A COMMENTARY ON LUCAN *BELLUM CIVILE* 6. 333-830.

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Summary

This thesis is a detailed commentary on the sixth book of Lucan's epic poem *Bellum Civile*, lines 333-830. The text discussed comprises "The Thessalian Excursus" (333-412) and the "Witch Scene" (413-830). The thesis begins with a brief introduction in which the passages under examination are set into context and some of the major issues are discussed: Lucan's relationship to Virgil; his use of magic in the witch scene; and his depictions of the two major characters in this section, the witch Erictho and Sextus Pompey. There follows a detailed, line by line commentary. The notes address a wide range of points and issues which arise from the text. I discuss textual matters, both those where I disagree with the major editions and with emendations or variant readings offered by other scholars. I do not, however, offer a new edition. Interpretational points are also discussed where a particular passage is difficult or there is disagreement about how it should be understood. Lucan's language and metrical practices are treated when they are especially unusual or effective. His poetic and rhetorical style are similarly examined. Besides some of these more technical points, the notes discuss in detail Lucan's sources and his relationship to both previous and contemporary writers, as well as his originality and contributions to literature, especially the depictions of witchcraft and magic. The commentary also examines those parts of the text where Lucan's political, philosophical and ideological views are expressed, often in symbolic or allusive language, and how they relate to the rest of the epic. These are, primarily, the relationships between magic and civil war and between Erictho and Caesar, the depictions of landscape and magic as symbols of civil war and the notion that the ramifications of this civil war are not merely victory for Caesar but the destruction of *libertas* and the Roman *res publica*. To this end the notes are augmented with longer, more discursive introductory passages in which the broader issues relating to a particular section are discussed.

Contents

Preface	iv
Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	1
Commentary	14
Bibliography	274

Preface

In writing this thesis, the first detailed English commentary on Lucan book 6. 333-830, I found myself engaging with fields of scholarship which have undergone recent resurgences of interest: the study of Lucan and the study of magic. Now that Lucan can be taken seriously, both as an author and as a field of study, some magnificent scholarship has been produced: the works of Morford, Ahl, Narducci, Martindale, Feeney, Masters, Danese and Leigh have all been influential on my thoughts about Lucan and his poem, even where I have disagreed, and on the many ways in which book 6 is integrated with the rest of the epic. Magic, too, has become the subject of much scholarly activity over the past decade or so, producing much material to be digested. In formulating my own thoughts about magic and witchcraft in Lucan, especially his use of source materials and his originality in the manipulations of magic in literature, the works of Gordon, Faraone and Graf have been invaluable. That no complete commentary on Lucan book 6 exists is both a shame and a relief. I have, however, been fortunate to have access to C. A. Martindale's *Materials for a Reading of Lucan de Bello Civili, Book 6, 314-759*, his BPhil thesis, and must thank the author for his kind permission to cite his work here. Regretfully M. Korenjak's *Die Erichthoszene in Lukans Pharsalia: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar* came too late to my attention to be able to engage with it properly.

For the writing of a commentary, however, it is not so easy to acknowledge such debts so specifically. There are no manuals of instruction for commenting upon a text: one is led by the examples of others. The masterpieces of Nisbet and Hubbard, Pease, West, Fordyce, Norden and Mynors have been constant sources of inspiration. The most significant influences upon my composition of a commentary have not, however, been written but verbal. The Department of Classics at the University of Sydney is something of a commentary factory, with works recently or soon-to-be published on Horace, Martial, Euripides and Quintus of Smyrna, and I have profited greatly from discussions with members of staff about how to write a commentary, as well as from various lectures presented at SACAH weekly seminars on this issue.

My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Lindsay Watson, whose vast knowledge, patience and rigorous approach to commentary writing and scholarship in general have enabled this thesis to reach completion with some semblance of order and

cohesion. Thanks are also in order for the Department of Classics at the University of Sydney, especially Professor Kevin Lee, for keeping me gainfully employed during my postgraduate years. Also to Kathryn Welch, from Ancient History, for giving me the opportunity to speak at a colloquium on Sextus Pompey in Wales, 1999; and to the Faculty of Arts at Sydney University for helping me to get there. Much gratitude is owed to Professor Fergus Millar and to Brasenose College for making a brief stay in Oxford both a pleasant and profitable experience. Thanks also to Alexander Morris and Tom Barbour for invaluable assistance at the eleventh hour. And finally to Tamara - for your critical thinking, tolerance, support and companionship over the last years of this commentary.

Abbreviations

adnot.:	Endt, I., *Adnotationes super Lucanum* (Stuttgart; 1969).
Audollent:	Audollent, A., (1904): *Defixionum Tabellae*, (Paris; 1904).
Bouché-Leclercq:	Bouché-Leclercq, A., *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, vols 1-4, (Paris; 1879-82).
CIL:	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin; 1863-).
comm.:	Usener, H., *M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (Leipzig; 1889).
glos.:	Marti, B. M., *Arnulfi Aurelianensis: Glosule super Lucanum* (Rome; 1958).
K-S:	Kühner, R. & Stegmann, C., *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinische Sprache*, (Leverkusen; 1955).
L-H-S 1:	Leumann, M., *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, (München; 1977).
L-H-S 2:	Hofmann, J. B. and Szantyr, A., *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (München; 1965).
LIMC:	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich; 1981-)
Maltby:	Maltby, R., *A Lexicon of Latin Etymologies*, (ARCA, Classical Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, 25; 1991).
Neue:	Neue, F. *Formenlehre der lateinische Sprache*, vols 1-3 (Berlin; 1877).
N-H:	Nisbet, R. G. M. and Hubbard, M., *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 1*, (Oxford; 1970); *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 2*, (Oxford; 1978).
OCD:	Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (edd.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn. (Oxford; 1996).
OLD:	Glare, P. G. W. (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford; 1968-82).
OZ:	Hopfner, T. *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber*, 2 vols., *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, 21, 23 (Leipzig; 1921, 1924 [rev. edn, Amsterdam; 1974, 1983, 1990]).
PDM:	*Papyri Demoticae Magicae*, as cited in Betz, 1992.
PGM:	Preisendanz, K. *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2 vols., (Stuttgart; 1973-74); all translations from Betz, 1992.
RAC:	*Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart; 1950-).
RE:	Pauly, A., Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart; 1894-).
Roscher:	Roscher, W. H. (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, (Leipzig; 1884-1937).
SVF:	von Arnim, I. *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vols 1-4 (Leipzig; 1903-5).
Suppl. Mag.:	Daniel, R. W. and Maltomini, F. (edd.), *Supplementum Magicum*, vol. 1, (Papyrologica Coloniensia, 16. 1; Opladen; 1990).
TLL:	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig; 1900-).

Commentaries to other texts are cited by author name only when accompanying a references; e.g. "cf. Austin *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 6. 791" or "cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 506, with Pease".

All references by line number only are to Lucan Book 6.

Introduction

Book Six and the *Bellum Civile*

This commentary discusses Lucan, Book 6. 333-830. These lines encompass the Thessalian excursus (333-412) and the "Witch scene" (413-830), two passages which have received much criticism in the past on the grounds of both structure and taste.[1] The second charge cannot be answered here. The first is, however, more readily addressed. The passage in question is located between the conclusion of the battle of Dyrrachium, where Pompey follows Caesar to Thessaly, and the day of the battle of Pharsalus in book 7. In terms of Lucan's narrative, the witch scene adds nothing and only delays the progress from Pompey's victory in Epirus to his and Rome's defeat on the Emathian plains. Neither Erictho nor her prophecy figure explicitly in the epic afterwards, nor do they have any impact upon the actions or motivations of any characters. Moreover, the episode is utterly unhistorical: no such prophecy appears in any sources for Pharsalus, and Sextus was, at this time, in hiding with his stepmother Cornelia on Lesbos.[2]

Yet the passage has extensive thematic connections with the rest of the epic which indicate its great importance.[3] Lucan makes various connections between magic and civil war which allow him to explore and expand upon his views about civil war: that it is a dreadful crime of monstrous wickedness, a cosmological disaster which will destroy Rome. Magic, like civil war, is a crime;[4] both are madness;[5] its practitioners are *impii*;[6] magic and civil war are hated by the gods since both force the gods to act contrary to the laws of the cosmos;[7] and both have selfish and destructive ends.[8] Hence, the extensive passage of prodigy-like magical

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[1] Heitland, 1887, lxxiv-v; even Fauth, 1975, so sensitive to the structural and thematic importance of the scene, does not like it.

[2] App. *BC*. 2. 83; 5. 133; Dio. 42. 2. 3-4; Plut. *Pomp*. 74. 1; for discussion, cf. Hadas, 1934, 21-35. Lucan was certainly not averse to invention in his "historical epic", cf. Marti, 1964, 195-8, for copious examples.

[3] I do not discuss here the thematic importance of the Thessalian Excursus; cf. introduction, *ad loc*.

[4] cf. *ad* 507.

[5] cf. *ad* 434.

[6] cf. *ad* 508: *nimiae pietatis*.

[7] cf. *ad* 430-1; 441; 443-8; on the gods and civil war, cf. 2. 1-15; 5. 102 ff.; for discussion, cf. Jal, 1962, 170-200; Le Bonniec, 1970; Liebeschuetz, 1979, 147-50; Feeney, 1991, 269-301.

[8] Civil war generals, especially Caesar, seek to overthrow the state for their own gain; practitioners of magic seek to overthrow natural laws, again for personal advantage.

adynata mirrors the cosmological effects of civil war, the collapse of the world.[9] These connections reach their apogee in Erictho and her parallels with Caesar.

There are three points where the thematic links connect most obviously.[10] At 492-9, an authorial interjection questioning the nature of the relationship between gods and witches, Lucan adverts implicitly to the role played by the gods in civil war; crippled by the *impietas* of mortals they can do no more than allow humankind's auto-destruction to occur. At 577-88, Erictho's first appearance in the narrative, there are suggestions of the futility of the war, in that death alone will be the result for all participants, and global catastrophe in the human sphere. The only victor will be civil war itself, here embodied in Erictho. The final passage is the prophecy itself, 777-820, in which the corpse highlights both the wickedness and the futility of civil war, the paradox that, in a *bellum intestinum*, the victor is the loser, and the bleak truth that death is the one end for all involved.

Another important connection between the witch scene and the rest of the epic is the influence of Stoic thought.[11] In particular Lucan uses many features of Stoicism in his condemnation of Sextus.[12] These anti-Stoic qualities in many ways establish Sextus as a quasi-Caesar. Stoic thought also pervades the corpse's prophecy, especially 802-11, where it describes the ideal form of opposition to Caesar and underscores the futility of the war.[13] The Stoic notion of *Fatum*, the guiding principle of the cosmos which is commonly thought to be Lucan's replacement for the divine machinery of epic, also appears in book 6.[14] It is of most importance at 812-16, where the corpse refers to Sextus' *Fatum* as something which he can know only through experience, not prophecy. *Fatum* also occurs in a curious passage, 605-15, where Erictho outlines the limitations of her powers in terms of the immutability of fate.[15] Stoic physics also plays a role, in the description of *adynata*, 4. 461-84: Lucan describes many of the effects of magic on nature in scientific-philosophical terms and alludes to the Stoic ekpyrosis, a continual

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[9] 461-84; cf. *ad loc*.
[10] For detailed discussion and references, see the introductions and notes for these passages.
[11] On Lucan's Stoicism, cf., amongst others, Marti, 1945; Due, 1962, 1970; Schotes, 1969; Lapidge, 1979, 1989; George, 1991.
[12] cf. *ad* 419-34; 589-603.
[13] On Stoic attitudes to the principate, cf. Toynbee, 1944; Brunt, 1975, 7-35; Griffin, 1992, 202-21.
[14] On *Fatum*, cf. Friedrich, 1938; Dick, 1967; Liebeschuetz, 1979, 142 ff.
[15] cf. *ad loc*. This passage is thought to be an attempt to reconcile a belief in magic with Stoicism.

metaphor throughout the poem for the disaster which civil war will wreak upon the world.[16]

Lucan and Virgil

It is widely acknowledged that Lucan's epic is written very consciously in opposition to Virgil's *Aeneid*. Their themes differ greatly: Virgil sings of the origins of Rome, and by implication its rebirth after the civil wars and the triumph of Augustus; Lucan describes the moral and social destruction of the city, as a result of these civil wars and the victory of Caesar at Pharsalus. To this end, Lucan continuously alludes to, adapts, distorts and perverts Virgil's epic.[17]

This use and abuse of the *Aeneid* is, perhaps, nowhere else more apparent and developed than in the witch scene. Lucan places the great prophecy scene in the same book of his epic; the structure of both episodes is roughly parallel: a search for the prophet; meeting and speeches between prophetic figure and inquirer; descriptions of the rite involved; and prophecy, in both instances in the form of a display of Roman republican notables. Lucan does not parallel every episode in Virgil, and he compresses or enlarges scenes as he sees fit.[18] Besides these structural similarities there is a superabundance of allusions to *Aeneid* 6 throughout the witch scene, though the greatest concentration is found between 6. 570-666, 762-830.[19] Through these parallel structures and allusions, Lucan establishes Sextus as an anti-Aeneas, Erictho as an anti-Sibyl and necromancy as an anti-*katabasis*. Thus, Lucan presents a cowardly youth, driven by base and selfish motives, who is guided on a wicked enterprise by an evil sorceress, in sharp contrast to Virgil's *pius* Aeneas impelled by filial duty and his divinely appointed mission to perform a *katabasis* led by the Sibyl, a priestess of Apollo. Even the relative

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[16] cf. *ad loc.*; for discussion of ekpyrosis and other metaphors of cosmic destruction in Lucan, cf. Lapidge, 1979; Johnson, 1987, 5-18; Loupiac, 1991, 247-66.

[17] For examples and discussion, cf. Heitland, 1887, cviii-xxvi; Pichon, 1912, 217-29; Guillemin, 1951, 214-27; Thompson & Bruère, 1968, 1-21; von Albrecht, 1970, 281-9; Narducci, 1979, 31-89; Conte, 1989, 95-9; Masters, 1992, 118-33.

[18] There is no parallel, for instance, to the Misenus episode in Lucan; he expands the rite for the *katabasis*, 243-63, into two spells, 667-718, 730-49, and additional material pertaining to Erictho's apparel and behaviour; on the other hand, he condenses Virgil's lengthy description of the underworld into an eight line speech, 659-66.

[19] cf. notes *ad loc*. Also, in addition to works cited above (n. 17), the following examine in detail the relationship between Virgil's and Lucan's books 6: Paoletti, 1963; Fauth, 1975; Ahl, 1976, 130-49; Tartari Chersoni, 1979; Martindale, 1980; Feeney, 1986a; Danese, 1992.

positions of the two episodes in the narrative are significant, reflecting the difference between the poets' ideological stances: Aeneas seeks out the Sibyl on his arrival in Italy, just before he and his Trojan followers discover Latium, their future home; Sextus searches for Erictho on the night before Pharsalus, the very eve of Rome's destruction. Lucan takes Virgil's noble and majestic scene, in which Aeneas' *pietas* and *virtus* symbolise the qualities essential for Rome's future greatness, and perverts it to suit the debased characters whom he depicts at Rome's end.

The corpse's prophecy is, however, Lucan's clearest point of opposition to Virgil. Anchises' description of Rome's future greatness, culminating in the age of Augustus, is replaced by a depiction of a fractured body politic and a message for Sextus that there is no future now besides death, where the only issue of importance is how that death is achieved, nobly or otherwise. Besides this overall difference in the message of these prophecies, Lucan's partisan division of the shades in Hell is an effective distortion of Virgil's careful construction and organisation of the "Parade of Heroes" which simplifies, glosses over or ignores internal conflict at Rome.[20]

Sextus Pompey

Lucan chose Sextus Pompey as the character who seeks a prophecy, creating in him an anti-Aeneas. This very choice requires explanation, not least because Sextus, at this time, was on Lesbos with his step-mother Cornelia, as Lucan himself was aware.[21] This makes Sextus' presence striking both because of its unhistorical nature and the inconsistency it creates in the epic. Sextus Pompey must have had qualities which made Lucan chose him for this scene over any of the other possible characters who were actually present in Thessaly at that time.

Previous attempts to explain Sextus' presence fall into two categories. The first assumes that Erictho could not be consulted by one of the major characters since this would upset their psychological or ideological profile.[22] According to this view, Sextus merely fills a void left by the unsuitability of the main figures of the

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[20] cf. Feeney, 1986a, 1-24.
[21] Luc. 8. 580; 9. 52; cf. above, n. 2.
[22] Paoletti, 1963, 14, n. 8; Martindale, 1980, 368; Dick, 1963, 43-4.

epic. This assumption is flawed since aspects of the necromancy scene suit the character profiles of both Caesar and Pompey;[23] and if Lucan had misgivings about using either of these, he could have employed, or invented, a minor character whose presence would not have upset the historicity and consistency of the poem. The second category assumes that Lucan decided to include a scene of necromancy before he chose the character to whom it would be delivered. Since there was an ongoing connection between the practice of magic and the descendants of Pompey the Great it is thought that only a Pompeian character would be suitable.[24] Because, however, Pompey is deemed inappropriate (see above) Lucan is left with Sextus. It is impossible to know whether Lucan conceived of the necromancy before he chose the protagonist. Nevertheless, if he did, it still does not dictate the necessity of a Pompeian character: anyone could visit a witch, and there was an association between the descendants of Caesar and magic, most notably Nero. Those who argue that the association with magic was the reason for choosing Sextus invoke the story of Gabienus as further evidence: during the *Bellum Siculum*, as the Octavianic soldier Gabienus lay dead, almost decapitated, on the shore he uttered a message to be delivered to Sextus who was not present; he prophesied victory for Sextus at Naulochus which was, as Pliny points out, incorrect.[25] There are some similarities between the two stories: both dead prophets have cut throats, and both necromantic scenes are attended by Sextus' friends. Yet there are many differences, in detail and overall structure, and it seems unlikely that this story, found only in Pliny, would have inspired Lucan's use of Sextus Pompey, especially as it would violate the internal consistency of the epic.[26]

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[23] The nature of magic is very much in sympathy with Caesar, and in many ways he is a mirror image of Erictho. The exclusion of Pompey because it would violate his character development within the epic focuses too closely upon the image of Pompey after his death in Lucan's and Cato's eulogies in book 9, and ignores his rather repugnant character while alive. Pompey's personal vanity, cowardice, and inability to conceive of a "republican cause" without himself, reveal a flawed character, similar to his son's. On this, cf. Johnson, 1987, 67-100; Leigh, 1997, 143-57. A consultation of Erictho by Pompey would be an interesting illustration of the disjunction between Pompey the person and his image as it was used by Cato in book 9 to unify the republican forces.

[24] For this view, cf. Bourgery, 1928, 300 f.; Paoletti, 1963, 14, n. 8; Martindale, 1980, 368-9; Gordon, 1987a, 232-3. On the connections between Pompeians and magic, cf. Grenade, 1950, esp. 37 ff.

[25] Plin. *NH*. 7. 178-9. The connection was first made by Grenade, 1950, 37 ff. Ahl, Martindale, Gordon, Masters, also use this evidence.

[26] The Gabienus story probably shaped certain aspects of Lucan's necromancy scene. The common details are probably more than coincidence, especially if both Pliny and Lucan knew the story from the

These explanations fail to take into account any qualities which Sextus himself possessed and which distinguish him from other characters in the poem. It better accounts for Lucan's violations of history and consistency if Sextus' presence does more than fill a void left by the unsuitability of other *personae*. Indeed, Sextus' distinctive features seem to be his youth - he was only eighteen at the time - and his subsequent role in the civil wars of the triumviral period, as the only significant, long-term opposition to Caesar's political heirs. In short, Sextus represents the future generation of opposition to the Caesarian cause. He was not involved in civil war during his father's lifetime and only began to take a significant role in the military / political resistance after the assassination of Caesar. Cato, Brutus and Cassius, Cicero and other members of the senatorial opposition were of the same generation as Caesar. Sextus represents the future. Yet Lucan's presentation of Sextus is unremittingly hostile, largely following the triumviral-Augustan propaganda.[27] Sextus is painted as unstoical and *impius*,[28] characteristics which assert his status as an anti-Aeneas, but also as a quasi-Caesar. Thus the portrayal of Sextus, the representative of future opposition, shows that after Caesar's victory and the deaths of Cato and Brutus the notions of *libertas* and the republic are finished, that Caesar's ideology of autocracy has won.

Erictho

Erictho, the arch-witch, is a difficult figure to analyse. In brief, she is pure, distilled evil, a terrifying character who defies definition. Lucan has created "the first recognisably modern witch in European literature".[29] Many of her actions define her as a liminal figure, standing on the edge of society and humanity, a common trait among witches and other practitioners of magic. These acts are living outside towns, human sacrifice, cannibalism, defilement of tombs and corpses,

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same source, Cornelius Severus' *Bellum Siculum*: cf. Grenade, 1950, 52-3. Yet it is excessive to say that this was the reason for choosing Sextus.

[27] This is very surprising, given his opposition to Caesar's heir, Augustus: Lucan might be expected to paint a more generous picture of Sextus. Certainly *impius Sextus* (cf. n. 28) is a feature of the Octavianic propaganda; cf. the reappraisals of Sextus by Gabba, 1971, 153-6; Gowing, 1992, 181-205; Powell, 1992, 152-7; Gowing and Powell both emphasise the various aspects of Sextus' *pietas*, including his worthiness of holding his father's name.

[28] *Impius*: he degrades the memory of his father and is an enemy of the state (420-2), he rejects the gods for witchcraft (425-34); anti-Stoic: he is governed by emotion (423-4; 596-7), derives status from birth not worth (593-5); for discussion, cf. notes.

[29] Johnson, 1987, 19; also Lugli, 1987-8.

associations with the *di inferi*, murder and other anti-social practices.[30] Even the initial physical description of her as ancient, ugly, shrivelled and cadaverous, sets her between categories: "is she dead or alive?".[31]

Besides these sociological aspects, there are many literary influences upon Lucan's Erictho. The witches of Horace, Ovid and the Latin elegists are the closest models.[32] These are often termed "real" witches, in contrast to the mythological figures Circe and Medea, because they resemble a conception of the *sagae* who practised magic at Rome.[33] It must be noted, however, that these were literary creations like Erictho and similarity to genuine witches is part of an authorial strategy to make them credible.[34] Nevertheless, Erictho's physical appearance, brutality and immorality resembles these figures, especially Canidia, Lucan's main model. Lucan has adapted these creations, expanding and embellishing them, to make a truly awful witch without parallel.[35]

Apart from literary witches, there are other figures which Lucan has blended into Erictho. One is Ovid's *Invidia* (*Met*. 2. 787 ff.): her appearance, actions and residence are recalled in descriptions of Erictho.[36] Another influence is the Eumenides, whom Erictho resembles physically;[37] and there is a particular connection with Virgil's Allecto, which reinforces Erictho's links to civil war.[38] These similarities to Allecto and *Invidia* raise an interesting possibility: both of these figures "possess" a character, imbuing them with certain characteristics, Allecto driving Turnus to the crazed conflict against the Trojans, *Invidia* filling Aglauros with an all-consuming envy which destroyed her. This suggests that

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[30] These are all found in the passage 507-69; cf. notes. For magic as a liminal act, performed by "the other", the enemy of society, cf. MacMullen, 1966, 95-127; Liebeschuetz, 1979, 126-39; Gordon, 1987b, 71 ff.; Clerc, 1995, 192-204; in other cultures, cf. Mair, 1969, ch. 2 the "Night-Witch"; Sanders, 1995, 10-54, 93-112, 145-56. Many modern studies attempt to define magic from the perspective of the magician, excellent in themselves, though not at all relevant here. Lucan is using societal fears and prejudices about magic to create a most terrifying witch.

[31] 515-8.

[32] Canidia, Hor. *Epod*. 5, 17; *Sat*. 1. 8; Dipsas, Ov. *Am*. 1. 8; Acanthis, Prop. 4. 5; for discussion, cf. Tupet, 1976; Watson, 1993.

[33] On the *saga*, cf. Massoneau, 1934, 33-4. Although Lucan modelled Erictho's rite on Medea's rituals in Ovid (*Met*. 7. 179 ff.) and Seneca (*Med*. 670 ff.) she bears little similarity to Medea in either work, *contra* Paratore, 1976, 585-95.

[34] Gordon, 1987b, 67-71.

[35] This is his express purpose, cf. *ad* 436-7.

[36] 515-22; 625; 642-51; 726-7; cf. Nutting, 1931, 113; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 159; Martindale, 1977, 380. Witches tend to assimilate themselves to these infernal figures.

[37] 654-6, 727.

[38] cf. Longi, 1955, 188; Fauth, 1975, 341; Hardie, 1993, 76-7.

Erictho, when she accompanies Sextus to his father's camp, is in some way possessing him, infecting him with the civil-war madness which later he will show.[39]

Seneca's description of the *homo iratus* is another influence, related to the links between Erictho and Allecto. Seneca lists the physical and behavioural attributes of a person driven by *ira* and ends with comparisons to *Bellona* and *Discordia*.[40] These match many aspects of Erictho, suggesting a philosophical element in her depiction: she is the personification of *ira*, a key motivating force behind the civil war. This detail connects her also with Caesar who is frequently presented as *iratus*.[41]

There are other influences upon Erictho which derive not from specific literary characters but figures from folk legend. Her more abominable practices, child murder, cannibalism and the desecration of tombs and corpses, resemble the activities of the Lamia, a vampiric monster of nightmares and folk-stories.[42] Her bestial aspect, preying upon corpses like a scavenger, and making animal noises in her spell, resembles the shape-shifting ability of folk-tale witches.[43]

This multiplicity of influences, all adding to the horrific characterisation of the witch, is perhaps another instance of her liminality, in that Erictho seems to defy attempts at classification: Lucan's *mélange* of sources makes it impossible to put her into any one category.

Besides these factors which make up the dreadful portrait of Erictho, there is a fair amount of detail which suggests that Erictho is not a monster but a human. This makes her a more threatening figure, and more terrifying, "the enemy within".[44]

Besides this similarity, the connections between Erictho and Caesar are many. Both are evil to the core. *Impietas* is a characteristic which both possess,

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[39] cf. *ad* 827 ff.
[40] *Dial*. 4. 35; for connections between Erictho and *discordia*, cf. *ad* 508: *effera...Erictho*.
[41] cf. esp. 7. 551 ff., 568: *sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum*; for discussion, cf. below, p. 9; Fauth, 1975, 341-2; Johnson, 1987, 18-33; Tupet, 1988, 425-7.
[42] for a detailed set of parallels, cf. Gordon, 1987a, 240-1; for further discussion, Johnston, 1995a, 361-87.
[43] 543-53; 688-90; 729; cf. Danese, 1995, 431-4.
[44] Hömke, 1998, 127; in addition to her examples, cf. *ad* 564 ff.

and in which they surpass their colleagues.[45] They both gain immense satisfaction from their wickedness.[46] Erictho and Caesar are innovators in their crimes, with only contempt for tradition.[47] This association adds to Lucan's demonisation of Caesar: in many ways, Erictho illustrates the horrific result of limitless power in the hands of a wicked individual. Thus, what Erictho represents can be transferred to Caesar. The scene, post-Pharsalus, where Caesar picnics and watches the corpses of the dead rot on the battlefield has two parallels with the Erictho-scene, which illustrate this point.[48] It recalls the extended description of Erictho gathering body parts, thus underscoring Caesar's dreadful *impietas* in his disrespect for these bodies. It also has parallels in the scene where Erictho enters the narrative: both characters sit above the battlefield; and both revel in the carnage of civil war which represents for them a source of power.[49] This connection further underscores the relationship between Erictho and Caesar: she is casting a spell which will ensure the battle of Pharsalus is fought; Caesar is inspecting the remains after the battle is over and he has won, suggesting that Caesar is victorious in a conflict of her creation.

Apart from the aforementioned influences on Erictho, and her similarities with Caesar, she also plays the role of anti-Sibyl in the Lucan's inversion of *Aeneid* Book 6.[50] Although Erictho's witch-like, monstrous qualities dominate, there are enough points of similarity between the two women for this connection to be apparent.

Lucan and Magic

Lucan devotes hundreds of lines to descriptions of magic and composes a rite of such complexity and credibility that it has led even to the view that Lucan had participated in a necromancy.[51] Bourgery's position responds to the equally extreme view of Pichon, that any material which cannot be paralleled in literary

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[45] For Erictho, cf. 508: *nimiae pietatis*; *impietas is* also apparent in her dealings with the gods, 523-8, 706-11, 730-49; for Caesar, cf. 1. 183-227; 3. 399-452, esp. 426 ff.; 5. 577-93, 653-71; for discussion, cf. refs in n. 41; Loupiac, 1990, 304-5.

[46] cf. *ad* 526: *gaudet*.

[47] cf. *ad* 508: *novos ritus*.

[48] 7. 786-854.

[49] 6. 575-88.

[50] For discussion and refs, cf. Guillemin, 1951, 223; Longi, 1955, 186 f; Paoletti, 1963; Ahl, 1976, 130-49; Tartari Chersoni, 1979; Martindale, 1980; Feeney, 1986a; Masters, 1992, 179-96; Danese, 1992, 203-4.

sources was a product of Lucan's imagination.[52] Lucan's sources for magic must come from a combination of both literary and non-literary materials.

Lucan's main models for the rites of Erictho are Seneca and especially Ovid.[53] Lucan imitates Ovid in structure, detail and expression, though there are significant departures. Besides these passages which Lucan adapts, many magical details throughout the book, in both the excursus on magic and Erictho's spell, can be paralleled in previous literary accounts of magic.[54]

There are, however, various details which are not paralleled in literature.[55] Lucan did not invent these elements; they can be found in other sources such as the Greek Magical Papyri, *defixiones*, and ancient works of scholarship such as Pliny's *Natural History*.[56] Besides the correlation of details from these sources, the spells of the papyri show a familiarity with ritual practice which is lacking in Lucan's predecessors.[57] This indicates a level of knowledge which exceeds his literary forbears. Scholars can only guess at how Lucan gained all this information, though it seems that the intellectual circles in his times were well aware of such subjects: magic was in vogue.[58]

Lucan uses this wide knowledge of magic to great effect. He combines a broad range of genuine materials and practices in order to make a scene which is both terrifying and credible. Nowhere is this more apparent than Erictho's spells.[59] The ingredients added, though bizarre, have attested magical powers and would be

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[51] Bourgery, 1928a, 300-1; Le Bonniec, 1970, 186.
[52] Pichon, 1912, 191 ff.; remarkably he seems unaware of Fahz, 1904, as Bourgery points out.
[53] *Med.* 670 ff.; *Met.* 7. 179 ff.; cf. Fahz, 1904, 55-60; Pichon, 1912, 249; Morford, 1967, 70-1; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 145 n. 3.
[54] The main sources are: Theocr. *Id.* 2; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 64 ff.; *Aen.* 4. 487 ff.; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 17; *Sat.* 1. 8; Prop. 4. 5; Tib. 1. 2, 5, 8; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8; Petr. 134; for discussion, cf. Eitrem, 1941. To this list can be added Apul. *Met.* 1-3; though writing after Lucan, he too follows very much in the mould of literary magic in this work.
[55] Most notable are the list of inarticulate sounds in Erictho's spell, 685-93; also various of her ingredients.
[56] These non-literary sources frequently provide parallels for the details which appear in other literary sources, showing a widespread familiarity with such knowledge among the *intelligentsia* of this period.
[57] On Lucan and the *PGM*, cf. Nock, 1972, 184-7; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 140-99; also Graf, 1997, 190-204, with excellent discussion.
[58] On the intellectual climate, cf. Morford, 1967, 69-70; Cizek, 1972, 244-6; Volpilhac, 1978, 284-6; Tupet, 1984, 206-35. Similarities between Lucan's scene and the biblical "Witch of Endor" (*I Samuel*, 28. 6-7), though there is probably no direct influence (*contra* Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 187-9), suggest that Lucan had communications with people from the East who knew of such subjects. Lucan appears to have a keen layman's familiarity with the subject, probably the result of extensive research and consultation with others rather than from any "hands-on" experience, romantic as that notion is.

appropriate for a necromancy; and the verbal elements, the inarticulate noises, the prayer and the threats, follow precedents which can be observed in surviving magical texts. The accumulation of details and the technical accuracy of both these and the overall structures exceed previous accounts in literature, making this passage frightening and exciting for an educated audience who were familiar with the literary clichés and, perhaps, the realities of magic.[60]

Lucan knew the literary clichés well and utilises them in the witch scene. The excursus on Thessalian magic is a lengthy catalogue of the powers of Thessalian witches written as proof for the statement: "*Haemonidum, ficti quas nulla licentia monstri / transierit, quarum quidquid non creditur ars est*".[61] The passage, though it surpasses all previous catalogues in length and comprehensiveness, includes little that is not of a highly traditional nature, stressing the conventionality of these witches. By contrast, however, is the portrait of Erictho, whose magic is unsurpassed in both wickedness and novelty.[62] The originality of Erictho's powers derives mainly from Lucan's imaginative use of the aforementioned non-literary sources, to create a picture which is horrifying yet at the same time believable, since it has its roots in authentic magical practice not the fantasies of the author. Erictho is a literary witch *par excellence*.

One question remains: Why did Lucan choose a necromancy? Lucan was obliged to include some sort of *nekuia*, both by epic tradition and his imitation of Virgil.[63] From the surviving fragments of his other works, Lucan's interest in magic and the nether-world can be deduced.[64] Yet the use of necromancy, such a striking departure from tradition, requires explanation. In part, the necromantic rite is the anti-*katabasis*, matching Sextus and Erictho's opposition to Aeneas and the Sibyl respectively. *Katabasis* is a difficult task, only for the chosen few; it involves piety

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[59] 667-718; 730-49.
[60] On the possible awareness of the audience, cf. n. 58; on credibility and other effects, cf. Gassner, 1972, 194-5; Gordon, 1987b, 69-71.
[61] 436-7; 438-506.
[62] Her originality is stated explicitly (509: *novos ritus*; 577-8), as well as being illustrated by magical practices unprecedented in earlier literary accounts, including the magical excursus. For further discussion of this contrast, cf. *ad* 438-506; 508: *nimiae pietatis*; 509; also Martindale, 1980, 370-1; Gordon, 1987a, 238-40; Hömke, 1998, 124-8
[63] cf. Morford, 1967, 66-7; Martindale, 1980, 369-70.
[64] For the fragments, cf. Courtney, 1993, 352-6; for discussion, Martindale, 1980, 369-70; Hömke, 1998, 120.

and courage; and it is traditional.[65] Necromancy, on the other hand, is utterly impious, involving disrespect to gods and the dead alike; it is easy, even for a craven youth like Sextus;[66] and it is a novelty, at least in the Graeco-Roman world, both in life and literature. These differences underscore the fundamental divide between the *Aeneid* and the *Bellum Civile*: in the former, an act of immense *pietas* leads on to the foundation of the Roman people; in the latter, the gross *impietas* of necromancy heralds Rome's imminent destruction.

Erictho's necromancy also matches civil war by being an incredible paradox. Restoring life to the dead is as wicked and contrary to nature as is a nation driving a sword into its own guts.[67] Lucan frequently stresses the paradoxical nature of necromancy, especially in the passage describing the corpse reanimating.[68] As has been demonstrated previously, Erictho is linked with the destructive forces of civil war; and the necromancy which she creates is a brilliant illustration of the full perversity and horror of the civil war itself.

The Text

The text used for this commentary is primarily that of A. E. Housman, unsurpassed to this day. The other major editions consulted have been Bourgery-Ponchont (Budé); Shackleton Bailey (Teubner); and Viansino (Mondadori). I have little to add on the issues of the history of Lucan's text and the complexities of his manuscript tradition;[69] merely a list of places where the text here differs from Housman and Shackleton Bailey. Disagreements with other editors or with emendations suggested in other scholarly works are discussed within the notes where they appear in the text.

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[65] On *katabasis*, cf. Clark, 1979.

[66] 619-23; contrast the difficulties for Aeneas: he must find the Golden Bough, and bury Misenus to purify himself and his followers; note also the Sibyl's words, 6. 126 ff.

[67] On paradox in Lucan, especially in the context of civil war, cf. Martindale, 1976, 45 ff.; Moretti, 1984, 37-49.

[68] 750-62; also such statements as: *extremum cui mortis munus inique / eripitur non posse mori* (724-5) and *cadaver / ut cadat* (822-3).

[69] For excellent discussions, cf. Housman's introduction; Blatt, 1959, 47-67; Viansino, LXXXIII ff.; Fantham, 1992a, 46-7.

	This Text	Housman	Shackleton Bailey
421	qui	cui	cui
484	prospectum	perspectum	perspectum
637	gutture	gutture	pectore
638	ducitur	ducit et	ducitur
711	si quisquis	si quisquis	si cuius
712	impositus	imposuit	imposuit

The Thessalian Excursus.

The Thessalian excursus is a description of the land in which the civil war's major battle will be fought. It replaces a narration of the journeys of Caesar and Pompey to Pharsalus; cf. Caes. *BC*. 3. 79 ff. It serves as proof for the statement: *Emathiam, bello quam fata parabant*: 322; cf. Wünsch, 1930, 61; Longi, 1955, 184-5; Paoletti, 1963, 12; Fauth, 1975, 329-330; Masters, 1992, 150 ff.; Korenjak, 1996, 79. This is achieved by an accumulation of violent, martial vocabulary, geographical symbolism, and potent mythological references which tie the place into the overall theme of civil war. The catalogue is divided into sections as follows: mountains: 333-42; opening of Tempe: 343-9; cities: 349-60; rivers: 361-80: inhabitants: 381-94; contributions to civilisation: 395-412. Although Lucan initially sets the mountains which encircle Thessaly as its borders, he deviates from this at times, a fact which has caused some consternation; cf. Samse, 1942. It appears, however, that the boundaries of Lucan's Thessaly are those set by the Roman administration of the Augustan period; cf. Eckardt, 1936, 9; Bowersock, 1965; this includes the region around the Maliac gulf. Nonetheless, there are still features which do not belong; for discussion, see below.

In creating this geographical excursus, Lucan is following a tradition found amongst historians and elsewhere, of describing a place where the action of the narrative will occur, e.g. Hdt. 2. 5 ff.; Caes. *BG*. 1. 1; Sall. *Jug*. 17-19; moreover, this was seen as a desirable feature in rhetorical pieces; cf. Sen. *Contr*. 2. *pr*. 3. Such geographical or ethnographical set-pieces followed a general pattern, to which Lucan roughly adheres: boundaries; topographical features; human habitation and productivity: cf. Thomas, 1982, esp. 1-7. His sources for this passage remain obscure, and a geographical manual from which he culled his details is often invoked: cf. Pichon, 1912, 21; Bourgery, 1928b, 37. There are, however, certain passages which Lucan must have used: Hdt. 7. 128-30; 176; 198-200, descriptions of Thessaly and Thermopylae, the structure of which Lucan follows, cf. Wünsch, 1930, 59 ff.; and Ov. *Met*. 1. 577-85, 7. 228-31, two passages on Thessalian rivers; for discussion, see below.

Lucan's Thessaly also inverts Virgil's Latium of the *Aeneid*, both the extended descriptions of it in books 7 and 8, and the brief description at the opening of book 6, whose position this passage mirrors; cf. Danese, 1992, 200; Korenjak, 1996, 80. The pleasant, promised land of the Trojans is replaced by Thessaly the land of war, where the Roman demise shall occur. Lucan's excursus also contains much imagery from the Iron Age (cf. 381-407) which plays upon the theme of "return to the Golden Age", a common motif of Augustan poetry; cf. Nicolai, 1989.

Lucan's choice of details is interesting. He includes the names of places and peoples for their bellicose associations and, to this end, Lucan at times adds elements which have little or no connection with Thessaly: e.g. Dorion, Inachus, Mt. Pholoe, the Bebryces and Dolopes, and the stories of Agave, Hercules' battle with the Centaurs and the invention of coinage; cf. Masters, 1992, 150-78; Müller, 1995, 371-3, for instances from other geographical passages. The majority of the *exempla* of war come from mythology, though there seem to be many allusions to Thermopylae in the catalogue: Trachin, Spercheos and the rivers listed at 6. 374. As a final note, Lucan's use of mythological tales changes throughout the excursus. There are none in the first section on mountains; Lucan carefully avoids mentioning any of the plethora of tales associated

with these places; myths are then brought in as symbols of war and civil strife, in the sections on cities and rivers, with no suggestion that they actually occurred; finally they become aetiological, denoting real inhabitants and events. Hence, there is a sense of increasing fantasy within the catalogue. Lucan progresses from a straightforward, scientific description of the land to a fictionalised region, populated by fabulous creatures of epic dimensions. This sets the scene for the rest of the book, the necromancy, and for the ensuing battle of Pharsalus which is set beyond the human sphere and becomes yet another of the legendary, cosmological wars fought in this land.

333-342: Lucan initially defines Thessaly's borders, using its major mountain ranges, Ossa, Pelion, Othrys, Pindus and Olympus. Their order describes a circle around Thessaly, with Ossa on one side of Tempe and Olympus on the other; cf. Hdt. 7. 129; also Plin. *NH*. 4. 30: *omnes theatrali modo inflexi*, though his list includes other mountains than Lucan's five. The mountains are located by various astrological and meteorological periphrases, describing the winds, constellations or positions of the sun which they block. This imbues the region with a dark, still and ominous feeling, which recalls descriptions of places of horror; for discussion, cf. *ad* 642-53. The pertinent information is, however, set forth in a scientific and rational manner. As an aid to understanding the astrological references in this passage the star charts at the back of Goold's Loëb edition of Manilius are invaluable. The violent, bellicose language of this section personalises the mountains and suggests a symbolic conflict between Thessaly's topographical features and the forces of nature.

333: *Thessaliam*: placed emphatically at the head of the ekphrasis.

qua ... Titan: i.e. the south-east, where the sun rises in winter (northern hemisphere); for discussion, cf. Mitton, 1978, 64-5. Ossa is here in the wrong position; it is actually in the north of Thessaly and could not block the rising sun's rays in winter, cf. Pichon, 1912, 19; Bourgery, 1928b, 26-7. The error is made more astonishing by the correct placement of Ossa in line 348, next to Olympus. Samse (1942, 250), attempting to account for this mistake, suggests that Ossa blocked the winter sun for the lands to Thessaly's north, and similarly that Pelion (cf. 335-6) blocked the sun to regions south of Thessaly. This explanation is invalidated by the fact that the list of mountains is meant to circumscribe the plain within; cf. 343. Masters, 1992, 154, sees these errors as deliberate, programmatic blunders intended to alert the reader to more mistakes to come.

brumalibus: i.e. "southerly"; for *brumalis* in expressions of direction, cf. Col. 1. 6. 1: *ut spectent hiemalis temporis cubicula brumalem orientem*; Plin. *NH*. 18. 336. It refers to winter-time in general; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 205: *brumali frigore*; Ov. *Met*. 4. 199: *brumalis horas*. In spite of its strict sense, denoting the winter solstice, when the sun is at its most southerly position and the day is shortest (cf. *ad* 478: *bruma*), a mountain's physical size would block the sunrise on more days than one; moreover, this balances the parallel requirement to stretch the sense of *solstitiale*; cf. *ad* 338.

334-5: *Titan...Phoebum*: common poeticisms for the sun in Lucan: Phoebus occurring 36 times, Titan 16 times. The two different names appear for the sake of *variatio*. *Titan* derives from the sun god's lineage as the son of Hyperion; cf. Kranz, 1961, 290-2; Le Boeuffle, 1977, 260-1; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 725 with Austin. *Phoebus* is a common appellation, though perhaps not identical with *Phoebus Apollo*, cf. Fontenrose, 1939, 1940; for discussion of its predominance in Lucan's poem, cf. Tucker, 1983, though his conclusion, that its frequency was a flattery of Nero who identified himself with Apollo, is somewhat tendentious.

rupes Ossaea: i.e. Mt Ossa, on the south edge of Tempe, in north-eastern Thessaly. In myth this was used by the Aloadae, or the giants, to ascend to heaven. Lucan, in this quasi-scientific context, deliberately makes no allusion to the story, unlike other scientific writers, e.g. Mel. 2. 36: *hic Pelion, hic Ossa, montes Gigantum fabula belloque memorati*. The myth is mentioned at the conclusion of the excursus where it suits the thematic tenor of that section: for details, cf. *ad* 410-12. The form *Ossaeus* appears only in poetry, e.g. *Ciris*, 33; Ov. *Met.* 12. 319.

coercet: used of topographical features enclosing or shutting something in; cf. Liv. 27. 47. 11: *altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis*; Plin. *NH.* 2. 121. *Coercere* is suggestive of warfare and oppression; cf. Liv. 8. 2. 11: *sin imperium adnueret, armis coercerent*; Vell. 2. 125. 5; Luc. 3. 145-6: *libertas...populi quem regna coercent, / libertate perit.*

335-6: Mt Pelion. The meteorological periphrasis refers to the sun's summer rising in the north-east, blocked by Pelion; cf. Mitton, 1978, 64-5. 335 indicates the season, summer, in contrast to the wintry setting of 333-4, while 336 defines the position of the mountain. Lucan incorrectly locates Pelion, actually in Thessaly's south-east, just as Ossa was misplaced; for discussion of this error, cf. *ad* 333: *qua... Titan.*

per summa poli: i.e. summer, when the sun travels highest in the sky; for *summa* in this context, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3. 510: *caeli summa petamus*; on the celestial positions of the sun during summer, cf. Manil. 3. 625-36. *Polus* here = "sky", not the endpoint of the celestial axis around which heavenly bodies were thought to spin; cf. *ad* 464: *polos.*

altior: "high summer"; a transferred epithet; one would expect *altiorem Phoebum*. It is common to describe heavenly bodies, when high in the sky, as *altus*; cf. Ov. *Pont.* 2. 10. 45-6: *sub cardine mundi,/ qui semper liquidis altior extat aquis*; Sen. *Epist.* 122. 1: *qui alto sole semisomnus iacet.*

336: *Pelion*: a large mountain range in Magnesia, south-eastern Thessaly, which reaches down to cape Sepias in the south and forms an unbroken wall, shielding the plains from the coast; cf. *RE.* 19 *s.v. Pelion* 11-15, 51-3. Hence, it would block the rising of the sun in winter rather than in summer as Lucan here alleges.

opponit...umbras: *opponit* here must be "to impose as an obstacle", cf. Cic. *Off.* 2. 14: *moles oppositas fluctibus*; or "to shield", cf. *Moretum* 14: *opposita... manu lumen defendit ab aura.* This seems to suggest that *umbras* is a bold piece of shorthand for "the mountain with its shade". The expression is extremely paradoxical: not only does the verb *opponere* usually require some sort of tangible barrier (cf. examples above), but light confronting darkness is the usual conception, rather than shade imposing itself upon light; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 6. 41-2: *sol ubi montium / mutaret umbras.* Again, *opponit* has military overtones: "to set up troops, etc., against an enemy"; cf. Cic *Caec.* 31; Caes. *BC* 3. 75. 5: *huic suos Caesar equites opposuit expeditosque antesignanos admiscuit CCCC.*

337-8: Mt Othrys, on the southern border of Thessaly. The periphrasis, in two parts, brings out different aspects of Othrys: it blocks the midday sun, when it is in the southern part of the sky, giving the position of the mountain range; and it obstructs the constellation Leo, at its highest position in the sky during summer (Masters, 1992, 153, n. 8), stressing its height.

medios ignes caeli: "the middle of the day", at which time the sun is in the south. The expressions *dies medius, lux media* and *sol medius* all refer to midday; cf. Manil. 4. 592: *Auster amat medium solem*, where the midday sun and the south are connected; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 303; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 14. 34; Sen. *Ben.* 5. 6. 3; Phaedr. 3. 19. 8; also the Greek term μεσημβρίη, commonly used to indicate the south; cf. Hdt. 1. 6; 2. 99; Thuc. 6. 100. For *ignis* as a poeticism for the sun, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 55; Ov. *Met.* 1. 778; Luc. 8. 159: *medios... ignes.*

rapidi: "scorching", cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2. 10: *rapido fessis messoribus aestu*; *Georg.* 4. 425-6, with Mynors: *iam rapidus torrens sitientis Sirius Indos / ardebat caelo*; Ov. *Met.* 8. 225. *Rapidus* also has overtones of violence, appropriate to the context; cf. Cat. 63. 85: *ferus ipse sese adhortans rapidum incitat animo*: another lion; Luc. 3. 635.

solstitiale: strictly speaking this refers to the summer solstice. Since, however, the sun is not in Leo during the solstice, but in Cancer, *solstitiale* must refer to summer in general, as *bruma* (*brevissima dies*) refers to the whole of winter; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 100: *umida solstitia atque hiemes serenas orate*; for discussion, cf. Masters, 1992, 153. Nevertheless, the word cannot but call to mind the summer solstice, when the day is longest and the midday sun is at its highest position, thus emphasising the height of Othrys which obstructs it.

caput: a technical designation, common in works on astronomy, for the stars which make up the "head" of a constellation, cf. Varr. *LL.* 7. 76; Cic. *ND.* 2. 111: *eius (Tauri) caput stellis conspersum est frequentibus*; *TLL.* 3. 401. 82-402. 33.

nemorosus: uncommon and predominantly poetic; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 270: *iam medio apparet fluctо nemorosa Zacynthos*, with Williams. Like many adjectives in *-osus* it

indicates abundance. The northern face of Othrys was, indeed, covered by especially dense, wild forests, cf. *RE*. 18. 1874. 53 ff.; V. Fl. 6. 392: *Othrys piniger*.

Adjectives in *-osus* were popular in Latin verse, especially epic, commonly used to translate Greek adjectives terminating in -εις, -όεις, and -ώδης or compounded with πολυ-; *nemorosus* itself is equivalent to both πολύυλος and ὑλήεις; cf. Ernout, 1949, 65, 81-3. *-Osus* adjectives are by no means restricted to poetic diction, and are frequently found in prose manuals to describe topographical features, cf. Plin. *NH*. 4. 30: *Penius... nemorosa convalle defluens*; Colum. 2. 2. 8: *(locus) nemorosus arboribus*; Knox, 1986. Lucan's choice of *nemorosus* here may have been influenced by such topographical writers, rather than by his poetic predecessors.

summovet: primarily = "wards off", cf. Ov. *Met*. 5. 388-9: *silva... suis.../ frondibus... Phoebeos summovet ictus*. It also has military resonances, appropriate to the context, cf. Caes. *BG*. 4. 25. 1: *tormentis hostis propelli et summoveri iussit*; Liv. 9. 22. 4: *cum omnibus turmis equitum evectus summovit hostem*.

Othrys: a mountain range in southern Thessaly, stretching from the Pagasitic gulf to the foothills of Pindus; cf. *RE*. 18. 1873. 39 ff.; Hdt. 7. 129: τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἡ Ὄθρυς, who also positions Othrys by reference to the sun and the winds. Elsewhere described as the home of the Lapiths and centaurs, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 675; Plin. *NH*. 4. 30: *Pindus et Othrys Lapitharum sedes*. Again, Lucan makes no reference to its mythological associations.

339-340: Mt. Pindus, on the western boundary of Thessaly, which blocks the west and north-west winds (Zephyrus and Iapyx) and cuts off the evening light. Lucan's periphrases this time give an accurate and easy location for the mountain.

excipit: chosen for its military resonances: "to sustain the force of an attack"; cf. Cic. *Verr*. 2. 159: *qui... impetum moenibus... suis exceperint*; Caes. *BC*. 3. 93. 2: *tela missa exceperunt*; also "to intercept by ambush"; cf. Sall. *Hist*. 2. 29: *triplices insidiae... positae erant: prima, quae... venientis exciperet*; Virg. *Aen*. 3. 332. In the context of weather, it has the sense "to endure", implying foul conditions; cf. Cic. *Rab. Post*. 41: *hanc vim frigorum hiemumque... excipere*; Mart. 10. 82. 4: *patiar nimbos excipiamque nives*; yet the winds mentioned here were not considered especially dangerous, and Zephyros was proverbially mild; cf. N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1. 4. 1: *Favoni*.

Iapyga: the north-west wind, cf. Sen. *NQ*. 5. 17. 5. It blows from Iapygia (hence the name) on the most direct sailing route between the heel of Italy and Dyrrachium; cf. Nielsen, 1945, 55-6; N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1. 3. 4.

adversos: frequently used of winds, cf. Caes. *BC*. 3. 107. 1: *etesiis... qui navigantibus Alexandria fiunt adversissimi venti*; Prop. 3. 15. 32; Virg. *Aen*. 1. 103. In military contexts it describes opposed forces or weapons, threatening to strike: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 12. 266: *adversos telum contorsit in hostis*; [Tib.] 3. 7. 54: *Ciconumque manus adversis reppulit armis*; Ov. *Trist*. 1. 5. 39-40.

praecidit: violent overtones, "to sever, maim", are prominent; cf. Mart. 9. 2. 13: *i nunc et miseros, Cybele, praecide cinaedos*; Sen. *Dial*. 4. 16. 5. Lucan uses *praecidere* here only and its sense, "to end the day", is unprecedented; it is, however, used elsewhere of cutting short a situation, cf. Cic. *Off*. 1, 120: *amicitias... magis decere censent... sensim diluere quam repente praecidere*.

341-2: Olympus blocks out the north wind (Boreas) and the constellation of the Bear (Arctos) which marks the celestial north pole. Thus the mountain protects anyone living at its base from the ravages of cold weather. These lines accurately locate Mt. Olympus on Thessaly's northern border. Lucan mentions none of the mythological associations of Olympus (see below), keeping to his scientific manner.

Borean: the north wind; cf. Virg. *Georg*. 3. 278; Hor. *Carm*. 3. 24. 38-9: *nec Boreae finitimum latus / durataque solo nives*; Ov. *Met*. 13. 726-7; Nielsen, 1945, 8-9.

Arcton: the constellation of the bear which lies very close to the celestial north pole. It commonly designates the north, eg. Hdt. 1. 148: πρὸς ἄρκτον; Xen. *Anab*. 1. 7. 6; 3. 5. 15; Hor. *Carm*. 1. 26. 3-4, with N-H for further refs: *quis sub Arcto / rex gelidae metuatur orae*. The Bear never sets below the horizon and can, thus, be seen for the entire length of the night and throughout the year, making its current invisibility striking; cf. Arat. *Phaen*. 48: Ἄρκτοι, κυανέου πεφυλαγμέναι ὠκεανοῖο; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 246: *Arctos Oceani metuentis aequore tingi*; Ov. *Trist*. 4. 3. 1 ff., with Nisbet, 1982, 49; on the motion of circumpolar stars, cf. Mitton, 1978, 60, and plate 10. Arctos, a simple transliteration of the Greek Ἄρκτος, is a common designation in Latin for this constellation; for its other Roman names, cf. Le Boeuffle, 1977, 82-4, 90-2.

imi...habitator Olympi: a notable piece of *variatio*. Olympus is positioned by reference to the people living at its foot. This is an uncommon twist, since the inhabitants of Olympus are usually the gods who dwell on its peak among the clouds; cf. Hom. *Il*. 1. 494, 498-9. This detail serves to de-mythologise the mountain, by referring to the real inhabitants of Thessaly.

habitator: first appears in verse in Lucan; cf. *TLL*. 6. 2470. 77-2471. 73. It is rarely followed by a genitive indicating place; cf., however, Mart. 9. 51. 5: *nemorisque habitator amoeni*; Stat. *Theb*. 7. 604. *Habitator* expresses a continuous or permanent state of "habitation". On the semantic force and function of nouns in *-tor*, cf. Fruyt, 1990.

343-7: after defining the boundaries, Lucan describes the land within. He begins with a primeval lake which lay within the circle of mountains, a result of Thessaly's rivers being unable to drain out into the ocean until the valley of Tempe was opened; cf. Hdt. 7. 129. 4; Strab. 9. 5. 2; Diod. Sic. 4. 18. 6; Sen. *NQ*. 6. 25. 2; *HF*. 283-8. This lake becomes a focal point to which the excursus returns at the start of each section, 350, 360 and 381. The emphasis placed upon Thessaly as the land lying within this ring of

mountains (*hos inter montes media qui valle premuntur... latuere paludibus agri*) has been problematic for certain commentators since some of the cities and rivers which Lucan subsequently mentions lie outside the basin of mountains; cf. Heitland, 1887; Samse, 1942, 252 ff.

343: *premuntur*: *simplex pro composito* for *deprimere*; Housman, *ad loc.*, compares Virg. *Georg.* 1. 241: *premitur Libyae devexus in Austros.*

344: *paludibus agri*: a striking juxtaposition, underscoring Thessaly's transition from useless swamp to fertile land; cf. 381 ff. *Paludes* are generally worthless for agriculture; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 47-8, with Coleman: *et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus / limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco.*

346: *aditus pelagi*: genitive after *aditus*, indicating the target of motion, is uncommon. Place is usually indicated by a preposition, cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 123; Liv. 33. 12. 11: *ne proxima quaeque amoliendo maioribus gravioribusque aditum ad se facerent.*

stagnum: wordplay underscores the paradoxical contrast between *stagnum* and *crescere cursus* in 347; cf. Moretti, 1984, 44. *Stagnum* has a popular derivation from *stare*; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1. 126: *stagnum dicitur aqua stans*; Maltby, *s.v.*

347: *crescere cursus*:a striking juxtaposition. *Cursus* describes the natural downward flow of rivers to the ocean, cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 100: *si lacus lapsu et cursu suo ad mare profluisset*; Liv. 1. 4. 4: *nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis. Crescere*, "to rise", directly opposes the sense of *cursus*: thus, the waters rise as they fall; wordplay on *stagnum* enhances the contrast; cf. above.

347-349: Hercules' opening of Tempe by the separation of Ossa and Olympus, a feat commonly attributed to this hero; cf. Diod. Sic. 4. 18. 6; Sen. *HF.* 283-8; also Luc. 8. 1: *Herculeas fauces.* Unfortunately neither Diodorus nor Seneca provides an explanatory context for this deed, though Diodorus mentions its similarity to the opening of the straits of Gibraltar. Elsewhere, in more scientific accounts, Tempe's formation is attributed to an earthquake; cf. Hdt. 7. 129. 4; Strab. 9. 5. 2; Sen. *NQ.* 6. 25. 2 (modern geographers state that erosion formed Tempe; cf. *RE.* II 5A. 474. 34 ff.; Samse, 1942, 252). Lucan's use of the mythological aetiology of Tempe is a remarkable departure from the scientific tone of the preceding lines. Moreover, it stands in marked contrast to his usual practice of providing rational, scientific explanations for topographical features, rather than giving mythological origins; cf. 2. 435-8: Sicily; 9. 303-18: the Syrtes.

347-8: *Olympo...gravis Ossa*: in contrast to 333-6, Lucan correctly places Ossa next to Olympus. *Gravis* emphasises the amazing strength involved in this deed.

348: the predominance of dactyls suggests the speed and power of the water flooding out through Tempe.

Herculea…manu: the first reference to Hercules, who is connected with many of the places and events named in this passage. His association with the opening of Tempe makes him, to some degree, the creator of Thessaly, the place of war; cf. 332: *bello quam fata parabant*. Later references to Hercules in the excursus are generally to his dark, violent side, or the deleterious consequences of his actions; cf. 354-5, 391. In general, throughout the epic Hercules is an exemplar of Stoic *virtus*, though his virtue is surpassed by Cato; for this line of argument, cf. Ahl, 1976, 271-4; Shoaf, 1978; Martindale, 1981; on Hercules in Stoic thought, cf. Galinsky, 1972, 146 ff. The prominence given to Hercules' dangerous and irrational violence in the Thessalian excursus reinforces this contrast in favour of Cato.

Manu has connotations of great strength and violence, appropriate to both Hercules and the general tone of the excursus; cf. Cic. *Har*. 26; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 395: *Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit*.

subitaeque ruinam…aquae: the waters burst violently from the new valley. *Ruina* most naturally describes a fallen building, or other concrete structure, making its use with water somewhat paradoxical; cf., however, Petr. 123. 191: *vincta fluctus stupuere ruina*. *Ruina* has overtones of violence and destruction, even in its basic sense "an uncontrollable downward movement"; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 11. 888-9: *pars in praecipitis fossas urgente ruina / volvitur*. It is often used of destruction and catastrophe in Lucan, cf. 6. 278-81, thus imparting an ominous flavour to his account of Tempe's opening.

349: *sensit…Nereus*: Lucan mentions Nereus only twice, here and 2. 713: *hic primum rubuit civili sanguine Nereus*; on both occasions he suffers because of human activity. Nereus is a common metonymy for the sea; cf. [Tib]. 3. 1. 58; Ov. *Met*. 1. 187; Sen. *Oed*. 508; *sensit*, however, suggests that Lucan has the god himself in mind. As the father of Thetis and, thus, the grandfather of Achilles who appears in the next line, Lucan connects Nereus with Thessaly's violent inhabitants. Perhaps there is a hint of internecine violence, anticipating the more explicit mythological *exempla* to follow. The final letters, *-eus*, are regularly scanned as one long syllable; cf. Virg. *Georg*. 4. 392: *grandaevus Nereus: novit namque omnia vates*.

349-359: the cities of Thessaly which emerged after the lake was drained. These names depend on the one verb *eminet* at 351. The first eight cities can be grouped in pairs based on their mythological associations; cf. Samse, 1942, 253. Lucan mentions many tales connected to the cities, which serve to illustrate Thessaly's violent, prehistoric past.

349: *melius mansura sub undis*: these words give an ominous feel to this section of the catalogue. Lucan takes up a contrary position to Diodorus, who stated that the opening of Tempe by Hercules was a great benefit to the Greeks (4. 18. 6). Statements

to this effect are common, especially in connection with the πρῶτος εὑρετής theme; cf. *ad* 395-407.

This is Lucan's first authorial intrusion into the catalogue; cf. 389-94. Such interjections are an important aspect of his rhetorical style, paralleled in many places throughout the epic: cf. 2. 4-15; 7. 847-72; 9. 980-6; for discussion, cf. Piacentini, 1963, 62-3; Marti, 1964, 180-1; Rutz, 1970; Schlonski, 1995, 9 ff.; Leigh, 1997, app. 1.

mansura: has a quasi-hypothetical force, cf. 3. 621, 4. 807, etc.; L-H-S, 2. 664-5.

350: *Emathis...Pharsalos*: Pharsalus is prominently placed at the head of the list. *Emathis* is somewhat redundant since no other Pharsalus exists. Yet it may serve to remind the reader that other cities, whose Thessalian location is at times less certain, are within Lucan's Thessaly.

Emathis: a Greek adjectival form, in Latin literature confined to the present passage and 580; *Emathius* is the usual Latin form.

aequorei regnum...Achillis: Pharsalus, Achilles' birthplace and one of the cities in his power; cf. Strab. 9. 5. 10. In spite of many references to the Trojan war throughout the epic, Achilles is mentioned only here. As the Homeric warrior *par excellence*, Achilles' appearance reinforces the martial associations of Pharsalus specifically and the characterisation of Thessaly as a place "*bello quam fata parabant*" (332).

aequorei: coined by the neoterics, *aequoreus* is a common epithet for the Nereids, including Thetis to whom Lucan here alludes; on *aequoreus*, cf. *TLL*. 1. 1027. 56-1028. 32; e.g. Cat. 64. 15: *aequoreae...Nereides*. *Aequoreus* also connects Achilles to his grandfather Nereus, named at 349. The adjective, unusual for Achilles, also suggests the once watery condition of Achilles' kingdom, formerly submerged under the lake; and this connection creates an elegant witticism, that Achilles, like his native city, should have remained submerged; cf. Gassner, 1972, 184, n. 2; Masters, 1992, 158. This unusual epithet may have been chosen to recall Hom. *Il*. 16. 33-5: νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα Πελεύς| οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε θάλασσα| πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής; Homer states that Achilles was born of the sea, as is suggested by Lucan's *aequoreus*; the hardness of heart mentioned in the Iliadic passage is a characteristic appropriate to the persons who will engage in battle in Thessaly, adding to the land's suitability for war.

351: *eminet*: commonly used for objects projecting out from the sea, especially rocky outcrops; cf. Cic *TD*. 1. 68: *globum terrae eminentem e mari*; Caes. *BC*. 2. 24. 3; Ov. *Met*. 9. 226: *in Euboico scopulus brevis eminet alto*. Its present use, with the implication of motion (=*emerget*), is highly anomalous, though found in the context of stars rising; cf. Q. Cic. frg. 18-19 Court.: *squama sub aeterno conspectu torta Draconis / eminet*; Ov. *Fast*. 2. 145. The enjambment of *eminet* throws Pharsalus into prominence, the first in the list of Lucan's Thessalian cities. This is consonant with another sense of the verb, "to be pre-eminent"; cf. Liv. 3. 16. 3: *multi et varii timores;*

inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis; Luc. 7. 599. As the site of the civil war's major battle, Pharsalos is characterised as Thessaly's most outstanding city.

351-2: Phylace, a town in Phthiotis near Othrys; cf. Strab. 9. 5. 8, 14; Plin. *NH*. 4. 32. The descriptive phrase refers to its ruler Protesilaus who was the first to land at Troy; cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 695-702: Οἱ δ' εἶχον Φυλάκην...τῶν αὖ Προτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε | ζωὸς ἐών; |...τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ | νηὸς ἀποθρῴσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Αχαιῶν; Cat. 68. 73-86; Strab. 9. 5. 14. Phylace and Pharsalos form a pair; both refer to the Trojan war, the former to the greatest Greek hero, the latter to the first one killed in that conflict.

prima Rhoeteia litora pinu...tetigit: cf. *supra*. The expression shows similarities to 400: *prima...Pagaseo litore pinus*, the launching of the Argo, thus forming a sinister link with the launch of the first ship, a symbol of mankind's evil; cf. N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1. 3. 12; also *ad* 385, 400-1.

Rhoeteia: i.e. "Trojan", cf. Virg. *Aen*. 12. 456: *ductor Rhoeteius*; Cat. 65. 7, with Fordyce; it strictly refers to Rhoetum, a stretch of coast and town on the Troad north of Ilium, famous for the tomb of Ajax; cf. Mel. 1. 96: *Rhoetea litora...Aiacis tamen sepulcro maxime inlustria*; Plin. *NH*. 5. 125; *RE*. II 1a *s.v. Rhoiton* 7-26. *Rhoeteius* is a less common poetic variant of *Rhoeteus*.

352-3: *Pteleos*: a Thessalian coastal city, on the Pagasitic gulf, cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 697; Strab. 9. 5. 8; Liv. 35. 43. 4; Plin. *NH*. 4. 29: *nemus Pteleon*; Mel. 2. 44. Pteleon, razed by P. Licinius Crassus in 179 BC, had only a tiny settlement, hence Pliny's description: cf. Liv. 35. 42. 67; *RE*. 23. 1483. 20-37. The form *Pteleos* is unusual. The Greek τὸ Πτελεόν is generally retained by Latin authors.

Dorion: problematical, since no Dorion exists in Thessaly; cf. *RE*. 5. 1562. 50-1563. 3. The story of Thamyris (see below) makes it clear that Lucan refers to Dorion in Triphylia; cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 594 ff.: καὶ Πτελεὸν...καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι | ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τον Θρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς; Stat. *Theb*. 4.181 ff.; also the lists of Triphylian cities at Strab. 8. 3. 25; Plin. *NH*. 5. 117: *iuxta eas fuerunt oppida Pteleon, Helos, Dorion*. Its inclusion is erroneous, though its pairing with Pteleos suggests that, rather than making an ignorant mistake, Lucan is alluding to Hom. *loc. cit*., who mentions Triphylian Pteleos and Dorion together; cf. Samse, 1942, 253; Masters, 1992, 159, who sees this as a glaring "anti-allusion" to the Homeric catalogue, designed to drag the myth of Thamyris into Thessaly.

ira flebile Pieridum: an abbreviated reference to the myth of Thamyris, a Thracian who boasted that he could beat the Muses in a singing contest and was consequently blinded; cf. Hom. *Il*. 2. 595 ff.; Plin. *NH*. 7. 204; Prop. 2. 22. 19-20: *me licet et Thamyrae cantoris fata sequantur,/ numquam...caecus ero*; Stat. *Theb*. 4. 181 ff. The myth evokes the arrogance and impiety of such figures of the civil war as Caesar. For a

similarly hubristic challenge to the musical abilities of the gods, cf. Misenus at Virg. *Aen.* 6. 171-4, or the satyr Marsyas, Diod. Sic. 3. 59. 2 ff., Apollod. 1. 4. 2.

ira...Pieridum: *ira* has markedly negative connotations in Lucan, owing to the Stoic morality of the poem. It is often presented as a motivator of the conflict, especially when associated with the gods; cf. Fantham *ad* 2. 1, 86. Here divine anger and subsequent punishment are suggestive of civil war. On the pernicious nature of *ira*, cf. Seneca's *de Ira* and Fillion-Lahille, 1984, *passim*, esp. 10-18.

flebile: another very emotive word: "worthy of tears", cf. Cat. 66. 22: *fratris cari flebile discidium*; *Aetna*, 589; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 24. 9-10. Statius imitates its use here; cf. *Theb.* 4. 181-2: *Getico...flebile vati / Dorion.* Lucan uses it rarely, though generally he associates it with civil war; cf. 1. 548; 7. 691, 871. This strengthens the symbolic force of the myth of Thamyris.

353: Trachis and Meliboea, the next two cities, associated through the story of the death of Hercules: Trachis, his last home, where he was poisoned; Meliboea, the home of Philoctetes, the warrior who received Hercules' bow and quiver as a reward for lighting the hero's pyre; for details, see below.

Trachin: lay in the broadest part of the Maliac plain, at the foot of Mt Oeta, west of Thermopylae and near the Asopus and Melas rivers; cf. Grundy, 1901, 281 ff.; *RE.* II 6a *s.v. Trachis* 60 ff. Although it lies outside the circle of mountains, it is correctly placed in Thessaly, cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 682; Hdt. 7. 198-200; Strab. 9. 4. 13-14; 9. 5. 8; Plin. 4. 28 who calls it part of Haemonia. Located near Thermopylae, Trachin recalls this battle from the Persian wars, especially since Xerxes was encamped here; cf. Hdt. 7. 201. It was most famous, however, as Hercules' last home, where he was poisoned; cf. Soph. *Trach*; [Sen.] *HO.* The regular Greek form is Τραχίς/Τρηχίς; *Trachin* is the usual nominative in Latin, cf. [Sen]. *HO.* 195, 1432; *Tro.* 818: *lapidosa Trachin*; also Strab. 9. 4. 13.

pretio nefandae lampados Herculeis... pharetris: the quiver, and bow, of Hercules were Philoctetes' reward for lighting the hero's pyre. These weapons were essential for the Greek victory at Troy; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 66-9, 113; Apollod. *Epit.* 5. 8; Ov. *Met.* 9. 231-4. By introducing this reward as the descriptive myth for Meliboea, Lucan has drawn another aspect of the Trojan defeat into the excursus.

nefandae: somewhat paradoxical, since lighting the pyre ultimately led to Hercules' apotheosis. Nevertheless, *nefandus* recalls the initial abhorrence with which both Hyllus (Soph. *Trach.* 1203 ff.) and Philoctetes ([Sen], *HO.* 1717 ff., esp. *num manus pavida impium / scelus refugit*, 1719-20) greeted the suggestion that they should set fire to Hercules, a revulsion also reflected in the flames themselves ([Sen.], *HO.* 1727-30). *Nefandus* in general has dreadful overtones; cf. Fugier, 1963, 134-7; Lucan uses it of civil war or things pertaining to it; e.g. 1. 21: *tantus amor belli...nefandi*; 1. 667: *scelerique nefando nomen erit virtus*; cf. Liv. 1. 13. 2: *ne se sanguine nefando*

soceri generique respergerent. Besides recalling the reactions of those asked to light the pyre, *lampas* may be *nefanda* because its use initiated a sequence of events which led to Troy's destruction.

lampados: not the usual Latin word for the torch used to light a pyre; used of the instrument for igniting Hercules' pyre at Soph. *Trach.* 1198 and Acc. *Trag.* 670 R; also Luc. 7. 800, Stat. *Theb.* 11. 142; Sil. 2. 667, 677. The Greek genitive form for *lampas* first appears in Latin here, cf. *TLL.* 7. 909. 64-72.

354: *fortis Meliboea*: a coastal city in Magnesia, on the plain between Ossa and Pelion; cf. Strab. 9. 5. 16; Plin. *NH.* 4. 32; Mel. 2. 35; *RE.* 15. 611. 63-612. 9. Meliboea usually has no connection to Hercules' cremation and was great because of Philoctetes' reflected glory; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 717; Mel. 2. 35: *Philoctetes alumnus Meliboean inluminat*; Lucan, however, changes the focus by associating Meliboea's fame with Hercules' arrows. *Fortis*, used of cities, has the sense of "rich in resources or military power", the latter being appropriate here; cf. *Bell. Alex.* 66. 2: *Tarsum... fere totius Ciliciae...fortissimum est.* The epithet is possibly ironic since, after the battle of Pydna, the Romans sacked Meliboea and it was lost to history; cf. *RE*, *ibid.* 58-61. This detail links it to Larisa and Argos, cf. below, 355-6.

355-6: the following cities, Larisa and Argos, grouped together by Samse, signify the lost greatness of the past. This theme has a strong connection with a figure such as Pompey, and with Rome itself and her vanished republic; cf. Masters, 1992, 160.

Larisa: lies inland on the river Peneus; cf. Plin. *NH.* 4. 29; Strab. 9. 5. 5. Its greatness was not especially diminished in Lucan's times, notwithstanding "*olim potens*", cf. Mel. 2. 40: *de locis atque urbibus quae mare non adluit haec maxime memoranda sunt : in Thessalia nunc Larissa*; also Bowersock, 1965, 279. It played a significant role in the civil wars, as the stronghold of Pompey's ally Scipio, and the only town not to surrender to Caesar; cf. Caes. *BC.* 3. 81. 2: *nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praeter Larisaeos...quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent.* Lucan underplays its significance in the current context; contrast his treatment at 7. 712. The variant forms *Larisa* and *Larissa* are both common in Latin, though the former is preferred in verse.

olim: used by Lucan elsewhere, as here, to indicate the state of a place in the distant past; cf. 2. 610: *urbs est Dictaeis olim possessa colonis*; 9. 312; 9. 656.

ubi: "and the place where", an odd sense; it is repeated with this force at 356, in the same metrical position; cf. Cic. *Clu.* 111; Liv. 26. 15. 8: *Cales percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset...*.

quondam: common in Lucan's mythological or geographical digressions: cf. 1. 168, 442; 6. 344; 9. 357; 10. 509. Together with *olim*, *quondam* stresses the link

between Larisa and Argos as towns of the past, and its repetition in this section (344, 355, 357) emphasises the antiquity of Thessaly's cities.

356: *nunc...arant*: *nunc*, emphatically placed at the start of the line, is in direct contrast with *quondam*. The pathetic image suits the motif of lost glory. It is also suggestive of a city which was destroyed in war and the land put to agricultural use, e.g. Fregellae, Carthage; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 40-2.

Argos: another problematic city. References to a Thessalian Argos are few; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2. 681: τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος; Strab. 9. 5. 5; who suggests that Homer's Argos was either a city near Larisa, now lost; or that "Argos" refers not to a city, but to the plains of Thessaly. Lucan refers to the lost city, as the expression *nunc arant* suggests. The epithet *nobile* alludes to the much more famous Argos, "home city of a web of myth...(and which includes the civil-war precedents of murder within the family and fraternal strife)"; cf. Masters, 1992, 160-1. Lucan thus suggests that these Argive events occurred in Thessaly.

super Argos: *arare* governing a noun with preposition, not an object, is rare, and *super* is unprecedented; cf. *TLL.* 2. 626. 34. *Super* emphasises the ploughing up of the former city.

356-359: the final city is Thessalian Thebes, located on the Pagasitic gulf, near Pagasae and Phylace. Lucan uses another coincidence of names to draw the myths of a different Thebes (Boeotian) into Thessaly, mentioning the murder of Pentheus by his mother Agave, and alluding to the whole Theban cycle of familial conflict, a strong symbol for civil war; cf 1. 552; 1. 574: *Erinys...Thebanam qualis Agaven impulit*; 4. 551. Thebes is given some 4 lines to itself, and the most developed of the mythological references, rounding off this section with a strong dash of civil war symbolism.

356: *ubi fabula*: anaphora of *ubi* connects Thebes and Argos, since both names allude to myths of the past. In Lucan, *fabula* often introduces a mythological reference and it usually denotes a story which Lucan describes as false, a story presented to entertain the reader, or to show that "truth is stranger than fiction", Martindale, 1981, 75: cf. 2. 410; 3. 212; 6. 48; 8. 407; 9. 623; 10. 282. The device allows Lucan to introduce these stories while maintaining his stance as a writer of historical epic for whom the myths of gods and heroes are neither relevant nor credible; cf. Piacentini, 1963, 16-27, 62-3. It functions no differently here: Agave's story adds colour to the catalogue and possesses a strong symbolic force, but should never be considered true.

veteres: on the antiquity of Thessalian Thebes, cf. *RE.* II 5a. 1587. 3-26.

Thebas: cf. Plin. *NH.* 4. 29: *Thebae Thessaliae*; Strab. 9. 5. 6, who makes it one of the cities subject to Protesilaus. Though lacking other mythological associations, it was a powerful city in its region, having annexed its near neighbours Phylace and Pyrasos and owning much land and a harbour; cf. *RE.* II 5a. 1584. 12-27.

357: *Echionias*: commonly refers to Boeotian Thebes, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 4. 64: *Echioniae... Thebae*; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 169, 10. 508. Echion was one of the Spartoi who married Agave and fathered Pentheus; cf. Apollod. 3. 4. 1-2; Ov. *Met.* 3. 126; he has no connection whatsoever with Thessalian Thebes; cf. Roscher, 1. 1213. 20-37. The epithet is highly misleading, falsely suggesting a connection between Boeotian Thebes and its mythical cycle, the tales of internecine violence so often used as symbols for civil war, and Thessalian Thebes.

ubi quondam: significant repetition of these two words from 355. Shackleton Bailey (1987, 83-4) feels that *ubi* here must parallel its use above (cf. *ad* 355) and introduce another unnamed city, rather than act as a relative adverb showing that Thessalian Thebes was the place of Agave's exile.

357-359: Lucan includes a very condensed version of the story of Pentheus, king of Boeotian Thebes, who was dismembered by his own mother Agave acting under delusion (*colla caputque ferens*), and her subsequent sorrow for her deed (*questa*); cf. esp. Eur. *Bacch.* 978 ff.; 1169 ff.; also Ov. *Met.* 3. 714 ff. Agave's flight to Thessalian Thebes is Lucan's own addition; she flees in other versions, but never to Thessaly; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1366 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 184; Roscher, 1. 99. 56-100. 27. The myth incorporates many elements which are very appropriate to Lucan's civil war imagery: familial conflict and murder, the impiety of Pentheus towards the gods, and dismemberment, which is a common symbol of a state racked by civil war; on the latter, cf. Most, 1992. This scene also recalls the image of a decapitated leader, as symbol of a fallen state; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2, 555-8, Luc. 8. 698-710, on Lucan's use of this motif, cf. Narducci, 1973, 321 ff.

Pentheos: the Greek genitive form is common in Latin. The quantities of the ending do not, however, correspond to the Greek -εως / -ηος.

exul: has a pejorative colour, cf. Sen. *Ag.* 291-300: *scilicet nubam tibi/ regum relicto rege, generosa exuli?... dedecus nostrae domus*; for further refs, cf. Opelt, 1965, index, *s.v. exul.* This underscores the criminality of the act which led to Agave's self-imposed banishment; on criminality and exile, a punishment often imposed for crimes against the state, cf. Cic. *Clu.* 175, Liv. 1. 59. 11: *exules...L. Tarquinium cum coniuge ac liberis*; for discussion, cf. Doblhofer, 1987, 52, 56-9; Braginton, 1944. Significantly, various bad individuals in the *Bellum Civile* were branded as *exules*: e.g. Marius: 2. 70, 227; Sertorius: 2. 549; the early Pompey: 2. 603, 730; Sextus Pompey: 6. 421. These characters all performed treasonous activities in their exile. Agave, who likewise wreaked civic havoc, is their mythic prototype.

358: *colla caputque ferens*: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1284; Ov. *Met.* 3. 727.

359: *rapuisset*: i.e. she "stole it away"; the verb also suggests "to tear off", fitting in the context of dismemberment; cf. Ov. *Met.* 15. 526-7: *membra rapi*

partim.../...videres; Luc. 2. 111; 8. 689: *rapto cerebro adsiccata cutis*, of Pompey's severed head.

hoc solum: i.e. *colla caputque*, which are taken together as one entity.

360-380: the rivers of Thessaly. These can be subdivided into: (i) rivers which flow westwards into the Adriatic (361-6); (ii) those which flow through south-eastern Thessaly into the Maliac and Pagasitic gulfs (367-70); (iii) those which flow through central and north-eastern Thessaly and out through Tempe (371-80). Line 374 alone disturbs this arrangement; cf. *ad loc.* Lucan returns to the opening of Tempe as the starting point for this passage, 360: *ergo abrupta palus multos discessit in amnes*. This unifying motif creates some geographical difficulties, since many of the rivers listed do not flow out through Tempe; cf. above. The appearance of these otherwise anomalous rivers can, in part, be explained by allusions made to two passages in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which contain catalogues of Thessalian rivers, *Met.* 1. 567 ff., esp. 577-85; 7. 228-31. All of the rivers in the former Ovidian passage, and all but two from the latter appear in Lucan's catalogue; for a discussion of the connection with Ov. *Met.* 1. 577-85, cf. Mendell, 1942; Masters, 1992, 165-7. The second passage, a description of Medea's herb-gathering tour of Thessaly, is a prelude to the description of her spell and the rejuvenation of Aeson; the similarities in the two geographical excursuses is a part of the overall correspondences between the two scenes; cf. introduction p. 7.

Lucan's passage is highly suggestive of civil war, through his use of mythological references and charged language. The symbolism of the rivers themselves is greatly varied, and seems to be a massing, in symbolic form, of the various character types found throughout the poem; cf. Masters, 1992, 169-72. As a prelude to the battle of Pharsalus where these individual character types come together, this symbolism is most appropriate. The mythological references found in the section on rivers have the same function as those in the passage on Thessaly's cities: they are descriptive tales which embellish the list of names, and add to the symbolic force of the passage through their association with conflict and civil war. There is a change, however, with the description of the final river, Titaresos, where the myth becomes explanatory, accounting for an aspect of the topographical realities of Thessaly in the narrative's present, rather than describing a fictional event from the land's past. This is the turning point in the excursus, where wholly fictional and fantastic elements are brought into the rationalised and scientific account of Thessaly. This acts as a prelude to the utterly incredible events which occur in Thessaly: Erictho's necromancy and the battle of Pharsalus itself.

360: recalls 347-9, where the opening of Tempe introduced Thessaly's cities. There is a logical discrepancy between 360 and 361-6, the latter describing rivers which flow westwards (*in occasus*, 361) into the Ionian sea, not eastwards into the Aegean through Tempe. Samse (1942, 254-7), on the basis of this and the unusual expression *abrupta palus* (the lake broken apart), declared that 360 was corrupt and proposed that it was originally something like "*multi Thessalicis decurrunt montibus amnes*". Such logical

lapses, however, are not uncommon in Lucan's work and his geography has been quite flexible up to this point; cf. Masters, 1992, 164-5. *Abrupta palus* is, in any case, unexceptional for such an exponent of the unusual expression as Lucan.

ergo: a strong connective, commonly found after digressions; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 384, after the Palinurus scene: *ergo iter inceptum peragunt*; Cic. *Phil.* 12. 22. Following the digression on cities, *ergo* indicates a return to Herodotus' scheme in his description of Thessaly: mountains, then rivers; cf. intro. para. 2.

abrupta palus: *abruptus* better suits the mountains broken apart by Hercules (347 ff.) than the water; cf. Liv. 36. 24. 8: *rupes media valle velut abrupta ab arce erat*; also, in a geographical context, Luc. 5. 293: Persian gulf; 9. 308: Syrtes; cf. Samse, 1942, 254-7. Nevertheless, *abrumpere* describes more tenuous substances elsewhere; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 199: clouds; Ov. *Fast.* 2. 495: aether; Sen. *HF.* 280: *tenebras*; Lucan boldly transfers *abrupta* from the mountains to the lake. In doing this, Lucan has devised another symbolic image for civil war, that of a unified whole broken into many parts; for *abrumpere* describing the separating of masses of people, cf. Liv. 3. 19. 9; Sen. *Clem.* 1. 12. 3: *in hostile nomen cives et ex eodem corpore abrupti transierint*; and in a civil war context: Val. Max. 1. 8. 10: *quo (bello civili) se Cn. Pompeius a Caesaris concordia... abruperat.* The symbolism of Pentheus' dismemberment (357-9) reinforces this imagery. All this adds to the growing picture of Thessaly as a land fit for the coming battle, giving its origin overtones of civil strife; on Lucan's use of river symbolism, cf. Masters, 1992, 52-3. *Abrupta palus* may be recalled at 7. 174: *visus... abruptis mergi convallibus Haemus*; the image of Thessaly sinking is one of the omens of the battle of Pharsalus.

discessit: "to split up, be dispersed", cf. Sen. *NQ.* 4b. 5. 2: *tunc flumina gelata discedere, tunc obrutos montes nivem solvere*; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 585: *discedunt nebulae.* In conjunction with *ergo*, the repetition of *discessit* from 347 recalls the parting of Ossa and Olympus to strengthen the connection between the primeval lake and the passage on rivers. Masters (164) sees the deliberate repetition as underscoring the transference of *abrupta* from the more appropriate mountain to the lake.

361-366: describe four rivers, Aeas, Inachus, Achelous and Euhenos, which flow from the western border of Thessaly into the Ionian sea (on the inconsistency with 360, cf. above).

361: *purus...Aeas*: Aeas flows from the Pindus mountains through northern Epirus, cf. Plin. *NH.* 3. 145: *flumen Aous a quibusdam Aeas*; Mel., 2. 57; Strab. 6. 271, 7. 316; Liv. 32. 5. 10, with Briscoe; for discussion, cf. *RE.* 1. 2658. 18 f.; Hammond, 1966, 39-42. Although without mythological significance (cf. *RE. ibid.*), its mouth was the site for Caesar's attempted crossing of the Adriatic to Brundisium, dramatised by Lucan, cf. 5. 504 ff.; also Plut. *Caes.* 38. *Purus* indicates an unobstructed flow, free from mud or silt, in contrast to other rivers in the catalogue; cf. Curt. 3. 4. 8: *(Cydnus) leni tractu e fontibus labens puro solo excipitur*; Front. *Aq.* 90: *Anio quamvis purissimo defluens*

lacu...aufert aliquid quo turbetur. The spellings *Aous* and *Aeas* are both in common use (*RE*. *ibid*. 20-25).

parvi sed gurgitis: its size is not mentioned by the geographers; contrast, however, Euphorion, *Thrax*, frg A. 10: [ε]ὐροροῇ Αἴαντι. Since Aeas is not made famous by mythology, *parvus* may have the secondary implication of insignificance; cf. Sall. *Cat*. 51. 11; Ov. *Pont*. 2. 5. 25: *dum tamen in rebus temptamus carmina parvis*. The adjective involves an oxymoron, in that *gurges* usually suggests a large mass of water: cf. Cic. *Har*. 59: *tam immanem Charybdim...quae tantos exhauriet gurges*; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 296-7.

363: *avectae pater Isidis*: this brief periphrasis introduces the next river; Inachus' daughter, Io, was raped by Jupiter, transformed into a cow, wandered the world and was finally retransformed and deified in Egypt; cf. Aesch. *PV*. 700-41, 786-818; Ov. *Met*. 1. 588-750; Plew, 1870. Inachus is best known as a river of the Peloponnese, and its inclusion amongst Thessalian rivers seems astonishing; on its location, cf. *RE*. 10. 1218. 25 ff.; Roscher, 2. 125. 23-6. Nevertheless, an Inachus (now Aspropotamos), which feeds into the Achelous, exists in Epirus; cf. *RE*. 10. 1219. 24. Moreover, this Inachus connects with the Peloponnesian Inachus, its waters flowing underground to emerge in Argos, its regular home; cf. Roscher, *ibid*. 126. 64 ff.; Strab. 6. 2. 4. Hence, its inclusion, though recondite, is not a mistake as previously claimed; cf. Bourgery, 1928b, 31; Mendell, 1942, 19-20, who considers that Lucan carelessly adapted Ov. *Met*. 1. 569 ff.; Masters, 1992, 165-7, who sees this as a deliberately erroneous reference to Ovid, with the same intent as the "anti-allusion" to Dorion; cf. *ad* 352.

Lucan's brief summary of the myth is characteristic of his catalogue: he uses a few well chosen words pertaining to the start and end of the story which allow the reader to recall the myth *in toto*. The force of *avectae*, "carried off", initiates the tale and the name Isis shows the end, after Io's travels, retransformation and deification; for other instances of this summation of myths, cf. 352-3, 365-6, 386-94.

Isidis: the conflation of Io and Isis occurred after Alexander's conquest of Egypt, when Isis-worship spread throughout the Mediterranean world: cf. Diod. Sic. 1. 24. 8: φασὶ..καὶ τῆς Ἴσιδος τὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ελλήνων εἰς Ἄργος μεταφέρεσθαι, μυθολογούντων τήν Ἰὼ τὴν εἰς βοὸς τύπον μεταμορφωθεῖσαν; for discussion, cf. Roscher, *s.v.* 2. 439. 48 ff.; Solmsen, 1979, 16 ff., 70-71. The identification of Io and Isis was well known through the popular Isis cult and commonly figures in Roman poetry, cf. Ov. *Met*. 1. 747, 9. 686-94; Prop. 2. 33. 3-4, 17-22; V. Fl. 4. 346-7, 416-8; Stat. *Silv*. 3. 2. 101; on the popularity of the cult, cf. Witt, 1966, esp. 6 ff.; 1972, 46 ff. Lucan may use *Isidis* here since no genitive form of Io exists in Latin; cf. Neue, 1. 315.

Ionio fluit...mari: dative of motion towards, extremely rare with *fluo*; cf. K-S, 1. 320 f.; Virg. *Aen*. 5. 451: *it clamor caelo*.

363-4: *tuus, Oeneu, paene gener*: this periphrasis introduces the next river, Achelous, by referring to his important mythological association with Hercules, their

battle for the hand of Deianira; cf. Soph. *Trach*. 9-27, 508 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 9. 9. ff.; [Sen.], *HO*. 299. ff. Lucan's method of including Achelous, through a mythological allusion, connects him closely with Inachus, as does the similar content of the stories, a bereft father and a disappointed father-in-law. This connection also reinforces Lucan's recherché reference to Epirote Inachus, a tributary of Achelous; cf. *ad* 363.

crassis oblimat...undis: the Achelous is choked with mud; elsewhere it is described differently as ἀργυροδίνης; cf. Hes. *Th*. 340; Callim. *H. Ceres*. 13. Nevertheless, the silting up of Achelous' mouth was noted in antiquity, cf. Hdt. 2. 19; Thuc. 2. 142. 3 ff.; Strab. 1. 59; Plin. *NH*. 2. 201: *eadem nascentium causa terrarum est... nascuntur enim... sicut Echinades insulae ab Acheloo amne congestae*.

crassis: cf. Ov. *Am*. 3. 6. 8: *et turpi crassas gurgite volvis aquas*; Stat, *Theb*. 4. 820; Mart. 11. 21. 4.

Echinades: five small, but precipitous and rocky islands off the coast of Aetolia, at the mouth of the Achelous, cf. *RE*. 5. 1919. 48 ff. The reference to the Echinades being covered with Achelous' muddy waters (*crassis oblimat... undis*) probably alludes to Ov. *Met*. 8. 577 ff.: the islands were once nymphs who sacrificed to all the gods in the region except Achelous; in anger he tore up field and forest and with these swept the nymphs into the sea, where they were metamorphosed into the islands. A key element of this tale, divine anger, aroused by impiety and leading to destruction, recalls the civil war symbolism of the Thamyris myth, cf. *ad* 352-3.

365-6: Euhenos in Calydon; cf. Plin. *NH*. 4. 11; Mel. 2. 53; it is geographically linked to Achelous since it, too, flows through Oeneus' lands; cf. Ov. *Met*. 8. 528; Hyg. *Fab*. 171. They are further connected by the mythological references which Lucan uses: after defeating Achelous, Oeneus' *paene gener*, Hercules, travelling home with his newly-won bride, comes to Euhenos where he meets and kills Nessus (*maculatus sanguine Nessi / Euhenos*) for attempting to rape Deianira.

Meleagream...Calydona: Meleager's Calydon was the location of Euhenos. The expression also draws into Thessaly's violent past the Calydonian boar hunt. There are various pertinent aspects to this story:. the boar was sent by Diana after Oeneus forgot to sacrifice to her; cf. Hom. *Il*. 9. 533 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 8. 271 ff.; Apollod. 1. 8. 2; and familial conflict is the story's finalé: Meleager kills his uncles for stealing the prize from Atalanta, and is then killed by his own mother for this act; cf. Ov. *Met*. 8. 425 ff.; Hyg. *Fab*. 174; Apollod. *Bib*. 1. 8. 3. Divine anger caused by impiety and internecine strife make this another appropriate myth for illustrating Thessaly's suitability for civil war.

maculatus sanguine Nessi: on Nessus' death, cf. *ad* 365-6. *Maculare* has strong connotations of pollution and desecration; cf. Virg. *Aen* 3. 29; Sen. *NQ*. 6. 27. 2: *aer... corruptus... purum hunc liquidumque maculat ac polluit*; *Ag*. 218-19: *paras / mactare et aras caede maculare impia*. For the polluting effect of blood, cf. Virg. *Aen*.

2. 717-20; Ov. *Met.* 1. 719, 7.315. The expression recalls the cloak which was to be covered with Nessus' blood, the substance which will cause Hercules' destruction, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 580; Ov. *Met.* 9. 132: *calido velamina tincta cruore*; [Sen]. *HO.* 527-8: *inlitas vestes... / hac... ipsa tabe*; 536: *nitentem virus in vestem datum*; *maculatus* itself is more suggestive of a solid object bespattered with blood, rather than a river or other liquid.

Nessi: a Centaur; he fled to Euhenos after the fight with Hercules at Pholoe, cf. *ad* 391. His most famous deed was the attempted rape of Deianira, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 580 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 9. 101 ff.; *Her.* 9. 141 ff.; [Sen]. *HO.* 492 ff.; Apollod. 2. 5. 4; 2. 7. 6.

secat: cf. Plin. *NH.* 5. 92: *Cydnos, Tarsum liberam urbem procul a mari secans*; Mel. 3. 77; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 717.

366-380: these lines list ten rivers which flow through Thessaly. There are still geographical complications with all but the final four, the only ones which run through Tempe; cf. *ad* 360. The others flow out into either the Maliac gulf or the *sinus Pagasaeus*, further south on the eastern coast of Greece.

366-7: Spercheos, a large river in the southern part of Thessaly which empties into the Maliac gulf, cf. Plin. *NH* 4. 28; Strab. 9. 5. 9; Mel. 2. 44. It is a part of the terrain around Thermopylae; cf. Hdt. 7. 198; for further discussion, cf. *RE* II 3a. 1626. 22 ff.

ferit: a violent word, appropriate for the topography of a land fated to suffer civil war; for *ferio*, "to strike dead", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 315; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 43; Cic. *Verr.* 1. 75: *urget... ut... securi feriantur*. It rarely describes the action of rivers, cf. only Luc. 10. 293: *Aethiopumque feris alieno gurgite campos*; it occasionally describes the sea; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9. 43: *insani feriant sine litora fluctus*; Ov. *Ars.* 1. 528; *TLL.* 6. 514. 18-35.

amne citato: Spercheos is described as fast by no other author. *Citatus* is an etymological gloss on the river's name, from σπέρχω.

Maliacas...aquas: i.e. the Maliac gulf, cf. *ad* 366-7.

367-8: Amphrysos flows down from Othrys through the Crocian plain near Halus and out into the Pagasitic gulf; cf. Strab. 9. 5. 8; 9. 5. 14; *RE.* 1. 1978. 6-12. It was the river on which Apollo shepherded Admetus' flocks; cf. Callim. *Hymn Ap.* 48; Ap. Rhod. 1. 54; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 2: *pastor ab Amphryso*. Virgil and Lucan probably owe this detail to Callimachus, who was the first author to connect Apollo with the Amphrysos; this debt is shown by its identical metrical position in all three authors; cf. Frentz, 1967, 36.

flumine puro: like Aeas, another pure river, though there is no evidence for this; cf. *RE., ibid.* Although the river itself is uncontaminated, it marks the region where Apollo was punished for an impious crime against his father; cf. *ad* 368: *famulantis pascua Phoebi.* There is possibly a bilingual pun on *purus* and *Phoebus*, often

etymologised as "the bright one", cf. Maltby, *s.v. Phoebus*; the pun is reinforced by their identical metrical positions; for further discussion, cf. *ad* 466: *calido... Phoebo*.

368: *inrigat...famulantis pascua*: these three words appear only here in the entire poem, giving an unfamiliar ring to the line. Masters' comment (1992, 170) that Thessaly "is run through by every kind of river, big epic rivers as well as pure Alexandrian streams", is borne out in 367-8.

famulantis pascua Phoebi: Amphrysos was where Apollo was condemned to spend a year of servitude to Admetus for slaying Jupiter's Cyclopes, whom Apollo killed in revenge for the murder of his own son Asclepius by Jupiter; cf. Eur. *Alc*. 3-7; Apollod. 3. 10. 4; Diod. 4. 71. Jupiter, who punished Asclepius for resurrecting a dead man, was driven to action by his brother Hades' anger at the loss of his subjects. Once again, a complex story of familial conflict is symbolic of civil strife, and Apollo's unrestrained revenge is symbolic of the rash hot-headedness of civil war; by mentioning the place of Apollo's punishment, Lucan evokes the entire story, suggesting its location within Thessaly.

famulantis: this, like the high-style *famulus*, carries an elevated tone; cf. Axelson, 1945, 58. Such lofty language is appropriate for the god of poetry. Apollo's willing servitude to Admetus (cf. above) is a common motif in love elegy, cf. Tib. 2. 3. 11 ff.; Ov. *Ars*. 2. 239-42; for discussion, Copley, 1947; Lucan, however, focuses entirely on the punishment without mentioning Admetus or his close friendship with the god.

374: extremely problematic. The three rivers, Asopos, Phoenix and Melas, flow through southern Thessaly into the Maliac gulf (cf. below). In the manuscripts, however, the line stands within a section describing the tributaries of the Peneus, which incorrectly implies that these three rivers flow through central Thessaly. Bourgery-Ponchont and Viansino ignore the problems, leaving 374 in place.

Housman's proposed transposition of this line seems the preferable solution, and is adopted here. It places the rivers in the subsection of the catalogue where they belong, a list of rivers flowing through south-eastern Thessaly into the Pagasitic and Maliac gulfs. It has the further advantage of providing a main verb for Anauros; cf. *ad* 369-70. Housman's explanation of *accipit cursus* as *currere incipit* is satisfactory; cf. [Quint]. *Decl*. 18. 8: *a te malignitas accepit ortum*; Front. *Aq*. 25: *modulus (non) ab uncia... originem accipiens inductus*, though the rivers' place of origin must be supplied from the context; comparable also is the expression *viam accipere*, cf. Manil. 1. 709: *accipiuntque viam fluctus*; [Sen]. *HO*. 86: *novasque Tanais accipiat vias*; Quint. *Inst*. 5. 14. 31. No source is specified in any of these examples.

Deletion is the other solution proposed, though no convincing argument for this has been put forward. Samse (1942, 262 ff.) argues that the three rivers do not flow out from the mountain borders of Thessaly, violating the prescription in line 360, and he finds *accipit cursus* too obscure; nevertheless, the three rivers do fall into the region of Thessaly as the Romans defined it (cf. intro. para. 2); and other features in the list lie outside the ring of mountains (eg. Dorion, Trachin, Aeas, etc.); for the expression

accipit cursus, cf. above. Masters too (1992, 168-9, and nn. 58, 59) feels that deletion is in order because the rivers have no other attributes than the etymological resonances of their names and "because the line is simple enough to have been a scholarly interpolation". In reponse to Masters' objections, wordplay is also present in the lines on Spercheos and Anauros, and variation in the length of entries in the catalogue is not uncommon (e.g. 352: *Pteleos Dorion...*; 353-4: *Trachin...Meliboea*; 384: *Dolopes ...Aeolides*) and should not be considered unusual here.

Moreover, these rivers are important topographical features in the vicinity of Thermopylae, cf. Grundy, 1901, ch. 7. They are mentioned in close conjunction by Herodotus, and Xerxes camped near the mouths of Asopos and Melas, cf. Hdt. 7. 198-200; also Strab. 9. 4. 14. Given the strong similarities between Lucan's and Herodotus' descriptions of Thessaly, noted above, and the presence of Spercheos, Trachin and Oeta, also in the vicinity of Thermopylae, it is reasonable to assume that Lucan intended his audience to consider the battle of Thermopylae as a part of Thessaly's dreadful past; cf. also 2. 672-7, with Fantham, where Lucan reveals his attitude to Xerxes' hubris and megalomania. The allusions to the Persian war here should recall this portrait of Xerxes, a figure who makes Thessaly a land of war no less than Achilles or Hercules.

Asopos: flows from Oeta through a narrow ravine in a north-easterly direction, south of Spercheos; cf. Grundy, 1901, 259-60, 278, 294. The natural resonance of its name, "unquiet", is significant; cf. Masters, 1992, 169.

Phoenix: another river of the region, which joins Asopos, cf. Plin. *NH*. 4. 30: *flumina Thessaliae Apidanos, Phoenix, Enipeus*. Its name "red" could come from the ruddy-brown colour of its bed, Grundy, 1901, 284; *RE*. 20. 435. 21-46. Another derivation links this name to the tomb of Phoenix which lay on its banks; cf. Strab. 9. 4. 14; thus, in mentioning this river, Phoenix joins Achilles, Protesilaus and Philoctetes as another Greek hero from the Trojan war who figures in this catalogue.

Melas: flows from Oeta into the Maliac gulf; cf. Grundy, 1901, 280-1. The natural resonance of its name, "black", makes a striking end to the line. The red-black colour combination, suggested by *Phoenixque Melasque*, has sinister connotations in Lucan; cf. Paterni, 1987, 109 f., 116.

