

LUCAN AND VIRGIL

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Lucan was a child prodigy. While he was still quite young, he obviously had an outstanding ability at writing the type of verse that appealed to his contemporaries. Like most child prodigies, he was conceited. According to the Suetonius Life, in the introduction to one of his poems he ventured to say 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem?' The sense of this is: 'I have written a gigantic amount of poetry by an age at which Virgil hadn't even written the Culex'. This is amplified by Statius, Silv. ii.7.36-74, who lists the poems Lucan wrote ante annos Culicis Maroniani. Whether we think the Culex genuine or not¹ does not affect the issue: Lucan and Statius did. If Vitelli and Kenneth Rose² are right in compressing the composition of the poem into a relatively short space of time at the end of Lucan's life, the prodigious nature of his accomplishment is increased; though why the latter should consider the hexameter a 'difficult meter' is past comprehension.

But to rival the minor works of Virgil, or to imitate Virgil in his own minor works (e.g. those on Troy and on the Underworld), was not enough for the prodigy. He had, he felt, to outdo the Aeneid and the relevant portions of the Georgics, though not at all in the same style - these are classical, his work we may call baroque. It would, of course, have been bad taste to proclaim this overall rivalry in his De bello civili, but he strongly hints at it in ix.984-6/, addressed to Julius Caesar:

quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,
venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra
vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.

No doubt Dante had this passage in mind when he made his anima naturaliter Christiana, Virgil, point out Lucan, with Horace and Ovid, as walking in the Inferno behind the prince of poets, Homer.³ Was Lucan conceited in saying he would be read as long as Homer? Only time can tell. At any rate the implication is that Homer was the only poet with whom he would happily couple his name. Again we have an amplification by Statius (ibid.75 f.): cedat Musa rudis ferocis Enni, followed by Lucretius, then the poet of the Argonautica (perhaps Varro Atacinus), Ovid's Metamorphoses, and as a final climax (ibid.79 f.)

ipsa te Latinis
Aeneis venerabitur canentem.

This, admittedly, is in an anniversary poem, where flattery of the dead friend was customary; but it shows at least that Corneille and the young Shelley were not the only poets to value Lucan above Virgil. The literary circle round Polla Argentaria, though hardly Statius himself, may have thought likewise.

If we add to this rivalry the many ways in which the two poets differed (for apart from their different ages and styles and opposing themes, the one constructive, the other destructive, Virgil has been called 'a shy lover of the country, gentle, sympathetic, quiet, contemplative, master of his learning, careful in selection, (who) weaves together his story unobserved and sets his imaginations in subtle harmonies of rhythm and style',⁴ whereas none of these phrases applies to Lucan), we may wonder first whether there is much Virgilian reminiscence and secondly, if there is, why there is. The pendulum has now gone far from Dean Merivale's rash statement⁵ that Lucan 'had never studied, one is almost tempted to imagine that he had never read, Virgil'. The Encyclopaedia Britannica⁶ tells us: 'He naturally imitated his great predecessor, Virgil'. We need both to clarify this and to qualify the word 'naturally'. The subtle architecture of Virgil's epic, with its six books of Odyssey-Aeneid followed by an equal measure of Iliad-Aeneid, its astonishing effects of parallel and contrast, its build-up by alternating books of piano and forte to a central climax at the end of Book VI, these and many more elegant effects are almost lacking in Lucan (there is a possible parallel to the central climax; see p.3 below). He has little of Virgil's sensitive use of callida iunctura, too often, as Friedrich Caspari⁷ was at pains to show, opting for a series of clauses linked merely by et or -que. His hexameter, as we shall see, is very different. He does away with divine machinery and with the naming of strings of unimportant warriors who bite the dust.⁸ But of the presence of imitation there is no doubt. Is there then, as Nisard⁸ thought, a constant fear by Lucan of imitating Virgil, a constant struggle to get away from Virgilian expression? This seems unlikely: literary imitation was such an accepted practice and Virgil such a popular poet, especially in the schools, that Virgilian reminiscence on a generous scale may have seemed 'natural' to contemporaries even when they realised what an iconoclast Lucan was.

