ac Petreius erat; concordia duxit in aequas
imperium commune vices [1–6].

It would be adventurous to consider *At procul* (1) a deliberate Virgilian echo,[2] but the remainder of Lucan's first two lines seems designed to recall *Georg.* 2. 170–72: "maxime Caesar, / qui nunc extremis Asiae iam victor in oris / imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum" and thus to contrast Caesar's savage warfare against his fellow citizens with Octavian's victories over a foreign enemy.[3]

Lucan proceeds to describe the terrain where Caesarians and Pompeians are about to clash:

colle tumet modico lenique excrevit in altum
pingue solum tumulo; super hunc fundata vetusta
surgit Ilerda manu; placidis praelabitur undis
Hesperios inter Sicoris non ultimus amnis [11–14].

A cluster of allusions to Virgilian descriptions of primeval Italy transforms for Virgilian readers the Spanish countryside to that fought over by Trojans and Latins in the latter books of the *Aeneid.* Ilerda becomes Caere; compare lines 12–13 with *Aen.* 8. 478–79: "saxo incolitur fundata vetusto / urbis Agyllinae sedes," and the Sicoris assumes the likeness of the Tiber as Lucan in lines 13–14 echoes *Aen.* 8. 64 (of the Tiber) *caelo gratissimus amnis, ibid.* 77: "corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum," and 2. 781–82, where Creusa foretells "et terram Hesperiam venies, ubi

1. More than 300 passages are cited by W. E. Heitland in his Preface to C. E. Haskins' edition of Lucan (London, 1887) in which Heitland believed Lucan was influenced by Virgil. For Lucan 4, forty-eight such instances are given (pp. cxiv–vii) of which fewer than a dozen have in fact any validity (59 ff. and *Georg.* 1. 427 ff.; 80–81 and *Georg.* 1. 380–81; 106–9 and *Georg.* 1. 233–36; 135–36 and *Georg.* 4. 288–89; 197–98 and *Aen.* 7. 109–10; 361 and *Aen.* 3. 493–94; 380 and *Georg.* 2. 506; 393 and *Georg.* 2. 490; 437–38 and *Georg.* 3. 372; 657 and *Georg.* 2. 172; 684 and *Georg.* 3. 340–45; 746 and *Aen.* 2. 309; 795 and *Georg.* 4. 86–87). Pertinent observations on the relation of Lucan to Virgil may be found in A. M. Guillemin, "L'inspiration Virgilienne dans la Pharsale," *REL,* XXIX (1951), 204–17 and in M. P. O. Morford, *The Poet Lucan* (New York, 1967). The present writers have examined Virgilian influence in Lucan's introductory verses and in portions of Books 5 and 9 in "Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence," *CP,* LXIII (1968), 1–21.

2. The expression *At procul* occurs in the Virgilian corpus only in *Aen.* 12. 869, ' At procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit . . . / infelix . . . Iuturna" (*procul* is found sixty times in Virgil) and in Lucan only here (*procul* is found in thirty-seven Lucanian passages), but it is problematical whether Lucan's use of the phrase would evoke *Aen.* 12. 869 for a Roman audience, however familiar with Virgil, nor is the artistic purpose of such an evocation apparent.

3. Lucan's opening lines may also contain resonances of *Georg.* 1. 511: "saevit toto Mars impius orbe" and of *Aen.* 12. 497–99:" (Aeneas) Marte secundo / terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem / suscitat." The description of arrangements in the Pompeian camp in lines 5–7: "concordia duxit in aequas / imperium commune vices, tutelaque valli / pervigil alterno paret custodia signo" may have been influenced by Virgil's description of the Trojan camp in *Aen.* 9, esp. 174–75 "omnis per muros legio sortita periclum / excubat exercetque vices, quod cuique tuendum est" and "communi portam statione tenebant" (*ibid.* 183). If this is so, the Virgilian reference is Lucan's first step in presenting the Spanish scene in a manner assimilating it to Italy at the time of Aeneas' arrival.

Lydius arva / inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris."[4]

Lines 24–48 deal with the initial sparring between Caesar and the forces of Petreius and Afranius in a rather perfunctory manner. On the first day "pudor arma furentum / continuit" (26–27), but on the following day the Pompeians occupy a hill which the Caesarians are preparing to seize, "huc hostem pariter terrorque pudorque / inpulit" (34–35). This last passage parallels Virgil's words of Pallas' Arcadians resuming the battle after being routed by the Rutulians, "mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostes" (*Aen.* 10. 398). A little later Lucan echoes the Arcadian episode a second time in *caedunt ense viam* (43), which corresponds to Pallas' adjuration to his faltering troops "ferro rumpenda per hostes / est via" (*Aen.* 10. 372–73). How or why the Virgilian passage came to Lucan's mind here is not clear; that it did, however, helps to maintain the Virgilian atmosphere the poet has been concerned with creating.

For the next hundred lines (48–147) Lucan devotes himself to the congenial task of describing a torrential downpour that flooded the Spanish countryside and made military operations impossible. Here his chief aim appears to have been to out-Ovid Ovid, and Lucan's deluge is essentially an *amplificatio ad absurdum* of Ovid's flood in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*.[5] Here and there amid the Ovidian adaptations are short Virgilian reminiscences. Winter with its dry north winds, Lucan declares, retained the rain at first in the clouds, "pigro bruma gelu siccisque Aquilonibus haerens / . . . pluvias in nube tenebat" (50–51), which recalls *Georg.* 2. 315–17: "nec tibi . . . quisquam persuadeat auctor / tellurem Borea rigidam spirante movere. / rura gelu tunc claudit hiems," together with *ibid.* 334: "actum caelo magnis Aquilonibus imbrem." Lucan's statement that Spain had become dry owing to clear winter weather, "aruerat . . . hiberno . . . sereno" (55), shows the influence of *Georg.* 1. 100: "umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas," and when Lucan's downpour begins it is so cataclysmic that it blots out the flashes of lightning that accompany it, "nec servant fulmina flammas / quamvis crebra micent" (77–78). By echoing "crebris micat ignibus aether" (*Aen.* 1. 90) Lucan indicates that his Spanish cloudburst dwarfs the storm that swept Aeneas to Africa.[6]

An immediate consequence of the flood was a severe shortage of food, "saeva fames aderat . . . toto censu non prodigus emit / exiguam Cererem. pro lucri pallida tabes! / non dest prolato ieiunus venditor auro" (94–97). Lucan's indignant exclamation may be compared with Virgil's similar one in *Aen.* 3. 56–57: "quid non mortalia pectora cogis / auri sacra fames," and Virgil's description of the Harpies as having *pallida . . . / ora fame* (*Aen.* 3. 217–18) may have suggested the adjective. (Lucan's *exiguam Cererem* [96] echoes *exiguam in Cererem* [*Aen.* 7. 113], where the table-eating prophesied by the Harpy Celaeno in *Aen.* 3. 255 ff. comes to pass.) The downpour continues until the entire landscape is submerged, "condidit una palus vastaque voragine mersit" (99). Lucan here effectively echoes *Aen.* 6. 296–

4. It is curious to note that line 11 and the beginning of twelve seem to have a more than fortuitous resemblance to the burial mound of the gnat as described in *Culex* 394–95: "congestum cumulavit opus, atque aggere multo / telluris tumulus formatum crevit in orbem." Lucan's *placidis . . . undis* (13) reflects *Aen.* 8. 88: "in morem . . . placidae . . . paludis" and *ibid.* 96: *placido aequore*, both of the Tiber. The expression *campos . . . patentis* (19) is found in *Aen.* 4. 153 and 5. 552 but Lucan does not appear to have either Virgilian passage in mind.

5. For particulars see O. C. Phillips, *Ovid and Lucan* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1962), pp. 31 ff.

6. The subsequent details "iam naufraga campo / Caesaris arma natant, inpulsaque gurgite multo / castra labant" (87–89) are adapted from *Aen.* 1. 118–19: "apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto, / arma virum . . ." and show that Virgil's storm here lingered in Lucan's mind.

97: "vasta . . . voragine gurges / aestuat" of Acheron (cf. *aestus*, *BC* 4. 102) and *Stygiam . . . paludem* (*ibid.* 323). The storm brings such darkness that day cannot be distinguished from night, "rerum discrimina miscet / deformis caeli facies iunctaeque tenebrae" (104–5). This round-the-clock gloom is thus described by Lucan:

sic mundi pars ima iacet, quam zona nivalis
perpetuaeque premunt hiemes: non sidera caelo
ulla videt, sterili non quicquam frigore gignit
sed glacie medios signorum temperat ignes [106–9].

It has long been recognized that Lucan here uses a Virgilian depiction of antarctic darkness:

mundus, ut ad Scythiam Riphaeasque arduus arces
consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in Austros.
hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum
sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.
maximus hic flexu sinuoso elabitur Anguis
circum perque duas in morem fluminis Arctos,
Arctos Oceani metuentes aequore tingui.
illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox,
semper et obtenta densentur nocte tenebrae
[*Georg.* 1. 240–48].[7]

The similarities between Lucan's adaptation and Virgil's original are sufficiently marked to justify the assumption that Lucan wished his audience to recognize his model, and that he was confident he would not suffer by comparison.[8]

Finally the rain stops and the flood subsides. Coracles are improvised from ox-hides stretched over wicker frames to navigate the swollen Sicoris. Lucan compares these to the papyrus skiffs used by the Egyptians when the Nile overflows its banks. Lucan's "salix . . . / texitur in puppem caesoque inducta iuvenco / . . . tumidum super emicat amnem" (131–33) curiously incorporates a phrase from *Georg.* 4. 284, *caesis . . . iuvencis*, of the slaughtering of bullocks so that bees may come from their putrefying corpses, but Lucan's chief reference here and in the immediately following "sic Venetus stagnante Pado fusoque Britannus / navigat Oceano; sic, cum tenet omnia Nilus, / conseritur bibula Memphitis cumba papyro" (134–36) is to *Georg.* 4. 287–89: "nam qua Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi / accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum / et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis" and his chief motive appears to be a desire to correct Virgil's vague reference to the Egyptian craft by a precise and accurate description. Purely poetic rivalry also played a part: Lucan cites three localities where coracles are used, whereas Virgil mentions only the region of the Nile.

