

1918  
H66



THE SEA IN ROMAN POETRY

BY

MONA PEARL HODNETT

A. B. Bates College, 1916

---

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN CLASSICS

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918





1918

H 66

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 29 1918 191

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY  
SUPERVISION BY Mona Pearl Hodnett

ENTITLED The Sea in Roman Poetry

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts in Classics

Arthur Stanley Pease

In Charge of Thesis

H. J. Barton

Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in\*

H. V. Carter

Committee

on

Final Examination\*

\*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

108313



## Table of Contents.

1. Introduction.	pp. 1-7
II. The Republic.	pp. 7-28
A. The Early Republic.	
1. Religion, Gods.	p. 7.
2. Stars.	p. 10.
3. Fear.	p. 10.
4. Travel.	p. 11.
5. Figures of Speech.	p. 12.
6. Descriptions.	p. 14.
B. The Later Republic.	
1. Lucretius.	p. 16.
a. Characteristics.	p. 16.
b. Knowledge of the Sea.	p. 18.
c. Figures of Speech.	p. 18.
d. Descriptions.	p. 19.
e. Dislike.	p. 20.
2. Catullus.	
a. Characteristics.	p. 20.
b. Descriptions.	p. 21.
c. Liking for the Sea, Phaselus.	p. 22.
d. Figures of Speech.	p. 23.
3. Summary.	p. 24.
a. Attitude of Poets of Republic.	p. 24.
b. Adjectives Used.	p. 25.
c. Imaginative Terms.	p. 26.
d. Comparison with English Romanticists.	p. 26.



e. The Cause of Fear.	p.28.
a. Roman Character,	p.27.
b. Poor Vessels.	p.28.
c. Tendency to Seasickness.	p.28.
f. Comparison with the Greeks.	p.28.
111. The Augustan Age.	p.29.
A. Characteristics.	p.29.
1. Vergil	p.30.
a. Characteristics.	p.31.
b. Religion, Gods.	p.31.
c. Causes Contributing to Fear.	p.37.
1. Weather-Seasons.	p.37.
2. Winds.	p.37.
3. Stars.	p.38.
4. Construction of Vessels.	p.39.
5. Storms.	p.40.
d. Delight at Seeing Land.	p.41.
e. The Shore.	p.43.
1. Pictures.	p.43.
2. Sea Birds.	p.44.
f. The Sun.	p.44.
g. Figures of Speech.	p.45.
n. Descriptions.	p.47.
1. Moods.	p.49.
j. Comparison with the Republic.	p.p.50.
2. Horace.	
a. Distrust.	p.52.
b. Figures of Speech and Description.	p.54



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2013

<http://archive.org/details/seainromanpoetry00hodn>

c. Gods.	p. 55.
d. Sea Coast in Augustan Age.	p. 55.
e. Trade.	p. 57.
1. Seasickness.	p. 58.
i. Modern Feeling in Horace.	p. 58.
3. Tibullus.	p. 60
a. Characteristics.	p. 60.
b. Fear.	p. 60.
4. Propertius.	
a. Characteristics.	p. 62.
b. Imaginative Ability.	p. 63.
c. Dislike.	p. 64.
5. Ovid.	
a. Characteristics.	p. 65.
b. Fear.	p. 65.
c. Pictures.	p. 66.
d. Figures of Speech.	p. 70.
iv. The Empire.	
A. The Pagan Writers.	
1. Characteristics.	p. 71.
a. Manilius.	p. 73.
b. Lucan.	p. 75.
1. Characteristics.	p. 75.
2. Storms.	p. 76.
3. Pictures.	p. 77.
c. Seneca.	
1. Argo.	p. 79.
2. Descriptions.	p. 80.
3. Figures.	p. 80.







d. Valerius Flaccus.	p. 82.
e. Silius Italicus.	p. 84.
f. Statius.	p. 85.
g. Martial, Juvenal, Germanicus,	p. 88.
Calpurnius, Persius Flaccus.	p. 89.
h. Nemesianus, Vespa, Pudentius, Geta, Cato,	p. 90.
Prayer to Ocean, Celeuma.	p. 91.
B. Christian Writers.	p. 93.
1. Hebraism and Hellenism.	p. 93.
a. Ausonius.	p. 94.
b. Paulinus.	p. 94.
c. Prudentius.	p. 95.
d. Juvencus, Damasus, Proba, Hilary,	
Tertullian, Ambrosius, Cyprian.	p. 98.
e. Claudian.	p. 99.
f. Rutilius Namatianus.	p. 100.
v. Conclusion.	p. 100.



### Bibliography.

- Allen, Katherine: The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Republic, Madison, Wis., 1898.
- Anderson, Mabel L.: A Study of Vergil's Descriptions of Nature. Toronto, 1916.
- Biese, A.: The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. London, 1905.
- Bouchier, E. S.: Life and Letters in Roman Africa. Oxford, 1913.
- Byron, Lord: Complete Poetical Works. Boston, 1905.
- Butler, H. E.: Post Augustan Poetry. Oxford, 1909.
- Carter, J. B.: The Religious Life of Ancient Rome. Cambridge, 1911.
- Cesaresco, Martinengo Countess: Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets. London, 1911.
- Coleridge, Samuel: The Poems of Coleridge. New York, 1916.
- Dimsdale, M. S.: Latin Literature. New York, 1915.
- Dolch, Oscar: Love of Nature in Early English Poetry. Dresden, 1882.
- Euripides: Rhesus. New York, 1913. Translation by Gilbert Murray.
- Medea. London, 1913.
- Iphigenia. London, 1913.
- Fowler, W. W.: The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic. London, 1908.
- Geikie, Sir Archibald: The Love of Nature among the Romans. London, 1908.
- Glover, T. R.: Life and Letters in the Fourth Century. Cambridge, 1901.
- Gordon, C. S.: English Literature and the Classics. Oxford, 1912.
- Greene, William Chase: The Sea in Greek Poetry. No. Am. Rev. vol. 199, p. 427.
- Hardie, W. R.: Lectures on Classical Subjects. London, 1903.
- Harrington, Karl: Tibullus as a Poet of Nature. FAPA. (1900) vol. clp. 34.



Harrington, Karl: Horace as a Nature Poet. PAPA. (1904) vol. 35, p. 5.

Propertius as a Poet of Nature. PAPA. (1901) vol. 32, p. 20

Hearn, L.: Chita. New York,

Jackson, Rev'd George: Fathers of the Third Century. New York, 1881.

The Post Nicene Latin Fathers. New York, 1884.

Knapp, C.: Roman Business Life as Seen in Horace. Class. Jour., 1906-7,  
vol. 2, p. 111.

Travel in Ancient Times as Seen in Plautus and Terence,  
Class. Phil., 1907, vol. 2, p. 1, 281.

Laprade, Victor: Le Sentiment de la Nature chez les Modernes. Paris,  
1868.

Lübker, F.: Die Naturschauungen der Alten. Flensburg, 1867.

Mabie, Hamilton W.: Nature and Catullus. New York, 1904.

Mackail, J. W.: Lectures on Poetry. London, 1911.

Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology. London, 1890.

Noyes, Alfred: Collected Poems. vol. 1, 2. New York, 1915.

Opp, W. R. M.: Die See in der Dichtung der Englischen Romantiker. Leipzig,  
1913.

Palgrave, F. T.: Landscape in Poetry from Horace to Tennyson. London,  
1897.

Reynolds, Myra: The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between  
Pope and Wordsworth. Chicago, 1896.

Roife, J. C.: Some References to Seasickness in Greek and Latin Writers.  
A. J. P. vol. 25, (1904) p. 192.

Schanz, Martin Von: Geschichte der römischen Litteratur bis zum Gesetz-  
gebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian. In Müllers Handbuch; in  
each case the last edition was used.

Sellar, W. Y.: Roman Poets of the Republic. Oxford, 1881.





Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Vergil, Oxford, 1883.

Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Horace and the Elegiac Poets,  
Oxford, 1899.

Shairp, J. C., Poetic Interpretation of Nature, Boston, 1884.

Shelley, P. B., Complete Poetical Works, Riverside Press, 1892.

Swinburne, A., Poems and Ballads, London, 1878.

Songs of the Spring Tides, London, 1880.

Tennyson, A., Poetic and Dramatic Works, Cambridge, 1910.

Trench, Archbp., Sacred Latin Poetry, London, 1874.

Van Dyke, Henry, The Opal Sea, New York, 1906.

Nature for its Own Sake, New York, 1908.

#### Texts.

Accius: Ribbeck, 1897.

Ad Oceanum: P. L. M. (3), 165.

Ambrosius: Migne, Pat. Lat., 17, 1171.

Andronicus: Baehrens, F. P. R., p. 37.

Ausonius: Peiper, Leipzig, 1886.

Baehrens: P. L. M. vol. 1, 2, 3 (1879); 4, 5, (1882), Leipzig.

F. P. R. vol. 6, Leipzig, 1886.

Cato (Dionysius): P. L. M. (3), 205.

Cato (Valerius): Naekius, Bonn, 1847.

Catullus: Baehrens, Leipzig, 1885.

Celeuma: P. L. M. (3), 167.

Cicero: Mueller, C. F. W., vol. 4, 3, Leipzig, 1879.

Claudian: Koch, Leipzig, 1893.

Cyprian: C. S. E. L. vol. 23.

Damasus: Ihm, Leipzig, .

Ennius: Vahlen, Leipzig, 1903.





Geta: P.L.M. (4) 219.

Hilary: Pat. Lat., vol. 2.

Horace: Oxford, 1900.

Juvenal: Oxford, 1902.

Juvencus: Marold, Leipzig, 1886.

Laudes Domini: Pat. Lat., vol. 61, p. 1091.

Lucan: Maskins, London, 1887.

Lucilius: Marx, Leipzig, 1904.

Lucretius: Munro, H. A. J., Cambridge, 1895.

Manilius: Breiter, Leipzig, 1907.

Martial: Gilbert, Leipzig, 1901.

Naevius: Ribbeck, vol. 1, and 2.

Nemesianus: P.L.M. (3) 176, 203.

Ovid: Riese, Leipzig, 1871.

Pacuvius: Ribbeck, vol. 1.

Paulinus: C.S.E.L. 30, p. 431.

Petaelius: P.L.M. (4) 343, 358.

Persius: Oxford, 1902.

Petronius: Buecheler-Heraus, Berlin, 1912.

Phaedrus: Havet, Paris, 1895.

Plautus: Oxford, 1903.

Proba: Pat. Lat., 19, 1803.

Propertius: Oxford, 1901.

Prudentius: Dressel, Leipzig, 1860.

Ribbeck: Scaenicae Roman. Poes. Frag. vol. 1 (1897), vol. 2, (1898), Leipzig.

Rutilius: Vessereau, Paris, 1904.

Seneca: Leo, Berlin, 1878.

Silius: Bauer, Leipzig, 1890.

Status: Konigmann, vol. 1, vol. 2, Leipzig, 1879.



Terence: Oxford, 1902.

Tertullian: C.S.E.L. vol. 23.

Tibullius: Oxford, 1915.

Turpilius: Ribbeck, vol. 2.

Valerius: Kramer, Leipzig, 1913.

Varro: Hesse, Leipzig, 1865.

Vergil: Ribbeck, Leipzig, 1914.

Vespa: P.L.M. (4) 326.

The material for the following discussion has been collected by the reading of all Roman poets—whether important or of minor rank—from Ennius through Rutilius Namatianus in the fifth century after Christ.



### The Sea in Roman Poetry.

Imagination shapes poetry, poetry shapes life and, even as life varies in successive generations, so must poetry the moulder of life, and imagination, the primal power in the shaping of poetry, though certain national tendencies remain practically the same from decade to decade. Yet, after allowance has been made for national characteristics, it is evident that it is only the vesture of poetry which changes, as it is only man's outward life which suffers change. Through all time, man has had much the same emotions—fear, envy, love, hate—all clad in different garbs, to be sure, but in essence the same.

"In the eyes of the gods

War-laden galleys, and armies on white roads,

And unforgotten names and the cold stars

That have been built, all are dust on a moth's wing

These are their lures, but they have set their hearts

On tears and laughter."<sup>1</sup>

If, actually, poetry in essence is always the same, why does Roman poetry differ from that of other nations? There must be some subtle connection between the imagination and the individual which produces the widely divergent types of poetical inspiration. This connection may be attributed to race but even that explanation is not completely satisfying until the genius of the poet is considered; and, there, another difficulty arises, for poetical genius is an inexplicable thing and though explanation can go a long way, yet, through the ages, poetical genius and inspiration have been mysteries

1. Mackail : Lectures on Poetry, p. 42.





and have been only relatively analyzed. If racial characteristics have an influence, and this influence can be defined, what kind of people were the Romans? And how did their racial characteristics react on their poetry?

The high conception they first held of the poet is evidenced by the fact that the same word, vates, is used for poet and seer and, in Ennius' time, the poet was called sanctus; yet, all Roman poets, to be sure, were far from being considered in this mystical and holy light, neither were they deserving of such an exalted twilight of worship, though some of their number are enrolled with the great poets of the world.

The poet is primarily subjective; he may deal with objective things but, with the divine gift of imagination, he must feel himself in touch with the heart of the world; he must have a temperament sensitive and fine, a temperament shot with luminous and delicate threads of feeling which gleam in the sunlight and darken in the shadows cast by the joys and sorrows of mankind. Great poets are seldom candidates for political offices. Why? Because subjectivity of mind which makes a great poet is incongruous with the national spirit which means the submergence of the individual self into the composite self of the nation.

The Romans were an objective people. Woven in the texture of their thoughts were pictures of war, vast empires, government, laws, and there were few silver and scarlet threads of sheer romanticism shadowing forth the deeds of a Sir Galahad or a King Arthur; instead of viewing life with ecstatic and exulting joyousness or with intense or painful melancholy, they met it sturdily,





resolutely, courageously, showing us rather than telling us how to live. Without a doubt, the aestheticism of the nineteenth century would have been an unfathomable mystery to them and, certainly, the later aesthetes had no more of the rigorous moral discipline of the Romans than the Romans had of the enervating moral creed of the aesthetes. Action was the keynote of the Roman character and, logically, in a nation, the result of the action is institutions. Whether we agree with Taine that the age makes the man or, with Carlyle, that the man makes the age, the kind of poetry a nation produces does depend in some measure, at least, on the turn that the imagination of the race takes. The Roman imagination turned toward institutions and, as a result, it can truly be said that the poetry of Rome lived in these institutions, rather than in verse. One might expect that, before the time of the national interest in institutions, the Romans would have made in the infancy of the race, so to speak, some poetical contributions such as have most other races, but, strictly speaking, the Roman race had no infancy in poetry—it sprang forth to maturity as Pallas Athena sprang from the brow of Jove—fully grown.

Yet, even if the true poetry of Rome does live in its institutions, much Roman poetry lives in verse. In this verse form, what is the attitude toward nature in general and toward the sea in particular?

John Stuart Mill somewhere says that a man's idea of nature throws light on his whole life—intellectually and spiritually, and a careful study of literature and history shows that man's conception of nature has been of infinite variation—pantheism



monotheism, paganism, Christianity, aestheticism, science, philosophy have given their views to mankind. Note, for instance, the difference between two literary men of the same century in their view of nature; to Wordsworth, even the meanest flower and even the most ordinary phase of nature was brimming over with beauty and God, and Carlyle called it "the Garment of God" but Arnold considered nature as hostile to man and thought that man must be at perpetual war with it. Then, might one expect to find anything but a wide gulf between the views of two Romans?

Such is the case in the Roman idea of nature in general; but, in the case of the sea, such differences are not discernible—indeed, one would expect the sea to stir somewhat similar feelings in mankind of all ages and nations. The sunny skies and blue hills of countries of the south contrasted with the dull grey skies and monotonous landscape of those of the north might well awaken far different emotions, but the characteristics of the sea which inspire terror, wonder, awe, are ever present whatever the climate may be.

Judging, however, by the literature of the ages, these characteristics, though constant in nature, stirred up feelings of varying degrees of fear and joy and the shades of emotion inspired by it range from the mental joy of the man who listened with heart athrill to "the perpetual poem hymned by wind and surge when the weird musician of the Sea touches the bass keys of his mighty organ"<sup>1</sup> through the physical pleasure of Byron:

"And I have loved thee, Ocean, and my joy

Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be

1. Lafcadio Hearn: Chita.





Borne like a bubble onward.From a boy,  
 I wanton'd with thy breakers-they to me  
 Were a delight;and if the freshening sea  
 Made them a terror-'twas a pleasing fear,  
 For I was as it were a child of thee,  
 And trusted to thy billows far and near."<sup>1</sup>

to the shade of spiritual emotion in the following,a sense of awfulness,mystery, divinity,infinity:"Thou primordial Sea,the awfulness of whose antiquity hath stricken all mythology dumb;thou most wrinkled Sea,the millions of whose years outnumber even the multitude of thy hoary motions:-thou omniform and most mysterious Sea,mother of the monsters and the gods-whence thine eternal youth? Still do thy waters hold the infinite thrill of that spirit which brooded above their face in the beginning.Still is thy quickening breath an elixir unto them that flee to thee for life-like the breath of young girls,like the breath of children,prescribed for the senescent by magicians of old,-prescribed unto weakened elders in the books of the wizards"<sup>2</sup>

If a brief summary of the world's attitude were desired,it could best be found in Ulysses who,though knowing all the terror and dread of the sea,all its adventure ,who knew it in its colossal,menacing,unfathomable magnificence,yet is said to have"languished for the purple sea."<sup>3</sup> Always,there has been the

1.Byron:Childe Harold,Canto 184.

2, Lafcadio Hearn:Chita.

3. vanDyke,The Opal Sea,p.5.



element of fear, sometimes, predominating over fascination, sometimes succumbing to fascination, and Ulysses represents both extremes.

The Greeks called the sea deep, wide, boundless, purple, wine-dark, loud-sounding, hoary, misty, and, in their attitude toward it, passed through much the same stages that all people traverse whose lives are closely linked up to it. At first, the words applied to it descriptively were "mere delineations of physical facts"<sup>1</sup> which gradually became stereotyped and led to more figurative language—(Hector) "fell upon the fight like a roaring blast that leaps down and stirs the violet-colored deep."<sup>2</sup> At first, too, "dread and fascination strove for mastery in their minds"<sup>3</sup>. Dread because it seemed hostile to man in separating him from other countries and in overwhelming him with its waters in shipwreck but this feeling and dread was perceptibly lessened as man began to think of the sea rather as a path to than a barrier from other lands and his fascination for it began to fashion legends about the sailors who sought new and strange lands. Gradually, an ethical idea was added to the physical and the Greeks found in the sea "a counterpart of their own pain"<sup>4</sup> and were affected "by the human voice of the sea"<sup>5</sup> it was given a place in the systems of the philosophers because of its lustral power and its elemental nature.

"If we look in Greek poetry for any one atti-

1. William Chase Greene: The Sea in Greek Poetry, p. 427.

2. Ibid. p. 429.

3. Ibid. p. 433.

4. Ibid. p. 437.

5. Ibid. p. 436.





tude toward the sea, we must be disappointed; there were many conceptions and few attempts were ever made to distinguish them. But, were we to seek for any one conclusion, it would have to be that the Greeks, though often deeply moved by the sea and highly imaginative in their conception of its nature, regarded it, in general, as an external object. For them, man remained the measure of all things; when they animated the sea, it was by anthropomorphism; when they idealized it, the process was in terms of humanity. Though the chorus of the world's life may be in the seaside, the chant itself, they believed is sung by mankind."<sup>1</sup>

Knowing, then, the attitude of the Greeks who furnished a background for Roman civilization, what would one expect to be the Roman attitude toward the sea? What is the attitude of the Republic?

### The Republic.

In studying the attitude of the poets of the Republic toward the sea, it would seem advisable, first of all, to consider the religion of the time because, through all ages, it has been essentially the trend of man's religious creed which has determined the view he has taken of nature.

The essential feature of the earliest Roman religion was its social nature which, later, became national instead of social with the change from animism to polytheism. The Etruscans, with the influence emanating from Greece, brought about a tremendous change; the native gods gave way, to some extent, before the Greek gods, became merged into them and all religion took on a new mean-

1. William Chase Greene: The Sea in Greek Poetry. P. 428



ing. The gods assumed a new terror, the oracles increased in influence and, "then there came into being that superstition, that excess of belief which was to be so characteristic of the Roman religion from now until the end of the Republic that Lucretius in attacking it thought that he had attacked religion."<sup>1</sup>

The fact has been mentioned that the Greek gods became merged into the Roman gods and formed a new set of divinities—the gods of the sea were no exception, and one finds that they, too, were of Greek origin. Neptune, to whom the people sacrificed at the Neptunalia in mid-summer for the purpose, it is said, of averting drought and who, at first, had nothing to do with the sea, gradually assumed all the attributes of the Greek Poseidon and, in his train, came into Roman life the other Greek sea divinities—Oceanus, his wife Tethys and children Oceanides; Pontus, representing the boundless tract of ocean; Triton, son of Poseidon and Amphitrite, representing the roaring of the sea; Nereus, the ancient of the Sea, his wife Doris, and the Nereids; Proteus, the god of elusive sea change, son of Poseidon; Ino, guardian of sailor folk; Glaucus, the sirens, Scylla, Carybdis, Castor and Pollux etc. All these were taken over by the Romans, though the extent to which they were endowed with reality varied with the period and the individual.

