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SENECA'S HECUBA AND LUCAN'S CORNELIA

Although in Lucan's *De Bello Ciuili* the main protagonists are male[1], the function of the female figures in the epic is also significant and in recent years has attracted considerable attention from scholars[2]. In several of these studies the focus is on the models Lucan possibly used, and it stands to reason that these are usually sought in earlier elegiac poetry[3]. This article will concentrate on such a female figure in Lucan's epic. I shall be examining the literary persona of Cornelia, Pompey's fifth wife, but will set out to prove that for the creation of her literary figure Lucan did not restrict himself to the use of elegiac or epic allusions, which are, indeed, strong and clearly evident, but enriched her character with elements drawn from the genre of tragedy. More specifically, I shall argue that in order to better understand Cornelia's literary persona, especially as this is presented in the eighth and ninth books of Lucan's epic, it would be useful to consider the figure of Hecuba, as presented in Seneca's *Troades*, a work with which Lucan appears to be in dialogue. It is also worth noting, however, that in the particular tragedy the figure of Hecuba is enriched with nuances drawn from the relevant Greek and Roman tragedies (e.g. Euripides' *Hecuba* or *Troades* and Accius' *Hecuba* or *Troades*), as well as from the depiction of the Trojan queen in the

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[1] It is worth mentioning that this is the common practice in the epic genre, which praises the κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

[2] See e.g. L. Sannicandro, *I personaggi femminili del Bellum Civile di Lucano*, Rahden 2010 (Litora Classica 1); E.V. Mulhern, *Roma(na) Matrona*, in *CJ* 112 (2016-2017), pp. 432-459.

[3] For elegiac influence on Lucan's *De Bello Ciuili*, see e.g. U. Hübner, *Episches und Elegisches am Anfang des dritten Buches der Pharsalia*, in *Hermes* 112 (1984), pp. 227-239; R.R. Caston, *Lucan's Elegiac Moments*, in P. Asso (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 133-152; M. Matthews, *The Influence of Roman Love Poetry (and the Merging of Masculine and Feminine) in Lucan's Portrayal of Caesar in De Bello Civili 5. 476-497*, in *MD* 66 (2011), pp. 121-138; B.C. McCune, *Lucan's Militia Amoris: Elegiac Expectations in the Bellum Civile*, in *CJ* 109 (2013-2014), pp. 171-198; M. Russo, *Il pianto di Pompeo in Lucano (5, 737-738; 8, 107-108)*, in *Pan* 4 (2015), pp. 67-80; P.J. Burns, *Amor belli: Elegiac Diction and the Theme of Love in Lucan's Bellum Civile*, Diss. Fordham University 2016; C. Littlewood, *Elegy and Epic in Lucan's Bellum Ciuile*, in A. Keith-J. Edmondson (eds.), *Roman Literary Cultures: Domestic Politics, Revolutionary Poetics, Civic Spectacle*, Toronto 2016 (Phoenix, Suppl. 55), pp. 159-184; P. Esposito, *Dall'epitaffio al sogno: Dal Marcello di Properzio al Pompeo di Lucano*, in *Thersites* 5 (2017), pp. 37-52. Let us not forget that in the literature of the Imperial period the distance between the literary genres decreases, as their boundaries blur, and thus the epic is often seen to incorporate elements of other genres, even elegy; cfr. e.g. S. Tzounakas, *Further Programmatic Implications of Valerius Flaccus' Description of the Construction of the Argo (1.121-9)*, in *SO* 86 (2012), pp. 160-177, esp. at pp. 161-162, 170-171 and more generally on the issue of generic enrichment and generic interactions in Latin literature see, for instance, S.J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*, Oxford 2007 and T.D. Papanghelis-S.J. Harrison-S. Frangoulidis (eds.), *Generic Interfaces in Latin Literature: Encounters, Interactions and Transformations*, Berlin-Boston 2013 (Trends in Classics, Suppl. 20).

thirteenth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*[4], where echoes from the earlier tragedy are again strong[5].

Until now, the similarity between the two female figures has not received considerable attention, since for the interpretation of Cornelia's depiction in Lucan's work scholars have primarily turned to elegiac or epic intertexts. For example, Richard Bruère underlines that «Lucan's account of Cornelia contains many Virgilian reminiscences, especially of the pathetic scenes of the fourth *Aeneid*. Much more immediate, however, is the influence of Ovid. Lucan draws heavily upon the tale of Ceyx and Alcyone, which has to do with a situation similar to that in which Cornelia and Pompey find themselves, and his debt to several of the *Heroides* is more than incidental. Finally, in the few hundred lines with which we are concerned there occur themes and expressions taken from almost every part of the Ovidian corpus»[6]. David Kubiak investigates a parallel between Cornelia in Lucan's lines 9, 174-179 and Dido in *Aeneid* 4[7]. János Nagyillés argues that in Lucan's Cornelia there are possible references to both Catullus' and Ovid's narratives of the story of Ariadne in Naxos[8]. Lisa Sannicandro[9] links Cornelia both to Propertius' Arethusa and to Ovid's *Heroides* in general[10], while in her review of this book Katherine De Boer Simons[11] criticizes

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[4] For echoes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13 in Seneca's portrayal of Hecuba in his *Troades*, see e.g. E. HENRY, *Seneca's Hecuba*, in N. HORSFALL (ed.), *Vir bonus dicendi peritus: Studies in Celebration of Otto Skutsch's Eightieth Birthday*, London 1988 (BICS, Suppl. 51), pp. 44-52, esp. at pp. 46-50; F. STOK, *Modelli delle Troades di Seneca: Ovidio*, in *QCTC* 6-7 (1988-1989), pp. 225-242; C.V. TRINACTY, *Character is Destiny: Senecan Tragedy and Ovid*, Diss. Brown University 2007, pp. 131-157. More generally for the models of the particular Senecan play, see e.g. C.K. KAPNOUKAGIAS, Τὰ πρότυπα τῶν Τρωάδων τοῦ *L. Annaei Senecae*, Ἐν Ἀθήναις 1936; W.M. CALDER III, *Originality in Seneca's Troades*, in *CPh* 65 (1970), pp. 75-82; E. FANTHAM, *Seneca's Troades: A Literary Introduction with Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Princeton, New Jersey 1982, pp. 50-78; D.L. FREAS, *Escaping the Past: Seneca's Troades and the Literary Tradition*, Diss. University of California, Irvine 2010.

[5] Ovid's treatment of the tragic tradition in the episode of Hecuba (Ov. *met.* 13, 399-575) is discussed, among others, by P. VENINI, *L'Ecuba di Euripide e Ovidio, Met. XIII, 429-576*, in *RIL* 85 (1952), pp. 364-377 and J. WESTERHOLD, *Hecuba and the Performance of Lament on the Epic Stage (Ovid, Met. 13.399-575)*, in *Mouseion*[3] 11 (2011), pp. 295-315. More generally, for Ovid's treatment of his tragic models in his 'Little *Iliad*', see S. PAPAIOANNOU, *Redesigning Achilles: 'Recycling' the Epic Cycle in the 'Little Iliad': (Ovid, Metamorphoses 12.1-13.622)*, Berlin-New York 2007 (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 89), pp. 207-251.

[6] R.T. BRUÈRE, *Lucan's Cornelia*, in *CPh* 46 (1951), pp. 221-236 (the quotation is from p. 221). Cfr. also C. SALEMME, *Sul 'senso della storia' nella Pharsalia di Lucano*, in *BStudLat* 30 (2000), pp. 514-529, at p. 518; LITTLEWOOD, *art. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

[7] D.P. KUBIAK, *Cornelia and Dido (Lucan 9.174-9)*, in *CQ* 40 (1990), pp. 577-578. Cfr. also W.R. JOHNSON, *Momentary Monsters: Lucan and his Heroes*, Ithaca-London 1987 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 47), p. 84; M. SEEWALD, *Studien zum 9. Buch von Lucans Bellum Civile, mit einem Kommentar zu den Versen 1-733*, Berlin-New York 2008 (Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, N.F. 2), pp. 107-108, 112.

[8] J. NAGYILLÉS, *Cornelia auf Naxos*, in *AAntHung* 49 (2009), pp. 467-490 and J. NAGYILLÉS, *Cornelia Naxos szigetén*, in *Antik Tanulmányok* 54 (2010), pp. 215-237.