Alternatively, was Mlle. Guillemin⁹ right in thinking that in Book VII Lucan deliberately changes his method and becomes anti-Virgilian, thereafter reverting to the more banal types of literary reminiscence typical of post-Virgilian writers who try to improve on Virgilian phrases? Admittedly he does have one or two passages in that book which show a determined effort to describe the battle of Pharsalia in terms totally different from all previous epic battles, e.g. (lines quoted by her, vii.632-4):

non istas habuit pugnae Pharsalia partes
quas aliae clades: illic per fata virorum,
per populos hic Roma perit.

Istas sounds as if it is criticising; but surely it is criticising all traditional epic battles,¹⁰ not merely Virgil's. In a passage which Mlle. Guillemin regards as pivotal, vii.391-6, the list of run-down settlements in Latium certainly contrasts with Virgil's list of similar places which in Aeneas's time are still to be (Aen. vi.773-6). But in its opening phrase, tunc omne Latinum fabula nomen erit, the significant word is surely not nomen but fabula. It reminds one of a passage from Lucan's third book which to my mind is even more anti-Virgilian. Among the allies of Pompey from Asia Minor are Trojans, who are not put off by Caesar's genealogical boasts (iii.212 f.):

nec fabula Troiae
continuit Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli.

Here the sneering words are Phrygii (though Virgil himself uses this adjective in a neutral sense, as at Aen. iv.140) and ferens; while the genitive Troiae takes us back to the first line (or fifth, as I prefer to regard it¹¹) of the Aeneid, as well as to Aen. i.267 ff., a passage significantly 30 lines long¹², its first line ending cui nunc cognomen Iulo, its third beginning triginta magnos, and containing at lines 286-8 the climax

nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.

To Lucan the man who was magnus was Cn. Pompeius Magnus. One has the feeling that our young poet, when his quarrel with Nero embittered him more (if that is the case) against Julius Caesar, may have wished that the metre permitted him to counter sum pius Aeneas by sum impius Caesar. In fact it is noticeable that (rather like the frequency chart of tyrannus in Lucan, quoted by Kenneth Rose, so that there may be a political undertone), of the 18 occurrences of impius in Lucan, no fewer than 16 are in Books VI-X, clearly the last five to be written, including the phrase socer inpius (viii.783).

But to stop at this point and content ourselves with ferreting out the contrasts with the Aeneid, which have caused Paratore¹³ to call Lucan an aspirant anti-Virgil, is insufficient. We should be searching both for similarities and contrasts. Let us look further into the architecture of the poem. The portion of the De bello civili that survives, almost certainly all that was written, amounts to $9\frac{2}{3}$ books. To suppose, as Haffter¹⁴ has, that only one or two hundred lines more would ever have been written to produce a complete poem, is absurd. The Alexandrian War concludes nothing. The poem must have continued at the very least to Cato's death, probably to Caesar's, and perhaps beyond. The mere fact that the Aeneid is in 12 books is of no significance: the Homeric poems had by that time been divided into 24 each, and Ennius' Annales, the other great historical epic in Latin, was in 18.

Now 18 books would have allowed Lucan enough space to cover as much as he wanted of the civil war; and apart from Ennius' total, there is perhaps an internal hint that this was the number he intended. About halfway through the Aeneid, roughly eight-ninths of the way through Book VI, Augustus Caesar appears in all his glory, fulfilling Virgil's plan for the centre of a symbolical temple: in medio mihi Caesar erit¹⁵. One may venture to think that Lucan's Julius Caesar appears in what was intended as a parallel position, roughly eight-ninths of the way through the longest book, Book IX, where instead of being about to lord it over Rome he surveys the thousand-year-old ruins of his allegedly ancestral Troy. It is here that the poet soars to unaccustomed flights in the passage already quoted, and like Ennius claims to be a second Homer, in whose epic posterity will read of the otherwise shadowy deeds of Caesar; we recall Horace's vixere fortes ante Agamemnona... Let us look, in the passages we are comparing, for parallelisms of language (words in italics occur in both; an asterisk denotes a word in the same position of the line). Virgil has:

hic Caesar et omnis* Iuli
progenies magnum* caeli ventura sub axem.
hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam... (vi.789-94)