369-70: Anauros in Magnesia descends from Pelion and flows into the Pagasitic gulf, cf. Strab. 9. 5. 16; it is famous in myth only as the river in which Jason lost his sandal: cf. Hes. *Scut*. 477; Ap. Rhod. 1. 9; Apollod. 1. 9. 16. Lucan is the first Latin author to mention it. The description, windless and mistless, is another etymological gloss; cf. *ad* 366-7: *amne...citato*; ἀ privative + αὔρα; cf. Vib. Sequest. *Geogr*. 28: *fl. Anauros, Thesaliae, ita denominatus quod ex se neque auram neque nebulam demittat*. Anauros' connection with the Jason myth, which becomes prominent later (385, 400-1), is important: another Thessalian topographical feature serves to initiate a terrible series of mythical happenings.

quique…suspirat Anauros: the textual problem of these two lines, that Anauros has no main verb, is solved by adopting Housman's transposition of 374; Anauros becomes another subject for *accipit…cursus*; cf. *ad loc.* As the lines stand, Lucan seems to be implying that Anauros too irrigates Apollo's pastures, a geographical impossibility, cf. *ad* 367-8, 369-70. Samse (1942, 262-6) who disagrees with Housman's transposition, is aware of the problem in this line but offers no satisfactory solution.

370: *suspirat*: unusual and poetic in the context of natural forces; cf. Sil. 12. 136, 13. 424-6: *qua…/ specus eructat acerbam / Cocyti laxo suspirans ore paludem*; the usual verb is *exhalare*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 596: *nebulae…exhalantur humo*. *Suspirare* involves a touch of personification, since the verb is normally used in a human context, "to heave a sigh of anguish, regret".

371-3: Peneus and two of its tributaries, Apidanos and Enipeus. The waters of these rivers are the first in the catalogue to fulfil the initial prescription of line 360, by flowing out through Tempe. Masters (170-2) sees a great deal of symbolism in the confluence of these waterways, reflecting the different ways in which people mix in the civil war. Great importance is placed upon Apidanus' and Enipeus' loss of their identities (*per se non cognitus amnis*) when they join Peneus and their characteristics represent different results of the mixing: Apidanus, already fast, gains nothing from joining Peneus; while Enipeus actually benefits by becoming a fast river (*numquamque celer, nisi mixtus*).

quisquis…aquas: without transposing 374, there is no main verb; cf. *ad* 369-70.

Peneo: the most famous Thessalian river, which runs from the Pindus mountains out into the sea through Tempe, cf. Plin. *NH.* 4. 30: *ante cunctos claritate Penius*; Strab. 9. 5. 17, 19; Mel. 2. 35; Ov. *Met.* 1. 569 ff.; *RE.* 19. *s.v. Peneius* 28 ff.

donavit…gurgite rapto: *gurgite rapto* primarily means that Apidanus swept itself along quickly; cf. Liv. 28. 6. 10: *velut monte praecipiti devolvens torrens rapitur*; Sen. *Thy.* 261-2. *Rapto* has an overtone of violent theft; cf. Housman *ad loc.*: a Peneo, 1. 433 sq. *Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis in mare fert Ararim*; also *ad* 359: *rapuisset*. The interplay between *donavit* and *rapto* is striking: in the Peneus clause, the water is given, but in the second clause the overtones of *rapto* imply the waters have been stolen forcibly.

donavit: probably a gnomic perfect, expressing a general situation, without reference strictly to the past; cf. Cat. 62. 42, with Fordyce: *multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae*; L-H-S, 2. 318.

it…rapto: the monosyllablic *it* creates a diaeresis between the fourth and fifth feet, emphasising the unusual expression at the end of the line, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 443: *it stridet, et altos*; 4. 665: *it clamor ad alta*. The placement of a monosyllable in the

second half of the fourth foot was relatively common, especially among epic poets, for the reasons just noted; cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1964, 85-113, esp. 108-113.

373: *Apidanos...Enipeus*: tributaries of the Peneus, flowing northwards from Mt Othrys. Enipeus, which flows past Pharsalus, converges with Apidanos just before it joins the Peneus; cf. Hdt. 7. 129; Ap. Rhod. 1. 38-9; Strab., 9. 5. 6; Ov. *Met*. 1. 579-80; V. Fl. 1. 357: *segnior Apidani vires ubi sentit Enipeus*, who, like Lucan, highlights the rivers' differing speeds. The two names are placed at the start and end of the line, adding emphasis to the situation.

mixtus: for *misceo* of waterways merging, cf. Ov. *Pont*. 4. 10. 45: *hic... miscentur flumina Ponto*; Luc. 3. 236: *Indus aquis mixtum non sentit Hydaspen*, 4. 22; Front. *Aq*. 72. In human affairs, *miscere*, "to throw into confusion", often appears in contexts of civic upheaval; cf. Sall. *Cat*. 10. 1: *saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit*; Cic. *Agr*. 2. 91: *qui... iniquis imperiis rem publicam miscerent*; Liv. 2. 19. 5; 28. 30. 11; Luc. 1. 682: *Romanae miscent acies bellumque sine hoste est*; also 1. 88; 3. 569. These resonances support Masters' symbolic reading of the topography.

375-380: Titaresos, the final river and the longest description, just as the list of cities concluded with three lines on Thebes. Titaresos proper starts in Perrhaebia, north of Thessaly, and flows down to join Peneus near the northern edge of the Thessalian plain. A tributary of Titaresos, of the same name, flows from the Meluna pass in northern Thessaly and is probably the river to which Lucan refers; cf. *ad* 378: *Stygiis... paludibus*. It meets the larger Titaresos just before its confluence with Peneus, cf. Stählin, 1926, 17, and map. It adds another element to Masters' symbolist interpretation of the tributaries of the Peneus: the waters of Titaresos were thought not to combine with those of Peneus, even though flowing along the same course. Masters reads this as an example of another outcome of defeat in war, a refusal to participate in the new order, "a pocket of resistance which this poem claims to celebrate"; Masters, 1992, 171.

The detail in lines 375-6 derives from Homer, *Iliad* 2. 751-5: οἳ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρησσὸν ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο | ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνειόν προϊει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ, | οὐδ' ὁ γε Πηνειῷ συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίνῃ, | ἀλλά τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἠύτ' ἔλαιον· | ὅρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ. Pliny, like Homer, calls this river Orcus and alludes to the Stygian waters to explain the fact that Peneus refuses to mix with this river: *Penius...poenales aquas dirisque genitas argenteis suis misceri recusans*: *NH* 4. 31. In a rationalising explanation, Strabo (9. 5. 19-20) presents the water as contaminated by some oily substance, which makes it flow over the top of the Peneus. The effect is apparently caused by the difference in colour between the two rivers: Titaresos is crystal clear, Peneus is a greenish-yellow from having flowed through swampy areas; cf. Stählin, 1926, 84. This section marks a turning point in Lucan's use of mythology. From here onwards, myth is no longer an ornament with a descriptive, symbolic function, but rather an explanatory device, with which the author explains the origins of and reasons for things which are current in his day.

375: *solus*: in pointed contrast to the preceding lines about mixing and joining forces.

in alterius nomen…undae: Lucan repeats the idea of the rivers losing their identity (*per se non cognitus*) when they have joined Peneus' stream. This is a particularly unusual and forceful way of describing their confluence, emphasising Lucan's topographical symbolism. These expressions recall the compromise reached between Juno and Jupiter, whereby the Trojans could survive in Italy, but would lose their identity; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 821-5, 834-6: *sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt / utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucri.*

376: *defendit Titaresos*: *defendit* has strong military connotations. In Homer and Strabo the two rivers do not mix (οὐ συμμίσγεται). In Pliny, Peneus rejects the waters of Titaresos/Orcus: *Penius... accipit amnem Orcon, nec recipit*: *NH* 4. 31. Lucan adds his own twist by making Titaresos the active agent in their separation, protecting itself from any union with the Peneus, cf. 378-80.

376-7: *lapsusque superne / gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur arvis*: in Homer, Strabo and Pliny the phenomenon is likened to oil flowing on water: ἐπιτρέχει ἠύτ' ἔλαιον; *sed olei modo supernatantem*; for refs, cf. *ad* 375-80. Lucan adapts this illustration, suggesting instead that it flowed on Peneus as if on dry land; that is, as though Peneus were not there. For *pro* with this sense, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 113: *si alienam vicem pro nostra iniuria doleremus*; Caes. *BC.* 3. 110. 4. This reworking further distances Lucan from his source materials, and from a rationalising interpretation of this feature as seen in Strabo; for a similar adaptation, cf. *ad* 347-9. This underscores how fantastic and outlandish the river Titaresos is, a detail which he expands in the subsequent lines.

378: *fama est*: introduces Lucan's explanation of the rivers' separation. It corresponds to *fabula... monstrat* at 356. Lucan frequently uses expressions with *fama* as an introduction to digressions throughout the poem. Generally, there is no question about the veracity of these *famae*, unless Lucan indicates that they are dubious: cf. 3. 220: *famae si creditur*; 9. 411: *si credere famae cuncta velis*. Hence, the credibility of this *fama*, the association of Titaresos and the Styx, should not be doubted.

Such expressions as these are common in Roman poetry; cf. Virg *Aen.* 3. 578; 6. 14, with Austin; 7. 205; Horsfall, 1990; also the comparable expression at Cat. 64. 1-2, with Fordyce; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 7. 23, with N-H. The expressions have a range of uses: they can indicate that the author is reporting a traditional tale, or perhaps an unusual variation; they can lend authority to a poet's invention; or they can serve as a formula to distance the author from a potentially controversial alteration to a traditional story; cf. Stinton, 1976, 60-7 on such expressions of doubt in Greek and Roman authors; also Fantham, 1992b, 97-8 on *fama* in Lucan. *Fama est* here serves a double purpose: it alerts the reader to Lucan's Homeric source, but also lends credibility to his adaptations. It does not, however, cast doubt on the veracity of the story.

Stygiis manare paludibus amnem: this anecdote is apparently based on the fact that at the Meluna Pass, in northern Thessaly, Titaresos bursts from a cliff of marble as a waterfall; cf. Stählin, 1926, 17-18. In a list of rivers with strange powers, Seneca (*NQ*. 3. 25. 1 ff.) refers to a deadly river in Thessaly, near Tempe, which may be Lucan's Titaresos: *Est aeque noxia aqua in Thessalia circa Tempe, quam et fera et pecus omne devitat. per ferrum et aes exit, tanta vis illi est etiam dura mordendi; ne arbusta quidem ulla alit, herbas necat*. Comparable is the outlet of the Styx at Nonacris in Arcadia: oaths sworn by this river were binding, and its waters were poisonous: cf. Hdt. 6. 74; Strab. 8. 8. 4; Plin. *NH*. 2. 231: *iuxta Nonacrim in Arcadia Styx nec odore differens nec colore epota ilico necat*; Sen. *NQ*. 3. 25. 1. The presence of an outlet of the Styx in Thessaly has the effect of further justifying Lucan's opening statement that this was a condemned land. It is also the first mythological feature which actually has a contemporary existence in Thessaly.

379: *capitis memorem*: for *caput*= "a river's source", cf. Varr. *LL*. 5. 29: *Tiberis quod caput extra Latium habet*; Virg. *Georg*. 4. 319. This recalls *caput* from 358, the head of Pentheus which, in that context, symbolised the destruction of the head of state. Titaresos here, as the symbol of one who refuses to participate in the mingling which represents civil war (cf. *ad* 373: *mixtus*), aggressively preserves its *caput*.

fluvii contagia vilis: shows Titaresos' lack of regard for the Peneus. It is an extraordinary inversion of the normal perspective that Titaresos should view contact with Peneus as a pollution (*contagia*) of its infernal waters. The usual pattern is that the touch of something dead or evil causes the pollution; for *contagia* = "pollution", cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 1. 50; Hor. *Epist*. 1. 12. 14: *inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri*. Lucan rarely employs *contagium*, twice with reference to contact with civil war: 3. 322: *scelerum contagia*; 3. 369: *contagia belli dira*; this suggests that it may have a symbolic force here.

vilis: "base, worthless, insignificant"; Lucan uses it to describe something which has lost its intrinsic value because of the civil war: cf. 4. 276-7: *sibi vilis adest invisa luce iuventus / iam damno peritura meo*; 8. 9: *nondum vile sui pretium scit sanguinis esse*. This association may be imported to this context: the river, mindful of the true *caput* or "head of state", refuses to join with the Peneus, made cheap and contemptible because of its symbolic success in civil war; cf. above; these resonances make Titaresos rather Cato-like in its behaviour.

380: *superumque…timorem*: the gods themselves cannot break an oath sworn by the waters of the Styx, cf. Hom. *Il*. 15. 36-8: Ἴστω νῦν τόδε Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε | καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακαρέσσι θεοῖσι; Hes. *Th*. 770 ff.; Ap. Rhod. 2. 291 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 323-4: *stygiamque paludem / di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen*. Lucan delays this detail to the end of his description of the river, adding weight to its presence in Thessaly. The alliteration of "s" in *superumque sibi servare* further underscores the significance of the line.

381-394: following the section on rivers, Lucan moves on to discuss the inhabitants of Thessaly and combines a treatment of the peoples with a description of the resources of the land, by focussing on the agriculture, and other practices of Thessaly's residents. Of the seven tribes listed here, the Bebrycians, Leleges, and Aeolians have little or no connection with Thessaly; cf. below. Lucan includes these races, and their violent associations, within his Thessaly to increase the bellicose resonances of the land, as he did with Dorion, and the myths connected to Argos, Thebes and the river Inachus. The fictional Centaurs are prominent in the catalogue, and are given a physical reality within the land; they represent a continuation of Lucan's changed use of mythology, first seen in the description of Titaresos, bringing fantastic occurrences and beings into the land in order to transform his audience's expectations of what is possible here; cf. *ad* 360-80. The various tribes included by Lucan within the borders of Thessaly, not just the Centaurs, are marked by a violent predisposition, and the activities of the first six races are all typical of the post-golden age, a theme which continues for the rest of the excursus.

381: recalls the draining of the primeval lake, the focal motif. *Ut primum* stresses this connection.

382-4: Lucan describes the agricultural activities of four races. Several of the terms used are reminiscent of violence or warfare, corresponding to the use such vocabulary in the earlier passages within the excursus, e.g. *Bebrycio*, *pressum*, *fregere*, *coloni*; thus, it is not only the topographical features which indicate Thessaly's fitness for warfare but also the activities of human settlers. For the use of military terms in an agricultural context, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 160 ff., with Thomas: *duris agrestibus arma*; also Wilkinson, 1969, 80-1.

Lucan's attitude towards agriculture is ambivalent throughout the poem. Often it symbolises the values which led to Rome's success, typified by characters such as Camillus or Cincinnatus; e.g. 1. 169, 10. 153; cf. Cat. *Agr.*, *pr.* 4: *at ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur minimeque invidiosus*; Cic. *Off.* 1. 151; for discussion, cf. Wiseman, 1971, 77 ff. Elsewhere, as here, Lucan focuses upon its negative associations, connecting agriculture to the decline of mankind and to warfare: e.g. 3. 191 ff.; 4. 549-556; 7. 430. This is strongly reminiscent of the myth of ages which places the golden age and agriculture in strong contrast; cf. Hes. *WD* 109 ff., and West *ad* 106-201; Ov. *Met.* 1. 89-150, esp. 142 ff., which directly involves warfare; for further discussion, cf. Baldry, 1958; Johnston, 1980, ch. 3; Wallace-Hadrill, 1982. This forms a part of the general end-of-golden age feel to the passage; cf. *ad* 385: *Minyae*; 395 ff.: the *semina Martis*. The passage also stands in opposition to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, both in points of detail (see below) and in the relationship of both authors' passages to civil war, which contributes another element to the anti-Virgilianism which permeates Lucan's epic; cf. Nicolai, 1989, esp. 128 ff. These aspects of the iron-age found in the passage add to the generally negative tone of the Thessalian excursus.

The description of Thessalian farming here foreshadows Lucan's lament for *Thessalia infelix* largely with reference to its agriculture: e.g. 7. 851: *quae seges infecta surget non decolor herba?*; 7. 858-9: *plus cinerum Haemoniae sulcis telluris aratur,/ pluraque ruricolis feriuntur dentibus ossa.*

382: *pinguis...sulcus*: rich, ploughed soil; cf. Lucr. 5. 1247-8: *inducti terrae bonitate volebant / pandere agros pinguis*; Luc. 4. 12; on *pinguis*, cf. also Virg. *Georg.* 1. 8, with Thomas; 1. 105, with Mynors; 2. 92. The expression, however, evokes more sinister associations, the motif of Thessalian fields being fertilised by the civil-war dead; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 489-92, with Mynors: *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro / Emathiam et laros Haemi pinguescere campos*; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 1. 29 ff., with N-H.

Bebrycio: the Bebryces were Bithynian, and unconnected with Thessaly; cf Ap. Rhod. 2. 1 ff., V. Fl. 4. 99 ff., Plin. *NH.* 5. 127; *RE.* 3. 180. 52 ff.; their origin may have been Thracian; cf. Strab. 7. 295, 12. 541. They were most famous for their monstrous king Amycus' boxing match with the Argonaut Pollux; cf. Theocr. 22. 27-134; Ap. Rhod. 2. 1 ff.; V. Fl. 4. 99 ff. Thus Lucan imports into Thessaly a name with violent and brutal resonances. The Bebryces' violence sets the tone for the rest of those in the list. The form *Bebrycius* appears first at Virg. *Aen.* 5. 373: *Bebrycia... gente*, then here.

discessit: *discedere* = "to be broken apart" is rare, rarer still with an instrumental ablative, though cf. Cic. *De Off.* 3. 38: *cum terra discessisset magnis quibusdam imbribus*; not used elsewhere of ploughing, cf. *TLL.* 5. 1284. 71 ff. *Discessit*, repeated from 347, 360, connects Thessaly's inhabitants and their agriculture with the land's previous violent and destructive associations.

383: *Lelegum*: the Leleges, usually located in Caria, cf. Hom. *Il.* 10. 428-9; Hdt. 1. 171; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 725; Plin. *NH.* 5. 127; cf. *RE* 12. 1891. 9 ff. Like the Bebryces, they have no other connection with Thessaly. The Leleges invented crested helmets and devices and handles for shields. an important contribution to Greek warfare, which imparts a military flavour; cf. Hdt. *loc. cit.*

dextra pressum...aratrum: cf. Lucr. 5. 209: *terram pressis proscindere aratris*; Virg. *Georg.* 1. 45-6: *depresso incipiat... taurus aratro / ingemere.* Farmers needed to press down upon their ploughs, both to keep them on a straight course and to act as a counter-weight, avoiding the share's natural tendency to dig itself into the ground (cf. *descendit*); for a discussion of the technicalities, cf. White, 1967, 137-9.

descendit: cf. above; *descendere* is not used elsewhere of ploughing.

384: *Aeolidae*: more colonists in Asia Minor. Their origin may be Thessalian; cf. Hdt. 7. 176; Strab. 5. 2. 4; Apollod. 1. 7. 3, 5; or Boeotian; cf. Strab. 9. 2. 5; Thuc. 7. 57. Their mythical progenitor was Aeolus, a king of Magnesia, cf. Roscher, 1. 192. 11

ff. The patronymic form appears first in Latin here; previously *Aeolis*, *-um* or *Aeoles* were used, cf. *TLL*. 1. 988. 37 ff.

Dolopes: a well known Thessalian tribe who dwelt in the area of the Pindus mountains; cf. Strab. 9. 5. 11; Plin. *NH*. 4. 6; Hdt. 7. 132; Ov. *Met*. 12. 364; *RE*. 5. *s.v. Dolopes* 48-51. They were involved in the Trojan war, first as the subjects of Phoenix, then grouped with Achilles' Myrmidons; cf. Hom. *Il*. 9. 484; Virg. *Aen*. 2. 29; Strab. 9. 5. 5. Their martial history makes them suitable for the tone Lucan is setting. In later times they sided with Caesar in the civil war against Pompey; cf. App. *BC*. 2. 70.

fregere: "they broke up the clods"; cf. Varr. *RR*. 1. 32. 1: *frangantur glebae*; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 94, with Mynors: *rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis*. The verb has violent overtones well-suited to this passage.

coloni: an unusual word to apply to both the Dolopes and the Aeolians, who were indigenous to this region. In the Roman context, *coloni* were usually veteran soldiers who had been settled on the land after their discharge, a practice which involved the aggressive dispossession of the original farmers: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 125, with Thomas; 2. 385, with Mynors; for further discussion, cf. Keppie, 1983, 1; Salmon, 1969, 15 ff.; Brunt, 1971, 294 ff.; Lucan predominantly uses *colonus* in the context of military colonists; cf. 1. 10; 2. 393, 610; 7. 258. Thus, the use of the term to describe Thessaly's inhabitants implies a warlike nature and a dominance of the land.

385: the Magnetes and Minyae, specialists in taming horses and sailing ships respectively. These activities suggest two further themes common to descriptions of the age of iron: war and sea-faring. Horse taming, though not in itself one of the standard topoi of the iron age, is connected with their use in warfare; cf. Virg. *Georg*. 3. 179 ff., on the training of horses for war; for descriptions of the war-horse, cf. *Georg*. 2. 145; 3. 83-94, with Thomas; also *ad* 396-9. War was, indeed, one of the marks of the iron age, cf. Hes. *WD*. 189: ἕτερος δ' ἑτέρου πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξει; Virg. *Ecl*. 4. 35-6; Ov. *Met*. 1. 142-3; Tib. 1. 3. 47-8. Sea-faring, beginning with the Argo's voyage, is a standard example of the decline of humanity. It enabled contact and trade between different nations, leading to greed, jealousy and ultimately conflict. The theme appears frequently; cf. Hes. *WD*. 236-7; Cat. 64. 384-407, which connects the decline of mankind with the sailing of the first ship; Virg. *Ecl*. 4. 31-39, with Clausen; Hor. *Carm*. 1. 3. 21-4; Ov. *Met*. 1. 132-4; Sen *Med*. 334 ff.; *Phaed*. 530; for sailing in the myth of ages, cf. Heydenreich, 1970, 15-19. Lucan deals with these two themes more fully in the next section of the excursus, on the *semina Martis* (395 ff.).

Magnetes: a coastal people of Magnesia; cf. Mel. 2. 40; Plin. *NH*. 4. 32; Strab. 9. 5. 1, 22. For their connection with horses, cf. V. Fl. 2. 9-10: *attollit tondentes pabula Magnes campus equos*. Their legendary ancestor Magnes, a son of Aeolus and founder of Magnesia, links them with the Aeolides; cf. Apollod. 1. 9. 6; Paus. 6. 21. 11.

Minyae: also known as the Argonauts, as indicated by *gens cognita remis*, they are commonly associated with Iolcos in Thessaly; cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 228-33; Cat. 64. 1 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 7. 1 ff.; also Strab. 9. 2. 40; Plin. *NH*. 4. 29; cf. *RE*. 15. 2017. 67-2019. 15.

gens cognita: stands in apposition to both *Magnetes* and *Minyae*; *gens*, a collective noun, is commonly considered grammatically plural: cf. Curt. 4. 12. 11: *Parthyaeorum ...gens... claudebant agmen*; L-H-S, 2. 436. The bucolic diaeresis after the monosyllabic *gens* lays emphasis on *cognita*; cf. *ad* 373: *it... rapto*.

386-394: the Centaurs, the final group of inhabitants in Lucan's Thessaly. These fantastic creatures, half-man, half-beast, add to the sense of unreality in the excursus. This passage has been criticised for being grossly inconsistent with Lucan's other reference to the Centaurs (3. 198: *populum Pholoe mentita biformem*). Yet this disparity illustrates Lucan's meaningful use of mythology to create an unreal and epic Thessaly. Centaurs are also a powerful symbol of primeval violence, and the stories to which Lucan alludes are examples of their brutality; cf. Dumézil, 1929, 164-5.

Lucan refers to many stories associated with the Centaurs, not all of them connected with Thessaly, and the order of the allusions is somewhat jumbled. The tales are: birth of Centaurs, 386-7; the battle with Hercules, 388; the Centauro-Lapithomachy, 389-90; battle with Hercules, 391; Nessus and Hercules at the Euhenos, 391-2; Chiron catasterised, 393-4; for discussion and references, cf. below. The passage *in toto* alludes heavily to Ovid's account of the battle between Centaurs and Lapiths reminding the reader of the barbarity of Ovid's Centaurs; cf. *Met*. 12. 210-535; for a list of Lucan's debts to Ovid, cf. Henderson, 1995, 121-3. The battle between Hercules and the Centaurs is interesting on two counts: it occurred on Mt Pholoe, another non-Thessalian topographical feature included here to augment the violent history of the land; cf. *ad* 388: *Pholoes*; 391; furthermore, the story also involves the drunken brutality of Hercules himself, continuing the motif of Hercules' violence; cf. *ad* 347 ff. Lucan may have had in mind a further detail about the Centaurs, that they were a Thessalian people who invented fighting from horseback; cf. Plin. *NH*. 7. 202. This connects them to the surrounding elements in the current catalogue, the Magnetes, tamers of horses, and the first of the *semina Martis*, the war-horse.

386: *semiferos Ixionidas Centauros*: Lucan uses these three word only here. When he first described the centaurs, they were *biformis*, a more neutral term than *semifer* which stresses both their double form and their barbarity: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 8. 267: Cacus; Lucr. 4. 587: Pan; also Ov. *Ars* 2. 24, in which the biformity and monstrous nature of the minotaur are brought out: *semibovemque virum semivirumque bovem*.

This is a highly artful line with a Hellenistic feel: only four words, the Greek patronymic *Ixionidas* and the *spondeiazon*; cf. van Groningen, 1953, 33, 35-6; also Fordyce *ad* Cat. 64. 3. There are only thirteen occurrences of the *spondeiazon* in Lucan, cf. Duckworth, 1967, table 2. A fifth-foot spondee, using the word *Centauros* also occurs at Ov. *Met*. 12. 536: *haec inter Lapithas et semihomines Centauros*, directly after Ovid's narrative on the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, strengthening the allusions to this passage, cf. *ad* 386-94; for further discussion, cf. Helzle, 1992, 596,

who concludes that this allusion suggests the civil war will degenerate into a conflict like the Centauro-Lapithomachy, dehumanising the participants.

386-7: ***Ixionidas Centauros / feta…nubes effudit***: refers to the Centaurs' descent from Ixion and Nephele, a Juno-shaped cloud formed by Jupiter to test Ixion's passions for his wife: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 42 ff.; Diod. 4. 69-70; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 674: *nubigenae… Centauri*; 8. 293; Ov. *Met.* 12. 211; 504-6; Apollod. *Epit.* 1. 20; Hyg. 33, 62. This thoroughly fanciful story gives a fantastic origin to the Centaurs, while presenting them as actual inhabitants of Thessaly. It is pertinent that their progenitor, Ixion, was one of antiquity's greatest sinners. Though the above union was the origin of most Centaurs, Chiron (393) and Pholus (391) were born of different parents; cf. Roscher, 1. 1032. 26-1033. 14; Mynors *ad* Virg. *Georg.* 3. 93. By giving these two "civilised" centaurs (cf. below) the same ancestry as the others, Lucan colours their character by association with Ixion.

Pelethroniis…in antris: Pelethronium, part of the Pelion range; cf. Strab. 7. 299; Nic. *Ther.* 510; Plin. *NH.* 7. 202; *RE.* 19. *s.v.* Πελεθρόνιον 67 ff. The region was associated with the Centaurs and Lapiths, and Chiron reared Achilles in the Pelethronian cave; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 452; Serv. *ad* Virg. *Georg.* 3. 115. The birth of the Centaurs in the cave gives them a chthonic slant, as if they were monsters born from the earth itself; for further chthonic aspects, cf. Dumézil, 1929, 171-2. Cave dwellers were often frightful creatures: cf. Polyphemus, Hom. *Od.* 9. 237 ff.; Scylla, Hom. *Od.* 12. 80-5; Cacus, Virg. *Aen.* 8. 193 ff. *Antrum*, elsewhere in book six, has pronounced chthonic associations, cf. Erictho's cave; 646; Tartarus: 712.

388-94: in a notable piece of *variatio*, Lucan apostrophises the Centaurs. The repetition of *te* further emphasises these addresses to each individual.

388: ***Pholoes***: Mt Pholoe was not a part of Thessaly, but Arcadia: cf. Strab. 8. 3. 1; Mel. 2. 43; Plin. *NH.* 4. 21. Traditionally the home of the Centaur Pholus, hence its name (cf. Maltby, *ad loc.*), the Centaurs who survived the battle against the Lapiths fled here; cf. Diod. 4. 70. 4. Through this association between Centaurs and Pholoe, Lucan can bend the topographical truths and set it in Thessaly, alongside Pelethronium, a genuinely Thessalian haunt of the Centaurs; cf. Masters, 1992, 173-4. This allows Lucan to include the story of their battle with Hercules as another piece of Thessaly's violent heritage, cf. *ad* 391.

Monyche: though the current context (*Pholoes… saxa*) implies it, Monychus is nowhere else associated with the fight against Hercules. This Centaur is prominent in Ovid's Centauro-Lapithomachy, giving a rousing speech to his brothers, and leading the successful attack on Caeneus; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 499 ff., esp. 510-11: *insanis deiectam viribus Austri / forte trabem nactus validum coniecit in hostem*; also V. Fl. 1. 146; Juv. 1. 11. Lucan has conflated aspects of these two famous Centaur battles to strengthen the association between Mt Pholoe and Thessaly. The name, derived from μώνος ὄνυξ, is appropriate for a solid-hoofed centaur, cf. Roscher, 2. 3206. 48-66.

389: *Oetaeo...vertice*: Mt Oeta was on the southern border of Thessaly, near the river Spercheus, cf. Grundy, 1901, ch. 7. It is nowhere else associated with Centaurs, but is famous as the site of Hercules' immolation and deification, cf. Soph. *Trach.*; [Sen] *HO. pass.* By flanking the mention of Oeta with lines which refer to Pholoe, it gives the impression that the latter is near the former, within the bounds of Thessaly; the association of Hercules with both Mt Oeta and Mt Pholoe, where he battled the centaurs, reinforces this connection; cf. Masters, 1992, 173-4.

Oetaeo: a poetic form, cf. *Ciris* 33, Ov. *Met.* 12. 319; Stat. *Theb.* 2. 82.

torquentem...volsas /... quas vix Boreas inverteret ornos: this displays the strength and barbarity of Rhoecus. There are several reminiscences of Ov. *Met.* 12 here, e.g. 323-4: *torsit iaculum*; 385: *iaculum torsi*; 432: *caudice... quem vix iuga bina moverent.* Using whole trees as weapons is a sign of Rhoecus' crudity. Such missiles are a hallmark of terrifying creatures: eg. Polyphemus: Virg. *Aen.* 3. 659; Orion: *Aen.* 10. 766; Monychus: Ov. *Met.* 12. 327-8.

quas vix Boreas inverteret: this image is not uncommon; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 10. 7-8: *Aquilo, quantus altis montibus / frangit trementis ilices*; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 441 ff.; Luc. 1. 141-2.

Boreas: well known as an extremely violent and powerful wind, cf. Hom. *Il.* 5. 525: Βορέαο...ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων; 15. 171; *Od.* 19. 200; Virg. *Georg.* 1. 370; *Aen.* 12. 365 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 6. 682 ff.: esp. 685-6: *horridus ira / quae solita est illi nimiumque domestica vento*; Sen. *NQ.* 5. 16. 1; V. Fl. 1. 574-597. It emphasises Rhoecus' monstrous strength that he can uproot trees which the proverbially violent Boreas cannot.

390: *Rhoece ferox*: associated with two violent episodes. He fights in the Centauro-Lapithomachy, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 293-4: *Rhoetus...ferox*, where he is given a short *aristeia*, full of brutal detail; Virg. *Georg.* 2. 456; V. Fl. 1. 141; 3. 65. Along with Hylaeus, he attempted to rape Atalanta but was slain by her, cf. Callim. *Hymn Diana* 221; Apollod. 3. 9. 2. Some manuscripts read *Rhoetus*, as do certain mss. of Ovid, Virgil and Valerius Flaccus. It seems, however, that copyists have confused the names of the centaur and the giant Rhoetus; cf. Housman *ad loc.*; Mynors *ad* Virg. *Georg.* 2. 456; Roscher, *s.v.*

391: *hospes et Alcidae magni Phole*: Pholus, the Centaur who dwelt on Pholoe, played host to Hercules on the Erymanthian boar hunt. When the other Centaurs got drunk and lost control, a fight ensued between them and Hercules, and Pholus was killed in the aftermath, by dropping one of Hercules' poisoned arrows on his foot: cf. Apollod. 2. 5. 4; also Theocr. 7. 149-50; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 294. The benevolent Pholus is best known for this act of hospitality, cf. Roscher, 3. 2416. 67 ff.; Dumézil, 1929, 175-9; he has, however, a violent aspect; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 306.

hospes: placed emphatically at the start of the line by the postposition of *et*, this highlights the fact that the Centaurs broke the laws of hospitality, very important in both Homeric and Roman times; on *hospitium*, *hospes*, cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 50-3; Wiseman, 1971, 33-8.

391-2: Lucan alludes to the future demise of the Centaur Nessus, mentioned already at 365-6 on the river Euhenos; cf. *ad loc.* The details included here, *Lernaeas vector passure sagittas*, refer to the attempted rape of Deianira and Nessus' death, stressing the barbarity of the centaur, in contrast to the details previously listed, which emphasise the impurity of the land. At this point, however, Lucan sets him on Pholoe; he flees to Euhenos only after the fight with Hercules.

392: *improbe*: a strong word, placed at the start of the line for emphasis. It commonly indicates immodest sexual desires, appropriate for the would-be rapist Nessus, cf. Cat. 57. 1-2: *pulcre convenit improbis cinaedis, / Mamurrae pathicoque Caesari*; Ov. *Ars* 2. 400. Beyond an erotic context, the word has a wide range of negative meanings, all of which entail a basic sense of wantonness: cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 528-30; Opelt, 1965, index, *s.v.*

Lernaeas...sagittas: Hercules' arrows were dipped in the lethal blood of the Lernaean Hydra, cf. Soph. *Trach.* 573-4; Apollod. 2. 5. 2; Ov. *Met.* 9. 158; *Fast.* 5. 405: *Lernaeae sanguis echidnae*. Nessus was not the only centaur to fall to them. They killed Pholus; cf. above; and Chiron; cf. Apollod. 2. 5. 4; Ov. *Fast.* 5. 397 ff. This common fate forges a link between the last three Centaurs. These arrows, as the instruments which caused Troy's downfall, are a potent symbol of destruction and a motif which recalls 353-4, reintroducing the Trojan Wars, and Thessaly as the source of much destruction.

393-4: Chiron, generally considered benign, a healer, musician and teacher, in contrast to the other aggressive Centaurs: cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 219; Cat. 64. 278-9; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 550; Ov. *Met.* 2. 628 ff.; Stat. *Ach. pass.*; for discussion, cf. Dumézil, 1929, 182 ff.; on their different ancestry, cf. *ad* 387. Lucan does not mention his regular peaceful pursuits. Instead he depicts Chiron as the constellation Sagittarius who perpetually attacks the Scorpion: on Sagittarius, cf. Manil. 1. 268-70: *attrahit ardenti fulgentem Scorpion astro / in cuius caudam contento derigit arcu / mixtus equo volucrem missurus iamque sagittam.* The effect of this is to invest Chiron with the bellicose associations which are consonant with both his ethnic origins (*Haemonio... arcu*) and the activities displayed by Sagittarius. Moreover, Chiron is also made to partake of the martial frame of mind which was considered to be a characteristic of Sagittarius, cf. Manil. 4. 230-42, 560-67, discussing the warlike, military qualities of Sagittarians.

Chiron catasterised was normally associated with the non-zodiacal constellation Centaurus, which rises in May, has no bow and does not follow Scorpio; cf. Cic. *Arat.* 114: *propterque Centaurus cedit equi partis properans subiungere Chelis hic dextram porgens*; Ov. *Fasti*, 5. 380; Manil. 5. 348-56; Erat. *Catast.* 40; for discussion, cf. Goold, intro. to Manilius, Loeb, 1977, xxx. Sagittarius was identified as Chiron elsewhere,

though this was uncommon; cf. Sen. *Thy*. 862, with Tarrant; Le Boeuffle, 1977, 146, 173-6, 204-5, 217. The unusual association of Chiron and Sagittarius reinforces Lucan's stress on this Centaur's violent qualities. Mention of Chiron may recall his most famous disciple, Achilles born at Pharsalus and reared in Thessaly; cf. *ad* 349-51.

gelido...sidere: so described because Sagittarius is a winter constellation, cf. Manil. 2. 265-7: *temporibus quoque sunt propriis pollentia signa /...surgit / bruma Sagittifero*.

fulgens: commonly used by Lucan to describe weapons or standards; cf. 1. 244; 2. 576; 6. 129. When used of another constellation, warlike attributes are presented, cf. 1. 665: *ensiferi...fulget latus Orionis*. Chiron, too, is shown as a warrior with his bow.

Haemonio...arcu: the bow, a feature of Sagittarius, is similarly described at Ov. *Met*. 2. 81: *Haemonios arcus*; Sen. *Thy*. 860: *nervo...Haemonio*; here, however, *Haemonio* (Thessalian) connects the weapon with the violent country of its wielder's origin. A bilingual pun on the epithet, "bloody", enhances the deadly aspect of the bow and of Chiron; for puns on this name, cf. *ad* 576: *Haemus*.

maiorem Scorpion: Scorpion is larger than Sagittarius; cf. Le Boeuffle,1977, 167-70.

395-407: Lucan introduces Thessaly's contribution to human civilisation, the *semina Martis*. There is a reprise and expansion of the "end of the Golden Age" theme from 6. 381-5. Thessaly gave the warhorse, riding gear, the first sea-farers (cf. *ad* 385) and the invention of coinage. Lucan employs the theme of the πρῶτος εὑρετής: cf. Plin. *NH*. 7. 191 ff.; Cic. *ND*. 1. 38; *ND*. 3. 45; cf. N-H. on Hor. *Carm*. 1. 3. 12, and Kleingünther, 1933. The theme is often used pejoratively, with the inventor suffering a curse or reprimand, especially for something harmful to humanity: e.g. Prometheus, Aesch. *PV*.; Chalybes, Cat. 66. 48; Prop. 1. 17. 13-14: *a pereat, quicumque ratis et vela paravit / primus et invito gurgite fecit iter*; Sen. *Med*. 301 ff. Lucan implies disapproval not so much for the inventors as for the land where this occurred. Catalogues of inventions and inventors were not a standard part of the tradition of ethnographical writings, though they do appear elsewhere: e.g. Plin. *NH*. 7. 191 ff.; Hyg. *Fab*. *fin*; Lucan has departed from the formal structure of an ethnographical description and now concentrates on matters with a closer thematic link to the poem as a whole. It is also important that Lucan is now introducing wholly mythical aetiologies for things which existed in the present time. This is striking and represents the final development in Lucan's manipulations of myth. There is no scientific alternative offered, merely a fiction with a direct influence on real life.

395: *feri...semina Martis*: the expression "seeds of war" recalls the agricultural content of 381-4, linking the two passages. In describing the origins of the civil conflict Lucan used similar expressions; cf. 1. 159: *publica belli semina*; 3. 150: *diri mala semina belli*. Lucan may, thus, be hinting that the *semina Martis* are the seeds of civil war in particular. For the figurative use of *semen*, cf. Liv. 39. 6. 9:

semina...futurae luxuriae; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 212: *scelerum... ingentia semina movit (aurum)*. On the monstrous fecundity of the earth in Lucan, cf. Loupiac, 1991, 250-1.

micuerunt: "they sprang to life", the first use of *micare* for its compound *emicare*; cf. *TLL* 8. 930. 1-7; for *emicare*, cf. Col. 4. 33.1: *in repastinato nux posita celeriter emicat*; Luc. 4. 550. *Micare* commonly describes the flash of arms, appropriate in this context to denote the germination of such seeds: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 734: *ardentis clipeos atque aera micantia cerno*; Liv. 1. 25. 4; Sen. *Thy.* 184, with Tarrant for discussion of its emotional colour.

396-402: *primus...primus...prima...primus*: anaphora stresses Thessaly as the birthplace of the various undesirable arts, and reinforces the fact that these mythological references are aetiological, not merely descriptive. *Primus* is common in references to the πρῶτος εὑρετής: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 11-12: *commisit pelago ratem / primus*; Prop. 1. 17. 14.

396-7: the warhorse, created from Thessaly's rocks when struck by Neptune's trident; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 12-14, with Mynors: *tuque o, cui prima frementem / fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,/ Neptune*. Virgil's aetiology is without precedent; cf. Frentz, 1967, 27-9; Mynors *ad Georg.* 3. 122; Lucan's allusion to the *Georgics* makes explicit the fact that Virgil's *equus* is a warhorse (*sonipes*); cf. Serv. *ad Georg.* 1. 12: *tunc Neptunus percusso litore equum, animal bellis aptum, produxit*. The Thessalian location is Lucan's addition.

ab aequorea...cuspide: literally the point of a weapon, *cuspis* is often used, *pars pro toto*, for a spear; here it denotes Neptune's trident; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 580: *deus, aequoreas qui cuspide temperat undas*; 12. 594; Sen. *HF.* 563; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 222. The use of *ab* rather than an instrumental ablative personalises the trident, cf. L-H-S 2. 122 d.

percussis...saxis: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 13: *tellus percussa*; the verbal reminiscence reinforces Lucan's allusion.

sonipes: a high-style, poetic word for horse, often found in epic, cf. Acc. *Trag.* 603; Cat. 63. 41; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 135; V. Fl. 1. 431; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 136; Sil. 16. 332; for discussion of its use, cf. Watson, 1985, 441 ff. The etymological sense of *sonipes* (resounding foot) is effective in this context, reflecting the sound of Neptune's trident striking the rocks. Lucan frequently uses it as an alternative to *equus* when he wishes to highlight a sound effect; cf. Gagliardi, 1983. Moreover, the epic overtones of *sonipes* suggest that no ordinary horse is created here but one that is the stuff of legends.

bellis feralibus omen:*feralis* is another high-style word; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 216; Ov. *Met.* 9. 213; Sen. *HF.* 762, 1146; *Med.* 740; *Thy.* 668. Probably a transferred epithet, it

describes war rarely; cf. only Tac. *Hist.* 5. 25: *bellum uni necessarium, ferale ipsis sumeretur*; it often, however, denotes something which presages death; cf. *ad* 432, 511.

398-9: the invention of bit and bridle and the taming of horses by the Lapiths. The detail alludes to Virg. *Georg.* 3. 115-7: *frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere / impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis / insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos*. As with Neptune producing horses, it appears that Virgil invented this *aetion*, cf. Roscher, 2. 1863. 60 ff.; Mynors, on *Georg* 3. 115. The allusion to a passage which discusses the military training of horses reinforces the notion that the Lapiths' invention is a *semen Martis*.

chalybem: i.e. "bit", an unparalleled use. *Chalybs* is a proverbially hard metal; cf. *ad* 797: *chalybis*. In the context of the πρῶτος εὑρετής, it alludes to Cat. 66. 48: *Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat*, a reference to the Chalybes, the legendary inventors of iron-working, cursed in the Catullan passage for their discovery; Lucan perhaps suggests that the Lapiths, too, should be punished for their pernicious invention.

frenosque momordit: alludes to Tib. 1. 3. 42: *non domito frenos ore momordit equus*, found in a description of the golden age; the allusion emphasises the dreadful consequences of these inventions. Heteroclite plural forms of *frenum* are found; Lucan uses only the masculine, though the neuter is regular in verse.

399: *spumavit*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 135: *sonipes frena ferox spumantia mandit*.

domitoris: used in verse almost exclusively as a tamer of horses; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 189: *Picus, equum domitor*; 651; though [Sen]. *HO.* 1989: *domitor...ferarum*. On nouns in *-tor*, cf. *ad* 341: *habitator*.

400-1: the launching of the Argo from the shore of Thessalian Pagasae (*Pagasaeo litore pinus*) makes Thessaly the initiator of a second evil. Seafaring was deprecated as a violation of nature's bounds (cf. 401); as an affront to the marine gods: cf. Albinovanus Pedo, frg. 21-3, Court.: *aliena quid aequora remis / et sacras violamus aquas divumque quietas / turbamus sedes*?; Heydenreich, 1970, 13-15; and as being motivated by greed: cf. Cat. 64. 5-6; Tib.1. 3. 39-40, with Smith; 1. 9. 92; Ov. *Met.* 130-4; Sen. *Med.* 361; Johnston, 1980, 35, 45 (this connects it with the invention of money, another Thessalian innovation; cf. 402-7); in general, on the negative views taken of seafaring, cf. *ad* 385; also Prop. 1. 17. 13 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 12, with N-H; *Epod.* 16. 57-8; Ov. *Am.* 2. 11. 1-6; Tib. 1. 3. 48 ff., with Smith; Sen. *NQ.* 5. 18. 16: *non eadem est his et illis causa solvendi, sed iusta nulla. diversis enim irritamentis ad temptandum mare impellimur; utique alicui vitio navigatur*.

The present lines recall Cat. 64. 1-2: *Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus / dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas*; cf. Zetzel, 1980; the allusion is designed to remind the reader of Catullus' connection between the Argo's voyage and the decline of man: cf. Cat. 64. 384-408, with Fordyce; also Johnston, 1980, 33-40.

400: *scindens*: i.e. "cleaving" the surface of the water, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1. 10. 48: *parat... scindere Bistonias altera puppis aquas*. *Scindo* has violent overtones, "to split, break, tear apart"; cf. Ov. *Ib.* 168: *scindent avidi perfida corda canes*. It suggests that the ship inflicts harm upon the sea, appropriate in a passage which condemns seafaring as a *semen Martis*.

Pagasaeo litore: Pagasae, a Thessalian town on the Pagasitic gulf near Iolcos, famed as the launching site for the Argo: cf. Plin. *NH.* 4. 29; Mel. 2. 44; Strab. 9. 5. 15; also Ap. Rhod. 1. 238, 411; Prop. 1. 20. 17. The adjectival form is usually employed for the Argo (Ov. *Met.* 7. 1; V. Fl. 1. 422) or its crew (Ov. *Her.* 15. 347; *Fast.* 1. 491; V. Fl. 7. 556).

pinus: a common metonymy for ships, the Argo in particular, cf. Cat. 64. 1; Ov. *Am.* 2. 11. 2; Sen. *Med.* 336; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 156. Pine wood was often used in ancient ship-building, since its resinous timber was waterproof; cf. Meiggs, 1982, 118-9, 145, 152.

401: *terrenum ignotas hominem...in undas*: the voyage of the Argo was often seen as a sacrilegious violation of natural boundaries; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 23-6, with N-H: *si tamen impiae / non tangenda rates transiliunt vada. / audax omnia perpeti / gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas*; Tib. 1. 3. 37-40; Sen. *Med.* 335 ff.; Colum. 1. *Praef.* 8. The expropriation of an alien element by mankind is emphasised by the framing of the line with *terrenum* and *undas*.

proiecit: unusual for casting off a ship. It more naturally means "throw into", cf. Ov. *Ib.* 291-2: *aut, ut Erechthides magno ter ab Hercule victus, / caesus in immensum proiciare fretum*; also Caes. *BG.* 5. 37. 5; *Culex* 127.

402-7: the invention of money. Lucan elsewhere sees the acquisition of wealth as a source of evil; cf. esp. 3. 118-121: *usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere / auri nescit amor. pereunt discrimine nullo / amissae leges, sed, pars vilissima rerum, / certamen movistis, opes*; for discussion, cf. Tucker, 1974, 10-14. Lucan's view appears elsewhere, especially money as a cause of war; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1. 25-6; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 29; Ov. *Met.* 1. 141-2: *imaque nocens ferrum ferroque nocentius aurum / prodierat, prodit bellum, quod pugnat utroque*; Prop. 3. 7. 1 ff.: *ergo sollicitae tu causa, pecunia, vitae...*; Sen. *Dial.* 5. 33; *Ben.* 6. 3. 2; Petr. 119. 1-44.

The Thessalian origin of money is pure Lucanian invention. Gold and silver coinage were invented by the Lydians; cf. Hdt. 1. 94; also Carradice and Price, 1988, for numismatic studies confirming this detail. Lucan uses a number of technical terms associated with Roman coinage in these lines and the mention of bronze money gives the passage a Roman flavour.

402: *rector...Ionos*: King Ionos of Thessaly appears to be an invention of Lucan. Later references to him (cf. Housman *ad loc.*) are probably derivative. Haskins'

emendation to *Itonos*, a son of Deucalion (*Schol. Ap. Rhod.* 1. 551), is unwarranted. Lucan's invented king fits with the sense of fantasy building in the passage.

403-5: the actions described refer to the process of striking coins. The metal was melted down and moulded into blanks of the appropriate size. These blanks were heated, then placed between the obverse and reverse dies and struck with a hammer; cf. Crawford, 1974, 576-89. The pronounced alliteration in these lines of "f", and "a" recalls the official title of Roman moneyers: *tresviri aere auro argento flando feriundo*.

percussit: used in the technical sense "to strike a coin", cf. Plin. *NH*. 33. 46: *is qui nunc victoriatus appellatur, lege Clodia percussus est*; Suet. *Aug*. 94. 12. It has, however, violent overtones in keeping with the general sense of the passage.

calidae...massae: refers to the blanks being heated before striking (cf. above). *Massa* is commonly used of metal that is being worked, cf. Virg. *Georg*. 4. 170; *Aen*. 8. 453; Pers. 5. 10; Stat. *Silv*. 4. 6. 49. It is mostly poetic, first used in prose by Vitruvius: *TLL*. 8. 429. 14-16.

404-5: *argentum...aurum...aera*: the three standard metals of Roman coinage; cf. Burnett, 1987, Crawford, 1985. The earliest coins were, however, minted only from gold, silver or electrum, cf. Hdt. 1. 94; Carradice and Price, 1988, ch. 1. Lucan gives a contemporary flavour to Ionos' invention, making his coinage the same as the Roman money which was one cause of the civil war, cf. *ad* 406-7.

fudit: either "to melt", cf. *Aetna*, 407: *fundetur ferro citius (lapis)*; Sen. *NQ*. 2. 52. 2: *fulminis vis...ferrum et aes fundit*; or "to cast (metals)", cf. Vitr. 2. 7. 4: *ad aes fundendum*; Hor. *Sat*. 2. 3. 22. The instrumental ablative *flammis*, however, makes more sense with the former meaning.

moneta: another technical term for money; Lucan appears to be the first to assign to it the sense "a die". The word derives from the temple of Juno Moneta, where the Romans had their mint; cf. Cic. *Att*. 8. 7. 3; though cf. Isid. *Orig*. 16. 18. 8: *moneta appellata est, quia monet, ne qua fraus in metallo vel in pondere fiat*. It adds a further touch of Romanness to Ionos' product, cf. *ad* 404-5.

405: *fregit*: rare for stamping coins; cf. Sen. *Epist*. 95. 73, the other early usage of the term. It has obvious violent overtones and recalls the ploughing done by the Aeolides and Dolopes; cf. *ad* 384.

coxit: used for smelting; cf. Plin. *NH*. 33. 77: *aurum...non coquitur, sed statim suum est*; Pers. 5. 10: *coquitur dum massa camino*.

406-7: these explanatory lines give a special emphasis to this last item in the section. The sentiments reiterate Lucan's previous comments about wealth (3. 118-121) and

they highlight the particular relevance that money has for the current civil war; cf. 402-7. The venality of Curio exemplifies this attitude; cf. 4. 819-824.

illic: places strong emphasis upon the locality where money became a seed of war, perhaps to draw out an irony that the place where this *semen Martis* was invented is where the Romans will reap its noxious crop at the battle of Pharsalus.

scelerata…in arma: though this phrase characterises war in general, in Lucan *sceleratus* has particular associations with civil war, cf. 2. 251: *scelerata in proelia*; 3. 130: *sceleratus… miles*; 4. 207; 8. 563; 9. 1047. Lucan is, by implication, making the wars caused by money into civil wars.

407-12: the excursus ends with two sets of monsters which Lucan associates with Thessaly: Python and the Aloadae. They share certain characteristics: they are chthonic beasts; they are violent and are *impii* in their attacks on the gods, an appropriate characteristic in the civil war setting; and they are common symbols for civil war. By ending the catalogue with mythological figures of a well known symbolic force, Lucan powerfully concludes the demonstration that Thessaly is a land fit for civil war, but also leaves the reader with the impression that it is a land of fantastic monsters and epic battles.

hinc…hinc: by stressing the location of these two monsters, Lucan emphasises Thessaly's role as the birthplace of horrors.

408: *descendit Python*: Lucan's final invention, the birth of Python in Thessaly; cf. Masters, 1992, 175-6. Python, a child of earth, is most commonly associated with Delphi; it ravaged the surrounding area, killing man and beast, until Apollo slew it; for discussion, cf. Küster, 1913, 122-3. Another version relates that Python was sent by Juno to destroy Latona and for this insult to his divine mother, Apollo killed it; cf. Hom. *Hymn Ap.* 182-387; Apollod. 1. 6. 1; Ov. *Met.* 1. 438 ff.; Luc. 5. 79-85. A Thessalian connection arises either because Python fled mortally wounded to Tempe, or because Apollo went there for purification after killing Python; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 293 C, *Def. Orac.* 417 F-18 B; Lucan alone places its birth in Thessaly. The story of Python can be seen as a proto-gigantomachy, since from early times the combat between a dragon and a champion-god was connected to the gigantomachy; cf. Fontenrose, 1959, 239-247; Masters, 1992, 114; and in view of the well-authenticated connection between gigantomachy and civil conflict (cf. *ad* 410-12) it functions as a symbol for the latter.

fluxit: rarely used to describe a snake's motion, though other words denoting a gliding or flowing movement are not uncommon, eg. *lubricus*: Lucr. 4. 68; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 353; Sen. *Thy.* 870: *fluminis instar lubricus anguis*; cf. Sauvage, 1975, 248. This odd use of *fluere* recalls the rivers of Thessaly which (mostly) flowed out from the mountains, reinforcing Python's connection with the land.

Cirrhaea...arva: i.e. Delphi and its surrounds, the haunt of Python; Cirrha itself was Delphi's port, though the two are often not distinguished, cf. Strab. 9. 3. 1; Luc. 5. 95. In Latin, the adjectival form always refers to Apollo or the Delphic oracle, cf. Sen. *Oed.* 269: *fatidica vatis ora Cirrhaea movens*; Stat. *Theb.* 8. 331: *ceu te Cirrhaeo meritum tumularet hiatu*; Sil. 3. 9.

409: the laurel for the temple of Pythian Apollo at Delphi was brought from his temple at Tempe, cf. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3. 1; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12; Paus. 10. 5. 9; *RE.* II 5a. 478. 54 ff. Lucan makes the alleged birth of Python in Thessaly the *aetion* for the use of laurel from that region in Apollo's temple at Delphi. The common explanation for the Thessalian origin of Apollo's laurel is the story of Daphne, daughter of the river Peneus, who was metamorphosed at Tempe into the laurel tree which became Apollo's favourite decoration.

410-12: the excursus ends with the Aloadae, who assaulted heaven from Thessaly, famously piling up its mountains to create a stairway to heaven. Gigantomachy is a common symbol, in art and literature, for political power struggles, its most overt expression among Augustan poets being Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 42 ff.; for further references and discussion, cf. Fraenkel, 1957, 282-3; Jal, 1963, 282 ff.; Onians, 1979, 84-5, 87-8; Hardie, 1986, chh. 3, 4, esp. 87-90, 381 f. Virgil regularly uses this motif as an icon for civil war, especially in books 9-12 of the *Aeneid*, cf. Hardie, 1986, 99-103; the idea was appropriated by Lucan, cf. 1. 34-37: *quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni / invenere viam magnoque aeterna parantur / regna eis caelumque suo servire Tonanti / non nisi saevorum potuit post bella gigantum, / iam nihil, o superi, querimur*; 3. 315-320; 7. 145-150. Here at the end of the catalogue, the explicit use of civil war symbolism is a final and powerful indication that Thessaly truly was doomed to be the site of the battle between Caesar and Pompey.

inpius...prolem...inmisit Aloeus: Otus and Ephialtes, a pair of giants, sons of Canace and either her husband Aloeus or the god Poseidon, who grew phenomenally quickly until they were nine years old when they assaulted the gods; cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 305 ff.; Apollod. 1. 7. 4; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 582-4; Hyg. *Fab.* 28. They were killed either by Diana or Apollo. Lucan unusually attributes the motivation for the attack to Aloeus, rather than the two sons: the father is rather colourless in other accounts. Presumably, by creating a chain of command in this myth, Lucan is making the tale of the Aloadae more comparable to the current situation of the civil war.

inpius: a key term in the epic, with strong connections to civil war: cf. 1. 691: *inpia...bella*; 3. 666: *inpia turba*; 7. 196: *inpia...arma*; for its use with similar overtones of civil conflict, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 294, with Austin: *Furor impius*; *Aen.* 6. 612-13: *quique arma secuti / impia*; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 19. 22: *cohors Gigantum impia.* Lucan uses it to denote either a person who wants to fight in civil war, or civil war itself, as an act of impiety; for further discussion of Lucan's use of these concepts, *pietas* and *impietas*, cf. Heyke, 1970, esp. 157-9, who stresses that persons branded as *impius* are the winners of the civil war. Lucan creates a perverse image of *impia pietas*,

with the Aloadae dutifully carrying out their father's wicked commands; on filial *pietas*, cf. Saller, 1988, 393-400; on *pietas* in general, cf. Wagenvoort, 1980, 1-20.

411-12: piling Ossa onto Pelion was the famous act of the Aloadae; cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 312 ff.; Apollod. 1. 7. 4. Other authors attribute this act to the earth-born giants; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 49 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 1. 151 ff.; Virgil makes no distinction between the giants and the Aloadae, at *Georg.* 1. 278-83, and it is likely that Lucan also wishes this conflation to be understood; on this issue, cf. Vian, 1952, 204-5; Frentz, 1967, 116-7; Mynors *ad Georg.* 1. 280-1. These dramatic geographical alterations are symbolic of the cosmic disruption which Lucan attributes to this civil war; cf. Jal, 1963, 288 ff.; Lapidge, 1979; Bramble, 1982, 557 ff. Furthermore, they put the geographical distortions of the rest of the excursus into the civil war context, disorder resulting from the chaos in the human sphere.

Ring composition closes the catalogue with the mountains Ossa and Pelion, those mentioned at the opening, again blocking the courses of stars and planets; cf. Eckardt, 1936, 4-5. This forces the reader to reconsider the entire passage in terms of the symbolism of these last lines, connecting to the civil war context all the imagery, resonances, allusions and topographical or mythological distortions within the excursus.

inseruit celsis…astris / sideribusque vias…abstulit: cf. [Sen]. *HO.* 1152-4: *nunc Thessalicam Pelion Ossam / premet et Pindo congestus Athos / nemus aetheriis inseret astris.* The heavenly stairway, made from these mountains, is not regularly described as blocking the courses of heavenly bodies in accounts of their assault on the gods; but this method of description stresses the cosmic implications of the such a war. The arrangement *inseruit… astris / sideribusque abstulit* is an elegant touch at the end of the catalogue, as is the order of mountains, Pelion then Ossa, reversing the order in which they were presented at the start of the excursus.

astris / sideribus: Lucan is either distinguishing isolated stars from fixed constellations, or stars from planets; cf. Le Boeuffle, 1977, 16, 20.

413-419: The narrative resumes after the Thessalian excursus. Unlike other accounts there is no description of the journey of either leader to Pharsalus, making their reappearance particularly sudden; cf. Caes. *BC.* 3. 79 ff.; App. *BC.* 2. 64 ff.; Plut. *Caes.* 41-2; *Pomp.* 42 ff. There is a tremendous compression of detail in these few lines, which account for the time between the arrival and the eve of the battle, since the whole process of finding appropriate places and setting up camps and any communication between the two sides is either condensed into a few words or completely omitted. Lucan concentrates almost exclusively on the mental state of the soldiers, a motif which he expands more fully later: 7. 127 ff. Pre-battle anxiety is a feature of military narratives: e.g. Liv. 6. 7. 1-2; Sall. *Jug.* 51. 1, 3.

413: *hac ubi damnata fatis tellure locarunt*: corresponds to 332: *contigit Emathiam, bello quam fata parabant*, which introduced the Thessalian excursus. This

echo adds a second instance of ring composition, external to the catalogue, in addition to the theme of Ossa and Pelion which appeared at the start and finish of the catalogue. On the geographical excursus' role as proof for these statements, that Thessaly was doomed to warfare, cf. introduction to 333-412.

damnata...tellure: for other places doomed to disaster, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 22-3: *(Ilion) mihi / castaeque damnatum Minervae*; Luc. 1. 249; Stat. *Theb.* 7. 239.

locarunt / castra: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 15. 2. 2; *Bell. Afr.* 56.3; *TLL.* 7. 1561. 42 ff.

414: *castra duces*: the enjambment of these key words initially disguises that the narrative has resumed.

belli praesaga futuri...mens: an unusual expression, referring to a collective foreboding about the war. With *praesaga mens* Lucan may be alluding to pre-battle omens; cf. 7. 150 ff.; Thuc. 7. 50; Cic. *Cons. Suo* frg 10. Court. 36 ff. The words hint at the idea of the quest to know the future, a theme which fills the rest of the book.

praesaga: an uncommon, poetic adjective, generally with bad overtones: cf. Virg, *Aen.* 10. 843: *praesaga mali mens*. Its usage is almost always associated with the interpretation of omens, rather than a general sense of foreboding: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 175-7: *tertius ille hominum divumque interpres Asilas, / cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent / et linguae volucrum et praesagi fulminis ignes*; Luc. 7. 197; Sen. *Thy.* 958; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 424, 8. 145; Sil. 3. 84. This connection underscores the idea that Lucan is hinting at pre-battle omens; cf. above.

mens: collective singular, a bold usage since this effect is usually restricted to concrete nouns and names of peoples, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 6. 14: *Dacus*; Ov. *Ars.* 1. 97: *femina*; L-H-S. 2. 13. It gives a feeling of universality to the expression.

cunctos...mens agitat: *agitare* = "stir up", commonly used with an emotion as the subject; e.g.: Cic. *Div.* 1. 61; Sen. *Contr.* 7. 7. 5; Sen. *Dial.* 2. 6. 4: *at nulla machinamenta posse reperiri quae bene fundatum animum agitat*. Lucan here suggests that the soldiery suffers mental disturbance, a profoundly anti-Stoic characteristic, reflecting the generally timorous and unstoic nature of Lucan's characters. For other condemnations of mental unbalance, cf. Cic. *TD.* 4. 11 ff.; Sen. *Dial.* 2. 6. 4, 12. 5; 5. 1. 2; *Epist.* 32. 5, 101.8; also Arnold, 1911, 332; Rist, 1969, 25 ff.; 1978, 259-60; Sandbach, 1989, 62-3; on the unstoic nature of Lucan's characters: 1. 469 ff., 2. 680 ff.; 3. 97 ff. *Mens agitat* cannot have its more common sense "to think", which has the matter in mind as the object of *agitare*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 187: *pugnam... mens agitat mihi*.

415: *summique gravem discriminis horam*: i.e. the battle of Pharsalus. *Discrimen* often = "decisive moment", especially in a military context: cf. Curt. 3. 8. 20: *ultimi discriminis tempus*; V. Fl. 5. 311. Overtones of danger and disaster in

discrimen add extra colour: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 7.1: *adducta est... res in maximum periculum et in extremum paene discrimen*; *Lig.* 16.

summi: "critical"; cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 6: *in summo et periculosissimo rei publicae tempore*; Liv. 26. 5. 3.

417-419: *degeneres...pauci*: the opposed groups of *degeneres* and *pauci* are not easily identified. The former could be read as the common soldiers, who were often portrayed by Lucan as weary of combat and frightened by the implications of civil war (cf. 2. 43-64; 4. 169ff.; 5. 261-95) as opposed to the generals who had greater convictions about the conflict. A Stoic reading is also appropriate, whereby the *degeneres* represent the majority of people, weak in mind and unable to face the uncertainties of war with indifference; the *pauci*, on the other hand, can be read as *proficientes* who are approaching the proper way of living: cf. Rist, 1969, 90-1; Sandbach, 1989, 48. These two levels of meaning are not mutually exclusive and are both justified by the text, cf. below.

degeneres...animi: the combination is used elsewhere with the same sense of mental weakness: Virg. *Aen.* 4. 13: *degeneres animos arguit timor*; Tac. *Hist.* 3. 85, *Ann.* 4. 38. *Degener* is often equivalent to *imbellis*, a sense most common in Lucan: cf. Liv. 38. 49. 4; Luc. 2. 523 with Fantham; Sil. 10. 422. The word is suitable for describing the war-weary common soldiers (cf. above), as well as one who suffers weakness of spirit and mind: Sen. *Epist.* 92. 26; cf. Rist, 1969, 25 ff.

trepidant: often denotes fear in a military context: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 38. 5: *milites Romani, perculsi tumultu insolito... trepidare omnibus locis*; Luc. 7. 186; Plin. *NH.* 26. 18; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 69: *trepidantia bello corda.* On Stoic attitudes to fear, cf. *ad* 419: *spemque metumque*.

peioraque: taken by Haskins, Duff and Braund as equivalent to *pessima*. The use of the comparative for the superlative degree is uncommon and properly belongs to late Latin; cf. L-H-S, 2. 96, 100. Instances from classical Latin have *unus* modifying the expression; cf. Cat. 10. 17: *unum me facerem beatiorem*, with Fordyce; Hor. *Epod.* 12. 4. The comparative force of *peiora* should be kept, and fits well with the philosophical interpretation: mental weakness, especially fear, takes way the ability to approach the future in a rational fashion, often manifested by dwelling on worse things to come at a time of hardship, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 9. 15; 10. 16; *Epist.* 13. 6 ff., esp. 11-12..

418: *pauci*: in political terminology, *pauci* refers to optimate leaders in late republican writers (cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 443-6), but could be extended to denote the senators or ruling classes in general: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 41. 7; Liv. 10. 9. 4; Luc. 5. 343. *Pauci* is also an appropriate term, in a philosophical reading, since *sapientes* and *proficientes* were few in number: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 2. 7. 1. The actions of the *pauci*, *praesumpto robore*, *spemque metumque ferunt*, are consistent with both interpretations:

in the former case it implies that they expect to derive some benefit from victory, unlike the common soldiery; see below, on *praesumpto robore*, for the latter case.

praesumpto robore: this expression characterises the mental attitude which the *pauci* have adopted. *Robur* often denotes strength of mind or spirit; cf. Cic. *Cael.* 39; Val. Max. 4. 1. 6. It appears in Stoic passages as an aspect of *virtus*; cf. Sen. *Epist.* 76. 20: *virtus... cui perpetuum robur est*; *Dial.* 2. 3. 5, 9. 5; 9. 1. 3. *Praesumpto* alludes to the Stoic idea that the wise man's mind will be prepared in advance for any eventuality, in order not to be disturbed by the vicissitudes of fortune: cf. Sen. *Epist.* 13, 16. 2-6; Cic. *Off.* 1. 80-81; *TD.* 3. 29. There may be a deliberate reminiscence of *Aen.* 6. 104-5, lines with heavy Stoic colouring which Aeneas utters to the Sibyl concerning his readiness for the *katabasis*; cf. Norden, *ad loc.*; Bowra, 1933-34. Through this allusion Lucan primes his audience for Sextus, his anti-Aeneas (see below).

praesumpto: "to take on beforehand"; cf. Sen. *Epist.* 91. 8: *tota ante oculos sortis humanae condicio ponatur, nec quantum frequenter evenit sed quantum plurimum potest evenire praesumamus animo*; also, Sen. *Dial.* 6. 7. 4; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 48.

ad dubios...casus: to be taken with *ferunt* (*pace*Duff).

419: *spemque metumque*: the *pauci* apply these two emotions to their considerations on the outcomes of the war: victory or defeat. In Stoic thought these are both undesirable and pernicious, leading to a loss of *tranquillitas animi* which hinders one's capacity to deal with future events in a rational manner: cf. Cic. *Off.* 1. 69; 2. 25-6; *TD.* 3. 24-5; 4. 14-15, 19, 22; Sen. *Epist.* 5. 7-9; 13. 13 ff.; *Dial.* 2. 9. 2: *haec effugit sapiens qui nescit nec in spem nec metum vivere*; 3. 8. 7; 5. 30. 3-4; for Stoics on emotion, cf. *SVF* 3. 443-55. This combination of hope and fear recalls a strategy to control the emotions, mentioned and criticised by Seneca: using opposing emotions which will cancel out each others' harmful effects (*Dial.* 3. 10. 1-2). The philosophical implications of these two words contrast sharply with *robore praesumpto* and undercut the strongly positive Stoic flavour of 418. Enjambment adds to the contrast. On Stoic attitudes to emotion, cf. Arnold, 1911, 331-3; Rist, 1969, 25 ff.; Sandbach, 1989, 59-67.

-que...-que: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 83, with Austin; also Hellegouarc'h, 1964, 288. It is a mannerism of high style, common in Roman epic from Ennius onwards. The lofty tone which it imparts is in stark contrast to the philosophical undercutting of *spemque metumque* (cf. above).

419-34: Sextus is introduced and given an unflattering portrait. Lucan emphasises two aspects in his characterisation, *impietas* and unstoicism, both of which connect him to Caesar. *Impietas* towards his family, gods and the state are brought out in 420-2, 425-34; on these aspects of *pietas*, cf. Wagenvoort, 1980, 1-20; his unstoicism appears in 419, 423-4; for further discussion of Sextus, cf. introduction, 3-5.

turbae...inerti: the group with which Sextus Pompey is associated. The force of *iners* here, cowardly, unwarlike, associates them with the *degeneres* of 417; cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2. 10: *hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertis homines fortissimis viris insidiari*?; Ov. *Met.* 7. 332. Lucan is either suggesting that Sextus is undifferentiated from the cowardly throng mentioned above (*degeneres*), or that this particular group of base individuals are Sextus' companions. Sextus has an entourage which accompanies him throughout the scene, and are similarly described; cf. 572, 657 ff. The association with a bad crowd adds to the unstoical picture of Sextus. Seneca mentions the detrimental influence of uneducated society (*Epist.* 7, 8. 1-6); and furthermore one of the dangers for idle young men, those whom *non industria inquietos sed insanos falsae rerum imagines agitant*, is the pursuit of illicit knowledge: *ex hoc malo dependet illud taeterrimum vitium... secretorumque inquisitio et multarum rerum scientiae quae nec tuto narrantur nec tuto audiuntur* (*Dial.* 9. 12. 5, 7).

turbae:"entourage"; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 137; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 1. 13; Sen. *Epist.* 42. 2.

420: *Magno proles indigna parente*: Sextus is a baser man than his father; cf. also 658: *Pompei ignava propago*; Vell. 2. 73, esp. *fide patri dissimillimus*. The expression is cleverly constructed, the first two words, grand in style and complimentary, undercut by *indigna*. The metre reflects this: weighty spondees, then lighter dactyls at the end.

Magno...parente: the pun on the name *Magnus* underscores Sextus' inferiority. Wordplay on this name is common in the *Bellum Civile*, often with an ironic twist, suggesting that Pompey's greatness lies in his name alone, e.g. 1. 135: *stat Magni nominis umbra*; cf. Feeney, 1986b. There was quite a tradition, in republican and imperial writers, of punning on proper names; cf. Matthews, 1973; Nisbet, 1995, 41-2. Lucan was not the first to see the potential in the name *Magnus*; cf. also Cic. *Att.* 2. 19. 3; Sen. *Dial.* 6. 14. 3; *Epist.* 94. 64 f. for other puns on *Magnus*.

proles: a high style epic word, as stated at Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 153, Quint. *Inst.* 8. 3. 26. It commonly denotes divine or heroic offspring: e.g.. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 25, 327; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 40; Tib. 1. 4. 7. The lofty connotations of this word are sharply undercut by *indigna parente*. This is a significant repetition of the use at 410: *impius hinc prolem superis immisit Aloeus*. The nature of the Aloadae is recalled here in Pompey's *proles*.

421-422: Sextus tarnished the achievements of his father by becoming a pirate, thus dishonouring his father's memory. The lines recall Vell. 2. 73: *is tum... occupata Sicilia, servitia fugitivosque in numerum exercitus sui recipiens... latrociniis ac praedationibus infestato mari ad se exercitumque tuendum rapto utebatur, cum eum non depuderet vindicatum armis ac ductu patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus*; cf. also Manil. 1. 920-1. These views reflect the Octavianic propaganda of the time; cf. Aug. *RG.* 25. 1: *mare pacavi a praedonibus*, with Brunt and Moore.

Scyllaeis…in undis: Sextus first fled to Sicily. He occupied the island and used it as a base for blockading Italy and launching his attacks: Dio. 48. 17. 3-5; 48. 18. 1 ff.; App. *BC*. 4. 84.

Scyllaeis: this adjective links the waters around Sicily to the sea monster Scylla who traditionally occupied one shore of the straits of Messina; cf. Hom. *Od*. 12. 73 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 3. 420 ff. The poetic adjective usually describes things connected to Scylla; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 1. 200, with Austin: *Scyllaeam rabiem*; Stat. *Silv*. 5. 3. 280; Sil. 14. 474. Lucan seems unique in stretching the sense to be the equivalent of *Siculus*. The image of Scylla evoked here suggests the voracity and destructiveness of Sextus' piratical exploits; on her destructiveness, see references above; for her proverbial rapacity: Cic. *Verr*. 5. 146; *Sest*: 18: *Scyllaeo illo aeris alienis in freto*. With *Scyllaeis*, Lucan may intend a further reference to Scylla, daughter of Nisus, who was sometimes conflated with Scylla the sea monster; cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 6. 74 ff., with Clausen; this Scylla notoriously betrayed her father, as Sextus would do; cf. below *ad* 6. 422: *polluit aequoreos… triumphos*).

exul: a pejorative term in Lucan; cf. *ad* 357. In 43, Sextus was outlawed under the *lex Pedia* by Octavian, for alleged involvement with Caesar's assassination, then proscribed; cf. Dio, 46. 48. 4; 47. 12. 2; 48. 17. 1-3; App. *BC*. 4. 96.

grassatus: *grassari* = "to wander about", appropriate for Sextus' maritime peregrinations in the triumviral period; for the sense, cf. Plaut. *Bacch*. 1138, Ov. *Trist*. 2. 477. It also has specific connotations of piracy and banditry: Sen. *Ben*. 4. 17. 4; [Quint]. *Decl*. 5. 16: *ex quo coepit pirata grassari*; also *grassator*, "footpad": Cic. *Fat*. 34: *viator… bene vestitus causa grassatori fuisse dicetur, cur ab eo spoliaretur*. This adds to the developing picture of Sextus.

422: *polluit aequoreos…triumphos*: as a further criticism, Lucan uses language which suggests that Sextus' dishonouring of his father's triumph amounted to a religious violation. The triumph had a strongly sacral character, in which the *triumphator* was a god for the day; cf. Versnel, 1970, 56-93. *Polluo* is often used in religious contexts to indicate the act of defilement of something holy through immoral action: e.g. Cic. *Phil*. 11. 29: *is qui omnia deorum… iura… inexpiabili scelere polluit*; Sall. *Cat*. 23. 6; Ov. *Fast*. 3. 706.

aequoreos…triumphos: in 61 B.C., Pompey celebrated his third triumph for victories over the pirates and in his subsequent Eastern campaigns; cf. Ormerod, 1924, 231 ff.; Seager, 1979, 32-9; for a description of the magnificent triumph, cf. *Fasti Triumphales*, Degrassi, 13. 566; Plut. *Pomp*. 45. The plural *triumphos* refers to the fact that he celebrated multiple victories in the one event. His incredible success in the campaign, in which he defeated the pirates within three months, and the splendour of the triumph, to which this expression alludes, are markedly contrasted to *Siculus pirata* (see below). The enclosing word order heightens the contrast.

Aequoreus is unusual in this context, whereas *navalis* or *maritimus triumphus* would be expected: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5. 67; Liv. 37. 58. 3; 45. 42. 2; Val. Max. 3. 6. 2. Both the word and its uncommon use give a highly poetic flavour to the expression; cf *ad* 350: *aequorei ... regni.*

pirata: a strongly pejorative term. Pirates had a terrible reputation, due in no small part to the very real danger they posed to sea travel: cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 107: *pirata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium. Pirata* and the related *archipirata* became terms of political invective, cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 87: *ei senatus assensus est. turpe imperio! piratarum enim melior fides quam senatus*; for further instances and discussion, cf. Opelt, 1965, index *s.v. pirata, archipirata.* Describing Sextus as a pirate conforms to the hostile Augustan portrait of Pompey's son, to which Lucan's depiction is indebted; cf. *ad* 421-2; also Hor. *Epod.* 4. 19. *Pirata* is uncommon in verse; Lucan is exceptional, using it five times, the other four all referring to those defeated by Pompey; the only other classical verse usage, also in the context of Pompey, appears at Petr. 123. 200. Lucan's very specific employment of *pirata* in the poem enhances the striking contrast made between father and son.

423-424: Sextus harbours unstoical attitudes to the future. Fear and *impatientia* are particularly unstoic motivations for an action, in a philosophy where the motivation is all-important. *Aeger* describes Sextus as sick in mind, a consequence of being governed by emotion not reason; for further discussion of these terms, cf. below; on the anti-stoic Sextus, cf. Martindale, 1977, 375-9. Beyond these moral flaws, such keenness to know the future, especially by unusual or irrational means, receives criticism from Lucan and Seneca, e.g. Luc. 9. 566-584; Sen. *Epist.* 13; *Dial.* 9. 12. 15-17; also Cic. *Off.* 1. 19; and *Div.* 2. 23, an argument against the Stoic belief in divination, which may have influenced both Seneca's and Lucan's views: *certe igitur ignoratio futurorum malorum utilior est quam scientia*; cf. Makowski, 1977; Ozanam, 1990, esp. 282 ff. Although orthodox Stoicism admitted the effectiveness of divination (cf. Sandbach, 1989, 80-81), Seneca and Lucan were of the view that one's ability to deal with the blows of fate in the present is more important than foreknowledge of the future; and the curiosity of an individual not guided by *ratio* was viewed as bad and unnecessary, especially when it involved the occult sciences. Thus, against this background, Sextus' inquiries can be seen as a futile and utterly bad exercise.

stimulante metu...praenoscere: *stimulo*, literally "to prod, goad", is commonly used metaphorically of the emotions, including fear, cf. Curt. 7. 7. 26: *metu stimulante, ne regis expectationem moraretur*; also Liv. 1. 40. 4; 2. 35. 7. The construction with the infinitive is uncommon, appearing first in Lucretius, then later verse writers; cf. Lucr. 4. 190: *quasi protelo stimulatur fulgere fulgur*; L-H-S, 2. 346.

On *metus*, cf. *ad* 419: *spemque metumque.*

424; *impatiens morae*: impulsiveness was another unstoic trait. The use of *morae*, which gave one the opportunity to judge whether actions were motivated by

ratio or emotion, was seen by the school as a desirable practice: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 4. 29: *maximum remedium irae mora est.*

Seneca also defines *impatiens* as a quality contrary to the Stoic ideal: *Epist.* 13. 2-3: [*animus impatiens*] *... is qui nullum ferre possit malum.* Such impatience is very appropriate to Lucan's Caesar, cf. 3. 453: *dux* [*Caesar*] *... impatiens... iussit bella geri.* It thus associates his character and motivations with those of Sextus; cf. Narducci, 1979, 98; Tartari Chersoni, 1979, 32; Masters, 1992, 182; on the unstoic portrayal of Caesar, cf. George, 1988; also below: *aeger.* For its use with a similarly violent character, also involved in civil war, cf. Vell. 2. 23. 1: *Marius... vir in bello hostibus, in otio civibus infestissimus quietisque inpatientissimus.*

aeger: further underscores Sextus' unstoic cast of mind, and gains emphasis from its position at the end of the verse and the chiastic structure of 424. *Aeger* commonly appears in Stoic writings to denote the mental illness which occurs in someone whose life is governed by the passions: cf. Cic. *TD.* 3. 5; 3. 32; Sen. *Ben.* 7. 16. 6; *Epist.* 15. 1; also Rist, 1969, 25 ff. Seneca frequently draws an analogy between illness and the person who lives contrary to the tenets of Stoicism, often putting the philosopher in the position of *medicus* who can heal the mental illness as a doctor would heal a physical problem: e.g. *Dial.* 2. 1. 15; 3. 6, 15. 1-2; 9. 1. 15. The term makes another connection between Sextus and Caesar: cf. 7. 240: *(Caesar) aeger... morae flagransque cupidine regni*; cf. above.

425-430: Lucan lists a range of prophetic techniques which Sextus shuns in his quest for knowledge. The list is very broad, encompassing a wide range of methods which are both foreign and Roman, traditional and new. They fall into three groups: oracular prophecy, haruspicy, astrology. The first two groups were very common and traditional methods of divination, used particularly at times of crisis (see below). Astrology, though an ancient art, was a relatively recent importation to Rome. Nevertheless, it was often consulted during crises, especially in the principate, and would have been no less appropriate for Sextus than the other methods. These methods of prophecy have all appeared previously in the epic: 1. 584-638 (haruspicy); 1. 639-72 (astrology); 5. 65-236 (the Delphic oracle). Yet these earlier prophecies said little more than the fact that Rome was in the grip of a disastrous civil war and that people would die; on the implications of this in the current context, cf. *ad* 430: *tacitum.* An important unifying feature of these methods is their legality, a fact made explicit at 430: *tacitum sed fas.* This is a point of contrast with magic which emphasises Sextus' wickedness in choosing to consult Erictho rather than the permitted and appropriate avenues of inquiry. Furthermore, this contrast underlines the anti-Virgilian thrust of the entire scene, by showing Sextus, Lucan's anti-Aeneas, rejecting licit methods of divination, those which Aeneas did or may have used in his epic, and, instead, having dealings with what is notoriously evil: witchcraft. On this scene as anti-Virgilian, cf. Paoletti, 1963; Narducci, 1979, 54-62; Tartari Chersoni, 1979; Martindale, 1980; Feeney, 1986a, esp. appendix; Masters, 1992, 179-215, esp. 205 ff.; Danese, 1992.

425-7: describe oracular prophecy. Three ancient oracles are mentioned, Delos, Delphi and Dodona. The consultation of oracles at a time of war or crisis was a common practice, especially among the Greeks, cf. Soph. *OT* 68-72; Sen. *Oed.* 216 ff.; Hdt. 5. 89; 6. 19; 9. 93; for discussion of Greek oracles, cf. Parke, 1967a. Although Lucan here mentions these three oracles to stress the breadth of Sextus' choices, the clustering of names of oracles often appears for rhetorical effect: cf. Ov. *Trist.* 4. 8. 43; Val. Max. 8. 15. ext. 2; [Sen], *HO*, 1473; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 106 ff., 478 ff., 8. 196 ff. None of these famous oracles was fully operational in Sextus' or Lucan's day; cf. below. Though this would seem an obvious, practical reason for Sextus to reject them, the fact that he does so in favour of witchcraft is a metaphor for his ideological position: the traditional oracles, like the free republic, have power in name alone, while witchcraft, like the autocracy at which Caesar aims, is immensely powerful and utterly wicked. Sextus' choice thus aligns his ideological position to that of Caesar. The reverse of this can be seen in book five of the epic, where the republican consul, Appius Claudius Pulcher, consults the defunct oracle at Delphi; for comparisons, cf. Ahl, 1976, 130 ff.; Makowski, 1977; Masters, 1992, 181 ff. The comparison of these two details reveals the importance of mentioning these oracles here. On the ideological resonances in Sextus' choice, cf. also 430: *tacitum sed fas.*

425: *non...non...*: the anaphora of negative statements piques the reader's curiosity as to how Sextus would come to know the future.

***tripodas Deli*:** an oracle of Apollo on the island Delos, where the god was born: cf. Hom. *Od.* 6. 162 f; [Hom.] *Hymn Ap.* 115-9; Callim. *Hymn Ap.*; Ov. *Met.* 13. 632-79. The oracle flourished until 80 B.C. when a slave revolt and the Mithridatic wars devastated Delos, and it was not re-established until the time of Hadrian; cf. Paus. 8. 33. 1; Bouché-Leclercq, 3. 33-5; thus it was not operational in either Sextus' or Lucan's day. The tripod, commonly associated with Delphi, was not a part of the regular oracular equipment at Delos; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 3. 23. A *cortina* features in Virgil's description of the Delian oracle (*Aen.* 3. 92). Lucan's tripods refer to the *cortina* of the *Aeneid*, with the implication that Sextus is rejecting traditional Virgilan epic prophecy; cf. Masters, 1992, 184.

***Pythia...antra*:** the Pythian oracle of Apollo at Delphi, the next rejected by Sextus, was in a state of decline at the time of both Lucan and Sextus, as Lucan himself acknowledges: 5. 111 ff. The cave was a key feature of the oracle; the Pythian priestess sat in the cave and delivered her messages from here; cf. Luc. 5. 84-5, 159, 169-70; Strab. 9. 3. 5-6. It is significant that the Sibyl whom Aeneas consulted, another priestess of Apollo, also prophesies from an *antrum*; cf. *Aen.* 6. 42, with Norden; 133-4. So Sextus rejects another traditional and Virgilian method of divination. It is also noteworthy that the necromancy takes place in Erictho's *antrum* (646): the parallel suggests that necromancy here is a perversion of licit divination, rather than just an alternative.

426-427: the oracle of Zeus at Dodona, which lies in a valley at the foot of Mt. Tmarus in Epirus, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 2. 278; Parke, 1967b, 94. The oracle was of great antiquity, found first at Hom. *Il*. 16. 233-5; *Od*. 14. 327 ff.=19. 296 ff. Like Delos and Delphi, the oracle at Dodona was now defunct, due to the sack of Epirus by the Romans in 167 B.C.; cf. Strab. 7. 7. 3; Liv. 45. 34; and the subsequent destruction and sacking of the sanctuary itself by Mithridates' Thracian allies, 88 B.C., cf. Strab. 7. 7. 10. On its history, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 2. 325-6; Parke, 1967b, 122-5; Pease *ad* Cic. *Div*. 1. 3.: *Dodonaeo*.

primis...frugibus altrix: i.e. Dodona's oak tree, acorns being the food of earliest man, cf. Lucr. 5. 939, 1416; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 8, 148; Ov. *Met*. 1. 106; cf. West *ad* Hes. *WD*. 233: βαλάνους. This detail suggests the great antiquity of the sanctuary, in which the oak formed a centrepiece, in contrast to witchcraft, depicted as an art which constantly innovates and changes; cf. *ad* 577-8. The Selloi, priests of the oracle, received messages from Zeus through the tree, perhaps by interpreting the sounds of its leaves rustling in the wind, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 2. 279 ff.; Parke, 1967b, 26-31.

altrix: Lucan uses this word in a novel fashion. When not applied to living creatures it almost invariably describes the earth, either as (i) a synonym to *patria* or (ii) as a nourisher of living things: (i) Cic. *Flacc*. 62: *terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur*; Sen. *Apoc*. 7. 2; (ii) Cic. *Tim*. 37: *terram, altricem nostram*.

primis...frugibus: instrumental ablative with *altrix*, used on the analogy of the related verb *alo*; cf. Plaut. *Capt*. 807: *qui alunt furfuribus sues*; L-H-S, 2. 120. This construction with *altrix* is found nowhere else.

aere...Dodona sonet: contrary to most other accounts (cf. above: *primis...frugibus altrix*) Lucan makes a bronze cauldron the prophetic instrument at Dodona. Bronze tripods and cauldrons were favourite objects of dedication to Dodona. A particularly famous one, donated by the Corcyreans, was accompanied by a bronze statue of a boy holding a whip which struck the cauldron when blown by the wind, making a noise; cf. Strab. 7. frg. 3, Loeb. The resounding of the bronze vessels of Dodona was a characteristic feature of the sanctuary, mentioned elsewhere, cf. Men. fr. 66 Kock; Callim. *Hymn Ap*. 286. There is, however, no suggestion prior to Lucan's that they had any oracular function; cf. Clem. Alex., *Prot*. 2. 11. 1. Lucan may have misinterpreted Callimachus, invented the detail himself, or drawn on a general belief about the cauldron which emerged after the oracle had ceased to function. Valerius Maximus (8. 15. ext. 2) also distorts the importance of the bronze vessels. On the bronzes, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 2. 305 ff.; Parke, 1967b, 86-91, 244-5.

aere: a metonymy for cauldron; cf. Ov. *Met*. 4. 505.

427-429: extispicy, augury and fulguration, three methods of divination for which the Etruscan haruspices were famed; cf. Luc. 1. 587-8: *fulminis edoctus motus venasque calentes / fibrarum et monitus errantis in aere pinnae*; also *RE*. 6. 725.14-

730.9. Although these were practised by many peoples in the ancient Mediterranean, which may suggest that they are unconnected, their close association with the *Etrusca disciplina* and the fact that they all recall the actions of Arruns in book one make it most likely that Lucan intended them to be classed together.

Haruspicy was not an established part of the state religion until the reign of Claudius, and before that time haruspices were imported from Etruria. They were often consulted in periods of civil strife, a fact which would make Sextus' consultation of them quite appropriate, and which makes this rejection peculiar, in spite of haruspicy's foreign character and the Roman suspicion of it. On consultation of *haruspices*, cf. Cic. *Har. Resp.* 53 ff., cf. App. *BC.* 1. 71; Cic. *Div.* 1. 20, 99; Luc. 1. 584-637; on Roman attitudes towards it, cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 11: *Tusci et barbari*; *Div.* 1. 36; for general discussion, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 4. 15-115; Pease, *ad* Cic. *Div.* 1. 3; Liebeschuetz, 1979, 7 ff., 17-18, 22-3.

quis...quis...quis: anaphora of *quis* and asyndeton reinforce the link between the three elements of the *Etrusca disciplina*.

427-8: extispicy, the examination of entrails and predictions based on their appearance, was a precise and complex science developed and practised by the Etruscans; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 4. 61-74.

fibra: the extremity of the liver; cf. Varr. *LL.* 5. 79: *et in iecore extremum fibra*; Cels. 4. 1. 4; André, 1991, 153. The state of the *fibrae* was of crucial importance in extispicy: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 176; Prop. 4. 1. 104; Ov. *Met.* 15. 136, 795; Bouché-Leclercq, 4. 69-70.

428: *quis prodat aves*: augury, the making of predictions about the future from the behaviour of birds: their flight, their calls and their eating behaviour: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 14; 1. 120, with Pease. The observation of birds was performed throughout Italy, though the most famous practitioners were the Etruscans and Romans.

aves: as object of *prodat* this must have the sense "omens from birds": cf. Liv. 6. 12. 9: *secundis avibus in proelium miserunt*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 15. 5, with N-H; also Greek οἰωνός, ὄρνις. Such a use is poetic.

prodat: "reveals information about"; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 26. 3: *consilia Catilinae sibi proderet*; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 99: Juv. 9. 115.

428-429: fulguration, divination from lightning. It was common among Greeks and Romans to interpret thunder and lightning as divine messages, though again the Etruscans were pre-eminent at the art: Cic. *Div.* 1. 12, 93; 2. 42, with Pease; Sen. *NQ.* 2. 32. 2; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 4. 32-3, 44. An influential treatise on the *Etrusca disciplina* by Aulus Caecina, a Roman of Etruscan descent, would have made fulguration's Etruscan links well known at Rome; cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* 6. 6; Sen *NQ.* 2. 39; Plin. *NH.* 1. 2b. Thunder and lightning, especially in a clear sky, were portentous

events, often observed at times of crisis; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 488; Cic. *Cons. Suo* 10, Court. 23-4; Obseq. 1; 24; 28; Luc. 1. 530; the consultation of an expert interpreter would be very appropriate on the night before Pharsalus.

429: *servet*: often has the technical sense "to watch for omens"; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 74-5 Sk.: *Remus ... secundam / solus avem servat*; Luc. 1. 601: *doctus volucres augur servare sinistras*; also *de caelo servare*, which Lucan's expression recalls, "to observe the sky for weather signs"; cf. Cic. *Dom.* 40; *Har. Resp.* 48; *Sest.* 129; Gell. 13. 15. 1.

429: *et Assyria scrutetur sidera cura*: i.e. astrology. The absence of *quis* and the use of *et* make it uncertain whether Lucan is considering astrology to be one of the methods practised by the haruspices, or whether it should stand in a class of its own. There is evidence that astrology influenced Etruscan fulguration. Furthermore the treatise of Nigidius Figulus, the Roman *savant* and astrologer, concerning Etruscan divination seems to have combined elements of the *Etrusca disciplina* with astrology; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, 4. 26, 49, 89, 98; Barton, 1994a, 37, 41. Nevertheless, astrology had long existed independently of haruspicy and would be best known to Lucan and his audience as a separate form of divination; Lucan himself divides them into two different episodes in book one: cf. 1. 584-638 (Arruns); 639-72 (Figulus).

Astrology in the Greco-Roman world did not have the long history of the other methods of divination here listed; at Rome, however, it was very much in vogue from the late republican period onwards; and, although an essentially private procedure, astrology was frequently employed by important political figures, influencing their public actions and decisions: e.g. Octavius, cos. 87 B.C. (cf. Plut. *Mar.* 42. 4-5); Tiberius and his personal astrologer Thrasyllus; also Suet, *Aug.* 94. 5; for discussion, cf. Cumont, 1912, 43-50; Liebeschuetz, 1979, 120 ff.; Barton, 1994a, 38 ff. Notwithstanding this, astrology had an ambiguous legal status. Although never illegal in the same way as magic (cf. below), it was at times associated with conspiracy, and periodically astrologers were expelled from Rome and Italy; cf. Cramer, 1951. By including astrology in the list of licit divinations which Sextus rejects, Lucan underlines how far Sextus is straying from what is sanctioned in terms of foretelling the future.

Assyria...cura: as was recognised in antiquity, astrology originated in Mesopotamia, of which Assyria is a region: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 2, with Pease; Cumont, 1912, 6 f.; N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1. 11. 2-3; Barton, 1994a, 10 ff. Lucan is the first Roman poet to use the adjective with some degree of geographical accuracy. Generally it stands as the equivalent to *Syrius* or as a generic term for the East; cf. Cat. 68. 144, with Fordyce. For this sense of *cura*, cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 93: *Aegyptii et Babylonii ... omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt.*

scrutetur: in a divinatory context, cf. *Ilias Latina*: 700-2: *qui secum tacitae sublustri noctis in umbra / scrutetur studio, quae sit fiducia Troum / quidve agitent quantasve parent in proelia vires*; Tac. *Ann.* 12. 52.

430: *aut si quid tacitum sed fas erat*: concludes the list of rejected methods of divination and mentions the common links between them: *tacitum sed fas*. By implication, witchcraft will not possess these qualities. Masters, 1992, 184-6, rightly sees in this line a "narrative promise" that every prophecy other than witchcraft will be silent, and the suggestion that necromancy will be "the ultimate prophecy, in which everything is made clear"; this suggestion is subsequently negated; cf. the corpse's prophecy.

aut: here = *neque*: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 74. 1: *neque...res neque consilium aut quisquam*; Cat. 26. 3 *nec saevi Boreae aut Apheliotae*; Prop. 4. 1. 104; on this negative pattern, common in Silver Latin, cf. Murphy, 1958. It suggests that this line, besides drawing together the methods of prophecy mentioned, also includes other unnamed forms of divination.

tacitum: "silent". As mentioned above, *ad* 425-30, this catalogue recalls earlier prophetic episodes, none of which went beyond the fact that a civil war was occurring and people would die. *Tacitum* here recalls these prior results of divination; cf. also Masters, 1992, 184-6. *Tacitum* is interpreted elsewhere, incorrectly, as equivalent to *arcanum*; cf. Haskins, Martindale, Korenjak, *ad loc.*; also the translations of Bourgery-Ponchont, Duff, Braund, Joyce, Viansino. *Arcana* (431) are precisely what Sextus does consult. Moreover, divination and other rites performed in secret, as the interpretation of *tacitum* as *arcanum* suggests, were an object of suspicion to the Roman mind, and would hardly be considered *fas* (cf. below): e.g.. Liv. 39. 13. 9-11, 14. 3 ff.: the Bacchanalia; Sen. *Epist.* 10. 5; for the suspicious nature of rites performed in secret, cf. Versnel, 1981, 25-6.

fas: i.e. the rejected methods of licit prophecy; cf. above for their acceptability in the Roman world. By rejecting what is *fas*, it is implied that Sextus' chosen method will be *nefas*, an abomination of some sort. On *fas/nefas* reflecting what is acceptable or unacceptable under religious canons, cf. Fugier, 1968, 133-42. For magic as something *nefas*, cf. Plin. *NH.* 30. 9.

430-434: Lucan introduces and condemns magic, Sextus' chosen method of divination. On the two points of contrast implied at 430, *tacitum sed fas*, Lucan makes it clear that magic is *nefas* but is silent as regards its effectiveness.

430-431: *supernis...deis*: this emphasis on the celestial gods contrasts pointedly with the *umbrarum Ditisque fidem* at 432. The *di inferi*, rather than the Olympians, are generally invoked by witches: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 33 ff.; Luc. 6. 695 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 1441 ff.; Fahz, 1904, 10-15; Tupet, 1976, 11-18; for further discussion of the infernal gods in magic, cf. *ad* 695 ff.

431: *detestanda*: equivalent to *detestabilis*: *TLL.* 5. 811. 1-11; cf. Val. Max. 3. 3. 2: *ac ne plura huiusce generis exempla domi scrutando saepius ad ciuilium bellorum detestandam memoriam progredi cogar.* At this point it appears that the *di superi* hate

magic simply because it is *nefas*. Yet the compulsive powers of magic over the gods are a further reason, mentioned later; cf. *ad* 441, 443-51.

arcana: used of the magical arts; cf. Hor. *Epod*. 5. 52; Ov. *Met*. 7. 192, 256; *Her*. 12. 74; Sil. 2. 426-7; Apul. *Met*. 2. 28, 3. 15. *Arcana* commonly describe mystery rites, with which magic has much in common: cf. de Jong, 1919, 131-98; Abt, 1908, 185-6, 255-7; Clerc, 1995, 177;Graf, 1997, 96-117.

saevorum...magorum: *magus* was often employed to describe a practitioner of magic; cf. Hor. *Carm*. 1. 27. 22; *Epist*. 2. 1. 213; Ov. *Met*. 7. 195; Tac. *Ann*. 2. 32. The word ultimately derives from the Persian Magi, a priestly and divinatory caste, and can denote these people without pejorative overtones: cf. Cic. *Div*. 1. 46, 90-91; Apul. *Apol*. 25-6; Plin. *NH*. 30. 3 ff.; Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll*. 1. 25-6, 29, 32; for discussion of the term in Greek and Latin, cf. Abt, 1908, 32 ff.; Nock, 1972, 308-24; Graf, 1997, 21-9, 36-41. The epithet *saevorum* not only shows Lucan's bad opinion of these *magi* but also serves to identify them as wizards, not Persian priests.

432: *noverat*: Sextus is familiar with the evil rites of magicians. Lucan is, perhaps, reflecting Velleius' comments about Sextus' education: *studiis rudis, sermone barbarus*: 2. 73. 1. Lucan may be suggesting that Sextus concentrated his efforts inappropriately, rather than upon the conventional intellectual exercises of the Roman youth.

aras: a feature of magical rituals: cf: Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 64, 74, 105: *altaria*; *Aen*. 4. 509; Ov. *Met*. 7. 74, 240. 260: *arae* of Hecate; *PGM*. 1. 282; 4. 30-40. In rites to the chthonic gods, the altar is often placed upon the ground, or within a pit; cf. Headlam, 1902, 53; on chthonic rites in general, cf. Scullion, 1994, esp. 75-7, 117-19.

tristis: commonly describes a place as a scene of suffering: cf. Ov. *Trist*. 4. 4. 73: *tristem... ad aram*; Luc. 1. 249; Mart; 11. 41. 5; Stat. *Silv*. 2. 5. 26. Lucan may be alluding to Ovid's use of *tristis*, which describes the altar of Diana at Taurus, referring to human sacrifice (see below). It is connected with underworld entities, suggesting that these are altars of the infernal gods; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 243, 6. 438; Hor. *Carm*. 3. 4. 46; Sen. *Med*. 11.

tristis sacris feralibus: the force of the expression is uncertain, though it probably refers to human sacrifices. *Sacris feralibus* is an ablative of cause connected to *tristis*: the altars are grim because of the rites. *Feralis* is associated with death and funerals, though its force here is not clear. Most likely, it has the sense "deadly", implying that human sacrifices were performed at these altars, a notion reinforced by *tristis*; on human sacrifice and magic, cf. *ad* 557. On the other hand, it may merely mean "funereal", referring to the altars' connections with the gods of the dead; cf. Sen. *HF*. 1146; *Med*. 740; *Thy*. 668; Stat. *Theb*. 11. 344; this is the interpretation found in the translations of Duff and Braund.

433: *umbrarum Ditisque*: underworld entities always feature in magic and their aid was routinely invoked by the practitioner. Lucan's brief mention here anticipates Erictho's prayer, at 695 ff. For the many infernal gods mentioned in literary accounts of magic, cf. Fahz, 1904, 10-15; Lowe, 1929, 55; in the *PGM* and *defixiones*, cf. *PGM.* 4. 2241-2358; indices to Audollent. An invocation of the *umbrae* is not so common as the *Di Manes*, cf. Sen. *Oed.* 559; Liv. 8. 6. 10. Nevertheless, in the context of necromancy, the *umbrae*, ghosts of the dead, were summoned. In general, spirits of the dead were summoned as assistants, παρέδροι: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 28-9; *PGM.* 4. 1928-2005, 2145-2240; for discussion, cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 99-103, Ciraolo, 1995, 284 ff.; Johnston, 1999, 71-80.

fidem: the guarantee of the underworld powers, in the sense that their prophecies could be relied upon, a fact which would explain Sextus' reliance upon them. On *fides* as "guarantee, something to be relied upon", cf. Fraenkel, 1916; Freyburger, 1986, 20-21. The expression stands in apposition to the *aras*; cf. Haskins *ad loc.*: the altars, as the focal point for communication between gods and mortals, were the visible, physical manifestation of this reliability.

miseroque liquebat: Lucan indicates that Sextus erroneously puts his faith in the powers of magic. Given the preceding portrait of Sextus, *misero* is uttered in contempt, not pity: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 16: *o miser...qui apud talis viros tam impudenter loquare*; Sen. *Med.* 513. The expression indicates that this belief is held only by Sextus, and not shared by Lucan.