Petreius soon sees that the Caesarians are gaining the upper hand in the vicinity of Ilerda and decides to withdraw into the Spanish hinterland, "celsam Petreius Ilerdam / deserit et . . . / indomitos quaerit populos . . . / . . . et tendit in ultima mundi" (144–47); here several phrases have a Virgilian ring. We may compare *Aen.* 3. 293: *celsam Buthroti . . . urbem*[9] and *ibid.* 8. 727–28: "extremique hominum Morini . . . indomitique Dahae." To do this he must pass through a narrow defile, which Lucan thus depicts:

attollunt campo geminae iuga saxea rupes
valle cava media; tellus hinc ardua celsos
continuat colles, tutae quos inter opaco
anfractu latuere viae; quibus hoste potito
faucibus emitti terrarum in devia Martem
inque feras gentes Caesar videt [157–62].

7. A. E. Housman (ed. *ad* 106) comments "mundi partem imam non facile aliam esse posse quam plagam antarcticam (uide e.g. Verg. georg. 1. 240–3) Burmannus sensit; sed cur illa potius quam septentrionalis . . . commemoretur non apparet." Lucan is here concerned with darkness. According to the Virgilian lines Lucan here adapts, darkness is an attribute of the antarctic, not the arctic, zone.

8. Lucan's attitude toward poetic "borrowing" resembles that of Ovid, which is well exemplified by Gallio's remark in Seneca *Suas.* 3. 7 that Ovid borrowed "hoc animo ut agnosci vellet," with the difference that Ovid is principally concerned with exhibiting his superior poetic virtuosity, whereas this is only one of the motives behind Lucan's "borrowings" and "imitations."

9. Cf. also *Aen.* 5. 439: *celsam . . . urbem* and 8. 65: *celsis . . . urbibus*.

Lucan's defile recalls in a number of respects the defile in which Turnus sets an ambush for Aeneas in the eleventh *Aeneid*. In adapting Virgil's defile in such a manner that the source of his version would be recognized by his audience Lucan continues the assimilation of the Spanish scene to the Italian countryside at the time of Aeneas' arrival in Italy, as Virgil imagined it. In *Aen.* 11. 513–16 Turnus discusses operational plans with the Volscian warrior maiden, Camilla. Aeneas, he tells her, has sent out a squadron of horse to reconnoiter while he himself is going to approach Latinus' city by a deserted mountain route: "ipse ardua montis / per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem. / furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae, / ut bivias armato obsidam milite fauces." Physical similarity is reinforced by verbal correspondences.

Virgil goes on to describe the site of the ambush in detail:

> est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
> armorumque dolis, quam densis frondibus atrum
> urget utrimque latus, tenuis quo semita ducit
> angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.
> hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis
> planities ignota iacet tutique receptus
> [*Aen.* 11. 522–27].

Readers will have noted Lucan has taken over Virgil's *anfractu* and *fauces*, changed *semita* and *tuti . . . receptus* to *tutae . . . viae* and substituted *opaco* for Virgil's *atrum* to designate the darkness of the ravine. By thus evoking the site of Turnus' ambush Lucan continues his assimilation of the Spanish field of operations between Caesarians and Pompeians to the primeval Italy of Aeneas and Turnus, thus implicitly suggesting the correspondence between the present fratricidal conflict and that between Trojans and Italians, whose ultimate fusion gave rise to the Roman people. Lucan proceeds to make this correspondence more explicit.

Unable to reach the pass, the entrance to which is blocked by the Caesarian force, the Pompeians encamp in the immediate vicinity. The armies are so close to one another that friends and kinsmen on the opposing sides recognize one another, and soon fraternization begins, with Caesarians strolling about peacefully in the Pompeian camp, "mox, ut stimulis maioribus ardens / rupit amor leges, audet transcendere vallum / miles" (174–76). Virgil repeatedly employs *stimulus* in a figurative sense, but invariably with reference to a malefic emotion, especially of bellicose passion.[10] Recognition of this enhances the effect of Lucan's use of the word in a pacific context. A similar start results when we note that *rupit amor leges* (175) inversely echoes Virgil's lament at the end of the first *Georgic*: "vicinae ruptis se legibus urbes / arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe" (510–11). Lucan illustrates the remorse of the soldiers at having fought against each other with a series of rhetorical questions, terminating "quid, vaesane, gemis? fletus quid fundis inanis / nec te sponte tua sceleri parere fateris?" (183–84). Readers will recall *Aen.* 4. 449: *lacrimae volvuntur inanes*; and that Lucan had this passage in mind is supported by the accompanying echo of Aeneas' protestation "Italiam non sponte sequor" (*Aen.* 4. 361);[11] Lucan at the same time (and more directly) makes allusion to Hercules' sigh and tears at not being able to save Pallas: "audiit Alcides iuvenem magnumque sub imo / corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis" (*Aen.* 10. 464–65).[12]

10. E.g., *Aen.* 7. 405, 9. 718, and 11. 452 and 728 of martial rage; in *Aen.* 7. 405 of Bacchic frenzy; and in *Aen.* 11. 337 of jealousy. In *Georg.* 3. 210: *caeci stimulos . . . amoris* the *amor* is the wild *eros* that possesses animals in rut, not the humane sentiment that brings about Lucan's fraternization.

11. Lucan's adaptation suggests that he understood the tears of *Aen.* 4. 449 to be those of Aeneas alone, as those of 10. 465 are those of Hercules.

12. In concluding his exclamatory comments on the fraternization Lucan declares that the troops should ignore orders

Pompeians and Caesarians now proceed to make ready a meal in common:

> duro concordes caespite mensas
> instituunt et permixto libamina Baccho;
> graminei luxere foci, iunctoque cubili
> extrahit insomnis bellorum fabula noctes
> [197–200].

Here the evocation of two Virgilian scenes is unmistakable. Lucan has principally in mind the preparations for the duel the result of which would determine a perpetual pact between Italians and Trojans as set forth in the last book of the *Aeneid*: "Rutulique viri Teucrique parabant / in medioque focos et dis communibus aras / gramineas" (*Aen.* 12. 117–19), but combines with this a reference to the Rutulians beleaguering the Trojans encamped near the mouth of the Tiber:

> discurrunt variantque vices, fusique per herbam
> indulgent vino et vertunt crateras aenos.
> conlucent ignes, noctem custodia ducit
> insomnem ludo [*Aen.* 9. 164–67].

When Petreius learns of the informal *foedera pacis* (205) he orders his men to slaughter their Caesarian visitors, and "multo disturbat sanguine pacem" (210). The agreement which King Latinus declares will last for ever, "nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet" (*Aen.* 12. 202), is similarly dissolved in bloodshed before it can be ratified. Petreius exhorts his men to take up arms against the Caesarians in an allocution that owes something to that by which Juturna (having assumed the shape of Camers) impels the Italians to resume fighting rather than let Turnus decide the war by single combat with Aeneas. The false Camers begins by shaming the Italians for failing in their responsibility, *non pudet* (*Aen.* 12. 229), whereas Petreius upbraids his men for forgetting their patriotic duty, *inmemor o patriae* (212). Petreius goes on to make the point that if his men do not fight the best they can expect is to be treated by Caesar no worse than his other slaves: "ibitis ad dominum damnataque signa feretis, / utque habeat famulos nullo discrimine Caesar / exorandus erit?" (217–19). Lucan's questions stem from Camers' declaration that Turnus will live in glory whereas the Italians, if they passively let him sacrifice himself, will be enslaved, "nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis / cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus arvis" (*Aen.* 12. 236–37). Combined with this Virgilian allusion is an echo of *Aen.* 1. 575, "Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur," with its suggestion if not of slavery at least of abandonment of the Trojans' mission if they accept Dido's offer to settle in Africa as her subjects. (Jupiter's declaration of impartiality, "Tros Rutulusne fuat, nullo discrimine habebo" [*Aen.* 10. 108], despite verbal correspondence is irrelevant to the Lucanian situation and may therefore be disregarded.) On the other hand, toward the end of Petreius' speech his exclamation *pro dira pudoris / funera*! (231–32) pointedly recalls Camers' initial *non pudet* (*Aen.* 12. 229).[13] Lucan's

to fight, "signa ferat, cessa: iam iam civilis Erinys / concidet et Caesar generum privatus amabit" (187–88). *Civilis Erinys* is the *furor* (1. 8) that drove the Romans to slaughter one another, like the Trojans and Latins in the *Aeneid*. Erinys in the *Aeneid* is used of Helen on the night of Troy's sack (2. 573) and of the chaotic melee on this occasion (2. 337), and in particular of the Fury Allecto, who provokes the internecine warfare between Trojans and Italians (7. 447, 456, and 570). According to Virgil *furor* is ultimately confined behind the closed doors of the temple of Janus, that is to say, with the death of Turnus and the victory at Actium *furor* was brought to heel. Lucan on the other hand would seem to hold that the civil wars ended with the triumph of *furor*, for in a passage that pointedly alludes to Virgil's picture of *furor* bound and confined (*Aen.* 1. 291 ff.) Lucan envisages the doors of this temple as still open in his day, and foresees their closing accompanied with universal peace only when Nero ascends to the skies (1. 60 ff.).