Plautus says: "Qui homo sese miserum et mendicum  
volet,

Neptuno credat sese atque aetatem  
suam." <sup>2</sup>

and several of his characters after expressing thanks for a safe

1. Carter; The Religious Life of Ancient Rome, p. 45.

2. Rudens: 1. 485.





return from sea voyages: "apage, apage te a me nunciam post hunc diem."<sup>1</sup> If Plautus is speaking for himself through his characters, then this is his general attitude, though remembering his mercantile and maritime life, one might expect more friendliness. However, experience has evidently been bitter to him.

Terence calls upon Neptune once in prayer,<sup>2</sup> Accius mentions "pater Oceanus,"<sup>3</sup> Ennius mentions Nereus,<sup>4</sup> Andronicus gives a bit of vividness in description of the dolphins:

"Tum autem lascivum Nerei simum pecus  
Ludens ad cantum classem lustratur."<sup>5</sup>

Pacuvius, with his love of coining words, calls the dolphins a "repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus"<sup>6</sup> and speaks of avoiding the "saevitia" of Salacia (wife of Neptune)<sup>7</sup>, but references are few. Neptune is favored with the largest number of qualifying words "fastidiosus aedilis",<sup>8</sup> "saevus"<sup>9</sup>, "severus"<sup>10</sup>, "avidus"<sup>11</sup>, "spurcificus"<sup>12</sup>, "immanis"<sup>13</sup>, "intolerandus"<sup>14</sup>, "vesanus"<sup>15</sup>, "placidus"<sup>16</sup>, "clemens"<sup>17</sup>

1. Mostellaria, 1.436.

2. Adelphoe, 1.790.

3. Ribbeck, vol. 1, p. 207, 1<sup>b</sup>.

4. Vahlen, p. 138,

5. R. vol. 1, p. 1, 2.

6. R. vol. 1, p. 152, 44.

7. R. vol. 1, p. 154, 47.

8. Plautus: Rudens, 1.372-3.

9. Plautus: Trinummus, 1.825.

10. ibid.

11. ibid.

12. Trinummus, 1.826.

13. ibid.

14. ibid.

15. ibid.

16. ibid. 1.827.

17. ibid.





"salsipotens",<sup>1</sup> "multipotens,"<sup>2</sup> "omnipotens,"<sup>3</sup> "lepidus,"<sup>4</sup> "pater,"<sup>5</sup>  
and his name is used as a symbol of the sea:

"tellus huic extima fluctu

Oceani,interior Neptuno cingitur ora."<sup>6</sup>

These two lines express the idea the ancients had of the relation of the earth and the sea;a relation more poetically expressed by the words"a precious stone set in the silver sea."

Cicero nearly always speaks of the sea in connection with the stars <sup>7</sup> or with ships,<sup>8</sup> and he is practically the only poet of the Republic who has prolonged passages on the former.To be sure,Plautus has a long passage on Arcturus<sup>9</sup> but the scarcity of such references is not surprising when one considers that the Romans of that time did not look to the natural world so much for its own sake as for the practical value it might be to them;they were not looking for beauty,they were looking for safety and,instead of trying to see whether "the Evening Star quivered like a great drop of liquid white fire ready to fall",<sup>10</sup> they tried to see some star by which they could steer their course.Probably,however,little sailing was done at night except by necessity;if so,it gave rise to no inspiration for poetry.

As has been noted,fear was the pervading element in the Roman feeling for the sea.Terence says:

1.Plaut.Trin.1.820.

2.lbid.

3.Turpilius,R.vol.2,p.116,1.118

4.Plaut.,Rud.1.358.

5.Lucilius,p.4,121.

6.Varro:Chor.2,p.265.

7.Arat.330;Prog.408,24.

8.Arat.38,719,665;Prog,205.

9.Plaut.Rud. 1.1-25.

10. Hearn:Chita.









sickness<sup>1</sup>-a subject also treated by Professor John Rolfe<sup>2</sup> though less adequately than by Professor Knapp; mention of portitores,<sup>3</sup> sailors' costumes<sup>4</sup>, baggage<sup>5</sup>, thanksgivings for safe returns<sup>6</sup>, greetings and banquets for returned travellers<sup>7</sup>, ships<sup>8</sup>, routes<sup>9</sup>-all show some knowledge of travel, though the fact must be kept in mind that these plays are based on Greek originals and are, therefore, not to be considered as being a part of the conventional life of the Republic. Fishing,<sup>10</sup> however, probably was a part of their life, though the few references to it indicate that it was not common.

Besides representing the sea in its outward most obvious manifestations, the Romans gradually drew figures of speech from it, also; and these figures were numerous even in the days of the Republic. However, it is difficult to make a comparison between this period and the Augustan Age because so much of the early poetry has been lost and because so much of what was written consisted of imitations and translations based on Greek originals. Plautus uses the comparison "slower than merchant ships in a calm sea";<sup>11</sup> winds sweeping over the sea are likened to dogs; and one of his characters speaks thus disrespectfully of his wife:

"ibo intro, ut subducam navim rusum in pulvinaria."<sup>12</sup>

1. Plaut. Am. 1.329; Mer. 387; Ru. 510.

2. A. J. P. vol. 25, p. 192.

3. Plaut. St., 1.366-69; Tr. 1.788-95.

4. Plaut. Rud. 1.549-50; Cur. 1.355.

5. Plaut. Amph. 1.629, 773-97.

6. Plaut. Tr., 1820-38; Mo. 431-7.

7. Plaut. Ba. 1.94, 456; Mer. 949.

8. Plaut. Mer. 1.86, 259; Ru. 57.

9. Plaut. Ru. 1.629-31.

10. Turp. R. vol. 2, p. 101, 5;

Plaut. As. 100; Ru. 911, 913.

11. Poen. 507.

12. Qas. 557.





One of Plautus' characters speaks as follows:

"leniorem dices quam mutum est mare  
liquidiusculusque ero quam ventus est fovyonius."<sup>1</sup>

The influence of the wind on the sea is described in this figure:

"sicut fulca levis volitat super aequora classis  
spiritus Eurorum viridis cumpurpurat undas."<sup>2</sup>

A ship is compared to a spider:

"ut levis tipulla lymphon frigidos transit lacus."<sup>3</sup>

Accius says of the Argo that it was built ,

"ut tristis turbinum  
toleraret hiemes, mare cum horreret fluctibus."<sup>4</sup>

In Cicero, Prometheus is

"religatum asperis  
vinctumque saxis, navem ut horrissono freto  
noctem paventes timidi adnectunt navitae,"<sup>5</sup>

and a constellation is compared to a ship.<sup>6</sup>

Words, phrases and clauses used figuratively are:  
guberno,<sup>7</sup> animus fluctuat,<sup>8</sup> caeli fretum,<sup>9</sup> belli fluctus,<sup>10</sup> luminis  
ora,<sup>11</sup> fluctus verborum,<sup>12</sup> pectus fluctuans,<sup>13</sup> auferre ad scopulum

1. Miles: 1.664.

2. Antias: B. p. 277, 1.4.

3. Varro: Bimarc, 21.

4. R. vol. 1, p. 218, 8.

5. Aes. 22.

6. Arat. 1. 126.

7. Ter. Hecyra, 1.311.

8. Plaut. Merc. 1.890.

9. Ennius: B. 466.

10. Luc. 5, 1289-90.

11. ibid. 5, 1455.

12. Ennius: R. 218.

13. Varro: Eun. 46.



e tranquillo,<sup>1</sup> aetheris orae<sup>2</sup>, undaeque e gremiis subiectare<sup>3</sup>. Thus far, nothing approaching the beauty of language found in modern poets has been attained, Compare "surely the sea like a harper laid hold on the shore as a lyre";<sup>4</sup> years that flee

As clouds and winds and rays across the sea"<sup>5</sup>

and

"Years as waves whose brine was fire, whose foam  
Blood and the ravage of Neronian Rome."<sup>6</sup>

and

"A darkness that surged and moaned as the circumfluence of a shadowed sea."<sup>7</sup> Yet, though figures of speech are few, some imaginative language is found and, by means of it, certain scenes are intensely realistic. Ennius says:

"verrunt extemplo palmae mare marmore pulso:

caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate flavom.

labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas."<sup>8</sup>

and Pacuvius says:

"Interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare,

Tenebrae conduplicantur, noctisque et nimbum ob-

caecat nigror,

Flamma inter nubes coruscat, caelum tonitru con-

tremat,

Grando mixta imbri largifico subita praecipitans

cadit,

Undique omnes venti erumpunt, saevi existunt tur-

bines,

1. Ter. Phorm. 689.

4. Swinburne: Cymodoce.

7. Hearn: Chita

2. Luc. 4, 411.

5. lb. Birthday Ode.

8. B. p. 95, 258.

3. Pac. R. 137, 14.

6. lb.





Fervit aestu pelagus."<sup>1</sup>

Pacuvius gives us another vivid picture of the effect of a storm on ships:

"armamentum stridor,flictus navium,  
strepitus fremitus,clamor tonit ruum et rudentum  
sibilus."<sup>2</sup>

Andronicus gives a picture of utter desolation:

"celsosque (in) ocris  
arvaeque putria et mare magnum."<sup>3</sup>

Of a flash of lightning Ennius says:

"interea fax  
occidit oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra."<sup>4</sup>

Accius gives an intensive realistic description of a shepherd's first glimpse of a ship:

"tanta moles labitur  
fremibunda ex alto ingenti sonitu et spiritu.  
praesse undas volvit,vertices vi suscitatur;  
ruit prolapsa,pelagus respargit reflat.  
ita dum interruptum credas nimbum volvier,  
dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapi  
saxum aut procellis,vel globos os turbines  
existere ictos undis concursantibus;

1.R.vol.1,p.153.

2. Ribbeck,,vol.1.,p.137.

3.R.vol.1,p.5 ,32.

4.V.p.78,434.





nisi quas terrestris pontus strages conciet,  
aut forte Triton fuscina evertens specus  
supter radices penitus undante in freto  
molem ex profundo saxeam ad caelum erigit."<sup>1</sup>

The two following passages show a keen eye for description:

"Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux  
Et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma praepes  
Laeva volavit avis.simul aureus exoritur sol,"<sup>2</sup>

and

"Parunculis ad litus ludit celeribus."<sup>3</sup>

As has previously been said, it is difficult to estimate the poetry of the early Republic because of the lack of material, but when we come to Lucretius and Catullus, the case is somewhat different and, for that reason, we shall consider their poetry more in detail.

"Lucretius belongs to the category of the world's great religious mystics which the southland with its absence of half shadows and twilight has ever produced<sup>4</sup>." He represents the national strength, majesty, seriousness of spirit, massive constructive energy of the Romans and endeavors in his De Rerum Natura to destroy the superstition resulting from the dissolution of religious beliefs which followed after the philosophy inspired by contact with the Greeks. "The idea" he "revealed to the world in fuller

1. Accius: R. vol. 1, p. 216.

2. Ennius: V. p. 14, l. 91 (5).

3. R. vol. 2, p. 166 (16).

4. Carter: p. 60.



majesty and life than any previous poet--was the idea of nature, apprehended not as an abstract conception, but as a power omnipresent, creative and regulative throughout the great spheres of earth, sky and sea and the innumerable varieties of individual existence."<sup>1</sup> He believed that the conditions of nature are unfriendly to man and, accordingly, that man must study the best way of working with her; he saw an inner identity between great forces in the material and spiritual world, emphasized the pervading influence of physical emotion of love over all living things in the sea, earth and air; and denied all supernatural agency, attributed consciousness, will and passion to the great creative power of nature, the source of all life, joy, beauty and art, and used mythology only symbolically in connection with her, since he considered the gods dependent on the power greater than themselves. The poet of contemplation and resigned quietism, he saw nature in all her immensity and power, and, with creativeness of diction and imaginative analogies, clothed her with a new glory.

Accordingly, he has only contempt for the idea of praying to the gods in a storm,<sup>2</sup> and sees only uselessness in Iphigenia's slaughter that there may be a happy and prosperous departure for the fleet.<sup>3</sup>

Judging by the numerous references to the sea and the nature of these references, Lucretius must have had some know-

1. Sellar: Vergil, p. 204.

2. 5, 1226.

3. 1, 100.





ledge of it. He speaks of the springs of fresh water found in the sea,<sup>1</sup> the breaking of surf against the cliffs,<sup>2</sup> the saltness of sea water, the salt taste that comes into one's mouth while walking along the seashore,<sup>3</sup> sea birds,<sup>4</sup> hawks, ospreys, gulls, etc., the appearance that a ship has even when it is standing still,<sup>5</sup> the fallacy sailors have of thinking the sun rises out of the water,<sup>6</sup> the effect of sea moisture on clothes hung by the beach;<sup>7</sup> and the knowledge he had of the way spray eats into the walls along the coast has been held to prove that he had a vague idea of the processes of geology.

His acquaintance with the sea led him to use it in many figures of speech. Thus clouds imbibe sea water like wool;<sup>8</sup> the epileptic

"agens animam spumat, quasi in aequore salso  
ventorum validis fervere viribus undae."<sup>9</sup>

He had a sensitiveness to color,

"ut mare, cum magni commorunt aequora venti,  
vertitur in canos candenti marmore fluctus."<sup>10</sup>

The sound of thunder is compared to the sound of waves<sup>11</sup>. He shows nature's indifference in these few words:

"tum porro puer, ut saevis proiectus ab undis  
navita, nudus humi iacet, infans indigus omni

1.6,890.

7.1,305.

2.6,694.

8.6,503.

3.4,222.

9.3,493.

4.5,1079.

10.2,766.

5.4,387.

11.6,142-4.

6.4,432.



vitali auxilio,cum primum in luminis oras  
nixibus ex alvo matris natura profudit."<sup>1</sup>

and the following is a vivid bit of description:

"praeterea persaepe niger quoque per mare nimbus,  
ut picis e caelo demissum flumen,in undas  
sic cadit effertus tenebris procul et trahit atram  
fulminibus gravidam tempestatem atque procellis."<sup>2</sup>

He, also, gives a vivid picture in the following:

"concharumque genus parili ratione videmus  
pingere telluris gremium,qua mollicus undis  
litoris incurbi bibulam pavit aequor harenam."<sup>3</sup>

Other figurative expressions are fluctus belli,<sup>4</sup>  
aestus belli,<sup>5</sup> fluctus curarum,<sup>6</sup> fluctus irarum,<sup>7</sup> gubernator,<sup>8</sup>  
aestus aetheris,<sup>9</sup> mare aeris,<sup>10</sup> undae lethargi,<sup>11</sup> materiae tanto in  
pelago,<sup>12</sup> fretus anni,<sup>13</sup> fluctus odorum,<sup>14</sup> nigrae lethagi undae,<sup>15</sup>  
etc..

Yet,with his acquaintance with the sea,Lucretius had  
no love for it,

"sed quasi naufragiis magnis multisque coortis

1.5,222.

9.5,480.

2.6,256-9.

105,275.

3.2,373;6,423-80.

11.3,828.

4.5,1289.

12.2,550.

5.5,1435.

13.6,364;374.

6.6,34.

14.4,674.

7.3,298.

15.3,828.

8.3,472.





disiectare solet magnum mare transtra gubernae  
 antennas prorae malos tonsasque natantis,  
 per terrarum omnis oras fluitantia aplustra  
 ut videntur et indicium mortalibus edant,  
 infidi maris insidias virisque dolumque  
 ut vitare velint, neve ullo tempore credant,  
 subdola cum ridet placidi pellacia ponti."<sup>1</sup>

and prefers to watch another's distress from the land;<sup>2</sup> for Venus, to be sure, the waves of the sea smile but man should not trust them. Pellacia<sup>3</sup>, dolum<sup>4</sup>, insidiae<sup>5</sup>, infidum<sup>6</sup>, magnum<sup>7</sup>, turbida aequora<sup>8</sup>, incassum mare,<sup>9</sup> and many other expressions,<sup>10</sup> mirror forth his idea of the sea, and he, as did many other Roman poets, noted the great change from the Golden Age when man did not suffer the sea's ravages, to the present when he endures destruction and shipwreck and death. <sup>11</sup>

When we pass from Lucretius to Catullus, we note a great change in their general attitude toward nature; "Lucretius, almost alone, contemplated Nature as detached from man, of whose powerlessness he had a sense which was more Eastern than European",<sup>12</sup> whereas, with, Catullus "the poetry of the Ego, lyrical poetry in its modern sense, sprang into life full grown", and "even his allusions to Nature are personal." <sup>13</sup>

1.2, 552-61.

7.6, 505.

2.2, 1-2.

85, 1060.

3.2, 559.

9.5, 1002.

4.1bid.

10.2, 472; 4.410; 5.387.

5.1bid.

11.5, 1000-6

6.2, 557.

12., 13 Cesaresco: Outdoor Life in Gk. and Rom. Poets; p. 87; p. 89.





Catullus gives the world the freshness of elemental things, he is the great enjoyer of life, and, in his poetry, one hears the echoes of music and laughter, senses the mystic perfume of happiness and feels that vague Something which, like a bright light, fell across Catullus' life making him sensitive to the most intense joy and the keenest anguish. The charm of beautiful things appealed to him as to Keats with whom he has often been compared. He has a keen sensibility and a joyous spontaneity and so it is not surprising that he seems to have had an actual fondness for the sea—he sees its beauties as well as its dangers and cruelties. He is practically the only poet of the Republic and the Augustan Age who does not bemoan the building of the Argo—in fact, he gives a delightful picture of it. Possibly, the story of Medea and Jason did not appeal to him as being quite as tragic as it did to other poets:

"Peliaco quondam prognatae vertice pinus  
dicuntur liquidas Neptuni nasse per undas  
Phasidos ad fluctus et fines Aeetaeos,  
cum lecti iuvenes, Argivae robora pubis,  
auratam optantes Colchis avertere pellem  
ausi sunt vada salsa cita decurrere puppi,  
caerula verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis.  
diva quibus retinens in summis urbibus arces  
ipsa levi fecit volitantem flamine currum,  
pineae cuniugens inflexae texta carinae.  
illa rudem cursu prima imbuit Amphitriten."<sup>1</sup>

Another vivid picture is that of Ariadne on the lonely shore, her



eyes blinded with tears, watching the departure of Theseus over the waves, later standing on the mountain straining her eyes over the salsa freta.<sup>1</sup> The picture of the dawn at sea in the simile taken from the wedding of Pileus and Thetis makes one think that Catullus speaks from actual observation.

"hic qualis flatu placidum mare matutino  
 horrificans Zephyrus proclivis incitat undas  
 Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina solis,  
 quae tarde primum clementi flamine pulsae  
 procedunt, lenique sonant plangore cachinni,  
 post vento crescente magis increbescunt  
 purpureaque procul nantes a luce refulgent,  
 sic tum vestibuli linquentes regia tecta  
 ad se quisque vago passim pede discedebant."<sup>2</sup>

Another vivid description,

"at ubi umida albicantis loca litoris adiit,  
 teneramque vidit Attin prope marmore pelagi."<sup>3</sup>

In one poem on his return from Bithynia, his phasellus is quoted; unsurpassed in speed, over the blustering Adriatic, past the gleaming Cyclades she had sailed; Catullus pictures the contrast of the leafy forest with its subdued lights and whispering voices from which the phasellus was built and, now, the phasellus itself, having served him faithfully and now dedicated to Castor and Pollux.<sup>4</sup>

1. 64, 6.

2. 64, 269-77.

3. 63, 87.

4. 4.





The fact that the phasellus has made no vows to the gods shows that Catullus did not have the gripping fear of the sea which his predecessors had but that he had enjoyed his sea voyaging in his phasellus, going out to sea outlined against the blue sky, gently drifting "like white clouds in summer weather."