434: *scire parum superos*: Lucan has previously stated that the gods are not ignorant; cf. 2. 1-15. The problem is that they no longer wish to communicate because of the evils of mankind: 5. 111 ff.

superos: the "gods above", in contrast to the *di inferi*; cf. 430: *supernis*. Ring structure in the sentence reinforces this contrast, which provides another reason for divine hatred of magic: it calls their omniscience into doubt.

vanum saevumque furorem: Lucan condemns Sextus' quest for foreknowledge. This recalls the earlier criticism of Sextus' desire to know a future he could not change. For the Stoic overtones to this passage, cf. *ad* 423-4.

vanum: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 52. 16: *quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est*. Magic is elsewhere condemned as pointless; cf.. Plin. *NH.* 30. 1: *magicas vanitates.*

furorem: recalls *stimulante* and *aeger* of 423-4, the result of Sextus's unstoical mental imbalance. Such madness often is a motivation for bad actions: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 4. 11: *Cethegi...furor in vestra caede bacchantis*; Cat. 15. 14-15: *si te...furorque vecors / in tantam impulerit...culpam*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 244: *immemores caecique furore*; Ov. *Ars.* 2. 106.

This *furor* makes a striking contrast between Sextus and Aeneas, whose quest for knowledge in *Aeneid* 6 was driven by *pietas*, a term almost diametrically opposed to *furor* by Virgil; cf. *Aen.* 1. 294: *Furor impius*, with Austin; also Farron, 1977; Korpanty, 1985; Taldone, 1993, 8-16 for further examples and discussion; on Aeneas' motivation, cf. *Aen.* 6. 9, 115-16. This contrast between the two characters enhances the anti-*Aeneid* tone of the necromancy scene; cf. *ad* 425-30.

Moreover, the quality *furor* is characteristic of Caesar (cf. 6. 282-3; 7. 551, 557), strengthening the parallels between these two figures, noted at 423-4; cf. Narducci, 1979, 92 ff.; George, 1988, on Caesar's unstoicism.

435: *adiuvat ipse locus vicinaque moenia castris / Haemonidum*: Thessaly and its inhabitants were famed for their magical abilities: cf. Plin. *NH.* 30. 6-7: *quando transisset ad Thessalas matres quarum cognomen diu optinuit in nostro orbe*; Apul. *Met.* 2. 1; Tavenner, 1916a, 20; *OZ.* 2§21.

adiuvat: " to increase", a rare usage: *TLL.* 1. 724. 21-32, cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 798: *iam tu quoque huius adiuvas insaniam?*; Sen. *Dial.* 10. 17. 3.

ipse locus: recalls the Thessalian excursus, 333-412, and the horrible image of the country which Lucan created. Now an extra dimension will be added: Thessaly is both the birthplace of war and the home of magic.

vicinaque moenia: the metonymic use of *moenia* for a city is not uncommon: e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 1. 30: *Circaea... moenia*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 541. Witches did live in towns; cf. Apul. *Met.* 1. 7; 3. 21 ff.; Erictho, however, did not; cf. *ad* 510 ff. The notion of a "city of witches" is completely far-fetched. Lucan is grossly exaggerating the prevalence of witches to achieve a horrifying effect.

436: *Haemonidum*: the witches; cf. 480, 589; *Haemoniae*: Ov. *Ars.* 2. 99; Luc. 6. 486; Burriss, 1936, 139. Haemonia was a region in Thessaly, but became a term for Thessaly in general: *RE.* 7. 2219 f. The prevalence of magic in Thessaly led to the association of these terms with witches and their arts.

436-437: these lines preface the description of Thessalian magic with a promise of how dreadful the next section will be and a distancing formula (*quidquid non creditur*) which serves to increase the reader's receptivity to the subsequent incredible description. The historical framework which Lucan chose often required that he adopt such tactics: cf. *ad* 356: *ubi fabula*; 378: *fama est.* To paraphrase Lucan here: "the witches, who are themselves stranger than the wildest fantasy, whose arts *are* whatever is unbelievable".

In the first clause *licentia* and *ficti* are both terms appropriate to writing (see below), making an obvious reference to the literary accounts of magic which abounded in earlier Roman and Greek literature. This seems to suggest that Lucan is forewarning the reader about the extreme nature of his account: it will surpass all that he or she has read before. It also adds to the distancing formula in the following line, by suggesting

that the actual practices of witches are even more incredible than those about which he will himself write.

ficti: i.e. "made up, created by art", a term often used of a story, literary fiction: cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 2. 189: *quod si fictus aliqui dolor suscipiendus esset... maior ars aliqua forsitan esset requirenda*; Hor. *Sat.* 2. 8. 83; Ov. *Rem.* 755; *Met.* 12.57.

licentia: another term related to writing, "freedom of expression"; cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1. 70; 3. 153: *quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae*; *ND.* 2. 7; Ov. *Am.* 3. 12. 41; Mart. 8. *praef.*

monstri: a term from divination, *monstrum* commonly refers to something horrible and unnatural, especially in works of fiction where it denotes fantastic mythological creatures; for refs and discussion, cf. *ad* 635.

437: *ars est*: Lucan ends the line with a pair of monosyllables, a rare collocation in itself, though Lucan's use of it is not extraordinary: a part of *esse* at the end of the line and the sense unit, cf. *Aetna* 161; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 18. 29. The two accented words in the last foot creates an effective ending to this section. On the final monosyllable, cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1964, 50-69, esp. 52-4, 68-9.

For magic as an *ars*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 493; Ov. *Met.* 7. 195; Plin. *NH.* 30. 1; Apul. *Apol.* 25, 80; *OZ* 2§2; Burriss, 1936, 137.

438-506: The description of Thessalian witches.

Lucan describes the magic of Thessalian witches in another long excursus. The lines provide an explanation of the assertions in 436-7. The excursus can be divided into subsections: 438-451: an expanded statement about the enormity of the witches' powers; 452-460: love magic; and 461-506: magic which affects nature. Within the final subsection, 492-499, there is an authorial aside in which Lucan discusses the nature of magic, questioning the origins of its power. Such digressions are a common feature of Lucan's style: cf. 2. 1-15; 5. 86-101. The latter subsections are a long list of *exempla* which demonstrate the claims made in 438-451.

Despite its length the magic excursus has received little scholarly attention. Besides 492-499, most commentators have passed over it, seeing more of interest in the subsequent descriptions and scenes: eg. Heitland, 1887, lxxiv-v; Bourgery, 1928b; Paoletti, 1963; Morford, 1967; Masters, 1992.

Nevertheless, the lengthy excursus warrants discussion. It establishes magic as a force which acts against nature and the gods, with witches as the agents who overturn the cosmos. The description of erotic magic is riddled with words that indicate the overthrow of the social laws; the *adynata* concerning natural magic are an elaborate illustration of the disruption of natural laws; and lines 443-51 and 492-9 indicate that the witches have the power to compel the gods, the protectors of the order of the world, to do their bidding. Thus magic, within Lucan's work, is set on a level with civil war as a power which can disrupt the established social and natural orders: cf. my

introduction, p. 1; Fauth, 1975, 330-1, 338; Lugli, 1987-88, 96-7; Johnson, 1987, 24-5; Loupiac, 1990; 1991, 248-9, 258-9.

The cosmological role for magic and witches, introduced in these lines, is carried over into the following passage where Erictho is described. As the arch-witch, most powerful and evil of the Thessalian women, she is parallel to the greatest proponent of civil war in the mortal sphere, Caesar.

Furthermore, the excursus creates a picture of conventional witchcraft against which the excessive evils of Erictho can be compared. In general, the practices described in 438 ff. closely parallel those found in literary descriptions of magic (cf. below). Erictho, on the other hand, is deliberately contrasted with these witches as being infinitely worse, cf. 507 ff. Erictho herself is a literary witch without parallel. The passage and the following description of Erictho are an extension of lines 436-7, where Lucan promised something which "*ficti... nulla licentia monstri/transierit*. The presentation of his creation Erictho would not be as effective without a description of conventional literary witchcraft against which she can be measured.

Martindale, 1980, 370-3, saw this contrast in terms of "literary" and "real" witches, a distinction which is not especially applicable here given the thoroughly "unreal" presentation of Erictho, and one which he himself questioned: "There is, of course, no dividing line between the two presentations" (371). In response to this, Gordon (1987a, 237-40) viewed the contrast as one between " 'the everyday witch', the figure who could be met with, and accused, in ordinary life" and Erictho the "night witch", a terrible, demonic creature of the imagination; cf. Mair, 1969, ch. 2. A failing in Gordon's thesis, however, is that he removes the literary element almost entirely from 438-506. As mentioned above, the powers described at 438-506 are overwhelmingly literary, resembling such passages as Virg. *Ecl.* 8, Tib. 1. 8. 17 ff., Prop. 4. 5. 5 ff., Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 5 ff.; in no sense are their powers "everyday", except that they feature regularly as stock elements in literary portraits of witchcraft. It is incorrect to view the distinction between the *Haemonides* and Erictho as "real" and "unreal"; both are fictional creations and the differences are ones of degree rather than class.

While the excursus is heavily indebted to other literary accounts of magic, there are many elements which can also be paralleled in the *PGM*. The points of similarity are greatest in the section on erotic magic (452-60) and wherever Lucan discusses the role of the gods in magic. There are fewer parallels to the *PGM* in 461-506 (magical powers over nature). This is probably due to the need for spells in the *PGM* to have realistic aims, a requirement which literature does not have. On this point, cf. Graf, 1997, 200. On the points of correspondence see below; also Fahz, 1904; Baldini Moscadi, 1976, 145-158.

The description of Thessalian magic also parallels Lucan's description of Delphi, 5. 71 ff., adding to the implicit contrast between these two scenes: cf. Ahl, 1976, 130 ff.; Makowski, 1977; Masters, 1992, 180 ff.

438-442: the deadly produce of Thessaly.

438: *Thessala*: on Thessaly as a home for magic, cf. *ad* 435: *adiuvat... Haemonidum*. It recalls the opening of the Thessalian excursus, 333: *Thessaliam*. This

evocation closely links together Thessaly's associations with both magic and civil war, a connection which is of great importance for the cosmological dimension of the poem; cf. introduction above.

tellus herbasque nocentes…ingenuit: *tellus* and the idea of production recall 395: *hac tellure feri micuerunt semina Martis*, connecting harmful herbs and the seeds of war as Thessaly's produce. Furthermore the motif of the generation of noxious plants inverts Virg. *Georg*. 2. 152: *nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis*; *Ecl*. 4. 24-5: *fallax herba veneni / occidet*; lands which produce no poisonous plants. This inversion further recalls the anti-Virgilian, post-golden age elements present in the Thessalian excursus; 381-5, 395 ff.

herbas: a pervasive and important ingredient in magical spells: e.g. Laev. 27. 5 Court.; Hor. *Epod*. 5. 67; Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 95, *Aen*. 4. 514, with Pease; Tib. 2. 4. 56; *PGM*. 5. 196-200, 370 ff.; 7.993 ff.; 12. 96-9; cf. Tupet, 1976, 59-63. For Thessaly as the location *par excellence* for *herbae*, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 220 ff., *Fast*. 5. 401; *OZ* 1§464.

nocentes: for *nocens* used of magical herbs, cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 22; Ov. *Her*. 6. 84; also Sen. *Med*. 270: *letales herbas*. In general, the plants used in magic were not necessarily poisonous, simply powerful by virtue of some quality about them: their appearance, name, or notable effect when ingested. Although they were often beneficial (cf. Gordon, 1987b, *pass*.), *nocentes* here immediately classifies them as harmful, as were those who employed them.

439: *rupibus*: magical herbs were often collected in mountainous, out-of-the-way places, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 224-7; Sen. *Med*. 707-9, 720-2; difficulty of access increased their potency: cf. Nock, 1925, 408; Tupet, 1976, 61-2.

ingenuit: rare, found only here in verse. The term generally appears in contexts where something good is produced, cf. Cic. *ND*. 2. 124: *tantam ingenuit animantibus conservandi sui natura custodiam*; *Fin*. 2. 46. Lucan inverts this expected sense.

sensuraque saxa…magos: stones of this region can be affected by magic. Mentioned in conjunction with the *herbas nocentes*, the suggestion is that they too should be seen as ingredients in magical spells. For their use in magic, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 266: *adicit…lapides*; Luc. 6. 676; Apul., *Met*, 2. 5; *Apol*. 31, 45, with Abt: *gagates lapis*; Philostr. *Vit. Ap*. 3. 7; 3. 46; Orph. Lith 40-1 Abel: μέγα μὲν σθένος ἔπλετο ῥίζης,|λίθου πολὺ μείζου; *PGM*. 2. 18; 4. 1722, 2631; Abt, 1908, 115-16; Tupet, 1976, 57-9. In Latin, *lapis* or *lapillus* are the usual terms, though Lucan prefers *saxa*; cf. 676.

The future participle has a quasi-hypothetical force, expressing possibility. This usage is frequent in Lucan: eg. 7. 414: *moeniaque in praeceps laturos plena tremores*; cf. Lundquist, 1907, 69.

canentes / arcanum ferale magos: i.e. the magical incantation, introduced here and expanded at 443 ff. *Canere* is a common verb for chanting spells; cf. Ov. *Met*. 12. 263-

4: *deduxisse canendo / saepe reluctantis... cornua lunae*; Tib. 1. 2. 54; Luc. 6. 707-8. On *arcanum* and *magos*, cf. *ad* 431.

440-442: Lucan summarises the idea that Thessaly is a land abundant in magical powers by making a general, hyperbolic statement and closing with a mythological allusion to stress the point.

surgunt: used elsewhere of flourishing plants, cf. Hor. *Sat*. 2. 2. 124: *venerata Ceres... surgeret*; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 161: *nec potuere surgere messes*; the verb emphasises the massive extent of the land's dreadful harvest.

441: *vim...deis*: this is one of Lucan's more definite pronouncements about the way in which magic achieves its goal: by applying force or violence to the gods. Furthermore, it pre-empts the questions at 492-99 about the real force behind the efficacy of witchcraft. The belief that magic was an act of coercion against the gods was current in antiquity, and was a way that magic was distinguished from religion: cf. Plin. *NH*. 30. 14; Apul. *Met*. 3. 18: *inexpugnabili magicae disciplinae potestate et caeca numinum coactorum violenta*; *Apol*. 26; cf. Abt, 1908, 48 ff.; Graf, 1991, 194-5; 1997, 222-9, with discussion and many examples from the *PGM*; Versnel, 1991a; Fowler, 1995. The idea that the land's produce does violence to the gods furthers the symbolism of Thessaly and its inhabitants as being contrary to *pietas*, just as Caesar and his legions are.

vim: *vis*, meaning "violence", is a term more appropriate to human spheres of action thus lending a paradoxical touch to the expression.

hospita Colchis: Medea of Colchis, the archetypal witch, who came with Jason to his Thessalian home in Iolcos and continued to practise her magical arts in exile. Her magical activities in Thessaly involved the rejuvenation of Aeson, Jason's father, and then the murder of Pelias through a combination of magic and deceit: cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 159-349; *Her*. 12. 129-132; Apollod. 1. 9. 27; Sen. *Med*. 133-4. This reference to Medea recalls Ov. *Met*. 7. 159 ff., on which passage the details of Lucan's account of witchcraft are in many respects based; cf. Pichon, 1912. The mythological *exemplum* has a double purpose: it emphasises the puissance of Thessaly's herbs by associating them with one of antiquity's most famous witches; moreover, it strengthens the notion of magic as *impia* by association with Medea's *impietas*: she kills her brother, disobeys and abandons her father, murders Pelias, Creon and Glauke and her own children, curses her husband: on these details see Euripides, *Med. pass*.; Ap. Rhod, *Arg*. 3-4. *pass*.; Ov., *Her*. 12; *Met*. 7. 297 ff.; Sen. *Med. pass*. This second link between Medea and Thessalian magic reinforces the connection between the evils of magic and those of civil war: cf. *ad* 430: *tacitum sed fas*; introduction to this section.

442: *legit...quas non advexerat herbas*: this harvest of Thessaly's magical herbs alludes to Ov. *Met*. 7. 219 ff. Lucan may deliberately contradict an alternative, aetiological version of the story in which Thessalian herbs sprang from Medea's herb

box, Σ Arist. *Nub*. 748. Colchis, Medea's homeland, was also known for powerful herbs: cf. Hor. *Epod*. 5. 21-2: *herbasque, quas...Hiberia / mittit venenorum ferax*; Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 95; *OZ* 1§466. The antithetical arrangement of the verbs *legit...non advexerat* adds force to the *sententia*, that even the most famous witch could find powerful new herbs in Thessaly for her magic. This arrangement is quite common; for examples, cf. Bonner, 1966, 262.

443-451: these lines deal with a second aspect of Thessalian magic: words and incantations. Sounds and noises, words, spells and incantations, commonly termed the λόγος of the spell, play a very important part in magic, and commonly appear in literary descriptions of witchcraft: e.g. Hor. *Epod*. 5. 49-82; Luc. 6. 685-718, 730-49; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 487 ff., with Pease for further refs; Tib. 1. 2. 45 ff. Sounds, words and incantations of all sorts are integral to the spells in the *PGM* and can be found everywhere in these. For further discussion on the verbal component of magic, cf. Fahz, 1904, 10; Tupet, 1986, 2592-2601; Pease *ad Aen*. 4. 487; Versnel, 1991b, on prayers in magical texts; Graf, 1991; 1997, 205-222, esp. 215 ff.

443-444: *inpia tot populis...carmina*: a tricky statement: the opening of the line suggests that Lucan will describe the pernicious effects of witchcraft on humanity; but it is soon clear that this expands on the idea of 441-2, magic's power to compel the gods.

inpia...carmina: as the opening word, *inpia* stresses the evil nature of these spells. They are impious because they do not respect the proper relationship between humans and gods. Furthermore, *inpia* associates magic closely with the actions of Caesar, and sets up the metaphorical connection between magic and the state of civil war. On the term *inpius* and its connection to Lucan's civil war ideology, cf. *ad* 410: *inpius...Aloeus*. *Carmen* is a very common term for a magical incantation: cf. *12 Tables*: 8. 8: *si malum carmen incantassit*; Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 68-70; Burriss, 1936, 142, n. 97; also Fahz, 1904, 138 ff.; Ronconi, 1968, 127 ff.; Addabbo, 1991.

tot populis, tot...gentibus: the combination of anaphora and pleonasm is very emphatic; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 236-8: *multi...populi, multae...gentes*. *Populis* and *gentibus*, virtually synonymous in this context, are datives dependent on *surdas*: cf. Plaut. *Pseud*. 255; Sen. *Epist*. 85. 8.

surdas aures.../ caelicolum: the notion of the gods being unresponsive to mankind is evident in the epic, where divine abandonment is a symptom of the civil war: eg. 1. 584-638; 2. 1-4, 28 ff.; 5. 102 ff.; cf. Feeney, 1991, 270-301.

444: *caelicolum*: a high-style, archaic word; cf. Enn. *Ann*. 445 Sk.: *optima caelicolum, Saturnia*; Cat. 9. 6, with Fordyce. The archaic inflection, *-um*, is usual for *caelicola*, adding to the lofty resonance of the word: cf. L-H-S, 1. 279; on nouns in *-cola*, cf. Lazzeroni, 1966, esp. 122, 137, 143. This archaism has a powerful effect, the

ancient though now impotent gods are forced to submit to the new and mighty forces of magic.

dirae…gentis: a powerful description of the witches. Originally used in divinatory language, for a bad omen, *dirus* gained the connotations "terrible, accursed", cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2. 21: *quae…augur iniusta, nefasta, vitiosa, dira defixerit*; for the broader sense, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 622-3: *apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae / numina magna deum*; for a discussion of these lexical developments, cf. Hübner, 1970, 5-11. It first appears here to describe witches: cf. 564; V. Fl. 6. 151.

445-448: these lines describe the compulsive power of the witch's spell as a conflict between the god and the witch: *una vox* and *invitum numen*. In this introductory section on magic, Lucan does not allow the possibility that the gods might aid the witches willingly, in contrast to 492-9; cf. also Ov. *Met.* 7. 192 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 483, 509-11; *PGM.* 3. 187-262; 4. 1928-2005. The establishment of this adversarial relationship is important for the metaphorical role of magic as a symbol for the civil war, and Erictho as a symbol of Caesar since the gods are opposed to the civil war and angered at its occurrence. Like the witches, Caesar shows no respect for the gods and appropriates their power in a material sense by stealing their temples and sanctuaries: eg. 1. 190 ff.: ignoring the pleas of *Roma* personified; 3. 84 ff.: Caesar's invasion of Rome; 3. 426 ff.; 5. 654-671. The lines anticipate 461-484 which describe in detail the power of magic over the forces of nature, which is often put in terms of the gods having no control over their particular domain.

445: *aetherios…recessus*: "heavenly retreats", the abodes of the Olympian gods; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 579: *quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum*; Ov. *Ars.* 3. 550. There is a double force to *recessus*, suggesting both the great distance separating gods from mortals: cf. Liv. 38. 45. 9; Luc. 2. 632: *mundi iubeo temptare recessus*; and also the idea of a secluded refuge: cf. Liv. 5. 6. 2: *aestivas aves statim autumno tecta ac recessum circumspicere*; Sen. *Phaed.* 522-4. The expression suggests that these spells can cross great distances and penetrate into the hidden and protected abodes of the gods.

vox: i.e. "voice", as the vehicle which conveys the *verba* below, thus avoiding *vox* and *verba* both meaning "magic spells"; for *vox* =spell, cf. *ad* 467.

446: *verbaque ad invitum…cogentia numen*: the witches force the gods to comply despite their unwillingness. Divine reluctance to obey the commands of witches appears in other accounts of magic, often as an excuse for a spell's failure; cf. *ad* 730 ff.; also *PGM.* 2. 52 ff.; 4. 1037 ff.; 101. 10 ff. In these instances, the unwilling deities are threatened by the magician.

perfert: cf. Liv. 8. 32. 12: *inde clamor in totam contionem est perlatus*; Sen. *Contr.* 9. pr. 5.

invitum…cogentia numen: there is wordplay on the double sense of *numen*, both a god but also divine assent or sanction: cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3. 64: *mundum... censent regi numine deorum*; Nep. *Timol.* 4. 4; cf. Maltby, *s.v. numen.* The *verba* compel something which would normally give assent.

447-8: the compulsive power of the witches' spells over the *numen* is revealed here; on compulsion, cf. *ad* 441: *vim... deis.* For a similar situation where the spell's target is utterly dominated by the power of magic, cf. Apul. *Met.* 1. 7.

poli caelique volubilis: for *volubilis* applied to the spinning of the heavens: cf. Cic. *Tim.* 20: *caelo... volubili et in orbem incitato*; Sen. *Epist.* 94. 56. Maintaining the rotation of the heavens is not a traditional role for the gods, but one assigned by philosophical writers; cf. *ad* 464-5.

448: *avocat*: an ironical use, underscored by enjambment and the strong sense break which follows. It usually denotes distraction of attention from duty: cf. Cic. *Arch.* 12; Sen. *Dial.* 6. 2. 4: *ne avocari quidem se passa est, intenta in unam rem.* Here, paradoxically, duty cannot distract the gods from the commands of the witches.

448-451: this concludes the general description of magical utterances. Lucan also makes a final comparison between the witches of Thessaly and other magical practitioners, declaring their supremacy over those who invented the arts.

infandum…murmur: *murmur*, in magic, is not a spell consisting of articulate words but rather sounds and noises which imitate those found in nature; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 251: *longo murmure*; Luc. 6. 686-7; *PGM.* 4. 561; 13. 7-89; for further literary refs, cf. Burriss, 1936, 142-3; on magical *murmura* as distinct from *carmina*, cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976b. *Infandum* has a double meaning: *murmur* is both unspeakable because it is so horrible, and because it is an inarticulate noise. For similar wordplay, cf. Ter. *Eun.* 664: *tam infandum facinu'... ne audivi quidem*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 3: *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem.* *Infandus* regularly describes something monstrous or unnatural: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 644: *infandi Cyclopes*; 8. 483, 489; Liv. 1. 59. 8.

sidera: recalls 443-8 where the compulsive *voces magicae* penetrated the heavens.

449: *Babylon Persea…secretaque Memphis*: Persia and Egypt were two regions with a very strong tradition of magic. Persia's association derives primarily from the *magi*; on these, cf. *ad* 431. Babylon itself was seen as the home of astrology, a discipline which had many points of intersection with magic; cf. *ad* 429: *Assyria... cura*; on astrology and magic, cf. *OZ* 2§18; Barton, 1994a, 191-7. Egypt was also famous for its magic, cf. Plin. *NH.* 25. 5. 4; Apul. *Met*, 2. 28; *Apol.* 38: *magica nomina Aegyptio vel Babylonico ritu*; Abt, 1908, 152-3; *OZ* 2§7-8. For further discussion of Persian and Egyptian magic, cf. Farber, 1995, 1895-1909; Borghouts, 1995, 1775-1785.

Persea: i.e. Persian, rather than Egyptian Babylon; for which cf. *OCD*, 2nd edn, *s.v.* Babylon (2). This is a rare form for the regular ethnic adjective *Persica* (Persian). The adjective *Perseus* normally refers to Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda and mythical founder of the Persian race, recalling again the *magi*; cf. Hdt. 7. 61, 150. The term also brings to mind certain magical *personae*: Perse and her son by Helios, Perses who was the father of Hecate: Hes. *Theog.* 409, with West, *ad loc.*; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 74; V. Fl. 6. 495, 7. 238; and the brother of Circe and Aeetes, therefore an uncle of Medea: Hom. *Od.* 10. 137-8; Ap. Rhod. 4. 591; V. Fl. 3. 493.

450: *omne...penetrale magorum*: i.e. Thessalian witches surpass even the power of the Magi, who invented the magical arts and contributed its name. Moreover, there is a strongly religious overtone to this line. A *penetrale* was usually some sort of holy shrine or sanctuary, very often where the Roman *penates* were kept: e.g. Cic., *ND.* 2. 27, 68, with Pease; Cat. 68. 102 with Fordyce; Mart. 10. 51. The expression *penetrale magorum* shifts the focus onto the priestly role of the Magi, who were previously synonymous with the powers of magic, making a strong contrast between them and the hubristic and impious witches.

solvat: literally "to open up the shrines". This suggests that the *magi* hope to receive the gods in the *penetralia*; cf. *PGM.* 1. 73-80; 4. 2786 ff.; 2714 ff.; 7. 478 ff., where the spell summons a god or spirit to the physical location of the caster.

451: i.e. Thessalian magic is more effective at gaining the services of the gods than any other magical power. Magic did literally summon gods and supernatural powers to help achieve the spell's goals; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 51-3: *Nox et Diana... nunc, nunc adeste*; also *ad* 450: *solvat.*

abducet: has moral overtones, suggesting a perversion from the right course: cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4. 12: *abducuntur homines... etiam ab institutis suis magnitudine pecuniae*; Sen. *Epist.* 97. 12. The verb is usually accompanied by a preposition, indicating "place whence".

alienis...aris: "from foreign altars"; in the immediate context this is the Persian altars of the *Magi.* The religious overtones in *omne...penetrale* suggest that these are the altars of licit religion, in contrast to the magical altars of 432. The identical metrical position of *ara* in both lines invites comparison and contrast, implying that Sextus has chosen the most powerful magic, Thessalian witchcraft.

452-460: Lucan gives a brief description of love magic, one of the most common aspects of ancient magic: Theocr. *Id.* 2; Hor. *Epod.* 5; *Serm.* 1. 8; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 64 ff., *Aen.* 4. 478 ff.; Prop. 4. 5; Tib. 1. 2, 1. 8; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8; *Ars.* 2. 99-106; *RA.* 249-50, 289-90; Apul. *Met.* 1. 3, 1. 8-9; *Apol.* 67; erotic spells are pervasive in the *PGM*, e.g. 4. 1390-1495, 1496-1595, 2441-2621. On erotic magic, cf. Fahz, 1904, 61 ff.; Winkler, 1991, 214-43; Martinez, 1995, 352-9.

These lines stress the power of magic to upset the established social order by creating unnatural bonds between people; cf. *non fatis adductus*; *flammis... inlicitis*. Thus they provide the first examples of magic's ability to affect the natural order, putting it on a par with civil war. In Stoic thought passionate love, such as the witches here create, was considered a πάθος and thus to be avoided. Lucan's attitude to love in general, for both persons and things, is in line with this: he is critical of love where it is a πάθος: e.g. 10. 70: *vaesani... amoris*; 363: *obscaenum... amorem*, referring to love for Cleopatra. The ideal amatory situation for the Stoic was that which provided the greatest contribution to society, a heterosexual union for procreational purposes: cf. Babut, 1963. This Stoic concept of love as a binding and productive force was extended to society in general and *amor* became the force which held together human society: eg. Sen. *Dial.* 4. 31. 7; cf. Arnold, 1911, 275. Again, Lucan subscribes to this view; cf. Tucker, 1990.

452-3: *carmine Thessalidum...amor*: characteristically, Lucan delays mention of the new subject matter; this line flows easily on from the previous section. There is no need to emend *carmine* to *gramine*, *pace* Holmes, 1996, 370-1: it works as a general term for magic without disturbing the contrast between 454-8 between potions and incantations.

dura: commonly describes the person resistant to the charms of the lover, often the girlfriend: e.g. Tib. 1. 8. 49: *in veteres esto dura, puella, senes*; 3. 4. 76: *vincuntur molli pectora dura prece*; Prop. 1. 17. 16; on this use of *durus*, cf. Leonotti, 1990, 34-7. The delay of the subject, *amor*, to the following line does not alert the reader to the amatory context of *dura*.

praecordia: uncommon in the erotic vocabulary; cf. Pichon, 1966, *s.v. praecordia*. It is considered to be a seat of emotion among the Romans, though not specifically the home of love or lust: Cic. *TD.* 1. 10. 20: *cupiditatem subter praecordia locavit*; Virg., *Aen.* 2. 367: *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus*; Sen. *Epist.* 74. 3: *nisi hic timor e pectore eiectus est, palpitantibus praecordiis vivitur*.

fluxit: a touch of word-play, in connection with *dura*: magic makes hard hearts melt. Lucan may be referring, obliquely, to the magical procedure whereby a waxen figurine is heated, so that the target's heart "melt with love" by persuasive analogy; cf. Theocr. 2. 28-9: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφις; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 80-1, with Clausen; Faraone, 1989.

453: *non fatis adductus amor*: this phrase has a strongly philosophical flavour. *Fatum* in Lucan is the force which properly governs the world and the responses of individuals to the course of fate, the rejection or acceptance of it, are a judgement on their character: e.g. Caesar who rejects fate, Cato who accepts it: cf. Friedrich, 1938, esp. 420; Dick, 1967, 236-7. The witches' bypassing of fate allows a moral judgement to be made against them. It also indicates a connection between them and characters like Caesar.

adductus: the variant *addictus*, is rightly rejected: cf. Housman *ad loc.*: *addicitur homo amori non amor homini.* For this sense of *adduco*, cf. Hor *Carm.* 4. 12. 13: *adduxere sitim tempora.*

amor: the goal of erotic magic was neither love nor marriage but the satisfaction of the burning, often pathological lust of the spell caster and the mental and physical torment of the "beloved", e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 80-3; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 73 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 296-466; 2756 ff.; 36. 81-2; 101. 4-9; hence, it could be considered a πάθος; cf. *ad* 452-60; on the torments of love magic, cf. Fauth, 1980; Winkler, 1991, 230 ff.

453-4: ***flammisque severi inlicitis arsere senes***: old men are sometimes depicted as the goal of amatory magic: eg. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 57: *senem... adulterum.* The line is reminiscent of Catullus 5. 2: *rumoresque senum severiorum*, which is indicative of the enmity which usually exists between *senes* and love; cf. Prop. 2. 30. 13: *senes duri*; in comedy too, the *senex* is often hostile to love e.g. Theopropides in *Mostellaria*, Simo in *Pseudolus.* On the other hand, old men in love were a ridiculous proposition to the Romans: cf. Lysidamus in Plaut. *Cas.*; Ov. *Am.* 1. 9. 4: *turpe senilis amor*; Tib. 1. 2. 89-92; 1. 8. 49-50; on the *senex amator* in elegy, cf. Stroh, 1971, 17 n.31.

severi: as a description of persons inimical to love or sex, cf. Cat. 5. 2; Cic. *Cael.* 48: *si quis est qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus*; Mart. 9. 11. 16. Lucan uses *severus* here only, a strong indication of the allusion to Cat. 5. 2; cf. above. *Severus* also indicates the extreme moral rectitude of philosophers; cf. Lucil. 754 M.: *tristis ac severus philosophus*; Cic. *Brut.* 117: *Tubero Stoicus vita severus*; Quint. *Inst.* 1. 10. 15; comparable also is the stern attitude of Lucan's Cato at his remarriage to Marcia, 2. 350 ff., esp. 379-80: *iusto quoque robur amori restitit.* Lucan is, perhaps, implying that Thessalian love magic could affect even such minds as these.

flammis...arsere: burning with flames of passion is a common image in erotic writing: e.g. Cat. 35. 15: *ignes interiorem edunt medullam*; 51. 9-10; 72. 5; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 68, with Pease; Ov. *Her.* 4. 15-20. In the present context, these metaphorical flames also allude to the use of fire in erotic magic: cf. *ad* 452: *fluxit*; also Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 43-4; *PGM.* 4. 115 ff.; 1540 ff.; 7. 981-93; 36. 295-311. Burning was also an image of mental torment in Stoic writers: e.g. Cic. *TD.* 4.37: *ardeat desiderio*; 5.76 *dolor... ardentes faces intemptat*; Sen. *Dial.* 4. 35. 5; 7. 27. 5: *mala... in visceribus ipsis ardentia.* This adds a further element to the anti-Stoical picture of the witches.

454: ***inlicitis***: this does not appear in verse until the silver period. In an amatory context it refers to any forbidden or immoral action, such as adultery or incest: cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 97; Stat, *Theb.* 8. 96; Tac. *Ann.* 12. 65; *Hist.* 5. 5; Apul. *Met.* 8. 29. The term may also refer to the illegality of magic, suggesting that both the means and the end were tainted; on magic and the law, cf. *ad* 507: *scelerum... crimina.*

454-456: Lucan briefly describes concoctions used in love magic. These appear frequently in other poets and are usually quite unpleasant: e.g. Theocr. *Id.* 2. 1, 43, 58, 159; Tib. 2. 4. 55 ff.; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 37 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 2455 ff.; 36. 283-94; 61. 1 ff.; *PDM.* 14. 643 ff., 1206-18; 61. 128-47.

noxia...pocula: a love potion, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 38: *poculum amoris*. The use here is equivalent to the Greek φίλτρον, though the latter is a general term for a love charm and is not necessarily drunk; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 584, 1142; Theocr. 2. 1; Latinised at Laev. frg. 27.1 Court; Juv. 6. 611. *Noxia* stresses the connection between potion and poison inherent in *poculum*. The overlap between the senses of love-potion and poison is also present in *venenum*: cf. *ad* 457: *veneni*. The idea that love potions can be harmful is also stated explicitly by Ovid: *Ars.* 2. 105-6: *nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis:/ philtra nocent animis, vimque furoris habent*; also Suet. *Cal.* 50. 3; Plut. *Luc.* 43. 2, Plin. *NH.* 25. 25. On magical *pocula*, cf. Tupet, 1976, 56-7; also Abt, 1908, 101-2.

proficiunt: strikingly juxtaposed with *noxia pocula*, since potions are intended to do harm (cf. above), not help.

455-6: *cum turgentia...fetae*: without naming it, Lucan refers to *hippomanes*, a common ingredient in love potions. There are three forms of *hippomanes*: (i) a plant thought to put mares on heat: Theocr. 2. 48-9, with Gow; (ii) a fluid which drips from pregnant mares: Virg. *Georg.* 3. 280, with Mynors; Tib. 2. 4. 58, Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 8; (iii) a growth on the head of a new-born foal which the mother must eat before she allows it to suckle: Virg. *Aen.* 4. 515-6, with Pease; Plin. 8. 165; Ael. *NA.* 3. 17. Lucan describes the third sort of *hippomanes*, which is useful in love potions because of this power of attraction. On *hippomanes*, cf. Pease *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 4. 515; Tupet 1976, 79-81.

turgentia suco: it is difficult to reconcile this with the more common description of the third type of *hippomanes*, as a hard lump or tumour. This may simply refer to amniotic fluid, which would accompany the birth of a foal, cf. Tupet, 1976, 81. Yet, Lucan is probably conflating two senses of *hippomanes*, the swelling on the brow (as shown by the general context) and the plant (suggested by *suco*); cf. above. *Hippomanes* the plant, though not specifically its juice, is used in Simaetha's spell, Theocr. 2. 48-9. *Sucus* normally refers to plant juices; cf. Tib. 1. 10. 47: *pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae*; Ov. *Met.* 10. 176: *corpora... suco pinguis olivi splendescunt.*

456: *amaturae...fetae*: the participle implies that the mare will not love the new born (*fetae)* foal until she eats the *hippomanes*; cf. Plin. *NH.* 8. 165.

subducunt: often used for surreptitious theft, and regularly construed with the dative: cf. Plaut. *Cur.* 360: *ille... caput deponit, condormiscit. ego ei subduco anulum*; Curt. 9. 7. 24. Some guile and subtlety would be involved in stealing *hippomanes* from the brow of a new-born foal before its mother ate it: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 516: *matri*

praereptus amor; for the secretive theft of magical ingredients, cf. 564 ff.; Apul. *Met.* 2. 22; 3. 16.

pignora: not used elsewhere to describe *hippomanes*, though it here has the sense "guarantee", indicating that the mare will feed her foal once the *pignus* is taken by her; for this, cf. Liv. 2. 4. 4: *datae litterae ut pignus fidei essent*; *Aetna* 461. *Pignus* sometimes denotes a pledge between two lovers, signifying an engagement or something less permanent: e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 9. 23, with N-H; Prop. 3. 20. 17; Juv. 6. 27. This latter use probably explains why Lucan used the otherwise extraordinary term for *hippomanes*.

457-8: these lines describe the very potent verbal element in love spells. Prayers and incantations are central to magic, including erotic spells; cf. *ad* 443-51, 685 ff.

mens: the mind, the seat of rational thought, is the target of these spells. Love magic commonly sought to cause a madness which could only be alleviated by union with the spell-caster: cf. Theocr. 2. 50-1; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 67-8; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 74-6; Juv. 6. 610-11; *PGM.* 4. 2487-8; also Plut. *Luc.* 43. 2; Suet. *Cal.* 50. 3, for the magically induced insanity of Lucullus and Caligula; for discussion, cf. Winkler, 1991, 230-4. The effects of magic on the mind are nevertheless expressed in very physical terms: *polluta*, *excantata*, *perit*.

sanie: in itself, *sanies* is corrupted or infected blood, emitted either from ulcerous sores or the wounds of dead creatures: cf. Cat. *Agr.* 157. 3: *cancer ater, is olet et saniem spurcam mittit*; Enn. *Scaen.* 297 J; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 487-8: *et sanie taboque fluentis / complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat*. It may refer here to the use of blood in love potions, not a common ingredient, though cf. *PDM.* 14. 1210 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 1397; also Soph. *Trach.* 572 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 9. 152 ff.; [Sen]. *HO.* 523-33, where the blood of Nessus is used in a *philtrum*. Alternatively, *sanies* may refer to the potion *in toto*, suggesting its revolting nature; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 37-8; *PDM.* 14. 643 ff.; 1206 ff. Either way, the term marks out the magic as polluting (cf. below).

polluta: the actions of magic are described with powerful, negative terminology. *Sanies*, corrupted blood (cf. above) recalls the original and literal sense of *pollutus*, tainted with blood; cf. Parker, 1983. This reinforces the metaphorical, spiritual sense; for which, cf. *ad* 422: *polluit... triumphos*. *Polluo*, in an erotic context, can denote sexual violation, further suggesting an unwilling target of desire for this love magic: cf. Cat. 62. 46-7: *cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,/ nec pueris iucunda manet, nec cara puellis*; Hor. *Carm.* 4. 5. 21.

veneni: a fairly common term to denote magical ingredients or a potion: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 95-6: *has herbas atque haec... venena /ipse dedit Moeris*; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 62; 17. 35; Apul. *Apol.* 69. 5: *virginitatem carminibus et venenis violarem*. The etymology of *venenum*, connected with *Venus*, associates it closely with love magic, as the examples above show; cf. Ernout-Meillet, *s.v.*; Pease, *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 4. 514; Pharr,

1932, 272. The fact that the term also means "poison" reveals the connection between the potentially lethal effects of love potions, and the destructive passions which they cause; cf. *ad* 453-4: *inlicitis...flammis*; 454-5: *noxia...pocula.*

458: ***excantata***: this single word, placed emphatically at the start of the line, stands in striking contrast to the three lines devoted to love potions. It has the sense "to charm away", with the sense of physically moving the target of the spell, cf. *XII Tab.* 8. 8: *qui fruges excantassit*; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 45: *quae sidera excantata...caelo deripit*; *TLL.* 5. 1202. 12 ff. This recalls the ἀγωγή, or summoning ritual, common in love magic: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 68: *ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin*; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 73-6; *PGM.* 4. 2743-5; 4. 2939-42; 19a 52 ff.; 36. 71. Applied to *mens*, however, it must have a figurative sense suggesting that the recipient's mind is charmed away from all other things and can concentrate only upon love for the spell-caster; cf. *ad* 448: *avocat.*

perit: i.e. magic destroys the mind by driving it to insanity, cf. 454: *noxia...pocula*; 457: *mens*. *Perire* appears elsewhere, in non-magical contexts, to describe the destructive effects of passionate love; cf. Cat. 45. 5: *quantum qui pote plurimum perire*; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 41: *ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 25. 7; Prop. 1. 13. 33.

458-460: these lines close the section on love magic and introduce a special, though unnamed, device, the iunx. Lucan contrasts two natural bonds of love, marriage and beauty, with the magical attraction caused by this device, repeating again the idea of 453: *non fatis adductus amor*. Binding spells, καταδέσμοι or *defixiones*, were common in erotic magic, the goal being to draw to the spell caster, permanently, the object of their desires; on magical binding, cf. Tupet, 1976, 45 ff.; Faraone, 1991, 3 ff.; Winkler, 1991, 230 ff.; Graf, 1997, 121-34. *Alligat* and *potentia* (458-9) apply to both a magical and an amatory context, and anticipate the description of the iunx in 460. The use of these two terms here suggests the principles of sympathy which underlie the functioning of the iunx: as the threads of the device bind together, so too should the magician and the target of the spell.

concordia: in an amatory context, *concordia* most naturally means marriage, referring especially to the state of harmonious unity between husband and wife: cf. Cat. 64. 336: *qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo*; Cic. *Cluent.* 12: *nuptiae...plenae concordiae*; Tac. *Agric.* 6; Treggiari, 1991, 245, 247, 251-3; cf. also Greek ὁμονοία. It is also a political term which indicates genuine peace and harmony, particularly in the context of civil war: e.g. Cic. *Att.* 8. 15a. 1: *ut Caesarem et Pompeium perfidia hominum distractos rursum in pristinam concordiam reducas*; *Red. sen.* 27; Luc. 4. 5; cf. Jal, 1961, esp. 218 ff. The use of the term in an amatory context also recalls Lucan's statement at 4. 189-91 where *concordia* and *amor* are linked: *nunc ades, aeterno conplectens omnia nexu, / o rerum mixtique salus concordia mundi / et sacer orbis amor*. In these and the preceding lines, 4. 167 ff., Lucan discusses the idea of natural, familial love as a chance to end the civil war, concluding with the marvellous

sententia: *iam iam civilis Erinys / concidet et Caesar generum privatus amabit* (187-8). The allusion to 4. 189-91 and *concordia*'s usual political usage reinforce the symbolic connection between magic and the factors which cause civil war.

mixti: cf. Cic. *Div*. 1. 60: *cum matre corpus miscere*; Virg. *Aen*. 7. 661. The epithet also reinforces the allusion to 4. 189-91: *mixtique salus concordia mundi*.

459: *alligat*: in an amatory context this denotes the bonds of both love and marriage: Cic. *Cluent*. 179: *eum nuptiis alligatum*; Prop. 1. 5. 12: *illa feros animis alligat una viros*; Apul. *Met*. 6. 23. It also recalls the theme of *servitium amoris*, common in Roman love elegy, in which the poet is held down by the *vincula*, *catenae* or *copulae* of his mistress: e.g. Tib. 2. 4. 1-4; cf. Copley, 1947, 296 ff.; Lyne, 1979. *Alligare* also appears in magical contexts to indicate the binding powers of spell: e.g. Apul. *Met*. 2. 5: *amoris pedicis alligare*; cf. *TLL*. 1. 1682. 9-10; this idea anticipates the device of 460.

potentia formae: the powers of physical beauty over others are mentioned frequently in literature: cf. Ov. *Ars*. 1. 505 ff., 3. 193 ff.; *Med. Fac*. 23 ff.; also Cat. 51. 9-12; Apul. *Met*. 4. 28: the beauty of Psyche. Here, however, in the absence of this natural force, magical spells can create an erotic passion; cf. also Hor. *Epod*. 5; Apul. *Met*. 3. 16. *Potentia* pre-empts the powers of the device in 460, and is a term appropriate to a magical context: cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 330; Plin. *NH*. 28. 146.

Nevertheless, *potentia* normally refers to the political or military power of individuals or nations: cf. Cic. *Inv*. 2. 169: *potentia est ad sua conservanda et alterius attenuanda idonearum rerum facultas*; Sall. *Cat*. 48. 7; Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 238-42. The use of this term further suggests that magic has a power over human relations beyond the amatory sphere and within the realms of war and politics.

460: *traxerunt torti magica vertigine fili*: i.e. the *iunx*, a disc with two holes in the centre through which a loop of thread is passed, and which is spun by twisting and untwisting the thread, cf. Gow, 1934, 1-3. It is commonly found in descriptions of love magic. Theocritus mentions two similar items, the ἴυγξ and ῥόμβος, the latter being a bull-roarer: Theocr. 2. 22, 37, etc. for ἴυγξ, 30-31 for ῥόμβος, *pace* Tavenner, 1933, who sees these items as identical, a spinning top. Subsequent Roman writers generally confused these two objects, describing the *iunx* but calling it *rhombus*: e.g. Prop. 2. 28. 35, 3. 6. 26; Ov. *Am*. 1. 8. 7; *Fast*. 2. 575; Mart. 9. 29. 9, 12. 57. 17; this suggests a reason Lucan chose not to mention a name here. As well as its use in erotic magic, the *iunx* had other amatory connections: it was first devised by Aphrodite, Pind. *Pyth*. 4. 214; cf. Tavenner, 1933; Johnston, 1995b; and it is often an attribute of Eros in vase paintings, cf. Gow, 1934, fig. 1, 2. For more on the *iunx*, cf. Tupet, 1976, 50-5; Pirenne-Delforge, 1993.

traxerunt: reminiscent of the action of the ἀγωγή or fetching spell, which claims to bring the beloved to the house of the spell-caster; cf. *ad* 458: *excantata*. The subject is the *Thessalides*, as it was for *subducunt*, 456.

torti...fili: genitive singular, dependent on *vertigine*, which would be a matter of no dispute had not Phocas (GLK, 5. 45) argued for *fili* as a heteroclite plural form of *filum*. This line is, however, his only piece of evidence and is obviously a misinterpretation: cf. Housman, *ad loc.*; Casaceli, 1973, 348-9.

Torti...fili refers to the single thread which was passed through holes in the centre of the *iunx*. As the twisting threads whirled the disc, a magic spell was uttered over them which would, by the principles of persuasive analogy, cause attraction and binding of the beloved: e.g. Theocr. *Id.* 2. 32: ἰυ̃νξ, ἕλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα; cf. Tupet, 1976, 45-6.

Sound play between *torti...fili* and *tori...formae* of the previous line reflects the sympathetic links between natural and magical attraction, cf. *alligat*, *potentia*. *Tori* and *torti* sound very similar and are both placed before the main caesurae of their lines; alliteration and position at the end of the line connect *formae* and *fili*.

vertigine: always denotes a whirling or spinning movement: e.g. Ov. *Met.* 2. 70-1; Sen. *NQ.* 5. 13. 3: *ventus...se ipsa vertigine concitans*. This is sometimes rendered as "spindle", incorrectly; cf. Bourgery-Ponchont, Canali *ad loc.* Though the spindle had uses in magic, (cf. Tupet, 1976, 184-5), *vertigo* cannot have this sense.

fili: for *filum* in a magical context, cf. *Ciris* 372, Petr. 131. 4. *Filum*, often associated with the idea of fate through the *Parcae* who spin the threads of life (cf. *ad* 703-4), further alludes to 453: *non fatis adductus amor*.

461-491: these lines describe the ways in which Thessalian witches affect the processes of nature. Such lists of feats are common in descriptions of magic in literature, often serving as an introduction to a particular witch, either made by the narrator or stated by the witch herself: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 489 ff.; Tib. 1. 2. 43 ff.; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 5-18; *Met.* 7. 199 ff.; Sen. *Med.* 752 ff.; Petr. 134. 12. In common with these other catalogues, this passage has the purpose of declaring the massive and extensive magical powers possessed by the witches. Yet, the list here greatly surpasses its predecessors in length, as an indication of the supremacy of Thessalian witches over their literary forebears, cf. *ad* 436-7. Lucan also gives a more expansive description to each element in the catalogue, rather than the simple lists of feats which can be seen in his literary predecessors; e.g. compare Lucan's 465-9, on rain magic, with Tib. 1. 2. 49, Ov. *Met.* 7. 201-2, Sen. *Med.* 754.

This style of catalogue, in Lucan and other writers, resembles the figure *adynaton* elsewhere, not least because in both cases the authors are expressing impossible occurrences: cf. Canter, 1930, 32 ff., with many examples from Greek and Latin poetry. The figure *adynaton* proper is a rhetorical device which indicates either the impossibility or unlikeliness of a particular event, by means of comparison with something that is proverbially impossible, long-lived or continuous: e.g. Prop. 3. 19. 5-10: *flamma per incensas citius sedetur aristas / fluminaque ad fontis sint reditura caput, / et placidum Syrtes portum et bona litora nautis / praebeat hospitio saeva Malea suo, / quam possit vestros quisquam reprehendere cursus / et rabidae stimulos*

frangere nequitiae. As such, magical *adynata* do not belong to the category since there is no explicit comparison being made. Nevertheless, certain feats, such as rivers running backwards, unseasonable weather and the uncharacteristic behaviour of animals, are seen in both magical lists and the *adynata*. These impossible events had an origin in proverbs which is probably the cause for the overlap between magical and non-magical *adynata*; cf. Rowe, 1965, 387 ff. Whether Lucan drew examples directly from these literary *adynata* is impossible to know. The prevalence of this literary device, especially in Latin, would make the elements familiar to his audience, and would make his deviations from the standard form all the more striking. Yet, in spite of the traditional elements of the catalogue, Lucan has marked his originality both by adding an extra dimension to a common event, and by including material with a scientific rather than traditional slant: on the former cf. 476-9, 479-80, 490-91; for the latter: 463-5, 481-4; cf. notes for details.

This section also provides a graphic illustration of the power of magic to overthrow the cosmic laws, demonstrating a link between magic and civil war; cf. *ad* 438-506; Fauth, 1975, 338; Lugli, 1987-88, 96-7; Lapidge, 1979, 368-9; Loupiac, 1991, 258-9; for a discussion of magic as a metaphor for cosmic disaster elsewhere, cf. Reiche, 1971, 296-329. Lucan gives various examples of the witches' supremacy over the gods in their own provinces: Jupiter, Phoebus, Notus, Tethys, also the river gods Nilus and Maeander. One should note that there is no idea of compelling the gods to do anything in these lines, but rather causing events to happen in spite of their presence: cf. 464-5: *Iuppiter...miratur*; 467: *ignaro...Iove*; 471: *turbante Noto*. The idea that magic fills the vacuum left by the uncaring gods has been mentioned previously (cf. *ad* 443-4), a situation reflected here by the impotent divinities who cannot control the world which is theirs to govern.

This catalogue also closely resembles lists of prodigies, especially those which herald civil war or strife, which usually included weather signs and observations of unusual animal behaviour: e.g. Cic. *Cons. Suo* 36 ff. Court.; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 469 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 15. 783-98; Luc. 1. 526-83; Sen. *Thy*. 789 ff. Rowe, 1965, 387 ff., again explains such similarities as the result of the common origin of the events in proverbs. Certainly the resemblance to such lists of prodigies adds uneasy resonances to the sinister practises of the witches and it reinforces the notion that the magic is a symbol for civil war.

The ability to affect the course of nature is also present, though not prominent, in the *PGM*; cf. 4. 192; 12. 55 ff.; 367 ff.; 29; 34; 101. 10 ff. Normally it is in a similar context to the literary examples listed above: as an indication of the magician's power, often as part of a compulsive threat. Furthermore, *PGM* 29 and 34, which most closely resemble this passage by giving a list of various changes to nature, are generally considered not to be magical spells but rather literary fragments of magic scenes: cf. Bonner, 1921; Dodds, 1952 on *PGM* 34; O'Neil *ad PGM* 29 in Betz; for an examination of weather magic, cf. Fiedler, 1931.

461: ***cessavere vices rerum***: this opening statement refers specifically to alternations of night and day, as is made clear by the following clause. The phrase is, however,

applicable to any natural variation or progression, setting the tone for the rest of the passage.

cessavere: "to fail, not function", cf. Luc. 5. 157: *sensit tripodas cessare*; Juv. 9. 33. When applied to natural processes, often in philosophical writings, *cessare* can mean "to be motionless", a state which is itself harmful: e.g. Lucr. 2. 80-2: *si cessare putas rerum primordia posse / cessandoque novos rerum progignere motus, / avius a vera longe ratione vagaris*; Luc. 5. 441 ff.; cf. Cic. *ND*. 1. 52, describing the *laboriosissimus deus* of the Stoics who keeps the cosmos in motion. This state of constant motion maintains the healthy functioning of the universe; cf. Sambursky, 1959, 21-2, 29-33, 41-4. The philosophical overtones of the word contribute a further dimension to the destructive power of the witches and their magic.

vices: a common term for the normal succession of changes in nature, be they day and night, the seasons, the stars in the sky, the tides: cf. Hor. *Carm*. 1. 4. 1: *soluitur acris hiems grata vice veris*; Ov. *Met*. 4. 218: *dum nox vicem peragit*; Manil. 1. 482: *quid tam confusum specie, quid tam vice certum est* (the cosmos); Sen. *Med*. 759: *temporum flexi vices*; also Cic. *ND*. 1. 52: *deus... qui... rerum vicissitudines ordinesque conservet*.

461-2: *dilataque longa / haesit nocte dies*: "daytime deferred sticks fast during the long night"; on the magical prolonging of night, cf. Sen. *Med*. 759: *temporum flexi vices*; Luc. 6. 828-30; Apul. *Met*. 1. 3: *diem tolli, noctem teneri*; *PGM*. 12. 55 ff.; 13. 872 ff.; 34. This feat creates the darkness necessary for magical rites to ensure secrecy and to guarantee the presence of the moon; cf. *ad* 624. Lucan compresses two related ideas into the one sentence: day is held back and night is prolonged. The word order, with *dies* delayed, reflects the subject matter, the start of the day being delayed by a preternaturally long night.

haesit: rarely used to describe the hindrance of celestial phenomena, cf. only V. Fl. 3. 211: *lentis haeret nox conscia bigis*.

462-5: this depiction of the universe owes more to the scientific rather than traditional poetic accounts. The terminology, *aether*, *mundus*, *polus*, *axis* is appropriate to a scientific description, as is the conception of the universe spinning on its axis. The presence of Jupiter as the deity responsible for the rotation of the universe is another element of Stoic cosmology in the description. The cessation of the rotation of the heavens does not appear in other, more traditional accounts of magic. Lucan's subject matter, however, alludes to the more conventional effects of magic on the sun, stars and moon; cf. *ad* 499-506, where Lucan revisits this theme, describing the traditional feat, drawing down the moon.

legi: "a law of nature"; cf. Cic. *ND*. 1. 36: *Zeno... naturalem legem divinam esse censet*; [Ov.] *Hal*. 1: *accepit mundus legem*; Manil. 5. 380: *verbaque praecipiet naturae lege negata*; Sen. *NQ*. 6. 1. 12. *Lex* is predominantly found with this sense in (quasi-)

technical works, whether prose or verse, and adds to the scientific flavour of the section.

aether: in Stoic and Epicurean physics, this is the outer air, embracing the earth and its atmosphere, *aer*. It is a fiery element which fuels the fires of the sun, stars and other heavenly bodies: cf. Cic. *ND*. 1. 37: *extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui aether nominetur, rectissimum deum indicat*; 2. 91: *hunc rursus amplectitur inmensus aether, qui constat ex altissimis ignibus*, with Pease; 2. 92; Sen. *NQ*. 2. 12. 3; 2. 19; for discussion, Wright, 1996, 110-16; Lapidge, 1973, 257 ff. gives the Stoic view. Although *aether* is a poetic expression for the sky (cf. Enn. *Ann*. 545 Sk.: *clamor ad caelum volvendus per aethera vagit*; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 406: *quacumque illa levem... secat aethera pennis*), an interpretation of it as the fiery upper air better suits the philosophical-scientific tone of the current section.

paruit: used to indicate the correct behaviour of the forces of nature: Cic. *ND*. 1. 19: *quem ad modum... oboedire et parere voluntati architecti aer ignis aqua terra potuerunt*; Plin. *NH*. 17. 22.

463: *torpuit*: repeats the idea of *cessavere*. For its use with an inanimate subject, cf. Sen. *HF*. 763; *NQ*. 6. 27. 2: *aer, ipse qui... pigritia et aeterna nocte torpescit, gravis haurentibus est*.

praeceps: describes the universe spinning on its axis; for *praeceps* of horizontal or oblique rather than vertical motion, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 2. 305-7: *torrens / sternit agros.../ praecipitisque trahit silvas*; *Georg*. 3. 103-4: *cum praecipiti certamine campum / corripuere ... currus*; Hor. *Carm*. 1. 3. 12: *nec timuit praecipitem Africum*. The juxtaposition *praeceps... torpuit* creates a striking oxymoron, suggesting a sudden cessation.

mundus: i.e. "the universe", given the general context of these lines; Cic. *TD*. 1. 40: *terram in medio mundo sitam*; Ov. *Met*. 12. 40; Sen. *NQ*. 2. 3. 1.

464: *axibus*: in technical parlance, the celestial axis is an imaginary line which runs through the centre of the universe, with its mid-point at the centre of the earth and ending at the celestial north and south poles. The universe rotated around this central line. Though this celestial model could become very complex with concepts of different heavenly spheres to account for the different movements of the sun, moon, planets and stars, this central axis was fundamental: cf. Aristot. *Cael*. 2. 293b30, with Leggatt: Ἐνιοι δὲ καὶ κειμένην τοῦ κέντρου φασὶν αὐτὴν ἴλλεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς τεταμένον πόλον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ γέγραπται; Varr. Atac. frg. 15 Court.: *vidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe*; Cic. *Arat*. 542 (296); *Luc*. 123: *(terra) cum circum axem se summa celeritate convertat et torqueat*; Manil. 1. 279: *axis libratum... regit diverso cardine mundum*. On this, cf. Easterling, 1961, discussing the heavenly spheres in Aristotle and other Greek scientific sources; Le Boeuffle, 1977,

86; Hardie, 1983. The poetic sense of *axis*, "sky", is impossible: the text states that the *polos* are driven on the *axibus*.

polos: this must refer to the sky, a poetic usage: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 251: *nox involvens umbra magna terramque polumque*; Hor. *Epod.* 17. 77; Hardie, 1983, 224-5, on its connection with πόλος. The *poli* are, technically, the poles or the endpoints of the celestial axis, cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 105: *extremusque adeo duplici de cardine vertex / dicitur esse polus*, with Pease; Plin. *NH.* 2. 13. 2; also Leggatt *ad* Arist. *Cael.*, 2. 7-8, and his introduction, pp. 24-5. In the current passage, however, it must have the broader sense "sky". It would be, presumably, an invisible feat to stop the motion of the poles themselves. The poetic usage rarely appears in the plural, though this is Lucan's preference, cf. 9. 13: *astra...fixa polis*.

Iuppiter: Jupiter is one title given by the Stoics to the guiding principle of the universe: cf. Cic. *ND.* 1. 39-40: *Chrysippus... disputat aethera esse eum quem homines Iovem appellarent... idemque etiam legis perpetuae et aeternae vim, quae quasi dux vitae et magistra officiorum sit, Iovem dicit esse*; 2. 63-5; Sen. *NQ.* 2. 45. 1-3: *Iovem intellegunt, rectorem custodemque universi, animum ac spiritum mundi, operis huius dominum et artificem, cui omne nomen convenit.* Though the connection between Zeus/Jupiter and the heavens had been made in earlier verse writers, Stoic philosophers eagerly exploited this association for their allegorical interpretations of mythology, which attempted to explain traditional accounts and beliefs in terms of Stoic cosmology; cf. Tate, 1929; Most, 1989, esp. 2053-7 for its influence on Lucan's poetry. The Stoic connection derives from the generative principle θεὸς which took on the names Zeus, and then Jupiter. This θεὸς was the creative fiery element, the aether, or in Chrysippean cosmology the *pneuma*, so the force which held the cosmos together. For a clear explanation of these confusing theories, cf. Lapidge, 1973. For the earlier connections: cf. Eur. *Tr.* 884-6: ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν, | ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σύ δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, | Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν; Enn. *Scaen.* 301, J., with his note for further references: *aspice hoc sublime candens quem vocant omnes Iovem*; this fragment of Ennius' *Thyestes* was cited frequently by Stoic writers as a justification for a divine ruler of the universe. For a broader examination of the supreme god who orders and maintains the universe, cf. Pease, 1941.

465: *miratur non ire polos*: *miror* with accusative and infinitive, more common in prose than verse, adds to the technical feel of these lines: cf. L-H-S, 2. 358.

465-9: involve witches either causing or preventing rain storms by bringing on or driving off clouds; cf. Tib. 1. 2. 49; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 9-10; *Met.* 7. 201-2: *nubila pello / nubilaque induco*; *Her.* 6. 86; Sen *Med.* 754; Apul. *Met.* 3. 16. The actions in these lines are attributed directly to the witches, unlike most of the passage. The section is clearly divided into two halves at the bucolic diaeresis in 467, and describes two opposite effects: the former involves creating rain storms, the latter driving them away. This parallels the next section dealing with winds, again divided into halves which describe two opposite effects. Haskins, Braund and Canali interpret 467-9 as

describing the creation of rain, like 465-7, but this cannot be right. It limits the breadth of their powers over the weather which does not accord with the point of the excursus, a demonstration of the magnitude and scope of Thessalian witchcraft; cf. also on *comis...solutis*.

465-6: *omnia complent imbribus*: hyperbolic expression; cf. Liv. 2. 17. 2: *caede incendisque cuncta complent*; 25. 12. 6: *donec compleris sanguine campum*; Sen. *Phaed.* 1211: *sidera et manes et undas scelere compleri meo.*

calido...Phoebo: on Phoebus, cf. *ad* 334-5. The witches again demonstrate that their power surpasses that of a god. *Calidus*, stressing the sun's heat, emphasises this magical potency. There may be wordplay on the name *Phoebus*, commonly etymologised as "bright" (cf. Maltby, *s.v.*); here "the Bright one" is blotted out by magic; for etymological wordplay on *Phoebus*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 720: *candentis limine Phoebi*; O'Hara, 1996, 216.

praeducunt: lit. "they draw clouds as a barrier across the blazing sun". The word has primarily a military usage, though for its use with clouds, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 13: *quis...frigida damnatae praeduxit nubila menti.* The alternative reading *producunt* (ZPUC) gives a much weaker sense.

467: *tonat ignaro caelum Iove*: creating thunder does not appear as a magical *adynaton* before Lucan. It is mentioned here as an elaboration of the common feat of creating storms; cf. *ad* 465-6.

The grammatical structure reflects the unusual situation described. When the normally impersonal *tonare* takes a subject, it is most often *Iuppiter*: e.g.: Cic. *ND.* 2. 65: *Iove fulgente tonante*; *Div.* 2. 42: *Iove tonante fulgurante*, with Pease; whereas *caelum* as subject is far less common; cf. L-H-S 2. 415.

ignaro...Iove: a paradox, since Jupiter was traditionally the god of thunder, *Iuppiter tonans*, as well as weather in general, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 230 ff.; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 34. 5-12 with N-H; for discussion, cf. Bailey, 1935, 132 ff.; Altheim, 1937, 150.

vocibus isdem: on the magical power of words, cf. *ad* 443-51; for *vox* = "spell", cf. 483, also Hor. *Epod.* 5. 45; 17. 78: *deripere lunam vocibus possim meis. Isdem* is adversative; cf. Cat. 22. 14, with Fordyce.

468-9: *solutis...comis*: a vexed expression, open to various interpretations. It is best taken as ablative of description, dependent upon *nimbos*; cf. *adnot.*; Housman *ad loc.* Lucan depicts the clouds letting down their tresses, quite an appropriate metaphor for distant rain which can look like hair falling from the storm cloud. Pind. *Paean*, 6. 137-9, provides the only ancient parallel: χρύσεαι ἀέρος ἔκρυψαν κόμαι ἐπιχώριον νῶτον ὑμέτερον; cf. Housman's note for modern uses of the metaphor; also Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 84. *Coma*, elsewhere, denotes things which resemble hair: cf. Sen. *NQ.* 7. 20. 4, a comet's tail; Cat. 61. 78; Sen. *Oed.* 311: flame; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 322: lightning.

One could also compare Stat. *Theb.* 6. 557: *nec se lanugo fatetur intonsae sub nube comae*, for a reversed situation where hair is compared to a cloud. This interpretation strengthens the picture by showing the witches' powers acting on storms in progress, not merely cloudy skies, and contrasts well with the completely clear skies in the preceding lines. Haskins and Canali take *solutis... comis* as dependent on *excussere*: " they shook from their loosened locks...". This, however, simply repeats the ideas of 465-467, rather than providing an opposite action, which the structure of the passage implies. Nor is the phrase an ablative absolute denoting unbound hair, a common requirement in magical rituals; for this, cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 150 n. 1. This detail is superfluous.

469: *excussere*: "to drive away", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 200: *excutimur cursu et... erramus in undis*. It cannot have its common sense, "to shake out", *pace* Haskins, Canali; this would imply that the actions of 467-9 are the same as 465-7, see above, *solutis... comis*.

469-472: the supernatural control of the sea and the winds is another common magical *adynaton*: e.g. Ov. *Met.* 7. 200-2: *concussaque sisto / stantia concutio cantu freta.../... ventos abigoque vocoque*; Sen. *Med.* 755-6; Petr. 134; Apul. *Met.* 1.3; *PGM.* 29; also Hdt. 7. 191, where the Magi cast spells on the wind. Not only can the witches make the sea rise and fall, but these effects happen in spite of the prevailing wind conditions; cf. Sen. *Med.* 765-6: *tumuit insanum mare tacente vento*; [Sen.] *HO.* 455-6: *concussi fretum cessante vento*; the juxtaposition of these two opposing effects on the same natural force parallels Ov. *Met.* 7. 199 ff., revealing Lucan's debt to Ovid's description of Medea. The last feat in this section, making sails billow against the wind, is an effective coda both for its originality and for the interesting image it creates as a demonstration of their power.

cessantibus: cf. Luc. 3. 68: *cessantibus Austris*. The present participle stresses the fact that the witches can reverse a natural process as it occurs. Lucan repeats *cessare* from 461, though the uses are very different: in the former passage it occurs as a result of magic, while here it is a natural action against which the powers of witchcraft are working. This change highlights the variety and shocking unpredictability of magic.

aequor: literally, a flat, calm sea, contrasting very strongly with *intumuit*; cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2. frg 3: *quid tam planum videtur quam mare? e quo etiam aequor illud poetae vocant*.

470: *intumuit*: cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7. 1. 4: *intumuerat subitis tempestatibus mare iustisque navigiis horrendum*; Plin. *NH.* 2. 196; it alludes to Medea's *adynata* at Sen. *Med.* 765: *tumuit mare*, though the intensifying prefix *in-* shows that Lucan's *Thessalides* can affect the sea more forcefully.

rursus: adversative; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2. 84: *quamdiu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella; rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus*; *Culex*, 329.

procellas: a particularly violent storm, cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1. 85: *dicta procella ab eo, quod omnia percellat*. The term is poetic, favoured in epic descriptions of storms at sea: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 85, 102; Luc. 5. 583, 612, 684;

471: *conticuit*: for *conticesco* applied to inanimate things, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6. 318: *cessat opus; vacuae conticuere molae*. The idea of the sea falling silent again recalls, though inverts, Sen. *Med.* 765-6: *tumuit insanum mare / tacente vento*. For the noise of storms at sea, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 124-5: *interea magno misceri murmure pontum /... sensit Neptunus*; 4. 160, with Pease.

turbante: because the phrase has no object, Haskins, followed by Duff, Braund, sees the use as intransitive, citing Tac. *Ann.* 4. 1: *repente turbare fortuna coepit*; cf. also Varr. *RR.* 3. 17. 7: *cum mare turbaret*; Luc. 3. 593: *pelago turbante*. Yet, in the context of maritime disturbances, *turbare* is only intransitive when the sea is the subject; otherwise the use is transitive: cf. Cic. *Clu.* 138: *mare quod sua natura tranquillum sit ventorum vi agitari atque turbari*; Lucr. 2. 1: *mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis*. It seems, then, that it must be taken this way and *mare* understood as object. Moreover, a transitive use adds emphasis to the power of magic by suggesting that two forces, the wind and witchcraft, are simultaneously acting on the sea and that the latter is the stronger.

The juxtaposition of *conticuit turbante* is strong.

Noto: the South wind: cf. Sen. *NQ.* 5. 16. 6. Notus, a wind god, adds another deity to the list of those whom the witches could control; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 378-80; Roscher, 3. 470. 52-471. 18.

472: *in ventum tumuere*: the sails are billowing (*sinus*) against the wind, implying that the witches are driving the boat in the opposite direction to the wind. The expression *in ventum* appears in descriptions of ships tacking where the sails, though filled by the wind, drive the ship in a different direction to the prevailing breeze, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 16, with Williams: *obliquatque sinus in ventum*; here, however, the situation differs, since the witches can make the sails billow in the opposite direction to the wind; for another seafaring spell, cf. *PGM.* 29. 1-10. *Tumuere* recalls *intumuit* from 470, showing the range of their magical powers: in the former sentence, they can cause the sea to swell while the winds are absent, whereas here they can cause sails to swell in the winds' presence; for *tumesco* of sails swelling, cf. Front. *Strat.* 2. 13. 11: *quae vela cum... tumentia et flatu plena vidissent*.

471-6: The power of witches over rivers. It was a common feat for witches to stop their flow or turn them back to their source: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 489; Tib. 1. 2. 44; Prop. 1. 1. 22-3; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 6; *Met.* 7. 199-200; *RA* 257; *Her.* 6. 87; Sen. *Med.* 762; Petr. 134; Apul. *Met.* 1. 3; *PGM.* 3. 201; 4. 192. Again, Lucan adds length and variety to this topos of the magical *adynaton*.

472-3: *rupe.../ abscisa*: . Lucan describes a waterfall, a novel element in literary accounts of magic which adds an unusual visual image to the common feat of stopping a river's flow: here it halts in mid-air, defying gravity. This is a hyperbolic expression as a *rupes* is itself steep, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 693-4: *rupes vastum quae prodit in aequor,/ obvia ventorum furiis*. Nevertheless, the same emphatic effect is used elsewhere, cf. Liv. 44. 6. 8: *rupes... ita abscisae sunt*; Sen. *Dial.* 2. 1. 2. The position of *abscisa* at the start of the line adds further emphasis.

473: *fixus torrens*: another striking juxtaposition of opposites: fast moving and still. *Torrens* refers specifically to a mountain stream caused by the spring thaw (cf. Maltby, *s.v.*), and hence particularly fast; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 305: *rapidus montano flumine torrens*; 7. 567: *fragosus dat sonitum saxis torrens*; Fest. p. 352 M: *torrens... significat... fluvium subitis imbribus concitatum, qui alioqui siccitatibus exarescit*. The idea of a mountain torrent fits well with the *rupe... abscisa*. On the other hand, *fixus* indicates something made motionless, here stopped in its course; cf. Sen. *Ag.* 161: *maria pigro fixa languore*; Stat. *Theb.* 9. 40.

The wholly spondaic *abscisa fixus torrens* reflects the lack of motion that is described, though the consistent clash of accent and ictus gives a jarring note, emphasising the peculiarity of the event.

474: *non qua pronus est*: *pronus*, lit. "downwards"; often used of rivers flowing, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 29. 11: *arduis pronos relabi posse rivos montibus*, an *adynaton*; Tac. *Hist.* 5. 22: *prono amne rapti nullo prohibente vallum ineunt*. The negative expression is unusual in this context. *Adynata* usually state specifically that rivers return to their source: eg. Ov. *Met.* 7. 200: *in fontes rediere suos*; *Am.* 1. 8. 6; Petr. 134; Sen *Med.* 762: *Phasis vertit in fontem*. This negative expression creates a paradox which stresses both Lucan's deviation from his sources, and the perversions of the natural situation caused by magic; on Lucan's use of paradox, cf. Martindale, 1976, 45-7.

474-6: The effects of magic on four rivers, Nile, Maeander, Rhône and Saône (*Arar*). Rivers are seldom named in magical *adynata*: exceptions are Ov. *Rem.* 257; Sen. *Med.* 762-4, Phasis and Hister, though these are specific to the story of Medea. By naming these rivers Lucan achieves two effects. Firstly, the rivers are spread across the world, far from Thessaly, and through this Lucan is able to demonstrate the far reaching powers of the specifically localised witches. Also, by mentioning names Lucan implies that the witches can dominate the god who presided over it, just as they could control the other deities mentioned in the catalogue. *Nilus* and *Maeander* were both gods: *Nilus*: Hes. *Theog.* 338; Cic. *ND.* 3. 42; *Maeander*: Hes. *Theog.* 339; Ov. *Met.* 9. 450; cf. Roscher, 2. 2241 ff. *Rhodanus* was also depicted as a river god in Caesar's triumphal procession: Florus. 2. 13 (4. 2) p. 153 Rossbach; cf. Roscher, 4. 112. 36-42. It is quite likely the *Arar* possessed a tutelary deity as well; certainly it was associated with the imperial cult, since Drusus, in 12 B.C., set up the *ara Romae et Augusti* at Lyons, located at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône: Strab. 192; cf. *RE.* II 1a. 766. 62-767. 5.

474: *Nilum non extulit aestas*: preventing the summer rising of the Nile; for *effero* of flooding, cf. Lucil. 999 M.; Sil. 8. 647: *maior et horrificis sese extulit Allia ripis*. This well-known and important characteristic of the river received much discussion by scientific writers in antiquity: e.g. Hdt. 2. 19 ff., with Lloyd; Strab. 1. 22; Sen. *NQ*. 4. 2; 6. 7. 1; Plin. *NH*. 5. 10; Luc. 10. 219 ff. The failure of the Nile's floods, disastrous for Egypt, adds a malicious touch to their magic: cf. Sen. *NQ*. 4. 2. 1-2, 9, 16.

475: *Maeander*: an Eastern river, flowing through Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, Tralles and Magnesia: cf. *RE*. 14. 535. 55-540. 6. Its twisting course was proverbial: cf. Plin. *NH*. 5. 110: *flexuosi amnis Maeandri recursibus*; 5. 113: *Maeander ... ita sinuosus flexibus ut saepe credatur reverti*; Ov. *Met*. 8. 162-6; Strab. 12. 8. 15; Liv. 48.13. 6-7; Sen. *Phoen*. 606. The spondaic opening to this line mimics the sense.

derexit: "to make straight", in stark contrast with Maeander's natural state: cf. Cels. 8. 10. 7; Sen. *NQ*. 1. 10: *coronam si diviseris, arcus est, si direxeris, virga*.

Rhodanum: the witches retard the Rhône, well known as a very fast river, cf. Plin. *NH*. 3. 33: *Rhodanus amnis, ex Alpibus se rapiens... segnemque deferens Ararim*; Luc. 1. 433-4: *Rhodanus raptum velocibus undis / in mare fert Ararim*. Livy vividly demonstrates its strength, size and speed in his account of Hannibal's crossing: 21. 26 ff. For further descriptions, cf. *RE*. II 1a. 759. 21-769. 29.

morantem / praecipitavit: these verbs carry the weight in this clause. Juxtaposition of opposites, enhanced by enjambment, is striking.

476: *Arar*: the Saône, running through France and joining the Rhône at Lyons: Strab. 4. 1. 11; 3. 2; cf. *RE*. 2. 379. 55-380. 32. In contrast to the Rhône, this was always described as an extremely slow river: cf. *ad* 475: *Rhodanum*; also Caes. *BG*. 1. 12. 1: *Arar... in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate*; Sil. 15. 501: *Arar pigerrimus undae*.

476-9: this section describes two distinct abilities. The witches can flatten the tops of mountains, Olympus being the example given (476-7); and can melt the snows of the Scythian plains (478-9). The only unifying factor is the notion that the sentence as a whole shows the witches' powers over two vastly different topographical locales, which represent the entire range of terrains in the world. Lucan combines these two distinct categories of topographical feature and two different effects of magic into the one sentence for the sake of *variatio*; most sections in this passage deal with the effects of magic on one specific area of nature. Such variety is desirable in a long catalogue, for the sake of maintaining audience interest. It should not be condemned as an inconsistency in the construction of the catalogue, nor should efforts be made to reconcile the two elements.

summisso vertice: "with their peaks lowered down"; for parallels of *summitto*, cf. Val. Max. 8. 2. 1: *ab auguribus iussus altitudinem domus suae summittere*; Sen. *Epist.* 77. 2. The expression, with *iugum* in the next line, is reminiscent of the phrase *sub iugum mittere*, denoting defeat and submission: cf. Caes. *BG*. 1. 7. 4: *exercitum... eius ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub iugum missum*; Sall. *Jug*. 49. 2; Virg. *Aen*. 8. 148. This verbal reminiscence is a powerful suggestion that this mighty mountain range is defeated by and subject to the powers of witchcraft.

477: *explicuere*: this word implies that the mountains have actually smoothed themselves out to be perfectly flat: cf. [Sen]. *HO*. 456: *turbidum explicui mare*; Hor. *Carm*. 3. 29. 16: *sollicitam explicuere frontem*; *Sat*. 2. 2. 125. This magical power is unparalleled: elsewhere mountains are only made to tremble or move; cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 205: *iubeoque tremescere montis*; Petr. 134: *Idaeos frutices in gurgite ponam*; Apul. *Met*. 1. 8: *montes diluere*.

nubes suspexit Olympus: Olympus is magically lowered so that its peak no longer penetrates the clouds, as was normal, cf. Luc. 2. 271: *nubes excedit Olympus*; Hom. *Od*. 6. 43-5; on Olympus as the tallest mountain range on the Greek peninsula, and home of the gods, cf. *OCD s.v. Olympus*; Hom. *Il*. 1.18: θεοὶ Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες. *Suspexit* personifies the mountain, showing it "looking up" at the clouds; cf. Cic. *ND*. 2. 2. 4: *cum caelum suspeximus*; Ov. *Met*. 11. 506.

478-9: snow is uncommon in magical *adynata*, cf. only Tib. 1. 2. 50: *aestivo convocat orbe nives*. Lucan inverts this earlier instance, describing snow melting in the middle of winter. The idea of unseasonal occurrences is more common, cf. Tib. *loc. cit.*; Sen. *Med*. 760, 761: *aestiva tellus horruit*; *messem vidit hibernam Ceres*. Lucan is blending this more regular feature with an unusual example.

solibus: i.e. "sunlight, warmth": cf. Virg. *Georg*. 2. 332: *in... novos soles audent se gramina tuto credere*; Ov. *Fast*. 2. 365-6: *iuventus / solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant*; this sense is common for *sol* in the plural.

Scythicae...nives: Scythia was a vaguely defined region which embraced the north-eastern parts of Europe/Asia above the Black Sea, the Russian steppes: Strab. 6. 11. 2. 1, 6. 2; cf. maps 7a and 24 in Hammond, 1981; N-H 1. xxxiv on its vague location. It was conceived of as an area of flat plains, in contrast to the lofty peaks of Olympus, cf. Hdt. 4. 82: τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται; Hor. *Carm*. 3. 24. 9. Moreover, Scythia was a proverbially cold and icy place, making the melting of its snows the more remarkable: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 3. 349 ff., esp. 354-59: *sed iacet aggeribus niveis informis et alto / terra gelu late septemque adsurgit in ulnas. / semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri...*; Hippocr. *Airs, Waters, Places*, 19: τὸν μὲν χειμώνα ἀεὶ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ ταύτας μὴ λίην; Hdt. 4. 28; Sen. *NQ*. 4. 5. 2; Luc. 1. 18. Scythia reaffirms the far reaching powers of magic, an idea raised at 474-6. It was a proverbially distant place, often used in poetry to indicate the furthest reaches of the

world: e.g. Hor. *Carm Saec.* 55-6: *iam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi / nuper et India*; Ov. *Trist.* 3. 4. 47-9; cf. Mayer, 1986, 53-4; Syme, 1987, 56-61.

cum bruma rigeret: the feat was performed at the height of winter's chill. *Bruma*, an abbreviation for *brevissimus dies*, indicates the shortest, and hence coldest day of the year; cf. Varro *LL.* 6. 8: *dicta bruma, quod brevissimus tunc dies est*; Maltby, *s.v. bruma.*

rigeret: "to be cold", a rare, and post-Augustan use: cf. Plin. *NH.* 37. 23: *ubi maxime hibernae nives rigent*; Mart. 7. 95. 1.

479: *dimaduere*: a ἅπαξ λεγομένον, "to melt away completely", in stark contrast to the perpetual cold of Scythia; cf. *ad* 478: *Scythicae... nives.*

479-480: the magical control of the tides is another uncommon *adynaton*: cf. only Sen. *Med.* 755-6: *et Oceanus graves interius undas aestibus victis dedit.* Lucan gives a fresh slant to the more common ability to affect the ocean: cf. *ad* 469 ff.

inpulsam...reppulit: the use of the same verb compounded with different prefixes again stresses the competition between the forces of nature and magic. On this feature, cf. Wills, 1996, 445-51.

sidere: the moon, cf. Luc. 1. 413-4: *an sidere mota secundo / Tethyos unda vagae lunaribus aestuet horis*; Plin. *NH.* 2. 213; Le Boeuffle, 1977, 19-20, for further examples. It was known in antiquity that tides were caused by the moon; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 34, with Pease: *quid de fretis aut de marinis aestibus plura dicam? Quorum accessus et recessus lunae motu gubernantur*; *ND.* 2. 19, with Pease; Plin. *NH* 2. 97 ff., the most accurate account; for discussion, cf. Saint-Denis, 1941.

Tethyn: a sea nymph, wife of Oceanus, here standing by metonymy for the sea, a use first found at Lyc. 1069, and in post-Augustan, Latin poetry: cf. Luc. 1. 413, 2. 588; Sen. *HF.* 886. The metonymy allows Lucan to present another divine figure over whose power the witches have supremacy.

481-2: these lines reveal the witches' powers over the cosmos as a whole. The precise nature of what they are doing is difficult to determine, not least because the exact situation is unparalleled in other literary accounts of magic, and similar situations are rare among claims made by magicians in the *PGM*, cf. 13. 872 ff.: "I call on your name... If I say it complete there will be an earthquake, the sun will stop and the moon will be afraid...; the whole cosmos will be thrown into confusion". In 481, the witches shake the earth, changing its position relative to the rest of the universe. In 482 they are reversing the force of downward pressure which held together the universe. Though neither action appears in previous accounts, they could be considered as amplifications of the magical shaking of mountains or moving stones; on this, cf. *ad*

476-9. Like 462-5, these lines owe more to scientific accounts of the universe than to traditional descriptions of magic, a fact reflected in Lucan's language.

inmoti...ponderis axes: i.e. the earth shakes herself. The *inmotum pondus* must belong to the earth herself, as the *axis* was an imaginary line around which the universe revolved and, in itself, had neither weight nor substance: cf. Manil. 1. 285-6: *nec vero solidus stat robore corporis axis / nec grave pondus, quod onus ferat aetheris alti.* Since the earth stood at the centre of the universe, the axis passed directly through its middle, and the earth itself rotates around it: cf. *ad* 464: *axibus*. So the expression must refer to the earth's orientation along the celestial axis, its position in relation to the rest of the universe. *Inmoti* makes clear that the line describes a shifting of the earth's position: the earth stood at the centre of the universe and did not travel through the sky like the sun, moon, planets and stars: cf. Wright, 1996, 40-1, 50.

concussit: cf. Cat. 64. 206: *concussit... micantia sidera mundus.*

482: the idea of a centripetal force, centred upon the earth, was another element of Stoic cosmological theory: cf. Cic. *ND*. 2. 115-18, with Pease *ad* 115; Lucr. 1. 1052-3: *fuge credere, Memmi,/ in medium summae quod dicunt omnia niti.* This force maintained the order of the universe and the spherical structure of the earth, keeping the various elements in their appropriate positions: earth, water, air (*aer*), fiery *aether*. A disruption of this force, which would destroy the cosmic tension, was what caused the Stoic ἐκπύρωσις. On this, cf. Sambursky, 1959, 29-33; Hahm, 1977, 165-73; Lapidge, 1973, 273-6; Wright, 1996, 120-1. Lucan's allusion to this event shows, once more, the immense power of magic over the universe.

medium vergens...nisus in orbem: *vergens* and *nisus* are both terms found in scientific accounts of this gravitational force; for *vergens*, cf. Cic. *ND*. 2. 116: *omnibus eius (mundi) partibus in medium vergentibus*; Sen. *NQ*. 2. 26.1; for *nisus*, as the centripetal pressure, cf. Cic. *ND*. 2. 117: *se... nisu suo conglobata continent*; cf. 2. 115: *omnes enim partes eius undique medium locum capessentes nituntur aequaliter*; Lucr. 1. 1052 ff., cited above. Lucan seems to have had this passage of Cicero in mind when composing the lines, as the similarities of both ideas and expressions indicate.

titubavit: this word, a striking choice, can be used to describe the failing of bodily powers, which is what Lucan is aiming to describe: cf. Sen. *Clem*. 1. 19. 2: *si paulum valetudo titubavit*; *Tranq. An*. 1. 9. When applied to things it indicates that they are shaking or trembling: Sen. *NQ*. 6. 25. 3: *quod nisi esset, magna terrarum spatia commoverentur et una multa titubarent*; Sil. 5. 628. A centripetal force, however, "fails" rather than "trembles". The Stoic conception of the universe as a living body allows the physiological sense of the word to be applied here. The sound effect of the redoubled first syllable of this word, supposed to represent a staggering motion, is effective in this line; on *titubare*, cf. André, 1978, index *s.v. titubo*.

483-4: these lines again (cf. 481) describe the earth being shifted from its position, with the additional detail that this feat reveals the stars on the other side. It has been common to misinterpret 483, in particular *recessit*, as indicating that the witches can bore a hole through the earth, an error stemming from one of the scholia, cf. *glos.*, *ad* 483: *recessit: in duas partes fissus* (*fusus* M; *divisus* B); adopted by Haskins, Duff, Braund, Joyce; also Martindale, Korenjak, *ad loc.* This misinterpretation must be derived from the content of 484, seeing the antipodean stars through this hole, and is frequently compared to the more common magical feat of cleaving open the earth; cf. *ad* 728-9. Yet this interpretation stretches *recessit* beyond breaking point and must be rejected. For further discussion, cf. *ad* 483: *recessit*.

tantae molis onus: this rather tautological expression emphasises the size and bulk of the world and stresses the immensity of the powers which are able to shift it. Furthermore, it recalls *terra... inmoti... ponderis* of 481.

percussum voce: this compound of *quatio*, recalls *concussit* of 481, also used in the context of moving the earth through magical force. For *percutio* used of sounds, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 814-5: *fit sonus inque vicem contra percussa reclamat / terra.*

onus...recessit: "the mass retreats", cf. Enn. *Ann.* 84 Sk.: *sol albus recessit in infera noctis*; Cic. *ND.* 2. 51: *quod eo est admirabilius in his stellis quas dicimus... tum adeunt, tum recedunt*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 633; Ov. *Met.* 1. 609. The verb indicates that the earth moves back or away from its normal position. As mentioned above, this cannot have the sense "parts asunder": there is no evidence to support this meaning; cf. above. For those scholars whose interpretation of *recessit* agrees, cf. the translations of Bourgery-Ponchont; Canali; Viansino.

484: *prospectumque dedit circum labentis Olympi*: This line has two textual difficulties: *perspectum*, generally understood as accusative singular of the otherwise unattested noun *perspectus*, *-us* (here *prospectum* is read; cf. below); and *circum labentis*, written as one word in some manuscripts. Both of these would be ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, a rarity in Lucan. This number is compounded by *dimaduere* at 479, making three within five lines, way beyond Lucan's normal distribution of neologisms: Lucan introduces thirty-three new words into the Latin language, excluding proper nouns and adjectives, at an average distribution of one every 244 lines; the closest clustering of neologisms is at 1. 463-73, where the words *criniger* and *taurifer* are first used, two within ten lines, and these appear in totally different contexts, making a link between them unlikely. The fact that the readings *perspectum* and *circumlabentis* are neologisms, contrary to Lucan's normal practice, suggests even more strongly that alternatives should be adopted; cf. below.

Before embarking upon the notes which explain the individual changes in the reading and interpretation of this line, it is worth translating 483-4: *tantae molis onus percussum voce recessit / prospectumque dedit circum labentis Olympi*: "The weight of a mass so great, when struck by the spell, retreats and shows the course, when looked upon, of the gliding firmament".

prospectum: this is the alternative reading, from the *cod. recent.*, for *perspectum*, the reading accepted by most editors and translators, cf. Housman, Bourgery-Ponchont; Duff, Braund, Deferrari *et al*. Yet the noun *perspectus* is not recognised by Facciolati and Forcellini's lexicon, nor the *OLD*, though it appears in L-S; the relevant *TLL* fascicle is not yet printed; on the stylistic reasons for rejecting it; cf. above. *Perspectum* has been generally accepted because it gives a better sense if *recessit* is interpreted as "torn asunder"; cf. *ad* 483; this reason vanishes, however, if *recessit* is understood, correctly, as "retreats".

Prospectum is here taken as perfect participle of *prospicio*, in agreement with *circum*, "the course, when looked at…".

dedit: i.e. "to present, show"; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 464: *qua summa... iuncturas tabulata dabant.*

circum labentis: sometimes printed as one word, *circumlabentis*, which would be another neologism, the third in five lines, and on these grounds should be rejected; cf. above. Those who print *circumlabentis* are: Haskins, Bourgery-Ponchont, Canali; Deferrari *et al.*; Korenjak. Among other lexica, the *OLD* does not list *circumlabor*; both *L-S* and *TLL*, include it, though they note that separation is preferable; Facciolati and Forcellini alone accept it without reservation. The editors of Lucan who print *circum labentis*, Housman, Shackleton Bailey, and Viansino, take *circum* as an adverb. The separation is necessary, but *circum* should be construed not as an adverb but as a noun, the accusative object of *dedit*, with *prospectum* as a perfect participle in agreement.

The sense of *circum labentis Olympi* is "the course of the gliding firmament"; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 6. 15: *(stellae)... circos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili. Labor* often denotes the motions of heavenly bodies: cf. Cic. *Arat.* 420 (226): *quae per bis sex signorum labier orbem quinque solent stellae*; Lucr. 1. 21: *caeli subter labentia signa*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 575.

Olympi: i.e. the sky: cf. Varr. *LL.* 7. 20: *caelum dicunt Graeci Olympum*; Manil. 1. 711; Sen. *HO.* 1907.

485-491: the powers of witches over animals, a common magical ability, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 71; Tib. 1. 8. 20; Ov. *Met.* 7. 203, 210-13; Petr. *Sat.* 134; *PGM.* 3. 199-200; 4. 439; 7. 370-3; 13. 256, 263-5. Snake magic, prominent in this passage, was attributed to certain real-life practitioners, such as the Marsi of central Italy or the Psylloi in North Africa; cf. Tupet, 1986, 2617-26; Phillips, 1995. The animals described, lions, tigers and snakes, were proverbially fierce and deadly, and their powers would be known to Lucan's audience through both literature and life, especially in the arena: on big cats, cf. Toynbee, 1973, 61-82; Prieur, 1988, 17; on snakes, Küster, 1913; Toynbee, 1973, 223-36; Sauvage, 1975. Antithesis abounds in these lines: Lucan uses the contrast between the strength and deadliness of these animals and the witches to emphasise again the magnitude of the *Haemonides*' power. The lines on snakes, 488-

91, echo Sen. *Med.* 688-90: *(serpens) carmine audito stupet / tumidumque nodis corpus aggestis plicat / cogitque in orbes*, cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 152. Medea's magic there, though powerful, has a beneficial result; the witches here, by contrast, unleash the powers of serpents by awakening them in winter and repairing dead ones, 488-90.

485-6: Lucan opens with a general statement, as is the pattern in this catalogue: cf. 452-3; 461. A strong antithesis exists between the two lines: the deadliness of the animals (485) is contrasted to the superior powers of magic (486). The delay of the main verb, *pavet*, anaphora of *et* and the monosyllabic opening of 486, causing clash of accent and ictus, underscore this contrast.

potens...leti genitumque nocere: both expressions greatly emphasise the deadliness of the animals to be considered in the following lines. *Potens... leti* is reminiscent of archaic compound adjectives in *-potens*, e.g. *armipotens*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 500, with Austin: *Deiphobe armipotens*. It gives a grandeur to the line, picked up again at 487: *nobilis ira*.

486: *pavet*: a common verb of fearing in Lucan: cf. Mackay, 1961, 312.

Haemonias: i.e. *Haemonides*, *pace* Haskins. *Has*, of the following line, requires an antecedent, which cannot be *artes*.

mortibus instruit artes: the animals furnish ingredients for deadly magical spells; cf. Sen. *Med.* 686-706, esp. 705-6: *postquam evocavit omne serpentum genus / congerit in unum frugis infaustae mala*. Animal ingredients appear in all types of spell, harmful or beneficial, cf. Theocr. 2. 58; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 19-20; Ov. *Met.* 7. 269-74; Luc. 6. 671-80; Plin. *NH.* 28 *pass.* 30 *pass.*; *PGM.* 3. 1 ff.; 704; 4. 2212; 2457 ff.; *PDM* 14. 917; Tupet, 1976, 64-83, for further examples and discussion. For *instruo* = "to furnish, provide", cf. Virg. *Aen* 3. 471: *socios simul instruit artes*. On *artes*, cf. *ad* 437: *ars*.

mortibus: i.e. "methods of death": cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7. 3. 8: *mortem... meam effudit* (poison); Luc. 7. 517.

487: *avidae tigres*: on tigers in antiquity, noted for their savageness, cf. Pease *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 4. 367; Toynbee, 1973, 69-82. These tigers are depicted as voracious (*avidae*), a quality which makes animals dangerous or destructive, cf. Cat. 108. 4: *lingua exsecta avido sit data vulturio*: Virg. *Georg.* 2. 375; Ov. *Ib.* 170; Plin. *NH.* 6. 75: *crocodili humani corporis avidissimi*. *Tigris* in verse is always feminine: cf. Toynbee, 1973, 70

ira leonum: *ira* expresses the lions' ferocity; cf. Lucr. 3. 298: *nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt (leones)*; also Virg. *Aen.* 2. 381; Sen. *Dial.* 1. 3. 3-8, discussing this quality in animals. Within the epic, *ira* is a key term, one of the factors motivating civil war: cf. *ad* 352: *ira... Pieridum*. The witches can surpass the *ira* of

these beasts, another indication of the symbolic role that the witches play in the poem, as representatives of the forces behind civil war.

nobilis: alludes to the lion's role as "king of the beasts", cf. Phaed. 1. 5. 7: *sic est locutus... leo: "ego primam tollo nomine hoc quia rex cluo"*; Mart. 1. 60. 5. Describing *ira*, however, it suggests the destructive fury of the Roman *nobiles*, such as Caesar, which fuelled the civil wars; on *ira*, cf. above. *Nobilis* also has the sense "well-known"; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5. 79; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 564: *locus... nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris*; certainly the ferocity of lions would be apparent to anyone who saw them in the arena: e.g. Mart. *Spec.* 6b, 18; cf. Auguet, 1972, 81-6; Toynbee, 1973, 61-3 on the lion.

488: ***fovent***: creates another powerful antithesis, again stressed by its delay until the next line: dangerous and aggressive beasts, overpowered by magic, fawn upon and caress the witches, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 1. 9. 10: *inimicum meum... sic fovebant*; Tib. 1. 6. 6: *Delia furtim nescio quem... fovet*: the term does not appear to be used elsewhere of animals fawning upon humans. The scene is a perverted reminiscence of Orpheus, who could control savage beasts, often typified by tigers and lions, with his songs: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 13-14; *Ars.* 392-3: *Orpheus / dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones*; Virg. *Georg.* 4. 510; Ov. *Met.* 11. 20-2. The similarity in scene creates an implicit comparison between the powers of the witches and those of Orpheus.

ore...blando: *blandus* commonly describes tame animals, suggesting that these formerly savage animals now behave like domestic pets, cf. Lucr. 4. 998; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 496: *canibus blandis*; for *blandus* used of other wild beasts, cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 572: *ora dammis blanda praebebunt lupi*; Gell. 5. 14. 12.

488-489: the snakes uncoil, in spite of the wintry climate. Hibernation is common for snakes, who coil up in underground burrows until the summer, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 472. Nevertheless, chilliness is a quality intrinsic to snakes, cf. Theocr. 15. 58: τὸν ψυχρὸν ὄφιν; Virg. *Ecl.* 3. 93; Sauvage, 1975, 248. Thus, the witches can overpower both the seasonal cold and the snakes' intrinsic iciness.

explicat orbis: "uncoils"; cf. Manil. 1. 333: *explicet ut nodos (serpentis) sinuataque terga per orbes*; Luc. 9. 709: *squamiferos ingens haemorrhois explicat orbes.*

489: *pruinoso*: rare and post-Augustan; cf. Ernout, 1949, 25; on *-osus* adjectives, cf. *ad* 338: *nemorosus*.

coluber...viperei nodi...serpens: Lucan changes his terminology for snakes in these lines for the sake of variety rather than precision; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 415-20.

distenditur: "is stretched out", as suggested by the immediate context, cf. Cels. 7. 5. 4. c: *membra... in diversas partes diducenda sunt, ut nervos distendant.* Yet the word commonly describes things which swell or are swollen; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 777: *ut ipsae*

solae ventris distendant suos; Luc. 9. 797. This echoes the common depiction of snakes as "swollen with poison", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 472: *coluber... sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat*; Ov. *Trist.* 5. 2. 14; Sen. *Med.* 689.

490: a peculiar feat, inverting the common magical trick of bursting snakes: the *Thessalides* here can revive them; for bursting snakes, cf. Lucil. 605-6 W; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 71; Ov. *Met.* 7. 203; *Am.* 2. 1. 25; Manil. 1. 92; Plin. *NH.* 7. 13-15 on the Ophiogenes, Psylloi and Marsi, races with magical powers over serpents; Tupet, 1976, 187-95. The image in Lucan's line is a bizarre variation, underlining the perversity of Thessalian witches who use their powers to reverse beneficial spells. It is also a further indication of their superiority to other practitioners of snake magic mentioned above; cf. also 448-51.

abrupto: *rumpo* and its compounds are the regular terms for snakes bursting, cf. Lucil., 575-6 M: *disrumpetur... disrumpit*; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 71: *anguis rumpitur*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 203; Manil. 1. 92. *Abrumpo* is somewhat unusual, perhaps suggesting that the snake's body is broken apart into long pieces, rather than exploding into randomly shaped bits.

491: *humano...veneno*: the idea of a human poison fatal to serpents is somewhat paradoxical: snakes normally have prodigiously strong poison, cf. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1513-17; Nic. *Ther.* 298-308; Luc. 9. 734-838. Perhaps *humanum venenum* refers to human saliva, known for its toxicity in antiquity and used as a ward against snakes; cf. *ad* 683. Nevertheless, the paradox emphasises a crucial point, that the poison of Thessalian witches is more powerful even than that of snakes.

adflata: "blasted", suggesting that the breath of these witches is lethal; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 8. 94-5: *velut illis / Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris*; Luc. 6. 522: *et non letiferas spirando perdidit auras*. The idea that the poison emanates from the mouth perhaps strengthens the idea that the *venenum humanum* is spittle; cf. above. Nevertheless, poisonous breath is most commonly connected with snakes themselves, strengthening the paradox, mentioned above, that venomous snakes are killed by poison; for snakes with toxic breath, cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1. 25. 4: (*serpens*) *si adflavit, deurit obteritque quacumque incessit*; Col. 8. 5. 18; Hyg. *Fab.* 30. 3.

492-99: Lucan at this point breaks into the catalogue of witches' deeds, inserting a series of rhetorical questions about the source of magic power. The questions revolve around the power relationship between witches and gods. Lucan's authorial voice commonly intrudes, in both narrative passages and catalogues, as here: e.g. 1. 412-19; 2. 7-15; 5. 86-101; 7. 552-6; 9. 980-88; cf. *ad* 349. The lines are artfully structured and carefully balanced. There are five questions in all, and the last three posed as alternatives. Lucan makes effective use of chiasmus, enjambment and other structural features in the questions; see notes below for more discussion. These five questions have been the source of much scholarly debate and speculation, with good reason. It seems most unusual that Lucan should ask them, since he has already revealed answers to them at previous points in the catalogue.

