

1. Parallel Synopsis of Caesar's and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*

Lucan books 1-4 cover events in Caesar books 1-2

Lucan books 5-10 cover events in Caesar book 3

Caesar <i>Bellum Civile</i>	Lucan <i>Bellum Civile</i>
BOOK 1: Causes and grievances 1.1-6	BOOK 1: Causes and grievances 1.1-182
	Caesar crosses the Rubicon 1.183-227
At Ariminum: addresses troops, meets tribunes 1.7-10	At Ariminum: meets tribunes, addresses troops 1.228-391
	Caesar's troops summoned to Italy (catalog of Gauls) 1.392-465
At Auximum 1.11-13	
Panic in Rome; Senators flee 1.14	Omens, portents, auguries of war 1.466-695
	BOOK 2: Omens, portents, auguries continued 2.1-66
	Reminiscences of previous civil strife: Marius, Sulla 2.67-233
	Cato, Brutus, Marcia 2.234-391
	Pompey at Capua; geographical excursus 2.392-438
Caesar moves successfully through northern Italy 1.15	Caesar moves through northern Italy 2.439-477
Caesar takes Corfinium, pardons senators 1.16-23	Caesar takes Corfinium, pardons Domitius 2.478-525
	Pompey addresses troops 2.526-609
Caesar sieges Brundisium, Pompey sails to Greece 1.24-29	Caesar sieges Brundisium, Pompey sails to Greece 2.610-736
	BOOK 3: Pompey sails to Greece, dreams of Julia's ghost 3.1-45
Curio sent to Sicily, others stationed elsewhere 1.30-31	Curio sent to Sicily to secure grain supply 3.46-70
Caesar at Rome, speech, obstructed by Lucius Metellus 1.32-33	Caesar at Rome, Metellus opposes Caesar at treasury 3.71-168
	Catalog of Pompey's eastern allies 3.169-297
Caesar rejected at Massilia 1.34-35	Caesar rejected at Massilia 3.298-374
Domitius arrives; siege begins, Caesar heads for Spain 1.36	Siege of Massilia, Caesar himself heads to Spain 3.375-455
<i>Spanish campaign: Ilerda 1.37-55</i>	
Sea battle at Massilia 1.56-58	Sea battle at Massilia 3.456-762
Spanish campaign: Ilerda (cont.) 1.59-61	BOOK 4: <i>Spanish Campaign: Ilerda 4.1-147</i>
Afranius & Petreius desert Ilerda; Caesar chases and captures army 1.61-87	Afranius & Petreius desert Ilerda; Caesar chases and captures army 4.148-401
BOOK 2: Siege and sea battle at Massilia 2.1-16	
Surrender of Varro to Caesar in Spain 2.17-21	Gaius Antonius trapped, troops suicide 4.402-581
Surrender of Massilia 2.22	Curio in Africa: Antaeus vs. Hercules story 4.582-660
Curio in Africa 2.23-44	Curio in Africa, falls in battle 4.661-824
BOOK 3: Jan 1, 48 BC: "Caesar as dictator holds elections" 3.1-2	
The results of Pompey's gathering of eastern allies 3.3-5	
	BOOK 5: Late December 49 BC: Senators convene senate in Epirus 5.1-65
	Appius goes to Delphi 5.66-236
	Caesar's troops complain, exemplary punishments 5.237-373
Caesar reaches Brundisium, sails over to Palaeste 3.6	March to Brindisium, stop at Rome, dictatorship and election, sails to Palaeste 5.374-460
Oricum, Apollonia and other Epirote communities submit freely to Caesar as consul 3.7-12	
Both sides encamped at the river Apsus, failed attempts at peace talks 3.13-19	Camped at Apsus 5.461-479