Catullus uses many figures taken from the sea:

"et insolenter aestues velut minuta magno  
depressa navis in mari vesaniente vento!"<sup>1</sup>

a man in trouble,

"conscriptum hoc lacrimis mittis epistolium,  
naufraſum ut electum spumantibus aequoris undis  
sublevem et a mortis limine restituum,"<sup>2</sup>

and

"hic, velut in nigro iactatis turbine nautis  
lenius aspirans aura secunda venit  
iam prece Pollucis, iam Castoris implorata."<sup>3</sup>

mental trouble,

"mens animi, tantis fluctuat ipsa malis."<sup>4</sup>

of death,

"Certe ego te in medio versantem turbine leti."<sup>5</sup>  
The plunge of breakers can be heard in the following,

"litus ut longe resonante Eoa  
tunditur unda."<sup>6</sup>

1.25,12.

2.68,2-5.

3.68b,63-5.

4.65,4.

5.64,149.

6.11,3.



Catullus, more than any other poet of the Republic, foreshadows the modern attitude toward the sea and, for this reason, presents a marked contrast to other Roman poets.

Summarizing, since the few fragments left us do not justify an extended study of each poet, one discovers that there was not much difference of opinion in the Republic on the question of the sea.

Andronicus portrays the sea as a living thing<sup>1</sup>-magnus,<sup>2</sup> saevus,<sup>3</sup>-inimical to man;<sup>4</sup> Naevius, in contrast to Andronicus, applies epithets typifying its calm aspect and calls it liquidus<sup>5</sup>, favens,<sup>6</sup> Ennius treats it as a living thing as Andronicus did and personifies it, caerula salsa, ululabant;<sup>7</sup> also, applies words of color and uses some imagery, ponti caerula prata,<sup>8</sup> marmor,<sup>9</sup> caerulum,<sup>10</sup> canum,<sup>11</sup> flavum,<sup>12</sup> salum,<sup>13</sup> saevum,<sup>14</sup> altum,<sup>15</sup> magnum;<sup>16</sup> Pacuvius applies no words denoting color but attributes to it violence and life;<sup>17</sup> Accius calls it immissifors<sup>18</sup> and gives some good descriptions of it;<sup>19</sup> Cicero calls it horrisonum<sup>20</sup>, niveum,<sup>21</sup> vastum<sup>22</sup>,

1.B.22.

2.R.33.

3.B.22.

4.B.Liv.32

5.B.36.

6.R.53.

7.B.418.

8.B.103.

9.B.258.

10.B.258.

11.B.349

12.B.258.

13.R.162.

14.B.247,214.

15.R.74,268.

16.B.304.3.

17.335,409,333.

18.33.

19.571

20.B.323.

21.Pro1.171.

22.Arat.incert.3.





and almost always speaks of it in connection with the stars<sup>1</sup> and disaster;<sup>2</sup> Varro calls it albus<sup>3</sup>, aquilum,<sup>4</sup> latum,<sup>5</sup> and speaks of it in connection with ships;<sup>6</sup> Lucretius speaks of it scientifically<sup>7</sup> and philosophically<sup>8</sup>, emphasizes its grandeur, shows his acquaintance with navigation;<sup>9</sup> uses it figuratively<sup>10</sup> and, in illustrations<sup>11</sup>, says it hinders man by keeping lands apart<sup>12</sup>, drowns him,<sup>13</sup> and applies a large number of adjectives to it—caerulus,<sup>14</sup> avidus,<sup>15</sup> immensus<sup>16</sup>, subdola,<sup>17</sup> etc.; Catullus takes many figures of speech from it,<sup>18</sup> realizes its dangers,<sup>19</sup> but has more liking for it,<sup>20</sup> gives more pictures<sup>21</sup> adds a few new epithets—truculentus,<sup>22</sup> ventosus,<sup>23</sup> tremulus,<sup>24</sup> proclivus,<sup>25</sup> minax,<sup>26</sup> horridus.<sup>27</sup>

Of all adjectives used salsus, magnus, altus and caerulus are most common.

The terms applied to the sea are comparatively few and become fairly stereotyped—albus,<sup>28</sup> flavus,<sup>29</sup> glaucus,<sup>30</sup> viridis,<sup>31</sup> immanis,<sup>32</sup> immensus,<sup>33</sup> latus,<sup>34</sup> magnus,<sup>35</sup> proclivis,<sup>36</sup> asper,<sup>37</sup> avidus,<sup>38</sup> ferus,<sup>39</sup> fluctuosus,<sup>40</sup> horridus,<sup>41</sup> horrissonus,<sup>42</sup> impotens,<sup>43</sup>

1. B. 42.	12. 5, 203.	23. 64, 12.	34. Cat. 64, 178.
2. B. 296, 433.	13. 2, 552.	24. 64, 128.	35. Luc. 6, 505.
3. Ses. 10, 3.	14. 2, 772.	25. 64, 270.	36. Cat. 64, 270.
4. Kos. met 7.	15. 1, 1031.	26. 4, 6.	37. Luc. 4, 411.
5. Mod. 2.	16. 2, 590.	27. 64, 20.	38. Luc. 1, 1001.
6. Desult. 2.	17. 2, 559.	28. Varro: Ses. 10.	39. Cat. 63, 40.
7. 4, 387; 4, 222.	18. 68, 65.	29. Enn. B. 258.	40. Rud. 4, 2, 5.
8. 4, 901.	19. 68, 2.	30. Luc. 1, 717.	41. Cat. 64, 205.
9. 4, 432.	20. 4.	31. Ant. 5.	42. Cic. Aes. 22.
10. 3, 493; 6, 1033.	21. 64, 6.	32. Luc. 4, 410.	43. Cat. 4, 18.
11. 2, 766.	22. 63, 16.	33. 1b.	





infidus<sup>1</sup>, immisericors<sup>2</sup>, importunus<sup>3</sup>, minax<sup>4</sup>, saevus<sup>5</sup>, salsus<sup>6</sup>, sonorus<sup>7</sup>,  
subdolus<sup>8</sup>, ventosus<sup>9</sup>, liquidus<sup>10</sup>, altus<sup>11</sup>, caeruleus<sup>12</sup>, canus<sup>13</sup>, importunus<sup>14</sup>,  
saxifragus<sup>15</sup>, caecus<sup>16</sup>, altum<sup>17</sup>, undans salum<sup>18</sup>, sollicitus<sup>19</sup>, and the  
 sea shore is called bibullis<sup>20</sup>, fluctifragus<sup>21</sup>, incurvus<sup>22</sup>, curvus<sup>23</sup>;  
 for example:

"hac ubi curvo litore latratu

unda sub undis labunda sonit."<sup>24</sup>

Other expressions are used which show that stereotyped words and phrases gave way sometimes to imaginative terms: saxa cana<sup>25</sup>, salis niver spumante liquore<sup>26</sup>, Neptuni prata<sup>27</sup>, murmur maris<sup>28</sup>, marmor flavum<sup>29</sup>, caeruleus campus<sup>30</sup>, marmor pelagi<sup>31</sup>, and the sea is personified as Tethys<sup>32</sup>, Oceanus<sup>33</sup>, Amphitrite<sup>34</sup>.

For the sake of contrast, compare the adjectives of color used by the Romans of the Republic with those used by the English Romantic poets, glaucus, canus, albus, viridis, purpureus, flavus, caeruleus-yellow gold, pearl, silver, azure, sapphire, golden, amethystine, emerald, wan, tawny, purpureal, dusky, ruddy, silver, pearl, black, blue green, white.<sup>35</sup>

- |                            |                       |                     |                    |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Lucr. 2, 557.           | 10. Lucr. 6, 638.     | 19. Luc. 2, 32.     | 28. Pacuv. R. 154  |
| 2. Acc. R. vol. 1, p. 162. | 11. lb. 3, 784.       | 20. Lucr. 2, 375.   | 29. Enn. B. 258    |
| 3. Andronicus, B. 22.      | 12. lb. 2, 772.       | 21. lb. 1, 305.     | 30. lb. 346.       |
| 4. Cat. 4, 6.              | 13. Cic. 305.         | 22. lb. 2, 375.     | 31. Cat. 64, 11.   |
| 5. Lucr. 5, 222.           | 14. R. p. 40, 1. 22   | 23. Acc. R. 1, 242. | 32. lb. 64, 29.    |
| 6. lb. 3, 493.             | 15. Enn. B. 117; 463. | 24. lb.             | 33. lb. 88, 5.     |
| 7. lb. 5, 34.              | 16. Atta, r. 2, 192.  | 25. Cic. Prog. 177  | 34. lb. 64, 11.    |
| 8. lb. 5, 1004.            | 17. Andr. R. 5, 31.   | 26. lb. 179.        | 35. Pratt: Use of  |
| 9. Cat. 64, 12.            | 18. Enn. R. 162.      | 27. Cic. 373.       | Color in the Verse |

of the Eng. Rom.  
Poets.



Ruckert says, "the charm of a landscape lies in this, that it seems to reflect back that part of one's inner life, of mind, mood and feeling which we have given it."<sup>1</sup> The Romans had only fear for the sea and, hence, saw only its formidable elements. For them, it did not have the lure and fascination which called men, sometimes against their wills, like a siren call, to restless roaming for the satisfaction of a vague Weltschmerz: nor did it call them to a life of great adventure on mighty galleons of romance "those tall

Enchanted galleons, red with blood and gold,  
Superb with rubies, glorious as clouds,  
Clouds in the sun, with mighty press of sail  
Dragging the sunset out of the unknown world,  
And staining all the grey old seas of Time  
With rich romance."<sup>2</sup>

They had no thirst or wistfulness or yearning for shores across the sea beyond the sunset unless for commercial or political reasons. No Roman poet was ever known to have "heard the deathless

Wonderful whisper  
Wafting the olden  
Dream of the sea."<sup>3</sup>

Nor were they sensitive at all "to the thirst of the flower soft sea" nor "the shoreless cry of the prophetic sea." Their view of it was of a utilitarian cast rather than of an emotional or aesthetic nature-in terms of trade, fishing, etc. they thought of it-not in abstract

1. Biese : The Feeling for Nature, p. 3.

2. A. Noyes, p. 369.

3. lb. 294-5.





and generalizing terms. Man's impotence and powerlessness—his enmity to the sea was the prevailing idea. Indeed, the fact that it was almost always represented as being in motion shows that the Romans did not regard it or think of it introspectively and subjectively; it had life and that life was hostile to man, therefore its fearfulness rather than its beauty was elaborated. Knowledge brings fearlessness and that is one of the reasons that the Romans had such terror; they had no knowledge of the sea, and consequently no appreciation.

For this fear, there were several reasons, the Romans had very poor vessels, no charts and compass, and were inadequately prepared for coping with sea dangers. In winter, these ships had to be put up on land, then hauled down in the spring when the worst danger was past. Another reason for fear was the sense of discomfort the Romans experienced in a rough sea owing to a peculiar liability to sea sickness. They were long in becoming acquainted with the sea because, quite the opposite from the Greeks who were compelled to have intercourse with it on account of the division of Greece and the necessity of fish for food, the Romans built roads and travelled by land instead of by sea, and, because of the extent of land produce, were not dependent upon fish for food.

The fact that the Greeks lived so near the sea may account, too, for their comparative fearlessness of it since the evolution of man's pleasure has usually been proportionate to his knowledge. Quite the contrary, the Romans saw little of the sea because, due to the fear of pirates, early Roman towns were built at some distance from the coast, Italy had few good harbors and since it was not so cut up as Greece, the people were not compelled to overcome their instinctive horror of it in order to pass from one place to another.



To be sure, the Romans of the Republic did do some fishing as is evidenced by the fact that fish is mentioned as one of the articles of food but it is not until the Augustan Age that any extended references are made to it.

The war with Carthage first called their attention to the necessity of sea power and they built a fleet in 260B.C. this fell into neglect, piracy became rampant and Pompey, followed by Augustus, found it necessary to make the seas safe from man's preying, though even they could not remove the fearful attributes of the sea itself.

#### The Augustan Age.

In passing to the Augustan Age, one sees the maturing of the poetry of the Republic, though the reaction of politics on the poetry of the time made it a wholly different thing than it would have been had the political influences been absent. The Augustans "gave expression to the weariness and longing for rest, to the revival of Roman and Italian feeling, to the pride of the empire, the charm of ancient memories and associations, the aspiration after a better life and a firmer faith; and all these feelings are made subordinate to the personal glory of Augustus who stands out as the central and commanding figure in all their representations."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the personal relations between leaders of society and literature reacted on the literature of the time both in a strengthening and in a weakening way—weakening because originality was not given impetus and, as a natural result of this, a falling off of originality, a certain triteness and tameness was in evidence and

1. Sellar: Vergil, p. 14.





the poets of the day, as a natural consequent of prevailing tendencies, proved themselves "greater in execution than in creation."<sup>1</sup> However, just because of this lack as creative artists, they have, also the merit of being "free from defects which sometimes result from the intenser form of imagination"<sup>2</sup> they have sanity; they "see life steadily" even though they do not "see it whole."

It is in just such an age as this -an age of leisure, culture, and refinement-that love of nature most often appears-and this love was further intensified in the Augustans by imitation of the Alexandrians, the rise of great cities and the decay of polytheistic fancies. And, yet, they viewed nature passively rather than with buoyant pulse beats of joy or with the deep melancholy and exaltation of mysticism; it was a deep content and a quiet pleasure that they felt. As might be expected in such an age of comfort, they had little contact with the sterner forces of nature and their love of ease and "the sense of discomfort as well as of danger was... sufficient to repress the imaginative love of the sea or of mountain scenery."<sup>3</sup>

To get the general attitude of the Age toward the sea, a study of Vergil should furnish the keynote though, if we believed as Professor Garrod says, that "Aeneas never tasted gladly the salt sea on his lips nor felt the winds upon his face-or he felt them very wearily and vaguely and humbly,"<sup>4</sup> further study would seem to present no alluring possibilities.

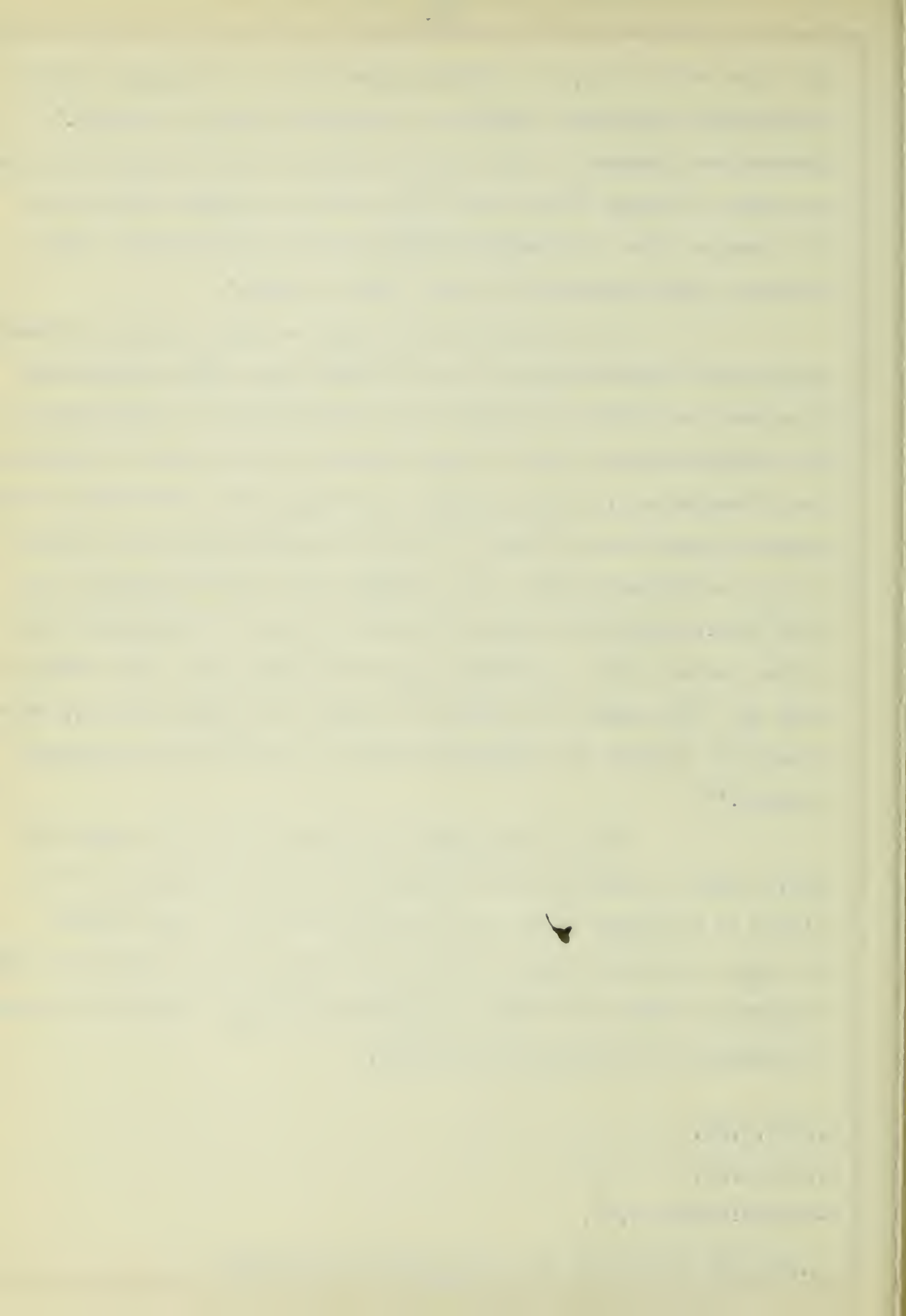
1. *ibid.* p. 38.

2. *ibid.* p. 53.

3. Sellar: *Vergil*, p. 35.

4. *English Literature and the Classics*, p. 15, *Vergil*





Since religion pervades the atmosphere of the Aeneid, some consideration of Vergil's religious beliefs and the divinities he portrays would seem to be of interest. Sellar says, "the peculiarity of Vergil's mind is that his belief is a kind of syncretism composed out of all these modes of thought and belief; Epicureanism and Stoicism";<sup>1</sup> and Professor Garrod says, "Vergil in his religion as in everything else, stands always on the brink of a revelation which he never consummates, so that we may ask—is this some god of mythology or the mystery of our own souls? This interpreter of the heavenly mysteries cannot yet tell us certainly whether God is a spirit or whether heaven is still as Homer made it."<sup>2</sup> However, though Vergil gives us pictures of the Homeric gods, he, also, makes use of an "impersonal Power" or "perhaps we should rather say undefined Power, "Fatum." The human and even the divine actors in the story are instruments in their hands<sup>3</sup>; "they are a regulating power superior to the gods, though they and the gods do not clash.

However, many references are made to the gods—and to the gods of the sea—as well as to the Fates; indeed, the gods or Fate are the link which binds together the different parts of the Aeneid. Anna says that it is by the favor of the gods that the Trojans have kept their course; a god orders Aeneas to disembark from Carthage<sup>4</sup>; the Trojans are exiled by fate;<sup>5</sup> under Phoebus' leadership,

1. Sellar: Vergil, p.

2. English Literature and the Classics, p. 165.

3. Sellar. Vergil, p. 337.

4. A. 4, 573.

5. A. 1, 2.



Aeneas has crossed the seas ;<sup>1</sup> and it was at his command that he was seeking Italy;<sup>2</sup> the Trojans are driven over the seas by fate;<sup>3</sup> Jupiter and Juno are intensely interested in the progress of Aeneas' wanderings and are appealed to for aid both by mortals and by gods but, in the Georgics, Vergil puts them aside for the moment and says:

"deum namque ire per omnia

terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum."<sup>4</sup>

Of necessity, an epic dealing with the sea must be filled with references to the sea divinities and the Aeneid is no exception.