The focus of these questions is the issue of why the gods help the witches, specifically whether it is willing co-operation or done under duress. They do not ask how magic works, *pace* Pichon, 1912, 193-4, Bourgery, 1928a, 306; Lugli, 1987-88, 97-8; this has already been revealed, at 440-8: through potions and incantations the witches coerce the gods to do their bidding, and apart from the *certus deus* of 497-9, these lines add nothing new. Moreover, Lucan has previously given answers to the question of why the gods co-operate with the witches: they are forced, unwillingly and often unwittingly: cf. 446: *verbaque ad invitum perfert cogentia numen*; also 461 ff., where the force of magic upon deified natural forces is described. So, even with respect to the issue which these questions address, Lucan's interjection is superfluous. Certain scholars view this list of questions as an attempt to reconcile a genuine belief in magic with an acceptance of the tenets of Stoic philosophy, cf. Schotes, 1969, 130; Le Bonniec, 1970, 187-8; Tupet, 1988, 421. This, however, involves the dubious assumptions that Lucan actually believed in the powers of magic and that he was concerned about a rigorous and consistent use of Stoic philosophy in his epic; on both of these, cf. introduction. More cogent is the idea that these questions are an attempt to associate magic and the witches with the rest of the epic; cf. Fauth, 1975, 338; Danese, 1992, 204-11, both of whom see the point of the questions as a way to illustrate clearly the relationship between the witches and the gods, which should be compared to the human-divine relationship in *Aeneid* 6. This brings out another aspect of Lucan's anti-Virgilian stance in this passage: while in *Aeneid* 6 there is a constructive, helpful relationship between gods and humans, in *Bellum Civile* 6 humans are aggressive and impious towards the gods. Though Fauth and Danese are certainly correct in their interpretation and in their contrast of the passage *in toto* with *Aeneid* 6, they do not attempt to find a reason for the authorial interjection here: their conclusions would be equally valid if lines 492-9 did not exist.

Lucan uses such authorial interjections, often in the form of a series of rhetorical questions, to make comment upon the civil wars, their disastrous implications for the future, and their broader cosmological implications: cf. 2. 1-15; 5. 86 ff., 111-14. The role of the gods figures prominently in such passages, especially the way the civil wars have and will effect their relationship with mortals; commonly this is viewed as either anger or indifference; for discussion, cf. Liebeschuetz, 1979, 146-52; Feeney, 1991, 270 ff. The series of rhetorical questions here should be viewed no differently: it also deals with the relationship between mortals and gods. Of great importance is the fact that the witches' attitude towards the gods is very much in sympathy with that of Caesar. Like the witches, Caesar acted impiously, in open defiance of the gods, and at times forced them, or the natural forces which they represent, to bend to his will: e.g. 2. 1-15; 59-66; 3. 399-449; 5. 578-93; 654-71; 7. 445 ff. Lucan, thus, uses the authorial interjection as a connecting device, to allude to these earlier passages where he discusses the cosmological aspects of the civil wars and thereby connect the evils of Thessalian witchcraft with the crimes of Caesar and his partners in the civil wars. Moreover, this section leads into the description of Erictho, the most fiendish of Thessalian witches and an even closer parallel to the diabolical Caesar.

The fact that Lucan, through these rhetorical questions, connects the actions of these witches to the deeds of actual participants in the civil war suggests a further role that may be assigned to the witch scene. The divine anger aroused by civil war is manifested, in places, by lists of portents, cf. 1. 522-83; 7. 151-80; this is a common enough feature of writings on civil wars, cf. Cic. *Cons Suus* frg 10. 11 ff. Court.; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 469 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 15. 783-98; Petr. 122. 126 ff.; cf. Jal, 1962, 177-88. Yet, the catastrophic events of the magic catalogue, 438 ff., and later, the descriptions of Erictho, in the light of the connection made here between witches and characters from the main narrative, can be viewed as a more detailed and highly imaginative description of the utterly disastrous cosmological effects of this war. So the interjection itself, by alluding back to other authorial comments with similar content, guides the reader into connecting the excursus on magic, and the rest of the witch scene, with the broader themes of the poem.

492-3: ***labor...sequendi / spernendique timor***: the two halves of this question are clearly demarcated by chiastic arrangement and enjambment. *Labor* and *timor* offer possible explanations for the point noted at 443-51, that the gods infallibly obey the witches; also 430-1; 446-8; for Erictho's ability to terrify the gods, cf. 527-8: *omne nefas superi prima iam voce precantis / concedunt carmenque timent audire secundum.*

labor: the sense is almost "eagerness", cf. Cic. *De Orat*. 1. 260; *Verr*. 3. 103: *hominum summi laboris summaeque industriae*; yet overtones of hardship and toil are unavoidable, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 1. 372-3: *si.../ et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum. Pavor*, an alternative manuscript reading, is rightly rejected; it results in a repetition within the question, rather than the more probable contrast between *labor* and *timor*.

cantus herbasque: incantations and herbs, the full magical arsenal. *Cantus* is common terminology for the spells which are intrinsic to magic: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 757; Burriss, 1936, 142, n. 98, for further refs.

sequendi: "to obey", cf. Liv. 5. 51. 5: *invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus*; Sen. *Contr*. 4. 8.

493-494: the next question refers to the gods being bound by some sort of treaty. This is probably a perverted allusion to the *pax deorum*, a quasi-contractual agreement between gods and humans whereby the gods were propitiated with due ritual and in turn were favourable to mankind: cf. Liebeschuetz, 1979, 9, 56, 58. *Pactum*, etymologically linked to *pax*, has the sense of a negotiated agreement: eg. Nep. *Milt*. 2. 4: *ex pacto postulat ut sibi urbem tradant*; Liv. 5. 27. 6: *nobis cum Faliscis quae pacto fit humano societas non est*; Sil. 1. 116: *Martem cohibentia pacta*. The military overtones in *pactum* are unavoidable; it usually refers to a treaty struck between victor and vanquished. This resonance is the link which connects the *pactum* to the preceding lines, since it is through compulsion (*vim*, 441, *verba... cogentia*, 446) that the witches control the gods. *Obstrictos* (496) reinforces the idea of compulsion.

commercia: "connections": cf. Liv. 5. 3. 8: *interdicitis patribus commercio plebis*; Manil. 2. 467. Livy's is the first use of it with the genitive.

obstrictos: the gods are bound to the witches. *Obstringere* is commonly associated with an oath to the gods: e.g. Liv. 23. 9. 3: *iurantes per quidquid deorum est...fidem obstrinximus*; Tac. *Ann* 1. 14; 12. 34. Lucan's expression inverts this ordinary sense, making the gods themselves bound to humans. *Obstringere* is also, like *pactum* (cf. above), found in military contexts, in the striking of treaties; cf. Caes. *BG*. 1. 31. 7: *iure iurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos*; Luc. 8. 235; Tac. *Hist*. 1. 54: *obstringitur inter se tacito foedere legiones*.

494-495: the next question introduces the alternatives of coercion or complicity. These are balanced around *an*, with enjambment marking off the two halves. This skilful structuring is also found in the following question. If the two questions are taken together there is a chiastic arrangement of ideas: compulsion, complicity, complicity, compulsion. In the rest of the catalogue and elsewhere it is compulsion which brings the gods to obey the witches.

parere...iuvat: the impersonal use of *iuvat* with an infinitive is a largely poetic practice: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 1. 203: *meminisse iuvabit*; *TLL*. 7. 747. 16. This stands in contrast to the rather prosaic character of the vocabulary in this section, e.g. *pactum*, *obstringere*, *commercia*.

495-6: for the structure of this question, cf. *ad* 494-5. The alternatives of complicity and compulsion, expressed by *ignota pietas* and *minae* respectively, are the point of the question. *Ignota pietate* is usually understood as a reference to secret rituals known only by witches, unknown to us (author and readers), the performance of which makes the gods willing participants in magic. Nevertheless, Timpanaro, 1978, adopted a different interpretation, seeing *ignota...pietate* as an ablative absolute "with piety unknown to them (the witches)", an expression equivalent to *impietate*; thus the question would be understood "do the witches get their powers through impiety?". Timpanaro also understood *tantum* not as a substantive use of the adjective, but as an adverbial usage, limiting *merentur*. His reason for this, that the adverbial use is more common in Lucan, is not very cogent, particularly given the context: miracles performed by witches; for further discussion, cf. below, *merentur*. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 154 rejects Timpanaro's suggestions, both on the basis that it undermines the antithesis between *pietas* and *minae*, and because there was a concept of unknown *pietas* in magical rites; cf. below, *ignota...pietate*; also Danese, 1992, 205, n. 28. Cassata, 1981, revived Timpanaro's suggestions and saw in the two parts of the question not so much an antithesis but a progression (*gradatio*): "was it only through an absence of *pietas* or were there threats added as well?"; cf. also Lugli, 1987-88, 98; Danese, 1992, 205. It is, however, important to preserve the antithesis between the two parts of the question and Cassata's notion of a progression undermines this as much as Timpanaro's re-interpretation; cf. Shackleton Bailey, *ad loc*.

This question alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 2. 691-2: *aspice nos - hoc tantum - et, si pietate meremur, / da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.* Lucan perverts the Virgilian situation: Anchises begs the gods for help as a reward for his *pietas*, whereas here the witches, through their unknown piety and threats, force the gods to join in the overthrow of the natural order of things; cf. Timpanaro, 1978, 331.

ignota...pietate: there is much evidence for some notion of *pietas* in magic, in the form of prayers, sacrifices and other ritual elements such as purity; it is apparent in both literary and other sources: e.g. Ov. *Met.* 7. 192-219, 238 ff.: Medea's prayers and ritual preparations; 14. 366: (Circe) *ignotosque deos ignoto carmine adorat*; Apul. *Met.* 2. 28; *Apol.* 26, with Abt, 34-50: *communio loquendi cum deis immortalibus*; *PGM.* 4. 930-1114; 2785-890; cf. Nock, 1972, 190 ff.; Versnel, 1991b, 38; Graf, 1991, 188-97, with more prayers from the *PGM*; Fowler, 1995. Although magical rituals resembled religious ones, they were generally kept secret, hence *ignota pietas*. Secrecy was important in magic both because of the mysteries involved and because of its illegality; cf. *ad* 431: *arcana*. Nevertheless, Lucan's *Haemonides* do not derive their power from this *ignota pietas*: cf. 431: *detestanda deis... arcana*; 441: *vim factura deis*; 443-4: *inpia... dirae... carmina gentis*; 451.

tantum...merentur: "they gain, win so much"; cf. Ov. *Her.* 4. 145: *laudem... merebere culpa*; Tac. *Ag.* 4. 1. *Mereor* so used is always transitive, adding weight to the argument that *tantum* should be understood as an accusative substantive, not an adverb, *pace*Timpanaro; cf. above.

496: *tacitis...minis*: threats, though not otherwise a part of the literary tradition (Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 154), are found in the *PGM*, e.g. 2. 51-5; 101. 10 ff.; 4. 2902-7. Erictho also threatens the gods after her initial incantation has failed: 727 ff. The force of *tacitis* here must be "concealed, secret": cf. Ov. *Rem.* 105: *tacitae serpunt in viscera flammae*; Petr. 119. 54; Baldini Moscadi, 1976b. Secret, silent prayers and other utterances were regarded with great suspicion, cf. *ad* 430: *tacitum, ad fin.*

valuere: "to have power", cf. Cic. *Man.* 54: *civitas... Carthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 456-7; Sil. 8. 509.

496-9: the final and longest question introduces a new element, not paralleled in the catalogue: the notion of a supreme, all-powerful god who aids the witches. The question again offers two alternatives, again using *an*, but much more weight is given to the second half: fourteen words against seven. The extra length and the position at the end of the passage gives emphasis to this new and unusual figure.

496: *hoc iuris*: cf. *ad* 597: *iuris*.

497-8: *certum...deum*: such a magical god does not appear in literary accounts of magic prior to Lucan, and has not yet appeared in the catalogue. Nevertheless, it is not invention on Lucan's part: similar figures appear in similar contexts in the *PGM*; cf.

12. 141-3; 101. 38-40; such a god, also unnamed, is mentioned at 744-9; cf. *ad loc.* The *certus deus* mentioned here is commonly identified with the entity which Erictho mentions and with those which appear in the *PGM.* These omnipotent gods of magic, in all cases, are summoned when a regular appeal to the other gods has failed. This last detail brings out a flaw in the argument of those who would see the *certus deus* as such a god, since the form of this question is a pair of strict alternatives: either the witches appeal to all the gods directly, or they coerce the one god who in turn compels the others.

It is more likely that Lucan here alludes to *fatum*, the all-powerful force which exists in his epic, and is raising the possibility that the witches have control over fate itself; for the role of *fatum*, cf. Friedrich, 1938; Dick, 1967. The question, then, cuts to a central problem for Lucan: what controls the cosmos, Fate or the gods? The identification of the *certus deus* as *fatum* is another aspect of the list of questions which draws the magic excursus and the witch-scene as a whole into the wider context of the epic (cf. *ad* 492-9). This final question, then, suggests that the witches can control the whole universe. Lucan returns later to the idea of magic and *fatum*, 605-15, where he has Erictho state that magic cannot alter the series of fates (*causarum series*) but can affect the *fatum* of an individual; cf. *ad loc.* Here the intended effect must be to shock the reader by presenting magic, in yet another way, as a force which can control the cosmos.

imperiosa: "dictatorial", appropriate as the witches impose their will in a tyrannical manner: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 5. 110: *me imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive valeque*; Petr. 39. It ties the acts of magical coercion in with the theme of civil war.

qui...cogere, quidquid cogitur..., potest: the repetition of *cogere... cogitur* and the nestling of one clause within the other reflects the reciprocal situation by which the witches effect the world: what they do to one god, he does to the rest. The line recalls Hor. *Sat.* 1. 3. 4: *Caesar, qui cogere posset*; through the allusion, a further connection is made between magical coercion and Caesar's tyranny.

499-506: Lucan ends the magic excursus with an expanded version of the famous "Thessalian trick", drawing down the moon, a common literary motif; cf. Arist. *Nub.* 749 ff.; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 69; Tib. 1. 8. 21-2, with Smith; Prop. 1. 1. 19; 4. 5. 13; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 45-6, 17. 77-8; Ov. *Met.* 7. 206-7; Plin. *NH.* 30. 7; Sen. *Med.* 787 ff.; Apul. *Met.* 1. 3; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 158 n.2 for further literary references; *PGM.* 1. 124; 34. 1 ff.; *PDM.* 14. 1180-1. The section is divided into three parts: drawing down stars; dragging down the moon; and collecting the fluid which the moon has deposited, an innovative touch, not found in earlier literary sources: cf. 669: *virus lunare*; Stat. *Theb.* 2. 284-5; V. Fl. 6. 445, 7. 330; *PDM.* 14. 929, 933. For further discussion, cf. Hill, 1973, Tupet, 1976, 92-103, Bicknell, 1984. As an *adynaton*, this is somewhat clichéd, appearing in virtually every preceding catalogue of magical powers. Lucan, however, adds certain novel elements: the use of the simile, 501-3, and the introduction of the moon's foam. The very conventional nature of the Thessalian trick, however, adds emphasis to the contrast between the witches of this catalogue and Erictho introduced in the next

section, whose magic is completely new, innovative and unconventionally evil. Drawing down the moon emphasises the extreme power but also traditionality of the normal Thessalian witches.

In these final lines, following the list of questions, there is a further demonstration of this relationship between magic and the gods; cf. *ad* 500: *Phoebeque serena*. This point has been noted by various commentators, cf. Schotes, 1969, 130; Le Bonniec, 1970, 187-8; Fauth, 1975, 338; Tupet, 1988, 421; Danese, 1992, 204-11.

499-500: drawing down the stars, a variant on the more familiar feat of drawing down the moon: cf. Tib. 1. 2. 43; Prop. 1. 1. 19, 23-4; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 45-6; 17. 4-5; Apul. *Met.* 1. 3; *PGM.* 1. 124; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 4. 489, with Pease: *vertere sidera retro*.

illis: *sc. carminibus*; cf. Bourgery-Ponchont. If it refers to the *Haemonides* it would be dative of agent, though this use of the dative is rare in Lucan, *pace* Danese, 1992, 206.

primum: i.e. "for the first time", indicating that the *Thessalides* were the inventors of this trick; for references, cf. *ad* 499-506. This recalls the πρῶτος εὑρέτης theme found in the Thessalian excursus, 395-407, which described the "seeds of war" as being sown in Thessaly; here it shows that the land and its inhabitants invent different, though equally dreadful, things.

500: *praecipiti...polo*: cf. *ad* 464: *polos*.

deducta: regularly used for drawing down the moon or other heavenly bodies: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 69; Tib. 1. 8. 21; Prop. 1. 1. 19; Ov. *Am.* 2. 1. 23, *Her.* 6. 85.

500-502: Lucan next describes the moon, beset by witches' spells. It is not stated in these lines that the moon actually leaves the sky, simply that it loses its brightness and changes colour. The force of *deducta* must be applied to the moon as well. The feat, as described, resembles an eclipse though the witches are not actually causing an eclipse to occur; cf. *ad* 503-4. For the view, somewhat unconvincing, that the "Thessalian trick" was an eclipse of the moon, cf. Hill, 1973, esp. 236 f.

Phoebeque serena: Phoebe, though a common metonymy for the moon, is another deity on whom the powers of magic function, reinforcing the earlier examples in the catalogue, especially in light of the series of questions, at 6. 492-9; for Phoebe=moon, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 481; Ov. *Met.* 12. 36; Le Boeuffle, 1977, 262. *Serena* has the sense of clear and unclouded: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 541 Sk.: *tum tonuit laevom bene tempestate serena*; Lucr. 2. 150: *vapor is quem sol mittit lumenque serenum*; 6. 247-8. It contrasts strongly with *palluit* and *nigris... ignibus* of 502.

501: *diris verborum...venenis*: a striking combination of the two main methods of witchcraft, drugs and incantations; cf. also 682: *saturatas carmine*, 715: *exaudiat*

herbas. Spells, rather than potions, were the traditional method of drawing down the moon, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 69: *carmina... caelo possunt deducere lunam*; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 45-6; 17. 78: *deripere lunam vocibus possim meis*. On *diris*, cf. *ad* 444: *dirae... gentis*.

502: *palluit*: i.e. "loses brightness"; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13. 581-2: *ille rubor, quo matutina rubescunt / tempora, palluerat*; in a magical context, Ov. *Met.* 7. 209: *pallet nostris Aurora venenis*.

nigris terrenisque ignibus arsit: for a colour change to the moon due to magic, cf. Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 11-12: *purpureus lunae sanguine vultus erat*. Lucan's description of the moon burning with a "dark and earthly fire" is extraordinary, though this occurs during an eclipse: the moon's colour becomes dark red, which occurs before and after total eclipse when it travels through the penumbra of the earth's shadow and is thus receiving much dimmer light from the sun; cf. Allen and Allen, 1987, 27-8, and plate 3. This similarity between Lucan's words and the characteristic discolouration during an eclipse is confirmed by the simile at 503-4. *Niger*, "dark" here rather than black, and *terrenus* have associations with death and the underworld, appropriate to the context of magic: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 134: *nigra... Tartara*; Hor *Carm.* 1. 24. 18, with N-H: *nigro... gregi*; on *terrenus*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 248-9: *(Medea) terrenaque numina civit / umbrarumque rogat rapta coniuge regem. Terrenis ignibus* here also suggests the destructive, earthly fire of Stoic physics, which was distinguished from heavenly fire, the *aether* or πὺρ τεχνικον, perhaps alluded to at 504: *flammis caelestibus*. The identical position and metrical form of *terrenisque ignibus* and *flammis caelestibus* reinforce this contrast; on heavenly and earthly fire, cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 40-41, quoting Cleanthes (frg. 30 P), with Pease; Arnold, 1911, 180-1; Sambursky, 1959, 3-4.

503-4: Lucan uses a lunar eclipse as a simile to describe the effects of drawing down the moon. This demonstrates that the Thessalian trick was purportedly an actual drawing down of the moon, rather than a claim to be able to cause an eclipse by magical means; cf. Tupet, 1976, 94; Hill, 1973, 236: were the Thessalian trick the power to cause an eclipse, the simile would not work. Nevertheless, Lucan does bring out the similarities between the two events in order to connect the magical act with the uncanny and portentous event of an eclipse; certainly there were people in antiquity who believed that eclipses were caused by magic: cf. Plin. *NH.* 25. 10: *inventa iam pridem ratio est praenuntians horas, non modo dies ac noctes, solis lunaeque defectuum; durat tamen tradita persuasio in magna parte vulgi, veneficiis et herbis id cogi eamque unam feminarum scientiam praevalere*. The occurrence of a lunar eclipse was seen as a terrible omen, often associated with civil disaster or military defeat: cf. Thuc. 7. 50; Cic. *Cons. Suo*, 18-19, Court.; *Div.* 1. 121; Obseq. 51; Luc. 1. 538-9; also Manil. 1. 222-7, for instances of superstitious responses to an eclipse.

prohiberet...tellus: it was known in antiquity that lunar eclipses were caused by the earth's shadow obstructing the sun's light: cf. Aristot. *Cael.* 2. 297b. 30; Cic. *ND.* 2. 103; Manil. 4. 841-7.

fraterna…imagine: i.e. the reflection of the light of her brother, the sun: for *imago* = reflection, cf. Ov. *Her.* 17. 77: *unda repercussae radiabat imagine lunae*; Sil. 2. 663. For the moon's light as a reflection of the sun's, cf. above; also Sil 8. 174: *luna…fraterno lustrabit lumine terras.*

504: *suas flammis caelestibus umbras*: *flammis caelestibus* contrasts with *terrenis ignibus*; cf. *ad* 502. *Caelestis* is commonly used of heavenly bodies: e.g. Cic. *ND.* 2. 4: *cum caelum suspeximus caelestiaque contemplati sumus*; Sen. *NQ.* 7. 25. 6: *non licet stare caelestibus nec averti*; cf. Le Boeuffle, 1977, 46-7. It has strong connections with things divine, appropriate to the light of the sun-god Phoebus; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 107: *caelestibus armis*; Ov. *Her.* 15. 279.

The word order is significant: *suas… umbras*, the shadows, enclose the *flammis caelestibus.*

505-6: the last two lines of the catalogue describe the moon after it has been dragged down to earth, and the collection of its juices. This is their first appearance in extant literature; cf. *ad* 499-506; also *OZ* 1§538; Fahz, 1904, 47; Tupet, 1976, 101-3. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 157-8, compares this to Ov. *Met.* 7. 268: *addit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas*, suggesting that it was a possible source for Lucan, though the substances are quite different, and Medea's frosts have nothing to do with drawing down the moon.

505: *tantos…labores*: implies that magic causes the moon hardship, even physical pain: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 373: *(si) vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum*; Larg. 227: *hoc medicamento sine magno labore… cadere cogit haemorrhoidas*; Sen. *Phoen.* 536: *per decem mensum grates uteri labores… precor.* The idea of pain concords with *patitur.* Though *labor* is a common Latin term for an eclipse it cannot have that meaning here; cf. *ad* 503-4; for *labor* as eclipse, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 478; Plin. *NH.* 2. 55: *statos siderum, quoniam ita appellare placuit, labores.*

depressa: "forced down": cf. Acc. *Trag.* 61-2, Ribb.: *quod di in sedem infernam penitus / depressum altis clausere specis*; Virg. *Georg.* 1. 45: *depresso… aratro.* There are overtones of defeat and degradation in the term, strengthening the notion that Phoebe has been coerced into this state: cf. Liv. 3. 65. 11: *ita se quisque extollit ut deprimat alium*; Sen. *Dial.* 5. 29. 1: *captivus in servitutem… depressus.*

506: *suppositas…in herbas*: implies that the witches have set out their herbs to receive the moon's foam. Though this specific detail is extraordinary, the harvest of magical plants involved various rituals and restrictions; for further discussion, cf. *ad* 682.

despumet: Lucan alone uses *despumare* in this way, giving another strange touch to the end of the catalogue.

507-569: Erictho

507: *hos...haec*: refer back to the activities of the Thessalian witches, 438-506. Anaphora emphasises this connection.

scelerum...crimina: these terms recall the illegality of magic at Rome: cf. *XII Tab.* 8.8; *Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficiis* (Paul. *Sent.* 5. 23. 14-19); for discussion, cf. Pharr, 1932; Massoneau, 1934, 159-223; Clerc, 1995, 173-4. Lucan closely associates the terms *scelus* and *crimen* with civil war: cf. 1. 2: *iusque datum sceleri canimus*; 1. 37; 2. 61; 4. 258: *hoc siquidem solo civilis crimine belli dux causae melioris eris*; 7. 112: *Pompei nec crimen erit nec gloria bellum*; 7. 398; cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1. 35. 33-4: *eheu, cicatricum et sceleris pudet / fratrumque?*; *Epod.* 7. 17-20; Jal, 1963, 450-60 on civil war as a crime. These words reinforce the connection between magic and civil war made earlier by Lucan, establishing the civil war associations which Erictho will have.

ritus: magical spells often involved elaborate and precise rituals of sacrifice and prayer, as well as ritual purity and abstinence: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 64 ff.; *Aen.* 4. 504 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 7. 179 ff., 238 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 26-51; 2441-621; 2785-890; 5. 370-446; for discussion, cf. de Jong, 1909, 131-98; Graf, 1991, 188-197; Betz, 1991, 249 ff.

crimina: matches *scelerum*, cf. above. *Carmina* appears in certain manuscripts, though this is a doublet of 444: *dirae... carmina gentis*.

508: *effera...Erictho*: the arch-witch is introduced in this line. The name is most probably Lucan's invention. Other than here, "Erictho" appears in manuscripts of Ov. *Her.* 15. 139, though modern editors emend this to *Enyo*. It has been hypothesised, based on the suggestion of a Neopythagorean basis to Ov. *Her.* 15, that the name Erictho featured in some esoteric text; cf. Bourgery-Ponchont, *ad loc.*; Paoletti, 1963, 15 n. 12. In spite of such speculation, it is quite feasible that the name was invented to suit the character of this extraordinary figure. The root χθών, with the intensifying ἐρι, reflects an association with chthonic powers, common for witches. Invented characters often have names which reflect their function or nature: e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 5. 3 with N-H: *Pyrrha*; 1. 9. 8: *Thaliarcus*; Luc. 5. 126: *Phemonoe*. The first part of the name may well be intended to recall Eris, the goddess of Strife: cf. Hom. *Il.* 4. 445, 11. 3-14; Hes. *WD.* 11 ff., with West; *Theog.* 225; and her Roman counterpart *Discordia* who was closely associated with civil war: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 280, 8. 702; also Cic. *Phil.* 7. 25: *omnia... plena odiorum, plena discordiarum, ex quibus oriuntur bella civilia*; Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 71, with Clausen. Thus, the witch's name also associates her with civil war; cf. Johnson, 1987, 20-1, 24-9; also the introduction to this commentary.

Effera, an appropriate epithet, characterises her as cruel and violent from the outset: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 205: *furiis Caci mens effera*; 8. 484: *facta tyranni effera*; Sen. *Phaed.* 1221; *Epist.* 88. 7: *monstra effera et humano cruore gaudentia*. The arrangement of noun and adjective at either end of the line, enclosing the syntactical unit, is common: cf. Pearce, 1967, with abundant parallel examples. The alliteration adds to the effect.

damnarat: heightens the irony with an incredible paradox: one normally condemns another for a crime, not a crime for being good.

nimiae pietatis: utterly unexpected after the lengthy demonstration of the wickedness of the *Thessalides*, 438-506. The striking antithesis underlines Erictho's monstrous *impietas*; for further discussion, cf. Danese, 1992, 211. On Lucan's use of *pietas* and related terms, cf. *ad* 410: *impius Aloeus*; also Heyke, 1970. Her *impietas* towards gods, state and family, abundantly illustrated in the subsequent passage, matches that of Sextus as shown at 419-34.

The use of *nimiae* is extraordinary and emphasises the antithesis. It normally has pejorative overtones, indicating an excess of something bad: e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 508: *nimia... licentia*; Cic. *Leg.* 3. 23: *nimia potestas est tribunorum plebis*; Cat. 63. 17; Luc. 1. 87: *o male concordes nimiaque cupidine caeci*; also Luc. 1. 160, 2. 325, where he links the adjective with the excesses of civil war. Lucan implies that *pietas* is an undesirable quality in Erictho's eyes.

509: *novos ritus*: *ritus*, repeated from 507 in the identical metrical position, further underscores the contrast to be drawn between Erictho and the other witches. *Novos* is extremely significant. The epithet prepares the reader for the horrors of Erictho's magic which, though not unprecedented in literature, are never previously seen in such detail or numbers; Martindale, 1980, 374-5; Gordon, 1987, 239. Erictho's love of innovation is seen again at 577-8 where Sextus finds her inventing new spells. Novelty and innovation are attributes associated also with Caesar, and their opposites with Pompey who is typified by stagnant conservatism; cf. 1. 135-157, Newmyer, 1983; on Caesar and novelty, cf. also 2. 650-82, 3. 375 ff.; 6. 29-63; for innovation as a point of contact between Caesar and Erictho, cf. Masters, 1992, 214-15. The novelty of Erictho's *carmina* has also led some to see a parallel between the witch and the poet, and these three lines as a part of Lucan's repudiation of his own poem which celebrates the evils of Caesar; cf. O'Higgins, 1988, 217 ff.; Masters, 1992, 205-15.

pollutam...artem: on *ars*, cf. *ad* 438: *ars est*. *Pollutus* is another term connected with civil war throughout the poem, further suggesting a link between Erictho and the war: cf. 1. 332; 2. 114, 252, 536; 3. 135; 4.259; 6. 307. Erictho's magic is also appropriate for the polluter Sextus: cf. 422: *Sextus... polluit... triumphos*. The epithet implies that Erictho and her magic are polluted; the specific reasons for this taint are contact with the dead and murder, as set forth below. On these as sources of pollution, cf. Parker, 1983, 32-48, 104-43. The polluted acts of Erictho, described below, resemble the abominable offerings and rites of the διαβολαὶ, cf. *PGM.* 4. 2574-604, 2642-66; 7. 593-619; for discussion, cf. Eitrem, 1924, 43-61. These "slander spells" give another insight into the sorts of horrific acts which were thought to be performed by evil sorcerers or witches.

510-13: These lines begin the description of how Erictho is worse than other witches. Here Lucan says that she cannot dwell in houses, normal for human

habitation, and instead dwells in cemeteries, as the guest of the underworld divinities. As cemeteries were located outside the city, Erictho is a marginal figure who lives on the peripheries of human society, common for witches; cf. Gordon 1987b, 60-1, 71 ff.; Clerc, 1995, 193 ff.; Graf, 1997, 48, 189-90.

Witches were commonly associated with graveyards, often to collect their magical materials: cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8; Apul. *Met*. 2. 20; [Quint]. *Decl. Mai*. 15. 5; *PGM*. 7. 186-90; 61. 40; 101. 1 ff.; Abt, 1908, 194, *OZ* 1§659; Clerc, 1995, 192-204, esp. 198-9. Apart from grave-robbing, witches and other magicians commonly deposited *defixiones* in graves and tombs for easier access to the *nekydaimon* whom they were invoking; cf. *PGM*. 4. 333-4, 2215-16; 5. 332-6; 7. 396-404; Gager, 1992, 18-20, and *defixiones* 20, 22, 41, 45, 53, found with dead bodies or in funerary urns. The close association between witches and graveyards has also given rise to the terms ἡ τυμβάς, cf. Hsch; and *bustuaria*, cf. Mart. 3. 93. 15: *inter bustuarias moechas*. This association of witches with graveyards has been extended by Lucan into actual residence in tombs.

The fact that Erictho lives inside tombs also suggests a violation of these normally sacrosanct places. There was a fear lest tombs and their contents be damaged or defiled, owing to a belief that this would disturb the repose of the deceased's soul; cf. Toynbee, 1971, 75-7. This fear is illustrated on various funerary inscriptions: e.g. *ILS* 7602: *rogo te, viator, monumento huic ne male feceris*; *ILS*. 8184: *DM C. Tullius Hesper aram fecit sibi ubi ossa sua coiciantur qua(e) si quis violaret aut inde exemerit opto ei ut cum dolore corporis longo tempore vivat et cum mortuus fuerit inferi eum non recipiant*; also the spell, *PGM*. 40. 1-18, a curse against tomb violation; cf. Strubbe, 1991, 33-59; for further examples of such curses, from both Greek and Latin epitaphs, cf. Lattimore, 1962, 106-26. Erictho's actions were not only impious but illegal, as is shown by the *actio violati sepulcri*, which adds a further dimension to her anti-social behaviour: cf. de Zelueta, 1932, discussing the "Nazareth Edict"; Parrot, 1939, 153-9.

510: *nefas*: *sc. nefas est*. This formulation, with the infinitive, is a construction found more commonly in prose with a legalistic flavour: cf. Cic. *Inv*. 2. 135: *nefas esse... non... legi obtemperare*; Liv. 5. 9. 6; 5. 52. 13: *flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est*, with dative. Certainly it was a sin to have the performer of murder or sacrilege within a city or a house, as exemplified by Oedipus, whose mere presence brought a plague upon Thebes; cf. Latte, 1963, 9, n. 12; Parker, 1983, 4, 18-31, 116-7.

The sin, *nefas*, is being described from the perspective of Lucan and his audience, those who would be polluted by the witch's presence. Erictho herself does not baulk at performing acts which are *nefas*, as is illustrated by this catalogue of horrors.

urbis...tecto / aut laribus: Lucan contrasts these places, the dwellings of a city, with *deserta busta* in the next line. *Tecto* and *laribus*, though both used by synecdoche for *domus*, describe different aspects of a dwelling. *Tectum*, the roof, denotes the protective covering of a house; *laribus*, indicates the hearth, and thus its functions of

keeping warm the inhabitants and cooking food. For this combination, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 343-4, with Mynors: *omnia secum / armentarius Afer agit, tectumque laremque….*

511: *laribus*: i.e. "house, dwelling"; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 1. 9. 20: *paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 44: *cum lare fundus*. Nevertheless, the overtly religious associations of *lares* emphasise how great an offence Erictho's presence inside a house would be; the *lares*, particularly *lares familiares*, were a house's tutelary deities; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 619 Sk, with Skutsch: *vosque Lares tectum nostrum qui funditus curant*; Liv. 1. 29. 4, with Ogilvie.

ferale caput: the adjective further associates Erictho with funerals and death: for *feralis* = funereal, cf. Ov. *Ib.* 103-4: *quid dubitas ferales sumere vittas?/ iam stat…funeris ara tui*; *Trist.* 3. 3. 81; Luc. 8. 733: *feralis pompa*; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 75. *Feralis* also describes things which are uncanny or ill-omened, because of their association with death; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 462: *ferali carmine bubo*; Luc. 1. 112. It is repeated from 432 to strengthen the connection between Erictho and Sextus: *noverat (Sextus) et tristes sacris feralibus aras*.

desertaque busta: recalls Virg. *Aen.* 12. 863-4: *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis / nocte sedens serum canit*, an attempt to associate Erictho with Virgil's *Deae Dirae*; on these, cf. Edgeworth, 1986, 133-43. Furthermore, the *Dira* at this point in the *Aeneid* transforms herself into a *strix*, a terrible night bird, often associated with witches; cf. *ad* 689. This similarity between witches and Furies is seen elsewhere: Hor. *Epod.* 5. 15-16; Luc. 6. 654-6, with note. *Deserta* reaffirms the solitary nature of Erictho's life; cf. *ad* 510-13: when used of a place, *desertus* indicates above all that it is "free of people": e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 28: *desertos…videre locos litusque relictum*; Liv. 41. 8. 7.

Busta must here mean "tombs", rather than "pyres": cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 937-8: *Mnesilochos Sino est / relictus, ellum non in busto Achilli, sed in lecto accubat*; Cic. *Dom.* 112: *signum de busto meretricis ablatum…imaginem meretricis, ornamentum sepulcri*. These tombs would be located outside the walls of the city, a practice which was enshrined in the law, cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2. 23. 58: *hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito*; for discussion, cf. Toynbee, 1971, 48-9; Prieur, 1986, 50-2. Thus Erictho's place of domicile is outside the city and human society, and within the domain of death.

512: *incolit*: enjambment emphasises Erictho's unusual place of residence.

expulsis…umbris: this is very unusual. It was thought that shades lived some or all of the time in their tomb: cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 8; Toynbee, 1971, 37-8. Erictho's dreadful presence, however, can drive away these shades. Ghosts were a source of fear in antiquity as they were considered to be malicious; accordingly, humans should flee from them, not the reverse: cf. Plaut, *Most.* 454 ff.; Ov. *Fast.* 5. 493 ff. on the *Lemuria*, in which fear of ghosts is evident; Plin. *Epist.* 7. 27; Jobbé-Duval, 1924, *pass.*; Johnston, 1999, *pass.*

obtinet: "to occupy a place"; the term has military overtones: cf. Caes. *BC*. 3. 29. 1: *conventus civium Romanorum qui Lissum obtinebant*; Plin. *NH*. 6. 104.

513: *grata deis Erebi*: *grata* = "welcome, popular", cf. Liv. 1. 15. 8: *multitudini... gratior fuit quam patribus*; Hor. *Sat*. 2. 2. 119; Prop. 1. 12. 7. This suggests a special affinity with the gods of the underworld, upon which Lucan subsequently expands; cf. also 695-711. Magic has a close relationship with the *di inferi*, often summoned in incantations: e.g. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 510-11; Hor. *Epod*. 5. 51-2; Ov. *Met*. 7. 192 ff.; Sen. *Med*. 740 ff.; *PGM*. 4. 1460-69; for lists of these gods, cf. Fahz, 1904, 10-15; Lowe, 1929, 55. These words provide a strong contrast to the hostile relationship between witches and the *di superi*: cf. 430-1, 497, 515.

Erebi: the underworld, the abode of the dead: cf. Hes. *Theog*. 123, with West; Virg. *Georg*. 4. 471; *Aen*. 6. 247; for further refs, cf. *RE*. 6. 403. 11-54.

513: *coetus...silentum*: i.e. the dead. For *coetus* as an assembly of the dead, cf. Ov. *Met*. 15. 66; Stat. *Theb*. 8. 11; 11. 70; 12. 645. For the dead as silent, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 264: *umbrae silentes*; Ov. *Met*. 13. 25; Sen. *Med*. 740; Stat. *Silv*. 2. 7. 121; on the underworld itself as a place of silence, cf. *ad* 729: *regnique silentia*. Such an appellation is in keeping with other euphemistic expressions for the dead: e.g. *manes*, the goodly ones: cf. Maltby, *s.v. Manes*.

silentum: the *-um* ending for the present participle is found in hexameter verse for metrical reasons; cf. L-H-S 1. 278.

audire: divination from the spirits of the dead was a common aim of magic: cf. Hom. *Od*. 11; Aesch. *Pers*. 598 ff.; Sen. *Oed*. 559 ff.; Tac. *Ann*. 2. 27-28; *PGM*. 4. 1928-2144 (three spells); Bouché-Leclercq, 1. 332; Headlam, 1902, 55 ff.; Graf, 1997, 198-200 The combination *audire silentum* is an oxymoron, since silent things do not talk. The shades are not, however, completely silent; cf. *ad* 623: *strideat*.

514: recalls *Aen*. 6. 268-9: *ibant.../ perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*, both through the lexical reminiscences of *domos* and *Ditis*, and through the subject matter: Virgil shows to the reader the inhabitants and the secrets of the underworld; Lucan tells us that Erictho knows them at first hand.

nosse: i.e. "to know through personal experience"; cf. Cic. *Brut*. 214: *nullum ille poetam noverat, nullum legerat oratorem*; Caes. *BG*. 7. 80. 1: *ut... suum quisque locum teneat et noverit*; Quint. *Inst*. 6. 4. 8. This notion is strengthened at 515: *non superi, non vita vetat*, where the expression implies knowledge through contact with the underworld. Familiarity with the underworld and its gods, though common among witches, is another important point of similarity between Erictho and the Sibyl: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 109, 117-8, 247, 564-5. Lucan uses only the contracted form of the perfect infinitive.

domos Stygias: cf. [Sen]. *HO*. 1810; Mart. 6. 18. 2; 10. 72. 10; V. Fl. 1. 784; also Soph. *OC*. 1564. *Stygius*, though strictly referring to the infernal river, has its sense transferred to the underworld as a whole, cf. Ov. *Met*. 4. 437: *Stygiam ad urbem*; *Trist*. 4. 10. 88. For the underworld as a *domus*, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 269; 534: *tristis sine sole domos*.

arcanaque: cf. *ad* 431: *arcana magorum*; also Graf, 1997, 96-117. *Arcana Ditis* here recalls *umbrarum Ditisque fidem* of 433, making a further connection between Sextus' knowledge of magic and Erictho's practice. *Arcana* may also refer to specific hidden details about the god which could give Erictho special powers of control, such as a true name or form: cf. Luc. 6. 732-42; *PGM* 3. 633 ff.; 12. 153-160; 21. 1 ff.; for discussion, cf. Annequin, 1973, 28-9; Ciraolo, 1995, 281 ff.

Ditis operti: for *opertus* in the context of the underworld, cf. Sen. *HF*. 661: *iura... operta*; Sil. 13. 429: *ater operto... taurus regi... caeditur*; V. Fl. 1. 735; Stat. *Theb*. 4. 520. Though commonly found elsewhere in euphemistic phrases describing the underworld, *opertus* here is distinctly emphatic, stressing the inaccessibility of the god and thereby the special relationship between him and Erictho; for a similarly emphatic epithet, cf. Sen. *HF*. 664: *Ditis invisi*.

515: *non superi, non vita vetat*: Lucan presents two reasons which would normally prevent easy communication between the upper and lower worlds. The two reasons are another demonstration of the powers of magic over the gods and the physical laws. For further discussion of both of these, cf. below. Anaphora of *non* is a common emphatic device: cf. Cic. *Verr*. 5. 126: *non argentum, non aurum, non vestem, non mancipia repetunt*; Sen. *Suas*. 6. 1: *tu senatum voles in quo non Cn. Pompeium visurus es, non M. Catonam, non Lucullum*.

superi: the gods above, rather than those of the underworld, cf. *ad* 430: *supernis... deis*; 433: *superos*. By mentioning the *superi*, Lucan again recalls the powers which magic has over these gods: cf. 443-51; 461 ff.

The idea recalls the Sibyl's words about *katabasis*, *Aen*. 6. 129-131: *pauci, quos aequus amavit / Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus / dis geniti potuere*. Lucan, however, inverts the Virgilian idea: Erictho can visit not because she is a favourite of the gods but because she makes them grant permission. The notion of *katabasis* is further suggested by *nosse*, 514, which suggests knowing through first hand experience; cf. *supra*. The gods normally prevented contact of the sort which Erictho has between the living and the dead. The living regularly communicated with the dead only by appeasing their souls, often at festivals such as the *parentalia* and *lemuria* at Rome or the Anthesteria at Athens: cf. Scullard, 1981, 74-5, 118-9; Johnston, 1999, 63-6; it was exceptional that a living person should visit the underworld and then return, unless the gods had made an exception as in the cases of the heroes Hercules, Theseus, Orpheus, Aeneas; cf. Johnston, 1999, 84-5.

vita: life poses no object for Erictho's visits to the underworld. Again the background to Lucan's words is Virg. *Aen.* 6. 126 ff.: *facilis descensus Averno: noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis; sed revocare gradum... / hoc opus hoc labor est.*

515-518: Erictho's physical appearance. Lucan emphasises her hideous, cadaverous looks, following in the literary tradition (cf. Horace, Ovid, Propertius) which depicts witches as ugly hags, though he stresses the fact that Erictho is a frightening rather than merely disgusting figure. Erictho's coloration, emaciation and decrepitude make her resemble a corpse, shown by the terms *macies*, *situs*, and *pallor*, which are all used to describe the dead or the dying. Though there is no specific mention of her years, the aforementioned terms give the impression that Erictho is of great age. Roman writers had strong prejudices against elderly women and describe them in terms similar to these used here: e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 8, 12; *Priap.* 83 (B); Petr. 134-8; Juv. 6; Mart. 3. 93; cf. Richlin, 1984; 1992, 109-116; Bremmer, 1987, 191-215. These horrible old women evoked a large degree of disgust in Roman writers because they threatened the power of the established male order, through their freedom and lack of social definition and control. The *lena* of Roman erotic elegy combines the figures of witch and repulsive old woman: e.g. Tib. 1. 5; Prop. 4. 5; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8; on portrait of the *lena*, especially her magical powers, cf. Myers, 1996, 4-10. Erictho, too, has these qualities which add a further dimension to the portrayal of her as a loathsome, dangerous outsider. On the depiction of the witch as hag, cf. also Rabinowitz, 1998, 77-81.

profanae: this pejorative term brands Erictho as being polluted or impious. There is also etymological word-play, recalling 510-13 where Erictho keeps away from houses and towns: *profanus* literally indicates something which cannot enter a shrine: cf. Maltby, *s.v.*; Wagenvoort, 1947; Schilling, 1971. Lucan may here be imitating Ov. *Met.* 8. 840: *Erysichthonis ora profani.* Like Erictho, Erysichthon is a performer of sacrilegious acts and her emaciated face resembles the physical effects of his punishment, starvation; cf. Ov. *Met.* 8. 739 ff. for his story.

516: *foeda situ macies*: Erictho is disgustingly emaciated, a condition brought on by age. *Macies* is used to describe persons in a very bad physical condition, close to death from starvation, age or illness: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 7. 12: *at qua inbecillitate, qua macie! sed animi vires corporis infirmitas non retardavit*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 590-1: *macie confecta suprema / ignoti...forma viri* (Achaemenides); Juv. 15. 100-1: *hostibus ipsis / pallorem ac maciem et tenuis miserantibus artus* (of besieged people). *Situs* rarely describes persons, though Ovid's description of Famine is another exception, cf. *Met.* 8. 801-2: *hirtus erat crinis cava lumina, pallor in ore / labra incana situ.* It elsewhere indicates decay resulting from age: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 440: *victa situ verique effeta senectus*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 290: *abeunt pallorque situsque.* Literary representations of witches often depict old women: cf. Tib. 1. 5. 12; 1. 8. 18; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 98; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 2; Petr. 135; Apul. *Met.* 1. 12.

caeloque ignota sereno: Erictho's face is never seen by a clear or cloudless sky. For *serenus*, = cloudless, cf. *ad* 500: *Phoebeque serena.* There seem to be no especial tradition for witches acting exclusively during storms. The situation, however, alludes to the sun or moon hiding their faces from examples of evil: cf. Sen. *Thy.* 789 ff.; Petr. 122. 128-31.

517: *terribilis Stygio facies pallore*: her face is depicted as horrifying because of its ghastly pale complexion. A frightening visage is often the mark of a bad person: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 55. 4: (Lentulus) *terribilis eius facies est*; Curt. 4. 13; Nep. *Vit. Dat.* 3. One should also take note of Virg. *Aen.* 6. 274-7: *Luctus... Curae/... Morbi... Senectus/... Metus... Fames... Egestas,/ terribiles visu formae*, qualities which Erictho embodies.

Stygio...pallore: the colour *pallor* ranges from white to a sickly yellow: cf. André, 1949, 139-47. *Pallor*, and the related *pallens* and *pallidus*, are colours of the underworld; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 436; Luc. 5. 628; also Virg. *Georg.* 3. 522; *Aen.* 4. 26; Sen. *Ag.* 762; *Oed.* 584; used of witches also at Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 25-6: *pallor utrasque / fecerat horrendas aspectu.* Erictho's *pallor*, reinforced by *Stygius*, suggests that she physically resembles characters from the underworld, adding another element to the terrible image.

Pallor is also a colour associated with illness or death, and it is often combined with *macies*: e.g. Liv. 2. 23. 3: *corporis habitus pallore ac macie perempti*; Cels. 1. 8. 2: *stomachum... infirmum indicant pallor, macies*; Sen. *Dial.* 5. 26. 4; Luc. 7. 129; Juv. 15. 101. Lucan may also be alluding to Ovid's portrait of *Invidia* with these words: *Met.* 2. 775: *pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto* (Invidia); cf. Nutting, 1930-33, 113; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 159-60; further parallels to *Invidia* appear at 521-2, 645, 656.

Stygio may be an etymological gloss on *terribilis*, reinforcing this aspect of the description. *Styx* is related to the Greek στυγερός, "dreadful, terrible"; cf. O'Hara, 1996, 70, 171, citing Virg, *Aen.* 6. 438-9: *tristisque palus inamabilis undae / alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet.*

These ablatives are dependent on *terribilis*; cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 63: *vidimus inmani specie tortuque draconem terribilem*; Virg. *Aen.* 12. 947; they do not go with *gravatur*: it seems impossible that one's coloration, no matter how sickly, could weigh one down.

517-8: *gravatur...onerata*: the expression, though repetitive, emphasises the bulk and weightiness of Erictho's hair. There is strong contrast with *macies* at 516; cf. Korenjak, *ad loc.*

inpexis onerata comis: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 16: *incomptum caput*; 27-8: *Sagana... horret capillis*; Erictho's unkempt hair recalls Horace's dreadful witches. Messy hair is also an attribute of the Cumaean Sibyl (*Aen.* 6. 48), making an additional connection between her and Erictho. Commonly, witches loosen their hair for the casting of spells in order to free themselves of bonds, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 509, with Pease; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 24. Lucan's description differs as he is not here describing her ritual practices but her general appearance. On Erictho's hair, cf. 655-6.

518-20: These lines show Erictho active at night-time and introduce a strange, almost unprecedented activity, catching lightning bolts. Night (indicated by *sidera*) is a common time for witches to perform their spells; cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 21-2; Ov. *Met*. 7. 192; Apul. *Met*. 2. 25; *Apol*. 47; *PGM* 4. 1854 ff., 2039 ff., 2470 ff.; Headlam, 1902, 52; Abt, 1908, 194 ff.; *OZ* 1§825; Tupet, 1976, 13; Clerc, 1995, 198. Stormy nights, though consistent with 516: *caeloque ignota sereno*, are mentioned nowhere else as being particularly desirable. Indeed, a clear night is sometimes a requirement, especially for tricks like drawing down the moon: e.g. Theocr. 2. 10; Tib. 1. 2. 61: *nocte serena*, with Smith; Virg. *Aen*. 4. 513 f.; Lucian *Philops*. 14; cf. Annequin, 1973, 55, who mentions that the moon's light in a magical ritual indicated that Hecate was present; though *PGM*. 4. 753: ἐν ἁρπαγῇ τῆς σελήνης. So Lucan is inverting the norms of magic to highlight the fact that Erictho is a special witch. Catching *fulmina* is another feat that Erictho alone performs, and an incredible one at that given the destructive powers of lightning. It is not listed among the powers of the other Thessalian witches, and does not appear in literary descriptions of magic until this period: cf. also [Sen.] *HO*. 455; 470: *stet deprehensum fulmen*; V. Fl. 8. 73: *domui...fulmina*; Plin. *NH*. 28. 13: *ex his (verbis) etiam fulmina elici*; on the association of witches and more traditional forms of weather magic, cf. Fiedler, 1931, 20-5.

The capture of the *fulmen* further illustrates Erictho's impiety since it was a possession of the gods, Jupiter in particular. With this detail, Lucan perhaps expands upon the story of Salmoneus, who imitated the thunder and lightning of Jupiter and thus appropriated their symbolic power for himself: he was killed by Jupiter and punished in Tartarus; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 585-94. Erictho takes this a step further by catching the actual instruments of the gods rather than using mere copies. The *fulmen* was *sacrum* and anything that it touched had to be expiated and kept out of sight; so by catching them Erictho was also being sacrilegious: cf. Danese, 1992, 212; for lightning strikes, cf. Cat. *Agr*. 14. 3; Cic. *Cat*. 3. 19; Juv. 6. 587; for the *fulmen* as the divine weapon, especially to punish impiety, cf. Aesch. *Prom*. 1016-19; Enn. *Ann*. 542; Cic. *ND*. 1. 101; *Div*. 2. 43; Virg. *Aen*. 4. 25, with Pease. Erictho nevertheless seeks contact with these weapons. The picture created by Lucan in these lines is effective: a hideous, solitary figure standing in a storm catching the lightning: cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 160.

atrae...nubes: *ater* is the *mot juste* for storms and storm clouds, cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 236; *Aen*. 1. 511; Prop. 2. 5. 12: *nubes... atra*.

519-20: *nudis...bustis*: recalls 511-12: *desertaque busta /...expulsis...umbris*; thus *nudis* primarily has the sense "deserted, empty tombs"; cf. Cic. *Cat*. 1. 16: *omnes consulares...simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudamque inanem relinquerunt*; Luc. 7. 867; cf. Håkanson, 1979, 43. Housman, *ad loc*., and Duff interpret *nudis* to mean stripped bare implying grave-robbing, a possible secondary interpretation. For *nudus* as "plundered", however, cf. Cic. *Verr*. 2. 84: *domum eius exornatam et instructam... iste reddiderat nudam atque inanem*; for witches as grave-robbers, cf. *ad* 538-43.

Burmann and Cortius emend *bustis* to *pedibus*, following Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 24; Ov. *Met*. 7. 183, unnecessarily. Though witches often have bare feet, in conjunction with loosened hair, the words as they appear in the MSS should be allowed to stand and be interpreted as above.

520: *nocturnaque fulmina*: nocturnal lightning was especially frightening: cf. Lucr. 6. 253-5: *usque adeo taetra nimborum nocte coorta / impendent atrae formidinis ora superne, / cum commoliri tempestas fulmina coeptat*; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 328 ff. The expression *nocturnum fulmen* is rare: cf. only Plin. *NH*. 2. 138; Aug. *Civ*. 4. 23.

521-2: Erictho blights crops and pollutes the air. These actions display great power, but more importantly they are very destructive and extremely anti-social, adding to the dangerous qualities of the witch that Lucan has already described. They serve to further marginalise Erictho by displaying her indifference to the common good of society. The two lines, unlike what precedes, are complete syntactical units, which heightens their impact. Her actions do not seem to be the result of any spell, rather inherent powers that she has by virtue of being so dreadful a creature, her very presence a danger to humanity. Again, Erictho closely parallels Ovid's *Invidia*: cf. *Met*. 2. 791-4: *quacumque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva / exuritque herbas et summa cacumina carpit / adflatuque suo populos urbesque domosque / polluit*; cf. *ad* 517: *Stygio...pallore*.

521: Erictho destroys crops by walking in them, a power reminiscent of the more common magical practice of stealing a neighbour's crops: e.g. Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 99: *satas alio vidi traducere messis*; Tib. 1. 8. 19: *cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris*, with Smith for extensive further references; also Tupet, 1976, 181-7; Graf, 1997, 41-3, who focuses specifically upon the highly anti-social nature of such magic. Lucan may be drawing upon certain rustic superstitions concerning women: cf. Plin. *NH*. 28. 28: women should conceal their spindles when outdoors to avoid harming crops; 28. 78: a menstruating woman can kill vermin and disease in a cornfield by walking through it; and this can be more readily achieved if their hair and girdle are loosened and they wear no shoes.

calcata: trampling on crops is obviously detrimental: cf. Cat. *Agr*. 161. 1; Varr. *RR*. 1. 47: *contra herba in pratis ad spem faenisiciae nata non modo non evellenda...sed etiam non calcanda*. The word also implies contempt for what is being trodden underfoot: cf. Prop. 2. 8. 19-20: *exagitet nostros Manis.../ insultetque rogis, calcet et ossa mea*; Ov. *Ib*. 29; [Sen.] *Oct*. 455; Juv. 10. 86: *calcemus Caesaris hostem*. The contemptuous overtone strengthens the notion that Erictho has no respect for human society and labour.

perussit: rare in verse, Lucan first uses it in epic. The intensifying prefix *per-* indicates that the crops are completely ruined. For its use in a context of burning land and crops, especially after military conquest, cf. Liv. 26. 13. 10: *profectus trans Volturnum perussit Calenum agrum*; also *uro* in this context: Cic. *Phil*. 12. 9: *Gallia...*

exhauritur, vastatur, uritur; Liv. 22. 31. 2: *ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager*. Its appearance here suggests such a military context.

522: Erictho's breath pollutes the air; on the lethal breath of witches, cf. Hor. *Sat*. 2. 8. 95: *Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus afris*; V. Fl. 6. 157: *paribus spirans Medea venenis*.

non letiferas…auras: the expression is unusual and striking, in defining the air by what it is not. It must be understood that it is actually Erictho's breath which is poisonous. The adjective is mostly poetic, first appearing in Latin at Cat. 64. 394: *in letifero belli certamine*. On adjectives in *-fer*, cf. Arens, 1950. The expression is reminiscent of descriptions of hot, pestilence bearing winds, such as the Sirocco: cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 532: *letiferis calidi spirarunt aestibus austri*; Germ. *frg*. 4. 40: *letifer ortu Sirius*; Juv. 4. 56.

spirando: *spiro* is used to describe the actions of fearsome, fire-breathing creatures; cf. Virg. *Georg*. 2. 140: *tauri spirantes naribus ignem*, (the bull of Colchis) with Mynors for further refs; *Aen*. 8. 304; Ov. *Met*. 8. 356. Erictho's habit recalls these monsters.

523-8: Lucan devotes the next six lines to illustrating Erictho's impiety in three ways: she does not respectfully address the gods: 523-5; she makes sacrilegious offerings: 525-6; she compels them with her spells: 527-8. The lines recall, in both form and content, 425-34, and are reminiscent also of 443-51 which deal with magical compulsion; cf. *ad loc*. In these lines Lucan makes Erictho directly comparable to other Thessalian witches, described in the earlier catalogue, 438-506, since they all derive their powers from impiety. Nevertheless, Lucan implies that Erictho's power is greater because her impiety is greater. The use of religious vocabulary and structural features of prayer reinforces Erictho's impiety by underscoring the negation of normal religious practice in her spells. Erictho's actions also differ from conventional magical practice, with its focus upon the correct performance of religious rites and prayers: e.g. Hor. *Epod*. 5. 49 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 4. 509 ff., with Pease; Ov. *Met*. 7. 179-219, esp. 188 ff.; *PGM*. cf. Tupet, 1976, 11-19; Graf, 1991, 188-213; 1997, 100-1, 213 ff.

523-4: *nec…nec…nec*: the list of negative statements in anaphora recalls 425-9: *non tripodas… non Pythia… nec…*. This associates the impiety of Erictho with that of Sextus, underlining the appropriateness of his consulting this witch. This connection further confirms Erictho's opposition to the gods; cf. Danese, 1992, 213. On the impiety of witches, cf. Clerc, 1995, 190-1; also Hor. *Epod*. 5. 84; Tac. *Ann*. 16. 31. The triple anaphora is also a formulaic feature of prayer, an ironic allusion in this sacrilegious context: cf. Lucr. 1. 1 ff.: *te… te… te…*; Hor. *Carm*. 1. 10. 9, with N-H; also Norden, 1913, 150 ff., 348-55.

superos…numen: unsurprisingly, Erictho makes no devotions to the gods above. Witchcraft normally relies upon invocations of the *di inferi*, a fact made abundantly clear earlier: e.g. 432-3: *tristes sacris feralibus aras, / umbrarum Ditisque fidem*; 513-

14. It is not with prayer and supplication that the witches control the *superi* or *numina* but with compulsive ritual and incantation.

supplice: the regular ablative singular form of the adjective in dactylic verse: cf. Stat. *Theb*. 11. 375. *Supplex* is often used in a religious context to indicate humility towards a god: e.g. Hor. *Carm. Saec*. 34: *supplices audi pueros, Apollo*; Ov. *Met*. 6. 32-3: *cede deae veniamque... / supplice voce roga.*

cantu: in spite of other words from a religious context in these lines, *cantus* is not applicable to prayers, only magical spells; cf. *ad* 492. This keeps the statements about Erictho's impiety within a magical context.

524: *auxiliare*: "help bringing". This is commonly the aim of prayer, though similar invocations for divine aid often appear on *defixiones*, cf. Versnel, 1991, regarding judicial prayers. For the description of a god as helpful, cf. Ov. *Met*. 9. 699: *dea sum auxiliaris.*

vocat: commonly used in religious language for invocations of the gods: cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 1. 36: *mirabar quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares*; *Aen*. 6. 506: *magna manis ter voce vocavi*; Hor. *Carm*. 1. 2. 25.

nec fibras...litantis: *fibras* recalls 427, though here they are mentioned in a sacrificial rather than divinatory context. Nevertheless, the repetition reinforces the connection between Sextus and Erictho. *Litantis*, a solemn religious term, indicates that the entrails would be acceptable to the gods: cf. Cic. *Div*. 2. 36, with Pease: *cum enim tristissuma exta sine capite fuerunt (quibus nihil videtur esse dirius), proxuma hostia litatur saepe pulcherrime*; Virg. *Aen*. 2. 118. It stresses the unacceptibility of Erictho's practices.

525: *novit*: cf. 514: *nosse domos Stygias...*. The repetition stresses to the reader what Erictho is, and is not familiar with. The verb also recalls 430-2: *ille supernis / detestanda deis saevorum arcana magorum / noverat*. As the subsequent lines make clear, the sense of *nec...novit* must be that she does not recognise or accept such licit practices: cf. Caes. *BG*. 6. 15. 2: *hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt*; Val. Max. 5. 2. *ext*. 4. The diaeresis after this word, at the end of the first foot, makes a striking break between the assertions about her impiety and the proof of it.

525-6: *funereas aris imponere flammas / gaudet...et...tura*: this demonstrates the incredible wickedness of Erictho's ritual acts. In the context of the lines which directly precede and follow, describing her relationship with the *di superi*, it seems likely that the *aras* upon which she places these offerings would belong to those gods, rather than the *di inferi*, for whom funereal offerings would be suitable. In short, her magical rites involve sacrilegious acts, and rather than fearing the consequences she takes pleasure in her own impiety; for a similar instance of inappropriate sacrifice, cf. *PGM*. 4. 2642 ff. Fire and incense were certainly a part of the normal process of

religious practice: cf. Eitrem, 1915, chh. 3-4; nevertheless, the pollution resulting from contact with things associated with the dead would make these particular offerings abominable: cf. Parker, 1983, 33-48. The lines suggest that Erictho's compulsive magic involves offending the *di superi* with dreadful offerings to such a great extent that they rapidly comply with her demands; cf. *ad* 706-11.

The use of the accoutrements of funerals is common in magic, especially Erictho's magic: cf. *ad* 533 ff.

funereas...flammas: fire was commonly used in magical rites, especially to create an ἐπίθυμα which preceded the main part of the spell; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 17-24; Theocr. 2. 10; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 65-7; Sen. *Oed.* 557-8; *PGM.* 1. 285 ff.; Eitrem, 1915, 219; Annequin, 1973, 55; Tupet, 1976, 30-4; for the use of funeral fires specifically, cf. Sen. *Med.* 799-800: *tibi de medio rapta sepulchro / fax nocturnos sustulit ignes*; *Oed.* 550-1: *et super rapti rogis / iaciuntur ignes*, in a ghost-raising ritual; *PGM.* 4. 419 ff. also mentions the use of fire, πῦρ, to raise the souls of the dead, though not specifically funeral torches; cf. Eitrem, 1915, 140-1.

526: *gaudet*: Erictho takes an unwholesome delight in her sacrilegious works; cf. 541: *gaudetque gelatos effodisse orbes*. Gaining pleasure from evil is another characteristic of Caesar which Erictho shares: cf. 1. 150: *gaudensque viam fecisse ruina*; 2. 440-1: *Caesar... nullas nisi sanguine fuso / gaudet habere vias*; 3. 82: *gaudet tamen esse timori / tam magno populis*. For *gaudere* with the infinitive, cf. Prop. 1. 3. 23: *gaudebam lapsos formare capillos*.

accenso...sepulchro: "pyre", unusual for *sepulchrum* which is normally the tomb, though cf. Ter. *An.* 128-9: *ad sepulchrum venimus;/ in ignem impositast*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 177-8: *aramque sepulcri / congerere arboribus*; Sil. 15. 387. Lucan's use of *sepulchrum* here may deliberately allude to *Aen.* 6. 117, showing the differences between the proper funeral of Misenus and the improper activities of Erictho.

rapuit: the difficulty of stealing incense from a burning pyre, surrounded by mourners and other funeral attendants, would increase the magical potency of the substance: for similar thefts, cf. fire from pyres: Sen. *Med.* 799-800; *Oed.* 550-1; bones from wild animals: Hor. *Epod.* 5. 23; Luc. 6. 552-3. On this principle, cf. Nock, 1925.

tura: incense is used in funerals, especially costly ceremonies, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 225; Mart. 6. 85. 12; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 1. 160 ff.; Toynbee, 1971, 60. For its use in magic, cf. Tupet, 1976, 33-4, 62; myrrh and frankincense appear frequently in the spells of the *PGM*, e.g. 4. 1496-1595 (love spell over which myrrh is offered); 2460-3, 2872-3, 2892.

527: *omne nefas...concedunt*: ironic since *nefas* is what is contrary to divine law: Serv. *ad Georg.* 1. 269: *fas et iura sinunt id est divina humanaque iura permittunt; nam ad religionem fas, ad homines iura pertinent*.

prima…voce: these words reflect the great desire for speed of response in magical spells: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 53: *nunc, nunc adeste, nunc*; Sen. *Med.* 13: *nunc nunc adeste*; *PGM.* 4. 1581 ff.; 7. 470 ff.; and the regular formula of the *PGM*: ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχὺ, ταχὺ. Mention of this detail stresses the efficacy of Erictho's magic.

528: *carmenque…secundum*: a second, more potent spell is often cast if the initial one fails; cf. *ad* 730 ff.

timent audire: second spells often involve threats and attempt to coerce the gods into compliance through fear of punishment, cf. 730-49, after Erictho's initial spell fails. Nevertheless, the statement made here is undermined by the later failure and subsequent threats of the witch, undercutting the audience expectations of Erictho's powers; for discussion, cf. Masters, 1992, 196-201.

529-32: Lucan introduces Erictho's powers over the dead. It is not stated in the magic excursus that the other Thessalian witches have this ability, an omission which serves to enlarge both the power and the wickedness of Erictho. Raising the souls of the dead or resurrecting bodies is a common claim for witches in literature: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 98; *Aen.* 4. 487; Tib. 1. 2. 45-6; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 28-9; *Epod.* 17. 79; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 17; cf. also Cic. *Vat.* 14; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 28; *PGM* 4. 1930 ff., 2006 ff. These lines provide a general introduction to the rest of the catalogue which describes Erictho's desecration of corpses to obtain her magical ingredients, important parts of necromantic rites.

The lines refer to two opposite feats: the first involves killing the living, the second raising the dead. The first half actually extends beyond simple murder and refers to Erictho's ability to lay to rest the souls of the untimely dead. It was believed that a soul was allotted a certain life-span and that it could not rest peacefully until that time, or some other arbitrary period, had elapsed: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 305 ff.; 426-547; for discussion, cf. *OZ* 1§349 ff.; Jobbé-Duval, 1934, 54-61; Cumont, 1949, ch. 7. These souls, the ἀώροι, were often used in magic: they were not at rest in the underworld and hence easy to summon; and they were considered malevolent spirits and therefore willing participants in magic; cf. *PGM.* 4. 340-5; 1401-3; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 44. 14; 1. 45. 1-3. 1. 46. 4; Jobbé-Duval, 1934, 99 ff.; Nock, 1972, 712-19. Magical murder was often performed for the sake of obtaining a soul in this state, to create a παρέδρος, or supernatural assistant, cf. Ciraolo, 1995, 279-95. It is surprising that Lucan should state that Erictho can lay to rest these souls which she would presumably want to keep active for her own uses. Nevertheless, this is what she promises to the soul of the soldier in return for its help in the divination, cf. 762-70.

This section is highly rhetorical, demonstrating Lucan's love of antithetical juxtapositions, and paradoxical statements, such as *viventis… infodit*, *mors invita*, *pompa / retulit a tumulis*; cf. Martindale, 1976; Moretti, 1984, esp. 38-9.

529: *viventis animas*: *viventis* stresses that these *animas* are here the souls of living persons: cf. Lucil. 635 M: *constare hominem ex anima et corpore dicunt*; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 385. Witches usually summon the *anima* of a dead person, cf. Cic. *Vat.* 14:

inferorum animas elicere; Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 98: *animas imis excire sepulcris*; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 29. Erictho, however, does the opposite, and *viventis* underscores the unusual nature of her action.

adhuc…regentis: amplifies *viventis* by specifying what the soul does for the body. The notion of the ruling *anima* is reminiscent of the Stoic πνεύμα which controls the processes of the body: cf. Sandbach, 1989, 83 ff.

530: *infodit busto*: enjambment is used effectively to heighten the reader's suspense about Erictho's activities. Although, the general sense is "she kills", literally Erictho lays these *animae* to rest in their tombs; cf. *ad* 529-32, on ἀώροι. For *bustum* = "tomb", cf. *ad* 511. *Infodere*, though rare in verse, is commonly used of burying the dead: cf. Nep. *Paus.* 5. 5: *corpus…procul ab eo loco infoderunt, quo erat mortuus*; Virg. *Aen.* 11. 205. The expression is suggestive of live burial, making a possible allusion to Hor. *Epod.* 5. 29 ff. and Canidia's monstrous child-murder to increase the horror-value of Erictho's activity. Nevertheless, the general situation described by Lucan implies murder in general rather than any one specific method.

fatis debentibus annos: makes clear that these spirits are ἀώροι; cf. *ad* 529-32. Lucan has already mentioned that witches are able to act contrary to the decrees of fate: cf. *ad* 453: *non fatis adductus amor*.

531: *mors invita*: an odd situation. Death and the underworld are commonly depicted as being greedy or eager to take the living: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 492: *strepitum…Acherontis avari*; Tib. 1. 3. 4, with Smith: *abstineas avidas, Mors precor atra, manus*; 1. 3. 65; Sen. *HF.* 555; *Oed.* 411: *et tristes Erebi minas avidumque fatum*; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 1. 186; Sil. 14. 621: *avidae mortis*. Lucan inverts this to suggest the unwillingness of death, here personified as a deity, to participate in magic: cf. *ad* 446: *verbaque ad invitum perfert cogentia numen*; 607.

531-2: "backwards funeral rites bring back corpses from their tombs, cadavers flee death". The inverse of laying to rest the spirits of the dead is described here. Customarily, Lucan depicts a bizarre situation and ends with a brief paradoxical *sententia*.

perversa…pompa: as a counterpoint to *viventis…subit*, Lucan pictures a reversed funeral procession by which the dead are returned to life. The idea of a backwards funeral is a very strange image, based upon magical principles and a fertile imagination. Other rites for raising the dead employ the more conventional methods of herbs and incantations: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 548 ff.; Apul. *Met.* 2. 28-9; *PGM.* 1928-2005; 2006-125; 2125-39; 2140-44. The principle of *similia similibus* must surely be thought of here: just as the funeral procession goes back from the tomb, so too should the soul retreat from the underworld and re-enter the body. For examples of this common principle, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 80-3; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 81-2; *PGM.* 4. 115 ff.; 1540 ff.; 7. 981-93; Gager, 1992, *def.* 40, 43; for discussion, cf. Annequin, 1973, 17-19. Lucan's idea is

also based upon the notion that the funeral procession took the soul to its final place of rest, from where the soul would enter the underworld. Erictho's reversal of the *pompa* would prevent this from happening.

perversa: "backwards, reversed", suggested by the expression of motion *rettulit a tumulis*; cf. Prop. 4. 8. 64: *(Cynthia) mea perversa sauciat ora manu*; Sen. *Dial*. 3. 16. 5. Nevertheless the sense "depraved, perverted, unnatural" provides a strong overtone, cf. Cic. *Sull*. 70: *perversam atque impiam religionem*; Stat. *Theb*. 1. 59; the reversal of this ceremony and the disturbance of the dead would be abominable acts.

funera: "corpses": cf. Varr. *RR*. 1. 4. 5: *cum...omnes domus repletae essent aegrotis ac funeribus*; Virg. *Aen*. 9. 491. *Funera* balances *cadavera* in the following line, reinforced by their identical metrical positions, occupying the fifth foot. It is unlikely that it means "funeral", *pace*Duff, Braund, which would repeat the sense of *pompa*.

pompa: the funeral procession, often a very grand affair, which took the deceased to the place of burial or cremation; cf. Cic. *Mil*. 33; Virg. *Aen*. 11. 162-3: *animam ipse dedissem / atque haec pompa domum me, non Pallanta, referret*; for discussion cf. Toynbee, 1971, 46-8; Scullard, 1981, 218-221.

532: This section closes with a paradoxical three-word *sententia*, a striking feature of Lucan's rhetorical style again stressing the power of Erictho to achieve the impossible; for such *sententiae* in Lucan, cf. Bonner, 1966, esp. 267-8. Normally the living would flee death in an effort to remain alive, whereas here the dead flee back to life. A further inversion comes from the notion that the dead are usually reluctant to be restored to life: cf. *ad* 721: *timentem*; also Sen. *Thy*. 1 ff.; moreover, spirits are keen to find their resting places: e.g. Palinurus at Virg. *Aen*. 6. 363-71. The final *sententia* is possibly a creative adaptation of Hor. *Carm*. 1. 28. 19-20: *nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit*, in view of the gnomic perfect *fugere*, and the inversion of the Horatian line: here the corpses flee death; in Horace death personified flees no corpse.

fugere: usually denotes flight, often from potentially fatal, dangerous situations: cf. Cic. *S. Rosc*. 27: *fugientem latronum tela*; Virg. *Aen*. 2. 223-4: *fugit cum saucius aram / taurus*. The idea of speed is also inherent in the verb, making the quick response of the corpses to Erictho's magic a parallel to the swift obedience of the gods mentioned in 527-8. *Fugere* may, given the possible allusion to Hor. *Carm*. 1. 28. 19-20, have the sense "shun, avoid": cf. also Virg. *Aen*. 3. 413: *dextrum fuge litus*, though rapidity, which makes the *sententia* so striking, is not inherent in this sense of *fugere*.

cadavera: rare in Latin, even among medical writers, except Lucan and Seneca who use it 36 and 18 times respectively.

letum: this final word creates the paradox. *Lectum* (PGU) diminishes the line's flair. Housman comments: *lectum funebrem omnes novimus, Lucanum non omnes*.

533-53: Lucan describes at length how Erictho gathers certain components for her spells. These are mainly parts, technically οὐσία, of dead bodies but also included are things associated with the dead person. The use of such οὐσία is quite common in magic, both in literary descriptions and from the *PGM*: cf. Ov. *Her*. 6. 89 f.; Apul. *Met*. 2. 30; 3. 17; *PGM*. 2. 146; 4. 447-9; 1398-9; 1885; 2578; 66. 79 ff.; 122. 16 ff.; *PDM*, 51. 79-94; *OZ* 1§644 ff.; Massoneau, 1934, 100 f.; Tupet, 1976, 82-91. A link between body and soul of the deceased provides the rationale for collecting these objects: if the body is unburied or is disturbed, the soul is deprived of rest, making it subject to the commands of a witch or magician who possesses the corpse or its parts; cf. Tupet, 1976, 85 ff.; Johnston, 1999, index *s.v. ataphoi*. Lucan describes five situations, a cremation in process, the raiding of a sarcophagus and the procuring of parts from the corpses of a suicide, a criminal and a soldier who lies unburied on the battlefield. All of these are conditions where the soul of the dead person is not at rest and thus accessible to the witch. Although this principle underpins the passage, Lucan has placed the emphasis upon the way that Erictho collects these οὐσία, wallowing in the corpses of the dead, surrounding herself with putrefaction and gleefully mutilating corpses to acquire what she needs. The passage expands upon the horrific picture of Erictho effectively by showing her indulging in terrifying, anti-social, disgusting and unsettling acts which reveal her monstrous nature.

Erictho's excesses, revealing a thorough lack of respect for the traditions surrounding the dead, have a parallel in Caesar's behaviour. The scene after Pharsalus where Caesar takes breakfast and watches the putrefaction and consumption of the corpses on the battlefield is the most obvious point of comparison; 7. 786-846. Yet there are many other instances where Caesar's lack of respect for tradition are revealed: e.g. marching on Rome: 1. 195-203, 225-7; the capture of the city and looting of its treasury: 3. 97-112, 154-68; felling of Gallic grove: 3. 399-449. So in this way Erictho and Caesar are drawn closer together and the connections between magic and civil war are reinforced. Furthermore, through this comparison the gross and terrifying characteristics of Erictho can be transferred to Caesar, making his later appearances and actions all the more chilling.

For elements of "black humour" in these lines, particularly 549, 552-3, cf. Johnson, 1987, 18-23. Certainly, some of the images created here are funny by virtue of appearing ridiculous. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the comic is an unintended aspect of this passage which was primarily designed to make Erictho appear as loathsome as possible.

533-7: Erictho is shown gathering parts of the burning body, bier, shroud from a cremation in progress. The ceremony of cremation was the time when the soul was separated from the body and able to go to its place of rest; for this to be achieved the entire body had to be incinerated; cf. Rohde, 1966, 17-22, 165-6; Vernant, 1982, 65-6; as an illustration, cf. Suet. *Calig*. 59: *cadaver eius...rogo semiambustum levi caespite obrutum est, postea per sorores ab exsilio reversas erutum et crematum sepultumque. satis constat, prius quam id fieret, hortorum custodes umbris inquietatos*... Hence, it was presumably the last time when the witch could gain easy control of the soul of this

person. Most of the ingredients which Erictho gathers have parallels in other accounts of magic; cf. notes below. Lucan, however, stresses the method of collection: Erictho grabs them in the midst of the ceremony itself: e.g. *ardentiaque ossa*; *in mediis...rogis*; *parentes / quam tenuere facem*; *vestesque fluentis...in cineres*. This emphasises the audacity of Erictho's actions and indicates her lack of respect for the sacred ceremonies of the funeral.

fumantis...cineres ardentiaque ossa: the ashes and bones which Erictho collects are still burning, showing that she violates the funeral rites themselves. Normally, the remnants from cremation were collected only after the body had been properly incinerated and the fire was out; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 226-8; Toynbee, 1971, 50. Cremated remains were used in magic, though not specifically those taken from a funeral in progress; cf. Tib. 1. 2. 46, with Smith: *tepido devocat ossa rogo*; Ov. *Her.* 6. 90: *certa de tepidis colligit ossa rogis*; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 69: *semiusti cineres tabo obliti*; also Gager, 1992, *def.* 15, found in a funerary urn along with a person's ashes.

iuvenum...parentes: this suggests that the dead are ἀώροι; cf. *ad* 529-32. Lucan alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 6. 308: *impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum*, which also describes the ἀώροι.

534: *rapit*: emphasises that Erictho's acts are theft. There is probably an echo of Cat. 59. 2-3: *Rufa...saepe quam in sepulcretis / vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam.*

ipsamque...facem: the torch had a double use in the Roman funeral. It illuminated the funeral procession, whether it took place by night or day, and it ignited the pyre: cf. Prop. 3. 13. 17: *namque udi mortifero iacta est fax ultima lecto*; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6. 224; Toynbee, 1971, 46; Prieur, 1986, 20. For a *fax* from a funeral in magical rites, cf. Sen. *Med.* 799-800: *tibi de medio rapta sepulcro / fax nocturnos sustulit ignes*; *Oed.* 550-1: *et super rapti rogis / iacuntur faces*. *Ipsam* emphasises that no part of a cremation is beyond Erictho's powers of acquisition.

parentes: cf. above: *iuvenum...parentes*. By alluding to the theme "parents burying children", Lucan adds pathos to the scene; cf. Lattimore, 1962, 187-91. This is undercut by Erictho's predatory habits at the cremation

535-6: *volantia...fragmenta tori*: the heat of the fire carries fragments of the burning bier into the air; cf. Sil. 17. 103-4: *semustaque castra / albenti volitant per nubila summa favilla*; for *volo* in this context, cf. Ov. *Met.* 13. 604: *atra favilla volat*. Lucan has created a vivid picture of a fiercely burning pyre.

536: *fragmenta*: unusual since a *fragmentum* is something broken off, usually by blows of some sort rather than fire: e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 79: *adoriuntur...fragmentis saeptorum et fustibus*; Petr. 79. 3.

vestesque fluentis…in cineres: "the garments billowing into ashes". Another very vivid description. *Fluentis* suggests both the idea of the *vestes* billowing out with the heat of the fire, and their subsequent disintegration into ashes as they catch fire. *Fluo* used with clothing normally describes them as flowing or billowing: cf. Ov. *Ars*. 3. 301-2: *haec movet arte latus, tunicisque fluentibus auras / accipit*; Tib. 1. 6. 40. For *fluo* "to disintegrate", cf. Manil. 2. 807: *dissociata fluat resoluto machina mundo*; Luc. 1. 241.

vestes: suggests the clothes in which the corpse would be dressed to lie in state: cf. Mart. 9. 57. 8; Juv. 3. 171-2; Toynbee, 1971, 44. It seems better, however, to suppose that Lucan has in mind a funeral shroud, an object used in magic; cf. *PGM*. 12. 1; *Suppl. Mag*. 1. 44, a love charm possibly written upon the shroud of the summoned spirit; also Prop. 3. 6. 30: *tincta funesto lanea vitta rogo*, where a garment associated with a funeral is used in a magical spell.

537: *olentis membra favillas*: another unusual image. Ashes themselves do not smell, so *olentis* has a figurative sense, "redolent of", stressing the connection between the cinders and the bodies from which they came: cf. Cic. *ND*. 1. 72: *(Epicurus) nihil… olet ex Academia*. For *olere* with an internal accusative, cf. above, also Hor. *Sat*. 1. 2. 27: *pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum*.

538-43: Erictho's mutilations of a corpse which has been buried rather than burnt. There is more scope here for Lucan to describe something truly awful since a decaying body is more disgusting than burnt ashes. The gusto with which Erictho attacks the body is terrifying and highlights her appalling depravity. The lines about raiding a cremation might have offended Roman sensibilities but this is intended to sicken and horrify the reader. The lines gain effect from the belief that mutilation of a corpse disturbs the rest of the soul: cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 42-54, esp. 51, 54 on the mutilation of already buried bodies; also Johnston, 1999, 158-9, on *maschalismos*. The exhumation and desecration of a corpse was regarded as an insult to the deceased, e.g. Sulla's dishonouring of the body of Marius, Cic. *Leg*. 2. 56. Moreover, Erictho is also violating a tomb, a frightful practice in itself; cf. *ad* 510-13.

Inhumation was an uncommon practice at Rome and in the Western Empire at the dramatic date and the time of writing; only in Greece, the setting for this scene, were inhumation as well as cremation commonly practiced at this period: cf. Nock, 1932, 327; Kurtz and Boardman, 1971, 163, 267-72; Toynbee, 1971, 39-42; Morris, 1992, 42-4, 52.

538: *ast*: indicates a strong contrast between the two situations. It has an archaic flavour to it, appearing in Ennius, *Ann*. 93 Sk., with note: *ast hic quem nunc tu tam torviter increpuisti*. On its use, cf. Austin *ad* Virg. *Aen*. 2. 467: *ast alii subeunt*.

servantur: ironic. The bodies are supposed to be preserved in the sarcophagus, but Erictho cannot be held back from its contents; furthermore, the stones themselves

desiccate and thus disfigure the corpses. For *servo* "to preserve", cf. Liv. 27. 51. 11: *caput Hasdrubalis quod servatum cum cura attulerat.*

saxis: i.e. a sarcophagus; cf. Juv. 10. 172; Plin. *NH*. 2. 211: *circa Asson Troadis lapis nascitur, quo consumuntur omnia corpora; sarcophagus vocatur*. Lucan describes its flesh-eating properties in the subsequent relative clauses. Though the word is not itself mentioned, the reader would be reminded both of the name and its literal meaning: flesh-eater, from the Greek σάρξ + φαγεῖν. As the destructive action of the stones on the corpses is imitated and intensified by Erictho, Lucan could be making a rather abstruse allusion to her cannibalism, especially at 542-3: *siccae pallida rodit / excrementa manus*; cf. also 707-8: *si numquam haec carmina fibris / humanis ieiuna cano.*

539: *ducitur*: *educitur* is more regular for drawing off liquids: cf. Cic. *Div*. 1. 100: *sin... eductus esset (lacus Albanus)*; Vitr. 2. 10. 2. On Lucan's fondness for *simplex pro composito*, cf. Getty, 1955, liv-lv. Nevertheless, the simple form here gives the line a technical flavour: cf. Larg. 133: *largiter... aquam ducit*; Grat. *Cyn*. 471: *gemina... cruor ducendus ab aure*. The emendation to *cogitur* (cf. Frassinetti, 1991, 61), is made without manuscript authority and does not seem to improve the sense.

tracta...tabe medullae: repeats the idea of *intimus umor / ducitur*. For *medulla* as inmost parts, cf. Cat. 58b. 8; Hor. *Epist*. 1. 10. 28: *certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis*. *Tabes* is the fluid which results from the decaying of the body: cf. Liv. 25. 26. 11; Sen. *NQ*. 3. 29. 6: *incipiet... putrescere, dehinc laxata ire in umorem et assidue tabe defluere*. The detail adds a nauseating touch absent from the previous, more neutral expression *intimus umor ducitur*.

durescunt: uncommon in verse, appearing prior to Lucan only at Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 80: *limus ut hic durescit*; *Georg*. 1. 72; Ov. *Met*. 2. 831; 15. 417. Lucan uses it four times, more frequently than any other poet. The prosaic word used here adds to the technical tone of these explanatory lines.

540: *avide*: the manner in which Erictho acts is reminiscent of 526: *gaudet*. Such greedy action is morally reprehensible in Stoic terms: cf. Cic. *TD*. 4. 24, 26; *SVF* 3. 456.

desaevit: suggests a total loss of self-control, adding to the horror of the portrayal. It is a development from *gaudet*, 526: there she took pleasure in her evil work, here she cannot control herself; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 10. 569: *sic toto Aeneas desaevit in aequore victor*; Suet. *Ner*. 29. 1.

artus: for corpses used in magic, cf. Apul. *Met*. 2. 21; 3. 17: *defletorum sepultorum etiam cadaverum expositis multis admodum membris.*

541-2: *inmergitque...effodisse*: the words emphasise the brutality of this action, digging out the eyeballs. *Immergere* is used for burying something very deeply: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4. 200; Sil. 9. 540-1: *Sidoniam... aciem.../ Tartarteis immerge vadis.* For *effodere* of gouging out eyes, cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 53: *oculos... istos, improba, efodiam tibi*; *TLL.* 5. 196. 40-72.

oculis: for human eyeballs in magic: cf. *PGM.* 1. 247-62. Various superstitions were attached to the eyes of a corpse, as the soul was believed to reside there: cf. *Physiogn. Graeci et Latini* 2. 17 (Foerster): *hos (oculos) tamquam fores animae videri volunt. nam et animam dicunt per oculos emicare*; also Deonna, 1957, 84-90; 1958.

gaudetque: cf. *ad* 526.

gelatos: *gelare* often indicates the chill of death: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1. 3. 12: *gelatus est sanguis ac paulatim frigore inducto venarum vigor constitit*; Larg. 198.

542: *rodit*: Lucan creates the peculiar and disturbing image of Erictho gnawing off the corpse's fingernails. Erictho uses her teeth later in this passage for the task of tearing apart bodies of the dead to obtain οὐσία; 543-4; 549; 567-8; also Apul. *Met.* 2. 21: *ubi sagae mulieres ora mortuorum passim demorsicant, eaque sunt illis artis magicae supplementa.* The act of biting away part of the body is suggestive of cannibalism. Anthropophagy was, like human sacrifice, an abomination performed only by those who were outsiders to normal society, or who were its enemies, e.g. Polyphemus, or Thyestes, who became an outcast after consuming his own sons; for further instances of the horror provoked by cannibalism, even in times of great necessity, cf. Petr. 141, Eumolpus' will; Juv. *Sat.* 15; [Quint.] *Decl Mai.*, 12. For discussion of ancient views on cannibalism, cf. Burkert, 1983, 84-7, 103-7; Parker, 1983, 305, 360; Hughes, 1991, 188-9; also W. Arens, 1979 for a study of the use of cannibalism as a definition of the enemy in the mediaeval and modern world. As witches also fall into this category of "the other", the enemy or outsider, anthropophagy could be easily associated with them. Magic and cannibalism are not, however, a common combination. *PGM.* 122. 16-20, referring to a cannibalistic ceremony, is a notable exception: cf. Betz *ad loc.*; also Plin. *NH.* 28. 4-5, where human body parts are used in magical potions to be consumed.

The image is also a reversal of the normal state of affairs where one gnaws at one's own nails: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 10. 70-1: *in versu faciendo /... caput scaberet vivos et roderet unguis*; *Epod.* 5. 48: *Canidia rodens pollicem*; Petr. fr. 3: *pollice usque ad periculum roso.* Lucan may be playfully inverting the picture of Canidia in the Horatian passage; she bit her own nails, whereas Erictho bites someone-else's.

pallida: the colour of death, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 644 with Pease: *pallida morte futura*; André, 1949, 145-6.

543: *excrementa manus*: the fingernails. An *excrementum* is an outgrowth of some sort, e.g. wool: Apul. *Apol.* 56: *lana segnissimi corporis excrementum.* The word is

rare in poetry, again adding to the technical tone mentioned above. For human fingernails in magic, cf. Laev. frg. 27. 3 Court; Plin. *NH*. 28. 5, 86; *PDM*. 14. 640-5; fingernails, like other body parts, could give control over a person's soul, though the fact that they, like hair, grow makes them especially potent; cf. *OZ* 1§672; Plin. *NH*. 28. 28 on superstitions pertaining to nail-cutting; also Abt, 1908, 105-8.

543-53: Lucan next describes Erictho harvesting ingredients from the bodies of the *biaiothanatoi*, those who died violently: cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 65-73; Tupet, 1976, 85 ff. The types Lucan mentions are a suicide, a crucified criminal and an abandoned corpse, probably a soldier. Furthermore, the bodies of these persons were unburied, having further important implications. The souls of the dead were only properly laid to rest when buried, while those of the unburied wandered the earth, their spirits unappeased and thus malevolent. The fact that the corpse was exposed left it open to mutilation from the weather and scavenging animals which in turn made it difficult to lay the soul to rest since all its parts had to be buried or cremated: e.g. Cic. *TD*. 1. 105-7; *Rosc*. 72; Plin. *Epist*. 7. 27. 5-11; cf. Waszink, *RAC. s.v. Biothanati*; Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 42-54; Annequin 1973, 59-60; Vernant, 1982, 64-7; Prieur, 1986, 15-18; Johnston, 1999, 127-60.

543-4: *laqueum…carpsit*: Erictho mangles and tears down from a noose the corpse of a suicide. That the *pendentia corpora* refer to a hanging rather than the crucifixion of 545-9 is suggested by the intimate connection of a noose with hanging. The binding of a person to a cross was exceptional; cf. Hewitt, 1932, 32-3; Hengel, 1977, 32. Though little more than the weak *-que* in 545 indicates a change in subject matter, for the reasons stated above this should be considered as a distinct category rather than an introduction to the description of the crucified corpse. Furthermore, Lucan's catalogues tend towards inclusivity, increasing the likelihood that he is referring to both suicide and execution in lines 543-9. The souls of suicides were considered to be among the βιαιοθάνατοι, so they are easy for witches or magicians to summon in their spells; cf. *OZ* 1§252; Jobbé-Duval 1924, 76-8; also Virg. *Aen*. 6. 434-9: those who take their own life are not able to find peace in the afterlife; for the use of the nooses and body parts of a hanged person in magic, cf. Plin. *NH*. 28. 7; 28. 49. That the soul of a suicide, especially one who killed him-/herself for selfish or cowardly reasons, cannot be at rest is reflected in attitudes towards their corpses: cf. Garrison, 1991; Griffin, 1986.

laqueum: the noose, used for hanging in both suicide and execution: for the former, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 604; Sen. *Epist*. 70. 12; for the latter: Sall. *Cat*. 55. 5; Tac. *Ann*. 14. 48. The instruments of hanging, the noose and the tree, had terrible associations, making them suitable for use in malign magic; cf. Plin. *NH*. 28. 49; *PGM*, 5. 73 ff., where wood from a gallows is used in a spell. They were considered to be polluted, as though they were a murderer: cf. Garrison, 1991, 5-12.

nodosque nocentis: i.e. the knots of the noose. *Nocentis*, acc. pl. with *nodos*, has the sense "guilty (of a crime)", underscoring the notion, mentioned above, that the noose

was considered to be a murderer and would thus be polluted: on *nocens*, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 13; Cels. 1. pr. 23: *nocentes homines... ex carcere acceptos*. It should not be taken as genitive singular "criminal", *pace* Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 84, Braund *ad loc.*, which suggests that these lines refer to the crucifixion rather than a hanging, as mentioned above.

544: *ore suo*: again, Erictho's mouth is the instrument for obtaining ingredients; cf. *ad* 542: *rodit*.

carpsit: "to tear pieces off", cf. Ov. *Ars*.3. 755: *carpe cibos digitis*; Luc. 2. 120-1: *innumeras inter carpentis membra coronae / discessisse manus*. Nevertheless, *carpere* commonly means "to gather or pick plants"; cf. Cat. 62. 43; Virg. *Ecl.* 9. 50: *carpent tua poma nepotes*. This verb, reminiscent of gathering magical herbs, thus emphasises Erictho's more evil status: while other witches harvest plants, she harvests parts of human bodies.

545-49: Lucan describes the fate of a crucified body in some detail. Criminals were crucified publicly, and their bodies were left exposed on the cross until they had rotted away; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 6. 20. 3; *Epist.* 101. 10-14; Apul. *Met.* 1. 15; 6. 32. 1; for discussion, cf. Hengel, 1977, 46-50; Coleman, 1990, 45-9. The Romans strove to prevent the bodies of criminals being rescued by their families; e.g. Petr. 111.5 (the widow of Ephesus). On crucifixion in general, cf. Hengel, 1977. The souls of criminals, as they were both violently killed and denied burial, were especially malevolent and hence disposed to obeying witches: e.g. Apul. *Met.* 9. 29-30; cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 65-72; for the use of body parts of criminals in magic, cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 7; 28. 46; *PGM.* 4. 1911 ff.; 2163-9; cf. Fahz, 1904, 44.

545: *abrasit*: probably not "scrape clean", *pace* Braund, but "scrape or wear away", cf. Sen. *NQ.* 4a. 2. 10: *Nilus... nihil exedit nec abradit*; 6. 22. 3; indicating that Erictho is gathering pieces of the cross for her spells; see below, on *cruces*. Gathering pieces of the cross for magical spells parallels the use of noose and knots in the preceding section about hanging and the nail which follows.

cruces: like the noose and gallows in hanging, the cross, as well as the nails, used in crucifixion are considered to be the murderers; cf. *ad* 543: *laqueum*. The extreme pollution of these objects would give them a power to be harnessed in magical spells.

percussa...medullas: Lucan emphasises the disgusting states of the bodies of the crucified which were left exposed to the elements: cf. Sen. *Epist.* 101. 14; Apul. *Met.* 6. 32: *et patibuli cruciatum, cum canes et vultures intima protrahent viscera*. On the consequences of such degradation for the soul, cf. *ad* 543-53.

546: *incoctas...medullas*: an especially revolting image. The participle is used here figuratively: cf. Manil. 1. 732: *incocta... sidera flammis*; Plin. *NH.* 12. 73: *hunc (sucum)... incoqui sole*. Yet the idea of boiling down or stewing something, inherent in

this verb, indicates the extent of the decomposition caused by the sun's heat: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 265: *illic... sucos incoquit atros.*

admisso sole: cf. Ov. *Ars.* 3. 807: *nec lucem in thalamos totis admitte fenestris.*

547: *insertum manibus chalybem*: the nail from a crucifixion has magical power because of an association with a *biaiothanatos*, as an instrument of death; cf. *ad* 543. For the use of such nails in magic, cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 46; Apul. *Met.* 3. 17: *carnosi clavi pendentium*; cf. Fahz, 1904, 44. Nails of any sort were, however, common in magic. deriving their power from their function as a binding device, and hence were often used to "fix" *defixiones*, cf. Audollent, 140, 151, 243, 270; Gager, 1992, 18, fig. 4, p. 13; also Massoneau, 1934, 113-4; Annequin, 1973, 21; Tupet, 1976, 37-9.

chalybem: i.e. "nail". Lucan alone uses *chalybs* in this way. Nails were common in Roman crucifixion, despite the misleading Christian iconography which shows people other than Christ bound to the cross: cf. Hewitt, 1932, 29-45; Hengel, 1977, 31 n. 25. On the history of the word, cf. *ad* 797: *chalybis.*

stillantis: used for dripping blood: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 189-90: *stillatque nigre naris aduncae / cruor*; Luc. 7. 837.

tabi saniem virusque: three revolting substances indicative of bodily decomposition. The accumulation of these three nouns intensifies the image. *Tabum* was a thick fluid consisting of rotted matter, often emitted from the wounds of a dead person: cf. Enn. *Scaen.* 363 J.: *saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 626: *membra fluentia tabo.* For *sanies*, cf. below, *nigramque... saniem.* The pleonastic expression *tabi saniem* is extremely emphatic. The two words denote very similar substances, corrupted matter discharged from a wound. Since both terms can indicate dead blood, they are appropriate to this context of collecting *materiae magicae* from a corpse.

Tabum is a substance associated with evil and deadly creatures, commonly as a visible attribute; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 626-7: *vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo / (Polyphemus) mandaret*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 760: *Invidiae nigro squalentia tabo tecta*; Sen. *HF.* 785-6: *sordidum tabo caput / lambunt colubrae* (*sc.* of Cerberus).

Both *tabum* and *sanies* are used in magical concoctions, for *sanies*, cf. *ad* 457; for *tabum*, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 65: *palla, tabo munus imbutum*; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 69: *semiusti cineres ac tabo obliti.* Comparable also are *PGM.* 4. 2577-8: the menstrual blood of a dead virgin; *PDM.* 14. 739-40: the blood of a dead man.

nigramque...saniem: *sanies* was a disgusting substance, infected blood: cf. *ad* 457: *sanie.* It was rarely described as being black: cf. only. Cels. *De Med.* 5. 26. 20d: *sanies igitur mala est multa, nimis tenuis livida aut pallida aut nigra aut glutinosa aut mali odoris*; Sen. *Oed.* 140-1: *atra... sanies.* This blackness was a sign of putrefaction, thus *nigra sanies* further stresses the corrupted nature of this substance.

virus: rarely used to describe blood; cf. otherwise only Luc. 1. 615. Normally it means poison, especially that of snakes: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 129: *ille (Iuppiter) malum virus serpentibus addidit atris*; Ov. *Met.* 9. 158; Tac. *Ann.* 13. 15. Presumably the fact that spilt blood is a pollutant makes it equivalent to poison, and hence Lucan calls it *virus*; cf. Parker, 1983, 107 ff.; Mencacci, 1986, 31-2. *Virus* is found as an ingredient in other magical spells, though it denotes venom rather than blood: cf. Ov. *Met.* 14. 403: *illa (Circe) nocens spargit virus sucosque veneni.*

coactum: "thickened, congealed", used of liquids: cf. *Mor.* 46: *liquido...coacto*; Plin. *NH.* 25. 39; Sen. *NQ.* 2. 53. 1. The term balances *stillantis* at the start of the line, indicating that Erictho can utilise blood in any state.

549: *sustulit*: "to steal", cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 136; Cat. 12. 3: *tollis lintea neglegentiorum.* For the theft of crucified corpses, cf. Petr. 111: *cum miles, qui cruces asservabat, ne quis ad sepulturam corpus detraheret....*

et...pependit: another striking and bizarre image: Erictho hangs by her teeth from a crucified body attempting to strip off a piece of its flesh. This recalls 542-3, once again evoking the idea of the witch as cannibal. This picture is another possible piece of black humour in the passage: certainly the sight of an old hag dangling from a crucified body would be, at the same time, terrifying and ludicrous. The image, however, introduces the depiction of Erictho as some scavenging animal which feeds upon corpses, further explored below; cf. *ad* 550-3. Such scavengers had a bad reputation, because they were unclean and would consume human bodies, and this would reflect also upon Erictho.

nervo morsus retinente: extraordinary expression. Although the idea is that Erictho dangles from the corpse by her teeth, the language itself suggests the reverse image: the muscle itself holds fast the witch's teeth, which were sunk into the unyielding flesh. On this sense of *retineo*, cf. Vitr. 10. 15. 4: *axiculi duo, e quibus funes alligati retinebant arietem*; Sen. *Oed.* 421: *lutea vestem retinente zona.*

pependit: recalls *pendentia corpora*, 544. The repetition suggests that the cadaverous Erictho is indistinguishable from the bodies which she defiles, enhancing the horrific image.

550-3: Erictho's defilement of an exposed body. It can be assumed that this is the corpse of a soldier on various grounds: soldiers were most often those whose died out in the open and whose bodies could be abandoned; fallen soldiers are among the class of *biaiothanatoi* and their spirits were invoked by witches: cf. 624 ff.; Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 82-4; and the mention of *feras volucres*, 551, a lofty sounding expression, recalls epic descriptions of fallen soldiers exposed to the forces of nature: e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1. 4-5: ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν| οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι; 8. 379-80; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 559: *alitibus linquere feris.* The idea of exposure of the corpse, particularly that of the hero, was especially horrifying: it left the body open to destruction by animals and the elements

and thus deprived the spirit of the rest and honours which it deserved: e.g. Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*; Polyneices in Sophocles' *Antigone*; cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 45-8; Segal, 1971, *pass.*, esp. 38-47; Vernant, 1982, 67-71. That Erictho will mutilate an exposed corpse in the manner of wild beasts again indicates her horrific nature and adds another element to the terrifying portrait which Lucan creates.

quodcumque...sedet: "and if any corpse lies upon the naked ground, she settles before the birds and wild beasts". The connection of thought between the relative and main clauses is relatively clear, even if the grammatical links are not. *Quodcumque* = *siquid*, cf. Housman *ad loc.* His parallels demonstrate that the equivalence of the two compound relative pronouns *quicumque* and *siquis* occurs elsewhere in Latin, though, in his examples, the grammatical connection between the two clauses is not so difficult, e.g. Luc. 1. 383-4: *tu quoscumque voles in planum effundere muros,/ his aries actus disperget saxa lacertis*; Hor. *Sat.* 2. 5. 51-2: *qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,/ abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento.* *Quodcumque* would have a derogatory sense "however small, inadequate", cf. Cic. *Orat.* 12: *fateor me oratorem, si modo sim aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex rhetorum officinis... exstitisse.*

The emendation *quacumque* = "wherever", (Grotius *et al.*) makes the connection of thought easier without loss of sense, though one risks Housman's censure as reading "*imperite*".

nuda tellure: i.e. the ground unprotected by any covering: cf. Ov. *Ars.* 2. 238: *frigidus... nuda saepe iacebis humo.* The epithet also describes unburied bodies: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 871: *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*; Luc. 9. 64; given the context, this force can be felt here.

cadaver: cf. *ad* 532: *cadavera.* There may be etymological wordplay here. A false derivation of *cadaver* from *careo* exists: cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 8. 264: *cadaver est corpus nondum sepultum, dictum cadaver quod careat honore sepulturae*; cf. Maltby, *s.v.*; this stresses the unburied status of the corpse.