[9] SANNICANDRO, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-82.

[10] For the influence of Propertius' Arethusa (4, 3) on Lucan's Cornelia, see also G. ROSATI, *Il modello di Aretusa (Prop. IV 3): Tracce elegiache nell'epica del I sec. d. C.*, in *Maia* 48 (1996), pp. 139-155, esp. at pp. 144-153; CASTON, *art. cit.*, pp. 142-146. Cfr. also MCCUNE, *art. cit.*, esp. pp. 185-196, who notes the presence of typical elegiac *topoi*, especially from Propertius and Ovid's *Heroides*, in Lucan's portrayal of Pompey and Cornelia as figures of elegiac poetry, but rightly remarks that the epic poet thwarts the reader's expectation and inverts the elegiac situation and *topoi*.

Sannicandro for not discussing «the epic models for Cornelia's behavior, such as Andromache and the mother of Euryalus», already suggested by Alison Keith[12]. Epic models are also suggested by Lee Fratantuono, who remarks: «Indeed, Lucan's Cornelia with Pompey offers something of a reversal of the image of Virgil's Camilla with Turnus; Cornelia will be willing to fight and prepared to die, but will be deprived the opportunity»[13]. Most recently, Alessio Mancini[14] claims that Lucan's Cornelia embodies not only the literary model of Ovid's *Heroides* but also «the 'new' conception of elegiac love expressed by Ovid's poems from exile to his wife» and concludes: «This remarkable use of Ovidian intertext shows how the Augustan poet was for Lucan an essential model for his sorties in elegiac genre» (p. 373). Viewing the subject from another angle, E.V. Mulhern suggests that Cornelia serves as positive exemplar of virtuous Roman matrons and is identified with *Roma* and the *res publica*[15]. Antony Augoustakis underlines the «strong metaliterary message» of Cornelia's speech in Lucan's book 9 and suggests that with her «appropriation of the Pompeian voice» she «becomes the author of the remainder of the poem»[16]. Finally, let's mention that there are scholars who suspect that Cornelia is modelled on Lucan's own wife Polla Argentaria[17]. To my knowledge, the only scholar to have suggested a link between Cornelia and Hecuba is János Nagyillés, but in the two pages he dedicates to this subject he briefly mentions some possible echoes of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13 in Lucan and thus he links Lucan's Cornelia to Ovid's Hecuba, without any reference to Seneca's Hecuba or Senecan tragedy in general[18]. However, very recently the question of tragic influence on Lucan's Cornelia has begun to gain ground, since An-

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[11] K. De Boer Simons, Review of L. Sannicandro, *I personaggi femminili del Bellum Civile di Lucano*, Rahden 2010 (Litora Classica 1), in *BMCRev* 2015.03.15.

[12] A. Keith, *Lament in Lucan's Bellum Civile*, in A. Suter (ed.), *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*, Oxford-New York 2008, pp. 233-257, at pp. 236-237. For the lament of Euryalus' mother at Verg. *Aen.* 9, 481-497 as the model for Cornelia's speech in Lucan's lines 8, 639-661, see also R. Mayer, *Lucan, Civil War VIII, Edited with a Commentary*, Warminster 1981, pp. 159-160; G. Moretti, *Truncus ed altro: Appunti sull'immaginario filosofico e scientifico-didascalico nella Pharsalia*, in *Maia* 37 (1985), pp. 135-144, at pp. 138-139 n. 17.

[13] L. Fratantuono, *Madness Triumphant: A Reading of Lucan's Pharsalia*, Lanham 2012, p. 49 n. 36.

[14] A. Mancini, *Il modello inatteso: Pompeo, Cornelia e l'Ovidio dell'esilio*, in *RCCM* 58 (2016), pp. 373-381.

[15] Mulhern, *art. cit.*, pp. 432-459.

[16] A. Augoustakis, *Sine funeris ullo ardet honore rogus: Burning Pyres in Lucan and Silius Italicus' Punica*, in P. Asso (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, Leiden-Boston 2011, pp. 185-198, at p. 189. For this view he cites A.M. Keith, *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*, Cambridge-New York-Melbourne 2000 (Roman Literature and its Contexts), pp. 88-89 and M. Armisen-Marchetti, *Les liens familiaux dans le Bellum civile de Lucain*, in I. Gualandri-G. Mazzoli (eds.), *Gli Annei: Una famiglia nella storia e nella cultura di Roma imperiale. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Milano-Pavia, 2-6 maggio 2000*, Como 2003, pp. 245-258, at p. 255. Augoustakis, *art. cit.*, p. 190 also notes that, by her adoption of Pompey's call to his sons to continue fighting, «Cornelia reverses a famous example from the family of the Cornelii, the homonymous Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, when she tries to dissuade her son from the insanity of seeking the tribunate».

[17] See O. Schönberger, *Untersuchungen zur Wiederholungstechnik Lucans*, München 1968², p. 122; G. Viansino, *Studi sul Bellum Civile di Lucano*, Salerno 1974, p. 120; P. Von Moos, *Cornelia und Heloise*, in *Latomus* 34 (1975), pp. 1024-1059, at pp. 1025-1026; cfr. V. Hunink, *M. Annaeus Lucanus, Bellum Civile, Book III: A Commentary*, Amsterdam 1992, p. 44 n. 1, who notes that «there is no evidence to support this idea. It reflects an outdated tendency to explain a text using biographical information».

[18] J. Nagyillés, *Ovid-Allusionen bei Lucan*, in *ACD* 42 (2006), pp. 95-115, at pp. 109-111.

nemarie Ambühl investigated Cornelia's similarities with Apsyrtus, Medea, Argia and Euadne[19]. As I shall argue here, Seneca's Hecuba should also be taken into account.

The possibility of an implicit connection between Lucan's Cornelia and Seneca's Hecuba[20] is reinforced, to begin with, by the already established connection between the literary persona of Pompey in Lucan with that of Priam in earlier literature. The beheading and inglorious end of the Roman leader on the coast of Egypt was a devastating event for the Romans[21], which, for many, signified a reversal of fortune from glory to doom. Only a few years after the incident, Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* (1, 85-86) presents the event of Pompey's murder as an example of the loss of the latter's earlier happiness and links it to the example of Priam's murder, who, as Cicero supports, had he died sooner, would have not met this particular death, a claim later supported by other writers[22]. When Vergil in the second book of his *Aeneid* describes Priam's murder at the hands of Pyrrhus (Verg. *Aen.* 2, 506-558), he does so in a way which evokes in his readers Pompey's murder, as has already been noted by Servius. The latter, commenting on the phrase *iacet ingens litore truncus* in Vergil's line *Aen.* 2, 557, notes: *Pompei tangit historiam, cum 'ingens' dicit, non 'magnus'*[23]. Allegorical allusions to the death of the Roman general through implicit or explicit references to the death of Priam are also present in Seneca's drama, especially in the tragedies *Agamemnon* and *Troades*. As has already been demonstrated, Agamemnon's death in the eponymous tragedy and the explicit reference to his decapitated corpse (*truncus*), which is an innovation by Seneca, in lines Sen. *Ag.* 901-903: *habet, peractum est. pendet exigua male / caput amputatum parte et hinc trunco cruor / exundat, illinc ora cum fremitu iacent* implicitly evoke the deaths of both Priam, as described in Vergil's epic, and Pompey, who, according to historical sources, presented himself as a new

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[19] A. Ambühl, *Krieg und Bürgerkrieg bei Lucan und in der griechischen Literatur. Studien zur Rezeption der attischen Tragödie und der hellenistischen Dichtung im Bellum civile*, Berlin-München-Boston 2015 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 225), esp. pp. 123-124 and 276-285.

[20] For Seneca's and Lucan's Latin texts, I follow the editions of O. Zwierlein, *L. Annaei Senecae Tragoediae, Incertorum Auctorum Hercules [Oetaeus], Octavia*, Oxonii 1986 and D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Annaei Lucani, De Bello Civili, libri X*, Stutgardiae-Lipsiae 1997² respectively.

