

for the benefit of contemporary *urbani*.³² So it is with Tiresias' brief appearance as umpire in Book 3, where legal jargon contributes an atmosphere of incongruous pomposity to the divine comedy.

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³² By M. von Albrecht, *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 6.2 (1963), 68.

CORNELIA AND DIDO (LUCAN 9.174–9)

ut primum in sociae pervenit litora terrae,
collegit vestes miserique insignia Magni
armaque et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim
exuvias pictasque togas, velamina summo
ter conspecta Iovi, funestoque intulit igni.
ille fuit miserae Magni cinis.¹

Pompey has been treacherously killed, his body decapitated and thrown into the surf. The faithful Cornelia cannot give her husband a proper funeral, but must be content to place on the pyre all that is left of his greatness. Commentators are not of much help in this place, most caught up in tralatian glossing and hence content to echo the scholiastic reference to Pompey's three triumphs.² Thomas Farnaby thought of the funeral of Misenus in *Aeneid* 6;³ but one looks in vain to Grotius (1639), Oudendorp (1728), Burman (1740), Bentley (1760), Weber (1828–9), Francken (1896–7), Heitland-Haskins (1889), Housman (1926), Bourgery-Ponchont (1947), and Luck (1985) for the most important parallel, which is to Dido in *Aeneid* 4. I adduce the passages Heinze well described as examples of 'das Idealbild eines heroischen Weibes':

tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
erige, et *arma* uiri thalamo quae fixa reliquit
impius *exuvias*que omnis lectumque iugalem,
quo perii, super imponas:

(494–7)

super *exuvias* ensemque relictum
effigiemque toro locat haud ignata futuri.

(507–8)

hic, postquam Iliacas *uestis* notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque toro dixitque nouissima uerba:
'dulces *exuviae* ...'

(648–51)

J. K. Newman has remarked that '*exuvias*...is one of Dido's words';⁴ other

¹ The text is D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Lucanus, De Bello Civili* (Leipzig, 1988).

² *Adnotationes super Lucanum*, J. Endt, ed. (Leipzig, 1909) ad 9.178: 'ter enim constat triumphasse Pompeium, ut Paternulus scribit II 40, 4 dicens "huius viri fastigium tantis actibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Hispania triumpharet et, quot partes terrae sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriae suae."'

³ *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia, Sive, De Bello Civili Caesaris et Pompei Libri X* (London, 1618) ad 9.175: 'Efferebantur illustres viri apud Romam in pompam funebrem, conspicui insignibus honorum quos gessissent. In imaginaria hac sepultura Pompeio suo hunc honorem praestat Cornelia. Illustrium item virorum bustis iniecta atque una cremata fuisse arma, et quae illis in vita fuerant clarissima, docet Virg. in funere Miseni. *Aen.* 6.'

⁴ *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Wisconsin, 1986), p. 181. A. S. Pease, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Harvard, 1935; rep. Darmstadt, 1967), pp. 410–11 is predictably thorough; R. G. Austin in his commentary (Oxford, 1963), pp. 496–7 emphasizes the personal quality of Dido's '*exuviae*'. See in addition E. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (Diss. Königsberg, 1910), pp. 42–4.

scholars have approached the connection without making it.⁵ This parallel deserves emphasis, however, for reasons both stylistic and thematic. The noun *exuviae* in its several meanings belongs to the common vocabulary of heroic Latin epic,⁶ but appears only three times in Lucan, a narrowing of diction not likely to be accidental. Both of the other instances point to places in Virgil: *B.C.* 1.135–8 to *Aen.* 10.421–3 and 11.5–8; *B.C.* 9.717–18 to *Aen.* 2.471–5, lines modelled on *Georg.* 3.437–9. A Virgilian reference is thus wanted here. It is also a reference much in Lucan's manner. Dido's 'dulces exuviae' are a sadly beautiful reminder of the love she and Aeneas shared; Cornelia possesses only the hollow emblems of Pompey's military glory: again Lucan glances sardonically at his great predecessor in recalling him.⁷

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⁵ See W. R. Johnson, *Momentary Monsters: Lucan and His Heroes* (Cornell, 1987), p. 84: 'She [Cornelia] has read *Aeneid* 4 once too often'; rightly *contra* R. T. Bruère, 'Lucan's Cornelia', *CP* 46 (1951), 221–36, p. 232: '... (the echoes of Virgil's Dido are fleeting and superficial) ...'. As far as I am aware Lucan and Virgil are brought together only at *TLL* 5².2132.19–28.

⁶ It is absent from the fragments of Ennius, but cf. *Aen.* 2.275, 473, 646; 4.496, 507, 651; 9.307; 10.423; 11.7, 577, 790; 12.946; *Stat. Theb.* 1.490; 2.726; 4.155, 333; 6.67, 350; 7.55; 8.589; 9.563, 592; 10.337, 411. Note also the martial and archaic context of *Prop.* 4.10.5–6: 'imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae/huius, et exuvio plenius ab hoste redis', where the singular is unique in classical Latin. This is the usage that provides the elegant humour of *Cat.* 66.14 and 62.

⁷ I am indebted to Professor M. P. O. Morford and the Editors for their comments on a draft of this note.

LUCAN 1.683f.

quo diuersa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,
qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili.

So a frenzied matron cries out to Phoebus as she rushes through an appalled Rome. In *CQ* 34 (1984), 454f. I pointed out that the words *primos in ortus* could not here bear their normal sense 'to the far east' (as taken by Duff, similarly Bourgery-Ponchont, and others),¹ which in view of the next line would be geographically absurd, and, distraught as the lady was, even so highly improbable. I did, however, then think R. J. Getty² right in taking the expression *primos ortus* as simply = 'the east', and adding 'the epithet *primos* appears to be otiose'. But I now feel very doubtful about the epithet being viewed as otiose in order that the words may denote Egypt; quite different are the passages noted in *OLD primus* 6 'belonging to the rising sun, eastern', as *Stat. Silv.* 1.4.73 'occiduas primasque domos'; in the cited *Sen. Oed.* 116 'miles... ausus Eois equitare campis / figere et mundo tua signa primo' the literal meaning is no doubt 'on the world's first edge' (Miller, Loeb), but its development into 'eastern' is readily seen. Egypt, however, as viewed by Rome, is but the bare beginning of the east, and that is what *primos* must indicate above (note emphatic position): see *OLD primus* 10 b 'the nearest part of, the entrance, threshold, or sim., of', noting e.g. *Ov. Fast.* 1.717 'horreat Aeneadas et *primus* et *ultimus* orbis', *Cic. Fam.* 3.6.2. 'te in *prima* prouincia uelle esse, ut quam primum decederes'. In a characteristic departure from their stock meaning Lucan's words *primos in ortus* must then mean 'to the threshold of the east', i.e. the delta of the Nile, as explained

¹ Note the translation of W. Ehlers (Munich, 1973): 'Ins Land der ersten Morgensonne bringst du mich'.

² Text with commentary of Lucan 1 (Cambridge, 1940, 1955²), p. 124.