13. The correspondence of "toto fatorum ignarus in orbe, / Magne, paras acies" (232–33) with Venus' complaint that there can be no justification for peace while disaster is menacing the Trojans and *Aeneas ignarus abest* (*Aen.* 10. 25) is clear; Lucan has shifted the blame from Jupiter to the Pompeian soldiers guilty of betraying their absent leader, but the allusion loses none of its effectiveness thereby.

comment immediately following Petreius' conclusion, "sic fatur et omnis / concussit mentes scelerumque reduxit amorem" (235–36), parallels Virgil's "sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro" (*Aen.* 12. 282), of the Italians spurred to resume fighting by the taunts of the augur Tolumnius and his interpretation of a portent sent by Juturna at Juno's command.[14] Lucan now compares the Pompeian troops, their passion for bloodshed excited by Petreius' harangue, to wild animals that have been tamed and lost their fierceness, but regain it upon tasting blood, "redeunt rabiesque furorque / admonitaeque tument gustato sanguine fauces; / fervet et a trepido vix abstinet ira magistro" (240–42). Lucan's comparison is a variation upon a Virgilian one likening Turnus, as he begins his assault on the Trojan stockade, in violation of the pact between Latins and Trojans, to a wolf long famished of blood angrily stalking sheep in their fold, "ille asper et improbus ira / saevit in absentis, collecta fatigat edendi / ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces: / haud aliter Rutulo muros et castra tuenti / ignescunt irae" (*Aen.* 9. 62–66). Virgil stresses the understandable anger of the Rutulian chief, whereas Lucan by his simile implies that the Roman soldiers revert to a state of bloodlust so indiscriminate that they all but attack their own leader. Peaceful reconciliation has become monstrous massacre:

itur in omne nefas, et quae fortuna deorum
invidia caeca bellorum in nocte tulisset,
fecit monstra fides. inter mensasque torosque
quae modo conplexu foverunt pectora caedunt;
et quamvis primo ferrum strinxere gementes,
ut dextrae iusti gladius dissuasor adhaesit,
dum feriunt, odere suos, animosque labantis
confirmant ictu. fervent iam castra tumultu, 250
ac, velut occultum pereat scelus, omnia monstra 252
in facie posuere ducum: iuvat esse nocentis
[243–53].

The rupture of the Virgilian truce was caused by divine jealousy, specifically that of Juno, who had brought it about through the actions of her agent Juturna. Juno's *invidia* pursues the Trojans from the beginning of the *Aeneid* almost to its end, witness the Dido episode and the initial outbreak of warfare between Italians and Trojans soon after Aeneas' arrival in Italy (cf. the poet's description of the Trojans as a *genus invisum* in Juno's eyes in 1. 28 and Juno's cry *Heu stirpem invisam* upon learning of the pledges of peace between Aeneas and Latinus in 7. 293). Juno's *invidia*, together with Tolumnius' mistaken interpretation of a portent for which Juno was responsible, brought about the breaking of the truce in the twelfth *Aeneid* and the carnage that ensued. The informal truce resulting from the fraternization of Pompeians and Caesarians is disrupted, Lucan intimates, not by divine *invidia* but, paradoxically, by the *fides* of Petreius' soldiers to their military sacrament.

Virgilian reminiscences continue, bringing out similarities and differences between Lucan's scene and its Virgilian counterpart. Virgil's blind onrush and his drawing of swords: "pars gladios stringunt manibus, pars missile ferrum / corripiunt caecique ruunt" (*Aen.* 12. 278–79) are reflected in lines 244–50 of the Lucanian passage (Lucan has incorporated here a development of Aeneas' fierce slaughter once his sword had become warm with gore, *ut simul intepuit mucro* [*Aen.* 10. 570]), and the Virgilian contrast between the setting and the violence that there takes place as fighting rages in the midst of the altars and

14. Cf. Allecto's engagement to arouse warlike frenzy throughout Italy "accendamque animos insani Martis amore" (*Aen.* 7. 550).

other appurtenances assembled for solemnizing the agreement between Latins and Trojans, "diripuere aras, it toto turbida caelo / tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber, / craterasque focosque ferunt" (*Aen.* 12. 283–85) reappears in Lucan's verses 245 and 246. Notable also is the correspondence between his *fervent iam castra tumultu* (250) and Virgil's *calefactaque corda tumultu* (*Aen.* 12. 269). Lucan, however, allows no external influence, no supernatural force, to mitigate the guilt of his Romans; they produce their own *monstra*, and exhibit them with perverse delectation. The epigrammatic conclusion to Lucan's fraternization episode, *iuvat esse nocentis* (253) reflects Virgil's *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum* (*Georg.* 2. 510), which is found in the declamatory finale to the second *Georgic* where Virgil compares urban and rustic life to the disadvantage of the former. Lucan deftly adapts Virgil's generality to a specific instance. This passage remains in Lucan's mind, and will shortly contribute to his eulogy of the country life as lived by the Pompeians who refuse to join Caesar's forces after their capitulation, but retire to a life of rustic simplicity which the poet provides for them (373–401), a eulogy consisting in great part of material taken from this Virgilian finale (*Georg.* 2. 458–540).[15]

Caesar, although he lost many soldiers, recognized that the incident had been to his advantage, since here his side had been the better one. The reason for this moral advantage, although Lucan is not explicit, is that the Pompeians, not the Caesarians, began the massacre. Lucan's diction, "tu, Caesar . . . / agnoscis superos" (254–55) echoes that of the Rutulian augur Tolumnius, who interprets a false portent sent by Juturna as assurance of victory over the Trojans, "accipio agnoscoque deos; me, me duce ferrum / corripite" (*Aen.* 12. 260–61). The Rutulians then proceed to break the pact between themselves and the Trojans, to their sorrow. In both poems the transgressors lose their cause, the difference being that in the *Aeneid* it is *pietas* that is ultimately triumphant whereas Caesarian *furor* prevails in Lucan's poem.

From the beginning of this book Lucan, as has been seen, is at pains to present the scene of conflict between Caesarians and Pompeians in Spain in a light that assimilates it to the primeval Italy of the second part of the *Aeneid*. His audience is thus prepared for his use of Virgilian echo and allusion to evoke the breaking of the truce between Italians and Trojans as background to the fraternization and subsequent carnage that took place between fellow Romans in Spain. Lucan employs this device to demonstrate that the Spanish episode was similar to, but more monstrous than, its Virgilian prototype, the bloodshed of which resulted in lasting peace and a stock that, according to Virgil, was to surpass the gods in *pietas*. Lucan's Romans attack unarmed kinsmen and friends in an act of horrifying *impietas*, and produce their own *monstra*, needing none from the gods.

15. Lucan's *animosque labantis / confirmant* (249–50) shows verbal correspondence with *Aen.* 4. 22–23: *animumque labantem / impulit* (Dido to Anna of Aeneas) as well as with *vulgi . . . labantia corda* (*ibid.* 12. 223; the *vulgus* is the Latin force that Juturna in the guise of Camers is about to incite to violence, in a passage Lucan has used for Petreius' exhortation). The repulsive *Schadenfreude* of the aroused Pompeians, the delight in evil for evil's sake that Lucan brings out with *iuvat esse nocentis*, has something in common with Drances' pleasure in toadying to the Trojans and at the same time gratifying his hate of Turnus indicated by "saxaque subvectare umeris Troiana iuvabit" (*Aen.* 11. 131, from Drances' offer of active collaboration with the Trojan invaders), and it may be more than coincidence that *fervent iam castra tumultu* (250) resembles "unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant" (*Aen.* 11. 132, of the reaction of Drances' fellow envoys to his proposal). The verb *noceo*, it may be noted, is a thematic word in Lucan's poem; forms of it occur fifty-eight times. The *Aeneid* contains four instances of its use, all having to do with Juno's passionate hatred of the Trojans (5. 618, 6. 694, and 7. 337 and 511, the last two of the Fury Allecto), and reflects the poet's preoccupation with *furor*, the principal motivating force of his epic (cf. 1. 8: *quis furor*, and *passim*—there are forty-seven more occurrences of the noun).

Following the attempt at fraternization Pompeians and Caesarians withdraw to the vicinity of Ilerda. Caesar contrives to debar his adversaries from access to water, and avoiding a clash that might turn to his disadvantage, settles down to let thirst bring about their submission (259–318). Lucan appears to take but a perfunctory interest in these tactical maneuvers, and his account of them contains almost no Virgilian allusions. Only when he comes to Caesar's order to his men not to meet the challenge of the desperate Pompeians, "'tela tene iam, miles,' ait 'ferrumque ruenti / subtrahe: non ullo constet mihi sanguine bellum'" (273–74), do we encounter an apparent reminiscence of Turnus' "parcite iam, Rutuli, et vos tela inhibete, Latini; / quaecumque est fortuna, mea est" (*Aen.* 12. 693–94). Lucan's use of Virgil's words for the order to suspend fighting emphasizes the contrast between Turnus' willingness to sacrifice himself for his countrymen and the calculated self-interest behind Caesar's superficially humane order.[16]

Military action ceases with the frustration of the Pompeian assault, and Lucan devotes his attention to the sufferings of the Pompeians now deprived of water. In "iamque inopes undae primum tellure refossa / occultos latices abstrusaque flumina quaerunt" (292–93) it is curious to note resonances of *Moretum* 70: "occultae committere semina terrae" and 87: *digitis tellure refossa*, and of *Aen.* 6. 6–7: "quaerit pars semina flammae / abstrusa in venis silicis," *semina* being, it would seem, the associative link in Lucan's memory between *Moretum* 70 and the passage of the *Aeneid*. In the following lines, "nec solum rastris durisque ligonibus arva / sed gladiis fodere suis" (294–95), the frantic efforts of the Pompeians to come upon water hark back to Virgil's *rastris terram rimantur* (*Georg.* 3. 534, since oxen to pull the plows are stricken by the plague), and to *Culex* 391–92: "ferri capulum repetivit in usum, / gramineam viridi fodiens de caespite terram" (whether the *ferrum* here is in fact a sword or, as Forbiger suggests *ad loc.* "*ferri capulus* de ligone videtur intelligendus *esse*," a mattock is hardly material, since Lucan as his reference indicates understood it to be the former). A fleeting echo of *Georg.* 2. 212–13: "nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris / vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat" appears in "antra nec exiguo stillant sudantia rore / aut inpulsa levi turbatur glarea vena" (301–2). Finally, the repulsiveness of Lucan's "rituque ferarum / distentas siccant pecudes, et lacte negato / sordidus exhausto sorbetur ab ubere sanguis" (313–15) is given emphasis by reminiscences of the idyllic atmosphere of Virgil's *Eclogues*, notably of 2. 42: "bina die siccant ovis ubera," of 4. 21–22: "ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae / ubera," and of 9. 31: "cytiso pastae distendant ubera vaccae."