[21] For the literary depiction of Pompey's death in the later literature, see especially G. Brugnoli-F. Stok (eds.), *Pompei exitus: Variazioni sul tema dall'Antichità alla Controriforma*, Pisa 1996 (Testi e studi di cultura classica 15). More specifically on Lucan's treatment of this theme, see especially the contributions by P. Esposito, *La morte di Pompeo in Lucano, idid.*, pp. 75-123 and R. Scarcia, *Morte e (in)sepoltura di Pompeo, idid.*, pp. 125-147 as well as the secondary literature cited by S. Tzounakas, *Pompey as ludibrium pelagi in Lucan: A Horatian Reminiscence*, in *Eos* 101 (2014), pp. 219-226, at p. 220 n. 4.

[22] Cfr. also Cic. *div.* 2, 22 and see E. Narducci, *La provvidenza crudele: Lucano e la distruzione dei miti augustei*, Pisa 1979 (Bibliotheca di Studi Antichi 17), pp. 46-48; A.M. Bowie, *The Death of Priam: Allegory and History in the Aeneid*, in *CQ* 40 (1990), pp. 470-481, at pp. 474-475; M. Leigh, *Lucan: Spectacle and Engagement*, Oxford 1997 (Oxford Classical Monographs), pp. 119-120; F.R. Berno, *Un truncus, molti re: Priamo, Agamennone, Pompeo (Virgilio, Seneca, Lucano)*, in *Maia* 56 (2004), pp. 79-84, at p. 84 with n. 25; J. Mebane, *Pompey's Head and the Body Politic in Lucan's De bello civili*, in *TAPhA* 146 (2016), pp. 191-215, at p. 210 n. 66. For an excellent treatment of the parallelism between Priam and Pompey in various Latin authors, see G. Petrone, *La "fragile fortuna" di Priamo e Pompeo: Uno schema tragico d'interpretazione*, in *Maia* 60 (2008), pp. 51-63.

[23] On Priam and Pompey in Vergil's *Aeneid*, see especially Bowie, *art. cit.*, pp. 470-481 and more recently N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary*, Leiden-Boston 2008 (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 299), esp. pp. 389-391, 417-423.

Agamemnon[24]. In Seneca's *Troades* Priam is also referred to as *truncus* lying on the shores, i.e. in a way that evokes Vergil's Priam and by extension Pompey (138-141)[25]:

> *post elatos Hecubae partus*
> > *regumque gregem*
> *postrema pater funera cludis*
> *magnoque Ioui uictima caesus*
> *Sigea premis litora truncus.*

Even the verbal similarity between Vergil's *iacet ingens* **litore truncus** and Seneca's *premis* **litora truncus**, both at the end of the verse, is striking.

In Seneca's *Troades* there are some additional references to Priam that could further facilitate his link with Pompey, as I shall attempt to demonstrate in due course. However, the connection between Pompey and Priam is even stronger in Lucan[26], who describes the death of the Roman general echoing, to a great extent, the Vergilian[27] (and also the Senecan in my view) description of Priam's death. Lucan's emphasis on Pompey's advanced age and consequent slowness of movement, on his connection with the East, where he primarily enjoyed the military successes that led to his three triumphs and where he headed following Caesar's invasion of Italy, on his earlier happiness and his atrocious beheading, are all elements which facilitate this connection significantly.

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[24] See BERNO, *art. cit.*, pp. 79-84; P. ROCHE, *Lucan, De Bello Ciuili, Book I. Edited with a Commentary*, Oxford 2009, p. 387.

[25] See F. CAVIGLIA, *Lucio Anneo Seneca, Le Troiane: Introduzione, testo, traduzione e note*, Roma 1981 (Scriptores Latini 18), p. 232; FANTHAM, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230; A.J. BOYLE, *Seneca's Troades: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary*, Leeds 1994 (Latin and Greek Texts 7), p. 150; cfr. A.J. KEULEN, *L. Annaeus Seneca, Troades: Introduction, Text and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001 (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 212), p. 156; PETRONE, *art. cit.*, p. 52. More generally, for the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid* on Seneca's *Troades*, see e.g. A. ZISSOS, *Shades of Virgil: Seneca's Troades*, in *MD* 61 (2008), pp. 191-210; T. HANFORD, *Senecan Tragedy and Virgil's Aeneid: Repetition and Reversal*, Diss. The City University of New York 2014, esp. pp. 114-141, 164-165.

[26] See E. NARDUCCI, *Il tronco di Pompeo (Troia e Roma nella Pharsalia)*, in *Maia* 25 (1973), pp. 317-325; NARDUCCI, *op. cit.* (1979), pp. 43-54; E. NARDUCCI, *Ideologia e tecnica allusiva nella Pharsalia*, in *ANRW* II 32, 3 (1985), pp. 1538-1564, at pp. 1545-1547; S. HINDS, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Cambridge 1998 (Roman Literature and its Contexts), pp. 8-10; A. ROSSI, *The Aeneid Revisited: The Journey of Pompey in Lucan's Pharsalia*, in *AJPh* 121 (2000), pp. 571-591, at pp. 586-587; E. NARDUCCI, *Lucano: Un'epica contro l'impero: Interpretazione della Pharsalia*, Roma-Bari 2002 (Percorsi 34), pp. 111-116; BERNO, *art. cit.*, pp. 79-84; G. CHIESA, *La rappresentazione del corpo nel Bellum Civile di Lucano*, in *Acme* 58 (2005), pp. 3-43, at pp. 17-18; M. ERASMO, *Mourning Pompey: Lucan and the Poetics of Death Ritual*, in C. DEROUX (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XII*, Bruxelles 2005 (Collection Latomus 287), pp. 344-360, at p. 345; M. ERASMO, *Reading Death in Ancient Rome*, Columbus 2008, p. 110; PETRONE, *art. cit.*, pp. 51-63; TZOUNAKAS, *art. cit.* (2014), pp. 219-220.

[27] See especially HINDS, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10, who highlights the affinity between the Vergilian passage *Aen.* 2, 557-558: *iacet ingens litore truncus, / auulsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus* and Lucan's lines 1, 685-686: *hunc ego, fluminea deformis truncus harena / qui iacet, agnosco* and 8, 698-711: *litora Pompeium feriunt, / truncusque uadosis / huc illuc iactatur aquis. adeone molesta / totum cura fuit socero seruare cadauer? / hac Fortuna fide Magni tam prospera fata / pertulit, hac illum summo de culmine rerum / mota petit cladesque omnis exegit in uno / saeua die quibus immunes tot praestitit annos, / Pompeiusque fuit qui numquam mixta uideret / laeta malis, felix nullo turbante deorum / et nullo parcente miser; semel impulit illum / dilata Fortuna manu. pulsatur harenis, / carpitur in scopulis hausto per uulnera fluctu, / ludibrium pelagi, nullaque manente figura / una nota est Magno capitis iactura reuulsi.*

It follows that if in Lucan's epic Pompey's end undoubtedly recalls the earlier lit-erary descriptions of the death of the king of Troy, it is reasonable to assume that the wives of these two personas will have a similar connection. The literary figure of Hecuba is a classical tragic figure, as is the figure of Cornelia, and it is worth not-ing at this point that Lucan was determined not only to impart elements of tragic history to his narrative, as has already been noted by scholars[28], but also to enrich his work with elements and intimations of tragedy, especially those inspired by the works of Seneca[29]. Furthermore, Hecuba is a typical case of a lamenting persona[30] and thus offers an ideal model for Cornelia, who in Lucan's literary design is assigned