551: *ante*: temporal, not spatial: cf. Cic. *Q. Fr.* 2. 12. 3: *cui darem fuit nemo ante hunc M. Orfium.*

feras volucresque: birds and wild beasts were often mentioned as creatures which scavenged around battlefields for human corpses, especially in epic descriptions: e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1. 4-5; 8. 379-80; Pacuv. *Trag.* 197-201 Rib.; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 485-6, with Hardie; 10. 559; Luc. 7. 825-32. The appearance of this motif lends a lofty feel to the line and creates bathos by evoking reminiscences of epic heroes who suffered this indignity.

sedet: also used of birds perching, making a connection between Erictho and the *volucres*: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 514: *(philomela) ramoque sedens miserabile carmen integrat*; Ov. *Am.* 3. 5. 21-2: *huc... cornix.../ venit et in viridi garrula sedit humo.* Traditionally, anyone who found an exposed body would pay token respects to it by covering it with three handfuls of sand: cf. Soph. *Ant.* 431; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 28. 35-6, with

N-H; Luc. 8. 712 ff. Erictho, however, sits alongside it to desecrate rather than honour the body, an act which stresses her gross *impietas*.

volt: a rare form in verse; Lucan is the only epic poet, other than Ennius (*Ann.* 80 Sk.), to use it; *vult* is more common in poetry and is the norm in post-Republican Latin; cf. L-H-S 1. 61.

ferro: iron was frequently taboo in religion but generally permitted in magic. Many articles used by witches are made from iron, such as nails, sickles and swords; cf. Tupet, 1976, 35-44; cf, however, Tavenner, 1916a, 73, n. 42, for instances where iron was not used; bronze was a common alternative.

552-3: Erictho's method of gathering these body parts is strange but not unparalleled: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 23: *et ossa ab ore rapta ieiuniae canis*; Apul. *Met.* 3. 17; perhaps Tib. 1. 5. 54: *et a saevis ossa relicta lupis*. Again the image created is bizarre and near-ridiculous. Still, the portrayal of Erictho as a scavenging animal reaches its zenith here since she is acting exactly as they do, fighting over parts of a dead body; on connections between witches and dangerous animals, especially scavengers, cf. Clerc, 1995, 199-200; on Erictho in particular, cf. Danese, 1995, 431-4. The obvious difficulty entailed in stealing food from starving wolves would enhance the magical efficacy of the objects so procured; on this, cf. *ad* 438-9.

luporum: wolves were perceived both as scavengers and as dangerous, deadly beasts, though not proverbial eaters of human flesh as dogs were: e.g. Aesch. *Septem.* 1035-6; *Suppl.* 349-53; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 99; Ov. *Ib.* 170; cf. Mainoldi, 1984, 28-30, 127, 130, 138-9. It is implied that the savagery of Erictho matches that of the wolves; on this connection, seen especially in warriors, cf. Lincoln, 1975.

553: *siccis...e faucibus*: *siccus* used of the mouth and throat indicates dryness, often due to hunger: cf. Sil. 2. 683-4: *stimulante fame, cum victor ovilia tandem / faucibus invasit siccis leo*; Juv. 13. 212; cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 9. 63-4: *collecta fatigat edendi / ex longo rabies et siccae sanguine fauces*. Yet, despite their ravenous state, Erictho outmanoeuvres the wolves.

raptura: the future participle here expresses purpose; e.g. Liv. 10. 26. 7: *Galli ad Clusium venerunt legionem Romanum oppugnaturi*; cf. L-H-S 2. 390. The word alludes to Hor. *Epod.* 5. 23: *ossa... rapta*, strengthening the connection between the two passages; cf. *ad* 552-3.

554-63: The next section introduces the theme of witches committing murder to obtain οὐσία; cf. esp. Hor. *Epod.* 5, where Canidia and her companions starve a young boy to death in order to obtain his liver; also Apul. *Met.* 1. 13; Amm. Marc. 29. 2; SHA. *Heliog.* 8; *CIL* 6. 19747: *eripuit me saga manus crudelis...*; cf. *OZ* 1§665-6; Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 80-1. Erictho kills to guarantee the freshness of her ingredients: blood,

entrails and human embryos. The fact that Erictho is a killer adds a further dimension to the horrifying presentation of her character.

A further association between murder and magic was that witches could kill *via* their spells: e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 69, the death of Germanicus; *Lex Corn. De Sic. et Ven.* (Bruns, *Fontes*, 92): *eadem lege et venefici capite damnatur qui artibus odiosis, tam venenis vel susurris magicis homines occiderunt*; cf. Annequin, 1973, 61-3; Le Glay, 1987, 245-8; Graf, 1997, 46-9.

554: *nec cessant a caede manus*: "nor do her hands hold back from murder". On this sense of *cessare*, cf. Liv. 1. 46. 6: *spernere sororem, quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia*; Sil. 2. 653: *vix Punica fletu cessassent castra.* The negative expression stresses that Erictho has no hesitation in performing even more monstrous acts.

sanguine vivo:a colourful expression for *sanguine viventium. Vivus* also suggests "freshly flowing", though this sense is usually associated with water: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 469: *speluncae vivique lacus*; Liv. 1. 45. 8: *quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine. Vivus* reinforces the idea already inherent in *sanguis*, that it is fresh, living blood, as distinct from *cruor*, the blood which flows from a fatal wound: cf. Mencacci, 1986, 25-91. For the use of fresh human blood in magic, cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 4; 28. 43-4; Apul. *Met.* 1. 13; *PGM.* 4. 79-80; 2209; 122. 16 ff.; *OZ* 1§652-3; Tupet, 1976, 82-3. Fresh blood, though not necessarily human, is also important for raising the souls of the dead who drink it: e.g. Hom. *Od.* 10. 526-38; 11. 35-50; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 28; Sen. *Oed.* 563; Lucian *Nekyom.* 9; Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 14; cf. Eitrem, 1915, 417 ff.

555: *est opus*: a rare expression in poetry, except satire and comedy. It lowers the tone of this section.

erumpat...aperto: cutting the throat, an effective method for extracting blood; cf. Apul. *Met.* 1. 13: *per iugulum sinistrum capulo tenus gladium totum ei demergit, et sanguinis eruptionem utriculo admoto excipit.* Yet the action is more appropriate for a religious sacrifice than a magical rite, wherein the sacrificial victim was usually strangled or drowned: e.g. *PGM.* 3. 1-4; 4. 2456 ff.; 7. 628 ff.; 12. 30 ff., Graf 1997, 230-2; for throat slitting in a religious sacrifice, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 248-9: *supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem / succipiunt pateris.* Lucan here alludes to human sacrifice, closely connected in ancient thought with witchcraft. The dreadful associations of human sacrifice further stigmatise Erictho; cf. *ad* 557.

erumpat: effectively conveys the idea of blood spurting out under pressure, cf. Larg. 46: *erumpit se e naribus sanguis*; Stat. *Theb.* 7. 683: *eruptusque sinus vicit cruor.* The subjunctive is generic, indicating the sort of blood which Erictho needs.

556: [*nec refugit caedes, vivum si sacra cruorem*]: a doublet of 554, this spurious line is bracketed by Housman and subsequent editors, and should be excised. *N.B.* From

this point until 600, the line numbering of the Loeb text is wrong: the line is excised but the numeration does not take account of this.

557: This line clearly indicates human sacrifice. There was a common connection made in antiquity between the practices of magic and human sacrifice, and witches and mages were commonly charged with divination from human entrails: e.g. Cic. *Vatin.* 14; Plin. *NH.* 28. 5; Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* 8. 5; SHA. *Heliog.* 8; Ammian. 29. 2; Liban. 1. 245; cf. Massoneau, 1934, 99; Cumont, 1949, 147-8; Annequin, 1973, 58; Tupet, 1976, 87-9; Clerc, 1995, 175. In antiquity, human sacrifice was considered an abominable practice, e.g. Polyxena: Eur. *Hec.* 59-656; Iphigenia, Aesch. *Agam.* 199-249; also Cic. *Font.* 31; Liv. 7. 15. 10: cf. Farron, 1985, 21 ff. for further examples. Allegations of human sacrifice were used to stigmatise enemies of civilised society, making it appropriate for witches: cf. Schwenn, 1915; Henrichs, 1981; Hughes, 1991, 185 ff.; Rives, 1995, 77-80, 83-5. Lucan uses this common perception of the witch to make Erictho even more dreadful.

exta...trepidantia: another indication of freshness. The expression is, again, common in a sacrificial context: e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15. 576; also Virg. *Aen.* 4. 64, with Pease: *spirantia... exta.*

mensae: here=*arae*; cf. Cic. *Har.* 57: *deorum ignis, solia, mensas... inexpiabili scelere pervertit*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 764: *mensaeque deorum.*

558-9: Erictho obtains human foetuses for her human sacrifices by tearing them from their mothers' bellies. Children were common victims of human sacrifice in magic, for which cf. *ad* 557: many of the examples listed involve children; also Hor. *Epod.* 5; Petr. 63; *PGM.* 4. 2579 for other instances of child-murder; for discussion of ancient attitudes to infant death, cf. Golden, 1988, 152-63. This also connects Erictho with the various child-killing demons of antiquity, such as Lamia or Mormo which were thought to be responsible for both miscarriage and maternal death in child-birth; cf. Johnston, 1995a, 361-87, esp. 368 ff.; 1999, 161-99. Erictho resembles these demons in other ways too: they are ugly, have vile habits, are night creatures and are banished from society; on the connection between Erictho and *lamiae*, cf. also Gordon, 1987a, 240-1. The lines also recall the connection between witches, specifically *sagae*, and abortions: e.g. *Dig.* 48. 19. 38. 5: *qui abortionis aut amatorium poculum dant*, with Nardi's note, 433; cf. Nardi, 1971, index *s.v. magia, strega, stregonerie.* Abortion was held in low esteem at Rome and those who performed them were considered wicked: cf. Ov. *Am.* 2. 13, 14; Juv. 6. 592-7; cf. Thomas, 1986, 223-6.

558: *sic*: "similarly; *eadem ad caedem proclivitate* (Housman)": cf. Varr. *RR.* 1. 23. 5: *idoneus locus eligendus, ubi facias salicum et harundinetum, sic alia quae umidum locum quaerunt.* It recalls 554: *nec cessant a caede.*

ventris: a technical, legal term for the womb, the belly of a pregnant woman; cf. Thomas, 1986, 211-36. The use of this term strengthens the implication that Erictho violates the canons of normality.

non qua natura vocabat: Erictho acts against nature, almost a defining feature of magic; cf. 436-7, also the definition of a wizard at [Quint]. *Decl. Mai.* 10. 15: *homo, cuius ars est ire contra naturam.*

There is possible word-play with *natura*, a euphemistic term for the *pudenda*, male and female: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 36, with Pease: *(mula) quia fetus exstitit in sterilitate naturae*; 2. 145: *matrona... visa est in quiete obsignatam habere naturam.* It, thus, also emphasises that these births are not delivered through the generative organs.

559: *extrahitur*: an effective word, never used for natural births, but found in a similar context at Hor. *Ars.* 342: *neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.* It has pronounced overtones of violence: cf. Liv. 8. 29. 11: *urendo tecta hostium... in aciem invitos extraxit*; 26. 13. 1.

partus: i.e. the foetus: cf. Calv. 14 Court.: *partus gravido portabat in alvo*; Cels. 7. 29. 1: *si iam prope maturus partus intus emortus est.*

ponendus: employed in a religious context, to denote the placing of offerings: cf. Tib. 1. 1. 13-14: *quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus,/ libatum agricolae ponitur... deo*; Prop. 1. 17. 20. It is also used to indicate burying the dead: cf. Lucr. 3. 871: *ut... putescat corpore posto*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 507-8: *te... nequivi /... patria decedens ponere terra.* The word is thus doubly appropriate as it describes the laying out of a dead child and its placement upon an altar.

560: *saevis...ac fortibus umbris*: the spirits of murdered people were among the *biaiothanatoi* and thus susceptible to magical charms; cf. *ad* 554-63. *Saevis* indicates explicitly that these spirits were hostile to the living; cf. Liv. 3. 48; Apul. *Met.* 9. 29; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 39. 1-2; 44. 14; 45. 1-3; 46. 4.

opus est: repeated from 555, emphasising Erictho's need to kill and thus reinforcing her increasingly terrifying portrait.

561: *facit manes*: i.e. "she kills". This periphrasis is found nowhere else, though it is reminiscent of the compounds of *facere* with this sense, *interficere*, *perficere*. The expression, taken literally, is a grotesque understatement: for Erictho the act of murder is simply a way to create the requisite tools for her magic.

manes: the spirits of the dead whether good or bad, though malicious *manes* usually had some qualifying epithet; cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 21-5; Roscher, *s.v. Manes*; Boyancé, 1935. There is some irony in Lucan's use of this term to describe *saevae umbrae*, since the word is etymologically linked with *manus*, "good", and is a euphemistic term used to denote the dead: cf. Maltby, *s.v. manes.*

hominum mors omnis in usu est: such a capping *sententia* is common in Lucan, summarising briefly the substance of the preceding lines; cf. Bonner, 1966, 261-9. *Omnis* = "every sort of", cf. Cic. *Att.* 15. 3. 2: *Brutum omni re qua possum cupio iuvare*. It expands upon *si... est opus*, 554-5, and *quotiens... opus est*, 560 by turning these vaguer and more generalising contingencies into an all-inclusive and specific statement. The *sententia* encapsulates effectively the many different types of death which have appeared in the preceding 33 lines: natural deaths, suicide, execution, and murder.

in usu est: here equivalent to *utilis*, though the expression rarely has this sense elsewhere; cf., however, Plin. *NH.* 18. 229: *silvestre (papaver) in miro usu est... ad faucium remedia*; Quint. *Inst.* 7. 4. 18: *in futurum innocenter victuri et in aliquo usu futuri*. The elision, rare at any rate in Lucan, in the final foot is uncommon and adds weight to the closing of the *sententia*.

562-3: Erictho takes hair from the corpses of young men. For human hair in magic, cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 41-2; Apul. *Met.* 3. 16; *PDM.* 14. 1182-7; Gager, 1992, *Def.* 16-18, which were found wrapped in human hair; Fahz, 1904, 46; Abt, 1908, 107-8; *OZ* 1§671, 673. Hair, like fingernails, was a bodily excrescence thought to contain the essence of that person and was thus a powerful object for a witch. The two lines are quite poetic: they balance each other as they are both syntactically self-contained, both begin with *illa*, are metrically identical, except for the third foot, and contain similar subject matter. The metaphorical *genae florem*, the idea of the lock of the dying youth and the poetic vocabulary are further examples of artistry in the lines.

genae florem: this poetic metaphor indicates the downy growth of the first beard: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 160: *tum mihi prima genas vestibat flore iuventas*; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 585. *Flos* often has the sense "youth", particularly in combination with the epithet *primaevus*; e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 162: *pueri et primaevo flore iuventus*; Sen. *Phaed.* 620: *tu qui iuventae flore primaevo viges*. The juxtaposition *florem primaevo* here, though not in agreement, recalls this usage of *flos* and emphasises the youth of Erictho's victim, increasing the pathos of the scene.

primaevo: a high-style adjective, primarily found in contexts where death is described to arouse a sense of pathos: cf. Cat. 64. 401: *optavit genitor primaevi funera nati*; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 345-9: *primaevo corpore Clausus /... at ille / fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem*; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 6. 2; Sil. 1. 376 ff.

volsit: used for mutilating a corpse; cf. *ad* 546.

563: *comam...abscidit*: the removal of the lock of hair imitates Iris' action at Virg. *Aen.* 4. 693 ff., where the goddess cuts off Dido's hair to guarantee that her spirit can find rest: in effect it allows Dido to die; for cutting the lock of hair as an indication of death, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 75-6; *Ciris*, 381 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 8. 92-4. Lucan's allusion to Virgil

is effective, creating a cruel parody of the tender scene of divine concern for a mortal, by replacing Iris with the dreadful Erictho. Thus Lucan underscores again the terrible perversity of his witch. The allusion also reinforces the theme that, though the gods might now be powerless, the forces of evil are still active.

laeva: the left hand was appropriate for magic: e.g. Sen. *Med.* 680; *Oed.* 566 ff.; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 502; cf. Fahz, 1904, 45. There were many superstitions involving the left hand, and the left side in general, as a source of evil; cf. Pease *ad* Cic. *Div.* 1. 12: *a laeva*; 2. 82. The use of the left hand in this rite continues the parody of Virgil, who had Iris cut the lock with her *dextra*; *Aen.* 4. 704; cf. Smale, 1911, 200.

ephebo: adds a touch of local colour. Technically the ἔφηβος was a youth of between 18 and 20 years at Athens; cf. Vidal-Naquet, 1968. In Latin the equivalent term was either *iuvenis* or *adulescens*; cf. *TLL.* 5. 65. 1 ff. *Ephebus* tends, however, to denote a Greek youth as opposed to a Roman: cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 40; Cat. 63. 63; Petr. 85. 3; 140. 4. This detail puts Erictho into her proper Hellenic context, preparing the reader for the return to the narrative which takes place in Thessaly. Latin *ephebus* is a direct transliteration from Greek, with a minimal change in accentuation; on such borrowings, cf. Biville, 1986.

564-9: These lines close the description with a horrific and perverse funeral scene, underscoring the fact that Erictho lacks all respect for the dead. Here, while pretending to mourn a corpse she mutilates it and uses it to communicate with the underworld. The scene is made more unsettling because of the deception which Erictho performs: the activities would take place in public and the witch gives the impression of paying the proper respects due to the body. The witch is no longer presented as a figure who performs her wickedness on the margins of society but within the normal human community and during one of its most significant rites. The body of the deceased was washed and dressed to lie in state for a period of up to seven days, during which it was mourned by relatives, cf. Toynbee, 1971, 44-5; Prieur, 1986, 70. It is in this context that Erictho attacks her relative.

564: ***saepe***: reaffirms the ideas that run through this section, that Erictho's time is entirely devoted to magic, and that any and every sort of death is useful for her spells.

caris...membris: a shocking detail, Erictho preys upon her own relatives. *Carus* commonly describes blood relations, often in a funerary context: e.g. *CIL* 1. 2118. 5: *coiugi carisumae*; Cic. *Cat.* 4. 3: *fratris carissimi atque amantissimi*; Lucr. 3. 85: *caros...parentis*; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 646: *omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis.* It is dative dependent on *incubuit*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 6. 432: *tectoque profanus incubuit bubo.*

cognato in funere: a kinsman's funeral. For this use of *cognatus*; cf. Cat. 68. 98: *nec prope cognatos compositum cineres*; Prop. 3. 7. 10; Luc. 4. 554: *cognato tantos impleverunt sanguine sulcos.* It seems most likely that the *cognatus* belongs to Erictho herself. Little is gained from taking it as referring to the *ephebus* of the previous line,

whereas the truly vile nature of the witch is enhanced further if she is thought to be desecrating the body of her own relation. The combination *caris cognato* also recalls the title of the *Caristia* or *Cara cognatio*, a festival which celebrates families, and to which only family members are admitted, thus reinforcing the point that this is Erictho's own relation: on this festival, cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2. 617-38; Val. Max. 2. 1. 8; Scullard, 1981, 75-6; on the connection, cf. Danese, 1992, 216 n. 73. The fact that she has a *cognatus* also reinforces another point about Erictho: in spite of all her dreadful actions and the hideous resonances in her depiction, she is nevertheless a human being, with a family and relatives. Erictho's humanness makes her so much more terrifying since such behaviour as hers, while normal for various monsters, is unexpected for human beings. It establishes another parallel between the witch and Caesar: both are abominable and evil humans. Furthermore, it continues the theme of the poem that gods are now powerless and the human characters are the ones who will cause the evils which are besetting the world.

dira: cf. *ad* 444: *dirae... gentis*.

565: *incubuit*: used elsewhere to describe falling on the corpse of a relative, though in genuine grief: cf. Ov. *Met*. 6. 277-8: *(Niobe) corporibus gelidis incumbit et ordine nullo / oscula dispensat*; Luc. 9. 56-7.

oscula figens: another gesture of farewell to the dead; e.g. Cic. *Verr*. 5. 118; Virg. *Aen*. 4. 684 ff.; Sen. *Dial*. 6. 3. 2; the kiss, performed just after death, was thought to catch the escaping soul, something which Erictho may wish to do: cf. Toynbee, 1971, 43-4; Prieur, 1986, 18. For this phrase, cf. Ov. *Met*. 3. 24-5; 4. 141; V. Fl. 7. 254-5.

The alternative reading, *fingens* "pretending", is possible though it has less manuscript support. It suits the context of deception, as is revealed in 566-9. Yet *fingens* undermines the shocking contrast made by *truncavit* in the next line; *figens* maintains the air of piety which Erictho displays in 564-5. It is hard to say which is correct: *figens* is accepted by most editors and commentators, though *fingens* is championed by Korenjak, *ad loc*.

566: *truncavit*: this violent word, at the line beginning, brutally emphasises the true reasons for Erictho's attendance at the funeral. The word means to "dismember, mutilate by cutting off"; cf. Sen. *Suas*. 6. 17: *vix... intueri truncata membra civis poterant*; Sil. 14. 490: *saeva truncatur membra bipenni*. *Truncavitque caput* indicates that she is removing the facial extremities, such as the ears and nose: cf. Apul. *Met*. 2. 21 for similar disfigurement. There is a slight oxymoron in Lucan's expression: *truncare*, linked with *truncus* "torso", normally indicates removal of the limbs from the *truncus*.

dentibus: instrumental ablative dependent upon *laxavit*, not *compressa*. The positioning of the word mimics the situation where the witch is using her own teeth to open somebody else's mouth.

567: *laxavit*: "to lay open": cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 151: *via vix tandem vocis laxata dolore est*; Cels. 7. 19. 12: *demittendus est... digitus... ut... sinum laxet.*

567: *praemordens*: an uncommon, poetic word, found from the Silver Age, "to bite the end off": cf. Sen. *Clem.* 1. 5. 5: *ferarum... (est) praemordere et urguere proiectos*; Juv. 7. 216-18: *ex hoc / quodcumque est.../ discipuli custos praemordet.* The fact that Erictho bites off only the tip of the tongue is another grotesquely accurate detail: it would be impossible for her surreptitiously to bite off much of the tongue, which would have fallen back into the corpse's mouth. Erictho does this to clear a passage for her voice. The structure of the passage, following *truncavitque caput*, makes it appear initially that she is acquiring οὐσία; but the lines which follow indicate that there is a different reason for this action. Lucan maintains audience interest by adding a surprising twist to the description.

***gelidis...labris*:** for the characteristic chill of a corpse, cf. Lucr. 3. 401: *et gelidos artus in leti frigore linquit*; Ov. *Pont.* 1. 9. 2: *in gelidos versit amoma sinus.* For the dative after *infudit*, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12. 67: *infusum delectabili boleto venenum.*

***infudit*:** striking in the context; normally "to pour out words" into someone's ear: cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 2. 355: *ut illi non infundere in auris tuas orationem sed in animo videantur inscribere*; Pers. 1. 79. Here the function of the word is slightly subverted: words are poured into the mouth of the corpse, to be repeated in the underworld.

***murmura*:** cf. *ad* 448.

569: The final line of the descriptive passage recapitulates some of the key words and ideas which Lucan has established about both Erictho and magic: the repetition of *arcanum* and *nefas*, the mention of her connection with the underworld, and the allusion to her control of supernatural powers.

The detail which finishes the description is also unusual, being a reversal of what is expected in a magical scene: normally the shades or gods of the underworld speak to the witch or magician through the medium of the corpse, this being the function of necromancy: cf. Luc. 6. 776 ff.; Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 14; *PGM.* 4. 2140-4; Erictho, on the other hand, addresses the underworld to issue her commands to the gods, using the corpse as a channel through which her voice will pass.

***arcanum*:** cf. *ad* 431: *arcana magorum.*

***nefas*:** on magic as *nefas*, cf. *ad* 430.

***Stygias...ad umbras*:** i.e. the underworld; cf. Luc. 5. 667; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 630; Sil. 2. 706.

***mandavit*:** briefly encapsulates the idea of Erictho issuing commands, here to the gods; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 222: *Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat*; Liv. 31. 11. 7.

570-88: After the lengthy digression on magic the narrative resumes with the meeting between Sextus and Erictho. Lucan returns to the point whence he departed at 436, Sextus in Thessaly. The search for the witch is very briefly described and her present activities are mentioned. This passage resembles Virg. *Aen.* 6. 42 ff., where the Sibyl first appears sitting, like Erictho, up high and is engaged in the act of prophecy, while Erictho is practicing magic. The return to the narrative is signalled by the use of conventional epic devices: the lengthy time marker and the use of *fama* to link Sextus and Erictho.

570: ***hanc ut***: a strong opening: two accented monosyllables and a diaeresis after the first foot. They forcefully reintroduce the narrative. *Hanc* refers to Erictho.

fama loci: rumour is a common means by which information is spread in epic: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 173 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 12. 39 ff. The words recall 434-6: *vanum saevumque furorem / adiuvat locus vicinaque moenia castris / Haemonidum*, since at both points a connection is made between the place and its witches' reputation. This ring structure strongly marks out the boundaries of his lengthy digression on the Thessalian witches and Erictho; cf. also 332 and 413 which enclose the Thessalian excursus.

Pompeio: i.e. Sextus.

570-1: ***alta / nocte poli***: the first part of a lengthy expression of time, indicating the middle of the night. This time is appropriate for the appearance of the witch; cf. *ad* 518-20. The expression *alta nox* appears in a magical context at Sen. *Med.* 729: *illius alta nocte succisus frutex*; cf. also Apul. *Met.* 1. 17. The middle of the night is also suitable for communication with the dead: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 12; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 252, 255; Sen. *Oed.* 549; Headlam, 1902, 52-3.

Poli = "the sky", cf. *ad* 465. Perhaps locative case, "with the night high in the sky" (Duff), though this case of *polus* is found nowhere else, according to Neue-Wagener; for a similar irregular locative, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 491: *victusque animi respexit*. It must be taken with 571-2 in mind, which pertain to the sun on the other side of the world. Perhaps one should understand *nostri poli*, indicating the northern sky as distinct from the southern sky where the sun is shining, described below.

571-2: ***Titan...diem***: on Titan, cf. *ad* 334. The time marker is continued with a description of midday in the antipodes when it is midnight in the north; for another poetic treatment of this, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 249-51, with Mynors. The lines reveal Lucan's familiarity with a scientific conception of the cosmos and are an example of his departures from the traditional mythological framework of epic; for the norm in epic, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 535-6; Ov. *Met.* 2. 1-400. The lines also suggest the sun hiding his face from evil actions; cf. Sen. *Thy.* 789 ff. Here, at the time when Sextus is searching for Erictho, the sun is not only not visible but at the furthest possible point away from Erictho and Sextus, at its zenith on the other side of the world. Lucan's expression gives a new slant to a traditional idea and further emphasises that acts of great evil are about to occur.

medium…diem: i.e. "the middle of the day"; cf. *ad* 337. The expression contrasts with *alta nocte*, indicating the times of day on opposite sides of the world.

ducit: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 156, with Mynors: *noctem ducentibus astris*; Manil. 1. 872: *Venus… cum ducit vespere noctem.*

572: *deserta per arva*: Sextus searches through Thessaly's desolate landscape. *Desertus* suggests "empty of people", perhaps due to the time, cf. Ter. *Eun.* 845: *in angiportum quoddam desertum*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 646: *inter deserta ferarum lustra*; this is suitable for magic which is usually a secretive act: cf. *ad* 518-20. Yet desolate fields recall 521: *fecundae segetis…perussit*, suggesting that Erictho has rendered these lands unproductive; for *desertus* of lands ravaged in one way or another, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4. 47; *Leg. Agr.* 2. 70: *genus agrorum…propter pestilentiam vastum atque desertum*; Val. Max. 8. 7. ext. 6. So the landscape is shaped by the evil creature who inhabits it.

arva: "flat plains", cf. Sen. *Oed.* 279-80: *secat una (via) gratum Phocidos Baccho solum / unde altus arva deserit, caelum petens*; in contrast to the *praerupta cautes* on which Erictho is perched. The term commonly refers to arable fields (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 1: *arvorum cultus*) thus connecting this line to 521; cf. above.

573: *carpit iter*: this phrase suggests a journey with a fixed course, implying that Sextus knew where to locate the witch: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 17. 10-12: *ibimus, ibimus, / utcumque praecedes, supremum / carpere iter comites parati*; Sen. *NQ.* 7. 8. 2: *cometarum autem compositus (motus) et destinatum iter carpens.* It somewhat contradicts *vagati* of the next line. It may allude to Virg. *Aen.* 6. 629: *sed iam age, carpe viam*, where the Sibyl hurries along Aeneas' journey.

fidi…ministri: Sextus' companions, cf. 419, 657-8. They have no active role in the scene, merely accompanying Sextus, though they play Achates to Sextus' Aeneas: as Achates is present at Aeneas' first meeting with the Sibyl, they are with Sextus during his initial encounter with Erictho. The epithet *fidi*, somewhat strange in the context, strengthens this connection with Achates, normally described as *fidus*: e.g. *Aen.* 1. 188, with Austin; 6. 158. The *ministri* are not mentioned during or after the necromancy, not surprisingly since it has no relevance to them. Yet Lucan may also be continuing the imitation of Virgil: Achates also is absent from Aeneas' second meeting with the Sibyl and subsequent katabasis. Duff's translation, which states that these are the companions of Erictho, is nonsense: Erictho is a lone practitioner (510 ff.), as is traditional for witches, and stands outside the normal rules for society; cf. Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 85.

scelerum: continues Lucan's portrayal of Sextus as an evil character at 419-30, reinforcing the fact that he is an anti-Aeneas. The genitive plural is dependent on *ministri*: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11. 29: *quique eius crudelissimi et taeterrimi facinoris ministri…fuerunt.*

sueti: *simplex pro composito* for the prose form *consuetus*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 541 with Williams; L-H-S, 2. 298-9. *Sueti* refers to Sextus' traditional association with bad people, especially wicked slaves and freedmen: cf. Vell. 2. 73.

574: *effractos...tumulos ac busta*: for *effractos*: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 12. 5: *Iugurthae milites... clausa effringere*. It recalls 511-12, 519-20, indicating tombs broken open by Erictho, either as dwellings or places to gather οὐσία. As with *deserta...arva*, the landscape is coloured by Erictho's activities.

circum...vagati: these words together imply that the *ministri* wander among the tombs without any fixed end to their motion, in contrast to Sextus' movements of 573: *carpit iter*. For *vagari*, cf. Sall. *Jug.* 98. 1: *Marius... vagari passim*; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 122.

575: *praerupta in caute*: Erictho is perched upon a rocky outcrop giving her prominence in the otherwise flat landscape: cf. *arva*, 572. This vantage point makes her resemble the Sibyl whom Aeneas found in a cave which was in the side of a hill: *Aen.* 6. 42: *excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum*. The description also recalls the appearance of the hideous Celaeno: *Aen.* 3. 245-6: *una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno / infelix vates*.

576: Lucan's geography is again confused. *Haemus* was a mountain range in northern Thrace, far from Thessaly and Pharsalus: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 6, with N-H; Mel. 2. 17; *RE*. 8. 2221-2226. Furthermore, the hills nearest to Pharsalus, the foothills of the Othrys range, are to the south rather than the north making the connection between the two places even more unlikely: see Hammond, 1981, map 12; Pelling, 1973. Lucan has confused, either by mistake or deliberately, the Thracian mountains with the poetic name for Thessaly, *Haemonia*, which derives from Haemon, a mythical king of this land: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 37. 20, with N-H: *in campis nivalis Haemoniae*; Ov. *Met.* 1. 568: *est nemus Haemoniae... vocant Tempe*. The name *Haemonia* is closely connected with witches, often termed *Haemonides*; cf. *ad* 436. Furthermore, Mt. Haemus has associations with Orpheus, a character who in turn has connections with magic: see Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 6; Mel. 2. 17 for the Haemus-Orpheus connection; cf. Plin. *NH*. 30. 7 for his link to magic. Lucan is perhaps trying to create the idea of a magical mountain, appropriate for Erictho.

A further resonance in the name *Haemus* is the etymological word-play on the Greek αἷμα, blood; cf. O'Hara, 1996, index, *s.v. Haemon, Haemonia, Haemus*. In view of 579 ff., in which the carnage of the civil war is described, the etymology of the name, denoting Thessaly as the "land of blood" is very suggestive. It may allude to Virg. *Georg.* 1. 491-2: *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro/ Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos*. The etymology further reinforces the connection between Erictho and the civil wars; cf. also 579-88.

devexus: "downward sloping", often found in topographical descriptions: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 101: *exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palati radice in novam viam devexus est*; Luc. 2. 429.

Pharsalica: this only describes Pharsalus or the battle which occurred there, never used by metonymy to indicate Thessaly, thereby showing that Erictho must be at Pharsalus.

577-8: These recall 508-9 where Lucan declares Erictho's supremacy over the other Thessalian witches, especially *inque novos ritus* (509). This idea of novelty is important to the characterisation of Erictho as a different and special witch, and also plays a large part in her metapoetic role, as a representative of Lucan's new style of poetry, an epic which is both modelled on and the inverse of the *Aeneid*, celebrating the destruction of Rome: both Lucan and Erictho are *vates* and both write *carmina*, these facts providing the links between the poet and the witch: cf. O'Higgins, 1988; Masters, 1992, 205-15, who describes fully the tensions within Lucan's poetry as a reluctant celebration of evil.

magis magicisque deis: repetition of *magi-* and homoeoteleuton of *-is* are striking and closely connect these two groups for both of whom Erictho's actions are novel. On *Magi*, cf. *ad* 431; on magical gods cf. *ad* 513: *grata deis Erebi*; also 695-706. The aural effects are reminiscent of the rhyming features of magical *carmina*; cf. Clarke, 1972, 56-8; Addabbo, 1991.

incognita verba: unfamiliar words, never heard before: cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2. 20: *fatidicorum...ecfata incognita*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 46: *dis iuranda palus (Styx), oculis incognita nostris*. On *verba*, cf. *ad* 446.

578: *temptabat...fingebat*: Erictho's actions are experimental. For *tempto*, cf. Varr. *RR.* 1. 18. 7: *antiquissimi agricolae temptando pleraque constituerunt*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 11. 2-3; for *fingo*, cf. Lucr. 5. 3-4: *qui fingere laudes / pro meritis eius possit*; Hor. *Carm.* 4. 2. 32: *carmina fingo*; Prop. 4. 1. 135: *finge elegos*; as illustrated, *fingere* is commonly used for literary composition strengthening Masters' argument about the connection between Lucan's and Erictho's *carmina*.

carmen: cf. *ad* 444.

579-88: These lines strongly connect Erictho to the civil war and highlight in particular her role as a destructive force. Her spell will ensure that the civil war is fought at Pharsalus. One must contrast her great concern that the civil war should be fought there, 579-82, with her total indifference towards its outcome, 587-8. Lines 583-6 reintroduce the idea that this civil war entails complete destruction for the entire world in such phrases as *mundi / sanguine*; *caesorum...cadavera regum*; *Hesperiae cineres... gentis*, recalling the catalogues of Caesar's and Pompey's forces which are described as the peoples of the western and eastern worlds sent forth to die in battle: cf.

1. 392-465; 3. 169-297, esp. 296-7: *acciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar, / vincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem.* This point is repeated in book seven during the battle itself: 7. 617-646, esp. 632 ff. The fact that the two qualities which Erictho is keenly seeking, a range of different racial groups and the bodies of royalty, are unimportant in magic shows that Lucan is here attempting to link the witch with this theme of his poem rather than present an accurate representation of witchcraft. There are no instances in either literary descriptions or the *PGM* where importance is placed on these characteristics of the *ousia*-providing corpse. What was crucial was how or at what stage of life that individual died: cf. *ad* 529-32, 543-53, describing *aoroi* and *biaiothanatoi*. Once again Lucan has created a powerful image, a figure of pure evil who survives the civil war and is picking at the debris left behind after the destruction which this war causes. Lines 583-8 lines evoke the idea of the futility of civil war, a theme which recurs at various points throughout the epic, e.g. 806-20. Lucan shows, through this picture of Erictho, that there are no victors of the civil war and that only destruction results from it both for the individuals involved and for Rome as a whole. It is a graphic illustration of this theme: the witch, who ensures that the battle is fought at Pharsalus and by implication is causing the war to happen, plans to desecrate the bodies of the fallen from both sides, including the leaders.

579: *namque*:this particle connects the claims made in 577-8 with the subsequent lines, suggesting that a spell which prevents the cessation of a war is unprecedented. For this use of *namque*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 588-91: *restitit Aeneas.../ os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram / caesariem nato genetrix.../...adflarat.* The control of theatres of warfare is not within the ambit of literary magic. In non-literary sources, binding spells which attempt to prevent warfare exist, though these are rare: e.g. the Syedra inscription, describing a ritual in which a kneeling statue of Ares is bound to prevent attacks of pirates; for the text, cf. de Souza, 1997, 477; for interpretation and other instances, cf. Faraone, 1991, 168-70. There are, however, no examples of a binding spell used for the opposite purpose, binding Mars so that he makes war occur in a particular area.

Mars: a common metonymy for war. Nevertheless, there is suggestion of the god himself, both in the expression *vagus iret* which implies a person moving and in the fact that magic works by controlling the gods.

The naming of Mars here is of further interest considering the Syedra inscription, cf. above. In the inscription, the Syedrans were instructed to erect a statue of Ares-Mars, which was bound, in order to prevent warfare through incursions of piracy. The date and content of the inscription is closely associated with Pompey's campaign against the pirates; cf. de Souza, 1997. The fact that Erictho, here connected with Sextus Pompey, is binding Mars for the opposite purpose of causing war, suggests an oblique reference back to 421-2: *mox Scyllaeis exul grassatus in undis / polluit aequoreos Siculus pirata triumphis*, where Sextus' later deeds are contrasted unfavourably to Pompey's former glories. This further blackens Sextus' future career as a pirate, connecting it with the wickedness of Erictho's magic. Lucan may have been aware of the inscription: he is the first extant literary source to mention Syedra, 8.

259 ff.; and the inscription seems to be a copy made in the early imperial period, associated with a renewal of interest in the oracle and the town at this time.

vagus: battles in the civil war had been fought in Gaul, Spain, North Africa and Epirus, hence Erictho could legitimately fear that the war might move.

580: *Emathis*: i.e. Thessalian; cf. *ad* 350.

581: *pollutos*: i.e. "bewitched", a strong term, given the many bad associations of pollution; cf. *ad* 457: *sanie polluta*.

dirisque...sucis: *sucus* is regularly the juice of a plant, cf. Tib. 1. 10. 47: *pax aluit vites et sucos condidit uvae*; presumably in this context the plants are magic *herbae*. It is not a term used regularly in magic. Since *sucus* is without connotations, *diris* indicates their nature; on *dirus*, cf. *ad* 444: *dirae... gentis*.

venefica: i.e. "a witch", cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 872; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 71; Ov. *Am.* 3. 7. 79; on *veneficus* and *veneficium*, cf. Graf, 1997, 46-9.

582: *transmittere*: used in a military context: cf. Liv. 21. 20. 4: *ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum*; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 6.

Philippos: a town on the border of Macedonia and Thrace, the site of the battles between Antony and the liberators, Brutus and Cassius. It was a great distance from Pharsalus. Nevertheless Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 490, confused the two names; see Mynors *ad loc.* Other writers followed, whether in direct imitation of Virgil or because it was convenient to place two of the most significant battles of the civil wars under the one name: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15. 823-4; Manil. 1. 908-9; Petr. 121. 111. The confusion is common in Lucan, e. g. 1. 680, 694; cf. Getty, 1955, xxxviii-xxxix; also Eckardt, 1936, 9; Paratore, 1943, 40-69. Here it must refer to Pharsalus rather than being a general rubric for both battles and the civil wars as a whole. The imitation of Virg. *Georg.* 1. 490 here follows up the earlier allusion through etymological word-play on Haemus, cf. *ad* 576.

583: *mortes*: "dead bodies": cf. Prop. 2. 13. 22; Stat. *Theb.* 9. 29: *desertas... sine funere mortis*; a comparable metonymy is *funus* = "corpse", cf. *ad* 531.

habitura...usuraque: striking use of two future participles expressing purpose, demonstrating Lucan's liking for this form; cf. Lundquist, 1907, 67-71. This line and what follows recall 533-69, Erictho's collection of body parts for her spells.

suas: Erictho will own these dead since they will provide her with souls which she can control; cf. *ad* 529-32, 543-53 on *aoroi* and *biaiothanatoi*.

583-4: *mundi sanguine*: on blood in magic, cf. 554 ff. The expression indicates that here, at Pharsalus, she expects to obtain the blood of persons of all races. Racial origin was not, however, an important factor for the selection of bodies. The concept of the blood of the world recurs at 7. 233: *eripe victori gentis et sanguine mundi / fuso, Magne, semel totos consume triumphos*, again in connection with Pharsalus.

truncare: mutilation is Erictho's method of choice for obtaining οὐσία: cf. 541-53; also 566: *truncavitque caput*.

cadavera regum: On *cadaver*, cf. 532. No especial value was placed on the bodies of royalty in magic; but the fact that they were killed in battle, *caesorum*, would make them *biaothanatoi* and thus susceptible to her spells. *Regum* shows that reference is being made to Pompey's army, composed mostly of forces under the command of Eastern client kings, such as Deiotarus: e.g. Caes. *BC*. 3. 4-5; Luc. 3. 169 ff.; cf. Scullard, 1988, 137-8.

585: *Hesperiae...gentis*: refers either (i) to the Gallic legions who constituted Caesar's forces, for which cf. Luc. 1. 392-465, or (ii) to the Italians. In favour of (i) it contrasts with *cadavera regum*, referring to the Eastern client kings and their forces in Pompey's army, thus illustrating the expression *mundi / sanguine* by showing forces from the whole world; furthermore *Hesperia* and the related adjective are used of people of the west: cf. Hor. *Carm*. 1. 36. 4; Ov. *Met*. 2. 258: *Hesperiosque amnes, Rhenum Rhodanumque Padumque*. Nevertheless, there is support for meaning (ii) since Italy is the place most commonly called *Hesperia*, especially in the epic tradition: e.g. Enn. *Ann*. Sk. 20: *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*; Virg. *Aen*. 1. 530: *est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt*; 6. 6; Lucan would then be making an allusion to Virgil's use of the term as the place where the new Roman race would be founded. It functions within the general anti-*Aeneid* context of the epic to show that the nation which was founded after the wars of the *Aeneid* would be destroyed after the battle of Pharsalus. Both senses can be felt in the expression though the former, due to the contrast with *regum*, better fits the immediate context.

cineres: cf. 533.

avertere: "to steal, carry away", cf. Cat. 64. 5 with Fordyce: *auratam avertere pellem*; it here suggests that οὐσία will be Erictho's spoils after Pharsalus. It is a subtle suggestion that Erictho will be the true victor of the civil wars.

586: *ossaque nobilium*: cf. *ad* 533. As with *cadavera regum* (584) there is no reason why the bones of the nobles should be any more desirable for the witch. *Nobilium* most naturally refers to the Roman consular aristocracy who would have held positions of command in the civil war, such as Lentulus, Cornelius Scipio or Domitius Ahenobarbus, all mentioned by Lucan in book 7; for a list of the many *nobiles* who fought at Pharsalus, cf. Shackleton Bailey, 1960. On the concept of *nobilitas* and the *nobiles*, cf. Gelzer, 1969; Brunt, 1982.

Manes: cf. *ad* 561.

587-8: As mentioned, these lines reveal Erictho's complete indifference to the outcome of the war, provided that there is sufficient slaughter to provide her with ingredients.

hic ardor solusque labor: these words show her eagerness for destruction. *Ardor* = "passion, the object of one's eagerness"; cf. Cic. *Orat.* 108: *nec vero hic erat unus ardor in nobis ut hoc modo omnia diceremus*; *labor* = "preoccupation": cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 379-80: *scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos / sollicitat.* The form of the expression recalls the Sibyl's statement at *Aen.* 6. 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est*; though the content is very different, the similarity reinforces the parallel which the reader must draw between the Sibyl and Erictho.

quid...quos: introduce two parallel indirect questions which describe the fates of Pompey and Caesar, death. This balance underscores Erictho's indifference towards the actual outcome of the battle.

proiecto: often describes unburied corpses, especially when burial has been denied: cf. Cic. *TD.* 1. 104: *proici se iussit (Diogenes) inhumatum*; Lucr. 6. 1155: *rancida quo perolent proiecta cadavera ritu*; Liv. 29. 9. 10. It here illustrates the humiliation which Erictho conceives for Pompey's body, and foreshadows the actual circumstances of his death, where his headless carcase is abandoned on Egypt's shores: cf. Luc. 8. 663-711, 793 ff.; Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 78-80.

involet: "she steals": cf. Cat. 25. 6: *remitte pallium mihi meum, quod involasti*; Petr. 58. 10; literally "to swoop down onto", often used of birds: e.g. Varr. *RR.* 3. 9. 15; 3. 11. 3. This avian imagery can be applied to Erictho here as she is sitting perched above the battlefield (575) and her actions are previously described as like a bird of prey (550-3). For similar play on *involare*'s literal and figurative meanings, in the context of witches, cf. Petr. 63. 8: *non cor habebat, non intestina, non quicquam: scilicet iam puerum strigae involaverant.*

589-623: Sextus and Erictho meet and a dialogue ensues. Sextus' speech (590-603), involves an introduction and his request for foreknowledge. Erictho's reply (605-23) is peculiar. She firstly proclaims, unnecessarily given that Sextus merely requests foreknowledge of the future, the limitations to her powers (605-15) then states that what Sextus wants will be easy to fulfil and explains briefly how they will carry this out. This initial meeting between Sextus and Erictho corresponds to the first encounter between Aeneas and the Sibyl at *Aen.* 6. 56-155, making the anti-*Aeneid* elements of book six more evident: on this, cf. Morford, 1967, 70-3; Narducci, 1979, 55-6, 59-60; Tartari Chersoni, 1979; Danese, 1992, 220 ff.; Masters, 1992, 188-90. Lucan recalls many details from this section of the *Aeneid*, though they are perverted, inverted or otherwise changed in order to show that the *Bellum Civile* is a reversal of Virgil's

poem: cf. below. There are several similarities of form between the two passages, though Lucan has condensed the content of his model into two short speeches. Sextus' one speech is a conflation of Aeneas' two (56-76; 103-123); the use of prayer form and the requests for future knowledge are indicators that both of Virgil's speeches were adapted by Lucan. Erictho's speech is modelled only upon the Sibyl's second response to the hero (125-155). The section where the Sibyl, possessed by Apollo, prophesies to Aeneas is excluded from Lucan's adaptation. This passage, as the frequent Virgilian allusions illustrate, is the point where Sextus and Erictho are most forcefully presented as an anti-Aeneas and anti-Sibyl.

The speech of Sextus is important for his characterisation, filling out Lucan's earlier sketch, 419 ff. A comparison with the corresponding speeches from the *Aeneid* makes it abundantly clear that Sextus is an anti-Aeneas, diametrically opposed in his attitude and his desires: e.g. compare 593-5 with *Aen.* 6. 110-16, 119-23; 596-7 with *Aen.* 6. 103-5; cf. Ahl, 1969, 346; Narducci, 1979, 55, 59. It also advances the portrayal of him as an anti-Stoic figure, as seen at 419-34, and thus a wicked character in terms of the epic: cf. Martindale, 1977, 375-9. Furthermore, the very fact that he seeks out Erictho enhances his evil nature; and the use of a formal prayer to address such a beastly and *impia* woman shows an incredible lack of *pietas* in his character.

Erictho's speech adds little to the previous depiction of her immense power and incredible immorality. Nevertheless, it reinforces her status as an anti-Sibyl and through her speech, when compared to that of the Sibyl, comes an important contrast between the *katabasis* of Aeneas and the *nekuia* of Sextus: in the world of the *Aeneid* the *katabasis*, essential for Aeneas' mission and a fundamentally good act as it is required by *pietas*, is a difficult task suitable only for a divinely-born hero and possible only with the elusive golden bough; cf. *Aen.* 6. 128 ff.; 687-8. In contrast to this, the resurrection of a corpse, an evil act as Lucan has previously mentioned and utterly superfluous to the war, is simplicity itself: Erictho tells Sextus that knowledge of the future is an easy matter and there is a great abundance of corpses nearby, the main material requirement for necromancy. This contrast shows the differences between the worlds of the two epics. In Lucan's poem, set at the period of late republican decadence, evil reigns supreme and the trivial and the simple take precedence over the crucial challenges which forged the great Roman state.

589: introduces Sextus' speech to the witch. Typically, Lucan avoids the regular epic formulae found in Homer or Virgil to introduce direct speech; cf. Basore, 1904, xcv; Piacentini, 1963, 45-6. *Adfatur* is a more conventional epic mode, used to stress the connection between this passage and *Aeneid* 6. 56 ff.; on the use of *adfari*, cf. *TLL.* 1. 1245. 44 ff. The sense of grandeur which it provides is undercut by *ignava propago*.

quam: i.e. Erictho.

ignava: "cowardly, ignoble, worthless": cf. Cic. *Att.* 1. 18. 5: *quam ignavus ac sine animo miles*; Liv. 5. 28. 8: *fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste*. This key word undercuts the splendour imparted by *adfatur* and *propago*. *Ignavus* is used as an insult against sons who are inferior to their fathers; cf. Opelt, 1956, 56-7, thus

recalling 420: *Magno proles indigna parente*, and the hostile depiction of Sextus which followed.

propago: a grand poetic term: cf. Lucr. 1. 42: *nec Memmi clara propago*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 38. The word generally has strong positive overtones, undercut here by *ignava*.

590-603: Sextus' speech to Erictho. This contains various formal features of a prayer: a vocative address at the opening, an indication of a place familiar to the divinity, descriptive relative clauses in anaphora, a statement of the worthiness of the prayer-maker, and a series of commands issued to the divinity which constitute the actual substance of the prayer. On prayer form, cf. Norden, 1913, 143 ff.; Appel, 1909; Hickson, 1993, esp. 33-84. As mentioned above, it is a further indication of Sextus' impiety that he address in prayer Erictho who herself scorns *pietas* (507-8). Aeneas addresses the Sibyl in prayer at *Aeneid* 6. 56-76, 103-123; this similarity in form invites the reader to draw comparisons between the content of their prayers and what that information reveals about Aeneas and Sextus.

590: *o*: not the usual companion of the vocative case, except in speeches of high emotional content: cf. Fordyce *ad* Cat. 46. 9; used in prayers, cf. Cat. 34. 5: *o Latonia...*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 35. 1.

decus Haemonidum: *decus* is a common term in prayers, addressed to the deity in order to gain their favour: cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 2: *Diana, lucidum caeli decus*; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 18: *Iri, decus caeli*; 12. 142: *Nympha, decus fluviorum*; cf. Norden, 1913, 173, n. 1. The genitive commonly follows *decus* indicating either an abode or sphere of influence of the deity in question.

Haemonidum:i.e. the other witches of Thessaly; cf. *ad* 436. The term also functions as a place name, indicating Erictho's regular abode, another feature of prayers: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 30. 1, with N-H: *o Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique*; Appel, 1909, 110 ff. for further examples.

quae...quae...: a descriptive relative clause, or clauses in anaphora, is another common feature of the prayer: cf. Lucr. 1. 3-4: *(Venus) quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis / concelebras*; Cat. 36. 11-13; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 10. 2-4, with N-H, 127; Norden, 1913, 168-76. This device appears in Aeneas' opening prayer at 6. 56-7: *Phoebe.../ Dardana qui Paridis derexti tela manusque*.

pandere: "to reveal", a sense often found in prophecy; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 479: *Ausoniae pars illa procul quam pandit Apollo*; Liv. 5. 16. 10; Sil. 3. 11. The verb also reflects Aeneas' desire at *Aen.* 6. 109: *doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas*.

591: *ventura*: i.e. "things to come", cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 146: *Aethionque sagax quondam ventura videre*; Tac. *Ann.* 6. 22; also Virg. *Aen.* 6. 65-6: *tuque, o sanctissima vates / praescia venturi*, another verbal reminiscence of Aeneas' speech.

potes: mention of a deity's power is another feature of the prayer, cf. Lucr. 1. 31-2: *nam tu sola potes tranquilla pace iuvare / mortalis*, Norden, 1913, 154; Appel, 1909, 100 f. *Potes* recalls Aeneas' speech, *Aen.* 6. 117, with Norden: *alma precor miserere (potes namque omnia...)*.

devertere: "to turn away from a course": cf. Luc. 2. 469-70: *victor cedentibus instat / devertitque acies.*

cursu: implies that future events follow a set sequence; for this figurative usage, cf. Cic. *Sen.* 33: *cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae*; [Quint] *Decl.* 4. 10. It foreshadows the *causarum series* mentioned by Erictho, 612. The word also pertains to the paths of heavenly bodies through the sky, cf. Cic. *Arat.* 579 (333): *sol... annua conficiens vertenti tempora cursu*; perhaps he alludes to astrological notions that the courses of celestial bodies determine the future: e.g. Manil. 1. 15: *signaque et adversos stellarum noscere cursus*; on astrology, cf. *ad* 429.

592: *te precor ut...liceat*: *precari* is common in prayers: for examples, cf. Appel, 1909, 66; Hickson, 1993, 47-9; with a double object, noun and object clause, cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2. 29: *quos vos, Quirites, precari... debetis ut... hanc (urbem) defendant*; Liv. 4. 13. 14. The formula, though not in Virgil, is fitting for a solemn prayer: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 58-9 Sk.: *te saneneta precor, Venus, te genetrix patris nostri / ut me de caelo visas, cognata, parumper*; Liv. 24. 38. 8; Sen. *HF.* 658-61; it also features in the *Acta sacrorum saeculorum anni u.c.* 737 (Appel, 1909, 3-4): *vos quaeso precorque uti imperium maiestatemque p.R. Quiritium... tueamini.* The gravity of this phrase increases the irony of the situation, that Sextus is uttering it to a vile witch.

certum...finem: taken on a literal level, this is a request to know the outcome of the war, who will win; for *finis* = "outcome", cf. Cic. *Fam.* 4. 9. 3: *qui finis istius consili est?*; Val. Max. 7. 4. 5. It is also possible to interpret this as a request for foreknowledge about death in the imminent battle, looking forward to his request at 601: *quos petat nobis, Mortem mihi coge fateri*; for *finis* as a euphemism for death, cf. Val. Max. 3. 3. ext. 4: *tum forti fine inlustrem professionis actum probavit*; Stat. *Silv.* 5. 1. 220; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 19.

593: *belli fortuna*: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 188 Sk.: *quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit*; Cic. *Brut.* 135: *cui fortuna belli crimini...fuit.* There is no need to read more significance into this usage of *fortuna*, though the word is a key term in the poem: cf. Dick, 1967, 236.

593-4: Sextus states his identity and importance as reasons why Erictho should hear his prayer. Such statements appear in other prayers in order to convince the deity that the speaker is worthy of divine assistance: e.g. Liv. 1. 32. 6 f: *audi Iuppiter, audite fines, audiat fas: ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio verbisque meis fides sit*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 689-91. In contrast to the norm in other prayers,

Sextus declares his worth in terms of his descent rather than his piety and devotion to the god addressed. The words of Sextus are equivalent to two parts of Aeneas' second speech to the Sibyl, 110-6, where Aeneas mentions his connection to his father which is motivated by piety, unlike Sextus' (cf. 420-2), and 119-23, where Aeneas compares himself to other heroes who have made a *katabasis*. This correspondence highlights the contrasts between the two men: Aeneas has a respectful attitude towards his father, Sextus does not; Aeneas declares his worthiness through a comparison with other great heroes who also have divine ancestry, Sextus through blood ties to his father, who was far from being a god.

ultima.../ pars: the lowest, basest part: cf. Prop. 3. 18. 21: *huc omnes, huc primus et ultimus ordo*; Liv. 24. 27. 1; Juv. 8. 44.

turbae.../ Romanae: i.e. the *populus Romanus*, of whom Sextus is a part. *Turba* often has a pejorative sense, describing a group as a mob or rabble: cf. Liv. 3. 48. 3: *i,... lictor, submove turbam*; 24. 19. 11; Sen. *Dial.* 10. 18. 2. The expression indicates Sextus' contempt for the general body of the Roman people, an attitude which is one mark of the tyrant: e.g. Tarquinius Superbus, from Liv. 1. 49-60; Caligula, in Suet, *Calig. pass.*; cf also [Sen.] *Oct.* 440-61; cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 439-41; on the interconnection between contempt for the citizenry and the state of *regnum*, cf. Wirszubski, 1968, 3-5.

594: *Magni clarissima proles*: recalls both *Pompei ignava propago* of 589 and *Magno proles indigna parente* of 420. The reminiscence serves to deflate Sextus' high opinion of himself. The similarity of this to the end of 589 is reinforced by an identical position and metrical structure. Sextus' dependence upon ancestry to define his value and position in the world is contrary to the Stoic position which views high birth as unimportant: cf. Vessey, 1973; Martindale, 1977, 377.

Magni:a mild pun on the name here: he is the son of Pompeius Magnus, and the son of a great man; it reinforces Sextus' arrogance and recalls the word-play in *Magno prole indigna parente*; cf. *ad* 420.

clarissima: the common sense, "famous", is difficult to apply to Sextus who has not yet done any of the things on which his reputation is based. Lucan may be adapting the honorific title *clarissimus vir*, which generally refers to those of senatorial rank, to the present situation as an indication of Sextus' reliance upon his father's greatness: for *clarissimus vir*, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5. 84: *ille vir clarissimus summusque imperator, M. Marcellus*; Ulp. *dig.* 1. 9. 8: *feminae nuptae clarissimis personis clarissimarum personarum appellatione continentur*; cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 227-9. Hence this is another demonstration of Sextus' arrogance.

proles: cf. *ad* 420: *proles*.

595: This neatly articulated line underscores the two alternatives which Sextus puts forward for himself, either victory or death. Anaphora of *vel* marks the division into two sections. The chiastic arrangement *dominus rerum... tanti funeris heres* works in counterpoint to this anaphora. The line reveals more of Sextus' grossly self-centred nature and arrogance: if there is victory at Pharsalus then his father will rightfully be *dominus*; if they are defeated his elder brother Gnaeus Pompeius, as head of the family, would properly be heir to the ruined fortunes of the house. Although with hindsight the reader knows that Sextus becomes the head of the family after Pharsalus, the fact that Sextus was ignorant of the outcome of the war makes the line's phrasing an indication of his unwarranted self-importance.

dominus: "monarch, supreme ruler", quite at odds with the *libertas* of the Roman Republic; cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2. 61: *praedam ad xviros tamquam ad dominos reportare*; Sall. *Jug.* 85. 35: *id est dominum non imperatorem esse*; as a term of political invective, cf. Opelt, 1963, index *s.v. Dominus*; also Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 562-5, on *dominatio* and *dominatus*. So Sextus here styles himself as a prospective sole ruler of Rome. The expression *dominus rerum* may be an ironical allusion to *Aen.* 1. 282: *Romanos, rerum dominos*, where the Roman people *in toto* are rulers of the world; Sextus, with the same expression, sees himself as sole ruler. The allusion makes a contrast between the collective power which forged the greatness of Rome, and the divisive craving for individual power which destroyed it.

funeris: either destruction or death for the *gens Pompeia* and the family's cause; for *funus* =destruction, cf. Lucr. 5. 326: *funera Troiae*; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 37. 8; Luc. 7. 617. If *funus* is taken as "death" it must be a collective singular and *tanti* refers to number: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 604-5: *nec tanta gelidi Strymonis fugiens minas / permutat hiemes ales*; Luc. 7. 834. It would, then, refer to the individuals which make up the family and their associates who support Pompeius Magnus. Taken as destruction it refers to everything which Pompey had achieved in his lifetime.

heres: Gnaeus, not Sextus, was Pompey's eldest son and proper heir. After Gnaeus' defeat and execution in 45 B.C. Sextus took command of the Pompeian forces. Though the expression looks forward to this fact, Sextus' statement reveals a disregard for his brother. The term may also make an ironic allusion to Sextus' adoption of the cognomen *pius*, as can be seen on his coinage, cf., Welch, forthcoming.

596-7: fear motivates Sextus' consultation of Erictho; cf. *ad* 423-4. This recalls the highly unstoical attitude in the young man, established earlier. Moreover, the *sapiens*, unperturbed by fear or uncertainty about the future, would not require such a prophecy: e.g. Cato at the shrine of Ammon, Luc. 9. 566 ff.; for the Stoic view, cf. *ad* 414: *cunctos... mens agitat*; 419: *spemque metumque*. The general tenor of these lines contrasts to *Aen.* 6. 103-5: *non ulla laborum, / o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit; / omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi*. Aeneas declares himself ready to face the future without fear or hesitation. The Stoic colouring in Virgil's lines sharpens the contrast between Aeneas and Sextus: cf. Bowra, 1933-4, 371.

perculsa: appropriately used in the context of emotions: cf. Sall. *Cat.* 6. 4: *ceteri metu perculsi*; Hor. *Epod.* 7. 16; Liv. 21. 46. 7: *is pavor perculit Romanos.* This reading is preferable to the alternative, *percussa*, cf. Housman *ad loc.* *Perculsa* is a powerful word "to knock down; strike hard", showing to what extent fear and doubt have affected Sextus: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 176 Sk. : *percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex*; Liv. 9. 10. 10.

pavet: cf. *ad* 486.

rursus: adversative, cf. *ad* 470.

597: *certos...metus*: paradoxical since, according to Stoic theory, fear is an anxiety which arises from uncertainty: cf. Cic. *TD.* 3. 25: *metus opinio mali impendentis.*

597-601: the imperative mood, in which Sextus makes his requests, is usual in prayers: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 30. 2-4: *sperne dilectam Cypron et vocantis / ture te multo Glycerae decoram / transfer in aedem.*

iuris: in an extra-legal context, this retains the sense "power": cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1. 70: *nullis ut terminis circumscribat... ius suum (orator)*; Sen. *NQ.* 2. 11. 2: *lunae proximum ius est.* Normally, *ius* implies that which is proper and sanctioned, suggesting here that it is right for chance to be uncertain. Sextus wants to overturn this proper state of the world. *Iuris* is partitive genitive after *hoc*, giving the sense "this sort of power", and here has a deprecatory force; cf. Cat. 1. 8, with Fordyce: *hoc libelli*; L-H-S, 2. 52 ff.

casibus: "fortunes, things that happen", a common sense in the plural: cf. Cic. *TD.* 1. 91: *mors, quae propter incertos casus cotidie imminet*; Liv. 30. 30. 11; [Sen]. *Oct.* 81. It looks forward to unknown future events rather than describing fate itself as an entity which governs the future.

eripe: "take away suddenly", often used with an abstract object: cf. Ter. *Hau.* 713: *spem... nuptiarum omnem eripis*; Cic. *Mil.* 26: *dictitabat... consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse.* The word's violent overtones are concordant with the coercive nature of Erictho's magic, cf. Ter. *Hec.* 574: *eripuit vi... virgini... anulum*; Cic. *S. Rosc.* 149; *Dom.* 147: *domo per scelus erepta per latrocinium occupata*; for the violence of magic, cf. *ad* 445-8, 492-9, 527-8.

598: *subiti caecique*: these refer to *casibus* in the previous line. Both are apt for describing unexpected events in the future. *Subitus*, "sudden, without warning", normally refers to bad events: cf. Cic. *Dom.* 96: *subitas fundatissimae familiae ruinas*; Lucr. 5. 216; Hirt. *BG.* 8. 11. 2. *Caecus*, "unseen", used of chance has the sense "random, unpredictable": cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 15: *quo modo ergo id quod temere fit, caeco casu et volubilitate fortunae, praesentiri et praedici potest?*; Hor. *Sat.* 2. 3.; Manil. 1. 492-3: *quis credat.../...caeco... creatum foedere mundum?*. *Fortuna* herself is often

characterised as being blind; cf. Otto, 1890, *s.v. Fortuna*, 1; Kajanto, 1981, 525, 530-2. Both words, implying that the future will be bad, underscore Sextus' fears mentioned in 596-7.

ruant: suggests that these events rush on with destructive force: cf. Hor. *Sat*. 2. 7. 88: *sapiens... in quem manca ruit semper fortuna*; Liv. 27. 49. 1; Sen. *HF*. 1167.

vel...vel: more characteristic anaphora; cf. *ad* 590 f.: *quae... quae*.

torque: a violent word, "to torture for information", the sense here as Sextus wants to find out about the future: cf. Cic. *Part. Orat*. 117: *de institutis Atheniensium... apud quos etiam - id quod acerbisimum est - liberi civesque torquentur*; Tac. *Ann*. 15. 57. It suggests that Sextus knows about the compulsive force of magic: cf. *ad* 445-8, 492-9, 527-8.

599: *parce*: common in prayers, in the imperative form, as a request for the god to be merciful towards the worshipper; cf. Hor. *Carm*. 2. 19. 7-8: *euhoe parce Liber / parce gravi metuende thyrso*; 4. 1. 1-2: *intermissa, Venus, diu / rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor*; also Appel, 1909, 120. Lucan here twists its usage to create a paradox in which the prayer recipient is asked to be merciful to the gods, the normal recipients of the prayer. This paradox is virtually a mockery of genuine piety: Sextus wants the gods not to suffer only because they may not be adequate for his purposes: cf. 433-4: *miseroque liquebat / scire parum superos*; the ironical use of prayer form reinforces the paradox.

manibus exprime verum: i.e. necromancy. On Sextus' knowledge that this is how magic works, cf. 430-4.

exprime: has violent overtones, balancing *torque*: cf. Cic. *Verr*. 2. 165: *pecuniam... vi expressam et coactam*; *Agr*. 2. 5: *laus... ab invitis expressa*.

600-1: Sextus' third and most outrageous request, forcing death herself to tell him who is going to die.

Elysias...sedes: this expression appears only in Lucan; cf. 3. 12, 6. 782; also *Elysios... campos*, Virg. *Aen*. 6. 542, and *Elysias... domos* at Ov. *Met*. 14. 111, [Sen]. *HO*. 1916. This is a part of the underworld reserved for heroes and, when the concept of a moralistic afterlife arose, for those who had lived good lives. It is conceptually, though not spatially, equivalent to the Islands of the Blest found at Hom. *Od*. 4. 561-9; Hes. *WD*. 171. On these places, cf. Griffiths, 1947; West *ad* Hes. *WD*, 166; Austin *ad* Virg. *Aen*. 6. 637-78.

This request is strange since the souls in Elysium are neither the *aoroi* nor *biaiothanatoi* so dear to magic: cf. *ad* 529-32, 543-53. Moreover, *Mors*, the target of Sextus' request, would not reside in the Elysian fields; her equivalent, *Letum*, is shown dwelling in the vestibule of Orcus' house at *Aen*. 6. 277. Lucan's expression may stand

for the underworld as a whole, though this is highly improbable as *Elysium* nowhere else has this function. The mention of Elysium is probably another reference to Virgil: this place is Aeneas' ultimate goal since it is where Anchises resides. Again there is a contrast to be drawn between Sextus and Aeneas. The latter must endure much hardship and difficulty and demonstrate his *pietas* to reach this place, while the former wishes it to be revealed to him through the violent and impious spells of a witch. As a further connection, Virgil's Elysium is associated with prophecy, as it contains *vates*, *Aen.* 6. 662: *pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti.* Lucan perverts this by mentioning the *Eylsias... sedes* in the current context.

resera: "lay open, reveal", used elsewhere for laying open the underworld: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 243-5: *non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens / infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat / pallida, dis invisa*; Sen. *Oed.* 395: *reseranda tellus*, an identical context, opening the underworld for necromancy.

601: ***Mortem***: Death personified, cf. Hes. *Theog.*, 211-12 with cf. West; Cic. *ND.* 3. 44 with Pease; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 4. 13, with N-H. Death personified is not one of the many gods and creatures of the underworld summoned in spells, from both literature, the *PGM* and *defixiones*. This makes Sextus' request appear more extraordinary and audacious.

coge: cf. *ad* 498.

602-3: Sextus ends his prayer with further flattery of Erictho and another statement of the worthiness of his request.

humilis: denotes activities "suitable for lowly persons": cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14. 34: *nec dispersis bustis humili sepultura crematos*; Virg. *Ecl.* 2. 29. Sextus implicitly praises Erictho's greatness by negating this adjective.

quaerere cures: for *curo* with an infinitive, cf. Cic. *Flacc.* 64: *qui... res istas scire curavit.*

603: ***vel tibi***: Sextus suggests that knowledge of the fortune of the *gens Pompeia* is so worthwhile that Erictho would benefit personally from fulfilling Sextus' request. *Tibi* here balances *mihi* of 601. The words show a grotesque lack of humility in Sextus who seems to be putting himself on a par with Erictho. On humility and subservience of worshippers in antiquity, cf. Appel, 1909, 200; Pleket, 1981.

quo...praeponderet: an indirect question, introduced by *quaerere*.

praeponderet alea: Lucan mixes the metaphors of the balance and the die. He commonly uses the balance metaphor, cf. 2. 41: *dum pendet fortuna ducum*; Heitland, 1887, xc for further examples; also Sen. *Ben.* 3. 4. 2: *futura pendet et incerta sunt.* The balance as a metaphor for fate appears first in the *Iliad*, where Zeus' scales are used to

weigh the *keres* of Greek and Trojan soldiers to determine who dies, cf. *Il.* 8. 69; 23. 209; cf. Dietrich, 1965, 294-6 on the history and development of the image. *Praepondero* itself has the sense "to incline (one's weight) towards", so with a balance it indicates what side of the balance is heavier, or which thing weighs more.

The die metaphor is appropriate for the uncertainty of fate: cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 36: *non perspicitis aleam quandam esse in hostiis deligendis*; Petr. 122. 174: *iudice Fortuna cadat alea*; on the metaphor, cf. Otto, 1890, 12-13. In this context it cannot but recall the famous words of Caesar *iacta alea est*, Suet. *Jul.* 32: Caesar cast the die, Sextus will, with Erictho's help, discover what has been thrown. As suitable as the two metaphors are for the uncertainty of the future they do not function well together. The action of weighing down on one particular side is irrelevant for dice-throwing. Nevertheless the mixed metaphor is a powerful final indication of Sextus' mental doubts and the general state of uncertainty which prevailed in the period before Pharsalus: cf. 414-9. The combination also allows the allusion to Caesar's famed *dictum*.

604-623: After one line to indicate change of interlocutor, the reader is presented with Erictho's response. As mentioned above this is an inversion of the Sibyl's second speech to Aeneas at *Aen.* 6. 125-55. The speech is complicated by lines 605-15 containing material which is both irrelevant to Sextus' request for foreknowledge and inconsistent with Lucan's earlier presentation of the immense power of witches: 438-569. Erictho explains to Sextus that witches can change lesser fates, *fata minora*, 605-10, whatever they may be, but cannot alter the course of destiny, *causarum series*, 611-15. The most simple explanation of these lines is that they are alluding to *Aen.* 6. 126-29, where the Sibyl tells Aeneas that it is easy to go down to the underworld but difficult to return, though the parallel is not perfect, as Masters, 1992, 189, points out, since while it is hard for Aeneas to do what he wishes and easy to do what he does not want, Sextus wishes neither option which Erictho presents in 605-15. Nevertheless in lines 615-7, Erictho states that Sextus' request is easy to fulfil, thus making the allusion a more complete parallel to the Virgilian passage and showing how the witch is inverting the Sibyl's statements.

Another view sees these lines as Lucan's attempt to reconcile his account of witchcraft with the Stoic belief in immutable fate: cf. Le Bonniec, 1970, 188; Martindale, 1974, 64-5. There was, in fact, the view in antiquity that fate did not control everything: cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 167, with Pease: *magna di curant, parva neglegunt*; also Long, 1971, 179-89, on determinism and freedom in behaviour; for discussion of the suspension of the *causarum series* elsewhere in Lucan, cf. Moretti, 1985, 141-4. Lucan's words reflect this notion which does allow for magic and fate to co-exist; for the contrary view, that fate and magic were irreconcilable, cf. Apul. *Apol.* 84; Serv *ad Aen.* 3. 90.

Masters, 1992, 205-15, esp. 206-8, adds another explanation for these lines, reading them as a metapoetic commentary on writing historical epic. He connects Lucan and Erictho since they are both *vates* and they both produce *carmina* (for Erictho as *vates*, cf. 651). In short, the writer, like the witch, is bound by the broad outlines of historical events (*causarum series*) which cannot be changed, while lesser details

(*minora fata*) can be added or altered as needed. So Lucan's poem cannot have Caesar lose at Pharsalus or Pompey escape assassination in Egypt; however, it can make Cicero appear at Pharsalus which he did not do, or describe the death of Domitius Ahenobarbus as heroic, which it was not. These difficult lines are capable of accommodating all three of these interpretations.

Danese, 1992, 224 f., in an attempt to relate Erictho's speech more directly to the narrative, sees it as a response to 591: *quaeque suo ventura potes devertere cursu.* This puts undue emphasis upon one line of Sextus' invocation and it assumes that a desire to change the future underlies Sextus' request for foreknowledge, a contention which this one line could not support. Moreover it ignores the much greater inconsistencies which 605-15 create; cf. above.

604: ***inpia***: cf. *ad* 410. It recalls 507-8: *hos scelerum ritus.../ damnarat nimiae pietatis Erictho.* Its position, at the start of the line and the new section, is powerful.

laetatur: "to be delighted", cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4. 52: *aspice ventorum laetentur ut omnia saeclo. Laetari*, at least in Stoic terminology, denotes excessive, immoderate delight and is potentially a further criticism of Erictho's character, recalling 525-6, 540: cf. Cic. *TD.* 4. 13; 4. 66: *atque ut cavere decet, timere non decet, sic gaudere decet, laetari non decet.*

vulgato nomine famae: "the well-known fame of her repute". For *nomen* = fame, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 404-5 Sk.: *reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt / aedificant nomen*; Hor. *Ars.* 400.

605: *Thessalis*: cf. *ad* 452.

fata minora: as discussed above (*ad* 604-23), these lesser fates are somewhat obscure. In philosophical terms, they reflect the view that there are unimportant things which are not of concern to the gods.

moveres: in the context of altering fate, cf. Liv. 25. 16. 4: *nulla...providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit. Movere* and its compounds are also appropriate to the sacral sphere, indicating change brought about through religious observance: cf. Prop. 4. 11. 7: *vota movent superos*; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 450; Norden, 1913, 148 n. 2. This sense recalls Sextus' use of a formal prayer for his request to Erictho.

606: *pronum erat*: *pronum esse* with infinitive appears first here; cf. Juv. 13. 75: *tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes*; Tac. *Agr.* 1. 2; *OLD s.v. pronus.* It recalls Virg. *Aen.* 6. 126, the opening to the Sibyl's speech: *facilis descensus Averno*, making clear the parallelism between Erictho and Sibyl. Though used here metaphorically, the basic sense of *pronum*, "leaning forward, sloping down", plays on the literal descent in Virgil's phrase.

o iuvenis: a rather curt form address when compared to the Sibyl's corresponding words, *Aen.* 6. 125-6: *sate sanguine divum, / Tros Anchisiade.* Not even Erictho has respect for Sextus' pompous self-promotion of 593-5.

607: *invitos...deos*: cf. *ad* 466: *ad invitum...numen*, though note that normally they do not hesitate to fulfil Erictho's requests, 527-8.

praebere: "it is easy, young man, to provide the unwilling gods for whatever tasks you desire". The verb has the sense "to offer, provide": e.g. Cic. *Rosc.* 57: *cibaria vobis praeberi videmus*; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 301; Tac. *Ann.* 11. 4; cf. Hudson-Williams, 1976, 132-3. It is commonly, though incorrectly, interpreted as "to force, compel the gods", cf. the translations of Haskins, Duff, Braund, Canali. The construction *in actus* dependent upon the verb is a poeticism, instead of the usual dative case.

607-10: Erictho illustrates how she can affect *fata minora* with the examples of ending or preserving human lives, showing that Erictho considers the lives of individual persons to be lesser fates. Lucan plays on the double meaning of *fata* from 605: there it means future events, but here Erictho shows that she has control over the deaths of others: cf. *ad* 632: *fata*. Lucan uses astrological notions to explain Erictho's powers over life and death. The descriptions are based upon the common idea that every person had a star which rose at their birth, set at their death and varied in brightness according to their position in life: cf. Plin. *NH.* 2. 23: *pars alia et hanc pellit astroque suo eventus adsignat et nascendi legibus, semelque in omnes futuros umquam deo decretum, in reliquum vero otium datum. sedere coepit sententia haec, pariterque et eruditum vulgus et rude in eam cursu vadit*; also Hor. *Carm.* 2. 17. 21-2; Pers. 5. 45-51. These ideas derive in part from Stoic ideas of cosmic sympathy, which posits a connection between the cosmos and the human body, so Lucan's philosophical influences would play a part in his choice of this mode of expression; on these bases of astrology, cf. Barton. 1994a, 102-11. Furthermore, by describing the magical control over the fates in astrological terms Lucan makes a connection between the magical control over the heavens, as seen at 461 ff., and the more sinister side of magical practice, killing humans; cf. also *PGM.* 4. 835-49, an interesting fusion of magic and astrology.

conceditur: for the impersonal use with the infinitive, cf. Caes. *BG.* 6. 20. 3: *de re publica nisi per concilium loqui non conceditur*; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 5. 12. *Conceditur* parallels Lucan's own statement about the relationship between Erictho and the gods at 528: *omne nefas superi...concedunt.*

arti: cf. *ad* 437.

608: *presserunt...mortem*: this unusual expression derives from the idea that the stars are bodies in motion whose celestial course is mirrored by the lives of humans. *Presserunt* here = "they drive on, propel": cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 413: *ingentem clamore*

premes ad retia cervum; Ov. *Her*. 4. 41; Sen. *Med*. 723. There appears to be no direct parallel for Lucan's usage.

609: *inseruisse moras*: Erictho can delay these astrologically pre-ordained deaths. She does not describe the mechanics of such an act perhaps because Lucan was himself unsure of how it would work. The perfect infinitive is atemporal and looks forward to the completed state of the act. Such usage was initially found only with *nolo* and *volo* but was extended to many other verbal acts in the Augustan period: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 78-9, with Austin: *at Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro / bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum*; Liv. 3. 48. 3; K-S 1. 133 ff.

609-10: *omnis / stella*: i.e. the Greek συναστρία, a favourable conjunction of the stars at birth: e.g. *Cat. Cod. Astr*. 5. 180; cf. Le Boeuffle, 1977, 9; the opposite notion appears at Ov. *Ib*. 207-8: *natus es infelix, ita di voluere, nec ulla / commoda nascenti stella levisve fuit*. *Stella* in the singular is highly unusual: it usually refers to an individual star or the brightest star within a given constellation, not a constellation as the current context suggests; cf. Le Boeuffle, *loc. cit*.

senem, medios...annos: these two times of life, juxtaposed here, underscore the contrast between one's natural lifespan and its termination by magic.

medios...annos: i.e. the middle of one's life or middle age, though the expression is not used in this way elsewhere. The plural of *annus* commonly denotes one's age: cf. Ter. *Eun*. 318: *anni? anni? sedecim*; Ov. *Ars*. 2. 669. The expression *media aetas* denotes the concept of middle age: e.g. Plaut. *Aul*. 159; Cic. *Sen*. 76: *aetas quae media dicitur*; for a similar use of *medius*, cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 9. 59: *hinc adeo media est nobis via*, i.e. in the middle of the journey.

herbis: cf. *ad* 442. Possibly a simple reference to poisoning, the witch in her role as *venefica*; cf. Tupet, 1976, 57; Graf, 1997, 46-9, 54-5. In this context, however, there is the implication that by controlling the progress of the stars the witches can bring a premature end to life; on control of heavenly bodies, cf. *ad* 499-506.

abrumpimus: i.e. to cut short life; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 9. 497: *crudelem abrumpere vitam*; Luc. 4. 483: *extremae momentum abrumpere lucis*. *Abrumpimus* may allude to the Fates, who cut the thread of a person's life, thus bringing it to an end, cf. Sen. *Apoc*. 3-4, esp. 4. 1: *convolvens stamina fuso abrupit*; Luc. 3. 19: *lassant rumpentes stamina Parcas*.

611-15: Though the idea is clear enough, "there are certain major changes to the cosmos which I cannot bring about", the expression is not. A translation is useful: "Yet, at the same time a chain of causes has come down from the very beginning of the cosmos, and if you would wish to change anything, all the fates suffer and the human race stands under one and the same blow, then (and we witches of Thessaly admit this)

Fortune has more power". The three clauses "*omnia... laborant*", "*unoque... humanum*", "*tum... potest*", all stand as apodoses to the conditional clause "*si... velis*", though "*omnia... laborant*", "*unoque... humanum*", two parallel statements, indicate the general consequences of attempting to change this *causarum series*, whereas "*tum... potest*" shows the consequence specific to the current situation.

611: *at, simul*: Both adversative particles express a contrast in the second half of Erictho's argument. For *simul*, cf. Sen. *Dial*. 6. 5. 4-5: *ne, obsecro te, concupieris perversissimam gloriam, infelicissima videri. simul cogita non esse magnum rebus prosperis fortem gerere*. The combination marks the sharp divide between the two sections of Erictho's speech.

prima...origine: This form of expression, a noun-adjective combination with very similar meanings, is a common Latin idiom: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 2. 336: *prima crescentis origine mundi*; *Aen*. 1. 372, with Austin: *prima... origine*. On the idea of the course of fate being determined at the beginning of the universe, cf. Luc. 2. 7-11, with Fantham: *parens rerum, cum primum informia regna / materiamque rudem flamma cedente recepit, / fixit in aeternam causas, qua cuncta coercet / se quoque lege tenens, et saecula iussa ferentem / fatorum inmoto divisit limite mundum*; Tac. *Ann*. 6. 22.

descendit: strongly suggests the course of this chain of effects stretching over time, cf. Varr. *RR*. 2. 1. 3: *necesse est humanae vitae a summa memoria gradatim descendisse (homines et pecudes) ad hanc aetatem*; Ov. *Fast*. 1. 537.

612: *causarum series*: indicates the normal Stoic thought about fate, a chain of interlinked events: cf. Cic. *Div*. 1. 125-6; *Fat*. 20: *causarum seriem sempiternam*; Sen. *Dial*. 1. 5. 7: *causa pendet ex causa, privata ac publica longus ordo rerum trahit*; *Ben*. 4. 7. 2: *series implexa causarum*; *SVF* 2. 945-51. Lucan took both idea and expression from his predecessors.

omnia fata...velis: i.e. there are some things which cannot be altered without affecting the whole course of the future. This clause expands upon and explains the notion of the *causarum series*. Unfortunately, due to the vagueness of the expression in these lines, it is difficult to ascertain what sorts of things would affect the entire course of destiny if they were changed, besides the fact that they are something other than *fata minora* (605). The philosophical explanation, that there are some things which are controlled by fate, and other lesser things which are not predetermined (cf. *ad* 604-23) shows what the point of Lucan's words are, but comes no closer to helping the reader ascertain the limitations of Erictho's powers.

laborant: "to be adversely affected": cf. Liv. 34. 4. 2: *diversis... duobus vitiis, avaritia et luxuria, civitatem laborare*; Sen. *Contr*. 9. 2. 26. The verb is normally accompanied by an ablative expressing cause. Here the conditional clause, *si... velis*, performs the function and is equivalent to the ablative absolute *aliquo mutato*.

613-4: *unoque...humanum*: "and the human race is placed under the one same blow". This clause, co-ordinate to *omnia fata laborant*, further explains the effect of altering the course of destiny: it will have repercussions upon everybody. Lucan again fails to exemplify what sort of change will cause this.

ictu: i.e. an adverse occurrence, cf. Prop. 2. 4. 9; Ov. *Pont.* 2. 7. 41: *Fortunae vulneror ictu.* The basic sense " a blow" shows that the event is sudden and hard.

genus humanum: for the expression, which lends universality to the statement, cf. Lucr. 2. 699; Liv. 21. 30. 7: *nullas... terras... inexsuperabiles humano generi esse.*

614-5: Erictho admits witchcraft's limitations, that fate, under the given conditions, is more powerful.

Thessala turba: the ethnic adjective underscores the notion, established earlier, that Thessalians were pre-eminent in the magical art; cf. *ad* 443-51.

fatemur: despite her solitary nature (510 ff.) and the fact that she scorns the *pietas* of other witches (507-9) Erictho acknowledges that the powers of all *Thessalides* suffer from this limitation. *Fatemur* balances *conceditur* at 607: the latter refers to something conceded to the witches, the former is something which they concede. *Fateor* is commonly used in parenthetic comments in direct speech: cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 983; Cic. *Att.* 12. 36. 1: *hae meae tibi ineptiae (fateor enim) ferendae sunt.*

615: *plus...potest*: "has more power": cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 69: *quoius potestas plus potest*; Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 2. 14. 2; Liv. 1. 3. 10.

Fortuna: *Fortuna* personified appeared at Rome at an early stage; she had a cult, *Fors Fortuna*, and a temple in the forum Boarium; cf. Plaut. *As.* 716: *quem te autem divom nominem? Fortunam*; Cic. *Verr.* 4. 119: *Fortunae fanum antiquum*; Ov. *Fast.* 6. 773; Kajanto, 1981, 503-6. Commonly *fortuna* was a fickle force which brought about change in the lives of individuals: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 34. 12-16, with N-H: *valet ima summis / mutare et insignem attenuat deus, / obscura promens; hinc apicem rapax / fortuna.../ sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.* This notion of fickle *fortuna* is based, in part, on the model of the Greek Τύχη; cf. Kajanto, 525-32. Lucan, however, does not present the usual conception of *fortuna* here, but rather the equivalent of *fatum* which preordains the courses of people's lives. Though often Lucan is aware of the technical distinction between *fatum* (destiny) and *fortuna* (chance), e.g. 2. 7-13, he is not always precise in his use of these terms and *fortuna* elsewhere appears as a synonym for *fatum*: cf. Dick, 1967, 235-7.

615-18: Erictho finally tells Sextus that what he wants is easily done. This is paralleled in the Sibyl's speech, *Aen.* 6. 133-48. There is, however, a great contrast between the Sibyl's description of the golden bough which is nigh impossible to obtain and essential for the *katabasis*, and Erictho's brief assertion that foreknowledge is easy

to achieve and opportunities are granted everywhere. This notion, that Sextus can follow a simple path to knowledge, adds to his anti-Stoical characterisation. The path to *sapientia* is difficult and requires a struggle: cf. Sen. *Epist.* 13. 1-3; *Dial.* 2. 1-2: *ceteri sapientes molliter et blande, ut fere domestici et familiares medici aegris corporibus, non qua optimum et celerrimum est medentur sed qua licet: Stoici virilem ingressi viam non ut amoena ineuntibus videatur curae habent, sed ut quam primum nos eripiat et in illum editum verticem educat qui adeo extra omnem teli iactum surrexit ut supra fortunam emineat.* (2) *"At ardua per quae vocamur et confragosa sunt?" quid enim? plano aditur excelsum?...prima tantum pars saxa rupesque habet et invii speciem, sicut pleraque ex longinquo speculantibus abscisa et convexa videri solent.* Sextus' choice of the easy path makes yet another contrast to Aeneas and the heavy Stoic colouring to his portrayal here, cf. Bowra, 1933-4.

615: *sed, si*: corresponds to the Sibyl's *quod si* at *Aen.* 6. 133, indicating the parallelism between these two passages.

praenoscere: cf. *ad* 423: *stimulante metu fati praenoscere cursus.* The repetition shows clearly that this is indeed what Sextus wants. Furthermore, it recalls his state of unstoical mental anxiety, his motivation for consulting Erictho.

616: *contentus*: for the ellipse of *esse*, cf. 7. 782, 9. 331. The construction with the infinitive is post-classical, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 638-9: *non haec artes contenta paternas / edidicisse fuit*; Val. Max. 6. 3. 1b; K-S, 1. 685. The term roughly contrasts to *Aen.* 6. 133: *tantus amor menti...tanta cupido est*, highlighting the difference between Aeneas and Sextus: the former is willing to struggle against difficulties, the latter is satisfied with the easy path.

facilesque aditus multique patebunt / ad verum: there are two allusions to *Aeneid* 6 in these words. Firstly to 6. 43-4, the Sibyl's cave: *quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum / unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae*; it is another reminder of the implicit contrast between the different natures of the Sibyl and Erictho. Also it alludes to the Sibyl's ironic comment at 126-7: *facilis descensus Averno , / noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis.* This again plays on the contrast between the wants of Sextus and Aeneas, evil against good, illicit against licit, easy against difficult. This second allusion also makes an interesting intertextual comment upon the nature of *verum*: the truth which these many paths lead to is death. This is very much in keeping with the corpse's prophecy, in which death is the ultimate end for all involved in civil war; cf. 806 ff.

aditus: a figurative use, cf. Cic. *Clu.* 31: *ut ad hoc nefarium facinus accederet aditum sibi aliis sceleribus ante munivit.*

617-8: Erictho claims that various areas of nature can be used to elicit prophecies. In the *PGM* such collocations of nature can be found in certain invocations: cf. 3. 393 ff., 554 ff.; also Ov. *Met.* 7. 196-8: *quaeque magos, Tellus, pollentibus instruis herbis /*

auraeque et venti montesque amnesque lacusque / dique omnes nemorum, dique omnes noctis adeste. The grouping of these forces, earth, sky, underworld, ocean, plains, Rhodopeian mountains, is a matter of uncertainty. Francken divides them into two groups, earth, heaven, hell, representing the components of the cosmos, then sea, plains mountains representing the subdivisions of the world. This has two disadvantages: it disregards Lucan's variation of conjunctions, *-que…-que…-que*, which suggest a single sense group, followed by *et* which introduces a second group; and it ignores the Homeric division of the universe into earth, heaven, underworld and ocean; cf. Hom. *Il.* 15. 187-93. Housman, *ad loc.*, makes this division, though without invoking the Homeric precedent. Furthermore, he rightly sees *campi* as referring to the nearby plains of Pharsalus. This is justified by the subsequent *Rhodopaeaque saxa* which shows that Erictho is now describing local rather than general features. The change of coordinating conjunction, from *-que* to the stronger *et*, indicates a shift from a general to a specific situation. Erictho is probably suggesting that it is the gods which inhabit these locales who could give prophecies, rather than the places themselves. Divine forces inhabit every sort of setting, whether it be a major deity or a simple nymph. The division of the universe in the Homeric manner is suggestive of the accompanying myth concerning the gods which inhabited these places. Moreover, magic works by compelling gods into action.

Chaos: i.e. the underworld: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 510: *Erebumque Chaosque*; Ov. *Met.* 10. 30-1: *per Chaos hoc ingens vastique silentia regni / Eurydices, oro, properata retexite fata*; Sen. *Med.* 9. From its initial sense "yawning gap, chasm" it came to mean the vast space beneath the earth: cf. West *ad* Hes. *Theog.* 116.

618: *et*: the change in conjunction from *-que* to *et* divides these into two groups, a general listing of regions of the cosmos and two localised topographical features.

***campi*:** i.e. the battlefields of Pharsalus. For *campus* as battlefield, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 267 Sk.: *densantur campis horrentia tela virorum*; Virg. *Aen.* 11. 373: *nos animae viles…sternimur campis*; Hor. *Epod.* 7. 3-4; Liv. 24. 48. 12. The localising *Rhodopaea* suggests that *campi* too should have specific reference to the present topographical context.

Rhodopaeaque saxa: Mt. Rhodope, a mountain range in western Thrace; *RE.* II. 1a. 957. 32-42. Since it lies far from Thessaly, it represents another of Lucan's geographical inexactitudes: for its location relative to Thessaly, cf. Hammond, 1981, map 12. Nevertheless, Lucan has already committed a similar inaccuracy at 576: *in caute sedentem / qua iuga devexus Pharsalica porrigit Haemus*, which implies that the Thracian Mt. Haemus, further away than Rhodope, borders upon Thessaly. Rhodope has a special association with Orpheus: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 6. 30: *nec tantum Rhodope miratur…Orphea*; Ov. *Ars.* 3. 321: *Rhodopeius Orpheus*. This association with Orpheus, a figure in magic himself, may well be the reason why Erictho mentions the name; on this connection of Orpheus and magic, cf. *ad* 576.

Rhodopaea: appears only here; it is sometimes emended to *Rhodopea*, cf. Housman, 1914, 75. For the normal form in *-eius*, cf. Virg. *Georg*. 4. 461; Ov. *Ars*. 3. 321.

loquentur: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 4. 461: *flerunt Rhodopeiae arces*, where Rhodope laments the death of Eurydice.

619-23: Erictho ends her rather philosophical speech on a practical note, telling Sextus that raising a corpse from the dead will be an easy feat and that this will satisfy his thirst for knowledge. Erictho mentions that there are many dead bodies in the vicinity which will be a boon for their task. This contrasts starkly with the end of the Sibyl's speech which discusses the death of Misenus, 6. 149-55. For Aeneas to go down to the underworld Misenus must be buried and the fleet purified. So the pollution brought by a dead man hinders Aeneas' venture, and purity is a requirement for his success. In contrast, Erictho mentions the abundance of death (*copia mortis*) in the nearby fields which will make it easy to discover the future. So, whereas purity is a requirement in the *Aeneid*, its opposite, pollution, is necessary here.

There is a logical inconsistency in these lines. The necromancy takes place on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus and no major fights have previously occurred. So there should not have been an abundance of corpses exposed on the battlefield. Even if there were skirmishes it seems unlikely that enough soldiers would have been killed to justify such expressions as *tanta novae... copia mortis* (619), *pererrat / corpora caesorum... proiecta* (625-6), or *fata peremptorum... multa virorum* (632), all of which imply large numbers of people. This may have been an oversight, or indifference to strict temporal consistency. Such is the view of Duff, who simply notes "Lucan seems to have forgotten that there had been no fighting as yet in Thessaly". It seems an oversimplification to attribute such an immense rupturing of the sequential narrative to error, yet it has not been satisfactorily resolved. O'Higgins, 1988, 218-9, 225-6 offers a more sophisticated, though unconvincing, solution. She sees the inconsistency as a display of the immense power which the *vates* has over time, that someone can be brought back to life before they have died. This is connected with the fact that the *vates* Lucan, in his *carmen*, brings the republican dead back to life just as Erictho resurrects a corpse with *carmina* of her own. Though O'Higgins' general thesis about Lucan as *vates* is sound, her explanation of this inconsistency seem questionable: Erictho is not identified as a *vates* until 561, hence there is no connection between her and the poet yet; furthermore, what follows is an extremely unclear, and thus unsuccessful, demonstration of vatic power.

A more likely, though equally speculative, explanation could be that the corpse, a *vates* in its own right (628), and the *vates* Lucan are both temporally dislocated, are both beings of the future which have come back to the present of the narrative to speak on the horrors of civil war, the corpse in its prophecy, 802-20, Lucan throughout the entire epic.

619: *pronum*: cf. 606: *pronum erat*. The repetition of this rare expression marks the boundaries of Erictho's digression on the limitations of magic. She now deals

specifically with Sextus' request. There is word-play on *pronum*, "tending downwards" and *attollere* "to raise up".

novae: i.e. fresh, recent: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 554; 8. 695: *arva nova... caede rubescunt*. For the usefulness of the recently dead, cf. *ad* 543-53.

copia mortis: *copia* is unusual and ironic. It normally denotes an abundance of something good or useful; cf. Caes. *BG.* 2. 2. 2: *cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet*; Liv. 27. 43. 10. Dead bodies are generally bad things, due to fears of pollution (cf. Parker, 1983, ch. 2), but are of great use to Erictho for her magic. For *mors* = "corpses", cf. *ad* 583: *mortes*; here it is collective singular.

620: *Emathiis...campis*: the battlefields of Thessaly, i.e. Pharsalus. Although there had not yet been any large battle here (cf. above), Lucan is quite specific in his location of the *copia mortis*. For *Emathius* = "Pharsalian", cf. Luc. 1. 686-8: *dubiam super aequora Syrtim / arentemque feror Libyam, quo tristis Enyo / transtulit Emathias acies*; 8. 34; Sil. 3. 400.

attollere: "to make stand up": cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 452: *ab humo... attollit amicum*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 848. It is not used elsewhere for raising the dead, though it reflects well the very literal raising which later occurs: cf. 755-7: *cadaver/... terraque repulsum est / erectum semel.*

621: *modo defuncti*: "just now dead"; cf. *ad* 543-53. For *defunctus* = "dead", cf. Curt. 4. 10. 21: *defuncto adsidens corpori*; Mart. 4. 73. 5.

tepidi: bodily warmth emphasises how recent the death has been: cf. Enn. *Scaen.* 14 J.: *misso sanguine tepido tullii efflantes volant*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 626-7: *cum.../ tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus.*

622: *plena voce sonent*: i.e. to give a clear utterance; this is obviously important for a necromancy. *Plena vox* refers to vocal volume: cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 3. 31: *Sulpicius... fortissimo quodam animi impetu, plenissima et maxima voce... est*; Tac. *Germ.* 3. 2.

622-3: Erictho ends her speech by contrasting necromancy to a less powerful form of prophecy, sciomancy or the evocation of a ghost. In doing this she reassures Sextus and the reader of the inevitable success of the prophecy to come.

membris sole perustis: normally taken as an indication of the state of a body which would be unsuitable for necromancy. The abundance of recent corpses, *novae... copia mortis*, means that Erictho does not have to be concerned about sun-damaged bodies; for *perustis* with this sense, cf. Lucr. 5. 251: *pars terrai... perusta solibus assiduis*; Colum. 2. 4. 11: *humus aestive sole peruritur nullasque virium reliquias habet.* The alternative *sola* (ZM) is defended, unnecessarily, by Håkanson,

1979, 31-2. He finds difficulty in the expression *membris sole perustis* since *perustus*, when used of persons, normally means "sunburnt": cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2. 41: *perusta solibus... Apuli uxor*. Yet the common sense "damaged by the sun" can be easily applied to a dead body which is hardly a person. His solution is to adopt the reading *sola*, taken with *umbra*, and to take *membris... perustis* as "with their bodies cremated". Although *sole* is not problematic as Håkanson suggests, his interpretation of the clause with the reading *sola* does emphasise further the contrast between a necromancy where the entire corpse is reanimated and sciomancy where "the spirit alone" is summoned.

623: *incertum*: has two major senses, both pertinent here. When used of sounds it means "not clearly distinguishable, confused", a suitable contrast to *plena voce* and an apt description of the sounds made by something without speech-organs; cf. Liv. 10. 36. 3: *segnis pugna clamore incerto atque impari coepit*; Ov. *Fast.* 3. 273; Plin. *NH.* 23. 85. It also can indicate something vague and ambiguous, not a *desiderandum* in a prophecy and something which Sextus is keen to avoid: cf. 592: *certum... noscere fatum*; 597: *certos ferre metus*. For this sense, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 10. 20. 1: *erant omnia quae istim adferebantur incerta*; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 11. In one word Erictho can reassure Sextus that the prophecy will be clear and precise.

strideat: "to shriek", a shrill and unintelligible sound: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6. 140: *quod horrenda stridere nocte solent (striges)*; Sil. 9. 575: *immane stridens agitur... bellatrix... belua* (elephants trumpeting); as the sound of a ghost, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 298-9: *nuda nec flebilis umbra / stridebit vestros Tydeus inhumatus ad ignes*; for other inarticulate noises made by spirits, cf. Hom. *Il.* 23. 100-1:ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἠΰτε καπνὸς| ᾤχετο τετριγυῖα; *Od.* 11. 42-3: οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ βόθρον ἐφοίτων ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος | θεσπεσίῃ ἰαχῇ; 24. 5; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 426-7.

624-41: After speaking, Erictho prepares herself then searches for a suitable corpse. This short scene is full of details which recall the earlier description of Erictho, 507-69, increasing the horror of the passage. The scene also combines certain elements of *Aen.* 6. 156-235 in a very condensed form. The hunt for the corpse reflects the search for the golden bough and Erictho's treatment of bodies recalls but inverts the burial of Misenus. Erictho brutally damages these exposed bodies, contrary to proper behaviour. One would normally expect the corpse of a fallen warrior to be carried to safety, cleaned and beautified, then given the proper burial rites; e.g. Patroclus, Hector in the *Iliad*, Misenus, Pallas in the *Aeneid*; for discussion, cf. Vernant, 1982, 45-77; Segal, 1971. In this scene the reverse happens: Erictho hunts for a perfect corpse, damages it by dragging it across rocky ground, *per scopulos... trahitur per saxa*, and puts it in a cave to perform magical rites upon it. The details at 625-8, animals feasting on the corpses, bodies strewn across the field, remind the reader of other battle-scenes and the appropriate treatment of the dead. Erictho's actions, once again, totally ignore convention and, by undermining these expectations, shock the reader's sensibilities.

624: *dixerat*: marks the conclusion of direct speech and reintroduces the narrative: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 705: *dixerat ille*; 4. 331: *dixerat*. The pluperfect acts as a "paragraph

marker" which qualifies the long series of present tense verbs as historic present, a common device in epic narrative: cf. Leigh, 1997, 311-25, esp. 317 ff.

noctis geminatis...tenebris: Erictho doubles the length of night's darkness. This was a common magical practise, done so that witches could perform their actions in secrecy and to gain benefit from extra exposure to the moon who, as Diana-Hekate, was their patron goddess, cf. *ad* 461-2: *dilataque longa / haesit nocte dies*, for further refs. The expression *noctis...tenebris* must be equivalent to *nocte tenebrosa*, otherwise it would imply that it was not the length of night but the intensity of darkness which was increased. It is nowhere else stated that witches desire to increase night's darkness making it unlikely that Lucan intended this sense here, though witches could draw down the moon and thus reduce the amount of nocturnal illumination. Erictho's ability to lengthen the duration of night for the necromancy contrasts with Virg. *Aen.* 6. 539: *nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas*, where the Sibyl hurries Aeneas on because night passes rapidly.

geminatis: cf. Sen. *Agam.* 815: *geminavit horas roscidas noctis*.