Lucan's lines are:

o sacer et magnum* vatum labor! omnia* fato
eripis et populis donas mortalibus aevum.
invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere fama;
nam, si quid Latiis fas est promittere Musis... (ix.980-3)

followed by the lines quoted earlier. Surely such a passage as this was intended as the halfway mark in an 18-book epic.¹⁶ At least Lucan, if he was thinking of writing this number of books, had better judgment than Nero, who fancied composing a long historical epic, which a courtier suggested should be in 400 books (Dio lxii.29)

Yet there is some indication of borrowing from books of the Aeneid with the same number. Book VI of both poems concerns itself with the Underworld; the one has a Sibyl, the other a Thessalian witch, though the amount of prediction by Lucan's Erichtho is extremely small in comparison to that of Virgil's Sibyl. No doubt, as Fraenkel¹⁷ suggested, Lucan drew for this book extensively on his lost Catachthonia. Book VII recounts in the Aeneid the first fighting, in Lucan's poem the great fight. Pompey's departure from Italy in Book III is the antithesis of Aeneas's first view of Italy in Aeneid III. But there is no over-all parallelism of this sort, nor even any indication that Lucan had thought out the architecture of the poem or of its parts as carefully as Virgil. Only in the passage relating to the Neo-Pythagorean Nigidius Figulus was Getty¹⁸ able to show what we may call the Le Grelle-Duckworth effect in Lucan. But one can point not only to the central pivot I have suggested, but to a close similarity between Books VII and VIII of his poem, and to the probable existence of roughly 200-line 'blocks', as evidence either of interest in poetic architecture or of a desire to make certain passages as fitting as possible to recitationes.¹⁹

From the point of view of versification there is the utmost disparity between the two. Lucan seems to take a delight in giving no prominence to the commonest Virgilian combinations of dactyl and spondee²⁰, in reverting to more end-stopped lines, fewer elisions, no hiatus, fewer spondaic fifth feet and no hypermetra. He might have written either Troiae qui primus or qui Troiae primus, and in general arranged his words with far less regard to metrical effect than the Augustans. He wanted to be an up-to-date poet; and the trend of the times, with Seneca as its forerunner, was towards rhetorical effect rather than metrical subtlety.

It is, then, more in the field of verbal reminiscence and a few parallels of situation than in other respects that we can discern Lucan's debt, conscious or unconscious, to Virgil. Here we must agree with Fraenkel that there is no

wholesale take-over of lines from Virgil similar to the latter's take-over from Ennius of unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem (Aen. vi.846) from unus homo etc., and that, where we can compare lines between the two, Lucan's often look like a loud superlative against the measured tones of Virgil. Caspari's argument that Heitland's lists prove virtually nothing, and that anyone compiling such lists is trying to make the De bello civili into a sort of cento of Virgil, is most perverse. Hosius²¹ was right in distinguishing between common or likely combinations consisting of phrases that go easily into a hexameter, on the one hand, and unusual collocations on the other.

Isolated reminiscence is to many of us less interesting than sustained borrowing, especially where the latter is of a reasonably subtle nature. In several cases the borrowing is not isolated but drawn from a whole section of Virgil's works. In one example, given below, the borrowing of material, transferred to a different field, has only been noticed en passant by Syndikus²², and the verbal parallels have not been noticed. Indeed Caspari²³ actually goes out of his way to deny any such resemblance, saying: 'primum enim secernendae sunt pugnae navalis descriptio Pharsaliae III, 509-762, quippe cui nihil apud Vergilium respondeat, et cunctae monomachiae'.