[28] See e.g. B.M. MARTI, *Tragic History and Lucan's Pharsalia*, in C. HENDERSON, Jr. (ed.), *Classical, Me-diaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman*, Vol. I, Roma 1964, pp. 165-204; G. PE-TRONE, *Metafora e tragedia: Immagini culturali e modelli tragici nel mondo romano*, Palermo 1996 (Nuovo Prisma 4); SALEMME, *art. cit.*, pp. 514-529; C. CODOÑER, *Los tres Annaei. La Farsalia trágica*, in I. GUALANDRI-G. MAZZOLI (eds.), *Gli Annei: Una famiglia nella storia e nella cultura di Roma imperiale. Atti del Convegno interna-zionale di Milano-Pavia, 2-6 maggio 2000*, Como 2003, pp. 303-326; G. PETRONE, *I prospera fata di Pompeo in Lucano*, in T. BAIER (ed.), *Götter und menschliche Willensfreiheit: Von Lucan bis Silius Italicus*, München 2012 (Zetemata 142), pp. 75-85; E. TOLA, *Gaze, Monstrosity, and the Poetics of History in Lucan*, in *Pan* 6 (2017), pp. 115-123.
[29] Lucan's debt to tragedy has recently been demonstrated by A. AMBÜHL, *Thebanos imitata rogos (BC 1,552): Lucans Bellum Civile und die Tragödien aus dem thebanischen Sagenkreis*, in C. WALDE (ed.), *Lucan im 21. Jahrhundert – Lucan in the 21st Century*, München-Leipzig 2005, pp. 261-294; A. AMBÜHL, *Lucan's 'Il-ioupersis' – Narrative Patterns from the Fall of Troy in Book 2 of the Bellum civile*, in N. HÖMKE-C. REITZ (eds.), *Lucan's Bellum civile: Between Epic Tradition and Aesthetic Innovation*, Berlin-New York 2010 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 282), pp. 17-38; P. ESPOSITO, *Su alcuni miti tragici in Lucano e nell'epica flavia*, in T. BAIER (ed.), *Götter und menschliche Willensfreiheit: Von Lucan bis Silius Italicus*, München 2012 (Zetemata 142), pp. 99-126; AMBÜHL, *op. cit.* (2015). For the influence of Seneca's tragedy in particular on Lucan's epic, see e.g. L. THOMPSON, *Lucan's Bellum Civile and the Tragedies of Seneca*, Diss. University of Chicago 1956; E. PARATORE, *Seneca e Lucano (Nel diciannovesimo centenario della morte). Conferenza tenuta nella seduta pubblica a classi riunite del 16 aprile 1966*, Roma 1966 (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei - Anno 363: Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura, Quaderni 88); E. PARATORE, *Seneca e Lucano, Medea ed Erichtho*, in E. PARATORE (ed.), *Romanae Litterae*, Roma 1976, pp. 585-595; P. GRIMAL, *Lucain et Sénèque. A propos d'une tempête*, in *CEA* 14 (1982) (=Mélanges offerts en hommage à Étienne Gareau), pp. 173-178, repr. in P. GRIMAL, *Rome. La littérature et l'Histoire*, Rome 1986 (Collection de l'École française de Rome 93), pp. 114-123; S. MARINER BIGORRA, *Séneca trágico en Lucano ¿o viceversa?*, in M. RENARD-P. LAURENS (eds.), *Hommages à Henry Bardon*, publiés sous les auspices de l'Institut de Latin de l'Université de Poitiers, Bruxelles 1985 (Collection Latomus 187), pp. 262-276; J.M. REQUEJO PRIETO, *Las tragedias de Séneca y la Farsalia*, in M. RODRÍGUEZ-PANTOJA (ed.), *Séneca dos mil años después: Actas del congreso internacional conmemorativo del bimi-lenario de su nacimiento (Córdoba, 24 a 27 de septiembre de 1996)*, Córdoba 1997, pp. 591-597; L. CASTAGNA, *Lucano e Seneca: Limiti di una aemulatio*, in I. GUALANDRI-G. MAZZOLI (eds.), *Gli Annei: Una famiglia nella storia e nella cultura di Roma imperiale. Atti del Convegno internazionale di Milano-Pavia, 2-6 maggio 2000*, Como 2003, pp. 277-290; S. STUCCHI, *Le parole del potere: Ragion di stato ed etica dei governanti in Sen. Thyest. 204 sgg. e Luc. Phars. 8, 842 sgg.*, in L. CASTAGNA-C. RIBOLDI (eds.), *Amicitiae templa serena. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Aricò*, vol. II, Milano 2008, pp. 1523-1543; ROCHE, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28; A. CANOBBIO, *Rupto foedere regni: Il proemio di Lucano e le Phoenissae di Seneca*, in *Athenaeum* 101 (2013), pp. 555-568; cfr. also N.B. PAN-DEY, *Dilemma as a Tragic Figure of Thought in Lucan's Bellum Ciuile*, in *ICS* 39 (2014), pp. 109-138, who un-derlines that in Lucan's epic «dilemma resonates with Senecan tragedy to create generic dissonances within the epic and polarize readers' responses to Roman history» (p. 109).
[30] For Hecuba as a typical lamenting person, see PAPAIOANNOU, *op. cit.*, p. 249; WESTERHOLD, *art. cit.*, pp. 295-315.

a similar role[31], at least in the eighth and ninth books. Thus, as Seneca's *Troades* is a work where Priam's death is described in detail and Hecuba plays a significant role here (along with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13, which, however, is echoed in Seneca's tragedy), and since Lucan was familiar with the particular tragedy of his uncle[32], the likelihood of an intertextual connection between the two works becomes exceptionally strong.

This does not mean that Lucan ignores or neglects Hecuba's presence in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 13. As we shall see, there are cases which clearly demonstrate Ovid's influence. However, I think that two arguments indicate that, apart from Ovid's, Lucan also exploited Seneca's depiction of Hecuba, which seems to have exercised more influence on his Cornelia: first, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Priam's death is not described, while it is described extensively in Seneca's *Troades*, which appears as a model for Lucan's description of the death of Pompey. Second, Lucan's relevant passages are imbued with Stoic thoughts and ideas, which are also present in Seneca's tragedy, but are absent from Ovid's description.

To be more precise, the possibility of Seneca's influence is reinforced by the fact that the description of Pompey's murder in Lucan is structured in a way which, at least in parts, is more reminiscent of the description of Priam's murder in Seneca's *Troades* than that in Vergil's *Aeneid*. Lucan, for example, at 8, 613-636 describes Pompey receiving the deathly blow with forbearance and stoicism, heading towards death resolutely. Indicative of the above are the phrases 8, 619-621: *nullo gemitu consensit ad ictum / respexitque nefas, seruatque immobile corpus, / seque probat moriens*; 8, 626-627: *ignorant populi, si non in morte probaris, / an scieris aduersa pati*; 8, 629-632: *spargant lacerentque licebit, / sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas / hoc auferre deo. mutantur prospera uita, / non fit morte miser*; 8, 633-634: *tanto patientius, oro, / claude, dolor, gemitus*; 8, 635-636: *talis custodia Magno / mentis erat, ius hoc animi morientis habebat*. In this aspect, Lucan is reminiscent of Seneca and Hecuba's description of Priam facing death stoically in lines 44-54 of Seneca's *Troades* (something absent from Vergil's description, while, as already mentioned, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the scene of Priam's death does not feature at all):

> *uidi execrandum regiae caedis nefas*
> *ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus,*
> *Aeacius armis cum ferox, saeua manu*
> *coma reflectens regium torta caput,*
> *alto nefandum uulneri ferrum abdidit;*
> *quod penitus actum cum **recepisset libens**,*
> *ensis senili siccus e iugulo redit.*
> *placare quem non potuit a caede effera*
> *mortalis aeui cardinem extremum premens*
> *superique testes sceleris et quoddam sacrum*
> *regni iacentis?*

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[31] Cornelia's lamentation in Lucan's epic is analyzed by KEITH, *art. cit.*, pp. 233-257.

[32] See e.g. THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95, 212-217 and *passim*; AMBÜHL, *art. cit.* (2010), pp. 26, 31, 33-34, 37 and *passim*; G. PETRONE, *Troia senza futuro: Il ruolo del secondo coro nelle Troades di Seneca*, in F. GASTI (ed.), *Seneca e la letteratura greca e latina, Per i settant'anni di Giancarlo Mazzoli. Atti della IX Giornata Ghisleriana di Filologia classica (Pavia, 22 ottobre 2010)*, Pavia 2013, pp. 83-96, at pp. 89-90.