625: *maestum tecta caput*: Erictho's head is a dreadful sight: for *maestum* with this sense, cf. Luc. 3. 412-3: *simulacraque maesta deorum / arte carent* (hideous statues in the Gallic grove). *Caput* is accusative of respect, rare in Lucan; cf. Heitland, 1887, ciii.

squalenti nube: a dirty or dark cloud: cf. Sen. *Tro.* 20-1: *nube ceu densa obsitus / ater favilla squalet Iliaca dies*; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 647; Sil. 5. 36-7: *atrae noctis amictu / squalebat pressum... caelum*. *Squalenti* is unusual; used of persons, it frequently describes them as dirt-encrusted or unkempt, often as a sign of mourning: cf. Cic. *Sest.* 32: *erat... in luctu senatus, squalebat civitas publico consilio veste mutata*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 277: *squalentem barbam*; *Epic. Drusi*, 295; Luc. 9. 503. *Squalens* of the cloud recalls, perhaps, Erictho's earlier unkempt appearance, 515-8; and the connection of the term with the physical attributes of mourners is linked to the Erictho's association with death.

The precise significance of the cloud is debated, since it is unprecedented for a witch to be so wrapped. For the many proposed interpretations and emendations, cf. Martindale, 1977, 380-2, who suggests that the words indicate an actual cloud which she has brought down to conceal herself and her activities further, given the need for secrecy in magic; cf. *ad* 511-12. Certainly, witches used magical means, other than clouds, to hide themselves; cf. Apul. *Met.* 2. 25; 3. 21; *PGM.* 1. 222-31, 7. 619-27. Moreover, Martindale suggests that Lucan here parodies a traditional divine epiphany where the god is normally covered by a cloud: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 2. 31-2, with N-H: *nube candentes umeros amictus / augur Apollo*; the flight of animals from Erictho, 627-8, is another inversion of the epiphany topos, strengthening his point. An earlier proposal, by Nutting, 1930-33, 113, sees this detail as drawn from Ovid's representation of *Invidia*, *Met.* 2. 790: *adopertaque nubibus atris*, which adds to the earlier parallels between these two hideous figures; cf. *ad* 515-22.

626: Lucan stresses the corpses' unburied state to heighten the horrific atmosphere: *tumulis proiecta negatis*. This line recalls the earlier presentation of Erictho where she stole the bones of an unburied soldier, rather than being moved to offer even the customary token burial; cf. *ad* 550-3.

proiecta: cf. *ad* 588.

627-8: Erictho is so terrifying that she scares off the animals scavenging upon human carrion: cf. Theocr. 2. 12-13: ' Εκάτᾳ, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι' ἐρχομέναν νεκύων ἀνά τ' ἠρία καὶ μέλαν αἷμα. This recalls the description of Erictho scavenging among wild beasts to obtain οὐσία, though there she stole body parts from their very mouths, whereas here she frightens them away; cf. *ad* 550-3. Furthermore, this is another inversion of the traditional topos of the epiphany where nature rejoices at the coming of the deity: e.g. Lucr. 1. 6 ff.; Apul. *Met*. 11. 7; for discussion, cf. Martindale, 1977, 381-2. *Continuo*, the repetition of *fugere* and the placement of these words at the start of 627 and after its *caesurae* stress the speed with which these animals flee, reinforcing the horrific image of the witch.

lupi: it is a further illustration of Erictho's terrifying nature that she can drive from a feast the wolves, which were proverbially hungry: e.g. Plaut. *Stich*. 605: *hereditatem inhiat quasi esuriens lupus*; cf. Otto, 1890, *s.v. lupus*, 1; also *ad* 552: *luporum*.

revolsis / unguibus: i.e. with their talons torn out from the corpse. On *revolsis*, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 226-7: *(herbas) placitas partim radice revellit,/ partim succidit*; Sen. *Epist*. 86. 18. The expression suggests that the vultures further shred the corpses by ripping out skin and flesh as they flee, just as a certain amount of soil is extracted when plants are uprooted; cf. examples above. Duff's translation, "The vultures sheathed their talons and flew away", diminishes the gory depiction in the original.

628: *inpastae volucres*: for birds as corpse eaters, cf. *ad* 551. Hungry (*inpastae*) birds would be more persistent feeders, making their sudden flight all the more extraordinary: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 9. 339-41: *impastus ceu plena leo per ovilia turbans / (suadet enim vesana fames) manditque trahitque / molle pecus mutumque metu, fremit ore cruento*; Sil. 7. 128-30.

628-31: the process of selecting a corpse is described in grisly detail. It recalls the general depiction of Erictho at 533-53 where she is shown wallowing in corpses of various sorts.

vatem: in the terminology of divination, the *vates* is a prophet, often one who gives utterance in a frenzied state, possessed by a god: cf. Cic. *Div*. 1. 4: *ex quo genere (furente) saepe hariolorum etiam et vatum furibundas praedictiones... audiendas putaverunt*; 1. 113; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 65: *tuque, o sanctissima vates*; Luc. 1. 564-5; 5. 97-9: *hoc ubi virgineo conceptum est pectore numen, / humanam feriens animam sonat oraque vatis / solvit*; cf. Newman, 1967, 13 ff. There could be some irony in the idea

that a term which describes a frenzied prophet is applied here to a lifeless corpse. For a discussion of the corpse as *vates* as a parallel to *Lucanus vates* (1. 63, 9. 980), cf. O'Higgins, 1988, 223-5; also *ad* 619-23, *ad fin.*

629: *gelidas...medullas*: cold innards of the corpses. *Gelidus* often denotes the chill of death; cf. *ad* 568. Cold bodies are less fresh and hence rejected by Erictho; she desires the warm bodies of the recently dead, cf. 621: *ut modo defuncti tepidique cadaveris ora / sonent.*

scrutata: "to examine closely", here it implies actual probing of the wounds, a use found in the contexts of surgery or dissection: cf. Cels. 1. pr. 23: *incidere corpora mortuorum, eorumque viscera... scrutari*; Sen. *Dial.* 6. 1. 8. The resultant mutilation of the corpse is an example of the grisly realism in this scene. Though the context is also suggestive of extispicy, the verb itself is used for this type of divination only once, Ov. *Met.* 15. 136-7: *protinus ereptas viventi pectore fibras / inspiciunt mentesque deum scrutantur in illis*; for other uses in divination, cf. *ad* 429: *scrutetur.*

630-1: these two lines continue to describe the selection process, as 632-3 and 637 ff., especially *electum tandem*, make clear. Although *invenit* of 631 might suggest that she has found a suitable corpse, it simply shows that Erictho has come across a body which may be appropriate but must be subjected to further investigation. The remainder of 631, *vocem... quaerit*, suggests that there are criteria other than intact lungs which the corpse must meet.

pulmonis...fibras: "lungs" rather than "lobes of the lungs", as is commonly thought: *pulmo* is collective, whereas *fibra* refers to an individual lung: cf. Cels. 4. 14: (*pulmo*) *in duas fibras ungulae bubulae modo dividitur*; for further refs and discussion, cf. André, 1991, 120-1. It seems likely that Erictho would want integrity of the lungs in their entirety rather than just the lobes.

rigidi: i.e. stiff in death: cf. Lucr. 6. 1196; Pers. 3. 103-5: *tandemque beatulus alto / conpositus lecto crassisque lutatus amomis / in portam rigidas calces extendit.*

stantis: i.e. standing firm, as opposed to organs which are collapsed or rotted: cf. Val. Max. 9. 11. ext. 4; Sil. 4. 817: *dum stabit vita.*

631: *invenit...quaerit*: a neatly constructed line with the two verbs which pertain to Erictho's search placed at the beginning and end.

632-6: another interlude which heightens the reader's tension by suspending the description of the search. Once again Lucan uses hyperbole to stress the immensity of Erictho's power.

632: *fata*: Lucan plays upon its two senses, death and destiny; for *fata* = "death", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 678: *eadem me ad fata vocasses*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 346-7: *quis vos in fata*

parentis / armat?. Not only are the futures of the *perempti viri* uncertain, since Erictho has not chosen which of them she wants, but also their deaths since she will bring one of them back to life. This creates a paradox, since death is normally considered the one certainty in an individual's unpredictable life. Lucan is fond of wordplay on *fata*; cf. *ad* 605 ff.; 812; also Dick, 1967.

peremptorum...virorum: "killed violently", cf. Liv. 22. 6. 3: *hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo*; Tac. *Ann.* 3. 13; Apul. *Met.* 3. 8. Appropriate to the battle-field, it intensifies the dreadful atmosphere which surrounds Erictho.

pendent: "to be uncertain": cf. Sen. *Ben.* 3. 4. 2: *futura pendent et incerta sunt*. On Lucan's fondness for this metaphor, cf. *ad* 603: *praeponderet alea*. The juxtaposition with *peremptorum* enhances the paradox, mentioned above.

multa: some manuscripts have *nulla*, though this makes little sense. It implies that Erictho has already chosen a corpse, though lines 630-1 suggest otherwise; cf. *ad loc.* *Multa* emphasises the abundant supply of bodies from which Erictho can choose.

633: *quem...velit*: indirect question dependent on *pendent*; cf. Sen. *Tro.* 916: *quam quisque famulam traheret incerto diu casu pependit*.

superis: i.e. the living, those who dwell above the underworld, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 568-9: *quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani / distulit*; *Culex* 224; Sen. *HF.* 47-8.

revocasse: on the perfect tense, cf. *ad* 609: *inseruisse*. *Voco* and its compounds are often used of magical summoning: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 75-6: *nec vocata mens tua / Marsis redibit vocibus*; Tib. 1. 2. 46; Ov. *Met.* 7. 202.

tollere totas: recalls 620: *unum...attollere corpus*. The reminiscence reinforces Erictho's earlier claim by stating that she could resurrect an entire army if she wished.

634: *campis*: "battlefields"; cf. *ad* 618.

reddere bello: "restore them to war", i.e. to make them fight again. This recalls 577-88, where Erictho casts a spell to make the civil war stay in Thessaly, a different situation but the same sentiment: Erictho and her spells are an evil force which can promote civil war. It also alludes to the shades of slain soldiers rising again as a prodigy of war, cf. esp. Luc. 1. 569-70: *tum fragor armorum magnaeque per avia voces / auditae nemorum et venientes comminus umbrae*; also Virg. *Georg.* 1. 474, 477; Ov. *Met.* 797-8; Petr. 122. 137-8. This allusion strengthens the connection between Erictho and civil war.

635: *cessissent leges Erebi*: normally, it was impossible for the dead to return: e.g. Cat. 3. 11-12: *qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum / illud, unde negant redire quemquam*;

Hor. *Carm.* 1. 24, esp. 13-20, with N-H; Prop. 4. 11. 2-4. On rare occasions, special dispensation was made for a specific person to live again, such as Eurydice: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 486-7. Erictho's powers, however, can break these laws.

Erebi: cf. *ad* 513: *Erebi.*

monstroque potenti: i.e. Erictho. This is a dative of agent. *Monstrum* is a powerful term, used of things, creatures or persons of extreme wickedness: e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 2. 1: *nulla iam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio... comparabitur*; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 214; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 37. 21. Originally from the language of divination, it refers to an omen of a bad future occurrence, commonly an abominable birth or inexplicable astronomical or weather phenomenon: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 93, with Pease; *ND.* 2. 7, with Pease; Moussy, 1977. This idea of an ill-omened abomination remains when the term is applied to what is more readily recognisable as a monster. Thus, *monstrum* adds these further resonances to the horrific portrayal of Erictho.

636: *extractus*: the word implies force or violence (cf. *ad* 559: *extrahitur*), suggesting that the shades are unwilling to obey.

Stygio...Averno: another expression for the underworld, after *Erebi* at 635. On *Stygius*, cf. *ad* 514: *domos Stygias*. *Avernus* here refers not to Lake Avernus near Puteoli, but rather to the underworld itself; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 126: *facilis descensus Averno*; 7. 91; Ov. *Am.* 3. 9. 27. Nevertheless, given the close links of this passage with *Aeneid* 6, *Averno* recalls Lake Avernus which appears alongside the cave where Aeneas makes his descent: *Aen.* 6. 237 ff., esp. 239-42, with Austin. The epithet *Stygio* does not detract from this allusion, since the waters of Lake Avernus were themselves Stygian; cf. Sil. 12. 120-1: *ille, olim populis dictum Styga, nomine verso / stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat Avernum*; moreover, Avernus was an entrance to the underworld: cf. Lucr. 6. 762-3: *(Avernus)... ianua ne... Orci regionibus esse / credatur*; Strab. 5. 224; Sil. 12. 120-9; *RE.* 2. 2286. 16 ff.; also the appendix to Austin's commentary on *Aeneid* 6. This allusion recalls the great difference between the two scenes: Virgil describes a *katabasis* where a hero on a pious mission visits the underworld through Avernus; Lucan is creating the reverse, a necromancy performed for a worthless youth using abominable rites whereby the dead are brought back to earth. Avernus serves as a device to link the two passages.

637-41: Erictho finds a suitable body and takes it back to her cave by dragging it with a hook. This act is an outrage which constitutes mutilation of the corpse, and is a further indication of her perverse and horrible nature; cf. *ad* 624-41. Erictho's brutal actions also invert the scene of Misenus' burial at *Aen.* 6. 212-35. The *katabasis* of Aeneas is performed following the ritual purification of himself, his followers and his camp by the proper disposal of a dead man; the necromancy is performed upon a dead man who is not only unburied but is here being mutilated.

637: *electum tandem*: only now has Erictho discovered a suitable corpse.

traiecto gutture: this has caused some problems of interpretation. Commentators have wondered why Erictho, after her search for a corpse which could speak, chose one with a pierced throat. Housman, *ad loc.*, interpreted *traiecto* as "thrown across", referring to the *laqueis feralibus* of the next line. His parallels, however, are not especially relevant and his interpretation illogical; for a criticism, cf. Håkanson, 1979, 33. Håkanson himself, *ibid.*, 33-4, takes the words as an indication of where the corpse received its wound, as seems right. He adopts *pectore*, a variant reading from the *codices recentiores*, avoiding the problem of the cut throat by assuming that the corpse died from a chest wound. *Pectore*, however, seems incorrect. Hakanson's use of later references to damaged *pectora* (667-8, 722-3) as proof for this reading is unsound: Erictho herself inflicted these wounds during the spell: cf. notes *ad loc.*, also *ad* 629: *scrutata*. Moreover, there is no reason that a cut throat should necessarily preclude magical speech, extraordinary things being in the nature of magic. Furthermore, there is the example of Gabienus, a Caesarian soldier during the Sicilian campaign against Sextus Pompey, whose throat was cut and whose head was almost severed from his body (*incisa cervice et vix cohaerente*) but who came back from the dead to utter a prophecy to Sextus; Plin. *NH*. 7. 178-9. Ahl, 1976, 137, and Masters, 1992, 197, n. 41, see here an allusion to the same source as Pliny's and, following Grenade, 1950, 37 ff., a direct indication that Lucan's motivation for including Sextus Pompey here and associating him with a necromancy was the story of Gabienus.

Another literary influence upon Lucan's depiction of the corpse is the death of Hector who also suffered a wound to the neck: cf. Hom. *Il*. 22. 326-9: τῇ ῥ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτ' ἔλασ' ἔγχεϊ δῖος Αχιλλεύς, | ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή· | οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελίη τάμε χαλκοβάρεια,| ὄφρα τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν; note that Hector's wound through the neck did not prevent his speech. Beyond the identical means of death, the corpse suffered a similar disgrace: both bodies were disfigured by being dragged across the ground: *Il*. 22. 395 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 2. 270-6; cf. Luc. 6. 639. Virgil too uses *traiectus*, so troublesome to Housman, to describe the mutilated Hector: *Aen*. 2. 272-3: *raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento / pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis*. So the choice of a corpse with a pierced throat and the use of *traiecto* to describe it recalls vividly the death and disfigurement of Hector. This allusion further justifies the retention of *gutture* in the text and the interpretation which sees *traiecto gutture* referring to the corpse's fatal wound. The allusion also strengthens the view that Erictho's deliberate mutilation of the corpse stands in contrast to the funeral of Misenus.

638-9: *ducitur*: more elegant than the reading *ducit et*; cf. Watt, 1984, 153.

inserto...unco...trahitur: Erictho drags the corpse with a hook. *Unco* recalls the practice of dragging the bodies of executed criminals to the Gemonian steps with a hook through the neck where they were exposed to public abuse: cf. Ov. *Ib*. 163-4: *carnificisque manu populo plaudente traheris / infixusque tuis ossibus uncus erit*; Sen. *Epist*. 82. 3; *Dial*. 5. 3. 6; Juv. 10. 66: *Seianus ducitur unco spectandus*; Suet. *Tib*. 75. 1. The verbs *ducitur* and *trahitur*, at 638 and 639, are both utilised in this context.

The process involved disfigurement through dragging, exposure on the steps, humiliation and often mutilation by the crowd and finally the dumping of the remains in the Tiber; cf. Hinard, 1984, esp. 301. This allusion to execution suggests the extent of Erictho's outrages upon the corpse.

laqueis feralibus: Erictho inserts the hook into a noose rather than through the neck, perhaps to avoid tearing the flesh and having the hook fall out. Housman, *ad loc.*, sees this as a way to drag the corpse without damaging the speech organs; yet this is based upon an unlikely interpretation of *traiecto*; cf. *ad* 637: *traiecto gutture*. *Laqueis feralibus*, in conjunction with the hook, strengthens the allusion to the execution of criminals and subsequent outrages; cf. above. The noose was a common instrument of execution at Rome; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 55. 5: *in eum locum (Tullianum) postquam demissus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere*; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 48, with Woodcock; and such execution was usually followed by dragging the corpse.

639: *per scopulos...per saxa*: dragging the body across these would damage it. This resembles Achilles' treatment of Hector's corpse, cf. *ad* 637: *traiecto gutture*. Anaphora with slight alliteration adds emphasis to the statement. Mention of these rocky places also foreshadows Erictho's mountain retreat, described below.

trahitur: cf. *ad* 638-9: *inserto... unco /... trahitur.*

639-40: *cadaver / victurum*: a striking paradox which highlights the abnormality of necromancy. It is comparable to 1. 504: *in bellum fugitur*, both in complete reversal of the norm and in brevity; cf. Martindale, 1976. For a similar use of the paradox, cf. Claud. *In Rufin.* 1. 155-6: *condita funera traxi / carminibus victura meis*.

640-1: *montisque cavi...alta sub rupe*: Erictho takes the corpse to her cave in a mountain; for the expression cf. Lucr. 5. 955: *nemora atque cavos montis silvasque colebant*; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 310. This detail returns Erictho to the mountaintops where she first appeared in the narrative, 575-6, concluding this section of the scene with a touch of ring composition. Though caves and hollows are sometimes used for magic, e.g. *PGM.* 3. 283-6, it is more common that they take place in a house, e.g. *PGM.* 4. 171 ff.; Apul. *Met.* 3. 21, or some place associated with death, such as a graveyard, e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8; *PGM.* 4. 1390 ff.; on the domestic space as the usual location for magical ritual, cf. Smith, 1995, 23. The choice of a cave is significant. It recalls that Aeneas' *katabasis* also began in a cave: *Aen.* 6. 237-8. Moreover, the cave which descends into the earth (642-53) reflects the general practice of sacrificing offerings to or communicating with chthonic deities by setting up an altar on or beneath the ground, in a pit, so as to be closer to them: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 24 ff.; Headlam, 1902, 53-4; Scullion, 1994, in reassessing the validity of the Olympian-Chthonian distinction sees this connection with the earth as fundamental.

642-653: An ekphrasis describing Erictho's cave sets the scene for the horrors to come. A cave is appropriate for communication between the living and the dead; cf. *ad* 640-1; also Hom. *Od.* 10. 509-15, 11. 13-19; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 237-41; Sen. *Oed.* 530-49. Descriptions of places where dreadful persons resided or atrocities were to be performed are quite frequent in Roman literature, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 193 ff.; Sen. *Thy.* 650-79; Sen. *Oed.* 530-49; Luc. 3. 399-425. These locations have common features such as continual darkness, stagnation, extreme depth in the case of a cave, misshapen trees, and a strong connection to the underworld: for exact refs, cf. below. Such descriptive passages served to establish, for the audience, that acts of a dreadful nature would occur here or that the figure which used it was capable of atrocious deeds. Erictho's cave also has features in common with Ovid's description of the house of *Invidia*, *Met.* 2. 761-4, similarities which reinforce earlier parallels, cf. *ad* 515-22; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 159, n. 3.

Rhetorical theory classed descriptions of place, *topographia*, in the category of *evidentia*, the technique of working upon an audience's emotions through charged descriptions. The information imparted in such descriptions should have both practical and emotive force: cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1. 38: *locus consideratur, in quo res gesta sit, ex opportunitate quam videatur habuisse ad negotium administrandum. ea autem opportunitas quaeritur ex magnitudine, intervallo, longinquitate, propinquitate, solitudine, celebritate, natura ipsius loci et vicinitatis et totius regionis; ex his etiam attributionibus: sacer an profanus, publicus anne privatus, alienus an ipsius de quo agitur locus sit aut fuerit*; for discussion, cf. Lausberg, 1998, chh. 810-19, esp. 819; also Vasaly, 1993, 15-26, and *passim*, on the emotive power of *topographia*. The manipulation of topographical descriptions in rhetoric was used to colour the audience's impressions of the defendant and his or her crime; Lucan's uses it similarly, to increase the horror felt by his audience at Erictho and the necromancy she is about to perform.

642: *haud procul*: as the introduction to an ekphrasis, cf. also Virg. *Aen.* 8. 478-9: *haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto / urbis Agyllinae sedes*; Ov. *Met.* 5. 385; *Met.* 8. 624; Stat. *Theb.* 7. 441; also Sen. *Oed.* 530: *est procul*.

a Ditis caecis...cavernis: proximity to the underworld is first suggested here and expanded upon at 648-53 where Lucan says that the two places are indistinguishable; for connection to the underworld in other such descriptions, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 241-6; Sen. *Thy.* 668-70. Nevertheless, it is appropriate that a place for communication between living and dead border upon these worlds: cf. Hom. *Od.* 10. 509: ἔνθ'...ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης.

Ditis...cavernis: the hollows of the underworld; cf. *ad* 617: *chaos*.

caecis: i.e. dark; used elsewhere with chthonic associations, cf. Ov. *Her.* 2. 72: *nigri regia caeca dei*; Stat. *Theb.* 2. 26.

depressa…humus: "the ground, sinking down", cf. Hirt. *BG*. 8. 9. 3: *fossam duplicem pedum denum quinum… deprimi*; Vitr. 8. 1. 6: *deprimendus est puteus in eo loco*. *Depressa* is not a strong term, though the description is greatly intensified in the following line.

643: *in praeceps*: the ground drops away sharply, in a sheer descent, cf. Liv. 27. 18. 9: *per praecipitia et praerupta salientis*; Apul. *Met*. 4. 5: *per altissimum praeceps in vallem proximam etiam nunc spirantem praecipitant*.

subsedit: "to slope downwards, fall away"; an amplification of *depressa*, stressing the depth of the cave: cf. Ov. *Trist*. 1. 2. 21: *quantae diducto subsidunt aequore valles*.

643-5: the trees which surround the mouth of the cave. Commonly, in depictions of places of horror, specifically groves, the trees are large, old and in some way sickly; often they are densely packed together which has the effect of hemming in the place and obstructing the light of the sun: cf. esp. Sen. *Oed*. 530-49, *Thy*. 650-79; Luc. 3. 399-425. Lucan thus heightens the effect of his description of the cave by appending features appropriate to a sinister grove.

643-4: *pallida…silva*: *silva* does not refer to the yew trees of the following clause: their colour could not be described as *pallidus*; cf. *Botanica*, *s.v. taxus baccata*. It probably describes the willow tree; cf. below, *pronis… comis*. When describing a plant, *pallidus* indicates either a yellowish or a pale, olive-green colour, often as a result of sickness, cf. *Dirae*, 16: *pallida flavescant aestu sitentia prata*; Mart. 8. 14. 1; Juv. 5. 87; cf. André, 1949, 142, 144. More significantly, *pallidus* is a term strongly associated with the underworld: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 8. 243-5: *si qua vi terra dehiscens /… regna recludat / pallida*; Sen. *Phaed*. 1201: *pallidi fauces Averni*; Luc. 1. 456: *Ditis… profundi pallida regna petunt*. So this colour term's infernal associations make the forest which it describes appropriate to the hellish cave. There may be the suggestion that this unhealthy tinge is caused by proximity to the cave's mouth, perhaps by poisonous emanations.

pronis…comis: the pendulous foliage of the trees; cf. Corn. Sev. 10 Court.: *pinea frondosi coma murmurant Apennini*; Virg. *Aen*. 2. 629: *et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat*. The image created by *pronis… comis* is suggestive of a willow tree, whose foliage naturally hangs down, and can become thick and impenetrable; cf. *ad* 644: *urguet*. Furthermore, the yellowish foliage of the willow, in particular the *salix Graeca*, fits the description *pallida… silva*; cf. *supra*; on the colour, cf. Col. 4. 30. 4: *Graeca (salix) flavi coloris est*; Plin. *NH*. 16. 174-7. The willow, barren and hence associated with death, features prominently in Persephone's grove, Odysseus' destination for the sciomancy: cf. *Od*. 10. 510, with Stanford: ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι; also Bremmer, 1983, 310-11. If these trees are willows, as Lucan's description suggests, then there is, perhaps, an allusion to Odysseus' *nekuia*.

urguet: suggests the oppressive density of the forest around the mouth of the cave. The sense "to hem in" is normally found with topographical features, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 523-4: *(valles) quam densis frondibus atrum / urget utrimque latus*. This verb alludes to Sen. *Oed.* 542-3: *ingens arbor... umbra gravi / silvas minores urguet.*

644: *nullo vertice caelum / suspiciens...taxus*: *taxus*, a collective singular as *nullo vertice* suggests, denotes a grove of yews. The clause says that the tops of the yew trees do not grow upwards as would be expected: cf. *Botanica, s.v. taxus*. For *vertex* = "tree-top", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 445-6: *quantum vertice ad auras / aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*; Ov. *Met.* 10. 103. This description reflects the abnormal growth of trees in other places of horror: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 534-5: *curvosque tendit quercus et putres situ / annosa ramos.*

nullo: = *omnino non*, Haskins *ad loc.*; for further uses of *nullus* as a simple negative, cf. Heitland, 1887, cviii.

645: *Phoebo non pervia*: the yews grow with such density that they block out the sun. This darkness at the mouth of Erictho's haunt expands upon Virgil's description of the mouth of the cave where the *katabasis* takes place: *Aen.* 6. 238: *tuta... nemorumque tenebris*. Darkness is a feature common to all of these places of horror, normally expressed in this way, i.e. that the rays of the sun are unable to penetrate to the place: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 15-16: οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς | Ἠέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίῃεσσιν; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 195: *(speluncam)... solis inaccessam radiis*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 762; Sen. *Oed.* 540-1; 545: *lucis et Phoebi inscius*. Lucan's expression alludes to Ovid's description of Invidia's abode which is *non ulli pervia vento*, (*Met.* 2. 762) thus reinforcing the connection between Invidia and Erictho; cf. *ad* 517: *Stygio...pallore*; and is imitated at Stat. *Theb.* 4. 420-1, the sciomancy scene: *Silva... stat pervia nullis / solibus.*

taxus: the yew has bad associations. It appears in Atreus' grove: Sen. *Thy.* 653-5: *nulla qua laetos solet / praebere ramos arbor aut ferro coli, / sed taxus et cupressus*; and is elsewhere connected with death and the underworld: cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 432-3: *est via declivis funesta nubila taxo / ducit ad infernas... sedes*; V. Fl. 1. 777; Stat. *Theb.* 11. 94. The tree is also poisonous, as ancients recognised, the probable source of its infernal associations: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 257, with Thomas: *taxi... nocentes*; Caes. *BG.* 6. 31. 5; Plin. *NH.* 16. 51: *taxica... venena*; 24. 116: *taxi arboris fumus necat mures*: on the yew, cf. Sargeaunt, 1920, *s.v. taxus*; in connection with death, the timber of the yew was used to make coffins: cf. Meiggs, 1982, 294.

646-8: Lucan describes the darkness and stagnation of the cave's interior. Neither of these attributes are surprising. The point of mentioning them is to emphasise Erictho's barbarity since she occupies such a place and makes no attempt to render it more hospitable. She is, thus, like Cacus, who lives in hellish darkness, and Invidia whose house is *tristis et ignavi plenissima frigoris et quae / igne vacet semper, caligine semper abundet*, Ov. *Met.* 2. 763-4.

646: *marcentes…tenebrae*: an unusual way to describe shadows, not normally withered or drooping, as *marcens* commonly suggests. It must have the active sense "causing apathy; draining, overwhelming"; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 36. 1: *Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlacessiti nutrierunt*. The point of this expression is uncertain. Perhaps the darkness in this cave, a conduit between the worlds of the living and the dead (cf. 648-53), can cause the living to feel as though they are dying, just as it is the place where a dead body will start living: certainly Sextus' appearance at 658 is corpse-like: *exanimi…voltu*.

pallens…situs: for *pallens* to make sense, *situs* must indicate slime, mould or other types of rottenness, that is the physical manifestations of deterioration rather than the abstract concept: cf. Prop. 4. 5. 72: *immundo pallida mitra situ*; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 52: *canescunt turpi tecta relicta situ*. As can be seen from the examples above, pale coloration is not incompatible with such decay. Bentley's emendation of *pallens* to *squalens*, on the grounds that "*pallens situs non apte dicitur*", is therefore unnecessary. *Pallens* emphasises the dimness of the place: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 357: *tum Sol pallentis haud umquam discutit umbras*. This epithet often describes the underworld, a place of darkness, strengthening the cave's infernal connections: cf. *Aetna* 78: *Ditis pallentia regna*; [Tib]. 3. 5. 21; Stat. *Silv.* 1. 5. 27; cf. André, 1949, 145.

For *situs* as a feature of the Virgilian underworld, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 462: *me iussa deum…per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam*; also εὐρώεις "mouldy, dank", an epithet of the underworld: Hom. *Il.* 20. 65; *Od.* 10. 512: αὐτος δ' εἰς Ἀΐδεω ἰέναι δόμον εὐρώεντα; Hes. *Theog.* 731, with West; 739. *Marcentes* also denotes this idea of underworld decay.

sub antris: *sub* here = "down in", not "under"; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 244: *vidimus obscuris primam sub vallibus urbem*; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 29.

647: *longa nocte*: i.e. perpetual darkness, appropriate for the quasi-infernal cave. For *nox* as darkness, cf. Lucr. 4. 172: *taetra nimborum nocte*; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 89. Night is also the perpetual state in the land of the Cimmerians and in Atreus' palace: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 19: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νὺξ ὀλοὴ τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι; Sen. *Thy.* 679: *nox propria luco est*. As night is the appropriate time for magic, a place of endless night is eminently suitable for Erictho: cf. *ad* 518-20. This expression for darkness also balances the use of the motif of the blocked-out sun at 645.

647-8: *nisi carmine factum / lumen*: not only stresses, by repetition, that there is no natural light in the place but also states that whatever illumination the cave gets is never made by conventional means. This implies that nobody other than this witch ever enters the place and once again shows that she eschews the normal practices of human society; cf. *ad* 510-13. Magical illumination of this sort is not an aim recorded in literary accounts of magic; one instance of it survives in the *PGM*, though even here it is part of a lamp divination and the initial source of illumination would be the lamp itself, cf. *PGM.* 4. 955-85.

648-51: Lucan describes the air within the cave as worse than that of Taenarus, one of the well-known approaches to the underworld. The means of expression is deliberately confusing since Lucan wishes to suggest that Erictho's cave is a gateway to the underworld. The clauses *maestum mundi... Tartarei reges* could describe both Taenarus and Erictho's cave, an ambiguity which Lucan exploits here and explains in the following lines. Likewise, the cave of Cacus, at Virg. *Aen.* 8. 243-6, is virtually indistinguishable from the underworld; also, the grove within Atreus' palace, haunted by the dead: cf. Sen. *Thy.* 671-3.

648-9: *non Taenariis sic faucibus aer / sedit iners*: cf. Housman, *ad loc.*: "*aer inertior quam Taenariis faucibus sedit*".

Taenariis...faucibus: Taenarus, a cave in Laconia, was an alleged entrance to the underworld: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 43-4: χθόνιον | Ἀιδα στόμα, Ταίναρον; Virg. *Georg.* 4. 467: *Taenarias...fauces, alta ostia Ditis*; Sen. *HF.* 662 ff. It appeared in various mythological *katabases*, e.g. Hercules; Orpheus; Theseus and Pirithous: cf. Roscher, 5. 11. 14-12. 31; *RE.* II 4a. 2044. 12-48. The comparison to Taenarus not only makes Erictho's cave resemble an entrance to the underworld; it also recalls these other *katabases* which took place there, thus stressing that the necromancy will be its inverse.

Fauces, a term appropriate for both the mouth of a cave and the entrance to the underworld, underscores the similarity between Taenarus and Erictho's cave: for cave mouth, cf. Liv. 10. 1. 5: *donec altero specus ore - nam pervius erat - invento utraeque fauces congestis lignis accensae*; Cic. *ND.* 2. 95; for underworld entrance, cf. Lucr. 3. 1012: *Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 273; Sen. *Phaed.* 1201; the term *fauces* describes the narrowness of the entryway to Hell, which derives from an ancient conception of the underworld as a vessel, like a bottle, with a narrow neck; cf. Wagenvoort, 1965, 112-29.

649: *iners*: the air in both places is unmoving and stagnant: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 25: *seu stabit iners seu profluet umor*; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 584; for *iners* in other underworld descriptions, cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 434: *Styx... iners*; Sen. *HF.* 686. Stillness of air is a feature of many other places of horror: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 762: *non ulli pervia vento*; Luc. 3. 408-9: *nec ventus in illas / incubuit silvas*; also Loupiac, 1991, 250.

mundi...latentis: i.e. the underworld, an expression found only in Lucan: cf., however, Ov. *Met.* 5. 507: *regina... opaci... mundi*; Sen. *HF.* 863: *silentis otium mundi*, expressions which describe the underworld as a place which is beyond human perception. Elsewhere *mundus latens* refers to the antipodes: cf. Vitruv. 9. 5. 4; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 364.

confine: "border, boundary". The substantive use of this word is rare and poetic: cf. V. Fl. 6. 374; Stat. *Silv.* 5. 2. 74: *nitorque luxuriae confine tenens*. Both Taenarus and Erictho's cave form the border between the worlds of the living and the dead, as

was the land of the Cimmerians: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11. 13: Ἥ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.

650: ***ac nostri***: balances *latentis* of the previous line. Enjambment emphasises the divide between the two worlds.

admittere manes: *manes* are allowed to enter here because it is an extension of the underworld. Hence, Erictho's cave is suitable for summoning spirits. The cave, thus, resembles the graves and tombs used in other magical rites to evoke the dead: these too are places where the worlds of living and dead meet; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8; Luc. 6. 511-13, with notes *ad loc.*

admittere: some manuscripts read *emittere*, which cannot be correct. The spirits are not "sent out" to the upper world but are "allowed to enter" this cave because it is an extension of the underworld; for *admitto*, cf. Ov. *Am.* 1. 4. 37: *nec sinus admittet digitos*; Col. 7. 5. 20. The idea that the Tartarean rulers are happy to emit shades from this cave goes against the normal conditions of death: cf. *ad* 635: *leges Erebi.*

651: ***Tartarei reges***: the rulers of the underworld. The plural *reges* refers to the royal house of the underworld, i.e. Pluto and Proserpina, cf. Liv. 1. 39. 2: *puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen, caput arsisse ferunt...clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges.*

nam: strongly connects this sentence with the preceding one and introduces proof that Lucan is describing attributes of Erictho's cave not Taenarus. This sentence is constructed as circumstantial evidence for the assertion that the cave is haunted.

Thessala vates: Erictho; *vates* can denote soothsayers of dubious reputation and magicians, cf. Liv. 25. 1. 8: *sacrificuli ac vates ceperant hominum mentes quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsa; et quaestus ex alieno errore facilis, quem velut concessae artis usu exercebant. primo secretae bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur*; 39. 8. 4; Prop. 2. 4. 15; Massoneau, 1934, 47-8; Burriss, 1936, 141. It is also used of frenzied prophets; cf. *ad* 628; most notable is the Cumaean Sibyl, Erictho's Virgilian counterpart: *Aen.* 6. 65: *sanctissima vates, praescia venturi.* The term recalls the connection between the two characters. Erictho is a *vates* here only, significantly since this sentence questions whether she summons spirits or descends to the underworld, the latter being the Sibylline method.

Lucan's use of the term *vates* here is viewed as a method for connecting Erictho and her *carmina* with the poet and his, leading to many interesting conclusions about Lucan's views on his own poem: cf. O'Higgins, 1988; Masters, 1992, 105-15; cf. also *ad* 628: *Thessala vatem.* Especially important is Masters' idea that this comparison reveals an internal tension in the poem and the poet: by composing an epic which celebrates the victory of Caesar and the origin of the Julio-Claudian *principes*, which the poet loathes, he creates *carmina* which are as evil as Erictho's.

652: ***vim faciat fatis***: cf. *ad* 443-51, 492-9.

dubium est: on Lucan's uncertainty about the causes behind magic, cf. *ad* 492-9.

652-3: ***quod traxerit illuc…quod descenderit***: two causal clauses introduce the alternatives, raising the dead to the cave or descending through the cave to see them in Hell. These further underline the liminality of the cave and stress by direct contrast that Erictho's method of communicating with the dead differs greatly from the Virgilian *katabasis*. The highly mannered word order, with chiastic arrangement of the clauses around the indirect question upon which they depend, reinforces the antithetical nature of the two clauses.

653: ***aspiciat Stygias…umbras***: an indirect question, dependent on *dubium est*. It is incorrect to take *umbras* with *descenderit*, *pace*Bentley who emended *descenderit* to *descendat ad*, taking *quod* as meaning *quod cadaver*, a radical and illogical change of subject, which also ignores the balanced structure of the two *quod* clauses. *Umbras* here = *animas*, as Housman states. Commas after *Stygias* and *descenderit*, found in Haskins' and Bourgery-Ponchont's texts, clarify the sense greatly. *Aspiciat* is a further allusion to *Aeneid* 6. 154-5, the conclusion of the Sibyl's speech: *sic demum lucos Stygios et regna invia vivis / aspicies*; it further strengthens the contrast between Virgil's *katabasis* and Lucan's necromancy.

654-6: Erictho dresses herself in special garments for the rite. In literary descriptions, the traditional witches' garb involves flowing clothes, bare feet and free, unbound hair: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 509, 518, both with Pease; Hor. *Epod.* 5. 15-16, 27-8; *Sat.* 1. 8. 23-4; Ov. *Met.* 7. 182-3; Sen. *Med.* 752-3; Apul. *Met.* 3. 21. This was due to a belief that the witch herself must be free from bindings which would obstruct the influx of supernatural powers; cf. Tupet, 1976, 48, though she notes that this was not universal practice in literature. Erictho's apparel partly conforms to these regulations: the garments mentioned in 654, especially the *amictus*, are probably loose; her hair, however, is bound up with snakes, a get-up which owes more to the presentation of the witch as a Fury rather than typical magical practice. The sequence of the description, first location of the rite, then the dress of the officiant, follows that at Sen. *Oed.* 530 ff.

654: ***discolor…vario***: both terms refer to her clothing as being multi-coloured: for *discolor*, cf. Sen. *NQ.* 1. 3. 1: *formam arcus discoloris efficiunt (nubes)*; Stat. *Theb.* 9. 685; Zucchelli, 1989, 557-9; for *varius*, cf. Ter. *Eun.* 683: *varia… veste exornatus fuit*; Varr. *LL.* 5. 100: *tigris qui est leo varius*; Prop. 3. 13. 32. For variegated colours in magic, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 8. 73-4, with Clausen, 77: *triplici diversa colore / licia*; *necte tribus nodis ternos… colores*; Petr. 131; Abt, 1908, 74-6.

furialis cultus: Erictho dresses up like one of the Furies. *Cultus*, "dress, 'get-up'", refers to the overall costume which she dons: cf. Sall. *Jug.* 33. 1: *Iugurtha… cultu quam maxime miserabili… Romam venit*; Liv. 8. 15. 7; Sen. *Clem.* 1. 24. 1. *Furialis*

refers to anyone or anything which resembles the Furies: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 17-18: *quamvis furiale centum / muniant angues caput eius*; Liv. 7. 17. 3. Lucan is not explicit about how her garb is Fury-like. Her snaky hair is the most apparent similarity; cf. *ad* 656. Written descriptions of the Furies concentrate on iconographical details, such as snaky hair, whips and torches rather than their clothing. On certain vase paintings, however, the Furies are represented wearing bi-coloured straps which cross over their otherwise naked chests; cf. *LIMC s.v. Erinys*, plates 8, 11, 102, 111. Perhaps this is what Lucan is attempting to describe with the *discolor...furialis cultus*.

amictu: a cloak: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 405: *purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu*; Prop. 2. 23. 13. *Amictu* serves to particularise *cultus*. For the cloak as witch's apparel, cf. Hor. *Sat.*1. 8. 23-4: *nigra succinctam...palla / Canidiam*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 182; Sen. *Oed.* 551-4: *funesto integit / vates amictu.../ squalente cultu maestus ingreditur senex / lugubris imos palla perfundit pedes.*

655: *voltusque aperitur crine remoto*: she binds back her hair, contrary to her usual appearance: cf. *ad* 517-8: *facies...inpexis onerata comis*. Witches usually untied their hair during magical rites; cf. *ad* 654-6.

656: Erictho binds her hair with snakes. As mentioned above, hair binding is an unusual though not unparalleled practice; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 15-16: *Canidia, brevibus illigata viperis / crinis et incomptum caput*; Sen. *Oed.* 555. This detail indicates Lucan's debt to Horace's Canidia in his conception of Erictho. Erictho's head-dress is another aspect of her *furialis cultus*: the Furies were commonly portrayed with snaky hair, a remnant of the earlier conception of the Fury as serpent, cf. Küster, 1913, 61-71; for other instances, cf. Aesch, *Eum.* 46 ff., with Garvie; Cat. 64. 193-4: *Eumenides, quibus anguino redimita capillo / frons*; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 450; Ov. *Met.* 4. 454. The depiction of Erictho as a Fury would inspire fear in the audience: the Furies typically terrified persons who encounter them: cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 1046 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 445 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 4. 484 ff.; 9. 410; 10. 349. It is also noteworthy that the Furies have, in some capacity, guardianship over the shades in the underworld: Virg. *Aen.* 6. 554-6, 570-2; Stat *Theb.* 11. 79. Erictho, by dressing up as a Fury, would in some way take on this role of custodian which could allow her easier access to the shades for her magic.

Besides this connection to the Furies, the use of serpents for hair ornaments would be terrifying and awe-inspiring. Snakes in antiquity were often perceived to be terrible creatures, with chthonic associations and immensely deadly capabilities: cf. Nic. *Ther.* 298-308, on the Haemorrhois; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 203-27; Luc. 9. 619-99; *OZ* 1§441; Küster, 1913, 90 ff., 113-4; Sauvage, 1975, 244-5. The ability to control snakes was a mark of great power, often given to witches, cf. *ad* 488-91; also Medea's control over the serpents which draw her chariot; Ov. *Met.* 7. 218-21, 234-7, 350-1; Sen. *Med.* 1023-4; in non-magical spheres, cf. Diod. 3. 36. 3-7; 37. 1-9; Suet. 43. 4; for discussion, cf. Wiedemann, 1992, 62-6. Erictho's use of snakes recalls a further attribute of *Invidia*, at Ov. *Met.* 2. 768-9, where she devours snakes, an incident which demonstrates her power and the source of her venomous nature; cf. *ad* 517: *Stygio...pallore*, for further similarities to *Invidia*.

The structure of this verse, a self-contained golden line, underscores the importance of the material Lucan describes and enhances its impact.

coma...horrida: "bristling hair", cf. Pac. *Trag.* 20b, R.: *coma prolixa impexa... atque horrida*; Cic. *Cael.* 33; also Hor. *Epod.* 5. 27: *(Sagana) horret capillis... asperis.*

vipereis...sertis: i.e. "with snaky bindings". *Vipereus* often describes the hair of horrible monsters: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 280-1: *Discordia... / vipereum crinem vittis innexa*; Ov. *Met.* 4. 491; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6. 662: *vipereos... sorores*; Stat. *Theb.* 7. 579: *vipereo... flagello*, describing the Furies or their attributes.

sertis: usually denotes garlands or chains of flowers, for binding the hair. *Serta* is somewhat oxymoronic, normally appearing in pious or pleasant contexts, often with a religious association: cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 803: *si coronas, serta, unguenta, iusserit ancillam ferre*; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 200-2; Tib. 2. 4. 48: *annua constructo serta dabit tumulo*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 354. The use of the term here shows, once again, that Erictho's magic is a perversion of religion and religious custom.

substringitur: "to draw in, tuck in tight", cf. Sen. *Tro.* 88: *veste remissa substringe sinus*; Tac. *Germ.* 38. 2.

657-66: There is a brief pause in the proceedings while Erictho reassures Sextus and his companions about the rite, reacting to their fear. Sextus' terror is characteristic; cf. *ad* 423-4, 596-7. Nevertheless, Lucan may be modelling the lines on Aeneas' fear shown at various points during his encounter with the Sibyl and the *katabasis*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 54-5: *gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit / ossa tremor*; 290 ff.: *corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum / Aeneas...*; this underlines a contrast between the two characters: for Aeneas, a reaction of fear is surprising, whereas for Sextus it is typical. Erictho's reply to this, "have no fear..." must be parodic, given the general nature of the scene and the character. Martindale, 1976, *ad loc.*, sees it as a parody of the "fear not" motif found in epiphanies, e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 607: θαρσεῖτε. It could also be taken as a parody of the advice given in Stoic writings not to succumb to fear, among other emotions. Such a parody appears elsewhere in the epic, for instance Scaeva's *aristeia*, a parody of Stoic *virtus*, and the mass suicide of Vulteius and his troops in book four as a parody of the Stoic doctrine of suicide. In both of these scenes the character in question makes a mockery of a Stoic doctrine, which marks out the individual as wicked. The purpose of Erictho's parodic treatment of Stoic psychology would be further to condemn her as well as the recipient of her advice.

Throughout these lines Lucan piles up many words for fearing: *pavidos*, *trementem*, *exanimi*, *trepida*, *timores*, *pavidi*, *timor*, *ignavi*, *metuentis*. The overall effect of this repetition is an emphasis upon the mental and emotional state of Sextus and his companions, culminating in *metuentis... manes* which provides a clever and paradoxical conclusion to Erictho's speech of encouragement. Most of the words in this list are common terms for fearing in the epic: cf. MacKay, 1961.

The lines may well serve a further purpose, as a cue to a reading of the subsequent passages on the necromancy as horror. This notion of a cued response to horror derives from an attempt to define the modern horror genre; cf. Carroll, 1990, 15-28. A situation described in a potential horror narrative can be open to ambiguous emotional responses: e.g., a ghost, a dead person who cannot find rest either because of acts performed during its life or disturbance of its mortal remains, is not necessarily a figure of horror. A cued horror reaction to ghosts makes *Poltergeist* or *The Amityville Horror* true horror films; emotional responses other than fear make The Dutchman, in Wagner's *Der fliegende Holländer*, a romantic figure. This theory is applicable to ancient literature, and can be seen in some of the more horrific passages of the *Aeneid*, e.g. 2. 203-27, the snakes attacking Laocoon, where Aeneas interjects with *horresco referens* (204) and states *diffugimus visu exsangues* (212), showing the Trojans' fear; also *Aen.* 3. 613 ff. Lucan similarly cues his audience to respond with fear to the witch and to the necromancy. Even though Erictho herself is commanding Sextus and his friends not to be afraid, the mere mention of it shows that horror is the natural response to the scene, and the response desired by the author.

657: *comites*: cf. *ad* 573.

658: *exanimi defixum lumina voltu*: this describes Sextus, alluding to Virg. *Aen.* 6. 156: *Aeneas maesto defixus lumina voltu.* The context of the Virgilian line is that Aeneas has left the Sibyl's cave, pondering the question of who among his men has died, while Lucan's line is the reverse: Sextus is inside the witch's cave and is awaiting the rite which will bring back a soldier from the dead. This very strong allusion is the last connection which Lucan makes with Virgil's *Aeneid* before the lengthy magical ritual where he departs from his model for over 100 lines.

exanimi...voltu: his face is described as full of fear, literally "out of its mind with fear". The term is strong, denoting true and crippling terror, and it is used strikingly here, since it normally refers to a person rather than an object or body part: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 672: *audiit exanimis*; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 76; Stat. *Theb.* 5. 493. There is a strong contrast between this and the corresponding word at *Aen.* 6. 156, *maesto*; cf. above. This one word reveals their different mental states: Aeneas is grim yet thoughtful, Sextus is scared out of his wits: cf. Narducci, 1979, 59. A further dimension is added to *exanimi* by O'Higgins, 1988, 222. She understands this as "dead", its more common sense: cf. *ad* 721: *exanimis artus*. This interpretation plays with the corpse who is now dead but will return to life. It also adds to the contrast with *maestus Aeneas*: though concerned, he is capable of continuing and succeeding in the future, as the narrative reveals; Sextus is, however, doomed to failure and death, as shown by the subsequent history of the civil wars: O'Higgins' interpretation suggests that this future is virtually written on Sextus' face, and it is another subtle example of the overall contrasts between Sextus and Aeneas, and the *Bellum Civile* and the *Aeneid*, the latter of which concerns the creation of Rome, the former its destruction.

defixum lumina: "to have one's eyes fixed", cf. *Aen.* 6. 156 with Austin; also *Rhet. Her.* 3. 27: *acri et defixo aspectu*; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 249. *Defixum* is used like a Greek middle, with *lumina* as direct object.

659: *ponite*: used to denote laying aside emotions, often in passages with a Stoic flavour, cf. Cic. *TD.* 3. 66: *ad ponendum dolorem*; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 302-3; Ov. *Met.* 8. 474; Sen. *Dial.* 9. 17. 7; Tac. *Germ.* 27. 2.

conceptos mente timores: *concipere* suggests both "to form a mental attitude" or "to invent": for the first sense, cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 301: *maiorem in sese concipit metum*; Cic. *Div.* 2. 81; Virg. *Aen.* 11. 369. For the second sense, the notion of fears made up in one's mind is in accordance with the Stoic view that fears are illusory, the invention of a weak mind, and it is for this reason that they must be avoided: cf. *ad* 417: *degeneres... animi*; *peioraque*; 418: *praesumpto robore.*

660: This is Erictho's statement of intent: she will restore life to this corpse. The mannered line is artfully crafted, self-contained, with anaphora of *iam... iam* at the start and arrangement of the adjectives and nouns: abAB. The diaeresis at the end of the first foot strengthens the force of the anaphora. As an encouragement for Sextus to end his fears the line has little to recommend it: although Erictho is taking away any sense of suspense from Sextus by informing him of what she is going to do, the very nature of her action is terrifying. Nevertheless, in Stoic terms such information should be useful, since fear is caused only by ignorance: cf. above. Her advice adds greatly to the parody of Stoic thought in these lines.

vera...vita figura: i.e. "life of a true sort", a highly ironic characterisation. For *figura*= "type, sort", cf. Vitruv. 7. 3. 4: *coronarum... sunt figurae aliae purae, aliae caelatae*; Stat. *Theb.* 5. 206. The expression emphasises that Erictho will perform necromancy not sciomancy; cf. *ad* 622-3.

661: "so that people, though terrified, can hear it speaking". Erictho expects her magic to engender fear in her clients, though this will in no way affect the success of necromancy. The words reveals how hollow Erictho's encouragements are.

quamvis: cf. *ad* 808.

possint: the third person subject here, after the direct command at 659, indicates that Erictho is making a generalising statement.

662-6: The second part of Erictho's speech of encouragement is less straightforward, and not especially comforting. The gist of her argument must be "although I could show you other (more frightening) things, you will only be seeing the scared spirits so don't be afraid". The logic is difficult to follow since the main clause, "*Quis timor... manes?*", is only loosely connected to the subordinate clauses, "*si vero... gigantes*", and requires the reader to understand that the contents of the "if"

clauses are more terrifying than the *manes* in the main clause. Furthermore, being informed that there are more frightening things which Erictho could reveal does little to calm one's fears in the present situation. The list of things which Erictho mentions are typical features in a description of the underworld, and in particular recall elements of the Virgilian *katabasis*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 295 ff., 417-22, 548 ff.; *Georg.* 4. 478-84; Ov. *Met.* 4. 447-63; Sen. *HF.* 662-829, *pass.*; Luc. 3. 12-19. In effect it is a final statement, before the rite proper begins, of the difference between Virgil's and Lucan's scenes of prophecy from the dead: Virgil showed all the horrors of Hell, Lucan will show just one shade.

662: *Stygiosque lacus*: Styx, which divided the lands of living and dead, was often conceived as a lake rather than a river: cf. Arist. *Ran.* 137-8: εὐθὺς γάρ ἐπὶ λίμνην μεγάλην ἥξεις πάνυ | ἄβυσσον; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 392-3: *nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem / accepisse lacu*; Tib. 2. 6. 40; Prop. 2. 28. 40; cf. also the *Stygia palus* at Virg. 6. 323. Oaths sworn on Stygian waters were binding, and the punishment for perjury was dreadful, hence it evoked fear and awe in mortals and gods alike; cf. *ad* 378-80.

662-3: *ripamque sonantem / ignibus*: i.e. the river Phlegethon, or Pyriphlegethon, the river of fire, cf. Hom. *Od.* 10. 513; Cic. *ND.* 3. 43, with Pease; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 550-1; Ov. *Met.* 5. 544.

sonantem: "to resound with", cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 554-5: *balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes / arentesque sonant ripae*; Curt. 6. 6. 31. The auditory image enhances the picture of Hell which Erictho is creating.

663: *me praebente*: i.e. Erictho would be offering these things up to Sextus' eyes. On *praebere*, cf. *ad* 607: *praebere*. Most manuscripts have *praesente*; Madvig's *praebente* is stronger in sense and parallels *ostendam*, though an object must be understood; *pace*Martindale, 1977, 382-3, Korenjak, *ad loc.*, who support *praesente* on the basis that it parodies religious language.

664: *Eumenides*: the Eumenides, or Furies, live in Hades where they punish the sinners imprisoned in Tartarus: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 482-3; *Aen.* 6. 570-2, 605-7; Ov. *Met.* 4. 451-4; Sen. *Thy.* 23 ff.; Luc. 3. 14-15. They are proverbially terrifying; cf. *ad* 656.

664-5: Cerberus' monstrous appearance and vicious behaviour would make him scary. He was the dog which guarded the entrance to the underworld, and consumed the souls of those who attempt to leave: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 769-73; Eur. *Alc.* 360 f.; Virg. *Georg.* 4. 483; *Aen.* 6. 417-23, with Austin; Sen. *HF.* 59-63, 1221-4; for these reasons, he represented the permanence of death: cf. Scholz, 1937, 33-6, esp. 34.

villosaque colla colubris: Cerberus' snaky mane, a common depiction: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 419: *horrere videns iam colla colubris*; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 17-18: *Cerberus,*

quamvis furiale centum / muniant angues caput eius. Lucan's words echo *Aeneid* 6, *loc. cit.*, with *colla colubris* appearing in both cases in the last two feet, after a bucolic diaeresis. *Colla* is a true plural since Cerberus traditionally has three, or more, heads.

villosaque: found first at Enn. *Scaen.* 384 J. On adjectives in *-osus*, cf. *ad* 338: *nemorosus*.

665: *vincti terga gigantes*: the Giants, who attempted to overthrow the Olympian gods; cf. Apollod. 1. 6. 1; *Aetn.* 41-73; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 49 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 1. 151-62. Lucan is technically incorrect to set place them in Hell. Traditionally, after their assault upon heaven, they were imprisoned beneath Sicily, or the Phlegrean fields in Campania: cf. refs above. It is the Titans and the Aloadai, both of superhuman size though not the race of Giants, who are sent to the underworld after a war with the gods; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 617-719, with West; on Aloadai, cf. *ad* 410-12; also Virg. *Aen.* 6. 580-4. The Giants and the Gigantomachy commonly represent civil war, e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 49 ff.; cf. *ad* 410-12. This reference to the Giants imprisoned and punished in Tartarus seems to allude to the fact that civil war is a crime, punishable in the afterlife; cf. *ad* 799-802.

terga: accusative of respect, cf. *ad* 625: *maestum tecta caput*.

666: *quis timor…metuentis cernere manes*: Erictho's speech ends with the paradox "why fear something fearful?". Normally the *manes* inspire fear in others, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 290-4. Here the shades fear Erictho; cf. 512, 531-2, 560-1. Mild alliteration in *metuentis… manes* underscores the paradox.

667-718: Erictho's spell.

Lucan describes in detail Erictho's spell for the resurrection in three stages: physical preparation of the body; an incantation of inarticulate sounds; and a prayer, in which she invokes the powers of the underworld to restore the corpse to life.

Detailed descriptions of magical spells appear often in literary accounts of magic: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 263-92; Sen. *Med.* 680-809, both of which are probably models for Lucan. The description of the fumigation made by Canidia at Hor. *Epod.* 5. 17-24 is another, earlier example of this taste for bizarre magical detail, as is Laevius, frg. 27 (Court.), a list of ingredients in a love potion. The magical ritual which Lucan presents exceeds most of its predecessors in length, excluding Seneca, and it is more accurate and coherent than others. Many details of the spell, in fact, have parallels only in the *PGM* or in *defixiones*, especially the sounds which Erictho makes, 685-93, and the ritually correct form of her prayer to the underworld divinities; on the close correspondence between Lucan and these magical sources, cf. Volpilhac, 1978, though to be read with caution; Graf, 1997, 190-204. Nevertheless, literary models are an important source for some of Lucan's details in the spell, and by drawing from them he sets the passage firmly within the poetic tradition.

Folk superstition and medical magic are other probable sources for many details of Erictho's spell, especially the items used to stuff the corpse. The encyclopedia of

Pliny the Elder is full of such magical recipes and offers parallels for a number of Erictho's more peculiar ingredients. These work on the principals of sympathy or *similia similibus*, for which cf. Tavenner, 1916a, 113-5; Annequin, 1973, 17-19. These folk superstitions are at times useful for explaining why Lucan has included a particular object, e.g. the eagle-stone, *aetites*, 676, an object used in obstetric magic which would presumably be useful in giving a body a second life. In other cases, parallels for an item found in Erictho's spell show only that this particular object has magical power but no apparent connection with necromancy, e.g. the *nodus Atlantios* of a hyena, 672, a remedy for epilepsy and, therefore, a powerful magical object, though with no immediate connection to necromancy. The *PGM*, another rich source of parallels for Erictho's ingredients, show these items put to very different uses: e.g. 7. 203-5, 206-7: hyena parchment used to cure coughs; 3. 701: snake's slough in a spell to gain foreknowledge from the sun. In any case, all of the objects used by Erictho have a great magical power, regardless of whether they are suitable for raising the dead.

Lucan's sources for his information about magical rites is a matter of speculation. Beyond the adaptation of his literary predecessors, it has been suggested that he had researched such esoteric subjects, that he had personal contact with witches, Magi or others who had employed magic, or that he had participated in magical rites personally; cf. Bourgery, 1928a; Morford, 1967, 68; Volpilhac, 1978, 284-6. Certainly the times, and in fact the court of Nero were replete with people who knew about or practised magic, including the emperor himself, who was initiated by Tiridates, and who performed a necromancy to raise the ghost of his mother; cf. Plin. *NH*. 30. 14-15; on the currency of such thought in the period, and its exponents, cf. Morford, 1967, 68-70; Tupet, 1984. Yet the precise extent of Lucan's knowledge remains uncertain. The many parallels to be found in magical writings, which do not appear elsewhere in literary sources, shows some familiarity with the practices of magic. The inaccuracies which appear in the spell, for instance ingredients which are nowhere else associated with necromantic magic, suggest a keen layman's familiarity with the subject rather than a systematic and thorough knowledge.

As a last point, it may be noted that Lucan has been very inventive in assembling the details of this spell, thereby surpassing his literary predecessors. Though the individual aspects of the spell may be found elsewhere, Lucan has chosen to combine them in the one description, and he elaborates certain elements to give a more fantastic tone to the passage. The accumulation of different ingredients, sounds and divinities in the spell has the effect of increasing the overall efficacy of the spell, a principle which can also be seen in the *PGM*; cf. Nock, 1972, 177-80; Gordon, 1987a, 236-7. Lucan's aim must have been to give an air of credibility to the spell. Lucan has combined ingredients which are fantastic and those which are known, or at least reputed, to have genuine powers, and he has described ritual practices which could be recognised by those with some knowledge of the occult, presumably a large number in Lucan's day, and would be distinguishable from the purely literary concoctions of his predecessors. The realism of the passage adds to the horror created by the author; on this cf. Gordon, 1987b, 69-71. The spell of Erictho is not a macabre fantasy like Canidia's spell, or the rejuvenating potion of Ovid's Medea; it lacks the ludicrous detail and hysterical frenzy of Seneca's Medea. Erictho is an evil professional, coldly

performing the rites and incantations which will have a terrifying effect, the resurrection of a dead corpse.

667-684: Erictho prepares the body by opening, cleaning and then filling the corpse with various bizarre and potent items. The process of stuffing the body is one detail wherein Lucan deviates from his literary sources, which combine physical ingredients into a potion, e.g. Ov. *Met.* 7. 263-78; Sen. *Med.* 694-738. The practice is paralleled at *PGM.* 3. 15 ff., a spell to summon a god, where the magician inserts *lamellae* into the anus, throat and another part (text missing) of a drowned cat; 4. 2164-70; 12. 109; 36. 235 ff. Medical magic often uses a similar procedure whereby a herb or animal part is applied directly to the affected place and a cure follows; cf. also Apul. *Met.* 2. 20, the Egyptian Zatchlas resurrects a corpse by applying herbs directly to its chest and mouth. In the present case, however, Erictho inserts so many items into the corpse that it is doubtful that a single body could contain them.

Volpilhac, 1978, 278-9, however, sees Erictho's treatment of the corpse as alluding to mummification and argues that many of the ingredients mentioned are code names for simple substances used in this procedure, parallel to the list of code names found at *PGM.* 12. 401-440. Volpilhac cannot be right: Erictho's aim is not to preserve the corpse but rather to bring it back to life. Moreover, her general thesis for which this is evidence, that Lucan intimately knew Egyptian magical practices is undercut by the fact that Lucan's use of this putative learning is quite inconsistent. At best, it would suggest that he was aware of a few details, with no systematic knowledge of Egyptian magic.

ferventi sanguine: Erictho puts fresh (*ferventi*) blood into the corpse; on *ferventi*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 170: *ferrum...ferventi...e vulnere traxit*; Sil. 17. 488. Blood was necessary for reviving the souls of the dead: cf. *ad* 554-5. Lucan may have modelled this action and that of the next lines, washing out the old blood, from Ovid, *Met.* 7. 285-7, where Medea drains out Aeson's own blood and replaces it with her rejuvenating potion.

668: *volneribus...novis*: Erictho performs further mutilations upon the body during the spell, having already dragged it by a hook across the rocky ground at 638-40; for discussion of this, cf. *ad* 637: *traiecto gutture*.

laxata: "laid open", cf. Cels. 7. 19. 2: *demittendus est...digitus...ut...sinum laxet*; Stat. *Theb.* 9. 530. The word suggests that Erictho cuts a large aperture in the corpse's chest to clean and fill the body.

tabo: corrupted or infected blood, often of a dead person; cf. *ad* 548. The ablative is normally taken as one of separation, dependent upon *abluit*; in order to facilitate the necromancy Erictho cleanses the innards of the dead blood and replaces it with living blood. Yet the ablative after *abluere* normally indicates the place of washing, or is instrumental: cf. Larg. 8: *aqua frigida nares diutius abluere*. It seems more likely, therefore, that Lucan is depicting Erictho as "cleaning" the corpse with an unclean substance instead of the usual water, thus perverting the notion of ritual purity.

669: *abluit*: "wash away, cleanse", often with the sense of purification as well as physical cleanliness; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 719-20: *donec me flumine vivo / abluero*; Tac. *Germ.* 40. 5. Cleanliness and purity are important in many magical spells: cf. *PGM.* 1. 54 ff.; 1. 290 ff.; 3. 295 ff.: "cover the tripod with clean linen…place next to the tripod a beaker or a shell containing [pure] water…It is necessary to keep yourself pure for three days in advance. The shrine and the [tripod] must be covered. If you wish [to see] look inside wearing clean [white] garments"; also Fehrle, 1910, 157-8.

virus…lunare: a substance secreted by the moon, full of magical power and prized by witches, cf. *ad* 505-6; also Fahz, 1904, 47, who interprets this as dew. Lucan adapts the hoar-frost found in Medea's rejuvenation potion, at Ov. *Met.* 7. 268: *addidit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas*.

virus: a magical secretion, e.g. Plin. *NH.* 8. 83: *caudae huius animalis (lupi) creditur vulgo inesse amatorium virus*; as *hippomanes*, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 281; Plin. *NH.* 28. 261. *Virus* regularly denotes a poisonous substance, adding a further dimension of deadliness and power, cf. *ad* 548: *virus*.

ministrat: "to supply", cf. Lucr. 2. 1149: *nec quantum opus est natura ministrat*; Prop. 3. 16. 15; also used for the administering of medicines, which may have suggested its use here, cf. Ov. *Her.* 19. 133: *me miserum, quod non medicorum iussa ministro*.

670-1: *huc…miscetur*: Lucan continues by naming various unusual substances which Erictho uses. As mentioned above, these are not mixed up as a potion, as in Ovid's depiction of Medea's spell, but are placed inside the body. *Huc* identifies the corpse's *pectora* as the receptacle for these ingredients. *Miscetur* = "to add in", cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4. 10. 63-4: *unda… / quae… mixto de salo pondus habet*; Cels. 5. 17. 2b.

quidquid: Lucan uses this generalising term rather than naming anything specific. In consequence, the number and type of ingredients are limited only by the reader's imagination. This inclusive effect is continued in the subsequent lines, in which Lucan names specific substances, by including them in the catalogue as being "not absent; *non defuit*".

fetu…sinistro: *sinistro* = "unfavourable"; cf. Ov. *Her.* 2. 115: *cui mea virginitas avibus libata sinistris*; 20. 68: *fuit ad coeptas hora sinistra vias*. Such unfavourable births could be prodigious abominations such as congenitally deformed humans and animals, often taken as bad omens in antiquity; cf. Pease *ad* Cic. *Div.* 1. 36, 93, discussing hermaphroditism and misbirths respectively. The body parts from such births are not typically used in magical spells. Nevertheless, they have dreadful associations since they are portents of disaster and would make Erictho's concoction all the more terrifying from that connection.

671: *spuma canum quibus unda timori est*: i.e. the foam of rabid dogs. *Spuma* often denotes the foam or frothy saliva of animals: cf. Enn. *Ann.* 539 Sk.: *equus... ex anima calida spumas agit albas*; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 516; Ov. *Met.* 4. 501. In medical magic, the slime of a rabid dog is used to prevent hydrophobia (rabies) in humans; and the ashes of a rabid dog's head are a remedy for toothache, cf. Plin. *NH.* 29. 99; 30. 21. These examples, albeit in a different context to the present, reveal the magical power in such a beast. More importantly, rabid dogs had an association with the souls of the dead, and were at times thought to be demons of death; they also had some association with Hecate; cf. Philostr. *Vit. Ap.* 4. 10-11; OZ 1§460; Baumann, 1928; Lilja, 1976, 20-1, 65. All these factors contribute to their use here.

quibus unda timori est: i.e. hydrophobia, fear of water being characteristic of creatures with rabies; cf. Cels. 5. 27. 2c: *solet... ex vulnere aquae timor nasci (hydrophobas Graeci appellant) miserrimum genus morbi*; Plin. *NH.* 8. 152; 29. 99; on rabies and hydrophobia in humans, cf. Larg. 171; Ael. *HA.* 9. 15.

672: *viscera...lyncis*: "the guts of a lynx". The lynx was an uncanny animal with various medico-magical powers; cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 122; Ael. *HA.* 14. 6. For the use of animal guts in spells, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 37; Ov. *Met.* 7. 271; 273; Sen. *Med.* 733-4. Some suggest that *viscera... lyncis* refers to the lyncurion; cf. the *comm.*, followed by Haskins, *ad loc.*, Bourgery-Ponchont, *ad loc.*, Martindale, *ad loc.*, Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 171. This should, however, be rejected. The lyncurion was a fabulous stone created from lynx urine with various magical and medical uses: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15. 413-5; Plin. *NH.* 8. 137; Theophr. *Lapid.* 28-9, with Eichholz; Solin. 2. 39. Yet *viscera* refers most naturally to the internal organs, and cannot indicate either urine or the stones produced by it. At best, Lucan may intend *viscera... lyncis* as a coded reference to the lyncurion, on the analogy of the ingredients at *PGM.* 12. 408-444. It seems best, however, to take *viscera* literally.

nodus hyaenae: the *nodus Atlantios*, or first cervical vertebra of the hyena; cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 99: *hinc spinae articulum... nodum Atlantion vocant*, mentioned as a treatment for epilepsy. For *nodus* as a joint in the body, cf. also Apul. *Met.* 5. 20: *nodum cervicis et capitis abscinde*. The fact that the *nodus hyaenae* has this incredible power would be a good reason for Lucan to include this ingredient in the list, though curing epilepsy would not be a priority for Erictho.

hyaenae: the hyena has startling qualities and many uses in medical magic. Most striking was its alleged annual sex-change: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15. 409-10: *quae modo femina tergo / passa marem est, nunc esse marem miremur hyaenam*; Plin. *NH.* 28. 92 ff.; Ael. *HA.* 1. 25. The hyena can also: imitate the human voice; immobilise a creature by walking around it thrice; and bewitch dogs by the light of the moon: cf. Solin. 27. 23-5; Ael. *HA.* 6. 14; for further details, cf. Arist. *HA.* 594a. 31 ff. The many amazing properties of this beast are listed at Plin. *NH.* 28. 92-104; and in the *PGM* parts of hyena are used in various spells, cf. 7. 203-5, 206-7; 123. 70; *PDM.* 14. 83-4, 1194-5.

Thus, hyena parts, well known as magical ingredients with fantastic powers, are another evocative and realistic ingredient in Erictho's spell.

673: ***cervi pastae serpente medullae***: the marrow of a stag fed on snakes. This rather bizarre ingredient combines two details about the stag. The first is the stag's natural antipathy towards the snake, so strong that it will track snakes to their holes, tear them out, and kill and eat them: cf. Nic. *Ther.* 139-44, with Gow-Scholfield; Plin. *NH.* 8. 118; 28. 149; Ael. *HA.* 2. 9, 8. 6. Thus parts of the stag were used as wards against and as remedies for snakebite: e.g. Nic. *Ther.* 101-2. The other aspect is the use of stag marrow in medical magic, which was the best kind available: cf. Plin. *NH.* 28. 145: *communis et medullarum est. omnes molliunt, explent, siccant, excalfaciunt. laudatissima e cervis...*; also Ov. *Ars.* 3. 215; Cels. 4. 22. 3. Marrow is a well known medical ingredient adding to the realism of the list, while the allusion to the stag's antipathy towards snakes is another evocative detail which enhances the power of the substance used.

cervi: besides the details mentioned above the stag was a creature noted in antiquity for its longevity; Plin. *NH.* 8. 119. Furthermore, the annual loss and renewal of the stag's antlers made it a powerful symbol of death and rebirth: cf. Prieur, 1988, 14-16; for descriptions of the process, cf. Arist. *HA.* 611a. 25-611b. 17; Ael. *HA.* 12. 18. Such symbolism, more so than the stag's antipathy towards snakes, makes it very appropriate for use in a necromancy; for parts of a deer used in magic: cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 273: *vivacis iecur cervi*, in Medea's rejuvenation spell, no doubt also used due to the symbolism of rebirth; *PGM.* 4. 2581; 2647.

medullae: bone marrow: cf. *ad* 539; used in magic at Hor. *Epod.* 5. 37: *exsecta... medulla.*

674-5: the echenais or remora, a small fish which has the power to halt the movements of ships. There are three traditions about the echenais: (i) a small fish, found on stony beaches and used in spells and philtres, but not for food: Arist. *HA.* 505 b 19, Plin. *NH.* 9. 79; (ii) a sucker-fish which attaches itself to the undersides of sharks, dolphins and ships, and thus it can stop them: Arist. *HA.* 557 a 30, [Ov]. *Hal.* 99; Plin. *ibid.*; 32. 2-4; (iii) a lamprey, which can stop ships: Opp. *Hal.* 1. 212; Ael. *HA.* 2. 17; for discussion, cf. Thompson, 1947, 67-70; Saint-Denis, 1947, 34, 94. Lucan here combines details of the first two traditions, it can stop ships and is used in magical spells; cf. also Plin. *NH* 9. 79, who lists its magical powers as: *amatoriis quoque veneficiis infamis est et iudiciorum ac litium mora, quae crimina una laude pensat fluxus gravidarum utero sistens partusque continens ad puerperium.* The etymology of the fish's name, *echenais*, from Greek ἔχω, or *remora*, from Latin *mora*, seems to be the origin of the alleged ability to stop ships. For a similar situation in which power is derived from the meaning of the name, cf. Plin. *NH.* 27. 100, a remedy using the plant *reseda*: *reseda morbis, reseda*; on etymological sympathy, cf. Abt, 1908, 139-40; Tavenner, 1916a; *OZ* 1§400. Though not specifically mentioned in connection with necromancy, the echenais may have been included because its powers may be useful for binding the

spirit of the dead man back into his body, or to the service of the witch. Nevertheless, it is another example of a remarkable creature with well-known powers which suits the context of a very powerful magic spell.

puppem retinens: directly etymologises the fish's name, "ship-stopper", cf. [Ov.] *Hal.* 99: *parva echenais (at est, mirum, mora puppibus ingens)*..

Euro tendente rudentis: this detail, the wind stretching the sheets, emphasises the amazing stopping power of the echenais. Pliny recalls two anecdotes which illustrate this strength: it stopped Antony's ship at Actium, and it held up the quinqueremes of Caligula, and had four hundred oarsmen at its mercy; cf. *NH.* 7. 97; 32. 2-4. Eurus, the east wind, was proverbially violent and strong: cf. *Bell. Alex.* 9. 4: *naves Euro...portum capere prohibebantur*; Hor. *Epod.* 10. 5-6: *niger rudentis Eurus inverso mari / fractosque remos differat*; Ov. *Her.* 11. 9; Neilsen, 1945.

rudentis: the sheets, i.e. the ropes used to raise and lower the sails and control their angle of tilt; on such nautical technicalities, cf. Watson, 1983, 68-9. In a strong wind these, as well as the sail, would be stretched taut; cf. Cat. 64. 235; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 266-7, with Williams: *tum litore funem / deripere excussosque iubet laxare rudentis.* In a few words Lucan creates a vivid image of a ship straining under sail yet not moving.

675: *oculique draconum*: the *draco* is a snake, normally large; cf. Solin., 25. 11 ff., an anecdote which illustrates their size. They are fantastic creatures, commonly guardian serpents and best known as the mythological protectors of the garden of the Hesperides and the Golden Fleece: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13. 12: *patrimonium circumplexus quasi thesaurum draco*; Prop. 4. 8. 3; Tac. *Ann.* 11. 11; on mythological *dracones*, Virg. *Aen.* 4. 484-5, with Pease: *Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi / quae dabat*; Ov. *Met.* 7. 149-51: *pervigilem superest herbis sopire draconem, / qui crista linguisque tribus praesignis et uncis / dentibus horrendus custos erat arboris aureae*; V. Fl. 8. 60-1. Being guardians, much emphasis is placed upon their watchfulness and their eyes; the name *draco* had a derivation from the Greek δέρκεσθαι, "to see"; cf. Maltby, *s.v. draco.* Erictho may add the eyes of the *draco* to give the corpse a similar ability to see everything, and then report to her and Sextus.

Animal eyes appear in other spells, though not necromancies: cf. *PGM.* 1. 223, eyes of a night-owl, spell of invisibility; 1. 285, eyes of a wolf, to summon Apollo, 4. 2945, eyes of a bat, love spell of attraction through wakefulness.

676: the eagle-stone, or *aetites*, a hollow rock containing other smaller stones which rattle, *quae sonant...saxa*; cf. Solin. 37. 14: *aetites...alterum lapidem intrinsecus cohibens cuius crepitu sonorus est cum movetur*; also mentioned, though not named, at Theophr. *Lap.* 5; for further discussion, cf. Eichholz, *ad loc.* The stone was reputed to have great medical-magical powers in the field of obstetrics, cf. Ael. *HA.* 1. 35; Barb, 1950, 316-8, for discussion. It would thus be useful in necromancy, where life is being reinserted into the corpse. The connection with the eagle (*alite*) is a tradition which arose either because eagles built into their nests this stone, without which they could

not give birth, Plin. *NH*. 10. 12; 36. 149; Solin. 37. 15: *invenitur... in nidis aquilae*; Ael. *HA*. 1. 35; or because it was the same colour as the eagle's tail, Plin. *NH*. 37. 187. Lucan's description obviously relates to the first reason. There is no evidence for *aetites* being used by eagles in nest-building; the connection probably originates from an elaborate pun on the Assyrian words for "eagle" and "pregnant", used to conceal the true identity of this magical stone, like the cover-names for other ingredients found at *PGM*. 12. 401-44; cf. Barb, *op. cit*. Certainly, as Pliny shows, by Roman times both the medical properties and fabulous origin of this stone had equal currency, and there is no reason to think that Lucan was attempting to conceal the true nature of the stone behind the story of the eagle. On stones in magic, cf. *ad* 439.

feta...alite: for *fetus* in the context of birds laying eggs, cf. Plin. *NH*. 10. 155: *narrantur et mortua gallina mariti earum visi succedentes in vicem et reliqua fetae more facientes abstinentesque se cantu.*

tepefacta: in the context of incubating eggs, cf. Plin. *NH*. 10. 92: *tepefaciendis ovis*. The order *feta tepefacta* reflects the regular sequence of actions, laying the egg, then warming it.

677-79: Snakes are the three next ingredients. The snake was, in antiquity, a particularly uncanny animal with many associations both good and bad; on these, cf. *ad* 656. It had well known chthonic associations, hence its connection to the Erinyes and other chthonic creatures, deriving from its habit of hibernating underground, especially in the soft soil of graves. From this came the concept of the guardian serpent which protected the corpse and then the soul of a dead person; the concept further developed into the idea that the snake was an embodiment of this person's soul; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 5. 84-96, with Williams; V. Fl. 3. 457-8. This view of the snake was entrenched in Roman thought, making the snake a creature which represented a connection between the worlds of the living and the dead; cf. *OZ* 1§367; Küster, 1913, 61-71. Snakes are, thus, another very appropriate ingredient in necromancy, as they help Erictho make this connection with the underworld; for snakes in magic elsewhere, cf. Prop. 3. 6. 28: *illum... et lecta exsectis anguibus ossa trahunt*, with the commentary of Tupet, 1976, 363-4; Sen. *Med*. 680-704; *PDM*. 14. 917; *PGM*. 36. 197.

The three snakes mentioned, Arabian flying serpent, guardian snake from the Red Sea and Libyan cerastes, have in common an origin in the exotic East. This would make them difficult to obtain and hence increase their potency; cf. *ad* 439: *rupibus*. The East, as the birthplace of magic, might give them greater powers: cf. Plin. *NH*. 30. 3-5; also *ad* 431: *saevorum... magorum*. Otherwise, these varieties have no qualities which make them more appropriate for the necromancy.

677: *Arabum volucer serpens*: the flying serpent of Arabia, cf. Hdt. 2. 75; Cic. *ND*. 1. 101, with Pease; Mel. 3. 81; Ael. *HA*. 2. 38. These creatures attempted an annual migration to Egypt but were stopped and killed by ibises. On flying snakes, a common phenomenon in ancient texts, cf. Sauvage, 1975, 244.

677-8: i.e. a water snake which guards the pearl fisheries of the Red Sea, to which this is indigenous (*innata*). Such a snake is not mentioned elsewhere, except in the scholiasts to Lucan, whose comments are probably mere deductions from the text. These lines evoke the idea of the guardian serpent: cf. *ad* 675: *oculique draconum*. The water snake was thought to have a painful bite and extremely deadly poison: cf. Ael. *HA*. 5. 57; also Nic. *Ther*. 366-71, on the Chelydrus; and the Calabrian Water snake at Virg. *Georg*. 3. 425 ff., with Mynors.

innata rubris / aequoribus: for *innata*, cf. Ov. *Met*. 1. 332: *umeros innato murice tectum (Tritona)*; Sen. *NQ*. 3. 16. 5: *animalia quoque illis innascuntur*. *Rubra Aequora* is not a common name for the Red Sea, the normal appellations being *Erythra Thalassa* and *Rubrum Mare*; cf. Sidebotham, 1986, app. A.

pretiosae...conchae: i.e. pearl oysters, abundant in the Red Sea: cf. Plin. *NH*. 9. 106; also Tib. 2. 4. 30: *e rubro lucida concha mari*; Theophr. *Lap*. 36. Pliny (*NH*. 9. 117 ff.) provides anecdotes which confirm the great value of the pearl; also 37. 204. On the value and importance of the Red Sea pearl-fishing industry in the imperial period, cf. Sidebotham, 1986, 14, 104.

pretiosae: on *-osus* adjectives, cf. 338: *nemorosus*.

679: the slough of the Libyan Cerastes. A snake's cast skin is a powerful symbol of death and rebirth: the snake sheds its dead part and continues to live (*viventis adhuc*) renewed; cf. Aristot. *HA*. 600b 15 ff.; Nic. *Ther*. 137-8: μηδ' ὅτε ῥικνῆεν φολίδων περὶ γῆρας ἀμέρσας| ἀψ ἀναφοιτήσῃ νεαρῇ κεχαρημένος ἥβῃ; Virg. *Georg*. 3. 437-8: *cum positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa / volvitur*; Ael. *HA*. 9. 16; Nicander, *Ther*. 345-58, presents the aetiology of this annual renewal as a gift from the gods of Youth, making explicit the symbolism of the snake's slough. As such, it is very appropriate for necromancy, where life is to be restored. A cast snake's skin was often used in magical spells and remedies, cf. Plin. *NH*. 29. 37, 30. 24, 85, 110; also *PGM*. 3. 701; *PGM*. 4. 2212, a necromantic spell; also Ov. *Met*. 7. 272: *squamea... membrana chelydri*, in the spell to rejuvenate Aeson, a model for Lucan's necromancy.

Libyci: traditionally infested with snakes: cf. Sall. *Jug*. 89. 5; Luc. 9. 619-788.

membrana: i.e. the slough, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 272; Plin. *NH*. 29. 101: *membrana sive senectus anguium vernatione exuta*.

cerastae: a horned serpent, or asp, found only in Libya: cf. Nic. *Ther*. 258-81, with Gow-Scholfield; Plin. *NH*. 8. 85; Luc. 9. 716; Ael. *HA*. 1. 57; 16. 28.

680: The last named ingredient in the spell is the ashes of the phoenix, from which this bird regenerates itself. This legendary creature was another symbol of rebirth and renewal, even more potent than the snake's skin, and hence Erictho's use of it: cf. *OZ* 2§295; Prieur, 1988, 115-19. In the phoenix legend which Lucan adopts, the bird flies

from Arabia to Heliopolis, where it builds a nest on the altar of the sun (*ara*); it then auto-combusts and a new phoenix grows from these ashes; cf. Hdt. 2. 73; Ov. *Met.* 15. 391-407; Plin. *NH.* 10. 4; Tac. *Ann.* 6. 28; Ael. *HA.* 6. 58; Solin. 33. 11-14; Claud. *Phoen.* Lactant. *Carm. de ave phoenice*; for discussion of the story and its various versions, cf. Thompson, 1936, 306-9; van den Broek, 1972, 146-50; Heffernan, 1988, 21 ff.

The phoenix appeared once every 500 years (Hdt. 2. 73), or every 1461 years (Tac. *Ann.* 6. 28). This rarity would enhance the magical potency of its ashes; cf. *ad* 439: *rupibus*.

Eoa...ara: i.e. the altar of the sun at Heliopolis, where the phoenix auto-combusts and regenerates; cf. above. This is eastern in relation to the Graeco-Roman world, though originally the phoenix's path from Arabia to the western lands of Egypt, where it died, symbolised the course of the sun. The symbolism of its migration was lost when the story was adopted by Greek and Roman writers; cf. van den Broek, 1972.

681: *quo*: corresponds to *huc* at 670 and indicates that the materials in the following lines are also placed inside the corpse's cavity.

viles et habentis nomina pestis: describes the ingredients of 671-80. The expression undercuts what preceded to emphasise the magical powers of the unnamed ingredients which follow. This rhetorical effect appeared earlier, 507-9, in which the enormous power and wickedness of the *Thessalides* was compared to the qualities of Erictho. Lucan also expands on the Ovidian phrase "*his et mille aliis...sine nomine rebus*" (*Met.* 7. 275), by adding *viles* and thus making a value-judgement upon ingredients with names.

viles: signifies that the ingredients are relatively common or ordinary, the premium being placed upon rarity in *materia magica*: cf. *ad* 439: *rupibus*.

habentis nomina: the names of the preceding ingredients make them better known, and thus less powerful, than what follows.

pestis: a source of destruction: cf. Cic. *TD.* 2. 20: *ipse inligatus peste interimor textili* (i.e. the cloak soaked in Nessus' blood); Virg. *Georg.* 3. 418-19: *adsuetus coluber succedere... umbrae /(pestis acerba boum)*; Luc. 9. 614. The term well describes most of the creatures named, though is less appropriate for stag's marrow, *aetites* and phoenix ashes. Although most of Erictho's ingredients have healing and productive rather than destructive qualities, it better suits the tenor of Lucan's description to focus upon the worse aspects of Erictho's spell.

682: *infando saturatas carmine frondis*: herbs are extremely common in magic; cf. *ad* 438: *herbasque nocentes*. The line refers to an incantation used by Erictho when gathering these plants. Often special procedures were prescribed for harvesting *herbae*, either to guarantee that magical properties were present, or because the plant was

inherently dangerous unless precautions were taken when obtaining it: cf. Plin. *NH*. 27. 85; Ael. *HA*. 14. 27; also special plant picking spells: *PGM*. 4. 286-95; 2967-3006.

infando…carmine: *infandus*, both "abominable" and "unspeakable", the latter sense creating a paradoxical expression; cf. 448: *infandum… murmur*.

saturatas: "drenched", normally used of liquids: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 79-80: *arida…/ ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola*; Ov. *Her*. 13. 37; Sen. *NQ*. 4a. 2. 10. Its use, though unusual, gives a physical, tangible aspect to the witch's chants which reflects their physical effects; cf. also 500-1: *Phoebeque serena / non aliter diris verborum obsessa venenis*. The image also recalls the "pouring out" of words and speech: cf. Plaut. *Pseud*. 943: *mera iam mendacia fundes*; Cic. *Orat*. 210; Cat. 64. 321.

683: more plant material, *herbae*, whose powers have been enhanced by Erictho's saliva at their generation, forming another instance of magical plants being prepared through human activity; cf. *ad* 682. Human spittle is incredibly potent, with both poisonous and prohibitive qualities. It is used in charms to drive away other influences which would interfere with the magic, probably Erictho's purpose here: cf. Theocr. *Id*. 2. 62; Tib. 1. 2. 54; Petr. 131; *PGM*. 3. 421-4. For other powers, cf. Plin. *NH*. 27. 100, 131; 28. 35-9; Apul. *Apol*. 44; Nicolson, 1897; Abt, 1908, 186-9.

os dirum: cf. *ad* 522: *et non letiferas spirando perdidit auras*.

684: This ends the section on material ingredients, with a touch of ring composition signalling that the subject matter is going to change. The line is another generalising statement, parallel to 670 which began the list of ingredients and it uses the word *quidquid* for the same effect: cf. *ad loc*. There is, however, an important contrast between lines 670 and 684, underlined by the ring structure: at 670-83, Erictho uses ingredients provided by nature, whereas at 684 she employs those of her own devising. This recalls the idea that Erictho is an innovator in magic, and that her inventions surpass traditional materials in power and evil: cf. 507-9; 577-8. Lucan leaves to the reader's imagination the precise nature of these invented "*venena*", though the surrounding context suggests that they will be worse by far than anything previously mentioned.

veneni: on *venenum*, cf. *ad* 457. The arrangement of this at the line's end surrounded by *herbas* and *herbis* ending the preceding and following lines strongly suggests a magical drug of plant origin. The expression *quidquid… veneni* recalls Tib. 2. 4. 55: *quidquid Medea veneni*, which has the same generalising effect; cf. Smith *ad loc*.

685-93: This next section describes the inarticulate sounds which Erictho makes as a prelude to the formal prayer; cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 24-5: *Canidiam… ululantem*; Ov. *Met*. 7. 190-1, also preceding a formal prayer: *ternisque ululatibus ora / solvit*. The sound effects in these lines, repetition and onomatopoeia, recall features of magical and

religious *carmina* in Latin; cf. Addabbo, 1991. 685-7 describe strange noises in general, probably alluding to the *voces magicae* of the *PGM*, unintelligible *formulae* or nonsense words which are transliterations of the names of Egyptian or Near Eastern deities, or constructed because of some numerological or symmetrical significance; cf. Gordon, 1987b, 86-9; Graf, 1991, 191-4. 688-93 contain sounds recognisable as the noises made by animals or by forces of nature. Animal noises do not feature in the magical descriptions which make up Lucan's main sources, Ov. *Met*. 7. 263-92, Sen. *Med*. 680-809. They do, however, appear in the *PGM*: cf. 4. 929; 4. 1006; 13. 81 ff.: call on the lord in "birdglyphic", "baboonic", "falconic", where the purpose is to name the god in the "languages" of these three animals; *OZ*. 1§ 170. Lucan, presumably, includes this section to increase the strangeness of the scene and to add authenticity to his description rather than for the technical reasons mentioned in *PGM* 13. With these sounds, Lucan has made a genuine contribution to literary depictions of magic; cf. Nock, 1972, 185; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 173-4; Graf, 1997, 201-2.

685: *vox*: cf. *ad* 445: *vox*. Here it refers to the spell *in toto*, whereas at 693 *vox* is only the inarticulate sounds. It also recalls Virg. *Georg*. 4. 467 ff., where Orpheus charms the underworld powers with his *vox*.

Lethaeos...deos: the gods of the underworld. *Lethaeus* commonly has a general sense without referring specifically to the river Lethe: cf. Hor. *Carm*. 4. 7. 27; Colum. 10. 271: *Lethaei... tyranni*; Stat. *Silv*. 3. 2. 112; on the *di inferi* and necromancy, cf. *ad* 695 ff.

pollentior herbis: cf. *ad* 457-8; also Sen. *Med*. 737-8: *addit venenis verba non illis minus / metuenda*.

686: *excantare*: cf. *ad* 458: *excantata*. The infinitive dependent upon *pollens* is very rare; cf. only Sil. 7. 570: *Syrtim tollere pollens / Africus*; 14. 81.

confundit: "to mix together", cf. Cic. *Clu*. 173: *cum ita confusum esset (venenum) ut secerni nullo modo posset*; Hor. *Sat*. 2. 4. 67; Ov. *MF*. 61. Erictho's initial incantation combines a variety of animal and other sounds, just as she mixed together physical ingredients when preparing the corpse: cf. 671: *miscetur*; 682: *contulit*; 684: *addidit*.

murmura: "inarticulate sounds", cf. *ad* 448.

primum: introduces this section and balances *mox* (693).

687: *dissona*: "confused, indistinct": cf. Liv. 5. 39. 5: *ululatus cantusque dissonos*; Sen. *Dial*. 6. 18. 4; Tac. *Ann*. 14. 45. Initially nothing particular can be distinguished, merely noise.

humanae...discordia linguae: *murmura* are further described as being completely unlike human language. This further affirmation of the unintelligibility of Erictho's noises leads into the subsequent lines describing animal noises. The expression suggests the strange sounds of *voces magicae*: e.g. Cat. *Agr.* 160: *moetas vaeta daries dardaries astataries dissunapiter*; *PGM.* 1. 133 ff., the spell spoken seven times to Helios: *ori pi... amounte ainthyph picharour raial...*; this sort of language pervades the *PGM* and the *defixiones*; cf. Graf, 1997, 218-20; also McCown, 1923, on the *ephesia grammata.*

discordia: repetition of the prefix *dis-* from *dissona* underscores the quality of these sounds and recalls the characteristic sound-play of incantations, e.g. Cat. *Agr.* 160, quoted above.

688: *latratus...canum*: the barking of dogs; cf. *PGM.* 4. 929, where the magician must bark as a dog. In literature, incantations sometimes have a canine sound: cf. Ov. *Met.* 14. 405: *longis Hecaten ululatibus orat*; Burriss, 1935, 38-9. Barking dogs often signify the approach of Hecate, goddess of witches and death, a detail which Lucan would wish to evoke, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 257-8: *visaeque canes ululare per umbram / adventante dea*; also Theocr. 2. 35 f.; Sen. *Med.* 840. Nocturnal barking was a common and dreadful portent; cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 470, with Mynors; Ov. *Met.* 15. 797; on the significance of this, cf. Scholz, 1937, 26.

illa: *sc. vox.*

gemitusque luporum: *gemitus*, a groan of pain or sorrow, describes other animal noises though not those of wolves, cf. Lucr. 3. 296-7; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 517; Sen. *Thy.* 502.

689: *quod...quod...queruntur*: anaphora of *quod*, alliteration of "q", and the long syllables create an onomatopoeic line reflecting the plaintive sounds of the two night owls here described; the sound-structure recalls the sounds of magical incantations, cf. *ad* 687: *discordia*. *Queror* is used elsewhere of bird calls: Virg. *Aen.* 4. 462-3: *ferali carmine bubo / saepe queri*; Ov. *Am.* 3. 1. 4; also Apul. *Met.* 3. 21: *(bubo)... edito stridore querulo... resultat*. For the internal accusative with *queror*, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 320: *astitit... multa querens.*

bubo: the horned or eagle owl: cf. André, 1967, 45; Capponi, 1979, *s.v. bubo*. Its appearance, flight or sound was a bad omen, often portending death, making its cry suitable for inclusion in Erictho's incantation: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 462-3, with Pease; Ov. *Met.* 10. 452-3: *ter omen / funereus bubo letali carmine fecit*; Plin. *NH.* 10. 34; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 511-12: *feralia bubo / damna canens*; Ael. *HA.* 10. 37. Furthermore, its cry can charm and attract other creatures; Ael. *HA.* 1. 29. Otherwise, the *bubo* has few associations with magic, though cf. Apul. *Met.* 3. 21: *fit bubo Pamphile*. The name *bubo* was considered onomatopoeic, cf. Varr. *LL.* 5. 75, adding to the sound effects of the line; cf. above.

strix nocturna: another ill-omened night bird, the screech owl: cf. André, 1967, 146; Capponi, 1979, *s.v. strix*; not a bat, *pace* Oliphant, 1913, 133-49. Like the *bubo* its call presaged misfortune: cf. Tib. 1. 5. 52, with Smith: *e tectis strix violenta canat*. Again, the name is onomatopoeic from *stridere*: e.g. Ov. *Fast*. 6. 139-40: *illis strigibus nomen: sed nominis huius / causa, quod horrendum stridere nocte solent*; cf. Maltby, *s.v. strix*; cf. above for the sound structure of the line. The *strix* was also a vampiric monster which preyed upon children, making Erictho's imitation of its voice more frightening: cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6. 131-50; Petr. 63; Johnston, 1995a, 361 ff., esp. 365-6. The *strix* is elsewhere associated with magic: as an ingredient: Hor. *Epod*. 5. 20: *plumam... nocturnae strigis*; Prop. 4. 5. 17; Sen. *Med*. 733; witches could transform themselves into *striges*, cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6. 141-2: *carmine fiunt / naeniaque in volucres Marsa figurat anus*; Smith *ad* Tib. 1. 5. 52; Scobie, 1978.

690: the massing of verbs here, *strident ululantque... sibilat*, amplifies the effect created in preceding verses. The three sections, divided by strong caesuras in the second and fourth feet, suggest a sequential uttering of the noises. Each verb has an onomatopoeic quality, and the variety of these sounds in rapid succession stresses the building dissonance.

quod...quod: both are internal accusatives. The sound structure repeats that at 689, imitating the anaphora typical of magical spells.

strident: a high-pitched, shrieking sound, made by birds, elephants and ghosts; cf. *ad* 623. It would evoke discomfort and fear in the listener. Though not exact iteration, this word following the cognate *strix* from 689 is an instance of unfigured repetition; cf. *ad* 812: *tu... ne quaere*.

ululant: howling, often made by wolves and dogs: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 486: *lupis ululantibus*; *Aen*. 6. 257: *visae... canes ululare*; Ov. *Met*. 4. 404; also ghosts: cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2. 553-4: *ululasse per agros / deformes animas*; Sen. *Thy*. 670: *ululant... manes*. Witches' spells often sound like howling: cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 25: *Canidiam... ululantem*; Ov. *Met*. 14. 405; Ov. *Met*. 7. 190-1.

sibilat: hissing; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 447: *tot Erinys sibilat hydris*; Prop. 4. 7. 54.

691-2: Erictho's noises extend to sounds made by powerful, violent natural forces: the ocean, wind and thunder. No real parallel exists for such sounds in literary spells or in the *PGM*. The idea may derive from Sen. *Med*. 735-6, where Medea adds abstract qualities from nature: *his rapax vis ignium / his gelida pigri frigoris glacies inest*.

691: ***exprimit***: indicates the utterance of sounds, as opposed to words, cf. Cic. *De Orat*. 3. 41: *nolo exprimi litteras putidius, nolo obscurari neglegentius*; Quint. *Inst*. 9. 4. 40: *quotiens ultima est (littera 'm')... etiam si scribitur, tamen parum exprimitur*.

planctus: for *planctus* and its cognates used of the sea noisily striking rocks, etc., cf. Lucr. 2. 1155: *fluctus plangentes saxa*; Ov. *Her*. 18. 121.

692: *silvarumque sonum*: echoes, through alliteration of 's', the sound made by the wind when it blows through trees.

fractaeque tonitrua nubis: Erictho makes noises like thunder. The hard sounds of 'c' and 't' imitate the crack of a thunderclap. For the belief that thunder originated from the violent splitting of a cloud, cf. Lucr. 6. 96 f.; Sen. *NQ*. 2. 54. 3: *tonitrua nihil aliud sunt quam citi aeris sonitus, qui fieri, nisi dum aut terit aut rumpitur, non potest*.

tonitrua: a heteroclite plural form of *tonitrus*: cf. Cic. *Phil*. 5. 15; Ov. *Met*. 1. 55; Plin. *NH*. 18. 354; L-H-S 1. 259.

693: *tot rerum vox una fuit*: this capping *sententia* is brief but bland. The contrast between *tot* and *una*, reinforced by chiasmus, creates again the effect of inclusiveness. The double sense of *vox*, both "spell", cf. 685, and "voice", adds interest, since both the spell and her own voice produce all of these sounds. Yet it lacks the characteristic paradoxical twist which makes Lucan's *sententiae* enjoyable; cf. *ad* 561.

693-4: Lucan introduces the formal prayer which Erictho makes to the gods of the underworld to achieve her goal, resurrection of the corpse. The introduction, though brief, is effective. Lucan contrasts it with the opening to the preceding section, 685-7, uses balancing devices to aid the logical flow of the scene, and closes with a grotesque image.

mox: balances *primum* in 686. *Mox* marks out a new section. The monosyllable appearing after the fourth foot caesura, strongly reinforces this function; cf. *ad* 373: *it ... rapto*.

cantu: a spell, spoken and articulated, as opposed to *murmura* in 686; cf. *ad* 492: *cantus*.

694: *explicat*: "she sets out logically, intelligibly"; cf. Varr. *LL*. 10. 75: *definitiones ... non facile perspicuntur, nisi articulatim sunt explicata*; Cat. 1. 5-6: *ausus es ... / omne aevum tribus explicare chartis*. This contrasts strongly with *confundit* at 686: there Erictho mixed up noises; here she will set out her demands.

Haemonio: cf. *ad* 436: *Haemonidum*.

penetratque in Tartara lingua: "and she descends into Tartarus by means of her spell". *Penetrat* implies physical motion into a place and is used elsewhere of entering the underworld: cf. Cic. *Verr*. 4. 107: *qua Ditem patrem ferunt ... penetrasse sub terras*; Ov. *Met*. 3. 272. The structure of the expression gives the end a slight twist: *penetrat*

implies that she herself enters the underworld, yet at the end we are told that it is the *lingua* that actually descends.

lingua: ablative of means, balancing *cantu... Haemonio* in the previous clause.

695-718: Erictho's prayer to the gods of the underworld, the articulate part of the spell. Prayers are a frequent and significant part of the magical ritual, found in both literary and documentary sources: e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 44-54; Ov. *Met.* 7. 190-219; Sen. *Med.* 740-848; *PGM.* 4. 2785-2879; 5. 392-423; 7. 668-85; 7. 756-94. The prayer of Erictho is very formal, following closely the tripartite schema of *invocatio* (695-706), *pars epica* (706-11), and *preces* (712-18), as expounded by Ausfeld, 1903, 505 ff., or as Bremer, 1981, 196, designates them, invocation, argument and petition. In the first section, the prayer-maker calls upon the god or gods using various different names, epithets, cult sites, and functions to ensure that the divinity would attend the prayer; on the invocation in Roman prayers, cf. Hickson, 1993, 33-43. In the *pars epica*, or argument, reasons are put forward to convince the deity that the worshipper is worthy of their attention and help; such arguments can be instances of earlier piety towards the god, or promises of future piety, examples of previous occasions when the god has given help to the worshipper, or mythological *exempla* of divine assistance. The *preces* contains the actual request which the worshipper is making.

This tripartite structure appears in the prayers of the *PGM*, though there are variations in the ordering of the sections, repetition of the invocation, and *voces magicae* included in the texts; cf. Graf, 1991, 188-213. The prayers in other literary accounts of magic rites mentioned do not follow the schema as closely as does Lucan's composition. Erictho's prayer is a construct based upon Lucan's knowledge of Greek prayer forms, either directly or through the medium of Hellenised Roman texts; its form has little in common with the traditional Latin *carmen*, whether religious or magical: on the *carmen*, cf. Addabbo, 1991; on the issue of Greek hymns and prayers in literary Latin texts, cf. Feeney, 1998, 38-44.