Venus prays to Neptune against the wrath of Juno to allow the Trojans to reach Italy and he, granting her prayer,

"his ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,  
iungit equos auro genitor spumantiaque addit  
frena feris manibusque omnis effundit habenas.  
caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;  
subsidunt undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti  
sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere  
nimbi."<sup>5</sup>

Neptunian Troy is frequently mentioned;<sup>6</sup> Delos, sacra tellus gratissima Neptuno, Neptune greatly troubled rebuking Aeolus

1. A. 6, 59.

2. A. 3, 161.

3. A. 1, 32.

4. G. 4, 221.

5. A. 5, 816.

6. A. 2, 625; 2, 610.





for stirring up a tempest ,

"et alto

prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda.

disiectam Aeneae toto videt aequore classem...

levat ipse tridenti

et vastas aperit syrtis et temperat aequor

atque rotis summas levibus pulsabitur undas...

sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam

prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto

flectit equos curruque volans dat lora secundo."<sup>1</sup>

His train is described as follows:

"tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,

et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon

Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis

laeva tenent Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo,

Nisaeae Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceae."<sup>2</sup>

Sacrifices are made to Neptune, a bull<sup>3</sup> etc. and all the gods are called upon in prayers and curses. Anchises, standing with outstretched hands, prays for a safe voyage;<sup>4</sup> Anchises standing upon the stern, with a bowl of wine, calls for sacrifice to the gods;<sup>5</sup> Dido prays that the gods may hurl Aeneas upon hidden rocks;<sup>6</sup> steers are

1. A. 1. 127-57.

2. A. 5, 822-27.

3. A. 3, 119.

4. A. 3, 263.

5. A. 3, 528.

6. A. 4, 383.



sacrificed to the Tempests; shields have been hung up to Neptune<sup>2</sup>; etc.. Laocoon, priest of Neptune, sacrifices<sup>3</sup> a libation is poured to Ocean and Nymphs<sup>4</sup>; Neptune's monstrous herds are pastured by Proteus,

"est in Carphatio Neptuni gurgite vates  
caeruleus Proteus, magnum qui piscibus aequor  
et iuncto bipedem curru metitur equorum.

hic...

hunc et nymphae veneramur et ipse  
grandævos Nereus; novit namque omnia vates,  
quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur;  
quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius  
armenta et turpis pascit sun gurgite phocas....

sine si non ulla dabit praecepta, neque illum  
orando flectes;...

doli circum haec demum franguntur inanes....  
tum variae eludent species atque ora ferarum.  
fiet enim subito sus horridus atraque tigris  
squamosusque draco et fulva cervice leaena,  
aut acrem flammae sonitum dabit atque ita vinclis  
excidet, aut in aquas tenuis dilapsus abibit."<sup>5</sup>

Proteus is pictured coming forth from his cave<sup>6</sup>, and

1. A. 5, 772.

2. A. 5, 360.

3. A. 2, 202.

4. G. 4, 380.

5. G. 4, 387-411.

6. G. 4, 427.



references are made to Nereus.

The nymphs are, also, represented; Aeneas' ships become nymphs and, later, come to his assistance;<sup>2</sup> with Cyrene, lives the nymphs;<sup>3</sup> Galatea sweeter than the thyme of Hybla;<sup>4</sup> Triton, too, has a part to play; he and Cymothoe<sup>5</sup> push Aeneas' ships from the rocks and

"immanis Triton et caerula concha

exterrens freta, cui laterum tenus hispida nanti  
frons hominem praefert, in pristim desinit alvos:  
spumes semifero sub pectore murmurat unda."<sup>6</sup>

Jealous Triton had hurled Misenus on the rocks,

"forte cava dum personat aequora concha."<sup>7</sup>

The cliffs of the Sirens are referred to, although they do not get so much attention as Homer gave them.<sup>8</sup> Tethys with all her waves is mentioned.<sup>9</sup>

Scylla with her caeruleis canibus<sup>10</sup> and Charybdis, fearful prodigies are described:

"quam fama secuta est

candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstribus

1. Ec. 6, 31; A. 2, 214.

2. A. 9, 109-49; 10, 220.

3. G. 4, 341.

4. Ec. 7, 37.

5. A. 1, 142-56.

6. A. 10, 209.

7. A. 6, 171.

8. A. 5, 862.

9. G. 1, 31.

10. A. 3, 432.





Dulchias vexasse rates et gurgite in alto  
a, timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis:"<sup>1</sup>

implacata Charybdis

"imo barathri ter gurgite vastos  
sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras  
erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda."<sup>2</sup>

And Aeneas' experience is told with grim and terrifying realism:

"tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et, idem  
subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda.  
ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,  
ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.  
interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,  
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris."<sup>3</sup>

The infandi Cyclopes<sup>4</sup>, though not sea divinities appear in one sea description, which is very vivid.<sup>5</sup> Other inhabitants of the sea,

"tam maris immensi prolem et genus omne natantum  
litore in extremo ceu naufraga corpora fluctus  
proluit; insolitae fugiunt in flumina phocae."<sup>6</sup>

The dolphins, too, are represented.<sup>7</sup>

Though the gods are of extraordinary importance  
in man's dealing with the sea, yet other elements cannot be disre-

1. Ec. 6, 74.

2. A. 3, 421.

3. A. 3, 564.

4. A. 3, 643.

5. A. 3, 662.

6. G. 3, 541.

7. A. 8, 671.



garded—the weather, the winds, the stars, construction of vessels—and all these, in turn, we find contributing to the emotion of fear inspired in man.

The same distrust of the sea is expressed by Vergil as by the early poets of the Republic. Dido speaks in surprise of the fact that Aeneas is going to sail from Libya in winter.<sup>1</sup> Also

"fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor."<sup>2</sup>

and

"saepe illos aspera ponti interclusit hiems."<sup>3</sup>

and

"et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas."<sup>4</sup>

The winds, also, have to be placated by sacrifices, placemus ventos<sup>5</sup> and watched carefully that the voyage may be safe; Palinurus explorat ventos,<sup>6</sup> expectet... ventosque ferentis,<sup>7</sup> plaudi straverunt aequora venti<sup>8</sup> aurae vela vocant tumidusque inflatur carbasus Austri<sup>9</sup> but they do not give rise to many cases of figurative speech such as is found in the Romantic poets,

"O wind, O wingless wind that walkst the sea,

Weak wind, wing-broken, wearier wind than we

Who are yet not spirit-broken, maimed like thee!"<sup>10</sup>

and

"No life but the sea-wind's restless night and day!"<sup>11</sup>

The stars, too, called for every sailor's attention

1. A. 4, 309, 313, 52.

7. A. 4, 430.

2. G. 1, 327.

8. A. 5, 763.

3. A. 2, 110.

9. A. 3, 357.

4. A. 3, 285.

10. Swinburne: On the Gulls.

5. A. 3, 115.

11. Ibid.

6. A. 3, 513.

Vol. 10, Part 1, 1900

Published by the Royal Society

London: Printed by the Royal Society, 1, White Court, York Road, E.C. 4

Price 10s. 6d. per volume

Subscription price 10s. 6d. per volume

Single copies 1s. 6d.

Advertisements accepted for insertion

on the following conditions

1. That the advertisement shall be of a nature

not to offend the public

2. That the advertisement shall be of a nature

not to offend the public

3. That the advertisement shall be of a nature



since there were no

"secret charts

Red hieroglyphs of Empire, unknown charts

Of silken sea roads down the Golden West

Where all roads meet and East and West are one."<sup>1</sup>

"The contemplation of the starry heavens at sea awakened thoughts which have here and there found expression among the Latin poets. Amid all the incessant changes of the sea and earth and sky, the stars retain their places seemingly unchanged and their lustre undimmed as the centuries roll on, so that they have served to mankind as emblems of steadfastness,"<sup>2</sup> and indeed the early Romans needed a steadfast pilot to keep them on their course.

"Among the natural phenomena to be seen at sea, there is none more weird and impressive than what is known as St. Elmo's Fire—a silent form of electric discharge, which in certain states of the weather appears as a ball of pale light on the top of the masts of vessels and the ends of yard-arms. Such an appearance could not fail to excite the imagination of the Romans"<sup>3</sup> and "it was associated with Castor and Pollux."<sup>4</sup>

After the Golden Age,

"navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit  
Pleidas, hyadas, claramque Lycaonis arcton."<sup>5</sup>

1. Alfred Noyes: Drake.

2. Gerkie: p. 341; cf. Tib. Eleg. 1.9, 10; Ver. Ec. 5, 23.

3. and 4. Ibid. 340-42.

5. Hor. Carm. 1, 3, 2; 12, 27; 4, 8, 31; Statius, Silv. 3, 2, 8.

6. G. 1, 137.



They must be watched to tell

"quando infidum remis impellere marmor."<sup>1</sup>

and

"Atlas

torquet axem umero stellis ardentibus aptum."<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes it is secundus Zephyrus<sup>3</sup> which fills the sails, sometimes nimbosus Orion which dashes them upon a rock.

Besides being used as a guide for sea voyages, "the stars were in ancient times believed to have a potent influence on the earth"<sup>4</sup> and various descriptive epithets were applied to them: Orion-watery, stormy, fierce gloomy, hostile to sailors;<sup>5</sup> Kids-showery;<sup>6</sup> Hyades-tristis, rainy;<sup>7</sup> Aquarius.<sup>8</sup>

Vergil, like the poets of the Republic, thinks back to the Golden Age and deplores all the misfortune brought upon man after it passed:

"pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis  
and quae temptare Thetis ratibus."<sup>9</sup>

"casus abies visura marinas."<sup>10</sup>

He, also, gives pictures of the repairing of ships as

1. G. 1, 254.

2. A. 4, 480.

3. A. 1, 535.

4. Geikie, p. 232.

5. A. 1, 535; 4, 52; 7, 719; Carm. 3, 27, 17.

6. A. 9, 668.

7. Ib. 1, 774; 3, 516; Carm. 1, 3, 14.

8. G. 3, 304; Hor. S. 1, 1, 36.

9. Ec. 4, 31-2.

10. G. 2, 68.



well as the building of them; however, he not only deploras the passing of the Golden Age but has no plainly expressed love for the sea in his own day, though he may have liked a sea voyage if, during it, the sea assumed a placid appearance. The following expressions were no idle words to him, omnis pelagique minae<sup>1</sup>, rabies caelique marisque<sup>2</sup>, aspersa facies maris<sup>3</sup>, marisque omnibus exhaustos iam casibus<sup>4</sup> and it meant much when Aeneas' followers parari in quascunque velim pelagi deducere terra.<sup>5</sup>

Of a night just before a storm, Vergil says:

"non illa quisquam me nocte per altum

ire necque ab terra moneat convellere funem."<sup>6</sup>

and, surely, the following scene would inspire fear in any but the stoutest heart:

"ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla

occurit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,

olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber

noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris"<sup>7</sup>

Shipwreck was not uncommon and, yet, the pathos of the following is not lessened by that fact, unus abest...medio in fluctu

1. A. 6, 112.

2. A. 5, 801.

3. A. 5, 767.

4. A. 1, 596.

5. A. 2, 800.

6. G. 1, 456.

7. A. 5. 8-16.





submersum."<sup>1</sup> Familiarity with storms certainly never bred indifference in Aeneas and his faithful band:

"continuo venti volvunt mare magnaue surgunt  
 aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.  
 involvere diem nimbi et nox umida caelum  
 abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes,  
 excutimur cursu et caecis erramus in undis.  
 ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo  
 nec meminisse viae media Palinurus in undis.  
 tris adeo incertos caeca caligine soles  
 erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.  
 quarto terra die primum se attolere tandem  
 visa, aperire montis ac volvere fumum.  
 vela cadunt, remis insurgimus; haud mora, nautae,  
 adnixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt."<sup>2</sup>

Small wonder that, after being tossed about by the "shrine subservient waves" in this fashion, the Trojans hailed the Lybian coast with joy:

"defessi Aeneadae quae proxima litora cursu  
 contendunt petere ...

ac magno telluris amore  
 egressi optata potiuntur Troes harena  
 et sale tabentis artus in litore ponunt."<sup>3</sup>

and the calm aspect of the sea was a pleasure:

"nam neque me tantum venientis sibilus Austri

1. A. 1, 583.

2. A. 1, 82-92; 102-24; 3, 196-209.

3. A. 1, 157.



nec percussa iuvant fluctu tam litora,nec quae".<sup>1</sup>

The following seems to suggest at least one pleasant trip:

"hinc altas cautes proipectaque saxa Pachyni  
radinus et fatis numquam concessa moveri  
apparet Camerina procul campique Geloi...  
arduos inde Acragans ostentat maxima longe  
moenia ."<sup>2</sup>

and

"linquimus Ortygiae portus pelagoque volamus,  
bacchatamque iugis Naxum viridemque Donusam,  
Olearum niveamque Parum sparsasque per aequor  
Cycladas et crebris legimus freta concita terris."<sup>3</sup>

In these scenes,a quiet peace and contemplative enjoyment seem to be the pervading emotion,a peace and quiet and a thoughtfulness such as we find in the Eclogues and Georgics<sup>4</sup> which inspired the following:

"The long slow sigh of the waves  
That creamed across the lonely time-worn reef  
All round the island seemed the very voice  
Of the Everlasting."<sup>4</sup>

The shore is often shown and appears in pictures,

1.Ec.5,82-4.

2.A.3,699-708.

3.A,3,124;3,270-7.

4. Alfred Noyes:Drake





varying from the pitiful picture of Orpheus yearning for Eurydice on the lonely shore and "solacing love's anguish with his hollow shell"<sup>1</sup>; to the picture of Aeneas and his joyful comrades feasting gaily around the fire<sup>2</sup> to the celebration of games,<sup>3</sup> the gloomy funeral pipes set up by Aeneas and Tarchon;<sup>4</sup> Aeneas' stealthy preparation to steal from Carthage in the moonlight,<sup>5</sup> the slaying of a shining white bullock to the gods<sup>6</sup> and Aeneas listening breathlessly to Polydorus' startling tale. Frequent mention is made of the waves breaking on the shore,

"qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus  
nunc ruit ad terram scopulosque superiacit unda  
spumeus extremamque sinu perfundit harenam,  
nunc rapidus retro atque aestu revoluta resorbens  
saxa fugit litusque vado labente relinquit."<sup>7</sup>

The above is a realistic description of what Shelley expressed more figuratively in the following:

"the Earth and Ocean seem  
To sleep in one another's arms and dream  
Of waves, flowers, clouds, woods, rocks—and all that we  
Read in their smiles and call reality."<sup>8</sup>

1. G. 4, 464.

2. A. 1, 193.

3. A. 5, 114.

4. A. 11, 184.

5. A. 4, 289.

6. A. 3, 21.

7. A. 11, 624.

8. Shelley: *Epipsychidion*.



Corydon says:

"nuper me in litore vidi,  
cum placidum ventis staret mare."<sup>1</sup>

which suggests Byron's

"Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form  
Glasses itself in tempests; in all times  
Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,  
lcing the pole or in the torrid clime  
Dark heaving;—the boundless, endless and sublime—  
The image of eternity; even from out thy slime  
The monsters of the deep are made; each zone  
Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone"

In the Georgics and Eclogues, Vergil frequently mentions  
the sea birds seen along the shore.<sup>3</sup>

Frequent allusions are, also, made to the sun rising from  
the ocean:

"Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit."<sup>4</sup>

and

"postera vix summos spargebat lumine montis  
orta dies, cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt  
solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant."<sup>5</sup>

Compare with

"And yet there is a moment, when the sun's highest  
point

1. Ec. 2, 25.

2. Childe Harold.

3. G. 1, 388, 383, 398; 3, 338; 1, 363.

4. A. 11, 1.

5. A. 12, 114.



Peeps like a star o'er Ocean's western edge  
 When those far clouds of feathery gold  
 Shaded with the deepest purple,gleam  
 Like islands on a dark blue sea."<sup>1</sup>

Though there were innumerable references to sunrises,the sunset<sup>2</sup> seems to have been ignored by the Roman poets,perhaps because of the melancholy thoughts the dying day tends to arouse in the thoughtful person;however,evening and night were both portrayed<sup>3</sup>.

In passing to Vergil's descriptive faculty and power of poetic imagery,a rich field fresh and large presents itself,though he is much less imaginative than Homer.

Winter to farmers is:

"ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae,  
 puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas."<sup>4</sup>

The bees on rainy days balance themselves on stones

"ut cumbae instabiles fluctu iactante saburram  
 tollunt."<sup>5</sup>

Bulls

"fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto,  
 longius ex altoque sinum trahit,utque volutus  
 ad terras immane sonat per saxa neque ipso  
 monte minor procumbit,at ima exaestuat unda  
 vorticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam."<sup>6</sup>

1.Shelley:Demon of the World.

2.A.3,508.

3.Ver.Ec.1,82;2,66-7;G.3,33 6,156;Statius Silv.2,7,25;Lucr.4,443.

4.G.1,303.

5.G.4,195

6.G.3,237.





The throngs rush to Charon

"aut ad terram gurgite ab alto  
quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus  
trans pontum fugat."<sup>1</sup>

The Trojan children are

"delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando  
Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque perundas."<sup>2</sup>

Figurative expressions are; variosque irarum concitat aestus"<sup>3</sup>; sub luminis edidit oras,"<sup>4</sup> "magno curarum fluctuat aestu"; <sup>5</sup> "ingentis oras belli"; <sup>6</sup> "bees buzz" ut mare sollicitum stridit refluentibus undis"<sup>7</sup>. There are innumerable other figures of speech and figurative expressions taken from the sea which it is impossible to quote here.<sup>8</sup>

Sea descriptions are, also, portrayed by Vergil with terms drawn from observation of life on land; Aeneas' ships reach their haven,

"aspice bis senos laetantis agmine cynos,  
aetheria quos lapsa plaga Iovis ales aperto  
turbabat caelo; nunc terras ordine longo  
aut capere aut captas iam respectare videntur:

1. A. 6, 310.

2. A. 5, 594.

3. A. 4, 564.

4. G. 1, 303.

5. G. 4, 195.

6. G. 3, 237.

7. G. 4, 262.

8. A. 1, 142, 149; 5, 197; 7, 527, 586, 716; 8, 589; 10, 693, 764; 11, 624; 12, 365, 451; G. 4, 429.



ut reduces illi ludunt stridentibus alis  
et coetu cinxere polum cantusque dedere."<sup>1</sup>

The Trojans leave Carthage

"veluti ingentem formicae farris acervom  
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt:  
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas  
convectant calle angusto, pars grandia trudunt  
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt  
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet."<sup>2</sup>

Sergestus brings in his barque

"qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,  
aerea quem oblicum rota transit aut gravis ictu  
seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;  
nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,  
parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibilis colla  
arduus attolens, pars volnere clauda retentat  
nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem."<sup>3</sup>

Vergil gives us pictures of vividness—Aeneas asleep on  
the stern<sup>4</sup>, Palinurus falling asleep with reluctance<sup>5</sup>, hurled from  
the high stern, calling in vain for help, sinking into the black  
waters while the unpiloted vessel moves with indifference and piti-  
lessness on its way<sup>6</sup>, the shores of Circe gleaming in the moonlight<sup>7</sup>,  
1.A.1, 393.

2.4, 401.

3.5, 271.

4.5, 772.

5.5, 840.

6.5, 840.

7.7, 6-10.





the stormy encounter with Charybdis<sup>1</sup>, formidable Scylla<sup>2</sup>, the Cyclops striding in wrath over the shore in pursuit of the terror-stricken Trojans<sup>3</sup>; Aeneas, his head bound with olive leaves and standing high upon the prow, sacrificing to the gods<sup>4</sup>; the sacrifice of Laocoon when the huge serpents swim from out the sea<sup>5</sup>; the contest set by Aeneas<sup>6</sup>; the landing of the Trojans on the Libyan coast, weary, tense from their recent perils

"They sat them down upon the yellow sand,  
Between the sun and moon upon the shore;  
And sweet it was to dream of Fatherland,  
Of child and wife and slave; but evermore  
Most weary seemed the sea, weary the oar,  
Weary the wandering fields of barren foam,"<sup>7</sup>

the cliffs gleaming faintly on the shore, the feast upon the shore while the Trojans dried their drenched garments and, in uncertainty and fear, discuss their lost comrades<sup>8</sup>, the Trojan women on the shore plaintively scanning the sea and yearning for home<sup>9</sup>.

Note the pathos of Aeneas sane ignotis iacetur in undis<sup>10</sup>  
the Trojans watching their native home disappear while they sail

1. A. 3, 553.

2. 3, 423.

3. 3, 667.

4. 5, 763.

5. 2, 201.

6. 5, 124.

7. Tennyson: The Lotos Eaters.

8. 1, 157.

9. 5, 611.