The verbal correspondence between *Georg.* 3. 352–53: "neque ullae / aut herbae campo apparent aut arbore frondes" and "tunc herbas frondesque terunt" (316) may well be accidental, but the same can hardly be said of that between Lucan's immediately following "et rore madentis / distringunt ramos" (316–17) and *Aen.* 5. 854: "ramum Lethaeo rore madentem" (of the

16. Virgilian color is maintained by the similarity between "ad certam devotos tendere mortem" (272, of the desperate Pompeians attempting to engage Caesar's troops) and *Aen.* 1. 712: *pesti devota futurae* (Dido) and between *invisa luce* (276, of the attitude of the Pompeians) and *Aen.* 4. 631: *invisam . . . abrumpere lucem* (of Dido, resolved to destroy herself). Caesar's *cadat impetus amens* (279; he is ordering that his men refrain from meeting the challenge of the Pompeians so that their fervor may subside) parallels *Aen.* 2. 73–74: "compressus et omnis / impetus," of the Trojans after hearing Sinon's first words, but whether Lucan consciously designed thereby to suggest that Caesar was acting with Sinonian guile is a matter for individual decision.

branch with which Somnus put Palinurus to sleep). It is however not clear why Lucan here appropriated the Virgilian words. Evocation of the Palinurus passage is out of place, and its intrusion here would seem a technical lapse on Lucan's part.

Technically more adroit use is made of several passages of the *Georgics* in the subsequent verses that set forth the plight of the waterless Pompeians:

> o fortunati, fugiens quos barbarus hostis
> fontibus inmixto stravit per rura veneno.
> hos licet in fluvios saniem tabemque ferarum,
> pallida Dictaeis, Caesar, nascentia saxis
> infundas aconita palam, Romana iuventus
> non decepta bibet [319–24].

Lucan opens with an echo of Virgil's eulogy of the countryman's life in the second *Georgic*, which begins "o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint / agricolas" (458–59). For Virgil's farmers the land pours forth all that they need in generous plenty, "fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus" (460), far from the alarms of war, "procul discordibus armis" (459). Lucan's Pompeians are in a situation diametrically opposed to that of the farmers of the *Georgics*. Their deprivation is so agonizing that they would welcome water into which poisonous aconite had been poured, after the fashion of routed barbarians who poison the water-points along the route of their flight. Lucan's reference to aconite evokes *Georg.* 2. 152: "nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis," where the absence of this poisonous plant is one of the features that render the Italian countryside, in Virgil's eulogy, superior to all others. The physical effects of prolonged thirst are described in a manner that reflects Ovid's account of the plague at Aegina in the seventh book of the *Metamorphoses* (544 ff.) together with Virgil's epizooty that concludes the third *Georgic*, a passage much in Ovid's mind as he composed. To the extent Lucan's Virgilian touches suggest that the Pompeians are reduced to the miserable state of Virgil's diseased beasts they increase the horror of their predicament.[17]

Lack of water forces the Pompeians to capitulate. Afranius goes to Caesar to ask for terms, requesting that his troops be allowed to lay down their arms rather than be enrolled in Caesar's army. Here the embassy of the Latins to Aeneas requesting a truce to bury those killed in the preceding battle seems to have been in Lucan's mind, but the analogy is no more than suggested by "veniam securo pectore poscit" (343, of Afranius addressing Caesar), which corresponds to *Aen.* 11. 101: *veniamque rogantes* (of the Latin envoys to Aeneas) together with *ibid.* 106–7: "quos bonus Aeneas . . . / prosequitur venia," the response of Aeneas setting the pattern for Lucan's Caesar who "facilis voltuque serenus / flectitur atque usus belli poenamque remittit" (363–64). It is surprising to find Caesar acting with this magnanimity of Aeneas. Lucan to be sure does not go so far as to call him *bonus*, but does represent him as genuinely moved by Afranius' appeal as Aeneas was by that of the Latin envoys. In granting Afranius' plea with uncharacteristic disinterestedness Caesar for an instant is divested of his Lucanian *furor* and made by his conduct to reflect the *pietas* of Virgil's Aeneas. This would appear to be an incidental effect of Lucan's allusion which the poet did not foresee.

Afranius' plea to Caesar stresses his fidelity to his lawful superiors together

17. Cf. "oraque sicca rigent squamosis aspera linguis" (325) with *Georg.* 3. 508: "obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua"; both poets moreover stress difficulty in breathing (cf. 326 f. and *Georg.* 3. 505–7), without, however, precise verbal correspondence. Lucan's detail, on the other hand, that the heavy groans of the suffering Pomepians rend their palates (328) not only resembles the thought of Virgil's "discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus" (*Georg.* 3. 514), since in each instance the sufferers in their agony inflicted injury upon themselves, but the correspondence is reinforced by the similarity between *rescisso* and *discissos*, each the opening word of its verse.

with his lack of partisan animosity to Caesar; he alleges that the sole desire of his force is to retire from the conflict. (So far as this applies to Afranius himself, it is pure fantasy on Lucan's part, since Afranius continued to fight for the republican cause until he was caught and killed in Mauretania by the Caesarian freebooter P. Sittius, after the Pompeian rout at Thapsus). Afranius pleads in part:

nos denique bellum
invenit civile duces, causaeque priori,
dum potuit, servata fides. nil fata moramur:
tradimus Hesperias gentes, aperimus Eoas,
securumque orbis patimur post terga relicti
. . . . . nec magna petuntur:
otia des fessis, vitam patiaris inermis
degere quam tribuis. campis prostrata iacere
agmina nostra putes . . . . . .
. . . . . turba haec sua fata peregit.
hoc petimus, victos ne tecum vincere cogas
[349–62].

Lucan's expressions for faith preserved and desire for an existence without conflict strikingly reflect Dido's complaint in *Aen.* 4. 550–52: "non licuit . . . sine crimine vitam / degere . . . / non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo" together with her *novissima verba*, "vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi" (*Aen.* 4. 653). The influence of Aeneas' farewell words to Helenus and Andromache as he prepares to leave Epirus on his westward journey is no less plain, "vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua: nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur. / vobis parta quies" (*Aen.* 3. 493–95). Lucan's "campis prostrata iacere / agmina nostra putes" (358–59) again recalls the embassy sent by the Latins to ask Aeneas for the bodies of their dead, "corpora, per campos ferro quae fusa iacebant" (*Aen.* 11. 102), thus continuing the parallel between Caesar's victorious permissiveness and the conciliatory attitude of Aeneas toward his shaken opponents already indicated.

With Caesar's acceptance of Afranius' capitulation the water-starved Pompeians run to the nearby streams to drink their fill. Their impassioned draughts of the water of which they had long been deprived prompt some observations by the poet on the merits of frugality. This is followed by considerations on the wretchedness of war in general and on civil warfare under Caesar's command in particular, and ends with an idyllic picture of the happy country life the retired Pompeians may expect, viewing the conflict between Caesar and Pompey without partisan bias, since on the one hand they are obliged to Caesar for allowing them to leave active service and on the other hand do not forget that they once served on the Pompeian side. This characteristically Lucanian outburst reminds us and is meant to remind us of Virgil's incomparable *laudes vitae rusticae* that form the climax of his second *Georgic* (458–540). Lucan begins by exclaiming:

o prodiga rerum
luxuries numquam parvo contenta paratis
et quaesitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
ambitiosa fames et lautae gloria mensae,
discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam
et quantum natura petat. non erigit aegros
nobilis ignoto diffusus consule Bacchus,
non auro murraque bibunt, sed gurgite puro
vita redit. satis est populis fluviusque Ceresque
[373–81].

Behind these verses may be discerned the opening lines of Virgil's eulogy:

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus;
. . . . . .
nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi
at secura quies et nescia fallere vita
. . . . . .
et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus
[*Georg.* 2. 458–72].

Lucan has retouched after his fashion the Virgilian *laudes* of the simple country life, but his original is unmistakable. There are the same initial exclamations, and the same

references to simple fare. Lucan develops the gastronomic theme more than does Virgil. Where Virgil has suggested simplicity by reference to the easy sustenance the earth provides (460) Lucan (375–76) is more specific, and the additional luxury of old and distinguished wines with the gastronomic sophistication it indicates which Lucan mentions in lines 378–80 corresponds to Virgil's reference to the perfuming of the staple olive oil with the costly spice cassia (466). Finally Lucan's "non auro murraque bibunt" (380) is his version of Virgil's *ut gemma bibat* (506), which occurs some lines later in Virgil's eulogy.

Lucan proceeds to contrast the rustic life with the military one, to the disadvantage of the latter. Virgil had suggested this with his *procul discordibus armis* (459) which seems represented by Lucan's *tunc arma relinquens*, the terminating words of verse 382. The opening exclamation "heu miseri qui bella gerunt!" (382) again echoes, in negative form, Virgil's opening "O fortunatos nimium . . . agricolas" (458–59). Lucan continues with the statement that the disarmed Pompeians, free and without care, return to their various communities, "miles . . . / . . . suas curarum liber in urbes / spargitur" (383–85) bringing to mind the *secura quies* of the Virgilian countryman (467; cf. Lucan's *securis*, with reference to the retired Pompeians, in 398) together with the peaceful dominion of Helenus over Greek cities (*Aen.* 3. 295: "Graias regnare per urbis"). The parallel between the pacific life awaiting the Pompeians and that finally attained by Helenus and Andromache in Epirus is further suggested by the correspondence *donata pace potitos* (385) and Virgil's *vobis parta quies* (*Aen.* 3. 495), and the influence of this portion of the third *Aeneid* is also discernible in Lucan's remark that Caesar's victorious troops must keep on fighting indefinitely:

> nempe usis Marte secundo
> tot dubiae restant acies, tot in orbe labores,
> ut numquam fortuna labet successibus anceps,
> vincendum totiens; terras fundendus in omnis
> est cruor et Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus
> [388–92].