The prayer represents another passage in the spell which is both convincing and terrifying. The long list of deities which Erictho invokes is a feature found in other magical prayers: cf. *PGM.* 3. 44-49; 4. 335 ff.; 1345-79; 1400 ff.; 7. 350-8; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 42. 1-6; 46. 1-4; Gager, 1992, no. 10. Those invoked are guardians of the dead or underworld, or mediums which straddle the two worlds, hence the need to gain their favour for the necromancy; for a brief discussion of the gods involved in necromancies, cf. Fahz, 1904, 10-15. Erictho's *preces* section is pointedly specific, as is the nature of prayers. The *pars epica* is the frightening element in the prayer. Erictho's acts of great impiety, human sacrifice, cannibalism, and blasphemy are not typical of religious and magical prayers, of a literary and non-literary nature, where there is an emphasis on piety and purity. The only magical prayers which this section resembles are the so-called slander-spells or διαβολαί, where the caster recites a list of insults uttered and outrages performed by the target of the spell against the deity, in order to rouse the anger of the god against this individual: cf. *PGM.* 4. 2574-2621; 2642-2666; *PGM.* 7. 593-619; Eitrem, 1924. This element of Erictho's prayer must be an attempt to show,

once again, her dreadful nature and to increase the horror which the magical rite creates.

695: *Eumenides*: frequently named in magical spells: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 34; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 456 f., 483 ff., 500 f.; Orph. *Arg.* 966-9; *PGM.* 4. 1417, 1464, 1448 f., 2798 f.; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 133. 3-4; Audollent, no. 22, 24, 26, 29. 30, 31, 32, 33, 35; also Sen. *Med.* 13-17. The Eumenides play a role in the imprisonment and punishment of the souls of sinners, cf. *ad* 664; hence a witch would require their permission for the release of a soul.

Stygiumque nefas: *Nefas* personified appears elsewhere only at Stat. *Theb.* 7. 48: *primis salit Impetus amens e foribus caecumque Nefas*, and is an unparalleled entity in magical texts. Deified abstractions, though frequent in the underworld (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 209 f.; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 273-84), are not generally invoked in magical spells: an exception is *PGM.* 4. 1401: "to Famine, Jealousy". *Stygium* suggests a particular sort of *nefas*, the breaking of oaths: for Styx as the guarantor of oaths, cf. *ad* 380. It is unclear why Erictho would wish to invoke the crime of oath breaking. A possibility is suggested by its appearance between the Eumenides, who were portrayed as punishers of oath-breakers, cf. Hom. *Il.* 19. 259; Hes. *WD.* 803; Roscher, 1. 1323. 14-23; and the virtually synonymous *Poenae*. Prayer invocations often call upon a divinity and then mention one or more of their names, epithets or spheres of influence as a method of gaining the attention of the god: e.g. Cat. 34; Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 1-16; *PGM.* 4. 2786-2870: *Stygium Nefas* would be one sphere of influence of the Eumenides.

Poenaeque nocentum: virtually identical to the *Eumenides*, the personifications of the punishments of sinners, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 323: μᾶτερ ἃ μ᾽ ἔτικτες, ὦ μᾶτερ | Νύξ, ἀλαοίσι καὶ δεδορκόσιν | ποινάν; *Choeph.* 947, with Garvie; Eur. *IT.* 200; Cic. *Clu.* 171: *a fratris, a liberum Poenis actum esse*; Tib. 1. 9. 4; Stat. *Theb.* 5. 60.

696: *Chaos*: "the pit of hell", cf. *ad* 617; invoked in other spells: Virg. *Aen.* 4. 510; Ov. *Met.* 14. 404-5; Sen. *Med.* 9, 741; *PGM.* 4. 1459; Audollent, 251. Not primordial Chaos, *pace* Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 175-7; Martindale, Korenjak *ad loc.*; cf. below. For primordial Chaos, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 5-7: *ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum / unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe / quem dixere chaos.*

innumeros avidum confundere mundos: an unusual phrase, though the sense must be "eager to mix up (*confundere*) the countless worlds (*mundos*) of living and dead", i.e. Chaos is greedy for the souls of the living to come down to it; cf. Sen. *HF.* 676-9: *ut saepe puppes aestus invitas rapit / sic pronus aer atque avidum chaos, / gradumque retro flectere haut umquam sinunt / umbrae tenaces*; also *ad* 531: *mors invita.* This also alludes to the image of Pluto/Hades, the ruler of the underworld, as an avaricious miser who guards and adds to his treasure-house of souls. *Innumeros*, in this interpretation is awkward and must be an instance of Lucan's hyperbole. Nevertheless, it suits Erictho's invocation that she solicit greedy Chaos to release one of its souls. Erictho, like Chaos, wishes to mix up the worlds of the living and the dead by bringing

the inhabitants of Hell back to the upper-world. Others have seen here an allusion to the Stoic ekpyrosis, or Epicurean notions of parallel universes; this implies, however, that Lucan refers to primordial Chaos rather than the void of Hell, as suggested by the context and other instances where Chaos is invoked; cf. *ad* 696: *Chaos*.

innumeros...mundos: *mundus* refers to both the world of the living: cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1. 61: *cum... sese... civem totius mundi quasi unius urbis agnoverit*; Sen. *Suas.* 1. 2; and of the dead: Ov. *Met.* 5. 507: (Proserpina) *regina... opaci... mundi*; Sen. *HF.* 863. *Innumeros*, as mentioned above, must be a hyperbolic epithet to emphasise Chaos' appetite for souls.

697: *rector terrae*: the ruler of the underworld, Hades, Pluto, Dis. For superstitious reasons he is often not named but described with paraphrases, as here: cf. Θέος χθόνιος, Hes. *Theog.* 767, with West for further examples; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 638=6. 252. The ruler of the underworld, named or not, appears in various magical incantations: cf. Sen. *Oed.* 559: *vocat... te qui manes regis*; *Med.* 11: *dominumque regni tristis*; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 474-5; *PGM.* 4. 1462: Pluto; Gager, 1992, *def.* 45 and 84, invoking Pluto. The term *rector* is often used to denote the supreme god in a particular sphere: e.g. Cat. 64. 204: *caelestum... rector*; Ov. *Met.* 1. 331: *rector pelagi*.

quem longa in saecula torquet / mors dilata deum: "who suffers age-long pain because gods are so slow to die" (Duff). This is another difficult descriptive clause, interpreted in various ways. Haskins, *ad loc.*, offers two possibilities: (i) Pluto is angry because the immortality of the gods stops them coming down to the underworld to serve him; (ii) Pluto regrets his own immortality. Shackleton Bailey (1982, 95), who adopts Haskins' first suggestion, assumes that the other gods will eventually die, as a result of the ekpyrosis, while Pluto who represents death will avoid this fate; cf. also Korenjak *ad loc.*

Martindale, *ad loc.*, objects to Haskins' first suggestion both because *longa in saecula torquet* seems too strong an expression for this, and because there is no clear reason why Pluto should outlive the other gods. He instead supports the theory that Pluto himself is suffering from excessively long life, offering as evidence for the pain of eternal life the stories of Tithonus and the Sibyl (Petr. 48. 8). This still is not convincing: the gods were born immortal, and would surely know no pain in this condition; furthermore Tithonus and the Sibyl, unlike the gods, were both plagued by the problem of ageing, making their immortality very unpleasant.

Baldini-Moscadi, 1976, 175-7, adopts a variant reading from a Parisian codex, *quam* for *quem* in 697. The antecedent of the relative now becomes *terrae*, and the terms refer implicitly to the inhabitants of the underworld, who are tormented by the fact that the divine punishers of the underworld are immortal, and thus their punishment is eternal. Yet a relative clause in a prayer's *invocatio* should refer only to the god invoked, cf. *ad* 590: *populis quae pandere fata*. Furthermore, this would suggest that *terra* is equivalent to *manes*, very unlikely indeed.

The first suggestion of Haskins seems to make most sense: Pluto is tormented because the immortality of the other gods means that he will never possess their souls.

Longa in saecula is surely not an overstatement for a situation which will never occur. *Dilata*, though meaning "deferred" could be used here as an understatement, "deferred forever".

saecula: long periods of time: cf. Cic. *Red. Sen.* 5: *Cn. Pompeius... omnium saeculorum, omnis memoriae... princeps*; *Fam.* 11. 14. 3.

torquet: cf. *ad* 598: *torque*. Unusual since the gods of the underworld usually torment the souls of the dead in Tartarus, rather than themselves being tortured: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 570 ff.; Sen. *Thy.* 4-20; Luc. 6. 799-802.

698: *Styx*: uncommon in magical incantations, though, cf. *PGM.* 4. 1460. The traditional boundary between the under- and upper-worlds; cf. *ad* 662. Hence it would be important to gain its permission for a soul to cross back over it and return to life. As Erictho wants the soul of one recently dead who has not yet crossed the river (712-14), Styx is here named for rhetorical effect in the prayer rather than any practical aid that it might give.

698-9: ***quos nulla meretur / Thessalis Elysios***: the resting place for souls of heroes and virtuous persons, cf. *ad* 600: *Elysias... sedes*. Hence, it is impossible for the sinful *Thessalides* to gain a place there when they die. This statement is an effective variation upon the claims of prayer-makers that they are worthy of recognition and assistance from the god because of their piety.

quos...Elysios: i.e. *campos*; cf. Mart. 9. 51. 5: *tu colis Elysios*. *Elysius* is attracted into the case of the preceding relative. It is found in other incantations, cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 481, 520; *PGM.* 4. 2474 f.

699-700: *caelum matremque perosa / Persephone*: the queen of the underworld; for her presence in other spells, cf. Sen. *Med.* 11-12: *dominumque regni tristis et dominam fide / meliore raptam*; Sil. 13. 431; *PGM.* 4. 1402; 12. 1-13; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 46. 2, 47. 1, 49. 8; Gager, 1992, 40, 84. She had the power to allow souls to return to life, most notably Eurydice: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 486-7: *redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras / pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem)*. The brief descriptive phrase implies that Persephone prefers the underworld, differing from the usual version of the myth, where she spends part of the year "alive" with her mother Ceres, and part of the year "dead" with her husband Pluto: cf. *ad* 739-42. This alternative version, whereby she remains permanently in the underworld is found elsewhere: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 39: *nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem*; Colum. 10. 272; for discussion, cf. Zuntz, 1971, 400-2.

perosa:a strong word, "hating thoroughly"; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 434-6: *qui sibi letum / insontes peperere manu lucemque perosi / proiecere animas*; Liv. 3. 34. 8; Ov. *Pont.* 4. 14. 24. The expression *caelum... perosa* probably follows Virgil's *lucemque perosi*, quoted above, as both refer to persons who prefer death to life.

700: *nostraeque Hecates pars ultima*: Hecate, patroness of witches and spirits, was frequently invoked in magical incantations and spells, both literary and papyrological: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 33; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 511; Ov. *Met.* 7. 194, 241; 14. 405; Sen. *Med.* 832; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 514 f.; Lucian *Nekyom.* 9; *PGM.* 3. 47; 4. 1432 ff.; 1443; 1462; 2714 f.; 36. 188. Her association with witchcraft arose from her role as goddess of transitions, then mistress of the *aoroi* (cf. *ad* 529-32), hence her co-operation and assent was required in magic: cf. Annequin, 1973, 83-6; Johnston, 1990, 144-7; 1991, 218 ff. Thus it is crucial for Erictho to gain her assent in the resurrection of a corpse.

nostrae: underscores Hecate's patronage of witchcraft.

pars ultima: i.e. the underworld Hecate, mistress of the dead, not Luna or Diana, her manifestations in the heavens and on earth. Often she was described as *tergemina*: Virg. *Aen.* 4. 511, with Pease; or *triceps*: Ov. *Met.* 7. 194. Erictho very carefully stipulates which aspect of the goddess she wants to evoke, a common feature of the prayer: cf. Appel, 1909, 75 ff., 84-7.

per quam / manibus et mihi sunt tacitae commercia linguae: on descriptive relative clauses in prayers, cf. *ad* 590: *quae... quae*. Here Erichtho sets out the relationship, mentioned above, between witches and Hecate as mistress of souls. The detail stresses the precise role which Hecate must play: a facilitator of necromancy.

701: *tacitae commercia linguae*: *commercia linguae* "communication, conversation", cf. Liv. 9. 36. 6; Ov. *Trist.* 5. 7. 61: *ne tamen Ausoniae perdam commercia linguae*. *Tacitae* here indicates quiet, hushed dialogue, cf. also *ad* 448: *infandum... murmur*; 496: *tacitis... minis*. As with these two prior examples there is a paradox in the idea of "silent communication". Nevertheless, such noiselessness is appropriate for the dead, commonly portrayed as "the silent ones": cf. *ad* 513: *coetus... silentum*.

702: *ianitor*: the door-keeper of the underworld who would allow souls to enter the underworld and presumably prevent them from leaving. Lucan leaves the identity of the *ianitor* uncertain. The *comm.* suggest either *Charon an Tricerberus*, though neither is suitable since they are mentioned separately in the prayer, Charon: 704-5, Cerberus as the *saevo... cani*: 702-3. Aeacus, suggested by Bourgery, 1928a, 310, was the πυλωρός of Pluto at Arist. *Ran.* 464 ff.; also Lucian *D. Mort.* 20. 1; *Luct.* 4; he is invoked once in the *PGM*, again as gate-keeper: 4. 1464. Yet gate-keeper was a role assigned to Aeacus only rarely, mainly in burlesque passages. Mercury, or Hermes Chthonios seems more plausible; cf. Haskins *ad loc.* He was well known as *psychopompos* and he controlled access to the upper-world, i.e. he enforced the proper division between the two worlds: cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 124 ff.; *Pers.* 628-30; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 24. 15-18, with N-H: *num vanae redeat sanguis imagini, / quam virga semel horrida, / non lenis precibus fata recludere, / nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*; also Johnston, 1991, 220, 222; Sourvinou-Inwood, 1995, 304-5. Hermes Chthonios is very common

in spells, e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 481 ff.; V. Fl. 1. 736 ff.; *PGM.* 4. 1443, 1463; *Suppl. Mag.* 1. 46. 2-3; 47. 2; Gager, 22. Unfortunately, Martindale, *ad loc*, raises a strong objection: Hermes is always clearly identified, and often has distinctive attributes. Furthermore, the description which Lucan appends, that the *ianitor* feeds flesh to Cerberus, is not something attributed to Mercury/Hermes, nor to Aeacus. Lucan may not have intended his *ianitor* to be identified, leaving him a mysterious god reminiscent of those found in magical spells; e.g. Gager, 1992, 45, a *defixio* calling on "the doorkeeper in Hades, Mathureuphramenos", certainly not a well-known deity. Another suggestion is Anubis, the Egyptian equivalent of Hermes, identified merely as *Lethaeus ianitor* at Stat. *Silv.* 3. 2. 112; cf. Korenjak *ad loc.*

sedis laxae: for *sedes* of the underworld, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14. 32; *Clu.* 171; Val. Max. 2. 6. 8: *in meliorem sedis infernae...partem. Laxae* may stress its boundlessness, implying that no matter how many people die it will never be filled; cf. Liv. 10. 5. 6: *reliquerat intervalla...qua satis laxo spatio equi permitti possent*; Manil. 5. 599. Otherwise, it suggests that the place was "wide open", with easy access for all; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 122; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 77: *surda sit oranti tua ianua, laxa ferenti.* For the openness of the gates of Hell for those entering, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 127: *noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis*; V. Fl. 4. 231.

702-3: *qui viscera saevo / spargis nostra cani*: the door-keeper feeds the dead to Cerberus; watchdog of the underworld; cf. *ad* 665. Cerberus developed the function of devouring corpses, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 767 ff., with West; Stat. *Theb.* 2. 26 ff.; Apul. *Met.* 1. 15: *canem Cerberum prorsus esurientem mei*; also the Lucianic parody *D. Mort.* 21. 1; for discussion, cf. Scholz, 1937, 33-6; Lilja, 1976, 38-40, 59. The notion of feeding Cerberus recalls Virg. *Aen.* 6. 419-21, where the dog is quietened with drugs; here it is sated with human flesh; cf. Korenjak, *ad loc.*

viscera...nostra: *nostra*, i.e. *humana*; *pace* Korenjak, who suggests that it refers to sacrifices offered by witches.

703-4: *repetitaque sorores fila / tracturae*: i.e. the Fates, often portrayed as the three sisters, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, daughters of Night, Hes. *Theog.* 211 ff. They were chthonic figures in cult, and their earliest function was to allot a time of death for an individual. The thread of life, spun, measured and cut by the Fates became a common metaphor for a person's life and inevitable death; cf. Cat. 64. 311 ff.; Sen. *Apoc.* 3-4; also Virg. *Aen.* 10. 815; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 3. 16; Ov. *Trist.* 5. 10. 46; Luc. 3. 18-19. On the Fates as goddesses of death, cf. Dietrich, 1965, 61, 64-6, 72-4; on the image of spinning and fate, Dietrich, 289-94. Erictho invokes them and asks that they renew the life of the corpse, already cut off, by re-spinning the thread. This inverts the normal image of the thread of the Fates, normally irreparable once cut; cf. Sen. *HF.* 559: *Parcarumque colos non revocabiles.* The Fates are not often invoked in magical spells, though cf. *PGM.* 2. 101-2: Moirai three / Klotho and Atropos and Lachis; 4. 1455, 1463, in a spell to summon a spirit of the dead; 4. 2795; Audollent, *Def.* 74; 75a.

repetita…fila: "the recovered threads"; for *repeto*, cf. Caes. *BC*. 3. 76. 3: *alii…ad haec repetenda…vallum relinquebant*; Virg. *Georg*. 1. 39; Liv. 22. 49. 5. The threads symbolising the corpse's life would have to be recovered for his life to be restored. The tenses of *repetita* and *tracturae* in the next line indicate a sequence of actions, they must first get back the thread of this corpse, *repetita*, and then re-spin it to restore its life, *tracturae*.

sorores: cf. Hor. *Carm*. 2. 3. 15-16: *dum…sororum / fila trium patiuntur atra*; Prop. 2. 13. 44; Ov. *Met*. 15. 781.

tracturae: used in spinning, cf. Var. *Men*. 190: *manibus trahere lanam*; Ov. *Fast*. 2. 743. The future participle is used instead of a relative clause, for the sake of *variatio*.

704-5: Charon, the ferryman of the underworld, who brings the spirits of the dead, whose bodies have been properly laid to rest, across the river which defines the boundary of the underworld: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 298-304, with Austin, 326-30, 385 ff. By denying entry to the living and untimely dead, he is a guarantor of the separation between the two worlds: cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1995, 303, 308-9. Charon is post-Homeric, first appearing in Minyas, *EGF*, frg 1, where he ferries the souls of the dead, but develops into a regular character in depictions of the underworld; cf. Terpening, 1985. He is not often invoked in magical spells; cf., however, Stat. *Theb*. 4. 479; *PGM*. 4. 1452. Lucan places him prominently at the end of the spell and adds, in the final line, a statement which stresses Erictho's control over him by saying how he is wearied from bringing back souls to her.

tuque: the second person pronoun is a common feature in prayer, cf. Cat. 34. 13 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 8. 293 ff.; Norden, 1913, 150 ff. Though all deities in the list are addressed directly, Lucan uses *tu* here to add especial emphasis to Charon.

flagrantis…undae: Phlegethon; cf. *ad* 662-3: *ripamque sonantem / ignibus*. Charon usually plies the Styx; cf., however, Luc. 3. 16-17: *Acherontis adusti / portitor*.

portitor: "ferry-man"; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 298-9: *portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat / terribili squalore Charon*; Prop. 4. 11. 7; Ov. *Met*. 10. 73. Through Virgil's application of this word to Charon in the *Aeneid*, *portitor* evolved from meaning "harbour-master" to have the sense "ferry-man", as here, or simply "carrier"; cf. Todd, 1945.

705: "Old man now wearied by the shades returning to me". This descriptive phrase underscores Erictho's ability to perform successful necromancies and demonstrates her power over the chthonic gods. The pathetic figure of the aged and exhausted Charon owes something to Virgil's depiction of the ferryman at *Aen*. 6. 304: *iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus*, though in Lucan's depiction he is not fresh in his age, but worn out by his toils for Erictho. This statement loosely resembles the *da quia dedisti* argument used in the *pars epica* of a prayer, in which the prayer maker reminds

the deity of previous occasions where assistance has been given: cf. Cat. 34. 22-4: *Romulique / antique ut solita es, bona / sospites ope gentem*; Hor. *Sat*. 2. 6. 15; Appel, 1909, 154; Bremer, 1981, 196. The statement is, however, made with Erictho's customary contempt for the gods, as is shown by *lassate*: her unreasonable demands exhaust the god. The image of chthonic deities exhausted by their work is a twist typical of Lucan, cf. 3. 18-19: *vix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores / sufficiunt, lassant rumpentis stamina Parcas.*

lassate: like the related *lassus*, not an elevated word, though Lucan prefers *lassare* to the more poetic *fatigare*; cf. Axelson, 1945, 29-30.

senex: for an elderly Charon, cf. Arist. *Ran*. 139: ἀνὴρ γέρων; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 304; Stat. *Silv*. 2. 6. 81.

706: ***exaudite preces***:Erictho closes this section with a brief command to the gods to hear her prayer: cf. Enn. *Ann*. 191-4, Sk.: *divi hoc audite parumper*; Hor. *Carm. Saec*. 35-6; Ov. *Met*. 5. 598; for discussion and further examples, cf. Appel, 1909, 119; Hickson, 1993, 115-7. Lucan uses the forceful compound *exaudire* which implies not just "hear" but "heed"; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 11. 157: *nulli exaudita deorum vota*; Liv. 40. 5. 1; Ov. *Pont*. 2. 9. 5; Stat. *Theb*. 1. 73. The more demanding term is consonant with Erictho's, and witchcraft's, imperious power over the gods: cf. *ad* 440-1; 443-51; 495-99; 527-8.

preces: in a magical context, cf. Ov. *Met*. 7. 251: *(deos) ubi placavit precibus*; *Met*. 14. 365; Sen. *Med*. 740; also εὐχή, cf. *PGM* 4. 2785: Εὐχὴ πρὸς Σελήνην ἐπὶ πάσης πράξεως; 7. 756.

706-11: the *pars epica* or argument of the prayer. Erictho lists prior instances of her devotions to the gods in order to elicit assistance from them now. This conforms to the *da quia dedi* formula, whereby the worshipper recounts previous sacrifices and offerings; for discussion and examples, cf. Appel, 1909, 149-52; N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1. 32. 1: *si quid*. The anaphora of conditional clauses is regular in this section of the prayer, as illustrated by the previously cited authors. There is also a high proportion of terms from religious language in these lines, which underscores the massive sacrileges that Erictho describes, e.g. *voco*, *fibris*, *prosecta*, *exta*, *lancibus*. Such a use of precise sacrificial language and practice in a thoroughly inappropriate situation, for the effect of horror, is paralleled on a grand scale at Sen. *Thy*. 684-775, where the messenger describes the ritual murder of Thyestes' sons.

Erictho recounts a series of impious and abominable acts: blasphemy, cannibalism, and the sacrifice of humans, adult and child. These acts were considered extreme sins in antiquity. They would not normally be appropriate for a *pars epica* in which the worshipper attempts to convince the god that they are deserving of aid because of their piety. Such practices are also absent from genuine magical texts, in which the magician generally demonstrates piety towards the gods and purity, through abstinence from impure actions, such as spilling of blood, eating flesh or sexual union:

e.g. *PGM*. 1. 40-1: "This rite requires complete purity…and for seven days refrain from having intercourse with a woman"; 1. 54 ff.; 1, 288-92; 4. 26; 4. 52 ff.; etc. Practices resembling Erictho's occur in the *PGM* only in the διαβολαί, in which the caster wishes to arouse divine anger against someone by describing impious actions performed against a goddess, e.g. 4. 2574 ff.: "She, NN, is burning for you, Goddess, some dreadful incense, and…blood and filth, the menstrual flow of a virgin dead, heart of one untimely dead, the magical material of a dead dog, woman's embryo…(*many other things*). And this is sacrilege!…She said that you slew a man and drank the blood of this man and ate his flesh, and she said that your headband is his entrails, that you took all his skin and put it into your vagina…"; also 4. 2643-2674; 7. 602-612; on these, cf. Eitrem, 1924.

The details in lines 708-11, consumption of flesh, dismemberment, removal of entrails, and the laying out of these on ritual platters suggests religious sacrifice to the Olympian gods, rather than the bloodless sacrifices, performed by strangulation or drowning, and holocausts which are more normal both for chthonic and magical rituals; on holocaust, cf. Burkert, 1985, 63-4; on magical sacrifices, cf. Graf, 1991, 195 f., esp. n. 58. Lucan has constructed a scene which is not normal, realistic magical practice but rather obscene and sacrilegious ritual. This perversion of the sacred is a common theme throughout the epic; cf. Loupiac, 1990.

In composing these lines, Lucan is drawing the detail from the general societal prejudice against witches and magicians, which saw them as malicious outcasts from society, child-killers, obscene and predatory practitioners of impious activities; on this cf. *ad* 510-13; 523-6; 554-61. These lines add greatly to the horror of the scene by evoking the worst and most feared portrait of the witch in the popular thought of antiquity: cf. Graf, 1997, 61-88; Clerc, 1995, 192-204. By alluding to these widely entertained prejudices against magic, Lucan further condemns Erictho as thoroughly evil, and by implication also her client Sextus for whom the necromancy is being performed.

706-7: *si vos satis ore nefando / polluto voco*: i.e. blasphemy. Prayer normally requires pious words to be used, e.g. Hor. *Carm*. 1. 32. 14-15: *mihi…/ rite vocanti*; 3. 14. 10-12; Tib. 2. 2. 1, with Smith: *dicamus bona verba: venit natalis ad aras*; also, Appel, 1909, 187-9. Blasphemy insults and enrages the gods, the intention of the διαβολαί at *PGM* 4. 2574 ff., 4. 2643-66; 7. 602-12; in a magical context, cf. also Sen. *Med*. 12: *voce non fausta precor*.

ore: "speech, utterance", cf. Cic. *TD*. 1. 39: *cum Platone…quem ex tuo ore admiror*; Ov. *Fast*. 6. 674.

nefando: normally = "wicked, impious", though it was popularly thought to mean "not to be spoken", highly appropriate when describing blasphemy. On such word-play, cf. 448: *infandum…murmur*.

707: *polluto*: cf. 509: *pollutam…artem*. Pollution was to be avoided in religious and magical observances, and the consequences of a failure to be pure were thought to be

catastrophic. On pollution and purity, cf. Parker, 1985. The notion of polluted speech which Erictho mentions here must be taken as being verbal descriptions of impure acts which she has previously uttered to the gods; possibly Lucan's audience would think of something like the content of the διαβολαί, *PGM.* 4. 2574 ff., 2643 ff.

voco: used in religious language: cf. *ad* 524: *vocat*. Erictho formally invokes the gods with blasphemous utterances, reinforcing the similarity between the implications of this statement and the διαβολαί.

707-8: ***si numquam haec carmina fibris / humanis ieiuna cano***: Erictho indulges in cannibalism, suggested previously, at 542-3, 566-8. Here it is stated that she eats human entrails. Cannibalism was abhorred in antiquity, and the consumption of human flesh was a charge levelled at persons or groups who threatened mainstream society by their actions or very existence including witches and magicians; cf. *ad* 542: *rodit*. Lucan delays the details *humanis ieiuna* until after the line break, to emphasise Erictho's disgraceful activity. These details suggest human sacrifice, a theme which is expanded in the following lines.

carmina...cano: for a similar pleonasm in a sacral context, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 247: *voce vocans*; 506: *voce vocavi*; Löfstedt, 1933, 2. 185-6. On the *carmen*, "magical spell", cf. *ad* 444; on *cano* "to utter incantations", cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 263: *deduxisse canendo saepe reluctantis... cornua lunae*; 14. 302.

fibris: "entrails", a term often found in the context of animal sacrifices, either for divination or a burnt offering: in divination, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 176-7: *cui pecudum fibrae... parent / et linguae volucrum*; Ov. *Met.* 15. 136; as an offering, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3. 490: *neque impositis ardent altaria fibris*; Ov. *Met.* 11. 248. The term initially suggests entrails as the offerings which accompany a spell. The full horror of the origin and use of these *fibrae* waits until the next line.

numquam...ieiuna: Erictho always consumes human flesh when praying to the infernal powers. The expression "never fasting" alludes to the idea of abstinence from the consumption of any animal flesh, common in magical and religious ritual; cf. *ad* 706-11; also Apul. *Met.* 11. 23. Abstinence serves to sollemnise the worshipper's commitment to the god and sanctifies the accomplishment in the divine realm: cf. Martinez, 1995, 338, 347. Erictho, on the other hand, far from observing these regular strictures, gorges herself on human flesh, the most illicit food. *Ieiuna* normally has the sense "starved", which here suggests that Erictho's appetite for human flesh is insatiable; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7. 26. 1: *cum... ita ieiunus fuissem ut ne aquam quidem gustarem*; Liv. 21. 55. 8; Luc. 3. 58.

708-9: ***si pectora plena / saepe deo lavi calido prosecta cerebro***: Erictho kills humans and prepares them as sacrificial offerings. Human sacrifice, another taboo in antiquity, was often associated with magic and used to stigmatise witches and magicians as enemies of society: cf. *ad* 557: *extaque funereae poscunt trepidantia*

mensae. Lucan may be alluding to "Hecate's suppers", apotropaic sacrifices offered to Hekate at crossroads, though at some stage confused with polluted remains left at crossroads due to their liminal status; cf. Johnston, 1991, 219-222. There are variant readings in the manuscripts: *dedit lavi* (Z); *dedi et lavi* (Z2; V2); *dedi lavi* (Ω); *deo lavi* (V). The final of these seems the best on stylistic grounds, and because it allows the best sense for *pectora plena*; for a summary of the arguments, cf. Martindale, 1977, 384-6.

pectora plena...deo: this refers to living humans who are, in Stoic thought, inhabited by God while they live: cf. Manil. 4. 885-6: *an dubium est habitare deum / sub pectore nostro*; also Cic. *TD*. 1. 65; *SVF* 2. 1036; 1047; also *ad* 529: *adhuc...regentis*. Frassinetti, 1991, 62, reads *pectore* for *pectora*, suggesting that it is Erictho's breast which is "filled with the god", cf. Ov. *Fast*. 6. 537-8: *vates.../ fitque sui toto pectore plena dei*; Luc. 9. 564. This is possible, though it detracts greatly from the idea of human sacrifice, implied strongly by *pectora*.

709: *lavi*: washing and cleanliness were an important part of religious and magical ritual, in order to rid the officiant and any participants of pollution: e.g. Virg. *Aen*. 2. 717-20; cf. Fehrle, 1910, esp. 65-75. Here the process of washing is done with fresh brain, an item which is repulsive and, given its origin, certainly polluting. The actual washing of the victim does not seem to have occurred in sacrifices, though the offerings made to the gods, in Roman sacrifice, were basted with *mola salsa* and wine before being burnt; cf. *OCD*, *s.v.* sacrifice, Roman. Perhaps the notion of washing the victim with a pollutant inverts this normal ritual practice.

calido...cerebro: brains seem to have no particular associations which would cause Erictho to wash a body with them, though Pliny mentions, with horror, the use of infants' brains in a magical cure for epilepsy, *NH*. 28. 4. The image of spilled brains being rubbed over a corpse is disgusting, especially as fresh (*calidus*) brain would have a large amount of blood in it; cf. Enn. *Ann*. 100 Sk.: *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*; Virg. *Aen*. 11. 698: *vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro*. For the image of spilled brain in horrible descriptions, cf. Hom. *Od*. 9. 290; Virg. *Aen*. 9. 753: *arma cruenta cerebro*; *Aen*. 11. 698; also V. Fl. 4. 153.

prosecta: a common word for the severed flesh of a sacrificial victim: cf. Varr. *LL*. 5. 110: *quod in extis dicitur nunc prosectum*; Ov. *Fast*. 6. 163; Stat. *Theb*. 5. 641; V. Fl. 3. 439-40: *piceae mactantur oves, prosectaque partim / pectora*. *Prosecare* is a technical term in haruspicy for the removal of organs for observation: cf. Ogilvie *ad* Liv. 5. 21. 8. The use of such language here stresses the perversion of normal sacrificial practice which Erictho performs.

710-11: *si quisquis vestris caput extaque lancibus infans / inpositus victurus erat*: "if any child, who had been destined to live, has been placed, as to its head and guts, on your platters". This final *si* clause in the argument of the prayer deals with the sacrifice of children in Erictho's magical rites. Child sacrifice can be classed with

human sacrifice as an abominable act in ancient thought: cf. *ad* 557. The murder of children by women, normally carers and nurturers, was perceived as so awful and morally offensive that it gave rise to the child-killing demons of folk-tale, such as Lamia, Mormo, Gello or the *striges*. These were deformed, hideous female figures who preyed by night on children; cf. Johnston, 1995a; 1999, 161-99. Such figures put Erictho's sacrifice of children here into an appropriately witchy perspective. Murdered children are mentioned elsewhere in accounts of magical rites, most notably at Hor. *Epod.* 5, where Canidia and her cronies starve to death a boy for an ingredient in a love spell; also Cic. *Vat.* 14: *cum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas*; SHA. *Heliog.* 8; Ammian. 29. 2; *OZ* 1§635. Young male children are used in the magical spells of the *PGM*, but as mediums; they certainly do not lose their lives: cf. 4. 88-93; 5. 1-53; 7. 348-58; 7. 540-578.

The syntax of the clause is difficult and convoluted. Variant readings and emendations for *quisquis* and *inpositus*, itself an emendation of the manuscript reading *inposuit*, are championed; see below for detailed discussion. The logic of Erictho's argument, which should guide any interpretation, must surely be "if I have sacrificed children to you, obey my prayer". This suggests that *si... infans / impositus* (*sc. est*) forms the protasis of the conditional statement, and *quisquis.../ ...victurus erat* is a dependent relative clause with *infans* as its antecedent. This logic has been overlooked by scholars wishing to emend *quisquis*, resulting in a reversal of the subordination such that *infans... victurus erat* becomes the protasis, weakening Erictho's argument; see note below. The word order should be "*si quisquis victurus erat caput extaque lancibus infans inpositus*". Lucan has transposed *victurus erat* to the end of the clause to emphasise the point that this child should have lived, presumably being healthy and not fated to die young.

quisquis: the manuscript variant, *quis, qui*, (UV) is rejected rightly by Housman. Many emendations for *quisquis* have been offered, though all are problematic since they upset Erictho's argument, that child-sacrifice is a condition for divine obedience; cf. note above. The emendations are as follows: *si quis, cum... imposui*, Weise, and Luck (*imposui* from G); Martindale, 1977, 386, which he himself rejects, *si quis, cum... imposuit*; Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 85 offers: *si cuius... infans / imposui victurus erat*, an emendation which he prints in his Teubner text. As mentioned above, for the sake of preserving Erictho's argument in its most persuasive form, *quisquis* must be retained.

vestris: the variant *nostris* cannot be correct, *pace* Bentley, Housman. The point is not that Erictho is serving up human entrails on platters devoted to magical rites, but on platters for the gods; cf. Martindale, 1977, 386; Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 85.

lancibus: the term is often used in religious ritual to denote the platter or tray which held sacrifices destined for the gods: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 2. 194: *lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta*; Prop. 2. 13. 23; Liv. 40. 59. 7: *lanx... quae Iovi apposita fuit, decedit de mensa.* So here is another instance where a technical term is used to illustrate Erictho's meticulous perversion of religious norms.

711: *inpositus*: this is an emendation offered here for the manuscript reading *inposuit* and the variant *inposui* (G), absent from Housman's apparatus. *Inposuit* is problematic because its subject must be *infans*, suggesting that the child sets its own head and innards on the trays. *Inposui* solves this difficulty (cf. Shackleton Bailey, 1987, 55) but creates another one. Adopting this reading requires an emendation of *quisquis*, otherwise the verb stands without an object. This leads to the readings "*si quis, cum vestris caput extaque lancibus, infans, / inposui, victurus erat*" (Weise) and "*si cuius... caput extaque...*, *infans, / inposui, victurus erat*" (Shackleton Bailey), which upset the logic of Erictho's argument: human sacrifice is the condition for divine obedience, not the fact that the child was destined to live; cf. *ad* 710-11. The emendation *impositus* solves the problem of having the *infans* as engineer of its own fate, without altering Erictho's train of logic. *Caput* and *exta* must be taken as accusatives of respect, denoting the part of the body affected: cf. Lucr. 3. 487: *tremit artus*; Liv. 21. 7. 10: *femur tragula ictus*. The accusative of respect with *impono*, or with *pono*, is, admittedly, nowhere else paralleled but the extraordinary syntax would certainly reflect the bizarre situation which it describes.

The verb *imponere* is used in a sacrificial context with the sense "to lay offerings", cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 386: *haec imponentur in foco nostro lari*; Virg. *Georg.* 3. 490: *impositis ardent altaria fibris*; *Aen.* 1. 48-9: *quisquam numen Iunonis adorat /... aut supplex aris imponet honorem.*

victurus: has a quasi-conditional force; cf. *ad* 438: *sensuraque... saxa.*

parete precanti: balances 706: *exaudite preces*, though with an increased intensity of expression and arrogance. The command for the gods to obey her fits with the generally coercive nature of the magic of Thessalian witches: cf. *ad* 706. Alliteration here is slightly reminiscent of the alliterative effects found in magical and religious *carmina*; cf. Addabbo, 1991.

713-718: The *Preces*. As is regular in a prayer, Erictho states what she wants from the gods. Her request mirrors her statement in lines 615-25, that she intends to raise the corpse of a soldier recently dead who will pronounce the fortunes of Sextus. The *preces* opens with a statement of what she does not want, the soul of someone long dead, presumably as an attempt to show the gods how reasonable her actual demands are. The prayer ends with a rather strange statement: *si bene de vobis civilia bella merentur*, "if the civil wars deserve well from you", or as Duff renders it, "if ye owe gratitude to the civil war", i.e. if they have done well out of the civil wars which have given them many souls of the dead. This suggests the complicity of the chthonic gods in the civil wars.

712: *Tartareo...antro*: the Tartarean cave. For the image of the underworld as a cave, cf. Lucr. 1. 115: *tenebras Orci visat vastasque lacunas*; Luc. 642: *Ditis... cavernis*; for further detail, cf. *ad* 617: *chaos*; also Wagenvoort, 1965, 111. *Tartareo* refers to the underworld in general; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 296: *Tartarei... Acherontis ad*

undas; Ov. *Trist.* 1. 9. 32; Sen. *HF.* 649. Tartarus proper was normally depicted as a well-walled fortress or prison within the underworld: e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 726, with West: τὸν πέρι χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται; 732-3: θύρας δ᾽ ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων | χαλκείας, τεῖχος δ᾽ ἐπελήλαται ἀμφοτέρωθεν; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 548 ff.

latitantem: "to be in hiding", cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 12. 11-12: *arto latitantem / fruticeto... aprum*; Ov. *Met.* 4. 405-6: *fumida... latitant per tecta sorores / diversaeque locis ignes ac lumina vitant*. As the examples show, the verb indicates hiding in fear, suggesting that the shades are frightened of being summoned to assist Erictho; cf. *ad* 666: *metuentis... manes*.

poscimus: "to summon", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 666: *ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco*; used in religious language as a verb of entreaty, cf. N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1. 32. 1; Norden *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 6. 45. The switch to plural in the request is unusual, not appearing in the prayers of the *Aeneid* when there is only one worshipper praying. Presumably Erictho is speaking both for herself and Sextus when she makes the request.

713: *modo*: asyndeton powerfully underlines the contrast between the two situations referred to in 712-16; for the ellipse of *sed*, cf. 2. 86; 6. 759.

luce fugata: "with the light of life put to flight". For this sense of *lux*, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4. 255: *corpora luce carentum*; Ov. *Met.* 14. 132; Luc. 2. 525. The idea of "leaving the light" is a common image, synonymous with death: cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 643: *lumen linque*; Cic. *S. Rosc.* 150: *ne lucem... hanc quae communis est eripere cupiat*; *Cons.* fr. 2.24: *vitalia lumina liquit*; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 855; 12. 660: *lucem... fugit*. Lucan's use of *fugare* somewhat inverts this: the light is driven off by the recently deceased.

714: *descendentem animam*: this, taken with *modo luce fugata*, indicates the spirit of someone who is so recently dead that their soul has not yet crossed the Styx. This is, indeed, what she receives, though this poses problems for the quality of the prophecy; cf. *ad* 777 ff.

primo...hiatu: *hiatus* = chasm, esp. as an entrance to the underworld: cf. Cic. *Off.* 3. 38: *Gyges... qui cum terra discessisset, ... descendet in illum hiatum*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 237. The expression recalls Erictho's cave, itself barely distinguishable from the underworld: 642-51. *Primo* indicates the entrance or front part of the chasm: cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6. 302: *focus... in primis aedibus ante fuit*; Plin. *Epist.* 7. 27. 7.

pallentis...Orci: on *pallens*, cf. *ad* 646. Orcus is a Latin name for both the underworld and its ruler. It is often difficult to distinguish which of these an author intends, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 273: *primis in faucibus Orci*. *Orcus* originally denoted the place, and the idea of the god derived from this. Expressions such as *fauces Orci*, of which Lucan's *hiatu... Orci* is reminiscent, derive from a conception of Hell as a bottle

or other vessel with a narrow neck and the image was then transferred on to Orcus as a being which had a neck; cf. Wagenvoort, 1965.

715: *haeret*: further limits Erictho's request. The shade she wants is not even descending, *descendentem* (714), but hesitating at the very entrance.

licet: introduces a concessive clause subordinate to *ventura*.

exaudiat herbas: on *exaudiat* "to heed, obey", cf. *ad* 706: *exaudite preces*. There is a tension between the two words, as one cannot "hear" herbs. *Exaudire* of hearing/obeying things which are not verbalised is unparalleled, but *audire* is so used: cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 514: *neque audit currus habenas*; Ov. *Met*. 5. 382: *nec quae (sagitta) magis audiat arcum*. This combination of a spell's verbal and physical components into one expression recalls 501: *diris verborum... venenis* and 682: *infando saturatas carmine frondis*. It seems to be a collocation of which Lucan is fond. The emendation proposed by Braund, 1989, *exhauriat* for *exaudiat*, thus seems unnecessary.

716: *ventura semel*: best taken together. Erictho promises that, after the necromancy, the shade will never leave Hell. For *semel* as "once and once only", cf. Cic. *Font*. 22: *testis non solum semel verum etiam breviter interrogandus est*; Plin. *NH*. 10. 50. This statement foreshadows Erictho's promise to the corpse at 765-7, that she will dispose of it in such a way that it will never rise again.

716-7: ***omnia***: *omina* appears in V, though this cannot be correct. Sextus is not interested in such methods of divination, cf. 425-9, but in clear information. *Omnia*, everything, is more concordant with Sextus' desires and Erictho's magical ability.

Pompeiana: "pertaining to Pompey or his party": cf. Caes. *BC*. 3. 58. 1: *quo facilius equitatum Pompeianum... contineret*; Val. Max. 9. 11. 4; Luc. 3. 166. The adjective should be taken with *omnia* rather than *umbra*, *pace* Duff, Martindale, *ad loc*., who see it as affiliating the corpse with Pompey's army. It serves little purpose, however, to know that the corpse was a Pompeian, and is in some sense more satisfying to think of it as a purely random body plucked off the battlefield by Erictho. On the other hand "all the Pompeian news" is what Sextus specifically wants from this prophecy, as he himself mentions in his interview with the witch, cf. 595, 601-2.

nostri modo militis: *modo* is commonly taken with *nostri*, indicating that the soldier was "just now one of us", i.e. alive; cf. *ad* 649, for *noster* referring to the living.

719-29: Erictho's spell ends, with only partial success: the spirit is raised but will not enter the body. Consequently, she is enraged and performs a second incantation. This brief passage serves as a bridge between the two spells, and the initial failure allows Lucan to include the far more terrifying coercive spell; on this cf. *ad* 730-49. Lucan's interjection at 724-5, utilising paradox and wit, highlights the extraordinary inversion of the normal situation which necromancy creates.

719: *haec ubi fata*: this lofty epic formulation, uncommon in Lucan, concludes the direct speech; cf. *ad* 589. The elevated tone suits the conclusion of a prayer. Yet Lucan must be using it with a sense of irony: the expression jars with the dreadful nature of the prayer and the baseness of Erictho, the subject of *fata*.

spumantiaque ora: after the prayer, Erictho foams at the mouth, a common after-effect of frenzied prophecy, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 79-80; Luc. 5. 190-1: *spumea tum primum rabies vaesana per ora / effluit*. Lucan recalls Erictho's literary predecessors with this detail.

720: *astantem...umbram*: the shade, though raised from the underworld, stands back from the corpse. This first spell has, therefore, not been adequate to fulfil Erictho's desire for a reanimated body; cf. 621-3. Yet, in her request (712-16) she asks the gods only that she wants a spirit to be returned from Hell to speak the future, not stating that it must re-enter its body. Erictho's own imprecision is responsible for the inadequacy of the spell, a deft touch of the author which undercuts her fearsome professionalism. It also makes her response to her own mistake even more terrifying. The word order *astantem proiecti corporis umbram* reflects the situation.

astantem: "standing still", i.e. it will not enter the corpse: cf. Enn. *Scaen.* 239-40 J.: *asta atque Athenas... / contempla*; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 885. *Adstare* is used of hovering visions which utter prophecies or warnings, appropriate to the *umbra* here: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 150-1: *visi ante oculos astare iacentis / in somnis multo manifesti lumine*; Ov. *Fast.* 3. 639-40.

proiecti: cf. *ad* 588: *proiecto*: the corpse still lies dead, sprawled on the ground.

721: *exanimis artus*: "the lifeless limbs". Lucan plays on the senses of *exanimis*: "dead", obviously applicable, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 481: *exanimis...procumbit humi bos*; Prop. 2. 9. 9; Ov. *Met.* 6. 302; and "without a spirit", its literal sense from *ex* + *anima*; cf. Lucr. 1. 773-4: *nulla tibi ex illis poterit res esse creata, / non animans, non exanimo cum corpore, ut arbor*; Cels. 6. 7. 9a., an obvious fact since its spirit, *umbra* or *anima* is standing alongside it.

claustra: i.e. the body, as the prison of the soul: cf. Lucr. 1. 414-5: *ut...senectus /...in nobis vitai claustra resolvat*; 6. 1153. *Carcer* is the more common term, cf. *ad* 722.

timentem: reluctance to re-enter the body is consonant with the idea implied by *claustra* and *carceris* below, that the soul is set free after death; cf. also *ad* 732: *infelicem animam*.

722: *carceris*: the body as prison of the soul. The concept is originally Orphic, cf. Plat. *Crat.* 400c; also *Gorg.* 493a, *Phaed.* 82e, *Phaedr.* 250c. The metaphor was readily

adopted by Roman authors; cf. Cic. *TD*. 1. 74; *RP*. 6. 14, with Powell: *qui e corporum vinculis tamquam carcere evolverunt*; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 733-4, with Austin: *neque auras / dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco*; Sen. *Ben*. 3. 20. 1; *Epist*. 65. 16. The metaphor suggests that the soul, trapped inside the body, is subject to all sins and vices, whereas after death it is freed from corporeal flaws and can attain a greater state of purity; on this, cf. Williams, 1990, 134-7. The use of this powerful image suggests one reason why the *umbra* is apprehensive about re-entering the corpse.

antiqui: "former", implying something gone and never to return; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 458: *templum coniugis antiqui*, with Servius: *antiquus... est qui praecedit eum, qui praesens est*; Liv. 27. 8. 6. The term, used in this context, underscores the paradoxical nature of necromancy which makes death no longer irrevocable.

pectus apertum: suggests that the incision which Erictho made in the corpse was the entrance for the spirit as well as an opening through which to stuff the corpse: cf. *ad* 667-8: *pectora... / volneribus laxata. Aperire* is used in a medical context to mean "make an incision", cf. Cic. *TD*. 1. 46: *ut... docent... medici, qui ista aperta et patefacta viderunt*; Cels. 5. 28. 4d: *deinde actu pusulae... aperiendae*. It is not the place where the corpse received its fatal wound, *pace* Håkanson; cf. *ad* 637. A sinister overtone derives from the use of this word to indicate an act of murder: cf. Ov. *Her*. 8. 53-4: *iuguloque Aegisthus aperto / tecta cruentavit*; Sen. *Dial*. 3. 2. 2; *Ag*. 303-5.

723: *ruptas letali volnere fibras*: the corpse's organs, mutilated during the magical rite; cf. *ad* 637. Furthermore, taking *pectus apertum* as the incision made by Erictho (cf. above), it follows that damage deeper within the body had a similar cause.

letali volnere: *letalis* is ironic: the wound which Erictho made in the corpse could not be fatal as it is already dead. *Letalis* can describe something as potentially lethal: cf. Sen. *NQ*. 3. 21. 1: *talis est aer, talis locus ex quo letalis aqua destillat*; Plin. *NH*. 11. 283.

724-5: Lucan makes a highly emotional interjection here, addressing the corpse itself and lamenting its predicament. The authorial intrusion creates sympathy for the shade of the soldier which has been raised from the underworld; on Lucan's interjections, cf. *ad* 349. The expression of pity lulls the audience into a state of calm, undercut brutally by Erictho's subsequent outburst of rage.

a miser: the exclamation *a* often expresses pity: cf. Calv. frg. 9 Court.: *a virgo infelix, herbis pasceris amaris*; Virg. *Georg*. 4. 525-6: *Eurydicen... / a miseram Eurydicen! anima fugiente vocabat*. Diaeresis after *miser* further emphasises this address.

extremum...munus: *extremum* has a double sense. In the context of death it means "final": cf. Virg. *Aen*. 1. 219; Sen. *Epist*. 18. 11; Luc. 8. 652: *te fata extrema petente*. It can also mean "the greatest", applicable here: cf. Cic. *Arat*. 658 (410):

cauda... Centauri extremo candore refulgat; *Off.* 2. 27; Tac. *Hist.* 3. 10: *extrema vis parabatur*.

725: *eripitur*: "steal", with overtones of violence, cf. Cic. *Dom.* 147: *domo per scelus erepta per latrocinium occupata*; Luc. 2. 591; the term evokes sympathy by portraying the corpse as a victim of Erictho's predations. Furthermore, it recalls Sen. *Phoen.* 102: *eripi mortem mihi*, where Oedipus complains that he is denied the release of death.

non posse mori: i.e. the corpse is forced to suffer death twice; cf. Martindale, 1976, 46. The whole phrase stands in apposition to *extremum... munus* (724); *pace* Nutting 1931, 52-4, who argues that the *extremum munus* is merely the ability to die: *posse mori*. Commonly, especially in philosophical works, death's gift is characterised as a total and permanent freedom from earthly suffering, here encapsulated in the expression *non posse mori*; cf. also Sen. *Epist.* 24. 17: *moriar: hoc dicis, desinam aegrotare posse, desinam alligari posse, desinam mori posse*; *Dial.* 6. 19. 4-6; *Ag.* 994-6; *Oed.* 98-102; for further examples of this theme, cf. Lattimore, 1962, 205-10. Such statements are made to comfort or console those who fear death or are in mourning. By setting the notion that death is an end to earthly suffering in the context of necromancy, Lucan again underlines the paradoxical nature of spirit-raising. Furthermore, Lucan heightens the reader's sympathy for the corpse, since the normal addressee of such a statement is one who fears death, here it is one who fears life. On such paradoxes, cf. Moretti, 1984, 38-40.

725-9: Erictho explodes in anger because of her spell's failure. Her rage is terrifying, and her behaviour resembles that of a Fury, expanding upon the description of her Eumenidean apparel at 654-6. For a depiction of an enraged Fury in terms similar to the present, cf. Allecto at Virg. *Aen.* 7. 445-51: *talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras. / ...tot Erinys sibilat hydris / tantaque se facies aperit; tum flammea torquens / lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura / reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus anguis, / verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore.* Both Virgil's and Lucan's descriptions share an outburst of a rage, accompanied by the infliction of a beating, the presence of serpents, and angry speech. The violence of word and deed, bestial behaviour and similarity to the Furies of Erictho *irata* recalls Seneca's description of the physical effects of anger upon a person, *Ira*, 2. 35. 3-6. The recognition that Erictho is subject to the pernicious trait of *ira* makes her subsequent behaviour and her character more damnable in Stoic terms. Furthermore, Erictho's outburst matches occasions when Caesar shows that he is subject to anger, thus reinforcing the connection established previously between the two characters; cf. *ad* 578 ff.

726: *fatis*: "prophecy": cf. Cic. *Div.* 2. 63: *auguris ut nostri Calchantis fata queamus / scire*; Cat. 64. 321.

licuisse moras: for the personal construction with *licet*, cf. Cat. 61. 139, with Fordyce: *haec tibi quae licent*. The subject is normally a neuter pronoun or adjective; a noun is unusual.

irata...morti: on the implications of Erictho *irata*, cf. *ad* 725-9. Dative after *iratus* is regular: cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 923: *mater irata est patri*; Liv. 8. 31. 2: *iratum virtuti*.

727: *verberat*: an action commonly performed by the Furies, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 570, 7. 451; Sen. *HF.* 88: *Eumenides viperea verbera incutiant*, where their whips are serpents; Roscher, 1. 1314, 10-67. The use of a snake is somewhat obscure, though it is a vibrant illustration of Erictho's rage, and it reinforces the connection with the Furies for whom snakes were a standard attribute; cf. *ad* 656. Perhaps the snake's symbolism of rebirth and immortality (cf. *ad* 679) suggested its use as the instrument of flogging; cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 177-8.

inmotum vivo: this striking juxtaposition suggests the contact between snake and corpse, further emphasised by the chiastic arrangement of nouns and adjectives. Word order may also imply a transference of the life-giving powers of the snake to the lifeless corpse; cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 178 n. 1.

serpente: cf. *ad* 677-9, 490.

728-9: Erictho creates cracks in the earth through which she can threaten the *di inferi*. This is a common magical feat, though it is used to bring up the shades rather than harass the gods: cf. Tib. 1. 2. 45; Ov. *Am.* 1. 8. 18; Sen. *Oed.* 582-5; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 519; cf. Headlam, 1902, 57-8; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 178.

cavas...rimas: i.e. "channel of communication", cf. Prop. 1. 16. 27-8: *o utinam traiecta cava mea vocula rima / percussas dominae vertat in auriculas*; Ov. *Met.* 4. 65; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 69: *foraminibus et rimis aurem admovent*. The use of such a crack implies furtive and illicit communication, appropriate for a magical prayer.

quas egit carmine: *findo* is the regular term ; cf. Tib. 1. 2. 45 with Smith. For *agere* with this sense, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 210-11: *corripitur flammis... tellus / fissaque egit rimas*; *Priap.* 63. 2: *agente terra per Caniculam rimas*.

729: *inlatrat*: rare; in Classical Latin, cf. only Sil. 13. 845: *illatrat ieiunis faucibus Orthrus*. Erictho shatters the silence of Hell, much as barking dogs break nocturnal silence; cf. Liv. 5. 47. 3: *canes... sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 257-8; for Erictho's other canine behaviour, cf. 550-3; 688. Barking is another way in which Erictho resembles the Furies, who were sometimes envisaged as dogs; cf. *ad* 733-4. Furthermore, bestial speech and behaviour accords with the image of the *homo iratus*; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 4. 35. 5: *sibilo mugituque et gemitu et stridore et si qua his invisior vox est perstrepentem*.

regni silentia: the silence of the underworld, violated by Erictho's barking, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2. 4. 8; *CIL* 10. 7569: *aeterna quies Ditisque silentia maesti*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 386:

per tacitum nemus ire; Sen. *Phaedr.* 625; *Med.* 114; Luc. 1. 455: *tacitas Erebi sedes.* The dead, also, were known as "the silent ones", cf. *ad* 513: *coetus...silentum.*

730-49: Erictho's second spell. In this coercive incantation she utters violent threats to a range of gods. The use of a second, more powerful spell is paralleled elsewhere and is used to gain the desired effect when a first spell failed: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5. 77 ff.; *PGM.* 2. 52-4; 4. 2097-8, 2312-30, 2902-7; 5. 256-88; 12. 141 ff.; etc; also Apul. *Met.* 2. 29: *quin refers...populo singula tuaeque mortis illuminas arcana? an non putas devotionibus meis posse Diras invocari, posse tibi membra lassa torqueri?*. A common component of these second spells is threats, such as revelations concerning a divine secret, physical punishment of the god or an associate, or disturbances of the cosmic order. These three types all feature in Erictho's speech. In this way, Lucan is once again reflecting real-life magical practice in his poetry. On the relationship between Lucan and these spells from the papyri, cf. Bourgery, 1928a, 310-11; Nock, 1972, 185 ff.; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 179-184; on coercion in magic, cf. Graf, 1997, 222-9.

This second spell is not as faithful to the formal structure of the prayer as was the first spell, 695-718: it lacks tripartite structure, and formal features such as descriptive relative clauses, *si* clauses, and anaphora are rare. Beyond the simple *paretis?* (744), there is no restatement or reformulation of Erictho's request as is found in other spells of this sort. This last absence is probably due to a desire to avoid unnecessary repetition. Nevertheless, the conspicuous lack of formal prayer structure, so prominent in the first spell, underscores the descent into rage and fury just seen in Erictho.

730-735: In both spells, Erictho begins with the Furies, suggesting their importance in her necromantic rites; cf. *ad* 695.

The fact that Lucan names only two of the three Furies supports a view that Erictho is designed to recall Allecto, the third of the sisters; cf. Hardie, 1993, 76-7. Three Furies, a common number, appears first in Euripides, cf. *Orest.* 408, 1650; *Tro.* 457; cf. Roscher, 1. 1310. 29-46. The Eumenidean aspects of Erictho are adduced as further evidence for this identification; cf. *ad* 654-6, 727-9. Nevertheless, the suggestion that Erictho could be identified with Allecto has important ramifications, given the latter's role in *Aeneid* 7, as the driving force behind the "civil" war between the Trojans and the Latins, cf. *Aen.* 7. 323-571. It adds further support to the view that Erictho personifies the evil forces which drive the current civil war, and which will ultimately lead to the destruction of Rome and her *Libertas*.

Tisiphone...Megaera: Furies' names were relatively late inventions: cf. Roscher, 1. 1310. 29-46, *ibid.* 5. 207. 59 ff. There is possibly word-play in the name Megaera, etymologised from the Greek μεγαίρω, "to begrudge", which is what the Furies are doing; on the derivation, cf. Cornutus, *ND.* 10.

vocisque meae secura: *securus* = "indifferent towards, careless of": cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 348-51: *ille Sychaeum/.../ clam ferro incautum superat, securus amorum /*

germanae; Ov. *Am.* 2. 19. 37; Sen. *Epist.* 115. 18. Megaera's indifference undercuts Erictho's claim to enjoy a powerful and dominant relationship with the gods, cf. 527-8, 606-7. On *vox*, cf. *ad* 445.

731: *saevis...flagellis*: whips were a common attribute of the Furies: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 570: *ultrix accincta flagellis Tisiphone*; Ov. *Ib.* 181; Sen. *Med.* 962; V. Fl. 8. 20. They generally used the *flagellum* for punishment, suggested by *saevis*, though Erictho here states that they should use them to drive the soul of the soldier up to her; for *flagellum* as an instrument for driving animals, cf. Phaed. 3. 6. 6: *qui... iugum flagello temperat lento meum*; Mart. 14. 55. 1.

Erebi per inane: the emptiness of the underworld; cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 510-11: *ad inania magni / regna redit Ditis*; 11. 670; also *ad* 617: *chaos*. For *Erebus* = the underworld, cf. *ad* 512.

732: *infelicem animam*: *infelicem* either "miserable", as a result of being dead, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 772-3: *infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae / visa mihi ante oculos*; or "unfortunate", because of adverse circumstances, here being selected for necromancy, cf. Ter. *Ad.* 540; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 474-5: *Troilus... / infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*; *Aen.* 5. 624-5: *o gens / infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?*. For similar instances of a spirit's misfortune at being summoned in necromancy, illustrated through their reluctance to return to life, cf. Apul. *Met.* 2. 29; Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 15.

animam: attempts have been made to distinguish the *anima*, still in Hell, from the *umbra* which Erictho has successfully raised; cf. 720; cf. Martindale, *ad loc.*; Korenjak *ad loc.* *Animam* is taken as "life force", to distinguish it from *umbram* "ghost". This differentiation is somewhat artificial: both terms commonly indicate a ghost, and Lucan uses *anima* and *umbra* interchangeably in book 6 and throughout the epic; on *anima*, cf. 529, 714; for *umbra*, cf. 560, 623, 705, 717; especially noteworthy is the use of both terms in her prayer, 712-17: *poscimus... descendentem animam*; *canat... umbra*; also Pichon, 1912, 201 f. *Animam* surely appears here for rhetorical effect, suggesting that the service which the Eumenides rendered is as good as useless: they may as well not have sent up the ghost.

nomine vero: in magic, uttering a god's true name gives the magician control over it and he/she can force the god to perform any desired tasks; cf. Rose, 1913, li; Bonner, 1943, 44-7; Annequin, 1973, 28-9; Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 179-80; Pulleyn, 1994; Graf, 1997, 218-20. The use of a god's true name is found often in the *PGM*, as a way to guarantee success: cf. 1. 217 ff.; 3. 159-61; 3. 495; 4. 277, 883, 1665, 2343; 12. 119-121. Erictho indicates, to the Furies and the readers, that the punishment she has in store will be unavoidable unless they comply.

733: *eliciam*: often used for summoning ghosts or deities through magical means: cf. Cic. *Vatin.* 14: *inferorum animas elicere*; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 28-9: *cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde / manis elicerent*; Tib. 1. 2. 45; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 28; Apul. *Apol.* 34.

733-5: Erictho threatens to summon the Furies to the upper world, in the guise of hell hounds (*Stygias canes*, 733), and there abandon them, so they cannot return to their home in Hell, while simultaneously preventing them from scavenging among graves so that they will starve. The notion of subjecting creatures of the underworld to the sun's light as a form of punishment appears below, cf. *ad* 742-4. The punishment is terrible as it would deprive the Furies of their infernal home and of sustenance in their place of earthly exile.

Stygias canes: Lucan conflates the portrayal of the Furies as dogs with the notion of Hell hounds. The Furies were commonly called dogs, or described with canine attributes, in classical Attic drama: cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 924 f., with Garvie: ὄρα, φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας; Soph. *El.* 1387; Roscher, 1. 1315. 65 ff.; for further discussion, cf. Scholz, 1937, 28-31, esp. 31. Subsequent to the classical period of Greek drama, this association was made only by Lucan.

Hell hounds, often associated with Hecate, were dogs which roamed in packs at night, exhuming corpses and scavenging on their flesh: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 34-5: *videres / infernas errare canes*. The baying of this pack often signalled the approach or arrival of Hecate, cf. Tib. 1.2. 52, with Smith; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 257: *visaeque canes ululare per umbram / adventante dea*; Ov. *Met.* 14. 410; Sen. *Oed.* 569. The idea of hell hounds derived from the generally bad reputation of dogs in antiquity, as scavengers on human flesh and as plague-demons; cf. Scholz, 1937, 7, 31; Lilja, 1976, 65.

in luce superna: i.e. on earth, during daylight, whereas the dogs of hell traditionally roamed by night: e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1. 8. 35; for *superna* = "on earth", cf. Sen. *Phaed.* 843-5: *Alcides.../ qui cum revulsum Tartaro abstraheret canem / me quoque supernas... ad sedes tulit*; V. Fl. 1. 827.

734: *destituam*: i.e. "abandon, deprive of help": Caes. *BC.* 3. 93. 7: *omnes sagittarii... destituti inermes... interfecti sunt*; Liv. 25. 41. 4: *destitutum ab equite hostem.*

per busta...per funera: anaphora emphasises Erictho's point.

sequar: "pursue, chase": cf. Liv. 23. 47. 8: *cum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur*; Ov. *Met.* 2. 498: *dum...feras sequitur (Arcas)*; Tac. *Ann.* 1. 63. The Furies generally pursued sinners, particularly Orestes whom they drove away from his home in a state of madness for the murder of his mother: e.g. Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048-60; Eur. *Orest.* 253-76; Ov. *Ib.* 159-60; imagery from hunting is often applied to them, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 131 ff., 147-8, 231; Eur. *Orest.* 231, 246. The term *sequar*, thus, creates two ironic inversions: normally the Furies play the role of pursuer, whereas here they are being pursued; and they will be hunted in the form of dogs, whereas it is normally dogs who would be hunting.

custos: as *custos* Erictho will keep watch over the Furies, chasing them away from tombs. There is further ironic inversion here, since *custos* elsewhere indicates a tomb guardian, whose protects the monument and remains therein from desecrations caused by humans, animals or other sources: cf. Prop. 3. 16. 24: *sertisque sepulcrum / ornabit custos ad mea busta sedens*; 4. 7. 25; Luc. 8. 744. The Furies, often in the form of serpents, were tomb guardians, who would frighten away any potential grave robbers or tomb defilers, and punish successful ones; cf. Harrison, 1908, 230-7; Küster, 1913, 61 ff. So another aspect of Erictho's threatened punishment inverts the Furies' normal role. Furthermore, it is grotesque for Erictho to suggest herself as a *custos* since she is a corpse defiler and grave-robber *par excellence*, cf. *ad* 510-13, 529-553.

735: *expellam...abigam*: for further emphasis, Lucan uses these virtual synonyms and anaphora, features reminiscent of a genuine spell or magical / religious *carmen*; cf. Addabbo, 1991.

expellam: used elsewhere for banishing gods or spirits: cf. Cic. *Dom.* 108: *deos penates et familiares meos lares expulit*; Luc. 3. 12. It balances *eliciam* at 733.

736-8: Erictho threatens Hecate, revealing her to the gods above as she appears in the underworld. Hecate *triformis* is a well known concept, especially in the triad Luna-Diana-Hecate which represents the goddess's roles in the heavens, on earth and in the underworld. Erictho's threat assumes that her infernal appearance is unknown to the gods above. The threat is twofold. The knowledge of a god's form or forms is another method of control, similar to the knowledge of a true name: cf. the mythological examples Proteus: Hom. *Od.* 4. 456-7, Virg. *Georg.* 4. 405-14, Thetis: Ov. *Met.* 11. 221-65; Achelous; in magic *PGM.* 3. 496 ff.; 8. 9-11. Revealing that secret would, then, give many other individuals power over Hecate. Second, the ugly and malevolent appearance of Hecate in Hell would compromise the beauty and benevolence of her terrestrial and heavenly manifestations as Diana and Luna; as an instance of Hecate's benevolence and consequent divine favour, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 411 ff., with West *ad* 404-56; also Johnston, 1990.

The threat also resembles aspects of the διαβολαί, in which the magician reveals unsavoury secrets about the goddess Selene, which include aspects of her appearance; on the διαβολαί, cf. Eitrem, 1924; on its similarity with Lucan here, cf. Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 180.

deis: *sc. superis*, in contrast to the *di inferi* who would be familiar with Hecate's chthonic form.

procedere: "to come into public view, appear", cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 119: *illo die quo (Caesar) primum in sella aurea et cum purpurea veste processit*; Ov. *Ars.* 3. 165: *femina procedit densissima crinibus emptis*; Apul. *Met.* 2. 8.

737: *ficta*: Hecate is "made-up", cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 219-21: *ambae numquam concessamus /.../ poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi*; Ov. *Rem.* 341: *cum (domina) se non*

finxerit ulli. The use of make-up, especially by elderly women, was a deceit cruelly attacked in Roman invective, not least because the use of cosmetics was the act of a whore: cf. Hor. *Epod*. 12. 9-11; Juv. 6. 461-73; Grillet, 1975, 100-1. Lucan suggests that the exposure of Hecate's deceitful concealment of her hideous, elderly form would cause embarrassment and ridicule; cf. also Hor. *Sat*. 1. 8. 48-50.

Ficta is the best reading. The other possibilities, *facta* (C) and *tecta* (ZM), do not also contain the notion of deceit which greatly enriches the point of Erictho's revelation.

Hecate: cf. *ad* 699.

pallenti...forma: on *pallens*, cf. *ad* 646, 714. The colour, appropriate to something dying or sickly, suits the ugly form of Hecate. Its infernal associations confirm the idea that Erictho will reveal Hecate's form as it appears in Hell.

tabida: either "wasting away"; cf. Sen. *HF*. 691: *fames... maesta tabido rictu iacet*; *Oed*. 148; or "putrefying, rotting": cf. Val. Max. 6. 9. Ext. 5: *tabido cruore manantia membra*; Sen. *Oed*. 358: *felle nigro tabidum spumat iecur*; Suet. *Tib*. 51. 2. Both senses are appropriate here, creating a very ugly picture of Hecate's true form.

738: as a further threat, Erictho will prevent Hecate from concealing her hellish appearance. It is not clear whether *faciem Erebi mutare vetabo* is only applicable to the time when Erictho will reveal her true face to the gods, or permanent with the consequence that she will only appear upon earth as a hag. The latter makes the threat more terrible and thus seems the more likely implication of the statement.

faciemque Erebi: Hecate's hellish appearance. The genitive *Erebi*, equivalent to the rare *Erebea*, cf. Ov. *Ib*. 225: *pectoraque unxerunt Erebeae felle colubrae*, indicates that her current physical form is seen only the underworld, never by the Olympian gods.

mutare: "to change, metamorphose", cf. Virg. *Ecl*. 8. 70: *carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi*; Ov. *Met*. 1. 1: *in nova... mutatas... formas corpora*.

739-42: Erictho's next threat is to Proserpina (*Hennaea*, 740). She will reveal secret information about why Proserpina stays in the underworld and is hated by her mother Ceres; cf. *ad* 699-700. Such revelations about the shameful practices of a divinity are found in coercive spells of the *PGM*, and lurid details of unsavoury behaviour appear in the διαβολαί: cf. 4. 2574-604, 2642-666; 7. 593-619. It is generally thought that *dapes*, *foedus* and *contagia* cannot refer to the pomegranate seed and to Pluto and Proserpina's marriage because the story is too well known, and would thus have no value for the blackmailer; cf. Housman *ad loc.*; Duff; Martindale. Housman believes that it is an allusion to some far fouler secret, "*quod magam Thessalam et poetam Stoicum deceat*". One can only speculate as to what this may be. It is, nevertheless, possible that Erictho threatens to give a "true" interpretation of these traditional details, one which contradicts the orthodox versions, as seen in the Homeric

Hymn to Demeter: the witch may be suggesting that Proserpina took food in the underworld knowingly, and willingly went into marriage with Pluto. The story usually involves Proserpina being tricked into eating the pomegranate seed, and thus into union with Pluto; cf. [Hom]. *H. Dem.*, 371-3, 413, with Richardson for further refs. Another possibility is that these details of the myth have a connection to the secret rituals of the Eleusinian Mysteries; on other associations between the myth and the Mysteries, cf. Richardson, 1974, 12-30; Foley, 1994, 65-71. By threatening to expose the details, Erictho is also suggesting that she will violate these great secrets.

The willingness of Erictho to publicise the secrets of the underworld may parody *Aeneid* 6. 264-7: *di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes / et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late, / sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro / pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.* Virgil's respectful reluctance to mention anything about the underworld stands in stark contrast to Erictho's menacing threats to divulge the darkest, and presumably most embarrassing and compromising, secrets of the *di inferi*.

739: *eloquar*: "to pronounce, divulge", cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 825: *eloquar... dedecus ipsa meum?*; Sen. *Epist.* 83. 10: *arcana... eloqui.*

inmenso terrae sub pondere: i.e. in the underworld. The hyperbolic *terrae pondere* emphasises the bulk of the world; cf. Lucr. 5. 495: *terrae concreto corpore pondus constitit.* The expression is probably equivalent to *subterraneus*, cf. Juv. 2. 149: *esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna*; Apul. *Met.* 11. 6.

740: *contineant*: "confine, detain", cf. Cic. *Fin.* 5. 56: *ne bestiae quidem... facile patiuntur sese contineri*; *Phil.* 13. 5; Luc. 4. 435. It suggests that Proserpina is being forcibly imprisoned, yet Erictho is surely being ironic. The point of these threats is to reveal embarrassing details of the goddess' behaviour, which runs counter to the idea of unwilling detention.

Hennaea: Henna, a town of central Sicily from where Proserpina was abducted, cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 385 ff.; Richardson, 1974, 76-7, for further instances; depictions of the rape of Proserpina appear on Henna's coinage from an early period, cf. Zuntz, 1971, 70 f. Its use here recalls the rape of Proserpina, as elsewhere: cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 385: *Hennaeis... moenibus*; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 124: *Hennaeae Cereri*; Sil. 7. 689: *Hennaea virgine rapta.*

dapes: these meals hold Proserpina "prisoner" in the underworld. It is generally agreed that this could not refer to the story of the pomegranate seeds, too well-known for Erictho's purposes; cf. *ad* 739-42. Moreover, the plural *dapes* suggests "meals" or "feasts" which could hardly be one or a few pomegranate seeds. The truth about the eating which held Proserpina in hell is that she consumed feasts willingly rather than the single pomegranate seed given deceitfully by Pluto.

Dapes often denotes a sacrificial meal: cf. Cat. *Agr.* 50. 2: *ubi daps profanata comestaque erit, verno arare incipito*; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 7. 17: *obligatam redde Iovi*

dapem; Tib. 1. 5. 28; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 224-5: *congesta cremantur / turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.* This, perhaps, suggests that Proserpina, as queen of the underworld, receives sacrifices of such a hideous nature that they must be kept secret. Furthermore, her unwillingness to quit this position suggests that she enjoys these mysterious *dapes*. It seems most likely that these *dapes* are the sacrifices made to Proserpina by witches, described at 708-11, human entrails and children; on abhorrence to human sacrifice, cf. *ad* 557; 708-11. The gods too disapproved of human sacrifice and meted out severe punishments for this crime, cf. the myths of Lykaon: Ov. *Met.* 1. 230 ff.; Apollod. 3. 8. 1; and Tantalus and Pelops: Pind. *Ol.* 1. 36 ff.; Ov. *Met.* 6. 403-11; for further discussion of divine attitudes to human sacrifice, cf. Burkert, 1983, 84-103.

740-1: Erictho next mentions a certain *foedus* by which Proserpina loves Pluto. At [Hom.] *H. Dem.* 360-69, Pluto states the benefits that Proserpina will derive from marriage with him: power over mortals, honour among the gods, and punishment for those who do not respect her. *Foedus* may refer to Pluto's words as the terms of this agreement. This again suggests that, in reality, Proserpina willingly married Pluto in return for these powers. Otherwise, the marriage of Pluto and Proserpina was a story too well-known for its revelation to be a cause of shame to the goddess.

foedere: for *foedus* = marriage, cf. Cat. 64. 373: *accipiat coniunx felici foedere divam*; Virg. *Aen.* 4. 338-9: *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.* If, as Housman states, it cannot refer to the marriage bond, then it is a different agreement or compact of an unstated nature.

regem noctis: i.e. Pluto, king of the underworld. For *nox* as the underworld, a place of darkness, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 827: *concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur*; *Ciris* 523; Sil. 13. 708.

741-2: Erictho's final threat is to reveal some sort of contact, *contagia*, which Proserpina has undergone, so terrible that Ceres, her own mother, refuses to see her. The nature of this contact is again unstated, though it must refer to her union with Pluto. The terms *contagia* and *passam* both have sexual connotations suggesting the sexual aspect of the marriage, while *foedus* signifies the material advantages for Proserpina; on the latter cf. *ad* 740-1.

The word order in this third indirect question is difficult since *quae*, which introduces it, is the object of *passam*, itself a participle subordinate to the verb *noluerit*. It is likely that a desire to preserve a tricolon of indirect questions, each introduced by an interrogative adjective, led to this convoluted construction.

741: *contagia*: a touching or contact of some sort; cf. Lucr. 3. 344-5: *corporis atque animai / mutua vitalis discunt contagia motus*; Stat. *Ach.* 1. 227; probably sexual; cf. Mart. 11. 47. 7-8: *cum sic feminei generis contagia vitet, / cur lingit cunnum Lattara?*; Apul. *Met.* 10. 29; for further discussion and refs, cf. Adams, 1982, 185-7. Proserpina is generally seen as chaste and barren in her role as queen of the dead, so the revelation of her having sexual union would be shaming; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 402, with

Austin: *casta...Proserpina*. Any other sort of polluting *contagia* with the underworld, souls of the dead, or other dwellers of the underworld is too well known to make Erictho's threat effective.

passam: in a sexual context, this always has the passive partner as subject; cf. Ov. *Fast*. 2. 178: *invito est pectore passa Iovem*; Petr. 25. 4: *"ita", inquit Quartilla, "minor est ista quam ego fui, cum primum virum passa sum"*; Sen. *NQ*. 1. 16. 2; Adams, 1982, 189-90.

742: *noluerit revocare Ceres*: underscores how terrible the *contagia* is. It contradicts the better known story of Ceres' behaviour after the rape of Proserpina when she scoured the earth to find her, then refused, in her anger, to produce crops for humankind, and finally rejoiced when her daughter is returned: [Hom.] *H. Dem*. 305 ff.; 434 ff.; Ov. *Met*. 5. 438-86. Ceres' refusal corresponds to 699-700: *caelum matremque perosa / Persephone*. The focus of these two descriptions of Proserpina's permanent residence in Hell changes, underlining Erictho's change in attitude. In the first passage, Erictho mentions this as an attribute of the goddess worthy of mention in her wicked prayer; in the second, it is a horrible secret with which Erictho can threaten the goddess.

742-4: Erictho next addresses Pluto, threatening to break open the underworld and reveal to it the light of the sun. This threat resembles splitting open the earth to gain access to spirits of the dead: cf. *ad* 728-9. Here, however, its aim is punitive. It would terrify Pluto and his subjects who, at least theoretically, never beheld the sun's light; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 8. 246: *trepident immisso lumine Manes*; Ov. *Met*. 2. 260-1: *dissilit omne solum, penetratque in Tartara rimis / lumen et infernum terret cum coniuge regem*; 5. 356-8; Sen. *HF*. 813-827. This threat also appears at *PGM*. 62. 28-32, when the god delays an apparition in a divination spell.

742-3: *pessime mundi / arbiter*: i.e. Pluto, lower in rank than his divine brothers, Jupiter and Neptune. He drew the third lot which gave him rule over the world of the dead; cf. Hom. *Il*. 15. 187 ff.; Pind. *Ol*. 7. 54 ff.; Callim. *Hymn*, 1. 60-61; Apollod. 1. 7. For *pessime* as "lowest in rank", cf. Gaius, *Inst*. 1. 26: *pessima...libertas eorum est, qui dediticiorum numero sunt*. *Pessime* represents an unusual twist upon the usual form in spells, even coercive ones, where the divinity is addressed respectfully: e.g. *PGM*. 4. 2902-2939, where the caster calls Aphrodite "Lady", "Mistress", "Our Goddess Queen" and "foam-born Kythereia, mother of both gods and men…", though threatening to punish her if the love-charm does not work quickly; on *malus* and *pessimus* in magical contexts, cf. Ronconi, 1968, 130.

Arbiter regularly identifies a god as the controller of a particular sphere; cf. Sen. *HF*. 205: *o magne Olympi rector et mundi arbiter*; 582: *mortis...arbiter*; [Sen]. *HO*. 1173; Petr. 98.

ruptis...cavernis: for the underworld as a subterranean cavern, cf. *ad* 712: *Tartareo ...antro*. *Ruptis* = "burst, broken open" with landscape features; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 2. 496:

aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis exiit; Sen. *Dial*. 1. 2. 3. The image created by Erictho's words is powerful and violent.

Titana: i.e. sun; cf. *ad* 334.

744: *feriere*: used elsewhere of light/heat striking something; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 8. 25; Ov. *Met*. 7. 804: *sole...feriente cacumina*. The word has an aggressive edge and is most frequently found in descriptions of combat, where a weapon is used, cf. Sall. *Jug*. 6. 1: *leonem atque alias feras primus...ferire*; Virg. *Aen*. 12. 729-30: *consurgit Turnus in ensem / et ferit*; Ov. *Met*. 12. 389.

die: poetic for sunlight, cf. Lucr. 1. 148: *lucida tela diei*; Virg. *Aen*. 3. 198; Ov. *Met*. 5. 358: *dies trepidantes terreat umbras*.

744-49: Erictho's compulsive spell ends with the description of a super-powerful god whom she threatens to summon. Without stating specifics, Erictho implies that he will inflict worse punishment upon the chthonic gods than she can. Moreover, his ability to behold the face of the Gorgon, punish the Erinyes and swear falsely by the Styx suggests that he is more powerful than other gods. His abode in a Tartarus deep beneath the underworld recalls the punishments of the Titans and Typhon, imprisoned in the lowest realms for being a threat to the supremacy of the Olympians. This last analogy suggests that Erictho is threatening to unleash a being who could overpower the gods.

The idea of a more powerful god being invoked in a magic spell after an initial delay appears elsewhere, cf. *PGM*. 12. 141-3: "If you disobey me…, I will tell the great god (Seth), and, after he has speared you through, he will chop you up into pieces and feed your members to the mangy dog who lies among the dungheaps"; also 4. 1035-46; 12. 238-44.

Erictho does not name this god. From Lucan's description, this figure resembles Typhon, an evil being who has the ability to upset the divine order; cf. above. He was a traditional monster of mythology and is frequently mentioned in the *PGM*, often under the name Seth, as an all-powerful god with many similar features to the description which Lucan has presented: cf. 4. 180 ff., 244 ff., esp. 261-74. For the story of Typhon, cf. Hes. *Theog*. 820-80, with West; Pind. *Pyth*. 1. 15-26; Ov. *Met*. 5. 321 ff. Lucan appears to have modelled this god's powers on certain aspects of the Typhon myth, and magnified them, to create his portrait of Seth-Typhon as a sort of super-Typhon.

Other suggested identifications are as follows: (i) Demiurgus/ Demogorgon, Haskins, *ad loc*, Pichon, 1912, 192 n. 3, *OZ* 1§701, following the *schol*. *ad* Stat. *Theb*. 4. 516: *triplicis mundi summum*; (ii) Hermes Trismegistus, Bourgery, 1928a, 312; (iii) Ahriman, a Semitic Satan figure, Rose, 1913, li-lii; (iv) Iao/Iahweh, another Semitic deity who features prominently in the *PGM*, Baldini Moscadi, 1976a, 180-84. Demogorgon, a benign god, is unlikely; cf. Rose, 1913, li-lii, for the counter-argument. Hermes Trismegistus, should be ruled out on similar grounds; although very powerful and closely associated with magic, he was a fundamentally good figure which runs

contrary to Lucan's description, cf. Eliade, 1987, *s.v. Hermes Trismegistus*. The Semitic gods are possible, though it seems more likely that Lucan would have modelled this figure on the more familiar figure Typhon, rather than one borrowed from a foreign mythology which Lucan may not have known.

In spite of these various theories, certain identification is impossible. This maintains audience suspense, and the air of mystery about the god adds to the sense of his power.

paretis? an ille: *paretis* offers the gods a final chance before the hideous alternative is introduced. It suggests her imperious nature; cf. *ad* 711: *parete precanti*. Lucan separates the preceding threats with this word, placed after the main caesura. The monosyllable *an* creates a diaeresis which adds emphasis to *ille*, the unnamed god.

745: *compellandus*: "to address, call upon, call by name", cf. Liv. 10. 28. 12: *patrem P. Decius nomine compellans*; Tac. *Ann*. 2. 38. In spells, naming a deity is an effective method for summoning or gaining control; cf. *ad* 732: *nomine vero*. Erictho cannot actually mention the name as this would, presumably, summon the god: she need only threaten to do so.

quo…qui…qui…qui: lists of descriptive relative clauses are regular in invocations of gods; cf. *ad* 590-91. Though this is only a threat, the use of this formal element makes the possibility of summoning the god appear all the more imminent.

vocato: cf. *ad* 707: *voco*.

745-6: *numquam…non*: an emphatic alternative to *semper*.

terra…concussa tremit: at the very mention of his name the earth shakes and trembles. For similar effects at the mention of a divine name in magic, cf. *PGM*. 12. 239-44; 13. 872 ff.: I call on your name, the greatest among the gods. If I say it complete there will be an earthquake…".

746: *concussa*: "struck", suggesting the physical force inherent in the act of naming; on *concutio*, cf. Enn. *Ann*. 439 Sk.: *it eques et plausu cava concutit ungula terram*; Liv. 3. 10. 6: *terra ingenti concussa motu est*.

qui Gorgona cernit apertam: he can look directly at the Gorgon. This is generally interpreted as Medusa, a woman of such hideous appearance that viewing her was fatal. She was dangerous to mortals and immortals alike; cf. Ov. *Met*. 4. 779-81; Luc. 9. 652-8, 681-2; Roscher, 1. 1695. 28-1701. 48. This ability is certainly a great show of power, which distinguishes him from both divine and mortal beings, yet it is an unusual example to choose. It is possible to take *Gorgona* not as Medusa herself but rather the Gorgoneion, her head which was placed upon Minerva's aegis; cf. below. This was a symbol of the power of the gods, and played a role in defeating the Giants (Luc. 9. 655-8) and the Titans (Eratosth. *Catast*. 13, p. 102; Hyg. *Astr*. 2. 13; cf. *RE*. 1. 971, 56-61);

cf. also Ov. *Met*. 4. 802-3; Hom. *Il*. 5. 738-42; 15. 229-30, 304-22; 17. 593-6, where it is used by gods other than Athene/Minerva; *RE*. 1. 970. 8- 971. 42. If this is the case, then the point being made is that this being, as super-Typhon, has no fear of the Olympian gods, for whom the *aegis* decorated with the *gorgoneion* is a powerful weapon and symbol of their invincibility.

Gorgona: for this = *aegis*, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 2. 616: *Pallas... Gorgone saeva*; Prop. 2. 2. 8; Mart. 6. 10. 11. The Greek accusative ending on the word is regular in Latin; cf. Neue, 1. 324.

apertam: "uncovered, bare", cf. Liv. 23. 10. 7: *quoad capite aperto est ductus*; Sen. *Tro*. 104; Stat. *Silv*. 5. 5. 13. The Gorgon's head, if concealed, was harmless since its power to kill was located in its eyes.

747: an ironic line which demonstrates the superior power of the unnamed god by inverting the situation normally associated with the Furies. Here she is being punished with her own whips and she is herself afraid. For the Furies as punishers, cf. *ad* 664; also Hom. *Il*. 19. 259; Aesch. *Eum*. 254-75, 307-96.

verberibusque suis: an instrument for flogging, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 336: *tu (Allecto) potes... verbera tectis funereasque inferre faces*; Liv. 8. 28. 4; V. Fl. 4. 413. Whips were regularly associated with the Erinyes (cf. *ad* 731: *saevis...flagellis*) which *suis* stresses, making the inversion more poignant.

trepidam: another reversal, the Furies usually inspire fear in others; cf. *ad* 656.

Erinyn: the normal accusative form in Latin; cf. also Ov. *Met*. 1. 725. The singular is rare; cf. Neue, 1. 314, 445.

748: The god lives in a Tartarus which is deep beneath the underworld. This is a key argument for seeing this god as a super-Typhon. Typhon was, in some versions, imprisoned in Tartarus after losing a battle against the gods for control over the world; cf. Hes. *Theog*., 868; Pind. *Pyth*. 1. 15 ff.; for other anti-Olympian monsters and sinners incarcerated here, cf. Hes. *Theog*. 813-4, 850-52; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 582 ff. Lucan's super-Typhon inhabited a Tartarus below the normal Tartarus.

indespecta: ἅπαξ λεγομένον: the word describes a Tartarus which cannot be looked down into because it is too deep beneath the underworld. This notion is further clarified in the next clause, *cuius / vos estis superi*.

tenet: "he inhabits", cf. Cat. 67. 4: *cum sedes ipse senex tenuit*; Prop. 2. 30. 25-6; Liv. 29. 7. 10.

vobis: i.e. *dis infernis*. This is dative of agent, on which cf. L-H-S, 2. 96-8.

748-9: *cuius / vos estis superi*: by saying that the *di inferi* are like the gods of heaven to this creature, Lucan is implying that this unseeable Tartarus is as far beneath the normal Tartarus as the latter is beneath the heavens. This alludes to and develops the Homeric and Hesiodic descriptions which locate Tartarus as far beneath the Earth as heaven is above it; cf. Hom. *Il.* 8. 16: τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης; Hes. *Theog.* 720-25. Thus, Lucan's Tartarus is twice as far again beneath the ground. The statement also contains a moral element, suggesting that this god is so evil that by comparison the gods of the underworld, normally seen as deadly and malevolent, are like the beneficent gods of heaven.

749: The final aspect of the description: he can swear falsely by the waters of the Styx. All other gods are bound by oaths sworn on Stygian waters: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 775-806, which describes the role of this water in settling Olympian disputes, and the punishments for making a false oath; also *ad* 380: *superumque... timorem.* Such an ability shows that this god is immensely powerful and incredibly wicked for effecting such an act. This capability parallels his ability to behold the face of the Gorgon, in that the Styx is a terror for immortals, while the Gorgon is a source of horror for mortals; for the parallelism, cf. Vernant, 1991, 123. Taken together, they show that he is free from the restraints of fear which hold gods and humans in check

peierat: used transitively; cf. Plin. *NH.* 2. 21: *fulminantem peierant Iovem*; also Cic. *Off.* 3. 108: *non enim falsum iurare peierare est sed quod "ex animi tui sententia" iuraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, id non facere periurium est.*

750-62: After this second, coercive spell Erictho gains instant effect. Lucan describes the process of life returning to the corpse in grotesque detail: the blood warms and flows about the body again, the organs and then the limbs start moving, then finally the body leaps up from the ground. In general, the description is the reverse of death: the body falling, quivering on the ground, bleeding through its wounds and finally going cold and still; for such descriptions, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 332-4; 347-50; 412-15; 431-4; 697-701; 10. 730-1; 11. 816-31. Though the corpse shows signs of life, Lucan also describes the ways in which it still resembles a dead man, staring eyes, gaping mouth, pallor and stiffness, which serve to highlight the paradox of necromancy, cf. *ad* 725: *non posse mori.* The passage closes by referring to the limitations of the corpse's prophetic powers, that it can only respond to an interrogation, which leads into Erictho's third spell, her request for information.

Lucan deviates greatly here from his main literary model, the rejuvenation of Aeson, at Ov. *Met.* 7. 159-293. At lines 287-93, Ovid describes the return Aeson's vigour and the loss of the signs of his old age, e.g. wrinkles, pallor, weakness and wasting. Lucan, on the other hand, states that many of the signs of death remain on the corpse: its staring eyes and gaping mouth, stiffness, chill and pallor. Points of similarity which exist between the two passages are the instantaneous effects of both spells and the stunned amazement in both Aeson and the corpse at their bodily transformations. The stark differences, however, underline the perversity of Erictho's magic.

750: *protinus*: the word's position, at the start of the line, enhanced by diaeresis, and following directly on from the coercive spell underscores the now immediate response of the gods to Erictho's demands; cf. 528: *superi...carmenque timent audire secundum*. This instantaneous effect recalls the "ἤδη ἤδη ταχὺ ταχύ" formula often seen in the *PGM*; e.g. 4. 1581 ff.; 7. 470 ff.; also Hor. *Epod*. 5. 53: *nunc, nunc, adeste*.

astrictus...cruor: blood, clotted or solidified through the coldness of death; on this, cf. *ad* 569, *gelidis...labris*; 629. *Astringo* often denotes liquids solidifying through cold: cf. Ov. *Met*. 1. 120: *ventis glacies astrictus pependit*; Luc. 5. 436; also Luc. 4. 291: *postquam sicca rigens astrinxit volnera sanguis*, where again the chill of death solidifies the blood. *Cruor* is the blood of the dead, appropriately used of a corpse, cf. Mencacci, 1986, 35-81; André, 1991, 130; but *cruor* also suggests the incomplete restoration of life, a notion further explored below, 768 ff.

atraque...volnera: "wounds blackened with blood". Lucan creates a horrific image with these words, perhaps suggesting that the corpse's wounds start to bleed again. The *volnera* are those mentioned at 637-8, and those inflicted by the witch at 638-9, 667-8. *Ater*, when describing blood or wounds, usually indicates the blood of a dead person, or fatal wound: cf. Enn. *Scen*. 297 J; Virg. *Georg*. 3. 221: *lavit ater corpora sanguis*; *Aen*. 9. 700-1: *reddit specus atri vulneris undam / spumantem*. Like *cruor* (above), it suggests only partial restoration of life.

fovit: "to make warm", reinforcing *caluit*; cf. Plaut. *Capt*. 847: *epulas foveri foculis ferventibus*; Ov. *Her*. 4. 15; *Fast*. 6. 301; Sen. *Epist*. 90. 25. This is also a medical term, "to treat with warm applications": cf. Cat. *Agr*. 157. 4: *luxatum siquid est, bis die aqua calida foveto*; Virg. *Aen*. 12. 420: *fovit ea vulnus lympha...Iapyx*; Sen. *Dial*. 5. 39. 4. This latter sense suggests that the newly heated blood warms the wounds like a *fomentum* (healing poultice), a striking perversion of the technical usage.

751: *in venas extremaque membra*: the description of the blood's flow moves from the open wounds inwards to the veins and bodily extremities.

extremaque membra: the extremities of the limbs, a poetic equivalent to *extrema membrorum*. On *extrema*, cf. Sen. *Epist*. 95. 22: *nesciebant (medici)...latentem vim...ad extrema revocare*; Plin. *NH*. 2. 218; Tac. *Ann*. 15. 70: *paulatim ab extremis cedere spiritum*.

cucurrit: describes the blood flowing quickly. For *curro* of liquids, cf. Virg. *Georg*. 1. 132: *passim rivis currentia vina*; Prop. 4. 5. 12: *stantia currenti diluerentur aqua*; Luc. 9. 829; Stat. *Theb*. 9. 150. It does not appear elsewhere describing blood; cf., however, Pers. 3. 91: *tertia conpositas vidit nox currere venas*.

752: *percussae…fibrae*: an unusual expression. It describes an internal organ being reactivated through the renewal of the blood-flow. *Percutere* is used in a magical context with the idea "touched/struck (by magic power)", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 190: *Picus…quem capta cupidine coniunx / aurea percussum virga versumque venenis / fecit avem Circe*; Ov. *Met.* 14. 299-301. It may refer to a physical striking of these *fibrae* by the blood now flowing in the body, though *percutere* describes the action of blood nowhere else. The related noun, *percussus* can denote the pulse: cf. Plin. *NH.* 7. 171: *venarum inaequabili aut formicante percussu.*

Fibrae could here refer either to the lungs; cf. *ad* 630; or the liver; cf. Cels. 4. 1. 5: *iecur…in quattuor fibras dividitur*; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 600; [Sen.] *HO.* 947; André, 1991, 153. *Fibrae* alone does not indicate which organ Lucan means. Lungs are suggested by *sub pectore*, "under the chest", where they are located on a prostrate corpse. The liver, however, was thought to convert food into blood; cf. Cic. *ND.* 2. 137: *ab eo cibo cum est secreta bilis eique umores qui e renibus profunduntur, reliqua se in sanguinem vertunt ad easdemque portas iecoris confluunt, ad quas omnes eius viae pertinent*; also Hagen, 1961; André, 1991, 154. If *fibrae* does mean the liver, then there is another inversion - instead of the liver creating blood, the blood itself reactivates the liver.

gelido: cf. *ad* 568: *gelidis…labris.*

trepidant: the *fibrae* quiver, a result of their new life and movement. A paradoxical expression since organs normally tremble when very freshly dead, rather than when coming alive: cf. Manil. 4. 911-12: *huic in tanta fidem petimus, quam…/ accipiunt trepidaeque sub suo pectore fibrae*; Sen. *Oed.* 353-4: *non levi motu, ut solent, / agitata trepidant exta*; *Thy.* 755: *erepta…exta…tremunt.* If *fibrae* are taken as lungs (cf. *supra*), then this quivering could be taken as an inversion of the image of a dying person gasping for breath: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 415: *et longis singultibus ilia pulsat*; 10. 730-1; Stat. *Theb.* 5. 261: *pueri trepidas in limine vitae singultant animas*; Sil. 1. 388.

753: *nova…vita*: cf. *ad* 660.

desuetis…medullis: litotes. *Desuetus*, "disaccustomed", is often used with body parts, though normally for reasons other than death, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 721-2: *et vivo temptat praevertere amore / iam pridem resides animos desuetaque corda*; Sen. *Epist.* 47. 2: *ventrem…desuetum iam ventris officio.*

subrepens: another inversion. *Subrepre* usually describes the onset of a disease or other cause of death: cf. Cat. 76. 20-1: *hanc pestem…/ quae mihi subrepens imos ut torpor in artus*; Tib. 1. 1. 69: *subrepet iners aetas*; Sen. *Epist.* 104. 1.

754: *vita…/ miscetur morti*: an extraordinary juxtaposition of opposites, which again underscores the unusual nature of necromancy, anticipating 758-62.

tunc: Lucan marks out the progress of the revivification clearly. After the internal organs regain life, the external limbs start to move.

omnis...artus: most probably a plural accusative of respect, dependent on *palpitat*; cf. Housman *ad loc*. Singular *artus* is rare, and is unattested with the sense *membrum*; the closest parallel, at V. Fl. 4. 310: *qua primo cervix committitur artu*, has the sense "joint". On the other hand, Housman's explanation requires that the subject, *cadaver*, be supplied from the following line and leads to an awkward change of subject in *tenduntur nervi*. Given these difficulties it is possible to see *artus* as a collective singular.

palpitat: "quiver, pulsate", an action appropriate to a person or animal dying; cf. Calp. *Ecl*. 2. 62: *saepe vaporato mihi caespite palpitat agnus*; Suet. *Tib*. 61. 4; also used of severed body parts, Ov. *Met*. 6. 560: *ipsa (lingua)...palpitat*; Luc. 2. 181-2: *exsectaque lingua / palpitat*. As with *subrepens*, Lucan inverts the normal association of this word, using it to describe a person returning to life. For quivering limbs as another sign of imminent death, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 10. 730-1: *calcibus atram / tundit humum*.

755-7: These lines contain a vivid description of the final stage of the resurrection. The body does not gradually rise but is thrown up from the ground, standing upright in one movement. Lucan reverses the familiar image of a body falling or collapsing to the ground, which links neatly into the preceding parts of the description which invert the processes of death. For the body collapsing, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 9. 414: *volvitur ille vomens calidum...flumen*; 9. 433: *volvitur Euryalus leto*; 11. 818: *(illa)...labitur exsanguis*.

755: *cadaver*: word-play on the etymology of *cadaver*, from *cado* to fall dead; cf. Maltby, *s.v. cadaver*. This underscores the inversion of a body collapsing dead. On Lucan's word-play with *cadaver*, cf. 822-3: *cadaver / ut cadat*; Moretti, 1984, 44-6.

756: *paulatim per membra levat*: a gradual rising is what would be expected for a person picking themselves up from the ground, whether alive or raised from the dead: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 690-1: *ter sese attolens cubitoque adnixa levavit, / ter revoluta toro est*; Larg. 188: *cum se e lectulo levare conantur*; Apul. *Met*. 2.29: *assurgit cadaver*.

per membra: i.e. *membratim*, "limb by limb"; on this sense of *per*, cf. Manil. 2. 758: *hinc verbi structura venit per membra legendi*; Luc. 2. 119: *vix te sparsum per viscera, Baebi*; 4. 628-9: *et omnem / explicuit per membra virum*; *TLL* 10. 1162. 64 ff.

terra repulsum est: the corpse is pushed away from the ground. *Repello* often has the sense "to drive away, reject", appropriate here; cf. Hor. *Sat*. 2. 7. 90: *foribus...repulsum*; Liv. 3. 47. 8: *cum repelletur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum*. It suggests that the earth itself, the place for the dead, rejects the corpse because of its resurrection.

757: *erectum*: passive with a reflexive sense "to stand (oneself) up", cf. Ov. *Her.* 14. 44: *erigor et capio tela*; Apul. *Met.* 4. 1: *de iumentis quadrupedis incurvo gradu rursum erectus in hominem.* The corpse is thrown up from the ground into a standing position.

semel: "once and for all", i.e. not gradually; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 2. 5. 1: *nihil confestim, nihil semel faciunt.* It emphasises the instantaneous nature of the rising. The alternative reading, *simul* (PUV), lacks this pointed sense and is rightly rejected by Housman.

757-8: Lucan briefly describes the corpse's visage, ghostly staring eyes and a gaping, toothy mouth. The expression is remarkably compressed, and some have taken *distento... rictu* as ablative of description, referring to the eyelids, e.g. Braund, Canali, Viansino, Korenjak. Yet, in spite of other oral imagery used of the eyes (e.g. Apul. *Met.* 2. 10: *morsicantibus oculis*) *rictus* is nowhere used for the eyelids, cf. André,1991, 44-9. The toothiness of corpses is a well known phenomenon, since shrinkage of the facial skin makes the teeth much more prominent.

distento…rictu: "with a stretched open jaw". The image of the corpse showing a toothy grin is ugly, frightening and "in the best horror movie style (Johnson, 1987, 27). *Rictus* is an opening of the mouth, where the teeth are visible; cf. Sen. *Thy.* 987-8: *Bacchus a labris fugit,/ circaque rictus...fluit*; Quint. *Inst.* 1. 11. 9: *ne immodicus hiatus rictum distendat*; Juv. 10. 230; Suet. *Claud.* 30. 1. Ugliness is implied in the preceding examples. The idea of bared teeth in the *rictus* is suggested by the related *ringor*, "to bare the teeth". For the teeth being bared in death, cf. Pers. 3. 100-2: *sed tremor inter vina subit calidumque trientem / excutit e manibus, dentes crepuere retecti / uncta cadunt laxis tunc pulmentaria labris.* For *distendo* of a gaping mouth, cf. Luc. 9. 722: *ora... distendens prester*; Quint. *Inst.* 1. 11. 9, quoted above.

lumina…/ nudantur: Lucan describes staring eyes, not ones that are just open. Corpse's eyes are usually depicted in this way; cf. Luc. 8. 683: *dum lumina nuda rigescunt*; Suet. *Ner.* 49. 4: *extantibus rigentibusque oculis usque ad horrorem formidinemque visentium*; Deonna, 1958, discussing the eyes of the dead. *Nudantur* is a strong word to use, suggesting that the eyes have been stripped of their covering: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 211: *tergora diripiunt costis et viscera nudant*; Apul. *Met.* 8. 22: *(formicae) visceribus edesis... membra nudarunt.*

758-59: *nondum…erat*: an effective capping *sententia*: the resurrected corpse does not resemble a living person but someone dying; cf. *ad* 561. The contrast between the opposites *viventis* and *morientis*, with *morientis* delayed, creates the surprising point that this will not be a complete restoration to life, and underscores the liminal status of a resurrected corpse.