In Seneca's passage Priam receives the mortal blow gladly (*libens*). The desire for death, which in the work is also evident in the cases of Andromache, Polyxena and Hecuba, recalls Stoic thought, in which death is considered to be a possible means by which the individual may ensure internal freedom and not as something bad[33]. It is worth noting, in fact, that the verbal choice of *libens* additionally encapsulates nuances of the notion of *libertas*, which, according to the Stoics, an individual may achieve through death[34]. The Stoic atmosphere is also reinforced by the presence of *recepisset*. This verb is often found in the context of gladiators in connection with the mortal stroke[35]. The use of a gladiatorial metaphor echoes a frequent and familiar experience in Seneca's time, and furthermore it is worth noting that it is also a common metaphor in Stoic philosophical thought, where the indifferent stance of the Stoic *sapiens* towards death is compared to that of a gladiator[36]. One could therefore hypothesize that in his attempt to describe Pompey's death in a manner reminiscent of the death of Priam, Lucan found in Seneca's description elements that facilitated his aim and thus skilfully incorporated them in his own description. As a result, not only does his own Pompey recall the Priam of Seneca's *Troades,* but his Cornelia also acquires characteristics pointing to the Hecuba of the Senecan tragedy.

Another passage which significantly supports the likelihood of an intertextual dialogue between the two poets is to be found in lines 54-56 of Seneca's *Troades*:

> *ille tot regum parens*
> *caret* **sepulcro** *Priamus et* **flamma** *indiget*
> *ardente Troia.*

Here Hecuba is addressing the fact that Priam was deprived of a grave and was not granted the honour of a funerary pyre, even though Troy was burning. This reference of Hecuba's is in accordance with Cornelia's situation in Lucan's epic, as she too has to confront the fact that her husband did not receive a suitable burial, or the prescribed funerary honours. Thus, it could be claimed that in Seneca's tragedy the epic poet found a parallel which allowed him to develop his own standpoint as to the tragic situation that ensued, to connect Pompey, yet again, with the literary figure of Priam and to depict Cornelia in a way which recalls Troy's tragic queen. Lines 9, 51-56 are a characteristic example of this, showing Cornelia grieving the lost opportunity to bury the headless body of her husband and cremate his remains:

> *Nam, postquam frustra precibus Cornelia nautas*
> *priuignique fugam tenuit, ne forte repulsus*
> *litoribus Phariis remearet in aequora truncus,*
> *ostenditque rogum non iusti* **flamma sepulchri**,

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[33] See Fantham, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216; cfr. Keulen, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[34] This central Stoic idea is fundamental in the poetic and philosophical works of Seneca and is reflected in the entire text of the *Troades*. Characteristic examples of such a death are those of Socrates and Cato, who are often cited as examples by writers of Stoic philosophical leanings. See Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[35] See Fantham, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Boyle, *op. cit.*, p. 141; cfr. Keulen, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

[36] For the gladiatorial imagery in Stoic philosophy, see e.g. S. Tzounakas, *Stoic Implications in the Exordium of Cicero's Pro Milone*, in *Sileno* 34 (2008), pp. 179-190, at p. 188 and S. Tzounakas, *The Gladiatorial Exemplum in the Peroration of Cicero's Pro Milone*, in *Mediterranean Chronicle* 2 (2012), pp. 51-60, esp. at pp. 55-57.

> *'ergo indigna fui,' dixit 'Fortuna, marito*
> *accendisse rogum*

The similarities in the choice of vocabulary are also noteworthy, as the word *flamma* is found in both works, while Seneca's phrase *caret sepulcro* corresponds to Lucan's phrase *non iusti sepulchri*[37].

The passage consisting of lines LVCAN. 8, 739-742 seems to move in the same direction, where Cordus, the person who buried Pompey perfunctorily, addresses Cornelia's absence from the funerary ceremony:

> **sit satis, o superi**, *quod non Cornelia fuso*
> *crine iacet subicique facem complexa maritum*
> *imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti*
> *infelix coniunx nec adhuc a litore longe est.*

At this point it is also worth noting that Lucan's phrase 8, 739: *sit satis, o superi* corresponds to the phrase **Non tamen superis sat est** in line SEN. *Tro*. 56 and that both poets stress the gods' hostile stance towards both Pompey and Priam.

Referring to Pompey's murder, the epic narrator in Lucan's epic describes the Roman general thinking in his breast of himself as happy (*felix*) and not wretched by death (*morte miser*). He is presented to be asking himself to show endurance and not to allow his pain to cause him to groan. He feels that his wife and son are watching him and, if they admire him, prefer to see him dead (8, 629-635):

> *spargant lacerentque licebit,*
> *sum tamen, o superi,* **felix**, *nullique potestas*
> *hoc auferre deo. mutantur prospera uita,*
> *non fit* **morte miser**. *uidet hanc Cornelia caedem*
> *Pompeiusque meus: tanto patientius, oro,*
> *claude, dolor, gemitus: gnatus coniunxque peremptum,*
> *si mirantur, amant.*

This passage strongly recalls Hecuba's words in lines SEN. *Tro*. 142-145, where, in similar tone, she claims that Priam is now happy (*felix*) and that his death is not pitiful[38] and for this reason she calls upon the Trojan women to direct their mourning onto another subject:

> *Alio lacrimas flectite uestras:*
> *non est Priami* **miseranda** *mei*
> **mors**, *Iliades.*
> **'Felix** *Priamus' dicite cunctae*

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[37] Cfr. MARINER BIGORRA, *art. cit*., p. 271, who links Seneca's lines *Tro*. 55-56 with Lucan's lines 8, 713-714: *Pompeio raptim tumulum Fortuna parauit, / ne iaceat nullo uel ne meliore sepulchro*. Cfr. also Cornelia's words in Lucan's lines 9, 62-63: *sine funeris ullo / ardet honore rogus*.

[38] For the consolatory *topos* of *mors opportuna* in Hecuba's words here, see PETRONE, *art. cit*. (2008), pp. 53-54. She also remarks an analogy between the particular passage of Seneca's *Troades* and Cato's eulogy of Pompey at LVCAN. 9, 208-210: *o felix, cui summa dies fuit obuia uicto / et cui quaerendos Pharium scelus obtulit enses. / forsitan in soceri potuisses uiuere regno.*

Seneca's passage, in turn, brings to mind Ovid's lines *met.* 13, 519-522[39], where Hecuba is also expressing the thought that Priam is happy because of his death, as in this way he did not have to witness the troubles that followed:

> *quis posse putaret*
> **felicem** *Priamum post diruta Pergama dici?*
> *felix* **morte** *sua est! nec te, mea nata, peremptam*
> *adspicit et uitam pariter regnumque reliquit.*

Some lines earlier (SEN. *Tro.* 44-45) Seneca also mentions that Hecuba witnessed the king's slaughter:

> **uidi** *execrandum regiae* **caedis** *nefas*
> *ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus*

Cornelia also witnessed the murder of her husband in Lucan's epic. The vocabulary used in the above passage of Seneca's bears striking similarities with that used by Lucan in the phrase **uidet** *hanc Cornelia* **caedem** of line 8, 632.

The case concerning an intertextual dialogue between the two poets appears to be reinforced by further arguments, such as further analogies in the roles played by the particular female literary figures, as well as evident literary allusions.

In Lucan's epic, Cornelia is skilfully associated with Rome, at least in Pompey's mind. The case of lines 8, 129-133: *'nullum toto mihi' dixit 'in orbe / gratius esse solum non paruo pignore uobis / ostendi: tenuit nostros hac obside Lesbos / affectus; hic sacra domus carique penates, / hic mihi Roma fuit* offers a characteristic example. Here Pompey, though rejecting the plea of the inhabitants of Mytilene to remain on their island, states that for the duration of Cornelia's stay there, he felt as though Rome itself was there. Thus Pompey's love for Cornelia makes him identify his wife with Rome and moves in an opposite direction to Vergilian models, such as that of *pietas* and Aeneas' *amor* for his homeland[40], as well as to Lentulus' traditional republican view that Rome is where the Senate is[41].