10. 10, 48.



forth on a will o' the wisp search<sup>1</sup>, Dido with anguish watching  
 Aeneas' ship sail over the horizon<sup>2</sup>, Leander in the 'starless night  
 with only the surge and moan of the stormy sea in his ears swimming  
 the Hellespont.<sup>3</sup>

Note the beauty of diction

"Eridanus, quo non alius per pingua cultu  
 in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis."<sup>4</sup>

and

"iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto  
 Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,  
 cum venti posuere omnisque repente resedit  
 flatus et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae."<sup>5</sup>

Compare the above with

"Dawn skims the sea with flying feet of gold  
 With sudden feet that graze the gradual sea."<sup>6</sup>

Another vivid picture is

"adspirant aurae in noctem nec candida cursus  
 luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus."<sup>7</sup>

Miss Anderson in her book "A Study of Vergil's Descriptions of Nature", notes that "about half of Vergil's descriptions are mood sketches"-and "the most common of his moods is tenderness."<sup>8</sup>  
 1. A.3, 9-12

2. A.4, 587.

3. G.3, 261.

4. G.4, 372.

5. A.7, 25.

6. Swinburne, A Wasted Vigil.

7. A.7, 6-10.

8. G.3, 324-39; A.3, 532-6; 4, 522-8; 5, 124-8; Ec.9, 57-8; A, 10, 292-3. p.14.





though, she also quotes descriptions of nature in which turbulence and restiveness are emphasized<sup>1</sup>. Then, noting that "the vividness of a description depends largely upon the number of concrete sense-appeals which it may make"<sup>2</sup>, she lists the number of sense-appeals in Vergil's descriptions; sight, in form<sup>3</sup>, color,<sup>4</sup> and here it might be well to observe that, whereas the poets of the Republic used primary colors, Vergil used shades in his descriptions, in this way, resembling the English Romantic Poets. Continuing, Miss Anderson lists the appeals to sight in light and shade<sup>5</sup>, also, the appeals to sense of touch<sup>6</sup>, to temperature<sup>7</sup>, to taste<sup>8</sup>, to smell<sup>9</sup>, to motion<sup>10</sup>, to hearing.<sup>11</sup>

If a comparison were made of the adjectives used in the Republic and those used by Vergil, the results would seem to show that, whereas the poets of the Republic considered the sea more in its fearful and treacherous aspects and applied adjectives to it

1. G. 1, 356-70; 1b 370-90; 3, 259-62; A. 1, 245-6.

2. Anderson: p. 72.

3. G. 1, 360; A. 3, 16, 223; 1b, 238, 564, 643; 10, 623; 11, 184.

4. A. 5, 2; G. 3, 237, 359; 4, 373; A. 4, 583; 5, 122, 374; 7, 528, 25, 778; 8, 677, 672.

A. 8, 673; 10, 209; 12, 182; 6, 643, 320; 8, 83.

5. A. 1, 89; 3, 195, 3, 200; 4, 587; 5, 11; 7, 9, 24; 8, 22-4, 677; 11, 913-4.

6. G. 1, 373; A. 5, 594; 6, 351; 9, 817; 12, 476.

7. G. 2, 451; A. 7, 719.

8. A. 3, 534; 5, 158, 866, 182, 237, 775.

9. G. 2, 139.

10. 4, 1, 206, 327, 357, 443; 3, 28; 4, 305, 529; A. 1, 106, 246; 2, 419; 3, 268, 285.

4, 313; 3, 557; 4, 523; 5, 694, 820, 821; 7, 31, 567, 810, 28; 10, 292, 103.

11. G. 1, 358, 334, 362; 2, 160, 162, 163; 3, 337, 239; 4, 262; A. 1, 246, 164; 3, 555

3, 561; 5, 127; 7, 588. These references are only to the sea.









When we pass from Vergil to Horace, we notice a change in attitude; Vergil, though he portrays many storms, is fond of the sea when it is calm and tranquil but Horace distrusts it at all times, although we shall see later that this distrust was not a characteristic of his whole life. Certainly, he leaves no reader in doubt about his opinion.

Simply looking over the adjectives he applies to it, reveals clearly his attitude—ventosus<sup>1</sup>, belluosus<sup>2</sup>, avarus<sup>3</sup>, raucus<sup>4</sup>, inquietens<sup>5</sup>, improbis<sup>6</sup>, hibernus<sup>7</sup>, curvans<sup>8</sup>, ater<sup>9</sup>, turgidus<sup>10</sup>, irens<sup>11</sup>, dissociabilis<sup>12</sup>, naufragum<sup>13</sup>, asperum<sup>14</sup>, imperiosius<sup>15</sup>, revivum<sup>16</sup>, avidus nauta<sup>17</sup>, dura navis<sup>18</sup>; little did he care whether it was "sapphire deep", "luminous" and "delicate"; he only saw it in its restive, imperious, capricious aspects. And, yet, this is the same poet that drew much of his inspiration from inland nature.

However, if we judge by Horace's own words, it was bitter experience that led him to regard the sea with such depths of gloom, as he says:

1. O. 3, 4, 45.

2. O. 4, 14, 47.

3. O. 3, 29, 61.

4. O. 2, 14, 14.

5. O. 3, 3, 5.

6. O. 3, 9, 22.

7. Ep. 17, 55.

8. O. 1, 33, 16.

9. Sat. 2, 2, 17.

10. O. 2, 10, 24.

11. Ep. 1, 11, 10.

12. O. 4, 5, 22.

13. O. 1, 16, 10.

14. O. 1, 5, 6.

15. O. 3, 6, 22.

16. O. 1, 9, 10.

17. O. 1, 1, 14.

18. O. 2, 13, 27.





"ego quid sit ater

Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus  
peccet Iapyx."<sup>1</sup>

It is only love of gain and fear of poverty which induce  
man to entrust himself to the mercies of the sea, and the trader,  
surely, must be dear to the gods since

"anno revisens aequor Atlanticum impune,  
exitio est avidum mare nautis."<sup>2</sup>

and

"illi robur et aes triplex  
circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci  
commisit pelago ratem  
primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum  
decertantem Aquilonibus  
nec tristis Hyadas nec rabiem Noti  
quo non arbiter Hadriae  
maior, tollere seu ponere volt freta.  
quem mortis timuit gradum,  
qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,  
qui vidit mare turbidum et  
infamis scopulos, Acroceraunia?  
nequiquam deus abscidit  
prudens Oceano dissociabili  
terras, si tamen impiae  
non tangenda rates transiliunt vada."<sup>3</sup>

1, 3, 27, 18,

2, 1, 28, 18.

3, 1, 3, 10.



He can think of nothing worse for his enemies than that they may feel the blind onset of rising Auster and the roaring of darkling sea and the shore quivering with the shock<sup>1</sup> and, when addressing Lydia, he feels he has expressed himself well when he has called her *iracundior Hadria*.<sup>2</sup> Another comparison is as follows:

"non saxa nudis surdiora navitis

Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo."<sup>3</sup>

another comparison in a calmer tone,

"Chloris gleaming" *ut pura nocturno revidet  
luna mare.*"<sup>4</sup>

A realistic bit of description is given in the following:

"Otium divos rogat in patenti  
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes  
condidit lunam neque certa iulgent  
sidera nautis."<sup>5</sup>

In addressing a flirt, he says,

"me tabula sacer  
votiva paries indicat uvida  
suspendisse potenti  
vestimenta maris deo."<sup>6</sup>

In Horace, as in the other Latin poets, the stars get some attention,

1. 3, 27, 21-4.

2, O. 3, 9, 33.

3. Ep. 17, 54.

4. 2, 5, 19.

5. 2, 16, 1-4.

6. 1, 5, 12.



"quorum simul alba nautis  
 stella refulsit,  
 defluit saxis agitatus umor,  
 concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes,  
 et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto  
 unda recumbit."<sup>1</sup>  
 "sic fratres Hellenae, lucida sidera"<sup>2</sup>  
 "clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis  
 quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates."<sup>3</sup>  
 "Orion infestus nautis."<sup>4</sup>

Few allusions to the gods are found and, when they do appear, seem to serve artistic and aesthetic purposes rather than to represent Horace's firm religious belief. Fortune is taking the place of some of the old Greek mythological gods,<sup>5</sup>

"te dominam aequoris,  
 quicumque Bithyna iacessit  
 Carpathium pelagus carina."<sup>6</sup>

As has been mentioned, the sea coast brought pleasure to the Augustans even though the sea itself did not strike a very re-

1.1,12,27-32.

2.1,3,2,

3.4,8,31.

4.Ep.15,7-8.

5.S.2,3,205-7,190-1; Ep.17,8,15-7;9,7-10; Odes,2,16,1-4;2,8,14;1,5,13-

16;1,9,9-11;1,35,6-8;4,14,47;4,8,13;1,12,14;1,15,1-5;1,17,20;1,30,

6;3,28,1;4,11,14.

6.1,35,6.





sponsive chord in their hearts."To enjoy a wide view of the sea was evidently a prime object with the citizens of Rome in their choice of residences on the coast,By the wealthier portion of the community,the pursuit of this object was carried to an extravagant length. At a vast expense,huge moles were piled up on the beach and pushed out into the sea.On these substructures,palatia! mansions were erected.The owners had,thus, nothing to interrupt their outlook on the open sea,whose surface rippled against the base of their walls. So common had this practice become in Horace's time that he again and again alludes to it<sup>1</sup>-the luxury of his time was covering the sea on both sides of Italy with these amphibious structures."<sup>2</sup>"Each of the populous seaside resorts presented other attractions...akin to those of the city"<sup>3</sup>-thermae,theatres,amphitheatres,public shows, cook-shops,wine taverns.These places,however,"tended to become more and more vulgarized and ...Baiae,in the end,acquired such a reputation<sup>4</sup> for vice and extravagance that respectable people preferred not to stay there."<sup>5</sup>.

One reason for the Roman poets' lack of reference to the tide-a feature of the ocean that is most impressive and to many poets suggests philosophical lines-was the fact that"of one striking coast feature of the outer ocean,they could have no real experience on the nearly tideless beaches of the Mediterranean-the

1.Odes,24,3;2,18,20;Ovid,A.P.3,126.

2.Geikie:p.307.

3,1b.

4.Cic.2.Att.1,16,10;Prop.1,11,30;Sen.Epist.51;Statius,3,5,94;Cic,12

5.Geikie:p.308-9.



alternate tidal retreat and advance of the waves, whereby such wide spaces of sand are elsewhere laid bare at low-water, and such remarkable changes in the scenery of a coast line are brought about twice a day. Natives of the Mediterranean lands were astonished when, for the first time, they beheld these tidal effects on the margin of the outer ocean."<sup>1</sup>

By the time of the Augustan Age, not only did life extend to the sea shore but, also, to foreign countries and trade no longer was limited by the boundaries of land.

"On almost every page of Horace, we have evidence that the intense commercial activity of his time had made a deep and abiding impression on his imagination. One thinks first here of the ever-recurring mercator, the merchant engaged in transmarine commerce and sailing the seas in his own ship<sup>2</sup>. The mercator is Horace's typical example "of that kind of restless ambition that leads men to devote all their energies to the amassing of wealth."<sup>3</sup> On foreign lands, Italy relied for a part of its food supply-grain<sup>4</sup>, though it did have a small supply of its own, and honey<sup>5</sup>; and witness is made of foreign trade and home industries by references to building materials,<sup>6</sup> fish<sup>7</sup>,

1. Geikie: p. 311; cf. *Italicus*, *Fun.* 3, 45-60.

2. S. 1, 1, 6; C. 1, 1, 15-8; 1, 31, 9-15; 3, 24, 35-44; 1, 35, 6-8; 2, 13, 13-6; 2, 16, 1-4  
3, 29, 57-61; 4, 6, 19; Epode, 17, 20; Epp. 1, 1, 45-6; 1, 16, 69-72; A. P. 114ff.

3. Knapp: *Rom. Business Life in Horace*, *Classical Journal*, vol. 2, p. 111.

4. C. 1, 31, 1-4; 1, 1, 9-10; 3, 16, 50-2; S. 2, 3, 87.

5. C. 2, 6, 14-5; 3, 16, 33; 4, 2, 27; S. 2, 2, 15; .

6. C. 1, 19, 6; 3, 1, 41; 1, 31, 6; 2, 16, 35-6; 4, 13, 3; Epp. 2, 2, 121; 1, 10, 26; S. 2, 4, 84

7. S. 2, 4, 33; 2, 4, 32; 2, 4, 34; 2, 8, 46; 2, 4, 66; 2, 4, 68; 2, 4, 40-2; 2, 8, 6; 2, 8, 50;

2, 2, 22-3; 2, 3, 227-8; 2, 2, 16-8, 48; 2, 3, 225; 2, 4, 45-6, 75-7; 2, 8, 26-8, 52.





fruit,<sup>1</sup>wines<sup>2</sup>,perfumes<sup>3</sup>,other articles of luxury such as ointments, jewelry and wearing apparel<sup>4</sup>;"these allusions give the impression of a vast volume of commercial dealings,energetically carried on with remote and widely sundered regions,"and "this impression is greatly strengthened by miscellaneous references "<sup>5</sup>.

In connection with trade and fishing,the subject of sea sickness<sup>6</sup> is quite naturally suggested,though it evidently did not come to Horace's mind as a logical result of his thoughts on such phases of life.When he did write about it,however,it was in <sup>s</sup>all seriousness and earnestness and with no touch of flippancy or humor.

Though Horace pays a great deal of attention to trade in connection with the sea and though he is much less imaginative<sup>7</sup> and uses much fewer figurative expressions than Vergil,yet he has foreshadowed some modern poets in figures used of the sea.

He likens life to a river flowing to the sea<sup>8</sup>-the sea,the emblem of eternity-and "nos manet Oceanus circumvargus"<sup>9</sup> suggests the line in Arnold's Margaret "in the sea of life enlisted"

1.S.2,3,272;2,4,70;2,4,70;Epp.1,7,14ff.

2.C.1,27,10;2,3,8;1,1,19;2,7,21;1,20,11;1,37,5;3,28,3;2,4,553,3,143;

Ep.3,34;C.1,17,21;S.2,4,29;2,8,9.

3.C.2,2,6;3,1,44;2,7,7;3,29,

4.C.1,31,12;2,11,16;3,29,60;.

5.Epp.1,6,31;1,6,33;C.3,29,60;1,29,15;1,16,9;1,1,13. Knapp:p.115

6.Ep.9,35;Epist.1,1,93.

7.S.1,2,109;Ep.17,54;11,5;5,79;O.4,4,43;4,5,8;4,14,20;2,10,1;2,5,19

8. O.3,29,33.

9.Ep.16,40.



Epode 16 shows us the change in Horace's attitude toward the sea. Hitherto, with the exception of Catullus, no poet has shown any love of adventure, any love of the mystery and glamour which might well incite men to long voyages of exploration, but, now, we find this adventurous enthusiasm in Horace though it was undoubtedly ~~was~~ only characteristic of his youth.

"vos quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite lucem  
Etrusca praeter et volate litora.  
nos manet Oceanus circumagus: arva beata  
putamus arva divites et insulas, etc."<sup>1</sup>

This eager Wanderlust gave way in his manhood to a hatred and distrust;<sup>2</sup> and passages expressing the latter moods are so much more frequent than those expressing the former that his youthful fearlessness and liking for the sea are apt to be overlooked or disregarded.

His whole philosophy of life is couched in terms of the sea,

"rectius vives, licini, neque altum  
semper urgendo neque, dum procellas  
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo  
litus iniquum"<sup>3</sup>.

and, as well as figurative expressions, he gives us vivid bits of realism such as the sea weed thrown upon the shore by the tempest<sup>4</sup> and the launching of ships in the spring<sup>5</sup>.

1. Ep. 16, 39-42.

2. Epist. 2, 1, 114; 1, 11, 8; Ep. 16, 57; 2, 6; O. 1, 16, 9-10; 1, 33, 15; 1, 1, 13-8;  
1, 28, 18; 2, 13, 14-6; 3, 1, 25.

3. O. 2, 10, 1-4.

4. O. 3, 17, 90.

5. O. 1, 4, 2.





What was the voice of the sea to Horace?"it was never one voice but a tumult of many voices-voices of drowned men;the muttering of multitudinous dead;the moaning of innumerable ghosts, all rising to wage war against the living at the witch call of storms".<sup>1</sup>

The spirit of the Georgics pervades the poetry of Tibullus—he does not have the ardor of Propertius nor the brilliant imagination of Ovid but he has a delicate beauty of diction and a faultless art. Knowing his love for quiet country life, his hatred for the tumult of war and, as a result, the tranquility pervading his elegy, one would not search in his poetry for a nomadic zest for sea life and an exhilarating spirit of adventure; rather one looks for "peace of noon that strikes the sea to sleep". Yet, though his diction has the delicacy of Dresden china, his thought is conventional.

In addressing Messalla, Tibullus writes quite the conventional thing in regard to the sea and the Golden Age: How happy were the people in Saturn's reign

"nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas  
effusum ventis praebueratque sinum,  
nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris  
presserat externa navita merce ratem."

but now under Jove

"caedes et vulnera semper  
nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae."<sup>2</sup>

1. Lafcadio Hearn: Chita.

2. 1, 3, 49-50; 1, 1, 49-50; 2, 3, 45-6; 2, 6, 3-4; 3, 4, 85; 2, 3, 39-40; 2, 4, 7-10;

2, 5, 78-80; 3, 7, 193.





Truly, he deserves wealth qui maris et tristes terre  
potest fluvias<sup>1</sup> for, indeed, it was love of gain which directed men  
 to the sea,

"praeda vago iussit geminae pericula ponte  
 bellica cum dubiis rostra dedit ratibus."<sup>2</sup>  
 yet, however great the sea's dangers be,

"O ego, ne possem tales sentire dolores,  
 quam mallem in gelidis montibus esse lapis  
 stare vel insanis cautes obnoxia ventis,  
 naufraga quam vasti tunderet unda maris."<sup>3</sup>

The last line in its onomatopoeitic effect is so expressive of the sea  
 that one is led to think that, here at least, Tibullus is surely writ-  
 ing from intense personal experience. Both in Tibullus and Propertius,  
 we see references to the pearls<sup>4</sup> brought to Rome from the Red Sea.  
 Cornutus prefers his wife's love to all the pearls,

"gemmarum quidquid felicibus indis  
 nascitur, Eoi qua maris unda rubet."<sup>5</sup>

He, too, expresses the national spirit, for Rome will rule the earth

"quaque patent vitus et qua fluctantibus undis  
 solis anhelantes abluunt amnis equos."<sup>6</sup>

If Tibullus had made a voyage, he would doubtless have

1. 1, 1, 49.

2. 2, 3, 37.

3. 2, 4, 7.

4. 2, 2, 15-6; 2, 4, 29-30; 3, 3, 17; 3, 8, 19-20.

5. 2, 2, 15.

6. 2, 5, 57.



been very ill at ease--the ease and luxury of Rome did not teach men to brave with exaltation and quickening joy a life of adventure on leaky vessels, and, indeed, the vessels the Romans knew were no mighty galleons of romance such as nomadic souls dreamed about. Since there is such a contrast between Tibullus and his representation of the sea, and since he had no extended experience on the sea, the conclusion seems a natural one that he represents the conventional attitude rather than any opinion deduced from actual bitter encounters with the elements.

Propertius did not find even in the calmer aspects of nature the peace that charmed Vergil, Horace and Tibullus; indeed, now that peace and security were a matter of course, the great contrast between peace and war did not fill men's hearts with such love for nature--their thoughts were directed rather to the society of the time, and that society, together with the wealth and ease which accompanied it, were the natural causes for the decadence of the latter part of the Augustan Age and the first part of the Empire, a decadence which, in every nation, inevitably follows in the wake of a period of self-satisfaction and luxury. Art became the servant of pleasure, emotion led to sensuousness and the creed of the day was such as that mirrored forth in the philosophy of the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, not "the fruit of experience but experience itself". Naturally, in such an age, man's conception of nature assumes a hectic hue, a bland affectation or a careless indifference; its influence as a consolatory friend to man vanishes away and can return only when sincerity steals back to the hearts of man.

Propertius, however, because of the intensity of the





passion stands apart from the main movement of his day and, for that reason, might be expected to resemble Horace and Vergil in their love of nature, at least in its calmer moods.

His intense power of imagination should present some vivid portrayals of nature and this it surely does for us in his lament for Paetus. Sellar compares this elegy to Milton's *Lycidas*. By contrast, Propertius, with master hand, paints on the canvas of our thoughts the full horror of the situation—the delicate body of Paetus and the surging, resistless, un pitying waves—a burial at home bemoaned by friends and in the midst of all the scenes held dear to him in contrast to the nunc pro tumultu Carpathium omne mare, a lonely grave in the endless stretches of unfeeling sea—the merry feast before his household gods in contrast with the midnight scene of horror, Paetus shipwrecked calling in an ecstasy of fear to the cold stars for aid before he sank into the gigantic gloomy, unending night,

Even the keen painfulness of the contrast in Tennyson's vivid picture

"I hear the noise about thy keel,  
I hear the bell struck in the night.  
I see the cabin window bright,  
I see the sailor at the wheel.

Thou bringst the sailor to his wife,  
And travelled men from foreign lands;  
And letters into trembling hands,  
And thy dark freight a vanished life."



cannot match the awful realism,

"nova longinquis piscibus esca natat."<sup>1</sup>

The same vividness of imagination and impressibility to nature is seen in his dream of the shipwreck of his sweetheart who, after battling with the Ionian waves,

"nec iam umore graves tollere posse comas  
qualem purpureis agitatam fluctibus Helen,  
aurea quam molli tergo revexit ovis."<sup>2</sup>

then rose and called his name inciting him to such intensity and agony of mind that he tried to cast himself from the top of a rock to help her, though feeling the same paralysis experienced in almost all such dreams—"in a dream when one strives to call and yet can merely moan."