The boat race in Aeneid V, as is well known, is to a large extent borrowed from a chariot race in Iliad XXIII. Lucan gives us a similar effect in Book III, where he borrows a scene of the naval battle off Marseilles from the cavalry engagement in Aeneid xi.597-647. Here the Trojan and Etruscan cavalry engage in battle with that of the Latins and their allies. They halt within a spear's throw of each other, then with a sudden shout rush forward to the attack. First the Trojans pursue the Latins, then the Latins rally. The Etruscans twice pursue the Rutulians before they are locked in close combat, in which warriors are unhorsed and killed by javelins and spears. Lucan is describing a sea-fight between Caesar and the Massiliotes. We start with the distant combat. In iii.514-52 Caesar's ships deploy and the Greeks change their course. Virgil ends his section with a simile (Aen. vi.624-8) from alternating currents causing an ebb and flow of sea on a rocky coast; Lucan ends his with a simile (iii. 549-52) of the current fighting the east and west winds and the waves going in different directions. Then Lucan has a short passage contrasting the Greek with the Roman ships, and gives instructions by Decimus Brutus, Caesar's admiral, for turning the battle into a hand-to-hand encounter. But in iii.567 he returns to his literary quarry and once more borrows from the cavalry battle, at this stage interlocked. A comparison of the two passages (see Tables I, II) will show that the borrowing is reflected in many points of verbal similarity, a number of these progressing from line to line in a manner otherwise hardly paralleled in Lucan. In the sea similes the ra-, re- alliteration is borrowed, but with different words. Six of the borrowed words, semianimes, clamore, gurgite, permixtum, sanguine, pectore, occur in the same portion of the line. So too does the warrior's name Tyrrhenum (Tyrrhenus with short final syllable in Virgil).²⁴ Of the remaining warriors, four named ones and the twin brothers of iii.603 ff. are from Virgil; but Lycidas in the Eclogues is a countryman, the name there having as its source Theocritus' goatherd. When we meet the name Lycidas, we immediately think of Milton, who obviously had the Eclogues in mind. Yet the fact that in Lucan Lycidas met his death at sea may have contributed to

inducing Milton to take the name over for a pastoral In Memoriam on his drowned friend Edward King²⁵.

Lucan's identical twins have their origin in Virgil's identical twins of Aen. x.390-96, whose parents actually enjoyed the confusion between the two. Virgil, with a gruesomeness more usually associated with the Silver Age, makes young Pallas cut off the head of one twin and the right hand of the other, its fingers still twitching as they grasp the sword. Yet some of the gruesomeness is already present in Ennius²⁶, two of whose lines Virgil imitates here with no visible improvement. In fact, some of the parallels between Virgil and Lucan may rather be accounted for by the possibility that both borrowed from a lost passage of Ennius. To revert to the twins, Lucan practically takes for granted the confusion between them, writing (iii.605 f.)

unumque relictum
agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes.

His sense of pathos first leads him to think of the feelings of the mourning parents and brother. But he goes on, with the typical approach of his times, to describe in detail the fate of the twin who fell, recounting the cutting off first of the right hand and then of the left, and finally how, when the warrior was utterly defenceless, he actually caused a battered ship piled high with corpses to sink with the sheer weight of his body.²⁷

Thus, apart from the episode of the twins, which comes from Aen. X, the details of the sea fight come not only in each case from Aen. XI but in some sort of progression. Somewhat different from this technique is that employed in Lucan I, where very much is borrowed from the first book of the Georgics but either in smaller blocks or in isolated phrases. The prooemium cannot all follow Virgil, since Lucan is not going to invoke deities, so here the parallelism comes in at the invocation to the Emperor. The two invocations are compared in the article 'Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence', by Lynette Thompson and R.T. Bruère²⁸, to which I am also indebted for discussion of other passages (that article is deliberately confined to a consideration of certain parts of Lucan I, V and IX). As regards the prooemium, those who think that Lucan must have been sneering at Nero's physical deformities have not only failed to appreciate the style of Silver Latin literary flattery, but have perhaps not realised how grotesque even Virgil's invocation sounds in cold blood. The burning Scorpion voluntarily contracts his claws in Augustus' favour and abandons his excessive share of the sky. Perhaps Lucan read relinquit in his Virgil (Geo. i.35), not reliquit; he varies it to a future, and leaves the field more open, with

iurisque tui Natura relinquet
quis deus esse velis, ubi regnum ponere mundi (i.51 f.),

reverting for his model to Virgil's

tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia, incertum est.