This is an adaptation of Virgil's "nos [the Trojans] alia ex aliis in fata vocamur. / vobis parta quies: nullum maris aequor arandum / arva neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro / quaerenda" (*Aen.* 3. 494–97).[18] The similarity between Lucan and Virgil here resides more in sentiment than in diction, but between Lucan's "Caesar per tot sua fata sequendus" (392) and *Aen.* 3. 494 there is also significant verbal correspondence.[19]

Lucan's pseudo idyl concludes with a picture of the relative felicity of the Pompeians who have returned to their mean farms, from which, with passive impartiality, they observe the continuing civil warfare:

> felix qui potuit mundi nutante ruina
> quo iaceat iam scire loco. non proelia fessos
> ulla vocant, certos non rumpunt classica somnos.
> iam coniunx natique rudes et sordida tecta
> et non deductos recipit sua terra colonos.
> hoc quoque securis oneris fortuna remisit,
> sollicitus menti quod abest favor: ille salutis
> est auctor, dux ille fuit. sic proelia soli
> felices nullo spectant civilia voto [393–401].

Lucan's vignette is introduced by a *fortissimo* echo of the first words of the

18. Housman (ed. Luc., pp. 102–3) notes *ad* 389: "*tot in orbe labores*. dubito utrum orbis terrarum significetur an conferri debeant Verg. georg. II 401 *redit agricolis labor actus in orbem*, Man. II 251 *orbe laborum*, Aetn. 241 *autumnoque obrepit hiemps et in orbe recurrit*, Il. Lat. 869 *in orbe mearet*." If the influence of *Aen.* 3. 493 ff. upon Lucan at this point is recognized, the second interpretation would seem preferable since it is supported by the analogy of *Aen.* 3. 494.

19. Lucan's *Marte secundo* (388) corresponds exactly with *M. s.* in *Aen.* 11. 899 and 12. 497, and *secundo / Marte* appears in *Aen.* 10. 21–22, but nothing in the context of these Virgilian passages indicates that Lucan wished to evoke any one of them by the expression.

most famous line of Virgil's eulogy, "felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas" (*Georg.* 2. 490). Lucan completes the verse with a pointed reminiscence of *nutantem pondere mundum* (*Ecl.* 4. 50). Virgil's *mundus* is represented as rejoicing at the *Saturnia regna* (*ibid.* 6) soon to be reestablished by his imperial patron. Lucan's *mundi nutante ruina* suggests the contrasting burden of his poem, to wit that the *bella . . . plus quam civilia* (1. 1), the series of "more than civil" wars which he undertakes to recount, did not, as implied by the latter books of the *Aeneid*, lead to a reconciliation of the warring parties and a rebirth of Rome corresponding to the reconciliation of Trojans and Italians that foreshadowed, Virgil would have us believe, the founding and rise of Rome, but to a collapse resulting in chaos where Furor reigned supreme. Lucan's view on this matter is unambiguously indicated in his Prologue, where lines 60–61 give the lie to Virgil's chiliastic vision of Furor in bonds behind the closed gates of the temple of Janus (*Aen.* 1. 291–96). Lucan's lines, with their unmistakable reference to Virgil's statement, make clear that the period of universal harmony and peace Virgil ascribes to Augustus will be achieved only when Lucan's friend Nero, the liberal young aesthete of the *quinquennium*, becomes in his turn catasterized.[20]

Lucan's veterans, as they vegetate in rural squalor (*sordida tecta*, 397) surrounded by their uncouth wives and children (*coniunx natique rudes*, *ibid.*), are happy only in that they no longer have to fight and now know where their bodies will lie when they die. They are described in terms that recall and thereby suggest a contrast with the bucolic felicity of Lucan's Virgilian model: "interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati, / casta pudicitiam servat domus" (*Georg.* 2. 523–24). Virgil asserts that the sturdy virtues developed in Rome's citizens by the rustic life he exalts were a prime factor in her rise to supremacy: "sic . . . rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma" (*ibid.* 533–34). No such development is to be expected in the case of Lucan's apathetic ex-soldiers, whom the poet abandons in a state of moribund rustication, *au dessous de la mêlée*, happy in their indifference to the outcome of the civil cataclysm. In the final verse of this section Lucan again alludes to the peaceful retirement of Helenus and Andromache in Epirus by a discreet reference to *Aen.* 3. 493–95: "vivite felices . . . vobis parta quies"; Helenus and Andromache were happy in that they had survived the ordeals to which they had been subjected after the fall of Troy and were quietly reigning in Epirus (whither the fighting of the Roman civil conflict is shortly to shift from Spain). They do not participate in the struggle that their compatriot Aeneas must undergo to prepare the way for Rome's inception, but they are by no means indifferent to it. In Helenus' quality of *vates* he foresees much of what lies in store for Aeneas and helps him so far as he can both in word and in deed. The "happiness" of the retired Pompeians is of a different, baser, sort. They are happy (*felices*, 401) to have been exempted from military service and to have been sent home to live out what life remains to them watching with selfish unconcern the destruction of traditional Rome.[21]

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20. For a discussion of this see the present writers' "Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence," *CP*, LXIII (1968), 4–5.

21. Lucan's use of the Virgilian eulogy is not limited to the instances cited above. He draws upon *Georg.* 2. 510–12: "gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum, / exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant / atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem" for the civil bloodshed and expatriation of 391–92 (cf. also, for the latter, 397), and his *certos . . . somnos* (395) represent the *molles . . . somni* of *Georg.* 2. 470, and the *classica* (*ibid.*) that no longer disturb Lucan's veterans similarly represent those the men of Virgil's Golden Age had yet to hear, "necdum . . . audierant inflari classica" (*Georg.* 2. 539).

A prominent theme of Lucan's fourth book, as of his entire poem, is the corruption and decay of Roman *virtus*. The fratricidal massacre that forms the climax of the first section of the book is the result not of sanguinary malevolence but of the perverted *fides* of the Pompeians to their commander, and the same Pompeians in retirement exemplify the *virtus* of the old-time Roman countryman in decay. Petreius' incitement to massacre is motivated by loyalty to his legal government vitiated by brutality. The mass suicide of trapped Caesarians, which forms the central section of this book, is a further example of *virtus* gone wrong. For suicide per se (under appropriate circumstances) Lucan as a Stoic has nothing but admiration, and this is not absent from his account of the mutual slaughter which we shall now examine. That it was to some extent a manifestation of *furor*, the destructive force that permeates the poem, is suggested by various precise Virgilian allusions. There are also a number of touches that indicate that certain significant passages of the *Aeneid* were present, sometimes perhaps subconsciously, in Lucan's mind as he composed this episode.

The scene of the mass suicide is near the island of Curicta (today known as Curzola or Krk), which is situated in the northern Adriatic, not far from the Dalmatian coast. The Caesarian Antonius is blockaded on the island by the Pompeian admiral Octavius, and since he has exhausted local resources, is threatened by starvation. He therefore attempts to evacuate his force to the mainland, which is held by his fellow Caesarians, using barges specially constructed for the operation. One of these, under the command of a certain Vulteius, is snared by an underwater cable laid by the Pompeians. As night approaches, the Pompeian ships surround the immobilized craft, but darkness postpones the destruction of Vulteius and his men. At first the surrounded Caesarians look forward to the next day with dread, but they are harangued by their captain Vulteius with such effect that when dawn comes they first take a heavy toll of their foes then enthusiastically kill one another rather than surrender.

Somewhat surprisingly, Lucan introduces this episode with an allusion to Venus' complaint to Jupiter concerning the trials to which her son Aeneas and his men are being subjected. His "non eadem belli totum fortuna per orbem / constitit, in partes aliquid sed Caesaris ausa est" (402–3) has the ring of Venus' "nunc eadem fortuna viros tot casibus actos / insequitur" (*Aen.* 1. 240–41), and his reference to the blocked Antonius, "clauditur extrema residens Antonius ora" (408) that of Venus' "quibus [Aeneas and his Trojans] . . . / cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis" (*Aen.* 1. 232–33). As evidence of the unfair treatment of her son, Venus cites the contrasting lot of Antenor who managed to escape from the midst of his Greek foes, pass through the territories of the Illyrians and Liburnians, and peacefully found the city of Patavium, near the Italian coast across the Adriatic from Curicta where Antonius is now blockaded. She protests, "Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis, / Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus / regna Liburnorum" (*Aen.* 1. 242–44). In Lucan's episode the situation is reversed. Antenor, seeking peace, has made his way through Illyria and Liburnia, to Italy. Antonius, desirous of uniting with the Caesarian forces on the Illyrian mainland and of continuing civil warfare in conjunction with them, is prevented from so doing by these same Illyrians and Liburnians, who bar the way of the Caesarians by land and by sea, "detegit orta dies stantis in rupibus Histros / pugnacesque mari Graia cum classe Liburnos" (529–30). It is perhaps not unduly

fanciful to point out, apropos of Lucan's glancing reference to Antenor's hegira, that according to Homer Antenor advised his countrymen to come to terms with the Greeks (*Il.* 3. 148 and 262, and 7. 347), a move which might have prevented the ruin of Troy. The trapped Caesarians, like the Trojans who rejected Antenor's advice, show a fanatic intransigence tantamount to *furor*, the *furor* that for Lucan was responsible for the entire series of internecine civil conflicts between Romans.[22]

In describing the scene of the entrapping of Vulteius' barge Lucan recalls in several ways the African harbor in which Aeneas found refuge when swept off his course by a storm:

at Pompeianus fraudes innectere ponto
antiqua parat arte Cilix, passusque vacare
summa freti medio suspendit vincula ponto
et laxe fluitare sinit, religatque catenas
rupis ab Illyricae scopulis. . . . . .
inpendent cava saxa mari, ruituraque semper
stat, mirum, moles et silvis aequor inumbrat.
huc fractas Aquilone rates summersaque pontus
corpora saepe tulit caecisque abscondit in antris
[448–58].

Lucan has drawn upon the following part of Virgil's harbor:

hinc atque hinc vastae rupes geminique minantur
in caelum scopuli, quorum sub vertice late
aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scaena coruscis
desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra;
fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum,
. . . . . .
huc septem Aeneas collectis navibus omni
ex numero subit [*Aen.* 1. 162–71].