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[39] Cfr. also VERG. *Aen.* 3, 320-323: *deiecit uultum et demissa uoce locuta est: / 'o felix una ante alias Priameia uirgo, / hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis / iussa mori.* For Seneca's Vergilian and Ovidian models here, see e.g. B.M. MARIANO, *Maius ex magno malum: dalle Troadi di Euripide alle Troadi di Seneca*, in C. PACATI (ed.), *Poeti romani e modelli greci: A ricordo di Rossana Arnone*, Bergamo 2005 (Quaderni del Sarpi 7), pp. 193-208, at p. 199 with n. 7, who additionally notes that «Seneca, che riprende modelli virgiliani e ovidiani, introduce qui un pensiero di derivazione platonico-pitagorica, da lui stesso ripreso più volte nella *Consolazione a Marcia*». For the motif of *makarismos* in both Seneca's and Ovid's passages and their intertextual connection, see BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 150; KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 156; TRINACTY, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146; S. AUDANO, *La consolatio del nulla. Note al secondo coro delle Troades senecane*, in M.M. BIANCO-A. CASAMENTO (eds.), *Novom aliquid inventum: Scritti sul teatro antico per Gianna Petrone*, Palermo 2018 (Atti e Convegni), pp. 33-50, at pp. 45-46. However, apart from their similarities, Seneca's and Ovid's versions also present remarkable differences, which are noted by HENRY, *art. cit.*, p. 48.

[40] See L. THOMPSON, *A Lucanian Contradiction of Virgilian pietas: Pompey's amor*, in *CJ* 79 (1983-1984), pp. 207-215, at pp. 212-213; cfr. R. UTARD, *Pompée sous le regard de Cornélie: pour quelle image du héros?*, in O. DEVILLERS-S. FRANCHET D'ESPÈREY (eds.), *Lucain en débat. Rhétorique, poétique et histoire. Actes du Colloque international, Institut Ausonius (Pessac, 12-14 juin 2008)*, Bordeaux 2010 (Études 29), pp. 179-191, at pp. 187-188; MULHERN, *art. cit.*, pp. 432-459.

[41] LVCAN. 5, 27-29: *Tarpeia sede perusta / Gallorum facibus Veiosque habitante Camillo / illic Roma fuit*; see S. TZOUNAKAS, *The Dialogue between the Mytileneans and Pompey in Lucan's De Bello Civili (8, 109-158)*, in *Minerva* 25 (2012), pp. 149-165, at pp. 156-157.

Hecuba's case is no different, as from the very first four lines of Seneca's *Troades* Hecuba identifies herself with Troy[42] and believes that both herself and her city are proof that happiness cannot be trusted:

> *Quicumque regno fidit et magna potens*
> *dominatur aula nec leues metuit deos*
> *animumque rebus credulum laetis dedit,*
> **me uideat et te, Troia**

It follows that the association of Hecuba and Cornelia with Troy and Rome respectively leads to the thought that both women represent their cities, a fact which makes the analogy between them even clearer.

In both works, both Hecuba and Cornelia are presented as having to face the adversity of the divine forces and the fate respectively[43]. Let's see, for example, the case of lines SEN. *Tro.* 28-33, where Hecuba calls to witness the divinity of the gods, which is hostile to her:

> *Testor* **deorum numen aduersum mihi**
> *patriaeque cineres teque rectorem Phrygum*
> *quem Troia toto conditum regno tegit,*
> *tuosque manes quo stetit stante Ilium,*
> *et uos meorum liberum magni greges,*
> *umbrae minores:*

and compare this passage with Lucan's lines 3, 20-23, where in Pompey's dream the ghost of Julia, his previous wife, asserts that Cornelia is condemned by fate to bring destruction to her husband:

> *coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos:*
> *fortuna est mutata toris, semperque potentis*
> *detrahere in cladem* **fato damnata** *maritos*
> *innupsit tepido paelex Cornelia busto.*

Both women also present and describe themselves as devastated following the murder of their husbands. At SEN. *Tro.* 42-48 Hecuba calls herself *infelix* and thinks on the recent grief, i.e. Priam's decapitation by Pyrrhus at the altar:

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[42] Cfr. e.g. HENRY, *art. cit.*, p. 47; TRINACTY, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 134; G. MAZZOLI, *Seneca, Troades: Paesaggio con rovine*, in M. BARATIN-C. LÉVY-R. UTARD-A. VIDEAU (eds.), *Stylus: La parole dans ses formes. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Jacquel Dangel*, Paris 2010 (Rencontres 11), pp. 347-369, at p. 350 with n. 2; G.W.M. HARRISON, *Seneca on the Fall of Troy*, in G.W.M. HARRISON (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Roman Tragedy*, Leiden-Boston 2015, pp. 118-150, who views Hecuba and the chorus «as a metaphor for the Fall of Troy, and its aftermath» (p. 118). As KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 76 remarks, the combination of Hecuba's and Troy's fall also occurs at OV. *met.* 13, 576-577: *Non uacat Aurorae, quamquam isdem fauerat armis, / cladibus et casu Troiaeque Hecabesque moueri.*

[43] Cfr. also OV. *met.* 13, 517-519: *quidue moror? quo me seruas, annosa senectus? / quo,* **di crudeles**, *nisi uti noua funera cernam, / uiuacem differtis anum?*, where Ovid's Hecuba also underlines the cruelty of the gods.

> *respice **infelix** ad hos*
> *luctus recentes: Troia iam uetus est malum.*
> *uidi execrandum regiae caedis nefas*
> *ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus,*
> *Aeacius armis cum ferox, saeua manu*
> *coma reflectens regium torta caput,*
> *alto nefandum uulneri ferrum abdidit*

Furthermore, she chooses the same adjective to characterize her soul at 963-965, when she is informed of the sacrifice of her daughter Polyxena:

> *dura et **infelix** age*
> *elabere anima, denique hoc unum mihi*
> *remitte funus*

The same adjective *infelix* is also used by Cornelia to characterize herself as wife, since she lost both of her husbands, Crassus and Pompey, at Lvcan. 8, 88-89:

> *o utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem*
> ***infelix** coniunx et nulli laeta marito.*

Besides, in exactly the same way (*infelix coniunx*) Cornelia is mentioned by Cordus, who buries Pompey's decapitated corpse, at 8, 739-742:

> *sit satis, o superi, quod non Cornelia fuso*
> *crine iacet subicique facem complexa maritum*
> *imperat, extremo sed abest a munere busti*
> ***infelix** coniunx nec adhuc a litore longe est.*

as well as by Cato at 9, 276-278, when he rebukes the soldiers who wanted to desert the defeated army and shames them:

> *rapiatur in undas*
> ***infelix** coniunx Magni prolesque Metelli,*
> *ducite Pompeios, Ptolemaei uincite munus.*

Finally, Cornelia is also characterized *infelix* by the epic narrator himself, when he describes her reaction to Pompey's decision to send her to Lesbos for safety at 5, 799-801:

> *Labitur **infelix** manibusque excepta suorum*
> *fertur ad aequoreas, ac se prosternit, harenas,*
> *litoraque ipsa tenet, tandemque illata carinae est.*

Apart from their own *infelicitas*, both Hecuba and Cornelia accuse themselves of bringing ill fortune. At Sen. *Tro.* 33-40 Hecuba declares that she is responsible for the disaster of Troy, since she gave birth to Paris[44]:

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[44] According to M. Wilson, *The Tragic Mode of Seneca's Troades*, in *Ramus* 12 (1983), pp. 27-60, at p. 49, by usurping responsibility for the overthrow of Troy, Hecuba «finds a perspective on events which restores to her a sense of control, and she clutches it».

> *quidquid aduersi accidit,*
> *quaecumque Phoebas ore lymphato furens*
> *credi deo uetante praedixit mala,*
> *prior Hecuba uidi grauida nec tacui metus*
> *et uana uates ante Cassandram fui.*
> *non cautus ignes Ithacus aut Ithaci comes*
> *nocturnus in uos sparsit aut fallax Sinon:*
> *meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis.*

In a similar way Cornelia underlines her belief that she brings doom to her husbands in the pathetic speech she delivers when she joins defeated Pompey on Lesbos at Lvcan. 8, 88-105:

> *o utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem*
> *infelix coniunx et nulli laeta marito.*
> *bis nocui mundo: me pronuba duxit Erinys*
> *Crassorumque umbrae, deuotaque manibus illis*
> *Assyrios in castra tuli ciuilia casus,*
> *praecipitesque dedi populos cunctosque fugaui*
> *a causa meliore deos. o maxime coniunx,*
> *o thalamis indigne meis, hoc iuris habebat*
> *in tantum Fortuna caput? cur impia nupsi,*
> *si miserum factura fui? nunc accipe poenas,*
> *sed quas sponte luam: quo sit tibi mollius aequor,*
> *certa fides regum totusque paratior orbis,*
> *sparge mari comitem. mallem felicibus armis*
> *dependisse caput: nunc clades denique lustra,*
> *Magne, tuas. ubicumque iaces ciuilibus armis*
> *nostros ulta toros, ades huc atque exige poenas,*
> *Iulia crudelis, placataque paelice caesa*
> *Magno parce tuo.*

It should not be forgotten that this speech deliberately echoes the same view on Cornelia's ill fortune and her ruinous actions that has already been presented by the ghost of Julia, Pompey's previous wife, at 3, 20-23[45].