759: *remanet pallorque rigorque*: pallor and stiffness are characteristic marks of death. On *pallor*, cf. *ad* 517: *Stygio... pallore.* For stiffness and death, cf. Luc. 2. 25: *membra... fugiente rigentia vita*; 8. 683; V. Fl. 5. 29: *vix membra rigentia... imposuere*

rogo; [Quint] *Decl.* 13. 6: *rigescentibus morte pedibus*. These residual signs of death underline the preceding *sententia*, that he resembles a dying rather than living man.

760: *stupet*: "he is dumbfoundeed"; unsurprisingly the corpse is stunned at its resurrection. *Stupeo* implies speechlessness or lack of motion; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 509: *mater ad auditas stupuit ceu saxea voces*; Val. Max. 5. 4. ext. 1: *haerent et stupent hominum oculi*; Sen. *Phaed.* 607: *curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*. This is ironic since necromancy should restore speech and movement to the body; cf. below.

760-2: there are limitations upon the corpse's speech: it cannot speak properly, and can only answer questions. This detail contradicts 716-7: *omnia... / Pompeiana canat*.

761: *ora astricta*: its mouth is held fast, cf. Cic. *Pis.* 30: *lingua astricta mercede*. It denotes the chill and stiffness of death; cf. 750: *astrictus... cruor*. The mouth is not "bound shut"; cf. 757: *distento... rictu*. *Astrictus* tends, however, to describe solid objects when they are chilled by fear or some other emotion, rather than death: cf. Ov. *Ars.* 1. 361: *pectora... sunt astricta dolore*; V. Fl. 2. 203.

vox...linguaque: two virtual synonyms. The repetition is emphatic. For *lingua* as speech, cf. *ad* 694: *lingua*.

762: *responsura*: the future participle here expresses possibility, a common use in Lucan, cf. 2. 332, 449, 3. 626, 6. 790. The verb is used often of answers from priests and oracles, appropriate here: cf. Cic. *Div.* 1. 79: *pater... Roscii ad haruspices rettulit, qui responderunt nihil illo puero clarius... fore*; Vell. 1. 2. 1: *cum... respondisset ... Pythius*.

762-74: In a third speech, Erictho commands that the corpse speak the truth to Sextus and instructs it in the proper way to give prophecy. Since the corpse is only able to give responses (cf. 760-2), this speech must constitute Erictho's inquiry about the future. As such it is very vague. She wants it to speak the truth, *vera locutum*, 763, and to include the names of persons and places in its account, *da nomina rebus / da loca*, 773-4. She asks no specific questions about the civil war, nor is there any reference to affairs concerning Sextus or the Pompeian side. Though these are mentioned in her first spell, at 716-7: *ducis omnia nato / Pompeiana canat nostri modo militis umbra*, questions about particulars would be appropriate here.

These lines are another part of her spell paralleled in the *PGM*, where a lengthy process of conjuring a god or spirit is followed by a brief set of instructions, in which the magician's desires are expressed: cf. *PGM.* 3. 612-32, esp. 630-32; 4. 1716-1870, esp. 1852-59: "Go late at night to the house [of the woman] you want, knock on her door with the Eros and say: 'Lo, she NN resides here; wherefore stand beside her and, after assuming the likeness of the god or daimon she worships, say what I propose'".

Erictho mentions a reward for obedience: she will let the corpse die again and dispose of it in such a way that its spirit can never be summoned by magic. Spells of dismissal or release for gods, daimons and spirits appear frequently in the *PGM*, e.g. 1.

334-47; 2. 176-83; 4. 1057-65; 7. 333; 11a. 28-33. Yet these spells involve some reversal of the procedure used to bind the god or spirit, e.g. *PGM* 1. 334 ff.: "if you wish to release the god himself, shift the aforementioned ebony staff, which you are holding in your left hand, to your right hand; and shift the sprig of laurel…to your left hand; and extinguish the burning lamp; and use the same burnt offering while saying: (*there follows a dismissal*)". Erictho, rather than reversing the procedures, offers the corpse a magical cremation: a pyre with special timber (*tali sepulchro*, *talibus silvis*), and a *Stygium carmen*, another spell. These factors, in conjunction with the verb *exuram*, "to burn completely", suggest that the cremation will incinerate every part of the corpse, destroying even the customary remnants, bones and ashes, which could be used by witches to raise a spirit; cf. *ad* 533-7; also Hor. *Epod.* 17. 79: *possim crematos excitare mortuos*. Thus, the soldier would be truly safe from the powers of magic.

762-3: *magna…mercede*: "for a great reward"; ablative of price, cf. L-H-S, 2. 129. For other instances, cf. Cic. *De Orat.* 1. 126: *cum mercede doceret*; Liv. 33. 7. 11; Tac. *Ann.* 6. 33. This is the first mention of any recompense for the corpse.

763: *vera locutum*: *sc. te*. *Locutum* has conditional force, cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 3. 179: *haec tantam habent vim, paulum ut immutata cohaerere non possint*.

764: *inmunem…/artibus Haemoniis*: "free from Haemonian magic", cf. Vell. 2. 35. 2: *omnibus humanis vitiis immunis*; Luc. 2. 257. On *ars*, cf. *ad* 437: *ars est*; on *Haemoniis*, cf. *ad* 436.

praestabimus: "to render". This is commonly constructed with a predicative adjective, here *inmunem*, indicating the state which will be brought about, cf. Cic. *Man.* 55: *nos qui antea…omnis socios…salvos praebere poteramus*; Liv. 44. 29. 2; Juv. 8. 170.

toto mundi…aevo: i.e., "until the end of the universe", the Stoic ekpyrosis. This is a hyperbolic extension of the phrase *toto aevo*, "forever", cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5. 377: *floreat ut toto carmen Nasonis in aevo*; also Ter. *Ad.* 527: *ego hodie toto non vidi die*; Liv. 22. 60. 10: *nocte prope tota…non destitit monere…eos*, where *totus* with a noun expressing time means "all day", "all night".

765: ***tali…sepulchro***: *sepulchrum*=pyre, cf. *ad* 526: *accenso…sepulchro*.

766: *talibus…silvis*: *silvis* is poetic, "branches, trees", and commonly used of funeral pyres, cf. Ov. *Met.* 9. 235; V. Fl. 3. 311: *funereas ad litora volvite silvas*; *Epic. Drusi*, 255: *tandem ubi complexa est (flamma) silvas*. The expression mirrors *tali…sepulchro* above, and suggests that Erictho will use special timber to build the pyre. Magical spells elsewhere use specific sorts of wood as fuel for fires to burn offerings, create inks or create fumigations: e.g. *PGM.* 5. 233-4; 7. 537, 548; 36. 297; this is rarely mentioned in a literary magical spell, an exception being Hor. *Epod.* 5. 17-18: *caprificos…cupressos funebris*.

exuram: "to burn completely", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 39-40: *Pallasne exurere classem... / potuit*; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 50: *libros exuri iussit*. Lucan is the first to use the verb in the context of cremation, cf. also [Quint]. *Decl.* 10. 6: *filium quem crudelibus flammis exuristi, ex quo cineres et ossa supersunt*. Erictho's magical fire will incinerate the body completely leaving no trace which witches could use in a necromancy, unlike a normal cremation where bones and ashes remain, to be collected and placed into a tomb; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 226-35; Toynbee, 1971, 50.

767: *cantata...umbra*: a pregnant use of the participle, looking forward either to the spell which Erictho will cast upon the corpse to prevent its future resurrection, or to future necromancies which Erictho suggests will fail.

magos: cf. *ad* 431. Here it is a general term to indicate all practitioners of magic.

exaudiat: "to obey", cf. *ad* 706: *exaudite*.

768: *sit tanti vixisse iterum*: "let living a second time be of such great value". *Tanti* is a genitive of value, cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3. 174: *accipis... HS xv pro medimno; tanti enim est illo tempore medimnum*; Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 62. For *esse* in expressions of value, with the sense "to be worth", cf. also Plaut. *Truc.* 489: *pluris est oculatus testis quam auriti decem*; Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 33. The slow rhythm and monosyllable at the start of the line emphasise the weightiness of Erictho's statement.

vixisse: for the perfect infinitive as a substantive, cf. Ov. *Her.* 7. 164: *quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum*; Sen. *Oed.* 993: *multis ipsum metuisse nocet*; L-H-S, 2. 343-4.

768-70: This sentence repeats the ideas expressed in 765-7, that the corpse will never again be affected by necromancy. There is, however, a shift in focus between the two expressions. In the first, the nature of the reward is made subordinate to the method by which it is achieved (*exuram... ut nullos... magos exaudiat umbra*), whereas in the latter the method is subordinate to the reward (*nec verba nec herbae / audebunt... a me morte data*). The repetition and shift in emphasis adds weight to the brief *sententia*, *sit tanti vixisse iterum*, around which the two sentences are arranged.

nec verba nec herbae: Erictho summarises the primary magical methods under these two headings. On *verba*, cf. *ad* 443-51, on *herbae*, cf. *ad* 438: *herbasque nocentes*. Anaphora and slight assonance of *-erb-* gives the flavour of a genuine spell.

769: *audebunt*: makes Erictho's gift appear even more impressive. Magical powers will not only lack the ability but even the courage to attempt a necromancy.

longae somnum...Lethes: i.e. death; lit. "the sleep of long forgetfulness". For *somnus* as death, cf. Cic. *TD.* 1. 91-2: *mors... quam qui leviorem faciunt, somni simillimam volunt esse... habes somnum imaginem mortis*; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 38; Sil. 5.

528-9; Ogle, 1933. *Lethes* here = "forgetfulness, oblivion", appropriate since the corpse need never recall earthly matters; cf. Luc. 5.221: *inmisit Stygiam Paean in viscera Lethen*. Lethe, the river of oblivion, frees the shades from memories of their life: cf. Luc. 3. 29-30; Sil. 13. 552-3: *hic turba piorum /... Lethaeos potat latices, oblivia mentis*. In descriptions of metempsychosis, Lethe was drunk before the soul departs to its new body: e.g. Plat. *Rep.* 10. 621, a-c; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 714-5: *Lethaei ad fluminis undam / securos latices et longa oblivia potant*; cf. *RE*. 12. 2141. 37- 2413. 17; Rohde, 1966, 241 n. 2. Lucan inverts the Platonic role for Lethe, since here it pertains to a soul returning to death rather than to life.

It is possible that *longae* is a transferred epithet: the examples cited above where *somnus* = death have *longus* qualifying the noun. Yet the notion of long oblivion is equally valid and appropriate in the current context.

solvere: unusual; in the context of sleep, it rarely denotes an awakening; cf. only Ov. *Met*. 3. 630: *veluti clamore solutus sit sopor*. It is normally used for releasing someone into sleep: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 5. 854-6; 9. 189: *somno vinoque soluti procubuere*; Liv. 5. 45. 3: *nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur*. It also is used with the sense "to release into death, to die": cf. Hor. *Epist*. 1. 16. 78-9: *"ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet." opinor / hoc sentit "moriar"*; Sen. *Tro*. 601. *Solvere*, more appropriate for departing from life than returning, once again underlines the paradox of necromancy, that bringing a corpse back to life is an inversion of death.

770: *a me*: the two monosyllables and diaeresis after the first foot emphasise Erictho's point strikingly, that it is because she grants this death that the corpse will forever be safe from magic.

770-3: Erictho favourably compares necromancy to more traditional forms of prophecy. Like Sextus, she scorns such means of prognostication (cf. *ad* 425-34) though for different reasons. He believes the gods above know too little: *miseroque liquebat / scire parum superos*; Erictho states that their oracles are unclear (*sors obscura*). The allusion to this earlier passage recalls the point that all previous prophecies in the epic have been useless, unclear and uninformative, and that this coming prophecy will be different, describing the future with precision and clarity; on this, cf. Masters, 1992, 196 ff. Furthermore, the *tripodas vatesque* (770), regularly associated with prophets of Apollo, allude to the Sibyl and the prophecies which Aeneas received, through her agency, from Anchises at *Aen*. 6. 756 ff. This allusion introduces Lucan's extended adaptation of Virgil's "parade of heroes" in the corpse's prophecy, 784-99. In this passage, Lucan gives a much darker reinterpretation to Rome's history than Virgil. He places an emphasis upon civil conflict, whereas Virgil stressed unity, glossing over or grossly oversimplifying whatever internal disharmonies he could not ignore; on Lucan's adaptation of Virgil, cf. below; also Feeney, 1986a, appendix. The introductory lines here recall the parallelism between Lucan's and Virgil's books six, and suggest that the truth about Augustus' rise to power which was concealed and ignored in Virgil's "parade of heroes", the *sors obscura*, will here be exposed.

tripodas: a common instrument of prophecy, associated especially with the Delphic oracle of Apollo; cf. Lucr. 1. 739: *Pythia quae tripodi a Phoebi lauroque profatur*; Sen. *Med.* 86; Luc. 5. 121. This reference recalls the visit of Appius Claudius Pulcher to the Pythian priestess at Luc. 5. 71-236, and her brief, riddling utterance. The allusion highlights the difference between these two methods of prognostication: the Delphic oracle, though licit, is useless, while illegal necromancy is supposed to be extremely informative; cf. *ad* 425-30.

vatesque: recalls Virgil's Sibyl, called a *vates* at *Aen.* 6. 65, 121, 161. For the implications of this allusion, cf. *ad* 770-3.

771: *sors*: a common term for an oracular response, cf. Liv. 5. 15. 12: *patres... decrevere legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas*; Ov. *Met.* 3. 130; Tac. *Hist.* 4. 83. On the origin of *sortes* and their connection with oracular sites, cf. Pease *ad* Cic. *Div.* 1. 12: *sortium.*

obscura: "unclear", used elsewhere of signs or messages which foretell the future, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 229: *haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes*; Liv. 25. 12. 8.

decet: for the personal use of this verb, cf. Cic. *Clod.* frg. 22: *tu... quem decet muliebris ornatus, quem incessus psaltriae*; Ov. *Fast.* 5. 347; L-H-S, 2. 417.

certus: on the importance of this term, cf. Masters, 1992, 196 ff. It underscores the idea that the ensuing prophecy will be thoroughly informative, a narrative promise which Lucan breaks.

773: *fortis*: courage is necessary for such consultations, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 261: *nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo*; Luc. 6. 659: *ponite... trepida conceptos mente timores. Fortis* is here used with heavy irony given Sextus' obvious terror, cf. 657-66.

ne parce: "don't hold back", i.e. from talking or from imparting information. For a similar use of *parcere*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 693; Phaed. 3. *epil.* 1: *supersunt mihi quae scribam, sed parco sciens.*

precor: a parenthetic use, common in entreaties; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12. 777: *Faune, precor, miserere*; Hor. *Carm.* 4. 1. 2: *parce precor, precor*; Stat. *Theb.* 12. 816; Juv. 6. 172. The term, as a formal element of a prayer, adds intensity to Erictho's request.

773-4: *da...da...da*: Erictho uses the imperative, in triple anaphora which, like *precor* (above), is another formal element of prayer; on anaphora, cf. *ad* 590: *quae... quae.* The threefold repetition has a further significance, given the importance of the number three in Roman superstition: cf. Pease *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 4. 510; Tavenner, 1916b. There is notable *variatio* in these parallel commands, the first two pertaining to the information the corpse must give, *nomina, loca*, the third pertaining to the medium, *vocem.*

774: *fata loquantur*: slight word-play here, since *fata* is derived from *fari*, to speak.

775-6: Erictho adds a final spell to ensure that the corpse knows what to say. This creates an odd situation since it implies that the information imparted by the corpse derives from Erictho herself. She remains in control of the entire prophetic revelation.

quidquid consulit: "whatever she asked". *Consulere* is used in other divinatory contexts for questioning a seer, prophet or oracle: cf. Caes. *BG*. 1. 53. 7; Virg. *Georg*. 3. 491: *nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates*. For the verb with an internal accusative, cf. Plaut. *Men*. 700; Cic. *Att*. 7. 20. 2: *nec te id consulo*.

Quidquid refers to Erictho's commands that the corpse speak the truth, and that it tell the names and places of events, 762-74.

776: *umbram scire dedit*: for the accusative and infinitive with *dare*, cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 66: *da...Latio considere Teucros*; L-H-S. 2. 363.

776-784: The corpse's opening statement.
After a brief description, the corpse begins to speak. In the introductory section it explains that, due to being recalled from the underworld so soon after its death, it has been unable to assess the situation properly and then gives a general overview of the behaviour of the shades. The corpse rapidly gets to the point and does not delay the prophecy with a lengthy description of the underworld. The purpose of lines 777-8 may be Lucan's strategy to avoid recounting the topography and inhabitants of the underworld, a regular feature of infernal scenes which was rapidly becoming clichéd: cf. Hom. *Od*. 11. 568 ff.; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 268 ff.; Luc. 3. 12-19; *Culex*, 210-383; Juv. 1. 7-13, esp. 9-10: *quas torqueat umbras / Aeacus*.

776: a pathetic image; for such reluctance, cf. *ad* 721: *timentem*.

maestum...cadaver: gloomy because it was returned to life. *Maestus* recalls Palinurus when first seen by Aeneas at *Aen*. 6. 340: *hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra*: both shades are sad because they cannot find eternal rest; cf. also Virg. *Aen*. 2. 270-1: *ante oculos maestissimus Hector / visus adesse mihi*.

777-8: undercut Erictho's confident assurances that necromancy will provide all the answers: cf. *ad* 619-23; 716-17; 770-7. They highlight a flaw in the preferred magical procedure: the fresher the corpse, the better the results of the resurrection, but the poorer the information since the corpse has yet to see anything which might be of value to Sextus; for discussion, cf. Masters, 1992, 197-9.

***tristia...stamina*:** *tristia*, as the opening word, sets the grim tone of the corpse's prophecy. The term occurs frequently in the language of divination, to indicate an unfavourable sign or omen, possibly as a technical term: cf. Cic. *Div*. 2. 24, with Pease: *qui cum tristissimas res portendi dixerunt*; 1. 99; Ov. *Met*. 15. 791: *tristia mille locis*

Stygius dedit omina bubo. It here suggests that examining the Parcae's *stamina* could only give an unfavourable sign. As the length of these threads traditionally shows the length of a person's life, seeing them would enable the viewer to know when an individual would die: cf. *ad* 730-4: *repetitaque fila sorores / tracturae*. The fact that the corpse has not seen the *stamina* is the first indication that he will not be able to tell Sextus when he and other Pompeians will die, a specific request: 601: *quos petat e nobis, Mortem mihi coge fateri*.

equidem: rare in Lucan, appearing only here and 8. 824. It recalls Virg. *Aen*. 6. 716-7: *has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram / iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum*; and 6. 722: *dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo*; both from Anchises' speeches. The allusion marks a strong contrast between the prophetic abilities of Anchises and the corpse: Anchises will reveal everything openly and willingly, whereas the corpse states that this is impossible.

Parcarum: cf. *ad* 703-4: *repetitaque fila sorores / tracturae*

stamina: i.e. the thread of life spun by the Fates, cf. Tib. 1. 7. 2: *parcae fatalia nentes stamina*; Ov. *Trist*. 4. 1. 63; Sen. *Apoc*. 4. 1: *convolvens stamina fuso abrupit stolidae regalia tempora vitae*.

778: *aspexi*: enjambment enhances the surprising revelation that the corpse is inadequate for delivering a prophecy.

tacitae: cf. *ad* 729: *regni silentia*.

ab aggere ripae: i.e. a river bank; cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 106, with Fordyce: *cum Laomedontia pubes gramineo ripae religavit ab aggere classem*; Stat. *Theb*. 5. 516.

This is the bank of the river which separates the kingdom of the dead, often plied by Charon. Only souls at rest can cross, whereas the unburied, or *ataphoi*, are trapped on the side of the living: cf. Hom. *Od*. 11. 51-80; Virg. *Aen*. 6. 295 ff.; on *ataphoi*, cf. Jobbé-Duval, 1924, 42-51; Johnston, 1999, 127-8. The corpse, too, could not cross because it was unburied, *pace*Paoletti, 1963, 21. The notable absence of a name, customarily included in such descriptions, is further evidence of the corpse's complete ignorance about the underworld.

revocatus: used elsewhere in the context of restoring someone to life: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 7. 768-9: *(Hippolytum) caeli venisse sub auras, / Paeoniis revocatum herbis*; Plin. *NH*. 2. 27. *Revocare* is a military term for the recall of soldiers or troops, cf. Caes. *BG*. 2. 20. 1: *signum tuba dandum; ab opere revocandi milites*; 5. 11. 1; Liv. 10. 43. 2. The soldier's corpse is, thus, using vocabulary appropriate to its former career.

779: "Still, it happens that I got to know this from the other ghosts …". The corpse does not actually state here how it came by the information, though the implication is that the other ghosts which it encountered told him (*e cunctis…umbris*). It is not until

later that the reader learns that the corpse is relating events which he watched, rather than stories he was told: cf. 785: *vidi*; 795: *vidi ego*.

quod: its antecedents are the two clauses in the following lines.

e cunctis…umbris: *e* is regularly found with *cognoscere* to indicate the source of knowledge; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 860: *ex Naucrate cognato id cognoscam meo*; Cic. *Scaur.* 7; Sall. *Cat.* 57. 3.

780-83: the corpse gives a general picture of the situation in the underworld. The civil war which is taking place upon earth (*effera…discordia* and *inpia…arma* of 780-81) has disturbed from their rest the Roman shades in the underworld, who are emotionally engaged with the war in a partisan way; cf. Fauth, 1975, 338-9; Johnson, 1987, 29-30.

It is likely that Lucan is adapting the portentous rising of the dead, as a result of a catastrophe like civil war: e.g. Luc. 1. 580-3, with Bagnani, 1955; for further refs, cf. *ad* 634: *rederre bello*; also Cic. *Cons. Suo*, Court. 26-7, with note: *iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae / terribiles formae bellum motusque movebant*; Sil. 8. 642: *Gallorum visi bustis erumpere manes*. Here, due to the civil war, the spirits leave their resting places within the underworld (782-3), but remain in Hell in their factional groups to watch the progress and outcome of the conflict between Caesar and Pompey.

780: *effera*: a powerful word, describing *discordia* as raging out of control: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 484: *facta tyranni effera*; Sen. *Med.* 385-6: *talis recursat huc et huc motu effero / furoris signa lymphati gerens*; Stat. *Theb.* 3. 655. This recalls the notion, common in Lucan and elsewhere, that civil war was a type of madness, e.g. 1. 8: *quis furor, o cives, quae tanta licentia ferri?*; cf. also *ad* 434: *furorem*, for further discussion. Lucan uses *efferus* only here and at 508, describing Erictho, connecting Discordia here with our witch, whose name in part recalls the Greek goddess Eris, or strife, in Latin *Discordia*; cf. *ad* 508: *Erictho*.

agitat: used elsewhere of arousing violent actions, often war: cf. Cic. *Man.* 26: *agitatae nationes*; Virg. *Aen.* 10. 71; Tib. 1. 6. 45: *ubi Bellonae motu est agitata*; Luc. 2. 643: *totoque urbes agitabis in orbe perdomitas*; Stat. *Theb.* 6. 653. Noteworthy is Virg. *Georg.* 2. 496: *infidos agitans discordia fratres*, which *agitat discordia* echoes.

discordia: i.e. civil war, cf. Cic. *Clu.* 39: *in discordiis civitatis*; Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 71-2, with Clausen: *en quo discordia civis / produxit miseros*; *Georg.* 2. 496; 4. 67-8, with Mynors: *nam saepe duobus / regibus incessit magno discordia motu*; *Aen.* 12. 583: *exoritur trepidos inter discordia cives*; Liv. 24. 22. 2. Lucan does not use the term elsewhere to describe civil war.

781: repeats and expands upon the sentiments of the preceding verse and mimics its form, though the rhythm is slower and more sombre.

inpia… arma: another expression for civil war; cf. 7. 196; also 1. 691: *inpia bella*, 7. 838: *inpia signa*. On the force of *inpius* and the ideological role played by concepts of *pietas*, *impietas* in Lucan's epic, cf. *ad* 410: *inpius…Aloeus*.

infernam: commonly associated with the underworld, though rare with an abstract noun; cf., however, Stat, *Theb*. 7. 796: *inferno mugit iam murmure campus*; Apul. *Met*. 6. 21: *infernus somnus et vere Stygius*.

ruperunt: cf. Lucr. 4. 582-3: *quorum noctivago strepitu…/ adfirmant vulgo taciturna silentia rumpi*; Luc. 4. 395: *certos non rumpunt classica somnos*; Mart. 9. 68. 3: *nondum cristati rupere silentia galli*.

quietem: two ideas are present here. The peace of death for individual shades is disturbed by the war, leading to their rising, mentioned at 782-4; cf. Lucr. 3. 211-12: *simul atque hominem leti secura quies est / indepta*; Prop. 2. 28a. 25; Sen. *Oed*. 785; also *ad* 769: *longae somnum…Lethes*. Also, the silence of the underworld (cf. *ad* 729: *silentia regni*) is shattered by both the war and the sudden activity of the shades.

782: *Elysias…sedes*: cf. *ad* 600: *Elysias…sedes*.

Latii…diversi: to be taken separately, indicating the groups which emerge from Elysium and Tartarus respectively. *Latii* is *variatio* for *Romanos* of 6. 780. Lucan uses these terms synonymously; e.g. 1. 22: *Roma,…totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem*; 3. 87: *Latiis…fascibus*; 6. 146: *Latiam…vitem*, i.e. the centurion's staff. *Latii* is Housman's emendation for the manuscript readings *alti* (ZM) and *alii* (Ω); cf. Housman *ad loc*. Although Housman makes this emendation to remove any sense of distinction between the groups (the opposed Latin leaders), it seems appropriate to retain *Latii* and oppose it to *diversi*: *Latii* stresses the *Romanitas* of the Elysian generals; *diversi* emphasises the hostility of the Tartarean shades to the Roman state; cf. below. Hudson-Williams, 1984, 459, retains *alti*, interpreting it as "those of lofty and noble character", in contrast to the *diversi* of the next line, "those of opposite character or of the opposite side"; cf. also Korenjak, *ad loc*. Yet, *Latii* makes this division stronger, particularly as it seems the defining characteristic of the *Piae umbrae* listed below.

Tartara maesta: a place of punishment for the wicked; cf. *ad* 748. It balances *Elysias…sedes*. Within this short compass Lucan has summarised the two places which house the souls of the dead. In both Virgil and Lucan Tartarus is a place of punishment for the crime of civil war: cf. Virg. *Aen*. 6. 612-14: *quique arma secuti / impia…/ inclusi poenam expectant*; *Aen*. 8. 666-9; Luc. 3. 17: *in multas laxantur Tartara poenas*. It suggests that those spirits rising from Tartarus will be supporters of Caesar.

783: *diversi*: indicates those shades opposed to supporters of the Roman state, the *Latii duces*; cf. above. For *diversi* = "opposed, on the other side (of the conflict)": cf. Luc. 3. 264-5: *inter Caesareas acies diversaque signa / pugnaces dubium Parthi*

tenuere favorem; Sil. 14. 369-70: *ac simili curvata sinu diversa ruebat / classis*; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 30: *stabat pro litore diversa acies*.

duces: foreshadows the Roman leaders of 785-96.

783-4: *quid fata pararent / hi fecere palam*: this general statement closes the introduction. The list of republican *duces* which follows stands as a catalogue of *exempla* which clarify the sense of these words. A knowledge of what the fates have in store is precisely what Sextus wants to know; cf. 423: *fati praenoscere cursus*; 603; 615; 774, and he seeks Erictho because she is a witch *quae pandere fata...potes*, 590-1.

fata: this reference to the fates gives a Stoic slant to the corpse's prophecy. The *Fata* are the ordaining force in the cosmos, governing the happenings of everything. It is the plans of these which the leaders are following; on *fata*, cf. Friedrich, 1938, 391-421; Dick, 1967, 460-6; Due, 1970.

784: *hi*: i.e. *duces*.

fecere palam: "to divulge, make generally known": cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 820-1: *me honestiust / quam te palam hanc rem facere*; *Merc.* 179: *opsecro hercle te istuc uti tu mihi malum facias palam*; Liv. 34. 61. 1: *ne...(litterae) interceptae palam facerent conata*. The expression is intended to reassure the reader that, in spite of the restrictions mentioned at 777-8, the corpse will deliver an accurate and comprehensive prophecy. *Palam*, rare in Lucan, recalls 416: *summique gravem discriminis horam / adventare palam est*. It suggests that here the full details of the future will be revealed, in contrast to 416 where the only knowledge of the future was that the battle was inevitable; cf. Masters, 1992, 199. The repetition forms part of the narrative strategy of building up to a scene of clear, omniscient prophecy which is then undercut by the words of the prophecy themselves; Masters, 1992, 196 ff.

Lucan may have intended this expression to be taken literally, in the light of the descriptions which follow "what the fates have in store, these (leaders) did openly". The corpse describes what the shades are doing, lamenting and celebrating, rather than reporting any specific and useful information about the future of the war. This suggests, perhaps, a philosophical slant to the corpse's words, the notion that fate pre-ordains an individual's actions. Hence, by interpreting the shades' actions, the future can be understood.

784-799: The Parade of Republican Figures.

The corpse describes here two groups of shades of the Roman leaders who emerged from Elysium, the *piae umbrae* (784-92), and Tartarus (793-9). The *piae umbrae* represent the supporters of Pompey, lamenting because with his defeat comes the destruction of the free republic; the shades from Tartarus, on the other hand, support Caesar and rejoice because his victory will mean a destruction of the Roman political

system which these shades, in their lifetime, opposed. Their actions are those of spectators, watching the war as it unfolds between the soldiers of Caesar and Pompey.

The reasons for assigning a particular character from Roman history to one of the two groups are generally straightforward. The *piae umbrae* are figures famed for creating, protecting and/or expanding the free Roman Republic. They generally embody the virtues which served as the foundation of the Roman state: stern morality, devotion to hard work, and an attitude of piety towards the gods and the machinery of the state to which personal interests were subordinated. The only unusual person in the list is Sulla; cf. below. As regards the shades from Tartarus, all were demagogic politicians who sought to change radically the established Roman system either by abusing the powers of the tribunate or resorting to mob violence, usually for the sake of personal gain. Among this group, the Drusi are unusual since their actions, at least in part, represented the interests of the senate; cf. below.

Apart from this major, overarching distinction between the two groups, there are personal reasons why individual shades are listed among the *piae* or Tartarean shades. Sulla and Marius were supporters of Pompey and Caesar, respectively, when those two were young. Cato and Scipio, as Lucan mentions, would suffer the loss of their descendants in the civil war. Catiline and Cethegus seem to have had some association with Caesar, at the very least he attempted to intercede for their lives; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 51. The Drusi, through Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus, would be ancestors of subsequent Roman *principes*.

The mere fact of having a catalogue of Roman historical figures, in the context of a prophecy in an epic, shows clearly that Lucan was using Virgil's "parade of Heroes" in *Aeneid* book six as his model. By employing this same device, Lucan demonstrates a crucial difference between his epic and that of his literary ancestor. Virgil's "parade of heroes" illustrates the glories of future Rome, a progression of successes culminating in the reign of Augustus, the pinnacle of Roman greatness. Lucan, on the other hand, uses the catalogue of heroes to show that the glory of Rome comes to end with the victory of Caesar, and is not revived with the coming of Augustus. Furthermore, the separation of the Roman figures into two groups, good and bad, suggests the fractured state of the Roman aristocracy during the late Republic, whereas the Virgilian catalogue presents Roman history as a continuous series of persons, acting in concord, which increase Rome's magnificence up to Augustus. On Lucan's treatment of Virgil's "parade of heroes", cf. esp. Feeney, 1986a; also Paoletti, 1963, 20 ff.; Morford, 1967, 72-3; Fauth, 1975, 339 ff.; Narducci, 1979, 57-62; Masters, 1992, 193-4, 199 ff.; In spite of the obvious allusion to Virgil, such catalogues of Roman historical figures were commonly used as rhetorical *exempla*, cf. Cic. *Sest.* 143: *nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios, Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Aemilios, innumerabiles alios, qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt*; *Cat.* 1. 3-4; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 33-47, with N-H, intro., 144; Litchfield, 1914.

It is common to classify the two groups of shades as *optimates* and *populares*. In the strictest sense, this distinction would not be possible as the term Optimate could not really be applied to most of the *piae umbrae*, who pre-date the mid-80s BC when the term came into use. Yet if "Optimate" is taken to mean "conservatives, supporters

of the established political order", then it is appropriate. For a further discussion of this cf. Wirszubski, 1968, ch 2; Brunt, 1986, 92-5; Taylor, 1949, 11-15.

784-5: *tristis...voltus erat*: facial expression indicates their emotion. The corpse offers this observation for interpretation. Lucan may here be drawing on the idea of the pseudo-science of physiognomy, the use of external, physical features, especially the face, to divine the future; cf. Barton, 1994b, 95-131. *Tristis* has its quasi-technical sense indicating a bad omen: cf. *ad* 777: *tristia... stamina.*

felicibus umbris: "the blessed dead", a common expression, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 669: *animae felices*; Ov. *Trist.* 4. 10. 81: *felices ambo tempestive sepulti.* As in the citation from Virgil, *felices umbrae* denotes those who inhabited Elysium; the related terms *beatus* and μάκαρ also describe Elysian shades; cf. Cic. *Fin.* 5. 53: *in beatorum insulis*; Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 25: *manis... beatos*; Hes. *WD.* 141: μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται; 171: ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι.

The striking juxtaposition *tristis felicibus* drives home the sudden change in fortunes for these shades as a result of the civil war. Lucan elsewhere uses *felix* with an ironic colour, to denote individuals or groups who suffer through a reversal of luck, e.g. Marius, 2. 74; cf. Dick, 1967, 237-8; also Hor. *Sat.* 1. 9. 28.

785: The *Piae Umbrae*:

The three most prominent names in the list, the Decii, Sulla and Brutus, are found at the start, mid-point and end. The other names are in chronological order. The Decii owe their prominence to their *devotio*, a motif to which the corpse later returns, 802-9. Brutus, at the end of the catalogue, is emphasised because of the association with the later M. Junius Brutus, assassin of Caesar. Sulla, appearing at the centre, is striking both because of the extraordinary fact that he is considered a *pia umbra* and because of the break in temporal sequence. His shade stands alone since he had the only personal relationship with Pompey. The other shades fall into two groups: the Decii, Camillus and Curius are figures from the early republican past, with an interest in the preservation of the state but no personal involvement in the current war; Scipio, Cato and Brutus have a personal interest since their descendants fight in the civil wars; cf. notes *ad loc.*

These shades, besides Brutus, are lamenting the destruction of the free Roman republic. They have all been involved in its establishment, protection or enlargement; cf. below. Caesar's victory means a triumph for the forces which oppose the authority of the senate and the notion of democratic, rather than autocratic, power.

vidi: the first direct indication that the corpse bases its information on observations alone; cf. also 792: *vidimus*; 795: *vidi ego.* It alludes to Virgil's "Parade of Heroes", a visual display accompanied by the commentary of Anchises; e.g. 6. 760: *ille, vides, ...*; 771: *quantas acceperit, aspice, viris.*

Decios, natumque patremque / lustrales bellis animas: Publius Decius Mus, and his son of the same name; for individual details, cf. below. They are *felices umbrae*

because both were generals who saved the Roman state in war. Their most famous act was the *devotio*, a ritual of self-sacrifice which was performed by both Decii at crucial points during a battle against an enemy. In both cases the Roman army was in serious danger of defeat, which threatened the safety of the state.

Elsewhere the *Decii* are exemplary figures from the republican period, who were protectors of the Roman state, e.g. Cic. *Sest*. 143; Virg. *Georg*. 2. 169; Manil. 1. 789; Juv. 8. 254; they figure at two other points in Lucan's poem, 2. 308, 7. 359, symbolising this same virtue, a willingness to save the state regardless of the personal cost; on the prominence of this theme in Livy's narratives of the *devotiones*, cf. Feldherr, 1998, 82-5. They also figure in Virgil's parade of heroes, *Aen*. 6. 824.

The ritual of *devotio* involved the general's offering to the gods the lives of himself and the enemy in exchange for a Roman victory, as stated in the *carmen devotionis*; cf. Liv. 8. 9. 6 ff. Following this, Decius charged into battle on horseback resulting in his own death and the defeat of the enemy. On the *devotio* ritual itself, cf. Versnel, 1976; Janssen, 1981; for a discussion of the impact of this act on Roman historiography and literature, cf. Leigh, 1993, 93-6, 98-103; 1997, 128-34; Feldherr, 1998, 82-92. The *devotio* figures again later in the prophecy. The corpse alludes to it at 803-9, in its instructions to Sextus to "hasten to die". For this reason Lucan has placed the Decii in an emphatic first position in the catalogue, and out of strict temporal sequence.

natum:P. Decius Mus, cos. 312, 308, 297, 295 B.C. In his last consulship, during the battle at Sentinum, he performed his *devotio*; cf. Liv. 10. 28. 6-18.

patrem: P. Decius Mus, cos. 340 B.C. He performed his *devotio* in this year, in the war against the Latins at the battle of Veseris; cf. Liv. 8. 9. 1-14.

que...que...: an epic flourish; cf. *ad* 419.

786: *lustrales...animas*: *lustrales* must have the sense "serving to avert evil"; cf. Sen. *Ag*. 163: *lustrale classi Doricae peperi caput*, the sacrifice of Iphigenia. It implies that the Decii sacrificed themselves to avert the disaster of defeat. The normal meaning of the word "purificatory" does not apply; the *devotio* is not a ritual with a purificatory intention; cf. Versnel, 1976; Janssen, 1981; there seems, however, to be an element of the scapegoating ritual to the *devotio*, in that the *imperator* takes upon himself the religious impurities of his people so that his death becomes an expiation; cf. Feldherr, 1998, 88-9; on scapegoating, cf. Bremer, 1983.

flentem: used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, applying to the Decii and Curius as well as to Camillus; cf. Housman *ad loc*.

Camillum: Marcus Furius Camillus. A *felix umbra* because he was a saviour of the Roman state. His most memorable acts were the defeat of Veii in 396 B.C. and the defeat, in 390, of the Gauls who had sacked Rome; cf. Liv. 5. 19-22 on Veii; Liv. 5. 46.

4- 49. 7 on the Gauls; for further discussion of Camillus, cf. Ogilvie *ad loc*, also index *s.v. Camillus*; Momigliano, 1942; Cornell, 1995, 311, 312, 316-9; *RE. s.v. Furius*, (44).

Camillus frequently appears elsewhere as a model Roman leader, embodying various qualities desirable in a great Roman, especially his rise to greatness from humble origins; cf. Cic. *Sest.* 143; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 42-4; Virg. *Georg.* 2. 169, with Mynors; Manil. 1. 784-5; Luc. 1. 168, 2. 544, 7. 358. Camillus figures in the "parade of heroes", Virg. *Aen.* 6. 825: *aspice... referentem signa Camillum*, in the same sentence as the Decii, and the Drusi. Lucan separates Camillus and the Decii from the Drusi, whom he places among the shades from Tartarus; on this aspect of Lucan's catalogue, a reappraisal of the sanitised politics of Virgil, cf. Feeney, 1986a, 11.

787:*Curios*: Manius Curius Dentatus, cos. 290, 284 (suff.), 275, and 274. He conquered many Italian tribes as well as defeating Pyrrhus; on his achievements, cf. Forni, 1953. For this last act, he can be considered another saviour of the state. Curius appears in other authors as a paradigm of Roman virtue, and is commonly portrayed as farmer *cum* general, who sets a moral example for future generations of Romans by his frugality and severity; cf. Cic. *Sest.* 143; *Par.* 12; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 41; Manil. 1. 787, 4. 148-9; Luc. 1. 169, 7. 358; Plut. *Cat. Maior*, 2 as a model for Cato's *severitas*; cf. Cornell, 1995, 392-3 on this "myth" of Curius.

Lucan uses a generalising plural form here in place of a singular, a feature frequently employed in rhetorical catalogues of famous persons: cf. Cic. *Sest.* 143: *imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios, Curios... qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt*; Virg. *Georg.* 2. 169-70; Luc. 1. 169, with Getty.

Sullam: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix, Roman general and political reformer, dictator, 82-81, consul 80. His presence among the *felices umbrae* is extraordinary. In 84-81 B.C., Sulla invaded Italy in the first civil war and defeated Marius, held proscriptions and was made dictator with immunity for his actions. Lucan vehemently attacks Sulla in a gruesome account of Sulla's regime; cf. 2. 134-222; cf. also Plut. *Sull.* 29-34, especially 31-3 describing the proscriptions. In many places his name was a byword for violence: e.g. Cic. *Att.* 9. 11. 3: *sermones minacis, inimicos optimatium...*, *meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas*; Petr. 120. 98: *Sullanus bibit ensis*; Mart. 11. 5. 9: *Sulla cruentus*.

Other details, however, make him suitable for inclusion among the shades of the good. Foremost is his relationship with Pompey, a supporter of Sulla in this period whose later power grew from his appointment by the senate to protect the Sullan reforms, especially against Lepidus; cf. Liv. *Per.* 85; Vell. 2. 29; Plut. *Pomp.* 8, 16; App. 1. 80; Scullard, 1982, 77-8, 85 ff. Lucan was well aware of Pompey's debt to Sulla and describes it as a relationship of master and pupil, e.g. 1. 326: *Sullam... magistrum*. Another reason for including Sulla here was his reforms to Roman law and political life, which aimed at restoration and augmentation of senatorial power which had been eroded over previous years by the activities of seditious tribunes and demagogue politicians: cf. Greenidge and Clay, 1960, 212-22. These reforms would make Sulla another saviour of the Roman state in the view of Lucan, for whom the senate was the symbol of Roman freedom. The fact that Sulla's shade is set against

those of Marius, Drusus, against whose cause Sulla fought in the Social Wars of 91-88, and the Gracchi, many of whose laws and reforms he overturned in the period 82-81, make it likely that his political stance and reforms were an important consideration in making him a *felix umbra*.

de te, Fortuna, querentem: Sulla had a close relationship with Fortuna, who bestowed upon him special favour; cf. Plut. *Sull.* 5-6. To commemorate this he took *Felix* as his cognomen and gave to his children the *praenomina Faustus* and *Fausta*; cf. Vell. 2. 27; Plin. *NH.* 7. 137; Plut. *Sull.* 34; App. *BC.* 1. 97; for discussion, cf. Balsdon, 1951. Lucan plays upon this association here. The vocative address underlines the connection between Sulla and Fortune and intensifies the posthumous reversal of his luck

788: *deplorat*: specifically "to mourn a dead person", since Scipio laments his descendant (*infaustam subolem*); cf. Liv. 4. 40. 1: *deplorati erant... equites... publico luctu*; Ov. *Met.* 5. 63.

Libycis...terris: i.e. the battle of Thapsus, on the coast of Africa Proconsularis. The republican forces, led by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio (Lucan's *infausta suboles*), were defeated here. Scipio died; cf. *Bell. Afr. pass.*, esp. 96 for the death of Scipio; Liv. *Per.* 114; Val. Max. 3. 2. 13. This reference to Africa also recalls Lucan's theme that the civil wars and consequent suffering, especially Roman blood spilt on African sand, are atonement for the destruction of Carthage; e.g. Luc. 2. 92; 4. 788-90: *excitet invisas dirae Carthaginis umbras / inferiis Fortuna novis, ferat ista cruentus / Hannibal et Poeni tam dira piacula manes*; 6. 310-11: *Poenorumque umbras placasset sanguine fuso / Scipio*; on this, cf. Ahl, 1976, ch. 3. This is appropriate in the context of a Scipio, whose family defeated and destroyed Carthage.

Libya and *Libycus* refer to Africa in general, rather than any particular region: e.g. Enn. *Ann.* 302 Sk.: *Europam Libyamque rapax ubi dividit unda*; Cat. 45. 6.

Scipio: probably P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who defeated Hannibal at the battle of Zama, 202 B.C; on his life and career, cf. *RE s.v. Cornelius* (336). The name could easily be associated with his grandson, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, who destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C., but the reference to Cato as *maior Carthaginis hostis* (789) implies that this Scipio preceded him. His victories over the Carthaginians made him another saviour of the Roman state, and a legend of divine parentage grew up around him; e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 143; Sil. 17. 618-654, in which both aspects of Scipio are described; on the Scipio myth, cf. Walbank, 1967, 54-69. He is named in Virgil's "parade of heroes", *Aen.* 6. 842-3: *geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas, cladem Libyae*, in the same line as the Gracchi, whom Lucan places among the wicked shades. This would be another instance of Lucan "correcting" Virgil's political stance; cf. Feeney, 1986a, 13-14.

The final *-o* of *Scipio* is shortened for metrical reasons. This is common practice for Lucan, cf. Heitland, 1887, ci; Fantham *ad* 2. 247: *dux Bruto Cato solus erit*; 2. 247. Earlier hexameter poets were forced to resort to *Scipiadae* to refer to the

Scipiones, whose name was metrically impossible without altering the quantity of the final syllable; cf. Austin *ad.* Virg. *Aen.* 6. 824 f.: *geminos... Scipiadas.*

789: *infaustam*: "unfortunate, unlucky", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 635: *mecum infaustas exurite puppis*; Stat. *Theb.* 12. 115; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 41. The word recalls the names of Sulla's children, though the allusion is probably unconscious; cf. *ad* 787: *de te, Fortuna, querentem*; on unfigured repetition, cf. *ad* 690.

subolem: Scipio laments for a specific individual rather than the state as a whole. *Suboles* is a grand word, noted as an archaism by Cicero, *de Orat.* 3. 153. It refers to Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, cos. 52 B.C., the Pompeian commander who was defeated and killed at Thapsus; cf. *ad* 787: *Libycis... terris*; also *RE s.v. Caecilius* (99). He was a descendant not of Scipio Africanus, but Scipio Nasica, cos. 191 and cousin of Africanus, and adopted by the *Pontifex Maximus* Metellus Pius in 64 or 63 B.C.; cf. Syme, 1986, 244-5.

maior Carthaginis hostis: it seems odd to describe Cato as a greater enemy of Carthage than Scipio Africanus. He was instrumental in bringing about the third Punic War: after serving on an embassy to Carthage in 153 B.C. he was convinced it posed a danger, and harassed the senate until, in 149 B.C., Rome went to war; cf. Plut. *Cat. Maior*, 26-27. This led to the sacking of the city in 146, yet Cato's personal actions were political as opposed to the military activities of Africanus, who defeated Hannibal and Carthage; cf. *ad* 788: *Scipio*. The descriptive phrase, with the name Cato delayed until the following line, initially recalls Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, the destroyer of Carthage in 146. This apparent reference to the younger Scipio strengthens the allusion to Virg. *Aen.* 6. 842-3: *geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas, clades Libyae*.

790: *non servituri...nepotis*: i.e. Cato Uticensis, an important character in Lucan's poem. He was the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, whose shade is named here. He was a persistent opponent of Caesar throughout his career and during the civil war supported Pompey. After Pharsalus he reconciled the quarrelling republican forces and himself governed Utica. Following the defeat at Thapsus in 46, he took his own life; for further discussion, cf. *RE s.v. Porcius* (20); for Lucan's portrayal of him, cf. 2. 284-391; 9. 186-214, 253-302, 379-410; also Johnson, 1987, 35-66. Of particular importance is his Stoicism, to which Lucan here alludes (*non servituri*). Caesar's *clementia*, which would make him subject to his enemy, drove Cato Uticensis to suicide; cf. Griffin, 1986. Mental or spiritual servitude was a condition which Stoic philosophy strove to avoid, and suicide, in the Senecan view at least, was the ultimate freedom when all other avenues to liberty were closed off; cf. Rist, 1969, 246-50; Long, 1971, 189-92. The resistance and suicide of Cato were powerful symbols for opponents of the early *principes*, such as Cremutius Cordus or Thrasea Paetus, and they form the basis for Cato's "beatification" in the works of Seneca and Lucan; cf. Toynbee, 1944, 43-52; Alexander, 1946; MacMullen, 1966, chh 1-2; Wirzsubski, 1968, 126-9, 140; also N-H *ad* Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 35, for the symbolism of Cato Uticensis.

Cato: Marcus Porcius Cato, cos. 195, censor 189, famous for his extreme moral rectitude in public life, championing traditional Roman virtues at a time when military successes exposed the city to the influences of Greek and Asian wealth and culture; cf. Polyb. 31. 25; Liv. 32. 27. 3-4, with Briscoe, on his behaviour as governor of Sardinia; Plut. *Cat. Maior*, *pass*., esp. 2, 20, 22, and 17-19, on the acts of his censorship; his attitude is also evinced by his *de Agricultura*, which illustrates the agricultural roots of the Roman landed aristocracy.

In later authors he figures as an exemplar of Roman virtue, cf. Cic. *Ver*. 2. 3. 209; Hor. *Epist*. 2. 2. 117. He appears in Virgil's parade of heroes (6. 841) and figures upon the shield of Aeneas (8. 670) distributing laws to the *pii* in the underworld. In the parade of heroes he is *magne Cato*. Lucan may be alluding to and amplifying this by calling him *maior... Cato*.

fata: has a double sense, future and death, appropriate to Cato Uticensis; cf. *ad* 632.

791-2: Brutus, the first consul of Rome. Lucan gives him especial emphasis: there is direct, second person address; he receives the longest entry; and appears at the end of the list, though as the founding father of the Roman state, should appear first. His response to the civil wars is markedly different, expressing joy at the future, rather than sadness. This looks forward to his descendant Marcus Junius Brutus' assassination of Caesar, cf. Vell. 2. 56. 3; Plut. *Brut*. 18; also Luc. 2. 281-4.

Brutus features prominently in Virgil's parade of heroes, *Aen*. 6. 817-22, taking his place between the list of kings and names of important republican figures. Though both authors mention Brutus as the first consul: *Aen*. 6. 819-20: *consulis imperium hic primus.../ accipiet*; Luc. 6. 791: *consul...prime*, there are other many differences. Virgil underplays the connection between the first consul and Brutus the tyrannicide: he only alludes to Brutus' role in expelling the Tarquins; and makes no reference, explicit or implied to his descendant of the mid-first century B.C. Lucan, however, explicitly mentions the expulsion of the Tarquins, and makes an unambiguous allusion to Caesar's assassin. Here again, Lucan exposes the truth behind Virgil's sanitised version of Roman history; cf. Feeney, 1986a, 10-11. Through the association between Brutus the first consul and Brutus the tyrannicide, it was easy to infer a connection between the Tarquins and Caesar's regal aspirations or tyrannical tendencies; cf. Hor. *Sat*. 1. 7. 33-5; Virgil would wish to avoid this tarnishing of the name of Caesar, the father of Augustus; Lucan, however, revels in the association.

consul...prime: traditionally Brutus was the first consul, after the expulsion of the Tarquins; cf. Polyb. 3. 22. 1-2; Liv. 1. 60. 4. The historicity of this is debatable; cf. Ogilvie *ad* Liv. 1. 60. 4: *duo consules*; Cornell, 1995, 226, and n. 37.

prime: possible wordplay here: Cato is *maior* but Brutus is *primus*, foremost; cf. *Rhet. Her*. 4. 19: *in civitate primus erat*; Prop. 1. 7. 3: *primo contendis Homero*. This comparison between Cato and Brutus in the underworld reflects a difference between their famed descendants: while Cato Uticensis was greater than many other opponents of Caesar, Brutus was the foremost since he killed Caesar.

depulsis…tyrannis: i.e. the expulsion of the Tarquins; cf. Liv. 1. 59. 1-60. 2.

tyrannis: often used in Latin for a cruel or oppressive leader, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 1. 82: *cum te in…civitatibus amicorum non legatum populi Romani, sed tyrannum libidinosum crudelemque praebueris*; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 3-4; Sen. *Clem.* 1. 11. 4: *tyranni in voluptatem saeviunt, reges non nisi ex causa ac necessitate*; on the use and development of the term, cf. Andrewes, 1956, 20-30. The reign and actions of Tarquinius Superbus, in accounts such as Livy's, were modelled upon those of the Greek tyrant, making Lucan's use of the term here appropriate; cf. Ogilvie, *ad* Liv. 1. 49-60. Caesar himself was referred to as *tyrannus*, e.g. Cic. *Att.* 7. 20. 2; Luc. 8. 835; for discussion of Caesar's attitudes to kingship, cf. Rawson, 1975. This similarity between Caesar and the Tarquins strengthens the allusion made here to M. Junius Brutus.

792: *pias…umbras*: i.e., the shades who do not support the winner of the civil war. On the associations of *pietas* in Lucan's poem, cf. *ad* 410: *impius…Aloeus*.

The word order, *pias inter gaudentem umbras*, mimics the situation described, as does the inversion of the position of the preposition.

793-796: The Tartarean shades: these republican figures are a violent group, responsible for inciting civil disturbances or civil wars and spilling the blood of Roman citizens. In particular, these people when alive acted in such a way as to diminish the power of the senate and subvert the traditional forms of Roman government, frequently for their own ends. Their response to the civil wars, joy and celebration, is appropriate since the victory of Caesar will bring about the changes which they attempted to make. There was some association between Caesar and many of the souls here, particularly Marius and to some extent Catiline and Cethegus; cf. below. There may be personal pleasure for these shades at the success of Caesar.

793: *abruptis*:used of breaking bonds or fetters, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 535-6 Sk.; Hor. *Carm.* 4. 7. 27-8: *nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro / vincula Perithoo.* The word has overtones of violence and an explosive sound which marks out a distinct change between the two sections of the list of Republican figures.

Catilina: Lucius Sergius Catilina, famed for leading a civil uprising in 63 B.C. against Rome and the senate, with potentially dangerous consequences for the stability of the *res publica*. He was treated by ancient authors as a character of unmitigated depravity and wickedness, cf. the colourful accounts at Sall. *Cat.* 14-16; Cic. *Cat.* 1-4, *pass.*; Plut. *Sull.* 31. As a result of not winning the consular elections for 63, Catiline began championing the cause of the poor and the dispossessed, bankrupt Sullan veterans and dissolute aristocrats and became a popular demagogue. Following a further defeat in the consular elections for 62, he organised the famous Catilinarian conspiracy which was eventually crushed by Cicero; for details, cf. Sall. *Cat*, Cic. *Cat.* *pass.*; Phillips, 1976.

Catiline's pleasure at Caesar's impending victory may have a personal motivation, deriving from an alleged link between the two men; certainly Caesar's speech against the summary execution of Cethegus, Lentulus and others has suggested that he may have had some sympathy with their cause: for the speech, cf. Sall. *Cat.* 51; for the allegation that Caesar was sympathetic or involved, cf. Sall. *Cat.* 49; Cic. *Cat.* 4. 7-10; Taylor, 1968, 123 f.

Catiline elsewhere represents revolutionaries, dangerous individuals who threaten the security of the state, e.g. Cic. *Cat.* 2. 23: *etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum*; *Phil.* 14. 14; Juv. 14. 41. Virgil mentions him not in the parade of heroes but on the shield of Aeneas, as the archetypal sinner, *Aen.* 8. 667-9: *Tartareas etiam sedes,... / et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci / pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem.* It is possible that Lucan modelled aspects of Caesar on literary representations of Catiline, hence the latter's joy is for both a political and literary heir; cf. Narducci, 1979, 98-9.

Lucan's depiction of Catiline recalls Virgil's description of Furor *vinctus*, symbolising an end to civil war: *Aen.* 1. 294-6: *Furor impius intus / saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis / post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruentus.* Lucan inverts this image, with Catiline, a symbol of the worst excesses of civil war, bursting forth from his bonds (*abruptis...fractisque catenis*).

minax: "threatening", cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 12. 12: *regum colla minacium*; Suet. *Cal.* 51. 2. The epithet adds to the physical prominence of Catilina, suggesting that he "looms" onto the scene; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 668, with Fordyce: *minaci...scopulo*; also the related verbs *minor* and *emineo*, cf. *ad* 351. It adds to the verbal picture created by *exultat* in the next line.

794: *exultat*: both "to rejoice" and "to spring up", the latter sense creating a striking visual image, enhanced by enjambment, of Catiline bursting forth from his shattered bonds, a picture prefigured by *minax*, cf. *supra*. Catiline rejoices immoderately, in contrast to the lamentation of the *felices umbrae*, cf. Cic. *Dom.* 133: *neque sibi fas esse...in patriae parricidio exultare*; *Balb.* 58; Virg. *Aen.* 11. 491. For *exultare*, "to spring up", cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 663: *feminea exultant...agmina*; Plin. 9. 24: *delphinus...obviam navigiis venit, adludit exsultans*; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 34.

Mariique truces nudique Cethegi: chiastic arrangement of names and epithets is an effective rhetorical touch. Lucan uses a collective plural for both; cf. *ad* 787: *Curios.*

Marii: Gaius Marius, cos. 107, 104-100, 86. A *novus homo* of remarkable success in both political and military spheres. He came to prominence, and achieved his first consulship during the Jugurthine war, 107 B.C., and defeated Jugurtha. Over the years 104-101 B.C. he saved the Roman empire from the threat of a Germanic invasion. Yet his methods were viewed as revolutionary and dangerous: early on he showed demagogic tendencies; he supported the tribune Saturninus in his actions which threatened the *nobiles*; and his military reforms led to the creation of client armies. At the end of his life, 87-86 B.C., he engaged in civil war supporting Cinna against Sulla.

With an army of his veterans he sacked Ostia, captured Rome, and butchered his enemies. On the life of Marius, cf. Sall. *Jug. pass*; Plut. *Mar.*, *pass.*; also Greenidge and Clay, 1960, index *s.v. Marius*; Evans, 1994, esp. 114-127 (Saturninus), 132-8 (years 88-87); for a description of his invasion of Rome, cf. Luc. 2. 68-133.

These factors make Lucan place Marius among the Tartarean shades. Furthermore, he was Caesar's uncle by marriage (Plut. *Mar.* 6) and he supported and advanced his nephew. Caesar, in turn, closely identified himself with the Marian cause, using this to launch his own career, e.g. the funeral oration for his aunt which became a public revival of the Marian cause; cf. Plut. *Caes.*, 5; also Plut *Caes.* 6, Suet. *Jul.* 11; Vell. 2. 43. 4; on the connection to the *Iulii*, cf. Evans, 1994, 148-50.

Lucan regularly associates the name Marius with bloody civil war and the destruction of the free republic: cf. 2. 227, 4. 822, 9. 204. His placement of Marius here among the shades of Tartarus is, thus, consistent with his general opinion of this character.

truces: "harsh, savage", appropriate for Marius, especially with reference to his actions in the civil war against Sulla; on *trux*, cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2. 65: *ab hoc horrido ac truce tribuno plebis*; Liv. 34. 5. 6; Stat. *Silv.* 2. 1. 186.

nudique Cethegi: most probably Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, a dissolute aristocrat of a patrician but not recently successful family. He was an accomplice and co-conspirator of Catiline, whose role was organising the arson of Rome. Cicero executed him under the power of the *S. C. Ult.* of 63 B.C.; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 17. 3, 32. 2, 43. 2-3, 57. 1; Cic. *Cat.* 3. 2. Lucan mentions this name at 2. 543, referring to the conspiracy of Catiline. On a possible link between Caesar and Cethegus, as one of Catiline's fellow-conspirators, cf. *ad* 793: *Catilina*.

Lucan may also be referring to Publius Cornelius Cethegus, another dissolute patrician and a supporter of Marius in the years 88-86 B.C. After Marius' defeat he joined Sulla and was active in the proscriptions. Although he held no high office, he had immense political influence in the post-Sullan period; cf. Keaveney, 1992, 67-71. The chiastic arrangement *Marii... Cethegi*, implying a link between the names, makes a reference to this second Cethegus possible. The form *Cethegi* would then be a true plural.

The Cethegi traditionally wore no tunic under their toga, hence *nudi*: cf. Hor. *Ars.* 50, with Porph. *ad loc.*; Luc. 2. 543, with Fantham.

795: ***laetantis, popularia nomina, Drusos***: the structure of this line, an appositional phrase interposed between epithet and noun, recalls Virg. *Aen.* 6. 842-3: *geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas.* Virgil at this point associates the Gracchi with the *geminos... Scipiados*, in an attempt to remove a tarnish from the Gracchan name. Lucan, too, makes this association between the word order and the Gracchi, mentioned below, in another instance of de-sanitising Virgil's parade of heroes. On the word order, cf. Solodow, 1986.

popularia: Lucan uses overt political terminology here. The *populares* were politicians who derived their power from the people, especially the poor or the dispossessed; their reforms generally went against the interests of the senate and the aristocracy. Hence, they were considered dangerous revolutionaries, bent upon the destruction of the state. For this usage, cf. Cic. *Clu.* 94: *popularis homo ac turbulentus*; *Agr.* 1. 23; *Dom.* 24: *C. Gracchus, qui unus maxime popularis fuit*; Liv. 6. 20. 3; Val. Max. 4. 1. 13: *Metellus populari factione patria pulsus*; Plin. *NH.* 25. 52: *Drusum... tribunorum popularium clarissimum.* On *popularis* politics, cf. Wirszubski, 1968, ch 2; Brunt, 1986, 92-5; Taylor, 1949, 11-15. *Popularis* is a tag which could be applied to all of the Tartarean shades.

nomina: refers to the notoriety of the Drusi while alive; cf. *ad.* 6. 604: *vulgato nomine famae*. It may also refer to the future prominence of this name in the Julio-Claudian period. Livia Drusilla, Augustus' second wife, was grand-daughter and great-grand-daughter of Lucan's two Drusi. Many of her descendants, through her sons Tiberius and Drusus, had the name Drusus; cf. stemma 3 in Syme, 1986. This preservation of their name and blood-line into the highest levels of the imperial family could be another cause for rejoicing.

Drusos: two tribunes, father and son, both named Marcus Livius Drusus. The former held office in 122, and assisted the consul C. Fannius in bringing about the downfall of C. Gracchus, by removing Gracchus' popular support with laws whose appeal to the populace surpassed those of his opponent. Thus Gracchus was defeated in the elections for the tribunate in 122 and was destroyed. Strictly speaking, he did not oppose the senatorial oligarchy, but he abused his tribunician powers to the detriment of Rome.

The younger Drusus, as tribune in 91, proposed laws to diminish greatly the power of the *equites*. Also proposed were land distributions, the foundation of colonies and the enfranchisement of all Italy. These laws made him intensely unpopular with most of the political community and led to his assassination. The Social War, 91-88 B.C., was a direct consequence of this.

796: *legibus inmodicos ausosque ingentia*: grammatically these are separate entities referring to the acts of the Drusi and the Gracchi respectively. The two charges are, however, applicable to both sets of names and should be so understood; cf. Hudson-Williams, 1984, 460.

legibus inmodicos: refers to the laws proposed by both Drusi in their tribunates; cf. *supra*. *Inmodicus* with reference to political figures is always condemnatory: e.g. Liv. 4. 49. 12: *tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam*; Liv. 38. 23. 8; Vell. 2. 33. 3: *in appetendis honoribus immodicus (Pompeius)*; Suet. *Galb*. 9. 1.

ausos: recalls the use of the related term *audaces* in a political context as *eversores rei publicae*, Cic. *Sest.* 86; cf. Wirszubski, 1961; also Weische, 1966, 28-33, 71-3. For a

similar use of *ausus*, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 624: *ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti*, referring to profiteers from the civil war.

ingentia: "haughty, overweening", cf. Ov. *Met.* 13. 340-1: *ubi sunt ingentia magni / verba viri*; V. Fl. 4. 649-50: *ubi nunc promissa superba / ingentesque minae...?*. The deeds of the Gracchi are *ingentia* since they threatened the "democracy" of Rome.

Gracchos: Tiberius and Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, tribunes in 133 and 123-2 B.C. respectively. These both used this magistracy for social and legal reforms which reduced the power of the senatorial aristocracy; for details and discussion, cf. Stockton, 1979, 40-86 (Tiberius), 114-61 (Gaius). Their acts were perceived as dangerous and divisive, threatening the stability, democracy and freedom of Rome and opening the way to tyranny. Hence they evoked much hostility among the ruling classes which led to their deaths: cf. Diod. 5. 25. 1.

The Gracchi appear in the parade of heroes, Virg. *Aen.* 6. 842: *Gracchi genus*, alongside the *Scipiones*; cf. *ad* 788: *Scipio*.

797: *aeternis...nodis*: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 558: *stridor ferri tractaeque catenae*. On the metonymical use of *nodus* as a bond, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 295-6: *centum vinctus aenis /post tergum nodis*; Hor. *Epist.* 1. 1. 90: *quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo*.

chalybis: iron or steel, a poetic word, first appearing in Latin at Virg. *Aen.* 8. 446: *vulnificusque chalybs vasta fornice liquescit*; on the history of the word and the mythological origin of *chalybs*, cf. Fordyce *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 8. 421: *Chalybum*. It is proverbially hard, cf. Prop. 1. 16. 30: *sit licet et ferro durior et chalybe*; [Sen.] *H.O.* 1273: *durior saxo et chalybe voltus*. The use of this substance implies that the shades should never escape their bonds.

carcere Ditis: i.e. Tartarus, cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 453: *carceris ante fores clausas adamante sedebant*; *Ib.* 78; Sen. *Epist.* 82. 16; *HF.* 1221-2: *dira Furiarum loca /et inferorum carcer*.

798: *plausere manus*: "they clapped their hands"; cf. Cic. *Att.* 16. 2. 3: *populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica sed in plaudendo consumere*; Prop. 4. 6. 62: *omnes...marinae plauserunt deae*. This extraordinary action becomes explicable if the involvement of the shades in the civil war is as spectators: cf. *ad* 784-99, para. 1. Lucan may be modelling his expression on Prop. 4. 6. 62 where the nymphs applaud Octavian's Actian victory.

camposque piorum: i.e. Elysium; cf. *ad* 600.

799: *turba nocens*: The shades from Tartarus. *Nocens*, "guilty", (cf. *ad* 543: *nodosque nocentis*), further indicates that they have committed crimes, in this case against the state.

799-802: These lines relate that punishments lie in store for the winner of the civil war. This is one of the essential paradoxes of Lucan's poem: that the person who loses in civil war is the true, moral victor; cf. 1. 128: *victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*; 2. 286-323; 7. 680-89, in which Pompey's defeat is depicted as a victory; 7. 706: *vincere peius erat*; for discussion of this view, cf. Lintott, 1971, 498-504.

possessor: i.e. Pluto. Lucan alone uses *possessor* for the ruler of the underworld, and the first to use it with the sense "commander" rather than "owner", cf. also Sil. 6. 687-8: *possessor pelagi pronaque Lutatius aura / captivas puppes ad litora victor agebat*. It is a legal term which primarily denotes land owners; cf. Liv. 5. 36. 5: *agrum a possessoribus petere*; Macer *dig.* 2. 8. 15. 1: *possessor... is accipiendus est, qui in agro vel civitate rem soli possidet*. It often refers to persons who received allotments in the veteran settlement projects of the late republic, dispossessing the original owners: cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2. 69; *Phil.* 2. 43: *de Campano (agro), quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit*; Virg. *Ecl.* 9. 3, with Clausen. Given its novel application, it seems likely that Lucan chose this word for its legal overtones, though its force in this situation is difficult to discern: a *possessor* gained material benefits from civil wars; yet Pluto, the *possessor*, plans to punish Caesar.

regni...inertis: used of lands, *iners* implies barrenness or infertility, a sense applicable to the kingdom of the dead: cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1. 94: *rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis*; Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 45-6: *qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat / ventosum*. *Iners*, used elsewhere of the underworld, describes the sluggish flow of infernal rivers; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4. 434: *Styx... iners*; Sen. *HF.* 686: *palus inertis foeda Cocyti*.

800: ***pallentes...sedes***: the abodes of the dead. On infernal *pallens*, cf. *ad* 646.

aperit: "to open up a place", i.e. make it accessible: cf. Cic. *Arch.* 21: *populus Romanus aperuit Lucullo imperante Pontum*; Liv. 42. 52. 14.

abrupta saxa / asperat: perhaps rocks at the base of a cliff from which sinners are hurled as a punishment; cf. Liv. 6. 20. 12, with Kraus: Tarpeian rock; also Apul. *Met.* 5. 27, where Psyche's sisters are shredded by sharp rocks during their fall.

801: ***asperat***: "to sharpen", cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15. 51: *pugionem... asperari saxo... iussit*.

adamanta: a material appropriate to the underworld: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 552: *solido adamante columnas* (of Tartarus); Ov. *Met.* 4. 453: *carceris ante fores clausas adamante sedebant*. It is a proverbially hard substance: cf. Ov. *Ars* 1. 659: *lacrimis adamanta movebis*; *Met.* 9. 615.

paratque / poenam victori: a succinct and effective statement on the paradox of civil war; cf. *ad* 799-802. *Poenam*, an appropriate term for infernal punishment, alludes perhaps to the Furies, for whom this was an alternative name; cf. *ad* 695.

802-820: The Prophecy: The corpse foretells the death of Pompey and his descendants, though in terms so vague as to be useless for Sextus' purposes. This section divides into three parts. 802-811 are advice given to Sextus by the corpse pertaining to the proper way to met death. Through allusions to the *devotio Deciana* and to Stoic notions of virtue and death it suggests to Sextus that his family could attain glory through a suicidal onslaught against Caesar and his forces. At 812-16, the corpse, in riddling fashion, says not only that death is the one end in store but that the Fates alone can inform Sextus about it. Finally, 817-20, in contrast to 802-11, suggest that the ends for members of the *domus Pompeiana* will be ignoble and ignominious.

802-809: contains advice for Sextus and his family to die nobly in defiance of Caesar and his heirs. The passage builds up to this idea in stages. Firstly a reward is mentioned, pleasant accommodation in the afterlife; then a philosophical rationalisation: that death is the common end for all humanity; and finally the commands themselves: hasten to die, descend in a state of virtue, and trample the "ghosts" of the Caesars. This section is infused with Stoic thought on virtue and death (cf. below), and as such it can be seen as a more general statement of Lucan's views on the appropriate response to tyranny, recalling his portrayal of Cato; cf. George, 1991, 246 ff. It also accords with the paradoxical view of civil war that the loser is morally the victor; cf. *ad* 799-802.

802: *refer*: cf. Cic. *Att*. 6. 1. 4: *eos sibi responsum retulisse*; Ov. *Trist*. 5. 13. 29: *sic ferat ac referat tacitas nunc littera voces*.

solacia: "comforts": cf. Liv. 9. 7. 3: *surdas ad omnia solacia aures*; Ov. *Pont*. 4. 11. 17: *temporis officium est solacia dicere certi*; Sen. *Clem*. 1. 21. 1: *(ultio) solacium adfert ei qui accepit iniuriam*. The term often denotes the comforts rendered to a troubled soul through philosophy: cf. Sen. *Dial*. 11. 1. 4: *maximum ergo solacium est cogitare id sibi accidisse quod omnes ante se passi sunt omnesque passuri*; 1. 3. 10; also Cic. *TD*. 2. 59, where *solacium* is used to show how the pursuit of virtue is the greatest compensation for hardships: *fulgentes gladios hostium videbant Decii, cum in aciem eorum irruebant: his levabat omnem vulnerum metum nobilitas mortis et gloria. num tum ingemuisse Epimanondam putas, cum una cum sanguine vitam effluere sentirent? imperantem enim patriam Lacedaemoniis relinquebat, quam acceperat servientem. haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta, summorum dolorum*. Lucan may be alluding to this passage of Cicero, definitely to the sentiments behind it, through the word *solacia* and the *exemplum* of the Decii. Cicero's ideas become the advice given by the corpse: *nec gloriae parvae / sollicitet vitae.... properate mori*, 805-7.

803-4: *placido ... sinu*: "a kindly embrace", with the implication of protection and shelter; cf. Cic. *Cael*. 59: *cum Q. Metellus abstraheretur e sinu gremioque patriae*; Sen. *Epist*. 103. 4: *in philosophiam recede: illa te sinu suo proteget*; Luc. 7. 810-11: *placido natura recepit / cuncta sinu*. Although the embrace of the evanescent shades

usually disappoints mortals who encounter them, e.g. Hom. *Od.* 11. 206 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 792-3; 6. 700 ff., presumably one ghost could embrace another.

Manes: the *manes*, literally "the kindly ones" (Maltby, *s.v*), appropriate for greeting Sextus and his family. Further significance in calling the spirits *manes* here derives from the fact that the lives of those who perform a *devotio* were offered to the *di manes*; cf. Liv. 8. 9. 6 ff. This reinforces the corpse's suggestion that Sextus and his family rush suicidally against Caesar's forces, as the Decii did against other enemies of the state.

patremque domumque: alludes to *natumque patremque* at 785, describing the Decii, through the use of two terms pertaining to the family, repetition of *patrem*, repetition of *-que... -que*, and identical metrical position. In this way, Lucan links the Decii and the Pompeii.

804: *regnique in parte serena*: i.e. Elysium, the area saved for the Pompeii; cf. *ad* 600; its climate generally resembles that of a pleasant day in the upper-world: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 637-41, with Austin *ad* 641. *Serenus* generally describes clear or cloudless weather conditions, not places; cf. *ad* 500: *Phoebeque serena.*

805: *Pompeis*: Pompey the great and his sons Sextus and Gnaeus. For Lucan's audience it would also evoke memories of later descendants of Pompey, persecuted under the Julio-Claudian emperors for genuine or supposed resistance. Examples are Pompeius Magnus, Claudius' son-in-law, and various Scribonii Libones persecuted under Tiberius, Claudius and Nero; on the descendants of Pompey and their fates, cf. Grenade, 1950; McAlindon, 1956; Syme, 1986, 255-69, and stemmata 14-17.

servare locum: cf. Petr. 31. 8: *cui (Trimalchioni) locus novo more primus servabatur.*

805-6: *nec gloria parvae / sollicitet vitae*: a further build-up to *properate mori* at 807, following on from the allusion to the *devotio Deciana* at 803. There is a philosophical underpinning to this line, the idea that one should not lose equanimity (*nec... sollicitet*), and the notion that the pursuit of virtue is worth any cost, implied in *gloria parvae... vitae.*

gloria: the renown gained from deeds of *virtus*, specifically a heroic death, cf. Cic. *TD.* 2. 59: *nobilitas mortis et gloria*, of the Decii; Luc. 3. 240-3. As the context shows, it cannot be *gloria* in the conventional political sense, fame derived from one's earthly achievements and used for political advancement; cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 369-83. This latter *gloria* was shunned by Stoic thought, e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 10. 7. 1: *ceteri etiam si vana gloriae imagine teneantur, speciose tamen errant*; Cic, *de Amic.*, 34. On Lucan's use of *gloria*, cf. Tucker, 1984.

parvae...vitae: the first intimation of untimely death for Sextus or any of the other members of his family or friends.

806: *sollicitet*: "to worry", cf. [Tib.] 3. 5. 12: *nec cor sollicitant facta nefanda meum*; Liv. 26. 15. 4: *ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi*; Sen. *Phaed.* 438. On the Stoic "sin" of losing mental balance, cf. *ad* 415: *agitat*; also Sandbach, 1989, 59-61; for instances of condemnations of this action, cf. Cic. *Fin.* 1. 16. 50; *TD.* 3. 5; Sen. *Dial.* 11. 4. 2. The verb is transitive. The object, *te*, must be supplied from the context.

veniet quae misceat omnes / hora duces: "the time will come which unites all the leaders". Context dictates that this mean that the leaders will reunite when dead, i.e. they will all die. The inevitability of death is a commonplace in philosophical writings, and is often used to comfort the bereaved and encourage those afraid of death; e.g. Sen. *Dial.* 6. 9. 4-6; cf. Lattimore, 1962, 250-6. This line anticipates 810-11, explicit statements concerning the futility of civil war. The theme is implicit here, in that whatever actions these *duces* perform during their lives, death will always be the ultimate result. This statement, then, acts in conjunction with the preceding one, offering a double proof: the glory of a short life should be no worry, because everyone will eventually die; and, furthermore, as death is inevitable it is better to have a short life distinguished by virtuous action.

As well as serving to give reasons why Sextus should not be troubled by an early death, the line alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 6. 826-35, where Anchises describes the shades of Caesar and Pompey as *concordes animae*. The leaders were together as shades before the civil wars, as they will be afterwards.

misceat: "to bring together", cf. Prop. 3. 5. 15: *victor cum victis pariter miscebitur umbris*; Sen. *Epist.* 78. 28: *veniet aliquod tempus, quod nos iterum... misceat.*

807: *properate mori*: "be in a hurry to die". The command makes clear the oblique reference to the Decii at 803, and the statement "*nec gloria parvae / sollicitet vitae*", 805-6; cf. *ad loc.* The corpse encourages Sextus, and his family, to seek death, in the style of the Decii, that is to make a defiant and fatal stand against Caesar. The expression *properare mori*, and the related *properare mortem*, both have the sense "to die prematurely", often with the implication of suicide: cf. Sen. *Phoen.* 305: *leti quaero maturi viam / morique propero*; [Sen.] *HO.* 1099: *quod natum est properat mori*; also Ov. *Trist.* 3. 3. 34; Tac. *Ann.* 2. 31: *nisi voluntariam mortem properavisset.*

The Decii provide the immediate *exemplum* for the action prescribed by the corpse, but the sentiment also accords with the attitude of Lucan's Cato, that the only course of action for a virtuous man in civil war is to die fighting for the losing side: cf. 2. 286-323, esp. 308-9: *devotum hostiles Decium pressere catervae: / me geminae figant acies*; also 1. 128: *victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni.* It resembles the Stoic view of suicide, which grants a person freedom in circumstances which would otherwise deny it; cf. Rist, 1969, 233-55, esp. 246-50; Griffin, 1986, 72-5, 173; 1992,

372-88. The corpse has previously stated that victory in civil war is bad: 801-2: *paratque / poenam victori*. Here it advises Sextus to follow a course of action in which he exercises *virtus*, by laying down his life in a struggle which he should intend to lose.

807-8: *magnoque superbi / quamvis e parvis animo descendite bustis*: this contrasts the spirit and the physical trappings of funerary monuments. This statement is drawn from philosophical thought which places little importance upon such monuments, in contrast to the normal societal beliefs about the dead; cf. *ad* 510-13. Flashy burials are often viewed, by Lucan, as unnecessary; cf. 8. 712 ff.; 8. 858-72; 9. 1-18; Le Bonniec, 1970, 191. This contrast derives ultimately from the Stoics' distinction between body and rational soul, the latter of which is of primary importance; cf. Long, 1996, 244-9. This contrast underlines the importance of following the virtuous path of resistance and death: one will achieve *magnitudo animi*; cf. below. Rejecting mortal glory, exemplified by *parvis... bustis*, is the price which will have to be paid.

magno...animo: besides the pun on Pompey's name (cf. *ad* 420), this recalls *magnanimitas*, an important quality especially in Stoic thought, also indicated by the adjective *magnanimus* and the expression *magnitudo animi*: cf. Cic. *Off.* 1. 61-92, an exploration of this cardinal virtue; Cic. *TD.* 2. 43; 4. 61; Sen, *Clem.* 1. 5. 3; *Dial.* 2. 11. 1: *pulcherrimam virtutem omnium animi, magnanimitatem*; for discussion, cf. Knoche, 1935; Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 290-4. By alluding to *magnanimitas*, the corpse indicates that Sextus ought to exercise virtue in the face of death. The corpse's suggestion contrasts strongly with other vainglorious acts of self-destruction which occur in the epic, e.g. the *aristeia* of Scaeva, 6. 150 ff., or Caesar's challenge to the gods to end his life during the storm, 5. 654-671.

superbi: unusual; normally a pejorative term describing the pride or arrogance of a tyrant; cf. Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 13: *Tarquini, superbissimi atque crudelissimi regis*; for discussion, cf. Hellegouarc'h, 1963, 439-41. With the ablative it has the sense "exultant in", cf. Cic. *Agr.* 2. 95: *Campani semper superbi bonitate agrorum*; Virg. *Aen.* 5. 268: *donati omnes opibusque superbi*; Hor. *Epod.* 15. 18. In this latter usage, its pejorative overtones are somewhat diminished.

808: *quamvis*: for the adverbial use, with concessive force, cf. Cic. *Caec.* 47: *vidi armatos quamvis paucos*; Virg. *Aen.* 7. 492.

e parvis...bustis: on the contrast between the importance of one's soul and the insignificance of burial, cf. *ad* 807-8. From the late republican period onwards, large funerary monuments were becoming common among the aristocracy, e.g. the tomb of Caecilia Metelli on the *via Appia* or the Mausoleum of Augustus. These tombs advertised the power and magnificence of those within and contributed to the perceived worthiness of their descendants and heirs, functioning in a similar way to the *imagines* possessed by the Roman *nobilitas*; cf. Gelzer, 1969, 27-8; Flower, 1996. A reliance upon one's ancestors to define one's own value was a contentious issue in the early imperial period, a time of great social mobility; cf. Juv. *Sat.* 8, *stemmata quid faciunt?*.

Stoic ideas of *nobilitas* were not based upon descent but on individual achievement; cf. Vessey, 1973. Thus in mentioning the *parva busta*, the corpse alludes to this notion that Sextus will derive *nobilitas* from his personal act, death through virtue.

809: *Romanorum manes...deorum*: i.e. Julius Caesar and his deified descendants; cf. Ahl, 1976, 145-6; Johnson, 1987, 32-3. The corpse implies that these divine emperors reside in the underworld; normally they dwell in the heavens: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 9-12; Sen. *Apoc.* 10. This reveals a great contempt for the divinity of these emperors, underscored by *calcate*; cf. below. Though proclaimed gods by mortals, as victors or beneficiaries of civil war they will be punished after death, in contrast to the katasterism of Pompey: 9. 1-18; due to his defeat in the civil war he will be rewarded with immortal glory.

calcate: "trample underfoot". There are overtones of contempt or insolence, suggesting the way in which deified emperors should be treated; cf. *ad* 521: *calcata.*

810-11: these lines emphasise the futility of the civil war, looking at it from a much broader perspective than is generally done elsewhere in the epic. They summarise the ideas touched upon in lines 799 ff., that both leaders are going to die, irrespective of whether they lose or win the civil war. This statement is particularly poignant, coming at the end of the series of events in books 1-6 leading up to the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus where Caesar becomes master of the world. It ends the section where the corpse actually provides direct instruction to Sextus and rounds off its desperate commands to the *domus Pompeia*.

810: *quem tumulum adluit Nili, quem Thybridis unda*: the structure stresses that there is only one ultimate outcome for the leaders, death. The war itself is simply to determine the trivial details. The parallelism of the line perhaps also reflects the similar fates of Caesar and Pompey: neither died in war, but were murdered, betrayed by trusted persons.

Unfortunately for Sextus, the corpse does not say which leader will perish in Egypt and which at Rome.

adluit: "flows past", cf. Liv. 24. 33. 9: *cuius murus fluctu adluitur*; Tac. *Ann.* 13. 39.

Nili...Thybridis: i.e. Egypt and Rome, where Pompey and Caesar, respectively, perished. For the use of rivers to define a region, common in Roman literature, both history and epic, cf. Mendell, 1942, 4-9, 11.

811: *ducibus tantum de funere pugna est*: expresses in a less localised way the sentiments of 6. 810: the war is futile, since the only way it will distinguish one leader from the other is the place where they die.

funere: i.e. "funeral", rather than the more general "death", as the context might suggest. Duff's paraphrase "place of burial' is excellent. As mentioned above, both leaders died identically, by assassination.

812-816: Within these lines, the corpse informs Sextus that it cannot tell him about his own future. Instead, the Parcae will let him know. It adds that Sextus will receive another prophecy, from his father in Sicily, but that this too will be of little help. In interpreting this passage much emphasis has been placed upon 813-16, the introduction of the second prophecy, at the expense of the crucial statement: *cognoscere Parcae / ...dabunt*. Lucan places much emphasis on this future prophetic scene, which makes it appear important, yet it is undercut by the statement *ille quoque incertus...*, which has made interpretation difficult. Masters' elegant assessment of this passage concludes: "In any case, as the *vates* who is said to be *incertus* in the same breath that tells us he is *certior*, Pompey is the tool by which Lucan will force us to recognise that his continual postponement of the ultimate, of the climactic, of the full and clear, is a process that will have no end. *There will be no climaxes*, only pseudo-climaxes that look forward to something greater that never comes" (Masters, 1992, 201-4, quotation from 204, Masters' italics). Yet this ignores the preceding sentence concerning the *Parcae*, that they will give him knowledge of his *fatum*, by cutting the thread of his life; cf. *ad* 812: *Parcae*. It is my contention that 812 is crucial, and the subsequent lines 813-16 are included as an argument to support this initial statement. Indeed, the difficult opposition *certior... incertus* becomes explicable when it can be compared to the absolute certainty with which the *Parcae* can inform Sextus. To paraphrase the corpse: "I cannot tell you; your Father, though he will know more, cannot tell you; Fate alone can". *Pace* Masters, there is a climax and that climax is death, a view borne out by the remainder of the corpse's speech, 817-20.

The passage alludes to the prophecies of Helenus (*Aen.* 3. 458-60) and of Anchises's ghost (*Aen.* 5. 724-39, esp. 737) which respectively foretell a greater prophecy in the future and summon Aeneas to the underworld to seek his father, Anchises, cf. Morford, 1967, 72; O' Higgins, 1988, 219; Masters, 1992, 201. This Virgilian reminiscence underscores the difference between the ideological stances of Virgil and Lucan: in Virgil, the future prophecy will be the glorious Parade of Heroes, which reveals Rome's future greatness, reaching its pinnacle with Augustus; in Lucan, the future prophecy, *certior* yet *incertus* will not even be able to enunciate the one truth which the *Parcae* shall reveal: that death is the true end for everyone.

813-16 have been taken as an indication of the extent of Lucan's epic, that it must include the triumviral years when Sextus was in Sicily, cf. Bruère, 1950, esp. 228-9; Thompson, 1964, who are of the view that the epic would end with Actium; Due, 1962, 128 ff. Yet the counter-arguments are convincing, and either the suicide of Cato or the death of Brutus after Philippi are more likely termination points; the present author's preference is the death of Cato: for Cato, cf. Pichon, 1912, 270; Rutz, 1965, 262-71; Frank, 1970; Ahl, 1976, 306-26; Narducci, 1979, 61; for Brutus, cf. Grenade, 1950, 48-50; Due, 1962, 106 ff. For a summary of earlier views, cf. Bruère, 1950, 217-8. For a discussion of the scholarly attempts to find an end to the poem, cf. Masters, 1992, 234-47, though his conclusion, that the poem is complete as it stands, should be

treated with caution. Scenes of prophecy in epic can be an authorial device used to include material which is not a part of the main narrative and should not be used to judge the endpoint of an unfinished work; cf. Moore, 1921. The fact that Erictho's necromancy appears in book six of the *Bellum Civile*, parodying Aeneas' *katabasis* which occurs in *Aeneid* six, shows a structural similarity to Virgil's poem which might suggest that Lucan also intended to compose in twelve books, on Virgil's model; on this, cf. Frank, 1970.

812: *tu...ne quaere*: the corpse forbids Sextus to ask about his own death. This, however, seems to be exactly what Sextus wanted to know; cf. 601: *quos petat e nobis, Mortem mihi coge fateri*; presumably he had in mind his own death above all.

Quaeritur... quaere is an instance of unfigured repetition, common in Lucan.; for discussion of such iteration, cf. Cook, 1902; Wills, 1996, 473-7.

fatum...tuum: both "destiny" and "death", the latter being appropriate to this context and also suited to Sextus' request at 601. For Lucan's wordplay on *fatum*, cf. *ad* 632.

cognoscere Parcae ... dabunt: *Parcae* were the goddesses who measure the length of a person's life; cf. *ad* 703-4. They provide a subtly humorous response to the preceding clause: "don't ask about your own death: the Parcae will let you know (i.e. by cutting the thread of life)".

813: *reticente*: very rare in verse. The corpse returns to its earlier stance, 777 ff., that it is unable to foretell events to Sextus.

vates: on *vates*, cf. *ad* 628: *vatem*. Its identity is at this stage undisclosed, and the reader must wait until the following line to discover that it will be Pompey.

The use of the term *vates*, with its second sense "poet", may be part of an intertextual allusion to a work now lost in which a prophecy was delivered to Sextus in Sicily by his father, for instance the *Bellum Siculum* of Cornelius Severus; cf. Grenade, 1950, 43 ff. For *vates* = poet, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 35, with N-H: *lyricis vatibus*; Newman, 1967.

814: *canet*: common of uttering prophecy: cf. Cic. *Cat.* 3. 18: *ut haec canere di immortales viderentur*; Virg. *Aen.* 8. 49: *haud incerta cano*. The term is frequently used for the recitation of poetry, enhancing the possibility that Lucan is making an allusion to another epic in which Pompey prophesies to his son; cf. above.

Siculis...in arvis: i.e. in Sicily, Sextus' main stronghold during the triumviral years, cf. *ad* 421-2. The location of this prophecy on the shores of Sicily is thought to recall the prophecy of Gabienus, a potential model for this scene: on Gabienus, cf. Plin. *NH.* 7. 178-9; on the connection, cf. Grenade, 1950, 37 ff.; Ahl, 1976, 133-8.

genitor: a high-style, epic word, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 108 Sk.: *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum*; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 560: *subiit cari genitoris imago*; 5. 537.

Pompeius: besides the possibility of an allusion to an earlier epic (cf. *ad* 813: *vates*), Pompey may have been selected because of the tradition of his descendants attempting to summon his shade; cf. Grenade, 1950, 29, 31 ff.

815: *ille quoque incertus*: much emphasis is placed upon the inadequacy of Pompey's prophecy. It substantially undercuts *certior* at 813 and underscores the fact that the *Parcae* alone can deliver Sextus his *fatum*. For *incertus* with an indirect question, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 7: *classem... molimur... incerti quo fata ferant*; Liv. 9. 23. 4.

quo...unde...quas...quae: further rhetorical emphasis is placed upon the ignorance of Pompey with this string of unanswered indirect questions.

816: *sidera mundi*: regions of the world, as defined by the constellations; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 10. 68: *Aethiopum versemus ovis sub sidere Cancri*; Ov. *Trist.* 4. 4. 62; Luc. 2. 294.

817-820: In the closing lines of the speech the corpse reveals that only death awaits Pompey and his family; cf. Dick, 1963, 45, 48-9, who concludes that this is the message of all Lucan's prophetic scenes. The notion of the glorious *devotio* mentioned at 802-11 is here replaced by allusions to cowardly and ignominious death. In particular there is a contrast between 818: *distribuit tumulos vestris fortuna triumphis* and 807-8, 810-11, where the corpse implies that a glorious death, achieved through resistance to tyranny, is greater than any earthly monument. Here, on the other hand, tombs scattered over Pompey's triumphs suggests that the deaths of Pompey and his sons will overshadow the memory of Pompey's achievements, since their actions were not glorious. Fear of every region of the world, 817, contrasts sharply to 805-6: *nec gloriae parvae / sollicitet vitae*. In the earlier passage death is nothing to fear; here it renders the entire world terrifying. These differences between the two sections of the speech emphasise that in lines 802-11 the corpse was describing an ideal situation: the proper course of resistance to tyranny; whereas in 817-20 he describes the reality for Sextus: ignominious death as a result of an attempt to obtain personal power through opposition to a tyrant.

817: *Europam ... Libyamque Asiamque*: i.e. the places where Pompey and his sons, Gnaeus and Sextus, will die: Gnaeus in Spain, Pompey in Alexandria, Sextus at Miletus in Asia. The three names correspond to the tripartite division of the world: Europe, Africa and Asia; cf. Sall. *Jug.* 17. 3. Lucan is implying that the whole world will be unsafe for the Pompeii. This is, ironically, a place where the corpse refers specifically to the deaths of Pompey and his sons, yet the reference can only be understood by Lucan's readers, with the benefit of hindsight.

Libyamque: commonly refers to the whole of North Africa including Egypt, where Pompey died: cf. Plin. *NH*. 5. 1: *Africam Graeci Libyam appellavere*; Mel. 1. 23: *Libyes Aegyptii*.

miseri…timete: a command to fear the whole world contrasts sharply with the earlier advice of the corpse, that Sextus should not fear death: 805 ff. Furthermore, fear, in Stoic thought, is dangerous. When controlled by fear, a person cannot think rationally nor act in a virtuous manner; on fear, cf. *ad* 419: *spemque metumque*. There is, then, a further implication: be controlled by your emotion, do not follow the path to Stoic virtue. This command is an ultimate admission of failure, since it was fear of the unknown that drove Sextus to seek Erictho's help: 423: *stimulante metu fati praenoscere cursus*; 596-7: *mens dubiis perculsa pavet rursusque parata est / certos ferre metus*.

818: *distribuit tumulos vestris fortuna triumphis*: Pompey had three triumphs, to celebrate his victories in Africa, 81 B.C, Spain, 70 B.C., and the East as well as over the pirates, 61 B.C. These three regions correspond to Europe, Libya and Asia where the *Pompeii* will die. 817-8 thus indicate the reason why Sextus should fear the whole world: death awaits in all places.

distribuit: rare in verse. It often denotes the deployment of troops, e.g. Sall. *Cat*. 56. 2: *ut quisque voluntarius… in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat*; Liv. 2. 39. 9; Suet. *Aug*. 49. 1: *legiones…provinciatim distribuit*. It is used with a certain irony here: it will not be military forces distributed among these places of conquest, but rather the corpses of the *Pompeii*.

fortuna: the agency of *fortuna* brings about the destruction of the *Pompeii*. On *fortuna* in Lucan, cf. Friedrich, 1938; Dick, 1967; Le Bonniec, 1970, 173 ff.

vestris…triumphis: by use of the plural second person possessive, the corpse ascribes these triumphs to the entire *domus Pompeiana*. This recalls 593-5, where Sextus lays claim to greatness because of his father's great deeds, as well as Lucan's highly critical descriptions: *magno proles indigna parente*, 420, and *Pompei ignava propago*, 589.

819: *o miseranda domus*: another emotionally charged address, in the vocative, picking up on *miseri* of 817. *Domus* refers to Pompey and his descendants who suffered at the hands of Julius Caesar and subsequent emperors; cf. *ad* 805: *Pompeis*. For this sense of *domus*, cf. Ov. *Fast*. 4. 543: *mater…paterque nataque: tres illa tota fuere domus*; Tac. *Hist*. 1. 15.

toto…orbe: the corpse reiterates that nowhere in the world will be safe for Pompey and his sons.

819-20: *nil…videbis / tutius Emathia*: this closing statement, though it makes the future in general seem bleak, is extremely ambiguous concerning the outcome of

Pharsalus: it leaves unanswered the question of whether Pompey and his forces will win or lose; cf. Masters, 1992, 201.

This final epigram ends the corpse's speech with a flourish, using the poetic terms *miseranda* and *Emathia*. The statement is extremely paradoxical: the decisive moment of defeat for the Pompeian cause will, ironically, be safer since none of them dies.

820-830: after the corpse's bleak prophecy, Lucan quickly brings book six to an end. Within eleven lines the corpse is destroyed and Sextus returns to his father's camp, in company with Erictho. As a final touch, Erictho commands night to hold back the onset of day, creating a scene of preternatural darkness at the very end of the book which then leads into book seven, the day of the battle of Pharsalus.

820-821: following its speech, the corpse returns to its previous miserable condition. *Maestus* here recalls *maestum... cadaver* (776); *voltu... tacito* registers its return to a condition of speechlessness (760-2); and its desire to die again resembles its earlier reluctance to return to life (722-25, 750-60).

fata peregit: primarily has the sense "it gave a complete account of the future"; cf. Liv. 2. 1. 1: *liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas... peragam*; Plin. *NH*. 6. 143. Yet, there is also the possible meaning that the corpse has completed its "life": cf. Virg. *Aen*. 4. 653: *vixi et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi*; [Sen.], *HO*. 770: *Clotho... fata Herculis timet peragere*.

821: ***reposcit***: "it demands back..."; cf. Plaut. *Men*. 689-90: *dedisti eam dono mihi;/ eandem nunc reposcis*; Prop. 2. 1. 71: *quandocumque... vitam mea fata reposcent*; Ov. *Met*. 12. 235. This was Erictho's promise at 763-770.

822-4: Without magical assistance the corpse cannot return to the land of the dead. This resembles the *apopompe* ritual found in spells, where the summoned spirit has to be magically dispelled: cf. *ad* 762-74.

822: ***carminibus magicis... herbisque***: the two main classes of components in a spell; cf. *ad* 442: *herbas* and *ad* 443-4: *inpia carmina*. The economy in the description of Erictho's magic here brings book 6 to a rapid end after the speech, so that the desolate effect which Lucan created will not be lost in lengthy narration.

opus est: cf. *ad* 560.

cadaver / ut cadat: striking etymological wordplay, typical of Lucan; cf. *ad* 755: *cadaver*. It underscores the paradox of necromancy, that a dead man is living again.

823: ***animam***: cf. 732, Erictho's difficulty in restoring the *anima* to the body.

824: ***consumpto iam iure semel***: implies that the fates have only one opportunity to cause an individual's death. *Semel* recalls 716: *ad manes ventura semel*.

robore multo: corresponds to *talibus... silvis*, 766. *Multo* stresses the size of the pyre and hence suggests the complete destruction of the corpse, as Erictho promised: *tua membra... exuram*, 765-6.

825: ***venit defunctus ad ignes***: a humorous final touch whereby the now useless corpse proceeds to his own pyre. This adds pathos to the already pitiable image of the corpse. Erictho does not assist in its final destruction any more than she has to.

defunctus: "finished", in two senses. *Defunctus* = "having completed its task", cf. Ov. *Am.* 2. 9. 24: *(me) defunctum placide vivere tempus erat*; Virg. *Aen.* 9. 94: *ubi defunctae (carinae) finem... tenebunt*. It commonly means "dead, a dead person", used here with irony since the "dead man" is now alive; cf. *ad* 621: *defuncti*.

826-830: In these last lines, Erictho and Sextus leave the corpse on the burning pyre and return together to Pompey's camp. This ending does more than merely create a desolate backdrop for the battle of Pharsalus in book 7; cf. Morford, 1967, 73; Ahl, 1976, 148-9. Lucan distorts his Virgilian model in having Erictho accompany Sextus back to his friends after the prophecy, whereas Aeneas found himself alone after the journey through the gate of ivory and returned to his ships and comrades without the Sibyl's company; Virg. *Aen.* 6. 897-902; cf. Ahl, 1969, 345, though he concentrates on the similarities between the two scenes and ignores this major difference. Like Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, Erictho comes by night into the camp of one side to spread her deleterious influence. Lucan presents Erictho, throughout book six, as an evil spirit of civil war, revelling in destruction and death, and in particular as a manifestation of Caesar and his civil war ethos; cf. esp. 577-88, with notes; also Fauth, 1975, 341 f.; Johnson, 1987, 18-29. Her accompanying of Sextus at the end of the prophecy suggests, then, that under her influence he will go forth into the world of civil war, fighting as Caesar would. It is the final condemnation of the character of Sextus.

826: ***strue***: "funeral pyre"; cf. Mel. 3. 83; Luc. 8. 756-7: *corpus / robora nulla premunt, nulla strue membra recumbent*. It generally denotes a large pile, again suggesting the enormous size of the pyre: cf. 824-5: *robore multo / extruit... rogum*.

liquit Erictho: Erictho abandons the corpse, presumably before it has finished burning. Normally the pyre is attended by the mourners, who wait until the fire dies out so that they can gather the bones: e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 226 ff. This may be another instance of Erictho's *impietas* towards the dead, cf. 530-69 for further examples.

827-8: ***Sexto.../ it comes***: *it comes* is a fairly common epic phrase, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 159, with Austin for further instances in Virgil; Stat. *Theb.* 4. 59; Sil. 15. 153. The companion, in these other cases, is not so sinister as here. Erictho's evil influence will accompany Sextus for the rest of his journey through the civil wars.

828-30: Erictho's final act, as the new day dawns, is to hold back the light by delaying the departure of night's darkness. On this magical feat, cf. *ad* 461-2: *dilataque longa / haesit nocte dies*; 624: *noctis geminatis arte tenebris*. The reason for this is given in line 829, to preserve their safety by keeping themselves hidden while wandering through enemy lines.

There is an effective inversion, in these lines, of a motif in epic, the dawning of a new day which marks the end of a particularly horrific or traumatic series of events: e.g. Hom. *Od.* 9. 560 ff.; Virg. *Aen.* 2. 800-1 ; Luc. 5. 678-9. Here, the promise of closure to the events just described through mention of the new day, 828, is denied by Erictho's spell which holds the night in place.

The effect of Erictho's spell is carried over to the start of the next book, 7. 1-6: *Segnior, Oceano quam lex aeterna vocabat, / luctificus Titan numquam magis aethera contra / egit equos cursumque polo rapiente retorsit, / defectusque pati voluit raptaeque labores / lucis, et attraxit nubes, non pabula flammis / sed ne Thessalico purus luceret in orbe*. In book seven, the failure of the sun to show its face is cast in the form of a prodigy, in which the sun does not want to observe the evils about to be perpetrated by mankind: for similar solar prodigies, cf. Cic. *Cons. Suo* (frg. 10 C.), 20-22; Virg. *Georg.* 1. 464-8, with Mynors; Ov. *Met.* 15. 785-6; Petr. 122. 127-9; Luc. 1. 540-44; Sen. *Thy.* 789 ff. This continuation of the witch's supernatural darkness into the following book further disrupts notions of closure to book six and further suggests Erictho's lingering influence upon the subsequent events of the civil war.

829: *dum ferrent*: *dum* = "until", a common sense with the subjunctive; cf. Liv. 32. 9. 8: *paucos moratus est diebus, dum se copiae ab Corcyra adsequerentur*; L-H-S, 2. 615-16.

tentoria: "tents"; cf. Hirt. *BG.* 8. 5. 2: *coiectis...stramentis tentoriorum integendorum gratia*; Virg. *Aen.* 1. 469: *Rhesi niveis tentoria velis agnoscit*; Liv. 44. 39. 5: *tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt*. Used here as *variatio* for *castra* found at 827.

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