Lucan has reworked the Virgilian tableau to suit his purpose, infusing it with sinister foreboding, whereas Virgil had stressed the tranquillity of the harbor that offered refuge to the storm-tossed Trojans. The desperate situation of Vulteius gains relief by Lucan's evocation of the Virgilian scene. The first *Aeneid* continues to contribute to the background of Lucan's episode by the resemblances between Vulteius' harangue to his despairing men (476–520) and Aeneas' words encouraging his companions, who are despite their escape from drowning dismayed to find themselves in a strange land and are fearful for the future.[23]

Certain passages of Vulteius' allocution also call to mind Virgil's account of the deliberations of the beleaguered Latins in the eleventh *Aeneid.* Vulteius enjoins his men, who are terrified at the thought of the destruction that awaits them at sunrise, "consulite extremis angusto in tempore rebus" (477). King Latinus bids the council he has assembled as Aeneas approaches in force to storm his city, "consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis" (*Aen.* 11. 335); he has already made clear the desperateness of the situation, "haec quam angusta videtis" (*ibid.* 309). Vulteius goes on to declare, "fuga nulla patet, stant undique nostris / intenti cives iugulis: decernite letum, / et metus omnis abest" (485–87). Turnus had described the encirclement of the Latins by the Trojans in much the same language, "nec longe scilicet hostes / quaerendi nobis, circumstant undique muros" (*Aen.* 11. 387–88). Lucan's second proposition, *decernite letum*, etc., brings us back to Aeneas' exhortation, "revocate animos maestumque timorem / mittite" (*Aen.* 1. 202–3), with the difference that the Trojans are to take heart and

22. In *Aen.* 1. 253 Venus indignantly asks Jupiter *hic pietatis honos?* Aeneas' *pietas* as conceived by Virgil needs no comment; for Lucan in this passage *pietas* is by contrast putting one's comrades out of their misery by killing them: "servataque ferro / militiae pietas" (498–99) and "pietas ferientibus una / non repetisse fuit" (565–66). Of the eight references to *fatum* in the Vulteius episode (474, 480, 484, 496, 514, 541, 557) all with the exception of the ambiguous *fata* in 514 employ the word in the sense of "death." This is diametrically opposed to the meaning the word generally conveys in the *Aeneid*, for instance in Jupiter's "manent immota tuorum / fata tibi" (1. 257–58) where Aeneas' *fata* are to prepare the way for the beneficent advent of the *pax Romana*, which will free mankind from carnage and violent death.

23. Lucan's *fractas Aquilone rates* (457) reflects Virgil's "stridens Aquilone procella . . . franguntur remi" (*Aen.* 1. 102–4).

continue on their mission, whereas Vulteius' men are to take heart and end their existences. Vulteius proceeds to apostrophize Fortune, "nescio quod nostris magnum et memorabile fatis / exemplum, Fortuna, paras" (496–97); here the paired adjectives are those sneeringly employed by Virgil's Juno with reference to Cupid in the fourth *Aeneid* (94). Lucan's repetition of Virgil's phrase is evidently fortuitous, merely attesting the degree to which his memory was saturated with Virgil's verse.[24]

Vulteius exclaims (500–501) that self-immolation is an inadequate tribute to Caesar, but it is the greatest one he and his men can make under the circumstances. He even hopes that the Pompeians will offer to spare, perhaps to pardon them so that the effect of self-destruction to which they are irrevocably committed will be magnified in consequence:

> temptare parabunt
> foederibus turpique volent corrumpere vita.
> o utinam, quo plus habeat mors unica famae,
> promittant veniam, iubeant sperare salutem
> [507–10].

In the eleventh *Aeneid* we find strong sentiment among the Latins for coming to terms with the Trojans. The Latin Drances, upon his return from an embassy to Aeneas, urges the council of state assembled by King Latinus to make a permanent pact with Aeneas, "pacem . . . aeterno foedere iungas" (*Aen.* 11. 356) and proposes that they beg for pardon, "veniamque oremus ab ipso" (*ibid.* 358), since war threatens them with disaster, *nulla salus bello* (*ibid.* 362). Lucan's use of the key words of the Virgilian passage, *foedus*, *venia*, and *salus* confirms his allusion to Drances' advice that the Latins make peace, indeed, collaborate with (cf. *Aen.* 11. 131–32), their Trojan adversaries. Virgil represents Drances, despite his conciliatory proposals, as a thoroughly contemptible individual, motivated by jealousy and self-interest: by having Vulteius refer to the hypothetical peace proposals of the Pompeians in terms that recall Drances' counsels of submission Lucan makes acceptance of these proposals seem as odious as Drances' artful advocacy of peace.

As Vulteius reaches the climax of his exhortations he cries:

> proieci vitam, comites, totusque futurae
> mortis agor stimulis: furor est. agnoscere solis
> permissum, quos iam tangit vicinia fati,
> victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
> felix esse mori [516–20].

The initial words are those used by Virgil of the shades of innocent suicides in the lower world (*Aen.* 6. 434–36: "maesti . . . qui sibi letum / insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi / proiecere animas"), and those immediately following suggest that Vulteius is becoming possessed by a *furor* comparable to that inspired in Amata by the Fury Allecto. Virgil thus describes the frenzied queen, "talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum / reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi" (*Aen.* 7. 404–5), whom Allecto leaves in the grip of *furor*, "postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores" (*ibid.* 406).[25] Finally, Vulteius' *felix esse mori* (520) categorically affirms what Turnus pathetically would like to believe when he asks himself, as he resolves to meet Aeneas in single combat, "usque adeone mori miserum est?" (*Aen.* 12. 646).

24. Other Virgilian expressions that appear (textually or with slight modification) in a similarly fortuitous manner in the Vulteius episode (they are not allusions since there is no reason to suppose that Lucan wished by their presence to recall to his audience their Virgilian setting) are: *ferit unda Salonas* (404), cf. *feriunt . . . litora fluctus* (*Ecl.* 9. 43); *flava Ceres* (412 and *Georg.* 1. 96); *furta . . . fugae* (416–17), cf. *furta . . . belli* (*Aen.* 11. 515); *verberet undas* (426), cf. *fluctum . . . verberat* (*Aen.* 10. 207–8); and *fraudes innect.re ponto* (448), cf. *fraus innecta clienti* (*Aen.* 6. 609).

25. This verse with a little modification is used again by Lucan a number of lines later in this episode, when Vulteius and his men stop cutting down their opponents and turn to mutual suicide, "utque satis bello visum est fluxisse cruoris / versus ab hoste furor" (539–40). The Bacchic frenzy of Virgil's Amata provides an effective background to Lucan's representation of the orgiastic fury characterizing Vulteius' peroration.

Vulteius' exhortations produce the desired effect. Lucan observes, "sic cunctas sustulit ardor / mobilium mentes iuvenum" (520–21). The Caesarians, hitherto full of fear and despair, now long for daybreak and the resumption of the Pompeian attack. Lucan's observation mirrors that made by Virgil following the speech by which Juturna, in the guise of the warrior Camers, roused the demoralized Latins to resume fighting. Virgil's "talibus incensa est iuvenum sententia dictis" (*Aen.* 12. 238), in conjunction with the subsequent "qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem / sperabant nunc arma volunt" (*ibid.* 241–42), confirms the suspicion aroused by certain similarities of diction[26] and close correspondence in purpose and impact that Lucan is here inviting comparison with Camers' allocution (*Aen.* 12. 229–37). Comparison brings out the contrast between these related passages. Camers holds forth the hope of victory to the Latins, pointing out that they outnumber the Trojan invaders. There is ground for confidence. Vulteius on the other hand makes no effort to disguise the hopelessness of the situation. All they can do is to die, thus attesting their devotion to Caesar and aiding his cause by the glory reflected upon him by the *virtus* (512) of their self-sacrifice. The resumption of fighting by the Latins soon led to Turnus' decision to meet Aeneas in single combat, thus sacrificing himself to make possible the founding of Rome. Vulteius' sacrifice is designed to redound to the advantage of Caesar, the man who is engaged in bringing about Rome's destruction. It is also relevant to note that Vulteius' Romans exhibit more courage and single-mindedness to destroy themselves (and Rome) than Virgil's Latins did to retain their freedom, and that the *pietas* which for Virgil assured the inception of Rome for Lucan grotesquely contributes to its ruin.[27]

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The final section of this book, in which the poet recounts Curio's catastrophic African campaign, begins "non segnior illo / Marte fuit, qui tum Libycis exarsit in arvis" (581–82). Lucan's opening phrase is reminiscent of Virgil's words of Amata, whose frenzied course he has just compared to a wildly spinning top, "torto volitans sub verbere turbo" (*Aen.* 7. 378), "non cursu segnior illo / per medias urbes

26. Vulteius' references to the glory to be gained by the mass suicide he preconizes (503 and 509) parallel Camers' mention of the fame Turnus will achieve by his self-sacrifice, "ille quidem ad superos, quorum se devovet aris, / succedet fama" (*Aen.* 12. 234–35), and Lucan's *devota iuventus* (533, of the Caesarians about to destroy themselves) seems to reflect Camers' *devovet*.