Equally bizarre in our eyes is Virgil's

nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,
nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido.

The parallel to this negative wish is the more cosmological

sed neque in Arctoo sedem tibi legeris orbe
nec polus aversi calidus qua vergitur Austri (Lucan i.53 f.).

Virgil's 19 lines of invocation are surpassed in number by Lucan with his 21 $\frac{1}{2}$. There are, of course, other sources of Lucan's prooemium, including Manilius; but the opening of the Georgics constitutes the main inspiration.

The other sustained use of Georgics I in Lucan's first book, as has long been recognised, is in connection with prodigies, and here Ovid is also a source. Many of the prodigies are the same, and in some cases the same words occur at the same place in the line. While Virgil is content to say insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes (Geo. i.475), which might be thought to refer to the ancient belief in Alpine earthquakes, Lucan writes:

tum cardine tellus
subsedit, veteremque iugis nutantibus Alpes
discussere nivem (i.552-4).

The sense of cardine subsedit has been variously interpreted, but Housman seems right in referring it to the same supposed cause as in vi.481 f., where according to Lucan an irregularity in gravitation caused something like a deep hole in the earth. Whatever the exact interpretation, the expansion of this prodigy is due to a desire for geological exactitude. In Virgil, Etna boils out over the fields of the Cyclopes, rolling down balls of fire and lava. In Lucan, it sends flames not, he insists, up into the sky but down the mountain side facing Italy. Here there is no correction of Virgil, and the exactitude aimed at is probably faithfulness to Livy rather than any scientific correction; but there is an added suggestion that Vulcan (or, in Stoic terms, the natural force he stands for) is purposely directing the eruption towards the mainland where civil war is about to erupt. Nisard normally trounces Lucan; yet in a phrase of the latter's prodigy description, venientes comminus umbrae,²⁹ he is willing to concede superiority over Virgil, because the phrase corresponds to his own dreams. But it seems possible that even this detail was to be found in Livy.

Comparison has been made by several writers between the Hercules-Antaeus struggle in Lucan IV and the Hercules-Cacus story in the Aeneid. There are obvious parallels of situation, but little verbal similarity. Perhaps in this case the main source was a Roman adaptation of one of the episodic Heracleids of which Aristotle (Poet. 1451a) complains.

We have already seen that there is much worth comparing between Aeneid VI and Lucan VI. The question remains whether there is more borrowing of language here than elsewhere. Despite the many parallels given by Heitland, perhaps there is not. The sources clearly included Odyssey XI and Lucan's own poem on the Underworld already mentioned as well as Virgil; and there is no overall pattern taken over from Aeneid VI. But there is a fair amount of wording in common. Lucan vi.378-80 has

both Stygiis...paludibus and timorem (fear by the gods) where Aen. vi.323-4 has Stygiamque paludem and di...iurare timent. Lucan's words in vi.658 exanimi defixum lumina vultu are borrowed from Aen. vi.156 maesto defixus lumina vultu. Cerberus to Lucan was no doubt just another monstrosity of popular superstition; yet the poet makes Erichthod describe him in very Virgilian terms:

villosaque colla colubris
Cerberus excutiens (vi.664 f.)

for Virgil has, of the Sibyl watching Cerberus, horrere videns iam colla colubris (Aen. vi.419). In the enumeration of heroes (Republican only in Lucan) Camillum comes in each poet at the end of the line after that in which they have Decios, though in Lucan Drusos comes ten lines later³⁰. These are similarities, but there are also contrasts: thus Virgil makes Anchises qualify his prophecy of the civil war rivals with si lumina vitae attigerint (vi.828 f.), while the corpse in Lucan says, of the same two, ducibus tantum de funere pugna est (vi.811). And is it not rather an odd coincidence that the 165th line of each sixth book, Aen. vi.165 and Lucan vi.166 (the enumeration of lines is disturbed by a spurious line), are on the same topic and have endings respectively Martemque accendere cantu and succendunt classica cantu?