Is it any wonder that, after these experiences, Propertius says,

"a pereat, quicumque rates et vela paravit  
primus et invito gurgite fecit iter."<sup>3</sup>

and

"et maris et terrae caeca pericla viae  
longa intervalla profundi  
naufragus Aegaea vera aqua  
aeterna iactamur in unda."<sup>4</sup>

and, like Horace, finds no more apt comparison than

"non ita Carpathiae variant Aquilonibus undae  
nec dubio nubes vertitur atra Noto."<sup>5</sup>

1. 3, 7.

2. 2, 26.

3. 1, 17, 18.

4. 2, 27, 6.

5. 2, 5, 9-11.





Though Propertius concentrates so much on a few vivid pictures, he, also, gives us the usual number of references to the wind<sup>1</sup>, stars<sup>2</sup>, birds<sup>3</sup>, the shore<sup>4</sup>, jewels<sup>5</sup>, Baiae<sup>6</sup>, the gods and creatures of the sea<sup>7</sup>, perils and storms of the sea<sup>8</sup>, and figures drawn from the sea.<sup>9</sup>

When we come to Ovid, we find an inimitable storyteller. "In the exuberance of fancy which creates material for narration, in the power of presenting it with rapidity and brightness and, in the power of making natural scenes and the picturesque movement of life present to the eye, no Roman poet of any age equalled him."<sup>10</sup> "He had a keen enjoyment in the life of nature,, in the outward refreshment to the eye and ear, if not the outward contemplative enthusiasm of Lucretius or the deep meditative joy of Vergil."<sup>11</sup>

As great a romancer as he was, his romance of the sea has the note of dislike and terror<sup>12</sup> throughout it all; he could not lift himself on the wings of fancy to a consummate glorying in the

1. 4, 3, 40.

2. 4, 1, 85-6, 147-50; 4, 4, 64.

3. 3, 10, 6-9.

4. 3, 13, 6; 4, 5, 21; 1, 2, 15-8.

5. 3, 4, 1-2; 2, 16, 17; 1, 14, 12; 1, 8, 39.

6. 1, 11, 15-4.

7. 2, 16, 3-4; 2, 32, 16; 3, 12, 28-34; 3, 2, 7-8.

8. 3, 7, 5-12; 3, 11, 5; 4, 1, 88; 2, 27, 5; 1, 6, 1; 2, 30, 1; 2, 4, 27; 1, 1, 28.

9. 1, 3, 1; 2, 5, 9; 3, 3, 22; 3, 3, 11; 3, 3, 3; 3, 9, 35; 3, 15, 31; 3, 17, 1; 3, 20, 1.

10. Sellar: Horace, p. 346.

11. lb. p. 349.

12. Trist. 1, 6, 7; 1, 4; 1, 11; 5, 9, 17; 11, 13, 14; 12, 27, 39, 50; Am. 2, 10, 33; 3, 2, 47; 2, 11, 1-56; Ex. P. 1, 3, 53; 2, 10, 33; 2, 7, 8; 2, 3, 25; 3, 9; 1, 6, 30.





struggle with the elements,

"Prima malis docuit mirantibus aequoris undis

Beliaeo pinus vertice caesa vias,

quae concurrentis inter temeraria cautes

conspiciam fulso vellere vexit ovem

O utinam, nequis remota freta longa moverit,

Argo funestas pressa babasset aquas"<sup>1</sup>

Go only as far as the beach for cetera caeca via est.<sup>2</sup> He speaks with bitterness of his friends watching his shipwreck from the land and never bearing him aid.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, his epithets for the sea are not so harsh as those of Propertius, apertum, tremidum, caeruleum, et acidum, molle, ambiguae viae, surdum, insanum, but, nevertheless, his feelings are bitter enough and this bitterness was intensified after his exile when his own shipwrecked life occupied the stage of his mind.

As a storyteller, Ovid is a consummate artist, and, with artistic precision and deftness, has set before the eyes of the world unforgettable scenes. Ariadne, deserted by Theseus, waking in all the glory of the silent moonlight, walking along the deserted shores, calling to Theseus, her only answer her own cry reechoing from the rocks, climbing the mountain to gaze out over the sea, seeing the ship just passing out of sight, stretching out her hands to him in hopeless abandon and an intensity of sorrow at her loss.<sup>4</sup> This is only one of the many scenes where a deserted maiden roams the lonely

1. Am. 2, 11, 1-6.

2. Ib. 13-6.

3. Trist. 5, 917.

4. Her. 10; .



strand straining her eyes for a glimpse of her lover's ship. These occasions seem to be the only time, however, that anyone walked on the seashore with willingness, for men found little pleasure in the thoughts inspired by watching the restless surge of the sea; indeed, a stronger contrast would be difficult to be found than that of the above and the following,

"As on the midway slope  
Of yonder hill, I stretch my limbs at noon,  
Whilst through my half-closed eye-lids I behold  
The sunbeams dance, like diamonds on the main,  
And tranquil, muse upon tranquillity."<sup>1</sup>

Another scene is that of Oenone and Paris, the felling of the fir trees and the hewing of the timber for Paris' ships, his purposeful delaying, the tearful parting, and Oenone watching the ships sail over the horizon.

"aurā levis rigido pendentia lintea malo  
suscitat, et remis eruta canet aqua.  
prosequor infelix oculis abeuntia vela  
quam licet, et lacrimis umet harena meis,  
utque celer venias, virides Nereidas oro."<sup>2</sup>

She sees his returning bark but Paris has forgotten her and the keen realization comes to her suddenly that he has another sweetheart on board his vessel.

Then, we have the picture of Hero and Leander.<sup>3</sup>

1. Coleridge. The Aeolian Harp.

2. Her. 5.

3. Her. 18 and 19;





Leander, watching the "hoarse-voiced waters", watching Hero's tower with a poignancy of longing, the surging, exhaustless waves thwarting him as he starts out again and again, the pale moon sending its shimmering light over the waves shedding its tremulous aid over his course, the mysterious quiet of the night unbroken except by the murmuring of the waves and the sweet lament of halcyons.

"unda repercussae radiabat imagine lunae,  
et nitor in tacita nocte diurnus erat;  
nullaque vox usquam, nullum veniebat ad aures  
praeter dimotae corpore murmur aequae.

Alcyones solae, memores Ceycis amati,  
nescio quid visae sunt mihi dulce queri."<sup>1</sup>

Leander's utter weariness before he reaches the shore, his look up to the light in Hero's tower, finally his arrival and meeting with Hero; later his return to the other shore,

"ad te via prona videtur  
a te cum redeo, clivus inertis aquae."<sup>2</sup>

We, also, have a picture of Hero in 19, anxiously awaiting Leander's coming, leaving her spindle to pray for his safe crossing, her evening dreams which foreboded misfortune, placing the lamp in the tower, rushing to the shore to see whether she could find traces of his footsteps on the shore. These footprints, however did not suggest any philosophical line of thought to Hero or to anyone else<sup>3</sup>.

We have, also, the picture of Pentheus and Bacchus.<sup>4</sup>

1. Her. 18, 77.

2, 1b 121.

3. 1b. 19, 27.

4. Metam. 3, 660-91.



The ship motionless in the waves, the sailors trembling with fear and bending to the oars, the ivy twining over the oars and deck, the sailors changed to dolphins; the Trojan women weeping and mourning by the sea, their first glimpse of the body of Polydorus washed up by the surf, the contrast between the ominous quiet of Hecuba and the unrestrained lamentations of her friends;<sup>1</sup> Ceyx and Alcyone—Alcyone's attempts to keep Ceyx at home and her entreating words which seem to reecho Ovid's own feelings,

"aequora me terrent et ponti tristis imago:  
et laceras nuper tabulas in litore vidi  
et saepe in tumultis sine corpore nomina legi."<sup>2</sup>

Ceyx' refusal to take her because of the danger; the departure, Alcyone gazing at the receding ship, the storm described so vividly by Ovid<sup>3</sup>, the confused uproar of the men, the lion-like waves which seem to reach the heavens, the rain falling in sheets, the pitch-blackness of the starless night, the intermittent flashing of lightning, the sailors calling upon the gods, thinking of home and friends, Ceyx

"sed plurima nantis in ora  
Alcyone coniunx—illam meminitque refertque,  
illius ante oculos ut agant sua corpora fluctus  
optat et exanimis manibus tumuletur amicus....  
nominat Alcyonen ipsisque inmururat undis.  
ecce super medios fluctus niger arcus aquarum  
frangitur et rupta mersum caput obruit unda."<sup>4</sup>

1. *Metam.* 13, 5, 36-41.

2. *ib.* 11, 427

3. *ib.* 11, 477- 572.

4. *ib.* 11, 562.





and the consequent morning scene-Alcyone on the beach and her finding of Ceyx' body upon the shore, her leaping into the sea and the sudden change to a bird. The whole scene, or rather all the changing scenes, are realistically visualized by Ovid; indeed, the story offers incomparable dramatic possibilities and it is small wonder that its pathos has so often suggested comparisons to the minds of poets.

Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris*

"Bird of the sea rocks, of the bursting spray.

O halycon bird,

That wheelest crying, crying on thy way;

Who knowest grief can read the tale of thee;

One love long lost, one song forever heard

And wings that sweep the sea.

Sister, I, too, beside the sea complain,

A bird that hath no wings."<sup>1</sup>

Ovid takes many figures of speech from the sea,<sup>2</sup>

"fallitur augurio spes bona saepe suo

omnibus invenies, quae nunc iactantur in alto

navibus a portu lene fuisse fretum."<sup>3</sup>

"ut mare sit tremulum, tenui cum stringitur aura

ut...

sic mea vibrari patientia membra videres."<sup>4</sup>

1. p. 64.

2. *Metam.* 2, 184-6; 6, 231-3; 11, 613; *Exp.* 1, 8, 72; 2, 8, 68; *Her.* 21, 41-2; 5, 116;

*Am.* 1, 7, 55-6; 2, 10, 9-10; 2, 16, 45-6; 2, 19, 45-6; *Fast.* 1, 2, 775; *Trist.*

3, 5, 1-8; 2, 1, 18.

3. *Her.* 17, 234.

4. *Her.* 11, 75.





his love for two girls,

"fluctuantes

"ut ventis discordibus acta phaselos." <sup>1</sup>

As the ocean receives the rivers, so does the palace of Dis receive the newly-arrived souls<sup>2</sup>; the tumult of the feast is like the sea beaten by the raging winds<sup>3</sup>; this he shivers like the sea when its surface is ruffled by a gentle wind<sup>4</sup>; the chariot

"utque labant curvae iusto sine pondere naves  
perque mare instabiles nimia levitate feruntur." <sup>5</sup>

and

"utque carina  
quam ventus ventoque rapit contrarius aestus,  
vim geminam sentit paretque incerta duobus,  
Thestias haud aliter dubiis affectibus errat." <sup>6</sup>

The father hears his children as the crags hear the moaning of the sea<sup>7</sup>; a murmur is heard among the people such as is made by the waves and surf of the sea.<sup>8</sup>

### The Empire.

Following the Augustan Age, decadence ate its insidious way into the heart of literature and the result was infinitely different from anything hitherto produced. "Le sentiment de la nature est dans notre ame une musique, avant de devenir une pensee", <sup>9</sup> "la

1. Am. 2, 10, 9-10.

6. lb. 8, 470.

2. Metam. 4, 441.

7. lb. 11, 330.

3. lb. 5, 5.

8. lb. 15, 604.

4. lb. 4, 134.

9. V. de Laprade: Le Sentiment de

5. lb. 2, 163.

la Nature, p. 234.



nature parle au philosophe, au coeur ému, à l'artiste, le poète doit être tout cela; "<sup>1</sup>And, as Hamilton Mabie says, "When we get beneath the surface (of nature) and touch this hidden force, we feel that we are face to face with the primal mystery, we are in contact with God"<sup>2</sup>. Then, if the poet has "le sentiment de la nature" which is music in his soul, we have true inward sincerity and love of nature reflecting itself in the fabric of expressed thought. But the Empire was lacking in this music; the diaphanous veil of poetry was rent and, with the rending, came disillusionment. The new trend of poetry must be ascribed to many causes—"the general decay of Roman character"<sup>3</sup> which "had broken down before the inroads of an alien luxury" "bringing to ripeness fruit sprung from the seeds of Hellenism, a decadent and meretricious Hellenism"<sup>4</sup>; the loss of freedom resulting from autocracy produced servility of literature which grovelled in flattery and dared not aspire to true poetry; the depressing influence of the Augustan Age which could not easily be surpassed and which, for that reason, encouraged imitation or bombastic attempts to outdo all previous literature; the "peculiar system of Roman literature"<sup>5</sup>—Greece had covered every field and all Rome could do was to imitate her, especially after the Augustan Age; "the vicious system of Roman education"<sup>6</sup> in which so much emphasis was placed on grammar and

1. V. de Laprade: *Le Sentiment de la nature*, p. 234.

2. *Nature and Culture*, p. 154.

3. Butler: *Post-Augustan Poetry*, p. 9.

4. Butler, p. 10.

5. *ib.* p. 9.

6. *ib.*





style, declarations, metre, and paraphrase—emphasis on style rather than on thought, and, thus, productive of a mechanical and metallic sound mistaken for the tuneful lyre of true poetic inspiration.

It was an age of cosmopolitanism, also, an age of individualism and, as men became more self-conscious, neurasthenia and later an inward listless passivity were the marks of the age; outwardly, however, in the literary world, there was a grandiose, scintillating artificiality and bombast,

The above seems to be far aside from the Roman attitude toward the sea but it is not so far as one might think, for man's attitude toward nature is, to a great extent, dependent on the society in which he lives.

Though the Augustan Age did not yield any paeans of praise or any inspired lyric passages addressed to the sea, yet such sea references as were made had the vital spark of life in them and differed markedly from those of Manilius which seem only to serve technical and supposedly scientific purposes. In him, we find a man betraying the influence of rhetorical schools and having neither the virtue of brilliancy or originality and, if we admit that "the highest poetry of nature is that which receives most inspiration from the spectacle, which extracts out of it the largest number of great and true thoughts"<sup>1</sup>, then, as a consequent deduction, Manilius is not a great poet. However, for purposes of comparison, it might be well to note a few of the best passages from Manilius—keeping in mind that even such passages as these are few.

"inter divisas aequalibus est via partes  
ut freta canescunt sulcum ducente carina

1. Shairp: Poetic Interpretation of Nature, p. 79



accipiuntque viam fluctus spu<sup>m</sup>mantibus undis,  
 quam tortus verso movit de gurgite vertex,  
 candidus in nigro lucet sic limes Olympo,  
 caeruleum findens ingenti lumine mundum"<sup>1</sup>

also

"novo stillantia litora ponto."<sup>2</sup>

and

"rubri radiantia litora ponti."<sup>3</sup>

"ipsa"natat tellus pelagi lustrata corona."

ingentis medium liquidis amplexibus orbem."<sup>4</sup>

and a passage describing Andromeda fastened to a cliff.<sup>5</sup>

One might expect that Manilius would leave out entirely the human element in his treatise and this he does do with the exception of a few references of dislike and fear of the sea and pity for sailors.<sup>6</sup>; he could not express a liking for sea life, though he does go so far as to say that it is easy enough to set sail with favorable winds,<sup>7</sup> though the implication he makes calls one's attention more to the perils of the sea than to its pleasure giving qualities. One should not look for long sea references in Manilius for the simple reason that it is only incidentally related to his subject.<sup>8</sup>

1. Poetic Inspiration on Nature, p. 707-12.

2. Manil. 5, 529.

3. 4, 808.

4. 4, 595-6.

5. 5, 550.

6. 1, 77, 87; 1, 294.

7. 3, 25.

8. 3, 641; 3, 6521





The adjectives he uses do not differ essentially from those used during the Augustan Age but this fact should not be taken to prove that he is in agreement with the Augustan poets; rather, knowing Manilius, it shows that he uses them as a result of imitations of his predecessors, scopulosus<sup>1</sup>, mitis<sup>2</sup>, placidus<sup>3</sup>, caecus<sup>4</sup>, horrendus<sup>5</sup>, vesanus<sup>6</sup>, gravidus<sup>7</sup>, furens<sup>8</sup>, caeruleus<sup>9</sup>, magnus<sup>10</sup>.

Lucan is called "the child of his age"<sup>11</sup> and such his brilliant rhetoric, his hyperbole and categories, his verbosity and grandioseness proclaim him to be<sup>12</sup>; indeed, so great is this element of flamboyancy that it is difficult to tell what the real Lucan is. Even when he expresses dislike or fear of the sea, it seems to be a trite thread-worn conventionalized fear, even as the words used to describe it have become conventionalized. Bombast, exaggeration, grotesqueness and prodigious horrors are invented to make the visualization of the sea descriptions vivid but the scene is something quite apart from Lucan's feelings—the intensity and superlative qualities ascribed to nature do not come from an intensity and climax of emotion in him; neither do they arouse an intensity of emotion in his reader, though they were doubtless intended to accomplish this.

1.2,224.

9.5,667.

2.3,652.

10.5,661

3.4,285.

11. Butler: Post-Augustan Poetry,

4.5,190.

p.125.

5.5,192.

12.1,407; 2,208; 2,422; 2,622; 5,610—

6.5,545.

53; 4,81; 6,28; 6,352; 9,36; 8,171;

7.5,581.

8,192; 8,243; 8,451; 8,551.

8.5,661





Of the numerous storms portrayed, a part of one description is as follows:

"ut primum remis actum mare propulit omne  
classis onus, densis iremuit niger imbribus Auster  
in sua regna iurem, temptatum classibus aequor  
turbine defendit, longeque a Syrtibus undas  
egit, et illato confregit litore pontum  
tum quarum recto deprendit carbasa malo  
eripuit nautis, frustra rudentibus ausis."  
veia negare noto spatium vicere carinae,  
atque ultra proram tūmuit sinus omnia si quis  
vincitur et nudis avertitur armamentis;...  
eminet in tergo pelagi procul omnibus arvis  
inviolatus aqua sicci iam pulveris agger,  
stant miseri nautae, terraeque haerente carina  
litora nulla vident."<sup>1</sup>

and the storm Caesar suffers after he has been warned by the fishermen that many things make a sailor wary of sailing at night.<sup>2</sup>

"niger inficit horror  
terga maris; longo permulta volumina tractu  
aestuat unda minax flatusque incerta futuri,  
turbida testantur conceptos aequora ventos.  
tum rector trepidae fatur ratis: adspice saevom  
quanta paret pelagus. Zephyros intendat Euros  
incertum est. puppim dubius ferit undique pontus....  
avolsit iaceros percussa puppe rudentes

1. 9, 319-44.

2. 5, 546



turbo rapax fragilemque super volitantia malum  
 vela tulit;sonuit victis compagibus alnus.  
 inde ruunt toto congesta pericula mundo."<sup>1</sup>

etc.for many more lines.

These descriptions with those previously mentioned together with many others representing both Lucan's good and bad points comprise his references to the sea; of the other scenes, a few might be mentioned—the picture of Brutus' ships<sup>2</sup>, the coast of Hesperia<sup>3</sup>, the sailors disembarking in silence<sup>4</sup>, the seafight when Anthony attempts escape<sup>5</sup>, the sea becalmed<sup>6</sup>, the death of Pompey in the boat<sup>7</sup>, the seafight at Massilia<sup>8</sup>, Pompey's body burned and buried by Cordus on the shore<sup>9</sup>, Cornelia mourning on the shore for Pompey<sup>10</sup>, and burning his garments and her memorials of him<sup>11</sup>, Titan sinking in the sea<sup>12</sup>,. In addition to these scenes, a few passages should be mentioned which express fear or dislike for the sea<sup>12</sup>, though these passages are few because of Lucan's detached view of nature ..

1.5,564-610.

2,3,520.

3.2,614.

4.2,691.

5.4,415-592.

6.5,420-36-40.

7.8,609.

8.3,511-760.

9.8,775.

10.9,170.

11.3,40; 8,150; 7,1.

12.2,664; 5,446; 8,815; 9,447; 2,197; 9,343.





Noteworthy, too, is his reference to the Argo,

"inde iacessitum primo mare, cum rudis Argo  
miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes  
primaque cum ventis pelagique furentibus undis  
composuit mortale genus, fatisque per illam  
accessit mors una ratem."<sup>1</sup>

Shairp, after enumerating the different ways in which poets viewed nature, says, "the last and highest way in which nature ministers to the soul and spirit of man is when it becomes to him a symbol translucent with the light of the moral and spiritual world. Or, in other words, the highest use to which imagination can put this visible world is, to gather from it some tidings of the world invisible"<sup>2</sup>-in other words, the poet must hear in nature as Keats heard in the ocean

"The voice mysterious, which whoso hears  
Must think on what will be, and what has been."