27. That Lucan saw a certain analogy between the fate of Turnus and that of Vulteius and his men is confirmed by his use of a Virgilian comparison. He illustrates the tactic of the Pompeians in snaring the craft on which Vulteius is attempting to escape with a comparison from the hunt, "sic dum pavidos formidine cervos / claudat odoratae metuentis aera pinnae / . . . / venator tenet ora levis clamosa Molossi, /" (437–40), the point of which is that like the hunter who avoids frightening stags until the devices for trapping them are quite ready, so Octavius the Pompeian admiral waited until the cables were stretched to trap the Caesarian vessels before taking action, action which resulted in the capture of Vulteius' craft, after two boatloads of Caesarians had departed without interference. Commentators have long noted that a passage in the third *Georgic* similarly refers to the use of feathers in trapping stags, "non cassibus ullis / puniceaeve agitant pavidos [referring to *cervi*, 369] formidine pennae" (371–73), and Lucan's comparison does seem to recall this passage. O. C. Phillips (*op. cit.* n. 5, p. 101) argues persuasively that Lucan was here influenced by *Georg.* 3. 372 via several Ovidian passages in which Ovid echoes Virgil. This may be so; in any event Lucan's principal reference is to *Aen.* 12. 749–51. Since Virgil is describing how stags immobilized by heavy snow can be butchered without recourse to a snare to catch them, the suggestion of what is in store for the captured Caesarians is telling. It should not however be overlooked that Lucan, by a sort of double exposure, is also alluding to *Aen.* 12. 749–51: "inclusum veluti si quando flumine nactus / cervum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae / venator cursu canis et latratibus instat." Lucan has adapted the barking of the second Virgilian comparison as well as its mention of the *venator*. Virgil uses the comparison in connection with Aeneas closing in for the kill on the fleeing Turnus, Aeneas being likened to the *venator* who closes in with his dogs. Lucan has neatly varied the simile by having the *venator* restrain his pack rather than at once finish off his prey, but makes plain that this respite only increases the certainty of the prey's destruction.

agitur" (*ibid.* 383–84).[28] The frenzied nature of Curio's enterprise is further suggested by the similarity of Lucan's line 582 to *Aen.* 7. 445: "talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras" (of the Fury angered by Turnus' protestations). Curio's crossing from western Sicily to the Bay of Carthage by "nec forti velis Aquilone recepto" (584) recalls Virgil's "stridens Aquilone procella / velum adversa ferit" (*Aen.* 1. 102–3), with the difference that Curio's passage is deceptively quiet, whereas that of Aeneas, who is to be hospitably received, was tempestuous. Curio lands at the mouth of the Bagradas, on the western side of the Bay of Carthage, "primaque castra locat cano procul aequore, qua se / Bagrada lentus agit siccae sulcator harenae" (587–88). Lucan's Bagradas is not unrelated to Virgil's Tiber, described by the wraith of Creusa: "Hesperiam . . . ubi Lydius arva / inter opima virum leni fluit agmine Thybris: / illic res laetae . . . / parta tibi" (*Aen.* 2. 781–84) and by the river god himself: "ego sum pleno quem flumine cernis / stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem" (*Aen.* 8. 62–63). Lucan's *sulcator*, with its suggestion of plowing, and the emphasis on the slowness of the Bagradas are Virgilian; but there is a difference of nuance between Virgil's *lenis* and Lucan's *lentus*, the Bagradas flows through parched sands as opposed to the rich countryside traversed by the Tiber, and it is not *res laetae* that await Curio but violent death.

Upon landing, Curio makes his way to some craggy mounds, locally known as "Antaeus' domains":

> inde petit tumulos exesasque undique rupes,
> Antaei quas regna vocat non vana vetustas.
> nominis antiqui cupientem noscere causas
> cognita per multos docuit rudis incola patres
> [589–92].

Aeneas, after landing at Pallanteum at the end of his voyage up the Tiber from his camp near its mouth, finds Evander and his son Pallas celebrating rites in honor of Hercules. Evander explains that the ceremony is not the result of idle superstition but that it commemorates their rescue from a terrible danger, "non haec sollemnia nobis . . . vana superstitio . . . imposuit . . ." (*Aen.* 8. 185–88), represented by Lucan's verse 590, and continues:

> iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
> disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
> stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
> hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,
> semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat,
> solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
> caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
> ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo
> [*Aen.* 8. 190–97].

Lucan's verse 589 together with his "haec illi spelunca domus; latuisse sub alta / rupe ferunt" (601–2) is an abridged adaptation of Virgil's description of Cacus' cave just quoted, and that Lucan is here presenting a companion piece to the Hercules-Cacus story in the eighth *Aeneid* is further indicated by his "tandem volgata cruenti / fama mali terras monstris aequorque levantem / magnanimum Alciden Libycas excivit in oras" (609–11), an expanded version of "attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas / auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor / . . . / Alcides aderat" (*Aen.* 8. 200–203). The gory human heads hanging at the entrance to Cacus' cave do not figure in Lucan's description of Antaeus' cave in this book,

28. Virgil again employs the phrase in comparing Vulcan rising before dawn to a woman rising before dawn to start the spinning and weaving upon which her family's livelihood depends. The context and associations of this second passage, "haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo / mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit" (*Aen.* 8. 414–15) are irrelevant to Lucan's purpose but those of the first aptly suggest the rashness and temerity that are to cause Curio's destruction. Curio, it may be added, is here characterized as *audax* (583), an adjective particularly associated in the *Aeneid* with the doomed Turnus (of the thirteen occurrences of the adjective four, 7. 409, 9. 3 and 126, and 10. 276, apply directly to Turnus, cf. also 7. 475: "dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet").

but an earlier passage attests that he had transferred this detail to his imagined picture of Antaeus' lair: "scelerum [i.e., *colla ducum*, 2. 160] non Thracia tantum / vidit Bistonii stabulis pendere tyranni, postibus Antaei Libye" (2. 162–64). That Antaeus did not restrict his ravages to wild beasts (602) is in the present passage made clear by Lucan's "periere coloni / arvorum Libyae, pereunt quos appulit aequor" (605–6).

Virgil devotes less than three lines to the actual grappling of Cacus by Hercules, "Cacum . . . / corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens / elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur" (*Aen.* 8. 259–61). Lucan includes a pair of verbal echoes of these lines in his bravura account of the Hercules-Antaeus bout (612–53), but Virgil's conciseness offers him little scope for development and variation. His literary model for the bout is the wrestling contest between Hercules and the river god Achelous as told with dazzling virtuosity by Ovid in the ninth book of the *Metamorphoses* (31–88).[29] Lucan's Ovidian borrowings are sufficiently marked to justify the supposition that he wished to be recognized as challenging Ovid's technical virtuosity. A desire to out-Ovid Ovid appears to be the sole purpose of Lucan's pastiche, and few will deny that he has accomplished this. Similarly, no evocatory significance need be attached to Lucan's use of Virgil's short account of the actual seizure of Cacus by Hercules, attested by his "Herculeosque novo laxavit corpore nodos" (632, cf. *Aen.* 8. 260: "corripit in nodum complexus") and by the reflection of Virgil's *et angit inhaerens* (the concluding words of the verse just cited) in his "haerebis pressis intra mea pectora membris" (648).

Even without the foregoing correspondences of detail between Lucan's Hercules apologue and Virgil's (and those cited do not exhaust the list)[30] the fact that both deal with Hercules' destruction of a maleficent giant would sufficiently establish their connection. Lucan's motive in introducing his version of Virgil's story is, however, problematic. Undoubtedly it helps to keep the *Aeneid* in the minds of his audience, and this is a constant preoccupation of the later poet. Hercules, moreover, is a Stoic hero, and Lucan's epic is infused with Stoic attitudes; to the extent that the *Aeneid* exalted the triumph of the Roman bourgeoisie over the senatorical aristocracy in the revolution ending at Actium, Lucan's poem exalts the Stoic intransigence of Cato's counter-revolutionary stand for a free republic, and presents as sympathetically as circumstances allowed the case for the *victa causa*, the cause favored by the latter-day Stoic paragon, if not by the gods. Virgil's Hercules is evidently intended to suggest Aeneas, while Cacus symbolizes the *furor* that drove Turnus and the Italian aborigines to break the pact King Latinus had made with the Trojan newcomers. Although Lucan begins

29. Whether or not Lucan outdoes Ovid in poetic flamboyance is an open question, but we may be sure that his intention was to do so. O. C. Phillips discusses the Ovidian elements in Lucan's picture in detail (*op. cit.*, n. 5 above, pp. 35–37) but is silent with respect to the comparative merits of the two descriptions. Julius Caesar Scaliger found Lucan's bout full of illogical extravagances, pointing out, *inter alia*, that once Antaeus had sprinkled himself with sand (616) he had no need to seek strength from his mother Earth, since the sand had assured the contact. He consequently rewrote Lucan's account *more suo*. This *semicento*, as he calls it, brings the merits of Lucan's version into sharp relief. It may be found on pp. 849–50 of the 1581 second edition of Scaliger's *Poetice*.

30. Virgil represents a chorus of Evander's subjects lauding Hercules' exploits, concluding climactically with the hero's killing of Cacus, "super omnia Caci / speluncam adiciunt" (*Aen.* 8. 303–4); Lucan correspondingly makes the contest he describes Hercules' greatest ordeal, one more perilous than his struggle with the Lernean hydra (634–35), mentioned no doubt by Lucan because the ability of the hydra to replace those of its heads that had been cut off corresponded to Antaeus' ability to renew his strength by contact with his mother Earth. We may also note the parallelism between Lucan's "sed maiora dedit cognomina collibus istis / . . . / Scipio" (656–58) and Evander's aetiology of the name of the Tiber, "tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris / a quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Thybrim / diximus" (*Aen.* 8. 330–32).

by assimilating Curio to Aeneas, his destruction by Juba puts him in the role of Antaeus, and Juba, who destroys him, in that of Hercules. For Lucan, as for Virgil,[31] reversals of good and evil were an essential characteristic of civil warfare, and Curio's destruction by Juba is indignantly deplored by Lucan as an unnatural paradox of this sort: "Romanam, superi, Libyca tellure ruinam / Pompeio prodesse nefas votisque senatus. / Africa nos potius vincat sibi" (791–93). Be this as it may, Lucan's evocation of the eighth book of the *Aeneid* in the early portion of his account of Curio forms with its atmosphere of cheerfulness and future greatness (suggested by Evander's stroll with his guest over the terrain where in Virgil's day the most magnificent monuments of the capital were to be seen) an effective background for the moral decay and physical humiliation of Rome exemplified in the poet's treatment of Curio.[32]

Curio's imprudent aggressiveness assures his downfall. Despite his comparative weakness he marches against the Numidian potentate Juba, who had brought a powerful force to support the Pompeian side, "sollicitatque feros non aequis viribus hostis" (665). Lucan's reference to Curio's inferior strength recalls Virgil's young warriors Pallas and Lausus, each of whom met his death by provoking combat with a stronger opponent. Virgil declares of the two, whom the gods do not permit to meet in battle, "mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste" (*Aen.* 10. 438); Pallas, moreover, prayed to his patron Hercules as he vainly hurled his spear at Aeneas that the missile might hit its mark "si qua fors adiuvet ausum / viribus imparibus" (*ibid.* 458–59), and Aeneas, when challenged by the stripling Lausus, cried "quo moriture ruis maioraque viribus audes? / fallit te incautum pietas tua" (*ibid.* 811–12). Virgil's adjective may have suggested Lucan's *incauto* (with reference to Curio whom Juba hopes to surprise) in "hoc solum incauto metuentis ab hoste, timeri" (719). Lucan's implicit comparison of Curio's doom to that of Virgil's young heroes deepens the pathos of his account. His repeated echoes of the unsuccessful ambush set by Turnus for Aeneas in the eleventh *Aeneid* in his description of the ambush by means of which Juba entrapped and killed Curio seem designed to produce a similar effect. Juba, on receiving the report of an initial success achieved by Curio in putting the detachment of the Pompeian Varus to flight, loses no time in setting his trap:

mittitur, exigua qui proelia prima lacessat
eliciatque manu, Numidis a rege secundus,
ut sibi commissi simulator Sabbura belli;
ipse cava regni vires in valle retentat [720–23].