Along with the possible anti-Vergilian tendency already mentioned, there is some similarity of language between the seventh books of each poem, as shown by Heitland. Lucan vii.131 f. advenisse diem qui fatum rebus in aevum conderet humanis reminds us of Aen. vii.144 f. (here, as not infrequently, a similar distance through the book) rumor advenisse diem quo debita moenia condant. Moreover the preparations for the battle of Pharsalia are similar to Virgil's preparation passage, except that as usual in such borrowings Lucan abandons alliterative effects. The phrase omen erat following an infinitive is rare and thus very likely a conscious borrowing³¹. But these are details, and in general the two books are more noticeable for differences than similarities. To take one point, in Virgil the speeches that matter in Book VII are made by goddesses, not generals.

In Lucan IX an example of a limited amount of sustained borrowing is analysed by Miss Thompson and Bruère³². Caesar's visit to Troy after the battle of Pharsalia, postponed presumably for greater dramatic effect until after Cato's march through the Western Desert, is described in terms suggestive of Aeneas's visit to the future site of Rome. Although there is certainly both parallelism and contrast of situation, there is less verbal reminiscence than the authors would claim. Thus they say 'the assonance Hercules/Herceas may not be accidental'; but Hercules in the nominative will not go into a hexameter, and in fact Virgil uses the homonym Alcides. Moreover in comparing wording one must go by sound as well as derivation; and inplevit preserves little of the sound of expleri.

The treatment of storms by the various epic writers, has been adequately covered by Morford and others; in this field Lucan clearly owes much to declamation as well as to his epic predecessors. In geographical descriptions, such as that of the Po or the Straits of Messina, he deliberately incorporates scientific explanations, as we found in connection with prodigies.

- 633-5 tum vero et gemitus morientum et sanguine* in alto
armaque corporaque et permixti* caede virorum
semianimes* volvuntur equi ...
- 638-40 quo sonipes ictu furit arduus altaque iactat
vulneris impatiens arrecto pectore* crura,
volvitur ille excussus humi.

Table II

Lucan iii

- 516-7 nec non et Graia iuventus
omne suum fatis voluit committere robur.
- 526-7 Caesaris hinc puppes, hinc Graio remige classis
tollitur; impulsae tonsis tremuere carinae,
crebraque sublimes convellunt verbera puppes.
- 538-41 ut tantum medii fuerat maris, utraque classis
quod semel excussis posset transcurrere tonsis,
innumerae vasto miscentur in aethere voces,
remorumque sonus premitur clamore* ...
- 545-6 aëra texerunt ... emissaque tela*
- 549-52 ut, quotiens aestus Zephyris Eurisque repugnat,
huc abeunt fluctus, illo mare, sic ubi puppes
sulcato uarios duxerunt gurgite* tractus,
quod tulit illa ratis remis, haec rettulit aequor.
- 572-7 cruor altus in unda
spumat, et obducti concreto sanguine* fluctus.
et quas inmissi traxerunt vincula ferri,
has prohibent iungi conferta cadavera puppes.
semianimes* alii vastum subiere profundum
hauseruntque suo permixtum* sanguine* pontum.
- 587-91 terga simul pariter missis et pectora* telis
transigitur; medio concurrit pectore* ferrum,
et stetit incertus, flueret quo volnere, sanguis,
donec utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas
divisitque animam sparsitque in volnere letum.
- 588 corpore Ieverus (v. Housman).

709-11 stantem sublimi Tyrrhenum* culmine prorae
Lygdamus, excussae Balearis tortor habenae,
glante petens solido fregit cava tempora plumbo.