Regarding this view, the conviction concerning Cornelia's misfortune also occurs in Plutarch's *Life of Pompey*[46], while, in all probability, the historical source for both writers, Lucan and Plutarch, was Livy's version of Cornelia's words upon the same occasion preserved by the *Commenta Bernensia* on Lucan 8, 91 (ed. H. Usener [Leipzig, 1869]): *Hunc locum poeta de Liuio tulit, qui Corneliam dicit dixisse Pompeio: 'uicit, Magne, fe-*

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[45] See F.M. Ahl, *Lucan: An Introduction*, Ithaca-London 1976 (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 39), p. 176; Hunink, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Seewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60; Utard, *art. cit.*, pp. 188-189 with n. 43. Cfr. also Lvcan. 8, 639-661, where Cornelia again admits responsibility for her husband's disaster.

[46] Plu. *Pomp.* 74, 3: "Ὁρῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ἄνερ, οὐ τῆς σῆς τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς, προσερριμμένον ἑνὶ σκάφει τὸν πρὸ τῶν Κορνηλίας γάμων πεντακοσίαις ναυσὶ ταύτην περιπλεύσαντα τὴν θάλασσαν. τί μ' ἦλθες ἰδεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέλιπες τῷ βαρεῖ δαίμονι τὴν καὶ σὲ δυστυχίας ἀναπλήσασαν τοσαύτης; ὡς εὐτυχὴς μὲν ἂν ἤμην γυνὴ πρὸ τοῦ Πόπλιον ἐν Πάρθοις ἀκοῦσαι τὸν παρθένιον ἄνδρα κείμενον ἀποθανοῦσα, σώφρων δὲ καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον, ὥσπερ ὥρμησα, τὸν ἐμαυτῆς προεμένη βίον· ἐσωζόμην δ' ἄρα καὶ Πομπηΐῳ Μάγνῳ συμφορὰ γενέσθαι.".

licitatem tuam mea fortuna, quid enim ex funesta Crassorum domo recipiebas nisi ut minueretur magnitudo tua?[47]. The existence, however, of a historical source regarding this matter, should not eliminate the possibility of poetic influences on Lucan's portrayal of Cornelia. On the contrary, Cornelia's historically established conviction as to her misfortune makes it all the easier to connect her to the figure of Hecuba, as she too is presented as the cause of misfortune in Seneca's *Troades*.

Of even greater interest is the fact that both women, aware of the misfortune they can cause to those around them as a result of their own ill fortune, express the desire that it should also be directed to their enemies. More specifically, at SEN. *Tro.* 62: *mea sors timetur, sola sum Danais metus* Hecuba presents her ill fortune as instilling fear in the Danaans[48], while this same thought is developed in more detail in lines 993-998, where the queen of Troy is shown to be willing to follow Ulysses, whose slave she has become, so as to pass on to him her own and Priam's evil fortunes and in this way to serve in place of vengeance on him and ensure his punishment:

> *Duc, duc, Vlixe, nil moror, dominum sequor;*
> *me mea sequentur fata (non pelago quies*
> *tranquilla ueniet, saeuiet uentis mare)*
> *et bella et ignes et mea et Priami mala.*
> *dumque ista ueniant, interim hoc poenae loco est:*
> *sortem occupaui, praemium eripui tibi.*

In a similar manner, at LVCAN. 8, 88-89 Cornelia wishes she had been wedded to Caesar and had brought disaster to him[49]:

> *o utinam in thalamos inuisi Caesaris issem*
> *infelix coniunx et nulli laeta marito.*

Another common point in the manner of the presentation of the two female figures in Seneca and Lucan is the emphasis given to the fact that both are shown to have had premonitions of the misfortunes that were to follow. As we saw earlier in the case of lines SEN. *Tro.* 33-40, Hecuba claims to have seen the impending misfortunes as early on as the time when she was pregnant with Paris and expressed her forebodings in vain[50]. Similarly, in lines 8, 43-44 and 8, 568-571 Lucan states that Cornelia also had forebodings of both Pompey's defeat and the crime of his murder:

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[47] See e.g. V. USSANI, *Sul valore storico del poema lucaneo*, Roma 1903, pp. 16-17; BRUÈRE, *art. cit.*, pp. 221-222, 232 n. 7; SCHÖNBERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 115; D. GAGLIARDI, *M. Annaei Lucani, Belli Civilis liber septimus: Introduzione, testo critico e commento*, Firenze 1975 (Biblioteca di Studi Superiori 63), p. 95; HUNINK, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[48] See FANTHAM, *op. cit.*, p. 219; BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 143; for a different interpretation, see G.O. HUTCHINSON, *Latin Literature from Seneca to Juvenal: A Critical Study*, Oxford 1993, pp. 82-84 and KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[49] Here perhaps one might adduce as further tragic models Andromache and Cassandra (especially in Seneca's *Troades* and *Agamemnon*, but also in Euripides), for both through their forced marriages bring destruction upon their respective captors, Neoptolemus/Pyrrhus and Agamemnon. Thus, although Cornelia's wish that she had brought destruction to Caesar by marrying him is of course a counterfactual fantasy, Lucan's Cornelia would echo not only the epic but also the tragic characters, just as in the case of Hecuba.

[50] For Hecuba's gift of prophecy as a characteristic of her persona in Seneca's *Troades*, see A.L. MOTTO-J.R. CLARK, *Seneca's Troades: Hecuba's Progress of Tribulation*, in *EClás* 26 (1984), pp. 273-281, at pp. 276-277; KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

> *tristes praesagia curas*
> *exagitant, trepida quatitur formidine somnus*
> ...
> *quod nisi fatorum leges intentaque iussu*
> *ordinis aeterni miserae uicinia mortis*
> *damnatum leto traherent ad litora Magnum,*
> *non ulli comitum sceleris praesagia derant*

She is also shown a little later, at 8, 577-579, to be fearful of her husband's disaster on the Egyptian shore:

> *ibat in hostilem praeceps Cornelia puppem,*
> *hoc magis impatiens egresso deesse marito*
> *quod **metuit** clades.*

Thus, the similarity is even stronger between her and Hecuba, whose fears are stressed at SEN. *Tro.* 33-37:

> *quidquid aduersi accidit,*
> *quaecumque Phoebas ore lymphato furens*
> *credi deo uetante praedixit mala,*
> *prior Hecuba uidi grauida nec tacui **metus***
> *et uana uates ante Cassandram fui.*

Directly after Pompey's death, Cornelia is portrayed by Lucan as wanting to die herself (8, 642-661), as Hecuba is by Seneca in lines *Tro.* 1000-1008 and 1171: *sola mors uotum meum*[51]. When Cornelia's wish to summon death is prevented by the sailors, at the end of her speech she expresses the view that she is saved for the victor (8, 661: *seruor uictori*). This recalls Hecuba's situation in Seneca's *Troades*, where the queen of Troy is saved for the victors and is given to Ulysses in particular. She calls herself *praeda* "spoil" in line 58: *praedaque en uilis sequar* and is characterized with the same term by Helen in line 980: *Ithaco obtigisti praeda nolenti breuis*[52]. Another similarity between the two women is the fact that both Hecuba and Cornelia seem to accuse themselves of being long-lived, as we can see in lines SEN. *Tro.* 41-42: *Sed quid ruinas urbis euersae gemis, / **uiuax** senectus?* and LVCAN 9, 103-105: *poenas animae **uiuacis** ab ipsa / ante feram. potuit cernens tua funera, Magne, / non fugere in mortem*, while the adjective *uiuax*, which is common in both passages, makes the similarity even more striking. At the same time Ovid's Hecuba is also present here, since her words in lines OV. *met.* 13, 517-519: *quidue moror? quo me **seruas**, annosa **senectus**? / quo, di crudeles, nisi uti noua **funera cernam**, / **uiuacem** differtis anum?* seem to have exercised influence on both Seneca and Lucan[53]. Moreover, while Seneca's Hecuba might pray