As Aeneas advances upon Latinus' city in the eleventh *Aeneid*, Turnus and the warrior maiden Camilla discuss how best to oppose him. Camilla proposes that Turnus stay to guard the city while she with her cavalry sorties to oppose the Trojan horse, "me sine prima manu temptare pericula belli" (*Aen.* 11. 505). In his reply, Turnus outlines the following plan:

Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant
exploratores, equitum levia improbus arma
praemisit, quaterent campos; ipse ardua montis
per deserta iugo superans adventat ad urbem.
furta paro belli convexo in tramite silvae,
ut bivias armato obsidam milite fauces.
tu Tyrrhenum equitem conlatis excipe signis.
[*Aen.* 11. 511–17].

31. See *Georg.* 1. 505: "quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas" and Lucan's indignant introductory observations that in the civil wars Romans fought *in commune nefas* (1. 6) when the right course would have been to direct their martial energies against foreign foes.

32. This note of decay is struck at the outset, by Lucan's reference to Curio's sailing near the "semirutas magnae Carthaginis arces" (585), recalling at once Carthage at its zenith and the days of Scipio Africanus and the second Punic war, which for Lucan ("o miserae sortis, quod non in Punica nati / tempora Cannarum fuimus Trebiaeque iuventus," 2. 45–46) as for Livy was the time when Roman *virtus* reached its highest point.

Lucan's introductory verses, "tristia sed postquam superati proelia Vari / sunt audita Iubae . . . rapit agmina furtim" (715–17) reflect the opening lines of the passage of the eleventh *Aeneid* just cited (note also the correspondence *furta* / *furtim*). Sabbura who is sent ahead to lure Curio on recalls not only Camilla's proposed maneuver but Aeneas' *exploratores* (*Aen.* 11. 512), and Juba who remains behind, "ipse cava . . . in valle" (723) is designated in a manner recalling Turnus' words of Aeneas (*Aen.* 11. 513, *ipse* ff.). The actual site of Turnus' ambuscade is thus depicted:

est curvo anfractu valles, accommoda fraudi
armorumque dolis. . . . . .
hanc super in speculis summoque in vertice montis
planities ignota iacet tutique receptus,
seu dextra laevaque velis occurrere pugnae
sive instare iugis et grandia volvere saxa.
huc iuvenis nota fertur regione viarum
arripuitque locum et silvis insedit iniquis
[*Aen.* 11. 522–31].

Lucan's Curio falls into the trap:

fraudibus eventum dederat fortuna, feroxque
non exploratis occulti viribus hostis
Curio nocturnum castris erumpere cogit
ignotisque equitem late decurrere campis.
ipse sub aurorae primos excedere motus
signa iubet castris, multum frustraque rogatus
ut Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper
Punica bella dolis. leti fortuna propinqui
tradiderat fatis iuvenem, bellumque trahebat
auctorem civile suum [730–39].

Lucan, it will have been noted, has appropriated many details from the Virgilian passages quoted, and has adopted much of his vocabulary. His designation of Curio as *iuvenem* (738), mirroring Virgil's use of *iuvenis* of Turnus (*Aen.* 11. 530) evokes the analogy between the ill-fated Turnus and the no less unfortunate Curio with particular poignancy.[33]

Lucan's description of Curio's final struggle as his men are surrounded and cut down by Juba's cavalry contains a number of expressions that reproduce or resemble Virgilian phrases,[34] and two clear allusions. The first is Lucan's description of the plight of Curio's encircled troops, in which "densaturque globus . . . / . . . non arma movendi / iam locus est pressis, stipataque membra teruntur; / frangitur armatum conliso pectore pectus" (780–83) recalls, *mutatis mutandis*, the close-packed fighting between the troops of Lausus and those of Pallas, especially Virgil's "agmina concurrunt ducibusque et viribus aequis. / extremi addensent acies nec turba moveri / tela manusque sinit" (*Aen.* 10. 431–33; for *viribus aequis* see the remarks on Lucan's *non aequis viribus* [665] on p. 170 above). Lucan has moreover incorporated a graphic detail from the combat between Tyrrhenus and Aconteus in *Aen.* 11. 614–15: "perfractaque quadripedantum / pectora pectoribus rumpunt.") The second occurs in the passage where Lucan recounts Curio's actual death:

Curio, fusas
ut vidit campis acies et cernere tantas
permisit clades compressus sanguine pulvis
non tulit adflictis animam producere rebus

33. Lucan's "super ardua ducit / saxa, super cautes" (739–40, continuing the passage just quoted), of Curio's headlong progress toward Juba's ambush, is a further reminiscence of Turnus' colloquy with Camilla. With reference to Aeneas, Turnus says, "ardua montis / . . . iugo superans adventat ad urbem" (*Aen.* 11. 513–14).

34. The correspondence between "ut primum patuere doli" (746) and *Aen.* 2. 309–10: "tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt / insidiae" is hardly significant, nor is the appearance in 750 of *clangore tubarum* (*Aen.* 2. 313 and 11. 192 end with the words *clangorque tubarum*). Similarly, the correspondence of *non stare tumultu* (753, of Curio's mounts) with Virgil's mettled horse that *stare loco nescit* merely attests Lucan's familiarity with Virgil's verse. We need not suppose that Lucan wished to evoke Virgil's boat race in describing the agony of Curio's horses in terms closely reflecting those used of the straining oarsmen in the boat race; indeed how Lucan came to think of the Virgilian passage at this point is not clear. Virgil had written "tum creber anhelitus artus / arida ora quatit [cf. Lucan's *quatit*, 751], sudor fluit undique rivis" (*Aen.* 5. 199–200), which becomes in Lucan "fumant sudoribus artus / oraque proiecta squalent arentia lingua, / pectora rauca gemunt, quae creber anhelitus urguet, / et defecta gravis longe trahit ilia pulsus" (754–57), apart from Lucan's verse 757 which curiously parallels Virgil's words of the fatally wounded Sulmo, "et longis singultibus ilia pulsat" (*Aen.* 9. 415).

aut sperare fugam, ceciditque in strage suorum
inpiger ad letum et fortis virtute coacta [793–98].

Overwhelmed by the disaster that had struck down his troops, Curio died fighting, with *virtus* forced upon him by his predicament. Aeneas, in verses to which Lucan here alludes, takes heart despite his misfortunes, upon seeing the wall paintings in Dido's temple, "hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem / ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus" (*Aen.* 1. 451–52). Lucan thus compares Curio *in extremis* to Aeneas; there is however no hope to lighten his plight, and the *virtus* that is forced upon him, unlike the *virtus* that enabled Aeneas in the end to accomplish his mission, leads only to death by the sword.

The corruption of traditional Roman *virtus*, as Virgil had depicted it, is a dominant theme of each of the three sections of this book. Lucan illustrates this corruption by the disastrous loyalty of Petreius' soldiers to their commander and by Petreius' no less fateful loyalty to Pompey. Vulteius' loyalty to Caesar has results just as catastrophic. In the final and climactic section, that devoted to Curio, Lucan to an even greater extent than in the first two is at pains to present his story in a manner that by similarity of diction and action suggests comparison with his Augustan predecessor. Implicit in the *Aeneid* is the intimation that the "civil" warfare between Trojans and Latins foreshadowed the struggle and victory of Virgil's imperial patron which led to the establishment of a golden age of Augustan *pax Romana*. This was not Lucan's view; for him the civil wars ended in despotism ("cum domino pax ista venit," 1. 690), made possible by the disintegration of Roman *virtus*. Curio's career provides a signal example of such disintegration. His fate is the more tragic because of his inborn merit, disastrously corrupted by Caesar's gold. Lucan's final apostrophe to Curio envisions his corpse lying unburied, a prey to savage fowl.[35] The poet proclaims: "digna damus, iuvenis, meritae praeconia vitae. / haut alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma / aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti" (813–15), evoking simultaneously Ascanius' praise of Nisus and Euryalus, "Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis / praemia posse rear solvi?" (*Aen.* 9. 252–53) for volunteering to make their fateful attempt to let their leader know of the plight of the Trojan camp, and Aeneas' grieving words to the stricken Lausus, "quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis, / quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?" (*Aen.* 10. 825–26). Despite Lucan's transference to Curio of the glamor and pathos of Virgil's ill-fated young warriors, the poet does not forget Curio's corruption and the immense harm he thereby brought to Rome. Other great malefactors, Sulla, Cinna, the *Caesareae domus series* (823) had bought Rome; Curio, Lucan declares in words constituting the most trenchant Virgilian allusion in this book, sold it: "emere omnes, hic vendidit urbem" (824). Among the arch-criminals Aeneas found being punished in Hades the first was the villain who had sold his country for gold and subjected it to a despot, "vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem / imposuit" (*Aen.* 6. 621–22); despite Lucan's attempts to invest Curio with a Virgilian ephebic charm, this allusion shows unequivocally that he considered Virgil's Tartarus the condign mansion for his ghost.

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35. Cf. "Libycas, en nobile corpus, / pascit aves nullo contectus Curio busto" (809–10) and *Aen.* 10. 557–59: "non te optima mater / condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro; / alitibus linquere feris."