Troubled affairs in abandoned Rome 3.20-22	
	Caesar tries to cross in boat to Brundisium 5.480-677
Drama and turmoils of Antony getting troops across from Brundisium 3.23-30	Antony's ships and troops arrive 5.678-721
	Pompey sends wife Cornelia away to Lesbos 5.722-815
The harsh treatment of eastern subjects by Scipio 3.31-33	
Caesar converts other Greek communities to his side 3.34-35	
Engagements in Thessaly between forces under Cassius, Domitius, and Scipio 3.36-38	
Caesar leaves Oricum; harbor skirmishing with Gnaeus Pompeius 3.39-40	
Armies of Caesar and Pompey camped and engaged in battles at Dyrrachium 3.41-74	BOOK 6: Armies of Caesar and Pompey camped and engaged in battles at Dyrrachium 6.1-313
Caesar departs for Thessaly 3.75-81	Caesar departs for Thessaly 6.314-332
	Mythological ephraasis on Thessaly 6.333-412
	Sextus Pompeius and Erichtho the Thessalian witch 6.413-830
	BOOK 7: Dream of Pompey 7.1-44
	Republican army eager for battle, Cicero harangues Pompey 7.45-123
	Omens and forebodings 7.124-234
	Caesar strikes camp and addresses his troops 7.235-336
Pompey arrives in Thessaly, addresses troops, Republicans already planning for victory 3.82-83	Pompey addresses his troops 7.337-383
Battle of Pharsalus 3.84-93	Battle lines advance—Lucan cuts in with interpretive rhetorical excursus 7.387-459
[Caesar addresses troops 3.86; 90]	Battle is joined 7.460-646
Pompey flees his luxuriously laid-out camp 3.94-96	Pompey realizes defeat and retreats 7.647-727
Caesar deals with conquered camp and shores up victory 3.97-99	Caesar sits and feasts in glory amid bloody victory 7.728-872
Final engagements elsewhere 3.100-101	
Pompey's flight (with Caesar in pursuit) 3.102	BOOK 8: Pompey's flight (with much embellishment and narrative dilation) 8.1-455
Pompey goes to Egypt, is killed 3.103-104	Pompey goes to Egypt, is killed, eulogized to the skies 8.456-872
	BOOK 9: Apotheosis of Pompey, spirit lodges in breast of Cato 9.1-28
	Republican remnants unite in Africa 9.29-166
	Cornelia's laments, Cato's elegy, Cato drums up support for continuing war 9.167-293
	Cato marches against snakes and thirst 9.294-510
	Cato at Temple of Ammon 9.511-586
	Cato's march through the Sertes continues... 9.587-949
	Caesar visits Troy 9.950-1003
Caesar learns of portents experienced in Asia during battle 3.105	
Caesar goes to Alexandria, tries to settle succession dispute 3.106-108	Caesar reaches Alexandria, discovers Pompey has been killed, mourns for Pompey 9.1004-1108
	Caesar visits Alexander's tomb 10.1-52
	Caesar wines and dines with Cleopatra 10.53-331
Caesar gets embroiled in war with Alexandrians 3.109-112	Pothinas and Achillas raise war against Caesar 10.332-546
<i>Bellum Africanum</i> 22: Cato harangues Gnaeus Pompey with the high glory and example of his father	
88: Cato commits suicide after the battle of Thapsus	

2. The shifting signifier of *Libertas* (and the *res publica*)

A. Caesar *Bellum Civile* 1.22

se et populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret

that he might reassert the liberty of himself and the Roman people oppressed by a minority faction.

B. Lucan *Bellum Civile* 7.695-96

sed par quod semper habemus, / libertas et Caesar, erit.

but the match we will we always have will be **Liberty vs. Caesar**.

C. Cicero to Atticus 302 (about the abandoned letter to Caesar).

obsecro, abiciamus ista et **semiliberi** saltem simus; quod adsequemur et **tacendo et latendo**.

“For pity’s sake let us chuck all this nonsense, and be **half-free** at any rate. That we shall manage by **holding our tongues and lying low**.” (Bailey)

D. Cicero *Second Philippic* 113-14

habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ultra est, nondum recuperavit. habet quidem certe res publica adulescentis nobilissimos paratos defensores. quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes; tamen a re publica revocabuntur. et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris; sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. **pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello sed morte etiam repellendum.** [114] quod si se ipsos illi nostri **liberatores** e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt.

“Our country does not lack men to place in charge of its affairs. Wherever they are, they are our national defense, indeed our very nation. Rome has avenged itself: but it has not yet recovered. However, that there are young noblemen ready to leap to its defense is beyond doubt. They may choose to retire for a spell, seeking quiet, but Rome will call them back. **The name of peace is beautiful—and peace itself is a blessing. Yet peace and slavery are very different things. Peace is freedom tranquilly enjoyed, slavery is the worst of all evils, to be repelled, if need be, at the cost of war and even of death.** Even if those **liberators** of ours have withdrawn from our sight, they have left behind them the example of their deeds.” (M. Grant).

E. Petronius *Satyrica* 1.1-2

“Num alio genere Furiarum declamatores inquietantur, qui clamant: “Haec vulnera **pro libertate publica** excepti; hunc oculum pro vobis impendi: date mihi ducem, qui me ducat ad liberos meos, nam succissi poplites membra non sustinent”? Haec ipsa tolerabilia essent, si ad eloquentiam ituris viam facerent.

Is it some race of Furies that harass the declaimers who cry out: “These wounds I received **for public liberty**; this eye I have given up for you; bring me a guide to lead me to my children, since my knees cut out and can’t hold up my limbs”? Such stuff would be bearable if they made a path that led to eloquence.