NOTES

1. A recent verdict based on metrical considerations is that of G.E. Duckworth, 'Studies in Latin Hexameter Poetry', TAPA 97 (1966), 67-113 (quotation from p. 108): 'The Culex, with its striking metrical similarities to the Eclogues, could be and probably is a youthful work of Vergil; there are also differences which are difficult to explain if the Culex is the work of a later forger imitating Vergil's technique'.
2. C. Vitelli, 'Sulla composizione e pubblicazione della Farsaglia', SFIC 8 (1900), 33-72; K.F.C. Rose, 'Problems of Chronology in Lucan's Career', TAPA 97 (1966), 379-96.
3. Inf. iv. 88-90.
4. Lucan, ed. C.H. Haskins (London, 1887), introd. by W.E. Heitland, p. cx.
5. C. Merivale, 'A History of the Romans under the Empire', vii (1862), 276. He is more correct in writing: 'He venerates no master; he follows no model'.
6. 1966 ed., s.v. Lucan.
7. De ratione, quae inter Vergilium et Lucanum intercedat, quaestiones selectae (diss., Leipzig, 1907).
8. J.M.N.D. Nisard, Études de moeurs..., ii. 282.
9. A. Guillemin, 'L' inspiration virgilienne dans la "Pharsale"', REL 29 (1951), 214-27.
10. See also Lynette Thompson and R.T. Bruère, 'Lucan's Use of Virgilian Reminiscence', CPh 63 (1968), 1-21, esp. p. 18.
11. R.G. Austin, 'Ille ego', CQ n.s. 18 (1968), 109-15, shows that the language of Aen. i. 1b-1d is open to criticism. The present writer believes that this indicates not a fabrication but a faulty reminiscence, after Virgil's death, of four lines written by Virgil and deleted by his executors.
12. O.A.W. Dilke, 'Do Line Totals in the Aeneid show a Preoccupation with Significant Numbers?' CQ n.s. 17 (1967), 322-6. There seems to be no parallel in Lucan to Virgil's evident preoccupation with such numbers.
13. E. Paratore, Storia delle letteratura latina (Florence, 1951), 601.
14. H. Haffler, 'Dem schwanken Zünglein lauschend wachte Cäsar dort', Mus.Helv. 14 (1957), 118-26.

15. Geo. iii. 16. Virgil modified his plans for writing about Augustus, but not this architectural feature.
16. If this is true, it follows that Lucan did not, despite M.P.O. Morford, The Poet Lucan (Oxford, 1967), p. 66, intend his Nekyia to be central to his poem.
17. E. Fraenkel, 'Lucan als Mittler des antiken Pathos', Vorträge d. Bibl. Warburg 1924-5 (publ. 1927), pp. 229-57, esp. 236-7.
18. R.J. Getty, 'Neopythagoreanism in Lucan', TAPA 91 (1960), 310-23.
19. O. Schönberger, 'Zur Komposition des Lucan', Hermes 85 (1957), 251-4.
20. For details see G.E. Duckworth, 'Five Centuries of Latin Hexameter Poetry: Silver Age and Late Empire', TAPA 98 (1967), 77-150.
21. C. Hosius, 'De imitatione scriptorum Romanorum, imprimis Lucani', in Festschr. d. Univ. Greifswald (1907), pp. 1-32; id., 'Lucan und seine Quellen', RhM 48 (1893), 380-97).
22. H.P. Syndikus, Lucans Gedicht vom Bürgerkrieg (diss., Munich, 1958), p. 31, nn. 7-8.
23. Ibid., p. 39.
24. Caspari, ibid., p. 41, doubted the borrowing from Virgil, claiming it was 'appellationem magis quam nomen proprium'. But (a) he did not spot the verbal reminiscences from Aeneid XI in Lucan III, (b) the name occurs in the same part of the line, immediately after the caesura.
25. E.E. Duncan-Jones, Notes & Queries 201 (1956), 249. The idea occurred to the present writer independently.
26. Ann. 501-2 Warmington = 472-3 Vahlen, 3rd ed.
27. Statius, Theb. ix. 292-5, varies the effect by making Hippomedon kill one brother and spare the other, saying solus abi, miseros non decepture parentes.
28. Pages 4-5 of article quoted in n. 10; cf. O.A.W. Dilke, 'Lucan's Political Views and the Caesars', forthcoming chapter in a volume of Studies in Latin Literature and its Influence.
29. Lucan i. 570; Nisard, op. cit., ii. 299.
30. Aen. vi. 824 f.; Lucan vi. 785 f., 795.
31. Aen. vii. 173 f.; Lucan vii. 340 f.
32. Pages 16-20 of article quoted in n. 10.
33. Face the title of Brooks Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet (Cambridge, 1966), and his main theme that the Metamorphoses is an epic.