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[51] For Hecuba's longing for death as one of her characteristics in Seneca's play, see KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[52] Hecuba's characterization as *praeda* in Seneca's play seems to be another Ovidian echo (*met.* 13, 485: *praedae mala sors*); see BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 142; cfr. KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[53] The echo of this Ovidian passage in Lucan's passage has already been mentioned by NAGYILLÉS, *art. cit.* (2006), pp. 109-110. The particular Ovidian echo in Seneca's text is noted by CAVIGLIA, *op. cit.*, p. 223; HENRY, *art. cit.*, p. 48; BOYLE, *op. cit.*, p. 140; KEULEN, *op. cit.*, p. 102; TRINACTY, *op. cit.*, p. 139;

for death, she does not attempt suicide[54]; Cornelia also does not commit suicide, although she desires it[55], and states that she will die from grief alone (9, 104-108):

> *potuit cernens tua funera, Magne,*
> *non fugere in mortem: planctu contusa peribit,*
> *effluet in lacrimas: numquam ueniemus ad enses*
> *aut laqueos aut praecipites per inania iactus:*
> *turpe mori post te solo non posse dolore.*

The similarities between the two female figures in the poems of Lucan and Seneca do not end here. When in Lucan's poem Lentulus argues against Pompey's suggestion to take refuge with the King of Parthia (LVCAN. 8, 331-453), one of his arguments focuses on what would happen to Cornelia in the Parthian court (LVCAN. 8, 395-416). According to the ex-consul, in Parthia the lot of the captives awaits the daughter of Metellus, who is explicitly referred to as *captiua* at LVCAN. 8, 415-416: *ceu pridem debita fatis / Assyriis trahitur cladis captiua uetustae.* Her fate, as described here in a scenario of alternative history, has some more parallels to Seneca's captive Trojan women, especially to Hecuba and Andromache. Cfr. e.g. SEN. *Tro.* 988-989: *nunc uicta, nunc captiua, / nunc cunctis mihi / obsessa uideor cladibus,* where Hecuba also calls herself *captiua.*

Cornelia is a typical lamenting personage in Lucan's epic and for this reason Alison Keith[56] has linked her to the classical lamenting figures of Homer's *Iliad*, such as Andromache, of Vergil's *Aeneid*, such as Euryalus' mother, or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as Alcyone. The similarities between Cornelia and these persons are evident, but it seems that Lucan enriched his sources, so as to include also Hecuba, who is another emblematic lamenting figure in ancient literature. The way in which she mourns for her husband's death in Seneca's *Troades* is clearly reflected in Lucan's Cornelia, who appears as another tragic figure. Thus, as a lamenting and tragic personage, Cornelia bears additional similarities with Seneca's Hecuba. Let us mention a characteristic example.

Lucan's reference to Cornelia in lines 9, 171-173: *sed magis, ut uisa est lacrimis exhausta, solutas / in uultus effusa comas, Cornelia puppe / egrediens, rursus geminato **uerbere planguntt*** reminds Hecuba's words in Seneca's lines *Tro.* 93-94: *uacet ad crebri **uerbera planctus** / furibunda manus,* where the verbal similarities are striking. In general, since in Lucan's epic Cornelia employs the typical gestures of lamentation, her analogy to Seneca's Hecuba becomes even clearer.

Along with Cleopatra, Cornelia is one of the two female figures in Lucan's *De Bello Ciuili* who could never be considered as insubstantial or grotesque[57]. Here we have a complicated figure –a historical one, who, however, shows traces of mythical figures– in whose portrayal the epic poet has shown great fastidiousness. Thus, apart from the historical sources that were available to him at the time, such as the relevant,

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AMBÜHL, *art. cit.* (2010), pp. 36-37. Caviglia, Keulen and Ambühl also link the above Ovidian passage with Lucan's lines 2, 64-66: *at miseros angit sua cura parentes, / oderuntque grauis uiuacia fata senectae / seruatosque iterum bellis ciuilibus annos.*

[54] See H. COLYER, *Trojan Women, Freely Adapted from Seneca,* Lulu 2012, p.v.
[55] For the paradox here, see SEEWALD, *op. cit.,* pp. 75-76.
[56] KEITH, *art. cit.,* pp. 236-237.
[57] See BRUÈRE, *art. cit.,* p. 221.

but now lost section of Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, Lucan also used numerous literary sources, through which he connected Cornelia intertextually with literary models originating in a variety of literary genres, creating in this way a sort of intertextual super-heroine. As we have seen, these models are not restricted to elegy and epic poetry, but are also drawn from tragedy. Within this framework, the epic poet additionally took into consideration Seneca's *Troades* and portrayed Pompey and Cornelia in such a way as to recall Priam and Hecuba respectively, as they appear in the particular Senecan tragedy. The advantages of this literary choice prove to be both numerous and significant, since, with the intertextual connection between Cornelia and the queen of Troy, Lucan highlights the tragic dimension of Pompey's wife and the scope of her changing fortune, alludes to the magnitude of her desolation and the *dolor* she is experiencing, which is compared to that of an exemplary *persona dolorosa,* and skilfully alludes to the horror of civil war, which can lead to the total annihilation of the defeated, as was the case in the Trojan War. Thus, by implicitly associating the civil war he describes with the Trojan War, Lucan suggests its ruinous consequences more effectively, enhances the epic and dramatic nature of his chosen subject and further justifies his programmatic statement that he chants *bella ... plus quam ciuilia* (LVCAN. 1, 1). Moreover, the intertextual link between Cornelia and Hecuba seems to be part of a broader epic design, since it greatly facilitates Lucan's literary intention to connect the fall of republican Rome with the fall of Troy[58]. At the same time, Lucan's allusion to the Trojan myth helps him move in an opposite direction to Vergil's *Aeneid* and intensifies the pessimistic tone of the work[59].

ABSTRACT

Les modèles utilisés par Lucain pour la création du personnage littéraire de Cornélie dans son *De Bello Ciuili* (en particulier dans le huitième et neuvième livre) sont tirés non seulement de l'historiographie, de l'élégie et de la poésie épique, mais également de la tragédie. Plus précisément, la Cornélie de Lucain porte des ressemblances frappantes avec la figure de Hécube, telle que présentée dans les *Troades* de Sénèque. Le fait que Lucain dépeint la mort de Pompée de manière à rappeler la mort de Priam dans la tragédie de Sénèque facilite beaucoup la connexion implicite entre les épouses de ces deux personnages. Ce lien est encore renforcé par les similitudes verbales, les allusions littéraires évidentes et d'autres analogies dans les rôles joués par les personnages littéraires féminins. En associant sa Cornelia à Hécube de Sénèque, Lucain souligne adroitement la dimension tragique de son héroïne et les conséquences catastrophiques de la guerre civile.

Lucan's models for the creation of Cornelia's literary persona in his *De Bello Ciuili* (especially in the eighth and ninth books) are drawn not only from historiography, elegy and epic poetry, but also from tragedy. More specifically, Lucan's Cornelia bears striking similarities with the figure of Hecuba, as presented in Seneca's *Troades*. The fact that Lucan depicts the

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[58] Various connections in Lucan's poem between Troy and Rome have already been mentioned by scholars; see e.g. BARTSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-135; A. ROSSI, *Remapping the Past: Caesar's Tale of Troy (Lucan BC 9, 964-999)*, in *Phoenix* 55 (2001), pp. 313-326, esp. at pp. 321-323 with relevant bibliography.

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death of Pompey in a way that recalls the death of Priam in Seneca's tragedy greatly facilitates the implicit connection between the wives of these two personas. This connection is further reinforced by verbal similarities, evident literary allusions and further analogies in the roles played by the particular female literary figures. By associating his Cornelia with Seneca's Hecuba, Lucan adroitly highlights the tragic dimension of his heroine and the catastrophic implications of the civil war.

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