F. Seneca de Clementia 4.2-3

Hic casus Romanae pacis exitium erit, hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas aget; **tam diu ab isto periculo aberit hic populus, quam diu sciet ferre frenos**, quos si quando abruperit vel aliquo casu discussos reponi sibi passus non erit, haec unitas et hic maximi imperii contextus in partes multas dissiliet, **idemque huic urbi finis dominandi erit, qui parendi fuerit**. 3. Ideo principes regesque et quocumque alio nomine sunt tutores status publici non est mirum amari ultra privatas etiam necessitudines; nam si sanis hominibus publica privatis potiora sunt, sequitur, ut is quoque carior sit, **in quem se res publica convertit**. Olim enim ita **se induit rei publicae Caesar, ut seduci alterum non posset sine utriusque pernicie**; nam et illi viribus opus est et huic capite.

Such a calamity would be the destruction of the Roman peace, such a calamity will force the fortune of a mighty people to its downfall. **Just so long will this people be free from that danger as it shall know how to submit to the rein**; but if ever it shall tear away the rein, or shall not suffer it to be replaced if shaken loose by some mishap, then this unity and this fabric of mightiest empire will fly into many parts, **and the end of this city’s rule will be one with the end of her obedience**. It is not strange that kings and princes and guardians of the public order, whatever different name they

bear, are held more dear even than those bound to us by private ties; for if men of sense put public interests above private, it follows that he too is dearer **upon whom the commonwealth centers**. At an earlier day, in fact, **Caesar so clothed himself with the commonwealth (*respublica*) that neither one could be withdrawn without the destruction of both**. For while a Caesar needs power, the state also needs a head.

3. The discourse of civic-moral virtues

A. Horace *Carmen Saeculare* 57-60

iam **Fides** et **Pax** et **Honos** et **Pudor**que
 priscus et neglecta redire **Virtus**
 audet, apparetque beata pleno
Copia cornu.

Now may **Faith** and **Peace** and **Honor** and **Shame**
 of old and neglected **Virtue** dare
 to return, and blessed with full horn
 may **Abundance** appear.

B. Petronius *Satyrical* 124.249-53

Pax prima ante alias niveos pulsata lacertos
 abscondit galea victum caput, atque relicto
 orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum.
 huic comes it submissa **Fides**, et crine soluto
Iustitia, ac maerens lacera **Concordia** palla.

Peace first before all, snowy arms beaten,
 hides in a helmet her conquered head, the world
 abandoned, fugitive she seeks Dis' implacable realm.
 Her partner comes, trampled **Faith**, and with loose locks
Justice, and grieving her torn dress **Concord**.

C. Augustus' *clupeum virtutis*

Senatus populusque Romanus Imp. Caesari Divi F. Augusto Cos. VIII dedit clupeum **virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis** erga deos patriamque

The senate and Roman people gave to Emperor son of the divine Caesar Augustus in his 8th consulship this shield of **virtue, clemency, justice, and piety** towards the gods and fatherland.

D. Seneca *de Clementia* 1.7-8

...omnibus tamen nunc civibus tuis et haec confessio exprimitur esse **felices** et illa nihil iam his accedere bonis posse, nisi ut perpetua sint. 8. Multa illos cogunt ad hanc confessionem, qua nulla in homine tardior est: **securitas** alta, adfluens, **ius** supra omnem iniuriam positum; observatur oculis **laetissima forma rei publicae**, cui ad **summam libertatem** nihil deest nisi pereundi licentia. 9. Praecipue tamen aequalis ad maximos imosque pervenit **clementiae** tuae admiratio; cetera enim bona pro portione fortunae suae quisque sentit aut exspectat maiora minoraque, ex **clementia** omnes idem sperant; nec est quisquam, cui tam valde innocentia sua placeat, ut non stare in conspectu **clementiam** paratam humanis erroribus gaudeat.

...and yet today your citizens one and all are constrained to confess that they are **happy**, and, too, that nothing further can be added to their blessings, except that these may last. Many facts force them to this confession, which more than any other a man is loath to make: **a security** deep and abounding, and **justice** enthroned above all injustice; before their eyes hovers the **fairest vision of a commonwealth** which lacks no element of **complete liberty** except the license of self-destruction. Above all, however, alike to the highest and the lowest, extends the same admiration for your quality of **mercy**; for although of other blessings each one experiences or expects a larger or smaller measure in proportion to his lot, yet from **mercy** men all hope to have the same; nor is there any man so wholly satisfied with his own innocence as not to rejoice that **mercy** stands in sight, waiting for human errors.