If we judge Lucan by this standard, he does not put his imagination to the highest use. As has been noted, he looks at nature in an objective way and feels no subtle or mystic connection between it and his own inner self; and, in this respect, he is a good representative of the poets of the Empire. If one desired to describe Lucan's attitude toward the sea by using contrast, one could do no better than to quote Arnold's Dover Beach.      64

In passing from Lucan to Seneca, there is not a great gulf to be bridged; indeed, the two men have much the same qualities  
1.3, 193.

2. Shairp: p. 126-7



so it will not be necessary at this point to enumerate those of Seneca. Possibly, however, the following quotation should be given as a summarizing statement, namely that "in no writer is seriousness of intention combined with so much artificiality of manner."<sup>1</sup>

First of all, note the reference to the Argo,

"audax nimium qui freta primus  
rate tam fragili perfida rupit  
terrasque suas post terga videns  
animam levibus credidit auris,  
inter vitae mortisque vias  
nimium gracili limite ducto.....  
ausus Tiphys pandere vasto  
carbasa ponti legesque novas."<sup>2</sup>

Compare with Euripides' words on the Argo in his play, Medea.

"Would God no Argo e'er had winged the seas  
To Colchis through the blue Symplegades.  
No shaft of riven pine in Pelion's glen  
Shaped that first oar-blade in the hands of men;  
Valiant, who won, to save King Pallas' vow,  
The fleece all-golden." <sup>3</sup>

Those early men must atone for the sea's outraged  
laws. <sup>4</sup>

Some few lines of description might be given from Seneca, though his poetry is rather a barren field. The messenger reports of the death of Hippolytus,

1. Dimsdale: Latin Literature, p. 398.

2. Medea 300-30.

3. Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides' Medea, p. 3.

4. Medea, 605-25.



"cum subito vastum tonuit ex aiti mare  
 crevitque in astra. nullus inspirat saio  
 ventus, quieti nulla pars caeli strepit  
 placidumque pelagus propria tempestas agit.  
 non tantus Auster Sicula disturbat freta  
 nec tam furens Ionius exurgit sinus  
 regnante Coro, saxa cum fluctu tremunt  
 et cava summum spuma Leucaten ferit.  
 consurgit ingens pontus in vastum aggerem;  
 nec ista rationis tanta construitur lues;  
 terris minatur, fluctus haud cursu levi  
 provolvitur."<sup>1</sup>

We have the following picture of calm after Achilles' appearance,

"immoti iacent  
 tranquilla pelagi, ventus abiecit minas,  
 placidumque fluctu murmurat leni mare  
 Tritonum ab alto cecinit hymenaeum chorus."<sup>2</sup>

Death ends all,

"caeruleis Oceanus fretis  
 quidquid bis veniens et fugiens lavat,  
 aetas Pegaseo corripit gradu."<sup>3</sup>

Some of the figures used by Seneca are as follows: em-  
 pires are attacked by fortune as cliffs by the waves of the sea;<sup>4</sup>

1. Phaedra 1007.

2. Troades, 199-201

3. Ib. 383.

4. Oedipus, 8.





Jocasta is driven along by her fury as a ship is driven by the wind;<sup>1</sup>  
 the charioteer guides the chariot as the sailor guides the vessel.<sup>2</sup> etc.

These figures have nothing new or startling about them and the descriptions used by the poets of the Empire lack originality; neither is any new attitude voiced, but the prevailing mood is different. One feels, that under the feverish activity and bizarre glitter of rhetoric and lethargic torpor of mind, there is a deep weariness, that the Roman nation, after passing a middle age of intensified activity now is weary and restless, though outwardly hurrying and busying itself in order to avoid a disillusioning introspection. This is the way, the mood in which one would expect their poetry to be written, as Masfield says,

"Weary the cry of the wind is, weary the sea,  
 Weary the heart and the mind and the body of me,  
 Would I were out of it, done with it, would I  
 could be

A white gull crying along the desolate sands."

"The political tendency towards retrenchment and reform that marks the reign of Vespasian finds its literary parallel in a reaction against the rhetoric of display that culminated in Lucan and Seneca. The three epic poets of the period—Valerius Flaccus, Statius and Silius Italicus—though they, too, have suffered much from their rhetorical training, are all clear followers of Vergil."<sup>3</sup> Technical skill and lack of imagination give the key to the temple of their poetry.

1. Phoen. 428.

2. Phaed. 1072.

3. Butler, p. 179.



When they think of the sea, it is of its outward appearance, it is an objective thing to them and, though they describe it in picturesque and sometimes beautiful language—beautiful as far as technique is concerned—yet imagination and sincere emotion are lacking. The fear of Ennius, the love of Catullus, the pleasure of Vergil in the quiet aspects of the sea are not found in these three poets because they are too engrossed in imitating Vergil to be natural and speak forth their own feelings.

In Valerius Flaccus, we find evidence both of a sense of beauty and the influence of the rhetorical school; we, also, find that, though he has the faults of imitation and unimaginativeness and, though clearness is often sacrificed to richness of details, he gives a few good descriptions.

"tandemque quiescunt

dissona pervigili planctu vada."<sup>1</sup>

"vasto pariter ruit igneus aether

cum tonitru piceoque premit nox omnia caelo;

excussi manibus remi, conversaque frontem

puppis in oblicum resonos latus accipit ictus,

vela super tremulum subitus volitantia malum

turbo rapit. qui tum Minyis trepitantibus horror,

cum piceae fulsere poli pavidamque coruscae

ante ratem cecidere iaces, antemnaque laevo

prona dehiscentem cornu cum sustulit undam.

non hiemem missosque putant consurgere ventos

ignari sed tale fretum."<sup>2</sup>

1.3,358.

2.1,616.





mixed in with references to visions<sup>1</sup>, libations<sup>2</sup>, and prayers<sup>3</sup> are many suggestions of fear<sup>4</sup>; man is considered brave if he dares to go upon the sea, and the adjectives used confirm this idea<sup>5</sup>.

The figures of speech<sup>6</sup> in Valerius Flaccus, for the most part, are not noteworthy, though some have a certain beauty of language.

"Fluctus ab undisoni ceu forte crepidine saxi  
cum rapit halcyonis miseræ fetumque laremque,  
et super aegra parens queriturque tumentibus undis  
certa sequi, quocumque ferant, audetque pavore,  
icta fatiscit aquis donec domus haustaque fluctu est;  
haud aliter somni maestus labor."<sup>7</sup>

In turning from Valerius to Italicus, one gets no inspiration, for, as "the poetry of nature and the country which we find in Vergil, Horace and Tibullus appeals to the modern mind almost more than anything else in the imaginative literature of Rome"<sup>8</sup>, so does the poetry of Italicus appeal to the modern mind almost less than anything else. The reason for this is that "the experience of each individual as he grows more thoughtful, as well as the experience of the race, that the visible, the outward cannot satisfy."<sup>9</sup>

1. 2, 585; 1, 300.

2. 1, 667-80; 1, 10.

3. 2, 511, 1, 10; 1, 185.

4. 1, 3; 1, 37; 3, 404; 7, 18; 1, 650-55; 4, 658; 1, 636-42; 1, 28; 3, 577

5. 4, 726; 4, 711; 1, 75; 1, 281; 2, 597; 2, 621; 1, 50; 1, 202; 3, 404.

6. 4, 104; 3, 521; 3, 565; 3, 577.

7. 4, 43. (cf. 4, 268.)

8. Hardie: Lectures on Classical Subjects, p. 28

9. Shairp, p. 100



and the time in which Italicus lived was not growing more thoughtful; therefore, the outward was in a great measure, satisfying. His chief faults are that he is prosaic, unmusical, unimaginative and mythology-mad;<sup>1</sup> Pliny's judgement concerning his poems, namely that he wrote "maiore cura quam ingenio", is practically the sum of all criticism made upon him.

It is necessary and advisable to give only a few passages from his poetry as it adds nothing to our knowledge,

"Neptunus totumque videt totique videtur  
regnator ponti; saevi fera murmura venti...  
tum, sensim infusa tranquilla per aequora pare  
languentes tacito lucent in litore fluctus."<sup>2</sup>

"tum geminas laterum cautes maria alta fatigant,  
atque ubi fessus equos Titan immersit anhelos,  
flammiferum condunt fumanti gurgite currum."<sup>3</sup>

"resplendet imagine flammae  
aequor, et in tremulo vibrant incendia ponto."<sup>4</sup>

"magno late distantia ponto  
terruerunt pavidos accensa Ceraunia nautas."<sup>5</sup>

Of the figures of speech in Italicus<sup>6</sup>, one is as follows:

1. 15, 150-80; 16, 37; 17, 31; 17, 235-60; 14, 373; 14, 12-24; 12, 574; 5, 70.

2. 7, 255.

3. 1, 207.

4. 2, 662.

5. 8, 630.

6. 12, 246; 1, 467-74; 1, 687-90; 5, 395-400; 9, 282.





"medio sic navita ponto,  
cum dulcis liquit terras,et inania nullo  
inveniunt ventos securo carbasa mallo,  
immensas prospectat aequas ac,victa profundis  
aequoribus,iessus renovat sua lumina caelo."<sup>1</sup>

For the most part,it is man's impotence which Italicus emphasizes;he would say with Hecuba in the Trojan Women,

"Lo,yonder ships:l never set foot on one,  
but tales and pictures tell,when over them  
breaketh the storm not all too strong to stem  
Each man strives hard,the tiller gripped,the mast  
manned,the hull baled,to face it;till at last  
Too strong breaks the overwhelming sea;lo,then  
They cease,and yield them up as broken men  
To fate and the wild waters."<sup>2</sup>

If we search for his characteristic attitude from the adjectives<sup>3</sup> he uses,we search in vain,for they are not noticeably different from those of his predecessors.

Passing from Italicus to Statius,we find him to be "inferior in poetic feeling to Valerius Flaccus"but "far more of an artist in words."<sup>4</sup> The question is,does Statius have more than workmanship.Certainly,there is very little deep feeling.It is very

1.3,535.

2.Euripides,p.45 in Gilbert Murray's Translation.

3.1,197;1,575;1,584;1,639;2,1;2,290;3,372;3,471;4,220;6,264;10,34;  
12,99;12,157;6,325;16,247.

4.Dimsdale:p.462,





doubtful whether

"moonlight seas, that are the voice  
Of those inexplicable things."<sup>1</sup>

ever spoke to him or whether he ever felt the awe or the unknowable in "the unplumbed salt estanging sea."; he needed a mental baptism of fire to rid him of his superfluous imagery, his rhetorical brilliancy and his tendency to prolix digressions. He comes before us not with the faint gleam of gold but with the gorgeous glare of tinseled and lacks entirely the repose of the Greeks and the peace and quiet of Vergil; it is doubtful whether, upon hearing the surf far off in the hush of the evening, he would not take the occasion to describe it rather than to introspect and meditate about it and follow up the inevitable philosophical line of thought such a sound brings to an introspective person.

Of a storm, Statius says,

"inde horror aquis, et raptus ab omni  
solo dies miscit tenebras, quis protinus unda  
concolor; obnoxii lacerant cava nubila venti  
deripiuntque fretum, nigris redit umida tellus  
verticibus totumque notis certantibus aequor  
pendet et arquato iam iam prope sidera dorso  
frangitur, incertae nec iam proflor impetus alno,  
sed labat extantem rostris modo gurgite in imo  
nunc caelo Tritona ferens."<sup>2</sup>

A scene at night,

"solus stat puppe magister

1. Shelley, *Alastor*.

2. 5, 361-70.



pervigili inscriptaque deus qui navigat aino."<sup>1</sup>

The happiness of the sailors at reaching land is shown,

"illi aderant; primis iamque offendere carinae  
litoribus, certant saltu contingere terram  
praecipites. Miseri, quos non aut horrida virtus  
marte sub Adrysio, aut medii inclementia ponti  
hauserit."<sup>2</sup>

A figure from Statius is as follows:

"ter retrahunt Danai: Siculi velut anxia puppis  
seditione maris nequiquam obstante magistro  
errat et averso credit in vestigia velo."<sup>3</sup>

The above represents Statius' descriptive faculty,<sup>4</sup>  
imaginative ability,<sup>5</sup> and his attitude<sup>6</sup> toward the sea—an attitude  
of dislike.

The Achilleid adds nothing to a study of the sea in  
Statius but, in the Silvae, we find him at his best. Notice how much more  
natural he is in the following than in the Thebaid:

"Teleborumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis  
lumina noctivagae tollit Pharus aemula lunae."<sup>7</sup>

1. 8, 276.

2. 5, 170.

3. 9, 141.

4. 2, 45-50; 3, 408; 5, 130; 6, 566-60; 1, 370-5; 2, 105; 3, 22.

5. 6, 53; 6, 19; 6, 460-4; 9, 91; 6, 772; 7, 87-9; 9, 141; 9, 242; 11, 520; 12, 680

6. 6, 284; 9, 307; 2, 195; 3, 323; 4, 244.

7. 3, 5, 100-1.





Note, also, the description of his friend's villa and its outlook on the sea<sup>1</sup>, in the ~~propertian~~ <sup>epitaph</sup> addressed to Celer<sup>2</sup> and in his poem on sleep in which he says,

"nec truncibus fluviis idem sonus; occidit horror;  
aequoris, et terris maria adclinata quiescunt."<sup>3</sup>

Martial and Juvenal add nothing further to the amount or quality of sea references. Martial addresses Baiae:

"Titus beatae Veneris aureum Baias,  
Baias superbae blanda dona naturae,  
ut mille laudem, Flacce, versibus Baias."<sup>4</sup>

and Formiae,

"O temperatae dulce Formiae litus  
hic summa leni stringitur Thetis vento,  
nec languet aequor, viva sed quies ponti  
pictam phaeon adiuvente fert aura."<sup>5</sup>

Juvenal uses the expressions sinus avantiae,<sup>6</sup> animus aestuat,<sup>7</sup> speaks of something as banishing sleep even from sea calves<sup>8</sup>, uses the proverb ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro<sup>9</sup>, and speaks of the high price of fish.<sup>10</sup>

Germanicus says nothing noteworthy about the sea but Phaedrus gives us a fable in terms of it:

"cum de fortunis quidam quereretur suis,  
Aesopus finxit consolandi haec ratio:

1.2,2.

6.1,88.

2.3,2.

7.3,50.

3.5,4.

8.3,257.

4.11,80.

9.7,49.

5.1b.10,30.

10.4,28.



vexata saevis navis tempestatibus,  
inter vectorum lacrimas et mortis metum  
faciem ad serenam ut subito mutatur dies,  
ferri secundis tuta coepit flatibus  
nimiaque nautae se hilaritate extollere  
parce gaudere oportet et sensim queri,  
totam quis vitam miscet dolor et gaudium."<sup>1</sup>

Calpurnius, Silius and Persius Flaccus yield us nothing  
and Petronius very little. He speaks of not trying to outdo the sea  
in cruelty<sup>2</sup> and says,

"quisquis habet nummos, secura navigat aura  
fortunamque suo temperat arbitrio."<sup>3</sup>

At the fall of Troy,

"celsa qua Tenedos mare  
dorso replevit, tumida consurgunt freta  
undaque resultat scissa tranquillo  
qualis silenti nocte remorum sonus  
longe refertur, cum premunt classes mare  
pulsisque marmor abiete imposita gemit."<sup>4</sup>

He, also, says,

"qui pelago credit, magno se faenore tollit."<sup>5</sup>

"The kind of coast that was popular among the Romans in  
the first century of the Empire may probably be fairly judged from

1. 67.

2. Saturae 108, 1. 24-5.

3. 137, 23.

4. 89, 29-34.

5. 83, 1. 34.



the Pompeilian frescoes. Among the paintings, inserted here and there in the mural decorations, a number of the little landscapes include representations of various shore scenes. These are characterized by a pervading feeling of brightness and repose. The sun seems to be ever shining, while the blue sea is uniformly calm, or, at most, only ruffled by a gentle ripple. Nothing wild or solitary is depicted. No storm-clouds nor angry seas nor surf-beaten cliffs are to be seen."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the majority of people living in the Empire would have agreed with the sentiment expressed in the Rhesus of Euripides,

"Alone in those Greek ships to stake  
His life, for home and country's sake:  
'Tis wondrous. Few be hearts so true  
When seas across the bulwark break,  
And sunlight sickens o'er the crew."<sup>2</sup>

From Juvenal to Ausonius, there is very little of consequence to note by the way; there are a few lines in Nemesianus,

"nondum purpureos Phoebus cum tolleret ortus  
nec tremulum liquidis lumen splenderet in undis."<sup>3</sup>

which remind us of the Augustans but show no new development in attitude toward nature. Or other references worth notice from Nemesianus<sup>4</sup> Vespa,<sup>5</sup> Pentadius<sup>6</sup>, Geta<sup>7</sup> and Cato, two lines from the last

1. Geikie, p. 309.

6. lb. p. 346, l. 9.

2. Gilbert Murray, p. 15.

7. lb. p. 222, l. 81; p. 223, l. 96

3. P. L. L. (3) p. 183, l. 75-6.

p. 225, l. 149; p. 226, l. 186;

4. lb. p. 193, l. 94; p. 200, l. 272.

p. 228, l. 219; p. 229, l. 248;

5. P. L. L. (4) p. 329, l. 79.





mentioned poet are as follows:

"quod potes, id tempta; nam litus carpere remis  
utilius multo est quam velum tendere in altum."<sup>1</sup>

In addition to these, there are two poems—one a prayer to Ocean and the other a sailor's song—by anonymous writers which should be quoted because the former is the first instance of a whole poem being addressed to the ocean and the other is the first instance of a sailor's song in Latin. The first is as follows:

"undarum rector, genitor maris, arbiter orbis,  
Oceane O placido complectens omnia fluctu,  
tu legem terris moderato limite signas,  
tu pelagus quodcumque facis fontesque lacusque,  
flumina quin etiam te norunt omnia patrem,  
te potant nubes ut reddant frugibus imbres;  
Cyaneoque sinu caeli tu diceris oras  
partibus ex cunctis immensa s cingere nexu.  
tu fessos Phoebæ reficis sub gurgite currus  
exhaustisque die radiis alimenta ministras,  
gentibus ut clarum referat lux aurea solem  
si mare, si terras caelum mundumque gubernas:  
me quoque cunctorum partem, venerabilis audi,  
alma parens rerum, supplex precor, ergo carenam  
conserves, ubicumque tuo committere ponto  
hanc animam, transire fretus et currere cursus  
aequoris horrisoni sortis fera iussa iubebunt  
tende favens glaucum per levia cœssa profundum



ac tantum tremulo crispentur caerula motu,  
quantum vela ferant, quantum eximat otia remis;  
sint fluctus, celerem valeant qui pelliere puppem,  
quos numerare libens possim, quos cernere laetus.  
servet inoffensam laterum par linea libram,  
et sulcante viam rostro submurmuret unda. ,  
da pater, ut tute liceat transmittere currum,  
perfer ad optatos securos in litore portus  
me comitesque meos quod cum permiseris esse,  
reddam quas potero pleno pro munere grates."<sup>1</sup>

The Celeuma is as follows:

"heia, viri, nostrum reboans echo sonet heia.  
arbiter effusi late maris ore sereno  
placatum stravit pelagus posuitque procellam  
edomitque vago sederunt pondere fluctum.  
heia, viri, nostro reboans echo sonet heia.  
annis pauli tremat ictibus acta carina  
nunc dabit arridens pelago concordia caeli  
ventorum motu praegnanti currere velo.  
heia, viri, nostro reboans echo sonet heia.  
aequora prora secet delphinis aemula saltu  
atque gemat largum, promat seseque iacerto,  
pone trahens canum deducat et orbita sulcum.  
heia, viri, nostrum reboans ed ho sonet heia.  
aequore flet Corus: vocitemus nos tamen heia  
convulsam remis spumet mare: nos tamen heia.  
vocibus adsiduis litus resonet: tamen heia."<sup>2</sup>

1. P. L. M. p. 165.

2. P. L. M. (3) p. 167.





## The Christian Writers.

When we begin to study the Christian writers, it is necessary to cast a backward glance at Hebraism and Hellenism in order to understand the early Christian view of nature. "The Hellenic belief in deities was pandemonistic and cosmic; Christianity, in its original tendency, anti-cosmic and hostile to nature. And nature, like the world at large, only existed for it in relation to its Creator, and was no longer the 'great mother of all things', but merely an instrument in the hands of Providence."<sup>1</sup> "The Cosmos unfolded itself to the Hebrew as one great whole. His imagination ranged the universe with the wings of the wind, and took vivid note of air, sky, sea and land, but only, so to speak, in passing; it never rested there but hurried past the boundaries of earth to Jehovah's throne, and, from that height, looked down upon creation."<sup>2</sup> Professor Shairp gives three chief elements in the Hebrew view of nature (1) Nature ... is never represented as an independent power or as resplendent with her own beauty, but as the garment of the great Jehovah. (2) The sober, truthful estimate of all things in the external world. They are spoken of exactly as they are. (3) Connected with this, is the absence of all tendency to theorize or frame hypotheses about Nature's ongoings."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, we see that the Christian conception of Nature is a continuation of the Hebraistic; "the visible to them was but a mirror of the invisible."<sup>4</sup> and, for that reason, they worshipped it but not for its own sake. This attitude is in direct contrast to

1. Biese, p. 23.

2. *ib.* p. 13.

3. The Poetic Interpretation of Nature, pp. 140-1.

4. Biese, p. 39



their feelings toward Art; "the contempt for Art was a characteristic of the Fathers of the Church and, to that end, they extolled Nature; man's handwork, however dazzling, was but vanity in their eyes, whereas Nature was the handwork of the Creator."<sup>1</sup>

The contrast between the combination of modern and Hellenistic nature sentiment on the one hand and Christian feeling for nature on the other hand is best exemplified by Ausonius and Paulinus, "two men of irreconcilable temperaments—the lighthearted Hedonist and the god-intoxicated saint."<sup>2</sup> "The poets of that period were impelled to write about nature—a neutral theme on which they could all alike write, but what they wrote is often spoilt by conceit and formalism. Sometimes, however, through the husk of conventionality we catch glimpses of the great undiscovered treasure of modern sentiment."<sup>3</sup> "Ausonius wrote about the dawn and flowers as if he had been one of the *Pléiades*,"<sup>4</sup> but he did not say much about the sea.<sup>5</sup>

Paulinus has many references to the sea-traditions connected with it, its characteristics, its everyday life<sup>6</sup>, its perils,<sup>7</sup> and figures drawn from it.<sup>8</sup>

1. Biese, p. 39.

2. Countess Cesaresco: *Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets*, p. 210.

3. Biese, p. 200.

4. *ib.* p. 205.

5. 2, 7, 13; 2, 3, 15; 1, 3-5; 12, 11, 100; 2, 8, 8; 6, 11; 7, 10, 11; 7, 22, 5; 7, 24, 19; 8, 70; 11, 16, 95.

6. *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 30, 17, 106; 23, 144; 2, 6; 3, 11; 10, 235; 14, 57; 17, 19; 21, 406; 27, 406; 32, 72; 32, 180.

7. *ib.* 13, 15; 23, 244; 24, 27; 24, 59; 27, 308; 32, 72.

8. *ib.* 17, 177; 12, 25; 6, 299; 10, 67; 16, 253; 17, 30; 17, 101-10; 19, 42; 19, 730; 22, 147; 23, 134; 24, 153.





One figure particularly deserves note as it has since been so often used,

"sis bonus Ofelixque tuis dominumque potentem  
exores, liceat placati munere Christi  
post pelagi fluctus undi quoque fluctibus actis  
in statione tua placido consistere portu  
hoc bene subductam relligavi litore classem  
in te compositae mihi fixa sit anchora vitae."<sup>1</sup>  
Everywhere, too, God's relation to it is emphasized,<sup>2</sup>  
"et maria intravi duce te, quia cura periculi  
cessit amore tui, nec te sine; nam tua sensi  
praesidia in domino superans maris aspera Christo:  
semper eo et terris te propter tutus et undis."<sup>3</sup>

Of all the Christian poets, Prudentius is probably the most worthy of note as far as general merit is concerned, though the fact that "his theological poems are directed to the end of presenting the true faith of his fellow Christians in an attractive form and, at the same time, clear of error"<sup>4</sup> does not give promise of introspective excursions into nature. That he is "the first really great Christian poet towering over his fellow Christians as Claudian did over the heathen"<sup>5</sup> however, leads us to expect his views of nature

1. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum vol. 30, 13, 31-6.

2. lb. 5, 15; 6, 48; 11, 123, 299; 13, 10; 17, 79; 17, 101-10; 22, 110; 24; 27; 520; 27; 632; 31, 123; 31, 274; 32, 55-60.

3. lb. 13, 14-7.

4. Glover: p. 257.

5. lb. p. 253-4.





to be those of his predecessors and contemporaries; such is the case. He gives us pictures of the crossing of the Red Sea,<sup>1</sup> Jonah on ship board in the tempest<sup>2</sup>, Christ calming the storm<sup>3</sup>, Peter walking on the waves<sup>4</sup>, etc..<sup>5</sup>

"nox ventum movet obviam,  
fundo qui mare misceat,  
iactatam quatiat ratem.  
clamor nauticus aethera  
plangens atque ululans ferit  
cum stridore rudentium:  
nec quidquam suberat spei  
mergendis prope naufragis  
cum Christum proci aspexit  
pallens turba periculis  
calcantem pedibus mare,  
ac si per solidam viam  
siccum litus obambulet.  
haec miracula caeteri  
vectores pavidum stupent:  
solus non trepidus Petrus  
agnoscit Dominum poli  
terraeque et maris invisi,

1. Cath. 5, 1. 70.

2. Ib. 7, 1. 107.

3. Ib. 9, 1. 37.

4. Praefatio contra Symmach<sup>2</sup>

5. Cath. 9; 6, 136; 3, 47, 23; 7, 202; 8, 37, 49, 57; Hamatigenia, 1. 109, 278; Contra Symmach, 1, 7-15, 45; Ib. 2, 295, 597, 801, 811, 900, 937-43; Peristephanon, 5, 437-505; Ib. 7, 20-30; Ib. 10, 634, 676, 717; Ib. 11, 69-74, 185-7, 227; Ib. 12, 35.



culus omnipotentiae est  
 plantis aequora subdere  
 tendit suppliciter manus,  
 notum subsidium rogat,  
 ast ille placide adnuens,  
 puppi ut desiliat, iubet  
 iussis obsequitur Petrus,  
 summis tingere coeperat  
 et lapsant e gradu peses  
 pessum mergere lubricos  
 mortalem Deus increpat,  
 quod sit non stabili fide,  
 nec calcare fluentia,  
 nec Christum valeat sequi.  
 tum dextra famulum levat  
 sistetque et docet ingredi  
 tergum per tunicum freti....  
 sum plane temerarius,  
 qui noctis mihi conscius,  
 quam vitae in tenebris ago,  
 puppim credere fluctibus  
 tanti non timeam viri:  
 quo nunc nemo desertior  
 exultat, iremit, intonat  
 ventisque eloqui tumet;  
 cui mersare facillimum est  
 tractandae indocilem ratis:  
 ni tu, Christe potens, manum





dextro numine porrigas,  
 facundi oris ut impetus  
 non me fluctibus obruat;  
 sed sensim gradiens vadis  
 insistam fluctantibus."<sup>1</sup>

Juvenius has numerous references to the sea all portraying the typical Christian attitude; God, the ruler of all things, his praises,<sup>2</sup> pictures of Christ calling his disciples,<sup>3</sup> Christ on the sea in a storm,<sup>4</sup> Peter walking on the waves,<sup>5</sup> in addition to these, there are numerous other references in Juvenius-figurative expressions<sup>6</sup>, pictures of the sun setting in the ocean<sup>7</sup>, etc.<sup>8</sup>-which add nothing to the present discussion. Neither does the poetry of Damasus<sup>9</sup>, Proba,<sup>10</sup> the anonymous *Laudes Domini*<sup>11</sup>, Hilary,<sup>12</sup> Tertullian<sup>13</sup>, Ambrosius<sup>14</sup> and Cyprian add any new element to the attitude of Juvenius.

1. Praefatio Contra Symmach, 2.

2. Praefatio; 1, 1. 118.

3. 1, 1. 421.

4. 2, 1. 10-55.

5. 3, 1. 93-130.

6. 1, 1. 689; 3, 1. 605.

7. 2, 1. 1-6.

8. 3, 1. 670; 406, 390, 360, 236, 220, 112-30, 102-5, 93-8.

9. 2, 17-21; 9, 1; 18, 9; 68, 14; 69, 4; 73, 3; 78, 3.

10. Mignes' Pat. Lat. 19, p. 814, A, B, C, D.

11. Ib. 61, p. 1091 A.

12. Corp. Script. Ecc. Lat. vol. 23, Gen. 1. 49, 89, 93, 110, 151. Maccab. 302.

13. Pat. Lat. 2, p. 1090; 1, p. 1102; 1, p. 1103, B. C. D. A.

14. Migne 17, 2, 27; 3, 10; 57, 3; 64, 11; 68, 4; 81, 8; 82, 19.

15. Heptateuch Corp. Scrip. Ecc. Lat. 23.



"Once more I hear the everlasting sea  
Breathing beneath the mountain's fragrant breast,  
Come unto me, come unto me,  
And I will give you rest."<sup>1</sup>

"The songs of Claudian were like a breath of spring. His peasant songs have the genuine ring; they are hail-fellow-well-met with nature."<sup>2</sup> "This later Paganism was amiable and, on the whole cheerful. It was not vitally concerned with realities, but dealt with dreams and memories and hopes."<sup>3</sup>

Judging from the above, one would surely be justified in expecting to find an overflowing love of nature in Claudian's poetry but the fact, also, must be kept in mind that "among the Roman panegyrists, he stands foremost."<sup>4</sup>

Two passages will be sufficient to show his attitude toward and his treatment of the sea,

"urbs in conspectu montana cacumina velat  
tranquillo praetent<sup>a</sup> mari. dulcentia portum  
cornua pacatas remouent Aquilonibus undas.  
hic exarmatum terris augentibus aequor  
clauditur et praecidam discit servare quietem."<sup>5</sup>

Though he does use figures of the sea,<sup>6</sup>, his treatment of

1. A. Noyes. Resurrection.

2. Biese, p. 254.

3. Glover: Life and Letters in the Fourth Century, p. 248.

4. ib. p. 221.

5. Carm. Min. Corp., 2.

6. In Rutilium 1, 3, 71, 182, 275; Panegys, De Quarti Cons. Hon. 8, 420; Ineod. Cons. 17, 42; De Cons. Stil. 22, 395; ib. 24, 58.





of it is for the most part purely descriptive .

Though Rutilius Namatianus gives a few conventional references to the sea<sup>1</sup>, he is of very little importance in the present discussion. Historically, however, he is more important for, with him, "the Graeco-Roman literature which began with Livius and Ennius, comes to an end, its strongest inspiration had been patriotic, and this, if it had revived astonishingly in Claudian, had in Namatian already become belated. Henceforth, Latin Literature ceases to be natural."<sup>2</sup>

"Man's relation to nature is variable not only from age to age and from race to race, but from individual to individual and from moment to moment. And the feeling for nature, as expressed in literature, varies not only with all these variations but with other factors as well, notably with the prevalent mode of poetical expression, and with the condition of the other arts. The outer world lies before us all alike, with its visible facts... but... the pictures presented by the outer world and the meaning that underlies it are created in our own minds....

First, in the natural order comes that simply sensuous view of the of the outer world.... The 'constant epithet' of early poetry is the survival of this stage of thought.... Then, out of this infancy or feeling rises the curiosity of childhood....

Again, upon this, comes the sentimental feeling for nature, a sort of

1. 1, 37, 56, 130, 155, 205, 221, 227, 237, 243, 247, 262, 284, 324, 330, 342, 347, 370, 378, 429, 435, 456, 499, 514, 529, 532, 541, 616, 635

2, 12-6, 22-30.

3. Dimsdale, p. 542.





sympathy created by interest and imagination....Once more,the feeling for nature may go deeper than the senses and the imagination,and become moral.The outer world is no more a spectacle only,but the symbol of a meaning,the embodiment of a soul.The human spirit turns away from itself to seek sustenance from the mountains and the stars. The whole outer universe becomes the visible and sensible language of an ideal essence;and dawn or sunset,winter or summer,is of the nature of a sacrament."<sup>1</sup>

An individual does not have a passionate love for nature,a Weltschmerz for the natural world until he has developed a brooding introspective heart and mind and soul.To be sure,he may have "the simply sensuous"or "the sentimental feeling for nature" without developing his introspective moods at all but,to have the moral view of nature which makes all the natural world of the nature of a sacrament,he must be of a thoughtful,sensitive cast.And the Romans were seldom of the last mentioned type.

During the Republic,for the most part,the Roman poets took the sensuous view of nature,though we must constantly keep in mind the fact that a whole generation or several generations cannot be easily labelled and placed away at once in some compartment that the mechanical laws of outline may prescribe.In fact,some of the poets of the Republic do pass beyond the stage of the sensuous view of nature and show us by the descriptions they give,by figures of speech they use that they not only have observed but have,also,retained their observations.Indeed,the very fact that they use figures of speech show us that they saw not only with the physical eye

1.Mackail:Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology,introduction,p.52-4



but with the mental eye as well, for no people draw comparisons from the world until they have seen their environment and seen it attentively. The poets of the Republic may be said to hover between the sensuous view and the sentimental feeling for nature; certainly, they do not see nature with the naiveness and childlikeness of the early Greeks, nor do they see it with the nostalgia of the Augustans. Ennius did more than describe the most obvious phases of nature though, on account of the loss of much of his poetry, we cannot tell to what length his appreciation of nature advanced; Lucretius had a scientific interest in it, and Catullus, far in advance of any other Roman poet, unless we except Horace in his youth, had a love for it such as people have today. These three figures compose the representative picture of the Republic.

When we think of the poetry of Vergil, we are too apt to remember only the violent storms of the Aeneid and, thereupon, decisively deliver our opinion that Vergil disliked the sea. Such is not the case, though the opinion would have some truth in it. "The sentimental feeling for nature" which he had "was something of a reaction, real or affected, from crowds and the life of cities, as an attempt to regain simplicity by isolation from the complex fabric of society". The raging storms and the huge billows of the Aeneid are required by artistic reasons, and, also, suggested by the Odyssey, but it is quite probable, judging by the mood and atmosphere of the Eclogues—that, if Vergil were expressing his attitude toward the sea, he would express a love for it, a love, however, only for its calm and peaceful moods.

What is said of Vergil cannot be said of the other Augustans. Propertius was too much taken up with human affairs





to turn much of his attention toward nature, though, when he did so, he drew pictures of it that cannot be effaced from one's memory; Ovid most bitterly hated the sea as one would expect him to do; Horace, with the exception of one epode, denounced it with expressions of fear; and Tibullus betrayed no sign of affection for it.

If the Augustan Age is unsatisfying to one in quest of some trace of modern feeling for nature, then the Empire is most discouraging. To be sure, the people of the Empire have attained to a certain subjectivity of the mind and a consciousness of self—two qualities which might well lead to man's linking his new life up with that of nature and thus investing the latter with new meaning but this subjectivity was a peculiar product. Men were restless, all at ease and concealed whatever inward unrest they might have had with outward tinsel and glare and bombast; they lacked the poise and calm and the thoughtful melancholy of Arnold in his Dover Beach when he says,

"The sea is calm tonight,  
The tide is full, the moon lies fair  
Upon the straits;—on the French coast the light  
Gleams and is gone; the cliffs of England stand  
Glimmering and vast, out in the tranquil bay.  
Come to the window, sweet is the night air.  
Only, from the long line of spray  
Where the sea meets the moon-blanched land,  
Listen, you hear the grating roar  
Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling,  
At their return, up the high strand,  
Begin, and cease, and then again begin,  
With tremulous cadence slow, and bring



The eternal note of sadness in,

Sophocles long ago

Heard it on the Aegean, and it brought

Into his mind the turbid ebb and flow

Of human misery."

Surely, one thinks, the Christian writers will yield the moral view of nature in which the outer world becomes the "embodiment of the soul". The Christians do represent this idea but not in just the way one might expect; they see in nature the embodiment of a soul but, instead of treating the embodiment—the visible form of the soul, as holy for its own sake, they treat it as dust and ashes except in so far as it is the veil which conceals the hidden mystery—the veil, however beautiful, thrills them not at all; it is the hidden mystery that makes them catch their breath and bow in worship.

Mackail mentions still another view of nature—romantic or magical in its essence—a view in which the "feeling for nature cannot be called moral and yet stirs us like the deepest moral criticism upon life, rising as far beyond the mere idealism of sentiment as it does beyond the utmost refinement of realistic art." No Roman poet has this feeling in any degree.

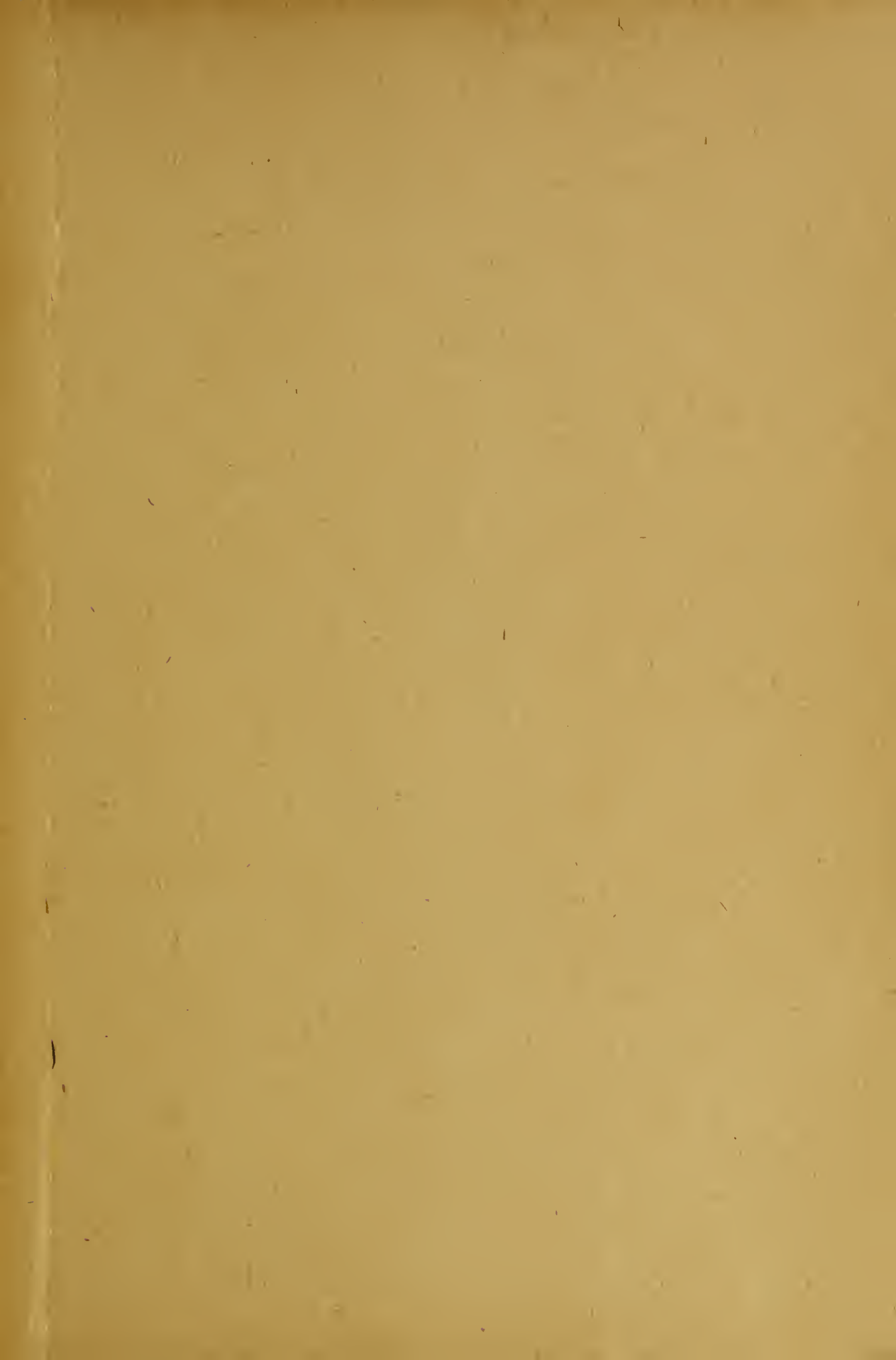
The above conclusion seems impossible when one remembers that the Romans lived in a land of beauty which has inspired innumerable poets in later years to enthusiasm over the wonders of nature, but, when one takes into consideration all the possible causes for the Roman attitude, only this one conclusion could be drawn. As has before been noted, geographical conditions entered largely into their attitude; moreover, they were essentially a people of action—



they spent no time in dreams, yearnings and longings but turned their energy and efforts toward action and, in so doing, produced a poem in government rather than in verse—a poem that the world has been glad to read and learn and put into practice. So, if we are disappointed in the objective way the Roman poets treated the sea, we must view with appreciation the fact that "the poetry of Rome lives in its institutions."







UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 086764971